

Brassington Mining 1792-1826

by Ronald Slack

Abstract. An examination of lead ore measurements and prices in Brassington for the periods 1792-1802 and 1820-26 and of the accounts kept by miners with the Barmaster at his pub from 1808 reveals a pattern of widespread prospecting for small amounts of ore, with some more productive mines. The miners were independent operators, some having small holdings of copyhold farmland. The Barmaster was a successful publican and farmer with considerable influence in the village.

OUTPUT

The total output for the Brassington mines for the two periods for which the Barmaster's measuring books survive (1792-1802 and 1820-1826) were 7,723 loads $4\frac{1}{2}$ /₂₄ dishes and 3465 loads respectively (Figs. 1 and 2). The 25% fall in the annual average from 772 loads in the earlier period to 577 in the later, paralleled by a fall in the number of mines from 132 to 82 (Fig. 3), and of named proprietors from 96 to 86, demonstrates that the decline in the Brassington industry noted by Bagshaw in 1846 had started in the early years of the 19th century. Brassington's annual output at this time may be compared with those of neighbouring liberties in 1811, when Wirksworth produced 1801 loads, Middleton 2440 and Cromford 4470 (Ottery, 1969).

Brassington mining in both periods was characterised by a large number of very small producers and one or two outstanding mines. Most of the mines were of the type described by a later Barmaster as "Poor men's mines. That is capable of supporting 2 or 3 working men" (Barmaster's Collection, Chatsworth 90/100). There were many whose output was clearly inadequate to support even one miner. The Barmaster was referring to Roundlow and Potosi mines; representative figures for Roundlow are 4 loads 6 dishes (1792), 3 dishes (1802), 6 dishes (1822) and 1 load 3 dishes (1823). During the period 1820-1826, of the 82 mines which had ore measured 36 produced less than 5 loads for the whole period and a further 12 between 6 and 10 loads. With lot price usually around 50/-, a minimum of 10 loads a year would be needed for the living wage of one miner, and only 10 mines produced more than 50 loads during the period. That most of the mines rarely produced enough ore to make it worthwhile to work them is illustrated by the fact that only 34 of the 132 listed during 1792-1802 had any ore measured between 1820 and 1826. The outstanding exception to this pattern in both the 1792-1802 and the 1820-1826 periods was the Balldmeer mine. This was worked continuously throughout both periods, producing 1994 loads $8\frac{2}{24}$ dishes in the earlier and 600 loads $1\frac{1}{2}$ /₂₄ dishes in the later (25.8% and 17% of the respective totals) (Figs. 4 and 5). That production was high during the intervening years can be deduced from the account kept by William Fearn at the Barmaster's pub, the Miners Arms. An entry in 1809 reads "Stowes to Balldmeer 2-0" and the production of the mine at that time can be calculated from the Barmaster's charges for measuring. For example, the charge for the period September 9th 1808 to December 7th 1809 was £3.18.0d, which at the rate of 3d per load given by Stokes (1880), and confirmed by comparisons of charges with measured amounts during 1820-1826, makes a total of 312 loads for the 15 months. Between 1797 and 1802, 1316 loads $3\frac{1}{2}$ /₂₄ dishes were produced by the Childrens (Fortune) mine, making the combined production of this and Balldmeer 3311 loads $2\frac{1}{4}$ /₂₄ dishes or 43% of the total ore produced by 132 mines during 1792-1802. The only mines other than Balldmeer to produce more than 100 loads during 1820-1826 were Perseverance (219 loads 1 dish), Providence (142 loads $2\frac{1}{8}$ /₂₄ dishes) and Great Rake (141 loads 7 dishes).

WORKING PATTERNS

The characteristic pattern of working was that of partnerships, and there were frequent changes of ownership. 37 of the mines in the 1820-1826 period were listed under the names of two or more miners as proprietors. Most of those with 1 proprietor are represented by a single, or very few entries in the measuring book. However, most of those mines worked by a number of men during the period, and presenting ore for measurement on a greater number of occasions, were also very low producers. The extreme example is Childrens. This mine, so productive earlier, produced only 18 loads 3 dishes during 1820 to 1826. This meagre reward was won by seven men, including the owner of the title Matthew Bacon. The largest producer had a family partnership. Balldmeer, listed under the name of William Fearn in the 1790s, was still in the hands of the Fearn family 30 years later. While Great Rake is listed during 1820-1826 under the name of a single proprietor, Daniel Slack, the Barmaster's brother, the other 2 mines which produced over 100 loads during the period have 2 proprietors (Perseverance) and 3 (Providence) respectively. Perseverance is listed under Joseph Greatorex for all but 1 measurement but the Miners Arms account held by Greatorex makes it clear that the mine was held by him in partnership with Thomas Slater and John Taylor. The account covering the years 1820-1821, for instance, is headed "Messrs Greatorex Slater Taylor & Co". The proprietor named at most of the Providence measurements was Christopher Slack, the Barmaster's uncle, but the fact that on occasion William Walker and Christopher Slack's nephew Daniel are named, makes it likely that they were in partnership with him, though Christopher Slack's account at the Miners Arms does not mention it. These larger producers presumably employed men on a contract basis and in the case of Perseverance and Providence the Miners Arms accounts provide evidence. Christopher Slack's account during 1820-1826 names men who can be assumed to have been working for him at the time, as does Greatorex's.

	Longsdon	Hurt	Barker	Fearn	Others	Total
	*L-D	L-D	L-D	L-D	L-D	L-D
1792 (3 quarters)	644-6 6/24	139-2 6/24	8-5	1-2	55-1	848-712/24
1793	479-18/24	433-6 6/24	7-0		9-7	929-6
1794	324-218/24	428-518/24	9-2		0-7	762-812/24
1795	241-7	235-0	4-1		0-4	481-3
1796	238-012/24	311-2 6/24	4-6		62-6	616-518/24
1797	225-018/24	626-812/24	33-2		25-812/24	911-118/24
1798	214-4 6/24	321-618/24	34-0		1-6	571-8
1799	288-4	385-612/24	49-6	45-7	12-1	781-612/24
1800	146-212/24	317-318/24	74-6	18-4 6/24	13-8	570-612/24
1801	34-4	391-2	63-7	177-812/24	49-8	717-712/24
1802 (2 quarters)	140-0	311-7	46-1		30-5	528-4
	2976-618/24	3902-6	335-0	243-318/24	262-712/24	7720-6

Buyers (names as given)

Messrs Barker & Wilkinson	
John Barker Esq	19-5
John Crosby & Co	335-0
Mr Evans/ Mr Geo Evans	29-712/24
Mr W ^m Fern	42-0
Charles Hurt Esq	243-318/24
Messrs Jackson & Co/ Mr Jackson & Co	3902-6
Mr Longsdon/ Mr W ^m Longsdon	42-1
Peter Nightingale Esq	2976-618/24
Mr Daniel Prime	33-3
John Roose	2-5
John Slack	29-5
Mr Henry Watson	20-3
Mr Geo Wheeldon	13-8
	29-6
	<u>7720-6</u>

Figure 1 - Ore measurements 1792-1802

*Loads and dishes. c60lbs = 1 dish, 9 dishes = 1 load.

The amounts shown here for 1793, 1794 and 1801 differ slightly from those in the Summary Ore Accounts (Chatsworth House. Barmaster's Collection), which give 934 loads 1 dish, 762 loads 8 dishes and 720 loads 1 dish respectively. The Measuring Book amounts are preferred for 1793 and 1794; in 1801 a torn page makes the amount for the third quarter incomplete and the Summary Account figure is preferred, making the total for the period 7723 loads 412/24 dishes.

	Allsop	Barker	Fearn	Hurt	Mills	Total
	L-D	L-D	L-D	L-D	L-D	L-D
1820 (2 quarters)		31-3	30-3 6/24			61-6 6/24
1821	47-7 6/24	62-5	61-1	191-8		363-3 6/24
1822	317-5 6/24	39-8	114-3 6/24	205-5	3-7	681-112/24
1823	455-212/24	33-6		143-1		632-012/24
1824	479-0 6/24	3-8		134-2		617-1 6/24
1825	351-318/24	10-8		126-7		489-018/24
1826 (3 quarters)	149-512/24			52-8		202-412/24
	1800-612/24	182-2	205-712/24	854-4	3-7	3047-0

Buyers (names as given)

Mr Jn ^o Alsup & Co	L-D
Jn ^o Barker Esqr ^e	1800-612/24
Mr Rich ^d Fearn	182-2
Ch ^a Hurt Esqr ^e	205-712/24
Mr W ^m Mills & Co	854-4
	<u>3-7</u>
	<u>3047-0</u>

Figure 2 - Ore measurements 1820-1826

The 1820-1826 Measuring Book is incomplete; the actual total amount for the period, 3465 loads, is taken from the Summary Ore Accounts (Chatsworth House. Barmaster's Collection). Other understated amounts for the period quoted elsewhere in this paper are those for Great Rake mine (1 measurement lost) and Perseverance mine (1, possibly 2 measurements lost). The table shows the relative activity of the different buyers - the amounts shown for Allsop, Hurt and Barker are all understated. Buying had become concentrated in fewer hands by this time. Only Richard Fearn was a local miner, in contrast to the earlier period, when at least 5 of the buyers had been Brassington mine proprietors - William Fearn (Balldmeer), John Crosby, John Roose, John Slack and Henry Watson.

Apple tree ¹	Dowsit hill ¹	Mayfurlong (Upper) ¹	Riderhill ¹
Asker Meer ²	Edge ¹	Meal bag ¹	Ringer ²
Asker Rake ²	Edge end ¹	Meer ²	Ringin rake ¹
Backatrake ¹	Elder Torr ¹	Middledale ¹	Robert Lee ¹
Bakenshaw ¹	Filley ¹	Middlerake ²	Roundlowe ²
Bakers Venture ²	Flaxpiece ^{1,2}	Moor Cock ¹	Rushycliffe ^{1,2}
(New) Balldmeer ^{1,2}	Fleelowe ^{1,2}	Moor hen ¹	Sandhole ^{1,2}
Ballidon Way ¹	Flints Venture ²	Mouldridge ^{1,2}	Scrin ¹
Ballrake ^{1,2}	Friendly ¹	Mouldridgefield ²	Sheppards Venter ¹
Bank Top ¹	Good luck ¹	Mousehole ¹	Saeadow ²
Barsod's pipe ²	Gorrist (hillocks) ¹	New Breck ¹	Speedwell ^{1,2}
Beenest ^{1,2}	Great rake ^{1,2}	New Fleelowe ¹	Sprint ²
Blackstones ^{1,2}	Great rake hillocks ¹	New Round Lowe ¹	Staley's founder ²
Bonny Lad ¹	Green ²	New Venter ¹	Stone founder ¹
Bosenholes ^{1,2}	Crindlowe ²	Nickalls Lum ¹	Stonehouses ²
Bowling Green ¹	Half Meer ¹	Norlowe ¹	Stonepit ^{1,2}
Brackendale ²	Hanging level ¹	Nursary ²	Success ²
Bradbourne Sough ²	Hangworm ¹	Nursaryend ²	Suckstone ²
Breck ²	Harbro Rake ¹	Oden ¹	Suckstone hillocks ¹
Breck Hollow ¹	Harbro Walk ¹	Old Baker ¹	Swallowest ^{1,2}
Briden Dream ²	Harper ^{1,2}	Old Balldmeer ¹	Swang ^{1,2}
Brook ²	Haveatall ¹	Old Cheshire ¹	Swinehole ²
Brush ¹	Haypits ¹	Old Else ¹	Tag hole ¹
Butchers Venter ¹	Haypits Rake ¹	Old Francis ¹	Tantary boneass ²
Catchflee ¹	Hazzard ^{1,2}	Old horse ^{1,2}	Tenement ^{1,2}
Catseats ¹	Heavenhill ¹	Old knowl ²	Tenters rake ¹
Caved ore ¹	Hewardstone ^{1,2}	Old Mouldersedge ¹	Thacker ^{1,2}
Charles Lum ¹	Hillock Ore ¹	Old Round Lowe ¹	Throstle nest ¹
Chesterfield ¹	Hoe Grange ¹	Old Stillington ¹	Towmend ²
Childrens (Fortune) ^{1,2}	Innocent ¹	Old Success ²	Townhead ^{1,2}
City folds ¹	Intake ^{1,2}	Old Townhead ²	Upperballdmeer ²
Cliffe side ¹	Lady sheets ¹	Old wall ²	Union ¹
Coachman ¹	Lamber Rake ¹	Pebble Chun ¹	Usefull ¹
Coatses ¹	Lamberfold ^{1,2}	Penny ball ¹	Waterstones ¹
Cold Eaton ¹	Lark Torre ¹	Perseverance ²	Waterholes ^{1,2}
Cold Lowe ¹	Lea Mine ²	Pickingpitts ²	Waynes Dream ²
Colt ¹	Linekiln Rake ²	Pindertakers ²	Westahead ²
Conway Know(1) ^{1,2}	Long edge ¹	Pipersinn ^{1,2}	Wheatlands head ¹
Cousel ¹	Long meer ¹	Potosi ¹	Wheatlowe ¹
Corsehill ²	Longcliff dale ¹	Provevell ¹	Whestowtop ¹
Corsemoor ²	Luckey ¹	Providence ^{1,2}	White lowe torr ¹
Cow & Calf ^{1,2}	Lum ²	Ratchwood ²	Whitedge ^{1,2}
Cow pasture ¹	Maidenhole ^{1,2}	Redman ²	Whiterake ^{1,2}
Crooked Ash ^{1,2}	Manystones ¹	Redwoods ²	Wilcockstones ¹
Curson Moor ¹	Mayfurlong (Nether) ¹	Restorative	Windaygap ²

Figure 3: the mines named in the 1792-1802 measuring book (1) and in the 1820-1826 measuring book (2). An extended name ("old", "new" etc) is listed as a separate mine except where internal evidence suggests that it is an alternative name, in which case the extension is given in brackets.

<u>Food</u>	
"20 pecks of Tatoes at 8d"	11- 8 (sic)
"one chees 21 lbs at 6½d"	11- 4½
"Pork Leg of Pork"	3- 2
"pigs Chop"	4- 1
"Pork 8¼"	3- 5
"To 40 pound of Bacon"	1-14- 2
"One side of Bacon"	1-13-10
"Rum one bottle"	5- 3
"Veal"	1- 0
"Veal"	2- 4½
<u>Mining</u>	
"Stowes"	2- 0
"A mear dish"	6- 2
"Wood & a lock"	2- 1- 3
"Candles"	9½
"Water leading"	12- 0
<u>Labour</u>	
"4½ days at hay"	9- 0
"one day work"	1- 0
<u>Coal</u>	
"Cole"	1- 6
"To Coles 10c"	6- 6
"Coles 10 Hundred"	10- 0
"To Coles"	10- 0
"Coles"	8- 6
<u>Books</u>	
"Five poor books at £1-13-3¼"	8- 6- 4¼
"two books for House at 3-1¼ each"	6- 2½
"To two Poor Books"	10- 7
"To four Poor Books"	4- 0
"To a Poor Book"	5- 3¼
<u>Club</u>	
"pd Club"	8
"Lent for Club"	2- 0

The landlord's occasional use of phonetic spelling, colloquial expressions and local terms is enough to make clear that the Brassington community in the early 19th century spoke in a way which today's local-born villagers would have no difficulty in understanding - "watter" (water), "Brason" (Brassington), "Carson (Carsington), "Golcondy" (Golconda), "Ellet" (Elliott), "tatoes" (potatoes), "some time back" (some time ago), "stirks" (young cattle), "fleakes" (hurdles - used in the sense of rough wooden gates placed, not hung, in field gateways; in mining fleakes were thatched and used as shelters).

BALLDMEER AND THE FEARN FAMILY

Except for the Barmaster, whose position helped him in his business as landlord of the Miners Arms, and as a farmer, only one of the mining families had an income from the Brassington mines high enough to make it likely that they made a good living solely from lead mining. This was the Fearn family, proprietors of the Balldmeer mine for over 50 years. Perseverance, Great Rake and Providence mines all made high incomes for their proprietors for short periods, and there is evidence that some of the men involved with these mines had a higher standard of living than most mining families. John Taylor (Perseverance), Daniel Slack (Great Rake) and Christopher Slack (Providence) each owned a house and a small allotment of land (Land Survey, 1835). The total income for each of the 3 mines, calculated from the lot price for each amount of ore measured was £345 (Great Rake), £658 (Perseverance) and £853 (Providence). Over the different periods covered by the ore measurements between 1820 and 1826, the annual averages were £86, £131 and £284 respectively. These figures, achieved only for limited periods, are small in comparison with those for Balldmeer. Balldmeer ore had a high lot price during both the 1792-1802 and the 1820-1826 periods, and the Fearn family's income, calculated as above, was a remarkable £3,635 during the later period. This income was presumably augmented during 1820-1822, when the ore was sold to a member of the family, Richard Fearn. During 1792-1802, in addition to the highly profitable Balldmeer, William Fearn was listed as proprietor at different times of 15 other mines - Old Round Lowe, Taghole, Harbro Rake, Union, Hewardstone, Usefull, Haypits, Great Rake Hillocks, Bank Top, Flaxpiece, Oden, Charles Lum, Long Meer, Backatrake and Great Rake. It is not surprising that the Fearn rarely had debts with the Barmaster at his pub, and it is significant that a survey of Brassington in 1835 shows Francis Fearn, Balldmeer's proprietor for much of the 1820-1826 period, as owning a house and 12 acres of farm land.

Both include the names of other partnerships. Greatorex's account includes Job Slack & Co., Lomas Taylor & Co., Rowbotham & Co., Hendley & Co., and Wright and Co. Joseph Greatorex and his partners took part in the short-lived operations at the Bradbourne Sough, the only sough ever mentioned in the area, freed by Henry Greatorex in 1825. The account, for "The proprietors of the Bradburn Sough", which includes the measuring fee - 1/9d - for the 6 loads 5 dishes measured on May 27th 1825, mentions "Walker Slater & Greatorex" and Joseph Greatorex's own account during 1825 includes a name - Killer - otherwise mentioned only in the Bradbourne Sough account. This account conveys an impression of great activity during February to June 1825, with many entries for ale and "eateing" and a labour force which included "Cromford men". There are no entries between June 20th and January 2nd 1826 when Mr. Wilson Hadfield & Co. were Fetching Pumps from Bradbourne Mine". The venture was presumably over.

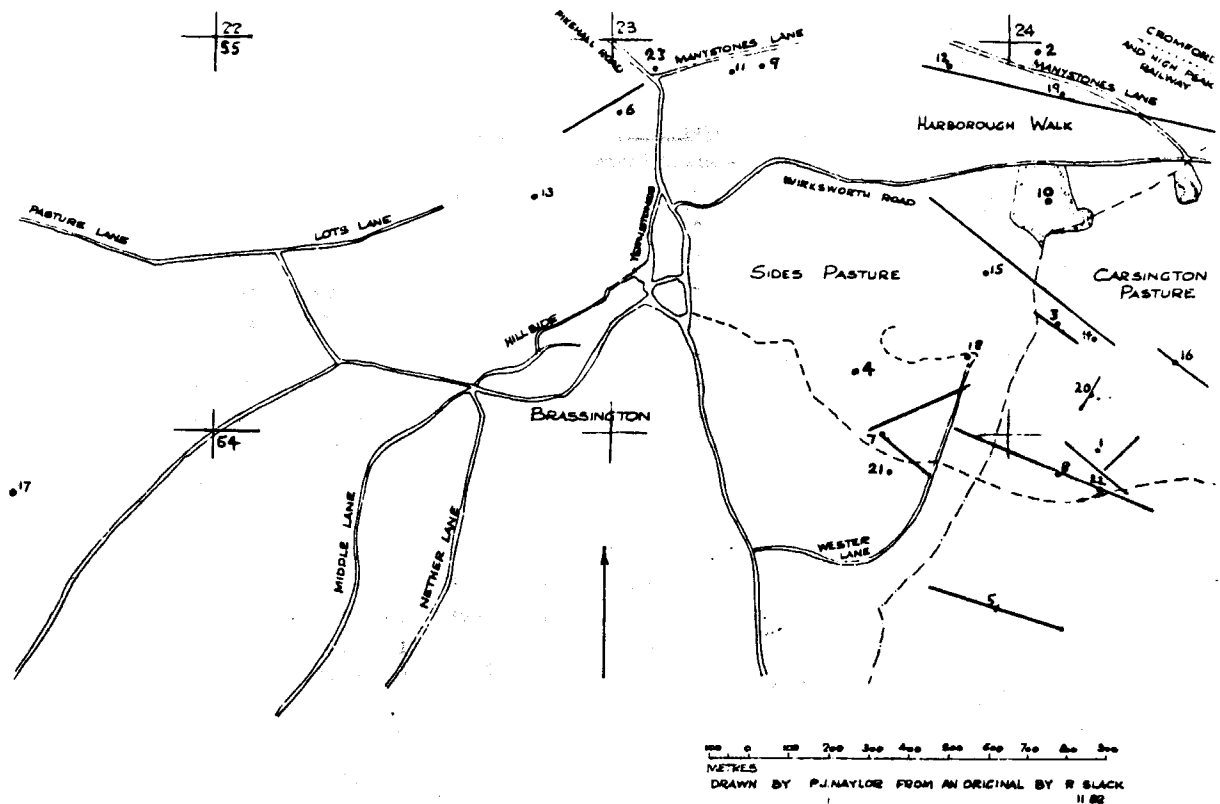
The pattern is one of fluctuating success in prospecting, with the village miners hiring themselves to the more successful at the times when their own mines were unproductive. There are many examples in the Miners Arms accounts. Stephen and Joseph Wright appear in the accounts of Greatorex (above), William Shipley, John Rowbotham and Benjamin Allsop; Stephen Wright himself, proprietor of the Speedwell mine, had an account which includes entries for ale being brought to his mine "with Taylor & Co" and "with Greatorex & Co". Job Slack, proprietor with his son Thomas of the Corsehill, Suckstone and Waynes Dream mines, all low producers between 1820 and 1826, appears in the accounts of Greatorex (above), Benjamin Allsop, Isaac Johnson, Richard Lomas, William Pakeman, John Rowbotham, John Taylor and William Walker. Two years earlier his prospecting had been successful enough for him to have required extra labour himself. During 1818 and 1819, immediately after Waynes Dream mine had been given to Thomas Slack, the amounts charged by the Barmaster for measuring at that mine came to 46/1d. At 3d per load therefore, Waynes Dream produced 184 loads during those two years. During this productive period the Waynes Dream account includes the names of Banks, Kirkland & Co., Barton, George Taylor and "MJ & Co". On July 6th 1818 the Barmaster/Landlord supplied "Eating for 9 at 1 each 9-0".

Brassington was pre-eminently the domain of the independent miners. 86 of them were proprietors of at least one mine during 1820-1826, and their accounts at the Miners Arms during this period contain the names of only 11 men who not themselves proprietors at some time. They prospected widely and often held several titles at once (40 men held 2 or more mines during 1820-1826, the highest figure being Henry Taylor's 7). They worked for those of their number who had hit a lucky streak. They worked in partnerships. The measuring books show that they worked to no set industrial pattern, but got out whatever lead there was while they could - there are entries for measuring on Christmas Eve, Christmas Day and Boxing Day.

THE MINERS ARMS ACCOUNTS

At a time when currency was scarce, and in the fashion of the inns and alehouses then, the Landlord of the Miners Arms gave long credit and loans for all manner of goods and services, and accepted goods in payment of debts. His accounts therefore, roughly written in the book which had earlier served his father, Barmaster from 1792-1804, as a Measuring Book, help in assessing the miners' living costs, including the measuring fees described above. The Barmaster/Landlord rarely included quantities and most of the sums entered under his customers' names are for unspecified amounts of ale. The following entries, however, are more specific and therefore useful:

<u>Meals and accomodation</u>	£- s- d
"Breckfast of milk"	4
"Diners for Self & Wm Alsop	2- 0
"Lodging for two"	6
"Breckfast for two"	8
"Eating for 9 at 1 each"	9- 0
<u>Housing</u>	
Recd on Acct of Lomad Rent ..."	3- 0- 0
"Lomas Rent up to LD (Lady Day) 1820"	1-10- 0
"One years Poor Rates for House"	8- 9
"Rent up to LD 1821"	17- 2
"To Property Tax"	8- 0
"One years Rent"	2- 0- 0
<u>Hardware</u>	
"A fire place"	11- 0
"Round stool etc"	5- 8
"Fleakes"	1-10- 0
"Gate"	4-12- 6
"Cart Rope"	14- 0
<u>Farm produce</u>	
"Stack of hay"	21-10- 0
"To a cow"	6-10- 0
"To a calf"	9- 6
"Hay for Horse"	3
"Hay for Horse two times"	6
"2 pigs"	1-10- 0
"13 Sheep & one pd Rent (sic)"	19-17- 0
"To a Fat Pigg"	5-10- 0



- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1 Barsod's (Barisford's) pipe | 12 Roundlowe |
| 2 Baldmeer | 13 Smeadow |
| 3 Charles Lum | 14 Speedwell |
| 4 Corsehill | 15 Sprint |
| 5 Great rake | 16 Swang |
| 6 Longcliff dale | 17 Suckstone |
| 7 Nickall's lum
(Nickalum, Old Brassington) | 18 Thacker |
| 8 Perseverance | 19 Upper Baldmeer |
| 9 Potosi | 20 Watterholes |
| 10 Providence | 21 Waynes Dream |
| 11 Riderhill | 22 Whiterake |
| | 23 Wilcockstones |

Figure 6 - Some of the mines, nearest to the village
 (a modified version of a map first published in P.D.M.H.S.
 Bulletin, volume 8, number 5, Summer 1983).

1792 (3 quarters)	$\frac{L-D}{494-4\frac{1}{4}/24}$
1793	$299-5\frac{18}{24}$
1794	111-0
1795	$81-6\frac{18}{24}$
1796	147-4
1797	$116-7\frac{18}{24}$
1798	$156-2\frac{6}{24}$
1799	$263-3\frac{6}{24}$
1800	$140-0\frac{6}{24}$
1801	$112-7\frac{12}{24}$
1802 (2 quarters)	$\frac{71-2}{1994-8\frac{2}{24}}$

Figure 4: Balldmeer Mine -
annual production 1792-1802

	Proprietor	Buyer	Ore L-D	Lot Lots	Income Price	f- s-d
1820 July 14	Francis Fearn	Richard Fearn	0-5			
July 14	"	"	9-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	1	120/-	55-10-0
Dec 11	"	"	18-0	3	140/-	126- 0-0
1821 Mar 27	"	"	13-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	3	140/-	94-10-0
June 7	"	"	7-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	1	140/-	50-15-0
Oct 13	"	"	9-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	2	140/-	66-10-0
Oct 15	William Fearn	"	4-2 $\frac{6}{24}$			
Dec 10	Francis Fearn	"	25-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	4	140/-	178-10-0
1822 Jan 31	"	"	33-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	6	140/-	234-10-0
Mar 20	"	"	26-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	4	140/-	185-10-0
May 9	"	"	28-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	5	120/-	169-10-0
June 22	"	"	16-6 $\frac{18}{24}$	3	120/-	100-10-0
Aug 27	"	"	7-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	1	120/-	43-10-0
Nov 23	"	John Alsop	14-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	3	120/-	85-10-0
1823 Mar 19	"	"	21-6 $\frac{18}{24}$	3	140/-	151-10-0
Mar 21	Job Swindell	"	1-4	1	30/-	2- 0-0
Apr 26	Francis Fearn	"	21-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	4	140/-	150-10-0
June 5	"	"	10-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	2	140/-	71-15-0
Nov 4	"	"	12-0	2	140/-	84- 0-0
1824 Jan 8	"	"	14-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	2	120/-	87- 0-0
Feb 16	"	"	21-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	3	120/-	127-10-0
Apr 1	Richard Fearn	"	19-0	4	120/-	114- 0-0
May 10	"	"	26-6 $\frac{18}{24}$	4	120/-	160-10-0
June 4	"	"	6-0	1	120/-	36- 0-0
July 3	"	"	0-7			
July 20	"	"	16-0	3	120/-	96- 0-0
Nov 6	"	"	0-6			
Dec 22	"	"	28-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	5	120/-	171- 0-0
1825 Jan 4	"	"	1-0	1	43/6	2- 3-6
Feb 21	"	"	24-6 $\frac{18}{24}$	4	120/-	148-10-0
Mar 29	"	"	0-6			
Apr 4	"	"	24-6 $\frac{18}{24}$	4	120/-	148-10-0
May 3	"	"	10-4 $\frac{12}{24}$	2	120/-	63- 0-0
June 28	"	"	30-0	5	120/-	180- 0-0
June 28	"	"	0-7			
Oct 20	"	"	21-6 $\frac{18}{24}$	3	120/-	130-10-0
Dec 2	"	"	22-0	4	120/-	132- 0-0
1826 Feb 24	"	"	14-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	3	100/-	71- 5-0
Mar 23	"	"	13-2 $\frac{6}{24}$	2	100/-	66- 5-0
Mar 25	"	"	0-3			
May 10	William Fearn	"	10-0	2	100/-	50- 0-0
Sept 13	"	"	0-3			
			<u>589-0 $\frac{12}{24}$</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>3674-13-6</u>

Figure 5: Balldmeer Mine - the details, 1820-1826

Balldmeer was still providing income for the family as late as 1846, when the Barmaster entered the following letter in his book 29 - "Sir/ You will have the kindness to place the ²/₂₄ of my share of the Ball Meer Mine I have been allowing to my Uncle Francis sons Richard and brothers and place them to my own other share of ⁴/₂₄ as I have been to the Mine and taken possession of them and placed Edmond Fearn, Thomas Seal and Thomas Slack all of Brassington to work the same this Day April 22nd and by placing the same in your Barmaster's Book you will oblige. Yours respectfully W. Fearn London Road Nottingham April 22nd 1846".

FARMING

There is evidence in the Miners Arms accounts of the farming with which the miners supplemented their income from lead. A list of sums owing to the landlord for ale and loans in the account kept by William Pakeman, proprietor of the Swallownest mine, is balanced by the landlord's purchase of animals or loads of grass or hay - "1814 Oct 6 Mr Pakeman acct for hay for Stirks & Horse 4-0-0", and "1816 had two Pigs 1-10-0", and again "1816 Aug 26 To grass for Horses 2-0-0". More frequent are the entries recording the miners' work on the landlord's farm. Joseph Fearn, proprietor during 1820-1826 of a number of small mines but never listed under Balldmeer worked for the landlord in 1819 - "Apr 19 Recd Work etc up to this time 0-16-0 April 20 one day work 1-0". George Taylor died in 1830 with a 4-year account at the pub which ends with the entry "1830 The late George Taylor for work done at corn 0-4-6". By 1838 Perseverance mine had presumably failed Joseph Greatorex. On March 20th of the following year the landlord credits his account "for Hay time 14-0" i.e., at 1/- per day, 14 days' work. Some accounts show the landlord supplying his stock-in-trade to the miners' own farms. Matthew Bacon's has "1815 Aug 2 ale at times to Hay etc 1-1-11", Francis Fearn's "1829 Aug 17 ale Eating by Jackson & Fearn & Horse 11-7", and William Pakeman's "1816 July 26 ale to Hay by Heathcoat 7-3".

THE BARMASTER

The Barmaster, Thomas Slack, who succeeded his father in 1804, and whose family connections are outlined in a previous article (Slack, 1983), can be seen in his pub accounts to have benefitted in both his businesses - inn-keeping and farming - from his position in the mining industry. The three activities were clearly complementary. While he provided the essential credit for the villagers' prospecting, and farm wages for some of those whose mining was unsuccessful, these services were lucrative for him. The miners who ran up debts at his pub were his labour force at harvest or whenever extra help was needed on the farm, at a wage of 1/- per day. Others were suppliers of hay, grass and animals on occasions.

There are many entries in the Miners Arms accounts, in addition to the ones cited above, illustrating the landlord's farming. William Charlton had by February 5th, 1819 accumulated a debt of £25-16-8¹/₂d. This was offset by the landlord's purchases - "Mr. Charlton's Acct a Stack of Hay £21-10-0d and p^d for Cart Rope 21-14-0". He had a steady market for his ale. The characteristic entry in almost all the accounts held by the miners is "ale to mine" and he seems to have sold his ale whenever he carried out his official duties - "ale at measuring" is a frequent entry, as is "ale at gift" or "ale at giving a mine". The gulf between this Barmaster's reward from mining and the reward gained by the miners is well illustrated by the amounts of land owned by them in 1835, when the village was surveyed for Poor Rate and Land Tax. Only 19 of the miners owned their own houses and only 16 owned any land. The proprietor of the outstandingly successful Balldmeer mine, Francis Fearn, owned a house, a garden and 12 acres. This represented a fair degree of prosperity, and was better than every other miner listed in the Survey. The usual holding for those identifiable as miners was around 3 acres; allowing for the minimum number of 23 men identifiable from the Barmaster's books of gifts and freeings and his pub accounts as being from Carsington and other villages, 46 of the Brassington miners owned neither house nor land. Fearn's holdings may be compared with the Barmaster's holding of 40 acres, plus 59 rented. Most of this land had been acquired during his time at the Miners Arms, where he first held the licence in 1808. The Manor Court Rolls record a number of transfers of copyhold land to him. The background to one of these transactions can be seen in the Miners Arms accounts. At a meeting of the Manor Court on June 9th 1824 Robert Allsop surrendered 2 fields to Thomas Slack for £378. During the year Allsop had borrowed £60 "on a note of hand" and £200 "in cash". At the time he sold the 2 fields to the landlord he owed him £328-15-1d. There is a subtraction sum leaving £49-4-11d "due to Alsop", and an entry in Allsop's account dated April 16th records the receipt by "Mr. Robert Alsop" of £378 "for the Moore Allotments".

The Manor Court Roll volumes reveal that the Barmaster played a generally influential role in the life of the village. He, his son William and other members of his family were regular members of the Manor Court Jury, which met at the Miners Arms, he was an Overseer and Constable on occasion and he acted as "attorney" for absent copyholders in land transfers. The Miners Arms accounts occasionally reveal these and other activities of the Barmaster. For instance, his duty as Overseer to collect the Poor Rate is seen in an entry in William Green's account on May 20th, 1819 - "one years Poor Rates for House 8-9". Joseph Wright, brother of Stephen, lived in a house rented from the Barmaster, and his account has "Rent up to LD (Lady Day) 1821 17-2" and similar entries for later years.

SUMMARY

In contrast to those areas in Derbyshire where the mines were developed by concerns financed by outside capitalists and entrepreneurs, the mines on the rocky slopes and on the plateaux on either side of the valley in which Brassington lies were worked by independent miners from the village or from nearby Carsington. As late as the 1851 Census 49 out of a total adult male population of 242 in Brassington were described as lead miners. The later Barmaster quoted above provides a summary of the type of mining carried on by the villagers until they had exhausted the veins. In a letter dated December 29th, 1883 he wrote " ... the mines ... are of the most unproductive character and have been accessible to every working miner who cared to have a try at them for generations past ... Owing to the peculiar mining customs these mines have been worked and probably afforded a living for 1 or 2 working miners but they (are) entirely unadapted to forming into a large belt ... for a mining Company ..." (Barmaster's Collection, Chatsworth 90/112).

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