

DERBYSHIRE EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

BELPER

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The assessment report

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

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

1.2 Overview of the town

Belper lies towards the centre of the county, seven miles north of Derby. It is served by the A6, an important former turnpike road, and by the railway as surveyed by Stephenson and opened in 1840. While the parish and the late 19th and 20th century town extend on both sides of the River Derwent, the earlier settlement lay on the east bank, on rising ground overlooking the river. With industries based on both textiles and iron, it was of crucial significance in the early years of the industrial revolution, growing over the course of just a few decades from a small village into the second largest town in Derbyshire. As such, it is an excellent and important example of a manufacturing town.

The place-name Belper is derived from *Beaurepair*, beautiful retreat and is one of the three most important place-names of French origin in the county. The medieval village lay adjacent to one of the deer parks of Duffield Frith, with its knight's lodge, foresters' chapel and venison larder. Nail-making formed a part of the economy by the 14th century, if not before, taking advantage of easily worked local coal and ironstone deposits. The post-medieval village continued to thrive, acquiring a market in 1739, and supplementing the flourishing nail-making industry with some involvement in pottery production and the domestic textile business. However, it was the decision by Jedediah Strutt to utilise the power of the River Derwent at Belper Bridge to power his cotton mills that started a dramatic upturn in Belper's fortunes. Strutt and his descendents invested considerably in Belper, not only building mansions for themselves but also providing high quality housing for the mill workers, as well as religious and educational facilities and outlying farms to provide fresh food. The Strutts also invested in innovative designs for their mills, with the development of fire resistant factory architecture. The growth in the cotton industry at Belper was accompanied by a separate industry based on the distribution of hosiery products and the continuation of nailmaking.

What makes Belper of particular importance is the high degree of survival of a whole range of buildings that relate to the period of industrial growth and prosperity, including cotton mills, churches, non-conformist chapels, Victorian schools, hosiery warehouses and late 18th and early 19th century workers housing. This importance is underlined by its inclusion at the heart of the Derwent Valley Mills World Heritage Site.

2. GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The historic core of Belper developed on a hillside overlooking the Derwent Valley to the west and the Coppice Brook to the south. It lies at the eastern edge of the millstone grit, near its border with the Middle Coal Measures. Alluvium has been deposited in the valley bottom. St John the Baptist's church stands close to the highest point of the old settlement, at c. 130m AOD, with the ground sloping down towards the market place at c. 87m. Later development commenced in the valley bottom, with the mills on the Derwent being at c. 63m AOD.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Belper lay in Appletree wapentake and in Duffield manor. From 1877 it was governed by a Local Board, but under the Local Government Act of 1894 an Urban District Council (UDC) was created. In 1972 Belper UDC was amalgamated with Belper Rural District Council and combined with a number of other areas to form Amber Valley District.

4. SOURCES

4.1 Primary sources

Primary archives relating to Belper held at the Derbyshire Record Office (DRO) in Matlock includes Petty Sessions records from 1829, Belper Poor Law Union records from 1837, UDC records from the end of the 19th century and parish records from 1783. There are also records of a number of dissenting chapels, records of various commercial firms and the Strutt Estate papers. Earlier information is generally to be found among the archives relating to Duffield, although in the manor court books for Duffield Fee, Belper manor was often recorded separately. As a result court books for Belper alone exist for 1596-1607, 1613-1621, and 1621-1628. There is an additional book of extracts relating to Belper between 1588 and 1676, apparently compiled sometime between 1767 and 1776 with a view to the manor of Belper being detached and sold away from the manor of Duffield. Duffield parish registers begin in 1598.

There are also archives relating to Belper among the Duchy of Lancaster muniments at the Public Record Office, as well as papers relating to Duffield Frith in the Woolley MSS in the British Museum, and among the papers of the Talbot and Shrewsbury families. Primary archives were not consulted for this assessment.

4.2 Secondary sources

There are a considerable number of publications covering various aspects of Belper's history, ranging in topics from the general to the specific and in date from Willott's book of 1894, *Belper and its People*, to Giles *et al*'s publication of 2000, *An Illustrated History of Belper and its Environs* and Farmer's book of 2001, *The Spirit of Belper*. The latter is one of several books that use old photographs to illustrate the town's more recent history; others used for this assessment include Jewell (1995).

There are published collections of extracts from the Derby Mercury relating to Belper from 1732-1799 and 1823-1857. In addition, Belper Historical Society has published two scrapbooks of newspaper cuttings from the 1880s as well as a variety of booklets and pamphlets dealing with a variety of topics relating to the town.

4.3 Cartographic evidence

The earliest surviving plan of Belper dates to 1698, but shows the settlement somewhat schematically, with no plot boundaries, and is therefore only of limited use. Similarly the enclosure map of 1790/1 shows neither buildings nor many individual property boundaries in the settled area. Consequently the earliest detailed map is that produced by James Hicking, clerk and surveyor to Messrs Strutt, between 1805 and

1818, followed, at a much smaller scale, by Sanderson's map of 1835. The tithe map of 1844 shows the town in some detail, and is accompanied by a numbered schedule which allows the identification of features such as nailshops.

4.4 Archaeological evidence

At the time when information for this report was being compiled, there were 24 entries on the Sites and Monuments Record for that part of Belper included in the assessment. Since that time, an SMR enhancement project for the World Heritage Site has been carried out, which has considerably increased that number. Archaeological work has been limited so far, but includes trial excavation near the probable site of the manor house (Lewis 2000) and near the site of Green Hall on King Street (Bell 2002).

5. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

5.1 Prehistoric

A number of artefacts of prehistoric date have been recovered from the town of Belper itself, with others having been found in the vicinity, as shown on Figure 1. Artefacts from within the town include several flints, said to be of Bronze Age date, found sometime prior to 1966 (SMR 17021), a large leaf-shaped flint arrowhead found in a back garden in 1965 (SMR 17023) and a small Early Bronze Age axe hammer found on a new housing estate in around 1958 (SMR 17015).

A Neolithic polished stone axe was recovered in the late 1970s from a garden in the Mount Pleasant area to the north-west of Belper (SMR 17001), while another stone axe, of Cornish origin, was found in 1938 at Blackbrook, to the west of the town (SMR 17005). To the south-west, a quantity of Early Bronze Age flint implements was found before 1942 in fields adjoining the Chevin Golf Course (SMR 20414). They included a barbed and tanged arrowhead, button and concave scrapers and many small blades (SMR 20414).

A Bronze Age cushion-shaped macehead of felsite was found near Belper in 1884 (SMR 17019). However, the findspot is not known, and therefore cannot be shown on Figure 1.

5.2 Roman

There are no finds of Roman date recorded from the town, but there is evidence from the surrounding area, as shown on Figure 1. Many of the sites lie to the south and east of Belper, supporting the suggestion that a Roman road or track crossed the Derwent at Milford and headed north-west, running from *Derventio* (Little Chester) to the lead mining areas of the limestone uplands (Jennings 1971)

To the south, at Milford, the remaking of a golf-course green in 1938 led to the discovery of a number of Romano-British potsherds, together with a Roman coin and a clay structure identified as a probable pottery kiln (SMR 17007). A further possible kiln site has been suggested to the west of Belper (SMR 17009). Further north, several fragments of Samian pottery were found in 1873 between paving stones (SMR 17004).

To the south-west, nine Roman coins, including two of Antoninus, were found on the Chevin before 1868, when removing stones from base of a boundary wall (SMR 17006). From the same area, possible Roman pottery is said to have been found in 1935 on the 11th green of the golf course (SMR 20410), while a denarius of Domitian was found in 1960 alongside the 9th hole (SMR 20416).

To the south-east of Belper, a coin of 2nd century date was found near the junction of Pond Road and Makeney Road (SMR 20703) and, from slightly further north, a Roman pottery spindle whorl was found in ploughsoil prior to 1978 (SMR 20704).

There are a number of references to Roman period finds having been made in the Belper area in the 19th century or earlier, the findspots of which cannot be identified and which therefore are not shown on Figure 1. According to Derry (1890) a small gold coin of the reign of Augustus Caesar was found in the neighbourhood of Belper in 'about the year 1800'. This is probably the same coin as that recorded in 1811 as having been found in c. 1803 (SMR 17018). Similarly, a 'Second Brass' of Maximian and a coin of Elagabalus are reported to have been found at Belper prior to 1905 (SMR 17020). In addition, according to Glover (1833) '... military weapons, generally thought to be Roman, have been dug up in various places' around Belper.

5.3 Early Medieval

At present there is no archaeological evidence relating to the early medieval period either from the site of Belper or from the surrounding area. Similarly there is no documentary evidence for Belper from this period, although it has been suggested that the 11th century place-name *Bradelei*, referred to in Domesday Book as part of the manor of Duffield, was subsequently replaced by Belper (Cameron 1959).

5.4 Medieval

5.4.1 Domesday Book and place-name evidence

Belper is not mentioned by that name in Domesday Book although, as noted above, it may have been known as Bradley under the following entry:

In Duffield, 'BRADLEY', Holbrook, waste, Milford, waste, Makeney, waste, and 'Herdby', Siward had 7 c. of land taxable and the sixth part of 1 c. Land for 7 ploughs and the sixth part of 1 plough. Now in lordship 3 ploughs; 32 villagers, 8 smallholders and 10 slaves who have 8 ploughs. Meadow, 20 acres; woodland pasture 4 leagues long and 2 wide. A priest and a church; 2 mills, 8s. Value before 1066 £9; now £7. (Domesday Book, Phillimore edition).

The earliest certain reference to Belper comes in 1231, when it is written as *Be(a)urepeir*, meaning 'beautiful retreat'. As such, it is one of the three most important place-names of French origin in the county (Cameron 1959).

5.4.2 The manor

Belper passed with the manor of Duffield, which was held by Siward before 1066 and by Henry de Ferrars in 1086. Duffield was one of the manors given in 1266 to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, along with the goods and chattels of the de Ferrars. It came via marriage to John of Gaunt during the reign of Edward III, reverting to the Crown under Henry IV.

5.4.3 The settlement and its environs

Belper lay within Duffield Frith, one of the smaller royal forests, with a circuit of somewhat over 30 miles. The forest was divided for administrative purposes into four wards, one of which was Belper Ward. There were a number of separately paled parks within the forest, including Little Belper or Lady Park.

Some information about Belper can be obtained from the surviving financial accounts of Duffield Frith. Exceptionally full accounts survive for 1313/14. These include a reference to 34 acres of meadow at Belper laund, where some 12 acres were mown for the lord's visit to Belper, as well as references to the fishing of the Derwent, and to wood and bark sales. Expenditure included fencing Belper laund, and thatching the roof of the great larder for salted venison which adjoined Belper manor house. Expenses of the reeve of Belper for 1327-8 included £9 worth of lead for a water conduit in the park and a sum of money for making a wall round the pond there. Money was also spent on roof shingles and on stone for the walls of a garderobe for the lodge as well as on repairing the knights' lodge and providing it with three

garderobes. Further amounts were required for paling and hedging the lord's garden, and for repairing the glass windows of the chapel (Cox 1905).

Beyond this, there appears to be little published information relating to the medieval settlement, although some idea of the township's wealth in relation to others in the area can be had from the lay subsidy of 1334. Belper was taxed at £1-10-0, seventeen places within the Morleyston wapentake paying more and twenty-three paying less (Glasscock 1975).

5.4.4 Chapel of St John the Baptist

The earliest known reference to the chapel comes from the accounts of Belper ward for 1272-3 (Cox 1905). It is thought to have been founded as a chantry chapel by the Earl of Lancaster, possibly in the mid-13th century, to say mass for the keepers of Duffield Frith. The parish church was at Duffield, a couple of miles away. There is some evidence that the chapel was originally dedicated to St Thomas, as it is named as such in the will of Thomas Sacheverell dated 1534 (Clark 1992). Clark suggests the origin of the change of dedication of this, and many other Derbyshire churches, is the 1742 edition of John Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*. Ecton was provided with many of these dedications by the 18th century antiquary Browne Willis, a man whose reputation for accuracy was said to be poor even in his own lifetime. Willis, in turn, depended for his Derbyshire information upon various correspondents who sometimes provided him with conflicting information (Clark 1992).

5.4.5 Trade and industry

Nail-making

The earliest written reference to nail-making in Belper comes from Duchy of Lancaster Records for 1314-15, which include the accounts of two forges working there and producing 'iron bars for chappell windows, board nails and spikes'. Nails may well have been produced there even earlier, taking advantage of the easily worked local coal and ironstone deposits. Belper nail-makers may have made the nails required for the construction of the chapel in around 1260, and possibly also produced horseshoe nails for hunters in the Chase Woods to the north (Bentley 1986).

Corn-milling

The presence of a corn mill at Belper, presumably a water mill, is indicated in accounts of 1313/14, in which there is a reference to the tithes of Belper mill (Cox 1905).

5.5 Post-medieval (c. 1550 – c. 1775)

5.5.1 The manor

The manor, which had reverted to the Crown in the early 15th century, was sold by Charles I, ultimately coming into the hands of the Jodrell family at some point in the 17th century.

5.5.2 Communications

In 1764, Turnpike Acts were passed for the Ashbourne to Openwoodgate road (via Belper) and the Belper Bridge to Ripley (via Heage) road (Radley & Penny 1972), although neither of these particularly enhanced Belper's transport links. For example in 1786, when John Wesley, riding from Sheffield to Derby, found that he was to preach at Belper, he noted his displeasure in his diary as 'it obliged me to quit the turnpike road, to hobble over a miserable common' (Cox 1907, 37).

5.5.3 The settlement and its environs

A very detailed survey was made in 1560 of all the trees and the condition of the undergrowth in each ward and park of Duffield Frith. Ten woods were described in Belper Ward, one of which, Swinney Wood, was

‘adjoining to Beaureper town ... The said wood standeth in such craggess that it is evil to be gotten from thence where it groweth’ (quoted in Strutt & Cox 1903).

Belper Park itself was described as mostly containing old birch and some hazel, together with a few oaks. By 1600 it had been disafforested and was being farmed (Cox 1905). The land around Belper was described in the early 18th century as being ‘but bad and ancient forest land’ (Glover & Riden 1981).

In 1577 a list was made of the number of ‘alehouses, Innys and Taverns’ in Derbyshire, together with the names of those keeping them. Five are recorded for Belper, being held by John Bradshaw, Widow Stret, John Gyte, Edmund Andrew and Thomas Smyth (Hart 1879).

The Hearth Tax returns can provide some limited information about houses in Belper in the mid 17th century, although any interpretation can only be tentative. Detailed returns have been published for 1664 when there were 102 entries, 75 of which were chargeable, the remaining 27 being exempt. Unfortunately some entries are illegible, particularly in the list of exempt households, although it is likely that all of these would only have had one hearth. Of the 68 chargeable entries that were legible, 61(89.7%) were taxed for a single hearth, six (8.8%) for two hearths, one for three hearths and none for more than three (Edwards 1982b). Edwards devised a very rough classification of status as follows:

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

Even if several of the missing entries had more than one hearth, the impression of Belper is that it was a settlement of relatively poor families living in small houses in the mid 17th century.

Two almshouses were built by Matthew Smith and endowed by his will of 1713. The houses had small gardens, but had become dilapidated and were rebuilt in 1829. Two more almshouses were given by James Sims at some time before 1786; these were claimed by the parish when they fell into decay, and were rebuilt out of the poor rates (Willott 1894).

There was said to be no parsonage house at Belper in 1772 (Austin 1983).

5.5.4 Population

The diocesan census of 1563 provided a figure of 102 households in the chapelry of Belper at that time (Riden 1978). Using the multipliers of 4.5 and 5.0 to convert households into approximate lower and upper figures for individuals, a population of between 459 and 510 individuals is estimated.

Interestingly, exactly the same number of households, 102, is recorded in the Belper Hearth Tax assessments for 1664 (Edwards 1982a), indicating a static population. Edwards (1982b) analysed the 1664 assessments in conjunction with the Compton census of 1676 in an attempt to calculate population in the second half of the 17th century. Unlike the 1563 census, however, the Compton census does not provide separate figures for the various chapelries of Duffield parish, of which Belper was one.

Derry (1890) gives the population in 1741 as 532 people living in 113 houses. He does not specify the source of this information. A comparison of this figure with that of the 1563 census suggests that very little growth had taken place over the course of almost two centuries.

5.5.5 Religious buildings

The Chantry Roll of 1547 records the 'Chauntre of Beureper and notes that '... there is belonging to the Chantry ij hundred howselling people and it hathe a manchyon house ...' (quoted in Cox 1877, 143). The chantry was valued at £3 per annum, of which a third came from the house and land. The chantry property was granted to Edward Peese and William Winton of London by the crown, who then leased out the house and land (Cox 1877).

In 1689 John Taylor of Belper obtained a licence to hold a Presbyterian service in his house. Two further licences were granted, one in 1709 the other in 1714 (Derry 1890). The first dissenting chapel to be built at Belper was by the Unitarians in Green Lane in 1721 (Willott 1894).

5.5.6 Markets and fairs

The first market was held in Belper on October 10 1739, prior to which Derry (1890) suggests Belper inhabitants visited Wirksworth market.

In October 1752 the *Derby Mercury* records that the meeting commonly called the Old Fair, for all sorts of goods and especially for foals and sheep, which had up to that time been held near the chapel at Belper on October 20 would change to October 31 'new style', while the meeting 'commonly call'd the New Fair', which had previously been held on the Wednesday before May Day would in the future be held on 'Old May Day', in other words May 12 'new style'. The *Derby Mercury* for 1754 records that the fair was held on Belper 'Chapel Green' and that:

'.. all the Corners and Lanes thereabouts will be prodigiously crowded, as usual, with vast Numbers of Sheep ... yet there is a convenient clean Place on the south-east end of Belper Ward, near the said Chapel, which is capable of containing Fifty Thousand Foals, and as many People ... Moreover, the Publick Houses ... are so increased, enlarged and improved at Belper since the Establishment of a Weekly Meeting held there every Saturday ...'

5.5.7 Trade and industry

Iron

Nail-making, already established in the medieval period, continued to be important, and with the introduction of blast furnaces for smelting, production was able to increase markedly. By the early 18th century, Belper's horse-nails were known as the best in the country and both horse and common nails were being exported to America. The organisation of the industry is not clearly understood for much of this period, but around the middle of the 18th century it is suggested that some of the more enterprising nailers began to organise the distribution of rod-iron and the collection at a later date of the finished nails, with iron coming from the forges at Alderwasley, from the Derwent at Milford and possibly from the slitting mill on the Holms, an island in the middle of the Derwent at Derby (Bentley 1986). There was also an iron forge and mill at Makeney, a couple of miles south of Belper, by the 1750s (Riden 1988). Riden takes issue with the assertion that the Alderwasley mill supplied Belper nailmakers with rod and iron. He suggests the trade originally grew up there because of proximity to an early slitting mill on the Derwent at Makeney, the site of which was abandoned in about 1780, although nail-making remained a widespread local craft.

Textiles

Although the main development of the textile industry occurred with the arrival of Jedediah Strutt (see section 5.6.7), there is some evidence for its presence prior to this. Derry (1890) reported on a paper read in 1878 which claimed that the cotton industry was introduced to Belper prior to Strutt, with a mill at Chapel Hollow, on the Denby Road, belonging to a man called Robinson. The mill had deep cellars in which two horses worked the machinery, this being remembered in the name 'Paddlewell Yard'.

Similarly, although the hosiery business really took off from around 1795, with the hosier John Ward and his son opening a warehouse at the southern end of Belper and purchasing their yarn from the Strutts mill, it seems that Ward had been trading as a hosier in the Belper area from about the early 1760s (Harte 1977).

Pottery

A deed of 1737 records the presence of a 'Potters Acre' at Belper. In 1772 William Bourne, described as a potter of Belper, took out an insurance policy which included £50 for a workhouse and workrooms. A jug dated 1765 is thought possibly to be attributable to Belper; more certain are two pieces of 1775 which have both Belper and the date incised on them. Various other dated pieces of the late 18th century have survived (Oswald 1982).

Other

Belper coal was mined on Bridge Hill in the late 17th century, but the pit was abandoned within a relatively short time, as it was uneconomic (Giles *et al* 2000).

There is an advertisement in the *Derby Mercury* of 1767 for 'a New-built Stone House, with good Chambers and a cellar, together with a Tan-Yard, well set with Vats ...'

5.6 Industrial (c. 1775 – 1900)

5.6.1 Communications

Roads

An Act of Parliament of 1793 authorised the creation of the Duffield and Heage Turnpike Road, which passed through Belper. Following this, the Belper to Cromford Turnpike Road was established in the valley in 1817 (Radley & Penny 1972). River valley routes became more favoured in the period after 1800, and whole roads were sometimes re-routed. The route between Belper and Cromford illustrates this. The earlier route, via Crich and Holloway, followed an old route which was near the top of the local hills. The new route was 'quite an engineering feat', which involved stabilising the bank of the Derwent, raising the road above the river level and attempting to prevent floods from damaging the road surface (Radley & Penny 1972). The creation of these turnpike roads had some impact within the core of the settlement also, with the building of new, relatively straight, sections of road to replace earlier more tortuous routes.

Canals

Belper was served indirectly by the Cromford Canal and the Derby Canal. The former was completed in 1794, following opposition from Jedediah Strutt, who was concerned that the water supply to his mills would be affected. The latter was completed in 1796, and was used by the Strutts to supply the Belper and Milford mills with raw cotton, which was sent to Derby via canal and then collected and transported from there to Belper by road (Giles *et al* 2000).

Railway

In 1836 Parliamentary assent was given for the construction of a railway linking Derby with Leeds. The Strutts objected to its route through Belper, on the grounds of interference with their water supply, which originally was to be on the west bank of the Derwent but which was finally settled on the east side, with a mile long cutting through the town of Belper. George and Robert Stephenson were appointed as engineers in chief. The cutting through Belper is walled in gritstone and spanned by eleven bridges. The line, the North Midland, was opened in 1840 (Giles *et al* 2000).

5.6.2 The settlement and its environs

In 1786 an Act of Parliament was passed for the enclosure of remaining common lands in Duffield Parish, which included Belper Ward. Some 1500 acres, none of it open field arable, were allotted under the Enclosure Award of 1791. The accompanying maps show that in Belper, this mainly involved the commons lying to the north and east of the settlement.

The settlement itself underwent rapid change in the industrial period, mainly as the result of the establishment of Jedediah Strutt's cotton mills from c. 1778. The impact was almost immediate. Pilkington, in 1789, noted that 'Every year, almost every month, new houses are rising up'. Glover (1833, 101) referred to the fact that Belper 'at a comparatively recent period was inhabited only by a few nail-makers, [and] now ranks next to the capital of the county in extent, population, wealth and intelligence'. White's Directory of 1857 described it as an 'improving market town' and by the end of the century it was deemed to be 'prosperous' albeit 'straggling and unattractive' (Bulmer's Directory 1895).

The growth of this prosperous town was accompanied by the provision of a range of public facilities. By the middle of the century, these included a Library and News Room, a Savings Bank and Public Baths (White's Directory, 1857). A purpose built theatre, the Public Hall, was built near the top of King Street in 1882. By the 1890s there were eight inns on the Market Place, and in 1896 supposedly 24 fully licensed public houses, 21 beer houses and 13 off-licenses (Giles *et al* 2000). A Gas Company and a Water Company were established, although the former needed to be enlarged within a few years as they were found to be too small for the requirements of the town and the latter were apparently not very successful in supplying their customers with water in the summer. County courts were held alternately at Belper and at Ilkeston. In addition, Belper was the centre of a large Poor Law Union, which consisted of 35 parishes and townships (Willott 1894).

In addition to the considerable expansion of settlement that was taking place, improvements were also undertaken within the existing town. Willott (1894) describes King Street as having been 'very much improved the last few years', with the construction of a number of new houses replacing older ones, as well as the building of shops with residences. The Market Place had been improved also, by being 'pitched and paved'. Willott notes also that the markets had been much better attended since the opening of the 'New Railway Station' in the centre of the town.

5.6.3 Population

Pilkington (1789) recorded that there were 433 houses in the Liberty 'and this number is daily increasing. Every year, almost every month, new houses are rising up', the reason being the cotton mills.

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

Year	Population	Houses
1801	4500	831
1811	5778	1023
1821	7235	1239
1831	7890	1482
1841	9885	1830
1851	10082	1987
1861	9509	1976
1871	8527	1836
1881	9875	2040
1891	10420	2104
1901	10934	2245

According to Giles *et al* (2000) the fall in population in the 1860s was due to the cotton famine caused by the American Civil War. They also quote a remark made in 1897 about the 'constant drain on our Belper population', the result of people leaving for the colonies and for large towns.

5.6.4 *Religious buildings*

Despite attempts to create space for a larger congregation at St John's Chapel, the continuing expansion of population meant that St John's was no longer adequate to meet their needs. As a result a new church, dedicated to St Peter, was completed in 1824, and Christ Church near Belper Bridge was constructed in c. 1849.

In common with many other manufacturing towns, there was also considerable support for the various non-conformist denominations, and over the course of this period a number of chapels were established. In 1833, Glover's *History and Gazetteer* noted that there were chapels for the Unitarians, Independents, General Baptists, Particular Baptists, Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists. By the end of the century, these chapels had often been enlarged or rebuilt to accommodate increasing congregations, with additional chapels being built in the ever expanding outskirts of the town.

5.6.5 *Education*

The Strutts had provided some education for children working in their mills since the late 18th century and in 1818 they opened a school on Long Row for 530 pupils. Over the course of the century, further schools were constructed as the population grew so that by the end of the century Bulmer's *Directory* (1895) was able to record that Belper was 'amply provided with educational facilities'. An infants' school had been built in 1835 on High Street and in 1849 a National School was built at The Butts. Belper School Board was established in 1877, and by 1895 had five schools, consisting of ten separate departments, under its management. Other schools included a number of private schools, and the various schools and Sunday Schools attached to non-conformist chapels throughout the town.

5.6.6 *Markets and fairs*

Glover (1833) records markets on a Saturday, fairs on January 28, May 5 or the day following the Chesterfield fair, and on October 31, the latter being a 'considerable cattle-fair'.

The first annual Cattle and Pig Fair was held in Belper on Whit Monday 1851. By the 1860s sales of sheep, horses and farm implements took place along with the Annual Fair, all then occupying the Butts, Market Place and Coppice (Giles *et al* 2000). Markets continued to be held on Saturdays throughout the 19th century, although by 1895 the number of fairs had reduced from three to a single one, held on October 31 and described as being 'of considerable importance' (Bulmer's *Directory* of 1895).

5.6.7 *Trade and industry*

General

William Bamford's diary for 1821 provides a list of 'dwelling houses and sundry other buildings in the Liberty of Belper' (Harrison 1966). This gives the following information about the range of trades being pursued at that time, although it should be noted that not all of these would have been actually in Belper town itself:

Cotton Mills	3
Hat Factories	2
Potteries	1
Tan-yard	1
Corn Mills	4
Malthouses	2
Bake Houses	12
Mercers, grocers, butchers' shops	35
Joiners' shops	7

Blacksmiths' shops	7
Nailers' shops	162
Stockingers' shops	27
Weavers' shops	14

The importance of industry overall to Belper's economy is indicated by Glover (1833), who records that of the 1418 families in Belper in 1821, only 65 were chiefly employed in agriculture, compared with 1309 in trade or handicrafts and 44 in professional pursuits.

Nail-making

Nail-making, which had contributed to the economy of medieval and post-medieval Belper, was said by Pilkington in 1789 to be in decline. However, the industry experienced a further period of growth in the last decade of the 18th century and the early 19th century, at a time when Belper was experiencing rapid expansion. Bentley (1986) suggests that the manufacture of hand-made nails reached its peak around 1815, when Belper horse nails were known as the best in the country. The market for nails had been stimulated both by the mills and the Napoleonic wars and it has been suggested that there were probably well over a thousand men, women and children employed in the industry, possibly even as many as 1400 (Robson 1964). A new type of forge was developed, at which six workmen were able to work at the same time, and set up in the town in 1824 to make horse-nails, while Belper became the centre of the Horse Nail Makers' Union in 1822 (Bentley 1986).

By 1833 the trend had reversed and Glover (1833) noted that while nail-making at that time still supported between 300 and 400 'hands', the trade was thought to be in decline. Nevertheless, the 1841 census records over 700 men and women as still employed in nail-making, and the tithe schedule shows that there were 128 nailshops and 6 nail warehouses in the township in 1844. In 1861 there were still 664 people describing themselves as 'nailer' in the census. However, a much more serious decline began from this time. Bentley (1986) argues that factors for the decline included not only the competition from cheaper machine-made nails but also the character of the nailers, whom he describes as uneducated, ill-disciplined and firmly opposed to change. A series of strikes between 1860 and 1881 persuaded the town's nailmasters against introducing any more than the most basic mechanisation, whilst many of the nailers themselves moved into different occupations. By 1881 the number of Belper nailmakers had dropped to 350. At the same time, nailers' sons were increasingly less likely to follow their fathers into the nailing trade, figures being some 90% in 1851 compared with about 50% in 1881 (Bentley 1986). Willott (1894) states that by the time of his writing there were very few common nail makers and no more than 20 horse-nail makers.

Iron founding

The first iron foundry in Belper itself was built in Queen Street in the 1820s by Messrs Carr & Bridges, making small cast-iron goods. They went out of business in the mid 19th century, after which the premises were used by a succession of different firms. One of these firms was probably that founded by the Smedley family, who appear to have been operating at Queen Street in 1857, having already established the Eagle Foundry in Becksitch Lane in 1855. The Queen Street foundry was known as Park Foundry, due to its proximity to Belper Park, and the Smedleys took this name with them when they later moved to a new site on New Road (Mary Smedley pers. comm.). The Park Foundry manufactured a range of small iron goods such as fire-grates, ovens and troughs while the Eagle Foundry specialised in the production of larger items, such as boilers and grinding mills (Barrass 1998).

Textiles - cotton spinning

The successful establishment of the textile industry at Belper had a profound effect on the economy of the settlement. According to tradition, Jedediah Strutt began building his first cotton spinning mill in Belper in 1776, although more recent evidence suggests it may have started 1-2 years later, with the mill possibly

being completed in 1781. A second mill, on the site of what was later known as North Mill, was added in 1784. The erection of a third mill, later West Mill, began in 1793, and required the redesigning of the water supply, with the construction of a new more substantial weir and the excavation of the banks of the river (Derwent Valley Mills Partnership 2000). By the middle of the 19th century, the Strutts had what was described as ‘an extensive establishment’, not only consisting of the cotton spinning mills but also with ‘establishments for bleaching, dyeing, founderies [*sic*] and machine making, all done on their own premises’ (White’s Directory, 1857).

The cotton industry continued under Jedediah Strutt’s descendents and the Strutt mills remained the largest employer of labour in Belper for most of the 19th century, only being narrowly overtaken by Brettles hosiery firm (see below) towards the end of the century (Giles *et al* 2000).

Textiles - hosiery

Pilkington (1789) records the presence at Belper of ‘a few’ stocking frames, chiefly employed by the hosiers in Derby. However, the hosiery business appears to have really taken off from around 1795, when the hosier John Ward and his son opened a warehouse at the southern end of Belper, purchasing their yarn from the Strutts mill. Ward had been trading as a hosier in the Belper area from about the early 1760s, and at the beginning of the 19th century, Ward’s hosiery business went into partnership with George Brettle. Stockings were the leading product at Belper; also pantaloons, drawers, breeches, gloves and caps. The majority of items were of cotton, although more expensive versions were produced in silk, including silk hose made for George III and George IV. Up until 1820 supplies went by wagon directly from Belper to towns such as Birmingham and Dublin (via Liverpool), although after that date they went from the firm’s London warehouse (Harte 1977).

By the 1830s Wards and Brettles had undergone an acrimonious separation into two rival businesses, with the result that Belper had two of the largest hosiery firms in the country, although little of the actual work appears to have been carried out in the town. At this time the industry was still essentially domestic, with stockingers coming to the Belper warehouses to collect the silk and cotton yarn and returning the finished goods on a weekly or fortnightly basis. In the parish of Belper in 1844 there was a total of no more than 33 frames, the remainder being located in villages up to 25 miles around. By 1854, however, machine-made hosiery was being produced at Belper, although by the mid 1870s labour supply had become something of a problem, Belper being too isolated to get the ‘various kinds of work-people’ required by the factory system (Harte 1977).

Pottery

Pottery manufacture, already established by the 1760s and probably before (see 5.5.7 above) continued into the early 19th century. The pre-existing works at Belper Pottery were taken over about 1800 by William Bourne. The local clay was suitable for brown kitchenware, such as bowls, dishes and water-jugs. For better quality articles, clay was brought from Derby or Staffordshire. In 1812 Joseph Bourne added the existing Denby Pottery to his business and he operated on both sites until 1834, when the Belper works were closed and all production carried on at Denby (Giles *et al* 2000).

Coal

Several shallow pits were opened alongside Dally Lane, near Bridge Hill, in around 1816, although they were only worked for about 15 years. Other early pits were sunk at Belper Gutter and Belper Town, to the north-west of the church, together with various other small pits. A coal mine was worked at Whitemoor between 1863 and 1865, while a colliery was sunk at Belper Laund in the second half of the 19th century, producing fire-clay as a by-product. Other pits opened on the Chevin, Hopping Hill and Milford, while Shire Oak Pit was worked near Belper Lane End (Giles *et al* 2000).

5.7 20th century

The tradition of textile manufacture survived at Belper well into the 20th century. Investment in the cotton industry continued with the construction in 1912 of the brick-built East Mill by the English Sewing Cotton Company. Hosiery also continued to be important, so that by the 1930s Brettles was the biggest employer of labour in Belper, later being taken over by Courtaulds. Nail-making, on the other hand, fared less well, having virtually died out by the end of the 19th century. Although 37 men and one woman were recorded in the 1901 census as being employed making nails, the industry did not survive beyond the first decade of the 20th century. The continued growth of the town is clearly illustrated by the population figures, which show an increase from 10935 individuals in 1901 to 15714 in 1951.

The situation changed in the second half of the 20th century, however. At the end of the 1950s the English Sewing Cotton Company began demolishing the Belper mills, a scheme of site clearance that continued into the early 1960s and saw the majority of the industrial buildings disappear, as well as other associated buildings such as Bridge House School (Farmer 2001). Only the East Mill continued in commercial use, although not for cotton spinning. Some 20 years later, Courtaulds closed their Belper factory, while the iron foundries too closed down and were later demolished. There has been some replacement of these heavy industries by light industry and by commercial development. Tourism is also becoming increasingly important, with the identification of Belper as a key site in the Derwent Valley Mills World Heritage Site. Although growth has not maintained the pace of the first half of the 20th century, it has nevertheless continued steadily, the census for 1991 giving a total figure of 16960 individuals.

6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF BELPER

The town has been divided into plan elements, or components, based on map evidence and documentary sources. These plan elements have been subdivided below according to the earliest date of their assumed occurrence, although these divisions are tentative only, and need to be confirmed by further work. Subsequent major changes are briefly summarised, together with the degree of survival of early features to the present day.

6.1 Medieval components

Eleven components have been tentatively identified for the medieval period. They are shown on Figure 2, with the exception of components 10 and 11, which are marked on Figure 3.

Component 1 *Little Belper or Lady Park* (SMR 17016) (shown only in outline on Figure 2)

Little Belper or Lady Park was a paled park lying within the royal forest of Duffield Frith. There are several medieval and early post-medieval references to the park. For example, the expenses of the reeve of Belper for 1327-8 included £9 worth of lead for a water conduit in the park and a sum of money for making a wall round the pond there. In 1540 a description of Belper Park noted that it 'standith all by Birche'. In 1560 the park was described as being 'very slenderly set with old birch and some hazel of 50 years' growth and 4 dottard oakes' as well as having one large old oak in the middle of the park, called the Raven Oak, and some small oaks in the park boundary. Otherwise 'the rest of the said Park is overgrown with small thorns and briars for tynsell' (Strutt & Cox 1903). By 1600 the park was being farmed and contained no deer at all (Cox 1905).

The medieval park boundary is still visible in the landscape, and the area within the boundary remained virtually undeveloped until relatively recently, 19th century exceptions being the buildings of Park House in the south-west and the Ladywell Reservoir in the north-east (see components 47 and 48). Over the course of the 20th century, however, a considerable amount of housing development has taken place within the boundaries of the medieval park.

Recent fieldwork within the park has led to the suggestion that there is an Iron Age hillfort on the top of the hill (Lewis 2002) although this has yet to be substantiated.

Component 2 *Presumed site of manor house and associated buildings*

This area is traditionally said to contain the site of the medieval hunting lodge/manor house and associated buildings such as the storage building for salted venison referred to in documents, together with other possible features such as gardens and fishponds. The original northern boundary of the complex cannot be determined with any certainty due to later terracing and may not in reality have been that shown for component 2. The boundary may in fact have run along the approximate line of the wall on the north side of the present-day Coppice car park, curving along a line that historic maps show running seamlessly into the boundary of the rest of the park, rather than along the route of High Pavement. If so, then the land to the north of the wall may originally have formed part of a roughly rectangular area of common or waste ground that included the later market place and Butts, these only becoming defined at a later date. Either way, the ground between the wall and High Pavement/Park Side appears to have remained undeveloped until well into the 19th century.

The manor of Belper was a possession of the Duchy of Lancaster and the manor house is mentioned in a post-mortem inquisition following the death of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, in 1296, when he is described as owning a capital mansion at Beaurepaire. The origins of the building are not known at present. Lysons (1817) suggested that he had built this mansion as a hunting seat, although he may have simply repaired or rebuilt an earlier manor house. Expense accounts of the 14th century include money spent on repairing the knights' lodge and providing it with three garderobes, as well as thatching the roof of the great larder for salted venison which adjoined the manor house. Other amounts were required for paling and hedging the lord's garden (Cox 1905). Further work was carried out during the 15th century. In 1439-40 it was visited by the Duchy Council and shortly afterwards an agreement was made with a carpenter named William Love that he carry out the following for a sum of £20:

“to cut, scapple, square, saw and carry all the timberwork of the hall of the manor house containing six bays, and to frame and erect it on the stone walls of the same” (quoted in Lewis 2002)

The manor house had gone out of use by the mid-17th century, as indicated by a reference of c. 1665 to it being used as a quarry for farmers and cottagers and as a ‘recovery store for fuel’, ie timber, so that ‘soon there will be nothing left save a few foundation stones’ (Millward 1977, 2). Evidence of these foundation stones was recorded in the 19th century; for example Derry (1890, 2-3) noted:

“The Manor Farm House situated in the Coppice is said to adjoin the site of the old Manor ... The contour of the land pointed out as the original site, suggests brilliant possibilities to the antiquary. Old walls of immense thickness, buried in the ground, are quite discoverable to a practised eye ... It is said that stones of the old manor are incorporated in the present farm house, and that a house in the Fleet has over the lintel a carved stone, carried away from the site ...”

In 2001 a number of trial trenches were excavated in the field below the Coppice Car Park at various points on the terraced earthworks that are visible there. It was concluded that these represented the remains of garden terraces of possible late 13th/early 14th century date and that a building of unknown use was demolished prior to their construction. Pottery of early to mid-13th century date was associated with the foundations of this building. The terraces were apparently not abandoned until the 17th or the 18th century. More recent activity included the construction of a very large pit or ditch of 19th century date, the attempted ploughing of the field during World War II and the use of the Coppice Car Park area as an ash and clinker dump in the 20th century (Lewis 2002).

The component also includes the probable site of the medieval corn mill (SMR 17043) on the Coppice Brook near the south-west boundary of the component. Gifford (1999, 62) noted that ‘there is clear evidence, in an area of open wooded grass land called ‘The Parks’, of the leat and earth mill dam of King’s Mill’ but did not record when this mill disappeared.

Component 3 *Church and churchyard* (SMR 17003)

Belper was a chapelry of Duffield until 1846. The chapel is dedicated to St John the Baptist, and consists of a nave and raised chancel with a porch on the south side. Cox (1877) dated the chapel to *c.* 1250 and recorded the 'recent' restoration of several of the windows and of the font, the upper portion of which had been stored at the vicarage while the base had been buried in the churchyard. Cox considered that the altar was of pre-Reformation date and in its original position, although it has also been suggested that the altar-shelf had originally been in a small chapel-room in a private residence and was moved into the chapel, perhaps in the 17th century (Power 1985). A large stone over the entrance to the porch with several initials and the date 1634 was taken by Cox to indicate that the chapel had become dilapidated following the Dissolution, but was then restored in the 17th century. The supply of ministers to the chapel appears to have been somewhat sporadic.

Immediately opposite the porch Cox recorded the base and socket of an old cross (SMR 17017); its shaft is said to have been used for create the lintel-stone of the porch. The churchyard was not consecrated for burials until 1793, although it had been used during an outbreak of plague at Belper in 1609, when 53 individuals were interred there. The chapel of St John the Baptist was in service until 1824 when the nearby St Peter's was consecrated. The old chapel was then used for a time as a chapel of ease to St Peters (Cox 1877). It became increasingly neglected and required restoration in 1877 and again in 1922. In 1990 it was altered to accommodate the Belper Heritage Centre and the offices of the town council. A recent detailed survey of the chapel and a consideration of its location has led to the suggestion that it is sited on or near an earlier church, namely the church referred to in Domesday Book (see section 5.4.1) (Lewis 2000).

Component 4 *The Butts*

The Butts is assumed here to have its origins as an open area of land between the chapel and the manor house grounds and park, possibly originally part of a larger area that included the present-day market place (component 5) and the northern part of component 2. *Fifebuttes* is referred to in 1415 and *Butts* in 1525 (Cameron 1959). Almshouses were built on the southern edge of the chapel ground by Matthew Smith and later endowed by his will of 1713. By the early 19th century the houses had become dilapidated and were rebuilt in 1829. It is clear from documents of the time that the buildings were to be taken down with the exception of the back wall and gable ends which were to form the new boundary wall at the rear of the new dwellings. The stone recovered from the demolished part of the buildings was to be used in the new almshouses which were set further forward, so providing a back yard that would house privies (Charlton 1991). The almshouses are listed, Grade II. A National School was built to the east of the almshouses in 1849. The single-storey building was demolished in 1908 to make way for a larger school, in use for that purpose until 1972, but now converted into flats. Stone heads of the kings of England which had formed part of the decoration of the original school were incorporated into cottages in Mill Lane (Giles *et al* 2000). However, it appears that there was an earlier school adjoining the west side of the original almshouses, as shown on Hicking's map of *c.* 1805-1818.

There was an annual cattle fair held on the Butts on October 31, with a pleasure fair on the same day in the market place, and a statute fair the following day. Willott (1894) records the presence at the Butts until 'a few years since' of a 'very old building' with 'Academy' carved in stone on it.

Component 5 *Green/Market place*

The present Market Place, which lies on a slope, is assumed here to have its origins as an open area of land, part of Belper's commons and wastes, possibly originally having been part of a larger rectangular area that included the present-day Butts (component 4) and the northern part of component 2. If the latter were the case, then clearly at some point it became defined as a separate space. The earliest maps suggest that buildings around its margins were encroachments rather than the more regulated tenements that one might expect from a deliberately laid out market place. The area presumably functioned as a village green, as indicated by a reference in 1415 to *le Grenelane*, the lane 'leading to the village green' (Cameron 1959).

The first market was held in Belper on October 10 1739, prior to which Derry (1890) says the market place was 'a complete waste and overgrown with rank grass'.

The Market Place was paved in 1881 by G H Strutt, an event that was commemorated by the erection of a fountain in the centre. There are no surviving buildings earlier than the late 18th century. Present buildings include four public houses, there having been five more in the 19th century (Conservation Area Character Statement).

Component 6 *Settlement block bounded by High Street north, St John's Road east and Lander Lane west*

The extent to which this area was settled in the medieval period is not known at present, but its relative proximity to the church indicates the possibility of settlement at that time. Towards the north-east of the area there is said to be the site of a cotton mill that predated Strutt's arrival, the mill having deep cellars in which two horses worked the machinery (see section 5.5.7 above). Hope (1893) refers to this as 'Paddle Well, in the old cotton mill yard' and states that it got its name from the raising of water 'paddle-wheel fashion' and that it was 'done away with' following an attempt at suicide there. Jennings (1971) states that the cotton mill is 'now' four cottages off High Street and that there is some evidence to suggest that simple small-scale cotton spinning of coarse yarn was carried on in the buildings as early as 1740. He also notes that 'some slight trace' of the horse gin in the cellar survives.

There were a number of nailshops in this area in the 19th century, of which a couple are believed to survive, although considerably altered. Several other buildings of 18th or 19th century buildings also survive.

Component 7 *Settlement block bounded by High Street and Market Head northwest, Lander Lane north east and High Pavement south*

The component includes the site of several nailers' cottages, nailshops and nail forges that were present in the late 18th and early 19th century (Barrass 1998) although none now survive. A comparison of Hicking's early 19th century map with more modern maps show clearly that High Pavement has been straightened and considerably widened.

Component 8 *Settlement along the northwest side of Market Place, Market Head and High Street*

The extent of component 8 is extremely tentative and is based mainly on the area of settlement indicated by Hicking's early 19th century map. It includes the site of nailshops and cottages on the east side of the junction of Short Lands and High Street (Barrass 1998).

Component 9 *Settlement along Queen Street and Cheapside/Brookside/Days Lane*

There is a reference to *Dey(e)houseclos* in 1376, probably a reference to a dairy, although there was a John Dey in 1415 (Cameron 1959). There was a tanyard on Coppice Brook in this area in the 19th and early 20th century. Surviving buildings include a cottage of 18th century or earlier date on Queen Street and Ivy Cottages on Cheapside which form part of the housing legacy left by the Strutt Estate.

Component 10 *Belper Bridge* (shown on Figure 3)

There is believed to have been a medieval ford at Belper Bridge that was replaced by a bridge in about 1380 (Jennings 1971) and there is a reference of 1387 to the *pontem de Beure*' (Cameron 1959). This appears to have been replaced in the 15th century, as a warrant was issued in the reign of Henry VI 'to pay twenty pounds towards building a new bridge over the Derwent for the benefit of the tenants of Beurepaire' (Derry 1890). Belper Bridge was a county bridge, and was further repaired in 1714. According to Derry (1890), the bridge was taken down in 1791, when a carved stone was taken from it and incorporated in the gable of a house in Belper Lane. The stone is that described by Pilkington in 1789,

who notes: 'Upon the bridge ... over the Derwent .. are fixed the arms of John of Gaunt by whom it is supposed to have been built'. The specifications for the new bridge, dated 1795, are reproduced by Derry (1890, 9-10) and include the note that the contractors agreed to support 'the present Tempory [*sic*] bridge in repairs till the other is passable'. The new bridge was completed in 1798. An alternative, and more likely, date for the destruction of the bridge is given by Jewell (1998) who states that the bridge was rebuilt between May 1796 and December 1798 following its collapse due to a great flood in 1795.

Component 11 *Belper Lawn* (partially shown on Figure 3, in outline only)

There is a reference to *la Launde* in 1296, from **launde**, meaning an open space in woodland, a forest glade or woodland pasture (Cameron 1959). It can be identified from the enclosure map, which shows a large enclosed area, and also identified to some extent from the map of 1698 which shows part of its boundary. Early 14th century financial receipts indicate that it was used at that time to provide fodder. In 1318, for example, 34 acres of meadow at Belper laund realised 33s 2d. A further 12 acres were mown 'for the coming of the lord to Belper', while another 40 acres were mown for winter food for the deer. Its importance for this purpose would have required it to be enclosed and that this was indeed the case is indicated by expenditure in the same year, which included the making of 482 pales for the new fencing of Morley park and Belper laund and for repairing and re-erecting 384 broken or prostrate pales in the same fences (Cox 1905). Nothing is known of any internal divisions until the Tithe Map of 1844 which shows a landscape of irregularly shaped fields, in marked contrast to the regular, straight-sided fields of Parliamentary Enclosure to the north and west. It was developed for housing in the second half of the 20th century.

6.2 Post-medieval components (c. 1550 – c. 1775)

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

Component 12 *Development near Laund Nook*

As noted above under component 11, the Lawn or Laund was probably in existence as an enclosed area of land by the beginning of the 14th century. The map of 1698, although schematic, indicates the existence of several buildings in this approximate area, one of which is named as a smithy. Presumably settlement here has its origins in encroachment on the common land just outside the enclosed land at some time during or before the 17th century. The Parliamentary Enclosure Map shows several 'old enclosures' here, their boundaries at odds with the straight boundaries of the allotments being made around them and the extent of the component is based on these enclosures. The area remained relatively open throughout the 19th century, with some infilling taking place in the 20th century.

Component 13 *Development at The Gutter*

A building is shown in this area on the 1698 plan, although it is difficult to identify its exact location. The Parliamentary Enclosure Map indicates the presence of a couple of 'old enclosures'. As with component 12, these probably originated as encroachments on the commons at the edge of an area of enclosed land. The present day Short Street was presumably formally laid out at that time, shown on the Enclosure Map as Mill Dam Road, and by the end of the 19th century it was fronted by terraced housing. This has since disappeared.

Component 14 *Development along the north-east side of Nottingham Road*

It is apparent from the Parliamentary Enclosure Map that this area had already been taken in from the commons by 1790, although it is less certain that any settlement had taken place. Sanderson's map of 1835 shows the area divided into plots of varying size, with some buildings. By the end of the 19th century, several terraces of small buildings had been constructed along the road frontage, together with some buildings to the rear of plots also. There has been some survival of 19th century buildings in this area.

Component 15 *Development along Penn Street*

Development in this area appears to have taken place at the margins of the arable fields and the commons, probably originating as squatter settlement or encroachment on the latter.

Component 16 *Water mill* (SMR 17042)

A cornmill and millpond were situated in the valley using the water of Coppice brook. The map of 1698 has a schematic depiction of the mill and millpond, marked 'Belper Dam'. OS map evidence indicates that it had gone out of use by the 1880s. The mill building, a three-storey stone structure, has been converted into a house and the mill pool has been filled in to form a recreation ground (Gifford 1999).

Component 17 *Development between Parkside and Nottingham Road*

The 1698 map shows a couple of buildings lying to the east of the mill and, although it is difficult to determine exactly where they were as the map is rather schematic, they may have lain in the eastern half of this area. It is assumed that encroachment would have taken place here at the margins of the commons. In the 19th century, a number of small nailshops stood in this area (Jennings 1971).

Component 18 *Development along King Street*

It is not certain that development along King Street pre-dates 1775; however, for various reasons it has been included here with the post-medieval components. These include the variable width of the road in its depiction on the Parliamentary Enclosure Map and the fact that it forms a direct continuation down into the valley from High Pavement. In addition, as will be seen below, it has been suggested that 18th century markets were held on a plot of land here (Millward 1977), that a pre-existing 'yeoman's house' was demolished to make way for Green Hall (Craven & Stanley 2001) and that a 'frame-house' at the bottom of King Street was said by tradition to have 'stood a thousand years' (Willott 1894), although the latter statement stretches credibility somewhat. Giles *et al* (2000) refer to this building as 'a very old frame house ... known to exist in 1707 at the south-west corner of King Street which collapsed in 1880'. They also refer to the supposed finding in 1924 during alterations to the Rose & Crown, later Boots, in King Street of a stone built into a wall 'having inscribed upon it AWB 1680 or 1688'.

The component is bisected at its north-east end by Green Lane, on which stood the first of the dissenting chapels to be built at Belper, constructed by the Unitarians in 1721, although later used by different non-conformist groups. It was enlarged by a second storey in 1855 and was described in 1894 as a 'neat stuccoed building' (Willott 1894). It is now Grade II listed. Campbell Street and Strutt Street run off the southern side of the component, the former being 19th century and the latter laid out in the early 20th century.

According to Millward (1977), in 1739 a new market was set out on the site now occupied by the Memorial Gardens on the south side of King Street. The market was moved in 1810 when Jedediah Strutt II built Green Hall on the north side with land on the south side forming his gardens and reached via a bridge across the road. The bridge was removed in 1867. Green Hall (SMR 17028) is said to have been built on the site of an older building (Craven & Stanley 2001), although the evidence for this is not provided. It is uncertain exactly when the Strutt family left Green Hall, but by 1888 it had become a private preparatory boarding school for young gentlemen. The hall was requisitioned as a military convalescent hospital during World War One. After World War Two the hall was divided up into flats and eventually demolished in the late 1950s, after which the site became a car park (Jewell 1995). However, the stable block survived and was converted to a doctor's surgery.

A purpose built theatre, the Public Hall, was built near the top of King Street in 1882. More recently it has been used as a Bingo Hall (Giles *et al* 2000). At the end of the 19th century, Willott (1894) noted that 'The King Street has been very much improved the last few years; old houses have given place to new

ones, and a good many shops with residences have been built'. He stated that the Railway Hotel was partly on the site of the Old Tiger Inn and the Midland Hotel was partly on the site of a beerhouse. In addition, as already noted above, he refers to the taking down of a 'frame-house that stood at the bottom of King Street:

'Tradition said that it had stood a thousand years, and that the last of the Babingtons died here in 1807. It is also said that it was a lodging house for travellers, and that the old stone steps at the gable were the only mode of access to the lodging room; and that in later years it bore the sign of the Peacock Inn' (Willott 1894, 175).

Late 19th century maps show a lace factory at the south-west end of the component, on Chapel Street, a brewery on Campbell Street and a cornmill on the southern side of King Street itself. The trend noted by Willott has continued and King Street has increasingly become a shopping street. Three ranges of buildings survive from the first half of the 19th century and there are some traditional shopfronts (Conservation Area Character Statement 1995).

Archaeology

Prior to the development of the car park on the site of Green Hall, two trenches were excavated in July 2002 within the known area of Green Hall. A survey of the retaining wall around the site, elements of which are contemporary with Green Hall, was also undertaken. The trenches exposed structural elements of the ground floor at the north end of Green Hall, and extensive remains of structural elements forming the cellars. Material recovered from the deposits associated with these structures dated wholly from the modern period, with the exception of a single sherd of medieval pot recovered from the construction cut of the exterior wall of Green Hall (Bell 2002). Seven further sherds of medieval pottery (SMR 17051) were recovered in March 2002 during the excavation of a test pit immediately to the west of the car park retaining wall. The pottery assemblage appeared to date from the earlier part of the medieval period (12th to early 14th century), with one sherd of a possibly earlier date. It indicates the likelihood of medieval activity on the site or in the immediate area (Davies 2002).

Component 19 *Development along Bridge Street*

Given the presence of a long-standing river crossing at Belper, it seems highly likely that some settlement would have taken place along Bridge Street. However, this is very difficult to identify and at present the only certain sites are those where standing buildings indicate an early date, as is the case with the George and Dragon Inn and the Duke of Devonshire Inn, both of late 17th century/early 18th century date. Further south, the area to the west of King Street has been tentatively identified as one of possible post-medieval settlement, assuming a similarly early date for King Street. Certainly the Parliamentary Enclosure Map indicates that some development may have already occurred in this area by at least as early as 1790.

Component 20 *Development near Brookside*

This component is based upon the line of an early route that ran down into the valley from Belper in a south-westerly direction. The Parliamentary Enclosure Map makes it clear that some enclosure had taken place in this area by 1790 and Hicking's map suggests that these were associated with buildings. Two listed buildings stand at the western end of this area; one, shown as Brook Cottage on late 19th century maps, is 18th century in date, the other was built as a hosiery warehouse in the 19th century.

Component 21 *Development along The Fleet*

It is not obvious from the Parliamentary Enclosure Map that there was post-medieval settlement in this area. However, the route was an early one, connecting Belper with settlement at Cow Hill (see below) and Hicking's map shows a number of buildings in this area, lying immediately upon the edge of the road and possibly therefore originating as roadside encroachments. Buildings on the east side of the road once included a house that incorporated a stone with carved crossed daggers or swords supposedly taken from

the Old Manor House. Additional engravings of the date 1750, the initials AS and a heart, are believed to have been cut when the stone was removed from the site (Derry 1890). The 'Dagger House' was demolished in the early 1960s. However, the carved stone was rescued and built into the neighbouring house as the lintel of a side window. This is now a Grade II listed building and recorded as being of early 19th century date. On demolition of the 'Dagger House' the entrance to a tunnel was revealed that supposedly led into a quarry in the Park and was an escape route for counterfeiters (Millward 1977).

Component 22 *Development at Cow Hill*

Irregular boundaries are visible on the Parliamentary Enclosure Map, indicating the presence of pre-existing enclosures at Cow Hill. It is possible that settlement here may in fact have its origins in the medieval period – certainly it is thought to be quite early (Mary Smedley pers. comm.). The area was described at the end of the 19th century as follows:

'Opposite the Chevin, on the east side of the river, is the Cow hill: here are some very good houses of modern date, and some very poor old ones, such as would be built when it was thought anything was good enough for a working man to live in. I have heard it said, and it was from one of the oldest inhabitants, that there is a house on this hill that has an outlet in the lower part of it, at an underground way from what was formerly the manorial residence in the Coppice' (Willott 1894, 106).

In the mid-19th century Cow Hill appears to have been the area of Belper with the greatest number of nailers, with 103 nailers being recorded in 1841 (Bentley 1986). There has been some redevelopment in this area.

6.3 Industrial components (c. 1775-1900)

Forty-four components have been identified for the industrial period between c. 1775 and 1900, based mainly on historic maps. Due to the extent of growth over this period, it has not been considered practical to define each factory or terrace of houses as a separate component. Relatively broad areas have therefore been defined which may combine elements of industrial and residential development. The components are shown on Figure 4.

Component 23 *Belper Mills*

This component has been drawn to include the whole of the Belper Mill complex as it was in the later 19th century. It is possible that there was some settlement on the site prior to the establishment of the first mill, particularly in view of the antiquity of the river crossing; however, any traces are likely to have been obliterated by later development. The component includes the site of several mills and associated buildings, as well as water management features such as weirs and mill races. Earlier 19th century features included a farmhouse with a stack yard to the rear, shown on the map of 1818 at the south-west end of the component on Bridge Foot.

The first mill on the site was probably constructed in 1776, later becoming the South Mill, following its rebuilding in 1812. This was followed in 1776 by the North Mill, rebuilt in 1804. A gangway across the road led to the West Mill of 1795-6, the Reeling Mill and Junction Mill, both of 1809, and the Round Mill of 1811. The last mill to be constructed was the East Mill of 1912. The majority of the mills and their ancillary buildings were demolished in the 1960s. The most recent structure to be demolished, in 1990, was a brick chimney of 1854.

The main surviving buildings are the North and East Mills. The North Mill (SMR 17008) is one of the earliest completely iron-framed structures in the world and is the most intact example. It was built in 1804 on the lower storeys of an earlier mill that had been destroyed by fire in 1803 and the exterior, of brick on a stone plinth, retains the character of the earlier mill. It has a T-shaped plan consisting of a main range of 17 bays and a wing of 6 bays (Derwent Valley Mills Partnership 2000). It is a Grade I listed building and

currently houses the Derwent Valley Visitor Centre on the ground floor and in the basement. The East Mill (SMR 17029) is a seven-storey building with corner towers giving it a fortress-like appearance. It was built in 1912 by the English Sewing Cotton Company in red brick with stone dressings. It is a Grade II listed building, and is a prominent landmark. A further survival is the arched footbridge (SMR 17014), of around 1795 that linked the two separate areas of the former Strutt Mills complex on either side of the Ashbourne Road. Gun embrasures at first floor level protected the West Mill counting house (Derwent Valley Mills Partnership 2000). It is a Grade II* listed building.

The component also includes the Horseshoe Weir on the Derwent (SMR 17013). It was constructed in 1797 to power the West Mill, the first two mills (South and North) having been served by water retained by a simpler weir which spanned the river near the present day railway bridge. The Horseshoe Weir and its associated watercourses altered the river significantly, and represents one of the outstanding engineering structures of the late 18th century (Derwent Valley Mills Partnership 2000). It is listed Grade II*.

Component 24 *Midland Railway (North Midland Branch)*

Part of the North Midland Railway surveyed by Stephenson and opened in 1840. The railway was constructed through Belper town centre in a mile-long cutting (SMR 17011) in order to provide minimum disturbance to the established street pattern. Previously existing roads are carried across the cutting on bridges, several of which are listed. The walls of the cutting are also listed. The component includes Belper railway station, opened in 1878 and sited between King Street and Field Lane.

Component 25 *Development at the south-east end of Matlock Road and the junction with Bridge Foot*

This area was at least partly developed by the early 19th century. By the end of the 19th century, buildings included a police station, an infants' school and a drill hall. There were also a couple of buildings that formed an island at the junction of Matlock Road, Bridge Foot and Bridge Street. These have now been demolished.

Component 26 *Development along Long Row*

Long Row and its terraced industrial housing was constructed between 1792 and 1797 by William Strutt to house the mill workers. Gardens were provided to the rear of the terraces, with allotments beyond. The street is still paved in stone setts and much of the housing survives. The northern and southern terraces were originally continuous until the railway arrived and central blocks of four houses were removed. The majority of the Long Row housing is listed, Grade II.

Component 27 *Development along William, George and Joseph Streets*

Development in this area is known as The Clusters, from the original 'Cluster' housing, made up of rectangular blocks of four back-to-back houses built to an innovative plan. The three streets are named on the OS map of 1900 as Cluster Numbers 1, 2 and 3. Eight blocks were originally planned, although only five (ie twenty houses) were built, mostly along what are now George Street and Joseph Street, by William Strutt in about 1805. They were intended as houses for mill foremen and managerial staff. They were provided with large gardens, a privy and a pigsty, several of which survive. The Cluster houses are all Grade II listed buildings. Additional housing was built along William Street to the west of the railway some time between 1835 and 1844, and to the east of the railway in the 1880s or 1890s.

Component 28 *Development between Joseph Street and Field Lane*

Sanderson's map of 1835 appears to indicate that a lane ran east west across this area, along which there were a couple of buildings, although the lane is not shown on the Tithe Map of 1844. One of the buildings was probably The Cedars, a substantial sandstone house, now a Grade II listed building, originally set within extensive gardens to the east of the railway. Development to the west of the railway in the later

19th and early 20th centuries included a rope walk and a smithy. There has been considerable infilling of the area in the 20th century.

Component 29 *Development along the south side of Field Lane and the west side of Green Lane*

Sanderson's map of 1835 shows some buildings along the Green Lane frontage of this area, at least two of which survive and are listed buildings. The Salem (United Methodist) chapel was built near the north-eastern corner of this area in 1856. Further west, St Lawrence's Convent, an Anglican convent of the Sisters of St Lawrence, was built on Field Lane in 1883. Willott (1894) described it as 'a large substantial stone building, [that] does not at all present an ecclesiastical appearance with the exception perhaps of the painted windows in the chapel'. It was erected on land purchased from the Strutt family. The Salem chapel was demolished in 1966 and the site now forms part of the St Lawrence convent garden (Jewell 1995).

Component 30 *Development along Albert Street*

Albert Street is a cul-de-sac dating from the end of the 19th century, the road being laid out east-west along the centre of an earlier field, with housing set out along either side.

Component 31 *Development along the north-east side of Bridge Street and the north-west end of Field Lane*

In view of the presence of two 17th century buildings on the opposite side of Bridge Street, it is quite possible that some development had already taken place along the Bridge Street frontage in this area prior to 1770. The Tithe Map indicates that plots were already densely occupied by 1844. The component is one of mixed development, mainly residential and commercial, and including a number of terraced cottages and other buildings set at right angles to the main frontage and accessed via narrow alleyways. It includes two blocks of Strutt housing, namely St George's Place and Crown Terrace. Both are listed, as is a former Baptist Chapel set at some distance back from the street. It was built in 1820 but was found to be too small and was consequently replaced by a new chapel on the opposite side of the street, whereupon it was used as a Sunday school.

Component 32 *Development along the south-east side of Bridge Street and the south-west end of Field Lane*

As with component 31, it is possible that some pre-1770s development took place along Bridge Street in this area. There were still some open areas along the street frontage in 1844 and it remained less densely occupied than the area further north throughout the 19th century.

Component 33 *Development along the west side of Bridge Street*

An area of mixed development, including terraced housing, large detached houses in gardens, public houses and shops, as well as religious and industrial buildings. It is highly likely that pre-1770s development had taken place along Bridge Street in addition to the two listed buildings already identified as 17th century in origin. However, at present, this cannot be mapped.

Standing buildings include Christ Church at the northernmost end of the component, designed by Henry Stevens of Derby in c 1849, with its vicarage immediately to the south, the Baptist Chapel of 1894 and the Unity Mill of 1839 (Conservation Area Character Statement 1995). The latter was built as a steam-powered corn mill by James Webster. It was purchased by John Strutt in 1853, following which it was greatly enlarged and more powerful steam engines installed to run a factory scale milling and malting operation. A steam-powered bakery was added in the late 1860s. However, the business failed and in 1875 the complex was converted to cotton spinning, which continued until c. 1905. Over the course of the 20th century the building was put to various uses, from a furniture business, through chemical processing to architectural salvage storage and retail (Belper Local History Group 1998). Immediately to the north of

the mill lies Chevin View, a block of early back-to-back Strutt housing of which one remains intact. Unity Mill and Chevin View are two of a number of listed buildings within this component (see Fig. 6).

Component 34 *Development along the west side of Chapel Street*

An area of mixed development, including residential, industrial and religious. Towards the northern end of the component stands the Central Methodist Church. This replaced an earlier chapel of *c.* 1782 which had become too small by the early 19th century. As a result, the adjoining land was acquired and a larger chapel built. It was opened on June 28 1807 at a cost of £3000. In 1841 a large schoolroom was erected behind the chapel. In 1873 the interior was modernised (Jewell 1995). The earlier chapel lay immediately to the north of the present church, on approximately the site of no. 16 Chapel Street. It is shown on an early 19th century map of Belper as 'Old Chapel pulled down', with the present building marked 'New Methodist Chapel'. A burial ground is depicted between the chapel and the road. A second burial ground was later opened behind the schoolroom.

To the south of the Methodist Church stood buildings belonging to Brettle's, hosiery manufacturers, built in 1834-5, and further still were the premises of Ward's, also hosiery manufacturers. The latter have been demolished; however the former survive and have been redesigned for use as factory shops and office accommodation, under the collective name of De Bradelei House (Harte 1977). The complex is Grade II* listed.

Component 35 *Development along the north-west side of Derby Road*

The northern boundary of this component is defined by the Coppice Brook which was straightened sometime between 1805 and 1818, probably at the same time as the laying out of the new turnpike routes. Hicking's map shows both the old and the new courses of the stream. At the southern end of the area is Gibfield Lodge, built by the Strutts in *c.* 1850 at the Derby Road end of a drive that led across the Derwent and up to Bridge Hill House, by-passing the town. The lodge is a listed building.

Component 36 *Babington Hospital*

The first building on this site was the Union Workhouse, designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott. Different dates of construction are given in the published sources; however, it was certainly built by 1846 as it is mentioned in Bagshaw's Directory of that date. A hospital was added in 1889. Hicking's map suggests that there had once been a road or track running across this area and leading towards the Derwent.

Component 37 *Development south of component 17, along the east side of Chapel Street and the north side of New Road and Cheapside*

With the exception of much of the Chapel Street frontage, development in this area took place in the second half of the 19th century. New Road itself was only laid out in *c.* 1817 and is shown on Hicking's map as 'The new turnpike road'. The tithe map of 1844 shows it still undeveloped at that time. By *c.* 1880 Campbell Street had been laid out parallel to Chapel Street and some buildings had been constructed along it. To the east of the railway line, Park Foundry had been established by the later 19th century. By the early 20th century it had become a saw mill. The buildings were demolished in 1982 (Barrass 1998).

Component 38 *Development along the south side of New Road and the north-east side of Derby Road*

Part of this area was occupied by Ward's hosiery manufacturer's original warehouse of the late 1790s. The premises were enlarged in 1812. The present building was erected in 1850 after the previous building had been destroyed by fire in 1849. The new factory of 1850 was one of the earliest in the industry to employ steam power and produce machine-made hosiery. In addition to the factory there were dyeing, bleaching and finishing works (Harte 1977). It continued in business until the 1930s before being taken over for other industrial uses. The warehouse is now a listed building.

Component 39 *Development on the south of Brook Side and Days Lane*

Map evidence indicates that virtually no development took place in this area until the end of the 19th century, when terraced housing was constructed along the street frontages. However, it is possible that some early development may have existed, given the proximity of the site to other areas of pre-1770s settlement.

Component 40 *Development on Gibfield Lane*

A building was present on this site by the 1830s. It is named on later 19th century OS maps as Gibfield Cottage. It has since been demolished.

Component 41 *Development along the east side of Derby Road*

Development in this area postdates the late 1830s, as the line of this section of Derby Road was altered when the railway was built. By the end of the 19th century buildings included the Railway Tavern. The public house and some of the 19th century housing has survived.

Component 42 *Belper Goods Station and adjacent buildings*

This component includes the site of the original Belper railway station, later a goods station (SMR 17054). The station, by Francis Thompson, stood immediately to the south of the 1839 railway/road bridge, the road having been diverted at this point from the line of the Strutt's earlier turnpike road, a small fragment of which survives. The station had platforms to the northbound and southbound tracks, staggered in position rather than opposite each other. The station building stood at the midpoint of the west-side platform. The site of the building now is almost entirely beneath the Riverside Veterinary Centre building. A single stone pier of the platform rear wall still survives. There is also a surviving railway goods building, probably original although somewhat altered, and a wharf wall with the decaying remains of coal or other material drops, for loading into road wagons that would have stood beneath. The component also includes a group of houses standing just north of the station site, facing what was the old turnpike road. They were originally three dwellings, designed by Francis Thompson for the railway clerk and two porters (Billson 2004).

Component 43 *Development between Becksitch Lane and Holbrook Road*

Limited development had taken place in this area by 1844. In 1855 the Eagle Iron Foundry was started by Smedley Bros when they purchased a brick works on Becksitch Lane (SMR 17046). On Holbrook Road, named on late 19th century OS maps as Back Hollow, there was a Primitive Methodist Chapel and a school, the latter built following the establishment of Belper School Board in 1877. The chapel became the Zion Methodist Church but has now been converted into two dwellings. Infill of the Holbrook Road frontage took place in the 20th century. The Eagle Iron Works has been demolished and replaced by housing.

Component 44 *Development along the northeast side of Holbrook Road*

Construction had taken place in much of this area by 1844, with the exception of the easternmost end, which was developed in the second half of the 19th century.

Component 45 *Park House*

Buildings are shown at this location on the tithe map of 1844 presumably those of Park House, as named on late 19th century OS maps. The buildings have been demolished and replaced by 20th century housing.

Component 46 *Development in the Hillside Rise area*

Some development had taken place in this area by 1844 and had expanded southwards by the 1880s. It is possible that settlement in this area may have earlier origins, along with that in the neighbouring area (component 22) (Mary Smedley pers. comm.).

Component 47 *Development between Prospect Drive and Becksitch Lane*

Much of the frontage of this area was still relatively undeveloped by the end of the 19th century, with land to the rear forming gardens. In particular, late 19th century OS maps show the area parallel to the railway as consisting of the well-treed grounds to Gibfield House at the northern end. Infilling took place in the 20th century.

Component 48 *Development along the north-east side of Gibfield Lane and the south-west side of The Fleet*

Development had taken place in this area by 1844. A school was built on The Fleet in 1882 for 300 boys (Jewell 1995). The building still stands. A silk factory is named on the OS map of 1914 and it is possible that this building survives also.

Component 49 *Ladywell Reservoir*

The construction of the Ladywell Reservoir involved the destruction of a spring known as the Lady Well. Hope (1893) suggests the Lady Well may have been important in the past. People used to visit it from Duffield and other local places and carry water back with them, as well as bathing in it. It was described by Willott (1894) as “the gem of the Park”, a never-failing spring that “gushed from the hillside through a stone spout .. and falling into a stone trough and thence down a gully into the brook”. It was demolished by the Belper Waterworks Company in 1886 to utilise the water.

Component 50 *Development on Mill Lane*

Development had taken place in this area by 1835, as indicated by buildings shown on Sanderson’s map.

Component 51 *Development on Pingle Lane*

Pingle House on the west side of Pingle Lane was already present by 1835, as a building on the plot is depicted by Sanderson. It is shown with a wooded garden or orchard to the rear on the 1900 OS map. The form of the plot fossilises the lines of the earlier arable strips - one of the few in Belper still to do so. Development on the east side of the lane appears to have commenced after 1835 but before 1844.

Component 52 *Mill Street, Short Rows and Field Row*

This area includes Short Row, one of the first groups of mill-workers’ housing to be built. It originally comprised 46 houses in four separate rows of one-up one-down cottages, built from hand-made red bricks in c. 1788-1790. Nos. 1-19 and 2-22 Mill Street were originally part of this group, with Mill Street having originally been much narrower and named Hedge Row. It was widened to become Mill Street in the early 20th century. Field Row to the south is a terrace of seven 3-storey red brick houses built c. 1795.

A Unitarian chapel was built on Field Row by Jedediah Strutt in 1788 and originally overlooked Green Lane before the construction of 1-7 Field Row. Now largely hidden from view, it is a grade II* listed building.

Component 53 *Development along the north-east side of Green Lane*

The first building to be constructed in this area was an Independent (later Congregational) Chapel built in 1799 on Green Lane at the top of Field Lane. It was extended in 1817, but was later replaced but a new building on the same site, constructed in 1872 and now a listed building. A school building or hall to the

rear is said to have been constructed using the stone of the older chapel. During construction of a new hall to the east of the church in 2001 approximately 20 burials were disturbed (SMR 17035).

Further development to the south of the church took place between 1835 and 1844, and to the north in the second half of the 19th century. The component is crossed by a narrow alley known as Ingle's channel, defined by drystone boundary walls. Two carved stone heads are reported to have been found in a garden on the south side of Ingle's Channel. One of the heads is thought to be of 17th century date, while the other might be 15th century. Some pottery of possible medieval date was found in the neighbouring garden (SMR 17034).

Component 54 *St Peter's church and churchyard*

A new church, dedicated to St Peter, was commenced in 1822 and consecrated in 1824. It is a grade II listed building, constructed of stone from Hunger Hill quarry (Jewell 1995). A churchyard surrounds it on three sides.

Component 55 *Development between Church Lane and Green Lane*

Maps of 1835 and 1844 indicate only a small amount of development at the southern margins of this area, the area otherwise remaining open until the turn of the century.

Component 56 *Development along lower Chesterfield Road*

Chesterfield Road was constructed as the 'new turnpike road' in c. 1817. Late 19th century maps show that development along it included several large detached houses, including Fernslope (of c. 1870) and the vicarage attached to St Peter's on the east side of the road and Fieldhead House, complete with lodge, on the west side. The latter was built by Thomas Ingle, an attorney, in 1832. The lodge to the south was built as Ingle's office and served for a time as the Belper County Court (Conservation Area Character Statement 1995).

Component 57 *Development around the junction of Chesterfield Road, Penn Street and Swinney Lane*

Development in this area may have been relatively early, possibly late 18th century if not before, given the location at the margins of the commons and therefore the potential for squatter settlement. Certainly by the early 19th century there were a large number of nailshops in this vicinity. Nineteenth century maps show small buildings in rows or terraces, in some cases running back from the road at right angles to it.

The component includes the site of a Primitive Methodist Chapel. It was built of stone in 1822 on the site of a smaller chapel that had been erected in 1817. It was extensively repaired in 1844. In 1865 new schools and a minister's house were added (Willott 1894). The chapel was demolished in 1966 (Jewell 1995).

Component 58 *Town Quarry*

The OS map of 1880 names this area as 'Town Quarry'. On the edition of 1900 it is marked as disused.

Component 59 *Development towards the northern end of Swinney Lane*

Blocks of terraced housing were formally laid out on the west side of Swinney Lane in this area, contrasting with the rather less formal development on the east side of the road. It is not known whether the latter has its origins as squatter settlement, but the smaller more irregular plots suggest the possibility.

Component 60 *Development around the junction of Marsh Lane, Laund Hill and Chesterfield Road*

Some development had already taken place in this area by 1835. It is named 'Windy Gap' on late 19th century OS maps. Much of the 19th century housing survives.

Component 61 *Windmill*

Belper windmill (SMR 17044) stands on Windmill Lane. It was built in 1796. An advertisement of 1851 described it as having two pairs of stones, one French and one Derbyshire, a flour machine and a drying kiln, while a late 19th century photograph showed it as a squat tower mill of three floors, with four sails. It was disused by 1884 and in 1891 the machinery was removed and the tower converted into a house, still standing today (Gifford 1995).

Component 62 *Development at the junction of Penn Street and High Street, and along the east side of St John's Road*

Development along the east side of St John's Road had been established by 1835, as shown on Sanderson's map, and had extended to the north side of the High Street/Penn Street junction by 1847. Some of this housing has survived.

Component 63 *Development towards the south-west end of Spencer Road*

This plot was partly occupied by an old quarry in the 1880s. By the end of the century, a detached house had been constructed, with a couple of smaller buildings to the east. The eastern part of the area became a hosiery works in the early 19th century. A factory later extended across the entire site, the house having been demolished. The factory itself has now been demolished and replaced by housing.

Component 64 *Development along the western end of Nottingham Road*

An area of development that was already well underway by the 1830s, as is clear from Sanderson's map of 1835. Later 19th century maps show that this ranged from terraced housing to detached villas.

Component 65 *Development at The Gutter*

This general area is shown as The Gutter on late 19th century maps. There were already a number of buildings present by 1835 and development continued over the course of the 19th century. It is possible that development in this area had pre-1775 origins, as the component includes a listed building with a construction date given as the early 18th century. That there was at the very least some late 18th/early 19th century settlement is indicated by the fact that a Wesleyan Chapel was built in 1816 - presumably there was enough of a congregation by that date to warrant its construction. An adjoining schoolroom was built in 1870. It was closed in 1990 and in 1995 was described as being 'in a state of decay' (Jewell 1995). In addition to residential development, other buildings named on late 19th century maps include a malthouse and a couple of smithies, as well as a school. The latter was built in 1877-1879 following the establishment of Belper School Board. It was enlarged in 1890 and is still functioning.

Component 66 *Scattered development outside Belper*

Parliamentary Enclosure saw the formal laying out of various roads across the earlier commons, such as Windmill Lane, Marsh Lane and Laund Hill, accompanied by the division of the land into rectangular allotments. Over the course of the 19th century, scattered settlement took place along these roads, later to be surrounded by 20th century housing.

6.4 20th century development

Twentieth century development is represented by a single un-numbered component, as shown on Figure 5.

6.5 Discussion

The origins of the settlement at Belper are unknown at present, but there are two main alternatives. Belper is not mentioned in Domesday Book; however, as referred to in section 5.3 above, there is mention of a now 'lost' settlement of *Bradelei*. Cameron (1959) notes that there are Bradley place-names on both sides of the Derwent in this area, leading to the likelihood that the manor of Bradley became that of Belper. One alternative, therefore, is that the historic core of modern Belper sits on the site of Bradley, and that it was renamed by the de Ferrers family, lords of Duffield manor, at some point after 1086 and before the first reliable documentary reference to it, as *Beaurepeir* (beautiful retreat) in the Close Rolls for 1231 (Lewis 2002). The other alternative would be that Belper developed on a new site, attracted by the existence of a hunting lodge and foresters' chapel, with the original settlement of Bradley being abandoned. Recent excavations in King Street produced several medieval pottery sherds which, while mainly of probable 12th-14th century date, included one sherd of a possibly earlier date (SMR 17051); however, until firmer and more substantial evidence is forthcoming, the site of Bradley cannot be assumed to be the same as that of the present historic core of Belper.

Whatever its origins, medieval Belper was established on the west side of the Derwent Valley, well above the floodplain, with the Coppice Brook to the south able to provide the power for a corn mill, and with at least some land suitable for open field agriculture. The presence of minerals - ironstone and coal of the lower coal measures which outcropped within a mile of the settlement - may not necessarily have been a factor in the original choice of the site, but was certainly an important factor in its survival (Jennings 1971). Local iron was worked from at least the 14th century with nails being produced in Belper by 1314. Nail-making would have offered the added advantage that it could be carried out as part of a dual occupation with agriculture.

The core of medieval Belper is assumed to have lain in the area to the west and north-west of St John's Chapel, although it is virtually impossible to identify in terms of plan form, even on the earliest surviving maps. There is no evidence of the long relatively narrow tofts and crofts that are often seen in typical medieval villages and small towns. There may be several explanations for this. The considerable extent of later development may be a factor, although relatively little destruction is thought to have taken place by the time of the earliest maps at the beginning of the 19th century. Another possibility is that the sloping site upon which the settlement developed may not have been conducive to such a layout. Yet again, it may be that such layouts are more likely to be associated with villages that were under relatively strict manorial control in the medieval period and that could be subjected to deliberate reorganisation and regulation. The form of Belper appears rather to be one of unregulated settlement around a series of open spaces or greens, two of which later became known as The Butts and the Market Place. The opportunities offered by the proximity of iron, and thus for at least part-time occupation in the relatively unskilled nail-making trade, may have meant that Belper was attractive to squatters, particularly if there was a largely absentee lord of the manor, and perhaps somewhat lax manorial control.

With no knowledge of the size of medieval Belper, it is difficult to know to what extent the settlement expanded during the post-medieval period. The figures summarised in section 5.5.4 seem to indicate that there was very little growth in the population of the parish between 1563 and 1741, with an increase of only 11 households, although these figures cannot necessarily be taken at face value. However, the commencement of weekly markets at Belper in 1739 could perhaps be taken to indicate that some growth was occurring. Again, it is not easy to disentangle this growth from both earlier and later development, but it is suggested here that some of it took place along the roads leading to and from the core settlement, for example components 20 and 21, and possibly including King Street (component 18), although this is less certain. Other settlement probably took place along the boundaries between the enclosed land and the commons, for example components 15 and 17.

With the arrival of Jedediah Strutt in the late 18th century and the establishment of the cotton mills and associated housing, Belper entered a phase of rapid population growth and physical expansion. Initially the majority of this expansion took place some distance to the north of the medieval and post-medieval settlement core, so that the housing could be located close to the mills. Development was facilitated by the Parliamentary Enclosure Award of 1791 which enabled Strutt to purchase parcels of the newly available

land. The layout of the early streets and their associated terraced housing was influenced by the lines of the earlier fields which ran back at right angles to what became Bridge Street, so that although development may have occurred in a somewhat piecemeal fashion, the resulting settlement had a grid-like appearance. Unlike many towns, the arrival of the railway had little visual impact on the layout of streets, as it was constructed in a mile-long cutting with minimal disturbance to the established street pattern.

With the continued success of the town, growth became more widespread. The tithe map of 1847 shows that Bridge Street was well developed by that time, as was King Street, with a considerable degree of settlement also extending out from the medieval core of the old village. There were also additional foci of settlement at Cow Hill, The Gutter and Field Head. By the end of the century, extensive infilling had occurred, so that there was no longer any separation between old and new settlements. In addition, scattered development was also taking place along main roads some distance away from the core of the town (component 66).

Belper continued to develop well into the 19th century and early 20th century with the patronage of the Strutt family. The later 20th century saw a continuation of growth, with a mixture of light industrial and commercial development and a recent large expansion of the housing stock.

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES

7.1 Research questions

The following is a far from exhaustive list of possible research questions related to Belper towards which archaeology could make a contribution:

1. The location of *Bradelei* referred to in Domesday Book needs to be identified in order to properly understand Belper's origins. Cameron's suggestion that the place-name Bradley may have been the earlier name of the manor seems in some cases to have been taken to mean continuity of settlement under a different name; so for example: 'The village of Belper (Bradelei)'. While quite possible, this may not necessarily be the case.
2. It is particularly difficult to define the area of medieval settlement in the absence of 'typical' medieval long narrow plots and back lanes. The full extent of medieval settlement needs to be established archaeologically, therefore, to establish not only the maximum size of the village but also its nature and degree of nucleation.
3. When were the buildings constructed just beyond the boundary of the Laund, as identified from the late 17th century map? Similarly when was settlement at Cow Hill established and what was its nature? Were there other early and distinct foci of settlement also?
4. The diocesan census of 1563 provided a figure of 102 households in the chapelry of Belper while the population in 1741 was said to be 532 people living in 113 houses (see section 5.5.4). These figures, almost two hundred years apart, are very similar. Was the population static/stagnating, or was it recovering from a decline in the 17th century, in common with many other places, following a period of growth?
5. How does the acquisition of a market in 1739 tally with the relatively low population figures provided above? What factors led to the creation of a market at that particular time?
6. Nail-making was an important industry for Belper from the medieval period onwards. However, the organisation of the industry is not clearly understood for much of this period and further research is required. The industry is also of interest with regard to research into the implications of various dual rural-industrial economies, as nail-making was highly suitable for combining with another occupation.

7. Unlike Cromford, Belper did not have the advantages of close proximity to a canal. Transportation of raw materials and goods to and from the mills, hosiery warehouses and nailshops would therefore have been restricted to roads prior to the arrival of the railway. Further research needs to be carried out into a range of related questions, such as the extent to which the road system changed around Belper, the nature of buildings along any newly laid out roads, the impact on the landscape, how transport was organised, and the later impact of the railway.

8. Interest in Belper's industrial history has tended to concentrate mainly on the cotton and nail-making industries. More research needs to be carried out into the origins, significance and degree of survival of other industries also being carried out in the town.

9. Analysis of the inter-relationships of chapels to industrial communities has been identified in a recent research agenda for the East Midlands. Belper, with its variety of non-conformist chapels together with its rapid industrial expansion, clearly has the potential for informing such research.

10. There appears to be considerable further potential for research into documentary material relating to Belper and for integration of that information with data derived from archaeological and architectural studies.

7.2 Archaeological potential

7.2.1 Existing protection

Scheduled Ancient Monuments

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

Conservation areas

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

Belper Conservation Area was first designated in 1975 but since then it has been extended several times, the most recent extension serving to combine the two previously separate Conservation Areas of Belper and Milford into a single area.

Listed buildings

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

There are 103 listed buildings in the built-up area of Belper under consideration here. Of these, one is Grade I, namely North Mill, and three are Grade II*, namely the Unitarian Chapel, the former Brettles

hosiery factory and the Horseshoe Weir. The remainder are Grade II, and all can be broken down according to their earliest structural phase as follows:

Earliest structural phase	C16 or earlier	C17	C18	C19	C20
Number of structures	1	2	38	58	4

Planning Policy Guidance 15 allows the creation and maintenance of a list of buildings of local historic/architectural interest, although this does not confer a statutory obligation. However, there is no local list for Belper at present.

World Heritage Site

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972 provides for the identification, protection, conservation and presentation of cultural and natural sites of outstanding universal value, and requires a World Heritage List to be established under the management of an inter-governmental World Heritage Committee. Individual governments are responsible for the nomination of sites and for ensuring the protection of sites that are inscribed on the List.

No additional statutory controls follow from the inclusion of a site in the World Heritage List. However, inclusion does highlight the outstanding international importance of the site as a key material consideration to be taken into account by local planning authorities in determining planning and listed building applications. Planning Policy Guidance 15 also requires the local authorities concerned to formulate specific planning policies for protecting these sites, and to include these policies in their development plans.

Following nomination by the UK government in 1999, a 15-mile stretch of the lower Derwent Valley between Matlock Bath and Derby was added to the World Heritage List in December 2001. Belper lies within this area. A comprehensive Management Plan is now in place for protecting and sustaining the outstanding universal value of this exceptional industrial landscape.

7.2.2 Above ground remains

The street layout is often the most durable part of a settlement plan and while this is true of Belper up to a point, a number of alterations and improvements carried out in the late 18th and early 19th century led to the replacement of early routes to and from medieval Belper by new and straighter roads. In addition, the historic street pattern has been submerged to some extent by the considerable urban expansion that has taken place.

Beyond the core of the old town, the pattern of earlier field boundaries can occasionally be detected in the lines of the streets and back garden walls of later development, although this only tends to be the case where such development is 19th or early 20th century. More recent housing estates have tended to sweep away earlier rectangular patterns and replace them with curves.

As a result, at least in part, of the extensive development and redevelopment that Belper has experienced there are very few buildings that pre-date the arrival of Jedediah Strutt. This is seen to some extent in the dates of listed buildings, as tabulated above. Nineteenth century buildings dominate the list, while those of the 18th century were mostly constructed during the last two or three decades of that century. Whether there is much potential for finding evidence of earlier buildings hidden behind later facades is unclear. That the possibility could exist is suggested by the occasional listed building description; for example the Nag’s Head Public House on High Pavement is described as having an ‘early to mid 19th century facade ‘possibly to earlier building’.

The establishment of the cotton industry in the late 18th century was accompanied by the construction of a variety of purpose-built housing, provided by Strutt for the workforce from the late 1780s. Thanks to its

high quality and to the fact that it has been reasonably well maintained, it has survived well. It takes various forms, from the back-to-back housing of Chevin View, through the terraced housing of Short and Long Rows to the innovative blocks known as the Clusters which were intended for mill foremen and managerial staff. The Clusters are believed to be among the oldest surviving examples of this particular housing type which was later copied elsewhere. Despite their good survival, examination of the properties in c. 1995 found that over 80% had suffered some loss of character through alteration, while 15% had undergone extensive alteration which had completely changed their character. A Town Scheme was established to provide grant aid and an Article 4 Direction brought into force (Conservation Area Character Statement 1995).

There is also an extensive stock of 19th century housing, reflecting the continued expansion of the town throughout the whole of that period. Where such housing has been engulfed by 20th century development, it is often quite distinctive, opening directly onto the pavement, rather than having the front gardens of the 20th century houses. These residential survivals are accompanied by a range of other buildings of the same period. There is a wealth of non-conformist chapels, several Victorian schools, a number of traditional shopfronts and one of the earliest police stations in the country. In addition, there are some surviving reminders of the industries that formed the basis of the town's expansion. Although only two mill buildings remain from the extensive complex that once stood near Belper Bridge, they are an important and distinctive feature of the town and are immediately visible as one enters Belper from the north. The North Mill is of particular historical significance, as one of the earliest fire-proof mill constructions. Towards the southern end of Belper are surviving buildings that relate to the hosiery industry. Unfortunately there are very few survivors from the nailmaking industry that was once of such importance, as most of the small workshops have been demolished.

One important aspect of the above ground potential at Belper is the extent to which documentary evidence has survived in the form of the Strutt Estate papers. These can be combined with the standing remains to provide an additional dimension to our understanding of the Strutt factory community and the development of the town from the late 18th century.

7.2.3 Below ground remains

Relatively little archaeological work has been carried out at Belper, particularly in what is thought to be the core of the medieval settlement, and it is difficult at present, therefore, to assess the potential of below ground remains.

Although the basic street pattern of the core of the old settlement is believed to have remained relatively unchanged since the medieval period, activities such as road surfacing and the insertion of services are likely to have caused damage to archaeological deposits relating to earlier street frontages. Nevertheless, where roads have been widened it is possible that deposits relating to earlier frontages lie sealed beneath the later road surface, as could the foundations of structures that once stood in the road or encroached onto open spaces such as the market place or the Butts. Where streets have remained the same width, the tendency to construct more modern buildings set back from the road, such as is the case in some parts of Bridge Street, raises the possibility that evidence of earlier buildings might survive along the line of the original frontage.

In any market town, the market area is likely to have been one of the more intensively occupied foci and plots in this area might be expected to contain sequences of commercial buildings along the market frontage, with outhouses, workshops and rubbish pits to the rear. At Belper, however, where markets are only known to have commenced in 1739, any such sequence could be relatively short, although the open space that is assumed to have existed prior to the legal acquisition of a market may still have functioned in a similar way.

An important area of archaeological potential is the area around what was the Manor Farm in the Coppice. Its potential had already been recorded in the 19th century, when it was described as suggesting 'brilliant possibilities to the antiquary' (Derry 1890) and this was confirmed by limited excavation in 2001.

Surviving below ground remains could include evidence of the medieval hunting lodge/manor house and associated buildings, as well as of gardens, fishponds and possibly also of the corn mill on the brook, said to be within the boundary of the medieval park. Outside the park the course of the brook has been straightened and considerable development has taken place beside it, so that the survival of any features relating to other industrial uses, such as the tannery outside the park boundary, is uncertain. However, the finding of a medieval pottery assemblage during excavations on the site of Green Hall, King Street, and of a possible 15th century carved stone head and further pottery near Ingle's Channel highlights not only the potential for archaeology to survive throughout the town but also how little Belper's early development is understood at present.

Burial grounds form an important area of archaeological potential. Although there are few early burials at Belper, with the reported exception of the early 17th century plague burials, skeletal remains from the various 18th and 19th century cemeteries could shed light on the health of a population living (and dying) in a rapidly expanding industrial settlement.

Almost every settlement has its references to tunnels having been uncovered in the past, and Belper is no exception. For example, Willott (1894, 106) reported that:

‘Opposite the Chevin, on the east side of the river, is the Cow hill: here are some very good houses of modern date, and some very poor old ones, such as would be built when it was though anything was good enough for a working man to live in. I have heard it said, and it was from one of the oldest inhabitants, that there is a house on this hill that has an outlet in the lower part of it, at an underground way from what was formerly the manorial residence in the Coppice’

More recently Millward (1977) recorded the supposed finding in the 1960s of a tunnel leading from a house on the Fleet into a quarry in the Park, so that counterfeiters who were said to use the house would have an escape route.

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