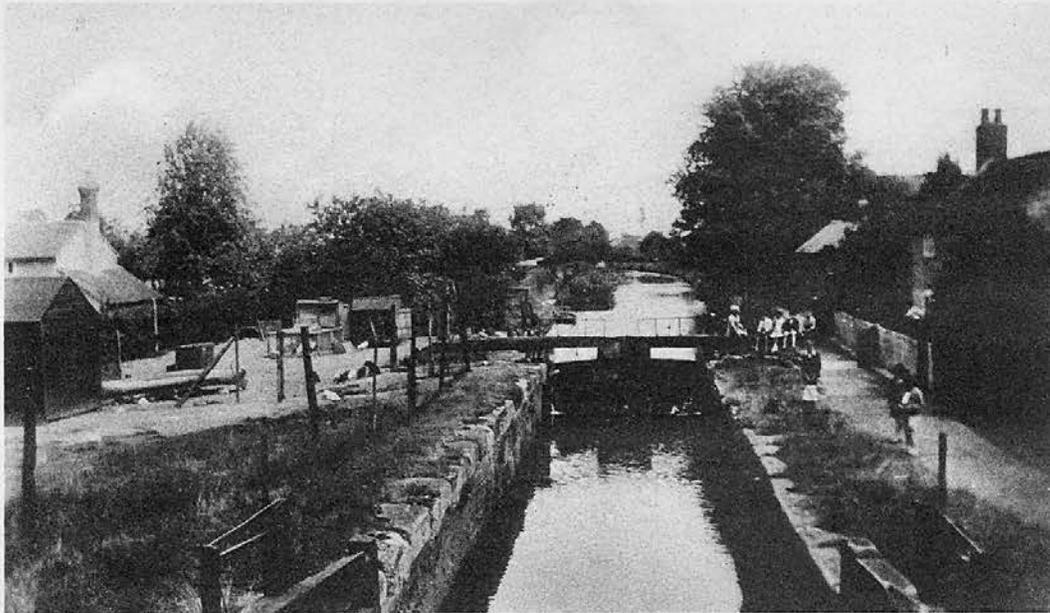


Vol 16

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



Shelton Lock on the Derby Canal

**The Local History Bulletin
of the
Derbyshire Archaeological Society**

Volume 16

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ASSISTANT EDITOR

Jane Steer

EDITOR

Dudley Fowkes

TREASURER

T.J. Larimore

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FROM RELIGIOUS ORATORY TO SPAR MANUFACTORY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITE OF ST. HELEN'S, DERBY

INTRODUCTION

Today, St Helen's House, which stands on King Street, Derby, is a well known Grade I listed property built c1767. Opposite stand buildings of inferior architectural quality but they, and the land on which they stand, are of far greater importance to the history of Derby. It was here that the oratory and priory cell of St Helen's was founded c1137 and it was from here that the Augustinian monks founded their new monastery at Darley Abbey and where they settled a few years later. St Helen's was then refounded as a hospital.

After its closure in 1538, as part of the Dissolution of Darley Abbey, the buildings and precinct of St Helen's were sold into private hands. From the seventeenth century, a house stood there, referred to in the following articles as Old St Helen's, and in 1680 a public house, the Seven Stars, was also built within the former precinct. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, when its history can be picked up again with some certainty, St Helen's precinct had been divided again. Besides 'St Helen's', now a large house with stables and an orchard, and the Seven Stars, two other properties have been identified: a 4 acre orchard called Goodwin's Orchard and a house '*near to St Helen's*'.

The last owner of Old St Helen's, who died in 1798, instructed his executors to sell the house and its orchard to the highest bidder. The house or part of it was demolished in 1800 and eventually, in 1802, the property was bought by Richard Brown and his son, also Richard. The Browns were eminent spar manufacturers and began to develop a new manufactory on the site of the house, first building a workshop and a steam engine house. More workshops (all now 71 King Street) and 10-12 St Helen's Street were added. The Browns were succeeded by the Halls who built 2-8 St Helen's Street during the second half of the 19th century. In 1834 the west wing was sold to William Haslam, a whitesmith and bellhanger who built a house for himself (no 14 St Helen's Street) in 1841. The Browns sold part of their orchard to the Quakers who built the Friends Meeting House on St Helen's Street in 1808. Another enterprise which occupied a plot on King Street between 1848 and 1935, when they were bought out by Royal Crown Derby, was the Derby Crown China Works.

This is an area not only of historic but also of archaeological, industrial archaeological and architectural significance but its history has been largely disregarded until recently. When Derby City Council made public its plans to demolish part of the spar manufactory buildings in order to build Phase 3B of their 'Connecting Derby' road scheme, the authors of the following articles decided to research the history of the entire site. The first result was a Report, '*From Religious Oratory to Spar Manufactory*' which was submitted to English Heritage as part of a Listing application by the Derbyshire Archaeological Society. A series of articles, based upon the research carried out, have now been written for *Derbyshire Miscellany*, the first two of which, on the oratory and hospital of St Helen's and on the buildings occupying the site of St Helen's in the eighteenth century, are published in this issue.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are especially due to the Derbyshire Archaeological Society Council and the following members of the Society who gave support, helped with fieldwork and provided information: Peter Billson, Malcolm Burrows, John D'Arcy, Anne and Alison Haslam, Barbara Hutton and the Derby Buildings Record team and Peter Steer. The staff of Derby Local Studies Library, Derbyshire Record Office, Staffordshire Record Office, Lichfield Record Office, Nottingham Record Office, Essex Record Office and the Public Record Office have been unfailingly courteous and helpful. Finally thanks must go to Simon Booth, Manager of the Seven Stars and Mr Costello of Blue Sky Studio and Mr Fryer of SJM Flooring, both at Unit 5, 71 King Street, who all kindly gave us access to their premises.

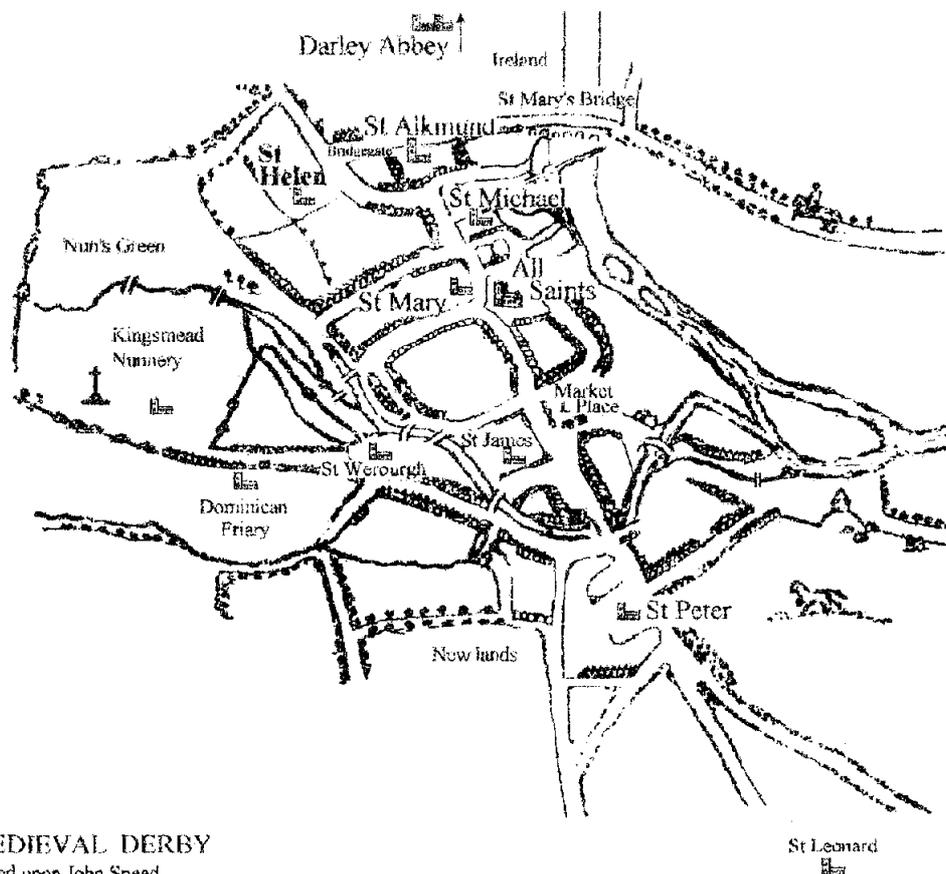
Joan D'Arcy and Jane Steer

PART I: ST. HELEN'S ORATORY AND HOSPITAL, DERBY

(by Joan D'Arcy,

Introduction

The monastic experience came later to Derby than to many English towns but once it had arrived it expanded rapidly. It was in 1137, at the beginning of Stephen's reign (1135-1154), that the oratory and monastic cell of St Helen was founded. Arguably it was not the first religious house in the town. The Cluniac Priory of St James, a cell of Bermondsey which occupied a central position near the Market Place, was in existence by 1140 but this date is taken from a charter of confirmation, suggesting an earlier foundation. However, the Cluniac presence did not develop further while St Helen's became the forerunner of Darley Abbey, the largest religious house in Derbyshire, out of which was also born the nunnery of St Mary de Pratis, otherwise Kingsmead. With the royal foundation, by 1171, of the small Lazar hospital of St Leonard, Derby was close to encirclement by religious houses to the north and west, made all the more complete when a Dominican Friary was established on its western boundary between 1224 and 1238 (fig 1).¹



Derby, standing at a fording and bridging point of the River Derwent, was a borough with Saxon and Viking origins and was well established by the Norman Conquest, after which it suffered a severe reversal of fortune. Domesday Book records that before 1066 there were 243 resident burgesses, but by 1086 the number had shrunk to 100 with 40 other heads of household described as lesser burgesses. One hundred and three houses were described as unoccupied or 'waste' while the number of mills had decreased from fourteen to ten. The most likely reason for this decline was the destructive 'Harrying of the North', King William I's punitive action against those who resisted Norman occupation in 1069-1070, although a decimating plague has also been suggested. In 1086 perhaps two thirds of the town was held by the King while Hugh, Earl of Chester while

Henry de Ferrers, the predominant landowner in the county, had a significant amount of property in Derby. It appears to have been unwalled, relying on the River Derwent and earthen banks and ditches for its security.²

Domesday Book records six churches. Two, All Saints (now Derby Cathedral) and St Alkmund's, were collegiate churches of Saxon foundation, served respectively by seven and six secular priests. They lay within the royal demesne and were granted by Henry I to the Dean of Lincoln. Four others, which are assumed to be St Mary, St Michael, St Peter and St Werburgh, were in private hands (fig 1). The monastic presence in the town was limited to a mill and lands held by the Benedictine Abbey of Burton, founded in 1004 just across the county boundary in Staffordshire.³

The Augustinian Order began to establish itself in England from the continent between 1085 and 1095. The Augustinians were regular canons rather than monks. They followed the Rule of St Augustine and took the usual vows of chastity, poverty and obedience but as 'clerical monks' they fulfilled a pastoral role in the community. They were introduced into Derbyshire c1100 with the setting up of a cell at Calke and the establishment of a small priory at Gresley in the 'time of Henry I'. By the time St Helen's was founded, 43 houses had been set up across the country, the majority through royal patronage, but the Derbyshire houses had not yet expanded beyond their initial endowment.⁴

The chief sources of evidence for the existence and early history of St Helen's are entries in the *Darley Cartulary*, edited by R. R. Darlington in 1947, a few charters in the *Rufford Cartulary* and gleanings from a variety of other sources, including Hundred and Assize Rolls. Some of these sources were made use of by Rev. J.C. Cox, whose essay on 'Religious Houses' in the *Victoria County History* has been drawn upon by successive generations of historians. One aim of this article is to update Cox's essay, using additional information from sources which were not known to him.⁵

Foundation

By the reign of Stephen, Derby was recovering from the adverse effects of the Norman Conquest and the decimating civil war had not yet broken out. The burgesses appear to have been spiritually aroused for it was about this time that Cornelius, a baker of exceptional piety and charitable concern for the poor, had a vision which led him to abandon his premises in St Mary Gate and become a hermit, an action which led to the foundation of Dale Abbey. Another Derby burgess decided to establish a small oratory, or chapel, and Augustinian cell on the northern edge of Derby. There is no extant Episcopal licence for the setting up of the oratory but a partially illegible thirteenth century memorandum on the last folio of the *Darley Cartulary* gives 1137 as a possible date of its foundation 'on the patrimony of a burgess of Derby called Tovi'. This was the foundation of St Helen's.⁶

Tovi's (Towys) action was supported by certain other burgesses who gave additional land described as 'Little Darley'. In a charter of confirmation, Hugh, Dean of Derby is said to have been the donor of 'Little Darley' and also presented to the new foundation the advowson of the church of St Peter which had been built on the patrimony of Hugh and his predecessors. It has been suggested that a small Augustinian house was comparatively inexpensive to endow and therefore well suited to people of lower income groups who were imbued with religious fervour to found their own private monastery. Sometimes this was achieved by using an existing wealthy parish church, of which they held the patronage, to form the nucleus of a new monastery. The foundation of St Helen's fits well into this suggestion.⁷

Robert Ferrers, newly created Earl of Derby, added grants of his own and, c1139-40, the enterprise was given Episcopal confirmation. Soon after, Darlington argues in 1146, the canons had received sufficient further endowment from Robert Ferrers and licence from the king to establish a monastery and the canons moved a mile further north to Darley Abbey. St Helen's then became a subsidiary cell and was refounded as a hospital.⁸

Dedication

The dedication to St Helen has led to speculation that the oratory was founded on a Roman site. St Helen was the mother of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Roman Emperor. Legend says that she journeyed on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and, while there, discovered the Cross on which Christ was crucified. The basis for arguing a Roman origin for St Helen's in Derby arises from evidence of Roman occupation at Strutt's Park, some 500 metres north, while the Roman settlement of Derventio or Little Chester, lay only a mile distant. However, dedications to St Helen are not uncommon. In medieval Derbyshire there were churches so dedicated

at Darley Dale, Etwall, Eyam and Pinxton, while sixteenth century dedications have been found for Barrow, Church Broughton, North Wingfield and Pentrich. None of these churches are credited with Roman origins. A Roman link has also been suggested on the grounds that Derby, Chesterfield and York all had medieval chapels or hospitals dedicated to St Helen and all are built on Roman sites, but this is a tenuous argument.⁹

The growth of pilgrimage might be a more logical explanation both of its dedication and its place of foundation. St Helen's stood beside the 'Kings Highway' (now known as King Street or the A6 (fig 2, p105)) leading into Derby from the north. It was ideally placed for northern pilgrims to find rest and say prayers before entering the town, and the dedication would be especially appropriate for those embarking upon the arduous journey to Jerusalem. It would be equally convenient for pilgrims who had travelled to Derby to visit St Alkmund's, Derby's own pilgrimage church, dedicated to a Northumbrian prince who lost his life in battle. Writing about 1712, William Woolley said that his body '*being interred in this church, was believed to do miracles, and so had great veneration*' and '*to which place the northern people made many pilgrimages till discomposed by the Reformation*'. He was possibly drawing on the fourteenth century *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden who recorded that the church was much visited by pilgrims from Northumberland. In the vicinity were wells dedicated to St Helen and St Alkmund, the latter credited with legendary curative powers; the saint's body was supposedly laid to rest there overnight during its translation from Lilleshall in Shropshire to Derby after a sudden flight from Viking armies. Part of St Helen's endowment was '*the little meadow which lies by the well of St Alkmund*', adding weight to the suggestion that St Helen's was established with pilgrimage in mind.¹⁰

The Site

The only medieval record of the position of St Helen's is that it was on the northern edge of Derby. This much is given in the foundation 'memorandum' but with no more detail. William Woolley, writing c1712, places it:

*'At the upper end of the Bridggate towards Nungreen there was a religious house called St. Hellen's, now converted into dwelling houses, and good orchards and an alley or footway called St Hellen's Lane.'*¹¹

Bridggate was the medieval route into Derby from the east, crossing the River Derwent at St Mary's Bridge and running uphill to a ridge where it met the 'King's Highway'. It was a hollowed out road with possible origins as a defensive ditch and is assumed to delineate the northern boundary of the Borough. 'Nungreen' lay to the west and was once part of the lands of Kingsmead Nunnery. The alley or footway called St Helen's Lane lay between Bridggate and Nun's Green. Its existence can be confirmed only for the sixteenth century. It is mentioned in 1549, in documents relating to the sale of a barn standing there and, in 1577, it is described in a Survey of the parish lands of All Saints as '*the lane that goeth to Sent Ellens*'. In 1483, All Saints parish lands, which were held in trust by the churchwardens for fabric repairs, included a barn and croft which stood '*at the side of Sancte Ellens*'.¹²

Other evidence places St Helen's beside or close to the 'Kings Highway'. In 1276 a complaint was laid by the burgesses of Derby against the Master of the Hospital, accusing him of cutting a ditch 100 feet long and 2 feet broad too near the King's Highway. This ditch possibly delineated the eastern boundary of the precinct. Another boundary, it is not possible to say which, adjoined a toft belonging to Darley Abbey which lay '*next to the house of St. Helen*'. The barn and croft of the parish of All Saints, mentioned above, also bounded St Helen's. To the west lay the demesne estate of Kingsmead Nunnery, and the present Lodge Lane (fig 2, p105) may relate to the entrance to this estate.¹³

The first map to depict Derby was drawn by John Speed c1610 and this map is used here to mark an area of ground which St Helen's might have occupied (fig 2, p105). The site was later occupied by a dwelling house known as Old St Helen's house. A sketch of 1792 shows a building with seventeenth century characteristics but incorporating a doorway with an Early English arch (fig 3, p105). The case for arguing that the oratory occupied this ground is strengthened by an account of the discovery of numerous skeletons in 1802, when Richard Brown, a spar manufacturer who had recently acquired Old St Helen's for his Marble Works, was carrying out some excavations. Two roughly made 'coffins' fit the description of medieval burials.

In lowering the ground, to render the access to the new manufactory more convenient, during the course of the past September, the workmen discovered a great quantity of skulls and human bones, as well as several skeletons. Two of the latter

*were found in coffins, the sides of which were formed of thin flag stones, placed edgewise in the earth, the natural soil serving for the bottoms. The covers were also composed with flags placed close together, but not jointed. Most of the other bones were lying in confusion, without presenting any marks of a particular mode of internment, and scarcely deeper in the earth than eighteen inches or two feet. These remains render the opinion probable, that this was the cemetery of the monastery, particularly as human bones have been found through the space of thirty or forty yards.*¹⁴

The only early historian to suggest an alternative location was Cox who, in one work, states that it stood on the opposite side of King Street, where the present St Helen's House now stands (built c.1767) but states elsewhere that St Helen's was '*on the site of Hall's Marble Works*', which were formerly occupied by Brown.¹⁵

Buildings

The oratory, a small church or chapel with an altar at the east end, was probably built of stone or on stone foundations. The monastic buildings are more likely to have been timber framed and quickly erected. Before 1240 the Augustinians followed no set plan. However, the general form was everywhere the same; living accommodation adjacent to the church and arranged around a cloister, set within an inner precinct entered through a gateway and probably surrounded by a bank and ditch. A water supply would have been conduited around the buildings, the water possibly piped from St Helen's well although the well which exists today within the present Seven Stars public house shows that water was readily available on the site. At some stage in its development ancillary buildings such as a barn, a dovecote, stables and workshops would have been built within an outer precinct, and a garden and orchard laid out.¹⁶

The '*new hospital*' was founded after the removal to Darley. In most early foundations the hospital was an aisled hall, a nave extension to the chapel. This allowed the sick or infirm to see the altar, where an intercessionary candle burnt perpetually, prayers for the purification of the soul being seen as essential to the healing process. The excavation of St Mary's, Hospital, Chichester, where the hall was of six bays, revealed this type of arrangement and the wording of the agreement, that the new hospital be '*established in the oratory of St. Helen*' could indicate the same. Alternatively, the hospital may have been built at right angles to the chapel, as found at St Mary Ospringe in Kent. A third possibility was that it stood as a separate building, as found at St Giles by Brompton Bridge, Brough, North Yorks. The hospital would have required a cemetery and this seems to have been uncovered in 1802.¹⁷

Masters and Brethren of the Hospital

The first master of St Helen's was Albinus who was called *magister canonicorum* during the community's short sojourn there. It was Albinus that spearheaded the move to Darley and became the monastery's first abbot. Nothing is known of his background but as abbot he commanded great respect. Some time after his death, the Chronicler of Dale Abbey wrote that he shone forth:

'with so great a token of a holy and honest conversation, that the interior of the cloister and the corner of the church may be perceived to this day to be redolent with the fragrance of the religion of such a father'.

Albinus refounded St Helen's as a hospital and drew up an agreement (notum) by which the master was to be chosen by the abbot from amongst the canons. This does not state the number of brothers who were to serve with him but in 1242 there were at least four '*chaplains and brothers of Saint Elene*', Robert Ingeram, Robert de Seldeford, William de Osmundeston and Richard de Mercinton. Robert Ingeram may have been master: the Ingrams had a proprietary interest in Darley Abbey as they claimed descent from Hugh, Dean of Derby and regarded him as its founder.¹⁸

As the choice of master was an internal affair, the appointment required no outside confirmation and no full list of names can be drawn up. There are however occasional references in deeds and court cases. '*Our Master William prior of St. Helens*', appears in an undated early thirteenth century exchange of lands in Trusley. This exchange was carried out by Prioress Margaret and the convent of Kingsmead with William's assent, suggesting that he was guardian of the nunnery. Kingsmead had, at its inception, been placed under the guardianship of the Abbot of Darley. The *Darley Cartulary* records that, c.1154-1159, Abbot Albinus '*himself*

constructed' the nunnery which was then committed to his care by William Durdent, Bishop of Coventry. Later, the nuns sought independence and this was confirmed to them but, controversially, Darlington gives c1180 as the date for this confirmation while Cox places it c1250. If the latter date is accepted, then the guardianship had been delegated to the Master of St Helen's. This '*Master William*' might be '*Brother William of Osmaston*' who is given as Master c1248-50. He had served the hospital since at least 1242 (see '*Osmundeston*' above).¹⁹

In 1281, Nicholas of Pentrich (Penkriz) was Master and was brought before the Justices of Eyre and placed under a recognizance to pay a debt of 46 shillings to the executors of a will. As an Augustinian canon the Master would have no property or possessions of his own yet Nicholas may have had independent means because, if he failed to pay the debt, the sheriff was empowered to levy it '*of his lands and chattells*'. However, he may have been summoned to answer for monies owed by the Hospital because two leading Derby burgesses, both having served as Bailiff and one, John de la Cornere, a descendant of Hugh, Dean of Derby, stood surety for his debt, perhaps to protect the interests of the Hospital. In 1306 Thomas was Master and it would seem that he too may have had private means as he stood pledge for the prosecution of a case brought by Hugh, vicar of St Werburgh.²⁰

Two other possible masters were William Goodman in 1275 and Peter Carre in 1348, though the references have not been confirmed. William Goodman (*'bonus homo'*) appears in the Darley Cartulary as a minor benefactor to the abbey. The reference for Peter Carre is given as '*Mr Bateman's MSS*'. If this reference could be traced and confirmed then our knowledge of the Masters of St Helen's would be extended.²¹

It is possible to draw two, perhaps very obvious, conclusions about the masters and brothers of St Helen's. First, their names indicate that many came from local Derby and Derbyshire families and second, that they came from families of moderate wealth and standing.

The Nature of the Hospital

The agreement which established the former cell as a hospital is not dated but was perhaps made by 1160. The hospital was to be a subsidiary arm of the abbey. The abbot had overall governance and reserved to himself confession and other spiritual matters but he placed daily management in the hands of a 'Master' chosen by him from amongst the canons. The brothers who were to serve the hospital under the master were to be chosen with the consent of both parties. The hospital retained '*all moveables and immoveables*' which had been given to the cell and these temporalities, or possessions, were administered by the master, who was to render account to the abbot or his deputy twice a year. Limits were placed upon the hospital's financial activities. It was not to '*appropriate any lands or possessions of which the abbot and convent receive the rents without their assent*' and no more brethren were to be admitted '*than its goods will suffice to maintain*'. In return the abbot and convent would never '*attempt to bring this hospital into any greater subjection than is provided for in this agreement*'.²²

An early grant to the abbey by Walkelin and Goda of Derby (1161-1182) included the profit from an bakery oven which was to be assigned to the canons' hospital for the maintenance of the poor (*'hospitali canonicorum as pauperes sustentandos'*). In a later grant, it is described as a *domus dei*, or house of God, a description which could encompass the sick, the elderly and wayfarers. There is no indication of the establishment of almshouses and no rules of conduct have been found, but it may not have been thought necessary to draw up any code of behaviour beyond that in the Augustinian Rule. At an inquiry into St Leonard's hospital in 1327 it was stated that they had never had a rule there.²³

The oratory fulfilled an essential role as hospital chapel, as healing was linked to spiritual grace. In addition, prayers for the salvation of souls were attached to donations while prayers for the dead would have been part of the regime of daily services. It also had a wider role in the community as a neighbourhood church and from time to time it was used by Darley Abbey as a place to ratify agreements. On 5 February, 1265, William le Ferun gave security and swore fealty at St Helen's to the Abbot for three local tenements and Peter son of Iwa swore fealty for the third part of a toft in Bridge Gate. Likewise in 26 July, 1281, the heirs of Master Henry of Derby met the abbot there to reach an agreement over the payment of rents. It was to St Helen's too that Ralf de Frecheville, lord of Crich, came in 1309 to confirm to the brothers of Darley all their rights in Crich.²⁴

St Helen's and the Hospital of St John the Baptist

In R.M. Clay's *The Medieval Hospitals of England* there is an unsourced entry under Derby, dated 1251, for a hospital, dedicated to John the Baptist. This certainly existed as it is named elsewhere, but not as an independent institution. It is recorded in the *Rufford Cartulary*, in a grant made by John of Brampton chaplain, as the 'new hospital erected in the foundation of St. Helen of Derby and the brothers who serve God there, otherwise to 'the house of God, blessed Virgin Mary and blessed John the Baptist and All Saints'. This has been dated from the names of witnesses to 1223-31. The grant was of lands in Brampton, near Chesterfield, and the hospital is mentioned in various documents relating to these lands before their sale c.1248-50 for four marks. The hospital of St John the Baptist is mentioned again in 1258, in a simple protection granted for 7 years to its master and brethren, with 'clause regamus'. St John's is also referred to c.1265 in a charter in the *Dale Cartulary* recording a grant of a bovate of land at Stanton to the abbey by Hugh Muskham. This had come to him by means of a exchange with the 'master of St. John's hospital, Derby'. In other documents from the *Darley Cartulary* (see below), this bovate (land to which a rent charge is attached) is described as an endowment of St Helen's. This may be the same hospital as the one referred to by D. and S. Lysons, early nineteenth century writers, who wrote that 'before the year 1261, Nicholas, the official of Derby, founded a hospital, consisting of certain poor brethren and sisters, governed by a master or warden'. In one of the Rufford charters there is a reference to the brothers and sisters there. Lysons' source is 'Dr. Pegge's Collections', from which is quoted, '*Domus Dei de Derby in fundo Sanctae Helenae, et fratres ibidem Deo servientes*'.²⁵

It would appear that this 'new hospital' was a second foundation at St Helen's, taking the form of a '*Domus Dei*' or house for the poor. In much the same way, the Hospital of St James in Derby is credited with a second dedication to St Anthony in 1258. These secondary foundations may have taken the form of additional buildings or might record a new endowment of an altar in a side chapel.²⁶

Income

To provide the hospital with a permanent and independent income, another agreement was drawn up which endowed it with certain lands. These included a garden to the north with a toft between the garden and the hospital, yielding an annual rent of 2s 2d. A toft is defined as an enclosed piece of land on which a house stands, or once stood but is now decayed. The endowment also included a quarter part of a meadow by St Helen's Well, to the north of the Derwent, and a meadow which lay against (*versus*) St Alkmund's Well and between St Helen's well and the meadow of William Game, valued at 12d. These meadows may be identified with land on the west bank of the Derwent, to the north of St Mary's Bridge and called 'Ireland' at the time of the Dissolution of Darley Abbey. And there were two tofts in the New Land of Derby, an open area to the south of the town. At the time of the Agreement they were held by William the oil-merchant and William son of Herbert and yielded an annual rent of 2s 2d, payable at the feast of the Holy Cross and at Martinmas, with four hens at Christmas. One of these tofts lay in the 'lower' New Land and abutted a toft held by the Abbey which had a number of tofts there. The payment of hens at Christmas was attached to most of their rental agreements for the Newlands.²⁷

The endowment included half a bovate of land in Stanton-by-Dale with a rental value of 4s, granted to Darley Abbey by Robert son of Fulcher of Osmaston. However, c1250, Hugh de Muskham of Nottinghamshire granted the masters and brothers a garden and a toft between St Helen's and the said garden in exchange for a bovate in Stanton, which may be taken to incorporate the above half-bovate. This exchange is confirmed in the *Dale Cartulary*, as referred to above, and in an agreement dated to c1265 made between the canons of Dale and Robert, Hugh de Muskham's brother. Both Cartularies record that the canons of Dale were to receive an annual rental in the form of a pair of white gloves, valued at ½d, from the master and brethren of St Helen's. From the *Dale Cartulary* we learn that the toft and garden had once belonged to Master William of Muskham, and this is complemented in the *Darley Cartulary* where William is described as a clerk.²⁸

Some land in Derby was donated to the hospital at a later date. One donation is recorded in an early thirteenth century grant by Simon son of Henry Geri. This was a toft and the buildings standing on it, '*next to the marketplace of Derby, lying between the land which Albinus had and that of Robert son of Ralf, in the parish of All Saints, free from all services save the annual payments of 8 pence to the abbey of Darley and 4 pence to the church of All Saints, Derby*'. This was not a prime site, fronting the market, but it brought in a sizeable part of the hospital's rental income. The *Taxatio* of 1291 gave the master as holding houses in Derby with a yearly rental of £1 6s 8d.²⁹

Before 1236 the hospital also held arable land on the southern edge of Derby, in Normanton, incidentally recorded in the *Darley Cartulary* amongst the many descriptions of mid thirteenth century grants to the abbey. There are several references. In one, the abbey was granted an acre of arable, 'situated between the boundaries of *Sinfin*' and land held by St Helen's. In another, the abbey was granted three roods, described in one place as 'beyond the meadow in *Crumberodes*' and elsewhere as 'in the field between Normanton and Derby situated between the land of William Grim and that of the brothers of the Hospital of St. Helen'. Richard of Sandiacre also granted the abbey two acres of meadow in '*Crowedoles*' situated 'in the meadow called *Sinfin*, next to the meadow which he gave to the brothers of St. Helen's and adjoined by the '*fennidoles*' of Litchurch'. This grant can be dated only approximately to the reign of Henry III but it shows that St Helen's was adding to its small estate at that time.³⁰

The *Rufford Cartulary* records a briefly held gift of land from John of Brampton, chaplain, made between 1223 and 1231. He had paid 20 marks for:

'all the lands which he bought from Roger of Ireland ... that is three furlongs in Brampton, one called 'Rilant', one which belonged to Matilda wife of Richard son of Ketel, and one called 'Halleclif' saving the service due to Hugh of Brampton of 3 shillings and 6d. and the service due to Robert of Edensor of 3 shillings. Grant of four bovates in 'Wadelhul' (or Waseself) of the fee of Roger le Breton, saving the service due to him of 20d.'

The three furlongs were sold to Robert le Vavasor of Shipley c1248-50 for four marks, an unusual transaction as lands once given could not usually be alienated, or granted away, but they may have been bestowed by Vavasor on Rufford Abbey.³¹

By the time of the *Taxatio* of 1291, in addition to the houses in Derby, St. Helen's held 120 acres of arable valued at £3 and 3½ acres of meadow worth 7s. The house itself was valued at 4s. per annum which, together with the houses in Derby, yielded a total income from land and property of £4 17s 8d. To put this in perspective, the priory and hospital of St. James was valued at £5 8s 4d and Darley Abbey at £72 19s 3½d. This was not however the sum total of their revenue as there would also be many casual gifts such as food and other gifts in kind, occasional legacies, charitable donations and offerings at the altar of the oratory.³²

Survival into the Sixteenth Century

Cox, writing in the *Victoria County History*, states that after 1306 no further information for St Helen's can be found and speculates that it had ceased to exist by the time of the dissolution of Darley Abbey. This has been repeated in every work since 1907. In fact this is not so but, in common with many small hospitals, virtually no trace of its activities has as yet been found in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. Even for Darley Abbey the researcher draws a blank in the fifteenth century.

St Helen's seems to have prospered and developed in the first flush of enthusiasm for the monastic ideal, benefiting from the general approval of the abbey, as testified by the numerous grants made to it which continued well into the thirteenth century. But there are indications that the town went through a difficult period of crop failures and cattle plagues in the early fourteenth century, with Darley Abbey, Kingsmead and the hospital of St Leonard's all pleading the pinch of poverty. St James' Priory was also suffering; in 1338 King Edward III ordered that an annual royal demand on the prior for 100s be superseded 'in consideration of the poverty of the priory' the King understanding that 'all the possessions of the priory hardly sufficed for the maintenance of the prior'. These years of hardship culminated in the Black Death in May 1349. With many clerics dying across the county, it may be that the number of brethren at St Helen's was also reduced. The burden would have been all the greater if fixed rents could not be increased in line with the rising wage demands which followed.³³

The trail can be picked up in the early sixteenth century as the Augustinian Order was subject to triennial Episcopal Visitations and summary notes of these have survived for part of the episcopacy of Geoffrey Blythe, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1503-1531). Darley Abbey was visited from 1515 to 1524 and the canons' references to St Helen's show that the oratory at least was still in use. In 1518 Brother Thomas Byston testified that the canon who celebrated at St Helen's was accustomed to enter the house of James Wood and converse with his wife. A ruling against this was made by the Visitor but the same problem was raised in 1521. The subprior then reported that St Helen's was '*threatened with ruin*'. The named culprit was Thomas Wirksworth,

the subcellarer and one of the treasurers. In 1524 the hospital is not mentioned. Darley was now under a new abbot, Thomas Ragg, and Thomas Wirksworth had been made chaplain of the church at Allestree.³⁴

Dissolution

There were between 700 and 800 hospitals in England in the early sixteenth century; the number is impossible to assess accurately as many were small institutions which have left little or no written record. Some, which like St Helen's were tied to a monastic establishment, were caught up in Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries. Darley Abbey, still under Abbot Thomas Ragg, was dissolved on 24 October 1538 and a rental of its properties was drawn up in the Court of Augmentations. St Helen's was closed at the same time, although the only knowledge of this comes from the inclusion of the house and its lands in the rental. The abbey site and the immediate demesne lands were soon sold in 1540 to Sir William West, an Essex gentleman. St. Helens and land called 'Ireland', formerly the property of the dissolved Abbey of Darley, were sold in March 1545, as part of a miscellaneous package of properties and lands to Sir William Berners [or Barnes], auditor of the Court of Augmentations. St. Helen's was valued at 40s and 'Ireland' at 5s per annum. In the Particulars of Sale, St. Helen's is described not as a hospital but as a 'messuage', which is generally taken to mean a dwelling house with attached outbuildings and garden. A 'domos' or house, a cellar and a solar, or upper room, an entrance, a workshop and a garden are all mentioned. Other Particulars of Sale for similar properties in the document include other buildings, such as stables or a barn, but these are not part of the description for St. Helen's and there is no mention of a chapel.³⁵

In the Dissolution rental, St Helen's is described as a house tenanted by Robert Ragg [Ragge, Rag], although Ragg produced no indenture as proof of his leasehold, and it was still in his tenure when sold to Berners. Ragg, variously described as a yeoman and a gentleman, was entered under Bridgegate Ward in the Lay Subsidy Return for Derby in 1543 with a land holding assessment of £20. He was Bailiff of Derby in 1538-9, at the time of the Dissolution, and again in 1546 and was one of two Members of Parliament for Derby in 1547.³⁵ No family relationship has been established but the Abbot had close dealings with Robert Ragg shortly before the Dissolution. The abbey leased coal pits and mills in Ripley, Derbyshire to him on 31 August 1538. Tithes with a rental valuation of £18 6s 8d were jointly leased to Oliver Thacker, Robert Ragg and Thomas Ragg on 12 September. Robert was also awarded an annuity of 40s. at the time of Dissolution. Abbot Thomas Ragg, although in receipt of a pension of £50, obtained dispensation to hold a benefice and became 'pastor' of St Alkmund for a short time but died in February, 1541. A pension return, made 30 years after his death, records that he died at Derby. It is just possible that he had moved into St Helen's. This would not be out of ordinary practice: the Abbot of Dale, another Derbyshire house, retired to and died at Stanley Grange, an Abbey grange only a mile or two from his former Abbey.³⁶

Dispersal of the Estate

Berners sold the site of St Helen's and Ireland separately. According to Lysons, St Helen's was held in 1585 by Sir Godfrey Foljambe of Walton Hall, near Chesterfield, a member of a leading gentry family. His source is 'Hieron's Collections' which do state that Godfrey Foljambe held a house called St Helen's at his death in 1585. However, this Godfrey's son, another Godfrey, died in 1594, leaving the chapel of St Helen's in Chesterfield towards the founding of a school in that town. To date, no reliable record of transfer from Berners to Foljambe has been found. It has been stated that the house was sold by Sir Francis Foljambe in 1633 to Francis Burton or possibly to Fitzherbert.³⁷

'Ireland', listed in both the rental and sale document as tenanted by Thomas Parr [Parre], can be identified through later deeds as land on the west bank of the Derwent, to the north of St Mary's Bridge. By 1554, it was in Robert Ragg's possession as a deed of attorney drawn up on 28 November passed it from Ragg to Richard Stringer. This meadow changed hands twice more in the sixteenth century.³⁸

The rental also listed a barn, tenanted by William Robinson. This is not easy to trace. It was not bought by Berners but may be the same as that sold in 1549 to Thomas Smith, then principal secretary to Edward VI, who obtained a grant of lands in Derby which included a tithe barn in '*St. Ellens Lane*' in the tenure of Robert Ragg and Oliver Thacker formerly belonging to Darley Abbey, together with numerous tithes. This barn may have been returned to the Crown after Smith was accused of financial malpractice and sent to the Tower. In August 1558, Sir James Foljambe of Walton willed away the next lease of two tithe barns and tithes of corn and hay in Derby after the expiry of a 21 year lease held by widow Joan Ragg and Leonard and Anne Stevynson. In 1598, Mary Large of Derby widow of Thomas, together with William Greaves butcher, Richard

Greaves butcher and Christopher Greaves, all of Derby, granted John Francis of Foremark, gentleman a barn in 'St. Ellens Lane'.³⁹

In this way the estates of St Helen's were broken up and dispersed. The destinations of the tofts in the Newlands and the toft in the Market Place have not been researched as such small pieces of land are difficult to separate from the holdings of the Abbey. The site of St Helen's would be further fragmented over time, through patterns of inheritance.

Conclusion

Derby seems to have been singularly unfortunate in the post Dissolution treatment of its religious houses. Only one or two isolated buildings now remain to indicate the former presence of Darley Abbey, Kingsmead nunnery and the Dominican friary while all signs of the hospitals of St James, St Leonard's and St Helen's have been swept away above ground: only their names survive. Yet beneath the ground lie foundations which could yield valuable knowledge of their origins and lay-out. St Helen's has left few records, but it had a significance in the Middle Ages which was undoubtedly greater than we can now perceive: it was the place where monasticism took off and became a major force in Derby.

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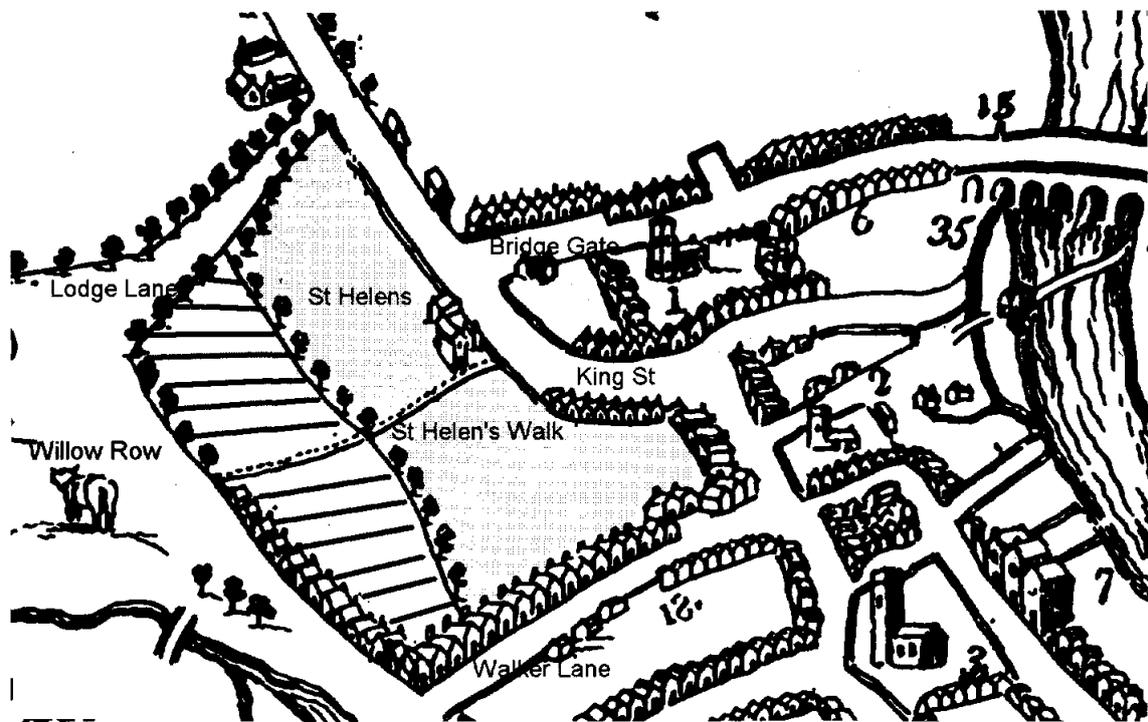


Fig 2: Detail from Speed's Map of Derby 1610 (see p97 and p106)

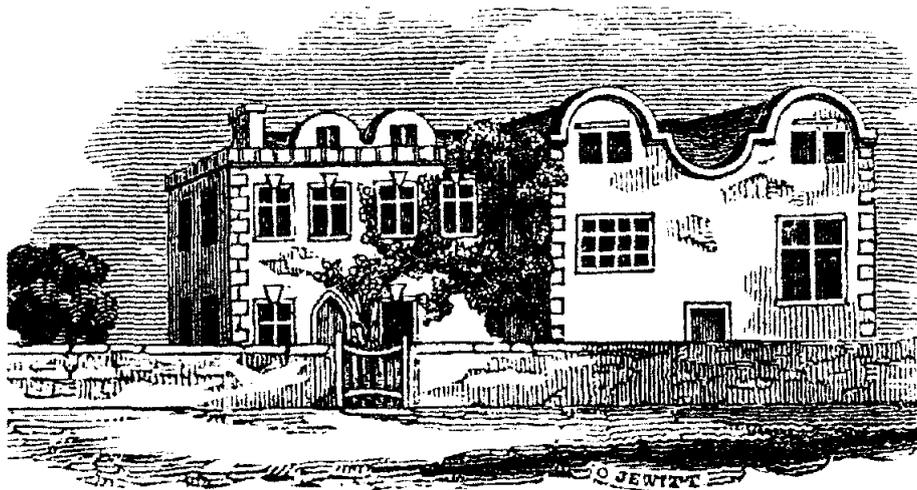


Fig 3: Old St Helen's House

This sketch of Old St Helen's House was drawn by Sir William Gell of Hopton in 1792 whilst he was staying at the New Inn on the opposite side of King Street.¹

¹ William Bemrose, *The Life and Works of Joseph Wright*, ARA, 1885, p51. Maxwell Craven, *The Derby Townhouse*, 1987, p89

PART 2: THE BUILDINGS ON THE SITE OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST HELEN'S IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(by Jane Steer,

1. Development of the Site in the 18th century

Two maps of Derby allow us to see some of the development of St Helen's precinct in the 17th and 18th centuries [north is the top edge of the maps]. The earliest map by John Speed, 1610 (fig 2), shows St Helen's surrounded by open land. Its medieval buildings have now been converted or replaced by a large house called St Helen's (also known as Old St Helen's House after c1767). The western boundary of the precinct could be either the first line of trees on the western side or Willow Row. Houses have been built on the northern side of Walker Lane (Cathedral Road). St Helen's Walk runs on the south side of the house. Roger Morledge² paid the Corporation rent for moving St Helen's Walk, probably before 1729,³ and on all the later maps it runs to the north of St Helen's. A pub, the Seven Stars, was built on part of the precinct in 1680. Two houses in the yard were probably built at the same time.

In the 18th century, there were 6a 2r 2p of orchards surrounding St Helen's House (see p107). The southern orchard was known as Goodwin's Orchard.

The house and the pub can be seen on an enlargement of S & N Buck's *East Prospect of Derby*, 1728. St Helen's House is on the left hand side and the Seven Stars and the two houses in the Seven Stars Yard are on the right hand side of the extract below. There are also several other houses and buildings along King Street to the right of the Seven Stars (not shown below). At first it was thought they were 'artist's licence'. However four or five other houses have been identified on the St Helen's site from documentary sources between 1707 and 1802 and from late 18th century Land Tax Assessments, so it is highly likely that the view is a fairly reasonable representation.



Burdett's map of Derby 1767, included in his map of Derbyshire 1791, defines the western boundary near Willow Row more clearly and also shows St Helen's Walk to the north of St Helen's House. The footprint of St Helen's House can be seen quite clearly, together with its walled gardens and orchards. The building to the south of St Helen's Walk and bordering King Street is probably the Seven Stars. Nothing is known about the building with a similar footprint on the other side of the walk. Note John's Gisborne's new St Helen's House

² W. Hutton, *The History of Derby*, 1791, p40: Roger Morledge, was "said to have acquired as much as erected his house at the bottom end of St Helen's-walk" from his work on the Shire Court in 1660. He probably arranged for St Helen's Walk to be moved. His son, another Roger, 1682-1747, was living in this house in 1729. This property was eventually bought by Richard Brown from Daniel Parker Coke. Derby Borough Deeds, Box 09, King Street Methodist Church, Derby Local Studies Library (DLSL)

³ Jane Steer, 'Derby Borough Rental 1729', Parts I and II, *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 14, Part 2 Autumn 1995, p40; Part 3 Spring 1996, p77; Derby Borough Rental 1729, DLSL 10735

built c1767 (still extant and a Grade I listed building) on the opposite side of King Street with its elliptical courtyard.



Burdett, 1767 with slight amendments in 1791

At the beginning of the 18th century, Samuel Burton bought St Helen's House and inherited Goodwin's Orchard. The two parts passed down by inheritance until, finally, towards the end of the 18th century they passed into the hands of Daniel Parker Coke (MP for Nottingham) who inherited Goodwin's Orchard (3 acres of orchard, a house, a stable and a conservatory) and Joseph Sikes of the Chantry, Newark who inherited St Helen's House, the gardens and 2a 2r 2p of orchard. (see family tree p119). Joseph Sikes died in 1798 and his executors sold his inheritance to Richard Brown the Elder and Richard Brown the Younger, spar manufacturers in 1802 (p109).

2. The Buildings on the site in the 18th Century

In the early 18th century, documentary evidence shows that the precinct of St Helen's was home to several buildings and two orchards split up between four different owners:

1. **The Capital Messuage - [Old] St Helen's House** - and its orchard (2a 2r 2p). (ref St Helen's House). There were also at least five tenements or cottages which belonged to this house.⁴
2. **The Messuage, Conservatory and Stable and Goodwin's Orchard** (4 acres in 1757, 3a 1r 9p in 1786) (ref: Goodwin's Orchard)
- 3.. **A Messuage or Tenement with a Necessary House.**⁵
4. **The Seven Stars Public House.** To date nothing is known about who acquired the piece of land on which it is built or who built it.

Apart from the Seven Stars, none of these buildings exist today. There is a little documentary evidence for St Helen's House apart from an 18th century sketch, some footprints of the house on 18th and 19th century maps, short, tantalising comments in deeds and published sources and some advertisements in the *Derby Mercury*.

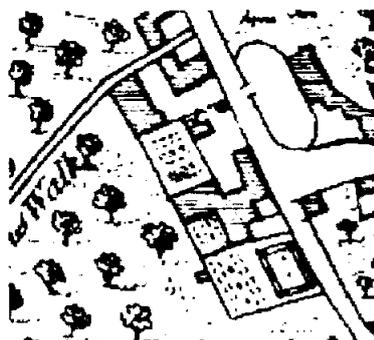
⁴ Land Tax Assessment 1798, DLSL (see page 113)

⁵ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DLSL

St Helen's House

Fig. 3⁶ shows a sketch of Old St Helen's House made by Sir William Gell of Hopton in 1792 whilst he was staying at the New Inn on the opposite side of King Street.⁷ The Early English doorway in the left hand wing suggests that some part of the monastic buildings were incorporated into the house.

The ground plan of the house and gardens can be seen on a detail from Burdett's map (1767, revised 1791). The Sevens Stars is adjacent to the Walk. John Gisborne's St Helen's House is opposite.



St Helen's House was described in a deed in 1745 as 'a Capital Messuage or Tenement with the Outbuildings Gardens Stables commonly called by the Name of Saint Ellens's situate standing and being within the Parish of St Alkmund in Derby. An Orchard, 2a 2r 2p, is attached to the house.'⁸

On 8 March 1754, the house was advertised to let in the *Derby Mercury* as 'A large and convenient dwelling house, situate in Derby, with Stabling for Eight Horses, well stalled out, a good Coach-House, and many other Conveniences thereto belonging; all in good Repair. Also two handsome Gardens, walled in, and planted with the choicest Wall Fruit.'

It was mentioned by William Bemrose in 1885 in his book on Joseph Wright, ARA, the renowned Derby painter, who rented St Helen's House from 1779-1793. Bemrose commented: *It had a large court before it, and the sittingrooms looked into the gardens, which were large.* He also quoted from a letter written by Wright's niece: "*The broad gravel walk, the length of the largest garden, was a famous place for playing ball, baseball, etc, in which his nieces used to join in with delight, there being no fear of any injury done. The old house was well calculated for all sorts of games; from the rooms opening into each other and into different passages, no place could be better for hide and seek, and the large hall for blind-man's-buff and games that required space. ...*"⁹ and from Joseph Sikes (the son of the last owner) "*The house also contained a compact Chapel, part of which had a curiously wrought cedar wainscot. ...*"¹⁰

The last owner of St Helen's House was Joseph Sikes. His will, proved on 6 June 1798, instructed his executors to dispose of the house.¹¹ In the *Derby Mercury* of 26 July 1798, Mr Kirk, the auctioneer advertised an auction to be held on 7 August in the Old Assembly Rooms for the sale of household goods removed from a 'Gentleman's House'. Because of the number of grates and ovens, the goods look as though they were probably the contents of St Helen's (a similar sale took place when one of the tenants, Robert Shirley, left the house - see p113). They consisted of: "*Mahogany Dining Tables, Mahogany and Oak Dressing Tables, Dressing Chests of Drawers, Portable Desks, Mahogany Writing Tables, Parlour, Chamber and Kitchen Chairs; Mahogany Side Tables, a large Assortment of House Brooms and Brushes; an excellent Kitchen Range, 8 Bath Stove-Grates, 2 Cast Ovens, and 9 Hearth Stoves; a modern made Mangle, and many other Articles which will appear in the Catalogue*".

By early 1800 some part of the house had been demolished and its materials sold, again by Mr Kirk, at a public auction at the house of Mr Wilson, the George Inn, on 13 February. The first lot was "*Several Hundred*

⁶ William Bemrose, *The Life and Works of Joseph Wright, ARA, 1885*, p51

⁷ Maxwell Craven, *The Derby Townhouses, 1987*, p89

⁸ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DLSL

⁹ William Bemrose, *The Life and Works of Joseph Wright, ARA, 1885*, p51

¹⁰ William Bemrose, *The Life and Works of Joseph Wright, ARA, 1885*, p51-52

¹¹ 'Sikes of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire', *The Herald and Genealogist*, Vol VI, p206. DLSL A929.2

Weight of OLD LEAD, being upon a House and premises called Saint Helen's, top of Bridge Gate, in Derby aforesaid, late Wright's" and the second "All the Materials of the said house, late Wright's, consisting of several Hundred Thousand Bricks, with a great deal of useful Stone, and a very large quantity of old and valuable Oak Timber, well worth the attention of any person about to build".¹²

When St Helen's House and its orchard was sold to Richard Brown, the Elder, and Richard Brown, the Younger, spar manufacturers in 1802 it was described as: '*All that Scite or Ground wheron there lately stood a Capital Messuage or Tenement wherein Samuel Burton did formerly inhabit and dwell, Also all those several Cottages or Tenements, Stable and Garden situate near or adjoining to the said Scite or ground and then or then late in the several Occupations of Mr Jas Fox, Saml Marsdon, William Harrison and Mrs Rebecca Wallis. And also all that Orchard adjoining to the said Cottages containing by estimation 2a 2r 2p or thereabouts and then or then late in the occupation of Mrs Ann Rose. All which sd Scite or Ground Cottages Orchard and premises then or theretofore had been called or known by the name of St Helens and were situate and being within the parish of St Alkmund in Derby afsd. And all Houses etc And the Reversion etc And all the Estate etc And all Deeds etc*'.

... As for and concerning one undivided Moiety or half part of said premises/the whole unto two equal parts to be divided/To the only proper use and behoof of said Rd Brown Senr and Heirs and Assigns for ever.

And for and concerning the other Undivided Moiety thereof/To the only proper use of s^d R^d Brown Jur^t and Richard Brown Ser^t their Heirs and Assigns for ever. Nevertheless as to the Estate of said R Brown Ser^t and his Heirs in and to the said last mentioned Moiety/In Trust for said Rd Brown Jur^t and his Heirs and Assigns.¹³

Note: In the extracts above the house apparently belonged to both Joseph Wright and Samuel Burton. Other references imply that William Fitzherbert, Robert Shirley and Mrs Holden owned it (see p112-3). It is only when the references are taken in context with the available deeds that it becomes apparent that newspaper advertisements are worded so that a property can be identified by the readers.

Second House: The Messuage, Conservatory and Stable and Goodwins Orchard

In 1745 this was described as the '*Messuage or Tenement and Conservatory or Apple Chamber and Stable adjoining and also adjoining to the Orchard or backside of the Capital Messuage*'.¹⁴

Third House

The third house was a messuage or tenement with a pump and necessary house which emptied into the Orchard. It was under separate ownership and was not included in the sale to the Brown's or inherited by Daniel Parker Coke. In 1745 it was in the possession of James Horrocks and Benjamin Holbrooke. The owners of the other two houses had '*free use and privilege of the Pump and Necessary House*'.¹⁵

3. The Owners of St Helen's House and Goodwin's Orchard

By the early part of the 18th century the major part of the land belonged to two men related by marriage: Samuel Burton who owned St Helen's House and his uncle, Samuel Goodwin, who owned Goodwin's Orchard. When Goodwin died in 1717 Burton inherited the Orchard. On his death in 1750, the two parts of the property were again separated and, eventually, after the death of Samuel Burton's wife Ann, in 1786, descended to Burton and Goodwin heirs respectively. Some of the details of their respective ownership during the 18th century were derived from three abstracts of title deeds:

1. *Abstract of the Title of Mr George Lee's Representatives to a piece of land part of Goodwin's Orchard situate near to a place called Saint Ellens in the Parish of St Alkmund in Derby and the Messuages and premises built thereon. (1707-1808).*¹⁶

Note: Mr George Lee owned a house near to the New Flower Pot Inn on King Street.¹⁷

¹² *Derby Mercury*, 6 February 1800

¹³ Nottinghamshire Record Office NC/Q175 - Friends Meeting House, St Helen's Street deposit

¹⁴ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DL5L

¹⁵ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DL5L

¹⁶ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DL5L

¹⁷ *Derby Mercury*, 19 July 1798

2. *Abstract of the Title of Mr Richard Brown the Elder and Mr Richard Brown the Younger to an Estate called St Helen's situate in the Parish of Saint Alkmunds in Derby in the County of Derby (1743-1802).*¹⁸
3. *Abstract of Title to a piece of Land containing 1712 superficial square yards fronting to King Street and Chapel Street in Derby (on part whereof a Methodist Chapel, and sundry Buildings have been erected) charged with a fee farm Rent of £42 16s payable to the Representative of the late D.P. Coke, Esq [Daniel Parker Coke] (1757-1824).*¹⁹

The earliest deed in these abstracts is dated 1707. Samuel Goodwin, who also owned The College next to All Saints Church, was renting 'All the Orchard, Stable and Conservatory in parish of St Alkmund known as Goodwins Orchard' to Samuel Linnett, clothmaker, for 21 years at a rent of £17 per year. Linnett had 'to permit Geo Hunter to empty his Necessary House into the said Orchard in such manner as used to be done'. Samuel Goodwin died in 1717 and in his will left an estate at Plumbley and a house in Derby which he had previously settled on the Minister of St Alkmunds and his successors. He also left 'A Camlitt Bed in the Great Chamber with all the ffurniture thereunto belonging and One Chest of Drawers with all that therein to' together with the rents and profits from Cundy Close to Mary Linnett, daughter of Samuel Linnett. Jane Bland and Dorothy the wife of James Horrocks were left the house in which they lived (the same as No 3 house which had the Necessary House?). The rest of his estate, both real and personal, including Goodwins Orchard, was left to his nephew, Samuel Burton, the only son of his sister Mary who had married Francis Burton.²⁰ (family tree p119)

Samuel Burton bought St Helen's House from Mr Degg²¹ (thought to be Simon Degge who died between June 1715 and November 1716²², grandson of Sir Simon Degge, the Recorder of Derby) so with the addition of Goodwins Orchard, he now owned most of the former precinct. He had certainly bought the house before 1721 because in that year he obtained a Grant from the Mayor and Burgesses of Derby to make a causeway near St Helen's²³ and, most probably, had owned it in Samuel Goodwin's lifetime because he took down the fences between the two orchards after Goodwin's will was proved in 1718. He married a widow, Ann Jackson, née Burton, on 8 December 1741 in Etwall²⁴ and in 1745 drew up a deed poll which left both the house and Goodwin's Orchard to the use of his wife and her assigns for her life 'with liberty to cut down timber for the necessary repairs of the premises and not for any other use'.²⁵

The announcement of the death of Samuel Burton in 1750, aged 67, in the *Derby Mercury* of 19-26 October reflected the esteem in which he was obviously held in the town:

¹⁸ Nottinghamshire Record Office NC/Q175 - Friends Meeting House, St Helen's Street deposit

¹⁹ Derby Borough Deeds, Box 09, King Street Methodist Church, Lot 1, DLSL

²⁰ Will of Samuel Goodwin dated 11 June 1711, proved 1718. Lichfield Record Office, B/C/11

²¹ October 1757: Indenture made between Thomas Coke of Derby and Matilda his wife. This Indenture concerned the conveying and settling of the Messuage, Lands & Tenements which were formerly the Estate of Samuel Goodwin then late of Derby, Gentleman, deceased. These lands consisted of:

'All that orchard (expectd on the death of Mrs Ann Burton therein ment'd to be the Widow of Saml Burton, Esq deceased) lying & being in the Parish of St Alkmund in Derby afsd & containing by estimation 4 acres were the same more or less & commonly called or known by the name of Goodwins Orchard & then occupied with the House & Orchard bought by the sd Saml Burton of Mr Degg [this house must be St Helen's House because it was bought by Samuel Burton and not by Samuel Goodwin] & then in Jointure to the sd Mrs Burton for life: [then follows details of an estate in Swanwick]. Derby Borough Deeds, Box 09, King Street Methodist Church, Lot 1, DLSL

²² Will of Simon Degge dated 17 June 1715, Lichfield Record Office, B/C/11: He owned messuages, farms, lands and tenements in Derby as well as the manors of Marchington and Agardsley in Staffordshire. These were sold by his executors to pay off his mortgage on the Staffordshire estates, the residue providing funds for the children of his first and second marriage and the care of his second wife, Jane, during her lifetime. *Abstract of Mr Degge's Estate at Derby and Mapleton directed by his will to be sold (1705-1771)*. DLSL Derbyshire Deed 1809. The marriage portion of Simon Degge's (died 1716) first wife, Selina, was used to buy lands belonging to the Nunnery of St Mary de Pratis. These probably conjoined the St Helen's land on the western boundary. The will in this case, dated 15 November 1727, was made by his son and heir, Simon Degge - an imbecile from 1739 who died in 1767.

²³ 14 August 1721: Counterpart of Grant and Licence from the Mayor and Burgesses to Saml Burton to make a Causeway nr St Helens. Listing in *Schedule of Deeds belonging to the Corporation of Derby from the earliest date to the year 1814 inclusive, made about 1849-50*. Derby Borough Records, DBR/D/40, DLSL

²⁴ Phillimore, *Derbyshire Marriages*, Vol 14

²⁵ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DLSL

Yesterday Morning about Two o'Clock, dy'd suddenly, at his House in this Town, Samuel Burton, Esq, who was High Sheriff of this County in the Year 1718. He was a Gentleman of great Learning, plain and humble in his Deportment, courteous and affable to all his Friends, a kind Landlord to his Tenants, and a good Benefactor to his poor distress'd Neighbours. He was marry'd to his now mournful Relict, in December 1741, and, dying without Issue, we hear his real Estate, which is very considerable, devolves to his next Relation, Mrs Sikes, wife of Mr Joseph Sikes, of this Town.

Samuel Burton died intestate and Ann Burton was granted letters of administration of his goods, chattels and credits on 19 November 1750. Together with the two other bondsmen, Robert Peach of Brailsford (Ann's brother-in-law)²⁶ and Francis Higginbotham of Ashbourne (her Attorney), she entered into a bond of £1000 with Richard Smallbroke, the Vicar General of the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry and agreed to prepare an inventory of Burton's possessions by 30 October 1751. The witnesses were Henry Cantrell, vicar of St Alkmunds and Jn^o Denston (her Attorney in Derby).²⁷ The inventory has not survived.

Joseph Sikes was a maltster who lived in a house belonging to Samuel Burton in St Michael's parish in 1740.²⁸ His wife was Samuel Burton's cousin, Hannah Sikes, née Chambers.²⁹ She inherited St Helen's House and its orchard. Goodwin's Orchard passed to Matilda Coke, née Goodwin and her husband, Thomas.

However, because of Samuel's foresight, Ann Burton had the use of all his property until her death in 1786 aged 77.³⁰ By this time Hannah and Joseph Sikes, their eldest son, Samuel, and Matilda and Thomas Coke had all died and the eventual beneficiaries were Hannah's second son, Joseph Sikes of The Chantry, Newark, and Matilda's son, Daniel Parker Coke.³¹ Daniel Parker Coke also inherited the College on Queen Street. (see family tree, p119).

Ann Burton herself remarried in Brailsford on February 8, 1750/51³², only a few months after Samuel had died. Her third husband was the Reverend Robert Holden, Vicar of Sutton-on-the-Hill and Rector of Barton Blount.³³ Later documentary references refer to her both as Mrs Burton and as Mrs Holden (Holding) She was one of three daughters of Francis Burton of Brailsford. Her sisters, Hannah and Frances, were married to Robert Peach of Brailsford and Robert Hurd of Osmaston-by-Derby respectively. When she died she was apparently a wealthy woman, owning land and tenements in Darley near Derby in the occupation of James Horsley which were to be sold, a messuage in Etwall and 2 closes, 3 messuages and land in Kirk Ireton in the possession of William Norman, a messuage and land in Osmaston lately bought from Hugo Meynell, Esq and an enclosed parcel of land on Hulland Ward Common lately purchased from Richard Poyser. A tankard, a tobacco box and coffee and tea pots, all made of silver, were also mentioned in her will.³⁴

Nearly 70 years had elapsed since Samuel Burton had inherited Goodwin's Orchard and taken down the boundary fence. Although Daniel Parker Coke and Joseph Sikes knew that the part of the orchard next to the dwelling house and premises in the possession of Richard Rose (ie Goodwin's Orchard) descended to Daniel Parker Coke and the other part descended to Joseph Sikes, they had '*doubts about the boundary of the Orchards belonging to each and the right of them to the public footway along the outside of the said Orchard next to the public street or Common High Road and to the wall that then guarded the footway from the Carriage Road*' and agreed to put the matter to the arbitration of Thomas Wilson of Derby, Esq and William Cox of Brailsford, Gentleman Arbitrators. Thomas Evans was appointed umpire.

Wilson and Cox's Award of 31 October 1786 stated that '*Daniel Parker Coke's part of Orchard was bounded by the Garden wall of said Sikes from the wall adjoining the said Public Footway and the Town Street to a Stake formerly put down by the order of the late Thomas Coke Esq standing at the southwesterly corner of the said garden wall and that from thence the boundary of the respective parts ... was from the said stake in a Westwardly direction in a straight line to another stake, also put down by Thomas Coke, and from the last*

²⁶ Ann Holden's Will proved 28 April 1786. Lichfield Record Office B/C/11

²⁷ Samuel Burton, 1750, Letters of Administration, Lichfield Record Office

²⁸ Derby Borough Records, DBR/D/55, DLSL

²⁹ Nottinghamshire Record Office NC/Q175 - Friends Meeting House, St Helen's Street deposit

³⁰ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DLSL

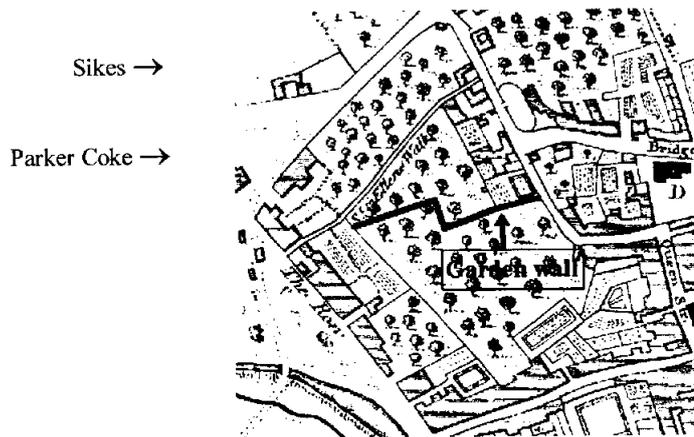
³¹ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DLSL

³² Phillimore, *Derbyshire Marriages*, Vol 2

³³ Michael Hartley, *Sutton on the Hill*, 1991, p36.

³⁴ Ann Holden's Will proved 28 April 1786. Lichfield Record Office B/C/11

stake turning in a northwardly direction in a straight line to another stake put down by Thomas Coke and from then turning in a westwardly direction in a straight line to another stake put down by Thomas Coke and then continued in a westwardly direction in a straight line to a Butment or pier in the wall on the westwardly side of the said orchard taking 4 inches and an half of the said Butment or Pier to the said D.P. Cokes part of the said orchard shown on the plan [not included]. The said public footway and the Wall that guarded the same were the right of Joseph Sikes and that he and his heirs should at their own costs and charges maintain the said Footway or road for all his Majestys subjects.³⁵



Burdett 1767 suggesting an interpretation of the boundary between the two orchards

Joseph Sikes died in 1798. In his will dated 3 March 1798, proved at York on 6 June 1798, he gave his freeholds within the limits of the borough of Derby and in the parishes of Combridge, Denstone, and elsewhere in Co Stafford, in trust for sale to his executors, William Hutton of Gate Burton in the County of Lincoln, Esquire, Richard Hutton of Carlton upon Trent in the County of Nottingham, Esquire, the Reverend William Key of Newark and Jacob Ordoyne of Newark, Gentleman, 'for the purpose of discharging the legacies and other pecuniary obligations in his will'.³⁶ The freeholds in Derby included St Helens House and its orchard and in 1802 they were sold to Richard Brown the Elder and Richard Brown the Younger, spar manufacturers for £1500, each man paying £750 (see p109).³⁷

Daniel Parker Coke, MP for Derby and later Nottingham, did not die until 1825 and in the intervening years slowly sold parts of Goodwin's Orchard with reserved fee farm rents for development, mostly to raise money to repay loans, including a mortgage raised to satisfy his parent's condition that his three sisters should each be paid £1000 when he inherited Samuel Goodwin's Orchard and the estate at Swanwick.³⁸

4. The Tenants of St Helen's House

After Samuel Burton's death, St Helen's House was let out to tenants. A full search of the *Derby Mercury* has not yet been completed for tenants between 1764 and 1778. No advertisement for tenants has been found for 1793-9.

Derby Mercury 2-9 August 1751: *To be lett and entered upon at Christmas, Candlemas, or Lady Day next: A Good convenient Dwelling HOUSE, situate in DERBY, in the County of DERBY, late in the Possession of Samuel Burton, Esq, Deceased, with Stabling for Nine Horses, well stalled out, a good Coach-House, and Coal House, and sundry other Conveniences thereto belonging; all in good Repair. Also two handsome Gardens, walled in, and planted with the choicest Wall Fruit; and an Orchard adjoining the said Gardens, walled in and planted with the best of Fruit. For further Particulars enquire of Mr ROBERT PEACH, of Brailsford, Six Miles from DERBY, Mr HIGGINBOTHAM Attorney at Law in ASHBORNE and Mr JOHN DENSTON, Attorney at Law in Derby.*

³⁵ Derbyshire Deed 1004, DLSL

³⁶ 'Sikes of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire', *The Herald and Genealogist*, Vol VI, p206. DLSL A929.2

³⁷ Nottinghamshire Record Office NC/Q175 - Friends Meeting House, St Helen's Street deposit

³⁸ Derby Borough Deeds, Box 09, King Street Methodist Church, Lot 1, DLSL

This advert was repeated in 10-17 March 1752. Enquiries now had to be made to *Rev. Mr. HOLDEN of Sutton upon the Hill, Mr ROBERT PEACH, of Brailsford, Six Miles from DERBY, Mr JOHN DENSTON, Attorney at Law, or Mr JOHN MANNING, both in the Full Street, Derby*

Derby Mercury 8 March 1754: *To be lett and entered upon at Lady Day or Midsummer next: A large and convenient dwelling HOUSE, situate in DERBY, (now in the Possession of WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, Esq) with Stabling for Eight Horses, well stalled out, a good Coach-House, and many other Conveniences thereto belonging; all in good Repair. Also two handsome Gardens, walled in, and planted with the choicest Wall Fruit. For further Particulars enquire of the Rev. Mr. HOLDEN of Sutton upon the Hill, Mr ROBERT PEACH, of Brailsford, Six Miles from DERBY, Mr HIGGINBOTHAM Attorney at Law in ASHBORNE, or Mr JOHN MANNING of the Fall Street, Derby.*

Note: William Fitzherbert's wife Mary, died on 28 February 1753. Her son, Alleyne Fitzherbert, later a distinguished diplomat known as Lord Saint Helen's Alleyne Fitzherbert, was born on 1 March 1753.³⁹

Derby Mercury 15-22 December 1758: *To be Sold, at the House call'd St Ellen's in Derby, on Friday and Saturday, the 19th and 30th Days of this Instant December, and no longer. All the Household GOODS and FURNITURE of ROBERT SHIRLEY, Esq, viz. a very handsome Yellow Silk Mohair Bed and Furniture compleat, with Four Pair of Window Curtains, and Tea Chairs cover'd with the same, very fashionable, and quite clean; a large Four-fold Velvet Screen, and a very curious India Screen, a very large China Jarr of fine old China, two very handsome Mahogany Card Tables to serve for many Uses, compleat and divers other Beds and Bedding, Chairs, Brewing Vessels, Barrels, and Kitchen and other Household Furniture.*

Derby Mercury 4-11 May 1759: *To be LETT, and Enter'd upon immediately. A Large and Convenient Dwelling HOUSE (late SAMUEL BURTON'S, Esq, Deceased) with good Gardens, Stables, Outhouses, and other Conveniences, situate in St Alkmund's Parish in DERBY, fit for a Gentleman's family; and late in the Possession of the Hon. ROBERT SHIRLEY, Esq. For further Particulars enquire of Mrs COTTON, at Etwall near Derby. [Note: The Cotton family lived at Etwall Hall.]*

Joesph Wright, ARA, rented St Helen's House from 1779-1793.

Besides St Helen's House, at least four adjacent houses and cottages were identified and included in the sale to the Browns in 1802 (see p109). The tenants listed in the Deed can be identified on the Land Tax Assessment for 1798 (shows five houses) below.⁴⁰ ['ex' = exonerated; in 1798, to raise finance for the war with France, those assessed could permanently free themselves from the levy by purchasing consols equivalent to the value of fifteen years of land tax.]

Proprietors Rated	Property	Occupiers	Tax
Mr Wilson	Orchard, 3 houses	Mrs Wallis ⁴¹ and others	ex 19s 5d
Mr Wilson	2 houses	Harrison ⁴² , Fox ⁴³	ex 15s 9d
Mr Sykes	House	Late Mr Wright	ex £1 11s 0d
Mr Sykes	Orchard	Mrs Rose	ex £1 13s 3d

Information from earlier Land Tax Assessments show the ownership in 1780

Proprietors Rated	Property	Occupiers	Tax
Mr Wilson	Orchard and tenements	Mr Wallis	£1. 1s 0d
Mrs Holdings [ex Mrs Burton]	House	Mr Wright	£1 13s 4d
Mrs Holden	Orchard	Mr Denstone	£9 0s 0d

³⁹ Burke's Landed Gentry

⁴⁰ Land Tax Assessment for St Alkmunds parish, Derby 1798, DLSL, microfilm.

⁴¹ Alfred Wallis, *Some Reminiscences of Old Derby*, 1909, DLSL, Ba 900 [8982], No 4. Mrs Rebecca Wallis was the wife of George Wallis, maltster, who built the New Inn on the corner of Bridge Gate and King Street c1761-6. George Wallis died in 24 February 1786.

⁴² Alfred Wallis, *Some Reminiscences of Old Derby*, 1909, DLSL, Ba 900 [8982], No 28. William Harrison was probably an engineer and boiler maker who had a 'large scale of business' in Bridge Gate.

⁴³ Maxwell Craven, *John Whitehurst of Derby*, 1996, p219. James Fox had a factory on City Road

In 1783:

Proprietors Rated	Property	Occupiers	Tax
<i>Mr Wilson</i>	<i>Orchard</i>	<i>Mr Wallis</i>	<i>£1 1s 0d</i>
<i>Mrs Holden</i> [ex Mrs Burton]	<i>House</i>	<i>Mr Wright</i>	<i>£1 13s 4d</i>
<i>Mrs Holden</i>	<i>Orchard</i>	<i>Mrs Rose</i>	<i>£1 16s 0d</i>

In 1796

Proprietors Rated	Property	Occupiers	Tax
<i>Mr Wilson</i>	<i>Orchard</i>	<i>Mrs Wallis</i>	<i>£1 1s 0d</i>
<i>Mr Wright</i>	<i>2 houses</i>	<i>Wallis and Harrison</i>	<i>£1 1s 0d</i>
<i>Mr Sykes</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Void, late Mr Wright</i>	<i>£1 13s 4d</i>
<i>Mr Sykes</i>	<i>Orchard</i>	<i>Mrs Rose</i>	<i>£1 16s 0d</i>

In 1797

Proprietors Rated	Property	Occupiers	Tax
<i>Mr Wilson</i>	<i>Orchard</i>	<i>Mrs Wallis</i>	<i>15s 9d</i>
<i>Mr Wilson</i>	<i>2 houses</i>	<i>Wallis and Harrison</i>	<i>12s 9d</i>
<i>Mr Sykes</i>	<i>House (Void)</i>	<i>Late Mr Wright</i>	<i>£1 5s 0d</i>
<i>Mr Sykes</i>	<i>Orchard</i>	<i>Mr Rose</i>	<i>£1 7s 0d</i>

Note: By 1796, Mr Sikes' house is described as 'Void'

Throughout most of this period, house no 2 and Goodwins Orchard were also let to undertenants.

THE SITE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

At the beginning of the 19th century the site was developed by both Daniel Parker Coke and the Browns. New roads were laid down in the orchard: St Helen's Street, Chapel Street, Orchard Street, Goodwin Street and Cherry Street.

Buildings erected on St Helen's orchard (approximately north east part) and Goodwin's Orchard (southern part) by the mid-19th century included:

On Joseph Sikes' Old St Helen's House and Orchard

- 1802 Richard Brown's Spar Manufactory, St Helen's Street
- 1808 Friends Meeting House, St Helen's Street
- 1819 Swedenborgian Chapel + schoolroom built on King St - octagonal shape.⁴⁴
- 1848 Derby China Works established in a pre-1819 building sited between the Spar Manufactory and the Seven Stars.

On Daniel Parker Coke's house and Goodwin's Orchard (all demolished)

- 1805 Wesleyan Methodist Church, King St. Rebuilt 1841 on an enlarged site.^{45,46}
- 1813 Roman Catholic Church + schoolroom built in Chapel St.⁴⁷
- c1812-1833 Lancastrian School built on Orchard Street.⁴⁸
- pre 1833 Wesleyan Methodist Infant School, Chapel Street.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Stephen Glover, *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, 1833, Vol II, Part 1, p504 says 1820, Chatterton and Swanwick map of 1819 shows the chapel already built. Now demolished.

⁴⁵ Derby Borough Deeds, Box 09, King Street Methodist Church, Lot 1, DLSL

⁴⁶ Stephen Glover, *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, 1833, Vol II, Part 1, p502

⁴⁷ Robert Simpson, *History and Antiquities of Derby*, 1826, p378

⁴⁸ Stephen Glover, *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, 1833, Vol II, Part 1, p504

⁴⁹ Stephen Glover, *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, 1833, Vol II, Part 1, p505

In addition large new houses were built on Cherry Street before 1819 for Mr Wallis (owner of the New Inn at the top of Bridge Gate) and Captain Dixon (one of these houses was also called St Helen's House⁵⁰) and for John Whitehurst Junior in 1826. Other large leasehold houses were built on Daniel Parker Coke's land on King Street next to the New Flower Pot Inn east of Chapel Street. Working class housing on Orchard Street and Goodwin Street had been erected by 1826⁵¹ (Daniel Parker Coke died in December 1825).

The Spar Manufactory complex built by the Browns will be the subject of an article in a later issue of *Derbyshire Miscellany*.

THE SEVEN STARS PUBLIC HOUSE, KING STREET



This well known public house, the Seven Stars, is built on land which once belonged to the Oratory of St Helen's and its Hospital. The date on the front is 1680. An old barn with a hayloft belonging to the pub still exists to its rear.

The pub is a brick built house of four storeys and a part cellar. Barbara Hutton and her team on the Derby Buildings Record have recorded the building and their conclusions were that the construction of the building was wholly consistent with the date on the front.⁵² The lounge bar has a stone framed fireplace and the ceiling is built from a single moulded beam over 8 metres long. The barn is thought to date from the 19th century.

In 1964, workman carrying out building alterations to the pub found a well, fed from an underground spring, with 10 feet of water in it. The well, still extant, is dry-built and goes down 27 feet. It is in a room which used to be the landlord's kitchen in 'olden' days.⁵³

There are some Derby Borough Plans and Notices for the Seven Stars, including one in 1906 for new stables and one in 1925 for a lockup shop and additional accommodation which included an archway from the pub to the new shop. The scheme was never built but the plan shows the existing ground floor plan which is reproduced overleaf. The shop on the south side of the pub has been demolished.⁵⁴

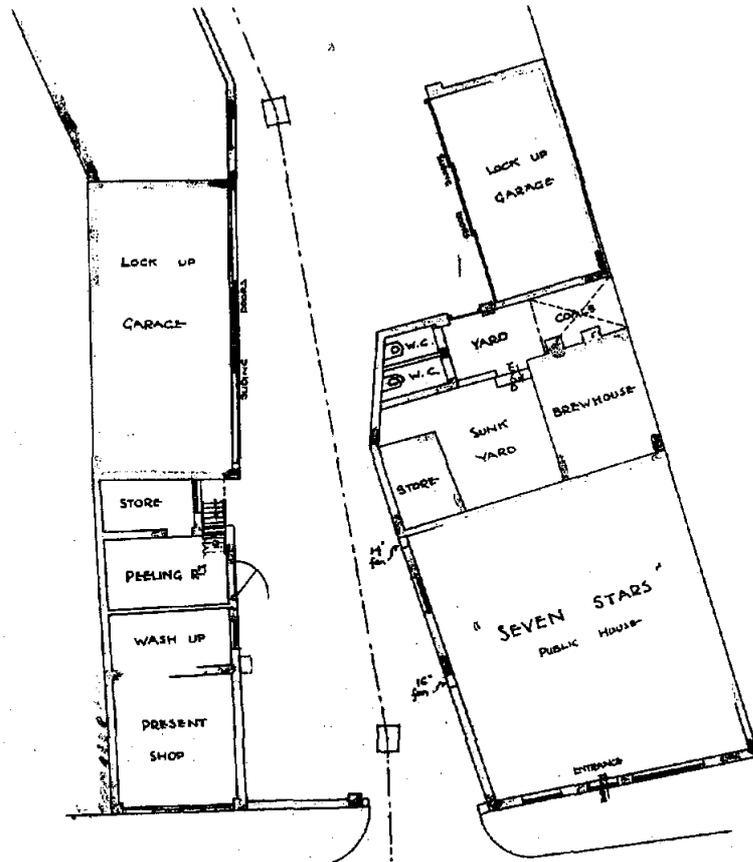
⁵⁰ Stephen Glover, *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, 1833, Vol II, Part 1, p596

⁵¹ Robert Simpson, *History and Antiquities of Derby*, 1826, frontispiece map

⁵² Derby Buildings Record, Derbyshire Archaeological Society, *Seven Stars, King Street, Derby*, 2002. Copy deposited in Derby Museum and Art Gallery.

⁵³ *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 19 June 1965

⁵⁴ Derby Borough Building Notice and Plan No 13776: 22 October 1925. DLSL



The earliest reference to the Seven Stars found so far is 1791 when the owner/tenant was Mr Yates, victualler.⁵⁵ Maxwell Craven has found a 1775 reference. It was known earlier as the Plough. When Thomas Yates died on 2 October 1822, a note on a funeral notice in a notebook belonging to William Haslam, the bell-hanger and whitesmith on St Helen's Street,⁵⁶ commented: *Thomas Yates son of Living with his Granma at seven stars, late plough, King St Derby 1818*. On the reverse side William Haslam lists the men who 'carried him to the grave' on 5 October.



⁵⁵ *Universal British Directory, 1791*, p888

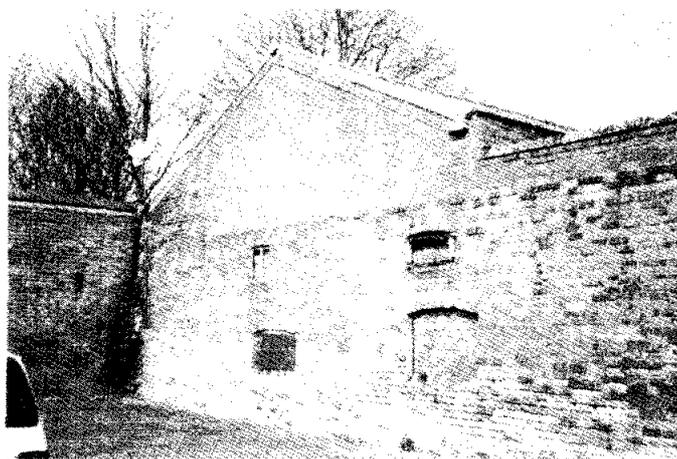
⁵⁶ Anne and Alison Haslam. Private Collection

In 1881, William Bates was the publican and lived in the Seven Stars (then 23 King Street) with his wife, daughter, sister and two servants. Two families lived in No 1 Seven Stars Yard. The head of one family, Israel Walker, was an ostler and groom.⁵⁷ There is a sketch of the Seven Stars and the houses in the yard in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Society Journal* of 1880.⁵⁸ The Swedenborgian chapel is on the right hand side of the Seven Stars.⁵⁹



Old Seven Stars, King Street.

Earlier censuses, including that of 1841, list the inhabitants of two houses in the yard or court. Part of the rear wall and the former windows of the houses in the yard can still be seen in the car park belonging to the old Spar Manufactory workshops (71 King Street). Their footprint can be seen on Burdett's map of 1767/91 and they may have been as old as the pub because of the similarity in style.



Rear wall of the Seven Stars Yard houses with a 20thC barn built off it.

⁵⁷ 1881 Census

⁵⁸ George Bailey, 'Notes on some Old Houses in Derby (Second Paper)', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol 2, 1880, Plate V facing p31

⁵⁹ Information from Mark Higginson to Joan D'Arcy

Poor Law Assessments for St Alkmund's parish between 1840 and 1880 (later ones have not been examined) show that there was also a malt office in the Seven Stars yard. Between 1840 and 1865 it belonged to Mrs Collumbell who rented it out over this period to at least two tenants: John Porter in 1840 and William B. Sherwin from 1860. She died before 1870 because her executors are then listed as the owner. William Sherwin owned it in November 1875 but was again listed as the tenant in the 1880 Assessment (probably because he was then 69 years old)⁶⁰; William Bates was the owner of the malt office in 1880. A rate was also paid on a warehouse in the yard between 1865 and 1870.⁶¹

In 1901 George Henry Bates was the Licensee and had been so since 1892. The house was a free house and the Poor Rate Assessment was £69. There were two rooms for sleeping accommodation for travellers and visitors and stable and vehicle accommodation for 30 (presume horses).⁶²

Innkeepers at the Seven Stars

The list below gives the names of innkeepers which have been identified from several sources. Some are owners and some are tenants - it is not usually possible to determine which category they fall into.

1791	Mr Yates ⁶³
1818-20	John Yates ⁶⁴
1822	Cath Yates ⁶⁵
1829, 1835	Roger Longdon ⁶⁶
1841, 1843	James Alton ⁶⁷
1850	William Stoddard ⁶⁸
1861	Roger Sims ⁶⁹
1865	Francis Turner ⁷⁰
1871-1891	William Bates ⁷¹
1901, 1912	George Henry Bates ⁷²
1925	T.H. Henry ⁷³

Today only the Manager and his family live above the pub. Earlier census however show that not only did the Innkeeper or Licensed Victualler and his family live in the pub but lodgers or travellers were also accommodated. In 1861, for instance, the lodgers, all born in London, were Michael Davis, an exhibitor of Marionettes, William Luckling, a carman, and Mary Luckling a dressmaker; in 1841 they were George Greathead, a mail guard and John and Ellinor Norton, both of independent means, all born outside Derbyshire.

⁶⁰ 1881 census: William B. Sherwin, Alderman and retired druggist, lived at 7 North Parade, Derby.

⁶¹ *An Assessment for the Relief of the Poor of the Parish of St Alkmunds in the Borough of Derby and for the Purposes chargeable thereon according to the Law made the 14 day of February in the Year of our Lord 1840 after the Rate of sixpence in the pound.* DLSL. The later Assessments examined, 1860-1880, have similar titles which give the rate in the pound for the current year.

⁶² *Licensed Houses*, Vol 1, p119, Derby Local Studies Library BA 642 (28518)

⁶³ *British Universal Directory*, 1791

⁶⁴ Pigots Commercial Directory 1818-20 DLSL

⁶⁵ Pigot & Co, *Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire Directory*, 1822, p43

⁶⁶ Stephen Glover, *Directory of Derbyshire*, 1829, p59; Pigot's Commercial Directory, 1835

⁶⁷ 1841 Census; Stephen Glover, *History and Directory of the Borough of Derby*, 1843, p132

⁶⁸ Slaters Derbyshire Directory 1850

⁶⁹ 1861 Census

⁷⁰ Poor Law Assessment, March 1865. DLSL

⁷¹ 1871 Census; Kelly's Directory, Derbyshire, 1881, p994, 1891 Census.

⁷² 1901 Census; Kelly's Directory, Derbyshire, 1912, p172

⁷³ Derby Borough Building Notice and Plan No 13776: 22 October 1925

JOHN COKE - THEATRE PATRON

(by Howard Usher,

When the Derbyshire Record Office was cataloguing the muniments at Melbourne Hall, a 17th century manuscript notebook was found. This contained a hitherto unknown Tragi-Comedy by Thomas Heywood (1573-1647), a playwright contemporary of Shakespeare. The book was sold by Sotheby's of New York in November, 1973, and was purchased by John Fleming, a New York book dealer. It seemed to be a chance find of little significance.

However, many years later, in 1985, Edward Saunders was looking through John Coke's letters and found a single sheet of paper used as wrapping for a bundle of John Coke's correspondence with Fulke Greville, then Treasurer of the Navy. The bundle was labelled "Packet No. 3. 1601-1630". The paper had been folded to make four sheets of a manuscript of part of a play, written in a 17th century secretary hand and with numerous corrections and deletions in the writer's own hand. It was a rare example of what is called a "foul paper". The play concerned the Medici family of Florence and the foul paper consisted of a dialogue between Prince Alexander de Medici and his cousin, Lorenzo. The author was unknown, but expert opinion attributed it to John Webster (1580-1634), examples of whose handwriting have not survived. However, there was an alternative opinion, which suggested James Shirley as the author, the subject matter being similar to Shirley's play, "The Traitor".

Later, in a bundle of miscellaneous papers, dated 1601-1643, a sheet of paper was found, which contained a sheet of Latin verse, on the reverse of which was a crude sketch of a circular London playhouse flying a pennant, bearing the motto "Intus peragitur" (It is acted within). Finally, a fragile, flimsy sheet of paper was found which contained a family tree of the Medici family of Florence, written in a 17th century hand. Presumably, this was drawn up to provide background information for the Webster play. The fragile sheet was restored and mounted by Oxford University.

These four items suggest, at least, a passing interest in the Elizabethan theatre by John Coke, whose papers were deposited at Melbourne Hall when he purchased the property in 1628. There are other coincidences to consider. John Coke was born in London on 5 March, 1564, the son of Richard Coke of Trusley. William Shakespeare was born in Stratford upon Avon about the 23 April, 1564. They were exactly the same age. Coke went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and stayed on after graduation as a lecturer. However, in 1591, he was persuaded by his friend, Fulke Greville, to leave the University and work for him. Greville's family home was at Beauchamp Court, Warwick, and his father was Member of Parliament for Warwickshire and Town Recorder for Stratford upon Avon. As the Town Recorder, Greville's father must have been acquainted with the local tradesmen, one of whom, William Shakespeare's father, John, was a glover. Fulke was a friend of the Earl of Essex and was thus acceptable at the Royal Court. He was an aspiring poet and wrote several plays, including "Anthony & Cleopatra" before the better known play by Shakespeare appeared.

In 1598, Fulke Greville was appointed Treasurer of the Navy and his friend, John Coke, was made Deputy Treasurer. Coke lived firstly in Essex House and later in Greville's house in Austin Friars, off Moorgate in London, where he attended to naval matters. They were fortunate to escape after the rebellion of their patron, the Earl of Essex, in 1601. Greville's influence at Court collapsed with the death of Queen Elizabeth, and the new King, James I forced the resignation of Greville, together with John Coke, in 1604. Coke retired to live in the country, but later resumed to London life.

During Coke's first period in London, the theatre was developing rapidly. The first one, "The Theatre" in Shoreditch was opened by James Burbage in 1576, closely followed by "The Curtain" at Moorfields in 1577. Philip Henslowe's theatre "The Rose" was built on Bankside, south of the river, much later in 1587. The better known "Globe" theatre was not built until 1599. There was therefore a plethora of theatres for John Coke to visit with Fulke Greville during his residence in London between 1597 and 1604. It was "The Rose" theatre whose foundations near Southwark Bridge were excavated in 1989. Was John Coke acquainted with William Shakespeare?