



NOTTINGHAM

M. W. Barley, M.A., Vice-President, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., and I. F. Straw, M.A.

Copyright text

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
The Site and Situation of the Town	1
The Anglian Burh	1-2
The Post-Conquest Borough	2-3
The Early Middle Ages	3-4
The Later Middle Ages	4-5
The Post-Medieval Town	5-6
The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	6-8
Maps and Plans	<i>Scale</i>
The Situation of Nottingham	1 : 250,000
The Site	1 : 5,000
Nottingham 9th-12th Century	1 : 5,000
Nottingham c. 1800, with major features in late medieval times	1 : 2,500
Medieval Street Names	1 : 5,000
Borough, Parishes, and Wards in the 18th Century	1 : 5,000
Nottingham c. 1800, with major features in late medieval times	1 : 5,000

NOTTINGHAM

Any journey north and south through the eastern half of England involves crossing either the Trent or the Humber. Two factors determined the siting of Nottingham: the attraction of a ford across the Trent, and the fact that the river was navigable. These factors operated first within a limited local setting, but had their influence in historic times within a larger context. Several rock formations converge upon the position occupied by the town; of these, the Bunter Sandstone, coinciding broadly with what became Sherwood Forest, terminates abruptly in a river-cut cliff, about two miles long, overlooking the Trent flood plain from the north. The earliest settlement stood on the highest point of this cliff, a spur naturally defended to some extent on three sides—on the south by the steep cliff and the low-lying ground north of the River Leen (later Narrow Marsh); on the east and west by the spur sides, in parts sloping steeply to the two valley-ways. The valley on the east was occupied by the Beck, in early times a somewhat marshy area, but also a source of water. The spur offered a larger area of level ground than the sandstone crag, 550 yards further west, on which the Norman castle was eventually placed, and it commanded effectively the site of the Trent crossing. The wide expanse of meadow land between the Leen and the Trent naturally fell to the settlers.¹

The river Trent was certainly navigable in prehistoric times, and has continued so. The gravel terraces through which its middle section flows are known to have carried a considerable density of settlement at least from the Bronze Age onward.² These settlements were linked both by the waterway and by a prehistoric trackway along one and perhaps each bank of the river.³ There was a concentration of small Iron Age hill-forts immediately north-east of Nottingham, linked by local trackways, and there may indeed have been such a hill-fort on the crag later occupied by the castle. Trackways older in origin than the Roman period can be discerned on the modern map, striking north-west from the Jurassic escarpment in Rutland, making for crossings of the Trent at Newark, at Hazelford, and at Nottingham. They also served to link the valley of the Welland, equally dense with prehistoric settlements, with the Trent. The first named track (Sewstern Lane) became, from the 13th century onwards, part of the principal road from London to York, once the Trent was bridged at Newark, but a crossing at Nottingham seems to have been favoured in the early Middle Ages.⁴ The castle crag is visually so striking that it must have served as a magnet for travellers approaching from the south.

Much north-south traffic in prehistoric times followed the Jurassic escarpment through Lincolnshire to the Humber. Roman military engineers made a road (Ermine Street) following the same line, with a branch crossing the lower Trent at Littleborough. Political conditions in the Roman period led to the growth of small urban communities to the south-east of Nottingham, strung along the Fosse Way between Leicester (*Ratae Coritanorum*) and Lincoln (*Lindum Coloniae*). The Fosse Way passed within six miles of Nottingham, and although bridges carried minor roads from two or three of these towns across the Trent down stream from Nottingham, there is no evidence of a crossing at or close to the site, or of settlement of Roman date.

In the Anglian migration period, although Roman roads continued in use, natural factors resumed importance, and there is both archaeological and place-name evidence for the use of the Trent Valley by new settlers.⁵ The pattern of movement of the invading Viking armies in the years 867 onwards, when an army is said to have wintered at Nottingham (867-8), Torksey (872-3), and Repton (873-4) offers further evidence of the significance of the river.⁶ From the 6th century however, when Anglian settlement was being consolidated and new land colonized, links began to develop within what became the Mercian kingdom, which created a through route joining Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham. The formation of a road from Nottingham northwards to Doncaster and beyond probably received most impetus during the 10th century, when Nottingham and York were important centres of Scandinavian influence. Certainly the road came into existence early enough to have determined the pattern of parish boundaries in central Nottinghamshire, and in the post-Conquest period it formed the eastern boundary of Sherwood Forest.⁷ This was the line of the great north road, from London to York and beyond, at the time of Domesday Book (1086), and it was facilitated by a bridge over the Trent on the approach to Nottingham (West Bridgford), constructed in 920.⁸

The Anglian Burh

By this date, what had started as a small rural settlement on the margin of the Trent Valley had become a fortified *burh* and been taken over as one of the five headquarters of the Danish armies, the Five Boroughs, in the years following the Scandinavian settlement in 873.⁹ The original settlement cannot be dated closely. It was a twin to Sneinton, a village swallowed up by the city in modern times, and both were originally settled by the kinsmen of Snot (Snotingeham, [S]Notintone, Domesday Book), but the older view that place names in *-ing* and *-ingham* belong to the earliest phases of Anglo-Saxon settlement is now under suspicion.¹⁰

The authors are much indebted to the following for commenting on or correcting the plan and the text: Professor K. C. Edwards, Mr. A. J. M. Henstock, Mr. K. S. S. Train, and Miss V. W. Walker.

The following special abbreviations have been used:

Bor. Rec. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham* (1155-1835), vols. i-viii, ed. W. H. Stevenson and others.

Deering C. Deering, *Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova* (1751).

Rel. Inst. W. Stevenson and A. Stapleton, *Religious Institutions of Old Nottingham*, series i-iii.

T.T.S. *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*.

¹ For a more detailed treatment of the geographical aspects, see K. C. Edwards in *Nottingham and its Region* (Brit. Association Handbook, ed. K. C. Edwards), 363 sqq., *East Midland Geographer*, no. 5, *Great Britain: Geographical Essays*, ed. J. Mitchell, ch. 16.

² C. W. Phillips, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1941, 133-43; *Hist. Mon. Comm., A Matter of Time* (1960), figs. 1, 37, etc.

³ *Nottingham and its Region*, ed. Edwards, fig. 33.

⁴ Although a bridge at Newark was licensed in 1129-33 (*Registrum Antiquissimum* (Lincoln Rec. Soc.), ed. C. W. Foster, i, 38) it had not been built by 1140 (Wm. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (R. S.), ed. Stubbs, ii, 571), and work was being carried out on it in 1168-9: *Pipe R.*, 1169 (P.R.S. xiii), 45. Presumably traffic began to transfer from the Nottingham route ('the road towards York': *Domesday Bk.* i, 280) only after that date.

⁵ *Nottingham and its Region*, ed. Edwards, 195.

⁶ *Two Saxon Chrons.* ed. Plummer, *sub annis*.

⁷ R. White, *Dukery Records*, 396-400.

⁸ *Two Saxon Chrons.* ed. Plummer, 104; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 248.

⁹ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 503, etc.

¹⁰ J. M. Dodgson, *Medieval Archaeology*, x, 1-29.

It is assumed, no doubt safely, that what can later be identified as the pre-Conquest *burh* was the Danish army's headquarters. The Bunter pebble beds on which the old town stands offered a dry site for buildings. The ease with which the sandstone can be dug to make defences, cellars, storage and rubbish pits, and even to get sand for mortar, has marked the whole course of its history. The earliest evidence of this aspect of the site is Asser's statement that the British name for Nottingham was *Tigguocobauc*, 'dwelling of caves'.¹¹ The *burh* was surrounded, on three sides if not completely, by a rampart and ditch, and the defences were certainly in existence by 921, when Edward the Elder captured it in the course of his reconquest of the Danelaw and repaired them. In 923 he further strengthened his hold on this strategic river-crossing by constructing another fortification on the south side of the river, opposite Nottingham (i.e. presumably in what is now West Bridgford), and by building a bridge across the Trent to link the two, on or close to the line of the existing ford.

The line of the *burh* defences on the west is indicated by the parallel streets, Bridlesmith Gate and Fletcher Gate, which developed respectively along the inside and the outside of the line.¹² On the north the line ran between Warser Gate and Woolpack Lane (inside) and Chandler's Lane, Carlton Street, Goose Gate and possibly Hockley (outside). The exact position of the earthen rampart, and the drop towards the ditch, can be inferred on the west side from the flight of steps in several of the passages between Fletcher Gate and Bridlesmith Gate, accommodating a ten-foot change in level. Excavation has not revealed the line on the east, facing the Beck, but to judge from the street pattern it ran between Count Street and Carter Gate (inside) and Sneinton Street and Water Lane (outside). On the south side, the top of the cliff south of High Pavement, rising sheer for fifty feet or more, no doubt served as a natural defence; whether it was strengthened by man is not known. Only one gate is clearly suggested, that to the north, for roads to the north and the north-east (Broad Lane and Beck Lane) forked outside the ramparts. Stoney Street was thus the main north-south street in the early borough. Several steep ways enter the town from the south of which Malin Hill is probably the oldest. The main east-west street probably followed the line of a prehistoric trackway, following the high ground along the north side of the Trent Valley.¹³ Its line is represented by Old Glasshouse Lane, and Barker Gate, then along Pilcher Gate, Byard Lane, Pepper Street, St. Peter's Church Side and along the west side of the Market Place to Derby Road. The difficulty in the way of this explanation is the disappearance, without trace, of the central section between Stoney Street and St. Mary's Gate. It has been suggested¹⁴ that here, to the north of St. Mary's church, lay the original market place. The Weekday Market (Weekday Cross), in the south-west corner of the old borough, is somewhat out-of-the-way for the original Anglian market. It is possible that after the establishment of the Norman borough, with its very large market place, the former general one was abandoned, and trading activities in the English borough relegated to a corner of the area. Though nothing remains of pre-Conquest date in St. Mary's, its endowments of borough land, recorded in Domesday Book, support the inference that it ranked as an Old English minster church.¹⁵

There are indications that the Anglian *burh* was a centre of administration and trade. Since the late 9th century it had been the head of its shire, and had possessed a mint since at least the reign of Athelstan (924-39). Membership of the loose confederation of the Five Boroughs meant that Scandinavian influence with its mercantile bias was strong.¹⁶ The Domesday account provides unusual evidence of mercantile development, with its emphasis on the passage of ships on the Trent, and on the road from London to York through the town. On the other hand, the burghal population (182 in 1065) was small compared with Lincoln's, and pre-Conquest coins provide names of only a seventh of the moneyers working at Lincoln or a quarter of those at Stamford.¹⁷

The Post-Conquest Borough

Revolutionary changes followed the Norman Conquest. Among the castles raised by William I at strategic points in his new kingdom—fortifications of a type comparatively new to England—was one placed in 1068 on the sandstone crag to the west of the *burh*. Between the castle and the old borough, a new Norman borough came into existence, for the followers of William Peverel, its governor. The distinction between 'new' and 'old', between 'French' and 'English', remained in use down to the middle of the 15th century, mainly because in the French borough, inheritance was by primogeniture, while 'Borough English' (descent to the youngest) prevailed in the English borough, and indeed seems to have given rise to the term. The double origin of post-Conquest Nottingham was also reflected in the medieval practice of appointing two bailiffs and later two sheriffs.¹⁸

The new borough made redundant the western and northern lengths of the defences of the old borough, and they were deliberately filled in. The work may have begun before 1086, for Domesday Book records 23 houses in the borough ditch (*fossatum burgi*).¹⁹ The new settlement acquired its own defences, perhaps in the first half of the 12th century rather than later.²⁰ They consisted of an earthen bank and ditch; their line ran from the castle along the east side of Park Row and the length of Parliament Street, to link up with the eastern defences of the old borough. Whatever defences there were to the south side of the English borough were no doubt retained. No good evidence is available for defences across the low ground fronting on Broad Marsh, or between Lister Gate and St. Nicholas's church. Badder and Peat's map of 1740 shows the scarp south of St. Mary's continued westward as a minor feature as far as Lister Gate, about 30-40 yards north of Broad Marsh. Whether it was entirely natural or whether it was

¹¹ Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, 24; written well before the Conquest if not soon after Alfred's death in 899.

¹² R. H. Wildgoose, *T.T.S.* 1961, 19-26 and fig. 1.

¹³ W. Stevenson, *T.T.S.* 1918, 51-74; his work was the basis of the map in C. Stephenson, *Borough and Town*, 196.

¹⁴ By Prof. M. R. G. Conzen.

¹⁵ *Domesday Bk.* i. 280.

¹⁶ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 57, 60; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 251.

¹⁷ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 72-76.

¹⁸ *Domesday Bk.* i. 280; *Bor. Rec.* i. 124, 168, 377; W. Holdsworth, *History of English Law* (ed. 1966), iii. 271.

¹⁹ *Domesday Bk.* i. 280; Wildgoose, *loc. cit.*

²⁰ J. G. Hurst, *T.T.S.* 1965, 62.

improved in the 12th century is at present unknown.²¹ The area of the English borough had been about 32 acres; the two together totalled 120 acres. The large size of the Norman borough was due mainly to the clear desirability of incorporating the castle effectively in its perimeter.

The life of Nottingham, as of other provincial towns, was dislocated by the Norman Conquest.²² Flight or death reduced the number of burgesses from 173 to 120. Yet there can be little doubt about the impetus given to trade by the Conquest. William Peverel's forty-eight merchants' houses are specifically mentioned,²³ and one house formerly occupied by a fighting man had been transferred to a merchant. By 1086 the payment exacted from the town had been raised from £18 to £30, and the value of the mint from £2 to £10; some part of the increase may be put down to greater harshness, but hardly all of it.

The castle occupied a site of great natural strength, with a sheer cliff of about 133 feet on the south, and quickly gained a reputation of being virtually impregnable. The primary defences of earth and timber were replaced by stone and the building elaborated, between the 11th century and the 1230s. It appears that the outer bailey, added by John, was never walled. The strength of the site made it unnecessary to construct anything now recognizable as an artificial motte.²⁴ The deep valley to the west had by 1177 been taken over as a park, either to serve as a stock of game to be consumed at the castle, or as an alternative to hunting in Sherwood, the royal forest to the north of the town.²⁵ The river Leen had two channels in the Middle Ages between Lenton and Leen Bridge. It has been suggested that the channel close to the castle rock represents a Norman diversion, to strengthen the castle defences and to drive the castle corn mills.²⁶

Henry II came to Nottingham frequently, and over £1,800 was spent on the castle in his reign. Expenditure on the castle contributes to the picture of the town's economic development during the 12th century, in which royal influence was noticeable. The two new churches were apparently royal foundations; the moneyers with their minting-house and tofts were semi-royal officials. Henry I's charter greatly encouraged the town by recognizing the right to attract immigrants, by granting freedom of toll on the river Trent and in the market, and by giving the right to levy toll of others. The charter also obliged the men of the two shires of Nottingham and Derby to come to the Nottingham market on Friday and Saturday. The weavers' guild—one of the few such guilds recorded at this period—was given a monopoly of working dyed cloth within ten *leuca*e of Nottingham, and the guild paid for the privilege as much as one third of the amount paid by similar guilds at Lincoln and Winchester. Before the end of the 12th century the town had acquired rights of self-government and such urban privileges as a guild merchant and freedom from toll throughout the land.²⁷ These factors, combined with the near neighbourhood of wealthy monasteries, especially Lenton, and frequent royal residence, contributed greatly to the growth of trade.

Economic growth during the years 1066-1200, under strong royal encouragement, make it most likely that the internal layout of the Norman borough belongs to that period, and early in it rather than later. The most striking feature is the great triangular market place, filling the largest area of level ground, its west side determined by the line of an existing trackway leading towards Derby. New streets fanning out from the castle linked the new borough with the old, and two new churches, St. Peter's and St. Nicholas's, served the new borough. The fact that local merchants, unlike those of Lincoln or Stamford, built and endowed no other churches,²⁸ limits this tale of economic growth, but also underlines the importance of royal or official responsibility. In two areas, and two only in the 130 acres of the borough, can a number of regular burgage plots be discerned. One is the group extending from the north side of the Market Square up the slope to the defences of the new borough (Parliament Street). The other extends south from Narrow Marsh, one of the more important thoroughfares in the medieval town, down to the river Leen. Here the tanners are found, as soon as documentary evidence is available (13th century), making use of the waters of the Leen. It is tempting to regard the lay-out of these areas as another element in the official planning of the early Norman period.²⁹

The Early Middle Ages

Between 1267 and 1334 grants of murage were obtained for building or completing a stone wall to strengthen the existing earthen defences. The thickness varied between 5 feet and 7½ feet, owing no doubt to the long duration of the campaign, and it is possible that the gates or bars were built first.³⁰ The appearance of Chapel Bar, which lasted until 1743, is recorded in a drawing by Thomas Sandby;³¹ nothing is known of the form of any of the others. The stone wall has not been observed east of Swine Bar, last mentioned in 1477, and St. John's Bar is not recorded after 1528.³² A postern gate on Drury Hill guarded the entrance to the town from the south. Deering, writing in 1740-44, claimed that the wall ran on the south side from Vault Lane (Drury Hill) to a bar at Lister Gate and thence south of Castle Gate to include St. Nicholas's churchyard.³³ His claim is impossible to accept in the absence of any modern observations, and a wall on that line has left no trace on the street plan. There is no evidence of any secular settlement outside the walls, but, in common with other medieval cities, Nottingham had extra-mural hospitals for the sick and needy. The Hospitals of St. John Baptist and of Holy Sepulchre, both founded in the third quarter of the 12th

²¹ Observations made in 1936 west of Lister Gate showed a marked change in the level of the sandstone and a depth of dark soil at its southern foot: Thoroton Soc. Excavation Section, *1st Annual Report* (1936), 23-4.

²² The difficulty of interpreting Domesday figures is well illustrated by the fact that at least 227 houses are recorded in 1086, but only 120 burgesses. Possibly only the king's burgesses in the old borough were recorded, and the new settlers in the French borough (except for 13) omitted: *Domesday Bk.* i. 280.

²³ That Peverel's tenants were in the new borough is confirmed by the rent of 9d. a house—very high compared with most ancient royal boroughs.

²⁴ *The King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, ii. 755 sqq.

²⁵ *Pipe R.* 1178 (P.R.S. xxvii), 86; *Cal. Lib.* 1240-45, 255; *Cat. Anc. Deeds*, ii. A3175.

²⁶ W. Stevenson, *T.T.S.* 1918, 73. For a similar diversion at Newark see J. T. Evans, *Notes on the History of the Navigation of the River Trent*, 9. Neither change can be dated exactly.

²⁷ Confirmatory charter of Henry II: *Royal Charters granted to the Burgesses of Nottingham, 1155-1712*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, p. 2.

²⁸ J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 147. There were 43 churches in Lincoln by 1150.

²⁹ Domesday Book states that the Sheriff, Hugh son of Baldric, 'himself built 13 houses on the earl's land in the new borough': *V.C.H. Notts.* i. 247.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat. passim*; M. W. Barley, *T.T.S.* 1965, 50-65.

³¹ Now in the Nottingham City Library.

³² *Bor. Rec.*, ii. 418; iii. 442.

³³ Deering, 5.

century, stood outside the town ditch—a position which helps to confirm that the Norman borough already had its defences—as do the leper Hospital of St. Leonard, outside the defences ‘on the north side of the town’, and the leper Hospital of St. Mary at West Bar (Chapel Bar). Except for the first named, the exact position of these institutions, founded by citizens and supported by casual alms, is unknown.³⁴ The approach to the city over the low ground to the south traversed two long bridges: the Trent Bridge, known in the Middle Ages as the Hethbeth Bridge, and the Leen Bridge nearer the town. The former was rebuilt by the citizens early in the 14th century, in stone, with a chapel on the east side of the north end, endowed as a chantry for two priests. Plumptre Hospital, endowed about 1390 for thirteen poor widows, stood on the east side of the north end of Leen Bridge.³⁵ These hospitals and bridge chapels, sited outside town gates or on the approaches, all signalize a sense of the Christian obligations of the citizen and traveller common throughout the western world. The only other institution outside the walls was the Cluniac Priory at Lenton, one mile away to the south-west. It was founded c.1109-14 and became the wealthiest monastic house in Nottinghamshire. All the three city churches were given to the priory at its foundation. Its Martinmas fair, extended to twelve days by 1232, was of national importance and brought considerable business to Nottingham, although it was regarded by the town as a rival to its own autumn fair.³⁶

Between the Leen and the Trent lay the common meadows of the town, and the two common arable fields lay to the north. In the 14th century they were known as Lingdale Field and Wood Field, but later as Sand Field and Clay Field respectively. Beyond them, on the margin of the parish, lay small areas of common pasture, except at the north-east extremity of the parish, where an area of common woodland survived under the name of the Coppice—cut periodically as its name implies. In the valley overlooked by the Coppice was the source of the Beck, a spring eventually known as St. Ann’s Well, but first appearing in records in 1500 as ‘Robin Hood’s Well’. There was a chapel there in 1543.³⁷

The administration of the town was conducted from the Guildhall in Weekday Cross.³⁸ Friar Lane is referred to as Moothall Gate in 1304, and there are many later references to it, but nothing is known of the ownership or function of this Moot Hall in the Middle Ages.³⁹ Charters of the mid-12th century and onwards make no reference to two boroughs, and unification can also be inferred from King Richard’s grant of the right to tallage all living in the borough, of whatever fee they were.⁴⁰ Government of the shire was centred on the King’s Hall or County Hall (now Shire Hall) in High Pavement, from 1449 onwards formally an enclave of the county within the city.⁴¹ The borough was large enough for both the Carmelite and the Franciscan friars to acquire sites within it which had not yet been intensively developed. The Carmelites or White Friars, before 1272, established themselves between St. James’s Street and Friar Lane, and eventually acquired the whole block bounded by the south side of the market place (Beastmarket Hill), Friar Lane—Park Street, the Hollows and St. James’s Street. The Franciscans or Grey Friars were established at the south-west corner of Broad Marsh as early as about 1230; their precinct wall extended south to the river Leen, where they had a quay. Nothing is known of their buildings or their exact position.⁴²

The early prominence of the cloth, iron, tanning, and pottery crafts is seen in such street names as Lister Gate (Old Norse *lyta*, a dyer), Barker Gate, Potter Gate, Great Smith Gate, and Pilcher Gate (makers of fur garments). Such street names must have been formed at a relatively early period; their form, in common with those in other towns in what had been the Danelaw, implies a substantial element of Scandinavian ancestry in the population. When documentary evidence becomes available (c.1300 onwards), there were certainly bridlesmiths in Bridlesmith Gate and a baker in Baxter Gate but no tanners in Barker Gate, and the latter gave no craft name to Narrow Marsh.⁴³ A Potter Gate recorded about 1250 cannot now be identified; medieval kilns have been found on both sides of the line of Broad Lane and Glasshouse Street, both within and beyond the borough defences. There were mills, either for corn or fulling, on both channels of the Leen. Charcoal from Sherwood Forest was the basis of the iron trade. Church Gate was known as Jew Lane, but the synagogue until 1291 stood on the south-west corner of Castle Gate and Lister Gate. There is considerable evidence for the regional importance of Nottingham from the 11th century onwards. In addition to the privileges conferred by borough charters, scattered evidence shows that the Trent was used for transporting lead from Derbyshire, coal from Cossall and Selston (from the 13th century), alabaster from south Derbyshire, wool, timber, corn, and other supplies.⁴⁴ A charter of 1284 conferred a second fair of fifteen days, in addition to the eight-day fair already held, and an agreement made about 1300 with the Prior of Lenton reveals an elaborate grading of merchants at the Lenton fair, with special terms for the booths let to the most important of them—cloth merchants, apothecaries, pilchers, and mercers.⁴⁵

The Later Middle Ages

Economic growth seems to have been threatened even before the Black Death, and its character changed in the later Middle Ages. On the one hand, the town inevitably benefited from the prosperity of the wool trade in the 14th and 15th centuries.⁴⁶ On the other, the burgesses were in 1330 unable to find sufficient men to fill the office of bailiff; the weavers’ guild complained of reduced membership (1348), and the burgesses of houses falling down (1376); the fair was reduced from fifteen to five days (1378). Nottingham was listed in 1433-34 as an ‘impoverished town’ and part of its farm remitted; the farm was cut by £20 in 1462.⁴⁷ Numerous complaints and commissions of

³⁴ V.C.H. Notts. ii, 168-173; for a definitive list, D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, *passim*.

³⁵ *Rel. Inst.* ii, 123; V.C.H. Notts. ii, 174.

³⁶ V.C.H. Notts. ii, 93,95; A. C. Wood, *T.T.S.* 1956, 4-7.

³⁷ R. M. Butler, *T.T.S.* 1950, 45-62; *Rel. Inst.* iii, 163-77.

³⁸ *Bor. Rec.* i, 265.

³⁹ P. N. Notts. (E.P.N.S.), 17.

⁴⁰ *Royal Charters*, 4-19.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 52-3.

⁴² V.C.H. Notts. ii, 144-7; *Close R.* 1234-1237, 493.

⁴³ V. W. Walker, *T.T.S.* 1963, 44.

⁴⁴ M. W. Barley, *Ass. Archaeological Soc. Reports and Papers*, 1936, 10-12; *Rot. Parl.* i, 406a; *Bor. Rec.* i, 225, etc.

⁴⁵ *Royal Charters*, 19-21; *Bor. Rec.* i, 60 sqq.

⁴⁶ V.C.H. Notts. ii, 341.

⁴⁷ *Royal Charters*, 33; *Cal. Close*, 1346-49, 448; *Rot. Parl.* ii, 348a; *Bor. Rec.* i, 193; P.R.O. E179/159/66.

inquiry show that the navigation of the Trent and Nottingham's connexions with Hull and Boston became increasingly precarious during the 14th century, and the link with Boston via the Foss Dyke was probably severed.⁴⁸ There is a contrast in the later Middle Ages between the image of prosperity created by the emergence of wealthy families and this evidence of the decline of more widely based sources of wealth. Wealthy merchants played a part in national affairs; their money helped to finance the wars of Edward III; they acted as M.P.s and collectors of taxes. Locally, they rebuilt the parish churches, founded chantries and almshouses,⁴⁹ and a free grammar school in Stoney Street was endowed in 1513 by Agnes Mellors, widow of a wealthy bellfounder.⁵⁰ A freeholders' list of 1473 demonstrates the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few capitalist entrepreneurs.⁵¹

For purposes of local government the town was divided from the mid-16th century into seven wards; the antiquity of this arrangement is unknown.⁵² To judge from the subsidy roll of 1523-4, the population was concentrated between the Market Square and the adjacent parts of what had been the English borough, along with Broad Marsh and Narrow Marsh, rather than in the French borough, whose large area does not seem to have been filled except round the Market Square and in Castle Gate.⁵³ The area given earlier to the weekday market (Weekday Cross) had by the end of the Middle Ages been much reduced by encroachment. Similarly, at the east end of the Saturday Market Place, temporary stalls had become permanent ranges of buildings known as the Spice Chamber and the Shambles. Nevertheless, the Market Place was so large that, in contrast with many other medieval towns, it could still serve all purposes. Increasing business was accommodated by localizing particular activities: Timber Row or Hill (1374), Hen Cross (1416), Malt Cross (1495) near the end of Sheep Lane, Cheese or Butter Cross (1541) at the east end of the Market Wall. This wall seems to have been only a trading facility, to separate livestock from hardware and other produce.⁵⁴ The bellfounders, of whom there is evidence in the 15th century, seem to have worked in the north-east quarter of the town, near the potters. The carvers who worked alabaster into religious ornaments, and whose products travelled over western Europe, were scattered about the town. The ample documentary evidence which has made Nottingham reputedly the chief centre of this craft ranges from 1367 to 1530.⁵⁵

The Post-Medieval Town

By the mid-16th century, the town defences had lost their military value. From 1395 onwards there is evidence of citizens occasionally robbing the wall. Leland stated that in his time only three survived out of the original six or seven gates—more than can now be identified.⁵⁶ Houses were erected outside the northern defences, probably during the later 16th century, for two rows are shown on Speed's map of 1610. Over the filled ditch here a street was formed, which was later widened to include the course of the wall and also the narrow cartway running behind the wall. The wall itself must have been removed to ground level before 1625, when an island row of houses (later called Parliament Row) was built on it, just east of Cow Lane Bar.⁵⁷ There is no evidence that the town defences (as distinct from the Castle) were utilized while Col. John Hutchinson held the town for Parliament from 1642 to 1646, except that new gates were fitted at Chapel Bar and Cow Lane. A new bulwark was built somewhere to the north of the line of Parliament Street, and two forts were erected in the meadows to the south, in addition to one originally constructed by the Royalists from Newark.⁵⁸

The Reformation and the suppression of religious houses led to a considerable shift of social and political influence in the city and its neighbourhood. The site of the Grey Friars' Priory went to Thomas Heneage, and that of the White Friars eventually to the Manners family, descended from the second son of the first Earl of Rutland. John Manners seems to have turned the Carmelite church into a private house by 1582. The fifth Earl of Rutland received a grant of Nottingham Castle from James I. John, the fourth earl, was negotiating in 1587 for a house in Nottingham belonging to Sir Francis Willoughby, who by then was no doubt ready to move into his new mansion at Wollaton.⁵⁹ Thus, the influence of religious institutions was replaced by that of the landed classes. Only the endowments of the Hospital of St. John and other minor chantries were retained for the town; they went to the corporation for the maintenance of Trent Bridge, formerly a responsibility of that Hospital. The chapel on the bridge was demolished during Elizabeth's reign, along with other monuments of the monastic age, such as the Grey Friars' Cross in Broadmarsh.⁶⁰

The castle had become uninhabitable during Elizabeth's reign, and part of it was pulled down. After it had played its part in the Civil Wars, it was slighted in 1651. The greatest break with the past came in 1674, when the dukes of Newcastle acquired the site, cleared away the medieval buildings except for the gatehouse, and by 1679 had erected a mansion on what had been the site of the keep.⁶¹ This was not the first of the new houses of the gentry in the city. In 1650 Francis Pierrepont, son of the Earl of Kingston, had built a house on the east side of Stoney Street, with formal gardens stretching down to Bellar Gate. Lord Mansfield built a house in Wheeler Gate soon after the Restoration. Where the aristocracy led, others rapidly followed; the Sherwins in Pilcher Gate, the Gregorys in Pelham Street.⁶²

⁴⁸ M. W. Barley, *loc. cit.* 11-12.

⁴⁹ St. Mary's was almost entirely rebuilt in the 15th century, St. Peter's in more piecemeal fashion in the 13-15th centuries. Since St. Nicholas's was demolished during the Civil War and entirely rebuilt by 1682, nothing is known in detail of the medieval structure.

⁵⁰ Deering, 154 sqq.

⁵¹ *Bor. Rec.* ii. 286-296.

⁵² *Ibid.* iv. 174; *Report of Commissioners on Boundaries and Wards* (1837), vol. ii, pt. iv, 183. The earliest reference found is dated 1435: *Bor. Rec.* i. 356.

⁵³ *Bor. Rec.* iii. 163.

⁵⁴ Deering, 7. The dates quoted are those at which the features are first mentioned. For a description of the Market in 1641, see *A Copy of a MS. Account of Nottingham* (1641): T.T.S. 1898, 35-8.

⁵⁵ F. W. Cheetham, *Med. English Alabasters*, 7-10.

⁵⁶ *Bor. Rec.* i. 278; M. W. Barley, *T.T.S.* 1965, 57; Leland, *Itin.*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, ii, 147. The ditch along Park Row was cleaned out from time to time, but rather because it served as a watercourse than to make it an effective obstacle.

⁵⁷ *Bor. Rec.* iv. 393.

⁵⁸ R. M. Butler, *T.T.S.* 1949, 26-33.

⁵⁹ *Rel. Inst.* i. 49, 58-9; Deering, 185.

⁶⁰ *Rel. Inst.*, ii. 150, 73; the site of the Grey Friars' Cross is unknown.

⁶¹ Deering, 186; R. Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), 490.

⁶² Thoroton, *op. cit.* 492-8; Deering, 5-6.

The end of Castle Gate under the shadow of the castle was filled with new and fashionable houses, as was Brewhouse Yard, at the foot of the rock to the south. Most, if not all, of these new houses were built in brick, though some, such as Newdigate House in Castle Gate (1675), were rendered over. The medieval tradition of timber-framed building thus finally died. A number of the new brick houses presented curved gables to the street, a fashion strong in the East Midlands between 1660 and 1700. It was no doubt from this time onward that new buildings in the Market Place were built with colonnades that still survive—an echo of the Covent Garden piazza.

The rich were thus giving a new look to the city which impressed visitors, and which is perpetuated by such artists as Kipp (1680), Buck (1743), and Sandby (1750). Writers of the times, including the local historians Thoroton (1677) and Deering (1743), and such travellers as Celia Fiennes (1696), Defoe (1724), and Stukeley (1724) praised the appearance of the town, the distinction of the company, the beauty of the women, and the quality of the ale.⁶³ This transformation of the town's appearance took place in an age of modest growth in size. The population was probably about 3,750 in 1600—not a great deal more than in 1377. By the end of the 17th century it had nearly doubled (about 6,375), but this rate of growth quickened in the 18th century, to about 10,300 in 1740 and 28,972 in 1801.⁶⁴

When the Elizabethan period opened, the plan of Nottingham had neither grown nor changed significantly since the 12th century. One new street formed in the Tudor period was Back Lane by which coal from the pits at Wollaton reached the town. Mining had begun at Wollaton in the 15th century, and output had reached 10,000 tons per annum in the 1530s. Part of this coal was used in the city; part of it was carried to the Trent for sale in Lincolnshire, notoriously short of fuel in the Tudor period. At the eastern end of Backside (later Parliament Street) the coal route turned south-east along another new street, called Coalpit Lane and first referred to in 1575. It was formed across part of the eastern defences of the borough, apparently the least important part of the complex. The coal route then went down Hockley, along the Count Street-Carter Gate line to Fisher Gate, thence to London Road and the wharves on the Trent. Carter Gate is first mentioned in 1582.⁶⁵

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Even where Speed's map of 1610 shows continuous building, there is nothing within the blocks but trees and gardens. The site occupied by the Grey Friars, for instance, was empty except for the Broad Marsh and Grey Friar Gate frontages, and remained so until the early 19th century. It was within this sparsely filled frame that the gentry were able, after the Civil War, to find space for their mansions with formal gardens and long ornamental vistas. The result was 'the neatest town I have seen' (Celia Fiennes, 1695) and 'one of the most pleasant and beautiful towns in England' (Defoe, 1724). The end of this 'garden town' phase of Nottingham's history can be taken at the years 1768-71, when Richard Arkwright had a small cotton mill in Hockley, or 1785, when there is evidence of back-to-back houses being built.

Pottery making had gone on in the town from at least the 11th century, but it is sparsely documented. In 1634 William Meare, potmaker, was enrolled as a burgess; two potmakers are mentioned in 1641. They were probably producing the dark manganese-glazed table and kitchen ware which emerged in Yorkshire in the Tudor period, and was known as Cistercian Ware. A more famous Nottingham product, salt-glaze stoneware, seems to have been started by James Morley between 1688 and 1693, at a pottery located first at the south end of Count Street, and later at the Beck Barn Pottery. Throughout the 18th century a number of potters produced great quantities of this ware, which, as well as being sold in the Market Square, were carried down the Trent for sale further afield.⁶⁶ There were a number of glasshouses in the 17th and 18th centuries; some of them were attached to potteries, and in the same ownership, but most of course have had their own craftsmen.⁶⁷ Buck's prospect of Nottingham (1743) shows the Nether Glasshouse in Glasshouse Lane.

Another new industry was framework knitting. The story of the invention in 1589 of a knitting machine by William Lee of Calverton (six miles N.E. of Nottingham) is well known. A domestic industry based on this machine seems to have become the chief industry of the town by the end of the 17th century.⁶⁸ During the course of the 18th century the concentration of the stocking industry shifted from London to the Midlands, and to Nottingham in particular. There are said to have been 1,200 frames in the city in 1750.⁶⁹ A directory for Nottingham of 1799 does not include the stockings themselves, who owned neither their machines nor the raw materials they used, but lists one hundred and forty-nine of the master hosiers who controlled the industry, as well as twenty framesmiths. The hosiers were then far more numerous than shopkeepers, and only less numerous than publicans. By 1750, the telling phrase 'as poor as a stockinger' had become almost proverbial, and from 1778 onwards their economic plight dominated local affairs.⁷⁰ Another branch of textile production had developed out of framework knitting: the manufacture of lace. The 1799 directory included eight lace manufacturers. The potential demand in Nottingham for cotton yarn, both for hosiery and for lace, brought to the city both James Hargreaves and Richard Arkwright, the Lancashire inventors, and in 1772 Arkwright employed upwards of three hundred persons in his cotton mill, some of them children from the parish workhouses.⁷¹ Other cotton and worsted mills were set up, and there were five such at the end of the century, though the greatest entrepreneurs and the centres of development had already shifted to other counties where water-power was available.

⁶³ Thoroton, *op. cit.* 492-3, 497; Deering, 86, 92-3; D. Defoe, *Tour through England and Wales*, ed. G. D. H. Cole, ii, 142; W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), iii, 49.

⁶⁴ A. C. Wood, *T.T.S.* 1936, 109; *ibid.* 1942, 4.

⁶⁵ R. S. Smith in *Nottingham and its Region*, ed. K. C. Edwards, 236; *Bor. Rec.* iv, 162, 205. The name Carter Lane was applied indiscriminately to the whole route from Clumber Street to Fisher Gate, but was eventually limited as the map shows.

⁶⁶ A. Parker, *T.T.S.* 1932, 101-5; Deering, 91; *T.T.S.* 1898, 40.

⁶⁷ Ex inf. Miss V. W. Walker, based on unpublished borough records.

⁶⁸ A. C. Wood, *History of Notts.*, 222-3; *Bor. Rec.* vi, 310 sqq.; 'framework knitters' appear regularly in presentment bills in city parishes from 1682, and form about 10% in 1683-93 (ex inf. Mr. A. J. M. Henstock).

⁶⁹ Deering, 101.

⁷⁰ E. Willoughby, *Nottingham Directory* (1799); Wood, *op. cit.* 256.

⁷¹ J. D. Chambers, 'Population and Change in Nottingham 1700-1800' in *Studies in the Industrial Revolution*, ed. L. S. Pressnell, 112; F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor*, ed. A. G. L. Rogers, 277.

Out of these commercial and industrial developments, new families emerged to make their mark on the city. One of them, founded by Thomas Smith, who in the late 17th century started banking as a side-line to his mercer's business, created one of the greatest and best known of the English private banks. His descendant, Sir George Smith, built himself a house at the Angel Row end of the Market Square—Bromley House (1752). Another similar man was Samuel Need, a wealthy hosier with a warehouse in Low Pavement; he financed Jedediah Strutt when he set up a textile mill at Belper, Derbyshire, in the 1770s. Many leaders of the new Nottingham were members of the Unitarian Chapel in High Pavement, which provided mayors for sixty-six of the years 1700-1800.⁷²

The Act of Toleration in 1689 had led immediately to the establishment of an Independent Chapel at the lower end of Castle Gate. The Unitarian Chapel in High Pavement dates from 1690 and the Quaker meeting-house from 1678, moving to Spaniel Row in 1737. The Baptists had a chapel in Park Street from 1724, and a secession among Unitarians led to the building of Sion Chapel in Halifax Lane, off Pilcher Gate (1761). There was a Sandemanian chapel in Hounds Gate in 1778, and other minor sects waxed and waned.⁷³

Although the flow of benefactions to the poor had not ceased in the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, it spurted again from 1647 onwards, with Woolley's Bedehouses in Beck Lane (1647), Gregory's Hospital in Barker Gate, Handley's in Stoney Street (1650), and Patten's Almshouses in Barker Gate (1651). John Patten was a brickmaker, representative of one of the more important new industries. Barnaby Wartnaby, blacksmith, gave in 1665, during his life, six single-roomed dwellings for the poor on the north side of Pilcher Gate. Bilby's Almshouses (Coalpit Lane) were founded in 1709. Much the most generous foundation was that of Abel Collin, a mercer related by marriage to Smiths the bankers. His twenty-four almshouses, dated 1709, were arranged in an enclosed quadrangle adjacent to Friar Lane and two symmetrical blocks facing Hounds Gate.⁷⁴ This wave of benevolence and local pride lasted well into the 18th century—Jonathan Labray's Hospital for decayed framework knitters on Derby Road (1726); the Blue Coat School, founded in 1706 in a new building at the west end of High Pavement from 1723; a Unitarian Free School established in 1788.⁷⁵ The Corporation had from the early 17th century used the Hospital of St. John as a House of Correction.⁷⁶ In the 1720s all the city parishes built workhouses under the Poor Relief Act of 1722. In 1726 St. Mary's parish built a workhouse 'for employing the poor' on land 'near the Clay Field Pinfold' and near to an existing 'poor-house'. It stood a good quarter of a mile north of the old limits of the town. At the same time St. Peter's parish leased land for a workhouse in Broad Marsh and St. Nicholas's land for the same purpose on a ridge of rock facing the Castle.⁷⁷

From 1688 for the best part of a century the rule of the Nonconformist mercantile classes, who had in Deering's phrase, built themselves 'a considerable Number of Handsome houses', was unquestioned, and they consciously tried to improve the town. A number of them formed in 1696 a company to provide a water supply. An Engine House was built at the bottom of Finkhill Street which supplied the lower part of the town, while the west side, on higher ground, was supplied by a reservoir cut in the medieval town ditch north of the Castle. In 1705 the Corporation set about improving the Market Square, by pulling down the old Toll House and rebuilding it 'under the Pillory'. The Market Wall was pulled down by 1728, and the Square itself was paved. What was called the New Change, designed by the mayor himself, was completed in 1726; over an open ground-floor (for stalls) were rooms used for various official and public functions. Behind it, the Old and New Shambles, providing covered accommodation for butchers and other trades, were rebuilt in 1734 and 1747. In 1744 it was decided to rebuild the old Guildhall in Weekday Cross. The medieval timber-framed building gave way to a brick one, with a colonnaded front like the New Change. After a generation of dispute over responsibility, the Shire Hall, a little further east, was rebuilt in 1769.⁷⁸

Increasing traffic led to improvements in access to the town. The last surviving medieval gate, Chapel Bar, was pulled down in 1743, 'for the more commodious and pleasant entrance into the Town'. Tenements in the rock flanking Derby Road, called the Rockholes, were in 1740 ordered 'to be hewn down and levelled forthwith', as part of an improvement in which Lord Middleton of Wollaton Hall took the initiative. Access to the town from the south was improved by widening and lowering Hollow Stone. The borough records of this time contain frequent references to paving streets, and, in the second half of the century, to street lighting on special occasions, as well as to road and bridge improvements on the south side.⁷⁹ The social life of the town had also developed. By Deering's time (c.1740), Assembly Rooms in Low Pavement, 'built purposely', held a Ladies' Assembly once a month, while a Tradesmen's Assembly was held in Thurland Hall, a 17th-century house then the property of the dukes of Newcastle. There was a theatre in St. Mary's Gate, also built for the purpose, and used by a 'Company of Comedians' during the July races on the Forest, which brought social life to a special peak.⁸⁰ The Corporation's concern for amenities and improvements was not limited to the city proper. In the first decade of the 18th century the spring by the Leen at the bottom of Finkhill Street was laid out as a spa with a bowling green nearby; the banks 'on each side of the engine ditch near the bleaching place' were levelled and 'made commodious for walks and an arbour'. St. Ann's Well was still popular, and social facilities developed round it; there was a bowling green there through the 18th century, and visitors, as well as taking refreshments, could sit in Robin Hood's chair. In 1729 there was another bowling green 'on the top of the hill near the Lings', also with a license.⁸¹

Deering, writing in 1739, extolled the pleasures of walking up the Trent to Beeston Meadows, or down to Colwick Spring, and those pleasures were to be available until 1845, when the Nottingham Enclosure Act was passed, but the

⁷² Wood, *op. cit.* 223; R. S. Fitton and A. P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, 38-9; C. G. Bolam, quoted in J. D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century* (1966), xiii.

⁷³ J. H. Walker, 'An Itinerary of Nottingham', *T.T.S.* 1925-35, *passim*.

⁷⁴ Deering, 132-54.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 153; F. W. V. Taylor, *History of Bluecoat School, Nottingham*; White, *Directory of Nottingham* (1832), 159.

⁷⁶ *Bor. Rec.* iv, *passim*.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* vi, 101, 106-8.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* vii, 85; Deering, 8-9; K. Tweedale-Meaby, *Notts. County Records of the Eighteenth Century*, 49-55.

⁷⁹ e.g. *Bor. Rec.*, vii, index (lighting, paving, roads).

⁸⁰ Deering, 75-6.

⁸¹ *Bor. Rec.* vi, 8, 44, 124, 151; *Rel. Inst.* iii, 174, 179.

Nottingham of 1780 onwards was a different place. The population grew by more than 60 per cent between then and 1801 to nearly 29,000, most of the increase being in St. Mary's parish, the eastern part of the town.⁸² Since little land was available for housing outside the ancient limits of the town, the increase was mainly absorbed by infilling, which took in the main the distinctive local form of back-to-back housing in courts, with access by a narrow tunnel through houses on frontages.⁸³ Such courts had by 1800 been laid out between Mansfield Road and York Street, Glasshouse Lane and the Rookery, and Barker Gate and Woolpack Lane. Other industrial housing had already been built between Coalpit Lane, to the east of Plat Street, and on the east side of Millstone Lane. Before the end of the 18th century, all the parishes contiguous to Nottingham had been enclosed, and the process begun of using land thus made available for working-class housing on the nearer side of neighbouring parishes. In 1793 the Corporation sold land between Derby Road and Back Lane, and it was rapidly filled with houses for artisans of the lower middle class, and similar housing was built after 1790 between Narrow Marsh and Turncalf Alley. Large houses were built after 1797 on the line of the medieval town wall on the west side of the town, and the filled-in ditch, known as Butt Dykes, became Park Row. Large houses also filled the area between Friar Lane and Hounds Gate. The only other development for superior houses was on St. Mary's Hill—King's Place west of Stoney Street (1787), and the new Plumtre Place and Plumtre Street to the east (1797).⁸⁴

It was in the north-east part of the town, the most intensely working class in character, that Methodism found its strongest hold. The older and by now most respectable Nonconformist meeting-places were in High Pavement and Castle Gate, both fashionable streets. The Methodists, whose following was 'mostly of the lower class, chiefly employed in stocking manufacture', built their first chapel—the Octagon or Tabernacle—on the east side of Milton Street in 1764. In 1784 it was replaced by a larger chapel at the east end of Goose Gate, and they moved yet again in 1798 to a still larger new chapel in Halifax Place. The Methodist New Connexion built a chapel in 1797, and the General Baptists another, in Plumtre Place, in 1799.⁸⁵

While the Corporation resisted all proposals for the enclosure of the open fields, and was able to keep them and the burgesses' privileges largely intact, it was a party to one significant new development. That was the canalization of the river Leen, linking Nottingham and the Trent with the Cromford canal and the large coalfield to the west. The canal followed for the most part the southern branch of the river, and the first boat passed through it in 1796. Within a few years it was flanked by wharves and warehouses handling coal, timber, corn, iron, stone, slate, plaster, tiles, and night soil from the town.⁸⁶ Wharves and warehouses were also clustered at Trent Bridge. Otherwise, the rural aspect of the environs of Nottingham was largely unspoilt, except for the brick kilns along Mapperley Plains,⁸⁷ the ridge running north-east from the town. The thirteen windmills on the Forest, the northern edge, must have contributed to the rural charm.

Two new institutions marked the new Nottingham of 1780 onwards. One was the public infirmary, or General Hospital, opened in 1782, on land north of the Castle given partly by the Duke of Newcastle, partly by the Corporation, and provided by public subscription.⁸⁸ The other was the building of a Barracks, again on land provided by the Duke of Newcastle, on the western edge of the Park. By 1793 Nottingham was one of those midland and northern places with a garrison, as much to keep order in the town as in pursuance of the French war.⁸⁹

Thus Nottingham was still in 1800 a medieval town, with post-medieval changes in social structure rather than in physical lay-out. Nevertheless the germs of its transformation into an industrial city, which was to play a significant part in the economic and political life of 19th-century England, were already present.

⁸² V.C.H. Notts. ii. 317.

⁸³ J. D. Chambers, *Modern Nottingham in the Making*, passim; S. D. Chapman, *T.T.S.* 1963, 74-5. The common form of back-to-back housing with tunnel access to courts should be distinguished from the form found occasionally in Nottingham and later adopted in, for instance, Birmingham or Leeds, with access from streets on which the houses fronted.

⁸⁴ Map by W. Stretton (c.1799): Nottingham City Library.

⁸⁵ *Bor. Rec.* vii. 56, 208, 370; *Wesley's Journal*, iv, Everyman edn. 237, 272, 349.

⁸⁶ Resistance to enclosure, *Bor. Rec.* vii. 223; Leen Canal, *ibid.* 333; J. Blackner, *History of Nottingham* (1815), i, 23.

⁸⁷ *Bor. Rec.* vii. 407.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 168, etc.

⁸⁹ *Datebook of Remarkable Events Connected with Nottingham*, ed. H. Field.

In compiling the maps and plans reference has been made to documentary sources, to archaeological and other printed articles, to 18th and 19th century prints, and to the following map sources:—Map of Nottingham by John Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, 1611; Plan of Nottingham Castle by John Smithson, 1617; New Map of Nottingham by H. Overton, 1714, scale 1:6,400; New plan of the Town of Nottingham by Badder and Peat, 1744, scale 1:5,250; *New and Correct English Atlas* by John Cary, London, 1793; Plan of Nottingham by W. Stretton, 1799-1800, scale 1:1,250, unpublished, Nottingham Central Library; New Plan of the Town of Nottingham by H. Wild and T. H. Smith, 1820, scale 1:3,200; Plan of Nottingham by E. Staveley and H. M. Wood, 1831, scale 1:7,300; Ordnance Survey Plan 1st Edition 1888, scale 25 inches to 1 mile, Ordnance Survey Roman Britain series, scale 16 miles to 1 inch.