

DERBYSHIRE EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

CHESTERFIELD

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The assessment report

This assessment report forms part of the Extensive Urban Survey Programme, an English Heritage funded initiative to assist local planning authorities with the conservation of their urban archaeological resource. Chesterfield is one of a series of small towns and large villages in Derbyshire selected for such assessment.

The report is a desk-based survey, the scope of which includes both above and below ground archaeological remains of all periods, using information from the County Sites and Monuments Record, local histories, early maps and plan form analysis, with the results presented as a series of maps generated by GIS. It forms the foundation for an archaeological management strategy which can be adopted by the local planning authority as supplementary planning guidance.

Modern Chesterfield now covers a considerable area, having expanded well beyond its earlier limits. For the purposes of this assessment, it was decided to follow as far as possible the borough boundary as it was in the early 19th century (and presumably the medieval period also). The main exception is to the east of Chesterfield, where the assessment area was extended slightly to take in the site of St Leonard's hospital, and in the south-eastern corner, where the assessment boundary follows the present course of the Hipper rather than the old borough boundary which had continued further south.

1.2 Overview of the town

Chesterfield lies in the north-east of the country, some eleven miles south of Sheffield. It stands at the centre of a network of regional routes including the A61 to Sheffield and Derby, the A617 to Mansfield, connecting also with the M1, the A619 to Worksop and Manchester, and the A632 to Bolsover and Matlock.

The historic core of the town occupies a ridge overlooking the confluence of the rivers Rother and Hipper. This favourable location led to its choice for temporary occupation in the Mesolithic and for more permanent occupation by the Iron Age, if not before. Iron Age settlement was followed by the establishment of a Roman fort, probably accompanied by a small civilian settlement around the outside.

The later town may have its origins in the establishment of a minster church serving the area of the Rother valley. Although apparently of only slight importance at the end of the 11th century, within a hundred years Chesterfield had become an important regional centre, with markets, fairs and the beginnings of urban development as a borough, its importance underlined by the fact that it had one of the earliest markets recorded in the county. With a new large market place surrounded by burgage plots laid out perhaps as early as the 1160s, it provides an excellent example of 12th century town planning. It benefited as a market town from its position between two sharply contrasting economic regions. To the west lay the Peak District, with its economy based principally on livestock and lead, while to the east lay productive arable farming areas. In addition, the surrounding region contained a variety of mineral resources. Communications would have been facilitated by the river valleys and the survival of routeways already established by the Romans.

The town continued to develop throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods, as a flourishing regional market, as the centre of an extremely large parish and of Scarsdale wapentake and, increasingly, as

the centre of an important industrial region exploiting local clay, coal and iron resources. The 19th century saw considerable expansion, with movement out from the earlier core into newly developing suburbs, although the borough itself did not expand until the very end of the century. Expansion was followed by a decline in the mid-20th century which led to the threat of comprehensive redevelopment of the town centre, including covering much of the market place with shops and offices. A good deal of demolition did take place and continues to do so but fortunately one of Chesterfield's main assets, its market place, survived and continues to function as one of the north's largest open markets.

Chesterfield is also important and fairly unusual in that it has been the subject of a relatively recent four volume town history, describing not only the medieval borough, its charters, gilds and other institutions, but also documenting in some detail the transformation of the medieval market town into the industrial town of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It has also benefited from several recent archaeological investigations and has had an area of archaeological interest identified as part of the county Sites and Monuments Record (SMR 3969).

2. GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The solid geology of the Chesterfield area consists of productive coal measures, with sandstones, shales and clay. Mudstones with ironstone are exposed immediately to the north and east of the town.

Chesterfield's historic core stands on a spur of high ground formed by the valleys of the Rother and the Hipper. The highest point is near the church, at *c.* 99m AOD; slightly further west, the market place slopes down from about 96m to 91m AOD. On the eastern side of the town the ground falls away to the Rother, with Spital bridge being at 76m AOD, while the southern side slopes more gently down towards the Hipper. The ground continues to rise towards the north-west, reaching *c.* 112m AOD on the northern side of the football ground.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

Chesterfield lay in Scarsdale wapentake in the 11th century. Although designated a borough by the end of the 12th century, the burgesses held their liberties from the lord of the manor, rather than directly from the crown. In 1598 a charter of incorporation was granted to the burgesses, formalising the appointment of a specified council. Despite this, the manor court continued to deal with law and order and to control and supervise the markets, while the vestry, acting in its civil capacity, administered public services in the town. The government of the borough was reformed by the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835 (Bestall 1978). As the result of several boundary changes since the end of the 19th century, Chesterfield Borough now covers a considerably larger area than that of the medieval borough, having been extended to take in a number of neighbouring settlements.

4. SOURCES

4.1 Primary sources

Chesterfield Town Hall retains a considerable amount of primary archive material relating to the borough. Pegge first made an inventory of the Corporation's records in 1790. This was followed by three further inventories in the 19th century, in 1834, 1857 and 1884-5. These document a sequence of loss – many of the archives seen in 1790 were missing by the 1880s and although a few have been recovered, the majority are still missing. The most important of the surviving documents are kept in the strong room of the Town Clerk's Department. They include a number of royal and seigneurial charters, compositions and other instruments concerned with the administration of the borough between the 13th and 17th centuries, burgess rolls of 1661-1672 and 1680-1711, files of burgesses' oaths, 1781-1835, Gild charters of the 14th to the 16th centuries, title deeds for Corporation property, generally from the 17th century onwards, and 16th and

17th century papers relating to the Moot Hall and Gild lands. More recent documents of the 19th and early 20th centuries include sundry orders and acts relating to the borough, by-laws and local Acts of Parliament affecting Chesterfield, a number of leases and agreements, clearance orders, and documents relating to subjects such as education, highways and sewage.

Original archives in Chesterfield Local Studies Library include 19th and 20th century records of various local clubs and associations, such as the Bowling Club from 1852, records of the Poor Law Union in the 19th century, records of the Elder Yard Unitarian chapel from 1692, a collection of scrapbooks, cuttings, notes etc. compiled by G H Ryde, former churchwarden of the parish church, and various miscellaneous documents such as leases and probate copies of wills. Chesterfield Library also has copies of most of the historic maps of the borough and a terrier to accompany Potter's map of 1803, updated with notes of 1806.

Document in Derbyshire Record Office include various business records from the 18th century, parish records from 1560, Holy Trinity parish records from 1837, Glebe Terriers from 1612, various non-conformist church records, records of several 19th and 20th century schools, various leases from the 18th century, records relating to the House of Correction from the 17th century, Poor Rate Assessments, Vestry minutes 1769-1896, minute book of the manor and borough 1763-1841, some title deeds, mainly 17th century and later, but a few medieval.

Nottinghamshire Archives holds a number of documents relating to Chesterfield in its collection of estate papers belonging to the Earls of Newcastle, later the Dukes of Portland. These are mainly 17th and 18th century, from the period when the Earls were lords of the manor, although there are some earlier documents. Material includes a customary of the manor of Chesterfield of c. 1450, various court rolls for the period between 1518 and 1581, and a considerable number of leases, bargain and sales, mortgages and other documents from the late 16th century to the 18th century. There are also a number of deeds in Sheffield Archives which are catalogued under Chesterfield, although not all of these will relate to properties within the borough.

A brief search of the Public Record Office's on-line catalogue indicated that a considerable number of documents relating to Chesterfield from the medieval period to the modern day are held there.

It should be noted that no primary documents were consulted during the writing of this assessment, with the exception of historic maps (see below).

4.2 Secondary sources

Transcripts of some primary documents have been published; for example Yeatman produced a series of extracts from the Corporation Archives in the 1880s. More recently, the records of the Borough and other related documents have been published as a fifth volume of the *History of Chesterfield* series (Riden & Blair 1980). A volume of *Chesterfield Wills and Inventories 1521-1603* was published by the Derbyshire Record Society in 1977, and a master set of photocopied transcripts of later wills and inventories was deposited in the Derbyshire Record Office (Riden 1984a). Riden (1984a) also refers to work in progress on the Chesterfield Charter Index, a compilation of data from medieval deeds relating to the town.

The earliest history of Chesterfield was written by the Rev. Hall in 1823, was followed by Ford's history of 1839. Yeatman drew on his knowledge of the Corporation's archives to produce his *History of the Borough of Chesterfield* in 1890. Pendleton & Jacques' book *Modern Chesterfield*, published in 1903, includes a number of photographs of the town around the turn of the century, while a number of more recent publications have concentrated on early photographs and postcards of the town. The most important secondary source, and the main one used for this assessment, is the *History of Chesterfield* produced in four volumes (Bestall 1974 and 1978, Bestall & Fowkes 1984, Riden 1984a), which pulls together information from previously published sources and, more importantly, draws on a very wide range of primary documents. Most recently, a popular history of the town has been written by Sadler (2001).

4.3 Cartographic evidence

The earliest surviving map of Chesterfield is that produced by William Senior in 1637 for the Earl of Newcastle. There is also an early plan of Durrant Hall and adjoining closes made in 1666. Peter Potter's survey of the Cavendish's Chesterfield estate in 1803 is useful but does not show every property, although it does have the advantage of a terrier for those properties mapped. There are a number of maps of the town and borough made in the first half of the 19th century, beginning with a map made in 1826 to accompany the Poor Rate Assessment (presently in Chesterfield Town Hall, but reproduced in part by Bestall & Fowkes (1984)). There is then a clear and useful map dated 1837, followed by a tithe map of 1849, with accompanying schedule, and a further map of 1858. Detailed OS maps commence in 1876, and include copies at 1:500 of the town centre. The area to the east of the Rother where St Leonard's hospital lay, is covered by the Hasland tithe map of 1849.

4.4 Archaeological evidence

There are 50 entries on the county Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) which fall within the area under consideration in this assessment ranging from stray finds and excavations to standing buildings.

Chesterfield Archaeological Research Committee, which was formed in 1973, produced in the same year an archaeological implications study of Chesterfield in advance of the proposed redevelopment of the town centre. They were also involved in several excavations carried out in the 1970s (see below).

The first excavation known to have been undertaken in the town took place in Swan Yard in 1965 (Crowe 1966) and under Chesterfield silk mill, together with a complete survey of the building, prior to its demolition in 1967 (SMR 3980). The first project carried out by the Chesterfield Archaeological Research Committee was an examination of the Peacock Inn, at 67 Low Pavement, which included documentary research into the history of the property, an architectural survey of the timber-framed building and excavation beneath the building and in the rear yard (Courtney 1975, Borne *et al* 1978). Excavations at Swan Yard, Station Road and Spa Lane were carried out in 1974-1978 (Courtney 1975, Ellis 1989) and at Church Lane and Alpine Gardens in 1973-1975 (Lane 1985).

An evaluation was carried out in the Old Vicarage Garden in 1987 and again in 1989, when trial trenching was also carried out at the site of the old bus station (Trent and Peak Archaeological Trust 1989)

Since the implementation of PPG 16 in 1990, at least twelve archaeological events have taken place in Chesterfield (including watching briefs, evaluations and excavations), with subsequent reports being deposited with the SMR.

5. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

5.1 Prehistoric

Evidence of prehistoric activity has been recovered from various excavations over the course of the past 25 years, as shown on Figure 1. Excavations at Swan Yard in the mid 1970s yielded several Neolithic/Bronze Age flint implements, including an end scraper, a button scraper and a core (SMR 3901), while a small flint knife or scraper of Neolithic or Bronze Age date was recovered from a feature at Spa Lane (SMR 3942). A Mesolithic flint core, albeit out of its original context, was found during recent excavations at Church Way (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001) and a small number of late Neolithic/Bronze Age flints were found from unstratified and Roman contexts during recent excavations in the Old Vicarage Garden (Connelly & Walker 2001). This information has not yet been incorporated into the SMR and the approximate site is shown as 'A' on Figure 1.

Evidence of possible Iron Age date has also been recovered from the centre of the town. Excavations in the 1970s at Alpine Gardens on the north side of Church Lane revealed deposits which were interpreted as the fill of an Iron Age ditch sealed below Roman layers (SMR 3966). A little to the west, possible pre-

Roman features found during excavations at Station Road in 1976-8 were interpreted as the result of pit cutting or extraction of surface coal (Ellis 1989; site ‘B’ on Figure 1). Recent excavations in the Old Vicarage Garden (site ‘A’ on Figure 1) produced a single pottery sherd of probable late Iron Age date (Connelly & Walker 2001). An archaeological evaluation carried out in 1998 within numbers 6-14 South Street prior to redevelopment revealed a feature cut into the bedrock and sealed by a silt layer which contained Roman pottery (site ‘C’ on Figure 1). This feature may therefore be of pre-Roman origin (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 1998a).

An important assemblage of prehistoric material was found to the south of the town centre during excavations at Lordsmill Street in 1999 (SMR 3990). The site included a series of shallow pit-like features and several linear features. A total of 391 worked lithic artefacts was recovered, of which 293 were chert and 71 were flint. The assemblage appeared to be of Later Mesolithic date and the amount of worked flint indicated that the material was *in situ* rather than residual. It is possible that the site represents a seasonal camp.

A further artefact of prehistoric date in the form of a hammer stone in a grey cherty material was found in a flower bed in Boythorpe Cemetery, to the south-west of Chesterfield (SMR 3946).

5.2 Roman

The existence of a Roman military site at Chesterfield is clearly indicated by the place-name of the town which includes the Anglian word **ceaster**, meaning fortification (Cameron 1959). Antiquarian records of the finding of Roman coins and pottery suggested it had stood somewhere within the later town. This has been confirmed by a succession of excavations since the 1970s, which have provided considerable evidence relating to Roman Chesterfield. The fort referred to in the place-name is now known to have stood in the area around the present church, with possible annexe/*vicus* development to the south and east, as indicated by the distribution of sites producing Roman material (see Figure 2).

The major Roman road known today as Ryknield Street is thought to have passed through Chesterfield. Its exact course is uncertain, but it is assumed to have followed the line of medieval Soutergate (now Lordsmill Street and St Mary’s Gate) to the fort in the area of the parish church. North of the fort it may have continued on much the same line as the medieval Tapton Lane and crossed the Rother near the present Brimington Road bridge (Riden 1980; see dashed line on Figure 2). Remains of what were thought to be a Roman road were found to the south-east of the town, where it was reported in 1932 that a section of paved road had been encountered some three feet down (SMR 3939), while to the north-east, a roughly paved road thought possibly to be Roman was found in about 1866 (SMR 3941).

A number of Roman coins have been found in and around Chesterfield since at least the beginning of the 18th century, although the scant information relating to some of them means that their exact findspots are unknown and cannot, therefore, be shown on Figure 2. In about 1720 a bronze coin of Claudius was found, possibly in the area of the market place (SMR 3906), and a bronze coin of Valerian (253-260 AD) was found before 1784 (SMR 3907). In around 1820 a copper coin of the Lower Empire was found not far below the ground surface, in a small garden off High Street, while a denarius of Trajan was reported to have been found in the High Street in 1832 (SMR 3908). In 1822 a bronze sestertius of Trajan was found in the churchyard while digging a grave (SMR 3910) and in 1836 a coin of Caesar Maximian (306-308 AD) was found in a garden at the bottom of Lordsmill Street (SMR 3909).

In 1939, a heap of some 28 coins were found when telephone cables were being laid in Malvern Road. Surviving coins are all denarii with a date range of 194 to 241 AD, with the exception of a bronze dupondius of Hadrian, datable to 118 AD (SMR 3911). More recently, a bronze coin of Constantinus II (337-361 AD) was found near the bottom of Spa Lane (SMR 3959).

Other early finds include what Pegge described as ‘two Roman urns’ found during excavations for the foundations of buildings on the south side of the market place (SMR 3960) and two rather unusual Roman

mortaria now in Derby Museum which are believed to be the same items as the 'Roman urns' described in the late 19th century as having been found in Holy Trinity churchyard (SMR 3912).

A number of archaeological excavations took place in the 1970s in the area around the church. These were the first to reveal the degree to which Roman deposits had survived in Chesterfield. To the east of St Mary's Gate, excavations at Swan Yard in 1974 indicated five possible Roman phases, with features including evidence for timber buildings and a later furnace and crucible fragments, probably connected with jewellery or trinket manufacture (SMR 3902). Excavations were carried out on the west side of Station Road in 1975 and on the east side between 1976 and 1978 (SMR 3961) and at Spa Lane in 1976 (SMR 3968). Features identified as three possible phases of defences were uncovered, together with evidence of industrial activity and of timber and stone buildings. To the west of St Mary's Gate, excavations in the vicarage garden revealed defensive ditches (SMR 3962) with further evidence of timber buildings being found in the Alpine Gardens (SMR 3965). Features at a site on Church Lane included the remains of a possible Roman road, a ditch and an oven (SMR 3967). Further west, excavations at the former Peacock Inn on the south-western side of the market place produced residual sherds of three Roman-British vessels (SMR 3905).

The conclusion reached following these 1970s excavations was that a fort was established in the 60s AD, with St Mary's Gate representing the central road through the fort from south to north. This fort was then either replaced on a different alignment in the Flavian period or had an annexe constructed on its east side. A further phase consisted of a new or reduced fort layout with possible civilian settlement to the south. Military control at Chesterfield probably ended some time between 120 and 150 AD. Any civilian settlement was thought to have been dependent upon the army and therefore to have ceased at around the same time (Ellis 1989).

Since then a number of excavations have provided further evidence of Roman occupation. In advance of redevelopment a series of evaluation trenches were excavated in 1989 on the former bus station site between Vicar Lane and Beetwell Street. Two trenches revealed two deeply cut ditches which contained Roman roofing tile. The ditches were interpreted as Roman, "of military style" (SMR 3984). At the same time two further evaluation trenches were excavated in the Old Vicarage Garden. Here, at least two main phases were recognised, with later Roman intrusions into earlier Roman deposits. Features included pits, a floor or road surface, a ditch and a number of postholes (SMR 3985).

In 1996 four evaluation trenches were excavated in the vicarage garden, all of which produced evidence of Roman occupation, including ditches, gullies, a cobbled surface and a pit/posthole, as well as sherds of Romano-British coarseware, Samian ware and tile. Following this evaluation, a more extensive open area excavation was carried out in 1998, during which it became clear that some of the features identified as Roman in earlier evaluations were, in fact, medieval and post-medieval in date. Nevertheless, a considerable number of Romano-British features were identified and, together with the results of a two-phase evaluation of the Alpine Gardens carried out in 1999-2000, separated into six phases of occupation ranging from the late 1st century to the late 2nd century AD (Connelly & Walker 2001).

A watching brief was carried out in 1999 during the construction of an extension to the rear of the Slug and Fiddle public house. The western part of the site contained a considerable amount of Roman pottery together with occasional fragments of burnt bone, Roman tile, Roman brick and plaster as well as a ditch which contained charcoal, daub and Roman pottery. It was suggested that a Roman building may have stood on the western and central parts of the site, with the abundance of charcoal suggesting extensive burning. This site has not yet been incorporated into the SMR and is therefore shown on Figure 2 as 'A' (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2000). In 2000 an excavation and watching brief were carried out at the corner of Spa Lane and St Mary's Gate (site 'B' on Figure 2). Two ephemeral gully features contained small amounts of abraded Roman pottery; if Roman, these features would probably be associated with a *vicus* outside the fort. A large ditch was found cut into the bedrock, running west and then turning south. The fill contained Roman pottery and building material. It was tentatively suggested that it may have been the boundary ditch for the civilian settlement outside the fort and that, once

substantially filled in, it may have acted as a routeway, possibly an earlier line of Spa Lane (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001).

A reassessment of the evidence from earlier excavations in the light of recent work has led to a new interpretation of Romano-British occupation at Chesterfield. There was some slight evidence for pre-Flavian activity; however, the fort itself was probably first constructed during the early Flavian period. Associated with this was an extra-mural settlement or *vicus* to the east and south of the fort. This *vicus* may have contracted in the early 2nd century and the fort itself may also have reduced in size, or even been abandoned, by the mid-2nd century. This was followed by a marked increase in activity to the south of the fort, initially with a brief period of industrial activity associated with charcoal production followed by the layout and construction of a military annexe or temporary camp to the south of the fort. This had apparently gone out of use by the late 2nd century. From that time there was a marked drop in activity, although the evidence suggests sporadic 3rd to 4th century occupation (Connelly & Walker 2001).

Several sites have also been excavated beyond the known core of Roman occupation. In July 1998 an archaeological evaluation was carried out within numbers 6-14 South Street prior to redevelopment (site 'C' on Figure 2). The evaluation consisted of two test trenches, one of which revealed a section of wall and stratified occupational deposits containing medieval and Roman pottery which were sealed by a post-medieval layer. These deposits survived to a significant depth. The second trench revealed a layer of demolition rubble containing medieval pottery overlying a silt layer which contained Roman pottery (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 1998a). Subsequent excavation revealed a large ditch which contained Roman pottery (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001).

Excavations at Durrant Road in 2001 produced evidence of a Roman period ditch following the contour, off which a smaller ditch ran at right angles (site 'D' on Figure 2). This was interpreted as a subdivided Romano-British enclosure on the side of the hill (A Boucher, pers. comm.).

To the south of the town centre, excavations at the southern end of Lordsmill Street in 1999 produced five sherds of Roman pottery as residual material from later medieval features (SMR 3989).

5.3 Early Medieval (c. 450-1066)

An early documentary reference to *Cesterfelda* occurs in a 13th century copy of a charter of 955. Although potentially of importance in indicating the presence of the settlement by the mid-10th century, it has also been noted that the document may equally refer to Chesterfield in Staffordshire. However, the reference to the Derbyshire Chesterfield in Domesday Book (see below) and the early origin of the place name (**ceaster**, a word of Anglian origin meaning fortification and **feld**, Old English, meaning open country) both indicate that the settlement had been re-established before the conquest.

Ford (1839) recorded the tradition that a battle was fought between the invading Danes and the Anglo-Saxons in the area around Lordsmill bridge, where there was

‘ ... a plot of ground called the Danes' Yard, where the earth is raised to a considerable height. From its form it appears to have been the work of human labour ...’.

The close appears in fact to have been called Dean's Yard, possibly from its possession by the Dean of Lincoln, and a misunderstanding of the name, together with a local tradition of a skull having been found here, may explain the battle story (SMR 3929).

Definite archaeological evidence for pre-conquest Chesterfield is elusive. Lane (1985) noted a scatter of stones and a slot for a rectangular post which he suggested, on stratigraphic grounds, could have been immediately post-Roman, in that they lay below a possible medieval level and above Roman deposits. More recent excavations have similarly produced no more than trace evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity. Sixteen sherds of pottery described as being ‘either early medieval or Roman’ were recovered from

evaluation trenches at 6-14 South Street (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 1998a) while later excavations on the same site revealed a large ditch which contained pottery of possible Anglo-Saxon date (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001). In addition, pottery ‘reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon forms’ and sherds of a shelly ware pottery that may have been in use any time from the 9th to the 11th centuries were recovered from excavations at Vicar Lane. It is not possible at present, therefore, to confirm or refute the presence of a major Anglo-Saxon centre (Connelly & Walker 2001).

5.4 Medieval

5.4.1 Domesday Book

Domesday Book includes the earliest certain reference to Chesterfield, when it was recorded as one of six berewicks attached to the royal manor of Newbold, in Scarsdale wapentake:

M. In NEWBOLD, with 6 outliers, Whittington, Brimington, Tapton, CHESTERFIELD, Boythorpe, Eckington, 6c. of land and 1b. taxable. Land for 6 ploughs. The King has 16 villagers, 2 smallholders and 1 slave who have 4 ploughs. To this manor belongs meadow, 8 acres; woodland pasture 3 leagues long and 3 leagues wide. Value before 1066 £6; now £10. Domesday Book, Phillimore edition.

5.4.2 The manor

As noted above, there does not appear to have been a separate manor of Chesterfield in 1086. However, an indirect reference in a charter of 1093 implies that a manor had been created by that time, when its church was granted by William II to Lincoln cathedral. It is not clear at present whether the Chesterfield manor remained in the hands of the crown following its creation. The earliest known lord was William Brewer, who received the manor in 1204, followed by the Wake family, lords between 1233 and 1349, to whom the manor came from the Brewers by marriage. After 1349 the manor was held by a number of different families, especially after it was leased out in 1404. These families included the Hollands, earls of Kent, and the Nevilles, earls of Salisbury. In 1471, following the death of the then lord, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, the manor and the hundred reverted to the crown. It remained in royal hands until 1513 (Bestall 1974).

A substantial part of the settlement along St Mary’s Gate and around the church was given to the dean of Lincoln in 1093 and appears to have formed a second manor. The dean is known to have been holding courts in Chesterfield in the 1420s. This rectory manor was leased out by the end of the 15th century (Riden 1984a).

5.4.3 Communications

Medieval Chesterfield stood at the centre of a network of roads in the same way that it does today. Its position on a particularly important national highway is indicated by its inclusion on the Gough Map of the early 14th century, which depicts Chesterfield standing on a major road running from Worcester and Droitwich to Lichfield, Derby and Doncaster, very much the line of Ryknield Street (Bestall 1974).

Another important medieval road, recorded from the 13th century, was Saltergate (*Saltergate* in 1285). This was without doubt an early saltway to Chesterfield from the Cheshire wicles, passing via Macclesfield, Buxton and Tideswell (Crump 1940). Just to the south of Chesterfield, the medieval road to Derby merged with that from Mansfield and Nottingham to the south-east. There is also strong evidence for the importance of a route running north-eastwards from Chesterfield, presumably towards the flourishing medieval town of Worksop, as well as a *via regia* running north by the modern Sheffield Road and passing through Whittington. The road to Calow, recorded as *Kalehalegate* in the 13th century, left the town to the east, heading ultimately for Lincoln (Bestall 1974). The lost street name of *Aldewynlane*, recorded in 1313, apparently led towards Newbold, while *Steppeson lane*, recorded in 1350, can perhaps be identified with Wheeldon Lane, leading south of the town across the River Hipper via stepping stones (Cameron 1959).

5.4.4 The settlement and its environs

There is little known about Chesterfield in the 11th century, beyond the reference in Domesday Book and the existence of manor and church by 1093, as mentioned above. Bestall (1974) tentatively suggested that a motte may have stood at the southern approach to the early settlement on the north bank of the Hipper just before its junction with the Rother, where an early description stated that ‘the earth is raised to a considerable height’ and that from its form it was ‘the work of human labour’. Riden (1984a) suggested the mound was in fact the site of the Dean of Lincoln’s manorial *curia*.

Over the course of the 12th century there is increasing evidence that the settlement was moving in an urban direction. In a writ of 1157-8, for example, there is a reference to the hallmote, linking it also with the wapentake court (Bestall 1974), while a market had been established by the 1160s (see section 5.4.5 below). In 1169 an *auxilium* was levied on the tenants of the king’s demesne towards which the men (*homines*) of Chesterfield contributed £5. Bestall (1974) suggested that, as the manors of Bakewell, Ashford and Hope paid £20 but without the use of a collective term like *homines*, this could be taken to signify a degree of organisation more characteristic of a town than of a rural manor. In 1196 there is a documentary reference to a gaol at Chesterfield, with later medieval references suggesting a gaol in the town may have served the wapentake of Scarsdale and an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1199 refers to the sum of ten marks from the *burgus*, or borough, of Chesterfield (Bestall 1974).

In 1204 the status of Chesterfield was confirmed in a charter granted by King John making it a *free borough*. However, unlike some boroughs such as Derby, where the grant was made directly to the burgesses, Chesterfield was granted to an individual lord, William Brewer. This meant that, while the charter granted the burgesses the same liberties as those of Nottingham, the burgesses held their liberties from Brewer, rather than directly from the crown. Unsurprisingly, ambiguities in the 1204 charter led to struggles between the lord and the burgesses over their respective rights, resulting in further charters of 1215 and 1232, as well as a concord of 1226 (Bestall 1974).

A more detailed charter survives from 1294. This was granted to the men of Chesterfield by their then lord, John Wake, and dealt with matters affecting the everyday life of the town. It detailed a number of categories of people able to enjoy the freedoms of a burgess without actually having their own burgage, defined the lord’s jurisdiction and the burgesses’ privileges in relation to local courts, and dealt with matters of trade and industry whereby ‘mercantile privileges’ were confirmed. The most important of these was the recognition of the right of the burgesses to have their merchant guild (Bestall 1974).

In 1266 Chesterfield was the site of one of the last events in the baronial wars, a battle (SMR 3930) which resulted in the defeat of the Earl of Derby, Robert de Ferrers, and his capture in Chesterfield parish church although little is known about the numbers involved in the battle, the casualties and any damage inflicted on the town (Bestall 1974).

It has been suggested that Chesterfield and north-east Derbyshire may have been more seriously affected by the impact of the Black Death than many other areas around, although this is difficult to quantify. One indication is in the bishop’s register at Lichfield for 1365 which refers to difficulties in finding chaplains in the years following the plague. However, figures from rents and tolls for about 130 years after the Black Death show, if anything, a modest rise in the 15th century. Figures are few, but indicate that rentals were stable and that market and fair tolls increased (Bestall 1974).

In 1480 the burgesses decided to formally establish a common council, although it is clear that some corporate body must have existed before this date to govern the borough and represent the burgesses’ interests in dealing with the crown and the lord of the manor. The decision to finally establish a formally elected council may have been made in order to strengthen the burgesses’ hand in resisting the influence of local gentry living outside the borough (Riden 1984a). A formal statement of customs and rules to be observed for the good government of the borough and the preservation of the burgesses’ liberties was embodied in a composition dated March 3 1480. Every year on September 29 the whole body of burgesses

would elect an alderman and a council of twelve of ‘the most honest persons’ to govern the borough and maintain its privileges. In the same year, a re-statement of ancient privileges as part of the crown’s estate was issued by Edward IV (Bestall 1974).

Medieval documents indicate that for much of the period Chesterfield still operated an open field system of agriculture within that part of the borough that was not built-up, with meadows lying along the rivers. Riden (1984a) notes that enclosure of the arable fields seems to have occurred mainly in the 15th century but was essentially a piecemeal process.

5.4.5 *Markets and fairs*

As part of the charter of 1204, already referred to above, William Brewer received a grant of an annual fair for eight days at the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14) and of weekly markets to be held on Tuesdays and Saturdays. However, it is clear from other sources that markets and fairs were being held at Chesterfield long before the charter was granted, since no charter would have been necessary while the manor belonged to the crown. In 1164-5, for example, the Pipe Rolls record the payment by the sheriff of Derbyshire of 22s 7d from the market of Chesterfield while the Pipe Rolls of 1195-6 make it clear that Chesterfield had a fair which had already been in existence for several years (Riden 1977).

5.4.6 *The parish church*

The earliest known record of a church at Chesterfield is found in a charter of 1093 in which it is given to the newly consecrated cathedral at Lincoln. The original dedication of the church appears to have been to All Hallows or All Saints, with St Mary’s being added at a later date. The church was the religious focus for a wide area. The extent of Chesterfield parish in the medieval period was over 45 square miles and included Newbold, Dunston, Whittington, Brimington, Tapton, Calow, Hasland, Temple Normanton, Wingerworth, Walton and Brampton, three of which later established their own chapels (Bestall 1974).

A tax assessment of 1291, examining clerical wealth, showed that Chesterfield church with its chapels was valued at the relatively high figure of £80. Only the very large parish of Bakewell with its various chapels was valued more highly at £194 (Bestall 1974).

The chantry of St Michael the Archangel was founded in 1357 within the parish church by Roger de Chesterfield while a reference of 1364 to a chantry of St Mary Magdalene indicates that this was in the chantry of St Michael. There is also mention of an altar or chapel of St George (Bestall 1974).

5.4.7 *Free-standing chapels*

Three chapels are known to have existed as separate buildings, a guild chapel dedicated to St Helen (see section 5.4.8 below), St Thomas’s Chapel and St Mary’s Chapel.

The chapel dedicated to St Thomas the Martyr stood at the corner of Knifesmithgate and Holywell Street, on the edge of the old market place. Nothing is known of the foundation of this chapel, but Bestall (1974) suggested it may have had some link with Beauchief Abbey and been founded as early as the end of the 12th century. There is a reference to it in a deed of 1465-6, but otherwise it is known only from antiquarian accounts of the building prior to its demolition.

In 1446 a licence was granted to Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury, for the erection of a chapel in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed and Glorious Virgin Mary. The licence specified that there were to be one chaplain and five women sisters. Houses were to be provided near the chapel, which stood on the south bank of the Hipper, at the south-eastern corner of Lordsmill Bridge (Bestall 1974).

5.4.8 *Guilds*

Four guilds were established in Chesterfield, the Guild of the Holy Cross of the Merchants of Chesterfield, the Guild of St Helen, the Guild of the Smiths and the Guild of the Blessed Mary.

The Guild of St Helen

Almost nothing is known about this guild. A deed of 1361 refers to the guild chapel of St Helen, and the guild is referred to again in 1384-5, but this is the last reference and it is not included with the other Chesterfield guilds at the time of their suppression. It may have been absorbed at the end of the 14th century into one of the larger guilds, although the chapel survived into the 16th century, possibly continuing to serve as a small chantry chapel throughout the later middle ages (Bestall 1974).

The Guild of the Smiths of Chesterfield

The origins and early history of this guild are not known. In 1387 it merged with the Guild of the Holy Cross of the Merchants of Chesterfield as guild members had insufficient funds to meet the claims made upon them. However, the guild's ordinances were recorded in 1388 and it may have preserved its own identity within the larger guild. Unusually, it appears that this guild had no patron saint (Bestall 1974).

The Guild of the Holy Cross of the Merchants of Chesterfield

In 1392 a licence was granted to found this guild in the church of All Saints, with an endowment of seven messuages, five shops, six acres of land and three of pasture. However, this was clearly a licence formalising an earlier foundation, as the guild was already in existence by 1387, when it merged with the Guild of the Smiths of Chesterfield, as noted above (Bestall 1974).

The Guild of the Blessed Mary

The Guild of the Blessed Mary was established in 1219 (Riden 1984a). Both its ordinances and a terrier of its possessions returned to the Chancery in 1392 survive and indicate that the guild was to include women as well as men. The surviving ordinances suggest it had three spheres of activity – religious, charitable and politico-legal – and appear to show keen concern for the defence of the liberties of the town, accompanied by a relative coolness towards religious services (Bestall 1974). In 1540, a few years before the dissolution, the guild merged with that of the Holy Cross.

5.4.9 St Leonard's Hospital

A leper hospital is said to have been in existence at Chesterfield by 1171 and was dedicated to St Leonard, a French hermit distinguished for his care of the sick, from at least the 13th century. The future King John, while still count of Mortain, had granted his dues from the markets and fairs of Chesterfield to the hospital. The first of a number of references to *fratribus leprosis de Cestrefeld* comes from the pipe rolls for 1195-6, by which time an annual income had been assigned to the hospital. This would have provided a more secure income than that derived from the markets and fairs. A series of grants in the early years of Henry III included a licence to beg alms, the provision of oaks from the royal forests for the repair of the hospital chapel, and six acres of pasture for cattle in the Forest of the Peak.

A warrant of 1276 to the hospital of St Nicholas of Chesterfield is thought to be a scribal error. Similarly, in 1334 Edward III granted a similar warrant to beg alms to the lepers of the hospital of St John, Chesterfield, and an inquisition of 1350 included in the possessions of Margaret Wake a hospital of St John the Baptist. While these may also be scribal errors, it is not impossible that there was a second hospital; alternatively the hospital chapel may have had two altars or even two chapels (Bestall 1974).

5.4.10 Education

A 13th century letter provides evidence that there was a school in medieval Chesterfield, as it relates to the appointment of a schoolmaster. Beyond this, however, nothing is known of the history or location of this school (Bestall 1974).

5.4.11 Trade and industry

There are documentary references in 1185 to a baker and a tanner, a couple of years later to a mason and in c. 1200 to a skinner. The charter of 1294 refers to the fact that only burgesses could be butchers, fishmongers, dyers or tanners and because these trades are specifically mentioned in the charter, Bestall (1974) suggests that they may have been the most important areas of economic activity in Chesterfield in the medieval period. Bakers were also mentioned in the charter as able to bake bread wherever they wished, except malted bread which was restricted to the lord's oven. Burgesses had the right to have their own hand-mills and ovens in their burgage and to bake their own bread, with the same exception regarding malted bread.

Textiles

In 1202 merchants in every county where cloth was produced had to pay an appropriate sum for exemption from an assize designed, amongst other things, to secure a standard width and quality of cloth in the interests of buyers. The men of Chesterfield paid two marks (£1 6s 8d), the only such payment made in Derbyshire and not much less than that made by Newark. Their right to buy and sell dyed cloths was confirmed, providing documentary evidence that the cloth trade was well established by that time and presumably had been since the 12th century. Beyond its existence, however, no details of Chesterfield's medieval cloth trade or the extent of manufacture are known at present, although it is worth noting that only a burgess could 'measure, cut or divide linen or woollen cloth' or buy cut cloth. Drapers can be identified in Chesterfield from the fact that the top side of the Shambles was known as Draper Row from early in the medieval period; another alley was called Mercer Row in the 14th century, mercers also dealing in textiles. Bestall (1974) suggested that wool would have been brought in from local farms and from the Peak District, with the various processes – carding, spinning, weaving, fulling, dyeing and finishing – probably being carried out by hand within the town in houses and workshops. The dyers would have had a dominant position compared with the weavers and the fullers, dyers tending to be important men, technically skilled, in touch with foreign merchants and often organising the whole production of the finished material. Chesterfield was clearly active in the dyeing trade in the 15th century. For example in 1441-2, 16 stones of 'cinders', or more probably ashes, were sold by Hallamshire to the dyers of Chesterfield. Records of the inland trade from Southampton indicate that in the 1460s Chesterfield was in the first ten towns receiving woad for its dyers through the port. Bestall (1974) also suggested that linen was made locally, as indicated by the place-name Linacre, first recorded in 1189.

Tanning

It is difficult to gauge the size of the tanning industry in the medieval period, although its presence is indicated by the borough charter which made it clear that, in the 13th century at least, only burgesses could be tanners and only burgesses could buy hides or skins, 'whether green, raw, fresh or salted', in Chesterfield. There are also references in the 15th century to 'barkers' (Riden 1984a).

The industry required the sale of cattle and meat in the market, oak bark for the tanning process, lime for removing hair from the raw hides and a good supply of running water. A number of specialist trades would have been based on leather. The presence of at least one of these, shoemaking, is indicated in the medieval street names *Soutergate* and *Souter Rowe*, referred to in the early 14th century. Other trades would almost certainly have included glovers, saddlers, girdlers, pursemakers and bottlemakers (Bestall 1974).

Pottery

Limited analysis of pottery from excavations in Chesterfield has suggested that there was a local industry, probably established in the 11th century and persisting throughout the medieval period, although the location of such a pottery or potteries is not known at present (Cumberpatch 1999).

Lead

Riden (1984a) suggests that Chesterfield played an important part in the lead industry from at least the 13th century if not before. Several of the wealthiest families of late medieval Chesterfield seem to have participated in the industry as ‘merchant smelters’, organising the production, transport and sale of lead. A considerable amount of Derbyshire lead is thought to have passed through Chesterfield on the way to the inland port of Bawtry.

Iron

The existence of the iron industry in the area by the 14th century is indicated by the fact that, as part of the provisioning of Nottingham Castle in 1325-6, 1200 pounds of iron were supplied from Chesterfield (Blanchard 1967).

5.4.12 Archaeology

Archaeological features relating to the medieval town have been reported in many of the excavations carried out since the 1970s although information from some of the initial sites has not been fully published. At Church Lane, excavated in 1973, medieval pottery of 14th-15th century date was recovered, but structural remains were ‘so fragmentary that they provide no clear pattern’ (SMR 3963; Lane 1985, 61).

All the medieval remains found during excavations in the Old Vicarage Gardens in 1998 appeared to be no later than the 13th century. They included a grouping of two kilns and a simple timber building on the north side of a modest linear boundary and a post mill on the south side. There was no evidence for the purpose of the kilns, although it was tentatively suggested they may have been associated with works on the church (Connelly & Walker 2001).

Excavations at the corner of Spa Lane and St Mary’s Gate revealed that the upper 0.86m of a possible Roman ditch was filled with a compact stony material containing late 13th/early 14th century pottery. It was suggested that this was the result of levelling for use as a working surface associated with a circular coal pit cut into the stone infill, similar to pits found in Swan Yard. The stony material was sealed by a 15th century compact surface (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001).

Towards the southern end of Lordsmill Street excavations uncovered a series of medieval pits of various types, at least some of which were thought to represent working hollows for a range of activities. Others contained charred cereal remains indicative of domestic waste disposal. The dating of features ranged from the 12th to the 15th/16th century (SMR 3989, Foundations Archaeology 1999).

Medieval material recovered from excavations at Durrant Road in 2001 included the base of a rectangular drying kiln re-used as a cess-pit in an area interpreted as having formed the rear of medieval plots, although no medieval plot boundaries were identified. Pottery was of possible 13th to 15th century date (A Boucher pers. comm.).

Excavations at 6-14 South Street revealed a kiln which contained 14th century pottery, although carbon-14 dating suggested a date for the kiln of the 16th century. The kiln was very similar to a stone-lined kiln found during excavations at Swan Yard in the 1970s (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001).

5.5 Post-medieval (16th - 18th century)

5.5.1 *The manor*

Chesterfield manor, having reverted to the crown in 1471, stayed in royal hands until 1513. In 1531 it came to George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, bringing to an end a long period of weak manorial control. The manor remained with the Shrewsburys until 1618, when it passed by marriage to the 3rd Earl of Pembroke, who then leased it to the burgesses. In 1631 the new Earl of Pembroke sold it to the Earl of Newcastle, who also leased it out from 1635, although not to the burgesses (Riden 1984a).

The rectory manor, which had been leased out by the end of the 15th century, remained so until the estate passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the mid-19th century, by which time it was considerably smaller (Riden 1984a).

5.5.2 *Communications*

Roads

Riden (1984a) points out that in the post-medieval period the main route through the town would have run east-west, this being the road to Bawtry for lead, millstones and ironware, for bringing cheese and butter from the west into Nottinghamshire and further east and for bringing wheat and barley from the east into the Peak. Chesterfield stood at the junction of two contrasting economic regions and its position on this east-west route was a main reason for its prosperity, since it was some miles from the main post-medieval north-south routes in the area. From the west, several routes crossed from the Derwent to enter Chesterfield either along West Bars or Saltergate, while on the east, roads ran into Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire.

The first road in the Chesterfield area to be improved by a turnpike trust was part of the main east-west route from Bakewell to Chesterfield and Worksop which traditionally carried the lead traffic to Bawtry. The Act establishing the trust was passed in 1739. Further roads followed – the Derby road in 1759 and the Matlock Road in 1760 (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

Chesterfield Canal

The Chesterfield Canal was laid out to link north-east Derbyshire with the Trent and so provide much improved access to the port of Hull. It was particularly promoted by those involved in the Derbyshire lead and iron industries and by land owners wishing to exploit their coal reserves. Two possible routes were surveyed in 1769, both following the same route from Chesterfield to Retford, one then heading for the Trent at West Stockwith, the other at Gainsborough. The former route was chosen and in 1771 the Bill passed the Commons. The full length of the canal was opened in 1777. In order to get the boats relatively close to the town, the canal was taken into the Rother which they then had to cross to reach the terminal basin, with a bridge carrying the towpath across the river. The basin lay just to the north of the borough boundary and was protected from rises in river levels by a flood gate (Roffey 1989).

5.5.3 *The settlement and its environs*

Shortly after the acquisition of Chesterfield by the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury in 1560, a thorough survey of the manor was undertaken, setting out in detail its bounds and the rents and services which were due to the lord, as some of these had been neglected. Following this, in 1566, the burgesses drew up a much more detailed composition, probably in an attempt to resist the Earl, although this failed. Not having a royal charter of incorporation, they were basically powerless. The Earl forced a new composition, halving the number of burgesses, depriving them of most of their income and forcing them to accept that they had no chartered rights to establish an alderman and common council. (Riden 1984a).

In 1598, however, the crown finally granted a charter of incorporation to the burgesses, confirming their earlier privileges and bringing these into line with other similar boroughs receiving charters at that time.

Nothing is known about the circumstances leading up to the granting of this charter, although it only took place some years after the death of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury in 1590. This charter referred to the appointment of a mayor, six aldermen, six brethren and twelve capital burgesses, making a total corporate body of 25. The burgesses were permitted to have a council house, which they established on a site near the eastern end of Low Pavement, on a property known as the Cockpit.

In 1614 a House of Correction for the hundreds of Scarsdale and High Peak was erected near the river Hipper in what was described as ‘a low damp situation’ (Riden 1984a).

The published Hearth Tax returns for 1670 provide some information about the size and numbers of buildings in Chesterfield at that time (Edwards 1982). There were 211 entries, with numbers of hearths as follows:

Hearths	Entries
>4	52
4	29
3	58
2	46
1	26

On the face of it this appears to indicate a fairly low number of relatively poor or small houses. However, the 1670 returns omit non-chargeable hearths. The 1664 returns provide a more realistic picture, with 214 chargeable entries and 101 exempt, all of the latter having a single hearth only. The 1664 returns are not published in detail, however, and the number of hearths for the chargeable entries is not known. In 1670, of the relatively large number of buildings with more than four hearths, several had at least eight. The largest had 31 hearths, and was probably Durrant Hall; other buildings with large numbers of hearths, such as that with 23, would have included the major inns of the town.

Several almshouses were erected in the post-medieval period, the earliest being Taylor’s almshouses in Saltergate for six poor people in 1678, following an endowment in his will of 1668. Thomas Large’s three almshouses were erected in 1703 using an endowment of 1664, with two further houses being added to them in 1751 according to instructions in Sarah Rose’s will of that year (Hall 1823; Ford 1839).

In 1734 Chesterfield’s first workhouse was built for ‘maintaining, employing and setting to work the Poor and Indigent people of the Borough’ (Bestall & Fowkes 1984). A town library was established in 1731 and a new Town Hall was built in 1787-8 (Ford 1839).

5.5.4 *Population*

In the 1510s and 1520s, about 130 burgesses usually attended the manor court, while a lay subsidy assessment of 1543 listed 141 taxpayers in the borough. These figures indicate the minimum number of Chesterfield households in the first half of the 16th century. An estimated figure of 179 households in the borough in 1563 is arrived at by Riden (1984a), based on an ecclesiastical census. One hundred years later the 1664 Hearth Tax indicates that there were at least 315 households at that time. This represents an increase of some 75%. However, this was not the result of uninterrupted growth, as there was a severe outbreak of plague in 1586-7. Riden suggests the population both of the borough and its neighbouring townships rose rapidly in the 16th century, the former containing possibly about 180 households in the 1560s and about 220 in the early 1580s, with an estimated population of perhaps 855 to 1045 individuals. However, the plague reduced the population by about 300, most of them probably from the borough. Riden (1984a) tentatively suggests that one-fifth of the population of the borough may have died during the outbreak. Population then began to increase again, but more slowly, hindered by a couple of further, albeit smaller, outbreaks of plague before 1610 and by relatively high mortality in the 1630s. The figure of 315 households recorded in the Hearth Tax of 1664 provides an estimated population of c. 1500 (using a multiplier of 4.75 individuals per household).

Analysis of baptismal and burial records for the 18th century suggests a period of population stagnation during the first half of the century, with an estimated population of around 2500, followed by a rise during the second half of the century, particularly over the last two decades (Bestall & Fowkes 1984). Unofficial censuses by Eden in 1783 and 1791 and by Pilkington in 1788, seem to confirm this, providing the following figures (Bestall & Fowkes 1984):

1783	777 houses	3335 inhabitants
1788	801 houses	3626 inhabitants
1791	866 houses	3927 inhabitants

Eden's figure fits in well with the figures provided by the first official census in 1801, which records 920 houses and a population of 4267.

5.5.5 Markets and fairs

The Tuesday market had become obsolete by 1631, as only the Saturday market is referred to in a grant of that date. In addition to the traditional eight-day fair at the feast of Holy Cross on September 14 (later September 25), the grant also provided for three further fairs, on February 28, May 4 and 5, and July 4 (Riden 1984a). Additional fairs were held on January 25, April 3 and November 25, the last a statute fair, from the second half of the 18th century (Martin *c.* 1765).

The markets were an important feature of the post-medieval town, commented on by visitors such as Defoe, who in 1725 noted 'a very good market, well stored with provisions' and Celia Fiennes, who passed through in 1697 and found

'... the Market very large; it was Satturday which is their market day and there was a great Market like some little faire, a great deale of corn and all sorts of ware and fowles ...'

5.5.6 Religion

Puritan nonconformity was already present in Chesterfield by the later 16th century, although this seems to have been contained within the established church before the Civil War. During the Commonwealth, an Independent congregation was permitted to use the parish church. The Compton census of 1676 recorded 100 protestant non-conformists from an adult population of 3500. Following the Act of Toleration in 1689, the first dissenting chapel in Chesterfield was founded, with the building being completed in 1694. This chapel was initially in joint use by Presbyterians and Independents (Congregationalists), a practice which was formalised by an agreement in 1703, although in 1778 the Congregationalists moved to their own Meeting House (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

Quakers are known to have been meeting in the Chesterfield district from the late 1650s although the first meeting house in the town, on Saltergate, was only constructed in 1697 (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

Towards the end of the 18th century a Wesleyan Methodist congregation had become established and in 1795 they constructed a chapel on Saltergate (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

5.5.7 Education

Sir Godfrey Foljambe, who died in 1595, left money to found a grammar school in Chesterfield. This was accordingly established in 1598 under letters patent of Elizabeth I, using the buildings of the old St Helen's chapel until the early 18th century. It is not known whether the school that existed in Chesterfield in the 13th century had managed to survive into the post-medieval period, although a couple of 16th century references suggest there was indeed a school before Foljambe's benefaction established the grammar school. In 1578 Henry Harrison was described in a deed as a schoolmaster of Chesterfield while in 1586 James Robinson left £5 to the town towards the founding of a free school (Riden 1984a).

In 1738 a charitable bequest provided income for the teacher of a petty school to teach 20 poor children in the town, ten girls and ten boys, to read and write, so providing them with the basic condition of entry to the grammar school (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

5.5.8 Trade and industry

General

Riden (1984a) used wills and probate inventories to provide information about trade and industry in the late 16th and the 17th centuries. He suggested that no single occupation dominated the town in the early post-medieval period, but that the leather trades, including tanning and shoemaking, stand out as having been of considerable importance throughout the 16th century. Probate inventories indicate that the leather tradesmen were some of the wealthier inhabitants. There are inventories for weavers, dyers and clothworkers but these trades do not appear to have generated as much wealth. In the 17th century, ironmongers and lead merchants came increasingly to the fore. Inventories also indicated the degree of involvement in dual occupations, not only the relatively common combination of farming with metalworking or weaving, but also less usual combinations such as a fishmonger who was also in the lead business.

During the 17th century five trading companies were established to regulate some of the traditional trades of the town. These were the Company of Shoemakers, the Company of Tailors and Sadlers (1626), the Company of Butchers (1629), the Company of Smiths and Braziers (1648) and the Company of Mercers (1677), the latter including drapers, grocers, hatters, dyers, clothworkers, hosiers and weavers (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

Some detail of industry in the town in the mid 18th century is provided by a church rate assessment of 1744. This showed that tanyards and malthouses were numerically predominant (nine tanneries and eight malthouses being listed), with a concentration of five tanneries on Lordsmill Street on the lower reaches of the Hipper and on the Rother. Retail premises and small workshops abounded throughout the central area. There were at least two dyers. However, it was not clear to what extent the hosiery industry, which was important in the town by the end of the century, had developed by that time (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

In the 1780s, Pegge noted that wheat was bought for the use of the Peak and oats both for the Peak and for Sheffield. He added that

‘Though the markets are good, the Trade of the Town in general is but inconsiderable; the chief part consisting in the Lead and Red Lead Business, some Hosiery, Malting and Potteries’ (quoted in Bestall 1978).

Tanning

Evidence suggests that the tanners were the wealthiest single group in Chesterfield in the post-medieval period. Riden (1984a) suggests that between twelve and twenty families were involved in the industry, although it is not known how many actual tanyards there were and many of the tanneries can no longer be located. In general they are likely to have been at the lower end of crofts running back from Low Pavement and Beetwell Street, with access to the Hipper (Riden 1984a).

Chesterfield would have had access both to local hides and to the trade bringing hides from London to the West Riding and north Derbyshire. Oak bark would have been available from local springwoods coppiced for charcoal for the iron industry, while lime used in the tanpits was probably brought from the Peak. Tanning does not appear to have been combined with any other business except, in some cases, farming. The trade of fellmonger, a dealer in hides and skins, appears in Chesterfield in the 17th century, at a time when middlemen appear to have been on the increase (Riden 1984a).

Malting and brewing

As noted above, there were a number of malthouses in Chesterfield by the mid-18th century. An indication of the importance of malting and brewing is provided by Celia Fiennes who, on her visit to the town in 1697, noted ‘in this town is the best ale in the kingdom generally esteem’d’. The borough appears to have had as many as 65 alehouses in 1577, a particularly large number considering there may only have been some 180-200 households at that time, but presumably reflecting the importance of the markets. Many of the alehouses would have been kept either as a householder’s secondary occupation or by his wife. The main occupations of some these alehouse keepers included glovers, shoemakers, metalworkers, butchers and at least one clothworker (Riden 1984a).

Shoemaking

Numerous Chesterfield men were described as shoemakers in the 16th and 17th centuries. Probate inventories suggest that many of these did their own currying, having bought uncurried leather from the tanners. The shoemakers appear to have been supplying a local market only at that time (Riden 1984a). An indication that their market had expanded by the end of the 18th century comes from Pilkington (1789) who refers to the importance of the manufacture of shoes for the London trade.

Glove-making

Glovers used ‘dressed’ rather than tanned leather and prepared the skins themselves, generally sheep, goat or pig skins, but also dog and lamb. Several 16th century inventories of Chesterfield glovers survive and indicate that, as found elsewhere, glovers were also frequently involved in the wool trade, dealing in the fleece wool which they removed from skins (Riden 1984a).

Wool trade/textile industry

Riden (1984a, 141) suggests the trade was practised at Chesterfield in the post-medieval period ‘simply because there was a supply of wool and a demand for woollen cloth’. Such evidence as is provided by probate inventories indicates a number of ‘fairly modest craftsmen, several drapers and mercers, and considerable quantities of wool and flax awaiting spinning or yarn awaiting weaving in farmhouses and cottages’. Many of the weavers appear to have lived in rural parts of Chesterfield; however ‘coverlet weavers’ seem to have lived in the borough and their looms were worth more than ordinary looms (Riden 1984a).

In addition to weavers, other textile workers identified from probate inventories include a family of dyers, drapers, ‘clothworkers’, a shearman and a hosier, while a feltmaker is identified in a lease. The clothworkers seem to have been involved in both weaving and finishing. There is some evidence that a mill on the Rother to the north of the town was used as a walk mill for a period in the late 16th century. A silk mill was established on the Hipper in the mid-18th century, possibly on the site of an earlier fulling mill; dyers and clothworkers also appear to have used water from the Hipper (Riden 1984a). The earliest definite reference to the silk mill comes in 1786 when it is referred to in the land tax assessments, although a datestone of 1759 is said to have been incorporated into the building (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

Over the course of the 18th century hosiery knitting became an increasingly important part of the textile industry in Chesterfield. Pilkington, writing in 1789, recorded 261 stocking frames in the town and neighbourhood. He also noted the manufacture of carpets at Chesterfield.

Ironworking

Iron smelting is thought to have been taking place near Newbold Mill, less than a mile north of the parish church, in around 1500, while archaeological evidence suggests some smelting may have occurred within

the borough in the post-medieval period (see 5.5.9 below). By 1650 there were five blast furnaces near Chesterfield. Foreign iron is also recorded in probate inventories by the 16th century. Riden (1984a) notes that men described in inventories as ‘ironmongers’ were also generally involved in the lead trade also, and suggests they were exporting lead and importing iron through Hull. They were probably also retailers of ironware. Those known from probate inventories to have been involved in the ironworking trades included smiths, a nailer, scythesmiths, cutlers and a locksmith, although some of these were based in one or other of the townships rather than the borough. The smiths, if not the others, frequently combined their trade with small-scale farming. There was also a brass foundry in the town, possibly present by at least the late 15th century, and producing a wide range of domestic brassware and well as specialising in the production of bells.

Lead

The involvement of Chesterfield men in law-suits over the carriage of lead on the Idle indicates the continuing importance of the lead trade in the economic life of the town, especially after about 1580, Chesterfield being a convenient staging point on a route from the lead field to Hull. By the mid-17th century there was clearly a group of families in Chesterfield who had grown wealthy from the expansion of the lead industry over the previous seventy years or so. However, it appears that these families did not restrict themselves to lead, but that they also dealt in other commodities, particularly iron (as noted above), timber and flax (Riden 1984a).

Agriculture

While many of those living in the borough probably kept a few cows or a pig, a number of the more substantial families were engaged in full-scale mixed farming. Surviving inventories indicate that stock generally consisted of both sheep and cattle. Where crops were specified, wheat, rye and oats were regularly listed, with barley less common. Peas were also mentioned in some cases. Only a few individuals practised farming as their sole occupation, however, the majority combining it with a second trade such as metalworking, or butchery associated with their own shop in the Shambles. Riden (1984a) records the probate inventory of Richard Johnson, who died in 1560 and whose inventory included a team of eight oxen, cattle, nearly 200 sheep and quantities of corn and hay at Licker Hall, his home on Saltergate. (Riden 1984a).

Other

The probate inventories and other sources permit the identification of a number of other occupations, the majority of which would be expected in any small town, for example, carpenters, tailors, glaziers, chapmen, millers and ropemakers (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

A salt works was established in Chesterfield in 1715, using rock salt brought from Northwich but was abandoned as unprofitable (Ford 1839).

The presence of a 17th century pottery within the borough is implied by a reference of 1657 to ‘the Potthouse beneath the Chappel Schole’, the latter presumably being the grammar school established in St Helen’s chapel (Bestall & Fowkes 1984, 47). By the mid 18th century a pottery and white clay pipe manufacturer, Robinsons, was established in or near Spa Lane (Lane 1985). Some coal mining in the borough by the late 18th century is indicated by the depiction of a coal pit on Potter’s map of 1803, while Celia Fiennes in 1697 noted coal pits and quarries ‘even just at the town end’. In general the later 18th century pottery industry, together with the coal and iron industries, tended to develop just outside the boundaries of the borough. In particular, the area near the junction of the River Hipper and Holme Brook, beyond the south-western boundary, began to be developed for industrial purposes in the 1770s, with buildings including a furnace, foundry, boring mill, forge and tobacco pipe works (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

5.5.9 Archaeology

Post-medieval artefacts and features have been identified at many of the excavations carried out in the town since the 1960s.

Excavations at Swan Yard in 1965 produced 16th, 17th and 18th century pottery and clay pipes from the 17th and 18th centuries together with the robbed out walls of what was suggested to be a 17th century stone house which had been levelled to the ground in the 19th (Crowe 1966).

The debris of late 17th/early 18th century buildings was recovered during excavations on Church Lane in 1973; it was suggested they had been demolished in c. 1800. Glazed pottery wasters and white clay tobacco pipe wasters were found, indicating the manufacture of pottery and pipes on or near Church Lane. Quantities of misshapen bottle bases among the finds from Chesterfield suggested the local production of glass wine bottles, probably in the late 17th/early 18th centuries, with other forms of glass manufacture hinted at (Lane 1985). Post-medieval remains uncovered during more recent excavations in the Old Vicarage Garden included a cobbled surface, pits, wells and drains as well as the residual footings of two walls dating to the 16th century or later (Connelly & Walker 2001).

Excavations at Durrant Road in 2001 produced evidence of post-medieval industrial activity in the form of kiln bases. It was suggested that these represented something like iron smelting on terraces on the side of the hill (A Boucher pers. comm.).

5.6 19th century

5.6.1 *Communications*

Roads

Chesterfield continued to maintain good road connections in all directions. There were several coaching inns in the town in the early 19th century, the leading one being the Angel Inn, where the Royal Mail coach from London to Leeds stopped, as did daily coaches to Sheffield, London, Birmingham, Manchester and Nottingham. The Royal Mail coach between Sheffield and Birmingham called at the Star Inn, while the Old Angel Inn had daily services to Birmingham and Leeds (Bestall 1978).

Railways

The North Midland Railway Bill was passed in 1836 for a line between Leeds and Derby, via Sheffield and Chesterfield, this line being completed in 1840. The railway station stood a little distance from the centre of the town. The Midland constructed a new and more direct route to Sheffield in 1870, together with a new station in Chesterfield about 100m north of the original one (Wright 1992). Also in 1870 the Midland opened a branch line to Brampton, linking the expanding industrial area along the Hipper with the main line.

A second railway station was opened in Chesterfield in 1892 by the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company, on what was known as the Chesterfield loop, the entrance to the station being in Infirmary Road. A tunnel had to be built beneath part of the town, starting at Hollis Lane and emerging at the station. In the same year construction of the Lancashire Derbyshire and East Coast Railway was commenced at Chesterfield. However, only the section between Chesterfield and Lincoln was ever built, with a few mineral branches. The line was opened in 1897, with the western terminus at the new Chesterfield Market Place Station in West Bars (Wright 1992).

Chesterfield Canal

The Chesterfield Canal continued to be of importance in the early 19th century but began to decline in the face of increasing competition from the railways. Following the closure of the original terminal basin in

1890 when the line of the Chesterfield loop cut off its access to the river, a new basin was built further upstream. However, by the end of the century the Chesterfield end of the canal had become unnavigable (Roffey 1989).

5.6.2 *The settlement and its environs*

The restricted boundaries of the borough began to be questioned in the early 19th century, with a recommendation for enlargement coming in 1837. However the members of the Council agreed unanimously that any extension of the borough boundaries would ‘add to the burdens of the inhabitants of Chesterfield’, while those inhabitants of areas proposed for inclusion appear to have been equally unenthusiastic. As a result, the boundaries remained the same. A further attempt was made in the 1870s which also failed. Only in 1892 did the borough expand beyond its medieval limits (Bestall 1978).

Over the course of the 19th century the town acquired a number of public utilities and municipal buildings. The Chesterfield Gas and Water Company was established in 1825, with gasworks being built the following year just outside the borough boundary to the west, at some distance from the town. Water was carried by pipe from Holme Brook to a large reservoir near the top of Foljambe Road, also just outside the borough, and water began to be supplied to the town (Bestall 1978). Chesterfield was the first town in the country to successfully light its streets totally by electricity, this taking place in July 1882, although it later reverted to gas lighting for a while, owing to the higher cost of electricity (Wright 1992). A sewage works was in operation by 1880 outside the boundaries of the borough.

Municipal buildings included public baths, erected in Derby Lane, a new Union Workhouse, a Theatre and a Municipal Hall. At the same time a number of societies and institutions of many kinds were developed, including a Subscription Library and News Room, a Mechanics’ Institute and a Philosophical Society. Other improvements in amenities included the planting of trees in public streets in 1877 and the construction of the Stephenson Memorial Hall, opened in 1879, within which there was a free public library.

In 1882 a horse tramway began running between Low Pavement and Walton Lane, Brampton (Wright 1992).

Following an outbreak of smallpox in the borough in 1888 an isolation hospital for infectious diseases was provided in temporary huts at Spital (Wright 1992).

5.6.3 *Population*

The 10-yearly census, which commenced in 1801, provides the following figures for Chesterfield:

Year	Population
1801	4267
1811	4476
1821	5077
1831	5775
1841	6212
1851	7101
1861	9836
1871	11427
1881	12221
1891	13242
1901	14668

These figures show the dramatic rise in population experienced by the town over the course of the 19th century.

5.6.4 *Markets and fairs*

Market day continued to be on a Saturday, mainly for corn and provisions. Annual fairs in the 1830s were on January 27, February 28, the first Saturday in April for horses and horned cattle, May 4-5 for cattle (and a pleasure fair), July 4 for cattle and pedlery, September 25 for cattle and November 25 or the last Saturday of the month for horses, horned cattle and other beasts. The markets and fairs remained of considerable economic importance for the borough in the early 19th century. In 1854 the Duke of Devonshire sold his market rights to the newly established Chesterfield Market Company, which opened a new Market Hall three years later. At the very end of the century, in 1900, a cattle market was opened off Wheeldon Lane so that it was no longer necessary to buy and sell cattle in the main market place (Wright 1992).

5.6.5 *Religion*

Both Anglican and nonconformist communities expanded during the 19th century and as a result new churches and chapels were built to accommodate them. To serve the former, Trinity Church was built on Newbold Road in 1838 near an area where wealthier families were building new houses.

As far as the nonconformists were concerned, the existing communities – Congregationalists, Unitarians and Wesleyan Methodists – continued to worship in the borough, enlarging their chapels or moving to new ones where necessary. New congregations also became established, including the Baptists, the Primitive Methodists, the Roman Catholics, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Arminian Methodists, although not all were able to survive.

5.6.6 *Education*

The grammar school had been in decline since the late 18th century, the buildings had been neglected, and in 1823 only two children were reported as being in attendance. As a result, the school was closed in 1832. However, the curriculum and the government of the school were reorganised in 1843 and a new school was constructed and opened in 1846.

Over the course of the 19th century, several other schools opened in the borough, to serve the growing population, beginning with the first National School, built in 1813. By the middle of the century there were 22 schools, some of which were private schools or ‘academies’, recorded in Chesterfield by an enquiry attached to the 1851 census, with an additional nine Sunday Schools (Wright 1992). Further schools opened in the second half of the century, particularly following the formation of the Chesterfield School Board in 1871.

5.6.7 *Trade and industry*

A wide range of retail trades and workshop industries were present in the 19th century, as would be expected in a thriving market town. Pigot’s Directory of 1835 lists as many as 39 boot and shoe makers, so continuing one of the traditional trades, followed by 23 butchers. There were three tanners and eleven maltsters, 20 tailors, 17 grocers and tea dealers, 14 dressmakers, 11 stone masons, 8 braziers and tinplate workers and 8 blacksmiths (Bestall & Fowkes 1984). However, despite the wide range of trades, many based on the type of craft, workshop and retail trades that had long dominated the town, they appear generally to have been on a small scale and to have shown few signs of further development (Bestall 1978).

Most of the important industrial developments of the early 19th century continued to take place outside the borough boundaries, particularly to the west of the town at Brampton. These included the Griffin Foundry which had been established in the 18th century, a bleaching mill near the iron works, a factory producing pill-boxes and the pottery industry, at its height in the 1840s when ten potteries were in production. The industrialisation of the area increased considerably in the second half of the 19th century, with the

development of collieries. The extension of the boundary in 1892 brought some larger scale industry under the control of the borough, in particular the development along the Hipper to the west of the town.

Textiles

Hall (1823) lists Chesterfield's principal manufactures as cotton hose and cotton and woollen gloves. The stockings were made by framework knitters, although their manufacture began to decline over the first half of the 19th century. By 1844 there were no more than sixty frames in the whole of Chesterfield and Brampton. The silk mill continued to function; a report of 1837 noted that there were 'two or three manufactories of silk and cotton, but they are not considerable' (quoted in Bestall 1978). Cotton and flax mills were established further west along the Hipper valley, outside the borough. More important for the town were the lace factories opened in the late 1830s in Wheeldon Lane and a fairly extensive factory at Spital. There was also a steam-powered factory in Lordsmill Street manufacturing thread for lace and plain bobbin net. Lace manufacture employed 119 people in the Chesterfield Registration District in 1851, but the industry soon declined.

5.6.8 Archaeology

Archaeology of the 19th century is only reported in any detail for the excavations at Swan Yard carried out in 1965, where the remains of a row of 19th century cottages was examined. The foundations were of stone with brick walls above ground. Floors were of beaten clay and ash which in some cottages were covered with wooden flooring and in others were directly overlain with linoleum. Two halfpennies dated 1862 were found under a doorstep. A number of objects were found in the drains, including marbles, dominoes, ivory bobbins and coins; finds from elsewhere included the broken bowls and stems of numerous clay pipes. The floor of one of the cottages was found to overlie a cobbled pavement, in use in the early 19th century according to a packer's seal of 1815 found wedged between the cobbles. Elsewhere the cottages overlay an enormous ash pit some 15 feet across which included pottery datable mainly to the 19th century (Crowe 1966).

5.7 20th century

A further extension to Chesterfield's boundary took place in 1910, followed in 1920 by amalgamation with Newbold and Whittington. Not only had the borough increased by more than twenty times its original size, but significant industry had also been brought within its bounds.

Various improvements were made to the core of the town in the early 20th century. For example, the market place was improved by the building of the new cattle market off Wheeldon Lane in 1900 and a new Town Hall was opened in 1938. The tramway, previously horse-drawn, was electrified in 1904, with a double track running through some of the narrow central streets (Wright 1992). New public health amenities included the Slipper Baths on South Place in 1904 and the Corporation Abattoir in 1933.

A programme of school building was undertaken in the 1900s, followed by the establishment of further education courses, first by after-hours use of the grammar school and later, in 1924, by the opening of Chesterfield Technical College. A new programme was undertaken shortly afterwards which totally restructured education and which resulted in the closure of three old schools and the construction of three new school buildings, completed in 1932 (Sadler 2001).

New houses continued to be built on the remaining open land in the borough in the first few decades of the 20th century. This was accompanied by a programme of slum clearance which first tackled the Dog Kennels area towards the south-western side of the borough between 1911 and 1927. Further slum clearances continued in different parts of the town from the 1930s to the 1960s.

Industry continued to thrive, with expansion of the Broad Oaks foundry on the eastern edge of Chesterfield, the establishment of Bryan Donkin in 1903 on the southern edge of town, producing

equipment for the gas industry and the Chesterfield Tube Co. Ltd. on the corner of Brewery Street and Infirmary Road supplying gas cylinders and tubes for railway locomotives and boilers (Sadler 2001).

The second half of the 20th century saw the decline of manufacturing industry in the town, however, accompanied by the closure of two of the three railways. An important source of occupation was lost in the 1980s with the demise of the coal industry and, even more recently, Markham Engineering Works and Bryan Donkin have both ceased operations (Sadler 2001). Nevertheless, new developments have been taking place in the core of the town, including the opening of the Pavements shopping centre in 1981 and the Inner Relief road in 1985, together with pedestrianisation of some of the main shopping areas, while a link with Chesterfield's past continues in the form of apparently thriving markets.

6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHESTERFIELD

The town has been divided into plan elements, or components, based on map evidence and documentary sources. No early medieval elements could be recognised in the town plan; consequently the earliest components relate to the medieval town, although earlier settlement is known to have existed. These plan elements are tentative only, and need to be confirmed by further work. Subsequent major changes are briefly summarised, together with the degree of survival of early features to the present day.

6.1 Medieval components

Thirty components have been tentatively identified as belonging to the medieval period (some of which include evidence of earlier occupation) and are shown on figure 3. Their identification is based on plan form analysis of early 19th century maps, archaeological evidence and on information from secondary sources.

Component 1 *St Mary and All Saints' Church and churchyard* (SMR 3921)

Although a church is known to have existed at Chesterfield by 1093, nothing of this structure remains above ground. The church appears to have been fairly extensively rebuilt from the later 13th into the early 14th century. Bestall (1974) tentatively suggests that the church may have been damaged in 1266 during the battle of Chesterfield, when some fighting took place near to, or possibly inside, it and that this may have been a contributory factor in the rebuilding.

The present church is the largest in Derbyshire and has a nave and aisles of 6 bays, south and north transepts and a complex east end. The earliest architectural feature is an Early English piscina; the oldest major parts are the crossing tower supports, dedicated in 1234 and some transepts with piers separating them from an east aisle, dated to the late 13th century. Most of the rest of the church is Decorated, c.1325-1350 (Pevsner 1979). The crossing tower is surmounted by the nationally famous warped spire of timber clad with herringbone lead plates. Twenty-eight timber samples from the spire were dated by tree-ring analysis. Three main groups or phases were identified. It was suggested that timbers for the original spire construction were felled sometime between 1345 and 1365. A second group with dates in the range 1498 to 1518 may represent later insertions, while a late 17th century repair phase was suggested by the third group, with a felling date range of 1653 to 1673 (Nottingham University Tree-ring Dating Laboratory 1995). The north transept of the church was rebuilt in 1769 and the church restored by Gilbert Scott in 1843. The church is now a Grade I listed building.

The extent of the churchyard in the medieval period is not known at present, consequently the area forming this component is an approximation of that depicted on Potter's map of Chesterfield of 1803, although according to Ford (1839) the south side of the churchyard had been enlarged in 1787. The Universal British Directory of 1793 stated that there were five almshouses 'in the churchyard', although this may have meant bordering the churchyard rather than actually standing within it. During the battle of Chesterfield referred to above, the men of Brampton are said to have retreated to that part of the

churchyard wall that they were accustomed to maintain. This implies that the wall was maintained in sections by the different townships of the parish (Bestall 1974).

The church stands within the area of the Roman fort, although the only evidence of this known to have been recovered is a bronze sestertius of Trajan found in the churchyard in 1822 (SMR 3910).

Component 2 *Old market place*

Early deeds indicate that Chesterfield's original market place lay to the north of the church, presumably in this area. References to curtilages in the 'old' market place occur in the 14th century, although it is not certain when it went out of use and was built over. Its original extent is not known and that shown as component 2 needs to be confirmed archaeologically if possible. Recent work on medieval deeds has shown that Moot Hall Croft was near the old market place, indicating the existence there of an early Moot Hall (Riden 1984a). Senior's map shows the area densely occupied by buildings in the early 17th century. In 1824 the eastern half of the area was cleared and taken into use as an extension to the graveyard (Ford 1839), which now stands at a markedly higher level than the road which skirts it to the north and east. Further buildings were cleared in the 20th century due to road widening.

Component 3 *Possible site of weekday market*

The exact site of the weekday market is not known, but early deeds make it clear that it adjoined the old market place. It may have been held at the junction of Holywell Street and Saltergate, an area shown as Holywell Cross on Potter's map of 1803.

Component 4 *Market place*

The market place was an addition to Chesterfield's original medieval town plan. Bestall (1974) considered that the eastern end was enclosed first, perhaps shortly after Brewer acquired the manor in 1204, and that the market place was then progressively enlarged westwards over the course of the 13th century. Riden (1977), on the other hand, argued that the new market place was created as a whole, possibly as early as the 1160s but certainly by 1199.

The Shambles at the eastern end of the market place could be interpreted as the result of the replacement of temporary stalls with small but permanent shops. However, their very regular plan indicates that they were deliberately laid out, possibly even at the same time as the market place, despite the fact that the names of the grid of alleys do not occur in charters before the 14th century. Although known as the Shambles, there was only one Butcher Row (other alleys were Draper Row, Fisher Row, Iron Row, Mercer Row, Potter Row and Souter Row, reflecting the trades carried out along them). Of the present buildings, the Royal Oak Inn is a 16th century timber-framed structure jettied out over the ground floor, and is listed as Grade 2* particularly for the upper windows in the timber framed part, which are probably now unique in the area (SMR 3977).

Senior's plan of 1637 shows a market cross standing to the west of the Shambles, in an otherwise open area. In 1675 the corporation was granted permission to build a market house in the market place. This is said to have stood on stone pillars. In 1776 the market house and market cross were pulled down, at which time a quarry was opened on the site to provide stones for paving the streets (Bestall 1978).

Potter's map of 1803 shows two blocks of buildings separating the main part of the market place from New Square to the west. The accompanying schedule indicates that the northernmost of these included at least five houses, one with a shop below, a brewhouse, the old gaol and the old Town Hall. This group was demolished in 1828; the southern block was still standing in 1848 but was demolished at some point prior to the construction of the present market hall in 1857. The latter was described by Pevsner (1979, 145) as 'The crudest show of High Victorian provincial prosperity'. The 19th century town pump (SMR 3974) also stands in the market place. Both market hall and town pump are listed.

Component 5 *Settlement along the north-western side of Holywell Street*

Early 19th century maps shown an area of properties of varying lengths extending along the north-western side of Holywell Street. The northern half of this area may have developed at a later date than the southern, as they do not share a common rear boundary. Senior's plan seems to indicate that the frontage in this area was not densely occupied in the early 17th century. The component included the eastern end of a ropewalk by 1876, by which time some plots had become more intensively developed. The whole area has been redeveloped as a garage, road and car park.

Component 6 *Settlement along the north-eastern side of Saltergate*

Originally a block of properties sharing a common rear boundary. A Friends' Meeting House was built along this rear boundary towards the western end of the component in 1697 with a burial ground in front of it. It was demolished in 1972 to make way for the Saltergate multi-storey car park and its site commemorated by a plaque. It is not clear what happened to the burials. The component also included six almshouses, endowed in 1668, and a steam-powered flour mill which was in use by 1876. Both sites now lie beneath a large open car park, as does the site of the Heathcotes' brass foundry which may have been present by the late 15th century. The family had a house and warehouse at 'Saltergate-head', either in this or the next component, with a workshop next door, where there was a bell foundry. It is believed the foundry ceased in the mid-17th century. The construction of both car parks has radically altered this area; however, a couple of 18th century buildings have survived at the western end.

Component 7 *Settlement at the junction of Saltergate and Holywell Street*

This area may have fronted onto the medieval weekday market or may even represent, at least in part, encroachment onto the market area. By the 19th century it was densely occupied and may have included the site of a brass foundry referred to in component 6 above. The whole component now lies beneath a car park.

Component 8 *Settlement block bounded by Saltergate north, the Market Place and West Bars south and Glumangate east*

Originally a block of long narrow burgage plots running back from the market place and from the eastern end of West Bars, the plots possibly having been laid out over open field strips. While the southern end of these plots would probably have been developed along with the new market place, it is not certain to what extent medieval development existed along the Saltergate frontage. Senior's map shows a single building to the west of Glumangate, although it is possible that this area was affected by decay and shrinkage in the 15th and 16th centuries. The earliest reference to Glumangate is 13th century (Cameron 1959) and its frontage may well have developed in the medieval period, with cottages standing only in very small plots. Senior's map indicates that by the early 17th century the Glumangate frontage was fully occupied. By the 18th century, and probably before, Angel Yard connected the inn on the market place with Saltergate, while Soresby Street was constructed at the beginning of the 19th century. Development along the latter included the Holy Trinity School in 1813 (demolished in the 1930s) and the Independent, later Congregational Chapel, surrounded on three sides by a small burial ground, in 1822, as well as a malthouse at the north-eastern end by 1876. A hat manufactory stood at the south-western end of the area in 1803, as did a malthouse in 1876. The component saw considerable redevelopment in the 20th century, including the construction of a new east/west road, Rose Hill, and an extensive area of car parking, although there has been some survival of 18th and 19th century buildings, including the chapel which is now listed.

Component 9 *Settlement block bounded by Saltergate and Holywell Street north, the Market Place and Knifesmith Gate south, Stephenson Place east and Glumangate west*

Originally an area of generally long narrow burgage plots with the main frontages along Saltergate/Holywell Street, High Street (High Pavement in 1803) and Knifesmith Gate. The earliest reference to Glumangate is 13th century (Cameron 1959) and its frontage may well have developed in the

medieval period, with cottages standing only in very small plots. Senior's map indicates that by the early 17th century the Glumangate frontage was fully occupied. Blanchard (1967) quotes a medieval document referring to the 'way from the weekday market to Knifesmithgate' suggesting a lane on the line of, or parallel to, modern Broad Pavement (known as Narrow Lane in the 18th century). In the early 19th century the south-eastern corner of the component, along the north-eastern side of Knifesmith Gate, was clear of buildings. The northern boundary of this open area, formed by the rear of plots along Holywell Street, was on approximately the same alignment as the northern boundary of the churchyard, although this may not be of any particular significance.

Two Roman coins were found in or near High Street, presumably in this area, in the early 19th century (SMR 3908; see section 5.2).

The north-eastern end of this component, at the corner of Stephenson Place and Holywell Street is said to be the site of a medieval chapel dedicated to St Thomas the Martyr (SMR 3922; see also section 5.4.7). The building, or part of it, survived into the post-medieval period, serving as a barn and cowhouse in the late 18th century. In 1838 it was converted into 'small dwellings' at which time a small gothic window apparently remained on the south side. It had been demolished by the end of the 19th century and the site was later occupied by Eyres store.

Development to the rear of the main frontages was already underway in the 17th century, as indicated by the construction in the early 1690s of the Elder Yard chapel (SMR 3924), the first dissenting chapel in Chesterfield, completed in 1694. The chapel was enlarged in 1823 and is now a Grade II* listed building. In 1831 two schoolrooms were erected on Saltergate at the entrance to the chapel grounds (SMR 3925). In 1846 a larger schoolroom was built over the two earlier small ones (Bestall 1978). A burial ground is attached to the chapel, the southern part of which, according to the listed building record, was being cleared in 1975.

A Town Hall was built in 1787-8 at the corner of Glumangate and the market place. It had a debtors' prison on the ground floor and a courthouse on the first floor. A Wesleyan Methodist chapel was built on Saltergate in 1795. It was considerably enlarged in 1822 but was replaced by the present building in 1870. By the 19th century the whole area had become densely occupied, with numerous courts, lanes and yards running back at right angles from the main roads. Larger buildings present by 1876 included a school behind the Methodist chapel, with a skating rink further south, the Victoria Foundry to the south of the Elder Yard chapel, and St George's Works (for 'aerated water') near the ice rink.

In the 20th century the character of the component was altered when Knifesmith Gate was widened and extended westwards, Elder Way being cut through to join the extended part of Knifesmith Gate with Saltergate.

Component 10 *Settlement block bounded by Knifesmith Gate north, Church Lane south and the churchyard east*

Originally an area of plots of varying length. Senior's map shows frontages fully developed along three sides of this block, with the exception of the eastern side, the northern part of which was undeveloped along its boundary with the churchyard while the southern part had a long single building fronting the small lane that used to lead from Church Lane to the churchyard. The component was bisected by Burlington Street in the 1830s, constructed as an alternative to the dog-leg formed as Knifesmithgate entered the market place.

Excavations in the Alpine Gardens at the south-eastern end of this area were first carried out by Lane in 1975 and more recently, in 2000, by the University of Manchester Archaeology Unit. Lane's Alpine Gardens excavations found an Iron Age ditch levelled and sealed during the Roman period (SMR 3966) as well as evidence of timber buildings of Roman date (SMR 3965) and medieval and post-medieval pottery of 14th to mid-18th century date (SMR 3964). The recent excavations uncovered features which included a robber trench possibly marking the line of a Roman wall. The site lay within the interior of the fort and

at least some of the features were tentatively interpreted as part of the commander's house (Connelly & Walker 2001).

Component 11 *Settlement block bounded by the churchyard north, Church Lane south and St Mary's Gate east*

This area forms a distinct component on Senior's plan of 1637, where it is shown as a block with buildings on all four sides, although possibly only the St Mary's Gate frontage was fully occupied. At least one building faced the south side of the churchyard, with a couple along Church Lane and along the small lane leading from there to the south-west corner of the churchyard. It appears that some or all of the chaplains associated with the various Chesterfield chantries lived in a house on the south side of the churchyard, still identified in the 18th century as the 'Chantry House'. The churchyard has been extended into the northern part of this area, while most of the original frontages have been destroyed through road widening.

A watching brief was carried out in this area in 1999, prior to expansion of the Slug and Fiddle public house (formerly Ye Olde Crooked Spire). A considerable depth of ground make-up was revealed, which overlay what appeared to be intact Roman features and deposits. These included a ditch, a considerable amount of Roman pottery and abundant charcoal. It was suggested that a Roman building had stood on the western part of the site. Medieval and post-medieval pottery was also recovered from the ground make-up layers (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2000).

Component 12 *Settlement block bounded by Church Lane and Church Way north, Vicar Lane south, St Mary's Gate east and Packer's Row west*

Originally an area of predominantly east-west plots fronting Packers' Row and St Mary's Gate with the vicarage and its garden between the two. Senior's plan indicates that only the western ends of Church Lane and Vicar Lane were occupied in the early 17th century, as most of these two frontages formed the boundaries of the vicarage garden. The vicarage itself stood on Vicar Lane. In 1632 it was described as a 'great old ruinous house' with twenty rooms in an acre and a half of land (Riden 1984a, 191), while an inventory of 1694 suggests it may have been rebuilt, as it referred to a hall, great parlour and kitchen on the ground floor and three chambers above them, also a cellar and a brewhouse. The north side of the house was rebuilt in 1739 and the garden was totally reformed between 1765 and 1781. In 1895 the vicarage was replaced by a new house on the Church Lane side of the plot (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

Archaeological work was carried out in this area prior to redevelopment in the 1970s and again more recently. Excavations in Church Lane in 1973 revealed Roman remains which included part of a cambered road aligned east-west, pottery and a ditch which had been filled in and an oven built on top (SMR 3967) as well as medieval and post-medieval pottery and other debris from demolished buildings of probable late 17th/early 18th century date (SMR 3963; Lane 1985). Excavations in the vicarage garden at around the same time produced evidence of Roman ditches thought to belong to a phase of the fort (SMR 3962).

In 1989 two evaluation trenches revealed post-medieval and late medieval deposits containing pottery and clay pipe sealing Roman layers which included pits, a ditch and coarseware pottery (SMR 3985). More extensive excavation in 1998 produced one body sherd of mid to late 1st century date possibly representing pre-Roman occupation. Roman period features dated from the Flavian through to the Trajanic Period and included possible early *vicus* building foundations, building remains which included a possible stable or storage area, a strip house (or more than one) and a large ditch, possibly the southern defensive ditch for the fort to the north. All the medieval remains found on the site appear to date from the 13th century. They consisted of a grouping of two kilns of unknown function and a simple timber building to the north of a modest linear boundary, and a post-mill to the south. These were not necessarily contemporary. The excavations indicated that the area remained the private domain of the vicar, despite being in the centre of an increasingly important market town. Most of the medieval activity which was uncovered was interpreted as possibly related to builders' yards associated with work on the adjacent church. Post-medieval remains included a cobbled surface, pits, wells and drains as well as the residual footings of two walls dating to the 16th century or later (Connelly & Walker 2001).

Component 13 Settlement block bounded by Vicar Lane north, Beetwell Street south, St Mary's Gate east and South Street west

Senior's map indicates that the developed frontages in this area were South Street, Beetwell Street and St Mary's Gate, with no buildings shown along the Vicar Lane frontage, suggesting it was not a main thoroughfare. It had become partly developed by the beginning of the 19th century, however, with buildings including the Victoria School, opened in 1845.

In advance of redevelopment four evaluation trenches were excavated in 1989 on the former omnibus station site (between Vicar Lane and Beetwell St). Two trenches proved to be sterile of archaeology prior to Georgian and Victorian deposits and even these were heavily disturbed by 20th century activity. A ditch was revealed in each of the other two trenches one of which contained Roman roofing tile. The ditches were interpreted as Roman 'of military style' (SMR 3984)

In July 1998 an evaluation was carried out within numbers 6-14 South Street prior to redevelopment. Two test trenches were dug, one of which revealed a section of wall and stratified occupational deposits containing medieval and Roman pottery sealed by a post-medieval layer. These deposits survived to a significant depth. The second trench revealed a layer of demolition rubble containing medieval pottery overlying a silt layer which contained Roman pottery. This silt layer sealed a feature cut into the bedrock and which may therefore be of pre-Roman origin (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 1998a). Later excavations on the same site uncovered a kiln which contained 14th century pottery, although carbon-14 dating suggested it was 16th century. There was also a series of ditches containing late 1st and early 2nd century pottery and a large ditch which contained Roman pottery as well as pottery of possible Anglo-Saxon date (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001).

Component 14 Settlement along the southern side of Low Pavement and Central Pavement

Originally a block of long narrow plots fronting the southern side of the market place and running back down to the River Hipper. Senior's plan indicates that the western side of South Street was also fully developed by the early 17th century. Wheeldon Lane, which bisects the component from north to south and crosses the Hipper, is not shown by Senior, although it probably represents the medieval *Steppeston Lane*. Over the course of the 19th century the long narrow plots became increasingly built up, with rows of small houses and workshops extending back along yards, in some cases right down to the river.

Senior's plan shows the House of Correction, erected at the south-eastern corner of this area in 1614 'in a low damp situation' and which continued to exist until the 19th century. Other buildings erected on the same tenement, known as the Cockpit tenement as it had a cockpit when it was acquired by the burgesses, included a Council House of 1617, a theatre, and the parish workhouse. The Council House was replaced in 1847 by a new Municipal Hall. This was later used as a courthouse but was demolished in the 20th century for road widening (Bestall 1978). A bowling green lay to the south of the Municipal Hall and the theatre to the north. The two buildings have been demolished, but the bowling green survives and is still in use. The workhouse was built in 1734, its design probably based on its Mansfield counterpart. It was described at the end of the 18th century as being in a good situation and as 'clean and sufficiently spacious'. A small adjoining building acted as an infirmary. In 1840, the workhouse became redundant and was converted into cottages and leased out. These survived until 1957 when they were demolished. A chapel immediately south of the bowling green was used by the Baptists in 1817 and enlarged in 1821, although due to financial problems it closed and had been transferred to the Arminian Methodists by 1833 (Bestall & Fowkes 1984). It was in use by the Congregationalists in the 1850s. Further west, the Independents erected a Meeting House in Froggatts Yard in 1778, which they used until 1822 (Hall 1823).

The area along the river may have been used for industrial purposes from an early period. For example, there is a reference of 1619 to a messuage and tanyard near West Bars. Riden (1984b) suggests that there was a tannery on the river towards the western end of this block at that time, while premises towards the southern end of the Cockpit tenement were used at one time as drying and tenter grounds (Riden 1984a).

Later industry included an iron foundry, slaughterhouses, the Victoria Flour Mills (1876 OS map), a tobacco works on Wheeldon Lane where horse power was employed for turning grinding wheels (Bestall 1978) and two textile mills, Holland's Lace Mill at the bottom of Froggatt's Yard and Waterhouse's Lace Mill (*Chesterfield Scenes of Yesterday* 1974). The Wheeldon Lane area was known as 'Dog Kennels' and in 1890 it was noted that it was an area that should be condemned as many of the houses were unsanitary, overcrowded and generally unfit for habitation (Wright 1992).

Redevelopment took place in the 20th century, beginning with slum clearance in the 1920s. The area on the south side of the market place was extensively redeveloped as a shopping centre in the late 1970s, which involved retaining the Low Pavement frontage but demolishing large areas to the rear of the buildings. Surviving buildings include 45 Low Pavement (SMR 3904), the old Falcon Inn (SMR 3956) and the old Peacock Inn, now a tourist information centre (SMR 3905). New Beetwell Street now bisects the component from east to west, new north-south roads have replaced Wheeldon Lane and the Hipper has been straightened.

Early evidence of archaeological material from this area comes in the form of two 'Roman urns' found during excavations for the foundations of buildings on the south side of the market place (SMR 3960). More recently, archaeological work included excavations undertaken under one of the floors of the old Peacock Inn and in the yard. Earlier floor layers and hearths were uncovered within the building, with evidence of possibly two earlier buildings on the site, the second of which was of stone and was in occupation by the late 13th century. This was probably demolished in the late 15th century when the present timber-framed structure was built. A stone-lined cess pit contemporary with the stone house was excavated in the back yard. Residual sherds of three Romano British vessels were found in the excavations, which also yielded 13th-15th century and post-medieval pottery sherds (Borne *et al* 1978). Riden (1984b) carried out further work on the documentary side, and suggested that the Peacock Inn had in fact been a town house built by the Revell family who were prospering in the late 15th century as lead merchants.

Excavations carried out in 1995 prior to the construction of a retail park included part of the site of the former House of Correction; however, the only possible evidence for this was some remnants of sandstone walling seen in the bottom of a trench. The presence of a substantial depth of modern material dumped in order to raise the ground level across the area occupied by the new retail building indicated that intact river deposits could still be preserved beneath the modern development (Northamptonshire Archaeology 1997). A more recent watching brief carried out prior to an extension to the retail park in 2001 did not reveal any further evidence of the House of Correction (Northamptonshire Archaeology 2002).

Component 15 *Settlement along the southern side of Beetwell Street and the south-western side of Lordsmill Street*

Originally an area of long narrow plots running back from Beetwell Street to the Hipper and of plots extending back from Lordsmill Street. A couple of tenements referred to in medieval documents which had Soutergate (now Lordsmill Street in this area) at one end and the Hipper at the other end presumably ran back from the street to a north-south meander (Blanchard 1967).

Senior's map of 1637, albeit schematic, suggests that the southern side of the Beetwell Street frontage was more open than the Lordsmill Street frontage, as he shows the houses spaced apart rather than as a solid row. He also shows a building marked 'old hall' at the westernmost end of Beetwell Street. This was photographed before demolition in the 1880s and was a stone-built hall house, probably of the 12th century. In the post-medieval period it was used as a workshop for a dyer and bleacher (Riden 1984a).

The area was probably one of relatively high medieval industrial activity, in particular dyeing and tanning. One tenement was still in use by dyers in the early 18th century, when the site contained a press-house, calendar-house, dyehouse, warehouse and a fulling mill. This may have been on the site of the later silk mill (see below). In addition, there is some evidence for other dyers and clothworkers along the Hipper (Riden 1984a). In the 18th and 19th centuries there were tanneries on the roughly triangular piece of

ground bounded by Lordsmill Street, Beetwell Street and the Hipper, and it is highly probable that the area was used by the industry in the medieval period also.

Plots became increasingly densely occupied over the course of the 19th century. Buildings in 1876 included a Primitive Methodist Chapel built in 1848, a cotton mill (later a shoe factory), a tannery, gas works and Hipper Street School, opened in 1873. The area was crossed by the Brampton branch of the Midland Railway in 1870, by the side of which a large flour mill had been built by the end of the 19th century. The area has seen considerable redevelopment and is now crossed by several large roads. Surviving buildings include no. 9 Beetwell Street (SMR 3972), a two-storey late 16th/early 17th century listed building with a facade of roughcast render, and with later additions and alterations.

The earliest definite reference to the silk mill (SMR 3919, 3980) is in 1786 when it is referred to in the land tax assessments, although a datestone of 1759 is said to have been incorporated into the building (Bestall & Fowkes 1984). There is a reference in 1795 to the Silk Mill Bridge being in a ruinous condition. The silk mill itself was in use as such until the 1870s. It was then used for a variety of purposes, including a fishing tackle factory, lamp wick making and later for boot and shoe manufacture before being demolished in September 1967. A complete survey of the building was carried out prior to its demolition, together with an excavation under its lowest floor to determine the position and dimensions of the water wheel which had provided its power until the late 19th century. The stone-lined wheel pit was completely excavated and the wheel size and water levels determined. An earlier phase was recognized, proving that the original water wheel had been undershot and later replaced by a low breast wheel. The work was undertaken during a Summer School course in industrial archaeology organized by the University of Nottingham.

Archaeological work carried out prior to the construction of a retail park in 1997 in the area of the silk mill found that made-up ground overlay the former course of the River Hipper and that ‘the former river channel must therefore survive beneath the modern development’. Excavation of a sewer-pipe trench across the former course of the river to the south of the silk mill had resulted in the recovery of four substantial wooden planks, possibly relating to a sluice. It appears that the full ground plan of the silk mill is preserved below the modern development. The presence of a substantial depth of modern material dumped in order to raise the ground level across the area occupied by the new retail building indicated that intact river deposits may still be preserved beneath the modern development (Northamptonshire Archaeology 1997). A more recent watching brief carried out prior to an extension to the retail park in 2001 did not reveal any further evidence of the mill (Northamptonshire Archaeology 2002).

Component 16 *Possible green*

Senior’s plan of 1637 shows the road widening considerably in this area, suggestive of a peripheral green. Assuming the plan to be correct, and early 19th century plot boundaries suggest it was, buildings were later constructed over the green, possibly originally as encroachments, with the line of Lordsmill Street becoming confined to the eastern side of the green. It is worth noting that recent archaeological investigation of the area to the east led to the suggestion that the medieval frontage in this area may have lain further west than the later line of Lordsmill Street (Foundations Archaeology 1999). Part of a tannery lay at the southern end of the area in 1876, by which time the component was crossed by the Brampton branch of the Midland Railway. Most of the area now lies below roads and a roundabout.

Component 17 *The Lord’s mill*

The medieval manorial corn mill is thought to have stood in this area. Accounts of the bailiff of the lordship of Chesterfield for 1474, record nothing being collected for the water mill (assumed to be the lord’s mill) because it was ‘ruinous and thrown to the ground’ (Bestall 1974, 90). Senior’s plan shows a single building standing on what is presumably a leat on the northern side of a meander in the river, similar to the later mill. Leases summarised in the catalogue of Portland papers at Nottinghamshire Archives include one of 1681 which records three water wheels at the lord’s mill. A lease of 1706 states that the lessee is to repair the mill and convert it into a walk mill by 1708. An increasing number of buildings were constructed around the mill. In 1876 they included a tannery and the Hipper Works (leather and glue).

There was also a gas works at the western end of the area by 1876, with a single gasometer, lime house, purifying house and retort house. The course of the river has been straightened and much of the site now lies below modern roads.

Component 18 *Lordsmill Bridge and St Mary's chantry chapel* (SMR 3944)

The main medieval road out of Chesterfield is believed to have crossed the Hipper in approximately this area, probably following the line of Ryknield Street. A chantry chapel stood immediately on the southern side of the bridge. It was founded by Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury in 1446 in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed and Glorious Virgin Mary. An isolated building shown in this position on Senior's map of 1637 is assumed to represent the chapel, the north wall of which was still standing in 1777, when it was described as 'built of good hewn stone'. There had been a mutilated stone with an image of St James on the opposite side of the road, which had been removed by 1777 and the wooden rail to the bridge replaced by a wall (Bestall 1974). The presence of other buildings to the south of the bridge is indicated by a document referring to a burgage lying beyond Soutergate Bridge between two other tenements (Blanchard 1967), although it is not clear where these were in relation to the chapel. A pinfold stood in this area in 1876. The site now lies under a roundabout.

Component 19 *(South-eastern end of Lordsmill Street)*

It is not certain to what extent and in what way this end of Lordsmill Street was developed in the medieval period, although excavations have clearly indicated some form of medieval activity (see below). Being peripheral to the core of the town, it may have experienced a degree of decay and shrinkage in the 14th and 15th centuries. By the early 17th century, there were no buildings along the street frontage, according to Senior's plan of 1637, which shows a large open field marked 'maister Ralf Clarks close'. At some point the field is said to have been known as Dean's Yard. This was later erroneously called Danes' Yard and as such was believed in the later 19th century to have been the site of a battle between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes (SMR 3929). Riden (1984a) suggests it may have been the site of the Dean of Lincoln's manorial *curia*.

A Roman coin of Maximian found 'at the bottom of Lordsmill Street' in 1836 (SMR 3909) may have come from this area.

Although the stream which forms the eastern boundary of this component was known in the 18th century as Tanners Brook (Riden 1984a), there is no evidence at present for any tanneries. By the end of the 19th century the component was crossed by the main Midland railway line, the Brampton branch and the Great Central. The only building stood at the north-western corner of the area. The site was redeveloped in 1999. At that time, excavations revealed evidence of both prehistoric and medieval activity. A series of pit-like features were found to contain a total of 391 worked lithic artefacts, most chert, of Later Mesolithic date. The amount of worked material indicated that it was *in situ* rather than residual. One interpretation is that it represents a seasonal hunting camp (SMR 3990). Medieval features also consisted of a number of pits, at least some of which may represent working hollows for a variety of activities. Pottery recovered from the features indicated the majority were of 13th century date, with a single pit datable to the 15th-16th century (Foundations Archaeology 1999). The pottery evidence could suggest a period of abandonment.

Component 20 *Settlement along the north-eastern side of Lordsmill Street*

In the medieval period, a block of long narrow properties with plot boundaries running back from Lordsmill Street (originally Soutergate) to a stream depicted on Senior's map of 1637 and Potter's map of 1803 and known as Tanners Brook in the 18th century, although no tanners are known in this area before the 19th century (Riden 1984a). Senior shows the Lordsmill Street frontage to have been fully occupied. In the second half of the 19th century the component was bisected by Dixon's Road running east-west, on the south-eastern side of which lay a large tannery. A school stood towards the eastern end of Hollis Lane in 1876 and there was a Public Baths in Bath Place, towards the north-western corner of this component. By the end of the century the Chesterfield Loop of the Great Central Railway crossed the middle of the

area from south to north, entering a tunnel at Hollis Lane. Most of the southern and eastern parts of this area have given way to 20th century roads and a large roundabout.

A Roman coin of Maximian found ‘at the bottom of Lordsmill Street’ in 1836 (SMR 3909) may have come from this area.

Fowkes (2000) recorded the survival of a small one/two storey mid-19th century factory building, brick with a slate roof and a truncated brick chimney. In 1999 it was ‘Evans Glass and Windows’. Its original function was not known.

Prior to the construction of a hotel at the southern end of this component, evaluation and excavation took place in 1999 (SMR 3989). Medieval features mainly comprised a series of pits consistent with backland occupation. These pits varied from simple earthcut features to substantial clay-lined features and it was suggested that at least some of these represented working hollows for a variety of activities rather than cess or rubbish pits. Environmental samples from several pits indicated charred cereal remains indicative of domestic waste disposal. The pottery assemblage was mainly of 13th century date, with a few earlier features of the 12th century. Apart from two postholes, no convincing evidence of structures of any date was found (Foundations Archaeology 1999).

Component 21 Settlement block bounded by Spa Lane north and east, Hollis Lane south and St Mary’s Gate west

Originally a block of properties with the main frontage along St Mary’s Gate. Some of the medieval plots may have run the full length of this area back to a green and a stream shown on Senior’s map of 1637 and Potter’s map of 1803. Senior’s map indicates that at least one building had been erected on Spa Lane, towards its western end, by the second quarter of the 17th century and also seems to suggest that Spa Lane was the main east-west route rather than Hollis Lane, which appears to have had a more restricted junction with St Mary’s Gate. Paul and William Robinson, potters and white clay tobacco pipe makers are thought to have had a pottery near Spa Lane in about 1750 (Lane 1985) which may, therefore, have been in this component. Generally this area remained relatively open until the second half of the 19th century. By 1876 the eastern half had been infilled with streets and houses and a brewery stood in the centre of the component. In the 20th century the easternmost end was destroyed by the construction of a dual carriageway. Surviving buildings along St Mary’s Gate include no. 42, a five-bay three-storeyed brick house of mid 18th century date with stone dressings and quoins (SMR 3976).

An excavation and watching brief were undertaken on a plot of land at the corner of Spa Lane and St Mary’s Gate in 2000. Part of the site had been destroyed by a 19th century cellar; however in another part of the site it was found that archaeologically significant features had survived beneath services and levelling material, cut into the sandstone bedrock. These features included several cuts containing Roman pottery and a large Roman ditch. Medieval material included 13th/14th century pottery and a 15th century compact surface. Two wells were uncovered during the watching brief. Work suggested that further substantial archaeological deposits could survive in this area (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 2001).

Component 22 Settlement block bounded by Station Back Lane north, Spa Lane south, Station Road east and St Mary’s Gate west

Originally a block of long narrow plots with boundaries running back from a frontage on St Mary’s Gate to a back lane, now part of Station Road but shown as Back Lane on early 19th century maps and possibly identifiable with *rectro manum* in 1306 and *by Hindehand* in 1314 (Cameron 1959). Secondary development was already taking place along this back lane in the medieval period (Riden 1984a). Senior’s map of 1637 shows buildings along what is now Station Back Lane and partly along Station Road. Paul and William Robinson, potters and white clay tobacco pipe makers are thought to have had a pottery near Spa Lane in about 1750 (Lane 1985) which may, therefore, have been in this component. The southern half of the Station Road frontage remained relatively open until the second half of the 19th century. Plots

became increasingly intensively occupied over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. However, development in the second half of the 20th century has removed all trace of the long narrow plots. Surviving buildings include no. 2 St Mary's Gate, a two-storey, early 17th century building (SMR 3975).

An excavation was carried out at Swan Yard in 1965 as a holiday project for Chesterfield College of Art students. The trench revealed evidence of 19th century terraced housing, a 17th century house and a range of pottery, possibly from the 13th century onwards (Crowe 1966). Development in this area in the 1970s led to three excavations being carried out, Swan Yard in 1974, Station Road in 1975 and Spa Lane in 1976, some of the findings of which have been published by Courtney (1975) and Ellis (1989). Excavations at Swan Yard yielded several flint implements (SMR 3901), while a small flint knife or scraper was recovered from Spa Lane (SMR 3942). Roman period remains included a possible timber structure, a later stone-founded building and a furnace with crucible fragments from Swan Yard (SMR 3902), fragments of three 'barrack-like' buildings with timber-framed walls from a site on Station Road (SMR 3961) and kilns and a well of possible 2nd century date from a site at the corner of Station Road and Spa Lane (SMR 3968). Current thinking suggests the area may have been part of an annexe or *vicus* to the east of the Roman fort (Connelly & Walker 2001).

Ellis (1989) notes that medieval and post-medieval levels were recorded at all three sites, with major sequences (including a medieval ditch which may represent part of the town's defences (SMR 3978), medieval industrial and mining features and post-medieval buildings) particularly apparent at the Swan Yard and Station Road sites. These later levels have not been fully published. However, medieval remains at Swan Yard consisted of several phases of occupation which included 11th century pits containing coarse Saxon-Norman ware and 'Developed' Stamford Ware of possible 12th century date, an undated circular oven of sandstone blocks and two successive stone buildings, one possibly of the 13th/14th century, the second of the 15th century which may have survived until the 18th century (SMR 3903).

Component 23 *Block bounded by Spa Lane south, Mill Street east and Station Road west*

Although included as a medieval component, the nature of this area in the medieval and post-medieval periods is unclear at present. Senior's map of 1637 depicts it only as 'Fre Land', indicating that it did not form part of the Earl of Newcastle's estate. Some development had taken place along the Station Road frontage by the early 19th century, but the component only really became developed in the later 19th century. The whole area was redeveloped in the 20th century.

Excavations took place at the southern end of this area in the 1970s, the site being referred to as Station Road 1976-8. Possible pre-Roman features were interpreted as pit-cutting or extraction of surface coal. Roman features included a length of ditch and rampart, a later phase ditch, a section of gravel road, possible evidence of timber buildings and evidence of intense industrial activity, with dumps of material possibly representing furnace rake-out. (Ellis 1989) The existence of medieval and post-medieval levels is implied by Ellis (1989) but no details are given.

Component 24 *Settlement along the north-eastern side of Tapton Lane*

Although there is no evidence on historic maps for typically medieval plot boundaries in this area (indeed the topography might preclude it), some early settlement could be expected, given that Tapton Lane formed one of the main routes north from the town, possibly following the line of Ryknield Street, and also given the proximity of the church. Senior's plan indicates that there was a row of buildings along the southern half of the Tapton Lane frontage in the early 17th century. By the early 19th century there was a large house opposite to the eastern end of Holywell Street, with other buildings including a stable and coachhouse and with grounds extending down the hillside. The terrier accompanying Potter's map of 1803 notes that three houses had until a short time before stood at the south-western end of this component, but had been demolished to form part of a kitchen garden and pleasure grounds. The mansion was pulled down in the 1870s prior to the making of Corporation Street and the erection of the Stephenson Memorial Hall. By the end of the century, Felkin Street and Theatre Lane had been laid out and buildings erected along them. Much of the northern part of the area now forms a car park. An archaeological assessment

was carried out prior to the development of the car park (Archaeological Investigations Ltd 2000) but in the absence at present (March 2002) of a written report on excavations subsequently undertaken, it is not known whether archaeological remains were recovered from this particular area.

Component 25 *Settlement block bounded by Durrant Road north-east, Holywell Street north-west and south-west and Tapton Lane south-east*

Originally a block of long narrow medieval plots with boundaries running back from Holywell Street to part of Durrant Lane, shown as Back Lane or Well Lane on Potter's map of 1803. The Holywell Street frontage is depicted as densely occupied on Senior's map of 1637, with a few buildings also extending along Tapton Lane. Running parallel with Back Lane, Senior shows two parallel lines running up to a possible gable end at the corner of Back Lane and Tapton Lane. It is not known what this is meant to represent. At its north-western end, this component was bounded in 1637 by Durrant Green and it is possible that buildings shown along the north-western margin of this area were originally encroachments along the edge of the green. Potter's map of 1803 indicates one or possibly two encroachments in Back Lane also. By 1837 Devonshire Street had been cut through the western end of the area. The component became increasingly intensively occupied over the course of the 19th century. The schedule accompanying the tithe map of 1849 shows that buildings at that time included a school, a steam mill, a drying ground, and a malthouse in addition to houses, stables and piggeries (Archaeological Investigations Ltd 2000).

A large part of this area was redeveloped in 2001, prior to which archaeological excavation took place. Significant deposits survived in the middle of the site, the rest of which had been disturbed by later terracing. A Roman period ditch was found following the contour, off which a smaller ditch ran at right angles. This was interpreted as a subdivided Romano-British enclosure on the side of the hill. Medieval material included the base of a rectangular drying kiln re-used as a cess-pit in an area interpreted as having formed the rear of medieval plots (no medieval plot boundaries were identified). Pottery was of possible 13th to 15th century date. Post-medieval material included industrial period kiln bases, possibly representing something like iron smelting on terraces on the side of the hill. These are still *in situ* below a car park (A Boucher pers. comm.).

Component 26 *Settlement along the north-eastern side of Holywell Street and the south-eastern side of Sheffield Road*

Although historic maps show no evidence of typical medieval plots boundaries in this area, settlement could well have extended from Durrant Road to St Helen's chapel, with plots possibly being abandoned in the 14th and 15th centuries at a time when the population declined. Senior's map indicates that by the early 17th century several buildings had been constructed along this stretch of road although there is little evidence for these on 19th century maps, when much of the area was taken up by Holywell House and its gardens. At the southern end of the component, Senior shows 'Durant greene', an approximately rectangular open space on one side of which several buildings are depicted. One of these probably represents Durrant Hall, recorded as having 31 hearths in 1664, which early 19th century maps show to have stood back from the road with gardens in front. However, a plan of 1666 indicates that the 17th century house stood closer to the main road, with an orchard and 'walk' to the rear. A number of other buildings are also shown, one of which was probably a dovecote. Durrant Hall was demolished soon after 1846 and in 1859 the first buildings of the Royal Hospital were erected on the site. Further demolition of buildings took place in the 20th century. Some buildings currently (March 2002) appear derelict.

Component 27 *St Helen's chapel (SMR 3926, SMR 3927) and the Holy Well*

The chapel of the medieval guild of St Helen stood in this area, the cult of St Helen being commonly found in towns with Roman associations. Although the guild itself is not known to have continued beyond the end of the 14th century, the chapel survived into the 16th century, possibly serving as a small chantry chapel. Upon the establishment of a free grammar school under letters patent of Queen Elizabeth in April 1598, the old chapel was adapted for use as a school. The building was demolished in 1710 and a new school built. The school later declined and was shut for some years after 1832. It was re-established in

1843 and a new school was built in 1846 (component 57) to the north of the old building of 1710, which was demolished. In the second half of the 19th century the site formed part of the playground of the later school. A 20th century building on the site is currently (March 2002) boarded up.

The chapel school cannot be distinguished on Senior's plan of 1637 from other buildings shown along the eastern side of the road. Potter's plan of Chesterfield shows a well at the north-western boundary of the schoolyard, marked as 'Holy Well', and also a building on the northern side of the school, included in this area. The existence of a holy well is recorded in 1196, from which *Haliwellegate*, recorded in the 13th century, takes its name. It is not known whether the identification of the well in the schoolyard as the medieval holy well is correct, but it seems likely, given the known presence of a medieval chapel on the site.

Component 28 Bishop's mill

The bishop's mill stood on the river Rother to the east of the Midland Railway station until the 19th century when Bishop's Mill Lane for part of its length was superseded by Station Road. Buildings on the site in 1876 included an engine house. Bestall suggests the mill may have been included in the original grant of the church to the bishop of Lincoln in 1093, as it passed to the dean soon after this time. Presumably the tenants of the rectory manor were obliged to take their corn to this mill – however, nothing is known of the later medieval history of the mill. Its site has been lost in modern times as a result of the diversion of the course of the Rother and subsequent industrial development in the river valley.

Component 29 Spital Green

Spital Green extended from the bottom of Hollis Lane and Spa Lane to the Rother, including Tanner's Brook at its western end. Blanchard (1967) quotes a medieval reference to 'Reynulf's bridge' which lay on the road to St Leonard's and presumably therefore crossed either the brook or, more likely, the Rother. The exact line of both watercourses in the medieval period is unknown. Potter's map of 1803 clearly indicates that the road across the green was unfenced at that time and shows a bridge across Tanner's Brook towards the western end of the green, with an adjacent building. It also shows a spring, possibly within a structure, on the western side of the brook. The 1826 map suggests that enclosures on the northern side of Hollis Lane originated as encroachments onto the green. Spital bridge across the Rother was rebuilt in 1832, the old one having been partially washed away by a flood (Ford 1839). The area was later crossed by the Midland Railway.

Component 30 St Leonard's Hospital

This component represents the approximate site of St Leonard's hospital for lepers, the exact site being unknown. The hospital is said to have been in existence by 1171, with a reference of 1195 making it clear that it was founded as a leper hospital. The hospital chapel was repaired in the first half of the 13th century, as indicated by a grant from Henry III which provided oaks for the purpose. The hospital was dissolved in c. 1547. A document in Nottinghamshire Archives records the sale in 1590 of the 'free chapel or hospital of St Leonard's' together with all its property (information from the catalogue of Portland papers). Later leases refer to a farm called Spittle.

One supposed tradition connected with the hospital has the religious buildings 'on the site of the present Spital House' and the hospital proper 'some little distance away' occupying the piece of ground later covered by the cemetery lodge (on the southern side of the road):

'Certainly an ancient building which was known by the name of the old Leper House was pulled down about 1857 when the cemetery was formed. It had for some little time previously been used as a cotton-doubling works' (Jacques 1911, who includes a sketch of the building prior to its demolition).

Senior's map depicts a quadrangular block of buildings on the northern side of the road which is marked 'SPITTLE', as well as an unmarked building on the southern side of the road. The latter, as noted above, was replaced by the cemetery lodge in the second half of the 19th century. By the late 20th century the northern site was occupied by a large modern brick house. A row of cottages and outbuildings at its rear were found to have stone rubble walling but no remains of the hospital could be identified (SMR 3928).

In June 2000, during some landscaping work in a garden on the northern side of the road in this area, a burial structure was uncovered which contained the skeleton of an adult male. The body had been buried with a paten and probably also a chalice, indicating he may have been a priest. A substantial, albeit truncated, wall was located on the same east-west alignment as the burial and tentatively identified as part of the southern wall of a chapel within which the body had been buried. Radiocarbon dating of a bone sample provided a date range of the 11th to the 13th century, most probably falling between the late 12th and the early 13th century (Witkin 2000).

6.2 Post-medieval components

Twelve components have been tentatively identified as belonging to the post-medieval period and are shown on figure 4. Their identification is based mainly on plan form analysis and comparison of historic maps, particularly using Senior's map of 1637 and Potter's map of 1803.

Component 31 Lime kiln, Sheffield Road

A lime kiln is shown at approximately this site on Potter's map of 1803 and is assumed to have been present in the late 18th century. The site now lies below buildings.

Component 32 Settlement along the north-western side of Sheffield Road

Several buildings are shown on Potter's map of 1803 set in short broad plots, indicating they may have originated as roadside encroachments. One is described in the schedule as 'newly erected'; the others may have had earlier origins. A large group of buildings at the northern end of the component is described as 'dwelling house, pottery, stables, yard and garden'. It is possible that this is the pottery referred to in 1657 as 'the Potthouse beneath the Chappel Schole' (see section 5.5.8). The majority of buildings in this area had gone by 1876 and none now survive above ground.

Component 33 Coal pit

A coal pit is shown at approximately this site on Potter's map of 1803 and is assumed to have been present in the late 18th century. A road shown on the same map joining Sheffield Road on the same line as the later St Helen's Street and marked as 'road from Mr Jebb's colliery' may have led from this pit towards the canal wharf. The pit now lies under late 19th century development.

Component 34 Toll House, Newbold Road

A toll house was here by 1803, and presumably before the end of the 18th century, controlling the turnpike road running into Chesterfield from Newbold. It was demolished prior to the construction of the Union Workhouse which opened in 1840.

Components 35 & 36 Development around the junction of Newbold Road and Sheffield Road

Senior's plan suggests there was settlement along Sheffield Road just beyond its junction with Newbold Road in the early 17th century, although the area is at the very limit of his plan. By the beginning of the 19th century, development had spread along the Newbold Road frontage also. Component 35 included a malthouse in 1898 (and probably long before), while component 36 included a malthouse at its north-

eastern corner by 1876. Component 35 has been redeveloped; however a few 19th century (or earlier) houses survive in component 36.

Component 37 ‘Brickyard Row’

At least one long building or terraced row was already present in this area by 1803 and is assumed to have had its origins in the 18th century. The map of 1826 shows further buildings and a small pond. Later 19th century maps have Brickyard Walk running up to and into this area, as well as a terrace of houses called Brickyard Row, suggesting it may have been the site of a brickyard. The area was redeveloped in the 20th century.

Component 38 Settlement along the north-western side of Saltergate

Senior’s plan indicates that some development had spread along Saltergate by the early 17th century, but his depiction - probably schematic - of just a couple of houses with considerable space between them, suggests it was still relatively open. Potter’s map indicates that the frontage was more fully developed by the end of the 18th century/beginning of the 19th. The component included a Free United Methodist Church on Marsden Street by 1876, with a Sunday School opposite, and part of a timber yard with travelling crane. There has been some survival of 18th and 19th century buildings in this area, including the chapel and a monumental red brick terrace block of late 18th century date (SMR 3950), as well as the narrow lane at the eastern end which separates this component from component 6. However, the western third of the area is now occupied by the 20th century building housing Derbyshire Dales District Council offices.

Component 39 Rose Hill and West House

Two large Georgian houses, like country houses but within the borough, stood in this area, with relatively extensive gardens, orchards, greenhouses and other outbuildings. In the north-eastern part of the component was an area known as Spring Gardens in the 19th century, with a few buildings along Saltergate by 1803. These buildings and the two large houses have been demolished and replaced by the Town Hall, opened in 1938, and the Magistrates Court, together with landscaping and car parks.

Component 40 Settlement at the western end of West Bars

Nothing appears to be shown on Senior’s plan of Chesterfield in this area in the early 17th century. By the end of the 18th century a number of buildings had been constructed on either side of the road, possibly originally as encroachments on an area of waste at the edge of the borough near Wheat Bridge in response to the industrial development taking place just to the west. The rather haphazard collection of buildings shown on Potter’s map of 1803 on the southern side of the road appears to have been replaced in the first half of the 19th century by a curving terrace of small houses. A pinfold stood on the northern side of the road in the later 18th century, as shown on Potter’s map. The whole area has been redeveloped, with much of it now lying beneath a roundabout.

Component 41 Buildings towards the south-eastern end of West Bars

A couple of small buildings are shown in this area on Potter’s map of 1803 and are therefore assumed to have an 18th century or earlier origin. It is not known whether they were dwellings or outhouses/barns. They were demolished to make way for a railway station at the end of the 19th century.

Component 42 Building at the corner of Spa Lane and Mill Street

A building is shown here on Potter’s map of 1803 and is assumed to have had 18th century or earlier origins. The building no longer survives and the site has since been redeveloped.

6.3 19th century components

Twenty-four components have been identified for the 19th century and are shown on figure 5. Their identification is based on a comparison of early 19th century maps with OS maps of 1898.

Component 43 *Lancashire, Derbyshire and East Coast Railway*

Only the Lincoln to Chesterfield section of this railway was completed, with the line being opened in 1897. The western terminus was constructed at West Bars, and included Chesterfield Market Place Station, a goods shed and an extensive area of sidings. The railway went out of use in 1957 and the site was redeveloped in 1963. Further redevelopment took place in the late 1990s, prior to which an archaeological impact assessment was carried out. The ground originally sloped down to the river and the assessment showed that a significant amount of levelling through the import of material, possibly colliery waste, had been necessary to construct the large goods yard. Geotechnical borehole reports carried out in 1996 indicated that the ‘made ground’ varied in depth from 4m to 6.4m. It was also suggested that open cast coal working had taken place on the site at some point in the past (AOC (Archaeology) Ltd 1996).

Component 44 *Development at Wheat Bridge*

Several buildings stood at the junction of Boythorpe Lane and Old Road by 1876, including a short terrace of houses called Forge Terrace. The site now forms part of a roundabout.

Component 45 *Development between Saltergate and West Bars*

This area formed part of open parkland associated with West House for most of the 19th century. However, by 1898 a grid of roads had been laid out, lined mainly with houses, the majority of which still survive.

Components 46-48 *Development between West Street, Cross Street and Newbold Road*

Streets lined with a variety of houses had been constructed in this area by the end of the 19th century; these ranged from detached villas in moderately sized gardens to rows of terraced housing. The majority of these houses survive, as does a Roman Catholic church on Spencer Street, opened in 1854 with a school being built next to it in 1865. The lines of earlier field boundaries are occasionally fossilised in back garden boundaries, for example those to the rear of properties along Cobden Road.

Component 49 *Recreation Ground*

The Recreation Ground was initially used for a variety of sports, including football and cricket from at least 1870. It became home to Chesterfield Football Club in 1884. The existing main (East) stand was built in 1936 (SMR 3981).

Component 50 *Development along the north-western side of Saltergate*

Some buildings were already present in this area by 1826. Map evidence suggests these had been altered or rebuilt, and others added, by 1858. At least a couple of the mid-19th century buildings appear to have survived, although the eastern end of the component was cut through by St Margaret’s Drive in the 20th century.

Component 51 *Development at ‘Westpool’*

Buildings and a large pond were already present in the northern half of this area by 1826 and it is possible that they had their origins in the post-medieval period (Potter’s map of 1803 does not provide detail for this area). Later 19th century maps indicate the pond had gone by 1876, although other buildings, shown to be a pair of semi-detached houses, Westpool Villas, and a terrace of small houses, Westpool Place, were still

present. It is not known whether the pond was ornamental or whether it originally was part of a brickyard, as the component was bounded on its northern side in the later 19th century by Brickyard Walk. By 1876 a ropewalk ran along the south-eastern side of the component. The area was redeveloped in the 20th century and now includes roads, carparking areas and a health centre.

Component 52 *Union Workhouse/Scarsdale Hospital*

The Union Workhouse was opened in 1840 in Newbold Road following the establishment of the Chesterfield Union for Poor Law administration in 1837. It was built to house 300 inmates. The building was later incorporated into the Scarsdale Hospital. A watching brief was carried out between July and November 2001 during the redevelopment of the hospital site for new residential dwellings and the renovation of existing buildings. These included the original core of the workhouse and a former Social Services office of 1895, both listed. No significant archaeological features were exposed; the only find was a dump of modern pottery (John Samuels Archaeological Consultants 2002). It was found that the site had been heavily disturbed by modern construction and the only information gained regarding the workhouse was that the demolished wings were not tied in to the first phase foundations.

Component 53 *Development between Saltergate and Newbold Road*

An area of mixed development including, in 1876, gardens apparently belonging to the workhouse, the county constabulary station, part of a ropewalk which extended into component 5 and part of a timber yard with travelling crane, steam saw and planing mills which extended into component 38. A few 19th century buildings survive in the western half of area, as does the timber yard with part of the structure of the travelling crane. The eastern half has been redeveloped.

Component 54 *Trinity Church and churchyard*

Trinity Church had been built on Newbold Road by 1837. A rectory was built in the north-western corner of the same plot soon afterwards. The rectory has recently been demolished and a new one is under construction (in March 2002). Two Roman ‘urns’ were found in the churchyard in the late 19th century (SMR 3912; see section 5.2).

Component 55 *Development between Sheffield Road and Newbold Road*

Some buildings had already been constructed at the southern end of this area on the north side of the junction of St Helen’s Street and Sheffield Road by 1826 - it is possible that either or both had post-medieval origins, as Potter’s map of 1803 does not show detail in this area. St Helen’s Street itself may lie approximately on the line of a road indicated on that map as ‘road from Mr Jebb’s colliery’. Abercrombie Road had been laid out by 1849, with detached villas set in large gardens for prosperous families moving out of the overcrowded town centre. Over the course of the second half of the 19th century, most of this area was developed, with terraced houses of various sizes laid out along a network of streets. There was a Mission Room on Albert Street and a school opened in 1873 on St Helen’s Street. Much of the more substantial housing, as well as the school, survives, although the smaller terraces at the north-eastern corner of the component have gone. To some extent, the lines of the roads and back garden boundaries in this area fossilise the lines of earlier field boundaries.

Component 56 *Development along Wharf Lane and the north-eastern side of Sheffield Road*

Wharf Lane (earlier called Canal road) was presumably laid out in the late 18th century to connect with the terminus of the Chesterfield Canal. A single house set in a fairly large garden was built in the south-western corner of this area by the 1850s; further development did not begin until after 1876 and included a Mission Room in 1898. Many of the late 19th century houses survive.

Component 57 *Grammar School*

Chesterfield Grammar School was rebuilt on this site in 1846, just to the north of its original site.

Component 58 *Great Central Railway*

The Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company opened what was known as the Chesterfield loop in 1892, although the line was taken over by the Great Central in 1897. A tunnel had to be built starting at Hollis Lane, passing almost under the Stephenson Memorial Hall and emerging at the station, which stood at the southern end of this component (Wright 1992). A goods shed stood further north. The railway was constructed across an old clay pit shown on the 1876 (and earlier) maps. Its construction also required some straightening of the Rother, with implications for the Chesterfield Canal, as the tracks cut off access to the original canal basin. Consequently a new wharf was built further upstream towards the south-eastern end of this component, reached by a towpath along the western side of the river. Warehouses associated with the new terminus survived well into the 20th century, becoming part of a scrap metal yard, although they have since been demolished (Roffey 1989).

Component 59 *Development along Brewery Street*

Brewery Street was laid out in the 1850s, possibly to house workers at the nearby brewery (see component 60). Development included a Baptist Chapel and a school. A couple of buildings were demolished when the railway was built, the tunnel emerging just to the south of Brewery Street. Virtually all buildings have now been demolished, with the exception of the chapel, currently in use as a bar/club.

Component 60 *Development on Tapton Lane*

Chesterfield Brewery was built on the western side of Tapton Lane in the 1850s. The buildings were taken over by a motor engineering firm in 1955 and later sold to Trebor, the sweet manufacturer. They have since been demolished. A building had been constructed on the eastern side of the road by the end of the century, now also demolished.

Component 61 *Development to the west of the Midland railway line*

Following the construction of the Midland Railway (see component 62) the lands between it and the town began to be developed. Eyre Street was laid out in the 1850s and was lined with terraced housing along its western side by the end of the century, while a large tannery was built at the southern end of the component, probably taking advantage of rail access. Much of the area now consists of a part of the Chesterfield by-pass.

A Roman coin may have come from this area, as it is described as having been found at the bottom of Spa Lane (SMR 3959).

Component 62 *Midland Railway*

The North Midland Railway Bill was passed in 1836 for a line between Leeds and Derby, this line being completed in 1840. The original station was superseded in 1870 by a new one about 100 yards further north when a more direct line to Sheffield was opened (Wright 1992). A single building survives from the 1840s, probably the former goods office. The tithe award records it as a ‘machine shop’. It was designed by Francis Thompson and is an ornate gritstone structure with a tiled roof (Fowkes 2000; SMR 3920).

Component 63 *Broad Oaks Foundry*

Broad Oaks Foundry was present by 1876, having been built over the old course of the Rother. It was served by sidings from the railway and was producing iron and brass in 1876. The buildings were taken over by Markham Engineering, founded in 1889, and a major manufacturer of tunnelling and winding equipment for the coal industry. They later made giant boring machines including those which dug the Channel Tunnel (Sadler 2001). Much of the works have now been demolished and are in the process of

being replaced by housing, the main exception being a couple of buildings along the main road, one of which is a Grade II listed building.

Component 64 *Engine Works, Hady Hill*

A building is shown here on the Hasland Tithe map and is described as an engine works on late 19th century OS maps. It has since been demolished.

Components 65 & 66 *Development along Clayton Street*

Buildings at the northwestern end of Clayton Street were present by the end of the century (component 65). By 1876 Clayton tannery had been built further south, alongside the railway (component 66). Several of the buildings appear to survive.

6.4 20th century development

Twentieth century development on previously open land is represented by a single un-numbered component.

6.5 Discussion

Archaeological evidence indicates that the site upon which Chesterfield developed was already attractive to humans from an early period, probably due to the advantages of its position at the end of a spur of high ground overlooking a river valley. The prehistoric features uncovered during excavations at the southern end of Lordsmill Street were dated on the basis of the stone tool assemblage to the Later Mesolithic period and were tentatively identified as possible elements of a seasonal camp. The assemblage is an important one, for little is known about the character of Mesolithic activity in the area. Similarly, the nature of the activity indicated by the late Neolithic/Bronze Age flint implements recovered from various recent excavations is unknown, but indicates that the site continued to be an attractive one. Only in the Iron Age is there possible evidence of more permanent occupation in the form of a ditch and a single sherd of pottery. Lane (1985) tentatively suggested that this occupation was more likely to be 'in the style of a fortified homestead' than a major hillfort.

With the arrival of the Roman army, the site was considered to be a suitable one upon which to construct a fort, with the result that any pre-existing Iron Age settlement was cleared and the ditch filled in, possibly with material from the demolition of its associated rampart. The fort stood at a point where the main north-south route, Ryknield Street, could be crossed by others from the east and west along the valleys of tributaries. This main road from the south is currently thought to have crossed the Hipper at or near the present Lordsmill Street bridge and to be identifiable with the later Lordsmill Street, St Mary's Gate and Tapton Lane. The first archaeological attempts to plot the position of the fort were based on the assumption that Ryknield Street would have passed through it, in which case the road would have deviated to the west of the present line of St Mary's Gate as it approached the southern entrance to the fort, with the present alignment being a later development at a point when the fort had gone out of use (Lane 1985).

Recently, however, it has been noted that many Roman roads do not, in fact, run through their associated forts but rather pass close by them, in which case no later realignment of St Mary's Gate would be necessary. It has been argued that the grid of streets depicted on Senior's map of 1637 'retains echoes of the layout of the fort and its position to Ryknield Street', with the area bounded by Knifesmith Street to the north, St Mary's Gate to the east, Beetwell Street to the south and South Street/Packers Row to the west roughly defining the perimeters of the various phases of Roman fort with possible annexe attachments. If the course of Ryknield Street has been correctly identified and if it did indeed lie outside the fort, then the material from the various excavations to the east of St Mary's Gate would have come from an annexe/*vicus* settlement rather than from within the core of the fort as previously thought (Connelly & Walker 2001).

The fort itself would have stood at the end of the ridge, surrounded by substantial timber-topped ramparts. Current knowledge of its size suggests the garrison was probably a unit of 500 men. A small settlement lay around the fort to the east and south, probably consisting of timber framed houses, stables and workshops. Following the end of direct military occupation of the fort in around 150 AD, there is evidence of some continued civilian activity or settlement but, unlike some *vici* which went on to develop into towns, that at Chesterfield failed to develop. This may have been because there was no indigenous economy in the area at that time that required an established market (Connelly & Walker 2001).

Archaeological evidence for the post-Roman period is sparse and it cannot at present be demonstrated whether or not there was continuity of settlement right through from the Roman to the medieval periods. However, given the Anglian origin of Chesterfield's place-name and the possible 10th century documentary reference (see section 5.3), settlement had certainly been re-established before the conquest. Riden (1984a) suggests that, in view of its history as the only significant Roman military site in the area and its emergence later as a large royal estate, Chesterfield was probably among the first places to be settled in the Rother valley while Bestall argued that identification of Chesterfield as a hundredal manor in the 13th century

‘reinforces other rather indirect evidence for viewing it as the main centre, administrative and otherwise, of north-east Derbyshire in the centuries before the Norman conquest’ (Bestall 1974, 68).

Although not mentioned in Domesday Book, the church may have been an early foundation, sited within the boundaries of the old Roman fort. Given the size of its parish in the medieval period, nearly 24,000 acres, it was quite probably a minster church built to serve the area of the Rother valley.

The relationship between royal estates, minsters, and Roman settlements is an important one recognised at a number of places. Early royal minsters were often set within their own precinct enclosures, a little way apart from the companion royal vill, with a Roman site being a frequent choice. Blair (1988) suggests this may have been because of a general sense of historical fittingness, with the Roman site being ‘the right and proper place for a great church’. In cases where minster and vill or palace were set apart from each other, it is often the minsters which later form an urban nucleus. Chesterfield may be an example of this, with its minster church standing in a small Roman fort and its Domesday manorial centre being at Newbold, on higher ground 1½ miles to the north west. The antiquity of Newbold in 1086 is not known. Riden (1984a) suggests that, as its name indicates a comparatively new addition to the manor, it may have been an attempt to supplant Chesterfield, albeit one which was unsuccessful.

The developing Anglo-Saxon road system would have funnelled traffic to the larger minsters; indeed, that at Chesterfield already stood on an important north-south route established by the Romans. In response to the economic stimulus provided by minsters, markets were often established at their gates unlike at the royal villa where taxes and tolls were collected. Blair (1988) identified three stages in the development of a ‘minster town’: firstly the precinct itself, often rectilinear if based on Roman alignments; secondly, organic late Anglo-Saxon growth around the perimeter or along an approach road, perhaps including a market-place; and thirdly, 12th or 13th century burgage plots peripheral to the earlier core.

Nothing is known at present of the layout of pre-conquest Chesterfield but it is quite possible that it was influenced by the remains of the fort and that the Anglo-Saxon layout in turn influenced the medieval town plan. In many historic towns the street pattern is the most durable element in the plan. Although the early 17th century map of Chesterfield produced by William Senior can be projected back to provide a picture of the medieval street pattern, it is not the original pattern but rather one which had been modified following the creation of a new market place (see below). At the heart of the original town lay the parish church and an adjacent market place on its northern side, at the junction of the main roads entering the town from the north, west and south. The main north-south route followed the earlier course of Ryknield Street. To the south of the church it was known as *Soutergate* (later St Mary's Gate and Lordsmill Street), while to the north it was and still is Tapton Lane. Roads from Sheffield and Newbold ran in from the north-west and joined to form *Haliwellegate*, modern Holywell Street. This in turn was joined by *Saltersgate* which entered the town from the west, its name reflecting its origin as a route by which salt was brought from the

Cheshire wiches. The weekday market, presumably the Tuesday market referred to in the 1204 charter, may have been in the area of this road junction running into the old market place, as a grant of 1405 refers to a messuage being in *Halywelgate* in the *Wekedaymarketh* abutting on the *olde markethstede* (Bestall 1974). The road between Chesterfield and the east does not appear to have left the old market place directly, but rather to have begun at a junction with Soutergate a short distance south of the churchyard, on approximately the line of the modern Spa Lane. This road was known as *Kalehalegate* as it led to Calow and from there ultimately to Lincoln.

Chesterfield appears to have prospered during the 12th century, initially as a market centre and then as a borough. At some point during that time, a larger market area was required. The chosen site lay to the west of the original core, a choice which would have avoided disturbing existing property while providing the town with an exceptionally large open market place, although some alteration to the town plan was necessary. Exactly when and how the new market place was laid out is not yet absolutely certain. Bestall (1974) considered that the new market was not created as a whole, but that the eastern end was enclosed first, perhaps shortly after Brewer acquired the manor in 1204, and then progressively enlarged westwards over the course of the 13th century. Riden (1977, 1984a), on the other hand, argued that it was created as a whole, 'a decisive act of seigniorial policy', possibly as early as the 1160s and certainly before 1199. It is not known at what point the old market place went out of use; it may initially have been supplemented by the new area and only later superseded by it. Although deeds refer to the new market from at least the mid-1220s, references to the old market only become regular in the mid-14th century (Bestall 1974).

The Shambles, which stand in the new market place, are recognisable in documents from the 14th century by references to the rows dividing the blocks of buildings, their names - Butcher Row, Draper Row, Fisher Row, Iron Row, Mercer Row and Souter Row - indicating the trades carried out there. The Shambles could be interpreted as the result of encroachment onto the previously open market area as temporary stalls were increasingly replaced by permanent shops. However, the regularity of the blocks of buildings and rows suggests they were laid out deliberately, possibly at the same time as the market place (Riden 1984a).

The new market formed a second focus some way from the original focus of the church and the main north-south route, with which it was linked by three parallel east-west roads, Church Lane, a continuation of the main road from the east, Knifesmithgate, which joined old and new markets, and Beetwell Street. Glumangate and Clerimont Lane provided links with Saltergate, West Barrs ran west from the south-western corner of the new market and *Steppeston lane* was probably the forerunner of Wheeldon Lane, running south across the Hipper. The market place was surrounded by tenements or burgage plots. Those on the southern side were particularly long and ran back down to the Hipper, while those on the northern side ran up to Saltergate. It has been suggested that the plots were laid out over earlier strips within open arable fields, although this has yet to be confirmed archaeologically (Riden 1977).

With the creation of the new market place and its designation as a borough, Chesterfield was able to consolidate its position as the second most important town in the county from the 12th century onwards. The size of the church, rebuilt in the second quarter of the 14th century, reflects the wealth of the town at that time. The second half of the 14th century saw the beginning of a period of stagnation or decline, however. Bestall (1974) suggested that the Black Death 'must have hit the Borough badly', with evidence from the early 15th century indicating that while Chesterfield was clearly wealthier than any other place in Scarsdale, it did not enjoy the lead over neighbouring settlements such as Bolsover and Barlborough that might have been expected. Similarly Blanchard (1967) suggested the density of population was much reduced in the 14th and 15th centuries:

'Wasted tenements abound in the documents of the period; some were on the outskirts in Halliwellgate or at the west barrier but the main of the decays were in the centre, within the main trading area ...'

Possible evidence of shrinkage is suggested by the excavations at the southern end of Lordsmill Street, where a relatively large number of features could be dated to the 13th century but only a single pit to the 15th-16th century (Foundations Archaeology 1999). Yet despite the decayed buildings and falling rents

the prosperity of the town, insofar as it can be judged from the tolls collected at the Saturday markets and autumn fairs, seems to have been unaffected and the 15th century appears to have been a period of steadily increasing wealth (Blanchard 1967). Taxation records of the early 16th century suggest there were no really rich merchants at Chesterfield, however, but rather a large number of moderately well off craftsmen working for the local market (Bestall & Fowkes 1977).

By the mid-17th century Chesterfield stood at the centre of a flourishing industrial area, although the borough itself may not have directly participated in much of this. It continued to concentrate on its medieval craft and workshop industries, particularly the leather trades, in comparison to the areas immediately outside the borough boundaries, where mineral-based industries, such as coal and iron, were rapidly developing (Bestall & Fowkes 1984).

Information available from a church rate assessment of 1744 indicates that the greater concentration of industry within the borough at that time, particularly in the form of tanneries and malthouses, was in the southern part of the town - Low Pavement, Packers Row, Beetwell Street and Lordsmill Street - with some of the streets in the northern half, such as Saltergate and Glumangate, being almost purely residential. The market continued to be the main focus, as is clear from the comments of 18th century visitors. The opening of the Chesterfield Canal in 1777 seems to have had little direct impact on the town, although it considerably benefited the mineral-based industries of the hinterland. Indirectly, however, it may have contributed to the considerable population expansion which Chesterfield began to experience from the late 18th century. The number of houses increased by almost 75% between 1783 and 1831 and, as the town settlement was still essentially limited to its medieval core, many of these houses were built in yards and courts at right-angles to the main streets. As Bestall & Fowkes (1984, 88) described it:

'The Chesterfield of 1830 was a rather cramped, increasingly overcrowded market town, dominated by its market and traditional industry, ruled by a combination of increasingly archaic institutions'.

The first half of the 19th century saw the beginnings of movement of the wealthier families away from the centre onto the previously open land that surrounded the town but still lay within the borough, with roads such as Abercrombie Street being laid out in the 1840s. Within the centre, several new streets were developed - Soresby Street in the first decade of the 19th century, and Cavendish Street and Burlington Street in the 1830s. The arrival of the first railway in 1840 did not immediately affect the layout of the town; however increasingly over the course of the century it attracted industry to its sides. Infilling of the town centre continued, accompanied by further expansion through the creation of suburban streets away from the core. The end result of this was serious overcrowding, with the area of the borough having become so built-up that towards the end of the 19th century it was stated that

'simply an imaginary boundary line through continuous streets provides the boundary of the present Borough. The houses both within and without the Borough are continuous ...'
(quoted in Wright 1992).

All remaining open spaces within the borough were built over in the early 20th century, accompanied by slum clearance and new development within the core of the old town, development which is still continuing today.

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES

7.1 Research questions

A small amount of archaeological evidence points to the possibility of Iron Age settlement at Chesterfield prior to the construction of the fort; however, nothing is currently known about the extent and nature of this settlement. Was Lane (1985) correct in suggesting it represented a 'fortified homestead' rather than a hillfort?

Although more evidence of the fort has recently been revealed, many questions still remain unanswered and current interpretations need to be confirmed. These include the full extent of the fort in its various phases, the location of its gates and whether or not its internal layout conformed to the usual pattern. Where was the cemetery (or cemeteries)? What was the full extent and nature of the surrounding *vicus*/annexe and how soon after the construction of the fort did it develop? Although the apparent failure of the civilian settlement to thrive following the abandonment of the fort suggests it was heavily dependent upon the military, did it have a role as a market centre, at least for a time, distributing Romanised goods into the surrounding area?

Although the course of Ryknield Street is relatively secure, it is still not known in detail as it passes through Chesterfield. What route was taken by other Roman roads connecting the Chesterfield fort with others, such as that at Templeborough near Rotherham? A better understanding of the Roman communications network in the area might also help in understanding whether there was any connection between Roman Chesterfield and the lead trade.

Currently nothing is known of pre-conquest Chesterfield, for example the extent and status of settlement at that time and the foundation date of the church. What was the relationship between Newbold and Chesterfield? Was the former established because of the eclipse for some reason of an older centre of local administration, possibly Chesterfield? What caused the increased value of the manor of Newbold, from £6 before the conquest to £10 in 1086. Did it relate to an expansion of farming or to more intensive farming? Was it the result of an increase in trade which ‘may have produced a nascent market in Chesterfield as early as 1086’ (Bestall 1974)?

Many questions remain to be answered regarding the medieval town. These include

- the extent to which there is a relationship between the Roman layout of fort and annexe/annexes and the medieval street pattern;
- the extent and layout of the town prior to the creation of the new market, including the course of roads entering the town from the west;
- the point at which the old and weekday market places went out of use;
- the date of the new market, whether or not it was created as a whole, and whether the surrounding tenements were laid out over open field strips;
- whether the Shambles has its origins as encroachments within a previously open market area or whether it was laid out at the same time;
- the extent and nature of the medieval ditch found during excavations at Station Road;
- the maximum extent of the later medieval town and the location of several lanes referred to in documents;
- the location of the king’s mill;
- the exact site (rather than the approximate site) of the leper hospital. Do the different names ascribed to it indicate two hospitals or two chapels? What was the extent of its cemetery? Is there any validity to the tradition that the hospital and its associated religious buildings stood apart from each other?
- the origins of the chapel of St Helen. Bestall (1974) speculates it may have been founded following the plague, as the earliest reference is a deed of 1361). Was the well shown on Potter’s map of 1803 in the later schoolyard correctly identified as the Holy Well and if not, where was it?
- the medieval courses of the Hipper and the Rother.

Although potteries, iron foundries and coal mines appear to have been concentrated beyond the borough boundaries by the later 18th century, there is increasing evidence, both archaeological and documentary, to indicate that these industries were being carried out within the borough at an earlier date. However, much more needs to be known about these and the various other trades and industries which were important in medieval and post-medieval Chesterfield. For example, Bestall (1974) indicated that little was known about the various processes associated with textile manufacture in the town, although these may be hard to identify archaeologically. Was there a fulling mill along one of the rivers, perhaps on the site of the later silk mill? Were tanning and dyeing concentrated along the Hipper, as in later periods, or was the brook which ran between St Mary’s Gate and the Rother also used for industrial processes? Were maltings

concentrated in any particular area of the town? To what extent did the burgesses avail themselves of their right to have an oven on their burgage plot? The pottery industry within the borough is poorly known and there is no regional type series for the town or the area around it and there has also been the suggestion of clay pipe and glass manufacture (Lane 1985).

Documentary evidence, albeit meagre, suggests that Chesterfield experienced both peripheral shrinkage and central decay in the 15th century but with no particular loss of prosperity. To what extent does archaeological evidence support this? Is there any similar evidence for contraction of settlement/decay in the late 16th century following an outbreak of plague with possible loss of 20% of the population?

Although there are good historical summaries of the town, which draw on a wide range of documents, much of the archaeological evidence has remained unpublished.

7.2 Archaeological potential

7.2.1 Existing protection

Conservation areas

The *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990* required all Local Planning Authorities to determine which parts of their areas were of special architectural or historic interest and to designate them as conservation areas, in order to preserve or enhance the character and appearance of the area. It is also their duty to review them from time to time, and to determine whether any further parts of their areas should also be designated as conservation areas.

Three conservation areas were designated in Chesterfield in the 1970s, namely Church Close, Abercrombie Street and Town Centre. These have been extended at various times so that they now essentially form one large area. A further small conservation area, Spencer Street/Brickyard Walk, was designated in 1988. The extents of the conservation areas are shown on Figure 7.

Listed buildings

A listed building is one recognised by the government as being of special architectural or historic interest, as specified by the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990*. Listing is made at three levels of importance, Grade II, Grade II* and the most important, Grade I, and listed building consent is required, in addition to normal planning consent, before any alterations, extensions or demolitions can be made to a listed structure which might affect its character.

There are 101 listed buildings in the area of Chesterfield under consideration in this assessment. Of these, one is Grade I, namely the parish church of St Mary and All Saints, and seven are Grade II*. The remainder are Grade II, and all can be broken down according to their earliest structural phase as follows:

Earliest structural phase	C16 or earlier	C17	C18	C19	C20
Number of structures	5	4	36	47	9

Planning Policy Guidance 15 allows the creation and maintenance of a list of buildings of local historic/architectural interest, although this does not confer a statutory obligation. However, there is currently no local list for Chesterfield.

7.2.2 Above ground remains

The street layout is often the most durable part of a settlement plan and this is true of Chesterfield, where the main elements of the town's historic street pattern are still visible today, albeit somewhat obscured by a

number of 19th and 20th century changes and additions. The majority have been widened, and Riden notes that only Spa Lane and Tapton Lane have retained their medieval narrowness and their steepness as they descend to bridges over the Rother.

The long narrow burgage plots which were once so distinctive in the town have all but disappeared, however, and only in a few places do surviving boundaries fossilise the line of the medieval plots. Beyond the core of the old town, the pattern of earlier field boundaries can occasionally be detected in the lines of the streets and back garden walls of later development.

Within the town, the majority of buildings are of brick, with a few of stone. The former replaced the latter in the 18th and 19th centuries, as indicated by Celia Fiennes' description at the end of the 17th century of the town as 'all built of stone'. Despite her comment, it is likely that prior to the 18th century, many buildings would have been timber-framed, and a couple of examples are still standing. It is possible that further timber-framed structures lie as yet unidentified behind later brick facades. Relatively few early buildings survive at Chesterfield, however, with the majority of listed buildings being of 18th and 19th century date

There appears to have been reasonable survival of Victorian villas and terraced housing, some of which have been included in the conservation area. However, the rows of cottages in the yards and courts which once stood to the rear of the main frontages have generally disappeared, as have virtually all traces of industrial buildings. However, a few of the 19th century and earlier religious buildings still stand, although in some cases converted to other uses. The parish church, with its nationally famous twisted spire, is a particularly important part of the above ground features of Chesterfield, its fabric holding information relating to different phases of its construction. The gravestones also provide information relating to a section of the town's past population, although many stones have been cleared away to the margins of the churchyard.

7.2.3 *Below ground remains*

Two main phases of excavation have been carried out in Chesterfield, the first in the 1970s, in response to the considerable amount of development which was taking place at that time and which prompted the establishment of the Chesterfield Archaeological Research Committee, the second more recently, following the introduction of PPG 16. These excavations have highlighted the considerable potential for the survival of archaeological deposits in Chesterfield.

New computer, mathematical and statistical methods were developed at Manchester University and applied in an area of Chesterfield's historic core in order to form a better idea about the relationships between the current ground levels, archaeological deposits and the underlying geological formations. A recent topographic survey was scanned and digitised to generate the present ground level, while the surface of the underlying natural was generated from a limited number of existing bore hole, drill hole and trial pit logs, together with data from several recent excavations. Three areas were identified. The first appeared to show terraces in the bedrock, possibly representing human activity in the past, with a good depth between the ground surface and the bedrock and consequently with high archaeological potential. Results in the second area indicated a large difference between ground surface and bedrock, up to as much as 10m in places, which would have very high potential for the survival of stratified archaeological deposits. The third area appeared to have been highly disturbed by later activity, with little or no depth between the current ground surface and the bedrock (University of Manchester Archaeological Unit 1998b). Even in the last case, however, excavations in the town have shown that archaeological material and environmental data can still be recovered from features cut into the bedrock.

Although the basic street pattern is believed to have remained relatively unchanged since the medieval period, activities such as road surfacing and the insertion of services are likely to have caused damage to archaeological deposits relating to earlier street frontages. Nevertheless, where roads have been widened it is possible that deposits relating to earlier frontages lie sealed beneath the later road surface.

The market area would have been one of the more intensively occupied parts of the town. Plots in this area could contain sequences of commercial buildings along the market frontage, with outhouses, workshops and rubbish pits to the rear. The degree to which earlier material may be preserved will depend to some extent on the presence of cellars in later buildings; certainly some cellars have been encountered in excavations and were found to have destroyed archaeological deposits, but cellars do not always extend beneath the whole of a building. Terracing of the hill upon which the town stands has also been found to have truncated archaeological features; however, the making up of ground to achieve a level surface may equally preserve the archaeology in other places.

An important area of potential is that within and around the church. The church was built within the Roman fort and it is possible, therefore, that deposits relating to internal features of the fort may survive in the churchyard, if these have not been destroyed by later burial activity. Below ground structural remains could provide information about earlier phases of the church, while skeletal remains could shed light on the health of Chesterfield's population in the past. Some of the non-conformist chapels also had their own small burial grounds. The extent of information is dependent upon the degree of preservation of the bone, however, and this may not be particularly good. The skeleton found at the St Leonard's hospital site was relatively poorly preserved, and excavators within the town centre have noted that the acidic nature of the soils limited the amount of animal bone recovered. Considering the length of occupation at Chesterfield and the importance of the church, burials appear to be under-represented in archaeological material recovered from the town.

There may be some potential for environmental work along the course of the rivers. Evidence of early crossing points may survive, while the preservation of below ground remains associated with waterside industries might also be expected to occur. These could include features relating to the town's mills, such as ponds, leats and wheel pits, as well as to other industries particularly dependent upon water, such as tanning and dyeing, both known to have been important at Chesterfield. Elsewhere within the town, excavations have already indicated the importance of archaeology in shedding light upon other early industrial activity such as iron smelting, malting, and possibly even pottery, clay tobacco pipe and glass manufacture.

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