

**DERBYSHIRE EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT**

MELBOURNE

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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. Melbourne 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.

Recent housing development to the north of Melbourne has been such that the built-up area virtually merges with King's Newton. As a result it was felt necessary to exclude some of the areas of recent development from the scope of the assessment. The northern and western boundaries therefore essentially follow the limits of the town as shown on the 1921 edition of the OS 6" map.

1.2 Overview of the town

Melbourne lies close to the south-eastern edge of Derbyshire, eight miles south of Derby and little more than a mile from the boundary with Leicestershire.

The village may already have been of some local importance before the conquest and lay, with its church and mill, at the centre of a royal estate. Some time after the foundation of the Bishopric of Carlisle in 1133, a palace was built at Melbourne which was used by succeeding bishops as a secondary residence from time to time, although it is uncertain exactly when the palace was constructed. A new church was also built in the first half of the 12th century, in such a way as to reflect its high status. In 1230 Bishop Walter Malclerc was granted a weekly market and annual fair, although it is possible that markets were already being held before that time. At the beginning of the following century, the 2nd Earl of Lancaster began the construction of a castle which, despite being eleven years in the building, remained unfinished on his death in 1322. There is also evidence for a second church by the beginning of the 14th century. Despite the presence of palace, castle and two churches, however, there is no evidence that medieval Melbourne acquired any true 'urban' functions, or that its status was other than that of a village with a rural market.

The manor was sold by James I in 1604 and the castle was demolished soon afterwards. The Bishops of Carlisle had leased out their house and estate at Melbourne since at least 1530. The house or palace was repaired and partly rebuilt by Sir Francis Needham in the 1590s and became Melbourne Hall. Following enclosure of the township in 1787-91, Melbourne began to experience a period of considerable growth and change, facilitated in part by the decision of the Donington estate to begin selling off land. Prior to this there had been little land available for development, but these sales made land available for housing, particularly to accommodate families attracted by the developing framework knitting industry. Such was the growth that, with the re-establishment of markets in the 1830s, Melbourne could be said to have achieved the status of a small town. As the 19th century progressed, Melbourne's economy became

increasingly based upon industry, with factory production not only of textiles and hosiery but also of boots and shoes. At the same time, however, the town also became an important regional centre for the production of vegetables and fruit.

With the decline of its industrial economy in the 20th century, Melbourne has reverted to a village, albeit one of considerable archaeological and historical importance. It has a wide range of historic buildings, from the medieval aisled barn at Melbourne Hall to the Hall itself, standing in nationally important early 18th century gardens. Its church has been described as one of the finest and most interesting Norman churches in England. Below ground are the remains of the 14th century Lancastrian castle, for which a considerable amount of documentation survives.

2. GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The underlying solid geology consists of the thick grits and shales of Carboniferous Millstone Grit (cyclic sequence of mainly sandstones, siltstones and mudstones). Gritstone quarries south of the town were extensively worked during the 18th and 19th centuries, both for building stone and for the manufacture of 'scythe stones'.

The town lies on the western side of the Carr Brook valley, a stream which runs north into Ramsley Brook, a tributary of the Trent. Melbourne Brook flows into Carr Brook from the south-west, but has been dammed to form Melbourne Pool on the southern side of the town. The ground slopes down to the east and south-east, from a height of some 90m AOD at the western edge of the assessment area to 64m at the 19th century market place, 52m at Church Square and 46m AOD at the bridge on Blackwell Lane over Carr Brook, forming the eastern edge of the assessment area.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Melbourne was in Repton wapentake, which appears to be a later name for the Domesday *Walecros* wapentake. It now lies within the administrative area of South Derbyshire District Council.

4. SOURCES

4.1 Primary sources

There were two major estates at Melbourne from the medieval period onwards, firstly the manorial estate of the crown and the Duchy of Lancaster, which was later sold to the Earls of Huntingdon of Donington Hall, and secondly the rectory estate which passed from the bishopric of Carlisle to succeeding owners of Melbourne Hall. As a result, archives relating to the town are held in more than one place, many of those relating to the Melbourne Estate being held in a private collection at Melbourne Hall, and those of the Donington Estate being at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland. The latter holds Melbourne material (46 items) in the estate papers of the Hastings family, Earls of Huntingdon. This material relates solely to the period 1561-1709. Material is also in the Hastings Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, which holds a very large collection of estate papers, some of which relate to the family estates in Derbyshire (Broughton 1984). However, only a relatively small amount relates to Melbourne (P Heath pers. comm.)

Relevant archives at Derbyshire Record Office include parish records, records of Melbourne's schools and non-conformist chapels, generally 19th century onwards, various leases, a few manorial documents including a manor court roll of 1429-30, some title deeds from the 16th century onwards, and various sale catalogues, mainly 19th and 20th century. They also include assorted business records, commencing in the 18th century, the papers of several different Melbourne families and J J Briggs' notes (see below).

A brief search of the Public Record Office's on-line catalogue revealed that they hold a number of primary documents relating to Melbourne, including several from the medieval period, as the manor formed part of the Duchy of Lancaster. There are also a few documents at Carlisle, as the church and rectorial estate belonged to the Bishopric of Carlisle for several centuries. These comprise several annual court rolls 1477-1516, an account of allowances 1496-7, and sixteen letters and papers concerning the Rectory 1652-1704 (P Heath pers. comm.).

4.2 Secondary sources

John Joseph Briggs of Kings Newton was the town's first historian, publishing three histories of Melbourne and Kings Newton in 1839, 1852 and 1870, of which his 1852 *History of Melbourne* is the best known. A number of articles and pamphlets have been written on the castle and the church, including Fane (1889) on the former and Deans (1843) and Barman (1959) on the latter. A list of inhabitants of Melbourne of 1695 was published by Waters (1885), with commentary and notes.

More recently a number of papers on specific topics, including the castle and the water supply, have been published by Howard Usher, archivist at Melbourne Hall. Philip Heath has written a town trail, a booklet on Melbourne Hall and the section on the history of Melbourne in a recently published book (Melbourne Civic Society 2000). As an inhabitant of Melbourne he has collected a large amount of data concerning the history of the town and gave freely of his knowledge for this assessment.

4.3 Cartographic evidence

There are a series of early maps of Melbourne, the originals of which are at Melbourne Hall. However, the Derbyshire Record Office has microfilm copies, as well as copies made by the Derbyshire Archaeological Society. The earliest is a plan of the parish made in c. 1631, made for the purposes of an intended enclosure that never happened (P Heath pers. comm.), which is useful for the area surrounding the core of the town, although it does not show plots within the town itself. Plans of Melbourne made by Gardner in 1735 for the Huntingdon Estate survey, preserved at the Leicestershire Record Office, only cover parts of the parish but are valuable nonetheless. This is followed by the Parliamentary Enclosure Map of 1787 and a map made just three years later, showing the new enclosures in 1790. The Derbyshire Record Office also has a copy of a map of 1840 onto which information has been copied from the accompanying terrier. The first large scale Ordnance Survey map was surveyed and published in 1882.

4.4 Archaeological evidence

There are 22 entries on the county Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) for that part of Melbourne under consideration in this assessment. Such archaeological work as has been undertaken has mainly concentrated on and around the site of the castle, and includes excavations in 1973 (Courtney 1976) and an evaluation and watching brief in 1988/1989 (Dodd 1990). More recently an archaeological assessment and evaluation has been carried out on the northern side of Potter Street (John Samuels Archaeological Consultants 1994).

5. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

5.1 Prehistoric

Evidence, albeit limited, of prehistoric activity has come both from the centre of Melbourne and from the surrounding area, as shown on Figure 1. Excavations in Castle Street in 1973, in advance of factory development, revealed two shallow Neolithic pits (SMR 23240). One contained no artefacts; the other contained three fragments of quartzite, apparently from an axehead and sherds of a late Neolithic vessel with cord-impressed decoration (SMR 23237; Courtney 1976).

To the west of Melbourne, a Bronze Age barbed and tanged flint arrowhead was found in 1940 (SMR 23236). To the south-east, a concentration of flints was found; while many of these were natural, some had been worked (SMR 23213).

5.2 Roman

Evidence of Roman period activity in the Melbourne area had already been recognised in the mid 19th century, as Briggs (1852) noted:

‘Many Roman coins have been found in this parish, some of which we possess ... Roman pottery has also been found in the neighbourhood’

SMR records for the Roman period are currently mainly restricted to coin evidence (see Figure 1). A sestertius of Septimus Severus was recovered from an area that had been pasture since the medieval period (SMR 23214) and a coin of Decentius was found in what may have been imported topsoil (SMR 23234). The findspots of other coins are not known and cannot therefore be shown on Figure 1. They include coins of Gallienus, Postumus, Tetricus and Constantine, picked up in the fields near Melbourne at various times (SMR 23205) as well as a collection of 26 coins dating from Domitian to Gratian (SMR 23241).

5.3 Early Medieval

It is clear from Domesday Book (see below) that there was a settlement at Melbourne before the conquest, when it was worth £10 and had a church and a priest. A mill is also recorded, with probable relevance to the place-name which is believed to be derived from the Anglian **myln** and the Old English **burna**, meaning ‘mill stream’ (Cameron 1959). Although there is no archaeological evidence of pre-conquest date from the site of the present town, early finds have been made to the north-east (see Figure 1).

An Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery which, it was suggested, could have contained many hundreds of urns, was found in 1867 during construction of the railway to the east and south-east of King's Newton. The urns were of dark clay and were mostly placed upright with the tops covered by thin, flat stones. Many were destroyed by workmen but at least thirty were recorded at the time (SMR 23206). The few published details suggest the cemetery was of the 6th century. If so, its use may have extended into the mid-7th century, as a Merovingian tremissis of Quentovic, together with gold and garnet jewellery, is thought to have come from the same site (SMR 23253). In 1868 a rectangular earthwork was identified some eighteen metres to the north of the cemetery site, with a well preserved ditch on the north side and traces of a bank on the south side. On the east side it had been obliterated by the railway cutting. A short length of ditch was visible on aerial photographs. This has since been filled in and built over but may, in fact, simply have been a drain. No other earthworks are to be seen in the area, and no recent finds have been made.

A piece of Anglo-Saxon sculpture with one face of interlace surviving (SMR 23230) now stands in a wall recess at Chantry House, King's Newton, near the spot where it was found (P Heath, pers. comm.).

5.4 Medieval

5.4.1 Domesday Book

The Domesday Book entry for Melbourne lists the manor among the king's estates:

M. In MELBOURNE King Edward had 6 c. of land taxable. Land for 6 ploughs. The King has 1 plough and 20 villagers and 6 smallholders who have 5 ploughs. A priest and a church; 1 mill, 3s; meadow, 24 acres; woodland pasture 1 league long and ½ league wide. Value before 1066 £10; now £6; however, it pays [£] 10. ‘Outliers of this manor. This jurisdiction belongs to Melbourne in Scarsdale Wapentake, in Barrow (-upon-Trent) 12½ b; in Swarkeston, 1 c; in Chellaston 1½ c; in Osmaston (-

by-Derby) 2c and 2b; Cottons 4b, 2b, 6b; in Normanton (-by-Derby), 1 c. Land for 12 ploughs. Taxable 8 c. and 2b.' (Domesday Book, Phillimore edition)

The outliers were all in Litchurch wapentake rather than in Scarsdale and Roffe (1986, 106) suggests that, assuming it is not a scribal error, the reference may indicate the exceptional way in which the king's estates were managed. He notes that elsewhere in the North, royal land was not incorporated into the general system of local government but was separately administered, not infrequently being attached to a remote royal institution. In this case, the dues of the Melbourne soke were probably attached to Scarsdale in a purely *ad hoc* fashion in 1086 and were never considered a part of the wapentake.

5.4.2 The manor

Melbourne belonged to the king both before and after the conquest, as noted above. Following his creation of the Bishopric of Carlisle in 1133, Henry I granted the manor for life to Adelulf, the first bishop. Similarly Henry III granted it for life to Bishop Walter Malclerc from c. 1230. Following Malclerc's resignation in 1246 and death in 1248 the manor again reverted to the crown until 1265 when Henry III granted it to one of his sons, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (Usher 1991).

A rectory manor was created out of the royal manor by Henry I as part of the endowment of the new bishopric. The revenues were appropriated by the crown on several occasions after 1156; however in 1229 Henry III granted the then bishop a confirmation charter of the rectory and all its appurtenances

5.4.3 The settlement and its environs

Melbourne stood at the centre of a network of medieval roads and lanes linking it with surrounding settlements, including Ticknall to the south-west, Calke and Ashby to the south, Breedon on the Hill to the east and Kings Newton to the north. It lay only a short distance to the south-east of Swarkestone Bridge, one of the main medieval crossing points over the Trent.

Some limited information about the surrounding landscape can be extrapolated from later documents. The medieval settlement would have had open arable fields lying to the north, north-east and north-west, commons to the south and south-west and Melbourne Park to the south-east. The latter was emparked in or before 1200, as the first reference to it is of that date. King John is said to have hunted there on five separate occasions during visits to Melbourne (Barman 1959). The large pool which lies immediately to the south of Melbourne was probably also in existence during the medieval period, although not necessarily in the same form as the later pool. There was also a fishpond, or fishponds, at the north-eastern edge of the town. A fourteenth century building account for the Castle (PRO DL/29/1/3 m15) refers to the old mill pool, the main pool and the new pool, although it is impossible to say exactly where these were (P Heath pers. comm.).

As far as the settlement itself is concerned, it became the site of a residence of the bishops of Carlisle to which they could retreat during border troubles with the Scots. They were also given permission to ordain in Melbourne church at such times if necessary. The bishops' palace stood on the site of Melbourne Hall, just to the east of the church. Other buildings in the town included the manor house, which was fortified in the early 14th century (see below), the water mill mentioned in Domesday Book, a couple of mediaeval barns which still survive, and several chantry houses.

5.4.4 Churches and chantries

It is clear from Domesday Book that there was a priest and a church at Melbourne by 1086. This was presumably the church that was given by Henry I as one of the first endowments to the bishopric of Carlisle in c. 1133. There is evidence, however, that a second church or chapel was built at Melbourne, in addition to the chapel in the castle (see below). There were also at least five chantries and some historians have supported the idea of a separate chantry chapel (for example Briggs (1852) for St Catherine's chantry

and Cox (1877) for St Michael's chantry) although this appears to be discounted now. Problems have stemmed in particular from the interpretation of records made at around the time of the dissolution.

The two churches, to which there are numerous medieval references, were dedicated to St Michael and to St Mary, with the latter being the parish church. Both appear to have had some burial rights; for example in 1498 William Toples directed that his body should be buried in St Mary's church (Barman 1959) while in 1517 John Ragge of Kings Newton asked to be buried in the churchyard of St Michael of Melbourne. The latter also left a stall of bees to St Mary's church and another to St Michael's church (Cox 1877). Both Cox and Barman have suggested that St Mary's was probably originally erected by the Bishops of Carlisle as a chapel for their private use and for the special use of those in their household and on their manor. The date of Melbourne's fair appears to support the association between Carlisle and St Mary's, as the fair granted to the bishop in 1230 was at the festival of the Virgin's Nativity, while that granted after his resignation was to be held around Michaelmas, suggesting a link between the royal manor and St Michael's (see section 5.4.6 below).

Of the five chantries, two (to St Catherine and St Michael) were founded within the church of St Michael and one (to the Blessed Virgin) was founded in the parish church of St Mary's. Virtually nothing is known about the other two. There is a single reference in 1385 to a chantry of St Nicholas within the parish church of Melbourne, and a single reference in the Chantry Roll to a chantry founded by the heirs of Lee Hunt (Cox 1877). The latter could possibly be the same as the former, although this is generally not thought to be the case.

It is clear from the documentary records that St Michael's church fell victim to the dissolution of the chantries and that it had been dismantled by 1552. At that time, the Church Goods Commissioners reported that for St Michael's chapel, Melbourne, there was a little sanctus bell, that the iron and glass had been sold, and that about 8 loads of lead had been carried to Burton-upon-Trent. Past historians have had problems reconciling this with the survival of the present St Michael's parish church, and have proposed various explanations. Cox (1877) concluded that although the chantry of St Michael was originally founded within St Michael's church, it must have obtained a separate building or chapel of its own, as he found it impossible to believe that the lead would be sold off the roof, and the glass out of the windows, of a transept or other part of the parish church. Barman (1959) on the other hand, deals with the problem by assuming that St Michael's chantry must have moved into St Mary's church at some point and that it was St Mary's that was then demolished. Harcombe (n.d.) suggested that St Michael's chantry could have been situated in the upper chancel or chamber of the parish church and that when it was dissolved the high pitched roof was stripped of its lead and the upper chamber done away with.

All interpretations have assumed that references to the medieval St Michael's church relate to the present St Michael's and that it was therefore St Mary's which was demolished. There is a simpler explanation, however, namely that St Michael's was indeed demolished, as the documents indicate, and that St Mary's parish church was re-dedicated at some point to St Michael (P Heath pers. comm.). This would not be unusual. Clark (1992) examined 16th century wills to assess the extent of continuity of parish church dedications in Derbyshire and found a high degree of change, with as many as 45% having a different dedication to that of the 16th century. For Melbourne, the original parish church is listed as being dedicated to St Mary, both in and before the 16th century, with St Michael's being dismantled as part of the dissolution of the chantries in 1548. Both churches are referred to in wills of 1507 and 1514, while wills of 1514, 1522 and 1539 refer just to St Michael's church. However, references only to St Mary's Church are found in as many as nine wills ranging in date from 1545 to 1580 (Clark 1992), clearly indicating that this was the church that survived. Clark's study suggests that of all pre-Reformation dedications in Derbyshire, St Mary's was the one most likely to be changed - of 23 Derbyshire churches dedicated to St Mary in the 16th century, only seven retained the dedication into the 18th/19th centuries (Clark 1992). There was a strong Puritan influence in Melbourne (Barman 1959) and it seems likely, therefore, that the dedication was changed some time after 1580.

5.4.5 The castle

In 1311 the second Earl of Lancaster's steward, Robert Holland, was granted a licence to crenellate his mansion house at Melbourne. Accounts survive for the year 1313/1314 and show that the preparation of the site alone cost £249. In 1314 Edward II stayed at Melbourne, which suggests that by that time at least some of the castle was fit to serve as his lodgings. However in 1322 the Earl of Lancaster and Robert Holland were executed and the Earl's property, including the castle, was confiscated by Edward II. They were restored to the third Earl following the coronation of Edward III in 1327. In 1366 the castle came by marriage to John of Gaunt, under whose directions various repairs were made, as indicated by surviving accounts from the late 14th century. The castle was used for many years to hold the Duke of Bourbon following his capture at Agincourt in 1415. The duties of succeeding constables of the castle, who were named by the king, were to

‘attach persons for offences done to the King, and to bring them to the castle and there safely to keep them until they had found sufficient discharge for the delivering of them’.

They were also to keep the castle clean and to maintain the walls and the leads (Usher 1991).

5.4.6 *Markets and fairs*

The first reference to a market at Melbourne comes in 1230 when Henry III granted a Wednesday market to Walter Malclerc, Bishop of Carlisle. This was a grant for life only, in the same way that the bishop held the manor. It is quite possible that markets were being held before that time, however, as no charter would have been necessary, Melbourne being held by the crown. According to Letters (2001) Henry III conceded to the bishop that the Wednesday market which he had been granted would henceforth be held at King's Newton on a Saturday, although others (for example Coates 1965) have listed this as a separate market. Following the resignation of Walter Malclerc as bishop of Carlisle on 29 Jun 1246 a Saturday market was granted by Henry on 25 Jul 1246, to be held at the royal manor, although whether at Melbourne or Kings Newton does not appear to be specified. A mandate was issued to the sheriffs of Nottingham and Derby in 1252 to proclaim the Saturday market and cause it to be held (Letters 2001). In 1328 a charter was granted by Edward III to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, confirming the right to hold a weekly market on a Wednesday (Coates 1965). It is not clear at present whether the market day changed from a Wednesday to a Saturday and then back again or whether two markets were being held, one at Melbourne on Wednesdays and one at Kings Newton on Saturdays.

A change in date also appears to have occurred with the fairs. In 1230 Henry III granted the Bishop of Carlisle a fair within his manor of Melbourne, for five days, at the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8). The following year this was extended for a further three days. However in 1246, following the resignation of Walter Malclerc as bishop, a new fair was granted, this time for three days at Michaelmas (September 29). This fair was regranted in 1328 and was being held by Henry, Earl of Lancaster in 1330 (Letters 2001).

In 1410 the Wednesday market and the fair were regranted as they had been discontinued (P Heath pers. comm.).

5.4.7 *Education*

Past historians have recorded the possible foundation of a school at Melbourne, based on a will of Ralph Shirley that provided money so that the chantry priest of St Catharine, in St Michael's Church, should ‘uphold a Free School in Melbourne’. Recent re-examination of the original documents, however, has shown that, while there was indeed a will of 1513 that made the above bequest, it was superseded by a will of January 2 1516/7 that did not mention a school (P Heath pers. comm.). This explains Barman's (1959) suggestion that the school never materialised.

5.4.8 *Archaeology*

Excavations carried out on the north-eastern side of Castle Street in 1973 uncovered a V-shaped ditch running north-west to south-east which, although undated, may have been a drainage ditch for a medieval fish pond. A wall foundation trench running parallel to, and below the pavement of Castle Street was also thought to be of possible medieval date. Some unstratified medieval and post-medieval pottery was recovered (Courtney 1976).

Archaeological evidence of the castle has also been recovered, both in the 19th century and more recently. Remains have included substantial wall foundations, ditches of possible medieval date, pottery, fragments of carved stone and fragments of lead-glazed roof tiles (see also section 6.1, component 1).

5.5 Post-medieval (16th century - c. 1770)

5.5.1 *The manor*

The manor remained with the crown until 1604, when James I granted it to the Earl of Nottingham. He conveyed it to Henry, 5th Earl of Huntingdon, who had a seat at Donington Hall, and in whose family it remained throughout this period.

The Rectory estate was leased to Sir Francis Needham in 1592 and to Sir John Coke in 1628, the Cokes finally acquiring ownership in 1704. In 1750 the estate passed by marriage to Sir Mathew Lamb of Brocket Hall (Herts), who had married Charlotte Coke. Their son Peniston (1748-1828) was granted the title of Lord Melbourne in 1770 (P Heath pers. comm.).

5.5.2 *The settlement and its environs*

It is clear from the early 17th century map of Melbourne that some piecemeal enclosure had taken place in the open fields, generally either immediately adjacent to the village or at the furthest margins of the fields. Melbourne Park is thought to have been disparked in the 16th century. There is evidence for encroachment on the common and on waste places within the village at around the same time (P Heath pers. comm.).

The second half of the 16th century and the first few decades of the 17th century saw important changes to Melbourne's most important buildings. Following the dissolution of the chantries in the 1540s Melbourne was left with a single church, parts of which may have become redundant or suffered damage. The chantry houses became private property, while the bishops' palace, which had been leased out since at least the early 16th century, was in poor condition by the end of the century. As a result, it was part rebuilt in the 1590s (P Heath pers. comm.). Shortly afterwards the castle began to be stripped of its materials, with nothing much remaining above ground level by about 1630.

The Hearth Tax returns can provide some limited information about houses in Melbourne and King's Newton in the mid 17th century, although any interpretation can only be tentative. Detailed returns have been published for 1662 when there were 177 entries, 125 of which were chargeable, the remaining 52 being exempt. Ninety-seven of the 125 chargeable entries (77.6%) were taxed for a single hearth, sixteen (12.8%) for two hearths, six (4.8%) for three, four (3.2%) for four to seven and two (1.6%) for eight or more (Edwards 1982a). Edwards devised a very rough classification of status as follows:

1 hearth	=	husbandmen, poorer families and individuals
2-3 hearths	=	most craftsmen, tradesmen, yeomen
4-7 hearths	=	wealthier craftsmen, tradesmen, yeomen + merchants
8+ hearths	=	gentry and nobility

He used this to look at the proportion of Derbyshire households in the 4-7 hearth category and found not only considerable differences from settlement to settlement but also between hundreds. The average proportion of households in Repton and Gresley hundred in that category was 6.5%, suggesting

Melbourne, with 3.2%, had relatively few households of the status of 'wealthier craftsmen, tradesmen, yeomen and merchants'.

In 1695 a thorough enumeration of the inhabitants of every parish in England was carried out under the provisions of a Taxation Act which imposed a graduated scale duties upon births, marriages and burials and upon bachelors and widowers. Only people in receipt of alms were exempt. The list for the parish of Melbourne survives (Waters 1885). It provides the names of the individuals, their relationship to the head of the household, occupations and the amount of duties for which they were liable. A total of 650 individuals are listed and a summary of the main occupations is given below (section 5.5.8). Edwards (1982a) compared the surnames of householders given in the Hearth Tax returns of 1662, both chargeable and exempt, with those on the 1695 list. This comparison suggested that there was considerable movement in and out of the parish in the late 17th century.

5.5.3 *The castle*

The castle was described by Leland in 1545 as 'praty and yn meately good reparation'. However, following Elizabeth's accession to the throne and a survey of Duchy possessions, Melbourne castle was not among those castles which were considered to be worth keeping. In 1576 a group of commissioners visited Melbourne to report on its condition. They found the stonework 'substantial and fair' apart from a chimney and a window, although timber was perished, the lead was thin and full of holes and two kitchens were in a poor state. Following this report the Earl of Shrewsbury suggested to Elizabeth that Mary, Queen of Scots, could be moved there. This was agreed in 1583; however, following the discovery of the Babington Plot, the plan to move Mary to Melbourne was abandoned. The castle continued to deteriorate, as indicated by a survey in 1597 which showed that it was being used as a cattle pound. It was sold by James I in 1604 and resold to the Earl of Huntingdon, together with the manor, following which the castle began to be stripped of its lead and facing stones. By about 1630 it had disappeared (Usher 1991).

5.5.4 *Population*

Some estimate of population during this period can usually be calculated using Hearth Tax data and the returns to ecclesiastical enquiries. Many of the ecclesiastical returns for Derbyshire survive – for example, those of 1563 (Riden 1978) and 1676 (Cox 1885). The former provides figures for households rather than individuals, with 64 households being recorded for Melbourne parish. Riden (1978) suggests using multipliers of 4.5-5.0 to convert the households into individuals. For Melbourne and King's Newton this would therefore suggest a population of between approximately 288 and 320 individuals.

The 1662 Hearth Tax has a total of 177 entries, both chargeable and exempt, for Melbourne and King's Newton. Using the same multipliers produces an estimated population of some 797- 885 individuals.

The Compton census of 1676 records that there were 437 Anglican communicants, 2 papists and 16 non-conformists in the parish of Melbourne (Cox 1885). Assuming that children under 16 (non-communicants) made up approximately 60% of the population gives a figure for total inhabitants of around 700.

Edwards (1982b) combined the information from the Hearth Tax assessments of 1664 and the Compton census of 1676 in an attempt to calculate population in the second half of the 17th century. His estimated figure for the parish was between 640 and 780 individuals.

The 1695 taxation list provides a figure of 660 inhabitants in approximately 190 households for Melbourne and King's Newton. Waters (1885) considered the list to be an exhaustive one, as it included five women receiving alms, even though they were exempt. This works out at only 3.5 individuals per household, which seems unusually low, although estimates derived from the 1676 census do not give a much higher figure and the second half of the 17th century is one which did see a degree of population stagnation or decline. The Melbourne figures suggest that the hundred years prior to this had been one of considerable growth, however, with the 64 households of the parish recorded in 1563 almost trebling by 1662.

5.5.5 Markets and fairs

There is no evidence that markets and fairs were being held during this period. In 1583, for example, the nearest market to Melbourne was given as Derby (P Heath pers. comm.)

5.5.6 Religious buildings

Melbourne had a strong tradition of non-conformism, as indicated by the 16 non-conformists identified in 1676. The first of Melbourne's non-conformist chapels was built during this period. This was erected by the General Baptists in 1750.

5.5.7 Education

The free school taught by the priest of St Catherine's Chantry is assumed to have been suppressed following the dissolution. After this there is no evidence for a school in Melbourne until 1738, when Lady Elizabeth Hastings, amongst others, provided money for a free school (Bulmer's Directory 1895).

5.5.8 Trade and industry

An indication of the range of occupations in post-medieval Melbourne is provided by the list of inhabitants of the parish in 1695. The commonest occupation was labourer, of which there were 44; the next commonest was yeoman (8) and farmer (8), followed by cordwainer (7), butcher (6), weaver (6), tailor (5), flaxdresser (4) and blacksmith/smith (4). There were two mercers, millers, masons and carpenters. Remaining occupations were represented by a single individual; the majority of these were what might be expected in an agricultural community, such as baker, shearman, saddler, slater, wheelmaker, ploughwright, tiler and thatcher. There was also a brewer, a 'whittawer', a dishturner, a 'potecarrier', a forgerman and a chapman. A single glover was listed, a forerunner of an industry which was to become more important.

5.6 1770 - 19th century

5.6.1 The manor

The manor of Melbourne continued to be held by the Hastings family, Earls of Huntingdon, throughout this period. The amount of land they actually owned in the town and parish dwindled, however, as it was increasingly sold off to meet debts, some of it being purchased and added to the Melbourne Estate by the owners of Melbourne Hall. This passed by marriage from the Cokes to the Lambs in 1751 and then to the Cowpers in 1869.

5.6.2 Communications

Roads

With the enclosure of the parish in 1787-91, the then owner of Melbourne Hall, the first Lord Melbourne, took the opportunity to have the main road to Ashby de la Zouch diverted further west to provide greater privacy to the hall and its grounds. As a result, a new stretch of road was laid out extending south from High Street and running through Woodhouses to rejoin the old road at the county boundary (P Heath pers. comm.).

Railway

In 1859 the Midland Railway proposed to build a line between Derby and Ashby. This was approved a few years later and construction started in 1867. The line was opened as far as Melbourne the following year, with a station about a mile from the town to the north-east. The full length of the line to Ashby was

opened in 1874, although it was not a great success, proving to be of more importance for the transport of freight traffic, mainly coal and limestone, than for passengers (Usher 1997).

5.6.3 The settlement and its environs

By the middle of the 19th century Melbourne was thriving. Briggs (1852) described it as follows, although it has to be said that he was not totally unbiased:

‘The whole place ... presents a clean and respectable appearance. During the last century, whilst many of the neighbouring villages have decreased in population, this place has gradually increased; and owing to the extent of its trade, combined with other advantages, has attained a rank in the county, of considerable importance. The houses are in good repair, the streets in excellent order, and the many improvements which are constantly taking place, indicate a spirit of industry and thrift’.

Melbourne was the birthplace of Thomas Cook who made his fortune in the travel business. An indication that Melbourne was already seen as an attractive historic town in the 19th century can be seen in his declaration that he wished bring so many tourists to Melbourne that a ‘grand hotel’ would be needed to accommodate them (Melbourne Civic Society 2000).

A number of improvements were made in the town in the second half of the 19th century. The Athenaeum was erected by subscription in 1853 to house a Mechanics’ Institute, Savings Bank and Infants’ School (P Heath pers. comm.). In the same year a gas works was constructed. In 1877 a public sewerage system was introduced (Melbourne Civic Society 2000). At the beginning of 1890 a public enquiry was held to discuss the water supply as most of the wells in the town had been condemned. As a result Melbourne began to receive water piped from Stanton-by-Bridge boreholes, with a supply being available to most of the town by the end of the century (Usher 1999).

5.6.4 Population

Pilkington (1789) recorded 286 houses in the parish (Melbourne with King’s Newton), with a total of 1410 inhabitants.

The 10-yearly census, which commenced in 1801, provides the following figures for Melbourne parish:

Year	Population
1801	1861
1811	2003
1821	2027
1831	2301
1841	2583
1851	2680
1861	2621
1871	2781
1881	3123
1891	3369
1901	3580

As can be seen, the population almost doubled over the course of the century.

5.6.5 Markets and fairs

A weekly market was re-established at Melbourne in 1836. Market day was Saturday, as in the past, the main items for sale being butcher’s meat, vegetables and fruit (Briggs 1852). It does not appear to have

survived for long, however. Bulmer's Directory of 1895 noted that the opening of the railway diverted trade to Derby and as a consequence Melbourne's markets had ceased 'about 30 years ago', presumably some time around the 1860s.

5.6.6 Religious Buildings

Pilkington (1789) noted that Melbourne was 'remarkable for a great variety of religious sects'. This continued to be the case well into the 19th century. Briggs (1852) observed that

'Members of most denominations are here to be found. The Wesleyans, Baptists, New Church, Calvinists, have each a place of worship; and the Quakers and Presbyterians formerly had'

In 1890-91 a mission hall and 14 memorial cottages enclosing three sides of a quadrangle were built by Thomas Cook 'of excursion fame' for the benefit of poor and deserving Baptists (Bulmer's Directory 1895)

5.6.7 Education

The endowment for the previous free school of 1738 was transferred to the National School on its erection in 1821-22. An infants' school was built in 1884 and enlarged in 1894. In 1895 a School Board for Melbourne and District was formed. The first Board School for boys was temporarily held in the Baptist Sunday School, with the girls and infants being taught in the Athenaeum (Bulmer's Directory 1895), until the opening of permanent schools in 1897.

5.6.8 Trade and industry

Textiles

The textile industry appears to have been well established in Melbourne by the end of the 18th century, as noted by Pilkington in 1789

'Many hands are employed in combing and spinning jersey. But those who work upon the stocking frame are still more numerous, there being no less than eighty of these machines within the parish'.

Glover's Directory for 1829 notes that worsted-spinning for hosiers was carried out, as the Melbourne framework knitters initially made woollen hosiery. This was soon overtaken by the production of lace, particularly silk lace, with the manufacture of gloves becoming increasingly important. In 1844, of 107 stocking frames in use in Melbourne, all but seven were making silk gloves (Felkin 1845).

Two textile manufacturers were of particular importance in Melbourne during the 19th century, the Haimes and the Hemsleys. Through experimentation William Haimes or his son Thomas succeeded in around 1812 in copying the warp knitted goods, mainly silk shawls, which were being made in France. They established 'a manufactory for silk flowered shawls and handkerchiefs of a peculiar nature' (Pigot's Directory 1821/2) until the shawls went out of fashion in the 1830s, when they turned their attention to silk gloves. In 1849 Thomas Haimes successfully produced velvet lace on the warp frame and in 1851 he took out a patent for improvements in the manufacture of knitted and looped fabrics and the production of designs in velvet (Mason 1994). By 1840 the firm had established Castle Mills in Castle Square. Thanks to the presence of a deep well on the site, over which they placed a boiler, they were able to take advantage of steam-powered machinery from 1853 onwards (Melbourne Civic Society 2000).

The Hemsleys were framework knitters in the late 18th century. However, in 1835 William Hemsley was listed as one of six lace makers in Melbourne. Seven years later the firm was also making lace gloves (Mason 1994). Initially production was at Lilypool at the north end of Castle Street (P Heath pers. comm.). The firm additionally built Kendrick Mill on Chapel Street and Victoria Mill on Derby Road (Mason

1994). They increasingly turned to hosiery manufacture, employing about 30 machines in 1895, at which time they were also making silk Milanese and taffeta (Bulmer's Directory 1895).

Boot and shoe manufacture

In c. 1865 the mass production of boots and shoes was introduced to Melbourne by John Hemsley in his Victoria Mill, which had originally been built for textile manufacture. It was extremely successful and as a result a number of other boot and shoe factories were constructed, producing goods for home and export trade. These included the Wellington Boot Factory, the West End Boot factory and the Mount Boot Factory (Melbourne Civic Society 2000). However, the trade was also carried out '... in a less pretentious way in cottages and shops' (Bulmer's Directory 1895).

Quarrying

John Chambers of Wilne took a 21 year lease of the stone quarries on Melbourne Common from the Earl of Huntingdon in 1761, marking the beginning of an active period for them. Melbourne's foremost stonemasons had previously been the Taylors. In addition, scythe stones were produced at Woodhouses (P Heath pers. comm.). Stone quarrying is referred to by Pilkington (1789) who noted that the quarries offered employment to c. 30 people at that time, with the main part of the business being the manufacture of scythe stones (Pilkington 1789). Similarly Farey (1811) recorded Melbourne as a place of scythe stone manufacture. He referred also to the manufacture of scythe-sticks, used for sharpening scythes and originally made by collecting sharp sand and glueing it onto flat pieces of wood with a handle. These scythe-sticks were also being made at Melbourne, covered with coarse emery powder. Plant (1968) suggests this was the beginnings of the modern abrasives industry which brought to an end the Derbyshire scythe-stone industry.

Agriculture

Following enclosure of the open fields in 1787-91, market gardening became an important source of employment, providing fresh fruit and vegetables to the local markets. Produce went to Derby in particular, but also to regular dealers from the Peak and to the 'populous districts of the Potteries'. In the 1851 census, 189 people were recorded as agricultural labourers and 63 as gardeners (Briggs 1852) while *Black's Tourist's Guide* of 1865 stated that Melbourne was renowned for its market gardens, which produced 'an abundance of fruit and vegetables of the finest description'. By the end of the century there were nearly eighty market gardens in the parish, giving employment to a considerable number of Melbourne's inhabitants (Bulmer's Directory 1895).

5.7 20th century

Melbourne's population continued to rise in the early 20th century from 3580 in 1901 to 3714 in 1931. It then experienced a degree of population stagnation until the 1970s, after which it began to rise, to reach 4730 in 1991. New housing to accommodate the increased population was constructed both within the core of the old settlement and beyond its earlier limits, particularly taking place on the northern side.

Many of the traditional industries continued to be important through much of the 20th century, including textiles at the Castle Mills factory until a few years before its demolition and redevelopment in the late 1980s, shoe manufacture and market gardening, although in the case of the latter, the average size of holdings increased with increasing mechanisation. Of about 90 family gardening businesses pre World War II, however, only a handful have managed to survive a major decline since the 1970s. Employment was also offered by a manufacturer of high quality precision machine tools and several smaller industrial concerns. (Melbourne Civic Society 2000).

Melbourne is now the largest village in South Derbyshire, second only in size to the town of Swadlincote, and is locally important for shopping, recreation and employment purposes. In addition, it is an important tourist attraction, particularly at those times of the year when the Hall and Gardens are open to the public.

6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MELBOURNE

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 in that form, although some of the area of the medieval settlement was undoubtedly also occupied in the early medieval period. At present, however, no early medieval components can be defined. All subdivisions are tentative only and need to be confirmed by further work.

6.1 Medieval components (c. 1066-1500)

Nineteen components have been tentatively identified as belonging to the medieval period and are shown on figure 2. Their identification is based on documentary references, plan form analysis of historic maps and discussion with Philip Heath.

Component 1 *Melbourne Castle* (SMR 23204; scheduled monument no. 23336. Derbyshire 229)

The full extent of the medieval castle grounds is not known. The area shown as component 1 is based on an early 17th century map and is bounded on the east by Carr Brook.

The castle was probably erected on the site of an earlier manor house, possibly incorporating part of it. It was begun in 1311, when the Earl of Lancaster's steward, Robert Holland, was granted a licence to crenellate his house. Work probably continued until the execution of the Earl in 1322, at which time ownership of the castle reverted to the crown. Repairs carried out at the end of the 14th century included making windows in the Communal Hall and the Great Chamber, repairing the roof of the Bakehouse with slates, glazing five windows in the Chapel and the Lord's Closet and repairing a bridge in the castle with new chains. In 1576 it was reported that, although the stonework was in good condition, timber was perished, the lead was thin and full of holes, a stud and plaster kitchen 40ft square was about to collapse and the Privie Kitchen required repairs to slates and to the floor. At around the same time a drawing was made of the castle (reproduced by Melbourne Civic Society 2000). Although it seems fanciful, with numerous chimneys and turrets, comparisons of other castles both surveyed and drawn at the same time suggest the depiction is probably correct in its main features (Usher 1991).

In 1583 a report provides further details on the condition of the castle as follows:

It^m. the house is buylded of verie faier ashler covered with lead, with great and spacious roomes, but if an number should be lodged within the same, it will be requisit to make many partitions for the rooms being now great are but few.

It^m. the floures be all of earth and plaister.

It^m. the house being not finished by Thomas Duke of Lancaster whoe buylt the same it is left imperfect at every corner, in such sort as one being upon the leads may as easlie go downe on the outsyde of the house as downe a ladder, which cannot be remedied without great charge.

It^m. there is no base court nor wall about the house so as being out of dors you are in the myre, for it is verie foule and unpleasaunt to walk round about the said house ...' (quoted in Usher 1991).

The castle was surveyed in 1596 to find out whether Francis Needham had taken any materials to build his house. Someone was found to be living in a part of it, but Needham had not broken down any buildings apart from taking 4 or 5 stones from 'a place which stood like a bar'. A survey the following year found that the castle was being used as a cattle pound. Following its sale in 1604, the castle began to be stripped of its materials. Building accounts for 1629 include 'getting stone at the Castle in the Foundations',

suggesting that all good quality above ground stone had gone by that time, at least some of it going to build other houses in Melbourne, as well as Melbourne iron furnace (Usher 1991).

A single building is depicted on the site on an early 17th century map, the rest of the area being shown as 'Castle Orchard'. The building is assumed to represent Castle Farmhouse, now a Grade II listed building. By the late 18th century Castle Orchard had been divided into a number of fields or plots and buildings had been erected on the street frontage at the south-western corner of the component. Further development had taken place by 1840, in the form of Castle Mills (SMR 23263). This may have been built as early as 1812 (P Heath pers. comm.) and was initially a silk glove factory although from the 1890s fully fashioned hosiery became its principal manufacture. Old castle masonry is said to have been used for some of the factory and for three cottages which stood along the Castle Square frontage (Haimes, T & Co. Ltd. 1962). Castle Mills was extended in the 1850s, and the firm changed over to steam power during the same decade. It was extended again to front Castle Square after a fire in 1933 had destroyed the earlier cottages. The factory closed in c. 1982 and became a DFS furniture warehouse for a short time prior to its demolition in 1988. A housing estate has been constructed on the site.

Much of the area to the rear of the main street frontage remained open throughout the 19th century, as fields, orchards and allotment gardens. Some development took place on previously open areas in the 20th century.

Archaeology

Excavations were carried out in 1973 in the north-western part of this component between what was then an abattoir and the county fire station in advance of factory development. The earliest features found were two shallow Neolithic pits (SMR 23240), one containing sherds of a late Neolithic vessel with cord-impressed decoration and three fragments of quartzite, apparently from an axehead (SMR 23237). A V-shaped ditch of uncertain date, running north-west to south-east, may have been a drainage ditch for a medieval fish pond. A wall foundation trench running parallel to, and below the present pavement of Castle Street may also be of medieval date, possibly representing the line of a wall around the castle grounds. Post-medieval intrusions were also revealed and a variety of unstratified medieval and post-medieval pottery recovered (SMR 23273; Courtney 1976). It is uncertain how the medieval features found during these excavations relate to the castle, if at all.

As far as the archaeology of the castle itself is concerned, it was recorded in 1843 that 'subterranean apartments' had been opened and partially examined some years before and that these were found to be 'of considerable extent and superior workmanship'. Early 17th century coins were found on the stairs leading down to them (Deans 1843). In about 1884 considerable foundation walls were uncovered and then covered again in the garden of Castle Farm between a ruinous wall and a turret which had been unearthed not long before (Fane 1889). The 'ruinous wall' may refer to the 15m length of castle wall core which still stands about 4m high, incorporated into the outhouses of Castle Farm. More recently, in 1967, the owner of Castle Farm carried out an extensive excavation and revealed a complex of walls with high quality ashlar facing stone at the lower levels. Further remains were uncovered in 1987 during the rebuilding of an outbuilding and the laying of a concrete pad (P Heath pers. comm.; Usher 1991).

Castle Mills factory, referred to above, was constructed over some of the castle foundations, with walls up to 12 feet thick being exposed. A part of the foundation wall was preserved in one of the knitting shops, while a stone lined well some 2m across and 10m deep was used to feed the mill's first boiler until it was covered over in 1928 (Haimes, T & Co. Ltd. 1962). Extensions to the east of the mill in 1961 revealed a further section of wall and massive foundations 15 feet deep (Usher 1991).

Following the demolition of Castle Mills factory and the neighbouring Castle Cottage in 1988, limited excavations were carried out, confirming that medieval remains extended south of Castle Farm. Five evaluation trenches were excavated and the terminal of a possible ditch extending east-west was found in the south-western part of the site. A watching brief was conducted during the construction of houses on the site the following year. All deposits were covered by a layer of brick rubble resulting from the

demolition of the mill buildings. Although few stratified finds were recovered, sections of castle masonry were recorded in several trenches, including the cores of two massive east-west walls. Sections of two ditches were also recorded on the southern side of the site. There was some evidence that these ditches may have predated the massive stone walls. Finds included medieval pottery, fragments of carved stone and fragments of lead-glazed roof tiles (Dodd 1990).

Components 2 & 3 *Site of pool/fishpond(s)*

Component 2, once known as Fish Pool Close, is shown as a pool on the early 17th century map of Melbourne and is believed to have originated as a fishpond for the castle. The pool had been filled in by the late 18th century and buildings had been constructed on its southern third by 1840. Further development for housing took place in 1979, at which time it took the name Lilypool from the area further west (component 3).

The medieval status of component 3 is unclear. Probably only one or two houses existed here in the 17th century, being encroachments on an area of waste at the north-eastern end of the town. A small pond is also shown on late 18th century maps. This was called Bird's Pool, after a former tenant, but could perhaps also be the origin of the Lilypool name. This pond had been filled in by 1840, and it may be that there was once a complex of fishponds. During the 18th and 19th centuries groups of buildings developed here, known as 'Lilypool Row', 'Drab Row' and 'Packman's Puzzle', including houses and the early factories of the Hemsley family (see section 5.6.8). The whole area was cleared for redevelopment in 1962-3 following a public inquiry in September 1959 which condemned the properties as unit (P Heath pers. comm.).

Component 4 *Market place/Castle Square*

Although the full extent of the medieval market place is not known, it is likely to have included this area at the junction of Castle Street and Potter Street, in front of the castle. It is possible that it extended across part of component 17 also. Some encroachment has taken place on the southern and western sides of the area, certainly by the 18th century and probably long before, since buildings include the White Swan, rebuilt in 1682 and a grade II listed building. The component also includes a lamp post of 1838, restored and altered in c. 1970, also a grade II listed building. This was moved to its present position from the 19th century market place (component 32) in 1888.

Component 5 *Graveyard*

A large cross mounted on a base is depicted here on the early 17th century map of Melbourne, either symbolising the burial ground or representing an actual stone cross within it. Recorded finds suggest a medieval date for the graveyard. These include a large stone coffin, a stone effigy and fragments of carved monuments. Unfortunately none of these survive (P Heath pers. comm.). Dates of legible gravestones run from 1695 until 1860 when the graveyard was closed to any further burials, although there were one or two interments by special permission after 1860. It was cleaned up in 1891 and the stones were later lifted and propped against the walls. Of 230 stones in the graveyard, 136 include the names of the engravers or stone masons (Usher 1985).

Philip Heath has suggested that the graveyard may include the site of the medieval church of St Michael, demolished around the time of the dissolution. A slightly raised and flattened area within the graveyard was thought at one time to indicate a possible site, but is now considered more likely to be a mound raised over the new vault of the Coke family when their remains were removed from the parish church during the Restoration in 1860. Recent geophysical survey in the graveyard recorded a large anomaly near the entrance gate which provides an alternative possibility as a site for the lost church (P Heath pers. comm.).

Component 6 *Settlement at the south-east end of Castle Street and the north-west end of Blackwell Lane*

Documents suggest that houses were present in this area in the early post-medieval period (P Heath pers. comm.) although given the relationship of this area to Castle Orchard to the north and east, it is possible that it originally lay within the bounds of the castle. It has therefore been included with the medieval components. Buildings at the corner of the two roads included a blacksmith's shop in 1840. Land along Blackwell Lane in particular was developed in the later 20th century.

Component 7 *Melbourne Hall* (SMR 23279)

This is believed to be the site of a bishop's palace, possibly built in the 13th century and used by the bishops of Carlisle as a refuge from the border troubles. It was leased out from the early 16th century, if not before. Lessees were supposed to maintain the house, but frequently neglected it. As a result it was in poor condition by the 1590s when it was described as being in 'exceeding greate decaye, especially the mansion house which is utterly ruened and not inhabitable withoute greate and chardgable reparacions' (quoted in Heath 2000). It is said to have been rebuilt by Sir Francis Needham in the 1590s; however, there is no evidence that it was entirely rebuilt, and the existence of a very irregular floor plan made in c. 1710 suggests that this rebuilding was only partial (P Heath pers. comm.). In 1629 a new lease of the house and rectory was taken by Sir John Coke from the Bishop of Carlisle. He carried out a substantial phase of rebuilding between 1629-31, as a part of which he obtained permission from the Earl of Huntingdon, lord of the manor, to quarry stone from the foundations of Melbourne Castle. Alterations included the rebuilding of the north wing and an extension to the east wing. A plan was made of the house and grounds; this plan still survives. Further phases of rebuilding took place in 1726-7 (the west wing) and 1742-5 (the east wing) (Heath 2000). Melbourne Hall is a Grade II* listed building.

The component includes some of the original farm buildings belonging to the Hall, which were superseded by new farm buildings some distance away in 1840. They include a medieval aisled barn, which may have been the rectorial tithe barn (SMR 23275), now part of the Craft Centre and a grade I listed building. A gatehouse was built at the south end of the stables in 1726, but has not survived. Human bones are reported to have been found during its construction (Heath 2000 and pers. comm.). Other surviving buildings include stables, a coach house and a laundry, the latter having been converted into tea rooms (SMR 23274, SMR 23276).

Component 8 *Blackwall Hall*

There was a large hall to the east of Melbourne Hall in the medieval period called Blackwall Hall or the 'nether hall'. Additional buildings on the site included a kiln house and a barn. Blackwall Hall was pulled down in the 1630s or 1640s and the lane which had separated its grounds from those of Melbourne Hall was blocked in 1647. The grounds were taken into those of Melbourne Hall, to form a larger pleasure garden (Heath 2000 and pers. comm.; see also component 24).

Component 9 *Melbourne Mill* (SMR 23255)

A water mill is recorded at Melbourne in Domesday Book and may have been on the same site as the later mill. The existing mill building is c. 1632 but was altered and refitted in 1832. The mill ceased to function as such in 1968 and is now a private house (P Heath pers. comm.).

Component 10 *Melbourne Pool*

Although its extent in the medieval period is not known, Melbourne pool was certainly large by the early 17th century, as shown on a map of that time. Tradition says that stone for Melbourne Castle was quarried here before the area was flooded (Melbourne Civic Society 2000). The component represents the pool approximately as it was in 1787. It would have provided water to Melbourne Mill and is fed by Melbourne Brook and a spring in the grounds of Stone House, to the south of the church (P Heath pers. comm.). The level of the pool was raised by two feet at the beginning of the 18th century, in order to work the fountains in the Hall gardens. This flooded part of the vicarage garden. By the early 19th century the pool was silted up completely at the west end. In the 1840s it was partly filled and the rest was cleaned out, making two

ornamental islands and landscaping the surrounding area. In its current form it covers some 20 acres (Heath 2000).

Component 11 *Melbourne Church (SMR 23246) and Church Square*

The site of the parish church of St Michael with St Mary is probably that of the pre-conquest church also, although archaeological and architectural evidence is currently lacking. The present building is thought to date from around the second quarter of the 12th century, with later alterations. It was extensively restored between 1859 and 1862. It has a distinctive form, including several unusual or unique features amongst Norman parish churches in England, namely a two-tower facade, a western gallery or balcony and a two-storeyed chancel, all of which suggest that it was of high status. In addition, the east end formerly had three apses.

The component includes Church Square, assumed once to have been an open area on the north side of the church. A part of it, at least, may have been in use for a time as a burial ground, as there have been reports of the occasional discovery of bones when trenches have been laid across the square (Usher 1985). Buildings now standing in Church Square include Close House, probably built in the 1780s, with a single-storey apothecary's shop at its northern end. The facade masks an earlier house built by the founder of Melbourne's Quaker chapel in the late 17th century (Heath 1995).

Component 12 *Settlement to the south of the church*

Buildings in this area include The Vicarage and the Stone House, which has reverted to its 18th century name having been known for a while as Tythe Cottage. The latter is said to have been rebuilt in 1673 by the Melbourne Hall agent Walter Chamberlain. In its basement is the forge where the ironsmith Robert Bakewell made the wrought iron 'Birdcage' that stands in the Hall gardens. The Vicarage is of 1842, replacing a timber-framed predecessor of 1641 which itself had replaced an earlier building (Heath 1995).

Component 13 *Settlement to the west of the church*

The shape of this component is clearly recognisable on the early 17th century map when the road to Calke ran along its north-west side before turning south across the common. Buildings at the eastern end of this area include the Dower House, built to replace a medieval house pulled down in 1821 (SMR 23248), called Bewley or Beaulie Hall after the Bewley family, bailiffs of the royal manor in the 16th century. Barman (1959) considered that it had been one of two chantry houses at Melbourne. Briggs (1870), on the other hand, considered it to have been the bishops' palace. Both stories have no basis in evidence and are probably speculation resulting from the 'old and reverend' appearance of the house prior to its rebuilding in 1821 (P Heath pers. comm.). During demolition, items found included a few coins, a skeleton's finger on which was a ring, some 'curious earthen vessels' and a coffin 'evidently that of a child, strongly made, but containing no bones' (Briggs 1870, 7). A passage known as 'The Dark Entry' cuts across what was once the middle of the farmyard formerly belonging to the Dower House (Heath 1995). The medieval barn (SMR 23278) standing immediately at the western end of the church also belonged to it. The upper storey was added c1800 while the building was in use as a malthouse. The malt kiln was in 'the projecting wing by the church corner' (Heath 1995).

The component also includes Huntingdon House at its western end, originally an Independent Chapel of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, built in 1779. It was converted into a house in 1874 (Heath 1995).

Component 14 *Possible peripheral green*

Map evidence suggests that this area was originally open and may have functioned as a peripheral village green in the medieval period, possibly including a well, as a post-medieval well head survives from the 17th century, having been restored in the 20th century.

The south-western part of this component was enclosed between 1787-91 as part of the Parliamentary Enclosure. The terrace of houses nos. 20-50 Station Road at the east end was built by the Melbourne Oddfellows in several stages, beginning in 1843. It was built on gardens encroached from Fish Pool Close and bought by the Oddfellows in 1837.

Component 15 *Settlement block bounded by Potter Street south, Castle Street east and Chapel Street west*

An area of long narrow plots fronting Potter Street and shorter plots fronting Castle Street. By the time of the earliest detailed map of 1787, plots are of different widths and it is likely that some amalgamation had taken place. Some of the houses still contain 16th and 17th century fabric although many of the long narrow plot boundaries have disappeared. Buildings along Castle Street in 1840 included a stocking shop and a beer shop. There was also a lace shop at the northern end of one of the long Potter Street plots.

With the exception of a single building, the Chapel Street frontage was not developed until the 1930s. The 20th century also saw considerable development of the crofts to the rear of the plots for housing, including new access roads, in particular Jubilee Close, developed in the 1970s.

Three trenches were excavated on the north side of Potter Street prior to the residential development of land previously used as a timber yard. However none of the trenches produced anything of archaeological interest (John Samuels Archaeological Consultants 1994).

Component 16 *Settlement block bounded by Potter Street north, Church Street south and the Market Place west*

The earliest surviving detailed map shows a fairly densely occupied frontage along Potter Street, with buildings set in relatively short narrow plots. The Church Street frontage was less developed; the south-eastern part of this, which remained undeveloped until the 20th century, was known as Back Street Croft. It is not known whether Church Street was always more sparsely settled or whether it experienced a decline at some point.

There was a lock-up on the southern side of Potter Street, shown on the 1840 map as a small detached building. A Methodist Chapel was built on the north side of Church Street in 1800, rebuilt in 1826 and replaced in 1870 by a larger and more ornate building next to it. The old chapel was initially used as a Sunday school, but was later converted into a furniture showroom.

Component 17 *Settlement along the south-west side of Castle Street and the north-east side of Church Street*

A triangular area of settlement, with buildings set in short plots fronting Castle Street and Church Street. It is possible that at least some of the buildings in this area, particularly on the north side, originated as encroachments onto the medieval market place (see component 4), the limits of which are not known at present.

Buildings in 1840 included a lace warehouse. There was a beerhouse at the northern end of the area and another warehouse at the south-eastern end.

A bomb fell on the eastern end of this area in 1940, destroying some 'old and attractive houses'. A Community Centre and a Bowling Green were built on the site in the 1960s (Heath 1995).

Component 18 *Settlement block bounded by Church Street and High Street north and by Penn Lane south*

A block of properties with generally long plot boundaries running between Church Street/High Street and Penn Lane. Current evidence does not support either end of these plots as being the sole initial focus for

development. Rather, it suggests that in some cases the early development was at the south ends, fronting the common, and in other cases at the north ends (P Heath pers. comm.). Salsbury Lane, bisecting this component, was present by the late 18th century and probably long before, while Penn Lane existed east of the junction with Salsbury Lane prior to Enclosure and was extended westwards when the common was enclosed. Several of the existing boundaries which run between Church Street and Penn Lane appear to fossilise the line of earlier boundaries.

Buildings along Church Street include Chantry House at the easternmost end, deriving its name from its supposed connection with St Catherine's chantry. Chantry House was rebuilt in 1725 and much altered again in c. 1800 (Heath 1995). In 1840 a worsted warehouse stood approximately opposite the Methodist Chapel on Church Street. It was converted into a brewery in 1851 and operated until 1954 (P Heath pers. comm.). In addition to the warehouse, buildings in 1840 included a candle shop and melting house and a couple of nailers' shops while along High Street there was a glazier and a brazier. Along Penn Lane there was a Quaker Chapel and a small stone quarry. There was a burial ground associated with the chapel. Some remains were exhumed in the past; however the rest of the burial ground has been levelled to form part of a garden, so some burials are likely to survive *in situ* (P Heath pers. comm.).

Surviving buildings along the south side of High Street include the Board School of 1897, which closed in 1976 and reopened as a library and leisure centre in 1977, the United Reformed Church of 1871-2 (formerly the Congregational Chapel with a Sunday School next to it), and the Memorial Cottages built by Thomas Cook, travel agent, in 1890-91 for elderly inhabitants of Melbourne and which consist of 14 cottages with bakehouse, wash house, laundry and Mission Hall (Heath 1995). There is also Cruck Cottage, which has been dated by dendrochronology to 1530. Formerly a farmstead, it was converted into cottages and workshops after its purchase by the Melbourne Estate in 1823. The thatched part, with cruck blades visible at its western end, was originally the kitchen wing (Melbourne Civic Society 2000).

Component 19 *Settlement along the south-west side of Derby Road, the west side of Market Place and the north-west side of High Street*

A block of buildings set in generally narrow plots of varying length. This area may originally have been peripheral to the main commercial centre of the medieval settlement, possibly fronting onto a green. The frontage was already fairly densely occupied by the late 18th century and became increasingly developed with the establishment of the market place in the 1830s. As a result, many of the buildings in this area are of 19th century date rather than earlier.

6.2 Post-medieval components (c. 1500 – c. 1770)

Six components have been tentatively identified for the post-medieval period, based on evidence from historic maps and from discussion with Philip Heath.

Component 20 *Settlement between Chapel Street and Derby Road*

The early 17th century map of Melbourne suggests the southern part of this component may already have been settled at that time. Later development included the first Baptist Chapel, which was built in Gallows Close in 1749/1750 and enlarged in 1768. It was raised, lengthened and refitted in 1832, although considerable parts of the earlier structure survive (P Heath pers. comm.). Sunday schools were added in 1810, enlarged in 1835 and rebuilt in 1852. The burial ground was initially just a small area around the chapel. In 1812, most of the present burial ground, which extends back to Derby Road, was acquired from William Knifton, from whom the Baptists also finally bought the site of the chapel itself in the same year (P Heath pers. comm.). The burial ground contains headstones ranging in date from c. 1760 to 1860. They were lifted from their original positions and placed around the margins of the graveyard some years ago. Of 125 headstones, 71 were found to include the name of the engraver or stone mason (Usher 1985).

Buildings to the south of the Baptist Chapel in 1840 included a lace factory with machine shop, mangle room and chandler's shop, a bakehouse and a saw pit. Kendrick Mill (SMR 23265) was built on Chapel

Street by William Hemsley sometime after 1840 and before 1882, by which time it was producing silk fabric. By the end of the century it was also manufacturing boots and shoes. The mill was demolished in the 20th century.

A building was present at the junction of modern Station Road, Packhorse Road and Chapel Street by 1787. Either this building or its replacement was known as The Grange by 1840, at which time it was in use as a surgery.

Component 21 *Settlement/encroachments to the north of Ashby Road*

Late 18th century maps indicate that a considerable amount of encroachment had taken place in this area, with fairly irregular plots scattered along the margins of Melbourne Common. Buildings in this area in 1840 included a beer house and a wheelwright's at the eastern end and a small lace shop and a paint shop further west. Much of the area has been redeveloped.

Component 22 *Encroachments on the common to the south of Penn Lane*

Late 18th century maps indicate that a considerable amount of encroachment had taken place in this area, with fairly irregular plots scattered along the margins of Melbourne Common. Not all of these are shown as being built on. The component includes at its north-eastern end the National School, built in 1821 on the site of the previous school which had been endowed by Lady Elizabeth Hastings of Donington Park in 1738. It closed as a school in 1969. To the west of the school was the family home of the Haimes family, well known in the early 19th century for their innovations in the production of warp goods (see section 5.6.8 above). There is a warehouse or frameshop adjacent to the house, established sometime between 1810 and 1824.

Also in this component is a house called the 'Hollow', once the Melbourne Estate agent's house. Starting as a humble cottage in the 1790s, it grew in many phases during the second half of the 19th century to become a gentleman's residence with extensively landscaped gardens (P Heath pers. comm.).

Component 23 *Extension to Melbourne Hall gardens* (SMR 23252)

A plan of the grounds was made in 1698, showing the garden after its enlargement in 1647 when it took in the site of Blackwall Hall (see component 8). Work on new gardens by London and Wise and William Cooke of Walcot began in 1704 by reconstructing the old flower and kitchen gardens into 'a division of Partare work' with 'terrasses, sloops, verges and fleets of steps'. Further work extended into a former field to the south-east of the old garden. The ground was levelled for 'divisions of wilderness work', 'reservoirs or bassons for water', fruit walls, kitchen gardens, orchards, plantations and hedged alleys. The moated islands of the 17th century garden were filled in and replaced by the present 'basin' further east. The muniment room, converted from a dovecote in 1708 (SMR 23277), marks the north-eastern corner of the early 17th century garden. It has long been assumed that the yew tunnel was also a survivor from that garden, but this is probably not the case. Cassandra Willoughby, visiting in c. 1710, noted that it had been planted only a few years, but was already a perfect shade. The lower part seems to be a later addition. (P Heath pers. comm.). The grounds also include an ice house, now sealed, about 300m south-east of the house (SMR 23249).

The gardens were already a tourist attraction in the mid-19th century (Briggs 1852) and continue to be open to the public today. They are listed grade I on the English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens.

Component 24 *Settlement at the eastern end of the pool*

This was formerly known as Slaters Yard. A timber framed house here, which survived as the rear wing of Pool Cottage until 1933, had been taken to Slaters Yard from another site in the 1730s. The front of the present Pool Cottage was built in 1839 (P Heath pers. comm.). It was later converted into a residential home for the elderly (Melbourne Civic Society 2000).

6.3 Industrial period components (1770 - 1900)

From the 1770s on, Melbourne underwent fairly rapid expansion, with the development of the textile and footwear industries and of housing for the factory workers. It is not practical to define each factory or terrace or associated houses as a component; generally, therefore, only broad areas have been defined which often combine elements of both industrial and domestic development. Fourteen components have been identified for this period, based mainly on comparison of late 18th century and late 19th century maps.

Component 25 *Gas Works* (SMR 23264)

The Gas Works of Melbourne Gas and Coke Co. was constructed on this site in 1853 and considerably enlarged in 1885 (Bulmer's Directory 1895).

Component 26 *Pinfold*

The pinfold stood in this area in 1787, suggesting it may have been the site in the post-medieval period also. It was still present in 1882 but had gone by the end of the century.

Component 27 *Police Station*

The constabulary was built in 1893.

Component 28 *Development to the west of The Grange*

By 1840 buildings had been erected to the west of The Grange. These had been further extended by the end of the 19th century. They were handsome stone-built outbuildings belonging to the Grange, now converted to residential use (P Heath pers. comm.).

Components 29 & 30 *Development along the north-eastern side of Derby Road*

Component 30 was developed on land sold by the Donington Estate in 1811/13 and takes much of its distinctive shape from the earlier field boundary which was used as the rear boundary for plots laid out along Derby Road by 1840. Plots in component 31 were only laid out after 1882.

Component 31 *Market Place*

This area became the market place in the 19th century. A stone monument was erected in the centre in 1889 to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee (Bulmer's Directory 1895), replacing a monument and lamp post of 1832/1838 which was moved to the old market place (component 4). A timber shelter was erected in 1953 and both monument and shelter were restored in 1977.

Component 32 *Development along New Yard, Blanch Croft and Quick Close*

New streets were laid out on the western side of Melbourne in response to the rising population and employment opportunities in the framework knitting industry. New Yard was laid out in 1777, Blanch Croft in 1783 and Quick Close in 1796, the last two being named after the fields over which they were built. The streets were only 12 feet wide but many of the houses were of reasonable quality, being built for owner-occupiers. Due to the narrowness of the streets the area was targeted for clearance in the 1960s.

Quick Close and most of New Yard were cleared and redeveloped before the policy was changed. As a result, only Blanch Croft has retained its narrow street and a number of 18th century houses, including some with framework knitters' shops (Melbourne Civic Society 2000). In 1840 there were a couple of brewhouses, a stocking shop, a lace factory and a warehouse in the New Yard area, plus a bakehouse at the

corner of New Yard and High Street. Another bakehouse stood towards the south-west end of Quick Close. New Yard was re-named Thomas Cook Close upon being redeveloped.

This component also includes frontages on Derby Road and High Street. On the former, just south of its junction with Blanch Croft, is the former New Jerusalem Church, built in 1863. The church closed in 1977 and was then converted into flats (Heath 1995). Just set back from Derby Road to the north of Blanch Croft was a lace factory in 1840.

Component 33 *Development along North, South and Alma Streets*

North, South and Alma Streets had been laid out by 1882, connecting Derby Road with George Street. The streets were laid out over fields, the back walls of the present gardens reflecting the line of the earlier field boundaries. The area included both housing and industrial premises, in particular Victoria Mill and the West End Boot Factory. Victoria Mill (SMR 23266) was built as a textile factory by John Hemsley in 1861 but was turned over to boot and shoe production in the 1860s. The mill was destroyed by fire in 1890 (Melbourne Civic Society 2000). The site has since been redeveloped.

The West End Boot Factory (SMR 23267) was built on South Street in 1882 and was so successful that it had doubled its size by 1895 (Bulmer's Directory 1895). It was destroyed by fire in 1947 (Melbourne Civic Society 2000).

Component 34 *Development along Victoria Street*

Victoria Street was laid out in 1887, although not fully built up by the end of the century. As with the above street, Victoria Street was laid out within a field, the back walls of the present gardens reflecting the line of the earlier field boundaries.

Component 35 *Development along Selina Street, Rawdon Street, Hastings Street and Moira Street*

Development in this area was known as 'New York' and consisted of speculative housing built by the Melbourne Building Club in 1826-32. (P Heath pers. comm.) Brick kilns were located on the west side of Moira Street in 1840, presumably associated with all the construction taking place at that time. The housing was pulled down for redevelopment between c. 1960 and c. 1970.

Component 36 *Development off the south side of George Street*

Development here was known as 'Pingle Cottages' or 'Mount Pleasant', the field upon which the houses were built having been called The Pingle. Originally a farmstead built by and belonging to the Tomlinson family, it was later divided up into cottages (P Heath pers. comm.). In 1840, it included a lace shop and a wheelwright's shop.

Component 37 *Development along Commerce Street, Hope Street and Union Street*

This was laid out as the 'Mount Pleasant Estate' in 1852. Development included the Mount Boot Factory (SMR 23268), built in 1894 and rebuilt after a fire in 1939. It is now converted to light industrial units.

Component 38 *Development along the north side of Ashby Road*

At the north end of this component the houses are built on plots which were originally laid out following the Enclosure, as additional garden ground to the old houses in component 21. Buildings included the Melbourne Arms, built at the southern end of the component in 1791. 'Spring Vale', no. 60 Ashby Road, was built in c. 1859 (P Heath pers. comm.). The majority of the plots were only developed in the later 19th century. Further development took place in the 20th century.

6.4 20th century development

Twentieth century development is represented by a single un-numbered component. Much of Melbourne's 20th century expansion has been excluded from this assessment.

6.5 Discussion

Finds of both prehistoric and Roman date have been made at Melbourne. In particular, the discovery of a Neolithic pit containing pottery indicates possible prehistoric settlement on the site. However, there is currently no evidence for any continuity of such settlement into later prehistoric periods and on present knowledge, therefore, the origins of Melbourne are most likely to be found in the early medieval period.

The original settlement is assumed to have been focused on or near the church, although there is currently no archaeological evidence that the pre-conquest church was on the same site as the Norman one. The church as rebuilt in the early 12th century was clearly of high status, and it has been suggested that it was either constructed by Henry I for his royal manor or by the bishops of Carlisle as a substitute cathedral for use when they were residing at Melbourne, particularly since they had obtained permission to ordain there. The church is unusual in not being surrounded by a graveyard, although occasional references to the finding of human skeletons indicate that a graveyard does exist, but there are no above-ground features to betray its existence.

An alternative or second focus may have been the hall or manor house, assumed to have been on the same site as the 14th century castle. This may have been of high enough status to accommodate King John during his several visits to the town, although it is possible he stayed at the bishops' palace next to the church. The main road of the later medieval settlement was undoubtedly Potter Street, running up to the market place and the castle. It is possible that Church Street and Castle Street were originally the main roads, running down to the church. There may even have been an early market place in the Church Square area, as no market charter would have been necessary while Melbourne was part of the crown's estates. In this case Potter Street would be a later addition to the plan, perhaps only developing with the investment in the castle.

Such evidence as exists for post-medieval population numbers, albeit extremely limited (see section 5.5.4), suggests that the number of households in the parish more than doubled during the century between the 1560s and the 1660s. While it is likely that a good percentage of the new households could have been accommodated within the bounds of the medieval settlement, documentary evidence indicates that encroachment on the commons and wastes was taking place from at least the 16th century. Late 18th century maps suggest such encroachment was particularly prevalent on the southern side of Melbourne, at the margins of the settled land and Melbourne Common.

The sale of the manor in the early 17th century to Henry, 5th Earl of Huntingdon, was to play an important part in the later development of Melbourne. The Earl and his successors had their seat at Donington Hall and had little interest in developing their Melbourne estate. In 1811-13 they sold most of their freehold land and houses in Melbourne village, so making them available for industrial and housing purposes just at the time when framework knitting was prevalent there as a cottage industry. This newly available land was mainly on the western side of Melbourne. Development had already begun in 1777, when the first new road, called the New Yard, was laid out, followed by Blanch Croft in 1783 (component 32). A high proportion of the new housing was built for framework knitters, with some of the houses incorporating knitting shops. The sales of 1811/13 were ultimately responsible for the development of components 30 and 33-37, which took place gradually through the 19th century (P Heath pers. comm.).

Another factor in the way in which Melbourne was to develop in the late 18th/early 19th centuries was the re-routing of the main road from Derby through Melbourne towards Ashby de la Zouch. It originally passed by the east end of Potter Street and down Castle Street, to continue south by Melbourne Hall and the east side of the Pool. However, Lord Melbourne took the opportunity offered by Parliamentary Enclosure to divert the road away from the Hall. Its new route took it along the western side of the town, down High Street and the present Ashby Road, to rejoin the old road at the county boundary. The fact that

both the new road and the newly available land lay on the west side of Melbourne led to extensive development in this area, while the old centre on the eastern side of the settlement stagnated (P Heath pers. comm.).

This trend was accentuated in the second quarter of the 19th century, following the re-establishment of Melbourne market in 1836. Rather than being on its traditional site of Castle Square at the eastern end of Potter Street, it was held on the triangle of land at the junction of High Street, Church Street and what was once Russell Street. This led to the redevelopment of the frontages in this area, with plots becoming increasingly built-up, while the old market place continued to decline.

New houses were also constructed using the profits from the increasingly important market gardening trade. By the end of the century, Bulmer's Directory (1895) noted that

'The town is not large, but the handsome mills and well-built houses indicate general prosperity'

The town continued to expand during the 20th century, with the 1960s in particular seeing the demolition and clearance of some of the late 18th/early 19th century housing and its replacement by new estates.

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES

7.1 Research questions

1) Nothing is currently known about settlement at Melbourne prior to the conquest - its origins, its extent, whether the site of the present church and mill buildings are those of the pre-conquest church and mill, and whether there was a pre-conquest hall on the site of the later manor house and castle.

2) Many aspects of the medieval settlement are poorly understood or simply not known. These include the following:

- The chronological development of the settlement plan, its maximum medieval extent and whether it experienced any shrinkage following the Black Death. What was the road pattern to the south of Melbourne prior to the creation of Melbourne Pool?

- The establishment of a residence for the bishops of Carlisle must have had some impact on Melbourne. Were there any changes to the layout of the village, such as the diversion of the lower end of Castle Street further to the east? Is there any evidence for a particular period of growth at that time (although the 12th century was generally one of population expansion in any case)?

- The full extent and the ground plan of Melbourne Castle are currently unknown. Archaeological information about the castle is particularly necessary to complement and provide a framework for the documentary evidence which, although detailed for some periods, is scant for others. Did the castle incorporate all or part of a pre-existing manor house? Was it surrounded by curtain walls and, if so, how great an area did they encompass? Documents refer to kitchens, bakehouse and a chapel - were any of these detached from the main body of the castle? There is also reference to a bridge in the castle being repaired with new chains - what did this cross? Were there ever formal gardens in the castle grounds?

- One probable fish pond belonging to the castle has been identified. Was there in fact a complex of these, together with other water-filled features?

- The question of the number of churches, chapels and chantries at Melbourne is one which has yet to be resolved, but is of considerable importance to understanding the medieval development of the settlement.

- Was there originally a burial ground around the present parish church and, if so, when and why did it go out of use?
 - The cemetery at the lower end of Castle Street was in existence by the early 17th century but when did burials commence? Was the land taken out of the castle grounds? Most importantly, does it contain the site of the lost medieval church of St Michael?
 - What was the extent of the medieval market place? Did encroachment take place during the life of the market, through the construction of permanent shops rather than temporary stalls, or only after it had gone out of use (assuming that identification of such encroachment is correct)? How important were the markets and fairs, and when and why did the market fail? (It has been suggested in the context of Nottinghamshire that the decline of rural markets was not necessarily an immediate result of the demographic and economic crises of the early 14th century (Unwin 1981)
 - What effect, if any, did the establishment of King's Newton have on the settlement at Melbourne, assuming the former to be a medieval foundation?
 - Is there any evidence for rural industries such as tanning?
- 3) Figures for the numbers of households in the parish in the 1560s and the 1660s, albeit of unknown reliability, suggest that considerable growth took place between the two dates. Can such growth be confirmed archaeologically and if so, what form did it take?
 - 4) What was the nature and chronology of encroachment, assumed to be post-medieval, on the commons and wastes around the margins of Melbourne?
 - 5) Traditionally, Melbourne Pool is said to have been created following the extraction of stone for Melbourne Castle, while Lambert's Quarry to the west of the pool was in use during the 18th century. What are the origins of the local quarrying industry? Was all the building stone in the town sourced locally? How large was the market for the scythe stones and scythe sticks being manufactured at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries?
 - 6) What effect did the opening up of new land for housing and industry on the west side of Melbourne have on the social landscape of the town? Was there a split in the possession of wealth between the eastern and western halves? To what extent was paternalism important, for example in the provision of domestic accommodation for workers at a newly constructed factory?

7.2 Archaeological potential

7.2.1 Existing protection

Scheduled Ancient 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.

At Melbourne the site of the castle has been designated a scheduled ancient monument (monument no. 23336; Derbyshire SAM 229). The extent of the scheduled area is shown on Figure 6.

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.

Melbourne Conservation Area was first designated in February 1969. It was extended in May 1976 and further extended in October 1991 to cover the area shown in 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 105 listed buildings in the area of Melbourne under consideration in this assessment, although not all are buildings *per se*, as they include not only structures such as walls but also statuary, seats, vases and fountains in Melbourne Hall gardens. Of the 105 listings, 24 are Grade I, including the parish church, a medieval barn, Melbourne Hall’s laundry and dovecote, and many garden features. A further seven are Grade II*, including Melbourne Hall itself and a second medieval barn to the west of the church. 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	11	9	53	32	

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. However, there is currently no local list for Melbourne.

7.2.2 Above ground remains

The street layout is often the most durable part of a settlement plan and this is true of Melbourne, where the main elements of the town’s historic street pattern are still visible today. As discussed above, the main change to the medieval pattern occurred in the late 18th century, leading to a shift in the commercial focus of the town. This is still evident today and can be seen in the totally different character of Melbourne’s two market places. The medieval market place at the eastern end of Potter Street now seems almost peripheral, instead of the focus of activity it once would have been, and as a result of its stagnation has retained a number of old buildings around it. Although markets are no longer held in the 19th century market place, it still acts as the focus for local shops.

Although the street pattern has survived more or less intact, the same cannot be said for the pattern of medieval plot boundaries. In particular, the long narrow crofts on the north side of Potter Street have now largely been obliterated by modern development, although some long property boundaries still run south from Church Street to Penn Lane, probably fossilising the line of the medieval plots which extended back to the margins of the common. Beyond the core of the old town, the pattern of earlier field boundaries can occasionally be detected in the lines of the streets and back garden walls of later development. This was often the case where development took place prior to and including the early 20th century, when a road would be constructed along the central long axis of a field, with plots laid out along both sides of it, all running back to the original field boundary. A late 18th century example at Melbourne is Blanch Croft, a late 19th century one is Victoria Street. More recent development seems to generally ignore earlier

boundaries, replacing them with the curving lines of crescents and cul-de-sacs, as can be seen in the area to the west of Victoria Street, beyond the boundaries of this assessment.

Within the town, brick is the main material of construction and evidence from standing buildings points to a considerable degree of rebuilding or refronting in the 18th and 19th centuries. Prior to the 18th century, many buildings would have been timber-framed with thatched roofs and several examples of these still survive in Melbourne. The town retains a good range of historic buildings from different periods, the earliest of which is the church, one of the most important Norman parish churches in the country. The Hall, Pool and gardens form a particularly important part of the above ground features of Melbourne, the latter being a fine example of early 18th century formal gardens in the French style.

In addition to the spread of buildings of different periods, there is also a variety of types, with domestic buildings ranging from Melbourne Hall, through medium-sized late 19th century workers' terraces to late 18th century framework knitters' cottages, some incorporating the knitting workshops at upper floor level. The variety of Melbourne's non-conformist congregations by the early 19th century was one which drew comment at the time, and a number of chapels have survived as a reminder of this. Other buildings include both the National and Board Schools, although neither serves its original purpose, as well as some remnants of Melbourne's industrial past. These include not only stocking frame workshops incorporated into dwellings, as just noted, but also frameshops as detached or semi-detached structures to the rear of properties. Despite the number of boot and shoe factories in Melbourne around the end of the 19th century, survivals are few, due at least in part to their apparent susceptibility to fire. The best remaining example is the former factory of Collyer Bros. on Derby Road, now a health and fitness club (Melbourne Civic Society 2000).

7.2.3 Below ground remains

There has not been a large amount of archaeological work carried out in Melbourne, but excavations on the eastern side of Castle Street have shown the potential for survival of deposits in certain circumstances. The 1973 excavations recovered material of Neolithic, medieval and post-medieval date (Courtney 1976) while those of 1988/89 recorded ditches and sections of well preserved castle masonry (Dodd 1990; see also component 1 above). Earlier reports of remains of the castle indicate that its foundations penetrated to a depth of some 15ft to reach bedrock. The site is now scheduled and is one of very considerable potential. Within its area the buried remains of earlier and later medieval buildings may survive, partly overlain by Castle Farm in the northern half and sealed beneath the new housing development and residents' car park in the southern half. Such buildings would include not only the main house but also associated structures such as a gatehouse. Documents indicate the existence of a hall and great chamber, a chapel, a drawbridge, a bakehouse and a kitchen. There may also be some potential for investigation of the area to the east of the castle, known as 'Castle Orchard' in the 17th century. It is possible that this area contained a medieval garden associated with the house. Garden making is known to have flourished from the early 14th century, at the time when the castle was built, with recent discoveries at Whittington Castle in Shropshire indicating just how elaborate medieval gardens could be.

Although much of the street pattern is believed to have remained relatively unchanged since the medieval period, activities such as road surfacing and the insertion of services are likely to have caused damage to archaeological deposits relating to earlier street frontages. Nevertheless, where roads have been widened it is possible that deposits relating to earlier frontages lie sealed beneath the later pavements or road surface. For example the 1973 excavations on the north-eastern side of Castle Street identified a wall foundation trench of possible medieval date running parallel to, and below, the present pavement (Courtney 1976). Similarly the foundations of structures which once stood in the road may survive, such as a medieval market cross and roadside encroachments.

The medieval market area would have been one of the more intensively occupied parts of the town in that period. Plots in this area could contain sequences of commercial buildings along the market frontage, with outhouses, workshops and rubbish pits to the rear. The degree to which earlier material may be preserved will depend to some extent on the depth of the deposits and the presence of cellars in later buildings.

Another important area of potential is the area around the church. Although not now a graveyard, references to the discovery of human skeletal material in the past suggest it may once have been. For example, skeletons are said to have been found during the construction of Melbourne Hall gatehouse to the east of the church in the early 18th century (P Heath pers. comm.), a finger bone and a child's coffin were found during the demolition of a building on the site of the Dower House to the west of the church in 1821 (Briggs 1870), and Usher (1985) notes the occasional finding of bones when trenches have been laid across Church Square. Any such material would be of particular importance, potentially providing information about Melbourne's medieval inhabitants undisturbed by later burials. Other below ground remains may include evidence of earlier phases of the church as indicated by the foundations of three apses outside the eastern end of the building. Of equal importance is the detached graveyard near the south-eastern end of Castle Street, which could contain the below ground remains of one of Melbourne's medieval churches.

Rivers, streams and ponds can offer considerable potential as sites of mills, of industrial processes such as tanning and dyeing, and for the preservation of dumped organic material. Although Melbourne Pool was cleaned out and landscaped in the 1840s, it was also partly filled in at its western end, where it had been silting up. There may be some potential for environmental work in that area, therefore. The pool at the northern end of Castle Street, thought to have been the manorial fishpond, was not filled in until after the early 17th century and may have been used for the dumping of refuse for a considerable length of time. However, it has since been built over and its archaeological potential is completely unknown.

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