

PROBATE RECORDS AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF METAL-WORKING IN ECKINGTON, 1534–1750

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The parish of Eckington in north-east Derbyshire has long been known for its involvement in metal working crafts and trades such as scythe and sickle making, especially from the late eighteenth century up to the early decades of the twentieth century and particularly in those parts of the parish through which the Moss Brook flows. Eckington was, however, involved in those trades long before the late eighteenth century, although there has not been any systematic published study of them before that time.

This study of metal workers of various kinds is an attempt to remedy this lack of information about these crafts and trades before 1750, based on the work done by a small research class under the auspices of the University of Sheffield Division of Adult Continuing Education, on the wills and inventories of the whole of Eckington parish. The study falls into two periods: 1534–1650, for which there are 252 sets of documents surviving; and 1651–1750, for which there are 287. All of these are the result of probate grants from the bishop's consistory court at Lichfield, in which diocese Eckington lay during the time covered by the study.¹

Any analytical study of probate material for a particular parish makes only a partial contribution to the history of that place. The nature of the documents dictates this; they obviously relate only to those who have died and since not everyone made a will, only the names of those doing so appear on a parish's list of wills and inventories. In the parish of Eckington grants of probate seem to apply to one out of some six or seven adult male burials recorded in the registers, that proportion usually relating to the better-off section of the population. Even that figure can be questioned, since it depends both on the survival of the relevant documents and on the completeness of the parish's burial register.²

The problem of the small size of such a sample compared to the total number of males in the population is compounded when part of the research is directed at a specific occupational group, the group in this case consisting of those engaged in metal working of all kinds in Eckington from 1535–1750. It would be helpful if the research could establish just how many men were working at such trades throughout the period, but numbers of wills and inventories cannot be taken as evidence of actual numbers of e.g. sicklesmiths at a particular time. They may, however, be taken as an indication of the presence in the parish of a man describing himself as a sicklesmith from whenever his adult life as a craftsman began until his death. The same is true of all the occupational groups into which the probate documents were divided.

Only one source can be quoted to indicate the number of men engaged in metal working in a particular year and that is the Hearth Tax return for 1672.³ In this year,

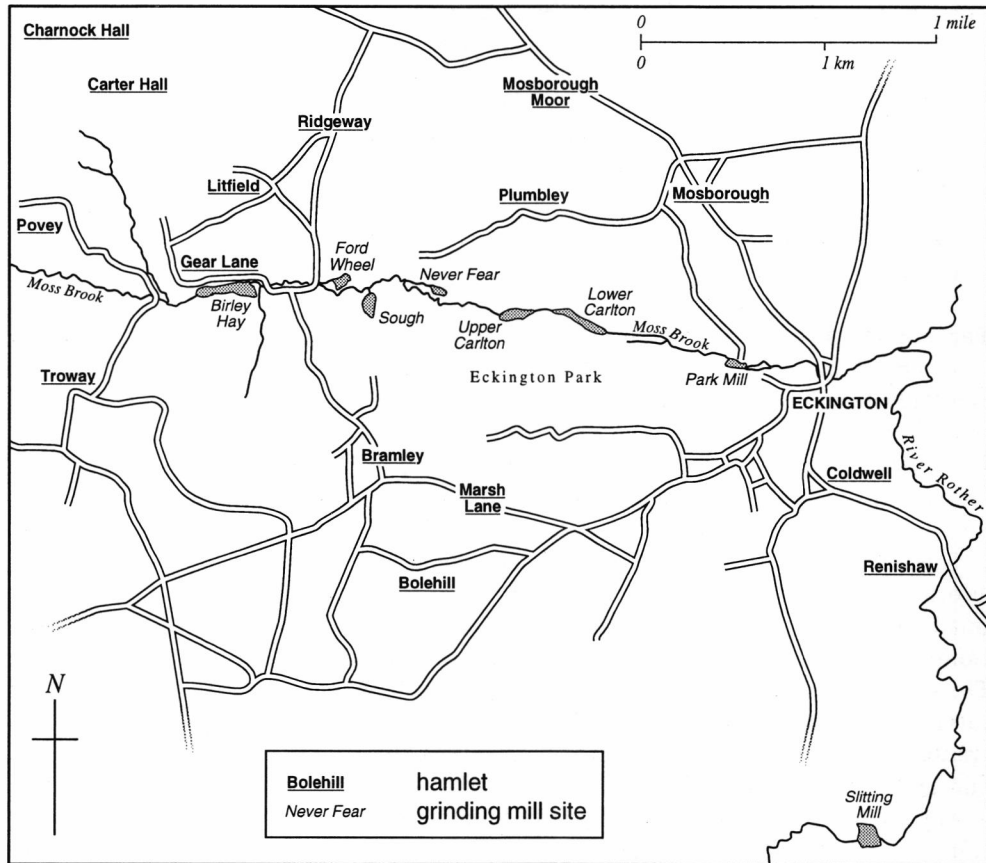


Fig. 1: Hamlets, outlying farms and grinding mill sites in Eckington parish as referred to in metal workers' wills and inventories.

those with smithy hearths were recorded separately, since they were claiming, along with all the smiths of Hallamshire, that such hearths, being used for business purposes, should not be taxed. The smiths were refusing to pay and so were entered on a special list. There are 21 names of men in the list for Eckington with a total of 38 hearths. So it can be said that in 1672 there were 21 smiths of one kind or another in the parish and it might be surmised that there had been around that number for some years on either side of that date. Only eight possible names from the 1672 list can be found on the will and inventory list of metal workers making wills after that time (Appendix no. 2).

Probate material is of its very nature imprecise. The appraisers and valuers of the items in the inventories did not always record them in a consistent or exhaustive way; they probably left out items which seemed to them unimportant or of little value and at times they lumped together e.g. 'the tools of his trade' or 'the goods in the smithy', not troubling to list everything separately. At other times, however, the number of made goods and their value is given and the tools and implements in the smithy minutely itemised; in such cases where the contents of a man's smithy or workshop are listed in detail, that makes an invaluable contribution to the knowledge about a particular trade

which can be derived from few other sources and if a man's debts and his debtors are listed too, that detail adds to the information on the prevalence and operation of debt and credit in pre-industrial society, where the making of tools such as scythes and sickles was carried on at the same time as farming duties.

There are other sources for the study of metal-working in Eckington, principally the collection of Sitwell family documents from Renishaw Hall, deposited at Derbyshire Record Office; nail making and iron smelting at the Sitwell forges are referred to many times, but not scythe and sickle making. The wills and inventories are unique in providing details of those and other trades at the same time as offering an insight into the way of life of the yeoman or husbandman toolmaker. Eckington was, of course, only one among several north-east Derbyshire parishes in which there was a significant proportion of such men. In the neighbouring parish of Beighton, which included Hackenthorpe, a cutler's wheel is referred to on a small tributary of the Shire Brook in manor rentals for 1586–1590,⁴ although unlike Eckington, such edge tool making did not really develop to any significant extent in Beighton and Hackenthorpe until the eighteenth century. In Staveley, another north-east Derbyshire parish, a scythe mill is recorded in 1489⁵ and in the parish of Norton, which, like Beighton, was once in Derbyshire, references to that trade can be found as early as the mid fifteenth century,⁶ Norton later specialising in the production of scythes to the virtual exclusion of other forms of metal working. (Work is currently being done by a research class on all the Norton wills and inventories from 1534–1750 in a study parallel to that on the Eckington documents).

For the whole period of this study, and for most of the nineteenth century, Eckington parish comprised the townships of Eckington itself and Mosborough, as well as the villages of Renishaw, Spinkhill, Ridgeway and Troway, with associated hamlets at Plumbley, Ford, Litfield, Bramley, Marsh Lane and Bolehill. These place names, with others, are the ones which feature in the will and inventory lists.

The river Rother flows through the parish on the east and formed part of the boundary with the neighbouring chapelry of Killamarsh; Eckington was bounded on the south by Staveley parish, to the west by Unstone and Coal Aston in Dronfield parish and for part of its northern boundary by the parishes of Norton and Beighton. The high ground to the west and north is drained by several streams; one, flowing from north to south through Ryall's Wood, forms the Dronfield parish boundary at Povey; in the upper part of its course it was the boundary with Norton, west of Carter Hall. This stream is in turn a tributary of the Moss brook, which flows roughly west to east to join the Rother and which has on its length the remains of six mill dams, five of them being associated with the grinding wheels used by Eckington metal workers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The sixth mill dam site was that of Park corn mill, probably on the site of the mill referred to in the Domesday Survey, lying close to Eckington church and the village itself. All the Moss valley mill dam sites, with the exception of the two Skelper dams on a stream south of Birley Hay, appear on the enclosure award plan of 1804.⁷ The earliest documentary reference to a grinding wheel is in the manorial rental of 1480,⁸ but this was on the Rother, not the Moss. Another reference in 'The Story of the Sitwells' to a lease of *c.* 1350 taken out by John Sitwell mentions a grinding wheel near a ford on the stream at the bottom of the steep descent from Ridgeway, operated by Gerard le Coteler, brother of the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Holy Cross; this may well have been on the Moss, but no other corroborative details of it have been found.⁹

As to the size of Eckington parish and the size of its population during the period of the will and inventory study, a diocesan survey of 1563¹⁰ gives the acreage of Eckington as 6,934a. and the number of households as 231, suggesting a possible total population figure between 1,039 and 1,155. A century or so later, another diocesan survey, that of John Compton, bishop of London, in 1676, gave a figure of 1,200, although the source of that figure as reported by the Eckington incumbent is not given.¹¹ The Hearth Tax return of 1670 has 214 entries for Eckington, which might suggest a population of at least 1,000.¹² Using the numbers of baptisms recorded in the parish registers as a very rough guide, it could be said that after some fluctuations, the population by the 1720s had reached *c.* 1,600; by the time of the Visitation of 1751,¹³ the then incumbent, the Rev. John Griffith, gave the number of households as 400, which, despite being a suspiciously rounded up or down figure, gives a population figure of *c.* 1,800, an increase of 11% in 30 years.

Analysis of the wills and inventories

	1534–1650	1651–1750	Total
Yeomen and husbandmen	119	96	215
Widows and spinsters	36	55	91
Gentlemen and clergy	17	18	35
Non-industrial crafts/trades	31	54	85
Industrial crafts/trades*	2	10	12
Metalworkers	47	41	88
No occupation assigned	0	13	13
Total	252	287	539

*Industrial crafts/trades includes 2 colliers (1592)+1 collier, 2 coal miners, 1 coal master, 1 banksman, 1 ironstone miner, 1 sievemaker, 1 brazier, 1 founder and 1 soapboiler (1651–1750).

Table 1: Occupations in the wills and inventories for the parish of Eckington, 1534–1750.

The wills and inventories were first of all transcribed and then divided into different occupational categories (see Table 1) for analysis. Crops, livestock, husbandry gear, household contents, house layout, literacy, the incidence of debt and credit, the meaning of archaic words and the tools, materials and stock of the many craftsmen were all investigated. This in turn led to a special study of the wills and inventories of the men and the one woman in the metal working trades, bearing in mind the known local involvement in the production of scythes, sickles and shears and a reference in the fifteenth century manorial survey to a grindstone mill and also to the presence of a newly-built culter's wheel at Birley Hay in 1599.¹⁴

Some early problems

Three of the earliest of the metal workers' wills and inventories indicated some of the difficulties such a study faced in the search for specific and consistently recorded informative detail. They raised questions about how best to classify the documents in which no occupation was given, but in which there were unequivocal references either to smithy tools, made items or raw materials; sometimes all of these or just two of them were mentioned, but at least from the earliest inventory in 1534 it was obvious that tool

	1534–1650	1651–1750	Total
Scythesmiths	3	1	4
Scythesmith/yeoman	1	0	1
Sicklesmiths	1	19	20
Cutlers	7	1	8
Shearsmiths	1	1	2
Axesmiths	2	2	4
Smith/toolmaker/yeoman	1	0	1
Blacksmiths	11	4	15
Smiths	12	7	19
Smith/yeoman	0	2	2
Smith/gentleman	2	0	2
Smith/singleman	1	0	1
Smith/widow	1	0	1
Ironmonger/singleman	1	0	1
Whitesmith	0	1	1
Bendwaremen	1	3	4
Tinker	1	0	1
Nailer	1	0	1
Total	47	41	88

Table 2: Metal workers in Eckington wills and inventories, 1534–1750

Not all wills and inventories give the occupation of the deceased person. In order to make a study of the men judged to be in the metal working categories, occupations were assigned using the contents of the inventories as a guide. Men whose inventories only mentioned a smithy or who had smithy gear were assigned as smiths; men were assigned blacksmiths when that trade was specifically given as the deceased's occupation. The smith/toolmaker/yeoman is John Staniforth of Gear Lane, 1597; he described himself as a yeoman, but his inventory contained not just sickles, but knives and a quantity of other made goods. The people assigned as smith/yeoman/gentleman etc. were described as yeoman or gentleman, but had a smithy or some smithy gear; the smith/widow, Ann Crookes of Mosborough, 1647, had iron wares in her inventory and referred to the 'smithi men' in her will, although in it she called herself a widow.

making was going on in Eckington parish in the first half of the 16th century. Features common to each of these early documents suggested further fields of inquiry, these being: the importance of the farm goods in relation to the total value of the inventory and the listing of debts.

William Hyll of Mosborough, whose undated inventory was proved at Lichfield in 1534, was obviously working in iron and had nearly £5 0s. 0d. worth of made goods consisting of 'fourteen dozen iron', valued at £3 10s. 0d., iron ware that is wrought . . . £1. 4. 0d. and one quarter of crapps of iron . . . £0 5s. 4d., but what wrought iron ware was he making? Crapps of iron presumably refers to the cut off ends of bar iron, retained ready for re-use and valued as such, or possibly to the remains of smelted iron in the furnace bottom,¹⁵ but that is the first and only time in the study of over 500 wills and inventories that the word 'crapps' is used. (There is an inventory of 1619 for a George Crapper, labourer, of Sload Lane and Crapper's farm on Sload Lane is mentioned in the manor court rolls in 1743¹⁶ and in the will of George Staniforth of Litfield in 1732.) The

Place	1534–1650	1651–1750	Total
Eckington	28	6	34
Renishaw	1	0	1
Coldwell	1	0	1
Mosborough	5	7	12
Mosbro'moorside	0	2	2
Carter Hall	1	0	1
Charnock Hall	0	2	2
Ridgewaymoorside	0	2	2
Ridgeway Lane	1	3	4
Ridgeway	0	2	2
Litfield	1	4	5
Sload Lane	0	2	2
Gear Lane	1	1	2
Ford	1	5	6
Bramley	0	1	1
Birley Hay	0	1	1
Troway	5	1	6
Lightwood	0	1	1
Slitting Mill	0	1	1
Killamarsh	1	0	1
Spinkhill	1	0	1
Total	47	41	88

Table 3: All metal workers in parts of Eckington parish as given in the wills and inventories 1534–1750.

The reason for the preponderance of Eckington as the place given in the period 1534–1650 may be due to the fact that for approximately the first 50 years or so, the separate parts of the parish were not often specified. Some men, therefore, could have lived in any part of the four quarters.

total value of William Hyll's inventory came to £30 18s. 6d. and he was also credited with eight dozen scythes, valued at £1 6s. 8d., of which £16 14s. 9d. was accounted for by his farm goods, in other words, some 54%.

Among the appraisers or valuers of William Hyll's inventory was William Lee of Charnock, who himself was dead six years later in 1540. His undated inventory is reminiscent of William Hyll's insofar as both men could be classified as yeoman farmers, judging by the number of cattle, sheep and horses they possessed and the crops they grew. But William Lee, like William Hyll, was working in iron; he had a smithy with two stithies (anvils) and other smithy gear worth £1 6s. 8d. So he was a scythesmith and has been categorised as such, whilst William Hyll, for lack of other identifying evidence has been classed as a smith. The total of William Lee's inventory was £29 10s. . . ., his farm goods being valued at £22 11s. 0d., over 75% of the total value.

The third of the significant early inventories is that of Robert Mowre of Coldwell (presumably the Coldwell near the northern entrance to Renishaw Park). This inventory was taken in April 1540, is badly damaged and very difficult to read in those parts of it concerned with the metal working craft. Robert Mowre was very prosperous. The sum total of his goods was estimated to be £111 8s. 2d., 42% of which was for his farm goods,

valued in total as £47 16s. 0d. But he too was also a tool maker, for he had smithy gear valued at £4 0s. 0d. and nine hundredths of scythes already made worth £45 0s. 0d. His appraisers gave no detail of his occupation, so he was presumed to be a scythesmith/yeoman, using as evidence the values and amounts of his crops, livestock, husbandry gear and farm buildings mentioned. He was also owed £17 10s. 8d., an item which pointed the way to other metal workers' inventories listing debt and credit in more detail and providing yet another piece of information about Eckington's craftsmen and their business circumstances.

Smiths

William Hyll of 1534 was classified as a smith for want of any other helpful detail and the same proved to be necessary for fourteen other men and one widow in the period up to 1650 and for a further nine after that. It is not a very satisfactory classification, being imprecise and covering a wide range of people, but the common feature of the inventories and wills, apart from the fact that in most of them there was no reference to occupation or status, was that all of the deceaseds had either smithy gear or smithies and so were presumed to have smithy hearths where iron was worked into tools or other finished goods.

One inventory, that of Thomas Leake, the elder, of Eckington, was taken in September 1558, he being described in it as a gentleman. The total value of his inventoried goods came to £86 11s. 8d. of which £67 1s. 0d. was for crops and livestock, but since there was smithy gear in the way of bellows, stithy and grindstone in his inventory too, he has been classified as smith/gentleman. (A William Leake appears in the smithy hearth list of 1672, appendix 2) George Wigfall was described as a gentleman in 1623. He lived at Carter Hall in considerable style and has also been classed as smith/gentleman on the evidence of having a smelting house and a mill as well as being related to William Wigfall of 1621 who was a cutler and in whose will there is a reference to a cutler's wheel.

The appraisers of Richard Gill's inventory in 1592 said nothing about his occupation, but went into considerable detail when listing his smithy gear i.e. bellows, stithies, forehammers, hand hammers, bechhorn, tew irons etc., valuing it at £4 13s. 4d; they also listed thirteen dozen landirons among the iron ware around the hearth in the houseplace, making it impossible to work out a separate value for them. Richard Gill was owed £5 6s. 10d. and was obviously making landirons for sale. He could possibly more properly be described as a blacksmith. (Landirons or andirons are a type of large cobiron for supporting the burning wood in an open fireplace). Thomas Kent who died in 1584 was another such. He too had smithy gear in his inventory, plus £1 0s. 0d. as the value given for three dozen hatchets.

The inventory of Ann Crookes of Mosborough was taken on 24 September 1647, she having made her will on 10 May earlier that year. There were three other metal workers by the name of Crookes in Mosborough in the lists earlier in date than Ann and the assumption is that she was the widow, if not of the last mentioned of them, Robert Crookes, who died in 1618, then at least of one other Mosborough blacksmith. In none of the Crookes' inventories is there any clue as to what they were making. Thomas Crookes died in 1567 and was assigned as smith for want of more information about him; another Thomas, perhaps his son, died in 1611 and was a blacksmith with a smithy and smithy gear. In 1618 Robert Crookes was described as a blacksmith and his

inventory mentions £7 14s. 0d. as being owed to him by men at Market Rasen, Horncastle and Spilsby, but does not say what kind of goods were comprised in the debt. He seems to have been pursuing a dual occupation. His inventory total came to £77 6s. 4d., his farm goods being valued at £53 8s. 9d. and besides a smithy he also had two barns, a stable and a milk house.

Ann Crookes was a prosperous widow with an inventory totalling £146 16s. 4d., of which £94 0s. 0d. is accounted for by her farm goods. The crops were worth £40 0s. 0d. and she had livestock, including four oxen, worth £46 0s. 0d. The remaining £8 0s. 0d. covered the value placed on a plough, wains and husbandry gear. But she too had a dual occupation; after her husband's death she may have taken charge of whatever business he was in, running it with her sons for in her will she left 'every woon of the smithis men 2s' and in her inventory there is an item valued at £20 0s. 0d. for 'loran (i.e. iron) and ioran wares'.

So for want of a specific description of those iron wares, Ann Crookes has been assigned smith/widow, the only woman in all 539 wills and inventories to have a claim to be actively concerned in the trade.

Thomas Andrews of Ford, who died in 1686, may just have left his widow with a small competence. His appraisers did not give his occupation, but there is a man of that name among the smiths in the 1672 list of smithy hearths and a Thomas Andrew (sic) of Ford is mentioned as a yeoman in the manor court rolls of April, 1681.¹⁷ All his goods are very carefully listed, including a quantity of smithy gear, whose total value came to £41 2s. 8d.; the hammers, tongs and other irons were valued by weight, nine hundred (weight) and three stone, as were the four stithies — six hundred (weight) seven stone six lbs; there was six hundredweight of steel at £6 0s. 0d., three iron plates and 400 of sow metal weight valued at £2 0s. 0d., six steel saws at £2 0s. 0d., two vices and a parcel of axes at £2 6s. 0d., but apart from that references to axes there is no clue as to what he was making at Ford.

But in business he certainly was. His debts amounted to £328 17s. 3d., his principal creditors being Mr George Sitwell,¹⁸ who was owed £40 0s. 0d. and Mr Thomas Starkey,¹⁹ to whom he owed £154 17s. 6d. The sums owing to the rest of the 30 listed names vary widely from 9s. 6d. to £25 0s. 0d. and many of them appear to be local. There was £290 2s. 4d. owing to him, but the appraisers supposed half of that to be 'desperate' i.e. with little hope of recovery. Mr Parrish and Mr Finch²⁰ owed £4 0s. 0d. for two dozen saws, Mr Parish (sic) of Boston (perhaps the same man) owed another debt of £2 10s. 0d., a Richard Finch £3 0s. 0d. and Thomas Fowler of Hull £1 0s. 0d. Unlike the names of those who were his creditors, the list of 69 debtors contains only a few names familiar locally. Some debts are quite small — 2s. 6d. or 3s., but there is one of £91 0s. 0d. and another of £31 0s. 0d.

Blacksmiths

The men described in the wills or inventories as blacksmiths mostly had smithies or smithy gear in their inventories, without any mention of iron ware already made or of iron waiting to be made up. Exceptions were Robert Nuboun of Killamarsh, who died in 1592 and who had one dozen of axes and hatchets in his inventory. Also listed was a debt for £4 5s. 2d. which included one of 13s. 4d. for a hundreth of iron — presumably one hundredweight. Myles Western's inventory was taken in 1621 and included £5 3s. 0d. for

craftsman's gear and an item of £3 0s. 0d. for iron and ware, plus a debt of £4 0s. 0d. which he owed to John Blythe of Norton for iron.²¹

Robert Haslehurst's inventory of December 1625 is one of three for the family, all of whom were metal workers, the first being George Haslehurst of 1583. Robert's smithy gear is meticulously listed and the sum total of £13 12s. 10d. included four dozen hatchets and what was called 'fore made ware' at Retford; he owed £5 0s. 0d. for iron, to whom is not stated.

It is difficult to know what to make of Richard Booth, blacksmith, of Mosborough, whose inventory was taken in April, 1673. The sum total of his moveable goods came to £306 12s. 3d., of which nearly £160 0s. 0d. was for his farming gear, livestock and crops. He did not have (or is not recorded as having) much in the way of smithy gear in his smithy, but he was owed a total of £112 6s. 8d. in bonds, bills and desperate debts. The list of these comprises some 53 names, most of them seeming to have local connections; some are given as 'for work' and most of them are for quite small amounts between 2s. and just over £7 0s. 0d.; the highest figure of £17 0s. 0d. is 'upon a bond desperate' to William Ratcliffe and Thomas Osgathorpe.²² One can only hope that his two sons and executors, George and William, were able to recover some of the money. Richard Booth was among those craftsmen successfully pursuing a dual occupation. His house was small — only three rooms and a buttery — but the living quarters were comfortably furnished and each room had a fireplace. But what he was making in his smithy is a mystery. Suffice it so say that most of the nine members of the Booth family who figure in the will and inventory lists from 1597 were metal workers of one kind or another.

Blacksmith Hugh Turton's inventory was taken in October 1635. He appears not to have been as prosperous as the others at the time of his death. His craftsman's smithy tools and gear were worth £4 0s. 0d., he had three hogsheads of iron worth £11 10s. 0d. and 'ware at Warsop' valued at £1 18s. 0d. But he owed £51 3s. 4d. which included two lots of £16 0s. 0d. each for one ton of iron from Godfrey Froggatt²³ and William Rewcon and with only £7 11s. 0d. owing to him to add to his inventory value of £48 2s. 2d., there could not have been much left for his widow and family, assuming that the full debt may have had to be paid by his executors.

The appraisers of the inventories of the other men described as blacksmiths gave no details either of materials or of made goods in stock; for most of them it is true to say that they had few possessions and their houses were small.

The conclusion to be drawn from the documents instanced above with the categorisation of the deceaseds as smiths, when no distinguishing characteristic allowed of a more precise listing, and from those of men actually termed blacksmiths, is that whilst some of them were engaged in making tools and other iron items, they were certainly not making scythes or sickles and were not as cutlers involved in making knives. This difference in precise terminology may reflect the division of the specialist trades found in the list of masters in the Cutlers' Company of Hallamshire.

Axesmiths

The inventories of the four axesmiths are not very informative. The first is that of George Haslehurst, who made his will on 8 March, 1583, the inventory being undated. Neither document mentions his occupation, but his inventory gives a value to his smithy gear of £2 7s. 8d. and from his will it appears that he owes £1 10s. 0d. to his landlord, Robert

Sitwell, for rent and an unspecified amount to John Treton's wife for 4 hundred and 1 stone of iron and half a burden of steel; his total indebtedness comes to £2 16s. 5d. His sixteen debtors, whose names all seem to be local or to belong to prominent people such as the Foljambes of Walton and Barlborough, Bullock of Unstone and Parker of Norton Lees, owed him £3 15s. 2d. in small amounts varying from 3d. due from Henry Wigfall to £2 1s. 2d. from Henry Chambers; none of the amounts are detailed except for 2s. 8d. from John Shaw for smithy gear and 3s. 4d. from John Shaw's son for axes and bills, which has been used as justification for classifying George Haslehurst as an axesmith.

There is no doubt about William Turner of Mosborough's classification. His appraisers gave his occupation as axesmith and listed his goods in the smithy:

	£	s	d
2 payres of bellies 2 stythies hammars tongs and all other smithie gayeres wrought and unwrought iron wares that is gone forth and at whome	vi	o	o
4 grindelstones at whome with furnitures and 2 at the wheile with their furnitures	ix	x	o

i.e. £6. 0s. 0d. for his smithy gear and £9 10s. 0d. for the iron ware made and unmade, which may be axes or which may, on the other hand, be hatchets, since in the list of debts owing to him is an amount of 17s. from William Smyth of Heeley for one dozen of hatchets. The inventory sum total is £127 12s. 6d. of which £44 13s. 4d. is derived from his farming gear, livestock and crops, some of which were growing within the open fields of Eckington. William Turner owed a total of £35 9s. 10d., which is not given in detail and he was owed £37 1s. 2d. in bonds, bills and notes, of which £18 18s. 0d. was given as 'Certain severall desparate debttts by smale somes'.

Of the two axesmiths after 1651 only the documents relating to Christopher Stidman in 1697 offer much of interest. John Turner of Lightwood's will of 1705 and his inventory of 1714, which amounted to only £9 17s. 6d., give no detail. Christopher Stidman's inventory, however, taken on 21 March 1697 shows a three roomed house, a coal house with a chamber over it and a smithy in which were two pairs of bellows valued at £5 0s. 0d., a stithy at £1 10s. 0d., one sow metal plate, three hundreds of iron at £2 0s. 6d., hammers, tongs and cool trough with a parcel of ware worth £1 10s. 4d. His will of the previous February reveals that he had land in Barlborough and Clowne which he left to his son, Robert, on his reaching the age of 21 and 'provideing the said Robert shall teach or cause to be taught his brother Christopher the trade of an Axesmith . . .' and that he paid his brother £10 0s. 0d. when he came of age.

Scythesmiths

Unlike the neighbouring parish of Norton, scythesmiths do not figure significantly in the Eckington wills and inventories, apart from the two very early documents already referred to relating to William Lee and Robert Mowre in 1540. This is, of course, not to say that there were no scythesmiths. It may only mean that those that there may have been did not leave wills and so do not figure in the lists used for this study. However, the predominance of Norton is indisputable, given that for the whole of the period, out of a total of 34 metal working craftsmen of all kinds, there were 21 scythemakers, whilst in Eckington there were only five. (The position is reversed when it comes to numbers of sicklemakers, for between 1534 and 1750 there were 22 sicklemakers in Eckington,

compared with only one in Norton. Eckington's specialisation was in sickle making, but the occupations in the wills and inventories also reveal a much greater diversity of metal working occupations in Eckington than in Norton).

Thomas Mellor was a scythesmith at Troway, whose inventory was taken in July 1631. He was operating two smithies and the gear in those was valued at £18 16s. 0d. Included in this sum was nine and a half hundredweight twelve stone of iron worth £7 16s. 0d. Nothing else relevant to his trade was listed in the inventory whose sum total came to £141 1s. 2d., a substantial enough figure for the time. However, John Mellor owed £134 0s. 0d. and had £101 2s. 7d. owing to him, neither amount being given in any detail.

In his will he entreated his brother-in-law, Robert Turner, and his son-in-law, Anthony Turner of Troway, to be supervisors of it. By coincidence, the only other scythesmith probate documents before 1650 are for that same son-in-law, husband of John Mellor's daughter, Ann, who in 1640 was involved in the melancholy duty of administering the estate of her husband, who may well have been a bankrupt. Anthony Turner's inventory totalled £57 19s. 4d.; his debts totalled £209 9s. 6d. and only £7 10s. 6d. was owing to him. He left no will, so his widow was obliged to exhibit at Chesterfield on 3 February, 1641 an account of her expenditure in executing her late husband's estate. She claimed exoneration for a total of £146 0s. 8d., which included paying his funeral expenses of £2 10s. 0d. and debts of £100 14s. 0d. due to people on bond, £21 0s. 0d. for rent to landlady Margaret Bowman and 5s. each to William Kirkby and Thomas Littlewood for wages. Anthony Turner's debts certainly seemed to exceed his assets and give rise to the question as to how the widow paid such sums.

Bendwaremen

The four people calling themselves bendwaremen were all members of the Booth family of Ridgeway or Charnock Hall and in none of the wills or the inventories is there any information about craftsman's materials or made goods of any kind, so it is not possible to say how their division of the metal working trade differed from that of e.g. the blacksmiths or of the other metal working craftsmen in what was produced. Bendware, considering that other members of the family were sicklemakers and blacksmiths, presumably refers to goods made of wrought iron and not the fashioning of bentwood furniture.

Cutlers

Seven out of the eight cutlers in the will and inventory lists date from 1600-28. Of these, Robert Turner of Troway is the earliest and Henry Eire of Ford is the latest and in neither man's inventory or will is there any reference to their trade, except for the gear and grinding stone in Robert Turner's cutler's shop.

Of the remaining five men, Richard Mason was presumed to be a cutler, because in his inventory of April, 1615 there was a debt owing to him by Francis Creswick for three gross of knives at £2 17s. 0d. and half a gross owing by John Wadsworth at 10s.; also itemised in his inventory, besides his smithy gear, which was meticulously listed and which is typical of that listed for other men, were a gross of knives and hafts valued at 10s., seven gross of bone hafts at 14s. and four pounds of rossell, value 7d.

The contents of Richard Mason's smithy

	£	s.	d
one stythie one paire of bellowes	2	13	4
one Coule trough		3	0
2 for(e) hammers 2 hand hammers		2	6
2 tewirons 4 pare of tongs and one scovine		2	0
one grosse of knyves and heftes		10	0
one vice one worke bord one paire of sheares one foole glasier one hollow glasier w(i)th fyles and other tools	1	3	4
toolles at the wheele		5	0
one hollow wheele		3	4

Richard Mason's cutler's equipment was given a total value of £6 7s. 2d., his farm goods £29 8s. 10d. and the total value of his inventory was £81 6s. 11d.

Neither Roger Barber, who died in 1616 nor Thomas Carleton, 1619, could be said to have much in the way of moveable goods. The value put on crops and livestock was not in either case significant, indicating only subsistence farming. Roger Barber's movable goods were valued at £14 5s. 6d., of which £3 10s. 0d. was for livestock and crops; Thomas Carleton's goods came in total to £31 18s. 2d., of which £6 18s. 0d. related to his farm goods. However, the contents of both men's smithies were listed in detail. Roger Barber had a burden of steel valued at 10s. and his smithy tools were valued at £2 14s. 6d. Thomas Carleton's inventory also mentioned steel, the equipment in the smithy amounting to £2 0s. 0d. Common to both inventories was 'olivante' or ivory, Roger Barber having 8lbs of it worth 10s., no weight or other quantity being given to Thomas Carleton's, which was included with the other smithy items. Thomas Carleton's will mentions his son, William, who was to have 'all that lease of the wheele which now I occupye with all my intrest therein of those yeres which are yet unexpyred . . .'; he also inherited ' . . . all my smithy geares with ymplements and toolles there unto belonging as well in the Smithie as in the aforesaid wheele. . . '.

Apart from William Wigfall whose inventory was taken in November, 1621, there are no other cutler's inventories until that of Robert Pinder of Mosborough in 1677 and he has been assumed to be a cutler because of the contents of his inventory. He had what was called a work chamber in which were his vice, steel, foot glaser and tools, as well as 12st of ivory valued at £9 0s. 0d. and knives and sheaths worth £11 0s. 0d. His craftsman's tools and materials made up a total of £24 15s. 0d. out of a sum total of £38 2s. 2d. although this must be reduced by a figure of £28 0s. 0d. due in debts owing by him.

None of the cutlers appeared prosperous, even William Wigfall, who was one of the Wigfalls of Carter Hall, and none of them could be said to have the dual occupation so characteristic of the sickle makers and scythe and shear makers.

Sickle and shear smiths

Even when men were obviously in sickle making, the occupations given to them by appraisers can be initially misleading. For instance, John Staniforth of Gear Lane, who died in 1597, called himself a yeoman in his will and was given no occupation by the appraisers of his lengthy and very detailed inventory. But an analysis of the contents of the inventory reveals smithy gear and several sorts of made goods — 29 dozen ready

made sickles worth £2 6s. 8d., nine dozen and seven ‘sheres’ (i.e. shears) already made worth £2 0s. 0d. and nineteen dozen ready made knives valued at £1 4s. 0d.; also listed was unworked iron at £1 14s. 0d. and unworked steel at 2s. 8d., plus five dozen spindles for a water wheel worth 2s. 6d. and 28 cogs ‘for the lyke’. Whether John Staniforth was also making spindles and cogs for water wheels is difficult to say. A possible explanation for the large number of both is that they were his stock of spare parts for the water powered grinding wheel he used. There was a total of £25 18s. 4d. owing to him from nine people, one of whom was his sister, and he himself owed £6 11s. 10d., most of the names having local connotations; in neither case is any detail given as to what goods were comprised in the two several sums.

The reason for describing himself as a yeoman was that he was a considerable farmer on Gear Lane with acres of wheat, oats, barley, peas and hay, plus livestock, which included a yoke of oxen and a flock of 40 sheep. The total value of the inventory was £108 19s. 6d., not including the debt due to him, and of that total, 71% of the value came from his farming goods at £77 15s. 10d. John Staniforth’s will and inventory are important, not just for showing his involvement in the metal working trades, in particular that of sickle making, but also for demonstrating, as inventories earlier in the sixteenth century had done and as seventeenth century ones were also to do, that the most prosperous tool makers were also yeomen farmers having a dual occupation.

John Staniforth could be assigned as sicklesmith or shearsmith or even cutler, (in fact he has been assigned as smith/toolmaker/yeoman) but there were two other men, who described themselves as shearsmiths, but who, because of the contents of their inventories, illustrate the difficulty of making a distinction between the two crafts. They are Robert Cowley of Renishaw, whose inventory was taken in April, 1612 and William Staniforth of Sload Lane, who died in 1671.

Robert Cowley’s inventory had a sum total of £446 11s. 8d., one of the highest in the whole study. He too was farming as well as tool making. He had a smithy in which was his smithy gear, plus ‘in siccles forty hundreth and eight grosse of sheares . . . £50–0–0’, being the combined value put on both sickles and shears. He seems to have owed no money to any-one and he left legacies to each of his five sons; but he was owed £205 in ‘severall debts owinge by diverse persons uppon specialtyes . . .’ and £4 10s. 0d. by ‘diverse other persons as appeareth by his will’, these amounts due being included in the sum total by his appraisers.

William Staniforth of 1671 was not quite in the same league as Robert Cowley, but could still be said to have a dual occupation with his 38 sheep, four cows, one heifer, four stirks and the total of eight days’ work of hard corn, peas, oats and barley. As well as being of Sload Lane, he was the lessee of a small farm at Killamarsh bought of Robert Cowley of Renishaw, who was possibly the younger son of the Robert Cowley above. In his smithy were his smithy gear and tools and there were also three packs of sickles valued at £12 0s. 0d. No mention of shears this time.

As can be seen on from the list, there was only one man actually calling himself a sicklesmith before 1651 and that was William Staniforth of Litfield, whose inventory was taken on 23 August, 1630. Again there is evidence in the inventory of a dual occupation, as might be expected at this large yeoman holding. There might also have been another source of income for the occupant, since one of the rooms listed is a tavern chamber. Litfield lies on a known and well used trackway between the Gleadless area of Sheffield

and Ford, Povey and Norton. In William Staniforth's inventory were a smithy and an old smithy, as well as a fair quantity of smithy gear, bar iron valued at 16s., old iron and an unspecified number of sickles, altogether valued at £8 6s. 0d.

After 1651 the will and inventory lists include more men described as sicklesmiths. Most of them add to the body of knowledge about the craft in various ways, not all of it, it must be said, directly relevant to the process of sickle making.

The inventory of John Staniforth of Litfield taken in November, 1681 is notable. He describes himself as a yeoman — as did another John in 1597 — but is clearly a sicklesmith as well. Also in his inventory, among the debts he owed, is the only example of what appears to be cost of the funeral wake (£4 16s. 1d.) with a list of the actual ingredients presumably used in making the feast. Between them the mourners seem to have consumed 36 lbs of butter, 26 gallons of ale, six and a half loaves of bread, 40 lbs of currants, eight lbs of brown sugar and three stones of prunes; the ringers received 7s. 6d. and there was another amount of 2s. 6d for a cheese.

The total value of John Staniforth of Litfield's inventory was £170 5s. 6d. and his farm goods were valued at £84 4s. 4d. In his smithy were two hundred of rough steel at £2 0s. 0d., 22 hundred of iron at £15 13s. 0d. and stithies bellows, hand hammers, three forehammers, tedding briggs and tongs worth £5 15s. 0d. Some unnamed person owed him £26 0s. 0d. for part of a bond for sickles and six different men owed amounts varying between 8s. and £1 7s. 0d. for sickles; some owed for ten dozen, others for six, five or three, value of one dozen varying from 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d.; the total of these debts owing to him, which were all accounted as being desperate (i.e. recovery of them being judged unlikely), was £5 17s. 6d. John Staniforth himself was in debt for a total of £96 6s. 7d., £60 0s. 0d. of which was owed in two amounts of £30 0s. 0d. each to Ann Swift and Thomas Staniforth, who may have been family members who had lent money to him; the rest was owed to Thomas Starkey for iron (£15 13s. 0d.)²⁴ and John Andron for steel (£2 0s. 0d.). The remainder of the £96 6s. 7d. comprised the items for the funeral wake.

John Booth was a sicklesmith in Ridgeway, who died in September 1726, evidently after being struck down by an incapacitating and unfortunately lethal 'distemper of which he died', but not before being able to dictate his will to his brother Joseph in the presence of his mother and another witness. To make sure that everything was truly legal, Joseph sent for the Chesterfield lawyer, Marmaduke Carver, whose ornate signature appears on several documents of this period. The declarations of the witnesses survive and illustrate the process which had to be observed when some-one made such a non-cupative will. The will itself is very short as might be expected from a man in extremis, but nevertheless lists one debt of £100 owing to John Booth by a man called John Wallis and £24 18s. 0d. also owing to him from seven people of whom one was in Quorn and others in Newark, Grantham and London.

The inventory lists his smithy gear value as £11 5s. 0d. and also credits him with £7 0s. 0d. for 'Sickels liing in the Cuntray' (One other distinguishing feature of this inventory is the execrable spelling and handwriting of the writer, Nicholas Pedley of Plumbley). On the line above the entry for those sickles is another unvalued one for '26 pakes of Sickell heftes', but there are other entries which are more illuminating, confirming that John Booth was making sickles from the first processing of the iron and steel to the completed, handled article. How else are these items to be explained?:-

Beast hornes 5000 and a halfe. . .	£27 10s 0d
Beast Bones 5000. . .	£5 0s 0d
Tipes (tips?). . .	5s 0d

The parlour of his house was evidently being used as a storage area, for in it there were ‘Buck hornes and and Stak (stag) hornes . . . £13 10s 0p’, together with two saddles and a pillion. The total value for the haft materials came to £46 5s. 0d., a sum to be compared with the 13s. 9d. listed for ‘halfe a hundred of steele’. Perhaps he bought his iron and steel when he had sufficient orders for completed sickles; perhaps the capital outlay of over £46 0s. 0d. for haft material indicated that when he died he was in the process of laying in stocks ready to fulfill orders and that the £100 debt due to him from John Wallis, which he passed on to his brother Joseph in his will, would have been used in buying more steel. His sudden illness may have overtaken him before he could replenish his basic materials. We shall never know.

These are the only inventories to mention significant quantities of made goods or to add very much to our knowledge of the sickle makers’ trade. Reynold Cowley of Gear Lane in 1704 had ‘sickles made and unfinished’ and sickle hafts, both valued at 6s.; there were debts owing to him of £18 9s. 6d., but no informative lists of names. Thomas Renshaw of Litfield died in 1712, William Turner of Ridgeway Moorside in 1720 and George Turner of Sload Lane in 1725, all with debts to be paid, but with no made goods and no details of their debts.

Jonathan Woollen of Troway had his inventory taken on 8 May, 1746. He had a simple house of living houseplace where the cooking fire was, an unheated parlour, cellar, and chambers; there was husbandry gear valued at £5 15s. 0d. and three mares, a horse, three cows, two heifers and a calf worth altogether £21 10s. 0d.; and there was a smithy with bellows, two anvils, tools and ten dozen sickles altogether valued at £3 0s. 0d. The sum total came to £58 4s. 7d. and it could be said that Jonathan Woollen was typical of the husbandman or small farmer, who was practising subsistence farming and supplementing his income at certain times of the year by making sickles. He was 66 years of age when he died; his son Jonathan was 37 when he inherited from his father and his brother, Thomas, who was the older of the two, was 40; their sister, Hannah, was 27. Jonathan Woollen’s will is uncomplicated and the impression given is that of a careful man, making provision for his family.²⁵

This is the last Will and Testament of me Jonathan Woolen of Troway in the Parish of Eckington and County of derby Sicclesmith made the Fourteenth Day of April in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Three and revoking all other wills by me made, I Will in the First Place that all my just Debts and Funerall Expences be fully Paid and Discharged, and I Give and Devise unto my Son Jonathan Woolen his Heires and Assigns forever All my Customary or Copyhold Closes Lands and Tenements situate lying and being within the Mannor of Eckington in the s(ai)d County of Derby Charges with and subject nevertheless to the Payment of one Annuity or clear Yearly Sum of Five Pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Britain unto Mrgaret my loving Wife Yearly and every year during her naturall Life by two equall halfe Yearly Payments, the first payment thereof to begin and be made at the End of Six Months next after my Decease And also further Charged and Subject to and with the Payment of the sume of Sixty Pounds unto my Son Thomas and the Sume of Fifty Pounds unto my Daughter Hannah both of lawfull British Money at the End of Three years next after the Decease of my said Wife Which said sumes of Sixty Pounds unto my Son

Thomas and Fifty Pounds unto my Daughter Hannah I do Give and Bequeath unto them accordingly And also I Give and Bequeath unto my s(ai)d Son Jonathan his Executors and Adm(inistrat)ors All and every my Goods Chattles Wares Merchandizes Moneys, Moneys at Interest Debts and Stock in Trade Also all my Farms and Leasehold Lands and Tenements whatsoever and wheresoever together with my Tenant Right and Interest therein and all my Personall Estate of what Nature and kind soever and wheresoever And I do appoint my s(ai)d Son Jonathan sole Executor of this my Will

In Witness whereof I the s(ai)d Jonathan Woolen have hereto put my Hand and Seal the Day and Year first abovewritten

Witnessed by Robert Hallding, Thomas Creswick and William Battie Junior.

Proved at Chesterfield 21 May 1747.

A True and perfect Inventory of all and Singular the Goods and Chattells of Jonathan Woolen late of Troway of the parish of Eckington in the County of Derby deceas(e)d taken the Eight day of May in the year of our Lord 1746

	£	s.	d.
First and Principally his purse and Apparell	1	15	0
<i>In the House</i> One Range Fireshovell and Tongs, one Winter, one Iron Yate, Two Iron potts a little Iron pan		11	0
Three pewter Dishes foure pewtwe plates, Three salts Two pewter pints, One Brass Candlestick, One warming pan, a Frying pan		12	0
One Spit One Smoothing Iron, One Toasting Iron One Cupboard, One Langsettle, Two little Tables Three Chairs and a Salt pitch, Two Kitts, Two little Tables		13	3
<i>In the Parlour</i> One bedstead and Bedding One Long Table One Chest, a Looking Glass and One Chair	1	10	0
<i>In the Cellar</i> One Barrell, One Churn, One Bowle, one Stone Table, Twelve Glass Bottles with some potts belonging the Diary		8	0
<i>In the Chambers</i> One Bedstead and Bedding One Chest, Three Spinning Wheels and a pair of Cards Ten pecks of Wheat, One Load of Oatmeal and One bedstead		2	4
<i>Husbandry Geer</i> Two Carts, One plow, Two horse Harrows a Horse Sledge, Four Collars, One Cart Saddle, Five pair of Horse Geers, One Old Fan, One Mett, a peck and some Riddles, One Chest for provander		5	15 0
<i>Cattle</i> Three mares, One Horse, Three Cows, Two heifers and one Calfe	21	10	0
<i>Smithy Tools</i> One pair of Bellows Two Anvills and Other Tools and Ten Dozen of Sickles		3	0 0
Two Swine Troughs and all other Husslement		6	4
Total	38	4	7

Appraised by us





John Cadman

Edw(ar)d Frith

Trademarks

Some of the men appearing in the will and inventory lists as tool makers of whatever kind also appear as masters in the lists of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire.²⁶ Eckington was within the area over which the Cutlers' Company writ ran, so the question arises, were the Eckington scythesmiths, sicklesmiths and cutlers using marks granted by

the Company by which the goods they made could be identified and were they perhaps also using those marks as signatures on documents such as wills and inventories?

People making wills, acting as witnesses to wills or as appraisers of inventories made marks when they could not sign their names and some of these marks have the appearance of being more than just the uncertain attempt at initials by an illiterate person. In 1597 Thomas Staniforth was witness to the will of John Staniforth. He made his mark: . (This pre-dates the foundation of the Cutlers' Company in 1624.) John Turner of Ford, sicklesmith, made his will in March, 1690 and made his mark ; his eldest son John Turner, junior, made his mark as a witness . These 3 marks by men who presumably could not write, seem unnecessarily complex as a means of identification. Anthony Turner, who died in 1640 made an equally complicated mark instead of a signature: .

But the most unequivocal reference to a mark in the sicklesmiths' wills and inventories comes in the will of John Savage of Birley Hay made on 20 January, 1702, in which he says:

... to my eldest sonne John Savage all my messuage, tenement . . . at Birley Hay wherein I now dwell and . . . all wheels, goyts, streams, dams, wayes, watercourses . . . to my sonne John Savage and his heires for ever. . .

Also:

... I doe hereby give and bequeath unto my son John Savage All my stithies, Bellowes, Tools, Instruments and utensills whatsoever belonginge to my trade of Sicklesmith and further my Will and minde is That all my Stock of Iron and Steels now lyinge by me shall be wrought up and made into Sickles att the iont and equall charge of my said sonne John and Mary my wife And that the sickles soe to be made and all other the sickles which are now made and lye by me shall be sold and the moneye thereuppon raised divided equally between my sonne John and my wife further, **my sonne John shall after St. James' day next have my Mark which I sett uppon my Sickles wholly to himselfe**

Location of grinding wheels

One of the puzzles concerning the Eckington metal workers before 1795, when the enclosure map provides some evidence of the situation of grinding wheels, is precisely where the sickle, shear and knife blades were ground. The map of 1795²⁷ shows five grinding wheels on the Moss Brook, at Birley Hay, the oldest documented site, Ford, Never Fear, Upper Carleton or Field's Wheel and Lower Carleton. The other Moss Brook site at Park Mill was for corn grinding; the Sough dam was on a tributary of the Moss and the two Skelper dams on another tributary south and uphill from Birley Hay were not shown on the 1795 map. So apart from Birley Hay, the site of which is referred to as having a new erected cutler's wheel in 1599, there are four possible sites which the Eckington metal workers could have used. Unfortunately, with the exception of the weir at the site called locally 'Never Fear', most of what remains on the Moss seems to date from the later years of the 18th century and from subsequent 19th century developments; the features presently to be seen do not appear appropriate to the kind of grinding wheel site used before 1750, which is the date on which this study ends.

In the wills and inventories themselves there are few references to water wheels and what references there are are not very informative. John Staniforth of 1597 had spindles

and cogs for a water wheel in his inventory. Where he ground his blades is not known. The nearest wheel now to Gear Lane is either at Birley Hay or Ford, although a site on the Moss further west at Foxholes on the parish border below Troway is known to have existed, approached by a track suitable only for horses or pack ponies. Local references to it suggest that when wheeled carts needed to be used, the Foxholes site was abandoned.

Thomas Carleton, cutler, in his will of 1619 left the lease of his wheel to his son, William. This was presumably either at what became known as Upper or Lower Carleton Wheel. The wheel is mentioned in two Sitwell rentals, one of 1713, when Thomas Parker was paying rent for a 30 year lease of the Upper and Nether Damsteads, Milne Bank and Carleton Wheel Piece and again in 1717²⁸ when George Wostenholme had a 21 year lease of the Carleton Sickle Wheel and other land. (A George Wostenholme, millwright, died in 1735.)

In his will of October 1621 William Wigfall left the use of his cutler's wheel to his brother, but there are no clues as to where that wheel may have been, except that map evidence shows two fields called Mill Field and Wheel Field on the stream just north of Ryall's Wood, on the slopes below Carter Hall, home of the Wigfall family.

William Turner, axesmith, of Mosborough had grindlestones '*at home and at the wheel*' in his inventory of 1634 and the will of John Turner, senior, of Ford, made on 28 March 1690 there is mention of a wheel and a lease of '*the Damsteads*' from Mr Linacre:

... Also I do hereby give and bequeath unto my younger sonne George Turner all my bellows, stithies and all the rest of my tooles belonginge to my trade. And also Fower Axletrees which are in use for grindinge two of them beinge at the Wheele and the other two beinge used for turninge with the hand . . . and alsoe the Tennant right and possession of a close called Damsteads which I hold in lease of Mr. Linacre . . .

The Damsteads mentioned may be fields near the dam called Never Fear, since the Linacres were associated with Plumbley about this time and there is a trackway connecting the two places. John Booth of Ridgeway Lane in 1718 had wheel tools and smithy tools in his inventory with again no detail as to the situation of the wheel.

The early manor rentals and surveys mention the corn mill sites and the 1480 rental also mentions a grinding wheel, but not on the Moss:²⁹

Here followeth the Mynes in Ekenton: John Machon holdeth three water mylnes for corne, whereof ij standeth upon the River of Rother under one Roofe, and called the Huy mylnes and the third standeth in the Park of Eckington and is called the Park mylne . . . the same John holdeth also a mylne called a grindlestone mylne standing upon the said water of Rother and is charged with the whole repair of the same . . .

The same three corn mills are mentioned again in the manorial survey of 1570,³⁰ this time being held by Anthony Barley, with no reference to a grindlestone mill. No scythe or sickle grinding wheel is mentioned and no mill dams, yet by 1570 the will and inventory lists contain the names of fourteen men in Eckington parish who certainly had smithies, several of whom would also have needed to grind blades on a wheel.

The 1570 survey also says that Henry Savage held the watercourse of the Mossbeck in Troway '*to build a house thereon*' and in a deed of 1599 there is at last an unequivocal reference to a cutler's wheel '*lately built*'.³¹ The house was Birley Hay and the cutler's wheel was the one there about which so much is known in the late eighteenth and

throughout the nineteenth centuries and which was one of the ones continuing to operate into the twentieth century.

Even the Parliamentary Survey of 1650³² has only one reference to a grinding wheel. Once more the three corn mills are described:

... those two Watergrist Mills under one Roofe, commonly called or known by the name of the Hay Mills ... upon the River Rother ... and the Watergrist Mill commonly known by the name of the park mill ... upon the ... Brooke called the Parke Dyke ... in the occupation of Thomas Moncke miller ... and all that Wheele commonly called the Grinding Wheele used for the grinding of Knives and pasture ground adjoyning situate and being ... upon the Park Dyke ... in occupation of Robert Townsend the elder ...

The Park Dyke is the Moss Brook, but there is no indication as to where on the Moss this grinding wheel was; it may be another reference to Birley Hay, but it is tempting to think that it may have been Thomas Carleton's wheel, mentioned in his will of 1619 and referred to again in the manor rental in 1717.

The only sicklesmith's will to give precise details of a wheel is that of George Staniforth of Litfield in July, 1732 and unfortunately it describes not one of the known wheels on the Moss, but another one which, although it does not appear on the enclosure map of 1795, is shown on the rating survey map of 1855.³³ This lies on a small tributary flowing downhill from Ridgeway to Ford and joining the Moss not far west of the Ford wheel dam. The will gives detail of field names and refers to the arrangements to be made for the scouring out of the goyt etc. By locating these field names on the enclosure map, the situation of the mill pond can be determined and since George Staniforth was of Litfield and since the fields mentioned in his will seem to be part of the Litfield land, it is possible that some of the other Staniforth sicklesmiths used this grinding wheel too.

This is the last will and Testament of me George Stanniforth of Litfield in the parish of Eckington in the County of Derby Sicklesmith and first I Give Devise and Bequeath unto my Grandson John Newbold and the heys of his body All that Farme Lands and Grounds Called or Knowne by the name of Crapper Farme or Hawkesworth Farme Scituate Lying and being near Sload Lane in the said parish of Eckington Consisting of and Being the Closes hereafter mentioned (to wit) the two Banks, the Thorne Close, the Hill Top Close, the Corne Close the upper Stonepit Close, the Great Turner Close, the Little Turner Close and the Square Close in all containing by estimation Twenty Eight acres or thereabouts, Also I Give Devise and Bequeath unto my s(ai)d Grandson ... All that Close or parcell of land called Simfield and the Wheel Standing and being therein with their and every of their appurtenances, near unto the the Ford in the s(ai)d parish of Eckington ... and I do Will order and Devise that the owners or occupyers of the Close called Simfield and Wheel above mentioned Shall from time to time and at all times for ever Have Liberty power and authority to enter into and Come upon a Close called Nether Simfield (belonging to the Litfield Estate) to Cleanse and Scour the Tayle Goyte from the S(ai)d Wheel or to open the Watercourse in the S(ai)d Close without paying any money or Other thing to the owner or possessor of the S(ai)d Nether Simfield ...

George Staniforth also owned cottages and land in Mosborough Moor, dwelling houses in Sheffield and in Coalpit Lane in Sheffield, as well as a messuage called Kingshouse in Halton, Cheshire.

Debt and Credit in Metalworkers' Wills and Inventories

When the goods and chattels of a deceased person, be they household contents, farm goods or craftsman's gear, are listed meticulously and in exhaustive detail, they constitute an invaluable guide to living conditions, house lay-out, agricultural practices, occupations and earning a living in past centuries. It is, however, obvious to anyone working on such probate material, that not all appraisers were of equal competence or reliability and that they did not always list every item found in the house, outbuildings and fields occupied by the testator and his or her family. The same caveat applies to the study of wills and inventories in relation to what debt or credit existed during the period covered by the research. The incidence of debt or credit in such a study can only be judged by the evidence actually provided by the documents and this in turn depends on the thoroughness with which the appraisers went about their task. For those wills and inventories mentioning debts and/or credits, there seem to be as many ways of recording them as there are documentary references to them.

Of the 88 wills and inventories relating to metalworkers of all categories between 1534 and 1750, 48 showed neither debts owing by the testator nor debts due to him. Of the remaining 40 who showed either debt or credit or both, twenty testators owed money and were themselves owed money by other men, 26 had only debts and 34 had no debts, but had money owing to them. The amounts concerned varied widely; debts could be as low as £1 4s. 0d. or as high as £328 17s. 3d. and money owing as little as 2s. 6d. or as much as £290 2s. 4d. Nor did the debt or credit have any noticeable relationship to the total value of the inventory; people who were apparently not very well off were just as likely to have debts or money owing to them as those with highly valued inventories; nor was there any obvious correlation between debt or credit and any particular span of years during the 216 year period examined; people were just as likely to incur debt and to have money owing to them unpaid before 1650 as afterwards; nor did the deceased's specific occupation appear to have anything to do with it either. The incidence of debt and credit as it applied to the Eckington metalworkers seems an entirely random phenomenon, depending on the individual's personal circumstances, on the availability of credit and on a person's need for it.

There seems to have been no set requirement as to how debt and credit were to be recorded. Sometimes both items appear at the end of the testator's will; sometimes both are listed in the inventory, with the money owing to the deceased added to the total value or not, as the spirit seems to have moved the appraisers; sometimes each of them can appear in either document. Sometimes both are given in detail, (and even that detail can vary), sometimes it is the only the total sum of the debt or credit which is given.

In the documents relating to the 26 men who were in debt at the time of their deaths, twelve gave the total amount of the debt only; seven listed the names of the deceased's creditors but did not give other detail. There were six references to rent which was due, two references to wages which were due to be paid, one reference to a legacy as a debt which was owed, two references to bonds in relation to debt and six references to debts owing for iron and steel.

Some names on the lists are local, either from Eckington parish itself or from the immediately surrounding area. For example, Miles Western, blacksmith of Mosborough owed £4 0s. 0d. to John Blythe of Norton for iron in 1621,³⁴ there are three references in

different inventories in 1583, 1592 and 1616 to iron and steel bought from the Treton family, who were smiths of some kind in Eckington and John Staniforth of Litfield's 1681 inventory showed a debt to Thomas Starkye of £15 13s. 0d. for iron,³⁵ blacksmith Hugh Turton's inventory of 1635 lists a debt of £16 0s. 0d. also for iron to Godfrey Froggatt³⁶ and there are many other names with local connotations concerned in much smaller debts, no details of which were given.

Many of Eckington's metalworking craftsmen must have operated a system of credit to run their businesses, either in the simple form of money owing or in the more formal bond; two men owed money in this way at the time of their deaths and six had money in bonds due to them.

Of the two who owed money, the affairs of Anthony Turner, scythesmith, of Troway who died in 1640 appeared to be in some disarray. He owed a total of £209 9s. 6d. to twelve people:

Debts due to be payde by the said Anthony Turner

	£	s	d
<i>Imprimis To Mr. John Frechvile Esquier</i>	10	[--]	
<i>To Mr Anthony [-----]</i>	5	[--]	
<i>To Maximilian W[-----]</i>	32	10	0
<i>To Widdow Hutchinson</i>	6	9	6
<i>To Thomas Burton</i>	10	16	0
<i>To Margaret Bowman</i>	21	0	0
<i>To Mr. Leonard Gill</i>	17	10	0
<i>To Anthony Parker</i>	10	0	0
<i>To Francis Kellam Children</i>	16	4	0
<i>To Thomas Cartledge for Rent</i>	2	5	0
<i>To Margaret Bowman</i>	60	0	0
<i>To Margery Sprentall</i>	2	0	0
<i>for servants wages</i>	0	15	0

(Document damaged)

Sum(a) to (ta)l(is) 209 9 6

His widow, Anne Turner, presented her executor's account of his 'goods, rights and credits' to the court at Chesterfield on February 3 1641,³⁷ charging herself with the sum of £57 19s. 4d., which was the total value of her late husband's inventory and asking for expenditure totalling £146 0s. 8d. to be allowed:

Exon(er)ac(ion)

Wherof this accomptant craveth allowance of these sumes following by her necessarily expended

	£	s	d
<i>Imprimis for the fun(er)all expences of the deceased</i>	2	10	0
<i>Item for l(ette)res of the administracon and Commission viaticall expences in proveing the same</i>	1	6	8
<i>Item payde to Maximilian Winter uppon bond by the deceased</i>	23	10	0
<i>Item Payde to Margaret bowman due to her uppon bond</i>	60	0	0
<i>Item To Elizabeth Hutchinson due to her uppon bond</i>	6	8	0
<i>Item payde to Godfrey Blackshawe due to him uppon bond</i>	10	16	0

Item	payde to Margaret Bowman due to her for Rentt for lands in Troway due by the deceased	21	0	0
Item	payde to Will(ia)m Kirbie for wages	5	0	
Item	payde to Thomas Littlewood for wages	5	0	
Item	for draweing ingrosseing and passing this accompt and viaticall expences in pruing the same	20	0	0
		(£146	0	8)

The £57 19s. 4d. given as the value of Anthony Turner's goods and chattels and the debt of £7 11s. 6d. owing to him for sickles taken together do not cover his indebtedness of £209 9s. 6d. There is no indication as to how his widow paid off some of his due debts and found the £42 0s. 0d. for her own expenses as executor, but Anthony Turner's estate is clearly bankrupt. A manor court entry in September 1638, the meaning of which in relation to his situation is not quite clear, refers to a message at the west end of Troway with two bays, garden-stead and smithy having been surrendered by Anthony Turner to the use of Margaret Bowman, (his landlord) and his son and heir, John Turner. Had Anthony Turner given up his scythe or sickle making business and had his son taken over his place?³⁸

The other man some of whose debts were in the form of bonds was John Staniforth, junior, of Litfield, who made his will on 15 June 1681. His undated inventory contains the figure of £26 0s. 0d. owing to him as part of a bond for sickles, but the name of the person whose bond he held is not given. Another sum of £5 17s. 6d. owing to him is listed as desperate and is given in detail, not only with the names of those who owed him money, but with the number of sickles for which they were indebted to him given as well.³⁹ John Staniforth himself owed for two bonds of £30 0s. 0d. each, one to Anne Swift and the other to Thomas Staniforth.

Five other people were owed money in the form of bonds. Anne Crookes in 1647 had £15 0s. 0d. due to her in two bonds, one of £10 0s. 0d. from Peter Potter and the other of £5 0s. 0d. from Peter Briges. Thomas Turner of Ridgeway Moorside was credited with a bond of £20 0s. 0d. Richard Booth, whose inventory is dated 1 April, 1673 was owed £112 6s. 8d., almost 39% of its total value of £306 12s. 3d. There are 53 names on the debtors' list, seventeen for bonds, the highest amount for one being £10 6s. 0d. owed by Thomas Marriot; other sums vary from £7 8s. 4d. to £1 1s. 0d.; five out of the seventeen are listed as desperate, the highest being £17 0s. 0d. owed by William Ratcliffe and Thomas Osgathorpe, the lowest £1 1s. 10d. owed by Thomas Rivington. The total of the bonds owing comes to £86 14s. 3d. of which the total accounted desperate was £33 6s. 10d.

Robert Cowley of Renishaw, shearsmith, was owed £209 10s. 0d. 'by specialty' in 1612, but no detail of how that sum was made up is given. William Staniforth, shearsmith, of Sload Lane in 1671 had two bonds owing to him, one for £10 0s. 0d. from William Water and another of £14 0s. 0d. from George Thompson, but again there is no detail. George Wigfall of Carter Hall in 1623 was owed £7 10s. 0d. in a bond from John Bowman and another 17s. by bill from the same man out of a total of £40 6s. 3d. owing to him.

The bonds for larger sums owed by the metalworkers may constitute borrowing to finance their business ventures or to tide them over when things were difficult. Some of those who lent money to them were obviously local or were perhaps family members,

one or two actually being their landlords, who also seemed to have allowed arrears of rent to accumulate in some cases, Anthony Turner, being a case in point. No indication is given anywhere of whether interest was charged on the larger amounts or whether any kind of collateral was asked for, although it would seem sound practice to request one or the other and perhaps even both. The same applies to money credited to testators in the form of bonds. Such money was probably due to them for sickles and other made goods, this being clear in some instances, such as in the documents relating to John Staniforth. The smaller amounts in the long lists of names in Richard Booth's inventory of 1673, John Booth's of 1726, George Haslehurst's of 1583, John Staniforth's of 1597 and Thomas Andrews' of 1686 seem to suggest extended credit both to customers and to the metalworkers themselves.

Thomas Andrews' inventory was taken with such care and given in such detail, both as regards the house contents, the farming items and the debts, that the conclusion must be that his death occurred whilst his business was still fully operational. The document is neatly set out on two large sheets with the £146 3s. 8d. total value of the movable goods being given net and the totals of the debts owing to him of £209 2s. 4d. and the those which he owed, £328 17s. 3d., entered below. The appraisers and witnesses, as they called themselves, of his inventory were men of standing locally — Robert Staniforth, Samuel Staniforth, Henry Kent and Isaac Fentham, who was the inventory writer. (A man of this name was a servant of George Sitwell and took over as clerk at the Renishaw slitting mill in 1662, the name Fentham occurring in parish registers until the early years of the 18th century.) The second sheet of the inventory lists individually the debts owing by Andrews and the money which was owed to him. The two largest amounts owing were to Mrs Sitwell for £40 0s. 0d. and Thomas Starkye for £154 17s. 6d., which was probably for iron, similar to John Staniforth's debt to Starkye in 1681; half of the amount owing to him was supposed by the appraisers to be desperate, as is written in a note in the margin. But in spite of the meticulous listing of the names of his 30 creditors and the names of the 69 people who owed him money, in only one case is there any real reference to what was covered by the debt, Mr Parrish and Mr Finch owing £4 0s. 0d. to him for saws.⁴⁰ Thomas Andrews' desperate debts would amount to over £100 0s. 0d., but no indication is given of how long standing they were, or whether any kind of interest was charged on such debts, or indeed which particular debts in the 69 name list were actually desperate. This characteristic applies to all the debts owing to them listed in the metalworkers' inventories.

A Dual Occupation

The wills and inventories of the Eckington metalworkers do not only reveal informative details of their stocks of iron, steel, made goods and debts, they also suggest that many of the testators were following what has been called a dual occupation. They were often yeoman farmers or husbandmen as well, living on some of the principal holdings of the parish which are still important farms today. At certain less busy periods during the farming year such men would turn to their other occupation of scythe or sickle making or whatever kind of metalworking they were involved in and in so doing would provide themselves and their families with another source of income and in addition a kind of safety net for hard times. As well as the instances of dual occupation given earlier, the wills, inventories and other documents relating to generations of families such as the

Turners, Staniforths and Booths, with others, show this dual occupation characteristic unmistakably. Even those men who were not perhaps as prosperous were practising subsistence farming, so that the vast majority of inventories list some animals, crops and husbandry gear in varying quantities depending on the deceased's standing within the social structure.

For eleven of the 88 metalworkers, there are no inventories. Those of the remaining 77 were analysed using the method employed for all the inventories of whatever category i.e. the items listed which appertained to farming were studied separately from the household goods and the goods relating to the deceased's craft. The farming items were then themselves studied under the different headings of crops, cattle, other animals and husbandry gear and a separate sum total calculated for them, so that the percentage of farm goods in relation to the goods in the rest of the inventory could be calculated. Using 50% initially as a very rough guide, some 23 inventories seemed to show evidence of dual occupation and that feature was just as evident in the 16th century inventories as in the later ones. The nature of the inventories themselves and the sometimes apparently haphazard way their contents were recorded make it difficult to lay down any precise rules for postulating a dual occupation. Not only that, the time of year when the inventory was taken also makes for imprecision, particularly as regards the detail of crops grown. Nevertheless, there is usually enough value put on farm goods to show that some men had much more in the way of crops and cattle than others and sometimes the will details help with references to the type of land holdings.

Three of the earliest metalworkers' inventories relate to men who were not earning a living solely from their craft. William Hyll of Mosborough in 1534, for example, was credited with a sum total of £30 18s. 6d., of which £16 14s. 9d. came from his farming goods. He had six oxen, two cows, eight bullocks and twelve sheep and was well equipped with husbandry gear. The farming goods of William Lee, scythesmith, in 1540 were valued at £22 11s. 0d. out of a sum total of £29 10s. 0d. and he too had six oxen as well as nine cows, ten young beasts and husbandry gear. Robert Mowre of Coldwell had 37 acres of crops already sown in the April of 1540 when his inventory was taken, plus ten oxen, twelve cows, two heifers, two calves, twelve young beasts, 40 sheep and eight lambs. The same applies to Robert Cowley of Renishaw in 1612, whose inventory sum total of £446 11s. 8d. was one of the highest in the whole study. His farm goods at £115 6s. 8d. were only 25% of the total, but his livestock included six oxen, six cows, bullocks and 90 sheep and lambs and he held both freehold and copyhold land in Spinkhill and Barlborough. Richard Booth's inventory was taken in April, 1673; his farming goods came to £159 3s. 8d. out of a sum total of £306 12s. 3d., his crops being valued at £69 8s. 4d. and his livestock at £67 13s. 4d.; he too had a large flock of sheep. If Robert Booth of Charnock, whose inventory was taken over twenty years later in April, 1696, had not described himself as a bendwareman, he would have been listed as a yeoman farmer, for out of a net sum total of £188 5s. 5d., the value put on his farm goods was £179 0s. 0d. and no craft goods are mentioned. His will was dated November, 1685 and among the many bequests to members of his family is one to his wife, Ann, of £40 0s. 0d. in silver coins and an instruction to his sons that she is to be provided with sufficient coal, meat and drink necessary for life and a horse on which to ride to church and market.

Nearly all the inventories of members of the Staniforth family are those of men with a dual occupation, beginning with John of Gear Lane in 1597, who described himself as a

yeoman and who, besides the shares and sickles and other craft items, had farming items valued at £77 15s. 10d. out of a total of £108 19s. 6d. William Staniforth of Litfield in 1630 did describe himself as a sicklesmith, but had crops of wheat, barley and oats worth £20 13s. 4d. in ten days ploughing and livestock valued at £30 6s. 4d. out of a sum total of £93 3s. 0d.; the farming items of another Staniforth, John, of Litfield in 1681, who was described as both a yeoman and a sicklesmith formed almost exactly 50% of the total of his inventory and the same applied to William of Sload Lane, whose inventory is dated June 1671.

The manor court rolls of Eckington provide more evidence of generations of metalworkers' families and their dual occupation, if such is needed, in the details of surrenders of land both within the open fields of Eckington parish and various acreages held by copyhold or freehold. Dual occupation was a way of life throughout the period of study from 1534–1750, not just for men involved in making the scythes, sickles, shears and other metal goods for which Eckington became known, but also for the many other craftsmen whose names and occupations appear in the will and inventory lists.

Conclusion

It would be dangerous to try to draw precise conclusions from the study of such a limited source as probate wills and inventories. It is obvious that many of the inventories are an incomplete account of the deceased's goods and chattels, many of the documents being fair copies of those originally taken by the appraisers. (This is illustrated by the inventory of Joseph Carlton of Marsh Lane, yeoman, a fair copy of which is deposited at L.R.O., and which contrasts in its lack of detail with the original fully detailed one still held by one of his descendants.)⁴¹ Real estate was not valued for probate, nor was a list of land holdings made, so the true worth of those dying within the period of this particular research project from 1534 to 1750 is very hard to judge, as is the consequent situation of their dependents. Nevertheless, wills and inventories remain uniquely valuable as a source of information about family circumstances; those for the parish of Eckington illustrate the diversity of occupations in a way that no other documents can and also point to the predominance of agriculture as a way of earning a living, since out of the total of 539 wills and inventories 215 are those of yeomen and husbandmen, with no evidence of any craft goods.

Regarding metal working in its various forms, the study has shown Eckington's specialisation to be in the making of sickles and shears, there being 22 men engaged in this section of the trade out of a total of 88 metalworkers, seventeen of them with detailed inventories. Three of these men appear to have been very prosperous with the total value placed on their inventories varying between just over £300 to well over £700. Seven of the others had values of between £50 and £100 and only two fell below £20. It is a pity that nineteen people have had to be designated merely as smiths for lack of any more informative or specific detail; that they were engaged in metal working is not in doubt and some of them were a not insignificant part of the trade, the inventories of e.g. Thomas Andrews in 1686 appraised at £146 3s. 8d., George Wigfall in 1623 at £403 0s. 8d., John Staniforth in 1597 at £108 19s. 6d., Ann Crookes in 1647 at £146 16s. 4d. and John Staniforth in 1681 at £170 5s. 6d. being especially important.

The study has also revealed diversity among the metal working occupations followed. As well as the expected sickle makers, cutlers, scythe makers and the smiths referred to

above, some of the men described as blacksmiths were much more than the conventional picture of such craftsman painted in later centuries, shoeing horses and mending farm machinery. Some certainly made hatchets and axes and one at least made saws. One can only wish that the appraisers had recorded what they called 'ware' and 'fore made ware' more meticulously, so that the deceased's true occupation could be assigned.

One trade known to have been followed by numerous men in Eckington parish throughout the period of this will and inventory study was that of nail making, but there is only one nailer in the occupation list. The inventory of Peter Roger of Troway, taken on 29 October, 1634 was valued in total at £13 17s. 6d. His possessions were few, there being only one pair of bedstocks and accompanying bedding listed along with the barest minimum of pots, pans and other utensils; his will indicates that he had two unmarried daughters and that he also had three sons, to one of whom he left all his smithy gear and what he called 'iron thynges'. Among other items, the inventory lists four pairs of tongs, six hammers, several different kinds of tools used for boring and a half stone of iron, valued together at 6s. 8d., plus bellows and stithy valued at 16s. 0d., making his craftsman's equipment worth 8% of the whole. There is no mention of nails, but even this humble nailer was practising subsistence farming, if not the dual occupation so characteristic of his much more prosperous and successful fellow metal workers. Peter Roger had thirteen sheep, two cows, one yearling calf, a mare and £2 0s. 0d. worth of hay, totalling £10 6s. 8d. making the farm goods worth 74% of the inventory's value. An entry in the manor court rolls for 11 July, 1635, refers to three acres of land abutting south on Troway Green 'then in the tenure of widow Roger, the subject of a surrender by the Kirby family, who were the landlords.'⁴² Even such a low value as the £13 17s. 6d. set on his total inventory may indicate that Peter Roger had goods worth more than other nailers in the parish and that the reason for the non-appearance of nailers in the whole will and inventory study is that they fell into the category of those whose moveable goods, together with their craft items, were not of sufficient value and who thus did not make wills.

Dual occupation has proved to be a characteristic of nearly 30% of the metal workers' inventories studied and many of these men, as has been said, had moveable goods on which a high value was set and occupied important yeoman farms. If dual occupation was for them a safety net in times of possible hardship as well as a means of augmenting the family income, how much more important was such an involvement in a metal working trade at a much lower level for families, who had only a few acres on which to grow crops and pasture animals? Some families, such as the Staniforths, Savages, Booths and Turners became increasingly associated later in the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth centuries with relatively large edge tool making concerns, both within Eckington parish and in neighbouring places. For them, as specialisation developed and the demand for agricultural tools grew, dual occupation was perhaps not so crucial. But for those further down the income scale, without entrepreneurial skills and without capital, even subsistence farming would provide the necessities of life.

The enclosure of Eckington's open fields, common meadows and common grazing in the Act of 1795 probably did not affect substantial sicklesmith/yeomen; indeed it must have added to their prosperity. However, it may well have spelt the end of independent existence for the humbler craftsmen. Further research outside the scope of this current study would be needed to establish what happened to the descendants of men like Jonathan Woollen and Peter Roger and whether the major factor in the disappearance

of the small craftsman was the extinguishing of his common rights and so of his chance to fall back on benefiting from his own land in times of hardship, or whether, in the latter half of the 18th century, it was a combination of increasing specialisation and an inability to finance expansion to meet developing demand for products such as the sickles, shears, scythes, axes, saws, hatchets, bills and other iron goods which feature in this investigation into the metal workers of Eckington.

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- ⁵ Hey, D. G., *The origins and early growth of the Hallamshire cutlery and allied trades. English Rural Society 1500–1800: Essays in honour of Joan Thirsk* (C.U.P., 1990), 360.
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- ¹⁰ Riden, P. 'The Population of Derbyshire in 1563', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* (D.A.J.) xcvi (1978), 61–71.
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- ¹³ L.R.O. B/V/5 1751.
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- ¹⁶ Garratt, H. J. H., *Eckington Manor Court Rolls, Volume V 1694–1804* (H. J. H. Garratt, 1992), 143.
- ¹⁷ Garratt, H. J. H., *op. cit.*, iv, 173.
- ¹⁸ Geo. Sitwell of Renishaw Hall, ironmaster, 1601–67.
- ¹⁹ Thomas Starkey, gentleman, of Eckington died in 1688; he appears in George Sitwell's letter book as one of his principal servants. Riden, P., D.R.S. *op. cit.*, xlvi et passim.
- ²⁰ A John Finch of Dudley appears in D.R.O. D1000M/1/26 as having bought iron from Sitwell in 1664; Finch was an ironmonger. Riden, P., D.R.S., *ibid.*, xvii et passim.
- ²¹ The Blythe family of Norton Lees were prominent in the scythe making trade from the mid sixteenth century.
- ²² A. Wm. Ratcliffe of Sheffield, scissor-smith, and a Thos. Osgathorpe of Grimsthorpe, cutler, appear in the list of masters in the Cutlers' Company c. 1651–94. Hey, D. G. and Unwin, J. *The Cutlers of Hallamshire, 1624–1699*. (Division of Adult Continuing Education, University of Sheffield).
- ²³ Godfrey Froggatt of The Hagge, Staveley, was a servant of John Frecheville of Staveley Hall, landlord of Staveley ironworks. Riden, P. D. R. S., *ibid.*, xliv et passim.
- ²⁴ Fn. 19 supra.
- ²⁵ L.R.O. B/C/11 Woollen, Jonathan 1747–04–19.
- ²⁶ Hey and Unwin, *op. cit.*
- ²⁷ Fn. 7 supra.

- ²⁸ Sitwell MS at Renishaw Hall (information per J. C. Harvey).
²⁹ Fn. 8 supra.
³⁰ P.R.O. E164 Exchequer KR, Vol. 38 ff. 38–59.
³¹ Fn. 14 supra.
³² Hall, T. W., Catalogue of the Edmunds Collection, 70 (S.C.A.).
³³ D.R.O.
³⁴ Fn. 21 supra.
³⁵ Fn. 19 supra.
³⁶ Fn. 23 supra.
³⁷ L.R.O. Pro/Ad 1640–10–08.
³⁸ Garratt, H. J. H., *op. cit.*, iv, 46.
³⁹ Supra p. 309.
⁴⁰ Fn. 20.
⁴¹ L.R.O. B/C/11 Carlton, Joseph 1728–04–11; original in the possession of H. J. H. Garratt.
⁴² H. J. H. Garratt, *ibid.* 23.

APPENDIX 1

Inv Date	Will Date	Surname	Forename	Place	Occupation	S.T.
1583 N.D.	1583–03–08	Haslehurst	George	ECK	AXSM	£ 12– 4– 2
1634–07–21	N.W.	Turner	William	MB	AXSM	£127–12– 6
1697–03–21	1697–02–22	Stidman	Christopher	ECK	AXSM	£ 28–11– 4
1714–07–22	1705–05–03	Turner	John	LGTWD	AXSM	£ 9–16– 6
1592–11–03	1592–10–21	Nuboun	Robert	KLMSH	BLK	£ 26–15– 6
1593–09–03	1593–07–20	Haslehurst	Godfrey	ECK	BLK	£ 40– 3– 0
1599–03–11	1599–02–09	Frith	William	ECK	BLK	£ 26–13– 0
1611–10–09	N.W.	Crookes	Thomas	ECK	BLK	£ 14–17– 1
1618–09–25	N.W.	Crookes	Robert	MB	BLK	£ 77– 6– 4
1621–09–27	1621–09–02	Western	Myles	MB	BLK	£ 63– 4– 8
1624–10–22	1624–10–02	Levick	Francis	ECK	BLK	£ 27– 8– 4
1625–12–21	1625–12–07	Haslehurst	Robert	ECK	BLK	£ 99– 0–10
1629 N.I.	1629–02–20	Levick	William	ECK	BLK	None
1632 N.I.	1632–07–29	Booth	John	ECK	BLK	None
1635–10–25	1635–10–01	Turton	Hugh	ECK	BLK	£ 48– 2– 2
1670 N.I.	1670–08–07	Walton	John	ECK	BLK	None
1673–04–01	1672–05–24	Booth	Richard	MB	BLK	£306–12– 3
1680 N.I.	1680 N.W.	Western	Thomas	MB	BLK	£ 64–14– 0
1737–12–07	1729–03–10	Littlewood	Joseph	ECK	BLK	£ 18–17– 6
1647–12–30	1647–05–07	Booth, eldr.	Henry	RDGLN	BNDWR	£ 29– 7– 8
1689–12–16	1689–02–23	Booth	Thomas	RDGLN	BNDWR	£ 4–18– 0
1696–04–02	1685–11–20	Booth	Robert	CHNK	BNDWR	£188– 5– 5
1709 N.I.	1709–10–11	Booth	Valentine	CHNK	BNDWR	None
1600–01–16	1600–01–03	Turner	Robert	TR	CT	£ 44–13– 5
1615–04–16	N.W.	Mason	Richard	ECK	CT	£ 81– 6–11
1616–10–23	1616–10–09	Barber	Roger	ECK	CT	£ 14– 5– 6
1619 N.D.	N.W.	Machon	Thomas	ECK	CT	£ 29–13– 4
1619–05–17	1619–05–06	Carlton	Thomas	ECK	CT	£ 31–18– 2
1621–11–10	1621–10–13	Wigfall	William	ECK	CT	£ 19– 4– 8
1677–09–28	N.W.	Pinder	Robert	MB	CT	£ 38– 2– 2
1629–01–01	1628–12–30	Eire	Henry	FD	CT/Y	£ 33– 5– 8
1534–04–12	N.W.	Sitwell	Henry	ECK	Immgr Sng	£ 19– 9–10
1634–10–29	1634–10–09	Roger	Peter	TR	NLR	£ 13–17– 6
1630–08–22	N.W.	Staniforth	William	LTFD	SCK	£ 93– 3– 0
1680–10–09	N.W.	Turner	Thomas	RMRS	SCK	£ 84–17– 2

1694-01-06	1690-03-28	Turner	John snr.	FD	SCK	£ 44-13- 7
1702-02-27	1702-01-20	Savage	John	BHY	SCK	£ 70- 4- 2
1703 N.I.	1703-04-16	Staniforth	Robert	FD	SCK	None
1704-08-12	N.W.	Cowley	Reynold	GRLN	SCK	£ 66-10-10
1712-01-03	1711-12-24	Renshaw	Thomas	LFTD	SCK	£ 57-12- 0
1718 N.I.	1718-11-20	Booth	John	RDGLN	SCK	None
1718-03-01	1718-02-05	Booth	John	RDGLN	SCK	£ 53-10- 2
1720-11-10	1720-11-03	Turner	William	RMRSD	SCK	£ 35- 2- 0
1722 N.D.	1722-07-09	Brierley	Richard eldr	MB	SCK	£ 11- 0- 0
1725-04-12	N.W.	Turner	George	SLDLN	SCK	£ 17- 6-11
1726 N.I.	1726-05-30	Staniforth	Thomas	FD	SCK	None
1726-09-17	1726-09-13	Booth	John	RDG	SCK	£303-11- 9
1732 N.I.	1732-07-25	Staniforth	George	LFTD	SCK	None
1733 N.I.	1733-04-09	Mullins	John	FD	SCK	None
1738 N.D.	1738-04-17	Bolsover	Thomas	MB	SCK	£ 29- 0-06
1746-05-08	1743-04-14	Woollen	Jonathan	TR	SCK	£ 38- 4- 7
1726-02-26	1725-05-15	Staniforth	Samuel	MBMRSD	SCK/Y	£748-15- 0
1741-04-17	1741-04-12	Renshaw	Thomas	LFTD	SCK/Y	£ 39-19- 8
1540 N.D.	NW	Lee	William	ECK	SCY	£ 29-10- 0
1631-07-27	1631-07-21	Mellor	John	TR	SCY	£141- 1- 2
1640-09-16	NW.Exc.Acct.	Turner	Anthony	TR	SCY	£ 57-19- 4
1741 N.I.	1741-08-26	Creswick	Thomas	MB	SCY	None
1540-04-08	N.W.	More	Robert	CLDWL	SCY/Y	£111- 8- 2
1612-04-15	1612-03-09	Cowley	Robert	RNS	SHRSM	£446-11- 8
1671-06-27	1671-06-05	Staniforth	William	SLDLN	SHRSM	£ 81-10- 0
1534 N.D.	N.W.	Hill	William	MB	Smth	£ 30-18- 6
1547-11-03	1547-09-20	Bromeley	John	ECK	Smth	£ 38- 9- 0
1549-08-25	1549-08-13	Firth	John	ECK	Smth	£ 11- 0- 4
1557 N.D.	1557-05-10	Firth	James	ECK	Smth	£ 28- 2- 4
1558 N.D.	1558-01-01	Turner	Thomas	TR	Smth	£ 30- 6- 8
1559 N.D.	1559-04-02	Bingham	William	ECK	Smth	£ 15- 1- 4
1567 N.D.	1567-01-18	Crooks	Thomas	ECK	Smth	£ 18-17- 0
1567 N.D.	1567-05-16	Treeton	John	ECK	Smth	£ 16-13- 8
1579 N.D.	1579-04-23	Colley	William	ECK	Smth	£ 28- 8- 0
1584-12-26	1584-09-17	Kent	Thomas	ECK	Smth	£ 17- 0- 4
1592-10-18	N.W.	Mylson	Thomas	SPK	Smth	£ 10-12- 4
1592-11-20	N.W.	Gill	Richard	ECK	Smth	£ 34- 9- 8
1686-04-08	N.W.	Andrews	Thomas	FD	Smth	£146- 3- 8
1694-10-17	N.W.	Green	Edward	RNSLT	Smth	£ 25-15- 4
1701-09-13	N.W.	Atkin	Christopher	ECK	Smth	£ 18-15- 4
1716-10-16	N.W.	Turner	John	RDG	Smth	£ 17-10- 4
1726-07-30	N.W.	Madins	John	ECK	Smth	£ 9-13- 0
1735-01-24	N.W.	Booth	John	MB	Smth	£ 32- 0- 9
1742-04-19	N.W.	Littlewood	Thomas	BR	Smth	£ 18-19- 0
1558 Sept	1558-09-11	Leake	Thos.eldr	ECK	Smth/G	£ 86-11- 8
1623-10-15	N.W.	Wigfall	George	CTHL	Smth/G	£403- 0- 8
1545 N.D.	1545-01-08	More	George	ECK	Smth/sng	£ 13- 2- 0
1597-08-24	1597-08-14	Staniforth	John	GRLN	Smth/tlkr/Y	£108-19- 6
1647-09-24	1647-05-10	Crookes	Ann	MB	Smth/WD	£146-16- 4
1681 N.D.	1681-06-15	Staniforth	John	LTFD	Smth/Y	£170- 5- 6
1702-11-30	1702-06-16	Staniforth	William	MBMRSD	Smth/Y	£ 90-11- 6
1561 N.D.	1561 N.D.	Wordsworth	John	ECK	Tnkr	£ 24- 8- 4
1708-04-05	1708-04-01	Green	Thomas	ECK	WhtSmth	£ 12- 4- 0

Eckington Metalworkers: Abbreviations:

Std.: Standardised; S.T.: Sum total (summa totalis) N.D.: no date; N.I.: no inventory; N.W.: no will

Place:

BHY	Birley Hay	LTFD	Litfield
BR	Bramley	MB	Mosborough
CHNK	Charnock Hall	MBMRSD	Mosb'gh Moorside
CLDWL	Coldwell	RDG	Ridgeway
CTHL	Carter Hall	RDGLN	Ridgeway Lane
ECK	Eckington	RMRSD	Ridgeway Moorside
FD	Ford	RNS	Renishaw
GRLN	Gear Lane	RNSLT	Renishaw Slitting Mill
KLMSH	Killamarsh	SLDLN	Sload Lane
LGTWD	Lightwood	SPK	Spinkhill
		TR	Troway

Occupation:

AXSM	Axsmith	SCY/Y	Scythesmith/Yeoman
BLK	Blacksmith	SHRSM	Shearsmith
BNDWR	Bendwareman	Smth	Smith
CT	Cutler	Smth/G	Smith/Gentleman
CT/Y	Cutler/Yeoman	Smth/sng	Smith singleman
Irnmgr Sng	Ironmonger singleman	Smth/timkr/Y	Smith/toolmaker/yeoman
NLR	Nailer	Smth/WD	Smith/widow
SCK	Sicklesmith	Smth/Y	Smith/Yeoman
SCK/Y	Sicklesmith/Yeoman	Tnkr	Tinker
SCY	Scythesmith	WhtSmth	Whitesmith

Eckington metal workers, 1534–1750

APPENDIX 2

Smithy Forges in Ekkinton w(hi)ch refuse payment

Sam. Feram	Cutler	1
Wm. Stones	Blacksmith	1
Geo. Kirkby		2
Geo. Turner	Blacksmith	1
Nath. Creswicke		2
Tho. Andrew		2
John Staniford, jnr.		2
Jo. Staniford, snr		2
Will. Staniforth		2
Robt. Staniforth		2
Will. Leake		2
Jo. Turner		2
Tho. Turner		2
Hen. Hancocke		2
Stephen Berchall		2
Jo. Hadfeild		2
Will. Staniforth		2
Tho. Turner		2
Jo. Littlewood	Blacksmith	1

Scarsdale Hearth Tax 1672 (PRO E179/94/394)

APPENDIX 3

Inv Date	Will Date	LRO Pro/Ad	Std. Surname	Forename	Place	Occupation	Smith	Crft.Gr. S.T.	Farm S.T.	Debt	Credit
1583 N.I.D.	1583-03-08	1583-05-09	Haslehurst	George	ECK	AXSM	Yes	GR	£ 4-9-4	£ 2-16-5	£ 6-13-10
1634-07-21	N.W.	1634-08-12	Turner	William	MB	AXSM	Yes	Yes	£ 44-13-4	£ 35-9-10	£ 38-1-2
1697-03-21	1697-02-22	1697-04-21	Stidman	Christopher	ECK	AXSM	Yes	Yes	£ 11-5-0	NM	NM
1714-07-22	1705-05-03	1714-10-07	Turner	John	LGTWD	AXSM	NM	NM	None	NM	NM
1592-11-03	1592-10-21	1592-12-14	Nuboun	Robert	KLMSh	BLK	GR	Yes	£ 14-11-4	£ 4-5-2	No
1593-09-03	1593-07-20	1593-11-24	Haslehurst	Godfrey	ECK	BLK	GR	No	£ 14-8-8	NM	NM
1599-03-11	1599-05-10	1599-05-10	Frith	William	ECK	BLK	Yes	GR	£ 10-3-0	No	£ 7-14-2
1611-10-09	N.W.	1611-11-10	Crookes	Thomas	ECK	BLK	Yes	CrftGr	£ 6-13-8	NM	NM
1618-09-25	N.W.	1618-10-06	Crookes	Robert	MB	BLK	Yes	GR	£ 53-8-8	£ 1-4-0	£ 7-14-0
1621-09-27	1621-09-02	1621-10-03	Western	Myles	MB	BLK	Yes	Yes	£ 30-11-4	£ 4-0-0	£ 1-13-0
1624-10-22	1624-10-02	1624-10-29	Levick	Francis	ECK	BLK	Yes	£ 63-4-8	£ 20-8-11	NM	NM
1625-12-21	1625-12-07	1626-01-29	Haslehurst	Robert	ECK	BLK	Yes	£ 27-8-4	£ 60-1-4	£ 5-0-0	£ 2-7-0
1629 N.I.	1629-07-20	1629-07-02	Levick	William	ECK	BLK	Yes	£ 99-0-10	None	£ 2-9-0	£ 10-0-0
1632 N.I.	1632-07-29		Booth	John	ECK	BLK	No	None	None	NM	NM
1635-10-25	1635-10-01	1636-10-01	Turton	Hugh	ECK	BLK	Yes	£ 48-2-2	£ 22-0-8	£ 51-3-4	£ 7-11-0
1670 N.I.	1670-08-07	1691-11-17	Walton	John	ECK	BLK	Yes	None	None	NM	NM
1673-04-01	1672-05-24	1673-04-30	Booth	Richard	MB	BLK	Yes	£ 306-12-3	£ 59-3-8	No	£ 112-6-8
1680 N.I.	1680 N.W.	1680-07-12	Western	Thomas	ECK	BLK	NM	£ 64-14-0	None	£ 50-0-0	No
1737-12-07	1729-03-10	1738-10-19	Littlewood	Joseph	ECK	BLK	Yes	£ 18-17-6	£ 16-15-6	NM	NM
1647-12-30	1647-05-07	1648-11-22	Booth, eldr.	Henry	RDGLN	BNDWR	No	£ 29-7-8	£ 14-13-0	NM	NM
1689-12-16	1689-02-23	1690-02-23	Booth	Thomas	RDGLN	BNDWR	NM	£ 4-18-0	None	NM	NM
1685-11-20	1685-11-20	1696-04-16	Booth	Robert	CHNK	BNDWR	NM	£ 188-5-5	£ 179-0-0	£ 28-0-7	£ 3-10-0
1709 N.I.	1709-10-11	1710-04-06	Booth	Valentine	CHNK	BNDWR	NM	None	None	NM	NM
1600-01-16	1600-01-03	1600-03-11	Turner	Robert	TR	CT	Yes	£ 44-13-5	£ 28-15-8	NM	NM
1615-04-16	N.W.	1615-05-10	Mason	Richard	ECK	CT	Yes	£ 81-6-11	£ 25-17-8	No	£ 3-7-0
1616-10-23	1616-10-09	1617-01-15	Barber	Roger	ECK	CT	Yes	£ 14-5-6	£ 3-10-0	£ 4-2-0	£ 0-2-6
1619 N.I.D.	N.W.	1620-04-06	Machon	Thomas	ECK	CT	GR	£ 29-13-4	£ 16-10-0	£ 21-0-0	£ 1-5-6
1619-05-17	1619-05-06	1619-05-22	Carlton	Thomas	ECK	CT	Yes	£ 31-18-2	£ 6-18-10	NM	NM
1621-11-10	1621-10-13	1621-12-12	Wigfall	William	ECK	CT	Yes	£ 19-4-8	£ 8-13-4	NM	NM
1677-09-28	N.W.	1678-09-11	Pinder	Robert	MB	CT/Y	Yes	£ 38-2-2	£ 11-12-4	£ 28-0-0	No
1629-01-01	1628-12-30	1629-07-02	Eire	Henry	FD	CT/Y	No	£ 33-5-8	£ 21-8-0	NM	NM
1534-04-12	N.W.		Sitwell	Henry	ECK	Immigr Sing	NM	£ 19-9-10	£ 4-17-8	No	£ 1-0-0
1630-10-29	1634-10-09	1635-05-07	Roger	Peter	TR	NLR	Yes	£ 13-17-6	£ 10-6-8	NM	NM
1630-08-22	N.W.	1630-09-02	Staniforth	Roger	LTFD	SCK	Yes	£ 93-3-0	£ 37-4-0	NM	NM
1680-10-09	N.W.	1680-09-22	Turner	Thomas	RMRSD	SCK	Yes	£ 84-17-2	£ 53-5-8	No	£ 20-0-0
1694-01-06	1690-03-28	1693-04-26	Turner	John snr.	FD	SCK	Yes	£ 44-13-7	£ 28-3-10	£ 15-16-0	£ 3-9-6
1702-02-27	1702-01-20	1702-04-22	Savage	John	BHY	SCK	Yes	£ 70-4-2	£ 33-6-4	£ 20-0-0	£ 1-0-0
1703 N.I.	1703-04-16	1703-10-06	Staniforth	Robert	FD	SCK	NM	None	None	NM	NM
1704-08-12	N.W.	1704-10-04	Cowley	Reynold	GRLN	SCK	Yes	£ 66-10-10	£ 24-10-2	No	£ 18-9-6
1712-01-03	1711-12-24	1712-04-09	Renshaw	Thomas	LTFD	SCK	Yes	£ 57-12-0	£ 37-11-0	£ 50-0-0	No
1718 N.I.	1718-11-20	1719-04-09	Booth	John	RDGLN	SCK	NM	None	None	NM	NM
1718-03-01	1718-03-26	1718-03-26	Booth	John	RDGLN	SCK	NM	£ 53-10-2	£ 22-11-8	No	£ 10-0-0
1720-11-10	1720-11-03	1721-04-20	Turner	William	RMRSD	SCK	Yes	£ 35-2-0	£ 17-0-0	£ 11-0-0	No
1722 N.I.D.	1722-07-09	1722-10-17	Brierley	Richard eldr	MB	SCK	Yes	£ 11-0-0	£ 7-0-0	NM	NM
1725-04-12	N.W.	1725-05-05	Turner	George	SLDLN	SCK	Yes	£ 17-6-11	£ 14-4-6	£ 16-0-0	No

1726 N.I.	1726-05-30	1728-04-28	Stamiforth	Thomas	FD	SCK	NM	NM	None	None	NM	NM
1726-09-17	1726-09-13	1727-09-20	Booth	John	RDG	SCK	GR	Yes	£303-11-9	£101-16-0	No	£140-7-8
1732 N.I.	1732-07-25	1743-04-00	Stamiforth	George	LFTD	SCK	NM	NM	None	None	NM	NM
1733 N.I.	1733-04-09	1734-05-02	Mulins	John	FD	SCK	Yes	NM	None	None	NM	NM
1738 N.I.D.	1738-04-17	1739-04-12	Bolsover	Thomas	MB	SCK	NM	GR	£29-0-6	£15-12-0	NM	NM
1746-05-08	1743-04-14	1747-05-21	Woolen	Jonathan	TR	SCK	Yes	Yes	£38-4-7	£27-5-0	NM	NM
1726-02-26	1725-05-15	1726-10-06	Stamiforth	Samuel	MBMRSD	SCK/Y	Yes	GR	£748-15-0	£73-0-0	NM	NM
1741-04-17	1741-10-15	1741-10-15	Renshaw	Thomas	LTFD	SCK/Y	NM	GR	£39-19-8	£21-16-0	NM	NM
1540 N.I.D.	NW	1741-04-12	Lee	William	ECK	SCY	NM	Yes	£29-10-0	£22-11-0	NM	NM
1631-07-27	1631-09-15	1631-09-15	Mellor	John	TR	SCY	Yes	Yes	£141-1-2	£37-15-4	£134-0-0	£101-2-6
1640-09-16	NW.Exc.Acct.	1640-10-08	Turner	Anthony	TR	SCY	Yes	GR	£57-19-4	£19-4-2	£209-9-6	£7-11-6
1741 N.I.	1741-08-26	1750-10-15	Creswick	Thomas	MB	SCY	Yes	GR	None	None	NM	NM
1540-04-08	N.W.	1540-04-14	More	Robert	CLDWL	SCY/Y	NM	Yes	£111-8-2	£47-16-0	No	£17-10-8
1612-04-15	1612-03-09	1612-09-26	Cowley	Robert	RNS	SHRSM	Yes	Yes	£446-11-8	£115-6-8	No	£209-10-0
1671-06-27	1671-06-05	1671-10-04	Stamiforth	William	SULDN	SHRSM	Yes	Yes	£81-10-0	£41-17-0	£11-0-0	£24-0-0
1534 N.I.D.	N.W.	1534-04-14	Hill	William	MB	Smth	NM	Yes	£30-18-6	£16-14-9	£17-0-4	£2-16-8
1547-11-03	1547-09-20	1547-12-01	Bromley	John	ECK	Smth	GR	No	£38-9-0	£27-14-0	NM	NM
1549-08-25	1549-08-13	1549-10-23	Firth	John	ECK	Smth	GR	No	£11-0-4	£9-9-4	NM	NM
1557 N.I.D.	1557-05-10	1558-04-19	Firth	James	ECK	Smth	GR	No	£28-2-4	£22-7-4	NM	NM
1558 N.I.D.	1558-01-01	1558-09-15	Turner	Thomas	TR	Smth	GR	No	£30-6-8	£25-5-0	NM	NM
1559 N.I.D.	1559-04-02	1560-04-23	Bingham	William	ECK	Smth	GR	No	£15-1-4	£9-8-0	NM	NM
1567 N.I.D.	1567-01-18	1567-06-04	Crooks	Thomas	ECK	Smth	GR	No	£18-17-0	£12-0-4	NM	NM
1567 N.I.D.	1567-05-16	1567-06-04	Treeton	John	ECK	Smth	GR	No	£16-13-8	£13-1-4	NM	NM
1579 N.I.D.	1579-04-23	1580-02-10	Colley	William	ECK	Smth	GR	No	£28-8-0	£14-5-0	No	£1-15-10
1584-12-26	1584-09-17	1585-05-27	Kent	Thomas	ECK	Smth	GR	Yes	£17-0-4	£5-18-0	NM	NM
1592-10-18	N.W.	1592-10-31	Mylson	Thomas	SPK	Smth	NM	GR	£10-12-4	£6-4-0	NM	NM
1592-11-20	N.W.	1592-12-14	Gill	Richard	ECK	Smth	GR	Yes	£34-9-8	£7-6-8	No	£5-6-10
1686-04-08	N.W.	1686-04-21	Andrews	Thomas	FD	Smth	NM	Yes	£146-3-8	£57-7-10	£328-17-3	£290-2-4
1694-10-13	N.W.	1695-04-24	Green	Edward	RNSLT	Smth	Yes	GR	£25-15-4	£14-16-0	NM	NM
1701-09-13	N.W.	1701-11-12	Atkin	Christopher	ECK	Smth	Yes	Yes	£18-15-4	£7-0-0	NM	NM
1716-10-16	N.W.	1717-04-24	Turner	John	RDG	Smth	Yes	GR	£17-10-4	£8-6-8	NM	NM
1726-07-30	N.W.	1727-04-07	Madins	John	ECK	Smth	Yes	GR	£9-13-0	£1-19-0	NM	NM
1735-01-24	N.W.	1735-10-16	Booth	John	MB	Smth	Yes	GR	£32-0-9	£10-11-6	NM	NM
1742-04-19	N.W.	1742-10-17	Littlewood	Thomas	BR	Smth	NM	GR	£18-19-0	£5-12-0	NM	NM
1558 Sept	1558-09-11	1559-02-11	Leake	Thos. eldr	ECK	Smth/G	GR	No	£86-11-8	£67-1-0	NM	NM
1623-10-15	N.W.	1623-10-25	Wigfall	George	CTHL	Smth/G	Smit	NM	£403-0-8	£261-4-4	£154-0-0	£40-6-3
1545 N.I.D.	1545-01-08	1545-05-06	More	George	ECK	Smth/sng	GR	No	£13-2-0	£6-1-4	No	£1-16-8
1597-08-24	1597-08-14	1597-10-03	Stamiforth	John	GRLN	Smth/tmktr/Y	GR	Yes	£108-19-6	£77-15-10	£6-11-10	£25-18-4
1647-09-24	1647-05-10	1647-10-06	Crooks	Ann	MB	Smth/WD	No	Yes	£146-16-4	£94-0-0	No	£15-0-0
1681 N.I.D.	1681-06-15	1682-11-29	Stamiforth	John	LFTD	Smth/Y	Yes	Yes	£170-5-6	£84-4-4	£96-6-7	£31-17-6
1702-11-30	1702-06-16	1703-04-14	Stamiforth	William	MBMRSD	Smth/Y	Yes	GR	£90-11-6	£43-0-6	NM	NM
1561 N.I.D.	1561 N.I.D.	1561-04-15	Wordsworth	John	ECK	Trkr	GR	No	£24-8-4	£10-16-4	NM	NM
1708-04-05	1708-04-01	1708-04-21	Green	Thomas	ECK	WhtSmth	NM	GR	£12-4-0	None	NM	NM

Abbreviations:

Smth: smthy mentioned; GR: smthy gear mentioned; Smit: smelting huse; CrftGr: iron, steel or made goods mentioned; NM: not mentioned

LRO B/C11 reference, smythies, smthy gear, craftsman's gear and metalworkers' debt and credit figures