GUEST BEDS AND STABLING IN DERBYSHIRE 1686–1756

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The three volumes preserved among the miscellaneous early records of the office of the Secretary at War containing lists of 'guest beds' (meaning places available for billeting private soldiers) and stalls for horses in the towns and villages of England and Wales have been well known for some time as a useful source for the number and distribution of inns and alehouses for the period in which the lists were compiled. The earliest volume dates from 1686 and another from 1756. The third is undated and appears to contain no internal evidence that might suggest a date of compilation, although the handwriting and watermark (a fleur-de-lis in a crowned shield with the name I VILLEDARY, i.e. Jean Villedary of Angoulême) suggest that it belongs to the first half of the eighteenth century.² The list of 1686 is by far the most detailed and most useful for local studies, but all three are of some value in throwing light on the licensed trade in a particular county, and indirectly the size and prosperity of both market towns and the larger villages, between the late seventeenth century and the mid eighteenth. For Derbyshire the lists help to fill the gap between the return of inns and alehouses made to the Privy Council in 1577, which has long been available in print,³ and the start of the registers of victuallers' recognisances compiled by the clerk of the peace for the county under an Act of 1753.4 These in turn can be supplemented by the earliest directories to include provincial towns, published in the 1780s and 1790s.⁵ This article seeks to make the Derbyshire section of each of the three lists more easily available and discusses both their compilation and their value as a source for local economic history.

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The list of 1686 is by far the fullest, most useful and at the same time most complex of the three printed here. It is presented as a single, roughly alphabetical sequence of place-names for the county as a whole, without any subdivision by hundred or any other clue as to how it was originally compiled. Under each letter of the alphabet there are in fact two sequences, of which the second is written in a different hand and ink and mostly contains minor places, the majority of which had no guest beds or stabling. In both sections of the list the rendering of place-names is generally poor and a relatively high proportion (for a list of this date) remain unidentified or uncertain. There has apparently been confusion on the part of a copyist between s and r (as in 'Aleverton' for what appears to be Alvaston, and 'Arton' for what is presumably Aston); s and f, as in 'Bechisabby' for Beauchief Abbey; and s and t (in 'Langwish' for Langwith and apparently 'Hatland' for Hasland). Even where the name is recognisable, the lack of hundredal subdivisions makes it impossible to locate names such as Alton, Aston, Handley and Stanton, or to allocate the entries for 'Blackwall' and 'Blackwell' correctly.

What is perhaps more striking is the inclusion, admittedly mainly in the second sequence under each letter of the alphabet, most of which are nil returns, of numerous names that are not parishes, townships or even commonly used minor place-names. Some appear to be very small hamlets and a few may refer to individual buildings. By no means all can be identified on the modern map, either because they are too common (such as Green Lane or Greenfield) or because they have disappeared or because the form in which they appear in the list is unrecognisable. Problems of identification are discussed individually in the transcript printed below.

Because it has not been possible to identify every entry in the list it is not feasible to produce a table listing every modern parish in the county. In the first place it has proved impossible to identify an entry for every civil parish: apart from the ambiguities already mentioned, some entries, for example for Hartington or Rowsley, relate to ancient parishes. In addition, because of the difficulty of identifying the minor placenames, it is impossible to collect all such entries under their respective parishes to produce a total for each parish. Where the parish can be identified this has been noted in the transcript, but there remains a fairly large pool of unallocated minor names. ⁶

A total of 393 entries list 2,414 guest beds and stabling for 3,624 horses. A small number of entries appear to relate to places that were not in Derbyshire in 1686. 'Bagthorpe' seems more likely to be one of the two Nottinghamshire hamlets of that name than the farm in Brampton; Dunham and Selston have more obviously strayed from Nottinghamshire, as has 'Durty Ducknall'. This can only be Hucknall under Huthwaite, which was sometimes called Dirty Hucknall in this period, not Ault Hucknall, most of whose constituent hamlets can be found in the list. 'Marple' is presumably the Cheshire parish of that name, while the townships of Netherseal and Overseal then formed part of the Leicestershire ancient parish of Seal. Lastly, 'Hinsworth' may be Hemsworth in Norton, or it could be the place of the same name in the West Riding. Removing these entries reduces the numbers of beds to 2,396 and the number of stalls for horses to 3,612. There may be other out-county places among the entries which have not been identified, which would (if they are not among the nil returns) further reduce these figures.

With these reservations, an attempt has been made to produce three lists of guest beds and stabling in 1686, one for the market towns of Derbyshire, another for places with ten or more beds, and a third for those with at least one bed but fewer than ten (Tables 1, 2 and 3). The figures in Table 1 are probably as reliable as the source from which they are taken, but the accuracy and completeness of those in Tables 2 and 3 depend in some cases on the correct identification of minor place-names and their allocation to the right parishes. Anyone interested in a particular parish should also study the transcript of the list in Appendix 1 and the accompanying notes.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the tables is that over half the guest beds available in the county (some 58 per cent), together with 46 per cent of the stabling, were to be found in Derby and the nine other places described by Speed in 1610 and Blome in 1673 as market towns. Derby itself provided over a third (35 per cent) of the beds, although a much smaller proportion (15 per cent) of the stabling. Ashbourne and Chesterfield, the towns with the next largest totals, each accounted for only 5 or 6 per cent of the beds, and the other seven towns less again.

	Guest Beds	Stabling
Derby	841	547
Ashbourne	135	279
Chesterfield	127	184
Wirksworth	80	266
Bakewell	68	174
Alfreton*	34	48
Tideswell	34	56
Chapel en le Frith	32	42
Bolsover**	13	20
Dronfield	6	12
Totals	1403	1679

^{*}These are figures returned for 'Alfreton'; there are separate entries for Somercotes (9 beds and stabling for 15 horses) and Swanwick (9 and 16).

Table 1: Guest beds and stabling in Derbyshire market towns in 1686.

The relative size of provision in the nine smaller towns is generally in line with what else is known about them in this period. 10 Ashbourne was on a more important northsouth road than Chesterfield, which presumably explains why, although the latter was probably nearly twice the size of the former, it had much the same accommodation for visitors. Wirksworth may have had about the same population as Chesterfield in this period but did not stand on any major route through the county. Bakewell had twice as many beds as the two smaller High Peak market towns, Tideswell and Chapel (whose market was described by Blome as 'now disused'). Bakewell was probably somewhat bigger than either of the other two, although perhaps not twice the size. Alfreton emerges from the list as about the same size as Chapel and Tideswell, whereas it appears to have been slightly smaller than the other two in the sixteenth century. It appears to have been the only chartered market town (apart from Derby) in the southeastern quarter of the county where a market was actually held in the seventeeth century, assuming that those listed in 1817 at Belper, Heanor and Ilkeston were not then in existence. 11 On the other hand, Alfreton had no more beds in 1686 than Crich, where a fair-sized, presumably medieval, market place survives and where a market was revived, rather than established from scratch, in 1810.12 Finally, in the north-east of the county Bolsover, and even more so Dronfield, had no more accommodation than a number of large villages. Both presumably suffered as market towns from proximity to Chesterfield; in addition, Bolsover was close to Mansfield and Dronfield to Sheffield. Both markets became disused in the second half of the eighteenth century. 13

Apart from Crich, the other place with accommodation comparable to that of the smaller market towns was Buxton, which was evidently already catering for visitors on quite a large scale. Matlock, by contrast, had only five guest beds. It is difficult to suggest reasons why some of the other parishes which score highly in Table 2 had noticeably more accommodation than places of similar size. The differences may

^{**}Excluding two beds and stabling for four horses at 'Whalley', which probably refers to Whaley in Bolsover; there is a nil return for Oxcroft, also in the parish, elsewhere in the list.

	Guest beds	Stabling
Buxton	39	72
Crich	33	51
Tibshelf	26	29
Brailsford	21	36
Pentrich	20	35
Swarkestone	20	56
Quarndon	19	17
South Wingfield	19	29
Heage	18	26
Edensor	15	29
'Normanton'*	15	17
Pinxton	15	18
Barlborough	14	9
Higham	14	38
Hilton	14	46
'Weston'**	14	54
Castleton	14	26
Clowne	12	19
Glossop	12	19
Ault Hucknall	11	12
Eckington	11	19
Staveley	11	15
Bradwell	10	20
Brassington	10	47
Duffield	10	16
Hayfield	10	18
Great and Little Longstone	10	14
Shirland and Higham	10	7
Winster	10	23

^{*}There appears to be no means of deciding whether this refers to Normanton (by Derby) or South Normanton.

Table 2: Parishes and townships with ten or more guest beds in 1686.

simply reflect the enthusiasm with which individual alehouse keepers, or petty constables, returned information, or the figures may in some cases reflect the presence of one relatively large inn in the parish. But without further information it is difficult to explain why any of the first ten places listed after Buxton and Crich in Table 2 should have quite so many guest beds.

Before looking at the two later lists it may be worth comparing the figures for 1686 for the nine market towns with the return of alehouses, vintners and innkeepers in 1577 for the same places (Table 4; the complete return is summarised in Appendix 2). This was compiled from information supplied by the petty constables, which in Derbyshire immediately throws up problems because constablery boundaries, especially in Scarsdale hundred, did not always coincide with those of later poor-law townships,

^{**}This could presumably refer to either Weston upon Trent or Weston Underwood; the latter is perhaps more likely, given its inclusion in the second list discussed here.

	Guest beds	Stabling
Cubley	9	9
Ilkeston	9	19
Kirk Ireton	9	32
Baslow	8	13
Belper	8	15
Bonsall	8	14
Nether Haddon	8	20
Shardlow	8	44
Sudbury	8	38
Ashford	7	18
Brackenfield	7	10
Holbrook	7	25
Killamarsh	7	10
	7	27
Longford		
Morton	7	24
Peak Forest	7	12
Repton	7	16
Sawley	7	14
Youlgreave	7	7
Borrowash	6	12
Clifton and Compton	6	22
Doveridge	6	13
Hathersage	6	12
Норе	6	16
Oakthorpe	6	12
Pleasley	6	19
Stoney Middleton	6	6
Wingerworth	6	6
Calver	5	9
Denby	5	11
Derwent	5	6
Egginton	5	11
Eyam Woodlands	5	10
Hartington	5	10
Matlock	5	14
Rowsley (Great and Little)	5	7
Shirley	5	6
Wessington	5	8
Newbold and Dunston	5	8
Bamford	4	4
Barlow	4	5
Brampton	4	3
Cromford	4	10
Darley	4	11
Fernilee	4	6
Ripley	4	9
Sudbury	4	6
Ticknall	4	10
Whittington	4	4

	2	4
Ashover	3	4
Bradley	3	3
Breaston	3	3
Bretby	3	6
Brimington	3	4
Calow	3	3
Chatsworth	3	4
Chellaston	3	3
Dalbury Lees	3	4
Etwall	3	6
Eyam	3	6
Findern	3	0
Foston	3	6
Heath	3	6
Horsley	3	9
Loscoe	3	8
Morley	3	7
Marston on Dove	3	6
Monyash	3	4
North Wingfield	3	5
Overseal	3	10
Mickleover and Littleover	3	12
Rowland	3	5
Scropton	3	6
Stretton	3	3
Wensley and Snitterton	3	8
West Hallam	3	4
Breadsall	2	2
Chaddesden	2	4
Charlesworth	2	3
Chilcote	2	4
Curbar	2	3
Dore	2	4
Edale	2	4
Elmton	2	2
Elvaston	2	4
Fairfield	2	4
Foolow	2	4
	2	4
Hartshorne		
Hognaston	2	10
Hulland	2 2 2	4
Kedleston	2	5
Glossop	2	4
Mapperley	2	4
Mellor	2	4
Middleton by Youlgreave	2	2
New Mills	2	3
Offcote and Underwood	2 2 2	2
Rodsley	2	4
Smalley	2	3

Spondon	2	0
Stanton (in Peak)	2	4
Taddington	2	2
Tissington	2	4
Tupton	2	1
Wardlow	2	4
Willington	2	4
Alderwasley	1	2
Barrow upon Trent	1	3
Beeley	1	2
Bradbourne	1	2
Brough	1	2
Carsington	1	2
Church Broughton	1	2
Clay Cross	1	2
Duckmanton	1	1
Froggatt	1	2
Hasland	1	2
Hatton	1	0
Hollington	1	3
Hopton	1	2
Temple Normanton	1	1
Lullington	1	4
Markeaton	1	2
Mugginton	1	1
Netherseal	1	2
Osleston and Thurvaston	1	4
Over Haddon	1	1
Parwich	1	3
Risley	1	2
Rosliston	1	2
Scarcliffe	1	2
Shirebrook	1	1
Snelston	1	1
Sturston	1	1
Stapenhill	1	2
Swadlincote	1	2
Tansley	1	4
Thorpe	1	2
Whitwell	1,	0

Table 3: Parishes and townships with between one and ten guest beds in 1686.

much less ancient parishes.¹⁴ However, in the case of the market towns, the only figure distorted for this reason is the one for Dronfield, whose constable also had jurisdiction over Hasland, Tapton, Newbold and part of Barlow.¹⁵

Ranking the towns according to the number of licensed premises they had in 1577 places them in broadly the same order as in 1686. The main oddity is that Chesterfield

is said to have had about the same number of alehouses as Derby (although only one inn, compared with seven in Derby). This is difficult to reconcile with the evidence that Chesterfield probably had no more than half the population of the county town. Similarly, the figure for Chesterfield is nearly four times that for Wirksworth, even though the two appear to have been much the same size. There is little to choose between the smaller towns, which probably all had a population of between 350 and 500 in the mid sixteenth century. The extraordinarily high figure for Chesterfield cannot simply be a clerical error, since the licensees' names are given, nor is there a boundary problem in this case, since borough and constablery were co-terminous. The town appears simply to have had a very large number of alehouses relative to its population in 1577, unless the constable making the return interpreted his instructions differently from his colleagues elsewhere. If Chesterfield remained rather over-provided with alehouses a century later, far fewer of them appear to have had beds available than their counterparts in Ashbourne and Wirksworth.

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The undated list, which has been assumed here to belong to the period between those of 1686 and 1756 (but probably nearer the latter year than the former) is a much simpler compilation than that of 1686. It contains the names of 42 places in Derbyshire, all of them townships, together with Whaley Bridge, which was then in Cheshire. The entries for Derby and the nine places listed by Speed and Blome as market towns are written in a slightly larger, bolder hand than the rest. The list is headed by the entry for Derby and the names that follow are arranged more or less by hundred, starting with Morleston and Litchurch in the south-east of the county and ending with High Peak. Winster and Matlock appear in the middle of the Scarsdale entries but otherwise the order is logical. This suggests that the list was compiled through the familiar mechanism of an enquiry from quarter sessions to the high constable of each hundred and thence to the petty constable of each township, with the information that was returned being written out by someone who had in front of him a list of townships arranged by hundred.

The total number of 'Spare Beds', as they are called in this list, in the public houses and inns of the 'cities, market towns and most considerable villages' in Derbyshire comes to 877 and the number of standings for horses to 1,816. These figures are much lower (by almost two thirds in the case of the beds and about half in the case of stabling) than those returned in 1686, which as we have seen includes numerous places which were far from being 'considerable villages'. It appears that the compilers of this later list wished to identify places that could accommodate a reasonable number of soldiers, rather than every single billet in every hamlet.

As Table 5 indicates, the bulk of the accommodation was, as in 1686, concentrated in Derby and the nine market towns. These entries represent 73 per cent of the total number of beds and 81 per cent of the stabling; Derby alone accounted for 27 per cent of the beds and 31 per cent of the stabling. The proportion of the county total represented by the market towns is noticeably higher than in 1686. This is probably because far fewer places appear in the list, whereas in 1686 every village and hamlet appears to have been asked to make a return. On the other hand, Derby's share of the total for

	Alehouses	Vintners	Innkeepers
Derby	61	2	7
Chesterfield	68	*	1
Ashbourne	26	1	1
Wirksworth	18	0	0
Dronfield**	13	0	0
Tideswell	12	0	0
Bolsover	11	0	0
Alfreton	10	0	1
Bakewell	10	0	0
Chapel en le Frith	8	0	0

^{*}One man in Chesterfield is described as both a vintner and an innkeeper.

Table 4: Alehouses, vintners and innkeepers in Derbyshire market towns, 1577.

the market towns as a whole is rather lower than in 1686. This may reflect an increase in the relative size or prosperity (or both) of the second-rank towns of Derbyshire between the late seventeenth century and the early or mid eighteenth, or it may be a function of how the list was compiled.

After Derby, Ashbourne and Chesterfield remain the two places best provided with accommodation, with the former now noticeably better equipped than the latter. Figures for the three High Peak market towns are much closer to each other than in 1686, but the major difference is in the number of beds at Wirksworth, barely a quarter of that returned in the earlier list. There is no obvious explanation for this reduction, other than a reluctance on the part of innkeepers to admit that they had beds available, since Wirksworth's decline dates from the early nineteenth century, after the collapse of the lead industry, not the eighteenth. The other town where the number of beds has inexplicably fallen, by a larger percentage although a much smaller actual number, is Alfreton, which now apparently had less accommodation than either Bolsover or Dronfield. All three had about the same number of beds as several places in the list that were not market towns.

Of these, by far the best provided with beds (47) was once again Buxton. This figure places it fourth overall, after Derby, Ashbourne and Chesterfield, in the county as a whole, whereas it ranked sixth (after Wirksworth and Bakewell as well as the other four) in 1686. Whatever year this list actually belongs to, assuming it is earlier than 1756 it predates Buxton's first main period of growth as a leisure resort in the late eighteenth century. On the other hand it clearly already had a good deal of accommodation for visitors, even if their horses were less well catered for. Whereas in most of the other places of any size there were roughly twice as many standings for horses as beds, the Buxton entry is unusual in that the two figures are virtually the same. Matlock, by contrast, still shows no sign of catering for visitors, despite the existence by this period of what later became the Old Bath. 17

The other places with accommodation comparable to that of the smaller market towns generally fit the description of 'considerable villages', or at least large parishes.

^{**}The constablery of Dronfield included Hasland, Tapton, Newbold and part of Barlow as well as the township of Dronfield.

Town	Spare Beds	Standings for Horses
Derby	241	561
Ashbourne	144	363
Chesterfield	100	253
Tideswell	42	96
Bakewell	36	53
Chapel en le Frith	27	70
Wirksworth	22	40
Bolsover	10	18
Dronfield	8	14
Alfreton	7	16
Totals	637	1,484

Table 5: Guest beds and stabling in Derbyshire market towns in the early eighteenth century.

In the High Peak Hope and Castleton, with 11 beds each, clearly fall into this category; lower down the Derwent valley Edensor could also offer 11 beds, presumably because there was a demand from visitors to Chatsworth. Baslow (9), Bonsall (9) and Winster (8) stand out slightly from their neighbours in the Low Peak, while on the eastern coalfield Barlborough (9), Whittington (9) and Eckington (7) are the largest places on the list. In the south-east of the county Duffield, on the main road running north from Derby, had eight beds. On the other hand, the differences in the figures for places such as these are so slight that one wonders what they meant in practice. Who decided that one village (or parish) had nine spare beds and another eight? Indeed, who decided how many beds could be fitted into a particular bedchamber? How far do the variations in provision reflect differences in population or prosperity? Did some constables deliberately understate their return (or even avoid making one) because they and their neighbours had no wish to have soldiers billeted on them? Did some alehouse keepers deny that they had any accommodation when in practice they could provide some if they wanted the business? The list is interesting in illustrating the relative size of the market towns of Derbyshire in the early eighteenth century, and the importance of Buxton as a resort, but perhaps not a great deal can be concluded from the other entries on the list.

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The third list printed here, that of 1756, is the least useful of the three and has been included partly for the sake of completeness and partly to throw more light on the rather obscure subject of the organisation in Derbyshire of the Excise, the department which collected the figures at the request of the Secretary at War. The volume from which the material relating to Derbyshire has been extracted is made up of 49 returns from each of the collections through which the Excise operated locally in England and Wales. The returns to the enquiry concerning inns and alehouses simply give a total figure for the number of beds and the number of standings for horses within each administrative unit (district, division and ride) into which a collection was subdivided, without any lists of individual parishes.

Township	Spare Beds	Standings for Horses
Buxton	47	48
Edensor	11	19
Норе	11	7
Barlborough	9	7
Baslow	9	20
Bonsall	9	7
Castleton	9	5
Whittington	9	16
Duffield	8	6
Winster	8	10
Bradwell	7	5
Eckington	7	3
Higham	7	13
Brassington	6	6
Cromford	6	6
Shardlow	6	12
Weston Underwood	6	10
Eyam	5	9
Heage	5	10
Longford	5	7
Matlock	5	8
Sawley	5	10
Staveley	5	6
Whaley Bridge	5	12
Brimington	4	6
Middleton by Wirksworth	4	6
Pleasley	4	8
Sudbury	4	7
Ilkeston	3	10
Swarkestone	3	8
Heanor	3	5
Clifton	3	10
Stoney Middleton	2	10

Table 6: Guest beds and stabling in selected Derbyshire townships in the early eighteenth century.

Derbyshire appears to fall into two collections, although I have failed to find either a map showing Excise collection boundaries in the eighteenth century or a list of which parishes lay in each collection to confirm this. The north of the county formed part of the Sheffield collection, which also included south Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire, while the south came within the Derby collection, as did the Burton-upon-Trent, Uttoxeter and Cheadle areas of Staffordshire, the town of Nottingham and the Bingham district of south Nottinghamshire. As far as one can judge from the names of the districts within it, none of the High Peak came within the Chester collection. ¹⁸

The Sheffield return was sent to the Excise Office with no covering letter, whereas the Derby collector, Hugh Stevenson, writing from Derby to his headquarters on 9

June 1756 in response to an instruction received on 11 May, was more forthcoming. He pointed out that most of the 'small victuallers in the great towns and most of them in circumjacent villages have neither entertainment nor accommodation for man nor horse'. He thought that the numbers of beds and stalls were 'pretty near the truth' but if anything were an underestimate rather than the reverse, since some of his officers had relied on figures supplied by the victuallers, rather than making their own observations. As returned to the War Office, without any names of individual parishes, the figures cannot be compared with those from the other two lists. The only possible exception is in the case of Derby, for which a separate figure of 134 beds was returned, little more than half that given in the earlier list. The number of inns and alehouses in the borough can hardly have fallen during the first half of the eighteenth century and the difference must reflect either a change in the criteria used by those collecting the information or growing wariness on the part of licensees to offer accommodation, or a combination of the two.

Happily, a rather better source for the size and distribution of the licensed trade becomes available at about the time the lists of 1756 were compiled. In 1753 Parliament passed an Act requiring the clerk of the peace in each county and quarter sessions borough to institute a register of the bonds which had long been taken by the justices from those seeking licences to keep alehouses, inns and victualling houses and from their sureties. In Derbyshire, as elsewhere, a register was opened that year, giving the names of the licensees and their sureties and their place of abode (but not the sign of the alehouse or inn), and the amount of their bond. The register was arranged by hundred, since the licences were issued by the justices meeting in their respective divisions, not by quarter sessions. There is a separate section for Chesterfield, where the borough justices had a concurrent petty sessional jurisdiction with which in practice the county magistrates did not interfere, although at least in some years a few Chesterfield alehouse keepers obtained their licence from the Scarsdale justices. As a borough with its own quarter sessions Derby kept its own register, which has not survived. The system established in 1753 was changed in 1828 and in Derbyshire the register ends in 1827.19

For the first few years the names of the licensees in each hundred were entered in no particular order, but from 1755 the list for Appletree was arranged by place, a helpful plan followed by the other divisions from 1760. This makes it much easier to tabulate the number of alehouses and inns in each town and village, although the headings used (as in 1686) are by no means confined to the familiar roll call of petty constableries. Table 7 lists places for which in 1760 nine or more licences were issued, a minimum chosen so that all the traditional market towns of the county discussed earlier are included. The names used in the table are those found in the original register and no attempt has been made to compile figures for complete parishes from entries for different places. Thus the figure of 16 licences for 'Alfreton' probably relates only to the town and certainly does not include licences issued for two houses in Swanwick, two in Somercotes and one in Riddings.

Subject to this limitation, Table 7 shows that the relative size of the nine market towns outside Derby was broadly the same in 1760 as it had been in the late seventeenth century. Chesterfield, Ashbourne and Wirksworth remained the three

Place	No. of licences		
Chesterfield	75		
Ashbourne	43		
Wirksworth	42		
Matlock	20		
Chapel en le Frith	19		
Eckington	18		
Winster	18		
Alfreton	16		
Crich	16		
Tideswell	16		
Bakewell	15		
Ashover	14		
Ilkeston	14		
Belper	13		
Bolsover	12		
Brampton	10		
Duffield	10		
Staveley	10		
Tibshelf	10		
Bradwell	9		
Heanor	9		
Dronfield	9		
Wensley	9		

Source: Derbyshire Record Office, Q/RA 1/1; the names of the seventeenth-century market towns of the county are printed in bold. The figure for Chesterfield includes 70 licences issued by the borough justices and another five issued by the Scarsdale county justices.

Table 7: Places in Derbyshire with nine or more alehouses, inns or victualling houses in 1760.

places with the largest number of alehouses and inns, although Chesterfield now had nearly twice as many licensed houses as the other two. The three High Peak market centres, Chapel, Bakewell and Tideswell, continued to have much the same level of provision, shared by Alfreton, which now had rather more alehouses than Bolsover or Dronfield.

The three largest market towns had considerably more licensed houses in 1760 than anywhere else in the county, but several places had much the same number as the smaller towns. Thus Matlock, with 20 licences, ranks fourth in the table immediately behind the three main towns; the large, semi-industrial villages of Eckington, Winster, Crich and Ashover had as many alehouses as the second group of towns; and several villages had the same number as the two smallest towns. Matlock's position must owe something to the lead trade and something to its emerging function as a resort town; Buxton, the other resort for visitors to the Peak, had eight licensees in 1760.

The figures in Table 7 have the obvious drawback, compared with those derived from the War Office lists, of giving no indication of the size or quality of each establishment or how many beds they provided, much less their annual turnover and thus their contribution to the local economy. On the other hand, they are a useful, if simple, measure

of the size of the licensed trade in Derbyshire at the end of the period covered by the War Office lists and the beginning of that in which industrialisation brought not only a great increase of population to the county but also major changes in its distribution and in the relative size of the towns of Derbyshire.

NOTES

- ¹ The three volumes are now National Archives, WO 30/48, 49 and 50. They were briefly described in the *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office* (1963), ii. 320.
- ² See examples in W.A. Churchill, Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection (1935); E. Heawood, Papers used in England after 1600 (1931).
- ³ W.H. Hart, 'A list of the "Alehouses, Innes, and Tavernes" in Derbyshire, in the year 1577', *DAJ*, i (1879), 68–80.
- ⁴ 26 Geo. II c. 31; Derbyshire Record Office, Q/RA 1/1-5.
- ⁵ P. Riden (ed.), Derbyshire Directories, 1781–1824 (Derbyshire Record Society, xxxiii, 2006).
- ⁶ Both in this introduction and in the notes to the transcript K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire* (English Place-Name Society, xxvii–xxix, 1959) has been used without specific reference in every case.
- ⁷ J.H. Beardsmore, *History of Hucknall Torkard* (Mansfield, 1909), 1.
- ⁸ F.A. Youngs, Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England, ii (1991), 236, 80–1, 82.
- ⁹ i.e. in the list on the back of John Speed's county map of 1610 and in the Derbyshire section of R. Blome, *Britannia* (1673), 74–8 (there are no changes in the edition of 1677).
- The only readily accessible population estimates for Derbyshire towns in the early modern period are those in P. Riden, 'The population of Derbyshire in 1563', *DAJ*, xcviii (1978), 69. In the absence of any published evidence to the contrary, I have assumed that the towns discussed here were about the same relative size in the late 17th century as they were in the mid 16th.
- D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire* (1817), xviii; their gazetteer entries for the three places concerned (pp. 139, 180, 192) do not help in dating when the markets in existence in 1817 were first started or revived.
- ¹² Ibid., 90.
- 13 Ibid., xix.
- For the special problems of Scarsdale see J.V. Beckett and J.P. Polak (ed.), 'The Scarsdale Surveys of 1652–62', in *A Seventeenth-century Scarsdale Miscellany* (Derbyshire Record Society, xx, 1993), 20–1; P. Riden, *Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield* (Chesterfield, 1984), 201–3.
- ¹⁵ Beckett and Polak, 'Scarsdale Surveys', 45–6.
- ¹⁶ R.G. Heape, Buxton under the Dukes of Devonshire (1948), 19–41.
- ¹⁷ Lysons, *Derbyshire*, 207.
- For problems of Excise collection boundaries and county boundaries in another 18th-century context see P. Riden and J.G. Owen, *British Blast Furnace Statistics*, 1790–1980 (Cardiff, 1995), xi–xii, 120.
- ¹⁹ 26 Geo. II c. 31; 9 Geo. IV c. 61; DRO, Q/RA 1/1-5 (and introductory note to list); for Chesterfield see P. Riden and J. Blair (ed.), Records of the Borough of Chesterfield and related documents 1204–1835 (Borough of Chesterfield, 1980), 45–6 but cf. note to Table 7; for information as to the loss of the Derby records I am indebted to Dudley Fowkes, who some years ago listed the surviving quarter sessions material then in Derby local studies library.

APPENDIX 1

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1. The list of 1686

Abstract of a particular account of all the inns, alehouses &c. in England with their stable-room and bedding. In the year 1686.

Derbyshire

	Guest beds beds	Stabling for horses	Modern place-name
	(1889-0-0-0281) V.B.(1		
Aldersley	1	2	Alderwasley
Aleverton	-	2	Alvaston?
Alfreton	34	48	Alfreton
Amberston	1	4	Ambaston (in Elvaston)
Arton	1	-	Aston? ¹
Ashbourne	135	279	Ashbourne
Ashford	7	18	Ashford
Ashover	2	3	Ashover
Ashton	4	6	Aston? ²
Aulport	1	-	Alport (in Youlgreave)
Ayne moor	1	1	Ain Moor (in Stretton)?
Audwork	0	0	Aldwark
Akerthorp	6	12	Oakerthorpe
•			(in South Wingfield) ³
Aperknoul	0	0	Apperknowle (in Unstone)
Attloe	0	0	Atlow
Aulton	0	0	$Alton^4$
Bagthorpe	2	4	Bagthorpe (Notts.)? ⁵
Balbrough	11	7	Barlborough
Balbrough lane	3	2	Barlborough Lane ⁶
Bankewell	68	174	Bakewell
Baragat	1	-	Bearwardcote? ⁷
Barloe	3	4	Barlow
Barowash	6	12	Borrowash
Barryeats	2	9	Bargate (in Holbrook)?
Baslow	8	13	Baslow
Baxton	39	72	Buxton
Beeley	1	2	Beeley
Berperl	6	9	Belper
Bonteshall	8	14	Bonsall
Boulsover	13	20	Bolsover
Braby	3	6	Bretby
Brackingfield	7	10	Brackenfield
Bradbourn	í	2	Bradbourne
Bradley	3	3	Bradley
Diadicy	J	5	Diadicy

Clifton

rc 20 1			
[f. 39v.]			
Bradwall	10	20	Bradwell
Bramford	4	4	Bamford
Brasington	10	47	Brassington
Breason	3	6	Breaston
Bredshall	2	2	Breadsall
Brestford	21	36	Brailsford? ⁸
Brickhouse	2	4	Brick Houses (in Dore)?9
Brimington	3	4	Brimington
Burghe	1	2	Brough?
Burow	2	5	Not identified ¹⁰
Butthouse	1	2	Butt House
			(in Osleston & Thurvaston)
Ballidon	0	0	Ballidon
Brightgate	0	0	Not identified
Brigdetowne	0	0	Bridgetown (in Darley)
Blackwall	0	0	$Blackwell^{11}$
Booth	0	0	$Booth^{12}$
Burluson	0	0	Burnaston?
Barrow	1	3	Barrow upon Trent
Blackwell	4	4	Blackwell ¹³
Bramly	3	3	Bramley (in Eckington)
Beighton	0	0	Beighton
Berley	0	0	Birley (in Beighton) ¹⁴
Boothill	0	o	Not identified ¹⁵
Bechisabby	0	Ö	Beauchief Abbey
Bently	0	0	Fenny Bentley? ¹⁶
Biggin Lane	0	0	Biggin Lane (in Hulland Ward)
Birch moor	0	0	Not identified ¹⁷
Birch Park	Ö	0	Not identified ¹⁸
Butterly spring	0	Ö	Not identified ¹⁹
Brumpton	0	0	Brampton
Boompton moor	4	3	Brampton Moor
Broak hurst	Ô	0	Brockhurst (in Ashover)
Calow	3	3	Calow ²⁰
Carsington	1	2	Carsington
Castletowne	12	24	Castleton
Cawrner	5	9	Calver?
Chadson	2	4	Chaddesden
Chapell in ye Frith	32	42	Chapel en le Frith
Charlesworth	2	3	Charlesworth
Chartswart	3	4	Chatsworth
Chesterfield	127	184	Chesterfield
Chelson	3	3	Chellaston
Chillcoate	2	4	Chilcote
Chritch	33	51	Crich
Church broughton	1	2	Church Broughton
Clifton	6	22	Clifton

22

Clifton

(in Clifton & Compton)

C.	10	10	
Clowne	12	19	Clowne
Cottmanhay	-	2	Cotmanhay (in Ilkeston)
Cramford	4	10	Cromford
Crapton	3	6	Scropton? ²¹
Cubley	9	9	Cubley
Culling	1	4	Not identified ²²
Curbur	2	3	Curbar
Cowlayt gate	0	0	Cowley
			(in Dronfield Woodhouse) ²³
Chelmorton	0	0	Chelmorton
Conksbury	0	O	Conkesbury (in Over Haddon)
Coaton	0	0	Coton in the Elms
Cauldwell	0	0	Caldwell
Couldaston	0	0	Coal Aston
Cowlee	0	0	Not identified ²⁴
Creswell	0	0	Creswell (in Elmton)
Chiven	0	0	Chevin (in Duffield)?
Coat green	0	0	Cotgreave (in Mapperley)? ²⁵
Crowhole	0	0	Crowhole (in Barlow)
Cutthorpe	0	0	Cutthorpe (in Brampton)
Claycross	0	0	Clay Cross
Lee Church	0	0	Litchurch (in Derby)
D.I.C	1	0	Not identified ²⁶
Dale Common	1	0	
Dalesby	1	2	Dalbury Lees
Darby	841	547	Derby
Darley	4	11	Darley
Darthope	1	2	Not identified
[f. 40]			
Darwin	4	4	Derwent
Deacote	2	5	Not identified ²⁷
Denbye	5	11	Denby
Doghole	1	2	Doghole
Dognoic	1	2	(in Hartington Upper Quarter)
Dowbridge	6	13	Doveridge
Dranfield	6	12	Dronfield
Duckmanton	1	1	Duckmanton
Duffield	10	16	Duffield
Daley	2	6	The Dalley (in Belper)
Dunham	2	3	Dunham (Notts.)? ²⁸
Dunston	1	2	Dunston
D . D 1 11		•	(in Newbold & Dunston)
Durty Ducknall	1	1	Hucknall under
_		0	Huthwaite (Notts.) ²⁹
Done	0	0	Dore
Deklant	0	0	Dicklant (in Ashover)
Little Darby	0	0	Little Derby (in Burnaston) ³⁰
Eatwell	3	6	Etwall
Eckonton	8	16	Eckington
Annual rate of the control of the co			-

Edall	2	4	Edale
Edersor	15	29	Edensor
Eduley	2	8	Not identified
	5	11	Egginton
Eginton		6	
Ehame	3		Eyam Elmton
Elmton	2	4	
Elverton	-	-	Elvaston
Ellnerlane	4	6	Elnor Lane (in Fernilee)
Edinghall	0	0	Edingale
Engleby	0	0	Ingleby
Little Eaton	0	0	Little Eaton
Fairfield	2	4	Fairfield
Findon	3	-	Findern
Folow	2	4	Foolow
Foston	3	6	Foston
Frogate	1	2	Froggatt
The Forge	0	0	Not identified ³¹
[f. 40v.]			
Glasswell	2	4	Glapwell? ³²
Glossop	12	19	Glossop
Goitshead	1	2	Goytshead Farm
Constitution	•	_	(in Hartington Upper Quarter)
Grambleford bridge	4	8	Grindleford Bridge
Gramolerora oriage		O	(in Eyam Woodlands)
Graisley	2	4	Castle and/or Church Gresley
Grasmore	2	4	Grassmoor (in Hasland)
Green lane	2	3	Not identified ³³
	0	0	Grangemill (in Brassington)
Grange mill	0	0	
Greenfeild	0	0	Not identified
Grinill	-	U	Greenhill (in Norton?) ³⁴
Haddon	8	20	Nether Haddon ³⁵
Hardstaff	2	4	Hardstoft (in Ault Hucknall)
Hardwick	4	4	Hardwick (in Ault Hucknall)
Hargatenet	1	2	Hargate Manor (in Hilton) ³⁶
Hartington	1	2	Hartington
Hartsehorne	2	4	Hartshorne
Hartymill	3	3	Harthill?
Haselford mill	1	2	Hazelford mill
			(in Eyam Woodlands)
Halton	1	0	Hatton ³⁷
Hathersage	6	12	Hathersage
Haudley	4	8	Handley
			(in either Staveley or Stretton)
Hauldfield gate	2	2	Hallfield Gate
<i>5</i>			(in Shirland & Higham)
Heagle	18	26	Heage? ³⁸
Heath	3	6	Heath
Heyfeild	10	18	Hayfield
			101

Higham	14	38	Higham
			(in Shirland & Higham)
Hill houses	2	2	Hill Houses (in Wingerworth)
Hilton	14	46	Hilton
Hogg	1	2	Houghpark (in Hulland)
Hogneston	2	10	Hognaston
Holbrook	5	16	Holbrook
Hollington	1	3	Hollington
Hope	6	16	Hope
Hopton	1	2	Hopton
Horsely	3	9	Horsley
Howton	ī	2	Houghton ³⁹
Hucknall	3	2	Ault Hucknall
Huffenbarne	2	4	Ufton Barns
Tranenoume	<u>~</u>		(in South Wingfield) ⁴⁰
Hulland	1	2	Hulland
Hurst	0	0	Not identified ⁴¹
	0	0	
Hackney upr.			Upper Hackney (in Darley) Heathcote
Heath Coat	0	0	
77 11	0	0	(in Hartington Nether Quarter)
Hardlon	0	0	Hurdlow
		0	(in Hartington Middle Quarter)
Huclow great	0	0	Great Hucklow
Haslebadge	0	0	Hazlebadge
Hauts mill	0	0	Not identified
Hanly	0	0	Handley ⁴²
Hackenthorp	0	0	Hackenthorpe (in Beighton)
Hinsworth	0	0	Hemsworth (in Norton) ⁴³
Hunsfeild	0	0	Holmesfield
Hauge moor	0	0	Not identified ⁴⁴
Hulland	0	0	Hulland
Hough Parke	0	0	Houghpark (in Hulland)
Honer	0	0	Heanor
Haner wood	0	0	Heanor Wood (in Heanor)
Holey moor	0	0	Holymoorside (in Brampton)
Hole in wood	0	0	Hollingwood (in Staveley)?
Hatland	0	0	Hasland?
Hiltop	0	0	Unidentified ⁴⁵
Пшор	U	U	Chachigica
[f. 41]			
Ilkilson	9	17	Ilkeston
Jonney gate	1	1	Johnnygate (in Barlow)
Joe hold	0	0	Not identified
Ilston	0	0	Ilkeston ⁴⁶
TZ 11 .		-	17 - 11
Kedleston	2	5	Kedleston
Kirkweton	9	32	Kirk Ireton
Killermark	7	10	Killamarsh
Knighton	0	0	Kniveton
Kilborn	0	0	Kilburn

T 1 1	1	2	Ladybower (in Derwent)
Lady bower	1		
Langford	7	27	Longford
Langley	3	6	Kirk and/or Meynell Langley
Leehall	2	6	Lea Hall ⁴⁷
Leesgreen	2	2	Lees Green (in Dalbury Lees)
Littlehouse	1	1	Unidentified ⁴⁸
Little Normanton	1	1	Temple Normanton
Longdole	1	2	Not identified ⁴⁹
Longston	10	14	Great and/or Little Longstone
Loscoe	3	8	Loscoe
Lossop	2	4	Glossop?
Lalington	1	4	Lullington
Litton	0	0	Litton
Linton	0	0	Linton
Liggett	0	0	Unidentified ⁵⁰
Liberty	0	0	<i>Unidentified</i> ⁵¹
Langwish	0	0	Langwith
Langwish		V	Dangmin
Maperly	2	4	Mapperley
Mapleton	-	-	Mapleton
Marley	1	3	Morley
Marley lane	2	4	Morley Lime ⁵²
Marple	2	4	Marple (Ches.)
Marston	3	6	Marston on Dove ⁵³
Marton	1	2	Markeaton
Matlock	5	14	Matlock
		• •	
[f. 41v.]			
Midleton	5	16	Middleton by Wirksworth ⁵⁴
Midleton Yellograve	2	2	Middleton (by Youlgreave)
Milnhouse	1	2	Unidentified ⁵⁵
Miller	2	4	Mellor
Minkerfield	2	4	Unidentified
Monyash	3	4	Monyash
Morton	7	24	Morton
Mugginton	1	1	Mugginton
Milton	0	0	Milton (in Repton)? ⁵⁶
Mormore	0	0	Not identified ⁵⁷
Macworth	0	0	Mackworth
Masber	0	0	Mosbrough (in Eckington)
Mackney	0	0	Makeney (in Milford)
Millington	0	0	Millington Green (in Biggin)?
Moor hall	0	0	Moor Hall (in Barlow)
Netherseale	1	2	Netherseal
Netherthope	4	6	Netherthorpe (in Staveley) ⁵⁸
Newbald	4	6	Newbold
	-	<u>.</u>	(in Newbold & Dunston)
Newhaven	1	2	Newhaven
1,01111111111		2	(in Hartington Nether Quarter)
Newins	2	4	Not identified ⁵⁹
1 40 WIII 5	2	7	110t Identified

New merkett New mils	1 2	2 3	Newmarket (in Clay Cross) New Mills
Newton	2	4	Newton (in Blackwell) ⁶⁰
Normonton	15	17	Normanton (by Derby) ⁶¹
Northwynfield	3	5	North Wingfield
Norwood	0	0	Norwood (in Killamarsh) ⁶²
Newhall Lop.	0	0	Newhall ⁶³
Newton Salney	O	0	Newton Solney
Norton mag. & par.	0	0	Norton (Great and Little)
Norton Lee	0	0	Norton Lees (in Norton)
Nessack Lane	0	0	Not identified
Neerkinson	0	0	Not identified ⁶⁴
Oakes green	4	6	Oaks Green (in Sudbury)
Oakthorpe	6	12	Oakthorpe
Osmonton	1	2	Osmaston by Derby ⁶⁵
Overhaddon	1	1	Over Haddon
Overseale	3	10	Overseal
Overton	1	1	Overton (in Ashover)
Over mag: & par.	3	12	Mickleover and Littleover
Oxlees	. 0	0	Not identified
Oscroft	0	0	Oxcroft (in Bolsover)
Ockbrook	0	0	Ockbrook
Paintridge	20	35	Pentrich
Parwidge	1	3	Parwich
Peake Forrest	7	12	Peak Forest
Pike hall	1	2	Pikehall
			(in Hartington Nether Quarter)
[f. 42]			
Pilsley	2	-	Pilsley ⁶⁶
Pingston	15	18	Pinxton
Pipley	1	2	Pebley (in Barlborough)? ⁶⁷
Plainskrey	1	6	Not identified ⁶⁸
Pleasly	6	19	Pleasley
Presclife	0	0	Priestcliffe (in Taddington)
Padley	0	0	Padley ⁶⁹
Palterton	0	0	Palterton (in Scarcliffe)
Painters Lane	O	0	Painter's Lane (in Yeldersley)
Postern	0	0	Postern
			(in Shottle & Postern)
Press	0	0	Press (in Ashover)
Quardon	4	9	Quarndon ⁷⁰
Quarn	3	7	
Quarn moor	12	1	
Romshaw	2	4	Ramshaw (in Unstone) ⁷¹
Repton	7	16	Repton
Risley	1	2	Risley
Ripley	4	9	Ripley

Rodsley	2	4	Rodsley
Rosliston	1	2	Rosliston
Routore	2	2	Rowter Farm (in Castleton)
Rowland	3	5	Rowland
Rowsley	5	7	Great and/or Little Rowsley
Riber	0	0	Riber (in Matlock)
Radborn Common	0	0	Radbourne Common
Ridgway	0	0	Ridgeway (in Eckington)
Rawshorn	0	0	Rowthorne (in Ault Hucknall)
Roston	0	0	Roston
Robribbins	0	0	Robridding (in Ashover)
Robriobins	U	U	Robitating (in Ashover)
Sawley	7	14	Sawley
Seartliff	1	2	Scarcliffe
Selston	7	5	Selston (Notts.)
Sharlow	8	44	Shardlow
Shellson	1	1	Snelston?
Shirbrook	1	1	Shirebrook
Shirley	5	6	Shirley
Shurland	6	3	Shirland
Situriana	O	5	(in Shirland & Higham)
Smaley	2	3	Smalley
Snitterson	2	2	Snitterton
Somercoate	9	15	
			Somercotes (in Alfreton)
Sony Middleson	6	6	Stony Middleton
South wood	1	2	Not identified ⁷²
Spen lane	1	2	Spend Lane (in Thorpe)
Spoondon	2	-	Spondon
Stainsby	2	2	Stainsby (in Ault Hucknall)
[f. 42v.]			
Stainton	1	2	Not identified ⁷³
Stanton j Winster	2	4	Stanton (in Peak)
Stanton j Alfreton	3	5	Stanton by Dale ⁷⁴
Starton	1	1	Sturston
Stauly	7	9	Staveley ⁷⁵
Stopenell	1	2	Stapenhill
Stretton	7	10	Stretton ⁷⁶
Sudbury	8	38	Sudbury
Sutton	5	14	Not identified ⁷⁷
Sutton			Not identified
	2	4 2	C 41: 4-
Swallingcoate	1		Swadlincote
Swanick	9	16	Swanwick (in Alfreton)
Swarston	20	56	Swarkestone
Starcums	0	0	Starkholme (in Matlock)
Stancliffe	0	0	Stancliffe (in Darley)
Sheldon	0	0	Sheldon
Sherndall	0	0	Kingsterndale or
	New Co		Earl Sterndale
Small dalle	0	0	Not identified ⁷⁸

Sealwood side	0	0	Sealwood (in Netherseal)
Stinston	0	0	Stenson
Stably	0	0	Stubley
			(in Dronfield Woodhouse)
Spinkhill	0	0	Spinkhill (in Eckington)
Saltwood	0	0	Not identified ⁷⁹
Stone gravell	0	0	Stonegravels (in Chesterfield)
Sheltredge	0	0	Not identified ⁸⁰
Taddington	2	2	Taddington
Tantley	1	4	Tansley
Thirley Common	1	2	Not identified ⁸¹
Thubston	1	-	Thulston (in Elvaston)?
Tibshall	26	29	Tibshelf
Ticknell	4	10	Ticknall
Tidswall	34	56	Tideswell
Tissington	2	4	Tissington
Toadhole	2	2	Toadhole
			(in Shirland & Higham)82
Tupton	2	1	Tupton
Twiford	0	0	Twyford
<i>y</i>			(in Twyford & Stenson)
Tuckerwood	0	0	Not identified ⁸³
Tosley	0	0	Trusley?
Troway	0	0	Troway (in Eckington)
Thorp	0	0	Thorpe
Twicknook	0	Ö	Twichnook (in Ashover)
Underwood	2	2	Underwood
Onder wood	2	2	(in Offcote & Underwood)
Unston	0	0	Unstone
Wardlow	2	4	Wardlow
Walton	1	4	Not identified ⁸⁴
Washington	5	8	Wessington
Weefston	2	4	Not identified ⁸⁵
Wensley	$\tilde{1}$	6	Wensley
vi enoiej	•	· ·	(in Wensley & Snitterton)
West hallam	3	4	West Hallam
Weston	14	54	Not identified ⁸⁶
Whalley	2	4	Whaley (in Bolsover)? ⁸⁷
Whittwell	1	-	Whitwell
vv mittwen	1	-	Willewell
[f. 43]			
Willinton	2	4	Willington
Winfield	11	13	South Wingfield ⁸⁸
Wingerworth	4	4	Wingerworth
Winster	10	23	Winster
Wirksworth	80	266	Wirksworth
Wittington	4	4	Whittington
Wolley moore	2	2	Woolley Moor (in Stretton)
•			

Winshill	0	0	Winshill
Woodhouse	0	0	Not identified ⁸⁹
Wiltop	0	0	Not identified ⁹⁰
Weldon	0	0	Not identified ⁹¹
Whitligers Lane	0	0	Not identified ⁹²
Whitemoor	0	0	Whitemoor (in Belper)
Wormhill	0	0	Wormhill
Wadshelf	0	0	Wadshelf (in Brampton)
Yollsgrave	6	7	Youlgreave
Yelderley	0	0	Yeldersley

Source: TNA, WO 30/48, ff. 39-43.

Notes: At the end of each letter of the alphabet the last few entries (most of them nil returns) have been written in a different hand. These entries have been put in italics in the transcript above. I am grateful to Lynn Burnet and Mary Wiltshire for detailed comments on the identification of the names in the list, and to several others for observations on particular names.

- ¹ It appears to be impossible to decide whether Aston (in High Peak) or Aston upon Trent is referred to, assuming the suggested emendation of the name is correct.
- ² Cf. previous note. There is no parish of Ashton in Derbyshire, nor any other settlement of the name, and it is possible that this entry represents whichever of Aston (in High Peak) and Aston upon Trent is not represented by 'Arton' four lines earlier.
- ³ See also the entry for 'Huffenbarne' below.
- 4 It appears to be impossible to decide whether Alton (in Idridgehay & Alton) or Alton (in Ashover) is intended.
- ⁵ There are two hamlets of this name in Notts., which are perhaps a more likely identification than Bagthorpe Farm in Brampton.
- ⁶ Not in *P.N. Derb.* or on the modern map, but presumably a lane leading to Barlborough now known by another name.
- ⁷ Identified on the basis of the current local pronunciation of the parish name ('Barrow-cote').
- ⁸ On the assumption that the spelling is a poor form of 'Brelsford', which would reflect local pronunciation.
- ⁹ The earliest form in *P.N. Derb.* (1801) is singular, which perhaps supports what is otherwise a rather tentative identification.
- This entry could refer to Barrow upon Trent, although 'Barrow' below seems more likely to refer to the parish in Morleston & Litchurch; or this entry, rather than the preceding one, could be identified with either Nether Burrows or Over Burrows.
- As is commonly the case with isolated occurrences of either this name or Blackwell, it is impossible to be certain whether the reference is to Blackwall (in Kirk Ireton) or to either of the parishes of Blackwell (in High Peak and Scarsdale).
- ¹² The uncompounded name occurs in Hayfield and Hartington Upper Quarter; Nether Booth and Upper Booth are both in Edale.
- See the note above on 'Blackwall'. This entry presumably refers to one of the two Derbyshire parishes named Blackwell. The more populous Scarsdale parish seems more likely, given the number of beds.
- 14 If only from its position in the list, this is perhaps a more likely identification than Birley in Brampton.
- ¹⁵ Booth Hay in Yeaveley is conceivably possible, although this does not seem very likely.
- Fenny Bentley is the more populous parish place and so perhaps a better identification than Hungry Bentley.

- There is no Birch Moor in Derbyshire, which only leaves other compounds beginning 'Birch' (e.g. Birch Wood, Birch Low, Birchover, Birchwood) as possibilities for which there is no firm evidence.
- ¹⁸ The same considerations apply here as to the previous entry.
- Butterley occurs in Ashover and Ripley, but in neither case is the name associated with 'Spring' (presumably meaning spring wood).
- ²⁰ Callow (in Wirksworth hundred) appears normally to be spelt thus, whereas Calow (in Scarsdale) is normally spelt as above, although there is no means of being certain which parish is referred to here.
- There is no 'Crampton' in Derbyshire, and it must be a place of reasonable size with some through traffic.
- ²² Unless it is Calling Low (in Youlgreave) or, less probably, Culland Hall (in Brailsford).
- More precisely, this is perhaps either 'Cowley Gate' (i.e. the way to Cowley) or Cowley Gore (also in Dronfield Woodhouse).
- ²⁴ Cow Low (or Cowlow), which occurs in Castleton, Chapel en le Frith and Green Fairfield, is presumably a possibility; cf. Cowley above.
- ²⁵ This appears to be the only possibility.
- ²⁶ 'Dale' occurs as a parish name in Derbyshire only in Dale Abbey; otherwise this must refer to a piece of common land near one of the minor place-names in Dale.
- Unless this is a poor form of Draycott (in Draycott and Church Wilne).
- ²⁸ There is no Dunham in Derbyshire and so this is perhaps the best identification.
- Of the trio of parish names including the element Hucknall (Ault Hucknall, Hucknall Torkard and Hucknall under Huthwaite) this is the one alternatively known as Dirty Hucknall (above, p. 66).
- This seems the best identification; the name appears in the same form in Etwall parish register in 1658.
- None of the finery and chafery forges in the county seems ever to have been known in this way, nor any blacksmith's forge.
- ³² Conceivably possible, if only by a process of elimination.
- There are 16 occurrences of this name indexed in P.N. Derb.
- There are four uncompounded occurrences of Greenhill indexed in *P.N. Derb.*, of which the one in Norton is perhaps the most likely.
- 35 There is another entry for Over Haddon under O.
- ³⁶ If this is the correct identification it is not clear what the -net above is intended to represent; another possibility is that Hargatewall (in Wormhill) is intended, with the last syllable a very poor form of -wall.
- Rather than Alton, for which an acceptable form appears under A.
- 38 The figures seem rather large for Heage; conceivably it might be a very poor form of Heanor
- 39 i.e. Stony Houghton or Houghton Felley (in Pleasley) or Houghton Bassett (in Scarcliffe) or all three.
- ⁴⁰ Cf. P. Riden, *Derbyshire Directories 1781–1824* (Derbyshire Record Society, xxxiii, 2006), 2. This entry may be an early reference to the Peacock Inn at Oakerthorpe (see also the note under 'Akerthorp' above).
- The name is too common to identify this entry without further information.
- 42 See the note under 'Haudley' above.
- ⁴³ There is also a Hemsworth in the West Riding.
- ⁴⁴ Unless it is 'Heage Moor', or (less probably) High Moor in Killamarsh.
- The name is far too common to identify without other evidence.
- ⁴⁶ PN Derb., 473 gives exactly this form for Ilkeston from sixteenth-century sources.

- 47 i.e. the parish of that name in Wirksworth hundred, unless this refers to Lea Hall in Dethick, Lea & Holloway.
- This name does not occur in the index to P.N. Derb.
- ⁴⁹ Long Dale occurs in Hartington Town Quarter and Middleton & Smerrill; there is a Longdoles in Offcote & Underwood.
- Probably 'Lidgate' or 'Lydgate', which is too common a Derbyshire name to identify without further evidence.
- 51 Presumably an extra-parochial liberty but impossible to identify for certain without other evidence.
- ⁵² Or alternatively this could simply be a street name.
- 53 Simply because it is a parish, whereas Marston Montgomery is in Cubley.
- Middleton (by Youlgreave) and Stony Middleton have their own entries; this could also refer to Middleton & Smerrill.
- There is no 'Milnhouse' as such indexed in *P.N. Derb.* and 'Mill House' is too common to identify without further evidence. Miller's Dale (in Wormhill) is a possibility.
- ⁵⁶ This is the largest of the places in Derbyshire of this name (or Milltown) but there are other possibilities, including Chapel Milton (in Chapel en le Frith).
- ⁵⁷ Unless it is Moorwood Moor in South Wingfield.
- More commonly used as a district name than Netherthorpe in Killamarsh.
- Even if this is a poor form of Newlands, the name remains too common to identify without other evidence; alternatively 'New Inn' could be intended.
- ⁶⁰ Since there is another entry for Newton Solney.
- Since Temple Normanton appears elsewhere under its common earlier form of Little Normanton and the figures seem too large for this entry to relate to South Normanton in Scarsdale.
- ⁶² Perhaps more likely than Nor Wood (in Coal Aston).
- The second word in the original is perhaps a contraction of 'Lordship'.
- ⁶⁴ Unless this is a very poor form of Mercaston.
- 65 Simply because it is much larger than Osmaston (by Ashbourne).
- There is no way of deciding whether this is the Scarsdale or the High Peak parish.
- Not a very strong possibility, but Ripley appears in its modern form under R.
- There is a Plainsteads in Charlesworth but without other evidence it is hardly possible to confirm the identification. Or it could be a very poor form of Plaistow in Crich.
- ⁶⁹ Nether Padley is a civil parish; Upper Padley is in Hathersage.
- Quarndon was spelt Quarn as late as the 18th century and the other two names under Q appear to be a duplicate of Quarndon in one case and an obsolete minor place-name in the parish in the other. Or there has been confusion with Quorn (Leics.). When added together the numbers seem rather large for Quarndon.
- ⁷¹ Renishaw (in Eckington) is another possibility.
- ⁷² There is a Southwood Manor in Holbrook, a Southwood in Ticknall, and a Southwood Farm in Dronfield, apart from minor occurrences of the name for woodland.
- 73 Stanton (in Stanton & Newhall) and Stanton by Bridge are the two remaining parish names after Stanton (in Peak) and Stanton by Dale have been eliminated.
- 74 Stanton by Dale is not in fact very close to Alfreton, but nor is anywhere else called Stanton.
- ⁷⁵ The numbers seem too large for Stanley.
- The street of the street of the numbers alone whether this refers to Stretton in Scarsdale or Stretton en le Field.
- One of the two entries is presumably for Sutton (in Sutton cum Duckmanton) and the other for Sutton on the Hill but from the numbers alone it is difficult to decide which might be which.

- The name Smalldale occurs in Bradwell and Wormhill; the former is perhaps more likely.
- ⁷⁹ Salter Wood occurs in Brampton and Denby.
- ⁸⁰ Sheepbridge, which is close to Stonegravels on the northern outskirts of Chesterfield, is conceivably possible, or this could be a poor form of Kelstedge (in Ashover).
- ⁸¹ Unless it is Shirley Common.
- The name occurs in several other places in Derbyshire but this is perhaps the best known landmark.
- 83 There is a place called The Tucker in Bamford, but this does not seem a very firm identification without more evidence.
- Presumably either Walton in Scarsdale or Walton upon Trent, the only two parish names in Walton
- Unless it is Wolfcote Grange in Hartington Town Quarter.
- The two parish names in Weston are Weston Underwood and Weston upon Trent, but without other evidence it is difficult to decide to which of the two these rather high figures relate.
- Whaley Bridge was in Cheshire in 1686, which appears to leave the hamlet in Bolsover as a possibility.
- Since North Wingfield appears elsewhere and South Wingfield was quite often known by the uncompounded form.
- 89 The name is too common, even in an uncompounded form, to identify without other evidence.
- ⁹⁰ This could be a poor form of Wilsthorpe, or (less probably) Hilltop could be intended, of which there are 15 occurrences indexed in *P.N. Derb*.
- This could be a poor form of Wilden Ferry (in Shardlow & Great Wilne).
- ⁹² Either as a place-name or a modern road name.

2. The undated list, probably of the early eighteenth century

An Account of the Number of Beds & Standings for Horses which the publique Houses & Inns in ye several Cities Market Towns & most considerable villages in ye respective Countys in England & Wales & in ye Town of Berwick upon Tweed can & usually do accomodate Guests withall

Derbyshire

Name of Towns & Villages	Number of Spare Beds	Number of Standings for Horses	
Derby	241	561	
Ilkstone	3	10	
Swerkstone	3	8	
Heanor	3	5	
Shardlow	6	12	
Sawley	5	10	
Duffield	8	6	
Weston Underwood	6	10	
Ashbourn	144	363	
Clifton	3	10	
Sudbury	4	7	
Langford	5	7	
Brassington	6	6	

Worksworth	22	40	
Middleton	4	6	
Bonsal	9	7	
Crumfort	6	6	
Alfreton	7	16	
Higham	7	13	
Heagh	5	10	
Bolsover	10	18	
Whitington	9	16	
Winster	8	10	
Matlock	5	8	
Chesterfield	100	253	
Pleasley	4	8	
Staveley	5	6	
Brimington	4	6	
Dronfield	8	14	
Ekington	7	3	
Balbrow	9	7	
Bakewell	36	53	
Baslow	9	20	
Edynsar	11	19	
Tidswell	42	96	
Buxton	47	48	
Eyam	5	9	
Middleton Stoney	2	10	
Bradwell	7	5	
Castleton	9	5	
Hope	11	7	
Chapel le Frith	27	70	
Whaley Bridge	5	12	

Source: TNA, WO 30/50, f. 4v.

Note: The entries printed above in bold are written in a larger hand in the original return. They represent the market towns of the county.

3. The list of 1756

The Account of Beds that may be provided for Men, and Stalls for Horses at the Towns and Public Houses in Derby Collection

	Beds for Men	Stalls for Horses
The Town of Derby may provide without great inconvenience	134	215
Six Rides, may at a moderate computation provide	172	253
The Town of Burton upon Trent may provide	57	82
Three Rides	30	31
Uttoxeter Ditto	41	79
Three Rides Ditto	39	55

Nottingham Ditto Two Rides Ditto Bingham Ditto Out Ride Ditto	351 19 48 39	734 25 88 36
Mansfield Ditto	117	148
Three Rides Ditto	164	350
Southwell Ditto	42	71
Two Rides Ditto	66	117
Alfreton Ditto	59	181
Out Ride Ditto	34	51
Ashburn Ditto	120	100
Three Out Rides Ditto	12	20
Wirksworth Ditto	46	40
Four Rides Ditto	27	52
Winster Ditto	20	20
Cheadle and two O Rides	60	50
Total	1707	2798

Sheffield Collection. An Account of the Number of Beds and Stable Room for Horses, which the Public Houses & Inns, do usually accommodate Guests withall

Divisions &	c.	No. of Beds	Stalls for Horses
Barnsley D	Division	24	45
-	1 Ride	13	23
	2 Ride	6	11
	3 Ride	6	4
	4 Ride	6	12
	5 Ride	16	16
	6 Ride	3	6
	7 Ride	5	10
Rotherham	n Division	23	41
	1 Ride	6	12
	2 Ride	12	10
	3 Ride	37	42
Barnsley D	District	157	232
Sheffield	1 Division	83	120
	2 Division	10	5
	3 Division	18	24
	5 Division	17	1
	1 Ride	20	2
	2 Ride	16	6
	3 Ride	3	3
	4 Ride	10	10
	5 Ride	15	16
	6 Ride	2	2

Dronfield Division O Ride [i.e. out ride]	10 6	5 6
Sheffield District	210	210
Tideswell Division 1 Ride 2 Ride	41 52 66	31 86 55
Hope Division	21	24
Bakewell Division 1 Ride 2 Ride 3 Ride 4 Ride	35 21 35 39 3	65 32 52 56 3
Bakewell District	313	404
Chesterfield 1 Division 2 Division 3 Division 1 Ride 2 Ride 3 Ride 4 Ride	38 22 8 15 23 37 25	40 22 8 25 44 33 22
Worksop Division 1 Ride 2 Ride 3 Ride	37 56 26 30	70 114 25 54
Chesterfield District	317	457
Blythe Division	34	68
Bawtry Division	105	189
Tickhill Division	45	45
Snaith Division O Ride	44 31	63 25
Thorne Division O Ride	45 30	29 36
Doncaster 1 Division 2 Division 3 Division 1 Ride 2 Ride 3 Ride	41 35 48 22 29 25	84 49 102 30 40 44
Doncaster District	534	804
Barnsley District Sheffield Do	157 210	232 210

Bakewell Do	313	404
Chesterfield Do	317	457
Doncaster Do	534	804
Total	1531	2107

Source: TNA, WO 30/49, ff. 34–35 (Derby collection), ff. 116–117 (Sheffield collection). *Notes*: The individual entries in the table for Derby collection are arranged in groups joined with a brace in the right-hand margin. This layout has been represented in the transcript above by printing the entries bracketed together without a gap between each entry.

APPENDIX 2

Alehouses, inns and taverns in Derbyshire in 1577

The following list summarises the return printed in full in W.H. Hart, 'A list of the "Alehouses, Innes, and Tavernes,' in Derbyshire in the Year 1577', *DAJ*, i (1879), 68–80, which was transcribed from the original in the State Papers, Domestic Series (now TNA, SP 12/118, no. 25). The full return, which is arranged by petty constablery within each hundred, not by township or parish, includes the names of the licensees.

Scarsdale hundred	231 alehouses, 2 vintners, 3 innkeepers
Chesterfield	68 alehouses, 1 vintner & innkeeper
Higham	2 alehouses
South Wingfield and Oakerthorpe	2 alehouses
Stainsby and Heath	11 alehouses
Bolsover	11 alehouses
Clowne	4 alehouses, 1 innkeeper
Sutton and Duckmanton	3 alehouses
Alfreton	10 alehouses, 1 innkeeper
Stretton	4 alehouses
Holmesfield	2 alehouses
Eckington	8 alehouses, 1 vintner
Pleasley	5 alehouses
Langwith	2 alehouses
Shirebrook	4 alehouses
Dronfield	13 alehouses
Beighton	5 alehouses
Glapwell and Rowthorne	4 alehouses
Elmton and Creswell	3 alehouses
Wingerworth, Tupton and Unstone	1 alehouse
South Normanton and Pinxton	1 alehouse
Tibshelf and Oxcroft	5 alehouses
Ashover	2 alehouses
Morton, Pilsley and Brampton	1 alehouses
Brampton, Morton and Calow	4 alehouses
Brimington and Whittington	5 alehouses
Staveley	14 alehouses
Norton	10 alehouses
Killamarsh, Totley and Dore	10 alehouses

61 alehouses

Whitwell 9 alehouses
Blackwell 3 alehouses
Scarcliffe 4 alehouses

High Peak hundred 110 alehouses, 2 innkeepers

8 alehouses Chapel en le Frith 7 alehouses Hayfield 7 alehouses Hope 2 alehouses Castleton 1 alehouse Edale 12 alehouses Tideswell 5 alehouses Hathersage 4 alehouses Derwent 13 alehouses Glossop Wormhill 5 alehouses 4 alehouses Darley 3 alehouses Ashford 3 alehouses Longstone Monyash 5 alehouses 1 alehouse Wardlow 10 alehouses Bakewell Baslow, Bubnell and Calver 4 alehouses 3 alehouses Edensor

Buxton 8 alehouses, 2 innkeepers

Eyam 1 alehouse Stoney Middleton 3 alehouses

Repton and Greasley hundred

Greasley 1 alehouse 2 alehouses Willesley Walton upon Trent 2 alehouses 1 alehouse Linton Ticknall and Calke 5 alehouses Appleby 1 alehouse Ingleby 3 alehouses Bretby 2 alehouses Newton Solney 2 alehouses 1 alehouse Normanton Stanton by Bridge Osmaston

1 alehouse 1 alehouse 1 alehouse Chilcote 1 alehouse Croxall and Edingale 1 alehouse Stanton Ward Rosliston 1 alehouse 2 alehouses Catton 2 alehouses Lullington Measham 7 alehouses Winshill 1 alehouse Stapenhill 3 alehouses 1 alehouse Hartshorne 3 alehouses Newton

Melbourne6 alehousesChellaston1 alehouseSwarkeston1 alehouseRepton8 alehouses

Wirksworth hundred

Ashbourne
Wirksworth
Hartington
Brassington
Bonsall
Bradbourne
Kirk Ireton
Wensley

Hognaston

Cold Eaton and Alsop Parwich Ballidon Matlock Kniveton Dethick, Tansley and Lea Middleton and Cromford

Hopton and Carsington

Mapleton and Thorpe

Appletree hundred Brailsford

Belper Mugginton Heage Holbrook Norbury and Roston Twyford and Stenson Stanley and Mapperley Chaddesden

Etwall Foston and Scropton

Hazlewood, Turnditch and Windley

Sudbury

Breadsall Hulland Church Broughton Mercaston Cubley

Marston Montgomery Spondon

Yeldersley Bradley Atlow

Doveridge

Duffield

110 alehouses, 1 vintner, 1 innkeeper

26 alehouses, 1 vintner, 1 innkeeper

18 alehouses 11 alehouses 4 alehouses 4 alehouses 1 alehouse 2 alehouse 1 alehouse 2 alehouses 2 alehouses 2 alehouses

3 alehouses
9 alehouses
2 alehouses
2 alehouses
2 alehouses
2 alehouses
3 alehouses

61 alehouses, 5 innkeepers

1 innkeeper 5 alehouses 1 innkeeper 7 alehouses 1 alehouses 1 alehouse 2 alehouses 4 alehouses

3 alehouses 1 alehouse 2 alehouses

6 alehouses

2 alehouses, 2 innkeepers

3 alehouses
2 alehouses
2 alehouses
1 innkeeper
2 alehouses
2 alehouses
1 alehouse
1 alehouse
1 alehouse
2 alehouses

2 alehouses

Boylstone1 alehouseSutton2 alehouseShirley and Yeldersley1 alehouseLongford2 alehousesHilton2 alehouses

Morleston and Litchurch hundred 92 alehouses 2 alehouses Willington Pentrich and Ripley 10 alehouses 10 alehouses Ilkeston 2 alehouses Breaston Langley 2 alehouses Mickleover 5 alehouses Egginton 2 alehouses Aston upon Trent 3 alehouses Codnor 7 alehouses Morley and Smalley 3 alehouses Barrow upon Trent 2 alehouses Chellaston 1 alehouse Findern 2 alehouses Crich 5 alehouses Littleover 2 alehouses 4 alehouses Elvaston Denby 3 alehouses Clifton and Compton 4 alehouses Little Eaton 2 alehouses Alvaston and Boulton 3 alehouses Ticknall 3 alehouses 4 alehouses Sawley Weston upon Trent 2 alehouses Draycott 2 alehouses West Hallam 2 alehouses Wilne and Shardlow 3 alehouse Stanton by Dale 2 alehouses

Borough of Derby 61 alehouses, 2 vintners, 7 innkeepers

Derbyshire 726 alehouses, 5 vintners, 18 innkeepers