

Accounts of John Bagshaw of Abney Grange, in the Reign of George I.

By ALFRED HUGHES, M.A.

THE library of the Manchester University (formerly Owens College) was recently the recipient of an old volume, which is of considerable interest as showing the daily life and associations of a Peakland farmer nearly two hundred years ago. The donor was Mr. Henry Bagshaw, of Moor Grange, near Taddington. He is descended in the fifth generation from the writer of the work, John Bagshaw, who lived at Abney Grange in the latter half of the seventeenth century (certainly from 1667 onwards), and died there in 1732. The book contains full accounts—income and expenditure—of the Old Farm at Abney Grange for a period of about ten years—viz., the last ten years of John Bagshaw's life. The first page may serve as a typical specimen, for the work is far too voluminous to reproduce in full:—

MAY THE 12 ACCOUNT OF MEAN CHARGES, 1720.

	s.	d.	qr.
paid for			
for ter and oile	0	8	0
for talors	3	0	0
for a pigg	18	6	0
for spenses at Chappell fair	1	0	0
for smith worke	0	3	2
for a Calfe	5	4	0
for Coles	1	2	0
easter dues	1	11	0
for Land tax	2	0	0

paid for					s.	d.	qr.
for Land tax	...	...	...	...	9	5	3
for lether	...	...	...	...	2	6	0
for sadell trees	...	...	...	...	2	6	0
for flannell	...	...	...	...	4	2	0
for wheel wood	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
for Lether	...	...	...	...	1	2	0
for Coles	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
for bee hifes	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
for sythes stones	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
for hay rakes	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
for a sythe	...	...	...	...	2	8	0
for a bridle of lether	...	...	...	...	2	2	0
for wheat	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
for talor	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Carpenter work	...	...	...	...	1	6	0
Headborrow score	...	...	...	...	1	8	0
Poore score	...	...	...	...	7	0	0
for Coles	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
for Coles	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
for pining	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
					£		
					4	6	7 1

The addition, here and elsewhere, is absolutely correct. Different parts of the account illustrate one another. For example, the double entry of Land tax is due to the fact that while Abney Grange is itself in the parish of Hope, Bretton Clough, where some of the lower fields were situated, is in the parish of Eyam; for a similar reason double entries of rent occur regularly, the Grange rents going to the Bradshaws and the Clough rents to the Eyres. Another regular charge on the farm is represented by the Easter dues. Vol. xi. of this *Journal* contains details of the Easter dues for 1658, and for purposes of comparison it may not be uninteresting to note that in 1689 John Bagshaw was himself one of the churchwardens of Hope, and he has recorded the amounts received in that year:—

APRILL 1689.

John Bockin, Henery Iberson, John Bagshaw churchwardens
for Hope parish. And y^e collected 2 peney scores.

				£	s.	d.
Woodland Hamblet	...	...	...	5	0	0
Hope Hamblet	...	...	...	2	11	0
Bradwall Hamblet	...	...	...	1	16	0
Thornhill Hamblet	...	...	...	0	19	3
Aston Hamblet	...	...	...	0	15	9
Brough Hamblet	...	...	...	0	3	9
<hr/>						
Woodland part is	...	...	...	5	0	0
and Hope part is	...	...	...	6	5	9
<hr/>						
Abney Hamblet	...	...	...	0	17	4
Offerton Hamblet	...	...	...	0	6	8
Shattons Hamblet	...	...	...	0	17	4
Hasley Badge	...	...	...	1	10	0
Littell Hucklow	...	...	...	0	8	0
Great Hucklow	...	...	...	1	0	0
Grinlow hamblet	...	...	...	0	14	0
Wardlow hamblet	...	...	...	0	10	0
Stoake hamblet	...	...	...	0	15	0
Nether Padley	...	...	...	0	7	6
Highlow hamblet	...	...	...	0	8	0
<hr/>						
John Bagshaw part	...	...	...	7	14	6
<hr/>						
y ^e whole 2 scores	...	...	...	19	3	0

There seems to be something wrong with the additions here, but it is probably a mere slip of the pen—three shillings for three pence.

John Bagshaw's book contains evidence that he acted as a collector both of rents and local taxes, and this fact enables us to construct a complete list of the rent-payers and rate-payers of Abney and Abney Grange at three different times—viz., in 1702, 1717, and 1731. It is noteworthy that even

during these short periods there were several changes of tenancy—changes not only from father to son, but from one family to another. In the Peak district, indeed, it is only too evident that there are but few instances of farming families who have retained possession of one farm for any lengthened period. John Bagshaw's own descendants remained at Abney Grange for two hundred years, or more, from the earliest date at which we know him to have been there, and one of them was still living up to last year within the parish of Hope. These changes are probably due to the comparatively few small freehold farms. Of course, the old names—Bagshaw, Middleton, Bland, Barker, etc.—are still common in the Peak district, but as farmers they have not been permanently attached to the land they till.

JUNE, 1702—GRANGE RENTS.

	£
John Bagshaw ould farm	12
Elias acker Edmund Hall	4
Elias Marshall farme	3
Harkhome farme is	3
Widdow Bagshaw farme	5-
Barsila Barbar farme is	8-
Widdow Hall farme is	7-
Robart Drable farme is	4'
Denis Bockin farme is	3
John Francis farme is	6- 13-
Robart Howe farme is	4- 8-
John Barker farm is	9- 4
Edward Townend farme is	4- 10-
Robert Dackin farme is	8- 9-
George Newton farme is	1- 3-
John Howe farme is	8-
Thomas Barker farme is	9; 0-
Francis Townend farme is	4-
George Bomforth farme is	10-

	£
John Barker farme is	11 -
William Bradwall farme is	16 -
James Bagshaw farme is	14 - 5 -
Robart Middleton land is	11 - 0 -
Robart Barker farme is	19 - 2 - 5
George Robinson farme is	3 - 10
Nicholas Barbar frame is	3 - 10 -
Slate delpth is	2 - 0 -
Corne mille is	4 -

ABNEY RENTS, 1717.

	£	s.	d.
Robart Howe	4	8	0
John Francis	6	13	4
John Barker	6	4	0
Francis Townend	2	5	0
George Newton	1	3	4
Ane Eddess	8	9	0
John How	5	6	10
Martin How	5	6	10
Thomas Mosley	3	3	0
Thomas Barker	9	0	0
Edward Barbar	5	0	6
Widdow Townend	4	15	0
George Bomforth	10	18	6
John Barker	11	10	6
William Bradwall	16	9	0
Francis Sykes	14	15	0
And for millne	4	0	0
Robart Barker	17	2	0
Robart Middleton	11	9	0
George Robinson	3	14	0
Nicholas Barbar	3	10	0
Slate Delphe	2	0	0
	<hr/>		
	157	2	10
	<hr/>		

GRANGE RENTS 1717.

	£	s.	d.
John Bagshaw	12	0	0
Edmund Hall part	2	0	10
William How part	2	0	0
Nether Acker	0	13	4
White Leese	1	13	4
Marshall farme	3	0	0
Harkholme	3	5	0
Bars Barber	6	7	4
Widdow Bagshaw	5	10	0
Robert Drable	4	7	4
Thomas Hall	7	3	4
Denis Bockin	3	14	4
And wee have allowed from M ^r Ayears	0	10	0
	<hr/>		
	52	3	10
	<hr/>		

LAND TAX AND HEADBORROW TAX IN 1731.

Abney Grange:	Land Tax.		Headborrow.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
John Bagshaw	4	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	0
Thomas Hall	2	0		7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Robert Drable	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$		4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hugh Bagshaw	1	5 $\frac{3}{4}$		5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Barsila Barber	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$		6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thomas Bockin	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		4
Abney:				
John How	1	6		5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Martin How	1	6		5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thomas Morley		10 $\frac{1}{2}$		3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Thomas Barker	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$		9
Edward Barber	1	4 $\frac{3}{4}$?
Francis Townend	1	4 $\frac{3}{4}$?
George Bomforth	3	2 $\frac{1}{4}$		11 $\frac{1}{2}$

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
John Barker	3	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
William Bradwall	4	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5
James Bland	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Robert Middleton	3	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	11	
Francis Barker	4	9	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Robert Robinson	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$		3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Nicholas Barber	11	3 $\frac{3}{4}$		3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Widdow How	1	3		4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Joseph Francis	2	0		7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Robert Barker	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$		6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Francis Townend	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thomas Dakin	2	6		9

The book contains the full accounts of the farming household, every expense, even the smallest, being noted down, and every receipt of money; balances are struck every month or two, and many items of interest are added. I have taken down all the entries for a farming year, October 1723 to October 1724, and have added up the figures, and have thus formed what may be taken as a scrupulously accurate balance-sheet of a Derbyshire farmer for that date. The figures are sub-joined in the form of a profit and loss account, and I have added explanatory notes, whenever it seemed that a little local knowledge might add to the interest of the statement.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts: (a) In hand, September 1723...	11	14	0
(b) Animals sold	66	5	1
(c) Coals	4	7	8
(d) Carriage	34	9	6
(e) Farm produce	17	3	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
(f) Interest		2	6
	<hr/>		
	134	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		

	£	s.	d.
Expenditure: (g) Rent 	28	12	6
(h) Rates and taxes 	8	12	9
(i) Labourers' wages 	5	13	10½
(j) Wages, domestic service ...	1	8	2
(k) Animals bought 	33	3	0
(c) Coals 	2	11	9½
(h) Materials, &c., for farm ...	1	6	6
(l) Food, &c., for the house ...	4	7	1
(m) Tailors' wages, &c. ...	14	8	
(n) Spent at fairs, &c. ...	10	1	
(o) Amusement 			8
(f) Lent on interest 	20	0	0
	107 1 1		

Total profits for the year, after deduction of item (a) from Receipts, and item (f) from Expenditure 35 7 4½

(a) The account-book contains a very careful entry of the amount in hand at every striking of the balance, of which there are about eight in a year. Generally, a careful examination of the figures shows the amount in hand to correspond exactly with the amount spent and received. In the course of the year 1723-4 there are one or two cases of discrepancy which I have not thought it worth while to point out, as they made no material difference in the whole statement.

(b) Evidently the Bagshaws bred on a fairly large scale, as they are constantly selling numbers of horses, cows, and sheep. The sales of this year represent altogether eighty-one animals. They were sold at the various fairs and markets of the district, the largest sales being in September at Hathersage. Most of the animals bought are pigs, but two horses are also bought, though the prices paid (four guineas each) are noticeably less than those received. Entries of expenditure show that in 1723 there was no bull at the Old Farm, as the cows were sent to

other farms, but in later years the "bulling" fees appear on the credit side of the account, showing that the Bagshaws are prospering in their business. I have tabulated all the entries of the selling of animals for the whole period 1720 to 1731, as these seem to be the only trustworthy figures from which to estimate the prices of that day. The following are the average selling prices for the whole period:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Horse ...	6	7	4	Heifer ...	3	0	2
Colt ...	3	9	6	Calf ...	18		1
Filly ...	4	19	3	Sheep ...	6		8
Mare ...	6	4	7	Ewe ...	5		1
Cow ...	3	12	7	Wether ...	6		5
Ox ...	4	12	5	Pig ...	3		3
Steer ...	3	9	1	Hog ...	5		1
Bullock ...	4	5	6				

(c) The very large number of entries for coals on both sides of the account is somewhat puzzling. There are forty-three receipts and forty-five payments under this head. One or two of the entries incidentally show that the coal was obtained directly from the pit. Probably John Bagshaw, with his numerous horses, acted as a sort of middleman in this commodity. The nearest actual coal-pit was near the Standage Pole, above Hathersage, but I believe this was never a productive pit, and it seems more likely that the coal was brought from the neighbourhood of Sheffield or Chesterfield.

(d) "Carriage" signifies the carriage of lead ore from the lead mines near Eyam to the place where they were to be smelted. For a long series of years the Bagshaws have regular weekly accounts with Mr. Ashton, of Hathersage Hall, for whom they carried the ore down to the Derwent, where "Leadmills" is still the name of the hamlet where the main road crosses the river. The line of the road by which he reached Leadmills may still be seen in the fields just north of Highlow Hall. On May 22nd, 1717, there is a memorandum of a receipt

of £44 from Mr. Ashton for 2,699 horse-loads of ore. The lead-mining was at its most prosperous point early in the eighteenth century. The Eyam parish registers contain an account of how the sudden increase of the mining royalties made the Eyam living extremely valuable, so that there was an unseemly squabble amongst the rival candidates for the living. John Bagshaw was not content with carrying lead ore for other people, but soon became a shareholder in mines on his own account. "January 25th, 1717, John Bagshaw bought a 96th-part of Little Pasture Grove of Mr. Thomas Longson of Little Longstone at the price of £68 10s. 3d." He also held a 64th-part of the Highcliff mine near Eyam, and the account-book contains minute accounts of the ore received, calculated in the peculiar local measure—loads and dishes—wherein 8 dishes=1 load. The price of a load seems to vary from 17s. to 25s.

(e) The largest items under farm produce are:

						£	s.	d.
Wool	...	...	...	...	...	7	0	5
Oats	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	0
Hay	...	...	...	...	...	2	9	0

And there are smaller sums for skins, butter and cheese, meal and straw. Oats was certainly the common crop in the High Peak. Abney Grange is more than 1,000 feet above the sea, and would probably never be fruitful for wheat.

(f) The Bagshaws always seem able to lend their money out on interest. Several pages of the account-book are filled with details of the loans; most of the money is lent to neighbours. The details of one case in 1727 show interest at the rate of about 5 per cent., *e.g.*, a loan of £5 produces 5s. per year.

(g) The Bagshaws paid their rent to two landlords—£21 7s. 6d. to Mr. Eyre, of Hassop, for the farm at Abney Grange, and £7 5s. to Mr. Bradshaw, of Abney, for the land in Bretton Clough. The agreement, dated 1723, by which the farm was leased by Mr. Thomas Eyre to John Bagshaw for

a term of twenty-one years, is still in the hands of the present Mr. Bagshaw; it contains the proviso that the tenant must plant "six trees of oak, ash or elm" every year during the tenancy. The Old Farm was evidently much the most important at Abney Grange; by the list of rents for the year 1717, it appears that John Bagshaw paid nearly twice as much rent as any other Grange farmer. I have not been able to find out the size of the farms, so that there is no indication here of the price of land. But the following transaction has some bearing on the point:—"February 11, 1722, John Bagshaw bought of William Bright of Callbar (Corbar) six acres and a half of land at Little Hucklow, the price £152 10s."

(*h*) The total for rates and taxes is made up of a large number of small payments. The Land Tax comprises four quarterly payments of 6s. 4*d.* each for Abney (the township of Hope parish), and four quarterly payments of 1s. 4*d.* for Foolow (the township of Eyam parish). In this year the Land Tax had been fixed by Walpole at 2s. in the £1. In 1720 the tax had been fixed at 3s., and we accordingly find the quarterly payments in 1720 increased to 9s. 6*d.* and 2s. respectively. But it is by no means clear that the Land Tax bears any exact relation to the rent of the land.

The rate of 1s. 7½*d.* in the £1 annual tax is deducible from the amounts given for rent and land tax in 1717, which was a year when the 3s. tax was in force, and the explanation of the differences no doubt lies in the origin of the so-called Land Tax, which was originally on all sorts of property as well as land. Its assessment was made in 1692, and only by desuetude was the tax allowed to lapse, except upon land only. It became a sort of arbitrary custom that a 1s. land tax brought in £500,000, and each county had to furnish its proper proportion. In this manner a particular amount of land tax became attached to a particular farm, and remained constant during many years, even though the rent was altered. There is evidence indeed that some of the Abney rents were raised about this time without affecting the amount of tax.

There are two payments of 1s. each for window tax, and three payments, amounting in all to 3s. 9d., for forest tax, probably a relic of the royal jurisdiction over the Peak Forest.

The poor rates for Abney and Foolow (6 payments) came to £1 12s.

There is also a rate for the headborough of Abney and the headborough of Foolow, amounting in all to 6s. 3d. The headborough was the local constable, so that this may be looked upon as a rate for police or watch purposes.

The tithes for Hope parish were somewhat serious, amounting every year to £1 5s. for corn and £2 16s. for wool.

Easter dues were also exacted for both parishes, coming to 6s. It is observable that the Easter dues are distinctly higher than they were in 1658; see the Society's *Journal* for 1889.

(i) The payments for labourers' wages are generally given in small sums for specific jobs, e.g., pining (*i.e.*, folding sheep), 2d. or 3d.; garthing (*i.e.*, fencing), 6d.; shearing, 9d., or by the name of the labourer. The same name occurs again and again, e.g., Francis Story receives altogether £2. In the year 1726, we have, however, a definite entry that a labourer named Thomas Wilkinson was engaged for the year at the wage of £2 19s.

(j) The payments for domestic service are also paid in small sums. But in 1720, we have a note that Jane Barker is engaged at a wage of £1 15s.

(k) The payments for farm materials, &c., are very numerous, and comprise all sorts of small things; perhaps the strangest entries are for "cow-drinks" (the book contains sundry recipes for such things) "aniseed-water," "sythe-stones." It is to be noticed that there are no entries of expenditure on manure. In this part of Derbyshire the obvious and universal "artificial" manure is lime. Amongst the miscellaneous entries we have such as the following:—"At Michaelmas 1720 I had in my ryefield 96 load of lime and Peter had to New Close 132 load of lime, so Peter had 36 loads more than me."

(l) The highest sums under this heading are for beef and wheat. Some other entries, such as "hemp," "flaxe," "yarn," would, perhaps, come more appropriately under the next heading.

(m) It is evident that clothes are supplied through weavers and tailors, who come round the country and work in the houses. The entry is a constant one every year.

(n) This includes the small sums, never larger than a shilling, spent at the numerous visits to the neighbouring towns. Chapel-en-le-Frith, Tideswell, Grindleford Bridge, Foolow, Eyam, Hathersage, Bakewell, are all frequently visited, and once the diarist has reached even as far as Doncaster.

(o) It is pathetic to see an entry, "Musick, 3*d.*," each time Christmas comes round. Otherwise the only signs of merriment are the entries, "skittles, 3*d.*," "bako, 2*d.*," *i.e.*, tobacco.

William Bagshaw, the son, married, in 1707, Ann Nadin, of Alstonfield, in Staffordshire. She died shortly after the birth of their only son, Thomas, and the funeral took place at Alstonfield on November 1st, 1707. The following were the funeral expenses:—

	£	s.	d.
4 pecks of malt, 2 of flower... ..	0	6	?
11 dosen of bread	0	11	?
2 pound of treakle	0	6	?
2 pound and a half of sheuger	0	1	?
1 pound and a half of reasons	0	0	?
2 ounce of keen peper	0	0	?
1 ounce of clove peper	0	0	?
2 yards and a halfe of flannell	0	2	5
and for a coffin	0	5	10
and for 2 cheeses	0	1	8
and y ^e bishope for burying her	0	1	0
and clarke fees	0	1	3
and y ^e churchwardens fees for grave	0	3	?
and for ringers	0	1	0
and gave to nighbours 3 <i>d.</i> a pice which comes to ye sum of	1	1	6
and for a hanedane (?)	0	0	6
	£2	18	1