

NEW MILLS IN BOWDEN MIDDLECALE IN THE ROYAL FOREST OF PEAK BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

By DEREK BRUMHEAD

Writers of tourist guides in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem to have taken the view that the north-western boundary of the Peak District, if not Derbyshire, stopped at Buxton on the edge of the limestone 'white peak', so emphasising the detachment of the 'dark peak' from the rest of the county.¹ Except for very few exceptions, towns and villages such as Glossop, Hayfield, Chapel en le Frith, New Mills, Whaley Bridge and Chinley were ignored or simply forgotten, although it has to be remembered that the last three are new towns of the industrial revolution. There is a geographical reason for overlooking this region for, although historically part of the High Peak, this pronounced north-west extension of Derbyshire, with its gritstone moorlands, its hills of sandstone, shales, and coal seams, with intervening valleys and westward-flowing rivers, has geologically and geographically more affinity with the western Pennine fringe than the rest of the county.² Its economic history - a rural economy based chiefly on cattle and sheep, the growing of corn (mainly oats and barley) and the domestic production of textiles, mainly wool and linen, out of which grew new industrial towns with cotton and calico print industries based on the ample water power sources - places it within the fringe of the textile region of south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire, an economic affinity recognised by Bowles and later by Ashmore and Walton.³ A post-war writer described the area 'as this most Lancashire corner of Derbyshire'. The most recent authoritative and, in part, theoretical analysis of the region's definition and identity is by Melanie Tebbutt.⁴

Little is known of the two centuries or so which span the departure of the Romans from Britain and the first occupation of the Peak District by the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century. There are neither documents nor archaeological sites to shed light on the history of this period, but we do have the evidence of place names. Generally in this region, place names show a marked difference from those elsewhere in the county. Names ending in *-ton* (meaning enclosure, farmstead, estate, village) or *-ley* (wood, clearing in a wood) are rare, but where valleys provided access from the Cheshire plain, there is an important group in the 'dark peak' containing the element *-worth* (enclosure), for example, Bugsworth, Rowarth, Charlesworth, Chisworth, Hollinworth, and Ludworth.⁵ According to Cameron this concentration is greater than anywhere else in Derbyshire.

The Domesday Survey provides evidence of the conditions which prevailed in the area just before the Norman Conquest.⁶ Longdendale was a name that meant more than it does today. It was one of the three large divisions of the royal forest of Peak, and not being confined to the Etherow valley as it is today, included a large tract of hilly country to the south which encompassed the Kinder plateau. We are told that before the Conquest nine individuals, men with Anglian names, held the estates.

The Domesday description suggests that the Etherow valley was heavy with forest, suitable

for hunting rather than farming - *Silva est ibi non pastilis, apta venationi*. (All Longdendale is waste: woodland, unpastured for hunting). Certainly the collective value at 40 shillings was low; many 'white peak' manors for instance were individually assessed at several pounds. It seems that the Longdendale settlements were probably no more than dispersed hamlets or farmsteads with limited arable land, occupying clearings in the woodland, or perhaps the gritstone shelves and gentle lower slopes above the undrained valleys and below the open moors. There is an isolated cluster of estate names in the extreme north-west of Derbyshire which highlights the region's distinction as a different geographical area. Twelve villis or manors existed in Longdendale in the time of Edward the Confessor (1042-66), names which today are of substantial places.⁷

'All Longdendale is waste' is the description in 1086, when no value could be attached to the estates and no population recorded. The use of the term 'waste' is one of the most puzzling expressions used in the Domesday Survey. Many manors in north Derbyshire are recorded as waste, a fact attributed to William's 'harrying of the north' in 1069-71, his ruthless retribution against those who refused allegiance. On the other hand, it might be that Longdendale, its farming always marginal, suffered an eclipse and loss of population in those unsettled years. Many hundreds of years later in the sixteenth century, the unenclosed moorland areas of the region were still being described as wastes.

The reservation of extensive tracts of countryside for hunting and the conservation of game was one of the more important effects of the Norman conquest in 1066. It has been estimated that in the thirteenth century royal forests took up one quarter of the land of England.⁸ A survey in the seventeenth century showed that there were nearly seventy.⁹ The medieval and early-modern history of the region was moulded by it being part of the royal forest of the Peak, whose affinities extended eastwards into the 'white peak' and was part of an inheritance dating back to William 1 (Figs 1 and 2).¹⁰ In 1157 the Longdendale part of the forest which included the manor and church of Glossop was granted away by the crown to the Abbott of Basingwerk in Flintshire, and from then onwards had a separate history of its own.¹¹ The rest of the forest formed a core of 'dark peak' land within the manor and forest of Peak which, in 1372, passed into the ownership of John of Gaunt to become, from 1399 when his son was crowned Henry IV, part of the huge crown estate known as the Duchy of Lancaster. To protect his inheritance, Henry decided early on that the administration and accounts of the duchy should be kept separate from the crown. As a result, there is a rich heritage of primary documents available for this region, in particular rentals, ministers' accounts, decrees of the duchy court, special commissions giving details of the disposition of land, landholdings and estate managements, and maps. In this context, all students of the manor and royal forest of Peak are indebted to Somerville, who made use of his unrivalled access to duchy documentation in a work of great stature and in a seminal article.¹²

Since the region was part of a royal forest, there are useful comparisons and contrasts to be made with other crown forests in the north-west, e.g. Bowland, Pendle and Rossendale, particularly with respect to land tenure. Although physically separate, they are similar in geography, geology and climate, resulting in landscapes of marginal farming in the valleys with the higher moorlands providing wastes and commons. The students of these forests have considered in detail their economic history.¹³

Being preserves for hunting, royal forests naturally coincided with the more heavily wooded areas of the country, but they were to some extent artificial in that they included not

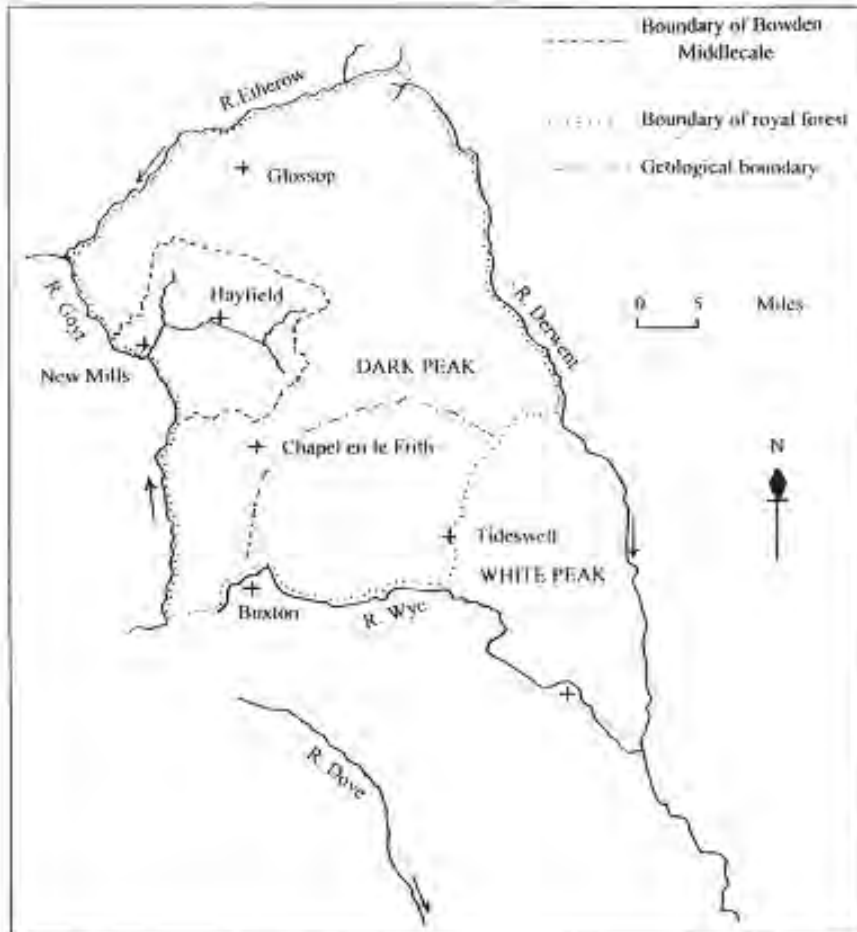


Fig. 1: Boundaries of the Royal Forest of Peak.

only lands without woods but lands with villages, farms and even towns.¹⁴ The king owned the deer but not necessarily the land within a royal forest. Other persons might possess lands within its bounds, but they were not allowed to hunt, cut trees, or build houses. However, ancient enclosed arable could normally be used and there were rights of pasture for grazing. Although the forest laws have the reputation for being harsh, transgressions were normally punished by fines, a useful source of income to the crown.

As the population grew in the later middle ages there was increasing competition for control of the forests resources. Yeatman, in his transcriptions from medieval Latin of the proceedings of the royal forest and from the pipe rolls, brought to light the economic history of the royal forest of the Peak.¹⁵ Before him, Adam Wolley 1758-1827 made an immense collection of papers on all aspects of Derbyshire history comprising over fifty folio volumes in the British Library. They include transcriptions of duchy papers relating to the royal forest.¹⁶

More recently, Bryant has re-worked documents relating to the region, such as the accounts of the eyre courts, which give details of assarts - land taken. These important transcriptions, which have not been published, show that the early thirteenth century appears to have been a formative period in the history of the New Mills area - the first recorded period of arable farming, when land was cut out of the medieval forest.¹⁷ One of the largest assarts took place at Beard where William le Ragged assarted 58 acres in about 1230.

William le Ragged senior who is dead occupied Berde 58 acres of land by livery of Robert de lex' who received 116s for which etc. And Richard his son now holds it.¹⁸

This is the first recorded period of arable farming when the land was cut out of the medieval forest. Settlement was certainly well advanced by this time, with a number of local names mentioned in the documents (modern spelling) - Aspenshaw, Beard, Beardhough, Cown Edge, Knightwake, Ollersett, Ravenslack, Redishaw, Rowarth, Strines, Thornsett and Whittle.¹⁹ Following these clearances and encroachments, the area gradually developed a mature spread of farms and hamlets. A stable, but evolving, rural economy grew up with farms engaged in sheep, cattle and considerable crops of corn, supplemented by domestic textiles, chiefly wool and linen. Bryant's work on the local corn mills from a study of Duchy of Lancaster financial accounts provides us with a glimpse of the wealth of material in The National Archives in medieval Latin.²⁰

Apart from this demographic growth, monastic orders formed one of the other chief agents of change to the landscape and economy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²¹ Having received grants from various persons, a number of great abbeys in the surrounding counties had granges in the Peak District - Welbeck and Lenton in Nottinghamshire, Vale Royal in Cheshire, Leicester and Roche in Yorkshire, and Merivale and Lilleshall in Warwickshire. Grange place names abound in the white peak and these monastic sheep farms became a major feature of the medieval countryside.²² There were over 40 of these granges after the middle years of the twelfth century. Although many of them represented the acquisition of an established estate (the term 'grange' appeared later), others came about with the clearing of fresh land from the forest. Separate from the assarted land and granges were herbage, vaccaries or pastoral out-stations established from the thirteenth century for the colonisation of upland areas and former wastes. The Cistercian abbey of Merivale held herbage at Mainstonfield, alias Chinley, and Fairfield near Buxton.²³

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the abbot of Basingwerk leased all his rights in the manor of Glossop to John of Hallam who became the first Earl of Shrewsbury in 1442. It was thus natural that on the dissolution of the monasteries in 1537 Henry VIII granted the possession to George Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury as part of extensive grants. The extent of the manor was greatly increased towards the end of the sixteenth century when the Earl purchased from Elizabeth 1 an extensive part of Longdendale which was then formally disafforested. A map²⁴ repaired at this time (possibly between 1587 and 1590) shows areas of herbage in Longdendale, Mainstonfield (alias Chinley), Ashop, Edale, Fairfield and Tideswell. In between are marked 'great wastes'.

The present town of New Mills takes its name from a manorial corn mill called Beard Mill which was located at the bottom of High Street. Soon after rebuilding in 1391 the mill became known as New Mill ('Newmylne'). By the late sixteenth century, the name New Mill was being used as a place name for the small hamlet which had grown up around the corn mill; in

the late eighteenth century it was to form the nucleus of the growing town.²⁵ Administratively, from medieval times, the district was part of a wide area called Bowden Middlecale, a division consisting of ten hamlets for tax purposes (Fig. 3).²⁶ In 1713 these were divided into three groups based on an equitable division of the poor rate - Great Hamlet, Phoside and Kinder: Chinley, Bugsworth and Brownside: Beard, Ollersett, Thornsett and Whitle. This three-fold division of hamlets came to form the basis of the division of local government areas, census districts, and poor law unions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the four hamlet of the last group became linked eventually to form the district of New Mills.²⁷

All ten hamlets, together with the hamlet of Mellor, although outside the manor, were in the ancient parish of Glossop, which like many other parishes in Derbyshire was extensive and widespread. This was partly a reflection of its geography and geology - gritstone moorlands and lower shelves of sandstone and shale areas with intervening valleys, none of it very fruitful in the way of arable land. The low grade and marginal farming carved out of the lands of the royal forest of Peak contributed to the establishment of the large parish. The distances and terrain involved would certainly have made communications difficult and by the early fifteenth century chapels had been built at Hayfield and Mellor. But the chapelry boundaries cut across the hamlet boundaries. Mellor chapelry, for instance, included the hamlet of Whitle and part of Thornsett which were inside Bowden Middlecale, and Mellor, Ludworth and Chisworth hamlets which were outside it.

For four hundred years, Bowden Middlecale gradually developed into an area of farms and hall-farms on sites which had their beginnings in the first clearances and encroachments. Study of the subsequent history of encroachment, land tenure, disafforestation, and the division of wastes and commons, has provided an insight into how these economic circumstances set the template for the subsequent development of the rural economy.²⁸ It has been shown, for instance, that a combination of a remote landlord, the Duchy of Lancaster, with centuries of low rents, a change from copyhold to freehold, typical of other areas where manorial control was weak, the disafforestation of the forest and the sale by the crown of thousands of moorland acres, brought about the growth of a moderately rich, independent class of yeomen farmers and husbandmen across the whole region.²⁹

Notable, is that with this growth of individual farms, there was not a communal system of agriculture as was developed in a region of nucleated villages, such as those only a few miles away in the 'white peak'. The area was thus saved also from the impact of enclosures. There was a degree of stability in the social structure, with farm sites dating back to the first medieval clearances, and families living in the region for centuries. In other regions of a more arable nature, enclosures took place suddenly, removing great areas from common use and producing a class of landless agricultural labourers. This character of Bowden Middlecale is heightened by the great contrast with the much smaller neighbouring manor of Glossop where it was possible for the landlord to keep in close contact with tenants. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, customary tenants in the Glossop manor were forced to become tenants at will at much inflated prices. In the royal manor, however, copyholds were to all intents and purposes freeholds, the fines were certain, and the rents were very low, most remaining at levels set in the thirteenth century.³⁰ Such protection aided the growth of a strong gentlemen-yeomen class and gave the financial ability and confidence to rebuild property, evident in the many halls and hall-farms which are still a strong element in the gritstone areas of Bowden Middlecale and Bowden Chapel.³¹ With such influential persons, strong minded and independent, the establishment in the 1660s around Ford Hall near Chapel en le Frith of one of the earliest centres of non-conformity, is therefore not surprising.³²

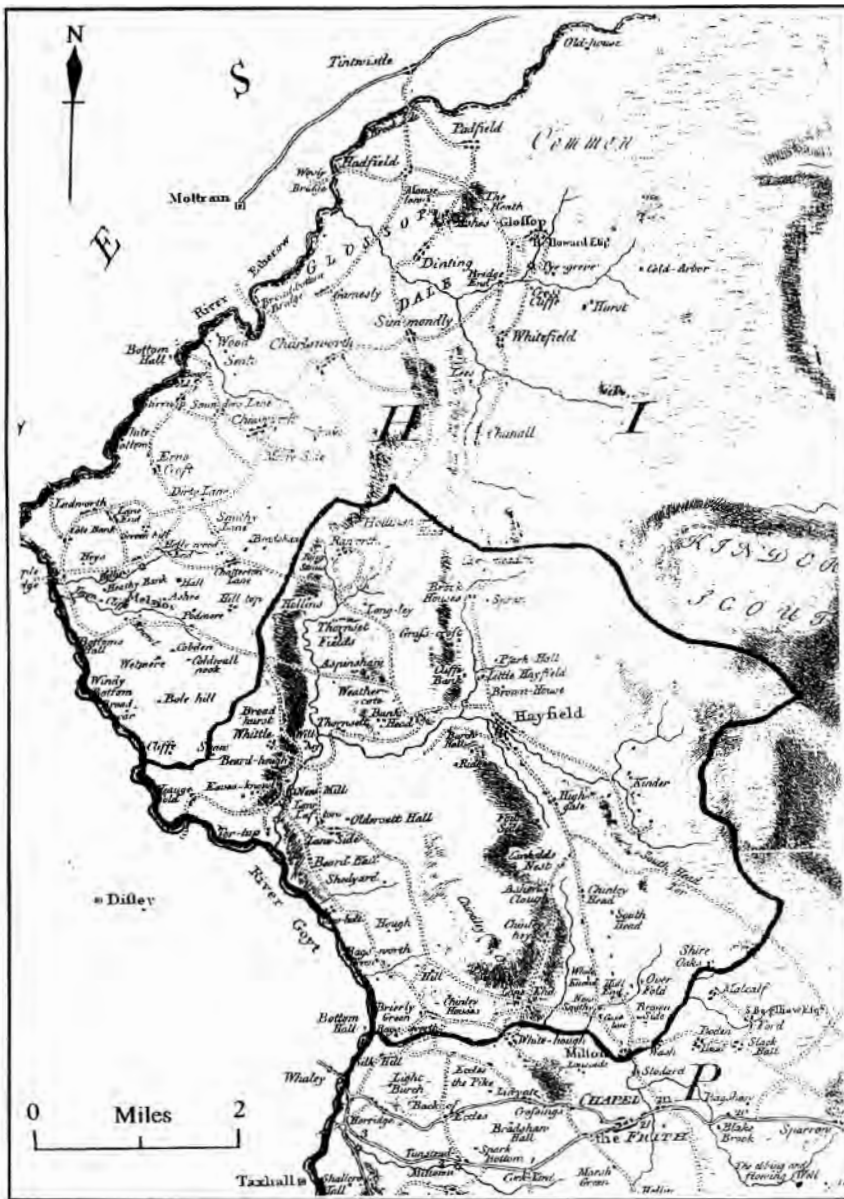


Fig. 2: Part of Burdett’s map of 1767, reprinted with minor amendments 1791. The map illustrates the distinctive character of the settlement before industrialisation, consisting of a spread of farms, hall-farms and a few hamlets. Only Glossop, Hayfield and Chapel en le Frith, with their medieval cores, were distinct settlements. The corn mill at New Mill is shown by a star. Two further stars immediately to the south represent a fulling mill and a paper mill. The cotton mills have not yet arrived. The black boundary inserted marks the area of Bowden Middleleale. Source: Derbyshire Archaeological Society 1975.

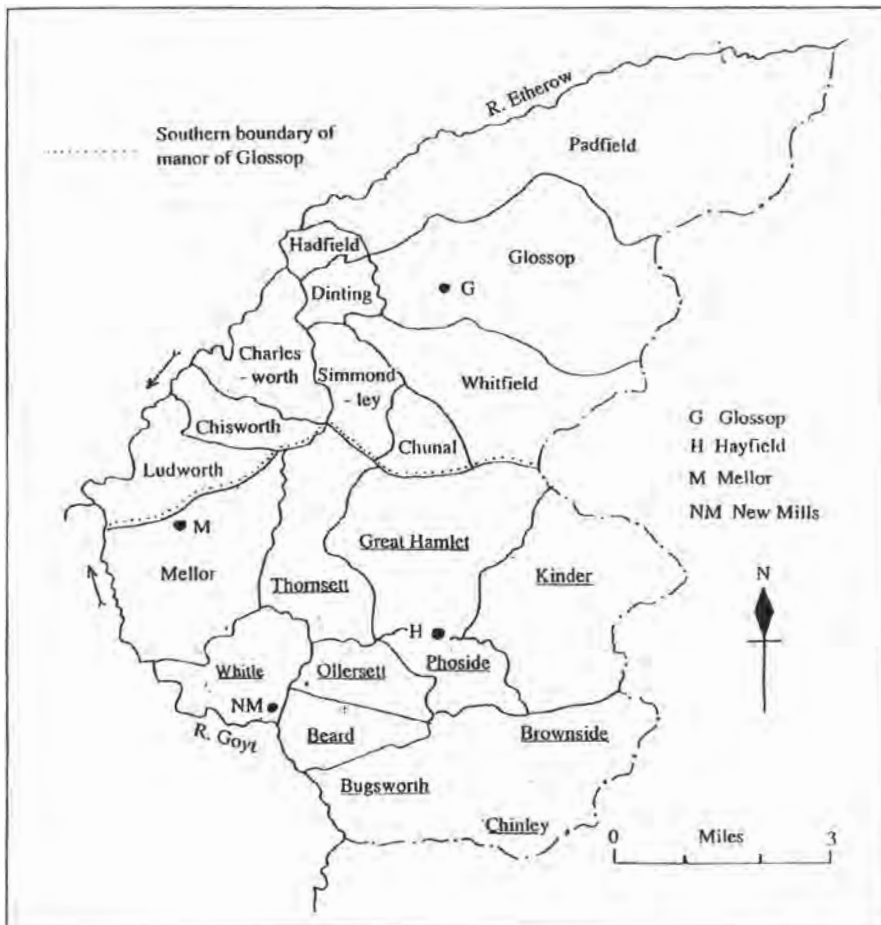


Fig. 3: The ancient parish of Glossop and its hamlets. The hamlets of Bowden Middlecale are underlined.

There was also the question of the encroachments upon the commons and wastes which had gone on for centuries and were recorded by the parliamentary surveys of 1650.³³ They showed that most of the encroachments had been made by, or belonged to, freeholders and tenants. In other duchy forests in the north-west, the proliferation of copyholders tempted James I to set about increasing his land revenue by attacking their titles, particularly those which were fairly new (granted in the sixteenth century) and therefore had not existed from beyond the memory of man. Bitter disputes resulted, but eventually a settlement was made for the confirmation of the copyholds and the certainty of the fines on the payment of a composition, amounting to forty years purchase of the customary rent.³⁴ The forest of Peak, with few copyholders, avoided such disputes. The important conclusion is that generally there was not any substantial underclass of poor squatters or landless cottagers, as for instance there was in Rossendale, and that in the forest of the Peak the rural economy by the mid to late seventeenth century was made up almost entirely of scattered independent farms.

In its land dealing, bestowing freeholds and selling off the commons and wastes, the duchy was careful to retain the mineral rights and there are some fine indentures for the mining of coal.³⁵ These have allowed a study of the changing legal arrangements for mining over several centuries, from the granting of licences for small rents without royalties under Elizabeth I to the notable extension of covenants at the onset of the industrial period.³⁶ Historians regarded serious local coal mining to be a nineteenth century matter until a unique record of early eighteenth century coal mining - a weekly coal mining private account book encompassing 46 years - was purchased in an auction by the Derbyshire record office.³⁷ It has brought a greater perspective to, and allowed a greater understanding of, the later nineteenth century coal mining in a small but significant coalfield, a study which is also aided by the availability of a complete set of nineteenth century mine abandonment plans.³⁸

Wills and inventories of local people up to 1884³⁹ are invaluable for analysis of the agricultural economy, the levels and distribution of wealth, and crafts and industrial activities. The study of local probate documents⁴⁰ shows that in the rural economy which had established itself by the middle of the sixteenth century, farmers did not rely solely on a single economy. In pastoral areas such as this upland fringe, there were good opportunities for farmers to supplement incomes by spinning and weaving wool and flax. The essential features of domestic textile production in the farms were: family-run operations, access to raw material through local produce, markets or broggers (travelling salesmen), small capital investment, and an important system of local credit and debt. The farmers were supported by local specialist weavers and clothiers, and the nearness of market towns such as Chapel en le Frith and Stockport. Throughout the probate inventories there are recurring items which indicate the important place of domestic textiles - varying amounts of yarn,⁴¹ wool, flax and linen; raw wool and linen cloth, kersey⁴² pieces and blankets; spinning wheels, woollen wheels, looms, gears and cards; tenter bars and boards, shears and shearboards, presses and papers. Out of 187 wills and inventories available from 1575 to 1776, 75 (40%) suggest some form of involvement in domestic textiles; one the finest is provided by Henry Goddard (Table 1).

Study of these documents from about 1500 to 1750 shows the growth and stability of a rural economy based on pastoral farming, growing corn, and domestic textiles, mainly wool and linen.⁴³ The area consisted of scattered hill farms, cottages and hamlets, all with names which we would recognise today. A map of the seventeenth century of the Beard estate shows a complete pattern of fields and roads not dissimilar to those of today.⁴⁴ There was a scatter of stone quarries and coal pits, and streams provided water power sites for a corn mill, two or three fulling mills and a paper mill.

Farming was chiefly concerned with dairy cattle and sheep, also corn (mainly oats and barley) was important well into the nineteenth century for the purposes of animal feed and oat meal for human consumption.⁴⁵ Clearly, it was more economical to grow corn than to buy and transport it, although climate, soils and the slope of the land were far from ideal. Corn was grown on 83 of the 130 farms in Bowden Middlecale whose inventories were analysed between 1575 and 1776. A survey made in 1786 recorded that 715 acres of corn and 39 acres of wheat valued at £1355 was grown in Bowden Middlecale.⁴⁶ This would befit a partly self-reliant economy in a difficult region with poor communications, With considerable numbers of livestock to feed in winter and with oats used for oatmeal and oat cakes for human consumption, corn was a vital crop and the unsatisfactory conditions for growth had to be

Inventory of Henry Goddard of New Milne 1624

	£	s	d
his Apparell purse money and one parcel of cloth		9	0
17 teene Raw pieces	20	10	0
7 stones and 3 qaurterns of yearne	5	0	0
twi milned kersayes		50	0
two kersayes and one parcell		50	8
fyve pieces more	5	0	0
3 parcells of clouth		10	5
seven sheepe and seven fleeces		35	0
in flockes			12
two payres of shears		16	0
one payre of sheares pawned for 18s			
cloth drap for dirers		9	3
Total	39	5	0

Table 1

contended with.⁴⁷ By the time the New Mills tith map was published in 1841, however, no corn was recorded.⁴⁸ This was almost certainly due to the fact that in the intervening period communications had improved with new turnpike roads linking New Mills to Stockport and Manchester.⁴⁹ No corn is grown locally now but many fields still show evidence of past ploughing.

In the first few decades of the seventeenth century, with the growth of population, there was considerable pressure on the crown for the removal of the deer from the royal forest, a relaxation of the forest law, the division of commons and wastes between the crown and tenants, and the enclosure and improvement of land. In 1634 the freeholders and tenants petitioned the crown, and after the hiatus caused by the civil war and interregnum, this ultimately led to agreements which divided the commons and wastes, allocating one half to the crown and the other half to the freeholders and tenants. The king's parts of the commons and wastes were sold for improvement to a private individual (Thomas Eyre of Rowtor), who in the late seventeenth century proceeded to sell it off piecemeal to local people.⁵⁰ The building of farms together with new tracks and roads marked the beginning of a period of new prosperity with much rebuilding of farms and halls, and the opening up of coal mines on the upper moorlands in the first half of the eighteenth century, many years before the industrial period.

In the early twentieth century, a new phase of research into the economic history of the county culminated in major contributions by Stenton, Lander, and Cox in the Victoria County History of Derbyshire, which included important material on the north-west of the county.⁵¹ They made use of such notable sources as articles in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, the Wolley manuscripts, and the duchy of Lancaster's ministers' accounts, producing the first important synthesis of the economic history. This is the beginning of specialist studies

among which Cox's was pre-eminent. Particularly, in separate publications he described the administrative aspects of the royal forest of Peak and the economic effects of disafforestation and division of the commons and wastes in the seventeenth century, which could be regarded as seminal.⁵² But it was some decades before his work was followed up by Bunting in his general study of Chapel-en-le-Frith and its region, which focussed on the economic changes in the royal forest.⁵³

Later detailed studies, however, still concentrated on the late middle ages. Power, described the organisation of the duchy of Lancaster's sheep farm in the High Peak in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, yet it was another twenty years before there was another detailed study, by Birrell.⁵⁴ Finally, Blanchard's dense analysis of economic change in early-late medieval Derbyshire is a study which has attracted a good deal of attention, supported as it is by a wealth of primary documentation, both private and public.⁵⁵ A wide range and substantial number of documents are held in the Derbyshire Record Office, the most important being non-conformist registers, the quarter sessions records, a full set of land tax assessments, railway plans, records of the turnpike trusts, tithe maps, and enclosure maps. There are also individual documents such as deeds, agreements, poor rate returns and copies of duchy of Lancaster documents some of which are not in the The National Archives. High Peak documents have also found their way into other archive centres in Sheffield, Chester and Manchester as part of estate and family collections.

Turbutt's monumental four-volume work is the first comprehensive general history of the county since the Victoria County History volumes were published. It provides the most comprehensive synthesis available of research done in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly on the royal forest in medieval times, and includes a survey of Derbyshire historians and record sources.⁵⁷ Although in any such county history it is clearly impossible for every region to receive a satisfactory survey across the centuries, nevertheless references to the Bowden Middlecale region before the industrial period, besides the pages on the royal forest, are confined to six brief one-page references. This shows the importance of researchers tracking down local publications, which inevitably are overlooked but which are often authoritative source material.⁵⁸

The geographical place of the region within the industrial Pennine fringe of south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire led to an affinity with the dual economy of the area, that was domestic textiles supplementing pastoral farming. The economic organisation was comparable to that recognised in south-east Lancashire, remaining essentially the same over a long period. With the onset of the industrial age this was confirmed, but with one important difference. Although domestic wool and linen were common to the whole of the Pennine fringe, from the evidence of probate documents cotton appears never to have found its way into the farms of the New Mills area, unlike the fustian-producing farms of south-east Lancashire, where farmer-weavers brought in cotton. Unfortunately, however, just at this time of transition probate documents no longer included inventories.

In north-west Derbyshire, cotton did eventually arrive on the eve of the industrial revolution. Pilkington⁵⁹ in 1789 observed that 'A considerable quantity of cotton...is spun upon hand-machines or wheels in the north-west part of the county [Derbyshire]...'. Cotton workshops, probably with jennies producing weft yarn⁶⁰, started before the first warp-spinning mills were built and proved complementary to the mills until well after the introduction of the water-powered mule about 1790.⁶¹ Evidence for such complementary workshops in New Mills is found in the land tax assessments.⁶² In 1796, when water-powered spinning mills had been

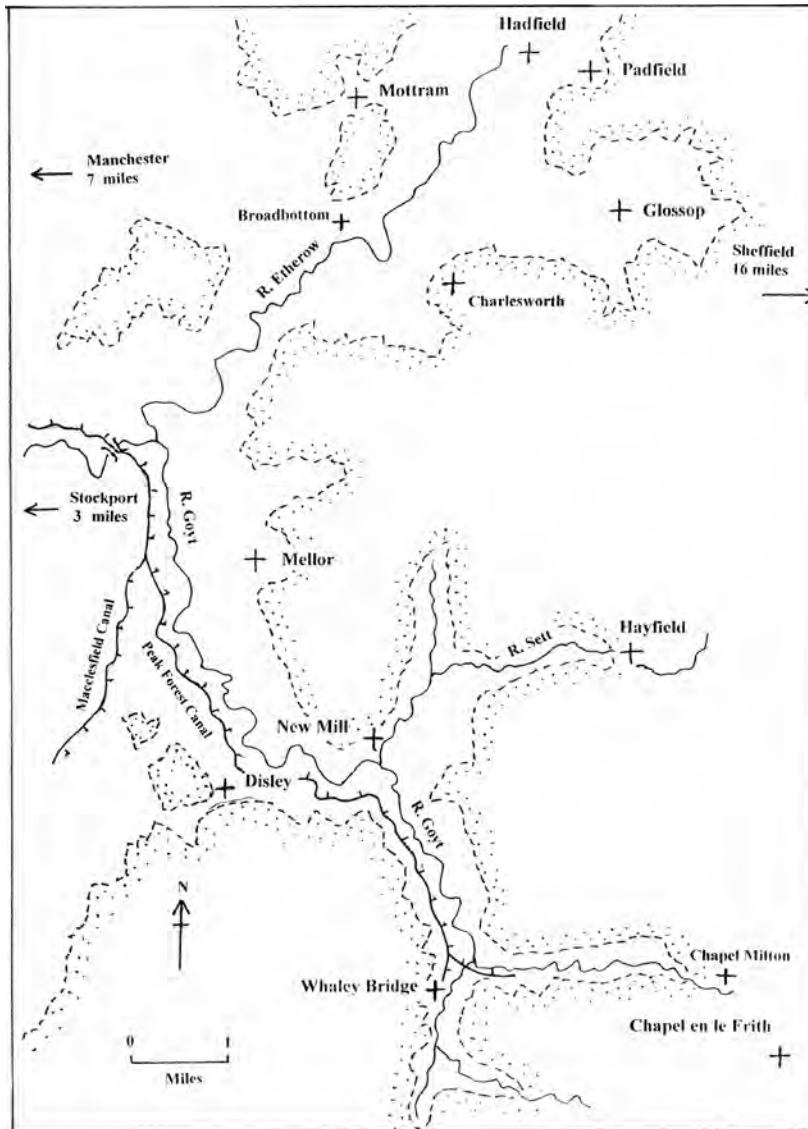


Fig. 4: The location of New Mills and other towns in Bowden Middlecale.

established locally for over ten years, the land tax assessments listed 15 cotton mills in the New Mills area. Most were certainly small - too small for factory mills - ten of the 15 being assessed at 1s or less compared with the corn mill at 3s, its adjacent cotton mill at 2s and other mills at 5s. One spinning mill was assessed at only 3d and another in 1796, specifically termed a spinning shop, was assessed at 6d. Thus the land tax assessments identify this complementarity and illustrate how the factory system grew out of rural or rural-type industry, a condition which has led to it being labelled proto-industry.

Factory industrialisation began to be established in the 1780s⁶³ with the introduction of warp-

spinning cotton mills, using the rivers as water power sources. Although the dual economy of farming and domestic textiles was predominant, there were many other rural trades - tanning, corn milling, paper making, coal mining and even a charcoal iron furnace, recorded between 1690 and 1702, only one of four in Derbyshire. Specialist tradesmen formed a distinct and important component of probate inventories and some of the valuations were impressive. Yet, it remained an important characteristic of the pre-industrial economy that there was no clear distinction between farming and trade or industry until the arrival of the cotton mill. Until the true industrial period got under way with the emergence of the new town of New Mills out of the rural hamlet around the corn mill, the rural economy remained essentially mixed. The conclusion is that the regional character of the rural industry in the 'long' eighteenth century was one of pre-industrialisation rather than proto-industrialisation.⁶⁴ With the approach of the industrial age, mills, turnpike roads, canals and railways started to appear in the landscape of north-west Derbyshire and the industrial revolution got under way.

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- ¹² R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, I, 1265-1603*, London, 1953, *Volume II, 1603-1965*, Privately published, London, 1970. R. Somerville, 'Commons and wastes in north-west Derbyshire in the High Peak "New Lands"', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal (DAJ)*, XCVII (1977), 16-22. Sir Robert Somerville was Keeper of Records of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the The National Archives (TNA) all duchy documents are indexed under the Class prefix DL.
- ¹³ Specifically, M. Brigg, 'The forest of Pendle in the seventeenth century', *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs and Chesh.*, 113 (1961), 65-96, and 115 (1963), 65-90. W. King, *Economic development of Rossendale, c. 1650-1795*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1979. J. Porter, 'Waste reclamation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The case of south-east Bowland, 1500-1650', *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs and Chesh.*, 127 (1977), 1-23. G. H. Tupling, 'The economic history of Rossendale' *Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Cheshire*, Vol 86, New Series, 1927. Manchester, 1927. J. T. Swain, *Industry before the industrial revolution. North-east Lancashire c. 1500-1640*, Manchester, 1986.
- ¹⁴ O. Rackham, *The history of the countryside*, 1986, 130.
- ¹⁵ His ten-volume *The Feudal History of the county of Derbyshire* (1886) unfortunately like many of his writings was careless and unreliable with many mistranslations and mistakes. This is a pity since he tackled some important documents in medieval Latin about the royal forest of Peak.
- ¹⁶ There is a card index in the Derbyshire Record Office (DRO).
- ¹⁷ For instance, the eyre roll of 1251 TNA, DL 39/1/3.
- ¹⁸ TNA DL 39/1/3 1251 eyre roll of Peak. Supplied by Roger Bryant who has transcribed but not published several documents about the royal forest of Peak from the medieval period.
- ¹⁹ All in the vicinity of New Mills.
- ²⁰ R. M. Bryant, *The New Mill and some other corn mills of the High Peak*, New Mills, 1990.
- ²¹ R. A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the geography of medieval England and Wales*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1978, 67.
- ²² Their names and parent houses are listed in C. R. Hart, *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*, North Derbyshire Archaeological Trust, 1981, 155. See also David Hey, 'Monastic Granges' in *A History of the Peak District Moors*, Barnsley, 2014, 61-7.
- ²³ Derek Brumhead, 'The Chinley Herbages', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 21 Part 3 (Spring 2017), 50-6.
- ²⁴ TNA 1/53. Reproduced in Brumhead 2017. A copy is held in the archives of New Mills Local History Society. J. C. Cox first described in 'The Forest of the High Peak' in *The Royal Forests*, 1906, 150-77. The maps which cover the study region are listed in H. Nicholas, *Local maps of Derbyshire to 1770. An inventory and introduction*, Matlock, 1980.
- ²⁵ R. M. Bryant, (1990).
- ²⁶ Its name distinguished it from Bowden Chapel to the south, an adjacent division of three 'dark peak' hamlets. The earliest known date for the use of the name Middlecale is 1298-99. C. E. Lugard, *Trailbaston Derbyshire*, I, 1933 22. 'And that John Auker of Aistesley,

- Richard his brother, Roger de Merpil and Roger Maneris at the mill of Merpil, were at the burglary and robbery done in the house of Seuall de Midelcauel, in the town of Boudon in the 27th year, etc' [1298-9].
- ²⁷ Derek Brumhead, 'Local government in New Mills and the establishment of a local board in 1876', *DAJ*, Vol 129 (2009), 258-82.
- ²⁸ D. Brumhead, *The economic history of New Mills in Bowden Middlecale c. 1640-1876*, unpublished PhD thesis. University of Manchester, 1996.
- ²⁹ D. Brumhead, 'Social structure in some "dark peak" hamlets of north-western Derbyshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *The Local Historian*, 28 (4) (1998), 194- 207.
- ³⁰ D. Brumhead, 'Land tenure in the royal forest of Peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Trans. Lancs. and Chesh. Ant. Soc.*, 96 (2000), 79-93.
- ³¹ For instance, Beard Hall, Ollersett Hall, Thornsett Hall, Aspenshaw Hall, Strines Hall, Fox Hall, and Park Hall, all in Bowden Middlecale. It is the same in Rossendale. See the relevant excellent study, S. Pearson, *Rural houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1500-1760*, 1985. The hearth tax returns for Bowden Middlecale 1662 and 1670 point to an increase in building during these years. The assessments for 1662 have been transcribed from TNA E 179/94/378 in Brumhead (1996). The assessments for 1670 are transcribed in D. Edwards, *The Derbyshire hearth tax assessments, 1662-1670*, Chesterfield, 1982.
- ³² An outstanding and unique primary source of social history at this time is the diary of James Clegg, minister of Chinley Chapel 1702-55. V. S. Doe (ed.), *The diary of James Clegg 1708-55*, 3 vols paged as 1, Matlock, 1978-81. See also, W. Simpson, *The history of Chinley (Independent) Chapel*, Chinley, 1979.
- ³³ Survey of the manor or liberty of the High Peak 1650. TNA, DL 32/5.
- ³⁴ Tupling (1927), Chapter 5, 127-60.
- ³⁵ Over twenty have been placed in the DRO. They were found fortuitously several years ago for sale by a secondhand bookseller in Manchester, as the result of the unfortunate practice of a solicitor weeding out 'redundant' deeds. See R. M. Bryant and E Miller, *Deeds of New Mills and district*, New Mills, 1985. R. M. Bryant and E. Miller, *More deeds of New Mills*, New Mills, 1988.
- ³⁶ D. Brumhead, 'The coal mines of New Mills', *DAJ*, 123 (2003), 146-94.
- ³⁷ D. Brumhead, 'An early eighteenth century coal mining account book for New Mills, Derbyshire', *Manchester Region History Review*, VI (1992), 91-95.
- ³⁸ Held in New Mills Library.
- ³⁹ Held in the diocesan record office at Lichfield
- ⁴⁰ The existence of a printed index for all the local probate documents has removed the labour of going through the record cards. A. K. Lee, R. Clarke, and S. McKenna, *The ancient parish of Glossop. Index of probate documents*, Chesterfield, 1991.
- ⁴¹ It must be remembered that the production of yarn and the manufacturer of cloth would be a seasonal activity, less inventories in late spring listing yarn than in late summer. John T. Swain, 1986, 120.
- ⁴² A coarse, hard-wearing woollen cloth named after the Suffolk village. According to an Act of 1551 it was required to be at least 18 yards in length and 1 yard wide, weighing nearly two stones, the amount needed to produce a kersey.
- ⁴³ The first fifty have been transcribed and published in R. Bryant, A. Lee, and E. Miller, *Wills and inventories of New Mills people. Book 1 (1540-1571), Book 2 (1571-1582), Book 3 (1586-1607)*, New Mills, 1995-99.

- ⁴⁴ Survey and map of the Beard estate in 1676 and 1690, Sheffield City Archives, Bag 274. In the eighteenth century, the Beard estate came into the possession of the Cavendish family, and there is a wide range of important source materials held by the Chatsworth Trustees.
- ⁴⁵ D. Brumhead, 'Aspects of the rural economy in some "dark peak" hamlets in the royal forest of Peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *The Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 21 (1&2), (2001), 3- 17.
- ⁴⁶ Glossop Library Archives Z 182 (in Derbyshire Record Office). We are fortunate to have these documents available. In one of the greatest of local archival tragedies, on the occasion of the sale of the manor of Glossop in 1926, two lorry loads of documents were taken away from the manor house and destroyed. A small collection of miscellaneous documents was somehow saved (the 'Glossop Collection') and these were carefully catalogued several decades ago by the Glossop library staff. They have since been transferred to the county record office at Matlock, with the Glossop index numbers retained for reference, for which a concordance has been issued. There are microfilmed copies in Glossop library.
- ⁴⁷ George Waterhouse of Bowdon in 1558 included among his bequests 20s... 'to be bestowed upon oote meal and distributed amonge poure folkes after the discrecions of my executors...'. Robert Arnefield 1579 was leaseholder of the corn tithe rents from the Earl of Shrewsbury, rector and impropiator of the parish of Glossop. In his will he bequeathed 'my lease off the tyth corn'. Edward Swindell's inventory of 1573 included '4 score Thraves of Oats', ie 80 x 12 sheaves = 960 sheaves distributed amonge poure folkes after the discrecions of my executors...'.
⁴⁸ A copy of the tithe map is held in the archives of New Mills Local History Society. See also, R. Weston, *The New Mills tithe map 1841*, New Mills, 1985, which is a copy of the map of the town central area and a transcription of the book of reference.
- ⁴⁹ R. M. Bryant, *Turnpike roads and riots*, New Mills, 1989.
- ⁵⁰ D. Brumhead, 'The estates of Thomas Eyre of Rowtor in the royal forest of Peak and the Massereene connection', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, 15 (5), Spring 2000, 134-42.
 D. Brumhead and R. Weston, 'Seventeenth century enclosures of the commons and wastes of Bowden Middlecale in the royal forest of Peak', *DAJ*, 121 (2001), 244-86.
- ⁵¹ W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria County History of Derbyshire*. Two volumes, 1905 and 1907. The first of a new series on the Bolsover area was published in 2013.
- ⁵² J. C. Cox, 'The forest of the High Peak', chapter 14, in *The royal forests of England, 1905*.
 J. C. Cox, 'Plans of the Peak Forest', in *Memorials of old Derbyshire*, 1907, 281- 306.
- ⁵³ W. B. Bunting, *Chapel en le Frith - its history and people*, Chapel en le Frith, 1940. Also, I. E. Burton, *The royal forest of the Peak*, Buxton, 1966.
- ⁵⁴ E. Power, *The wool trade in English Medieval History*, 1941. J. R. Birrell, 'The forest economy of the Honour of Tutbury in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *University of Birmingham Journal*, VIII (1961-62). J. R. Birrell, *The Honour of Tutbury in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Birmingham, 1962.
- ⁵⁵ I. S. W. Blanchard, *Economic change in Derbyshire in the late Middle Ages, 1272-1540*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1967.
- ⁵⁶ The Eyre, Bagshaw and Norfolk families in the Sheffield City Record Office, the Bagshaw and Jodrell families in the University of Manchester John Rylands Library.
- ⁵⁷ G. Turbutt, *A History of Derbyshire*, Cardiff, 1999. See pp 565-82 for a survey of the forest of High Peak.
- ⁵⁸ For instance, see the publications by the New Mills Local History Society since the early

1980s numbering over forty, a number of which are concerned with the pre-industrial period.

⁵⁹ J. Pilkington, *History of Derbyshire*, two volumes, 1789.

⁶⁰ The technical defect which prevented the jenny from producing warp yarn is explained in R. L. Hills, 'Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton. Why three inventors?' *Textile History*, X (1979), 94-9.

⁶¹ Derek Brumhead, 'New Mills in Bowden Middlecale: domestic textiles in the rural economy before the industrial revolution and the change to factory cotton', *Textile History*, 33 (2), 2002, 195-218.

⁶² DRO. Land Tax Assessments for the hamlets of Beard, Ollersett, Thornsett and Whitle, 1778-1832. Derek Brumhead, 'Land Tax in the New Mills region 1778-1832', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol. 21, Part 2 (Spring 2018), pp 98-110.

⁶³ Stimulated when Arkwright lost his patents in 1785.

⁶⁴ F. F. Mendels, 'Proto-industrialisation; the first phases of the industrial process', *Journal Economic History*, XXX11 (1972).