

**DERBYSHIRE EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT**

BAKEWELL

Gill Stroud
2003

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The assessment report

This assessment report forms part of the Extensive Urban Survey Programme, an English Heritage funded initiative to assist local planning authorities with the conservation of their urban archaeological resource. Bakewell is one of a series of small towns and large villages in Derbyshire selected for such assessment.

The report is a desk-based survey, the scope of which includes both above and below ground archaeological remains of all periods, using information from the County Sites and Monuments Record, local histories, early maps and plan form analysis, with the results presented as a series of maps generated by GIS. It forms the foundation for an archaeological management strategy which can be adopted by the local planning authority as supplementary planning guidance.

1.2 Overview of the town

Bakewell lies in the Peak District on the west bank of the River Wye, a couple of miles west of the confluence of the Wye and the Derwent. It is some 9 miles from Matlock.

Bakewell seems to have been established in the early medieval period. Given the date of the Anglo-Saxon decorated cross in the churchyard this may have been as early as the 8th/9th century, at least as a religious foundation. It is in the 10th century that the first documentary reference to Bakewell occurs with the foundation of a burgh by Edward the Elder in 920 and the founding or re-founding of a religious centre by Uchtred in the 940s. By the late Anglo-Saxon period Bakewell was the centre of a large parish which covered more than one large estate and was itself a royal estate centre. Documentary references to burgage plots indicate its medieval status as a borough, although this was challenged in the 13th century. Nevertheless, it was clearly a flourishing market town from at least the medieval period, if not before. The town initially benefited from the wool and lead industries, while in the late 18th century there was an attempt to develop it as a spa. Bakewell has an important function today as a centre for the Peak District, its continuing markets and attractive historic core acting as a focus for tourism.

2. GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The River Wye, upon which Bakewell lies, marks the boundary between the carboniferous limestone of the White Peak to the west and the gritstone moors to the east. The town itself sits on the limestone and extends down onto the floodplain of the river. It is located at a shallow fording point of the river at 120m AOD where the floodplain narrows to 300m across and the steep hills on either side of the valley afford extensive views, both of the fording point and of the approaches to the town (Beswick et al 1997).

3. ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

In 1086 Bakewell lay in *Hamenstan* wapentake. This large area was later divided into two, the wapentakes of High Peak and of Wirksworth, with Bakewell falling into the area of the former. It is now in Derbyshire

Dales District and also lies within the boundaries of the Peak District National Park; indeed, the offices of the Peak District National Park Authority are located at Bakewell.

4. SOURCES

4.1 Primary sources

No primary sources were consulted for this assessment. A brief search of on-line catalogues showed that a number of Record Offices hold information relating to Bakewell, the main ones being Sheffield Archives and Derbyshire Record Office. There is also material in the Public Record Office at Kew.

4.2 Secondary sources

There is no history of Bakewell as such; however, there is a considerable amount of useful and detailed information in the Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society (formally the Bakewell Miscellany). Some of the articles are referenced in the bibliography but by no means all the relevant ones. Other specific sources are included in section 8. It is stressed that this study is no more than a brief summary of some of the secondary sources in order to gain an overview of the possible development of the town. It does not attempt to provide a comprehensive history of Bakewell and a much wider range of published sources should be consulted in any detailed study of the town.

4.3 Cartographic evidence

The earliest relatively detailed plan of the town is a Haddon Estate Map, with accompanying schedule, that dates from 1799, although it does not appear to show all plot boundaries. A railway map of 1847 also shows some detail of the town, but again is only partial. There is also a Haddon Estate map showing the surrounding fields dating from 1796 and a Tithe Map of 1847 but these do not show the town in detail. The earliest map to show all plot boundaries in detail is therefore the 1st edition 25" OS map of 1875.

4.4 Archaeological evidence

There have been a number of archaeological excavations and watching briefs in the town. These can be briefly summarised as follows:

In 1972 members of the Bakewell and District Historical Society excavated a well which came to light during extensions to a long established shop, Clark and Sons, on Matlock Street. The building is probably 18th century but the well was filled in c1840, around the time that piped water was introduced into the town.

In 1980 a small excavation was carried out under the floors of one of the rooms in the Old Parsonage House, now the Old House Museum. This revealed a number of floor layers the earliest of either late 15th or 16th century date. This in turn sealed a possible boundary ditch. No dating evidence was associated with the ditch but a fragment of Saxo-Norman pottery was found in an overlying layer (Hodges *et al* 1980).

In 1990-1 excavations were carried out in the All Saints churchyard in advance of the construction of a new path around the church. The excavations were relatively shallow and with the exception of burials little was recovered (Smith 1992). A watching brief was carried out around the south and east sides of the church during excavation for a pipe trench in 2001 (Elliott 2001).

In 1997 the proposed redevelopment of the market area and construction of a new agricultural centre on the showground resulted in a documentary survey and archaeological assessment followed by evaluation of sites 1-5 at the showground (this is outside the study area) (Beswick *et al* 1997; Priest and Garton 1997).

In 1998 a watching brief by ARCUS at the Old Town Hall revealed three cells dating to the 17th and 18th centuries when the Old Town Hall was used as a court house. Beneath these a human burial was found probably related to a chapel which was apparently located on the site prior to 1602 (Davies 1998).

In 2001 a watching brief and Environmental sampling was carried out at Holme Bridge in advance of desilting works by Landward Archaeology Ltd (Aitcheson 2001). The report also reviews the history of the bridge.

In 2002/3 a watching brief was carried out by ARCUS during works at Avenel Court between King Street, Rutland Square, North Church Street, Church Alley and Little Hill (Bell and Jefferson 2003).

5. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

5.1 Prehistoric

There is evidence of prehistoric activity from Bakewell and the surrounding area, as summarised on Figure 1. Much of this evidence comes from the area to the east and north-east of the town, and ranges in date from the Neolithic to the Iron Age. It serves to emphasise the degree of prehistoric activity in the area and the potential for future discoveries.

A considerable quantity of flint material has been collected in the Calton Pastures area to the north-east of Bakewell during periods of fieldwalking, particularly in 1977, when material recovered included waste flakes (SMR 5126, 5127, 5130) and a utilised blade (SMR 5128). In 1975, a flint core, several blades, and a chert flake, as well as waste flint material, was found in the area to the south of Moatless Plantation (SMR 5109), while in *c.* 1967, finds included three Neolithic arrowheads (SMR 5116). On a further occasion, material included a utilised snapped blade, an end scraper and 5 waste flints (SMR 5121). A single sherd of pottery of possibly Bronze Age date has also been recovered from this area (SMR 5122).

A number of Bronze Age barrows are known from Calton Pastures; of these, two are included in the area shown on Figure 1 (SMR 5102, SMR 5104). Both were excavated on May 2 1850 by Thomas Bateman. Following ploughing of the westernmost of these two (SMR 5102) in 1968, two flint scrapers were found. The other (SMR 5104) is thought to have also been excavated by Major Rooke in 1779 or 1787. Both are now scheduled monuments (SM 23251, SM 23252). In addition, the oval enclosure called Moatless Plantation (SMR 5112) may be a mutilated earthwork, although no evidence of antiquity has been found. More significant is the Iron Age promontory Fort of Ball Cross Camp which is sited on a spur of Calton Hill (SMR 5141). It covers 1.75 hectares and has a stone revetted box rampart, ditch and counter scarp. Excavations in 1952-5 produced Iron Age pottery and three quern stones and three cup and ring marked stones of Bronze Age date. The site is a Scheduled Monument (SM 23310).

Several features have been identified from aerial photographs of the Bakewell area, namely a rectangular cropmark in the northern part of the town (SMR 880), a cropmark possibly representing three sides of an enclosure to the south of the town (SMR 881) and, to the west, a possible enclosure with a rectangular structure in its north-west corner (SMR 883). None of these features can be dated and their attribution to the prehistoric period is uncertain.

To the southwest of the town on Burton Moor is a Bronze Age bowl barrow with three crouched burials accompanied by a jet necklace and flint tools (SMR 30200). The barrow has been scheduled (SM 13364)

5.2 Roman

There is considerable evidence of activity in the Peak District generally in the Roman period, presumably exploiting the lead and wool. There are a number of finds from Bakewell itself although, to date, no evidence of a major settlement has come to light. The finds include two sherds of Samian ware found before 1937 in the garden of Milford House (SMR 817) and some sherds of possible Roman date found during the excavation of foundations for the Congregational Chapel in 1844 (SMR 815). A two-handled amphora-shaped urn of possible Roman date containing a bronze bell and calcined human bones was found

in North Church Street in 1808 (SMR 816). A Roman bronze coin of Faustina Senior was found in a watermain trench in the same street (SMR 818).

Beyond the town, an inscribed Roman altar was dug up in the latter part of the 17th century 'in the grounds belonging to Haddon House'. Unsurprisingly, given the date of its find, the actual findspot is not known with any certainty. According to local belief it was found on the west bank of the Derwent although another reports suggests it was actually found near the Wye, as shown on Figure 1. The altar is dedicated to Mars. It was taken to Haddon Hall and has been there ever since (SMR 10416).

When one of the barrows on Calton Pastures was ploughed in 1968, a sherd of Romano-British pottery (a rolled rim) was recovered (SMR 5103).

5.3 Early Medieval (c. 410 AD – 1065)

5.3.1 Place-name evidence

The earliest documentary reference to Bakewell comes from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which records that in 920 Edward the Elder, during his campaign to re-conquer the Danelaw, ordered a burgh to be built 'near to' Bakewell. At that time it was written as *Badecan wiellon* meaning 'B(e)adeca's spring', B(e)adeca being an Old English personal name found in place-names elsewhere in the country also (Cameron 1959).

5.3.2 Communications

An ancient routeway, the Portway, ran from Wirksworth to Bakewell, and was still known as such in the 18th century (Hey 1980). The origins of portways are thought to be in the early medieval period, being named from the Old English **port-weg**, meaning a road leading to a town or market (Cameron 1959).

5.3.3 The settlement

As noted above, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that in 920 Edward the Elder, during his campaign to re-conquer the Danelaw, ordered a burgh to be built 'near to' Bakewell. The location of this has been the subject of debate for two centuries and at least three different sites have been proposed, although none have yet been confirmed archaeologically. Castle Hill which overlooks the crossing of the Wye was thought to be one candidate but excavations by Swanton revealed nothing earlier than the 12th century (Swanton 1972). Hart (1981) identified a possible earthwork on the east bank of the river Wye which may be the site of the burgh (SMR 853). The Bakewell Township map of 1796 and the Enclosure Map of 1810 show on the edge of Small Meadow and Old Pasture a horseshoe shaped enclosure. A medieval document in the collection of the Duke of Rutland appears to describe this feature as it refers to '...a place surrounded by a ditch which said place is between the arable land of Will. De Esseburne and le Kumbis..' (Hart 1981, 121; Carrington 1893). Field survey by Hart led to the recognition of an early earthwork feature defined by an earthen bank 6-7metres wide with a ditch up to 4m across. This forms a wide arc with the open end towards the Wye floodplain. The identification of this feature with the burgh has also been recently championed by Stetka (1997; 2001). He claims that there is a roughly square enclosure some 400m square. He refers to two trenches which have been excavated one revealing the ditch on the east side and the other a cobbled track on the north. However, there is no dating evidence and no further details of the excavations are given. Stetka also uses place name evidence to support his arguments although the accuracy of his interpretation has been questioned (Priest and Garton 1997).

A third option for the location of the burgh has been suggested by Penny (2002). He places it in the area of 'Upper Bakewell' in the area to the north and west of the church and churchyard. He argues that this is defensible, on good communications routes, has a probable market place on Fly Hill and includes the church. It is also in this area that later references to burgages and burgage plots occur. An excavation at the Parsonage House revealed a boundary ditch below the earliest floor levels and also some Saxo-Norman pottery (Hodges *et al* 1980) suggesting the presence of 11th/12th century buildings (SMR 864).

In the churchyard of All Saints Church at Bakewell stand fragments of two early medieval crosses. The earliest is an 8 feet high cross shaft for which a date of the late 8th/early 9th century has been proposed (SMR 822), although Sidebottom (1999) has suggested that it dates from the early 10th century. A full description of the decorations on the cross is given by Routh (1937). The head and a large piece from the bottom are missing. If the earlier date is correct, it would indicate that Bakewell was a religious centre prior to the Viking invasions of the later 9th century. A second cross fragment, of 10th/11th century date, also stands in the graveyard, although this came from elsewhere (SMR 821). The church contains a large collection of early medieval carved stones, including cross fragments and fragments of tombs, probably collected from the surrounding area. These were discovered during the rebuilding of the church in the 19th century. Routh (1937) describes some 36 stones in the church and a further two now in Sheffield Museum.

One find dating to the early medieval period has been made from the area around Bakewell. To the south-west of the town, a secondary Anglian inhumation was found to have been inserted into the scheduled Bronze Age barrow already referred to above. The inhumation was accompanied by a bronze hanging bowl and silver plated escutcheon probably dating to the 7th century (SMR810).

5.4 Medieval (1066-15th century)

5.4.1 Domesday Book

In Bakewell, with 8 outliers, King Edward had 18c of land taxable. Land for 18 ploughs. The King now has in Lordship 7 ploughs; 33 villagers and 9 smallholders. 2 priests and a church, and under them 2 villagers and 5 smallholders who have 11 ploughs altogether.

1 man at arms has 16 acres of land and 2 smallholders.

1 mill, 10s 8d; 1 lead mine; meadow, 80 acres; underwood 1 league long and 1 wide. Of this land 3c belongs to the church. Henry of Ferrers claims 1 c in Haddon

These are the outliers of this manor, (Nether) Haddon, Holme, Rowsley, Burton, Conkesbury, One Ash, Monyash (Over) Haddon.

5.4.2 The Manor

At the time of Domesday Book the manor was a long established royal manor. On the death of William I it passed to William Peverel and became part of his extensive estates in the Peak until 1153. It reverted back to the Crown at this date after William Peverel IV's involvement in the death of Rannulf Gernon, Earl of Chester. In the 1190s John, then still Count of Mortain, gave the manor of Bakewell to Ralph Gernon in whose family it descended until 1383. It then passed through a series of families by marriage until it was bought by Sir Henry Vernon in 1502.

5.4.3 Communications

Bakewell lies in the valley of the River Wye on a main route from the west which continues down the Derwent Valley to Derby. It also controls a crossing over the Wye which provides a route to Sheffield and the north and to Chesterfield in the east. The present bridge dates originally to c1300 but there is likely to have been a crossing much earlier. Additionally a route runs to the south west to Monyash and the limestone Plateau. A packhorse route also ran to the north crossing the Wye to the north of the town, originally this was by means of a ford but Holme bridge seems to have been built originally around 1562 and rebuilt in the later 17th century (Aitcheson 2001).

5.4.4 The settlement and its environs

The town sits on the west bank of the Wye and was surrounded to the west by its open arable fields, to the south by the fields belonging to Haddon and the now deserted settlement of Burton. The pattern of fields can be clearly seen on the 1796 Estate Map. By the medieval period Bakewell must have been well established as a settlement, being the administrative centre of a large estate and the ecclesiastical centre of a large parish. Its extent was probably similar, in general, to the area shown on the 1799 survey of the town.

Hodges (1980) argues that the pre-conquest burgh may have been little more than a royal estate centre and it was in the 12th century with the increased interest in the production of wool by the monasteries that the market town really developed.

A small motte and bailey stood on Castle Hill on the east side of the Wye commanding the crossing point of the river. The motte is *c.* 11 feet high but the slope and defensive nature of the site are enhanced on three sides by the slope of the hill. The motte is cut off from the bailey on the north by a now infilled ditch. The bailey covers an area of *c.* 1 acre but no obvious defences are apparent. Excavations by Swanton in 1969 and 1971 revealed little and it appears that the site was not intensively occupied and may only have had a relatively short life during the 12th century (Swanton 1972).

Bakewell's status as a borough was clearly in some dispute during the middle ages with the lords of the manor arguing for such status, even though there seems to have been no charter, but others in the shire arguing the opposite. Penny (2002), using medieval documents, has discussed this issue and has drawn together references to burgage plots and burgesses from the 13th century onwards. He suggests that the references to burgages are concentrated in the 'upper town' around the church and that the claim to borough status may have originated in the fact that Bakewell was a burgh established by Edward the Elder; consequently it was this status which was being exploited to claim borough rights.

In 1192 the church of Bakewell with all of its property was given by John, Count of Mortain to Lichfield Cathedral. For centuries the Cathedral collected tithes through its agents in the town and held various properties there. In 1534 for example Ralph Gell leased the 'wolle house' from the chapter. This was probably the collecting point for the tithes of wool and lambs owed to the chapter (Sinar nd).

5.4.5 Markets and Fairs

It is likely that a market grew up naturally at Bakewell given its importance as an estate centre and centre of the large parish where tithes were collected. The first mention of a fair is in 1251 when William Gernon was granted the right to hold a fair for 15 days beginning on April 31 each year (Coates 1965). In 1330 his descendants claimed not only this but also a three day fair in August and a Monday market, which they successfully claimed to have been held 'from time out of mind' (Sinar nd; Letters, 2001).

5.4.6 The Parish Church of All Saints

The presence of the carved stone cross traditionally dated to c800 suggests the presence of a religious establishment including a church by this date although, as noted above, this early date has recently been challenged (Sidebottom 1999). In 949 Uchtred was granted land to found (re-found?) a *coenobium* or religious foundation in Bakewell, although again Sidebottom has suggested an alternative interpretation, namely that the name 'Bakewell' was given to a much larger area and that the *coenobium* was most probably at Wirksworth. Whether or not this is the case, it is probably from sometime in the 10th century that the church assumed its role of a minster church for a large area of the High Peak. In Domesday Book the church is recorded as having two priests, a distinction shared only by Repton in the county. The church controlled seven chapelries in the Peak, namely Baslow Beeley, Chelmorton, Harthill, Longstone, Monyash and Taddington. There was also a chapel at Haddon which was attached to the hall and also at Ashford. In 1192 John, Count of Mortain gave the church and all its properties to the Bishop and Chapter of Lichfield.

In a discussion about the Old Town Hall, Knighton (1973) quotes from a Commissioners report on the Bakewell Charities (no date given). The quote includes reference to a chapel, "... that so much of a newly erected house (1602) in Bakewell being part of the chapel, as contained ... lodgings below" Knighton also comments that skeletons had been found in the area but gives no reference to the source of the information. In 1998 a watching brief was carried out on works to the 'Old Town Hall' by ARCUS during which a skeleton was discovered beneath the floor of a 17th/18th century cell which may have been associated with the chapel (Davies 1998).

5.4.7 Trade and industry

Penny (2002) has drawn attention to the presence of burgesses in the town and these may well have been specialist merchants or craftsmen. The Dean and Chapter of Lichfield had a 'wolle house' in the town and there may well have been specialist wool merchants and lead merchants operating. The fact that people in the surrounding areas would have needed to come to Bakewell to fulfil lay and ecclesiastical obligations, would have encouraged a range of crafts and industries. More information on these may exist within the original medieval documents.

5.5 Post-medieval (16th - 18th century)

5.5.1 The Manor

The manor passed with the Haddon Estate after it was sold to Sir Henry Vernon in 1502 and is now the property of the Duke of Rutland.

5.5.2 Communications

Communications were notoriously bad in the Peak District as described by travellers such as Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe, and most goods were transported by packhorse. There are a number of important packhorse routes which passed through or near to Bakewell (Dodd and Dodd 2000). One of the most important was the route to the north, crossing the river first via a ford and then via Holme Bridge, following its construction in 1664. It was not until the development of the Turnpike roads in the 18th century that the situation improved. The present A6 between Matlock and Bakewell and thence to Wardlow, was turnpiked in 1759 as was the road to Newhaven (Radley and Penny 1972). In 1739 the Worksop Trust extended its road from Chesterfield to Bakewell, in part replacing an existing packhorse route (Dodd and Dodd 2000, 117) but this seems to have had a short life due in part to changes in Chatsworth Park and the moving of the bridges over the Derwent.

The Universal British Directory of 1793 records carriers to London via Chesterfield and Mansfield passing once a week through Bakewell, carriers to Sheffield twice a week and to Chesterfield three times a week.

5.5.3 The settlement and its environs

The earliest detailed plan of the town dates from 1799 and shows the core of the town much as it is today but with apparently extensive open areas or gardens behind the street frontages. Beyond the town, the map shows the arable fields still being farmed in strips, presumably much as they were in the medieval period. Documents in the Public Record Office dating to the first half of the 16th century suggest there may have been some attempts at enclosure, with subsequent protests, as the documents refer to 'forcible entry, destruction of hedges, depasturing etc.'. The main fields appear to have been called Stanage Field, Middle Field and Far Field.

The only account of Bakewell in the 17th century comes from one Edward Browne who toured the Midlands in the company of friends in 1662. He tells of their arrival in Bakewell and how the following day they visited the church and a hot bath and well. He described the houses as built without mortar:

"...stones heaped upon stones make a substantial wall and by their own weight keep one another fast and strong; they cover their houses with a slate of which they have great plenty in most of their hills, their buildings are but low and seem rather to be naturall than artificial, when wee had viewed this famous town of Bakewell wee returned to our Inne" (Anon 1870-71)

By the later 17th century many of the buildings were being rebuilt in a more polite style as Bakewell began to be a major destination on the growing tourist route through the Peak District. The potential of the hot springs was also recognised and in 1697 a large bathhouse was built over one of them.

The Hearth Tax returns provide some idea, albeit limited, of the wealth and make-up of the town in the third quarter of the 17th century. Edwards (1982) proposed a very rough classification of status based on the number of hearths within each household. Figures for Bakewell in 1670 were as follows:

No. of hearths	Possible status	No. of households
1	husbandmen, poorer families and individuals	31 (34%)
2-3	most craftsmen, tradesmen, yeomen	44 (48%)
4-7	wealthier craftsmen, tradesmen, yeomen + merchants	14 (15%)
8+	gentry and nobility	2 (2%)

The pattern shown at Bakewell is exactly what might be expected of a small market town, with a good percentage of households having two to three hearths and with reasonable number of larger houses also. However, the 1670 returns do not give the figures of those who were exempt. These are available for 1664. At that time there were almost as many exempt entries (91) as there were chargeable (103), suggesting a considerable number of poor householders who do not show up in the 1670 returns.

The town was described in the Universal British Directory of 1793 as follows:

‘It stands in a healthy situation, and well supplied with provisions; coals are plentiful and of a good quality ... a place of great resort for anglers...’.

5.5.4 Markets and fairs

The Universal British Directory of 1793 records a weekly market on a Friday, with fairs on Easter Monday, Whit Monday, August 13, the Monday after October 10 and the Monday after November 22.

The importance of the town as a market, and the variety of the goods on offer, is indicated by the naming on the 1799 plan of the present Rutland Square as the ‘Market Place’, the lower part of Mill Street to the north as the ‘Beast Market’ and King Street as ‘Corn Market’. According to Knighton (1973) a butter market was held in front of the Old Town Hall building. Bakewell’s importance as a market town must have continued particularly with regard to livestock and cheeses and probably lead. Holme Hall was built in 1626 by a lead merchant and William Stafford, another lead merchant is mentioned in 1615 (Kiernan 1989, 112).

5.5.5 Population

It is difficult to estimate population prior to the first census of 1801, especially for places such as Bakewell, where figures often include surrounding settlements but are not always explicit about this.

One early source is the diocesan census of 1563. This provided a figure of 173 households for Bakewell, which Riden (1978) suggested represented a population of between 550 and 600 for the town itself (Riden 1978).

The Hearth Tax returns also permit an approximate estimation of population. In 1664 there was a total of 194 entries (103 chargeable and 91 exempt), a figure that is very close to that recorded by Pilkington in 1789 (see below). However, there is some uncertainty as to the area covered by these returns, with the possibility that the returns for Harthill were included with those for Bakewell (Edwards 1982).

In 1789 Pilkington recorded approximately 192 houses and 930 inhabitants in Bakewell. He ventured that:

‘It does not appear to have been at any time of great extent; and perhaps there never was a period when it had so great a prospect of increasing in population as at present’ (Pilkington 1789, 415-416).

5.5.6 Education

In 1636 Grace Lady Manners founded a grammar school which must have been an important factor in the development of Bakewell as a more polite social centre. Watson (1889) refers to the Free English School endowed by Mrs Mary Hague in 1715.

5.5.7 Trade and Industry

Holme Bank Chert Mine to the north of Holme Hall (not within the area of this study) appears to have been operating from 1770. The chert was used to grind flint for use in the Potteries. In addition a marble works was in operation on the east side of the Wye from the mid 18th century.

In 1777 Sir Richard Arkwright opened a cotton mill at Lumsdale (outside the area of this study) which had a major impact on the employment in Bakewell and probably led to an increased demand for accommodation in the town. It is likely that the improved communications which made Bakewell an important transport centre was a factor in persuading Arkwright to set up his mill (Mackenzie 1959; Thornhill 1959). The construction of the mill and associated waterworks caused problems to the existing corn mill (Victoria Mill) owned by the Duke of Rutland.

The economy of Bakewell remained largely dependent on providing the services of a market town with a range of different trades and associated services. A glimpse of these can be found in documents of the period; for example, a lease of 1707 in Sheffield Archives refers to a building in Bakewell

‘formerly a house, now a dyeworks, an extension used as a barkshop, and land used as a tanyard and a tenter yard and the residue used by a skinner for his pits’.

From the late 18th century the then Duke of Rutland began to develop Bakewell as a spa. The Fourth Duke of Rutland inherited the title in 1779 and had the bath rebuilt and by 1829 it had two showers of differing strengths and was “large, elegant and commodius” (Sinar nd; Glover 1829). This took advantage of the increase in tourism in England prompted by the cult of nature promulgated by the classical poets in the mid 18th century and the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars which precluded foreign travel.

Pilkington (1789, 416) noted the opportunities for employment in the cotton mill, which at that time was employing 300 people, and also that there were ‘a few who are engaged in working the lead mines, and in collecting the various fossil productions of the Peak’. The Universal British Directory of 1793 noted a number of stone quarries in the area, as well as lead and zinc mines which were ‘very rich at this time’.

5.6 19th century

5.6.1 Communications

The road from Ashford to Buxton was turnpiked in 1810 (Radley and Penny 1972).

In the early years of the century travellers still had to go to Newhaven or Chesterfield to catch a coach for London. By 1829 there were three coaches between Manchester and London, the Royal Mail between Manchester and Sheffield and one between Nottingham and Manchester which passed through daily. In 1862 the railway from Derby to Manchester was opened through Bakewell, the station being about a mile to the north of the town.

5.6.2 The settlement and its environs

The enclosure of the open fields and moorlands in 1810 probably stimulated agricultural production and helped revive the market in the town.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Fourth Duke of Rutland attempted to develop Bakewell as a spa and redeveloped areas of the town including Rutland Square and the bath building. Development in the town increased but it still did not outgrow the area indicated on the 1799 plan as there was ample room for development to the rear of the street frontages and by rebuilding the street front properties.

In 1831 the provision of a water supply was initiated with water piped from Manners Wood and three stand pipes were erected. In 1872 the supply was sold to the local board and by 1875 most houses were connected (Challenger 1983). In 1847 a gas supply was established initially using the small plant at Lumford Mill, this was not successful and a separate supply was established in 1850 (Thornhill 1969).

5.6.3 Markets and fairs

Bakewell's role as a market centre continued, although by 1811 the actual market had declined. Despite this, the horse and cattle fairs were still important (Sinar nd) and a new cattle market was developed to the south of Bridge Street in 1826.

5.6.4 Religion

By 1829 there was an Independent church and a Wesleyan Methodist church. A Congregational Church was built in 1844 and later taken over by the Roman Catholic Church. Close to the Wesleyan Church a Friends Meeting house was built off Matlock Road in 1854 with an attached graveyard. The Primitive Methodists were also represented in the town and a chapel was built in 1892 on Water Lane.

5.6.5 Education

During the 19th century various 'Dames' Schools' or small academies developed to cater for the surrounding population. In 1854 the National School was established on Rutland Terrace. In 1850 an Independent church school was set up and a Wesleyan school in 1866. In 1872 the National Girls and Infants School was built in Bath Street (Allcock 1970).

5.6.6 Population

The 10-yearly census, which commenced in 1801, provides the following figures for Bakewell which show a steady increase population and numbers of houses throughout the century:

Year	Population	Houses
1801	1412	280
1811	1485	292
1821	1782	357
1831	1898	385
1841	1976	403
1851	2217	443
1861	2704	485
1871	2283	467
1881	2502	472
1891	2748	503
1901	2850	560

5.6.7 Trade and industry

Glover in 1829 records that 54 families were employed by Arkwright in the cotton mill (300-400 hands). In addition there were 37 shoemakers, 18 blacksmiths, 21 joiners and cabinet makers and 12 employed in the marble works. The rest were engaged in agriculture, mining or the getting of chert which was exported to Staffordshire for use in the pottery industry. No other major industries appear to have been developed

during the 19th century, although a number of quarries to the south and west of the town are recorded on the 1875 OS map which will have provided employment.

Other services and professions also developed and by 1829 there were four surgeons and a physician as well as two druggists and a chemist and the legal profession was also well represented. Other specialist shops included fishing tackle makers catering for tourists who came to the town as well as the local gentry (Sinar nd). Further information on occupations and the range of shops and crafts are available from the later directories such as Kelly's Directory of 1881.

6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF BAKEWELL

The town has been divided into plan elements, or components, based on map evidence and documentary sources. These plan elements have been subdivided below according to the earliest date of their assumed occurrence, although these divisions are tentative only, and need to be confirmed by further work. Subsequent major changes are briefly summarised, together with the degree of survival of early features to the present day. No early medieval components have been identified as the evidence is uncertain. The location of the burgh proposed by Hart and Stetka is included on the County Sites and Monuments Record and the components in the area around and to the north of the church which fall into the area proposed by Penny as the possible burgh, are indicated in the text.

6.1 Medieval components

Twenty components have been tentatively identified as belonging to the medieval period. Many of these are likely to have had earlier occupation also, but the specific areas of such occupation are difficult to identify either from documentation, archaeological evidence or plan form analysis.

Component 1 *All Saints Church and churchyard*

All Saints church and churchyard is bounded by North Church Street, South Church Street, Church Lane and Church Alley. The sculptured cross in the churchyard (SM 23344) indicates the presence of a church or other religious focus as early as AD800. A second cross (SM 23345) dates from the 10th century and originally stood either in Two Dales at Birley Fields Farm or Gladwin's Mark 5 km east of Beeley (LB Record). In 946 Uchtred was given land by the king to found or re-found a *coenubium* or religious foundation. It is from this point that it appears to have assumed the role of a minster church serving a large area of the High Peak.

No early medieval fabric survives with the exception of the sculptured fragments found during the 19th century restoration and now displayed in the porch (Routh 1937). Taylor and Taylor, however, suggest that the plan preserves features in the crossing which seem characteristic of Anglian design but foreign to Norman practice (Hart 1981:124). The church was rebuilt c1100 to a grand cruciform design. Excavations at the west end revealed that the design was for two towers forming a massive facade similar to the later church at Melbourne in south Derbyshire. The church was extensively rebuilt around 1250 with subsequent work dating to the 14th century. There were two chantries built inside the church, one in 1344 by Sir Godfrey Foljambe (Cox 1877:10) and the other by the Vernon's in 1360 (1877:13). By 1820 the tower piers were giving way and it was necessary to take down the spire and by 1830 the tower had also been taken down. In 1841 a major restoration had begun which was not completed until 1852. It was during this work that the large numbers of fragments of Anglo-Saxon decorated stones came to light. Cox reports that according to workmen at the time many more such stones were reused in the new fabric (1877, 32).

This component also contains the Chantry House which is located at the northwest corner of the churchyard at the base of a 'promontory' of land which projects northwards and separates Church Lane from North Church Street. This is an odd configuration as the two streets merge to form a wide area which runs into a larger open area named Fly Hill on the 1799 map (now infilled by component 8). It is

possible that this could represent an early market place adjacent to the church, similar to the early marketplace at Chesterfield.

The east side of the churchyard and south east corner were built on by 1799 including a row of 17th century cottages.

Component 2 *Market place and infill to east of the Churchyard*

This component comprises Rutland Square and the block of buildings between King Street, Church Alley and North King Street. It appears to have originally formed a large triangular market place to the east of the churchyard and falls within the area of the burgh proposed by Penny. Rutland Square is called Market Square in 1799 and the bottom of Buxton Road was the location of the beast market and King Street was the corn market. The western half of the component is occupied by a block of buildings which probably represents relatively early infill. Two of the springs or wells which gave the town its name, Town Well and St Mary's Well, are located in the western part of the area. The area on the north side of King Street now contains the Old Town Hall of 1602 and Almshouses built in 1709 but Knighton (1973) notes the possibility of an earlier chapel and reports of the discovery of skeletons in the vicinity. Penny (2002) also speculates whether St Mary's Chapel (as he terms it) was an early religious focus at St Mary's Well. A further burial was discovered during a watching brief during works in the Old Town Hall (Davies 1998). The component also contains Avenel Court which is probably 16th century in origin and two 17th century cottages.

Component 3 *Settlement Block bounded by North Church Street, Buxton Road, Bagshaw Hill*

This is a large block within the burgh as proposed by Penny. As with much of the area of the town shown on the 1799 plan, however, buildings are only indicated along the street frontages. The frontages along Buxton Road and North Church Street are largely developed but only sporadic buildings occur on Bagshaw Hill and Fly Hill. The properties along Buxton Road appear generally small with small areas to the rear. This may suggest later encroachments onto the Beast Market which was in this area or may be a result of the topography as the land behind rises quite steeply, as Buxton Road marks the break between the higher ground to the west and the lower floodplain of the Wye to the east. The block is divided into generally quite large properties some with curving boundaries. On the 1897 OS map the area on the north side of the block is still open and appears occupied by gardens. A number of 18th century buildings survive along North Church Street and Bagshaw Hill.

Component 4 *Settlement Block between Fly Hill and Bagshaw Hill*

This is within the area of the burgh proposed by Penny. Again, much of the block was undeveloped on the 1799 plan. The principal building is Bagshaw Hall built in 1684 but with evidence of an earlier building being incorporated (Pevsner 1978). At the north eastern corner of the block there are two small building in narrow properties which may be encroachments on to what was a wide street in 1799. These have gone by 1875 and the rest of the block remained relatively undeveloped by 1897, apparently occupied by gardens and grounds associated with the Hall.

Component 5 *Victoria Mill*

The present mill was described in the 1810 enclosure award as a new mill but is almost certainly on the site of the medieval corn mill. It continued in use until 1945 when it became feed store since when it has had various commercial uses (Challenger 1974).

Component 6 *Small area of settlement on the north side of Fly Hill*

There is no real evidence that this component is medieval in origin but Penny (2002) includes this within the area of the burgh and it lies on the road to the north -west as it enters Fly Hill which he proposes as a possible early market place.

Component 7 *Block of settlement north side of Fly Hill*

This block on the 1799 plan consists of four or five building in small square/rectangular plots apparently taken from a much larger enclosure. It may be that these are post medieval in origin but the component has been included as medieval as it falls within the area of the burgh as proposed by Penny. There is a surviving 17th century building, now listed.

Component 8 *Block of settlement on Fly Hill*

Penny (2002) suggests this area as a possible market place for the early town or burgh. On the 1799 plan there is clearly an area of infilling, smaller than the component, which consists of two buildings in plots close to where the present Stanage Road joins Fly Hill. By 1875 this encroachment had been extended to the east by an area apparently occupied by gardens, which by 1895 had been developed for three houses. Originally there was a clear separation of the two properties from the northern side of component 13 but by 1875 this had disappeared and the properties were joining.

Component 9 *Block of land on the west side of Church Lane.*

This component contains the Parsonage House (Listed Grade II*) now the Old House Museum (Hodges *et al* 1980; Meeke 1984). The Listed Building description says that the building is thought to have evolved from a medieval hall and cross wing the latter possibly ‘underbuilt’ in 1535 to provide “a competent dwelling house” as detailed in a lease from the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield to Sir Ralf Gell. In 1777 Richard Arkwright leased the house from Sir Philip Gell and turned it into six dwellings for workers at the newly built Lumford Mill.

In 1799 this component only contained three other structures in addition to the Old House Museum. One of these is close to the Old house Museum and is probably an associated outbuilding. These are set in an irregular shaped enclosure. A further building lies to the south west of the Old House again in a very irregular enclosure with one notably curving boundary. Further again to the South west lies a building which is now called Parson Cottage which dates to the 18th century and is listed grade II. A further building is shown projecting into Church Lane off the north east corner of the component. During the 19th century there is development at the north end of the component and an additional property, The Close, is established to the north of Parson Cottage.

Penny suggests that the western boundary of the early town probably ran from north to south through this component.

Component 10 *Small block between Monyash Road and Parsonage Toft*

This is included as medieval as it lies where the road from Monyash approaches the churchyard and is included in the proposed area of the Burgh suggested by Penny. On the 1799 plan Monyash Road opens out into a roughly triangular area adjacent to the south west corner of the churchyard, similar to Fly Hill at the northwest corner of the churchyard. There is a long narrow building indicated on the 1799 plan with one gable end on Church Lane.

Component 11 *The Vicarage*

The present house dates from 1869 and is now a residential home, a new vicarage has been built to the east. The boundary which separates the two properties is identifiable on the 1799 plan. The earliest surviving Glebe terrier dates to 1840. It apparently describes the house as an ancient structure dating in part from the Reformation. A stone over the door still extant in 1816 commemorated a restoration of the house in 1640. The incumbent in 1840 had taken on the living in 1816 and had put the house into good repair. In addition there were also a stable, small carriage house, a cart shed, a thatched cowhouse and a pigsty (Sinar nd). These are not obvious on the 1799 plan but there are two small buildings in an enclosure situated in the

south corner of the triangular area formed where the Monyash Road, Church Lane and South Church Street meet. A third small building lies just to the north of these, also in the road.

Component 12 *Area of settlement between South Church Street and Butts Road*

This is a large component but as elsewhere only the frontage along South Church Street and the corner with Butts Road (Bear Lane on the 1799 plan) appear to have buildings shown on the 1799 plan. It is included in the medieval components because of the proximity to the church. The rest of the block was divided into sometimes large enclosures, some of the boundaries of which can still be traced. The buildings along South Church Street appear to be associated with small enclosures or yards. Ivy house dates to the 17th century and Butts House, set back from South Church Street, to the 18th century; both are listed. There was further residential development by 1875 but there were still extensive areas of gardens in the 20th century.

Component 13 *Settlement block bounded by King Street, Butts Road and Matlock Road.*

This is included in the medieval components because of its central location on Matlock Road (Horsecroft Lane on the 1799 plan), the main route to the south, King Street/Corn Market and the market place, now Rutland Square. As with the other components, the 1799 plan indicates that it was the street frontages which were built up, with only a few small buildings to the rear. On the King Street frontage there are indications that the properties were associated with the long narrow plots generally identified as being medieval in date. The properties along Matlock Street have smaller yards, apparently subdivided from a long plot running parallel to the road. There are several 18th century buildings, now listed, surviving on King Street but the majority of the buildings along Matlock Road are 19th century in date and most are listed. Even as late as 1922 the interior of the block is largely undeveloped.

Component 14 *Block of settlement bounded by Matlock Street, Rutland Square, Water Lane and Granby Road.*

This component faces Rutland Square, formerly the Market Place. The present day Water Street cuts diagonally across the block and links with Water Lane, now Granby Croft, and then runs south to the river, where there is now a foot bridge but previously a ford. Confusingly Water Street is called Water Lane on the 1799 plan. The properties on Matlock Street seem to be associated with long narrow plots running at right angles to the street. There are also properties shown along Water Street in 1799 and the triangular block formed by Water Street, Water Lane and Rutland Square is quite densely built up. Two buildings dating to the 17th century and now listed survive. The block does see more development by 1875 but the area now occupied by the library and swimming pool is still open in 1922. A listed 18th century building survives on the south side of Water Street.

Component 15 *Settlement block bounded by Bridge Street, Water Lane and River Wye*

As in other components this one is sparsely occupied there only being buildings along Bridge Street and not all the plots appear to have an associated building. Projecting into Bridge Street is the Market Hall which dates to c. 1600 or earlier (Pevsner 1978; Knighton 1973). Another 17th century building is survives on Bridge Street and the Peacock and Red Lion public houses are both 18th century in date.

In 1826 the cattle market was moved onto the Red Lion and Peacock crofts to the south of Bridge Street to clear the roads for traffic. In 1883 the Duke of Rutland improved the market area and rented it to the Local Board. It was eventually purchased by the Urban District Council. In the late 1990s the market was moved across the river and some of the former market area has been developed.

Component 16 *Settlement block bounded by Buxton Road, Bath Street, Anchor Square and Rutland Square.*

The block has a frontage on the Market Place, now Rutland Square, which was larger before the rebuilding of the Rutland Arms and other building works by the Duke of Rutland at the beginning of the 19th century. It also fronts the former Beast Market. On the 1799 plan the frontages are well developed but again the rears of the properties appear open and devoid of buildings. A number of the plots are long and narrow with distinctly curving boundaries. In the 1690s the Duke of Rutland built a Bath House over the warm spring at the north side of the block on Bath Street. The bath itself was vaulted over in the early 18th century and extensive improvements were made at the beginning of the 19th century as part of the general attempt by the Duke of Rutland to develop the town as a spa. Bath Gardens which are such a feature of the block today are not present in 1847 but have appeared by 1875. As well as the bath house there are several listed buildings on the west side of the block dating to the 18th century.

Component 17 *Settlement block bounded by Anchor Square, Bath Street and Bridge Street*

This block clearly appears to be infill of a roughly triangular area in front of the bridge over the Wye. It also lies directly adjacent to the Market Hall. The block is shown on the 1799 plan much as it is today although Anchor Square extends further to the south. This was later built over, with the construction of the public house in the 18th century. The block would appear to be infilling an earlier market place at the entrance to the town.

Component 18 *Settlement block, the north side of Bath Street, and the east side of Buxton Road*

This is a large component as defined but again the development in 1799 is largely confined to the street frontages of Buxton Road and Bath Street and even these are not fully developed. It is possible that this is a post-medieval development but has been included because of its proximity to Bridge Street and frontage on Buxton Road. The component is generally divided into irregular plots though some have clearly curving boundaries. The development of the block continued in the 19th century with the school being built in 1872 and the Congregational Church, now the Catholic Church, in 1849. Earlier buildings do survive including 'The Cottage' dating from the late 17th century. In the northwest corner of the area close to Victoria Mill, Arkwright Court, a group of workers housing, dates to the late 18th century and was presumably built by Arkwright as houses for workers at Lumsdale Mill. Milford House also dates to this time. Bank House on the north side of Bath Street has elements dating to around 1700.

Component 19 *Development between Granby Road, Matlock Street and Granby Croft*

Three buildings are depicted on the 1799 plan along this section of Matlock Street. The area was further developed in the 19th century and comprehensively redeveloped in the 20th century. It has been included because of its location on Matlock Road the main road to the south.

Component 20 *Triangular settlement block between Bagshaw Hill and Buxton Road*

On the 1799 plan there are three blocks of small properties which infill a wide area between Bagshaw Hill and Buxton Road. This lies on the road into the town from the north where the land begins to rise sharply. It is possible that the topography would have discouraged early settlement as the present buildings have clearly been terraced back into the limestone edge. By 1875 the layout of the buildings appears much as it is today.

6.2 Post-medieval components

Six components have been tentatively identified for the post-medieval period, as shown on Figure 3.

Component 21 *Block of settlement straddling present Buxton Road*

In 1799 this was a continuous block. Buxton Road turned sharply to the east (essentially the present Mill Street) into an open area named Mill End, the road to Buxton then continued from the northern end of this. By 1847 the road had been cut through this block. This component had only few buildings in 1799 and it

would have been on the northern periphery of the medieval town. It is close to the medieval mill but has been included as a post medieval component. Milford Court is 19th century in date and listed Grade II.

Component 22 *Settlement block on west side of Buxton Road*

As with component 22 there are few buildings in this component in 1799 and it would have been on the northern most periphery of the medieval town and has been included in the post medieval components. The current buildings, Victoria Cottages, are 19th century and listed grade II.

Component 23 *New Street*

Two rows of terrace houses were built on either side of a new road, aptly named New Street, by Arkwright for mill-workers in the late 18th century. They were demolished after 1922 but before 1969 (SMR 31266).

Component 24 *Settlement at the north-east end of Bridge Street*

Several buildings are shown in this area on the 1799 map, possibly originating as encroachments on open land near the river. They included a blacksmith's shop and The Roebuck public house. The buildings may have been demolished when Castle Street was built in the early 19th century (SMR 31221-23).
Cut through by Castle Street

Component 25 *Settlement along Butts Road*

Several buildings are shown in this area on the 1799 map.

Component 26 *Settlement at the junction of Yeld Road, Monyash Road and South Church Street*

This component includes two listed buildings of probable 18th century date. One cottage standing at the junction of the two roads is thought to have been an inn or tavern at one time, the Royal Standard.

6.3 19th century components

Ten components have been identified for the 19th century, based mainly on a comparison of the 1799 map and late 19th century OS maps. They are shown on Figure 4.

Component 27 *Development along Monyash Road and the north-west end of Yeld Road*

It is possible that this component contains earlier elements, as Pinfold Cottage on the north side of Monyash Road, a Grade II listed building, is said in the list description to be late 18th/early 19th century. The pinfold was located on the south side of the road. A number of buildings had been constructed along the road by the end of the 19th century, many of which survive.

Component 28 *Development on the west side of Yeld Road*

Two large houses set in gardens were erected in this area during the 19th century. Further houses have been built in the 20th century.

Component 29 *Development at the junction of Yeld Road and Butts Road*

It is possible that there was post-medieval development in this area. By the end of the 19th century two rows of terrace housing had been constructed, both of which survive.

Component 30 *Development in the area of Woodside Drive, Matlock Street*

By the end of the 19th century The Avenue had been constructed and a number of semi-detached villas built along it. These are still standing, and infilling of plots still empty in 1898 has since taken place. Buildings to the south included a smithy. These buildings have been demolished and Woodside Drive laid out, with associated redevelopment.

Component 31 *Block of land on west side of Matlock Street.*

By 1875 this component had been developed and contained a house called the Hays, the Friends Meeting House of 1852 and associated burial ground and the Methodist Chapel. All three buildings survive, the first two being grade II listed.

Component 32 *Development between Granby Road and Granby Croft*

Buildings are shown on part of this site in 1879, probably a farm and associated buildings. A Roman Catholic chapel had been built on Granby Road by 1897. The area has since been redeveloped.

Component 33 *Castle Street*

Castle Street was laid out in c. 1815, on land that may have been enclosed in or by 1810. Towards the northern end of the component is Beech Cottage, the southern end of which is listed and described as being 18th century or earlier, possibly having originally formed a longhouse. However, no buildings are shown in this area on the 1799 map. The terrace of houses on the east side of Castle Street are listed.

Component 34 *Development to the rear of north Bath Street*

19th century development in this area included a boys' school, built to the rear of an existing school in 1894.

Component 35 *Development to the east of Stonedge Lane*

Two large buildings were constructed in this area by the end of the 19th century, namely Endcliffe House and St Anselm's School. Endcliffe House was present by 1879, set in an extensive orchard. A quarry shaft is shown on the 1879 OS map to the south-east of Endcliffe House. St Anselm's School was founded in 1888, although a building was present on the site in 1879, with the eastern half of the plot being an orchard. The land had been sold in 1863, at which time it was described as 'rich old turf land, Mill Cliff Top', with chert being mined underneath it. A cottage and a laundry were added to the school in 1902 (SMR 31360). A few other, smaller buildings were present by the end of the 19th century, and more development took place in the 20th century.

Component 36 *Development at The Rock and Undercliffe*

Much of this area was a quarry in the 19th century, with some buildings along the west side of Undercliffe. The Rock was laid out in the 20th century, and some housing constructed along it.

6.4 20th century development

Twentieth century development is represented by a single un-numbered component.

6.5 Discussion

Although there is considerable evidence for prehistoric activity in the area and some evidence for the Roman period, on present knowledge Bakewell seems to have been established in the early medieval period. Given the presence of the Anglo-Saxon decorated cross in the churchyard this may have been as early as the 8th/9th century, at least as a religious foundation. Although the early date for the cross has been challenged, there was certainly settlement by at least the early 10th century, as the first documentary

reference comes from 920, when King Edward the Elder of Wessex ordered the building of a *burh* in the vicinity of Badeca's Well (ie Bakewell). It is generally assumed that these orders were carried out. There has been considerable speculation as to the exact location of this fortified site (see section 5.3.3 above), one being Castle Hill on the east side of the River Wye crossing, another being an earthwork further south-east on the east bank of the river (Hart 1981, Stetka 1997), and the third being 'Upper Bakewell, in the area to the north and west of the church and churchyard, to include the church itself (Penny 2002).

It is generally considered that in the 10th century, if not before, Bakewell assumed its importance as the Minster church for a wide area of the northern Peak District and by the 11th century, as evidenced by Domesday Book, Bakewell was part of a chain of large royal manors extending across central and northern Derbyshire from Ashbourne through Parwich and Matlock to Dronfield and Newbold, as well as north-westwards to Ashford and Hope. Consequently Bakewell would have been an important administrative centre for both estate and church (Rolleston et al 1996; Sidebottom 1999).

What is not clear at present, however, is whether the medieval town developed on the site of Edward's *burh* or whether it was on a separate site. Blair (1988) notes 'it is ... most striking how many *burh* towns on non-Roman sites ... were sited to contain pre-existing minsters'. As mentioned above, the uncertainty of dating the sculptural evidence means that it cannot be definitely shown at present that Bakewell was an important ecclesiastical centre before the beginning of the 10th century. However, there are other possible factors that might support an early date. Blair notes St Gregory's instruction to cleanse heathen shrines and use them as churches, stating that holy wells and graveyards were the 'raw materials with which the first missionaries worked..' It may be no coincidence that Bakewell's place-name indicates the presence of a spring or well, albeit not known as a holy well, while Cameron (1959) notes the exceptional existence in Bakewell parish of the lost 'Heathen's Low'. He also suggests that Derbyshire place-names that have a personal name as a first element, as does Bakewell, may belong to an early period of settlement.

Regardless of the exact chronology of its origins, the presence of a pre-Conquest minster seems certain, and the developing Anglo-Saxon road system, of which the Portway was probably a part, would have brought traffic to Bakewell, with the likely result that a market would be established. Such markets were often immediately outside the minster precinct. Blair (1988, 48) suggests that there would have been an 'organic growth of commercial activity in response to the economic stimulus which the minsters provided', attracting all classes of society. He proposed three stages of development: first, the minster precinct itself; secondly, organic late Anglo-Saxon growth around the perimeter or along an approach road, perhaps including a market-place; and thirdly 12th or 13th century burgage-plots peripheral to the earlier core. Unfortunately it does not seem to be possible to recognise an early precinct boundary in the plan form. Penny (2002) has suggested that Fly Hill may represent the earliest market place, and found from his analysis of documentary evidence that references to burgages and burgage plots at Bakewell, which are known from the middle of the 13th century, all point to 'Upper Bakewell' as the site of the burgh, including some in the Fly Hill area. This is supported by excavation at the Parsonage House (now the Old House Museum) that revealed a boundary ditch below the earliest floor levels and also some Saxo-Norman pottery (Hodges 1980) suggesting the presence of 11th/12th century buildings. Unfortunately the terrain probably ruled out the typical long narrow burgage plots that one might expect to find in a borough or market town.

Assuming the above to be correct, at some point the town expanded downslope towards Bakewell Bridge and the focus changed to the area to the south of the church, and the market place(s) shown on the 1799 map. Exactly when this took place is not clear, not least because the extent to which the river would have flooded is uncertain. Penny (2002) was of the opinion that the later Corn Market/King Street/old Town Hall area 'might have been on dry land nearly all the time', and the origins of much of this area are assumed in this assessment to be medieval.

Although Bakewell seems to have thrived throughout the post-medieval period, the boundaries of the town may have remained relatively unchanged from those of the medieval period, possibly at least in part due to the continued existence of the open arable field system which could have constrained growth. Any additional population could probably have been accommodated either through division of existing plots,

infill to the rear of existing street frontages, and encroachment onto existing open spaces such as wide roads and market areas. There is some limited evidence, at least in plan-form terms, for roadside encroachment on the routes leading out of Bakewell. There was some new development in the 19th century, some of which was again incorporated within the existing town, with the construction of rows of cottages in yards at right angles to the main street frontages. However, Parliamentary Enclosure in 1810 would have made new land available for building outside the earlier core and the beginning of such development can be seen on later 19th century OS maps. The process of expansion continued in the 20th century, although much of the 20th century development was excluded from this assessment.

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES

7.1 Research questions

1. One of the most important research questions with regard to Bakewell is the location and nature of the Anglo-Saxon burgh and the nature of any preceding religious foundation and /or settlement. Stetka and Hart have argued for the burgh to be situated on the west side of the river and have identified a possible site defined, at least in part, by a bank and ditch (Hart 1984; Stetka 1997). Penny has argued that the burgh was probably on the high ground to the north and west of the church, a more defensible area which would have included the church itself (Penny 2002). Hodges, on the other hand, has argued that the burgh in the 10th century may have been little more than a defended estate centre and thus relatively small in size (Hodges *et al* 1980).

2. The full extent of Bakewell in the medieval period needs to be established, as does its relationship, in terms of layout, to the earlier burgh. Can a period of reorganisation be identified, and if so, what was the stimulus for such reorganisation.

3. When Bakewell developed as a market centre is obviously of considerable significance in understanding its development. Hodges suggests that it may not have been until the 12th century and the increasing importance of the wool trade that Bakewell began to develop as a market.

4. To what extent did industry play a part in Bakewell's development? Are there any remnants of industrial workshops etc. in the town?

5. What impact on the town's continuing development was the fact that the parish came under the control of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, who controlled the tithes in what was an extensive parish?

6. The 1799 plan of Bakewell shows buildings restricted in the main to the street frontages. How accurate is this and how were the areas behind the frontages used? Was the apparent lack of expansion in the post medieval period, and indeed in the 19th century, due to the lack of earlier development behind the street frontages and hence the availability of land? To what extent did the continuation of the open arable field system constrain growth?

7.2 Archaeological potential

7.2.1 Existing protection

Scheduled Monuments

Certain nationally important archaeological sites and monuments enjoy special protection as Scheduled Ancient Monuments under the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*. This protection ensures that the case for preservation is fully considered should there be any proposals for development or other work which might damage the monument. Any such proposals are subject to Scheduled Ancient Monument Consent, administered directly by the Secretary of State. They include not only demolition,

damage or removal, but also restorative works. There would normally be a presumption in favour of the physical preservation of the monument.

Bakewell Bridge is a Scheduled Monument.

Conservation areas

The *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990* required all Local Planning Authorities to determine which parts of their areas were of special architectural or historic interest and to designate them as conservation areas, in order to preserve or enhance the character and appearance of the area. It is also their duty to review them from time to time, and to determine whether any further parts of their areas should also be designated as conservation areas.

Bakewell Conservation Area extends beyond the area of this assessment, and is partially shown on Figure 6.

Listed buildings

A listed building is one recognised by the government as being of special architectural or historic interest, as specified by the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990*. Listing is made at three levels of importance, Grade II, Grade II* and the most important, Grade I, and listed building consent is required, in addition to normal planning consent, before any alterations, extensions or demolitions can be made to a listed structure which might affect its character.

There are 102 listed buildings in the built-up area of Bakewell under consideration in this assessment, the majority of which are shown on Figure 6. Of these, two are Grade I, namely Bakewell Bridge and the packhorse bridge at Holme, and two are Grade II*, namely Bagshaw Hall and the Old House Museum. The remainder are Grade II, and all can be broken down according to their earliest structural phase as follows:

Earliest structural phase	C16 or earlier	C17	C18	C19	C20
Number of structures	6	14	38	42	1

Planning Policy Guidance 15 allows the creation and maintenance of a list of buildings of local historic/architectural interest, although this does not confer a statutory obligation. It is not known whether there is currently a local list for Bakewell.

7.2.2 Above ground remains

The street layout is often the most durable part of a settlement plan and this is true of Bakewell where the major elements of the town's historic street pattern are still visible today, although one of the main early market areas has been replaced by a roundabout.

Buildings in Bakewell are mainly stone-built, the earlier buildings tending to be of coursed or rubble limestone with sandstone dressings, and the later (late 18th and 19th century) tending to be of sandstone. Some buildings nicely illustrate this trend having, for example, a 19th century dressed sandstone facade with 18th century limestone rubble elsewhere. Gritstone is only very occasionally used. One building retains evidence of an earlier tradition, having a single cruck truss. It is not known whether other similar examples might survive unrecognised at the core of what appear to be later buildings.

The town retains a large stock of buildings dating from the 16th century onwards, with the large numbers of 18th and 19th century buildings indicating the continued prosperity of the town. They range from small cottages to large houses such as Bagshaw Hall. In addition to domestic buildings, there are also

commercial and public premises, religious buildings, historic bridges and, to a lesser extent, industrial buildings.

7.2.3 *Below ground remains*

Relatively little archaeological excavation has taken place in the town, making it difficult to make any assessment of the potential for the survival of archaeological deposits. The 'Upper Town' sits on the carboniferous limestone and rarely offers level sites for building, in some places being very steep. The limited excavations below the Old House Museum did reveal an earlier ditch and a fragment of 10th/11th century pottery, indicating that there is potential in this area. However, inevitably there will have been much terracing to provide flat areas for building which will have compromised the survival of earlier deposits. The 'Lower Town' on the floodplain may offer better conditions for the survival of deposits although this area may not have been settled until the later medieval, or even the post-medieval period.

Market places too may contain rich archaeological deposits, as they are usually the most intensively occupied areas of a town. The origins of the different market spaces at Bakewell are not fully understood, but one might expect plots in the market area to contain sequences of commercial buildings along their frontages, with outhouses, workshops and rubbish pits to the rear.

Churchyards are areas of considerable archaeological potential which may contain long sequences of religious buildings and burials. The church at Bakewell may have served the pre-conquest settlement, while the church may overlie a pre-conquest church or even a sequence of churches about which nothing is known. Based on other early ecclesiastical sites, one might expect the early medieval cemetery to have been of greater extent and it is interesting that excavations at the Old Town Hall, not a great distance from the churchyard, uncovered a human burial (Davies 1998).

Areas in the vicinity of water offer the potential of exceptional survival through the waterlogging of deposits. Whether this is likely to be the case at Bakewell is unknown at present, but the existence of several springs and wells, together with documentary evidence for industries that were reliant on water, such as dyeing and tanning, raises the possibility that the remains of industrial processes might be encountered.

8. REFERENCES

- Aitchison, K (2001) *Holme Bridge Bakewell: Archaeological Watching Brief and Environmental Sampling*. Landward Archaeology unpublished report.
- Allcock C R (1970) 'Some notes on Bakewell schools', *Bulletin 1 December 1970, Bakewell and District Historical Society*.
- Anon (1870-71 'Extracts from the Common-place Book of Edward Browne', *Reliquary* **11**, 73-78.
- Bateman, T (1848) *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*. London.
- Barnatt, J (2002) *The Bakewell Archaeological Survey*. Peak District National Park Authority Report.
- Bell, S & Jefferson, P (2003) *Archaeological watching brief at Avenel Court, King Street, Bakewell, Derbyshire*. ARCUS unpublished Report.
- Beswick, P, Garton, D, Howard, A, Arrowsmith, P (1997) *The Bakewell Project: Documentary Survey and Archaeological Assessment*. TPAU Unpublished Report.
- Blair, J (1988) 'Minster churches in the landscape', in D Hooke (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, 35-58. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Bray, W (1783) *Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire*. 2nd ed.
- Brighton, T (1997) 'Marble works at Ashford and Bakewell', *Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society*, Jan 1997 no2, 45-71.
- Cameron, K (1959) *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. English Place-Name Society, Vols. XXVII to XXIX. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Challenger, G (1974) 'The Victoria Mill, Bakewell', *Bakewell Miscellany*, No. 1, 15-18
- Challenger, G (1983) *Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society no 10*
- Coates, B E (1965) 'The origin and distribution of markets and fairs in medieval Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **85**, 92-111.
- Cox, J C (1877) *The Churches of Derbyshire*. Vol II. Chesterfield: Palmer & Edmunds.
- Davies, G (1998) *Archaeological Watching Brief at Bakewell Old Town Hall, Bakewell, Derbyshire*. ARCUS unpublished report. SMR Doc. No. 558.
- Dodd, A E & Dodd E M (2000) *Peakland Roads and Trackways*. 3rd edition. Ashbourne: Moorland.
- Edwards, D G (1982) *Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments 1662-70*. Derbyshire Record Society Vol. VII. Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society.
- Elliott, L (2001) *All Saints Church, Bakewell, Derbyshire*. TPAU unpublished Report on Watching Brief.
- Glasscock, R E (ed.) (1975) *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*. Records of Social and Economic History, New Series II. London: The British Academy.
- Glover, S (1829) *The History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Derby*. Vol. I, Part I.
- Hart, C R (1981) *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*.
- Hey, D (1980) *Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Hodges, R, Baker, G and Brighton, T (1980) *The Parsonage House, Bakewell*. Department of Prehistory and Archaeology University of Sheffield.
- Kiernan, D (1989) *The Derbyshire Lead Industry in the Sixteenth Centuries*. Derbyshire Record Society Volume XIV.
- Knighton, M L (1973) *Bakewell Town Perambulation*.
- Knighton, M L (1974) 'Excavation of a household well by members of the Historical Society in the summer of 1972', *Bakewell Miscellany* No1 January 1974, 19-20
- Letters, S (2001) *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales in 1516*. Centre for Metropolitan History. Information taken from <http://www.ihrinfo.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>.
- Mackenzie, M H (1959) 'The Bakewell Cotton Mill and the Arkwrights', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **79**, 61-79

Meeke, E R (1984) 'The building history of the Old House Museum, Bakewell', *Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society*, No. 11, 11-31

Penny, S (2002) *Bakewell and its Burgh*, Unpublished note held on file at County SMR

Pevsner, N (1978) *The Buildings of England. Derbyshire*. 2nd edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Pilkington, J (1789) *View of the Present State of Derbyshire*. 2 vols. Derby.

Priest, V and Garton, G (1991) *Aldern House Drive Archaeological Evaluation of Earthworks*. TPAU unpublished report.

Priest, V & Garton, D (1997) *The Bakewell Project, Derbyshire. Report on the Archaeological Investigations of Sites 1-5 at the Bakewell Showground*. TPAU unpublished report

Radley, J & Penny, S R (1972) 'The turnpike roads of the Peak District', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **92**, 93-109

Riden, P (1978) 'The population of Derbyshire in 1563', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **98**, 61-71.

Rolleston, L , Armstrong, N, Bary, V, Dobson, A, Welch, G, Welch, M (1996) *Four Anglian Monuments in Derbyshire*.

Routh, T E (1937) 'A corpus of the Pre-Conquest carved stones of Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **58**, 1-46

Sidebottom, P (1999) 'Stone Crosses of the Peak and the "Sons of Eardwulf"', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **119**, 206-19

Sinar, J (nd) Unpublished summary of the History of Bakewell on file at the County SMR

Smith, KR (1992) 'Excavations at All Saints Church Bakewell', *Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society* January 1992 No 19, 43-7.

Stetka, J (1997) 'King Edward the Elder's Burgh at Bakewell: the Lost Village of Burton, Bakewell'. *Occasional Paper of the Bakewell and District Historical Society*.

Stetka, J (2001) *From Fort to Field the Shaping of the Landscape of Bakewell in the Tenth Century*.

Swanton, M J (1972) 'Castle Hill, Bakewell', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **92**, 16-27.

Thornhill, R (1959) 'The Arkwright Cotton Mill at Bakewell', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **79**, 80-87

Thornhill, R (1969) 'Bakewell Gas', *Derbyshire Miscellany* vol 5 no 1

Watson, W (1889) 'Observations on Bakewell: Beginning on the 31st of May 1774', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **11**, 157-173

Maps and plans consulted

1796 Bakewell Manor (transcribed copy at Peak District National Park Authority, Bakewell)

1799 Town of Bakewell, with holdings and tenants listed (transcribed copy at Peak District National Park Authority, Bakewell)

- 1810 Parliamentary Enclosure Map (copy at Peak District National Park Authority, Bakewell)
- 1847 Tithe Map (copy at Peak District National Park Authority, Bakewell)
- 1875 1st ed. 25" OS map, sheets XXIII.11 and XXIII.11
- 1898 2nd ed. 25" OS map, sheets XXIII.11 and XXIII.15