Kerridge Ridge & Ingersley Vale

An Historical Study

Compiled by

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PART ONE: AGRICULTURE

1. WILD AND WOODED FRONTIER ZONE

The KRIV area first enters the written record in the thirteenth century. Before then, we have no direct knowledge of its history. As far as I am aware, there is no archaeological evidence within the KRIV area relating to any earlier period.

However, a recent study by N. J. Higham, 'The Origins of Cheshire' (1), can usefully inform the way we think about the very early history of the KRIV area. This section is mostly a summary of Higham's views on the early development of the eastern part of what became Cheshire.

It is possible that hunter/gatherers passed through or near the KRIV area, following red deer and aurochs from lowland winter pastures to upland summer grazing, through a tundra landscape in the 8th millennium BC. A flint chipping floor excavated at Tatton has been interpreted as a temporary camp. Finds of later Mesolithic flints in the east Cheshire uplands suggest that this migratory pattern may have continued in the 6th and 7th millennia BC, when deciduous woodland had spread across the region.

The division of the land into territories would have begun with the adoption of agriculture and the formation of settlements, perhaps around 3,000 BC. Higham suggests that in Neolithic times the peoples of the east Cheshire hills looked not toward the plain, but to the Peak, and the White Peak in particular. The Bridestones above Congleton can be seen as "an outlier of a scatter of Neolithic monuments which centres on the White Peak." In the bronze age, when lowland Cheshire probably remained densely wooded, the east Cheshire uplands were "on the western periphery of a larger concentration of monuments and finds which focus on the White Peak, but also extends to the eastern edges of the Pennines... eastern Cheshire should be considered part of the southern Pennine region and its peoples" (1, p.15-22). Near the KRIV area, barrows have been identified on the Nab, at Ginclough, and at Yearnslow. A supposed Bronze Age round barrow near White Nancy is now thought to be actually a dump of quarry waste (2).

Climatic deterioration and environmental degradation, including the formation of peat moorlands, occurred in the late bronze and iron ages. The impoverished communities on Cheshire's Pennine edge appear not to have built their own hillforts (though the undated enclosure on Eddisbury Hill, Rainow, may possibly be a defensive work of that period). Higham suggests that they presumably looked to the great fort at Mam Tor and its lesser neighbours "as foci of authority and for protection" (1, p.22).

Roman sources provide some information about the political organisation of the area just before the Roman conquest. Much of lowland Cheshire appears to have been part of the territory of the Cornovii, a peripheral tribe little influenced by the Romans in Gaul. The Peak, Higham suggests, was in the sphere of influence of the Corieltauvi of the east midlands; he puts forward as "a tentative hypothesis" the idea that the White Peak may have been the focus of a minor satellite tribe whose name perhaps was that used by the Romans on pigs of lead from the White Peak, Lutudarenses.
The boundary between the Cornovii and the putative Lutudarenses, says Higham, probably lay on or close to the western edge of the east Cheshire hills. This boundary, he suggests, persisted throughout the Roman period, probably as a boundary of provincial status, and beyond into the 'dark ages'. The early 7th century 'tribal hidage' lists peoples owing tribute to the Anglo-Saxon kings of Mercia, and includes the 'Pecsaete' (the people 'sitting' - i.e. dwelling - in the Peak) and the 'Wrocen saete' (those sitting at, or in the territory administered from, Wroxeter). Higham suggests that these may be the old pre-Roman tribal areas of the Cornovii and the Lutudarenses. The old boundary would live on, separating two politically and culturally distinct areas of what had become the kingdom of Mercia.

In the 9th century, the Peak became part of the Danelaw, while Cheshire fell within "the English rump of the old kingdom of Mercia". The division, suggests Higham, would

take place along pre-existing boundaries, and this would involve "re-emphasis on the ancient boundary between Cheshire and the Peak".

The English reconquest and reorganisation in the 10th century involved the creation of the shires; only at that time, suggests Higham, was the old boundary ignored, the new Cheshire boundary being placed further east in a deliberate move to break up the ancient territory of the Peak-sitters, which had retained its identity as a Mercian province. The eastern part of Cheshire was now organised around a substantial royal estate at Macclesfield (1, p.117).

Thus, if Higham's suggestions are accepted, the KRIV area was either on or very close to a frontier between tribes and cultures which may have lasted from Neolithic times to the 10th century AD. A place name, probably pre-English, which is associated with the western edge of the southern Pennines is 'Lyme'. It can be seen in such place names as Ashton under Lyne, Lyme Hall and park, and Newcastle under Lyme. Dodgson, the historian of Cheshire place names, thought that it was derived from the British 'lemo', meaning elm (3). The earliest written use of the name may occur in a 10th century Irish chronicle. It may, suggests Higham, be the ancient name of the heavily wooded frontier zone (1, p.96). At the time of the Doomsday survey (1086), the Macclesfield Hundred apparently contained what was among the largest areas of woodland in the country (4, p.2). In Macclesfield itself, the Doomsday Book recorded a wood 6 leagues by 4; in Adlington, a wood 11 leagues by 2.

To what extent clearances and settlements had been made in the woodland in or around the KRIV area by the time of Doomsday is not clear. 'Leah' derived place names, suggesting clearings in woodland, are numerous in east Cheshire. Ingersley, within the KRIV area, combines the Old English for 'clearing' with an Old Norse personal name, Ingiald (3). Jane Laughton has suggested that 'Ingiald's leah' may have been one of the first attempts to establish a permanent settlement in Rainow. Perhaps Ingiald, she writes, was a 10th century Norseman from Galloway, Ireland, or the Isle of Man. But the date of the settlement "must remain uncertain... a Scandinavian dialect was still spoken in Cheshire in the early 13th century" and the first documentary reference to Ingersley is in a rental of 1351-2 (5, article 9).

The name Bollington was once thought to be derived from an Anglo-Saxon settler named Bolla, whose followers or people (ingas) made a settlement or farm (ton) here (6). But Dodgson does not even dignify this theory with a mention; his derivation, 'farm on River Bollin', assumes that the River Dean once bore the name of the river to which it is now regarded as a tributary (3). He cites as the earliest reference for Bollington a document originally written c.1270, but the Rev. R. Norton Betts in his history of Bollington has a reference in a document of 1224 (6, p.7).

Neither Bollington nor Rainow appear in the Doomsday Book. It may be that they were included in the entries for Macclesfield and Adlington. They may have been destroyed by William I, who in the winter of 1069-70 crossed the Pennines from Yorkshire, probably by way of Longdendale, to punish Cheshire for an uprising. In the words of a recent Cheshire history, "although 'waste' manors are found [in Doomsday] in all parts of the county, the concentration of devastation around Macclesfield is particularly notable, and this district clearly suffered most severely from William's retribution... (7, p.33). But it is possible that no permanent settlement had yet been made in Rainow or in Bollington.

2. MEDIEVAL COMMUNITIES OF THE MANOR AND FOREST OF MACCLESFIELD

A. M. Tonkinson, the author of a recent study of the communities of the manor and forest of Macclesfield in the fourteenth century (4), seems to incline toward the view that both Bollington and Rainow were founded in the period between the late 12th and

the late 13th centuries, a period in which the piecemeal assarting of the Macclesfield Forest, in which both were situated, was leading to what Millward and Robinson call "a steady retreat of the wilderness" (8).

Although the Forest of Macclesfield as a legal entity may be older, the first reference to it apparently comes in the later 12th century when the tenement of the One House (in Rainow) was granted to Richard Davenport with the office of Master Forester. By the late 13th century there were eight or nine subordinate Foresters. Their role, originally, was to preserve game, and the terrain in the Forest (not all woodland) needed for game and hunting. In 1215 or 1216 the Earl of Chester issued a charter which made assarting in the Forest easier. Tonkinson writes that the records by the second half of the 14th century suggest "a policy of exploitation of the Forest that was more akin to a form of licensing to maximise revenue [from grazing, felling and rents] rather than conservation and control" (4, p.188).

The Lords of the Manor of Macclesfield (which became virtually coterminous with the Forest) exploited the high grounds, such as those in Harrop, Saltersford and Shutlingsloe, to establish large pastures, which by the 14th century were being leased out. By the 14th century assarting in the lower lands of the Forest had resulted in the creation of demesne townships, whose inhabitants owed suit to the manorial court - Bollington, Rainow, Sutton Downes, Hurdsfield, Upton, Pott Shrigley, Kettleshulme, Disley Stanley, Yeardsley-Whaley. In these townships, unlike Bosley and Adlington, there were no rich lords to finance clearance, and assarting took place in a comparatively slow and piecemeal fashion. Peasants were free of labour dues, and could buy and sell land freely, which allowed some consolidation of holdings, especially after the Black Death.

The settlement pattern which emerged was one of dispersed hamlets, farms and enclosures, with some open fields and strips close to township centres. Oats and barley were grown on the arable land. In the valleys some woodland survived, and was used as demesne or township woods for timber and underwood, for building materials, fuel and fodder. Tonkinson quotes records which mention such woods in Swanscoe, Kerridge, Bollington and the Oakenbank. On ridges such as Kerridge, Tegs Nose and Billinge were commons the primary purpose of which was to provide grazing, under the control of the manorial court. Tonkinson suggests that as the commons of the townships were often contiguous, boundaries were likely to have been vaguely defined. This does not seem to have been the case on Kerridge; a document first written c.1270 sets the boundary of Bollington clearly along the top of the ridge as far as the saddle (6, p.4).

While new farmlands were for the most part created out of 'waste' land, there does appear to have been some medieval encroachment on the commons. F. Renaud in his nineteenth century history of the wide parish of Prestbury quoted a survey of common lands in the Forest made in the reign of Henry VIII, which describes "a comyne called Coryryge which belongeth to Ranowe and Bollington which is by estimaco of length a myle of bredthe an halfe myle". On the Bollington side Robert Shrigley "hath taken in some intakes... and builded a house and a chamber, the house in the holding of John Turn and the chamber in the holding of John Shryglege... Wm Aynsworth hath bylded on ye same comyn an house and a barn, and taken in an acre of land and a bore orchard wh. paye to the Kynge yearly 1d" (9, p.225)

3. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY RAINOW

No historical work has seriously tackled the early modern period in Bollington or Kerridge, but for Rainow we have Jane Laughton's study of Rainow in the seventeenth century (10), based on primary sources including a survey of crown lands commissioned at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a map of 1611, and wills and probate records, including detailed probate inventories.

Rainow, Laughton writes, was in the seventeenth century "after several hundred years of development... a linear, somewhat straggling village, with several knots of settlement widely scattered over its c.6,000 acres." It was "a simple community, living on a poor soil and practising [for the most part] a subsistence economy". Of the farms in the KRIV area, Ingersley, Tower Hill, Brookhouse and Lower Brook are mentioned by Laughton, and Hough Hole and Old Hall were in existence by the 17th century. At the beginning of the century, Rainow farms were "quite modest" in size, averaging 5 to 12 Cheshire acres. Ingersley, one of the larger farms, had around 21 Cheshire acres. The buildings were probably all medieval in layout and in materials (timber, thatch); rebuilding in stone seems not to have taken place until after the Restoration.

In the KRIV area, and in the lower parts of Rainow generally, the farms were held copyhold, usually for three lives. The farms had enclosed fields or crofts; Laughton says there is no evidence that there was ever open field agriculture in Rainow (Bollington and Kerridge may have had open fields, but not within the KRIV area). Laughton says that the early 17th century survey shows that "most of the closes were devoted to arable, with some of the tenements appearing to have only arable ground". I presume that Laughton is including meadow as arable. Crops consisted of barley (for bread and brewing) and oats (for oatcake, porridge, and fodder for horses). Due to the nature of the soil and the climate, wheat was not grown, and there are no references to root crops or pulses.

Hay was laid in for the over-wintering of animals. Sheep, says Laughton, were kept by almost everybody in Rainow in the early 17th century, for wool rather than for meat. The largest flock recorded in the KRIV area was 91 at Ingersley. Cattle, black and white cows mostly, were widely kept, usually in small numbers. Edward Jackson of Ingersley had 29, the largest herd. A few of the wealthier farmers would pay to send their cattle to 'ley' on the high pastures at Harrop or Saltersford, which were now in the hands of the Earl of Derby. All had pasture rights on the commons, with which Rainow was well provided - 2,000 acres in the early 17th century.

Some common land had been enclosed by the early seventeenth century. The 1611 map has the word 'Inclosures' written on what appears to be the High Cliff area. Enclosure of common and waste continued through the 17th century, and farm sizes increased. Towerhill grew from 5 to 15 Cheshire acres, with some 30 acres of common land. An Act of 1625 encouraged the enclosure of common land in the Manor and Forest of Macclesfield. Jane Laughton writes that later in the century it "seemed customary for a farm to hold its own common land, which covered twice the acreage of the rest of the holding". It seems however that on the east side of Kerridge some common land survived until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (see below).

4. THE TITHE SURVEY OF THE 1840s

Rainow and Bollington were not subject to enclosure by act of parliament, so we lack the maps and details of ownership which would have arisen from this process in the 18th or early 19th centuries. But under the terms of the Tithe Commutation Acts, by which all tithes were converted to annual rents, maps and apportionments were made in 1848-1850 which cover a large part of the KRIV area, allowing us to see the size, ownership, tenancy and use of the farms which were included, and tell us the field names which were in use at the time (11; 12). Land no longer subject to tithes was not included in the 1848/50 documents. In 1844, these tithes had been sold. Catalogues of particulars were produced for the sales, and these included field by field information for the farms missing from the later documents (13; 14). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find the maps which must have accompanied these catalogues, so for these farms I can only list the field names, not locate the fields, in the farm by farm survey which follows below, after a general survey of the changes which the tithe documents show had occurred in the agriculture of the area since the 17th century.

a. CHANGES SINCE THE 17TH CENTURY

Enclosure.

By the time of the tithe maps, all of the common and waste land had been enclosed. Some enclosure seems to have taken place in the 17th century, encouraged by the act of 1625 (see above). The land on the west side of Kerridge hill which included the Kerridge quarries was probably enclosed early (see section three), as was the area of Bollington Common or waste which became Stakehouse Farm, and, perhaps, that on the north end which became Adshead's Barn Farm. Yet on the east side of Kerridge some land apparently remained common for much longer, only being enclosed at some time or times between 1770 and 1820, "when the farms on the Gaskell estate [based on Ingersley Hall] exchanged their common rights for intakes on the common" (15).

New Farms

One way in which new farms were created can be illustrated from one of the manorial court 'surrender' documents which were produced when farms in the Manor and Forest of Macclesfield changed hands. A surrender dated 1792 tells us that Stake House or Stake Hills Farm was "formerly part of the waste lands of Bollington, and heretofore belonging to a certain other farm there called Hollin Hall" (16). In other words it was created out of the waste lands which had been allocated to nearby Hollin Hall Farm. It seems likely too that the smallholdings of 5 acres each which had been attached to the Bulls Head Inn and what became the Redway Tavern at Kerridge were created out of this land, either when Stakehouse Farm was created, or later.

Some of the new 'farms' were extremely small, and farming must have been accompanied by other activities. Ivy House Farm, for instance, 12 acres in total, amounted to a couple of fields, a quarry and a coal mine.

Decline of arable farming

Arable farming was widespread in 17th century Rainow, although probably carried on only on a subsistence basis. The tithe documents show hardly any arable land (in the sense of land devoted to crops other than grass). The fields of Rainow and Bollington were almost all pasture or meadow. It seems likely that Rainow and Bollington farmers had responded to the opportunity to sell milk and other dairy produce which would have opened up initially with the growth of Macclesfield as an industrial town from the mid 18th century.

b. THE FARMS OF THE KRIV AREA

The following abbreviations are used in the farm descriptions which follow: p - pasture; m - meadow; a - arable. Field and farm sizes are indicated in figures standing for acres - roods - perches. Where fields are numbered, the numbers appear on the accompanying maps.

Stakehouse End Farm

The name Stakehouse is an interesting one. A map of 1611 has the inscription 'Steakles' hereabouts (17). Dodgson says the survey of that date has 'Steakulls', probably derived from the Old English 'staca', a stake, and 'hyll', a hill (3). Walter Smith suggests that here was once a stockaded site (18, 6 May 1932). This was probably for many hundreds of years a frontier area (see above), and I will argue in section 4 that a very ancient long east-west route may have passed through Stakehouse End. A likely spot for a stockaded site, perhaps worthy of archaeological investigation.

Stakehouse End Farm occupies the part of the common or waste lands of Bollington originally allocated to Hollin Hall Farm (see above). A booklet published in 1974 contains a reference to a mullioned window at Stakehouse End Farm, suggesting a construction date before c1720 (19). The original farmhouse seems to have been demolished. The present house on Chancery Lane was apparently built after the tithe map was drawn.

Stakehouse End Farm does not appear in the tithe documents of 1848, but it is included in the tithe sale catalogue of 1844. Ralph Henshall was then the owner and occupier. The following fields were listed:

Hawkes House Meadow, 4.1.11
Wallet, 2.0.7.
Top of Kerridge Meadow, 1.1.30
Middle Piece, 0.3.1
Top Piece, 1.1.33
New Meadow, 2.0.37
Stoke, 4.2.22

Together with the farmstead and three cottages and gardens, the land totalled 17.0.7.

The farm was put up for sale in 1849. One lot included the farmhouse, yard, garden and outbuildings, together with two adjoining cottages, the Stakehouse End Meadow and the Large Stakehouse (now divided into two fields), the whole being 14.2.25. A second lot consisted of 'Wallet End House', built 'very recently', and the adjoining Wallet End Meadow, 2.0.27 (22, 21 July 1849). Wallet End was the name given to the area of Chancery Lane at the top of High Street and Lord Street, so I assume Wallet End House was the house now known as Willow Bank.

By 1854, the Misses Wylde owned Stakehouse End Farm, which was occupied by Thomas Pownall (20). It was Miss Wylde of Willow Bank who sold a plot from the Stakehouse End Farm land in Jackson Lane so that Holy Trinity Church could be built in 1897 (21).

Bull's Head

The three fields attached to the Bull's Head public house were perhaps originally part of Stakehouse End Farm. When the public house "known by the sign of the Bull's Head" was put up for sale by auction in 1820, the lot included a four stalled stable and three closes or pieces of land, which were named as the Bull's Head Meadow, the Lesser Stakehouse, and the Rough Stakehouse, the lot totalling 5.2.15, in the occupation of James Bloor. The public house consisted of 6 ground floor rooms, good cellars, four lodging rooms and a club room (22, 25 Nov 1820).

The 1848 tithe apportionment and map show Mrs Jane Kinsey as owner, and Thomas Gould as occupier of the Bull's Head homestead and the three fields, now known as:

1. Higher Acre (p) [formerly Rough Stakehouse?]
2. Meadow (m) - out of which a strip was allocated as garden
3. Lower Meadow (m) [formerly Bull's Head Meadow?]

The whole totalled 5.0.12.

In the second part of the nineteenth century some publicans occupied the fields, but others seem to have leased them out. When the landlord John Adams left the Bull's Head in 1910, his farming stock was advertised : "two choice heifers, in calf for early spring; sixty grand poultry; three ducks; two stacks of well-got meadow hay; implements; dairy utensils" (23).

The 1871 and 1896 25 inch O.S. maps show a small scale sand pit near the far end of the long thin garden behind the pub (24; 26). The 1871 map also shows a track leading from the end of the cottages near the Redway Tavern up to the top of Higher Acre field. This track can be seen today, though obscured by gorse. Whatever it led to had apparently been abandoned by 1871. It may have been a quarry - a trade directory

of 1825 shows that Rosetta Bloor, "victualler, Bull's Head, Keyridge", also had a yard for the sale of stone in Macclesfield (27). From Jackson Lane, a retaining wall can be seen at the top of the hill, which may be holding back quarry waste. On the other side of the hill, from the stone path which runs behind the Redway, the field wall which divides the Bull's Head fields from the Stakehouse End Farm fields can be seen to cross disturbed land near the top of the hill. It is tempting to imagine that it is up here that we should look for a possible ancient stockaded site (see above).

Redway

The tithe map and apportionment of 1848 show Anne Gaskell as owner and occupier of three parcels of land:

1. Meadow (m)
2. Lower Meadow (m)
3. Stone bank and rough (p).

Together with "four cottages etc", also owned and occupied by Gaskell, the holding amounted to 5.3.2.

The three parcels of land, the biggest of which is occupied by disused quarries and stone waste, were attached to the Redway Tavern, which I assume to have been a nineteenth century beerhouse. I have not found any reference to the pub before an entry in a trade directory of 1892 (28). The buildings of the Redway Tavern are mid 19th century in appearance, probably constructed as cottages, or cottages with a beerhouse (as was quite common in Bollington).

The smallholding was probably created out of Stakehouse End Farm land. If the smallholding preceded the beerhouse, perhaps it was attached to the quarries. Burdett's map of 1777 (29) shows a building on the site, but it is not known what this was. The Tavern does incorporate (behind its western end) an older, much altered building, which can be examined from the path between the Redway Tavern and the cottages opposite.

Fields above the quarries on the west side of Kerridge Hill

It was probably at the time when the quarries were transferred to private ownership, after the act of 1625, that they were enclosed within long walled strips which ran right up to the top of the hill. The fields thus created above the quarries were used as pasture, sometimes by the owners or lessees of the quarry or quarries below, sometimes by others.

The Bollington tithe map and apportionment of 1848 show and name:

1. North End Field (p), owned and occupied by William Gatley
2. Horse Race (p), owned and occupied by William Gatley.

The latter is above the southern part of what is now Sycamore Quarry. The walled strips probably originally continued to the south, but by the time of the tithe documents William Clayton owned all the quarries between Sycamore and Five Ashes, and the tithe map shows only one "field above quarries".

Five Ashes Farm

'Five Ashes' was considered important enough to be named on all the early 19th century county maps (30; 31; 32). Burdett's 1777 map doesn't show or mention it, but it appears in the land tax returns of the 1790s (33). 'Surrender' documents of the Macclesfield Forest and Manor Court relating to 'Five Ashes Estate' and dated 1792 still await examination (34).

This apparent importance is rather puzzling, as the farm itself was a small scale affair by the time of the tithe map and apportionment in 1848, consisting of :

1. Top Field (p)
2. Gorsey Bank (m)
3. Meadow (m)

Together with two quarries, and "cottage and gardens", the whole amounted to 9.0.39. The owner was John Mellor, the occupier John Allen. The cottage was situated on the hillside between the two quarries; it was labelled on the 1871 25 inch map 'Five Ashes Farm' (24). The quarries ate their way toward the farmhouse or cottage, which was eventually demolished. I suppose the operator of the farm and quarries may then have lived in Five Ashes Cottages, built after 1848, or the house nearby.

In 1925, James Ratcliffe of 'Five Ashes Farm and Quarry' offered his stock for sale. It consisted of 19 head of "grand dairy and young stock", 4 "prime fat pigs", 80 head of poultry which included Rhode Island Reds, White Wyandottes and White Leghorns, a "powerful black mare" of 16.3 hands, 7 years old, a pedigree shire mare of 17 hands, 5 years old, 2 four and a half inch wheel lorries, a four inch wheel cart, a stone bogey on iron wheels, and 40 yards of rails. Mr Ratcliffe intended, he announced, "to go in for motor transport" (35).

Ivy House

I feel that there was once perhaps something more important than a smallholding attached to a quarry and a mine here. 'Ivy House', a name which first appears in the map sequence in 1831 (32), is rather grand for what was then a small homestead. On the opposite side of the track to Ivy House, part of the property, stood what was recorded in the tithe documents of 1848/50 as a cottage. These properties stood at the original entrance to Marksend Quarry - indeed the original quarry was probably part of this property. This was the first place on the hill which would be encountered by visiting burgesses of Macclesfield who had control of the Kerridge quarries before 1625 (see section 3). And Ivy House stands at the exact spot where the boundaries of Bollington, Rainow and Hurdsfield meet.

In 1848 the fields and closes of Ivy House Farm were:

1. Torrs (p)
2. New Piece (p)
3. Furze Bank (a)
4. Croft (p)
5. House Meadow (m)
6. Bottom Meadow (m)

Together with the homestead, cottage, quarry, coal pit hillock, coal pit bank and waste, and rough, the total area was 12.3.12. The owner was John Ainsworth, the occupier William Shufflebotham.

Woodend Farm

Woodend Farm buildings stand close to Kerridge Road, outside the KRIV area. The farm lands stretched up to the top of the southern part of Kerridge Hill; the fields above Lidgetts Lane which are above, below, and to the south of Marksend Quarry are within the KRIV area. The tithe documents of 1848/50 name them as:

1. Long Butts (p)
2. Lydia Field (p)
3. Engine Field (p)

The occupier was John Daniels, who tenanted the whole farm. The owners of the farm were John and George Ainsworth; John Ainsworth owned the quarry, and George was the tenant.

A word on names. The 'butt' in Long Butts refers to the end part of the ridge of Kerridge Hill. 'Lydia' is a corruption of Lidgetts - for the meaning of Lidgetts and the probable late date of construction of Lidgetts Lane, see section 4. Engine Field is derived from a steam engine used at the coal mine which was part of the Ivy House property (see section 3). The wood in Woodend is Swanscoe Wood (3, p.145).

Adshead's Barn Farm

Jane Laughton has pointed out that in 1611 Adsheads were operating Rainow Mill, then a corn mill, which had been leased to the family since 1549. She suggests that it was George Adshead, a farmer, dyer and carrier who died in 1644 who built Adshead's Barn on an outlying part of his holdings (5, p.15, 26).

A connection between Rainow Mill and Adshead's Barn Farm reappears in the record in the early 19th century, when Lawrence Plant Wagstaffe, who converted Rainow Mill from paper to cotton spinning in 1801, can be seen to be the owner also of Adshead's Barn Farm. In 1811, both were put up for sale. The farm was at that time known as 'Hatchet Barn Farm'; the present farmhouse at the top of Lord Street had probably been built. The sale advertisement (22, 2 Nov 1811) gave the size of the farm as 29 statute acres, which is much bigger than the farm recorded in the tithe documents. It seems likely that in 1811 the farm stretched around the hillside to include some land later attached to North End Farm - which would possibly make it contiguous with the land attached to Rainow Mill.

Among the fields listed in the 1811 sale advertisement is the beautifully named 'Eventide Green'. Unfortunately, I can't locate this. The 1811 advertisement was designed to encourage interest in the potential of the land for building housing for the workers in Bollington's expanding cotton mills. Four cottages, the advertisement said, had been "lately erected" in the Lower Meadow, and another plot was now staked out: these are presumably the terraced cottages at the bottom of the eastern side of Lord Street.

Either in 1811 or afterwards, the ownership of the farm was split. That part which lies in the township of Rainow went to North End Farm, and the rest was split into two blocks of two fields each. The western block, partly bordering on Lord Street, was perhaps bought with housing in mind. Here by 1848 more housing had been built below the farmhouse, and Cow Lane had been formed, with a row of three cottages. The fields in this block were:

1. Lower Meadow (m)
2. Higher Meadow (m).

With the farmstead, the area was 7.1.15. William Brocklehurst, Esq., was the owner and William Cooper the tenant.

The block to the east is not shown on the 1848 tithe documents, but the details are listed in the 1844 sale of tithes catalogue. Their respective sizes show which field was which:

3. North of Nancy Pasture, 10.2.1
4. Pasture, 4.3.12.

The owner was Miss Broster (while at this time block 1 was owned by William Henshall). The tenant was William Cooper, so we can assume that both blocks were being worked together as one farm.

North End Farm

North End Farm was not shown on the tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50. The sale of tithes catalogue of 1844 lists the fields as follows:

Crofts (m) 2.3.31
Top of Clough (m) 2.3.30
The Meadow (m) 4.2.36
Far Croft (p) 1.1.25
Kerridge (p) 11.1.12.

The landowner was listed as the late Thomas Gaskell's heirs, and the occupier as Thomas Burton. The tithe sale catalogues contain many minor mistakes; the name Burton should probably be Barton, as Thomas Barton was tenant of North End Farm in the 1820s, and also seems to have been working the coal mines on the property (see section 3). The total area, including "Intake and homestead", was 23.1.14.

In 1811, some of this land seems to have been a part of Adshead's Barn Farm (see above). Originally, I suppose all of it would have been common land. The name 'intake' coupled with the homestead suggests that perhaps the initial intake from the common was very small - a squatter's cottage and garden, perhaps?

Rainow Mill Farm

Rainow Mill Farm appears on the tithe map and apportionment of 1848/50. The fields are listed as follows:

1. Jolly Cock Meadow (m)
2. Pool Field (m)
3. Brow (m)
4. Croft (m)
5. Kerridge (p).

The total area, with the homestead, was something over 10 acres. The land owner was George Ainsworth, the tenant Peter Rowbotham.

This farm may have been land originally attached to the corn mill which was here by 1611, later being held with the paper mill and then the cotton spinning mill which occupied the site (see below, and section two).

Waulkmill Farm

Waulkmill Farm was not shown on the tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50. The 1844 tithe sales catalogue listed the fields as follows:

Kerridge (p) 26.1.12
Pool Side (p) 0.3.35
Tenter Field (p) 2.1.10
Tenter Meadow (p) 2.2.6
Cross Field (p) 4.2.20
Wood (p) 0.1.0
Cut Meadow (p) 1.2.0
Stable Croft (m) 0.1.38
The Croft (m) 1.2.17
Cow Gate (p) 0.0.30.

Together with the homestead and two gardens, the size was 41.2.0. The owners were the heirs of Thomas Gaskell, the tenant was Mary Sharpley.

Except for the Kerridge hillside, this was probably land once held with the fulling mill which stood on the farmhouse site or near it by 1611, and seems to have survived until the late eighteenth century. John Gaskell, who later built Ingersley Hall, bought the mill, and presumably the land, in 1768 (see section two). The field on the hillside described as 'Kerridge', previously common, would be added in the late 18th or early 19th century (see above).

Ingersley Farm

Ingersley may be amongst the earliest farms in Rainow, if not the earliest (see above). In the second half of the 14th century Thomas Shryglegh leased land at Ingersley which included a house with a croft and meadow and a wood (4, p.113). In 1611, Ingersley Farm was 21 Cheshire acres, and among the largest farms in Rainow (10). This presumably included some land which is now in Ingersley Park, and perhaps also some which was later in Higher Ingersley Farm.

Ingersley Hall was built c1775. A new farmhouse was built behind the hall in the late 18th century, probably on the site of the old farm.

Ingersley Farm was not included in the tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50. The tithe sales catalogue of 1844 listed the fields as follows:

White Flat (p) 12.2.35
Stoney Croft (m) 2.1.38

Little Stoney Croft (p) 1.3.16
Pell Field (m & a) 10.2.0
Plantation in ditto (wood) 0.3.5
Rabbit Wood (woody pasture) 4.0.27.

The land owners were Thomas Gaskell's heirs, and the tenant was James Gaskell.

Higher Ingersley Farm

I presume that part of Higher Ingersley was created out of Ingersley Farm, though some would be intake from common or waste. There is apparently a 1745 datestone on the farmhouse, but Dodgson has a 1684 reference to "le Over Ingersley" (3).

Higher Ingersley Farm was not included in the tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50. The tithe sales catalogue of 1844 listed the fields as follows (some must be outside the KRIV area):

Higher West Clough (p) 5.0.7
Middle Meadow (p) 5.3.30
Lower West Clough (a) 5.2.16
Intake (a) 1.3.7
Upper Close (p) 4.0.0
Plantation (wood) 1.3.36
Near Close (p) 3.3.3
Clough (p) 2.1.30
Lower Meadow (m) 4.2.2
Higher Meadow (m) 4.0.27
Stoney Flat (p) 7.1.27.

The owners were the late Thomas Gaskell's heirs, and the tenant was George Turner.

Lowerbrook Farm

An old established farm, shown in the 1611 survey. The farmhouse is early 18th century, described as being of "an unusual plan for the area, of double-pile type with central stack... both the barn [mid 18th century] and farmhouse in size and plan belong to the more prosperous Cheshire plain and in brick rather than stone" (36).

The tithe map and apportionment 1848/50 show the following fields:

1. Barn Meadow (m)
2. Calf Croft (m)
3. Brow over brook (p)
4. Doves (p)
5. Rickhouse (p)
6. Round Field and croft (a)
7. Brow laid to meadow (m)
8. Pole Clough and lane (p)
9. Higher Cliffe (p)
10. Lower Cliffe (p)
11. Long Field (p)
12. Halse Croft (wood & p)
13. Pole Meadow (m & a)
14. Near Under Cliffe (p)
15. Far Under Cliffe (p)
16. Stoney Croft (p)
17. Field (m)
18. Big Meadow (m).

The owner was George Baxter and the tenant was George Gardiner. The size, including homestead and other buildings and yards, was 62.1.26.

Hough Hole Farm

An old established farm, to which part of Kerridge Hill was added at enclosure. What is now Hough Hole House would be the original farmhouse. The older part of the building appears to be late 17th century, with alterations dated 1796, with the initials JMM (36), which stand for James and Mary Mellor. James Mellor bought the farm in 1796, and erected Hough Hole Mill, a cotton spinning factory, in 1803 (see section 2). With the increasing prosperity of the Mellor family, Hough Hole farmhouse became Hough Hole House, and was extended, and a new farmhouse was built in the field to the north-west, perhaps on the site of a previous barn, as the field was called 'Barn Field'. It is unusual in that it is quite separate from the other farm buildings (which include a 17th century barn and shippon), connected to them by a stone field path, and because it is faced with rather monumental dressed stone. It has been said that this was stone produced by a local quarry for a railway company, but was surplus to requirements. R.C. Turner has suggested that the large stone blocks may have been added by James Mellor jnr to suggest the character of a castle, as the farmhouse stood for the Doubting Castle in Mellor's allegorical garden based on Pilgrim's Progress (see below).

The tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50 list the fields of Hough Hole Farm as follows:

1. House Croft (m)
2. Pond and Croft (m)
3. Smithy Croft (m)
4. Middle Field (p)
5. Long Field (p)
6. Barn Field (p)
7. High Field (p)
8. Near Long Hey (p)
9. Far Long Hey (m)
10. Long Meadow (m)
11. Clough (m)
12. Little Kerridge (p)
13. Kerridge (p)
14. Turnip Close (m).

The total acreage, including the homestead, was 46.2.6. The farm was owned and occupied by James Mellor [jnr.].

Kerridgeside

The tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50 show that two fields were attached to Kerridgeside:

1. Meadow (m)
2. Kerridge (p).

With the homestead, the whole amounted to 7.1.38. The owner was 'the late James Webb', and the occupier was Samuel Oakes. 'The Story of Rainow' suggests that Kerridgeside was built as cottages by James Mellor for workers at his mill (37, p.68), but if so, I would have expected ownership to remain in the hands of the Mellor family. On the other hand, this is far too small to be a working farm. Perhaps this unit was created at enclosure around a squatter's cottage, or around a building connected to the coal mines on the hillside? This is pure speculation.

Old Hall Farm (Sugar Lane Farm)

The oldest part of the Old Hall on Sugar Lane is early 17th century, with an addition dated 1690, and 20th century alterations (36). Before alterations, some of the inside walls were wattle and daub (37). The local historian Walter Smith, who believed that the building was erected in 1690, wrote that the deeds go back to 1671, and that the hall "seems to have taken the place of two previous dwelling houses". He speculated that

this might be the "mansion house" built in Rainow in 1482 which is mentioned in the Cheshire Crown Revenue Accounts (18, no. 38).

The tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50 list the fields that made up the farm at that time:

1. Big Meadow (m)
2. Little Meadow (m)
3. Near Field (p)
4. Higher Field (p)
5. Lower Field (p)
6. Hollow Field (p)
7. Hollow Meadow (m)
8. Kerridge (p).

The total area, including the homestead, was 36.1.25. The owner was John Condliffe, and the tenant was John Gaskell.

Lowndes Fold Farm

Seems to be shown on the 1611 map. Dodgson has a 1692 reference (3, p.144). The farm is listed in late eighteenth and early 19th century land tax returns (38). It is named 'Lionsfold' on the 1871 25 inch O.S. map (24).

The tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50 list the following fields within the KRIV area:

1. Bottoms (p)
2. Big Meadow (m)
3. Rough (p)
4. Little Meadow (m).

The total area, including the homestead, and two fields outside the KRIV area, was 20.2.28. The owner was George Bancroft Withington Esq., and the tenant was Matthew Ainsworth.

Tower Hill Farm (I)

Tower Hill estate, based on Tower Hill House which is on the east side of the main road, outside the KRIV area, can be traced back to the 14th century (37). By the mid 19th century, the farmland once presumably part of the estate which lies to the west of the main road, and inside the KRIV area, had been split into two farms, both of which seem to have borne the name 'Tower Hill Farm'.

Tower Hill Farm I, to the north, is not on the tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50, but its fields were listed in the tithe sale catalogue of 1844:

Clough (p) 1.2.18
Clough Field (p) 3.0.5
Nearer Coal Pit Field (p) 1.3.6.
Kerridge (p) 6.3.33
Lower Kerridge (p) 6.3.33
Plantation (p) 0.0.25
Cote Meadow (m) 4.0.36
Clough Pasture (p) 0.2.5
Lower Meadow (a & m) 2.3.5
Cow Lane Meadow (m) 2.2.25
The Bank (m) 1.1.5.

The area totalled 32.1.3. The owner and occupier was John Rawson.

Tower Hill Farm (II)

Tower Hill Farm II is in the tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50. Its fields were listed as:

1. Big Meadow (m)

2. Long Meadow (m)
3. Horse Pasture (p)
4. Kerridge (p).

The total area, including the homestead and croft, was 25.3.3. The owner was Thomas Daintry, the tenant Daniel Sutton.

This farm had been split into two separate sections by the creation of Cow Lane Mill and pool in 1789. Fields 2 to 4 were reached along the track past the mill, which became known as Cow Lane (though the original Cow Lane seems to have been the track to the north - see section 4).

Tower Hill Farm II included the 3 bay, two and a half storey mid 17th century farmhouse (36) which stands by the main road at the top of Tower Hill. Adjacent to the farmhouse is a folly in the form of a small tower. Clifford Rathbone wrote of this: "I recall Mr G.T. Smith telling me that apparently about 8o years ago [c1890] a Bollington doctor owned some property thereabouts. Three cottages had got into such a state of disrepair that he decided to demolish them, and, talking to his friends, he commented that he would give future generations some reason for calling the locality Tower Hill; he would build a small tower with the stone from the cottages. He did, and that is the explanation of the tower which causes so much comment among visitors to the village" (39, 5 Nov 1970).

As Rathbone indicates, the name Tower Hill is an old one. Dodgson thought it probably derived from 'tor', itself meaning a hill (3, p.145), but Jane Laughton has suggested that the name comes from 'Turton's Tower', which the 1611 map shows to have been on Kerridge Ridge, probably at the highest point (see below).

New Barn Farm

Not in the the apportionment or map of 1848/50. The catalogue of the tithe sales of 1844 lists what appear to be the fields etc of this farm:

Assa Field (p) 5.1.34
Taylor Field (p) 2.3.0
Hollow Field (p) 1.1.4
Smithy Meadow (m) 4.2.8
Barnfield (p) 2.1.20
Barn Buildings and yard 0.0.32
Plough Meadow (m) 2.0.30
Garden (m) 0.0.15.

The total acreage was 18.3.32. The owner was Mrs Barlow, and the tenant was Stephen Orme.

Brookhouse Farm

Jane Laughton says that the lease of Brookhouse dated back to the Elizabethan period. In 1611 'the Brook' was a four bay dwelling with two gardens, a large barn, and hay and turf houses. The housing on the site expanded in the later 17th century grew to accommodate various branches of the owners, the Jackson family (10, p.36)

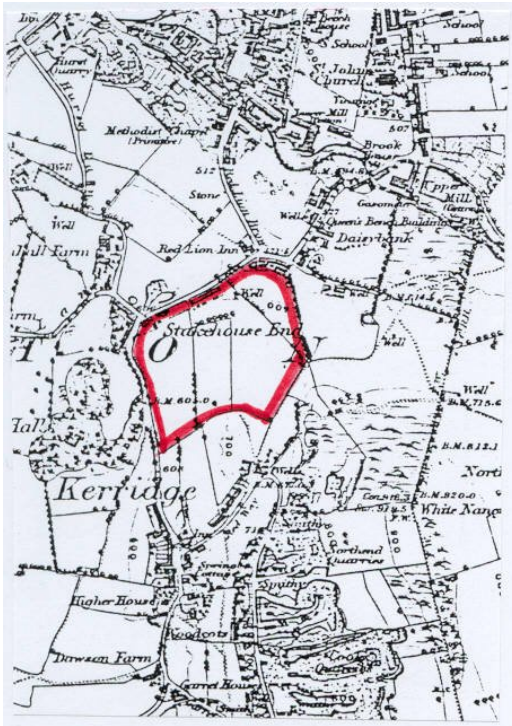
The present farmhouse is late 17th century, with an 18th century addition to the right (36).

Brookhouse farm is not included in the tithe apportionment and map of 1848/50. The fields were listed in the sale of tithes catalogue of 1844, but many of these were outside the KRIV area. The following fields, which were numbered separately in the catalogue, are probably the Brookhouse fields north of Lidgetts Lane and the farmhouse, which are inside the KRIV area:

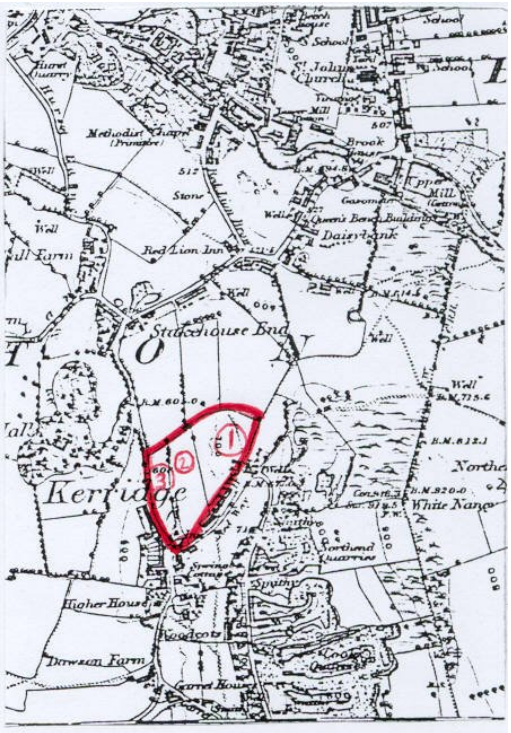
Garden 0.1.5
Kerridge Meadow (m) 3.3.18
Croft (m) 0.3.28
Far Meadow (m) 4.2.32

Kerridge (p) 7.2.15.
The tenant of the whole farm (59 acres) was John Hammond; the owner was listed as Ferdinand [sic] Jackson. Jackson's first name has been mistakenly anglicised. Ferdinando Jackson's had been connected with Brookhouse since the 17th century. Laughton quotes a 1651 inventory of Ferdinando Jackson (10, p.22). The name is seen in the late 18th century land tax returns (38). In the 19th century, Ferdinando Jackson's poems were published in the Macclesfield Courier, and in 1829 James Swinnerton, the paper's publisher, brought out an edition of his "Poems, Descriptive and Miscellaneous" (40).

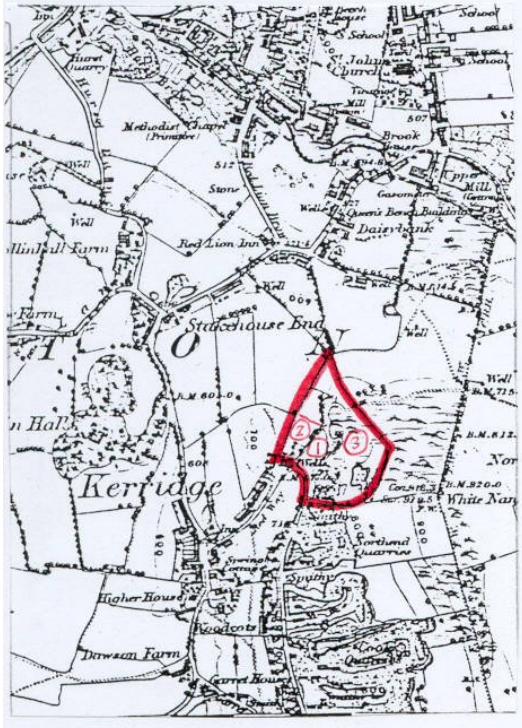
c. FARM MAPS



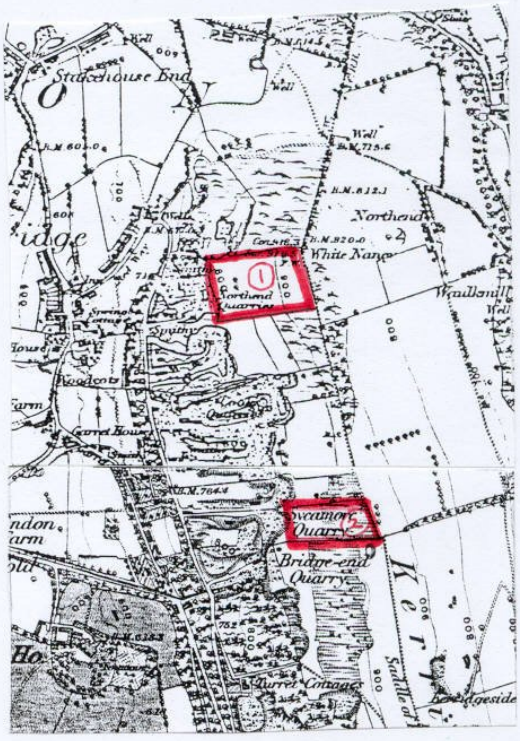
Stakehouse End Farm



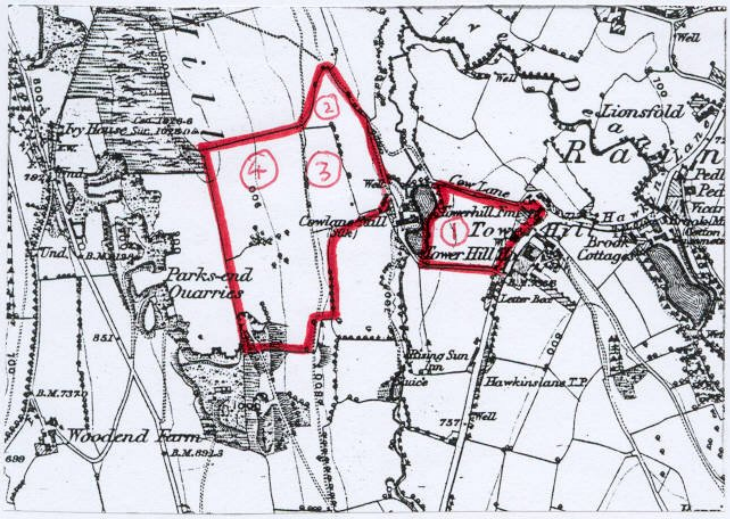
Bull's Head



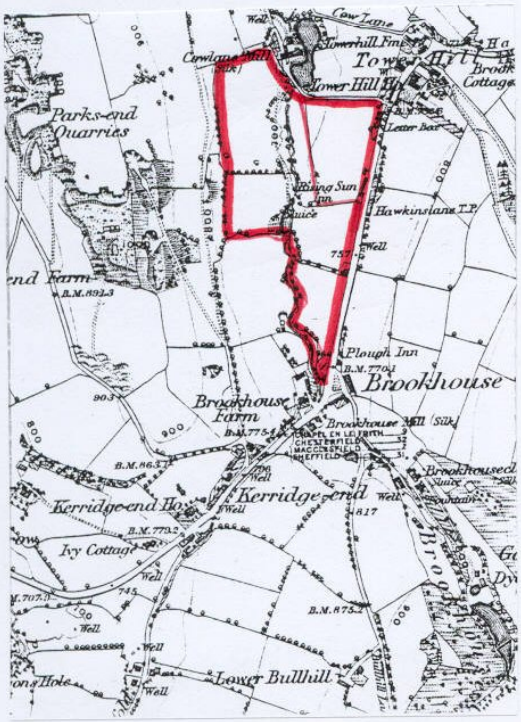
Redway



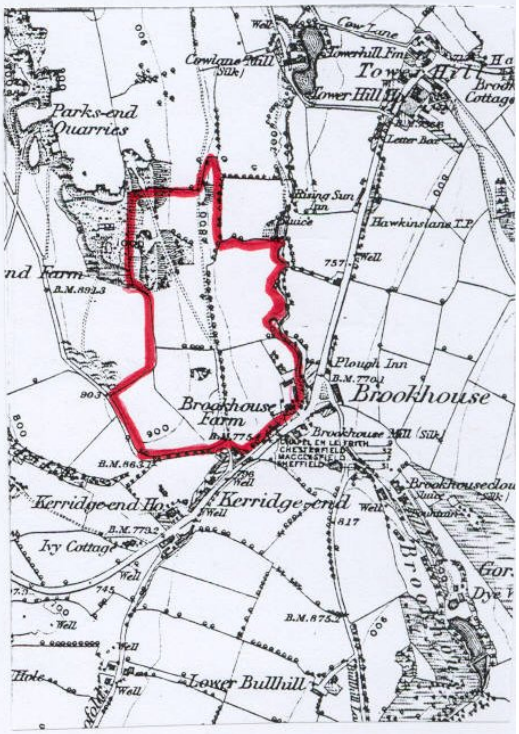
Fields above the quarries



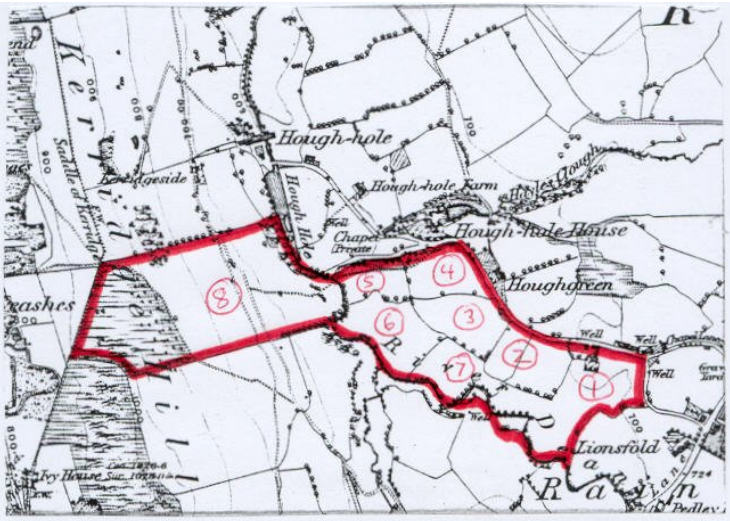
Tower Hill Farm (II)



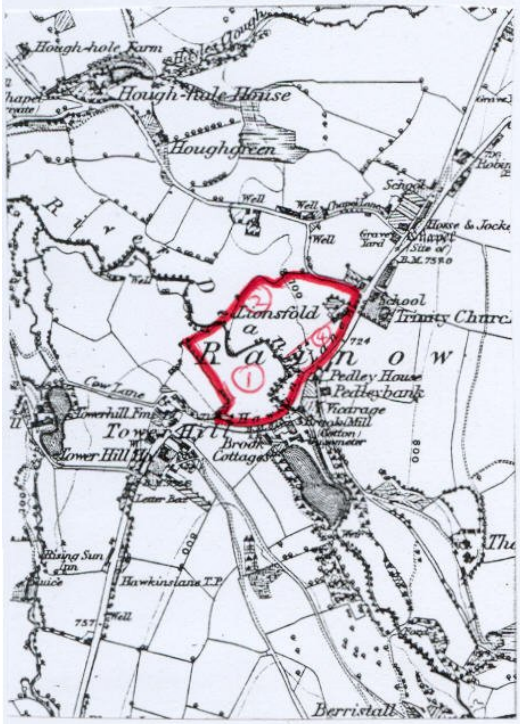
New Barn Farm



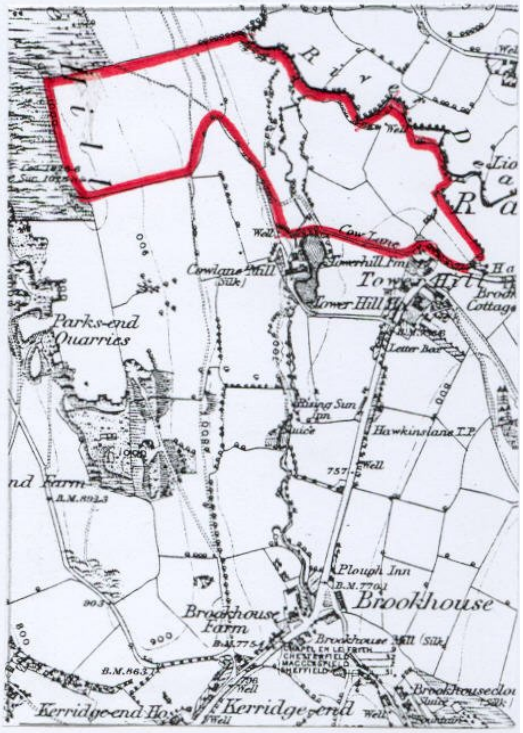
Brookhouse Farm



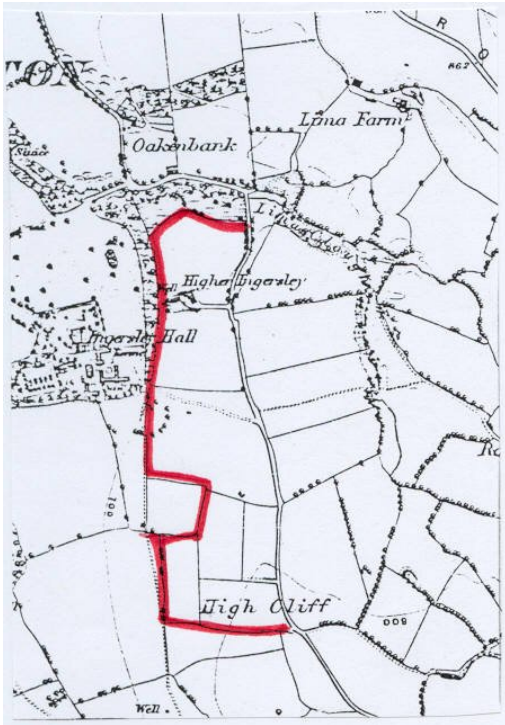
Old Hall (Sugar Lane) Farm



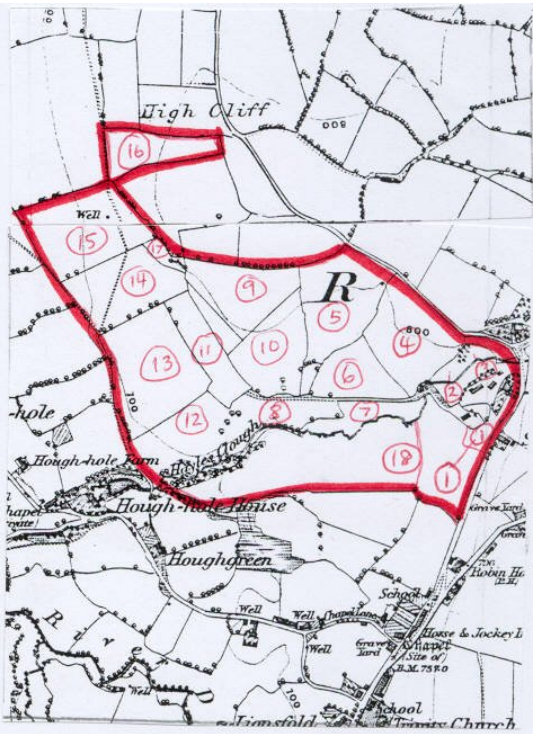
Lowndes Fold Farm



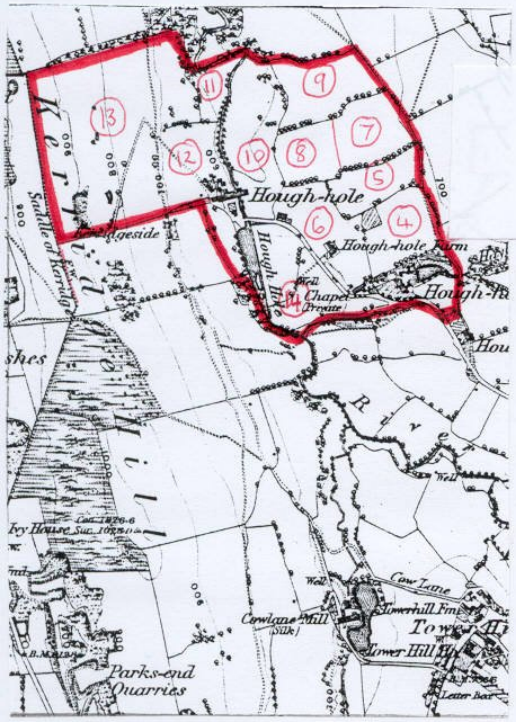
Tower Hill Farm (I)



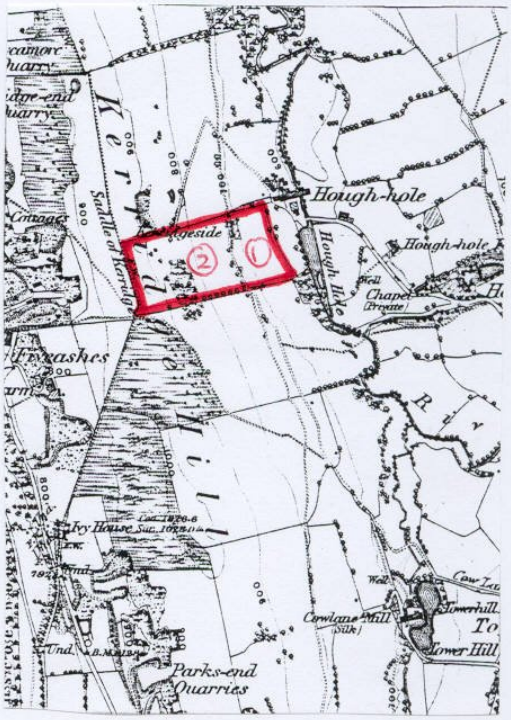
Higher Ingersley Farm



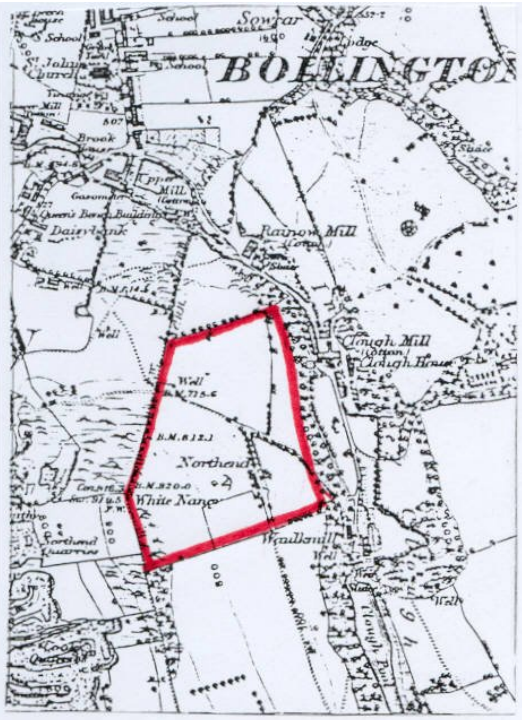
Lowerbrook Farm



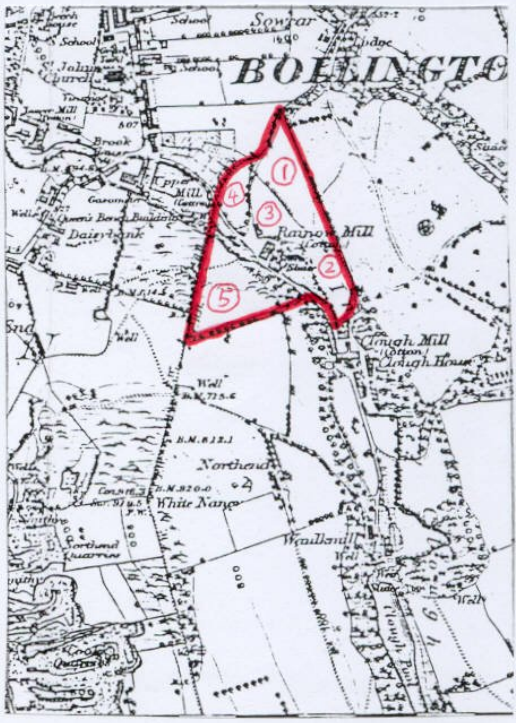
Hough Hole Farm



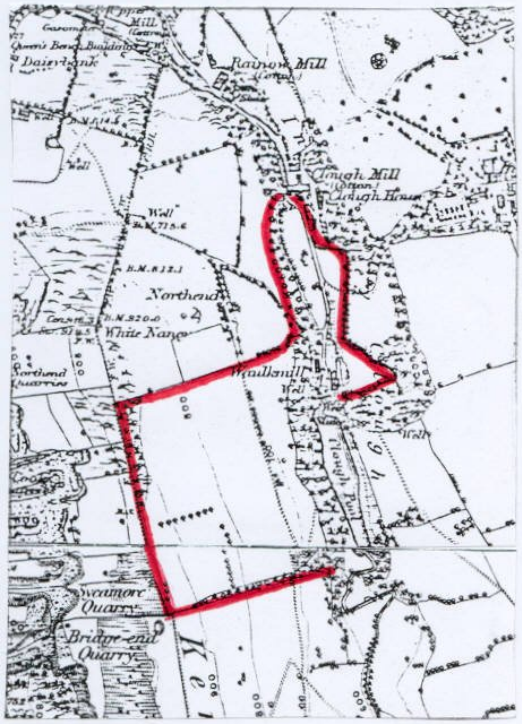
Kerridgeside



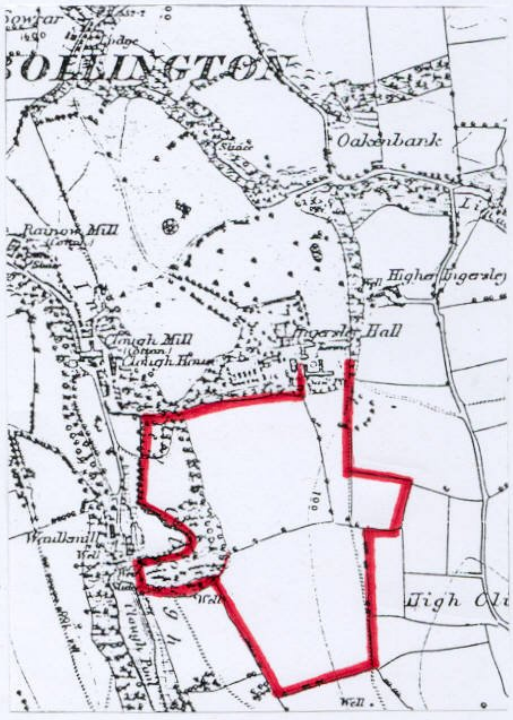
North End Farm



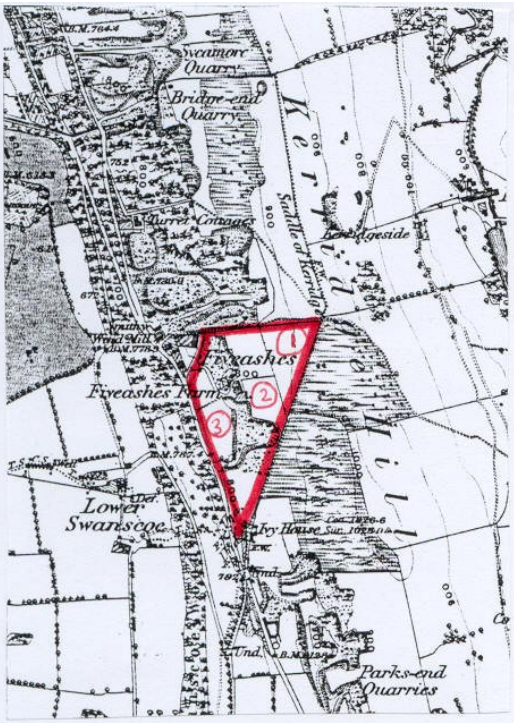
Rainow Mill Farm



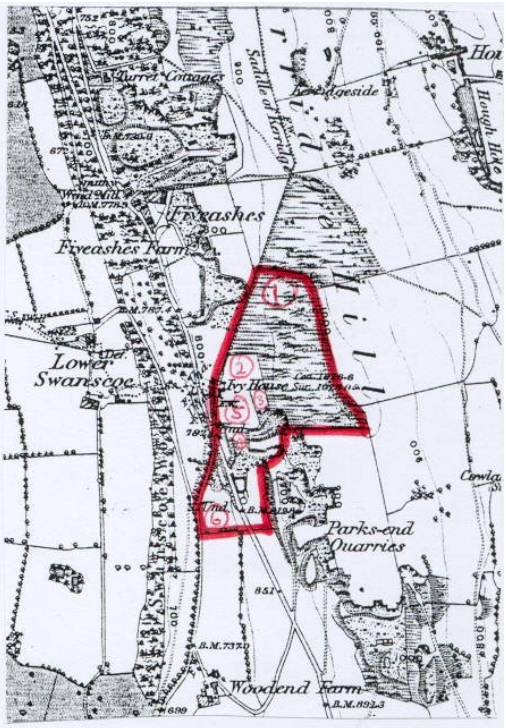
Waulkmill Farm



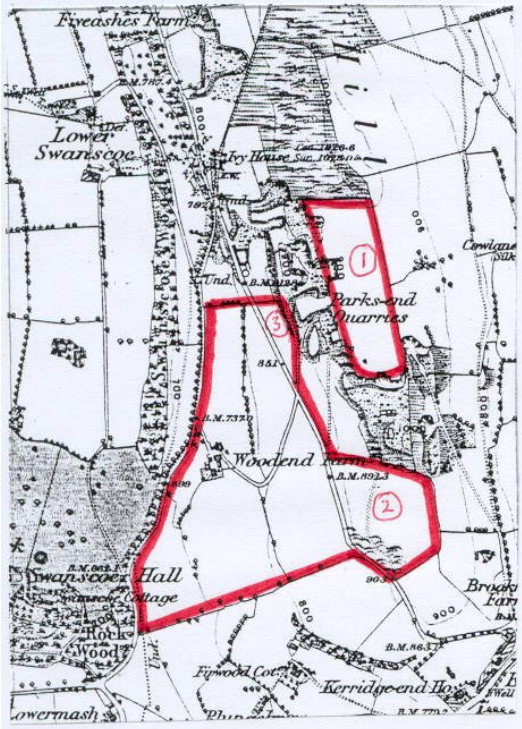
Ingersley Farm



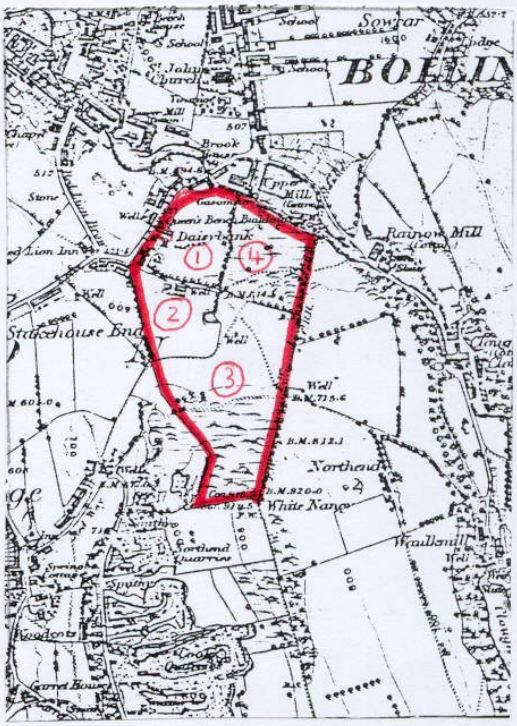
Five Ashes Farm



Ivy House



Woodend Farm



Adshead's Barn Farm

5. CORN MILLS

a. RAINOW MILL

We know from medieval documents that there was a manorial corn mill at Rainow, but until recently its site was unclear. Walter Smith quoted a document of 1559/60, apparently referring to a 15th century legal case, which mentions "the highway leading from Macclesfield to the mill at Rannowe." On the assumption that this was the present main road through Rainow, Smith thought that the mill must have been either at Brookhouse, or at the bottom of Tower Hill. He thought the latter site most likely, as the stream here seems to have been known as Mill Brook before a cotton factory was built here in 1784. The factory became known as Mill Brook Mill (18). The 1611 survey described by Jane Laughton lists a meadow called Milne Croft among the fields belonging to the Tower Hill estate (10, p.27).

However that same survey and the map of 1611 clearly show 'Rainow Milne' on or near the site of the modern Rainow Mill in Ingersley Clough. The corn mill was then held by Jasper Worth and Humphrey Davenport, and was tenanted by Reynold Adshead. The mill had been leased to the Adshead family since 1549. "The testimony of the contemporary map seems to be conclusive", writes Laughton. The mill is very close to the boundary of Rainow with Bollington, but it was close to what may have been the earliest part of the settlement, and on what may have been a through route of some importance (see section 4).

Walter Smith cited a series of records showing the lessees of Rainow Mill from 1438 to 1547. The Shrigley family appear to have leased the mill for almost the whole of that period (18, no.47). At some point in the late 14th century, Thomas Shryglegh had leased nearby Ingersley (4, p.113). But this may not be particularly significant, because the Shrigleys also leased the manorial corn mills in Bollington, Pott Shrigley and Whaley for long periods. Walter Smith also refers to mid-16th century Star Chamber cases concerning the destruction of Rainow Mill, together with an assault, in which the plaintiffs were Roger Shrygley and his son Thomas, and the defendants were Jasper Worth and Humphrey Swyndles. It appears that only the summarised titles of the cases have survived. It looks as though Jasper Worth was successful in a struggle for the mill, if he is related to the Jasper Worth in possession in 1611. The possibility arises of there having been two mills, one at Mill Brook in the hands of the Shrigleys which was destroyed by Worth and Swyndles, who had a rival mill on the Rainow Mill site. But this is pure speculation.

b. KERRIDGE WINDMILL

It is traditionally stated that the windmill on Windmill Lane, near to Five Ashes, was used for grinding corn. I have seen no evidence of this, but I have seen no evidence for any other use, either.

The windmill appears to have been erected on Kerridge in the 1830s, probably by William Clayton who had bought the Endon estate, and was busy transforming the area by building a tramway from the Macclesfield canal up to the quarries, and also building Endon Hall and Endon House, and Turret Cottages and the tower on Windmill Lane (see section 3).

Part of the windmill tradition is that the windmill was brought to Kerridge from Macclesfield Common, where it had been part of the copper works established by Charles Roe from 1758. A description of the copper works written in the 1790s mentions "a large windmill for grinding the ore." The copper works closed in 1801, but the windmill was converted to corn milling, and was in full work by 1806 (41, p.115-7, 121; 42, p. 73, 92).

In 1834, the windmill on Macclesfield Common was put up for sale by auction. The advertisement referred to "all that windmill for the grinding of corn, containing one pair of wheatstones, two pair of grey stones, and all necessary gearing; together with the drying kiln, messuage &c... situate at Lunt Hill in Macclesfield" (22, 26 July 1834).

It is not clear exactly what might have been brought from Macclesfield Common to Kerridge. Perhaps only the grindstones and the machinery, and maybe the sails (which had been brought to Macclesfield from Liverpool via the Weaver Navigation). The design of the tower shown in an early 19th century print of the Macclesfield windmill (41, opp p.117) doesn't much resemble that of the Kerridge windmill shown in old photographs (e.g. 23, inside back cover). But we can't be sure that no stone was transported. The curved stonework of the tower would be expensive to make, not much use for any other purpose, and perhaps not too expensive to transport along the Macclesfield Canal, which ran from the Common to Clayton's tramway.

By the twentieth century the windmill was disused. Its ruins became a noted feature of the locality; William S. Broster wrote that now "Kerridge had two buildings of absorbing and romantic interest to visitors and country lovers, viz.: White Nancy and the Windmill" (43, p.24). The windmill was completely demolished during the second world war - Broster says in 1942 - apparently for use as rubble in airfield construction.

6. LANDSCAPES OF WEALTH AND LIESURE

a. INGERSLEY HALL

Ingersley Hall was one of the homes of the Gaskell family from its foundation around 1775 until 1933. The Gaskells, it seems, were yeomen farmers in Adlington in the early eighteenth century. Thomas Gaskell of Adlington had been able to buy Sowcar Farm in 1736; he gave it to his son John Gaskell (snr), who married Elizabeth Brocklehurst, through whom John acquired the Tower Hill House and estate in Rainow.

When John Gaskell senior died in 1768, his son, John Gaskell junior, bought Ingersley and the surrounding farms, and around 1775 he built Ingersley Hall. 'The Story of Rainow' assumes that the hall was built on a green field site near to the old farmhouse (37), but Mary Meacham has suggested that Ingersley was such a large and prosperous house in the mid 17th century that the farmstead would have been separate, and that Ingersley Hall may have been built on the site of what was, in effect, an older hall (44).

The new hall was a T-shaped building, which de Figueiredo and Treuherz inexplicably state to be "in a harsh moorland setting" (45, p.246). It is not clear whether emparkment took place at the same time. Neither the park nor the present main driveway appear on the county maps before 1829. "Extensions were erected at each end of the main west front in 1833... a smart Grecian-style entrance facade to the north, and at the south a top-heavy Tuscan doorcase, probably removed from the centre of the original 18th-century west front" (45, p.246). Further extensions followed, including extensive stables and a coach house with a symmetrical 7-bay front, with central pediment, around 1850.

The Gaskells had clearly continued to prosper. They acquired further farms to swell their rents. They exploited the plantations on their lands: in 1824, at the Spinner's Arms in Bollington, Thomas Gaskell sold "by ticket" what was described as "valuable timber now growing in Ingersley Clough", which included oak, ash, birch, elm, alder, and "merry", and also underwood consisting of "ash, alder, birch, thorn, crab, hasel (sic) &c., suitable for turners" (22, 28 Feb 1824). They built a dyeworks and a cotton spinning mill, and leased land to others for industrial purposes (see section 2). Thomas Gaskell, who moved his family to Ingersley Hall from Tower Hill on the death of his

father in 1824, is described as being "occupied in the textile industry and a prominent Manchester businessman" (44).

Thomas Gaskell's eldest son, John Upton Gaskell (1804 - 1883), went up to Oxford. He wrote home that "a man cannot live respectable as a gentleman under £300 a year... as I did not come to Oxford for the express purpose of taking my degree only, but of interesting myself in the respectable society and see a little of the world, there was no occasion for me to read night and day for my degree as some do without enjoyment whatever." He duly interrupted his studies for a grand tour on the continent (46).

John Upton Gaskell married the only daughter of Samuel Grimshaw of Errwood Hall in the Goyt valley, and lived at Ingersley the life of a gentleman. His newspaper obituary noted that "an enthusiastic sportsman and a good shot, he was for a great number of years a member of the Cheshire Hunt". He bred horses at Ingersley. He sat as a county magistrate from 1839, and was chairman of the bench for the Prestbury division from 1859; "few were more regular in their attention to their magisterial duties than he was."

John Upton Gaskell took a paternal, Tory, interest in social matters. He was a principal supporter of the movement to build an Anglican church in Bollington; he was treasurer of the Rainow Church and King Club, "a society whose benefits to the rural population of that district he was a strenuous advocate". He also took an interest in the promotion of the Macclesfield, Bollington and Marple Railway Bill and "was chairman of that company until its affairs were handed over to the joint committees which now control them" (22, 11 Aug 1883).

He was succeeded at Ingersley by his unmarried sister, Anne, who died in 1923. The family sold off the Hall and the estate in 1933. The Hall, which is now called Savio House, was taken over in the 1950s by the religious order of the Salesians of Don Bosco (47).

b. WHITE NANCY

It seems that White Nancy was built on the site of a warning beacon. Our source for this is the Reverend William Marriott's 'Antiquities of Lyme', published in 1810. Marriott describes Kerridge Hill: "This is an exceedingly narrow ridge rising in the midway of its long range to a greater height, from which again it gradually declines. Along the whole of this tract is an almost rectilinear fence of stone presents itself to the eye, falling down the steep brow of the northern end in the same rectilinear method. This exhibits at the top a small rotunda of brick, bearing the same construction of a sea-mark with that at Alderley. Not the least signs however of any subordinate hill or barrow of artificial earth in this instance occur." Walter Smith, who quoted this passage in a newspaper article about White Nancy (48), noted that "a sea-mark is a conspicuous object distinguishable at sea which serves to guide or warn sailors in navigation but Marriott must use the term in the sense 'beacon'".

Marriott's description presents some difficulties. It is not clear what a 'rectilinear' stone wall would look like. Why would brick be used on a hill abounding in stone? The Alderley Edge beacon, to which the one on Kerridge is so specifically compared, was a small square stone building, not a rotunda, of early 18th century date, but with a pointed roof added in 1779. (This building was demolished in 1931; for a photograph of it, see 49).

However, it is clear enough that Marriott is saying that a beacon stood at the northern end of Kerridge Hill. This would, like the Alderley Edge beacon (until roofed), have been a warning beacon on which a fire could be lighted when invasion threatened. Saxton's Cheshire map of 1577 shows a beacon at Alderley Edge; Kerridge too may have had a beacon for centuries. It is possible that the beacon may have been referred to as an 'ordnance', or military, beacon. From this the name 'Nancy' may have been derived, and applied perhaps not only to the beacon, but also to the whole hill, or the northern part of it.

An issue of the Macclesfield Courier in December 1816 contained a reference to the Macclesfield Harriers chasing a hare from Bollington Cross to Kerridge Hill "near the Northern Nancy", and then on to Swanscoe and Rainow (22, 14 Dec 1816). The usual date cited for the building of White Nancy is 1817. If this is accurate, then the Courier reference would prove that the Nancy name predated the present structure. But I have not seen any incontrovertible evidence that 1817 was the date of construction.

Local news begins to appear more frequently in the Macclesfield Courier from the 1820s, and references to 'Northern Nancy' suggest to me a well-established usage, which refers not to the folly, but to the hill itself. In May 1826, for instance, a two-foot long adder was killed "below Northern Nancy" (22, 27 May 1826). The latest use I have seen is in a report of a bonfire on 'Northern Nancy' to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1863 (22, 14 Mar 1863).

The structure which we know as White Nancy seems to have been erected by John Gaskell of Ingersley Hall to commemorate the 1815 victory at Waterloo. This was the tradition in the Gaskell family, anyway. John Gaskell's great granddaughter, Miss Anne Gaskell, wrote to Walter Smith in 1921 (two years before her death at the age of 79) that "my great grandfather caused the sugar loaf on White Nancy to be built in remembrance of the battle of Waterloo, and it took eight horses to drag up the slab for the table inside" (quoted in 48). Some, assuming Nancy to be a new name for a new structure, have speculated that Nancy was perhaps the leading horse; others have said that Nancy was a Gaskell name, and indeed, John Gaskell's sister, and her daughter, both seem to have been Nancys (44).

White Nancy probably was intended, in part at least, as a victory memorial, though it does seem odd that there was no inscription to that effect. But the structure must have had two other purposes. First, it was a summerhouse. It was labelled as such on Bryant's 1831 Cheshire map (32). White Nancy originally had a door and a window, and inside is a stone table, and a seat running round the inside of the wall. It seems likely that its use would be restricted to the Gaskells and their friends. Second, White Nancy was designed as a skyline eye-catcher, when seen from Ingersley Hall. Another local example of a folly built for this purpose is the 'castle' on Mow Cop, built in 1754 or thereabouts to catch the eye of viewers at Rode Hall near Scholar Green. The walled plantation at the top of the eastern side of Kerridge Hill, and the two walled strips of plantation which run up the hillside, also serve an ornamental purpose. I don't know if they were planted when White Nancy was built, but they are referred to in the sale of tithes catalogue of 1844 (13).

It seems likely that White Nancy, a freestone structure, was whitewashed from the beginning. Richard E. Knowles, an antiquarian who lived at Bollington Cross at the beginning of the 20th century, had heard a local tradition that John Gaskell had left a sum of 2/6 pa for whitewashing the structure (48). The first reference to its whiteness that I have seen is in a history and directory of Macclesfield published in 1825: "at the summit [of Kerridge] you will find erected by the late Mr Gaskell a round building, clothed in white, called Northern Nancy" (27). I presume the building has remained white throughout its history, except during the two world wars, when it was painted green as camouflage from enemy bombers, and for short spells in recent years when the structure has been unofficially (and rather skilfully) painted with Union Jacks, and Father Christmases, and was once turned into a giant Christmas pudding.

Ornamentation of White Nancy was made easier when the structure was sealed up (there had been some vandalism of the interior) and plastered over. According to Walter Smith, this was done in 1935: "In honour of the King's Silver Jubilee it was arranged that Nancy should don a new robe. But there was a little misadventure when she was being fitted and the tail end of the material was lost, so that there was not enough to go round her..." The missing section of plaster can be seen on some of the photographs that were taken of the jubilee bonfire which was built close to White Nancy. The bonfire was lit at 10 p.m. on Jubilee Day (6 July 1935), after an impromptu jazz concert on the hilltop in the afternoon (50).

When the tradition of celebratory bonfires next to White Nancy began, I don't know. The first account I have seen is of the bonfire to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Wales in1863 (22, 7 & 14 Mar 1863).

c. TURTON'S TOWER

'Turton's Tower' appears as an inscription on the 1611 map reproduced in Jane Laughton's book 'Seventeenth Century Rainow' (10, centrefold). The tower appears to have stood on the highest point of Kerridge Hill, where the trig. point is now. The map shows the Rainow/Bollington boundary going along the top of the ridge up to Turton's Tower, then making a right angle turn to the west to descend straight down to what is now Ivy House. (The present boundary approaches Ivy House diagonally from the Saddle.)

Turton's Tower was probably built by the Turton family who in the early 17th century lived at Kerridge End. Jane Laughton tells us that John Turton had a tenement there in 1611, and that Richard Turton's probate inventory of 1631 shows that Richard had been a prosperous silk button man, probably putting out button work on quite a large scale (10, p.26, 34).

We can only speculate about the origins and purpose of Turton's Tower. It may have been a defensive structure, or a boundary marker, or it may have been built (or rebuilt) entirely for its own sake, much as John Gaskell later built White Nancy.

Families bearing surnames which are place names usually lived in those places when surnames were adopted in the 13th and 14th centuries. It is interesting to note that the Lancashire village of Turton has a well-known tower, apparently a medieval defensive structure which was rebuilt in stone in 1596. Edward Baines, the 19th century historian of Lancashire, described the tower at Turton as having four storeys and an embattled parapet (51, p.218). Perhaps the Rainow Turtons built the tower on Kerridge as homage to the tower in their ancestral home village.

d. HOUGH HOLE HOUSE AND GARDENS

Hough Hole Farm was bought by James Mellor in 1796. Mellor built a cotton mill on his land in 1803, and engaged in the cotton business himself (see section 2). The Mellor fortunes apparently prospered. Mellor's son, James jr (1796 - 1891), ran the mill for a while after his father's death in 1828, but soon felt able to retire to a presumably gentler life as a farmer, from which also he retired in the 1850s. The old Hough Hole farmhouse became Hough Hole House, and was extended; a new farmhouse was built in a field to the west. Mellor devoted much of his time to spiritual contemplation (guided by the writings of Emmanuel Swedenborg, which he had discovered in his 30s), to preaching (at Hough Hole House), and to the creation of what came to be known as 'Mellor's Gardens', a project which continued to occupy him for the rest of his life.

Mellor's Gardens, allegorical gardens based on Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress', are the subject of a thoroughly researched article and booklet written by Richard Turner, formerly Cheshire County Archaeologist (52; 53). Turner wrote that "the idea for the garden is unique, for it is laid out so that the visitor can relive Christian's journey to the Celestial City in Pilgrim's Progress. But this book was only chosen as a vehicle for the religious teachings of Emmanuel Swedenborg who believed in the correspondence of the natural and spiritual worlds... There is no equivalent garden surviving in Britain" (52, p.157, 165).

Mellor used some of the existing features on what were described in the tithe documents of 1848/50 as crofts (used as meadow) behind the house to make his garden, and built others. A swampy lawn became the Slough of Despond; stables were the House of the Interpreter; a hole in the overflow of the pond was the Cave of the Holy Sepulchre; a summer house in which Mellor constructed an aeolian harp was the

Howling House; the new farmhouse was the Doubting Castle; the Celestial City on Mount Sion was a chapel, approached by a spiral staircase, which Mellor had built onto a barn.

Mellor added non-Bunyan elements - there was an Uncle Tom's Cabin, for instance - and many inscriptions written and carved on stones by Mellor himself were scattered about. Mellor kept the garden open to the public, apparently at all times. Turner wrote that "the garden became a considerable local attraction. Parties of visitors came every Sunday by wagonette from Manchester; many came from abroad. Good Friday was the special day when over 500 people could be found there" (52, p.164). Guided tours were discontinued after James Mellor's death. The house passed out of the hands of the Mellor family in the 1920s, and by the 1970s the gardens had decayed. They were restored by Mr and Mrs Humphreys from 1978, and were reopened to the public in 1984.

7. ASSESSMENT

In sections 2, 3, and 4 of this report I will comment on the historical significance of features of the KRIV area, and make some recommendations concerning action which might be taken for their protection, interpretation and improvement. In this section, the buildings described, which include the farmhouses, Ingersley Hall, Hough Hole House, and White Nancy, have long been appreciated, and many are listed. The farmland will I presume be looked at in the ecological survey.

Nonetheless, I offer three points concerning the subjects dealt with in this section for consideration:

1. The eastern side of Kerridge Hill was once nearly all common land, used mainly for grazing by those farmers with common rights, but presumably accessible to all. Some of the land here may have been enclosed as recently as the early 19th century. The area is still grazing land. I see no reason why it should not become 'Open Country' under the Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000. The draft map of registered Common Land and Open Country does show a small part of the area as Open Land, as well as the whole of Marksend Quarry, which with its current quarrying activity and movement of spoil heaps is obviously completely unsuitable.

2. Some of the drystone walls of the plantation on the eastern side of Kerridge Hill near White Nancy, and of the plantation strips which run up the hillside on the North End and above Clough Pool, are now reduced to scattered piles of stone. Only the walls which are property boundaries have been kept in good repair. The other walls were presumably built only to protect the newly planted trees from animals. If these remains were removed the appearance of the hillside would benefit.

3. White Nancy was, from c.1817 to 1935, a freestone, whitewashed but unplastered structure. The smooth plaster coat has rendered the building susceptible to graffiti and illicit painting. If the present measures fail to stop this, perhaps consideration could be given to stripping off the plaster and returning the building to its original state, and perhaps even opening up the interior to the public again.

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PART TWO: MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

1. DOMESTIC TEXTILE PRODUCTION

Specialised domestic production of textiles for the market became widespread in the Pennines from the 16th century. But documentary evidence of domestic textile manufacturing within the KRIV area is, at present, limited, and there appears to be no clear physical evidence (e.g. in the form of weavers' garrets) of domestic manufacturing in the area.

a. THE LATER 14TH CENTURY

A. M. Tonkinson, in a recent study of the Manor and Forest of Macclesfield in the later 14th century has noted that the somewhat limited occupational evidence in the court rolls suggests that within the manor/forest textile workers were concentrated "to a certain extent" in the townships of Rainow, Disley, Whaley, and Marple. For the most part, those involved were "wealthy peasants holding between 9 and 22 customary acres" and also engaged in agrarian activities. "The most prominent of these were the tailors. The spinning and weaving was mainly carried out by their wives and daughters" who "also operated on a part-time basis and continued the work alongside other economic activities." However, Tonkinson says that in the later 14th century "it is perhaps too early to detect the specialisation in cloth production that was later prevalent in the Pennines." Rainow did not yet, it appears, have its own fulling mill. The two fulling mills within the manor/forest were at Macclesfield and Whaley, and they were not at this time very profitable (1, p. 99, 100, 130).

b. THE 17TH CENTURY

Jane Laughton has used wills, probate inventories, rentals and a survey of crown lands c.1611 to analyse economic activity in 17th century Rainow. By this time Rainow had a fulling mill (see below). Sheep were kept, largely for their wool. Some of the wealthier farming families (including those at Ingersley, Towerhill and Brookhouse in the KRIV area) had spinning wheels, looms, or stocks of wool which suggest production beyond the subsistence level. They may have put out work to lesser folk. Richard Turton of Kerridge End seems to have been making, and employing others to make, silk buttons. The spinning and weaving of hemp and flax probably also took place in Rainow. (2, p24-26).

No equivalent study has yet been made of Bollington in this period.

c. THE 18TH CENTURY

No serious work has yet been done on 18th century occupations in either Rainow or Bollington. On the basis of studies of similar areas, it seems likely that the numbers employed in the domestic production of textiles, part time and full time, would increase, and that cotton would be introduced.

I have looked through the Bollington entries in the burial registers for Prestbury parish (3) for the period 1721 - 1800. Occupational information is recorded sparsely and inconsistently. During that period there were only single entries which described the deceased male as a weaver, dyer, or [silk] twister, but there were two buttonmen and fifteen tailors. There is no way of telling how many if any of the textile workers lived in the KRIV area.

To what extent domestic textile workers were employees or self-employed is not known. In Bollington, George Antrobus, a 'check' or cotton manufacturer, apparently engaged in putting out raw materials to be spun and woven domestically, was established at Turner Heath by 1761. Next to the house, Antrobus had a weaving shed, perhaps so that some of his workers could be under closer supervision (4). Remains of

brick walls and windows which are said to belong to this prototype factory can still been seen in a garden wall by the road south of Turner Heath at Bollington Cross (5).

2. PRE-INDUSTRIAL MILLS

Various processes beside the grinding of corn might utilise water power from the late middle ages. These included the fulling of woollen cloth and paper making, both of which used water powered hammers. In fulling, the hammers replaced human feet walking on the cloth, but the name 'walkmill' tended to stick. The KRIV area had a corn mill (see part 1), a fulling mill, and a paper mill.

a. THE FULLING MILL

Rainow's fulling mill was presumably established at some point between the early 15th century and 1611, when it is clearly shown on what is, as far as we know, the earliest Rainow map, seemingly on the site later occupied by Waulkmill Farm, where the River Dean falls over a rocky ledge. The mill was tenanted in 1611 by Rauf Thorley. Laughton suggests that a later tenant, or owner, was George Adshead (d. 1664) whose probate inventory listed goods in his dye-house and mill. Adshead was also a farmer and a carrier (2, p.26). It seems likely that the farm and mill were a joint enterprise throughout.

'The Story of Rainow' asserts that in 1716 "James Beard of Rainow gave equal shares to his wife Mary and son Thomas of the Waulk or fulling mill", and that the mill was bought from them by John Gaskell of Ingersley (8, p.60). Stella Davies says that John Gaskell bought the farms adjacent to Ingersley and land in the valley of the Dean in 1768, and that he then extended the fulling mill, and erected a bleaching works (7, p70). It is not clear whether the bleaching works was at the fulling mill site, but the tithes sale prospectus of 1844 lists as part of Waulkmill Farm 'Tenter Field' and 'Tenter Meadow' (9). These names imply that cloth was fastened here on tenterhooks to bleach in the open air. Each field was just over two acres, but as the tithes appear to have been sold, their location is not shown on the later tithe map.

I can find no reference to the closure of the fulling mill. If the site was at Waulkmill Farm, it seems unlikely that the waterpower arrangements would have survived the construction of Clough Pool, and the hillside leat which took water to the Ingersley Vale cotton mill, in 1800. In any case, the domestic weaving of cotton, as spinning factories spread along the upper Dean (see below), would probably by then have largely displaced the domestic production of woollen cloth. Nonetheless, we are told in 'The Story of Rainow' that John Gaskell jnr. left his Walk Mill to his eldest son Thomas in 1824 (8, p.60). I assume that the farm had inherited the name of the now closed mill.

One small mystery concerning the fulling mill is that Burdett's Cheshire map of 1777 (13) places the water wheel symbol of the 'Walk Mill' at the end of the road which then cut down to the valley from Oakenbank, a site which could possibly be that of Rainow Mill, but which is more likely to be that of the later Ingersley Vale Mill. The authors of 'The Story of Rainow', not having knowledge of the 1611 map, assumed that the fulling mill was on this latter site. It is possible that some fulling, dyeing or bleaching activity did take place here in the 18th century, but it seems more likely that Burdett simply made a mistake.

b. THE PAPER MILL

The paper mill was on the site of Rainow Mill, which had been a corn mill in 1611. I can find no reference to the history of the mill between 1611 and the late 18th century, by which time it had become a paper mill. The Bollington Civic Society archive includes

part of a document by which Joseph Wagstaff granted permission to George Antrobus to dam the stream above Antobus's cotton mill [Higher Mill], provided that the level of the water was not raised above that at the bridge "near the said Joseph Wagstaff's paper mill" (10). The document is undated, but probably dates from the early days of Higher Mill, which was founded in 1789 or 1790 (see below).

The Rainow land tax returns describe Rainow Mill as being in the ownership and occupation of Joseph Wagstaff between 1794 (the first year in which the returns name the properties being taxed) and 1796. From 1797 to 1802 (the last year in which properties were described) it was owned and occupied by Lawrence Wagstaff (11).

A deposition of 1806 by a Rainow millwright, William Richardson, tells us that the paper mill was converted to a cotton spinning mill in 1801 by Lawrence Plant Wagstaff and his partner William Watts (12, and see below).

3. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE UPPER DEAN VALLEY

The 'Industrial Revolution', resulting in the 'take-off into sustained economic growth' in the late 18th century, was a long term series of technological and organisational changes not only in industry, but also in commerce, transport and agriculture. The town of Macclesfield had industrialised early, with water powered silk throwing mills from the mid 18th century. Yet the dramatic growth of cotton, an industry with far greater potential, from the mid 1780s must still be seen as the crucial event of the industrial revolution. The upper Dean valley in Bollington and Rainow, like many other Pennine valleys, was in at the beginning of the revolutionary growth of the cotton industry; it was a cradle, in this sense, of the world's first industrial revolution.

In the 1770s Richard Arkwright successfully used water powered machinery to produce a strong cotton yarn cheaply in mills at Cromford near Matlock. Imitators were deterred by the high license fees Arkwright charged, but in 1783 his water frame (spinning) patent expired and his carding patent was nullified. The latter patent was revived after legal action, but finally revoked in 1785.

The first two water powered cotton spinning mills were set up on tributaries of the upper Dean in or around 1784, and by 1806 thirteen more had been established, occupying with their pools and leats virtually the whole length of the Dean above the Bollington corn mill, and dotted along the tributaries.

The earliness and scale of this colonisation by cotton mills has only recently been recognised, and in this too our area is similar to other Pennine valleys. National estimates of the numbers of early cotton mills, based on sources such as Colquohoun's 'census', tend to underestimate. Only since the mid 20th century, with the increasing popularity of 'industrial archaeology' and the proliferation of local history societies and extra mural classes have local groups begun to look closely at the physical remains of industrialisation and at hitherto neglected sources such as deeds and other legal documents, land tax returns and newspaper advertisements, and a truer picture of intense local activity has emerged.

A nearby example of this process can be seen in New Mills, Derbyshire, where the local history society has identified, dated, researched and published details of the early cotton mills of Rowarth, an upland village where, as in Rainow, the mills had died by the late 19th century, and those of neighbouring New Mills, which, like Bollington, had better communications and grew rapidly in the mid 19th century, retaining its cotton mills well into the 20th century (14; 15).

In the case of Bollington and Rainow, the breakthrough in understanding the history of the early cotton mills came with the discovery by Mr Frank Bruckshaw of a document in the Adlington Hall archives, part of the evidence in a legal dispute in 1806 over the supply of water to Adlington corn mill, in which William Richardson, a Rainow millwright, described the date of construction, water power arrangements and owners and occupiers of nearly all the mills on the upper Dean and its tributaries. Richardson

had lived in the neighbourhood for 22 years, and where his information can be checked against other evidence, it appears to have a high degree of accuracy (12; 16).

Richardson provides the following dates for the mills of Bollington and Rainow (only Rainow Mill being given a name):

Coming up the Dean from Bollington
- Waterhouse - not dated
- Lower Mill c.1792
- Higher Mill c.1789 or 1790
- Rainow Mill - converted 1801
- Ingersley Vale c.1792 or 1793
- Hough Hole 1803
- Cow Lane c.1789
- Brookhouse Clough I c.1786-1791
- Brookhouse Clough II 1805

On the Sowcar Brook tributary
- Defiance c.1799 or 1800
- Oak Bank c.1784
- Sowcar c.1802

On the Hayles Clough tributary
- Lowerhouse c.1792
- Ginclough c.1794

On the Mill Brook tributary
- Mill Brook Mill c 1784.

4. THE COTTON MILLS OF THE KRIV AREA

a. HIGHER MILLS

The two Higher Mills are now completely demolished. The original late 18th century three storey block stood at the bottom of Lord Street, Bollington, on a roughly north-south axis, with the mill pool to the east. Part of the pool has been preserved. The original mill was 10 yards wide, and reached 36 yards in length (12 - 14 bays), though it may have been lengthened in stages. A taller and wider block, 12 yards wide, 30 yards long (10 bays), with four storeys was added close to the south end of the original buildings, extending westwards at a right angle to them, in the 1830s.

Origins.

R. Norton Betts, a vicar of Bollington who produced a history of the village to celebrate the centenary of St John's church in 1934, shortly after the older part of Higher Mills had been destroyed by fire, correctly surmised that the original Higher Mill was one of the first cotton spinning mills to be built in the area. But Norton Betts believed that the mill was built in 1662, as the fire had revealed a metal plaque bearing that date and "an embossed representation of the sun encircling a face" (17, p.20& 78). Actually, the plaque would be the emblem of the Sun Insurance Company, which we know was insuring the mill and its contents for £1,000 in 1796 (18, p.43).

Richardson the Rainow millwright, in describing the cotton mills of Bollington and Rainow in 1806, said that Higher Mill was erected "16 or 17 years ago" - in 1789 or 1790. In 1806, according to Richardson, the mill was the property of George Antrobus, and occupied by Francis Upjohns (12). This is compatible with the land tax returns. The Bollington returns only mention the properties taxed between 1791 and 1803. George Antrobus is listed as the owner and occupier of one cotton mill in 1791, and of two from 1792, the year in which Richardson tells us Antrobus's Lower Mill was built. From 1798, Francis Upjohns is listed as the occupier of one of these mills (19).

The Antrobus family.

The Antrobus family appear to have been the pioneers of water powered cotton spinning in Bollington. George Antrobus (1697 -1775) and his sons Philip (1736 - 1807) and George (1737? - 1824) had moved from Cheadle (Ches.) to Bollington where they operated a weaving business, and setting up a weaving shed (presumably unpowered at first but steam powered later) in premises next to the family home at Turner Heath (4). The brothers Philip and George were probably the first in Bollington to spin cotton using water power, building a mill at Oak Bank in c.1784 (or, possibly, converting an older mill, perhaps a silk mill). George's Higher Mill may have been Bollington's second cotton spinning mill - though Peter Lomas's Waterhouse Mill, which Richardson couldn't date, is a possible contender. The Waterhouse Mill was certainly operating by 1791. George Antrobus's Lower Mill, on the Dean immediately below the Higher Mill, followed quickly in 1792 (5).

Philip Antrobus bought out George's share of Oak Bank Mill (as well as that of a third partner, Richard Calrow), and his son Philip (1777 - 1829) went on to found Lowerhouse Mill, Bollington, in 1818. Meanwhile, after George's death in 1829, the Higher and Lower Mills passed to his son, also Philip (1780 - 1830) (4).

It is not clear to what extent the Antrobuses leased out their various mills, and to what extent they worked them themselves. When the lease of the Higher and Lower Mills was advertised in 1832, the mills were said to have been "lately occupied by Philip Antrobus and nephews, and since by Mr John Shaw Astley" (20, 6 Oct 1832). Astley was apparently one of the nephews, the other being John Harrop of Stockport (21). The 1832 advertisement claimed that under Astley, the Higher and Lower Mills had produced a "very superior" yarn for the manufacture of lace "which is well known in the Nottingham market".

The 1832 advertisement listed the Higher Mill's machinery in some detail. It consisted of "one double blower, 27 inches on the beater; 21 breaking carding engines, 18 inches on the wire; two 18-inch slivering machines; 22 finishing carding engines, 18 inches on the wire; 3 drawing frames, 9 single heads each; 6 slubbing frames, 32 spindles each, for 7-inch bobbins; 7 stretching frames, containing 1040 spindles; 31 pair of mules, containing 18,516 spindles, and 12 doubling and twisting machines, containing 1,816 spindles."

Richardson in 1806 had described the water wheel at Higher Mill as 19 feet in diameter, and did not mention any steam engine. The 1832 advertisement said that the Higher Mill was turned by a water wheel of 21 hp and a steam engine of 16 hp.

The Swindells era, 1832 - 1859.

The Higher and Lower Mills were leased in 1832 to Martin Swindells and Thomas Oliver in partnership. Both might be described as important Bollington cotton masters of the second generation. Oliver was the owner and occupier of the Waterhouse Mill, the son in law of its founder, Peter Lomas. Martin Swindells (1784 - 1843) was the son of a Macclesfield silk throwster, who already, with different partners, occupied Rainow and Ingersley Vale mills, and had built the Clarence mill in the late 1820s. His sons George (1820 - 1897) and Martin (1814 -1880) built the Adelphi Mill (22).

The Swindells-Oliver partnership was dissolved in 1842. George Swindells then seems to have taken over the Higher and Lower Mills, until they were sold in 1859, the ownership having descended through the Antrobus descendants with some wrangling (21, 20, 8 Oct 1859).

At some point, presumably early in the Swindells-Oliver occupation, the second Higher Mill was built. The 1830s were the decade of Bollington's fastest growth. The Macclesfield Canal had opened in 1831, and Swindells himself had built the first stage of the Clarence Mill, high on the hillside by the canal, and completely steam powered. The second Higher Mill, though, was essentially an old-style cotton mill. The rooms were taller than in the old mill, with taller windows. The new mill was wider, but still

narrow enough for a single-span queen-post roof, allowing uninterrupted attic space for storage (18, p.112-113). By 1859, a steam engine house had been built in the angle between the mills, but water power continued to be important, as at the other mills on the Dean. The 1832 lease had in fact provided for the installation of a new wheel, and by 1859 the water power arrangements had again been remodelled, both at the Higher and the Lower mills, with the wheels now placed outside the mills (18, p.131).

At the Higher Mills by 1859 was a gas works, which also supplied the Lower Mills with gas (20, 8 Oct 1859). The 1st edition 25 inch O.S. map, surveyed in 1871, shows the gasometer to have been at the south eastern end of the buildings, above the river (23). Presumably the mills were lit by gas; Calladine and Fricker say that cotton thread was run through a gas flame to singe off superfluous fibres (18, p.119).

After 1859, the Higher and Lower Mills were operated separately. Cotton yarn was produced at the Higher Mill for some time longer - a trade directory of 1874 has 'Turner, Roberts & Co, yarn doublers, Higher Mill' (24).

After cotton: hats, fustian cutting and dyeing at the newer mill.

Directories published between 1888 and 1902 (25, 26) show the newer Higher Mill used as a felt hat manufactory by S. Neave and Sons. From about 1902 to 1912 the mill was apparently unoccupied. In 1912 fustian or velvet cutting, an industry new to Bollington, was commenced by Messrs F. P. Oldfield of Congleton (20, 29 June 1912, p10). This seems to have been a short-lived enterprise. Various businesses then found a home in the mill (including one which manufactured wireless valves) before Shrigley Dyers took it over in 1936. In 2001, Shrigley Dyers ceased production in the mill, and the building was demolished to make way for houses.

After cotton: the brewery at the older mill.

The first reference to the brewery - Parrott and Horsfield, licensed brewers - seems to come in a trade directory of 1878 (27). A directory of 1896 (28) shows that Heaver Bros. had taken over. By the 1920s, the older mill housed a depot for Ind Coope, and the business was confined to bottling. When the mill burnt down in March 1931, 36,000 bottles, 1,000 of which contained beer, were destroyed. The beer bottling business was on the ground floor; the middle floor was rented by an oil meal merchant, and the top floor housed a joinery business. The burnt-out ruins were later demolished (29, no.69).

The ghost of the Higher Mills.

The old Higher Mill building, according to Norton Betts, had the reputation of being haunted. "Tradition speaks of many who have seen the shadow of a listening man, oddly dressed, a shadow which creeps stealthily along the side of a mill wall into Rainow Lane". Norton Betts believed that with the fire, "the ghost, if ghost there was, has ceased to be" (17, p.20). Yet in 2001, when the newer Higher Mill was threatened with destruction, a reporter for the local paper apparently unearthed tales of the ghost displaced to the newer mill, its footsteps terrifying night workers. It is to be hoped that the purchasers of the new houses to be built on the site are not of a nervous disposition.

b. RAINOW MILL

Rainow Mill seems to have been originally a corn mill, later becoming a paper mill (see above).

Conversion to cotton.

In 1806 Richardson the Rainow millwright said that Rainow Mill was converted into "a cotton manufactory" about five years earlier, and that it was owned by Lawrence [Plant] Wagstaff and occupied by him and his partner William Watts (12). This is

corroborated by the date 1801 and the initials LPW and WW which can be seen on the weir behind the mill site (8, p.61).

Richardson said that the Rainow Mill reservoir [between the mill site and Ingersley Vale Mill, now a car park] was large but shallow, with a considerable quantity of dead water which could not be drawn off. The reservoir had been enlarged around 1803. The water wheel in 1806 was 20 feet in diameter.

No picture or plan of the mill at this time exists, as far as I am aware. A few details were provided in 1816, when the mill and adjacent land and property were advertised as for sale by auction. The mill was 20 yards long and 8 yards wide. The number of storeys was not given. This would seem to be a small mill, though the advertisement promised "a very powerful and constant supply of water, sufficient to work a very large factory" (20, 20 Jul 1816). No mention is made of steam, though a lease of 1822 (see below) refers to both a water wheel and steam apparatus at the mill (21).

The 1816 advertisement does not describe the machinery in the mill, but Calladine and Fricker say that water frames, the now outmoded Arkwight-type spinning machines, were still in use at Rainow Mill in 1821 (18, p.41).

George Ainsworth and the Rainow Mill 'estate'.

The advertisement of 1816 featured not only the mill, in the occupation of James Dean, but also "that messuage or dwelling house... commonly called the Rainow Mill, together with the outbuildings and several fields, closes or parcels of land thereto belonging, known by the several names of the Little Meadow, the Kell Brow, the Cock Hill, the Wall Field, and the Rushy Field... containing in the whole by common estimation, 20 acres of land, of statute measure, or thereabouts... now in the occupation of Messrs George Ainsworth and James Dean, and their undertenants... There is a quantity of young healthy timber growing on the estate."

This is probably the smallholding which would have been attached to the mill since its early corn mill days. Perhaps James Dean, who was running the mill, lived in the house which was also 'commonly' called Rainow Mill. For George Ainsworth, who the land tax returns suggest took over the whole estate from Lawrence Wagstaff in 1811, is said in the advertisement to occupy "all that new erected Messuage or Dwelling House, lately erected, and built upon part of the said estate."

Although the auction advertisement only refers to Ainsworth as an occupier of parts of the property, the Rainow Land Tax returns (11) imply that he was the owner of Lawrence Wagstaff's former property from 1811. Whatever the case, Ainsworth (who was a stone merchant with interests in quarries on the west side of Kerridge hill) owned Rainow Mill, the fields, and other property nearby when he leased them to Martin Swindells and others in 1822 (see below).

A George Ainsworth still owned the mill and what seems to be part of the same estate (now 14 acres) in the 1840s, when the tithe apportionment and map were produced. The map shows the location of the fields and the plantation (see part one : agriculture), and of the mill (on the site of the later Rainow Mills and the present wooden structure). Other buildings, which presumably correspond to the houses referred to in the 1816 advertisement, are on either side of the bottom of Mill Lane, to the north-west of the mill. These buildings have now disappeared. The present row of cottages near Mill Lane is not shown on the tithe map.

Martin Swindells and others 1822 - 1856

From 1822, the tenant of Rainow Mill was Martin Swindells (see above, Higher Mill) in partnership initially with Thomas and John Fearnley. The lease was for 21 years at £260 pa; for a further £40 pa the partnership leased the fields referred to in the 1816 advertisement, and the messuage or cottage near the factory. In the previous year, Swindells and the Fearnleys had leased Ingersley Vale Mill (see below). Swindells' partnership with Fearnleys was ended in 1830, and Swindells continued to run Rainow and Ingersley Vale Mills, in partnership with Joseph Brooke and with his son Martin

Swindells II. In 1842, when the leases on the two mills expired, Swindells and his partners did not renew (21, 22).

The sale of tithes prospectus in 1844 shows that the tenancy of Rainow Mill had been taken over by James Leigh, who is described in a trade directory of the same year as a cotton spinner (9, 30). Leigh also took over Ingersley Vale Mill. But in July 1848 a newspaper advertisement announced a sale of machinery at Rainow Mill, "lately occupied by Mr James Leigh". The machinery, "lately fitted up and in first rate condition", included 18 carding engines, 4 throstles of 960 spindles, 2 drawing frames, 2 slubbing frames of 66 and 46 spindles, 3 roving frames of 100 spindles each, and one ditto of 88 spindles (all quite new), 1 pair of mules 1,800 spindles each, 2 pairs of mules 648 spindles each, bearing frame, blowing machine, making up presses, weights and scales, etc." Also advertised for sale were large boilers connected with the steam engine and an "immense quantity of steam piping, shafting, wheels, pulleys, etc" (20, 22 Jul 1848).

Stephen Sheldon 'the elder', a cotton spinner, occupied Rainow Mill for some years before his bankruptcy in 1855, by which time he was out of business (20, 2 Jun 1855). By January 1856, when fire destroyed the mill, Messrs John and Stephen Sheldon, cotton spinners, were in occupation (20, 19 Jan 1856).

The fire of 1856.

The Macclesfield Courier reported that the fire broke out at 7am on Thursday January 17th. According to the paper, the steam engine and the water wheel at the mill were connected. As there was very little water in the pool, the water wheel could not keep pace with the engine. A back-lash from the water wheel caused the steam engine to jerk. It was thought that consequent friction in the gearing in one of the top rooms caused a quantity of cotton to ignite. In less than 10 minutes the mill was in flames, and by 9.30 it was in ruins, only the bare walls standing (20, 19 Jan 1856).

The rebuilt mill.

The newspaper report of the fire of 1856 said that the mill was believed to be fully insured, and the machinery partly so. The mill was rebuilt, on the same spot. Our knowledge of the appearance of the new mill is limited, as far as I am aware, to a postcard in my own possession which shows the mill from the back or pool side, and to a series of four postcard views of the ruins taken immediately after the mill had again burnt down, in 1908 (29, no.10).

These sources show that the stone built mill was 10 bays long and four storeys high, but they tell us little else. That yarn was at one time stored in the cellar of the mill we know from a brief mention of damage caused by a flood in 1872, when the boiler house was washed down, the enginehouse undermined, the foundations of the mill "interfered with", and the yarn cellar was four feet deep in water (20, 22 Jun 1872).

Tenants of the mill after the rebuilding can be identified through trade directories. George Bridge & Co, cotton spinners, manufacturers and doublers were at Rainow Mill in 1860 (31). George Henry Holden, cotton spinner, was at the mill by 1872 (32), and was still listed in 1883 (33).

In 1896 James Heathcote leased the mill from John Francis Upton Gaskell, now the owner, and commenced business with his two sons as silk spinners. After a time, the Heathcotes changed to cotton doubling and gassing. By 1908, forty workers were employed in the mill.

The fire of 1908.

On the evening of 11 November 1908, Rainow mill was again destroyed by fire. The fire was first noticed shortly before 10pm. Bollington had no fire engine, so the Macclesfield Volunteer Fire Brigade was sent for. Nineteen firemen with a manual engine and a 'steamer' eventually arrived, but a strong wind was blowing and the flames had taken hold. The firemen were unable to find a hydrant on the water main which

had been brought down through the valley from Rainow in 1899. They pumped water from the mill pool, but their hoses frequently burst. By 3am the floors had fallen in and three of the outer walls had collapsed.

The Heathcotes appear to have failed to inform the insurers of the change from silk to cotton, and the insurers refused to pay up. Gaskell the landlord was awarded £1,200 plus costs against the Heathcotes at Chester Assizes in 1909, which precipitated their bankruptcy. The mill was not rebuilt (20, 22 May & 14 Nov 1908, 27 Feb & 12 Jun 1909).

By 1913 part of the mill site or premises was being used as stables. Harry Hulme offered for sale 6 carts and 6 horses ("all grand workers and thoroughly quiet") at 'Rainow Mill Stables' (20, 14 Oct 1913). The history of the site since then I have been unable to trace.

c. INGERSLEY VALE MILL

The early years.

It is possible that there may have been some industrial activity on or near this site before the cotton mill was built (see above, fulling mill), but Richardson, who gives a date of 1792 or 1793 for the mill, does not mention anything of that sort.

The cotton mill was probably small when first built. Richardson says it originally had a very small reservoir, which wouldn't hold the water for more than a few hours (12). This early pool was probably close to the mill; no trace of it appears to survive today.

The only clue as to the very early occupancy of the mill, as far as I know, comes in the Rainow Land Tax returns (11). The Rainow returns don't mention cotton factories as such, unlike the Bollington returns, but it seems that Ingersley Vale Mill was held by the occupiers of land described as 'Lower Ingersley'. In the returns of 1793 and 1794 the occupier of Lower Ingersley was Thomas Snelson. Between 1795 and 1800 it was Edward Sharpley, and from 1801, Edward Collier (who was previously the occupier of what was described as Gin Clough, where there was a small cotton mill).

Edward Collier and the expansion of the mill.

We know that Edward Collier was at Ingersley by 1800, because his initials and that date are on the weir constructed above Waulkmill Farm to create Clough Pool, a very large pool with a head of 7 feet, from which water was brought to Ingersley Vale Mill by a hillside leat, which can still be seen. Richardson says that Collier caused the pool to be made around 1803. The construction period may have been a long one.

The new reservoir and leat, said Richardson in 1806, turned two water wheels at the mill, "the one being placed above the other, and the water which turns the uppermost empties into and turns the lower one." The upper wheel was 22 feet in diameter, the lower wheel 32 feet in diameter. In addition a steam engine of 18hp was attached to the factory which Collier occasionally used "when the water is scarce and the reservoir replenishes." It is not clear whether the engine pumped water back onto the wheels, or drove the machinery directly (12).

It seems likely that Collier carried out further extensions or rebuilding in 1809. An ornamental stone can still be seen at the south front of the (later) mill bearing the inscription "E 1809 C".

By 1811, Collier was bankrupt, and the mill was put up for sale. From the sale advertisement in the Macclesfield Courier (20, 2 Mar 1811) we learn something of the mill and its surroundings.

The mill was 4 storeys high, exclusive of the attics, and 45 yards long and 12 yards wide "within the walls". It was heated by steam. The two waterwheels were 24 feet and 32 feet in diameter, and both 5 feet wide. There were two reservoirs, and a steam engine of 20hp. The machinery was not described, but the mill was said to be "advantageously situated" for carrying on the cotton spinning business.

"Nearly adjoining" the factory were a "capital messuage or dwelling house and warehouse" and also five cottages. The advertisement implied that Collier lived in the former, and "different workpeople at the factory" in the latter. Assuming that these buildings escaped the fire of 1819 which destroyed the mill, they are probably the buildings shown on the first 25 inch O.S. map, surveyed in 1871 (23). "Clough House" then stood south-east of the mill, against the hillside; the terrace of cottages (of which there seem to be four, with one twice the size of the others) were south of the mill, almost parallel to the road, but on the other side of the river, which appears to be covered over with cottage gardens and paths. All of this was later demolished to make way for mill extensions.

Directories for 1814-15 (34) and 1816-17 (35) still list Edward Collier of Ingersley under cotton spinners and manufacturers, but the compilers of trade directories were not always up to date in their information. After the fire of 1819, the Macclesfield Courier noted that the mill was "some time ago" tenanted by Mr Collier, and "latterly" by Chadwick, Clogg and Co of Manchester (20, 1 May 1819).

The fire of 1819; the apprentice house.

On the night of Thursday 29 April 1819 Ingersley Vale Mill and its machinery were totally destroyed by fire (20, 1 May 1819). Within a month, a sale of household furniture and other effects from the premises adjoining the mill had been arranged. These premises included the manufacturer's house, the warehouse, the smithy, and most interestingly, an apprentice house. I know of no other mention of pauper apprentices in the mills of Bollington and Rainow. Only three other apprentice houses connected to mills are known in East Cheshire, those being at Quarry Bank Mill in Styal, the Old Mill in Congleton, and Sutton Mill, Macclesfield (21).

The advertisement for the sale at Ingersley Vale listed the contents of the apprentice house: "fire grates and ovens, three iron boilers, slopstones, dressers, tables, benches and shelves, three dozen of wood trenchers, two dozen and a half tin breakfast cans, knives, forks, spoons and co., nine sets of common bedsteads, cords and mats, beds and bedding to same" (20, 22 May 1819). This implies that at least 30 pauper apprentices at a time might be employed and housed here, and that they might sleep three to a bed, or more. Whether any of the apprentices were sent by very distant parishes, as at Styal, or whether they were cruelly treated, as seems to have been the case at Litton and Cressbrook Dale Mills in Derbyshire, we do not know (36; 37).

The Swindells era: insurrection, Sunday school and a tommy shop.

By 1821, the mill had been rebuilt, the frontage being that which exists today as a ruin after the fire of 1999. It is very similar in appearance to Lumbhole Mill, Kettleshulme which was rebuilt after a fire in 1822 (18, p.63). The dual wheel system presumably continued, as the present wheelhouse adjoining the west end of the mill, which housed a very large single wheel, appears to be of later construction.

In 1821, Thomas Gaskell of Tower Hill, into whose ownership the mill must have passed, leased the mill for 21 years to Martin Swindells, in partnership with Thomas and John Fearnley, at £450 pa (22). The lease includes references to a steam engine, engine house and dwelling houses (21). The partnership also leased Rainow Mill in 1822 (see above).

By 1826 Swindells and the Fearnleys had installed 330 power looms for weaving cotton in their Ingersley Clough factories. During the trade depression in the spring of 1826 the Macclesfield Courier reported disturbances all over the north and attacks on power loom factories in Macclesfield. Mr Fearnley, the partner who apparently lived next to Ingersley Vale Mill, alarmed by talk of an attack on the mill and by the numbers of people assembling in the neighbourhood, appealed to the county magistrates on 3 May for help. By nightfall troops had been sent to the Clough factories. They returned several nights in succession, and no attack took place (20, 6 May 1826).

Evidence that something like a small community existed around the mills in Ingersley Clough comes from two local paper reports from the late 1820s. In 1828, the first sermon for the support of 'Ingersley Clough Sunday School' was preached, by the Rev Jas Everett of Manchester (20, 20 Sert 1828). Martin Swindells had cotton spinning businesses in Stockport and Manchester. In 1828 he lived in Manchester. In his youth he had taught Sunday School himself, and had become an enthusiastic Methodist (22, p.14-17).

In 1829, Ingersley Clough was visited by a common informer, Thomas Forster, who sought to make a living from presenting law breakers before the local magistrates. Forster charged Fearnley and Swindells with paying workers partly in cheques exchangeable only for food and provisions, contrary to the Truck Acts. The charge was not upheld, but the report of the hearing reveals that Fearnley and Swindells did indeed have a provisions shop in the Clough, which was run by John Taylor, an employee. Taylor claimed that the cheques could be converted into money at any time by the workers, and that Fearnley and Swindells had been "considerable losers by the shop", as many workmen had gone away in debt to the shop (20, 8 Aug 1829).

Thomas Fearnley had been replaced in the partnership in 1825 by James Fearnley (21). The partnership between Martin Swindells and the Fearnleys was dissolved in 1830 (22). Swindells continued at the Ingersley Vale and Rainow Mills, bringing in his son Martin, and, in 1834, Joseph Brooke, who were also his partners at the Clarence Mill. A trade directory of 1834 shows Brooke resident at Ingersley Clough - presumably at Clough House, and probably managing the mills (38). By 1841 Martin Swindells II was resident at Ingersley (39); Brooke had moved to Limefields, near the Clarence Mill.

The Swindells and Brooke did not renew the leases on Ingersley Vale and Rainow Mills when they expired in 1842, apparently deciding to extend the Clarence Mill instead (22). By 1844 both mills were occupied by James Leigh, cotton spinner (9). In 1848, Leigh's machinery was sold at Rainow Mill; the advertisement does not mention Ingersley Vale Mill (20, 22 Jul 1848).

Printworks.

John Brier & Co, calico printers, appear to have moved into Ingersley Vale Mill by 1848 (40). At first, he seems to have shared the premises with Ludwig Dyhrenfurth, also a calico printer. Dyhrenfurth left for Germany in 1851; he was presented with a gold watch by his workforce (20, 7 Jun 1851). Although Brier is still listed as a calico printer at 'Ingersley Print Works' in an 1860 directory (41), he had by this time built a large new mill at Oak Bank (16, p.18). It is not clear when Brier relinquished Ingersley Vale Mill, but it was probably not long afterwards.

The big wheel.

Brier seems to have been an ambitious and dynamic man; it may well have been he who replaced the two water wheels at Ingersley Vale Mill with a single very large wheel, in a new wheelhouse which was higher than the mill itself. The Cheshire County Council Sites and Monuments Record states this as a fact, though the assertion seems not to be confirmed by the sources quoted (42).

If the new wheel was installed by or for Brier, it seems likely that the change would be made before he began (in or around 1856) to build at Oak Bank. The design of the window arches and the use of squared stone blocks in the Ingersley Vale wheelhouse seem compatible with an early 1850s construction date.

The wheel itself, which was demolished in the mid 20th century (8, p.61), was an iron suspension wheel. A photograph of the wheel can be seen in Calladine and Fricker (18, p.130). Publicity material produced in 1929 by Slater, Harrison & Co, who then occupied the mill, described the wheel as 56 feet in diameter, "the largest iron waterwheel in the country" (43). A newspaper article in 1935 added that the width across the buckets was 10 feet 6 inches, and claimed that the wheel was then "the largest working water wheel in the country" (20, 20 Sept 1835).

By the 1930s the wheel drove dynamos which produced electricity to power the machinery and light and heat the mill. The change from direct water power was probably made in 1895 (20, 5 Oct 1895).

It has been claimed that the wheel was known locally as 'the Belle of the Vale' (21, information from G. Watkins, Bath University). The present writer was told by an old Bollingtonian that he could remember hearing the rumble of the wheel as far away as his house in Church Street.

Bleachworks.

Little seems to be known about the immediate successors of Brier at Ingersley Vale Mill. In 1874 the mill was occupied by Anthony Scott & Co, dyers and yarn polishers (8, p.61). But by 1878 (27) the long occupation of the mill by the bleaching and finishing firm dominated by members of the King family had begun. The firm appears as Bates and King in 1878 (27) and 1883 (33); William King & Co in 1887-8 (25); and A.J. King & Co from 1892 (44). The firm became part of the Bleachers' Combine around 1900, but retained its name and management.

Alfred J. King was living at Clough Cottage (formerly Clough House, I presume) by 1890 (45), and may have been effectively in charge by then. Under A.J. King the firm seems to have been a progressive and expanding enterprise. Various developments had a physical impact on the Ingersley Vale site. The first were the extensions of 1895. The local paper announced that these were to consist of a one storey shed, 82 feet square, to "accommodate a number of calendars used in the process of bleaching", and a two storey warehouse, 40 feet by 25 feet. These were to be situated south of the mill, built across and to the east of the river - the northern end of the block of buildings which can be seen today. The shed occupied the former lawn of Clough House. The house was demolished, and A.J. King moved to Rock Bank House. It was decided to drive the new machines by electricity, and use electricity to light the whole works (20, 23 Mar 1895, 22 Jun 1895, 5 Oct 1895).

The cottages, now adjoining the new block, seem to have survived the extensions of 1895 (46), but were lost presumably when the works were extended further south, to occupy the full extent of the present works. This had happened by 1907(47).

Another physical change at Ingersley Vale came with the building of the Ingersley Vale Institute in 1902. Apparently at the suggestion of Alderman King of Manchester, the head of the firm, it was decided to spend £1,000 out of the money paid by the Bleachers' Combine to acquire the firm for the benefit of the Bollington (sic) workpeople in the form of the Institute. Just before the formal opening in May 1903, the institute was described as follows in the local paper:

"The building is erected near the works, and is substantially built of dressed stone taken from the quarries of Kerridge. Its approximate dimensions are 36 feet long, 24 feet wide and 30 feet high, and inside it is admirably fitted for the purpose for which it has been built. There are two stories with one room on each. Each room is fitted up with bentwood chairs and small tables for games such as chess, drafts, dominoes, etc. The walls are ornamented with pictures, and various papers and magazines are supplied. There is also a library of books of the best authors, which may be borrowed by the workpeople at the modest rate of one halfpenny per week. Cooking apparatus is fitted up in the lower room, and any of the workpeople who wish may have their meals there..." To carry on the institute, workpeople over 18 were to pay 1d per week, those under 18 a halfpenny a week, and its management was to be in the hands of a committee of the workpeople (20, 2 May & 9 May 1903).

A.J. King became a progressive Liberal member of the Bollington Urban District Council, and played an important role in the completion of the waterworks scheme and in instigating a drainage scheme with a sewage works for the village. He represented Bollington on the Cheshire County Council from 1901 to 1906, and from 1906 to 1910 was Liberal MP for the Knutsford Division. After electoral defeat in 1910, he and his

family moved to Windermere, where they were visited from time to time by parties of workers from Ingersley Vale (48, p33).

After King.

A.J. King & Co seems to have remained at Ingersley Vale Mill until 1929, from when the mill was occupied by the new firm of Messrs Slater, Harrison & Co, manufacturers of "plain and coated pasteboards for litho and letterpress printing, showcard embossing, ticket writing and printing, and numerous other uses." Some or all were marketed as 'Ingersley' boards, and the firm's trade mark used an image of White Nancy, not yet rendered with plaster (43).

Slater, Harrison moved to Lowerhouse Mill, Bollington, in 1937. Later users of Ingersley Vale Mill, in whole or in part, included Eric Britton Ltd, manufacturer of bias binding, corded piping, and other edgings and tapes for the clothing industry, from 1946 to 1954. Britton's moved to a purpose built factory in Jackson Lane, Kerridge, in 1954 (see below). From 1952 W & A.E. Sheratt, dyers and printers, occupied part of the complex. By the 1970s Astrand Printing Ltd, screen printers of warp knitted and woven fabrics, was based at the mill.

The interior of the oldest section of the mill, built in the 1820s, was destroyed by fire on the evening of Wed 17 November 1999.

d. HOUGH HOLE MILL

James Mellor

Richardson (12) tells us that Hough Hole Mill was built in 1803 by James Mellor. We know a little more about Mellor than we know about most of the other local first generation factory entrepreneurs, partly because from the age of 16 he was active in local Methodism, and was therefore described in Smith's 1875 history of Methodism in the Macclesfield area (49), and partly because one of his sons, also James, who remained at Hough Hole House until his death in 1891 , having become a well known personality in the district, was able to pass on information about and to celebrate his father (see Part One: Hough Hole House).

James Mellor was born at Billinge Head, Rainow, in 1753. In the words of Benjamin Smith, "he was ready to avail himself of every opportunity of improving his circumstances, and rarely failed. He for a time contrived to save some money on a small dairy-farm... then he took up the calling of a joiner, devoting his skills especially to the construction of coffins. By the mortality not unknown even amongst the lonely hills and sheltered valleys where he dwelt, James Mellor gained money. Having secured the needful capital, he entered on the business of a builder, with larger demands on his skill and calculation, but with augmented profits. Observing that the time had come when coals were needed as they had never previously been in those parts, he suddenly surprised his acquaintances by appearing in the character of a coal merchant, and once more with success." Mellor built a chapel for the Methodists on Billinge, which was certified for worship in 1781 (49, p176-7).

By 1796, Mellor and his family were living at Blue Boar Farm. In 1796 he bought and moved into Hough Hole Farm (50). Six years later Mellor built Hough Hole Mill as a cotton mill on land which was part of the farm.

The White Shop.

Mellor's mill stood at right angles to the River Dean, on the west bank. We have to deduce its original form from later photographs, as the building has been demolished, and no early descriptions or drawings of the mill itself appear to exist. By the late 19th century, the earlier part of the mill, 12 bays long, had been flanked by extensions at either end. The original mill was almost certainly three stories high. It seems unlikely that all twelve bays were built at once. A careful examination of the photograph of the

mill taken around 1910 which is reproduced in Longden's 'Industrial Revolution in East Cheshire' shows that the windows of the western half of the early building seem, in the photograph, to be slightly smaller than those of the eastern half, so the western six bays may have been the original mill (16, p.15). If so, the eastern six bays were probably added quite quickly, as there is very little observable difference, if any, between the two halves of the early part of the mill. The tithe map shows that the two flanking extensions had been added by 1850 (51). Photographs show that these consisted of a two storey ten bay extension to the east, built across the river, and a smaller two storey extension to the west, built into the hillside, which was probably a warehouse.

The original mill and its extensions were stone built. The authors of 'The Story of Rainow' say that Mellor opened the quarry on the hillside above the mill to supply the stone for the mill and nearby cottages (8, p.68). All photographs of the mill show it whitewashed, and it was known as 'the White Shop' right up to its demolition in the 1940s. It was labelled 'White Shop' as early as 1819, on Greenwood's Cheshire map (52), so the mill may have been whitewashed from the outset.

The original mill pool, according to Richardson, was a small one, powering a 22 foot diameter wheel. The pool, he said in 1806, was too small to hold the water for more than an hour at a time. The bridge and weir between the pool and mill site may date from the time the mill was first built (42), but additional water storage capacity was created later by extending the pool into the field to the east of the river. This had been done by 1831, as the larger pool is shown on Bryant's Cheshire map published in that year (53).

Richardson makes no mention of any steam engine at Hough Hole Mill. In later days, an engine house was built on the north side of the earlier part of the mill, and an underground flue ran up the hillside to what old photographs show to have been a square tapered stone chimney, similar to those on the hillside above Ingersley Vale Mill (still standing) and Cow Lane Mill (now demolished). The engine house appears to be shown on the tithe map of 1850 (51). An advertisement of 1851 describes the mill as a "water power mill" but noted that coal would be provided for heating by steam throughout the year (20, 24 May 1851). 'The Story of Rainow' says that two coal mines were worked by the Vare family to supply coal for the mill. The entrance to one mine was in the mill yard (8, p.55).

The authors of 'The Story of Rainow' wrote that James Mellor built "for his mill workers... the original Wayside Cottage, three cottages opposite the pond and three cottages on the hillside close to the mill" (8, p.68). Photographs show Wayside Cottage to have been compatible in style with a very early 19th century construction date; though quite modest in size, it may have been built for a mill tenant or manager. A building above the mill at Kerridgeside seems to appear on Greenwood's 1819 map, and is definitely shown on maps of 1829 (54) and 1831 (53). The cottages opposite the pond however first appear on the 2 inch O.S. drawings of 1839 (55), so these would not have been built by Mellor, who died in 1828.

Cotton days.

During the first half of the 19th century Hough Hole seems to have remained a cotton spinning mill. According to Richardson (12), the mill was occupied in 1806 by Beard, Deane and Beard. It seems however that James Mellor may for some time have worked part or all of the mill himself. By the 1820s his son James (1797 - 1891) was involved. James II's newspaper obituary recalled that "in his early days the deceased was engaged in the cotton trade, his father having built and owned Hough Hole Mill... He [James II] used to travel by coach from Rainow to Manchester and Liverpool, buying and selling cotton... The companion of his travels to Manchester and Liverpool for many years in the cotton trade was Mr Astle [of Higher Mill, Bollington]" (50). 'The Story of Rainow' asserts that after the death of James Mellor I in 1828, James II "carried on the business for a few years, after which the mill was let to tenants" (8, p.68).

Tenants at Hough Hole, all apparently cotton spinners, included Samuel Joule in 1841 (8, p.68), Samuel Gould in 1844 (9), and Stephen Sheldon in 1850 (51, 56). In 1851 the lease of the mill, with "some machinery for spinning cotton", was advertised (20, 24 May 1851). Sheldon, it seems, had moved to Rainow Mill (see above).

Engineering at the White Shop.

By 1860, Hough Hole Mill, or a part of it, was occupied by the firm of William Mellor & Co, "machinists and manufacturers of all kinds of tools for engineers." The best account of this phase in the mill's history is to be found in R.C. Turner's 'Mellor's Gardens' (57). William Mellor was the younger son of James Mellor I. He had previously established a business in Ardwick; whether he was involved closely with the Hough Hole engineering business is not clear. William Mellor died in 1881, after which time his son John carried on the Hough Hole business until his death in 1902.

William Mellor & Co achieved considerable success and renown both in Britain and in Europe, especially for machine tools including precision planes, drills, lathes, and a steam hammer with valve gear patented in 1863. Turner writes: "Thomas Bullock used to tell a story of how [his friend] John Mellor, in later years, gave demonstrations of the steam hammer's capabilities. He would borrow a gold watch from a member of the audience and place it under the hammer. With a puff of steam he would let it drop, and it would come to a stop leaving thousandths of an inch above the watch, leaving its owner's nerves in tatters" (57, p.24).

The Mellors' inventiveness is illustrated by these 1868 local newspaper items:

"Novel road engine - A road engine, propelled by steam, has been recently built by Messrs W. Mellor and Co, manufacturers of patent steam hammers and machine tools, at their works, Rainow, near this town [Macclesfield]. The engine is capable of carrying 20 passengers, and is well contrived for ascending steep gradients or for traversing roads of ordinary steepness at proportionate rates of speed. On Monday an experimental trip was made, and the most mountainous parts of the country were selected for the trial. The engine started from the Hough Hole works by way of Clulow Cross and Wincle to Swythamley, and returned by Gun, down to Rushton, through Macclesfield, to Rainow. The machine is under perfect control, and can easily be stopped or turned at will. The construction is such that the steam issuing from it is not visible, nor heard. Its consumption of fuel is marvellously small, the journey indicated having been performed at an expenditure of two and a half cwt of common coke, costing about 10d... it conveyed on this trial trip about 15 passengers" (20, 25 Jul 1868).

Further details of the road engine: "The carriage runs on 3 wheels, two are the driving wheels, and one in front is the guiding wheel. The framing is of sheet metal, made in box form to contain water sufficient for a trip of 15 miles. The vertical boiler is situated at the back end of the framing... there are two small horizontal engines...and a coke tender at the rear of the boiler...the driver sits in front. To see the engine rolling along without any visible means of propulsion appears marvellous, and some people on first seeing it, ran out of sight, and only ventured near when they saw nothing to harm them" (20, 1 Aug 1868).

William Mellor & Co ceased trading, according to Turner, at about the time of the outbreak of the first world war. Later tenants included a firm of tin foil makers. The mill was demolished in or around 1945.

e. COW LANE MILL

The name 'Cow Lane Mill' appears on the 25 inch O.S. map surveyed in 1871 (23), but it seems that the mill was known in the mid-nineteenth century as 'Tower Hill Mill'.

Origins and dimensions.

Richardson (12) testified in 1806 that this mill was built about 17 years earlier, around 1789. When first built, said Richardson, the only reservoir adjoined the factory (this silted pool site is easily distinguishable today), and the water from it turned an 18 foot diameter wheel. Around 1803, said Richardson, another reservoir was made upstream, the water being brought by "a trench or sough" along the hillside to a point by the track on the western side of the mill, where it powered a 25 foot diameter wheel, before draining into the original pool. The silted second pool, part of the hillside leat, and part of the wheelhouse survive. Shafting must have been taken across the track into the mill.

I have been unable to find any photograph of the mill buildings before they became ruinous. Most of the ruins have quite recently been cleared away, but in the 1980s they were photographed and described by the East Cheshire Textile Mill Survey team (21). From this record of the ruins, and from old maps, we can see that the mill was aligned east-west between the track and the original pool. Advertisements in the local paper in 1812 and 1834 give the dimensions of the mill as approximately 25 yards long and 10 yards wide, with three storeys (20, 7 Mar 1812, 4 Jan 1834). Bryant's map of 1831 (53) and the tithe map of 1850 (51) show a second building below the track to the north of the mill, which may have been a warehouse.

Cotton days.

Who built Cow Lane Mill, and who first occupied it, is not known, apparently. Richardson tells us that in 1806 the mill was owned by Isaac Hill and Thomas Arnett, and occupied by Joseph and Robert Orme. The East Cheshire Textile Mill Survey file on this mill notes that "the Ormes are a well known silk throwing family, and therefore it seems likely that the mill was being used for silk throwing in 1806, and that it was built for that purpose" (21). In fact Richardson implies that this mill, like the rest, was built for cotton spinning, and that it was a cotton spinning mill in 1806. None of these mills had names in their early days (except the older Rainow Mill), but it was presumably this mill which was offered for lease in 1812, as Mr Thomas Armett (sic) was to show the premises - the newspaper advertisement describes it as "a cotton factory in Rainow", while also noting that the gearing of the two wheels was suitable for either silk or cotton (20, 7 Mar 1812). The Commercial Directory for 1816-17 lists under cotton spinners and manufacturers, "Dean, James, Tower Hill Rainow" - it is possible that Dean was a tenant of Cow Lane Mill (35).

Silk.

In 1817 a mill which appears to be this one, "at Tower Hill in Rainow", was put up for sale, containing "valuable new-erected silk machinery" which had not been at work more than a month and a half. It is possible therefore that the conversion of Cow Lane Mill to silk did not occur until 1817.

This silk machinery, according to the newspaper advertisement, comprised of "two capital mills of a dozen and a half spindles each, one of which has gearing for spinning; 6 engines containing 648 swifts; 1 engine of 50 swifts; large quantities of spinning mill shafts, and of tram and engine bobbins; 15 doubling wheels and jacks" (20, 25 Mar 1817).

"That excellent silk mill or factory on Tower Hill in Rainow" was again put up for sale in 1834, with Mr Armett to show the premises. The mill was "lately in the occupation of Mr Thorpe". The auction lots included 6 cottages near the mill, one of which was occupied by Mr Thomas Armett, one by Elizabeth Orme, and the rest were unoccupied (20, 4 Jan 1834). These cottages may have been those to the north-east of Tower Hill Farm, and were possibly built by Armett to provide accommodation for Cow Lane Mill workers.

In the tithe sale prospectus of 1844 (9) and in the tithe apportionment of 1848 (51) William Deane appears as both owner and occupier of the mill. Directories in 1841 (39) and 1844 (30) describe Deane as a silk throwster. There may have been dual

occupation: a sale advertisement for silk spinning machinery in "the Tower Hill Mill" in 1846 stated the occupant of the mill to be Mr William Robinson (20, 26 Sept 1846).

According to 'The Story of Rainow' Cow Lane Mill was occupied in 1860 by Edmund and Fawcett, silk throwsters, with George Grice as manager (8, p.61). The "Tower Hill Mill" appeared as an auction lot in the sale of the Eddisbury Hall estate in 1868, together with "three cottages thereto belonging". The mill was then in the possession of Robert and Henry Thorp, and was fitted up with silk throwing machinery. The water wheel was said to be new, and for the first time mention is made of a steam engine, of 14 hp (58). An underground flue ran from the engine house to a square tapered stone chimney on the hillside north-west of the mill. The chimney is illustrated in a painting by Ken Mosley which is reproduced on the cover of Longden's 'Industrial Revolution in East Cheshire' (16). The chimney, and the remaining mill walls, were demolished, and the stone removed, late in 1991, or early in 1992 (59).

Bleaching and ruin.

Edward Thorp was still at the mill in 1874, and was living at "Tower Hill house" (24). At some point after this the mill was used as a bleachworks for a while. By 1907 the site was disused (47), and apparently remained so, the pools silting up and the buildings gradually decaying.

5. OTHER FACTORIES

a. SPRINGBANK MILL

This former factory stands at Kerridge End, near the junction of Lidgetts Lane and Rainow Road, on the Rainow side. The two storey, five bay, stone building appears to have been put up in the later 19th century, perhaps in the 1870s, when the British silk industry was benefiting from the disruption of the continental silk industry after the Franco-Prussian war. The present building is not shown on the 25 inch O.S. map surveyed in 1871 (23). It has been asserted that "the old silk mill standing at Kerridge End was built by Jesse Ainsworth, who also sank two pit shafts in his garden to obtain coal and water for his mill". The files of the East Cheshire Textile Mill Survey tell us that in 1901, Robert Ainsworth of Kerridge End, a silk throwster, sold the mill to James Nixon, a Rainow farmer, together with two cottages adjoining. The use of the mill thereafter is not clear. Nixon sold the mill in 1911 to Aaron Cooper, a stone dresser, and it was bought in 1934 by James Cooper, a dairyman, but it was apparently disused from 1922 for many years. In 1950 the mill was occupied by a light engineering company, and in the early 1950s by Bainbridge and Edwards, sack and bag merchants (21).

b. BRITTON'S FACTORY, JACKSON LANE

The Crosby Homes housing development 'Jackson's Close', built in 2001 on Jackson Lane, Kerridge, occupies the site of a single storey factory with a distinctive undulating roof built in 1954, with an extension to the south which was built in the 1960s, burnt down in 1988, and then rebuilt.

The factory was purpose-built for Eric Britton & Co Ltd, manufacturers of textile ribbons, tapes and bindings. The firm had been started in Manchester in 1938 by Eric Britton. Its premises were destroyed by enemy bombing in December 1940. Temporary premises were found in Manchester, but when Eric Britton, who had served in the forces during the war, was demobbed in 1946, the firm moved to Ingersley Vale Mill. The business expanded rapidly. By 1954 the lease at Ingersley Vale was coming to an

end, and the firm wanted a site with room for expansion. A site in Albert Road, Bollington, was considered, but rejected because of possible drainage difficulties. The Jackson Lane site was one of the few other level sites in Bollington, and sewers and all utility services were available. Bollington Urban District Council supported Britton's plans, in spite of the scenic beauty and semi-rural and residential nature of the area, and its poor road access, because of the perceived need to attract and retain industry (four companies were said to have moved out of the village since 1948, and Kerridge quarries were little worked at this time) and to diversify to avoid over dependence on cotton manufacture (unemployment had been widespread in Bollington in the cotton recession of 1951/2). Britton's outline plans were turned down by Cheshire County Council, but this decision was overturned after an appeal and an enquiry in 1954 (60).

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY SITES

As the upper Dean valley was a birthplace of the factory production of cotton, and therefore a cradle of the world's first industrial revolution, every remaining trace of its cotton mills and their water and steam power arrangements should be valued and considered worthy of preservation in some form. Little remains from the late 18th century, but the valley is still rich in 19th century remains, mostly still in the rural context in which the industrial revolution began.

The principal remaining physical features are listed below, with comments on the significance of the sites of which they are part.

a. HIGHER MILL

A complete stone built cotton mill of the 1830s survived here until 2001, but with its demolition, and the reduction in size of the mill pool, the interest of this site has been obliterated.

b. RAINOW MILL

WEIR, 1801.

Little remains here of the cotton industry, the mill having been destroyed in a fire in 1908. The site itself is of pre-industrial revolution significance, but there appear to be no physical remains of the earlier paper mill, or of the corn mill, which may have been of mediaeval foundation. The valley may have been crossed at this point by an ancient regional routeway, some traces of which perhaps survive in the path known as Mill Lane, and in the path over to Cow Lane (see Communications section). The older history and significance of this site has only recently been perceived, albeit hazily. Publicity would perhaps help ensure that any future development would be sensitive to that history.

c. INGERSLEY VALE MILL

CLOUGH POOL AND WEIR c.1800 - 1803
HILLSIDE LEAT c.1800 - 1803
MILL WALLS c. 1820
WHEELHOUSE, IRON TROUGH FROM LEAT, RETAINING WALLS c.1850
HILLSIDE CHIMNEY mid-19th century?
INSTITUTE (?) 1902

Ingersley Vale mill is perhaps the most interesting cotton industry site in the KRIV area. Some of its features have apparently left no trace. These include the housing for pauper apprentices, the tommy shop, and the manufacturer's house and workers' cottages which once stood close to the mill. But much does survive. The very large (now silted) upstream pool and hillside leat are early examples of the way in which quite small streams could be exploited to provide water power. The wheelhouse once housed a water wheel which must have been amongst the largest in the country. Its mid 19th century construction demonstrate the continued potential of water power well into the age of steam (probably to help power a printworks rather than a cotton mill). The wheel is gone, but its dimensions and structure are known. It seems to me that the recreation of a working water wheel here would not be technically impossible, though specialist advice would need to be taken on this. When the mill was a bleachworks, an Institute was built on site for the workforce, an example of the social welfare policies pioneered at Brunner Mond, Northwich, among other places. A.J. King, one of the instigators of the idea, who had lived alongside Ingersley Vale Mill, became, like Brunner, involved in progressive local and national politics, serving on the BUDC, Cheshire County Council, and as a Liberal MP from 1906-10. The Institute may have been housed in the stone building which survives to the south east of the old mill building. In addition to these specific associations, the valley here in my opinion has a brooding, even sinister, atmosphere which probably survives from industrial revolution days. This is partly the result of the way in which the old mill is built across the valley, the track hewn out of the rock of the valley wall, and of the old plantations, trees from which survive here in places. It would be a pity if any future development here did not try to retain some of this atmosphere.

d. HOUGH HOLE MILL

MILL BUILDER'S HOUSE (HOUGH HOLE HOUSE) 17th - 19th centuries
TENANT OR MANAGER'S HOUSE (?) early 19th century
POOL AND WEIR early 19th century
BRIDGE AND ROAD early 19th century
WORKERS' COTTAGES 1830s
ASSOCIATED QUARRY AND MINE WORKINGS early 19th century

Although Hough Hole Mill was demolished in the 1940s, nothing has been built on its site, and the rural context probably remains much as it was in the early or mid 19th century. This site provides an excellent example of the way in which some very early factories were built and operated by people still engaged in farming and other activities, and how local resources such as stone and coal (see extractive industries section) could be exploited by the factory entrepreneurs. With the income from the mill (one presumes) Hough Hole House was extended, and the second generation owner, retiring from business, devoted himself to religion and good works, creating the well known 'allegorical garden' (see section A), and (probably) the stone field paths which survive in places near to the mill (see communications section). The whole of the original Hough Hole Farm, including the mill site, pond, housing, quarry, mine remains, quarry, mill road, and stone field paths, should therefore be considered as one interconnected historical site which could, through interpretation, reveal much of the dynamics of an early industrial revolution enterprise.

e. COW LANE MILL

MILL SITE from 1789
MILL POOL ADJACENT TO MILL SITE 1789
POOL UPSTREAM AND HILLSIDE LEAT 1803

This site retains the imprint (rather faded, but not obliterated by later development) of a very early mill. Two early arrangements of water power can be easily discerned. I have found this site very useful (working from the public footpath) for fieldwork with history students, as the site allows the observer to deduce from the physical evidence alone what must have happened there, and the likely sequence of events. For this educational purpose, the site would ideally be 'frozen' as it is, before further removal of remains takes place (the steam engine hillside chimney has been removed quite recently).

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PART THREE: EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

1. GEOLOGY

Central to the understanding of the geology of the KRIV area and its surrounding countryside is the 'Red Rock Fault', which here runs more or less along the line of the Macclesfield Canal. To the west of the fault are the sandstones of the Triassic period, between 190 and 225 million years old; to the east are rocks of the carboniferous period, 280 to 345 million years old.

The Peak District is essentially a dome, uplifted perhaps 150 million years ago. The Red Rock Fault system marks the western boundary of the uplift. The younger Triassic rocks which once overlaid the whole Peak area have been stripped off by erosion. In the centre of the dome, the oldest rocks, limestone formed between 325 and 345 million years ago, are exposed. To the west (and to the east and north) of the limestone are exposed the rocks of the Millstone Grit series, laid down between 310 and 325 million years ago. On the western edge of the Peak, the strata of sandstones, shales and coal known as the 'Coal Measures', dating from 280 to 310 million years ago, are exposed.

The Millstone Grits and Coal Measures of the western Peak (the rocks of the KRIV area) dip to the north west, but have been subjected to extensive folding and faulting, producing complicated and discontinuous patterns of strata. To the east of the Red Rock Fault, further faults run north-south within the KRIV area, and an east-west fault is present just to the north. One result of this faulting and discontinuity of strata is that the coal mines of the area are necessarily limited in the size of their workings.

Rainow.

Rainow village lies on the scarp slope of the Holcombe Brook Grit (one of the middle gritstone group of strata), which was formerly described here as 'Rainow Grit' (3, p22). These rocks contain two seams of coal, the Lower and Upper Holcombe Brook coals. Within the KRIV area, the old coal pits, of which some evidence still survives, in Hayles Clough "are probably sunk to one or the other of these seams" (2, p12).

Faults separate this gritstone from the younger Coal Measures which make up Kerridge Hill.

Kerridge Hill.

Kerridge Hill consists of Coal Measures strata, dipping to the west.

Uppermost is a thick layer of Milnrow Sandstone, described in the Geological Survey in 1963 as follows: "south of Bollington the basal part of the Milnrow sandstone caps... Kerridge and consists of a coarse feldspathic gritstone with occasional pebbles, overlying medium grained flaggy sandstone with partings of shale" (1, p40-1). The wall along the top of the ridge seems to use this coarse gritstone, probably quarried from small pits nearby, but the quarries on the western side of Kerridge Hill exploit the sandstone below. "The rock here breaks easily into small parallel sided building blocks of particularly even size and shape" (1, p116).

Below the Milnrow Sandstone lie sequences of mudstones, sandstones, shales, seat earth (fireclay), and coal. The exact nature of the strata under Kerridge Hill is not entirely clear from the published material. The first edition of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey, which covered the area between Stockport and Leek in a volume published in 1866, contains a "general" list of six coal seams below what was then called the 'Kerridge Rock' in the Macclesfield area, drawing information "from the accounts of old colliers" (4, p23). Later editions of the Memoirs (1, 2, 3) have been organised according to the areas covered by the O.S. geological maps. Kerridge Hill lies across the boundary of two maps (sheets 98 and 110), and thus falls partly into Memoirs volumes covering the country around Stockport and Knutsford, and partly into those covering the country around Macclesfield, Congleton, Crewe and Middlewich. Perhaps as a consequence the Memoirs say little about Kerridge. However, the 1963 edition of the Memoirs for the country around Stockport and Knutsford does contain much detail on the equivalent strata further north, especially those under

Bakestonedale (1, p16-18, 38-40). Essentially, this is in agreement with the list in the 1866 Memoir, though in 1963 five not six seams of coal were identified. The coal seams (or 'mines' as they were formerly described) listed are as follows (in descending order):

1.Big Smut Mine, 18 inches thick in Bakestonedale. [The 1866 list calls this Great Smut, 30 inches thick.]

2.Little Smut Mine (otherwise known as Upper Foot, Bullion, Little Sweet, or Red Ash), only 8 inches thick in Bakestonedale, and not worked there for that reason. [The 1866 list says 0 inches (sic) to 25 inches thick.]

3.Sweet Mine (or Lower Mountain), 20 to 22 inches thick in Bakestonedale. Beneath the coal is a commercially valuable seatearth, worked in Bakestonedale where it is 4 feet thick, and north of the Clarence Mill, where it is 6 feet thick. [The 1866 list says one name for this coal is the Shore seam; it is 18 to 24 inches thick.]

4.Ribbon Mine (or Stinkard, Lower Foot, or Stone), 10 inches thick under the west bank of Clough Pool in the KRIV area. Beneath this coal is a seatearth of hard white ganister which was worked at the Clarence Mine. [The 1866 list treats this as two separate seams, Stinkard and Ribbon, at 3 - 12 inches and 10 inches thick respectively.]

5.Bassy Mine (or Yard, Mountain, Limekiln or Big Mine), 3 to 4 feet thick, but of variable quality, with many shale partings. [The 1866 list says 4 to 6 feet thick.]

How thick the coal and fireclay seams are under Kerridge Hill, and indeed if they are all present, is not entirely clear. It is often difficult to tell which seams local sources are referring to. The authors of 'The Story of Rainow' quote Mr Frederick Vare (who, with his father, is said to be the last to have worked the coal mines under Kerridge Hill) as saying there were four seams "under the parish" :

No.1 seam, 14 inches thick

No.2 seam, 20 inches thick

No.3 seam, 12 to 16 inches thick

No.4 seam, 9 inches thick, but "never worked in Kerridge because it was too low for water to be released from the 'loose' [drainage sough]" (5, p54).

An advertisement for the sale of the Swanscoe Park Estate in 1837 is more specific about the seams to the west of Kerridge Hill. They were "the Great Smut Mine, the Shore Seam Mine, the Ribbon Mine, and the Great Mine... The top 3 mines produce coal of an excellent quality for house use; the lowest mine is well adapted for engines, or burning lime or bricks" (16, 13 May 1837).

2. STONE QUARRIES : GENERAL HISTORY IN KRIV AREA

a. EARLY EXPLOITATION OF KERRIDGE STONE

According to Dodgson, the first element in 'Kerridge' is the Old English word 'caeg', meaning a stone or boulder (6, p188). Jane Laughton suggests that the Anglo-Saxons were "evidently primarily concerned with the hill as a source of stone" (7, Jan 2000).

Windmill Lane, which runs along the western side of Kerridge Hill, seems likely to have been made solely to provide access to the Kerridge quarries (see Communications section). A reference to this road, then known as the Sideway, can be found as early as c.1270, in a description of the boundary of the township of Bollington (10).

Late 14th and 15th century references can be found to the use of Kerridge stone in Macclesfield Castle, in repairs to buildings at Kinderton, and in the re-roofing of Mobberley church (7, Jan 2000).

A map of 1611 indicates, on the west side of Kerridge Hill, "slate pitts", and a survey of that year refers to a quarry on the Hurdsfield side of Kerridge Hill, leased to the burgesses of Macclesfield (8, p.28 & passim). In the middle ages, Kerridge quarries, which were on common land, were under the control of the crown. Ormerod writes that

they were later "leased by the crown to the Corporation of Macclesfield, but were afterward allotted to the ancient enclosed lands, in persuance of an Act of Parliament [of 1625]" (9, p771). This appears to mean that the quarries were sold or leased into private control, presumably to the landowners in the vicinity in the first instance.

There is perhaps some evidence that this had been done by the later 17th century in the form of an estate map in the Downes (of Shrigley) papers. This sketch map, dated 1689, shows what appears to be a strip of land rising to the top of the hill, on the western side, labelled "Comon lands on Kerich belonging proportionably to Edward Dale, Samuel Glover and William Shirt, 14-3-26". Immediately to the south, and aligned as if to refer to similar hillside strips, appear the words "Adam Jackson's dole" and "John Tayler's dole" (11).

b. THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

The demand for stone would increase with the 17th and early 18th century 'great rebuilding' in stone of the houses of the local gentry and yeomen, with the piecemeal enclosure of local commons and waste lands with stone walls, or combinations of wall and hedge, and with the improvement of some local roads by turnpike trusts from the middle of the eighteenth century.

Quarrying came to be of great importance as a source of employment in Rainow and Bollington in this period, though the quarries were not confined to the KRIV area. Jane Laughton remarks that the probate inventories which show so much about other occupations in 17th century Rainow show little about quarrying, as the tools required were not particularly specialised. In 17th century, she believes, there was probably a nascent quarrying industry, but in the 18th century "Rainow did become a village of weavers and quarry workers" (8, p.28 & 46).

No serious academic work has been done on 18th century occupations in Rainow or Bollington. I have looked at the Prestbury parish burial registers. Among the Bollington men buried between 1724 and 1787 whose occupations were recorded (a minority), stone tradesmen feature prominently, with 9 stonegetters, 9 masons, 7 slaters, 2 stonemen, 1 stonecutter and 1 flagger. When John Hurst, stonemason of Bollington, was buried at Prestbury in 1742, a note was added to the register to record that it was he "who rebuilt this church" (13).

c. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Markets and products.

Though no canal came near the Kerridge quarries until the Macclesfield Canal opened in 1830, the growth of the turnpike road and canal system from the late eighteenth century and the growth of the railway network from the 1830s must have made it easier to sell Kerridge stone throughout Cheshire and beyond, at least for monumental, building and paving purposes. A trade directory of 1850 remarked that Kerridge stone "is in great demand for the erection of churches and public buildings; its hardness and beautiful whiteness, we trust, will throw out of use that perishable, brick-dust sort of freestone with which most churches and ancient buildings in Cheshire are erected" (17).

The effect of transport improvements on the market for roofing slates was different. Henry Holland in 1808 noted that while Kerridge stone had been "used to a considerable extent... for the purpose of roofing houses and other buildings" across Cheshire, its "application in this way is now much more confined" because of the introduction of Welsh slates [which had the advantage of being lighter] (42). By 1840, Osborne was writing that Kerridge stone was "formerly used for the roofing of houses" (14, p.17).

Macclesfield was growing rapidly in the first half of the 19th century, and civic improvement provided a market for setts, curb stones and paving stone, though the

houses and mills were mostly built in local brick. Bollin Mills, on Brook Street, Macclesfield, were an exception, having been built in stone by Thomas Ainsworth, a Kerridge stone merchant (43). In Rainow and Bollington the cotton mills which were established from the late eighteenth century, and the cottages for their workers, were built of local stone.

When buildings in Bollington were advertised for sale, the use of Kerridge stone was often mentioned. For instance, in January 1844 a cottage, bakehouse and dwelling house in High Street were described as "substantially and conveniently built of the best Kerridge stone", and in August 1844 three cottages on Shrigley Road, nearly new, were "well and substantially built of the best Kerridge stone" (15).

The range of ready made stone products can be seen from advertisements and announcements in the local press. When George Broster's stock in his quarries in Rainow and Kerridge was sold for the benefit of his creditors in 1827, items listed included "polished chimney piece stones, hearths, sash sills, pump and pig troughs, slop stones, flag and slate grave stones, coping stone, polished plinths, lodge stones..." (16, 28 Jul 1827). The stock at the late Thomas Ainsworth's quarry on Kerrdge Hill was up for sale by auction in 1833. It included "polished landings, steps, grave-stones, head stones, hearths, chimney pieces, flags &c. Also a quantity of large blocks of stone, suitable for sawing into columns, door cases, landings, steps, hearths, base and string course, palisade, plinth, grave-stones, head-stones, window sills and heads, chimney pieces &c." (16, 20 Jul 1833).

A systematic search of the files of the local papers would probably produce a lot more information about the uses of Kerridge stone, and about trading practices. In 1835, for instance, a case at the Chester Assizes was reported, in which James Shatwell, a Kerridge stone mason, sought to recover the cost of goods supplied to George Barlow, a printer and bleacher of Marple. Barlow's order had included flags for a printing table and for bleaching cisterns (two of which were 7 feet square). Barlow had ordered from Kerridge quarries as their flags "were noted for their excellence", but in the end he refused to pay Shatwell's price of two shillings per foot. During the proceedings it was noted that the price charged often included the cost of carriage, though not in this case. The jury, having heard from tradesmen of Marple and of Kerridge, decided that 1s 2d per foot, exclusive of carriage, was a fairer price (16, 4 April 1835).

A report of proceedings in the county magistrates' court at Macclesfield in 1837 concerning the very bad state of repair of the road from the entrance to Ingersley Hall grounds up to the turnpike road to Chapel en le Frith noted that the local surveyor was using "very bad Kerridge sandstone" for the surfacing - which was presumably too soft for the purpose (16, 25 Nov 1837).

Quarrymen.

In the early 19th century there were probably around eight principal operators of the quarries on the west side of Kerridge Hill. Eight individuals or companies (probably small partnerships) were listed in the Bollington Land Tax return for 1792 as paying the tax for 'stone quarries', though these were not necessarily all on Kerridge (20). Varey's Macclesfield Directory of 1825 listed eight 'dealers in stone, Keyridge' who had yards in Macclesfield for the sale of stone. A trade directory of 1855 listed 10 Kerridge stone merchants (22).

These men, whether they were owners or tenants, were probably for the most part small operators, operating from a single quarry, perhaps for part of the time working alongside their employees, and using the traditional methods of working which have been described by David Kitching (22). These were often family businesses, and some of the families involved, if not all of them, were interrelated. Prominent among the Kerridge quarrying family names in the early 19th century were Clayton, Cooke, Broster, Ainsworth, Henshall, Green and Gatley. Some families had been quarrying for generations: the Prestbury burial registers show that Gatleys from Bollington township (which includes Kerridge), described as being in stone trades, were buried in 1726,

1742, 1756 and 1785; Greens likewise from Bollington and in stone trades were buried in 1724, 1725, 1728, 1732, 1739, 1761 and 1771 (13).

Later 19th century trade directories often mention that the Kerridge quarries provided a considerable source of employment; the same must have been true in the earlier 19th century. Employment in the quarries would probably have been an uncertain business, dependent on the weather and on the fluctuating demand of the building trade. At times, transient Irish labour was employed. In 1825 this lead to trouble, as reported in the Macclesfield Courier:

"One day last week a serious disturbance took place at a stone works on Kerridge, near this town. At one of the pits set to an under tenant by Mr Ainsworth, six or seven Irishmen were employed; this gave offense to the natives, who assembled to the number of about 100, and commenced an attack with stones upon the Irishmen, some of whom were in the act of weighing a block of about four tons weight; of course under such a shower of missiles they instantly fled, and were persued and ill treated by their cowardly assailants. Had it not been for the intrepidity of one man who stuck to the winch, the block must have gone to the bottom, and have crushed two others who were at work. Warrants have since been issued against the foremost of these ruffians, and on Thursday last they were bound over to keep the peace for 12 months" (16, 30 April 1825).

The enumerators' books for the 1851 census give some idea of the numbers of men who might be employed by the quarry operators. Joseph Green employed 14, Thomas Turner 15, Thomas Cooke 35, Francis Gatley 12. An analysis of the 1851 census material carried out by the Historical Committee for the 1974 Bollington Festival shows that the men who worked in the Kerridge quarries mostly lived in Kerridge. 91 Kerridge men were employed in stone trades, 46 (many of them boys) in cotton, 15 in silk, 27 in farming, 16 in coal. For women, the figures were: 69 in cotton, 14 in silk, 4 in farming. Of the men who worked in the stone trades, 33 were stonemasons, 40 were quarrymen, 6 were stone cutters; there were also stone dressers, apprentices, quarry bookkeepers and a foreman. Of the 33 stonemasons, none was older than forty eight - presumably a result of the occupational hazard of silicosis (23, p.13; 24).

After the Macclesfield Canal opened in 1830, William Clayton bought the Endon Estate with its quarries, and became a quarry master on a larger scale, investing heavily in a tramway from the quarries to the canal and in housing, including a mansion for himself (see below). David Kitching has described how the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century saw the emergence of other large firms, operating groups of quarries, introducing mechanisation in the form of stone crushers, frame saw and planing machines, compressed air hammer drills, together with steam cranes, and the use of explosives. John and George Sutton, for instance, who were listed in 1855 as stone merchants of Kerridge, built up a large business; by 1938 the firm, George Sutton Ltd, also had quarries at Bull Hill Rainow, Langley and Redmoor, and a large sawmill at Plungebrook, below Kerridge End. Wettons was another firm, originating in Rainow, which built up a large business with quarries on Kerridge, Billinge, Windyway, Teggs Nose and in Bollington, with two sawmills on Grimshaw Lane, Bollington. However, even the larger quarry masters remained "very closely involved in the business... only the biggest firms such as Wettons were large enough to permit the owners not to dirty their hands... and even they supervised the running of the firm themselves" (22).

Modern times.

According to Walter Smith, ten quarries were being worked on the west side of Kerridge Hill in 1932 (25, 6 May 1932), but O.S. maps from 1871 onwards show that not all of them had been in continuous operation. The relative cheapness of other building materials had begun to affect the quarry operators. The fifty six council houses built by Bollington Urban District Council off Grimshaw Lane in 1921-2 were built with Kerridge stone (44); the housing scheme was extended after the 2nd world war, but the

houses were of rendered brick. In the late 1940s and early 1950s most of the Kerridge quarries were deserted, becoming an exciting playground for village children. In 1977, David Kitching could write "today the quarrying industry in the area has contracted considerably, and even the famous Kerridge quarries have nearly all closed down" (22). Some tipping of industrial waste took place.

There has however been some late 20th century revival. David Tooth at Bridge Quarry, and Doreen Earl at Sycamore and Marksend Quarries have begun to send building stone, flags and setts from Kerridge Hill far afield once more, with orders having been supplied in North Wales, Stratford on Avon, the Brecon Beacons, and even the Shetland Isles (26).

3. STONE QUARRIES: PARTICULAR HISTORIES

a. QUARRIES ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF KERRIDGE HILL

It is difficult to imagine what the northern part of the western side of the hill looked like before quarrying began. At the lower level the hill appears to have been oversteepened by glacial action, perhaps by water flowing between the hill and the ice at one stage in the retreat of the Devensian ice sheet (1, p.101). Quarry waste appears to have been tipped over this edge. This is now overgrown with trees.

The area to the east of Windmill Lane is now an uneven plateau, which was created to some extent presumably by the retreat of quarry faces over the centuries back into the hillside. A series of tracks leads from Windmill Lane to the quarries. The local name for these tracks, according to William Broster (who was descended from a local quarrying family, and was brought up in Kerridge in the early years of last century), was 'ganks' (27, p.16). Many of the ganks are now sunken, between what may in places be natural hillocks, but which almost everywhere seem to be covered by mounds of quarry waste, now mostly overgrown.

The historical information about the west side quarries which follows is organised according to the ganks visible along Windmill Lane, travelling southwards from the Redway Tavern.

Quarries to the east of the Redway Tavern.

Access to these former quarries is off the track which now leads up behind the Redway Tavern to circle around the north end of Kerridge Hill. There appear to have been two main quarry faces. The entrance to the lower of the two is a few yards above Kerridge Hill House; the entrance to the higher quarry, which was a little further south, is around the bend in the track a little further on.

I have not been able to find any name, or any history, for these quarries. By the time of the O.S. 25 inch survey of 1871, the upper quarry was disused; the same situation prevailed at the survey of 1896; by the 1907 survey both were disused (30; 31; 32).

(Proceeding along Windmill Lane in a southerly direction, we pass Craigend, a bungalow, on the left. This is the site of a smithy shown on the 1871 O.S. map. There does not seem to have been any quarry entrance at this point.)

North End Quarries.

The first gank has a building now used as stables at its entrance. A smithy formerly stood here. This gank, which becomes two tracks, leads to the two North End quarries.

The first reference I have found to this quarry is a newspaper advertisement for the sale of the quarries in 1821. North End Field (above the quarries) and the two quarries were then in the occupation of William Gatley (16, 13 Jan 1821). The property was shown as owned and occupied by William Gatley in the tithe apportionment of 1848

(28). The land on the opposite side of Windmill Lane was also in Gatley ownership at that time, including the meadow between Redway and Windmill Lane which is known as Gatley's Meadow, and the house below the hill which is known as Gatley's Yard. It seems likely that this property, and the quarries, had been in Gatley ownership or tenancy for a long time. Burdett's 1777 Cheshire map labels this part of the village 'Gatley Green'. A little further south was 'Brazier Green'. The name Kerridge was probably then applied only to the hill (45).

It seems likely that it was in the North End Quarries that Alfred Gatley the sculptor first learned to use stone chisels (see below).

It is not clear when the Gatley ownership and occupation of the North End Quarries ended. Clifford Rathbone, a former editor of the Macclesfield Express, quoted an advertisement, perhaps in the form of a handbill or poster, for the Endon Estate that he had seen, which said that the North End Quarries and land amounting to six and a half acres were a detached part of the Endon Estate. Rathbone did not know the date of the advertisement, but it must have been after 1869, because Bollington railway station is mentioned in it (46). The quarries are not shown as disused on the 25 inch O.S. surveys until the second revision, 1907 (32).

Alfred Gatley (1816 - 1863).

William Broster asserts that Alfred Gatley was born in "the family home", Gatley's Yard - though it has to be said that Broster is not very reliable on historical matters outside his own experience (27). According to the Dictionary of National Biography (47), "while still a child [Gatley] learned the use of a stonemason's tools from his father, who owned and worked two quarries in the Kerridge hills." Alfred was educated at Rainow School where, tradition says, he carved his first work, his teacher's head, out of a turnip (35, p.74). Here, his ability, both artistic and general, was observed by the Rev. J. Sumner, the vicar of Pott Shrigley, who seems to have given him some private tuition alongside his own children (51).

After school he assisted in the family quarry, and here what Broster says was his first sculpture in stone, a figure of Walter Scott's Tam O' Shanter, was completed. This work came into the possession of the Rev. Sumner, who loaned it in 1839 to an exhibition organised by the Macclesfield Useful Knowledge Society in Macclesfield Town Hall (16, 29 June 1839).

Two years earlier, in 1837, Gatley had moved to London, "aided by a few friends" as the DNB puts it. He worked in the studio of Edward Hodges Baily, until in 1843 he became assistant to Musgrave L. Watson. In his early years in London Gatley studied in the British Museum, and then became a student of the Royal Academy, exhibiting there for the first time in 1841. Among works Gatley sold in his London period were figures of Cupid and Psyche, for Martin Swindells of Bollington, the memorial for the jubilee in 1846 of the Macclesfield Sunday School in Roe Street, and a bust of Dr. Sumner, archbishop of Canterbury and brother of the vicar of Pott Shrigley. The bust of Sumner was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1848, and at the same time a cast of it was on display in Macclesfield Town Hall. The Macclesfield Courier commented that "the success of this rising young artist has been almost without parallel" (16, 15 July 1848).

In spite of a growing reputation, Gatley remained in tight financial circumstances. In 1852 he moved to Rome, where he took a studio on the Pincian Hill. Here, he still struggled to find adequate patronage, as his letters home show. In 1860 the Rev Sumner wrote to Gatley, mentioning an old acquaintance with artistic ambitions; Gatley replied "I certainly pity him if he does not pocket 10 times per annum more than I do" (48). Gatley's letters, incidentally, also suggest complex (and contested) Gatley family properties and finances in Kerridge.

Gatley exhibited his bas-relief of 'Pharaoh and his Hosts' at the International Exhibition in London in 1862. This was to be the occasion of Gatley's last visit to England; he died from dysentery in Rome on 28 June 1863, and is buried in the

English cemetery there. The rumour that he was poisoned by jealous Italian sculptors was prevalent in Kerridge for many years. An obituary for Gatley appeared in the Art Journal: "He had a mind of singular independence. The style he chose admitted of no facile compromise of the classic with the pictorial. It descended not to seek an easily purchased popularity by softly blended forms after the manner of the Romantics. The school to which he belonged was stern and strict. The English public failed to comprehend the largeness of his manner" (57).

Alfred Gatley's diary and letter books and desk, a portrait of Gatley painted in Rome in 1862, a bust of Milton in Kerridge stone (1833), a reclining figure of a young girl, 'Echo' (1850), and a bas-relief panel 'The Triumph of Britannia', all by Gatley, are listed in Raymond Richards' Manor of Gawsworth (1974 edition) as being in the Gawsworth Hall collection (49). 'Echo' is illustrated in Richards' book, as it is in the brochure for the first Bollington Festival in 1964, which also contains a photograph of Gatley, impressively wild in hair, beard and eye (50). Other works by Gatley are (or were recently) at Lyme Hall, Salford City Art Gallery, St Mary's Church, Disley, Mottram in Longdendale Church, and Bollington Medical Centre (58).

William Broster, it seems to me, made a good point when he wrote that "it is unfortunate and regrettable that nothing in [Gatley's] native village remains to perpetuate his memory and outstanding eminence as a sculptor of national fame in the Victorian era" (27).

Glory Hole

The next 'gank' as we proceed south along Windmill Lane would seem to be that which led to Glory Hole Quarry. This name appears on a list of quarries made by Walter Smith in 1932 as the next quarry south from the North End Quarries (25, 6 May 1932), and it is repeated by David Kitching (22). I have not been able to find the name in print anywhere else.

This quarry is not shown as derelict or disused on the 25 inch O.S. maps surveyed in 1871, 1896 or 1907, though the crane shown near the rock face in 1871 is not present on the other maps. All three maps show a long building near the gank entrance, north of the track, and a smaller building opposite(30; 31; 32).

Cook's Quarries.

The next 'gank' leads to what the 1871 and 1896 25 inch O.S. surveys label 'Cook's Quarries'. These maps show the track swinging to the right, then splitting into two tracks, presumably leading to two quarry faces. These are probably what Walter Smith lists as Albert Quarry (to the north) and Ormes Quarry (to the south).

The 1871 map shows buildings at the 'gank' entrance, and more extensive buildings where the track splits, and cranes at the quarry faces. The northern quarry by that time has eaten further toward the crest of the hill than any other quarry. On the 1896 map it is nearer still, and a short tramway runs back from the quarry face. This is not present on the 1907 survey.

Gag Quarry.

The next 'gank' seems to lead to what is described on the 1907 survey as Gag Quarry, a name which is also in Walter Smith's list. There was a connection at the top of the track to the quarries to the north, and the 1871 and 1896 maps suggest that Gag Quarry might then have been classed as one of 'Cook's Quarries'.

An old building, now a house, stands at this quarry entrance on Windmill Lane. The O.S. surveys show this building, but don't label it. A smithy is shown further up the gank.

Sycamore Quarry.

A modern sign at the next 'gank' gives the name Sycamore Quarry. This name appears on the 25 inch maps of 1871 and 1907. Walter Smith however lists this as Green's Quarry. Unlike the quarries to the north, this quarry appears on the tithe map and apportionment (1848). At that time, it was two quarries. The northern quarry of the two, and the field above it, were owned by Joseph Green, and the quarry was occupied by him. The southern quarry and the field (which was called Horse Race) above it were owned by William Gatley, but the quarry was occupied by George Shatwell (28).

The southern quarry was perhaps that referred to in an auction sale advertisement in 1831: "All that close, croft, or parcel of pasture land... called Sycamore Field, in the occupation of William Gatley; and also a stone quarry in the same field occupied by Daniel Clowes and Titus Clayton (16, 13 Jan 1831).

A building once stood at the entrance to the gank, on the north side of the track. This had gone by 1907. Some stonework is still visible from Windmill Lane.

Bridge Quarry (part of Endon Quarries).

The gank immediately beyond the bridge which takes Windmill Lane over a rocky cleft is now signed 'Bridge Quarry'. When the lease was put up for sale in 1851 as part of the 'Endon Quarries' this quarry was called the 'Victoria Quarry' (16, 8 Feb 1851). The 25 inch O.S. map surveyed in 1871 names it 'Bridge End Quarry'.

These names are derived from the bridge over which Windmill Lane passes, originally crossing a quarry tramway, which used to bear an inscription (on the western side) "Victoria Bridge, May XXIV, MDCCCXXXVI" - May 24, 1837, the date of the birthday and year of accession of Queen Victoria.

A quarry was on the site of Bridge Quarry earlier than this, but I have been unable to find any name for it. The occupier in the 1820s was Thomas Ainsworth (see below).

The construction of the tramway probably instigated a great expansion of quarrying here; the sequence of 25 inch maps suggest that this carried on in the later 19th century.

William Clayton and the Endon Estate.

The Macclesfield Canal held out the prospect of cheaper transport and more extensive working for the Kerridge quarry operators. The first sod for the canal was cut at Bollington in December 1826 (16, 6 Dec 1826). A year before, soon after the canal act had been obtained, an estate of over 159 statute acres, stretching from Kerridge Hill, where it included quarries divided into seven lots, down to and beyond the line of the projected canal, and south into Hurdsfield, was offered for sale by auction. The land was in the occupancy of Thomas Ainsworth, whose lease was to expire in 1827 (16, 5 Nov 1825).

No sale appears to have been made, for what seems to be virtually the same land, now "computed at upward of 150 acres", was offered for sale by auction in December 1829 (by which time the canal was built but not yet open). The land was now described as "late in the possession of Mr Thomas Ashworth [presumably a misprint for Ainsworth]" and was divided into two lots: the Endon Estate and part of the Oak Estate (on the east side of the canal); and the other part of the Oak Estate (west of the canal). The Endon Estate included 'open' stone quarries, and "an excellent wharf has lately been made on the estate, and a railway from the quarries to the canal might easily be formed". Possession was available in spring 1830 (16, 7 Nov 1829).

Either in 1829, or at some point thereafter the Endon Estate was bought by William Clayton, who set about building the tramway and in other ways improving the estate. The Clayton family or families had long been involved in quarrying in the area, but this William Clayton, it seems, as well as mining coal at Swanscoe and in Hyde, was the tenant of the large Poynton and Worth Collieries. Clayton's lease on the latter expired in 1832. The historians of Poynton collieries write that "it is quite likely that William Clayton expected to obtain a new lease in 1832, but the estate had passed to... the 4th

Lord Vernon ... [who, now the Macclesfield Canal was open] decided that it would be more profitable to work the collieries himself through his agent... and so commenced a period of 89 years of overall management by the Vernon family" (33, p16, 44).

It may thus be that, by investing heavily in the Endon Estate, Clayton hoped to reap the advantages of the canal that were being denied him in Poynton. At some point in the 1830s, he constructed the tramway from Bridge Quarry down to the canal. William Clayton also built Endon Hall, presumably as his own residence, where he could live in a style befitting the principal quarry master of the area. To celebrate the coronation of Queen Victoria, 250 workmen were entertained to dinner by Clayton at Endon Hall. "Each guest had an entire plum pudding to himself, and roast beef and ale were dispensed on an equally generous scale" (35, p.28-9). Trade directories of 1844 and 1848 however indicate that Clayton was living in Adlington (54; 55). William Clayton died in 1850; his quarries on Kerridge were leased to and ultimately owned by his manager, Williamson.

The Kerridge Tramway.

The date on Victoria Bridge suggests that the tramway was completed in the late 1830s; it is shown on the 2 inch O.S. drawings of the area made in 1839 (34).

As far as I am aware, there is no photograph, drawing, or detailed description of the tramway in operation. The tramway seems to have ceased to operate at some point in the late 19th century. Broster (27, p.17) suggests closure was as early as 1870, but he seems to have based this only on the fact that the railway through Bollington opened in that year. The O.S. 25 inch map surveyed in 1871 and published in 1875 seems to show a working tramway, and this has to provide the basis for a description of the different sections of the tramway.

1. The tram lines apparently began a few hundred yards up the Bridge Quarry gank, where a crane was situated, presumably to load the wagons with stone. A spur seems to lead to Windmill Lane just to the north of the bridge - perhaps so that stone from other quarries could be loaded onto wagons, to be pushed back and onto the main tramway. About halfway along this top section of the tramway, a small structure is shown, immediately south of the rails. This may have housed a steam engine - in the top margin of the more southerly sheet of the 2 inch O.S. drawings of the area is marked "Victoria Engine Chimney", which seems to correspond to this site (34).

2. The next section was the steep incline down under Victoria Bridge to the level ground which is now the garden of the house below. The 118 steps which were presumably alongside the rails are still present, and are a public right of way. The 1871 map shows double tracks down the incline, but it is not clear how this part of the tramway operated. Kitching describes it as "self acting" (22). Broster mentions a steam engine and writes "there were two tracks, one descending with a truck load of stone with a rope attached and passed around a large oak wheel at the top of the bridge steps, and the other ascending with empty trucks or wagons with empty trucks pulled up [by] the one going down" (27, p.17). All very vague. It is not clear either whether there was transhipment on the level below the incline. A road which linked Kerridge with Swanscoe crossed the tramway here. Its route today is represented by Higher Lane to the north, and the track to the south which leads to Swanscoe Farm. On the latter track was Clayton's Swanscoe Colliery, so it is possible that coal could have been brought to the tramway at this point. Clayton also seems to have constructed the straight wide road, now a track, which comes down to this point from the site of the former windmill on Windmill Lane.

3. The next, gentler, section of the former tramway leads down from Endon House (apparently built by Clayton for his quarry manager) to the point at which Oak Lane was crossed. For most of its length this section runs on a large embankment, wide enough to fit a cart track alongside the railway. The embankment seems to have been built over the site of a old road leading down from Higher Lane to Brazier or Bracey

Green, the houses and cottages around Oakfold and Oakfold Farm (formerly Endon Farm). Whiteleys Farm, halfway along this road, seems to have been obliterated (52; 53). A spur embankment to the south leads down to Endonhall Farm and Endon Hall, built by Clayton at the same time as the tramway, it seems.

The 1871 O.S. map shows that the tramway on the upper part of this section was double track, but on the lower part single track. Just before the point at which the double tracks join together, the gap between them appears to widen. It is possible that there was here a catch pit, into which runaway trucks could be switched. The rails on the upper part at least of this section were fastened to stone blocks. A few survived and were visible until recently. This section and the bottom section of the tramway are both thought to have been horse worked.

According to Broster "Mr Clayton's office and weighing machine were situated opposite the Kerridge War memorial...[and] later attached to a small farm" (27, p.17).

4. From Oak Lane to the canal wharf, where there was a stone saw mill, the gradient of the tramway was very gentle.

Turret Quarry (part of Endon Quarries).

Turret Quarry was so named in an advertisement offering the Endon Quarries for lease in 1851, after the death of William Clayton (16, 8 Feb 1851). It appears to have been situated behind Turret Cottages, which were built by Clayton, perhaps around 1840. They are shown on the tithe map of 1850 (28). The track leading to Turret Cottages is the next off Windmill Lane south of the 'gank' which leads to Bridge Quarry. The tithe map shows that this track used to continue in front of the cottages, and run south-east right up to Windmill Quarry. The tithe map shows two buildings further up this track, which may be the two cottages and gardens referred to in the 1825 advertisement for this property (16, 5 Nov 1825).

By the time of the 1871 25 inch O.S. survey, the track south of Turret Cottages had been obliterated by further quarrying and tipping. The track, it seems, had been diverted north of Turret Cottages, running straight toward the ridge for some distance. From the top of the track, a path now led diagonally across the hillside to the saddle (30). What I presume to be Turret Quarry had extended south (though by 1871 it was presumably disused, as it was labelled 'Old Quarry' on the map) and access was from a gank further south along Windmill Lane. This gank can still be seen, but it is easy to miss, being rather overgrown.

Windmill Quarry (part of Endon Quarries).

The 'gank' leading to this quarry is that just to the north of Five Ashes. The windmill stood at the entrance to the gank from the 1830s, and seems to have been another Clayton enterprise (see section 1). The name Windmill Quarry was used in the advertisement offering the Endon Quarries for lease in 1851, after the death of Clayton (16, 8 Feb 1851). The quarry existed before the windmill, but I don't know what its earlier name or names were. As quarrying progressed in the second half of the 19th century, this quarry appears to have merged into the quarry or quarries to the north, and the whole area retained only the name Endon Quarry (32).

Five Ashes Quarries.

Five Ashes was a small farm on the hillside south east of the present Five Ashes Cottages. Part of the track which led to the farm from Windmill Lane (at the point where the track to the present cottages begins) can still be seen. Although not marked on Burdett's Cheshire map of 1777 (45), Five Ashes was important enough to appear and to be named on each of the early 19th century Cheshire maps: Greenwood ,1819 (56), Swire and Hutchings, 1829 (52), and Bryant, 1831 (53).

Former quarry faces can be seen both north and south of the site of the farmhouse. The quarry to the north was entered from the track which led to the farm; that to the

south from the next 'gank' which can be seen along Windmill Lane, to the north of Ivy House. At least one of the quarries must have been working in 1828 when "all that customary and copyhold messuage, with the two cottages, outbuildings, five several fields or closes of land belonging thereto... called the Five Ashes, with a very valuable stone quarry now working therein" were put up for sale by auction. The property was in "the several occupations of Messrs Thomas Robinson and Aaron Snape and their undertenants". The owner was John Mellor of Kerridge End (16, 23 Aug 1828). John Mellor and son were recorded as timber merchants in 1825, but were also builders, who built Kerridge End House as their residence in 1837 (5, p69).

At the time of the tithe award in 1848 Five Ashes was owned by John Mellor (the son), and was occupied by John Allen. The tithe map of 1850 shows quarries to the north and south of the farm, coming right up on both sides (28). By the time of the 1871 O.S. map, quarrying had been extended in front of the buildings, leaving only the width of the track for access (30). Both quarries were labelled 'old quarry' on the 1871 survey. On the 1907 survey, the southern quarry appears operational, and the buildings have been demolished (32).

In the field above the northern Five Ashes quarry, to the right of the present path from Windmill Lane up to the Saddle, which is referred to as 'Top Field' in the tithe apportionment, are many small grassed over depressions. These, I suppose, may have been small pits from which walling stone may have been extracted.

Marksend Quarries.

The earliest name for these quarries which I have seen is Parks-end Quarries, on the O.S. map surveyed in 1871 (30). This makes more sense than the Marksend of the 1907 survey (32), as the quarries are situated close to the boundary of the ancient Swanscoe Park. The 1871 survey shows an 'old quarry' to the south east of Ivy House. This is probably the original quarry. It was first shown on Bryant's map of 1831 (53); at this time the access to it seems to have been by the track which runs up by Ivy House before twisting south. Lidgetts Lane may not have been constructed until the 1830s (see section 4). The tithe apportionment of 1848 shows the quarry to be owned by John Ainsworth and occupied by George Ainsworth (38). During the second half of the 19th century quarrying extended southwards along the hillside, and two access tracks were made from Lidgetts Lane. The workings joined up with those toward the southern end of the hill, which in 1848 were also in the ownership and occupancy of the Ainsworths, and seem to have been originally an extension of workings on the eastern side of the hill (see below). A track from these southernmost workings emerges on Lidgetts Lane opposite the present covered reservoir.

b. QUARRIES ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF KERRIDGE HILL

Quarrying is much less developed on the eastern side of Kerridge ridge than on the western side. The dip of the strata to the west presumably means that the best stone is higher on the eastern side; and this stone is more difficult to reach as this side of the hill is more precipitous, lacking the plateau seen on the west. Not only do quarry tracks have to come down the steep hillside direct from the quarries, but there is little room for sawing and dressing sheds or smithies, or indeed for large quarry waste tips.

Some quarrying has taken place, mainly on the southern half of the eastern side of the hill; the quarry sites high on the hillside are now overgrown with bushes and trees.

In addition to the quarries, there is, all along the hill top, broken, uneven ground. It seems likely that this was caused by shallow pits and trenches dug for the stone (rather coarse gritstone which overlies the sandstone) with which the ridge top wall, and other walls high on the hill, were built.

Kerridge Quarries.

Near the southern end of Kerridge Hill, on the eastern side but near to the crest, are a group of small quarry faces, now long disused, going by the name of 'Kerridge Quarries' on the 2 inch O.S. drawings of 1837 (34) - which seems to be the only map to give them a name. I have been unable to trace any information about these quarries other than that which can be seen on the sequence of maps. Bryant in 1831 seems to be the first to show them, albeit schematically (53). The quarries were partially closed by the time of the 1871 25 inch survey (30) and probably closed completely not long afterwards.

The public footpath from the sharp bend at the Rainow end of Lidgetts Lane which climbs up to the trig point on the top of the Saddle passes through these quarries. I will present what information I have from the maps and from personal observation according to the route which would be taken by the walker.

The path, or rather partially grassed over track, which leaves Lidgetts Lane is the beginning of what I have described as the 'eastern sideway'. It served as access to coal mines along the hillside as well as to the quarries (see below, and section 4). At the very beginning of this track, the wall on the left makes two curious zig-zags, enclosing a small area of hillside. At the far end of the second zig-zag, the wall has been built across a grassed-over trackway which heads up the hillside toward the quarries. Higher up the hill it is crossed by another wall, which forms the southern stretch of what was once a large rectangular enclosure (with two square extensions on the northern side) around the quarry sites and surrounding hillside. All these walls are shown on the 1837 2 inch survey, so the track which they are built over must pre-date 1837 at the very least. The rectangular wall is the only wall shown on the 1837 map at this end of the hill. Its function is not clear - it seems a bit too extensive to have been built only to keep grazing beasts away from quarry edges. Perhaps it represents an area of land taken out of the common land (before more general enclosure) into private ownership for quarrying, which had to be extended on the northern side as quarrying and mining progressed.

A few hundred yards past the second zig-zag, at the end of the track-side wall, a very straight grassed over track on the left climbs up to the quarries. This track to me resembles strongly the trackbed of a small tramway. There is a small area at the bottom where trucks might be marshalled; toward the top there is what may be a cutting, and a likely site for a small winding engine, if such was necessary. However there is no evidence on the maps of a tramway.

As we walk up the incline, we can see just below, on the right, what seems to have been another track up to the quarries.

Just before the incline passes between two mounds in what may be a cutting, a track on the left leads round into a small enclosed quarry. Beyond the cutting is an open area with the stone foundations of a small building; to the left here another track leads into another small enclosed quarry. The straight track continues up to reach a level, which is perhaps the floor of another quarry, though if so a shallow one, or one in which later tipping has taken place. This level has been bisected by a stone wall, which belongs to a later stage of walling, done after these upper parts of the quarry were abandoned. This bisecting wall is shown on the 1871 survey.

The path then clambers up to another level, beyond which was a small quarry face, enclosed within one of the extensions to the early rectangular enclosure. On the left here another more recent wall has been built through the quarry; this too is shown on the 1871 survey. The original wall here was further west, enclosing a quarry which encroached onto the western side of the hill. No trace of this can be seen now, due to the dumping of waste material from Marksend quarry.

From the higher levels of the quarry another straight track (faint now) descends in a north-easterly direction to join the 'eastern sideway' at a point where mine tracks seem to feed into the 'green lane' above the Cow Lane Mill site (see section 4).

Although there seems to be little hard historical information about these Kerridge Quarries, it is possible that they are of considerable age. It seems that they were abandoned over a hundred years ago, and they don't seem to have been altered much since then. They are in places romantically overgrown and have a still, sheltered atmosphere. The layout and ruins provide much scope for study, thought and interpretation. The quarries don't seem dangerous, and a public footpath runs right through. This perhaps would be a suitable place for environmental interpretation.

Quarry above Hough Hole Mill.

The other main quarry on the eastern side of the hill is that on the hillside high above the site of the former Hough Hole Mill.

The authors of 'The Story of Rainow' say that this quarry was opened by James Mellor to supply the stone he needed to build Hough Hole Mill, which was opened in 1803 (5, p.68). This sounds likely: Mellor had turned his hand to many occupations, including farming, joinery, building and selling coal. He had bought Hough Hole Farm in 1797. The quarry stands on the part of Kerridge Hill which had been allocated to Hough Hole Farm at enclosure, which had presumably happened by 1797.

The first documentary hint of the existence of the quarry, as far as I am aware, is on Swire and Hutchings' Cheshire map of 1829 (52), which shows a track climbing the hill diagonally in a northerly direction from Hough Hole Mill. On Swire and Hutchings, the track goes no further than the eastern sideway, but fieldwork shows that the track continued beyond the sideway for a few feet before twisting sharply southwards to continue the climb, then twisting north again to enter the quarry. It is possible that this section, and the quarry, existed in 1829, but that Swire and Hutchings for some reason omitted it. Bryant's 1831 map (53) shows none of the track, but the O.S. drawings of 1839 (34) show the whole thing.

Fieldwork shows that the upper stretch of the track to the quarry was rebuilt, a few feet below the original track. This was presumably done to give a better radius curve into the quarry at the top. It necessitated a retaining wall on the curve, which can be seen from the Eastern Sideway below, and also a slight encroachment into that part of the hillside allocated to Kerridgeside. The remodelling of the track had been done by the time of the 25 inch O.S. map surveyed in 1871 (30). The quarry does not seem to have grown any bigger after that time.

c. QUARRY AT THE NORTHERN END OF KERRIDGE HILL

There appears to have been only one attempt at a quarry at the north end of the hill. The small indentation in the hillside, now covered in with grass and some gorse bushes, is on the south side of the track which leads from the Redway Tavern around the north end of the hill and down to Ingersley Clough, just to the east of the point where the path from Lord Street up to White Nancy crosses the track. What is apparently a spoil heap from the quarry can be seen on the north side of the track, opposite the former quarry entrance.

This quarry was on the land attached to Adshead's Barn Farm. When this farm, then called Hatchet Barn, was advertised for sale by auction in 1811, this general area was described as follows: "this lot forms part of the hill of Keyridge, so celebrated for its excellent stone, and abounds with mines [i.e. beds] of stone of the same quality, which might be gotten at very moderate expense" (16, 2 Nov 1811). This implies that no quarrying had yet taken place.

In the sequence of maps of the area, the quarry, and the track around the north end, are first shown on the 2 inch O.S. drawings of 1839 (34). The quarry is shown in a most unrealistic form, with a long 'gank' and a large quarrying area stretching right back to the boundary of the field above North End Quarry, cutting right across the area of the

present path up to White Nancy. The only explanation of this that I can think of is that the quarry had recently opened, and that the map makers decided to anticipate its future development on the lines of the quarries on the west side of the hill. However, it is clear from examining the site that the quarry remained a very small one, if it ever really got started at all. This area is not shown on the tithe map, but the later 25 inch O.S. surveys don't show the quarry at all, not even as disused. I presume the quality of the stone wasn't what it was cracked up to be in the advertisement of 1811.

4. COAL MINES: GENERAL HISTORY IN THE KRIV AREA

According to an early 17th century survey cited by Jane Laughton (8, p.27) there were at that time only three coal pits within the manor and forest of Macclesfield, one of which was somewhere in Rainow (the others were at Pott Shrigley and Disley). Four men (two getters, a drawer and a winder) appear to have worked the Rainow pit. Population growth and demand for coal to replace or supplement wood and peat as domestic fuel undoubtedly led to the opening of more mines during the 17th and 18th centuries. It is likely that some of them were in the KRIV area, on the east and north side of Kerridge Hill, as here some coal outcrops or is close to the surface, and could be mined in simple bell pits, or with small shafts or adits. As mining extended here drainage soughs were constructed under the hill from Bollington and Hurdsfield. Burdett's Cheshire map published in 1777 shows three coal pits. They are probably not located with exactitude on the map - one appears to be on top of the ridge - but they are clustered toward the north end of the hill (45). Roger Bowling suggests that these early mining ventures, and many of the later ones, were "probably short-lived, probably worked by only two men, who may have been part-timers" (23, p.41). Only three coal related occupations of Bollington men are mentioned in the Prestbury burial registers between 1724 and 1787: colliers were buried in 1762 and 1772, and a banksman in 1762 (13).

Faster population growth in the late eighteenth century, the use of steam to assist water wheels and for heating in the new factories, and the increased efficiency of pumping engines, led to the development of what were probably more heavily capitalised mines which tapped the seams of coal on the western side of Kerridge. John Aikin wrote in 1795 of "a very large steam engine belonging to a coal pit" in the township of Bollington, and added that "the township of Rainow has...likewise a large colliery" (39, p.439). The location of these mines is not known, but we do know that the Swanscoe Mine (just within the southern boundary of Bollington, near Lower Swanscoe Farm) in 1837 (when the Swanscoe Park Estate was put up for sale) had a "steam engine of 12 hp for winding and pumping" (16, 13 May 1837).

Mines like this one would employ wage labourers. The census enumerators' books in 1851 show 16 Kerridge men employed in coal mining (24). At the Swanscoe Mine at least one child seems to have been employed underground, according to a newspaper report of 1848:

"On Thursday evening a fatal accident occurred at Swanscoe coal mine to a boy named Watson living in Bollington near the Waggon and Horses. It appears that he had been at work in the pit and had just ascended, when he began to amuse himself by riding on the engine. Unfortunately he was caught in the machinery and before he could be extracted he had sustained several frightful fractures of the right leg, and an awfully lacerated wound on the lower part of the body. He was conveyed home as soon as possible. Dr. Vaux was passing the house at the time and was called in, but the unfortunate youth expired before he left" (16, 22 July 1848).

It is unlikely that the day to day workings of any of the collieries would have struck the observer as intensive. The local paper in 1833 reported a fatal accident to a Bollington collier who was crushed by a roof fall while working a 14 inch seam in the Kerridge Colliery. "He was at work in the coal pit alone. As he did not return home at

his usual hour, the nature of what had befallen him became suspected, and the banksman descended and discovered the situation he was in" (16, 1 June 1833).

It is likely that even before the mid 19th century coal mining in the area was in decline, as the Macclesfield Canal (1831) and the railways to Macclesfield from Manchester (1845) and from Stoke (1849), brought into the area cheaper, higher quality coal from the south Lancashire and north Staffordshire coalfields and elsewhere. The local mines were limited by their often poor quality coal and by their relatively thin seams, broken by faulting discontinuities. Nonetheless, sporadic mining activity seems to have continued into the 20th century.

5. COAL MINES: PARTICULAR HISTORIES

a. MINES AT THE NORTH END AND EASTERN SIDE OF KERRIDGE HILL

The material in this account is organised according to the mining remains which can be seen while walking around the north end and eastern side of Kerridge Hill, using the track from the Redway Tavern as far as North End Farm, then following the 'eastern sideway'.

The North End Mines.

Just beyond the former quarry (see above) on the track up from the Redway Tavern is a fenced off mine shaft. A grassed over track leads to it from the Redway track at the entrance to the former quarry. Looking downhill from this point, an apparent spoil heap can be seen in the field below the track, and another larger one at the end of Cow Lane.

The grassed over track to the fenced shaft continues around the hillside. It is crossed by a strip of walled plantation which runs up the hill to White Nancy. If the plantation was made at the same time as White Nancy, this mine track must have been disused since c.1815. Just beyond the plantation is another fenced mineshaft. On the hillside below this shaft is a small pool by the Redway track, which may be connected to mining, and a waste heap and former shaft near to the path which runs from the end of Cow Lane down to Rainow Mill. The hillside track continues from the second fenced shaft round to a large spoil heap behind North End Farm.

I assume, as do the authors of 'The Story of Rainow' (5), that these workings were all part of one mine complex (though not necessarily at work all at the same time). There may have been another connected shaft, at the top of High Street, opposite the Red Lion.

These shafts, or some of them, may be the 'coal pits' shown on Burdett's 1777 map (45). 'The Story of Rainow' asserts, without giving a source, that the coal was "at first" owned by Peter Downes, who leased the rights to others, and later was owned by John Gaskell of Ingersley, who leased the mine to Thomas Barton of North End Farm.

Roger Bowling says that this mine would be that on which Peter Lomas [of the Waterhouse cotton mill in Bollington] paid Land Tax in 1793. Lomas, says Bowling, sold the mine in 1808 to Lawrence Wagstaff [of Rainow Mill and Adshead Barn Farm] and Daniel and Elias Rose, who at once began to construct a sough at the bottom of the hill to drain the mines. This sough for many years supplied water to the Higher Mills. It collapsed, Bowling thinks, around 1920; but the mines had ceased work, he says, before 1848 (23, p.47).

Ingersley Clough Mines.

The eastern sideway path crosses a sloping field beyond North End Farm. Much of the hillside below the path but above the wood is disturbed and marshy ground, with what appear to be signs of shafts and spoil heaps. I assume this to be the site of Ingersley Mines, which 'The Story of Rainow' says were drift (or adit) mines, opened to supply coal "to the Ingersley Mills" (5, p.56).

Along the top edge of the wood runs what seems to have been a narrow trackway, which may have been used to take the coal away. The O.S. 25 inch map surveyed in 1871 shows a wider track winding down from this below North End Farm to join the track from the Redway where it crosses the leat which runs from Clough Pool to Ingersley Vale Mill (30).

The only other reference I have seen to what appear to be these mines is in an 1824 advertisement for the sale of timber and bark growing in Ingersley Clough, which stated that further particulars could be had from "Thomas Barton, at the colliery, Ingersley Wood" (16, 28 Feb 1824). Thomas Barton seems to have been the tenant of North End Farm, and to have been operating the North End mines (see above); he seems to have been operating these mines as well.

Hough Hole Mines.

The eastern sideway path passes through a walled strip of plantation and then crosses a field to Kerridgeside, below which is the site of Hough Hole Mill. The whole of this field below the path seems to have been disturbed by mine workings. A good impression of the extent of this disturbance when the workings were fresher (though grass covered) can be gained from a photograph taken around 1865, which is reproduced in 'Looking Back at East Cheshire' (18). It seems likely that this was a site of early workings, but 'The Story of Rainow' only mentions two drift mines, working what the Vare family called seams 2 and 3. These mines, the authors say, were opened to supply coal to Hough Hole Mill (built in 1803). One mine entrance was in the mill yard. A 'loose' or drainage sough ran from these mines under the hill to the west side of Kerridge (5, p55).

The 1906 edition of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey mentions that a colliery at Hough Hole was still in use (3). The mine was officially abandoned at the beginning of 1925, because the mine was effectively exhausted; but 'The Story of Rainow', drawing on the memories of Mr Frederick Vare (who with his father Joseph was the last to work in the mine) says working ended abruptly in 1926 when 'black damp' gas was discovered in the mine. Perhaps, as seems to have been the case with some other small mines in the district, working had begun again during the long national miners' strike.

California Mines.

The eastern sideway path is now diverted behind Kerridgeside. Beyond the house, inside the grounds, and in the field at the end of the footpath diversion, can be seen spoil heaps from the California Mines.

The name is presumably younger than the mines, for the California Gold Rush, which is presumably being commemorated, took place in 1849. 'The Story of Rainow' says the name came from the nickname of one of the Vare family who had taken part in the gold rush.

The California Mines, says 'The Story of Rainow', consisted of three drift mines, working seams 1, 2, and 3, one above each other on the hillside. The workings of these mines became connected to those of the Hough Hole Mines, and the California Mines were drained by the Hough Hole loose which ran under the hill. The site of the lowest drift mine entrance can't be seen from the path. It is down by the river, close to the point where the stone foundations of an old bridge can be seen, close to a modern bridge, Presumably some coal was taken away this way. "The coal was drawn to the surface by hand but at one time it was proposed to install a steam engine for the purpose. Although a chimney and flue were built, the proposition never materialised. Traces of the flue and chimney still remain" (5, p.55-6).

Roger Bowling says that at the beginning of the 20th century, 'cally' coal from these mines was sold in Bollington at 4d per hundredweight (23, p.47).

South End Mines.

'The Story of Rainow' asserts that the mines at the southern end are the oldest on the hill, and says that 12 main shafts up which coal was brought (presumably from no.2 seam) can be seen on or near the sideway path, with other shafts, mostly for ventilation, in the field below. A loose was driven from Bollington to a shaft made on Lidgetts Lane in order to drain these mines (5, p.54).

Evidence of these mines, it seems, begins in the field after that which contains evidence of the California workings. Just after the field wall, spoil heaps can be seen, above and below the path. The wall has been built across the edge of the mine remains, which suggests that these mines pre-dated the enclosure of the hillside, whenever that was (see section 1).

The path in this field splits into two. The lower path heads towards the site of Cow Lane Mill. Coal would probably be taken down the old track to the north of this site, which leads up to Tower Hill Farm. The upper, fainter path is the sideway; it climbs up to a stile well above the Cow Lane mill site, at the apex of a strange conical wall pattern. Beyond the stile is evidence of another shaft, and others further on. Careful examination of the grassed over tracks around and below these shafts suggests that coal might have been taken away along the short walled 'green lane' which can be seen below (and then perhaps along the track leading to Tower Hill).

The eastern sideway path begins to show signs of more careful construction, first as a fairly narrow track, but then, beyond a stile on the site of another shaft, it becomes a cart track, six feet or so in width, which suggests that coal from these workings at least was taken away by Kerridge End - from where the journey to Macclesfield would be downhill nearly all the way.

Toot Hole Mine, Brookhouse Farm.

This mine is not easily seen from the eastern sideway, being in the field north of Brookhouse farm, close to the stream. 'The Story of Rainow' says that it is a drift mine opened to serve the local mills by a Mr Robinson. It worked no.3 seam, and was drained by a loose to Plungebrook (5, p.55).

Walter Smith says that the name means 'peep hole', which like 'day-eye' was a term used to describe the entrance to drift or adit mines as seen from deep within (25).

b. MINES ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF KERRIDGE HILL

There is less obvious physical evidence of mining on the western side of Kerridge Hill than on the eastern side, information from maps and written sources is scanty, and we lack any informed oral evidence such as that from Mr Vare which was so helpful to the authors of 'The Story of Rainow'.

The principal mines to the west of the hill seem to have been those at Swanscoe, which is outside the KRIV area. These were worked for many years in the early 19th century by William Clayton. Clayton bought the neighbouring Endon and Oak Estates c.1830. He seems to have intended to work the coal and fireclay seams as well as the Endon quarries, but to have died before commercial operations could get under way, though he did build, on the border of the KRIV area on Windmill Lane, a tower which Roger Bowling has called "the largest edifice of Bollington's mining era" (23, p.46). Whether there was any later coal or fireclay mining on the Endon Estate is unclear.

Clayton's Tower.

The circular castellated stone tower, a grade II listed building, stands on the western side of Windmill Lane, just to the north of Victoria Bridge which crossed the quarry tramway built by William Clayton (see above).

In the 20th century, it was generally assumed that the tower was built by William Clayton as a ventilation shaft for a coal mine, but that the shaft was never actually used. Roger Bowling wrote that "the intention was that the ventilating draught was to

be maintained by a furnace situated underground at the bottom of the shaft... I doubt if the Kerridge chimney has ever been used for its intended purpose, for the furnace would burn more coal than the mine was capable of producing" (23, p.46).

Longden, noting the lack of cited evidence, and sceptical that such an experienced mine operator as William Clayton would build what Bowling calls a white elephant, suggested that the chimney might instead be the 'Victoria Engine Chimney' indicated in the margin of the 2 inch O.S. drawings of the area to the south, made in 1837, and speculated that an engine for some purpose might have been situated near the tramway below, and have been connected to the chimney by a flue running up the hillside (19, p.11).

However, Longden has changed his mind and now thinks that the Victoria Engine Chimney of the 1837 map was probably the chimney of a steam engine at the top of the tramway, by the 'gank' leading into Bridge Quarry. This seems to correspond more exactly with the distances shown on the 2 inch maps, and in any case, Longden has since seen two pieces of evidence which back up, to differing degrees, the traditional view of the tower.

The first piece of evidence is in fact the earliest reference I have seen to the tower. In 1844, the Macclesfield Chronicle published an account of "an afternoon's ramble [from Macclesfield] to Kerridge hill". The route of the ramblers passed William Clayton's Swanscoe Colliery, another colliery at Five Ashes, and the windmill before coming to "a curiously constructed edifice, which the builder appears to have intended for a tower and a chimney". The edifice is described elsewhere in the article as "Mr. Clayton's tower" (15, 17 Aug 1844).

Much clearer, however, is the description of the Endon Estate, up for sale, which was quoted in a newspaper article in 1969 by Clifford Rathbone. "The present underground flue and castellated stone chimney shaft were erected some years ago by the then owner of Endon [William Clayton] in preparation for working the coal seams, but owing to his death soon afterwards [1850] the contemplated collieries have been in abeyance ever since" (46). The document which Rathbone was quoting was apparently undated, but must be from 1869 or later, as Bollington railway station is mentioned.

Rathbone's document also mentions two other shafts which had been sunk to ganister [*COD: a close-grained hard siliceous stone found in the coal measures of northern England, and used for furnace-linings (19thC, origin unknown)*] and fireclay seams, and, on the upper lands "a vast body of fine pure clay shale... has been thoroughly analysed and tested and samples of superior bricks, tiles etc., have been made". Bowling writes that "the fireclay which lies under Kerridge Hill has never been mined, although a private survey of the reserves was made in the 1940s" (23, p.43). Broster writes of "the brickfield alongside Higher Lane" without making it clear whether this was an actual or potential brickworks (27, p.17). Canal plans from the 1890s show a brick kiln at the wharf at the end of the tramway (41).

Coal mines in the Ivy House area.

The tithe map of Rainow, 1850, shows that a coal mine, steam engine and chimney once existed near the Kerridge end of Lidgetts Lane. A few yards up the lane, on the left, the tithe map has a plot described in the apportionment as "coal pit, bank, and waste"; the field beyond is described as "Engine Field". Opposite, between Lidgetts Lane and Kerridge Road, is a "coal pit hillock". The pit, bank, waste and hillock were all in the occupation of William Shufflebotham, who also occupied Ivy House and other cottages here, and the few small fields nearby (38). It is not clear from the tithe documents, nor from the 1871 25 inch O.S. map, whether the coal mine was working.

The above would seem to occupy the site referred to in 'The Story of Rainow': "To release the water [from mines on the east of the hill] a 'loose' was driven from the Dean at Bollington under the west side of Kerridge to a shaft sunk for the purpose at Lidgetts Lane at the beginning of the quarry tips. This was before Bollington as a village existed.

About 1930 the timbers which covered the shaft collapsed. It was then filled in with stone from the adjacent tips" (5, p.54).

Another colliery may have existed near Five Ashes, probably near the entrance on Windmill Lane to the southern Five Ashes quarry.

In 1828 Five Ashes and its quarries were put up for sale. The advertisement of the sale included as lot 2 "all the several mines, seams and beds of coal under [the farm and cottages] which are very valuable... the same mines in the adjoining estate are now in full work" (16, 23 Aug 1828). This suggests there was no mining yet at Five Ashes. The mines in the adjoining estate referred to may have been the Swanscoe Mines of William Clayton, or the mine on Lidgetts Lane.

When the Macclesfield Chronicle in 1844 published an account of "An Afternoon's Ramble to Kerridge Hill" the route from Hurdsfield came past Clayton's Swanscoe Colliery, then (apparently) up the Swanscoe Farm track to Kerridge Road, then on to Windmill Lane. "Passing onward, we come to the colliery and coke ovens of Mr Clayton, on Kerridge Hill, where a small steam engine winds the coal &c. from the mines in the interior of the hill. A little further on is the windmill..." (15, 17 Aug 1844). Perhaps Clayton acquired the rights to the coal here in the 1828 sale.

The steam engine chimney may be one of those marked in the margin of the 2 inch drawings of 1837 covering the more southerly part of our area. If so, the chimney was adjacent to the wall which runs below the crest of the hill, in line with a point just south of the southern Five Ashes quarry (34).

The Cheshire list of sites of architectural and historic interest mentions, a little to the north of Ivy House on Windmill Lane "a kiln... bottle shaped... the top opening covered with heavy flags". It is suggested that this may have been a potash or lime kiln (36). A coking connection is perhaps more likely.

There is no mention of anything connected to coal mining here on the tithe documents of 1848, or on any map that I have seen.

6. ASSESSMENT OF EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES SITES

a. THE QUARRIES ON THE WEST SIDE OF KERRIDGE HILL.

The quarries on the west side of Kerridge Hill are known to be of great age and of national significance. They have had by far the greatest impact on the landscape of any industry in the KRIV area. However, large areas are being worked at present, and elsewhere what survives is for the most part fairly recent working faces and waste dumps. Quarries eat away and obscure their own history. There are few public rights of way in the quarrying areas. But there is a lot of apparently unused space, which might be suitable, if it could be obtained, for car parking for visitors to the KRIV area.

An Alfred Gatley memorial?

Alfred Gatley the sculptor was a figure of national importance in the 19th century. Some of his work survives in the area. Part of what we now know as Kerridge village was once named after his family, and he seems to have been born and brought up in Kerridge, producing his first work in North End Quarries.

As I have noted above, I think William Broster was right to write that "it is unfortunate and regrettable that nothing in [Gatley's] native village remains to perpetuate his memory and outstanding eminence as a sculptor of national fame in the Victorian era." Perhaps the KRIV project might encompass or encourage the erection of a memorial of some sort? The Gatley family property included North End Field, above North End Quarries, and this field stretches right up to White Nancy. Perhaps a site adjacent to White Nancy would be suitable?

William Clayton and his works.

William Clayton bought the Endon Quarries and much other land around 1830. He became the largest quarry employer on Kerridge, and he invested heavily in housing and infrastructure, in an attempt to take advantage of the newly opened Macclesfield Canal by increasing the scale of mining and quarrying operations. Clayton invested his buildings with character and some charm; they survive to form a definite Clayton enclave. The following are inside the KRIV area, or immediately border on it:

Turrett Cottages c.1840
Victoria Bridge c.1838
Tramway incline and 118 steps 1830s
Clayton's Tower c.1840.

The following of Clayton's works are outside the KRIV area, but only just:

Endon House 1830s
Endon Hall 1830s
Endonhall Farm (?) 1830s?
Track up to Windmill 1830s
Tramway embankment 1830s.

It would be a shame to exclude the latter from any celebration and interpretation of Clayton that the KRIV project might want to undertake. I suggest that they could be incorporated into an interpretative walk through the area, which might leave the southern part of Kerridge Hill by the track down from the windmill site, pass by Endon House (all the other sites being only yards from this point), along Higher Lane, and the along the stone field path to Redway Lane. This route would actually have made a better boundary for the KRIV area than Windmill Lane, which can't be walked safely.

b. 'KERRIDGE QUARRY' ON THE EAST SIDE OF KERRIDGE HILL

This little remarked-on but very interesting quarry site, at the southern end of the eastern side of the hill, in my view qualifies as a 'hidden gem'. The site is calm and quiet, sheltered from the prevailing winds. The quarries were abandoned over a century ago it seems. The site is romantically overgrown, with gnarled tree roots pushing through ruined stonework. Green grass, manicured by sheep, carpets the quarry entrances. All is on a small, human scale, and not dangerous as far as I can see. The history of the site has to be deduced, mostly, from what remains. Very old quarry workings are dissected by later drystone walls, and old trackways are similarly built across. Ruins of old buildings can be faintly made out. A possible former tramway runs down toward Kerridge End.

This site, I think, can be said to give an indication of what the quarries on the west side were probably like much earlier in their histories. It might therefore be a suitable place for interpretative and possibly even recreational facilities, especially as a public footpath runs through the length of the site.

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PART FOUR: COMMUNICATIONS

1. THROUGH ROUTES

a. THE MACCLESFIELD - WHALEY BRIDGE ROAD (B 5470)

The B 5470 (formerly the A 5002), the main road through the village of Rainow, forms the south-eastern boundary of the KRIV area, between Lidgetts Lane and Round Meadow. This stretch of the road goes under the names of Hawkins Lane, then Tower Hill, then Pedley Hill.

Peak gateway.

The road, passing through the gap at the southern end of Kerridge Hill, follows a natural route into the Peak District which may have been used for thousands of years. The foundation of Macclesfield in the Anglo Saxon period, and especially its growth as an administrative and then commercial centre from the 10th century, probably increased the importance of the route.

Saltway.

Over the centuries, many traders will have passed this way, including the salters who took salt from the Cheshire witches across the Peak to Sheffield and beyond. In the 1930s W.B. Crump traced the saltways, mainly on the basis of place name evidence (1). Crump believed that salt from Northwich, Middlewich and Nantwich came through Macclesfield and Rainow, the separate routes having converged near Siddington. Beyond Rainow, some of the salt packhorse trains would turn east, passing through Saltersford, the name of which is noted by Dodgson as first recorded in 1409 (2). Others went on through Chapel en le Frith, passing Salter's Knowl (1, p.96-7; 29, p.124, 126).

Turnpike.

The act which turnpiked the Macclesfield - Whaley Bridge road passed through parliament in 1770. The first road in the district to be turnpiked was the Manchester to Buxton road, with a branch from Whaley Bridge to Chapel en le Frith, in 1724. Around Macclesfield and across the Peak, a turnpiking boom occurred in the late 1750s and early 1760s. The road from Macclesfield to Buxton was turnpiked under an Act of 1758. The road through Macclesfield from Bullock Smithy (later known as Hazel Grove) to Leek and beyond was turnpiked under an Act of 1762. Acts of 1758 and 1759 turnpiked roads from Chapel en le Frith to Sheffield and to Chesterfield. From the west, the road from Knutsford to Macclesfield was turnpiked under an act of 1769 (3, p.160; 4, p.94; 5, p.87).

The turnpiking of the Macclesfield - Whaley Bridge road was thus the last link in an east - west turnpike road system. This is why the old stone milestones (which seem to date from the 18th century) give the mileage to Chapel, Sheffield and Chesterfield, even though the authority of this turnpike trust extended only as far as Randle Carr Lane Head near Whaley Bridge.

According to Samuel Smiles (6, p.112), this turnpike was constructed by John Metcalf, 'Blind Jack of Knaresborough' (1717-1810). Although blinded by smallpox at the age of six, Metcalf constructed about 180 miles of turnpike road in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire and Cheshire. Smiles wrote that "this extraordinary man not only made the highways which were designed for him by other surveyors, but himself personally surveyed and laid out many of the most important roads which he constructed." Smiles does not say whether Metcalf himself surveyed, or just contracted for the construction of the Macclesfield - Whaley Bridge road.

Many of the early turnpike trusts made little alteration to the existing routes of the roads they took over, which tended to pass steeply up and down hills, as directly as possible. As traffic increased and loads became heavier, steep stretches were

increasingly by-passed by new lengths of road which were often longer in miles, but with gentler gradients. The Macclesfield - Whaley Bridge road occupies an intermediate position in turnpike history. There are steep gradients, but the old road was in places by-passed, as for instance north of Rainow between the Highwayman Inn and Charleshead, where the old road (now a track and paths) can be seen to drop down into the Harrop valley and climb out again, while the turnpike - the modern road, for the most part- circles the hills above. This diversion is shown on Burdett's Cheshire map, published in 1777 but probably surveyed a little earlier, so it is probably Metcalf's work. The stretch of road from the George and Dragon in Higher Hurdsfield to Kerridge End may also be new turnpike road.

In the KRIV area through Rainow however the turnpike seems to have followed the line of the old road, except perhaps in passing to the east of the Rainow Institute, behind which a narrow much older road still exists.

Items of turnpike interest along the stretch of the road in the KRIV area:

1. Milestone.

Situated next to stone horse troughs opposite Brookhouse Farm at the foot of the hill leading up to Kerridge End. Stone, white painted. The original style of the lettering suggests an 18th century date; possibly dating from the initial turnpiking. Gives distances to Chapel (9 miles), Sheffield (31 miles) and Chesterfield (32 miles).

2. Toll House.

A stone cottage, No.1, Hawkins Lane, opposite the car park of the Rising Sun Inn. It is apparently not known whether there was initially a toll gate or bar across the road here, but in 1795 there was only a chain. The auction of tolls in that year, announced in the Manchester Mercury, lists the Hawkins Lane chain, together with bars at Hurdsfield, and at Gap House, Kettleshulme (8, 7 April, 1795). A similar announcement in 1820 in the Macclesfield Courier also mentions the Hawkins Lane chain and the Hurdsfield bar, but the bar at Gap House had apparently been replaced by one at Fernilee (9, 17 Jun 1820).

3. Bridge, Mill Brook.

This bridge has been widened more than once, but still retains the style of what was presumably Metcalf's original turnpike bridge. Samuel Smiles wrote that "we believe it was generally admitted of the works constructed by Metcalf that they well stood the test of time and use; and, with a degree of justifiable pride, he was afterwards accustomed to point to his bridges, when others were tumbling during floods, and boast that none of his had fallen" (6, p.113).

b. AN OLD ROUTE CROSSING THE NORTH END OF KERRIDGE?

The valley now occupied by part of the village of Bollington is not now an important through route, unlike the gap at the southern end of Kerridge Hill. Yet the Bollington valley does form another natural gateway from the Cheshire plain into the hills of the Peak, and it seems reasonable to suppose that it too may have been used as part of an east-west routeway by traders, soldiers and settlers.

A through route here would be likely to avoid the valley bottom, where a road would tend to be founderous, and stick to the better drained hillsides. I have argued elsewhere that such a route may have crossed the north end of Kerridge Hill, and can perhaps be traced in modern roads, tracks and field paths making a fairly straight line from the river crossing at Prestbury, through Bollington Cross, along Grimshaw Lane to Stakehouse End, then by Chancery Lane, Cow Lane, and field paths to Rainow Mill, Mill Lane, and Blaze Hill (37).

The following rather circumstantial evidence was put forward in support of this route:

1. It has been argued recently that an early Roman military road ran north-south through Prestbury, fording the Bollin close to the present bridge (38). An eastward turn here would lead to the Bollington gap and form a convenient route to Roman Buxton.

The name of Coldarbour Farm near Clarke Lane suggests Roman activity nearby ('cold harbour' names can be translated as 'deserted army shelter', and they do seem to be associated with Roman roads). Directly on the suggested route, a Roman coin was discovered during house building near the top of Grimshaw Lane in 1953.
2. A series of names along the route suggests that perhaps Scandinavian soldiers and settlers came this way. Grimshaw Lane may be derived from the Old Norse 'haugr', which can mean hill, with 'Grimr', a Scandinavian personal name - as Kenneth Cameron suggested for Grimshoe in Norfolk (10). Dodgson suggests as the origin of the name Ingersley, which is adjacent to our route, 'Ingiald's clearing', from an Old Norse personal name.
3. Mill Lane, from a point near to Rainow Mill to the Poachers Inn, is the line of the Bollington township boundary, which was in existence by c.1270 (12, no.6). This implies a pre-existing road at this point. The road may of course have led only to Rainow Mill, but the siting of Rainow's corn mill, at the edge of the township, may equally have been determined by the existence of an important route here.
4. The name of Laneside Farm, half way up Blaze Hill, a deep holloway, can be taken to indicate a Roman route. The 19th century O.S. maps labelled the road along Billinge Side and on toward Blue Boar and Saltersford a Roman road. The O.S. did not however recognise our route across the north side of Kerridge as Roman, or anything else; it was believed that a Roman road from Manchester to Buxton came through Bramhall, Woodford, Adlington, Long Lane, and over the northern side of the Bollington valley, crossing the stream somewhere near Sowcar before ascending Blaze Hill.
5. Dodgson (2, p190) says that the name Stakehouse probably derives from 'staca', a stake, and Walter Smith (12, no.7) suggests that here was once a stockaded site. It seems likely that such a site would be built close to a major route likely to be used by potential aggressors.

The parts of this route which lie on the boundary of or within the KRIV area are Chancery Lane, Cow Lane, and the field path from the end of Cow Lane down to Rainow Mill. On close examination, parts of this path can be recognised as a constructed trackway, possibly 4 or 5 feet wide, now grassed over. Walking east from Cow Lane, the trackway is lost as the path passes over disturbed ground at its highest point, but traces of it are visible again on the descent toward Rainow Mill. Some stones are visible in the path, but these may be glacial debris from the soil. Where the path twists round to cross a small declivity with steps and a stile the track is lost. Beyond, a trackway is more clearly visible, but this was probably constructed to the mine shaft above the declivity, in the 18th or early 19th century.

2. SIDEWAYS

I have here used the term 'sideways', to describe the ways which run along both the west and east sides of Kerridge Hill, for organisational convenience. The term is not used today on either side of the hill, as far as I am aware. 'The Sideway' seems to have been the mediaeval name for the western sideway. It has been locally known for many years as 'the top road' (15, p.25). The formal name of this sideway, Windmill Lane, cannot predate the building of the windmill near Five Ashes in the 1830s.

a. THE WESTERN SIDEWAY

Windmill Lane.

A description of the boundaries of Bollington originally written c.1270 refers to "Le Sideway" : the boundary runs southward along the top of Kerridge hill, then comes down to the Sideway, and from there descends toward Bollington [Bollington Cross]

(14). It seems certain that this is a reference to what we know as Windmill Lane, at a point just below Ivy House. The name also makes it certain that this mediaeval way continued along the hillside, though the expansion of quarry spoil heaps means that we cannot be certain that its route is exactly the same as that of Windmill Lane.

It seems likely that the road came into existence for the purpose of serving the quarries on the western side of Kerridge Hill, rather than being, for instance, part of a north-south route along the side of the hills. For at each end, the sideway originally seems to have led only down to the lower land. The through traveller would hardly have climbed halfway up the hill only to climb down again, especially as a dry route probably existed along the foot of the hill, through Swanscoe Farm and Higher Lane - a route which can still be walked along tracks today.

Redway and Independence Way.

Access to the northern end of Windmill Lane is by Redway Lane, which runs up the side of a dry valley which may have been an overflow channel for the waters of 'Lake Bollington', dammed in the valley by an ice sheet to the west (16, p.100), before crossing a col to provide easy access to the hillside. It seems likely that this was the original northern access route. About the meaning of the name Redway, incidentally, the sources seem to be silent. The possibilities would seem to include derivation from the Old English 'hreod', reed, or 'reod', clearing (17, p.384).

The track which runs from the Redway Tavern around the north end of Kerridge Hill to North End Farm and Ingersley Vale may be of relatively recent construction. As far as I am aware, it is shown on no map before the 2 inch O.S. drawings of 1839 (13), not even on Bryant's Cheshire map of 1831 which shows many minor trackways (18). This track was apparently known locally in the early 20th century as Independence Way, and the steep section above the Redway Tavern was 'Betty's Brew' (19, quoting information from a local resident, Horace Shatwell, born c.1900).

Kerridge Road and Lidgetts Lane.

At the southern end of Windmill Lane, near Ivy House (and the entrance to what was the southernmost quarry on this side of the hill, Marksend), the way off the hill is along Kerridge Road, which leads down to Swanscoe and the road from Rainow to Macclesfield. That this is a very old road is suggested by the fact that the boundary of the townships of Rainow and Hurdsfield follows it.

Lidgetts Lane today provides another route from Ivy House, running up and across the southern end of the hill to Kerridge End, to join the main road at its highest point before the descent to Rainow. Lidgetts Lane, like the north end trackway, may be relatively recent. As far as I am aware, it too is not shown on any map before the 2 inch drawings - this end of the hill being surveyed in 1837 (13). Bryant's 1831 Cheshire map does however show a track from the main road to the quarries on the eastern side of the hill near Kerridge End. The first few yards of this seem to correspond with the first few yards (from Kerridge End) of Lidgetts Lane. The pre-existence of this track, heading toward the quarries and probably also the mines on the Rainow side of the hill, perhaps explains the extremely sharp bend on Lidgetts Lane above its junction with the main road. If Lidgetts Lane was constructed in the 1830s, it is tempting to think that this might have had something to do with William Clayton, who bought the Endon Estate in Kerridge c.1830 and invested heavily in expanding the Endon Quarries (see Section Three).

Lidgetts Lane probably took its name from 'the Lidgetts', a term which was applied locally to the whole of the southern end of the hill (by this writer's father, born 1912, for one). The tithe map and apportionment show one field, south of Marksend Quarry and east of Lidgetts Lane, which is described as 'Lydia', a corruption of Lidgetts. But this name would be derived originally from a lidgate (Old English 'hligeat', swing gate), the name used for an entrance to common pasture land, which is what large parts of Kerridge Hill used to be (17, p.297; 20, no.15). My guess is that the lidgate would have

been on the main road, at the point where Bryant's quarry track, now the entrance to Lidgetts Lane, leaves it.

b. THE EASTERN SIDEWAY

A continuous public footpath, which I am going to call the eastern sideway, can be followed along the eastern side of Kerridge Hill, approximately one third of the way up, from Lidgetts Lane in the south to the Redway track beyond North End Farm. It is now commonly used in its entirety by walkers, but I am sceptical of the claim that the whole sideway was once a track along which coal was carried from the South End Mines to Bollington (23; 30). Fieldwork and an examination of the old maps leads me to think that the eastern sideway developed and was mostly used in separate sections.

The South End Mines section.

The eastern sideway begins in the south as a definite level trackway, once surfaced, with retaining walls on the downhill side, and with a width of around six feet. This obviously important track runs for approximately 400 yards, passing the incline which leads up to Kerridge Quarries, and also shafts of the South End Mines, which have been described as the first to be opened on Kerridge Hill (see section three). Coal from these mines would almost certainly be taken south along the track to the main road at Kerridge End.

After the first 400 yards, beyond a stile, the track becomes narrower and less distinct, running for about 300 yards to a second stile. More workings of the South End Mines can be seen above the sideway, but an examination of the faint traces of tracks from the workings suggest that the coal here was taken downhill to what looks like a short walled green lane above the Cow Lane Mill site. A faint track also comes diagonally down from the Kerridge Quarries, which are higher and further south on the east side of the hill. Presumably the route for coal and stone was then around the northern end of the mill site, following the track which leads up to Tower Hill Farm and the main road (see below).

Cow Lane to Kerridgeside.

After the second stile, which is at the apex of a curious conical pattern of drystone walls, the sideway is merely a footpath in a field, descending gently to join a grassed over narrow track which has come up from the direction of the former Cow Lane Mill. The sideway then continues north along this former track, passing by what are apparently the last shafts of the South End Mines and then passing above the workings of the California Mines, before being diverted behind the former Kerridgeside Farm.

The track up from Cow Lane, which becomes the sideway, appears to represent an old route to the mines, and to Kerridgeside, and perhaps even an earlier point of access to the common land of Kerridge Hill. Cow Lane is the name now used for the track from Hawkins Lane which leads straight down to the southern end of the Cow Lane Mill site. But what is probably an older track, predating the mill (which was built c.1789), passes north of the mill site, coming down from Tower Hill Farm and crossing the river by a bridge. The first 25 inch O.S. map, surveyed in 1871, refers to this as Cow Lane (13). Where this track climbs obliquely up from the river on the Kerridge Hill side, before it joins the path from the mill at a stile, stone paving of ancient appearance, with large edging stones, still survives. The Cheshire maps of both Swire and Hutchings, 1829, and Bryant, 1831, show access by one or the other of the two Cow Lanes (it is not clear which) to the hillside, and the sideway track leading from there to a point above Clough Pool and to Kerridgeside, respectively (18; 32).

Above Hough Hole Mines.

Across the field between Kerridgeside and a walled strip of plantation which runs up the hillside the eastern sideway maintains its character as a narrow grassed over

trackway. However on this stretch a row of flags (only some of which are now uncovered) has been laid down in the middle of the former trackway, presumably for the benefit of pedestrians after the surfacing of the trackway had been abandoned. A further flagged pathway was at some point made from Hough Hole Mill across the hillside to join the sideway at the plantation strip. The date and the builder of these stone paths, and of that on the other side of the valley, from the back of Hough Hole Gardens to Waulkmill, is not known. But as the paths begin on the lands of Hough Hole House and Farm, the philanthropic James Mellor jnr (1797 - 1891), who had offered to provide land and stone for a road from Rainow to Bollington, and who was himself a skilled stone mason, and had a quarry on his land, is a prime suspect (23, and see section one). The motive, I suppose, would be to provide routes for those who walked to work in Bollington, and to protect the fields from erosion.

The former track from the Hough Hole Mill site to the Mellor family quarry can be seen crossing the eastern sideway (see section 3). It is possible that the lower part of this track represents another early access point to the common lands of Kerridge Hill and to the early coal mines whose workings appear to have disturbed the ground below the eastern sideway here.

The North End Farm section.

The eastern sideway from the plantation strip to North End Farm appears to have once been a narrow trackway, though it is now indistinct, as though much less recently maintained. There is no flagstone paving here. The path from the plantation strip which descends diagonally down to the Clough Wood is flagged though, so this was the way presumably which those who were walking to work at the Ingersley Clough mills or to Bollington would take.

3. RAINOW ROADS

a. OAKENBANK LANE

Oakenbank Lane, alternatively known as the High Cliff road (12), or the bridle way, forms the north-western boundary of the KRIV area, running from Smithy Lane in Rainow across the eastern flank of High Cliff, passing to the east of Ingersley Hall and Higher Ingersley Farm, before descending to cross the stream in Lima Clough and twisting sharply west to a back entrance to Ingersley Park. Here the lane leaves the KRIV area, heading north again toward Orme's Smithy.

The term 'bridle road', meaning fit for horses but not for vehicles, may suit Oakenbank Lane today, but this was once a proper road, of normal width for the area, running between walls and hedges. Between Smithy Lane and the entrance to Higher Ingersley Farm, the lane has been allowed to decline to the condition of a haphazardly and infrequently repaired track. It has never been surfaced with tarmac; the stone chip surfacing common on country roads well into the 20th century can be seen in various stages of disintegration. In places, the bedrock shows through.

Oakenbank Lane is shown on Burdett's Cheshire map of 1777, and is likely to have been a very old route of considerable importance to the scattered Rainow community. 'The Oakenbank' was a timber-producing wood in the 14th century (33, p 18 & 69). It was still heavily wooded in the early 17th century (11, centrefold map). Along Oakenbank Lane, we may assume, would be hauled great building timbers, logs, poles, and the rods and withies used in wattle and daub construction.

Ingersley lies adjacent to Oakenbank Lane. The name suggests a Scandinavian founder, though it is first recorded in the 14th century (2). Rainow's most prestigious house was here long before the hall was built in the 1770s; access was probably from Oakenbank Lane. Two entrances to the grounds of the hall were made from the lane.

The one at Oakenbank is on the site of a former road or track leading down to Ingersley Clough, which may have been the cart route from Rainow to the fulling mill and corn mill (see below). The other entrance was further south, where now an elaborate gateway gives access only to green fields. A little further away from Oakenbank Lane, but formerly connected to it by a track, is Lima Farm, first recorded early in the 16th century (2). The track down from Lima was joined by what can still be seen today to have been a packhorse trail from Rainow Low.

At the northern end of Oakenbank Lane, at what Burdett's 1777 map calls 'Orm Smithy', was a crossroads. Traffic from Rainow might turn left for Sowcar Farm, first mentioned in a 14th century document (2), or for Rainow Mill (via Mill Lane). Bollington now lies beyond, but in the early 17th century the valley was occupied by Bollington Common (11, centrefold map). Bollington was then centred on Bollington Cross, the way to which may have been past Rainow Mill (see above).

To the right at Orme's Smithy the possible Roman road led up Blaze Hill to Billinge and the Whaley Bridge road, and to Blue Boar, Pym Chair and Buxton.

Straight ahead lay the road to Pott Shrigley, essentially a continuation of Oakenbank Lane, crossing the Harrop Brook at Spuley Bridge, known in the 15th and 16th centuries as Ricandebrigge, meaning 'noisy, rumbling bridge' (2, p 140-1). Rainow had no church until perhaps as late as the late seventeenth century (11, p.43), but Pott Shrigley church was founded, it seems, in the late 14th century, and before that the churchyard cross may have served as a preaching cross (34, p.278-9). At Pott Shrigley church some Rainow people would have been baptised and buried, and attended services in between, though the church at Macclesfield (founded 1279) was an alternative. Many Rainow folk were married at the mother church of Prestbury, access to which may have been either via Macclesfield, or via Oakenbank Lane and Bollington Cross. Mary Meacham records the tradition that some couples walked from Rainow to Prestbury over the saddle of Kerridge: "The wedding steps at the foot of Kerridge Hill are a pleasant reminder of the old days, marking as they do the start of the path to Prestbury. As weddings have in the past been conducted for groups of couples, it is easy to imagine the festive parties toiling up the hill and down the other side -and probably being even more festive on the way back!" (35, p.4).

Oakenbank Lane can also be considered a through route. To the north, beyond Pott Shrigley lay routes down to the plain, to Adlington, Stockport and Manchester. To the south Oakenbank Lane joins Smithy Lane and then the main Macclesfield road, but Burdett's 1777 map shows that it was possible to travel due south: a road, now lost, from the top of Pedley Hill crossed Mill Brook and struck out directly for Horderne and Walker Barn. A study of Burdett's map suggests in fact that Rainow in the eighteenth century, and probably earlier, was rather better served by roads than it is today.

b. INGERSLEY CLOUGH

The lack of a through road.

The Ingersley Clough track from Bollington, passing the Higher Mill, Rainow Mill and Ingersley Vale Mill sites, ends at Waulkmill Farm, the site of the old fulling mill. From there, a stone field path is the only route to Rainow, and there is no sign that the path follows any former trackway or road, until it joins Sugar Lane at Houghgreen.

This missing link is surprising at first sight, because the field path is the shortest way from Rainow village to the site of the fulling mill, and the clough beyond would provide the quickest route to Rainow Mill, an ancient corn mill. In fact, the cart route to these sites from Rainow seems to have been along Oakenbank Lane, and then perhaps across the present Ingersley Park (see below), or, in the case of the corn mill, by Orme's Smithy and Mill Lane. From the present Rainow village centre this seems a roundabout route; but we have to remember that the farms which would need access to the fulling and corn mills were scattered throughout the wide township, and that Oakenbank Lane was probably a convenient central route. And Jane Laughton writes that "there is a

strong tradition which holds that the earliest nuclei of cottages and farms was concentrated on the Bollington side of Rainow and on the slopes of Rainow Low" (11, p.5).

By the nineteenth century, the situation was different. Cotton mills had been established all along the Dean in Rainow, and in the valley at Bollington, which had once been Bollington Common. By the 1820s Bollington was growing fast as an industrial town, and many Rainow people, who in many cases would live in or near the present village centre, looked to the Bollington mills for work. The lack of a direct road became a matter of discussion. The authors of 'The Story of Rainow' wrote that "at one time it was proposed to build a road from Rainow to Bollington, and a few meetings were held. Although Mr Mellor [James Mellor jnr, of Hough Hole House] offered to give the land and the necessary stone for the road over his estate and added that if any person could prove to him he should do more, he would gladly do so, nothing came of the proposition" (23, p.29-30).

It seems that there actually was, for a short time, a road or track linking Hough Hole Mill with Waulkmill. It ran behind Hough Hole Mill, crossed the river at the edge of the woods above Clough Pool, then ran along the eastern side of the pool to Waulkmill. This track is clearly shown on Bryant's map of 1831 (18), on the 2 inch O.S. drawings of 1839 (13), and on the 1st edition 1 inch map which was based on them (25). No sign of the road appears on the 1871 25 inch O.S. survey of 1871 (31).

No trace of the track can apparently be seen now on the Hough Hole side of the river, but, looking over the wooden gate near the Rainow path at Waulkmill, a grassed over track can be clearly seen running along the east side of Clough Pool. This section was probably rebuilt early in the 20th century: the 1907 25 inch O.S. survey shows the track running alongside the pool before turning sharply north-east, connecting with what appears to be a tip (perhaps in an old mine working) at the top of the second field beyond Waulkmill which is crossed by the stone path (36).

The stone path.

The field path which links Rainow with Ingersley Clough begins on Sugar Lane, at Houghgreen. The path runs immediately behind a row of stone cottages, crosses the Hayles Clough stream, passes behind Hough Hole Gardens, and then crosses the fields to Waulkmill.

The section behind Hough Hole Gardens was obviously once an enclosed trackway, and large stones laid clapper-bridge style across the stream show that carts could once cross here. I assume that this was once part of access from Sugar Lane to the old coal mine workings clearly visible at the top of the track.

From the mine workings to Waulkmill a line of stone flags has been laid to form the path. In places these are now buried, and a few stretches may be missing. My guess is that this path was the work of James Mellor jnr (see Eastern Sideway, above), perhaps a substitute for the road which was never built.

At the point where (walking from Rainow) the path switches from the west side of the field boundary to the east, the path is joined, subterraneously, by the water pipe from what was Bollington Urban District Council's reservoir on the old mill pool site opposite Lowerbrook Farm. The pipeline, which follows the field path to Waulkmill, was laid in 1898, and the water supply was formally opened in 1899 (22; 9, 23 May 1896). The building necessitated the temporary removal of stiles and the widening of gaps by demolishing sections of the old, low, hedge-surmounted field walls. As can be seen today, the gaps were afterwards filled with rather crude drystone walling.

Below Waulkmill.

It is now impossible to tell what route was originally taken between the fulling mill at Waulkmill and Rainow Mill, if indeed there was any direct link. The present track, at least where it passes above Ingersley Vale Mill on what seems to be a ledge cut in the rock, isn't likely to be earlier than 19th century. The existence of what may be a quite

old stone bridge over the river between Waulkmill and Ingersley Vale Mill raises the possibility that the original route lay on the opposite side of the river, perhaps along the top of the valley side, but there is another possible explanation for the bridge (see below).

From the junction with the track up across the north end of Kerridge Hill down to Ingersley Vale Mill, the Clough track has a stone curb and raised roadside pathway - the construction resembles that of the more important roads of Bollington in the 19th century. This seems rather grand for a road which would have led only to North End Farm, Waulkmill Farm (the fulling mill having closed probably by c 1800), a row of four cottages (probably built mid-19th century), and (if it was still open) to the small mine above Ingersley Wood. It is possible that the road was constructed to this standard in the hope that it would one day become part of a through road to Rainow, though a plan showing one such projected road (which was discovered by Jane Laughton in Northamptonshire Record Office) has the road up on the hillside, following the course of the mill leat, at this point (24).

c. THROUGH INGERSLEY PARK

A road or track, now lost, ran through what is now Ingersley Park from the park entrance at Oakenbank in a south-westerly direction to Ingersley Clough. It is shown on the early county and ordnance survey maps. The route is easy to trace today. It begins with a short stretch of track from the Oakenbank gates down into the park. Where this ends, the former road, grassed over and now a public footpath, can be seen clearly as a raised causeway. It crosses the hall driveway, making straight for Ingersley Clough. At the top of the steep bank down into the clough, the path twists to the south, and as an enclosed paved track descends to Ingersley Vale Mill. At the top of the bank, however, another path, seemingly once also a track, strikes off to the north, and descends the hillside to the Rainow Mill site.

It seems likely that this road was originally a route from Oakenbank Lane to Rainow Mill; if so it may be very old. The main path now ends at Ingersley Vale Mill, which was built in 1792 or 1793, but the road is shown on Burdett's map of 1777. At the end of it, Burdett has a water wheel symbol, which appears to be labelled 'Walk Mill'. It seems likely that this is a mistake on Burdett's part, and that the water mill shown is really Rainow Mill (see section two).

Greenwood's Cheshire map of 1819 (27) shows another road or track, apparently branching off the road described above near the Oakenbank end, running close to the hall and then descending the bank into the clough. The last part of the track can be seen today, as the path which descends from the south-west corner of Ingersley Park to the stone bridge across the Dean which is situated between Ingersley Vale Mill and Waulkmill. At first sight this bridge, with its coursed stone parapets, and pillars with moulded capstones, looks to be of 19th century date, but the arch and stonework beneath are rougher, and could easily be much older. If the bridge was, say, 17th or early 18th century, this would suggest a route of considerable importance - probably, in fact, the main route from Rainow and beyond to the fulling mill at Waulkmill.

Greenwood's 1819 map does not show Ingersley Park, nor the present main driveway down to Bollington. The Swire and Hutchings map of 1829, and Bryant's map of 1831, do show the park, and Bryant's map makes it clear that this diagonal route across the park had been closed, and the right of way diverted to follow the present line of path along the southern Ingersley boundary wall (27; 18). Later 25 inch maps show part of this lost route as a pathway inside the grounds.

4. ASSESSMENT OF SITES

a. STONE FLAGGED PATHS

Stone flagged paths are particularly numerous in the KRIV area, partly no doubt because the stone was so readily available, and they make a major contribution to the character of the area. They include not only the paths in the vicinity of Hough Hole Mill and House which are described above, but also the stone paths and steps in the fields between the top of Lord Street and the Redway Tavern, and the stone path through Gatley's Meadow and across to Higher Lane in Kerridge, which were presumably laid down for workers in the quarries on the west side of Kerridge Hill who lived in Bollington.

On the east side of Kerridge Hill especially, the stone paths are not well maintained. It could only enhance the historical character of the KRIV area if the stones were to be uncovered where they are overgrown, and replaced where they are missing.

I would also recommend consideration be given to extending the short stretch of flagged path above the Hough Hole Mill site both to the north and to the south, making the whole of the Eastern Sideway a flagged path. This is already a well used path, and it is part of a historical trail recommended below. Walkers would benefit, especially in wet weather; farmers would benefit from reduced erosion; and the landscape would be enhanced in a manner entirely compatible with its historical character.

b. LOST WAYS

Four lost roads or tracks are described above. Two of them are still public rights of way - the possible Roman road around the north end of Kerridge between Cow Lane and Rainow Mill, and the former road through Ingersley Park from Oakenbank to Ingersley Vale Mill. The other two are no longer rights of way - the former valley bottom road between Hough Hole Mill and Waulkmill, and the road which passed diagonally through Ingersley Park from Oakenbank, passing close to Ingersley Hall.

The restoration of these routes as rights of way would enhance public enjoyment, in the case of the first route because of its physical beauty, in the second because of the historical interest of Ingersley Hall. The first route would require a footbridge to be built across the Dean.

c. HISTORICAL TRAILS

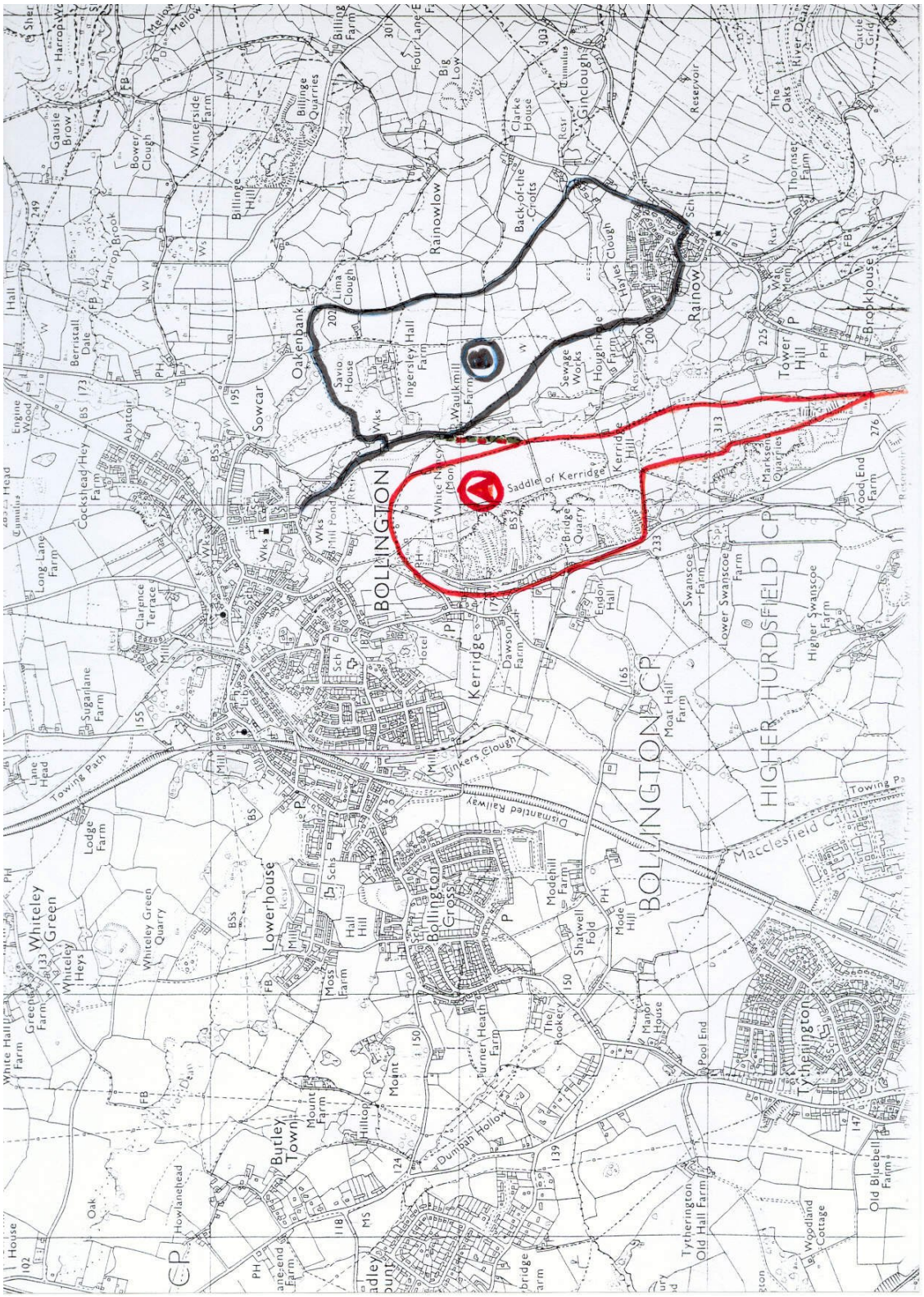
Perhaps the best way of communicating historical information about the KRIV area, and thus enhancing enjoyment of it, would be to use the footpaths and tracks of the area to form historical trails, for which could be provided waymarkers (White Nancy would be an obvious symbol), information boards, and an interpretative leaflet or booklet.

There seem to me to be two principal possible trail routes. Trail A (see map) is a circuit of Kerridge Hill, perhaps starting near the Redway Tavern and following the north end track, the Eastern Sideway, the ridge path up to the Saddle, then either continuing along the ridge to White Nancy, or returning by Five Ashes and Higher Lane. Trail B might start in east Bollington, follow the Ingersley Clough track to Waulkmill, then the stone field path to Rainow village, returning by Oakenbank Lane and the lost road across Ingersley Park. The two circular trails could be linked by the path from Waulkmill up through the Clough Wood to the Eastern Sideway, to provide route flexibility.

Many historical features of the KRIV area are on or near these trails. The following might be picked out for information boards or for extended descriptions in a booklet. Trail A: lost Roman road; coal mines of north and east of Kerridge Hill; Hough Hole Mill; Cow Lane Mill; Kerridge Quarry; Turton's Tower site; White Nancy; windmill site; the tramway and estate of William Clayton. Trail B: Higher Mill site; Rainow Mill; Ingersley

Vale Mill, leat and pool; fulling mill site, Waulkmill; Hough Hole House and allegorical gardens; Oakenbank Lane; Ingersley Hall.

d. MAP OF POSSIBLE HISTORICAL TRAILS



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