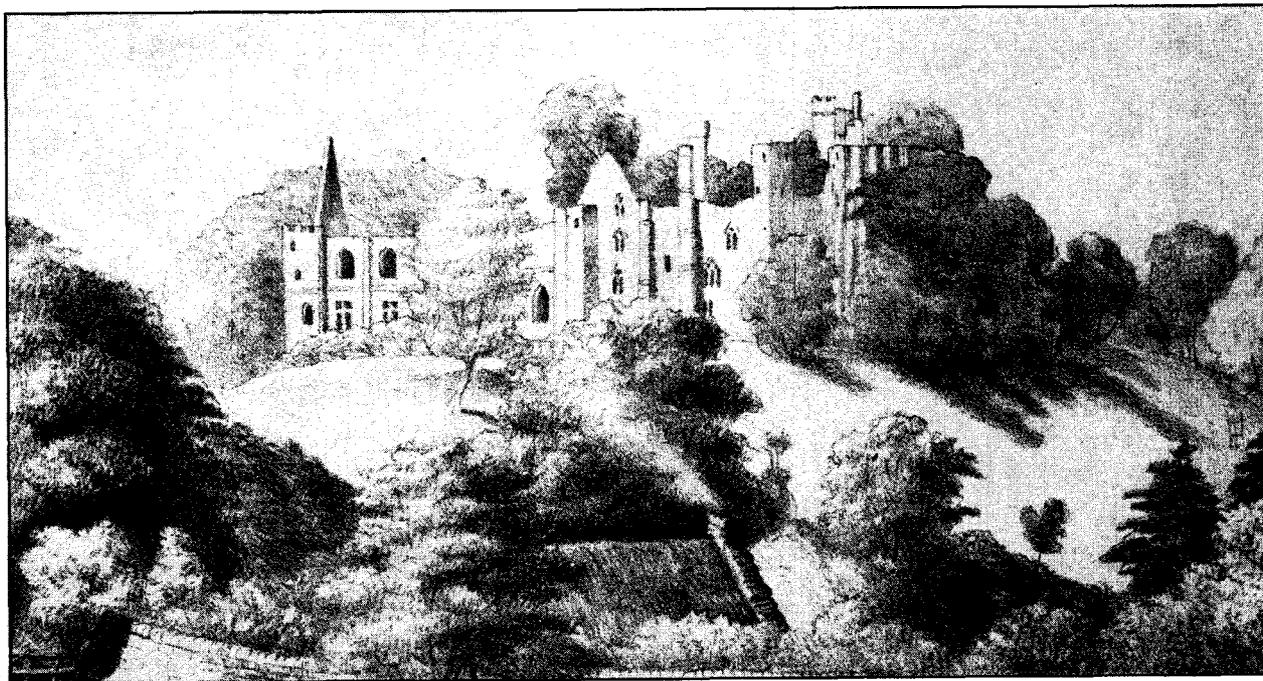


# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



VIEW OF SOUTH WINFIELD MANOR HOUSE  
FROM THE VILLAGE.

The Local History Bulletin  
of the  
Derbyshire Archaeological Society

Volume 11

Autumn 1988

Part 6

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

Vol XI: Part 6

Autumn 1988

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Medieval holdings of Burton Abbey in Derby. Part I: The Identification of the holdings of Burton Abbey. by Jane Steer	118
Captain Swing's activities in Derbyshire and the neighbouring counties: the agricultural riots of 1830-31. by Wendy Bateman	140
Charles Osmaston by Peter J. Naylor	147

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ISSN 0417 0687

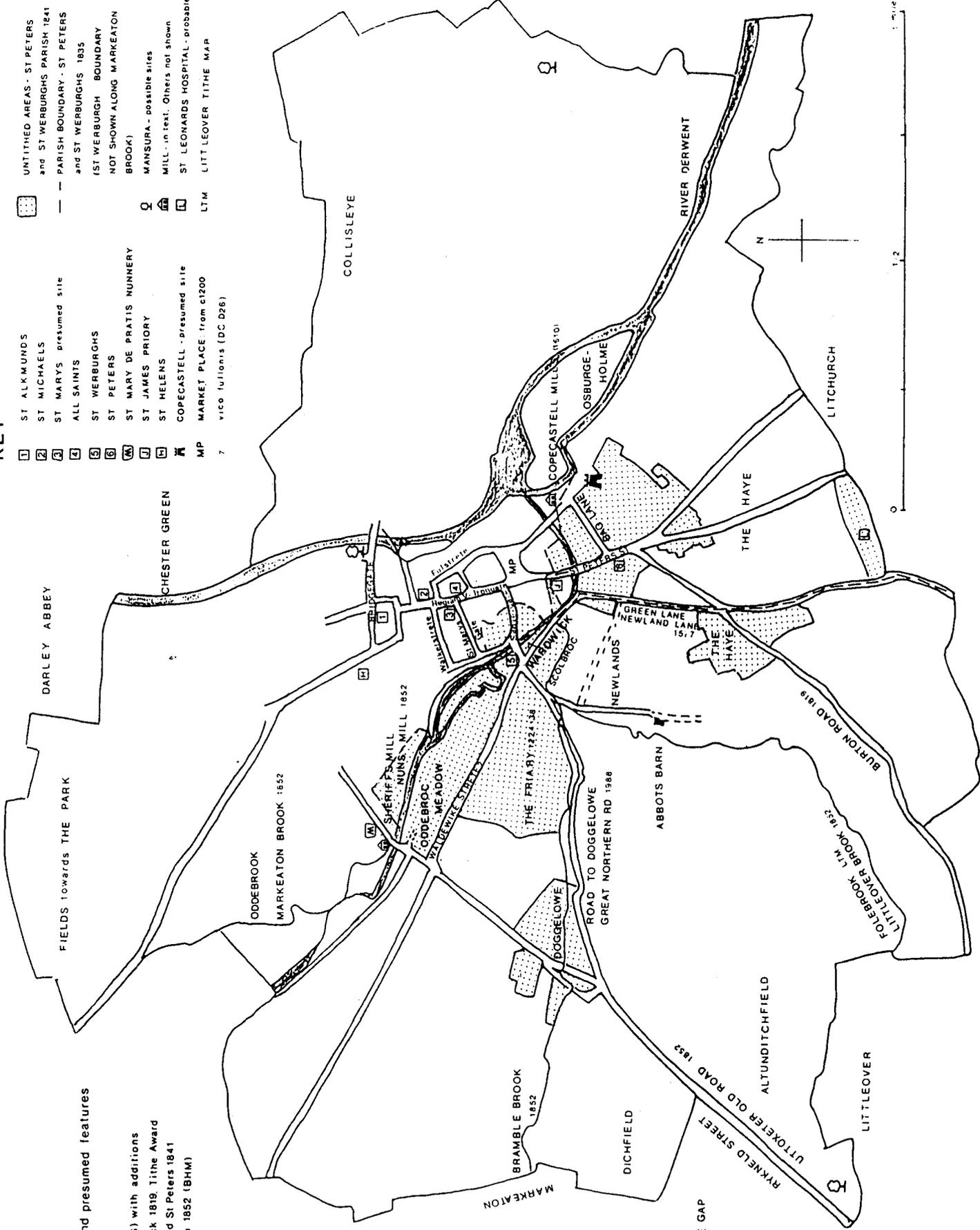
# DERBY C1240

Showing identified and presumed features

Based on map c1835 (DLS) with additions from Speed 1610, Swanwick 1819, Tithe Award maps for St Werburghs and St Peters 1841 and Board of Health map 1852 (BHM)

## KEY

- 1 ST ALK MUND'S
- 2 ST MICHAEL'S
- 3 ST MARY'S presumed site
- 4 ALL SAINTS
- 5 ST WERBURGH'S
- 6 ST PETERS
- 7 ST MARY DE PRATIS NUNNERY
- 8 ST JAMES PRIORY
- 9 ST HELENS
- 10 COPECASTELL - presumed site
- 11 MARKET PLACE from c1200
- 12 vicus Iulianus (DC D26)
- UNTITHED AREAS - ST PETERS and ST WERBURGH'S PARISH 1841
- PARISH BOUNDARY - ST PETERS and ST WERBURGH'S 1835
- ST WERBURGH BOUNDARY (NOT SHOWN ALONG MARKEATON BROOK)
- MANSURIA - possible sites
- ⊕ MILL - in text. Others not shown
- ⊕ ST LEONARDS HOSPITAL - probable site
- ⊕ LITTLE LEVER TITHE MAP



## MEDIEVAL HOLDINGS OF BURTON ABBEY IN DERBY

(by Jane Steer

### SYNOPSIS

Burton Abbey held property in medieval Derby from the time of William the Conqueror to the Dissolution consisting of the church (and later the site) of St Mary's, granted to the Abbey before 1087, two mills which can be identified with some certainty as Holmes Mill and Nuns Mill and some mansurae scattered mostly in the open fields. It also held land until circa 1135 attached to the outlier, Littleover (Parva Ovra), of its manor of Mickleover (Ovra) consisting of carucates and two vici in 'Waldewike Street' which are more difficult both to explain and locate. Three areas of tithe-free land in St Werburgh's Parish (former abbey lands did not pay tithes) provided clues for possible vici at the junction of Uttoxeter Old Road and Great Northern Road, 'Doggelowe', and at Little City, 'the Hays'. The third area, which is supported by place-name evidence, can be equated with modern Wardwick; its size and position suggesting it was originally a 7th/8thC trading settlement attached to a small royal estate centre which could be the site of Northworthy, the precursor of Viking Derby.

The search for a definition of Waldewike Strete by analysing the holders of lands and mills and tracing the changes in land tenure led ultimately to an impression of 12thC Derby, its division into two halves during the early part of this century and the conclusion that Waldewike Strete, which lay south of the Markeaton Brook, was part of the demesne of the Burgh of Derby held by the King and farmed out to a succession of tenants from Burton Abbey to Sheriffs, before finally, as the New Lands, being developed as a new suburb of Derby by Darley Abbey after the burgesses had obtained their Borough Charter c1205.

At the Dissolution the Burton Abbey properties came into the hands of Sir William Paget, later Lord Paget of Beaudesert (Staffs), Henry VIII's Chief Secretary and a principal beneficiary of the Dissolution. After the death of Henry VIII the Pagets fell in and out of favour, largely out, and by the early 1570s the former Abbey properties in Derby had come into the hands of the Borough. In 1581, they are described in a rental of Borough property as "the landes late Lord Pagette's".

This rental was the starting point for an investigation into the identification and location of these lands and properties whilst in the possession of Burton Abbey, from which gradually emerged the insight into medieval Derby.

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BAC P.H. Sawyer: 'Charters of Burton Abbey'

DC R.R. Darlington: 'The Cartulary of Darley Abbey'

DBR I.H. Jeayes: 'Calendar of Records for the Borough of Derby'

DCR I.H. Jeayes: 'Derbyshire Charters'

DAJ Derbyshire Archaeological Society Journal

DAMis Derbyshire Miscellany: Local History Bulletin of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society

BHM Board of Ordnance Map for Board of Health 1852 (Derbyshire Archaeological Society)

RAD I.H. Jeayes: 'Radbourne Charters' (Historical Manuscript Commission listing)

Yeat J.P. Yeatman: 'The Feudal History of the County of Derby'

DLS Derbyshire Collection of Deeds in Derby Local Studies Library

DbDom Domesday Book, Derbyshire (Phillimore)

StDom Domesday Book, Staffordshire (Phillimore)

Roffe D. Roffe: 'The Derbyshire Domesday'

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DFG Garratt & Rawcliffe: 'Derbyshire Feet of Fines'; DAJ

Ogston G. Turbutt: 'A History of Ogston'

VCH Victoria County History of Derbyshire

EHD English Historical Documents 1042-1189

NDB National Dictionary of Bibliography

ODic Prof. E. Ekwall: 'Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names, 3rd Edit 1947)

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## PART 1: THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE HOLDINGS OF BURTON ABBEY

It was my curiosity about the reference to the 'Landes the late Lord Pagettes' in the 1581 Derby Borough Rental, recently transcribed together with those for 1540, 1541, 1591 and 1596 by Martin Vine, Senior Assistant Archivist at the Record Office, Derbyshire County Council, which initially led to this appraisal of Burton Abbey's medieval holdings in Derby.

### THE PAGETS IN DERBYSHIRE

William Paget of Beaudesert (1505-1563), created Lord Paget 1549, Chief Secretary to Henry VIII and advisor to Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, purchased all the lands belonging to Burton Abbey after the dissolution of the monasteries. On 23 January 1546 he exchanged his manor and late hospital of Kepyer, co Durham with the King for Burton Abbey and all its holdings except for the church lead and bells. As well as the principal holdings in Burton-on-Trent and Abbots Bromley, the holdings included 'the king's granges, houses, etc in ...Darby'. The latter, 15 manors, granges, a house in London and the lands in Derby were held of the King by service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee and the payment of yearly rents, that for the lands in Derby being 13s 4d. (BAMA p187)

In 1552 William Lord Paget was charged with offences before the Star Chamber and accused of making large profits at the expense of the Crown. He was fined 6000li, all his lands and goods being placed at the disposal of King Edward VI. But by December 1552 pardon was granted except for crown debts and he was allowed to compound his fine. By April 1553, part of the amount still due was remitted and he was again in favour. He was Lord Privy Seal to Queen Mary from 1555-56 and died in 1563. William was briefly succeeded by his son Henry, 2nd Lord Paget of Beaudesert, but he died after a fall in 1568.

William's second son Thomas, the third Lord, who succeeded in 1568, was a conspicuous and vocal Papist who, after being imprisoned for being a Roman Catholic, died in exile on the continent in 1590. The Paget estates in Staffordshire were administered by a body of trustees in his absence.

William's third son Charles was left the manors of Weston and Aston and other lands in Derbyshire in his father's will. He too was a Roman Catholic who was attainted for treason (DLS Deed 6875) and left England in 1572. However his lands (including the manors of Weston and Aston-on-Trent originally granted to William, 1st Lord Paget in 1545 (DLS Deed 6768)) were restored to him by James 1 in 1603. Charles died in 1612. (Source for Pagets: NDB).

As all the Lord Pagets fell into disfavour with the Crown, the Borough of Derby could have acquired their lands in Derby, either by purchase or gift, most probably about the time of Charles' attainder in 1572.

### THE LANDS OF BURTON ABBEY

Lord Paget's purchase of Burton Abbey's holdings in 1546 included lands in Derby. The question is can 'the landes late Lord Pagettes' listed in the 1581

Fig 1: EXTRACT FROM THE DERBY BOROUGH RENTAL OF 1581

landes late	Thomas Sutton for his walke mylne by yeare		xij <sup>d</sup>
the lord	nicholas morris for his neue houses by yeare	xvj <sup>s</sup>	
pagettes	henry Mather for his house by yeare	x <sup>s</sup>	
	Nicholas Slighe for his house by yeare	vj <sup>s</sup>	
	Oliver Thacker for one of the neue houses by yeare	xxiiij <sup>s</sup>	iiiiij <sup>d</sup>
	John Stene for his house	xxx <sup>s</sup>	
	nicholas holmes for his house by yeare	iiij <sup>s</sup>	iiiiij <sup>d</sup>
m	The mylne in the holmes in the tenure of Blackeshawe by yeare	iiij <sup>li</sup>	vj <sup>s</sup> viiij <sup>d</sup>
	William Bothom his house by yeare	xxxv <sup>s</sup>	
	Edward Beamount for his house in the tenure of Robert Berry by yeare		v <sup>s</sup>
	The heyres of John Stere for A house in the tenure of Richard whitteraunce		xij <sup>d</sup>
	Richard Fletcher mercer for the landes Sacheverell by yeare	iiiiij <sup>s</sup>	
	william holmes for the Rent of his house by yeare	vj <sup>s</sup>	viiij <sup>d</sup>
	Robert Bechecrofte for a ley beyonde stockecrofte by yeare		ij <sup>s</sup>
	John potter for a lane lying betwene the land of william Baynbrig and the land of Robert hardie going frome the bridgate into Ireland		xvj <sup>d</sup>
	william More for the Comen lane adjoynyng to katine key Close and leading frome bridgate to Ireland by yeare	iiij <sup>s</sup>	iiiiij <sup>d</sup>
	henry Beamount esquier for thenclosure of a parcell of grounde nere the Cheker late henry nyldes land by yeare		xvj <sup>d</sup>

Derby Borough rental and reproduced opposite be used to identify the whereabouts of the Abbey's Derby holdings.

The rents have a total value of £7 9s 4d. None of these houses or lands are listed in the 1540 and 1541 rentals except for the mylne in the Holmes which was let for exactly the same rent 3li-6s-8d in 1540, 1541 and 1581. This threw some doubt on whether the mills formed part of Lord Paget's lands. However, the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 states that Burton Abbey owns two tenements and a water mill in Derby for £3 6s 8d which must be same as the mill in the Holmes. Other tenements and capital rents belonging to Burton Abbey accounted for in the Valor Ecclesiasticus are valued at £1 14s 0d. Mills in Derby and Litchurch are also mentioned in Darley Abbey's Valor but their total value, recorded under annuities, is only 12s 4d.

When Lord Paget acquired his Derby holdings, the rent was only 13s 4d. This suggests that the Borough Clerk listed the mills with Lord Paget's lands as he recognised that they were formerly part of Burton Abbey's holdings. The 'm' could signify that he realised they were not part of the lands that came from Lord Paget for indeed they are not mentioned in the exchange with Keyper. Maybe the mill was a direct gift from the King to Derby. Excluding the houses and the mill, the rents for land only in the Rental totalled 12s 0d, leaving a discrepancy both between the rents paid by Lord Paget (13s 4d compared with 12s 0d) and/or the Valor Ecclesiasticus accounts (£1 14s 0d and 12s 0d). Some of this discrepancy can no doubt be accounted for by the former rents for land which the houses occupy as several are described as newly built (see below).

#### THE HISTORY OF THE HOLDINGS OF BURTON ABBEY IN DERBYSHIRE

Burton Abbey was a Benedictine monastery founded by Wulfric Spot in 1004 (BCS p7). The first clear definition of its holdings in Derby is found in the Domesday Survey, 1086, which states under Derby "The Abbot of Burton has 1 mill, 1 masurae terrae with sac and soc, 2 masurae of which the King has soc and 13 acres of meadow".

In 1086 the Abbot also held the Manor of Mickleover with its three berewicks: Littleover, Findern and Potlock. 2 mill sites and 73 acres of meadow are listed but no churches are mentioned, nor a priest. However, Charles Bridgeman in his article on 12thC Burton Abbey Surveys (BAS p274) points out that a presbyter (priest) usually appears in Domesday if he is a tiller of the soil and that the absence of any mention of a priest at any place does not involve the conclusion that no church existed there at that time. In Domesday only one priest is mentioned for the whole of the Burton Abbey estates: in Abbots Bromley. Mickleover belonged to King Edward in 1066 and together with Littleover, all the land beyond the upper Dove and Eccleshall, was given to the Abbey by William the Conqueror (BA p185).

The Burton Cartulary c1100 (BCD p106) states "In Derby we have a Church which Godric the priest holds and one mansura with house which William of Ovra has and pays rent of one salmon on Palm Sunday". At the same time but under the heading of Parva Ovfra: "Godwin holds a mill in Derbyshire, which belongs to Parva Ovfra, for 25s". In 1114, again under Ovfra Minore, the Cartulary records (BCD

p109) 'Item in Derby we have a Church which is held by Godric the priest"

This information is amplified in the 12thC Burton Abbey Surveys (BAS p209) carried out c1114-1118 and c1116-1127 or 1133. The holdings in Derby are listed under Littleover.

Survey A, which is generally held to be the later survey, states:

Godwin	holds 1 mill in Derby which belongs to Littleover and 1 little island and and one <u>mansura</u> with house for 35s and  one waste <u>mansura</u> which Swan the monk bought and Godwin the miller has the same.
Godric the Priest	In Derby we have a church which Godric the priest holds and  one waste <u>mansura</u> 'prestita'
William de Ovra	<u>Mansura</u> with a house that William de Ovra holds and pays one salmon on Palm Sunday.
Gothus	Waste <u>mansura</u> for 2 pennies.
The Abbey	12 acres of part of a meadow which supplies 6s rent  2 <u>vici</u> in Derby in Waldewike strete which we have according to the custom of Parva Ovfra (ie 1 days work for the Earl of Derby and 2 days work for the Abbot; 2d for each carucate in Waldewike Strete, again two parts to the Abbot and a third to the Earl, etc).

A list of the 6 land tenants in Derby, some of whom hold land of the 'Inlande', and their rent follows. The earlier survey, B, is similar, but the rent for the mansura is only 25s. Again, in survey B, all the men held service 'ad opus' but by Survey A, monetary rents are listed for most of the dues.

There appears to be a church in Mickleover by 1114-18 (Survey B) held by Godric the Priest, who also held the Derby church (Surveys A and B), and church lands in Willington (Survey A). No mention is made of chapels in Littleover, Findern and Potlock.

Three reeves (prepositus) are listed for Mickleover in 1114-18: Godwin, Edric and Edric the old reeve. Old Edric pays suit at court and to the County and the Wapentake for the Abbot's land. He also bears the same name as the holder of one of Derby's churches in 1086, and in view of his age, may be the same man.

By 1177-82, a church in Ovra and chapels in Littleover, Findern and Potlak were held by John Sacerdos for 40s (BAMA p17). More information is gleaned from the Papal Bull of Pope Lucius III in 1185 (BCS p15). Here a list of Burton Abbey's holdings includes the following donations by William the Conqueror: 'The

Church of St Mary in Derby with two mills and land in the same town. Vill of Ovfra with Church. Vill of Parva Ovfra with chapel. Findern with chapel, Potlack with chapel, Willington with church, land in Henover (Rough Heanor). William died in 1087 so Burton Abbey probably held St Mary's by 1086.

This is the last reference to St Mary's Church but the history of the two mills can be traced to the 15th/16th centuries.

From this evidence, the Abbey's Derby holdings c1086 were attached to the berewick of Littleover which in turn was attached to Mickleover and formerly belonged to the King. St Mary's Church was probably the mother church of Mickleover in 1086 but based in Derby instead of the manor. The possibility that it had been built by Burton Abbey between 1066 and 1185 is ruled out by reference to the gift of the church by William I in the Papal Bull. One of the two mill sites of Mickleover recorded in the Domesday Survey may have been in Derby as now there appears to be no streams of sufficient capacity to work a mill. Alternatively, they could refer to Findern and Willington which had working mills by the time of the Burton Surveys. In 1116 Waldewike Strete covered an area of least 7 bovates, 21 acres of cultivated land (BAS p234); these are followed in the survey listing by another 4 bovates and 3 acres in Parva Ovra which were probably also included in Waldewike Strete as the tenants and acreage correspond to those listed as tenants in Derby in the Cartulary (BCD p106). Three of the five mansurae obviously relate to the three mentioned in the Domesday Survey, and the information suggests that the two in waste were those over which the King had soc.

Burton Abbey's ownership of Mickleover, its outliers and the Derby holdings apparently caused many problems over the centuries as disputes with the Archdeacon of Derby are recorded concerning jurisdiction of the Archdeacon's Court between 1278 and 1300 and with the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield concerning jurisdiction over the Parish Churches of Mickleover, Littleover and Findern between 1322 and 1377 (BAMA p71,82-3,89,116,121,125-9,142,181,191,193-4; BCD p123; BCS p56). It would appear that territorial rights, which were clear in the eleventh century, were overtaken by events and causing confusion in the fourteenth century.

In 1070, after the rebellion by the North (ASC), King William subjected the monasteries to feudal law, compelling them to either produce a certain number of knights in time of war or to relinquish their endowments. Burton Abbey chose the latter (BCS p2) but before 1086 William had given Mickleover and its outliers to the Abbey. Comparison between Wulfric Spot's donation and the Domesday survey shows this reduction in Burton's holdings from 72 to 32 manors in 1086 (the 32 included the seven given by William (BCS p1)). However William's gift meant that the Abbot, together with the King, held most of the manors along the Rykneld Way from Derby to Burton. The donation of St Mary's Church also gave the King a powerful religious ally in Derby. William encouraged the Benedictine Order for when he died in 1087, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle recorded (E1086) that 'during his time the land was filled with the Monks of St Benedict'. The Abbot would have gained access to the markets in Derby allowing him to trade with full market rights. He also had full jurisdiction over his Derbyshire properties and the King's customary dues of two pence (DbDom).

The disappearance of St Mary's from the annals of Burton Abbey (after 1185) came at a time when Darley Abbey was firmly established as a powerful Augustinian Abbey in Derby with the support of both the townspeople and the surrounding manorial lords and at a time (1223-29) when Burton Abbey itself 'was faced with great debts and altogether collapsed' (BAMA p36). The financial difficulties of the Abbey are highlighted by a charter of 1218-22 which states that the maintenance of the kitchen is so bad that it cannot be restored by the fat of 100 pigs nor 4 bushels of corn from the granary (BAMA p33).

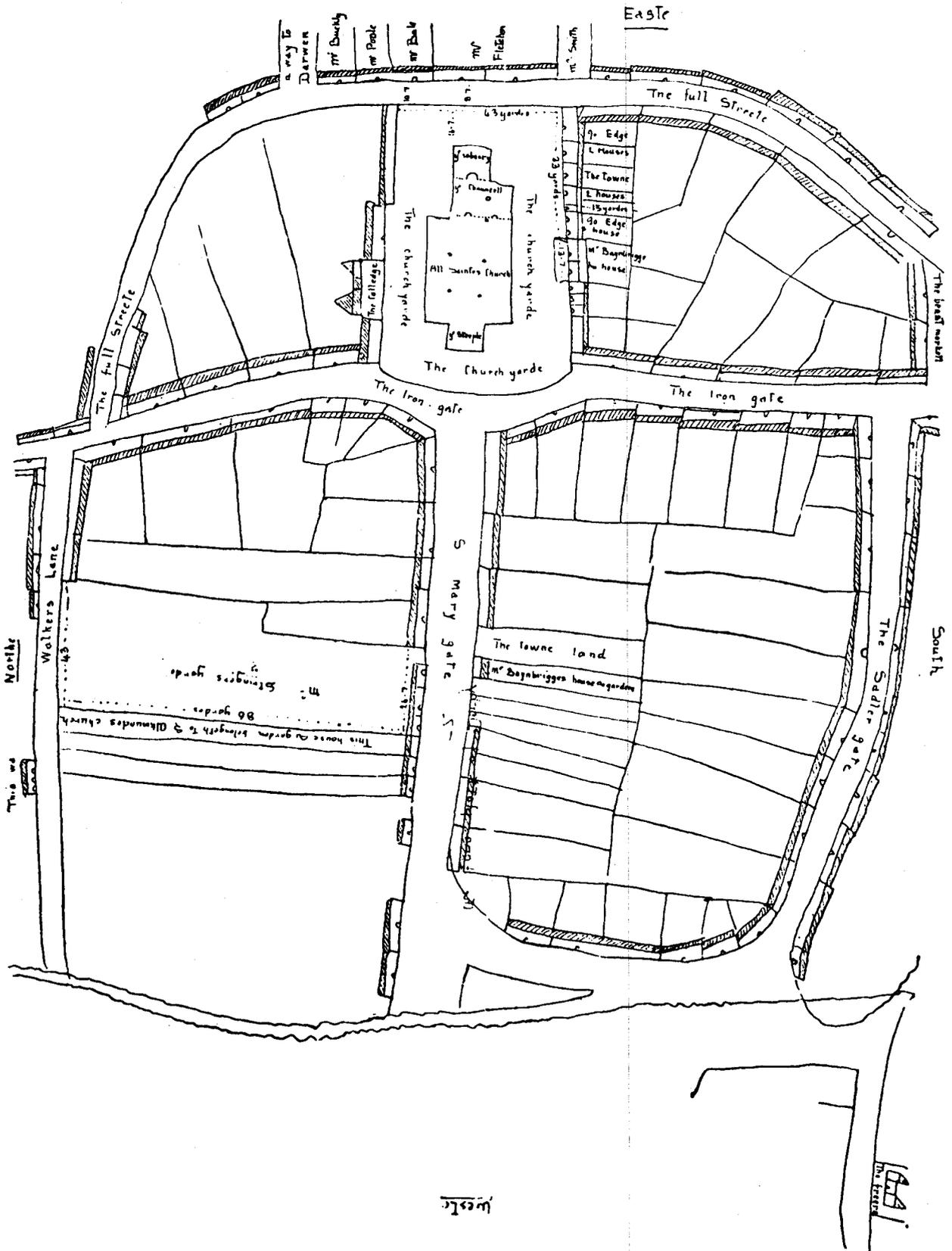
#### THE RENTAL HOUSES AND ST MARY'S CHURCH

Evidence for the possible existence of the ancient site of St Mary's Church in Derby is slight but Margaret Mallender (DAMis Vol V1, pt 4, 1972) presents a convincing argument for it being opposite All Saints Church. Her conclusions may be substantiated by the houses listed under 'the landes late Lord Pagette' in the 1581 rental.

These houses, mostly listed as 'town houses' in the 1591 and 1596 rentals, were the only houses leased by the Corporation at this time. The rents for three were expensive, only exceeded by those for the mills, the Little Chester farms and one of the shops in the Butchery (Shambles in the Market Place). Two of the tenants, William Botham and Oliver Thacker, held office as Bailiff of Derby.

The property of six tenants is described more fully in leases abstracted by Jeayes in his Calendar of Records of the Borough of Derby. The 1591 town houses are also identified (see table below).

1581 Rental Tenant	Rent in all ref.	Description (1591)	Jeayes		Description
			No	Date	
Nicholas Morris	16s	New house (Town house)	25	1582	House built at great cost and charges with garden.
Henry Mather (Tailor)	10s	House (Town house)	15	1574	West side All Saints To new build and cover with tyle.
Nicholas Slighe	6s	House (Town house)			
Oliver Thacker (Bailiff)	23s 4d	One of the new (Town house)			
John Stene (Apothecary)	30s	House (Town house)	30	1582	House and garden in St Mary's Gate.



Map 2: All Saints Church and the surrounding area 1599

Nicholas Holmes (Baker)	3s 4d	House (Town house)	34	1582	Messuage and garden in St Mary's Gate.
William Botham (Bailiff, draper)	35s	House (House and land belonging to the same)	22	1581	Burgage in Market Head, shop in Rotten Rowe, 6 acres in Cowsley, croft: Odbroke Holme
Edward Beaumont	5s	House			
John Stere	12d	House			
William Holmes (Shoemaker)	6s 8d	House (Town house)	14	1574	West side All Saints To new build and cover with tyle.

Confirmation that Wm Botham's house is the same property described in Jeayes is found in his will dated 1603 (DLS Deed 7767) where he 'gives and bequeathes to Peter Geary and Marie his wife the houses, roomes, cellar and shoppe now in the occupation of the said Peter in Derby aforesaid at the markt heade for terme of twenty and one yeares from the day of my death, payying yearly the usuall Rent payable to the Queenes Majestie, her heires and successors and to the Towne of Derby and yearly to my heires fower poundes..'

This house and land can probably be equated to a property described in the Burton Charters which King Edward III granted the Abbey licence to acquire in 1337 on the death of Robert, brother of Marjory, sometime wife of William atte Barre de Derby. The property consisted of a messuage, shop, 9½ acres of land and a third part of a messuage in Derby held from the Crown in free burgage with a yearly value of 12s 6d (BAMA p130; DFF p22 (1338)). In the lay subsidy roll of 1327, this property, one of the most valuable in Derby was taxed at 10li (DAJ 1908 p82).

This property may be the same as the burgage lately in the tenure of Robert Nundy leased by the Abbey to Edmund Dey of Derby, mercer, in 1468 for a term of 39 years at a yearly rent of 36s. Edmund had to keep the burgage in good repair and undertake to newly build a tavern for wine at his own expense on to the capital messuage in which R. Nundy formerly lived within the next seven years (BAMA p175). Robert Nundy was probably Robert Mundy, MP for Derby in 1446.

Returning to the other houses in the rental, two are sited on the west side of All Saints Church, two on St Mary's Gate and two are newly built. All six, together with one other, are listed as town houses in 1591. A plan of All Saints Church and its surrounding area in 1599 (Chatsworth House archives) published in The Great Church by Margaret Mallender (p19), shows a block of 10 plots of land of varying sizes between Walker Lane (Cathedral Road) and St Mary's Gate. It is not unreasonable to suggest that this block is where the remaining 9 houses listed on 'landes late Lord Pagettes' were built, especially as two were on the west side of All Saints. Using the measurements given on this plan, the area covered both by All Saints Church and the 10 plots is approximately one acre.

In January 1925 building works were carried out on the corner of St Mary's Gate where the Halifax Building Society now stands. Graves and a corner of a stone building were found (Photographs: Derby Museum).

The photographic evidence of this excavation together with new houses being built on approximately one acre of land which most likely belonged to the Pagets and formerly to the Abbey would seem to provide further evidence that this area was at one time the site of St Mary's Church and its graveyard.

This site is also on the North/South spine road where the other pre-conquest churches of Derby are clustered, a condition found in other towns. Only St Werburgh's falls outside this pattern, doubtless because it was a church pertaining to an earlier settlement.

### THE MILLS

Burton Abbey had an interest in two mills in Derby: Copecastell and Scirresmulne (Sheriff's Mill). They are recorded as a foundation gift by Burton Abbey to Darley Abbey in 1154-9 (DC 02) but not confirmed in a later charter of 1162-82 (DC 03). The only other reference in the Darley Cartulary confirms that Scirresmulne belongs to the Nuns of St Mary de Pratis. Their subsequent history shows that Burton Abbey received the rents from the mills until the Dissolution. It should also be noted that Robert de Ferrars gave his mill in Derby with its meadow (BCS p50) to Walter de Somerville in exchange for 4 bovates in Abbots Bromley which were given to Burton Abbey. This charter can be dated to 1154-c62, when Robert de Ferrars 11 died, by the presence of Robert de Piro, Dapifero, and Radulfo de Seyle, Constable (DCR 238, 532). Walter de Somerville held a quarter of one fee from William de Ferrars (Yeat 1 p310) in 1162. The mill may or may not have been the Sheriff's Mill which also had attached meadow.

#### Copecastell Mill

In both the Burton Abbey surveys, Godwin holds one mill in Derby belonging to Littleover and a little island, a mansura with a hall and a waste mansura which he bought from Swan the monk (BAS p233). The following charters identify this mill as the Copecastell Mill with Osburgeholm (an island in the River Derwent).

In 1160-75, Abbot Bernard confirmed one part of the land of the mill in Derby to Hugh of Derby and his heirs (BCD p114). 3 marks from this mill was granted to the chamber of the Abbey by the Abbot in 1188-97 (BAMA p21). Between 1213-18, Abbot Roger conceded the mill in Derby and Oseburgeholm with suit of service to Little and Major Oure to Peter f Engeranni for 3½ marks (BCD p121). One copy of this charter is endorsed 'Carta de molendino de Derby, s Copechall' (BAMA p30). Hugh of Derby was probably identical to Hugh the Dean, the co-founder of Darley Abbey as Peter f Engeranni was the husband of his grand-daughter, Eustacia (DC Axxxviii, Axxxix).

In 1409, the Abbot and the convent leased a watermill called Le Castllemylne with the 'mediampnis' and a croft called Le Osburneholne belonging to the mill for a term of 39 years and yearly rent of 40s to Thomas del Stokke of Derby, Agnes his wife, and Robert, John and Dionesia their children. The tenants had to keep the premises in good repair, the Abbot supplying the great timber for

the mill, the water wheel and the cog wheel (BAMA p156).

This mill must be the one in the Holmes in the tenure of Blackshawe in 1581, the earlier 1540 and 1541 rentals and the Valor Ecclesiasticus as the rent is constant at 3li 6s 8d. The Walke Mylne 'late Lord Pagettes in 1581' was adjacent for in 1549 Thomas Sutton 'of Kynge's medowe nighe Derby' leased a parcel of ground in Derby 'adioning unto the Fladyate of a certain milne called the Castell mylne' for a term of 60 years at the rent of 12d from the Bailiffs and Burgesses. Sutton had to make on this ground 'one able and convenient house for a walke mylne (fulling mill) with two stokkes the one called a Potyere and the other a Fallere (fulling place) and also make or cause to be made one sufficient waye or causey for the king's subjects to come and go as well with horses as on foote by the sayd house into the holmes theyr' (DBR p27).

The Copecastell Mills, alias the Holmes Mills, were near Cockpit Hill on the west side of the River Derwent opposite the Holmes (DBR p45). Osburgeholve must therefore be the Holmes (now Bass's Recreation Ground).

#### Scirresmulne (Sheriff's Mill)

The first reference to this mill, in 1151, is in the Burton Cartulary. Abbot Robert of Burton is leasing the Scirreauesmuln in Derby with the adjacent meadow for a term of 13 years at a yearly rent of 16s to Albin, Abbot of Derby and the convent on the condition that if William de Heriz recover from the Abbot of Burton the said mill and meadow which he claims by inheritance, the Abbot of Derby agrees, and if the same William should give the same to the Abbot of Derby in alms or in any other way, the Abbot of Burton agrees "slavo tenore et domino suo", and if either Abbot be moved or retire from his church, let the church of Derby hold it from the church of Burton for the said term (BAMA p11).

In 1154-59 Walter Durdent, Bishop of Coventry confirmed to Darley Abbey the donation 'by the abbot of Burton and William de Heriz and Nicholas de Brailsford, 2 mills and meadow on the Oddebroc between Markeaton and Derby' (DC 02). In the next confirmation by Richard Peche, Bishop of Coventry in 1162-82, the 12 acres of meadow on the Oddebroc by Nicholas de Brailsford are still included but the mills are not mentioned (DC 03). By now the 13 year lease was completed (in 1164). William de Heriz gave up his claim in Scirresmulne and the meadow, as well as Ilam Church, to Abbot Robert (1150-59, 1175-77) for 4 marks (BCS p45).

An undated deed (BCD p121) records Burton Abbey's gift of a mill called Sirrevemulne and the adjacent meadow for 12s a year to the Prioress of Derby, Sister Matilda and the Convent. In 1188-97 12s rent from the mills of the Nuns of Derby is granted to the Abbey's chamber (BAMA p21).

Nothing more is heard of this mill until 1445 when a suit was settled between Elizabeth, prioress of the Nunnery, and the Abbot of Burton Abbey. The Abbot claimed arrears of a yearly rent of 12s for the mill called Sirenemylne and about 12 acres of meadow but agreed to condone them as the Prioress undertook to pay the rent in equal portions twice a year (BAMA p 169). The meadow is the same size as that recorded in the Burton Surveys.

The Sheriff's Mill must be one of the two mills held by Burton Abbey in the Papal Bull of 1185 and was probably the Nuns Mill on Markeaton Brook (BHM),

demolished c1919 (Goodey Collection no 86,87). No specific reference is made to it in the Valor Ecclesiasticus for either Burton Abbey or the Nunnery of St Mary de Pratis.

#### LAND AND MANSURAM

The remainder of the items listed in the 1581 rental as 'late Lord Pagettes' all refer to land tenures which lie in separate blocks to the west, east and in the centre of Derby as follows:

1. 'The landes Sacheverell' cannot be identified but Rauff Sacheverell rented Micklover Manor from Burton Abbey between 1517 and 1534 (BAMA p182) so this land may also have been on the west side of Derby.
2. Stockcrofte, which is called Stockebrooke in the 1591 rental when it is held by John Jackson for the same rent, would have been part of Stockbrook Field. Analysis of the 1841 Tithe Awards for St Werburgh's Parish shows this field covered most of the area between Uttoxeter New Road and Burton Road on the west side of Derby. The ley beyond Stockcrofte was probably also in this parish as it is listed in the Borough Rental.
3. The lane going to Ireland is a lane leading from Bridgegate towards Darley Abbey (DLS Deeds 2140, 2142, 2143: Ireland Orchard - north of messuage on Bridgegate and west of River Derwent in 1793. Owner Daniel Parker Coke; the Irelands held Locko and Yeldersley 20EdIII (Yeat 1 p475).
4. The Chekers is a field on the east side of the Derwent towards Chaddesden.

5 mansurae in Derby are accounted for in the Burton Surveys, some 25 years or so after the Domesday Survey when 3, 1 of the Abbots and 2 of the Kings, are mentioned. By 1114 the mill has its own mansura and one in waste belongs to the Church of St Mary which leaves three which could relate to the Domesday ones: those belonging to William de Oura, Gothus and the second one belonging to Godwin, the latter two being waste. Logic would say that the mansura of William de Oura belongs to Burton Abbey and the two in waste to the King. Whilst 'waste' could mean these two mansurae were decayed, in this context it is more likely to refer to land from which no tax was forthcoming (HA p143).

The only reference found to a mansura was in a Calke Abbey deed (DCR no 530) where one mansura at the end of Cheguurthia (Kegworth?) consists of 32 acres, 16 acres in the south part of the vill and 16 acres in the west part. There is no proof to identify the four pieces of land in the Rental with the 4 mansurae (ignoring the one that belongs to the mill) apart from the coincidence of number. However, a find of coins dating from EdI to 1391 in a 16thC jar buried between 110-112 City Road (on the opposite side of the River Derwent to the Bridgegate site) was thought to have been hidden by the Burton Abbey monks (DAJ 1928-9 p87).

## VICI IN WALDEWIKE STRETE

There is one holding left in the Burton Surveys which does not appear in the Borough Rental: the two vici in Waldewike Strete.

The Burton Surveys state that Waldewike Strete and its 2 vici contained many carucates inferring that Waldewike Strete was a large area of land, not just to a route (the size of a carucate varies but is generally taken to be 120 acres). Vici as used in the context of the Burton Cartulary must therefore refer to some areas of land within that known as Waldewike Strete.

Vicus is a term which was not only in widespread use in Roman times but also used as a common term in Latin records from the 7thC (Myres p33-36). The Anglo-Saxon 'wic' is derived from vicus. An analysis by Margaret Gelling (Gelling p73) of 'wicham' names showed that some 'wicham' names are used for modern parishes, some were Domesday estates but not modern parishes and others were neither parishes nor Domesday estates but lay on parish boundaries (present day Wardwick is near the boundary of St Werburgh's parish). It was also found that most 'wicham' names were directly on or within a mile from a Roman road. Myres also states that a vicus is now thought to indicate not just single tenements but substantial blocks of tenements (Myres p33) and indeed the classical latin translation of vicus is neighbourhood.

Recently evidence has shown that 'wic' was as a common term for a mid-Saxon trading settlement. For example, Aldwych outside the Roman walls of London is postulated to be an undefended mid-Saxon trading settlement (Vince p312). Hamwich in Southampton is another example of a mid-Saxon settlement that moved from a low-lying undefended site to a more defensible position on a clifftop during or after Viking invasions during the 10th and early 11thC (Platt p6,9)

Much research has been carried out on the form and growth of rural settlements. It is thought that in the 11th century, a vill usually referred to a collection of scattered hamlets and farms covering a wide area. Concentration around a centre, as we see villages today, probably did not start to appear until the late 11th century. At this time too, many planned villages were built following William the Conqueror's devastation of land and settlements in the North (Roberts; Taylor p130-149; Kapelle 158-190).

To identify the vici in Waldewike Strete it was therefore necessary to look for suitable sites for settlements, either urban or rural, containing several tenements which may or may not have a trading function.

### The criteria used in the search for 'vici'

To discover possible sites for the vici, it was assumed that Waldewike Strete referred to a district in Derby near to present day Wardwick. If there was a (Roman?) road called Waldewike Strete which extended westwards towards Uttoxeter Old Road (Roman Rykneld Street), then the whole of the land south of Markeaton Brook between either the River Derwent or the boundary of the Parish of St Peter to the east and Mickleover to the west could be included, land today representing either both St Peter's and St Werburgh's Parish or just St Werburgh's.

Working on this hypothesis, three possible sites for a vicus emerged: two sug-

gested by areas on the Tithe Award Map for St Werburgh which, because they were former Abbey lands, did not pay tithes (at the junction of Uttoxeter Old Road and Great Northern Road (Doggelowe) and at the junction of Babington Lane/ Green Lane/Burton Road (the Haye), now known as Little City) and one, also tithe-free, with place-name evidence (Wardwick).

#### Wardwick

Present day Wardwick is a road between St James' Street and St Werburgh's Church, which in 1841 ran through an almost circular tithe-free area stretching from Bramble Brook (now Bramble Street) to half-way up Sadler Gate. A church of Saxon foundation, St Werburghs, is adjacent to Markeaton Brook which runs through the centre of the area. Early 12thC translations for 'walde' (MWL) are woodland and embankment, either of which may be significant.

This untithed area is overlain by the roads encircling the 10thC centre of Derby. However, it is noticeable that the 19thC parish boundaries of St Werburgh, St Michael and a detached portion of St Michael to the west of Irongate follow property boundaries. In addition the southern and northern boundaries of the two parts of St Michael's parish run almost parallel to each other with a well defined line of property boundaries, which cross the centre of St Mary's Gate, connecting the two western boundaries and the most northerly point of St Werburgh's parish. Amen Alley completes the southern boundary and resultant area could represent the site of a Saxon royal estate centre (see map 3). If so, it would appear that Waldewicke represents a 7th-8thC trading settlement attached to a royal estate, thus mirroring situations found in other towns. This royal estate centre may be Northworthy which the Danes called Derby (Stenton p234) as 'worthy' is derived from the Anglo-Saxon 'Weorthing' denoting a place warded or protected. (More details of this evidence which came to light just before publication will be given in Part II.)

Only two medieval references were found where Wardwick is used as a place name: in the Darley Cartulary where there are 13thC holdings in Waldewico (DC B1) and Lower Waldewyc (DC A64,D31, D36) and in one family name - Ingeram de Waldewich - in 1202 (DCR no 2753).

In spite of the lack of documentary evidence, this tithe-free area would have been a good site for an early trading settlement. Adjacent to water and facing south with nearby meadow/arable lands, the route of Waldewike Strete connected it to Rykneld Street to the west and perhaps also to St Peter's Street to the east. The route of the early Strete to Rykneld Street (now Uttoxeter Old Road) was probably along today's Friargate (also called Overwaldwick in 1612 (DRO X91-1/16)) to the Brick Street junction but, before the days of the Friary, one alternative 13thC route, still extant, lay along Curzon Street and Dog Kennel Lane (now Great Northern Road) to a more southerly junction with Rykneld Street, and significantly one of the possible sites for a vicus.

#### The Two Untithed Areas without Place-name Evidence

In 1841 St Werburghs Parish covered an area of 850 acres (Tithe Award 1841) which was earlier divided into at least three fields (Analysis of Field Names: J. Steer unpublished). Besides the Wardwick area, two other areas were found on this map which did not pay tithes: one totally agricultural, the other in 1841 a mixture of agricultural land and land in the process of being newly developed

for housing. Because the land now known as St Werburgh's Parish was donated to Darley Abbey in the late twelfth century, references to two areas in its Cartulary, Doggelowe and the Haye, which appeared to contain a significant number of tofts were examined to see if they were settlements and not just field names.

#### Doggelowe

The first area looked at was the untithed fields grouped around the junction of Uttoxeter Old Road with Bramble Brook (mostly south of Great Northern Road, with a smaller section in the area of Parcel Terrace). Great Northern Road which skirts round the outside of these fields to Uttoxeter Old Road and known earlier as Dog Kennel Lane (BHM) or Datson/Dayson Lane (Swanwick's Map of Derby 1819) leads straight to St Werburghs Church, about a mile away. Swanwick's map also shows Uttoxeter Old Road dividing into two to go round what was probably an earlier village green (see maps 1 and 3).

Analysis of references in the Darley Cartulary to Doggelowe and the road to Doggelowe identify at least 10 tofts and separate parcels of land in Doggelowe, including two tofts with substantial edifices and other appurtenances which extended to the Regiam Viam (Rykneld Street), and six tofts along the road to Doggelowe (DC (Alxii p57, Alxxiii p62, C19 p145, D19 p181, C30 p151, E4a p206, E11 p209, E15 p212, E36 p225, E13 p210, E16 p214). Other references refer to later holders of the same tofts. The charters are dated between 1233 and 1282.

The identification of the road to Doggelowe is confirmed by references to 4½ of the tofts, 3 of which lie in the bend of the Scolebroc and the other 1½ lie in the other bend of the Scolebroc towards the Abbots Barn (BHM); one of the adjacent tofts is held by William de Ponte whose land was also on the road to Doggelowe (DC C19, C27). Measurement of the field plots along Dog Kennel Lane on the Tithe Award Map (ignoring the 19thC Uttoxeter New Road) indicate an average size of two to four acres. The rents for these tofts, where stated, was usually 12d per toft, together with 2 hens at Christmas and 1d in the Autumn.

A rent of 12d for a toft was standard for newly developed land in the 13thC in the Midlands (Hilton p188). Again, in 1269, Robert de Ferrars was offering 3 acre plots in his new vill of Agardsley, co Staffs for 18d (RAD no 19), so Doggelowe was probably expanding in the 13thC. The name Dogge is probably a derivation of the Anglo Saxon 'docce' meaning water lilies (ODic). The evidence suggests that this indeed was the site of an Anglo Saxon settlement and one of the two vici. The topography was certainly favourable, with shelter from the hill, water from Bramble Brook, flat meadow/pastureland to the north and Rykneld Street running through the middle of the site, all desirable assets for a settlement site (Roberts p33). The only asset missing was a southerly aspect.

#### The Haye

The second untithed area on St Werburgh's Tithe Award Map was to the west of Green Lane at its southerly end and to the west of Normanton Road. The site is bisected by Burton Road and is the highest land just south of Markeaton Brook. It is close to an area known in the 16th century as Bradshawe Hay, commemorated now by the name of part of the Inner Ring Road, Bradshaw Way, and adjacent to and to the east of the Newlands of Derby. Haye derives from the Old English 'gehaeg' meaning enclosure (ODic). The water supply would have been from springs as geologically this land is Second Terrace overlying Keuper Marl.

Analysis of the references in the Darley Cartulary (A30,56,65, B23,50-51, C31, 31a,34-45,48,48a, E1a) which date from c1214-c1287 identify charters for 9 tofts, 5 half-tofts, 4 plots and 3 areas of land. The land the tofts were built on was probably the 5 acres in the Hays and the 5 acres between the two roads near the crossroads, both part of 46 acres in the fields of Derby bought from William de Heriz that Goda held after the death of Walkelyn, her husband (DC A27, A30). It was quitclaimed to Darley Abbey between 1214-33 by Walkelyn f Peter of Derby (grandson of Goda) after he had claimed the land from the Abbot of Derby by writ of right in the court of Derby. Although Walkelyn was alive as early as 1135-54 and Robert f Goda died in 1176, the Hays cannot be excluded from being one of the two vici belonging to Burton Abbey. Cameron (PN p455) lists two other names which probably refer to the Hays: Hebrigge and Heye Croyce.

The evidence therefore appears to show that three vici existed as settlements: a trading settlement around the Wardwick and more rural ones at Doggelowe and the Hays. All are at strategic points on crossroads with good communications. Due to the absence of any Saxon artefacts in these areas of Derby, the conclusions cannot be corroborated with archaeological evidence (Derby Museum). All references to tofts at Doggelowe and the Hays appear to disappear c1282, a time of failing harvests and rampant disease (Darby p90).

#### WALDEWIKE STRETE

The picture emerging of Waldewike Strete in the early twelfth century is that of a large area to the south of and outside the Burgh of Derby, but at the same time part of Derby. It was attached to and followed the customs of Littleover, itself an outlier of Mickleover and had many carucates, settlements (vici) at Wardwick, Doggelowe and the Hays, and mansurae. The inhabitants paid taxes, some similar to tithes, not to a parish church but in 2 parts and 1 part to the Abbot of Burton and the Earl of Derby respectively, ie an urban fee or King's demesne fee. It was as though a rural area was being administered for taxes in the same way the town of Derby was administered for taxes in 1086 where the burgesses paid 2 parts to the King and 1 part to the Earl. (Note: In Mickleover and Littleover all taxes were paid to the Abbot at the time of the Burton Surveys (BAS p229); the Abbot had the King's customary dues of two pence but only had the Earl's third penny with his consent and whilst he lived (DbDom).)

So what was 12thC Waldewike Strete? The first inclination is to suggest that it was similar to a present day parish but attached to St Mary's Church; later transformed into St Werburgh's Parish as its first written record is c1240 (DC E3a). This hypothesis must be discounted as St Werburgh is a middle Anglo-Saxon name, commemorating the abbess of the Nunnery at Trentham who died c683. Aethelfaeda, Lady of the Mercians enlarged St Peter's Church in Chester in 907 to found a college for secular canons dedicated to St Werburgh, the old dedication being transferred to a new parish church (Burne p2). A similar foundation of St Werburgh's in Derby probably occurred within a few years of her death together with the church at Spondon. The irrefutable evidence though is the concession by Walter Durdent of St Werburgh's Church to Darley Abbey at the time of the Abbey's foundation, probably circa 1154 (DC O2), a time when St Mary's Church was in the possession of Burton Abbey.

However, much of the present parish of St Werburgh's was called the New Land of Derby during the thirteenth century after Peter de Sandiacre gave the latter to Darley Abbey c1179 when he entered a monastery (DC A1, previously donated 02, 03). The New Land extended from Green Lane to the boundary of Ovra. Shortly after 1200, new tofts, many with edifices and other appurtenances, were being developed in the area of Newlands Street just south of the Wardwick to form a new suburb, stretching as far as the road to Doggelowe. The usage of the term New Land was so colloquial that it must be seen as land newly attached to Derby, not just as a name of a new housing suburb (J. Steer, unpublished), and probably dates from when Burton Abbey lost Waldewike Strete.

#### Waldewike Strete c1200

One clue to the identity of Waldewike Strete is given in an Inquisition made at Derby in 1274-5 into the rights and liberties belonging to Edward 1. The jury, giving evidence about the ancient demesne, stated that the King has the demesne of the Burgh of Derby, no one has demesne of the Manor. It also stated that the Burgh of Derby was of the King's fee but the burgesses now hold the town by charter paying £34 10s of white farm and £10 of increase. The burgesses whose holdings were part of the Serjeanty (known as the Serjeanty of Sandiacre) paid the King direct (Yeats 2, III: Hundred Rolls p47). It appears that the jury regarded Derby as having three component parts: the Burgh, the demesne of the Burgh and the demesne of the Manor, with some holdings being held of the King by Serjeanty.

At the same Inquisition evidence was given that Litchurch (2 carucates of land at Geld and 9 villains who had 2 carucates land and 12 acres of meadow) was anciently held by the King until the time of King John when it was exchanged with Peter de Sandiacre for the vill of Horsley (Yeats 2, III p47). The Testa de Nevil of 1213 states that Peter de Sandiacre has 100s rent in Litchurch which is a member of the Borough of Derby and holds Sandiacre with its appurtenances by Hostricery for £10 (ie by Serjeanty). In addition it states that Peter de Sandiacre held Chelmorton with the service of 1½ knights fee to William Briwere of the Honour of Peverel (Yeats 1, II p400) as part of the exchange deal for Horsley and Horston castle, subsequently held by Wm Briwere till 1204 (Yeats 2, III: Hundred Rolls p38).

In yet another exchange of importance to Derby, King John exchanged the Hundred of Appletree with William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, for the third penny of the Town of Derby, ie 100s. By 1274-5 the pleas and profits of this Hundred were worth £10 and the Sheriff's Aid £9 8s 8d. The Sheriff of Derby received 40s per annum for his Turns (Yeats 2, III: Hundred Rolls p45,49).

Finally, c1205, King John granted the burgesses of Derby a Charter allowing them to hold the Burgh in capite, for which they owed 66 marks and 2 palfreys for having the town at fee farm and for the rent of £10 for all services and having a similar charter to Nottingham. The burgesses had previously paid £66 for the confirmation of their liberties c1201 (Yeats 1, 1: Pipe Rolls p150,165; 2, III: Hundred Rolls p47).

The above evidence implies that the King was organising the land tenure in Derby to enable him to grant its Charter but at the same time maintaining a presence in the Town through the demesne of the Burgh and the Serjeanty. The

other implication is that King John was exchanging land which formed part of his ancient demesne.

The only areas within the boundaries of the Town of Derby which have no recorded reference to baronial or knight tenure are the parishes of All Saints and St Alkmunds to the north of Markeaton Brook. These collegiate churches were given by Henry I c1100-1113 to the Cathedral Church of St Mary at Lincoln and eventually held by the Dean of Lincoln c1269 Cox IV p71-73). This land would seem the most likely to represent the demesne of the Manor of Derby which no-one held, as the area occupied by St Michael's Church had already been conceded to Darley Abbey. This hypothesis may also be supported by the 1841 Tithe Award Maps - no tithe award map appears to exist for All Saints and tithes were only paid on just over 21 acres out of the very large St Alkmund's Parish.

On the other hand, it has been shown that land south of the Brook was held at various times by Burton Abbey, Peter de Sandiacre, William de Heriz and Walkelin the moneyer. It also included St Peter's Church, the Copecastell Mills and the Castle Fields. Both William de Heriz and Walkelin feature in the early Pipe Rolls which consist almost entirely of records about lands temporarily in the King's hands, ie accrued to him from eschaet, failure of heirs, forfeiture, vacancy of ecclesiastical lands, etc (Wolffe p32). Whilst St Werburgh's Church, St Peter's Church and the Newlands to the west of St Peter's Street were conceded to Darley Abbey, there is no evidence to suggest that the land now in St Peter's Parish to the east of St Peter's Street was in the Abbey's possession in the 12thC. At this time it appeared to be in the hands of the King or his sheriff. However, even though land passed to Darley Abbey, the house always had to apply for royal licence to elect (DC piii) and indeed the Crown assumed patronage on the confiscation of the Ferrars estates in 1266. This whole area south of the Brook therefore appears to represent the demesne of the Burgh held by the King. This conclusion seems strange as it was thought the Manor was south of the Brook, though never proved. However these fields together with the Waldewike trading settlement and St Mary's Church appear to have all belonged to the 7th/8thC royal estate centre as they formed William I's grant to Burton Abbey.

If these conclusions are correct then Waldewike Strete was part or all of the demesne of the Burgh held by the King and in turn part of his ancient demesne. A form of tenure called ancient demesne was developed in the reign of Henry II and his sons whereby rural estates and manors were farmed out to the highest bidder or to subjects and servants the King desired to favour (Wolffe p25). Kings could only make grants out of the demesne of the Crown for their own lifetime, a new king could choose either to resume possession or regrant the land (Yeat 2,III p13).

Between 1112 and circa 1127, Waldewicke Strete and two vici were in the tenure of Burton Abbey. Burton Abbey held Scirresmulne in 1151 and Copecastell Mill 1 until the Dissolution but the major land holding vanishes from its records, having passed into other hands: the holders of land donated to Darley Abbey c1154.

#### Waldewike Strete c1154

A clearer idea of the extent of Waldewike Strete can be determined from c1150 references to the donors and holders of mills, vici, meadow and land identified

# LAND TENURES IN DERBY C1150

Showing relative positions of holdings of the King, Peter de Sandiacre, William de Heriz, Hugh the Dean and Lincoln Cathedral prior to the foundation of Darley Abbey

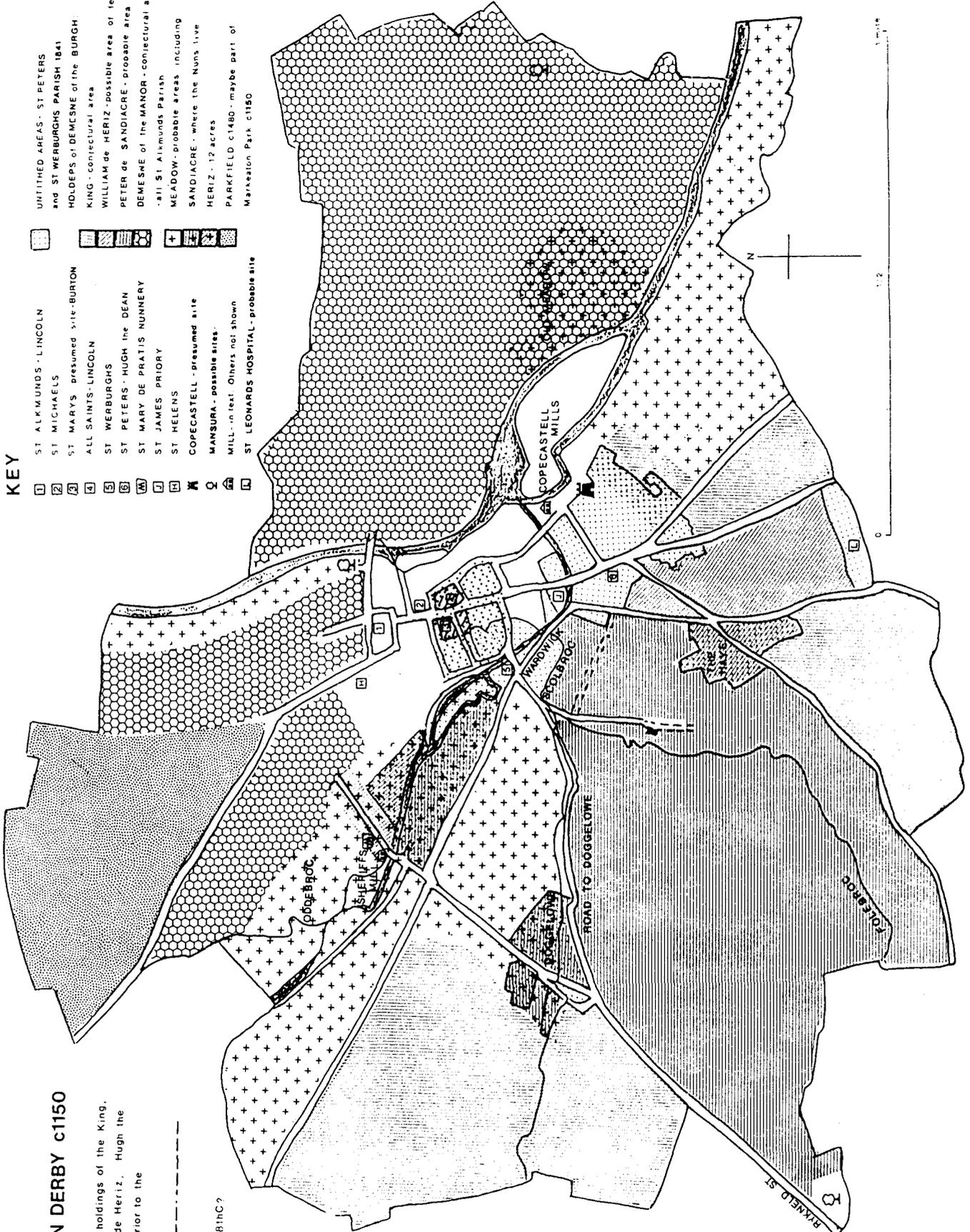
DERBY pre1000

Royal Estate Centre - 7/8thC?

Urban Centre - 10thC



- KEY**
- 1 ST ALKMONDS - LINCOLN
  - 2 ST MICHAELS
  - 3 ST MARYS - presumed site - BURTON
  - 4 ALL SAINTS - LINCOLN
  - 5 ST WERBURGHs
  - 6 ST PETERS - HUGH the DEAN
  - 7 ST MARY DE PRATIS NUNNERY
  - 8 ST JAMES PRIORY
  - 9 ST HELENS
  - 10 COPECASTELL - presumed site
  - 11 MANSURA - possible sites
  - 12 MILL - in text. Others not shown
  - 13 ST LEONARDS HOSPITAL - probable site
  - UNFITTED AREAS - ST PETERS and ST WERBURGHs PARISH 1041
  - HOLDERS of DEMESNE of the BURGH
  - KING - conjectural area
  - WILLIAM de HERIZ - possible area of fee
  - PETER de SANDIACRE - probable area
  - DEMESNE of the MANOR - conjectural area
  - all St Alkmunds Parish
  - MEADOW - probable areas including SANDIACRE - where the Nuns live
  - HERIZ - 12 acres
  - PARKFIELD c1480 - maybe part of Markeston Park c1150



so far in this article, as summarised below:

Hugh of Derby (Hugh the Dean)	Copecastell Mill no 1	Burton Abbey
Wm Heriz	Sheriffs Mill 12 acres Oddebroc meadow The Hays Land in and out of Derby	Burton Abbey (Nuns) Burton Abbey (Nuns) Walkelin & Goda (DC A27); then Darley Abbey (DC A30)
Peter de Sandiacre	Doggelowe Newlands	Darley Abbey Darley Abbey (DC A1,02,03)

Further information about the holdings of Peter de Sandiacre and some of those of Hugh the Dean in Derby were obtained from the Darley Cartulary.

Hugh the Dean	St Peter's Church	Darley Abbey (DC A12)
Hugh the Dean	Site of Darley Abbey	Darley Abbey (DC A1xv)
Henry f Hugh	Priestmulne (32p) + liberties (formerly held of the King)	Darley Abbey (DC Axxxvii)
Peter de Sandiacre	Copecastell Mill no 2  Meadow in which the Nuns live	Roger Buron (DC Axlii) Sandiacre Serjeanty (Y 1p427) Darley Abbey (DC Axlii) Darley Abbey (DC O2)

When these holdings are plotted on a map, it can be seen that each man held land meadow and a mill and at least two held a vicus. Apart from the site of Darley Abbey, they are all south of Markeaton Brook lying between the boundary with Littleover and St Peter's Street. The route of Waldewike Street runs through this area, much of which, if not all, must represent the district known as Waldewike Strete.

Besides holding adjacent areas of land, two and probably all three men had affiliations with the Barony of Buron. The grouping of charters into sections in the Darley Cartulary must also be significant. Analysis shows that A1-A11 refer to initial grants and their confirmations by Peter de Sandiacre and his descendents, A12-A25 to Hugh the Dean and his descendents and A27-A39 to Walkelin and Goda and their descendents. Other deeds in Section A xlii to lxxiv relate to legal disputes over Peter de Sandiacre's Copecastell mills followed by quitclaims and grants relating to the lands of John de London, a descendent of Hugh the Dean. It also appears that grants are usually only reconfirmed on the death of the original grantor. The Darley Abbey charters at Belvoir (DAJ 1894) which range from Hugh the Dean to Ralf f Ralf of Wessington (Heriz family) probably had a similar significance for Ralph Baron Cromwell of Tattershall was awarded part of the Heriz estates c1440 and, before his death, sold the reversion of his estates to John Talbot, 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury (Ogston p231).

Part II 'The Implications for 12th Century Tenures in Derby' will be published in the next issue of 'Derbyshire Miscellany'.

## CAPTAIN SWING'S ACTIVITIES IN DERBYSHIRE AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTIES

### The Agricultural Riots of 1830-31

(by Wendy Bateman)

In his 'Portrait of an Age' published in 1936, G.M. Young wrote: "For two years, beginning with the Paris Revolution in July 1830, England lived in a sustained intensity of excitement unknown since 1641". This was a reference to the fact that some residents of the English countryside took part in a series of protests indicating their resistance to changes in their way of life. These protests were initially confined to the south-east of England but they did occur in other regions. A complex of social and political factors lay behind the commencement of these disturbances which occurred almost entirely within the period from August 1830 to April 1831 and became known as the 'Swing', or 'Captain Swing', riots after their reputed leader and have been termed the 'last labourers' revolt'.

One of the issues which aroused the anger and resentment of agricultural labourers was wages. In 1830 these ranged from as little as six shillings a week in Wiltshire, to thirteen shillings and sixpence a week in Kent - a county where relatively high earnings were commonplace. Low pay was accompanied by the introduction of cheaper Irish labour, as well as the introduction of the threshing machines. Threshing with the flail in the barn had meant almost constant winter work for the farm labourers when little else could be done on the land, and this work could amount to a quarter of the entire annual labour requirements of a farm. Full employment prevented the labourers from asking for parish relief. The name 'Swing', usually associated with the disturbances of 1830-31 is said to derive from the swinging stick of the flail used in hand threshing. However in the late 18th century Andrew Meickle, a Scots millwright, developed a threshing machine consisting of a drum with attachments revolving in a concave cover against which it beat, thus rubbing grain off the straw, after which the grain fell into a container and the straw was carried away. These machines were obviously resented by the labourers and throughout the disturbances were smashed by them. In some areas like Buckinghamshire, the machinery in the paper mills (several of the arrested rioters were paper workers) was also destroyed.

In many parishes the rioters' first place of call was the vicarage, where the incumbent was politely but firmly asked to promise a reduction in the tithes. By reducing the tithes the farmers would have the extra finance needed to increase the wages of the labourers on their farms. Similar visits were also made to lay tithe impropriators, overseers of the poor, tithe collectors and land bailiffs, with the same intent. Some farmers, depending on their attitudes to squire and parson, offered food, drink or money to the rioters. In Essex some farmers were reported to have told the labourers that "tithes, government taxes, rents and machinery" were the causes which produced low wages. In a few cases farmers dismantled their own threshing machines in preference to having them smashed by the rioters. Reports also suggested that dissenting ministers played some part either in instigating riots or in acting as intermediaries between the labourers and their victims, and almost all the actual centres of unrest had

contemporary or subsequent nonconformist links. A nonconformist congregation in a village was a clear indication of a group which wished to assert its independence of squire and parson for few more overt gestures of independence could then be conceived that the public refusal to attend the official church. (Hobsbawm and Rude, 'Captain Swing', p157).

The disturbances included incendiarism, which involved the burning of barns, granaries, ricks and stacks of cereals, beans or clover; the destruction of threshing and occasionally other types of machinery; and the sending of letters, usually bearing the signature 'Swing', threatening either incendiarism or machine breaking.

The fires began with the destruction of Farmer Mosyer's ricks and barn at Orpington, Kent on 1 June 1830 and by the end of September a total of twenty incendiary fires had been reported in the area around Bromley, Sevenoaks and Orpington. On the night of 2-3 August a whole farm near Caterham in Surrey was reduced to ashes, the thatch of the barn housing the threshing machine having been set alight first. From August through to the spring of 1831, and intermittently thereafter, fires continued to break out in areas covering the south-east of England, then into Hampshire and the West Country. By early December 1830 sixteen counties had been more or less seriously affected. According to G. Rude in 'The Crowd in Action' further incidents "may have occurred in a dozen others as far north as Leicester and as far west as Hereford". In fact incidents occurred further north including Derbyshire. The first threshing machine was destroyed at Lower Hardres, near Canterbury in east Kent, on the night of 28 August 1830 and over the following few months a total of 390 threshing machines and 53 other agricultural or industrial machines were destroyed (Hobsbawm and Rude, 'Captain Swing' Appendix II) in 20 counties. The third manifestation of discontent in these disturbances, the threatening letter, was often a prelude to a more general disturbance, warning of the calamity, usually incendiarism, that would befall the victim if he failed to comply with the sender's wishes. Some of these letters appeared to have been written by educated persons, while others may have been the work of the labourers themselves. These 'Swing' letters did not always seem to bear relation to later incendiary attacks although Hobsbawm and Rude found no county where 'Swing' letters circulated which was not touched in some other way by the labourers' movement.

The first local report of the 'Swing' disturbances occurred in the Derby Mercury of 29 September 1830 under the heading "Outrages in Kent", and throughout October 1830 the Mercury reported attacks against threshing machinery and also increasing numbers of fires affecting barns containing grain and also stacks of wheat, barley, beans and clover. During November the paper reported the spread of the outrages into the counties of Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire and on 24 November an entire column of the paper was devoted to the occurrences. This was followed in the issue of 1 December 1830 by almost half a page (of only four pages) detailing further machine breaking and incendiarism. Also in this issue was a report of a fire bomb being placed in the letter-box of the Post Office on Queen Street, Derby, in the early hours of Saturday morning. This resulted in a substantial amount of damage being done. Later the same day a hand-bill was issued stating that the public need feel no alarm for the safety of letters put in the Post Office as a watch would be provided to prevent further mischief. The reporter was not prepared to comment on either the cause or the perpetrator

of such "a great enormity". But on the same page appeared the first report of agricultural unrest in the locality. The incident occurred in the early evening of 19 November when a fire was discovered in the stack yard of Mrs Smith of Ellastone near Ashbourne and although assistance was soon procured, considerable damage was done and two stacks of corn, one of wheat and one of oats were entirely destroyed. Mrs Smith was described as a widow with a large family, and a reward of ten guineas was offered for the discovery of "the wretch who perpetrated this malicious outrage".

The following week (Derby Mercury 8 December 1830) there appeared a report of the committal to the County Gaol in Derby for trial at the next Quarter Sessions, of one Henry Coxon of Rodsley who was charged with having sent three letters "in Writing", dated 24 November 1830, threatening to burn and destroy the stacks of corn and hay of the overseers of the poor of the townships of Yeldersley, Rodsley and Osmaston next Ashbourne, and of sundry other persons. On the same page of the newspaper there was printed a letter to the editor, signed 'M', which discussed the Acts of Parliament for the protection of Property and the Punishment of Offenders. The letter implored the "misguided incendiaries" to "return to a better course of life" and reminded them of the disgrace that would be cast on their families. Beneath this letter the editor set out in great detail the clauses of the Acts, calling particular attention to the punishment of death for sending threatening letters, incendiarism and the unlawful destruction of property, including machines.

The Derby Mercury of 15 December carried a report of further fires in Kent and also the sentences of transportation for seven years which had been passed on convicted machine breakers in that county. There was also an account of the death sentence being passed on a 34 year old labourer, for setting fire to a barn and several stacks at Rayleigh, near Chelmsford. The prisoner was told to "expect no mercy in this world"! In the editorial column of the same issue, details were given of the formation of a Constabulary Force for the Borough of Derby. It was stated that although "no spirit of insubordination has manifested itself", on the principle that prevention was better than cure, a number of Special Constables had been sworn in and great numbers enrolled "not merely of the higher and middling classes but .... well-disposed persons of the humblest rank". In the same editorial there was printed an assurance that a fire at Long Eaton on 5 December was the only outrage clearly referable to an Incendiary which had been committed in the county and went on to say that panic was not necessary now that the Constabulary Force had been founded.

The same paper also contained a letter to the editor signed "Truth" which discussed a system adopted in the village of Chaddesden which the writer felt would "ameliorate and improve the conditions of the labourers in husbandry". On the basis that every cottager had a large garden attached to his cottage to supply vegetables for the family and potatoes to feed a pig, the writer felt that if all members of the labouring class had such advantages it would "tend very much to quiet that turbulent spirit of anarchy and discontent prevalent in so many counties". The final page of the issue of 15 December contained an unsigned "Address to the Labourers on the Subject of Destroying Machinery". This address extolled the virtues of machinery and the assistance which they give man in the execution of many tasks, and even referred to the introduction of the saw into Russia by Peter the Great. It stated that the object of the address was to

point out that the breaking of machines would not remedy the evils of which the labourers complained. The address concluded by saying that the use of threshing machines "saves exactly one-tenth part of the grain. One-tenth part is five weeks consumption of the kingdom, and makes all the difference between a good and a bad harvest - between a dear and a cheap year. Whoever breaks these machines, therefore, does as much harm to the country as if he made a dearth in it".

The Derby Mercury of 22 December carried an explanation of the signature 'Swing' which was appended to many of the threatening letters received in several parts of the country. A correspondent suggested that: "In the hay season the mowers generally cut the grass in parties of from three or four to seven or eight men, who have a head man or leader. Occasionally they stop to sharpen their scythes: when done, and the men ready to go on, the leader calls out 'Swing' and the whole party proceeds with cutting down the grass. The definition of the word Swing may therefore be considered as 'one and all' or 'one and all have agreed to cut you down'". The same page carried a report that the incendiaries from the south "are supposed to be slowly moving into the north", and had, in fact, fired wheat, oats, hay and straw at various places around Stamford. The same issue gave further details of the "State of the Country" reporting that fires and machine breaking were still occurring, particularly in Kent, and again reminded readers that there was a punishment of death for malicious burnings, riotous assembly and the destruction of machinery. Interestingly, a separate item recorded that a £50 reward was offered for information regarding the firing of a wagon load of stubble in the parish of Sawley, the fire engulfing a cowshed.

The Christmas season of 1830 did not appear to affect the agricultural unrest as the Derby Mercury of 29 December recorded that "a few days ago" a Mr Thomas Nelson of Ordsall, near Retford, Nottinghamshire, received a letter threatening to fire his house, stacks and premises if he did not lay aside his machinery. Mr Marriott of Eaton near Retford also received "a threatening notice". The editorial, in reviewing the year just ended, lamented the necessity for the setting up of Special Commissions in several counties but hoped that tranquility and comfort would soon be restored. The large reward of £600 was offered in the same issue for the apprehension of the incendiary who fired the stacks of Mr Hopkins at Long Eaton. Further fires and machine breaking which occurred around Stamford were reported, as was the confession of a young man convicted of setting fire to a barn in Kent. He gave as his reason for the crime incitement by William Cobbett, the radical free-lance journalist, during one of his lectures and claimed that he had never "thought of doing any such thing" before.

The new year of 1831 opened with an unsigned article in the Mercury (5 January) which described the advantages of machines for making clothes and mining coal, and berated agricultural labourers for breaking threshing machines and thus being forced to perish by that worst of all machines - the gallows. The same issue reported an "alarming fire" near Belper where a barn, cowhouses and stacks at Broadholme, the property of Mr John Mason, perished in the flames.

In the following week's paper (12 January) instances of more incendiarism in Lincolnshire, particularly around Stamford, were recorded. It also reported the appearance of Henry Coxon of Rodsley, a 20 year old labourer, at the Epiphany

Quarter Sessions, held at Derby from 4 January 1831. The Quarter Sessions Order Book shows that Coxon pleaded guilty to sending a total of 14 letters threatening incendiarism, sending two letters (one with a fictitious signature and one unsigned) to each of seven overseers of the poor of the Townships of Osmaston by Ashbourne, Rodsley and Yeldersley. As punishment, Coxon was sentenced to be "transported beyond the seas" for life.

The Derby Mercury of 19 January deplored the increase of incendiarism in "our immediate neighbourhood" and reported damage to wheat, beans, thatch and a shed near Ockbrook, the property of Mr John Walker. These were reduced to ashes, and a reward totalling £505 was offered. Immediately following this was another report concerning a fire on the farm of Mr Tabberer, at Highlins Park near Burton-on-Trent where a bean rick had been set on fire and where it was said "we fear, no doubt of the cause".

Succeeding editions of the Mercury continued to report the spread of incendiarism. That of the 26 January reported fires at Stone, Stoke and Swindon in Staffordshire, and rick firing in Lincolnshire. The same issue carried a report of a fire at Weston-on-Trent, which resulted in the village being thrown into a state of alarm by a cry of "Fire". It appeared that two men had been seen in the act of striking a light in the stack yard of Mr Richard Storer but the Watchmen were not able to secure the villains. Many people from the village including Mr Dewe, E.A. Holden, Esq., and the Reverend R.H. Murphy, pursued the villains but the miscreants escaped. The Mercury of 2 February stated on its front page that not less than 2000 fires had occurred in different parts of the country since "this horrible system" first began. Beneath this statement was the report of a fire which consumed a granary at Queneborough in Leicestershire, where 15 quarters of wheat, a quantity of beans and some wool were entirely destroyed. A labourer, James Ward from Queneborough, absconded immediately afterwards and a warrant was issued for his apprehension. Through the "exertions" of the police officers of Loughborough, assisted by James Allen, a police officer in Derby, Ward was taken into custody at the Elephant public house in Derby. Ward, who was 24 years old, was later tried at Leicester Assizes when he was found guilty of incendiarism, and transported for life (D.M. 30 March 1831). The issue of 2 February gave details of a nightly watch which was to be established at Derby, stating that it was the first town in which such a system had been organised. Ten watchmen were to constantly walk their separate rounds from eleven o'clock at night until five o'clock in the morning. Also reported was an attack of incendiarism at Aston-on-Trent on the previous Sunday evening at about half past ten, when a fire was discovered in a barn in the farmyard of Mr George Morley by his daughter. A large quantity of barley in the straw was discovered to be on fire, and the fire engines of Lord Harrington, Mr Fletcher of Cavendish Bridge and those at Derby, were sent for and soon arrived. However there was considerable damage to the roof of the barn and about 15 quarters of barley were destroyed. The report went on to state that there was little doubt that the fire had been caused by an incendiary, and a man was in fact apprehended and underwent an examination before the magistrates. An unsuccessful attempt at incendiarism at Snelston was also reported.

On the 9 February, the Mercury reported that "on Monday last Henry Coxon was removed from our County Gaol to be delivered on board the *Justicia Hulk* at Woolwich, until his sentence of transportation for life, passed upon him at the last

Quarter Sessions for sending threatening letters, can be further carried into effect". The same issue of the paper carried an advertisement for a reward, which totalled £600, for information regarding the firing of Mr Morley's barn at Aston-on-Trent. One hundred pounds of this reward was offered by E.A. Holden, Esq., the Lord of the Manor, and the remainder was under a general proclamation from the King. The issue of 16 February recounted the committal by the magistrates of a clergyman, the Reverend William Bowerbank of Mansfield, to Nottingham County Gaol for trial at the Assizes. He was charged with having sent a threatening letter signed 'Swing', to John Coke, Esq., the High Sheriff. Although committed to Gaol the Reverend gentleman was allowed apartments in the Governor's house where he was attended by one of his daughters who accompanied him to prison. The same paper reported a stackyard fire in the East Fen near Boston, Lincolnshire, where about a hundred quarters of wheat and a large quantity of oats were destroyed, the damage amounting to £700. In this instance the corn was insured.

During the first quarter of 1831 the report of "outrages" in the south east of the country gradually decreased and after February the Derby Mercury reported only two further acts of incendiarism in the East Midlands. On 23 March the paper carried the report of the trial at the Nottingham Assizes of the Reverend Bowerbank, who was said to be a clergyman of the established Church and for 25 years had been headmaster of the Free Grammar School at Mansfield and curate of a neighbouring parish. He was charged with sending a letter signed "Yours, Swing" threatening incendiarism to Mr Coke if he proceeded with his plan to impose a heavier toll on coal carts. Witnesses swore that the letter was in the prisoner's handwriting, but others showed he could not have written the letter nor taken it to the Post Office on the day in question. After a trial which lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock in the evening the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. The last report of incendiarism in the region occurred in the issue of 13 April 1831. This referred to a fire in a large corn grinding mill which belonged to Mr Staniforth at Beighton near Sheffield, and was "attributable to that wicked spirit of incendiarism". Throughout the next few months reports of the trials and sentences of incendiaries continued, including a report of two incendiaries being put to death by hanging at Lincoln for the crime of stack firing (D.M. 3 August 1831).

The Whig Derby and Chesterfield Reporter also recorded the events of the agricultural labourers' unrest but in much less detail than the Tory Derby Mercury. Reports of the "Outrages in Kent" began in the issue of 30 September 1830 but were referred to only briefly. An editorial on 2 December stated that there were indications of disorder "in our own neighbourhood" but only specified the sending of threatening letters by Henry Coxon of Rodsley. The editorial ended by stating that the "good borough of Derby" had long been "too famous for a mischievous system of hoaxing". The Reporter of 9 December included a report of the firing of Mr Hopkins' stackyard at Long Eaton, commenting that "there is no cause for alarm here" as a result of the swearing in of one hundred and fifty-five householders at Aston, Weston and Shardlow, and an equal number at Spondon, as special constables, to guard against "the invisible hand of the midnight incendiary". The issue of 16 December recorded that several of the Fire Office Agents in Ashbourne had received orders from their respective Offices, not to effect insurances on agricultural property "for the present". Although local incidents of incendiarism were few, obviously the national picture affected

Derbyshire farmers wishing to insure their property.

Nationally, the events of this unrest were reported almost daily by the Times, from September 1830 through to the summer of 1831 but no specific reports of the events in Derbyshire were mentioned. The Gentleman's Magazine also commented on the events in its issues of October, November and December 1830 and January 1831, the contributors saying that they found "the conduct of the peasantry remarkable" and that the demands of the labourers were too severe on the farmers, incumbents and holders of lay tithes. The events were not over-emphasised by this Magazine and in December the "riotous proceedings" were said to have already to some degree subsided.

A remarkable feature of the labourers' movement of the autumn and winter of 1830-31 was the multiformity of events: arson, threatening letters, inflammatory handbills, wages meetings, assaults on overseers, parsons and landlords and the destruction of various types of machinery all occurred. The Quarter Sessions Order Book for Derbyshire covering the period of unrest includes no appearances for incendiarism but does contain details of at least five appearances of labourers charged with riot, and four instances of labourers found guilty of stealing various amounts of grain, and one case of damage to growing corn by "treading down and bruising", as well as the case of Henry Coxon already mentioned.

Communication of the events of the agricultural disturbances presumably occurred in a number of different ways. There was certainly evidence in the south east of groups of labourers travelling from village to village inciting unrest and one wonders what effect detailed reports in the local press of events elsewhere in the country had on Derbyshire's agricultural labourers. The Gentleman's Magazine of November 1830, commenting on the riots in the south east of England, stated that "the different parishes communicate by beacon fires", although Hobsbawm and Rude give no mention of this fact. Certainly evidence shows that the events did not spread along the expected national lines of communication such as the main routeways. Hobsbawm and Rude also raise the question of whether there was some national 'leader' of the labourers, who encouraged events throughout the period. One interesting point is that although incendiarism occurred first (the first fire on 1 June 1830; the first threshing machine destroyed on 28 August 1830) and caused far more damage than did machine breaking (an estimated total sum of £100,000 worth of damage caused by fires nationally; the total cost of destroyed machines of all types being only about £13,000), both local newspapers reported machine breakages before they carried reports of fires, and in some instances would appear to have placed greater emphasis on the damage to machinery. The last recorded episode in the whole 'Swing' movement was the destruction, in September 1832, of a threshing machine at Tadlow, a Cambridgeshire village near the Bedfordshire border.

According to Hobsbawm and Rude in their *Captain Swing*, Appendix 1, during the Swing riots there were two cases of arson and one incident of a threatening letter in Derbyshire in the period concerned. Appendix III - the Table of Incidents - shows that these two cases of arson occurred at Long Eaton and Ockbrook, while the case of the threatening letter was, presumably, that of Henry Coxon of Rodsley. However the Derby Mercury carried reports of a total of nine incendiary occurrences in the county during the period, although there were no reports

of these incendiaries being brought to justice. Hobsbawm and Rude's Appendix II - Summary of Repression - shows that Henry Coxon was indeed transported and arrived in New South Wales.

Thus it will be seen that although, according to Hobsbawm and Rude, the agricultural unrest of 1830-31 was in the main restricted to the south east of England, a number of associated incidents over and above those listed by the authors, did occur in the East Midlands and were reported in the local newspaper, including incidents in Derbyshire.

### CHARLES OSMASTON

(by Peter J. Naylor

I believe it worthy of record to bring to life a long forgotten Chinaman, and a now lost church and graveyard.

Charles Osmaston was a native of China and was an unfamiliar face in Derby when chinamen were rarely seen. Those of Chinese birth or ancestry are now fairly common and are accepted in our community, we are all aware of their restaurants and 'take-aways' and many of us patronise them with pleasure.

It was not always so, and this is the brief story of one such chinaman who suffered from the effects of both kindness and bigotry.

Charles Osmaston was the son of a chinese soldier. His father fought in the so called 'Opium Wars', brought about through Britain's greed to protect the sale of opium to the chinese who had wisely banned its use and importation. At the battle of Shanghai in 1842, Charles' father was killed by the British, and Charles was discovered searching for his father on the battlefield by an English corporal. Charles was twelve years of age and gave his name as Da Jin (Jaen), which freely translated from the Mandarin dialect means 'great war'. The treaty of Nanking was signed in the same year as a consequence of this battle, thus ceding Hong Kong to the British.

From then on Charles was passed from person to person, firstly he fell under the care of a Dr Ash, who handed him over to a Captain Napier. The latter passed him on to another Captain, William Horton of the Wilmot-Horton family who consigned the luckless boy via India to Osmaston-by-Derby, the seat of the Wilmot family.

The exact date is not known but was probably in 1844 when he was about fourteen years of age. He was set on as a servant, such was a curiosity, but the Reverend James Dean, curate of Saint James the Less, the church adjoining Osmaston Hall, took an interest in the youth and educated him. He embraced christianity with some fervour and was baptised as Charles Osmaston on 6th April 1845, taking his surname from the house and his first name from the then owner, Charles Foley Wilmot. His place of birth was given as Chusan, China.

He married at Osmaston, on 18th February 1851, a sixteen year old servant girl, Mary Jane Blizard, whose father was a butcher and landed proprietor of Petersham in Surrey. A son was soon born and was baptised three months later at St Peter's Church, Derby for their marital home was in Arboretum terrace. This child was named Charles William after his father and maternal grandfather. By this time Charles senior was employed by the Midland Railway Company as a Mechanical Engineer, the very company which bought Osmaston Hall in 1888. It was demolished in 1938.

Charles befriended a local medical practitioner, Doctor Spencer T. Hall, and a mutually respectful friendship grew between them, so much so that they enjoyed intellectual discussions together and Charles had free use of the Doctor's library. Charles nursed a desire to return to China as a christian missionary, but his request was denied him by people who should have been more respectful of his race and wishes. He suffered from rheumatism, but bore his affliction with good humour and courage. Dr Hall described him thus: 'He was small in person, with the peculiar 'almond eyes' of his race, which were dark and animated; a tapering chin, a most lively and cheerful expression, and agreeable manners. He hungered and thirsted after useful (sic) knowledge, which he was very apt both in acquiring and re-communicating; was particularly fond of his family, and affable towards all who treated him with proper regard.' One imagines that to have known him would have been a rewarding experience.

He died on 24th September 1854 at the age of twenty-four and was buried in the graveyard at St James the Less, Osmaston. Both the church and the graves have now gone, Charles being reinterred at Nottingham Road Cemetery along with the other burials in a mass grave. The Hall had already been demolished, and the site together with the parkland is now occupied by the Osmaston Road Industrial Estate.

It might have been better for him had he been left in China to be cared for by his own people even as an orphan, for the Chinese are especially considerate to such. His gravestone survives and is inscribed: "Sacred to the memory of Charles Osmaston, native of China, who died September 24, 1854 aged 22 years". His age is incorrectly recorded.

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