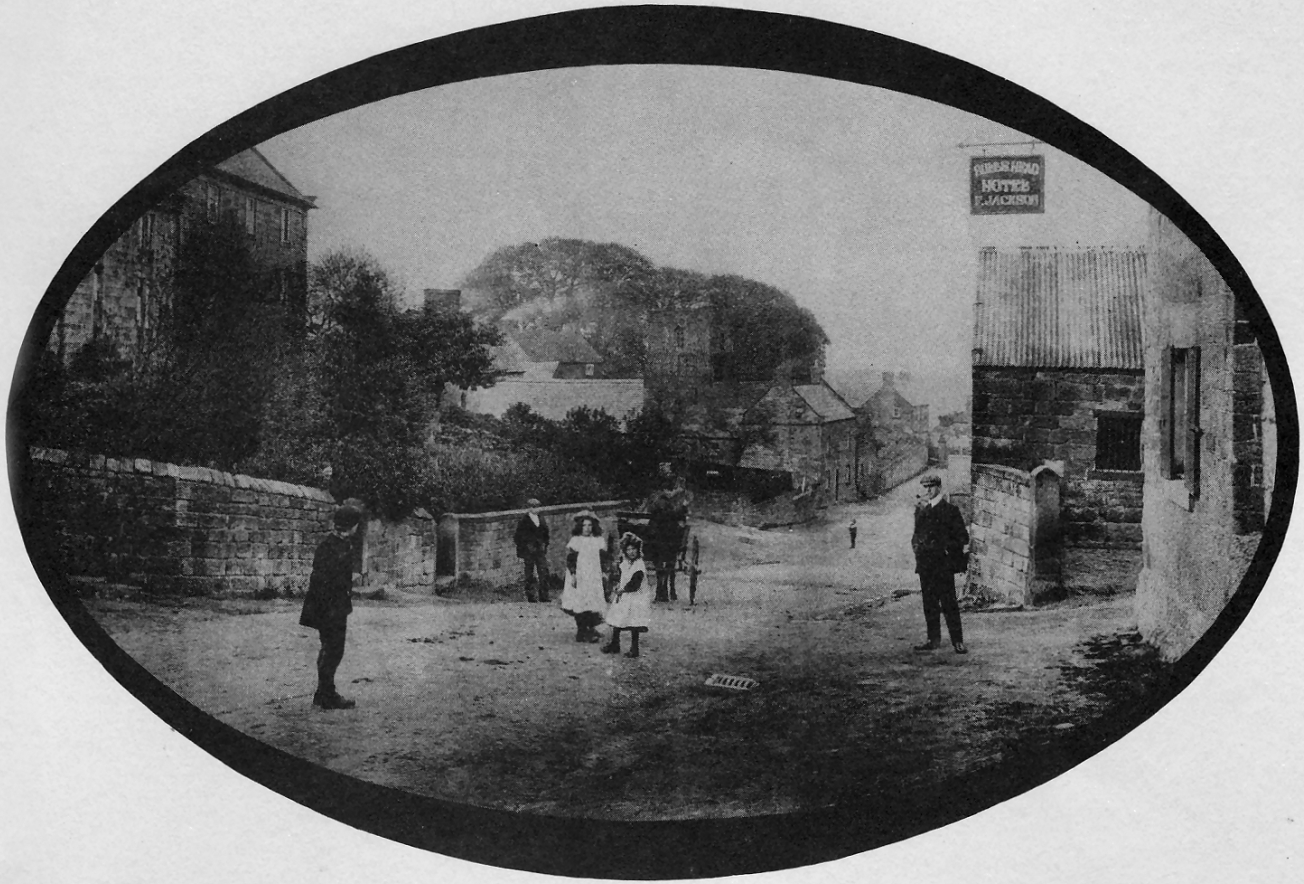


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*KIRK IRETON near WIRKSWORTH*

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## MEDIEVAL HOLDINGS OF BURTON ABBEY IN DERBY

### PART 2: THE EMERGENCE OF DERBY

(by Jane Steer)

#### SYNOPSIS

In the 8C Derby was a royal estate centre called Northworthy. Attached to this centre was a Minster, later known as St Alkmund's Church, and a trading settlement or 'wic' called Waldewike (in the area of modern Wardwick). Its fields were later known as St Werburgh's Parish and originally may also have included St Peter's Parish. The probable extent of the sites of Northworthy and Waldewike have been defined through interpretation of Tithe Award Maps and a map of Derby dated 1820-30. Historical, ecclesiastical and topographical evidence, together with that provided by the Domesday Book, has been examined and used to give a conjectural view of the emergence of 8C Northworthy into 11C Derby.

#### ADDITIONAL QUOTED SOURCES

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
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| FlW      | Florence of Worcester: 'A History of the Kings of England'   |
| Hart     | C.R. Hart: 'The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands'   |
| SSAHS    | South Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society Trans 1980-81, Vol XX11  |
| Hall     | R.A. Hall, Editor: 'Viking Age York and the North'   |
| Willis   | Rev R. Willis: 'The Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral'   |
| Rep(G/S) | H.M. Taylor: 'St Wystan's Church, Repton' (G) and 'Repton Studies 1-3' (S)   |
| Frazer   | W. Frazer: 'Parishes of Swarkeston and Stanton-by-Bridge'  |
| Werb     | N.J. Morley trans: 'The Life of St Werburg by Goscelin the Monk'   |
| Saints   | Michael Walsh, Ed: 'Butlers Lives of the Saints' - Concise Edition   |
| Craven   | Maxwell Craven: 'Derby - An Illustrated History' or information given.   |
| Farn     | Don Farnsworth: 'From Mearca to Clarke-Maxwell - a History of Markeaton and Mackworth'   |
| Stan     | M. Craven and M. Stanley: 'Carved in Bright Stone...' - six trails exploring Derbyshire's Anglo-Saxon and Norman architecture. |
| Haslam   | Jeremy Haslam: 'Early Medieval Towns in Britain'   |
| Staf     | Pauline Stafford: 'The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages'   |
| Rey      | Susan Reynolds: 'An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns'   |
| Wood     | Michael Wood: 'In Search of the Dark Ages'   |

In Part I of this article (DbMis Vol 11, pt 6), it was established that c1085-1135 the main holdings of Burton Abbey in Derby consisted of St Mary's Church, two vici and many carucates in Waldewike Strete. Three possible sites for vici on untithed areas were established at Waldewike, Doggelowe and the Hays; the carucates approximated to the later parish of St Werburgh and may also have

included St Peter's Parish. Uncertainty about the northern boundary of St Werburgh's Parish was clarified when a map of Derby c1820-30 (DLS) was found on which the parish boundaries were clearly identified and not confused with civil boundaries. Very surprisingly St Werburgh's parish boundary extended north of Markeaton Brook almost to the rear of the Local Studies Library (25a Irongate; at the end of the alley between nos 24 and 25 Irongate) and crossed Sadler Gate approximately halfway up its length (Map 1). This not only defined the northern limits of the parish but also the northern boundary of untithed area constituting Waldewike; Waldewike's southern boundary, the Bramble Brook, was already known from the Tithe Award Map. Because the juxtaposition of Waldewike's boundaries and those of the other town centre parish boundaries raised startling implications concerning the development of Derby before 1086, the proposed Part II on 12thC tenures will be held over to a later issue.

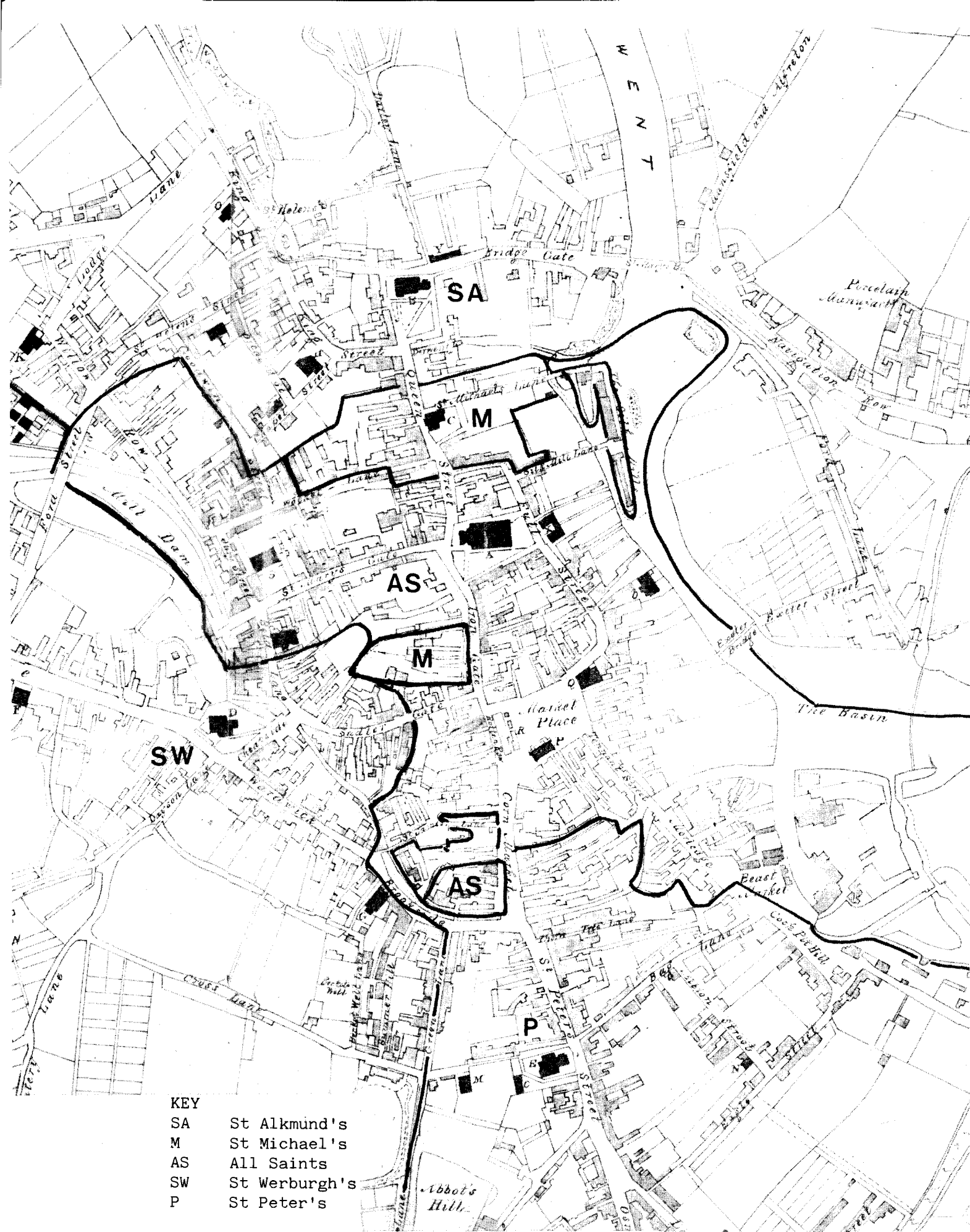
#### The evidence from the Tithe Award Maps and the 1820-30 map

The starting point for this article was information derived from the Tithe Maps of St Werburgh's and St Peter's Parishes and the 1820-30 map which was marked up to show the parish boundaries at that time. Untithed areas are found on Tithe Maps which often indicate land which formerly belonged to abbeys or kings. Parish boundaries were not determined generally until 10/12thC but many then remained fixed until the Dissolution of the Monasteries when monastic lands were taken into the hands of the King. In Derby this included holdings belonging to Burton Abbey, Darley Abbey, St James' Priory, St Mary de Pratis Nunnery, St Leonard's Priory and the Friary. Much of this land was returned to the churches and the townspeople by Catholic Queen Mary in 1555. New parishes were not formed in Derby until after 1830, so those on the 1820-30 map can be assumed to approximate the medieval boundaries.

From the Tithe Award Maps it can be deduced that St James' Priory was probably sited on the area near St James' Street belonging to St Peter's Parish. St Leonard's Priory appears as an untithed area in St Werburgh's Parish, as does the site of the Friary. William de Heriz's 12 acres of meadow on the Oddebroc can be seen clearly on the 1820-30 map as a detached portion of All Saints Church in the area of Nuns Street.

Because the parish boundaries are shown so clearly on the 1820-30 map and because most of these boundaries ran along property boundaries, much more information could be deduced about early Derby than is possible from the other maps drawn at this time, eg Swanwick and Rogerson 1819, Dawson 1835 (DLS), or on the 1852 Board of Health Map where ward boundaries become confused with parish boundaries. All these latter maps were consulted though and additional material obtained from them. Collation of all the available information on the inter-relationships between the various boundaries resulted in the emergence of several features associated with early settlements either on the land or adjacent to the land later held by medieval Burton Abbey in Derby (DbMis Vol 11 pt6)

The course of Markeaton Brook has either changed or been moved south deliberately because the northern boundary of St Peter's Parish is north of Markeaton Brook instead of running along the Brook. Originally the land between this parish boundary and the brook would have been marshland (Craven).



MAP 1: 1820-30 map showing parish boundaries



The northern boundary of Waldewike This is assumed to be identical to that of St Werburgh's Parish boundary because the Tithe Award map shows an untithed area south of the Markeaton Brook, bounded by the Bramble Brook, the northern boundary of which is not shown. The northern boundary shown on the 1820-30 map can be followed today in parts. For instance, starting from Markeaton Brook on the east side, the passage going to Vines Wine Bar in Sadler Gate (between nos 50-51) still retains the curve shown on the map, as do most of the properties on this side of Sadler Gate. At the entrance to this passage a plaque on the wall reading AS/SW marks the parish boundary between All Saints and St Werburgh's. Moving north St Michael's parish boundary runs along the northern side of George Yard. Where George Yard leaves Sadler Gate at its eastern end it rises slightly and then turns left, staying more or less level until it turns sharply left again into a relatively steep drop towards the western end of Sadler Gate (seen more easily on the 1852 map (BHM)). At the north-west corner of George Yard St Werburgh's and St Michael's parish boundaries both turn north towards the Local Studies Library. St Werburgh's parish boundary then turns south towards Bold Lane and Markeaton Brook, following a well-defined property boundary whilst St Michael's boundary turns east towards Irongate.

The royal estate centre The boundaries of the two parts of St Michael's Parish run more or less parallel to each other and the northerly intrusion of St Werburgh's Parish into All Saints Parish is far beyond the generally circular shape of the untithed area. This was so unexpected that immediately the question was raised: why?

The very fact that the boundaries of the two parts of St Michael's Parish are almost parallel implies they must have lain on either side of an area of land whose boundaries were determined at an earlier date. Again a line drawn between the western edges of the two parts of the parishes not only touches the most northerly point of St Werburgh's Parish but passes through or nearly adjacent to property boundaries on the way, forming the western boundary of an area of land. Although the fourth (eastern) side appears to be delineated by present day Full Street, it was more likely to have been the edge of the river terraces a few feet further west. The area enclosed by these suggested boundaries is approximately 4½ acres, remarkably similar in size to the 3½ acre Viking enclosure discovered at Repton by Martin Biddle (Daily Telegraph 27/2/89 p12). It is almost flat and surprisingly open for an urban centre instead of being filled with burgage plots like the southern end of Sadler Gate, no doubt because Georgian redevelopment would have swept away any medieval burgage boundaries on land not used by the 10C churches. However, even in 1599 (DbMis Vol 11 Pt6) the area between Walker Street and St Mary's Gate is remarkably underdeveloped.

It can be seen quite easily that the land shape looks just like an Anglo-Saxon burh and almost certainly, for reasons explained below, represents the site of the 7/8thC Anglo-Saxon royal estate centre known as Northworthy, the precursor of Danish Derby, rather than a Viking enclosure. It certainly belonged to the King for in 1086 the area contained St Mary's Church (granted by the King to Burton Abbey) and All Saints Church which was founded on the King's demesne.

The enclosure wall or passage leading from the Irongate entrance to the burh Because of the fall of the land on Irongate, which begins to slope down to Markeaton Brook from Amen Alley, the southern boundary of this estate centre is

probably not defined by the parish boundary of St Michael's but by the southern side of Amen Alley and the northern side of the alley going to the Local Studies Library. The narrow area between this latter alley and the parish boundary of St Michael's quite clearly opened out at some time into a broad open space opposite St Werburgh's Church. This is well defined by property boundaries and St Werburgh's parish boundary and originally had alleys running up each side of it: George Yard to the east which exists today and Bolt Alley to the west (Craven p47). This broad area, now occupied by Princes Store on Bold Lane, is quite flat and would have been a good place for a market (remembering that 'wics' were trading settlements). The higher, narrower, passage leading to Irongate could have represented a path outside the enclosure embankment leading to an entrance of the estate centre or the site of the embankment itself. On the northern side of the estate centre there is a kink in St Michael's boundary, apparently caused by another alley similar in size to that leading to the Local Studies Library.

It appears therefore that what has been defined by parish and property boundaries is a royal estate centre, Northworthy, with its attendant trading area or 'wic', Waldewike. The associated fields were known variously as 'carucates in Waldewike Strete' in 1116, St Werburgh's Parish from 1240 and the demense of the burgh in 1275. This relationship between royal estate centre or burh, wic and fields has been found to date from the 7/8thC and can be seen in other towns, eg Lincoln and its wic of Wigford (Staf p43), Rendlesham and Ipswich, Winchester and Hamwich (Southampton). The 'wics' were usually ports of trade for a kingdom, eg London (Lundenwic) and inland ones were often found on the borders of kingdoms, eg Cambridge between Mercia and East Anglia (Haslam p15).

As the land south of Markeaton Brook belonged to Northworthy and Waldewike, what was the relationship to this complex of the land north of the Brook which contained St Alkmund's Church, the site of the vicus of Little Chester (formerly the Roman fort Derventio on the eastern bank of the River Derwent), the fields on both sides of the Derwent which later formed St Alkmund's Parish, the medieval St Helen's Oratory and the site of the Roman Fort c50-80 in Strutt's Park.

The history of St Alkmund's Church and Parish is quite simple. Founded c800 or earlier, the minster church belonged to the King (DbDom). c1100 Henry I granted St Alkmund's Church and All Saints Church to the Cathedral Church of St Mary's at Lincoln. Later they were assigned to the Dean of Lincoln and there they remained until the Dissolution. Apart from 21 acres, St Alkmund's Parish (649 acres (Glover p407)) was tithe free in 1847, as was All Saints Parish.

St Alkmund's Church was demolished in 1967 and evidence from the excavations carried out at the time dated the first church to c800 (DAJ 1976 p56). However, William Worcestre, writing in 1477-80 (Itin p166) states that Westan, Ealdorman of Wiltshire fought against Alkmund, Saint and King of the Northumbrians, at Kempsford in 822 (ASC 800). Both men were killed. St Alkmund's body was rested in the old church at Lilleshall but later transferred by the faithful to Derby to the old church which the English used to call Whitechurch. This church, which was probably either built of timber and painted white or white stone (ref the first minster at York was built of timber by Edwin, King of Northumbria in 633 (Bede)) must have predated the church built in 800. Again, the Anglo-Saxon writer of 'The Resting Place of the Saints', c1000, stated that St Alkmund [rests] in the minster called Northworthy, beside the River Derwent (DAJ 1976



p60). In spite of the lack of agreement by two writers, one explanation could be that St Alkmund was taken to Whitechurch prior to the building of a stone church to house his shrine, the minster retaining the name of Northworthy beyond the Viking period (see below).

The bounds of the site of the minster are probably indicated by the roads surrounding the church in 1820-30 (Bridgegate, King Street, St Alkmund's Churchyard) because other paths or roads converge on each corner, eg road to Kedleston, property boundary line which when extrapolated went directly to the bottom of St Mary's Gate (before the County Courts were built) and a track to the causeway across the Derwent. The fourth corner forms a cross road with Bridgegate and Darley Lane. Again the northern part of St Michael's Parish almost completely occupies the area between the royal estate centre and St Alkmund's suggesting that originally it was probably an open area lying between the two enclosures.

Two field names may be associated with the Whitechurch: Whitefield (DAJ 1886 p17 'Feet of Fine 1226'), which has not been identified, and Whitecrossfield, commemorated by Whitecross Street, off Kedleston Road.

The known history of the Roman fort at Chester Green together with a summary of excavations and finds can be found in the Derbyshire Archaeological Journal for 1985 which is devoted to reports on recent excavations at both forts. Anglo-Saxon remains are scant at Little Chester but burials dating to 500-600 were found in the southeast defences (DAJ 1985 p301). The walls of the fort were being repaired c900 (DAJ 1974 p21).

The Prebends of All Saints had seven properties including three farms in Little Chester until 1535 (Valor) and even in 1755, when a land survey was made during the mayoralty of Robert Bakewell (DLS), the three main farmers holdings totalled 83, 83 and 93 acres respectively. The survey map also shows a large open space on the line of Mansfield Road (in the area of Chester Green) which could represent an earlier trading area.

To attempt to determine both the sequence of events in the development of Derby and whether an earlier territorial boundary did exist along the Markeaton Brook, it is necessary to examine briefly the history of Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia in the Midlands, which reached the zenith of its power and influence in the 7-9thC, the expansion of the early Church and the evidence provided by Domesday.

#### THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM OF MERCIA

England in the 7C was composed of many kingdoms, both small and large. Each was ruled by a king and the most powerful, to whom all other kings were subject, was called Bretwalda. Ultimate power was gained by conquest in battle and retained by a combination of strength of character, intermarriage between royal families and a degree of luck.

In 653 Mercia, based in the Midlands, was divided into two kingdoms by the River Trent: South Mercia with 5000 families and North Mercia with 7000

families (Bede). It was reigned over by the pagan King Penda of the royal race of the Mercians, a reign dominated by constant warfare with the Northumbrians. The Northumbrian Christian Kings, Edwin and Oswald, were defeated in 633 and 642 respectively before revenge was obtained by Oswald's brother, King Oswy. He defeated Penda in battle in 653 and cut off his head. Oswy converted the Mercians and the adjacent provinces to the Christianity and three years later gave the kingdom of South Mercia to Peada, the Christian son of Penda. Peada died the next year and following a rebellion against Oswy by the Mercian generals, Wulfhere, son of Penda, ruled Mercia for 17 years from 657-74.

Wulfhere, the first Christian King of the Mercians and the first Mercian Bretwalda established the episcopal see at Lichfield. He 'abolished and thoroughly eradicated the worship of idols from all parts of his dominions, caused the name of Christ to be preached in every corner of his Kingdom and built churches in many places' (FlW 675), an action mirroring that of King Cynegils in Winchester in 635 (Willis p4). He had close connections with St Wilfred whom he often called into Mercia for ordinations (SSAHS p27). St Wilfred himself founded monasteries in Mercia and administered the vacant see at Lichfield c691-703 (Saints p330). Wulfhere's daughter, St Werburgh, was given charge of Mercian convents by her uncle King Aethelred (716-57). By the end of Aethelred's reign the Mercians were supreme over the south of England, including London.

Following short reigns by Cenred and Coered, Mercia once again benefited from the long reigns of Aethelbald (716-57) and Offa (757-96). Offa, who was strong and innovative, established himself as the High King of England. He held power over all the land south of the Humber, including London with its revenues from the port tolls, and extending westwards to his vast earthwork 'Offa's Dyke' along the Welsh borders. He introduced silver coinage, was interested in education and established Tamworth (Tameworthig - the enclosure by the Tame) as the pre-eminent royal residence. The royal family spent Christmas here and a permanent treasury was established in the 9C. Written charters, which had been introduced into England by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury and St Wilfrid in the late 7C, were frequently brought to Tamworth for signing. Offa supported the church and was powerful enough to elevate of the bishopric at Lichfield to an archbishopric stretching from the Thames to the Humber (SSAHS p30). Brixworth church (Beorthicworthig - Beothric's enclosure (Ekwall); Beothric, King of Wessex, d801, m Eadburh dau of Offa (ASC)) with its ring-crypt may have been founded during Offa's lifetime.

It would seem significant that Derby was called Northworthy (Northworthig - North enclosure) at this time. Another Derbyshire town with Saxon connections is Wirksworth (8C Wirksworth Slab in the Church, traditionally thought to have been founded by Betti, one of the missionary priests brought to Mercia by Peada's wife) which even earlier had lead-mines worked by the Romans. Mackworth may have been founded in this period. Although it has no apparent Saxon connections, it was sited adjacent to the Roman road from Markeaton to Rocester and to the Mackworth Brook (Farn p68). The medieval house platforms can still be seen and footpaths lead from a T-shaped plot and its surrounding banks (Farn p70) to Vicarwood (OS map). Maybe an enclosure was built here to defend the approach to Derby and the rich agricultural land of Markeaton.

Throughout the 7/8C, Repton and Lichfield retained their eminence as religious

centres. Merewalh c686, Aethelbald and the later Mercian kings, Wiglaf d840 and his murdered grandson, St Wystan d849, were buried at Repton, the latter two in an ambulatory crypt (Staf p107, RepG p20, RepS2).

With the death of Offa in 796, the Mercians lost their ascendancy. Not only were they invaded by the Northumbrians in 800 when King Alkmund died at Kempsford (on the border between Gloucestershire and Wiltshire) and c801 by King Eardwulf of Northumbria (when peace was made on equal terms with the Mercians) (DAJ 1976 p55) but the overall power as Bretwaldas passed to the West Saxons. They, in turn, lost their overall ascendancy with the coming of the Vikings even though Alfred (871-899) became known as the King of the English.

### The Viking Period

The first record of the Vikings in Derbyshire was in 874-5 when they overwintered in Repton. With the subsequent division of power between the Saxons and the Vikings along Watling Street, Mercia was divided into two parts. North Mercia became subject to Danelaw, ie ruled by army councils with their own lawmen and merchant class, and Northworthy became a Viking frontier town (Staf p61) known as Derby (Stenton p234). By 942 Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham and Stamford were collectively known as the Five Boroughs (ASC).

Derby remained solely under Viking rule for about 45 years until 917 when Aethelfaeda, Lady of the Mercians, captured Derby and all the region it controlled. Four of her thanes were slain within the gates (ASC) though whether these were the gates of the burgh of Derby or the refortified fort at Little Chester is not known. For the next 23 years, until the death of the Saxon King Athelstan in 940, Derby, still a frontier town but on the opposite side, grew in prosperity as shown by its mint which was locally pre-eminent, second only to the major Mercian mint at Chester (Staf p44). For the mint to become pre-eminent so quickly after Derby's capture by Aethelfaeda probably indicates that Derby was already a wealthy trading centre possessing some of the urban characteristics essential for controlling its surrounding region.

Peace however was not long lasting for in 940 the York Vikings, under Anlaf Guthfrithsson, again gained control of the Five Boroughs. Soon afterwards coins using York dies with Anlaf's name on one side and the old Athelstan Derby dies on the other were being struck in Derby (Hall p28). This time the Viking occupation of Derby was shortlived for King Edmund of the Saxons recaptured the Five Boroughs in 942 (ASC). However, Derby's mint, though still extant under Walkelin the moneyer c1135-54, declined in importance whilst other mints such as Lincoln's became pre-eminent.

From this time onwards Derby never regained the status it had held for over 200 years firstly as an royal administrative and trading centre for the North Mercians under Offa and probably the earlier Anglo-Saxon kings, secondly as a Viking frontier town and thirdly as an Anglo-Saxon frontier town with an important mint during Athelstan's reign. Events seemed to pass it by and apart from being captured again by the Vikings under King Swein in 1013 (ASC), Derby declined in importance so much that by the time the Domesday Book was compiled in 1086 it had become attached to Nottingham for judiciary purposes.

## THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCHES

Because archaeological evidence for early Anglo-Saxons in the area surrounding Derby is sparse (the main finds have been 6C graves at Little Chester, a 6C settlement of three Grubenhaus and some pits at Willington (DAJ 1979 p125ff) and a pagan burial at Swarkestone (DAJ 1955 p127, 135)) the sites and dedications of churches extant at Domesday were examined to find out whether they reflected the spread of Christianity and the influence of the various phases of the history of the North Mercians (map 4).

With the rebirth of Christianity in 653, Repton was the centre for missionary bishops but in 669 Lichfield was chosen as the site of the principal Mercian bishopric by Wulfhere and Chad appointed as its first bishop. Chad's cathedral was at nearby Stowe where he was buried in 672 for Lichfield Cathedral, built to accommodate his shrine, was not begun until c700. For a brief period, at the instigation of Offa, Lichfield was elevated to an archbishopric between 788-803. From then on, until the see was removed to Chester in 1075, Lichfield, though still a focus for pilgrims, declined in importance due to the loss of its royal benefactors (SSAHS p24-34).

It has been shown in the brief history of the Mercians that during the 7/9C Christianity was first encouraged by the Mercian royal family and then used as a symbol of power by the Mercian and Northumbrian royal families. Throughout the era, sanctification was bestowed not only on people of importance ecclesiastically, eg St Werburgh, St Wilfrid and St Chad, but also on battle leaders and kings, eg Wystan, Oswald and Alkmund. Table 1 on pages 12 and 13 lists churches with Saxon remains and/or dedications to Anglo-Saxon saints. Whilst not in the immediate area, Wirksworth, Blackwell and Darley Dale churches are also included because each has a feature common to those found in Derby.

All these churches are sited near to rivers or watercourses, usually on low level ground just above flood level, and attached to settlements associated with river crossings. Ferries existed in 1909 at Twyford and Weston, bridges at Derby and roads in 1909 suggest earlier crossings at Alvaston, Spondon and Barrow (see map 4). Again Anglo-Saxon churches were often founded on pagan religious sites associated with holy wells. St Alkmund's Derby, St Helen's Derby and Etwall, St Oswald's Ashbourne and St Wystan's, Repton are all sited near or over wells or running water. In addition Repton Church has a Saxon crypt, St Oswald's a Norman one and St Alkmund's, Derby a shrine.

All the churches in the Derby area with Mercian connections are sited along the Trent Valley or the Derwent Valley below Derby whilst those with Northumbrian connections are north of the Trent Valley (map 4). Whilst not proven, the conclusion could be drawn that the dedications of Anglo-Saxon churches, if not the foundations of the churches themselves, reflect those in power at any given time.

Whilst St Werburgh, St Wilfrid, St Wystan and St Chad (at Wilne) have direct connections either by birth or ecclesiastically with the Mercian royal family, St Oswald and St Alkmund were members of the Northumbrian royal family. So why was St Alkmund's shrine in Derby and why was Oswald moved from Bardney (Lincs) to Mercia in 907? In the case of St Alkmund, one possible explanation could be

TABLE 1: ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS AND CHURCHES

SAINT	SAINT'S HISTORY	CHURCH	SITE	ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS
St Oswald d 642	Oswald, Christian King of Northumbria. Bretwalda. m. Cyneburga, dau of Cynegils, 1st Christian King of Wessex. Died in battle with Penda, who was later killed by his bro. King Oswy. Oswald's body translated from Bardney to Mercia in 907	Ashbourne	Henmore Brook, confluence of River Dove; v	Saxon cross shaft, originally Saxon minster, remains of of a crypt found in 1913, water of con- siderable depth in well-like shape divined under centre of tower crossing (Church Guide 1983)
St Werburgh d c699	Dau. Wulfhere, 1st Christian King of Mercia. Given charge of Mercian convents by her uncle, King Ethelred. Became a nun 673. Buried at Hanbury. Veneration lasted till time of the Danes (Werb)	Derby  Blackwell	Markeaton Brook nr R. Derwent; v  e	Anglian cross; probably sited in pre-Christian enclosure; pre-Norman remnants in Church before rebuilt. (Cox 1 p93)  Cross shaft fragment (Stan p27) Church burnt down in 14thC.
St Wilfred b 634, d 709	Bishop of York. Often called into Mercia by King Wulfhere to ordain. Administered vacant see of Lichfield c691-703 at request of King Ethelred. In 709 made visitation of Mercian monasteries which he had founded.	Barrow Egginton	R. Trent; v R. Trent & R.Dove confluence; v	
St Alkmund d 802	King of the Northumbrians. Killed in battle at Kemsford. Later histories state variously his remains were removed to the old church in Derby called White- church or removed to shrine in the minster called Northworthy beside River Derwent.	Derby  Duffield	R. Derwent; e  R. Derwent; v	9C sarcophagus found during excavations (DAJ 1976 p45,55) 9-10C Saxon shafts; stone church c800.

St Wystan murdered 849	Son of King Wigmund, grandson of King Wiglaf 827-840. Wiglaf and Wystan buried in mausoleum crypt at Repton (FLW 850).	Repton	R. Trent; e, v	Monastery at Repton pre-700. Saxon crypt and church fabric (RepS1-3). Baptistery built over running water.
St Michael		Alvaston	R. Derwent; v	Anglo-Saxon sepulchral slab found under church tower. Chad's 1st church at Lichfield named after St Michael; the Archangel Michael was dedication used by the Celtic Church (SSAHS p29).
Blessed Virgin Mary		Wirksworth	R. Ecclesbourne; v	Tradition states it was founded by Betti, one of the missionary priests in 657. Wirksworth Slab 9/10C (DAJ 1987 p40).
		Heston-on-Trent	R. Trent; v	
St Helen d c330	m. Roman General, later Caesar, Constantius Chlorus. Their son, Constantine, legalised Christianity throughout the Roman Empire in 313. Following her conversion that year, St Helen founded numerous churches and built 2 basilicas, one on the Mount of Olives and one at Bethlehem (Saints p253).	Derby Etwall	R. Derwent; e	Maybe Saxon arch; stone originally part of Celtic Cross reused in window (Church Guide)
		Darley Dale	R. Derwent; v	

v: valley; e: eminence - usually slight and always near a water course

that the peace terms between King Eardwulf of Northumbria and King Ceonulf of the Mercians in 801 resulted in North Mercia being annexed to Northumbria. Royal saints, their shrines and cults were one of the ways in which Saxon kings emphasised their power. Thus the Mercian royal mausoleum at Repton was remodelled after Wystan's death in 849 and St Alkmund's shrine could have been founded in Derby to underline the overlordship of the Northumbrians.

One more church dedication, though of Roman origin not Anglo-Saxon, is associated with the early church in the Derby area: that of St Helen (see Table 1). Etwall and Darley Dale churches existed at Domesday and it is probably correct to assume that St Helen's in Derby, although first mentioned in the Darley Cartulary (DC p638) as the pre-cursor of Darley Abbey, had also been founded by 1066. On the other hand it may have been founded in the 12C by the then owner of the church dedicated to St Helen's at Darley Dale, hence the name given to Darley Abbey rather than Derby Abbey (cf Tutbury, Lenton, Burton, Dale, etc). Darley Dale belonged to the King in 1086 and Etwall to Henry de Ferrars. Though there is no evidence apart from the dedication, it is tempting to suggest that the foundation of churches dedicated to St Helen's were originally of Roman origin. Although Darley Dale church is sited in a river valley, those at Etwall and Derby were built on slight eminences, the latter near to the Roman road to Little Chester (map 5).

There is one other feature concerning churches and their later parishes which could be significant when related to early land holdings. On map 4 it can be seen that Spondon (St Werburgh) and its chapelry of Chaddesden are adjacent to east Derby and that Duffield (St Alkmund) is adjacent to north Derby, only separated in 1066 by Quarndon and Little Eaton which belonged to Derby St Alkmund and Allestree which belonged to the Earl of Chester. The retention of Allestree by the King till a later date was probably due to the defensive importance of the long distance views in all directions (as far as the Charnwood Forest to the south) that can be obtained from Woodlands Road, which could explain why it was described as 'waste' at Domesday.

This evidence appears to suggest an earlier link between the Derby churches of St Werburgh's and St Alkmund's with Spondon and Duffield respectively, either in land ownership or a land grant to support the early church (ref Winchester where the whole of the land for seven miles around the city was granted by the King in 635 for the establishment of the episcopal seat and the maintenance of the monks (Willis p4)). This appears to be emphasised by the dedication of the later chapelry church at Chaddesden to St Mary, if it is accepted that St Mary's in Derby was a 10/11C foundation on the former royal estate centre linked to St Werburgh's in Derby in a similar way to which Derby All Saints, founded in the 10/11C was linked to St Alkmund's, and the classification of the Manor of Spondon as 'ancient demesne' in 1272 (Yeat 2, III p51)

This hypothesis can be extended further as it is known that churches dedicated to St Michael in Derby and Alvaston had a relationship which lasted until the 18th century. Other churches dedicated to St Michael - Stanton-by-Bridge church (not mentioned in 1066 but has Saxon 'long and short' work in the nave (Frazer p7)) and Melbourne - are also found to the south east of Derby. Again churches dedicated to All Saints are found mainly to the west of Derby (Mickleover - not mentioned in Domesday but extant by 1086, Brailsford and Mackworth. Mackworth

was also listed as waste at Domesday, maybe again because of an earlier defensive role (see p9)), though Breadsall is to the northwest of Derby.

One area which does not fit into this pattern is Weston-on-Trent which had two churches at Domesday, probably those dedicated today to the Blessed Virgin Mary at Weston (West ton) and All Saints at Aston-on-Trent (East ton).

Overall if the dedications of the 37 churches extant in South Derbyshire (south of a line drawn approximately from Ashbourne to Duffield to Heanor), including St Mary's Derby are analysed, 2 are dedicated to St Helen, 11 to Anglo-Saxon saints, 5 to St Michael, 9 to All Saints and 10 to others. This again tends to suggest that church dedications could have been related to land ownership and the period and circumstances under which the church was founded and/or dedicated. Historically, the Church, not laymen, first obtained permanent possession of land by charter from the King. Laymen were not granted the privilege of holding land by hereditary right until the 8C, previously they were dependent upon royal favour (Stenton p301). More definite conclusions could possibly be derived from examination of the situation in other towns founded both on the King's demesne and within the sphere of an early centre for the spread of Anglo-Saxon christianity.

#### THE EVIDENCE FROM THE DOMESDAY BOOK 1066-86

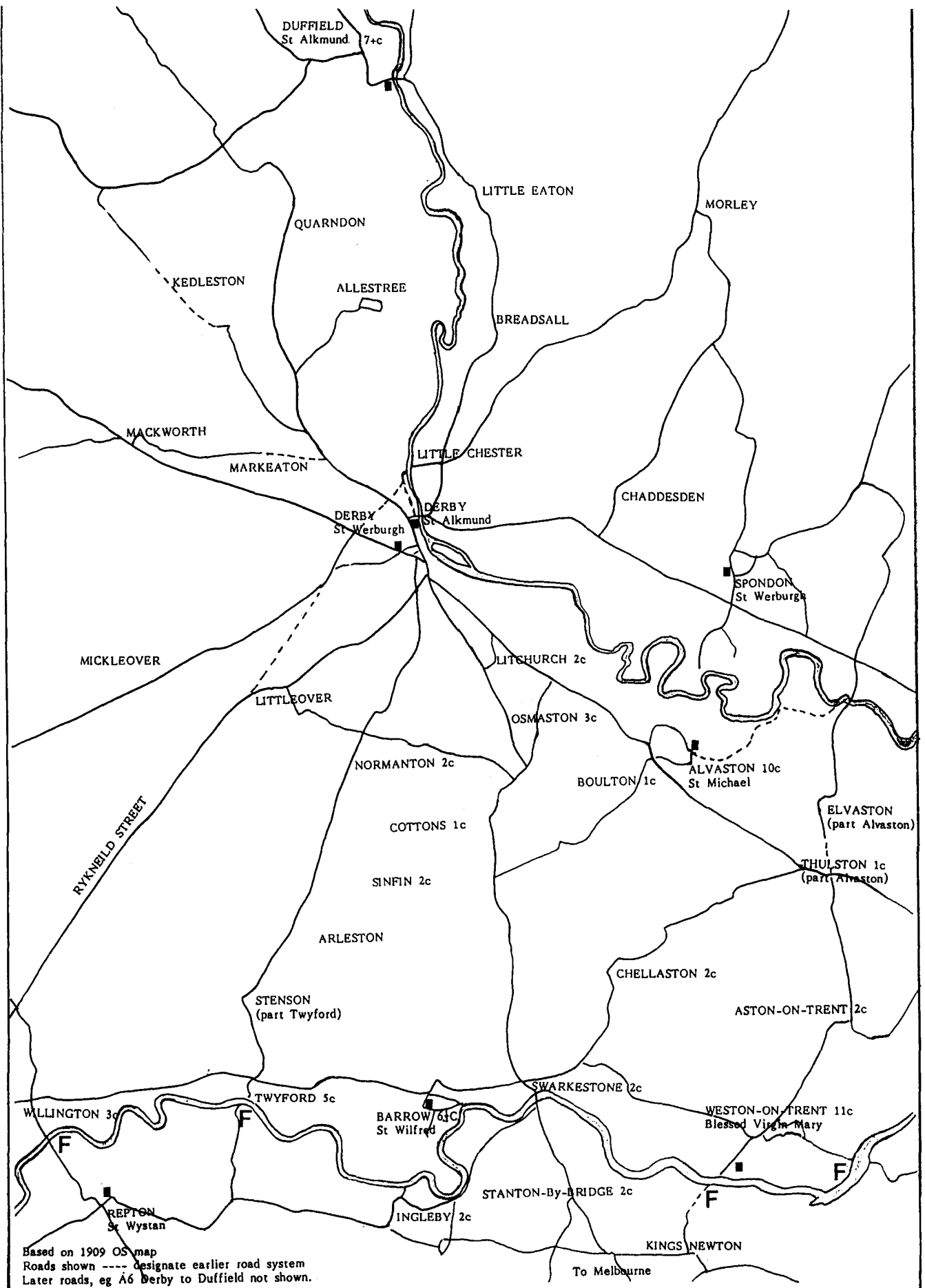
According to the Domesday Book, in 1086 Derby was a borough with 140 burgesses, six churches, 10 mills, the Abbot of Burton's property and 13 mansurae owned by the King, the Earl of Chester and Henry de Ferrars. 12 carucates which were attached to Derby could be ploughed by eight ploughs but in 1066 they were divided between 41 burgesses who also had 12 ploughs. (Note: a hundred = 12 carucates = 1 vill in 13thC) Two of the churches, All Saints and St Alkmund's, were built on the King's demesne and held land freely in Little Chester, Quarn-ton and Little Eaton.

Domesday also gives specific information about two areas of land, Little Chester and Litchurch, both of which were outside but adjacent to Derby's boundaries. They were both two carucates in size and owned by the King. Little Chester remained in the King's hands until granted to All Saints pre-1066 and Litchurch until it was exchanged with Peter de Sandiacre III for Horsley Castle in c1200. Whilst the whole of Derby was founded on the King's royal demesne, the impression given is that anciently these two areas must have been of particular importance.

Little Chester, to the north of Derby, was in Roman occupation c75-350. Its intermediate history is unknown, apart from the strengthening of the walls c900, but current excavations are expected to provide some further evidence.

Not much is known about early Litchurch. Today Litchurch Lane runs between two major roads into Derby: London Road and Osmaston Road. On the Tithe Map of Litchurch, this lane has a definite bend halfway along its length indicating that at some time it was diverted to pass round an early farm, settlement or centre. This may have been the house belonging to Richard de Sandiacre, Peter de Sandiacre III's son, in 1236 (DC Axliiii, DAJ 1886 p34) but could equally well





MAP 3: Settlements c1066 and churches with Anglo-Saxon dedications or artefacts

TABLE 2

DB Ref	PLACE	1066			PLOU 1086 HOLDER	1086			CHURCH
		LAND Car	Bov	Total		LAND State	DEMESNE PLOUGHS	OTHER PLOUGHS	
9.1	Alvaston, Amb, Elv	10		10	14	Alsclin G de	2	15	1
9.1	Alvaston, Amb, Elv					Man at arms hb	1		
6.93	Aston on Trent	1	2.5J	2		Ferrers, Henry			Uhtbrand 2.5b J
1.38	Aston, Shardlow		6.5			King	1	1	B of Weston
1.38	Aston, Shardlow					Uhtbrand hb			
1.19	Barrow on Trent		12.5	6.5		King			O Melbourne, J Scarsdale
6.82	Barrow on Trent	3.5				Ferrers, Henry	Waste 4 ox		
10.26	Barrow on Trent		12			Hubert Ralf f		.5	1
10.19	Boulton	1		1	2	Hubert Ralf f	1	1	
1.19	Chellaston	1	4	2		King			O Melbourne, J Scarsdale
6.84	Chellaston		4		.5	Ferrers, Henry	Waste		
6.84	Chellaston					Almaric hb	Waste		
1.19	Cottons		4	1		King			O Melbourne, J Scarsdale
6.89	Cottons		4	1		Ferrers, Henry		1	
1.26	Ingleby		3	2	4ox	King		1	J Repton
10.23	Ingleby	1+1/6c			1.5	Hubert Ralf f	1	1	
14.5	Ingleby		3		40x	Nigel of Stafford		.5	J Foremark
1.19	Normanton b D	1		2		King			O Melbourne, J Scarsdale
6.91	Normanton b D		6	1		Ferrers, Henry	1		
6.91	Normanton b D					Almaric hb			
6.91	Normanton b D		2			Ferrers, Henry			belongs to Twyford
1.19	Osmaston b D	2	2	3		King			O Melbourne, J Scarsdale
6.88	Osmaston b D		3	1		Ferrers, Henry	1		Taxes: 2d King, 1d Ferrers
6.89B	Osmaston b D		3			Ferrers, Henry			belongs to Cotton
6.90	Sinfin	2c		2	1	Ferrers, Henry	1	1	
6.90	Sinfin					William hb			
17.22	Stanton by Bridg	1.5		1.5	2	Ernwy		4.5	
17.23	Stanton by Bridge		2pt1			Ernwy			Lies in Stanton lands
1.19	Swarkeston	1		2		King			O Melbourne, J Scarsdale
6.83	Swarkeston	1		1		Ferrers, Henry	1	1	
6.81	Thulston	1		1		Ferrers, Henry	Waste		
6.81	Thulston					Alsclin G de hb			
1.22	Ticknall	2	2+2p1b	4	2	King		1	S of Repton
3.7	Ticknall		5+1/3p1			Abbot of Burton	1	1	
14.6	Ticknall	1		1		Nigel of Stafford	1	1	J Repton (King)
6.86	Twyford/Stenson	4		5	3	Ferrers, Henry	2	1	
6.87	Twyford/Stenson	1		1		Ferrers, Henry	Waste		
1.17	Weston-on-Trent	2pt2c		11		King			B of Walton on Trent
1.37	Weston on Trent	10	2.5	10?		King	3	12	2
10.20	Willington	3		3	4	Hubert Ralf f		4	Ferry 13.33d

## KEY

J = Jurisdiction  
O = Outlier  
B = Berewick  
S = Soke

have been some earlier settlement.

Both these two carucates occupy lowlying, fairly flat land near to the River Derwent and both were probably allied to defensive sites on higher ground, for instance the Roman fort on Belper Road or the site of St Alkmund's Church in the case of Little Chester and today's Little City, the medieval site of the Haye (DbMis Vol 11, pt 6) in the case of Litchurch. Evidence for some kind of defensive role for Little City is suggested by the bodies, bones and arms found when the hill on the western side of Osmaston Road was cut down (Glover II p372). The agricultural lands supporting Little Chester and Litchurch could be represented by present day St Alkmund's and St Werburgh's/St Peter's Parishes. One possible suggestion is that at some time before Northworthy/Derby existed, Little Chester and Litchurch may have acted as administration centres. This may possibly be substantiated by the use of Litchurch as a Wapentake name (Yeat 2, III p34), especially as the shires of the eastern Midlands took their names from the place where the Viking army met for deliberation in peace and concentrated in war (Stenton p338).

Curiosity about the King's ownership of Little Chester and Litchurch in two carucate blocks led to the analysis of the ownership and size of all the 'ton' names between Derby and the River Trent. This is the only area around Derby, apart from Little Eaton, Allestree, Quarndon and Mackworth, where the land was divided into small blocks. The results of this analysis, which eventually included all the holdings, is given in Table 2. The most surprising fact to emerge was that at some time most of the original land had been broken up into holdings which varied in size between 1 and 3 carucates.

However, even by 1066, although the bounds of the original holdings were still recognised by the Domesday compilers, changes had taken place. Some holdings had become split between several landholders and others had lost land to neighbouring holdings. The other significant point is that all the holdings, whether manors, berewicks or sokes, were all on or adjacent to important routes. Barrow and Alvaston had early Saxon churches and Weston on Trent two churches, one of which was probably early Saxon. Their villages were all built on the edge of the flood plain of either the Trent or the Derwent, with the churches sited near the boundary nearest to the river. In the case of Weston, the church today is quite detached from the village centre, being built on the road leading to one of the two ferry crossings (OS 1909). Twyford too had a ferry and in 1909 (OS map) footpaths and minor roads indicate that ferries could at some time have operated at Alvaston (to Spondon or Borrowash) and Barrow (to Ingleby).

The majority of these small holdings situated near Derby, apart from Boulton and Willington held by Ralf f Hubert, are shared by the King and other holder(s), usually Henry de Ferrars in 1086. In 1066 the situation was very similar apart from Weston on Trent, held solely by Earl Algar, and Aston on Trent and Ticknall where Earl Algar again held the portion later held by the King.

By comparison the other 1086 estates adjacent to Derby have much larger manorial cores. Discounting land belonging to their berewicks, Mickleover and Markeaton were the largest with 10 carucates and 9½ carucates respectively, followed by Duffield (7 carucates) and Spondon and Breadsall (5 carucates each).

Some information is available from Anglo-Saxon Charters about land ownership at the beginning of the 11thC. For instance, Burton Abbey held charters for this part of South Derbyshire to substantiate its possession of Weston on Trent together with its southern berewicks of Morley and Ingleby, of 5 hides at Ovre (both previously held c1009 by Morcar, a close relative of Wulfric Spot - after Morcar's murder in 1015 his estates were seized by Edmund Ironside (Hart p347)), and of Breadsall and Ticknall (Wulfric Spot's will). Alvaston, which also belonged to Wulfric Spot in 1004, was willed to Wulfheah, the son of Ealdorman Aelfhelm of Southern Northumbria (Hart p367)

The analysis of entries in the Domesday Book for the land between Derby and the Trent shows that what must originally have been a simple system of land division had become fragmented and complex over the years. For instance, in Osmaston by Derby the King held 2 carucates, 2 bovates as an outlier of Melbourne with jurisdiction in Scarsdale; Henry de Ferrars held 3 bovates from the King with taxes being paid in the proportion of 2 parts to the King and 1 part to Henry (as in Derby) and finally Henry de Ferrars held another 3 bovates which in 1086 belong to Cottons. 8 bovates make one carucate so the original size of Osmaston must have been three carucates.

Normanton is similarly complex with one carucate belonging to the King as an outlier of Melbourne, six bovates belonging to Henry to Ferrars and another two bovates which by 1066 are attached to Twyford. In this case the total is two carucates.

Melbourne, which was a King's manor in 1066 and 1086, had sokes in Barrow, Swarkestone, Chellaston, Osmaston by Derby, Cottons and Normanton. Domesday tells us that jurisdiction for all the sokes belonged to Scarsdale Wapentake, which suggests that in 1066 the King's Manor of Newbold, just outside Chesterfield but in Scarsdale Wapentake, was more important to the King than Derby.

Although this land between Derby and the Trent may have been split up into small estates for defence purposes by the Vikings, the preponderance of 'ton' names suggests that it is more likely to have been a 8/9thC Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. (Stenton p301-3, Gelling p183-5). One problem which must have occurred when defending early royal estate centres must have been the provisioning and housing of troops. The formation of many small holdings of 120-240 acres would have provided bases for Mercian ealdormen and their men, either permanently or occasionally. It also appears significant that the land used is to the west of the River Derwent and north of the River Trent, the latter being the boundary of the North Mercians (Bede 653).

Similar land holdings with a 1-3 carucate taxable value, again often with split ownership between the King and others, are also found outside Newbold (Barlow, Beighton, Brampton, Dore, Killamarsh, Norton, Tapton, Tupton and Unstone), near Ashbourne (Ednaston and Snelston) and adjacent to Sawley (Breaston and Risley).

In the mid-10thC, a regional system of defence known as the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs (Roffe DAJ 1986 p103) existed as a territorially based tithing. This was dissolved in the early 11thC but had itself superseded an earlier 10thC burghal system.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF DERBY

Gradually, the evidence has produced a picture of the way in which Derby may have developed between the 4-11C, from the Roman occupation until William the Conqueror donated St Mary's Church, the carucates in Waldewike Strete and two vici to Burton Abbey pre-1086. Of necessity, some of the ideas based on church dedications, the spread of christianity in the 7/8C in adjacent parts of Derbyshire and the interpretation of the Domesday evidence are, to a certain extent, conjectural. But when allied to the topographical scene, the historical sequence of events, the evidence of the 1820-30 map, street names and the situation shown to exist in the 11/12C in Part I of this article, a plausible hypothesis can be suggested. Although there is currently a lack of archaeological evidence in Derby, apart from that derived from the excavations of St Alkmund's Church, Philip Riden suggests in his analysis of early Chesterfield (DbMis Vol 8 pt2) that there may have been a similar early enclosure on the south facing spur above the Rother Valley. Further substantiation may only be obtained from analyses of other Derbyshire towns such as Ashbourne, Repton, Wirksworth and Bakewell and those in neighbouring counties such as Burton, Stafford and Nottingham. However most of these towns did not have a continuous history dating from the Romans.

The hypothesis for the emergence of Northworthy into Derby is presented in four stages which equate to the major historical events and show how it might have appeared at the end of the 4C, the middle of the 8C, c900 and during the mid 10C-mid 11C.

### Derwentio: Roman late 4C map 5

At this time the Roman occupation of the fort at Little Chester was coming to its end. A vicus occupied by the civilian population had existed since c150. Pottery kilns and mausolea in the cemetery (DAJ 1985 p301) indicate both industrial activity and a degree of wealth and status amongst either the military or civilian population. Chester Green, which is shown as a large open space on the 1755 survey map, may represent an early trading area. St Helen's may have existed as an early Roman church. Rykniel Street connected Derby to Wall and Chesterfield and other roads ran to Rocester, Burton and Sawley (DAJ 1985 p8). South of the Markeaton Brook the site of the Haye (Little City) overlooking the Derwent Valley may have been in use and the later history of Derby suggests there may have been a territorial boundary running along the Markeaton Brook.

### Northworthy: Anglo-Saxon late 8C: maps 3, 6

When the Romans left Little Chester c400, the organised military force left too. The fort left behind beside the bridge over the River Derwent was in an exposed position, more suited to controlling the native population than defence. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, had no professional military force and were as likely to be defending their major settlements as attacking neighbouring kingdoms. They needed sites which were locally inaccessible but regionally accessible (Haslam p14). On the other side of the River Derwent, nearly opposite to Little Chester was just such a site. It lay on a slight eminence, on a

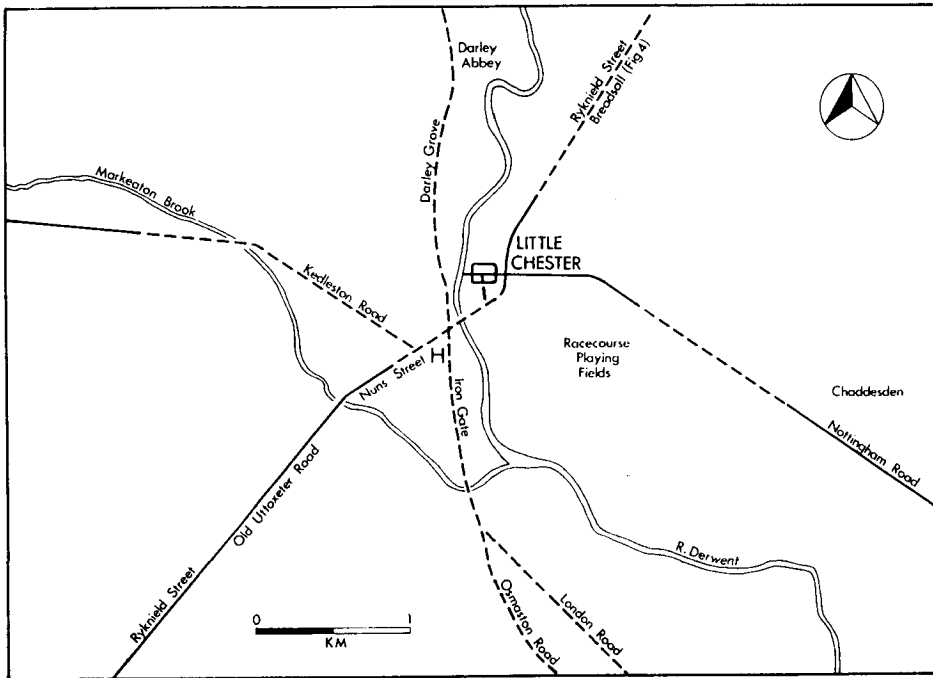
neck of land approximately 20ft above the River Derwent to the east, bounded by the Oddebroc (Markeaton Brook) to the south and west and probably some marshy land at the south-eastern confluence. Attackers from the north would have had to either cross the Derwent from the east or travel through the more difficult terrain of the hilly country to the west of the Derwent. The site was more vulnerable to attack from the south which may explain why so much of the land was granted out in small blocks, with larger grants near other river crossings on the Derwent and the Trent.

This then is where the Mercians founded the royal estate centre of Northworthy and its minster in its separate enclosure. The complex also included the trading settlement or 'wic' and the supporting agricultural fields which were to the south of Markeaton Brook. Part of the trading settlement or 'wic', Walde-wike, was founded on flat land bounded by the Bramble Brook and the south-western bank of the Markeaton Brook. It was almost totally encircled by water and the unnatural right angles in the course of Bramble Brook suggest that it might have been diverted to form a moat - the obvious course would have been straight down Curzon Street. Today's Wardwick probably represents the site of the road running through the middle of Waldewike, especially as the house plots are at right angles to the road. Markeaton Brook may have run along the present St Peter's Parish boundary at this time with St James's Lane representing a path along the original course connecting the end of Wardwick to the north/south spine road (now the Cornmarket in this area).

The market place (or maybe even a dock) of the 'wic' was probably founded on another flat site, now occupied by Princes, opposite St Werburgh's Church on the other side of Markeaton Brook but still in St Werburgh's Parish. (Cheapside was unlikely to have been a market place as the name was first recorded in the Borough Minutes (Craven).) Two paths probably ran along each side of this area: Bolt Alley to the west and George Yard (still extant) to the east. George Yard at this time might have led to another path going to the entrance to the estate centre on Irongate. Another track, leading from the southern end of St Mary's Gate to the minster enclosure may represent a path used to reach the minster from Waldewike. The fields supporting this complex were later known as St Werburgh's Parish and may also have included St Peter's Parish at this time.

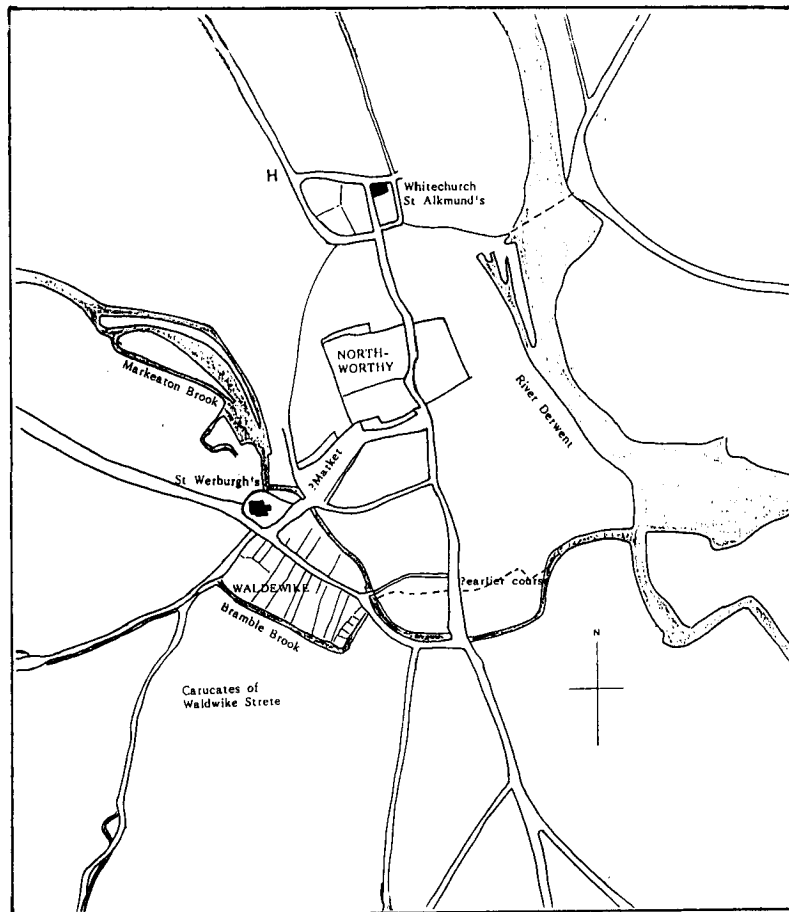
Like other early Saxon churches, the churches attached to Northworthy and Waldewike: the minster (Whitechurch, St Alkmund's) and St Werburgh's, were sited adjacent to water crossings. Both these sites were obviously chosen very carefully, though whether for the convenience of priests, congregations, travellers or defensive purposes is not known. No doubt both the churches and any standing cross could have been seen for miles.

The evidence for these sites was revealed by interpretation of the Tithe Award Maps, the 1820-30 map and the land holdings of Burton Abbey in the 11/12C. It has already been shown that this phenomenon of estate centre/'wic'/fields dates from the 8C. Place-name evidence suggests that Northworthy, like Tamworth, was founded by Offa (757-96). Maybe the name arose from its connection with the North Mercians, ie the North Mercian's enclosure, for with a population of 7000 families in 653 it must have had an administrative headquarters to control its region (p10). Again the arrangement of estate centre and minster is very similar to the reconstruction of Offa's 8C Tamworth (Wood p89) and the West Saxon's



M. Brassington (DAJ 1981)  
Amended to show site of medieval St Helen's: H

MAP 5: Derwentio: Roman late 4C



MAP 6: Northworthy and Waldewike: Anglo-Saxon late 8C





(Haslam p12). The presence of the 'wic' Waldewike (which probably means the 'wic' of the enclosure not wood (DbMis Vol 11 Pt6)) indicates that Northworthy also had a trading function as an inland port. This importance as a trading centre tends to be confirmed by the fact that Derby had a 'portmannemot' in the 12C (DC B6), instead of a Burhgemot (Borough Moot) as in other towns, for 'port' was an Anglo-Saxon term for a trading centre, originally defended (Craven p28). Waldewike faced southwest towards Tamworth and Northworthy could therefore be reached without crossing the River Derwent. Even today Derby turns its back on the River Derwent instead of using it as a central feature.

Roads, commonly used for transport by the Romans, had been superseded by water transport before the 8C (Rey p26). Merchants using water transport could reach Northworthy along both the River Derwent and the Markeaton Brook. The latter would have been much deeper before the building of a culvert between the Brook and the River Derwent at Darley Abbey (height of the banks in the Brook Street area). Very large Viking boats, such as the Gokstad ship which was 76½ft long and 17½ft amidships, only drew 3ft of water when fully laden; hence the suggestion that a dock may have existed on the present Princes site on Bold Lane.

The existence of churches dedicated to St Alkmund's and St Werburgh's in Northworthy and the presence of St Alkmund's Church at Duffield and St Werburgh's Church at Spondon may indicate a territorial line going from west to east along the Markeaton Brook and extending to both sides of the River Derwent.

The whole of Northworthy was founded on the King's demesne (?originally belonging to the Mercian kings). At Domesday special reference is made to the King's two carucates both at Little Chester and at Litchurch (Ekwall: small church) south of the Brook. Both are adjacent to Derby's boundaries and as already suggested they may have been earlier administrative centres controlling land to the north and south of the Brook before the founding of Northworthy.

Again the fact that Northworthy's fields lay south of the Brook whilst the royal estate centre was north of the Brook suggests Litchurch was the more important of the two areas and the royal estate centre was founded on land previously controlled by Little Chester. This may be substantiated by the fact that a later Hundred was named after Litchurch and the land north of the Brook, apart from Little Chester, was largely untithed in 1847. This could infer that it had been granted to the church on its foundation as a minster; Little Chester was granted later on the foundation of All Saints. The Haye (Little City) may have been in use as an occasional defensive site.

#### Derby: Vikings c900: map 7

The Vikings put their mark on the settlement by changing the name of Mercian Northworthy to Derby. As a frontier town it must have seen an increase in population and trade for in spite of the constant warfare, King Alfred was constructing buildings 'glittering with gold and silver' (FlW 887) and York had a thriving Viking community. The only other evidence for the Viking presence in Derby are the street names of Irongate, Sadler Gate, St Mary's Gate, Bridge Gate and Friar Gate. Bridge Gate may not be a Viking road as there is no evidence for a bridge at this time. Friar Gate can be eliminated as a Viking name as the

Friary was not founded until the 13C. On the other hand, the remaining three names represent roads which could indicate a small expansion in Derby's growth to the south west. The most likely area is shown by the long narrow burgage plots at the western end of Sadler Gate in St Werburgh's Parish. The question also has to be asked whether this parish boundary represents the site of an enclosure ditch and bank at this time. There must be a reason why so many of the properties on the southern side of Sadler Gate follow the curve of the parish boundary, easily seen by looking down the passages between the houses. The area on either side of St Mary's Gate between the estate centre and the Brook is another site where expansion could have occurred.

#### Derby: Anglo-Saxon mid 10-mid 11C: map 8

The foundation of an important mint between 917 and 940 and the accompanying increase in trade resulted in the expansion of Derby to the size it attained by 1066. However, the old site of Northworthy was in trouble - there was a land shortage as the population was increasing beyond the available space on the promontory. Expansion to the north was impossible as the land belonged to the Minster. The infilling signified by the two detached parts of St Michael's Parish must represent one period of expansion, probably with the richer traders occupying the Irongate site and a more industrial area on the northern site leading to the development of Walker Lane and the northern end of Full Street. The Brook may have been diverted at this time or the marshland drained which could explain the detached portion of All Saint's Parish. With all the available land in use, the overflow of population then began to live on the southern side of the Brook between the River Derwent and St Peter's Street. The settled area is probably represented by the untithed area shown on Map 1 of Part I of this article, as it contained the site of the Copecastle and the marshy land adjacent to the Brook would have been unsuitable for agriculture.

However the expansion did not reach the Full Street/Market Place area until the late 11C (DAJ 1972 p29ff) and a market was not founded here until c1200 when Derby obtained its charter from King John (DbMis Vol 11 pt6). The lack of development indicates that it may have had a defensive or some other function connected with the River Derwent.

The increasing wealth of the settlement resulted in new churches being built during this century. All Saints was founded on the King's demense in the old royal estate centre, its position at the top of St Mary's Gate suggesting that this road was an earlier processional route. Both All Saints and St Alkmund's were collegiate churches in 1066, with All Saints Parish being cut out of St Alkmund's Parish. This gives rise to speculation that All Saints was built as 10/11C replacement for St Alkmund's. Again, St Mary's fields appear to be coterminous with those of St Werburgh's giving rise to the view that it too was a 10/11C replacement. It is curious that they were both built on the royal estate centre, which at one time may have contained areas within it with specific functions. St Peter's does not appear to have been founded until the 12C by Hugh the Dean (DbMis Vol 11 pt6) but St Michael's did exist by 1066 and St Helen's was probably extant in some form.

Out in the fields two other small settlements or vici, Doggelowe and the Haye,

had developed on main roads. However there must have been a reason why no expansion had occurred in the Waldewike area by the time it was granted to Burton Abbey by William the Conqueror and did not occur until the Newlands were developed in the 13C (DbMis Vol 11 pt6). At least part of St Peter's Parish, whether or not it had a church, had already been incorporated into Derby by this time forcing the conclusion that by 1066 St Werburgh's Parish alone represented the demesne of the burgh and as such was essential for the agricultural support of the borough. Many other changes, outside the scope of this article, took place during this period, including the ownership of town fees by holders of rural estates. Again Derby had 14 mills in 1066 and 10 in 1086, the significance, sites and ownership of which have not been discussed.

The history of the 8C Northworthy complex can be traced to c1240 (DbMis Vol 11 pt6). St Mary's Church on part of the estate centre, the fields and 2 vici (probably Waldewike and Doggelowe) were granted by William the Conqueror c1085 to Burton Abbey which retained the land until c1135. In the mid 12C, this land, now called the Newlands, was granted to Darley Abbey by Peter de Sandiacre. All Saints, on the other part of the estate centre, and St Alkmund's were granted to Lincoln Cathedral c1100 by Henry I.

The original aim when this research began was to determine the sites of the town houses listed in the Borough Rentals. Realisation that Lord Paget bought Burton Abbey's lands at the Dissolution extended the scope to determine the Abbey's holdings in Derby. The clarification of the exact line of the parish boundaries led to the hypothesis for the development of Derby. This too, in its turn, has raised several unresolved problems.

- \* Where exactly were the enclosure walls for the royal estate centre of Northworthy? What, if anything, is the significance of the alleys on either side of the enclosure?
- \* Why is the northern boundary of the northern part of St Michael's Parish nearly a straight line? Was this for convenience or did it represent an earlier boundary connected with the estate centre or an outer enclosure ditch and bank?
- \* Why is St Werburgh's parish boundary curved in the Sadler Gate area and why are the adjacent houses built off this curved boundary? Did this represent another early ditch and bank?
- \* Why is there a short, steep slope running from the southern boundary of the northern side of George Yard into the ground belonging to the houses on the west side of Sadler Gate?
- \* What was the true status of 'waste' in the Derby area at Domesday?
- \* What was the reason for the carucate division of land near Derby and Chesterfield?
- \* What were the original land grants to St Alkmund's and St Werburgh's?

Some of these questions may eventually be answered by archaeological excavations and others by further detailed analysis of the documentary and local topographical evidence. Some though may only be answered by comparison with features found in other Anglo-Saxon/Viking settlements. On the other hand, the information obtained from this glimpse of early Northworthy/Derby could help with the compilation of the layout of 13C Derby from the vast amount of information in the Darley Abbey and other medieval charters.

## CLOTS AND CLODS

(by Keith Reedman)

Probate inventories are a well-known source for local history which provide some of the best evidence of the life-styles of our ancestors, particularly those of the working classes during the 16th to 18th centuries.

A newcomer to these inventories needs not only to learn the handwritings of the times but also to cope with an archaic vocabulary. Most of the words which are not in current usage can be referred to in specialist dictionaries or special word lists such as Rosemary Milward's Glossary of Household, Farming and Trade Terms from Probate Inventories (mainly from the Chesterfield area of north east Derbyshire).

During transcription and analysis of mainly 17th century probate inventories relating to the township of Long Eaton in south Derbyshire, two words occurred which are not listed in any of the standard works of reference. One of these words is, in its various forms, CLODDS, CLOTES or CLOTS.

Fortunately, in most of the inventories where the word occurs, it is given in context and in one instance its use is given. A selection of these occurrences is listed below in date order.

1 October	1679	all the Clodds to sow
11 February	1688/9	barley Clodds pease and oats clodds
31 May	1694	for all the Clodds
15 March	1694/5	corne upon the ground and the clots
2 March	1698/9	for the clotes
8 November	1708	Corn growing upon the ground and the clots

From the above it seems certain that the word was used to mean SEEDS, particularly in the context of the first reference above and the fact that it relates to a variety of plants. The only slight reservation is that clodds exist alongside growing crops as well as at times when sowing should have already taken place. However, some spare seed would not, presumably, be unusual. The only alternative which could fit is a meaning for unthreshed crops. This, however, is inconsistent with an entry 'all the reaped corn' on the inventory which has 'all the Clodds to sow'.

The word is common in Long Eaton inventories but it is surely quite local in use: otherwise it would have been given the attention of those who have done wide-ranging studies on probate inventories and would before now be included in glossaries.

The other unidentified word is an occupation. Three local men are known to have been called BOTTLEWANDER, two of whom were brothers. A guess has been made to mean 'hay trusser' but this is very tentative. Has any reader a solution?

## THE DISTRIBUTION AREAS OF EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY DERBYSHIRE NEWSPAPERS

(by John E. Heat)

Eighteenth and nineteenth century local newspapers are a valuable quarry for the local historian in terms of the news items and advertisements they carry, but it is difficult to ascertain the boundaries of the circulation areas for newspapers which were competing for a fairly parochial, limited readership.

Notices which concerned parish matters on a county basis and which had to be promulgated were limited, but one such notice was connected with the meetings held by the assistant commissioners (assessors) in connection with the Tithe Commission established under the Act of 1836 (the Act provided for the Commutation of tithe payments into a rent-charge where this had not already been done). Notices of such events were promulgated in a newspaper(s), and were also attached to a prominent building in the parish, usually the church door, but also on a hostelry, a shop, a house and in the case of Smerrill on a barn door. The notice in the newspaper(s) I have taken to indicate the one(s) most likely to be read in the parish.

The Derby Mercury, on this evidence, appeared to serve the county south of Matlock, with the Chesterfield Reporter being used only in the case of Marston-on-Dove, Cauldwell, Coton-in-the-Elms and Rosliston. Those detached parts of the county surrounded by Leicestershire used the Derby Mercury and the Leicester Journal.

North of Matlock, the north east parishes in the main favoured the Courier while the north west appeared to read the North Derbyshire Chronicle, although the parishes of Smerrill, Totley, Fairfield, Buxton, Brushfield, Edensor and Hope used both. The Chronicle would appear to have had a wider area of influence being read in the far eastern and western extremities of the area. Pinxton covered all eventualities by putting notices in the Chronicle and Courier as well and the Nottingham and Newark Mercury.

This circulation pattern is not surprising as many local history readers of the newspapers will appreciate the reportage of county matters is very parochial and limited to the area of the readership.

The sources used in this case were the 'tithe files' of 1836-70 (IR 18) in the Public Record Office.

## MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS - HER VISITS TO BUXTON

(by J.T. Leach)

The last thirty years of the sixteenth century was probably the time when Buxton's fame as an inland watering place was at its highest. With the erection of the Crescent and associated buildings some 200 years afterwards, Buxton's reputation reached another high point, but, never did such visitors of high standing come to Buxton nor was the village/town ever involved in the affairs and intrigues of state as it was at the end of the sixteenth century. The Earl of Leicester took the waters several times and the Earls of Essex, Pembroke and Sussex were occasional visitors. Politicians such as Lord Cecil came occasionally and Lord Burghley was a strong believer in the power of the waters. Sir Thomas Gerard, a Catholic plotter, and the Earl of Rutland (later one of the commissioners who tried Mary) are also believed to have been present. Other notable visitors were Doctor Bayley (Queen Elizabeth's physician) and Richard Topcliffe, the Catholic persecutor.

It is undisputed that Mary Queen of Scots visited Buxton a number of times during her confinement to receive treatment for her rheumatism but there has been a lack of uniformity of opinion as to the actual dates that these visits took place. The years quoted in various works range from nearly every year between 1573-1584. The object of this short paper is to examine existing contemporary accounts to try and identify and prove individual dates. The sources for this is the voluminous correspondence circulating throughout the Tudor court and a unique copy of inscriptions written in the glass windows at the Hall at Buxton.[1]

Following the battle of Longside Mary fled to England (expecting assistance from Queen Elizabeth), crossing the border on 16 May 1568. Because of her close claim to the English throne and because of the strong Catholic feeling in the country, Elizabeth could not allow her to roam freely through England; however, because of her status as a monarch she could not be imprisoned. A comfortable form of house arrest was to be the solution under the watchful eye of that most trusted nobleman George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. Accordingly she was delivered to his castle at Tutbury (Staffs) on 4 February 1569 and subsequently to Sheffield Castle (Yorks) on 28 November 1570. Mary spent fourteen years at Sheffield during which she visited Buxton, Chatsworth, Wingfield and Worksop. The fame of Buxton's waters was widespread and none was more familiar than Shrewsbury himself who held land there. In 1569 when his gout was severe he was advised to use the 'baynes at Buckstones'. He wrote to Lord Cecil asking him to request of the Queen for him to travel to Buxton with Mary.[2] With permission not forthcoming and being sorely tried by his gout he travelled alone to Buxton which incurred the wrath of Queen Elizabeth.[3] Shrewsbury wrote to Cecil pleading his state of health and expressing the hope she would not be offended with him.[4]

Being kept close to the Catholic heartlands there were soon a number of plots to free Mary and as a result in April 1571 Shrewsbury signed a series of stringent new regulations for the government of her and her household. Mary remonstrated against this through the Bishop of Ross, who forwarded to Lord Burghley

a copy of these regulations together with a list of demands from Mary.[5]  
Amongst these was a request to visit Buxton which did not materialise.

"Declare the state of my person, how I have been lately vexed by sickness, with a great vomisement, first of pure blood, and after of congealed blood, flewme, and choler, the dolour of my side, &c., caused by daily augmentation of displeasure. It may bring about my death at length, which before the whole world will be laid upon the Queen and her councillors. Desire them to consider in what reputation it will bring this realm, and how honourable it would be if they caused me to be better treated. Purchase licence for the Earl of Shrewsbury to transport me to Bwkstons (Buxton's) Well for a few days, as I have written to Burghley by Mr Lowret, physician.

Desire licence to send to France for physicians who know my sickness better than any here."

By late summer 1572 Elizabeth had decided not to prosecute Mary and France had abandoned its support for her making the political situation tense and uncertain. Mary's application of April 1572 to visit Buxton was accordingly declined as Shrewsbury informed Burghley in a letter dated 16 August 1572.

"I received your letter yesterday, by Fabian, one of the French Ambassador's secretaries, and allowed him to move the Queen for his matter of money in my hearing.

Thought good to open and pruse the letters he brought her from the Ambassador, having no warrant to the contrary; and because they contained the Queen's answers to her late petitions (written by him in temperate manner), viz, as to going to Buxton, that her Majesty deferred it till next year, as the house is not finished;.....[6]

The house referred to being the 'New Hall' built by Shrewsbury in 1572-73.[7]

Mary's health continued to be a source of concern and in correspondence with Sir Thomas Smith (undatedX8) and to Sir Francis Walsingham (27 July 1573X9), Shrewsbury states that she is complaining more than ever about the pain in her side and she again wishes to visit Buxton. In the latter Shrewsbury writes:

"Since I last wrote you my opinion of this Queen's health, and something of her journey to Buxton well, she hath charged me (and the French here affirmed for true) that her going thither is referred to me,

and I am thereby hinderer of her health by stopping her from thence. She complains more of her hardness in her side than of late. I look in such matters of her more liberty to be directed, and therefore pray you for my discharge, procure her Majesty's resolution thereof may be signified hither. My care for her safety shall be here and there alike."

Elizabeth was unable to come to a decision and a compromise move to Chatsworth was arranged which took place sometime between 31 July and 3 August 1579. A few days later the Queen gave her consent which Lord Burghley conveyed to Shrewsbury in a letter dated 10 August:[10]

"I...am now commanded to write to your Lordship by her Majesty that she is pleased that if your Lordship shall think you may without peril conduct the Queen of Scots to the well of Buxton, according to her most earnest desire, your Lordship shall so do; using such care and respect for her person to continue in your charge, as hitherto your Lordship hath honourably, happily, and serviceably done; And when your Lordship shall determine to remove with the said Queen thither, it were good what as little foreknowledge abroad as may conveniently be given; and nevertheless that for the time that she shall be there, that all others, being strangers from your Lordship's company, be forbidden to come thither during the time of the said Queen's abode there. And this I write because her Majesty was very unwilling that she should go thither, imagining that her desire was either to be the more seen of strangers resorting thither, or for the achieving of some further enterprise to escape; but on the other part, I told her Majesty that if in the very deed her sickness were to be relieved thereby, her Majesty could not in honour deny her to have the natural remedy thereof; and for her safety, I knew your Lordship would have sufficient care and regard; and so her Majesty commanded me to write to your Lordship that you might conduct her thither, and also to have good respect of her:..."

Almost as soon as consent was given to go to Buxton the King of Poland (brother of the King of France) applied for permission to land in English ports with 4,000 men and ships should they run into storms whilst passing through the Channel. Elizabeth became anxious that this was a play to land troops at a time when Mary was close to likely Catholic support for a revolt. Elizabeth's anxieties could not be contained; she wrote directly to Shrewsbury:



"By your letters, we perceive your determination to take the Queen of Scots to Buxton wells about the end of the week, as you were told by Burghley's letters we should be content if you thought it might be done without peril. We commanded Burghley to write thus, on the earnest pressing of the French Ambassador, and we well allow of your consideration in providing a convenient number of horse and foot as a guard during her removing and abode there. Nevertheless, within these two or three days we hear from sundry places that there is some practice in hand to put her to liberty. There is a suspicion from the late long abode of the president (M du Verger) with her, that now upon his return, and her removing, some attempt will be made. If we had not already yeilded, or you had not opened the matter to her. 'we could have been well content that she had now (?not) gone to the Buxtons at this time;' but as it can not well be altered, we wish you be more watchful, and have your company increased, that no resort of strangers should be suffered to come near her, that she be not suffered to trifle out her time there, but be advised to apply the use of the wells as the physician may direct, and not to tarry above or days, or rather if possible fewer. Some of the French Ambassador's ministers, who were there with the president, report she is in a house of less strength than before, and at more liberty. How truly, we leave to you, knowing that being acquainted therewith, you will the more circumspectly look to your charge. We commend your care. The Queen of Scots is not to know of this." [11]

However, Mary travelled from Chatsworth on 21 or 22 of August and returned there on 27 September. Apart from bathing, how she occupied her time in Buxton is unknown; embroidery and writing were favourite pastimes and she is traditionally believed to have visited Pooles Cavern during one of her visits. Security was tight however and all strangers were turned away. Her visit was worthwhile as she explained in a letter to the French Ambassador dated 27 September 1573.

"That as to the point in which she is pleased to fear that I have found the contrary to that which I hoped for, I have not been at all disappointed, thank God, having found some relief; and I did not perceive that the new building can in any degree have diminished the natural wormth of the water, for if the season had been more suitable, the sun, as it seems to me, would have been able to shine upon it without hindrance; and if in the coming year, it should please her, at a better season, to grant me the same permission, and to give me rather a longer time. I believe

that will quite cure me, if no other accident should happen." [12]

In March 1576 Mary wrote from Sheffield Lodge to new French Ambassador, Monsieur de Mauvissiere, requesting him to intercede on her behalf with the Queen to permit her to visit Buxton. [13] This was granted and she was removed there early in June 1576 staying, at the Ambassador's request for most of that month and July. Reports reached the Queen that Mary had been allowed to converse with strangers during her visit which invoked the Queen's wrath. Concerning this matter Shrewsbury wrote to Burleigh:

"Touching the doubtfullness her Majesty should have of me in giving the Scots Queen liberty to be seen and saluted; surely my Lord the reporters thereof to her Majesty hath done me great wrong: In deed at her first being there, there happened a poor lame cripple to be in the lower ... unknown to all my people that guarded the place, and when she heard that there was women in the ..... she desired some gentlewomen to give her a smoke; whereupon they put one of their smokes out of a hole in the wall to her, and soon it came to my knowledge, I was both offended with her and my people for taking any letter unto her; and after that time I took such order as no pore people came unto the house during that time; neither at the second time was there any stranger at Buxton (but my one people) that saw her, for that I gave such charge to the contrary about, none should come into behold her. [14]

Queen Elizabeth's fear were not groundless. In 1574 a plot was discovered and under examination Alexander Hamilton and Henry Cockyn admitted they had been in Buxton in Whitsuntide 1574. Hamilton, a school master, also admitted that he had received plotters letters and had passed them on to Mary. [15] She was again in Buxton in 1580; in a letter dated 9 August Shrewsbury informs Lord Burleigh:

"I came to Buxtons with my charge, the 28 of July. She had a hard beginning of her journey; for when she should have taken her horse, he started aside, and therewith she fell and hurt her back, which she still complains of, notwithstanding she applies the bathe once or twice a day. I do strictly observe her Majesty's commandment written to me by your Lord in rest raining all (who) resort to this place; neither does she see, nor is seen to any more than to her own people and such as I appoint to attend; she has not come forth (out) of the house since her coming, nor shall not before her parting." [16]

In May 1582 Doctors Barsdale and Smythe travelled from London to Sheffield to examine Mary. Following their examination they prescribed a 'course of physic' and recommended that she take the waters in Buxton. On 13 June Mary set out for

Buxton and after a stay of three or four weeks returned in early July. Shrewsbury informed by correspondence Thomas Baldwin (18 May<sup>17</sup>) and Lord Burleigh (30 May<sup>18</sup>) of Mary's proposed visit and in a further letter to Baldwin (12 July<sup>19</sup>) advises him that he has, '...lately returned from Buxton with Mary..'

Having charge of the Queen of Scots was a drain upon Shrewsbury's finances for which he was constantly pleading with Elizabeth for an increased allowance. It also placed a severe strain upon his marriage and above once he asked to be relieved of his charge. In a letter dated 16 June 1584<sup>[20]</sup> Lord Walsingham informs Shrewsbury of certain state matters (including the execution of Sir Francis Throckmorton for plotting to free Mary and overthrow Elizabeth) and answers Shrewsbury's most recent request to have Mary taken from his care. As permission is also given in this letter for Mary to again visit Buxton, Walsingham states that Shrewsbury cannot come to Court and that Queen Elizabeth would consider the matter during the summer. When she travelled to Buxton is unknown but she wrote to M. de Mauvissiere from 'Bouxtons' on 7 July 1584.<sup>[21]</sup> How long she spent in Buxton is unknown but she was at Wingfield by 7 September 1584. It is upon leaving Buxton for this her last visit that she is believed to have written this famous couplet upon the windows at the Hall, Buxton:

"Buxtona, quae calidae celebraris nomine Lymphae,  
Forte mihi post hac non adeunda, Vale."

Translation: "Buxton whose fame thy milk warm waters tell,  
Whom I perhaps shall see no more, farewell."

This inscription is perhaps the most recorded detail of her visits to Buxton and this scratching upon window panes was a fashionable pursuit at the time. Although the window has not survived a contemporary copy was made of certain of these inscriptions, and fortunately survives today.<sup>[22]</sup> Among the signatories, which include the nobility referred to above are a number of illustrations including one of Mount Etna (Italy). The Queen of Scots has a number of inscriptions which are signed and dated: 1573 (6), 1576 (2) and 1582 (1). Curiously there is no reference to the famous couplet but that may be because it was written upon another window or, perhaps, because they were copied before Mary's last visit. Camden records it in 1637<sup>[23]</sup> and, in a footnote in Ralph Thoresby's diary<sup>[24]</sup>, it is recorded that Fuller, the noted church historian, once held the piece of glass in his own hands.

Until recently J.D. Leader<sup>[25]</sup> was the acknowledged source for the life of Mary during her time in England. His work is thorough and in it he gives the above quoted five dates for Mary's visit to Buxton. Prince Labanoff<sup>[26]</sup> who studied Mary's life gives an additional date for a visit in June and July 1575 but there appears to be no contemporary evidence to support this statement. Perhaps the most extensive biography in recent years has been that by Antonia Fraser.<sup>[27]</sup> In what is overall an excellent work she gives six dates for Mary's visits but does not give any sources to support them. This is unfortunate because she claims that Mary met Cecil in Buxton in 1575, that she met Leicester in 1578 and 1584 and that she visited twice in 1581. These claims may or may not be true but have to be balanced against her incorrect statements that she conversed with the cripple in 1580 and also fell from her horse in that same year at Buxton. Leicester certainly visited Buxton in 1577 and communicated

with Mary, who was at Chatsworth, through an intermediary. The possibility exists that Mary visited Buxton after Leicester left because Monsieur Nau, secretary to the Queen of Scots, makes reference in a letter dated 12 July 1577 to having been there recently. It is also possible that he visited Buxton without his mistress and this is supported by the fact that Shrewsbury was in Sheffield on 4 July. However, Grundy-Heape[28] makes an unsupported claim that Burghley visited Buxton in 1577 to see if Buxton was a safe place for Mary to visit.

From the sources examined then there are only five dates, 1573, 1576, 1580, 1582 and 1584 when it can be definitely stated that Mary Queen of Scots visited Buxton. She may have visited on other occasions which have gone unrecorded but as to the other dates quoted by various authors these must be treated with circumspection until further contemporary evidence comes to light to support their individual claims.

### Notes

1. 'A note of things written in glasse windows at Buxstons', (copied sometime between 1582-1584), Portland Papers. Longleat.
2. MSS. Mary Queen of Scots, PRO. vol III, No 113
3. Edmund Lodge, 'Illustrations of British History', ed. 1791, vol 2, p18. Correspondence from Cecil to Shrewsbury, 14/8/1569.
4. qv 2 above. vol IV, No 2
5. qv 2 above. vol VI, No 56, II - Endd. in Cecil's hand 5/5/1571
6. Cotton MSS. Caligula cIII, 384
7. J.T. Leach, 'The Auld Hall and the New Hall', Bulletin of the Buxton Archaeological and Natural History Society, Paper No 1, vol No 1, Spring 1986.
8. Calendar of Shrewsbury papers in the College of Arms. vol P, folio 439
9. qv 2 above. vol II, p109
10. qv 8 above. vol F, folio 65
11. qv 2 above. vol IX, No 6. 18/8/1573. Draft by Burghley in which the number of days is left blank.
12. Prince Labanoff, 'Recueil des lettres de Marie Stuart', vol 4, p82, 1844
13. qv 2 above. vol X, p78.
14. qv 2 above. vol II, p247
15. Ernest Axon 'Historical notes on Buxton, etc.'. Paper 2, 1934.
16. qv 8 above. vol G, folio 37.
17. qv 8 above. vol G, folio 148
18. qv 8 above. vol G, folio 146.
19. qv 8 above. vol G, folio 140.
20. qv 2 above. vol XIII
21. qv 12 above. vol 6, p2.
22. qv 1 above.
23. W. Camden, 'Britannia', p557, 1637.
24. 'Diary of Ralph Thoresby, 1677-1724', p181, 1830.
25. J.D. Leader, 'Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity'. 1880.
26. Above, op cit.
27. A. Fraser, 'Mary Queen of Scots', 1970.
28. R. Grundy Heape, 'Buxton under the Dukes of Devonshire', p23, 1947.

## MORE LIGHT ON "CAPTAIN SWING"

(by Howard Ushe)

Wendy Bateman's article on "Captain Swing" in the Autumn 1988 Miscellany reminded me of a letter dated 15 December 1820 among the Melbourne Archives [\*] from the Hon. George Lamb at the Home Office, Whitehall, to Henry Fox, the Agent at Melbourne. This clearly refers to the "Swing" disturbances in the locality and the relevant abstract is as follows:

"Sir,

It could not be expected when the present destructive spirit had shown itself at Long Eaton that Melbourne could remain wholly free from some sure sign of it - With regard to watching, My Lord (Melbourne) highly approves of its being established, and wishes that money should not to be spared to make it efficient; and he will contribute as much as necessary. You had better put me down for £5 to begin with.

The tin tube found in your haystack does not look as if it was done by any practised and scientific incendiary, but more as if contrived by some labourer in imitation of the means he has heard of being used. Is it impossible to trace it by any marks as having been bought or even in some one's possession. Every means should be used if there is the least clue. I enclose the D. of Richmond's plan adopted in future and other instructions for organising the inhabitants which may be of use."

[He then discusses Mrs. Lamb's proposed visit to Melbourne and concludes]

" we shall be glad to have any information from you as to the state of the neighbourhood.

Yrs sinc  
G. Lamb

Don't be gingerly about laying hold of any suspicious characters that may be about..."

### References

Lothian Archives, Melbourne Hall, X94/235/1/11  
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