

**Landowners and communities in the east Cheshire Pennines
from the 13th century to the 20th**

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by
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Abstract

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The subject of the study is the long-term development of four contiguous rural townships in east Cheshire (Kettleshulme, Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow) which lie on the Pennine margin. It examines the area's history over the complete period for which documentary evidence is found. Although the entire mass of written sources could not be exploited, a wide range of aspects was included. The proposition was that a broad approach, topically and chronologically, facilitated perception of the interaction between different features in the development of the townships. A comparative approach between four townships on similar terrain enabled contrasts and similarities to be perceived between them and an examination of their genesis to be made. Both long-term studies and those undertaking a comparative approach are rare in local history.

The thesis proceeds by describing the methodology and assessing the source material available for such a study, and then describes firstly the natural environment and secondly patterns of landownership as they developed through the centuries. The impact of those features is then assessed as the succeeding chapters discuss different facets of the communities which inhabited the townships, up to the present day: their administrative history; the progress of colonisation; patterns of landholding and land use, notably in agricultural land and parkland; other economic activities pursued at different times and in different parts, including mineral extraction and textile manufacture; overall occupational patterns; the density and pattern of settlement; and religious provision and affiliations. The penultimate chapter examines how outsiders, as well as the inhabitants, shaped the area. The conclusion draws together material about the social character of the four townships, with particular reference to the open/closed model of local communities, and asks how they operated as communities. It assesses how successfully the methods adopted answer questions about local development, and tries to relate this locality to broader types within England, with reference to its distinctive upland features.

The study found important affinities between the four townships: in a late-settled upland landscape where farming was predominantly small-scale and pastoral; in the presence of employments other than agriculture; and in a strong Methodist tradition. One theme which arose was the marginality of the area in terms of the poor environment, consequently modest farming, sparse settlement, and peripherality of these townships to larger administrative arrangements. However, there were great contrasts in patterns of landholding between and indeed within the townships, and variations in land use, economic pursuits, and social differentiation between the four. Landownership and the landscape each played an important role in the development of rural localities.

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Abbreviations

a.	acres
app.	appendix
B.L.	British Library
<u>c.</u>	<u>circa</u>
<u>Census</u>	decennial census reports (see bibliography)
ch./chs.	chapter(s)
Ches.	Cheshire
C.E.R.C.	Church of England Record Centre, London
d.	pence
Derbs.	Derbyshire
<u>D.K.R.</u>	Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
D.o.E. List	Department of the Environment lists of buildings of special architectural or historic interest (see bibliography under Ches. R.O.)
E.C.	Ecclesiastical Commission
<u>E.C.T.M.</u>	A. Calladine and J. Fricker, <u>East Cheshire Textile Mills</u> (London, 1993)
E.C.T.M.S.	East Ches. Textile Mill Survey (in Macclesfield Museum)
edn.	edition
E.P.N.S.	English Place-Names Society
G.M.C.R.O.	Greater Manchester County Record Office
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
H.S.L.C.	Historic Society of Lancs. and Ches.
<u>J.C.A.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society</u> (the journal has undergone several changes of name since its inception but is consistently cited thus in the text)
I.C.B.S.	Incorporated Church Building Society
J.R.U.L.M.	John Rylands University Library of Manchester
km.	kilometres
Lancs.	Lancashire
m.	metres or membrane(s), depending on the context
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (latterly Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food)
MS./MSS.	manuscript(s)
n.d.	no date
N.R.A.	National Register of Archives
MS./MSS.	manuscript(s)
Northants.	Northamptonshire
<u>O.E.D.</u>	<u>Oxford English Dictionary</u>
O.N.S.	Office for National Statistics, Southport

Ormerod, <u>History</u> <u>of Ches.</u>	G. Ormerod, <u>History of Cheshire</u> , ed. T. Helsby (1882)
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
p.	perch(es) or page
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
r.	rood(s) or recto, depending on the context
R.O.	Record Office
s.	shillings
Staffs.	Staffordshire
T.C.D.L.	Trinity College Dublin Library
<u>T.H.S.L.C.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancs. and Ches.</u>
<u>T.L.C.A.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiquarian Society</u>
TS./TSS.	typescript(s)
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>Victoria County History</u>
v.	verso
vols.	volumes

Notes on the text

Spelling and capitalisation in quotations has been standardised. Place-name spellings follow J. McN. Dodgson, Place-Names of Cheshire, i (E.P.N.S. xliv, 1970), except where the original spelling is material to the point being made.

Measurements are sometimes metric and sometimes imperial, depending on the source cited.

Cheshire acres were about two and a half times the size of statute acres: Agrarian History, v: 1640-1750, ii: Agrarian Change, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1985), 826.

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I INTRODUCTION:
METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

'MACCLESFIELD HUNDRED

The general scenery ... is strikingly distinguished from the rest of Cheshire ... the surface undulates more at each successive mile in approaching the Derbyshire boundary, and in the neighbourhood of Macclesfield rises into bleak hills, parted by stone walls, and soon after has little to distinguish it from the moors of the contiguous counties.'

George Ormerod, 1819

The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester,
ed. T. Helsby (London, 1882), iii. 541

Examination of the evolution of local communities in the long term is not often undertaken. This study seeks to survey a wide range of features in the history of four rural townships in order to explore how the interrelationships between landscape, landowners and communities shaped their development.¹ Analysis over several centuries reveals continuities and contrasts at different periods and allows historical processes to be traced fully. The comparative approach between several contiguous townships allows interesting similarities and contrasts to be perceived. Kettlethulme, Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow lie a few kilometres north-east of Macclesfield.² Descriptions of the Pennine area of east Cheshire in which they lie have frequently employed such adjectives as cold, bleak, mountainous, moorish,

¹ Notable attempts at such a study include J. R. Ravensdale, Liable to Floods: Village Landscape on the Edge of the Fens A.D. 450-1850 (Cambridge, 1974). Upland areas have been particularly poorly served.

² Figure 1.1.

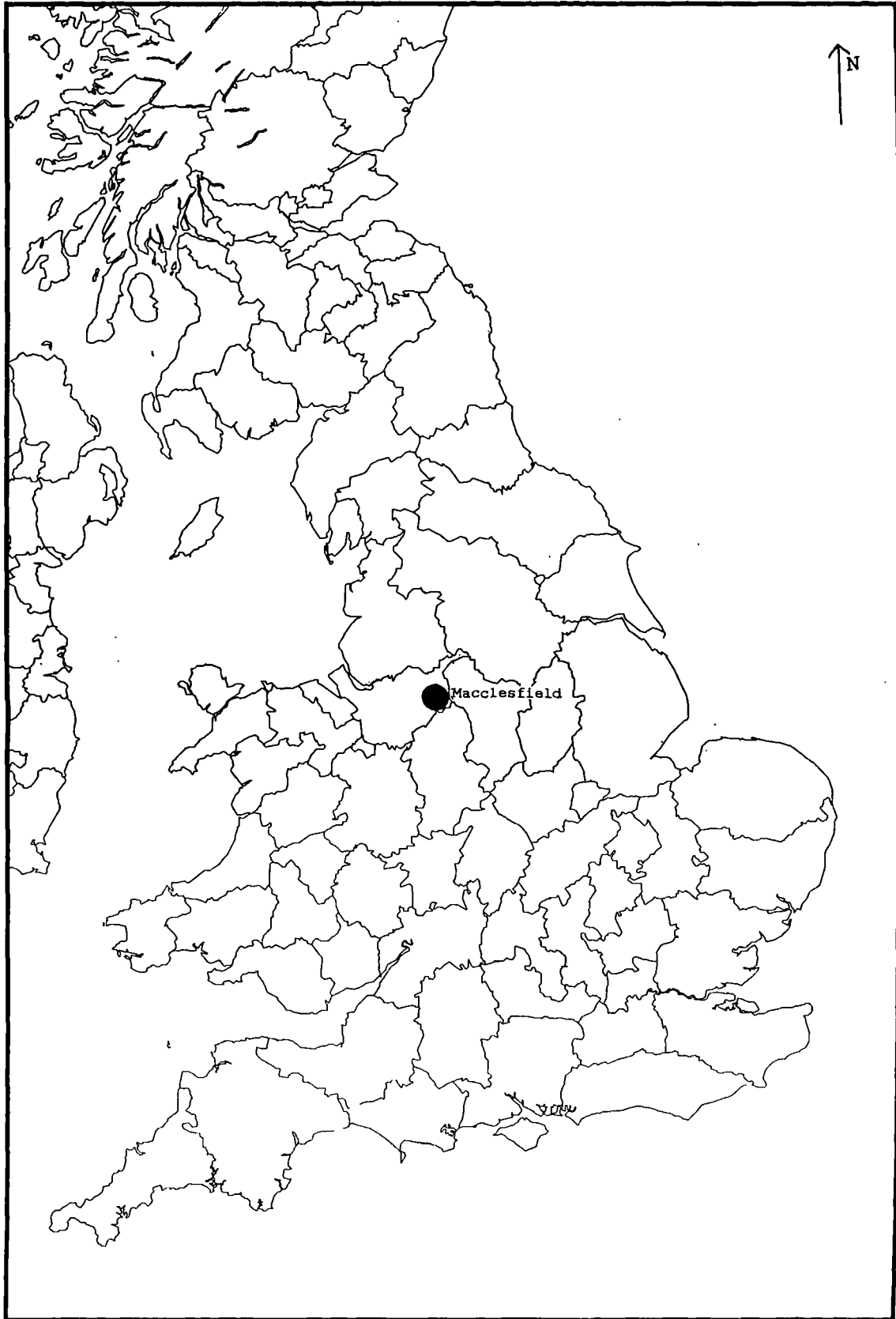


Figure 1.1
Map of Britain, showing the Macclesfield area

wild, dreary, desolate, barren, and unpicturesque.³ Such observations reveal much about its character. However, contrasts between the ways in which the townships developed indicate complexities in their histories that geographical factors alone cannot explain.

The two largest of the townships⁴ were Rainow (the most southerly of the four and very extensive, about five kilometres at its widest point) and Lyme Handley, immediately to its north. To the west and east of these two lay, respectively, Pott Shrigley and Kettleshulme, the latter the smallest of these townships, a narrow strip less than a quarter of the size of Rainow.⁵ Administratively the four townships were within the palatine county of Chester, but were located in the very east of the county close to the Derbyshire border; the 'Lyme' part of the name 'Lyme Handley' was a general name for the Pennine uplands on Cheshire's eastern borders.⁶ The four lay within the manor and forest of Macclesfield,

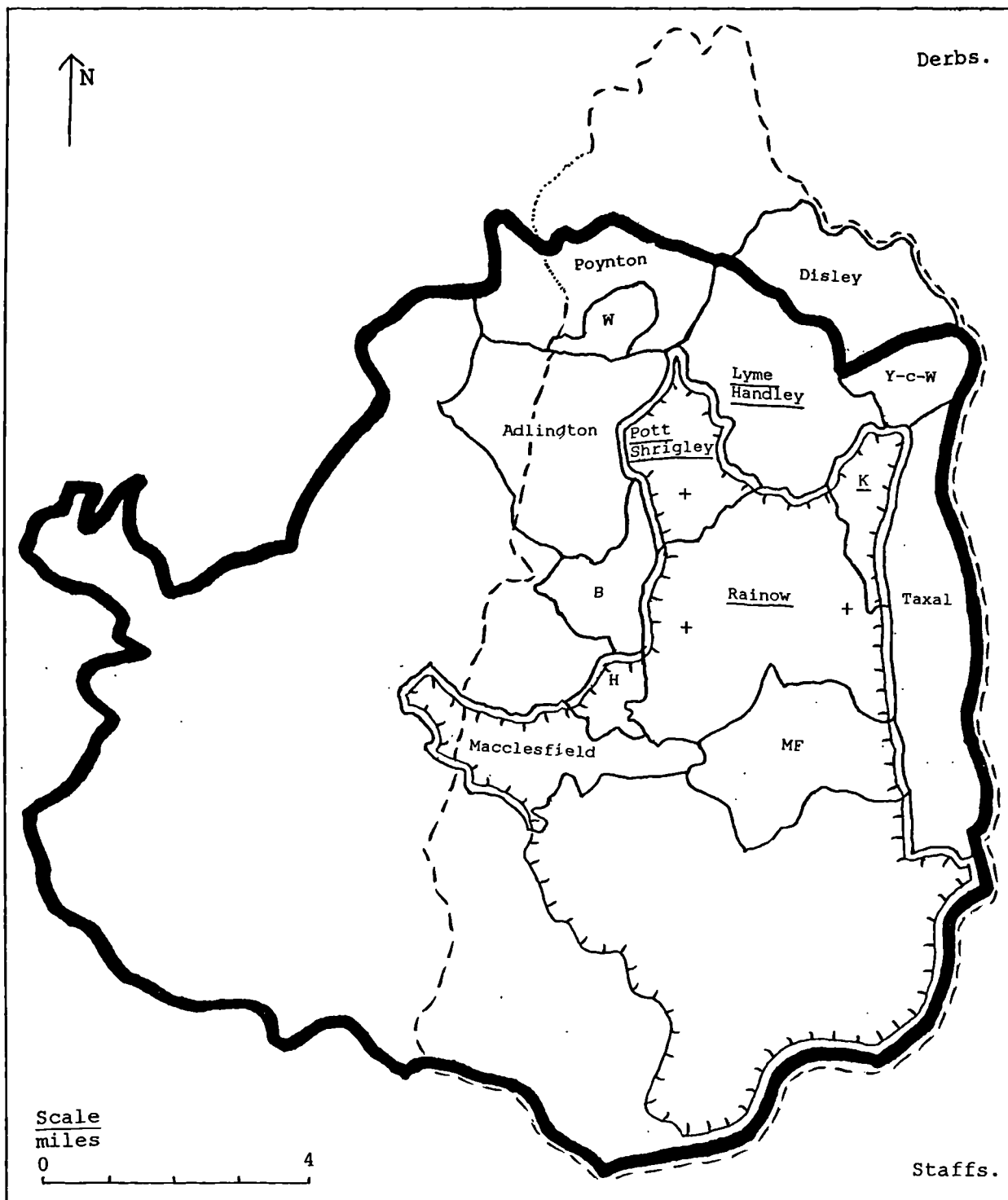
³ E.g. Ches. R.O., EDP 225/5; E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales, ii (London, 1809), 262; S. Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester (Sheffield, 1850), 201, 252-3; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771, 773. Cf. pp. 366-8 below.

⁴ Figure 1.2.

⁵ Acreages (1891): Kettleshulme 1,232; Lyme Handley 3,747; Pott Shrigley 1,706; Rainow 5,744; P. Laxton, 'List of Ches. townships and civil parishes' (TS. kindly supplied to V.C.H. Ches. by Mr Laxton).

⁶ J. McN. Dodgson, The Place-Names of Ches. i (E.P.N.S. xliv, 1970), 2-4. The alteration to the county boundary (1936) transferred parts of Yeardsley-cum-Whaley and Taxal (which bordered on Lyme Handley and Kettleshulme) and a small section of north-east Kettleshulme to Derbyshire, and the county boundary thereafter coincided with parts of the eastern limits of this area: V.C.H. Ches. ii. 188, 219, 235, 240; O.S. Map 6", Ches. XXIX.NE (1913 edn.); O.S. Map 1/25,000, SJ 88/98 (1993 edn.).

Figure 1.2
Administrative units of east Cheshire



Key

The map shows the four townships Kettleshulme, Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow, and the other townships contiguous with them.

B = Bollington; H = Hurdsfield; K = Kettleshulme; MF = Macclesfield Forest; W = Worth; Y-c-W = Yeardsley-cum-Whaley

———— parish of Prestbury (at its greatest extent)

----- forest of Macclesfield, 1619 boundary uncertain

▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬ Macclesfield chapelry

+ chapels within the four townships

Based on: F. I. Dunn, The Ancient Parishes, Townships and Chapelries of Ches. (1987); V.C.H. Ches. ii. 180.

and formed part of the vast parish of Prestbury.⁷ Over three quarters of the area of the townships today lies within the Peak District National Park.⁸ The unpropitious physical environment of the townships, their location on the very eastern marches of the county, and their long-term status as subsidiary elements within larger territorial arrangements (parish, manor, and forest), rather than as wholly autonomous ones, highlight a recurring theme in their histories, namely their marginality. The theme recurs in their pattern of late and scattered settlement, and in their late and idiosyncratic ecclesiastical arrangements.⁹

This study considers whether the status of the four townships as part of the forest of Macclesfield held implications for their development. Forests,¹⁰ contrary to popular belief,¹¹ are not landscape features and are not defined by being wooded. The term refers to a legal and administrative entity: a distinct area in which hunting rights were reserved and game was safeguarded. They were either royal or seigniorial, although the king or lord did not necessarily own the land thus distinguished, only certain rights over it. The land was subject to certain

⁷ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 541, 646; Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'. See figure 1.2.

⁸ Below, figure 2.1 (p. 26).

⁹ Cf. A. P. Coney, 'On the Fringe: Landscape and Life in Upholland, c. 1300-1599' (thesis for Ph.D., University of Liverpool, 1998), 1, on geographical and administrative factors in 'marginality'.

¹⁰ Details are from: A. Crosby, A History of Ches. (Chichester, 1996), 47-8; W. G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape (London, 1977 edn.), 90-1; O. Rackham, The Last Forest: the Story of Hatfield Forest (London, 1989), 2-3, 38-40; I. W. M. Harvey, 'Bernwood in the Middle Ages', Bernwood: the Life and Afterlife of a Forest, ed. J. Broad and R. Hoyle (Preston, 1997), 6-8.

¹¹ Cf. Rackham, Last Forest, p. ix.

additional restrictions and regulations above and beyond those of the general legal code, under the peculiar system of forest law. Over time, the significance of forest rights seems to have changed, with the emphasis on hunting diminishing and their revenue-raising capacity exploited. The designation of an area as forest, however, was not necessarily unrelated to the character of its landscape. Areas may have been chosen as forests and retained that status in part because of their marginality, a limited potential for profitable land use - although as we shall see the existence of a forest did not, and did not intend to, preclude other land uses. There was great variation in their landscapes, encompassing variously heath, fen, and moorland terrain, and only in some cases woodland.

The townships which form the subject of the present study are located where the Pennine foothills rise out of the flatter landscape to the west, and reach significant peaks in the east of the area, notably Shining Tor (559 m.) just south of Rainow.¹² Environmentally, this upland edge has little affinity with the rest of Cheshire: its relief and the predominance of stone buildings, rather than the timber-framed ones which constitute much of the county's vernacular building tradition, strike very obvious contrasts.¹³ There is limited woodland and parts of the townships are open moorland. The land undulates - sometimes steeply - in a series of valleys and peaks.

However, the area was not so bleak and unproductive as to preclude settlement or prevent exploitation of the available - if limited - resources. Land was gradually taken into use in the medieval and early modern periods.

¹² V.C.H. Ches. i. 1-2. Below, figure 2.1 (p. 26), for the landscape.

¹³ Crosby, History of Ches. 66-7.

Settlement is characterised by scattered farms and cottages, with some small agglomerations, a typical pattern in upland areas.¹⁴ What concentrations of population there are - including the small villages of Pott Shrigley, Kettleshulme and Rainow - tend to lie on lower ground, particularly in the less bleak western part of the area. Areas of moorland are sometimes bare of settlement: the place-name 'Sponds' in Lyme Handley referred to the interval between the cultivated lands of the townships (Pott Shrigley and Kettleshulme) to west and east.¹⁵ However, some farms are located on remote tracts of moorland. Three Church of England chapels - one, medieval, in Pott Shrigley village and two, 18th-century, in Rainow village and the valley of Saltersford (Rainow) - served this scattered population, several miles distant from the parish church at Prestbury. The townships also contained several nonconformist chapels, reflecting the strength of Methodism in the area. Two country houses strike a contrast with the typical pattern of more humble dwellings: Shrigley Hall, a building of the 1820s but with a predecessor first documented in the mid-16th century; and Lyme Hall, a palatial house of several phases surrounded by a large park, first mentioned in 1466. The combined population of the four townships in 1991 totalled fewer than 2,000.¹⁶ Larger concentrations of settlement, contrasting with these sparsely-settled townships, lie just outside the area, in Disley to the north of Lyme Handley, and Bollington, just west of Rainow. In even greater contrast are Macclesfield, a medieval borough and, later, centre of the silk industry, to the south-west, which was the administrative focus for this area; and, a few miles

¹⁴ For settlement see figure 2.1 below (p. 26).

¹⁵ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 200.

¹⁶ Below, table 4.24 (p. 313).

north-west, the large urban mass of Stockport, with Manchester further north.

Owing to the extreme relief, damp climate, the exposure of the higher ground, and poor soil,¹⁷ the predominant economic activity over many centuries has been pastoral farming; but despite the rurality of the townships their economies cannot be characterised as solely agricultural. Other activities have included mineral extraction (coal- and clay-mining, brick-making, and stone-quarrying), and textile manufacture in Rainow and Kettlethulme. In recent decades the townships' character has changed radically, as fewer individuals farm the land, and workers may reside within the area - once comparatively remote and inaccessible - but commute by car to centres of population and employment.

Broad similarities among the four in landscape, administrative structures, land use and patterns of settlement existed alongside a series of striking contrasts, with gentry estates as well as areas of more fragmented landownership, and variations in the relative importance of different economic activities, and in social character. Commentators have often remarked upon the incongruity of Lyme Hall's architectural grandeur and its bleak setting.¹⁸ Yet the fact that the Leghs, owners of Lyme, were as much subject to the vagaries of their Pennine environment as their poorer neighbours is illustrated by the comments of their gardener in the 17th century, who complained 'what a strange cold place it is'.¹⁹ Clearly the possibilities offered by the environment were a critical factor in determining what

¹⁷ Below, ch. II.

¹⁸ E.g. Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 678.

¹⁹ Quoted in Lady Newton, The House of Lyme (London, 1917), 316.

activities could prevail, but the evident contrasts call for explanation. Other possible factors, such as landownership, need to be examined.

This examination shows increasing differentiation between the four places from the earliest mention of the individual townships, in their gradual development out of the units (manor, forest and parish) in which they were organised in the earlier medieval period, in the spread of settlement and in increasing diversity of activity within the forest as time went on. Comparison between townships should aid understanding of the factors which shaped their development, helping the historian to differentiate between their effects more clearly than if he looked at one place in isolation, and to gain some insight into how each township might have developed differently given the presence or absence of other determinants. Comparison reveals varying affinities between different townships over time and in different spheres.

The following chapters survey a broad range of environmental, economic and social aspects. They examine, firstly, the landscape and, secondly, the evolving patterns of landholding, and how these differ from township to township, since both were important determinants in the history of the area. The study proceeds to examine the communities which evolved and the various ways in which they manifested themselves - in the use of land and natural resources, economic activity, the administrative structures through which they operated and the social institutions they sustained, and the character of the settlements which resulted. Most importantly, it aims to examine the impact of landscape and landholding upon these communities, and vice versa. The period chosen

constitutes the entire span which can be examined in any detail from documentary sources.

The broad topical and chronological range has been at some expense of detail. Such an undertaking cannot be comprehensive, and begs more extensive examination of many particular periods and problems. Concentration on one township would have allowed greater depth, and the area under consideration provides rich source material - for instance, the Legh of Lyme manuscripts for Lyme Handley. Alternatively, more intensive work on all the townships could have been undertaken for a more limited period. But such approaches would lose the valuable comparative aspects which derive from considering why several townships developed in divergent or similar ways. It is hoped that what has undoubtedly been lost in detail will be offset by insights provided by the broader perspective.

Any historical study must consider how the possibilities and limitations of its sources affect its conclusions. Such considerations include both the availability and the accessibility of source material. In the present instance, firstly, the surviving sources on this area are variable in their coverage, geographically and chronologically. Secondly, and importantly, given the scope of the topic, which calls upon a great range of sources diverse in date, provenance, and format, a large volume of material was available for examination, and consequently selective use of it was necessary.²⁰ The basis of the research was, through an acquaintance with primary and secondary sources, an overview of the

²⁰ Cf. A. MacFarlane, S. Harrison and C. Jardine, Reconstructing Historical Communities (Cambridge, 1977), ch. 2, on the types of records available for such a study, and their bulk.

townships' history - topographical, economic, administrative, and social. The method was to search systematically a wide range of the more accessible sources.

The obvious starting point was thorough use of printed material. Given the enormity of the project, use of data from other historians' research was the most efficient way to proceed. Bibliographies²¹ and library catalogues were searched. A systematic search of local periodicals²² and standard printed sources for local history²³ - including editions of various P.R.O. classes - for references to the four townships was conducted. Much information on the wide variety of printed sources relating to the townships was found at Cheshire Record Office via a detailed computerised database to its holdings. Printed sources included both one-off publications and serials, dating from the 19th and 20th centuries. Some aspects of the townships' histories, including the Legh family and Lyme Hall, and Pott Chapel, have received greater attention than others from previous writers - in some cases resulting in repetition between the printed sources. Conversely, printed sources on Kettleshulme, which had no great landed family, buildings of great architectural merit, or Church of England chapel, are limited. However, despite the volume of

²¹ A. C. Walsh and A. R. Allan, The History of the County Palatine of Chester: a Short Bibliography and Guide to Sources, ed. B. E. Harris (Chester, 1983); S. A. Raymond, Ches.: a Genealogical Bibliography, i: Ches. Genealogical Sources; ii: Ches. Family Histories and Pedigrees (Birmingham, 1995).

²² Chetham Society; Record Society of Lancs. and Ches.; J.C.A.S.; T.H.S.L.C.; T.L.C.A.S.; Ches. Sheaf; Northern History.

²³ From a checklist provided by the V.C.H. Ches.: cf. V.C.H. General Introduction, 25-6. This research has been based upon the systematic methods of the V.C.H.

literature on it, some aspects of Lyme Handley's history (for example, land use) have not received much coverage.

The present study has benefited in particular from the work of three 19th-century historians: George Ormerod; his editor, Thomas Helsby; and J. P. Earwaker.²⁴ Although their interest in Kettleshulme, Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow did not by any means embrace all the issues the present study addresses, treatment²⁵ of their primary concerns (mainly the descents of the larger or older estates,²⁶ and the institutional histories, architecture, and endowments of Church of England chapels) is thorough and reliable - an admirable achievement given that their research pre-dated county record offices and many of the lists and indexes available to the present-day historian. The present study depends on the work of more recent historians also. A major source is the archive of the Downes family,²⁷ whose papers range from c. 1300 to the 19th century and include information not only on land tenure but on other facets of Pott Shrigley's history such as land use, economic activities, and religious provision. Access to this information is made immeasurably easier by J. McN. Dodgson's detailed calendar²⁸ (ancillary to his work on Cheshire place-names, itself a significant tool for later scholars). Access to the muniments of the Earls of Derby²⁹

²⁴ Ormerod, History of Ches. ed. Helsby (3 vols., London, 1882); Earwaker, East Ches. (2 vols., London, 1877-80).

²⁵ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 671-9, 771-6; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 291-314, 455-7.

²⁶ Cf. letter from J. W. H. Thorp to Earwaker, 4 Dec. 1878: Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/41.

²⁷ Ches. R.O., DDS.

²⁸ 'Downes MSS.' (2 vols., N.R.A., 1958).

²⁹ Lancs. R.O., DDK. Various finding aids: R. S. France, Guide to the Lancs. R.O. (Preston, 1985), 262-70; S. A. Moore, A Calendar of the

is similarly enhanced by the work of S. A. Moore, who arranged and calendared the surviving material in the 19th century.³⁰ Other work of particular value included two detailed accounts of parts of the area. Jane Laughton's examination of 17th-century Rainow provided much information which would otherwise be beyond the scope of the present undertaking.³¹ Richard Purslow's work on land use in the Harrop Valley (Rainow), in far more detail than the terms of this thesis allow for the whole area, proved useful.³² P. H. W. Booth's and A. M. Tonkinson's work on the 14th-century manor and forest of Macclesfield was also important.³³ This reliance on earlier scholars extends not only to their published work, but sometimes to archival deposits left by them. The papers of several antiquarians and historians included not only notes but original material.³⁴ Of particular significance in the work of previous historians has been the fact that some had access to

Muniments of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby (privately printed London, 1894); Lancs. R.O., 'Report on the estate papers of the Stanley family' (H.M.C., 1996); ibid. TS./MS. list of DDK leases.

³⁰ Moore, Calendar of the Muniments of the Earl of Derby, vi, pp. i-ii.

³¹ 'The Township of Rainow in the Seventeenth Century' (thesis for certificate in local history, University of Manchester, 1986).

³² 'The Harrop Valley: a Post-Medieval Landscape History' (dissertation for M.Sc., University of Salford, 1997).

³³ Tonkinson, 'A Borough and Forest Community: the Courts of Macclesfield in the Later Fourteenth Century' (thesis for Ph.D., University of Liverpool, 1989); Booth's work includes his Financial Administration of the Lordship and County of Chester 1272-1377 (Chetham Society 3rd series xxviii, 1981).

³⁴ Earwaker papers: Chester R.O., CR 63; Stafford collection: Birkenhead Library, MA; topographical collections by D. and S. Lysons: B.L., Add. MSS. 9414, 9443, 9461; Walter Smith notebooks: Ches. R.O., D 5299; Trippier papers: Ches. R.O., DTR.

primary sources which were not available to the present writer.³⁵

Various means were used to locate relevant manuscript sources. Much material is held in Cheshire Record Office, and the available lists and indexes to its holdings were searched for each township. The finding aids for various classes in the Public Record Office were searched for the township names. The Historical Manuscripts Commission's databases on archive collections nationally produced information about some deposits. Citations in secondary sources provided further references to relevant material. The manuscript sources were extensive and varied, as one would expect when the subject in hand encompasses seven centuries and a spectrum of topics. Many of the available sources have been used to some degree by earlier historians. However important the work of earlier researchers, though, the following chapters aim to use sources such as the land tax returns, census data and tithe commutation records more extensively, systematically and - especially - comparatively.

The material (printed and manuscript) relating to the townships ranges greatly in date, type and provenance. Records are created for specific purposes according to the needs of an individual or organisation. Consequently most are particular to a period, sometimes very specific - for example, the tithe commutation records to the late 1840s.³⁶ The exceptions are deeds, covering this extensive

³⁵ E.g. M. Crozier, An Old Silk Family 1745-1945 (Aberdeen, 1947), 10-12, used Brocklehurst family deeds for Kettleshulme; C. S. Davies, The Agricultural History of Ches. 1750-1850 (Chetham Society 3rd series x, 1960), 147, cites Ingersley Archives, relating to Rainow, but attempts to locate these have proved unsuccessful.

³⁶ Ches. R.O., EDT.

period in its entirety, and probate records, also created over a long period.³⁷ Some sources are produced only at one point in time; others enable the historian to examine change over time. Although ranging from the medieval period to the present day, a disproportionate number of sources for this study date from the 19th and 20th centuries, although there is no simple progression in the quality or volume of sources towards the present day - the most recent period is not necessarily best served by the available documentation.³⁸ In some respects, it is for a 150-year period around the 19th century that the quality of historical sources, in terms of detail and comprehensiveness, for a study such as this peaks: these excellent sources include the land tax returns (1784-1831); local directories; tithe apportionments and maps (1848-50); census returns (1841-91); Ordnance Survey maps; and the 1910 land valuation registers and maps. There is consequently a bias in the following chapters towards this period, because these easily-accessible sources can be readily searched to produce a large volume of information relating to several facets of the townships' history, which was often collected in a systematic way, producing sometimes quantifiable data which are comparable between townships. Consequently phenomena which are glimpsed in earlier periods from the more fragmentary evidence, such as contrasts between the townships in landholding or in occupational patterns, are by the 19th century clarified by the good documentation. This evidence allows the historian to define the differentiation between the townships at that period very

³⁷ The earliest will found for this area is the will of Geoffrey Downes (1492) (copy at Ches. R.O., EDA 2/6); listing of post-1857 probate material on the Ches. R.O. database was ongoing in Apr. 1998.

³⁸ Cf. Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 93.

clearly, and so look for the - sometimes much earlier - precursors of and reasons for it.

Because the records created depend on the informational needs of the time³⁹ the historian must consider the value for his research of the information they contain. Certain classes arise from the needs of local or central government, relating to their judicial or administrative functions (the need to raise revenue, or to gather information about the population being governed). Some national governmental sources in the Public Record Office fall into these divisions: those relating to cases brought in the various courts of law; and government surveys and returns, including the census. Others relate to the administration of Crown property. Some sources arise from the informational needs of non-governmental bodies, for example the Church of England. Many records concern property rights, and one class of these calls for particular mention. Large accumulations documenting the estates of landed families⁴⁰ have formed a major source for this study. They consist of various types of deeds (reflecting one of the primary purposes of their accumulation, proof of title),⁴¹ and documents resulting from estate management. They may include letters, both

³⁹ E.g. the censuses, made according to the needs of government for information about its population: E. Higgs, Making Sense of the Census (London, 1989), 2-4. Hence the returns for each census recorded slightly different information: ibid. 106-26, 133-5.

⁴⁰ Downes papers (Ches. R.O., DDS); Derby papers (Lancs. R.O., DDK); Legh manuscripts (G.M.C.R.O., E 17; J.R.U.L.M.); Courtown papers (Northants. R.O., FS 48; T.C.D.L.); and many smaller accumulations of deeds.

⁴¹ Examples are found of their production as evidence in court: Warrington in MCCCCLXV, ed. W. Beamont (Chetham Society [old series] xvii, 1849), p. viii: referring to Legh of Lyme Survey 1466 (original held at Lyme Hall in 1998).

business and personal.⁴² Some reflect the interest of the landowning family in its own history.⁴³ Such archives provide a great deal of information about the transmission of property; family members; the family's houses; occupation of the property by tenants, or its exploitation by the landowner; agriculture and other economic activity; and the local community, including perhaps its church or school. Estate collections are valuable not just because of the volume and diversity of material they contain, but because they tell a coherent (albeit sometimes incomplete) story over a long period. In comparison, odd deposits of deeds contain useful information about particular estates, but may not detail the accumulation of land to form an estate, the means by which such an estate passed from generation to generation, the different means by which a family sought to exploit its resources, and the impact on the area and its inhabitants. However, estate records give their owners' perspective, and it can consequently be difficult to formulate ideas about communities other than through that viewpoint.

Some estate collections are less comprehensive than others. The Downes papers' coverage is good⁴⁴ until the

⁴² Notably the Leghs' - substantial deposits listed in: J.R.U.L.M., TS. list (correspondence 1580-1841); G.M.C.R.O., Catalogue of Archives Legh of Lyme Hall, E 17/89-91 (correspondence, 17th-20th centuries); *ibid.* E 17/212 (letter books, 19th-20th centuries). Quoted in: Lady Newton, House of Lyme, and Lyme Letters 1660-1760 (London, 1925); G. Simm, The Life and Times of Peter Legh the Younger (1707-1792) (Newton-le-Willows, 1996).

⁴³ E.g. Newton, House of Lyme, for the Leghs; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 59/1: TS. 'History of the Stopfords'.

⁴⁴ Notwithstanding the 'very decayed state' of his 'old evidences' reported to Ormerod by Edward Downes in 1819: Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 540.

estate was sold in 1818,⁴⁵ whereafter no large accumulations of manuscripts survive for the Shrigley estate.⁴⁶ Coverage for the Courtown estate in Saltersford (Rainow) is good for the mid-19th to mid-20th century,⁴⁷ for which period even quite minor material⁴⁸ survives. Conversely, records for earlier periods are lacking.⁴⁹ The history of most estate papers contains some such complexities, and coverage is rarely complete over the whole tenure of the family: for example, some early Derby papers are said to have been lost in the 17th century.⁵⁰ This illustrates how archival practice, affecting the availability and accessibility of material, determines how history can be written. Lady Newton described how she rediscovered family manuscripts which had lain untouched for decades, subject to attack by damp and rodents rendering some of them indecipherable.⁵¹ However,

⁴⁵ Below, p. 50.

⁴⁶ Only some deeds at Ches. R.O., D 3076. Estate records are said to have been lost in a fire at Shrigley Park: E. White, Pott Shrigley, a village school (1992), 10.

⁴⁷ Northants. R.O., FS 48; T.C.D.L., Courtown papers.

⁴⁸ E.g. receipts used in the compilation of estate accounts (1816-1934): T.C.D.L., Courtown P 18-27.

⁴⁹ Nineteenth-century historians tried to trace the origins of the first James Stopford who owned land in Saltersford. J. Glascott wrote to Sir Bernard Burke (1 Nov. 1878) that a search for his ancestry must be feasible, he did not just 'drop from the clouds', and that as a man of position there must have been property records referring to his ancestors: copy letter at Chester R.O., CR 63/1/187/1. But Earwaker found no early Ches. deeds among the Courtown muniments, and could not trace the full descent: East Ches. ii. 457. Cf. p. 60 below.

⁵⁰ Moore, Calendar of the Muniments of the Earl of Derby, vi, p. i.

⁵¹ Newton, House of Lyme, p. xiii. The comments presumably refer to family correspondence, on which her work was based; deeds and other material now at J.R.U.L.M. (listed in a 19th-century manuscript volume) originated in the estate office.

extensive material survives in several repositories⁵² and the choice of Lyme Handley for this study presented problems due to its quantity. Although Lyme was the family seat, it formed a small portion of the Leghs' estates and their papers consequently contain much information extraneous to the topic in hand. The present author has therefore not undertaken a comprehensive search, but via the finding aids targeted key sources for the history of Lyme Handley, focussing on the transmission and management of the estate and its impact on the township in terms of land occupation and use, and avoiding material pertaining to other subjects such as the Lancashire estates, the detailed architectural history of Lyme Hall, the public events of the day and, except as landowners in east Cheshire, the careers and relationships of family members. The family correspondence, which is unindexed by subject, was too

⁵² G.M.C.R.O., E 17: Legh of Lyme Hall (listed in TS. catalogue, 2 vols.); *ibid.* Lewis Wyatt drawings (TS. list); J.R.U.L.M., Legh of Lyme Correspondence 1580-1841 (TS. list); *ibid.* Legh of Lyme Muniments (bound MS. list of box contents; supplementary MS. calendar of boxes M & N). Also J.R.U.L.M., 'Note on deeds, legal papers, manorial records and estate records of the Legh family 12th-19th century' (H.M.C., 1989). This states there are also 18th-century estate accounts at Stockport Archive Service. Manchester Library holds photographic material. Some sources remain at Lyme, including photographs; the survey of 1466; and 20th-century material relating to the administration of Lyme Park. Note that material seems to have been divided between J.R.U.L.M. and G.M.C.R.O. primarily by date, with J.R.U.L.M. housing the earlier material. Details of the whereabouts of some manuscripts was kindly provided by Kate Atkinson of the National Trust, Lyme Park. Some 'documents of interest', mainly those referring to public events, were detailed in Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1872), 268-71.

voluminous to search.⁵³ Similarly, finding aids to the Derby papers were searched for information on Rainow and Kettleshulme, but no further exploration for material on administration of the Stanley estates was undertaken, for the east Cheshire lands were a small part of their far-reaching properties. That a full search of the Downes papers, also voluminous (albeit relating almost exclusively to east Cheshire), could be made is owing primarily to the existence of the indexed calendar.

The records for the history of the four townships are thus variable in their coverage. Some sources are based upon the unit of the township. But others do not exist for some townships: for example, diocesan and parochial material pertains only to Rainow and Pott Shrigley. A 1611 survey of the forest of Macclesfield included less detailed information on Lyme Handley than on other townships, because Lyme Handley was by then freehold, whereas the others were still copyhold of the manor of Macclesfield.⁵⁴ Estate records cover only parts of Rainow and Kettleshulme, in the case of the Derby papers;⁵⁵ Saltersford but not the rest of Rainow in the Courtown papers; much of Pott Shrigley and a small part of Rainow in the Downes papers; and Lyme Handley and a corner of Pott Shrigley in the Legh manuscripts. Even sources which do exist for all the townships may be subject to limitations. Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley tithe apportionments and maps cover the entire townships, but

⁵³ Although Lady Newton quoted extracts in House of Lyme and Lyme Letters. Her researches must have been extensive, given the volume of material: e.g. letters to Richard Legh (d. 1687) alone, in whom she had a particular interest, at J.R.U.L.M. number almost 400 (TS. list of correspondence).

⁵⁴ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 147-363.

⁵⁵ Cf. Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 26.

for Kettleshulme and Rainow detailed data on land use are given only for those parts still owing tithes at the date of commutation.⁵⁶ Information about their topography is therefore incomplete, which is particularly frustrating as this source usually provides a good picture of localities in the mid-19th century.

Some sources which contain information about Kettleshulme, Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow have not been included in this study. This is owing, firstly, to the volume of source material and, secondly, to the limitations of finding aids. Notably, some Public Record Office classes have not been exploited. Special Collections material, and the Palatinate records, contain important information about the history of the county including the Macclesfield area.⁵⁷ Relevant material is buried within these voluminous records which, in some cases lacking place-name indexes, were too extensive to search for the four townships. Other sources which proved too problematic to exploit included Quarter Sessions Records in Cheshire Record Office, which lack place-name indexes but must contain relevant information.⁵⁸ Selective use only has been made of probate material held in

⁵⁶ Ches. R.O., EDT 223, 252, 328, 339.

⁵⁷ SC 2, 6, 11-12 (court rolls, ministers' accounts, rentals and surveys; including Macclesfield manor and forest); CHES classes. Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, i: Legal Records etc. (London, 1963), 172-6, 190-3; Public Record Office Current Guide, part 2: Class Descriptions (published on microform, 1996), see under CHES, SC; P.R.O. classlists. Further detail on some classes: TS. 'Medieval Ches. Seminar' 1974-5 (University of Liverpool School of History and Institute of Extension Studies). Some information on P.R.O. classes kindly provided by Mr P. H. W. Booth; see also his Financial Administration, 11-14, 87, 177-8. See bibliography for calendars of various P.R.O. classes which were consulted.

⁵⁸ Cf. Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 12.

Cheshire Record Office (which holds over 600 pre-1857 wills for the four townships),⁵⁹ for example, wills and inventories of particular occupational groups; but much of the information remains unexploited.⁶⁰ Not even a more concentrated project like Laughton's on 17th-century Rainow was able to look at all the possible sources.⁶¹ Examination of sources was confined to those which could be searched quickly by place, and some are better suited to this topographical searching than others.

Some of the available sources have been sampled, rather than examined in their entirety, for example land tax returns:⁶² the lists of property-holders changed little from year to year and so examination at intervals of several years, rather than annually, has been undertaken. Nineteenth- and 20th-century agricultural returns⁶³ were also used periodically. Although all the census enumerators' books currently available, 1841-91, were consulted, only those of 1851 and 1891 have been analysed in detail.⁶⁴

The research has been based primarily upon documentary sources, but some fieldwork was undertaken to gather

⁵⁹ The P.R.O. also holds P.C.C. wills for local people (PROB 11).

⁶⁰ Many sophisticated studies, exploiting the great potential of wills and inventories but also taking into account their problematic aspects, have been undertaken on many different topics: cf. W. B. Stephens, Sources for English Local History (Cambridge, 1981), 62-5, 69, 172, 304-5. Laughton's 'Township of Rainow' shows the breadth of their usefulness.

⁶¹ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 12.

⁶² Ches. R.O., QDV: for all townships, 1784-1831 (all want 1788, Lyme Handley also 1792).

⁶³ P.R.O., MAF 68.

⁶⁴ The returns of 1851 are superior to those for 1841: E. Higgs, A Clearer Sense of the Census (London, 1996), 7-8, 10-11.

evidence about the physical products of past eras - the area's landscape and its buildings. Some of the written sources used were themselves based upon fieldwork.⁶⁵ That non-documentary sources add information otherwise unavailable is apparent in Purslow's examination of the Harrop landscape, which uses (alongside archive material) the landscape itself, its field system, and even its vegetation.⁶⁶ Information has been derived from contact with local residents and others, who have filled lacunae left by documents and books. A huge range of complementary sources has provided evidence on many facets of the history of this corner of east Cheshire, from the medieval period to the modern, enabling the following wide-ranging study to be undertaken.

⁶⁵ E.g. Purslow, 'Harrop Valley'; D.O.E. Lists (1983); fieldwork by E.C.T.M.S. on surviving mill buildings.

⁶⁶ Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 68.

II LANDSCAPE

'Very full of hills and valleys'
 Survey of the manor and forest of Macclesfield
 (1611)¹

The fundamental elements in the landscape pre-date man's presence by many millennia, shaping patterns of settlement and determining exploitation of natural resources. Man in his turn has had a profound impact upon the landscape, changing his environment by those same processes of settlement and use. It is impossible to describe an English landscape without referring to the ubiquitous human impact upon its form.² Nowhere in so densely settled and heavily exploited an environment as England can be described as truly 'wild', in the sense of bearing no imprint of human intervention - although 19th-century observers often used the word to convey the bleakness of the Pennine landscape.³ Nonetheless, the natural landscape of a locality is fundamental to its character, its unique combination of resources intimately connected to human activity.⁴

The landscape of the four townships is of an unpropitious type, its essential elements summarised for Kettlethulme in 1850 as 'cold ... and mountainous, with a thin, poor soil'.⁵ The underlying rocks are of the carboniferous millstone grit series and coal measures which outcrop within the area. The drift geology - where solid rock

¹ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 352.

² Hoskins, Making of the English Landscape (1977 edn.), 18-19.

³ E.g. Rainow's vicar in 1851: P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 38.

⁴ Description of this landscape is based on observation; O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 88/98 (1993 edn.); and additional sources cited below.

⁵ Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer, and Directory, 201.

does not reach the surface - includes boulder clay and peat. Gritstone areas are characteristically of bold topography, with whale-back hills, prominent escarpments or edges, and rocky tors such as Windgather Rocks (Kettleshulme).⁶ The quotation at the head of this chapter is from an early 17th-century survey which explains that, because the land is so hilly, two measurements for acreage are given: one according to the 'plain superficies', and the other according to the 'ascendings and descendings' of the hills and valleys.⁷

The relief is a complex of undulations (figure 2.1). The townships are drained by a multiplicity of small brooks which rise in the hills, often flowing within steep-sided cloughs. Drainage from the western side centres on the River Dean and its streams, flowing towards the River Bollin to the west of this area. In the east is the Todd Brook, flowing northwards (to the River Goyt), with its streams. The peaks reach particularly impressive heights on the eastern edge of Kettleshulme and Rainow. The land tends to roll more gently in the west, in the northern tip of Pott Shrigley lying at about 150 m. The rest of that township is hillier. The boundary between Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley, to the east, divides a stretch of moorland, which extends across the south of the latter township. Like Pott Shrigley, its western parts contain the least vertiginous ground, rolling gently down to an altitude of around 160 m. To the east, however, undulation again increases. Kettleshulme, to the south-

⁶ Geological Survey of Great Britain, 1/50,000 and 1":1 mile, sheets 98-9, 110-11 (drift and solid, various edns.); V.C.H. Ches. i. 5-8, 18, 26. See figure 4.1 (below, p. 204), for drift geology.

⁷ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 352; cf. G. Longden and M. Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. (Altrincham, 1989), 22.

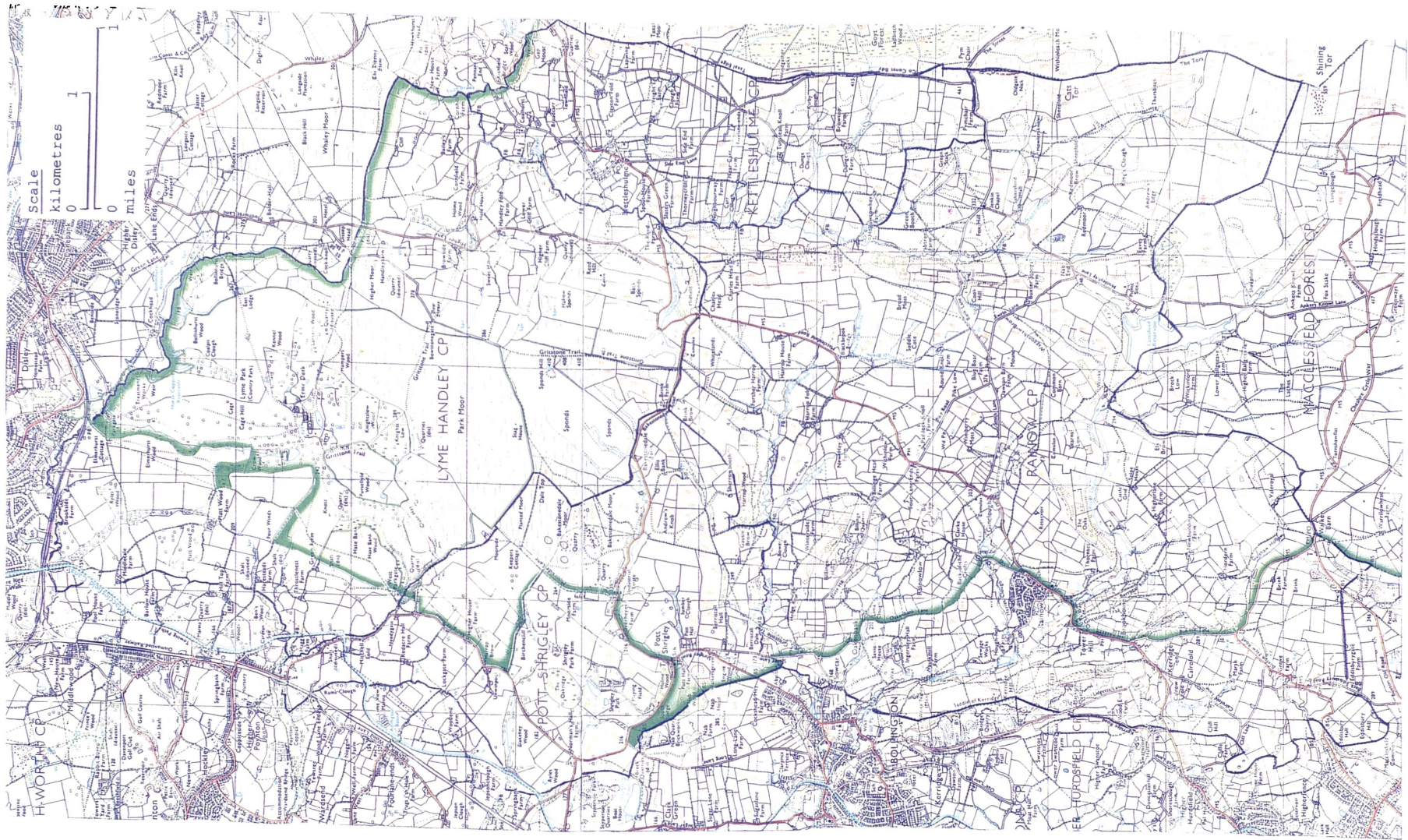


Figure 2.1
Landscape

Reduced copy of O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 88/98 (1993 edn.). Reproduced by kind permission of Ordnance Survey©Crown copyright NC/99/334.

Key

—— township boundary

The broad green boundary indicates the extent of the National Park.

east, is perhaps more uniformly hilly. The high eastern boundary is on a ridge running north-south, reaching over 400 m. Kettleshulme borders on Rainow's bleak eastern side, with sparse settlement and extensive moorland pasture, reaching well over 500 m. at the township's south-eastern extremity. The whole of the rest of Rainow, to its western boundary, contains numerous hills with some steep slopes, although generally less dramatic peaks are found towards the west than on the eastern side. However, the western boundary (with Bollington) runs along the top of Kerridge Hill, which peaks at over 300 m. Many of the townships' place-names reflect the topography, alluding to peaks, cloughs, hollows and mounds. For instance, 'Pott' refers to the deep clough where the village is sited; Billinge (Rainow) to a sharp ridge; and Pike Low (also Rainow) to a pointed hill. Windgather (Kettleshulme) conveys evocatively the character of that bleak and exposed location.⁸ The precipitous nature of some hills is illustrated by the sorry fate of a carter who met his end in an accident whilst descending a steep hill near Kettleshulme in 1814.⁹

As well as defining the shape of landforms, geological composition dictates the availability of mineral resources. Coal, fireclay and stone have all been dug in these townships.¹⁰ Locally-derived materials have been used in all types of structures over many centuries, helping to form the distinctive visual character of the area.¹¹

⁸ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 111, 130, 139, 145.

⁹ Cited in G. Longden, The Industrial Revolution in East Ches. (Bollington, 1988), 8.

¹⁰ Below, ch. IV.3.

¹¹ Below, pp. 299-300.

The soils vary in quality between and within townships. Some areas are well drained, and have been used to sustain arable crops, but most are far better suited to animal husbandry, and the thinnest and most acidic soils are marginal even for grazing.¹² A mid-14th century rental mentioned four acres in Pott Shrigley 'upon a mound of rocky land' which could not be brought into cultivation.¹³ Parcels of waste there were dismissed in 1579 as 'very barren and small worth'.¹⁴ The variation in soil quality was expressed in the 1611 survey, which made a three-fold distinction among the wastes and commons of the townships between the best sort of ground; the middle sort, called dry moor; and the worst, a limy or heathy ground.¹⁵ The 19th-century tithe files also noted variations between and within townships.¹⁶

The climate, like the landscape, is inhospitable.¹⁷ Prestbury register records for Rainow a man who 'perished in snow' in 1634.¹⁸ The Pennine slopes are, with 1000 mm. of rainfall annually, even wetter than the rest of the county, and the highest moors are very exposed.¹⁹ The wife of Peter Legh (d. 1744) objected to three arches planned for the courtyard of Lyme Hall by his architect Leoni,

¹² Soil Survey of England and Wales/O.S., 'Soils of England and Wales', sheet 3, 1/250,000 (1983); V.C.H. Ches. i. 8.

¹³ P.R.O., SC 11/899, m. 3d.: transcript kindly provided by Mr P. H. W. Booth.

¹⁴ P.R.O., E 134/21 & 22 Eliz/Mich 6.

¹⁵ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 352.

¹⁶ P.R.O., IR 18/51, 91, 208.

¹⁷ W. B. Mercer, A Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. (London, 1963), 159.

¹⁸ The Story of Rainow (Macclesfield, n.d.), 25.

¹⁹ R. Smart, Trees and Woodlands in Ches. (Chester, 1992), 9; N. J. Higham, The Origins of Ches. (Manchester, 1993), 13-15.

'thinking they should draw so much wind into the Court and make the House so cold'.²⁰ The vicar of Rainow argued in the 1840s that owing to the bleak and exposed location a new chapel's structure would have to be 'of more than ordinary strength and solidity', blaming the 'ruinous' state of the old building in part on strong gales.²¹ On the other hand, one commentator remarked in 1890 upon the healthy appearance of local children which, he thought, spoke 'well for the bracing air of their highland homes'.²²

Climate has a marked effect on human activity. In Ravensdale's Cambridgeshire fen communities an Elizabethan survey described how 'many wet years happened together and the inhabitants being then very poor ... their benefit ... out of the fens was very small and some years nothing at all, by reason of the great abundance of ... moisture'.²³ The Pennine climate also constrains land usage, limiting the growing season and restricting the range of crops which may be cultivated: attempts to get apples to flourish at Lyme, for instance, were unsuccessful.²⁴ These climatic constraints in the 'Cheshire Alps' also thwarted full implementation of a biblical planting theme for a garden in Rainow. Conversely, the One House Nursery (Rainow) specialised in

²⁰ Quoted in P. de Figueiredo and J. Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses (Chichester, 1988), 125.

²¹ Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: letters from G. Harrison to T. Bowdler, one received 24 Feb. 1845, another dated 28 Feb. 1845; application form, received 26 Feb. 1845.

²² Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/5/1: parish magazine, Aug. 1890.

²³ Liabile to Floods, 1, 42-3, 114-15.

²⁴ Higham, Origins of Ches. 15; Newton, House of Lyme, 224, 316. Cf. Cricketer Preferred: Estate Workers at Lyme Park 1898-1946, ed. K. Laurie (Lyme Park Joint Committee, 1979), 21.

alpine horticulture, and Dunge Valley Gardens (Kettleshulme) in plants from areas like the Himalayas.²⁵

Altogether the Pennine environment offers a peculiarly limited potential for human use, suggesting that the landscape had a greater influence on the character of settlements there than in areas where the environment is less harsh and its possibilities greater. This area has always had a small and scattered population with an impact proportional to its size. Despite differing land uses over the centuries, a distinctive underlying landscape is still evident: the moorland setting of Lyme Park, for instance, is striking. Ormerod's description of the area highlighted a similarity in appearance between land enclosed for pastoral farming and unenclosed moorland beyond.²⁶ Yet although the environment seems unfavourable, it did offer natural resources (however restricted) to its inhabitants, exploitation of which has meant that man has had a reciprocal impact on the landscape. The way in which Lyme Hall dominates Lyme Handley township is eloquent of the considerable potential for human impact in even the bleakest setting.

There is an extensive literature, beginning with the work of W. G. Hoskins, about the relationship between man and his environment in England, ranging from more natural landscapes to man-made or 'cultural' landscapes according to the degree of human intervention.²⁷ Human activity changes the landscape in many different ways, and the

²⁵ R. C. Turner, 'Mellor's Gardens', Garden History, xv(2), 164 (from which the quotation is taken); D. Ketley, 'Dunge Valley Gardens', Ches. Life (May 1997), 78; R. Stead, 'Gardening in Colour', Ches. Life (Jun. 1985), 39.

²⁶ History of Ches. iii. 769.

²⁷ E.g. Making of the English Landscape (1977 edn.), frontispiece.

following chapters discuss how man's decisions have modified this area. Such decisions can be individual, collective, or cumulative: from the grandiose intentions of a powerful landowner making plans for his estate under an aesthetic imperative²⁸ to the small assarts of medieval farmers. One charming and idiosyncratic small-scale example of the role of an individual occurs in Rainow, where James Mellor in the 19th century created a unique garden based upon Bunyan's allegory The Pilgrim's Progress: a remarkably self-conscious example of what has been identified as the investment of the landscape with 'mystical' or spiritual meaning, beyond its potential to fulfil man's material needs.²⁹ More typically, the impact of man results from such processes as settlement, agriculture, mineral extraction, and the requirements of transport. The results are embodied in individual landscape features and buildings, such as country houses; and in the more general appearance of the countryside - field systems, or the pattern of settlement. The scale on which man has been able to change the landscape has increased with modern technology: witness the impact of canals, railways and reservoirs;³⁰ although this is not to say that more distant generations were unable to create impressive landscape features. Generally speaking, though, in earlier centuries the processes by which the landscape was modified were gradual, creating a 'hand-

²⁸ The conscious human response to the landscape is discussed in relation to parks and gardens (below, pp. 160-72); and changing attitudes to it in ch. IV.9.

²⁹ J. Lowerson, 'The mystical geography of the English', The English Rural Community (Cambridge, 1992), ed. B. Short. Below, pp. 171-2, for Mellor's garden.

³⁰ The Observer, 15 Feb. 1998, p. 14, reported research revealing that for the first time in history human earth-moving capabilities had multiplied to exceed the results of geomorphic processes, with commensurate impact on the environment.

made world'.³¹ Yet these more subtle processes have been important, for example the gradual expansion of cultivation and the spread of stone walls up moorland hillsides. Some changes added to the features created in earlier periods; others have remoulded them and obliterated traces of earlier landscapes. The following chapters ask which periods and processes were most important in the Pennine area of east Cheshire.

Ravensdale's work on Cambridgeshire communities provides an instructive parallel of how critical human interaction with environmental factors was in determining the character of local life. He described how attempts c. 1600 to control a distinctive fen environment by drainage could bring unexpected and pernicious results. One inhabitant remarked that 'fens were made fens and must ever continue such', revealing an appreciation of the essential nature of the landscape and a perception of the futility of interfering with it. Fenmen adjusted their way of life to their environment. The central hazard was the shifting margin of the fen, the 'fall and descent of the waters'. Even subtle variations in natural capability brought about significant variations in the landscape. On the fen margin where 'upland' refers to anything over the 20 foot contour, apparently minute differences in terrain were crucial in determining land use. This in turn affected the economies and even the social structure of the communities. Yet efforts to tame the environment were critical in their ability to manage and exploit resources: in Waterbeach, for example, orders to scour or make ditches and banks were 'an obsession'.³²

³¹ Hoskins, Making of the English Landscape (1977 edn.), 79.

³² Liabile to Floods, 4-5, 10-11, 29-31, 33, 110, 152.

In the Pennines the critical measure was the altitude at which farming and settlement were no longer thought viable at different periods. The frontier of cultivation advanced or receded, for geography was not the sole determinant: changes in land use were also caused by pressure on resources brought about by demographic trends; or by advances in man's ability to exploit the land through technology. Angus Winchester has argued that the central question in landscape history is about the factors which determined the human response to the landscape at a particular point in space and time. Decisions made by individuals and communities were consequent upon their material needs, subject to considerations such as the nature of the locality and the conditions, environmental, tenurial, and otherwise, that prevailed there. But man's efforts and initiative were also constrained by the technological and cultural framework of society and by trends in the wider economy. That the inhabitants made their choices within all manner of constraints, and not just those imposed by the natural environment, will also become apparent in succeeding chapters.³³ Those decisions in turn impacted upon the evolution of these communities.

³³ A. J. L. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria (Edinburgh, 1987), 132.

III LANDOWNERSHIP

There are few references to landownership within the area of the four townships before the 14th century. None of the four was named in Domesday Book, and they must have lain unacknowledged within the manor of Macclesfield or possibly nearby Adlington, both of which covered large tracts of the Pennine edge. Both belonged to the Earls of Chester. The large manor of Macclesfield, of which these townships subsequently constituted part, passed to the Crown with the earldom in 1237. In the 14th century, three of them were demesne townships whose tenants held immediately of the Earl. About 1352 Rainow, Kettlehulme and Pott Shrigley had 31, 12 and 7 rent-paying landholders respectively. Lyme Handley was demesne pasture until 1398, and did not appear in the same rental.¹

In succeeding centuries further contrasts in patterns of landownership are apparent in terms of the size of holdings and the identity and status of their holders. How can differences between the structures of landholding in these contiguous townships be accounted for? Were patterns of landownership static, or subject to change? It should be noted at the outset, however, that the township is not necessarily the ideal unit by which to study landownership: estates are not confined within such boundaries and property within a township may be part of an extensive holding elsewhere.

¹ V.C.H. Ches. i. 305, 341, 347, ii. 6; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 653; Booth, Financial Administration, 86-7, 92-3, 112, and map facing p. 1; Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', pp. viii-ix, xii, 40-1; P.R.O., SC 11/899, mm. 3r.-4r.

1. The larger estates

Within this area there were several enduring estates held by families of gentry or aristocratic status:² the Leghs' Lyme estate; the Shrigley estate of the Downes family and their successors; and Harrop and Saltersford, within Rainow, which were both held by the Stanley family (Earls of Derby) before Saltersford passed to the Stopford family. These holdings originated in the late medieval period; all but Shrigley had formerly been areas of pasture within the forest. They were of central importance to the history of the townships.

The motives and strategies of great landowners for acquiring, preserving and exploiting landed resources have certain themes in common which have been examined in an extensive literature. The first was the ultimate aim of most landowners to preserve, probably to enhance, and to pass on their property to the next generation: Edmund Burke perceived a sense of interconnection within landed families between generations living, dead, and yet unborn.³ There were the external pressures - economic, legal, demographic, and political - to which they had to respond in attempting to achieve their aims.⁴ Many of these concerns were constant because landed estates were the primary means by which wealth, power and status were gained and exercised over many centuries, until the late 19th century or beyond.⁵ The history of gentry holdings

² Figure 3.1.

³ Quoted in D. Cannadine, Aspects of Aristocracy (London, 1995), 1.

⁴ E.g. B. Coward, The Stanleys (Chetham Society 3rd series xxx, 1983), 191.

⁵ C. Carpenter, Locality and Polity (Cambridge, 1992), 244; J. V. Beckett, The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914 (Oxford, 1989 edn.), 43, 85.

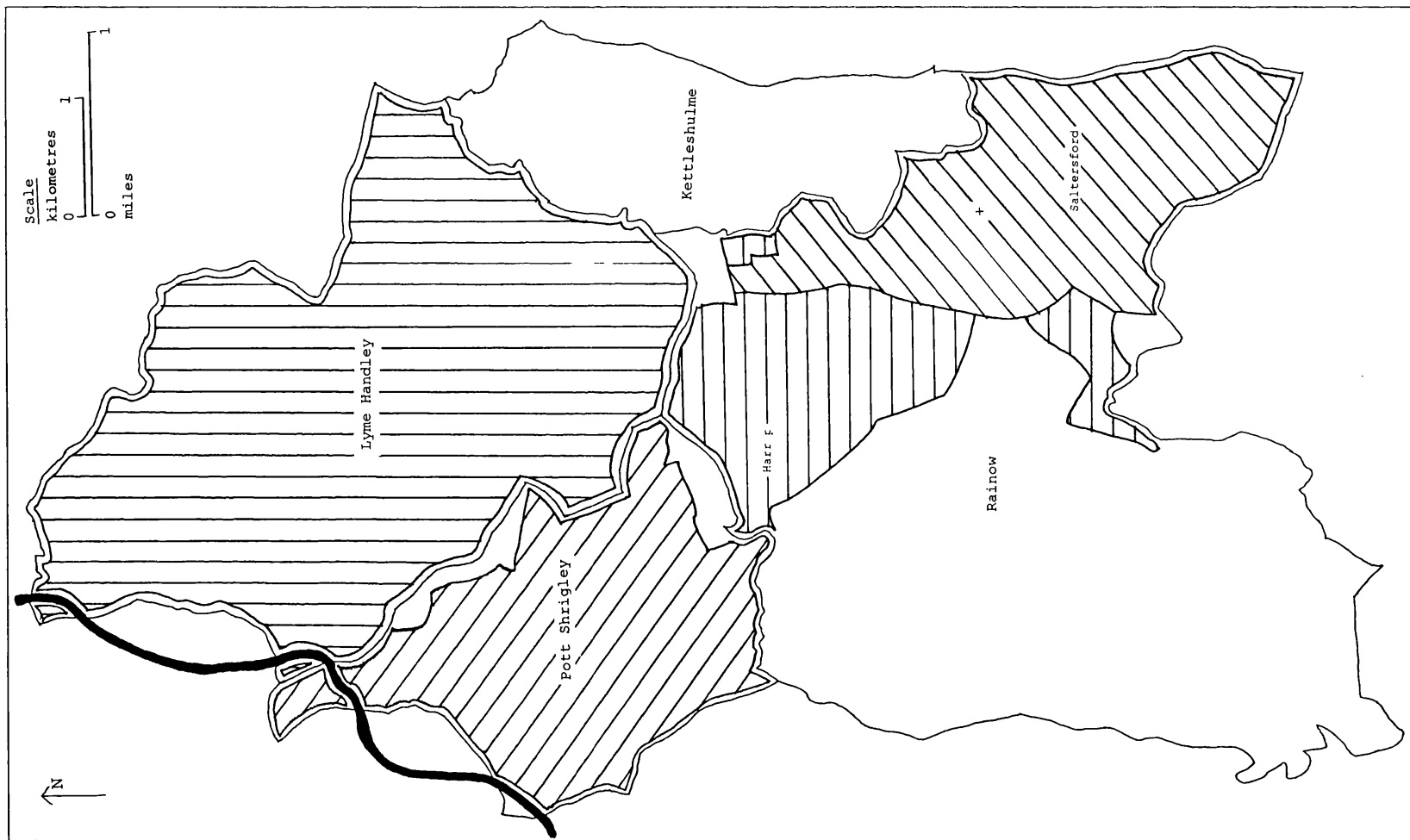


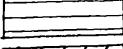
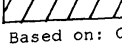




Figure 3.1
The principal estates in Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow
at tithe commutation, 1848-50

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Key</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">  The Legh estate in Lyme Handley
(the entire township except for the holding
of the canal company)  The Turner/Lowther estate in Pott Shrigley  The Derby estate in Harrop, Rainow  The Courtown estate in Saltersford, Rainow
(excepting Jenkin Chapel +) | <ul style="list-style-type: none">  The Macclesfield canal  township boundaries |
|--|---|

Based on: O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 88/98 (1993 edn.); Ches. R.O., EDT 252, 328, 339.

in east Cheshire reflects these themes in the history of landownership.

FORMATION

The Lyme estate was created in 1398 by a grant from Richard II of 'land and pasture called Handley' in the forest to Piers Legh and his wife Margaret Danyers.⁶ Piers already had interests in Handley, since its herbage had been leased to him and others in 1383.⁷ An association between office-holding in the forest, and the tenure of land there, is also apparent.⁸ The early history of the Legh family is an interesting example of social mobility. Although from a gentry family, Piers was a younger son making his own way in the world with minimal support.⁹ His success is striking, for the branch of the Legh family which he founded became the most prominent of many.¹⁰ The strategies that he adopted included his marriage to Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Danyers, which proved formative in his

⁶ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 291-2. For the names Lyme and Handley: Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 198; below, pp. 106-7.

⁷ 36th D.K.R. (1875), appendix II, p. 288. Cf. Winchester on how such leases created opportunities for gentry families: Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 136.

⁸ Cf. also the Downeses of Shrigley. Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 539, 672.

⁹ For the careers of Piers and his father Robert Legh of Adlington (himself a successful younger son): Account of Master John de Burnham 1361-1362, ed. P. H. W. Booth and A. D. Carr (R.S.L.C. cxxv, 1991), pp. lxi-lxii. Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 96, 123, 211-22, 248, discusses social mobility and the very limited provision made for younger sons in 15th-century Warwickshire; cf. also Agrarian History, iii: 1348-1500, ed. E. Miller (Cambridge, 1991), 556-9.

¹⁰ D. Robson, Some Aspects of Education in Ches. (Chetham Society 3rd series xiii, 1966), 152.

success.¹¹ Danyers had been granted an annuity of 40 marks in recognition of his service under the Black Prince at the battle of Crécy (1346) and had been promised land to the value of £20 a year, but had never received it. The promise may well never have been redeemed had Piers and Margaret not petitioned the king.¹² Margaret's personal ambition is also suggested by a fraud in which she attempted to favour one of her sons.¹³ It seems that success in penetrating the landed classes at this period required a certain boldness, given the fierce competition for land and other favours.¹⁴ What also lay behind the acquisition was Legh's favour with Richard II, for the grant mentions his services to the monarch.¹⁵

Legh's ultimate fate, however, shows the risks which existed alongside the rewards of ambition. The vagaries of political life required careful calculation. Legh's adherence to Richard II cost him his head the year after his acquisition of Handley.¹⁶

The Stanley family acquired its east Cheshire estate comprising (within Rainow) Harrop, Saltersford and Tods Cliff and (elsewhere within the forest) Wildboarclough, Midgley and Shutlingsloe in 1452, granted by Henry VI to Sir Thomas Stanley; in 1574 the pastures also encompassed

¹¹ Some of Margaret's property descended to the Leghs (descendants of her third marriage): Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 671-3. Marriage could create significant opportunities in this period: cf. Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 116, 140.

¹² Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 671-2.

¹³ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 291-2.

¹⁴ Cf. Booth, Financial Administration, 102-6, on entrepreneurial tactics evident in this area at this time.

¹⁵ J. L. Gillespie, 'Richard II's Ches. Archers', T.H.S.L.C. cxxv. 3, 34.

¹⁶ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 672.

Lamaload (on the southern border of Rainow), and in 1595 this estate totalled almost 2,000 acres.¹⁷ Both the Stanley and Legh lands within the forest were set aside as blocks of pasture,¹⁸ and this distinct land use seems to lie behind the grants. For example, Harrop was already enclosed with rails and posts in 1359-60,¹⁹ a century before it passed into Stanley ownership, but a few years after its herbage was leased, perhaps for the first time, in 1352.²⁰ Its initial status as a discrete unit within the forest seems therefore to have stemmed from distinct land usage rather than ownership. The Leghs' ownership of Lyme similarly reinforced an existing distinction based on land use. The Stanleys were lessees of the pasturage of the forest lands later granted to them (their first known lease dating from 1422), just as the Leghs had been lessees of Handley.²¹

Unlike the Legh and Stanley estates, created by royal grants of discrete areas, the Downes estate in Pott Shrigley was formed piecemeal. The township was colonised by assarting in the medieval period, like much of the forest outside the pastures such as Handley and Harrop. The Downes family was among those which acquired property there, but its estate did not dominate the township until later. Other owners in the 14th century included Jordan of Macclesfield, one of the manor's most powerful tenants. The Shrigley family apparently held an estate there. The Downeses' acquisitions in the 14th century, possibly by marriage but apparently also by purchase,

¹⁷ 37th D.K.R. (1876), appendix II, pp. 675-8; Moore, Calendar of the Muniments of the Earl of Derby, i. 25-7; P.R.O., E 178/2957.

¹⁸ Below, pp. 118-20.

¹⁹ Accounts of the Chamberlains 1301-1360, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (R.S.L.C. lix, 1910), 271.

²⁰ 36th D.K.R. (1875), appendix II, p. 156.

²¹ 37th D.K.R. (1876), appendix II, pp. 668, 673.

seem to have included the Shrigleys' holding. William of Downes bought land in Shrigley in 1313, and his son (also William) had a grant of waste land in 1341-2, perhaps one of several assarts. At mid-century, William of Downes held around 150 Cheshire acres in Macclesfield, Shrigley and Rainow, which put him in the top rank of tenants within the manor of Macclesfield.²² In the late 14th century both the Downeses and the Leghs were among the distinguished group who dominated property and office-holding within the manor.²³ As with the Leghs of Lyme, the progenitor of this line of the Downeses was a younger son of a landowning family from a nearby township.²⁴

The contrasting origins of the gentry estates gave them different statuses. Lyme Handley was a manor.²⁵ The Stanley estate was freehold.²⁶ The Downes property in Pott Shrigley, although sometimes called a manor,²⁷ remained

²² Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 772, 775; Booth, Financial Administration, 88, 103; Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, 173; Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 26, 40, 43-4, 154, 532-5; deeds detailing the Downeses' acquisition of land in Shrigley in the early and mid-14th century include Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 23, 26-7, 62. See B.L., Add. Ch. 37048, 37254, 37277(1), for the Macclesfields. Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 134, on colonisation of upland forests, where social developments included, by the early 16th century, an élite of nascent gentry families.

²³ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 55, 87, 105.

²⁴ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 775.

²⁵ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 541, 673; Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, f. 272: transcript kindly provided by Mr P. H. W. Booth; P.R.O., E 174/1/4 no. 29. Court papers (1734-1829) survive at J.R.U.L.M., Legh of Lyme Muniments Box P, ref. M.

²⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 157, 195; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 772 (ibid. iii. 541 is in error).

²⁷ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 772.

copyhold of Macclesfield manor: even the hall and demesne were conveyed by surrender and admittance.²⁸

TRANSMISSION

The continuing success of a family, in terms of landownership and the financial and social benefits accruing from it, depended on the retention and enhancement of the estates acquired. But, as a correspondent observed to Edward Downes in 1744, 'young gentlemen who are sensible they have fortunes provided for them are not always the aptest to take pains to know how they shall improve it'.²⁹ Landowning élites were not static: a family could decline by the failure of the male line, or the extravagance or incompetence of a landowner; and be replaced - by sale or inheritance - by another whose success was based upon political favour, astute management of existing estates, or an ability to make lucrative marriages for its sons. After 1660 the tendency in England generally was for estates to endure, but even then some families' property was disposed of.³⁰ The perils of failure are illustrated by the fears of the father-in-law of Richard Legh of Lyme (d. 1687) who wrote that, having lived above his income, he might be forced to sell his family home.³¹ The reasons behind the tenacity of families who survived are therefore of interest. The long-term presence in these townships of the Leghs and the Downeses, from the 14th century, and the Stanleys, from the 15th, may seem exceptional. Indeed Cheshire was reputedly rich in gentry families of great antiquity.³²

²⁸ E.g. Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 209 (1545).

²⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 501.

³⁰ Beckett, *Aristocracy*, 88.

³¹ Wimpole in Cambridgeshire. Newton, *House of Lyme*, 318.

³² Crosby, *History of Ches.* 58.

However, the Legh estates passed to collateral heirs several times from the 17th century, and the Derby title was inherited in 1736 by a sixth cousin.³³

LYME

The usual strategies employed to maintain and enhance a landed estate are apparent in the history of the Leghs, for the beheading of Piers (I) did not prove fatal to the family's fortunes. Despite his unhappy fate and the newness of this branch of the family, succeeding generations prospered by the addition of extensive properties to their holdings, mostly in Lancashire, creating a substantial estate which survived into the 20th century.³⁴ The Leghs seem to have been particularly good at attracting heiresses,³⁵ acquiring lands through a series of advantageous marriages. This was a self-perpetuating process: acquisition of property through one marriage made the heir in the next generation a more attractive proposition for another heiress. The first of these matches was the marriage of Sir Peter Legh (d. 1422), son of Piers (I), to the heiress of Sir Gilbert Haydock: the origin of the Leghs' connection with Lancashire and the basis of their extensive estates there.³⁶ Lady Newton's histories show how such matches

³³ Complete Peerage, iv. 208, 217. The east Ches. estates apparently descended with the earldom, for they are mentioned in estate documents later in the 18th century: Davies, Agricultural History, 18.

³⁴ Early deeds are J.R.U.L.M., Legh of Lyme Muniments boxes M and N.

³⁵ There was stiff competition for this means of acquiring land: Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 96-102.

³⁶ W. Beamont, A History of the House of Lyme (Warrington, 1876), 26; F. Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury (Chetham Society [old series] xcvi, 1876), 133; and other Legh acquisitions in ibid. 125-6. The descent of the family is in Ormerod, History of

were a strategic weapon in the overall management of the family's fortunes, combining the continuation of the line with the acquisition of further property. However, the intransigence of Peter Legh (d. 1636) over his son's choice of bride illustrates the tensions which could arise between different generations who did not perceive an identity in their interests.³⁷ Some fathers, though, were more indulgent to their children's marital preferences.³⁸

Estate management was another important means by which the landowner sustained his lands and maximised his income. The 1466 survey of the Legh estates may be seen as a tool by which Peter Legh (d. 1478) acquired knowledge, and thereby enhanced control, of his resources; such estate records also contributed to security of tenure, recording and therefore protecting the family's rights.³⁹ Indeed the rental illustrates another means by which the landowner managed his property - judicious defence of his rights at law.⁴⁰ But sound policies could be inflated into folly. Carpenter cites an uncle's advice to his nephew in the 15th century not to over-purchase nor build, nor meddle with great matters in the law: excessive expenditure in any of these spheres could lead to ruin.⁴¹ Balance and restraint were essential.

Ches. iii. 671-8, and Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 291-306, from which genealogical information in the rest of this ch. is taken.

³⁷ Newton, House of Lyme, 100-11; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 298-9; cf. Newton, Lyme Letters, 143, 170-1, 214, 259-60.

³⁸ Newton, House of Lyme, 313-14.

³⁹ Part published in Warrington in MCCCCLXV, ed. Beamont.

⁴⁰ Warrington in MCCCCLXV, ed. Beamont, p. xxv.

⁴¹ Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 210-11.

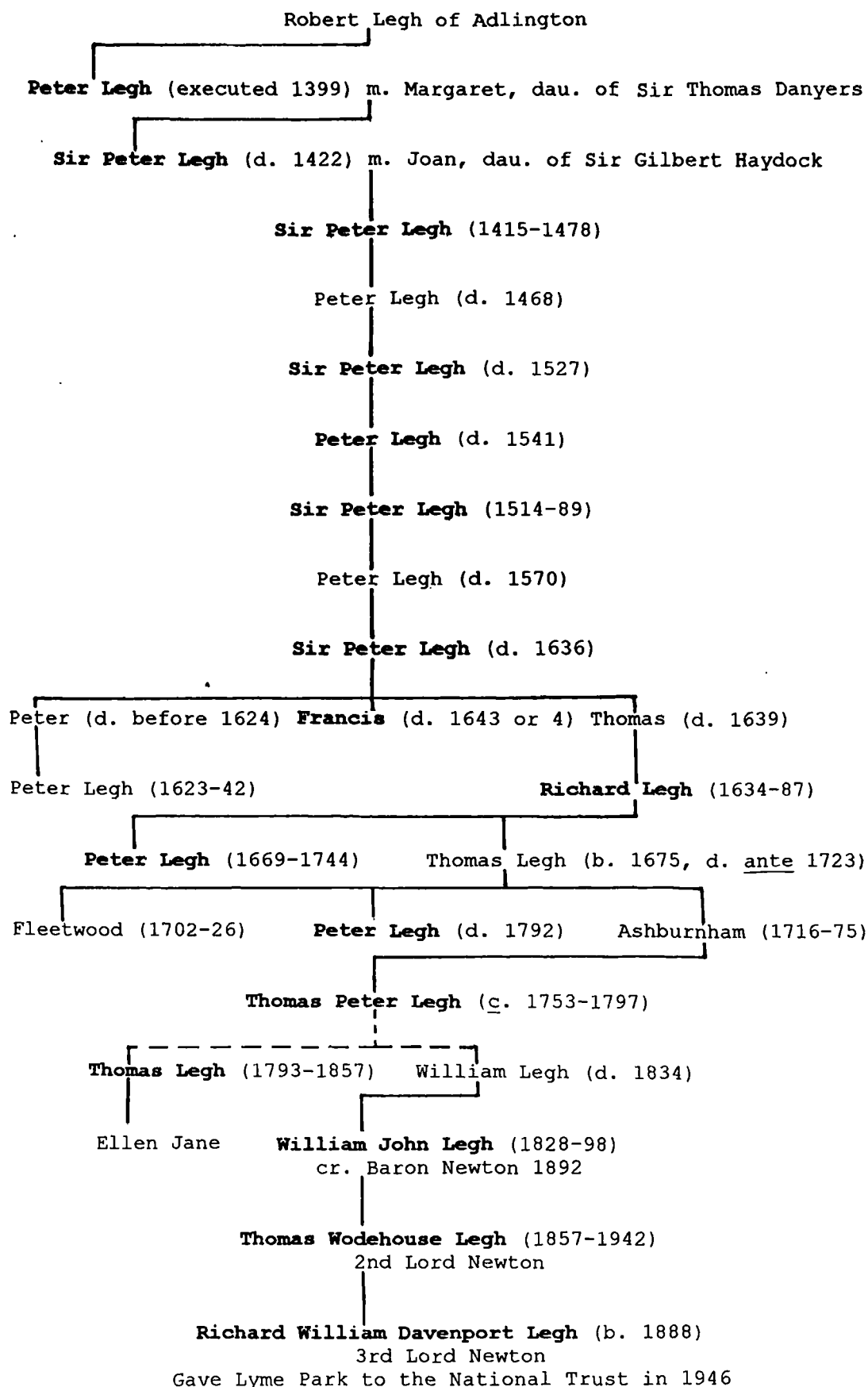
The Legh estate passed in direct male succession from Piers I until 1642, although sometimes skipping a generation when a son predeceased his father. However, the succession was thereafter subject to various accidents of demography, notably in 1642 when Peter Legh, aged under twenty, died without issue following a duel; his will bequeathed his sword praying that the recipient 'may make better use of it that he hath done'.⁴² Figure 3.2 shows how the estate passed in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries largely through a series of collateral heirs, mainly nephews. In spite of careful planning in other spheres, these demographic blips were not usually subject to a landowner's control, despite a medicine described as an 'infallible encourager of the internal instruments of the body' proffered to Frances, wife of Peter Legh (d. 1744), in the late 17th century.⁴³ Such crucial yet accidental factors were within the landowner's control only when he actually failed to marry - although Thomas Peter Legh (d. 1797) settled the estates on his natural children. It was not easy to strike the right balance between sufficient children to ensure succession, and too many, who would drain the family's resources when the time came to offer marriage portions for the girls and make provision for younger sons. The Legh family was often at loggerheads over allowances for its members, and their debts, in the 17th and early 18th centuries.⁴⁴ Indeed provision for the heir himself could be contentious, as when Sir Gilbert Gerard complained to Sir Peter Legh of his 'want of liberality' to Legh's grandson and heir and his wife (Gerard's

⁴² Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 299.

⁴³ Newton, House of Lyme, 358.

⁴⁴ Newton, Lyme Letters, 216-17, 250-3, 293, 303-4; Newton, House of Lyme, 88-94, 186-7.

Figure 3.2 Descent of the Leghs of Lyme



Note on figure 3.2

SOURCES: Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 303-6; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 676-8; Complete Peerage, ix. 556; D.N.B. 1941-50, 497-8.

Only selected family members are included (some holders of the estate, for example, were in fact younger sons; some had children who did not survive past infancy; etc.). All names are rendered here as Peter, although some sources give them in the form Piers. All were surnamed Legh (including the natural children of Thomas Peter Legh, who assumed the name: Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 676). Holders of the estate are in bold.

daughter) in the 1580s.⁴⁵ These examples encapsulate the tension between the interests of the current family group and the dynastic interest to preserve the patrimony for the future.⁴⁶ The problem was that too few children could result in the end of the line: in the demographic conditions of past centuries several sons might predecease their father without inheriting his estates. Lady Newton attributed the attitudes of 17th-century gentry - who regarded numerous children as a blessing - to a desire for a successor; although at the birth of Elizabeth Legh's 13th child in 1686 a relation hoped that it might be the last, since the couple's children were so numerous.⁴⁷ However, more personal and less dynastic sentiments are expressed in the effusively-worded memorial to Benet, only son of Peter Legh (d. 1792), who was mourned 'by none more bitterly than his much afflicted father'.⁴⁸

Although the Legh family as a whole maintained its estate and accompanying status, individual members were not uniformly successful. Peter Legh (d. 1744), for example, endured imprisonment in the 1690s for supposed Jacobite sympathies, and his disgust at this perceived ill-treatment led to a withdrawal from public life.⁴⁹ Despite this factor, and the estates' circuitous descent, the family's association with Lyme continued. The Legh estate

⁴⁵ Newton, House of Lyme, 39-40.

⁴⁶ Cf. a dispute between the son of Sir Peter Legh (d. 1527) and his executors over the diversion of resources to endow Disley chapel: Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 136. Also Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 222-5.

⁴⁷ Newton, House of Lyme, 343, and Lyme Letters, 22.

⁴⁸ Simm, Peter Legh the Younger, 33.

⁴⁹ Robson, Some Aspects of Education in Ches. 153; 'A Trial for High Treason', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xxxiv. 93-4; 'Arrests for High Treason', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xlv. 28.

expanded after the medieval period;⁵⁰ estates in south Lancashire proved the foundation of affluence in the modern period, for particularly from the 18th century parts became industrialised, and much of the family's revenues derived from coal.⁵¹ The family prospered as Warrington and Wigan expanded over their land.⁵² The contrast between such profitable and busy Lancashire holdings and the moorland estate which the Leghs made their chief seat is striking.⁵³ Their success in public life culminated in William John Legh's elevation to the peerage in 1892 (as Baron Newton, after the Lancashire Newton-in-Makerfield estate).⁵⁴

SHRIGLEY

The rise and fall of the Downes family and the strategies they pursued to achieve and perpetuate success and ultimately to try to avert disaster provide some parallels with the Leghs' story, in spite of the estates' contrasting origins. Because the Shrigley estate was built up piecemeal, its extent at some periods is uncertain, but despite being copyhold it came to dominate Pott Shrigley by the 18th century (perhaps even earlier)⁵⁵ and descended in the family until the early 19th century.⁵⁶ A 17th-century writer encapsulated the aim of most landowners when he attributed to Roger Downes (d. 1603) the desire for his lands which had 'long ...

⁵⁰ E.g. Newton, House of Lyme, 351.

⁵¹ Simm, Peter Legh the Younger, 9, 61-5.

⁵² J. M. Robinson, A Guide to the Country Houses of the North-West (London, 1991), 48.

⁵³ Mineral extraction in Lyme Handley (below, ch. IV.3) was not comparable to the scale of exploitation of the Lancs. mines.

⁵⁴ Complete Peerage, ix. 556.

⁵⁵ Below, pp. 73-4.

⁵⁶ Descent from Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 315-21.

continued in the ... possession of ... his ancestors' to 'remain to his posterity', and to 'remove all cause of contention' concerning them after his death.⁵⁷ As with the Leghs, the other - sometimes conflicting - motive was the desire to support living members of the family, which was by no means unproblematic: Roger Downes (d. 1553) produced nine daughters for whom he had to provide.⁵⁸ Property conveyed to two younger Downes sons in 1518 and 1521 was to revert to the head of the family if they later acquired other means of support through marriage or an ecclesiastical benefice.⁵⁹

The downfall of the Downeses illustrates the importance of sound estate management in achieving these twin motives, and the potential pitfalls. The family finances were in a parlous state in the 18th and early 19th centuries. There were debts on the estate by 1719,⁶⁰ although some level of debt was not necessarily a sign of problems: it seems that families could sustain quite high levels of indebtedness providing that interest payments left enough to live on, and that assets used as security retained their value. Debt could be necessary in managing fluctuating but not necessarily inadequate incomes, and indeed was a common feature of landed estates.⁶¹ Perhaps, though, in the Downeses' case it was a bad sign of things

⁵⁷ Ches. R.O., list of Downes muniments (additional material) DDS 2452/1: opinion on descent of estate, [c. 1650].

⁵⁸ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 206-9. Cf. C. G. A. Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change, i (Cambridge, 1984), 147-8, on provision for daughters.

⁵⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 189, 191.

⁶⁰ E.g. Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 407.

⁶¹ Cannadine, Aspects of Aristocracy, 2, 37-49, 53. Cf. Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. G. E. Mingay (Cambridge, 1989), 634-40.

to come.⁶² The annual income of Peter Downes (d. 1791) stood at just over £2,500 and his debts exceeded £31,000, and in 1783 he was arrested for debt. After his death trustees claimed they were unable to fulfil the terms of his will regarding provision for his younger children: with the annual interest on mortgages totalling three quarters of the income from real estate, there were inadequate resources for their maintenance or for the settling of debts if the rights of the eldest son were to be satisfied.⁶³ Despite these existing problems, a late 19th-century source attributed the family's 'financial embarrassment' to the poor judgement of Edward, Peter's son and successor; although not given to dissipated habits, he was said to have spent unwisely on improvements to the estate.⁶⁴ In 1803 Edward described himself as 'harassed ... by demands ... for payments ... & by a general press of toils and trouble'.⁶⁵ Debts of over £65,000 (more than double Peter's) were recorded in 1818, with a rental of 1812 totalling just over £3,700; for the financial position had deteriorated even since his father's time.⁶⁶ Indebtedness became too great to sustain. The sale of the nearby Worth property in 1791⁶⁷ failed to avert the sale of Shrigley itself in 1818.⁶⁸ Although Downes was reluctant to dispose of all his estate within Pott Shrigley, listing what he 'would ... if possible keep for himself', the family evidently

⁶² Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/133; Ches. R.O., D 3076/10: opinion on abstracts of title 1819; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' e.g. ii. 445.

⁶³ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 440, and Add. 1, 3.

⁶⁴ B. Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield (London, 1875), 274-5, 279.

⁶⁵ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 531.

⁶⁶ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 463; Downes' unsuccessful attempts to rectify the situation are recounted in ibid. ii. 529.

⁶⁷ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 442.

retained nothing, for Downes and his sister were reduced to renting property at a peppercorn rent from the purchaser.⁶⁹ It is striking that the Downes estate failed at a generally propitious period for landowners.⁷⁰ Of course smaller landowners were always more vulnerable to failure than large ones.⁷¹ Possibly the estate was sold partly because Edward, an only surviving brother, was childless.⁷² However, the Downeses' fate brings home the point that, even if conditions were generally favourable for landowners as a class, the fortunes of individual families still depended on the same combination of factors - including sound management, liquidity, and ensuring the succession - that they did in every period. In this case, the overall family strategy had failed.

The Downeses' successors at Shrigley strike a contrast both with the vendors and with the neighbouring Legh family. Far from being an established member of the gentry, William Turner was a wealthy Lancashire calico-printer, and his wealth continued to flow from industry rather than from this relatively small and poor landed estate.⁷³ He retained his connections with the business

⁶⁸ Comprising c. 1,700 acres in Shrigley and three other townships. Ches. R.O., D 3076/10: instructions for conveyance, c. 1818; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 773, 776.

⁶⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 462, 464.

⁷⁰ F. M. L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1963), ch. viii.

⁷¹ Cannadine, Aspects of Aristocracy, 10, 54.

⁷² One surviving sister was childless, although the other did have children: Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 776.

⁷³ An Accurate Report of the Trial of Mr Edward Gibbon Wakefield (Liverpool, 1827 edn.), 4-5, gives Turner's annual income as £5,000. But the Leghs, established gentry, also derived income not just from land, but from coal etc.: above, p. 48.

and with Blackburn.⁷⁴ Such newcomers at this period⁷⁵ seem typically not to have converted their entire wealth into land, but rather acquired a small estate with a country seat and enjoyed the social status deriving from it, although the wealth which supported that lifestyle derived from business.⁷⁶

An incident during Turner's tenure of Shrigley illustrates the extent of his fortune. His marriage in 1810 to his cousin Jane (b. 1772) produced an only daughter, Ellen.⁷⁷ By the time he purchased Shrigley he cannot have expected a male heir, and Ellen was the victim of a notorious abduction in 1826, although she was rescued from her abductor.⁷⁸ Such an heiress, although of nouveau riche parentage, was evidently as attractive to an established gentleman as to an adventurer, for she subsequently married Thomas Legh of Lyme (d. 1857). She died in 1831 leaving an only daughter, Ellen Jane (b. 1830); her monument portrays her entrusting the infant to her husband's care.⁷⁹ Surprisingly, perhaps, this marriage between a Legh and a Turner is one of few marital links between the neighbouring Lyme and Shrigley estates.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ G. C. Miller, Blackburn: Evolution of a Cotton Town (Blackburn, 1951), 412-13; Who's Who of British Members of Parliament, i: 1832-1885, ed. M. Stenton (Hassocks, 1976), 386.

⁷⁵ Unlike the early modern period: Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change, i. 152.

⁷⁶ Beckett, Aristocracy, 69-79.

⁷⁷ W. A. Abram, A History of Blackburn (Blackburn, 1877), 544-5; Who's Who of British M.P.s, i, ed. Stenton, 386.

⁷⁸ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 773; Accurate Report of the Trial of Mr Edward Gibbon Wakefield, 4-5, 10-11.

⁷⁹ Beamont, History of the House of Lyme, 200, 203-4.

⁸⁰ The only other example found is between Lawrence Downes (d. 1564) and Elizabeth, sister of Piers Legh (d. 1589), c. 1551: Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 304, 320.

The match illustrates the contrasting attitudes of different families to female succession. Ellen's only child, Ellen Jane Legh, succeeded to her maternal grandfather's property,⁸¹ but not to her patrimony: had she done so, the two estates of Shrigley and Lyme would have been united. Thomas Legh in 1833 settled £20,000 in her favour, but he later considered withdrawing the settlement in order to provide for any children he might father from a second marriage.⁸² Although Thomas's second marriage proved childless, his estate passed not to Ellen Jane but to his brother's son. This was not the first occasion when the Legh estate passed by a circuitous male route rather than in the more direct female line. In the 1790s, Thomas Peter Legh had settled Lyme and the bulk of the estates on his natural son.⁸³ The reasons behind these contrasting attitudes are unclear. Perhaps the Leghs, an ancient family, were anxious for their estate to pass in the male line as it had done (if not always directly) for so long.⁸⁴ The Turner fortunes, by contrast, were based upon the more recent efforts of William Turner, who was perhaps anxious that his own descendants - necessarily those of his only daughter - should benefit from his success.

The Shrigley estate passed into the Lowther family by the marriage in 1847 of Ellen Jane Legh to one Reverend Brabazon Lowther, a younger son of a minor branch of an extensive gentry family. Formerly curate of nearby Disley, after his marriage he held no preferment and

⁸¹ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 773.

⁸² J.R.U.L.M., bound MS. list of Legh of Lyme Muniments: box S, ref. H nos. 2, 4, 6-9.

⁸³ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 676.

⁸⁴ Their attitude is, however, ironic, given the origin of their estate: cf. below, p. 56.

adopted the life of a country gentleman: it seems an excellent marriage for a fourth son and clergyman in his thirties (considerably older than his youthful bride). The motive for the match from the Leghs' point of view is unclear, although this was one of two marital connections between the families, for Ellen Jane's father had in 1843 married for his second wife Brabazon's sister.⁸⁵

HARROP AND SALTERSFORD

The lands in Rainow belonging to the Stanleys (from 1485 Earls of Derby)⁸⁶ were, c. 1600, divided, for Saltersford passed to the Stopford family.⁸⁷ Harrop, however, descended with the earldom, despite a dispute between the sixth Earl, brother of the fifth Earl, and the latter's daughters around the turn of the 17th century.⁸⁸ The Derby family, like the Leghs, illustrates the symbiosis between the acquisition of land and the pursuit of a public career: political success could facilitate the acquisition of landed property and, conversely, landed wealth provided status - the Derbys were one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in the north-west. But a trough in their fortunes occurred when the royalist

⁸⁵ H. Owen, The Lowther Family (Chichester, 1990), 131, 138.

⁸⁶ Complete Peerage, iv. 205.

⁸⁷ Saltersford was apparently separated from the Derby estates between 1595 and 1606 or 1607: Moore, Calendar of the Muniments of the Earl of Derby, i. 25, 31. The separation is puzzling, for Saltersford fell between remaining Derby holdings in the area (Harrop, and those south of Rainow): Northants. R.O., FS 48/27: plan of Derby, Courtown and Brocklehurst estates. The Stopford family is discussed below.

⁸⁸ Coward, Stanleys, p. 37 and ch. 4; Moore, Calendar of the Muniments of the Earl of Derby, i. 31; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 456; Complete Peerage, iv. 205-22; Lancs. R.O., 'Report on the estate papers of the Stanley family', 4-5.

seventh Earl was executed in 1651 and his estates sequestrated. The east Cheshire properties were purchased by Sir William Brereton, a Cheshire landowner and parliamentary commander,⁸⁹ but returned to the Derbys after the Restoration.⁹⁰ Political affiliations were by no means just a matter for personal preference but an important part of the strategy pursued by a landowner for the maintenance and enhancement of his estates - decisions which could have major consequences for the family and its property.

FAMILY HISTORIES

The centrality of family was expressed in landowners' attitudes to their own history. Cheshire had a strong consciousness of the antiquity of its gentry families.⁹¹ The Leghs and the Downses expressed a pride in genealogy in ways common to many such families, including heraldry, portraits, and monuments.⁹² Lyme Hall contains a supposed portrait, apparently bought in the reign of George I, of the Black Prince,⁹³ under whom Sir Thomas Danyers had served at Crécy. Even when many houses boast beds slept in by, for example, Elizabeth I, the legend that the Black Prince slept at Lyme is exceptional.⁹⁴ Particularly striking is the Leghs' representation of their past in a

⁸⁹ D.N.B. ii. 1179-80.

⁹⁰ Davies, Agricultural History, 8; Coward, Stanleys, ch. 6.

⁹¹ D. Defoe, A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, ed. G. D. H. Cole (London, 1927), 472; M. J. Bennett, Community, Class and Careerism (Cambridge, 1983), 82.

⁹² Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 141-53. Cf. Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 253, on heraldry.

⁹³ Newton, House of Lyme, 373.

⁹⁴ G. Y. Osborne, A Sketch of the Parish of Prestbury (Macclesfield, 1840), 21. Cf. similar inaccuracies in a report of an excursion to Lyme: in Chester R.O., CR 63/1/141/6.

plaque in St. Michael's, Macclesfield, which records an incorrect version of their history. In the 1620s⁹⁵ Sir Peter Legh added an inscription to an older brass (which commemorated the first two Leghs) stating, falsely, that Piers I - instead of his father-in-law Sir Thomas Danyers - was present at Crécy and was granted Lyme for that service.⁹⁶ This incorrect version appears to have originated in a 16th-century heraldic visitation,⁹⁷ and must surely have been deliberate: it seems implausible that the family can have made so fundamental an error.⁹⁸ The assertion is presumably due to a wish to attribute to a Legh the establishment of the line, rather than deriving it through the female line from a Danyers.⁹⁹ Other examples of the Leghs' pride in their history include the books of Lady Newton (albeit a Legh by marriage, not birth).¹⁰⁰ The family appears to have been particularly attached to its earliest past,¹⁰¹ for example referring to their much-altered hall as an 'Elizabethan'

⁹⁵ Different sources give the date as 1620 (which is correct) and 1626.

⁹⁶ The inscription is transcribed in Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 753. The mistake is corrected by ibid. iii. 671, 675, and others. An even more garbled account, which also confuses the first and second Leghs, is given in A. Hall and T. Cox, A compleat history of Ches. (London, [1730]), 285. The mistake is often repeated in secondary sources, even since Ormerod. Cf. P. Morgan, War and Society in Medieval Ches. (Chetham Society 3rd series xxxiv, 1987), 3-4, 139, on this Legh legend.

⁹⁷ Beamont, History of the House of Lyme, 16-17.

⁹⁸ Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 246-7, on the 15th-century gentry's reverence for their lineages - although not always accurate: early modern heralds' visitations do contain mistakes.

⁹⁹ F. R. Raines' view: F. Gastrell, Notitia Cestrienses, i, ed. Raines (Chetham Society [old series] viii, 1845), 291.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. a Stopford family history at T.C.D.L., Courtown P 59/1.

¹⁰¹ E.g. Lyme Park (National Trust, 1984 edn.), 31.

mansion.¹⁰² In the Lowther family, the propensity of Gorges Lowther, father of Brabazon, to name his sons after his female forebears' families reflected the fact that the Lowthers were descendants of 'a Family of Ancient Gentry and Worship'.¹⁰³ Cannadine has commented that the patrician class was highly conscious of its descent; only in the last decades of the 19th century did this consciousness weaken.¹⁰⁴

THE WIDER CONTEXT

It is important to consider how the gentry estates in the four townships fitted into the wider context of landholding by their owners. Shrigley was a major part of the Downses' estates, which were centred in east Cheshire. In 1603 the estate included 2,000 acres of land (plus meadow and heath) and 40 messuages in Pott Shrigley and other townships (the extent of the Shrigley estate alone cannot be discerned).¹⁰⁵ The family's other holdings included the nearby manor of Worth. Peter Downses' will (1791) mentioned property in Worth, Shrigley, Rainow, and four other townships near by.¹⁰⁶ This pattern had important consequences. Firstly, the owners of Shrigley, although locally of some importance, were in broader terms comparatively small landowners. The Downses' successors, the Lowthers, in 1883 had 2,118 acres in

¹⁰² P. E. Sandeman, Treasure on Earth (Lyme Park Joint Committee, 1971 edn.), 1. See pp. 305-8 below for Lyme Hall.

¹⁰³ Described thus by William Camden in 1586: subtitle to Owen's Lowther Family. Burke's Landed Gentry (1879), ii. 996.

¹⁰⁴ The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy (New Haven, 1990), 24.

¹⁰⁵ Ches. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1603-60, i, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (R.S.L.C. lxxxiv, 1934), 191-3.

¹⁰⁶ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 772; Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/131.

Cheshire with a gross annual value of £3,547.¹⁰⁷ In the 19th century those holding 300-3,000 acres were regarded as second rank landowners, below those greater owners holding more than 3,000 acres but above those who would usually have had to work their estates.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, the holders of the estate resided either in Pott Shrigley or on their properties near by.¹⁰⁹

The Leghs' estates were much more extensive than the Downeses' and they derived much of their income from holdings outside Lyme. The 1466 survey already detailed family property scattered through south Lancashire and into Cheshire.¹¹⁰ W. J. Legh in 1883 had 7,100 acres in Cheshire (income £13,000 yearly) and 6,700 acres in Lancashire (£32,000: the Lancashire estates were smaller but more profitable).¹¹¹ Until the 16th century the family resided at Bradley, on the Lancashire estates.¹¹² Lyme seems to have been adopted as their chief residence in the time of Sir Peter Legh (d. 1589), although there was a hall of some description there by 1466.¹¹³ After 1533, the Leghs appear not in Lancashire visitations, but in Cheshire ones.¹¹⁴ It is unclear why Lyme became the family's chief residence. It was a comparatively small

¹⁰⁷ J. Bateman, The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland (Leicester, 1971 reprint of 1883 edn.), 281.

¹⁰⁸ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 547.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 549; Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 222.

¹¹⁰ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466. Cf. 1637 list of estates: Ches. R.O., DFI 31.

¹¹¹ Bateman, Great Landowners, 263.

¹¹² The Visitation of Lancs. and a part of Ches. A.D. 1533, ii, ed. W. Langton (Chetham Society [old series] cx, 1882), 156, 162-3.

¹¹³ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 675; below, pp. 305-6.

¹¹⁴ Visitation 1533, ii, ed. Langton, 162; although they did not always reside there: cf. Robinson, Country Houses, 164, 195, 223, on their other houses.

estate, on poor soil, located apart from the more valuable holdings in Lancashire.¹¹⁵ Perhaps Sir Peter wanted to make his mark by imposing his taste on a house which had not been the focus of his predecessors' attention - the present structure apparently contains no fabric from before his period.¹¹⁶ The choice may also have owed something to sentimental attachment to this early acquisition on which subsequent territorial expansion was founded. The move to Lyme was important, for the presence of the family had a great impact on the township - not least in the many later alterations to the large hall, and in the extensive park. In contrast, their former home at Bradley, described in 1466 as a 'fine new hall' and clearly a substantial structure, was in the late 19th century no more than a farmhouse.¹¹⁷

The Derby lands in east Cheshire, which also included the townships of Macclesfield Forest and Wildboarclough, south of Rainow,¹¹⁸ constituted a small outpost of a very large landed empire. The Leghs were a significant gentry family in Cheshire and south Lancashire, but the limited extent of their power is revealed by comparison with very great landowning families such as the Derbys, whose sphere of influence extended throughout the north-west and beyond: the Leghs' sphere of influence was narrower than the Derbys', and indeed in the early modern period they were clients of the Earls.¹¹⁹ However, the influence

¹¹⁵ Cf. Visitation 1533, ii, ed. Langton, 163. Land in townships near Lyme Handley (e.g. Disley and Norbury) was acquired in the 17th century: Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 87, 102.

¹¹⁶ Below, pp. 305-6.

¹¹⁷ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, f. 1; Visitation 1533, ii, ed. Langton, 163.

¹¹⁸ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 769-71.

¹¹⁹ Coward, Stanleys, pp. x, 132, chs. 1, 8, 9 (but also ch. 11 on the limits of influence); Bennett, Community, Class and Careerism,

of the Leghs in the locality which forms the subject of this study was probably of greater immediate significance. Unlike the Leghs, the Stanleys had no major seat in the area, only Crag Hall, Wildboarclough, bought as a shooting lodge in the late 19th century.¹²⁰

The Stopfords¹²¹ seem to have acquired Saltersford fairly soon after its sale by the Stanleys (apparently in the late 16th century),¹²² and were resident there for a time: a son of James Stopford was buried at Macclesfield in 1642. However, James became 'vastly rich'¹²³ through service in the parliamentary army in Ireland and spawned a prominent Anglo-Irish family, raised to the Irish peerage as Earls of Courtown in 1762. The family kept the Cheshire estates, from which they derived their English title Baron Saltersford (1796), but by the 1880s these formed by acreage and gross annual value just six per cent of their lands totalling over 23,000 acres,

215-23. The Stanleys' total Ches. estate in 1883 was 9,500 acres (with smaller estates in three other counties) compared to 57,000 acres in Lancs., the annual Ches. income £6,460 of a total exceeding £160,000. Of the great British landowners, the Earl of Derby's income was among the greatest. Bateman, Great Landowners, 127; Cannadine, Decline and Fall, 710.

¹²⁰ Robinson, Country Houses, 23.

¹²¹ This paragraph is based, except where otherwise stated, on Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 456-7; The House of Commons 1509-1558, iii: Members N-Z, ed. S. T. Bindoff (London, 1982), 386; Burke's Peerage (1959), 552; Complete Peerage, iii. 468-70; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/187/1-6; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/250-2, P 59/1, and V 242 (including Stopford pedigree); P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 198.

¹²² Cf. Coward, Stanleys, ch. 3, on the problems of the Derby estate: the disposal of Saltersford may be related, for other sales were made at that period.

¹²³ Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1660-1662, ed. R. P. Mahaffy (London, 1905), 633.

otherwise entirely in Ireland.¹²⁴ Saltersford Hall, which had been built with some pretension in the late 16th century, was a mere farmhouse from at least the 18th century.¹²⁵

THE 20TH CENTURY

In the 20th century the largest landholders in these townships fell victim to a wider trend affecting many such owners, classically in the years 1910-20, the dispersal of landed estates - reversing the overall tendency of centuries of accumulation. Factors behind this trend included prolonged agricultural depression and its impact on incomes, land values and borrowing; the changing social, economic and political significance of land; and increasing external burdens on landed estates in the form of taxation.¹²⁶ Formerly land had been a secure basis of wealth, but in the circumstances of the late 19th century and after this changed. The Earl of Derby said in 1923 that, owing to the great burden of taxation, he was living off his capital rather than the income it provided.¹²⁷ While there had always been a turnover of landowning families, in the early 20th century there was only attrition, as old families disposed of their estates and new ones did not come forward.¹²⁸ Consequently not just the composition of the social group changed, but the amount of land held by the

¹²⁴ Bateman, Great Landowners, 108.

¹²⁵ R. Richards, Old Ches. Churches (Manchester, 1973 edn.), 419; below, p. 302.

¹²⁶ Cannadine, Decline and Fall, chs. 2-3.

¹²⁷ The Earl of Derby, who owned c. 57,000 acres in 1876, still held 22,000 acres in 1976 (Cannadine, Decline and Fall, 98, 725), but the Rainow/Kettleshulme land was apparently disposed of: cf. Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 162.

¹²⁸ E.g. Beckett, Aristocracy, 63, 89.

class as a whole. The pressures evidently operated against great landowners in these marginal uplands as in lowland arable England. However, the timing in individual cases must be attributed to the particular circumstances of each family.¹²⁹

The Legh estate remained intact into the 20th century, although the second Lord Newton (1857-1942)¹³⁰ referred to places like Lyme as an 'incubus'. The difficulties in keeping the estate going were attributed to taxation, death duties,¹³¹ and the high cost of maintenance. At the beginning of the century the family was still able to maintain its lifestyle, for example making alterations to Lyme Hall. Their survival may perhaps be attributed to non-landed sources of income.¹³² But the family did sell some land in east Cheshire after the First World War (in part to its tenants). Lord Newton handed the house over to his eldest son in 1920 to avoid death duties, hoping to keep Lyme in the family. The son maintained Lyme, if on a reduced scale. The difficulties brought by the Second World War, chiefly that of securing staff, along with the decline in the family's revenue from collieries, brought the third Lord Newton to consider sale but ultimately to give the hall and 1,323 acres of parkland to the National Trust in 1946, and move to Hampshire. Thus the Legh family, whose Lyme Handley estate had endured over five centuries, reluctantly departed from their home, and it became a 'day-trippers' paradise'.¹³³

¹²⁹ Cf. Cannadine, Decline and Fall, 24-5, 125-35.

¹³⁰ Above, figure 3.1 (p. 45).

¹³¹ Cf. the conclusion of Lady Newton's Lyme Letters (1925).

¹³² Cf. Beckett, Aristocracy, 85.

¹³³ Paragraph based on: Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 21 (from which Lord Newton's comment comes); Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 127; R. Richards, 'The Chapel at Lyme Hall', T.H.S.L.C. cii. 145 (from which the latter quotation is taken); Lyme Park, 34-7;

The Shrigley estate passed from Ellen Jane Lowther to her son W. G. Lowther (1906) and thence (in 1928) to his son John, but the latter sold the house and park in 1929, though retaining the estate until the 1960s.¹³⁴ The Earl of Courtown disposed of Saltersford in 1947 (when the family estates were broken up): like the Leghs, the family succumbed to the pressures of the age, if somewhat later than many other landowning families. The sale apparently owed its timing partly to unexpectedly heavy expenditure on repairs due that year.¹³⁵

Small parcels of land in the townships had at earlier periods been held by the church and by local charities.¹³⁶ However, following the disposal of landed assets by gentry and aristocratic families in the 20th century, larger properties in the townships passed into the hands of institutions.¹³⁷ Besides the National Trust at Lyme, the Salesian Order bought Shrigley Hall in 1929 for a missionary college; it was sold by them in 1985 and

Newton, Lyme Letters, 321-2; Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 9; Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, 3, 5; Ches. R.O., DTR 9/4-5; ibid. list of records elsewhere no. 106; G.M.C.R.O., E 17/3/13, E 17/4/3.

¹³⁴ Burke's Landed Gentry (1965), i. 463; White, Pott Shrigley, a village school, 41.

¹³⁵ A. Kinsella, The Windswept Shore (1984), 168; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/237-9, 241-2, 260, 262.

¹³⁶ Below, p. 264; Thirty-First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring concerning Charities, H.C. [103], pp. 516-17, 543, 545 (1837-8), xxiv.

¹³⁷ Cf. T. Williamson and L. Bellamy, Property and Landscape (London, 1987), 213.

became a hotel, with an estate of c. 260 acres. They also held Ingersley Hall (Rainow) from 1952.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ M. Abbott, Diocese of Shrewsbury 1851-1951 ([1951?]), 88; TS. 'Outline History of the Houses of the Gbr. Province 1887-1987' (sections on 'Bollington' and 'Shrigley'), in Shrigley box file at Salesian Provincial Office, Stockport, access courtesy of Fr Bailey; information from Shrigley Hall Hotel.

2. Smaller landowners

Besides the larger landowners, there were many smaller property-holders in some parts of this area. Generalisations about the concerns of their larger counterparts often applied to them, if on a more modest scale: Jane Laughton has examined the strategies adopted for the accumulation and disposition of smaller estates among the inhabitants of 17th-century Rainow.¹³⁹ Estates for which documentation survives, however, tend to be those of the more affluent inhabitants. Many others are undocumented. Details of landownership in each township are given systematically only by certain modern sources, and the ownership and acreage of holdings were first comprehensively detailed in the 1840s. Because of these source limitations, and for reasons of space, the following comments on smaller estates are not comprehensive, but are confined to estates of particular antiquity, longevity, or other note.

Some estates built up by families of yeomen or even minor gentry were long-enduring units. These estates of local significance included the One House estate (Rainow), granted to the Davenports - long before the estates of the Downes, Legh, or Stanley families came into existence - in the third quarter of the 12th century.¹⁴⁰ The estate was demised by Ralph Davenport to a John Hulley in 1490, and held by the Hulleys into the 20th century.¹⁴¹ Other

¹³⁹ 'Township of Rainow', 13, 17-21, 110-11.

¹⁴⁰ Like other grants in this area, associated with forest service.

¹⁴¹ The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237, ed. G. Barraclough (R.S.L.C. cxxvi, 1988), 180-1; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 455; R. Hulley, 'The History of the One House', North Ches. Family Historian, xviii(2), 35-40; Ches. R.O., NVA 4/19, p. 30.

landholders in Rainow included the Foxwist family in the 13th century.¹⁴² Geoffrey de Dutton conveyed property at 'Thornside', identified as Thornset, to a member of the Worth family in the late 13th century.¹⁴³ References to the Adlington Leghs' property in the township are found between 1408 and the early 18th century.¹⁴⁴ The Savages' holding (including Thornset) was mentioned in 1428 and at various dates until 1636.¹⁴⁵ The Gaskell family, whose property on the western side of the township included Ingersley and Tower Hill, expanded their holdings from the later 18th century, although the estate was sold after 1923.¹⁴⁶ The status of some holdings within the township was reflected in their substantial houses.¹⁴⁷ In Kettlethulme the Gap House (documented 1612-1945) belonged to the Brocklehursts (from the 18th century a prominent Macclesfield silk-manufacturing family).¹⁴⁸ The Jodrell family's modest holding in Kettlethulme constituted a small part (in c. 1849, just 38 acres) of their extensive holdings totalling over 3,685 acres in the east Cheshire area; but their estate there dated from

¹⁴² F. Renaud, 'The Family of Foxwist', T.L.C.A.S. xiii. 47; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/37/23: note of Ches. plea rolls 1320-1.

¹⁴³ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 19.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. 36th D.K.R. (1875), appendix II, pp. 295-6; Ches. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1603-60, ii, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (R.S.L.C. lxxxvi, 1935), 124-7; Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 91.

¹⁴⁵ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 292; Ches. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1603-60, iii, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (R.S.L.C. xci, 1938), 38, 46; P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 228-9.

¹⁴⁶ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 455; Davies, Agricultural History, 70; Story of Rainow, 37.

¹⁴⁷ Discussed by Laughton for the 17th century, when dwellings such as Saltersford, Hordern, Ingersley and the One House stand out: 'Township of Rainow', 30, 37. Also below, pp. 301-2.

the late 14th century.¹⁴⁹ They still held it in 1910.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Crozier, An Old Silk Family, pp. 10, 12, and passim. Brocklehurst landholders are found in Kettlethulme as early as the late 14th century: e.g. Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 58.

¹⁴⁹ R. Fawtier, Hand-List of the Mainwaring and Jodrell Manuscripts (Manchester, n.d.), 50, 52, 54; Ches. R.O., DDX 346, 406. Cf. Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 784-7.

¹⁵⁰ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 2, 6, 8. For other estates in Pott Shrigley besides the Downeses' cf. above, p. 39, below, pp. 73-4. No other estates are found in Lyme, for the Leghs were dominant from the 14th century.

3. Patterns of landownership¹⁵¹

While some estates are individually significant, how do they fit into the general distribution of property within these townships? Sources which detail the entire pattern of landholding allow systematic analysis for each township and comparison between them. They correct the foregoing picture of landownership as entirely dominated by large estates.¹⁵² The land tax, covering 1784-1831 for these townships, is the earliest source which details landownership on a township-wide scale. Although this source has been widely used by historians to examine patterns of landholding, its value as a source has been contentious: its problematic meaning and significance are extensively discussed in the literature.¹⁵³ Problems include the relationship between sums assessed and the acreage held. Small owners are thought to have paid more tax than large ones, proportional to their holdings. Further difficulties include the possible omission of very small landowners, and the date to which the land values relate, which may fossilise earlier figures. Most assessments do not name or describe the holdings they refer to. Consequently, the returns may be neither accurate nor even consistent records of the landowners in a township. These difficulties make analysis and comparison between townships hazardous, and it seems inadvisable to venture precise statements about the landholding position of individuals from these data. But

¹⁵¹ For the occupation of land see pp. 142-50 below.

¹⁵² Davies, Agricultural History, 31.

¹⁵³ D. R. Mills, Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, 1980), 71-3; Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 187-90; M. Turner, 'Land Tax, Land, and Property', Land and Property, ed. M. Turner and D. Mills (Gloucester, 1986); The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History, ed. D. Hey (Oxford, 1996), 273-4; D. E. Ginter, A Measure of Wealth (London, 1992).

do the figures provide any useful information regarding the relative size of holdings and the distribution of land in each township?

Some problems in the source material are apparent in the returns for these townships. Whether holders had freehold, copyhold or leasehold tenure is unclear.¹⁵⁴ The returns for Lyme¹⁵⁵ give several names as well as the Leghs; but there is no other evidence to suggest that there were other freehold owners in the township.¹⁵⁶ Presumably these other proprietors held by copyhold from that manor.¹⁵⁷ In other townships, certain landowners who are found as owners of land both before and after the date of the early returns (including later land tax assessments) do not appear in the early assessments: notably the Earl of Derby in Rainow.¹⁵⁸ Perhaps 'proprietors' are sometimes leaseholders. An understanding of this problem is hindered by the fact that this study has not examined tenure within the townships in any detail. Because of this uncertainty, analysis of the Lyme Handley returns has not been conducted. Selected data have been aggregated for the other three townships (tables 3.1 - 3.3, pp. 78-81 below)

¹⁵⁴ Ginter, Measure of Wealth, 44-5; cf. Davies, Agricultural History, 22.

¹⁵⁵ E.g. Ches. R.O., QDV 2/270/1 (1784).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. the history of the Legh estate, ch. III.1 above, and discussion of tithe and 1910 data below, pp. 71-2.

¹⁵⁷ As lords of the manor in Lyme Handley the Leghs had a more direct interest in what was happening there than did the Crown in the other townships, where it was lord of the manor, and from whom most other landholders held by copyhold (above, pp. 40-1). For the purposes of comparing landownership in the different townships, it seems appropriate to consider these copyhold owners as equivalent to the Leghs in Lyme.

¹⁵⁸ He does not appear, for example, in QDV 2/365/2, 11, 31 (1785, 1795, 1815), but is in QDV 2/365/47 (1831).

but the problem casts doubt on conclusions drawn from this source. Bearing in mind the deficiencies of the source and the difficulties of interpretation, the data seem to show that a wide distribution of land (whatever the technicalities of the tenurial status of the 'proprietors') was prevalent in Rainow and Kettleshulme, a view confirmed by later surveys of landownership there. However, more concrete conclusions, for instance about the changing total numbers of landowners over time, are impeded by the documentary difficulties.

The data forthcoming from the land tax assessments may be compared to those from the tithe commutation records.¹⁵⁹ The information presented by the latter is uniform and detailed. The records comprise an apportionment listing landowners' names and acreages, and a map locating the parcels. This allows analysis of the distribution of property and the size of holdings in each township.¹⁶⁰ For example, the coloured Pott Shrigley map brings home forcefully the extent to which the principal estate dominated the township, except for small peripheral areas. These data are superior to the land tax in several respects, even beyond the latter's sometimes obscure meaning. Although the land tax appears to give an idea of the scale of property held, the tithe records give actual acreages. The tithe records usually locate the parcels of

¹⁵⁹ Ches. R.O., EDT 223, 252, 328, 339.

¹⁶⁰ The records dealt with all land which was subject to tithe. In Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley, this constituted the entire township, but in Kettleshulme and Rainow some tithes had already been extinguished, or were owned by the landowners themselves. However, owners and acreages were still listed, and analysis of the identity and holding size of all the landowners has been possible. The only constraint is that these lands were not located on the tithe map.

land within each township, whereas most land tax returns do not identify them.¹⁶¹

Tables 3.4 - 3.7 (pp. 82-6 below) summarise these data, and confirm the contrasting patterns of landownership. Most striking is Lyme Handley, all but a fraction of which was held by Thomas Legh with no other private owners at all. A similar, if slightly less extreme, pattern is seen in Pott Shrigley, where the executors of William Turner held most of the land excepting a few much smaller estates. In Kettleshulme and Rainow landownership was much more diffuse, with 44 and 86 landowners respectively¹⁶² (as against 2 and 6 for Lyme Handley and Pott). Landownership was most diffuse within Kettleshulme, for landowners there held on average just 28 acres; in Rainow the average was 67 acres. This figure for Rainow bears closer examination. Harrop and Saltersford - more than two fifths of the township's area - were owned by the two aristocratic estates: the average holding of the remaining 84 owners was 39 acres.¹⁶³ Without the distorting effect of very large Derby and Courtown holdings, then, the figure is more closely comparable to that for neighbouring Kettleshulme. Concentrated landownership in those portions of Rainow contrasts strongly with the rest of the township. However, even aside from this consideration, a greater proportion of owners in Kettleshulme held very small estates, of less than 10 acres, than in Rainow (although a similar proportion had between 10 acres and 50 acres);

¹⁶¹ Tithe records are discussed in Mills, Lord and Peasant, 68-71.

¹⁶² Cf. similar figures of 47 and 85, respectively, in the 1831 land tax.

¹⁶³ The 1891 township acreage less the Derby and Courtown acreages given by the tithe apportionment, divided by the 84 owners apart from the two Earls.

the greater proportion of larger estates in Rainow explains the larger average holding size there.

The total numbers of owners for each township should be considered in relation to township size. In a small township it would, one might suppose, be easier for one or a few landowners to dominate landholding:¹⁶⁴ it is therefore striking that in the smallest township, Kettlethulme, there were so many; and, conversely, that in the second largest, Lyme Handley, so few. The lack of correlation between township size and patterns of landownership makes it clear that other factors besides size must have been important in determining the degree to which landholding was concentrated or dispersed.

At a further comprehensive examination of landownership in 1910¹⁶⁵ the patterns of landholding in the four townships were similar to those at tithe commutation.¹⁶⁶ The Legh estate was as dominant as it had been in the late 1840s. Pott Shrigley was similarly dominated by the Lowther estate. In Kettlethulme the ownership of property was again very fragmented, with a degree of diversity in the size of holdings, but none very large. Only three estates exceeded 60 acres. Rainow had a high total number of owners but, again, divergence in the size of estates. The two very large holdings continued. The Earl of Derby held 8 farms and other property in the Harrop Valley, and Lamaload in the south. The Earl of Courtown's 15 farms extended as far as Buxtorstoope in the west, covering the

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 68.

¹⁶⁵ B. Short, 'Local Demographic Studies', Local Population Studies, li. 62-72. The most detailed records are in the P.R.O.; for the present study, the more summary records in Ches. R.O. have been used: NVA 4/8, pp. 1-21, NVA 4/19, pp. 1-[34].

¹⁶⁶ These figures pre-date the break-up of the larger estates: above, pp. 61-4.

entire eastern side of the township excepting Charles Head in the far north. Other significant estates were held by members of the Gaskell family, in the north-west of the township (over 300 acres, including Ingersley); and by Arderne Hulley, in the south-west (also over 300 acres, including the One House).

A key question is how far back in time patterns of landownership revealed by the tithe and 1910 data extend. Within these townships over the long term were several patterns of landownership: two static but contrasting (Lyme on the one hand, Rainow and Kettlethulme on the other), and one of change (Pott Shrigley). Lyme Handley was dominated by a single gentry estate throughout. Medieval Pott Shrigley, colonised by a process similar to that in neighbouring Rainow and Kettlethulme,¹⁶⁷ may have displayed a similar pattern of landholding to them initially, but the Downes family became increasingly dominant over time. They purchased lands formerly belonging to Pott Chapel in the 16th century, and waste land was acquired in the early 17th century. There were other significant owners until quite late on, including in 1611 Thomas Adshead at Birchencliff and Francis Pott apparently at Pott Hall, and in 1749 Earl Barrymore, besides the succession of families (Lunt, Watson, and Beech) who succeeded the Shrigleys at Berristall from the 17th century. But the Downeses' acquisitions in the 18th and early 19th centuries included Birchencliff, Cophurst Knot, Moorside, Pott Hall, Berristall, and Redacre. The expansion of the estate seems to have amounted to a deliberate policy.¹⁶⁸ The result is clear. No precise

¹⁶⁷ Below, pp. 117-18.

¹⁶⁸ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 772-5; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 317, 323-4; D. and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia (London, 1810), 744; 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], pp. 543-4

measurements of the estate are found before the modern period, but the Crown survey of 1611 included nine tenements and ten cottages plus the Hall on the Downses' copyhold estate.¹⁶⁹ A rental of 1692 listed, alongside the demesne, 43 tenements.¹⁷⁰ In 1737 the estate comprised property throughout the township, from Shrigley demesne, to Redacre, Birchencliff, and Cophurst to the north, Normans Hall to the west, Bakestonedale and Pott Moor to the east, and Pott Hall, Berristall and Sherrowbooth in the south.¹⁷¹ In 1818 there was no-one resident of comparable status to the landowner Edward Downes.¹⁷² The growth of the Downes estate perhaps reflects a general process discerned by some historians whereby from the early modern period gentry estates were enlarged at the expense of smaller owners, the causes including inheritance customs, enclosure, the engrossment of holdings, and the development of commercial agriculture, although this long-term process was not uniform over time and in different regions.¹⁷³ It is hard, however, from the sources consulted to isolate which particular factors were important in Pott Shrigley.

(1837-8), xxiv; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 109, 111, 127, 132, 137, 329, ii. 469; Ches. R.O., D 3076/10: opinion on abstracts of title 1819, and instructions for conveyance, c. 1818; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/100: copy will of Edward Downes, 23 Jul. 1746; Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/130, cf. MA T/I/82; B.L., Add. Ch. 71437; P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 325-6; *ibid.* C2/Eliz/P17/47.

¹⁶⁹ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 242-6.

¹⁷⁰ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 467.

¹⁷¹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 420.

¹⁷² Unlike some Downses, Edward resided at Shrigley Hall. Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

¹⁷³ Discussed in Thirsk's introduction to A. H. Johnson, The Disappearance of the Small Landowner, ed. J. Thirsk (London, 1963), pp. vii-xii. Cf. also M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities (Cambridge, 1974), 54, 70, 91.

The presence of landed estates with resident gentry is characteristic of Cheshire. However, this concentration of landownership among families of high status did not, as we have seen, apply to all four townships. Rainow and Kettleshulme manifested patterns of dispersed landownership: albeit in Rainow with the contrast between the long-standing tenurial units of aristocratic estates, which excluded other landowners from the northern and eastern sections of the township, and other parts divided between smaller property holders. Unlike the Downeses' Shrigley estate, no evidence has been found to suggest that these larger estates expanded, the holdings apparently remaining static. Presumably this was because the Derby and Courtown holdings were held by non-resident families, the land peripheral to the main estate and of limited value. The smaller landowners existing alongside survived. Studies of other localities have attributed the survival of small landholders in some areas to the predominance of pastoral farming, where extensive commons meant that small holdings could continue to provide a living. A further factor may have been the presence of domestic industry which supplemented the living provided by the agricultural holding.¹⁷⁴ Such areas did not come to conform to the classic 19th-century pattern whereby tenant farmers held their land from landlords and farms were much larger in size than in earlier periods.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Spufford, Contrasting Communities, 134-51, 165; J. Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution (Chetham Society 3rd series xxxii, 1986), 147-8; G. H. Tupling, The Economic History of Rossendale (Chetham Society new series lxxxvi, 1927), ch. III and pp. 161-7. Cf. also Johnson, Disappearance of the Small Landowner, ed. Thirsk, pp. ix, xiii; G. E. Mingay, Enclosure and the Small Farmer (London, 1968), 20; Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 558-64. Cf. chs. IV.4, IV.6, below, on industrial occupations here.

¹⁷⁵ W. G. Hoskins, The Midland Peasant (London, 1957), 198, 217, 266.

The virtue of taking such a long time-frame in the study of landownership is shown by the fact that what happened centuries earlier affected the continuing pattern of landownership, for example in the impact of the pre-existing designation as blocks of pasture on the grants of Handley, Harrop and Saltersford. However, the pattern of landownership was not necessarily determined by its early history and could change, as in Pott Shrigley, subject for example to the degree of interest of the landowning family.¹⁷⁶

What was the status of these townships in relation to the models of landownership put forward in the work of Dennis Mills and others? Mills, whose work focussed on the 19th century (while acknowledging that his characterisations are also applicable before that period),¹⁷⁷ contrasted localities with a resident squire, or at least one absentee landlord who owned a large proportion of the land; and those where the land was 'divided up among a multiplicity of owners ... the greatest with several hundred acres or a thousand apiece, the smallest with only a cottage and ... garden' and where no single owner predominated. This dichotomy between 'closed' and 'open' seems to fit the situation here. In Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley, on the one hand, gentry estates were dominant (despite their contrasting origins), the landowning families continuously resident respectively from the 16th and 18th centuries. In Kettleshulme and Rainow, on the other hand, there were many landowners, holding estates of various sizes. The picture is complicated by the large Rainow estates (held by non-resident aristocratic

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 106-13.

¹⁷⁷ The problem in characterising townships as open or closed before the 19th century lies in the more fragmentary evidence.

landowners), but Mills acknowledged that a range of landholding structures existed of which his models represented the extremes: absentee landlords might have a considerable interest in an open village, while conversely a few small landowners could be independent of the main estate in a closed one (as in Pott Shrigley). In fact he put forward a four-fold distinction, postulating the existence of sub-types within closed and open communities: estate villages where the owner was resident, as against places where the landlord was absent; and open villages where a large number of owners, including owner-occupiers, formed a developed peasant community, as against those where land was merely divided between so many owners that none had a controlling interest.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Lord and Peasant, 15, 24-5, 49, 76-7.

Tables 3.1 - 3.3
Landownership from land tax assessments for Kettlethulme,
Pott Shrigley and Rainow¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Ches. R.O., QDV 2/238/1, 26, 47; QDV 2/352/1, 26, 47; QDV 2/365/2, 31, 47. An assessment from the beginning, middle and end of each series has been taken for each place, and the sums attributed to each 'proprietor' (including those which were assessed on estates in the township, but exonerated*) amalgamated and totalled. In the returns, for reasons which are unclear but which presumably relate to the way in which holdings were distributed within a township, the same name sometimes appears more than once. It has been assumed, unless other identifying information is given e.g. junior/senior, that the persons referred to are the same, and the sums allocated to them have been added together. Such identification cannot be certain the case of common personal names, but in other cases it is obvious, e.g. the Earl of Courtown - this in turn suggests that the same process is occurring with more humble landowners. Cf. Ginter, Measure of Wealth, 14-18. If an incorrect identification has been made between two separate individuals, the figures in the table would be an underestimate of the number of landowners in that township. Davies apparently did not adopt this strategy and her totals are higher: Agricultural History, 163. The sums were allocated to a band (these are not inherently significant but arbitrary, adopted to enable the general distribution of assessments to be seen). Where an entry has been specified as tithe, it has been excluded from the ownership totals in the table; but since some duplicates do not specify which entry is tithe, in these cases it must have been included in the total. See pp. 68-70 above for discussion of the land tax as a source. Percentages in the tables may not add up to 100 precisely due to rounding of figures. Acreages (the figures from 1891) are from Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'.

*In some land tax returns 'exonerations' are noted, but these still represent property within the township: Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 187, 189. Ginter, Measure of Wealth, 29, argues that in some cases such figures are excluded from the assessments. We have no way of telling if this might be the case in some assessments here.

Table 3.1 Kettleshulme 1784-1831

Acreage 1,232

Range	Owners in 1784	% Owners in 1784	Owners in 1810	% Owners in 1810	Owners in 1831	% Owners in 1831
< 10s.	10	40	18	47	25	53
10s. < £1	7	28	9	24	12	26
£1 < £2	4	16	5	13	8	17
£2 < £3	2	8	4	11	0	0
£3 < £4	0	0	2	5	2	4
£4 < £5	0	0	0	0	0	0
£5 < £10	2	8	0	0	0	0
£10 < £20	0	0	0	0	0	0
> £20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	25	100	38	100	47	100

COMMENTS The presence of many small proprietors compared, for example, with Pott Shrigley is clear - over half the owners here in 1784 were assessed at less than £1 - and there was, according to these figures, no diminution in their number over time but rather the reverse. The two largest assessments in 1784 were George Brocklehurst and Lord Derby, who together were assessed for £13 12s. 7 1/2d. (the township total was £31 19s. 6d.). The Earl of Derby does not appear in the 1810 return, the reason being unclear (cf. p. 69 above). The estates paying £3-£4 in 1831 were Lord Derby's and Robert Slack's.

Table 3.2 Pott Shrigley 1784-1831

Acreage 1,706

Range	Owners in 1784	Owners in 1810	Owners in 1831
< 10s.	1	1	0
10s. < £1	2	2	1
£1 < £2	1	0	1
£2 < £3	0	1	1
£3 < £4	0	0	0
£4 < £5	0	0	0
£5 < £10	1	0	0
£10 < £20	0	0	0
> £20	1	1	1
Total	6	5	4

COMMENTS In 1784 Peter Downes was assessed for the bulk of the township's tax, at £25 19s. 5d. (the township's total was £37 6s. 8d.). In 1810 Edward Downes' property was assessed at £33 6s. 1d. of the same total. This principal estate seems to have undergone expansion at this period (see pp. 73-4 above). William Turner, who purchased the estate from Downes (pp. 50-2 above), was assessed at £32 18s. 2d. of the total in 1831.

Table 3.3 Rainow 1785-1831

Acreage 5,744

Range	Owners in 1785	%	Owners in 1815	%	Owners in 1831	%
< 10s.	36	39	31	36	30	35
10s. < £1	25	27	25	29	26	31
£1 < £2	15	16	19	22	17	20
£2 < £3	12	13	6	7	8	9
£3 < £4	3	3	4	5	1	1
£4 < £5	2	2	1	1	2	2
£5 < 10	0	0	1	1	0	0
£10 < 20	0	0	0	0	1	1
> £20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total ¹⁸⁰	93	100	87	100	85	100

COMMENTS The Earl of Derby does not appear at all in 1785 or 1815; and it is unclear why the Earl of Courtown, who apparently owned an extensive portion of the township (cf. pp. 60, 71-3 above), was assessed for so little of the tax (3s. 4d.). Presumably others holding land from them were assessed as 'proprietors': cf. pp. 69-70 above. This casts doubt upon the tenurial status of other 'proprietors' listed in the assessments. If these figures are to be taken at face value they present a township in which there were many small owners, although the density of ownership in relation to the size of the township is lower than in Kettlethulme, which was less than a quarter of the size but had in 1831 over a half of Rainow's total number of owners.

¹⁸⁰ Not including sums assessed for corn tithe.

Tables 3.4 - 3.7
Landownership from the tithe commutation records
1848-50¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ Ches. R.O., EDT 223, 252, 328, 339. The categories for acreage into which owners are sorted are arbitrary, adopted to allow the general distribution in each township to be seen. Percentages in the tables may not add up to 100 precisely due to rounding of figures.

Table 3.4 KettleshulmeAcreage¹⁸²

(1) 1,232

(2) -

Acreage range	Owners ¹⁸³	Percentage
<1	6	14
1<5	4	9
5<10	4	9
10<20	11	25
20<50	14	32
50<75	2	5
75<100	0	0
100<150	2	5
150<200	0	0
200+	1	2
Total	44	100

Average holding¹⁸⁴ 28 acres

COMMENTS Owners over 100 acres were the Earl of Derby, Richard Lomas and the Reverend James Sumner, who together owned 434 a. 2 r. 26 p. (over one third of the township).

¹⁸² (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. The latter is not given for Kettleshulme, since the detailed schedule covers only part of the township.

¹⁸³ Total number of owners, including those in whose lands tithe is extinguished. Some are institutional; others comprise more than one individual; not including public roads.

¹⁸⁴ 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of owners.

Table 3.5 Lyme HandleyAcreage¹⁸⁵

(1) 3,747

(2) 3,781 a. 2 r. 31 p.

Acreage range	Owners ¹⁸⁶
<1	0
1<5	0
5<10	0
10<20	1
20<50	0
50<75	0
75<100	0
100<150	0
150<200	0
200+	1
Total	2

Average holding¹⁸⁷ 1,874 acres

COMMENTS Thomas Legh owned 3,756 a. 1 r. 31 p. of the township, so the mean holding does not reflect his dominance.

¹⁸⁵ (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. The reason for the difference between (1) and (2) is not clear.

¹⁸⁶ Holders of life leases under Legh are not counted.

¹⁸⁷ 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of owners.

Table 3.6 Pott ShrigleyAcreage¹⁸⁸

(1) 1,706

(2) 1,719 a. 2 r. 22 p.

Acreage range	Owners ¹⁸⁹
<1	1
1<5	0
5<10	0
10<20	1
20<50	2
50<75	1
75<100	0
100<150	0
150<200	0
200+	1
Total	6

Average holding¹⁹⁰ 284 acres

COMMENTS Although there were six owners, five of them owned fairly small parcels, for the executors of William Turner held all but 148 a. 2 r. 20 p. The other holdings were located at the township's northern and north-western extremities, and its eastern and south-eastern edges.

¹⁸⁸ (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. The reason for the difference between (1) and (2) is not clear.

¹⁸⁹ Total number of owners (some are institutional); not including public roads.

¹⁹⁰ 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of owners.

Table 3.7 Rainow

Acreage¹⁹¹
 (1) 5,744
 (2) -

Acreage range	Owners ¹⁹²	Percentage
<1	6	7
1<5	2	2
5<10	4	5
10<20	18	21
20<50	34	40
50<75	11	13
75<100	2	2
100<150	5	6
150<200	0	0
200+	4	5
Total	86	100

Average holding¹⁹³ 67 acres

COMMENTS The Earl of Derby held 954 a. 3 r. 15 p., the Earl of Courtown 1,496 a. 1 r. 8 p. (these two estates comprising over 40 per cent of the township's area). Jasper Hulley esq. had 257 a. 0 r. 18 p. and John Upton Gaskell 221 a. 2 r. 15 p.; there were seven other owners holding over 75 acres. These latter nine estates covered over one fifth of the township.

¹⁹¹ (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. The latter is not given for Rainow, since the detailed schedule covers only part of the township.

¹⁹² Total number of owners, including those in whose lands tithe is extinguished. Some are institutional; others comprise more than one individual; not including public roads. Holders of life leases under Derby are not counted separately.

¹⁹³ 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of owners.

4. The importance of landownership

Landownership had a great impact on local communities. Winchester writes that factors behind the development of the landscape lie not just in the history of environmental constraints and economic changes, but in the influence of landholding. This framework - as we have seen - changed over time, but constituted a constant influence on the way in which people used the land.¹⁹⁴ It is a truism that landowning families could greatly influence the development of their domain and local affairs more generally. The identity of the landowner, his residence or non-residence, and his interest or lack thereof in local matters, were important.¹⁹⁵ The most obvious examples of the great landowner's impact are in particular landscape features such as halls and parks; however, he could also have more subtle, but equally important, effects on the character of local rural society. Such an impact on Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley is manifest in the succeeding chapters.

However, the open/closed model of landownership goes beyond this, examining not only the impact of the preferences of individual landowners, but of the actual pattern of landownership, in cases where it was diffuse as well as where concentrated. Mills argued that many small property owners, independent of an estate system, could be powerful in shaping local developments.¹⁹⁶ He saw the model, then, not just as a means of classifying

¹⁹⁴ Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 137.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost further explored (London, 1983 edn.), 67.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Ravensdale's fen parishes as peasant communities, largely independent of squirearchical control: Liabile to Floods, particularly ch. 5.

places in terms of landownership, but as having predictive qualities; arguing that the social distribution of landownership was a central causative factor behind the types of rural community found in 19th-century England - and perhaps before - which tended to determine population levels, patterns of settlement, occupational patterns, housing types, religious affiliations and structures, and social control. Conformity to the model of landownership by a particular place suggests that certain characteristics in its economic, demographic, social and religious history will also be evident. Although these typifications may have broken down in the 20th century, following the dissolution of control by great landowning families, Mills maintained that their effects on the character of local communities are still evident today.¹⁹⁷ The following chapters consider whether such assertions are borne out by the histories of these four places, with particular reference to their applicability in this area when they so often refer explicitly to village settlements and to parishes, rather than to the areas of dispersed settlement and townships which were characteristic of upland areas like this one. They examine whether those histories point to a correlative or causative relationship between landownership and other characteristics. The extent to which the contrasting patterns of landownership were of defining importance in differentiation between - and indeed within - townships is a primary theme of the ensuing examination of these communities.

¹⁹⁷ Lord and Peasant, pp. 16, 24, 27, 79, and chs. 6 and 12. Cf. below, pp. 292, 295-6.

IV COMMUNITIES

Despite much debate among sociologists and historians about the meaning of 'community' and the significance of its postulated existence in the examination of groups of people, a definition of the term has proved elusive.¹ Although difficult to pin down, most communities have been conceived of as geographical entities, defined by the physical proximity of people in settlements² and a resulting multiplicity of relationships between a locality's inhabitants. Local historians have been sure that humans have interacted with one another within units which had meaning for them and which acted corporately, and that these have constituted local communities.³ Distance was a key factor in the definition and endurance of these communities over many centuries.⁴ The territory occupied by a community had to be large enough to provide the range of material resources necessary to sustain its members,⁵ yet small enough for a person to be able to travel to work or to worship within it by the only available means, horse or human power. The modern transformation in the character of the local community, removing its high degree of self-sufficiency, has resulted in particular from the hegemony of the car.⁶ An appreciation of the centrality of the local context, and the communal bonds - familial, economic, tenurial, social

¹ C. Bell and H. Newby, Community Studies (London, 1971), ch. 2; J. Marshall, The Tyranny of the Discrete (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 14, 16-17, and ch. 5.

² Bell and Newby, Community Studies, 16, 29, 32.

³ E.g. H. P. R. Finberg and V. H. T. Skipp, Local History: Objective and Pursuit (Newton Abbot, 1967), 33-5.

⁴ Cf. for example the difficulties of Spufford's scattered 17th-century nonconformists: Contrasting Communities, 344-9.

⁵ Cf. Hoskins, Midland Peasant, 190-2.

⁶ Below, ch. V.

and religious - which resulted, has therefore been seen as crucial in understanding how people in the past lived. The role of the specific local environment in forming the character of resident communities has already been touched upon.⁷ The character of these various expressions of communal identity - in economic organisation, the pattern of settlement, and social institutions - and the links between them in this area are examined in the following chapters.

⁷ Above, ch. II.

1. Administrative history

Administrative structures are central to the way in which communities of various sizes define, express and organise themselves, enabling communal decision-making in many different spheres including, for example, the maintenance of order, the management of natural resources and the organisation of religious activity. In turn they foster and sustain communal identities. Places are defined not in terms of their physical characteristics - a village, for example - but, rather, territorial patterns are imposed upon them. Of course administrative geography is not always a good reflection of the communities it purports to represent, particularly as localities change over time while administrative structures imposed from above may remain static. Administrative reconstruction attempts to make those structures conform more closely with the constituent communities. Nineteenth-century ecclesiastical reforms, for example, attempted to match church provision to demographic patterns.⁸ Repeated 19th- and 20th-century changes in local government have sought to keep pace with population shifts and to address anomalies which arose from the complex processes by which administrative units evolved. Although in this area such changes have not been as extensive as in some localities affected for example by urbanisation, in the 1930s the county boundary was moved to coincide with the eastern boundary of Kettleshulme and Rainow, and a small portion of Kettleshulme transferred to Whaley Bridge.⁹ Owing to the perceived affinity of Kettleshulme to Derbyshire, its transfer to the county was considered in 1985; but the residents were reported to be almost unanimously against such a change - for administrative units are not abstract

⁸ Below, ch. IV.8.

⁹ Above, p. 3.

entities, but reflect (and form) inhabitants' identities.¹⁰

Administrative structures operate at different levels, their significance and relationships changing over time. Angus Winchester has pointed out that 'in any one local area there could be almost as many different territorial patterns as there were local administrative functions'.¹¹ A whole range of territorial patterns - nation, county, hundred, rural district, poor law union, manor, forest, parish, township - are salient to the histories of these communities, but they did not descend in a single hierarchy and were not synchronous. The parish, manor and forest within which these townships lay were not co-extensive.¹² Some administrative units are common to all localities, others more specific. Forests, for example, are particular to certain areas.¹³ The significance of administrative structures may differ between localities: from the 16th century the parish was the predominant unit of civil government at the most local level in the south, but in northern areas it came to be the township.¹⁴ The permutation of administrative arrangements is part of what gives a locality its distinctiveness. The east Cheshire Pennines were anomalous to 'normal'

¹⁰ Macclesfield Library, Kettleshulme news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 28 Feb. 1985. Cf. vote of a township meeting against the inclusion of Rainow in Macclesfield in 1867 at ibid. Rainow news cuttings: transcript (1991) of extracts from township meeting minutes etc.

¹¹ A. J. L. Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', The Local Historian, xvii(2), 12.

¹² Above, figure 1.2 (p. 4); Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', p. viii.

¹³ Above, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴ Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 4.

administrative arrangements in England,¹⁵ for the townships under discussion here were subsidiary within the more extensive ecclesiastical and secular units constituted by Prestbury parish, and Macclesfield manor and forest.

LARGER UNITS

Macclesfield Forest is not directly referred to in Domesday and was apparently first documented in the 1150s. Held by the Earls of Chester, it became royal after the earldom passed to the Crown (1237).¹⁶ It formed part of the extensive system of forests which at its peak perhaps covered as much as one third of the country.¹⁷ The extent of medieval Macclesfield Forest is unknown, and the first datable description of the boundaries is of 1619, when the four townships were centrally situated within it, forming perhaps a fifth or a quarter of its total area.¹⁸ The 'towns' of Kettlethulme, Handley, Shrigley and Rainow, and individuals from those communities, appear in the pleas of the forest in the Macclesfield eyre roll from 1285, when the first details about its administration emerge.¹⁹ However, as a separate estate from 1398 Lyme was not subject to forest and manorial administration.²⁰ References to officers of the

¹⁵ If such a thing can be said to exist: cf. Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing'.

¹⁶ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 167, 178.

¹⁷ Hoskins, Making of the English Landscape (1977 edn.), 91; Rackham, Last Forest, 39.

¹⁸ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 178-80. Above, figure 1.2 (p. 4).

¹⁹ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 182; Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (Chetham Society new series lxxxiv, 1925), 208-9, 212-14, 219, 223, 227-8, 236, 247.

²⁰ Above, pp. 37, 40; cf. P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 147-363.

forest in the reign of Elizabeth included two from Pott Shrigley and three from Rainow.²¹ The jurors of the court of the forest in 1620 included two for Pott Shrigley and four for Rainow, although no names are listed in Kettleshulme's entry.²² Leading families in the forest townships filled offices such as forester, sometimes as a condition of their landholding.²³

Another large unit of which this area has constituted part - albeit much more recently - is the Peak District National Park. Created in 1951 (the first such park in England) and run by an independent authority, its *raison d'être* was a desire to protect the landscape, and its boundaries consequently reflect a geographical unity: the most heavily settled and used areas of Lyme Handley, Rainow and Pott Shrigley, which fall on the lower-lying western side of the townships, were excluded.²⁴ Thus the boundaries of the modern entity ignore the pre-existing territorial arrangement of townships - and even counties, since the Park includes areas of Staffordshire and Derbyshire as well as Cheshire. This Pennine area always had an environmental unity, but not one formalised in administrative structures.²⁵ The existence of such a region, transcending county boundaries, was again recognised in a recent government survey mapping 'natural areas', an exercise undertaken because 'dividing England into local government areas makes environmental

²¹ Ches. R.O., D 5299 notebook 8, p. 92.

²² Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 406.

²³ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 1.

²⁴ V.C.H. Staffs. vii. 5; O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 88/98 (1993 edn.); information from the Peak Park. See figure 2.1 above (p. 26).

²⁵ Cf. Higham on the artificiality of the Ches.-Derbs. border, cutting through a Pennine region with common characteristics: Origins of Ches. 176, 213.

nonsense'.²⁶ Administrative arrangements have by no means always been shaped by the landscape.

THE TOWNSHIPS

The four townships were part of a very large parish.²⁷ Whilst in some regions the parish was the 'principal territorial division which bound families into local communities',²⁸ in this area it did not form a natural unit or constitute the territory by which the main administrative functions were fulfilled. That civil territory was instead constituted by the townships.²⁹ These township units clearly functioned from at least the 1280s, the first appearance of Handley, Kettlethulme, Rainow and Shrigley in the historical record, when their communities were separately amerced for forest offences.³⁰

However, exactly how old these particular townships are is not known, for the earliest record is unlikely to be contemporary with their creation. They are not named in Domesday Book (1086), and an isolated early reference from the 1150s to a settlement identified as being in Rainow does not mention the township, only the forest.³¹ The Pennine slopes were areas of late clearance and settlement, and territorial boundaries in this area are presumably therefore of much more recent origin than in less marginal areas, where such boundaries are often

²⁶ The Independent on Sunday, 1 Dec. 1996, p. 3.

²⁷ Below, ch. IV.8, for ecclesiastical administration.

²⁸ Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 3-4.

²⁹ Bennett, Community, Class and Careerism, 50-1.

³⁰ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 110, 130, 137, 198; Calendar of Court Rolls 1259-1297, ed. Stewart-Brown, 213, 219. Cf. Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 16.

³¹ V.C.H. Ches. i. 347; Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls, ed. Barraclough, 180-1.

ancient landscape features.³² Angus Winchester writes that, while forests in Cumbria were originally large single units of lordship, by the early modern period they were mostly divided into township communities.³³ The precise origin of township units in the Cheshire Pennines is unclear, and the relationship between administrative structures and settlement patterns obscure. How was a community defined in areas of dispersed settlement? A township constitutes the landed resource of a particular rural community, but when that relates to no single unit of rural settlement, what determines which areas of scattered settlement are allocated to which township, and where the boundaries between those settlements are drawn?³⁴ Particularly puzzling in this case is the variation in size between the four townships. While townships in sparsely-populated east Cheshire were generally larger than those to the west,³⁵ a reflection of differences in the density of settlement between the two areas, the contrast between Rainow and its diminutive neighbour Kettleshulme begs questions about their origins. A very tentative supposition is that, as distinct pasture grounds in the medieval period,³⁶ Saltersford and Harrop (now within Rainow) originally formed part of no sub-manorial township unit, and that Rainow was enlarged by the later inclusion of these two extensive pastures. However, evidence for the early development of administration in this area is lacking. By the time the sources allow a view of these places in the

³² Hoskins, Making of the English Landscape (1977 edn.), 13; below, ch. IV.2.

³³ Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 31.

³⁴ Cf. F. W. Maitland quoted in O. Rackham, The History of the Countryside (London, 1986), 1.

³⁵ Dunn, Ancient Parishes, Townships and Chapelries of Ches, map insert.

³⁶ Below, ch. IV.2.

late 13th century, the townships were already in existence.

Further references are found thereafter. Three townships were included in a rental of Macclesfield of c. 1352, and the same three (Kettleshulme, Shrigley and Rainow) appeared in the earliest comprehensive list of Cheshire townships, drawn up for taxation purposes, which dates from the beginning of the 15th century but apparently preserves an earlier, 14th-century, list.³⁷ The absence of Lyme Handley from these sources - despite its appearance as a township, like the others, in the eyre roll of the 1280s - appears to relate to its status as an area of demesne pasture, setting it apart from the other three townships.³⁸

Tudor reforms made the parish the fundamental unit of local administration, and consequently Prestbury took on new civil functions. However, a successful 17th-century petition asked that each township be responsible for its own poor, for the parish - like others in Cheshire - experienced problems in operating the system of poor relief effectively: its size meant that it was far from an ideal administrative unit.³⁹ Consequently the parish was of short-lived civil significance in this area. Comprehensive records for the civil functions of these four townships do not survive, and early evidence is not

³⁷ P.R.O., SC 11/899, mm. 3r.-4r.; 'Ches. Mize Book', ed. P. H. W. Booth (1985), transcript kindly provided by Mr Booth (original is J.R.U.L.M., Tatton MS. 345); Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, p. xxxix; Booth, Financial Administration, 125.

³⁸ Below, ch. IV.2.

³⁹ G. P. Higgins, 'The Government of Early Stuart Ches.', Northern History, xii. 41. Cf. V.C.H. Ches. ii. 53.

forthcoming.⁴⁰ However, communal decision-making at township meetings and the delegation of communal duties to local officials are documented.

Each of the four townships had one or two overseers of the poor.⁴¹ Rainow was the only one to have its own poorhouse under the Old Poor Law, presumably because of its greater size and larger population and later, perhaps, the industrial character of its 18th- and 19th-century economy. This poorhouse was in existence by 1759.⁴² From the 1830s all four townships formed part of Macclesfield poor law union, with one guardian each.⁴³ The overseers of Rainow and nearby Macclesfield and Sutton arranged for Rainow workhouse to specialise in housing their elderly paupers. It accommodated over 40 persons in 1841, but was discontinued in 1842: the premises were unfit for its purpose, having a poor standard of accommodation, and 'there was not much control over the inmates, as they went out of the workhouse whenever they desired'. The inmates were moved to Macclesfield union workhouse.⁴⁴ The late 18th-century building survives.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Guide to the Ches. Record Office, ed. C. M. Williams (Ches. County Council, 1991), 51-4.

⁴¹ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 117-18; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 420, 451; 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], pp. 505, 517, 543-5 (1837-8), xxiv; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: transcript (1991) of extracts from township meeting minutes etc.

⁴² Hulley, 'History of the One House', 37-8.

⁴³ Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, H.C. 546, App. p. 136 (1837), xxxi.

⁴⁴ Davies, History of Macclesfield, 262-4; V.C.H. Ches. ii: 243; Story of Rainow, 50; Ches. R.O., D 5299 notebook 2, p. 121; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: untitled, 22 Aug. 1968 (from which the quotation comes); ibid. Macclesfield Express, 5 Nov. 1970; P.R.O., HO 107/106, book 15 ff. 2v.-3r.

Administration of the poor law was only one of several duties fulfilled by the townships. The maintenance of order was another, and the townships had their own constables from the medieval period.⁴⁶ Sources like manor court rolls and, from the early modern period, Quarter Sessions records would doubtless provide further extensive evidence of their activities and also, from the 16th century, the overseers of the highways for the four townships, for whom more fragmentary evidence has been found from the late 18th century.⁴⁷ Taxation was also levied at township level. An assessment for mise payments in Pott Shrigley in the mid-18th century was made by three assessors 'elected at a town's meeting'.⁴⁸ Land tax assessments (1784-1831) survive for each of the townships.⁴⁹ For Rainow, township meeting minutes survive from the mid-19th century.⁵⁰ Township meetings, it appears, performed the functions elsewhere carried out by parish vestries,⁵¹ each autonomous township community here acting together even though not structured by parochial organisation as in other localities.

⁴⁵ Millbrook Cottage, just south of the village: D.o.E. List (1983), 76.

⁴⁶ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 4; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 116-18, 128; P.R.O., C2/Eliz/P17/47.

⁴⁷ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 444; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: transcript (1991) of extracts from township meeting minutes etc.

⁴⁸ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 420.

⁴⁹ Ches. R.O., QDV 2.

⁵⁰ Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: transcript (1991) of extracts from township meeting minutes etc.

⁵¹ J. Richardson, The Local Historian's Encyclopedia (New Barnet, 1986 edn.), 34, 89.

Charities were often founded and administered within individual townships: for example, money from the 17th-century Ouff's charity in Kettleshulme was given away each year at a township meeting.⁵² Dues were paid from each township within Macclesfield chapelry to the church in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁵³ In 1731, a town meeting of Rainow inhabitants decided to levy a tax out of the poor rate towards setting up a free school.⁵⁴ Evidently the machinery normally used for routine tasks of government could also be used for more irregular purposes. A Commonwealth soldier for the 'town of Kettleshulme' was mentioned 1651/2.⁵⁵ In 1659 Kettleshulme and Rainow each held meetings to discuss Booth's royalist rising, for the rebels had utilised the existing machinery of government to send warrants to raise troops on a systematic basis in the townships.⁵⁶

The conception of the township community was exclusive, particularly with regard to poor law administration: for existing members did not want to take financial responsibility for outsiders.⁵⁷ A 1753 indenture forbade a lessee on the Downes estate from taking on any apprentice who might gain settlement in Pott Shrigley and become a drain on the township's resources.⁵⁸ But that the members of a township community did not necessarily feel their

⁵² 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], p. 516 (1837-8), xxiv.

⁵³ Below, ch. IV.8.

⁵⁴ Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/9: notes entitled 'Free School, Rainow 1731'.

⁵⁵ Quarter Sessions Records 1559-1760, ed. J. H. E. Bennett and J. C. Dewhurst (R.S.L.C. xciv, 1940), 157.

⁵⁶ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 128-9; J. S. Morrill, Ches. 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974), 315-17.

⁵⁷ Cf. Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 414-15.

⁵⁸ Ches. R.O., DDS 37/8.

interests to be synonymous is shown by the eruption of conflicts within the townships.⁵⁹ A dispute in Pott Shrigley in the 1730s concerned taxation payments, with a town meeting convened to debate the action of a certain 'insufferable disturber of mankind' who thought himself 'imposed upon by the rest of his neighbours' and had obtained by his 'partial dealing' an alteration of the mise-book at Quarter Sessions. Resolution of the dispute, it was hoped, would prevent future mischief from such 'scrupulous [sic], uneasy, disturbing persons'.⁶⁰ This example also shows, though, the self-regulation of the community. It presumably reflects the perceived duty of individuals to the community to pay their dues, since failure to do so meant that others would be unfairly burdened. Of course local communities were not homogeneous entities and, although administrative bodies were representations of the community, not all its constituents were equally represented. Officers probably tended, as in all local communities, to be its more substantial members.⁶¹ Administrative arrangements were subject to the approval of the more elevated inhabitants.⁶²

The importance of the township in many spheres of life over the centuries is clear. As the unit to which were reserved many functions - tax collection, poor relief, highway repair, the maintenance of order, and administration of charities and schools - it was the most immediate and relevant level of government for its

⁵⁹ Cf. K. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700 (London, 1979), 110, 176.

⁶⁰ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 420.

⁶¹ E.g. Ches. R.O., D 5299 notebook 8, p. 92. Cf. Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 68.

⁶² E.g. Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 115; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 418, 444; Ches. R.O., D 5299 notebook 2, p. 121.

inhabitants. This unit changed in character over time, losing and gaining functions, and in 1866 the four townships became civil parishes.⁶³ Although that unit is retained in the present administrative hierarchy, the few responsibilities reserved to civil parishes at the present day are of minor importance, whereas in previous centuries the concerns of the township administration and its officials were of intense significance and interest to the community. Only a few reminders of that importance remain, for instance the village stocks in Rainow, testifying to its former juridicial functions.⁶⁴

SUB-TOWNSHIP UNITS

Important as the township was, lesser units constituted smaller communities still. This study's approach, in examining four townships, should not be allowed to blur such subtleties. As the most extensive township, Rainow for some purposes proved too large a unit to administer, and consequently there were within it administrative subdivisions, some apparently purely for convenience but others having implications for communal identity in those parts of the township. Problems regarding poor law administration were recorded in a 1662 petition to Quarter Sessions by the constables and overseers of Rainow, declaring that Saltersford and Harrop, two hamlets within the township which had formerly paid their proportions of all public taxes imposed on it, had more recently refused to contribute towards the maintenance of the poor; and asking that their inhabitants be enjoined

⁶³ F. A. Youngs, Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England, ii: Northern England (London, 1991), 22, 25, 31-2; Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 27.

⁶⁴ D.o.E. List (1983), 52.

to pay their share.⁶⁵ A 1772 rate assessment for Macclesfield church listed Saltersford and Harrop divisions, as well as the 'Higher' and 'Lower' Ends of Rainow.⁶⁶ The census returns (1841-91)⁶⁷ show the township divided by the River Dean between the Lower and Higher Divisions, and the latter further subdivided by the turnpike road between Macclesfield and Chapel-en-le-Frith.⁶⁸

The term 'hamlets', used with reference to Saltersford and Harrop in the 18th and 19th centuries as well as in 1662, refers rather to their status as formal, sub-township administrative divisions than to their settlement patterns, although there is only limited evidence for the functions which may have devolved to them, rather than to the township.⁶⁹ Saltersford (to the east) and Harrop (to the north) were set somewhat apart from the rest of the township in several ways, not just administratively. But, if neither area had any centre of settlement, only scattered farms and other dwellings, how were their identities defined? Several factors, geographical and otherwise, contributed to their distinctive identities and administrative differentiation. Physically they constitute two discrete valleys. Another important factor was landownership, for both were part of a gentry/aristocratic estate from the 15th century.⁷⁰ Even in the 19th century Harrop was

⁶⁵ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 117-18.

⁶⁶ Ches. R.O., DTR 5/8 (photocopy from Ches. R.O., P 58/9).

⁶⁷ E.g. P.R.O., RG 9/2577, ff. 1r.-43v.

⁶⁸ Cf. Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/5/1: parish magazine, Aug. 1917.

⁶⁹ Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1857 and later edns.; Ches. R.O., EDV 7/2/108, EDV 7/4/206, 220; P.R.O., LR 2/200, e.g. f. 260. Cf. Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 17.

⁷⁰ Above, p. 38. However, the Harrop estate was not coterminous with the valley: cf. figures 2.1, 3.1 (above, pp. 26, 36).

described as the 'lordship' of Harrop and still surrounded by a 'ring fence'.⁷¹ Property ownership, though, was not the original differentiating factor, for both Harrop and Saltersford were distinct pastures in the medieval period.⁷² In Saltersford, the inhabitants also built their own chapel and the chapelry was separate from Rainow from the 18th century.⁷³ It was clearly thought in 1841 that because of these distinctions in landownership and ecclesiastical status that Harrop and Saltersford had some claim to be thought of as separate entities, since the census enumerator was at pains to explain that both were part of Rainow.⁷⁴ The difference in character between Rainow and Saltersford was shown by the malfunction of an arrangement made before 1862 that they be rated to the poor and highways together, likened by Rainow's vicar to an 'unwilling marriage' owing to the contrast in character between the relatively prosperous farming community in Saltersford and the numerous poor in Rainow itself.⁷⁵

References to possibly separate territorial units within Pott Shrigley are more confusing. The place-name suggests some such distinction. Early references to the township from the late 13th century call it Shrigley; but the place-names 'Pott' and 'Shrigley' occur separately as well. References to 'Pott and Shrigley' and to 'Pott Shrigley' occur in the 14th century, although separate references continue, those to Shrigley predominating. The township name is not manorial - both parts are topographical and not familial - and the occurrence of

⁷¹ E.g. Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

⁷² Below, ch. IV.2.

⁷³ Below, ch. IV.8.

⁷⁴ Census 1841.

⁷⁵ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

the form 'Shriggelepot' (1348) indicates two elements or areas. Although double names sometimes indicate that a township was originally two units, as with nearby Sutton and Downes,⁷⁶ the appearance of the form "vill' de Shrygelegh et Potte" (1358) suggests that by that period the two were administratively one, if they had ever been separate.⁷⁷ Although references to Pott Shrigley are found, continued use of the two names separately seems to refer to different parts of the township. The church was known as Downes or Pott Chapel, and it seems that 'Pott' refers to the area around the village, where Pott Hall is situated.⁷⁸ A will of 1684 provided for a schoolmaster to teach children of Shrigley and, if there were too few, children from Pott to make up the numbers: clearly referring to different areas, although their exact extent is unknown.⁷⁹ At the same period a reference occurs to Edmund Pott of Pott in Pott Shrigley and Edward Downes of Shrigley in Pott Shrigley, again making it clear that the distinction is geographical and emphasising the connection of the names with the two main houses in the township, Pott Hall (to the south) and Shrigley Hall (to the north).⁸⁰ A source of 1611 referred to a parcel of common called Potts Moor and Shrigley Moor, implying that two parts of the township at some date each had its own share of that resource.⁸¹ Variable usage, though, is indicated by a reference to the village of Shrigley in

⁷⁶ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 757, 763.

⁷⁷ Above, this ch.; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 109; SC 11/899, m. 3d.; 'Ches. Mize Book', ed. Booth (J.R.U.L.M., Tatton MS. 345); Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 130-1.

⁷⁸ Cf. Edmund Pott of 'Pott Chapel' and Edward Downes of Shrigley, 1697 (Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 388); below, ch. IV.8, for the church.

⁷⁹ Quoted in T. Askey, Pott Shrigley: the Story of a Village School (1968), 6.

⁸⁰ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 360.

1821, although the same source also uses Pott Shrigley.⁸² A 'watermill in Shrigley' was described as 'commonly called Pott Mill' in 1582, and an early 19th-century source described Pott as surrounded by and included as a component part in the township of Shrigley.⁸³ How the usage of 'Pott' and 'Shrigley' to refer to different areas of the township - however those parts were defined - arose, and whether the two names survive as relics of some ancient distinction of administration or settlement of which no other evidence survives, is something the documentary record has not revealed. Neither part is known to have functioned as a separate administrative unit and there is no evidence that they were originally two townships.

A similar problem arises in relation to Lyme Handley. 'Handley' occurs from 1269; the earliest reference to the township is to 'Handley', and the grant to the Legh family in 1398 uses that name. 'Lyme' occurs from 1312; and the form 'Lyme Handley' from 1478. The township name, then, is a compound, a topographical name with the regional name 'the Lyme' prefixed⁸⁴ - perhaps to distinguish it from the other Handley within Cheshire, in the west of the county. However, the two names were apparently used later to refer to different parts of the township, although how and why this arose is unclear. There seems to have been a strong association between 'Lyme' and the hall and park,⁸⁵ although why the name

⁸¹ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 173.

⁸² Ches. R.O., EDV 7/6/312.

⁸³ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 273, ii. 539.

⁸⁴ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 198.

⁸⁵ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, f. 272; A Collection of Lancs. and Ches. Wills 1301-1752, ed. W. F. Irvine (R.S.L.C. xxx, 1896), 36-40; P.R.O., E 134/1 & 2 Wm & Mary/Hil 9 (1689-90) and E 174/1/4 no. 29 (1725).

'Lyme' should have been adopted for the house is not known. A document of 1747 designates as Handley the eastern and southern part of the township, with Lyme its western and northern parts and the central demesne.⁸⁶ The only reference to more formal units - rather than to areas within the township - occurs in a source of 1689, which refers to the towns or tithings of Lyme and Handley.⁸⁷ However, it seems likely that the writer mistakenly assumed that, because two elements within the township seemed to exist, they had such formal status.⁸⁸

BOUNDARIES

How did boundaries defining the territories of local administrative units develop, and how were they demarcated? Parishes, vills or townships were, originally, essentially communities rather than territories, but early on a territorial dimension developed, associated with their communal rights and responsibilities.⁸⁹ Administrative entities cannot represent a community - the inhabitants of a certain settlement, for example - without in some way delineating the place with which they are associated, even though the cohesion of that community derives from their relationships with each other as well as from their spatial proximity. Landscape was sometimes a formative influence, with natural features chosen as obvious boundaries. Alternatively, they followed man-made features such as roads or field boundaries. Others had no

⁸⁶ J.R.U.L.M., Legh of Lyme Muniments box O, ref. F no. 1. Cf. Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 22.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., E 134/1 & 2 Wm & Mary/Hil 9.

⁸⁸ Cf. Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 12-13.

⁸⁹ A. Winchester, Discovering Parish Boundaries (Princes Risborough, 1990), 20.

physical expression on the ground. These boundaries were created by a range of processes and degrees of planning at different periods. However, those processes were rarely documented, and indeed the mapping of boundaries in the 19th century by the Ordnance Survey may represent the earliest documentation of township or parish boundaries. That important information, however, if not actually mapped was memorised by the communities concerned, since boundaries defined the limits of their rights and duties.⁹⁰ Townships did not want to discharge costly duties which were not their concern and would not benefit that community - hence disputes as to where the responsibility for certain tasks lay. For example, a dispute in the late 1880s concerned responsibility for maintenance of the Fivelane-ends to Pym Chair road in Kettleshulme.⁹¹ Conversely they might want to claim rights over as extensive a territory as possible.

The boundaries of these townships often relate to natural topography. Watercourses are one obvious demarcation.⁹² High ground like the saddle of Kerridge to the west of Rainow and the Tors to the east of Kettleshulme provide other striking examples of natural features used as boundary divisions. Other parts of these townships' boundaries also pass over high ground but cross moors, dividing the land between townships: for example between Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley, and Rainow and Macclesfield Forest. Elsewhere, boundaries coincide with roads, for example between Lyme Handley and Rainow, and at the southern edge of Kettleshulme. Otherwise,

⁹⁰ Winchester, Discovering Parish Boundaries, 36-7.

⁹¹ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/78, 80-2, 84, 86, 89, 91, 93.

⁹² E.g. marking the extremity of the Legh estate in 1466 (Legh of Lyme Survey: transcript, diagram between pp. 186 and 187). Cf. P.R.O., E 134/21 & 22 Eliz/Mich 6 (1579).

particularly in the western parts of this area, boundaries may follow no distinctive natural features but meander across the countryside, following field boundaries, for example at the north-western edge of Lyme Handley. Where obvious natural or man-made features do not form the basis for township boundaries, their shape sometimes attests to human decisions in their creation. The Pott Shrigley-Lyme Handley boundary between Bakestonedale Moor and Sponds zigzags in three fairly straight sections. Straight boundaries are also found between Macclesfield and Rainow in south-western Rainow, and between Rainow and Macclesfield Forest on the moorland at Rainow's south-eastern extremity.

Boundaries presumably became fixed when colonisation caused the land appropriated to members of one community to meet land belonging to its neighbours, and they therefore arose from the process by which the forest communities took land into use in the medieval period and after.⁹³ At early periods the limited size of communities meant that they did not exploit all the resources available to them, and boundaries were precisely negotiated only when greater pressure on resources meant that rights over all the land - including waste and common between townships - became important.⁹⁴ In most cases evidence for the division of the waste or commons is absent, but the process is sometimes documented. An undated description of the meres between Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley, beginning at the head of Pott Moor, mentions a dyke made by Richard Legh as well as the various landmarks between the townships.⁹⁵ Richard Legh is

⁹³ Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 27, 29; below, ch. IV.2.

⁹⁴ Cf. Ravensdale, Liable to Floods, 15.

⁹⁵ Chester R.O., CR 63/1/37/21: notes on Watson MS.

presumably the one who died in 1687,⁹⁶ and his 'dyke' may explain the straight sections of this boundary on the moors. In other cases the territorial rights over such areas and therefore the boundaries demarcating them were the cause of acrimonious dispute between townships, and it was their resolution which laid out township boundaries by deliberate division.⁹⁷ An early 17th-century map shows an area in dispute between Macclesfield and Rainow.⁹⁸ This area of common adjacent to south-western Rainow was originally shared between several surrounding townships, and the boundary between them was not defined until, after many disputes and arbitrations, the land was divided and a definite acreage allotted to each. This dates the township boundaries in the Eddisbury, Teggsnose and Windywayhead area to the early 17th century. The dispute between 'Rainow men' and 'Macclesfield men' shows them acting corporately in defending their communal rights against the claims of another community.⁹⁹

Where features such as hills or roads did not define township boundaries, they were sometimes marked on the ground by man, and thus had an impact on the landscape.¹⁰⁰ Merestones and boundary markers constitute the physical expression of administrative structures, serving the important function of marking the extent of territory and resources over which a community had rights. The 1466

⁹⁶ The only owner of Lyme of that name: Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 677.

⁹⁷ Hoskins, Making of the English Landscape (1977 edn.), 105-6; Winchester, Discovering Parish Boundaries, 38.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., MR 354.

⁹⁹ Davies, History of Macclesfield, 2, 86-7; Birkenhead Library, MA B/VI/4, MA T/I/135; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/9: notes on Macclesfield and Rainow; P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 353. Below, ch. IV.2, for the townships' commons.

¹⁰⁰ Winchester, Discovering Parish Boundaries, 41-2.

survey which includes Lyme described parcels of land as enclosed with marks and bounds, and possibly some of these marked boundaries between townships as well as estates within townships.¹⁰¹ Deponents in a mid-16th century dispute regarding rights in Disley pasture stated that the inhabitants of Kettlethulme were responsible for making the hedges and fences between that township and one 'closure' in Handley called 'Reede' (in the very south-east of Lyme Handley); and that the inhabitants of Disley and Whaley ought to make fences between the waste and lands called Handley. Some 50 years before, the townships of Handley and Disley had lain open together, with the inhabitants of each trespassing on the other's pastures: the lack of an agreed boundary between the townships, the indeterminacy in the rights of the inhabitants and the resulting disputes were the cause of considerable friction.¹⁰² Many boundary markers in these townships are documented in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (some of which survive),¹⁰³ most strikingly the folly 'White Nancy', built in a prominent position on the Rainow-Bollington boundary on Kerridge Hill by a member of the Gaskell family, apparently to commemorate Waterloo; an earlier brick beacon there was mentioned in 1810.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, f. 274.

¹⁰² Lancs. and Ches. Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, i, ed. Stewart-Brown, 92-4, 114, 130-5.

¹⁰³ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 194; ibid. MR 354; D.o.E. List (1983) (Pott Shrigley), 42-3; ibid. (Rainow), 49, 61, 78; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 460.

¹⁰⁴ D.o.E. List (1983), 27; 'Gritstone Trail Teachers Pack' (Ches. County Council Countryside and Recreation, 1980), 40.

2. The occupation and use of land

This landscape, 'consisting chiefly of moorish hills',¹ has nonetheless been shaped by centuries of farming and other pursuits. Elsewhere in the uplands, 'albeit the soil be hard of nature', it was made fertile by the 'continual travail' of the inhabitants.² One focus of interest for this chapter is the distinctiveness of the wider Pennine area: where localities such as this one stand in relation to regional and national agrarian systems. Much of the literature on English agriculture has been on areas where arable farming was of primary importance rather than strongly pastoral western uplands.³

However, although these four townships form part of a distinctive upland area, contrasts in land use are as interesting as the common themes. Why was some land devoted to a different use to land near by? Why did land uses change over time? The Pennine environment was generally unpropitious,⁴ but not uniformly so: the quality of land varies even very locally,⁵ strongly influencing land use over long periods.⁶ The intimate understanding which local people had in early times of the variations in their environment, and its potential for deriving a living, is reflected in the ways in which they named the landscape. Notable within Kettleshulme, for instance, is the occurrence of 'carr', referring to

¹ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 769.

² Quoted in Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 1 (spelling modernised by the present author).

³ Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 1.

⁴ V.C.H. Ches. i. 32.

⁵ Above, p. 28. Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 10.

⁶ Cf. V.C.H. Ches. i. 26.

marshy ground. Redacre (Pott Shrigley) and Thornset (Rainow) are 'reedy marsh' and 'thorny hillside'.⁷ Place-names, however, also expressed the impact of man upon the landscape: both Redacre and Thornset are farms of some antiquity,⁸ for man has improved and exploited those lands for centuries. But variations remained: parcels in Kettlehulme and Lyme Handley in the 1840s were precisely described as 'wath', the particular type of land lying beside water.⁹ Some of these subtleties are obscured at the end of the 20th century by the overwhelming predominance of pastoral farming in the townships, for at earlier periods land use was more varied and included more extensive arable cultivation.

Alongside local environmental possibilities and limitations determining land use were other factors,¹⁰ including national economic conditions: for instance, the markets which existed for different agricultural products. Communications affected what markets local communities could reach for sale of their produce. Demographic factors - the pressure of population on land - also counted. The agricultural techniques available dictated the means by which land could be exploited. These factors were by no means only local and some, in the modern period, were global.¹¹ Changes in the uses to

⁷ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 111-12, 132, 141.

⁸ E.g. buildings at 'Thornside' (1309), identified by Dodgson as being Thornset, Rainow ('Downes MSS.' i. 25); and Redacre, documented from the mid-14th century (Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 26).

⁹ Ches. R.O., EDT 223/1, EDT 252/1; cf. 'warth' (dialect): The Oxford English Dictionary, xix (Oxford, 1989 edn.).

¹⁰ Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 132; B. Short, 'Images and realities in the English rural community', The English Rural Community, ed. B. Short (Cambridge, 1992), 14.

¹¹ E.g. Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 72.

which land was put show how they operated at different periods: for example, expansion or contraction of the frontiers of exploitation responded to changing demographic pressures and to human decisions and abilities, not solely to the natural predisposition of the land. Farmers had to make strategic decisions in the light of these conditions, based on an assessment of their needs and the best way to exploit available resources. These decisions had a collective and cumulative impact upon the landscapes and economies of the four townships. So, although modern eyes sometimes see the landscapes preserved within National Parks as unspoilt,¹² agricultural exploitation generated different elements in the landscape through the clearance of woodland, creation of fields, cultivation of arable land, grazing of animals, and construction of farms and outbuildings; with other features created by more specialised types of land use.

MEDIEVAL COLONISATION

The process by which land was taken into use was long drawn out, with periods of acceleration, abeyance, and even reversal. The labour-intensive and consequently gradual process of assarting carried out piecemeal in the medieval forest of Macclesfield by landholders and farmers has been described by Tonkinson.¹³ Assarting in the Middle Ages, normally considered the main period in which new land was cleared for farming in many lowland areas of England, produced in these four townships as in other more marginal upland areas only a partially

¹² Below, ch. IV.9.

¹³ 'Borough and Forest Community', 22, 152.

enclosed landscape, and colonisation of land continued long afterwards.¹⁴

These townships do not appear by name in Domesday, and whatever was here at that date was subsumed in the entry for Macclesfield or perhaps neighbouring Adlington. Hamestan (Macclesfield) Hundred, adjoining the inhospitable Pennine margin, was among the poorest parts of a poor and sparsely-inhabited region.¹⁵ Scattered Neolithic, Bronze Age, Roman and Anglo-Saxon remains in these townships attest to some earlier activity, but whether that took the form of permanent settlement at those periods is uncertain.¹⁶ The township names in this poorly-documented area are first recorded in the second half of the 13th century, but indicate an origin before 1100. They refer to topographical features, and some give clues as to the development of the area. Handley (Old English) is 'at the high clearing'; similarly, Shrigley (Old English) alludes to a woodland glade. Other names relating to woodland clearings - Ingersley, Pedley and Hooleyhey - occur within Rainow.¹⁷ Kettlethulme is one of

¹⁴ J. Porter, 'A Forest in Transition: Bowland 1500-1650', T.H.S.L.C. cxxv. 58-9, and 'Waste land reclamation in south-eastern Bowland, 1550-1630', T.H.S.L.C. cxxvii. 1-2. Cf. Hoskins, Midland Peasant, 6, on a similarly lengthy process of colonisation in Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, but one stretching back to the 6th century and complete by the 13th.

¹⁵ Higham, Origins of Ches. 171; I. B. Terrett, 'Ches.', The Domesday Geography of Northern England, ed. H. C. Darby and I. S. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1977 edn.), 335, 354, 357, 383; V.C.H. Ches. i. 335-6, 338, 341, ii. 179.

¹⁶ V.C.H. Ches. i. 54, 84-5, 103, 234, 290; Higham, Origins of Ches. 24.

¹⁷ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 130-1, 139-40, 145, 198. Cf. Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 30, on a predominance of names alluding to woodland clearance. M. Gelling, Place-Names in the Landscape (London, 1984), 207, for 'Handley'.

a concentration of Scandinavian names in north-east Cheshire.¹⁸ These names must long pre-date documentary records, but exactly when they came into use and what they signify in terms of the extent of clearance and settlement before the Norman Conquest is unclear.¹⁹ Eyre rolls show that by the 1280s township communities were actively exploiting resources,²⁰ but how long that exploitation had been proceeding is not known, for it is difficult to judge the extent to which absence of earlier evidence is due to a lack of activity or lack of documentation.²¹ However, the later evidence suggests that the forest was settled comparatively late, and not extensively cultivated before the periods for which direct evidence survives. Booth argues that practically the whole colonisation of the landscape occurred after Domesday.²² The character of the area seems to be expressed by the continuing presence of wolves in the forest as late as the early 14th century.²³ However, the advance into the waste with the concomitant slow spread of scattered settlement over time is sometimes documented.²⁴

¹⁸ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 110; V.C.H. Ches. i. 258; Gelling, Place-Names in the Landscape, 50-1.

¹⁹ Cf. Gelling, Place-Names in the Landscape, 199. Here, for example, Sherrowbooth in Pott Shrigley is first documented by Dodgson in 1611, but there are archaeological traces of much earlier use. Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 134; Higham, Origins of Ches., plate 1 following p. 125.

²⁰ Calendar of Court Rolls 1259-1297, ed. Stewart-Brown.

²¹ Cf. R. B. Smith, Blackburnshire (Leicester, 1961), 21; C. Taylor, Village and Farmstead (London, 1983), 192.

²² P. H. W. Booth, ' "Farming for Profit" ', J.C.A.S. new series lxii. 77-8.

²³ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 179. Cf. Rackham, History of the Countryside, 34-6.

²⁴ But may go undocumented: cf. D. Palliser, The Staffs. Landscape (London, 1976), 107.

The earliest settlement in the Macclesfield area was apparently focussed around the borough itself and Sutton, to the south. The uplands to the east, not suited to intensive use, were cleared later. In the late 13th and 14th centuries, even up to the Black Death, settlement and exploitation advanced significantly, according to the eyre records and court rolls used by Booth and Tonkinson, although the process is only partially recorded. In 1348, just before the Black Death, all the tenancies in seven townships including Pott Shrigley and Rainow were described as being the result of assarts. An 'empty landscape' was taken into cultivation.²⁵ The results are shown in a rental of Macclesfield of c. 1352 detailing 12 holdings (including 8 messuages) in Kettleshulme; 7 holdings (with 22 messuages) in Pott; and 37 holdings (38 messuages) in Rainow. Land described variously as ancient, new, and 'increment' appears in different proportions in the different holdings, showing that

²⁵ Calendar of Court Rolls 1259-1297, ed. Stewart-Brown, 212, 224; V.C.H. Ches. ii. 179; Booth, ' "Farming for Profit" ', 78 (from which the quotation is taken); Booth, Financial Administration, 97, 109, 113; Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, pp. xliv, 173; Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', pp. ii, viii-ix, 7, 22-30, 152-3; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 772; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 62, 101. Cf. W. G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape, ed. C. Taylor (London, 1988), ch. 3 and Taylor's introduction to ch. 4, on the chronology of colonisation in England generally, which was typically intense in the 12th and 13th centuries (although these were merely the last and best-documented phases of a very long process) and had begun to falter by the mid-14th century, even before the Black Death. This does not seem to have been the case in these uplands. The marginality of this environment presumably meant that expanses of land were still available for colonisation later than elsewhere, for at earlier periods pressure on land had been less than in more densely-populated localities.

clearance took place gradually.²⁶ The fields produced by medieval assarting were small and irregular, on lower ground, like those around Rainowlow; contrasting with the larger fields with straight boundaries extending onto higher ground of later periods, like those at Rainow's south-eastern extremity.²⁷ Such variations are found in all the townships.

There was, however, variation within this general pattern of activity. For example, although in many parts of the area land was divided in this way between colonising farmers and landowners, the status of those parts set aside as demesne pasture,²⁸ used or leased as discrete units, inhibited the enclosure of land and settlement.²⁹ At its grant to the Leghs in 1398 Handley was a distinct piece of 'land and pasture' within the demesne of the forest,³⁰ and it did not appear in the rental of c. 1352 which detailed holdings in the other townships.³¹ Harrop, another demesne pasture, was demarcated by a fence in 1359-60.³²

Once land was colonised, the various features which medieval communities needed to sustain life included both arable land and pasture; but meadows, moors and marshes, turbaries, orchards, mills, woods and gardens also

²⁶ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 28-9, 37, 532-4; P.R.O., SC 11/899, mm. 3r.-4r.

²⁷ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 9, 23. Cf. Hoskins, Making of the English Landscape (1977 edn.), 102; Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 113.

²⁸ Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 84.

²⁹ E.g. Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 18. Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 42.

³⁰ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 292.

³¹ Above, p. 117.

³² Accounts of the Chamberlains 1301-1360, ed. Stewart-Brown, 271.

featured.³³ This limited survey does not allow a detailed account of medieval agrarian practices in these townships, but some aspects can be sketched out. It was clearly necessary for the purposes of subsistence for rural communities to till the land.³⁴ Lyncheted earthworks on the hillside at Sherrowbooth (Pott Shrigley) suggest that arable cultivation took place at that altitude (300 m.) at an early but unknown date.³⁵ Tonkinson and Booth found that most of the land assarted and improved in Macclesfield Forest up to the Black Death was for arable. Details on crops and on the physical arrangement of arable fields are sparse, but there is no evidence for open field agriculture.³⁶

Medieval Macclesfield Forest also contained much land exploited as pasture, including woodland pasture and areas of moss, moor or heath.³⁷ Tonkinson found it hard to discern numbers of animals within the manor, although sheep were less commonly held than cattle and horses. Pigs were fairly ubiquitous in the holdings of tenants of

³³ E.g. Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, ff. 272-9.

³⁴ However limited its inherent suitability. Cf. Agrarian History, iii: 1348-1500, ed. Miller, 239.

³⁵ Higham, Origins of Ches., plate following p. 125.

³⁶ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 30, 37, 45, 152; Booth, ' "Farming for Profit" ', 77. For the limited extent and early disappearance - where they existed - of open fields in upland areas see: B. K. Roberts, Rural Settlement (London, 1977), 188; Palliser, Staffs. Landscape, 77; Agrarian History, iii: 1348-1500, ed. Miller, 222-4, 245-9, and ibid. iv: 1500-1640, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1967), 6, 82; G. Elliott, 'Field Systems of Northwest England', Studies of Field Systems, ed. A. R. H. Baker and R. A. Butlin (Cambridge, 1973), 50, 72-5. Davies, Agricultural History, 5, 55-8, on open fields in Ches.

³⁷ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 22-3. Cf. Winchester on the importance of extensive upland pastures in the economy of the medieval north: Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 3.

the manor, but not in great numbers.³⁸ The six demesne pastures within the forest, which included the two within these townships, Handley and Harrop (Rainow), were significant in the economic and physical development of the locality. These distinct areas were used according to the policies of the manorial administration. By the mid-13th century there were vaccaries within the forest, including in Handley and Rainow: sizeable cattle farms run directly for the lord like the well-documented examples of Blackburnshire, further north along the Pennine edge.³⁹ But between the mid-13th and mid-14th century manorial policy was to lease each pasture either for a term of years to an individual, or as agistment for a group of local inhabitants to pasture their animals. From the 1350s, however, five of the six were again being used to maintain a manorial cattle farm and stud (the exception being Handley, which continued to be leased⁴⁰ and where the agistment was the subject of a petition from the peasant farmers of Disley, Yeadsley, Whaley, Shrigley, Pott, Kettleshulme and Rainow⁴¹ - areas settled by the colonising process described above). In the late medieval period lessees of the pastures - including Handley and Harrop - amongst prominent local families included the Shrigleys, Downeses, Leghs and Stanleys. Saltersford, which was also employed as pasture, was also leased.⁴²

³⁸ 'Borough and Forest Community', 56-8.

³⁹ Close Roll A.D. 1234-1237 (London, 1908), 494; Booth, Financial Administration, 93; Calendar of Court Rolls 1259-1297, ed. Stewart-Brown, 212; Smith, Blackburnshire, 8.

⁴⁰ Booth, Financial Administration, 93-6, 112; Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 48-9.

⁴¹ Bennett, Community, Class and Careerism, 50.

⁴² Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, 157, 172-3; 36th D.K.R. (1875), appendix II, pp. 156, 288, 422; 37th D.K.R. (1876), appendix II, pp. 668, 673, 675-8; Moore, Calendar of the

THE IMPACT OF THE FOREST

Some historians have argued that the existence of a forest held back the economic development of an area,⁴³ but recent interpretations have seen forests as placing much less restriction on the exploitation of resources than their theoretical role might suggest.⁴⁴ Did forest status limit the economic and physical development of the Macclesfield area? Forest law defined offences which, one might suppose, would impose constraints on the uses to which local inhabitants could put the land. In the 1280s inhabitants of Kettleshulme, Shrigley and Pott, Rainow, and Handley were amerced for trespasses, for escapes of their beasts or horses, for felling oaks in the king's demesne woods, and for purprestures of land. The construction of oxhouses in Handley and Rainow by the queen's bailiffs was described as 'to the hurt of the forest in a place more fit for game' and 'to the injury of the game', for the ostensible purpose of the forest was to preserve the latter.⁴⁵ However, although established to reserve the right of hunting game, the forest did not preclude other means of exploiting the environment.⁴⁶ In practice in the later medieval period the reservation of resources for hunting seems to have

Muniments of the Earl of Derby, i. 3; Ches. R.O., list of records elsewhere no. 161. Cf. pastures farmed out in the 14th century in Smith, Blackburnshire, 9.

⁴³ See e.g. Booth's comments on Hewitt's interpretation: Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, p. xl.

⁴⁴ Rackham, Last Forest, 59-62, 74, 82, 89.

⁴⁵ Calendar of Court Rolls 1259-1297, ed. Stewart-Brown, 212-14, 223, 227-8, 247. Cf. V.C.H. Ches. ii. 182 and Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 148-50, for forest offences.

⁴⁶ R. Hoyle, 'The Medieval Forest Landscape', Bernwood, ed. J. Broad and R. Hoyle (Preston, 1997), 19.

come second to the employment of the forest as a revenue-raising mechanism for the Crown. The eyres held under the Black Prince (1347 and 1357), which enquired into damage and trespasses in Macclesfield Forest, have been cited as examples. Forests were also a source of patronage in the form of offices and sinecures. However, they also served additional functions as a source for prestigious gifts (such as deer and giant oaks),⁴⁷ which presumably necessitated management and conservation of those resources. But supposed restrictions on assarting land, pasturing animals and exploiting wood and timber did not prevent those developments, for fines were not punishments for infringements of forest law, but rather a means of raising money (analogous to licence payments).⁴⁸ Forest status did not preclude medieval colonisation in Macclesfield.⁴⁹ Elsewhere in Cheshire, the presence of a forest on Wirral did not constrain settlement. In Macclesfield as in Delamere it was environmental limitations which restricted colonisation until a late period.⁵⁰ The existence of the forest constituted a distinctive but not entirely constraining circumstance in the development of these townships which was not present in other areas.

⁴⁷ Cf. below, p. 157.

⁴⁸ Rackham, Last Forest, 60, 89-90; V.C.H. Ches. ii. 170, 177, 179, 182-4, 187; Booth, Financial Administration, 100; Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 6-8, 48, 50, 147-8.

⁴⁹ Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, p. xliv.

⁵⁰ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 172, 178, 185. Cf. Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 22-3, 30, on the varying rates of development of different forests.

POST-MEDIEVAL COLONISATION

Improvement of the wastes in Macclesfield Forest was checked for a time by the Black Death, but clearance of land picked up markedly by the beginning of the 16th century.⁵¹ Even so, in the 1510s Handley, for example, still had some 2,000 acres of moor and 1,000 of wood as against 540 acres of arable and meadow,⁵² although given its distinct status within the forest this proportion of uncolonised land may not have been typical. But the gradual colonisation of this Pennine landscape continued in all four townships in the 16th and 17th centuries and beyond.⁵³ Porter discerned in the forest of Bowland, further north in the Pennines, two distinct processes: small-scale encroachments made by individual farmers, and more extensive enclosures of upland wastes made not piecemeal but in planned partitions.⁵⁴ Both are evident here too. However, documentation is usually fragmentary,⁵⁵ and the extent of enclosures at any period is difficult to discern with certainty. But glimpses of the process can be traced through the centuries.

⁵¹ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', pp. ii, 44; V.C.H. Ches. ii. 179; Booth, ' "Farming for Profit" ', 79; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/122: note on halmote 1 Dec. 1488. Cf. Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 593-4, on faltering colonisation after the Black Death generally; but also Bennett, Community, Class and Careerism, 65-6, on variation in its impact. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 6-7, describes stagnation in the 14th and 15th centuries but recovery in the late 15th century.

⁵² Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 674.

⁵³ Cf. Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 2, 81-2; and also Porter, 'Forest in Transition', on early modern colonisation - formative in the development of the Bowland landscape - and its association with population increase.

⁵⁴ Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', 5, 8.

⁵⁵ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 131. Cf. Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 244.

In 1540, in a dispute over common land, witnesses aged about 80 stated that they knew Handley 'when there had not been but two persons inhabiting there';⁵⁶ but, by 1515, 35 messuages were recorded, and the dispute of 1540 showed that the tenants were exploiting the available resources actively at mid-century.⁵⁷ A survey from the reign of Henry VIII included buildings and intakes on common land in Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley and Rainow.⁵⁸ Encroachments - both land and buildings - on Crown wastes within the forest in the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) included those same townships.⁵⁹ Waste in Pott Shrigley was enclosed by Sir Peter Legh in 1579, under the manorial custom whereby the steward improved parcels of the waste and granted them to people who would accept them for a yearly rent - implying a deliberate policy as to enclosure on the part of the royal administration. Tenants and copyholders gave their permission, the parcels being 'very barren and small worth': for enclosure might proceed as long as it did not impinge on the needs or rights of other inhabitants or deprive them of valued resources.⁶⁰ Enclosure was driven forward in Shrigley by the Downeses whose assarts in the 16th and 17th centuries presumably contributed to their growing dominance as landowners.⁶¹ One example was part of the purprestures of the waste, subject to an agreement of

⁵⁶ Although cf. 11 messuages and 2 or 3 cottages there in Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, ff. 272-6.

⁵⁷ Collection of Lancs. and Ches. Wills 1301-1752, ed. Irvine, 36; Lancs. and Ches. Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, i, ed. Stewart-Brown, 93-4, 134-5.

⁵⁸ Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 221-3, 225-7.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., E 310/9/14, ff. 1, 3.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., E 134/21 & 22 Eliz/Mich 6.

⁶¹ Above, pp. 73-4.

1621 between royal representatives and customary tenants of the forest and manor, again indicating that it was by deliberate policy and agreement that waste land was being taken into several use.⁶² In other townships enclosure was also proceeding. The 1611 survey referred to various buildings and encroachments on the lord's wastes, including several in Rainow and others in Shrigley and Kettlethulme.⁶³ Other references confirm continuing colonisation in the 17th century, some referring to agreements between the Crown and local tenants.⁶⁴ However, it is hard to discern the extent to which 17th-century sources document an increasing rate of enclosure, or whether continuing processes are simply more fully documented at this period. But Laughton detected a general increase in colonisation in the years around 1600.⁶⁵

But what of the areas of pasture which had stood apart from medieval colonisation? The early 17th-century map⁶⁶ which includes Rainow shows various western areas marked 'Inclosures', but both Harrop and Saltersford pastures were still distinct from the rest of the township, as was Lamaload near the southern boundary, also one of the 'several pastures' in the holding of the Stanleys. A

⁶² Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 205, 244, 321, 329, 341, 350, ii. 391. For the 1621 agreement between Crown and customary tenants on allotments of common land, cf. Chester R.O., CR 63/1/122: note on hallmote 11 Oct. 1630. Cf. Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', 21, on the role of the cash-strapped Crown - the largest owner of waste land in England - in its enclosure.

⁶³ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 165, 174, 176, 181.

⁶⁴ Crozier, An Old Silk Family, 11; J.R.U.L.M., Jodrell MSS. no. 62b; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/122: note on halmote 25 Jul. 1625; ibid. CR 63/2/512.

⁶⁵ 'Township of Rainow', 22-5.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., MR 354.

deposition of 1574 concerned a messuage and lands called Saltersford, for there was apparently a solitary house there at that date.⁶⁷ The status of Harrop and Saltersford constrained development, which was more restricted than in western Rainow, with fewer (but larger) tenements: a pattern of occupation which endured to the modern period.⁶⁸ However, limited development before the 17th century seems to have meant scope for more dramatic change at that period - with the division of existing holdings and the creation of new ones on higher land - than in western Rainow, more extensively exploited at an earlier date. By 1611 several other houses had been built, and enclosures made, in Saltersford.⁶⁹

Elsewhere in Rainow - and in the other townships - enclosure continued. For example, James Stopford leased 'all those his common lands' (c. eight Cheshire acres) in Hordern Moor, lately allotted to him, in 1665.⁷⁰ Enclosures and settlement were extended on the Derbys' east Cheshire estates in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁷¹ Parts of the moorland in southern Lyme Handley were divided by 1725.⁷² Common land continued to be divided piecemeal in the 18th and even into the 19th centuries.⁷³

⁶⁷ P.R.O., E 178/2957.

⁶⁸ Below, pp. 71-3.

⁶⁹ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 8, 21, 26-7; P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 190-1, 197; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', pp. ii, 26-35.

⁷⁰ Chester R.O., CR 63/1/187/1: copy deed from halmote 30 Jun. 1665 (the example quoted); *ibid.* CR 63/2/517-18, 523, 525; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 367-9, 377, ii. 400.

⁷¹ Davies, Agricultural History, 8-9, 18, 20; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 27, 127; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 28.

⁷² P.R.O., E 174/1/4 no. 29.

⁷³ E.g. Davies, Agricultural History, 70-1; Story of Rainow, 23, 52. Cf. Davies, Agricultural History, 54, 58, 107, on the timescale of enclosure in Ches. generally, even into the 19th century.

An inscribed stone near Andrew's Edge in the far south of Saltersford (standing at over 400 m.) dated 1742 and 1766 records the ownership and dates the enclosure of a series of upland pastures assigned to individual farms from this remote stretch of land.⁷⁴ To the north-west, the whole of the Harrop valley, to its highest edges, was enclosed by c. 1800.⁷⁵ By 1816 moorland in eastern Pott Shrigley was divided between different owners, their property demarcated by boundary walls.⁷⁶ Porter writes of the landscape of the central Pennines, to the north of this area, that the highest point of enclosure usually occurred by the mid-19th century,⁷⁷ and that the last land to be enclosed was often of poor quality.⁷⁸

No single sweeping process of enclosure affected these townships, for no common fields or commons were enclosed by Act in the 18th or 19th centuries. On this periphery of the Pennines there were no extensive swathes of moorland still unenclosed at that period, unlike the large acreages subject to Inclosure Acts in some other Pennine areas.⁷⁹ The gradual processes of enclosure which occurred here, largely undocumented, are hard to date and quantify precisely. But overall waste land diminished as farmers advanced into uncultivated land via piecemeal enclosure over many centuries. Field boundaries,

⁷⁴ D.o.E. List (1983), 78. Cf. Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 70.

⁷⁵ Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 33, 35.

⁷⁶ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 460.

⁷⁷ Cf. the last references to wastes and commons in these townships, p. 155 below.

⁷⁸ J. Porter, The Making of the Central Pennines (Ashbourne, 1980), 110-11. Cf. A. D. Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside (Cardiff, 1971), 20, for the timescale of enclosure in a Welsh hill parish, almost entirely complete by the mid-19th century.

⁷⁹ W. G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape, ed. C. Taylor (London, 1988), 151-3.

predominantly the dry stone walls which contribute strongly to the landscape's visual character and emphasise the affinity with peakland areas rather than with the lower-lying parts of Cheshire to the west,⁸⁰ extend to the summits of the hills. The landscape offers a striking contrast to the verdant pastures of the plain which popular conception associates with Cheshire, echoed 'in Celia Fiennes' description of the county as a 'pretty rich land' (1695).⁸¹

POST-MEDIEVAL AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE BEFORE 1800

Before the 19th century few sources give comprehensive data about the acreages devoted to different land uses, the crops cultivated or livestock kept.⁸² The inquisition of John Pott of Dunge (1563) did describe his holdings according to land use, including 20 acres of arable land, 4 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture and 20 acres of gorse and brush wood in Kettlethulme (as well as property elsewhere);⁸³ which perhaps gives some clues as to the proportions of land a farmer might have in different usages at that period. However, we may not know how accurately the lands were measured or estimated,⁸⁴ or how typical this usage was. The partial data available means that it is easier to come to a conclusion about the

⁸⁰ Cf. Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 109-11; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 2, 11, 62.

⁸¹ Quoted in Crosby, History of Ches. 12, 14. Cf. Defoe, Tour through Great Britain, ed. Cole, 471.

⁸² A full analysis of probate inventories would provide some data on this.

⁸³ Chester R.O., CR 63/1/16.

⁸⁴ Cf: for example the 1611 survey, measured by estimation: P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 341, 352.

general character of farming in this environment than to examine each township in detail and possibly discern contrasts between them.⁸⁵ A description of the same Dunge tenement in 1611 illustrates how holdings included several components necessary to the farming system of the locality: it comprised a house; barns, stables, and other outhouses; a garden and arable, meadow, 'brushy', and 'mossy' grounds.⁸⁶ How did these elements operate together in the agrarian regime of these Pennine townships?

Central to their character were the relative acreages devoted to arable cultivation and to pasture. In 1595, the Stanley possessions in Rainow and neighbouring townships comprised 20 messuages, 800 acres of (arable) land, 400 acres of meadow and 650 acres of pasture.⁸⁷ These figures - although clearly approximations - indicate that substantial acreages were devoted to arable cultivation. Holdings in Kettlethulme, Rainow and Pott Shrigley in 1611 contained a high proportion of arable; indeed, in some cases only arable was listed - pasture being available on the townships' common lands and not generally held in severalty at this period.⁸⁸ Laughton showed that 32 of 41 copyholds in Rainow included arable, the exceptions being small holdings (having under three acres) and the fulling mill; of the few that had pasture none had very much. This use of the land related more to the necessity to feed local inhabitants and their stock in a period when limited communications constrained rural communities, particularly remote ones, to a degree of

⁸⁵ Cf. Spufford's Contrasting Communities, which in examining parishes which were not contiguous with one another drew contrasts between farming systems associated with their differing natural features.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 196.

⁸⁷ Moore, Calendar of the Muniments of the Earl of Derby, i. 25-7.

⁸⁸ E.g. P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 225, 233, 242.

self-sufficiency in agriculture, than to the inherent suitability of the land, which as modern usage shows does not tend towards arable cultivation. Laughton found that the generic term corn was often employed, but oats and barley (the latter in smaller quantities) were used for foodstuffs, drink and animal fodder; wheat, however, could not be grown in this environment. Hay is referred to, but no pulses or root crops.⁸⁹ Land was improved by liming, marling and other applications.⁹⁰ Little is known of the physical layout of this farming system. An early 17th-century deposition alluded to 11 Cheshire acres of 'inland' and 16 acres 'outland' in Rainow, a solitary reference to a possible infield-outfield system of cultivation.⁹¹ The significance of the 'lower and over townfield' in Kettleshulme (1611), and farm name Townfield, is obscure:⁹² 'townfields' did not necessarily refer to common fields.⁹³

⁸⁹ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 23-4, 44-8, 73, 101. Cf. Davies, Agricultural History, 128; Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 171, and ibid. v: 1640-1750, i: Regional Farming Systems, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1984), 137. References to corn, rye, barley and even wheat in fieldnames: Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. passim; cf. Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 47, 52. But Purslow points out that these do not tell us whether they were grown for livestock, subsistence for humans, or for sale. But cf. Thirsk on the subsistence character of arable agriculture in Ches.: Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 81.

⁹⁰ E.g. Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 113, 135-6, 146; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 57; Ches. R.O., QDV 2/238/46-7; Lancs. R.O., DDK 1551/37. Cf. V.C.H. Ches. i. 33; Davies, Agricultural History, 112-14, 117-19. And at later periods, e.g. applications of bones: Northants. R.O., FS 48/6.

⁹¹ Ches. R.O., DCH F/931. Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 74-5.

⁹² Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 112.

⁹³ Cf. Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution, 36.

Extensive unenclosed wastes in addition to the arable land held in severalty were of central importance.⁹⁴ Sporadic references to animals in pastoral agriculture include cattle, sheep and horses on Disley common in the 1530s.⁹⁵ Francis Pott bequeathed 20 of his best ewes at Pott (1596).⁹⁶ The long tradition of cattle-rearing in Macclesfield Forest was found to be continued in early modern Rainow by Laughton. The largest herd was 41 head at Harrop (1573), but more inventories list herds between 6 and 20 - presumably they were limited by the modest size of most farms,⁹⁷ and by the poor quality of the land. Laughton discerned an emphasis on stock-rearing and fattening, although dairying was pursued on a domestic scale.⁹⁸ Sheep were also - unusually for Cheshire - kept, with the largest flocks in Saltersford and Harrop, although apparently of secondary importance to cattle. Purslow and Davies also found sheep of some importance in this neighbourhood in the 17th and 18th centuries. Laughton concluded that Rainow's poor farming community, with limited natural advantages, constituted a subsistence economy. Arable cultivation operated in tandem with pastoral activities, for the agrarian system was based around mixed farming. This was doubtless the case in the other townships too. Winchester delineates a similar pattern for upland Cumbria, in the 16th century: cattle-rearing of central importance (a herd of c. ten the norm); more limited arable usage (mainly oats and some barley) than on the lowlands; with sheep as well -

⁹⁴ Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 59, 81.

⁹⁵ Lancs. and Ches. Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, i, ed. Stewart-Brown, 92-3, 114.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., C2/Eliz/P17/47.

⁹⁷ Below, pp. 142-50.

⁹⁸ She argues that cheese-making increased in importance in later centuries owing to the growth of nearby Macclesfield.

which were not generally important on Cumbrian lowlands either.⁹⁹

The character of farming, limited by environmental constraints, is neatly illustrated in the 17th century by the exchange of gifts between the Leghs at Lyme and their relations the Chicheleys of Wimpole (Cambridgeshire): apples, grapes and other fruit which could not be obtained in the colder east Cheshire climate to Lyme, with cheeses, ale and brawns passing in the opposite direction.¹⁰⁰ A gift from Dorothy Legh to her stepson in the early 17th century was the best 'our barren country' (presumably Lyme) could afford.¹⁰¹ But in other respects Lyme was apparently distinct from other parts of the neighbourhood in that much farming supplied the Legh household.¹⁰²

CORN MILLS

An indication of the importance of arable cultivation was the presence of corn mills. By the beginning of the 14th century, Rainow and Shrigley were sufficiently significant communities within the manor to have their

⁹⁹ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 48-59, 62, 72-3; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 52-3; Davies, Agricultural History, 18, 137-9; Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 61. Cf. also Agrarian History, v: 1640-1750, i, ed. Thirsk, 137-8 on pastoral farming and stock numbers in the Peak District. Ibid. 84 highlights the interdependence between arable and pastoral in mixed farming. Swain described pastoral farming, particularly stock-raising, but with a significant minority of arable in north-east Lancs.: Industry before the Industrial Revolution, 34-6.

¹⁰⁰ Newton, Lyme Letters, 13.

¹⁰¹ Newton, House of Lyme, 107.

¹⁰² E.g. Newton, House of Lyme, 61-3.

own mills.¹⁰³ There was a mill within the park at Lyme by the reign of Henry VIII.¹⁰⁴ Why Kettleshulme was without one is unclear: perhaps because nearby Whaley had a mill.¹⁰⁵ The mills of Rainow and Pott Shrigley - sometimes with other manorial mills - were leased to various individuals from 1352.¹⁰⁶ Disputes over control of the mills in the 16th century, between members of prominent local families,¹⁰⁷ reflected their importance as a central and therefore, for the lessee, profitable resource in the agrarian systems of these communities.¹⁰⁸ Pott Shrigley mill - like much property in the township - passed to the leading landowners, the Downes family, in this case in the mid-16th century, earning them income from their tenants.¹⁰⁹ These mills continued in use long afterwards,¹¹⁰ showing the enduring importance of arable cultivation.¹¹¹ Pott Shrigley mill passed out of use in

¹⁰³ P. H. W. Booth, 'The Financial Administration of the Lordship and County of Chester, 1272 to 1377' (thesis for M.A., University of Liverpool, 1974), 119.

¹⁰⁴ Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 141; Collection of Lancs. and Ches. Wills 1301-1752, ed. Irvine, 36-9.

¹⁰⁵ Booth, Financial Administration, 98.

¹⁰⁶ 36th D.K.R. (1875), appendix II, p. 156; 37th D.K.R. (1876), appendix II, pp. 437, 653-4; Ches. R.O., list of records elsewhere no. 161.

¹⁰⁷ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 180, 240; 39th D.K.R. (1878), appendix I, pp. 238-9; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1547-1548 (London, 1924), 23; P.R.O., E 318/28/1574, STAC 3/3/44, STAC 3/7/92; Story of Rainow, 14.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 400.

¹⁰⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' passim, e.g. i. 240, 341, ii. 451, 454-5, 460, 467; Ches. R.O., D 3076/10: opinion on abstracts of title 1819.

¹¹⁰ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 166; ibid. MR 354; Ches. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1603-60, iii, ed. Stewart-Brown, 194, 196; 'Gritstone Trail Teachers Pack', 47; Story of Rainow, 13-14; J.R.U.L.M., Legh of Lyme Muniments Box O, ref. F no. 1; ibid. Box Q, ref. A no. 4.

¹¹¹ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 398, 400.

the early 19th century.¹¹² However, when Lumbhole textile mill in Kettleshulme was put up for sale in 1815,¹¹³ the advertiser suggested that it might be put up as a corn mill; although this was at a peak of arable cultivation in England, at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.¹¹⁴

FARM BUILDINGS

The type of agricultural exploitation dictated the form and size of farm buildings. There are no strong trends in type or date within these townships, and both long and enclosed arrangements are found,¹¹⁵ but they are generally of modest scale and unpretentious design. Materials strongly reflect the local availability of building resources, with stone walling and stone slates for roofing ubiquitous.¹¹⁶ With the small-scale agriculture practised here, a limited number of buildings was needed, in contrast to more extensive dairying, arable, or mixed farming requiring a greater number of buildings to serve those functions. The 1611 survey commonly listed barns, cowhouses and turfhouses, as well as outbuildings of unspecified function.¹¹⁷ Barns are on a small scale, because corn was not grown in great quantities; but they

¹¹² Ches. R.O., D 3076/1: copy surrender, 2 Mar. 1829. Cf. Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 400-1.

¹¹³ Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, ch. viii.

¹¹⁴ Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 7.

¹¹⁵ B. K. Roberts, Village Plans (Princes Risborough, 1982), 6, 8.

¹¹⁶ D.o.E. List (1983) (Kettleshulme), 34-5, 40; ibid. (Lyme Handley), 25, 39-40; ibid. (Rainow), 48-9, 53, 57, 61, 65-6, 68-9, 71-2.

¹¹⁷ E.g. P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 225, 233, 242, 268. Cf. Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 40-2.

were not infrequently found, reflecting the arable activities of the townships.¹¹⁸

Variations from the general type of outbuildings reflect the influence of larger landowners, although there is no unity of building throughout the largest estates like that found in the classic closed locality: the limited number of outbuildings, given the scale and type of farming, and the limited need for labourers' cottages, given the comparatively small farms and pastoral emphasis in farming, confined the scope for such initiatives. However, substantial courtyards of outbuildings of the late 18th or early 19th century at Redacre and Birchencliff on the Shrigley estate are exceptional for this Pennine edge. Their scale has greater affinity with larger farms in the lowland dairying area of Cheshire than with the typical structures of this upland region, although like more humble examples they are constructed of stone with stone-slate roofs.¹¹⁹ A series of buildings in Lyme Handley presumably reflects a rebuilding campaign by the Legh estate in the later 19th century.¹²⁰ Other more pretentious examples also related to local property-holders.¹²¹

AGRICULTURE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The tithe commutation records (1848-50)¹²² provide the earliest survey of land use in the townships which is at all comprehensive, although because not all of

¹¹⁸ E.g. Chester R.O., CR 63/2/521, 524, 531.

¹¹⁹ D.o.E. List (1983), 49, 51; fieldwork, Dec. 1997, including opinion of Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor.

¹²⁰ D.o.E. List (1983), 40.

¹²¹ E.g. John Mellor's stables (1837) at Kerridge End House, Rainow: D.o.E. List (1983), 63.

¹²² Ches. R.O., EDT 223, 252, 328, 339.

Kettleshulme and Rainow were subject to tithes at commutation those data are incomplete. The data (p. 136 below) suggest that between 69 and 77 per cent of the townships was pasture. The proportion of arable ranged from 3 to 8 per cent.¹²³ Arable parcels were scattered through the townships, their location presumably related to a combination of factors including soils, relief and altitude. The reason for the limited variation in the percentages of arable land between the townships is unknown. Patterns of occupation were apparently not the deciding factor since the highest proportion was in Kettleshulme, where holdings were smallest, followed by Lyme, which had the largest.¹²⁴ Within the townships there was no clear correlation with holding size, or with owner occupation. The differences perhaps relate to natural environmental variations.

Other 19th-century sources reveal a picture of mixed stock-keeping (cattle and some sheep), some dairying, with some cultivation of oats: a pattern of farming determined in broad terms by the constraints and possibilities of the landscape.¹²⁵ In detail, though, some contrasts between the townships can be discerned, which may relate to patterns of landownership.¹²⁶ Over time, wider economic forces brought changes in agriculture throughout the area.

¹²³ Cf. county average of 25.5 per cent arable in the tithe files: R. J. P. Kain, R. E. J. Fry and H. M. E. Holt, An atlas and index of the tithe files of mid-nineteenth-century England and Wales (Cambridge, 1986), 274.

¹²⁴ Below, pp. 144-9.

¹²⁵ E.g. P.R.O., IR 18/51, 91; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1878 (Pott Shrigley); and cf. Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 47-51.

¹²⁶ Ch. IV.6 below examines variations in the occupational importance of agriculture between the townships.

The earliest livestock return (1866)¹²⁷ showed variation between the proportions of livestock in the four townships. Kettleshulme had the highest proportion of cattle at almost 70 per cent, followed by Rainow; they constituted under 40 per cent of the total cattle, sheep and pigs in Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley, which townships had commensurately more sheep. Among cattle, Kettleshulme and Rainow had a higher proportion of milk cows than the other two townships. It seems that Kettleshulme, and to a lesser degree Rainow, was more focussed on cattle farming, and to a greater extent dairy farming, than the other townships.¹²⁸ There was a general growth of a market for liquid milk from the 19th century, although constrained in this district by problems of transport (for the railways only skirted these hilly townships, unlike much of the rest of Cheshire which was well served).¹²⁹ There was a limited number of pigs in all four townships, although proportionately more in Kettleshulme and Rainow. Similar contrasts in stock-keeping were apparent in 1891 (table 4.15, pp. 197-8 below). At that date the great bulk of the townships' acreages was grassland and arable farming was of very limited significance, its acreage having declined since the 1840s (cf. table 4.1). This presumably related to broad changes in patterns of markets and communications, making rural communities better able to concentrate on

¹²⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/9. Crop returns for these townships were not found in MAF 68/10 as had been expected.

¹²⁸ Cf. also the greater proportion of meadowland, according to the tithe apportionment: table 4.1 below (p. 178).

¹²⁹ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 53; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 5 Nov. 1970; Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 16, 20-1, 160-1, 166; Crosby, History of Ches. 90. Some ledges for the collection of liquid milk from farms survive here: 'Gritstone Trail Teachers Pack', 47; fieldwork, Jul. 1997. Cf. Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 74-5.

land uses suited to the terrain. The end of the system of mixed farming which had endured here for so long - albeit biased towards pasture - had begun. In the late 19th century, for example, it was deemed that the hilly character and climate of Saltersford made it unfit 'for any mode of cultivation ... but dairying and the raising of young cattle'.¹³⁰

Descriptions of farming in Saltersford among the Courtown papers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries reflect aspects of the general character of agriculture in the area. In the 1880s and 1890s complaints from tenants related to farm rents and conditions, prevailing prices for their agricultural products, and the difficulty of selling produce. Samuel Latham of Hooleyhey, for instance, was noted as 'complaining very much indeed'. Tenants sought assistance or reductions in rent, on some occasions jointly petitioning the estate; they were sometimes successful. One petition asked for help 'to contend with our numerous difficulties in these adverse times', the years of agricultural depression after the 1870s: 'it becomes increasingly difficult ... to make farming pay at all'. Some tenants quit.¹³¹ Problems were still apparent in the 1910s, when concerns were also voiced about the exhaustion of the land. Neighbouring estates experienced the same difficulties, and farms on Derby and Newton land were consequently vacant.¹³² Maintaining rent levels in Saltersford was still a problem in 1935.¹³³ These difficulties related to national

¹³⁰ Northants. R.O., FS 48/6.

¹³¹ T.C.D.L., Courtown V 151 (from which the first quotation, 1885, is taken), P 58/1/104 (from which the other quotations, 1892, come), P 58/1/105, 108.

¹³² T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/182, 185, 192, 195-6, 205, 207-8.

¹³³ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/235.

economic trends, for although the agricultural depression apparently affected pastoral farmers less than arable ones, since this area was a marginally productive one it stands to reason that it would be badly affected in hard times.¹³⁴ Examples from the Legh muniments also show the characteristics of farming in the district, pastorally-based, and on a fairly small scale even on the Lyme estate. Details of 16 estate farms in 1920 described one dairy farm, seven grazing farms, four combined dairy and grazing holdings, and one 'compact holding' and three small-holdings the use of which was not explicitly stated. The holdings were under 100 acres with two exceptions. Almost all had piggeries. The capacity of outbuildings for cattle varied, three having space for fewer than 10; three 10 to 20; seven 20 to 30 head; and three between 30 and 40.¹³⁵ Another example is Reed Farm, advertised to let by the Lyme estate in 1934: it was almost 140 acres, a hill grazing farm having no arable, with tying up room for 12 cows, and for young stock; the holding produced a small amount of milk. The old tenant had been there almost all his life, and the new tenant was also local (from Bollington). In 1944 the farm was again let, to a man who had formerly farmed 60 acres, with 40 head of cattle although no sheep, at Wimberry Moss in Rainow, which he may have wanted to leave for a less exposed location. The reference for the incoming tenant stressed his suitability, for he was used to farming in this part of the country: highlighting the particular difficulties of farming this marginal

¹³⁴ Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 25; Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 208-9.

¹³⁵ Ches. R.O., DTR 9/5.

environment.¹³⁶ A 1941 MAF survey denigrated the efficacy of some farmers' methods, finding them backward.¹³⁷

The 1931 MAF returns (table 4.16, pp. 199-200 below) show - predictably - four pastoral townships.¹³⁸ Contrasts between the townships had endured. Kettleshulme had the highest percentage of cattle, Lyme Handley the least. Lyme Handley had a much higher proportion of sheep. All the townships, as at earlier surveys, had some pigs. By 1971 (table 4.17, pp. 201-2), however, although Kettleshulme still had the largest proportion of cattle and Lyme Handley the least, they were as in all the townships exceeded by sheep. The number of sheep in the district had increased dramatically, and overall numbers of livestock (cattle, sheep and pigs) had approximately doubled between 1931 and 1971, the bulk of the increase in all the townships except Kettleshulme occurring after 1951.¹³⁹ Of course the increasing proportion of sheep and the greater numbers of livestock overall are linked, since a greater number of sheep than cattle are sustained by the same acreage. Despite these changes, there is greater continuity in this pastoral farming landscape than in arable areas where 20th-century changes in agriculture have increased field size and brought about the removal of field boundaries.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/138/16.

¹³⁷ Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 55, 57. Cf. dismissive comments made by commentators about east Ches. agriculture around the turn of the 19th century: Davies, Agricultural History, 127.

¹³⁸ Cf. Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 110; also the 'very unusual' land in tillage at Saltersford Hall in 1915: T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/11/8.

¹³⁹ Cf. P.R.O., MAF 68/4342, for 1951 figures. Also Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 45, 54-6, for these trends.

¹⁴⁰ Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 208; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 56, 92-3.

Because problems experienced by farmers consequent upon national or global economic trends are most hardly felt in the most marginal areas such as this one, and traditional farming becomes less viable,¹⁴¹ some farms diversified their activities, specialising in particular products or engaging in horticulture.¹⁴² In Pott Shrigley, one farm produced goats' wool for the luxury market.¹⁴³ Farmers have also engaged in activities other than farming,¹⁴⁴ part-time occupations supplementing their agricultural income.¹⁴⁵ Many former farmhouses are converted to private dwellings and their holdings amalgamated with other farms, diminishing the number of agricultural holdings (cf. pp. 194-5 below), as larger units may make a better livelihood on marginal land. This process had been operating for some decades: in 1915 some farms in Saltersford were already unoccupied.¹⁴⁶ The fall in the number of holdings between 1931 and 1971 was greater in Kettlethulme and Rainow than in Pott Shrigley

¹⁴¹ Cf. Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 161.

¹⁴² Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1910-39 (Kettlethulme); Ketley, 'Dunge Valley Gardens', 78; Stead, 'Gardening in Colour', 39; M. Sykes, 'Saltersford', Ches. Life (Jun. 1979), 53; fieldwork, Sep. 1998.

¹⁴³ T. Skinner, 'Rainbow Yarns', Ches. Life (Aug. 1991), 13; Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 9 Oct. 1986.

¹⁴⁴ As at earlier periods too: below, pp. 248-50.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. Sykes, 'Saltersford', 51. Some farms offer bed and breakfast: fieldwork, Sep. 1998. Cf. table 4.17 below (p. 202) for these townships in 1971.

¹⁴⁶ C. Scott, 'Rainow', Ches. Life (Aug. 1970), 34; J. Darling, 'A Walk in the Wilderness', Ches. Life (Aug. 1989), 72; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 10 May 1973; W. Smith, Over the Hills (Macclesfield, 1921), 29; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/181, 183, 195, 205, P 58/11/8; fieldwork, 1997. Cf. Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 161-2, on the amalgamation of smaller farms.

and Lyme Handley, presumably because holdings in the former townships were smaller and more numerous, making them more susceptible to rationalisation. The picture of late 20th-century agriculture in these townships is similar to that for the Peak District generally. Farming is characterised by small farms (under 100 acres), too small to provide a full-time living: about 60 per cent are run on a part-time basis. Dairy cattle are kept in less exposed valleys, and beef cattle and sheep reared on higher, rougher grazing land. The number of sheep in the Park has increased by 300 per cent since 1950. Arable farming is very limited, owing to the harsh climate and short growing season. Generally, productivity is poor.¹⁴⁷

FARM SIZE

An important element in the character of farming, patterns of occupation here were to some degree variable in terms of farm size and the possibility of owner-occupation. These patterns, one might suppose, must relate to patterns of landownership, in that fragmented ownership would seem to presuppose a fragmented pattern of occupation,¹⁴⁸ although conversely where landownership was unfragmented the policy of the leading estate could determine large or small holdings or a mixture. How does this assumed relationship between ownership and occupation work out in practice? Within a general pattern of small farms we see a degree of variation associated

¹⁴⁷ Information from the Peak Park. Cf. Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 166.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Davies, Agricultural History, 24.

with patterns of landownership, with larger farms on the gentry and aristocratic estates than elsewhere.¹⁴⁹

It can be difficult to discern the size of estates from the scattering of evidence available before the 19th century. However, surviving sources (particularly the archives of larger estates) shed a little light on the occupation of land, if not as comprehensively as for later periods. In 1686, apart from the large demesne acreage (over 2,300 acres) of Lyme Handley, 33 holdings in the township were listed: eight under 20 (statute) acres; thirteen, 20-50 acres; ten, 50-100 acres; and two above 100 acres.¹⁵⁰ In 17th-century Rainow holdings were largely between 5 and 12 acres (small even allowing for Cheshire measure)¹⁵¹ and only exceptionally any larger, but with larger holdings at Harrop, Saltersford and Lamaload.¹⁵² A 1793 survey of Derby lands showed that copyholds in Kettleshulme and Rainow were small (except perhaps in the case of farms with sheep pastures): farms ranged from less than 10 acres (in four cases); the bulk between 10 and 50 Cheshire acres; a few above 50 acres; but none greater than 70 acres.¹⁵³ In 1818, Shrigley was inhabited by farmers, 'chiefly of small tenements', and cottagers.¹⁵⁴ Overall, it seems that farms were often less

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 29: the typical estate preferred larger tenant farms in order to maximise capital input, effect economies of scale and ensure good quality farming.

¹⁵⁰ J.R.U.L.M., Legh of Lyme Muniments Box Q, ref. A no. 1.

¹⁵¹ About two and a half times the size of the statute acre.

¹⁵² Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 21, 133.

¹⁵³ Davies, Agricultural History, 21-2, 48, and cf. p. 164; Lancs. R.O., DDK 1551/37. The survey does not state which measure was being used for acreage, but comparison with the tithe acreages for the Derbys' Harrop and Kettleshulme property (see tables 3.4, 3.7, pp. 83, 86 above) indicated that Ches. measure was employed.

¹⁵⁴ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

than 50 acres, sometimes substantially so. But the data do not allow full examination of change over time or of contrasts between (or indeed within) townships.

By the late 18th century, though, more comprehensive data are forthcoming. Firstly, land tax assessments (tables 4.2 - 4.5, pp. 179-83 below) ostensibly list owners and occupiers of property¹⁵⁵ within each township, although their complexities have already been described.¹⁵⁶ They may be less problematic in relation to occupation than to ownership, since the status of the person actually in occupation is perhaps more clear-cut than the 'proprietor' (whether freeholder, copyholder, or lessee). Remaining problems, though, could include the comparability of data between townships; the relationship of sums assessed to acreages; and the possible exclusion of the very smallest occupiers. An analysis has, however, been attempted from the data they present. In Kettleshulme small holdings were prevalent, the average less than 30 acres. The total number of occupiers appears to have changed from 44 in 1784, 67 in 1810, to 60 in 1831. In Rainow, average holdings at the three dates ranged between 49 and 57 acres: small, but not as small as in Kettleshulme. The number of occupiers rose from 101 in 1785 to 117 in 1815. In both townships the population rose in the early 19th century,¹⁵⁷ perhaps putting pressure on land and leading to the subdivision of farms. Davies argued that owner-occupiers were most numerous in townships such as Rainow with multiple ownership, although the problems of examining owner-occupation from the land tax, given its enigmatic relation to patterns of

¹⁵⁵ Not just agricultural holdings; although in these townships this type was predominant.

¹⁵⁶ p. 68.

¹⁵⁷ Below, table 4.24 (p. 313).

ownership, have been alluded to and therefore her figures may be open to question.¹⁵⁸ In Pott Shrigley average holding size appears to have risen greatly from 53 acres in 1784 to 85 acres in 1810 and 142 acres in 1831. Davies discerned the engrossment of holdings at this period.¹⁵⁹ There were 32 occupiers in 1784, 20 in 1810 and just 12 in 1831. The rationalisation of farm tenancies by the Shrigley estate - a process associated by Mills with the closed parish¹⁶⁰ - contrasts with forces leading to subdivision in Kettlethulme and Rainow. Occupational changes in Pott Shrigley presumably reflect alterations in landownership which took place in the 18th and early 19th centuries, in the increasing dominance of the leading estate.¹⁶¹

At all three dates the average holding in Lyme Handley was the largest of any of these townships at around 150 acres. There were few occupiers compared to the other three townships, particularly Rainow and Kettlethulme. However, this mean acreage shows that averages may conceal a contrast between large and small holdings: for the parkland or land farmed directly for the Legh estate accounted for over a third of the total assessment of £50, while no other holding was assessed at over £3. Tables 4.2 - 4.5 address this in showing the distribution of assessments of different sizes in all the townships, showing the greatest predominance of very small holdings in Kettlethulme, followed by Rainow, with Lyme Handley at the opposite extreme.

¹⁵⁸ Davies, Agricultural History, 29, 163. She does not seem to have amalgamated entries pertaining to individuals of the same name, hence her totals are not the same as mine.

¹⁵⁹ Agricultural History, 29, 163.

¹⁶⁰ E.g. Lord and Peasant, 29.

¹⁶¹ Above, pp. 73-4.

The tithe commutation records (1848-50) confirm these patterns of occupation (tables 4.6 - 4.10, pp. 184-9 below), with the added advantage that actual acreages are recorded. In Kettlethulme the total of 59 owners is very close to the figure of 60 given by the 1831 land tax - a high number for such a small township, again giving a small average holding (21 acres). Holdings were again rarely very large (only five over 50 acres), with two fifths under 10 acres. Over a quarter of the occupiers were wholly or partly owner-occupiers. Rainow exhibits some similar patterns. There were 136 occupiers¹⁶² including 27 whole or part owner-occupiers (about one fifth of the total). However, a greater proportion of owners here had more substantial holdings than in Kettlethulme. Holdings on the largest estates, belonging to the Earls of Courtown (18 tenants) and Derby (14 tenants), tended to be larger than in the township generally: averaging 83 acres under Courtown and 68 acres under Derby.¹⁶³ Excluding the larger holdings on these estates, the average holding in the rest of Rainow would be much closer to the Kettlethulme average.

Again, Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley stand apart from the townships to the south. There were 31 occupiers in Lyme Handley,¹⁶⁴ including the 1,740 acres in the hands of the Legh estate. Disregarding this single huge holding,

¹⁶² Cf. 113 in the 1831 land tax. The reason for the anomaly is not clear. It may reflect actual changes in occupation, i.e. an increase in the number of occupiers between 1831 and tithe commutation; or alternatively relate to different methods of recording in the land tax and tithe, for example if some occupiers - e.g. very small ones - do not appear in the former (cf. p. 68 above).

¹⁶³ Cf. p. 143 above on larger holdings at Harrop, Saltersford and Lamaload in the 17th century.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. 25 at the 1831 land tax.

the average was about 65 acres, more than three times bigger than in Kettleshulme but actually smaller than the figures for the Courtown and Derby estates in Rainow. The average holding for Pott Shrigley was 27 acres. The total of 63 holdings was a very long way from the 12 names which appeared in the 1831 land tax. This may be accounted for to some extent by the many very small holders in the tithe award: half of the holdings were less than 1 acre at tithe commutation,¹⁶⁵ and presumably these smaller holders, if indeed they were present in 1831, were not assessed in the land tax - although this still leaves an inconsistency between the figures. These very small holdings did not occur at all in Lyme Handley nor even to a very great extent in Rainow. There were eight, out of 59 holders, in Kettleshulme: although there were many other small owners there, they evidently tended to hold at least some acreage with their homes.¹⁶⁶ The phenomenon in Pott Shrigley perhaps relates to the letting of cottages with very small amounts of land by the Turner/Lowther estate.¹⁶⁷ Presumably cottages provided for workers on the Lyme estate had no land attached at all. The figures may also relate to the larger population in Pott Shrigley (467 in 1851) than in the much more sparsely-populated Lyme Handley (264 in 1851).¹⁶⁸ Disregarding holdings of less than 1 acre, there were more smaller holdings in Pott Shrigley than in Lyme Handley, although the average in Pott Shrigley would be approximately 50 or 60 acres - not much less than on the

¹⁶⁵ 32 holdings: 29 of them cottages, gardens, houses, or a combination of these; 26 belonging to the Turner/Lowther estate.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, 18, for a community in which smallholdings were of great importance.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. White, Pott Shrigley, a village school, 13. Presumably this also relates to the high proportion of non-agricultural occupations pursued in Pott Shrigley: below, pp. 255-6, 267.

¹⁶⁸ Below, table 4.24 (p. 313).

Lyme estate. Despite similarity in patterns of landownership, then, there were some contrasts in occupation between the two townships. However, a broad dichotomy is clear between areas dominated by gentry or aristocratic estates, i.e. Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley, Saltersford, and Harrop, where holdings were generally larger; and Kettleshulme and the rump of Rainow township, where holdings were smaller and where owner-occupation by smaller property-holders was of some importance. The significance of owner-occupation in Lyme Handley was quite different, since the owner holding land was the Lyme estate, which employed some land as parkland and farmed directly on a substantial scale. The largest holding in Pott Shrigley was also that of the principal estate. Table 4.15 (p. 197 below) also shows that, in 1891, small total acreages were owner-occupied in Kettleshulme and Rainow, and much more substantial ones in Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley.

The land tax valuation records of 1910 (tables 4.11 - 4.12, pp. 191-2 below) document these same contrasting patterns: many small holdings in Kettleshulme giving a low average holding (21 acres), with a much smaller proportion holding over 50 acres than in the other townships; also many occupiers in Rainow, but not quite such a low average holding (44 acres); fewer occupiers and a larger average (68 acres) in Pott Shrigley; and the largest average, 110 acres, in Lyme Handley. In Rainow, the pattern whereby holdings on the Courtown and Derby estates were larger than elsewhere in the township is again evident. The numbers of occupiers are very similar to those given at tithe commutation (cf. tables 4.6 - 4.9) except in Pott Shrigley, where less than half the number appear at the latter date; presumably the numerous

tiny holdings of the 1840s were not allotted acreages in 1910.

The 1931 MAF returns (table 4.13, p. 194 below) showed over 90 per cent of holdings in Kettleshulme under 50 acres, as against 70 per cent for Rainow, 60 per cent for Pott Shrigley, and 50 per cent for Lyme Handley. There were few farms over 150 acres in any of the townships. Interestingly, the historical pattern of contrasting holding sizes endured up to 1971 (table 4.14, p. 195), even though significant changes in patterns of landownership had occurred.¹⁶⁹ Kettleshulme's holdings averaged 39 acres in size, Rainow's 75 acres, Pott Shrigley's 85 acres, and Lyme Handley's 170 acres. However, by this date contrasts in owner-occupation were not very significant, the proportion of land rented rather than owned ranging from 41 per cent for Pott Shrigley to 53 per cent in Lyme Handley. Far more farmers than in earlier periods owned the land they farmed, a general development in 20th-century farming.¹⁷⁰ However, even at the modern period, holdings in this area were still small by national or even county standards.¹⁷¹ By 1851, farms of over 100 acres accounted for four fifths of the acreage reported on in the census, which is an exceptional size for farms here. Pastoral areas seem to

¹⁶⁹ The disposal of the largest estates (above, pp. 61-4); unfortunately comprehensive information as to the fate of their farms has not been found. When property in Lyme Handley passed out of the hands of the Legh estate only the hall, parkland and some cottages, not the farms, passed to the National Trust: G.M.C.R.O., E 17/3/13. Many farms on the east Ches. Derby estates were bought by their occupiers: Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 162.

¹⁷⁰ Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 212.

¹⁷¹ Davies, Agricultural History, p. viii; Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 949-50, 1109; Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 44.

be characterised by smaller farms, at a later date, than arable ones: in areas such as this one small, family farms remained important, although from the later 19th century a trend towards the amalgamation of farming units is apparent everywhere.¹⁷²

It is remarkable that a living could be made from very small holdings on poor land, apparently in some cases the sole means of support: in Rainow in 1861, John Heathcote and Joseph Jackson, who each farmed 11 acres and had no other occupation, are just two examples.¹⁷³ However, other factors apart from size must be borne in mind in considering the character of farming here. The value of a holding depended also on the quality of its land, and on the standard of past and present farming: some tenants, according to the Courtown papers, made the best of their resources and - within environmental constraints - farmed profitably, but others ran down the farms.¹⁷⁴ There were at earlier periods resources besides the farm itself. Common rights on the pastoral fen edge in early modern Cambridgeshire were as valuable as holding an acreage in an arable area, and smaller holdings were, because of the extensive common pasture, more viable in Willingham than in communities more heavily dependent upon arable cultivation.¹⁷⁵ In this upland milieu, too, the resources of common pasture were available over many centuries.

¹⁷² Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 212; Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 559, 564, 608-9, 625; Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 7-8; pp. 141-2 above.

¹⁷³ P.R.O., RG 9/2577, f. 15r.

¹⁷⁴ Northants. R.O., FS 48/6.

¹⁷⁵ Spufford, Contrasting Communities, 142, 306.

WASTES AND COMMONS

The long process by which land in these townships was taken into use has been examined. But despite pressure which cumulatively diminished unenclosed land, at most periods there was a residue which was not held in severalty. These commons were not unused expanses of no man's land, devoid of resources, but were exploited communally.¹⁷⁶ By the late 13th century there were complaints within forest communities that assarts were encroaching on common pasture.¹⁷⁷ Valuable rights - on which were based an essential part of the communities' economic functions - included grazing for livestock and turbary for fuel, and were regulated so that usage by one individual could not impinge on the rights of another.¹⁷⁸ Rights were shared out amongst the members of the community. Here, it seems that particular commons pertained to each township community. But an example of 1421 shows how usage was regulated by the manor court: an individual was accused of overstocking the common pasture of Rainow with his 12 cattle, 24 sheep and 4 horses. It was found that he had no right to common pasture there at all, its use being reserved to inhabitants of the township.¹⁷⁹ The records of Macclesfield manor court have not been consulted for this study, but would presumably provide much information on the management of the commons. Tonkinson described the regulation of common pasture rights and indictments, amercements and other payments for overburdening commons in the forest by

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 81-2.

¹⁷⁷ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 23.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Ravensdale, Liable to Floods, 64-9, 73, 78-84; Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 87-92.

¹⁷⁹ A. Curry, 'The court rolls of the lordship of Macclesfield, 1345-1485', Ches. History, xii. 8.

tenants or outsiders in the late 14th century, although payments may have been more like licence payments than punishments for infringement of the rules regarding these communal resources. The pasture was not just grassland but also included scrub and woodland; for example, it was an offence to cut holly in the common land of Rainow.¹⁸⁰

In the early modern forest of Bowland, Lancashire, there were extensive common wastes in several parcels, of varying terrain and quality. Some townships had access to more than one, and some were shared by more than one township.¹⁸¹ Similarly, a survey of the forest's commons made under Henry VIII recorded extensive tracts here. Kettlethulme, Lyme, Pott Shrigley and Rainow had several commons each, variously distributed through the townships, some of which were wooded. Some at the townships' peripheries were used jointly by neighbouring townships.¹⁸² The importance of these resources caused many disputes between rural communities over usage; indeed, much information about their operation comes from records relating to such disputes. An example from the late 1530s between Peter Legh of Lyme and Roger Jodrell, concerning the right to common use of Disley pasture by residents of Handley and those of Disley, shows how heated such a dispute could become. It was apparently a long-running issue between the two communities. Legh - 'a man of great lands, having many friends and kinsfolk within the county' - was alleged to be the instigator of these 'riotous persons' and to have commanded that they should 'cut in sunder the legs and hock sinews of ... Jodrell, and pull his dwelling house down'. The importance of harmonious management of communal resources

¹⁸⁰ 'Borough and Forest Community', 47-8.

¹⁸¹ Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', 10-12.

¹⁸² Renaud, Contributions towards the History of Prestbury, 224-7.

in the lives of these communities is clear: the bills and answers in the case express fear of the ill example set to other potential offenders.¹⁸³

The Macclesfield survey of 1611, including common resources - wastes, commons or moors, their woods, and rights appurtenant to them - pertaining to particular townships, showed that their unenclosed common land was still extensive (although enclosure was proceeding at that period), for it named, for example, eleven parcels of common land belonging to Kettleshulme, ranging through the township from the north to its southern extremity. The commons were variously rough, 'carrish' (marshy), mossy, heathy and stony. The survey used a three-fold classification as to quality, the proportions varying between the townships: Pott Shrigley and Rainow, too, had a number of commons of varying quality, distributed throughout each township, sometimes but not always at their peripheries.¹⁸⁴ Presumably when there was more than one, common rights belonged to the farms around each of them: for example, grazing rights on Kerridge hillside belonged to farms lying along the valley below. But the way in which the 1611 survey referred to the 'one great part of the Common' seems to conceive of 'the Common' as a single resource, of many parts, pertaining to each township. The survey stated that all freeholders and copyholders holding land within the townships should have free common of pasture and turbary (the latter an

¹⁸³ Lancs. and Ches. Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, i, ed. Stewart-Brown, 92-4, 114, 130-5; P.R.O., STAC 2/17/248, STAC 2/21/223.

¹⁸⁴ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 153-4, 156, 171, 173-4, 352-7. The survey did not include Lyme Handley, owing to its distinct tenurial status: above, p. 40.

important source of fuel)¹⁸⁵ on the commons of the township where the property lay: the divisions between the township communities within the forest delineated rights to the commons. The right extended to all property-holders' cattle and at all times of the year, the number of cattle limited to the number they could winter with fodder from their own land.¹⁸⁶

The value of such resources was again reflected in a series of disputes over commons between Rainow and its southern neighbours in the early 17th century as increasing pressure on this resource led to friction. Their perceived value was reflected in the Rainow men's insistence on their interpretation of the boundary, despite the arbiter's despairing record that 'the difference [was] but small ... and that all barren and waste lands', of the large extent of the wastes which Rainow men enjoyed. Additional resources (not just pasture rights) were involved, for the intransigent Rainow men refused to settle unless their conditions concerning a quarry were also met.¹⁸⁷ Elsewhere within Rainow, the importance of pasture rights to individual farms is shown when the lessee of Redmoor by will of 1674 divided his allowance of 30 sheep-gates at nearby Thursbitch.¹⁸⁸ In 1650, a deed referred to tenements in

¹⁸⁵ A right associated with lands held in severalty as well: cf. 'turves' from Lyme Handley holdings in 1747 in J.R.U.L.M., Legh of Lyme Muniments Box O, ref. F no. 1.

¹⁸⁶ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 168a-171, 173, 352-6; Story of Rainow, 12. Cf. Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', 12.

¹⁸⁷ Davies, Agricultural History, 65 (and cf. pp. 9-10); Davies, History of Macclesfield, 2, 86-9; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/9: notes on Macclesfield and Rainow; Birkenhead Library, MA B/VI/4, T/I/135; P.R.O., MR 354. Cf. disputes over the division of Bowland wastes in the 16th and 17th centuries: Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', 13.

¹⁸⁸ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 57-8.

Rainow which had in addition to their acreages (around 50, 20 and 15 statute acres) an acreage of common land about twice these extents.¹⁸⁹

Some commons survived into the late 17th and 18th centuries, for example Kerridge (Rainow), Kettlehulme common,¹⁹⁰ and Pott Shrigley common.¹⁹¹ But the amount of land used communally gradually diminished: the Kettlehulme land tax return for 1784, for instance, included a sum 'for Commons', presumably land once used by more than one person but since passed into single occupation.¹⁹² However, exceptionally, they endured into the 19th century. A 'very poor outside piece' of moor extending over almost 60 acres in the very south-east of Rainow, almost up at Shining Tor, constituted common ground for Lord Courtown's tenants. Four tenants shared the right of stocking sheep there, described in the late 19th century as an 'antiquated arrangement'. Its limited potential presumably explains why it was still employed thus. The common was still shared between three holdings in 1935. The purpose of such land apart from grazing was referred to in 1915, for at the 'Outsides' were located the old pits where tenants used formerly to dig turf.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/136.

¹⁹⁰ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 374, 421-4.

¹⁹¹ Quarter Sessions Records 1559-1760, ed. Bennett and Dewhurst, 34.

¹⁹² Ches. R.O., QDV 2/238/1.

¹⁹³ Story of Rainow, 22; Northants. R.O., FS 48/2: particulars of Courtown estate 1868; ibid. FS 48/6 (from which the quotations are taken); Ches. R.O., EDT 339/1, p. 11; ibid. EDT 339/2; T.C.D.L. Courtown, P 58/1/8, P 58/1/235, P 58/11/8, P 58/16. Cf. Porter on the very poorest wastes in Bowland, which were not enclosed until the 19th century: 'Waste land reclamation', 16.

WOODS

Information on woodland at early periods is confined to scattered references, and it is difficult to quantify the data and to establish their typicality. However, woods were a resource used and managed variously for fuel, fodder for animals, and building purposes, and as a source of income, by the townships' inhabitants and landowners.

Names with 'leah' elements, which occur here, are often taken as indicators of woodland in existence at the Anglo-Saxon period.¹⁹⁴ At Domesday Macclesfield had the largest recorded area of woodland in Cheshire, but in the medieval period much of the eastern moorlands were open and clearance continued as colonisation progressed into the 14th century. However, although Macclesfield was not a heavily wooded forest, woodland may have continued to cover the lower slopes.¹⁹⁵ Some pastures in the medieval and early modern periods were wooded.¹⁹⁶ The rights of the foresters, who could have holly and foggage for their beasts, wood, and pannage, indicate the woodland resources available in medieval Macclesfield Forest.¹⁹⁷ Its products were also used by local people but under royal control, because the Crown held the forest rights. In 1285 the townships of Kettlethulme, Shrigley and Rainow were amerced by the forest eyre for cutting oaks in the king's demesne woods without view of the

¹⁹⁴ Gelling, Place-Names in the Landscape, 198-9; above, p. 115, on names ending in '-ley' within the townships.

¹⁹⁵ Higham, Origins of Ches. 22, 171, 213; Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 22, 25-6, 152; Terrett, 'Ches.', Domesday Geography of Northern England, ed. Darby and Maxwell, 357, 383; V.C.H. Ches. i. 338.

¹⁹⁶ Above, pp. 119, 152.

¹⁹⁷ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 181.

foresters, although whether the woods concerned were within those townships is not clear. But amerancements were also levied for felling oaks in the king's demesne wood at Shrigley.¹⁹⁸ Gifts of oaks 'fit for timber' from Lyme wood were made by the Black Prince in the mid-14th century. Some of the orders required that the stumps of the oaks be marked, presumably to indicate that their removal had been authorised. In 1398 John de Macclesfield successfully petitioned Richard II for oaks from Lyme for his mansion in Macclesfield, although earlier he had been pardoned by the queen for taking timber without warrant.¹⁹⁹ The grant of Handley to the Leghs (1398) reserved to the Crown all oaks growing there, clearly a resource of some value.²⁰⁰ However, despite these usages, Booth argued of the mid-14th century that there was 'little intensive exploitation' of the demesne woods within the forest, including Lyme, and no large-scale sales of timber as in the Black Prince's woods elsewhere.²⁰¹ Most use of wood within the forest seems to have been routine, like the holly, hazel and hawthorn taken from Kerridge, Ingersley and Billinge (Rainow) in the 1380s and 1390s for fodder, fencing and fuel. Tonkinson argued that the majority of offences in the forest court concerning taking of wood were small-scale.

¹⁹⁸ Calendar of Court Rolls 1259-1297, ed. Stewart-Brown, 213, 236.

¹⁹⁹ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 179, 183; Register of Edward the Black Prince, iii (London, 1932), 183-4, 195, 299, 315-16, 346, 399, 406-7, 409-10, 451, 460, 479-80; ibid. iv (London, 1933), 513-15; Accounts of the Chamberlains 1301-1360, ed. Stewart-Brown, 230, 271; F. Renaud, 'Two castellated manor houses', T.L.C.A.S. xx. 120; Davies, History of Macclesfield, 19, 38. Cf. Rackham, Last Forest, 72-3, on oaks as royal gifts.

²⁰⁰ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 292.

²⁰¹ Booth, Financial Administration, 100.

Revenues raised from pasturing animals far exceeded that produced by wood and timber.²⁰²

In the 1510s, a recovery of Sir Peter Legh's property in Handley included 1,000 acres of wood, indicating extensive wooded tracts.²⁰³ However, a survey in the reign of Henry VIII described a minority of the commons in Pott Shrigley and Kettlehulme as wooded.²⁰⁴ In 1611 none of the parcels of common ground in Kettlehulme, Rainow or Pott Shrigley had any timber trees or pannage upon them, although one in Pott Shrigley and one in Rainow had 'some hollins growing'. There were no timber trees on the wastes of the manor and forest, but a few scattered 'scrubbed oaks' of limited value. Although hollins were plentiful, fit for firewood, for button moulds or for making birdlyme from the bark, their value was uncertain. Woods on copyhold land in the manor and forest included oaks and ashes (variously producing timber and firewood) on three copyhold estates in Pott Shrigley and one in Rainow. Generally the impression is of limited wooded areas.²⁰⁵

However, woods on the Lyme and Shrigley estates were subject to exploitation by the landowners. Lady Newton wrote of Lyme that a large quantity of timber appears to have been sold each year in the mid-17th century, but this is not quantified.²⁰⁶ Timber was sold by the Shrigley estate in the mid-18th century.²⁰⁷ A century later, the tithe apportionment described many wooded parcels in Pott

²⁰² 'Borough and Forest Community', 6, 8, 25-6, 49-52, 152-3.

²⁰³ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 674.

²⁰⁴ Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 226-7.

²⁰⁵ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 168a-71, 173, 268, 350-1; ibid. MR 354.

²⁰⁶ House of Lyme, 188.

²⁰⁷ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 426-7.

Shrigley as plantation; woodland is found more infrequently. This implies management of wooded resources on the part of the principal estate. In Lyme Handley some parcels were described as plantation, although woods were also found. To a lesser degree plantations are found in Rainow, but there were few in Kettleshulme.²⁰⁸ Plantations on the Derby estate in Rainow apparently dated from c. 1800,²⁰⁹ and wooded areas on the estate were subject to use and management: c. 1850, 'all the timber in Harrop Wood was felled and removed'.²¹⁰ However, wood had been subject to use by tenants earlier, in the 18th century, when the Derby estate had difficulty keeping their demands for wood within bounds.²¹¹ In addition to management as a resource, woods were an ornamental feature of the parkland at both Lyme and Shrigley.²¹²

This relation with the larger estates seems to have been the central factor in the presence of larger wooded areas in some parts. The tithe commutation records of the late 1840s were the earliest source which gave systematic information as to how wooded these townships were (although partial for Kettleshulme and Rainow). From this, Kettleshulme had the smallest proportion of woodland, at 1 per cent; Rainow 3 per cent; Lyme Handley 5 per cent; and Pott Shrigley 12 per cent (table 4.1). Nineteenth- and 20th-century maps²¹³ confirm that Rainow

²⁰⁸ Ches. R.O., EDT 223, 252, 328, 339.

²⁰⁹ Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 73-5.

²¹⁰ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/156.

²¹¹ Davies, Agricultural History, 40.

²¹² I. Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens (Wilmslow, 1987), 156-7; below, pp. 161-70. Cf. A. Taigel and T. Williamson, Parks and Gardens (London, 1993), 24-5, on ornamental/commercial purposes of timber in parks.

²¹³ B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2, C2, SW 81 B3, C3; O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 88/98 (1993 edn.); O.S. Maps 6"

and Kettlethulme were not heavily wooded, but Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley had several sizeable areas of woodland. In 1910²¹⁴ under 2 per cent of Kettlethulme and Rainow was wooded, over 8 per cent in Lyme Handley and over 9 per cent in Pott Shrigley.²¹⁵ There were, however, contrasts within, as well as between, townships, with woods on lower or more sheltered ground and unwooded higher ground forming bare moorland.²¹⁶ These patterns persist to the present day, although there has been a decrease in the overall area of woodland.²¹⁷ Modern forestry has not had the impact in these townships that it has had elsewhere in the Peak Park.²¹⁸

PARKS AND GARDENS

Some parts of these townships were devoted not to agricultural use, but to the creation of landscapes which were privileged uses of the land, distinct from its exploitation for material considerations of subsistence or financial gain. 'Designed landscapes' were the product of a conscious attempt to change the landscape, as opposed to the inadvertent - while still very real - effects generated by farming. Parks and gardens within these townships used various natural elements - woods,

and 1/10,000 (various edns.); Ches. R.O., NVB: see bibliography, p. 416 below, for sheets consulted.

²¹⁴ Complete for the townships, unlike the partial tithe commutation records for Kettlethulme and Rainow.

²¹⁵ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 8, 12, 20, NVA 4/19, p. 20; and cf. also table 4.15 (p. 198 below).

²¹⁶ Cf. Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 159.

²¹⁷ O.S. Maps 1/10,000 (see bibliography p. 429 for sheets).

²¹⁸ Including nearby townships: Smart, Trees and Woodlands in Ches. 86; information from the Peak Park. Cf. report on afforestation possibilities of Saltersford estate (not implemented), 1935: T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/15.

water, the undulations of the land - and manipulated them, adding other features in the form of buildings, lakes, or plantations to create landscapes for a particular purpose or for visual effect. Some did have uses beyond the purely aesthetic, for example Lyme's hunting park, and even 18th-century 'picturesque' landscape parks were not only to be looked at: they had leisure purposes in providing walks or rides. These landscapes represented the capacity of the landowner to mould the landscape for his own recreational or aesthetic purposes, devoting land and other resources to that end, in the process making a statement about his status.²¹⁹ However, the natural environment is not obliterated by these attempts at manipulation: Lyme Park bears strong affinity with landscapes elsewhere within these townships, for its character is shaped by the moorland setting. Parks and gardens were not just an imposition on the landscape, but had a symbiotic relationship with it, the aesthetic decisions of landowners a response to what already existed. They bring into focus very clearly the respective roles of landownership and the natural landscape.

LYME PARK

Lyme Park constitutes a large-scale product of these processes which operated over several centuries. The extensive undulating park which encompasses expanses of moorland is one of this area's most striking features. An

²¹⁹ Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 19, 23; Mills, Lord and Peasant, 28-9. However, they were not entirely without practical/economic functions: e.g. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 104.

engraving of c. 1850 conveys - perhaps even exaggerates²²⁰ - the grandeur of the hilly backdrop to the hall, sheltered by high grounds, and woodland which contrasts with open country elsewhere. The park occupies a large central section of the township,²²¹ about a third of its total area.²²²

Lyme's park is unusual in its continuity with the medieval period, for the landscape had its origins as a deer park. This earlier meaning of 'park' referred to an enclosed area belonging to the demesne of a landowner, smaller than a forest or chase, which was made to retain the deer for sport and for meat.²²³ Medieval parks were usually on unimproved land and included woodland as coverts for the deer - they were often at more heavily wooded locations.²²⁴ There is obvious continuity between the designation of part of Lyme Handley as a park - presumably after the 1398 grant to the Leghs - and the status of the land granted as part of the forest; by contrast, colonisation and farming shaped the development of other parts of Macclesfield Forest. The 'fine park' dominated Lyme Handley from at least 1466, when it was surrounded by palings and fields.²²⁵ Lyme seems originally

²²⁰ Ches. One Hundred Years Ago, ed. F. Graham (Frank Graham, 1969), 38; cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 17.

²²¹ 1,323 acres at its transfer to the National Trust: Lyme Park, 34. The designed parkland is the largest in Laurie's East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 83.

²²² Cf. above, p. 3.

²²³ Details of parks are from: Carpenter, Locality and Polity, 180; L. Cantor, The Medieval Parks of England: a Gazetteer (Loughborough, 1983), 3, 5; Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 70-1, 116.

²²⁴ Cf. Handley as demesne pasture, and as one of the more heavily wooded parts of the forest: above, pp. 120, 157.

²²⁵ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, ff. 272-9.

to have been used as a sporting estate by the Leghs, the hall initially a lodge, while the family lived in Lancashire.²²⁶ Such a park reflected their wealth, status and aspirations, since they could afford to devote that amount of land not to revenue-deriving purposes but to the pursuit of pleasure - although in this Pennine margin it was not the case that high quality land was being devoted to non-agricultural ends. The medieval hunting park therefore had a practical function and was not created explicitly for its aesthetic appeal, unlike later landscape parks created for picturesque effect.²²⁷ However, at Lyme the aesthetic element came to the fore later, when the park provided the setting for the Leghs' magnificent home. It is the exception for a medieval park to survive as the basis for a later, ornamental one. However, its recreational purpose - for riding, walking and hunting of various kinds at different periods - remained constant.²²⁸

The supervisors of Sir Peter Legh's will (1522) were charged to use the game within Lyme Park reasonably and to maintain its 'ring pale',²²⁹ which kept the Leghs' deer from escaping.²³⁰ Sir Peter Legh (d. 1589)²³¹ in 1566 had licence to impark and enclose his lands in Handley called Lyme Park and to have free warren there, with no-one else to hunt without permission, although since in 1466 there was already a pale around it is unclear exactly what was happening on the ground at the later date.²³² The park was extended at this period, for a case of 1579 referred to

²²⁶ Below, pp. 305-6.

²²⁷ Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 66.

²²⁸ Even up to the present day: cf. ch. IV.9, below.

²²⁹ Collection of Lancs. and Ches. Wills 1301-1752, ed. Irvine, 38.

²³⁰ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 307.

²³¹ Above, figure 3.2 (p. 45).

²³² Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1563-1566 (London, 1960), 472.

parcels of waste land in Pott Shrigley enclosed within it.²³³ Sir Peter Legh (d. 1636) is said to have surrounded the park with a wall²³⁴ - presumably to replace the earlier pale - and to have made other additions.²³⁵ However, when Richard Legh (1634-87)²³⁶ succeeded to the estates a large extent of the park wall had to be rebuilt at some expense to keep the deer in. A letter of 1651 referred to these 'herculean labours so costly', commenting that for all the expense the land within was no better, but that deer themselves were valuable, necessitating Legh's 'costly designs' - emphasising that Legh's resources were being directed towards this non-revenue-deriving use of the land.²³⁷

As well as its famous park Lyme boasted formal gardens, documented in the letters of Richard Legh despite the constraints imposed by the inhospitable environment - his gardener remarked that Legh could not 'have things so early as his neighbours'.²³⁸ In the 1720s the hall was described with its gardens, walks, backsides, bowling green, ponds and pools, and the park as a large parcel of land enclosed by a stone wall and pales, stocked with deer, with various enclosures, closes, meadows and parcels of land within it.²³⁹ A painting of c. 1690 shows the house and its walled gardens with its partially wooded surroundings roamed by deer; several buildings are

²³³ P.R.O., E 134/21 & 22 Eliz/Mich 6.

²³⁴ Beamont, History of the House of Lyme, 115.

²³⁵ Newton, House of Lyme, 65.

²³⁶ Above, figure 3.2 (p. 45).

²³⁷ Newton, House of Lyme, 195.

²³⁸ Newton, House of Lyme, 315-16 (the source of the quotation), 375, 390; Lyme Park, 26-8; Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 16, 23-4, 31, 34, 43-5, 71-4, 83-5, 88, 100, 102, 183, 214.

²³⁹ P.R.O., E 174/1/4 no. 29.

also depicted.²⁴⁰ These park buildings included the Cage, the square tower standing on a slope north of the hall, which apparently dates originally from the 16th century but with its surviving fabric of the early 18th century. It was a 'standing' for watching hunts.²⁴¹ It also forms a striking landmark, and other buildings within the park relate to its aesthetic purposes, including the 'lantern', a belvedere east of the house (again dating from the late 16th and early 18th centuries).²⁴²

The choice of Lyme as the family's chief seat from the 16th century may have owed something to the family's fondness for hunting, which is also reflected in the contents of the house. A rather hyperbolic description of Lyme of 1621 referred to the 'stately seat and situation', large park and many red and fallow deer, 'with all other fitness for lordly delights'. Tales about game and gamekeepers, for example the legendary longevity and skill of one 18th-century keeper, presumably reflect the Leghs' predilection. Lyme red deer enjoyed some fame, and were used to stock other deer parks. Lyme also boasted a celebrated custom of driving the deer at midsummer. Peculiar to this park and a few others was the herd of wild cattle, of unknown origin, although they were said to have been kept from 'time immemorial'.²⁴³ Their function was presumably primarily decorative, a distinctive feature of the park. In 1848, the park contained wild cattle, deer and sheep, but the cattle had died out by 1888. Both red and fallow deer survive and are maintained by the National Trust. They were no longer

²⁴⁰ Lyme Park, front cover.

²⁴¹ D.o.E. List (1983), 35; Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 125.

²⁴² Lyme Park, 29; D.o.E. List (1983), 34.

²⁴³ Earwaker found no reference before the 18th century.

hunted by the beginning of the 20th century and in modern times have constituted an aesthetic feature of the park.²⁴⁴

A vivid description of hunting at Lyme during a visit by the earl of Essex dated from the 16th century.²⁴⁵ James II when Duke of York visited Lyme in the 1670s and hunted there.²⁴⁶ A case in the 1690s relating to tithe deer from Lyme Park showed its sporting use. At one time the Lyme and the Adlington Leghs had hunted in one another's parks. There were various gamekeepers at Lyme whose duties included fetching, driving and foddering deer and attending at 'public and other huntings', for 'recreation'. The occasion on which the Adlington Leghs hunted the tithe deer was allegedly a 'great day of hunting in Lyme Park'. Gifts of venison²⁴⁷ were made to other gentlemen's houses.²⁴⁸ A description by the diarist Henry Prescott in 1708 makes clear the function of the park for leisure and for the entertainment of visitors, on that occasion around 40 of them, and Prescott vividly

²⁴⁴ Lyme Park, 13; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 308-9; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 546 (from which the first quotations are taken), 679 (from which the latter quotation comes), and his preface, p. xxxi; D. and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia, 729-30; Newton, Lyme Letters, 115-17, 204; report of excursion to Lyme Hall, T.L.C.A.S. v. 318-19; P.R.O., IR 18/51; information from the National Trust.

²⁴⁵ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 307.

²⁴⁶ Lyme Park, 32.

²⁴⁷ Cf. also Newton, Lyme Letters, 117; Beamont, History of the House of Lyme, 92-3; The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall, ed. J. Harland, i (Chetham Society [old series] xxxv, 1856), 10, 19, 49; ii, (ibid. xliii, 1857), 776. Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 50.

²⁴⁸ P.R.O., E 134/1 & 2 Wm & Mary/Hil 9, E 134/2 Wm & Mary/Trin 17.

conveyed the excitement of a hunt.²⁴⁹ The foregoing descriptions express some of the functions of parks and hunting, for leisure and exercise, as sources of meat, and as expressions of prestige.

The use of the park was, then, restricted to the family and its guests, although these exclusive rights were sometimes infringed. Letters of 1681 referred to the 'unkind usage' Richard Legh suffered in poaching of deer from the park, either by his neighbours - among them one of the Leghs of Adlington, apparently - or their retainers; and his attempts to stop it.²⁵⁰ Lady Newton remarked that the size of the park and number of deer made it difficult to police.²⁵¹ A letter of 1748 complained of 'rascals' who infested the game in Handley and the Sponds, grudging no expense to find the 'den of thieves' responsible. It was ordered in 1763 that stiles be pulled up, and that it should be made known in the neighbourhood that neither pedestrians nor horses would be allowed through the park, with all gates to be shut and watched.²⁵² Other references were made to limitations on access to the park²⁵³ - a striking contrast to heavy 20th-century use by the public at large.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ 'A Visit to Lyme Hall', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xxxiv. 95-6. Cf. The Diary of Henry Prescott, i, ed. J. Addy (R.S.L.C. cxxvii, 1987), 9, 54-5, 74.

²⁵⁰ Cf. the renewed interest of landowners generally in the preservation of game from the later 17th century: Agrarian History, v: 1640-1750, i, ed. Thirsk, 366-70.

²⁵¹ Lyme Letters, 101, 103. Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 32, on poaching as a means of showing disrespect for rival members of the gentry, since parks were landscapes symbolising power and prestige.

²⁵² Quoted in Simm, Peter Legh the Younger, 73.

²⁵³ Below, pp. 282-3. Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 53, on how parks insulated landowners from the farming landscape and

The Legh family made additions to the park in the late 19th century, including the stables and orangery in the 1860s and, c. 1870, a meat safe, for hanging game, and the new kennels. In the early 20th century there was a new drive, and workshops and cottages to the north-west of the hall. These reflect the continuing interest of the family in the park at this period, and the fact that their wealth could still then sustain their tastes in such matters. However, the second Lord Newton (d. 1942)²⁵⁵ does not appear to have shared his forebears' enthusiasm for hunting, although shooting parties were held (including rabbits, pheasants and ducks, but no grouse).²⁵⁶ Poaching was still a problem, and gamekeepers were employed.²⁵⁷ Parts of other estates in this area were also sources of game: rights on the nearby Courtown estate were leased in the later 19th century,²⁵⁸ and the eastern moors in Pott Shrigley, part of the Lowther estate, had their game and keeper too.²⁵⁹

local community who worked it; and *ibid.* 88, 90, 94, on the desire for privacy (in the 19th century).

²⁵⁴ Below, pp. 369-70.

²⁵⁵ Above, figure 3.2 (p. 45).

²⁵⁶ *Lyme Park*, 29, 35-6; *Cricketer Preferred*, ed. Laurie, 24-5; N. Pevsner and E. Hubbard, *Ches.* (Harmondsworth, 1971), 263; D.o.E. List (1983), 30-2, 36.

²⁵⁷ Sandeman, *Treasure on Earth*, 39; *Cricketer Preferred*, ed. Laurie, 24. Cf. Taigel and Williamson, *Parks and Gardens*, 108.

²⁵⁸ E.g. T.C.D.L., Courtown P 17/2/13, 23, 33, 43 (1869-99); Northants. R.O., FS 48/2: particulars of Courtown estate 1868, and cf. FS 48/5: 1860s notices against poaching.

²⁵⁹ E.g. Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 17-18; *ibid.* NVB XXIX.6 (1910). They do not appear to have been kept for game at tithe commutation some 60 years before: *ibid.* EDT 328/1-2. Cf. Mills, *Lord and Peasant*, 29, and E. H. Whetham, *Agrarian History*, viii: 1914-39 (Cambridge, 1978), 52-3, on sporting use of such estates from the late 19th century. Cf. above, p. 60, for the Stanleys.

SHRIGLEY PARK

Shrigley's undulating parkland was described as small and its grounds well-timbered in the 19th century.²⁶⁰ Like Lyme, Shrigley had been within the forest, but unlike Lyme the park did not have continuity with medieval usage. The earliest explicit reference to the demesne in 1545 does not specify how it was employed.²⁶¹ Maps of 1577 and 1777 mark Shrigley, but do not indicate parkland.²⁶² A supposed 17th-century picture of the hall shows an enclosed lawn around the house surrounded by a low curved wall, with trees around and small flower borders.²⁶³ When the diarist Henry Prescott passed by Shrigley in 1704 he remarked that it was adorned with 'gardens, water &c.'²⁶⁴ There were deer there in the 18th century.²⁶⁵ But the parkland itself was laid out by Edward Downes in the late 18th century, the work of a minor member of the gentry emulating the fashion of the day, on a relatively modest scale.²⁶⁶ In 1794 'waste lands roads and highways' were to be included within the boundary fence 'now staked and set out of the closes and lands which ... Edward Downes intends to lay together and convert into ... a park'.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁰ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 773.

²⁶¹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 209; cf. ibid. i. 298 (1602), ii. 467 (1692).

²⁶² Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 14.

²⁶³ Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 29.

²⁶⁴ Diary of Henry Prescott, i, ed. Addy, 8.

²⁶⁵ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 202, 322; and cf. Diary of Henry Prescott, i, ed. Addy, 8.

²⁶⁶ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 567. Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 39, and chs. 3-4, on the changing character of parks from the 17th century.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 20, 75, on landscapes replaced by parks.

Roads were re-routed to create perimeter roads round the park and a new drive to the hall.²⁶⁸ Downes also erected a folly. By 1819 the estate included Shrigley Hall with its gardens, park and plantations.²⁶⁹ A landscape park rather than a hunting park (as its limited size shows),²⁷⁰ deer were presumably kept for aesthetic purposes (although by 1880 there were none).²⁷¹ It was older status landscapes like Lyme which gentlemen creating parks in the 18th century sought to imitate in this way.²⁷² In 1910 the hall and gardens extended over 13 acres, and the park with its scattered trees almost 200 acres, stretching to the west towards Normans Hall and as far as the village to the south and Birchencliff to the north.²⁷³ Twentieth-century changes in the use of the hall have altered its surroundings. The Salesians' additions included various buildings and playing fields.²⁷⁴ Since use as a hotel, the gardens are no more, as a car park and new accommodation have been added to the rear of the hall and a golf course created in the park in the 1980s.²⁷⁵ Therefore Shrigley Park, unlike Lyme, does not survive in anything like its

²⁶⁸ Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 74-5, on changes to rights of way, often involving the 'polite fiction' that the change was for the general public good - as this example does. These were sometimes for aesthetic reasons, but might relate to attempts to control access.

²⁶⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 444, 456, 462; Ches. R.O., DDS 1/17(4), DDS 31/5; Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 48.

²⁷⁰ Lyme had over seven times the size of Shrigley's parkland: Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 83.

²⁷¹ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 322.

²⁷² Lyme Park, 28; cf. Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 128.

²⁷³ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, p. 18, NVB XXIX.9.

²⁷⁴ TS. history of Shrigley 1929-43; sale catalogue for Shrigley (early 1980s): both in Shrigley box file at Salesian Provincial Office, Stockport; information from the Salesian Community, Stockport. Below, p. 310.

earlier form, although still devoted to leisure - albeit now in commercial form.²⁷⁶

SMALLER GARDENS

There are more modest 'designed landscapes' within these townships too, examples at Pott Hall²⁷⁷ and Ingersley Hall²⁷⁸ reflecting the social status or aspirations of their owners, who were locally prominent families,²⁷⁹ perhaps imitating such landscapes as Lyme and Shrigley on a much smaller scale. Of especial note is the unique narrative garden at Hough-hole, west of Rainow village. Based mainly on John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, various elements - such as water features, inscribed stones, and garden buildings - follow its story, culminating in a chapel representing the Celestial City. It was created in the mid- to late 19th century by James Mellor junior who, formerly a Methodist, developed an interest in Swedenborg and his exposition of the correspondence between the natural and spiritual worlds, presented in the garden using this allegory. Although the garden was the product of Mellor's ingenuity, in Laurie's terminology it uses the 'borrowed landscape' of its Pennine setting, for example where the Hill Difficulty is represented by the natural relief: it employs natural elements rather than

²⁷⁵ White, Pott Shrigley, a village school, 46.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 142-4, on the 20th-century fate of parks.

²⁷⁷ Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 121; Ches. R.O., sale catalogue for Pott Hall (n.d., [post-1979]); ibid. EDT 328/1, p. 8.

²⁷⁸ Information from Brother Michael Winstanley of Savio House; fieldwork, Oct. 1998.

²⁷⁹ Above, pp. 66, 73.

constituting an entirely human imposition upon the existing landscape.²⁸⁰

LAND USE AND COMMUNITY

How did patterns of land use relate to the character of communities here? Since farming was the main economic activity here over this long period, agrarian aspects of community life were of central importance. 'In rural society it was the unit of agrarian organisation (the settlement with its own field system or common grazings) which bound country people into a living and working community', argued Angus Winchester: it was more often units like the township, rather than the parish, which 'expressed in administrative terms the ancient economic units out of which medieval and early modern society was built'.²⁸¹ How do these four townships fit this characterisation?

The role of the community in agrarian life was most obvious where a set of open fields defined a distinct agricultural unit, for co-operation in the management of this communal resource was essential to the functioning of the means by which the inhabitants got their livings:²⁸² especially where a manor's territory coincided with such an agrarian system and its court embodied one local community, a forum for conducting its business and controlling the actions of its members.²⁸³ The manor of

²⁸⁰ Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 120-1, 124-5; R. C. Turner, 'Mellor's Gardens', Garden History, xv(2); A Memoir of the late James Mellor (Macclesfield, 1891). Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 11, 21, on how parks and gardens use elements from the existing landscape.

²⁸¹ 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 15-16.

²⁸² Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 8-9.

²⁸³ Cf. Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 60.

Macclesfield, however, was constituted of many smaller units, which included three of these townships (for Lyme Handley was itself a manor). In addition, the model fits places where open-field arable farming was of central importance and settlement was concentrated rather than those where, as here, there are many scattered hamlets and pastoral farming was predominant.²⁸⁴ The reality of community in such an area has, however, been argued for the 20th century by Alwyn Rees' study of Welsh hill farmers.²⁸⁵

In the absence of open fields (for which no real evidence has been found in this survey), were there resources whose management reflected communal bonds? Communal activity at any level, including that of the township, called for some kind of regulation which in turn bound those communities (although at earlier periods evidence may be lacking).²⁸⁶ The survey of 1611, listing the commons pertaining to Kettlethulme, Pott Shrigley, and Rainow, suggested that pasture within the townships - unlike arable or meadow which were held in severalty - was predominantly not enclosed; and those extensive pastures were subject to communal control. Evidently townships were communities in terms of land use, each with its common agrarian resources to which other township communities had no entitlement; examples of those rights being infringed by outsiders have been referred to. Consequently, townships are also found in conflict with one another. Apparently, therefore, even

²⁸⁴ Cf. Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 5-6.

²⁸⁵ Life in a Welsh Countryside, and below, pp. 396-7. Cf. ways in which individuals' actions impinged on their neighbours in any farming system: Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 163.

²⁸⁶ Cf. Smith, Blackburnshire, 15-16; Agrarian History, iii: 1348-1500, ed. Miller, 647; Davies, Agricultural History, 10.

communities without their own manor courts had means of regulating their affairs, for a document of c. 1738 relating to enclosure of common land referred to the 'copyholders and tenants' of Kettlethulme communally assenting to the provision of access.²⁸⁷ Within each community, the rights of lords and their tenants had to be balanced. In the earlier 17th century, Sir Peter Legh of Lyme's rights suffered from the abuses of tenants' swine in the woods, and from the practice of excessive gleaning.²⁸⁸

The exclusive use to which Lyme Park was subject presents a striking contrast to the entitlement to resources by members of the communities elsewhere in this neighbourhood: not only were certain activities within it confined to invited persons of status, but even access to the park was subject to restrictions.²⁸⁹ Of course this exclusive use applies too to farmland enclosed and taken into private ownership; which, since it increased over time as unenclosed land diminished, would seem to imply that these communal aspects of agrarian life must have died out at some point, although there is no point at which a wholesale shift from communal to individual methods of husbandry occurred like that experienced by some communities at parliamentary enclosure.²⁹⁰ Even in the late 19th century vestiges of those communal practices survived: burley men, officials in Lyme Handley

²⁸⁷ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 424.

²⁸⁸ Newton, House of Lyme, 127.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 71, on status landscapes created by powerful individuals, as against the rest of the landscape, exploited for mainly agricultural purposes by local communities.

²⁹⁰ Cf. e.g. Ravensdale, Liabile to Floods, 177-8.

appointed at the manor court, still had duties such as valuing damage to crops from straying cattle.²⁹¹

CONCLUSION: LANDSCAPE AND LANDOWNERSHIP

The uses in which land was employed at different periods and in different parts of this area arose from a combination of factors. Chief among these was the character of the environment, which determined the lateness of colonisation and precluded, for instance, very extensive or profitable arable agriculture. The four townships, with the surrounding area, consequently form part of a distinctive pastoral peak landscape. Other determinants, though, have also been important and account for variations in land use within the area and for changes over time. The demographic pressures of different periods determined the extent, type and intensity of farming, which has also been affected by technological capacities and wider market conditions - factors far outside this local environment. Locally, property rights were also influential. Their position within the forest gave colonisation and the use of land within the townships a distinct context. It was the policy of the manor of Macclesfield which determined that certain areas were demesne pasture grounds, which seems to have had long-term ramifications for patterns of colonisation, land use, settlement and landownership. Even more locally, patterns of landownership and the estate policies of different landowners have meant that - within the generalisations about farming advanced above - certain contrasts emerge, particularly in the size of holdings. The presence of the two parks of Shrigley and Lyme relates to the (in some ways contrasting) histories

²⁹¹ J. B. McGovern, 'Burleyemen', Notes and Queries, 9th series iii. 421.

of those two estates and reflects the impact of landowning families and individuals on land use and the landscape. All these different processes have contributed to shaping the landscape, although the striking Pennine setting of all four townships has not been obliterated, however the land has been employed.

Table 4.1
Land use from the tithe commutation records
1848-50²⁹²

²⁹² Ches. R.O., EDT 223/1, 252/1, 328/1, 339/1.

Table 4.1 Land use in the four townships

The figures for Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley represent the townships' total approximate acreages, but those for Kettleshulme and Rainow apply only to those parts of the township still subject to tithe at commutation (almost 60 per cent of Kettleshulme and nearly 68 per cent of Rainow). How closely they conform to the patterns of land use in the remainder of Kettleshulme and Rainow cannot be judged from this source.

Percentages do not always add up to 100 precisely due to rounding of figures.

Acreage of	Kettles -hulme	%	Lyme Handley	%	Pott Shrigley	%	Rain- ow	%
Arable	60	8	245	6	50	3	150	4
Meadow	160	22	400	11	130	8	800	21
Pasture	510	69	2,915	77	1,320	77	2,770	71
Woods &c	5	1	202	5	205	12	120	3
Gardens	-	-	4	0*	-	-	-	-
Public highways &c	3	0*	24	1	15	1	60	2
Total	738	100	3,790	100	1,720	100	3,900	100

* Due to rounding

Tables 4.2 - 4.5
Occupation of land from land tax assessments²⁹³

²⁹³ Ches. R.O., QDV 2/238/1, 26, 47, QDV 2/270/1, 25, 46, QDV 2/352/1, 26, 47, QDV 2/365/2, 31, 47.

An assessment from the beginning, middle and end of each series has been taken for each place, and the sums attributed to each occupier (including those which were assessed on estates in the township, but exonerated*) amalgamated and totalled.

In the returns, for reasons which are unclear but which presumably relate to the way in which holdings were distributed within a township, the same name sometimes appears more than once, sometimes separated in the list, sometimes not. It has been assumed, unless other identifying information is given, that the persons referred to are the same, and the sums allocated to them have been added together - although such identification cannot be certain the case of common personal names. It could be the case that in some cases no such distinction was made even where two individuals were being referred to - in which case the figures given for numbers of occupiers must be an underestimate. Cf. Ginter, Measure of Wealth, 14-18, on the adoption of this strategy.

Those sums are allocated to a band (note that these are not inherently significant but arbitrary, adopted to enable the general distribution of assessments to be seen). This gives some indication of the sizes of the estates. Note that where an entry has been specified as tithe, it has been excluded from the ownership totals in the table; but since some duplicates do not specify which entry is tithe, in those cases it must have been included in the total. See pp. 68-70 above for discussion of the land tax as a source, including the relationship between sums assessed and acreage of holdings; also Davies, Agricultural History, 25, for the latter. Because of the confusion over the tenurial statuses of 'proprietors' in the land tax returns, owner-occupation has not been analysed from this source. Owing to these problems, this is probably a better source for occupation of land than for ownership.

The figures for acreage, referring to the townships' acreages in 1891, are from Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes' and have been used because the land tax returns give no acreages. The average holding size is the mean, obtained by dividing the township acreage by the number of holdings, for the purpose of comparing the number of occupiers in each township with their respective acreages, i.e. how dispersed landholding was among occupiers.

See pp. 144-5 above for comments on the tables.

Percentages in the tables do not always add up to 100 precisely due to rounding of figures.

*In some land tax returns 'exonerations' are noted, but these still represent property within the township: Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 187, 189. Ginter, Measure of Wealth, 29, argues that in some cases such figures are excluded from the assessments. We have no way of telling if this might be the case in some assessments here.

Table 4.2 Kettleshulme 1784-1831

Acreage 1,232

Range	Occupiers in 1784	%	Occupiers in 1810	%	Occupiers in 1831	%
< 10s.	21	48	43	64	35	58
10s. < £1	15	34	16	24	15	25
£1 < £2	5	11	5	7	8	13
£2 < £3	1	2	2	3	2	3
£3 < £4	2	5	1	1	0	0
£4 < £5	0	0	0	0	0	0
£5 < £10	0	0	0	0	0	0
£10 < £20	0	0	0	0	0	0
> £20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	44	100	67	100	60	100

	1784	1810	1831
Average holding (acres)	28	18	21

Table 4.3 Lyme Handley 1784-1831

Acreage 3,747

Range	Occupiers in 1784	% Occupiers in 1810	% Occupiers in 1831	Occupiers in 1831	%
< 10s.	1	4	0	2	8
10s. < £1	7	29	5	5	20
£1 < £2	10	42	16	15	60
£2 < £3	5	21	3	2	8
£3 < £4	0	0	0	0	0
£4 < £5	0	0	0	0	0
£5 < £10	0	0	0	0	0
£10 < £20	1	4	1	0	0
> £20	0	0	0	1	4
Total	24	100	25	25	100

	1784	1810	1831
Average holding (acres)	156	150	150

Table 4.4 Pott Shrigley 1784-1831

Acreage 1,706

Range	Occupiers in 1784	% Occupiers in 1810	Occupiers in 1810	% Occupiers in 1831	Occupiers in 1831	%
< 10s.	16	50	9	45	5	42
10s. < £1	3	9	4	20	5	42
£1 < £2	6	19	2	10	1	8
£2 < £3	2	6	1	5	0	0
£3 < £4	4	13	2	10	0	0
£4 < £5	1	3	0	0	0	0
£5 < £10	0	0	1	5	0	0
£10 < £20	0	0	1	5	0	0
> £20	0	0	0	0	1	8
Total²⁹⁴	32	100	20	100	12	100

	1784	1810	1831
Average holding (acres)	53	85	142

²⁹⁴ Total for 1784 does not include tithe.

Table 4.5 Rainow 1785-1831

Acreage 5,744

Range	Occupiers in 1785	% Occupiers in 1785	Occupiers in 1815	% Occupiers in 1815	Occupiers in 1831	% Occupiers in 1831
< 10s.	34	34	42	36	36	32
10s. < £1	32	32	44	38	45	40
£1 < £2	21	21	20	17	23	20
£2 < £3	11	11	10	9	9	8
£3 < £4	2	2	1	1	0	0
£4 < £5	1	1	0	0	0	0
£5 < £10	0	0	0	0	0	0
£10 < £20	0	0	0	0	0	0
> £20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total ²⁹⁵	101	100	117	100	113	100

	1785	1815	1831
Average holding (acres)	57	49	51

²⁹⁵ Total for 1831 does not include tithe.

Tables 4.6 - 4.10
Occupation of land from the tithe commutation records
1848-50²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ Ches. R.O., EDT 223/1, 252/1, 328/1, 339/1. The totals given by the tithe apportionments were extracted and the acreages held by the property-holders assigned to arbitrary size categories. In the cases of Kettleshulme and Rainow, entries were amalgamated from more than one schedule, since some individuals held both titheable land, and land not subject to tithe at apportionment. Patterns of occupation are often quite complex since, for example, owners of land might let land to tenants but also let out land from others (cf. also the part owner-occupiers noted in the tables). Cf. Davies on the land tax: Agricultural History, 24. Percentages in the tables sometimes do not add up to precisely 100, due to rounding of figures.

Table 4.6 KettleshulmeAcreage²⁹⁷

(1) 1,232

(2) -

Acreage range	Occupiers²⁹⁸	Percentage	Including owner-occupiers (and part owner-occupiers)
<1	8	14	3 (0)
1<5	6	10	2 (1)
5<10	8	14	2 (0)
10<20	16	27	2 (1)
20<50	16	27	5 (1)
50<75	3	5	0 (0)
75<100	1	2	1 (0)
100<150	1	2	0 (0)
150<200	0	0	0 (0)
200+	0	0	0 (0)
Total	59	100	15 (3)

Average holding²⁹⁹ 21 acres

²⁹⁷ (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. Latter is not given for Kettleshulme, since a detailed schedule exists only for those lands which were still subject to tithe at the date of commutation.

²⁹⁸ Total number of occupiers, including those in whose lands tithe is extinguished. Some are institutional; others comprise more than one individual; not including public roads.

²⁹⁹ 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of occupiers: i.e. average number of acres per occupier.

Table 4.7 Lyme HandleyAcreage³⁰⁰

(1) 3,747

(2) 3,781 a. 2 r. 31 p.

Acreage range	Occupiers³⁰¹	Percentage
<1	0	0
1<5	2	6
5<10	1	3
10<20	4	13
20<50	8	26
50<75	5	16
75<100	2	6
100<150	6	19
150<200	1	3
200+	2	6
Total	31	100

Average holding³⁰² 121 acres

³⁰⁰ (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. The reason for the difference between (1) and (2) is not clear.

³⁰¹ Total number of occupiers, including those in whose lands tithe is extinguished. Some are institutional; others comprise more than one individual; not including public roads.

³⁰² 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of occupiers: i.e. average number of acres per occupier.

Table 4.8 Pott ShrigleyAcreage³⁰³

(1) 1,706

(2) 1,719 a. 2 r. 22 p.

Acreage range	Occupiers³⁰⁴	Percentage	Including owner-occupiers (and part owner-occupiers)
<1	32	51	1 (0)
1<5	6	10	0 (0)
5<10	2	3	1 (0)
10<20	2	3	0 (0)
20<50	8	13	2 (0)
50<75	6	10	0 (0)
75<100	2	3	0 (0)
100<150	3	5	0 (1)
150<200	1	2	0 (0)
200+	1	2	0 (0)
Total	63	100	4 (1)

Average holding³⁰⁵ 27 acres

³⁰³ (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. The reason for the difference between (1) and (2) is not clear.

³⁰⁴ Total number of occupiers, including those in whose lands tithe is extinguished. Some are institutional; others comprise more than one individual; not including public roads.

³⁰⁵ 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of occupiers: i.e. average number of acres per occupier.

Table 4.9 RainowAcreage³⁰⁶

(1) 5,744

(2) -

Acreage range	Occupiers³⁰⁷	Percentage	Including owner-occupiers (and part owner-occupiers)
<1	7	5	0 (0)
1<5	5	4	1 (0)
5<10	10	7	3 (1)
10<20	25	18	3 (1)
20<50	46	34	9 (4)
50<75	22	16	1 (2)
75<100	8	6	0 (1)
100<150	10	7	0 (1)
150<200	2	1	0 (0)
200+	1	1	0 (0)
Total	136	100	17 (10)

Average holding³⁰⁸ 42 acres

³⁰⁶ (1) 1891 figure: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'; (2) Figure given by tithe return. Latter is not given for Rainow, since a detailed schedule exists only for those lands which were still subject to tithe at the date of commutation.

³⁰⁷ Total number of occupiers, including those in whose lands tithe is extinguished. Some are institutional; others comprise more than one individual; not including public roads.

³⁰⁸ 1891 acreage (this figure used for comparability, because available for all townships) divided by total number of occupiers: i.e. average number of acres per occupier.

Table 4.10 Holdings on the Courtown and Derby estates in Rainow

The Earl of Courtown held 1,496 a. 1 r. 8 p. The Earl of Derby had 954 a. 3 r. 15 p.

Acreage range	Occupiers under Courtown	% of Courtown total	Occupiers under Derby	% of Derby total	% of occupiers within acreage range in township overall*
<1	0	0	0	0	5
1<5	0	0	0	0	4
5<10	0	0	1	7	7
10<20	0	0	2	14	18
20<50	5	28	4	29	34
50<75	5	28	2	14	16
75<100	3	17	1	7	6
100<150	4	22	3	21	7
150<200	0	0	1	7	1
200+	1	6	0	0	1
Total	18	100	14	100	100

* cf. table 4.9 above.

A small minority of people held land under other owners as well as under these two largest estates, but these holdings have not been taken account of here.

Derby total includes life-leaseholders under the Earl.

	Under Courtown	Under Derby	Township overall
Average holding (acres)	83	68	42

Tables 4.11 - 4.12
Occupation of land from the land tax valuation records
1910³⁰⁹

³⁰⁹ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 1-21, NVA 4/19, pp. 1-[34]. Only those holdings for which an acreage was given are analysed here: the registers detail other property, for example cottages and houses, without land attached, and therefore this analysis does not represent the full extent of property-holding of all kinds in the townships. Most, but not all, of the holdings with acreages were farms; other types (particularly smaller holdings) include public utilities, woods, collieries, etc. As with other township-based sources on property occupation, holdings in a township may represent smaller portions of estates elsewhere. Analysis was conducted by extracting the totals given by the registers, in some cases amalgamating the acreages held by individuals of the same name (i.e. it was assumed that they were the same person), and assigning the totals to arbitrary size categories. Percentages in the tables do not always add up to 100 precisely due to rounding of figures.

Table 4.11 Holdings of land in the four townships, 1910

Acreage range	Kettles-hulme	%	Lyme Handley	%	Pott Shrigley	%	Rainow	%
<1	5	9	2	6	0	0	1	1
1<5	7	12	1	3	5	20	10	8
5<10	11	19	2	6	3	12	16	12
10<20	12	21	6	18	1	4	21	16
20<50	18	31	9	26	7	28	44	34
50<75	2	3	4	12	4	16	18	14
75<100	2	3	4	12	0	0	5	4
100<150	1	2	3	9	2	8	10	8
150<200	0	0	0	0	2	8	4	3
200+	0	0	3	9	1	4	1	1
Total	58	100	34	100	25	100	130	100
Township acreage ³¹⁰	1,232		3,747		1,706		5,744	
Average holding (acres)	21		110		68		44	

³¹⁰ 1891 figures: Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'.

Table 4.12 Holdings of land under the Earls of Courtown and Derby in Rainow, 1910

Acreage range	Courtown	%	Derby	%	Township overall*	%
<1	0	0	0	0	1	1
1<5	0	0	1	9	10	8
5<10	0	0	0	0	16	12
10<20	0	0	1	9	21	16
20<50	2	15	4	36	44	34
50<75	2	15	1	9	18	14
75<100	3	23	0	0	5	4
100<150	4	31	2	18	10	8
150<200	1	8	2	18	4	3
200+	1	8	0	0	1	1
Total	13	100	11	100	130	100

* cf. table 4.11 above.

A minority of people holding land under these large estates also held land from other owners in Rainow, but that is not taken account of here: only the units in which the two Earls let the land on their estates are analysed.

Tables 4.13 - 4.14
Occupation of land from MAF statistics 1931, 1971³¹¹

³¹¹ P.R.O., MAF 68/3557, 5214. The returns for different years do not analyse exactly the same information in the same way each time: size categories etc. change over time. Percentages in the tables do not always add up to 100 precisely due to rounding of figures.

Table 4.13 1931³¹²

Acreage range ³¹³	Kettleshulme %	Lyme Handley %	Pott Shrigley %	Rainow %
1-5	4	0	3	4
5-20	25	3	2	30
20-50	16	10	9	47
50-100	3	9	5	22
100-150	1	2	3	10
150-300	0	1	1	1
300+	0	0	0	0
Other ³¹⁴	0	2	1	0
Total	49	27	24	114

	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
Average holding (acres) ³¹⁵	25	139	71	50

³¹² This return does not deal with ownership of the holdings.

³¹³ Sizes are exclusive of rough grazings.

³¹⁴ Holdings consisting only of rough grazing.

³¹⁵ Acreage of township (from Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes') divided by the total number of holdings, giving the mean size.

Table 4.14 1971

Acres	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
Land rented	596.0	1,635.0	594.5	2,515.75
Land owned	805.5	1,477.5	842.5	2,501.50

Acreage range ³¹⁶	Kettleshulme %	Lyme Handley %	Pott Shrigley %	Rainow %
1/4<5	2	0	1	3
5<15	5	4	3	7
15<20	3	1	1	9
20<30	9	1	5	12
30<50	8	5	1	16
50<100	3	4	1	15
100<150	0	2	6	16
150<300	1	1	0	21
300+	0	1	0	9
Other ³¹⁷	1	3	2	6
Total	32	22	20	77

Average holding (acres) ³¹⁸	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
	39	170	85	75

³¹⁶ Farms which cross administrative boundaries were usually included under the parish containing the larger acreage.
³¹⁷ No crops or grass.
³¹⁸ Acreage of township (from Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes') divided by the total number of holdings, giving the mean size.

Tables 4.15 - 4.17
Land use from MAF statistics 1891, 1931, 1971³¹⁹

³¹⁹ P.R.O., MAF 68/1316, 3557, 5214. The dates were chosen to avoid wars, depressions and other such anomalous phenomena, in an attempt to show general trends. Different returns contain slightly different information and categorise it in different ways, not always directly comparable. The original returns included some further sub-categories not relevant here.

Table 4.15 1891

	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
<u>Acres under</u>				
Crops, grass, bare fallow:				
rented	1086.75	1,790.00	743.50	5,077.25
owner-occupied	57.75	1,572.00	476.25	262.00
Corn crops	-	-	-	wheat 1
	-	-	-	barley/bere 0.5
	oats 0.75	oats 42	oats 13.25	oats 31.25
	-	-	rye (corn) 2	-
	-	-	-	beans 0.5
Green crops	potatoes 2.75	potatoes 9.25	potatoes 4.25	potatoes 13
(i.e. root veg. etc., but	-	turnip/swede 15	turnip/swede 2	turnip/swede 5.5
not temporary grasses)	-	-	cabbage 0.5	cabbage 2.75
	-	mangold 1	-	mangold 1
	-	-	vetch/tares 0.25	vetch/tares 0.75
Flax	-	-	-	-
Hops	-	-	-	-
Bare fallow/ uncropped ploughed land	-	-	-	-
Grass for mowing this year:				
grasses under rotation	-	24.00	8.00	9.50
permanent	380.75	428.25	276.50	1,421.25
Grass for pasture/grazing:				
grasses under rotation	-	-	-	1.00
permanent	760.25	2,842.25	913.00	3,850.25
Small fruit	-	0.25	-	1.00
Orchards	-	-	-	1.00
Market gardens	-	-	-	-
Nursery gardens	-	-	-	-

	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
Mountain or heath land: ³²⁰				
rented	66	-	-	82
owned	-	-	-	-
Woods:				
rented	1	-	7.50	-
owned	18	315.25	145.00	74.25
Plantations: ³²¹				
rented	-	-	-	-
owned	-	-	3	-
<u>Livestock, 4 Jun. 1891</u>				
Horses	33	71	62	140
Cattle	482	625	446	1,870
of which in milk or calf	237	224	147	975
Sheep	217	1,571	426	1,725
Pigs	92	87	75	420

³²⁰ For feeding stock; unenclosed.

³²¹ Planted during the previous ten years.

Table 4.16 1931

	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
Acres under crops and grass				
TOTAL	1,092.5	1,495	1,251.75	4,728.25
viz.				
Wheat and other crops	oats 0.5 mixed corn 0.25 potatoes 1	oats 15.5 potatoes 4 turnip/swede 3.25	oats 8.5 mixed corn 5.5 potatoes 9.75 turnip/swede 3.25	oats 17.25 potatoes 8.5 turnip/swede 7 mangolds 5.5 cabbage etc. 1.5
Root vegetables etc.	-	-	-	-
Orchards etc.	-	cabbage etc. 0.75	cabbage etc. 1	-
Other crops	2.25	0.25	1.00	-
Bare fallow	1.00	-	0.75	-
Clover, sainfoin, temporary grasses:		4.00	-	-
for mowing	-			
for grazing, not for mowing	3.00	18.00	11.50	8.75
Permanent grass:				
for mowing	354.00	600.50	280.50	1,368.00
for pasture or grazing	730.50	849.00	930.00	3,311.75
Rough grazings	82.00	1,921.50	232.00	762.50
Common rough grazings	-	-	-	-
Acreeage of small fruit	-	-	total 0.5	-

Livestock, 4 Jun. 1931

	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
Horses	38	51	35	146
Cattle	433	551	341	1,766
Sheep	224	1,381	347	1,910
Pigs	67	111	48	276
Poultry:				
fowls over/under 6 months	2,138/1,490	1,715/2,153	1,668/1,711	7,816/7,396
ducks over/under 6 months	43/30	53/61	32/35	103/100
geese, all ages	38	61	43	131
turkeys, all ages	1	10	-	3

Table 4.17 1971

<u>Acres under crops and grass</u>	<u>Kettleshulme</u>	<u>Lyme Handley</u>	<u>Pott Shrigley</u>	<u>Rainow</u>
TOTAL	1,021.25	1,448.0	937.25	4,148.25
viz.				
Barley	-	57.0	-	-
Potatoes maincrop	0.25	-	-	5.00
Total horticulture	1.25	-	-	-
Turnips etc. for stockfeeding	-	-	-	8.50
Rape for ditto	-	-	-	12.00
Cabbage etc. for ditto	-	-	-	1.00
Kale	5.00	-	-	-
Bare Fallow	15.50	7.0	-	-
Temporary grasses	18.00	509.5	105.00	236.00
inc. for mowing	10.00	149.5	35.00	8.00
Permanent grasses	981.25	874.5	832.25	3,885.75
inc. for mowing	245.25	134.5	114.50	819.25
<u>Rough grazings</u>	343.00	1,638.5	492.50	653.50
<u>Woodland</u>	13.25	18.0	1.50	9.25
<u>Other land</u>	3.00	8.0	0.75	2.00
TOTAL AREA	1,378.25	3,112.5	1,432.00	4,813.00
<u>Total horticultural crops</u>	1.25	-	-	-

	<u>Kettleshulme</u>	<u>Lyme Handley</u>	<u>Pott Shrigley</u>	<u>Rainow</u>
<u>Livestock</u>				
<u>Cattle</u>	597	603	442	2,154
Pigs	109	24	17	258
Sheep	1,087	4,499	1,379	4,870
Poultry	2,450	32,955	218	3,639

Generally most poultry were hens/pullets/etc., with small numbers of others, but 32,000 of those in Lyme Handley were broilers.

Analysis by types of farming

Specialist dairy	4	2	4	10
Mainly dairy	1	1	1	3
Livestock rearing & fattening:				
Mostly cattle	0	1	0	2
Mostly sheep	0	-	1	1
Cattle & sheep	1	3	0	6
Predominantly poultry	-	1	-	-
Pigs & poultry	-	-	-	1
Mixed	-	-	-	1
Part-time	26	14	14	53

Cropping: most cereals or cropping; predominantly fruit, veg.; general horticulture: none for any township.

3. Mineral extraction

Coal, some fireclay, and sandstone are found in this area.¹ Although some parts were without usable deposits,² elsewhere they were abundant.³ Evidence of mining and quarrying, particularly away from the larger estates, is sometimes sparse, perhaps documented only by physical remains. But mineral extraction, although often small-scale, has been significant in the economies and landscapes of these townships:⁴ in this poor farming region minerals have been an important subsidiary resource.

MINING

Cheshire has not been a coal-producing county of great importance. However, coal has been mined at various locations in this part of an east Cheshire coalfield, which itself extends from south Lancashire. In Macclesfield Forest mining was an important industry in the early 14th century.⁵ This Lancashire and Cheshire coalfield was among the more important coal-producing regions from the 16th century.⁶ Small collieries in east

¹ V.C.H. Ches. i. 5-7; W. B. Evans et al., Geology of the Country around Macclesfield ... (London, 1968), 264; Geological Survey of Great Britain, 1/50,000 and 1":1 mile, sheets 98-9, 110-11 (drift and solid, various edns.). See figure 4.1.

² E.g. parts of Saltersford: Northants. R.O., FS 48/5, 22.

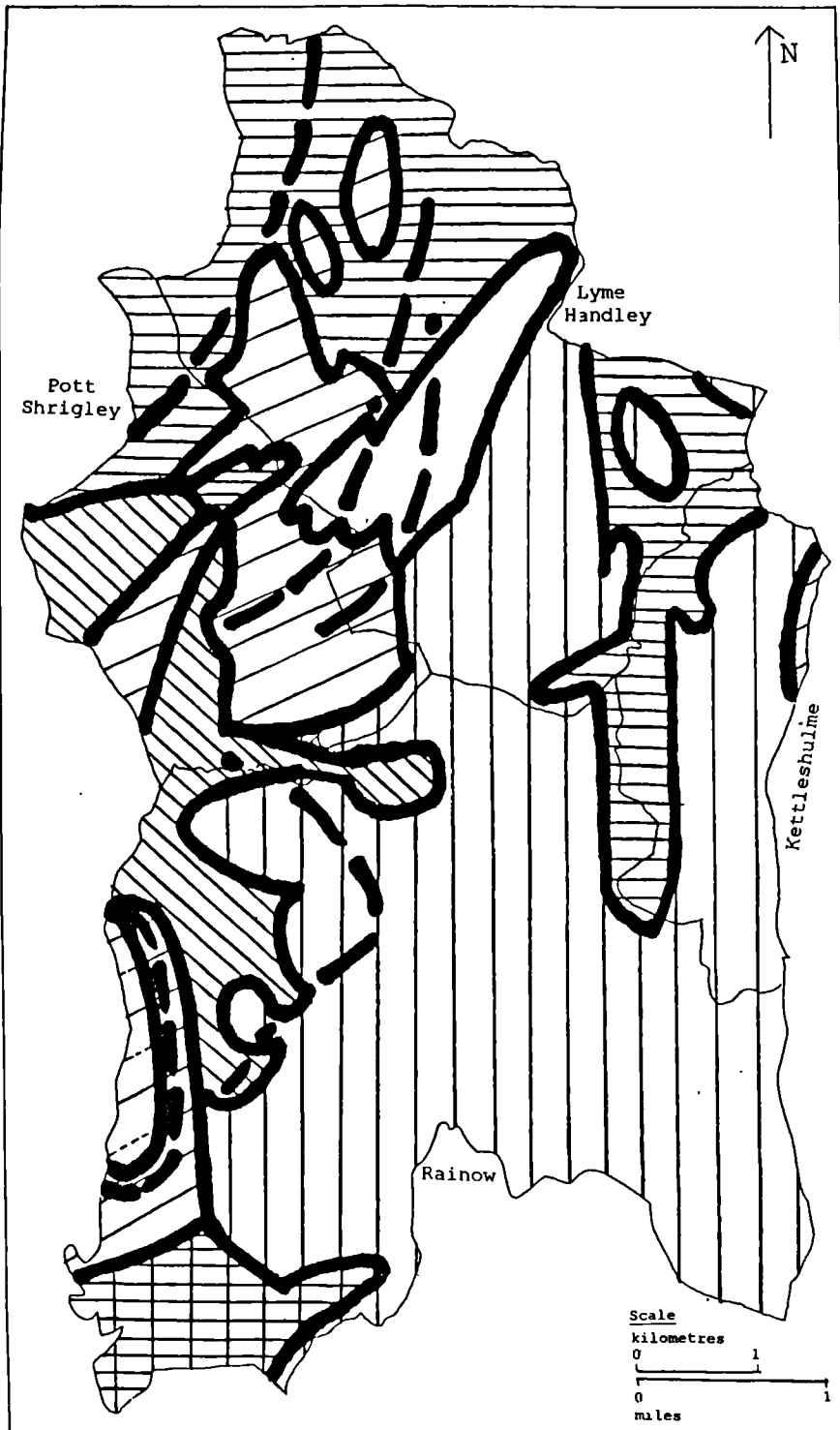
³ E.g. S. Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of England, iii (London, 1831 and 1849 edns.), on Pott Shrigley.

⁴ E.g. Evans et al., Geology of the Country around Macclesfield, 264.










⁵ Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, p. xlii; V.C.H. Ches. i. 5, 7.

⁶ J. U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, i (London, 1966), 12-15, 19-20, 23, 61, 76-7; Crosby, History of Ches. 67.

Figure 4.1
Simplified map of the main features of drift geology in
the four townships



Key

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
|  | township boundary |  | Peat |
|  | Millstone Grit |  | Boulder Clay |
|  | Glacial Sand and Gravel |  | Millstone Grit protruding through Boulder Clay |
|  | Lower Coal Measures within which occurs: |  | coal seam(s) |
|  | Milnrow Sandstone (Kerridge Hill) | | |

Based on: Geological Survey of Great Britain, 1/50,000 and 1":1 mile, sheets 98-9, 110-11 (drift, various edns.); O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 88/98 (1993 edn.)

Cheshire are recorded in Elizabeth I's reign.⁷ At the end of the 16th century Francis Pott was leasing mines in Pott and Rainow from the Crown.⁸ His interest in the mines of the manor and forest was again recorded in 1611. Of three pits or delves of coal in the commons, one was in Pott Shrigley, but Pott 'could get no coals because of the water'. In Rainow (apparently at Rainowlow) four men were employed. Coal was sold at the pit, and some coal went to Pott, some to his workers.⁹ In Rainow other early references, to various locations, occur from 1588-9, through the 17th and into the 18th century. Laughton argues that it was only non-agricultural resources such as coal which enabled inhabitants to prosper beyond the livings provided by the limited agricultural prospects.¹⁰ References to coal and mining amongst the Downes family's muniments occur from 1592 and sometimes refer explicitly to Pott Shrigley.¹¹ On the Legh estate in Lyme Handley - which unlike the other townships was not under the control of the manor of Macclesfield - pits, and payments to colliers, are mentioned c. 1600.¹² An account of coal got and sold from the Sponds survives from the 1690s.¹³

⁷ Crosby, History of Ches. 67; V.C.H. Ches. ii. 184. Cf. J. E. Hollinshead, 'An unexceptional commodity', T.H.S.L.C. cxlv, on the exploitation and use of coal in 16th-century south-west Lancs., limited in scale but nonetheless an important resource supplementing agricultural livings.

⁸ P.R.O., C2/Eliz/P17/47.

⁹ P.R.O., LR 2/200, ff. 344, 346; ibid. MR 354.

¹⁰ Lancs. R.O., DDK 456/7-8; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/122, CR 63/2/538; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 32, 82, 107, 131-2; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 13 Apr. 1967; Ches. R.O., probate: William Boothby (1728).

¹¹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 289, 341, 379, 385, ii. 405, 412.

¹² House of Lyme, 64.

¹³ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/113/1.

Evidence as to the consumption of coal is limited. There were other sources of fuel in the area, such as turf and wood.¹⁴ Examination of probate inventories might shed some light on these usages. However, it seems likely that the use of coal at this period was local and primarily domestic rather than industrial. The means and scale of marketing and transporting coal, if not for very local use, are obscure.

The east Cheshire coalfield, although peripheral to the extensive coalfield further north, was of local importance. It expanded rapidly after the mid-18th century from earlier small-scale or part-time exploitation. Some extraction was directly associated with the needs of textile mills within the townships.¹⁵ Coal from these townships also contributed to meeting Macclesfield's needs and fuelling her silk industry, and to supplying lime kilns at Buxton, but was ultimately insufficient in quality and quantity to meet those demands.¹⁶ The mining industry here suffered when the canal and the railway¹⁷ brought better supplies from the Staffordshire coalfield.¹⁸ Exploitation declined in the 20th century and eventually ceased altogether.

¹⁴ Cf. pp. 151-60 above.

¹⁵ E.g. E.C.T.M.S., file 141; Story of Rainow, 55-6.

¹⁶ Crosby, History of Ches. 106-7; P. D. Wilde, 'Power Supplies and the Development of the Silk Industry', North Staffs. Journal of Field Studies, xvi. 52-3; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 32, 82, 85, 134; H. Hodson, Ches. 1660-1780 (Chester, 1978), 142; G. Malmgreen, Silk Town (Hull, 1985), 21. Cf. Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 46-7, 112-15.

¹⁷ Below, p. 281.

¹⁸ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 1. Elsewhere the reverse development occurred, improvements in inland transport stimulating increased exploitation: D. Hey, Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads (Leicester, 1980), 125-6, 228.

Coal was mined at various locations in western Rainow in the 18th and 19th centuries,¹⁹ with a few operations continuing into the 20th century.²⁰ A late 18th-century 'subterraneous view' of coal-mines in Lyme Park, delineating the varying thickness and quality of the seams, perhaps indicates a growing awareness of the value of mineral rights and more systematic exploitation than at earlier periods, and may reflect the Leghs' expertise in managing extensive mining operations on their south Lancashire estates.²¹ Coal was mined in the southern and north-western parts of Lyme Handley.²² In the 19th and early 20th centuries the family leased mines to the Brocklehursts, the Hewitts, and to the Lowthers of Shrigley, the latter subletting to Hammond and Company.²³

¹⁹ E.C.T.M.S., file 148: copy deed re Bullhill estate, 1805; *ibid.* file 142: copy advertisement for Eddisbury Hall estate, 1868; J. Aikin, A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles round Manchester (London, 1795), 439; Ches. R.O., probate: Thomas Boothy (1802), John Broadhead (1816), and William Goodwin (1825); *ibid.* P 188/3116/1/2; deed forming binding of Ches. R.O., D 5075/1; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 551; P.R.O., RG 4/544; B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2, SW 81 B3; Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, iii (1849 edn.); Story of Rainow, 56-7; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1865-78.

²⁰ Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 9, 12-13; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 5 Nov. 1970. However, Kelly's Directory of Ches. from 1892 lists no mines, nor do any appear in Ches. R.O., NVA 4/19, NVB (1910).

²¹ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/210/212; cf. Simm, Peter Legh the Younger, 46, 61-3, 65, and G.M.C.R.O., Catalogue E 17 Legh of Lyme Hall, including E 17/92-107, 113-16, for the more substantial Lancs. mines.

²² B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2; Ches. R.O., EDT 252/1, pp. 1, 3-6, 14; *ibid.* EDT 252/2.

²³ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/92/5, E 17/93/11, E 17/94/6, E 17/98/1-5, E 17/98/10, E 17/182/1; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1857-96; S. Marshall, 'Bow Stones of Lyme Handley', T.L.C.A.S. lxxviii. 73-4; Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, p. 11. Below, p. 209, for Hammonds.

The Leghs therefore controlled and benefited from the exploitation of coal on this estate even if not directly engaged in it. Coal was mined in Pott Shrigley in the 18th century,²⁴ and in the late 18th and early 19th century the Downeses were leasing out their mines (sometimes identified as being at Redacre, Berristall and Bakestonedale).²⁵ There was apparently a significant number of colliers in early 19th-century Pott Shrigley.²⁶ Exploitation continued under the Downeses' successors.²⁷ At the beginning of the 20th century, there were several coal-mines in the township.²⁸ However, by 1949 Bakestonedale was Cheshire's only remaining coal-mine,²⁹ its survival presumably owing to specialised use of its coal, almost at the pit-head, in refractory manufacture.³⁰

Clearly by the 19th century there were many pits or mines in Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow, including some larger concerns, and there were full-time colliers. Evidence for coal-mining in Kettleshulme is lacking, although colliers were living there.³¹ The relative importance of coal in the economies of different

²⁴ Ches. R.O., P 38/1 (birth, 1709); *ibid.* probate: Samuel Rixon the elder (1749); *ibid.* D 3076/10: opinion on abstracts of title 1819; Crosby, History of Ches. 70.

²⁵ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 447-8, 454, 460, 462-3, 529, and originals at Ches. R.O., DDS 1/17(1), DDS 1/17(4), DDS 41; Ches. R.O., D 3076/10: opinion on abstracts of title 1819.

²⁶ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 454, 539; Ches. R.O., P 38/2/1.

²⁷ B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2; Ches. R.O., EDT 328/1, pp. 5, 7, 10; *ibid.* EDT 328/2; Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 50; Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer, and Directory, 251.

²⁸ 'Ness Colliery', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xlv. 5-6; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1857-1923; Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 16, 18, 20.

²⁹ L. N. Radcliffe, 'Ches.'s Only Coal-Mine', Ches. Life (Dec. 1949), 12-13.

³⁰ Below, p. 209.

³¹ Below, tables 4.19 - 4.20 (p. 267).

townships was variable (as the proportions engaged in mining indicate)³² owing to the irregular disposition of deposits. Overall the modest scale of mining arose from the smallness of workable deposits and the difficulties of transporting such a heavy and bulky substance in this hilly location.³³ Coal has not been mined here in recent decades, and no pits were operating in east Cheshire in 1985.³⁴ Other constraints on mineral extraction in the area in the modern period include environmental considerations.³⁵

Fireclay was exploited in Pott Shrigley and Harrop, chiefly for specialised industrial uses which contrast with the longer-standing and more general use of coal. Deposits were apparently very localised, and were not extensively exploited to make bricks for building purposes.³⁶ By 1800 tiles and bricks were produced in Harrop.³⁷ About 1820 the Lambert and Bury partnership started a small brick-works near Brink Farm (on the southern boundary of Lyme Handley), which later moved down the valley to Bakestonedale in Pott Shrigley. Several mining and brick-making concerns there, leased from the Shrigley estate, came under the control of William Hammond and his company in the late 19th century. They specialised in making refractory bricks for high-temperature industrial use, which were sold world-wide, rather than bricks for general construction. Manufacture

³² Below, pp. 255-6, 261, 267.

³³ Cf. also Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution, 167-73, on the technical difficulties which hindered coal-mining further north in the Pennines.

³⁴ V.C.H. Ches. i. 7.

³⁵ Cf. pp. 374-5 below.

³⁶ Cf. pp. 299-300 below for the predominance of stone.

³⁷ Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 9; Story of Rainow, 69; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 81, 84.

of fire-bricks at the site ceased altogether in the 1970s, and the surviving buildings at Bakestonedale were converted to a small industrial estate by Hammonds, who are still based there. They let units to various other small engineering and manufacturing concerns.³⁸

QUARRYING

Stone, some of high quality, was readily available in this neighbourhood. In Pott Shrigley this resource was recognised at an early date, for 'Bakestonedale' (1270) alludes to a valley where baking-stones were procured.³⁹ The history of quarrying echoes that of coal-mining: probable small-scale extraction for local use at earlier periods - for it was the vernacular building material - followed by larger-scale, commercial quarrying from the 19th century, presumably associated with increased demand and improvements in transport. One quarryman, for example, supplied stone for local canals and railways.⁴⁰

Extensive quarrying has taken place on Kerridge Hill, on the western border of Rainow, from at least the 15th century.⁴¹ In 1594 the Crown leased quarrying rights at Kerridge, Billinge and Rainow. The value placed upon mineral resources is clear from the 17th-century boundary dispute between Macclesfield and Rainow, which concerned not only land but the lease of a quarry.⁴² Quarrying took

³⁸ Information courtesy of C. R. Hammond; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1857-1939; Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 16, 18; Radcliffe, 'Ches.'s Only Coal-Mine', 12-13; Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 30 Oct. 1991; fieldwork, Jul. 1997.

³⁹ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 131.

⁴⁰ Story of Rainow, 40-1.

⁴¹ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 1-2.

⁴² Birkenhead Library, MA B/II/7, B/VI/4; above, p. 154.

place at various locations between the early 17th and mid-19th centuries, mainly in the west of the township:⁴³ a quarry at Redmoor⁴⁴ which brought revenue to the Courtown estate (Saltersford) from the later 19th century was, unusually, in the east. Various stone merchants, dealers and quarry operators worked concerns ranging down the west side of the township in the late 19th and early 20th century.⁴⁵ Quarrying declined in the 20th century.⁴⁶

Stone was quarried from various locations in Lyme Handley from at least the late 18th until the early 20th century.⁴⁷ Quarrying took place in Pott Shrigley in the late 18th and 19th centuries,⁴⁸ and commercial concerns exploited quarries at Pott Moor, Bakestonedale, Shrigley Park and Berristall into the 20th century.⁴⁹ The

⁴³ P.R.O., MR 354; *ibid.* LR 2/200, ff. 165, 168a-69, 189, 347; *ibid.* RG 4/544; Chester R.O., CR 63/2/528; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 456; E.C.T.M.S., file 148: copy deed re Bullhill estate, 1805; *ibid.* file 142: copy advertisement for Eddisbury Hall estate, 1868; Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/1/2; *ibid.* DDX 266/1; *ibid.* EDT 339/1, pp. 2-3, 19, 21, 24, 27; *ibid.* EDT 339/2; B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2, SW 81 B3; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: transcript (1991) of extracts from township meeting minutes etc.

⁴⁴ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/2 *passim*.

⁴⁵ Kelly's Directories of Ches. 1857-1939; Ches. R.O., NVA 4/19, p. 21; *ibid.* NVB XXIX.13-14, XXXVII.1-3, 5-6.

⁴⁶ D. Home, Macclesfield As It Was (Nelson, 1978), photos 19-20; D. Kitchings, 'The history of quarrying in and around Tegg's Nose Country Park' (n.d. [before 1979]), 6, 25, and appendix 1; information courtesy of C. R. Hammond.

⁴⁷ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/210/212; B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2; Ches. R.O., EDT 252/1, pp. 8, 16; *ibid.* EDT 252/2; Newton, House of Lyme, 195; Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 71.

⁴⁸ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 444, 539; Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/132; B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2; Ches. R.O., EDT 328/1, p. 3; *ibid.* EDT 328/2.

⁴⁹ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, p. 21; *ibid.* NVB XXIX.5, 9, 10; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1914-39.

difficulties of mining at Berristall, in the south of Pott Shrigley, included the inhospitability and inaccessibility of the hillside location. Production ceased in 1968. Plans to extend Moorside quarry, north-east of the village near Bakestonedale, were locally contentious.⁵⁰ Moorside closed in 1987 and the site returned to agricultural use.⁵¹ Stone was quarried in Kettleshulme, apparently chiefly at the north-eastern periphery of the township, from at least 1840, although it seems to have declined in the later 19th century.⁵²

MINERAL EXTRACTION, LANDOWNERSHIP AND THE LANDSCAPE

Minerals in the four townships constituted a significant source of income for landowners,⁵³ who played a vital role in discerning and exploiting the geological potential of their land, as on the Shrigley and Lyme estates; although attempts by the Earl of Courtown to maximise revenue from his Saltersford estate via the exploitation of mineral resources were limited by their paucity there compared with other parts of this district.⁵⁴ Deposits were exploited in Rainow and, to some degree, Kettleshulme, for minerals were found on smaller properties as well as on the largest ones. Clearly landownership did not

⁵⁰ Kitchings, 'History of quarrying in and around Tegg's Nose', 25, 31; Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 5; 'Gritstone Trail Teachers Pack', 60-1; J. C. Knight, 'Now Comes the Crunch', Ches. Life (Sep. 1970), 48-9, 51; below, p. 375.

⁵¹ Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 7 Aug. 1991.

⁵² Ches. R.O., EDT 223/1, p. 10; ibid. EDT 223/2; ibid. NVB XXIX.7, 8; B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 C2; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1857-78; O.S. Map 6", Ches. XXIX.NE, SE; ibid. 1/10,000, sheet SJ 97 NE.

⁵³ Cf. e.g. P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 155, for the Crown's interests here in 1611; and, generally, Cannadine, Aspects of Aristocracy, 15.

⁵⁴ Northants. R.O., FS 48/5-6, 22; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/3.

primarily shape patterns of exploitation, ultimately determined by the presence or absence of natural resources. However, the character of extraction may vary with relation to landownership, with capital-intensive mineral exploitation on the large estates, but the possibility of smaller enterprises even where landholding was fragmented.⁵⁵ Landowners had to decide whether to exploit minerals on their land directly or indirectly.⁵⁶ Various means of exploitation are found here, both very small-scale concerns apparently working coal in tandem with agricultural pursuits,⁵⁷ and firms engaged in larger commercial operations, like Hammonds.

Mining and quarrying impacted upon the landscape in two ways. Firstly, local stone was used in all types of buildings.⁵⁸ Secondly, extraction has left physical remains. Deeds sometimes specify action to address damage caused.⁵⁹ The Shrigley estate required planting to hide scars.⁶⁰ But the scale of extraction of coal, clay and stone has been limited, and its impact upon the landscapes of these predominantly agricultural townships was localised.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 20, 30.

⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. Palliser, Staffs. Landscape, 182-3; also Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 573-5, 626.

⁵⁷ Below, pp. 248-53.

⁵⁸ Above, p. 134, below, pp. 228, 298-300, 309-10, 319.

⁵⁹ Chester R.O., CR 63/2/538; Story of Rainow, 57.

⁶⁰ Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 6; Hodson, Ches. 1660-1780, plate opposite p. 105. Cf. 'Gritstone Trail Teachers Pack', 64; E. White, At the meeting of valleys (1994), 1.

⁶¹ Cf. Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 81.

4. Textile industry

Of late years, wrote Ormerod (1819), the appearance of Macclesfield Hundred was 'much deteriorated' owing to the extension of water-powered manufacturing industry. Helsby's comments reflected a further change by 1882 for, through the 'constant recurrence of commercial stagnation', new mills rarely appeared.¹ These developments were manifest in some of these townships, for there were textile factories in Rainow and Kettleshulme, representing further diversification in the economy of this rural area.

BEFORE THE FACTORIES

Before the arrival of factory-based manufacture in east Cheshire textile-related activities, supplementary to agriculture, were pursued: the processing of woollen cloth, and the manufacture of buttons using silk.² In the 17th and 18th centuries wool was of some importance to the agrarian economy east of Macclesfield. The scale of cloth manufacture in the early modern period, however, is uncertain, and the extent to which production was for commercial or for domestic consumption unclear. Rainow had a fulling ('walk') mill, on the River Dean near Kerridge, apparently from or before the late 16th century.³ Scattered references to weavers and weaving in Rainow, Kettleshulme and Pott Shrigley occur in the 16th,

¹ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 541.

² A. Calladine and J. Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills (London, 1993), 6, 16. Cf. textile manufacture subsidiary to farming, which provided the springboard for the Industrial Revolution, elsewhere in the Pennines: Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', 21.

³ Davies, Agricultural History, 70, 137-9; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 56, 74, 81; Story of Rainow, 60.

17th and 18th centuries.⁴ Dwellings survive in Rainow which were used for textile production.⁵

Button-making was an antecedent of the silk industry in Macclesfield itself, and from the early 17th and into the 18th century the manufacture of button moulds and silk-twisting for winding the buttons was pursued in Rainow and Pott Shrigley. A few participants were entrepreneurial chapmen organising the trade, but outworkers were presumably more common.⁶

TEXTILE FACTORIES⁷

The main textile industry of east Cheshire was the silk industry which so dominated the life and landscape of Macclesfield town, pursued in factories from the mid-18th century. Cotton-spinning was also established from the

⁴ P.R.O., STAC 3/3/44; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 74-7, 79; Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 175; Ches. R.O., probate: Joseph Norton (1693); William Porter (1719); Robert Bennett (1776); John Bradbury (1790); Richard Jones (1804). More extensive use of probate material would probably uncover further evidence of involvement in textile-processing via references to materials and instruments, aside from the occupational descriptions given: cf. Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution, 118-21, 188-9, 207.

⁵ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 79; D.o.E. List (1983), 64.

⁶ L. Collins and M. Stevenson, Macclesfield: the Silk Industry (Stroud, 1995), 7; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 62, 78, 80; Calladine and Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills, 16-18; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 549; P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 351; Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/130; Ches. R.O., probate: John Adshead (1731); Thomas Clayton (1742); ibid. EDP 225/5.

⁷ This account is heavily reliant on the survey which resulted in Calladine and Fricker's East Ches. Textile Mills; this is cited hereafter in this chapter as E.C.T.M., whereas 'E.C.T.M.S.' refers to the files on individual mills created by the survey, held in Macclesfield Museum.

late 18th century, the first mills (including those in Rainow)⁸ dating from the 1780s, but the industry contracted after the early 19th century and never recovered in Macclesfield itself. Cotton-spinning became concentrated on the northern periphery of the Macclesfield area, in outlying districts such as Kettleshulme and Rainow. Powered weaving complemented spinning at some locations from the 1820s.⁹ The importance of cotton in this area has been attributed to the influence of a few cotton-manufacturing families, like the Swindells.¹⁰ However, some smaller concerns existed alongside the larger ones.¹¹

There were ten textile-processing sites in Rainow and one in Kettleshulme.¹² The primary reason for the siting of textile mills there was the streams exploited as sources of power.¹³ The importance of water-courses and appurtenant rights is clear, even at pre-industrial

⁸ Cow Lane and Millbrook.

⁹ E.g. Ingersley Vale (Rainow).

¹⁰ Who were prominent in the Bollington industry, and also held Ingersley Vale Mill (1821-41) and Rainow Mill (1822-41) in Rainow township: E.C.T.M.S., files 138, 140.

¹¹ E.C.T.M. 4, 16, 36, 106-8, 111; Collins and Stevenson, Macclesfield, 9, 11; Malmgreen, Silk Town, ch. 1.

¹² E.C.T.M. 164. The E.C.T.M.S. files are: 138 (Rainow Mill); 140 (Ingersley Vale); 141 (Hough-hole); 142 (Cow Lane); 143 (Lowerhouse); 144 (Gin Clough); 145 (Millbrook); 146 (Springbank); 147 (Brookhouse); 148 (Brookhouse Clough): all in Rainow; and, for Kettleshulme, file 159 (Lumbhole). Information on particular mills, where examples are cited below, is from these files unless otherwise stated.

¹³ E.C.T.M. 138. Cf. advertisements for mills in E.C.T.M.S., files 138, 140, 144. The same applied to other parts of the Pennines: A. Raistrick, The Pennine Dales (London, 1968), 118, 120-1.

periods.¹⁴ However, this resource was finite, as a case brought by the Adlington Hall estate regarding the problematic supply of water to its corn mill, adversely affected by the cotton mills lying upstream in Bollington and Rainow, showed in 1806. The water supply was insufficient 'in dry seasons' even to power the textile mills themselves. The water-powered mills came, from the early 19th century, to have steam engines supplementing, increasing and sometimes superseding their water-power capacities, although in older mills water power continued to be used to some degree.¹⁵ Finishing processes and steam engines themselves required a supply of water even after spinning and weaving were powered by alternative means.¹⁶ Other geographical factors relating to the location of textile mills in east Cheshire may have included the relatively poor agricultural economy, conducive to the development of alternative economic activity; and the presence of coal as a power source.¹⁷

The mills were very localised within Rainow, being confined to its western side. However, Lumbhole Mill was some distance away, lying isolated at the northern end of Kettlethulme.¹⁸ The central factor in their disposition within the townships was, of course, water supply. All are on lower ground, in valleys or cloughs, presumably to maximise the fall of water and the power it generated, and for ease of access.

¹⁴ Chester R.O., CR 63/2/529; E.C.T.M.S., file 148: deed of 1805; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 462; Story of Rainow, 66. Cf. E.C.T.M. 34.

¹⁵ E.C.T.M. 62-4, 131, 135, 139 (the quotation is from p. 63); E.C.T.M.S., files 140, 144, 159.

¹⁶ Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 125.

¹⁷ E.C.T.M. 6-7. Above, ch. IV.3, on coal, and below, ch. IV.6, on non-agricultural occupations.

¹⁸ See figure 4.2.

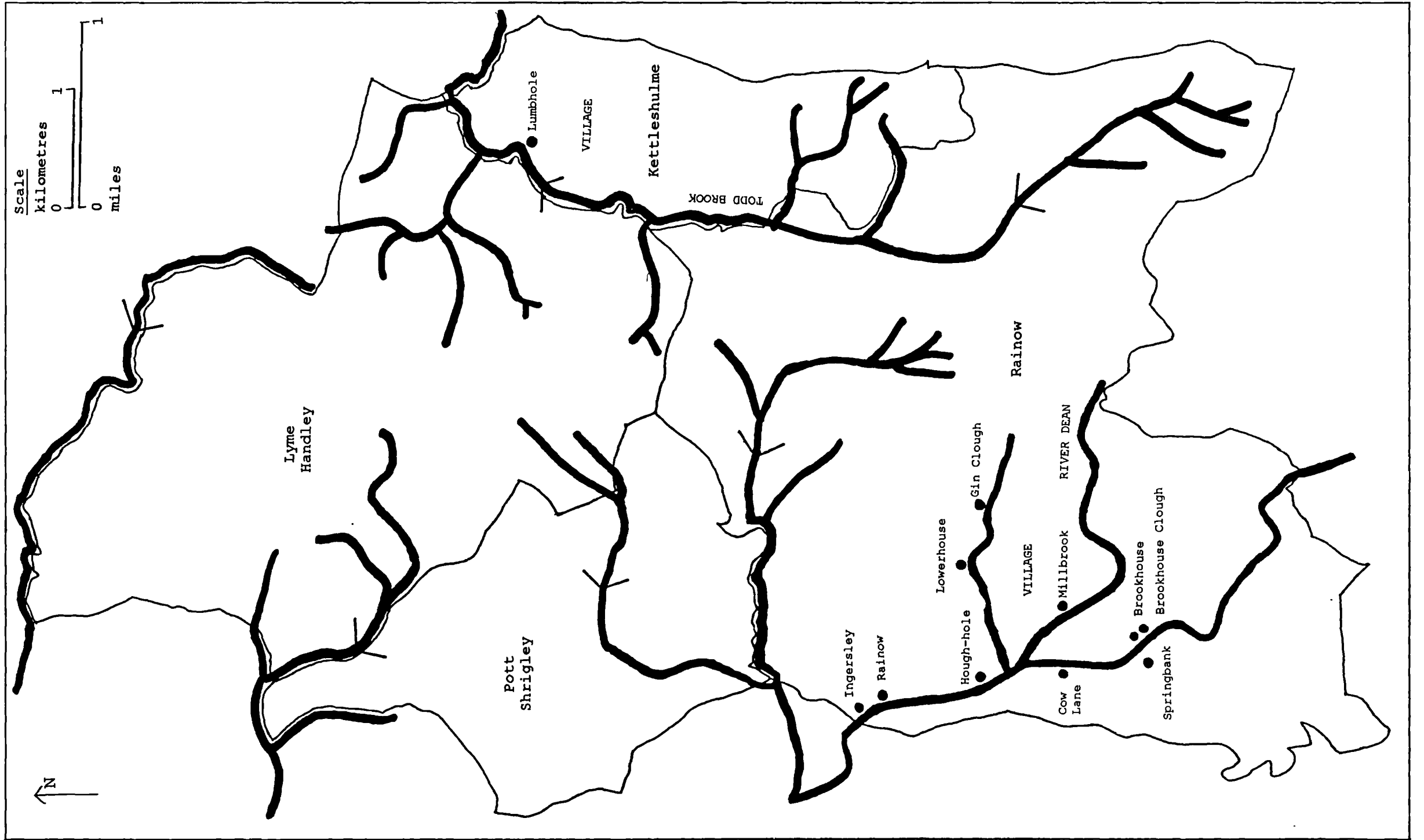


Figure 4.2
Textile mills

Key
 ——— township boundaries
 ——— selected watercourses
 ● textile mills (ten in Rainow, one in Kettleshulme)

Based on: O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 98/88 (1993 edn.); A. Calladine and J. Fricker, East Cheshire Textile Mills (London, 1993), 163-4.

Nine of the mills within Rainow and Kettleleshulme apparently date from the last two decades of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th century (the exceptions are Brookhouse and Springbank in Rainow, of the later 19th century). Their construction, and usage at different periods, were partly determined by factors external to this locality: those economic cycles and market conditions which affected textile production generally, and those peculiar to one particular fibre and to which silk, a luxury fabric, seems to have been particularly vulnerable.¹⁹ Cotton production in east Cheshire suffered as the smaller, peripheral relation of the Lancashire industry, tending to fail earlier than in the neighbouring county: generally speaking, as in these particular townships, the peak of mill-building had occurred by the 1820s.²⁰ In the early 19th century an example is found in Rainow of a struggling mill, Lowerhouse cotton-spinning mill, which went out of use before 1830.

Once the boom which led to the construction of so many new mills had passed existing buildings were, from the early 19th century, subject to more diverse uses, in response to fluctuations in different trades: changes in use, according to what was most profitable, were very common. Gin Clough Mill in Rainow was built in 1794 as a cotton-spinning mill, but was a silk mill in 1827.²¹ Lumbhole, a late 18th-century cotton-spinning mill, was occupied by handloom weavers in 1811, put up for sale in 1815 (the advertiser suggesting conversion to a corn

¹⁹ Collins and Stevenson, Macclesfield, 7-8, 17.

²⁰ E.C.T.M. 12, 108-9. In later periods construction tended to focus on extending existing mills in response to changing needs, rather than on new sites: ibid. 70.

²¹ E.C.T.M. 62.

mill), and described in 1822 as a cotton factory. In 1850 Shallcross and Sheldon were engaged in the specialised process of candlewick manufacture there.²² Ingersley Vale Mill was used at various times for cotton spinning and weaving, textile printing, bleaching, and pasteboard manufacture.²³ Brookhouse Clough was apparently built as a cotton mill, used as a silk mill by the second half of the 19th century, and converted to a hat-manufacturing business after 1874. Given this constant change, the overall balance between different processes at any point in time can be difficult to discern. Textile-related occupations recorded in baptismal registers for Rainow in the first half of the 19th century include cotton spinner (most frequently), carder, worker, dresser, and manufacturer and dealer; and silk spinner, worker and weaver.²⁴ Both silk and cotton processing (variously throwing, spinning, weaving and finishing) were important sources of local employment into the mid-19th century.²⁵

The census returns offer evidence as to the proportion of workers engaged in textile-related occupations; the balance between silk and cotton; and the relative importance of the different processes. Of course, inhabitants of Rainow and Kettlethulme could have worked in factories in neighbouring townships such as Bollington, Disley or Macclesfield itself, so the occupations in the census for each township do not give

²² Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 7; E.C.T.M. 53, 64; Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory, 201; E.C.T.M.S., file 159.

²³ Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 16.

²⁴ Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/1/2; P.R.O., RG 4/544.

²⁵ Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, iii (1831 edn.); Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 46; Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory, 252; C.E.R.C., file 27783: letter from G. Harrison to Ecclesiastical Commission, 7 Jan. 1863.

the breakdown of textile activities in the factories there. Also, census data unfortunately post-date the great period of growth in the textile industry here, which was over by the mid-19th century. Nonetheless, the returns for 1851 and 1891 have been analysed,²⁶ and show workers engaged in a range of duties from preparatory processes through spinning and weaving to finishing.

In Kettleshulme in 1851 there were 39.5²⁷ male workers in textile-related occupations (28 per cent of the total). Cotton production was dominant (24 individuals), with 15.5 employed in silk. The cotton workers were mainly described as operatives, with a few hand-loom weavers. The silk workers were all hand-loom weavers. There were also 29 female textile or factory workers: 13 hand-loom silk weavers, the next largest group cotton operatives. By 1891, there were just 13 male textile workers (10 per cent of the total male workforce). All but 2 were cotton workers, of various types. Of 20 female textile or factory workers, cotton workers numbered 19. Clearly silk processing, in the form of hand-weaving, was significantly less important at the later date. An overall reduction in the proportion of workers employed in textile manufacture by 1891 is apparent.

In Rainow in 1851, 135.5 male textile workers constituted 25 per cent of the total. The majority (66) were engaged in cotton production, but 58.5 were silk workers. Most cotton workers were spinners (32) or piecers (16). Among

²⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/2159, ff. 32r.-97r., RG 12/2811, ff. 1r.-43r.; below, tables 4.19 - 4.20 (p. 267). Workers, variously described in the enumerators' books, have been gathered into categories and counted. Note that the distinction between employer and employed is not reflected in this analysis.

²⁷ I.e. one was half-time or had a dual occupation.

the silk workers those engaged in piecing (17) were most numerous, with 16 dyeing, 9 weaving, and 5 throwing. Ten male textile workers were engaged in calico-printing, calico-bleaching, or in printing. Female textile workers (numbering 144) included 85 silk workers, mostly piecers (53); and 54 cotton employees of various kinds.²⁸ By 1891, the male textile workers numbered 50.5 (14 per cent of the total): as in Kettleshulme, a smaller proportion of the workforce than hitherto. There were 14.5 cotton workers and 11 in silk; and 22 engaged in bleaching and printing. Seventy-three female textile or factory workers included 36 cotton workers, 23 silk workers, and 6 working at the bleachworks. Clearly finishing processes such as printing, dyeing, and bleaching were of greater significance than formerly, when spinning, weaving and their preparatory processes had been more important, with some finishing also undertaken.

Kettleshulme's and Rainow's mills seem to have suffered from specific difficulties arising from their location. The overall decline in textile industry there is reflected in demographic changes. Whereas Kettleshulme's population peaked in 1811 and Rainow's in 1831, the population of neighbouring Bollington, where 11 mills are documented, continued to grow into the mid-19th century and beyond:²⁹ this may be attributed to the continuing success of Bollington's mills after Rainow's factories had begun to struggle. Literary evidence on the poverty

²⁸ In 1851 in both Rainow and Kettleshulme silk workers outnumbered cotton workers among females, whereas the reverse was true amongst the men. Silk manufacture was a characteristically female employer: Collins and Stevenson, Macclesfield, 43. The apparent decline in silk production here perhaps explains why the contrast did not apply 40 years later.

²⁹ E.C.T.M. 162; V.C.H. Ches. ii. 206, 219, 226-8.

of Rainow village in the mid-19th century³⁰ supports a view of declining manufacturing industry. Chief among the reasons for decline seems to be inaccessibility: the railway and canal bypassed these townships. Some of Rainow's workers are said to have found work in Bollington (through which the canal of 1831 and railway of 1869 both ran) and in Macclesfield itself. Two concerns formerly based in mills in Rainow are known to have removed to Bollington: Swindells transferred his Ingersley Vale operations there in 1841; and a hat-manufacturing business went from Brookhouse Clough Mill in 1910.³¹ The diminishing importance of water power and decreasing coal stocks have also been cited as causative factors in the decline of textile production here.³² The timing of decline in this specific locality was, therefore, due not just to wider fluctuations in the cotton and silk trades, but to particular local factors: the disadvantage of these factories' remoteness became a larger consideration as the advantage of their location next to sources of water (and coal) power became less important.

In the later 19th century this decline brought about further diversification within the textile trade, the use of some mill buildings for other activities, and the demolition of others.³³ Rainow Mill went from cotton-spinning to silk-spinning at the end of the 19th century, and, finding that unprofitable, back to cotton (doubling)

³⁰ Below, pp. 380-1.

³¹ Crosby, History of Ches. 103, 106; E.C.T.M. 107, 109, 118-19; E.C.T.M.S., files 140, 148; Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/5/1: parish magazine, Aug. 1917. Below, pp. 279-82.

³² 'Gritstone Trail Teacher's Pack', 45; and cf. E.C.T.M. 69. Also above, ch. IV.3.

³³ Material in this paragraph is, again, taken from the relevant E.C.T.M.S. files unless otherwise stated.

soon thereafter. Cow Lane and Ingersley Vale Mills were used as bleachworks in the later 19th century. Hough-hole was an engineering works from 1860; Gin Clough a saw-mill from the late 19th century; and Springbank - a late addition, built in the second half of the 19th century but closed in 1922 - after a period of disuse was held first by a light engineering firm and subsequently by a firm of sack and bag merchants. Six of Rainow's mills (Brookhouse, Brookhouse Clough, Hough-hole, Lowerhouse, Millbrook, and Rainow Mill) were demolished in the late 19th or 20th centuries, whilst Cow Lane is in ruins. The sites of Lowerhouse and Millbrook were taken into use by Bollington U.D.C. waterworks (in 1898 and 1922).³⁴ One of the last remaining textile mills was Lumbhole, which ceased processing of household textiles in 1979, its dwindling trade attributed to a shrinking market and cheap foreign imports.³⁵

Modern usage of surviving mill buildings is varied. East Cheshire mills have found various uses. A small minority remained in textile production; some were converted to paper mills; others were used for light industry; some were adapted for tourist use, as for example hotels; one is a museum. Many were demolished, where it proved difficult to find a use. Within these townships, Lumbhole is used for light industry.³⁶ After a period of disuse Springbank was converted to domestic use. Gin Clough is partly in domestic use, and partly used for storage and as an agricultural engineering workshop.³⁷ By 1970 there

³⁴ E.C.T.M.S., file 143; Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 14.

³⁵ Macclesfield Library, Kettleshulme news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 21 Jun. 1979.

³⁶ E.C.T.M. 135.

³⁷ E.C.T.M.S., files 144, 146; fieldwork, Sep. 1998.

were two factories at Ingersley, a dye-works and an electro-plating factory.³⁸

THE ROLE OF PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND OTHER FACTORS

Did other factors apart from the possibilities offered by water power influence the siting of mills? It is striking that there was none in Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley, whereas several other townships in the locality - not just Kettleshulme and Rainow, but also Bollington and Disley, for example - had some textile industry.³⁹ There is a correlation between patterns of landownership and the presence or absence of industry in these four townships. The 'open' townships, Rainow and Kettleshulme, had factories; the 'closed' ones, Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley, and the 'closed' parts of Rainow, Harrop and Saltersford, did not.⁴⁰ Was there a causative relationship between these patterns: can we attribute the absence of mills to the policies of the estates? Other historians have perceived a correlation between the character of a locality as 'closed' or 'open' and the development of industry.⁴¹

One should, however, exercise caution in making too ready a connection between these patterns. What of other possible causes? The influence of the availability of water power on the siting of mills is clear. But it does seem that potential sources of water power were also present in Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley, and had

³⁸ Scott, 'Rainow', 33.

³⁹ E.C.T.M. 162-3.

⁴⁰ Although cf. the mill in Derby-owned Wildboarclough: Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 437.

⁴¹ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 20, 57, 60, 83, 117, 121-2; but cf. also his ch. 11 on 'closed' industrial villages.

already been harnessed for corn-milling.⁴² Another factor, though, was the quality of communications, which varied between different parts of the area. An 1816 advertisement for Lumbhole (Kettleshulme) pointed out its situation on the road from Macclesfield to Chapel-en-le-Frith and the proximity, two miles away, of a canal⁴³ upon which goods could 'expeditiously, and at a moderate expense' be carried to and from Manchester.⁴⁴ In 1821 an advertisement described Lowerhouse (Rainow) as only 20 miles from Manchester and 3 from Macclesfield, the roads being 'very good'.⁴⁵ The concentration of mills on Rainow's western side may relate to accessibility.⁴⁶ The turnpike roads did not pass through Lyme Handley or Pott Shrigley.⁴⁷

The availability of labour was a further consideration: an advertisement for Gin Clough Mill in 1827 described Rainow as a very 'popular' (i.e. populous) neighbourhood 'where hands may be had on very advantageous terms'.⁴⁸ The comparative densities and distributions of population between the townships, from thinly-populated Lyme to more densely populated Rainow and Kettleshulme, are examined in pp. 276-9 below.⁴⁹ However, whether the factories were

⁴² Above, pp. 132-3.

⁴³ Presumably the Peak Forest Canal? Cf. Crosby, History of Ches. 94-5.

⁴⁴ E.C.T.M.S., file 159.

⁴⁵ E.C.T.M.S., file 143.

⁴⁶ Cf. pp. 280-2 below on the poor quality of Saltersford's communications, and better provision to the west.

⁴⁷ As has been noted above (p. 223), however, the four townships were apparently equally disadvantaged by the absence of a railway.

⁴⁸ E.C.T.M.S., file 144; cf. advertisement for Lowerhouse, 1821: ibid. file 143.

⁴⁹ Of course population levels may themselves have been determined by patterns of landownership.

built because of a plentiful labour supply, or whether they attracted labour to the townships, is uncertain because census data from 1801 post-date the initial period of growth in the textile industry. However, it is clear that Rainow's mills were located only on the western side of the township, where population was also concentrated.

Important as these other factors may have been, though, the absence of textile industry in some parts of this locality must be attributed in some degree to the policies of larger landowners, for there were surely other locations where water power could potentially have been harnessed as a power source.⁵⁰ The potential of the landscape permitted the situation of textile mills in these townships, but other factors, namely landownership, communications, and the availability of labour, determined more precisely how they were sited, and explain why only some townships had them.

TEXTILE FACTORIES AND THE LANDSCAPE

What physical impact has textile manufacture had upon this locality? Its influence was confined to the cluster of mills in western Rainow and the lone mill in Kettleshulme. The intensity of industrialisation and the scale of textile manufacture were limited. Nonetheless, textiles were important in changing the landscape and economy. As Calladine and Fricker point out, before the coming of textile factories, the character of economic activity had determined that the building stock in this area was largely constituted of domestic and agricultural types. Industrialisation 'transformed' the face of rural

⁵⁰ See figure 4.2 above (p. 218).

communities.⁵¹ By 1819, Rainow (evidently the village and the nearby hamlets, rather than the township as a whole) was 'composed chiefly of manufactories, and the houses of people employed therein'.⁵²

Mills in Rainow, Bollington and Kettleshulme, in the gritstone Pennine district, were in architectural terms a distinct group, employing local materials and characteristically built of regular sandstone blocks with stone flag roofs. Calladine and Fricker cite as a typical example Gin Clough, a small water-powered mill of 1794.⁵³ Some, for example Gin Clough itself and also Lumbhole, were enlarged by secondary phases of building in the 19th century.⁵⁴ The impact of textile mills on the landscape of Rainow and Kettleshulme, however, goes beyond the factories themselves, for their presence brought about ancillary structures including housing for mill workers.⁵⁵ Exploitation of water sources for industrial processes necessitated the manipulation of streams and rivers to control and direct supply by means of dams, reservoirs, culverts, weirs, races, sluices and leats.⁵⁶ Indeed, these elements in the landscape may today be seen as part of the locality's heritage, and proposals to drain Millbrook pool proved controversial.⁵⁷

Surviving mills at Lumbhole, Gin Clough, Ingersley Vale and Springbank and remains at Cow Lane and elsewhere provide variation in the landscape of this rural

⁵¹ E.C.T.M. 136.

⁵² Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771.

⁵³ E.C.T.M. 46, 62.

⁵⁴ E.C.T.M.S., files 144, 159.

⁵⁵ Below, p. 290.

⁵⁶ E.C.T.M. 138-9.

⁵⁷ Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 10 Aug. 1989.

locality, and bear witness to striking contrasts in its history between its industrial and agrarian character. The impact of industrialisation on the landscape and economies of Rainow and Kettlethulme also contributed to differentiation between the townships. Conversely, the character of the locality was again altered with the decline of textile production.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Below, pp. 264-5, 296-7, 399-402.

5. Crafts, trades and commerce

Early evidence of crafts and trades occurring via chance references to individuals engaged in them is by no means a full representation of economic life in these townships. From the 16th century probate records indicate the presence of certain non-agricultural economic activities (albeit not providing a full picture of their significance),¹ but a comprehensive analysis of the contents of wills, inventories and associated documents was beyond the scope of this study.² Only in the 19th century does evidence such as census enumerators' books allow easy systematic assessment and comparison of the importance of these aspects of economic life in the different communities.

The few references from the 16th century and before - to tailors, a wainwright, and a carpenter, for example - suggest that the usual basic rural crafts were present in this locality.³ Rainow and Pott Shrigley each had a smithy by the 16th century.⁴ Surviving sources provide increasing (if still patchy)⁵ evidence of crafts in the 17th and 18th centuries, notably the basic ones like

¹ Probate Records and the Local Community, ed. P. Riden (Gloucester, 1985), including Riden's 'Introduction' and J. S. Moore on 'Probate Inventories: Problems and Prospects'; M. Spufford, 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory', in English Rural Society, 1500-1800, ed. J. Chartres and D. Hey (Cambridge, 1990).

² Above, p. 22.

³ Calendar of Court Rolls 1259-1297, ed. Stewart-Brown, 208-9; Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 98, 531; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/16; note from Lyme deeds Box R, ref. A no. 5; P.R.O., E 134/24 & 25 Eliz/Mich 2.

⁴ M. Meecham, The Story of the Church in Rainow (1996), 7; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 205; Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 136; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 65-8, 84.

⁵ Cf. Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 84.

blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright, tailor and shoemaker,⁶ but sometimes more unusual ones too. Kettleshulme had a mason (1705).⁷ Pott Shrigley had tanners (1589, 1606), a malt-carrier (1604), a locksmith (1612), a slater (1650), and a mason (1744).⁸ Rainow had slaters (1705, 1793),⁹ saddlers (1736, 1767),¹⁰ and a millwright (1711).¹¹ Tanning is also documented there.¹²

By the beginning of the 19th century increasing documentation reveals a greater number and diversity of crafts within this locality. In Rainow in the first half of the 19th century crafts included blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright, cartwright, sawyer, millwright, cooper, joiner, builder, mason, slater, shoemaker, tailor, and butcher.¹³ Pott Shrigley's included smith,

⁶ Ches. R.O., probate for Kettleshulme: Nicholas Lomax (1706); John Bennett (1755); Pott Shrigley: John Green (1677); Edward Allen (1696); Robert Bowden (1704); Francis Lowe (1709); George Bowden (1750); David Richardson (1754); Rainow: William Lowe (1614); Francis Blackwall (1704); William Bower (1747); Francis Gaskell (1758); Thomas Clarke (1764); Francis Pott (1770); John Andrew (1778); John Andrew (1785); ibid. list of records elsewhere no. 151; ibid. DTR 5/8; ibid. P 38/1 (birth, 1701); Chester R.O., CR 63/2/538; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 85; Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 167; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 84; Story of Rainow, 21.

⁷ Ches. R.O., probate: William Pickford.

⁸ Ches. R.O., probate: William Simpson; Roger Cottrell; Nicholas Gaskell; ibid. P 38/1 (marriage, 1744); Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 287; 'Theft of a Bee-hive', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series lv. 66.

⁹ Ches. R.O., probate: Thos. Orme; Edward Shrigley.

¹⁰ Ches. R.O., probate: Nicholas Cutler; Henry Barton.

¹¹ Ches. R.O., probate: James Livesay.

¹² 'Eighteenth Century Ches.', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xi. 10; Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 81, 84.

¹³ Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/1/2; ibid. QDV 2/365/47; ibid. probate: Roger Gaskell (1800); Benjamin Clark (1804); James Duffield (1806); William Yarwood (1822); Charles Bradley (1827); Directory of

carpenter, wheelwright, joiner, mason, slater, shoemaker, and tailor.¹⁴ In Kettleshulme we find a cordwainer¹⁵ and a wheelwright.¹⁶ These communities had access to the usual crafts which one would expect in rural localities. The greatest variety appears in Rainow - the largest and most populous township. Pott Shrigley also had a range of craftsmen; some references are found in Kettleshulme.¹⁷ Lyme Handley apparently had the smallest number of craftsmen of the four townships.¹⁸

The division between those making and those selling products in the pre-industrial countryside was not clear-cut. No-one clearly engaged in retailing in these communities was documented before the 19th century: chapmen of the late 17th and 18th centuries in Pott Shrigley and Rainow¹⁹ were almost certainly entrepreneurs in the silk button trade,²⁰ rather than hawkers of general

Macclesfield (1825), ii. 190-1; P.R.O., RG 4/544; Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 177; Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 13.

¹⁴ Ches. R.O., P 38/2/1 passim; ibid. probate: Richard Jones (1804); Edward Unwin (1824); Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 454.

¹⁵ Mentioned in the will of Elizabeth Swan (1839): Ches. R.O., probate.

¹⁶ 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], p. 516 (1837-8), xxiv.

¹⁷ The sources are better for Rainow and Pott Shrigley, which both had baptismal registers, than for Kettleshulme.

¹⁸ The only probate material listed at Ches. R.O. for non-agricultural occupationists is for: William Gaskell, tanner (1673); William Asman, cooper (1772); John Barbor, tanner (1784); Robert Jackson, turner (1845).

¹⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 549; Ches. R.O., probate for Rainow: Francis Jackson (1692); William Porter (1721); John Barton (1728); Pott Shrigley: Thomas Clayton (1742); ibid. list of records elsewhere no. 151; Chester R.O., CR 63/2/534; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 80, 84.

²⁰ Above, p. 215.

goods as was the case in other areas.²¹ Shops are documented, in Pott Shrigley and Rainow, only from the beginning of the 19th century, some of them operated by individuals with dual employments.²² Textile mills, particularly rural ones, sometimes had shops or public houses close to their sites, like the provisions shop at Ingersley Vale, Rainow.²³

Inns, public houses and alehouses were central social institutions in local communities and by the 1850s were distributed in rural areas more densely than any other trade. They are documented in these townships substantially earlier than are any shops. Most catered for local inhabitants but inns presumably also served a wider market in the form of passing trade: both Rainow and Kettleshulme were on a fairly important road.²⁴ Their significance in local life is shown by their appearance at low levels of population (Kettleshulme in 1857, for example, had one pub for approximately every 175 head of population: table 4.18, p. 247 below).²⁵ The use in 1850 of the Patch public house, at Fournalane-ends in Rainow, as a place of inspection of the draft tithe apportionment by local inhabitants is an indication of their wider

²¹ Cf. M. Spufford, The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1984).

²² Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 536; Ches. R.O., probate for Pott Shrigley: Thomas Allen (1810); Rainow: Edward Broome (1814); ibid. P 38/2/1 passim, P 188/3116/1/2 passim; Directory of Macclesfield, ii. 190-1; P.R.O., RG 4/544. Cf. shops found in more substantial villages elsewhere before 1700: J. A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', The Victorian Countryside, ed. G. E. Mingay, i (London, 1981), 300.

²³ Calladine and Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills, 145-6; E.C.T.M.S., file 140.

²⁴ Below, pp. 279-80.

²⁵ Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 73-4; Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', 307-8.

functions in the community.²⁶ It is therefore significant for the character of those communities that Lyme Handley and, at later periods, Pott Shrigley were without public houses.

By the 1650s there was an alehouse in Rainow.²⁷ Both Pott Shrigley and Rainow apparently had beds and stabling in 1686.²⁸ In 1755, there were five licensed houses in populous Rainow, a figure which had increased to seven by 1803.²⁹ Five hostelries were listed in a directory of 1825, although two victuallers had dual occupations, butcher and blacksmith.³⁰ By 1755 there were two inns in Pott Shrigley, although only one by 1822.³¹ There was one inn in Kettlehulme in 1755, and two are documented from 1803.³²

Rising population and the consequent increase in size of villages and hamlets,³³ where population was agglomerated, before the mid-19th century meant that here as in other

²⁶ P.R.O., IR 18/208.

²⁷ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 82, 114, 116.

²⁸ P.R.O., WO 30/48, ff. 22, 26: entries for 'Pot Reynoto' (presumably entries for Pott and Rainow, wrongly conflated and with 'to' appended?) and Coney Green (in Pott Shrigley: cf. Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 133).

²⁹ A. J. MacGregor, The Alehouses and Alehouse-Keepers of Ches. 1629-1828 (1992), 52, 62.

³⁰ Directory of Macclesfield, ii. 190-1.

³¹ MacGregor, Alehouses of Ches. 52, 62; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 444, 447, 454; Ches. R.O., probate: Thomas Clayton (1742); Edward Unwin (1824); ibid. D 3076/1: copy surrender, 2 Mar. 1829; ibid. list of D 3076/6; ibid. P 38/2/1 passim; ibid. EDT 328/1, p. 8, EDT 328/2.

³² MacGregor, Alehouses of Ches. 52, 58; D.o.E. List (1983), 38; Ches. R.O., QDV 2/238/16, 46-7; ibid. EDT 223/1, pp. 3, 10.

³³ Below, pp. 289-95, 313, for population levels and changes in settlement here.

rural communities a greater number and variety of craftsmen and tradesmen could be supported than was hitherto the case. The key period for this expansion generally was c. 1750-1850, although the precise period at which different trades or crafts arrived in different localities was variable. From 1841 the census enumerators' books reveal fully how the provision of services at this local level had increased. Generally, a village tended to have a group of craftsmen even where the population in 1851 was less than 500; where communities had insufficient population to sustain several separate trades, they could be combined.³⁴ The appearance of shops and the increasing provision by craftsmen in these townships may be seen as part of this general trend, even though in this locality villages were small and the dominant pattern of settlement was dispersed; and in some townships population decline began very early in the 19th century.³⁵

Crafts and trades in Rainow were numerous and varied. In 1851,³⁶ stone masons numbered 19 (of whom two had dual employments). Their predominance is doubtless associated with stone-quarrying within the township.³⁷ Aside from them, there were six blacksmiths, five wheelwrights, three iron forge men, a millwright, and three involved in slating. Nine were engaged in butchery, including two part-timers. There were six publicans/innkeepers, all but one of them part-time; one was also a plumber and

³⁴ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 391, 396-7, 416-18, 855-7; Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', 300-4; J. A. Chartres and G. L. Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen', Victorian Countryside, ed. Mingay, i. 314, 317, 327.

³⁵ Below, pp. 283-6, 292, 296-7 and table 4.24 (p. 313).

³⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/2159, ff. 45r.-97v. Cf. pp. 255-6, 267 below for census data on occupational patterns overall.

³⁷ Above, pp. 210-11.

glazier. There was also one female publican. Four men were tailors; three engaged in drapery; three were full-time and one was a part-time shopkeeper; and two worked as grocers. Two women were provision dealers. One male provision dealer was also a joiner; additionally, there were four full-time joiners, plus a joiner and cabinet maker, and one joiner who also worked as a builder and valuer. One farmer was also a builder. There were two wood sawyers. Aside from this there were a very few other trades represented by just one individual. Collectively, these craftsmen and tradesmen constituted 15 per cent of the male workforce in 1851. A few women worked as dressmakers and milliners.

In 1891,³⁸ Rainow had 48.5 craftsmen and tradesmen (14 per cent of the total male workforce). The largest group was stone masons (nine): again, associated with quarrying. There were seven hatters. Three individuals were engaged in shoemaking. Three men were involved in drapery (plus one woman). There was one tailor, and a provision dealer and tailor. One individual was a wheelwright and joiner; there was a carpenter and joiner and four other joiners, one of them part-time. Other craftsmen were the four blacksmiths (one part-time), two wheelwrights and an apprentice, a millwright, and a slater. Four male publicans are listed, including two part-time, but there was also one female. Male grocers, bakers, confectioners or provision dealers numbered four, but there were also three female grocers, two confectioners and a provision dealer. Other small, female, occupations included millinery, dressmaking, and laundering. Clearly the practitioners of an array of crafts and trades formed a significant minority of Rainow's inhabitants, as Kelly's Directories also show (table 4.18, p. 247 below). The

³⁸ P.R.O., RG 12/2811, ff. 1r.-33Ar.

post office had appeared by 1892. Changes in the 1857, 1902 and 1939 editions are shown in the table.

In Kettleshulme a similar pattern is found to that in Rainow, but on a smaller scale. In 1851 there were two public houses; a brewer; two shopkeepers (one female); and a tea dealer (probably a general grocer). There were three cordwainers; a blacksmith, and a farmer/blacksmith; three farmer/stone masons, and a stone mason (as in Rainow, possibly quarry workers); a sawyer and woodworker; two farmer/joiners; and a brick and tile maker. The male craftsmen and tradesmen totalled 16.5, 12 per cent of the workforce. A dressmaker is found amongst the women.³⁹ Eleven craftsmen and tradesmen represented nine per cent of the male workforce in 1891. Again, there were the two pubs; also a steel (presumably implement) merchant; a farmer and grocer; a grocer, florist, and coal miner; and, additionally, two female grocers. There was one shoemaker, a wheelwright, a joiner/wheelwright, two stone masons and a stone fence-builder/mason, a saddler, and a painter and paperhanger.⁴⁰ A post office arrived before 1906, and Kelly's Directories to 1934 shows it combined with other trades. However, Kelly's from 1857⁴¹ shows an overall decline in the number of individuals jointly engaged in farming and commerce, or in more than one trade or craft, through the successive editions. By 1934, the township boasted its two pubs, two builders, a carrier, and the florist and post office.

In Pott Shrigley craftsmen and tradesmen constituted a smaller proportion of the male workforce than in Kettleshulme: in 1851, 7 per cent of the total (11

³⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/2159, ff. 32r.-44v.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., RG 12/2811, ff. 34r.-43r.

⁴¹ Cf. table 4.18, p. 247 below.

individuals). There were two shoemakers, two tailors, a joiner, a printer, a coach painter, and an engraver. There was also a butcher, an innkeeper, and a shopkeeper; another shopkeeper was female, and females were also engaged as dressmakers, with one washerwoman.⁴² The inn closed before 1878.⁴³ In 1891 there was a male grocer and grocer's assistant, plus two female grocers. The other males in this category included a pork butcher, a clogger, a joiner, a wheelwright, a plumber and painter, a printer's apprentice, and a hatter (there were also eleven female hatters, and a dressmaker). The ten craftsmen and tradesmen formed nine per cent of the male workforce.⁴⁴ In 1939 three shopkeepers, a clogger and a wheelwright were still listed in Kelly's Directory.

Lyme Handley presents a contrast to the other townships' shops and public houses. According to the census there were just four craftsmen or tradesmen there in 1851 (carpenter, carpenter's apprentice, hawker, and joiner), four per cent of the male workforce.⁴⁵ In 1891 the 10.5 individuals in this category constituted 11 per cent of the male workforce. Among others, there was a plumber, mason's labourer, and a sawyer, these living in Lyme estate accommodation and evidently employed by the Leghs; also a farmer's son/pig butcher, and a butcher's assistant. Five males engaged in commerce of various kinds were also resident,⁴⁶ but were presumably - as employees of merchants or commercial travellers - working outside the township. The important difference between the craftsmen here and those in other townships is that

⁴² P.R.O., HO 107/2158, ff. 512r.-528v.

⁴³ Kelly's Directory of Ches.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., RG 12/2810, ff. 79r.-86Ar.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/2158, ff. 529r.-539r.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., RG 12/2810, ff. 87r.-93r.

the former were associated with the Lyme estate whereas, elsewhere, they operated commercial concerns. This presumably explains their absence from Kelly's Directories for Lyme Handley. The estate was apparently practically self-sufficient in this respect, having nothing relating to its upkeep which the various craftsmen could not tackle.⁴⁷

The townships' inhabitants would always have had to go further afield to meet some of their more specialised needs and to find a wider range of services. A 19th-century description of Macclesfield fair mentioned the attendance of 'stalwart and ruddy young farmers' from outside the town, who attended to sell their animals but also to make the most of its recreational attractions.⁴⁸ But the presence of crafts and trades within the townships made them to some extent self-sustaining. However, the degree of self-sufficiency was not constant over time, as local crafts and trades first rose, and were later to decline. Within these general developments, though, were variations between the townships in the provision of different commercial functions, most strikingly between Lyme Handley and the other townships. No public house, or shop, is documented there. Conversely, Kettleshulme and Rainow, in particular, had substantial numbers of inhabitants engaged in crafts and commerce. What lay behind these variations?

Studies of crafts and trades in the English countryside have defined the thresholds of population at which different crafts are likely to appear, higher for some

⁴⁷ Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, 21-30; Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 42-3; and cf. Lyme Park, 14. See pp. 258-61 below on the impact of the estate on occupational patterns.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Davies, History of Macclesfield, 66-7.

than for those whose functions were less significant in local life - although this picture is complicated by the common practice of individuals combining more than one trade where population was insufficient to provide a market for a single specialism, meaning that each could appear at a lower threshold. The important feature of these data is the order in which the trades are ranked, showing which were the most important. For instance, the blacksmith and wheelwright/carpenter, plying the fundamental crafts of the Victorian countryside, could be found in almost every village; others (for instance, saddlers or confectioners) were less ubiquitous. One study suggested that threshold size increased from 377 head of population for a publican, through shopkeeper, blacksmith, grocer and wheelwright, to 550 for a saddler. Another found that populations under 150 would not sustain a shop; those of 150 to 299 might have one or two; and those of 800 to 1,200 might have as many as four to seven.⁴⁹

Some of these findings seem applicable to this locality: for instance, some more unusual occupations appear only in populous Rainow. However, many studies deal with localities where the most important form of settlement was the village. In the present case much settlement is dispersed, albeit with a few small villages.⁵⁰ The significance of this is, firstly, that a tradesman may most easily serve a concentrated population: where the population is scattered his market is not so easily accessible. Secondly, remote farms in these townships may have been closer to craftsmen or services in neighbouring

⁴⁹ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 391, 393-4; Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', 304; Chartres and Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen', 321-2.

⁵⁰ Below, pp. 283-6.

townships than to those in their own, and so examining population thresholds and population levels for each township may not be very meaningful.

However, there is a correlation between the large population in Rainow and the large number and variety of craftsmen and tradesmen there. Kettleshulme and Pott Shrigley were the next most populous and had some crafts and trades. Lyme Handley was sparsely populated and had few inhabitants engaged in these pursuits. The relationship between crafts and trades and demographic patterns depends upon the distribution, as well as the level, of population. Facilities like public houses were located where their market was, at concentrations of population. Both of Kettleshulme's pubs are in the village. In Rainow in 1910 the six public houses were confined to the settlements extending down the western side of the township, where population was concentrated, from the Cheshire Hunt in the far north to the Setter Dog at the southern extremity, in Walker Barn. Several were located on the main road running through the township.⁵¹ Similarly, shops were distributed through the hamlets on the western side.⁵² Conversely, thinly-populated Saltersford and Harrop had no commercial concerns, according to Kelly's Directory.

Were there any other causative factors behind these patterns? The population of 19th- and 20th-century Pott Shrigley, for example, was generally not significantly smaller than that of Kettleshulme,⁵³ but the former township was apparently less commercially diverse. Some historians have argued that the presence or absence of

⁵¹ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/19, pp. 1-[34].

⁵² E.g. P.R.O., RG 11/3490, ff. 1r.-37v.

⁵³ Below, table 4.24 (p. 313).

crafts and trades is associated with patterns of landownership: variations in occupational patterns are presented as one of the features of the open/closed model. In the archetypal closed community, there would be no tradesmen to take on labour which might be laid off and put upon the poor rates. The range of non-agricultural occupations would be small. Craftsmen present would be employed by the chief estate, not running their own, independent, business as they would in an open village. Any public houses would be controlled by the landowner. Mills attributed the low level of trade and crafts in closed villages not only to the restrictions placed on them by landowners, but also to the failure of such communities to reach the population thresholds necessary to support service activities - reinforcing the connection with population levels already discussed. Conversely, trades and crafts were a means of maintaining the 'peasant system' in open communities in the face of land shortages in the early 19th century, for these non-agricultural occupations could sustain the community through rises in population. So these contrasts have been attributed not just to the policy of the dominant landowners, but to demographic factors associated with landownership which facilitated or precluded the development of commerce.⁵⁴

There was in these four townships a correlation between this economic aspect and the pattern of landownership. Pott Shrigley does not fit the classic model of a 'closed' community as well as Lyme Handley, but it was nonetheless dominated by a single estate. The limited extent of commerce there might be attributed to the influence of the chief landowners. The Lowther Arms,

⁵⁴ Lord and Peasant, 27, 35-6, 47, 57, 60, 84, 117, 120, 123.

named for the leading family, was owned by them⁵⁵ and its closure might have been due to them, although this is undocumented. It is, however, unclear why one of their predecessors, Edward Downes (d. 1819), who in other respects seems to have taken a very interventionist approach in the life of the community,⁵⁶ tolerated the presence of public houses despite his strictures against their evils.⁵⁷ In Lyme Handley and Saltersford, might we attribute a lack of shops and public houses to their small and scattered populations, or did the policies of the Legh and Courtown estates play a part? It is difficult to document the mechanisms by which social controls were exerted by landowners. Whatever lay behind these contrasts in economic characteristics, though, they must have had significant implications for distinctions in character between these local communities.

Despite these contrasts, there are parallels in the history of crafts and trades in all four townships from the late 18th to the 20th century in their rise and, later, in their decline.⁵⁸ By the 20th century, a development common to most rural communities is apparent here too: a diminution in the numbers of tradesmen and craftsmen⁵⁹ and a decline in self-sufficiency, owing to agricultural depression, rural depopulation, and to factors such as the growth of mass production and mass markets and changes in communications. By the late 1930s many traditional countryside crafts were on the verge of

⁵⁵ Ches. R.O., EDT 328/1, p. 8, EDT 328/2; cf. the two public houses in Kettleshulme in the holding of two breweries (1910): *ibid.* NVA 4/8, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁶ Below, pp. 345, 384.

⁵⁷ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 536.

⁵⁸ Cf. J. West, Village Records (Chichester, 1982 edn.), 164.

⁵⁹ Below, table. 4.18 (p. 247).

disappearance.⁶⁰ Alwyn Rees discerned in the scattered settlements of his Welsh uplands this transition, reaching back from the 1940s (when he conducted his fieldwork) into the 19th century, from an economy concerned with producing the requirements of the community to one dependent on the purchase of goods from elsewhere.⁶¹ In general the nineteenth-century village contained many more shopkeepers and craftsmen than a century later.⁶²

Most of Rainow's public houses have survived to the present day, although a few have been converted to domestic use.⁶³ There were still shops in 1970,⁶⁴ but by 1997 there was none.⁶⁵ The Swan Inn and Bull's Head, both located in Kettleshulme village, are still in use today. In 1983 there was also a café, formerly also the post office, but by 1998 the building was a private house.⁶⁶ The village still has a shop. A shop north of Pott Shrigley church had closed by 1972.⁶⁷ In 1981 there were no shops and no public house; the former Lowther Arms was a private residence.⁶⁸ However, the coffee house (the reading room built by Miss Lowther)⁶⁹ was in use in

⁶⁰ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 396-7; Chartres and Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen', 314, 317, 320, 327; cf. B. J. Davey, Ashwell (Leicester, 1980), 9, 15, 37, 55, 57.

⁶¹ Life in a Welsh Countryside, 27.

⁶² West, Village Records, 167, 169.

⁶³ D.o.E. List (1983), 49; Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 6 May 1976.

⁶⁴ E.g. Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/5/28: parish magazine, Jan., Jun. 1970.

⁶⁵ K. Niland, 'On Top of the World', Ches. Life (Aug. 1997), 58.

⁶⁶ Paddock Lodge. D.o.E. List (1983), 41; fieldwork, Sep. 1998.

⁶⁷ D.o.E. List (1983), 46; Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 23 Nov. 1972.

⁶⁸ L. Radcliffe, 'Hamlet in the Hills', Ches. Life (Jan. 1981), 44.

⁶⁹ Below, p. 355.

1997.⁷⁰ A parallel process of decline is apparent in Lyme Handley, for the First World War initiated a reduction in the number of craftsmen employed on the Lyme estate.⁷¹

A key factor in this trend has been changes in mobility. The car enables local residents to shop for goods and services at much greater distances from their abodes than was possible in earlier periods, when limited communications means that the communities had to provide more products and services for themselves. Conversely, the better survival of public houses than other concerns is presumably owing to motor-borne custom from outside these townships.⁷² The decline in functions which these communities formerly sustained has revolutionised their character.⁷³

⁷⁰ Fieldwork, Jul. 1997.

⁷¹ Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, 32.

⁷² Below, pp. 365-72.

⁷³ Below, pp. 399-402.

Table 4.18
Crafts and trades from selected Kelly's Directories of
Cheshire, 1857-1939⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Note that, although directories provide a useful picture of the character of economic activity in each township and of changes over time, the lists were by no means a full census of every individual engaged in trade. On directories: G. Shaw, British Directories as Sources in Historical Geography (Institute of British Geographers Research Series viii, 1982); West, Village Records, 162-73.

Population figures in the table are from V.C.H. Ches. ii. 219-20, 226-8. Acreages are from Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes'.

KETTLESHULME**Population:** 357 (1861); 321 (1901); 349 (1931)**Acreage:** 1,232**1857:**

Shopkeeper; carpenter; boot/shoemaker (3); public house

Plus, combined with farming:

Shopkeeper; shoemaker; smith; public house

1902:

Shopkeeper; grocer and florist; iron, steel and implement merchant; builder, joiner and wheelwright; public house (2)

1934:⁷⁵

Florist and post office; builder (2); carrier; public house (2)

There were no occupations combined with farming at the latter two dates.

LYME HANDLEY**Population:** 237 (1861); 242 (1901); 211 (1931)**Acreage:** 3,747

None in 1857, 1902, or 1939.

POTT SHRIGLEY**Population:** 450 (1861); 313 (1901); 441 (1931)**Acreage:** 1,706**1857:**

Shopkeeper; tailor; public house

1902:

Shopkeeper; grocer; clogger; coffee tavern and reading room

1939:

Shopkeepers (3); clogger; wheelwright

RAINOW**Population:** 1,550 (1861); 1,205 (1901); 1,109 (1931)**Acreage:** 5,744**1857:**

Grocer etc. (2); shopkeeper (3); shopkeeper and tailor; tailor (3); shoemaker (5); smith (3); smith and iron forge; builder, valuer, etc.; farmer and butcher (2); public house (7); beer retailer (2)

1902:

Grocer and registrar; grocer and post office; shopkeeper (4); draper; shoemaker; blacksmith; builder; builder and wheelwright; builder and farmer; public house (4)

1939:

Grocer; grocer and post office; shopkeeper (5); firm of joiners; motor coach proprietor; midwife; public house (5)

⁷⁵ Kettleshulme does not appear in the 1939 edition for Ches.

6. Occupational patterns

The different economic activities pursued within these townships, discussed in the preceding chapters, brought about variations in occupational patterns, both over time and between the townships. Agriculture was central in their economies, and most of the land surface of the locality was devoted to it. Amongst the surviving probate material the occupational descriptions yeoman, farmer and husbandman appear by far the most frequently.¹ But to what degree was agriculture the dominant employer? When were other employments particularly important?²

AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS

A significant feature of employment in this neighbourhood was the extent to which other activities were combined by individuals or families with their agricultural pursuits. In the late 14th century, for example, a tailor of Rainow had various animals.³ Laughton's study of 17th-century Rainow shows the interaction between agricultural and non-agricultural concerns. The character of agriculture was particularly conducive to the development of by-employments. Pastoral farming required limited labour, leaving time to spare at certain seasons of the year; and with generally small holdings of land, secondary occupations were typical of upland areas. Supplementary activities - textile manufacture, quarrying, and mining -

¹ Ches. R.O., probate database.

² Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 116-18, on the spread of rural industry such as textile manufacture, especially in pastoral and upland areas, by the 16th century; and the ubiquity of manufacturing and trade in the rural economy, although the majority of the population might be engaged in agriculture.

³ Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', 294.

provided opportunities beyond the poor agricultural potential of this locality. Although where agricultural activities predominated probate evidence may designate individuals only as yeomen or husbandmen, the contents of their inventories can suggest otherwise. However, even where individuals were engaged in non-agricultural activities Laughton's analysis suggests that the value of their agricultural resources still exceeded their other assets and, overall, inventories show the continuing predominance of agriculture.⁴ This picture of employments subsidiary to agriculture in Rainow is probably representative of the area generally. Although a comprehensive analysis of probate material has not been undertaken in the present study, examples show that craftsmen and others were commonly involved in agriculture. Nicholas Gaskell, the locksmith of Pott Shrigley (d. 1612), bequeathed livestock and crops as well as his 'smithy ware'.⁵ Richard Turton, button man of Rainow, had animals as well as his stock of buttons and silk (1631).⁶ Nicholas Lomas of Kettlethulme, a carpenter (d. 1706), had a farm at Kirby Clough. The possessions of Samuel Rixon, collier of Pott Shrigley (d. 1749), included among other things cows and a calf.⁷

Not only did small-scale, pastoral farming require limited labour, but activities with which it was combined were small-scale too, particularly at earlier periods, and were more likely to provide part-time than whole-time occupations. Mining, for example, may have been seasonal⁸

⁴ 'Township of Rainow', 73-4, 78-83, 109, 133-4. Cf. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 117.

⁵ Ches. R.O., probate.

⁶ Calladine and Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills, 16.

⁷ Ches. R.O., probate. These are examples only, and others could be cited.

⁸ Cf. Hollinshead, 'An unexceptional commodity', 9.

- a coal-pit in Lyme Handley is recorded as damaged by frost in 1697.⁹ Similarly, domestic textile-processing supplemented agricultural income. It was only from the late 18th century that factory-based manufacture provided full-time employment.¹⁰ The increasing scale of mineral extraction also brought full-time employment.¹¹ Rainow, for example, became a village of 'weavers, colliers and stonegetters'.¹² These larger concerns contrast with some earlier ventures in that their workers were employees rather than self-employed, as was often the case at pre-industrial periods.

Nonetheless, the census of 1851¹³ showed that a minority of farmers - almost all having smaller holdings - were still engaged in dual occupations.¹⁴ Nine of the 40

⁹ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/113/1.

¹⁰ Above, ch. IV.4.

¹¹ Above, ch. IV.3.

¹² Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 134. For the great importance of by-employments in rural communities, the type varying between different localities, cf. Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 425-9 and ibid. v: 1640-1750, i, ed. Thirsk, 129, 148, although the connection of such employments with agriculture gradually weakened by the end of the latter period. Ibid. vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 716-19, on the decline in by-employments, the chronology of which varied between the different types but which proceeded through the 19th century. Also Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution, 207, on the conjunction of ubiquitous industrial pursuits with agriculture in early modern north-east Lancs., a combination destroyed by the Industrial Revolution.

¹³ P.R.O., HO 107/2158, ff. 512r.-539r., HO 107/2159, ff. 32r.-97v.

¹⁴ This analysis does not include landowners or proprietors of land. Cf. Kelly's Directories of Ches. 1857-1939 for dual occupations, of which a few instances are still found into the 20th century. See also J. Tann, 'Country Outworkers: the Men's Trades', and P. Horn, 'Women's Cottage Industries', in Victorian Countryside, ed. Mingay, i; and D. R. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 57, 120. It was especially the case in northern and western grassland areas that there were many

farmers in Kettleshulme were additionally engaged: an innkeeper, coal miner, silk handloom weaver, blacksmith, two joiners, and three stone masons. The sizes of their farms ranged from 5 acres to 30 acres - although the census shows that almost 70 per cent of the farms in the township were under 30 acres, so there were 18 farmers within that range engaged solely in farming. In Rainow there were 14 farmers combining agriculture with another occupation. Twelve of them farmed between 6 acres and 27 acres: a builder, stone mason, shopkeeper, silk worker, cordwainer, coalminer, quarry labourer, stone merchant, overseer of the poor, schoolmaster/publican, and two other publicans. Since almost 50 per cent of the township's farmers farmed under 30 acres, this left a substantial number farming a fairly small acreage without a supplementary occupation. In addition, there was a stone merchant farming 58 acres, and a butcher¹⁵ with 100 acres. The total number of farmers in Rainow was 115,¹⁶ and so a smaller proportion than in Kettleshulme followed more than one economic pursuit. By contrast, in Lyme Handley there were two coal miners (one farming 21 acres, the acreage of the other not given) and also a coal proprietor, who held 100 acres, but otherwise no-one, among the 28 farmers, who combined other occupations with farming. In Pott Shrigley there was none at all amongst the 15 farmers.

very small farms worked by men with secondary occupations: D. and J. Mills, 'Farms, farmers and farm workers in the nineteenth-century census enumerators' books', The Local Historian, xxvii(3), 136-7.

¹⁵ Although this word is hard to make out in the MS.

¹⁶ Cf. 136 occupiers of land at tithe commutation. Perhaps smaller occupiers at tithe commutation had other occupations and were not classified as farmers at all in the census. The same discrepancy appears in Kettleshulme: there were 59 occupiers of land there at tithe commutation. Above, pp. 185, 188.

There were fewer farmers combining by-employments with agriculture in 1891. Kettleshulme's 35 farmers included a collier, a cattle dealer, a stone quarryman, and a grocer. Rainow had 107 farmers¹⁷ including a blacksmith, carter, gardener, stone merchant, innkeeper, and a (female) publican. Pott Shrigley had 18 farmers, including a colliery proprietor, two colliery workers, and a general labourer. In Lyme Handley, of 20 farmers, no combined occupations are recorded.¹⁸

It was in Kettleshulme and Rainow, then, that there were greater proportions of smaller holdings¹⁹ and more dual occupationists, and so there is a correlation between patterns of landholding and the importance of dual occupations.²⁰ The data from 1851 and 1891 show a range of occupations combined with agriculture. It seems from the occupational descriptions that while some part-time farmers were self-employed in their subsidiary occupations, some were employed by other concerns. However, combined occupations were in the minority and many farmers with small acreages had no other occupation. But this analysis does not account for the fact that other members of the family - not just the farmers examined here - could work outside the home, supplementing the living provided by the agricultural holding. A more detailed analysis would reveal the strategies adopted to make a living by considering the combination within families of different types of

¹⁷ Cf. 130 and 58 occupiers of land in Rainow and Kettleshulme respectively in 1910 (above, p. 191).

¹⁸ P.R.O., RG 12/2810, ff. 79r.-93r., RG 12/2811, ff 1r.-43r. Farm sizes are not given in this census.

¹⁹ Above, pp. 144-9, 179-195.

²⁰ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 46, 57-8, on the frequency of dual occupations in 'peasant' villages, especially a smallholding and a non-agricultural pursuit.

employment - agricultural, extractive, industrial or commercial - and which members of the family were engaged in them.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

Pictures of the balance of occupations before census data become available in the mid-19th century are impressionistic. For example, in the early 18th century the inhabitants of Pott were said to be mostly poor, owing to the failing button trade.²¹ In 1778, the chapelry was inhabited by farmers and labourers.²² In 1783, the majority of the inhabitants of Rainow were denominated small farmers, stonegetters, colliers and husbandmen.²³ In 1818 Pott Shrigley was occupied only by the patron of the church, small farmers, and cottagers, mostly colliers.²⁴ In 1845 the body of Rainow's parishioners were 'very poor', their chief employers cotton and silk manufactures, stone quarries, and agriculture.²⁵ However, by the latter period complete listings of the townships' inhabitants in the census allow fuller occupational analysis and comparison between townships. The census, as Higgs points out, is the most detailed statistical source available for an investigation of economic and social structure in the 19th century. However, its precise meaning and significance are not necessarily straightforward, particularly with regard to casual or part-time labour and the work of women and children. The meaning of some occupational terms used may also present

²¹ Ches. R.O., EDP 225/5.

²² Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/98.

²³ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

²⁴ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

²⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: letter from G. Harrison to T. Bowdler, received 24 Feb.; application form received 26 Feb.

problems.²⁶ In reality, occupational patterns had a complexity not reflected in documentary sources, which may fail to take account of seasonal occupations, multiple occupations, or the fluidity of occupational boundaries in the 19th-century countryside, reflecting the multiple strategies by which rural families sought to keep afloat.²⁷

An analysis of the census enumerators' books for 1851²⁸ and 1891 has been undertaken. Male occupations for the four townships were divided into categories: the resulting figures are presented in tables 4.19 - 4.20 below (p. 267), where the categories are also described. There is no standard method of classifying historical data on occupations. The classification used here attempts to maintain some distinction between different types of occupation but at the same time amalgamate them into classes to allow an overall picture to emerge, and permit comparison between the four places as to the proportions of male workers engaged in different activities.²⁹ Contrasts between the townships are evident in that certain activities present in some townships are absent, or unimportant, in others. However, it is

²⁶ Higgs, Clearer Sense of the Census, particularly ch. 8; R. Lawton, 'Introduction', W. A. Armstrong, 'The Census Enumerators' Books', and J. M. Bellamy, 'Occupation statistics', all in The Census and Social Structure, ed. R. Lawton (London, 1978).

²⁷ R. Samuel, 'Village labour', Village Life and Labour, ed. R. Samuel (London, 1975), 3-5; Higgs, Clearer Sense of the Census, 96, 105.

²⁸ Which provides fuller information than 1841: above, p. 22.

²⁹ Cf. Higgs, Clearer Sense of the Census, 134-5, and Mills and Mills, 'Farms, farmers and farm workers', 137, on occupational classification. A further point to note with regard to analysis of these data sets is that, because the total numbers involved are so small, fluctuations may occur between them which are not in fact particularly significant.

important to bear in mind that the presence of a particular type of worker in a township does not necessarily mean that he was employed within it, for he could travel to work elsewhere. For example, the (small) numbers of textile workers resident in Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley must have been employed elsewhere as there were no mills in those townships.³⁰

The significance of non-agricultural occupations varied between the townships, and in some instances as many as 30 or 40 per cent of male workers were engaged in textile industry or mineral extraction.³¹ In 1851, the largest proportion of male workers engaged in agricultural pursuits - almost two thirds - was in Lyme Handley, followed by Kettleshulme, Rainow, and Pott Shrigley. Pott Shrigley was the only township where another occupation - coal-mining - exceeded agriculture in importance. This was of some significance in Lyme Handley too, with smaller proportions in Rainow and Kettleshulme. Of much greater importance in Rainow (balancing the comparatively small percentage of agricultural workers) and in Kettleshulme was textile manufacture, employing about a quarter of the male workforce. It employed just a twentieth in Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley. Of greater importance in Rainow and Kettleshulme, too, were crafts and trade, over a tenth of the total there as against only about a twentieth in the other two townships. There

³⁰ And cf. employment in Macclesfield for inhabitants of surrounding townships: Davies, History of Macclesfield, 133.

³¹ Similar to the high proportion of workers in manufacture or mining in a north-western cotton town or a south Wales mining community. But some other rural communities too had high concentrations of industrial workers, like the plaiters in Ivinghoe, Buckinghamshire, in 1871: C. A. and P. Horn, 'The social structure of an industrial community', Local Population Studies, xxxi. 9-10.

was a greater proportion in service in Lyme Handley than elsewhere.

In 1891, occupations in Lyme Handley were again most dominated by agriculture. The small proportion of agricultural workers in Pott Shrigley also remained fairly constant. Kettleshulme saw a decrease; Rainow, conversely, saw its figure rise. Coal was most important in Pott Shrigley (although less so than in 1851) and Kettleshulme (where it had, conversely, increased in importance). Brick-making gave employment to small numbers of males in Pott Shrigley and Rainow (none in the other two townships); this had been of even smaller significance in 1851, employing just one per cent of male workers in Pott Shrigley and none elsewhere. Stone-quarrying, too, had increased in significance as an employer: forty years before, there were no quarryman in any township except Rainow, where they constituted 7 per cent of the male workforce; whereas the 1891 census saw 11 per cent of workers in Rainow and smaller proportions in Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley in that employment. The railways also constituted a new employer in 1891, as against 1851, giving employment to a few workers in Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley. The proportion of craftsmen and shopkeepers was less variable between the townships than it had been in 1851, ranging from 9 per cent to 14 per cent. Textile manufacture was still of some significance, although to a smaller degree than formerly, in 1891 giving employment to 14 per cent of the male workforce in Rainow, 10 per cent in Kettleshulme, and just 2 per cent in both Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley. In 1891, service was more important in the latter townships than in Kettleshulme and Rainow.

Within agricultural employment, further differences in employment patterns are evident. Given the dissimilarities in farm size between the townships,³² we might suppose that in those with many small farms there would be a greater proportion of farmers and a smaller proportion of labourers than in townships with large farms, which presumably supplied their needs with hired labour. For example, in Kettleshulme in 1891 there were 35 farmers,³³ 7 farmer's sons, and 9 male agricultural labourers, with 1 cattle dealer and 1 gardener. In much larger Lyme Handley, there were 18 male (and 2 female) farmers; 10 male farmers' relations; 21 labourers; and a total of 11 others, including 7 gardeners³⁴ and 2 shepherds. There was therefore a higher ratio of labourers to farmers in Lyme Handley, where the farms were larger, than in Kettleshulme, where a greater proportion of individuals farmed their own holdings.³⁵ Further analysis of census data on agricultural employment is impeded by difficulties associated with this source. Problems relate to the numbers of farms and farmers reported in the enumerators' books and to statistics for numbers employed on the farms. Some returns give 'labourers' without specifying whether or not they were agricultural. Higgs concluded that it is difficult to see what the returns refer to.³⁶ However, one analysis for the mid-19th century has suggested that smaller farmers (which were predominant here) generally rarely employed full-time labour outside the family, and that the vast majority of farmers employed very few, for

³² Above, pp. 144-9.

³³ Of whom one was female.

³⁴ Presumably Lyme Hall's domestic gardeners, although this is not specified.

³⁵ P.R.O., RG 12/2810, ff. 87r.-93r., RG 12/2811, ff. 34r.-43r.

³⁶ Higgs, Clearer Sense of the Census, 105-7; Mills and Mills, 'Farms, farmers and farm workers', 135-40.

a man might be employed for every 50-60 acres in pastoral areas: whereas a significant proportion of farms here were of that acreage or below.³⁷ At earlier periods, too, it seems that family labour was extremely important in the type of agriculture practised here.³⁸

The census is also a problematic source for the analysis of female occupations, owing to complexities concerning the inclusion of information about certain activities.³⁹ Consequently, a full analysis of the data has not been undertaken. However, agriculture (including some farmers, as well as their wives and daughters) and service were significant employers; there were also laundresses; seamstresses, dressmakers, and milliners; textile workers;⁴⁰ hatters; and the women engaged in various trades mentioned in chapter IV.5 above (pp. 236-8).

VARIATIONS IN OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

The 1851 and 1891 census figures show that certain economic activities - for example textile manufacture and brick-making - were particular to certain townships, and peripheral or non-existent in others. Similarly, the presence of the Lyme and Shrigley estates as employers contrasts with the character of Kettlethulme and Rainow. A large hall and estate needed labour in various capacities to sustain it. At the period around 1700, for example, even minor gentry would have had a number of

³⁷ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 953-4. Above, pp. 142-50, for farm sizes.

³⁸ E.g. Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 21, 89, 109, on the 17th century; also Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 38; cf. Swain, Industry before the Industrial Revolution, 50, and Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, especially ch. V.

³⁹ Higgs, Clearer Sense of the Census, 97-9.

⁴⁰ Cf. pp. 221-2 above.

servants, indoors and out, performing a range of functions. As many as twenty was not unusual, in addition to the agricultural and other labourers employed. Such an estate, with a resident family, therefore had considerable significance in its locality, for its demands for labour, goods and services impacted upon occupational patterns.⁴¹ The two estates within this area influenced employment here in this way.

An establishment like Lyme comprised family members, servants, and any visitors (with their own servants). Lady Newton described the early 17th-century household as self-contained, catering for many of its own needs in providing different types of victuals. The majority of staff were male, according to an account book for 1607 listing the names of 38 manservants and only half a dozen women. Some employees catered for specialised functions - for instance, brewers, glaziers, and rat-catchers. Other labourers included tree-fellers, bricklayers, carters, hewers, and plasterers. Maintenance and alterations to the house - on a large scale at some periods⁴² - required labour. Eighteenth-century Lyme was again a significant employer in the locality, a hierarchy of staff performing a range of functions including the supply of food to the household. Again, hospitality offered by the establishment was a major factor behind the demand for staff.⁴ The neighbourhood was the source for some of Lyme's workforce. For example, the Platt family who worked on Peter Legh's alterations to Lyme from the late

⁴¹ Agrarian History, v: 1640-1750, ii: Agrarian Change, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1985), 239-40; Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 65.

⁴² Below, pp. 305-8, on Lyme Hall.

⁴³ Newton, House of Lyme, 61-6, 70-3; Newton, Lyme Letters, 317; Simm, Peter Legh the Younger, 48-55.

17th century were local.⁴⁴ However, servants were by no means always from the neighbourhood. Two servants of Peter Legh declared in the Star Chamber case of the 1530s that they did not know the area; one of them was from Bradley (on the Leghs' Lancashire estates).⁴⁵

At the census of 1851, aside from estate employees, the indoor servants at Lyme were a housekeeper and three female and three male general servants. In 1891 a housekeeper, two housemaids, a kitchen maid and a male servant were living in. There were in addition others including laundry maids, grooms and gardeners. The family was not resident on either census night - this contingent of staff was necessary to run Lyme even when it was empty. Only some of these servants were from this neighbourhood and the hall therefore provided limited employment opportunities for local people.⁴⁶ Phyllis Sandeman's fictionalised account of her family home in the early years of the 20th century attributes the survival of such houses to the trained servants needed to sustain a leisured lifestyle for their inhabitants. The hierarchy extended from the indoor staff, headed by the butler/steward, housekeeper, and cook, through various other maids and servants, to the coachman/chauffeur, gardeners, clerk of works, gamekeepers, stablemen, and the farmworkers, as well as the craftsmen employed by the estate.⁴ Some local families had a long tradition of employment by the family. Another account, which numbers the hall servants at about 20, states that at this period

⁴⁴ H. Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (New Haven, 1995 edn.), 759.

⁴⁵ Lancs. and Ches. Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, i, ed. Stewart-Brown, 133.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/2158, f. 538r., RG 12/2810, f. 90v.

⁴ Above, pp. 238-9.

the head servants came from elsewhere, but under-servants from the locality. These legions of servants, again, were necessary to sustain the lifestyle not only of the family but of its guests, for entertaining on a lavish scale was still undertaken.⁴⁸

The Lowthers at Shrigley also employed a range of staff. The 1861 census listed a housekeeper, lady's maid, nurse, nursemaid, two laundry maids, two housemaids, kitchen maid, scullery maid, butler, coachman, and page. None was born in the immediate locality. By 1891, the widowed Ellen Jane Lowther's household comprised a housekeeper, lady's maid, two housemaids, a cook, a kitchen maid, footman, and groom; but no butler (there being no gentlemen in the house). One housemaid was from Kettleshulme, and the footman from Pott Shrigley, but the rest were from much further away.⁴⁹ Clearly the establishment required a fairly substantial staff, although the level of staffing varied according to the size of the family, the age of any children, and so on.

The importance of industrial concerns was, as we have seen, variable between different parts of this area, but they were also significant employers. In 1851, for instance, one coal proprietor in Rainow employed 23 men and 3 boys.⁵ The List of Mines 1938⁵¹ gives the two Bakestonedale mines in Pott Shrigley, run by William Hammond Ltd., as employing 50 people below ground and 11 above. In 1850 cotton-spinning, calico-printing, silk-

⁴⁸ Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, foreword, and pp. 2, 5, 7-8, 10, 21, 23, 30, 39-40, 43, 47; Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, p. 16 and passim for employment on the estate.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., RG 9/2576, f. 123r., RG 12/2810, f. 86Ar.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/2159, f. 81r. Cf. ibid. RG 9/2576, ff. 125r.-125v.

⁵¹ (Mines Department, London, 1939), p. 165.

throwing and the like gave employment to a 'great number' of hands in Rainow.⁵² In 1851 several textile manufacturers in the township employed dozens of workers each, ranging from 21 to 106 employees.⁵³ The single mill in Kettleshulme was an important employer in the locality: John Sheldon employed 40 persons in 1861.⁵⁴ However, as chapter IV.4 described, the later history of Rainow's mills was one of difficulty and decline. In 1844 the minister of the 'manufacturing district' of Rainow referred to its poverty; the population varied with the 'increase or decrease' of those employed by the seven factories there - illustrating the dependence of the township on this mode of employment and its vulnerability to fluctuations in the trade.⁵⁵ Decreases in population in Rainow in 1851⁵⁶ and in Rainow and Kettleshulme in 1871⁵⁷ were attributed by the census reports to migration: in 1851 it was said that the cause was the removal of labourers and artisans to the neighbouring towns in search of employment.⁵⁸

Kelly's Directories give an overall flavour of the townships' differing occupational characteristics. The 1892 edition is typical. Lyme Handley was a farming community, dominated by the great estate: 25 farmers are listed, otherwise only the Legh's bailiff and a colliery proprietor. Pott Shrigley's entry is similarly headed by

⁵² Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer, and Directory, 252.

⁵³ P.R.O., HO 107/2159, ff. 50v., 58r., 60v., [69]r., 76r., 85r., 95v.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., RG 9/2577, f. 50r.

⁵⁵ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letters from G. Harrison to the Ecclesiastical Commission, 31 Jan., 12 Aug.

⁵⁶ 1,759 (1841) to 1,605 (1851).

⁵⁷ Rainow 1,550 (1861) to 1,316 (1871); Kettleshulme 357 (1861) to 321 (1871).

⁵⁸ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 227, 243, 246.

the Shrigley estate, but in addition to the 21 engaged in agriculture were a shop, grocer and other commercial concerns, plus firebrick manufacturers and collieries. Kettlehulme's residents included many farmers and there were additionally two public houses, a grocer, shop, shoemaker, and the candlewick mill. Rainow's entry has numerous farmers and a multiplicity of commercial concerns and crafts, as well as its mills and quarries. The open/closed model is relevant here.⁵⁹ Lyme Handley fits the model of the closed community, for the extent and diversity of non-agricultural occupations was the smallest, although even here coal-mining was of some importance. Service was also significant. In Pott Shrigley, however, coal-mining (and to a smaller degree brick-making and quarrying) was very significant, even though landownership - as in Lyme Handley - was concentrated in few hands. Indeed agriculture was a less significant employer there than in the 'open' townships of Kettlehulme and Rainow, where the model predicts that non-agricultural occupations would be prominent. However, these two show much greater occupational diversity than Lyme Handley, with their craftsmen, tradesmen, textile workers, and quarrymen in Rainow. There was a particularly small proportion in service in Kettlehulme.

However, there were contrasts in occupational patterns between different parts of the same township, as well as between different townships. Rainow provides a striking example. Kelly's Directories usually list for Saltersford only farmers, with other occupations rarely found - whereas Rainow itself boasted multiple coal-mining and quarrying concerns, mills, crafts, and trades.⁶⁰ Even within farming, Saltersford's agricultural holdings were

⁵⁹ Cf. p. 241 above for the model.

⁶⁰ Cf. the 1851 census: P.R.O., HO 107/2159, ff. 45r.-95v.

significantly larger than elsewhere in the township.⁶¹ How can we explain the very different economic activities pursued in different parts of the township? The absence of mills and mining in Saltersford seems to be associated with both the limited natural resources and the inaccessibility of the valley.⁶² As early as 1825 'the youth as they grow up, and sometimes entire families' left the 'very sequestered' neighbourhood for employment.⁶³ Another instance of a correlation between settlement and occupation appears in the 1891 census, which reveals that the great majority of colliers in Pott Shrigley were resident in the north of the township.⁶⁴ The ramifications of occupational patterns for the character of these localities, and the way they reinforced other factors to shape these communities, are examined in chapter V.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Tables 4.21 - 4.23 below (pp. 270-2) present selected statistics (1931-71) on agricultural employment (which were collected annually from 1920). The sharpest dichotomy was between Lyme Handley, where the numbers employed in agriculture constituted the greatest proportion of the township's population, and the other three townships. However, there was a general increase from 1931 to 1971 in all the townships in the proportions thus employed, presumably associated with an overall decline in population and in other employment opportunities.⁶⁵ The statistics also make clear the

⁶¹ Above, pp. 146-8.

⁶² Above, pp. 203, 210-12, 225-7.

⁶³ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/444.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., RG 12/2810, ff. 79r.-86Ar.

⁶⁵ Above, pp. 243-5.

importance of part-time employment in agriculture in 1951 and 1971,⁶⁶ when as many as a half (although sometimes a much smaller proportion) of the workers might be part-time or casual. Farmers frequently combine farming with supplementary occupations.⁶⁷ Non-agricultural employers within the modern townships include Shrigley Hall Hotel, which in 1997 employed just under a hundred staff - although few were very local since the small community could provide few of the necessary skills.⁶⁸ About 40 people work within the industrial estate on the site of the old brickworks in Pott Shrigley.⁶⁹ With 20th-century changes in communications, many inhabitants commute to Macclesfield or further afield, and the modern townships are more residential in character than formerly, following the demise of many concerns in mineral extraction, textile industry and commerce.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ The 1931 figures are divided only between regular and 'casual' workers.

⁶⁷ Above, p. 141.

⁶⁸ Information from Shrigley Hall Hotel.

⁶⁹ Information courtesy of C. R. Hammond.

⁷⁰ Above, pp. 206, 210-12, 222-4, 243-5, below, pp. 399-401.

Tables 4.19 - 4.20
Occupational patterns in the censuses of 1851 and 1891⁷¹

⁷¹ P.R.O., HO 107/2158, ff. 512r.-539r., HO 107/2159, ff. 32r.-97v.,
RG 12/2810, ff. 79r.-93r., RG 12/2811, ff. 1r.-43r.

Table 4.19 The male workforce in 1851

Occupational category	Kett	%	Lyme	%	Pott	%	Rainow	%
Agriculture	74.5	54	68.5	62	47	30	196.83	37
Coal	6.5	5	16.5	15	58	37	53.50	10
Brick-making	0.0	0	0.0	0	2	1	0.00	0
Stone-quarrying	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	0	39.00	7
Craftsmen/shopkeepers	16.5	12	4.0	4	11	7	81.30	15
Textile manufacture	39.5	28	4.0	4	10	6	135.50	25
Service	0.0	0	9.0	8	5	3	12.00	2
Railways	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0.00	0
Labourers	1.0	1	4.0	4	9	6	6.00	1
Other	1.0	1	5.0	5	14	9	10.83	2
Total male workforce	139.0	100	111.0	100	156	100	535.00	100

Table 4.20 The male workforce in 1891

Occupational category	Kett	%	Lyme	%	Pott	%	Rainow	%
Agriculture	50.5	41	59.5	62	35.5	30	151.5	43
Coal	27.0	22	7.0	7	32.0	27	9.0	3
Brick-making	0.0	0	0.0	0	3.0	3	5.0	1
Stone-quarrying	0.5	0*	1.0	1	5.0	4	38.5	11
Craftsmen/shopkeepers	11.0	9	10.5	11	10.0	9	48.5	14
Textile manufacture	13.0	10	2.0	2	2.5	2	50.5	14
Service	1.0	1	8.0	8	9.5	8	10.0	3
Railways	8.0	6	1.0	1	5.0	4	0.0	0
Labourers	2.0	2	1.0	1	9.0	8	14.0	4
Other	11.0	9	6.0	6	5.0	4	28.5	8
Total male workforce	124.0	100	96.0	100	116.5	100	355.5	100

* Due to rounding

All male workers, including old men and boys, are included in these figures. Retired people and paupers were not counted. Dual occupationists were counted as halves. Data extracted from the censuses were sorted into summary categories. This produced these percentages for the proportion of the total male workforce engaged in the various types of activity. Deviation from 100 in the percentages is due to rounding. These categories do not distinguish between employers and those employed, only the type of occupation in which the men were engaged (those data were explicitly recorded only from 1891, and for their problematic aspects in any case see Higgs, Clearer Sense of the Census, 109-10).

The **agricultural** category includes gardeners, unless specified as domestic; farm servants; stewards or bailiffs; teamsmen; farmers; labourers where specified as agricultural; farmers' sons and other relations; and cattle dealers.

Coal comprehends all activities relating to coal, including carting etc.

Quarrying includes stone mason dresser, but stone mason is counted as a craft, although some may well have been employed at the quarries, cutting quarried stone into blocks, etc.: cf. pp. 255-6 above.

There were a range of types of **craftsmen and shopkeepers**, and this category also counts hatters, but not other **textile** workers. For activities within these two categories, see pp. 221-2, 235-8 above.

Service includes domestic servants, and also gamekeepers, coachmen, and domestic gardeners.

Other is a miscellaneous category, including men at both ends of the social spectrum, for example clergymen, schoolmasters, and boatsmen: since there were few professional men listed, they were included in this category, rather than separated out. In this category are also included those whose descriptions are obscure in their meaning, or which do not make it clear what the individual in question was doing: e.g. engineer.

Labourers are those of an unspecified character, presumably general and not agricultural labourers. Cf. Mills and Mills, 'Farms, farmers and farm workers', 140.

Tables 4.21 - 4.23
Agricultural labour in MAF returns 1931, 1951, 1971⁷²

⁷² P.R.O., MAF 68/3557, 4342, 5214. Population figures are from V.C.H. Ches. ii. 219-20, 226, 228. But note that not all agricultural labour employed in each township was necessarily resident there.

Table 4.21 1931KETTLESHULME

(population 349)

	Regular workers	Casual workers
Males 21+	8	0
Males <21	1	0
Females	4	1
Total 14	(4 per cent as proportion of township population)	

LYME HANDLEY

(population 211)

	Regular workers	Casual workers
Males 21+	21	2
Males <21	6	1
Females	6	0
Total 36	(17 per cent as proportion of township population)	

POTT SHRIGLEY

(population 441)

	Regular workers	Casual workers
Males 21+	12	1
Males <21	3	0
Females	2	1
Total 19	(4 per cent as proportion of township population)	

RAINOW

(population 1,109)

	Regular workers	Casual workers
Males 21+	27	4
Males <21	13	1
Females	20	1
Total 66	(6 per cent as proportion of township population)	

Table 4.22 1951KETTLESHULME
(population 338)

	Regular, full-time	Casual
Males 21+	12	9
Males <21	2	1
Females	1	3
Total 28 (8 per cent as proportion of township population)		

LYME HANDLEY
(population 174)

	Regular, full-time	Casual
Males 21+	15	9
Males <21	3	1
Females	0	3
Total 31 (18 per cent as proportion of township population)		

POTT SHRIGLEY
(population 415)

	Regular, full-time	Casual
Males 21+	12	2
Males <21	3	1
Females	1	0
Total 19 (5 per cent as proportion of township population)		

RAINOW
(population 1,088)

	Regular, full-time	Casual
Males 21+	18	11
Males <21	25	3
Females	4	2
Total 63 (6 per cent as proportion of township population)		

Table 4.23 1971

KETTLESHULME

(population 316)

	Regular/whole-time	Part-time/casual
Farmers/partners/ directors	13	7
Other, male	2	1
Other, female	1	2
Total 26 (8 per cent as proportion of township population)		

LYME HANDLEY

(population 156)

	Regular/whole-time	Part-time/casual
Farmers/partners/ directors	11	7
Other, male	5	3
Other, female	1	3
Total 30 (19 per cent as proportion of township population)		

POTT SHRIGLEY

(population 226)

	Regular/whole-time	Part-time/casual
Farmers/partners/ directors	6	7
Other, male	4	7
Other, female	2	0
Total 26 (12 per cent as proportion of township population)		

RAINOW

(population 1,141)

	Regular/whole-time	Part-time/casual
Farmers/partners/ directors	45	16
Other, male	7	11
Other, female	0	2
Total 81 (7 per cent as proportion of township population)		

7. Settlement

The environment, land use and economic activities, communications, and landholding influenced population levels in the four townships and shaped the distribution of settlements through the landscape. This study cannot survey the antiquity of each individual settlement, but examines its general character and, particularly, variations between and within the townships.

POPULATION

The limited possibilities of this Pennine margin meant that settlement was sparse in the earlier medieval period, although as colonisation progressed its potential was more intensively exploited.¹ Nonetheless, the contrast between early-settled west Cheshire and the thinly-populated east (especially the hills) endured.² There is, however, limited evidence for population levels in medieval Cheshire. No population was recorded in Domesday for the later forest of Macclesfield. The county, especially late-settled areas such as this, did experience substantial population growth after Domesday, although the Black Death (from 1349) had grave demographic effects. Tonkinson estimated the later 14th-century population of Macclesfield manor and borough, with surrounding villis (including these ones), at only c. 1,000. The lowlands around Chester were four times as densely populated as bleak Pennine uplands such as Longdendale, to which this area is akin.³

¹ Above, pp. 115-18, 123.

² D. Sylvester, 'The Manor and the Ches. Landscape', T.L.C.A.S. lxx. 8, 15.

³ Booth, Financial Administration, 2-3, 89-90; Account of Master John de Burnham, ed. Booth and Carr, pp. xl-xlii; Tonkinson,

A chantry certificate recorded 400 communicants (perhaps 60 per cent of the population)⁴ for Pott Chapel in 1548.⁵ However, this presumably refers not only to inhabitants of Pott Shrigley but to residents of other townships served by the chapel.⁶ An estimate of population from the 1664 hearth tax listing gave 160 inhabitants for Kettlehulme, 285 for Pott Shrigley, and 655 for Rainow.⁷ The Compton census of 1676 cannot be used to provide demographic data for this locality as it can elsewhere.⁸ For some localities, detailed demographic analysis has been based on parish registers.⁹ Here, however, the congregations of each chapel did not match administrative divisions.¹⁰ Registers for Pott and for Rainow's two 18th-century chapels also start late and are defective.¹¹ At later periods Methodism was strong,¹² tending to weaken

'Borough and Forest Community', ch. 3 and pp. 152-4, 201; Bennett, Community, Class and Careerism, ch. 4, especially pp. 63-5.

⁴ Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 56-7.

⁵ P.R.O., E 301/8 no. 29.

⁶ Below, p. 328. Cf. 14 households for Pott in 1563 (B.L., Harl. MS. 594, f. 100), which surely refers only to the township, or to an even smaller area.

⁷ Using the multiplier 4.5 on the number of households (including those exempt: cf. P.R.O., E 179/86/145), rounded to the nearest five: MacGregor, Alehouses of Ches. 52. Cf. Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 60. For unknown reasons Lyme Handley is not found in hearth tax listings of 1663, 1664 or 1673/4: P.R.O., E 179/86/145, E 179/86/155, E 179/244/34.

⁸ The Compton Census, ed. A. Whiteman and M. Clapinson (London, 1986), 630-1.

⁹ Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 52-5.

¹⁰ Below, pp. 326-32.

¹¹ Pre-census registers are Ches. R.O., P 38/1-3, P 188/3116/1, P 188/3176/1, bishop's transcripts at ibid. EDB 170, 174, 180, filling some lacunae.

¹² Below, pp. 343-7.

further the documentation on which demographic analyses might be based.

An early 18th-century petition for augmentation of Pott Chapel estimated that it served nearly 200 families, or 1,000 people;¹³ but since the chapel still served an area greater than the township,¹⁴ the extent of the district to which the estimate pertained is unknown. Episcopal visitations sometimes provide estimates for population, number of families, or communicants.¹⁵ The chapelry of Pott was in 1778 said to comprise 80 houses; Rainow chapelry had 160 houses, and Saltersford just 26. However, other estimates are inconsistent with these and with later census figures:¹⁶ it was surely in the interests of such documents to exaggerate the numbers served by the living. Moreover, like other ecclesiastical sources they pertain not to every township, but only to chapelries.

The early evidence, then, is sparse and patchy, and was created for various purposes and by various means, often consisting of counts of families or households rather than individuals.¹⁷ It is particularly difficult to make comparisons between townships, to discern change over time, and to compare the demographic history of this locality with wider trends.¹⁸ From 1801, however, there is the decennial census, the earliest source to count

¹³ Ches. R.O., EDP 225/5.

¹⁴ Below, pp. 328-9.

¹⁵ Stephens, Sources for English Local History, 68.

¹⁶ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/98, 100-1, EDV 7/2/105, EDV 7/4/206, 220; ibid. P 188/3086/3/2.

¹⁷ Ravensdale, Liabile to Floods, 167.

¹⁸ Cf. D. Coleman and J. Salt, The British Population (Oxford, 1992), 2, 5, for the broad outlines of national demographic history.

individuals on a systematic basis.¹⁹ The data (figure 4.3, table 4.24, pp. 277, 313 below) show the broad changes to have been a rise to peak in the 19th century, followed by overall decline. Population totals in 1991 were hardly higher, and in Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley substantially lower, than in 1801.

There was, however, variation between the townships. Substantial growth in Kettleshulme and Rainow in the early 19th century plausibly relates to the history of the textile industry,²⁰ although a lack of data before 1801 means that we cannot tell whether population increase pre- or post-dated the construction of factories. Did population increase provide a pool of labour, or did the mills cause immigration? Elsewhere millowners purposely imported labour, famously to Styal, a few miles away.²¹ Since census enumerators' books, giving details of the birthplace of millworkers, do not survive until mid-century, analysis of their mobility at the earlier period of industrial growth cannot be undertaken. However, falls in population (in 1871 in Kettleshulme and in 1851 and 1871 in Rainow) were attributed by the census reports to emigration in search of employment.²² The reasons behind other changes in population levels are more obscure. But although the precise timing of population change relates to factors specific even to individual townships, wider trends were part of much larger demographic processes. Rural depopulation was evident on a national scale by the 19th

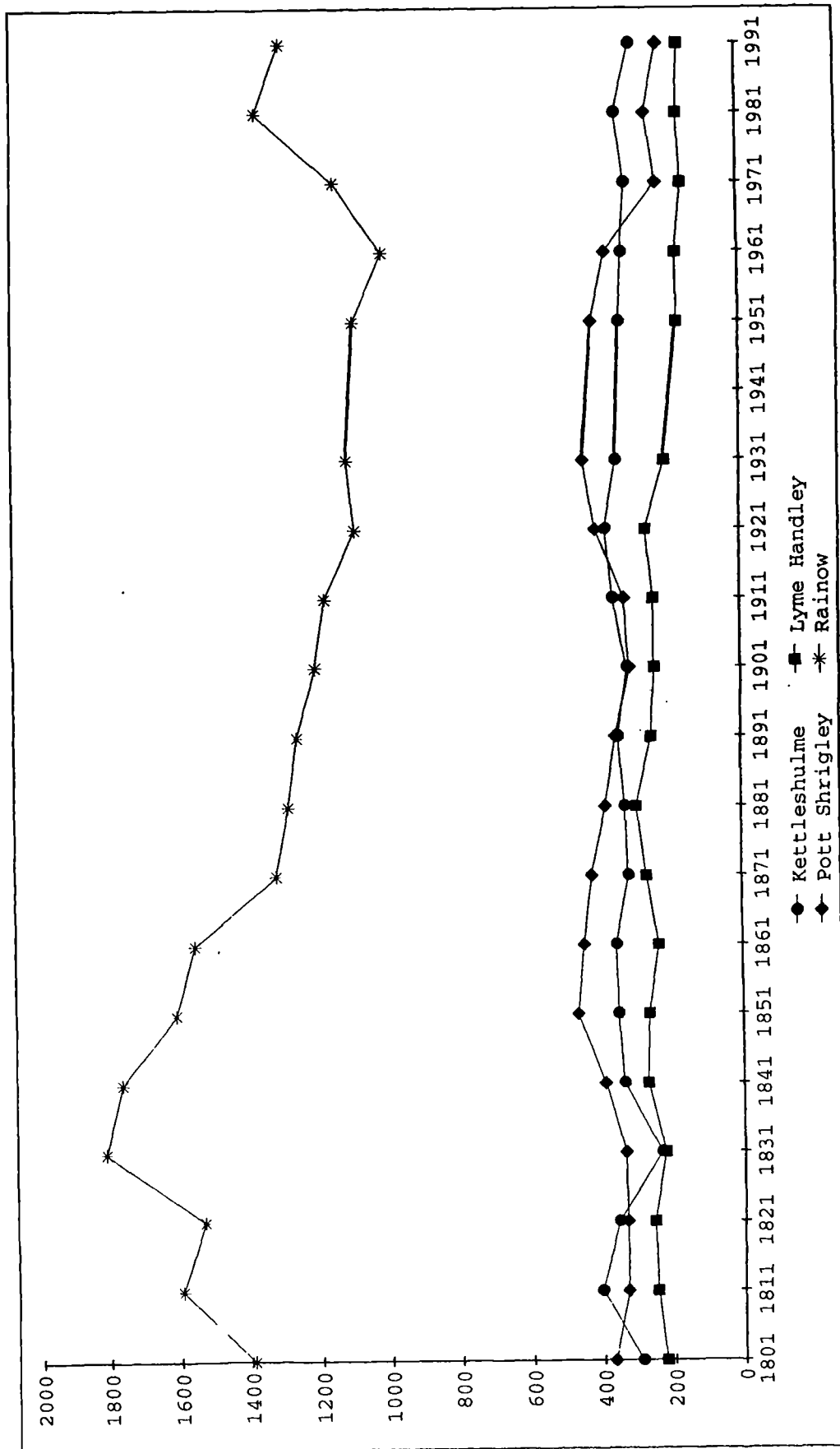
¹⁹ Higgs, Clearer Sense of the Census, 7-11.

²⁰ Above, ch. IV.4.

²¹ M. B. Rose, 'Industrial Paternalism and Factory Colonies', Industrial Colonies and Communities, ed. S. Jackson (Conference of Regional and Local Historians in Tertiary Education, 1988), 7-8.

²² V.C.H. Ches. ii. 243, 246.

FIGURE 4.3: Population of the four townships, 1801-1991



Sources: V.C.H. Ches. ii. 219-20, 226-8; Census 1981, 1991

Note: although more conventional to use bar charts to represent movements of population, this format has been chosen to allow easier comparison between the townships. Lines between points are for the purpose of identifying which township is which, and do not indicate the movement of population between census dates.

century, and causes cannot be sought on a purely local level.²³

Dramatic growth in the first decades of the 19th century in Kettlehulme and Rainow contrasts with the other two townships. In the early 19th century, population increase in 'closed' Oxfordshire communities was checked by landowners controlling the number of dwellings, whereas in 'open' communities growth was uncontrolled.²⁴ The existence of many smaller farms and the presence of crafts and trades in open communities may have helped to sustain a larger population.²⁵ In order to compare these townships with the model it is necessary to consider not only population totals but their relationship to acreage. Densities (table 4.25, p. 315 below) showed consistent contrasts. Kettlehulme was the most densely populated. Rainow had a similar if sometimes slightly lower density. In Pott Shrigley the density was lower still. The most striking contrast, though, was between very thinly-populated Lyme Handley and the other townships. The numbers of houses reflect these contrasting densities. In 1810 there were just 35 houses in Lyme Handley township. Rainow, less than twice the size, had 242. Small Kettlehulme had over twice as many (72) as its much larger neighbour Lyme Handley. Pott Shrigley, intermediate in size between Kettlehulme and Lyme Handley, had fewer inhabited houses (53) than the former but more than the latter.²⁶ Mills demonstrated a correlation between density of owners and density of

²³ Coleman and Salt, British Population, 41. The timing of population decline in rural communities was, however, variable: Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 388.

²⁴ F. Emery, The Oxfordshire Landscape (London, 1974), 170.

²⁵ Cf. above, pp. 142-50 and ch. IV.5.

²⁶ D. and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia, 340-1.

population, and argued that 'fragmented ownership promoted population growth'.²⁷ Comparison of these demographic data with numbers of landowners in the four townships (many in Kettleshulme and Rainow, few in Pott Shrigley and, especially, Lyme Handley)²⁸ shows some such correlation.²⁹

However, there was variation in density of settlement within as well as between townships: for example, between comparatively populous western Rainow and inhospitable Saltersford. How did the population dispose itself through the townships? First, though, the pattern of communications will be examined, for they also related to patterns of settlement.

COMMUNICATIONS³⁰

A network of roads, lanes, tracks and paths criss-crosses the countryside to link the settlements dispersed through this landscape. They include an old saltway running east across the Pennines, which in crossing the Todd Brook gave Saltersford its name.³¹ Main routes through the townships included the road from Macclesfield to Chapel-en-le-Frith, turnpiked in 1770,³² passing through Rainow, the southern tip of Lyme Handley, and Kettleshulme. The

²⁷ Lord and Peasant, 79-80, 91-3.

²⁸ Above, ch. III.3.

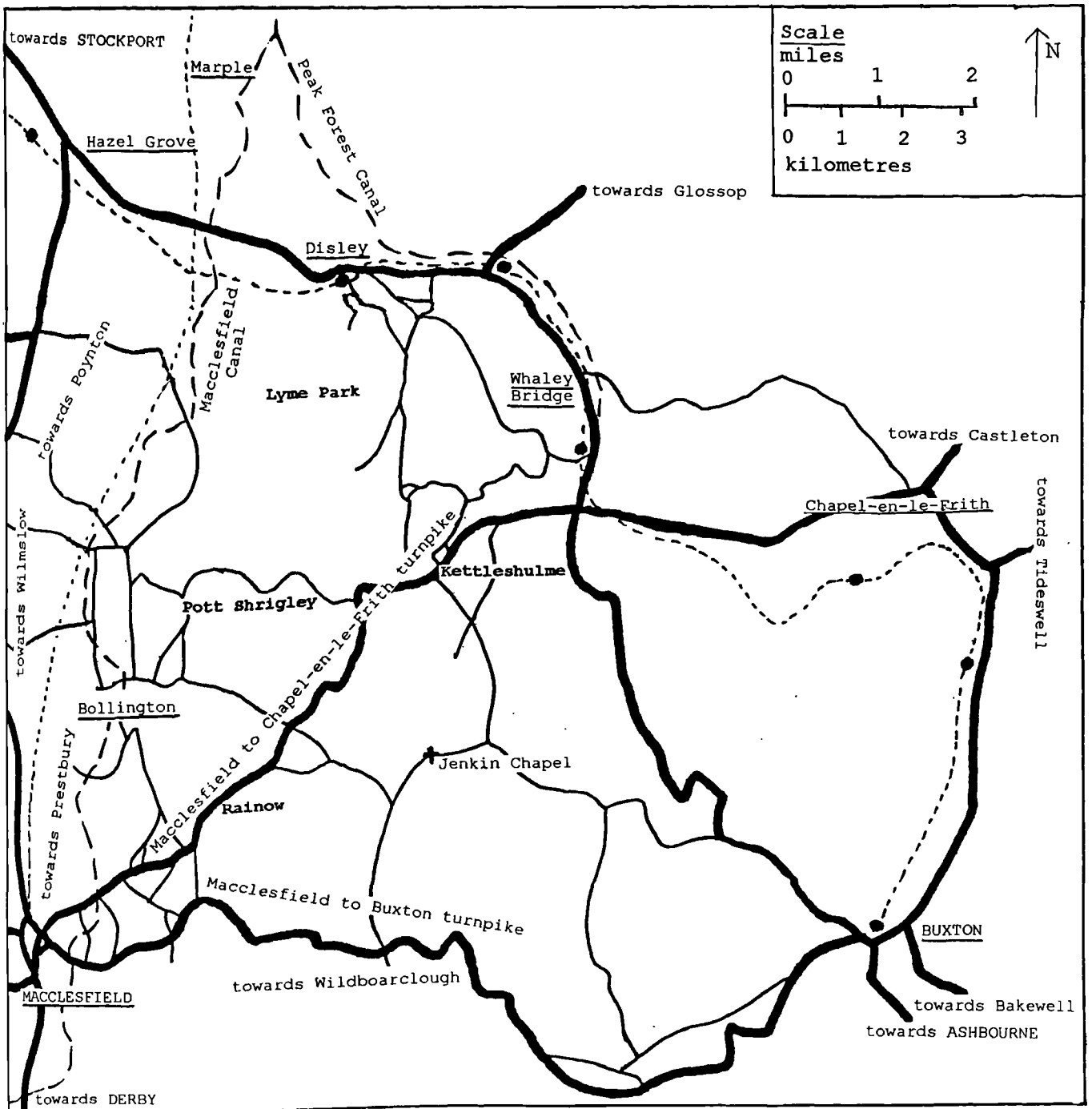
²⁹ A critic of the open/closed model, S. J. Banks, advocated the investigation of patterns of migration in a more searching examination of population change between neighbouring communities, which was not, however, within the scope of the present study: 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?', The Economic History Review, 2nd series xli(1), 68-71.

³⁰ Figure 4.4.

³¹ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 49, 138.

³² Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 7.

Figure 4.4
Communications



Showing selected routes (roads, railways and canals). Within the townships, minor roads (but not tracks) are shown. See also figure 2.1 above for minor routes. The villages of Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley and Rainow are marked in bold type.

- Key**
- railway station
 - canal
 - - - railway (selected lines only)
 - 'A' road
 - minor road

Based on: RAC map 1/100,000, Peaks and adjoining localities; O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 98/88 (1993 edn.)

Macclesfield-Buxton turnpike of 1821 passes through the south-western corner of Rainow, replacing the turnpike of the 1730s which ran south of the township boundary except for a brief stretch at Walker Barn.³³ The Macclesfield Canal (1831),³⁴ the Stockport to Whaley Bridge railway line (1857)³⁵ and the Macclesfield to Marple line (1869; closed 1970)³⁶ briefly traverse the extremities of Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley, but there were no stations within these townships. Proposals to build railway lines through Rainow and Kettleshulme were abandoned owing to engineering difficulties.³⁷ The railways and canal therefore had a peripheral impact on the landscapes of Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley, and their importance in Rainow and Kettleshulme arose from their absence, since the fact that they bypassed those townships apparently contributed to the decline of textile industry.³⁸ Flagged paths are said to attest to the passage of Rainow inhabitants to work in Bollington thereafter.³⁹ A mid-19th century proposal to build a road to Bollington to stop the drift of population never came to fruition.⁴⁰ Even in the 1910s it was argued that 'the construction of a main road between Bollington and Rainow would do much to restore the latter to its former prosperity'.⁴¹

³³ Crosby, History of Ches. 92.

³⁴ Crosby, History of Ches. 95-6.

³⁵ History of Disley 1903.

³⁶ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 888; J. Vinter, Railway Walks: LMS (Stroud, 1990), 102.

³⁷ Story of Rainow, 77-8; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/16, 20-1, 39, 94.

³⁸ Above, p. 223.

³⁹ Scott, 'Rainow', 33.

⁴⁰ R. C. Turner, Mellor's Gardens (Ches. County Council, n.d.), 4; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/20, 27, 30-1; Northants. R.O., FS 48/27.

⁴¹ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/5/1: parish magazine, Aug. 1917.

The poor quality of the roads in Saltersford (described in 1825 as 'very sequestered')⁴² and southern Kettleshulme was the subject of extensive discussion in the second half of the 19th century, but proposals to improve them were never implemented.⁴³ In 1915 six of the twelve Courtown farms were inaccessible, some having nothing better than rough tracks.⁴⁴ Even in the late 20th century, the difficulty of the journey from Kettleshulme towards Macclesfield was used as an argument against the closure of Kettleshulme school.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the townships' accessibility has been transformed by the motor car, even though the layout of the roads is itself essentially unchanged since the 19th century.⁴⁶

Saltersford is an extreme example of how inaccessible these Pennine slopes could be, but other factors besides natural topography could restrict access. One particular class of roads was those across the Lyme and Shrigley properties. Public roads are strikingly absent in Lyme Handley, for many of the routes ran across the extensive park. By 1750 all avenues were locked, and no-one was admitted unless accompanied or having a password.⁴⁷ However, it was also the function of these roads to display the landowner's property, offering the

⁴² Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/444.

⁴³ Northants. R.O., FS 48/5: particulars and estimates of road; ibid. FS 48/6, 13; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/14, P 58/1/4, 16, 22, 27, 62, 64-6, 78, and passim.

⁴⁴ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/8.

⁴⁵ E.g. Macclesfield Library, Kettleshulme news cuttings: The Messenger, 11 Jan. 1991.

⁴⁶ O.S. Maps 6" and 1/10,000 (see bibliography p. 429 for sheets used); below, pp. 369-72, 400-2. Cf. Mercer, Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 161, on improvement of the roads.

⁴⁷ Newton, House of Lyme, 391. Cf. G.M.C.R.O., Catalogue E 17 Legh of Lyme Hall, E 17/5/1, E 17/89/7; and above, p. 167.

(legitimate) visitor views of the hall and park: in the early 19th century, the winding road from Disley to Lyme displayed the 'wild and romantic scenery'.⁴⁸ The second Lord Newton's new approach, of the early 20th century, was described by Laurie as one of the longest and most contrived in his survey.⁴⁹ This lengthy approach proved problematic when the hall was opened for public visits in the 1940s - in contrast to its previously limited use.⁵⁰ The exclusive nature of the park in nearby Shrigley is particularly striking, for the diversion of public routes away from the hall by Edward Downes (d. 1819) is documented.⁵¹

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS⁵²

Settlement in this area is characterised by hamlets, few villages, and many dispersed farms and dwellings: a classic upland pattern.⁵³ The landscape appears to date from relatively late (post Anglo-Saxon) colonisation, the chronology of which relates to the inhospitability of the landscape.⁵⁴ The fragmentary evidence for colonisation has been referred to in chapter IV.2. The earliest documentary reference to settlement within the area of

⁴⁸ G. A. Cooke, Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Chester (London, [1830]), 135-6.

⁴⁹ Lyme Park, 35; Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 87.

⁵⁰ Stockport and the Stockport Advertiser, ed. J. Christie-Miller (Stockport, 1972), 109.

⁵¹ Above, p. 170. Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 95.

⁵² See figure 2.1 (p. 26 above).

⁵³ Cf. Roberts, Rural Settlement, 16; Taylor, Village and Farmstead, 175.

⁵⁴ Cf. Roberts, Rural Settlement, 55, 168-9, 173-9; Taylor, Village and Farmstead, 182, although both Taylor (ch. 10) and Roberts argue that dispersed settlement may in fact be older and more complex than it appears.

the townships is a charter of the 1160s which concerned a tenement called 'Anhus', identified as the One House in south-west Rainow.⁵⁵ The name, meaning 'house on its own',⁵⁶ presumably indicates the sparsity of settlement at that period. However, even in those parts of the townships where settlement was very sparse, landmarks were sometimes found, some of considerable antiquity. Perhaps they marked routes across these lonely hills, indicating a landscape through which people moved rather than in which they lived at early periods. They include the Bowstones, shafts of Anglo-Saxon crosses on Park Moor in Lyme Handley. Several plague victims were buried at that isolated spot in 1646. Other medieval landmarks included Jenkin's Cross in Saltersford (referred to in 1364), and the 'Whytebor' on Shrigley moor (1466).⁵⁷

Within the general pattern of settlement exist contrasts. Saxton (1577) and later cartographers marked Lyme Park and Shrigley, the gentry seats, and also Rainow and Pott Chapel, in addition to miscellaneous hamlets and other scattered settlement.⁵⁸ The hamlets and village in Rainow lie towards the western boundary, mostly along the road to Chapel-en-le-Frith: Millbrook, Tower Hill, Brookhouse and Kerridge End south of Rainow village, and Gin Clough north-east. In the early 17th century much of the settlement within Rainow was scattered along this route, with miscellaneous settlement elsewhere; but Harrop and Saltersford pastures lying to the north and east.⁵⁹ In

⁵⁵ Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls, ed. Barraclough, 180-1; cf. V.C.H. Ches. ii. 178.

⁵⁶ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 140.

⁵⁷ V.C.H. Ches. i. 281-2, 290; Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 140, 199; Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, f. 275. Cf. Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 39-40.

⁵⁸ W. Harrison, 'Early Maps of Ches.', T.L.C.A.S. xxvi: plates.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., MR 354.

1840 Osborne described Rainow as a 'long straggling village',⁶⁰ presumably referring to its string of hamlets.⁶¹ Other hamlets within the township are Rainowlow, on the western side of the township but not on the turnpiked route; and Walker Barn, at the southern boundary on the Macclesfield-Buxton road. However, in 1851 the vicar described the population of that 'hilly, wild district' as 'much scattered', for there were many farms alongside these small nucleated settlements.⁶² Rainow's eastern side, including Saltersford, has no concentration of settlement at all: Jenkin Chapel, built to serve the scattered farms, lay 'in one of the most desolate parts of this district'.⁶³ With hamlets clustered on the western periphery, that side of Rainow was substantially more densely populated than the eastern portions. In 1871, the division south of the River Dean had 528 persons; north of the river and west of the turnpike there were 510; and the township's largest section (the whole central and eastern part, including Saltersford) had 278. With just 73 people, Saltersford was even more thinly settled than the rest of the eastern division.⁶⁴

Some variation in density is also apparent in Kettleshulme. The village lies on the Macclesfield to Chapel-en-le-Frith road towards the northern boundary of the township, near the valley bottom, with scattered settlement elsewhere. Pott Shrigley also includes a small village, with steep slopes to the north, west and east.

⁶⁰ Sketch of Prestbury, 46.

⁶¹ Cf. also P. P. Burdett's map of 1777: A Survey of the County Palatine of Chester, ed. J. B. Harley and P. Laxton (H.S.L.C. occasional series i, 1974).

⁶² P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 38.

⁶³ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., RG 10/3671, ff. 1r.-37v.

Its buildings are strung along the roads which run west, east and south on lower ground. Again, single farms are distributed throughout the township, except on the eastern moorland, but there are also some small agglomerations of farms or cottages. Shrigley Hall and its park are centrally situated.

Standing somewhat apart from the general pattern is Lyme Handley, dominated by Lyme Hall. The central moors within its park, rising to over 370 m., are almost bare of settlement. However, farms are distributed through the western and the hillier eastern side of the township, as within the other townships. But there is no village.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTER OF SETTLEMENT

At a fundamental level the nature of the landscape determines the pattern of settlement. Pastoral exploitation in the uplands is usually associated with predominantly dispersed settlement.⁶⁵ More specifically, environmental features determine both the situation of settlement (general location within the landscape in relation to the availability of natural resources) and its site (a specific sheltered, drained location suitable for building, well-placed for water supply and access), and must lie behind the location of farms, hamlets and villages in these townships.⁶⁶ However, other determinants have also shaped the development of settlement.

The sparsity of settlement in some gentry-owned areas, like Lyme Handley and Saltersford, has been mentioned.

⁶⁵ Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 270-1; Roberts, Rural Settlement, 21-2; Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 69.

⁶⁶ Roberts, Village Plans, 23.

Chapter IV.2 (pp. 118-20, 125-6) highlighted existing contrasts in land use between those lands and other forest areas at the time they were granted, resulting from the policies of the manorial administration, which limited settlement in the medieval period. In Saltersford, particularly, this may have been reinforced by the particular inhospitability of the landscape. In Lyme Handley, although not the first formative element, gentry ownership reinforced distinctions based upon land use.⁶⁷ Lack of settlement within the park is anomalous even to the sparse settlement in the vicinity generally (although the fact that the park's southern extent is high moorland is itself a constraint upon settlement). The contrast between the park and the farms to the eastern and western peripheries was apparent in 1466.⁶⁸ The ownership and, from the 16th century, residence of an important landowning family had an impact on the character, as well as the pattern, of settlement, for dwellings within the township were the farms of their tenants or the houses of their employees. This is well documented in the 19th and 20th centuries, and presumably the case beforehand too: for example, gamekeepers were housed near Lyme Park in 1690.⁶⁹ The 1891 census included keepers' and gardeners' houses and a coachman's house, as well as the servants resident in the hall itself.⁷⁰

Neither Lyme nor nearby gentry-dominated Shrigley has that extreme example of the way in which landowners formed settlement, the estate village remodelled or even moved according to the taste of the ruling family.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Cf. D. Sylvester, 'Rural Settlement in Ches.', T.H.S.L.C. ci. 17.

⁶⁸ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, ff. 272-9.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., E 134/2 Wm & Mary/Trin 17.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., RG 12/2810, ff. 90r.-90v. Cf. D.o.E. List (1983), 31, 36.

⁷¹ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 29.

However, in Shrigley there are explicit examples of the direct impact of a landowner upon settlement, in the enlargement of the park by Edward Downes (d. 1819),⁷² which involved the demolition of dwellings.⁷³ Downes' impetus seems to have derived from motives pertaining to aesthetics and to social control rather than to a desire to control poor rates as in the classic 'closed' settlement, although as Banks pointed out information on the motives of landowners is very often elusive.⁷⁴ However, the influence of the landowner upon settlement operated differently in Shrigley and Lyme, reflecting the contrasting history of landownership in the two townships.⁷⁵ The growing dominance of the Downeses' estate brought about the desire to remould their domain in this way; whereas, in Lyme, long-standing land use (as demesne pasture and deer park) and landownership constrained the development of settlement from a much earlier period. But despite their differing developments, Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley both came to approximate to the archetypal 'closed' community, including the country house with typical appendages such as home farm, lodges, follies, stables, kennels, and park.⁷⁶ The Lowthers' estate in 1891, like Lyme, had housing for estate staff: the gardeners, gamekeeper, steward, and coachman must have been employees of the Shrigley estate, like the servants at the hall itself.⁷⁷ In 1910 the Lowthers owned almost all the housing in the township, as did the Leghs in Lyme.⁷⁸

⁷² Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 319.

⁷³ Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 275-6, 279.

⁷⁴ 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?', 60-1.

⁷⁵ Above, ch. III.1 and pp. 73-5.

⁷⁶ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 28-9.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., RG 12/2810, ff. 79r.-86Ar.

⁷⁸ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 10-21.

The form of a closed settlement therefore depended on the policy of the leading landowner(s), who clearly had the power to determine the quantity, form and quality of the dwellings. Some historians have argued that the pattern and character of settlement in the 'open' community also related to landholding structures, the ease of construction of new houses being one of its features; conversely, in closed parishes, a few landowners could restrict the number of houses built. A contrast in quality might also be evident, since houses in an open village (which developed more spontaneously) were often primitive and overcrowded, jerry-built speculatively by small tradesmen, builders and farmers. However, documentation as to who was building houses is rarely found and so the mechanism of growth is often obscure. A difference might be evident, though, even in the shape of settlement, between the 'sprawling and haphazard' open village and the 'compact and well-shaped' closed one. Mills argued that 'open' villages were substantially larger than 'closed' ones.⁷⁹ In the uplands, the predominance of dispersed settlement must be taken into account: no village here was very large. However, it is the case, firstly, that Legh-owned Lyme Handley had no village at all; and, secondly, that it was Kettleshulme and Rainow, and not Pott Shrigley, which were subject to significant growth.

Despite enduring patterns of settlement formed centuries ago, with farmsteads scattered through the townships, some parts were subject to later change. Settlement was extended in Rainow and Kettleshulme due to the significant rise in population at the beginning of the

⁷⁹ Emery, Oxfordshire Landscape, 171-5 (from which the quotations are taken); Mills, Lord and Peasant, 23-5, 84; Roberts, Rural Settlement, 192.

19th century (and possibly before), associated with the growth of textile industry from the late 18th century.⁸⁰ Dramatic examples of industrial settlement are not forthcoming: no millowner constructed housing on the scale of Styal, a few miles away;⁸¹ there was no vast expansion of settlement. Nonetheless, buildings constructed to serve the mills included housing near Lumbhole Mill in Kettleshulme: at such rural sites (chosen because of the mills' dependence on water power),⁸² the provision of accommodation was crucial.⁸³ Deeds dating from before the construction of Gin Clough Mill, Rainow (1794) described a single messuage; a hamlet, including the millowner's house, subsequently grew up.⁸⁴ Cottages at Hough-hole were associated with the mill there. Ingersley, too, had workers' accommodation, including an apprentice house.⁸⁵ Much of this growth in settlement was associated with an increasing degree of nucleation.

Amongst predominantly dispersed settlement in this area nucleated settlement includes the villages in three of the four townships. These concentrations presumably indicate the area from which settlement spread, since the

⁸⁰ Cf. S. Pearson, Rural Houses of the Lancs. Pennines 1560 to 1760 (London, 1985), 62, 125, on the great impact upon settlement of the transfer of domestic textile industry to factories from the late 18th century in the area of Lancs., including the Pennine slopes, around Burnley and Colne.

⁸¹ Rose, 'Industrial Paternalism and Factory Colonies'.

⁸² Above, ch. IV.4.

⁸³ Calladine and Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills, 141; Ches. R.O., DTR 5/19 (advertisement of 1822); D.o.E. List (1983), 37.

⁸⁴ Ches. R.O., DDX 47/1 (1777); E.C.T.M.S., file 144: Macclesfield Courier advertisement, 17 Aug. 1822; Calladine and Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills, 62, 144.

⁸⁵ Longden, Industrial Revolution in East Ches. 15-16; E.C.T.M.S., file 140; cf. Ches. R.O., D 2056/SWB/1.

names of the villages, referring to specific topographical features, are those with which the townships came to be designated.⁸⁶ These foci lie on comparatively low ground, Kettleshulme and Pott Shrigley in valleys, Rainow on its hillside.⁸⁷ Their original forms were linear, for although Kettleshulme and Rainow have expanded the older parts line the roads on which they lie.⁸⁸ Sources for their extent before the 19th century are almost non-existent, for no estimates are found of the number of households in the villages (rather than the townships), or the proportion of the population which lived there. Unfortunately the period of growth of textile industry and coal-mining⁸⁹ predates the survival of census enumerators' books and the mapping of the townships by the Ordnance Survey and the tithe survey in the mid-19th century,⁹⁰ and so the precise development of settlement in relation to these processes remains to some degree obscure.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 110, 130, 137. But cf. R. Muir, 'The Villages of Nidderdale', Landscape History, xx. 66, 75, on the difficulty of establishing the early existence of villages, as opposed to townships.

⁸⁷ See figure 2.1 above (p. 26). Cf. V.C.H. Ches. i. 1.

⁸⁸ Cf. Burdett, Survey of the County Palatine, ed. Harley and Laxton (but see pp. 20-1 of its introduction on Burdett's value in examining settlement geography).

⁸⁹ Above, chs. IV.3, IV.4.

⁹⁰ B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2, C2, SW 81 B3, C3; Ches. R.O., EDT 223/2, 252/2, 328/2, 339/2. The following analysis is largely based on Ches. Record Office's holdings of 6" and 1/10,000 O.S. sheets, which are not entirely comprehensive: see bibliography p. 429 for details. Also Ches. R.O., NVB XXIX.1, 5-7, 9-11, 13-15, XXXVII.1-3, 5-7, 9-10.

⁹¹ More detailed fieldwork as to the type and date of housing than the present author has been able to undertake would shed some light on this development. Cf. Roberts, Village Plans, 40.

The earliest Ordnance Survey maps of 1840, which postdate the beginning of growth, show that the villages were still small - in earlier periods they were probably little more than hamlets. In 1818 Pott Shrigley was contrasted with neighbouring Bollington, a 'straggling, populous and increasing village of cotton manufacturers', 'sprung up of late years'.⁹² The former village retained its small size and form. Even Rainow's and Kettlethulme's development was not equal to that of Bollington, which had a population of over 5,000 by 1861.⁹³ However, increasing population brought the expansion of those villages.⁹⁴

Public buildings and housing extended Rainow village. The first church apparently dated from the early 18th century, and was replaced in 1846 by another near by. The Methodist chapel dated from 1808. The original township school was 18th-century; a Church of England School was constructed in the 1840s and a new Methodist one in 1896. To some degree these replaced more dispersed functions: the Wesleyan chapel of 1808, for example, was a replacement for one outside the village at Billinge. However, Saltersford's isolated Jenkin Chapel and its nearby school continued in use, and the Methodist Chapel in the hamlet of Walker Barn was not constructed until 1863.⁹⁵ Housing in the village, added to a limited number of earlier dwellings such as the farmhouse on Sugar Lane

⁹² Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

⁹³ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 226.

⁹⁴ Cf. the upland parts of Nidderdale, north Yorks., where late, polyfocal nucleation resulted from water-powered industrialisation from the late 18th century: Muir, 'Villages of Nidderdale', 65, 75-8, 81. Also C. Lewis, Particular Places (London, 1989), 22, on the growth of hamlets in areas of dispersed settlement in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as population increased.

⁹⁵ Below, ch. IV.8.

(partly early 17th-century),⁹⁶ included cottages just north-west of the present church, bearing a datestone of 1811, and cottages dated 1779 south of the village in nearby Tower Hill. In 1816, an advertisement described Rainow and also Bollington as 'prosperous and increasing manufacturing villages'.⁹⁷

From mid-century, changes were documented cartographically. In 1840 settlement in the village was largely confined to the turnpike road, particularly around its junctions with Taylor Lane and Chapel Lane, which ran west to form a loop; and also around the junction of that loop with Sugar Lane, continuing west.⁹⁸ There were no buildings around the rest of the loop.⁹⁹ The 1909 25-inch survey¹⁰⁰ showed a small village still. The next phase of development came with substantial residential developments along Taylor Lane and Church Lane.¹⁰¹ Firstly, by the survey of 1938, there was development inside the loop, just west of the main road.¹⁰² This Round Meadow housing was built to house local people. However, the extensive postwar development at Miller's Meadow to the north of Sugar Lane and Chapel Lane brought newcomers into the village. There was growth on the stretch of road between Tower Hill and Brookhouse at the same period.¹⁰³ The vicarage, just south of the

⁹⁶ D.o.E. List (1983), 73.

⁹⁷ E.C.T.M.S., file 138: quoting Macclesfield Courier, 20 Jul.

⁹⁸ See figure 4.5 for the layout of roads in the village.

⁹⁹ B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2.

¹⁰⁰ Ches. R.O., NVB XXXVII.1.

¹⁰¹ See figure 4.5 for these developments.

¹⁰² O.S. Map 6", Ches. XXXVII.NW (1938 edn.).

¹⁰³ Meecham, Story of the Church in Rainow, 54; O.S. Maps 1/10,000, sheets SJ 97 NW (1954 and 1976 edns.), SJ 97 NE (1954 and 1971 edns.). Cf. population increase 1961-81: below, table 4.24 (p. 313).

Figure 4.5
The expansion of Rainow village in the 20th century

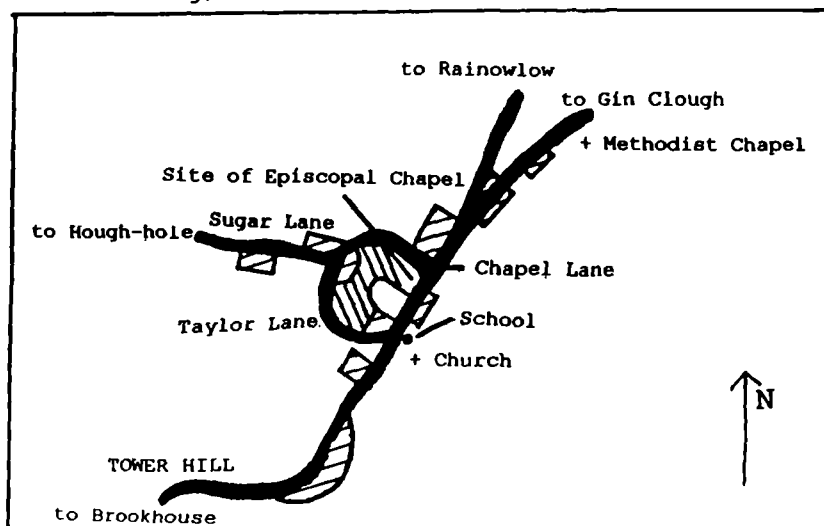
These simplified maps indicate the extent of settlement at different dates (but not usually individual buildings).

Key

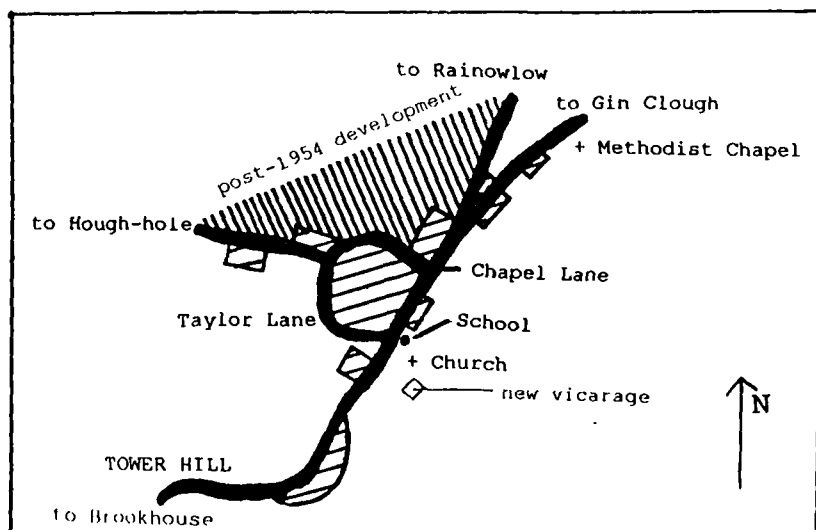
— roads

The maps are based on: O.S. Maps 6", Ches. XXXVII.NW (1911 and 1938 edns.); *ibid.* 1/10,000, sheets SJ 97 NE (1954 and 1971 edns.), SJ 97 NW (1954 and 1976 edns.). The scales are unchanged.

(a) The hatched areas indicate the extent of settlement in 1911, when the village included the Anglican church and school, Methodist chapel and school, the village Institute, post office, two public houses, as well as housing; with the vicarage and other dwellings a little way south as the road bends towards Tower Hill. By the provisional edition of 1938, houses had been built within the loop formed by Chapel Lane, to the north, and Taylor Lane, to the south (reverse hatching).



(b) The hatched areas indicate the extent of settlement at the 1954 edition of the 1/10,000 O.S. map. By the 1970s the village was substantially expanded by settlement north of Chapel Lane (reverse hatching).



church, dates from 1958. A new school was built in the 1980s, on the south-west side of the village.¹⁰⁴ The largest expansion of settlement in these townships has been this 20th-century growth of Rainow village, the character of which contrasts with Pott Shrigley, which is not only much smaller in size and generally lacking in modern dwellings, but more homogeneous in terms of materials. Rainow has a number of brick-built dwellings amongst the local stone.

Kettleshulme village has undergone similar developments. The survey of 1840¹⁰⁵ showed settlement along the turnpike road; at the junction of Brookbottom and Paddock Lane, which both ran west from the turnpike; and along the roads to the east.¹⁰⁶ In 1850 Bagshaw described the village as small.¹⁰⁷ The school, in the south of the village, dates from the 1860s and the library, in the north, from 1876. The vicarage, built in the 1860s, lay a little way north of the village.¹⁰⁸ Maps dating from between the 1870s and 1954 show little further change, but by 1971 there was more extensive development along Brookbottom and Paddock Lane.¹⁰⁹ The modern expansion of housing has not, however, been quite as extensive as in Rainow.

This modern growth, as in the 19th century, seems to fit the characterisation of Kettleshulme and Rainow as

¹⁰⁴ Below, pp. 337, 357.

¹⁰⁵ B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 C2.

¹⁰⁶ Including e.g. Flatts Lane.

¹⁰⁷ History, Gazetteer, and Directory, 201.

¹⁰⁸ Below, pp. 337-8, 358.

¹⁰⁹ O.S. Map 6", Ches. XXIX.SE (1881, 1899 and 1910 edns.); *ibid.* 1/10,000, sheet SJ 97 NE (1954, 1971 and 1987 edns.); fieldwork, Sep. 1998.

'open', for the contrast between larger and more heterogeneous open villages and closed ones often endures to the present day. Emery contrasted a 'formless' village in Oxfordshire, infilled with a great deal of modern housing, with a nearby closed village: neat rows of houses lining a single village street, apparently little changed over 100 years, the only new addition a 'small, discreet' close of new housing. Former closed villages retain their character, often winning 'best kept village' competitions,¹¹⁰ whereas others, often 19th-century open settlements, are 'washed by the rising tide of new housing' and great increases in population. Planning authorities, it is argued, find it more difficult to approve new development in former closed villages because of their existing coherence; whereas in former open villages, scope is found within the existing disparate building stock for new housing. There is consequently continuity into the modern period of particular village forms, sustained by modern planning authorities as by Victorian landowners.¹¹¹

However, although 20th-century development changed Kettlethulme and Rainow villages, in contrast to Pott Shrigley where little modern development is evident, none of these townships has seen the great degree of growth to which some rural communities have been subject in the 19th and 20th centuries, consequent upon the development of railway and road transport.¹¹² Comparison of mid-19th-

¹¹⁰ Cf. Pott Shrigley (also a conservation area): Radcliffe, 'Hamlet in the Hills', 47.

¹¹¹ Emery, Oxfordshire Landscape, 173, 219-21, 231 (from which quotations are taken); Mills, Lord and Peasant, ch. 12.

¹¹² Cf. for example settlements in Ches. which expanded under the influence of the railways in the 19th century, described by Helsby in Ormerod, History of Ches. preface p. xix; and Ravensdale's fen

century maps with the late 20th-century landscape shows striking continuity between the two periods, with only a few alterations in the extent of settlement. In all four townships development outside the villages has been limited, the townships retaining their scattered farms and hamlets. These communities contrast with built-up areas to the lower-lying west - Poynton, Bollington, and Hurdsfield - and with Disley to the north. Their character led to the inclusion of parts of this area in the Peak Park at its creation in 1951, excluding the lower-lying portions of Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley, and Rainow.¹¹³ The protection of the landscape this status afforded was not therefore confined to areas which were preserved from development by the policies of their landowners, for the character of the environment meant that this continuity in landscape was more extensive than that.¹¹⁴

The Park not only reflected contrasts in settlement but has influenced its subsequent development: it constitutes an additional factor in modern planning processes in this locality. Its policy is to ensure that new structures blend in with existing buildings in scale, design and materials; and to limit new buildings to those justified by need (for example, for local housing), usually confined to existing villages.¹¹⁵ Its impact on settlement is illustrated by contrasting developments outside the

settlements which grew because of the car in the 20th century:
Liabile to Floods, 38, 173.

¹¹³ Above, p. 94 and figure 2.1 (p. 26).

¹¹⁴ Cf. a contrast in Sussex discerned by B. Short, 'The evolution of contrasting communities', The English Rural Community, ed. Short, 37, whereby former closed communities are afforded protection which may not be extended to open ones. Here, no such distinction was apparent.

¹¹⁵ Information from the Peak Park.

Park with the constraints operating within it. For instance, the Millers Meadow development in Rainow village postdates the designation of the Park, but lies just outside its boundary. Extensive developments to the rear of Shrigley Hall Hotel, and additions to Ingersley Hall (Rainow),¹¹⁶ would presumably not have been allowed within the National Park. However, construction within the Park is not unknown: the housing along Paddock Lane and Brookbottom in Kettlethulme village, for example, is within the Park and postdates its creation.

Limitations within the Park encompass the materials used as well as the extent of settlement. The authority demands that materials reflect local building traditions. Even existing structures are affected: the planning board argued for the demolition of the Victorian reading room/coffee house in Pott Shrigley, deeming the corrugated iron structure of no architectural merit.¹¹⁷ The local press in 1991 reported that a scout group had been ordered to remove its wooden hut from Berristall Hall Farm (Pott Shrigley), since the Peak Park planning authorities believed its fabric, design and position failed to respect the local building tradition.¹¹⁸ It seems that the influence of the Park has prolonged homogeneity in building materials, encouraging the use of stone, whereas more generally modern building tends towards the use of disparate materials.

The differences between the areas respectively within and outside the Park might be paralleled with the contrasts

¹¹⁶ Fieldwork, 1997-8.

¹¹⁷ Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 25 Jul. 1988.

¹¹⁸ Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 31 Dec. 1991. Cf. also Scott, 'Rainow', 37.

between closed communities, where development was controlled by landowners, and open ones, with more spontaneous development. The respective motives of the Peak Park and of families like the Leghs or the Downses, however, differ: those of gentry landowners may have included aesthetic considerations, but extended too to issues of social control. The ostensible purpose of the Park is to protect the landscape.

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER

The appearance and character, as well as the pattern, of settlement in this locality have been formed by several factors. The resources to hand determined what building materials were employed. The environment also influenced the type of building stock, with the dispersal of farmhouses through most parts of the locality, although other economic activities brought their own forms, like the textile mills. The general poverty of the area meant that buildings, for the most part, lagged behind wider architectural fashions, although social differentiation was sometimes reflected in architectural variation.

On the Pennine fringe, stone construction was usual; elsewhere in Cheshire, timber-framing endured.¹¹⁹ Local stone is the overwhelmingly predominant material in all types of structures - field walls, farmhouses and outbuildings, cottages and other dwellings, mills, inns, churches, chapels, and schools, ranging in date from the 16th to the 20th century.¹²⁰ The employment of locally-

¹¹⁹ Crosby, History of Ches. 67.

¹²⁰ D.o.E. Lists (1983) (Kettleshulme), 34-42; ibid. (Lyme), 31-41; ibid. (Pott Shrigley), 43-51; ibid. (Rainow), 48-9, 51-77; fieldwork, 1997-8. Cf. Pearson, Rural Houses of the Lancs. Pennines, 20-4, on the importance of stone - much more readily available than

available sandstone walling and slates has had an enormous impact on the landscape. Buildings using other materials, which are few in number and date from the later 19th and 20th centuries,¹²¹ are exceptions: they include brick-built estate workers' housing and workshops of 1904 at Lyme;¹²² Pott Shrigley's 19th-century brick vicarage; the reading room/coffee house in northern Pott Shrigley (1887), of corrugated iron;¹²³ and some 20th-century brick houses, for example in Rainow. A sandstone house in Pott Shrigley village was, to the horror of one commentator, painted black and white to imitate timber-framing, presumably a reference to the vernacular building tradition of the rest of the county.¹²⁴ Further diversity has apparently been limited by the National Park authorities within its boundaries.

Particular types of buildings (factories, churches and schools) are discussed elsewhere.¹²⁵ But a sketch of the general character of the building stock in different areas, the disposition of buildings of different date and type reflecting the townships' characters, may be attempted.

Kettleshulme consists mainly of farms and cottages, with the addition of the mill at Lumbhole, and institutional buildings (a Church of England school, a library, and the Methodist chapel) of modest size and unremarkable design built in the village in the 19th century. Farmhouses

timber there as in this part of the Pennines - from at least the 16th century.

¹²¹ With the exception of a late 18th-century corn barn of hand-made bricks at Brookside, Lyme Handley: D.o.E. List (1983), 25.

¹²² D.o.E. List (1983), 36.

¹²³ Below, pp. 336, 355.

¹²⁴ Alec Clifton-Taylor, in Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 46-7.

¹²⁵ Above, p. 228, below, ch. IV.8.

range in date but few dwellings stand out from the vernacular norm, with the exception of the vernacular revival glebe house of 1912.¹²⁶

Rainow, likewise, has many farms and cottages, although Laughton's 17th-century study illustrated how differentiation between them, in terms of their size and accoutrements, reflected the variations in the size of estates within the township.¹²⁷ Later additions were the 18th- and 19th-century mills on the west side; the chapel and school at Saltersford and the Methodist chapel at Billinge, all built in the 18th century; and the 19th-century chapels and schools of the village.¹²⁸ J. H. Hanshall (1823) wrote that Rainow township consisted of a considerable number of houses, chiefly cottages, and a few factories, almost all built of stone.¹²⁹ The undifferentiated character of the housing stock in the mid-19th century is revealed by the vicar's comment in 1845 that he inhabited the 'only available house in the village',¹³⁰ implying that the others were too poor to house the incumbent.¹³¹ Nonetheless, illustrating the variation in the scale of landownership amongst the many property-holders in the township as a whole there was Ingersley Hall, on the Gaskells' estate in the north-

¹²⁶ Below, pp. 337-8.

¹²⁷ 'Township of Rainow', ch. 3.

¹²⁸ Above, ch. IV.4, below, ch. IV.8.

¹²⁹ The History of the County Palatine of Chester (Chester, 1823), 543.

¹³⁰ Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: letter from G. Harrison to T. Bowdler, 28 Feb.

¹³¹ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letter from G. Harrison to the Ecclesiastical Commission, 9 May 1848. Cf. the 'open' community at Headington Quarry, Oxfordshire: R. Samuel, ' "Quarry Roughs" ', Village Life and Labour, ed. Samuel, 159.

west.¹³² The earlier parts of the present neo-classical structure are of c. 1775, considerably extended in 1833 when a coach-house and other outbuildings were also constructed.¹³³ This echoes on a smaller scale the establishments of the landed gentry like those at Shrigley and Lyme. Saltersford Hall was once home to the Stopford family.¹³⁴ A messuage in Saltersford was mentioned in 1574,¹³⁵ and the present structure has a 1593 datestone and substantial 17th-century elements. Its pretensions are expressed by a pedimented entrance, an 'unusual' survival of a classical detail on a vernacular building in this area.¹³⁶ A 1611 description mentioned a newly-erected hall with a gatehouse.¹³⁷ However, by the 18th century it was a farmhouse,¹³⁸ and in the early 19th century it varied 'little in ... appearance from the adjacent farm-houses'.¹³⁹ A report on the Saltersford estate, describing the character of life there in the late 19th century, referred to its pastoral mode of farming, limited to those farmers who were 'contented to ... live frugally in the small houses'.¹⁴⁰ Even Jenkin Chapel's appearance is often compared to that of the farmhouses around.¹⁴¹

For Pott Shrigley a diocesan return of 1789 described about 30 farms, large and small, and nearly as many

¹³² Above, pp. 66, 73.

¹³³ Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 246; D.o.E. List (1983), 58.

¹³⁴ Above, pp. 60-1.

¹³⁵ P.R.O., E 178/2957.

¹³⁶ D.o.E. List (1983), 69.

¹³⁷ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 190.

¹³⁸ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 419.

¹³⁹ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771.

¹⁴⁰ Northants. R.O., FS 48/6.

¹⁴¹ E.g. Crosby, History of Ches. 77.

cottages.¹⁴² The most substantial house in the township was Shrigley Hall.¹⁴³ Pott Hall, in the village, was first mentioned in 1432:¹⁴⁴ the present structure may have 16th-century origins, but is of several phases with 18th-century remodelling and 19th-century wings added to a 17th-century core.¹⁴⁵ In addition there was the medieval church and a school in the village; and the Victorian reading room in northern Pott Shrigley. A vicarage was built to the south of the village in the 19th century. There is a Methodist chapel in the north of the township.¹⁴⁶

Lyme Handley was dominated by its hall, proclaiming the Leghs' mastery of the landscape, having otherwise only the dispersed farmsteads and cottages of the estate, and lacking public buildings of any kind.

Architectural forms reflect the prosperity and pretensions of their builders, and the general character of architecture in this poor and remote area is low-key. *Most buildings are unpretentious and on a modest scale; some farm buildings are even of a primitive type for their date. Conversely, an 18th-century farmhouse and corn barn at Lowerbrook (Rainow) are noted as being atypical, having more affinity in scale and plan with those of the more prosperous Cheshire plain than with this area.*¹⁴⁷ Even public buildings are limited in their scale and grandeur. Pott Shrigley school was not

¹⁴² Ches. R.O., EDV 7/2/105.

¹⁴³ Belów, pp. 304, 308-11.

¹⁴⁴ Chester R.O., CR 63/2/503/2.

¹⁴⁵ D.o.E. List (1983), 45; fieldwork by Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor, Dec. 1997.

¹⁴⁶ Below, pp. 319-20, 336-7, 345, 356.

¹⁴⁷ D.o.E. List (1983) (Rainow), 53, 71-2; *ibid.* (Kettleshulme), 34.

constructed anew but adapted from an existing cottage.¹⁴⁸ Rainow's church of 1846 was described rather contemptuously by Pevsner and Hubbard as a 'cheap Commissioners' church'.¹⁴⁹

Even Shrigley Hall, symbol of William Turner's arrival in Cheshire society, is stylistically conservative for its date. Porter argued that few very large houses are found in the central Pennines (to the north of this area) because the land was too poor to support great lords who could afford to build 'grandiose palaces'.¹⁵⁰ The surviving halls at Shrigley and Lyme were built by landowners who gained significant proportions of their wealth from elsewhere, respectively Lancashire textiles and Lancashire estates and coal, rather than primarily from these Pennine estates. These two substantial houses (albeit Shrigley of modest scale compared to Lyme), situated only a few miles apart, are exceptions to the local building traditions evident elsewhere in the townships. High-status dwellings belonging to a landowning élite were the least vernacular, in terms of design and materials, because 'the wealth and social status of their occupiers ensured that these houses were influenced as much by national dictates in fashion as by local building traditions'.¹⁵¹ Girouard's examination of the country house¹⁵² argued that it was the means by which power deriving from landownership was displayed, made effective, and perpetuated; although the exact form in which the house achieved this changed over the

¹⁴⁸ P.R.O., ED 7/7 no. 236; Askey, Pott Shrigley School, 22; fieldwork, 1997-8.

¹⁴⁹ Ches. 318.

¹⁵⁰ Making of the Central Pennines, 72.

¹⁵¹ Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 72.

¹⁵² M. Girouard, Life in the English Country House (London, 1978).

generations. However, it was always the case that 'the size and pretensions of such houses were an accurate index of the ambitions - or lack of them - of their owners': a physical representation, therefore, of the great differentiation there existed in terms of wealth and status within these townships.¹⁵³

LYME PARK

The architectural history of Lyme is, then, related to the needs and aspirations of the Legh family. The original hall must have dated from between 1398, when Handley was granted as a 'piece of land and pasture',¹⁵⁴ and 1466, when there was a 'fine hall' with a 'high chamber', kitchen, bakehouse and brewery, and a barn, stable and bailiff's house, plus the park.¹⁵⁵ The present structure is a quadrangle, remodelled several times in a juxtaposition of styles to become what is now the largest house in the county.¹⁵⁶

No medieval fabric is known to survive and the relationship of the site and fabric of the present house with its predecessor is obscure. Manor houses were not usually situated within deer parks, but hunting lodges were sometimes converted into country houses in the 16th century.¹⁵⁷ The earliest surviving portions (the work of Sir Peter Legh, d. 1589) date from the 16th century, when

¹⁵³ Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 2-3. Cf. Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 213, and, for these townships, pp. 61-3 above, on the modern severance of the link between country houses and the estates which formerly sustained them.

¹⁵⁴ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 292.

¹⁵⁵ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, f. 272.

¹⁵⁶ Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 259.

¹⁵⁷ Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 128.

Lyme became the family's main residence.¹⁵⁸ Pevsner and Hubbard cite the northern frontispiece of c. 1570 as an example of the 'unsophisticated' taste of Elizabethan and Jacobean patrons and architects, referring to its 'crazy columniation'.¹⁵⁹ Although, Pevsner and Hubbard argue, the Elizabethan house must have been the same size as the current structure,¹⁶⁰ much of the fabric dates from the late 17th and early 18th century.¹⁶¹ The funeral sermon of Richard Legh (d. 1687) described how he had 'rebuilt and ennobled' his 'mansion house': 'there was such an affluence of all things, so great a resort of persons of quality ... that his house might ... be styled a Country Court, and Lyme the palace to the County-Palatine of Chester'.¹⁶² The diarist Henry Prescott described the hospitality offered there by Richard's successor, Peter Legh, in the 1700s.¹⁶³ Peter (d. 1744)¹⁶⁴ was responsible for major alterations, including those carried out by a family of local builders.¹⁶⁵ However, work was also carried out under the Venetian architect Giacomo Leoni.¹⁶⁶ *The precise attribution of the west front is contentious,*

¹⁵⁸ Above, pp. 58-9.

¹⁵⁹ Ches. 21, 259. Cf. Crosby, History of Ches. 65-6: the majority of Ches. country houses were rebuilt or altered in the 16th and 17th centuries, but county society lagged behind the most up-to-date architectural styles.

¹⁶⁰ But cf. Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 123, who argue that it may have been L-shaped; also D.o.E. List (1983), 26.

¹⁶¹ Ches. 22, 259-61.

¹⁶² Quoted in Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 300; cf. also Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 123, 125; D.o.E. List (1983), 26; and Newton, House of Lyme, ch. XIX and pp. 341-2, for his alterations.

¹⁶³ Diary of Henry Prescott, i, ed. Addy, 9, 54-5, 74, 185-6, 240.

¹⁶⁴ Above, figure 3.2 (p. 45).

¹⁶⁵ Newton, House of Lyme, ch. XXVII; Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 125; Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 759.

as are the alterations to the end bays of the north front.¹⁶⁷ However, Leoni was from the 1720s responsible for the south front, with its 15 bays separated by giant pilasters, and a portico with four Ionic columns and pediment. His interpretation is described by Pevsner and Hubbard as Baroque, rather than Palladian, and in a 17th-century style, despite its later date. Figueiredo and Treuherz argue that interior work of the period is also old-fashioned for its date, although some of it was probably executed without the architect's guidance. Leoni also altered the courtyard within by the addition of an arcade. The changes wrought a mansion on the 'grandest scale' with his 'monumental' south front.¹⁶⁸ Beamont considered that the remodelling altered the original character of the hall and substituted for it that of a 'palazzo' better suited to Italy than to 'a northern sky'.¹⁶⁹

The last major phase of structural alterations came in the early 19th century, when Leoni's south front was altered by a hamper above, added by Lewis Wyatt¹⁷⁰ who worked at Lyme between 1816 and 1822 for Thomas Legh (d. 1857).¹⁷¹ He also altered the east front, and was responsible for parts of the interior.¹⁷² The conservatory

¹⁶⁶ Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 609-10.

¹⁶⁷ Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 260; Lyme Park, 24, citing payments of 1729-30 to Leoni; cf. Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 125; also D.o.E. List (1983), 27.

¹⁶⁸ Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 26 (from which the quotations come), 260-1; D.o.E. List (1983), 27; Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 125; Lyme Park, 11-12.

¹⁶⁹ History of the House of Lyme, 191.

¹⁷⁰ For whom see Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1121-3.

¹⁷¹ Above, figure 3.2 (p. 45).

¹⁷² Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 261-2.

to the east, partly his work, was completed by Alfred Darbyshire in the 1860s. Further interior alterations, for example the Jouberts' work on the décor of the entrance hall, were made early in the 20th century.¹⁷³ At that period the Hall was still used for entertaining on a grand scale.¹⁷⁴

Although not all the elements of Lyme Hall have been at the cutting edge of architectural fashion, the scale of the house and the embellishments made by different generations express the success, prosperity and status of its owners over several hundred years.

SHRIGLEY HALL

The 'hall of Shrigley and the demesne' are first documented in 1545.¹⁷⁵ Presumably, though, the Downeses, ~~who~~ owned land in Shrigley from at least the 14th century,¹⁷⁶ had a residence there at earlier periods: the will of Geoffrey Downes (1492) required that a priest say mass for the family 'in their own place at Worth or else at Shrigley' if they were sick.¹⁷⁷ In 1611 Shrigley Hall consisted of five bays, with the 'gatehouse chamber' of *one bay, a brewhouse, dairyhouse, stable, slaughterhouse, hay barn, corn barn, oxhouse and garden.*¹⁷⁸ In 1688 the hall included 'a chamber called the White Chamber', and had a coach-house and stables.¹⁷⁹ A supposed representation of the 17th-century hall shows a three-

¹⁷³ Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 127; Lyme Park, 8-9.

¹⁷⁴ Lyme Park, 36-7.

¹⁷⁵ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 209.

¹⁷⁶ Above, pp. 39-40.

¹⁷⁷ 'Pott Shrigley Chapel', Ches. Sheaf, [1st series] ii. 47.

¹⁷⁸ P.R.O., LR 2/200, f. 242.

¹⁷⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 378.

storeyed house with gabled roofs.¹⁸⁰ In 1704 the diarist Henry Prescott described Shrigley as 'a decent house ... Lyme in epitome', where he and his companions were 'neatly and fully treated'.¹⁸¹ The old house was said in 1819 to have been altered at various periods, but retained its roof gables and some of its mullioned windows, and inside the hall was preserved with 'little alteration'.¹⁸²

After William Turner acquired the Downeses' estate,¹⁸³ Shrigley Hall was rebuilt in neo-classical style by the Preston architect Thomas Emmett (of whom little is known)¹⁸⁴ in 1825.¹⁸⁵ Presumably it was bought with the intention of reconstruction. No fabric of the older hall is known to survive.¹⁸⁶ The new hall is of local sandstone rubble, but the main facade has imported ashlar facing.¹⁸⁷ It stands on an elevated site at about 230 m., the land rising to the moors behind it to the east, but falling away in front of the house: its main rooms face west for the view of the Cheshire plain. Pevsner and Hubbard describe it as 'very fine', a symmetrical design of 2 storeys and 11 bays with a columned porch and a pediment.¹⁸⁸ Internally, it was arranged around a central

¹⁸⁰ Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 29.

¹⁸¹ Diary of Henry Prescott, i, ed. Addy, 8.

¹⁸² Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 773.

¹⁸³ Above, pp. 50-1.

¹⁸⁴ Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 345; he described Emmett's design as 'conservative'.

¹⁸⁵ Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 314.

¹⁸⁶ In 1889 'very slight remains' of the old hall were extant, but it is unclear whether these were within or outside the later structure: report of excursion to Pott Shrigley, T.L.C.A.S. vii. 292.

¹⁸⁷ Fieldwork by Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor, Dec. 1997.

¹⁸⁸ Ches. 314.

two-storey staircase hall, with a single row of principal rooms (dining room, drawing room, billiard room and library), having other accoutrements of the gentle lifestyle including a servants' hall and service areas, gun room, billiard room, library, and music room.¹⁸⁹ Elements in the architecture have been compared with the work of the much better-known Lewis Wyatt, whose work at Lyme at around this time has been mentioned.¹⁹⁰

Alterations were made to the house by later occupants, particularly in the 20th century. Additions made after the Salesians acquired it for educational purposes in 1929¹⁹¹ included a third storey providing additional accommodation in 1930. Wings to the rear were extended and other additions made to the area behind the house.¹⁹² The main staircase was removed.¹⁹³ The Salesians' greatest innovation was the construction (1936-8) of a large chapel just south of the hall and towering above it, designed by Philip Tilden and built largely of stone quarried from the park.¹⁹⁴ The school closed in the early 1980s owing to falling numbers and increasing running costs, and the hall was sold in 1985.¹⁹⁵ During its subsequent life as a hotel the hall has again been substantially altered, with extensive additions to the rear providing extra accommodation. There were 150

¹⁸⁹ Ches. R.O., D 2672/7; fieldwork, Dec. 1997.

¹⁹⁰ Figueiredo and Treuherz, Ches. Country Houses, 270.

¹⁹¹ Above, p. 63.

¹⁹² Abbott, Diocese of Shrewsbury, 88; information from the Salesian Community, Stockport.

¹⁹³ Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 29. Now reinstated: fieldwork, Dec. 1997.

¹⁹⁴ Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 43, 314; P. Tilden, 'First Church of St. John Bosco, Shrigley', The Builder, clxviii(1), 492-5.

¹⁹⁵ Information from the Salesian Community, Stockport.

bedrooms in 1997. The chapel was converted to a health club.¹⁹⁶

The halls of Shrigley and Lyme have had a significant local visual impact, which has in modern times varied - in Shrigley's case more than once - as the properties passed into institutional use, albeit in Lyme's case with the historical landscape preserved by a heritage organisation. They constitute a variation from the general pattern in this locality, a strongly vernacular tradition with few buildings of any great architectural pretension which determines the overall character of the area. Even on the gentry estates this tradition is apparent: estate planning did not permeate the character of settlement as completely as in some 'closed' townships, where existing dwellings were demolished and model settlements constructed.¹⁹⁷ The impact of the estates of resident gentry here was more closely confined to their dwellings and the landscaping of the immediate surroundings.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Information from Shrigley Hall Hotel, Dec. 1997.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. e.g. M. A. Havinden, D. S. Thornton and P. D. Wood, Estate Villages (London, 1966), 68-9, and plates.

¹⁹⁸ Above, pp. 160-71, for their parks.

Table 4.24
Population 1801-1991¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ V.C.H. Ches. ii. 219-20, 226-8; Census 1981, 1991. This information is represented graphically in figure 4.3 above (p. 277).

Table 4.24 Population of the four townships, 1801-1991

	Kettleshulme*	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
1801	291	222	369	1,390
1811	404	247	330	1,595
1821	354	253	331	1,530
1831	232	222	334	1,807
1841	336	268	391	1,759
1851	352	264	467	1,605
1861	357	237	450	1,550
1871	321	269	425	1,316
1881	329	296	385	1,281
1891	347	251	354	1,255
1901	321	242	313	1,205
1911	358	241	326	1,175
1921	380	264	407	1,087
1931	349	211	441	1,109
1941	-	-	-	-
1951	338	174	415	1,088
1961	329	175	376	1,005
1971	316	156	226	1,141
1981	343	167	256	1,361
1991	298	161	221	1,289

* The 1831 figure for Kettleshulme is possibly a mistake?

No census was taken in 1941.

Table 4.25
Population densities 1801, 1891, 1991

Table 4.25 Population densities in the townships from the censuses²⁰⁰

	Kettleshulme	Lyme Handley	Pott Shrigley	Rainow
1801	0.24	0.06	0.22	0.24
1891	0.28	0.07	0.21	0.22
1991	0.25	0.04	0.13	0.22

²⁰⁰ Calculated by dividing the total population (cf. table 4.24) by the acreage for each township. Acreages are from Laxton, TS. 'List of Ches. townships and parishes': in 1891 they were, respectively, 1,232 acres, 3,747 acres, 1,706 acres and 5,744 acres. The Kettleshulme boundary change in the 1930s (above, p. 3) is accounted for by using the acreage given in the Census 1951 (1,201 acres) for the 1991 calculation.

8. Churches, chapels and schools

Religion was a powerful force within local communities until the modern period when large sections of the population were alienated from religious observance. The importance of places of worship transcended religion, since they were often more general forums for communal activity.¹ Churches and chapels - often the most impressive buildings in the local landscape - reveal much about the communities they served: their scale and form proportional to the wealth of their patrons or size of their congregations; the balance between church and chapel revealing the 'spiritual ethos'.² This chapter focusses upon how religious provision related to other features of these townships. This aspect of communal life is examined in detail because religious institutions were comparatively well-documented. Schools, also among the better-documented institutions sustained by these communities, merit examination too. They were before the 20th century usually religious initiatives.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

THE ANCIENT PARISH OF PRESTBURY

In the mid-19th century 'the Church of England was strongest in the fertile lowlands and nucleated villages of the south rather than the dispersed settlements and scattered townships of the north and west and border

¹ A. D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England (London, 1976), 202-3, 205-7; Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, 114, 118; Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 66; Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 71-3; Spufford, Contrasting Communities, ch. 13 and p. 352.

² Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 87.

counties'.³ Cheshire falls within the region of large, multi-township parishes, rather than single-township parishes coinciding with a single village settlement. The contrast has been attributed to comparative densities of wealth and population at the period of parish formation before c. 1200, for in a thinly-populated, poor environment a larger area was needed to make a viable unit. Ossification of parochial rights from the late medieval period militated against the formation of more parishes to cater for changing population levels, even as late as the 19th century.⁴ The vast parish of Prestbury,⁵ extending some twelve or more miles from west to east, was large even by north-western standards. Its size presumably arose from the sparsity of settlement in east Cheshire - especially this upland fringe - at the period of its formation.⁶ The level of ecclesiastical provision was thus related to physical marginality.

Although in parts of southern England the parish was the key territorial division, ecclesiastical and civil, here it did not coincide with units of landownership, economic organisation, or settlement, and was of limited significance.⁷ Although still 'the fundamental unit of ecclesiastical administration',⁸ certain ecclesiastical functions devolved to more local units, just as civil duties were carried out by the townships. Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley and Rainow fell within the parochial chapelry of Macclesfield (created in 1278).⁹ Lyme

³ Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 882-3.

⁴ Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 4-5, 7; Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 22-7.

⁵ Above, figure 1.2 (p. 4).

⁶ Above, pp. 115-18, 273, 283.

⁷ Cf. Bennett, Community, Class and Careerism, 47-9, 52.

⁸ Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing', 3.

⁹ Above, figure 1.2 (p. 4).

Handley, however, remained under the direct jurisdiction of Prestbury parish, even though the township was not contiguous with others which had that status.¹⁰ There was a private domestic chapel at Lyme Hall. Chapels of ease in Pott and, later, in Saltersford and Rainow were founded to serve local spiritual needs, and so further chapelries - but not, until the 19th century, independent parishes - evolved. These small ecclesiastical units were not always coterminous with the civil townships. There were consequently differences between the townships in ecclesiastical provision and status.

CHAPELS OF EASE

Even before chapels are documented in these townships, crosses were erected in the hills, probably as landmarks as well as aids to devotion. The Anglo-Saxon Bow Stones, on the moors in Lyme Handley, survive. The 1466 Legh survey referred to the 'Jordan Law Cross' (near Charles Head). Others included an Anglo-Saxon cross at Blue Boar, Rainow; and Jenkin Cross in Saltersford.¹¹ A medieval preaching cross, of indeterminate date but perhaps pre-dating the church, stands just south of Pott Chapel.¹² Medieval chapels which failed to survive sometimes go almost undocumented,¹³ and it is therefore impossible to state unequivocally that there were no chapels in these townships before the late medieval period. However, no evidence has been found. The place-names 'Kirky Clough'

¹⁰ Dunn, Ancient Parishes, Townships and Chapelries of Ches. 23, 29, 31.

¹¹ Legh of Lyme Survey 1466, f. 272; V.C.H. Ches. i. 281, 290-1; below, p. 321.

¹² D.o.E. List (1983), 44.

¹³ P. E. H. Hair, 'The Chapel in the English Landscape', The Local Historian, xxi(1), 6-7.

and 'Priest Farm' in Kettlethulme may refer to lands of the chantry at Pott.¹⁴

The chancel and aisled two-bay nave of Pott Shrigley church are of modest proportions, but it has a substantial western tower. Its gritstone, unusual for a Cheshire church, is in keeping with its location. The older fabric is of the 14th century, perhaps c. 1300.¹⁵ The chapel was one of few medieval foundations in the east Cheshire Pennines and its origin, although obscure, probably arose from an association with the leading family in Pott Shrigley. Certainly the first documentary reference in 1472 calls it 'Our Lady of Downes Chapel in Pott'.¹⁶ Geoffrey Downes, younger brother of Robert Downes of Shrigley (who d. 1495), with Lady Jane Ingoldisthorpe endowed a chantry at the chapel and established a gild there in the late 15th century. His will of 1492 carefully detailed his instructions regarding the foundation, apparently employing a total of three priests.¹⁷ A library was also established, providing 'edifying but popular reading' in this 'remote Cheshire village'.¹⁸ It is not clear how the documented chantry foundation relates to the architectural evidence of an apparently much older building. Crossley argued that,

¹⁴ Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 112. Cf. the kirkefield (Rainow), 1611: ibid. i. 146; but the surname 'Kirk' is also found locally.

¹⁵ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 278-9, and Crossley in ibid. 418; R. W. Morant, Ches. Churches (Birkenhead, 1989), 166; fieldwork by Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor.

¹⁶ Ches. R.O., DDS 3/37, calendared at Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 140.

¹⁷ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 774-5; 'Pott Shrigley Chapel', 46-8, 51-2; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 140, 163-4, ii. 481, 549; Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/129.

¹⁸ J. McN. Dodgson, 'A Library at Pott Chapel', Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 3rd series xv: The Library, 5th series xv. 47-53.

notwithstanding Geoffrey Downes' reference to his chapel,¹⁹ the nave, north arcade and chancel are older; he attributed to Downes the south aisle and tower.²⁰ Downes' reference to two aisles²¹ presumably alludes to refurbishment rather than the construction of both, since the north aisle seems to date from the late 14th century.²² The fine late 15th-century roofs of the chancel and nave (the latter aligned with the bays of the south aisle) presumably date from Downes' remodelling.²³

The presence of a church may seem incongruous with the small size of the village, but it came over time to serve the scattered population of surrounding districts, not just the single township. The foundation suffered at the Dissolution in losing chantry priests who, in a county with few parish churches, had played an important role in spiritual life. However, it was deemed necessary to have a curate to serve Pott Chapel, with its 400 communicants in 1548, since it was some three miles from the parish church; and so it survived as a chapel of ease to Prestbury, although disendowed.²⁴ The chapel remained

¹⁹ The will referred to a 'chapel of my foundation' and to no previous institution: 'Pott Shrigley Chapel', 47. Cf. the wording of his commemorative window, formerly on the south side of the chancel, now lost: Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 774.

²⁰ In Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 418. But two bells date from the early 15th century (Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/11, f. 57v.) and pre-suppose the existence of an earlier tower, unless moved from elsewhere. However, angled buttresses at the west end suggest that the original structure had no tower (Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor).

²¹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 549.

²² Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor.

²³ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 278-9.

²⁴ V.C.H. Ches. iii. 17; P.R.O., E 301/8 no. 29. Cf. Disley chapel, similarly allowed to survive: Lancs. and Ches. Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, i, ed. Stewart-Brown, 94.

closely connected with the Downes family: in 1552 'a site of a chapel in Pott Shrigley' was conveyed with other family property.²⁵ In 1566 it was still described as 'Downes Chapel, alias Pott Chapel'. The patronage descended with the Shrigley estate.²⁶ In the late 18th century Peter Downes' mortgaged property included 'the chapel of Pott otherwise Downes Chapel', presumably still considered the property of the family.²⁷

Rainow had two 18th-century chapels of ease. The stone chapel at Saltersford, known as Jenkin Chapel,²⁸ was despite its appearance as 'simply a cottage having a small tower'²⁹ purpose-built. It was erected in 1733 on land claimed to be common to the inhabitants of the 'Liberty of Saltersford', which led to a dispute with the landowner James Stopford (resolved in 1739). In 1734, the inhabitants of Saltersford and neighbouring Kettlethulme, 'sensible what a great loss' they sustained 'for want of a ... minister', made provision for one.³⁰ A tower was added to the chapel in 1754-5, paid for by a levy on the farms in the valley, plus gifts from some inhabitants. The early status of the chapel is unclear and it was not consecrated until 1794, when it was stated that the chapel had been 'erected ... at the sole expense and with the voluntary contributions of the ancestors of several

²⁵ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 237.

²⁶ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 774. Cf. the livings of Rainow and Saltersford, whose patronage belonged not to a local landowner but to the vicar of Prestbury: ibid. iii. 771.

²⁷ Unless the advowson alone is referred to. Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 472.

²⁸ From the nearby cross: Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 289; Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 140.

²⁹ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 457.

³⁰ Ches. R.O., EDP 239/7.

of the inhabitants of Saltersford'.³¹ Its origin in the efforts of the community at large strikes a contrast with Pott Chapel, so closely associated with the Downes family. The sentence of consecration stated that the chapel was for the 'ease and convenience' of the inhabitants 'being very distant from their parish church and to promote ... worship'.³² Although 'built in the most dreary part of this inhospitable district',³³ the chapel's central location at the meeting point of several routes presumably reflects a desire for equality of access from the dispersed farms. Its small scale, and unsophisticated architecture, reflect the size and resources of the community that built it: in 1789 the chapelry, some three miles in length and two in breadth, contained only 23 farms.³⁴ However, by local standards the farmers were probably well-off, having larger holdings than those elsewhere in the locality.³⁵

It was only after residents made provision for their spiritual needs, then, that Saltersford was adopted as part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as a chapelry within the parish of Prestbury and township of Rainow. It originated in communal decision-making at sub-township level. The way in which the chapel expressed and, subsequently, defined the identity of the inhabitants is reflected in Kelly's Directory which, separately from Rainow, described 'Saltersford (or Jenkin Chapel)'.³⁶

³¹ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 289, 419-21; Macclesfield Library, Jenkin Chapel news cuttings: article by Walter Smith, n.d.; Ches. R.O., EDA 2/9, ff. 197-8; ibid. P 188/3086/2/1.

³² Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/2/1.

³³ Hanshall, History of the County Palatine of Chester, 543.

³⁴ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/2/108.

³⁵ Above, pp. 143, 146.

³⁶ E.g. 1902 edn. Cf. above, pp. 102-4, below, pp. 381, 393-4, for Saltersford's distinction within Rainow.

The original chapel in Rainow village dated from a similar period, and like Jenkin owed its existence to an impetus from the local community to address problems of provision by the Church of England. The 18th century was an unusual time to be building churches.³⁷ The chapel did not appear in Bishop Gastrell's survey of the 1720s,³⁸ but Earwaker believed it to date from the early 18th century, and stated that a bell later given to Saltersford Chapel was dated 1724.³⁹ Despite the inhabitants' petition of 1783 that the chapel be consecrated,⁴⁰ it seems never to have been consecrated or licensed and reflects the generally unsatisfactory provision in Prestbury parish.⁴¹ The chapel was rebuilt at the beginning of the 19th century,⁴² although it had no chancel⁴³ and in 1840 was described as 'plain'.⁴⁴ Because it was dilapidated, unsafe, and too small for the increase of population,⁴⁵ it was demolished in 1845.⁴⁶ The replacement, Holy Trinity (consecrated 1846), was 'somewhat more ecclesiastical in

³⁷ Cf. A. Everitt, 'Nonconformity in Country Parishes', Land, Church and People, ed. J. Thirsk, supplement to The Agricultural History Review, xviii. 190-1.

³⁸ Notitia Cestrienses, i, ed. Raines; A. T. Thacker, 'The Chester diocesan records', T.H.S.L.C. cxxx. 151, for the survey's date.

³⁹ East Ches. ii. 456. Cf. Birkenhead Library, MA C/III/27; Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 290, 419; Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

⁴⁰ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

⁴¹ Cf. P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 38. A vicar later claimed (Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2) that the church was consecrated, but appears to have taken this position in order to collect his own pew rents.

⁴² Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 456. Cf. its enlargement, to hold 250, 'many years' before 1845: Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: letter from G. Harrison to T. Bowdler, 28 Feb. 1845.

⁴³ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/411.

⁴⁴ Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 46.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 38.

⁴⁶ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 456.

appearance',⁴⁷ of conservative Gothic design: of late date, for example, to have gated pews.⁴⁸ It was paid for by grants from church building societies, and from subscriptions and other sources.⁴⁹ Such 'Commissioners' churches' were essentially auditoria, designed for maximum capacity at minimum expense.⁵⁰

The decision to rebuild rather than repair the chapel arose partly from the fact that the cost of repair would fall entirely on the inhabitants, whereas external aid might be forthcoming for a new building.⁵¹ A site was given (behind the National School),⁵² although the benefactor did not own much land and could not afford to give more than was absolutely necessary. Soliciting financial help, the vicar, George Harrison, emphasised that a new church was of 'utmost consequence' to the extensive chapelry. The body of the parishioners were 'very poor', although 'anxious' for a church. Services were being conducted in the school room, but the congregation's dislike for the arrangement meant that attendance was 'becoming less and less'. Harrison also noted the Wesleyans' strength.⁵³ These comments make explicit the fact that attendance was to some degree determined by the provision made by the Church of England, and that where provision was lacking inhabitants

⁴⁷ Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/45 (1878).

⁴⁸ Fieldwork by Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 38. Subscriptions included sums from landowners including the Earls of Derby and Courtown, the Gaskells, and the millowning Brooke/Swindells partnership: Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/1/1.

⁵⁰ R. Morris, Churches in the Landscape (London, 1989), 428.

⁵¹ Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/5/1: meeting of 3 Jun. 1844.

⁵² Above, figure 4.5 (p. 294).

⁵³ Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: letter to T. Bowdler, received 24 Feb. 1845; and letter of 28 Feb. 1845.

either failed to attend, or attended alternative places of worship.⁵⁴ This problem was particularly acute in Rainow, several miles distant from Prestbury church and the most extensive township in the parish.⁵⁵ To address these problems, the new church seated over 500, including 337 free sittings.⁵⁶ By 1848 congregations had improved.⁵⁷ Even after the construction of the new church, however, Harrison found it arduous ministering to nearly '1,700 souls ... widely scattered' in the large and poor district.⁵⁸

The chapel's construction apparently owed much to the desire of the local inhabitants for a new church, and particularly to the motivating force provided by Harrison 'by whose efforts' the church was built, according to his memorial there. It was, however, also part of a broader 19th-century trend, aided by the concerted efforts of central bodies to match church provision to the distribution of population.⁵⁹ The problem here arose not so much from population growth, although this had occurred,⁶⁰ but from long-standing difficulties where dispersed settlement hindered access to existing churches and chapels: an issue already addressed locally by the 18th-century chapels in Saltersford and Rainow.

⁵⁴ Cf. Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/1/3.

⁵⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: form received 26 Feb. 1845.

⁵⁶ Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: certificate of 25 Jun. 1846.

⁵⁷ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letter from Harrison to the Ecclesiastical Commission (hereafter E.C.), 9 May.

⁵⁸ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letters from Harrison to J. J. Chalk, 8 Apr. 1854, to E.C., 7 Jan. 1861 (the quotations are from the latter).

⁵⁹ Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 191. Cf. Palliser, Staffs. Landscape, 138, 192.

⁶⁰ Above, table 4.24 (p. 313).

Lyme Handley had no public place of worship. The origin of the Leghs' domestic chapel within Lyme Hall is not known, but it dates perhaps from the 16th and certainly from the 17th century. The family also worshipped at and patronised the chapel at nearby Disley. Their domestic chapel began to fall out of use in the 19th century and was disused in the early 20th century.⁶¹ Even more than the Downeses' chapel at Pott, the chapel at Lyme was intimately related with the landowning family. But unlike Pott it was not free-standing and did not become a chapel of ease serving the wider community. Its congregation was confined to the Legh family and their dependants.⁶²

PROVISION AND USE

The distribution of chapels and settlements was such that some townships were without places of worship, and some inhabitants of townships with chapels were more conveniently placed to attend those in neighbouring townships. Residents of Pott, Rainow and Kettleshulme variously attended Prestbury, Macclesfield and Taxal churches (the latter east of Kettleshulme).⁶³ A

⁶¹ Richards, 'Chapel at Lyme Hall', 145-9; Newton, House of Lyme, 51, 68, 75, 79, 82; Lyme Park, 10; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 300; Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 22; P.R.O., HO 129/453, ff. 31-2; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1857, 1865; J. L. Wood, 'Sources for the History of the Church and Society in Disley' (dissertation for M.A.R.M., University of Liverpool, 1998), 2, 28; Ches. R.O., P 69/3336/4/1: copy bishop's letter to the Reverend Satterthwaite, 24 Jul. 1899 (with thanks to Jan Wood for this reference); Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 74, 78, 109. On domestic chapels: Hair, 'The Chapel in the English Landscape', 5.

⁶² Cf. table 4.26 below (p. 363).

⁶³ The Register Book of Prestbury, 1560-1636, ed. J. Croston (R.S.L.C. v, 1881); Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 332; Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 119-10; Meecham, Story of the Church in

reference⁶⁴ of c. 1738 to 'the Churchway' in southern Kettleshulme presumably alludes to a route towards Taxal church, and another route led from Rainow towards Prestbury church.⁶⁵

In 1656 the inhabitants' petition that Pott Shrigley become a parish distinct from Prestbury was dismissed.⁶⁶ A petition of 1657 noted that places within Macclesfield Forest were 'in an inappropriate parish', and many people lived miles from the place of public assembly.⁶⁷ This awareness during the Interregnum of the mismatch between provision and population in this area resulted in no alteration to ecclesiastical structures.⁶⁸ Long-running disputes about the payment of dues to Prestbury parish and Macclesfield chapelry by their constituent townships and chapelries in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries expressed the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of Pott, Rainow, Kettleshulme and other nearby townships with the failure of existing ecclesiastical institutions to meet the needs of local communities. A loyalty to the chapels within the townships of Pott and Rainow rather than to the churches outside is apparent.⁶⁹

Rainow, 7; Birkenhead Library, MA C/III/27; Ches. R.O., probate for Kettleshulme: Nicholas Blackwall (1669).

⁶⁴ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 422.

⁶⁵ Scott, 'Rainow', 33.

⁶⁶ Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, Lancs. and Ches. 1643-60, ii, ed. W. A. Shaw (R.S.L.C. xxxiv, 1896), 108, 125.

⁶⁷ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 120.

⁶⁸ Cf. C. Cross, 'The Church in England', The Interregnum: the Quest for Settlement 1646-1660, ed. G. E. Aylmer (London, 1972), 105.

⁶⁹ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 392; Davies, History of Macclesfield, 310; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 511, 549; Birkenhead Library, MA C/III/11, 18-30, 34-6; Ches. R.O., DDS 35/8, DTR 5/8, P 38/4531/26; Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: letter from G. Harrison to T. Bowdler, 5 Mar. 1845.

Despite their dependent status, the chapels within the townships were central in fulfilling their inhabitants' spiritual needs, and to many intents functioned as parish churches for their congregations,⁷⁰ albeit with some rights reserved to Prestbury into the 19th century. An early 18th-century petition⁷¹ for Queen Anne's Bounty described Pott Chapel as standing in a remote part of the parish, although the inhabitants were 'generally well inclined to the Church'. The chapel apparently served some 1,000 people, who would in the absence of a minister there be in danger of becoming 'brutish' and 'atheistical'.⁷² At that period divine offices were performed to a 'numerous' congregation.⁷³ Presumably some were from outside the township:⁷⁴ the parish registers,⁷⁵ from the 1630s, record regular use by inhabitants of, among others, Lyme Handley and Kettlethulme and, particularly, Rainow, Bollington and Adlington. In 1711 some seat-holders had property in neighbouring townships, including Rainow Mill and Ingersley in northern Rainow, the area closest to the chapel, but also Lamaload, at Rainow's southern extremity.⁷⁶ This usage continued despite the construction of the two chapels in Rainow township in the 18th century. In 1818 inhabitants of populous Bollington (which had no church of its own)

⁷⁰ Cf. Hair, 'The Chapel in the English Landscape', 5.

⁷¹ Which must date from between 1714, since it refers to the late Queen, and 1732, since the minister was James Flesher (cf. Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 280); presumably before the living was augmented in 1719: below, p. 333.

⁷² Ches. R.O., EDP 225/5.

⁷³ Ches. R.O., EDA 6/4/24.

⁷⁴ Cf. total population of 369 in Pott Shrigley township in 1801: above, table 4.24 (p. 313).

⁷⁵ Ches. R.O., P 38/1, P 38/2/1.

⁷⁶ Ches. R.O., EDC 5/15.

attending Pott Chapel were 'much too numerous to be accommodated', although benches had been installed; for before the erection of Bollington church (1834),⁷⁷ Pott was 'as it were' the mother church of neighbouring townships: proximity, as well as formal allegiance, was important.⁷⁸ Similarly, many inhabitants of Rainow were nearer other places of worship than that chapel.⁷⁹ As late as 1910 the vicar of Pott argued that - as Pott Chapel stood at the southern end of Pott Shrigley township - the living had always ministered to areas outside its legal area, *viz.* Rainow and Bollington. Since, he claimed, it had 'always been understood' that Shrigley looked after the nearer side of Rainow, part of Rainow could be formally added to its area, for he was sure that 'Rainow would welcome the relief'. However, his request was turned down because the population was insufficient to qualify for a scheme to raise livings - again showing that problems of provision here arose as much from the distribution of the population as from its size.⁸⁰

Despite its important function in serving the inhabitants of several townships, in 1818 Pott Chapel was described as a perpetual curacy, without the privilege of marriage or other parochial rights.⁸¹ However, in 1880 the church was assigned a district chapelry comprising the township and ancient chapelry of Pott Shrigley, with marriages, baptisms, churchings and burials to be performed there.⁸²

⁷⁷ Earwaker, *East Ches.* ii. 333.

⁷⁸ Osborne, *Sketch of Prestbury*, 49.

⁷⁹ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/411.

⁸⁰ C.E.R.C., file 59451: letter from C. W. Aslachsen to E.C., 16 Mar., and reply of 19 Mar.

⁸¹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

⁸² Marriages had formerly been conducted there but ceased in the 1750s: Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/26, 28. The last marriage before 1880 was registered in 1753 (Ches. R.O., EDB 170). Cf. *Clandestine*

After 1889 the minister could style himself vicar.⁸³ Similarly, in 1863 Rainow's rights were extended and marriages, as well as baptisms, churchings and burials, could be performed,⁸⁴ regularizing the situation which had formerly existed.⁸⁵ The vicar had argued that his inability to perform marriages operated 'against the interests of the Established Church' and contrary to the wishes of the parishioners, failing to provide for their needs.⁸⁶

Saltersford's register (1770-1821), like that of Pott, shows that the chapel served inhabitants of contiguous areas - Harrop, Rainow and Kettlethulme.⁸⁷ In 1857 some inhabitants of Rainow still attended.⁸⁸ Kettlethulme people were buried in Saltersford churchyard, even Wesleyans.⁸⁹ Before the 1860s Saltersford had no distinct district legally assigned, and so it was said that Kettlethulme contained more than 250 people 'not provided for spiritually'.⁹⁰ Kettlethulme's new schoolhouse was licensed for divine service in 1856⁹¹ (a means of addressing inadequate provision without the construction of a chapel). The informal relationship between

Marriages Act, 26 Geo. II, c. 33, to confine marriages to parish churches and public chapels: Pott's status seems to have been more ambiguous than this. Cf. W. E. Tate, The Parish Chest (Cambridge, 1969 edn.), 49.

⁸³ C.E.R.C., file 59451: letter from E.C. to G. F. Apthorp, 12 Feb. 1889.

⁸⁴ London Gazette, 28 Jul. 1863, p. 3737.

⁸⁵ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/1/8.

⁸⁶ C.E.R.C., file 27783: letters from Harrison to E.C., 21 Nov. 1862, 30 Mar. 1863.

⁸⁷ Ches. R.O., P 188/3176/1.

⁸⁸ Kelly's Directory of Ches.

⁸⁹ E.g. Charles Barton (d. 1896) and his wife. Fieldwork, Dec. 1997.

⁹⁰ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/1-2.

⁹¹ Ches. R.O., EDP 239/3.

Saltersford and Kettlethulme was formalised when, in an attempt again to match ecclesiastical provision to local need, the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1864 assigned to Saltersford church a district chapelry consisting of Saltersford chapelry and Kettlethulme township.⁹² The difficulties faced by the Church in ministering to this remote locality were reflected in the qualities sought in a curate for Saltersford by the vicar of Prestbury: the candidate had to be young, energetic, 'almost a missionary', and very conciliatory in his manner.⁹³ In 1907 provision was inadequate, Saltersford church having been 'practically closed' for several years and the lack of provision for spiritual welfare 'most keenly felt', although weekly services arranged by the vicar of Prestbury were 'highly appreciated' by the residents.⁹⁴ In 1918 a number of the Jenkin congregation were inhabitants of Rainow.⁹⁵ In 1921 ecclesiastical arrangements for the townships were again reformed, with Saltersford joined to Rainow and Kettlethulme to Taxal.⁹⁶ In the 20th century use of Saltersford chapel has been confined mainly to the summer months.⁹⁷

In 1895 it was recorded that, although Lyme was not part of Disley chapelry, Disley's incumbents usually visited the inhabitants with the sanction of the vicars of Prestbury, who had responsibility for Lyme Handley.⁹⁸ The arrangements and re-arrangements for serving all four

⁹² London Gazette, 4 Mar. 1864, pp. 1330-1.

⁹³ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/22.

⁹⁴ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/161.

⁹⁵ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/5/1: parish magazine, Aug. 1918.

⁹⁶ C.E.R.C., file 5599, cutting from London Gazette, 1 Jul. 1921, cf. letter from Gamon, Farmer and Co. to E.C., 7 Feb. 1922.

⁹⁷ Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/9.

⁹⁸ C.E.R.C., file 51767: letter from E.C. to Reverend Satterthwaite, Dec. 1895 (with thanks to Jan Wood for this reference).

townships constituted a whole series of attempts to match ecclesiastical structures to the needs of these communities from the 19th century.

THE LIVINGS

The post-Reformation livings were perpetual curacies, of low status and poorly endowed with little or no glebe land, no income from tithes, and small stipends. In 1859, for example, Jenkin Chapel's endowment came from subscriptions and Queen Anne's Bounty as was commonly the case in the neighbourhood.⁹⁹ Eighteenth and 19th-century augmentations attempted to fulfil the communities' spiritual needs by enhancing the resources of the personnel serving them.

Geoffrey Downes' endowment of Pott Chapel with property in Pott Shrigley and elsewhere in the late 15th century¹⁰⁰ contrasted with its later poverty, for the lands were taken by the Crown at the Dissolution.¹⁰¹ In 1648 and 1650 augmentations were made,¹⁰² but apparently did not survive the Restoration. A petition of the 1710s¹⁰³ solicited augmentation, for the chapel was 'deprived and destitute' of maintenance for the minister; the contributions of the inhabitants were limited by their poverty and were insufficient for the minister's 'decent subsistence'. The

⁹⁹ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/2.

¹⁰⁰ Dodgson, 'Library at Pott Chapel', 48-9.

¹⁰¹ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 317-18, 327; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

¹⁰² Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, Lancs. and Ches. 1643-60, i, ed. W. A. Shaw (R.S.L.C. xxviii, 1893), 195, 201-2, 207; W. A. Shaw, A History of the English Church 1640-1660, ii (London, 1900), 527. Cf. Cross, 'The Church in England', 104.

¹⁰³ See n. 71 above for the date.

living was augmented in 1719 by the donation of Mr Downes and other contributions and by various later initiatives in the 18th and 19th centuries.¹⁰⁴ But as late as 1918 the vicar complained that it was impossible to make ends meet.¹⁰⁵

Like many poor livings Pott was often held in plurality in the 17th and 18th centuries,¹⁰⁶ its clergy residing elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ Assistant curates were sometimes employed.¹⁰⁸ In 1801, however, the bishop commended Edward Downes' motive in 'seeking ... to establish ... a resident minister among your tenantry',¹⁰⁹ and in the early 19th century pluralism and absenteeism apparently ceased.¹¹⁰

The means by which the cure of Pott was served, and its value, were similar to those of Rainow and Saltersford: none was a desirable place of preferment. In 1783 several landowners in Rainow petitioned for augmentation from Queen Anne's Bounty on the grounds that most inhabitants were of modest degree and the income of the living was

¹⁰⁴ Gastrell, Notitia Cestrienses, i, ed. Raines, pp. xvi, 294-5; Ches. R.O., EDP 225/5, EDV 7/1/98; ibid. P 38/4531/19-20, 26, P 38/4531/13: case for opinion of counsel on chancel repair (1897); Lewis, Topographical Dictionary (1831 and 1849 edns.), iii; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 774.

¹⁰⁵ C.E.R.C., file 65397(1): letters to E.C. from Aslachsen, 27 Feb. 1918; G. H. C. Bartley, 21 Oct. 1919; A. P. Frost, 15 Nov. 1922; Aslachsen, 20 Aug. 1923; ibid. files 65397(2), 65397(4) passim.

¹⁰⁶ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 190, 219, 280, 305; Robson, Some Aspects of Education in Ches. 88; 'Bishop Porteus' Visitation, 1779', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series liii. 26, 32; V.C.H. Ches. iii. 239.

¹⁰⁷ P.R.O., MR 354; Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/98.

¹⁰⁸ Ches. R.O., EDP 225/1/1; ibid. EDA 1/9, ff. 67v., 101.

¹⁰⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 546.

¹¹⁰ E.g. Ches. R.O., EDV 7/6/312. Cf. a general trend towards better provision: Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 885.

too small to maintain a minister.¹¹¹ The petition again expressed a demand on the part of local residents for better provision for their spiritual needs. As in Pott, various augmentations were made but the living remained a poor one,¹¹² as even in 1953 the vicar complained.¹¹³ Saltersford's circumstances were similar.¹¹⁴ In the 18th and early 19th centuries incumbents of Rainow and Saltersford were pluralists (sometimes holding the livings together) and non-residents.¹¹⁵ However, in 1845 Rainow had 'for some years' had a resident minister.¹¹⁶ But as late as 1889, the living of Saltersford-cum-Kettleshulme was sequestrated owing to the incumbent 'unlawfully' absenting himself.¹¹⁷ In 1890 the 'difficulties of locomotion' in the locality, especially in bad weather, were mentioned as a mitigating factor in his 'inadequate' performance of his duties. Of a parish of some 400 people the Sunday congregation averaged only half a dozen, and Holy Communion was rarely administered;

¹¹¹ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

¹¹² C. Hodgson, An Account of the Augmentation of Small Livings (London, 1845 edn.), p. ccli; London Gazette, 16 Jun. 1843, pp. 2016-20; C.E.R.C., file 5599: letter from Harrison to E.C., 31 Jan. 1844; P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 38; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/45; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771.

¹¹³ Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/7: meeting of 7 Dec.

¹¹⁴ 'Bishop Porteus' Visitation, 1779', 26, 34; Hodgson, Account of the Augmentation of Small Livings, p. ccli; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 771; T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/1, 3; London Gazette, 10 Jan. 1865, pp. 118-19; ibid. 29 Mar. 1872, pp. 1681-2; ibid. 21 May 1880, p. 3129.

¹¹⁵ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 456-7; Ches. R.O., EDP 230/1/1, EDV 7/1/100-1, EDV 7/4/206, 220, EDV 7/6/316, EDV 7/7/411, 444; ibid. EDA 1/9, f. 34Ar.; Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales, H.C. [67], pp. 254-7 (1835), xxii.

¹¹⁶ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/1/3.

¹¹⁷ Ches. R.O., EDA 2/28, f. 764.

parishioners were resorting instead to Taxal for baptisms and burials.¹¹⁸

These three perpetual curacies were close to the bottom of the scale of clerical incomes,¹¹⁹ despite some improvement in the 19th century which enabled clergy to be resident. Limited financial provision seems to have arisen from their lowly status and limited rights as subsidiaries within the parish of Prestbury; assistance from within the communities was insufficient to address their difficulties, and help was required from central bodies to augment the livings to a respectable standard. Despite this, some incumbents were long-serving, for example George Harrison of Rainow (between 1843 and 1874)¹²⁰ and, in Pott Shrigley, James Sumner (who served 1829-72) and C. W. Aslachsen (1898-1952):¹²¹ although complaints were forthcoming even from Harrison and Aslachsen about their financial problems, arduous ministry to a poor and scattered population in a remote and inclement district, and the strength of nonconformity.¹²²

CLERGY HOUSES

The glebe house constituted part of the value of a living,¹²³ and in these townships absenteeism at earlier periods may be attributed to a lack of accommodation as well as the low value of the livings. The lack of clergy

¹¹⁸ Ches. R.O., EDP 239/4.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Agrarian History*, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 841-3.

¹²⁰ Although latterly non-resident due to ill-health. Ches. R.O., EDP 230/1/1.

¹²¹ Richards, *Old Ches. Churches*, 280.

¹²² Above, pp. 324-5, 329-30, 333-4.

¹²³ Cf. C.E.R.C., file 5599: letter from Harrison to E.C., 31 Jan. 1844.

houses or their poor quality reflected the low status of these livings¹²⁴ otherwise revealed by the poor stipends. There was, however, some awareness in the 19th century that the dwelling should be commensurate with the status of the minister, for a house in Saltersford was 'so poor a place' it was not 'fit for a curate' (1870).¹²⁵

The provision of a clergy house in Pott once again reflected the influence of the ruling family. Before 1780 Mrs Downes provided a house near Pott Chapel for the use of the curate.¹²⁶ In the early 19th century there seems to have been a house made available to the minister, but it was not formally a glebe house.¹²⁷ However, by 1825 the minister resided in the glebe house.¹²⁸ The map of 1840 marked the parsonage house to the south of the village.¹²⁹ The date of construction is unknown.¹³⁰ In 1909 it was suggested that the house was too large for the living's income,¹³¹ and there were long-running problems concerning its poor condition.¹³² In 1910 it was still in Lowther

¹²⁴ Cf. Ravensdale, Liabie to Floods, 146.

¹²⁵ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/54. Cf. Harrison's comments on the unsuitability of the housing in Rainow: above, p. 301.

¹²⁶ Cf. Ches. R.O., DTR 5/8, but also ibid. EDV 7/1/98.

¹²⁷ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 328; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 546; Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 774; Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/20; ibid. EDV 7/6/312; ibid. D 3076/1: copy surrender, 2 Mar. 1829, pp. 14-15.

¹²⁸ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/390; Report of the Commissioners into Ecclesiastical Revenues, H.C. [67], pp. 252-3 (1835), xxii. Cf. Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/13: case for opinion of counsel on chancel repair (1897).

¹²⁹ B.L. Map Room, OSD NW 81 B2.

¹³⁰ Cf. Askey, Pott Shrigley School, 20.

¹³¹ C.E.R.C., file 65397(1): form dated 18 May.

¹³² E.g. C.E.R.C., file 65397(1): letters to E.C. from G. H. C. Bartley, 29 Oct. 1919; Aslachsen, 20 Aug. 1923.

ownership.¹³³ The present vicarage near by dates from 1954.¹³⁴

A vicarage house in Rainow was purchased c. 1848.¹³⁵ In 1939 it was claimed to be the worst in the whole diocese.¹³⁶ In 1947 a replacement was purchased, but in 1953 the vicar described it as 'no better than a rabbit hut'. The present vicarage was built in 1958.¹³⁷

Before the 1860s there was no glebe house for Saltersford.¹³⁸ In 1859 the vicar of Prestbury referred to the 'very desirable' proposal to construct a 'small parsonage'.¹³⁹ The house was to be equidistant between Saltersford and Kettlethulme in fairness to both¹⁴⁰ - indicating a desire that the vicar serve all the local inhabitants - but this scheme fell through owing to the poor quality of the roads. The vicar of Prestbury argued that the acreage and population of Saltersford was too small to have a parsonage house there. In 1863, soliciting funds for a house on a site near Kettlethulme village, he referred to the difficulty of raising money in the neighbourhood: there were 'not many in a position to give largely'.¹⁴¹ The site was given (under an Act for building additional churches in populous parishes) by the

¹³³ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, p. 19.

¹³⁴ Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/21.

¹³⁵ C.E.R.C., file 27783: form dated 28 Mar. 1863. Cf. Ches. R.O., EDP 230/3; D.o.E. List (1983), 66.

¹³⁶ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letter from C. Davies to E.C., 7 Mar.

¹³⁷ Story of Rainow, 48; Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/7: meeting of 7 Dec. 1953, from which the quotation comes.

¹³⁸ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letter from E.C. to F. E. Crowder, 15 May 1939.

¹³⁹ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/1.

¹⁴⁰ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/6.

¹⁴¹ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/19, 23.

millowner John Sheldon in 1864.¹⁴² The house was built by the vicar of Prestbury, aided by government grant and private subscriptions.¹⁴³ By 1909 it was partially collapsed.¹⁴⁴ The quality of its handsome replacement, Glebe House (1912),¹⁴⁵ by the London architect Ernest Newton,¹⁴⁶ seems incongruous with the poverty of the living. Datestones of 1866 and 1912 bear the initials of the vicars of Prestbury, although no fabric of the 1860s survives.¹⁴⁷ Their assistance presumably reflects concern for ecclesiastical provision in an area which had once been part of their parish and of which they were still patron.¹⁴⁸

THE FITTINGS OF THE CHAPELS

The moveable possessions of the medieval chantry at Pott reflected its generous endowment.¹⁴⁹ The influence of the Downes family (and their successors) continued through the post-medieval period, but the furnishings of the chapel seem more modest than those of its earlier incarnation. There were no wholesale programmes of rebuilding like that undertaken by Geoffrey Downes in the late 15th century. In the 18th century the chapel at the

¹⁴² Ches. R.O., EDA 2/23, ff. 60-2.

¹⁴³ Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 18.

¹⁴⁴ Ches. R.O., EDP 239/6.

¹⁴⁵ Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 250; D.o.E. List (1983), 39: both state, erroneously, that it was the vicarage for a church never constructed.

¹⁴⁶ For whom see A. Felstead et al., Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900 (London, 1993), 658-9.

¹⁴⁷ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 285; fieldwork, Sep. 1998.

¹⁴⁸ Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1910. Why an architect of such quality was employed is obscure. But cf. Pevsner and Hubbard, Ches. 109, 317, for Newton's earlier vicarages at Prestbury and Bollington.

¹⁴⁹ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 330; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' i. 170; Ches. R.O., DDS 2/12.

east end of the north aisle belonged not to the Downses but to the owners of Berristall,¹⁵⁰ one of the estates in the township which was not absorbed by the Downes estate until later. Rights in the church therefore reflected the incompleteness of control by the family at that period.¹⁵¹ Before Edward Downes (d. 1819) inherited the Shrigley estate (in 1791)¹⁵² the chancel was repaired at the cost of the chapelry. Downes repaired both the chancel and the church, refitted the church, and paid all its expenses, and William Turner similarly claimed in 1821 to have put the church into 'complete and entire repair'.¹⁵³ Evidently the degree of influence on the part of the landowner varied according to his level of interest.

The church furnishings were altered later in the 19th century. Gated box pews, brought from Gawsworth at its restoration (1851), were installed in the nave and aisles.¹⁵⁴ It is remarkable that this old-fashioned seating was re-used when it was being removed from other churches under Victorian restoration.¹⁵⁵ The motive was presumably thrift. Ellen Jane Lowther re-furnished the church in the 1870s,¹⁵⁶ although some older contents survive.¹⁵⁷ The glass of 1872 incorporated earlier

¹⁵⁰ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 774; Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 323; Ches. R.O., EDC 5/15.

¹⁵¹ Above, p. 73.

¹⁵² Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 318-19.

¹⁵³ Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/13: case for opinion of counsel on chancel repair (1897); ibid. EDV 7/6/312, EDV 7/7/390.

¹⁵⁴ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 161-2, 279.

¹⁵⁵ Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 89.

¹⁵⁶ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 328-9; Ches. R.O., EDP 225/2/1; ibid. P 38/4531/10.

¹⁵⁷ Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 13; Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 279, 418.

pieces.¹⁵⁸ The chapel contains various Downes and Lowther monuments.¹⁵⁹

The contents of Holy Trinity, Rainow, are in keeping with its modest character. The furnishings of Jenkin Chapel are very simple. Its homely character reflects the limited stylistic pretensions of the farmers of Saltersford, and presumably also a lack of interest on the part of the landowners.¹⁶⁰ The chapel was little altered at later periods and most of the fittings date from the 18th century.¹⁶¹

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS IN 1851

The religious census gives an overall picture of provision and attendance in these townships (summarised in table 4.26, pp. 362-4 below), which is valuable but problematic,¹⁶² for instance in the relationship between attendances and number of attenders, and in the accuracy of the estimates given.¹⁶³ It is difficult, in addition, to compare the strength of Church of England adherence

¹⁵⁸ M. H. Ridgway, 'Coloured Window Glass in Ches. part ii: 1400-1550', T.L.C.A.S. lx. 73, 78-9.

¹⁵⁹ Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 773-4; W. Lack et al., The Monumental Brasses of Ches. (London, 1996), 135.

¹⁶⁰ Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 8. But cf. the Stopford arms on the gallery there.

¹⁶¹ Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 289-90. Elizabeth Williamson, V.C.H. architectural editor, detects a limited amount of early 19th-century remodelling, e.g. coloured glass in the east window.

¹⁶² D. M. Thompson, 'The Religious Census of 1851', The Census and Social Structure, ed. R. Lawton (London, 1978).

¹⁶³ Other ways of measuring adherence or membership include figures for communicants, lists of members, numbers baptised, etc.; some of which are found for some denominations here. However, the value of the 1851 census is that it gives comparative data for all denominations.

and nonconformity between these townships since the distribution of chapels was uneven, and some inhabitants attended chapels in other townships. In 1851 Lyme had just the private chapel at the hall, attended only by the household and a few tenants (hence its modest congregation). Kettleshulme, conversely, had a Methodist chapel but no Anglican foundation. Pott Shrigley had one of each, although the church exceeded the chapel both in accommodation and in attendance.¹⁶⁴ In Rainow nonconformists outnumbered Anglicans despite the enlarged capacity of the 1846 church; the church at Saltersford hardly contributed at all, for the congregation was tiny, even in comparison with its limited seating. Altogether there were four places of worship of the Established Church to the nonconformists' three, all Methodist (one New Connexion, the other Wesleyan).¹⁶⁵ However, the numbers attending Anglican services were outnumbered by those at Methodist chapels on census Sunday.¹⁶⁶ How had this provision - equalised in numbers by the construction of Walker Barn Methodist chapel the following decade¹⁶⁷ - come about?

NONCONFORMITY

The inadequacy of provision by the Church of England in these townships was on the one hand, as we have seen, addressed by attempts within the Church to remedy the

¹⁶⁴ The Unwinpool preaching room was replaced by the larger Green Close Chapel in 1861: below, p. 345.

¹⁶⁵ The places of worship referred to in this ch. are mapped in figure 4.6.

¹⁶⁶ 465 at Methodist chapels as against 347 at the Anglican foundations. However, the reverse was true of children attending Sunday schools (Methodist 112, Anglican 311). Below, table 4.26 (pp. 363-4).

¹⁶⁷ Below, p. 347.

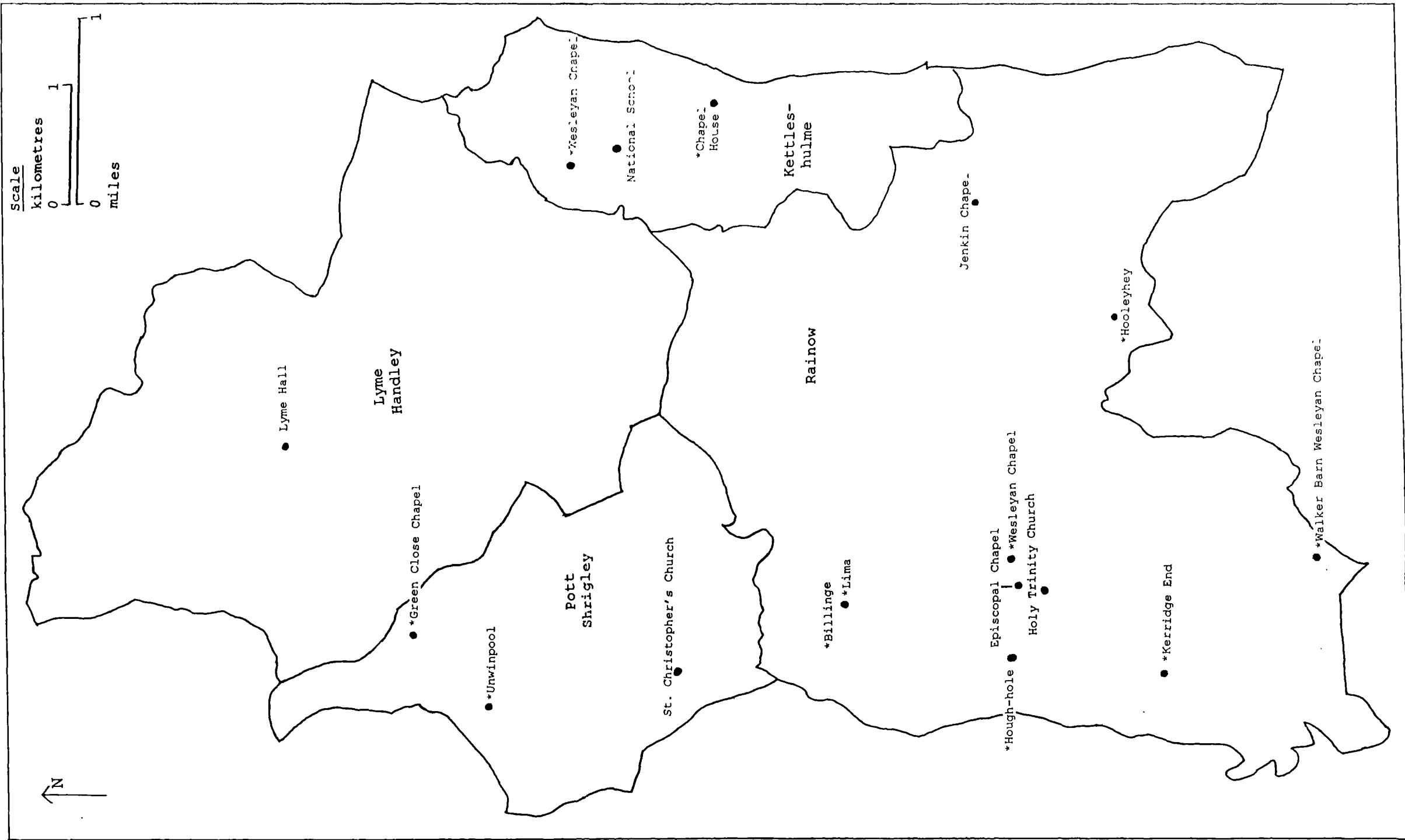


Figure 4.6
Places of worship

Key

Churches, nonconformist chapels and meeting-places mentioned in chapter IV.8 : see text for full details and dates.

- township boundaries
- * nonconformist

Based on: O.S. Maps 1/25,000, SJ 87/97 (1992 edn.), SJ 98/88 (1993 edn.)

situation, whether at the behest of these communities themselves or as part of wider initiatives; but on the other hand exploited by nonconformity, with the construction of Dissenting chapels by local congregations.¹⁶⁸ Strong Protestant nonconformity in east Cheshire generally in the late 17th century has been attributed to the scarcity of Anglican chapels; the proximity of Manchester (a centre of Dissent); and the presence of trade and industry. Macclesfield was a notable centre.¹⁶⁹ There is only limited evidence for Old Dissent in these townships. In the late 17th and early 18th century meeting places were licensed in Pott Shrigley and Rainow and there were Dissenters in Kettlethulme, but some surveys noted no Dissenters in these townships.¹⁷⁰ No chapel buildings are known. The fragmentary evidence tells us little of the tenacity or numerical strength of these Dissenters, although numbers were presumably low. The limited evidence is, perhaps, surprising, for some historians have argued that Old Dissent flourished in large parishes and in areas of weak control by the lord.¹⁷¹ However, the small population here presumably supported only limited nonconformist activity.

From the 1740s Methodism grew, and Macclesfield was again a stronghold. This development encompassed this locality,

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 95; Everitt, 'Nonconformity in Country Parishes', 190; Emery, Oxfordshire Landscape, 175-6.

¹⁶⁹ V.C.H. Ches. iii. 101-2.

¹⁷⁰ 'Recusants and Nonconformists, 1669', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series lviii. 19; Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series 1672, ed. F. H. B. Daniell (London, 1899), 238; P.R.O., RG 31/6 nos. 118, 371; M. Till, 'In the Shadow of Windgather' (n.d. [1985x1992]); copy in Macclesfield Library), 3-4; Gastrell, Notitia Cestrienses, i, ed. Raines, 294.

¹⁷¹ E.g. A. Everitt, cited in Spufford, Contrasting Communities, 298.

for the movement first took hold in 'outlying districts, away from institutional strongholds of Anglicanism and the prying eyes of Church authorities'. It originated in rural prayer meetings which developed into Methodist groups dispersed through the countryside which, in time, built permanent chapels.¹⁷²

From the late 18th century Methodist meetings were held at cottages throughout Pott Shrigley but especially at Unwinpool.¹⁷³ In 1778 about ten Methodists met frequently at an unlicensed house. Some 40 Methodists in Rainow chapelry also met frequently, at three unlicensed houses. There were no other Dissenters in Rainow and Pott Shrigley at that date.¹⁷⁴ The small Methodist chapel (1781) on Billinge Hill in Rainow served scattered settlements in several rural townships, among them Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley and Bollington as well as Rainow itself. It belonged initially to the prosperous local entrepreneur James Mellor (senior), but later passed into the hands of trustees. It was, after some 25 years' use, superseded by larger chapels in Bollington and Rainow. Lima, in north-west Rainow, Hooleyhey, in south-east Rainow, and Kettleshulme were also meeting-places.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Calladine and Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills, 148-50; V.C.H. Ches. iii. 109-13; Malmgreen, Silk Town, ch. V (the quotation is from p. 145). A correlation has also been identified in that Methodism was, broadly speaking, most influential where Old Dissent was weak: J. D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (London, 1971), 116-17.

¹⁷³ Green Close Methodist Church 1861-1961 (Ramsgate, [1961]), 12; cf. Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 173-5.

¹⁷⁴ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/98, 100.

¹⁷⁵ Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 165-83, 273, 280-1, 354, 367, 369-71; Story of Rainow, 22.

The owner of Shrigley, Edward Downes (who inherited the estate in 1791),¹⁷⁶ exercised extreme antipathy to the activities of Methodists, who included some of his tenants. The historian of the local Methodist movement attributed Downes' actions to his conviction that his 'tenantry and neighbours should ... tread in the steps of their forefathers', subject to his guidance, rather than 'poor people' introducing 'novelties in theology'.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, Downes called for the support of 'honest and sensible men' for the Church against 'false fanatics and hypocritical sectaries ... taught ... to despise all persons in authority'.¹⁷⁸ Nonetheless, Methodists in the township continued to worship. The congregation was part of the New Connexion.¹⁷⁹ Although in 1821 just one family comprising two individuals was returned as Dissenting,¹⁸⁰ in 1825 there was a licensed house where a preacher attended every Sunday, and two others unlicensed where class meetings were held on weekday evenings.¹⁸¹ A New Connexion Preaching Room was built at Unwinpool in 1849, seating 72,¹⁸² but this was apparently superseded by the chapel of 1861 at Green Close in northern Pott Shrigley.¹⁸³ In 1898 its accommodation was enlarged. At that date the superintendent stated that many of the congregation were tenants or employees of the nearby Legh

¹⁷⁶ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 318-19.

¹⁷⁷ Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 274-80.

¹⁷⁸ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

¹⁷⁹ Green Close Methodist Church, 10.

¹⁸⁰ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/6/312.

¹⁸¹ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/390. Cf. houses in Pott Shrigley registered for worship by Protestant Dissenters in 1814, 1824 and 1828: P.R.O., RG 31/1 nos. 463, 1146, 1338.

¹⁸² P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 19.

¹⁸³ Green Close Methodist Church, 13, 22. It seated 150 in 1940: Methodist Church Buildings: Statistical Returns including seating

estate, 'far from well-to-do' farmers and labouring people.¹⁸⁴ Evidently, as with Church of England chapels, some people used chapels in neighbouring townships. In 1910 the vicar of Pott implied that it was the distance from the Established Church which determined that the population of the northern parts of Pott Shrigley township were Dissenters.¹⁸⁵ Hey has noted the general appeal of the New Connexion to the industrial poor:¹⁸⁶ perhaps there was also a connection between the number of colliers resident in northern Pott Shrigley¹⁸⁷ and its Methodist affiliation.

'Chapel House' near Windgather in Kettlethulme was by 1805 a Methodist preaching house, built by a group of local Methodists (not all from Kettlethulme). Like Billinge Chapel in Rainow it was situated at a high location away from significant concentrations of settlement.¹⁸⁸ It was superseded by the chapel at Brookbottom, in Kettlethulme village, built in 1815.¹⁸⁹ In 1850 this chapel was described as small.¹⁹⁰ The present modest structure on the rather cramped site dates from 1901.¹⁹¹ In 1940 it seated 200.¹⁹²

The Wesleyan chapel built in Rainow village in 1808 to replace Billinge was later described as plain and

accommodation as at July 1st 1940 (Department for Chapel Affairs),
186.

¹⁸⁴ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/134/5.

¹⁸⁵ C.E.R.C., file 59451: letter from Aslachsen to E.C., 16 Mar.

¹⁸⁶ D. Hey, Family history and local history (London, 1987), 134.

¹⁸⁷ Above, p. 364.

¹⁸⁸ Till, 'In the Shadow of Windgather'.

¹⁸⁹ P.R.O., HO 129/453, f. 36.

¹⁹⁰ Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory, 201.

¹⁹¹ Foundation stones.

¹⁹² Methodist Church Buildings 1940, 184.

substantial.¹⁹³ In 1811 the incumbent of Rainow stated that 'the Sectaries denominated Methodists are numerous within the chapelry ... and have increased of late years', noting their 'commodious licensed meeting house, lately erected, the old meeting house not being supposed sufficiently central in the township'. A large proportion of the township's youth were 'nurtured' in the Methodist Sunday schools, and the number of Anglican communicants was diminished owing to the administration of the sacraments by the Methodist teachers.¹⁹⁴ In 1845 the Wesleyans were still 'very numerous'.¹⁹⁵ A small Wesleyan chapel at Walker Barn, on Rainow's southern extremity, was erected in stone by voluntary contributions in 1863,¹⁹⁶ some distance from any other chapel, to serve the scattered settlements in the vicinity.¹⁹⁷ It seated 80.¹⁹⁸ The chapel in the village was inadequate to accommodate the worshippers comfortably and it was replaced by a stone chapel of Gothic design in 1878,¹⁹⁹ which seated 420.²⁰⁰

Other species of Dissent besides Methodism were of very limited importance. The former Methodist James Mellor junior (d. 1891) was a Swedenborg preacher, whose beliefs

¹⁹³ Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory, 252.

¹⁹⁴ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/4/206.

¹⁹⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, I.C.B.S. file 3490: letters from G. Harrison to T. Bowdler, 28 Feb., 1 Mar.

¹⁹⁶ Datestone.

¹⁹⁷ C. Stell, An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in the North of England (London, 1994), 28-9; Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 362, which gives the date erroneously as 1866.

¹⁹⁸ Methodist Church Buildings 1940, 251.

¹⁹⁹ 'Wesleyan Methodism in Rainow', Macclesfield Courier, 13 Sep. 1877; datestone, 1878.

²⁰⁰ Methodist Church Buildings 1940, 251.

lay behind his allegorical garden at Hough-hole, which included a small private chapel (1844) and graveyard.²⁰¹ Quakers met in a room at Kerridge End, Rainow, in the late 19th century (having only 18 members and 8 attenders in 1878), but the meeting moved to Bollington in 1895.²⁰²

Roman Catholic recusancy hardly featured at all in the four townships, apart from suspicions about the religious views of several of the Leghs of Lyme, notably Sir Peter (d. 1589) and Peter (d. 1744), and isolated references to a handful of Papists in early 18th-century Rainow and early 19th-century Pott Shrigley.²⁰³ The presence of the Salesians, a Roman Catholic religious order, at Shrigley (1929-85) and, from 1952 to the present day, at Ingersley Hall in Rainow,²⁰⁴ contrasts with the weakness of native Catholicism.²⁰⁵ Shrigley was chosen as a school to cultivate Salesian vocations, particularly for the missions, from among several country house properties because of its geographically central position in England, proximity to the 'Catholic strongholds' of the north, and accessibility to students coming from Ireland, who formed a significant constituent of its pupils. It educated boys from the age of 11, with some older

²⁰¹ R. C. Turner, Mellor's Gardens (Ches. County Council, n.d.); D.o.E. List (1983), 55; above, p. 171.

²⁰² Davies, History of Macclesfield, 326; Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1892-1906; B. Taylor, 'The decline of Quakers in Ches.', North Ches. Family Historian, xvii(3), 93.

²⁰³ K. R. Wark, Elizabethan Recusancy in Ches. (Chetham Society 3rd series xix, 1971), 49-52, 135, 180; Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 150; Return of Papists 1767: Diocese of Chester, ed. E. S. Worrall (Catholic Record Society Occasional Publication 1 [50], Oxford, 1980), 176; P.R.O., E 174/1/4 no. 29; Ches. R.O., EDA 6/2/36, EDV 7/7/390; above, p. 47.

²⁰⁴ Above, p. 63.

²⁰⁵ V.C.H. Ches. iii. 88; although a Catholic church was built in Bollington in 1834: Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1928.

students from the 1930s until 1952. From 1981 the community was also responsible for St. Gregory's parish, Bollington. Ingersley was acquired from a local Catholic businessman: initially used to house students of philosophy, it was subsequently a Catholic conference and retreat centre.²⁰⁶

FACTORS BEHIND THE PATTERN OF RELIGIOUS PROVISION

The distribution of 18th-century chapels in the townships reflected the dispersed pattern of settlement²⁰⁷ in the cases of Jenkin Chapel, and the Methodist chapels at Billinge (Rainow), Windgather (Kettleshulme) and Unwinpool (Pott Shrigley), excepting only the church in Rainow village. Later chapels were associated with the growth of villages here,²⁰⁸ with 19th-century Methodist chapels to serve the inhabitants of Rainow and Kettleshulme, and the new Anglican church of 1846 in Rainow; although as late as the 1860s chapels were built in the small hamlet of Walker Barn, at Rainow's southern periphery, and at Green Close, towards Pott Shrigley's northern edge.

This distribution within the townships relates, too, to other factors. The earliest nonconformist places of worship were located away from Church of England chapels, as at Billinge, Unwinpool and Windgather, and later at Green Close and Walker Barn.²⁰⁹ But the chapel in Rainow

²⁰⁶ Booklet, 'Salesian Missionary College 1929-54', 7, 9, from which the quotation is taken; and 'Outline History of the Houses of the Gbr. Province 1887-1987' (Bollington and Shrigley): both in Shrigley box file at Salesian Provincial Office, Stockport; information from the Salesian Community, Stockport.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 59.

²⁰⁸ Above, p. 292.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, 105.

village, which superseded Billinge, was located only a few hundred yards north of the church, a desire to serve the concentration of population there - the largest within the townships - presumably overriding the proximity to its rival.

A further factor may explain the site of Pott Shrigley's Green Close Chapel: it was built on one of the few estates in the township not belonging to the chief landowning family.²¹⁰ The Lowthers' attitude towards nonconformity is not known, but the intolerance of their predecessor Edward Downes of Methodism has been described above. This highlights the relationship between landownership and religion. We have seen that the history of Pott Shrigley church was intimately connected with the landowning family, despite its wider function in the post-medieval period. As late as 1897 it was said that, before 1880,²¹¹ the church was a private one.²¹² The Downeses and their successors the Turners and the Lowthers augmented the living; appointed the incumbents; and shaped the fabric of the church. Their influence is most clearly seen in the career of Edward Downes (d. 1819), whose commitment to established religion and social order amongst his tenants and neighbours was explicit, and who was closely involved in church affairs.²¹³ In 1907 the Lowthers' influence extended to holding one of the offices of churchwarden, and at that date the south porch, a memorial to one of the Lowther sons, was paid for by Shrigley tenants.²¹⁴ However, this

²¹⁰ Ches. R.O., EDT 328/1-2.

²¹¹ Cf. above, p. 329.

²¹² Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/13: case for opinion of counsel on chancel repair (1897).

²¹³ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 331; Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 276; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539.

²¹⁴ Ches. R.O., EDP 225/2/1.

influence was not all-pervasive. Sometimes the minister constituted an alternative base of power to the landowner, operating in opposition to him (or her) and diminishing the totality of control.²¹⁵ For example, Ellen Jane Lowther and the vicar, C. W. Aslachsen, were at odds at the end of the 19th century.²¹⁶ But a third factor in the balance of power was the inhabitants at large: Aslachsen apparently fell out with his parishioners as well as the patron, for in 1904 the vestry resolved that 'his continuing to hold the living while utterly out of sympathy with his parishioners, and while he neglects them as he does, is a great injury to the welfare of the parish'.²¹⁷ This is also apparent in the dispute in Saltersford (resolved in 1739) between landowner and community as to ownership of the site of Jenkin Chapel.²¹⁸ As an important feature in the life of these communities, religion constituted a forum for conflict within them.

Can generalisations be made about the variations apparent in the character of religious life between the townships in terms of the respective roles of landowner and community? The open/closed model predicts that nonconformist chapels are characteristic of open communities. Elsewhere, members of the landed élite supposedly exerted their power to prevent the construction of chapels believed to threaten the position of the Church of England, which were consequently rare in closed villages (although this varied according to the

²¹⁵ Cf. O. Chadwick, Victorian Miniature (London, 1960); Mills, Lord and Peasant, 27.

²¹⁶ Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 20-1; Ches. R.O., EDP 225/2/1 (1899).

²¹⁷ Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 20-1. Nonetheless, Aslachsen held the living until 1952: above, p. 335.

²¹⁸ Above, p. 321.

attitude of individual owners).²¹⁹ The estate owner typically took an interest in the parish church, owning the advowson, augmenting the living, and expecting his tenants to attend services.²²⁰

There is a correlation between concentrated landownership in Lyme Handley and the absence of nonconformist chapels there (although the township was sparsely populated and the potential congregation in any case small). The domestic chapel at Lyme is also typical. The relationship between Pott Chapel and the Downes family fits the model, and contrasts with the character of the Established churches in Rainow and Saltersford, which were not sustained by a single family of landowners. Kettleshulme had no Church of England chapel. Since previous chapters have argued that Kettleshulme and Rainow were 'open' communities, the nonconformist chapels there are also what we would expect. However, the vitality of Methodism in Rainow chapelry - albeit in competition with the church there - contrasts with the absence of a nonconformist chapel in Saltersford.²²¹ In this as in other respects the latter presents an anomalous case within Rainow township. In 1779 there were 40 Methodists in Rainow chapelry but none in Saltersford.²²² Subsequent returns (1789-1825) noted a few nonconformists, but no meeting houses.²²³ The determining factor is uncertain. Perhaps it is to be attributed to the smallness of the

²¹⁹ Nonconformist squires were not unheard of: Morris, Churches in the Landscape, 395.

²²⁰ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 16, 36, 52, 59, 112, 117, 125-7; Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 888-9. Cf. Samuel, ' "Quarry roughs" ', 153, 158-9.

²²¹ Lower Hooleyhey, used as a place of worship (above, p. 344), was by its southern periphery, not itself on the Courtown estate.

²²² 'Bishop Porteus' Visitation, 1779', 33-4.

²²³ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/2/108, EDV 7/4/220, EDV 7/6/316, EDV 7/7/444.

population of the valley²²⁴ - although the chapel in the small hamlet of Walker Barn, in southern Rainow, survived. Perhaps the presence of the Church of England chapel as a place of worship precluded the development of a strong Methodist congregation in Saltersford. However, the connection with landownership - Saltersford being entirely part of the Courtown estate and landownership in western Rainow, conversely, diffuse - is again a possibility. It was common in many areas for the most substantial tenant farmers on the larger estates to be solidly Anglican.

In Pott Shrigley, however, the open/closed model seems to fit imperfectly, for Methodism was present there (notwithstanding the landowner's documented antipathy towards it) as in Rainow and Kettlethulme, albeit weaker by comparison with Anglicanism than in Rainow at the 1851 census. This broad similarity was despite the differing patterns of landownership. Why was Edward Downes' attempt to banish Methodism unsuccessful? The presence of Methodism in Pott Shrigley presumably reflects its general strength within the region. A broad correlation exists between the hegemony of the Church of England in arable areas of nucleated settlement, and the strength of nonconformity in pastoral areas of scattered settlement.²²⁵ Evidently other factors operated alongside landownership in determining religious provision and affinity. Spufford noted the complexity in the possible factors - economic, social, educational, and geographical

²²⁴ Cf. small attendance at Jenkin Chapel in 1851: below, table 4.26 (p. 364).

²²⁵ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 125. Amongst adherents of rural nonconformity the particularly important groups were farmers (especially small ones), craftsmen, and tradesmen: Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 889-90.

- associated with religious conviction in her study of Cambridgeshire.²²⁶

THE LATE 20TH CENTURY

The general decline in religious observance at the modern period resulted in the closure of chapels, administrative amalgamations, and the use of non-resident ministers. Rainow Methodist chapel seems to have gone out of use in 1975 - despite an increase in population in the township.²²⁷ However, Kettleshulme chapel was said to have had an important role as the centre of a community fighting to retain its character.²²⁸ It is operated ecumenically by the Methodist church and the Church of England.²²⁹ Walker Barn Chapel (Rainow) and Green Close (Pott Shrigley) are also still in use.²³⁰ In 1973 Rainow church was joined with Saltersford and Macclesfield Forest, their vicar resident in Rainow.²³¹ The retention of a vicar for Pott Shrigley seems unusual given its small size.²³² The difficulties for small rural communities today in maintaining their churches are illustrated by Jenkin Chapel's appeals for donations. The

²²⁶ Contrasting Communities, 352.

²²⁷ Ches. R.O., EMS 17/6/2; above, table 4.24 (p. 313).

²²⁸ Macclesfield Library, Kettleshulme news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 24 Aug. 1972.

²²⁹ Fieldwork, Sep. 1998.

²³⁰ Fieldwork, Jul., Dec. 1997.

²³¹ Youngs, Guide to Local Administrative Units, ii. 32.

²³² Ches. R.O., P 38/4282/17: parish magazine, Apr. 1985; ibid. P 38/5067/1: parish magazine, Jul. & Aug. 1994. Cf. Lowerson, 'Mystical geography of the English', 154, 160, on modern provision by the Church of England.

modern congregation there consists of tourists as well as local inhabitants.²³³

EDUCATION

Like places of worship, schools relate to the character of each community, for education was provided at different periods and by different means in these townships. In Pott Shrigley, educational provision was largely dependent upon the landowning families and associated with the Church of England. Geoffrey Downes' late 15th-century foundation providing for elementary instruction did not survive the Reformation.²³⁴ In the 1680s bequests were made by one John Barlow for teaching poor children.²³⁵ From the late 18th century modest - and cheap - teaching took place in premises in the village provided by the Downes and later by the Turner and Lowther estates. The clergymen were involved in its provision. The Lowthers' involvement in the school endured into the 20th century.²³⁶ Miss Lowther also built the reading room at Cophurst Knot (1887) for evening education.²³⁷

²³³ Macclesfield Library, Jenkin Chapel news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 18 Sep. 1991, 20 Sep. 1992.

²³⁴ 'Pott Shrigley Chapel', 47; V.C.H. Ches. iii. 196.

²³⁵ 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], pp. 543-4 (1837-8), xxiv; Askey, Pott Shrigley School, 6-7.

²³⁶ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/98, EDV 7/6/312, EDV 7/7/390; Birkenhead Library, MA T/I/132; Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 539; Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 49; 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], p. 543 (1837-8), xxiv; P.R.O., ED 7/7 no. 236; Askey, Pott Shrigley School, 22; fieldwork, 1997-8.

²³⁷ White, Pott Shrigley, a village school, 13-14, 32-3; Askey, Pott Shrigley School, 23-4.

Schools in Rainow and Saltersford originated in communal initiatives. A document of 1731 recounted how the inhabitants of Rainow built a free school for poor children from the poor rate.²³⁸ By 1811 a large proportion of Rainow's youth (160 children or more) was said by the minister to be 'nurtured' in the Methodist Sunday schools, besides this small day school.²³⁹ The surviving structure, in the north of the village, was built by voluntary contributions in 1820 (and improved in 1850).²⁴⁰ Well before 1840 this school was under Wesleyan control,²⁴¹ although it was later said that children of all denominations could attend, it having formerly belonged to the township.²⁴² A stone National School was built by grants and subscriptions in the 1840s. Both this and the parochial (i.e. the Methodist) school, also used as Sunday schools, were - in this populous township - 'numerously attended'.²⁴³ The Wesleyans constructed a new school north of Chapel Lane (1896),²⁴⁴ and their old school became the village institute (1901), still in use.²⁴⁵ As late as 1929 the balance of power between Methodist and Church of England schools was the subject of concern. The viability of sustaining two schools was

²³⁸ Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/9: notes entitled 'Free School, Rainow 1731'. Cf. 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], p. 545 (1837-8), xxiv; Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/100; ibid. P 188/3086/4/2: copy surrender in halmote, 15 Jan. 1809.

²³⁹ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/4/206.

²⁴⁰ Datestones.

²⁴¹ Osborne, Sketch of Prestbury, 46.

²⁴² Ches. R.O., EMS 17/4: TS. copy of Macclesfield Courier report, 10 Oct. 1896.

²⁴³ Datestone, 1842; Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory, 252 (which gives the date as 1843).

²⁴⁴ Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 13 Apr. 1967; Ches. R.O., EMS 17/4: TS. copy of Macclesfield Courier report, 10 Oct. 1896.

²⁴⁵ Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 22.

also discussed.²⁴⁶ The two were superseded in the 1980s by a new primary school.²⁴⁷

Saltersford in 1778 had an unendowed school house built 'a few years since' by the inhabitants.²⁴⁸ In 1825, with no endowment and few scholars, no schoolmaster could be found. There was no National School.²⁴⁹ By 1870, however, the school had been in the possession of the church for some 30 years. At that period the vicar feared the imposition of a school board, for the master, claiming that people had become very remiss in sending their children and that his receipts were inadequate, had closed the school. The vicar wrote that since the whole of Rainow 'abounds with Dissenters' he should not like the school to fall into their hands: for threatened compulsory provision in the late 19th century conflicted with the desire of different denominations in local communities to control educational provision by voluntary means.²⁵⁰ Saltersford school was certainly disused by 1921: serving the scattered farms in the valley, it survived only as long as that community had vitality.²⁵¹

A benefaction towards encouraging a school in Kettleshulme was made in 1786.²⁵² Its Wesleyan Sunday school apparently originated in 1798.²⁵³ In 1856 the

²⁴⁶ Ches. R.O., EMS 17/5/4; ibid. P 188/3086/4/2.

²⁴⁷ Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 19 Dec. 1974, 9 Jan. 1985.

²⁴⁸ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/101.

²⁴⁹ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/444.

²⁵⁰ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/1, 51, 53, 56 (the quotation is from the latter).

²⁵¹ Smith, Over the Hills, 30. Cf. below, pp. 399-400.

²⁵² 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], p. 517 (1837-8), xxiv.

²⁵³ Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 7.

conveyance of a site for a National School in the village, by one of the Gaskells of Ingersley (Rainow), declared that it was to educate the 'labouring manufacturing and other poorer classes' in Kettleshulme.²⁵⁴ Its construction was aided by government grant and private subscriptions, for it was unendowed, subsequently supported by voluntary contributions and school pence.²⁵⁵ The school constituted an Anglican presence in a township without a church, particularly since services were apparently held there,²⁵⁶ redressing the balance of power with Kettleshulme's Wesleyan chapel. A library was built in the north of Kettleshulme village in 1876 and extended as the War Memorial Hall in 1921.²⁵⁷

All the townships except sparsely-populated Lyme Handley had acquired some educational provision by the 19th century, reflecting typical processes in the development of education in rural localities in the varied initiatives by landowners and other members of the community, with Sunday schools appearing in the years around 1800. But variations in the chronology, genesis and scope of these local developments related to particular conditions in each township and therefore to the contrasts between them. The more densely-populated townships had schools; Lyme Handley was without one. The township with the largest population (Rainow) supported three schools, Kettleshulme and Pott Shrigley one each. The presence of a school in Saltersford represented the larger population and more vital community which once resided there. The schools also reflected relationships

²⁵⁴ Ches. R.O., P 233/12/2.

²⁵⁵ Renaud, Contributions towards a History of Prestbury, 18; P.R.O., ED 7/6 no. 158; Ches. R.O., SC 1/77/1-3.

²⁵⁶ Above, p. 330.

²⁵⁷ Ches. Federation of W.I.s, The Ches. Village Book (1990).

within each community. Pott's was associated with the leading families. Rainow and Saltersford schools were formed by the community at large (despite Saltersford's association with the non-resident Stopford family). The foundation and control of educational institutions related to the balance of power between denominations. Pott Shrigley, where the Established Church seems to have had the greatest hold, was under Anglican control; there was no Methodist day school. In Rainow the numerous Wesleyans gained control of the single township school until the foundation of a National School evened the balance between them. In Saltersford the school came to be controlled by the neighbouring church, there being neither nonconformist chapel nor school. In Kettleshulme, the balance of power was divided between the Wesleyans, with their chapel and Sunday school but, apparently, no day school; and the National School.

From the late 19th century increasing intervention by central government brought greater standardisation in educational provision, but most recently a threat to rural schools resulting from attempts at rationalisation. Threats to the survival of schools here included attempts by the education authority to close Pott Shrigley school. After its temporary closure in 1967 because of its unsafe fabric and small roll, it was bought by the village and extended,²⁵⁸ subsequently used partly as a village hall, partly continuing its function as the Church of England primary school.²⁵⁹ It survived a further threat of closure.²⁶⁰ Campaigns to save it focussed upon its

²⁵⁸ Datestone, 1973.

²⁵⁹ Askey, Pott Shrigley School, 22; Radcliffe, 'Hamlet in the Hills', 47; D.o.E. List (1983), 45.

²⁶⁰ Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 24 Nov. 1993, 16 Nov. 1994.

centrality to the corporate life of the local community.²⁶¹ Kettleshulme school was under threat in 1971 from a government scheme to bring pre-1903 schools up to modern requirements. As in Pott Shrigley, initiatives to save it emphasised its perceived importance in sustaining village life, for schools were one of few communal functions remaining in rural communities like this; although low population densities and remoteness, and the cost efficiency of maintaining such small schools, raised questions about their viability. The small school in Kettleshulme survived a further threat of closure in 1988, again opposed locally.²⁶² Presumably Rainow school was not so vulnerable to such threats because of the village's larger population.

The vitality of community life reflected in the foundation of churches, chapels and schools in these townships also manifested itself in other spheres. Communal concerns included township charities.²⁶³ Recreational activities are sparsely documented, especially before the 19th century, but churches, schools and public houses²⁶⁴ were presumably important in social life. Friendly societies are documented in Kettleshulme and Pott Shrigley, with two in Rainow.²⁶⁵ Some townships had their own sports teams.²⁶⁶ Difficulties in sustaining

²⁶¹ Ches. R.O., P 38/4531/46.

²⁶² Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 11 Feb. 1971, 5 Oct., 30 Nov. 1994, and another with no title or date; The Messenger, 11 Jan., 3 May 1991; D. Yarwood, 'The Class War', Ches. Life (Nov. 1987), 44-9.

²⁶³ E.g. 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], pp. 516-18, 543-6 (1837-8), xxiv.

²⁶⁴ Above, pp. 233-4.

²⁶⁵ P.R.O., FS 2/1, FS 2/13; Story of Rainow, 71.

²⁶⁶ E.g. Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 21; [G. Hackney], Pott Shrigley Cricket Club (1994).

places of worship or education in these small communities reflect wider changes in the character of communal life at this local a level during the modern period.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ Below, pp. 399-402.

Table 4.26
Data from the religious census of 1851²⁶⁸

²⁶⁸ P.R.O., HO 129/453, ff. 19, 30-2, 36-9.

	<u>Accommodation</u>	<u>Estimated congregation 30 Mar.</u> a.m.; p.m.; eve. plus Sunday scholars	<u>Average congregation</u> a.m.; p.m.; eve. plus Sunday scholars	<u>Comments include:</u>
KETTLESHULME (population 352) ²⁶⁹ *Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (erected 1815)	free sittings - others 96 40 standing	- ; 80; - - ; 58; -	- ; 85; - - ; 65; -	-
LYME HANDLEY (population 264) Private Domestic Chapel (origin unknown)	-	30; - ; - - ; - ; -	25-30; - ; - - ; - ; -	Attended only by the family and a few neighbouring tenants
POTT SHRIGLEY (population 467) Church (date unknown, but ancient)	free sittings 150 others 162	54; 160; - 110; 114; -	- -	Congregation under average of previous 12 months
*Methodist New Connexion Preaching Room, Unwin Pool (erected 1849)	free sittings 72 others - plus standing room	49; - ; 39 - ; - ; -	- -	Wednesday eve. service: c. 40 attend

²⁶⁹ Population figures: V.C.H. Ches. ii. 227.

	<u>Accommodation</u>	<u>Estimated congregation 30 Mar.</u> a.m.; p.m.; eve. plus Sunday scholars	<u>Average congregation</u> a.m.; p.m.; eve. plus Sunday scholars	<u>Comments include:</u>
RAINOW (population including Saltersford 1,605) Trinity Church (consecrated 1846)	free sittings 337 others 182	38; 57; - 44; 43; -	- -	The day was very wet; attendance more in favourable weather
*Wesleyan Chapel (erected c. 1808)	free sittings 30 others [over 200] ²⁷⁰ 80 standing	- ; 179; 118 - ; 54; -	- -	Sun. scholars male & female attend alternate Sundays
SALTERSFORD St. John's Free Church (consecrated c. 1733) ²⁷¹	free sittings 65 others -	8; - ; - - ; - ; -	10; 20; - - ; - ; -	A very cold, stormy morning; Saltersford contains only a few inhabitants
<u>Key</u>	* nonconformist	-	left blank in MS. return	

²⁷⁰ This figure is hard to make out.
²⁷¹ But cf. p. 321 above.

9. Landscape and leisure: outside users

The foregoing chapters have examined how the inhabitants of this area shaped the landscape. However, people living outside the area have also played a part. Presently less than one fifth of the population of England and Wales lives in the countryside, but its resources are subject to various uses by urban dwellers:¹ either directly, in the case of recreational visits, or remotely, as with water supply. The rural landscape must serve the economic and social needs of its inhabitants, landowners and farmers, and meet the demands of outsiders on its facilities and natural resources (chiefly agriculture, minerals, and water), which are finite. Further considerations concern the aesthetic and historical value of the landscape itself. The attempt to balance these multiple considerations is nowadays subject to active management,² in contrast to earlier periods when demands on rural landscapes were so much smaller, and local and central authorities did not seek to intervene in these matters. The issues involved lead to debate and outright conflict about who does, and who should, control the countryside: the inhabitants, outside users, or local or national bureaucracies.

The general issues of access and use which affect all rural localities are particularly fraught with difficulty within National Parks: added to the complexity of preserving historic landscapes formed by a range of processes, like those described in the preceding chapters of this study, is the intensive use of those landscapes

¹ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 15; Short, 'Images and realities', 1.

² Cf. Crosby, History of Ches. 137; Porter, Making of the Central Pennines, 147-9; Short, 'Images and realities', 5.

by tourists. Ormerod's 'moorish hills'³ and other parts of the distinctive Peak landscape were designated a National Park in 1951 (although excluding the more developed parts of this locality).⁴ Ironically, it is the limited previous use to which the sparsely-settled and predominantly agricultural east Cheshire uplands have been subject which now makes them particularly susceptible to heavy usage for recreation and water supply. Within National Parks, outside users massively outnumber the small number of residents and the demands of tourists and local inhabitants raise questions about the respective importance of their interests.⁵ Around 17 million people live within 60 miles of the Peak Park,⁶ which is surrounded by towns and conurbations, with up to 30 million visits made annually.⁷ These townships form only the north-western extremity of a much larger area affected by these wider debates.

ATTITUDES TO THE LANDSCAPE

The designation of the Peak Park, and its recreational use, arose from changing attitudes to the landscape.⁸ At earlier periods views of uplands emphasised their inaccessibility and inhospitability, giving no consideration to any aesthetic value. Defoe dismissed the Peak as 'a waste and howling wilderness'.⁹ But the late

³ History of Ches. iii. 769.

⁴ Above, p. 94.

⁵ Cf. J. D. Marshall and J. K. Walton, The Lake Counties (Manchester, 1981), ch. 9 and 'Epilogue'.

⁶ Cf. resident population of about 38,000.

⁷ Information from the Peak Park.

⁸ V.C.H. Ches. i. 35; M. Tebbutt, ' "In the Midlands but not of them": Derbyshire's Dark Peak. An imagined northern landscape': TS. kindly provided to the V.C.H. Ches. by Ms Tebbutt.

⁹ Tebbutt, ' "In the Midlands but not of them" ', 5.

18th century saw an increased appreciation of some mountainous landscapes, such as the Lake District, Snowdonia and the Scottish Highlands, and Tebbutt has argued that there was too a growing appreciation of the Peak. However, some parts were apparently excluded from this recognition of the picturesque, and commentators sometimes described extensive moorland areas as 'barren' and 'dreary'.¹⁰ Descriptions of these townships into the 19th century echo this negative perception.

Most frequently found are comments on the setting of Lyme Hall. Many writers considered the palatial mansion and formal gardens incongruous with its wild surroundings. Pococke in 1750 described its hilly situation as 'extraordinary'.¹¹ Aikin (1795) thought its 'bad' situation - in 'barren and moorish country', exposed to wind yet with no view - inappropriate to its 'grandeur'.¹² Brayley and Britton (1809) too considered its elevated setting 'ill-chosen', for the surrounding country was 'bleak, moorish and unfruitful'.¹³ Other commentators were more impressed by the surroundings. Ormerod (1819) considered that the neighbouring moors formed a fine contrast to the mansion.¹⁴ Cooke (1830) referred to the 'wild and romantic scenery of the neighbouring country'.¹⁵ Osborne (1840), while commenting on the wildness, bleakness and desolation of the setting, conceded that it admitted of rich and varied prospects.¹⁶ These comments seem to indicate a change in attitudes to that landscape

¹⁰ ' "In the Midlands but not of them" ', 4, 8; cf. Marshall and Walton, Lake Counties, ch. 8.

¹¹ Quoted in Newton, House of Lyme, 390.

¹² Description of the Country round Manchester, 440-1.

¹³ Beauties of England and Wales, ii. 262.

¹⁴ History of Ches. iii. 678.

¹⁵ Topographical Description, 136.

¹⁶ Sketch of Prestbury, 22.

early in the 19th century. But other areas near by were still thought unlovely. Eastern Rainow, according to Ormerod (1819), extended 'into wild country ... a long series of steep hills, and unpicturesque barrenness, consisting of large tracts of moors ... seldom rising into bold crags'. The 'mountainous district of Tintwistle' (a few miles north) was 'much more picturesque in its rugged scenery' than the 'bleak' hills of Macclesfield Forest.¹⁷ According to Osborne (1840), Kettleshulme was situate among the 'dreary wilds of the forest hills', although commanding fine prospects.¹⁸ Lewis (1849) drew attention to the stony soil and barren moorlands of Rainow.¹⁹ Even in 1915 the vicinity of Saltersford was described as a 'very wild and barren country'.²⁰ However, appreciation of even the austere scenery of the Peak moorlands began to grow along with increasing use of the countryside for leisure.²¹

RECREATIONAL USE OF THE LANDSCAPE

One early use of the forest, which continued in the gentry and aristocratic estates and parks, was for sport and leisure by upper class families which held land here.²² However, the 19th and 20th centuries have seen a vast expansion in the use of this locality - and others like it - for leisure and relaxation, and its dispersal

¹⁷ History of Ches. iii. 541, 771.

¹⁸ Sketch of Prestbury, 45.

¹⁹ Topographical Dictionary, iii.

²⁰ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/11/8.

²¹ Tebbutt, ' "In the Midlands but not of them" ', 8-10. Cf. V.C.H. Staffs. vii. 5, 12, on the moorlands there.

²² Above, pp. 162-8. Indeed in the 19th century the interest of the Stanleys in this peripheral part of their enormous estates arose from its potential for shooting: cf. above, p. 60.

amongst social classes.²³ Car ownership, in particular, dramatically increased the accessibility of such areas and their recreational use.²⁴

Aside from the landscape itself, this area has a major cultural attraction in Lyme Hall. Use of the house and park was once confined primarily to the family and their guests.²⁵ However, even in 1888 W. J. Legh remarked that 'many visitors came to Lyme', for when family approval was forthcoming access was apparently allowed.²⁶ But usage was not entirely amenable to control: by the turn of the 20th century the Cage was a bank-holiday 'rallying point' for trippers, for the park was open to the public and there were many rights of way, although the policy of the family was that tourists were not to be encouraged.²⁷ One of the park-keeper's duties was to ensure that the public did not cause any damage.²⁸ This attitude towards casual visitors strikes a sharp contrast with the subsequent fate of the property.

In 1946 the National Trust took over the hall and park and leased the property to Stockport County Borough on condition that the council maintain it, preserve the park as an open space, and open some rooms in the hall to the

²³ Tebbutt, ' "In the Midlands but not of them" ', 9-10. Cf. Marshall and Walton, Lake Counties, ch. 8.

²⁴ Cf. Marshall and Walton, Lake Counties, 233.

²⁵ Above, pp. 161-8, on the park.

²⁶ Report of excursion to Lyme Hall, T.L.C.A.S. v. 318. Cf. other visits e.g. 1866 visit of Liverpool Architectural and Archaeological Society (Chester R.O., CR 63/1/141/6: news cutting); and Lady Newton's tours of the house for visiting acquaintances (Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 50). Cf. also Laurie, East Ches. Parks and Gardens, 22.

²⁷ Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 42, 107.

²⁸ Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, 11.

public. The future of the property, and its management and use, seem to have been a matter for wider speculation, interest and concern, with regard to the twin aims of public use and preservation. The hall opened to the public in 1947.²⁹ The cost of repairs eventually led Stockport to seek further financial support, and Greater Manchester Council took a share of the lease in 1975, whereafter the property was managed by a joint committee of the two authorities, with the National Trust also represented.³⁰ The hall is presently owned and managed by the National Trust, and partly financed by Stockport Metropolitan Borough Council, with various visitor facilities in addition to the hall, garden and park.³¹ Both hall and park are today heavily used by the public,³² associated generally with changing patterns in mobility and in leisure³³ and specifically with the proximity of large centres of population in Stockport and Manchester. Attitudes to country houses, now sometimes seen as 'shrines to be venerated', argued Cannadine, contrast with the concerns of their builders, to whom such houses were 'machines to be lived in' by the ruling class.³⁴

Even before the formation of the National Park features of the townships aside from Lyme attracted visitors. In the 19th century James Mellor's biblical garden at Hough-hole, famous 'for miles around', attracted many

²⁹ Stockport, ed. Christie-Miller, 107-11; G.M.C.R.O., E 17/3/13, E 17/4/3; information from the National Trust.

³⁰ Lyme Park, 34.

³¹ National Trust Handbook 1998-1999.

³² Crosby, History of Ches. 137.

³³ Cf. Taigel and Williamson, Parks and Gardens, 143.

³⁴ Aspects of Aristocracy, 242-5. Cf. pp. 303-10 above on Lyme and Shrigley.

spectators.³⁵ In the 1920s the peaceful and unspoilt nature of Saltersford was appreciated by the historian Walter Smith, who wrote that Jenkin Chapel 'was typical of much of the valley, which seems to belong to a by-gone age'. The motor car brought an increased number of visitors to the area, and the chapel was by the early 20th century already an attraction; not all were welcome, for Smith described the 'fleet of automobiles', 'spit-fires' with their 'dithering noise', which 'invaded the valley, startling the natives, the sheep and the birds'. On the opposite side of Rainow hikers climbed to the landmark White Nancy, on Kerridge Hill, although increasing use brought vandalism and the structure was bricked up in the 1930s.³⁶

In the Peak District generally the use of the countryside was contentious, mostly famously in the 'mass trespasses' of the 1930s on the moorland plateau of the North Peak, to which access was restricted.³⁷ Public access is still constrained by the fact that National Parks are not nationally owned: less than five per cent of the Peak Park is owned by the National Park Authority, although a larger portion is opened to the public under access agreements.³⁸

Many footpaths cross these four townships, and this portion of the Park is subject to public use. The 'Gritstone Trail', a 16-mile route for ramblers developed by the Countryside and Recreation department of Cheshire

³⁵ Memoir of the late James Mellor, 3; also Turner, 'Mellor's Gardens', 164: guided tours were reinstated by its new owners in the 1980s.

³⁶ Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 8, 19; Smith, Over the Hills, 30. Smith is quoted in Longden and Spink.

³⁷ Tebbutt, ' "In the Midlands but not of them" ', 9.

³⁸ Information from the Peak Park.

County Council, starts at Lyme Park and runs towards Tegg's Nose Country Park (just south of Rainow) and beyond. Its popularity is attributed partly to its proximity to Manchester.³⁹ The railway which formerly ran between Macclesfield and Bollington, passing briefly through Pott Shrigley, is now 'the Middlewood Way', a recreational route officially opened in 1985. Close by, Macclesfield Canal is also used recreationally.⁴⁰ Lamaload Reservoir (Rainow) has a picnic site and other facilities for visitors. The gritstone cliffs at Windgather Rocks (Kettleshulme) are used by climbers, and there was a youth hostel at nearby Fivelane-ends by the 1950s.⁴¹ Local pubs and cafés cater partly for the tourist trade,⁴² and there are bed-and-breakfasts in the area.⁴³ Shrigley Hall, like Lyme, is today associated with the leisure industry, albeit not in its original state but as a country-house hotel.

³⁹ Macclesfield Library, Lyme news cuttings: no title, n.d.; R. E. Tigwell, Ches. in the Twentieth Century (Chester, 1985), 137.

⁴⁰ Vinter, Railway Walks: LMS, 102-3.

⁴¹ C. Moore, 'Sixteen Strenuous Glorious Miles', Ches. Life (Aug. 1962), 45. Leased by the Youth Hostels Association, it was in use by 1954 but is now no longer a hostel: O.S. Map 1/10,000, sheet SJ 97 NE (1954 edn.); fieldwork, Sep. 1998; information from the Youth Hostels Association.

⁴² 'Albin Trowski's Kettleshulme', Ches. Life (Mar. 1981), 37; Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: no title, n.d., article re 'The Croft'.

⁴³ Fieldwork, Sep. 1998.

MODERN LAND USE AND MANAGEMENT

RESERVOIRS

In addition to the small reservoirs used to power textile mills from the late 18th century,⁴⁴ the 19th and 20th centuries saw the introduction of larger landscape features in the form of reservoirs for water supply. Rather like the canal and railways which passed through the periphery of this area,⁴⁵ these primarily serve the needs of outsiders rather than the residents of these townships. Marginal land in thinly-populated areas is considered optimum for this usage, and proponents have further argued that this land use is also compatible with both the natural scenery and leisure use of such localities. A particular advantage of the Peak District is its proximity to centres of population where demand for water is greatest. Therefore, although there are no natural lakes within the Peak Park, high rainfall and steep-sided valleys make it a suitable choice and parts have been flooded. The area is therefore of considerable importance in this sphere: there are 55 reservoirs of over 2 hectares, and 15 per cent of the Park is owned by water companies for reservoirs or water catchment.⁴⁶ Within these townships, an Act of 1861 empowered a waterworks company to make Horse Coppice and Bollinhurst reservoirs⁴⁷ on the north-western boundary of Lyme Handley, which were among those supplying water to Stockport.⁴⁸ In the 1960s several farms were taken over

⁴⁴ Above, ch. IV.4.

⁴⁵ Above, p. 281.

⁴⁶ Information from the Peak Park; V.C.H. Ches. i. 1; Crosby, History of Ches. 91; Davies, History of Macclesfield, 157-9.

⁴⁷ See figure 2.1 above (p. 26).

⁴⁸ Stockport, ed. Christie-Miller, 43.

and farmland flooded to create Lamaload Reservoir, at the southern extremity of Rainow. There is also a treatment works there.⁴⁹ The sites of some older factory reservoirs, at Lowerhouse and Millbrook (Rainow), were adapted for use in water supply.⁵⁰ The reservoirs here, though, are small in comparison with some within the Peak Park.

DEBATES OVER LAND USE

Admiration of the Peak District's landscapes, and the perception that such areas are those to which people can escape, may sometimes obscure the reality that the National Park took over a landscape formed by human as well as natural processes, the resources of which continue to be exploited. The diverse uses to which such landscapes are subject can come into conflict, and the National Park (the local planning authority) may be involved as protagonist or mediator. Tension is sometimes apparent not just between internal and external users, but between locals who include landowners, farmers, quarry owners, local businesses, and residents, all with different interests.

Among the industries classed as 'traditional' and allowed within the Park are water catchment and quarrying;⁵¹ these can, however, prove contentious in terms of their impact upon the landscape and upon local communities. A balance is sought between their importance to local economies, and their environmental implications in terms of visual

⁴⁹ Moore, 'Sixteen Strenuous Glorious Miles', 45; Story of Rainow, 15, 22, 76-7; J. Darling, 'Rainow's End', Ches. Life (Dec. 1989), 92.

⁵⁰ E. Bagot, A Social and Economic History of Macclesfield (Ches. Education Committee, n.d.), 69.

⁵¹ Information from the Peak Park.

impact, noise, pollution, or traffic. Quarrying at Moorside in Pott Shrigley and the transporting of stone was the source of controversy within the community, for some local people perceived a damaging effect upon the environment and upon the quality of life.⁵² More recently a planning debate in Rainow over proposed quarrying operations revealed a polarisation of opinion between groups Purslow characterises as local small business-people engaged, for example, in farming and quarrying, and affluent incomers attracted by the idea of a rural idyll.⁵³ These modern controversies form an interesting counterpoint to the long-term presence of industrial activity in these localities.

Planning restrictions and local opinion have placed constraints on building and on commercial activity in Pott Shrigley in recent decades. Inhabitants were divided over the proposal to open a restaurant at Pott Hall Farm in the village. Proponents claimed that the area was of increasing importance to tourists; that the village lacked amenities; and that since the stone building already existed its conversion could not constitute a visual intrusion. One supporter criticised the conception that Pott Shrigley be 'fossilised'. Opponents argued against the intrusion of commercial activity, to preserve the village's character - for it was perceived as vulnerable, yet an important barrier against the built-up area of nearby Bollington. They claimed that the small village could not support an influx of visitors, in terms

⁵² Knight, 'Now Comes the Crunch', 48-9, 51. Cf. letter of 1965 re the same; and concerns expressed by the clerk of the parish council in 1966 about proposed Bollington brickworks, near Pott Shrigley but outside the National Park, and their effect on the landscape: Ches. R.O., P 38/5012/2; also Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 30 Oct. 1991.

⁵³ Purslow, 'Harrop Valley', 88.

of traffic and noise.⁵⁴ Some local people opposed the re-opening of the Coffee Tavern in the north of the township for the tourist market, and the Peak Park Planning Board argued for the scrapping of the then-derelict building, arguing that it was 'undesirable commercial development'.⁵⁵ There was also local opposition to the conversion of Shrigley Hall to a hotel, because of its potential impact on the landscape and on traffic.⁵⁶ A desire to preserve the character of a locality perceived as unspoilt, yet under threat, is explicit. These debates encapsulate the wider difficulties as to who should use this landscape, and which interests it is appropriate or undamaging to cater for. There is also a debate about what elements in the landscape are worthy of preservation. Local inhabitants were reported to want to preserve the pool at the site of the textile mill at Millbrook (Rainow), opposing the Water Board's plans to drain it and landscape the site.⁵⁷

However, Williamson and Bellamy argue that even in protected areas like National Parks there are serious limitations on the extent to which activities can be controlled: land within National Parks, like forests, is largely owned by private individuals, and although its use is constrained by certain national laws, there were and are ways of getting around their restrictions. They claim that restrictions on urbanising and industrialising

⁵⁴ Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 16 Mar. 1972, and cf. ibid. 23 Nov. 1972.

⁵⁵ Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 25 Jul. 1988. The café was, however, trading in Jul. 1997: fieldwork.

⁵⁶ Macclesfield Library, Pott Shrigley news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 19 Jul. 1984.

⁵⁷ Macclesfield Library, Rainow news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 10 Aug., 31 Aug. 1989.

pursuits are perhaps more effective than those aimed at controlling agricultural intensification. Attempts to preserve the form of rural settlements have worked better than attempts to protect the traditional form of the working landscape.⁵⁸ Notwithstanding these limitations, though, the intervention of powerful administrative structures, with their novel interest in planning issues affecting landscapes and communities,⁵⁹ has been a powerful force in shaping rural localities in recent decades. The bureaucracy of a National Park is present in few rural localities, but here it is central among those administrative structures, an important factor contributing to the physical preservation of these communities and their landscapes in the most recent phase of their history. Its importance might be paralleled with the influence of landownership at earlier periods. But change in these townships continues even under this particular set of conditions, for great transformations in the character of communal life and in the agricultural economy so important to them have occurred up to the present day.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Property and Landscape, 221-2.

⁵⁹ Cf. Marshall and Walton, Lake Counties, 240.

⁶⁰ Above, p. 141, below, pp. 399-402.

V CONCLUSION

The central theme of this study has been the relative roles of causative factors, particularly the natural environment and landholding structures, in the development of local communities. It has aimed not just to give a narrative account of social and economic features but to consider how they relate to one another. The foregoing chapters have accumulated evidence as to what kind of places Kettlethulme, Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and Rainow were. This chapter draws together these elements in examining their social character, and considers the usefulness of the open/closed model of rural communities in relation to these localities. It proceeds to consider the meaningfulness of these places as communities, and the way in which this has altered at the modern period. Finally, it considers how effective the methodology adopted has proved in the examination of local communities, and what wider significance its findings may have.

SOCIAL CHARACTER

The seclusion of these townships, extending into expanses of open moorland and vulnerable to bad weather,¹ seems to have bred a certain introversion. In 1674 Roger Downes (of Worth and Shrigley) wrote to his neighbour Richard Legh (of Lyme), 'How happy ... are we ... that in this stormy weather and world, can under the shelter of these hills lie snug and unconcerned',² apparently alluding metaphorically to the locality's isolation. As late as 1863 the Earl of Courtown's agent hoped that 'the time is ... come when ... there is a chance of introducing

¹ Even in the 20th century: cf. Scott, 'Rainow', 33.

² Quoted in Newton, Lyme Letters, 59.

Saltersford into civilized society'.³ The vicar of Prestbury at that period referred to the 'independence' of the hillfolk living in the locality.⁴ Benjamin Smith (1875) commented on the small size of Pott Shrigley, and 'the completeness of its exclusion from the world'.⁵ The importance of agricultural rhythms to life in the townships is clear.⁶

The wealth of this upland neighbourhood was limited. Laughton's analysis of 17th-century Rainow delineated a 'fairly homogeneous' community in which the majority were poor, variations in status limited, and the more wealthy affluent only by comparison with the poorer inhabitants.⁷ The poverty of the environment was the determining factor, for conditions in agriculture, the primary economic activity, were not conducive to the acquisition of capital; other resources such as minerals offered limited opportunities. The average personal estate of testators in Rainow was substantially less than that of their counterparts on the Cheshire plain and the standard of living was very modest. The character of life endured, Laughton argued, highlighting the similarity between a 1673 inventory and the contents of an 1834 sale notice, both for Hooleyhey; concluding that true prosperity could come only from opportunities outside the township.⁸

³ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/16.

⁴ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/23.

⁵ Methodism in Macclesfield, 173.

⁶ E.g. P.R.O., IR 18/208: letter from G. W. Cooke to the Tithe Commissioners, 25 Sep. 1850; White, Pott Shrigley, a village school, 16-17; Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 290.

⁷ Cf. limited extremes of wealth in 17th-century pastoral Shropshire and Cambridgeshire communities: Hey, English Rural Community, 52-3, 188, 231; Spufford, Contrasting Communities, 44, 121, 128, 158.

⁸ 'Township of Rainow', 30, 35-8, 42-3, 49-51, 72, 86-7, 107, 109-11, 129-30, 133-5.

Similar circumstances prevailed in contiguous townships. At the hearth tax of 1664, 84 per cent of households in Rainow, 91 per cent in Pott Shrigley and 94 per cent in Kettleshulme had a single hearth, reflecting the poverty of these east Cheshire townships.⁹ A whole series of sources confirm that the townships did not enjoy a high degree of affluence. In the 1710s Pott Chapel was described as standing in a 'barren country', the population 'of mean ability and poor'.¹⁰ In 1778 the inhabitants of Pott Shrigley, Rainow and Saltersford were farmers and labourers.¹¹ In 1783 the 'generality' of Rainow people were small farmers, stone-getters, colliers and husbandmen.¹² Within Rainow village in the 1820s almost all the dwellings were just cottages.¹³ In 1844 the vicar referred to the 'poverty and suffering' which he 'continually' witnessed:¹⁴ despite the modesty of the living¹⁵ the clergyman stood out from the bulk of the inhabitants as one of the more affluent residents, as when he complained of the difficulty of finding a house commensurate with his status.¹⁶ Even away from the industrialised parts there was poverty: in 1863 the vicar of Prestbury, trying to raise funds for a parsonage for

⁹ 19 per cent of households in Kettleshulme, 27 per cent in Rainow and 51 per cent in Pott Shrigley were exempt from the tax. Figures for Lyme Handley were not found. P.R.O., E 179/86/145. For a much lower percentage of households with a single hearth in some parts of Lancs. cf. Coney, 'On the Fringe', 177; Pearson, Rural Houses of the Lancs. Pennines, 115. Also Spufford, Contrasting Communities, 41, 44, on use of the hearth tax and its results in Cambridgeshire.

¹⁰ Ches. R.O., EDP 225/5.

¹¹ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/1/98, 100-1.

¹² Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

¹³ Pigot's Ches. Directory 1828/9, p. 30.

¹⁴ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letters from Harrison to E.C., 31 Jan., 12 Aug.

¹⁵ Above, pp. 333-5.

¹⁶ Above, p. 301.

Saltersford and Kettlethulme, wrote that the people were 'very needy' in the vicinity: 'if they have a little money they do not like parting with it'.¹⁷ In the later 19th century the inhabitants of Saltersford were farmers adapted to a frugal life.¹⁸ Even in 1934 Rainow's population was fairly undifferentiated, comprising 'only small farmers and cottage people' of limited means.¹⁹

But even where social differentiation was limited, it was of considerable significance in the lives of the inhabitants. For example, although chapter IV.2 argued that nowhere in these townships was farming very profitable, the 'respectable farmers' of Saltersford, having larger holdings, seem to have held themselves aloof from the numerous poor of Rainow.²⁰ Social differentiation did reflect some opportunities in the township. The self-made entrepreneur James Mellor (senior) came to prosperity in the late 18th century through a variety of activities including dairy-farming, joinery, building and coal-dealing, and latterly textile manufacture.²¹ His son James, residing at Hough-hole House, was similarly prominent in local affairs.²² 'Private residents' listed in Kelly's Directories (which run from 1857 to 1939) also included the Gaskells of Ingersley and the Hulleys of the One House. These families, while by no means dominant like those which owned Lyme and Shrigley, were among the more substantial landowners in Rainow (the Hulleys holding a particularly ancient estate),²³ for within the pattern of 'peasant'

¹⁷ T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/19.

¹⁸ Northants. R.O., FS 48/6.

¹⁹ C.E.R.C., file 5599: letter from E.C. to P. U. Mulliner, 10 Oct.

²⁰ Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/3/2.

²¹ Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 177-82.

²² Turner, Mellor's Gardens (Ches. County Council, n.d.), 4.

²³ Above, p. 65.

landholding in the township there was variation in the size of holdings.²⁴ These larger Rainow landowners are sometimes found acting in similar ways to dominant landowners elsewhere: members of the Gaskell family, for example, founded and distributed charities, and patronised social activities.²⁵ Where no very great landowners were involved in building churches or schools, the more prominent inhabitants took the lead.²⁶ In the absence of a dominant resident landowner, the attempts at social control by the vicar, George Harrison, in the 19th century sometimes echo those of the archetypal landlord. He approvingly noted the temperance of his sexton and clerk, but disapproved of the 'many beer houses'²⁷ which together with pigeon-flying, bird-catching, the 'vile Sabbath Wakes' and sundry other activities constituted a 'great curse to Rainow'.²⁸

However, the features of the township overall seem to delineate an 'open' community, with textile and mineral industry, commercial concerns, nonconformist chapels, and many pubs and other social activities, as well as poaching.²⁹ The open/closed model admits of differentiation within landownership in 'open' communities, as is apparent in Rainow with these larger resident or non-resident landowners: but crucially they were not sufficiently powerful to dominate the township

²⁴ Cf. above, pp. 76-7.

²⁵ 31st Report of the Charity Commissioners, H.C. [103], p. 546 (1837-8), xxiv; Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 22; Ches. R.O., P 188/3086/5/1: parish magazine, Aug. 1917.

²⁶ Above, pp. 101, 324; Chester R.O., CR 63/1/26/9: notes entitled 'Free School, Rainow 1731'.

²⁷ Cf. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', 308, on public houses as the rival, as a social centre, to the church and chapel.

²⁸ Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/7, p. 18.

²⁹ Ches. R.O., P 188/3116/7, p. 18.

as in 'closed' ones.³⁰ Similarly, in Kettleshulme, 'private residents' listed in Kelly's Directory included the clergyman and the Sheldon family (the millowners), but few stood above the generality of the inhabitants.

There were, then, varying degrees of social differentiation between the four townships, for in Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley there was a gulf between the largest landowners and the other inhabitants. In 1664, for example, the hearth tax for Kettleshulme listed³¹ 34 households with just one hearth, with only two households having any more, and then only two hearths. In Rainow there was greater differentiation, for although the majority were one-hearth dwellings (123), there were in addition 18 two-hearth households, 4 with three hearths, and 1 with four. In Pott Shrigley, however, although there was again a majority of one-hearth assessments (57), with 3 having two hearths, and 1 with four, there were also two more substantial households within the township: that of Edmund Pott,³² assessed at six hearths; and that of Edward Downes (of Shrigley), with eight.³³ In the 19th century among the more prominent residents were the clergyman, and the Swindells family and later residents of Pott Hall, in addition of course to the owners of Shrigley.³⁴

In late 18th- and 19th-century Shrigley, many inhabitants were tenants, servants, or estate workers of the

³⁰ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 126-8, on variation in the concentration of social control between open and closed communities.

³¹ Both those chargeable and those not chargeable.

³² Of Pott Hall: cf. Ormerod, History of Ches. iii. 775.

³³ P.R.O., E 179/86/145.

³⁴ Kelly's Directory of Ches., edns. from 1857.

landowning family.³⁵ The last Downes, Edward (d. 1819),³⁶ was particularly influential in the life of the township. His activities in support of the church and in opposition to Methodism, and his improvements in the township, reflect his paternalistic attitudes and - not always successful - attempts at social control.³⁷ Benjamin Smith attributed to him the desire that the Shrigley estate be 'a model in every way', for he employed 'very active' measures to prevent those 'under his control' wasting their time and money in ale-houses. His benevolence extended to patronage of children in the neighbourhood - but only 'those who submitted to his guidance'.³⁸ He clearly saw his paternalistic policies as beneficial to social order in the community. His speech in 1809 for George III's jubilee year entreated his tenants and neighbours, 'anxious' as he was to 'advise and assist' them and for their 'own advantage and happiness only', to attend church and enjoy the holiday in 'innocent gratifications', rather than in public houses; offering to furnish those who had 'more mouths than victuals at home' with 'the materials for a comfortable supper' - but only in 'proportion to their wants and merits'.³⁹ His expectation that because of his position he should and could behave thus is particularly interesting given the financial pressures under which he was operating.⁴⁰ His desire to retain some residue of his property at its sale in 1818 (including the patronage of the church) presumably reflected a desire to retain some influence,⁴¹

³⁵ Cf. the proportion in service there in the census: pp. 256, 267 above. The same applied in Lyme.

³⁶ Earwaker, East Ches. ii. 319.

³⁷ Above, pp. 169, 288, 339, 345, 350.

³⁸ Methodism in Macclesfield, 274-9.

³⁹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 536. Cf. ibid. ii. 542-3.

⁴⁰ Above, pp. 50-1.

⁴¹ Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' ii. 462.

but the purchaser, William Turner, apparently wanted the whole package: his aim seems to have been to set himself up as a country gentleman, exercising the same kind of influence.⁴² Despite their different origins, Turner and his Lowther descendants had a similar engagement in the life of the township to the Downeses, for example in their relationship with the church and school.⁴³ Their influence extended into many other spheres of life.⁴⁴ In 1910 the Lowthers owned almost all the property in the township, including the school, vicarage, mines, shop, and coffee tavern.⁴⁵ In 1902 the Manchester Evening News blamed Mrs Lowther for Pott Shrigley's inhospitability to the increasing numbers of ramblers and cyclists visiting the area.⁴⁶ The sale of the hall must have changed the character of life there greatly once the family was no longer resident.⁴⁷

Previous chapters argued that Lyme Handley was a typical estate township. The relationship between landlord and tenants on such an estate is illustrated by the hospitality extended to all the Leghs' Lancashire and Cheshire tenants at Lyme on the coming of age of the heir in 1878. A report painted a rosy picture of a magnanimous and conscientious landlord and his loyal tenantry and the harmonious relationship between them.⁴⁸ In the early 20th century it seems that a sense of community amongst the inhabitants centred more on affinity with the hall and estate than on communal institutions. Lyme had its own

⁴² Above, pp. 52, 309-10, 339, 350.

⁴³ Above, pp. 339, 350, 355.

⁴⁴ White, Pott Shrigley, a village school, 14-15; Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 21.

⁴⁵ Ches. R.O., NVA 4/8, pp. 15-21.

⁴⁶ Longden and Spink, Looking Back at East Ches. 21.

⁴⁷ Above, p. 63.

⁴⁸ Chester R.O., CR 63/1/141/6: news cuttings.

cricket team, captained by Lord Newton.⁴⁹ Social occasions for estate employees included the distribution of beef at Christmas, followed by 'three cheers': although the second Lord Newton (1857-1942)⁵⁰ seems to have had an ambivalent attitude to such paternalistic ceremonies. He discontinued household prayers as embarrassingly 'patriarchal', although formerly everyone had attended chapel 'as a matter of course'. A New Year's Eve servants' ball reflected the hierarchy of the household. The servants entered in strict order of precedence. Between dancing, the house party kept to their end of the room; refreshments were served separately above and below stairs.⁵¹ Sources of entertainment were, however, limited, and life in the isolated estate dwellings could be lonely.⁵² Nonetheless, a community of estate workers and residents centred in the complex of buildings around the hall; but, argued Laurie, started to 'disintegrate' in the 20th century.⁵³ There was a degree of attachment to the estate, and its disposal in 1946 was regretted by some of the inhabitants.⁵⁴ A final benevolent gesture by Lord Newton was a bonus for employees.⁵⁵ The family's departure must have transformed the social character of the township, as in Shrigley.

⁴⁹ Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 44; Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, title page and p. 33. Cf. Agrarian History, vi: 1750-1850, ed. Mingay, 936-7.

⁵⁰ Above, figure 3.2 (p. 45).

⁵¹ Sandeman, Treasure on Earth, 14, 38-9, 50, 74-9, 113.

⁵² Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, 7, 10.

⁵³ Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, 18-19.

⁵⁴ Cricketer Preferred, ed. Laurie, 35.

⁵⁵ G.M.C.R.O., E 17/4/3: notice, 18 Oct. 1945.

THE OPEN/CLOSED MODEL

This model looks for common patterns in the features manifested by different local communities. Mills argued that such an approach advances understanding on a wider scale than is possible in a single local study: 'only a very large sample of case studies would be capable of bringing out any firm directions regarding the origins of village differentiation'.⁵⁶ However, the tenor of this study, with its bias towards the most recent centuries, highlights the difficulty of analysing pre-modern periods in these terms. In better-documented localities there is a greater possibility, perhaps, of applying the model to early modern communities.⁵⁷ At all periods it is more difficult to document exactly the mechanisms by which landownership impacted upon features of local life than to identify a correlation between those features and patterns of landownership.⁵⁸ Historians more often make surmises about landowners' attitudes and their impact than find explicit statements about them. One weakness of the present study is perhaps the lack of data on the operation of the poor law, which some historians have seen as central in the differentiation between 'open' and 'closed' communities, a key mechanism in the means by which landowners controlled some local communities.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 107, 113. One critic has suggested that the model might apply only in some localities: Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?', 60-1.

⁵⁷ Cf. e.g. Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 59-60.

⁵⁸ Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?', 56, 60.

⁵⁹ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 23-5; also Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?'. However, other motives have been discerned here: above, pp. 288, 384.

Many studies which have employed the model focussed on lowland areas with nucleated villages.⁶⁰ Analysis of upland areas, where dispersed settlement and pastoral agriculture are predominant, has been limited. However, Mills' exposition of the model based upon patterns of landownership was qualified by other factors such as settlement patterns. He raised the question of whether in 'hamlet' England, with large administrative units, pastoral farming, and an absence or weakness of common fields and manorial control, there was a preponderance of open communities, with closed communities relatively scarce.⁶¹ A variation on the model is needed which works in upland areas.

The model predicts that contrasting patterns of landownership in the 'estate' and 'peasant' systems produced variations in social structure and landscape, recognised by contemporary commentators as by later historians. Mills summarised the characteristic features thus: closed townships have concentrated landownership, and consequently halls and parks; large tenanted farms; low population density and small populations; predominantly agricultural occupations; and good housing. The Church of England was dominant, and the squire exercised social control over the inhabitants. Open townships had fragmented ownership, which was associated with high population density and size, population increase, and with varied occupations including in some cases manufacturing industry. Housing was of a lower standard but more freely available. There was greater independence in thought and action and nonconformist

⁶⁰ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 73.

⁶¹ Lord and Peasant, 17-19, 60, 79, 90, 116-17, 125, 128; cf. also Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 59.

chapels were likely to be strong.⁶² Were the phenomena described in previous chapters what we would expect from the model?

Certain common features in these four townships were associated with environmental character, notwithstanding contrasts in landholding. Chief among these is occupational diversity in non-agricultural spheres, characteristic of pastoral areas which had non-agrarian natural resources; contrasting with areas where arable farming, and crafts and trades dependent on agriculture, were pursued to the almost total exclusion of other activities.⁶³ Pastoral farming allowed industrial activity because, less capital-intensive than arable farming and more profitable on a smaller scale, it was more easily combined with by-employments.⁶⁴ Significant non-agricultural economic activities, notably mining and quarrying, are found in all these townships whatever their patterns of landownership. None of the townships' 19th-century occupational structures was purely agricultural. Lyme Handley was most heavily dominated by agricultural workers; but conversely Pott Shrigley, where the pattern of landownership was most similar, was the least agricultural, since coal was so important.

However, Mills argued for some relation between 'openness' and labour-intensive economic pursuits, including industrial ones; with large estates concentrating instead on the exploitation of land and its

⁶² Lord and Peasant, 24-5, 60, 116-17; cf. Emery, Oxfordshire Landscape, 170-6.

⁶³ E.g. early modern Terling: Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, 22-3.

⁶⁴ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 120-2; above, p. 248.

minerals by capital-intensive means.⁶⁵ Indeed here mining and quarrying were associated with the Lyme and Shrigley estates (though also pursued in the other townships), whereas textile manufacture gained a foothold only in Rainow and Kettleshulme, and not in the estate townships. Greater occupational diversity in trades and crafts is also apparent in Rainow and Kettleshulme. One possible reason for the imperfect fit of the model in this locality is the fact that the classic occupational contrast between different types of community applies to places where arable cultivation was of primary importance. Arable farming depended to a much greater degree than pastoral farming on hired labour, and there was a supposed dependence of thinly-populated, closed parishes upon populous open ones near by to fulfil their requirements in this sphere.⁶⁶ In the east Cheshire Pennines, pastoral farming was dominant and farms small⁶⁷ and therefore little hired labour was required, so no such interdependence existed.

The relationship between settlement and the open/closed model was also modified by the Pennine environment. In some parts of rural England village size was, alongside landownership, a factor in social character, for closure was easier in smaller places.⁶⁸ But here the upland environment kept all settlements relatively small, even the villages in the open townships of Kettleshulme and Rainow. Nowhere was there a large village of the sort where open communities flourished in arable regions. The greatest distinction here was rather between the three

⁶⁵ Lord and Peasant, 20.

⁶⁶ Cf. Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?'

⁶⁷ Above, chs. IV.2, IV.6, and especially p. 257.

⁶⁸ Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 268.

townships with small nucleated settlements, and Lyme with none. Population densities, as opposed to concentrations, match the open/closed model better, since Kettleshulme and Rainow were much more thickly populated than Lyme.

In the religious sphere, Mills argued for an association between closed communities and strong control by the Church of England. Nonconformity was supposedly stronger in open communities having greater independence of action.⁶⁹ However, there existed a broad correlation between strong established religion in arable, nucleated communities, and nonconformity in pastoral areas of dispersed settlement. It seems that to some degree the latter generalisation overrides the former in this case. Indeed Pott Shrigley contradicts findings for some areas which show that townships with estate parks - associated with resident gentry - were rarely those which also had nonconformist chapels.⁷⁰ Methodism was generally strong in this locality and all the townships except Lyme Handley had chapels. The general strength of Methodism has been attributed in part to the inadequate distribution of churches and ministers (arising from late and sparse settlement in east Cheshire), for not even Pott Shrigley had the securely-founded parish church one would expect of the classic closed township. However, in Pott Shrigley the presence of Methodist places of worship may relate as well to the incompleteness of control by the ruling estate. But contrasts can still be drawn between the townships, for while Rainow's Anglican chapels were late foundations by the inhabitants, Pott Shrigley church was founded earlier and from the earliest records closely associated with the ruling family.

⁶⁹ Lord and Peasant, 125.

⁷⁰ Mills, Lord and Peasant, 125.

Given these aspects which clearly derive from their upland milieu, is it possible to relate the open/closed classification to these communities? Important contrasts are found which do seem to correlate with the distribution of landownership. Kettleshulme, for example, fulfils expectations of an open township, having a large number of copyholding landowners; a Wesleyan chapel but no church; textile industry, craftsmen, tradesmen and public houses. Lyme Handley was at the opposite extreme. Although there were 'relatively few estates which gave their owners such a totality of control' as Mills's 'ideal' closed township - one landowner, with his country house and park, few dwellings, no public house or tradesmen, perhaps not even a parson⁷¹ - Lyme seems to have come close. However, the Pennine setting gives it a distinctive flavour contrasting with the gentler parkland landscapes of lowland areas, and the sparsity of settlement was due partly to the inhospitable environment.

Pott Shrigley and Rainow are harder to categorise. In Pott Shrigley the importance of mineral extraction and its impact on occupational patterns, the strength of nonconformity, and also population density⁷² seem to correlate with townships where landownership was socially dispersed. However, the long-term importance of the Downeses as landowners and their eventual almost total hegemony resulted in strong social control by the 19th century. The anomalies may arise, as has been argued, from the upland and pastoral character of the township. However, they may also relate to change over time in the

⁷¹ Lord and Peasant, 27.

⁷² Above, table 4.25 (p. 315).

pattern of landownership and its social consequences.⁷³ The increasing dominance of the Downeses, albeit from an already strong position amongst other landholders, has been described above (pp. 73-4), their expansion of their estate and developing control, certainly from the 18th century, contrasting with more static structures in the other townships. For instance, although a hall is documented from the 16th century, at the end of the 18th century Edward Downes decided to lay out the park, with implications for communications and settlement in the township. This example highlights the important contrast with Lyme. Although Pott Shrigley came to exhibit this 'closed' pattern of landownership, it reached this point from a similar basis to that in Rainow and Kettleshulme, for the three townships were subject to similar patterns of colonisation and landholding in the late medieval period. In Lyme, pre-existing land use and apparently limited colonisation facilitated the Legh grant, which thereafter reinforced its distinctive character from a much earlier date. Thus, although the character of landholding structures and their social consequences were by the 19th century superficially similar in Pott Shrigley and Lyme Handley, their antecedents were very different.

The problem in Rainow is the existence of contrasts within the township. Its western section, with fragmented landholding, comparatively dense settlement, textile mills, crafts, trades and public houses resulting in occupational diversity, and Methodist chapels, displays features of an open community. Saltersford, owned by the Earls of Courtown, and Harrop, by the Earls of Derby, two thinly-populated valleys within the township, had larger

⁷³ Cf. the novel social impact of a resident landowner in Ashwell, Hertfordshire, in the 19th century: Davey, Ashwell, 38-9.

farms and fewer industrial or commercial activities and no nonconformist chapels. In addition, both were civilly and Saltersford was ecclesiastically distinct from the rest of the township. As with Lyme Handley, the distinction within Rainow had medieval roots, for the status of distinct pastures facilitated their acquisition by gentry families. It seems that Rainow's large size allowed economic and social differentiation to the degree that different parts of the single township may be characterised differently. Rainow village and its environs were open. Saltersford and also, perhaps, Harrop, on the other hand, displayed some features associated with 'closed' communities, although their landowners, while dominant, were not resident and do not seem to have been closely engaged in life there as was the archetypal squire. The township, while an important unit in terms of administrative, economic and social bonds, was not all-defining.⁷⁴

So there was no simple dichotomy between open and closed townships. Not only were there important features in common between all four townships, but even where we characterise communities as open or closed we find variations within those types. Pott Shrigley, for example, seems a less extreme example of a 'closed' township than Lyme Handley, having more features in common with Rainow and Kettlethulme. Although Rainow and Kettlethulme shared important characteristics, in Rainow there were a few greater landowners among the many, which in the northern and eastern parts of the township seems to have been associated with other contrasting features. Similar variations are taken account of by Mills, who argued that in reality a spectrum or continuum of types existed: the distinction between open and closed was not

⁷⁴ Cf. below, pp. 397-8, 407-9.

always a sharp one. Communities were not divided between those in which landownership was totally concentrated, and those where it was extremely fragmented.⁷⁵

Consequently, the social consequences of those various patterns of landownership showed a range, not a dichotomy. Some of these variations can be typified, most notably the difference between communities where a great landowner was resident and could subject his property to close control, and those where he was absent: that is to say, the attitude of the landowner, as well as the actual distribution of landownership, was formative.⁷⁶

Conversely, a distinction could be drawn between open communities where a meaningful 'peasant' community could emerge, and those where it was simply the case that divided ownership meant that no landowner, or small group, could dominate.⁷⁷

COMMUNITIES

Until the middle of the 19th century the majority of English people lived in the countryside in communities consisting of no more than a few hundred people, at most.⁷⁸ The rural community determined the character of life for the bulk of the English population. However, the meaning of 'community' at the local level has been contentious.⁷⁹ How do Kettleshulme, Lyme Handley, Pott

⁷⁵ Cf. above, p. 77.

⁷⁶ For landownership and power in a community - while closely related - were not synonymous: Short, 'Evolution of contrasting communities', 40.

⁷⁷ Lord and Peasant, 24, 49, 76-8, 88, 93-4.

⁷⁸ Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 54; Coleman and Salt, British Population, 41.

⁷⁹ Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 14, 16-17, ch. 2; MacFarlane et al., Reconstructing Historical Communities, ch. 1; above, p. 89.

Shrigley and Rainow relate to these concepts of community?

Mobility was ubiquitous in local communities from at least the early modern period and there was a high turnover of individuals in all types of locality in England.⁸⁰ However, a community retained its identity despite the turnover of individual members through birth, death or migration,⁸¹ for inhabitants of a particular place continued to relate to one another in many ways and to act corporately in some spheres. These different social relationships, reinforcing one another, produced an intensely 'face-to-face' society.⁸² However, a thinly-populated area of dispersed settlement is less obviously a community than a nucleated settlement.⁸³ Spatially and agriculturally there was less contact between farms scattered in an upland pastoral area than in a village, particularly one where common-field farming was pursued.⁸⁴ Presumably the presence of nucleated settlement affected the character of social relationships, providing a forum for more frequent day-to-day contact. However, such settlement was apparently unnecessary to create communal bonds, for despite the limited degree of nucleation in this area relationships which bound inhabitants economically, socially and administratively are apparent. The vitality of a communal identity in Saltersford, for example, is evident in the construction of Jenkin Chapel. Some other communal buildings in these townships were

⁸⁰ Cf. Short, 'Images and realities', 11; Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 115.

⁸¹ Cf. Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, 75-6.

⁸² Lewis, Particular Places, 27-8.

⁸³ Cf. Winchester, Discovering Parish Boundaries, 20.

⁸⁴ Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 266-7; Agrarian History, iv: 1500-1640, ed. Thirsk, 8.

also dispersed, like the settlements they served.⁸⁵ Rees argued that community life was no less vital in his Welsh parish, an area of scattered settlement, than in a village; but that its form was adapted to the scattered habitats, in contrast to English localities where community life was centred around the village. A complex of social and economic relationships and reciprocities overcame the isolation imposed by the environment, and even pastoral farming involved a degree of mutuality.⁸⁶

It is, however, the case that no one set of relationships defines the sphere of a local community.⁸⁷ Firstly, some were associated with administrative entities but others, for example, with economic or tenurial relationships. Secondly, the township was not all-encompassing in defining these relationships: the foregoing chapters have made this clear in alluding to variations within them. There also existed economic, social, and administrative relationships with a range of other geographical entities. Marshall refers to the 'social area' within which people had links, which for the inhabitants of each parish (or township?) extended beyond those boundaries.⁸⁸ Some important aspects of life in a locality are in fact better studied on a wider scale, for instance demographic patterns and agrarian history.⁸⁹ It is therefore right to speak not of 'community' but of 'communities', firstly because not one but four townships have formed the subject of this study, and secondly because other

⁸⁵ Although an increasing degree of nucleation from the 18th century presumably altered social relationships to some degree in certain parts of this locality. Above, ch. IV.7.

⁸⁶ Life in a Welsh Countryside, chs. VI, VIII, and pp. 162-3.

⁸⁷ Cf. G. Nair, Highley (Oxford, 1988), 3.

⁸⁸ Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 69.

⁸⁹ Cf. V.C.H. General Introduction, 25; Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 37, 112; Lewis, Particular Places, 40.

entities such as parish, manor, forest, chapelry, hamlet and village have been discerned. 'Community' has a multiplicity of different meanings.⁹⁰ This is particularly the case given the absence of unity in this area between village, township, chapelry, parish, manor and forest, no two of which were coterminous (see figure 2.1, p. 4 above). Indeed this area illustrates well how the classic model of congruence in rural England between parish, township, manor and village actually applies to relatively few localities,⁹¹ owing to variations in economic systems, in settlement patterns, and in the development of manorial and parochial systems.⁹² In this case it reflects distinctive features of the area: the large parish and also perhaps the existence of the forest arose from its marginality and consequent late development and dispersed pattern of settlement. It therefore highlights an important point about the variations between different localities.⁹³

However, examination of these religious and civil administrative units and settlements has made clear the centrality of the local in the lives of the inhabitants. Just because individuals belonged to more than one unit does not mean that each was not meaningful. The foregoing chapters have shown the existence of an entity for which the term 'community' has, despite the debate about semantics, been employed. It is difficult to find a synonym which conveys the richness of the relationships which existed between people who inhabited the same

⁹⁰ Cf. Marshall, *Tyranny of the Discrete*, 70-1; MacFarlane *et al.*, *Reconstructing Historical Communities*, 12-13; also Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 344-7, on how nonconformist churches formed different communities from the parish communities they replaced.

⁹¹ Cf. e.g. Nair, *Highley*, 3.

⁹² Cf. Lewis, *Particular Places*, 20-2.

⁹³ Cf. Winchester, 'Parish, Township and Tithing'. Below, pp. 410-12.

locality in earlier periods,⁹⁴ but it is clear that people in this locality interacted in various ways with those who inhabited the space around them and with whom they shared common concerns, which related variously to the administrative structures under which they operated, systems of land use within which they made their living, common economic activities, chapels in which they worshipped, and settlements in which they lived. Their corporate functions endured. The community at this level had meaning over a long period, and a continuity which was independent of the particular individuals who inhabited each rural locality.

But the significance of relationships at this local level has changed over time.⁹⁵ The greatest change in the character of local communities has occurred at the modern period. Rees, who conducted his research in the 1940s, detected changes in economic patterns and mobility during the preceding decades which weakened social relationships and, overall, impoverished the life of the community in Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa in the Welsh uplands.⁹⁶ Davey perceived a similar alteration (albeit in a village environment) over the 19th and early 20th century in the social, economic and administrative vitality of Ashwell, Hertfordshire, until it was no longer the 'mainstream of existence', a community based on 'vital issues of common concern'.⁹⁷ Saltersford provides an example of a parallel process here. As early as 1825 depopulation was occurring owing to a lack of employment in the isolated valley.⁹⁸ The difficulties of farming in the late 19th century have been described, and by the early 20th century the church

⁹⁴ Cf. Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 29.

⁹⁵ Cf. Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 100.

⁹⁶ Life in a Welsh Countryside, chs. XI, XIV.

⁹⁷ Ashwell, especially pp. 5, 9, 21-3, 33, 37, 50-7.

was little attended and the school closed. Life in these townships was much altered by developments which encroached upon the economic and administrative autonomy of the communities and broke some of the many bonds which tied them. The fact of residing in the same place and consequent frequent personal contact between neighbours, however, endured until the car weakened that bond too, enabling long-distance mobility on a daily basis and ending the townships' former seclusion.⁹⁹ Work, shopping and leisure activities are therefore no longer necessarily confined to the immediate vicinity. While the township was never completely self-sustaining, it was a much more meaningful unit before these changes diminished economic, occupational and social self-sufficiency. The decline in the number of functions reserved to this local a level in modern times is revealed by comparing entries in Kelly's Directories (1857-1939) with the more limited economic concerns and social facilities in the present-day townships. There are limited occupational opportunities within the townships, and their character is predominantly agricultural, displaying much less economic diversity than in the 19th century. The increasingly residential character is illustrated by the conversion of former public buildings to private housing, including Pott Shrigley's erstwhile shop and its public house, Rainow schools, and Springbank Mill in Rainow; and also in the conversion of some farms to purely residential use. Williamson and Bellamy argued that such communities no longer constitute organic units with economic and social vitality, forming instead dormitory

⁹⁸ Ches. R.O., EDV 7/7/444.

⁹⁹ Above, pp. 102, 244-5. Also Lewis, Particular Places, 27-8. Cf. Davey, Ashwell, 9, 37, 56, on the role of communications there.

settlements.¹⁰⁰ An awareness of the problem of sustaining communal life when there are limited economic or social foci is apparent.¹⁰¹

In physical terms, the townships are well-preserved,¹⁰² but the experiences of their inhabitants are transformed. The four have retained important elements in their character: for example, the emphasis on pastoral agriculture, and low population densities. Parts of the townships were consequently included within the National Park, which in turn attempts to preserve the natural and cultural landscape. However, although the extent of settlement is little altered, its character has changed dramatically in recent decades.¹⁰³ The 'unspoilt'¹⁰⁴ nature of these settlements makes them attractive to affluent immigrants wishing to reside in a rural locality, who are at the same time able to travel by car to work elsewhere.¹⁰⁵ This area was particularly susceptible to this development because of its proximity to important centres of population, which are actually visible from its elevated position. When Pott Hall was sold in the 1980s it was advertised as being within easy access of Manchester and the industrial north-west.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, literature advertising Shrigley Hall for sale drew attention to its location near the M56 and Manchester

¹⁰⁰ Williamson and Bellamy, Property and Landscape, 222-4.

¹⁰¹ E.g. 'Albin Trowski's Kettleshulme', 38; Macclesfield Library, Kettleshulme news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 24 Aug. 1972; and above, pp. 244-5, 264-5, 354-5, 357, 360-1. Cf. Marshall and Walton, Lake Counties, 236-7.

¹⁰² Above, pp. 296-9.

¹⁰³ Cf. Rainow, apparently still unmodernised in 1934: above, p. 381.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Crossley in Richards, Old Ches. Churches, 418.

¹⁰⁵ A general development in the countryside: cf. for example Emery, Oxfordshire Landscape, 219-20.

¹⁰⁶ Ches. R.O., sale catalogue for Pott Hall (n.d., [post-1979]).

airport.¹⁰⁷ The gentrification of farmhouses and other dwellings, now considered desirable residences by immigrants, is one aspect of this transition, reflected in house prices. Many inhabitants commute to work, for example in Macclesfield or Manchester. These developments raise problems for indigenous local people regarding affordable housing, as elsewhere in the National Park.¹⁰⁸ This modern character is indicated by high levels of car ownership and, overall, high levels of home-ownership.¹⁰⁹ Prosperity is no longer dependent on the agricultural or other resources offered by the townships themselves, and gentrification seems incongruous with their former poverty: it is ironic that the limited possibilities of the Pennine environment which constrained development at earlier periods preserved a landscape considered at the modern period to be desirable. In these modern developments common elements between the townships in settlement patterns and landscape are emphasised, and there are significant similarities in their social character.

METHODOLOGY

This study was broadly conceived in both chronological and topical terms. The chronological scope was at the inevitable expense of depth of treatment, but its aim was to consider the origins of differentiation between these four townships, since some features had distant

¹⁰⁷ Sale catalogue, in Shrigley box file at Salesian Provincial Office, Stockport.

¹⁰⁸ Scott, 'Rainow', 35-7; Niland, 'On Top of the World', 58; Meecham, Story of the Church in Rainow, 54; information from the Peak Park; local information.

¹⁰⁹ Census 1991.

antecedents.¹¹⁰ For instance, the long-term effects of differences in status between certain areas of pasture, and parts of the forest colonised by small-scale assarts, are clear. Such an approach also reveals whether phenomena are unique to a particular period, or part of larger patterns. The attempt to examine the locality up to the present day, relating current preoccupations to the history of the locality, contrasts with the more limited approach taken by some local histories,¹¹¹ and shows that the 20th century has seen important changes in local communities. This, interestingly, has revealed both contrasts and continuity with earlier periods. The topical range attempted to examine the overall character of the localities which narrower studies - although they answer questions about more specific problems and periods much more satisfactorily - do not address.¹¹² One virtue of local history is that it enables the historian to consider how different aspects relate to one another, not often feasible on a wider geographical scale. Although the breadth of the study limited the amount of source material which could be studied in detail, the important point was that sufficient sources were consulted to answer its central questions: what kind of places these townships were; how they operated as communities; and how differences between them can be accounted for.

How valuable was the decision to consider more than one township? Alongside a basic similarity in landscape, settlement and land use existed contrasts which begged questions about the townships' development. The comparative approach was an explicit attempt to reveal

¹¹⁰ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 16-17, 73-94, 106-12; Roberts, Rural Settlement, 196; Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 17-18.

¹¹¹ Cf. Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 63, 67.

¹¹² Cf. Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 36, 83.

the causative processes. Historians acknowledge that 'there are ... limitations to the legitimate aims of a single-parish study', and that only through several local studies can a general thesis be formed and tested.¹¹³ A comparative approach is not often undertaken.¹¹⁴ Two examples illustrate the value of such an analysis, although taking slightly different approaches than that attempted here. Spufford examined three Cambridgeshire parishes, but illuminated the role of the landscape in shaping their social and economic features by choosing places which were not contiguous but which contrasted with each other geographically.¹¹⁵ Ravensdale's three parishes (also in Cambridgeshire) were contiguous, and he examined how limited variations in the landscape brought about other contrasts, despite strong features in common between their border fenland economies.¹¹⁶ There were fewer variations in structures of landownership than was the case in the Pennine townships examined in the present study. In this study, examination of contiguous townships meant that variations caused by landownership could be examined within a broadly similar landscape, aside from the differences in physical geography between different regions which otherwise complicate an examination of the consequences of landownership.¹¹⁷ It is clear that the character of a place was centrally determined by the environment.¹¹⁸ Roberts argued of the respective roles of landscape and landownership (in relation to settlement patterns) that the two factors operated, broadly speaking, on different scales: the larger the area considered, the more evident was the impact of purely

¹¹³ Nair, Highley, 3.

¹¹⁴ Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, 70.

¹¹⁵ Contrasting Communities.

¹¹⁶ Liabile to Floods.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 78.

physical considerations; whereas even decisions by one individual could affect patterns on a smaller scale.¹¹⁹ The larger the scale, the easier to make generalisations which do not, however, hold up on closer examination of a locality. Here, the natural environment produced broad similarity between the townships in generally dispersed settlement, pastoral agriculture, mineral extraction, the presence of subsidiary occupations and the strength of nonconformity in religion. The many variations in detail existing alongside these similarities may sometimes relate to differences in landscape on a smaller scale. But contrasts within a locality which shared common environmental features are often associated with landownership. The determinant role of the landscape was mediated by patterns of landownership and the preferences of individual landowners, which also had a great impact on local communities.

Even allowing the validity of the comparative approach, though, what was the value in comparing as many as four townships? The disadvantage is obvious in the diminution in detail. However, the advantage was that more subtle considerations emerged from the range of phenomena apparent than could be the case in a starker comparison between two places, allowing a greater appreciation of the variations between local communities. For example, a whole spectrum of patterns of landholding was evident, encompassing large estates, some extending beyond the boundaries of this area, with resident or non-resident owners, alongside areas of fragmented ownership. These four townships were chosen because they presented these contrasts. No claims are made for their typicality or

¹¹⁸ E.g. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 1.

¹¹⁹ Rural Settlement, 197-8. Cf. also M. Beresford and J. Hurst, Wharram Percy (London, 1990), 107.

atypicality amongst other Pennine communities, even in this vicinity. Lyme, with its resident landowners and their hall and park, constitutes a type which is in a minority amongst English localities - let alone in such a setting, where the poverty of the land might lead one to suppose such estates and halls are rarely found. It is perhaps surprising to find another such estate, Shrigley, near by. Further study would reveal the typical spread of different types of township in this environment.¹²⁰

The four were selected from several communities which constituted the larger forest, manor and parish,¹²¹ some of which lay on similar border Pennine terrain.¹²² Distinctive features were shared by this upland forest area as a whole: a common administrative context, landscape, and similar patterns of agricultural exploitation and settlement. Study of some of those features could be undertaken on a wider scale. For example, consideration of textile mills in Rainow and Kettleshulme would benefit from an examination of parallels and contrasts with mills in Bollington, and from being placed more explicitly in the context of Macclesfield's industry. Coal-mining and quarrying in

¹²⁰ Cf. Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?', 66, 68, 71, on the distribution of and interrelationship between supposed 'open' and 'closed' parishes; also D. R. Mills and B. M. Short, 'Social Change and Social Conflict', The Journal of Peasant Studies, x. 256-8, on variable distribution in different areas.

¹²¹ Above, figure 1.2 (p. 4).

¹²² Mercer, for instance, described these four townships with Macclesfield Forest, Wildboarclough and Wincle as 'a natural hill unit': Survey of the Agriculture of Ches. 158.

east Cheshire also extended beyond the limits of these townships.¹²³

A further important feature in the history of this area was the proximity of Macclesfield, an ancient town, market, borough and administrative centre, which was to have a formative role in the development of textile industry.¹²⁴ Various links to the town have already been alluded to. It was the manorial centre for the surrounding townships and the seat of forest administration. At a much later period these townships formed part of Macclesfield poor law union and, later still, Macclesfield rural district.¹²⁵ Several of the Pennine townships to the east, including Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley and Rainow, fell within its chapelry. In Dissenting religion, the townships were encompassed within the wider vitality of Methodism in the vicinity of the town and at some periods places of worship in Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley and Rainow formed part of the Macclesfield circuit.¹²⁶ In the economic sphere, Macclesfield presumably formed an important market for any surplus agricultural products from these townships and a centre for the sale and purchase of goods.¹²⁷ In addition, mineral resources found a market there.¹²⁸ Other industrial developments, in textile manufacture, were shaped - although not wholly determined - by the pattern of industry in Macclesfield town.¹²⁹ Its factories also

¹²³ Crosby, History of Ches. 107; Kitchings, 'History of quarrying in and around Tegg's Nose'.

¹²⁴ Calladine and Fricker, East Ches. Textile Mills, pp. vii-viii, 1.

¹²⁵ Above, p. 98; V.C.H. Ches. ii. 195.

¹²⁶ Above, pp. 317, 326, 343; Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, 378; Green Close Methodist Church, 11-12.

¹²⁷ Laughton, 'Township of Rainow', 53; above, p. 239.

¹²⁸ Above, p. 206.

¹²⁹ Above, ch. IV.4.

provided a source of employment for some inhabitants of these townships.¹³⁰ The pattern of communications in these townships was shaped not just by the needs of these rural inhabitants to move within their townships, but by routes from Macclesfield: the roads through Rainow and Kettleshulme leading towards Derbyshire which were turnpiked, and later - albeit peripherally - the canal and railways.¹³¹ At the modern period, the town is one destination for commuters from these townships.¹³² Some of these topics have only been touched upon in the present study and much more could be said about, for example, the employment and migration of inhabitants of these townships with relation to the town.

It is also clear, however, that these economic and social patterns were not wholly dominated by Macclesfield, and that those affinities were not equal between the four townships. Kettleshulme, in particular, may have looked east rather than west, being closer for example to Taxal church than to the parochial chapel at Macclesfield.¹³³ Buxton also exerted some influence, for example in the spheres of communications¹³⁴ and Dissenting religion.¹³⁵ At a later period communications for the residents were focussed on Whaley Bridge, which had the nearest station

¹³⁰ Above, pp. 223, 255; although parts of the locality most distant from Macclesfield, for example Kettleshulme, were presumably too far for a daily journey to be feasible?

¹³¹ Above, pp. 279-81.

¹³² Above, p. 402.

¹³³ Above, pp. 326-7.

¹³⁴ Above, p. 281, for the turnpikes to Buxton, passing through southern Rainow; and Dodgson, Place-Names of Ches. i. 138, for the saltway to Buxton giving Saltersford its name.

¹³⁵ Kettleshulme was once part of Buxton circuit: P.R.O., RG 4/2092. Cf. also p. 206 above for local coal used in Buxton.

to Kettleshulme.¹³⁶ A proposal of 1985 to make Kettleshulme part of Derbyshire was based on the suggestion that Kettleshulme had a stronger tie with Whaley Bridge than with Rainow.¹³⁷ From the 19th century, at least, relationships between these townships and Stockport and Manchester, to the north, seem to have developed in the economic sphere. Hatters recorded in the censuses were presumably on the periphery of the Stockport hatting industry.¹³⁸ The cotton manufacture pursued alongside silk in Rainow and Kettleshulme after the Industrial Revolution was peripheral to the Lancashire and Manchester industry, rather than to Macclesfield's dominant textile industry.¹³⁹ Reservoirs constructed here were partly to meet the needs of those conurbations, and some of the modern recreational demands on these open spaces arose from that source.¹⁴⁰

These wider affinities indicate the limitations of selecting just four rural townships, but such selection was necessary to provide a project of feasible proportions in which sufficiently detailed evidence could support or contradict the thesis's contentions.

¹³⁶ Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1902-34. Cf. T.C.D.L., Courtown P 58/1/78, for a complaint by the tenants of Saltersford about the poor state of a road which formed the shortest route to Whaley Bridge station (1886).

¹³⁷ Macclesfield Library, Kettleshulme news cuttings: Macclesfield Express, 28 Feb. 1985. But cf. p. 91 above for strong opposition to the proposal.

¹³⁸ Above, pp. 220, 236, 238, 258; Stockport, ed. Christie-Miller, 25.

¹³⁹ Above, ch. IV.4.

¹⁴⁰ Above, ch. IV.9.

THE BROADER CONTEXT: THE UPLANDS OF ENGLAND

Mills has argued that the 'absence of clearly distinguishable pathways of experience is one reason why so much of English local history has remained idiographic, or literally parochial'.¹⁴¹ Local studies remain of limited value unless phenomena are placed within some context wider than the locality directly studied.¹⁴² Short pondered the 'extent to which studies of one rural locality are generalisable to a wider range of situations'.¹⁴³ Each local landscape is the product of decisions taken at a very local level by individuals and communities, hence the huge variation within England between different communities and landscapes.¹⁴⁴ However, landscapes fall within a finite number of different types.¹⁴⁵ Notwithstanding variations in landscape and landownership between these four townships, the locality as a whole was part of the upland regions of the north and west of England characterised by distinctive features such as strong pastorality in agriculture, dispersed settlement, and the presence of activities subsidiary to agriculture. What has been the value of studying this kind of area?

Many generalisations about the character of local communities refer specifically to villages,¹⁴⁶ and allude

¹⁴¹ Lord and Peasant, 106.

¹⁴² Cf. Marshall, Tyranny of the Discrete, pp. 17, 73, 81, and ch. 5 generally.

¹⁴³ 'Images and realities', 12.

¹⁴⁴ Short, 'Evolution of contrasting communities', 40-1.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hey, English Rural Community, 6-9.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. Mills, Lord and Peasant, usually alludes to open and closed villages (cf. discussion of the open and closed model in relation to areas of scattered settlement, pp. 387-95 above). Spufford wrote about 'The Total History of Village Communities', The Local

to areas where this form of settlement was dominant. This has perhaps been seen as the norm within England. However, this was not the case in the east Cheshire Pennines or other upland areas where villages were few and small, and dispersed settlement extensive. Another common usage is the reference to 'parishes' as the key unit in local society,¹⁴⁷ although here the township was of far greater significance, as in other northern localities.¹⁴⁸ The variation between different communities in administrative patterns, forms of settlement and also agricultural emphases has not always been reflected in writing about local history in England. For example, Winchester argued that 'our images of the medieval English countryside tend to be derived from models developed in studies of the southern and midland counties ... essentially a lowland landscape', and that the distinctive features of the upland environment, and its resulting economy and society, are deserving of attention, his own study offering 'an alternative model of the medieval countryside'.¹⁴⁹ This historiographical neglect may extend to later periods too. This study has considered distinctive features of an upland milieu, and how the environment produced variations in phenomena also found in the lowlands. As Ravensdale's study of three Cambridgeshire communities may give some insight into other fenland communities,¹⁵⁰ and W. G. Hoskins presented the nucleated village of Wigston Magna in Leicestershire as representative of a type of community spread

Historian, x(8). Laslett, World We Have Lost further explored, ch. 3, examined the village community. Cf. also Finberg and Skipp, Local History, 107.

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Companion to Local and Family History, ed. Hey, 107.

¹⁴⁸ Tyranny of the Discrete, 70-1.

¹⁴⁹ Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 1, and also pp. 22, 133-5. Cf. Tonkinson, 'Borough and Forest Community', pp. ix-x.

¹⁵⁰ Liabile to Floods. Cf. Lewis, Particular Places, 41.

throughout the Midlands,¹⁵¹ it is hoped that this study of a small portion of the Pennines might shed a little light on other upland communities. Ormerod dismissed Kettlethulme with the comment that it presented practically 'nothing worthy of notice'¹⁵² (presumably alluding to the absence of ancient estates owned by gentry or aristocratic families and lack of a medieval church). However, the development of upland areas differs from that of much more fully studied lowland communities and those differences have proved of interest: this study has proved Ormerod's dismissal of Kettlethulme wrong. It has also challenged the way in which many previous studies, confined to a relatively short period and a single parish or township, have looked at the development of local communities.

¹⁵¹ Midland Peasant, pp. xiii, xviii, xix, 58.

¹⁵² History of Ches. iii. 770.

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(case re enclosure at Tegg's Nose, 1564)

CHESTER: CHESHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Cheshire Record Office is the county and diocesan record office. See p. 416 below for the city record office.

Unpublished, non-manuscript material:

D.o.E. Lists:

Department of the Environment lists of buildings of special architectural or historic interest, 1983, and later addenda; a.k.a. 'greenbacks'. Kettleshulme and Rainow are greenback 28; Lyme Handley and Pott Shrigley greenback 30. The earlier, provisional lists (a.k.a. the 'other series') by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government were also consulted.

Lists of records elsewhere:

- no. 106
(deeds to Green Close Farm, Pott Shrigley, 1815-1938)
- no. 112
(19th-century records of Ches. estates of the Earl of Courtown)
- no. 151
(Rainow deeds in Farrer papers: Manchester Central Library)
- no. 161
(document re farms and herbage of Macclesfield Forest, late 14th century: Northumberland R.O.)

Sale catalogue for Pott Hall (n.d., [post-1979])

SF/RAIN/2

(burials in old graveyard, Chapel Lane, Rainow)

SF/SUTT/2

(Macclesfield Union list of paupers relieved and accounts 1868, including Rainow and Kettleshulme)

SF/920TUR/1

(Ewrin Lane, Rainow, memorial inscription)

'Township packs' for the four townships

VPC2/POTS/1-4 (postcards of Pott Shrigley)

VPH2/RAIN/1 (photograph of Jenkin Chapel)

VPH6/2B/POTS/1 (photograph of Pott Shrigley)

*Manuscripts:***Probate material**

(WS, WI and WC: supra, infra and disputed wills, inventories, administration bonds, etc.)

County Council deposited plans:

CCDP 8/4/25 (plan of Bakestonedale colliery, Pott Shrigley, 1956)

Private deposits:

D 2056/SWB/1, 6 (deeds re Fernley and Swindells factories, including Rainow, 1826, 1830)

D 2672/7 (plans of Shrigley Hall, 1929)

D 2817/43-8 (plans of Marsh Farm, Rainow, 1818-1906 and n.d.)

D 3076 (deeds of Lowther estates, including Pott Shrigley, also Rainow)

D 3191/18 (plan of an estate in Rainow, n.d.)

D 4070/41-2 (village hall trust deeds and papers, 1969: Pott Shrigley, Rainow)

D 5075/1 (lease of coal mines in Rainow, 1818: forms binding of register)

D 5299 (Walter Smith's notebooks. Note that these are indexed in Macclesfield Library card index.)

DCH E/302, 315, DCH F/931 (Cholmondeley deeds etc.: early 17th-century Savage deeds including Rainow)

DDS (Downes of Shrigley estate papers, including property in neighbouring townships as well as Pott Shrigley. Almost entirely calendared by Dodgson: see below, p. 424) These are cited in the text (except in cases where the document itself provides information not included in the calendar) using the calendar reference number, which acts as the finding aid to the collection; although it is the document number, also given in the calendar, which is used to order the documents in the Record Office.

DDX 47/1-11 (deeds re Gin Clough, Rainow, 1777-1814)

DDX 266/1 (Broster family: deed re property in Rainow, 1820)

DDX 346, 379/2, 406 (Jodrell estate plans 1840s, including property in Kettleshulme)

DFI 31 (Irvine collection: deed of 1637 pertaining to Legh property)

DHU bdl. 15 (uncatalogued) (Werneth Hall estate: deeds including Rainow, 1790-7)

DTR (Trippier papers: notes etc. on east Ches.)

Diocesan records:

EDA 1/6-10, 12
(bishop's Act Books, 1752-1825, 1835-40: various entries relating to Pott, Rainow and Saltersford chapels)
EDA 2 (bishop's registers, 1746-1910)
EDA 6 (miscellaneous returns)
EDA 15 (Chester Diocesan Calendar/Handbook)
EDA 17/3952/787-8, 812
(church fabric: Pott Shrigley, 1961, 1966; Rainow, 1962)

EDB 170, 174, 180 (bishop's transcripts: Pott Shrigley, Rainow, Saltersford)

EDC 5/15 (consistory court papers: lays for Pott Chapel, 1711)

EDP 104/1/2 (Disley parish bundle: clergy including Brabazon Lowther. Notes by Jan Wood.)
EDP 225, 230, 239 (parish bundles: Pott Shrigley, Rainow, Saltersford)

EDT 223, 252, 328, 339 (tithe commutation records for the four townships)

EDV 7/1/98, 100-1, EDV 7/2/105, 107-8, EDV 7/4/206, 220, EDV 7/6/312, 315-16, EDV 7/7/390, 411, 444 (articles of enquiry

preparatory to visitations, 1778-1825: Pott Shrigley, Rainow, and Saltersford)
EDV 8/71 (terrier of Pott Shrigley registers, 1813)

Methodist records:

EMS 17 (Rainow Wesleyan records)

EMS 322 (records re Walker Barn Chapel, Rainow)

1910 'Domesday' land valuation (registers and maps):

NVA 4/8 (Kettleshulme, Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley), NVA 4/19 (Rainow)

NVB sheets XXIX.1, 5-11, 13-15, XXXVII.1-3, 5-7, 9-10 (using O.S. Maps 25", 1909 edn.)

Parish records:

P 14, P 69 (Stockport and Disley. Notes by Jan Wood.)

P 38 (Pott Shrigley)

P 188 (Rainow and Saltersford)

P 233/12/2 (trust deed to Kettleshulme school 1856, in Taxal parish records)

Land tax (1784-1831, all want 1788, Lyme Handley also 1792):
QDV 2/238 (Kettleshulme), QDV 2/270 (Lyme Handley), QDV 2/352 (Pott Shrigley), QDV 2/365 (Rainow)

School building grant plans:

SC 1/77/1-3 (plans for Kettleshulme School, 1855).

SC 1/104 (plans for Rainow National School, 1842).

CITY RECORD OFFICE

Papers of J. P. Earwaker (notes and deeds etc.):

CR 63/1/16, CR 63/1/26/7, CR 63/1/26/9, CR 63/1/26/12,
CR 63/1/26/41, CR 63/1/26/45, CR 63/1/26/48-51,
CR 63/1/26/53, CR 63/1/37/21, CR 63/1/37/23-4,
CR 63/1/37/39-43, CR 63/1/100, CR 63/1/108,
CR 63/1/122, CR 63/1/141/3, CR 63/1/141/6-9,
CR 63/1/141/13, CR 63/1/173, CR 63/1/187/1-6;
CR 63/2/253, CR 63/2/503/2, CR 63/2/507-38,
CR 63/2/835-6;
CR 63/3/23

DUBLIN: TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY (T.C.D.L.)

Family and estate papers of the Stopford family, Earls of
Courtown - material pertaining to Saltersford:

P 17/2/1-57

(rentals and accounts, 1822, 1858-1914)

P 58/1

(correspondence, 1859-1948)

P 58/2-18

(rentals, accounts, reports, and other material
relating to the administration of the estate in the
19th and 20th centuries)

P 59/1

(TS. 'History of Stopfords' by the 5th Earl, prefaces
dated 1902, 1903)

V 151-3

(rentals of Saltersford estate, 1883-1914)

V 242

(includes a Stopford pedigree)

LIVERPOOL: CHARITY COMMISSION

Files 217685, 221119, 239544, 241538, 241659, 244925, 251286,
520100, 525798, 525814, 525950, 1061022 CR

LONDON: BRITISH LIBRARY

Harl. MS. 594, f. 100

(diocesan return 1563. Notes by C. P. Lewis.)

Lysons' notes:

Add. MS. 9414

Add. MS. 9443

Add. MS. 9461, f. 146

Deeds:

Add. Ch. 37048

(petition re inheritance in Shrigley, 1373-4)

Add. Ch. 37254

(Pott Shrigley settlement, temp. Edward II)

Add. Ch. 37277(1)

(copy inquisition post mortem of John de Macclesfield
in Shrigley, 1369)

Add. Ch. 43110-1

(Kettleshulme conveyance, 1671)

Add. Ch. 71437

(Pott Shrigley deed, 1781)

Add. Ch. 76637

(Kettleshulme quitclaim, 1621)

Map Room:

K.TOP IX.15 (view in Lyme Park, 1745)

OSD NW 81 B2, NW 81 C2, SW 81 B3, SW 81 C3

(1840 Ordnance Survey sheets)

CHURCH OF ENGLAND RECORD CENTRE (C.E.R.C.)

Ecclesiastical Commissioners:

File 51767 (Disley. Notes by Jan Wood.)
 Files 59451, 65397 (Pott Shrigley)
 Files 5599, 27783, 73695 (Rainow)

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

Incorporated Church Building Society (I.C.B.S.) file 3490
 (Rainow)

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Chancery:

C2/Eliz/P17/47 (proceedings: will of Francis Pott, including property in Pott and Rainow)

Exchequer:

E 117/1/46 (church goods: Pott Chapel, 1548)

E 134/21 & 22 Eliz/Mich 6 (deposition by commission: Francis Whytney and Sir Peter Legh, ownership of land, boundaries, etc. in Lyme Handley, Pott Shrigley and other townships, 1579)

E 134/24 & 25 Eliz/Mich 2 (deposition by commission: case including property in Rainow, 1582)

E 134/13 Chas II/Trin 2 (deposition by commission: Davenport property, including in Rainow, 1661)

E 134/1 & 2 Wm & Mary/Hil 9 (deposition by commission: Adlington Leghs and Leghs of Lyme, tithe deer out of Lyme Park etc. 1689-90)

E 134/2 Wm & Mary/Trin 17 (deposition by commission: Adlington Leghs and Leghs of Lyme, tithe deer out of Lyme Park etc. 1690)

E 174/1/4 nos. 27, 29 (returns of Papists' estates, 1725: Edward Downes of Worth, Peter Legh of Lyme)

E 178/2957 (special commissions of enquiry: depositions re Earl of Derby's property, including in Rainow, 1574)

E 179/86/145, E 179/86/155, E 179/244/34
 (subsidy rolls, etc.: hearth tax returns for 1663, 1664 and 1673/4, including Macclesfield Hundred; microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 13)

E 301/8 no. 29 (Augmentation Office certificates of colleges and chantries: Pott, 1548)

E 310/9/14 (Augmentation Office particulars for leases: encroachments on the queen's waste in the forest of Macclesfield, temp. Eliz)

E 315/123 (Augmentation Office miscellaneous books: church goods, including Pott Chapel)

E 318/24/1392 (Particulars for Grants of Crown Land: property of Pott Chapel, 1548)

E 318/28/1574 (Particulars for Grants of Crown Land: mills including Pott Shrigley and Rainow, 1547)

E 318/28/1593 (Particulars for Grants of Crown Land: property belonging to Pott Chapel, 1549)

Education Departments:

ED 7/6 no. 158 (public elementary schools, preliminary statements: Kettleshulme Church of England School)

ED 7/7 nos. 236 (ditto: Pott Shrigley Church of England School), 241-2 (Rainow Church of England and Wesleyan Schools)

Registry of Friendly Societies:

FS 1/29, FS 2/1, 2/13 (friendly societies rules and amendments)

Home Office etc.:

HO 107/105-6 (census returns 1841)
(microfiche in Ches. R.O., microfiche 18)

HO 107/2158-9 (census returns 1851)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 2/12)

HO 129/453 (ecclesiastical census returns 1851)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 11/1)

Tithe Files:

IR 18/51, 91, 198, 208 (Lyme Handley, Kettleshulme, Pott Shrigley, Rainow)

Land Revenue:

LR 2/200, ff. 147-363 (miscellaneous books: survey of the manor and forest of Macclesfield, 1611)

MR 354 (maps and plans: 17th-century map including Rainow)
(formerly LRRO 1/188)

Agriculture, Fisheries and Food Departments:

MAF 68/9, 1316, 2456, 3557, 4342, 5214, 5996 (agricultural returns: parish summaries 1866, 1891, 1911, 1931, 1951, 1971, 1986)

Prerogative Court of Canterbury:

Indexes to PROB 11 (registered copy wills)

Court of Requests:

REQ 2/390/9 (proceedings: property in Rainow, 1609)

REQ 2/408/31 (proceedings: property in Rainow, temp. Eliz.)

General Register Office etc.:

RG 4/191 (authenticated registers: Wesleyan burial register for Rainow, 1826-37)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 1/4)

RG 4/544 (authenticated registers: Wesleyan baptismal register for Rainow, 1808-36)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 1/4)

RG 4/2092 (authenticated registers: Wesleyan baptismal register for Kettleshulme, 1808-36)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 1/3)

RG 9/2576-7 (census returns 1861)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 234/7)

RG 10/3670-1 (census returns 1871)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 24/11)

RG 11/3489-90 (census returns 1881)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 146/4)

RG 12/2810-11 (census returns 1891)
(microfilm in Ches. R.O., mf. 265/8)

RG 31/1 nos. 463, 1146, 1338 (register of places of worship)
RG 31/6 nos. 118, 371, 620 (ditto)

Special Collections:

SC 11/899 (rentals and surveys: rental of Macclesfield, n.d. [c. 1352]): transcript by P. H. W. Booth, kindly provided by Mr Booth.

This is dated by Booth to c. 1351-2 (Financial Administration, 89, 111), and by Tonkinson to 1352 ('Borough and Forest Community', 28).

Court of the Star Chamber:

STAC 2/17/248 (proceedings Henry VIII: dispute over Disley pasture involving Peter Legh)

STAC 2/20/71 (proceedings Henry VIII: dispute over Disley pasture involving Peter Legh)

STAC 2/21/223 (proceedings Henry VIII: dispute over Disley pasture involving Peter Legh)

STAC 3/3/44 (proceedings Edward VI: bill re mills including Pott Shrigley and Rainow)

STAC 3/7/92 (proceedings Edward VI: dispute over mills including Pott Shrigley and Rainow)

War Office:

WO 30/48 (miscellanea: survey of inns etc. 1686. Notes by C. P. Lewis.)

LYME PARK:

Legh of Lyme Survey 1466:
transcription and translation by the Liverpool University
Latin Palaeography Group, photocopy kindly provided by Mr P.
H. W. Booth

Lyme Park missal:
transcription of obits of the Legh family, kindly provided by
Dr Philip Morgan to C. P. Lewis

MACCLESFIELD: LIBRARY

Cunningham, 'The One House Rainow' (n.d.)

'The Hulleys of the One House, Rainow near Macclesfield, or
Rainow Manor House' (n.d.)

M. Till, 'In the Shadow of Windgather (A Local History of
Methodism in the Ches. Hills)' (n.d. [1985x1992])

And see also 'NEWSPAPERS', p. 427 below.

EAST CHESHIRE TEXTILE MILL SURVEY (E.C.T.M.S.),
SILK MUSEUM

Files 138, 140-8 (mills in Rainow), file 159 (Lumbhole Mill,
Kettleshulme)

MANCHESTER: GREATER MANCHESTER COUNTY RECORD OFFICE
(G.M.C.R.O.)

Catalogue E 17 Legh of Lyme Hall (2 vols.)

Legh of Lyme Hall family and estate papers:
E 17/3/13, E 17/4/3, E 17/30/2, E 17/92/5, E 17/93/11,
E 17/94/6, E 17/98/1-5, E 17/98/10, E 17/113/1,
E 17/134/5, E 17/138/16, E 17/182/1, E 17/210/212

JOHN RYLANDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF MANCHESTER (J.R.U.L.M.)

Jodrell MSS. nos. 42, 45d-45f, 62b (deeds including
Kettleshulme)

Legh of Lyme Correspondence: notes courtesy of Jan Wood

Legh of Lyme Muniments:

Bound MS. list of box contents
MS. calendar of boxes M & N (deeds, largely medieval)
Box O, ref. F nos. 1, 4-5 (rentals 1747, 1749)
Box Q, ref. A nos. 1, 4 (survey of Lyme Handley, 1686)

'Note on deeds, legal papers, manorial records and estate
records of the Legh family of Lyme, Ches., later Barons
Newton, 12th-19th century, in the John Rylands University
Library of Manchester' (H.M.C., 1989)

'Ches. Mize Book', ed. P. H. W. Booth (1985), transcript kindly provided by Mr Booth (original is Tatton MS. 345)

NORTHAMPTON: NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

FS 48 (papers of Fisher, Sanders and Co., surveyors and land agents: Courtown estate in Saltersford, 19th century)

PRESTON: LANCASHIRE RECORD OFFICE

East Ches. estate papers from the Derby muniments:

DDK 456/7-8, 10, DDK 457/19, DDK 1462/6,

DDK 1551/33, 37, DDK 1552/6

and see Moore calendar, p. 425 below

'Report on the estate papers of the Stanley family Earls of Derby deposited in the Lancs. Record Office' (H.M.C., 1996)

SOUTHPORT: OFFICE FOR NATIONAL STATISTICS (O.N.S.)

Places of Worship Register

STOCKPORT: SALESIAN ARCHIVE, PROVINCIAL OFFICE

'Shrigley' box file; photographs; and other material. Access courtesy of Fr Bailey.

PRINTED EDITIONS AND CALENDARS

Sorted alphabetically by author, by editor, or otherwise by title.

Ches. Visitation Pedigrees 1663, ed. A. Adams (Harleian Society, 1941)

The Diary of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, i, ed. J. Addy (R.S.L.C. cxxvii, 1987)

The Diary of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, ii, ed. J. Addy and P. McNiven (R.S.L.C. cxxxii, 1994)

The Diary of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese, iii, ed. J. Addy, J. Harrop and P. McNiven (R.S.L.C. cxxxiii, 1997)

Pedigrees made at the Visitation of Ches. 1613, ed. G. J. Armytage and J. P. Rylands (R.S.L.C. lviii, 1909; also published by the Harleian Society, 1909)

'Arrests for High Treason in 1694', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xlv (1951), 28

The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237, ed. G. Barraclough (R.S.L.C. cxxvi, 1988)

Warrington in MCCCCLXV as described in a contemporary rent roll of the Legh family, ed. W. Beamont (Chetham Society [old series] xvii, 1849)

Quarter Sessions Records with Other Records of the Justices of the Peace for the County Palatine of Chester 1559-1760, ed. J. H. E. Bennett and J. C. Dewhurst (R.S.L.C. xciv, 1940)

'Bishop Porteus' Visitation, 1779', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series liii (1960), 25-6, 30-4

Index of Wills, vii: 1653-1656, ed. T. M. Blagg and J. S. Moir (British Record Society: Index Library liv, 1925)

Account of Master John de Burnham the Younger, Chamberlain of Chester, of the Revenues of the Counties of Chester and Flint, Michaelmas 1361 to Michaelmas 1362, ed. P. H. W. Booth and A. D. Carr (R.S.L.C. cxxv, 1991)

Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII, i, ed. J. S. Brewer and R. H. Brodie (London, 1920 edn.)

P. P. Burdett, A Survey of the County Palatine of Chester, ed. J. B. Harley and P. Laxton (H.S.L.C. occasional series i, 1974)

Calendar of the Close Rolls 1500-1509 (London, 1963)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1547-1548 (London, 1924)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1548-1549 (London, 1924)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls [1553] (London, 1926)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1563-1566 (London, 1960)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1572-1575 (London, 1973)

Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1575-1578 (London, 1982)

Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series February - December 1685 (London, 1960)

Census: reports for Ches. 1841-1931, 1951-71, in Ches. R.O. and Chester R.O.

Census 1981: Ward and Civil Parish Monitor, Ches. (Government Statistical Service, 1984)

Census 1991: Ward and Civil Parish Monitor, Ches. (Government Statistical Service, revised 1995)

'Ches. and "The Fifteen" ', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xxxvii (1948), 19-20

Ches. Parish Registers, v: Marriages, ed. L. Choice (Phillimore parish register series ccxvi, London, 1914)

Close Rolls A.D. 1234-1237 (London, 1908)

The Register Book of Christenings, Weddings, and Burials, within the Parish of Prestbury, in the County of Chester, 1560-1636, ed. J. Croston (R.S.L.C. v, 1881)

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, ed. N. Curnock, iii (London, 1912)

Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series 1672, ed. F. H. B. Daniell (London, 1899)

Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series 1682, ed. F. H. B. Daniell (London, 1932)

D. Defoe, A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, ed. G. D. H. Cole (2 vols., London, 1927)

36th D.K.R.:

36th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records (1875), appendix II ('Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester ... to the end of the reign of Henry IV')

37th D.K.R.:

37th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records (1876), appendix II ('Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester 1 Henry V - XXIV Henry VII')

39th D.K.R.:

39th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records (1878), appendix I ('Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester 1 Henry VIII - XI George IV')

J. McN. Dodgson, 'Downes MSS.' (2 vols., N.R.A., 1958)

Lancs. and Ches. Wills and Inventories, ed. J. P. Earwaker (Chetham Society new series iii, 1884)

'Eighteenth Century Ches.', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xi (1915), 10

Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, ii, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London, 1911)

A Calendar of Lancs. and Ches. Exchequer Depositions by Commission from 1558 to 1702, ed. C. Fishwick (R.S.L.C. xi, 1885)

F. Gastrell, Notitia Cestrienses, i, ed. F. R. Raines
(Chetham Society [old series] viii, 1845)
This is dated to the 1720s: Thacker, 'Chester Diocesan
Records', 151.

The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe
Hall, in the Co. of Lancaster ... 1582-1621, ed. J. Harland
(Chetham Society [old series] xxxv, xli-xliii, xlvi, 1856-8)

A Collection of Lancs. and Ches. Wills 1301-1752, ed. W. F.
Irvine (R.S.L.C. xxx, 1896)

The Visitation of Lancs. and a part of Ches. A.D. 1533, i-ii,
ed. W. Langton (Chetham Society [old series] xcvi, cx,
1876-82)

'Legh of Lyme', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xiv (1919), 29

'Letter from John Bradshawe of Gray's Inn to Sir Peter Legh
of Lyme', Chetham Miscellanies, ii (Chetham Society [old
series] xxxvii, 1856)

Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1660-1662,
ed. R. P. Mahaffy (London, 1905)

S. A. Moore, A Calendar of the Muniments of the Rt. Hon. the
Earl of Derby (privately printed London, 1894)

'The Parish of Prestbury', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series viii
(1911), 29

Lancs. and Ches. Wills and Inventories, i, ed. G. J. Piccope
(Chetham Society [old series] xxxiii, li, liv, 1857-61)

'Pott Shrigley Chapel', Ches. Sheaf, [1st series] ii (1883),
46-8, 51-2

'The Poverty of Clergy in the Eighteenth Century', Ches.
Sheaf, 4th series iii (1969), 41

'Recusants and Nonconformists, 1669', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series
lviii (1965), 18-19

Register of Edward the Black Prince, iii: (Palatinate of
Chester) A.D. 1351-1365 (London, 1932)

Register of Edward the Black Prince, iv: (England) A.D. 1351-
1365 (London, 1933)

'Return of Papists, 1706', Ches. Sheaf, 4th series v (1971), 38-9

'Richard II and Henry Bolingbroke', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series lv (1962), 35-6

R. Robinson, A Golden Mirrour, ed. T. Corser (Chetham Society [old series] xxiii, 1851)

Lancs. and Ches. Wills and Inventories 1563 to 1807, ed. J. P. Rylands (Chetham Society new series xxxvii, 1897)

The Visitation of Ches. in the year 1580, ed. J. P. Rylands (Harleian Society, 1882)

Lancs. and Ches. Records preserved in the Public Record Office, i-ii, ed. W. D. Selby (R.S.L.C. vii-viii, 1882-3)

Calendar of Treasury Books 1672-1675, ed. W. A. Shaw (London, 1909)

Minutes of the Committee for the Relief of Plundered Ministers, and of the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers; relating to Lancs. and Ches. 1643-60, i-ii, ed. W. A. Shaw (R.S.L.C. xxviii, xxxiv, 1893-6)

Accounts of the Chamberlains and other Officers of the County of Chester 1301-1360, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (R.S.L.C. lix, 1910)

Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (Chetham Society new series lxxxiv, 1925)

Ches. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Stuart Period, 1603-60, i-iii, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (R.S.L.C. lxxxiv, lxxxvi, xci, 1934-8)

Lancs. and Ches. Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, i, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (R.S.L.C. lxxi, 1916)

'Theft of a Bee-hive', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series lv (1962), 66

'A Trial for High Treason at Chester, in 1694', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xxxiv (1941), 93-4

Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence, i-ii, ed. G. L. Turner (London, 1911)

'A Visit to Lyme Hall in 1708', Ches. Sheaf, 3rd series xxxiv (1941), 95-6

The Compton Census of 1676: a Critical Edition, ed. A. Whiteman and M. Clapinson (London, 1986)

Return of Papists 1767: Diocese of Chester, ed. E. S. Worrall
(Catholic Record Society Occasional Publication 1 [50],
Oxford, 1980)

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Sorted alphabetically by author or title.

S. Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County
Palatine of Chester (Sheffield, 1850)

Directory of Macclesfield (1825)

Kelly's Directory of Ches. 1857, 1865, 1878, 1892, 1896,
1902, 1906, 1910, 1914, 1923, 1928, 1934, 1939
Kettleshulme does not appear in the last edition.

Pigot's Ches. Directory 1828/9

Pigot and Co.'s Commercial Directory for the County of Ches.
1834 (reprinted Manchester, 1982)

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Sheet XXIX: surveyed 1870-1, published 1881
 Sheet XXIX.NE: edns. of 1899, 1913
 Sheet XXIX.NW: edns. of 1899, 1910, 1938
 Sheet XXIX.SE: edns. of 1899, 1910
 Sheet XXIX.SW: edns. of 1899, 1911, 1938
 Sheet XX: surveyed 1871-2, published 1881
 Sheet XXXVII: surveyed 1870-2, published 1881
 Sheet XXXVII.NE: edns. of 1899, 1912
 Sheet XXXVII.NW: edns. of 1899, 1911, 1938
 Sheet XXXVII.SW: edns. of 1899, 1910

Sheet SJ 97 NE: edns. published 1954, 1971, 1987
 Sheet SJ 97 NW: edns. published 1954, 1976
 Sheet SJ 97 SE: edns. published 1954, 1971, 1988
 Sheet SJ 97 SW: edns. published 1954, 1976, 1991
 Sheet SJ 98 SE: edns. published 1954, 1977
 Sheet SJ 98 SW: edns. published 1954, 1977, 1984

25":

Sheet XXIX.9: surveyed 1871, edns. published 1871, 1897, 1907
 See also Ches. R.O., NVB, p. 416 above

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