THE SOUTH DERBYSHIRE MANOR OF BEARWARDCOTE AND ITS MOATED HALL: AN APPRAISAL

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and

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The former manor and township, now Civil Parish, of Bearwardcote is located in low relief red marl country some five miles west of Derby (Figure 1). Given Bearwardcote's area of just 450 acres it has long ranked as one of the smaller named places in Derbyshire.

Similarly its population, consistently less than 40 since the first census,¹ has also been small. In view of Woolley's observation of 1712 that Bearwardcote comprised 'one capital messuage and a farmhouse or two'², and in the absence of evidence of contraction, it is arguable that settlement within the township has been on a limited scale for centuries. However Bearwardcote is not without interest as the capital messuage here cited was a moated manor house first referenced in 1397³ but demolished in 1790⁴ since when the moat and its interior have become overgrown and inaccessible. The two farmhouses noted by Woolley would have been Bannells (Bonehills⁵) and Smerrills, the latter having seventeenth century elements in its structure⁶.

Bearwardcote has had important connections with the neighbouring manors of Etwall and Burnaston which together comprised the ancient ecclesiastical parish of Etwall. In addition, from Domesday to the mid-seventeenth century, except during the early thirteenth century, the manor of Bearwardcote was held jointly with contiguous Burnaston. The village of Burnaston located just over half a mile south-south-east of the moated manor would have been able to provide labour for the demesne in both manors and in the seventeenth century was the location for a secondary capital messuage known as Burnaston Old Hall.

The concern of this paper is to review the manorial succession in Bearwardcote and to suggest how the changing fortunes of the manorial lords might relate to the architectural evolution of Bearwardcote Hall. This demands reconstruction of the history of the Hall and its moated site, a process facilitated by a survey of the manorial estate at Bearwardcote commissioned in 1765 by Robert Newton, the then lord. It was carried out by William Fairbank⁷ and his measurements enable the ground plan of the Hall, outbuildings and the moated site to be accurately determined just 25 years prior to demolition in 1790. Fairbank's original notebook also includes a drawing of the Hall from a south-easterly aspect. Despite the presence of a partial screen of trees this gives an important indication as to its architecture. In addition an appraisal of the site undertaken by Kitching et al⁸ during the 1980s includes an interpretation of the room layout of the Hall on the basis of the inventory of Mary Bonington dated 1680. This merits critical consideration in a context of subsequent rebuild and likely earlier events.

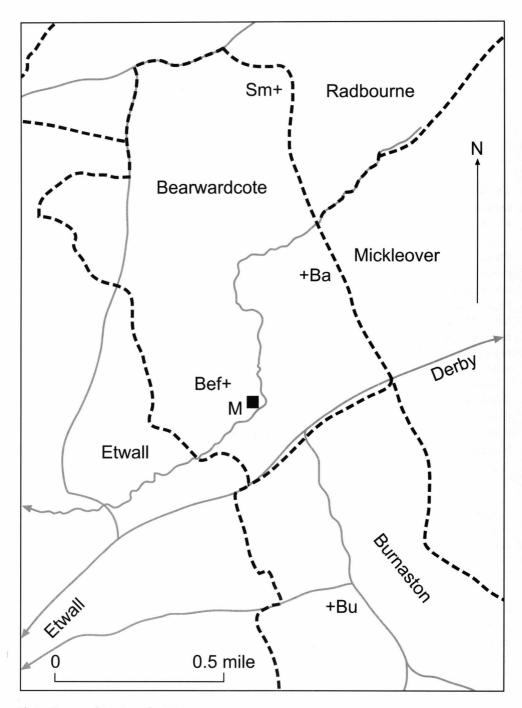


Fig 1: Bearwardcote Location Map Dashed Lines represent Parish boundaries. M = Site of Moated Bearwardcote Hall; Bef = Bearwardcote Farm; Ba = Bannells Farm; Bu = Burnaston village; Sm = Smerrills Farm.

THE SOUTH DERBYSHIRE MANOR OF BEARWARDCOTE AND ITS MOATED HALL

History of the Manor

The name Bearwardcote appears of Saxon origin and was spelt 'Beruerdescote' and 'Berewardescote' in the Domesday Survey⁹. Cameron¹⁰ interpreted the name as the 'cote' or dwelling of a 'Bearward' or bear keeper indicative of a small settlement as opposed to a named person's dwelling or farm as in the cases of both Etwall and Burnaston. At the time of Domesday the lesser part of Bearwardcote, amounting to 4 bovates, belonged to Burton Abbey and was included in the entry for neighbouring Mickleover a large and important abbey manor. At the Dissolution in c1540 these lands were acquired by the then lord of Bearwardcote Francis Bonington¹¹. The greater part of Bearwardcote¹² was included with Burnaston where, in 1066, the two vills had been divided into five 'manors' tenanted by Gamel, Aelfric, Alric, Ledmer and Leofing who each held other manors in Derbyshire and Staffordshire. They may well have resided elsewhere but an important pre-Conquest linkage between Bearwardcote and Burnaston is indicated.

By 1086 Bearwardcote with Burnaston was part of the lands of Henry de Ferrers with Henry as undertenant¹³. Arguably this Henry was de Chambreis¹⁴ (Chambrais in Normandy) who was also known as Henry de Fifidre or Fifield¹⁵. With the exception of a period in the early thirteenth century when Burnaston was held by de Monte¹⁶ the manors were with the Chambreis and certainly in 1242 when a Henry Chambreis is identified as lord of both and a benefactor of Welbeck Abbey which had been granted the ecclesiastical parish of Etwall in 1170.¹⁷

By 1297 the manors had passed from the Chambreis to William de Henore or Henover¹⁸. This was Rough Heanor in Mickleover¹⁹ where William was a tenant of Burton Abbey. The disgrace of Henry de Ferrers in 1266, under whom the Chambreis held Bearwardcote, and the granting of his lands within the Honour of Tutbury to Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster and Derby, may well have resulted in a change of undertenant to one who was not implicated in the events of that time. Moreover as Bearwardcote does not appear among the Duchy of Lancaster estates in Derbyshire after 1266 a change of overlord is also implied. It is clear that de Henore was succeeded at Bearwardcote by the Bakepuze who had held the Derbyshire manor of Barton Blount from the time of the Conquest.²⁰ In 1370 John Bakepuze was lord of Bearwardcote and Burnaston for one knight's fee²¹ but earlier involvement of this family in Bearwardcote is indicated as, in 1353, a William de Bakepuze with John de Rocheford, lord of the manor and tenant in chief of nearby Ashe, witnessed a land transaction there²². This John de Rocheforde is also recorded as holding land in Bearwardcote and Burnaston in 133023. Conceivably it was the Bakepuzes who held both manors in chief after the fall of de Ferrers. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the manors were with co-heiresses Eleanor, wife of Richard de Shypley, and Margery, wife of William Blurton²⁴. These were the daughters of John de Rocheford and must have derived their inheritance via their mother who it is presumed married into the de Henores. It was Margery who in 1397 'released a mote and land in Bearwardcote'25, the earliest reference to the moated manor house. In 1402 the two heiresses conveyed their interest in Bearwardcote and Burnaston²⁶ to John Cockayne of Hatley in Bedfordshire who in the same year sold both manors to John Bonington of Sutton Bonington in Nottinghamshire²⁷.

The Boningtons continued to hold Sutton Bonington but Bearwardcote became their principal residence and, with Burnaston, was to pass down through nine successive generations of this family over a two hundred year period. Initially the Boningtons prospered, made sound marriages, and would have been in a position to finance the acquisition of the

Burton Abbey lands at the Dissolution²⁸ and also the rebuilding of the moated manor house and the construction of Burnaston Old Hall as discussed below. However financial difficulties were to lead to the sale of both manors during the seventeenth century and the departure of the Bonington family from the locality.

From John Bonington the manors passed to his son William and then to William's son, also John,²⁹ who was Escheator for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1456³⁰ and held the manors of 'Breyaylston' and Berewardescote for 1 fee³¹. Both William and son John were at Longford in 1453 when the Lancastrian standard was raised there³². He was probably father of the next manorial lord, Henry Bonington of Bearwardcote and Burnaston, who married Jane Pole of Radburn and was in possession in 1510 and until his death in 1533³³. A Ralph Bonington succeeded Henry and in addition to the two manors had an estate in Ostleton³⁴. Ralph was followed by his son Francis who died in 1551 when possession passed to his son William present at the general muster for Derbyshire in 1558³⁵. Before his death in 1569 he settled Bearwardcote and Burnaston on his wife Mary³⁶. Their son Ralph succeeded to the manor who married Dorothy Coke of Trusley³⁷ and by whom he had thirteen children³⁸.

Financial difficulties were apparent by the early seventeenth century and Ralph Bonington was in prison for debt c1622/3. It has been suggested that he had imprudently disposed of at least part of his estate to a London merchant³⁹. Ralph died before 1645 and was succeeded by his first born son John who, being described as of Bearwardcote, implicitly inherited the family estate⁴⁰. Financial difficulties clearly continued as with his younger brother Peter he sold land in Burnaston in 1645⁴¹ and then the manor itself to Sir Samuel Sleigh lord of Etwall in 1646⁴². John's daughter Catherine, born in 1599, married her cousin William Bonington of Mottram St Andrew in Cheshire⁴³. Their son Ralph, born in 1631/2, married Mary Ball of Etwall and following John Bonington's death moved to Bearwardcote Hall where he paid tax on four hearths in 1676⁴⁴. However the manor was sold to William Turner of Derby (died 1716) in 1672⁴⁵ but the Hall continued to be occupied by the Boningtons as evidenced by Mary's will dated 1680⁴⁶. The reversion seemingly took place after this year⁴⁷. Mary left her estate to her son George who received the manor of Sutton Bonington in Nottinghamshire, rents from Kingston on Soar, land and cottages in Burnaston and closes in Bearwardcote. The latter were included in Robert Newton's estate as surveyed by Fairbank in 1765.

The Turners of Derby acted as lawyers to the Bonington family and before 1645 had advanced a mortgage on their lands in Bearwardcote, Etwall and Burnaston, an indicator of financial difficulties⁴⁸. Alderman William Turner was husband to Mary daughter of Roger Allestrey of Derby⁴⁹ and on his death was succeeded by his son, also William (1703-1751)⁵⁰, from whom the manor was to pass to his son Exuperius born about 1725. The family had the means to send Exuperius to Westminster and St John's Cambridge and, in 1748, he was called to the bar. His marriage of nine years was dissolved in 1760 after which he was living in London. Subsequently the manor and lordship of 'Barrowcote', plus 183 acres of arable, meadow and pasture were offered for sale in the Derby Mercury⁵¹ in 1764 and as Fairbank's survey dates from 1765 Robert Newton's purchase must date from this time.

Robert Newton was of Mickleover but never lived in the Mickleover manor house which was rented as a farm⁵² as he resided in his other property at Norton located north of Dronfield but now in Yorkshire. Robert Newton died in 1789, rich and unmarried, and left his estate to John Leaper, a member of the Derby banking family who then took the name of Newton. John Leaper Newton demolished Bearwardcote Hall in 1790 and built the Bearwardcote Farm which still stands to the north-west of the moat. In this way Bearwardcote became an adjunct of the Mickleover estate and so remained until its dispersal in 1937.

180

The Moated Manor of Bearwardcote Hall

The moated manor house at Bearwardcote was sited on the narrow flood plain of a southwest flowing tributary of the Etwall Brook sometimes referred to as the Marsh Brook. The proximity of the brook to the moat on its east side suggests that a meander loop was most probably used as the basis of the original moat with an interconnection at the moat's southeastern corner (Figure 2).

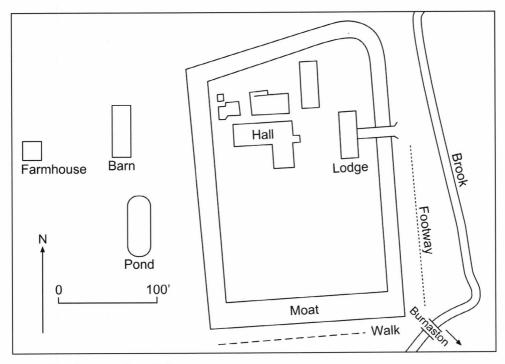


Fig. 2: Site of Bearwardcote Hall (adapted from Victoria County History of Derbyshire 1905 i p.311)

While the moat was in existence in 1397 the date of its construction and that of original buildings within are unknowable. However the layout of the site is consistent with that of many medieval moated sites in England of which there are some 60 in Derbyshire⁵³. Its rectangular form with an area of some 4,000 square yards has been found to be characteristic of sites in Derbyshire and Yorkshire⁵⁴. Similarly the internal arrangement as surveyed in 1765 of a bridge and gatehouse leading directly to the manor entrance also had strong echoes of continuity with medieval arrangements⁵⁵. Although moated sites were clearly defensible and also provided ready access to water and fish, Taylor has suggested that they were also a fashionable style of residence for prosperous farmers manorial lords in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries⁵⁶. Numbers of moated sites expanded rapidly between 1200 and 1325 and relatively few originated after this time. If the Bearwardcote site were to date from the main thirteenth century period of moat creation then the Chambreis were the founding manorial lords. Assuming this to have been so then their successors in the fourteenth century, William de Henore, Bakepuze of Barton Blount and the heiresses Eleanor and Margery all had connections with nearby south Derbyshire manors. They may not have regarded Bearwardcote

as their primary residence so that the arrival of the Boningtons would have meant a significant change of regime.

There are therefore clear pointers as to the medieval origins of the moated site and possible continuity in its internal arrangement. However the most detailed and reliable information regarding the site and Bearwardcote Hall itself dates from the eighteenth century and it is appropriate to consider this first and then work backwards to earlier scenarios. Fairbank showed that the Hall and out buildings were positioned towards the north-west corner of the moated area (Figure 2). The Hall was 'L' shaped and buttressed at the corners and was entered via a porch which faced directly onto a lodge or gatehouse controlling access from the bridge across the moat. This bridge was reached from the south by means of a footway running between the moat and the brook. The footway crossed the brook near the south-east corner of the moat and then led via a track to the Derby to Uttoxeter Road. To the west of the moat Fairbank mapped a pond, which is still extant, and also a farm house and barn tenanted to a William Smith. The house and barn were demolished with the Hall in 1790 and the site is now occupied by Bearwardcote Farm.



Fig 3: Bearwardcote Hall in 1765 as viewed from the south-east. (William Fairbank Field Survey Book)

Fairbank's outline plan of the Hall can be matched against his drawing showing the Hall as viewed from the south-east i.e. towards the toe of the 'L' with the ground floor being partly obscured by a screen of fir trees (Figure 3). We also have Bagshaw's description of 1846⁵⁷: 'The old hall was a neat stone building of two storeys which had much stained glass in the windows' additionally there was a moat 'with a stone bridge with a lodge at each side of an iron gateway'. This is consistent with Fairbank's drawing and survey but further important detail is apparent. The Hall featured a twin range fronted by prominent gables with quatrefoil windows, the chimney stacks were massive, the roof balustrade was partially castellated and the decorative pinnacles were both slender and prominent. The traceried windows have a distinct pointed style with a clear suggestion of glazing in the manner of stained glass as reported by Bagshaw. Kitching et al discovered Swithland slate on the site which would have provided a superior roofing material undoubtedly brought in from Leicestershire at some cost in the pre-railway era. Bricks were also found perhaps from outbuildings or from an earlier period of construction.⁵⁸

THE SOUTH DERBYSHIRE MANOR OF BEARWARDCOTE AND ITS MOATED HALL

It is thus apparent that from the mid eighteenth century until its demolition the architectural character of the Hall at Bearwardcote was in the manner of the 'Strawberry Hill Gothick' style which was popularised at this time⁵⁹. It was a small but striking building set in a medieval context. A rebuild in this manner at this time would have been broadly coincident with Exuperius Turner's residence at Bearwardcote following his marriage in 1751 until its dissolution 1760. As a barrister from a wealthy family such building work would have been well within the reach of his pocket. As to the architect one can but speculate however the sheer exuberance of the Gothick makes it unlikely to have been someone local to Derbyshire unless the house actually dates from the 1760s in which case Joseph Pickford of Derby would be a candidate. Otherwise Bearwardcote must be the work of a main stream Gothick architect of the school of Sanderson Miller.⁶⁰ The nearest comparable house in the Gothick style was the larger Prestwood Hall near Stewpony in Staffordshire.

The final phase of Bearwardcote Hall's development was therefore most likely to have been coincident with Exuperius Turner's ownership when, with the prospect of marriage, he had the motive and the means to effect a rebuild. While the evidence available relates to the external character it seems most probable that the interior room arrangements would have been reviewed. Room arrangements are all important in addressing the issue of the nature of the Hall in earlier times. In this context sale particulars of 1658 and the inventory of the possessions of Mary 'Bunington' (Bonington) dated 1680⁶¹ provide key evidence. The sale describes the Hall as 'a good House moted round with a Bridge of Stone and Gatehouse... two Orchards and a fair garden and a little Stable all lying within a Mote.... a Dourhouse and two Barns lying without....' The site arrangement thus indicated conforms with that surveyed by Fairbank some hundred years later. The little stable was likely to have been the detached building to the north of the larger single storey block while the dower house and barns would coincide with the farm and single barn identified by Fairbank.

The Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Mary Bonington identifies each room by name and lists the contents. Kitching et al⁶² matched the named rooms against the ground plan of the Hall, as surveyed by Fairbank. Their proposed internal room arrangement (Figure 4) is entirely credible thus indicating that the mid-eighteenth century rebuild did not involve fundamental modification of the ground plan and was much concerned with a change of external appearance. Kitching et al showed the ground and first floors to complement each other and the outbuildings to have been functionally integrated into the domestic aspects of the Hall. The 'booteing'house, a room where flour and meal were prepared is appropriately located by the 'nether kitchen' but may indicate close links between the Boningtons and farming. The number and disposition of the rooms serve to underline the modest scale of the Hall.

The disposition of rooms at Bearwardcote in 1680 would certainly have originated in earlier times. In its detail the reconstruction of the room plan is indicative of a smaller manor house of the period 1580 to 1620. The Hearth Tax assessment of four hearths in 1664 is consistent with a typical larger Derbyshire farm-house possibly with a great hall, open to the roof, taking up most of the main range. It is tempting to suggest that there was a connection between building work at Bearwardcote around the turn of the sixteenth century and the financial difficulties experienced by Ralph Bonington's which were clearly evident by early 1620s. The costs of a rebuilding the Hall may well have been a significant drain on his resources to which can be added those of the building of a second capital messuage in Burnaston village, the Old Hall, during the same period. This house was of timber frame construction with

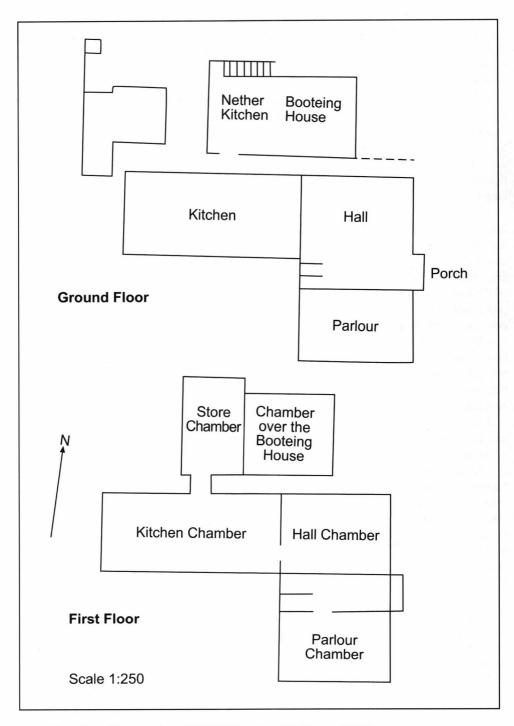


Fig 4: Floor Plan of Bearwardcote Hall 1683 based on Kitching et al 1983.

three pointed gables⁶³ and was eventually taken down or most likely considerably modified externally in 1888 as its successor has a similar appearance and remains the most significant house still standing in Burnaston. There is no clear evidence of occupation of Burnaston by the Boningtons⁶⁴ and by 1630 it passed from them to Browne of Etwall presumably to relieve their finances. In 1664⁶⁵ Burnaston was occupied by John Orme who paid tax on five hearths and after 1732 it was firstly let and then sold as a farmhouse. In the 1820s it was purchased from Mr Bailey, a local farmer, by Ashton Nicolas Mosley who built the nearby Burnaston House. On Mosley's death in 1875 the Hall passed to a William Smith, a local farmer who demolished it in 1888.

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that Bearwardcote was a manor with a notably limited territorial base but enabled to function as a result of it being held jointly with the neighbouring manor of Burnaston. This relationship existed for many centuries with possible connections predating the Domesday survey. During the medieval period, and most probably in the thirteenth century, the meandering course of the Marsh Brook was adapted to enable the construction of a moat with a typical rectangular layout. This footprint has endured through to the present time and also to a degree that of the buildings within the moat which has guided the development of the interior. The evidence discussed above indicates that two phases of rebuilding of the Hall can be postulated during the latter stages of its existence. The first of these was most probably undertaken by Ralph Bonington in the early seventeenth century while the final architectural form was the product of a further rebuild by Exuperius Turner in the mid-eighteenth century. Turner profoundly altered the exterior to create a small country house in the then fashionable Gothick style. Disposal of Bearwardcote soon after the failure of Exuperius's marriage in 1760 set the scene for the demolition of the Hall. It is evident that the actions of Leaper Newton in 1790 removed an interesting small house from the Derbyshire scene.

Acknowledgement: Steve Hodgson, Graphics Technician, University of Derby prepared the illustrations.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Census data for the nineteenth century is given in the *Victoria County History (VCH)* for Derbyshire, i. 195; for the twentieth century and 2001 the Derbyshire decennial reports have been consulted.
- ² C. Glover and P. Riden (eds.), William Woolley's History of Derbyshire (Derbyshire Record Society, vi, 1981), 106.
- ³ Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–9, 116.
- ⁴ M. Craven and M. Stanley, *The Derbyshire Country House* (2004 edn), 254; *Bagshaw's Directory of Derbyshire* (1846), 309.
- ⁵ K. Cameron, *Place-Names of Derbyshire* (1959), 525.
- ⁶ South Derbyshire District Council, Listed Building Record.
- 7 Sheffield Archives, Fairbank Collection, FB 30, 14–19. Illustrations based on this survey are redrawn and published by permission of Sheffield Archives.
- ⁸ E. Kitching, H. Usher, R. Sherris and C. Drage, Unpublished notes of an investigation of the moated site of Bearwardcote Hall 1983 (in the possession of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society).

- ¹⁰ Cameron, *Place-Names*, 525.
- ¹¹ VCH Derb., i. 289.

¹² Ibid.

⁹ VCH Derb., i. 311.

- ¹³ D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire* (1817), 162, and *Woolley's Hist. Derb.*, 106, outline the descent of the manors of Bearwardcote and Burnaston.
- ¹⁴ Henry de Ferrers was lord of Chambray (Eure) in Normandy, from which the Chambreis family are said to have taken their name and assumed to have been associated with the de Ferrers family (G. Turbutt, A History of Derbyshire (1999), 473).
- ¹⁵ A. Saltman (ed.), The Cartulary of Tutbury Priory (1962), no. 51 et seq.
- ¹⁶ Turbutt, Derbyshire, 473; J. Tilley, The Old Halls, Manors, and Families of Derbyshire (1892), ii. 82 states that from 1066 to 1646 the manors of Burnaston and Bearwardcote were held jointly. William and Robert de Monte, father and son, appear to have held Burnaston successively in the thirteenth century (British Library, Harl. MS 3640, f. 87).
- ¹⁷ A. Saltman (ed.), *The Cartulary of Dale Abbey* (1967), no. 509 et seq.
- ¹⁸ I.H. Jeayes (ed.), Derbyshire Charters, (1906), 65.
- ¹⁹ Cameron, *Place-Names*, 484.
- ²⁰ In Normandy the commune of Bacquepuis (Eure) is close to a number of settlements incorporating the name Ferrières (i.e. Ferrers).
- ²¹ Craven and Stanley, *Country House*, 255.
- ²² Jeayes, Derb. Charters, 65.
- ²³ H.J.H. Garratt and C. Rawcliffe (eds.), *Derbyshire Feet of Fines 1323–1546* (Derbyshire Record Society, xi, 1985), no. 718.
- ²⁴ Feet of Fines, no. 981.
- ²⁵ Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–9, 116.
- ²⁶ John Cokayne is described 'of Bearwardcote' in 1394 (Derb. Feet of Fines, no. 980).
- ²⁷ Derb. Feet of Fines, no. 1010.
- ²⁸ VCH Derb., ii. 19.
- ²⁹ The manorial descent is outlined in *Woolley's Hist. Derb.*, 105–6. William Bonington was a tax collector in Derbyshire (*Calendar of Fine Rolls* 1430–7, 192).
- ³⁰ Calendar of Fine Rolls 1430–7 (John Bonington).
- ³¹ Feudal Aids, i. 296.
- ³² J.C. Cox, Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals (1890), 26.
- ³³ Woolley's Hist. Derb., 105.
- ³⁴ Ibid. 93.
- ³⁵ J.C. Cox, Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals (1890), i. 137.
- ³⁶ Derby Local Studies Library, DD 15704 (1557); G.D. Squibb (ed.), *The Visitation of Derbyshire begun in 1662* and finished in 1664 made by William Dugdale Norroy King of Arms (Harleian Soc., MS6104 f.95, cf. ibid. Egerton MS 966 f.64)
- ³⁷ Derbyshire Record Office (DRO), D3155/6758.
- ³⁸ Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees 1569–1611, Harleian MS 6592 f.30b & R. St George, Norroy, ibid. 1611.
- ³⁹ J.B. Henderson and E.R. Robinson, *The Etwall Heritage* (1979), 30–1.
- ⁴⁰ DRO, D3155/6599.
- ⁴¹ DRO, D3155.
- ⁴² A.F.C. Sleigh, *The Sleighs of Derbyshire and Beyond* (1990), 9–11.
- ⁴³ Visitation of Derb. 1662–4, loc cit.
- ⁴⁴ D.G. Edwards (ed.), *Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments 1662–1670* (Derbyshire Record Society, vii, 1982), 113.
 ⁴⁵ Lysons, *Derb.*, 162.
- ⁴⁶ Lichfield Record Office, B/C/11, Mary Bonington, 1680–1.
- ⁴⁷ Craven and Stanley, *Derb. Country House*, 255.
- ⁴⁸ DRO, D3155/6759.
- ⁴⁹ Jeayes, Derb. Charters, 204.
- ⁵⁰ Derby Mercury, 15 Dec. 1751.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 8 Feb. 1764.
- ⁵² Craven and Stanley, *Derb. Country House*, 154–5.
- ⁵³ F.A. Åberg (ed.), *Medieval Moated Sites* (CBA Research Report 17, 1978), provides a general review of the subject.
- ⁵⁴ H.E.J. le Patourel and B.K. Roberts, 'The significance of moated sites', in Åberg (ed.), *Medieval Moated Sites*, 46–55.
- ⁵⁵ S.E. Rigold, 'Structures within English moated sites', in Åberg (ed.), Medieval Moated Sites, 29-35.

THE SOUTH DERBYSHIRE MANOR OF BEARWARDCOTE AND ITS MOATED HALL

- ⁵⁶ C. Taylor, Village and Farmstead: a history of rural settlement in England (1983), 191–2.
- ⁵⁷ Bagshaw's Dir. Derb., 309.
- ⁵⁸ Kitching et al., Unpublished notes (see n. 8).
- ⁵⁹ Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method (17th edn., 1961), 875 describes the Gothick style; see also H.M.Colvin, 'Gothic survival and Gothick revival' in his Essays in English Architectural History (1999), 217–44.
- ⁶⁰ Colvin, 'Gothic survival'.
- ⁶¹ Lichfield RO, B/C/11, Mary Bunington, Bearwardcote, Sept. 1694.
- ⁶² Kitching et al., Unpublished notes (see n. 8).
- ⁶³ White's Directory of Derbyshire (1857), 210, noted that this was 'now a farm house, an ancient half-timbered building with pointed gables'.
- ⁶⁴ M. Craven and M. Stanley, Lost Houses of Derbyshire (2002), 56.
- ⁶⁵ Edwards (ed.), *Hearth Tax*, 19.