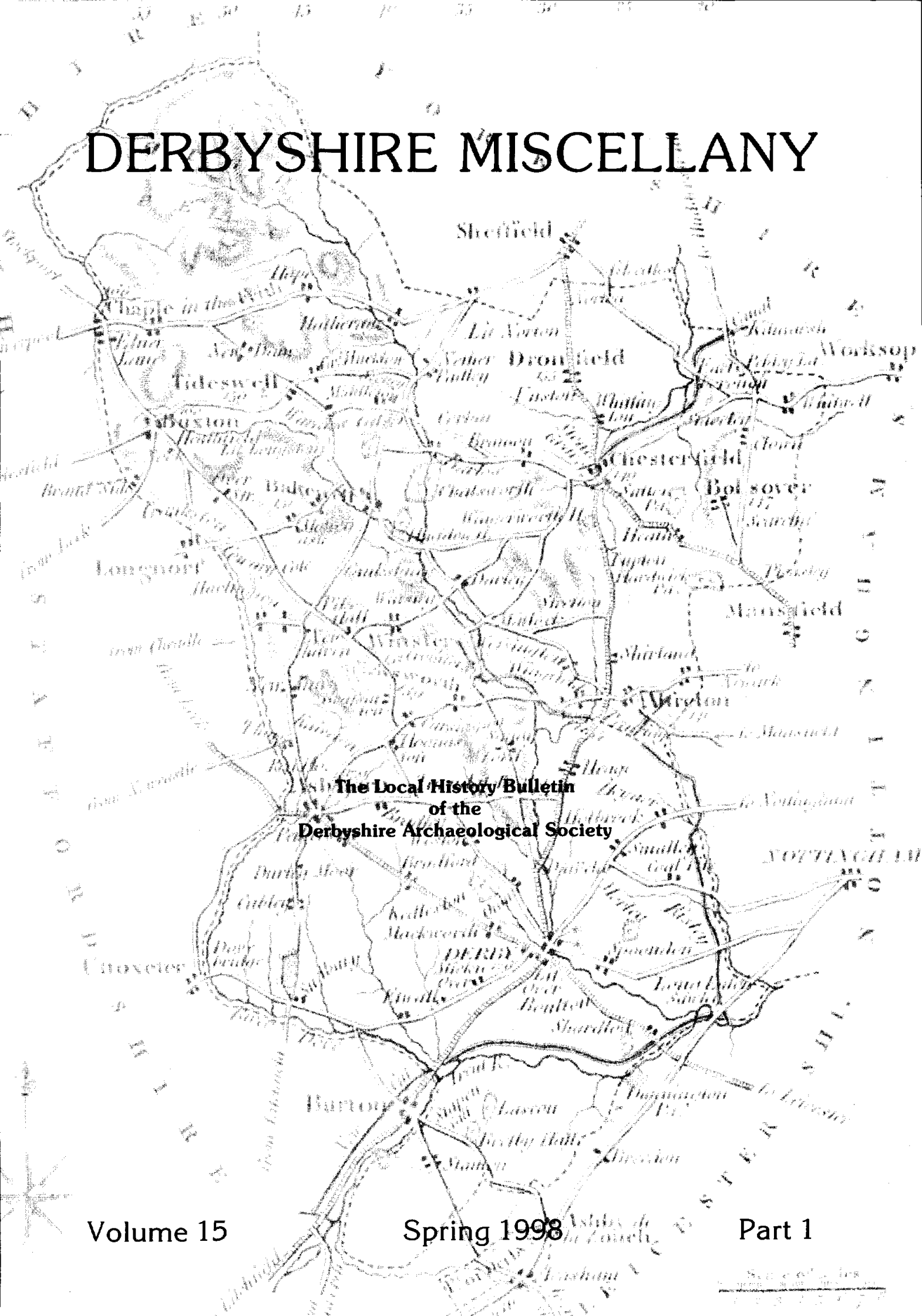
DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



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GRAMMAR SCHOOL EDUCATION IN DERBY: ITS EARLY HISTORY TO 1662

(by Richard Clark

In a recent newsletter of the Derby Civic Society (Summer 1996) there was some dispute about the origins of Derby School in a correspondence about the history and rights of ownership of the badge of Derby School which was closed in 1989. A comment from Mr Norman Elliott, *'Derby School may have been founded ante 1159 with Barbae Aprilis as the headmaster, but it disappeared with the monasteries in 1539. It was refounded and granted a charter in 1554'*, earned an editorial rebuke that it flew *'in the face of documentary evidence'*. Flew in the face of what documentary evidence I wondered? So I went back to the sources that I knew about: to the cartulary of Darley Abbey, to Benjamin Tacchella's *Register of Derby School 1570-1901*, to A.F. Leach's account of the school in the *Victoria County History of Derbyshire* and to my notes that I have collected over the years in a variety of archival sources. When I put the bits and pieces together, I found that I could add a few details to the story already in print and that I was not really convinced by the interpretations of the school's origins and early history which have been published before. The following is a provisional account: a few, as yet unknown to me, documentary references, might transform the story which follows.

The origins of old schools are often difficult to trace. The first problem is usually paucity of information, particularly before the nineteenth century, Derby School being no exception. One can seldom write a continuous history as one is forced to rely on odd references found here and there which provide snippets of fact rather than tell a coherent story. A second problem is defining what we mean by origins. Do we mean informal beginnings as evidenced by the existence of a school or school master in the place in which we are interested? Or do we mean the provision of endowments for a particular school in that place or the building of a schoolhouse as a long-term, specialised structure to house pupils and a schoolmaster? Do we mean by origins a particular type of education for a particular age or social group? These questions result in different answers. Thirdly, some earlier historians of schools desired ancient origins for the subjects of their study, the older the better, preferably medieval, and so found them. They tended to string disjointed references together, divided by centuries, and to assume continuity of tradition and institution. Benjamin Tacchella, the first historian of Derby School, was in that mould, a late nineteenth century assistant schoolmaster of an institution that was essentially new, proud of his school and anxious to encourage pride in it, a purposeful ethos and sense of tradition. His Derby School was new in the sense that the old Tudor grammar school of Derby had become moribund by the early nineteenth century; at times it had ceased to operate and its constitution had been completely transformed by the Charity Commissioners, following the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. The opening of the school in 1863 at St Helen's House marked the beginning of a modern secondary school as much as a new chapter in a continuing story.

The earliest reference to a school in Derby occurs in the Cartulary of Darley Abbey. Walter Durdent, bishop of Coventry, c1154-9 confirmed to the canons the grant of *'the school of Derby'*, made by William Barbae Aprilis and himself. Richard Peche, his successor, confirmed this confirmation c1162-82. In addition, a Walkelin of Derby and Goda, his wife, during Peche's episcopate granted the canons a messuage where he and Goda dwelt with its buildings so that there should be a school of clerks in the hall and a hostel for the master and his clerks in the chambers.[1] Nearly four hundred years later, two days after the surrender of the abbot and his convent on 22 October 1538 (not 1539), the royal commissioners listed the fees and annuities granted under the abbey's seal, including one to Thomas Tutman *'schoolmaster'* of 26s 8d and drew up a schedule of the house's debts, including one of 13s 4d to a Thomas Tupman, presumably the same individual owed half a year's pay.[2]

Benjamin Tacchella made a great deal out of these few facts. He believed they proved that there was an endowed grammar school in Derby from the 1150s at the latest whose first recorded headmaster was William 'April Beard' and which enjoyed a continuous history until the dissolution of the monasteries. He managed to fill in the inconvenient gap between the 1150s and 1538 by asserting that the masters of St Helen's Hospital were William's successors as headmasters of this institution. When these ran out, he added to his list the names of two Derby schoolmasters, known from stray fifteenth century references, and the name of the priest who was appointed in the 1520s to maintain Shore's service in All Saints Church. By these means he made his Derby School one of the oldest recorded endowed schools in the country.[3]

A.F. Leach was more sceptical. He pointed out that there was no evidence in the Darley Abbey cartulary that St Helen's Hospital ever functioned as a school. St Helen's began life as an oratory in which a priory of Augustinian canons was established. It became a hospital under Darley Abbey with a master or warden and brethren shortly after the canons moved from the oratory to Darley. Shortly before the dissolution of the monasteries it seems to have functioned as a chapel rather than a hospital and was served from the abbey by one of its canons.[4] Leach and Professor Darlington, editor of the cartulary, showed that there was good reason to think from the abbey's charters that the gift of the messuage from Walkelin and Goda was never effected. Thereby Leach undermined the idea that Derby School had been anciently endowed and had enjoyed a continuous history from the twelfth century. Yet he also embellished the available sources by claiming that the school of the 1150s *must have been* attached previously to the collegiate church of All Saints and, as a consequence of William Barbae Aprilis's grant, was absorbed in the new abbey. He suggested that, had the college of All Saints not been already under the protection of the dean of Lincoln, the canons might have been tempted to swallow up the whole institution as well as its school. Leach also accepted Barbae Aprilis as the school's earliest recorded master and identified him as a member of the Barbe d'Averil family, individuals of which had witnessed charters of the Earl of Chester in connection with Repton.

The problem that I have with these accounts of the early history of Derby School is that they appear to be building castles in the air. Their interpretations and claims are not underpinned by firm documentary evidence. If we dismiss the significance of the charter of Walkelin and Goda, as Leach and Darlington suggested we should, the accounts of Tacchella and Leach rest only on a few, incontrovertible statements, one from the 1150s saying '*ex dono Willelmi Barbe Aprilis et meo scholam de Derby*', two names and a statement from the fifteenth century and lastly, '*Thomas Tutman schoolmaster*' from 1538. This base of evidence is far too narrow upon which to sustain and justify a story of an endowed school, established in the twelfth century, which operated continuously under the aegis of the local abbey until its dissolution.

The idea that a school was originally attached to All Saints is surmise only; the documentary evidence does not say so. To call William Barbe Aprilis a headmaster in not merely an anachronism but also an assumption. The documentary evidence shows him to be a donor of a piece of property; it is silent as to his status. The circumstances and intentions of the grant, for example whether the canons of Darley were supposed to continue the school or merely enjoy the revenues of any property it might have held, are unknown because William's original grant, which might have included such details, is not included in the cartulary. Despite the bishops' confirmations we cannot be even sure that the grant materialised or that the canons were able to retain it. Other grants made to them at this time are known to have been lost.[5] We cannot even be sure that the school (or schools) taught grammar, though the examples of medieval schools elsewhere would suggest so.

Thereafter the only connection between Darley Abbey and schooling occurs in 1538. Tutman is probably to be identified with a Cambridge graduate of a similar name[6] but whether he taught at the abbey, outside the borough's bounds, or in Derby is uncertain. What he taught and whom he taught is unknown. Given his educational background it is likely that he taught grammar but whether it was to the novices of the abbey or the singing boys there or to the youth of the borough, is unascertainable. Whether he was a singular appointment or the last of a line of abbey schoolmasters is likewise unfathomable. In order to answer these queries one would require the administrative records of the house, which are not known to have survived.

Records drawn up by outside authorities concerning Darley Abbey, especially around the time of its dissolution, fail to mention schools and schoolmasters in connection with it. The surviving visitation records of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, made in 1518, 1521 and 1524, refer to boys within the abbey's precincts but not in the context of education. There were complaints about their excessive number in each visitation, that of 1518 pointing out that only five were needed for the celebration of the office in the abbey church. They were usually referred to by the canons in their answers to the articles of enquiry in the same breath as the abbey's servants whom they also considered to be excessive in number.[7]

So far, three references from the fifteenth century to schoolmasters in Derby have been uncovered. In 1406 there occurs a Stephen Bello '*magistro scolarum de Derbi*', in 1481 a Master William Roche '*magister scolarum gramaticalium ville Derb*' and in 1483 a reference in the parish book of All Saints that whoever is schoolmaster should maintain four cierges (wax tapers) before the image of St Nicholas, funded through collections from his pupils.[8] None refer to any connection between Darley Abbey and these schoolmasters, not altogether surprising given the nature of the evidence. The number of references suggest that there was a succession of

schoolmasters by this time; that from 1483 reveals an expectation that the position was permanent enough for the provisioning of the needs of a side altar in All Saints Church. So we can say that a grammar school in Derby was operating in the fifteenth century but there is no evidence that it was then an endowed one with a schoolhouse.

Perhaps a school was attached to one of the perpetual chantry or gild foundations in Derby, particularly those of All Saints parish in view of the reference of 1483. Perhaps. in regard to the schoolmaster's connection with the altar of St Nicholas, he was the priest who served it and who upheld Shore's service there after its establishment by the town's corporation sometime after the founder's death in 1495. Many other schools elsewhere had such links, but no documentary evidence has yet emerged, so far as I have been able to discover, for Derby. The surviving Derbyshire chantry certificates of 1546 makes no mention of a chantry-supported school elsewhere in the county, even though there is evidence from Hathersage and Melbourne that chantrists there acted also as schoolmasters at some time before their dissolution. When royal commissioners were appointed in 1548 '*for the maintenance and continuance of schools and preachers* ...' after the dissolution of the chantries and collegiate churches, they made provision for All Saints to be served by a vicar with an assistant priest but made no mention of a school in Derby or of the continuing need to sustain schoolmasters there out of the funds which had accrued to the Crown.[9]

All one can safely affirm from the available medieval and pre-Reformation evidence is that there was a school in Derby before 1159 and probably a series of schoolmasters from the early fifteenth century, presumably providing education in grammar. In each case a school or schoolmasters were associated with the Church: in the 1150s with Darley Abbey and in 1483 with All Saints. Continuity between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries cannot be established, only surmised. Whether grammar school education was then endowed in Derby or whether there was a schoolhouse remains, as yet, a matter for speculation rather than fact.

On 21 May 1554 Mary I by letters patent granted to the Corporation of the Borough of Derby an estate in and around the town which the Crown had acquired from the dissolution of local monasteries, the college of All Saints and the town's Trinity Gild and chantries, on condition that the Corporation paid annual stipends to three vicars to serve the churches of All Saints and St Alkmund and to a schoolmaster and usher. The grant was not enlightened royal beneficence. It probably was the product of local initiative and negotiation with the Court of Augmentations. In return for a purchase price of £266 13s 4d the corporation bought an estate with an annual rental value of £77 2s 7d and saddled with a yearly reserved rent to the Crown of £41 15s 11d, a sum which virtually met the royal government's current obligations to pay annual pensions for life to the ex-staff of All Saints College and the town's ex-chantrists.[10] Although the purchase price was under eight times the annual rental value and the usual price for estates was twenty years or even over, the large perpetual reserved rent resulted in the Corporation paying over the market price after just over ten years, by which time the pensioners were either dead or the Crown's obligations to them had otherwise ceased. These terms seem unfavourable to the Borough but the Corporation probably agreed to them because the properties in the grant were undervalued. It is not possible to trace all the properties in the rent rolls of the Borough's chamberlains nearest in date to the grant but the rents from the ex-prebendal lands of All Saints in Little Chester, recorded in 1581, 1591 and 1596, suggest that the Corporation eventually profited from its purchase despite the terms of the letters patent.[11]

The salaries of the schoolmaster and usher (£13 6s 8d), laid down in 1554, were not particularly generous. For comparison, three years later Sir John Porte provided the headmaster and usher of his school at Repton with £29 and £20 a year respectively. In practice the Corporation was soon paying bigger wages. Its bailiffs revealed in a bill directed to the court of the Exchequer, Michaelmas 1589, that the salaries of '*the schoolmaster and under schoolmaster*' had been supplemented by 20 nobles (£6 13s 4d). Jane Walton in her will, proved in 1606, gave to the Corporation in trust £40 to augment their incomes as well as £100 to the master and fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, for the support of scholars from Derby School. According to the chamberlains' rent roll from the late 1630s the headmaster was receiving £20 a year, including £2 from Mrs Walton's foundation, the middle schoolmaster £12, including £1 from the same charity and the usher £8. In 1678-9 the headmaster received £40, the second master £20 and the usher £12 while Sir Simon Degge was paid ten shillings rent a year '*for a house of Office for ye Schollars*', the earliest reference to the school's lavatories.[12]

Apart from Mrs Walton's bequest no other townsmen left legacies to the school's endowments in wills dated before 1650. Their priorities, presumably reflective of their interests and concerns, lay in bequests to the poor,

followed by gifts to the clergy and parish churches. The provision of grammar school education was primarily the affair of the Corporation during the century after 1554.

Mary's grant seems to mark an important beginning in the history of education in Derby. The town clearly possessed an endowed school from 1554 and for the first time the Corporation, as opposed the Church, is recorded as having a concern in the education of the town's youth, though this might have as much to do with the survival of evidence than with the actual circumstances. The grant marks the start of a more richly recorded history of grammar school education in the town. The names of schoolmasters occur with greater frequency than before and those of some of the *alumni* emerge for the first time as well as evidence for the construction of a school building.

The first recorded schoolmaster that I have traced after 1554 is one John Dyckensonns '*pubes derbiensis moderator*' (lit. governor of the youth of Derby) who subscribed to the Elizabethan Church Settlement at Derby on 19 September 1559. Thereafter a number of the schoolmasters of Derby School are named in the visitation, licensing and subscription records of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. In a visitation call book of 1597 Gregory Gilbert appears as headmaster and Thomas Swetnam as usher. Gilbert had been master of the school since at least January 1594 when he had been one of the prisers of an inventory. Thomas Thompson and Richard Allestrie appeared to exhibit their licences as schoolmasters under St Peter's Parish at a visitation in 1616. At the same time Thomas Dewksburie of All Saints parish also exhibited a schoolmaster's licence, though whether he taught at the grammar school in St Peter's parish or was running a separate establishment is uncertain. On 14 December 1635 John Wyersdale, MA, vicar of St Peter, Derby, was licensed to teach boys in his parish or elsewhere in the archdeaconry of Derby. Peter Whiting, MA, was licensed to teach boys in the free school of Derby on 15 April 1636 and John Bingham, BA, was licensed at Derby to teach boys after his subscription on 13 June 1636. Whiting was in his post during Bishop Wright's visitation of his diocese in 1639 when Thomas Burton schoolmaster of St Peter Parish was cited before the visitation court '*for reading divine service and buryinge the dead being not lycenced nor in Orders*'.

With the collapse and then abolition of episcopal government from 1642 until the restoration there is a gap in the diocesan records until 1662 when George Hill subscribed as headmaster on 21 August and John Ward as usher and curate of Quarndon on 6 August. They also paid the clerical subsidy to the king as headmaster and usher in late 1661. When Bishop Hacket visited his diocese in September 1662 Hill's name was crossed out in the visitation call book as headmaster upon his appointment as rector of Breadsall. John Ward and Stephen Wain then were listed as schoolmasters in Derby.[13]

Diocesan and related records provide an incomplete list of the schoolmasters of Derby School, partly because of their fragmentary survival and partly because before 1642 bishops seem more concerned about checking and recording in their visitation call books the credentials of the parochial and assistant clergy than the licences of schoolmasters. After 1662 the records are more complete and the information in them us fuller. For all their deficiencies the diocesan records reveal the incompleteness and probable inaccuracies of Tacchella's lists of headmasters and assistant masters before 1662.

As these call books and licensing records were then unavailable to him, he had to rely on the admission books and matriculation records of the universities and their colleges available in print to supply him with the names of schoolmasters as well as former pupils of Derby School. The admission book of St John's College, Cambridge, used by Tacchella, names a Mr Rayner as the Derby schoolmaster who had taught two students before their admission between 1654 and 1656 and a Mr Hill (George Hill) who had educated Samuel Stubber for three years before his admission in the college book on 31 January 1659 and Charles Wheldon for four years before 7 May 1660. Calamy's lives of nonconformist ministers, ousted from their parish livings in 1662, reveals that John Bingham rose from usher to be master of the school.

Tacchella and Leach claimed that a Richard Johnson was master of the school and that John Cotton, his pupil, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, aged thirteen, in 1597. This is unlikely; diocesan records show that the master was then Gregory Gilbert; Richard Johnson became vicar of St Werburgh's church in 1608 and, if the same Johnson, was elected a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1597, the culmination of a career in the college which began c1591. The earliest published life of John Cotton only mentions that he was educated at the school without reference to the name of the master who taught him. Tacchella also seems to have gone in for wishful thinking. His inclusion of Gervase Hall to the list of headmasters seems based on an assumption

that as a former usher of Nottingham High School he came to Derby seeking a teaching promotion. Diocesan and parish records record him as the vicar of Elvaston 1612-21 and curate of All Saints, Derby, 1621-32. Tacchella lists a Thomas "Jinkerson" as an assistant master in 1637, though it seems likely that he misread the name for one Thomas Inkersall, then the town crier and sexton of All Saints. His register obviously needs to be used with caution.[14]

From the details we have of them, the schoolmasters of Derby School were typical of their genre at this time. Several were known to be graduates or matriculands of the universities (Swetnam, Wyersdale, Whiting, Bingham, Brandreth, Hill). They were usually in holy orders and some combined a teaching post in the school with pastoral duties in and around the town. Thomas Swetnam was curate of St Alkmund's from 1586 to 1605, Thomas Dewksburie or Ducksburie served All Saints and St Michael's between 1609 and the late 1640s and Richard Allestrie served Normanton by Derby in 1620 and Osmaston by Derby in 1625. When recorded as schoolmasters, they were generally at the beginning of their careers (Allestrie, Whiting, Bingham, Hill), a number later gaining promotion to more lucrative parish livings. Thomas Swetnam ended up a vicar of Youlgreave 1605-24, John Wyersdale rector of Bradley by 1650, Peter Whiting vicar of Lullington from 1647 and John Bingham vicar of Marston upon Dove by 1650 until 1662.

Tacchella's register lists the names of 57 alumni of the Derby School before 1665. Even if his register were reliable, this group would represent a fraction of those educated in the school since 1554, but the accuracy of his work is again doubtful. Over a third of the names listed lack any supporting evidence. He used the panelling of the schoolroom with the names and dates of pupils carved into it as a source. A search of what remains today might confirm his findings, though some of his readings look odd - Eley, Schobel, Hintomer. He was cavalier in his use of records of university education. He had tended to assume that natives of Derby and its surroundings must have been educated at Derby School, even though these records do not always specifically say so. The first recorded university entrant in his list was Gilbert Haughton who matriculated after entry to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1578 but Oxford University matriculation records then only record the county of the matriculand's origin and make no mention of previous education. Tacchella seems to have included him on his list because his father was a former bailiff of the town. Given the connection of the Porte family as benefactors of both Brasenose College and Repton School, one might suggest that he was educated at Repton with as much justification. Many other examples could be cited to demonstrate Tacchella's poor methodology or downright error.[15]

A further search of admissions and matriculation records of the universities and the inns of court might provide a more accurate register. Even so, the names of only a minority of pupils would be recoverable as few would have gone on to the universities and inns and these sources record details of previous schooling inconsistently an occasionally. They are invaluable for claiming *alumni* who won fame and fortune or both, something which was of concern to Tacchella, and for providing the name of an occasional schoolmaster, but tell us nothing about the education offered by the school. The size of the school, its popularity and success, the range of education it offered and the precise details of its curriculum, remain, as yet, unknown, though some details might emerge about the curriculum if the early seventeenth century school books of Francis Sitwell still exist in the library of Renishaw Hall. Leach recorded that they were '*supposed to be extant*' in 1907. An initial impression is that it never gained during its first century from 1554 the regional reputation nor the size that Repton School enjoyed under Thomas Whitehead, the headmaster from 1621 until 1639.[16]

The school house was erected in St Peter's churchyard some years after 1554. In his will dated 30 November 1565 George Greyves bequeathed ten shillings towards its building. When answering a bill against him in the court of the Exchequer on 30 April 1589, John Walton, then archdeacon of Derby and Corporation lecturer, revealed that members of the Corporation, after their grant of St Michael's Church and churchyard by Queen Mary, discussed its conversion into a school and the absorption of its parish into All Saints and St Alkmund's. Walton had opposed the scheme and thereby prevented it. The Corporation, he said, had allowed him to occupy St Michael's vicarage as lecturer for the last twelve or thirteen years (1576-7), suggesting that no new school house had been built by this time. Yet the call book of 1597 places Gregory Gilbert under St Peter Parish, suggesting that the school house was then in its churchyard. The free school is clearly shown there on John Speed's plan of the town in 1610. The dating of the school building is confirmed by Elias Ashmole's notes written in the 1660s. He recorded that Richard Fletcher, thrice bailiff of the town, had been instrumental in the Corporation's construction of a free school. Fletcher, a mercer, who died in 1607, was bailiff in 1578, 1588 and 1597.[17]

After 1554 more details of grammar education in Derby emerge because more records are available. The story is far from complete; much of what survives emerges from stray references in records about other matters. No archive from the school remains for this period, perhaps because it then never had formal records and because the Corporation hall books, which would have probably recorded the appointment of teaching staff and matters relating to the school building and endowments, have not survived. But, however obscure its history, the school after its Marian incarnation, was not without some distinction. In its first century or so it was the school of John Cotton, a founding father of Boston, USA, and the state of Massachusetts and a nonconformist divine; it was the school of John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal. Along with Samuel Bourne, now less eminent, their repute was sufficient for inclusion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, not a bad record for any provincial grammar school. The old school house in St Peter's churchyard is a significant monument to municipal endeavour, marking the widening of the Corporation's horizon from medieval concern with economic and judicial privileges towards the provision of social and cultural services. It was the Corporation's response to the Renaissance and Reformation.

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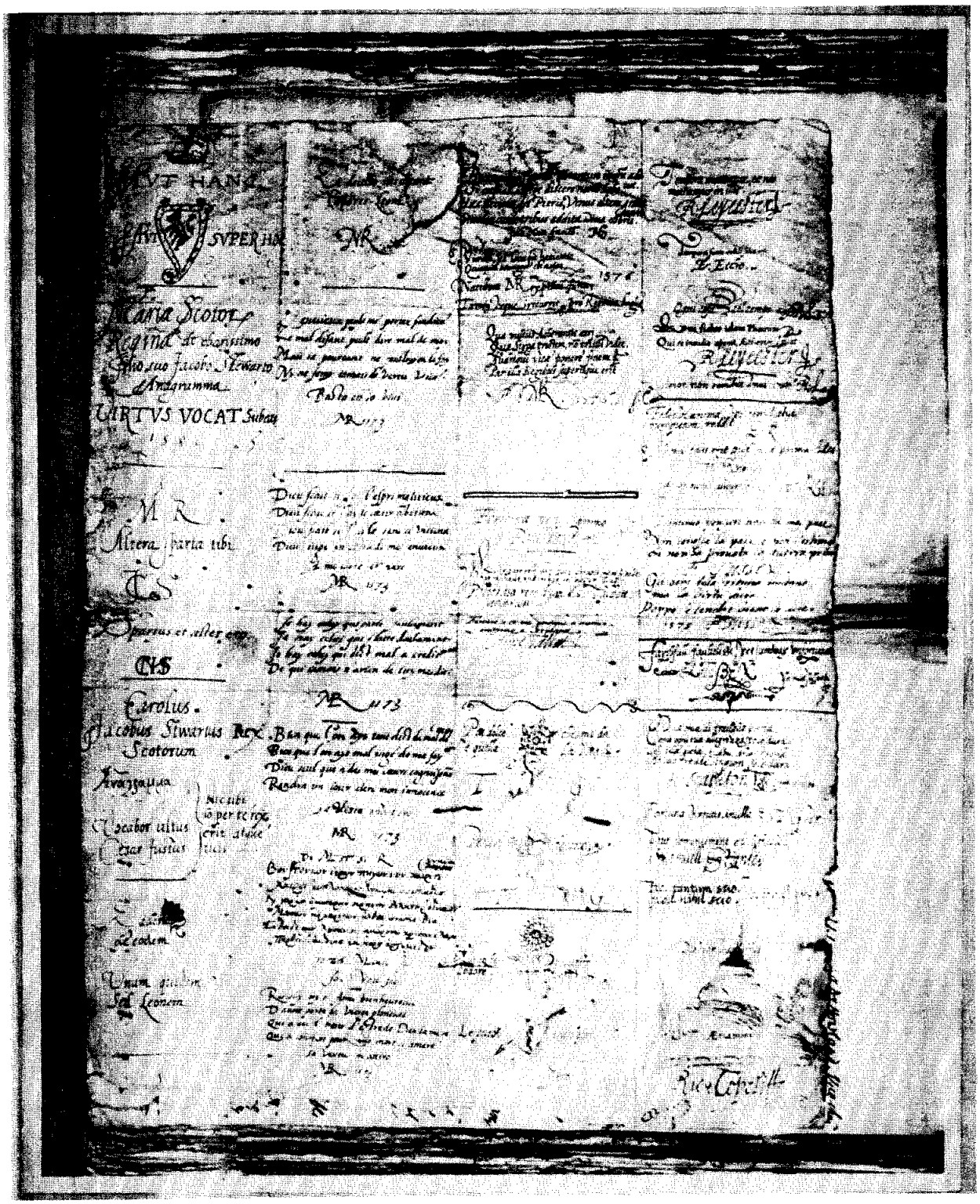

Fig 1. 'Things written in the glasse windowes at Buxstons'
(Longleat Portland Papers, Vol I, f.105). Reproduced by permission of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, Great Britain.

'THINGS WRITTEN IN THE GLASSE WINDOWES AT BUXSTONS'

(by Mike Langham,

with translations by Anthony Mellor

Introduction

In the archive of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat there exists a written record of messages and sketches scratched on a window of the Hall at Buxton between 1573 and 1582. This is a significant document in the context of the visits to Buxton by the captive Mary Queen of Scots and important members of the Elizabethan court. The inscriptions on the copy of the window are in Italian, French and Latin as well as English and the window has been copied in, what appears to be, facsimile form to include sketches of flowers, arms, a volcano and different styles of calligraphy. One indication of the accuracy of this copy may be had by comparing the signatures of the Earl of Leicester which closely resemble his own hand. It is not known who copied the window but it has been suggested that the copy was taken sometime between 1582 and 1584 and retained by Michael Hicks, a secretary to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Burghley.[1] The copy is part of the Portland or Harley papers which were collected by Robert Harley, the first Earl of Oxford, and passed to Edward Harley, the second Earl and then to his only surviving child, Margaret, who was married to a Duke of Portland. Margaret sold much of the collection to the nation in 1753. The 'Glasse Windowes' copy was amongst some of the papers retained and, on the death of Margaret, passed to passed her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish Bentinck, the wife of Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth and afterwards first Marquess of Bath, owner of Longleat from 1751 to 1796. Volume I of the Portland Papers is described in the Longleat Calendar as follows: 'Autograph letters of celebrities, with other select papers; 1516-1612'. The Portland Papers were bound up in their present order at the end of the 19th century; the calendar and index to them dates from 1899.[2]

The 'Glasse Windowes' record shows messages, verse and drawings made by Mary Queen of Scots during her visits to Buxton Spa and inscriptions by other notables including Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. In the history of Buxton it is a most important source document and, although it has been mentioned by some researchers, as far as we can ascertain, apart from a single piece by Blackburne-Daniel for the Historic Manuscripts Commission[3] and some commentary by Waldman,[4] no one has translated the document or made any real attempt to relate the messages scratched on the window to the social and political situation at the time. This paper is an attempt to do that.

Buxton the Spa

In 1569 the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, George Talbot, was given custody of Mary Queen of Scots, an onerous task which was to occupy him for 15 of the almost 19 years she spent in captivity. During that time the Scottish Queen spent time at Chatsworth and places close by including Tutbury Castle, Sheffield, Wingfield and Buxton. She came to Buxton seeking cures for her illnesses which have been variously described as Porphyria, 'digestive upsets', headaches, rheumatism and recurring pain in the side.[5] The Earl was a major landowner in northern England and had enhanced his property holdings when he married Bess of Hardwick in 1568. He visited Buxton in 1569 seeking treatment for gout in his hands and legs and, from his own report, benefited greatly from taking the waters. Mary Queen of Scots first requested to go to Buxton's Well in 1571 and she renewed her request in 1572 but Queen Elizabeth would not allow a visit, her reason being that the Hall being built by the Earl of Shrewsbury was not ready. Queen Elizabeth was very wary of Mary Queen of Scots who was the natural leader of a large Catholic minority and posed a very real challenge to the English throne. Given the political intrigue and plotting of the time, Buxton, a remote village in the hills, represented a possible safe haven for the Scottish Queen and a consequent security risk for Queen Elizabeth. The correspondence between the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury and the royal court, principally Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, reflects the great suspicion with which Queen Elizabeth viewed Mary's visits to Buxton. On 10 August 1573 Lord Burghley wrote to Shrewsbury saying that the Queen was content that he should move Mary Queen of Scots to Buxton if he thinks that he can do so without peril and if strangers can be kept away whilst she is there.[6] The Scottish Queen came to Buxton in August and September of 1573 and from written records we know that she returned in 1576, 1580, 1582 and 1584, usually for several weeks in the summer.[7] Like bees around a honey pot she was followed to Buxton by members of the royal court, including very influential figures. Lord Burghley visited several times and met with the Earl of Shrewsbury who, whilst fulfilling his

duties as Queen Mary's gaoler, took the waters for his gout. Other important visitors included Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State; Lady Mildmay, wife of Sir Walter, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Gilbert and Lady Mary Talbot; Lord Francis and Lady Ann Talbot; the Earl of Essex and his wife Lettice; the Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Essex and his wife Frances; Dr Bayley (Queen Elizabeth's and Earl of Leicester's physician) and Richard Topcliffe, the Catholic persecutor.[8]

The visits of Mary Queen of Scots were greatly enjoyed by her and did much to ease her health and low spirits. In her plea to be allowed to visit in 1580 she wrote '... *I beg you, forthwith to allow me to journey to the baths of Buxton, forasmuch as I have not found here any remedy better for the complaint in my side* ...'[9] Many of the nobility came for a water cure. The Earl of Sussex, for example, drank three pints a day, increasing daily by one extra pint until he reached eight pints, then reducing by a pint a day back to three pints.[10] The Earl of Leicester was advised, in July of 1576, that wherever he travelled he must '... *drink Buxton Water twenty days together* ...'[11] The idea of spending time at baths and wells for healing and relaxation purposes was becoming popular amongst the nobility and gentry at this time. Hembry has pointed out that this new habit was becoming an accepted part of the social routine of the elite with humbler people drawn in their wake and, in this way, the secular holiday was beginning to emerge.[12] Undoubtedly Bess of Hardwick used her considerable business acumen to promote Buxton as a fashionable watering place and it is clear, from correspondence, that Shrewsbury's Hall was very busy during this time and Buxton was enjoying extensive royal patronage. She had a sharp wit, however, for when the Earl of Leicester left Buxton limping (due to a '*boyle*' on his leg) she enquired if Buxton sent sound men home halting.[13]

Buxton a Centre for Plotters

However, not all who visited came just to take the waters, some it would seem came for less innocent reasons. Queen Elizabeth was concerned that Mary could enhance her cause by easy access to the outside world, she was fearful that Mary would endear herself to the common people so the Earl of Shrewsbury was constantly harried to ensure that the Scottish Queen was suitably guarded. In 1575 he was obliged to refute the charge that Mary had too much freedom in being allowed to talk to a cripple at the bath and, writing to Lord Burghley in 1580, he gave examples of his strict surveillance at Buxton. In a later latter he said that he was guarding her circumspectly, as the Queen desired and added '... *the desire I have to serve my sovereign makes peril and pain a pleasure to me* ...'.[14] In fact both the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Burghley came under the suspicion of Queen Elizabeth as being sympathetic to the cause of the Scottish Queen. Shrewsbury wrote many letters expressing his fidelity to Queen Elizabeth since she was frequently imparting her suspicions to him. He was not helped by the kind of rumours circulated by Corker and Hawarth, two clergymen who intimidated that both Shrewsbury and his son, Lord Gilbert Talbot, secretly favoured the interests of the Queen of Scots.[15] In December 1575 Lord Burghley, writing to Shrewsbury, gave as one of his reasons for not consenting to the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Shrewsbury's son Edward that he had been sharply reproved for going to Buxton by the Queen who was ready to believe that he had been invited there by Shrewsbury to '... *enter into intelligence with the Queen of Scots* ...'. In view of this he thought it circumspect that their two families should not be linked at this time. In an explanatory footnote on this letter Lodge points out that even Burghley, her oldest and most faithful servant, was not immune from the Queen's jealousy and mistrust and the letter serves to reinforce the difficult line which both earls had to tread.[16]

There is little doubt, however, that intrigue and plotting was taking place in this remote place in the hills for in 1574 Alexander Hamilton, a schoolmaster, was charged with receiving and conveying plotters' letters to Mary Queen of Scots. In his confession he said he was in Buxton at Whitsuntide with another prisoner, Henry Cockyn, who confessed to the same.[17] Dr Edward Astlowe, who accompanied the Earl of Essex to Buxton, was a sympathiser of Mary, later tortured for conspiracy and we know that Richard Topcliffe, the Roman Catholic persecutor visited the town. In a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury he describes the arrest and imprisonment of Papists in Norfolk and goes on to say '... *I was so happy lately ... that her Majesty did tell me of sundry lewd Popish beasts that have resorted to Buxton from these countries since my Lord did come from thence ... among whom there is a detestable Popish priest, one Durham or Durande, as I remember at the bath, or lurking in those parts after the ladies* ...'. He requests that Shrewsbury apprehend and examine this priest and commit him for trial if the least piece of evidence can be found.[18]

Buxton may be connected with Mary's ultimate conviction of complicity in the Babington plot which led to her execution at Fotheringham Castle in 1587. Sir Anthony Babington was a Derbyshire Squire who lived at Dethick. He was a Roman Catholic, a young man fired with zealous enthusiasm for Mary's cause and the

leader of a group who planned to dethrone Elizabeth in favour of Mary. The early seeds of this plot could have been sown in Buxton for there is evidence, through the confession of a man called Anthony Tyrell, of a meeting of gentlemen and priests at *St. Anne of Buckstones* at which a rebellion had been planned.[19] Babington and his conspirators were subsequently tried and put to death. It is against this background of plotting and intrigue that we move to examine the glasse windowes in more detail.

The *Glasse Windowes* at Buxton

The copy of the window (see fig. 1) is in four columns. It is not possible to judge from the copy the size of the window or whether the four columns were separated by lead glazing strips. Indeed the description *windowes* in the plural could suggest four windows separated by stone mullions. During the 16th century most window glass was made using the broad or muff process. This was a hand operation in which an extended bubble of glass was blown and then made into a cylinder. After cutting the cylinder along its length the glass was reheated and flattened. Glass made by this process was relatively small so larger window areas were made using lead, though leaded glass was also very much the style used at this period not only for stained and painted glass but also for clear glass. It is likely that the glass was of soda-lime which produced a greenish tint and a fairly hard surface.[20] As far as we can ascertain, scratching messages on glass was quite rare in the 16th century and writing on glass with a diamond point would not have been easy. The window is contemporaneous with the work of Italian glass makers who established themselves in London in 1571 under the leadership of Giacomo Verzelini and who decorated clear glass goblets using diamond points. There is, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Dier Goblet attributed to Jacopo Verzelini, dated 1581, which contains writing and motifs of a similar style to that found on the Buxton window. This background evidence suggests that the glass window at Buxton was a remarkable piece, the product of many hours of work, certainly not a quick and easy way of leaving messages. It is clear, however, that those writing on the window required a degree of skill, particularly for the drawings, and a high level of literacy; they would also need a diamond hard point, most probably a ring. It is also clear that writers would be leaving a permanent and very public message.

Waldman[21] has suggested that many of these messages were straightforward memorials of their stay with some borrowings from the classics but others were more cryptic. It the interpretation which follows we have attempted to review the significance of each of the messages in relation to what is known about the writer.

Interpretation of the Window

First Column

The whole of the first column contains messages by Mary Queen of Scots. At the head of the column is a sketch of a crown with the words *Aut hanc, aut super hoc.* [shield with the Scottish lion] which translates as: *Either this* [the crown] *or above/on this* [the shield]. The gender here is significant, the crown [corono] is feminine whilst the shield [scutum] is neuter. The way in which it is written clearly sets out the crown as the object of someone's thought. In classical Latin this could be something like *I see this* or *I want this* [shield]. It is also worth noting the practice in early Roman and Ancient Greece for the warrior to be given a shield, sent out and told to come back either 'with it' or 'on it'. This relates to the concept of shame in the ancient world, rather like the present Japanese concept of losing face.

This seems, then, to be a statement by Mary Queen of Scots of her situation and how she views her circumstances. Its position at the head of the first column of the window may be significant but we speculate later on whether this column could be one single piece of writing by her.

Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ de charissimo filio suo Jacobo Stewarto Anagramma. Virtus vocat subeas. 1582.
Translates as: *[By] Mary Queen of Scots about her dearest son, James Stewart. Anagram/messgae. Courage calls may you go up [or may you ascend].*

The inclusion of the word *suo* in classical Latin strengthens the sense, the word can be either her or his. The word *Virtus* is from *vir* [man] and can be said to represent everything a man should have, ie a person demanding respect. A strong attribute in Roman times. It is interesting to compare this statement with the words of Mary Queen of Scots at the birth of her son in 1566 '*... this is the son whom I hope shall first unite the two kingdoms of Scotland and England*'.[22] Her spelling of the family name as 'Stewart' raises an interesting point. Antonia Fraser has pointed out that modern practice indicates that Mary Queen of Scots was born a Stewart

after her father and became Stuart through her marriage to Lord Darnley. However she adopted the Anglo-French spelling of Stuart during her upbringing in France and used it in the many devices and anagrams of her name. James, her son, was quite properly a Stuart, taking the name of his father Lord Darnley.[23] Yet here, in this window, she uses the spelling Stewart (or at least *Stewarto* and *Stwartus*) both times in connection with her son. Whilst we recognise that, at this time, people often spell their own name in a variety of different ways, nevertheless it may be significant that she had resorted to using her old family name when making such a powerful case as we see in this window.

MR. Altera parta tibi. JCS. Spartus et alter ego. Monogram of MCJS.
This translates as: *You are one of a pair and I the other and, indeed, I will be the other Spartan king.*

The word *Altera* is feminine and *alter* is masculine. Conventionally it is usual for these words, meaning *one of a pair* to be seen in pairs in a sentence. This construction suggests that Mary Queen of Scots is expecting an answer. The word *spartus* does not translate and we have assumed it to be *Spartanus* shortened. In the state of Sparta there were two kings, one of whom remained at home whilst the other was out fighting. In the sense of this statement James Stewart would be the other king.

The monogram *MCJS* can be read as joining Mary Queen of Scots with James Stewart, the *CJ* is Charles James, the *M* is Mary and they both share the *S* for Stewart. This would fit the sense of the message and the later messages in this section of the window. As there is no *J* in classical Latin we have interpreted the *I* as *J*.

Carolus. Jacobus Stwartus Rex Scotorum. Avaypαμμα [Greek word]
Vocabor ultus Cæsar Justus. Hic tibi non per te rex erit atque tuis.

This translates as: *Charles James Stewart King of the Scots.* [The Greek word is *anagramma* or *message*] *I shall be called the just king having taken vengeance. This [man[will be king for you, not through you, but for your people.*

Mary Queen of Scots seems to be saying that James Stewart will be king not through anything you do but he will bring benefit to you. She could be saying that she will not be king but he will be so and this will be of benefit to the people. Or she could be speaking to herself or thinking aloud saying this will be good for your cause. The word order in the second sentence is important. The verb, which in Latin is usually found at the end of the sentence, is at the beginning, ie *Vocabor - I shall be called* whilst *Justus - just* is given prominence at the end of the sentence where the most important word was usually put. The layout of this writing is significant, the final sentence is bracketed to the earlier sentence almost as an afterthought.

Eadem de eodem. [simple flower drawing] *Unum quidem, Sed Leonum*
Translates as: *The same* [f] *from* [or *about*] *the same* [m.] *One indeed but lion. Both he and I but it is still the Scottish lion.*

The sense of this is either one of us. Mary Queen of Scots seems to be indicating that she has given up any pretension to the throne but she is telling James that he will succeed and that the two of them are one. This appears to be quite a desperate statement in respect of her position vis a vis the English throne. James had become James VI of Scotland in 1567 after Mary Queen of Scots was forced to abdicate over alleged complicity in the murder of her Consort King, Lord Darnley. During her imprisonment Mary kept a miniature of James as a boy but mother and son never met during this time.

This entire column could be viewed as a single message or one which was added to by Mary Queen of Scots to form a single coherent message. It is important to compare the translation with the layout and style of writing. For example the phrase *MR. Altera parta tibi. JCS. - One part of a pair to you and I* is laid out in a particular way with the phrase sandwiched vertically between *MR.* and *JCS,* underneath is *Spartus et alter ero* and below the monogram *MCJS.* The meaning of the sentences is enhanced by the layout, style of writing and, in some cases, drawings or illustration. It is interesting to note also that some messages in this first column are dated 1582 and the whole column may date to that time when the Scottish Queen had been in prison for some 13 years. The despondent or resigned tone to her writings may be compared with her messages in the second column which are of a much earlier date.

Second column

The second column contains a number of pieces written by Mary Queen of Scots, mainly dated 1573, the year of her first visit to Buxton, and a piece of Greek verse by her secretary, Jaques Nau, dated 1576.

Et dejecto insultant lepores leoni. MR
This translates as: *The lion is cast down and is taunted by the hares.*

There follows a series of writings:

L'envieux peult me porter prejudice
Le mal disant peult dire mal de moy
Mais ja poutant ne fauldray en la foy
Ny ne feray jamais de virtu vice
Basta ch'io vivi. MR 1573.

This translates as:
The envious one can bear false witness against me
The one who speaks evil can speak evil of me
But I, however, will not lack faith
Nor will I ever make a vice out of virtue
It is enough that I am alive MR 1573

Note the word *foy* was often used to denote Christian faith.

Dieu scait si j'ay l'espri malicieux
Dieu scait si j'ay Le cœur ambitieux
Dieu scait si j'ay le send si vicieux
Dieu juge en estre do ma envieux
A me juste e rare MR 1573

Translates as:
God knows if I have a malicious mind
God knows if I have an ambitious heart
God knows if my feelings are so full of vice
God judges if I am so envious
From me justly and rarely MR 1573

Je hay celuy qui parte faulsement
Je hay celuy qui flatte doulcement
Je hay celuy qui dici mal a credit
De qui jamais n'a rien de luy mesdit MR 1573

Translates as:
I hate the one who speaks falsely
I hate the one who flatters me sweetly
I hate the one who speaks evil of the
person who has never said anything wrong of him MR 1573

Bien que l'on aye tant dict de mal de moy
Bien que l'on aye mal juge' de ma foy
Dieu seul qui a de mes cœurs cognoissance
Rendra un jour, clere mon innocence
Sa vertu m'attire MR 1573

Translates as:
Although people have said so much evil about me
Although people have misjudged my faith

God alone who knows the workings of my heart
Will one day make my innocence clear
His virtue attracts me MR 1573

These four pieces are protestations of her innocence and show a strong sense of being misjudged. She would no doubt have felt a real sense of frustration in being unable to defend herself. Here she uses the public medium of the window to set out her position and the question is were these messages left in any sense to inform or inspire others? She had, by this time, been imprisoned for about four years and was, as we have noted, at the centre of plotting and intrigues, some of which was either originating or being furthered in Buxton.

There follows a piece of verse of Greek dedicated to Mary Queen of Scots written by Jaques Nau which has been translated by Mr Blackburne-Daniel for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.[24]

De M[aria] S[tuart] Sc[otorum] R[egina]
After Mary Queen of Scots

Hail, ye nymphs of the holy springs of Buxton,
Hail, ye fair-haired nymphs of the mountains!
For the Goddess, the Queen of the Muses and Graces
Came to your spring, the soother of pains.
There the maidens from the band of chaste Artemis
Bathed her and anointed her with ambrosial oil
1576 Mens[e] Jul. Jac. Nau Fac.

The last line indicates that Jaques Nau wrote this in the month of July 1576. Nau had become Mary Queen of Scots secretary in 1575 but he is more usually referred to by the Christian name 'Claude'. The compiler of the Historical Manuscripts Commission Vol II offers two possibilities for this difference in name, one being that he was actually 'Jaques Claude' but later dropped the use of 'Jaques'.[25] The poem is a scholarly piece, the grammar fits together well with the use of particles and may be seen to be typical of Nau who was clever and a good linquist but also self-centred and fond of personal display. This is, in fact, a very early poem in praise of St Anne's Well. It predates the verse by Drayton in his *Poly-Olbion* covering Derbyshire which appeared in 1622.[26] It is, in fact, contemporary with the earliest we have found which is the following piece written by Thomas Lupton as a preface to Dr John Jones' book of 1572.

Through foreign soyle in worthy gifts doth marvellously abound,
yet England may be bold to bost wherin the like are found.
How many use to bathes abrode far hence with cost to range
whereby they may their lothsome lims to helthfull members change
But such (onlesse they more desire for will than helth to rome)
They may have help with charges lesse and sooner, here at home
At Buckstones bathes whose vertues here is lernedly displayd
Therfore dis daine not this to read that hath the same bewrayd[26]

It is clear to see which is the more scholarly piece of the two and Nau's verse, a very early piece in praise of Buxton Well, has not received the recognition it deserves.

The final entry in the second column is by Mary Queen of Scots and is in praise of St Anne.

Resjouy toy o Anne bienheureuse
D'avoir porte la Vierge glorieuse
Qui a eu l'heur d'estre de Dieu la mere
Qui a souffert pour nous mort si amere
Sa v[e]rtu m'attire. MR 1573

This translates as:
Rejoice o fortunate Anne

For having born the glorious virgin
Who had the happiness t o be the mother of God
Who suffered for us such a bitter death
Her [or His] virtue attracts me. MR 1573

Third column

Buxtonicas the[r]mas quod tantum numen ad[i]vit
Si cupias lector descere nomen habe
Hæc decima est Pieris, Venus altera gratia quarta
Stewarta una tribus addita Diva choris
Jac. Nau facieb: (monogram)

This is a second piece by secretary Jaques Nau in which he compares the fame of Buxton Well to that of Venus and to a spring in Greece not far from Olympia called Piera in which those who took part in the Olympic games would bathe. The grammar of this piece would cope with a translation such as:

If you are looking at the fame of these things [ie Buxton springs], *one part is as Piera, another is Venus, a third is Grace [or one of the Graces] and a fourth is Mary Queen of Scots.*

A possible alternative would be:

A small part of its fame is that it is a spring, another part is the association with Venus, a further part is that it is associated with the Graces, but the most part of its fame, if you want to know why this St Anne's Well at Buxton is so well known, it is because of Mary Queen of Scots.

So here Nau is flattering his employer, though it is true to say that the visits of Mary Queen of Scots to Buxton Well heightened the emerging Elizabethan interest in spas and water treatments.

Durum sed leve fit patientia
Quicquid corrigere est nefas MR 1576
Naturam expella furea
Tamen usque recurrit pro reginua Angliæ.

Translates as:
But what is hard becomes bearable through the ability to suffer
It is a crime to set anything straight. MR 1576
It is completely against anything I can do to set things straight
You may through out the family bloodline with a fork.
However, it continually comes back from [on behalf of] the Queen of England.

Mary Queen of Scots uses the word *nefas* which in Roman times was the very worst thing to be accused of, ie offending against the order of the Gods. It is possible that this passage is paraphrased from one of Horace's letters. We see here a strong sense of frustration coupled with a firm belief that her line to the throne of England will continue.

Quæ Vultus Acherontis atri
Quæ Styga tristem non tristis videt
Audetque vitæ ponere finem
Par illa regibus superisque erit. MR 1576

Translates as:
Whoever sees the face of black Acheron,
Whoever sees the sad Styx and is not sad
And dares to put an end to her life
She will be equal to kings and gods MR 1576

Here Mary Queen of Scots is expressing some very powerful sentiments, she does not seem to be proposing suicide but, perhaps, is speaking of reaching the end of her life. The Acheron is a river of the dead like the river Styx. The use of the word *illa* strengthens the female in the sense.

Fortuna non l'animo Pembroke

Translation:
By chance not by mind

We now move to messages left by those other than Mary Queen of Scots and her secretary and, in most cases, it is possible to identify who the writer was enabling us to speculate a little on what might be behind some of the messages. Pembroke here refers to Henry Herbert the second Earl of Pembroke who was friend of the Earl of Leicester. He was a son-in-law to the Earl of Shrewsbury by his first marriage and brother-in-law to Sir Phillip Sidney by his second marriage. His message is certainly cryptic though in relation to the layout of this column of the window, it does not appear to refer to the writing of the Scottish Queen above. It looks more likely to be a maxim, perhaps of the time.

My careless care hath brought me to that passe
What is, shalbe, and wishe yt never was
Patienta remedium dolorum. F. Talbott.

The last line translates:
The ability to suffer is the remedy for pains.

Fortune if to me somtyme a mother
Somtyme a stepdame. Anne Talbott

These two pieces are by husband and wife. F. Talbott was Francis, Lord Talbot, son of the Earl of Shrewsbury and A. Talbott, Anne, his wife, daughter of William Herbert first Earl of Pembroke and sister of the 2nd Earl of Pembroke. She married Francis Talbot in 1561/2. It is difficult to suggest that these messages are any more than observations on their position in life.

The final messages in column 3 are all signed T.G. and include sketches of a rose and other flowers.

Piu dolce e quella che mi de la vita. T.G. [with sketch of rose]
Sweetest is that which gives me life.

Penses de moy. TG [with sketch of four petalled flower like a wild rose but possibly meant for a pansy]
Think about me [or think of me]

Vivo de l'odore di questo flore [with sketch of a composite flower]
I live for the scent of this flower

Le cuebre transperce. T.G. [with sketch of a heart pierced with an arrow]
The heart is pierced.

It is possible that T.G. was Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn, Lancashire and Etwall, Derbyshire. He was a Derbyshire Catholic squire who was implicated in a plot to release Mary Queen of Scots in 1570 and was subsequently sent to the Tower for two years. If the writings are by him they suggest a romancer and if the drawings of the flowers are accurate they show someone of distinct artistic capability. The presence of such a man at Buxton Well would not have gone unobserved by those informing Queen Elizabeth.

Fourth Column

The first set of messages in column four are by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and favourite of Queen Elizabeth. The first three can be seen to form an exchange of opinion. Leicester writes:

Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis. R. Leycester
Times change and we change with them.

This is followed by:
Tempus si fuerit mobile solus eris. E. Eccho
If time is changeable you will be on your own

Unfortunately we cannot say who E. Eccho is but the Earl of Leicester seems to answer the point with:
Ogni cosa col tempo R.L.
*Everything with time [*or *all in good time]*

There are two further pieces by the Earl of Leicester:
Qui fidus idem Phoenix
Qui se invidia aponit Æthiopem lavat R. Leycester.

Whoever is faithful is like the phoenix
Whoever puts himself to envy washes the Ethiopian

In view of Leicester's position and the criticism he aroused[28] this can be seen as a statement concerning the loyalty of others to him. The use of the term Ethiopian is pejorative meaning a stupid person.

Amor non omnibus unus. R.L.
One love is not for everyone.

The placing of the word *unus* at the end of the sentence strengthens the sense by making the word 'one' very firm. This remaining message is very meaningful when related to the women in his life.

Fidus ut anima ubi semel abiit nunquam reddit. E.R.
Faith, like the breath of life, when it has once departed never returns.

The signature E.R. is probably that of Edward Manners, third Earl of Rutland who later was one of the commissioners to try Mary Queen of Scots.

Ultima talis erit qu[æ] mea prima fides. W. Knollys
My faith will be at the end as it was at the beginning.

Cause or none always one. W. Kn.

W. Knollys was Sir William Knollys the Comptroller, an important official at court. He was a follower of the Earl of Leicester. His first message seems to be responding to that of Edward Manners above and his second expresses a view of his own steadfastness.

Il continuo pensiero non ha mai pace
Non conosce la pace e non l'estima
Chi non ha provata la guerra prima. F. Sussex

Constant thought brings no peace
He who has not experienced war, does not know the value of peace

Gli beni della fortuna mutano ma la virtu dura
Doppo le tenebre viene la luce. 1575 F. Sussex

Fortunes change but life goes on
After darkness comes the dawn

F. Sussex may have been Frances, wife of the third Earl of Sussex, the messages appear to be straightforward aphorisms.

Faythfull, faultelesse, yet sumway unfortunatt.
Yet must suffer. L. Essex

This is written by Lettice, the Countess of Essex, who was the sister of Sir William Knollys. She was the mistress of the Earl of Leicester whom she married in 1578. She was in Buxton in 1574 but her words here may have been written in 1576 when it is likely that she visited Buxton in the company of the Earl of Leicester. They are certainly very apposite to her situation and have an added pathos when one considers the death of her husband, the Earl of Essex, in Ireland later that year.[29]

O vita mia di travaglio piena
Come ogni tua allegrezza poco dura
Cosi tua gioia e come aria serena
Che a le fredde stagion poco dura
R. Stapleton June 17, 1580

O life of mine so full of toil whose happiness is shortlived
Your joy and tranquility is fleeting in the chill of winter

R. Stapleton is Sir Robert Stapleton of Wighill in Yorkshire who was known to be skilled in languages.

Fortuna virtuitis ancilla T. Gter

This translates as *Fortune is the handmaid of virtue.* It is written by Sir Thomas Gerard who wrote and drew on the third column.

Tout commencement est difficile. Samuell Stanley.
Every beginning is difficult.

The writer Samuel Stanley has not been identified.

Hoc tantum scio quod nihil scio. Doctor Bayley
This much I know that I know nothing.

Dr Walter Bayley [or Baily] was Regius Professor of Physic at Oxford University from 1561 to 1582. He was a physician to both Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester and, in 1583, wrote on the waters of Newnham Regis, a bath in Warwickshire close to the Earl of Leicester's seat at Kenilworth. He was in Buxton in 1574. His message is interesting. Is this the protestation of a humble physician or his motto or, perhaps, something a little more cryptic?

[Device of a volcano in eruption] *Ætna mons Dulcior vitæ finis. Ric. Topcliffe*
Literally translated this would be *Mount Ætna is a sweeter end to life.* But, more likely, it means *A better way to end your life is to fall into a volcano or be caught in a volcanic eruption.*

Topcliffe was a professional Catholic persecutor at a time when the informer received a share of the property of those indicted. Earlier in this paper we have noted some of his activities and his words here may give a clue to the intensity with which he pursued his cause.

Conclusion
This analysis of the 'Glasse Windowes' contributes to the knowledge of the visits of Mary Queen of Scots and members of the Elizabethan court to Buxton the Spa in a number of ways. Firstly, a number of the writings offer evidence of the state of mind of the captive queen whilst at Buxton and, although much correspondence survives from this period, here we have public statements engraved on glass for anyone who had access to Shrewsbury's Hall to see. Secondly, there are messages which can be interpreted as cryptic and support the notion of Buxton as a centre for plotters. Thirdly, some could be described as autobiographical in that they tell you about the writer, others are perhaps just maxims or aphorisms but, nevertheless reflective of Elizabethan life. Finally, the analysis has revealed the verse by Jaques Nau as one of the best and earliest known pieces of verse extolling the virtues of Buxton water.

Postscript

Despite the richness of evidence in the 'Glasse Windowes' copy, the most often quoted piece by Mary Queen of Scots is a couplet which does not appear on the copy. It was reputedly scratched by her on a window in the Hall at her last visit in 1584. It is certainly prophetic.

Buxtona quæ calidæ celebrabere nomine lympæ
Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, vale.

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

This was recorded by Camden in 1610, whose copy we have used here,[30] and was subsequently used by many writers on Buxton. Victorian guide books often quoted the couplet and in Poole's Cavern (a show cave in Buxton reputedly visited by Mary Queen of Scots) there exists a fragment of glass with some of the words scratched on it which the Victorian proprietors of the cave suggested was part of the original. Unfortunately the words are scratched in English!

Notes and References

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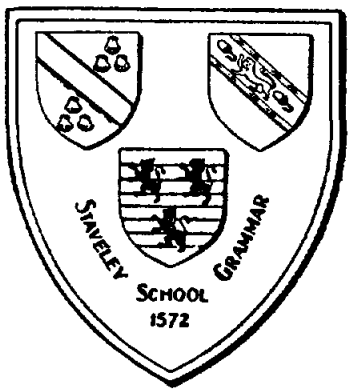
WILLIAM MARGERISON

THE FIRST MASTER OF STAVELEY NETHERTHORPE SCHOOL

(by Pamela Kettle,

The founding date for this school has always been given as 1572 - according to the Lyson's in *Magna Britannica*, 1817, Vol V, who supposedly took their evidence from a Frecheville family document. Detailed research in more recent times seems to suggest a later date of around 1584/5. That the school owes its beginnings to its three traditional founders is a sure fact, for the families were friends and 'gentry' neighbours: Margaret Frecheville, widow of Peter Frecheville (died 1582) of Staveley Hall, Francis Rhodes of Woodthorpe Hall and Robert Sitwell of Netherthorpe Hall. In all probability the benefactors kept the school going from year to year, as a pupil, one Thomas Beckwith, left the school in 1587/8 to proceed to Caius College, Cambridge. It was when making their respective wills that all three benefactors legalised their bequests.



THE ARMS OF:-
FRECHEVILLE, DE RHODES and
SITWELL.

The hamlet of Netherthorpe was a good choice for the school's situation, it being equidistant from Staveley and Woodthorpe. Sadly we have no means of knowing the size and appearance of the original building for it was replaced in 1697 by the present "Old School". But it was to the original school building that William Margerison came as the first Master. A master of Arts of Cambridge University he was probably recommended to the founders as a suitable person for Schoolmaster. Latin was the only subject taught free, for all other subjects the Master was allowed to make a charge. The teaching of Latin demanded a scholar, and such a Master was not likely to settle down in a small place like Staveley in the late 1500s without this extra inducement. He resided at Staveley Hall with the Frechevilles and most probably acted as secretary.

One incident in his life at Staveley throws a vivid light on the internal politics of Elizabethan England. Whilst Master, he wrote the following letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the original of which is still preserved at the College of Arms. London, amongst the Talbot Papers.[1]

> *"Right Honourable and my very good Lord my dutye humbly at command. When it pleaseth yr good L. to require a certificat from me of some words uttered by ffrancis Leeke of the* (Barlow) *Graunge as touchinge a booke of the Sacraments shewed by him to yor Honour, I cannot deny but that I heard hin in Mr. Frechevill's house* (Staveley Hall) *affirm that yor L. had had sight of such a book by him. I mean a booke intreatinge of the Sacraments, and withall he named unto me the author of the said booke wch name I have forgotten. Howbeit good my L. that he ever affirmed it to be on the part of the papistes and that it was in written hand I do not at all concur, only this muche he added to that which*

I have written before, that he could not perceve that you Lordship did much mislike it, or some words in like accord.

And wishing to your honour all happiness I humbly take my leave.

Staley 25 march 1594
Will Margerison

The above letter reflects the state of the country at this time regarding Roman Catholicism. Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury was Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire, and was subject to espionage being suspected of not being sufficiently opposed to papists. Francis Leek of Barlow was a Catholic Recusant and Peter Frecheville (son of Margaret) had a conversation, in fact a religious dispute with him in his house, Staveley Hall, in the presence of the Rector, Mr Kay, and Margerison. To support his argument in favour of Romanism, Leek asserted that he had shown a certain book, to wit, the Catholic Mass Book, apparently in writing, to Earl Shrewsbury and the latter showed no ill disposition towards it. The two witnesses realising that such a statement compromised the Earl, had evidently informed him of the allegation. The Earl wrote at once to Leek accusing him of lying. Leek replied in writing as demanded, that he had never made such a statement. He was obviously fearful of the consequences. The true explanation is not known but the Earl was very anxious about it for he wrote to Frecheville also, as well as to Leek and Margerison, in his efforts to clear himself.

Margerison himself must not have been above suspicion as he numbered amongst his pupils at least three boys from Recusant families. Edward and Robert Eyre of Dunston (Chesterfield) were boarders attending Netherthorpe Grammar School in 1593. Their father, Thomas Eyre, was buried 1st May 1593. His inventory states[2]:

For the table of Mr Edward and Robert Eyre his sonnes at Staveley Schole	*£1.*	*5s*	*0d*
For wyntrnge a cowe for them.		*13s*	*4d*
For the half grass of the same cowe there		*5s*	*0d*

Thomas Beveridge when entering the English College, Rome, to train as a Catholic priest, was obliged to give details of his history before admission (1600). He said that he was the son of Robert and Bridget Beveridge of Sutton, Derbyshire. He went to school at Staveley under an Oxford? tutor, William Margerison, until he was twelve when he resumed his studies at Chesterfield, three miles distant from his father's house. His father was of the middle class, sufficiently well-off to educate his children.[3]

Dame Margaret Frecheville made her will in June 1591, some eleven weeks prior to her death. She could not have been very old as her children were still under age. She left William Margerison £10 and her list of debts states:

"To the Schoolmaster for wages behind one year and ¾ Michaelmas last £14."

The inventory taken shortly after her death names the rooms and their contents at Staveley Hall and gives the furniture provided for Margerison's room as follows:

IN THE SCHOOLMASTER'S CHAMBER			
One trusse bed with vallance and curtains		*5s*	
One Mattress, two feather beds, one bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets, 2 coverlets, and the coverings	*£3*	*6s*	*8d*
One cupboard, one churn, a landiron, & a chamber pot		*5s*	*6d*

William Margerison did not long survive Dame Margaret Frecheville and died in July 1595. It is fairly certain that his death was sudden as he left no will but an inventory of all his goods and chattels was taken on 20 July 1595. The appraisers were Edward Long, Esquire, Robert Hitch, Thomas Bing and John Bilby. The writer has a copy of this inventory but the original, being badly creased and crumpled, particularly at the edges, has

resulted in some of the values being indecipherable. As it was written in a difficult hand it was equally difficult to transcribe! It commences with his most valuable possessions:

In a little press in ould gold	£16	13s	
In another little press	£10		
In a great bag goud and silver	£23		
In his ordinary press	£4	6s	
A greate seale ring and 3 other rings	£3	12s	
One dosen silvr spones	£13	13s	
One silvr bowl and a silvr bell salt (which were presents unto him)	£5		
One press wrought with silvr and goud, and one press of goud cast namely a dubble ducket		24s	

His clothing was modest as one would expect of a schoolmaster of this period but it included a few fineries which he would wear when at table with the Frechevilles and guests.

3 prs. of worsted stockings and one of flannel		16s	
2 Gowns		13s	4d
A satin doublet, 2 other doublets, and one fustian doublet		11s	
3 prs. of Britches		13s	8d
1 Spanish Ruff and one fresh Jerkin		13s	4d
5 shirts and a shirt cloth		18s	
4 Hankerchers, 2 capps, 2 hatts and 3 hatt Bands		?	
2 prs of boots, 3 prs of shoes and portables (slippers)		13s	
One Trunnocke (trunk)		6s	8d
One wainscott chest		10s	
A deske		?	
A lamp		2s	
His bookes	£12	0s	0d

He had a mare on which he would ride to and from school - the mare and its foal were valued at 53s 4d. A saddle and bridle and saddle cloth were worth 6s 8d.

The hours of schooling were long - often commencing as early as 7am and continuing with one long break and several short breaks till 5pm. Considering the paucity of subjects and scarcity of text books, no wonder tempers became strained and the rod was frequently used on the lazy and insubordinate. The birch was then the Master's chief sign of office.

Besides being a schoolmaster, William Margerison was a money lender par excellence! Debts which were recoverable at the time of his death exceeded £250. There were no banks in those days and borrowing money was quite usual. Generally all debts were honoured. While he was not considered of any great standing, those above his station did not hesitate to borrow from him. Young Mr Peter Frecheville was owing him £50 at the time of his (Margerison's) death; Mr Tho. Rhodes owed £34 and Mr Robert Waterhouse owed £20. By no means were all borrowers local people - some lived as far away as York and Hasleborough. The smallest amount borrowed was by a man named Parker of Netherthorpe who owed him 2s at the time of his death. William Margerison's total estate amounted to £398 11s. Its value in 1913 would be roughly fifteen times that amount - £6,000. I will leave it for someone else to reckon the present day value .....

Still clinging to the traditional foundation date the school is celebrating its 425th Anniversary this year. During this time it has had twenty-nine known Headmasters and one Headmistress. Today it is a Grant Maintained School retaining many old traditions. Long may it continue!

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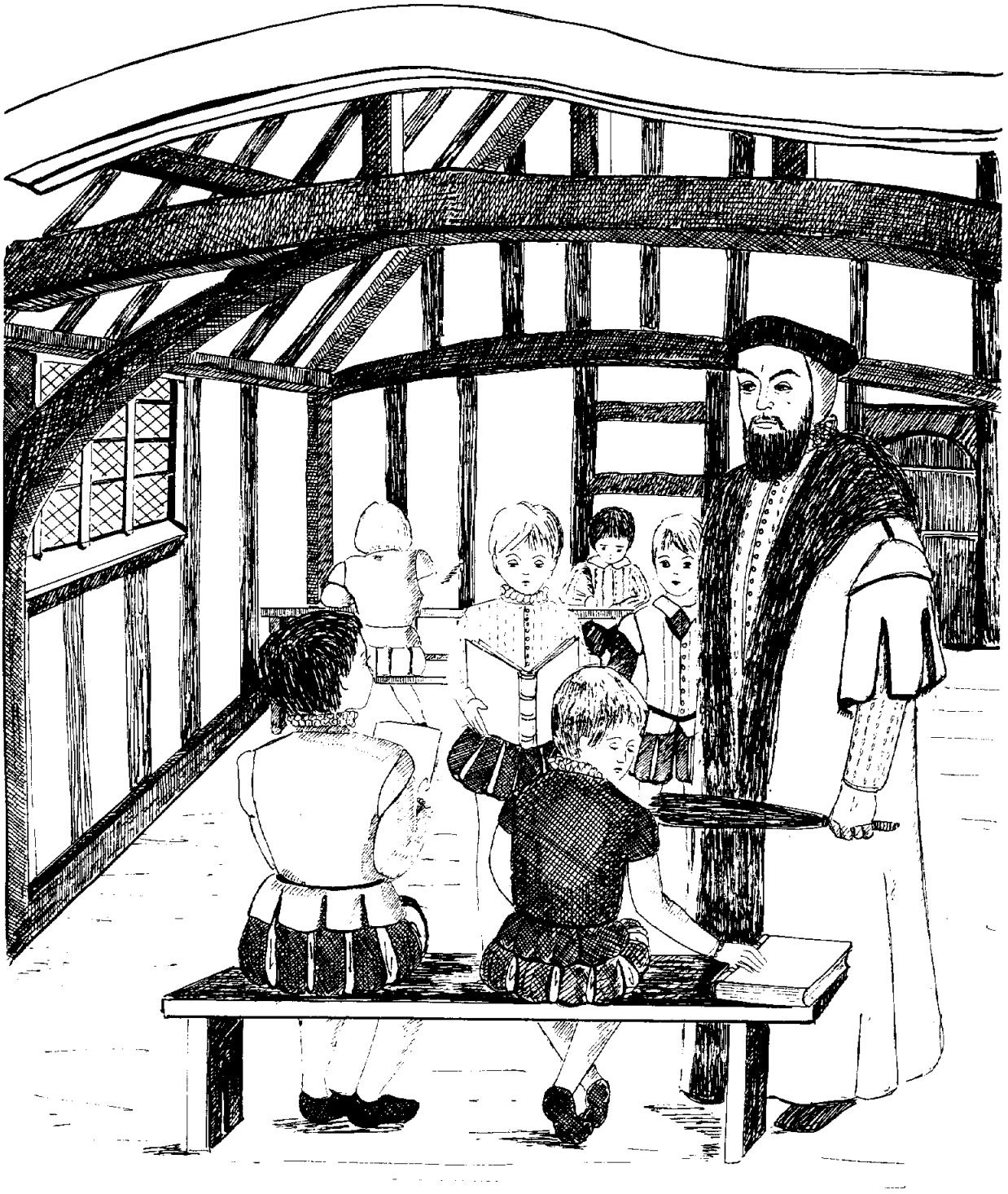


THE RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM EMES AT MACKWORTH.

(By Rosemary Lucas,

William Emes, the talented late eighteenth century landscape gardener, lived at Mackworth from c.1763 until 1789. He was responsible for the design and layout of the parkland and gardens surrounding the houses of many gentry families both locally and more widely in the midlands area during this time.

The actual location of Emes's house is the subject of this article. Surviving correspondence by him headed "Bowbridge Fields" has led to the assumption that his house was the present Bowbridge Fields house which lies at the west end of Mackworth and north of Ashbourne Road. However, surviving later eighteenth century surveys of the estates of F.N.C. Mundy of Markeaton Hall, who was the major landowner in Mackworth and from whom Emes leased land, indicate otherwise. They indicate that Emes's house was the present Bowbridge House which also lies at the west end of Mackworth but south of Ashbourne Road.

Bowbridge Field was one of the great open arable fields of Mackworth prior to enclosure in 1763. It lay at the west end of Mackworth in the angle formed by the Mackworth Brook and the Carrawell Brook. Much of this field had been subject to piecemeal enclosure on its periphery before 1763 as shown by the numbered closes on the accompanying map. (The map is based on the enclosure map of 1763.) However, two large areas remained unenclosed at this date. They are shown by 34R and 35R on the map. The R has been used because land awaiting enclosure was numbered in red on the original map.

The post enclosure survey of Mundy's estates in 1763 (Derby Local Studies Library 9352) shows that "Mr. Haymes" rented or leased the following at £42 annually:

33	New Intake adjoining Langley Lordship	2a	0r	14p
34	Carrowell	3a	0r	13p
35	Blakemore adjoining the Brook	2a	2r	39p
	Blakemore or Carrowell adjoining to the last	3a	1r	28p
37	Fishpool Cowpasture	7a	2r	38p
39	Fishpool Pingle		3r	27p
40	Denby Rowe	1a	1r	21p
41	Another ditto		3r	21p
		22a	1r	01p
	In Bowbridge Field			
	On Carrasitch furlong	27a	3r	22p
	Flax Place	1a		22p
	Total	51a	1r	05p

A comparison of the close numbers above with those on the map shows that they lay south of Ashbourne Road and in the angle formed by Ashbourne road and Brun Lane. The piece of former Bowbridge open arable field called Carrasitch Furlong and numbered 34R will be that allotted to F.N.C. Mundy in the Enclosure Award and described as:

> *One other piece, plot or parcel of ground in the said Bowbridge Field lying on the south side of Ashbourn Road bounded by an ancient enclosure called Denby Row on the east, a small brook or water course called Carrawell Brook and the allotment to John Bennett the Younger on the south, an ancient enclosure to the said John Bennett and the Liberty of Langley on the west and part of the north and the said Ashbourn Road on all other parts of the north containing 29a 3r 36p including an intake adjoing to Langley Liberty and heretofore part of the said Bowbridge Field.*

The areas leased by Emes are horizontally hatched on the map. The Flax Place has been deduced as that small close lying between closes 37 and 40 on the map and numbered 38 on the original enclosure map. It was apparently part of the common pasture according to the pre enclosure survey. Note that no house is mentioned on Emes's land in this 1763 survey.

There are three later surveys of F.N.C. Mundy's land at Derby Local Studies Library (DLSL). The first and second are in item 5179. The first gives details at some point between 1763 and 1770 and from the names of Emes's pieces, these were clearly those leased in 1763. A house, outhouses and yard were now included and comparison of the 1763 map and a current O.S. 1:25,000 shows that these were on the above mentioned portion of Bowbridge Field. Modifications to Emes's holdings show that he now had a plot called a nursery. The 1770 survey confirms that Emes leased a 'farm'.

In 1778-80 F.N.C. Mundy had an agricultural adviser, a Mr. Weston, to survey his land and to make recommendations as to its future use. This survey is at DLSL item 9743. By the names of the pieces, Emes was still occupying the same land, newly numbered, to the south of Ashbourne Road.

From the Land Tax Assessments Emes was resident in Mackworth until 1789, paying £3 9s 0d tax annually.

Burdett's map, prepared mainly by 1767, shows the present Bowbridge House but not the present Bowbridge Fields House.

The first 1" O.S. map of 1836 shows both houses as Bowbridge Fields.

It is suggested that when Emes wrote his letter in 1770, the heading "Bowbridge Fields" was a location and not a house name. He was perfectly in order to use it as his house was on the former open Bowbridge Field. The precise addresses which are in use today were unnecessary in the late 18th.C.

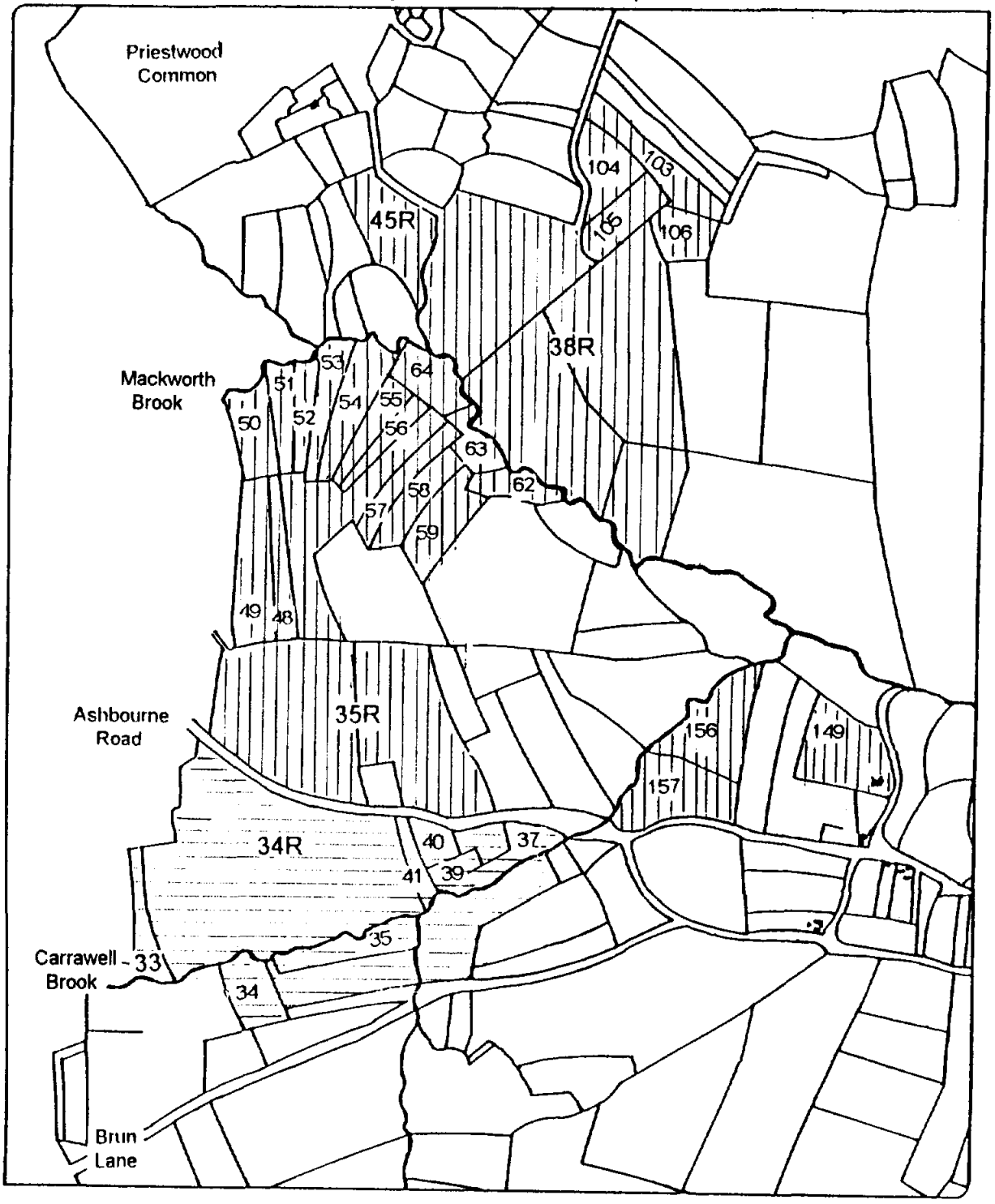
In 1763 the location of the present Bowbridge Fields House and its surrounding land were mainly farmed by Samuel Rowe of Mackworth (vertically hatched on map). His house was behind the present Home Farm on a small lane leading down to Mackworth Brook (close no.149). No house was mentioned in the 1763 survey on the site of the present Bowbridge Fields House. Rowe was farming the same land in 1770 and apparently still living in the same house. It is fair to assume that a new house was needed for this post enclosure farm since the location of the existing one was quite removed from the fields associated with it. Rowe farmed 185a 2r 02p including newly enclosed land on Priestwood and closes north of Mackworth Brook in the former Brookfield. (There is some anachronism here as Priestwood was not enclosed until 1772.)

By 1778-80, the land surrounding the present Bowbridge Fields House (built on plot 35R on the map) was farmed by John Saunders (or Sanders); he had 218a 2r 8p. From field names he appears to have taken on mainly land previously farmed by Rowe. (There were two John Saunders in Mackworth.) Originally there was a map to go with the 1778-80 survey for Markeaton and Mackworth but is now missing and all efforts, including help from Charles Clark-Maxwell of Markeaton and his cousin, Mrs. Priscilla Hamilton of Mackworth, who are heirs to the Mundys, have failed to locate it. However, a consideration of the survey suggests that the fields were newly numbered, starting in the S.E. of Markeaton at Humbleton, and spreading northwards and westwards over to John Saunders land in the N.W. of Mackworth. The number of the plot for Saunder's house is very high. If the numbering was systematic and due regard is made of known field names, then his house at that time would appear to have been on the north side of Mackworth Brook where there were some small pre-enclosure houses and the present Bowbridge Fields house did not exist at that date. Of course, the numbering may not have been systematic, but the evidence is still that the present Bowbridge Field House is at least later than 1770 and probably later than 1778/80.

There is an undated note in F.N.C. Mundy's own hand at the back of the 1770 rental where he wrote that he had built three new farmhouses, one of which was for John Saunders. The present Bowbridge Fields house is a superior building to other local farmhouses built by Mundy at this period, for example Humbleton Farm (now gone), which was built at the same time for William Pickering. This may reflect two facts. Firstly that Mundy possibly owed Saunders a favour since Saunders had sold him 52 acres on the newly enclosed Priestwood Common (enclosed in 1772). This fact is stated in notes at the back of the 1770 rental. Secondly, and following on the first, it seems probable that Saunders was descended from the old Sa(u)nders gentry family of Little Ireton since he had some claim on the Common.

THE BOWBRIDGE FIELDS AREA OF MACKWORTH IN 1763

(adapted from the Enclosure map)



The horizontally hatched area was that leased by Wiliam Emes from F.N.C. Mundy. His house, now known as Bowbridge House, was built on 34R which was part of the pre-enclosure Bowbridge open arable field.

The vertically hatched area was the farmland occupied by Samuel Rowe, a tenant of F.N.C. Mundy. By 1780 approximately the same land was occupied by John Saunders. His new house, now known as Bowbridge Fields House, was built on 35R, also part of the pre-enclosure Bowbridge open arable field.

To return to the present Bowbridge House and the present Bowbridge Fields House. They were both built on the former open field known as Bowbridge Field and initially Bowbridge Fields, Mackworth would have sufficed as an address for both. At some unrecorded later point, they took their present names. The earliest reference to the present names which has been found is in the 1851 Census Returns. (Did the independent Miss Elizabeth Fielden of Bowbridge House prefer this name?)

After Emes left Mackworth in 1789, the land tax on his former holding of £3 9s 0d was paid jointly by F.N.C. Mundy and two of his tenants in 1790. After 1790 Nicholas Nicholas Esq. appears to have been the only new resident of Mackworth listed in the Land Tax to have the superior title of "esquire". Nicholas Nicholas was formerly known as Nicholas Heath. He married F.N.C. Mundy's sister Mary in 1768 according to Mackworth parish registers. He assumed the surname and arms of Nicholas after his marriage to Mary.* It is possible, although there is no direct evidence for it, that he occupied Emes's old house.

* From information supplied by Maxwell Craven.