

## BUXTON AND THE CAVENDISH FAMILIES

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The earliest mediaeval record of Buxton is in the foundation charter of Lenton Abbey<sup>1</sup> (1101-08) which reveals that the settlement had at some time been granted to William Peverel. Due to a later William Peverel's attempt to murder the Earl of Chester, the family estates were seized by the Crown, and eventually passed to the control of the Duchy of Lancaster. Thus, for the whole of the later middle ages, Buxton inhabitants paid their dues and fulfilled their feudal obligations to an absentee landlord. Throughout this period, due to political and economic pressures, considerable amounts of land in England passed from the King and the great Lords into the hands of the lesser nobility, and to certain freemen who were able to rise above their contemporaries to become known as 'yeomen'. From entries in the Charter and Patent Rolls, and other public records for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this trend can be detected in Buxton, and, by the fifteenth century, land holding was an assortment of Duchy and other tenures. Recorded in the Feudal Aids for 1431<sup>2</sup> are the following individuals with the value of their free tenements in socage in Buxton: John Pole, esquire of Hartington, 40s (£2.00) per annum; Thomas Buxstones of Buxton, 33s 4d (£1.67) per annum; and Robert Coterell, yeoman of Marple, 13s 4d (67p) per annum. In 1338 the Pole family became tenants, under the Duchy of Lancaster, of Buxton (alias Fairfield) Mill and in 1365 they acquired from John and Emma de Honford one carucate of land and certain properties in Cowdale Crowdecote and 'Kyngesbucstones'<sup>3</sup>. However, the male line died out and the family estates passed to Luce who married Henry Sacheverell of Ratcliffe upon Soar (Notts.) Their Buxton properties can be seen in Table A. It is not known when the Coterell family first acquired their land, but, by 1489 they were in possession, significantly, of the well chapel and springs, which in the hands of this turbulent family, were to be the source of much controversy in the sixteenth century. A smaller, yet significant, landowner in the fifteenth century was John Talbot (?1413-146-), second Earl of Shrewsbury. Following his death, at the battle of Northampton, an inquisition revealed that he owned one rood of land at 'Buxton juxta Holywell', twenty acres at Fairfield and the Manor of Chelmorton.<sup>4</sup>

The other major participant family to acquire an interest in Buxton were the Cavendishes, who, in time, came to exert an influence which has continued with fluctuating fortune down to the present date. William Cavendish, a Suffolk landowner, who held the state offices of commissioner for the surrender of the monasteries, auditor to the Court of Augmentation, and treasurer of the Kings Chamber, married Elizabeth ('Bess') Hardwick (1520-1608), a widow, in 1541. For his role in the dissolution of the monasteries, he was knighted, and received substantial grants of former monastic land, much of which, through the influence of his wife, he had sold by 1547 to enable them to purchase land in Derbyshire.<sup>5</sup> In June 1552, in a major exchange of land and property with the King, he acquired a substantial holding of land in North Derbyshire.<sup>6</sup> As part of this exchange he acquired the tithes of grain and hay in Buxton (but no land), and a portion of the 'tithes of the mill'. He purchased lands, rents and tithes in Buxton and

neighbouring villages in a deed dated September 1557.<sup>7</sup> After Sir William's death in October 1557 his widow remarried twice. As a result of her fourth marriage in 1568 to George Talbot (?1528-1590), sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, the Shrewsbury holdings in Derbyshire were greatly augmented by former Cavendish property. As part of their matrimonial arrangements, they provided for their respective children by previous marriages and, through subsequent settlements, Bess arranged that her three sons, Henry, William and Charles Cavendish, would inherit their father's former estates and others which the sixth Earl was to acquire. With regard to Buxton, the most notable of these acquisitions was the purchase from Robert Coterell on the 28th July 1571, of 'The Chapel in Buxton County Derby and the Chapel yard and also one Croft called the Bath Croft also Bath Flatt as it was then inclosed one piece of land or pasture called the Piece beyond the Water adjoining to the West and one Dwellinghouse ... and all and singular Baths, Springs, Waters and Watercourses ...'<sup>8</sup> More substantially, in deed dated August and September 1578, the sixth Earl acquired, from Henry Sacheverell, twelve messuages and land belonging to him in 'Buckeston Alias Buckestones'. (See Table A.)

The sixth Earl of Shrewsbury is principally remembered in Buxton for building, in 1572 '... a very goodly house, four square, four stories high, so well compact, with houses of office beneath and above, round about, with a great chamber, and other goodly lodgings, to the number of thirty.'<sup>10</sup> This building, known as the 'New Hall' was the predecessor of the present Old Hall Hotel. Close scrutiny of contemporary documents<sup>11</sup> reveals that there were two 'Halls' at this time, the other was the 'Auld Hall' which the sixth Earl purchased from Henry Sacheverell in 1578.<sup>12</sup> There are two possible reasons why the sixth Earl built the 'New Hall'. By this time he had become custodian of Mary 'Queen of Scots' who desired to visit Buxton because of her rheumatism; possibly Queen Elizabeth insisted upon the erection of a secure building to house her. However, it may have been a more commercial decision; the fame of Buxton's water had now spread far and wide and was attracting the highest nobility in England. They, and no doubt those who followed fashion, would want good accommodation and easy access to the bath. Although the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury considered his guardianship of the 'Queen of Scots' a great honour, it put unbearable strains upon his marriage. 'Bess' and he became estranged, but the web of intermarriage she had engineered ensured that the families were inextricably linked. She had no children by him, so she arranged for as much property as possible to pass to her children by Sir William Cavendish. Three deeds<sup>13</sup> recite the settlements she made concerning property in Shallcross, Topley Pike, Kingstendale, Cowdale, Staden, Fairfield, Bradwell, Buxton, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Hazelbadge and Monyash. Initially these properties were to pass to her eldest son Henry Cavendish, but due to an amendment in the settlements they passed to her third son Charles Cavendish.<sup>14</sup>

Charles Cavendish (1553-1617) was married twice and had three male children: Charles, the eldest, who died in infancy; William, and the youngest, also Charles. William (1592-1676), educated at Cambridge, was also married twice; he had eight children. Knighted in 1619, he received a viscountcy in 1620 and in 1628 became baron Cavendish and Earl of Newcastle. He travelled widely and was appointed governor to the Prince of Wales - the future King Charles I. In this position a special relationship was forged which was to greatly influence Sir William's future. He socialised on a lavish scale, and it is reported that at Welbeck, in 1633, he entertained the King at a cost of £20,000. To maintain his lifestyle he kept a tight hold on his vast estates, in Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and Yorkshire, which, in 1641, were valued at £22,393.<sup>15</sup> Early in the reign of Charles I it is highly probable that the Newcastle estate at Buxton was substantially increased. Buxton was one

TABLE A : Selected land tenure in Buxton 1566-1631

Description	Leases of H.Sacheverell	Indenture 1578	Shrewsbury Rental 1581	Undated Shrewsbury Rental	Leases of the Earl of Newcastle 1631
Message	1566-67	George Towroe John Morewood			
Knowe Doels Close	1573	Thos. Johnstone Henry Dakeyne Wm. Browne	Wm. Browne	Wm. Browne <sup>1</sup>	Raph Browne* Arthur Slacke
Auld Hall and lands belonging to it except Knowe Doels Close Farm	1573	Nicholas Garlande	Nicholas Garland	<sup>4</sup>	Arthur Slacke
Cottage and lands	1573	Wm. Tityrington	Wm. Tithertone	Wm Tyterington	Thos. Titterington*
Message and lands	1573	Wm. Jacson	Wm. Jacksone	Wm. Jackson	Roger Jackson*
Message and lands	1573	Wm. Cleaton	Wm. Claytone	Wm. Cleaton	Wm. Clayton John Clayton(?) <sup>5</sup>
Message, moiety of Whyt Knowlle and Long Close	1573	Ed. Cleaton	Ed. Claytone	Ed. Clayton	Ed. Clayton John Clayton(?) <sup>5</sup>
Message, lands and moiety of Whyt Knowlle Farm		Katerenne Brereton	John Harrisone	John Harrison <sup>2</sup>	
Cottage					Robert Newton <sup>6</sup>
Hay Bighte	1575	Ranowld Toore	Reignold Toore	Raynold Torre <sup>1</sup>	Renold Torr
Butte Close & stable			Ed. Sheldon Ellen Firost Wm. Knowles Steven—	Ed. Sheldon — Frost Wm. Knowles	Ed. Sheldon Margret Frost* Wm. Knowles Ingram Frost* <sup>7</sup>
Cottage				(?) Michael Bouth Steven Garlande <sup>3</sup> Charles Hay Nicholas Dakin	Stephen Garland Henry Saxon and Margery Clayton
Mosley Farm Bath Stile House and land					Henry Saxon and Margery Clayton
Message and named lands					Arthur Slacke
Message and land					Edward and Francis Needham

*Notes*

1. Plus half gate on (?) Brownes Flatt.
  2. No reference to message but addition of Mosley Farm.
  3. Assumed descendant of Nicholas Garland but not tenant of his property.
  4. Reference to the Auld Hall as 'Garlands Farm'.
  5. Son of John Clayton who resided in the message. Conjectural whether a descendant of Wm. or Edw. Clayton.
  6. Message and 12 acres 26 perches called White Knowle. Could be either of the moieties. No reference to Long Close.
  7. Message and 11 acres 27 perches called Sonder Flattes.
- \* Assumed tenure through family name.

of the purlieu of the Royal Forest of Peak, and, at this time certain of the wastes decreed to the freeholders and inclosures thereon were sold to them.<sup>16</sup>

A number of the Earl's properties were let in 1631<sup>17</sup> (see table A). This year is significant, for in that year William Senior, the Cavendish family's surveyor from 1609 to 1640, produced for the Earl a survey of Buxton and the first known map of the village;<sup>18</sup> unfortunately, the

whereabouts of the accompanying survey, if it still exists, is unknown. The fields depicted upon the map have their acreages recorded; they are also named, except for those which do not belong to the Earl which are marked 'free land'. The Earl was very much the dominant landowner, owning some three-quarters of the property in Buxton at this time. The produce of the rents in 1641 for Buxton and 'Tidshall' was £153 2s 0d<sup>19</sup> (£153.10.)

By 1640, with the country in a deep political and economic crisis, the Earl was heavily in debt and deeply committed to the support of the King. To satisfy his debts, and 'to raise portions for his younger children' he placed part of his estates into the hands of trustees to lease or sell as required. Concerning his 'messuages, lands and tenements in Buxton, Buxton le Greene, Birbage and Fernhouses', these were not disposed of at this time, due to his debts being settled from other sales. England was soon in the throes of the Civil War and the Earl took a leading role in the Royalist cause seeing much action. After fighting under Prince Rupert at the decisive battle of Marston Moor, the Earl fled the country, with his sons and his wife Margaret, and settled in Europe.

That the period of the Commonwealth was a further troubled period is of no consequence to this account, but, what is important is the financing of the activities of the government of the time. Church lands, Crown lands and the lands of leading Royalists were confiscated and sold. Lesser Royalists, whose estates had been confiscated, were allowed to 'compound' for them by paying a substantial fine (thus they often had to sell land to pay the fine to maintain the remainder). The committee for sequestration appointed by Parliament for Derbyshire, on 31 March 1647, consisted of Sir John Curzon, Sir John Gell, Sir John Coke, Francis Revel, Nathaniel Holloway and James Abney.<sup>20</sup> The Countess of Newcastle and her brother in law, Sir Charles Cavendish, returned to England, to compound for his and the Earl's estates. Sir Charles paid £5,000 to save his estates and then sold certain of his lands at an 'under rate' to raise money, in an attempt to compound for the Earl's properties of Bolsover and Welbeck. In all, the Parliamentarians raised £111,593 out of the Newcastle estates.<sup>21</sup> The Earl returned to England, following the Restoration, on 28 May 1660. Although the war had cost him the colossal sum of £950,000<sup>22</sup> he only received back from the King, from his former estates, lands worth £730 per annum.<sup>23</sup> 'Some lands, he found, could be recovered no further than his life, and some not at all . . .'<sup>24</sup> In her later biography of her husband, the Duke of Newcastle, the Duchess records 'The lands which my lord hath lost in present possession are £2,015 per annum . . . and those which he hath lost in reversion, are £3,214 per annum . . .'<sup>25</sup> The Earl then commenced to raise money, by suing for eighteen years' lost rent (1642-1660) and by selling lands, to enable him to pay his debts and to retain selected properties. 'The lands which my lord since his return has sold for the payment of some of his debts occasioned by the wars . . . some to the value of £56,000.'<sup>26</sup> A point not lost in present society is the Duchess' comment regarding 'His law suits, which have been very chargeable to him more than advantageous.'<sup>27</sup>

What then was the effect of these political and economic actions upon the inhabitants of Buxton? In a suit dated 1674-78, for arrears of rent Henry, second Duke of Newcastle<sup>28</sup> (1630-1691) claimed against Edward Buxton, Andrew Morewood, Michael Heathcote, Samuel Daleen, George Goodwin, Arthur Daken, Robert Eyre, William Eyre, Thomas Mosely, Anthony Ward, John Ward, Richard Ward and Thomas Warefield.<sup>29</sup> During the Commonwealth period, the Earl's lands in Bakewell, Blackwell and Buxton had passed into the hands of former tenants and those aforementioned messuages, lands and tenements in 'Buxton, Buxton le Green, Birbage and Fernhouses' passed into the hands of Heathcote and Morewood, who were to become the largest landowners in and around Buxton in the late seventeenth century. The Duke,

as plaintiff, claimed that 'after the late troubles of the Kingdom', his father conveyed certain of his estates to his brother, Sir Charles and his trustees in order to satisfy his debts.<sup>30</sup> These trustees leased the lands in question with an option to purchase the reversion. The defendants agreed to this, at a rate of twelve years' value of the premises. As further proof, the Duke cited a renegotiation of the lease, dated 5 September 1665<sup>31</sup> by Heathcote and Morewood, but in the name of Edward Buxton. The defendants countered this claim by stating that they were approached by Sir Charles Cavendish, informing them that, if they were to prevent their land passing into the 'hands of soldiers' they must purchase the 'Usurpers' title otherwise they risked being evicted and their lands sold. Heathcote and Morewood paid £460, and in October 1652 'they accepted a grant of the Usurpers interest in the premises.' They then proceeded to negotiate with the trustees to purchase the lands outright, stating that after consulting with a 'Barrister at Law' they were advised not to purchase the reversion only, in case the then Earl of Newcastle 'outlived the power of the Usurpers.' The sale was executed in August 1653 for the sum of £1,345. Concerning the 1665 lease, the defendants claimed they had been threatened, by the Duke's agents, with forceful eviction if they did not comply. In a very lengthy series of documents the legal claims and counterclaims are listed in great detail with allegations of threats and claims of lost deeds. What is not in doubt, was the defendants' eventual legal title to the land; thus the Newcastle lands at Buxton, together with others throughout the county, passed into the hands of prosperous local landowners and farmers.

From around 1660 therefore the major landowners in and around Buxton were Michael Heathcote and Andrew Morewood. The origins of Michael Heathcote, yeoman, are obscure; the surname is an old Buxton name and can be traced back to the early fifteenth century. Whether this Michael Heathcote is a descendant of these early Heathcotes is impossible to say; it would certainly explain how he came to be in a position to purchase lands from the Newcastle estate. A number of documents held at Chatsworth<sup>32</sup> indicate the transactions with which the Heathcote family later became involved. He is known to have had three sons, George, Michael and Francis, and, it is to George that the estate passed when he died c.1701.<sup>33</sup> By 1723 George had died and these estates eventually passed to Michael, which in turn passed to his son, John Edensor Heathcote. The name Edensor apparently comes from inter-marriage with the Edensor family who held land in Fairfield and Staden, which eventually passed to Thomas Buxton Heathcote.<sup>34</sup>

The extent of the Heathcote estate can be seen in two maps<sup>35</sup> surveyed by Thomas Barker (1775) and William Allport (1778); nearly all of what is now known as Cote Heath and Higher Buxton belonged to John Heathcote. Part of the estate was situated in the parish of Hartington Upper Quarter, which included the land to the south and west of the present West and London Roads. Allport in his survey records the 'Buxton' (including one field of thirteen acres at Heathfield Nook) and 'Hartington' estates as being 125a 2r 18p and 43a 2r 28p respectively.

Andrew Morewood has a distinguished pedigree, being descended from the Morewoods of Bradfield and the Oaks, and whose brother Rowland's descendants became the noted Morewood family of Alfreton. His uncle, also Rowland, held land at Staden prior to the reign of Henry VIII<sup>36</sup> and his great grandfather, John, held soke and suit of Fairfield mill.<sup>37</sup> He is recorded in 1686 as overseer at Fairfield, and he had three sons, Anthony, John and Rowland. As part of John's marriage settlement, dated 25 June 1668<sup>38</sup> Andrew gave him the sum of £340 and certain named lands at Staden. Possibly following Anthony's death, the remainder of the estate, including the former Newcastle lands, passed to John, as he became the major land-owner of the family. In 1772, John Morewood sold his Staden property to William Gould of Pilsbury Grange for £600, and £20 per annum for the remainder of John and his wife's lives.<sup>39</sup> Although at this time,

William Gould's new estate did not consist directly of Buxton property, it is not long before he was acquiring considerable amounts of land in Buxton, particularly on 'le Greene'. Of note was the purchase of Edward Fletcher's Buxton lands in 1728<sup>40</sup> which included the former estates of the Needhams of Buxton and Burbage, and the Heathcotes of Taxal.

The first Duke of Newcastle's cousin, also William, third Earl of Devonshire (1617-1684), was also an active supporter of the King. He fled to France but returned in 1645 to submit, and upon payment of a fine of £5,000, was pardoned.<sup>41</sup> He owned large estates in Derbyshire, centred upon Chatsworth, and, some time between 1618-23 his grandfather, the first Earl, a predecessor had acquired the (New) 'Hall' at Buxton. A number of early writers<sup>42</sup> credit the third Earl with its 'rebuilding' in 1670 but this term must be treated with circumspection as much of the original building is still visible. At the time of the acquisition of the Hall, or very soon after, the adjoining bathhouse, and, 'two parcels of ground', for which there was an annual chief rent of three pounds per annum, were also acquired. The only other seventeenth century connection the third Earl is known to have had with Buxton is in regard to the School. When it was refounded in 1674-5, the Earl donated £50<sup>43</sup> and in 1676 purchased, in conjunction with the other trustees, lands from Michael Heathcote and Andrew Morewood worth £200 on behalf of the School.<sup>44</sup>

Early in the eighteenth century the second Duke of Devonshire (1673-1729) embarked upon a major redevelopment of the bathhouse, which was rebuilt by John Barker<sup>45</sup> of Rowsley in 1711-12. In 1746 the second Duke purchased from the Reverend William Newton the 'Eagle and Child' Inn, 'Ashes Farm', and '... a rent of £3 arising out of the land of the Duke of Devonshire in Buxton called the Bath and Bath Bank.'<sup>46</sup> This rent charge can be traced through the abstract of title of the Duke of Devonshire to Buxton Wells', back to 1694 when John and Mary Potts sold same to John Buxton.<sup>47</sup> With the 1746 deed there is a document dated January 1773 and entitled 'A particular of the Buxton Estate purchased of Mr. Newton, April 1746.'<sup>48</sup> It lists the following properties: 'Eagle and Child Inn, Barn, Stables, Garden', and the following fields: 'Barley Yard' (2 roods), 'Broad Close' (4 acres), 'Little Broad Close' (1 acre 2 roods), 'Spath' (12 acres), 'Warm Walls' (4 acres), 'Stand Cliff' (4 acres), 'Flatts' (12 acres), 'Stony Butts' (3 acres), 'Stannil Torr' (3 acres), 'Mill Cliff' (5 acres), 'Mill Dales' (3 acres), 'Coffe Coate' (2 acres), 'New Close' (8 acres), 'Shirbrook' (6 acres), 'Colleg Field' (4 acres), and 'Crowstone' (3 acres, 2 roods): total 75a 2r 00p. This property, together with the Hall, Bathhouse and the two parcels of ground, was the total landholding of the Duke of Devonshire in Buxton township (i.e. north of the present Duke's Drive) up to 1770, although he also owned land in Fairfield and Burbage (Hartington Parish). Fairfield mill was acquired in 1728.

The enclosure award for Buxton manor dated 1773-74 included the neighbouring hamlets of Cowdale, Kingsterndale and Staden. All the common land was enclosed, although in Buxton township, comparatively little land remained unenclosed. From the award as a whole, the fifth Duke's allocation was the fourth highest, and within the Buxton township he received plots No. 1 ('Beggar Moor') and No. 24 ('Mill Dale') which amounted to 24a 3r 26p. Michael Heathcote, however, received plot No. 25 which on its own was 43a and 10p. William Gould's allocation was the second overall highest but he received none within Buxton township. Other major beneficiaries were Andrew Brittlebank and Lord Scarsdale.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Buxton began to evolve from a village into a town, and this was due to the ambitious and very commercial plans of the fifth Duke of Devonshire (1748-1811). In 1780 the largest landowner in Buxton was John Edensor Heathcote but in a spectacular manner the fifth Duke and his successor soon eclipsed him. It is also in this period that the influence of the Devonshire family is firmly rooted in Buxton, and, for some 170



years they dominated much of the town's life. The first major estate the fifth Duke purchased was that of John Edensor Heathcote in 1782, paying £6,000 and £2,000 for the 'Buxton' and 'Hartington' estates respectively.<sup>49</sup> The other major estate he acquired was that of the late William Gould, purchased from his executors in 1788.<sup>50</sup> Throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century and for most of the nineteenth, the fifth Duke and his successors acquired land in and around Buxton at an enormous rate and scale, purchasing both small pieces of land and property, and larger estates.<sup>51</sup> Further indication that the bulk of the Devonshire Buxton landholdings were acquired very late, can be seen in the land tax assessments. Unfortunately, in the earliest one available, 1778, only occupiers are recorded, so it is not clear what property the Devonshires owned, but, in the 1780 assessment the fifth Duke is recorded as owning three properties in Buxton: the Hall (assessed at 11s 0d), the Eagle and Child (12s 4d) and Ashes Land (1s 5d)<sup>52</sup>. However, in the 1786 assessment the Duke is recorded as owning property assessed at 40s 5d<sup>53</sup> which included the former Heathcote property assessed in 1780 at 15s 0d. Also of note in the 1786 assessment is the recording of the Duke of Portland (later heir of the Newcastle family) as owner of the 'Tythe of Hay and Corn' which was assessed at 1s 0d. Not only were the Devonshires purchasing land, they were also consolidating their holdings by exchanging properties with other local landowners.

The reason for this massive acquisition of land and property must now be considered. It has been noted briefly that the second Duke had a new bathhouse built to provide better facilities for the increasing number of visitors. The Dukes of Devonshire, through their ownership of the Hall, Bathhouse and Springs, had the monopoly of the waters and were thus in a position of great commercial potential. 'Taking the waters' was a highly fashionable pursuit, and by the end of the eighteenth century, Bath, Harrogate and Scarborough were the places where the nobility chose to visit regularly. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the motive for massive acquisition of property and investment by the fifth Duke, was purely commercial, and that the continued policy of further land acquisition and consolidation by his successors must be seen as a continuing attempt to exploit the commercial potential of the 'spa'. To illustrate the commercial value of the Duke's properties, in 1797-98 the rents of the Crescent, St Anns Hotels and the Hall were £500, £400, and £500 respectively, and the profits of the Baths were £795 (to November 1797).<sup>54</sup>

Perhaps the most famous of all the Devonshire projects was the erection of the Crescent in 1780-88. The fifth Duke, through his architect John Carr, put a massive investment into the town, of £36,730 9s 1d (£36,730 45½p) for the Crescent, £16,470 3s 10½d (£16,470.19) for the Great Stables (now the Devonshire Royal Hospital), £2,147 19s 7¾d (£2,147.98) for the new St. Anns Well, and nearly £6,000 for improvements to other property.<sup>55</sup> This made a total of over £63,000 (half of the usually quoted figure of £120,000). Traditionally, the houses on Hall Bank and the Square have been assigned to Carr, but an examination of the building accounts reveals no reference to either. The Square was built for the Duke by John White in 1805-10 and the architect for Hall Bank remains, as yet, unknown. Finance for all these projects is traditionally attributed to the profits of the Ecton copper mines which were exceptionally high during this period because of the Navy's policy of 'copper-bottoming' their ships.<sup>56</sup> The fifth Duke died just before his final project was completed, that of the erection of St John's Church between 1802 and 1812.

All this development in what was little more than an upland village, marks a watershed in Buxton's history, and the fifth Duke duly takes the credit. However, it is the sixth Duke (1790-1858), or the 'bachelor Duke' as he was known, who must be given the credit for the development of the town. He had the Hot Baths built in 1818, had them rebuilt in 1853-54, along with the

rebuilding of the Natural Baths in 1851-52, and in 1840 provided a water supply to the market place. He obtained a market charter for the town in 1813, provided fresh premises for the school in 1840 (the Devonshire family have always given faithful service as trustees), and, in perhaps his greatest act of benevolence to the town, he gave part of the Great Stables for use as a hospital. These are but a few of the works of a paternal landlord; there were many more. As a person, he was shy and aloof, but he was perhaps one of the more popular Dukes amongst the townspeople.<sup>57</sup> The middle of the century was probably the time when the Devonshire holdings were at their maximum, so it is appropriate to examine the tithe award of 1847-48 to see the extent of these. In Buxton township, i.e. land to the north of Dukes Drive, the Duke's holdings amounted to some 216 acres, consisting of 100 acres of meadow, 70 acres of pasture, 17 acres of woods and 16 acres of arable land. The remaining land consisted of pleasure grounds, 34 houses and gardens, 10 stables, 45 yards, 14 shops, five coach houses, and the Baths, Hot Baths, Promenade Room, St Anns and the Great Hotels, Eagle and Shakespeare Inns, the Hall, the theatre, school, billiard room, post office and kennels. In area terms the total Devonshire holding amounted to some three quarters of the township.

The seventh Duke (1808-91) found it necessary to rebuild the family finances after the vast amounts of money spent on all of his estates by the sixth Duke. He took more interest in the towns of Barrow-in-Furness and Eastbourne, and felt that Buxton should become more self reliant. He was intent on seeing better return on the investment put into the town by his predecessor. Two decisions had important effects on the town. First, the decision to give twelve acres of land for the laying out of the original Pavilion Gardens had a great aesthetic effect as well as providing a much needed centre for entertainment. Secondly, and more importantly, a change in policy regarding the sale of land took place. Originally, land had been sold in large plots, which, with the costly chief rents levied, prevented large scale development of the town. The Duke changed this policy and in 1880 reduced chief rents in the town by ten per cent and sold land off in smaller plots for residential development. The eighth Duke (1833-1908) was a statesman and politician who seldom visited Buxton and who left the management of his estate entirely in his Agent's hands. However, still in the benevolent vein of his predecessors, he offered to give to the town a Pump Room in 1892.<sup>58</sup> Later Dukes spent more time in the town than the eighth Duke did, but their role as a paternal landlord was by now very much in decline. Continuing the family tradition, both the eighth and ninth Dukes (1868-1938) were active politicians. The influence of the Dukes of Devonshire in Buxton is now reduced to ceremonial or cultural roles; several Dukes have been elected Mayor and they have also acted as patrons to local societies. The present Duke (born 1920) retains a keen interest in the life of the town and is currently patron of the Buxton Opera House.

However great or small the respective Duke's interest in the town, the supervision and control of the Buxton estate and its associated development projects was vested in the hands of the Duke's Agents (see Table B.) The first resident agent was appointed in 1804, but a senior Devonshire Agent, John Heaton, is recorded as being present at a meeting of the Buxton Vestry in 1779, when an 'altercation' took place.<sup>59</sup> Why then did John Heaton attend this meeting and why did an 'alteraction' take place? The truth will probably never be known, but it is tempting to speculate that he went to the meeting to reveal the fifth Duke's plans for developing the village. A later agent, Mr. Wilmot, cemented the interests of the town and the Devonshires, by becoming chairman of the first Local Board of Health in 1859. All business concerning the Duke or his estate was conducted through his Agent, and, during the long absences of the Dukes, the Agents had, in the first half of the century, virtual control of the estate and, to a lesser extent, the town.



<i>Agent</i>	<i>Agency</i>
Administered as part of Hartington estate	-1804
Philip Heacock	1804-1851
Sidney Smithers	1851-1856
E.W. Wilmot	1856-1864
George Drewry	1864-1878
Frank Drewry	1878-1919
H.C. Sweeting	1919-1951

Note: H. Read, of the Chatsworth Estate Office, succeeded H.C. Sweeting briefly, in 1951, to wind up the affairs of the Buxton Office.

TABLE B. The Agents of the Duke of Devonshire in Buxton

Commercial potential grew with increased number of visitors, a trend which continued throughout the nineteenth century and reached a peak in the Edwardian period. It is undoubted that the Devonshire family have been great benefactors to the people and town of Buxton, but any appraisal of their influence and presence must not lose sight of the sound commercial reasons connected with 'spa' treatment and the associated interests of accommodation, catering and entertainment. Developing with, but not directly associated with, the 'spa', were the limeworks at Grin and the coalmines to the west of Buxton, which were a major source of income, and into which the Devonshires put large scale investment.<sup>60</sup> Many facilities were provided for the benefit of visitors, and the numbers attending received a massive boost after 1863 with the advent of the railways. Cheap travel permitted a whole new class of person to follow the fashionable pursuit of 'taking the waters' and accordingly, lodging houses were built, inns improved and, in certain cases, upgraded to hotels, new theatres built and the Pavilion Gardens were laid out. However, with so much commercial potential, it was not only the Dukes of Devonshire who wished to benefit. During the second half of the century, a number of well known Buxton commercial names come to the fore, either owning property or exploiting lucrative tenancies, providing for every aspect of the visitors' material needs.

The Duke's monopoly of the waters was threatened by the arrival of 'hydropathy', a fashion which had lately come from the European spas. Although the newly built Hydropathics could not provide spa water, they did provide the latest, and in retrospect unusual, treatments, combined with excellent accommodation and a fine cuisine. The Duke's position was further threatened by the rise of that great victorian phenomenon - modern local government. Local businessmen and landowners came together in a continually more organised way to provide facilities for the town; supported as they were by public money and various Acts of Parliament. Gradually, local government took over the role of the Duke, as benefactor and provider, but it did not extinguish it. Apart from the numerous gifts to the town already listed, there were many other smaller acts of kindness, particularly to the churches (of all denominations), most of which acquired their sites either gratis or at a much reduced rate from the Duke. Not only did the spa and the town centre develop, but also the suburbs; terraced houses for an increased local population, and large detached houses and villas for the more affluent and for the wealthy who chose to live in Buxton. The coming of the railways now enabled Manchester and Stockport brewers, mill owners and other businessmen to commute by the special fast trains to Manchester's Central and London Road stations. This steady expansion into the fields surrounding Buxton, was another source for commercial enterprise, which the Duke, through the estate

office, exploited. Sir Joseph Paxton's development of the 'Park', between 1845 and 1850 was the first major project of this nature, but there were many more; particularly after the seventh Duke's relaxation of landsale and chief rents circa 1880. Most schemes were on a much smaller scale than Paxton's, but are interesting to note, because the resultant road or street name reflects either a Devonshire estate name or a member of the family. Some of this housing development was done for the Devonshires, as property to rent, but much was done through builders, as property for sale. Typical of this latter method was the development of Heath Park Road, formerly School land which the Duke acquired in 1867.<sup>61</sup> The field was sold in plots in 1926 and Mr. James Boon, builder, acquired sufficient to build six semi-detached houses (numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11) upon which the Duke levied a chief rent. House development was therefore a very prosperous aspect of the estate office's work, but, over a long period, was also an erosion of a significant part of the Buxton estate.

From the turn of the century the influence of Dukes of Devonshire began to decline rapidly. A major factor in this decline was the sale to the Urban District Council, in 1904, of the Natural and Thermal Baths for £55,000.<sup>62</sup> In hindsight, however, this appears to have been an astute move, because the vogue for spa treatment fell into a marked decline following the first world war. The end of the Devonshire business interest and influence came in 1950, with the death of the tenth Duke (born 1895). Faced with heavy death duties, most of the Buxton estate was disposed of; property being sold to the sitting tenants and the rents being sold at auction. With little left to administer, the estate office was closed in 1951. Several properties remained in Devonshire ownership, and one, Lismore fields (plot number one, which the Duke acquired in the 1773-74 enclosure award) was recently sold for housing development. A further piece of land owned by the present Duke and still under cultivation is the one marked on the William Senior map (1631) as Gib Yard. From at least 1906, this field has been used as allotments and, indicative of a long history of cultivation, was the site of the discovery of a sandstone perforated hammer.<sup>63</sup>

To summarise, the object of this paper has been to place in perspective the respective influences of the two Cavendish families, both of whom owned considerable amounts of land in Buxton at different times. The influence of the Devonshire Cavendish family has been overstated, and that of the Newcastle Cavendish family never fully appreciated. By necessity, the Newcastle Cavendishes must have managed the Buxton estate, along with their other estates, on a very commercial basis, to enable them to finance their lavish entertaining and their deep involvement in the Civil War. No record exists to say whether they were good landlords, or otherwise, but their attempt to recover rents following the Restoration, suggests that they were prepared to use devious means, if the need arose.

It is difficult, in the absence of contemporary material (excepting deeds), to state what effect the Newcastle family had upon Buxton. Apart from the obvious fact that their influence extended just over fifty years, the only yardstick which can be applied is ownership of land. As owners of three quarters of the town, one can only conjecture, allowing for their absentee role, that their influence had an appreciable effect upon the inhabitants.

The Devonshire Cavendish influence is, contrary to traditional belief, a comparatively late influence, and, although they owned land before and since, it can be said to have lasted some 170 years only, with the greatest influence being exerted by the fifth and sixth Dukes. During the time of these two Dukes, their influence was very great and extended to most spheres of Buxton life, but subsequently a very gradual decline in influence took place. That the Devonshire family were great benefactors to the town is undoubted, but one must not lose sight of the plain fact that the development of the town as a spa was a commercial enterprise and a source of great income to

them. It is clear, in view of the popularity of Bath and other spa towns, that the fifth Duke realised the commercial potential of Buxton and thus commenced the very considerable acquisition of land and property, to enable him, and his successors, to exploit this potential to the full.

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- 48 *q.v.* 46
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- 1791 - house and garden purchased from Samuel Smith (L/72/8)
- 1796 - lands purchased from John Cowley and others (L/27/6)
- 1800 - lands purchased from Messrs Brocklehurst, Lucas and others (L/27/12)
- 1807 - Chetham estate (L/51/13)
- 1817 - lands purchased from Samuel Morewood (L/27/10)
- 1825 - lands purchased from the late Rev. Richard Oddy (L/48/3)
- 1830 - Brittlebank estate (L/50/12)
- 1831 - Lands purchased from Thomas Buxton Heathcote (L/50/2)
- 1849 - Lands purchased from E. Mycock and others (L/39/39)
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