

## THE COMMON FIELDS OF BEELEY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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In the 17th century the township of Beeley covered some 2,000 acres, of which more than two-thirds was moorland waste. The cultivated lands, the arable, meadow and pasture, lay mainly in the valley of the River Derwent, spreading eastwards towards the moors up the steep-sided slopes of the Beeley Brook (Fig. 1). To the south the boundary was the Smelting Mill Brook and the hamlet of Little Rowsley. On the north the 17th-century boundary was the pale of Chatsworth Park. The principal area of settlement was alongside the Beeley Brook a short distance above its confluence with the River Derwent, but there were in addition two outlying hamlets, one to the north called Greaves,<sup>1</sup> and one to the south of the village at Fallinge. Both hamlets appear to be of great antiquity, although they lie on the extreme edge of the cultivated area.<sup>2</sup> Two further outlying farms are of relatively recent origin, the one at Moor End having been made after the Enclosure Award of 1832, and South Oaks after a rationalisation of land holdings in the 1960s.

The village itself was sited a safe distance from the River Derwent, whose periodic violent floods were inclined to wash away the pastures along its banks. The main village street ran parallel with the Beeley Brook, not directly along its banks, where again the dangers of flooding were apparent, but on the south-facing slope above the stream. Houses and farms on the south side of the street probably had crofts running down to the brook, as some still do, and there must once have been a line of crofts behind the farms on the north side too. The building of the Duke's Stable in the 18th century destroyed a part of the north side, and modern field boundaries give little indication of the extent of the crofts or of the position of a possible back lane. At the west end of the main street was a small triangular open space opening northward into a larger area of green. The church, surrounded by its churchyard, lay to the west of this latter area, and may indeed have been an incroachment on a larger green or common running from the head of the village street down to the River Derwent. In the 17th century a lane ran from the green beside the churchyard wall to the common pastures on the river bank.

Leaving the green in its north-east corner were two roads. One was the principal bridleway from Beeley to Chesterfield across the moors. It left the green through a close, significantly known as Gatelands, and travelled due east up the slope until it left the cultivated area behind at the Lydgate. It was enclosed in the 17th century up to this point, and is a well marked hollow-way today to the point at which a group of buildings marks the old boundary with the open moorland. The second lane to leave the green ran northwards into the open fields, and extended only a short distance from the village centre. It later became part of the north-to-south route up the Derwent valley, but in the 17th century it was only a field lane. A dispute in 1678 mentions this as 'a way from the Town of Beeley to that part of Beeley Upper field which, as it is now divided, Lyeth next to a close called the Lyches'. The dispute was over a hedge made across the lane which prevented access to Lyches, a hedge which was supposed to have been grubbed up and a gate made.

Leaving the western village green and running in a southerly direction was the lane to South Field, another open field area to the south of the Beeley Brook. This lane ran down Chapel hill, and forded the brook at the bottom. It then crossed the open field between fences to Howrough Gate, where it continued unfenced across the common pastures to bridge the Smelting Mill Brook below the mill. This route later became

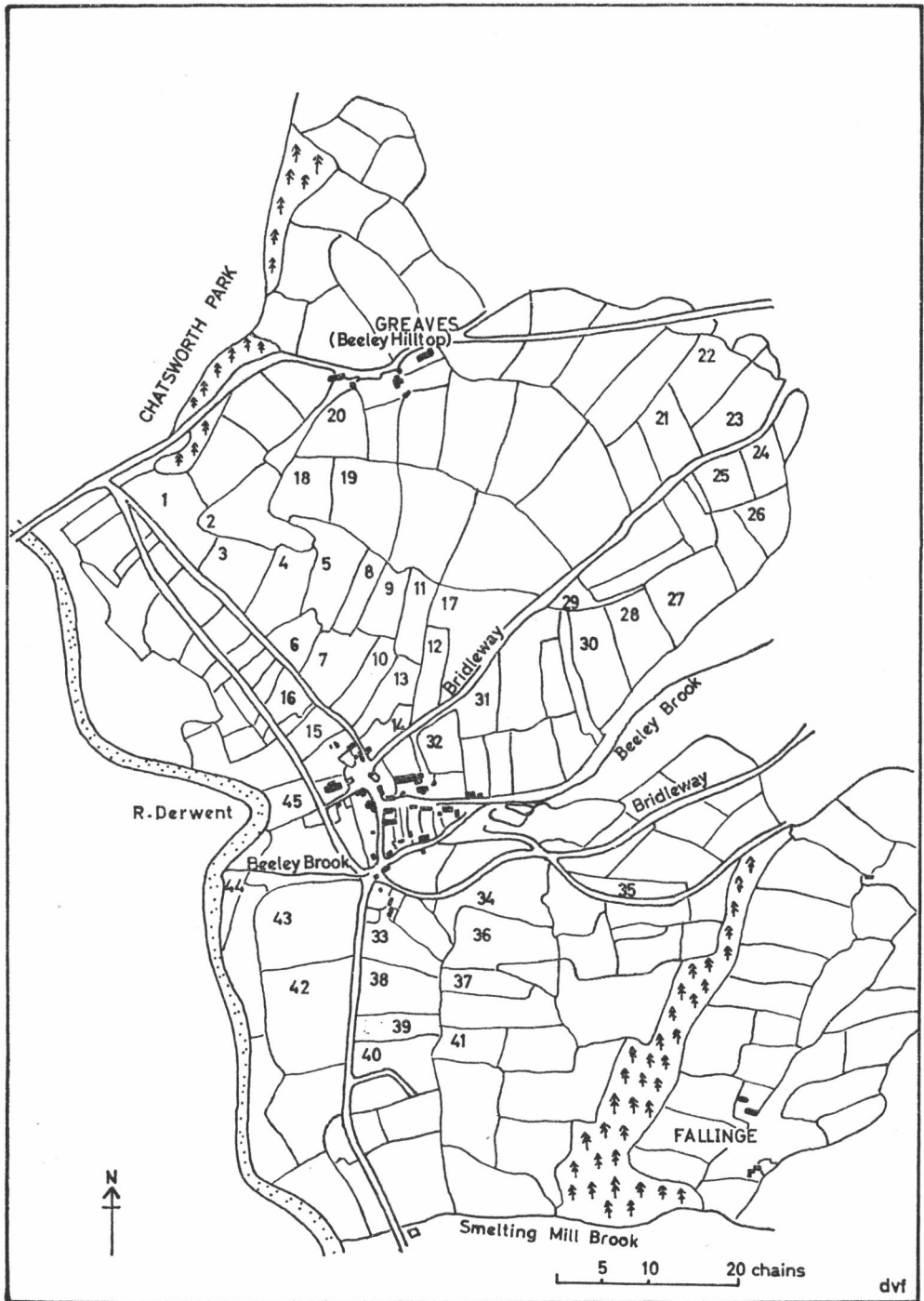


Fig. 1 Beeley in 1832.

incorporated in a turnpike road which apparently ran through Beeley village, up Chapel Hill, across the green, and northward by an extension of the Upper Field lane to the 18th-century bridge at the southern end of Chatsworth Park. The by-pass, taking the more level route to the west of the churchyard, was made early in the 19th century.

At the east end of the village street an area of common or green crossed the brook and spread onto the steep north-facing slope above it. Another bridleway left the village from the south-east corner of this green and climbed steeply through Megfield on the line of the present footpath and can be traced in a hollow way running towards Fallinge on the south side of the modern Chesterfield road. Also leaving the eastern green was the driftway up the valley to the village commons on the moors. This was funnel-shaped and probably gated where it narrowed towards the village street.

There were three areas of open field in Beeley in the 17th century (Fig. 2). To the north was Upper Field, an extensive area which ran from Beeley churchyard to Hasland Wall at the boundary with Chatsworth Park, and extended eastward up the slope to include an area of open field at the Greaves, or Beeley Hilltop. This latter portion of Upper Field was in existence in the 13th century, when it is specifically referred to in a series of charters.<sup>3</sup> The origins of Beeley Upper Field, however, are not known, although it seems likely that Beeley village and the hamlet at Greaves both had open fields which were eventually merged as clearance took place on the slopes separating the two settlements. Nether Field, the second area of open field, also lay to the north of the village, filling the whole of the south-facing slope of the valley as far as Farnside. It was separated from Upper Field by the Chesterfield bridleway, which began in a field to the east of the church and can be traced as a hollow-way as far as two fields known as the Lydgate Closes, where presumably the cultivated areas of Upper Field on the one side and Nether Field on the other ended at the boundary with the moor. South Field, or Low Field, was laid out to the south of the Beeley Brook and access to it was over a ford, at the bottom of what is now Chapel Hill. By the 17th century clearance of woodland from this area had proceeded as far south as the Smelting Mill Brook, and as far up the slope to the present line of woods below Fallinge. Not all of this area, however, was included in South Field, which was bounded on three sides by pasture, access to which, at the southern end, was by Howrough Gate.

FIELD NAMES	KEY TO FIGURE 1	
<i>In area of Upperfield</i>	<i>In area of Netherfield</i>	<i>In area of Cowpastures</i>
1 Hasland Wall	24 Ledget	41 Little Wood Close
2 Great Lyches	25 Upper Farnsdale	42 Mean and New Wall
3 Little Lyches	26 Farnside	43 Hall Croft
4 Mesne Field	27 Pestwith Road	44 Tom Holme
5 Upper Field and Mesne Field	28 Morton Greaves	45 Hall Croft
6 Slade	29 Coldwells	
7 Half Acres	30 Shaw Meadow	
8 Far Upperfield	31 The Asps	
9 Upperfield	32 Paddock	
10 Barnyard		
11 Upper Howway	<i>In area of Southfield</i>	
12 Howway	33 Woodlands	
13 Leys	34 Hockley	
14 Gatelands	35 Canhill Acres	
15 & 16 Tunstone	36 Briery Lands	
17 Mantle	37 Narrow Flatt	
18 New Piece	38 Great Southfield	
19 Ball Greaves	39 Southfield	
20 Crookes	40 Southfield	
21 Lower Coal Field		
22 Upper Coal Field		
23 Ledget		

Note:- The map is drawn from the Enclosure Award, 1832. Field names are taken from a Terrier and Rental, 1858, in the Estate Office, Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

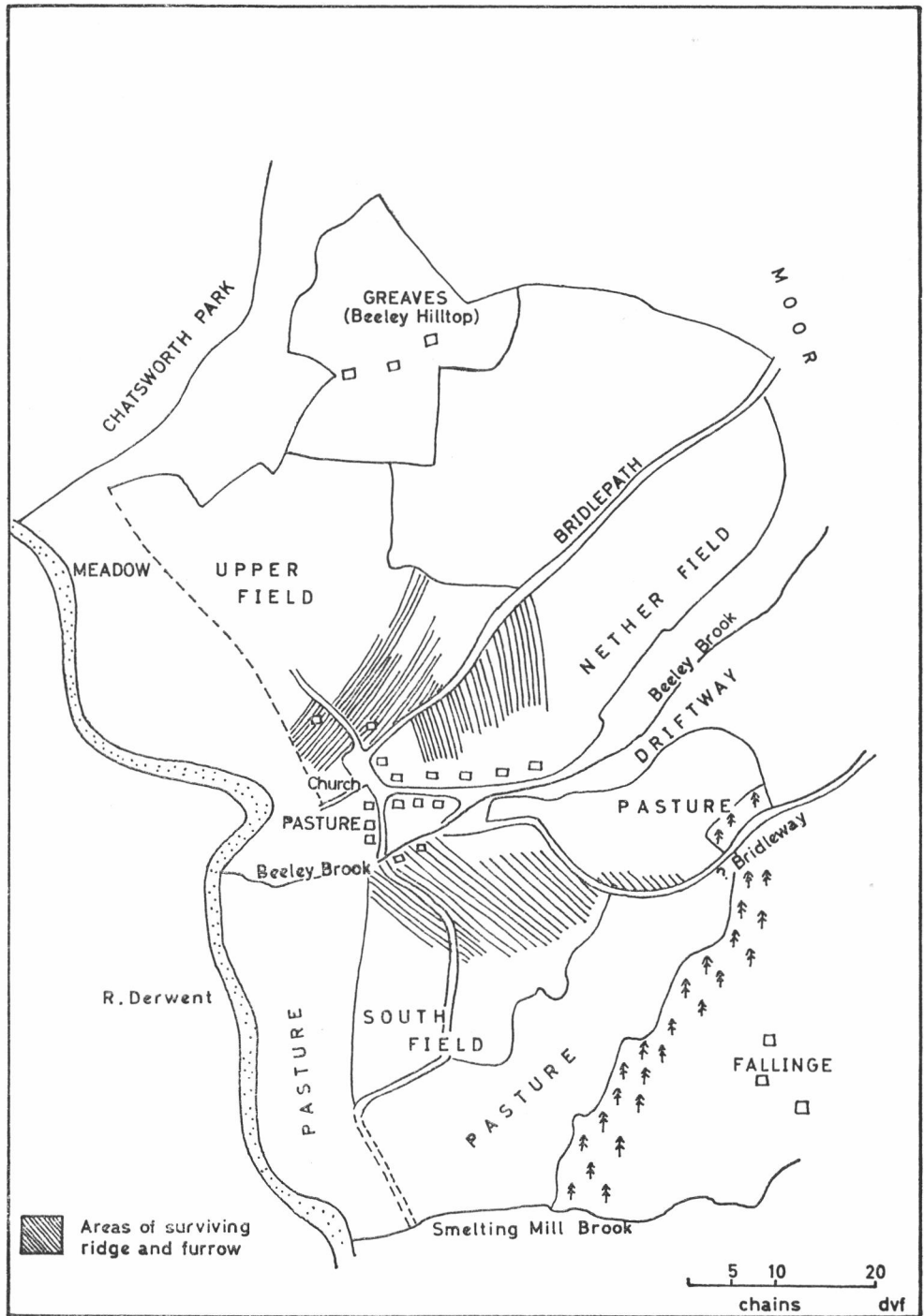


Fig. 2 Reconstruction of the open fields and common pastures of Beeley with evidence of surviving ridge and furrow.

By the beginning of the 17th century the open fields were beginning to be split up into closes. The survey of the Earl of Devonshire's estates in Beeley made by William Senior in 1626<sup>4</sup> extends to only 79 acres, but mentions five closes within Upper Field: Mantle, Howway, Slade, Maynes and Tunstall; the Lydgate close in Nether Field; and Howrough Pingle in the South Field. By 1660 it is clear that much of the open-field area was in closes, but that this had not meant the withdrawing of the enclosed area from common cultivation. For example, in 1673 the Earl of Devonshire acquired a piece of land called Shewbrods 'in a close of George Saviles called Newclose' in exchange for a piece of his own land 'lying in a close called Farnside'. At the same time Savile also exchanged a piece of land called Tythe Barn Butts in a close of his called the Asps. There are indications as late as 1702 that, although much of Beeley was enclosed, some closes still contained unfenced parcels of land which would have necessitated some kind of co-operative farming practice.<sup>5</sup>

Closes within the common fields, even when they did not result in the disappearance of communal farming, must nevertheless have been made with some kind of formal agreement. Unfortunately no record of this survives, nor do we know precisely for what purpose these early closes were made. They would have enabled a much more flexible system of husbandry to develop, perhaps with the introduction of new crops in certain parts of the open fields, or merely enabled farmers to practice alternative husbandry and allow arable and pasture leys to alternate according to the crop-bearing potential of the land.<sup>6</sup> They had apparently been made during the first half of the 17th century, and it was important that the fences were maintained. In 1671 George Savile, in an attempt to speed up the division of common pasture, threatened to 'cause all the fields that have been enclosed within these 60 yeares to be throwne open againe . . . . upon pretence of being common after harvest'. The Earl's agent, who received notice of these threats from villagers in Beeley remarked, 'the throwing open of the fields will be great prejudice to all the freeholders, to my lords tenants espetically' and noted ominously, 'Mr Saville to be spoken to'.<sup>7</sup>

The process of re-allocation of lands in the open fields, whether in the closes or in the unfenced portions of the three open-field areas, seems to have been gathering momentum between 1658 and 1675. This phase marked the beginning of a more rapid and complete decline in communal farming practices. With the exception of the wasteland on Beeley Moor, surveys and rentals of the next century show the cultivated area divided into closes and held in severalty. In 1748, when the Duke of Devonshire was buying the farms of the Norman family in Beeley, mention was made of a dole of land of about one acre in Mean Upper Field, but this, in the whole of the estate, was the only unenclosed parcel of land.<sup>8</sup> In the Enclosure Award of 1832 no open-field arable, meadow or pasture was involved, and the award dealt exclusively with the allotment of the common grazing on the moor.

Re-allocation in the mid-17th century took the form of agreed exchanges among the freeholders in Beeley. Discussions were evidently under way in 1658 when the Earl of Devonshire's agent noted the first of a series of proposed exchanges between the Earl and other freeholders. These discussions were finally resolved in formal deeds of exchange, those involving enclosure of former open field executed in 1663 and 1671, and a further series dividing the common pastures in 1673.<sup>9</sup> The parties to the surviving deeds were on the one hand the Earl of Devonshire and his tenants, and on the other the half-dozen or so principal freeholders in Beeley. These included the brothers Henry and William Norman, and after 1670 their heir, Henry's son John; the Wrights, Robert, who died in 1659, and his son and heir Adam; Anthony Holmes, John Tonncliffe and Thomas Croshaw. George Savile was also a party to the later exchanges, although he does not appear to have purchased property in Beeley until 1687. At that date, however, he did acquire a substantial holding from John Greaves, including the house and farm at Greaves formerly occupied by John Bullock, which he subsequently re-named Beeley Hilltop, and a house and farm in the village centre, occupied by John Calvert and

probably the present Beeley Old Hall. His interest in the 1670s may have been as Greaves's mortgagee.<sup>10</sup>

The Earl of Devonshire's agent was Richard Milner, and much of the detailed information on the exchanges is to be found among his working notes.<sup>11</sup> It is clear that he was meticulous in his attention to detail, and most of the exchanges of land were worked out to the last inch. For example, in 1660 he made a note of a proposed exchange between the Earl and Adam Wright. Adam was to surrender to the Earl two pieces of land called Owler Greaves, a part of Upper Field, in exchange for land of the Earl's, also in Upper Field, called Short Hedge Dole. Adam's estimate of Owler Greaves was 3 roods 19 perches, and although Milner wrote 'Query if soe mutch' in his notes the amount was not in fact disputed. The Short Hedge Dole contained only 2 roods 33 perches 'wanting in measure of Robert Wrights two parcell 27 perches all but 4 yards, which is laid forth of a peece of my Lords lands in Overfield (ie Upper Field) . . . . being in bredth 5 yards all but 4 inches'. Another exchange, this time with Henry Norman, involved four of Henry's 'lands' or strips of open-field arable '2 of them in Netherfields lyeinge to my lords lands . . . . and 2 lands in Upperfields lyeinge to my lords lands'. Milner calculated that these four 'lands' contained 3 roods 17 perches 9 yards, which fell short of the piece the Earl was proposing to exchange by 37 perches. This was 'laid forth oppon a land of the said Henry Norman adioyning to my lords land, in length 9 chaynse 2 foote which takes in bredth 5 yards 15 inches'. In addition to carrying out the surveys and advising the Earl on the quantities involved in the exchanges Milner also evaluated the quality of the lands in question. When William Norman proposed exchanging a piece of his land called Lime Kiln Dole for several 'swathes' of meadow belonging to the Earl in the Meadow Heads, Milner wrote 'perfect nonsense' in his notes and advised the Earl to give equal extent from Oaken Dole, which being land of equivalent value was 'better for the measure'.

The Earl seems to have had two objectives in negotiating exchanges of land in the 1660s and 1670s. One was to secure blocks of adjoining strips or 'lands' in the open arable fields or 'swathes' adjoining each other in the common meadows. Presumably the intention was that these blocks could then be fenced and withdrawn from open-field cultivation. In many Derbyshire villages there is clear visual evidence today of such fencing of open-field strips. The resulting fields are usually long and narrow, and the boundaries reflect the lines of the ancient plough strips and are bent into a shallow 'S' shape.<sup>12</sup> Many of these were made after just such exchanges as were made in Beeley. In Beeley itself, though, there are very few fields which could be confidently identified with the mid-17th century piecemeal enclosures. Perhaps Shaw Meadow in Nether Field might be the result of consolidation of strips, and possibly Canhill (Cornhill) Acre in Southfield. But in the main Beeley fields are not long and narrow, and even allowing for subsequent throwing together of smaller closes, the medieval plough strip seems to have been relatively unimportant in determining the pattern of field boundaries in the landscape.

The second objective of enclosure agreements in the mid-17th century seems to have been to acquire land in the older closes to the gradual exclusion of those with whom the close had originally been shared. In 1671, for example, the Earl acquired 'a close called Halfpenny Dole lying within a close of the Earls called the Meadowheads', and in the same year land in a close called Sutton Dole which adjoined an already existing close belonging to the Earl called Milkhill. The exchanges involving Lydgate close and a close at Farnside in which George Savile was involved have already been mentioned. Farnside was the name given to a 'parcel' of land acquired by the Earl through an exchange with Henry Norman in 1663,<sup>13</sup> so it appears that the close was made after that date, perhaps incorporating pre-existing open-field rights, which the Earl, in exchanges a decade later, was seeking to extinguish. The last recorded exchange of lands within an already-existing close was in 1702 when John Wright acquired from Henry Norman 'land in a close called Meadowhead on the north side', and 'land in the middle of a close called Hall Flatt'.<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately it has not proved possible to locate all of the old closes within which subsequent exchanges of land took place. The Meadowheads was almost certainly an area within Upper Field, but we do not know where its boundaries were and have no idea of its possible shape. Farnside, however, can be identified. It lay at the easternmost end of Nether Field and was roughly square, as was the Lydgate Close adjoining it to the north. Another close made before common rights were extinguished was the Asps. This also was a roughly square-shaped enclosure, although there is clear evidence of ridge-and-furrow in the field today. Thus it appears that closes incorporating open-field strips, as clearly many of the pre-1660 closes in Beeley did, were not necessarily long and narrow. They were probably laid out to take into account soil, drainage and slope, particularly if they were made to improve methods of cultivation rather than to fossilise property boundaries.

The 17th-century enclosure by agreement in Beeley laid the foundation of the modern landscape, and it is indeed curious that there is so little surviving in the modern field pattern to indicate former open-field cultivation. Had the documentary evidence of these 17th-century enclosures not come to light it may well have been argued that Beeley's open fields were very limited in extent, an argument which would have gained support from the proximity of large tracts of moorland within easy access, which might, in theory, have rendered the creation of open fields unnecessary. In fact the modern landscape is apparently the result of not one but two phases of enclosure by agreement, the first creating closes, equivalent to, but probably smaller in area than, the main furlong divisions, and probably intended to improve methods of cultivation; and the second, which hardened property divisions and destroyed communal agriculture, did so within the already-existing layout of earlier closes and has therefore left little mark on the field pattern.

Lying outside the main boundaries of the open fields in Beeley were the permanent pastures. They too in the mid-17th century were divided and enclosed by agreement. Proposals were under discussion in 1668, and the deed of exchange setting out the main allotments was executed in 1673.<sup>15</sup> The pastures lay mainly along the banks of the River Derwent, for the most part on the east bank but crossing the river at the southern end of the township to occupy both banks. They also spread up the hillside beside the Smelting Mill Brook, and lay below the belt of woodland which rings Beeley to the south-east. This was all land which for one reason or another was unsuitable for ploughing, the low-lying land because it was too wet and the slopes below the wood because they were too steep (Fig. 2).

The pastures seem mainly to have been used to graze cattle. They were usually referred to as the cowpastures and the stints seem to have referred only to cows and calves. There is no mention of stints for sheep or horses, which were probably adequately provided for on the moorlands, or on the village and wayside greens. One beastgate or cowgate on the common pastures was the equivalent of just under an acre of grazing. Fully grown animals occupied a whole beastgate, while calves occupied half a beastgate. When negotiations began for the allotting and enclosing of the common pastures in about 1668 Milner listed the beastgates or stints as they then stood.<sup>16</sup> The whole of the cowpastures, except the Hare Riddings on the slope above Southfield, contained 30½ cowgates. The Earl of Devonshire held eight of these, George Savile seven, and the remaining 15½ were divided among other Beeley freeholders. George Croshaw and John Tonnicliffe together held five and a half, Adam Wright four, Anthony Holmes three, John Norman two, and William Norman one.<sup>17</sup>

The division of the pastures was complicated by the fact that the northern end of the lands on the banks of the Derwent was liable to serious flooding, and the expensive job of draining and embanking had to be undertaken if the land was not to be washed away. Milner made a copy of an agreement, unfortunately undated, in which all the owners of stints in the cowpastures jointly took responsibility for raising a rate to pay for the embanking, or 'flittering' to be done and an overseer appointed. This agreement

noted that 'of late years' much of the cowpasture had been 'carried away by the violence of the river Darwyn and is likely to be much more carried away by the same stream unless it be timely prevented by fliteringe'. The work of 'flittering' was to be set up and 'substantially done and performed at the common chardge' in which everyone was to contribute 'a proportion of money equal to the interest he hath in the pasture and as may make up in a rateable way the sum of money that shall be expended in and about the said work'. The overseer appointed was Mr. John Fox. It was Milner's intention to try and obtain for the Earl land which would not have to be rated for flittering, and in this he was ultimately successful.

The first scheme for dividing the cowpastures was put forward by Beeley men, and Milner's report shows that it was not particularly favourable to the Earl's interests. The Earl's lands were to be allotted in five blocks, one at the southernmost end of the cowpastures, one on the west bank of the river in Cockin, two in the middle portion of the pastures to the south of the Beeley Brook, and one to the north of the brook. The southernmost portion was described as being 'in the farthest furlonge twixt the highway and the river', and was bounded on the south by the Smelting Mill Brook. The smelting house lay to the north of the road, and on the Rowsley side of the stream, but was nevertheless near enough to cause concern. 'This is a bad lott' wrote Milner 'because it lyes inso under the smoake of the smeltinge mills'. Such smoke was known to have adverse and often fatal effects on livestock, and eventually the land downwind from a lead-smelting site became 'belland' or poisoned with deposits of lead. The land on the opposite side of the river was approached by a ford. The land allotted to the Earl here was in the low-lying parts of the six-acre furlong or close known as Cockin 'soe this is a bad lott alsoe'. Anthony Holmes had been allotted the remaining portion of Cockin, but this was in the 'upper field . . . . and soe is better by a third part at leaste than my lords is'. But the worst portions of all to Milner's mind were the allotments to the south of the Beeley Brook, which were low lying and so 'very chargeable for fliteringe'. He approved, however, of the allotment to the north of the brook, which was 'good and much the best my lord hath'. Milner's report added that 'My lords proporcions are laid out in too many places farr asunder', and that the middle portion 'lyes inconveniently betweene 2 peeces of Mr Savills'. 'If division be', he wrote, 'my Lord desires to have all his land laid together and to have but an equal proporcion quantity and quality well considered'. It sounded as though Milner suspected the Beeley men were trying it on, and perhaps George Savile felt the same. His allotments had also been dispersed, and he had been offered low-lying areas where flooding would have been a major and expensive problem. For subsequent discussions his own and the Earl's cowgates were treated as one allotment.

As a result of the co-operation between the Earl and George Savile discussions in October 1668 centred on the division of the cowpastures into two equal shares, each containing the equivalent of 15 cowgates. The line of the division split the pastures into a northern and a southern allotment. The northern one contained the Hall Piece or Croft, and the good pasture below the church, as well as the low-lying areas along the Beeley Brook. The southern section included Cockin, the polluted land below the smelting mill, and a pasture called Little Wood Ley lying on the slope beside the Smelting Mill Brook. The Earl and George Savile were asked to choose 'which of these parts they will have for their fifteen gates'. If they chose the northern section an extra rood and 13 perches would be added to the allotment to compensate for the extra cost of drainage. This offer may have been intended as a bait since Anthony Holmes was reported as saying that if they took the southern part 'he will break the devision as his hand is not to it'. In the event, however, Milner advised the Earl that the offer of the extra land was worth little as 'flitteringe will cost as much as the land is worth'. He thought the division was about equal in quantity and quality, the Hall Piece, the best land in the northern section, being somewhat better than Little Wood Ley, the best land in the south. Problems of drainage, however, ruled out the northern section, and the Earl and Savile chose the latter.



The deed of exchange finalising this stage in the exchanges, drawn up and executed in 1673, was between the Earl of Devonshire and George Savile on the one hand, and Adam Wright, John Norman, John Tonncliffe, Thomas Crawshay and John Holmes on the other. The cowpasture, hitherto grazed in common in 30 beastgates, was, 'by mutual consent divided into two parts by a newly erected wall'. This wall, which does not appear to survive today, was to be made in a direct line 'from the hedge of a close called Badgeleys Mesne to the side of the River Derwent and from the end of the said wall in a direct line over the river by stoops and rails to the land of Mary Lees, widow'. The present stepping-stones across the Derwent are too far north to be survivors of this crossing, the line of which was probably westwards of South Oaks Farm. The Earl and George Savile were allotted pasture on both sides of the Derwent to the south and south-east of the wall, and the remaining parties land, also on both sides of the Derwent, to the north and north-west.

In 1674 and 1675 two further agreements were executed, the former between the Earl of Devonshire and George Savile about the internal division of their allotment, and the latter between the other Beeley freeholders concerning the fencing of theirs.<sup>18</sup>

The southern allotment, the Earl's and George Savile's share, fell broadly into three main blocks. Fifteen acres of the best pasture lay up the slope beside the Smelting Mill Brook, to the east of a track running from the Howrough Gate at the south end of South Field to the bridge over the brook immediately to the west of the smelting mill itself. A second block lay between the track and the River Derwent, some seven acres in extent, and the third lay on the opposite bank of the river, containing just over six acres. Milner proposed that Little Wood Leys, the 15 acres beside the Smelting Mill Brook, should form one share, and the remainder, on both sides of the Derwent, the other, and that the Earl and George Savile should draw lots to decide which each should have. But since the Earl was entitled to the equivalent of eight cowgates and George Savile only seven, some adjustments would be necessary, depending on which part fell to the Earl. If he had the part by the river he was to have the equivalent of four cowgates on the east bank as well as the whole of Cockin. If he had Little Wood Leys he was to have an extra allotment at Howrough Gate. The deed of exchange in 1674 makes it clear that the Earl obtained the latter portion, and George Savile the pastures by the River Derwent. Both areas were subsequently divided into closes.

The division of the northern end of the cowpastures is less well documented. The northern boundary of this section was an area known as Hall Croft or Hall Piece, which was apparently already hedged along its northern boundary in 1668. This lay to the west of Beeley churchyard and ran from the churchyard wall to the river. There also seems to have been land on the west bank of the Derwent, now no longer in the boundaries of the township. The 15 beastgates in the northern cowpastures were held by five Beeley freeholders. Adam Wright held four, John Norman held three, John Tonncliffe three, Thomas Croshaw two, and Anthony Holmes held three. All of Adam Wright's share was assigned to John Norman in 1675. It apparently lay at the southernmost end of the area, adjoining the new wall, and contained about three-and-a-half acres. At its northern end it adjoined Tom Holme, and it was at this boundary that Norman was allowed access to the River Derwent to make a watering place. John Tonncliffe and Thomas Croshaw appear to have held land on the east bank of the river, between the river and John Norman's land, but it is not clear who had obtained the best land in Hall Croft, or who occupied the west bank of the Derwent.<sup>19</sup>

By the end of the 17th century it seems likely that not only were all the open fields and common pastures in Beeley enclosed, but that most of the closes were held and cultivated in severalty. This process seems to have been both the consequence and the cause of increased prosperity. There is, in Beeley, still ample evidence of improved housing dating in the main from the mid-17th century, with rebuilding continuing into the early 18th century. Many houses of this period were very substantial for such a small village, and it is possible that to some extent it was industry combined with an expanding

agricultural economy which was responsible. There is little evidence of cottage industry in the village in the 17th century, but the lead-smelting mills, although sited in the neighbouring manor of Rowsley, were run by Beeley men, there was a tanyard in the village, and coal pits and stone quarries on the moors. By the 18th century the lead-smelting site had been abandoned and the tanyard converted into a corn mill. Except for a few additional cottages built to house estate workers at Chatsworth in the 1840s the village has not expanded in size, and indeed may have shrunk since its heyday in the late-17th century. The enclosures of the 1660s and 1670s seem to mark a highwater mark in the fortunes of the community.

## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup>Known from the late seventeenth century as Beeley Hilltop.
- <sup>2</sup>S. R. Eyre, 'The Upward Limit of Enclosure on the East Moor of North Derbyshire', *Institute of British Geography Transactions and Papers*, No. 23, 1957, 61-74, gives an account of similar settlements in the area.
- <sup>3</sup>I. H. Jeayes, *Derbyshire Charters*, 1906, 33-35.
- <sup>4</sup>Chatsworth Muniments; Most villages surveyed by Senior were mapped, but only the written terrier survives for Beeley.
- <sup>5</sup>Chatsworth Muniments, Hardwick Schedule (CH), 133, nos.21 and 25.
- <sup>6</sup>E. Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution*, 1967; see also the seventeenth century terrier of Wightwiz'e in Sheffield City Libraries, published by G. F. Innocent, 'The Field System of Wightwizle', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, II, 1924, 276-8.
- <sup>7</sup>CH 127, no. 43.
- <sup>8</sup>CH 130, nos, 1-8; 133, nos. 24-32.
- <sup>9</sup>The most informative collection is in CH, 127, no. 43.
- <sup>10</sup>CH 127, no. 33.
- <sup>11</sup>CH 127, no. 43.
- <sup>12</sup>S. R. Eyre, 'Historical implications of the cutting plough-strip', *Agricultural History Review*, iv, 1955.
- <sup>13</sup>CH, 125, no. 29.
- <sup>14</sup>CH, 134, no. 25.
- <sup>15</sup>CH, 134, no. 22.
- <sup>16</sup>Milner's rough notes on exchanges in the cow pastures are in CH, 127, no. 43; and include a sketch map of the southern end of the cow pastures with the smelting mill.
- <sup>17</sup>CH, 134, no. 22.
- <sup>18</sup>CH, 134, no. 23; 127, no. 43.
- <sup>19</sup>CH, 127, no. 43.