

**"Late Medieval Catholicism and the Impact of the Reformation
in the Deanery of Derby c.1520 to c.1570."**

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ABSTRACT

The question of the effects of the English Reformation is a matter of on-going and lively debate. This thesis hopes to illuminate this question in some small measure, by examining the deanery of Derby, an ecclesiastical unit within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

Although the focal point is the deanery, it is set within the wider context of sixteenth century England. Past research on the Reformation in Derbyshire has been brought together, reviewed and expanded through a study of Reformation papers and other ecclesiastical, political and legal records, both state and diocesan. An analysis of about 700 wills has also been undertaken and their use examined in the light of recent doubts cast upon their validity as source material for analysis of religious belief.

Chapter One sets out the parameters of the study and its aims. The deanery is then described and set in the context of governing episcopal and lay authorities. Chapter Two examines the state of the pre-Reformation secular church while Chapter Three does the same for the religious orders and finds that both tended to be conservative. The first three chapters provide a base line for a consideration of the effects of religious change. Chapter Four draws on evidence from wills to address the impact of Henrician legislation on religious belief and practice. In Chapter Five the dissolution of the monasteries in Derbyshire is traced. Chapter Six examines the theme of a Mid-Tudor crisis between 1547 and 1558 and parochial reactions to the increasingly reformist policies of Edward VI's reign and subsequent reversal of policy in the reign of Mary I. The conclusion is drawn that, in general, there was a slow response to reformist legislation. Chapter Seven examines the material consequences of religious change as it affected the local gentry and assesses their success in the expanded land market. Chapter Eight argues that religious changes led to considerable local instability. The question of continuity or revival of catholicism is the main question of Chapter Nine which finds that there was a high degree of catholic continuity and some gentry involvement in conspiracy. Chapter Ten draws the conclusion that the Reformation gave rise to deep divisions which had religion as a root cause.

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Glossary

Ecclesiastical Terms

Advowson	The right to appoint to an ecclesiastical living.
Alb	A long priest's robe made of linen.
Almuce	A square shaped head covering, usually for clergy.
Amyss, Amice	A linen square worn by a priest round his neck and shoulders.
Appropriation	A church and its incomes such as tithes, intended for the upkeep of a parish priest, attached to a monastic house or cathedral.
Augustinian	An order of canons, following the Rule of St. Augustine, formed soon after A.D. 1100.
Bede roll	A list of church benefactors, read out on Sundays.
Benefice	An ecclesiastical living such as a rectory or vicarage.
Capacity	Permission for a member of a religious order to change habit, i.e. to become a secular priest.
Canon	A member of an enclosed religious order but with the right to serve as a parish priest; a regular cleric with secular attributes.
Cantarist	A chantry priest.
Cartulary	A register or record of a monastery or church.
Chantry	A chapel where masses for the deceased endower could be said or sung in perpetuity, to assist the soul's passage through Purgatory.
Chaplain	A clergyman officiating at a chapel.
Chrisom	Holy oil used at baptism.
Convocation	A representative assembly of the clergy.
Cope	An embroidered ecclesiastical cape, semi-circular in shape.
Corporal/corporas	A fine linen cloth on which the components of the Eucharist were placed.
Corrodian	A lay boarder at a monastery, usually elderly; a pensioner.
Curate	An assistant minister, paid a fixed salary.
Decretal	A document containing a decree.
Demesne	Lands next to a manor or religious house, farmed by the owner(s).
Dirige	The office, or prayers, for the dead.
Gild Cantarist	A priest supported by a gild.
Glebe	Land held by a parish priest as part of his living.
Grange	A farm belonging to a religious house.
Hagioscope	An opening in a church wall to enable those in the aisles to see the elevation of the Host at the altar; a squint.
Indulgence	Remission of part or all temporal punishment for sins, granted by the Pope or sometimes, in limited form, by a bishop.
Mass	A Roman Catholic ritual where the body and blood of Christ are offered to God in the form of bread and wine.
Matins	Service of morning prayer; the first part of the divine service.
Obedientiary	Member of a religious order; one who obeys a monastic Rule.
Obit	Endowed masses for the dead, to be delivered annually.
Oblation	A gift for the expenses of the Eucharist, the clergy or the poor.
Oratory	A chapel, especially for private prayer.
Paten	A plate used to receive the Host consecrated at Mass.
Peculiar	A church or parish exempt from episcopal visitation. It had the right to oversee its own conduct and had its own court.
Phanan (Fanon)	A strip of linen for wiping the chalice.

Glossary

Placebo	Vespers for the dead.
Pluralism	Holding more than one ecclesiastical benefice.
Portuous	A large breviary, a book of the Roman Catholic divine office.
Praemonstratensian	A strict order of canons, founded in A.D.1119 in France by St. Norbert. They followed the Rule of St Augustine.
Praemunire	A writ issued against those who asserted papal supremacy over that of the King.
Pyx	A box in which to keep the consecrated Host.
Regular	A person bound by religious vows of chastity, poverty, obedience and living an enclosed life, such as a monk, nun, canon.
Rood	A large, usually wooden, crucifix placed over an altar and flanked by images of Mary, the mother of Christ, and St. John.
Secular	A cleric not bound by a religious rule e.g. parish priests, chaplains.
Spiritualities	Incomes due to a church from its ecclesiastical rights, e.g. tithes, offerings, obits. Temporalities are incomes from lay sources.
Tithe	An obligatory share of produce (nominally one tenth) due to the parish priest to support divine service.
Translation	The transfer from one office to another, especially refers to the transfer of bishops.
Trental	An office of the dead, consisting of daily masses fo 30 days.
Triptych	A religious picture in three sections, i.e. central panel and side doors that could be closed
Vicar Choral	A canon in minor orders or a lay vicar.

Other Terms

Alienate	To transfer property, not by inheritance.
Amercement	A legal fine determined by a court of law, not by Statute.
Assart	A forest clearing.
Bole	A primitive smelting hearth, usually for lead.
Bovate	Some 15 acres, being one-eighth of a Carucate, which was the land that could be ploughed in one year by a team of eight oxen.
Brethren	The "elected" town councillors.
Burgage	Land or tenement in a town making one holding.
Enfeoffment	The act of conveying the fee, or rent, of an estate.
Escheator	An officer appointed to oversee reversion of land to the crown.
Fee Farm	A farm held by rent alone, no service being due.
Feoffee	One having been granted a fee.
Fother	A measure of lead; 22½ cwt. in Derbyshire.
Herbage	The right of pasture in the forest or on someone else's land.
Manorial vill	A village or hamlet on a manor.
Messuage	A dwelling house with attached outbuildings and garden, etc.
Multure	The miller's share of flour for milling.
Pannage	Food for pigs in the woods or the charge made for such.
Quitclaim	Formal disclaimer of all rights in a grant.

Abbreviations

Record Offices

BL	British Library
DLSL	Derby Local Studies Library
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock
LJRO	Lichfield Joint Record Office
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
LRO	Lincoln Record Office
WKRO	West Kent Record Office, Maidstone
NUMD	Nottingham University Manuscripts Department
PRO	Public Record Office

Books, Journals and Source References

APC	Acts of the Privy Council
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
Cox	J.C. Cox, <i>Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire</i> .
CPR	<i>Calender of Patent Rolls</i>
CRS	Catholic Record Society
DAJ	<i>Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society</i>
Darlington	R.R. Darlington (ed.), <i>Darley Abbey Cartulary</i> , 2 vols.
DD	Derbyshire Deeds
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EcHR	<i>Economic History Review</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Jeayes	I.H. Jeayes, <i>Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters in Public and Private Libraries and Muniment Rooms</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
L&P Hen.8	<i>Letters and Papers of Henry VIII</i> .
PCC	Wills probated in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Saltman	A. Saltman (ed.), <i>The Cartulary of Dale Abbey</i>
SP Dom.	<i>State Papers Domestic</i>
Valor	J. Caley and J. Hunter (eds.), <i>Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII auctoritate regia institutus</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>

CHAPTER ONE

The Study Defined

Introduction

When I was there, all their religion consisted in hearing matins and mass, in superstitious worshipping of saints, in hiring soul-carriers to sing trentals, in pattering upon beads, and in such other popish pedlary.¹

Thomas Becon's partly autobiographical *'Jewel of Joy'*, affords a rare contemporary opinion of the religious state of Derbyshire in the 1540s. Becon, a prolific author of propagandist tracts, who had already twice recanted the reformist views he claimed to hold, was running away from further accusations of heresy when he sought refuge there late in 1543 and his words were inevitably tinged with a protestant disdain for the religious practices he observed.² Even so, he found one spark of light at Alsop-en-le-Dale where he met John Alsop, a man 'ripe in the knowledge of Christ's doctrine'.³ Alsop gave him shelter and showed him 'his jewels and principal treasures' including a well worn Coverdale Bible, a collection of religious tracts which included Tyndale's *'Obedience of a Christian Man'* (one of the seminal works of early English protestantism) and 'all the books published in the name of Thomas Becon'. Becon saw Alsop as an exceptional man in a physically and spiritually arid region:

That is a marvellous and a barren country, and, as it is thought, such a country that neither hath learning, nor yet no spark of godliness.⁴

He presents Derbyshire as a backward region, tied to catholicism through ignorance, yet admits that his own works were read. He paints the manor of Alsop as an isolated case, yet it lay only six miles north of the market town of Ashbourne. This study of the Reformation and its effects on the deanery of Derby arose out of the conflicting images Becon's words conjured up. Just how deeply and sincerely catholic were its people and how far and at what rate did protestant ideas take hold?

Part One: The Reformation Debate

It seems impossible to write even a simple statement on the English Reformation without appearing partisan, yet it must be essayed if the debate is to begin. In essence, the English Reformation was a religious upheaval of the mid-sixteenth century that left a country that had followed a traditional, international catholic faith with a unique, new style protestantism. This glosses over events of great complexity which have generated a massive, and usually one sided, literature.

The Reformation can be described, in simplistic terms, as happening in two stages: first the rejection of Papal authority and then the redefinition of doctrine and ritual. The Break with Rome was effected in the reign of Henry VIII through a succession of acts of parliament, culminating in an Act of Supremacy in 1534. The move was re-inforced by a new Treasons Act and the dissolution of all religious houses. There was some individual opposition, and in the north a popular rising, the Pilgrimage of Grace, but all were overcome. Doctrinal changes followed at varying rates, governed by the will of the monarch, and upheld by acts of parliament. Under the young Edward VI the nation moved rapidly towards protestantism. Between 1547 and 1549, with Thomas Seymour, Duke of Somerset as Lord Protector, images were destroyed, chantry chapels and other sources for intercessionary prayers dissolved and the mass and customary ritual replaced by a compulsory Prayer Book service. Haigh, rather oddly, calls this a 'clockwork Reformation', though, again, it did not proceed without opposition.⁵ When Somerset was displaced, a more radical policy was pursued. In 1552, under the direction of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, there was a strong drive to deprive churches of the necessary ornaments for mass and a second Prayer Book moved the nation towards a Calvinistic church. A year later the death of Edward VI led to a rapid reversal under Mary I. Restoration of the mass was followed by reconciliation to the Papacy, enforced by a repressive policy of the burning of outspoken 'heretics' whose often heroic deaths would be transformed into a martyrology of the protestant faith by John Foxe. All this was shortly undone, Mary's death after only five years on the throne allowing reformist ideas to re-emerge under Elizabeth I, who restored a modified Prayer Book.

Why religious changes were promoted, the form they took and the extent to which they were supported by the people, as opposed to the policy makers, are questions which still defy definitive answers. The change from a catholic to a protestant state was not a single process, which has led Haigh to entitle his most recent book, *English Reformations*.⁶ The historiography of Reformation literature from the sixteenth century to the present is well described by O'Day in *The Debate on the Reformation*.⁷ For a generation of historians, Dickens' *The English Reformation* (1964) has 'both led and pointed the way', and remains an invaluable starting point and inspiration for research.⁸ A revised version, modifying its themes but not substantially changing its perspective, was published in 1989.⁹ Dickens' interpretation follows in the footsteps of protestant interpreters of events and has been challenged by a succession of 'revisionist' historians, including, pre-eminently, Haigh and Scarisbrick.¹⁰ None are free from partisanship. While acknowledging its scholarship, Haigh calls Dickens' work, 'a highly sophisticated exposition of a story first told by John Foxe in 1563'.¹¹ It is impossible for any historian to be fully objective on an issue which aroused passions then and now. However, the intention here is to maintain a balanced view, not confusing sympathies with judgement.

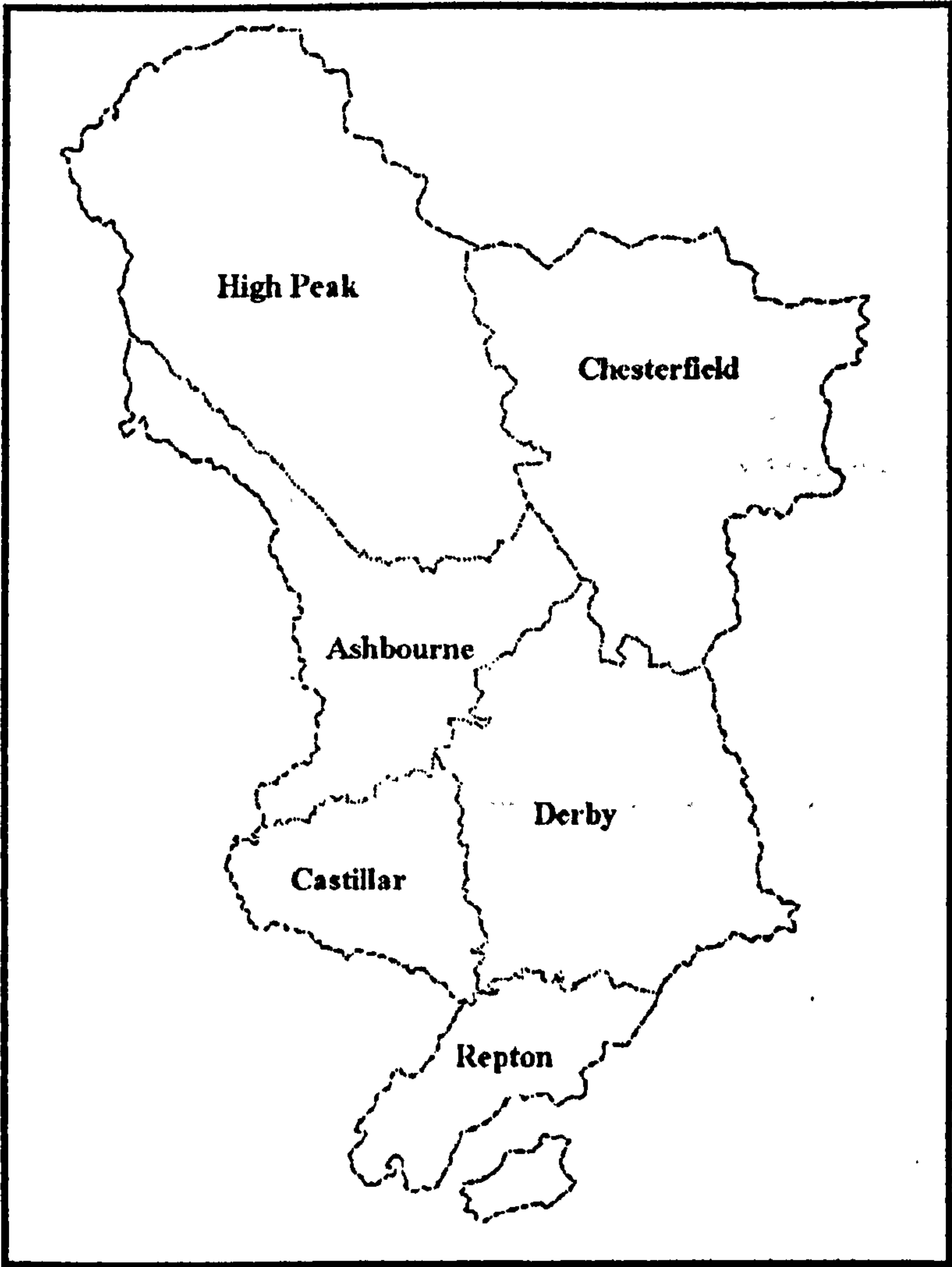
One of the seminal books of the 1990s is Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars*. This powerfully written and evocative study of religious belief and practice will continue to influence Reformation Studies for years to come and is drawn upon in this thesis, though not uncritically: its lack of balance has already been well remarked in numerous reviews.¹² While such works command attention, there is movement towards parochial studies in the search for a 'grass roots' understanding of medieval piety.¹³ This is already highlighting the diversity of religious life within communities. It is hoped that this thesis will usefully add to the growing body of knowledge, both on a quantitative and qualitative level. Its Middle England location will hopefully help to bridge a gap in the debate which is, presently, heavily dependent upon northern and southern studies.

The Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield and its Ecclesiastical Divisions.

**Map 1a: The Diocese
with the Archdeaconry
of Derby (shaded)**



Map 1b: The Archdeaconry of Derby and its Deaneries



Map 1c: The Deanery of Derby and its Parochial Divisions



The deanery of Derby was one of six ecclesiastical administrative units within the archdeaconry of Derby and the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, a compact administrative unit of 30 parishes (see Maps 1a-c, pp. 4-5 above). It had a well defined boundary to the south and east, delineated by the Rivers Trent and Erewash. To the north and west there were no physical barriers between the deanery and its neighbours. The greater part of the study will be confined to sources for the deanery but it would make no historical sense not to step sometimes outside its boundaries.

Source material is very varied and will be evaluated in the course of the study. Much use has been made of locally probated wills and they have been set within the context of other studies and recent literature on the value of wills as indicators of religious beliefs. Ecclesiastical sources, to an extent, have already been described in earlier works, O'Day having already provided a most useful contribution to an understanding of documentary material available for a study of the diocesan clergy as a whole.¹⁴ Clark's introduction to 'Lists of Derbyshire Clergymen 1558-1662', only Part 1 of which is as yet in print, contains a valuable guide to ecclesiastical sources in both the Public Record Office and the Lichfield Joint Record Office. The latter are also described in the *Staffordshire Record Office: Cumulative Hand List, pt. 1*.¹⁵ Riden's, *Record Sources for Local History* has also proved most useful in identifying possible classes of documents held in the Public Record Office. To these can be added the bibliographies of numerous contributors to the debate which will be referenced in the body of this work.

Part Two: Ecclesiastical Profile.

The deanery was a distant unit of the wide spread diocese of Coventry and Lichfield which, although lying north of the River Trent, lay within the Southern Province. The diocese was the third largest of 21 English and Welsh bishoprics, each of its five episcopal units or archdeaconries being roughly equivalent in size to the entire bishopric of Rochester.¹⁶ (see Map 1b, p. 4 above) It was not a wealthy diocese. Bishop Roland Lee (1534-1543) referred to his episcopal palaces as 'my poor houses' with some justification.¹⁷ The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535) suggests an annual revenue of about £703, placing the see only 14th in the episcopal table (though it has to be noted that income from spiritualities and from church courts were variable and possibly greater than stated in the *Valor*).¹⁸ Contemporaries acknowledged its unwieldy size and concomitant administrative and policing problems and in 1541 the archdeaconry of Chester was detached, to form a new bishopric. Even then, the bishops were faced with the challenging task of ministering to four large archdeaconries of Coventry, Salop, Stafford and Derby. The episcopal task was frequently made more difficult as the bishop was often charged with the government of Wales as President of the Council of the Marches.

Faced with such management problems, the ability and diligence of its bishop was more than usually important, but history has tended to disparage the holders of the office. New studies, based upon episcopal registers, have gone some way towards revising fifteenth century reputations, changing perspectives on the condition of the pre-Reformation church. Condemned in the past as an absentee, indifferent to episcopal responsibilities, research now suggests that William Bothe (1447-1452) spent much time in the diocese, showed a proper concern for the adequate endowment of vicarages and, as an administrator of considerable ability, was very much in command.¹⁹ After Bothe's translation to York, he was followed by Reginald Bouchers (1453-1459) and then John Hales (1459-1490).²⁰ Studies of both have been undertaken. Hales, a scholar and theologian rather than an administrator, although appointed primarily for his service to the Crown, appears to have taken his responsibilities seriously, many of the 1,000 or more journeys he is recorded to have made over 31 years having been carried out within the diocese.²¹

Education was a major concern of William Smith (1493-1495), a canon and civil lawyer. He was much used by the Crown in the administration of Wales, a role frequently attached to the bishopric, but found time to establish a grammar school at Lichfield. On moving to Lincoln, he became a co-founder of Brasenose College, providing university places for scholars from both dioceses. Smith has been criticised for his conservative approach to education, charges which are no doubt justified, but patronage of education, even of the 'old' learning, can also be seen as one of the most practical and promising aspects of episcopal activity.²² He was succeeded by John Arundel (1496-1501), whose most positive action appears to be the encouragement of preaching through the granting of preaching licences.²³ The see then passed into the hands of Geoffrey Blythe (1503-1531), Derbyshire born and an Eton College and King's College Cambridge scholar who set the tone for the diocese in immediate pre-Reformation years.²⁴

Blythe began his career in the church in 1493 having obtained an LLD., became a member of the royal household and rapidly progressed, winning favour through service as special ambassador to Ladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia.²⁵ His reward was the bishopric. He gave the see almost 30 years of continuity and stability though, for much of the time, exercising a political role as President of the Council of Wales (1512-1524). As such he seems at first glance to fit Dickens' general criticism of pre-Reformation bishops as men more at home as civil servants and administrators than as spiritual leaders, but there was more to Blythe than this.²⁶ Hibbert, who studied the bishop in relation to the dissolution of Staffordshire monastic houses, describes him as,

another of the products of the New Learning: a suspect by reason of his advanced opinions, yet a burner of heretics; the ordainer of Colet and the rejector as 'inductus et indignus' of a canon of Ronton nominated to a vicarage in 1530.²⁷

Colet, of course, has been seen as a major influence in English humanism through his reformed teaching at St. Paul's School, London.

In personal faith Blythe was essentially traditional, his acceptance of purgatory and the efficacy of prayers for the soul made evident in the establishment of a chantry chapel and an obit for his parents at Norton, the place of his birth. He tackled heresy with zeal, firmly repressing Lollardy within his diocese.²⁸ Even so other actions reveal humanistic characteristics, as Hibbert indicated, and there is no necessary conflict of

ideas. In *The Gospel and the Court*, Dowling suggests that 'establishment' humanism was uniformly anti-Lutheran and prosecuted heresy with vigour from 1521.²⁹ Blythe was pro-active in setting higher clerical standards, seeking, through frequent ordinations, to establish a healthy rate of clerical recruitment, rejecting unfit applicants and waging war on clerical ignorance through the encouragement of learning and Biblical study. Encouraged by a personal visit from Wolsey, he dissolved the small Staffordshire nunnery of Fairwell in 1527, diverting its income to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield in support of the choir school.³⁰ He progressively sought to maintain good order in those religious houses which fell within his jurisdiction by conducting, sometimes personally, triennial visitations.³¹ The visitation records (1515-1525) reveal stout, and not unsuccessful, measures of reform. Of the 33 houses subject to episcopal visitation 21 were visited in 1521 and 31 in 1524.

Comparisons may usefully be drawn with other bishops for whom fuller sources are extant. The bishops of Lincoln shared with Coventry and Lichfield the problems of administering to an extensive diocese. Bowker's research led her to conclude that Lincoln was 'singularly fortunate' in its bishops and especially in John Longland, Blythe's contemporary, arguing that

while they were no innovators, it certainly seems as though they were reformers in the sense of paying careful attention to the demands of the canon law, particularly over such matters as residence and the pastoral care of churches.³²

In a recent spirited defence of the pre-Reformation episcopacy, Harper-Bill instances not only Longland, with whom Blythe appears to have much in common, but other good practitioners such as Robert Sherborne of Chichester and Richard Fox of Winchester.³³ The bishops appointed by Henry VII have, with one exception, also been viewed favourably by Storey who says of the king,

that he employed his mastery over the English church to give it as distinguished an episcopate as it had possessed since the great era of reform in the thirteenth century.³⁴

It is fair to point out that the portrait of the pre-Reformation episcopacy and of Blythe himself can be less positively drawn. Dickens argues that where bishops acted in a spirit of zeal and reform, as at Lincoln, Chichester and Ely, their efforts were largely directed towards the technicalities of administration.³⁵ In *The Counter Reformation* he

arrives at a more sweeping judgement that 'the stodgy episcopate made little response to the pleas of Colet and his friends'.³⁶ In a recent essay on Lichfield Cathedral clergy, Cooper detects in Blythe only a minimalist approach, his activities, apart from presiding at the Coventry heresy trials, 'restricted to a relatively small number of ordination ceremonies and occasional visitations of the cathedral and religious houses'.³⁷

It is not possible to quantify the impact on the diocese of the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield but they can be classed as moderate reformers, though no innovators. There is sufficient evidence to argue that Blythe, who was widely travelled and had been well placed to witness both the emergence of German protestantism and the Catholic response in Europe, was deeply committed to a reform of the clergy. As a new appraisal of the humanism of Colet is debated and his humanism cast into doubt, in part for his concentration upon reform of the superior clerical estate and lack of interest in reform of the laity, it may be possible to draw some parallels between Blythe and Colet, the man he ordained.³⁸ Undoubtedly any direct personal impact upon the deanery was limited and diffused. An examination of an itinerary created from the papers of Bishop Hales shows that, out of over 1,000 journeys, Hales came to the archdeaconry of Derby only five times in 31 years.³⁹ Royal duties, in the early years at least, forced Blythe into unavoidable absenteeism which a frequent interchange of letters could only partially remedy. Moreover, all but one of the episcopal palaces lay in Staffordshire. While this did not preclude the bishops from progressing through the diocese it was certainly a disincentive to tour far flung areas such as Derbyshire, though Blythe at least knew the county from birth and had a home base in the north east.

There are a number of historians who would argue, along with Dickens, that in a system that was 'hard, mechanical and institutional', a diocese functioned through its 'very self-sufficient secretariat' while a 'galaxy of episcopal, archdeaconry and peculiar courts' kept the morals of all men under observation.⁴⁰ Rowse makes this point in a study of Exeter.

No doubt so long-established, so well-worn a routine worked largely by its own momentum, with its complement of officials and commissaries, even during the episcopate of absentee bishops.⁴¹

However, Knowles argues that a bishop on the spot carried weight whereas injunctions promulgated by officials often had less moral weight and practical force as they seldom

carried sufficient status.⁴² Bowker points to the importance the Bishops of Lincoln attached to their actual presence in the diocese.⁴³ In the case of Coventry and Lichfield, Blythe's absences may not have been unduly deleterious. Heath, the editor of Blythe's Visitation Register, argues that in Thomas Fitzherbert, for many years Blythe's vicar-general and, likewise, a Derbyshire man and a product of Eton and King's College, the diocese had a deputy as forceful as any bishop.⁴⁴ He argues that there is

a tendency to explain some of the inadequacies of the early Tudor Church by its reliance upon deputies in diocesan administration

but this does not apply in Fitzherbert's case as his family carried great weight in the region.⁴⁵ This leaves out of account the central role allotted to the archdeacons.

Archdeacons were supposedly lynch pins in the system but, although often able men on their way to becoming bishops themselves, pluralism and absenteeism were commonplace. They were not necessarily neglectful of their duties, but early sixteenth century archdeacons of Derby, Nicholas West (c.1501-1515) and John Taylor (1516-1533), were seldom in the diocese.⁴⁶ Both were frequently employed on diplomatic missions: otherwise West spent much of his time at court or at Windsor where, as dean, he supervised the completion of St. George's chapel. In 1509 his rapacious financial demands so greatly angered the parishioners of Kingston-on-Thames, where he held the living, that they complained that he

wrongfully hath takyn and dayly taketh and witholde the old auncion custume with us in takyng of mortuaries otherwise than hath ben takyn and usyd tyme owte of mynde.⁴⁷

Yet his influence could have been positive. As Bishop of Ely he worked hard to improve clerical standards.⁴⁸ Taylor, a Staffordshire lawyer, acted as ambassador to France, clerk to the parliaments, and latterly as Master of the Rolls. He also held the archdeaconry of Buckingham, a work load which again left little time for Derbyshire.⁴⁹ Knowledge of archdiaconal activity can sometimes be gleaned from archdeaconry court records but these are missing. As the position was used by the Crown as a financial reward for service, Bowker is probably correct in arguing that it is unlikely that archdiaconal visitations were, in general, neglected, even if performed only as a valuable source of income, but there is no evidence that either archdeacon was active.⁵⁰

The office of rural dean had been created in the twelfth century to assist and offset the absence of an archdeacon. The Augustinian abbot of Darley had sometimes filled this post but there is no evidence that the office was in use by 1500.⁵¹ Records only show that, as with the Premonstratensian abbot of Dale in 1522, local religious heads were called upon to act on behalf of the archdeacon as collectors of clerical loans.⁵²

Episcopal influence in the deanery was limited, not simply, nor even primarily, by absenteeism or inadequacies in hierarchical control but by want of presentation rights, though the bishops could exercise limited qualitative controls over clerics appointed to benefices through ordination examinations. Tables 1a-d (see pages 14-15 below) show that the dean and chapter of Lichfield Cathedral, with whom Blythe had poor relationships, held three advowsons, using them to supplement the income of the Treasurer and other cathedral prebendaries.⁵³

Tables 1a-c also show that religious houses were the greatest patrons, holding rights of presentation to two out of three deanery churches, while in the entire diocese they presented to 78 churches.⁵⁴ The two leading religious houses in the deanery, the Abbeys of Darley and of Dale, together held rights to 12 churches. As canonical orders they could take upon themselves the cure of souls and Dale chose this option, regularly appointing from within its own house to the nearby churches of Heanor, Ilkeston and Kirk Hallam and the chapel of Stanton-by-Dale.⁵⁵ In contrast Darley, holding five of its eight advowsons within the deanery, normally appointed secular clerics by the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ This was possibly a change of practice as Darley canon, John Loughborow, was instituted to Pentrich in 1470, later holding Derby St. Peter in plurality from 1475-1489.⁵⁷ Monastic houses external to the county also held rights of presentation. Two Benedictine houses, the Abbey of Chester, a major landowner with rents from Derbyshire in excess of those from the city of Chester, and the Staffordshire house of Burton, held five advowsons between them. The latter had held Mickleover since the early twelfth century and fought repeated and successful battles for exemption from episcopal control, the latest in 1514.⁵⁸ Nottinghamshire houses, the Augustinians of Shelford and the Cluniacs of Lenton, were also represented, as were the Orders of the Knights Hospitallers and the Knights of St. Lazarus.

A further external influence, with the potential for extensive interference, was the Dean of Lincoln who held major presentation rights across the archdeaconry. Within the deanery he held such rights to the collegiate church of Derby All Saints.⁵⁹ All Saints, strictly speaking a '*libera capella domini regis*' or 'royal free chapel' of pre-Conquest origin, was a collegiate church of six Augustinian secular canons or prebendal 'fellows' which had subsumed the church of St. Alkmund, once a collegiate church in its own right. In practice the churches were served by substitutes in the form of a subdean and three vicars choral. As a 'free chapel' All Saints was not supposedly subject to episcopal visitation and Denton suggests that the independence of these 'free chapels' gave them a position 'tantamount to a small diocese'.⁶⁰

Finally, the advowsons of six parish churches, and a moiety of one other, were in the hands of influential local gentry who would naturally expect the clerics they presented to be deferential to their requirements.

TABLES 1a-d: The Pre-Reformation Clerical Livings of the Deanery of Derby.

TABLE 1a: Pre-Reformation Rectories, in order of valuation

Parish	Valuation (1535) ¹ £ s d	Acreage ²	Subsidy Payers (1544) ³	Households (1563) ⁴	Chapelries Pop. in ()	Patron: pre 1538
Aston	29. 15. 0	1,780	20	53		Abbot of Chester
Breadsall	28. 2. 7	2,219	37	56		Dethick of Breadsall
Morley	13. 6. 8	3,264	48	61	Smalley (36)	Abbot of Chester
Kirk Langley	12. 1. 9	2,441	31	36		Pole of Radbourne
Weston	11. 16. 0	2,000	29	48		Abbot of Chester
Mugginton	9. 12. 8	5,166	26	63		Breadsall Priory (moiety)
Radbourne	8. 3. 4	1,923	17	22		Pole of Radbourne
West Hallam	8. 0. 0	1,334	23	27		Powtrell of West Hallam
Swarkestone	5. 0. 0	853	-	23		Rolleston of Swarkestone
Kedleston	3. 19. 5	972	8	12		Curzon of Kedleston

NOTES TO TABLES

¹ Valuation figures are taken from the Valor Ecclesiasticus, checked against schedules of benefices eg E179/18/502.

² Acreage is taken from T. White, *Directory of Derbyshire* (as P. Riden in 'The Population of Derbyshire in 1563', *DAJ*, vol. 98) except for parishes in Derby where S. Glover's, *The History and Directory of the Borough of Derby* (1843) has also been consulted. Riden gives the ratio of acres to households in 1563 and a distribution map.

³ The figures represent taxpayers assessed to pay subsidy in the Lay Subsidy Roll E179/91/140 (1544) for Morleston and Litchurch Hundred and E179/91/152 for Appletree Hundred (1543). In the case of Mugginton and Ireton the number of subsidy payers (26) includes the parochial district of Mercaston (8). The borough of Derby assessment E179/91/146 (1544), is set out in town wards so only a total borough figure can be given. Swarkestone was not found.

⁴ The household figures for 1563 are taken from B.L. Harleian 594/14, a 'Description of the Churches and Chapels within the Archdeaconry of Derby' (and see Riden above²). These figures include the populations of chapelries lying within parish boundaries. Where individual chapelry figures are recorded they are noted separately. The borough of Derby (see Table 1c below) is an exception and in this case household figures refer only to the inner city area and exclude chapelries.

⁵ Table 1b. There is such a contrast in the figures for Willington that a mistake was made in the 1563 record or a major change took place in the settlement in the interim.

⁶ Table 1c. The acreage for Derby St. Alkmund includes Little Eaton, Little Chester and Darley Abbey.

TABLE 1b: Pre-Reformation Vicarages - excluding Derby

Parish	Valuation (1535)	Acreage	Subsidy Payers (1544)	Households (1563)	Chapelries: Households (1563)	Patron: pre 1538
Mickleover	9. 11. 6	5,480	68	95	Littleover (20) Findern (20)	Abbey of Burton
Heanor	9. 10. 0	5,496	87	118		Abbey of Dale
Mackworth	9. 3. 0	4,211	66	87	Allestree (34)	Abbey of Darley
Duffield	8. 4. 0	15,850	est. 137	549	Belper (102) Turndich (30) Heage (64)	Dean and Chapter, Lichfield
Horsley	7. 5. 5	5,002	67	78	Denby (44)	Priory of Lenton
Spondon	6. 14. 5	5,149	84	168	Chaddesden (52)	Knights of St. Lazarus Burton Lazars
Crich	6. 10. 10	6,072	42	242		Abbey of Darley
Pentrich	6. 0. 0	3,839	51	32	[Ripley]	Abbey of Darley
Ilkeston	5. 7. 9	3,488	68	96	Stanton (24)	Abbey of Dale
Barrow	5. 6. 4	3,598	19	97	Twynford (33)	Knights Hospitallers Yeaveley
Elvaston	5. 3. 9	3,866	61	95	Ockbrook (35)	Priory of Shelford
Willington ⁵	4. 17. 2	1,193	31	3		Abbey of Burton
Kirk Hallam	4. 9. 5	1,706	11	27		Abbey of Dale

Table 1c: Borough of Derby

Royal Free Chapel or Collegiate church of Derby All Saints with Derby St. Alkmund ⁶	38.04. 0 + other incomes.	15 + buildings 649	Derby in total 285	194	Quarndon (14)	Dean of Lincoln
Derby St. Peter (vic.)	8. 0. 0	179 + buildings		74	Little Eaton -	Dean of Lincoln
Derby St. Werburgh (vic.)	5. 12. 8	665		107	Osmaston and Bolton (37)	Abbey of Darley
Derby St. Michael (vic.)	4. 14. 11	buildings		102		Nunnery of Kingsmead
				30	Alvaston (20)	Abbey of Darley

Table 1d: Prebends

Sandiacre	10. 1. 5	1,191	18	31		Dean & Chapter, Lichfield
Sawley [Peculiar]	70.19. 9	8,446	21	159	Long Eaton Breaston (37) Risley (52) Wilne (34)	Treasurer of Lichfield Cathedral

Part Three: Lay Profile

It has been generally understood that medieval Derbyshire was 'a very poor county'.⁶¹ In 1522 a loan was demanded from the laity and, while no detailed breakdown survives for Derbyshire, total payments are on record.⁶² From this source, which excludes the seven most northerly counties, Hoskins has produced tables of county populations and taxable wealth which place Derbyshire (paying £953) 31st, just above Rutland. When county acreage is considered, Derbyshire lies last. Hoskins observes that a small minority paid 76% of the loan. The subsidy assessment of 1524 likewise places Derbyshire in a low prosperity band, Hoskins estimating that taxable wealth was no more than 10s.-19s. a square mile.⁶³

However, while the 1524 lay subsidy returns may be useful sources for counties further south, for Derbyshire such evidence has to be used with extreme caution as the case for a major under-assessment is strong. The county of Derbyshire was divided into six 'hundreds' for lay administrative purposes (see Map 2, p. 19). The 1524 subsidy return for Morleston and Litchurch Hundred (which included the greater part of the deanery) comprises a list of 102 names, with no parochial identification. In contrast, the returns for 1543, which arrange information by parish, list 956 subsidy payers, an increase of 837% which cannot be explained through inflation or a sudden influx of immigrants with a taxable income.⁶⁴ The 1524 return for Appletree Hundred, into which several deanery parishes fell, is of quite different quality, neatly divided into parishes and with 82 names recorded for Duffield alone.⁶⁵ Comparisons with a return for 1543 show close parochial conformity of numbers.⁶⁶ For this reason, the 1524 returns are not a viable source for assessing the county's taxable wealth. The Morleston and Litchurch Hundred would appear to be one of those areas referred to by the crown as erroneous in assessment, possibly through 'inadvertence and misexposicion' or 'favour', or, alternatively, obstructionism or deliberate malpractice.⁶⁷ By comparing subsidy assessments with near contemporary inventories, Schofield has demonstrated a systematic deviation of 6.9% below the mean assessment in Derbyshire, though remaining doubtful as to the cause.⁶⁸ Unfortunately lack of probate material in the 1520s forced him to carry out this exercise on the 1543 subsidy.

Table 2: Deanery of Derby: Distribution of Wealth from Probate Inventories.

Year	No. of Inventories	£0 -5	£5-10	£10-20	£20-30	£30-40	£40-50	£50-£100	£100-£150
1534	10	1	1	3	1	2		1	1
1535	6		2	3	1				
1536	6	1	1	4					
1537	8	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	
1538	15	1	7	4	1			2	
1539	9	2	4	1	2				
Total	56	6	16	17	6	3	1	4	1

Table 2 analyses assessments in locally probated inventories which survive in 80% of probate records from the 1530s. Representative of a cross section of society from labourer to gentleman, appraisals range from £1 10s. 8d. to an exceptional £142 14s. 0d., the average being £19 10s. 0d. and the median point £12. That testators with less than £5 in goods thought it needful to make a will is perhaps indicative of comparatively low incomes. Hoskins suggests that low assessments across the North Midlands were due to soils that were 'generally poor' while future great mineral wealth had been scarcely scratched.⁶⁹ However, recent research points to gentry involvement prior to 1500 in the extraction of lead and coal and in ancillary industries such as charcoal burning.⁷⁰

It is fair to say that the 'black mountains of the Peak' were, and remain, difficult to cultivate.⁷¹ Camden, writing about 1610, tells us that the region was

all rocky, rough, and mountainous, and consequently barren; yet rich in lead, iron, and coal, and convenient enough for the feeding of sheep.⁷²

To Becon, a Kentishman, even the foothills were 'marvellous and barren country'. However, a more experienced traveller would have been more measured in his verdict, acknowledging the fruitful valleys as Defoe did during his travels in a later century.⁷³ In the deanery, the soils, primarily red clays and river valley alluvials, were and remain quite fertile as described by Camden.

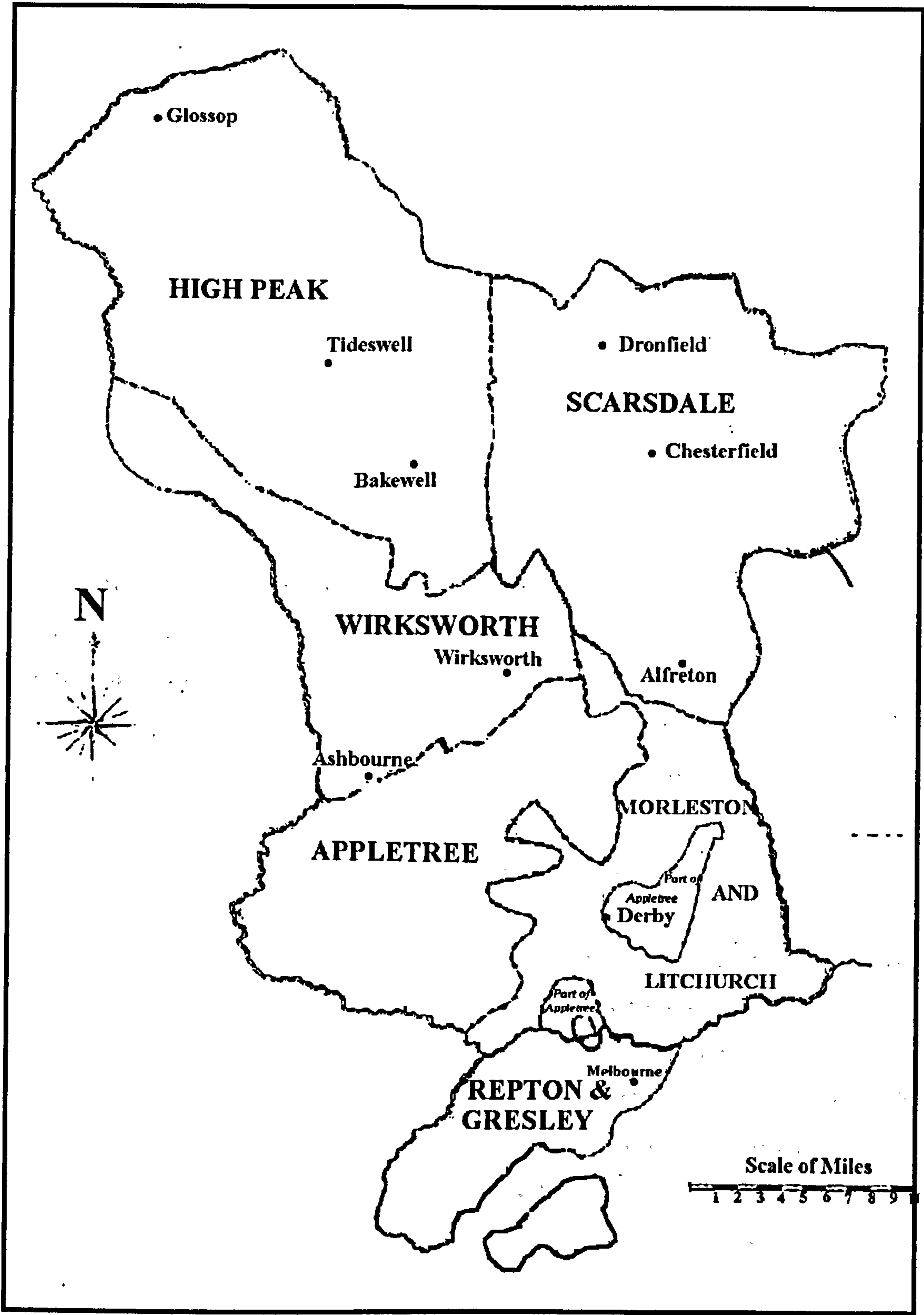
The east and south parts are well cultivated, and pretty fruitful; and have many Parks.⁷⁴

Settlement sites varied from hill top communities such as Heanor, Ilkeston and Kirk Hallam above the Erewash valley to lowland villages such as Weston and Aston in the broad Trent river plain. A mixed pattern of farming emerges from the inventories. In the parish of Mackworth a husbandman class of small leaseholders utilised a four yoke ox plough, growing primarily barley but also wheat, rye and peas, while rearing a few stock cattle and often running a small flock of sheep. In the Trent valley parish of Weston a more detailed picture emerges from the inventory of James Rolston. In June 1544 there were 14 acres under crop, three acres of rye, six of barley, and five of peas and oats.⁷⁵ In neighbouring Aston, six oxen are more often recorded and numbers of horses and mares. In Duffield, where the 30 square mile royal hunting forest, the Duffield frith, covered much of the land, there were plough oxen but 50% of inventories drawn up in the 1530s fall below £10 and describe small holdings with a few cows and sheep at pasture.⁷⁶ As elsewhere, there was some supportive domestic textile industry as indicated in isolated probate references to spinning wheels, wool, flax and hemp and some extractive industry.

Much of the county lay within the jurisdiction of the Duchy of Lancaster, only the hundreds of Scarsdale and Morleston with Litchurch lying outside. As Map 2 shows, the deanery was largely independent of Duchy authority as it roughly encompassed the hundred of Morleston with Litchurch but five parishes lying within the hundred of Appletree fell within the Duchy, while Crich was divided amongst three hundreds. This complex administrative and legal division of lay authority was further complicated by the office of sheriff, jointly held with Nottinghamshire but with powers limited by the jurisdiction of the Duchy which had its own feodaries and, in Derby, by borough liberties.⁷⁷

These extensive Duchy estates ensured that no great lord built up a power base grounded in Derbyshire lands, though William Lord Hastings, a Leicestershire magnate, built up a considerable Derbyshire retinue in the late fifteenth century.⁷⁸ After his execution in 1483 the Earls of Shrewsbury, succeeded, by degrees, in filling the vacuum.

Map 2: Derbyshire Hundreds.

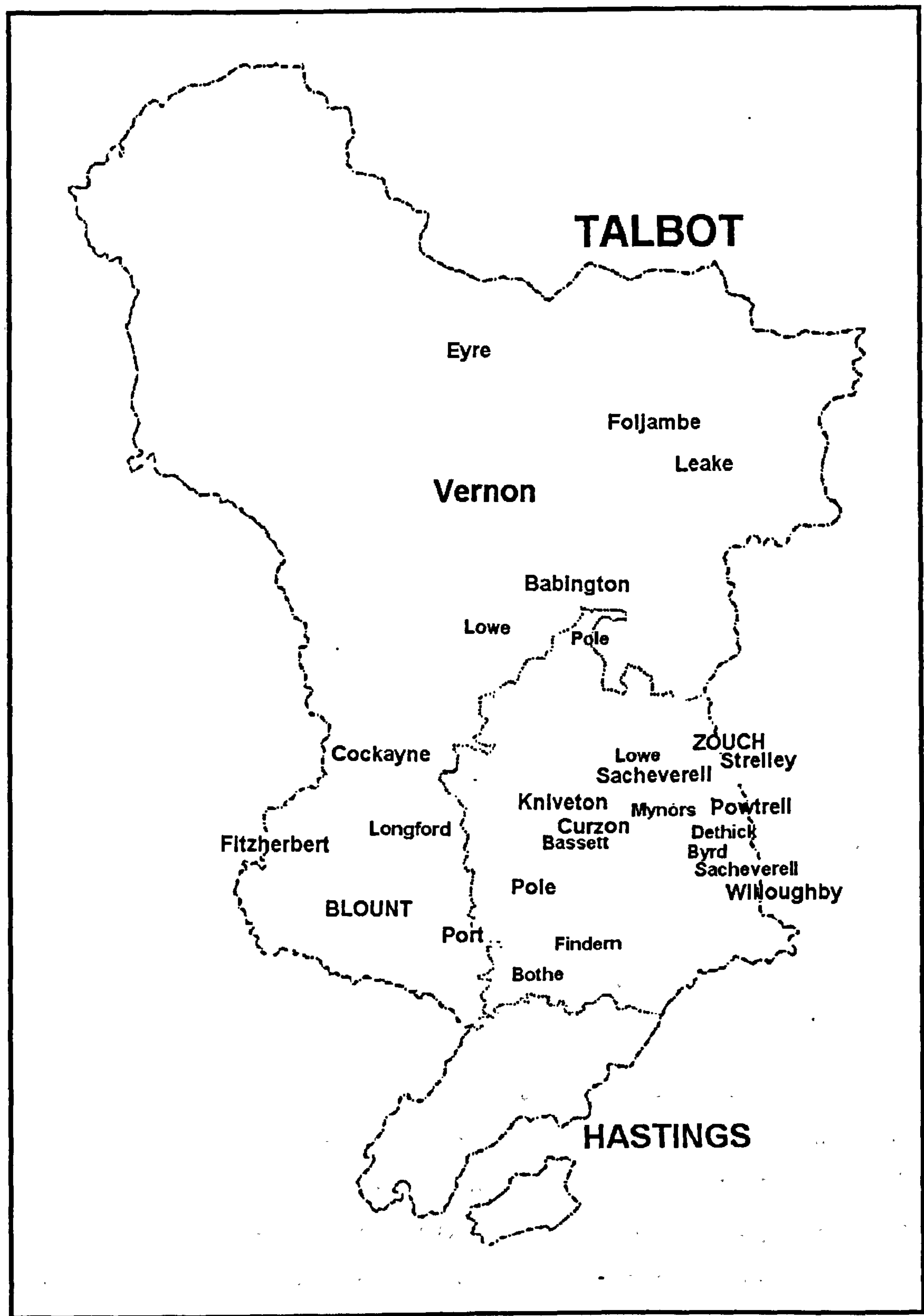


The major Shrewsbury estates lay in Shropshire and at Sheffield Castle in Yorkshire and their influence in Derbyshire throughout the sixteenth century stemmed, not primarily through landholdings but by virtue of royal favour. George Talbot, the fourth Earl (1468-1538), when appointed Lord Steward of the Household and Privy Councillor, was able to acquire prestigious Duchy offices, the stewardship of the Duchy 'honours' of Ashbourne and Wirksworth and the office of constable of the castle of Melbourne, which extended his 'rule' into the south of the county.⁷⁹ His influence in the deanery was extensive. He held the office of master forester of the Duffield Frith and the high stewardship of the town of Derby. In addition he was steward of the monastic house of Darley and of a considerable estate described as 'the manor of Weston', owned by the Abbey of Chester.⁸⁰ His fortified manor of South Wingfield lay on the northern boundary, affording a physical reminder of his power.

Apart from the Talbots, few magnate families held significant property or office. The estate of the influential Greys at Codnor Castle was passed to the Lords Zouch, through marriage, after the death of Henry, Lord Grey in 1494.⁸¹ The Zouches, who lost lands at Ilkeston to Sir John Savage as punishment for their support of Richard III at Bosworth, restored their Derbyshire fortunes by the intermarriage of Sir John, younger son of John Lord Zouch of Harringworth, to Elizabeth, his aunt and the Grey heiress (1496).⁸² Royal favour was slowly regained and in 1523 Sir John was appointed subsidy commissioner for Derbyshire.⁸³ In 1529 he was succeeded by George who, through his attachment to Anne Boleyn's household, would become an active proselyte for reformist teachings. The Blounts of Barton Blount had risen speedily to power under Edward IV when Sir Walter, first Lord Mountjoy, acquired eminence as Lord High Treasurer.⁸⁴ They had a deanery estate at Elvaston but by the sixteenth century, having expanded into more southerly counties, the interests of the Lords Mountjoy were nationally diffused

Moving down the social order, Wright, in *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, identifies some 50 families which might be termed the county elite, 30 'knightly' and 20 'squireal'.⁸⁵ Black, in *The Administration and Parliamentary Representation of Nottingham and Derbyshire, 1529-1558*, is in broad agreement, identifying 55 'knightly' families and using subsidy roll assessments to calculate that an average subsidy assessment in the 1540s would be £40 per annum.⁸⁶

Map 3: Derbyshire Gentry in the Early Sixteenth Century



The Derbyshire gentry formed closely knit groupings, economically separate from the majority of the county population and socially linked by inter-marriage, a point that families trees well attest.⁸⁷ Of these families, the Vernons of Haddon were the wealthiest but held their chief estates in Shropshire, Sir Henry (d. 1519) choosing to be buried at Tong.⁸⁸ In 1544 Sir George, the 'King of the Peak' (1508-1565) was assessed at £333.⁸⁹ He represented the county in parliament in 1542 but his influence was most directly felt in mid-Derbyshire where he held eight manorial estates.⁹⁰

As in the fifteenth century, sheriffs and justices of the peace for the county were largely drawn from knightly families.⁹¹ Amongst the most powerful on the eve of the Reformation was Sir Thomas Cockayne (c.1480-1537), knighted at the battle of Tournai and dominant in the Ashbourne region. He served as sheriff in 1530.⁹² Anthony Lowe of Alderwasley (d.1555), standard bearer and gentleman of the bedchamber to Henry VIII, likewise serving Edward VI and Mary, and an hereditary forester of the Duffield Frith, was also locally important.⁹³ The Foljambes, elevated through service for the Duchy of Lancaster and the acquisition of estates at Walton and around Chesterfield, became a leading county family. Godfrey (1472-1541) obtained a life grant of the stewardships of the manor of Chesterfield and the hundred of Scarsdale and was sheriff in 1537.⁹⁴ His neighbours and relatives, the Leakes of Sutton, were also steadily gaining in consequence. Sir Francis Leake obtained the post of *custos rotulorum* for life in 1547.⁹⁵ In the south west the Fitzherberts of Norbury reached national importance with the elevation of Sir Anthony (1470-1538) to Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.⁹⁶ He was called upon to sit in judgement upon the Carthusians of Charterhouse and upon Sir Thomas More. John Port (c.1472-1541), a lawyer from a Cheshire family, married into the Fitzherbert family and settled at Etwall.⁹⁷ He often served on commissions, while the second John Port (d. 1557) became sheriff in 1554.⁹⁸

In the main, the deanery fell under the aegis of a small group of inter-related, resident lesser gentry who filled the essential political, administrative and judicial roles of commissioners and justices of the peace. These gentry did not have the assessed wealth of their southern counterparts, only Sir Henry Sacheverell (£160) charged, along with Sir John Zouch, with the responsibility for subsidy assessment in 1524, exceeding £100.⁹⁹ The editors of *Derbyshire Feet of Fines, 1323-1546*, point to a gentry with fairly limited territorial interests.¹⁰⁰ The great majority of property conveyances dealt with modest

holdings as, they argue, would be expected in a county where estates were 'small and compact, constituting a few manors at most', and where large tracts of land were reserved to animal husbandry centred on farms and hamlets rather than large manorial units. The leading families of 'knightly' status were Sacheverell, Willoughby, Strelley and Powtrel in the south east, Babington to the north and in the west Bassett, Curzon, Kniveton and Pole, a mixture of 'old' and relatively 'new' families.

Sir Henry Sacheverell (c.1475-1558), although not the wealthiest was perhaps the most influential lay figure in the deanery under Henry VIII.¹⁰¹ He waited on the King at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was called upon to serve on numerous commissions and was sheriff in 1531 and 1542.¹⁰² The Sacheverells, originally based at Hopwell, established a second home at Morley in the fifteenth century through the marriage of John Sacheverell to heiress Joanna Statham and came to own several manorial properties. As with many of the Derbyshire gentry however, including the Poles and the Babingtons, Sir Henry's wealth was not based solely upon land for he had interests in lead mining and other industrial projects and held several stewardships.¹⁰³ The Curzons and the Poles were long domiciled in Derbyshire. The Curzons could trace their settlement at Kedleston to soon after the Norman Conquest and their status, as with the Poles, depended much upon long domicility and ancient lineage.¹⁰⁴ There were two main branches of the Poles, one at Radbourne and the other at Wakebridge, near Crich. In 1523 German Pole of Radbourne was assessed at £80.¹⁰⁵ The Babingtons, settled at Dethick near Wirksworth in 1423 through marriage, held property in the deanery as tenants of Darley Abbey and were also active in local government. Sir Anthony was sheriff in 1534. These four families were prominent under Henry VIII and were a tightly knit group. Sacheverell and Sir Anthony Babington were particularly assiduous in service to the locality, often sitting on commissions of the peace and acting together as commissioners for gaol delivery along with Poles and Curzons.¹⁰⁶ The commissioners for the collection of the 1544 subsidy for Morleston and Appletree hundreds were Sir Henry Sacheverell, German Pole, Richard Curzon and Roland Babington.¹⁰⁷

Some families were migrating in from Nottinghamshire. A branch of the Willoughbys of Wollaton had settled at Risley as next door neighbours to the Sacheverells of Hopwell. They played little part in deanery politics but the Powtrells, having established themselves at West Hallam in 1467 on purchasing the manor from the

heirs of the last Lord Cromwell, became deeply involved. John, the second generation of Derbyshire Powtrells, built up the family consequence through marriage to the co-heir of John Strelley of Shipley, enabling Sir Thomas (d.1557) to play a major role in local politics as justice of the peace and commissioner.¹⁰⁸ Sir Roger Mynours of Duffield (d.1537) was an incomer from Hereford arriving about 1501, probably as a result of marriage to a widow. He was likewise very active, serving as sheriff in 1513 and acting as parliamentary representative in 1529.¹⁰⁹ These, and a few others, such as Sir William Bassett of Meynell Langley who served Cromwell in effecting the destruction of local shrines and was sheriff in 1540, were the chief officers of the Crown in the deanery.

Non-knightly gentry families enjoyed more localised circles of influence. Long settled 'armigerous' families such as Bothes of Arleston, the Dethicks of Breadsall and the Finderns of Findern rubbed shoulders with more recent arrivals such as the Lowes. The Bothes had been settled at Arleston and Sinfin since at least the reign of Edward III. Lawrence Lowe, a lawyer and younger brother of Thomas Lowe of Alderwasley, invested his money in an estate at Denby in the mid-fifteenth century. There were also '*generosus*', families with gentry status but without the right to display arms. Amongst this group were the Byrds who had been domiciled at Locko since the reign of Henry IV, possibly on estates held by the Knights of Burton Lazars. These names sometimes appear in records, usually carrying out minor administrative roles.

The Mundys slotted into this social hierarchy by degrees. Sir John Mundy, a London goldsmith and money lender who became alderman, Mayor of London and was knighted in 1523, acquired the Derbyshire estates of the Audleys at Markeaton, Mackworth and Allestree out of the financial difficulties created by the attainder of Sir James Audley for his participation in the Cornish Rising.¹¹⁰ Sir John remained a Londoner and was buried at St. Peter the Apostle, Faringdon, London in 1537.¹¹¹ His son, Vincent, however, would become a county M.P.

Becon found Derbyshire a backward region but research by Turville-Petre is beginning to penetrate the social life of the north Midlands gentry through their literature, showing that their households contained libraries of sometimes very fine books.¹¹² Vincent Mundy took an inventory of his library at Markeaton in 1545 and it was probably typical for many a Derbyshire gentleman. In addition to mass and service books

it contained chronicles, classical works and poetry. There was a 'policronicon', a copy of Fabian's chronicle, of particular interest to a Londoner, and another chronicle in French. He also owned parchment copies of *The Siege of Troy* and of fourteenth century poet, John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.¹¹³ The London connections of many families through trade or law ensured that all manner of literature was available while two fifteenth-century homemade anthologies can be definitely attributed to Derbyshire, to the Shirebrook and the Findern households.¹¹⁴

Probate records suggest that below the gentry there lay a narrow band of yeomen and a larger class of husbandmen, though the term husbandman does not appear in wills before 1538.¹¹⁵ Although Harrison described yeomen as 'free men borne English' with freehold land worth 40s. a year, this emphasis on freedom was not necessarily made in practice.¹¹⁶ In 1543 yeoman Henry Roper of Morley acknowledged Sir Henry Sacheverell as his 'master'.¹¹⁷ A comparison of inventories reveals a similarity in plough teams and in goods, an average of £20-£25 being common, though there was a bias towards greater wealth in the yeoman estate.¹¹⁸ The difference between the two estates probably lay in the increased status attached to the political and legalistic rights of the yeoman to vote and sit on juries.¹¹⁹ It was from these lesser estates that many of the local religious and secular clergy were drawn.

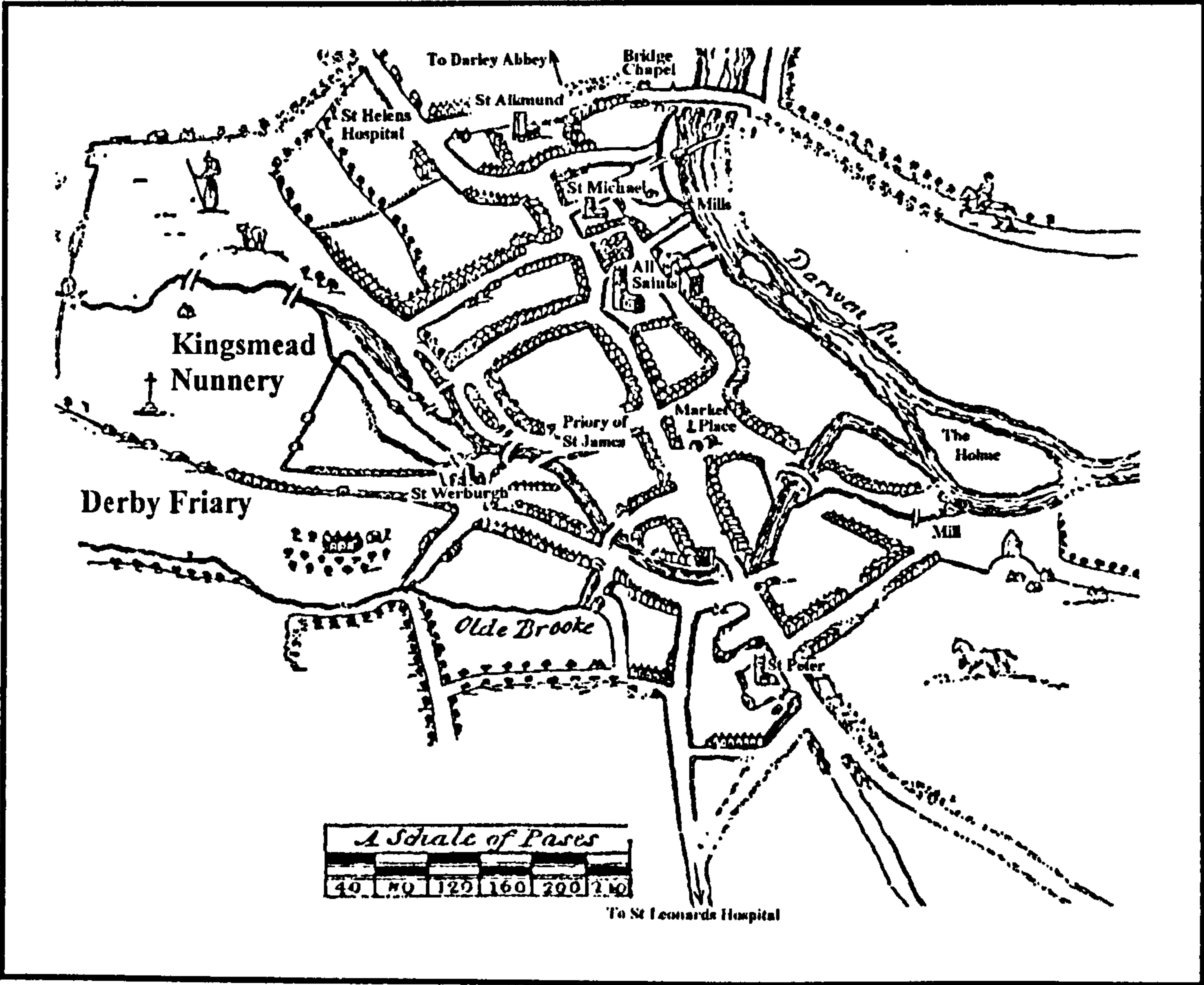
Finally, this study includes the town of Derby. Situated at a bridging point on the non-navigable river Derwent, Derby was the county's chief market, judicial and administrative centre. (See Map 4, p. 27 below) Its economy was heavily dependent upon a corn market and a cloth finishing industry, with fulling mills on the Derwent and a dyeing industry which, since 1204, had been protected by royal charter for a distance of ten miles round.¹²⁰ Arguably it was affected by the declining fortunes of the textile industry, as perceived in larger conurbations such as York and Coventry.¹²¹ However, Derby was a town of mixed economy, with employment in agriculture, brewing and metal working, notably pewtering, which may have cushioned the effects of depression in textiles.

Derby had developed from a pre-Conquest burgh into a virtually independent borough, sending two members to parliament from 1295, though it remained a manorial vill held in fee farm from the Crown as of the Duchy of Lancaster. Its charters established

a typically oligarchic form of local government headed by two annually elected bailiffs who also functioned as magistrates, supported by 24 Brethren sitting in Common Hall who were a mixture of merchants, traders and skilled artisans.¹²² In taxable wealth it was amongst the top 100 towns in the fourteenth century, below midland towns of comparable character such as Newark and Nottingham but marginally above Leicester.¹²³ By 1524, when 232 persons were assessed for subsidy, Derby seems to have slipped to below 50th place but the assessment was probably an under valuation. A population of minimally 1,500 in 1524 can be computed from the subsidy roll but, from comparison with the much fuller subsidy roll of 1544, the number might well have been greater.¹²⁴ The town was divided for assessment into 14 wards with the zone of chief wealth, typically, centred around the market place and the river frontage. (See Appendix 1, pp. 307-8)

The town's religious life was based upon five parochial divisions of varying size and prosperity, which extended into outlying rural townships and villages. (see Table 1c, p. 15 above). The collegiate church of All Saints was the leading church in the town as its parish encompassed the market place. It is held that, through trade, towns were disproportionately significant in the diffusion of protestantism and new thinking.¹²⁵ This will be tested in comparison to developments in surrounding rural communities.

Map 4: Monastic Derby c. 1530, based on John Speed's Map of 1610.



Conclusion

A fuller conclusion will be drawn when the pre-Reformation state of the deanery has been explored more fully in Chapters 2 and 3. However the investigation so far suggests that, apart from occasional visitation, the deanery was distanced from episcopal controls. Deanery clergy were left much to their own devices, though subject to local opinions, expectations and traditions.

Local gentry likewise enjoyed comparative autonomy. No great magnate dominated, though the good lordship of Shrewsbury was clearly important. His reputation stood very high: Bernard says that in their 'country' the Talbots could arouse 'considerable awe'. Leading local gentry, such as Sir Henry Sacheverell, looked to his good lordship to approach the Crown.¹²⁶ Though men of modest landed wealth, within their immediate region the consequence of local gentry stood high. Sacheverell, for example, was appointed deputy steward of Tutbury and was also steward of Dale Abbey, of the Preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Yeaveley and of the chantry at Chaddesden. He doubtless commanded respect for his participation in war and the brass engraved on his tomb in Morley church portrays him as a warrior knight.

Though it was a poor in relation to most of southern England, the level of Derbyshire's poverty has probably been over-estimated. Its sixteenth century gentry were by no means without learning; they were distant but not isolated from London, the Court or centres of education. Nor were they ignorant of political affairs. Many were royal servants, either through the patronage offered by the Duchy or through service in the royal household; others were engaged in professions or business which required them to spend considerable amounts of time in London and become well versed in changes that were taking place. A few, such as Anthony Fitzherbert, played central roles in national events. Otherwise, they were brought into direct communication with events through the execution of the necessary offices of sheriff and justice of the peace or as nominated commissioners. Moreover, news carried in private correspondence, as is illustrated in many of the surviving Talbot and Willoughby letters, kept them well informed. When all facts are considered it is possible to suggest that Becon's opinion of Derbyshire was misconceived.

- 1 T. Becon, 'The Jewel of Joy', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Catechism of Thomas Becon with Other Pieces*, Parker Society (1843), p. 421.
- 2 D.S. Bailey, *Thomas Becon and the Reformation*, pp. 48-9.
- 3 Becon, 'Jewel of Joy', p. 420.
- 4 *Ibid.*; Cox, vol. 2, pp. 402-3 gives a brief account and extract. John Alsop was Lord of the Manor; S. Glover, *History of Derbyshire*, vol. 2, gives an Alsop family pedigree, facing p. 20.
- 5 C. Haigh, *English Reformations. Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors*, p. 168.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 R. O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (1986).
- 8 P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, dedication, (1988).
- 9 A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (1989, 2nd. edn.).
- 10 As in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, Intro. and Ch. 1 (1987); Haigh, *English Reformations* (1993); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (1984).
- 11 Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 1.
- 12 E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (1992); e.g. G.R. Elton, Review in *JEH*, vol. 44, pp. 719-21 (Oct. 1993); P. Heath, 'The Hold of the Old Faith', Review in *The Times Literary Supplement*, p. 4 (15 Jan. 1993).
- 13 As in S.J. Wright (ed.), *Parish, Church and People. Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750* (1988).
- 14 R.O'Day, 'Clerical Patronage and Recruitment in England in the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Periods, with Special Reference to the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', (University of London, D. Phil. thesis).
- 15 R. Clark, 'Lists of Derbyshire Clergymen, 1558-1662', in *DAJ*, vol. 104, pp. 19-25; Staffordshire County Council, *Staffordshire Record Office. Cumulative Hand List, pt. 1* (2nd. ed.); P. Riden, *Record Sources for Local History*.
- 16 A fuller description of the archdeaconries can be found in Staffordshire County Council, *Record Office*, p. 1.
- 17 L&P Hen.8, vol. 10 (1536), no. 754, p. 316.
- 18 *Valor*, vol. 3, p. 130; *VCH, Staffordshire*, vol. 3, p. 21; F. Heal, 'The Revenues of the Bishops and the Valor Ecclesiasticus', in F. Heal (ed.), *Of Prelates and Princes*, p. 54.
- 19 J.C. Bates, 'The Episcopate of William Bothe, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1447-1452, with an Edition of his Register' (University of Nottingham, M. Phil. thesis), pp. 70-1, 30. Bothe did much to reduce financial overheads by pruning the number of episcopal residences.
- 20 D.M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales. A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of Episcopacy in 1646*, pp. 53-66.
- 21 P. Hosker, 'An Edition of the Register of Reginald Boulers, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1453-1459' (University of Nottingham, Ph.D. thesis); G.J. Stretch, 'The Clergy and Administration of the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield under Bishop John Hales 1459-1490' (University of Oxford, D. Phil. thesis), App. A, 'Bishop Hales' Itinerary'.
- 22 Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, pp. 61-3; *DNB*, vol. 53, pp. 138-41; M. Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520*, p. 14; Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, p. 331, App. III.

- 23 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 14.
- 24 *DNB*, vol. 5, p. 277 gives some account of his early career. Geoffrey Blythe, a Derbyshire man, was probably born at Norton Lees. John Blythe, a brother, was Bishop of Salisbury (1494-1499).
- 25 *Ibid.*; Cox, vol. 1, pp. 293-6, gives a brief family history under Norton. Blythe was also appointed Master of King's Hall, Cambridge.
- 26 Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 64-8.
- 27 F.A. Hibbert, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries as Illustrated by the Suppression of the Religious Houses in Staffordshire*, p. 26.
- 28 J. Fines, 'Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1511-12', in *JEH*, vol. 14, pp. 160-74; M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers. Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, pp. 203, 252-3.
- 29 M. Dowling, 'The Government and the Court: Reformation under Henry VIII', in P. Lake and M. Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*.
- 30 Hibbert, *Religious Houses in Staffordshire*, p. 28. The visit took place in 1526. Bishop Smith had already dissolved houses at Canwell and Sandwell.
- 31 LJRO, B/V/1/1. This register is transcribed and translated in P. Heath (ed.), *Bishop Geoffrey Blythe's Visitations c. 1515-25*, Historical Collections of Staffordshire, 4th series, vol. 7; Intro., xiv details Heath's research into Blythe's personal visitations. There are no records of similar visitations to diocesan parishes.
- 32 M. Bowker, 'The Henrician Reformation and the Parish Clergy', in Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, pp. 77-8.
- 33 C. Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England*, ch. 3.
- 34 R. Storey, *Henry VII*, p. 189.
- 35 Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 65.
- 36 A.G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation*, p. 52.
- 37 T.N. Cooper, 'Oligarchy and Conflict. Lichfield Cathedral Clergy in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Midland History*, vol. 19, p. 42.
- 38 G.R. Elton, 'Humanism in England', in A. Goodman and A. Mackay (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, p. 272.
- 39 Stretch, thesis, 'Clergy and Administration', App. A. He stayed at Kingsmead Nunnery in 1468 and 1483 and at Darley Abbey in 1473 and 1486. In 1468 he also visited Chesterfield and in 1480 was at Ashbourne.
- 40 Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 66.
- 41 A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, p. 146.
- 42 D. Knowles (Dom.), *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 2, p. 218.
- 43 M. Bowker, *The Secular Clergy*, pp. 19-20. She particularly instances Bishops Smith and Fox.
- 44 Blythe often used the Prior of Stone as suffragan but there are no records of the suffragan's conduct of affairs. Nor are there any records of activity by a bishop's commissary.
- 45 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, Intro., lvi-lviii.
- 46 J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, vol. 10, p. 17; A modest defence of archdeacons is found in J.A.F. Thomson, *The Early Tudor Church and Society 1485-1529*, pp. 117-8.
- 47 P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*, p. 155.
- 48 *DNB*, vol. 60, pp. 335-8.

- 49 *Ibid.*, vol. 55, pp. 429-30.
- 50 Bowker, *Secular Clergy*, p. 36.
- 51 Darlington, vol. 2, O2, pp. 595-7 (A.D.1154-9); Bates, thesis, 'Episcopate of William Bothe', p. 51. Bates states that there is little evidence for the office of rural dean during Bothe's episcopacy.
- 52 L&P Hen.8, Addenda, vol. 1/i, no. 358, p. 111. He collected £31 7s 8d., by some way the least sum obtained from any of the five archdeaconries.
- 53 Cooper, 'Oligarchy and Conflict', pp. 42-3.
- 54 Bates, thesis, 'Episcopate of William Bothe', p. 57.
- 55 *Valor*, vol. 3, pp. 155-6; Saltman, Intro., p. 32; no. 142, pp. 123-4 and no. 508, p. 343. Dale also held a moiety of the church of Eggington.
- 56 *Valor*, vol. 3, p. 153. In 1535 Darley was receiving spiritualities from the churches Bolsover, Crich, Mackworth, Pentrich, South Wingfield, Scarcliff, Shirley, Derby St. Peter and Derby St. Michael; Darlington, P3, pp. 631-2 (1238-1248), is a confirmation of Darley's right to pensions from the churches of Brailsford and Uttoxeter in Staffordshire.
- 57 Cox, vol. 4, pp. 357, 147.
- 58 R.V.H. Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, p. 187 and App. I; M. Deansley (ed.), *Burton Abbey*, Historical Collections of Staffordshire, Intro., lxi, xlvii-viii; no. 751, p. 182.
- 59 R.E.G. Cole (ed.), *Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary of Lincoln. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln (1305-1520 and 1520-1559)*, Lincoln Record Society, vols. 13, 15; *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 87-92; Le Neve, *Fasti*, vol. 1, p. 4. Thomas Wolsey was Dean until 1509, followed by John Constable (1509-1528) and George Henneage (1528-1539). J.C. Cox and W.H. St. J. Hope, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church or Free Chapel of All Saints*, p. 2 states that papers relating exclusively to the deanery were kept separately until the Ecclesiastical Commission took charge and that the authors were unable to trace them (1881).
- 60 *VCH, Derbyshire*, pp. 89-91. Disputes over visitation rights between the dean and the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield were partially resolved in 1285 when it was judged that a working relationship with the bishop allowed him an implicit right to conduct visitations but the freedom of Derby All Saints from episcopal visitation was later confirmed and upheld; J.H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300. A Constitutional Study*, pp. 110-1, 114, 152, App. viii. Denton has identified at least 22 similar examples, seven within the diocese: in addition to Derby these are Bridgenorth, Penkridge, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Tettenhall, Wolverhampton.
- 61 H.C.H. Garratt and C. Rawcliffe, *Derbyshire Feet of Fines 1323-1546*, Intro., xiii.
- 62 R. Hoyle, *Tudor Taxation Records. A Guide for Users*, pp. 50-3.
- 63 W.G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder. The England of Henry VIII 1500-1547*, Tables 1.2, 1.3, p. 22-4. A military survey conducted in 1522 has provided useful evidence for some regions but no records survive for Derbyshire.
- 64 PRO, E179/91 f. 109; E179/91 f. 140.
- 65 *Ibid.*, E179/91 f. 95.
- 66 *Ibid.*, E179/91 f. 152.

- 67 R.S. Schofield, 'Taxation and the Political Limits of the Tudor State', in C.Cross,
D. Loades and J.J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Law and Government under the Tudors*,
pp. 238-9.
- 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 245-53.
- 69 Hoskins, *Age of Plunder*, pp. 27-8, Fig. 2. Taxable wealth of England in 1524-25
based upon the work of J. Sheail in 'The Distribution of Taxable Population and
Wealth in England during the Early Sixteenth Century', *Transactions of the
Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 55, pp. 111-26.
- 70 I.S.W. Blanchard, 'Lead Mining and Smelting in Medieval England and Wales',
CBA, *Research Report*, no. 40.
- 71 P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens (eds.), *Daniel Defoe. A Tour through the Whole
Island of Great Britain*, p. 240.
- 72 W. Camden, *Britannia: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and
Ireland together with the Adjacent Islands*, (2nd. edn.), vol. 1, p. 586.
- 73 Furbank and Owens, *Daniel Defoe*, p. 240.
- 74 Camden, *Britannia*, vol. 1, p. 586.
- 75 LJRO, B/C/11, James Rolston, Weston 1544.
- 76 PRO, E179/91 f. 152. The parish is presented in a fragmented manner, leading to
some caution in putting forward the figure; I.S.W. Blanchard (ed.), *The Duchy
of Lancaster's Estates in Derbyshire, 1485-1540*, p. 14.
- 77 Blanchard, *Duchy of Lancaster's Estates*, p. 1; See also R. Somerville, *History of
the Duchy of Lancaster, 1265-1603*; C.J. Black, 'The Administration and
Parliamentary Representation of Nottingham and Derbyshire, 1529-58',
(University of London, Ph. D. thesis).
- 78 S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 78-82; See
also C. Carpenter, 'Who ruled the Midlands in the Later Middle Ages?' and H.
Castor, 'Walter Blount was gone to serve the Traytours. The Sack of Elvaston
and the Politics of the North Midlands in 1454', *Midland History*, vol. 19.
- 79 G.W. Bernard, *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility. A Study of the Fourth
and Fifth Earls of Shrewsbury*, pp. 51, 146.
- 80 PRO, E315/172 f. 58; Burne, *Monks of Chester*, p. 191.
- 81 Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 4.
- 82 Cox, vol. 4, p. 237.
- 83 PRO, E179/91 f. 103, E179/91, f. 109.
- 84 *DNB*, vol. 5, pp. 258-60.
- 85 Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, App. 1, gives a directory of identified families.
- 86 Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation', pp. 52-60. The
figure of 55 compares to 43 in Nottinghamshire.
- 87 See Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp. 143-4 on fifteenth century gentry affinities.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 8; PRO, PCC, Sir Henry Vernon 1515, 9 Holder.
- 89 PRO, E179/91 f. 140.
- 90 Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation', pp. 223-4 gives
a list of county members of Parliament. This has been used alongside S.T. Bindoff
(ed.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1509-1558*; p. 60.
- 91 For the fifteenth century see Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, chs. 7 and 8.
- 92 PRO, *Lists of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D.
1831*, p. 164, under Nottinghamshire with whom Derbyshire shared the
sheriffdom until 1567. A list is also printed in J. Pilkington, *A View of the Present*

State of Derbyshire with an Account of its Most Remarkable Antiquities, vol. 2, pp. 30-2.

93 Glover, *Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 5, 7.

94 P. Riden, *History of Chesterfield*, vol. 2, *Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield*, pp. 1, 39-44; PRO, *Lists of Sheriffs*, p. 164.

95 Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation', p. 99.

96 *DNB*, vol. 19, pp. 168-70.

97 *Ibid.*, vol. 46, p. 165; J.H.Baker, *The Notebook of Sir John Port*, Seldon Society, vol. 102, Intro., xi.

98 PRO, E179/91 f. 95 (1524) for Appletree Hundred. John Port, John Fitzherbert, German Pole and Ralph Sacheverell were commissioners.

99 PRO, E179/91 f. 109.

100 Garratt and Rawcliffe, *Derbyshire Feet of Fines*, Intro., xii-xiii.

101 PRO, E179/91 f. 109; S. Fox (Rev.), *History and Antiquities of the Church of St. Matthew Morley*, endpaper, 'Pedigree of the Sacheverells of Morley'.

102 L&P Hen.8, vol. 3/i (1519-23), no. 704, p. 241. Joined with him from the county were Thomas Cockayne, Sir John Gifford and Godfrey Foljambe.

103 L&P Hen.8, Addenda, vol. 1/ii, no. 1559, p. 531. He is named in a book of lead mining receipts, 1542; Kiernan, *Derbyshire Lead Industry*, pp. 50, 66. In 1534 he inherited a lead bole and woods for charcoal burning; pp. 278-81, App. 2, 'Bole Smelters in Derbyshire'; Blanchard, *Duchy of Lancaster's Estates*, B2, pp. 56-7. Sacheverell purchased two scythe mills in Duffield.

104 Cox, vol. 3, pp. 179-80, Richard Curzon married Eleanor, daughter of German Pole.

105 Neither family served as sheriff under Henry VIII.

106 L&P Hen.8, vol. 5 (1531-2), no. 1694, p. 701. Named on a commission of the peace; vol. 4/iii/i (1529-30), no. 6490, p. 2918. Named on a commission of gaol delivery with Fitzherbert, Port, Foljambe, Mynours, Babington, Coffyn, Pole and Eyre; See also Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation', ch. 1. on commissions of the peace.

107 PRO, E179/91 f.140; L&P Hen.8, vol. 3/ii (1519-23), no. 3283, p. 1362. Subsidy Commissioners: Sir John Zouch, Sir Godfrey Foljambe, Sir Henry Sacheverell, Sir Thomas Cockayne, John Port, Anthony Babington, William Coffyn, John Vernon, George Gresley, John Fitzherbert, Roger Mynours, Roger Foljambe, Arthur Gyre, Richard Kniveton, German Pole, Thomas Curson, Robert Barlow, Vincent Lowe, John Bothe, Ralph Bonington, Ralph Sacheverell, John Rollesley.

108 Cox, vol. 4, p. 220. The Strelleys had owned a nearby estate at Shipley from the fourteenth century but were only marginally involved in Derbyshire politics.

109 PRO, E179/91 f. 110 (1535), assessed at £5; Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation' pp. 397-8. Son of Richard Mynours of Treage, Herefordshire; H.C.B. Mynors, 'Sir Roger Mynours of Duffield', *DAJ*, vol. 73, pp. 112-3.

110 A.B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, p. 191, alderman in 1513; p. 47, Mayor 1522-3. For his part in the Cornish Rising, James Tuchet, Lord Audley, had his estates seized under an Act of Attainder.

111 DLSL, Mundy Deposition 10, DD 36, an indenture between John Tuchet, Lord Audley and John Mundy for the sale of the aforesaid manors, dated 25 Oct. 1516; DD 1657, an exemplification of a recovery on the same matter, dated 23 Nov.

1516; DD 1726 refers to 'Durwent' Mundy of Markeaton; J.M. Dent (ed.), *Survey of London by John Stowe*, p. 281.

112 T. Turville-Petre, 'Some Medieval English Manuscripts in the North-East Midlands', in D. Pearsall (ed.), *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England. Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York*.

113 DLSL, Mundy Deposition 10, Parcel 213 (labelled 58 in rough catalogue list), f. 13. The inventory is transcribed in W.G. Clark Maxwell, 'An Inventory of the Contents of Markeaton Hall, 1545', *DAJ*, vol. 51.

114 Turville-Petre, 'Medieval English Manuscripts', pp. 127-140.

115 LJRO, B/C/11, William Agarde, Mackworth 1540. The term yeoman is found first in William Warde, Derby (St. Peter) 1535; William Glossop, Horsley 1538.

116 W. Harrison, *Description of England in Shakespere's Youth*, vol. 1, pp. 132-4.

117 LJRO, B/C/11, Henry Roper, Morley 1543.

118 LJRO, B/C/11. Compare 'yeoman' John Cater (1540) and 'husbandman' Thomas Fyche (1541), both of Mackworth. Each owned four oxen. Five husbandman inventories, 1540-9, range from £5 12s. 6d. to £22 13s. 4d, while six yeoman inventories, 1534-43, range from £14 4s. 10d. to £82 7s. 8d; Robert Holland, styled husbandman, 1542/3, assessed at £4 for the 1543 subsidy.

119 D.M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 84.

120 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 163.

121 e.g. as set out in C. Pythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City. Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages*.

122 R.A. Hall, 'The Pre-Conquest Burgh of Derby', *DAJ*, vol. 94, pp. 16-23; Bindoff, *History of Parliament*, vol. 1, pp. 64-5; Glover, *Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 374-8; C. Glover and P. Riden (eds.), *William Woolley's History of Derbyshire*, p. 37. Woolley recorded that the fee farm rents were granted to the dean and chapter of Burton upon Trent in 1511; M. Weinbaum (ed.), *British Borough Charters 1307-1660*, p. 21.

123 R.E. Glasscock, 'The Lay Subsidy of 1334', *British Academy Records of Social and Economic History*, new series, vol. 2, p. 48; A. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns 1400-1640*, Appendix 4. He places Derby 32nd. amongst provincial towns; C. Platt, *Medieval England*, p. 103, places Derby 36th but includes London in his table; W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England*, p. 176, gave it 28th place but pre-dates Glasscock; Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, App. 1. Using the 1377 poll tax returns, when 1,076 tax payers were registered, 35th place is suggested, the figures amended from Hoskins, who placed Derby 37th.

124 Hoskins, *Local History*, p. 177; Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, ch. 3. 'The Problems of Evidence', App. 2, 5.3. Although voicing reservations about the use of wealth assessments for demographic study, Dyer suggests that the town's population had reduced by 479, placing it in a category of towns with declining populations. However, the multiplier of 1.9 used by Dyer for 1377 may be too high; R.S. Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban Crisis*, pp. 46-52, adds 15% for under valuation, on the basis that a third of Bury's population were under the taxable age of 12 in 1377 and . When applied to Derby this gives a population figure of 1,552 in 1377, little different to that computed from the 1524 subsidy roll. However, the subsidy roll may not be fully representative (see Chapter 8).

125 N. Allridge, 'Loyalty and Identity in Chester Parishes 1540-1640', in S.J. Wright, *Parish, Church and People*, p. 86, with footnote 5.

126 Bernard, *Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 161.

CHAPTER TWO

The Pre-Reformation Church

Introduction

On the whole English men and women did not want the Reformation and most of them were slow to accept it when it came.¹

In *The Reformation and the English People*, Scarisbrick argues for a general consensus of support for traditional belief and practices. More recently, Duffy has claimed that late medieval catholicism exerted,

an enormously strong, diverse, and vigorous hold over the imagination and loyalty of the people up to the very moment of the Reformation.

Duffy believes that,

Traditional religion had about it no particular marks of exhaustion or decay, and indeed in a whole host of ways, from the multiplication of vernacular religious books to adaptations within the national and regional cult of saints, was showing itself well able to meet new needs and new conditions.²

Haigh, too, writes of 'energetic parish life' and 'parochial and devotional vitality' while Burgess calls the late medieval lay pious response 'prodigious'.³ These revisionist interpretations sharply conflict with contemporary criticisms of writers such as Erasmus, Becon and Tyndale or the much quoted Simon Fish, who portrayed the church as a decadent institution, rife with abuse and superstition and its clergy as, 'ravenous wolves going in herds clothing devouring the flock'.⁴

There are persuasive arguments on both sides but firm conclusions are difficult to justify as Loades clearly articulates in a recent and measured exposition of the historiography of the debate. He accepts that on a broad quantitative level the revisionists are right in arguing that criticisms of the church came from a small proportion of the nation but he argues that the question 'is not a quantitative one, but qualitative'.⁵ This debate is further explored in this chapter through a variety of sources, though chiefly through an examination of wills. As it makes no sound historical sense to divorce the parish clergy from the lay congregations in this debate, the two being necessarily inter-dependent, the state of both will be considered.

Part One: The Parish Clergy

When Bowker published the results of her exhaustive examination of clerical conduct in over 1,000 parishes within the diocese of Lincoln (1968), she prefaced her study by commenting on the paucity of research into the state of the pre-Reformation secular clergy.⁶ There has since been progress, but no further studies on the same scale.⁷ Although research into the Coventry and Lichfield diocese has been undertaken, a full survey is precluded because of the limitations of the archive. A substantially complete run of ordination registers from 1300 to 1531 has inspired a succession of quantitative research projects but qualitative sources are lacking: court books, recording instance and office promoted cases (saving two from 1464-1479), survive only from 1524 and are not fully sequential.⁸ No cause papers pre-date 1534 and there are no parochial visitation books prior to 1558 so that there is little diocesan material through which clerical beliefs, ability or conduct can be studied.⁹ However, probate records and a miscellany of documentary and physical evidence together, afford some opportunities for a general assessment of clerical standards.

An examination of William Bothe's ordination register (1447-1452) by Bates revealed a decline in recruitment from a fourteenth century annual average of 70 to an average of only 49 in the mid fifteenth century. Bates argues, none the less, that the total number of ordinands remained more than sufficient.¹⁰ In contrast the register of John Hales (1459-1490), studied by Stretch, showed an extraordinary increase in recruitment after 1475, sustained over several decades.¹¹ Haigh followed up this research, computing from Blythe's register that roughly twice as many priests were ordained in each year between 1504 and 1529 than the annual average between 1364 and 1384 and that ordinations reached their highest level in the 1510s. Recruitment 'remained vigorous' until attacks on the clergy in 1529, at which time there were roughly 1,200 clerics in the diocese and 390 beneficed livings, of which 105 lay in the archdeaconry of Derby. After this it 'collapsed'.¹² Haigh also suggests that this healthy rate of recruitment is all the more impressive as financial rewards were low. An annual income of £15 has been suggested as 'desirable and reasonable' for a beneficed priest who employed an assistant chaplain or £10 if he managed without.¹³ In the diocese, 21% received an annual income in excess of £15 but the majority (70%), were below the £10 recommended.¹⁴

TABLE 3: Beneficed Deanery Clergy: Livings and Probate Assessments

Name	Living	Value of Living	Probate Assessment	Probate Year
William Campion	Breadsall (R)	£28 2s. 7d.	£34 14s. 4d	1533
William Potter	Spondon (V)	£ 7 14s. 5d.	£16 13s. 0d.	1534
Henry Proctor	Pentrich (V)	£ 6. 0s. 0d.	£22 0s. 0d.	1539
Nicholas Stokesley	Duffield (V)	£ 8 4s. 0d.	£12 0s. 8d	1539
William Franken	Barrow (V)	£ 5 6s. 4d.	£10 12s. 3d.	1541

Table 3 compares the value of beneficed livings and probate assessments for five clerics. In the deanery, beneficed clergy received slightly less than the diocesan average. [see Tables 1a-d] The average of country rectories was £12 19s. 6d. and vicarages £6 12s. 6d. In comparison, the average in the extra-mural archdeaconry of Exeter was £18 18s. 0d.¹⁵ In the city of Exeter livings averaged £8 8s. 0d. compared to £6 1s. 6d. for the three Derby borough vicarages.¹⁶ However, any assessment of incomes of rural clergy must include variable factors. On the debit side Swanson points to problems such as delay in the payment of rents or even costly disputes that could reduce the real value of the living.¹⁷ On the positive side a benefice might be better than its paper valuation if there was a good parsonage house and glebe lands which could be profitably exploited, or substantial customary dues and extraordinary parochial incomings. The house and glebe of the rectory at Breadsall were valued at £5 4s. 8d. As rector, Campion maintained a good household, well supplied with linen and table ware. He managed a mixed farm, owning an ox team, cows, sheep and horses and had barley, malt and peas in hand. At death he left £3 10s. 0d. in gold and silver.¹⁸ Proctor, vicar at Pentrich, likewise managed a mixed farm with six plough oxen, five cows and 36 sheep and enjoyed a higher standard of living that his stipend suggests. No clothes were included in the inventory but the house was well furnished with cupboards, coffers and cushions, two feather beds, bedding which included seven coverlets and ten pair of sheets, a well equipped kitchen and a table graced with 14 pewter dishes and six silver spoons. His wealth had been inflated five years before death by an inheritance from his father and then from his mother.¹⁹ Potter, vicar of Spondon, did not apparently enjoy such affluence although his stipend was 25% more than Proctor's. Furnishings were valued at only 3s.

but the inventory cannot relate to the entire house as neither bed, bedding nor table were included. No oxen were recorded but there were 45 sheep, three swine, bees and 20 quarters of corn.²⁰ The valuation of the goods of Master Nicholas Stokesley, vicar of Duffield, suggests a husbandman standard of living but this would be a false assumption for he lived as a minor gentleman.²¹ While the husbandman usually lived in a two room cottage, the inventory describes a six room vicarage with a study, a hall well furnished with two tables, a carpet cloth and hangings, a parlour with a well equipped bed and, most exceptionally, a privy stool.

Urban clergy were more dependent upon oblations, offerings and extra services, as were many of the diocesan unbeneficed clerics who filled a variety of minor positions including 170 curacies, 160 chantries and 110 chaplaincies. However, the chantry priest had substantial security of tenure, a chantry house, some agricultural land and sometimes an income in excess of a beneficed cleric. Contracts, as in the case of the St. Michael chantry at Chesterfield, were often for life.²² When appointed to Crich in 1524, John Marriott entered into 21 year contract with Francis and German Pole whereby they agreed to pay him £10 16s. 1d. annually and provide a house valued at 4s. 4d. He was supposed to receive an additional 40s. on entry but complained that only coal and wood were provided.²³ Probate inventories can be very deceptive indicators of the prosperity of this type of priest. The living standard of William Harryson, instituted in 1509 to the college of priests at Chaddesden at an annual stipend of £8 5s. 0d., affords an illustration of a priest whose real circumstances were superior to that suggested by the inventory of his goods. His estate was appraised at £13 15s. 0d. (1538) and carried a claim for repayment of an entry fine of £10, leaving only £3 15s. 0d. in goods, of which clothing was valued at £2 16s. 8d.²⁴ He was in debt, owing £2 4s. 1d., including 16s. 6d. for a tenth and an undischarged sum for a promised memorial to his predecessor. (For his own memorial he hopefully bequeathed 20s.) However, he lived communally and would be required to pass chantry furnishings, books, ornaments and livestock on to his successor. The meagre valuation of some inventories, for example that of gild cantarist Henry Trigg of Chesterfield, whose goods were assessed at only £1 16s. 3d. (1543), superficially suggests an existence comparable with that of a local labourer but as a town gild priest he also had stability, a furnished house provided and a reasonable stipend.²⁵

The parish curate or chaplain had less security and a standard of living not greatly to be envied if Richard Green, curate of Ockbrook was a typical example. His estate totalled £2 12s. 0d. (1544) and although furnishings were adequate the standard was not high: he left only two pair of flax and hemp sheets and five old pewter dishes. There was little to supplement his wage, his plot of land supporting only a barren cow, two pigs and three hens. Research suggests that chances of promotion were relatively low, with examples of clerics who did not rise above a curacy in careers spanning over 20 years between 1530 and 1560.²⁶ A similar situation pertained in the East Midlands in the archdeaconry of Leicester, where there were 200 beneficed clergy in 1526 yet 60% remained unbeneficed.²⁷ Within the archdeaconry of Derby there was an average of only 4.6 institutions a year to benefices in the 1530s, confirming that incumbents tended to stay put.²⁸ Even so, the ladder of opportunity was there and a measure of security. Given the weak economy of the north Midlands, a career in the church, however lowly, would have its financial attractions regardless of opinions held of the clergy.

The fairly static situation may owe much to insularity and a disinclination to move far. A study of the parish clergy of York has shown that the majority of its clergy were recruited locally and remained parochial in their loyalty.²⁹ Local family names are found amongst deanery clergy but the Browns and Richardsons are too universal to be tied to a particular county. An inspection of a clerical subsidy return and episcopal registers and records of institutions to benefices in the early sixteenth century show that they occasionally came from local gentry such as Sacheverell, Dethick and Powtrell but more usually from yeoman or husbandman families, as with Robert Thacker, a subdean of Derby All Saints and Henry and Christopher Proctor of Pentrich. Derby tradesmen and merchants, such as the Stringers and Bartylmews, also produced recruits.³⁰

Evidence of buoyant recruitment has been used to argue that the clergy did not lack esteem but even if recruitment was high the quality of recruits may have been mediocre. Thomas Becon's comment that 'the priests in that county are very basely learned' may be partial and ill informed but ordination registers do indicate only limited academic attainment, even though competition for preferment might be expected to push up standards.³¹ The archdeaconry, although north of Trent, was not strictly included in Archbishop Lee's judgmental comments in 1535 on lack of learning amongst northern clergy but Blythe's register shows that only 15 of the 115 clerics (or 1 in 7) instituted to

diocesan livings exhibited an academic qualification, while the rate of the institution of graduates was only one in every two years.³² Graduate institution in the deanery was confined to one in ten parishes.³³ This rate fell, understandably, well below the city of London where 60% of incumbents were graduates between 1479 and 1529 (though Brigden estimates that only 74 of its 1,035 unbeneficed priests can be identified as graduates) but it was also below the one in five of the archdeaconry of Leicester.³⁴ A typical clerical route may be indicated in Richard Stringer's request that his son William be placed under the guardianship of Henry Hudson, vicar of Ashbourne, with the charge, 'that he fynde hym to the scole', and bring him up to the priesthood.³⁵

There are sufficient references to ecclesiastical texts in archdeaconry wills to refute any suggestion that the Derbyshire clergy were entirely unlearned or illiterate but all were practical works.³⁶ In the deanery, the will of Richard Ryley, vicar of Swarkestone (1539) is the first to record books. Ryley obtained his benefice in 1526 and is therefore a good example of the type of cleric instituted shortly before the Reformation.³⁷ His bequest to two local curates of liturgical texts referred to as *Seniolor* and *Pupella*, (the latter identifiable as 'Pupilla Oculi', a treatise on the seven sacraments) testifies to utilitarian reading. Robert Townrow of Kirk Ireton (1544) owned three books and a copy of the 'decretals', as many as a rural priest might hope to possess.³⁸

In a recent study of the West Country, Whiting used church warden accounts to identify church libraries.³⁹ The Parish Vestry Book of Derby All Saints begins in 1465 and includes three inventories of its library. In the earlier entries, dated to 1466 and 1483, only service books were recorded.⁴⁰ On a separate page, undated but inserted after the entries for 1483, is a list of donated books which were chained in the Lady chapel.⁴¹ This begins with three instructional volumes, followed by two books on canon law and various aids to preaching: the *Vitas patrum*, (*Lives of the holy fathers hermits living in the desert*), *paul's pistols* (probably a copy of St. Paul's epistles), a *grette portuose* or breviary and two popular works by Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, *Januensis super evangeliis dominicalibus* (thirteenth century sermons on the Gospels) and *Legenda Sanctorum* (*Golden Legend*).⁴² A Latin copy of the latter, willed to the church in 1518, suggests an end date for the inventory.⁴³ Similar libraries have been found in the West Midlands and the Welsh Borders.⁴⁴ The churchwarden accounts of Exeter St. Mary Major record a library comparable to the one at Derby.⁴⁵

These were texts found universally. The chantry chapel of the Rood at Ashbourne held a more unusual, contemplative work.⁴⁶ This was a copy of 'stimulus conscience', a latin version of the 9,624 line ascetic poem, 'A Prick of Conscience', attributed variously to the Yorkshire mystic Richard Rolle and to Thomas Asheburne, a fourteenth century Carmelite friar from Mount Carmel in Northampton and possibly originally from Ashbourne. It also possessed a book of 'ye pater noster', possibly Rolle's English verse paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, alternatively a treatise or just possibly a *Pater Noster* gild play.⁴⁷ The presence of such writings expands the vision of literature available to Derbyshire clerics, albeit not of the same breadth or quantity as in counties with cathedral cities, centres of learning or conspicuous merchant wealth.⁴⁸

Even when literate, clerics might lack the desired moral rectitude. Testaments sometimes express implicit reservations. Derby mercers tried to ensure 'good' prayers when endowing obits, one specifying an 'honest and convenient' priest, another a 'competent' priest and a third instructing that the vicar and churchwardens be well paid and everything done, 'without Fraud or Guile'.⁴⁹ Chantry ordinances attempted to make provision against unacceptable behaviour or neglect. At Chesterfield, the St. Michael chantry priest was ordered to shun taverns and was restricted to no more than 12 acres of land so that he would be free from excessive involvement in worldly affairs.⁵⁰

On spiritual beliefs, testaments of deanery clergy written in the 1530s have little to say. Proctor of Pentrich is perhaps representative, his will a simple, conservative statement from its traditional preamble, 'god allmyghty owre lady sente marye & to all the holye cu[m]panye of heven', to the endowment of an obit and money to buy a vestment and cope for his church. His charitable inclination extended to bequests for the repair of local lanes and the mill bridge.⁵¹ The beliefs of Robert Johnson, subdean of Derby All Saints, however, take on more substance. As a graduate, serving the elite town church, he supported various altars and fraternities. Gifts of white fustian vestments to the Trinity, St. Nicholas and Our Lady altars, bearing symbols of the Five Wounds of Christ, indicate that his devotions centralised upon the Passion of Christ.⁵² A wooden effigy of a secular canon, clad in tippet, cope, surplice and almuce, may be his memorial. The incomplete tomb portrays 13 gowned and hooded 'weepers' or bedesmen, holding rosaries, books, scrolls or bederolls.⁵³ The standards of morality and literacy and the beliefs of the deanery clergy can be no more closely defined.

Part Two: The Laity: Communal Ambitions and Lay Devotions

Part Two considers the religious attitudes and aspirations of the deanery laity and revisionist claims that by the late fifteenth century there was a greater spiritual vitality within the church.⁵⁴ A chief ground for these claims is what Hoskins described as 'a tremendous resurgence of parish church building from about 1480 to 1540'. A recent account of Derbyshire's parish churches however talks of a 'dearth of Perpendicular'.⁵⁵ The fabric of deanery churches has therefore been examined to test these statements.

Deanery churches vary in design from a simple nave and chancel to an expanded aisled building. Architecturally they contain a mixture of styles. In the fifteenth century, typical development included the insertion of clerestories, rebuilt towers and improvements to the chancel. Cox, in *The Churches of Derbyshire*, attributed the new roof and clerestory windows at Mugginton to the reign of Henry VII and identified a significant amount of rebuilding at Breadsall, Duffield, Elvaston, Kedleston, Morley, Radbourne and Sawley, mostly through lay patronage.⁵⁶ Major renovations were carried out at Elvaston through the patronage of Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who willed (1474) that his estate should pay for a clerestory, a new roof and chancel screen and the rebuilding of the tower.⁵⁷ In Derby, a drawing of the demolished medieval church of Derby St. Alkmunds shows high perpendicular windows in the south aisle and at St Peter's a fine perpendicular window was inserted into the chancel. However, while most deanery churches show evidence of modification from the fourteenth century onwards, improvements were usually modest. There is no evidence for a 'tremendous resurgence' in church building. (see Illustrations 1-6, pp. 43-8)

Even at Derby All Saints where the tower was rebuilt between 1509 and 1530, the project was probably driven as much by necessity and town pride as by spiritual vitality. This central urban church, with its elite merchant congregation, had little income of itself. The Vestry Book includes annual audits of accounts from 1466 to 1527 and, exceptionally, in 1509, both incomings and out goings were recorded.⁵⁸ Rents brought in £2 10s. 8d. and casual receipts, including burials, payments for residual wax candles and 12d from the parson for the annual washing of the High Altar vestments, added £1 3s. 4d. Out goings were only £1 6s. 8d. but £2 7s. 4d. was owing in rents and unpaid sums for burial so that the incoming church wardens received only 12s. 8d.⁵⁹

Illustration 1 Deanery Churches with Lay Patronage.



Kedleston



Elvaston

Illustration 2

Simple Deanery
Churches.



Willington



Barrow on Trent



Swarkestone

Illustration 3

Larger Deanery Churches



Kirk Langley

Sawley

Pentrich



MISSING PAGES
REMOVED ON
INSTRUCTION
FROM THE
UNIVERSITY

The difficulty of collecting even the sum of 3s. 4d. for burial within the church is illustrated by William Farington's arrangement (1521) that a dozen silver spoons be sold on the day of his burial to bring his soul honestly to the ground while John Dowman (1535) bequeathed a cupboard instead of money, if the parish were content.⁶⁰ Altogether the income available to the churchwardens was extremely small and, although usually in credit during the fifteenth century, the parish was in their debt five times between 1509 and 1529. In 1523 the churchwardens were owed £1 11s. 11d. and gave it to the parish out of charity.⁶¹

The project was possibly set in motion by a bequest from grocer Richard Stringer (1510) of an annuity of 26s. 8d. towards the 'making of the stepull'.⁶² An inscription on the tower, recording the contribution of a fraternity of 'Young men and maidens', shows that this became a communal project, not untypical of the times. The parish could not, however, have funded the rebuilding of the tower without outside support. The Vestry Book shows regular donations of 12d. and a large testamentary bequest from George Boden, priest at Chellaston. Gifts from Robert Liversage of Derby St. Peter amounting to £6 13s. 4d. are also recorded while John Byrd of Derby St. Werburgh willed an 'obligation' of 20s. and Roger Basford, a Derbyshire born London alderman, £5 to the works.⁶³ Fund raising efforts continued into the 1530s. Edmund Smyth of Barrow (1534) willed 6s. 8d. and large sums were raised through church ales in 1532. One held at Chaddesden produced £25 8s. 6d. of which only £1 13s. 10d. went on expenses.⁶⁴

While the tower was raised, financial problems constrained other maintenance. During a visitation by the Lincoln Chapter in 1528 the parish reported that the chancel, is ruinous and needs repair, by whom however the repairs should be done, they cannot depose.

The word 'ruinous' need not perhaps be taken too literally as it is used indiscriminately in Lincoln visitation records while the need for chancel repairs was a common complaint.⁶⁵ The subdean pointed out this had always been the responsibility of the parish, indicating neglect on their part and a desire to evade responsibility. In addition, the parochial jurors grumbled that the collegiate house,

is ruinous through the fault and negligence of one and all of the canons there who by prescription are bound to repair it.

While the fault, and another complaint of the lack of three copes, was placed elsewhere the jurors showed concern yet no eagerness to make good the neglect themselves.

Each deanery had a 'mother' church of grander design as Ashbourne, Chesterfield and Wirksworth (see Illustration 5, page 47) but the average deanery church does not support Duffy's contention that a growing commitment to corporate Christianity 'is witnessed by the extraordinary and lavish spate of investment by lay men and women in the fabric and furnishings of their parish churches'.⁶⁶ Interior adornment was seldom grand. There are few carved angel heads or elaborate bench ends to be found and no carved angel roofs. Surviving rood screens or parcloses vary from the simple stone screen at Ilkeston which combines elements of Early English and Decorated styles to fifteenth century wooden screens as shown in Illustration 7 (p. 61 below) at Elvaston, Mugginton and Sawley.⁶⁷ The screen at Elvaston is stylishly carved in geometric designs but at Sawley it is rough hewn.

Parish churches do hold, in funereal monuments, one form of evidence which can indicate individual and sometimes family spirituality. This is not always the case. The brasses of Nicholas Kniveton and his wife (d. 1475) at Mugginton are devoid of any intercessionary aids other than the words 'whose soul god may preserve' engraved in Latin on a brass ribbon. The Stathum brasses at Morley are in strong contrast. An image of St. Christopher, which had legendary powers to protect beholders from sickness and death for that day, is engraved with the invocation, 'Sct. Christofore ora pro nobis', upon three related brasses.⁶⁸ On a brass to Thomas Stathum (d. 1470) are also engraved emblematic mother figures of St. Anne reading to the child Mary and the Virgin Mary with the Christ child with like invocations, placed above the heads of his two wives. Kenelm (d. 1480) invited a wider audience to pray for his soul, using the vernacular and all embracing phrase, 'Thow art my brothw & my Sester pray for us A pater noster'. The more exclusive Latin invocation '*Orate pro animabus*' is most commonly found, as at Kedleston on a brass to Richard Curson (d. 1496) and on Henry Port's memorial at Etwall (d. 1512).⁶⁹

Stone memorials, normally taking the form of a tomb chest, surmounted by carved effigies were preferred by many local gentry families.⁷⁰ Frequently carved out of local Chellaston alabaster there are fine examples in Derbyshire of the work of a school of carvers based at Burton-on-Trent. While often serving as statements of political, economic and social importance they also evolved into intercessionary tools, perhaps in response to demand. John Rolleston's tomb chest (d. 1482) at Swarkestone marks an

important phase in this evolution with carvings of attendant angels.⁷¹ The tomb of Sir Roger and Alice Mynours at Duffield was carved in 1536 when this trend was well advanced, with intercessionary angels, weepers and bedesmen.⁷²

The extent to which gentry participated in the parish church has been questioned recently. It is suggested that they played a very limited part in parochial life and fraternal activity.⁷³ This may well be true in some cases. The Zouch family maintained a private chapel at Codnor castle and are unlikely to have used the parish church at Heanor, two miles distant. Otherwise this study partially contradicts this view. Even though it lay in the gift of the Abbey of Chester, the Stathums and the Sacheverells adopted the church at Morley, turning the north aisle into a family chapel, establishing invocations for prayers within its walls and paying for its repairs and adornment. The Wakebridges followed by the Poles treated the church at Crich in the same way, as did the Cursons at Kedleston, the Powtrells at West Hallam and the Lowes at the chapel of Denby. In a draft will of 1528 Sir John Port tells us that he and his wife commonly used to kneel under the arch between the chancel and the chapel in Etwall church where he wished to be buried.⁷⁴ Spiritual vitality is a nebulous quality which is not easy to separate in church buildings and furnishings from status, wealth or even fashionable trends. It can however be addressed in other ways.

Probate records provide one way forward and have formed the major content of several recent studies.⁷⁵ The making of a will was seen as a final opportunity to ease the soul's passage through purgatory to the ultimate goal of heaven as Arthur Vernon (1517), fifth son of Sir Henry and a priest, clearly hoped.

And for asmuch as with good prayers and almes dedes the soule is delivered fro[m] everlasting deth, therefor I will that at the day of my burying I may have a trentall songe for my soule, my fader soule, and for all my brethren and sistern soules, and for all Christen soules, yf it may be.⁷⁶

However, as is increasingly appreciated, interpretation is fraught with difficulty. Historians are divided on the validity of will preambles as measures of individual belief because of the problem of differentiation between the input of the scribe, possibly a cleric, and the testator.⁷⁷ All deanery wills pre-dating 1540, bar one, adopt preamble formulae which basically invoke God, the virgin Mary and all the saints, phraseology generally taken to be indicative of an orthodox catholic belief. Religious content can also be difficult to assess, as is well explained in a recent article on the testament of William

Tracy of Gloucestershire, but deanery wills are conventionally prosaic.⁷⁸ There is little content that could be termed polemic or propagandist or even explanatory. Humphrey Godhyne of Radbourne (1516) expressed more than most in arranging his funeral and setting up an obit 'to the pleasure of god and profitting of my soul'.⁷⁹

In an endeavour to confine the study to locally held beliefs, wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury have been included only if a primary relationship with the deanery could be established. In considering the years before 1530, five wills fall clearly into this category, complementing 12 locally probated wills which together span a period of 25 years.⁸⁰ Though representative of a cross section of local society, there is an imbalance towards the county and borough elite who produced fuller, and therefore more informative, wills than the simple statements of people of humbler estate.

None approach the devotional intensity which emerges from the will of the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, described by Bernard as a 'religious conservative'.⁸¹ The concept of purgatory was fully embraced as he endowed three obits, each of 20 years duration, with complex safeguards against negligence, the responsibility for upkeep devolving first upon the prior of Worksop and then the abbot of Welbeck.⁸² Equally strong was his attachment to imagery and relics, bequeathing a rood cross with attendant images, a pieta and a 'little Crucifix of cremoze wourke w[i]t[h] reliques in it' to his countess and to his son, Francis, a cross of silver gilt, 'having the passion of images aboute it', and other images of St. George, St. Christopher, St. Dorothy and St. Barbara.⁸³ This is far removed from the majority of deanery wills.

Only five wills, all locally probated, relate to the rural deanery. Two came from men of lesser gentry estate, Thomas Byrde of Locko (1524) and William Bothe of Arleston (1520) and three from small farmers of differentiated wealth. Humphrey Godhyne (1516) would appear from will content to be a husbandman. Ellis Badcock of Heanor (1523) had goods appraised at £17 18s. 0d. but William Potter of Aston (1522) at only £3.⁸⁴ Status and wealth were leading determinants in the choice of burial place. Bothe required a brass effigy, set in marble, to be placed in a family 'chapel' within his parish church of Barrow, while Byrde required burial within the chancel. Godhyne wished to be buried within the church but Potter and Badcocke were indifferent, understandable in the case of the latter as he was off to an uncertain future in the 'kynges warres', probably in France as the year was 1523.

Status and wealth also played a major part in funeral and burial arrangements, as in Dame Alice Mynours' desire to be brought home 'after a reasonable manner according to my degree'.⁸⁵ Specific arrangements for the soul's passage through purgatory were made but on a conservative scale. Bothe desired a trental of masses and the lighting of seven torches, made from 5 lb. of wax. Godhyne endowed an obit and requested prayers of intercession through saints with lights placed before the altars of St. Andrew and St. Scythe. He was the only one to do so though Badcocke bequeathed 8s. to the upholding of Our Lady and 12d. to Our Lady services. Neither Potter, who simply left his unbequeathed goods to his 'bryngyng whom', nor Byrde made particular provision. The customary 10s. for a trental would be outside Potter's means, but this would not apply to Byrde. However, much that was customary was not written down but implied in coded words such as 'use' or 'custom' or the phrase 'bryngyng whom', implying an understood and customary funeral ritual. Byrde used a coded form of wording in entrusting his funeral rites to his supervisors, John Stanton, Abbot of Dale and Thomas Ratclyff, a brother of the 'holy' Hospital of Burton Lazars.

Good deeds, as evinced in charitable religious bequests, may also be governed by wealth and degree. Bothe, on paper the most devotional, left gifts of 10s: to his parish church, to the local chapel at Twyford, to Derby All Saints, to the Derby friars, to the 'roodegeld' at Repton and a sum towards the maintenance of Swarkestone bridge. Byrde bequeathed a gown to William Stringer, priest, but made no religious bequests yet Potter, out of his meagre goods, not only left the customary 4d. to the diocese but 12d. to Derby friary and a table cloth to Alvaston chapel. Had it not been for these small bequests it could be argued, from the failure to specifically provide for his soul and his place of burial, that Potter was indifferent in religion. There are no other 'good works'.

For the borough of Derby 12 pre-1530 wills are considered here. In *Death, Burial and the Individual*, Gittings states that late medieval funeral arrangements presented a delicate balance between an increasingly individualistic philosophy and a collective approach to the problem of death.⁸⁶ Custom appears to have dominated at Derby All Saints although status and family preferences were strong determinants.⁸⁷ William Holme's will (1520) describes the conventions of Derby All Saints:

I will to have placebo dirige & masse of Requiem sungn of mayst[e]r sub
deine wt iii vecars & iiii deicins for my sowle and for All cristn sowlis.⁸⁸

Likewise, Richard Robinson (1518) made a more literate request that,

Master parson my curate withe all his well quere to syng placebo and dirige
for the helth of my sole and for all cristen soles.⁸⁹

Richard Stringer (1510), churchwarden and twice town bailiff, made an almost model elitist statement in prescribing a sliding scale of remuneration for all clerics participating in his funeral masses, from beneficed priests to humble deacons. In 1518 his brother John made similar arrangements, though setting a reduced scale. Both endowed an annual obit. The funeral arrangements of the Faringtons, William (1521) and John, a chapman (1526), likewise differ only in detail, John desiring two torches of yellow wax to go to the High altar and St. Katherine's altar.⁹⁰ Individuality emerges in the place of burial. Richard Stringer requested burial before St. Nicholas' altar but John desired a prestigious burial in the choir, in the monument where his first wife was buried with an inscribed marble stone as his memorial. Holme desired burial before St. Katherine, Robinson before St. George and William Widowson (1515) before Our Lady of Pity.⁹¹

The most extravagant individual statement was the endowment of a chantry and, although new chantries were unusual by the 1520s, two were designed to be set up, both to support the Trinity gild.⁹² One planned for All Saints was the desire of William Shore, a Derby born but London based merchant whose claim to fame was his brief marriage to Elizabeth Lambert, otherwise Jane Shore, mistress of Edward IV. He willed that the Trinity altar, on which he bestowed a chalice and a vestment of 'blake chamelet powdurd with flowres and all aparell therto redy halowed', be transformed into a chantry. Lands were bequeathed to support a priest and maintain a daily morning mass and an annual obit.⁹³ However, an inventory taken in 1527 shows that Shore's bequest was diverted to the support of the popular St. Nicholas altar whose priest became known as the Shore priest.⁹⁴ In this way, whatever the original motive, the endowment became a supplement to parochial desires, possibly to finance more education.⁹⁵

The other chantry endowment was intended for St. Peter's which already housed two internal fourteenth century chantry endowments to St. Mary and St. Nicholas. In 1529 Robert Liversage, a dyer with considerable town properties, set aside property for a chantry dedicated to the Trinity on condition that a 'mass of Jesus' be said each Friday. A deed of enfeoffment was drawn up even as legislation was passed to restrict the foundation of chantries and he prudently added a proviso that should the law, or any other custom or means, not allow the deed to stand that the endowed properties should be sold and used to employ a priest to say annual masses and obits.⁹⁶

These wills record no other conspicuous endowments but in all parishes testators desired some form of intercession. Thomas Rage of St. Alkmunds (1506) requested burial before Our Lady altar in the north aisle, a trentall of masses and eight torches to be distributed to churches across the town while widow Joan Holme of St. Michael's (1507), desiring a similar place of burial, asked for remembrance by the priests and clerks on the seventh day and on her burial anniversary.⁹⁷ John Byrd, a tanner of St. Werburgh's (1511), exceptionally made no invocation but thanked God that he was 'sure and stedfast in my mynde as a Cristeynman ought to bee' and desired burial before the rood, six 'serges' about his body and anniversary masses. Spirituality was combined with moral rectitude in his concern that money due to children he had in ward should pass to them even if they died while under age. His executors were to find 'a prest for to syng for theym, for that it was theyr father last will, and now yt ys my wyll'.⁹⁸ These precise requests contrast sharply with the will of widow Agnes Knytche of St. Peter's (1518), whose goods in stock and crops totalled only £5 13s. 4d. Her brief testament, witnessed by laymen, requested no more than churchyard burial and that her goods be disposed for the health of her soul and an honest burial, suggesting comparative indifference in faith but this was a short will, perhaps made hurriedly before death or written 'on the cheap'.⁹⁹

Most testators took an interest in the town's churches, especially their parish church. Shore left property to All Saints, Byrd left an 'obligation' for repairs to St. Werburgh's and all the churches benefited in some way from widow Holme who left a clock and chime to All Saints and showed particular attachment to her parish church, willing money for repairs and her tenement in the Market Place should her son William die before maturity. William in turn willed that should his only child die young the tenement should be sold for the benefit of St. Michael's. This kind of arrangement was not novel. In 1494 a similar clause was written into an apprenticeship bond between the Stringer brothers and John, son of Thomas Farington who had willed his entire estate to the use of All Saints should his three children die before the age of 21.¹⁰⁰

Deanery wills made between 1530 and 1534, all but two by non-gentry testators and all but three by men, are analysed in Table 4. Prayers of intercession were requested by 57% of rural testators compared to 71% in Derby, the latter boosted by the traditional ceremonies of the collegiate church which had wide appeal. Gifts to images of saints were made to St. Laurence at Barrow and St. Alkmund and St. Nicholas at Duffield.¹⁰¹

TABLE 4: Deanery Wills: Analysis of Religious Content 1530-1534.

PARISHES	No. of wills ¹	Wealth from Inventories ²	Trental	Obit	Mass	Taper Torch	7th day College	Parish Church	Our Lady	High Altar	Saint Image
Barrow	3 (3)	£8 -£60	2	1		3	1	1			2
Breadsall	1 (1)	£15				1	1		1		
Crich	1 (0)	£10									
Duffield	7 (4)	£2 - £41				1	1	3	3	2	2
Elvaston	3 (3)	nul - £142	1			1		1	2		
Mugginton	1 (1)	nul						1			
Pentrich	1 (1)	nul	1					1			
Spondon	4 (2)	£5 - £35					1		2	1	
Derby All Saints	3 (3)	£9 - £11		2	1	2	3		1		
Derby St. Peter	4 (3)	£5 - £14			2	2		3			
TOTAL	28 (21)	£2 - £142	3	3	0	10	5	8	8	3	3

¹ Figures in brackets represent the number of testators making a religious bequest.

² Figures are rounded to the nearest pound.

Much recent research has focussed upon churchwarden accounts but these are substantially lacking for counties north of the Trent.¹⁰² However, the Vestry Book of Derby All Saints includes church inventories made in 1466 when George Styholme became parish clerk and in 1483 when replaced by John Richardson. These describe the religious provisions within the church. In 1466 there was a High altar, subsidiary altars to the Trinity, the Passion and St. Katherine, and a Rood. In 1483 lights were additionally upheld before Sts. Christopher, Clement, Edmund, Eloy, John the Baptist and Nicholas.¹⁰³

The large number of wax candles or 'serges' upheld by 'gederyngs' or religious confraternities show that St. Katherine was the most popular saint, supported by 20 candles. St. Nicholas was also much resorted to: the St. Nicholas light was in the holding of the parish clerk and contained 12 candles. The Vestry Book records that St. Nicholas was supported by the schoolmaster and his scholars. This suggests that, in common with many towns from Salisbury to York, the saint's festival, when the image was carried round the parish, may have including the ceremony of enthroning a boy bishop.¹⁰⁴ There was also support for the cult of St. Edmund whose image was also paraded, as one entry states, 'And going with sancte Edmunde w[ith]in the parishe as ye doe of sancte Nicholas night'.¹⁰⁵ This cult, which is said to have 'fulfilled the ideals of Old English heroism, provincial independence and Christian sanctity', had become widespread and had gained royal patronage.¹⁰⁶ In Derby it had a minor following; only two candles were upheld while five were the norm. As in many towns, both large and small, there was also a procession on Corpus Christi day when the bells were rung and five banners paraded.¹⁰⁷

The Vestry Book also supplies information on religious gilds or fraternities in the parish. It provides no evidence, other than the paraded banners, for a Corpus Christi gild, but it does record a gild of the Holy Trinity, supported by merchants and various trade gilds; farriers upholding lights before St. Eloy, bakers paying similar reverence to St. Clement and shoemakers supporting lights before Our Lady.

The many gifts bestowed on the altars at Derby All Saints, although not always individually itemised, give other proofs of local patronage. In 1483 the High Altar and St. Katherine's altar were together equipped with 18 altar cloths and 17 towels. Valuable gifts were bestowed by 'outsiders', such as a silver and gilt pyx from Sir Hugh Willoughby of Wollaton in Nottinghamshire who may have had a townhouse in Derby.

Its own clergy presented gifts and the parish itself bought items of value: in 1469 a silver gilt cross weighing 80 ¾ cost £22. Great care was taken of possessions: the washing and repair of garments is recorded and a comparison of inventories shows that a green suit of vestments in 1466 was still retained in 1527 although a second green vestment had been donated and made into a full suit by the parish.¹⁰⁸

The Vestry Book also reveals a local cult of Our Lady of the Bridge Chapel. Cults centred upon the Virgin Mary were universally the most popular. In a study of 146 fifteenth century testaments from the earliest will register of the commissary-general of Canterbury Du Boulay found that in the maintenance of lights 40% opted for Our Lady and 34% for the Rood.¹⁰⁹ In deanery wills there are references to Our Lady altar at Breadsall, Our Lady services at Duffield and the gilding of her image at Spondon.¹¹⁰ In Derby, Our Lady of the Bridge attracted heterogeneous support. In 1488 the image was bedecked with a crown of silver gilt, hung with festive cotes of crimson or blue velvet, girdled by gilt, purple and blue belts and adorned with a silver collar of black pearls and 17 silver gilt bells.¹¹¹ Tokens, coins and shells, a silver heart, a silver moon, crystals, brooches, rings and coral and jet beads were all bestowed, perhaps as thanksgivings for safe journeys. Pennies and other votive offerings were gifts from local wives, widow Holme left the image a silver gilt ring, but local gentry wives, Lady Gray and Lady Longford, were principal benefactresses. It appears that it was a woman's role, and possibly a married woman's prerogative, to clothe the image. Thomas Rage willed a torch to burn before her image but the inventory names only two men, John Boroës, who gave the crown and Sir James Blount who provided three altar frontals.

Apart from the Vestry Book and probate records there are no other substantial documentary sources but, through a miscellany of evidence, other popular cults can be dimly discerned. Devotions focusing upon the crucifixion were generally established by the mid fourteenth century and expanded by degrees. In Derby an altar to the Holy Cross is mentioned in 1368 at St. Peter's and the Vestry Book records a rood lenten cloth and a Passion altar at All Saints in 1466, and in 1483 a 'Mary of Pity'.¹¹² There is an early reference to the upholding of a rood light to the Holy Cross at Breadsall in 1330 and a fifteenth century alabaster Pieta, a meditative expression of the cult, with Christ's body displayed to the congregation as though inviting contrition, was discovered under the chancel floor during restoration work in 1880.¹¹³ (See Illustration 8, p. 62) At

Duffield, there was a gift to the 'hye crosse' and a request for burial before the rood in the 1540s.¹¹⁴ Gilds of the Holy Cross are known to have existed at Ashbourne, Bakewell, Chesterfield and Repton.¹¹⁵ At Chesterfield, where gild and chantry were founded in 1393, the surviving wooden rood screen (c.1465) portrays demi-angels bearing symbols of the Passion, a crown of thorns and the five wounds.¹¹⁶ As early as 1350 the ordinances for the governance of the chantry of St. Nicholas and St. Katherine at Crich require the cantarist to offer 5d. in honour of the five wounds of Christ and the five joys of the Virgin Mary after the anniversary obit of William de Wakebridge, the founder.¹¹⁷ The cult of the five wounds of Christ also had a following at Derby All Saints.¹¹⁸

Relic cults were also alive at Derby All Saints which possessed timber and gilt shrines while Shore bequeathed a spruce cofer, possibly a receptacle for relics.¹¹⁹ In a diocese whose twin cathedrals of Coventry and Lichfield were dedicated to Sts. Oxburga and Chad there was considerable respect for Saxon saints.¹²⁰ The bones of St. Alkmund, Saxon prince and warrior, were revered in Derby. After his 'martyrdom' in battle at Kempsford-on-Thames c.802 his body was first buried at Lilleshall in Staffordshire

and after that to Derby, into the northe church of hit, edifiede in his name, where he is visite moche of men of Northumbrelonde, by whom God schewethe many come to hym ofte a pilgrimage.¹²¹

A Victorian restoration of the church removed a tomb attributed to St. Alkmund but excavations carried out in 1967-8 brought to light an intricately carved, ninth century stone sarcophagus set into the floor of the medieval nave, as is the tomb of St. William at York.¹²² As elsewhere, pilgrimages to the shrine may have lessened by the 1520s.¹²³ Even so the cult was still alive. The church of Duffield was dedicated to him and Philip Pole (1534) was one of several parishioners who claimed his especial protection as his 'patron'.¹²⁴ 'Holy' wells, such as St. Alkmund's well in Derby, also attracted pilgrims. The 'healing' well of St. Anne at Buxton had been frequented since Roman times and is mentioned in testaments by both men and women across the West Midlands but in deanery wills only by Godhyne of Radbourne who offered two calves and a lamb.¹²⁵

The question of parochial demands for greater access to mass, the central, corporate act of catholic worship, remains open. There are a few indicators that demand was present but too few for any sound conclusions to be drawn. The Abbey of Darley had withdrawn the provision of a chaplain to the chapel of Alvaston in 1440 on grounds of sparsity of inhabitants, the nearness of the mother church of Derby St. Michael, which

was three miles distant, and the poverty of the parish. In 1499, demands for a chaplain won the support of Bishop Arundel and one was re-appointed with the parishioners obtaining the right of nomination.¹²⁶ A similar dispute had arisen in 1484 at Denby, the advowson here held by Lenton priory. In this case the protest came from Laurence Lowe who appointed his own nominee for a year with a stipend of seven marks.¹²⁷ Under pressure, the priory entered into a covenant with the vicar of Horsley whereby a chaplain was again appointed, the vicar agreeing to pay his stipend.¹²⁸

Lack of ready access to mass was a complaint made during the visitation of the collegiate churches of Derby All Saints and St. Alkmunds in 1528. The jurors of St. Alkmund's reported that whereas they had once had three weekly masses they now had none, a complaint echoed by the jurors of Quarndon, a distant chapelry attached to All Saints.¹²⁹ In all these cases the demand was for restoration of convenient access to mass which may indicate a real increase in pious devotion but as with all the evidence presented this remains a matter of interpretation rather than solid fact.



Sawley

Mugginton

Illustration 7

Church Furnishings: Screens

Mugginton (Detail)



Elvaston
(Detail)

Illustration 8

Reverence for the Crucifixion



Rood Screen, Elvaston



Pietà, Breadsall (Detail)



Pietà, Breadsall

Part Three: Protestant Beginnings?

All evidence suggests that clergy and laity followed traditional catholicism, even in Derby where John Stringer's bequest of a copy of the *Legenda Aurea*, a book full of saints, to Derby All Saints and the establishment of new chantries suggests that humanist ideas had little currency within the town's elite. There is no indication of Lollardy, though any publicised Lollard activity would probably have been brought to the attention of the episcopate and dealt with, almost certainly the case under Bishop Blythe.

Three major criticisms of the church brought before parliament in 1529 concerned negligent clergy, mortuary dues and the payment of tithe. Anti-clericalism was an element in the growth of reformist ideas and there were complaints. As already shown, accusations of neglect were levelled at the absent prebends of Derby All Saints although there was no criticism of the resident clergy. There were, however, unpopular clerics. In 1519 Richard Shenton, chaplain at Belper, was brought before Sir Henry Sacheverell and Nicholas Stokesley, vicar of the parish, accused by the wives of the chapelry, led by Isabel Sacheverell, of neglecting divine service and other duties such as christenings and of inconveniently saying mass at seven in the morning and evensong at candlelight. He was further accused of conspiracy to murder a parishioner who had complained to both the bishop and the Earl of Shrewsbury. Isabel Sacheverell stated that Shenton had accused 'twelve of the best wives in Belpare' of infidelity, 'causing their husbands to deal with them, without cause'.¹³⁰

Attitudes to mortuary dues, from the limited evidence of wills, were quite positive. Richard Hunne's extensively quoted complaint against exorbitant mortuary dues was a *cause celebre* in London but there is no hint of hostility to payment in the deanery. Mortuary paid in kind was still usual. The earliest will register held at Lichfield shows that 60% of archdeaconry testators offered their 'best' good or beast, and all but one of the remainder asked that use and custom dictate the payment. A typical statement is Thomas Byrde of Locko's request that his best goods 'be my principal after the use and custom'. Richard Robynson of Derby asked that his 'best gud' be given for his mortuary 'as is the custom of the parish'. In 1520, John Berysford of Bradley, in the parish of Ashbourne, more positively requested that his mortuary be executed after the 'laudable' custom of his parish¹³¹ Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury extend the

sources of evidence. Richard Stringer offered his 'best thing' and John Stringer a silver salt, parcel gilt, with matching cover, suggesting, in contrast to the protest made by Richard Hunne four years earlier, that among Derby merchants there was every willingness to pay. In a draft will of 1528 Sir John Port bestowed his best horse upon the vicar of Etwall for his mortuary.¹³² Even so the sample is small and, as most wills were drawn up with the aid of a priest who would undoubtedly find the payment of mortuary dues a 'laudable' custom, they were not likely to register dissent.

Another issue of contention was the payment of tithe. Unfortunately episcopal court records only survive from 1524 to 1530 and there are none for the archdeaconry. Heath has sampled cases recorded in the Lichfield Consistory Court book, testing four separate years and 650 parishes. He found few tithe cases, and concluded that, given their various natures,

it is permissible to think that incumbents were only occasionally asserting new demands about the tithes due from their parishioners.¹³³

In *Star Chamber Stories*, Elton relates a contentious case at Hayes in Middlesex in 1530 but no Derbyshire tithe cases came before the courts.¹³⁴ The early will registers at Lichfield do however suggest some reluctance to pay tithe. In the parish of Ashbourne the phrases 'tithing and offering negligently forgotten', and 'things negligently forgotten', occur with offers of recompense to the holy sacrament.¹³⁵ In her analysis of Colchester wills Ward interpreted offerings bequeathed to the high altar as recompense for forgotten tithes. If this is so there are only four such, and very minor, bequests in deanery wills written between 1530-1539.¹³⁶ With no extant cause papers prior to 1534 and no cause papers involving tithe within the deanery until 1574, there is no other obvious avenue open for research.¹³⁷

Even so, there were humanistic influences at work, particularly amongst the gentry. William Blount, fourth Lord Mountjoy, was foremost amongst the patrons of Erasmus and brought him to England. Support for Erasmus and other humanist intellectuals such as Richard Whitford was continued by Charles, fifth Lord Mountjoy.¹³⁸ Reformist ideas progressively gained currency within the Babington family. Sir Thomas Babington (1518), 'beyng as I truely beleve the servaunt of God', was strictly orthodox, requesting three trentals at the Savoy in London and daily prayers for a year said by seven priests. Having founded exhibitions for poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge before his death, in his will he made further provision for 15 or more scholars in return

for daily intercessionary prayers.¹³⁹ The beliefs of his son, Anthony, were more complex, on the one hand requesting a reprieve for Beauchief abbey, and on the other leaving a Christocentric will with overtones of evangelism.

I commit and bequeath my soul to God, my Maker and Redeemer, trusting in his grace and by the merits of Christ's passion and resurrection in whose faith I do believe and by his grace will die to be one of the number of such as shall be saved.¹⁴⁰

Anthony's younger son, John, entered Cromwell's service, sat on the commission for the Valor Ecclesiasticus and played an active part in monastic dissolutions.¹⁴¹

The one well documented convert to reformist doctrine was George Zouch of Codnor, whose conversion began through service in the household of Anne Boleyn.¹⁴² According to the reminiscences of John Louth, Archdeacon of Nottingham (1565-1590), who spent part of his career in the Zouch household, it was arguably through her promotion of reformist literature that the young Zouch became acquainted with Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*. Writing in 1579, Louth relates that Zouch took the book as a 'love-trick' from Anne Gaynsford, a widowed lady-in-waiting to whom he was paying court, and was

so ravyshe with the spryght of God, speakyng now aswell in the harte of the reader as fyrse in harte of the maker of the booke, that he was never well but when he was reedyng of that booke.¹⁴³

Louth collected his information from Gaynsford sometime after her marriage to Zouch and it is probably veracious in outline as an alternative version is recorded by George Wyatt in his life of Anne Boleyn, but the account is laden with protestant propaganda.¹⁴⁴ Strype later added his own touches, approvingly dubbing Zouch 'a comely sweet person'. Ives and Warnicke, in recent biographies of Anne Boleyn, both discuss the event and Ives marks Zouch as a reformer, pointing out that he was a target for catholic investigation in Mary I's reign on the evidence of another of Louth's recollections.¹⁴⁵

Conclusion

Saving the one great enterprise to rebuild the tower of Derby All Saints, a term such as 'prodigious' is an overstatement in this region of the Midlands. There was no large scale rebuilding of churches or ostentatious architecture as found in East Anglian and Cotswold churches. Internal decoration, from carvings which survive, was usually of simple geometric or naturalistic design unlike those in East Anglia and Devon which Duffy has drawn upon in arguing his hypothesis that

the men and women of late medieval England were busy surrounding themselves with new or refurbished images of the holy dead.¹⁴⁶

Chantry endowments, obits and short term anniversaries were less munificent than the foundations and long term anniversaries that were established in major cities such as Bristol.¹⁴⁷ Nor was funeral ceremonial as extravagant as described elsewhere.¹⁴⁸ John Stringer, although a leading Derby burgher, requested only a modest accompaniment of six poor men clad in black gowns 'redy made' at his funeral procession. This should urge caution in generalisation at a time when England was very markedly localised.¹⁴⁹

In certain other respects this study does not accord with research into more southerly and eastern counties. While there is no conflict with Whiting's assertion that in the West Country images were 'a vital and flourishing feature of popular religion', will analysis implies that veneration of saints, even in Derby borough, was less intense.¹⁵⁰ Whiting found that 70% of non-gentry will makers in Cornwall and Devon provided for intercession.¹⁵¹ In the small deanery sample, 61% made an intercessionary bequest or reference. Offerings were made to Our Lady, the Rood, Sts. Katherine, Alkmund, Nicholas, Scythe, Edmund, Andrew, Thomas a Becket and John the Baptist but of the more unusual saints who became 'fashionable' in the fifteenth century such as Crispin, Erasmus, Petronella and Roche, there is no mention. Indeed, given our present state of knowledge, even the images of Derby All Saints might only just edge into Duffy's 'very characteristic late medieval list' of saints.¹⁵²

Religious practices also lagged 'behind the times'. Old cults such as the Five Wounds, whose origins lay in the twelfth century, were still vital.¹⁵³ There is much reference in wills to 'use' and 'custom' though lack of personal detail makes it difficult to distinguish between communal practices and individual devotions. Philip Pole (1534) was one of several parishioners who claimed St. Alkmund as their especial protector or

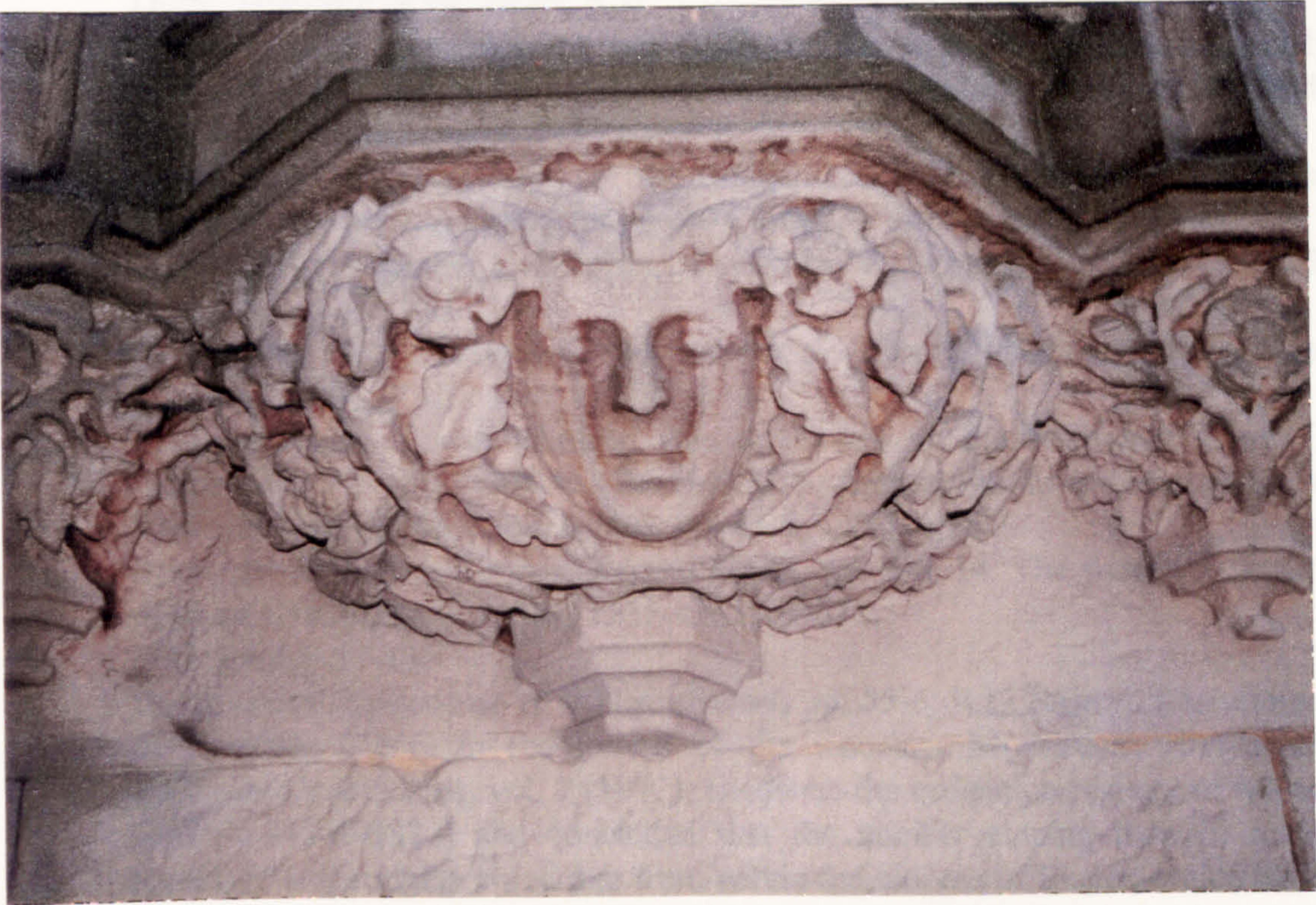
'patron', which Duffy suggests was uncommon by the later Middle Ages.¹⁵⁴ Although in some areas reformed doctrines may have spread considerably there is no evidence of their penetration into the deanery where religious belief was wrapped up in social customs and traditional patterns of behaviour.¹⁵⁵

It has been suggested that the gentry played a very limited part in parochial life and fraternal activity but in the deanery there was no great separation between gentry and commons.¹⁵⁶ In some cases private chapels were maintained, as at Codnor, but many gentry families worshipped within their parish church, adapting an aisle as a family chapel, establishing invocations for prayers within its walls and paying for its repairs and adornment. While maintaining a separation from the lesser folk, perhaps the reason for many hagioscopes, such as the one inserted between the north aisle and the nave in Morley church, they shared the same ceremonies and took communion together during mass. It was almost inevitably so in rural parishes with small populations and seigniorial Lordships. This is important to an understanding of how a parish reacted to religious changes.

It has also to be remembered that 'semi-pagan survivals, sub-Christian folklore and magic' were never far away from the official beliefs taught by the pre-Reformation church.¹⁵⁷ This can be well observed in Derby. When the tower of All Saints was built the Tudor arms were placed above the west door, and niches were carved out on either side to receive statues but, beneath each, the stone mason sculpted a foliate head or 'green man' (see page 68 below). A foliate head was likewise carved by the stone masons who built the early sixteenth century tower at Sandiacre.

One aspect of religious life, the cloistered existence, has so far been little considered. Before drawing any fuller conclusions, it is necessary to consider the state of religious houses, which is the subject of Chapter Three.

Illustration 9 Foliate Heads, Derby All Saints



- 1 Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p. 1.
- 2 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 4.
- 3 Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 32-3; C. Burgess, '"A fond thing vainly
invented". An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England',
in Wright, *Parish, Church and People*, p. 56.
- 4 Simon Fish, 'A Supplication for the Beggars', in C.H. Williams (ed.), *English
Historical Documents*, vol 5, pp. 669-76, quoting from p. 670.
- 5 D. Loades, *Revolution in Religion. The English Reformation 1530-1570*, ch. 1;
p. 4.
- 6 M. Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation in the Diocese of Lincoln under John
Longland 1521-1547*.
- 7 Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, was published in the following year; C.
Harper-Bill, *Pre-Reformation Church*, ch. 5, summarises later research up to
1989; Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 41-2.
- 8 Staffordshire County Council, *Record Office*, pp. 2-6, 14. The sixteenth century
gaps are Oct. 1526-July 1527, 1535-43, 1550-57.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 17-18.
- 10 Bates, thesis, 'Episcopate of William Bothe', pp. 55-6; R.L. Storey, 'Recruitment
of Conciliar Clergy in the Period of the Conciliar Movement', *Annuario
Historiae Conciliorum*, vol. 7 (1977), examined the ordination register of Robert
Stretton (1360-1385) and concluded that the number coming forward to be
professed was roughly twice that from within the diocese of Exeter, which had a
population of comparable size. Recruitment rose rapidly to an annual average
peak of 142 in 1374 but was followed by a steady and substantial fall to 63.
- 11 Stretch, thesis, 'Bishop John Hales', p. 118.
- 12 C. Haigh, 'Anti-clericalism and the English Reformation', in Haigh, *English
Reformation Revised*, pp. 70-1; LJRO B/A/1/14ii, Register of Bishop Blythe.
- 13 Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, p. 173.
- 14 Only 13% received an income above £20. Harper-Bill, *Pre-Reformation Church*,
pp. 44-5 suggests that the generality of the clergy 'were not wallowing in luxury,
but rather were struggling to make ends meet'.
- 15 W.T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter 1540-1640*, p. 178.
- 16 See above, p. 15, Table 1c. The collegiate foundation is excluded.
- 17 R.N. Swanson, 'Standards of Livings. Parochial Revenues in Pre-Reformation
England', in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers
in Late Medieval England*, pp. 177-9.
- 18 LJRO, B/C/11, William Campyon, Breadsall 1533.
- 19 LJRO, B/C/11, Henry Proctor, Pentrich 1539; Thomas Proctor, Pentrich 1534;
Emma Proctor, Pentrich 1536.
- 20 *Ibid.*, William Potter, Spondon 1534.
- 21 *Ibid.*, Nicholas Stokesley, Duffield 1538/9.
- 22 The foundation deed and ordinances are translated in P. Riden and J. Blair (eds.),
*History of Chesterfield vol. 5. Records of the Borough of Chesterfield and
Related Documents 1204-1835*, pp. 183-7.
- 23 PRO, E301/13/64; A. Saltman (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Wakebridge
Chantries at Crich*, no. 140, p. 178.
- 24 LJRO B/C/11, William Harryson, Spondon (Chaddesden) 1538.
- 25 C.A.M. Johnson, 'The Reformation Clergy of Derbyshire 1536-1559', *DAJ*, vol.
100, pp. 60-1 gives other archdeaconry examples: Richard Asshe of Beighton, £4

- 10s. 0d. (1541), Christopher Rodes of Pinxton, £26 0s. 10d (1544) and Robert Townrow of Kirk Ireton, £35 17s 0d. (1544); but see LJRO B/C/11, Robert Townrow, Kirk Ireton 1544. The greater part of this inventory comprises a long list of debts owing and his goods came to only £3 10s. 8d; Riden and Blair, *History of Chesterfield* vol. 5, pp. 104-5.
- 26 Johnson, 'Reformation Clergy', p. 109.
- 27 J.F. Fuggles, 'The Parish Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Leicester, 1520-1540', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 46, pp. 25-39.
- 28 R. Clark, 'The Regular Clergy of Derbyshire and the Dissolution of the Monasteries', *DAJ*, vol. 109, p. 143.
- 29 C. Cross, 'Priests into Ministers. The Establishment of Protestant Practice in the City of York 1530-1630', in P.N. Brooks (ed.), *Reformation Principle and Practice. Essays in Honour of A.G. Dickens*, pp. 203-226.
- 30 BL, Harleian Mss. 594, LJRO B/A/1/14/i-iii.
- 31 Bailey, *Thomas Becon*, p. 50.
- 32 Cross, 'Priests into Ministers', pp. 207-8; LJRO B/A/1/14i.
- 33 LJRO, B/A/1/14i, ff. 39, 40. Michael Sutton B.A. (1517-1520) at Aston succeeded by Thomas Pyrton B.A. (1520-c.1547); f. 42. William Coliar M.A. (1528-1551) at Derby St. Peter; R.E.G. Cole (ed.), *Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary of Lincoln, AD 1520-1536*, Lincoln Record Society, vol. 1, (1520-1536), p. 98. Subdean Robert Johnson (known 1527-28 and not in Harleian Mss. 594, clerical subsidy 1533) at Derby All Saints, is described in 1528 as 'batchelor of decrees'.
- 34 S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 58, 61-2; Fuggles, 'Archdeaconry of Leicester', p. 26; Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, pp. 81-2. He argues that the number of graduates 'formed a statistically significant proportion' of the parish clergy, quoting a range of statistics, e.g. 1 in 10 in Surrey, 1 in 6 in Norwich but admitting that 1531 tax returns for the archdeaconries of Richmond and Stafford fail to mention any graduate.
- 35 PRO, PCC, Richard Strenger 1510, 35 Bennet. William Stringer is mentioned as a priest in the will of LJRO, B/C/10, Thomas Byrde.
- 36 See Johnson, 'Reformation Clergy', pp. 60-1; I. Luxton, 'The Reformation and Popular Culture', in F. Heal and R. O'Day (eds.), *Church and Society in England, Henry VIII to James I*, p. 63. A recent study of 430 non-cathedral clergy wills from the West Midlands and Welsh Borders, 1490-1558, yielded 31% of book ownership; Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, estimated 25% for the Norwich diocese.
- 37 LJRO, B/C/11, Richard Ryley, Swarkestone 1539; LJRO B/A/1/14i, f. 40v.
- 38 Joannes de Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi Omnibus Presbyteris Precipue Anglicanis Summe Necessaria*, London 1510; LJRO, B/C/11, Robert Townrow, Kirk Ireton 1544.
- 39 R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People. Popular Religion and the English Reformation*. This study of south west England has drawn upon churchwardens' accounts from 30 parishes; R. Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformation', in Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, p. 115, states that, of 198 surviving church wardens' accounts, only a 13th represent England north of the Trent between 1535 and 1570.

- 40 DRO, D3372/91/1, f. 2. These were two mass books, a 'gospelar' and eight antiphons, two manuals, four 'processionars', one collect, three 'greles' and two ordinals.
- 41 *Ibid.*, f. 8v.
- 42 These are: 'summa summarum' and 'Summa Raumundi', possibly early sixteenth century Dominican works, a copy of 'pupilla oculi', a 'Sexte' and 'Hugucyon'; G. Ryan (trans.) and H. Ripperger, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, Foreward, v-vii. The *Legenda Sanctorum* was published in Strassburg, 1296 and translated into English about 1450.
- 43 PRO, PCC, John Stringer 1518, 10 Ayloff.
- 44 Luxton, 'Reformation and Popular Culture', p. 64.
- 45 Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p. 22.
- 46 F. Jourdain (Rev.), 'The Chauntries founded in the Parish Church of Ashbourne Co. Derby', *DAJ*, vol. 14, pp. 154-5. The institution of Thomas Russell as priest in 1516.
- 47 H.E. Allen (ed.), *English Writings of Richard Rolle Hermit of Rampole*, pp. 379-81; *DNB*, vol. 49, pp. 164-7; vol. 56, p. 175; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 66-7 on the Pater Noster gild play.
- 48 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 63, refers to the accessibility of writers such as Rolle.
- 49 PRO, PCC, John Stringer; PRO, PCC, Thomas Rage 1506, 16 Adeane; DRO, Liversage Charity, 1955F/T3, will of Robert Liversage, 1529.
- 50 Riden and Blair, *History of Chesterfield* vol. 5, p. 186.
- 51 LJRO, B/C/11, Henry Proctor, Pentrich 1539.
- 52 DRO, D3372/91/1, ff. 19-22.
- 53 W.H. St. John Hope, 'On a Wooden Effigy and Tomb of a Secular Canon in the Church of All Saints, Derby', *DAJ*, vol. 8, pp. 185-9, with Plates XVI and XVII. Cox and St. John Hope, *Chronicles*, pp. 124-6. It was first recorded by Bassano in 1710 but damaged in the destruction of the nave and chancel in 1723.
- 54 e.g. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 68 observes a great desire for reform amongst the laity of London.
- 55 W.G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder. The England of Henry VIII 1500-1547*, pp. 158-9; J. Leonard, *Derbyshire Parish Churches*, p. 10.
- 56 Cox, vol. 3, pp. 217, 59, 175, 255, 134-5; Local guides, such as T.L. Tudor, *New Light on Duffield Church and its Ancient Parish*, ch. 3, have also been consulted.
- 57 Cox, vol. 3, pp. 7, 196; vol. 4, p. 199. The Blounts' main Derbyshire residence was at Barton Blount. Walter Blount owned 20 manors in Derbyshire.
- 58 DRO, D3372/91/1, f.14v.
- 59 C. Burgess and B. Kumin, 'Penetential Bequests and Parish Regimes in Late Medieval England', *JEH*, vol. 44, pp. 612-3.
- 60 LJRO, B/C/10, p. 66, William Faryngton, Derby (All Saints) 1521; B/C/11, John Dowman, Derby (All Saints) 1535.
- 61 DRO, D3372/91/1, ff. 16-16v.
- 62 PRO, PCC, Richard Strenger; Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, pp. 13-14, instances Derby All Saints amongst a selected list of national examples; see also C. Richmond, 'The English Gentry and Religion, c. 1500', in Harper-Bill, *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers*, pp. 132-4.

- ⁶³ DRO, D3372/91/1, ff. 15v-16, 18-18v. The building accounts are prefaced with an entry made in 1698 which states 'All St. Steeple built'; S.O. Addy, 'Wills at Somerset House relating to Derbyshire', *DAJ*, vol. 45, pp. 52-5, John Byrd, Derby 1511; pp. 58-60, Roger Basford, London and Ashbourne 1518.
- ⁶⁴ LJRO, B/C/11, Edmund Smyth, Barrow 1534; DRO, D3372/91/1, f. 24.
- ⁶⁵ Cole, *Chapter Acts*, p. 100. This visitation was inspired by the death of Dean John Constable in 1528 which spurred the chapter to take advantage of the vacancy and dispatch Henry Litherland, the auditor of causes, to 'correct canonically, punish and reform the clergy and people of the said church'; Bowker, *Secular Clergy*, pp. 127-9 discusses the meaning of 'ruinous'.
- ⁶⁶ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 151-2.
- ⁶⁷ A. Vallance, 'Roods, Screens, and Lofts in Derbyshire Churches', in J.C. Cox (ed.), *Memorials of Old Derbyshire*, pp. 200-80. See also Leonard, *Derbyshire Parish Churches*, pp. 56, 71, for recent photographs of screens at Crich and Kirk Langley. A screen survives at Chaddesden. At Breadsall, Sandiacre, Spondon, Wilne, Belper and Denby, screens were still in place in the early nineteenth century.
- ⁶⁸ S. Fox, (Rev.), *The History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of S. Matthew Morley*, p. 4, plates xiii, iv. These are Sir John and Cecily (c.1464), Sir Thomas, and Joana and her husband John Sacheverell; see also Cox, vol. 4, pp. 328-31.
- ⁶⁹ Cox, vol. 3, p. 179, Kedleston; p. 166, Etwall; see also vol. 2, pp. 116-7, Taddington; p. 556, Wirksworth. Amongst various Blackwall monuments with latin invocations, an inscription of 1525 asked, 'Of yo charite pray for the soule of Thomas Blackwall'; Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p. 60, quotes similar invocations inscribed on bells and stained glass windows.
- ⁷⁰ e.g. Bothes of Sawley, Curzons of Kedleston and Poles of Radbourne.
- ⁷¹ N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Derbyshire*, p. 251, illus. p. 25; S.A. Jeavons, 'The Church Monuments of Derbyshire', *DAJ*, vol. 84, pp. 52-7.
- ⁷² Jeavons, 'Church Monuments', p. 71.
- ⁷³ Richmond, 'English Gentry and Religion'.
- ⁷⁴ Baker, *Notebook of Sir John Port*, Intro., xlv.
- ⁷⁵ eg L. Higgs, 'Wills and Religious Mentality in Tudor Colchester', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, vol. 22, p. 88, Table 1, provides useful comparative material; Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, App. 2: Graph 1. This global analysis of 398 PCC wills for the diocese of Exeter is less useful for this early period as only 30 span the years 1520-29, or 3 per year for the entire diocese.
- ⁷⁶ Addy, 'Wills at Somerset House', pp. 56-8.
- ⁷⁷ As for example J.D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *JEH*, vol. 40, pp. 19-27; C. Cross, 'The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull 1520-1640. The Evidence from Wills', *Northern History*, vol. 18, pp. 230-8; C.J. Litzenberger, 'Responses of the Laity to Changes in Official Religious Policy in Gloucestershire 1542-1580', (University of Cambridge, D. Phil.); Higgs, 'Tudor Colchester', pp. 87-100; M.D. Lucas, 'The Methodology of Will Analysis in Determining the Religious Opinions of the City of Lincoln at the Time of the Reformation', *East Midland Historian*, vols. 1/2, pp. 15-22; M.L. Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 50, no. 122, pp. 246-9.

78 J. Craig and C. Litzenberger, 'Wills as Religious Propaganda. The Testament of
William Tracy', *JEH*, vol. 44 (1993).

79 LJRO, B/C/10, p. 8, Humphrey Godhyne, Radbourne 1516.

80 For example PRO, PCC, William Marlech 1499, 34 Horne, requests burial in St.
Katherine's choir, Derby All Saints, and makes a donation of 20s. to the parish
poor. However the majority of the will deals in matters external to the parish.

81 Bernard, *Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 50.

82 PRO, PCC, George Talbot 1538, 13 Crumwell.

83 LPL, Ms 695 f. 81. Letter from Robert Swyft dated 4 July 31 stating that he had
given the images sent by the Earl into the keeping of Roland Shackerley.

84 LJRO, B/C/10, p. 56, Thomas Byrde, Spondon 1524; p. 22, William Bothe,
Barrow 1520; p. 8, Humphrey Godhyne, Radbourne 1516; B/C/11, Ellis
Badcocke, Langley (Heanor) 1523; William Potter, Aston 1533.

85 PRO, PCC, Dame Alice Lady Mynours 1539, 19 Crumwell.

86 C. Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, p. 39.

87 PRO, PCC, Richard Strenger. He was bailiff in 1494 and 1496; PRO, PCC John
Stringer. 20 August was the date of the family obit.

88 H.E. Currey, 'Two Derby wills of the sixteenth century', *DAJ*, vol. 27, pp. 81-5.
The wills of Joan and William Holme are used here although the originals have
not been found.

89 LJRO, B/C/10, p. 19, Richard Robinson, Derby 1519.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 66, William Farynton, Derby 1521; p. 64, John Farynton, Derby 1526.

91 *Ibid.*, William Widowson, Derby 1516.

92 Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, ch. 2. Derby is referred to on pp. 21-2.

93 PRO, PCC, William Shore 1494, 10 Vox; See also A.F. Sutton, 'William Shore,
Merchant of London and Derby', *DAJ*, vol. 106, pp. 127-39.

94 DRO, D3372/91/1, ff. 19-22. Shore's bequests, a silver gilt chalice, a set of black
vestments and a 'spruce cofer', are all attributed to St. Nicholas chantry altar,
Shore being named as founder and Sir Robert Wilkinson as Shore priest.

95 Burgess, 'A fond thing vainly invented', pp. 57-8, discusses motivation.

96 DRO, Liversage Charity, 1955F/T2-3. The deed was indented on 2 Aug. 1529
and the will dated 3 Nov. 1529. LJRO B/C/11, Robert Leversage, Derby 1529,
contains only an inventory; R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval
England*, pp. 62-83. The mass of the Name of Jesus was celebrated in Worcester
in the mid fourteenth century. In 1468 a chantry to Jesus and St. Anne was
established in Lichfield cathedral, the mass to be sung every Friday.

97 PRO, PCC, Thomas Rage 1506, 16 Adeane; Currey, 'Two Derby wills', pp. 82-4.

98 Addy, 'Wills at Somerset House', pp. 53-4, John Byrd.

99 LJRO, B/C/11, Agnes Knytche, Derby (St. Peter) 1537, will dated 14 March
1518/19.

100 Jeayes, no. 999, p. 123.

101 LJRO, B/C/11, Edmund Smyth, Barrow 1534; Philip Pole, Duffield 1534.
Thomas Sacheverel, Duffield 1534.

102 Hutton, 'The Local Impact', p. 115. Only 13 accounts survive for England north
of Trent.

103 DRO, D3372/91/1, ff. 3, 6-8.

104 *Ibid.*; see also N. Mackenzie, 'Boy into Bishop. A Festive Role Reversed',
History Today, vol. 37, pp. 10-16; S. Shalar, 'The Boy Bishop's Feast. A
Case-Study in Church Attitudes towards Children in the High and Late Middle

- Ages', in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood*, Studies in Church History, vol. 31, pp. 243-60.
- 105 DRO, D3372/91/1, f. 6v.
- 106 D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, pp.120-1.
- 107 M. Rubin, 'Corpus Christi. Inventing a Feast', *History Today*, vol. 40, pp. 15-21; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 43-4 et al; D. Marcombe, *English Small Town Life. Retford, 1520-1642*, pp. 216-8.
- 108 DRO, D3372/91/1, f. 17.
- 109 F.R.H. Du Boulay, *An Age of Ambition. English Society in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 148-9.
- 110 LJRO, B/C/11, John Cotton, Breadsall 1534; Thomas Sacheverell, Duffield 1534 (first ref.); John Butler, Spondon 1534 (first ref.).
- 111 DRO, D3372/91/1, f. 11.
- 112 I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogues of the Charters and Muniments in the Possession of Reginald Walkelyne Chandos-Pole Esq., at Radbourne Hall*, no. 346, p. 60; DRO, D3372/91/1.
- 113 Cox, vol. 3, pp. 522-3; p. 999, plate xxii.
- 114 LJRO, B/C/11, Isabel Hyll, Duffield 1545/6; Thomas Jonson, Duffield 1545/6.
- 115 PRO, E301/13 and E301/14. For the gild at Ashbourne see also F. Jurdain, 'The Chauntries founded in the Parish Church of Ashbourne', *DAJ*, vol. 14, pp. 154-5; See also LJRO B/C/10, William Bothe 1520. He made a donation to the rood geld at Repton.
- 116 Vallance, 'Roods, Screens, and Lofts', p. 222 and facing illustration; Cox, vol. 1, pp. 137-8.
- 117 Saltman, *Wakebridge Chantries*, Intro., p. 9; no. 20, p. 56.
- 118 DRO, D3372/91/1, ff. 19-22.
- 119 *Ibid.*
- 120 In this context see R. Clark, 'The Dedications of Medieval Churches in Derbyshire. Their Survival and Change from the Reformation to the Present Day', *DAJ*, vol. 112, pp. 48-61.
- 121 C. Babington (ed.), *Polychronicon Ramulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, vol. 6, p. 291; C.A. Raleigh Radford, 'The Church of St. Alkmund, Derby', *DAJ*, vol. 96, p. 60.
- 122 Radford, 'Church of St. Alkmund', pp. 45-6 and plates 2, 4 and 5.
- 123 See for example C. Haigh and D. Loades, 'The Fortunes of the Shrine of St Mary of Caversham', *Oxoniensia*, vol. 46, pp. 62-72. This shrine was totally destroyed but there is documentary evidence of its existence.
- 124 A. Butler (Rev.), *The Lives of the Saints*, vol. 2, pp. 51-3; LJRO B/C/11, Philip Pole, 1536/7; John Robenson, 1545; Thomas Burouse, 1545, all of Duffield; On 'patrons' see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 161-3 and D. Webb, 'Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy', *History Today*, vol. 43 (July 1993).
- 125 LJRO, B/C/10, Humphrey Godhyne; Luxton, 'The Reformation and Popular Culture', p. 62. Luxton does not give references.
- 126 Cox, vol. 4, pp. 138-9.
- 127 Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, p. 22 states that 7 marks was the legal minimum for a chaplaincy.
- 128 M. Fryar, *Some Chapters in the History of Denby*, pp. 7-8 provides a transcription.

- 129 Cole, *Chapter Acts* I, pp. 100-101; referred to in J.A.F. Thompson, *The Early Tudor Church and Society, 1485-1529*, p. 312.
- 130 PRO, DL3/11/B1; DL3/11/B3. Thompson, *Early Tudor Church*, p. 312 gives other examples of complaint at irregular hours.
- 131 LJRO, B/C/10, p. 30, John Berysford gent., Bradley 1520.
- 132 Baker, *Notebook of Sir John Port*, Intro., xlvii.
- 133 Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, p. 152. Sample years: 1472 (8), 1475 (4), 1525 (10), 1530 (4).
- 134 G.R. Elton, 'Tithe and Trouble. An Anti-clerical Story', in *Star Chamber Stories*, pp. 174-220.
- 135 LJRO, B/C/10, John Berysford; p. 43, Roger Hurt, Ashbourne 1523.
- 136 J.C. Ward, 'The Reformation in Colchester 1528-1558', *Essex Archaeology and History Society*, vol. 15, p. 88; LJRO B/C/11, John Rolston, Aston 1536. John Banton, Aston 1538. Thomas Harwode, Derby (St. Werburgh) 1538. Agnes Peyll, Spondon 1534.
- 137 Staffordshire County Council, *Record Office*, p. 15, under B/C/5, Cause Papers.
- 138 DNB, vol. 5, pp. 259-60; 239-40; J.K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, p. 60; J.S. Block, *Factional Politics and the English Reformation 1520-1540*, pp. 31-2. Charles Mountjoy would later act as protector to Carthusian Richard Whitford of Syon.
- 139 PRO, PCC, Thomas Babington, 18 Ayloffe, 1518,. Transcribed in W.H. Hurt, 'The Will of Thomas Babington of Dethic, Derbys', *DAJ*, vol. 19, pp. 80-93.
- 140 PRO, PCC, Anthony Babington, 39 Hogen.
- 141 D. Wilson, *A Tudor Tapestry. Men, Women & Society in Reformation England*, pp. 89-90, et al.
- 142 Zouch inherited his seat at Codnor in 1529 while a gentleman pensioner at court.
- 143 J.G. Nichols (ed.), 'Narratives of the Days of the Reformation', *Camden Society*, vol. 77, pp. 52-7.
- 144 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4, footnote b.
- 145 J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials relating chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it*, vol. 1, pp. 171-2; recently discussed in E. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, pp. 65-6, 97-8, 16; R.M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, pp. 112-3; Nichols, 'Narratives', pp. 57-9.
- 146 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 156; There are exceptions in the county, as at Ashbourne, Ashover and Chesterfield but ornamentation takes largely geometric or stylistic forms of vine leaves or acanthus. Almost no painting has survived though a painted triptych is known from Ashbourne.
- 147 C. Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead: the Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 105, pp. 183-211.
- 148 Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 33.
- 149 B. Coward, *Social Change and Continuity in Early Modern England*, pp. 13-17. He makes the point that diversity is a keynote, even from one village to the next.
- 150 R. Whiting, 'Abominable Idols. Images and Image-Breaking under Henry VIII', *JEH*, vol. 33, p. 40.
- 151 R. Whiting, 'For the Health of my Soul. Prayers for the Dead in the Tudor South-West', *Southern History*, vol. 5, p. 70.
- 152 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 155.

- ¹⁵³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, pp. 84-91; Addy, 'Wills at Somerset House', pp. 62-3. Thomas Dunne, parson of Eyam and Stockton, 1532. He left 'a ring of gold of the five wounds' to his sister.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-3.
- ¹⁵⁵ J.A.F. Thompson, *The Transformation of Medieval England 1370-1529*, p. 370.
- ¹⁵⁶ Richmond, 'English Gentry and Religion'.
- ¹⁵⁷ Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p. 16. See also K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971).

CHAPTER THREE

The Religious Foundations

Introduction: Overview

Derbyshire was one of the least significant counties in terms of the number of religious foundations. This is illustrated in Table 5 (p. 78 below) which extends a comparative exercise in the density of settlement in Cheshire by 1215, as set against other northern counties, to include Derbyshire.¹ In 1215 there were only seven independent houses in the county, to which number only a Dominican friary would be added.² In contrast to neighbouring Yorkshire, whose monastic profile could be taken as 'a microcosm of the whole nation',³ in Derbyshire there were virtually no fully enclosed orders. Neither Benedictines, Cistercians, nor Carthusians settled in the county while the Cluniacs established only one minor priory, a dependency of Bermondsey. The independent houses were all of the orders of canons regular, five Augustinian and two Premonstratensian.⁴

Map 5 (p. 79 below), which also plots minor dependent houses and hospitals, demonstrates the uneven distribution of the religious houses.⁵ The order of their foundation is set out in Table 6. (p. 78 below). To the north, a Premonstratensian abbey at Beauchief lay on the Yorkshire border and in closest relationship to the Nottinghamshire house of Welbeck, the head of the order in England after 1512. Otherwise, all were situated in the south. Augustinian canons settled first at Calke but later moved to Repton, retaining Calke as a dependency and also establishing a small priory at Gresley. The rest lay within the deanery, a disproportionate number geographically as it extended over only c.20% of the county. Derby town was home to a Dominican friary, the Cluniac cell of Bermondsey, known as St. James, and the Augustinian nunnery of Kingsmead. Within a five mile radius were sited two Augustinian houses, Darley Abbey and Breadsall Priory, and a Premonstratensian abbey at Dale, otherwise called Stanley Park.⁶ A preceptory of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller was sited just outside the deanery at Yeaveley but its attached commandery at Barrow lay within.⁷ A further preceptory of the Order of the Knights of St. Lazarus had been established at Locko in Spondon parish by the house at Burton Lazars, Leicestershire. This had ceased to exist before 1400 but Burton Lazars continued to hold lands there.⁸

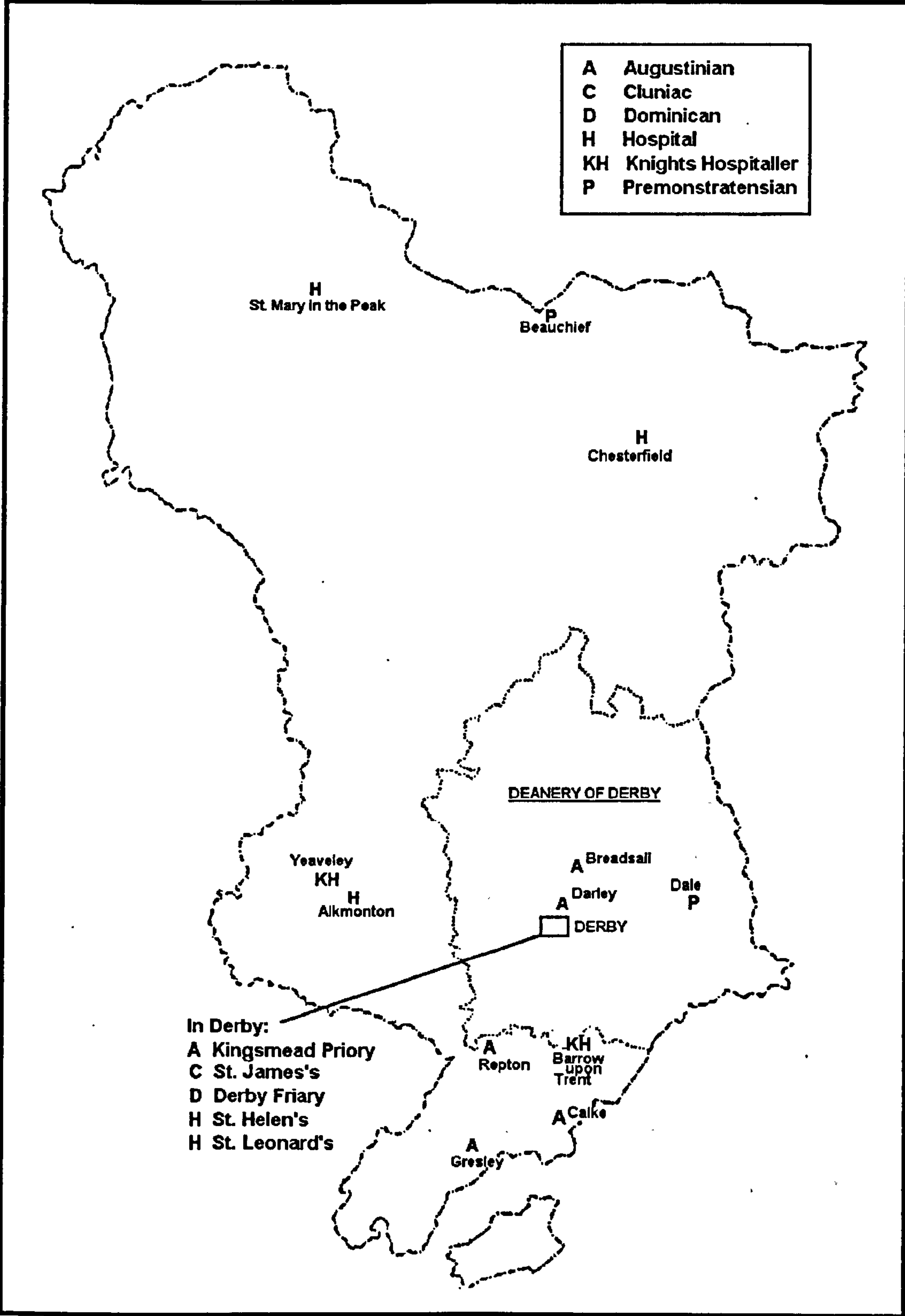
TABLE 5: Density of Religious Houses in 1215 based upon Dawtry

COUNTY	Area in Square Miles	No. of houses	AVERAGE no. of houses per sq. mile
Lancashire	1875	9	1 in 208
Derbyshire	988	7	1 in 141
Cheshire	1032	7	1 in 114
Shropshire	1347	12	1 in 112
<u>Yorkshire:</u>	[6899]	[58]	[1 in 109]
East Riding	1172	11	1 in 106
North Riding	2128	26	1 in 82
West Riding	2789	21	1 in 133
Staffordshire	1153	15	1 in 77

TABLE 6: Derbyshire's Religious Houses in 1535, in Order of Foundation

HOUSE	Foundation	Order	Dependancy	Dedication
Calke	by 1100	Augustinian	Repton	St. Giles
Repton	1153 - 1172	Augustinian		Holy Trinity
Darley	1154 -1160	Augustinian		St. Mary
Kingsmead	by 1160	Augustinian		St. Mary de Pratis
Beauchief	c.1175	Premonstratensian		St. Mary / St. Thomas
Dale	1195 -1204	Premonstratensian		St. Mary
Gresley	1100 -1135	Augustinian		St. George
Breadsall	by 1266	Augustinian		Holy Trinity
Yeaveley	1189 - 1199	Knights of St. John	Yeaveley	St. John
Barrow	by 1433	Knights of St. John		St. John
St. James	c. 1140	Cluniac		St. James
Friary	1224 -1238	Dominican		Annunciation of Our Lady

Map 5: Religious Houses of Derbyshire



Derbyshire's religious houses had very limited endowment, ranking only 36th out of 39 counties in comparative wealth, a position which is only partially accounted for by differentiation in county acreages.⁹ Their incomes, chiefly as recorded in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, are described in Table 7 while Graph 1 illustrates the county's inferior position in comparison to its neighbours. (p. 81 below) No Derbyshire house had substantial wealth, only Darley receiving an annual net income in excess of £200. In Staffordshire, the Benedictine house of Burton had almost double the endowment of Darley and two others were comparable in wealth.¹⁰ In Nottinghamshire, seven of its 13 independent houses had an estimated annual income in excess of £200.¹¹

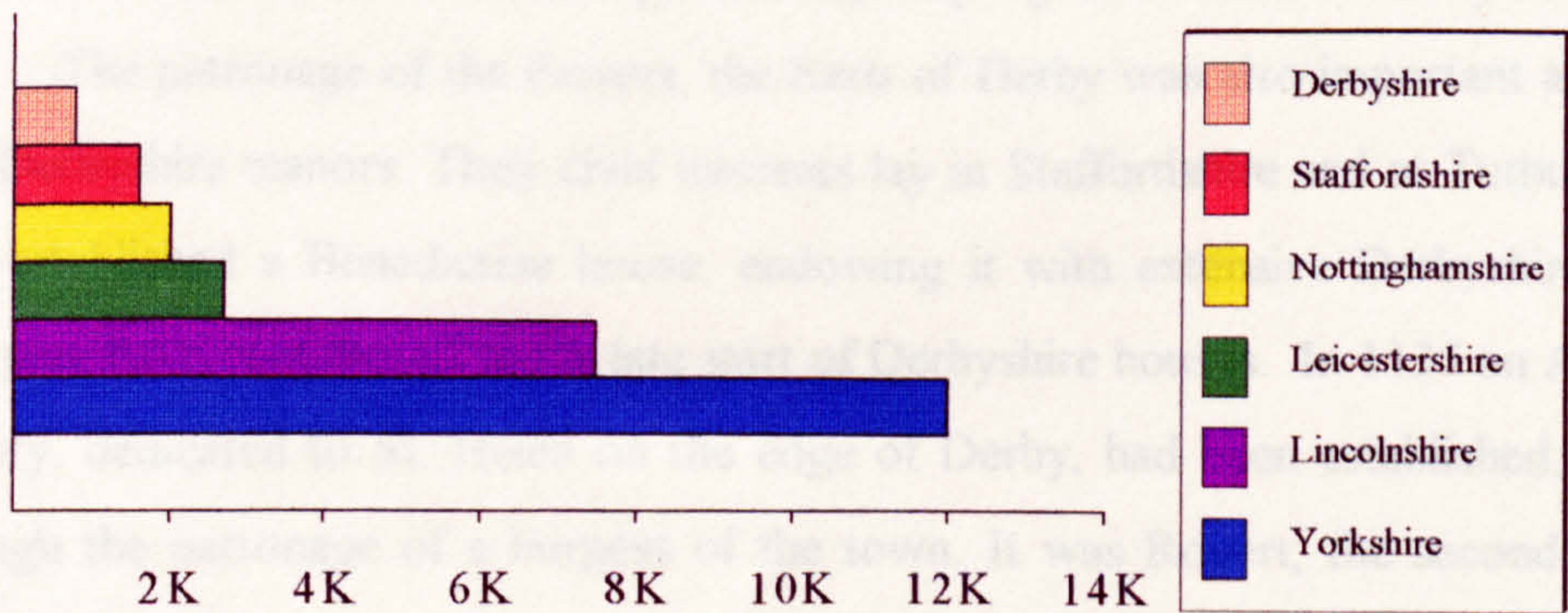
Limited endowment determined the small number of religious inmates. Clark suggests that there were over 80 'regulars' in the county before 1535, a calculation that is convincingly argued, though the arithmetic includes seven Dominican friars.¹² The customary number of resident friars is open to question. Although only six names appear on the dissolution certificate it has been postulated, though on slight evidence, that 30 were normally resident and that there was a general exodus from the country between 1535 and 1538.¹³

Why so few religious orders colonised Derbyshire is not easily answered. Terrain and physical geography are obvious, but not altogether convincing, reasons. High Peak moorlands and large afforested areas, such as the Duffield frith, precluded some areas for settlement but there are river valleys and rolling countryside which would seem almost ideal. Monastic granges from external houses, such as that established by the Cistercians of Garendon Abbey (Leicestershire) at Roystone in the thirteenth century, became a common feature of the settlement pattern.¹⁴ The county's central position might have contributed, the expansion of fully enclosed orders losing its impetus, or being limited by state policy, before reaching Derbyshire.¹⁵ However, there had been an early Saxon foundation at Repton, destroyed by Vikings in 874, while Burton, settled by the Benedictines in 1004, lay close to the Derbyshire boundary and had extensive landholdings in southern Derbyshire.¹⁶ There is no obvious geographical reason to preclude early monastic settlement in Derbyshire.

TABLE 7: Derbyshire's Religious Houses in 1535.¹⁷

HOUSE	Ord.	No.	Temporalities	Spiritualities	Gross Value in £	Net Value in £
Darley	Aug	15	102. 16. 8	182. 13. 3½	285. 9. 11½	258. 13. 8
Dale	Pre	18	130. 4. 2	51. 19.10	182. 4. 0	144. 12. 0
Beauchief	Pre	13	42. 8. 5	115. 1. 9	157. 10. 2	126. 3. 3
Repton	Aug	13	73. 9. 11½	94. 8. 3	167. 18. 2½	118. 8. 0
Gresley	Aug	5	26. 15. 4	12. 18. 4	39. 13. 8	31. 6. 0
Kingsmead	Aug	7	19. 18. 8	2. 0. 0	21. 18. 8	18. 6. 2
Breadsall	Aug	1	7. 15. 0	5. 6. 8	13. 1. 8	10. 17. 9
SUBTOTAL			423. 8. 2½	464. 8. 1½	867. 16. 4	708. 6. 10
Yeaveley	KtH	2	107. 3. 8		107. 3. 8	93. 3. 4½
St. James	Cl	2	not given	rental est.	11. 15. 11	10. 0. 0
Friary	Dom	7?	not given	notional	5. 0. 0	5. 0. 0
TOTAL		73			991. 15. 11	816 10. 2½

Graph 1: Comparison of Net Annual Income of Religious Houses by County based upon Savine.¹⁸



Lack of royal patronage was probably a major determinant. Dawtry suggests this as an important limiting factor in Cheshire, arguing that while monastic settlement in Yorkshire was encouraged by the Crown as an aid to pacification and co-operation, this did not happen in Cheshire, perhaps because there were less pressing political problems.¹⁹ Without royal example, few of the Norman nobility were motivated to establish and endow houses. In Cheshire, they looked to the Earls of Chester, made extraordinarily powerful as governors of a virtually autonomous region, to set an example. This was not always forthcoming. As a whole the Earls were disinterested, even hostile on occasion, and not over generous benefactors.

In Derbyshire, royal patronage was limited to support for the Royal Free Chapel of Derby All Saints and occasional small gifts, such as the donation of the church of St. James in Derby to Bermondsey Abbey in 1140, which the abbey converted into a dependent priory.²⁰ In the immediate post Conquest years, Cheshire and Derbyshire also had the arguably 'disinterested' Earls of Chester in common as they held considerable estates in the south west of the county. Here Earl Richard (1101-1120) founded an Augustinian cell at Calke sometimes after 1115. This was the first post Conquest monastic establishment in Derbyshire and later than the first settlements in Cheshire and Lancashire. Colvin, author of a number of articles on Derbyshire religious houses in the 1940s, is more generous than Dawtry in his assessment of the Earls of Chester, arguing that they only obtained a royal grant of the land on which Calke was founded in 1101 and had already donated other estates in Derbyshire to the Abbey of Chester.²¹ He suggested that the establishment of Calke marked a preferential shift in patronage by Earl Richard from the Benedictines to canons regular, following a general trend in Henry I's reign.²²

The patronage of the Ferrers, the Earls of Derby was also important as they held 114 Derbyshire manors. Their chief interests lay in Staffordshire and at Tutbury the first Earl established a Benedictine house, endowing it with extensive Derbyshire estates.²³ This may have contributed to the late start of Derbyshire houses. In 1135 an Augustinian oratory, dedicated to St. Helen on the edge of Derby, had been established, seemingly through the patronage of a burgess of the town. It was Robert, the second Earl, who translated the canons from the oratory to Darley (c.1154) with a sufficient endowment of lands for the establishment of a fully fledged religious house.²⁴ The house's foundation was also part of a general Augustinian expansion with the establishment of at least 30

new houses, including Kingsmead nunnery and Repton Priory. These foundations were part of a general growth in support for religious orders which Knowles' attributed to 'a great renaissance of spiritual life and ecclesiastical discipline in north-western Europe'.²⁵

Another reason for the late start may be found in the suggestion of the editor of *Rufford Abbey Charters* that the eastward expansion of this Nottinghamshire house was restricted by the reluctance of potential patrons to donate productive lands in the Trent valley as so much else was afforested or poor soil.²⁶ A similar argument has been recently put forward to explain the distribution of Leicestershire's religious houses. Patrons had to balance the needs of founding a community with the management of their estates.²⁷ Failures in patronage were undoubtedly a causal factor in delaying the foundation of Dale Abbey. Three times in the eleventh century attempts to settle a community were aborted and Dale was established by Premonstratensians from Newhouse in 1204, only after more beneficent endowments had been procured.²⁸

In Lancashire, the late development of monastic settlement is seen to have been due to a combination of factors: disorder and feuding, the semi-independence of the Earls of Derby and the poverty of the region.²⁹ In Derbyshire, terrain, geography and disinterest from royal or noble patrons helped to effect a similar late start, together with early alienation of suitable estates to support houses outside the county, notably Burton, Tutbury and Chester. The late beginning coincided with a new fashion for orders of a canonical character. The latter may have arisen less out of a 'spiritual renaissance', than from a pragmatic decision by the Crown to utilise the monastic ideal as a missionary tool, as an aid to pacification and control.³⁰ Whether or not this was so, it is a fact that in Derbyshire almost all religious houses, Augustinian, Premonstratensian and Dominican, followed the Augustinian rule, combining the contemplative life with a pastoral mission.

Part One: Good order within ?

Serious accusations were levelled by some sixteenth century observers against the religious orders. In 1509 Erasmus wrote scathingly that monks,

believe it's the highest form of piety to be so uneducated that they can't even read. Then when they bray like donkeys in church, repeating by rote the psalms they haven't understood, they imagine they are charming the ears of their heavenly audience with infinite delight.³¹

This was a view shared by Thomas Becon who wrote of

the popish prattling of monstrous monks and the mumbling masses of these lazy soul-carriers.³²

To ignorance and indolence were added charges of the breaking of solemn vows, immorality, cupidity, and even downright wickedness. In 1521 Bishop Richard Fox wrote to Wolsey that the monks in his Winchester diocese were 'so depraved, so licentious and corrupt' that he despaired of any reformation.³³ Wolsey himself drew up a new set of constitutions for the use of the Augustinian Order in 1519, based upon the Benedictine constitutions of 1336, though there is no evidence that they were ever implemented.³⁴

The chief sources on clerical behaviour are visitation reports. Religious orders fell in some cases within, sometimes outside, episcopal jurisdiction and of the 69 religious houses within the diocese 36 were exempt.³⁵ The Augustinian order was not exempt and there were episcopal rights of visitation over their 19 houses. Under Blythe, all but one of the deanery houses were visited between 1518 and 1524 and surviving records contain *detecta*, edited from interviews with the brethren, with some *comperta* and episcopal injunctions.³⁶ The Premonstratensians were exempt and appointed visitors from within the Order. There are records of Bishop Redman's visitations for Dale and Beauchief between 1475 and 1497, though these contain only *comperta* and injunctions.³⁷ It is unfortunate that Redman's full and personal records are so early in date for he was himself a canon and head of the house of Shap. Knowles describes him as an assiduous Visitor who knew intimately the ideals and aims of the order.³⁸

A third source is the very cursory royal commission reports within the *Compendium Compertorum* of 1535. All sources present problems of partiality and none more so than the *Comperta*. The reports of royal commissioners Layton and Legh reflect the speed of their passage through Derbyshire and their prime interest in tales of sexual immorality.³⁹ The total entry for Dale reads:

Incontinence. John Stanton, Abbot, with one single and one married woman.
William Brampton with five married women.

The prior of St. James was also accused of incontinence and four canons of Repton of 'sodomites per voluntarias pollutiones'. No unbiased proofs survive on the conduct of the prior of St. James but the charges against Dale can be tested against Redman's visitation accounts. In 1494 it was recorded that the young John Stanton was sent away from his house after fathering a child.⁴⁰ The abbot therefore had a 'past' but it seems inconceivable that he would have been elevated to abbot had he not only repented and atoned but also reformed his conduct. The name of Brampton appears nowhere and cannot be confidently ascribed to any canon, though Clark postulates a William Beduston alias Smith as a possibility.⁴¹ At Repton the accused can be identified from Blythe's visitation register. The charge of sodomy was an easy one to level at a uni-sex house and is open to alternative interpretation as acts of homosexuality or a 'solitary sin'.⁴² In this case the former may have been the case as only one of the canons named was still in residence at the time of dissolution.⁴³ Kingsmead and Gresley both escaped any censure although Blythe's register records a charge of sexual misconduct against the prior of Gresley in 1524.⁴⁴ Suspicion had been cast against one brother during Blythe's visitations of Darley but the abbey was not visited in 1535.⁴⁵ Though Clark, in a recent study of Derbyshire's religious clergy, suggests that the information came from the canons themselves, out of the burden of conscience and the willingness of religious to confess their own shortcomings, there are other elements which suggest that local gossip may have pointed the commissioners towards certain houses or even loaded their reports.⁴⁶ If this is the totality of immoral conduct that Legh and Layton could amass then the Derbyshire houses were in reasonable order but too much credence cannot be given to their findings as they were partial.

The vow of chastity was a core requirement but obedience and silence were also essential elements of the claustral life. Although charges of disorder were occasionally levelled against individuals, only in an early visit to Beauchief did Redman face multiple disobedience.⁴⁷ Blythe's visitors reported no problems of general disobedience but in 1518, following the appointment of Abbot Wyndley, the 'opus dei' at Darley was not satisfactorily maintained and silence was not well observed. The brethren blamed the prior and sub prior, with many complaints about the disturbance caused by large numbers of boys: more boys than canons were said to be in the monastery. The prior transferred

the blame onto corrodians and dogs from which it can be inferred that the atmosphere was not conducive to contemplation. This was an on-going problem.⁴⁸ Disturbance caused by dogs was not uncommon. Redman levelled a similar complaint against Dale in 1491, ordering the canons to remove pet dogs and puppies.⁴⁹ At Leicester Abbey the presence of too many hounds was blamed upon its lay servants, while a visitation in 1526 of the 'slovenly' house of Keynsham in Somerset reported a pack of hounds 'making free with the stalls of the canons as with their kennel'.⁵⁰

In 1521 the 'opus dei' at Darley was satisfactory but the custom of a day of release from the abbey, quite common in itself, was being used for unlawful consort with lay people in neighbouring towns and villages. By 1524, Thomas Grevys, otherwise Rag, had replaced Wyndley as abbot. Attendance at divine office was now praised. Rag blamed faults such as failure to maintain silence, on the impotence of the prior, a charge supported by the brethren, but problems caused by corrodians and dogs continued. Several brethren alleged that a canon had made a set of keys, acquiring the facility to slip in and out at will.⁵¹ Rag was abbot until the dissolution of the house and the appointment of a new prior allows for an optimistic assessment that the standards at Darley improved.

The vow of poverty was originally an essential requirement but by 1450, and possibly earlier, the Augustinians had modified their Rule to allow the introduction of 'salaries'. When a dispute over salaries and entitlement to plots in the conventual garden between the prior and canons of the Augustinian priory of Stone was brought to the bishop, the heads of four Augustinian houses, including Darley, were deputed to hold an inquest. Their solution, accepted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was to frame a set of statutes which retained a wage system, each canon to receive an annual salary of £1 13s. 4d. 'pro salario habitu vestitura et necessariis suis'. Other major houses such as Darley, Lilleshall and Kenilworth were also to 'accepimus consimili porcione canonici'. That the practice of paying salaries was, or became, commonplace is affirmed from complaints made at Repton in 1518 and again in 1521 that salaries were paid late.⁵² The vow of poverty was likewise not strictly adhered to within the Premonstratensian Order. In 1478 Bishop Redman advised the abbot of Dale to pay the canons' salaries to avoid grievances and during his visitation of Beauchief in 1491 he ordered the canons not to take more than 20s. a year for their own use, warning them of the spiritual dangers of money.⁵³

Whether there was high living is another matter. There were frequent contemporary accusations that abbots in particular ignored the vow of poverty by adopting a high life style. In Blythe's Visitation records there are complaints against the prior of Tutbury's extravagant household but there is no evidence of a profligate life. The most that can be said is that the prior of Repton was accused of using the common seal without reference to his treasurer and cellerar in 1518.⁵⁴ On the other hand there were occasional complaints from brethren of deficiencies in the standard of food and indications that the houses were often in debt.⁵⁵

Episcopal visitation records for Lincoln, Norwich and Winchester reveal much monastic ignorance and there is no reason to suppose that the canons of Derbyshire were very different.⁵⁶ The training of novices was an essential preliminary to a sound monastic life but the Visitation of Darley in 1521 recorded that nothing was paid for the instruction of its four novices. In 1524 the same novices were called 'insolenter' and charged, 'novicii non religiose', the blame being placed upon the prior.⁵⁷ At Gresley, in 1524, brother John Okeley reported that worship was defective because of lack of instruction.⁵⁸ There was no obligation upon the canonical orders to send brethren to a university and there is no evidence that any Derbyshire house did so.⁵⁹ A study of names in university records has unearthed only Laurence Sponer, the last prior of Derby friary, who spent a year at Cambridge in 1534-5.⁶⁰ However, signatures on dissolution deeds of surrender do show basic skills in writing. At Darley the standard of penmanship was superior to that at Dale, while the handwriting of the friars was poor.⁶¹ All the Darley brethren could pen their names in a clear script and the will of canon William Sowter, written in his own hand in 1541, shows good organisational skills on paper.⁶²

On the basis of the evidence it would be unsound to reach a definitive verdict on the conditions which pertained. Judgement too often supposes an absolute standard of behaviour but by 1500 there was considerable diversity within the monastic world. Each Order needs to be judged against its own ideals and within the context of the expectation of the times. Redman was most concerned that the Premonstratensians maintain the 'opus dei' in a fitting manner and his admonitions could be seen as exhortations rather than reprimands. At Dale the canons were told not to rush the services and to show more devotion, while at Beauchief they were to sing the psalms more exultantly. He believed that spirituality should be expressed in the fabric of the house and encouraged a

programme of beautification. Knowles' view of the Premonstratensians, based upon his interpretation of Redman's' visitation accounts, is that, as a whole, they were not a decadent body for although conditions in seven houses were unsatisfactory for much of the time, ten of the 29 houses Redman visited, including Beauchief, were found to be entirely and continuously satisfactory.⁶³

Bishop Blythe's background was more practical and the visitations he authorised were perhaps less inspirational, yet the records show an endeavour to establish and maintain good order. Criticisms, some grave, some slight, centred mainly around the failure of individuals to maintain commitment to their religious vows. In the first category might be placed the abbot of Repton's complaint (1518) that only three brethren attended the 'opus dei' regularly and that some missed divine service to visit an ale house with the vicar of Ashbourne.⁶⁴ In the second comes the wayward behaviour of Agnes Vyse, a cause of considerable frustration to the nuns of Kingsmead in 1518.⁶⁵ Otherwise, reports on the nunnery were uniformly good and divine service was continuously well-observed.

Visitation reports suggest that leadership, in such autocratic systems, was a key to a well maintained Rule. Welbeck went into spiritual decline under Abbot Burton, with the canons taking up archery and hunting in Sherwood forest while the abbot frittered away the abbey's income. After Redman deposed Burton the state of the house considerably improved.⁶⁶ There was a similar situation at Dale in 1491, though no wilful disregard of the Rule, when Abbot Stanley grew infirm. Once he retired, the house quickly won back Redman's approbation. There were few reported scandals. During his years as a visitor Redman saw fit to pronounce exile on 23 individuals, chiefly for incontinence, but only two Derbyshire canon suffered this indignity, John Bebe of Dale and Robert Wolfet of Beauchief. Both later found promotion. His reports leave us with a positive image of the Premonstratensian houses, but extend only up to 1500. Blythe's visitations are more usefully based in the sixteenth century and likely to be more critically objective. They paint a picture of a moral state ranging from fair to good. The greatest failings were at Darley and at Gresley in 1524 where the house was in considerable disarray. However, as with all *comperta*, it is difficult to assess the realities, given the propensities of monastic brethren to judge minor faults of behaviour and character as heinous sins.

Clark, who has made the most detailed and well balanced study of the Derbyshire houses so far, tends to share the generally held view of mediocrity, with conditions varying at different times and places from good to scandalous.⁶⁷ This assessment will be fully considered when physical and spiritual aspects of monastic life have been added to the equation but scandalous behaviour only appears in any significant quantity in the reports of Legh and Layton.

Part Two: Physical State

The preamble to the Act of 1536 talked of 'unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living' in religious houses and of religious people who spent, spoiled and wasted resources in sinful ways.⁶⁸ The Derbyshire houses had few resources to squander. The nunnery of Kingsmead was typical of post-Conquest nunneries in the poverty of its endowment.⁶⁹ In 1518, Blythe's visitation recorded an income £26 13s. 4d., greater than in the Valor but a debt of £26 (40 marks), a sum borrowed by prioress Alice Knolles from her uncle, the prior of Calke, to renovate the dilapidated granary. In 1521, the house now additionally supporting a novice, the debt had somehow been halved and by 1524 stood at only 10 marks but in 1535 they again recorded a debt of 20 marks.⁷⁰ The nuns may have been able to pay their way under normal circumstances but their annual income was less than £3 a head.

Even Darley, with an income of roughly £17 a head, and with 'a very good parcel of demesne land round it', had a relatively modest endowment.⁷¹ In 1524, before an episcopal visitor, the abbot of Darley stated that its revenue was £240. In 1535, when it supported up to 15 brethren, including two novices, it was credited with a net income of £258 13s. 5d.⁷² The house had prospered initially, steadily accumulating property. Although scattered, these lands were mostly within southern Derbyshire and over time had been to some extent consolidated through further gifts. The abbey cartulary shows how in the thirteenth century a grant of a mill at Horsley was expanded by degrees with the additions of a fish pond and a multure.⁷³ Although in Allestree and Mackworth holdings remained scattered, a number of outlying granges and manorial holdings of modest value were built up, as at Burley near Duffield, an estate which was developed from land assarted from the Frith, at Kiddersley near Smalley, and Aldwark and Wigwell near Wirksworth.⁷⁴ There were also many properties in Derby, including mills on the Derwent, which were valued at £39 2s. 3d. in 1535. (see Map 4, p. 27 above) Property was also accumulated in places where the abbey held ecclesiastical advowsons, as at Pentrich, South Wingfield and Crich and it was these spiritual incomes that made up the greater part of its income (see Map 6, p. 93 below and Graph 2, a p. 95).⁷⁵

While consolidation facilitated the management of its estates the abbey was handicapped by the nature of many endowments which were for fixed sums, so that rentals lost value in real terms as prices rose. As an illustration, about 1261 the abbey was granted a toft and two bovates in Spondon at an annual rent of 4s. In 1562 the Crown sold lands in Spondon to Sir Thomas Stanhope at the same rent.⁷⁶ Likewise, a thirteenth century rent of 3s. 11d. for 40 acres and seven roods of land in Mapperley is probably the same as an annual rent of 3s. 11d. from lands in Mapperley sold to Sir John Benet in 1673.⁷⁷ Other rents, from lands granted under less prescriptive terms, could be increased. Kershaw found an upward movement in rents in fifteenth century Lancashire after years of stagnation. However, he suggests that one form of property, the mill, lost much of its value which would have adversely affected the profits from Darley's properties, especially in Derby and at Horsley.⁷⁸

In contrast, although a few more distant properties were acquired, the major granges of Dale Abbey were held in a consolidated block, adjacent to the abbey. (see Map 7, p. 94 below) The Dale cartulary, which almost exclusively relates to thirteenth century grants, shows that while the grange of Boyah was granted virtually as a single unit, the grange of Ockbrook was enlarged by degrees while Stanley grange developed in the thirteenth century through small grants from local people.⁷⁹ The abbey was also able to enlarge an estate at Kirk Hallam, granted with the patronage of the church, which, with lands in Little Hallam and neighbouring Stanton, formed a large consolidated holding.⁸⁰ The Valor does not itemise individual estates but it records a clear rental value of £18 13s. 4½d. from Kirk and Little Hallam with Stanley in 1535, almost a quarter of its income from rents. As with Darley, a proportion of the abbey's income came from mills, fisheries and woods.

Changing practices in estate management were being adopted at many houses from the late fourteenth century, as at Selby where the bulk of demesnes estates were converted from direct produce to money rents.⁸¹ Dobson states of Durham Abbey that 'the most significant and revolutionary development' in its estate policy was the decision to lease almost all of the convent's manorial demesnes.⁸² Kershaw's study of the Augustinian house of Bolton revealed that demesne farming there had mostly lapsed by 1473 apart from in the immediate vicinity of the priory.⁸³ It has been suggested that demesne farming had been found to be unprofitable at Darley in the early fourteenth

century when losses were recorded.⁸⁴ However, the south Derbyshire houses retained a proportion of lands in demesne. In 1538 Darley directly farmed lands adjacent to the abbey and a grange estate at Normanton of at least 250 acres with 18 oxen, cows, horses and mares on site and wheat and rye in store.⁸⁵ Dale likewise farmed Boyah and Ockbrook granges in demesne, Boyah as a pastoral farm with cows and sheep and producing cheese, and Ockbrook as an arable farm with 8 oxen, growing rye and barley with a malt house attached.⁸⁶ Table 8 and Graphs 2 and 3 (p. 95 below) set out sources of income as recorded in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. Beauchief obtained only 10% of temporal income from demesne estates, a low proportion compared to the other houses. Darley at 31% was most dependant on its demesne, while Gresley, Repton and Dale obtained 25%, 23% and 22% respectively.

Map 6: Lands of Darley Abbey.



Map 7: Lands of Dale Abbey.

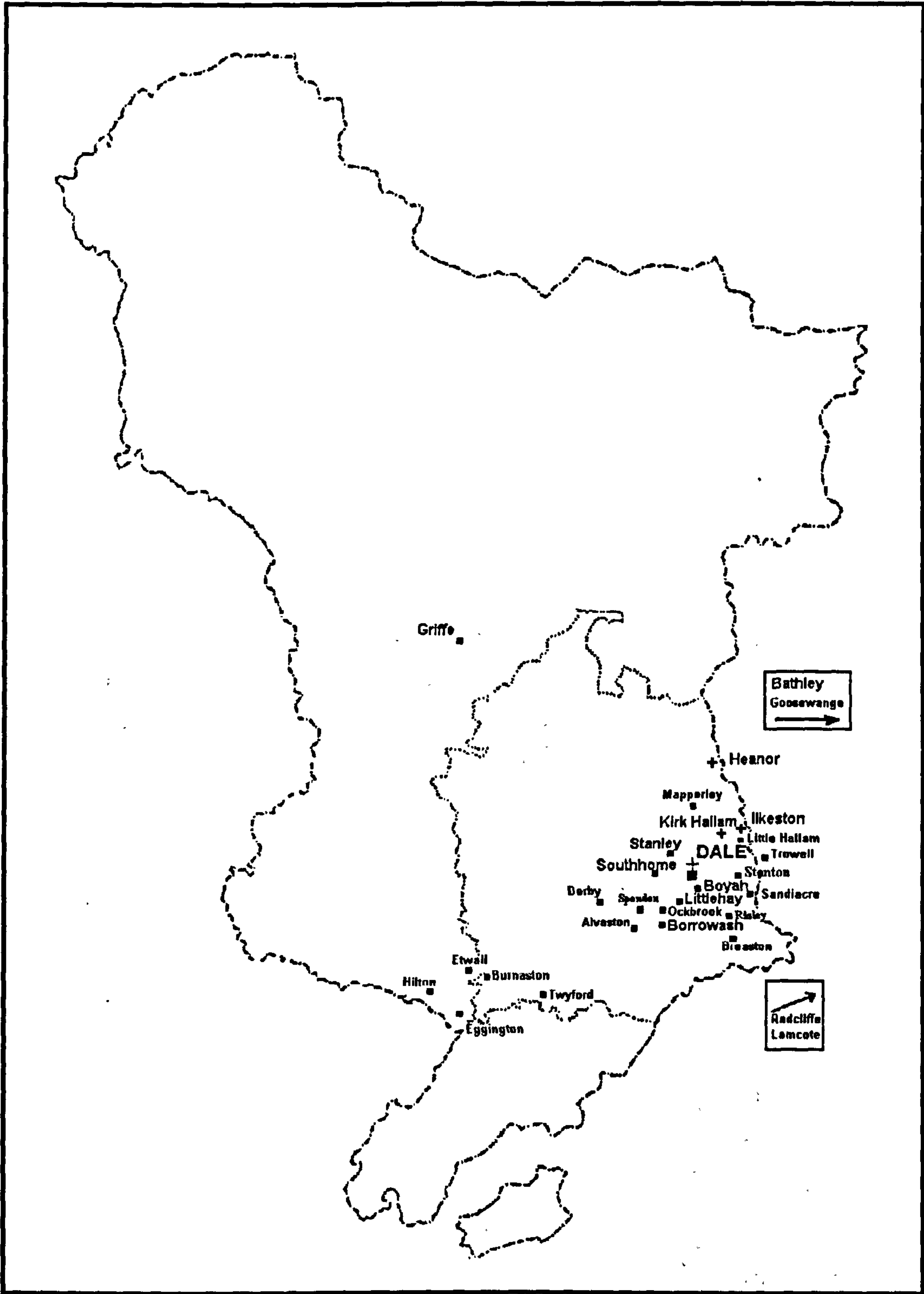


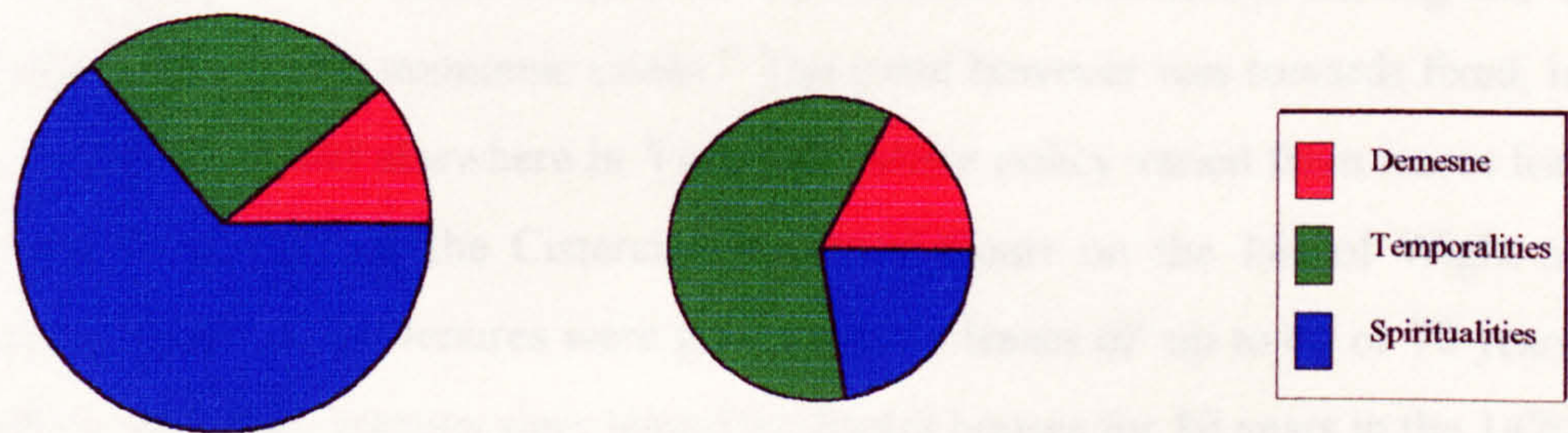
Table 8: Demesne Incomes compared with Total Gross Incomes

HOUSE	Demesne	Temporalities (excl. demesne)	Spiritualities	Gross Income	Demesne % of gross
Darley	31. 19. 1	70. 17 7	182. 13. 3½	285. 9. 11½	11.2
Dale	28. 19. 8	101. 4. 6	51. 19. 10	182. 4. 0	15.9
Beauchief	3. 6. 8	31. 1. 9	115. 1. 9	157. 10. 2	2.0
Repton	16. 19. 2	56. 10. 9½	94. 8. 3	167. 18. 2½	10.0
Gresley	6. 13. 4	20. 2. 0	12. 18. 4	39. 13. 8	16.8
Breadsall	2. 13. 4	7. 1. 0	5. 6. 8	14. 1. 0	19

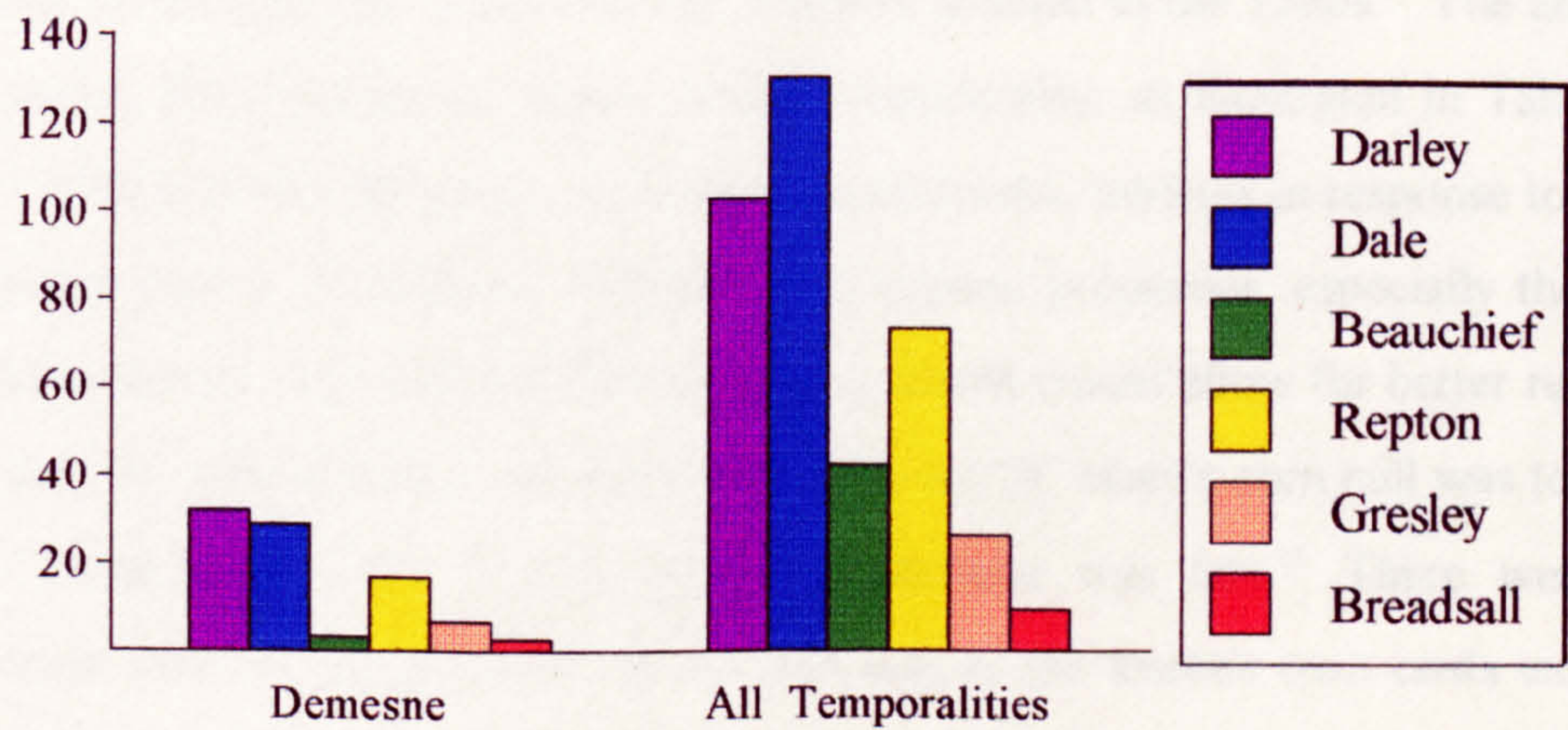
Demesne Incomes compared with Other Temporal and Spiritual Incomes

Graph 2a: Darley Abbey

Graph 2b: Dale Abbey



Graph 3: Rental Values in £.



Breadsall, the smallest house, was occupied only by a prior in 1535 and fell somewhere between a cell and a chantry chapel, its endowment including a number of small grants in return for prayers of intercession.⁸⁷ Its gross income in 1535 was £14 1s. 0d., the prior receiving a net income of £10 17s. 9d. Some land was in demesne, out of which William Dethick, priory bailiff, was paid £1 16s. 8d. Otherwise the priory leased its tenements and few scattered acres of land in the parishes of Breadsall, Duffield, Horsley, Morley and Spondon and in Derby, which yielded only £3 14s. 0d. in rents, although post dissolution rentals and leasehold agreements suggest a possibly higher income.⁸⁸

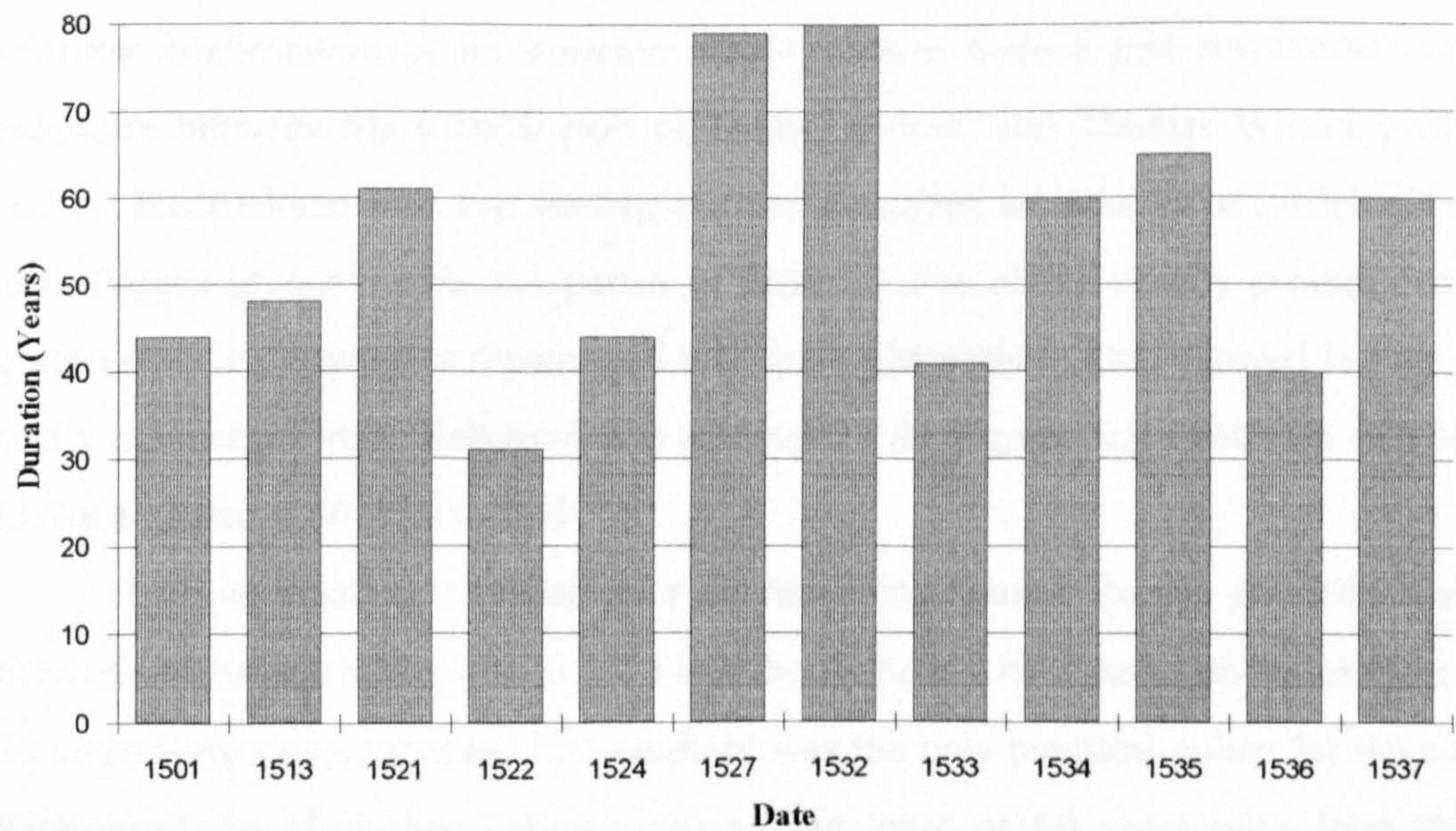
Leasehold agreements can be recovered from a number of sources. There are counterparts of monastic leases surrendered shortly after the dissolutions, in Class 303 in the Public Record Office.⁸⁹ In comparison to Yorkshire, for which 1,200 counterparts survive, there are only 33 documents for Derbyshire of which 13 relate to lands within the deanery but only 10 to deanery houses. Other leases have been traced from enrolments, post dissolution rentals and family papers.⁹⁰ Dobson argues that Durham's over reliance on short leases created an atmosphere of insecurity, leaving the abbey vulnerable to short-term economic crises.⁹¹ The trend however was towards fixed, longer leases, as at Bolton and elsewhere in Yorkshire where policy varied from leases for lives to a fixed 41 years.⁹² At the Cistercian house of Quarr on the Isle of Wight and in Cornwall and Devon, life tenures were giving way to leases of up to 60 or 70 years.⁹³ In Derbyshire, mid-Peak granges were leased by distant houses for 80 years in the 1470s.⁹⁴

Darley was moving in the same direction. At Pentrich and Ripley, the post dissolution accounts of bailiff Gregory Eyre (1539-40), show that cottages were retained in hand but messuages, lands and mineral deposits were leased on terms varying from 40 to 60, and in one case 80, years, the vast majority granted in the 1530s.⁹⁵ The abbey had no set policy, the duration of leases varying considerably, as illustrated in Table 9 and Graph 4, drawn from a selection of leasehold agreements, perhaps in response to tenants' requirements (see p. 97 below). Leaseholds of distant properties, especially those with industrial potential, were among the longer sort, which would allow for better returns on investment. As with all leases, the rent of 33s. 4d. for St. Mary's corn mill was to be paid in two instalments, with 15 days grace if payment was late.⁹⁶ There were often maintenance clauses. Maintenance of the mill was at the lessee's own costs except for main timbers for mill and floodgate repairs and materials for bank repairs.

Table 9: Selected Darley Abbey Leases: Duration in Years⁹⁷

Date	Name	Location	Type of Property	Status	Duration
1501	Thomas Babington	Wigwell	grange	gentry	44
1513	John Grane	Thurlaston	two messuages		48
1521	John Thacker	Osmaston	grange	yeoman	61
1522	John Beynbrigg	Derby	St. Mary Gate mill	mercier	31
1524	Anthony Babington	Litchurch	lands	gentry	44
1527	William Wylde	Whatstandwell	house + 57 acres	yeoman	79
1532	Richard Sacheverell	Wessington	woods for charcoal	gentry	80
1533	William Wylde	Ludwall Carr	cleared woodland	yeoman	41
1534	Robert Wylde	Butterley	manor	yeoman	60
1535	John Jonson	Marchay	impaled park		80
1534/6	John Nuttall	Riley field	close/messuage		50/51
1536	Oliver Draycott	Stringer Holt	messuage		40
1537	Thomas Lavoke	Butterley	messuage		60

Graph 4. Darley Abbey: Variations in the Duration of Leases.



Woods for charcoal burning were attracting interest and in 1510 Darley sold all the wood growing within stated boundaries at Whatstandwell, with 12 years free access, to James and Lawrence Beresford who were allowed to sell and carry away the woods for 20 years.⁹⁸ The clearances may account for the later lease of lands in Whatstandwell to William Wylde.

The leasing policy at Dale underwent a similar transition though leases were shorter than those granted by Darley. In the early fifteenth century a lease for lives was made to the tenants of distant Lamcote with provisos that the house be kept in good repair and that the abbey would supply timber and cartage as far as Nottingham.⁹⁹ By the early sixteenth century fixed leases had been introduced. In 1522 land at Alvaston was leased to Ralph Robinson, husbandman for 35 years and in 1524 John Dylke obtained Stanton grange for 41 years. At the same time leases for lives were still granted, as agreed with John Haln and his wife for lands in Stanley in 1525.¹⁰⁰ Two granges close to the house were leased to abbey servants. Stanley grange was tenanted by the abbey bailiff Robert Nesse. In 1538 he owed 'for woods within the closing of his farm, and the rows and hedges therof', suggesting recent enclosure.¹⁰¹ To the west, Southome (sometimes called Sonthouse or South house) was leased to the abbey seneschal Richard Wheatley.¹⁰² Littlehall (or Littlehay) grange, together with its pasture, was leased to Robert Piggen for an annual rent of £4. Littlehall has been confused with Ockbrook grange, but the latter was held in demesne and lay in Elvaston parish while Littlehall lay in the parish of Dale.¹⁰³ (Further confirmation of its separate identity comes from a mid seventeenth century indenture between Mary Ballington of Derby, widow, and Thomas Wheatley of Dale Abbey, husbandman who was leasing a close, described as a parcel of Littlehay Grange alias Piggen grange within the parish of Dale.¹⁰⁴) The abbey usually promised to find great timber for necessary repairs and was quite generous in time allowed for the twice yearly payment of rent. Robinson was allowed 21 days grace for a half rent of 14s. and Dylke a generous 40 days to find 19s.

Less information is available for the remaining houses. Repton granted a lease for lives of a messuage in Repton in 1523 but shortly before its dissolution leases from 41 to 80 years were rapidly granted.¹⁰⁵ Leasehold was the only practical policy for the nuns of Kingsmead. In 1514 they entered into a long lease of 60 years with John Pole of Wakebridge for Nunnefield in Crich which brought a mere 4s. in rent.¹⁰⁶

Monastic houses usually established a number of parks. A park laid out at Scarcliffe by Newstead Abbey, which provoked a tithe dispute with Darley Abbey who were rectors, gives us a glimpse of the variety of uses to which Derbyshire parkland was put, Darley claiming tithes of hay, hunting, fisheries, pannage, pasturage for beasts and sales of wood. The vicar had reserved to himself the lesser tithes such as nuts, calves and colts.¹⁰⁷ Darley apparently laid out two parks at Butterley but only one was recorded in dissolution rentals, the lease having been awarded to Gregory Eyre as keeper. In addition to houses, pasture and woodland, the Park carried rights of hunting and free warren.¹⁰⁸

Spiritual income in the form of tithes and oblations made up a large percentage of gross income as Graphs 2 and 3 (p. 95 above) show. However, out goings and in particular the payment of vicars' stipends substantially reduced the value. Dale's appropriation of the rectory of Heanor in 1473 provided a gross income of £26 13s. 4d. but £14 5s. 9d. net.¹⁰⁹ In total, Dale received 29% of its gross income from spiritualities while Darley's acquisition of Mackworth in 1509 was its ninth appropriated church.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, the Valor does not present the abbey accounts in such a way that gross and net incomes from spiritualities can be calculated. Both houses farmed their rectories for lengthy periods of time. Darley leased Bolsover for 51 years (1527), Crich for 81 years (1531) and Mackworth for 53 years (1535), John Shepherd paying £10 a year for the farm of the latter.¹¹¹ In 1534 the hay tithes in St. Peter's parish, with Litchurch, were leased to the vicar, William Colliar for 41 years.¹¹² Dale worked on a somewhat lesser time scale, farming Heanor for 31 years (1528) and leasing Ilkeston and Stanley to the Strelleys for 41 years (1537-8).¹¹³

If short leases created uncertainty, long leases were not financially beneficial at times of inflation and would have brought severe difficulties had the houses been faced with mid Tudor price rises. As it was, Darley Abbey was in debt for £160 in 1518 and though the debt was halved by 1521 it rose again to £120 in 1524, the abbey, in common with Dale and Beauchief, having been faced with a royal tax demand for £66 13s. 4d.¹¹⁴ It was still in debt at the time of dissolution when 53 people were owed a grand sum of £142 0s. 2d.¹¹⁵

Debt does not necessarily mean profligacy. An analysis of the mid-fifteenth century accounts of William Morton, the almoner of Peterborough Abbey revealed that he regularly bought and sold supplies on credit. At regular intervals the mutual debts

were set off against each other and net balances settled in cash or carried over.¹¹⁶ Darley's chief creditor in 1538 was William Litton, a salter, who was able to produce a bond for £15 sterling silver for the supply of this essential commodity.¹¹⁷ It may be that people still lent money and gave credit even when debts were long overdue to acquire the spiritual benefits of prayers of intercession or even indulgences.

From the numbers who claimed fees and annuities when the house was dissolved Darley supported a large entourage. In 1538 43 people claimed sums amounting to £69 7s. 6d. in comparison to Dale which paid £18 13s. 4d. to 12 claimants. Headed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, claimants included 'Mr. Doctor Legh', the dissolution commissioner who required £6 13s. 4d. but the majority of names appear to be local, some owed money, one the schoolmaster, another an abbey bailiff. Awards totalling £23 8s. 8d. were also paid to 57 servants, which may be partially accounted for by the amount of land still held in demesne.¹¹⁸

Regardless of their financial state the houses bore obligatory duties of hospitality and almsgiving. Hospitality is an imponderable issue in the deanery as the houses were largely within, or in close proximity to, an urban centre which could offer various forms of rest and shelter. Blythe's visitations are silent on this issue except in two instances where problems had arisen, neither in Derbyshire.¹¹⁹ Some hospitality was unavoidable and the Valor records that a triennial episcopal visitation cost Darley £3 6s. 8d.

Obligations to distribute alms as part of endowments were common and Scarisbrick has well made the point that many obligatory endowments involved considerable expenditure, the abbey of Peterborough, for example, claiming that it had to find £60 in compulsory alms.¹²⁰ This was not the case in Derbyshire although Darley, like Peterborough, had charge of two hospitals. In 1535 its commitments were minor: 10s. in alms to various poor people and boys, 3s. 4d. for the poor of Mackworth at Christmas, 5s. 6d. to the Master of St. Leonard's hospital and, a rather different charitable obligation, an annual provision of 46s. 8d. towards the upkeep of the Derby friars.¹²¹ Since the beginning of the fifteenth century charitable obligations were attached to appropriations which accounts for the payment to Mackworth poor and Dale was similarly charged with the annual distribution of alms to the poor of Heanor.¹²² Even though small, sums were not always paid. The abbot of Darley denounced his house in 1518 for not distributing obligatory alms.¹²³

Casual almsgiving was a duty placed upon the religious, but in this case sums were at discretion. Considerable doubt has been cast on the upholding of this duty, supported by cases such as St. Benet's Holme in Norfolk where an excessive number of dogs consumed all the scraps, leaving nothing for distribution in alms.¹²⁴ A similar complaint, that almsgiving was endangered by dogs and boys, was made by the subprior at Darley in 1521. As newly appointed prior he repeated his criticisms in 1524, supported by leading obedientiaries, which shows that the canons, even though failing, had a proper regard for almsgiving.¹²⁵ Harvey's recent examination of the charitable works of Westminster Abbey has led her to disagree with the view that both the quality and quantity of almsgiving was unimpressive. She points to increasing discrimination shown by the sixteenth century.¹²⁶

Darley also had responsibility for hospital provision. Of the six hospitals described by Cox in the *Victoria County History*, three were within the deanery and all within the present bounds of the City of Derby.¹²⁷ One was incorporated within the priory of St. James and the other two, St. Helens and St. Leonards were attached to Darley.¹²⁸ After the removal of the canons to Darley, the oratory of St. Helens was converted into a hospital, with one of the abbey brethren chosen to preside over it and render accounts. In 1291 its total income was £4 17s. 8d.¹²⁹ Cox could find no further reference to the hospital after the fourteenth century but it was still in being in 1518 for the brother who celebrated mass there was reported to the episcopal visitor and reprimanded for entering the house of James Wood and talking to his wife. In 1521 it was reported that the hospital was near to ruin.¹³⁰

St. Leonards, a royal foundation established about 1171, was originally a leper hospital on the southern edge of the town, with an attached oratory for daily prayer and one of three foundations in the county dedicated to this saint.¹³¹ The hospital had decayed over time through ill management and the alienation of lands. In 1327 there had been a master, two able-bodied and two infirm brethren who followed no rule other than to profess obedience, poverty and chastity but by the 1530s the hospital appears to have lost any useful purpose other than as an oratory.¹³² It was not surveyed in 1535, though Darley Abbey was recorded as paying the master 5s. 6d. annually, a sum virtually unchanged since the early thirteenth century.¹³³ The property survived the monastic dissolutions as, although placed under the care of Darley Abbey in the early thirteenth

century, it was classed as an independent, secular foundation. In 1547 the chantry commissioners recorded its foundation and purpose as unknown but a priest received the profits, having let the land for a fine of 44s. Its land was valued at 10s. and there was no plate.¹³⁴ The chantry brief recorded that John Curson was late master (1507-1526?), having agreed a 19 year indenture with Anthony Lowe, and that no one had since been instituted.¹³⁵

And finally there was the preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Yeaveley with its 'camera' at Barrow. The 'Deliberations' of the English Tongue or branch of the Order of Knights Hospitallers, record that the Babingtons held the farm of the preceptory while John Babington was local preceptor until, as preceptor of the Tongue, he obtained the more lucrative house of Dalby and Rothley. Sir Ambrose Layton succeeded him and was certainly there by July 1523, holding the preceptory until his death in 1529 when it was obtained by Ambrose Cave.¹³⁶ Soon after Sir Henry Sacheverell obtained the stewardship.¹³⁷ At the time of the Valor Ecclesiasticus in 1535 Cave was absent and the property farmed.

The 'camera' at Barrow, with its 80 acres of arable land and 6 acres of meadow, was likewise customarily leased. Cox conjectured that the preceptory house was situated at Arleston, a short distance from the village of Barrow, where he found substantial remains of a stone built hall in the foundations of a later farm house. In the first years of the sixteenth century the lease was held by the Bothe family but in 1526, on the death of William Bothe, a 29 year lease of the rectory was granted to Ralph Pemberton, a local yeoman. The rental value was then £20.¹³⁸

Part Three: Religious Beliefs and Practices

The canonical orders might be expected to mirror the beliefs and practices of local people.¹³⁹ Although the community was enclosed and their situation isolated, a proportion of the Premonstratensians of Dale moved amongst the people, directly serving local, appropriated churches, engendering spiritual interaction. The Augustinians at Darley perhaps had less immediate contact, appointing secular clerks to the appropriated churches, though a canon directly ministered to the chapel of Allestree, a mile from the house. However Darley was situated in a well populated area and maintained a large household.

Dissolution papers provide virtually the only evidence for monastic religious practice. The cult of the Virgin Mary was inevitably strong. At Dale there was 'a little chapel of Our Lady with an image' and, supposedly, the relics of the Virgin's milk and girdle.¹⁴⁰ At Repton there were altars to Our Lady and to Our Lady of Pity.¹⁴¹ Dale venerated St. Werburg and at Darley, Repton and Beauchief there were images of St. Scythe. Duffy identifies St. Scythe as Sitha or Zita, a serving girl of Lucca and an uncanonised fifteenth century cult saint. However St. Scythe at Darley is more likely to be Oswyth, an English saint associated with chastity whose bones were in the protection of the Augustinian Order at the abbey of Chiche. A part of the shirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury, much favoured by pregnant women, was reputedly held at Kingsmead nunnery while Repton treasured a bell attributed to St. Guthlac which, when placed upon the head, miraculously cured a head-ache.¹⁴² The shrine of St. Wystan at Repton, though not mentioned in the Visitation, had been a powerful attraction as it held corporeal remains with miraculous powers of healing. The original shrine at Evesham Abbey had been damaged by the collapse of its tower in 1207 and, according to the *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, the canons of Repton seized the opportunity to acquire 'a portion of the broken skull and a piece of an arm bone' which were placed in the Priory Chapel.¹⁴³ All inventories record a rood cross, flanked in traditional manner by images of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist.¹⁴⁴

Darley was probably well behind contemporary 'fashion' in religious cults and observances. In 1521 a canon complained that they did not have liturgical books for the Feast of Transfiguration and the Name of Jesus, feasts which had become popular.¹⁴⁵

Conventionality in religious devotion is expressed in stained glass windows in Morley church which are attributed to Dale and Bishop Redman's exhortations to beautification, a provenance based chiefly upon notes taken during Elias Ashmole's church survey of 1662.¹⁴⁶ The windows, now much restored, depict lives of saints and heroic Christian figures, themes intended to inspire devotion, to reinforce commitment and to teach by example. In the north aisle a set of ten panes retells, in cartoon style, the legend of the Holy Cross and the vision of St. Helen. Another window depicts the legend of a hermit described as 'Saint Robert'. This may relate to St. Robert of Knaresborough but is on a theme which would appeal to the canons of Dale who held to a tradition that Dale was founded on a hermitage site. A single pane in this window is clearly monastic; two gowned figures are portrayed, one reading a lecture and the other manacled with the caption 'Take heed to thy ways brother'.¹⁴⁷ (see Illustrations 10-11, pp. 105-6 below)

The east window in the north aisle at Morley depicts the martyrdom of St. Ursula and may have come from Breadsall. Flanked by the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, the saint is portrayed at the moment of her ascent into Heaven, escorted by angels and 11 virgins, representative of the 11,000 that were reputedly martyred with her. In 1453 John Statham gave seven marks to this priory for roof repairs and glazing in return for an annual mass for his family, to be said before St. Ursula. The Ursula window also includes three panes on the theme of the Te Deum.¹⁴⁸ In the south aisle a pane in a fourth window (which also depicts St. Roger and the four evangelists) portrays St. William, Archbishop of York with St. John, prior of Bridlington, an Augustinian contemplative of unusual piety around whom a minor cult developed after his death in 1379.¹⁴⁹ These may be original to the church but could relate to Darley which was bought by the Sacheverells at its dissolution.

The artists' interpretations of the various legends are invariably optimistic. St. Ursula enters Heaven in the comforting embrace of angels. The Legend of the Holy Cross is retold with the minimum emphasis on pain and suffering and the beholder sees the Passion of Christ as an act of love. A wooden, octagonal font cover, probably removed from Dale to Radbourne after the dissolution (see also ch. 5), re-inforces this message. On the reverse, the Five Wounds are symbolically carved with Christ's body represented by a heart.¹⁵⁰ (see Illustration 12, p. 107)



The Hermitage.



Legend of St. Robert,
Hermit of Knaresborough

Illustration 11 Stained Glass Windows, Morley



The Legend of the
Holy Cross

A Manacled Brother is Admonished:
"Take Heed to Thy Ways, Brother"



Illustration 12 Religious Devotions, Dale Abbey

Wall Painting, Dale Church (St. Anne and the Virgin Mary)



Font, Dale Church



Font Cover, Radbourne



Associated information from other houses helps to fill out the spiritual life of the Derbyshire religious. The nuns of Kingsmead may have shared the simple beliefs of a Benedictine nun of Chester who added a collection of Christocentric prayers, hymns and carols to her processional. A 'good' prayer saw in Christ's 'bitter passion' and 'blessed wounds' comfort, joy and solace.¹⁵¹ The Augustinians at Leicester had a library of 940 books, including volumes on theology, canon law, grammar, history and rhetoric but also classical texts, medieval poetry and the popular *Legenda Aurea* and *Vitae Patrum* which were in the chained library at Derby All Saints.¹⁵² It is unlikely that the lesser Derbyshire houses held such extensive libraries but they would have possessed similar works; St. Augustine, St. Jerome and Thomas Aquinas. They most probably possessed chronicles which, as Higden's *Polychronicon* and Abbot Thomas de Marleberge's *Chronicon* of Evesham, related the hagiographies of local saints. Dale had its own thirteenth century chronicler, Thomas Muskham, who recorded the history of the house's foundation at the end of a cartulary.¹⁵³ Of mystical writers, Walter Hilton, the author of the *Scale of Perfection* (d.1396) was an Augustinian canon of Thurgarton and his writings were probably known. Devotion to the Five Wounds and interest in the lives of hermits may have opened Dale's library to the works of Richard Rolle and other contemplatives. John Gower's writings were also known in the East Midlands. A copy of his chronicle was in the monastic library at Leicester. Such works are known to have circulated. Copies of a 'polichronicon' and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* were in Vincent Mundy's library.¹⁵⁴

Perhaps the canons of Darley shared the same personal beliefs as Thomas Ashby of Bridlington, whose commonplace book, compiled during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, provides a pen sketch of Augustinian interests. It reveals his devotion to chastity and the cult of the Virgin Mary and his credulous belief in demons and the superhuman, with a penchant for comforting and optimistic stories. The moralistic tales of miracles and saints which Thomas found uplifting and which he collected along with a miscellany of theologies, liturgies and verses, had a wide circulation. Northern saints such as St. John of Bridlington were popular in the East Midlands as the Morley windows show.¹⁵⁵ A similar scrap book was kept by John Gisborn, a Premonstratensian canon of Coverham who held the curacy of Allington in Lincolnshire. His emphasis was on practical material which would be useful to a priest while a drawing of a badge of the Five Wounds emphasises the importance of this cult to the Premonstratensians.¹⁵⁶

Part Four: Relationships with the Laity

Magnate and gentry inter-relationships with Derbyshire's religious houses appears to have been positive. The fourth Earl of Shrewsbury acted as High Steward of 11 houses, including Beauchief and Darley which paid him an annual fee of £3 6s. 8d.¹⁵⁷ Though financial gain accrued, the Earl was a serious patron of the monastic orders, choosing the canons of Worksop Abbey to act as intercessors for his soul after death.¹⁵⁸

The religious service a house could provide attracted local gentry support. Amongst seven lay anniversaries celebrated in 1535 at Darley was one in the names of Thomas and Edith Babington.¹⁵⁹ John Statham supported the priory of Breadsall in return for an annual obit for his family. Ralph and Elizabeth Fitzherbert (1483, 1490) likewise required trentalls and obits from local houses, including Darley and Derby friary. Sir John Fitzherbert (1517) left money for masses to 13 houses in Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, including Darley and Repton, to all houses of Austen friars and an endowment to all Carthusian houses while John Port's draft will (1528) when sick of the 'swete', sought multiple prayers and obits from several houses including Repton and Derby friary.¹⁶⁰ Humphrey Bradburne (1519) and others in the Ashbourne area also left bequests to Austen friars.¹⁶¹

Financial advantages were also exploited. Sir Henry Sacheverell became Chief Steward to both Yeavely and Dale which paid him a fee of 26s. 8d. out of a house at Stanton-by-Dale.¹⁶² In the bond of agreement he attached his son William to the stewardship. Gregory Eyre obtained the offices for life from Darley of abbey bailiff of its manors and lordships at Ripley and Pentrich and Keeper of Butterley Park, a lucrative post which brought him a £4 annuity.¹⁶³ Nicholas Powtrell received a fee of 20s. from Dale and likewise Sir John Willoughby, as confirmed in a letter from his agent, written in 1541 to inform him that fees due to him from the dissolved houses of Beauvale and Dale had been obtained.¹⁶⁴ There is no reason to see these posts as sinecures. Willoughby was a dedicated supporter of the monastic life, as illustrated by his attempts to protect houses from dissolution and by his personal service to Lenton priory, on one occasion reconciling an errant monk to his house through his position as steward and 'father in religion'.¹⁶⁵

The relationship with Kingsmead nunnery came, perhaps, more as a convenient way of providing for a daughter. The Yorkshire nunneries read as a roll call of the gentry at the time of their dissolution.¹⁶⁶ Amongst the nuns at Kingsmead in 1518 were a Longford, a Curzon and a Byrde.¹⁶⁷ In 1536 Joan Curzon was prioress, having been professed for at least 19 years.¹⁶⁸

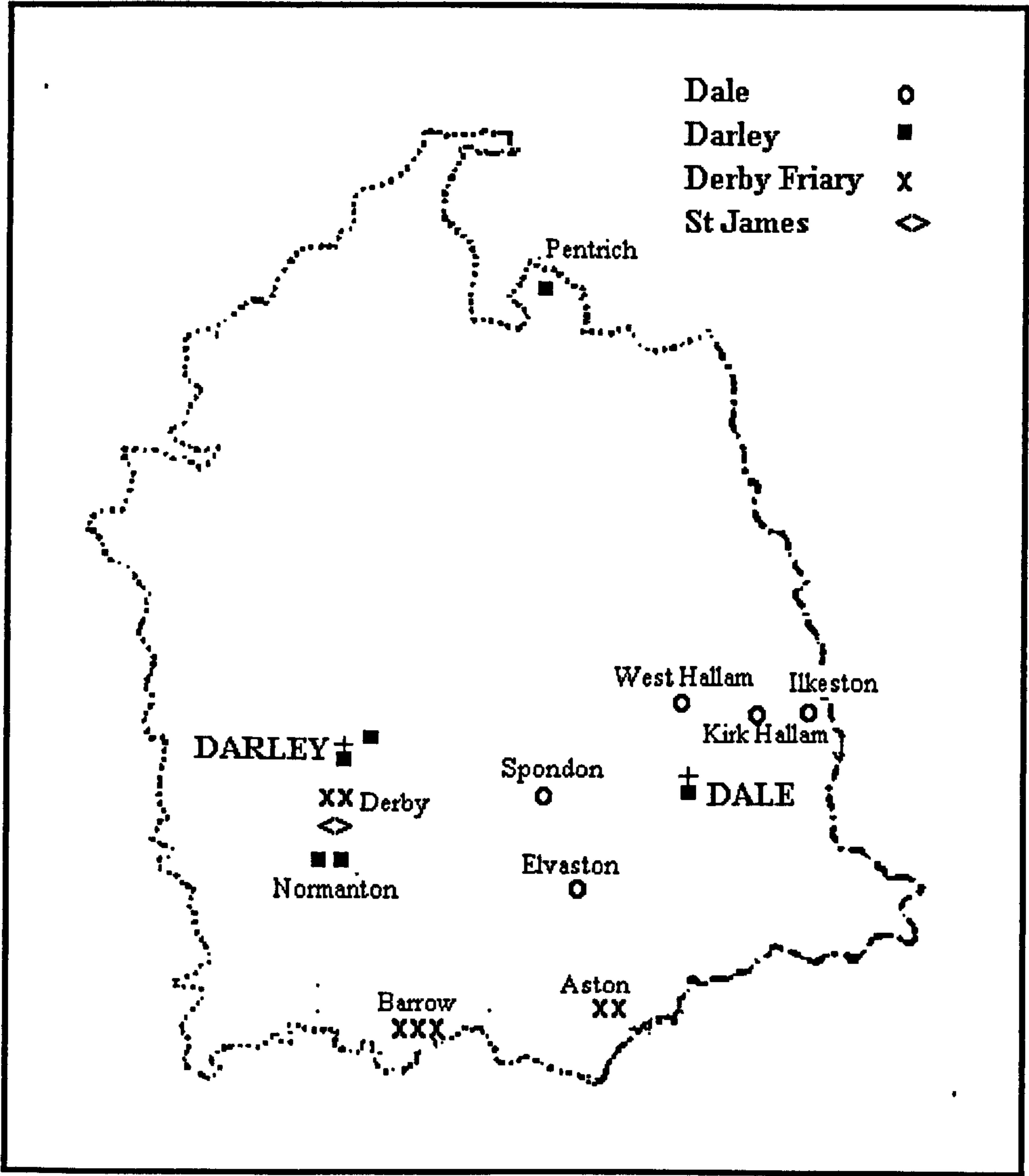
In comparison, support from the general populace appears slight if testamentary bequests alone are made the basis of evidence. Clark studied 327 Derbyshire wills from all estates of people, written between 1531 and 1538. He found only 34 bequests to religious houses (11%), of which only 26 (c. 8%) were to houses within the county.¹⁶⁹ Derby friary was a beneficiary from 15 wills while only 11 donations were made to the canonical orders, a mere 3%. Clark found two references to Beauchief, five to Dale and four to Repton but none to Darley, Breadsall, Gresley, Kingsmead or St. James' priory. These figures can be slightly modified by the inclusion of recently repaired wills but Table 10 and Map 8 use a different measure. (see p. 111 below)

In the 1530s, 25% of testators made use of or left a bequest to a local house, no doubt in expectation of intercessionary prayers. Derby friary was the chief beneficiary, with bequests in 1538-9 in three out of four wills from their 'home' parish.¹⁷⁰ The friars were not static and the bequests in Aston and Barrow wills perhaps reflect a particular mission in these Trent valley parishes. Their wider mission in Derbyshire may also account for a bequest from Robert Milwart of Dovedale in 1513.¹⁷¹ The few bequests to Darley came from tenants or dependants, gifts of livestock from the Taberers of Normanton who held indentures of the abbey, from Emma Proctor of Pentrich, and from a corrodian at the abbey.¹⁷² Dale bequests were in return for prayers or other services, such as Robert Nawdon of Kirk Hallam, probably an abbey tenant, who desired his good lord of Dale to be good lord to his wife and left him a three year old filly.¹⁷³ Two bequests to priests of St. James, one made in 1540, are unusual in that the priory was dissolved some years before the wills were written.¹⁷⁴ There were no gifts to the nunnery of Kingsmead during these years. The extreme parochialism demonstrated in Map 8 perhaps arose from a desire for personal involvement in intercessionary prayers, which could be more conveniently achieved in the parish church.

TABLE 10: References to Deanery Religious Houses in Deanery Wills 1530-39.

DATES	No. of wills	Nuns	Darley	Dale	Breadsall	St. James	Friary	%
1530-1534	30 (6)	-	2	1	-	-	3	20%
1535-1539	58 (11)	-	2	4	-	1	4	19%

MAP 8: Distribution of Donations to Religious Houses: Deanery Wills, 1530 - 1539.



There are other ways of assessing local support. In writing of relationships between town and monastery, MacCaffrey states that the monastic establishments in Exeter, in common with the episcopacy, stood apart from and above the daily lives of the citizens, staffed in large part by strangers.¹⁷⁵ In Derbyshire, where there were few openings for people to enter the monastic life within the county, there appears to have been a high level of local recruits.¹⁷⁶ Patrimonial names found within two miles of Darley Abbey, such as Hey, Sowter and Toft, provide linkages between local husbandmen families and the canons. Strong local recruitment is also suggested in the place names adopted by the brethren of Darley. Seven of the ten brethren named in the visitation report of 1524 were known by Derbyshire place names such as Alport, Bradley, Callow, Glapwell, Hazlewood, Rolleston and Wirksworth, while one was called Sheffield and another Nottingham.¹⁷⁷ Some were recruited from Derby burgess families as can occasionally be illustrated from wills. Two Derby testators made bequests to sons who were respectively canons at Dale and Repton, the latter to have a life interest in an estate.¹⁷⁸ This supports research into other houses north of the Trent, such as Selby and Durham priory, where perhaps a majority of inmates were drawn from local society.¹⁷⁹

There is little evidence of poor landlord and tenant relationships, as could occur through rent-raising or enclosure. There are national cases of unsympathetic enclosure of land as in 1526 at Orford where riots accompanied enclosure of common land by the monks of Butley.¹⁸⁰ A popular protest involving a Derbyshire house comes from Duchy of Lancaster records in the form of a petition raised by Duchy tenants against Ralph Eyre, a tenant of the abbot of Dale, sometime between 1485 and 1504. The tenants complained that they were 'dayly wronged & oppressed' by his appropriation of a piece of land.¹⁸¹ The complaint was not directed against Dale but against Eyre, who was acting no differently to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Philip Leche and Humphrey Lowe against all of whom similar charges were made at the time.¹⁸² There is one recorded instance of a dispute between Darley and the burgesses of Derby, who won a complaint that common rights were not being maintained.¹⁸³ However, local abbeys could be the victims of enclosure. Repton objected when Roger Horton of Catton enclosed a portion of their land, valued at 11s., within his own enclosures.¹⁸⁴ Close to death, he made a will offering recompense.¹⁸⁵ Enclosure was then an issue within Derbyshire but leaseholding policies limited the degree to which religious houses could be seen as aggressors.

Local perception of monastic life was also influenced by monastic landlords or appropriators from outside the county. There were over 30 houses with estates in Derbyshire of whom a third had property in the deanery. They were very largely from neighbouring counties, the Nottinghamshire houses of Lenton, Rufford, Shelford and Thurgarton, the Staffordshire houses of Burton, Tutbury, Rocester, Trentham and Croxden and the Leicestershire houses of St. Mary Pratis and Croxton. Of more distant houses, apart from Bermondsey, only Chester and Louth had land holdings. The influence of these 'foreign' houses could be significant. There was a long running battle between the abbot of Leicester and tenants on his estates over common rights at Over Haddon, a case which involved the bishop of Bangor and the Abbot of Roche and continued throughout 1529 and 1530. Abbey tenants were perhaps the first cause of the dispute but the charge of unlawful enclosure, brought by Alan Sutton of Over Haddon, was strenuously denied by the abbot and a commission of inquiry had to be set up. The abbot won the case, one of his judges being the Abbot of Darley who sat with Anthony Babington, the Duchy receiver and the vicar of Bakewell, but anger simmered on for some time.¹⁸⁶

Such rivalries could sour relationships but economic activities could also be beneficial to local communities. A flourishing house undoubtedly contributed to the local economy both as a producer and as a customer. At Darley, ale was sold at the gate in an abuse of abbey precincts, possibly to the detriment of local brewers and innkeepers but doubtless to the advantage of the community at large. Amongst the debts owed at the time of dissolution were a number that signify local transactions.

The houses also acted as centres of local employment. At the dissolution there were 29 servants at Dale and 23 at Repton but Darley was credited with 57, or roughly four to each canon.¹⁸⁷ On the surface this seems an extravagant indulgence, sufficient to draw complaints from the canons themselves, but Darley was far from unique.¹⁸⁸ Knowles gives an example of 102 servants at Rievaulx to serve 22 monks while there were 71 at Butley, a house with the same number of inmates as Darley. Clark believes that the superfluity of servants had a harmful impact upon Darley, breaking down barriers between life within the precinct and the world outside.¹⁸⁹ However there was an element of inevitability about such forms of contact for, as Knowles points out, large households and troops of servants were characteristic of the age.¹⁹⁰ 'Servant' was a broad term:

administrators, legal advisers, domestic servants, agricultural and pastoral labourers and craftsmen, could all be so described. Fountains Abbey Lease Book shows that some tenants paid no rent but held tenements in return for service, such as care of dairy herds or keepers of woods, and might be described as 'servants'.¹⁹¹ The Bursar's accounts of the Benedictine abbey of Selby in 1398-9 illuminate the practical range of household servants and their comparative wage rates. The abbot's cook was paid 20s., his chamberlain 13s. 4d., a groom and a laundress 10s. each.¹⁹²

The Derbyshire dissolution lists lack detail and it is difficult to separate household from agricultural servants, especially in the case of Darley which, in addition to its agricultural land, managed fisheries, forests, parks and mineral rights. The rewards handed out at Darley ranged from 12d. to 20s. with 26 servants (45.8%), who must be the less skilled domestic or agricultural workers, receiving 5s. or less and 17 (25%) receiving 15s. or above. John Cokeram, an attorney and bailiff of Scarsdale, received 20s.¹⁹³ Under awards to 23 servants at Repton, a shepherd and two boy ploughdrivers were specifically mentioned. At Dale one of the 30 people to receive awards was William Coke, parish priest of Stanley while three bear names of tenant farmers. There were three demesne estates, with animals to tend and one reward went to 'John of the Henhouse'. No servant at Dale received a reward of less than 5s. and the average was 10s.¹⁹⁴ It is noteworthy that there were few women employed: none at Repton, four (7%) at Darley and three (10%) at Dale, possibly engaged as dairymaids, cheese makers or cooks. The gentry provided stewardship while yeomen and even husbandman filled offices of receivers, bailiffs and other officials. Families were often also tenants and offices could be passed through generations.¹⁹⁵

Houses offered a wide range of incidental services, sometimes acting as retirement homes for pensioners or corrodians. The lay corrody had become quite popular and nation-wide there may have been more than one corrodian to every six religious.¹⁹⁶ In Leicestershire, Warwickshire and Rutland the Commissioners found 27 corrodians within 18 houses which held between them 155 monks and nuns. There were many complaints at Darley during Blythe's visitation in 1524 of Mr. Ireton's presence with four or five servants.¹⁹⁷ Robert Smythe (1538) was probably a corrodian for he requested burial in the monastery church with dirige and mass and described himself as of Darley Abbey.¹⁹⁸ An Agnes Smythe was receiving a corrody at the time of the

dissolution. Two corrodians were recorded at Repton, each burdening the abbey with two canons' portions, but Dale appears to have avoided such heavy burdens with only one annuity of 10s. recorded in 1538.¹⁹⁹ Abbots and priors would occasionally be called upon to act as supervisor for a will or as trustee for an estate.²⁰⁰ In 1525 Thomas Blackwall, a Wirksworth leadminer, looked to the altars in his parish church for intercessionary masses, endowing St. Edmund's altar as a chantry but he made the abbot of Darley custodian of his wealth on behalf of his child. The abbot was not only to have the key of a chest but the chest itself was to be kept at the abbey²⁰¹ They were also employed by the Crown even while dissolutions were in motion. In 1537 Abbot Rag was called upon to enquire into the state of the King's woods in Duffield frith at Shottle Park following the death of Sir Roger Mynours and the appointment of John Bryon as Keeper.²⁰²

Conclusion

The majority of historians believe that sixteenth century monastic houses were decadent. 'It is true that few sixteenth century monks and nuns followed their rule with fervour', asserts A.G.R. Smith. Heath, judgementally, states,

Men came more often by inducement than by vocation and the suitability of many left much to be desired.²⁰³

Of the Lancashire monasteries Haigh says that they were as bad as their counterparts in the south.

Their inmates were sometimes loose in morals and lax in observance, while the institutions themselves had often lost all spiritual zeal and become merely parts of a static and worldly ecclesiastical structure.

Yet he argues, in an apparent contradiction which makes sense in a contemporary setting, that the Lancashire monasteries though failing to maintain their vows fully, had not lost the respect and affection of local people.²⁰⁴

Too often monastic studies are separated, perhaps for convenience, from like studies of secular clergy or lay congregations. To take this approach here would be to create an artificial, compartmentalised world, particularly in the case of canonical orders which came nearer to Walter Hilton's 'mixed life' than other contemplatives through their right to exercise cure of souls.²⁰⁵ In addition, though entry into the religious life was an act of separation from the world, in practice every house relied upon its lay hinterland. There was inevitable interdependence and interaction. With one exception, the Derbyshire houses were concentrated within an area of roughly five miles round Derby where they established the closest relationships outside their own Orders. There was no large house within the town of Derby and Darley was not large enough to be dominant in borough affairs in the way that Gottfried describes in a study of Bury St. Edmunds where the abbey ran the town, causing friction amongst a rising burghal elite.²⁰⁶ None the less, by their very presence, they influenced spiritual activity and moral behaviour. The canonical brethren lived partly within the wider community of secular clergy and had direct contact as priests with lay congregations while the Dominicans were designed to move within the lay community. Even the Cluniac house of St James had a communal aspect as it served both as monastery and hospital. Whether their influence on religious life was positive or negative, it was significant.

Amongst secular and religious clergy and laity, there are individual instances of deep religious devotion but the overall picture is one of a workaday, comfortable and communal belief, founded in tradition. Fear of everlasting punishment for sins may have impelled many requests for intercessory prayers but this is not an expressed view. More evident is an optimistic and uplifting faith. Traditional practices remained strong. Saxon saints were still revered and cults around the Virgin Mary were popular. There was however a complementary movement towards a more Christocentric faith, with emphasis on the Passion of Christ, the cult of the Five Wounds and redemption through love. This is seen in parish church and monastic house and amongst laymen such as Liversage who desired the Mass of Jesus to be sung in his proposed new chantry chapel.

Pragmatic considerations undoubtedly regulated the behaviour of many families in an area of limited prosperity. Largesse in religious bequests was confined to a few: those with London wealth or with major estates outside the county. The majority were content with the use and custom of their parish, an embodiment of the collective memory and rightness of action.²⁰⁷ In this way ceremonies evolved over time and new ideas percolated slowly and at differing rates. Even in the church of Derby All Saints, where trading contacts gave the population more immediate accessibility to new ideas, customary practices retained a strong hold on the congregation.

All this is, of course, qualified by the nature of the evidence which does not allow the researcher to examine in any meaningful way the extent of indifference, unbelief or alternative persuasions within communities. Superstitious practices were undoubtedly present. Holy wells, foliate heads and the great popularity of church ales open windows into deeply rooted alternative cultures which were entwined into and upheld religious observance. Cox displays typical nineteenth century moral and spiritual indignation at the unknown chantry priest of Crich who added notes in the margins of the chantry calendar forecasting good and bad luck in health, dependent on the month and day when cures were attempted.²⁰⁸ Warnings that certain days were so unlucky that to strike a man or animal could lead to death in three days bring the cleric and the sorcerer very close.

The main conclusion to carry forward into the Reformation years is that there were significant regional differences in England and sweeping generalisations are not helpful to an understanding of how and why events proceeded in the way and at the pace that they did.

- ¹ A.F. Dawtry, 'Monasticism in Cheshire 1092-1300. A Tale of Mediocrity', in J. Loades (ed.), *Monastic Studies. The Continuity of Tradition*, pp. 65-6.
- ² Dependent houses, including preceptories and hospitals, have been excluded from the calculation; the area in sq. miles is taken from J. Cary, 'Derbyshire', in *New and Correct English Atlas* (1787), unpaginated; *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p.78. The Dominican friary was founded between 1224 and 1238.
- ³ C. Cross, 'Community solidarity among Yorkshire Religious after the Dissolution', in Loades, *Monastic Studies*, p. 246.
- ⁴ Cox, vol. 2, p. 43 attributes Kingsmead Nunnery to the Benedictine Order but S. Thompson, *Women Religious. The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest*, p. 48, clearly establishes it as an Augustinian house. This is supported in Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*.
- ⁵ The map is based upon *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 41.
- ⁶ In some dissolution documents Darley Abbey is referred to as Derby.
- ⁷ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 301; *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 75-7; R.L. Farmer (Rev.), 'Stydd Preceptory and the Military Religious Orders', *DAJ*, vol. 33, pp. 77-86; Cox, vol. 3, pp. 279-83 and vol. 4, pp. 15-18.
- ⁸ See D. Marcombe, 'The Preceptory of the Knights of St. Lazarus at Locko', *DAJ*, vol. 111, pp. 51-5.
- ⁹ A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of Dissolution*, App. pp. 270-88.
- ¹⁰ On the complexities of assessing the income of Burton refer to *Valor*, vol. 3, pp. 147-8; Hibbert, *Religious Houses in Staffordshire*, pp. 77-9. *VCH, Staffordshire*, vol. 3, pp. 204-5.
- ¹¹ A. Cameron, 'Some Social Consequences of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, vol. 49, p. 51.
- ¹² Clark, 'Regular Clergy', pp. 132-3, the calculations based upon the visitation registers of Redman and Blythe, grants of capacities and other dissolution material.
- ¹³ PRO, E322/71/39; C.F.R. Palmer, 'The Friar-Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Derby' in *Reliquary*, vol. 18, pp. 17-22. This figure of 30 is repeated in *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 80; G. Baskerville, *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 242, entirely discards the idea of a general exodus; R. Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 64, describes the exodus of leading Dominicans.
- ¹⁴ R. Hodges, M. Poulter and M. Wildgoose, 'The Medieval Grange at Roystone Grange', *DAJ*, vol. 102, pp. 88-9.
- ¹⁵ D. Knowles (Dom.), *Medieval Religious Houses*, map.
- ¹⁶ *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 1; For the holdings of Burton see C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, ch 10; p. 227, a chart giving parcels of land granted at Weston-on-Trent, Aston-on-Trent and Shardlow, Morley, Smalley and Kiddersley, Crich and Ingleby. See also Deansley, 'Burton Abbey'; J. Steer, 'Medieval Holdings of Burton Abbey in Derby', pt. 1. The Identification of the Holdings of Burton Abbey', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, vol. 11, pt. 6.
- ¹⁷ *Valor*, vol. 3, pp. 153-4, 155-6, 172-4, 162-3, 163, 157, 156, 168. The gross figures given are as stated in the *Valor*, though there are slight discrepancies in the additions for Darley and Beauchief; BL Add. Mss. 6672, f. 119 and other post dissolution materials have been used to calculate the income of St. James'

priory; PRO, SC6 Hen8/7384/69, a post dissolution rental, has been used to obtain notional estimates for Derby Friary but excludes other incomes. Numbers of inmates are given as in normal times, not necessarily pertaining at the time of dissolution.

18 Savine, *English Monasteries*, App. 270-88.

19 Dawtry, 'Monasticism in Cheshire', p. 71.

20 J.H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300. A Constitutional Study*, p. 110; *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 87-90.

21 H.M. Colvin, 'Calke Priory', *DAJ*, vol. 102, pp. 102-3.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 102; *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 95, 47, 45, 58, 63; 70-1.

23 *VCH, Staffordshire*, vol. 3, p. 331. Estates at Marston-on-Dove, Doveridge and West Boughton and tithes from Mugginton, Duffield and Derby.

24 Blanchard, *Duchy of Lancaster's Estates*, Intro., p. 1; Map 11, p. 218.

25 D. Knowles (Dom.), *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 296-8 and App. XIII. These were Calwich, Rocester, Ronton, St. John's Hospital Lichfield, St. Thomas Stafford, Stone and Trentham; Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, Intro., xii.

26 C.J. Holdsworth (ed.), *Rufford Charters*, Thoroton Society Record Series, vol. 29, pt. 1, Intro., xxxiii.

27 P. Liddle, 'The Archaeology of the Abbeys and Priors of Leicestershire', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 69, p. 17.

28 Saltman, Intro., pp. 1-7.

29 Haigh, *Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries*, pp. 139-40.

30 On this point see P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 106-11, ch. 11.

31 D. Erasmus, 'Praise of Folly. Moriae Encomium', in B. Radice (trans.), *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 27, p. 131.

32 Becon, 'Jewel of Joy', pp. 413-4.

33 B. Collett, 'The Civil Servant and Monastic Reform. Richard Fox's Translation of the Benedictine Rule for Women 1517', in Loades, *Monastic Studies*, p. 226, footnote 18.

34 Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 3, pp. 159-60.

35 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, Intro., xii.

36 *Ibid.* The exception was Breadsall priory.

37 F.A. Gasquet (ed.), *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia from Originals in the Bodleian and the British Museum*, Royal Historical Society, vol. 11.

38 Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 3, p. 41. Knowles has an obvious admiration for Redman and admits that the Bishop could have been an indulgent visitor but his defence of Redman is reasoned.

39 L&P Hen.8, vol. 10 (1536), no. 364, pp. 137-8; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 3, App. VI, pp. 476-7; The Visitors were at Lichfield on 23 December 1535 and in York on 13 January 1536.

40 Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, no. 368, p. 182; See Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 134 for one evaluation of the *Comperita*.

41 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 134.

42 *Ibid.*; see Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 3, pp. 296-7.

43 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 149-51; Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 134.

44 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 148.

- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3, 62-4.
- 46 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 134.
- 47 Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, pp. 57-8.
- 48 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 22, 62, 151-2.
- 49 Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, pp. 179-81.
- 50 A. Hamilton Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, p. 76. The visitation of Bishop Aylmer in 1518; Knowles, *Religious Houses*, pp. 84, 51. He cites Blanchard, Langley, Sulby and Welbeck.
- 51 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 21-3, 62-3, 151-3.
- 52 Bates, thesis, 'Episcopate of William Bothe', p. 64; pp. 216-29, quoting from p. 220; Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 10.
- 53 Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, pp. 174, 179-81.
- 54 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, Intro., xli.
- 55 *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 148.
- 56 Baskerville, *English Monks*, pp. 39-40.
- 57 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, Intro., xxxvi-vii; pp. 63, 152.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- 59 *Ibid.*, Intro., xxxvii.
- 60 J. Venn, and J.A. Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, vol. 4, p. 136.
- 61 PRO, E322/72, 68, 71.
- 62 LJRO, B/C/11, William Sowter, Allestree 1541.
- 63 Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 3, p. 41.
- 64 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 9-10.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 67 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 140.
- 68 J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents A.D. 1485-1603 with an Historical Commentary*, p. 59.
- 69 Thompson, *Women Religious*, p. 12.
- 70 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 23-4, 60-1, 153-4; L&P Hen.8, vol.10, (1536), no. 364, pp. 137-8.
- 71 Glover and Riden, *Woolley*, no. 14, p. 18.
- 72 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 151; *Valor*, vol. 3, pp. 153-4.
- 73 Darlington, vol. 2, K4-9, pp. 482-5.
- 74 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, E45 describes lands at Burley granted by 1250. See also E46, E54; E49-5, Lands granted at Kiddersley, pp. 230-6; vol. 2, K21, pp. 492-3, lands in Smalley; vol. 2, I 15 for Aldwark; I 17-43 for Wigwell, pp. 419-39. See also L. Jewitt, 'Wigwell Grange, in the County of Derby, and its connection with Darley Abbey', *Reliquary*, vols. 17, 18.
- 75 Darlington, vol. 2, H1-18, H24, Pentrich with Ripley; H19-23, South Wingfield with Oakerthorpe, pp. 333-55. See also W.H. Brighthouse, 'South Wingfield and a Darley Cartulary', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, vol. 3, pt. 9, pp. 669-75 with map tracing the boundaries of this estate; Darlington, L13-25, pp. 538-569, Crich.
- 76 Darlington, vol. 1, F94, p. 282; CPR, Eliz I (1560-63), no. 981, p. 316.
- 77 Ibbotson, 'Medieval Shipley', p. 29; Darlington, vol. 1, A32, 32a., pp. 84-5.
- 78 I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory. The Economy of a Northern Monastery 1286-1325*, pp. 182-5.
- 79 Saltman, nos. 30-40, pp. 62-8; 51-5, pp. 73-5; nos. 1-22, 24-6, pp. 47-61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 158-212, pp. 133-66; 487-94, pp.330-6; 213-80, pp. 166-208.
⁸¹ J.H. Tillotson, *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages. Selected Account Rolls from Selby Abbey, Yorkshire 1398-1537*, pp. 16-17.
⁸² R.B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450*, pp. 272.
⁸³ Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 181.
⁸⁴ Darlington, vol. 1, A xxvb, p. 34; D. Postles, 'The Perception of Profit before the Leasing of Demesnes', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 34, pp. 20-1.
⁸⁵ Darlington, G60, G60c p. 324-6. The original donation at Normanton was 110 acres of arable and 13 acres of meadow to which was later added 109 acres 3 roods of arable and 6½ acres of meadow. A fourteenth century description of the meadow lands gives 34 acres 3 roods then in demesne; PRO, E315/172/53.
⁸⁶ PRO, E315/172/63.
⁸⁷ L&P Hen.8, vol. 10 (1536), no. 364, pp. 137-8; J.C. Cox, 'The History of Breadsall Priory', *DAJ*, vol. 27, pp. 140-5, instances grants made to the priory in 1392, 1402 and 1453.
⁸⁸ *Valor*, vol. 3, p. 156; PRO, SC6 Hen8/485/5; PRO, E315/399/417-8, a Paper Survey; PRO, E315/186/64.
⁸⁹ R. Hoyle, 'Monastic Leasing before the Dissolution. The Evidence of Bolton Priory and Fountains Abbey', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 61, p. 112.
⁹⁰ as in PRO, E315/93; PRO, SC6 Hen8//7384; I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters in Public and Private Libraries and Muniment Rooms*, contains a few references to these.
⁹¹ Dobson, *Durham Priory*, pp. 282-5.
⁹² I rely here on Hoyle, 'Monastic Leasing', App. 1, pp. 123-9.
⁹³ S.F. Hockey, *Quarr Abbey and its Lands 1132-1631*, pp. 172-4, 202-10; L.S. Snell, *The Suppression of the Religious Foundations of Devon and Cornwall*, pp. 49, 51; J. Youings, *Devon Monastic Lands. Calendar of Particulars for Grants 1536-1558*, Intro., x.
⁹⁴ Jeayes, no. 1747, p. 219. The Cheshire house of Combermere leased Newton Grange to Thomas Barsford for 81 years (1472); C.E.B. Bowles, 'The Manor of Abney. Its Boundaries and Court Rolls', *DAJ*, vol. 29, p. 131. The Nottinghamshire house of Rufford leased a grange at Abney to Ralph Eyre of Offerton for 86 years (1473).
⁹⁵ PRO, E315/93/3 m.47. Appointment of Gregory Ayre as bailiff; DRO, D1763/16719. This is a copy rental. It gives the bailiff as George Ayre. PRO, SC6 Hen8/7384/78 f. 52 gives similar rental details.
⁹⁶ PRO, E301/1/40.
⁹⁷ Jeayes, nos. 2695-6, p. 339, renewed in 1524; PRO, E301/1/8; SC6 Hen8/7384/79; E303/1/40; SC6 Hen8/7384/79; DRO, D1763/16717; BL, Add. Mss. 6702/6-7; PRO, E315/93/3, ff. 76v-77; DRO, D1763/16719 (five).
⁹⁸ Jeayes, no. 2555, p. 322.
⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 943, p. 116.
¹⁰⁰ PRO, E303/1/37-9.
¹⁰¹ PRO, E315/172/68; SC6 Hen8/7384/79 ff. 61-4, He produced no indenture.
¹⁰² PRO, SC6 Hen8/7384/79 ff. 61-4.
¹⁰³ *Ibid.*; PRO, E315/212/120; C66/731/26; C60/981.
¹⁰⁴ NUMD, 144B/T17, dated 12 Aug. 1640.
¹⁰⁵ Jeayes, no. 1995, p. 252; PRO, E303/1/44 -7.

- 106 Jeayes, no. 923, p. 113.
- 107 Darlington, vol. 2, H73, pp. 386-8.
- 108 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, Intro., lxviii; PRO, E315/93/3, m. 133.
- 109 *Valor*, vol. 3, p. 156.
- 110 Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 185 discusses stereotyped appropriation decrees, citing the poverty of religious houses as a cause.
- 111 PRO, SC6 Eliz./447; SC6 Hen8/7384/77. Additionally William Lypper was farmer of tithes of hay in Osmaston.
- 112 PRO, SC6 Hen 8/7384/79.
- 113 PRO, SC6 Eliz./447.
- 114 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 21, 62, 151; L&P Hen.8, vol. 3/ii, (1519-23), no. 2483, p. 1047. Repton was taxed at the lower £40.
- 115 PRO, E315/172/59-60.
- 116 C.N.L. Brooke (intro.) and P.I. King (ed.), *The Book of William Morton Almoner of Peterborough Monastery 1448-1467*, Intro., xxxvi.
- 117 PRO, E315/172/59; E315/95/5, f. 167. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, ch. 6. proved useful on debt, using the accounts of the Augustinian priory of Bolton, 1286 to 1325.
- 118 PRO, E315/172/58-9, 67, 54-6.
- 119 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 36, 89.
- 120 Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, pp. 51-2. He instances Maundy Thursday distributions of bread beer and herrings at Merevale and Stoneleigh; Brooke and King, *The Book of William Morton*, Intro., xxviii.
- 121 *Valor*, vol. 3, p. 154.
- 122 Cox, vol. 4, p. 234; see also Tillotson, *Monastery and Society*, p. 22.
- 123 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 21.
- 124 W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660*, pp. 58-61; G.W.O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, pp. 20-1, also instances two complaints in Huntingdon and Suffolk but sets these against other evidence of plenteous provision and concludes that the tradition was well maintained.
- 125 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 62, 152.
- 126 B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540. The Monastic Experience*, ch. 1.
- 127 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, map facing p. 40, pp. 80-7; R.M. Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England*, p. 285, tabulates 12 hospital foundations, half of which had disappeared by the sixteenth century.
- 128 Darlington, vol. 1, Intro., liii.
- 129 *Ibid.*, D10, p. 173, late 12th century; Holdsworth, 'Rufford Charters', no. 84, p. 41; nos. 87-8 (1223-1250), pp. 42-3. In these documents St. Helen's is referred to as a new hospital. Reference is made to the Master of the House and brothers there.
- 130 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 21-3; pp. 62-4.
- 131 Darlington, vol. 1, D3, p. 164; The others were at Alkmonton and Chesterfield. See *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 80-2; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, a brief note on foundations to St. Leonard.
- 132 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 84-6. In 1333 it was relieved of taxes because of its slender income; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 218. These texts give alternative

- versions of the conduct of warden Thomas de Golgyngton who alienated lands, 1341-1345.
- 133 *Valor*, vol. 3, pp. 153-4; Darlington, D7, p. 171.
- 134 PRO, 301/14/38.
- 135 *Ibid.*, 301/13/59.
- 136 National Library of Malta, Archive 2192, *Liber in quo continentur Deliberationes Venerandae Laingua Angliais ab anno 1524 ad annum 1559*, f. 4v; 59v. This includes some record of the negotiations and decisions on appointments to the English preceptories; *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 77 incorrectly gives 1526 as the date when Layton succeeded; *DNB*, vol. 9, p. 338, biography of Cave.
- 137 PRO, E315/93/3 m. 11-11v.
- 138 Cox, vol. 4, App. 2, pp. 538-9, pp. 17-18.
- 139 See also Harvey, *Living and Dying*, Intro.
- 140 PRO, E315/172/61; The Dale inventory transcribed in S. Fox (Rev.), *The History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of S. Matthew Morley*, pp. 33-41 is taken from a later copy in BL Add. Mss. 6698/529. This was also used by J.C. Cox.
- 141 PRO, E315/172/69. The Repton inventory transcribed in W.H. St. John Hope, 'On the Augustinian priory of the Holy Trinity, at Repton, Derbyshire', *DAJ*, vol. 6, pp. 75-96, may be taken from this source, or BL Add. Mss. 6698.
- 142 L&P Hen. 8, vol. 10 (1536), no. 364, pp. 137-8; Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, pp. 184-5.
- 143 F.C. Hipkins (Rev.), 'Repton: its Abbey, Church, Priory, and School' in Cox, *Memorials of Old Derbyshire*, pp. 116-17.
- 144 see Vallance, 'Roods, Screens and Lofts', pp. 201-5.
- 145 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 62. On these feasts see Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, pp. 38-9 and 79-83.
- 146 Cox, vol. 4, p. 341; C. Drage, 'Dale Abbey: the South Range Excavations and Survey, 1985-87', *DAJ*, vol. 110, pp. 60-92, gives some details of the architectural style of the south wing of the claustral buildings.
- 147 Fox, *Parish Church of S. Matthew Morley*, pp. 9-14 with plates; On the Victorian window restorations and a criticism of Fox's descriptions see T. Osborne Bateman, 'Notes on Morley Church, Near Derby', *Reliquary*, vol. 13, pp. 129-37 (Jan. 1873).
- 148 G. Bailey, 'Painted Glass Window in Morley Church', *DAJ*, vol. 8, pp. 143-9 includes a black and white illustration.
- 149 St. John of Bridlington was canonised in 1401.
- 150 Cox, vol. 3, plate xiii, facing p. 256.
- 151 J.W. Legg (ed.), *The Processional of the Nuns of Chester*, p. 28.
- 152 A H. Thompson, *The Abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows, Leicester*, ch. ix; On religious libraries see also J.T. Rhodes, 'Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century', in *JEH.*, vol. 44.
- 153 Printed in W.H. St. John Hope, 'Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Mary', *DAJ*, vol. 5, pp. 1-29 with English translation from BL, Cotton Mss. Vesp. E26; J.C. Cox, 'The Chartulary of the Abbey of Dale', *DAJ*, vol. 24, pp. 82-150; More recently, R. Clark, *The Foundation of Dale Abbey in Legend and Chronicle. New Transcript and Critical Review*, 1977; Saltman, Intro., pp. 1-7, historiography and analysis; H.M. Colvin, *The White Canons of England*, pp. 170-8.

- 154 DLSL, Mundy Papers, Deposition 10, Parcel 213 and see above, ch.1 pp. 24-5.
 155 Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 25-7.
 156 *Ibid.*, pp. 27-8.
 157 Baskerville, *English Monks*, p. 58. He estimated that the offices were worth between £1200 and £1500 annually; Bernard, *Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 50 who states that he was also joint Steward to one other; PRO E315/172/58.
 158 PRO, PCC wills, George Talbot.
 159 *Valor*, vol. 3, p. 154. The seven anniversaries and sums were: William Cardoyll of Spondon, 3s. 4d., William Suwell, 52s., Roger Ulkerthorn 34s., John Meynley 18s., William of Little Chester, 23s., Thomas and Eadithe Babyngton, 6s. 8d., and Robert Smyth, 6s. 8d.
 160 J.C. Cox, 'Norbury Manor House and the Troubles of the Fitzherberts', *DAJ*, vol. 7, pp. 221-59, includes partial transcriptions of the wills of Ralph, Elizabeth, and John Fitzherbert; Baker, *The Notebook of John Port*, Intro., xlv-li.
 161 LJRO, B/C/10, Humphrey Bradburne, Ashbourne 1519; Roger Hurt, Ashbourne 1523; John Berysford.
 162 PRO, E315/93/3, ff.11, 12v; PRO, E315/172/67.
 163 PRO, E315/93/3, ff. 47, 133.
 164 PRO, E315/172/68; NUMD, Middleton Ms. 7/180/43. Willoughby was owed two years fees (40s.) from Dale.
 165 Cameron, 'Some Social Consequences', p. 53; Baskerville, *English Monks*, p. 59.
 166 C. Cross, 'The Religious Life of Women in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire Nunneries', in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (ed.), *Women in the Church*, Studies in Church History, vol. 27, p. 310.
 167 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 24.
 168 *Ibid.*
 169 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 140.
 170 LJRO, B/C/11, Thomas Harwode, 1538. Roger Wodward, 1538. William Francis, 1539, the reference crossed out at some time. All Derby (St Werburgh).
 171 *Ibid.*, for Aston, John Rolston, 1536. John Banton, 1538; for Barrow, Elizabeth Cruker, 1534. Edmund Smyth, 1534. William Smythe, 1538. Two Twyford wills do not mention friars. Also Thomas Gold, Heanor 1538; DRO, 158M/F1, Will of Robert Milwart of Eyton, Dovedale, parish of Doveridge, 29 Oct. 1513. Gifts made to the friars of Derby and Lichfield.
 172 LJRO, B/C/11, John Taberer and Thomas Taberer, Derby (St. Peter) 1534; Emma Proctor, Pentrich 1536; Robert Smyth, Darley Abbey 1538. In this context the staff at the Lichfield Joint Record Office kindly had a number of wills repaired for my use.
 173 *Ibid.*, Robert Nawdon, Kirk Hallam 1535; At Elvaston, Richard Adam 1534, the Abbot appointed supervisor. Elys Potter, 1534, left money for masses; At Ilkeston, William Lace, 1538 named the abbot as executor and owed money; At Spondon William Locckey 1537, for prayers.
 174 LJRO, B/C/11, Roger Wodward, 1538, Thomas Derneley, Derby (St. Werburgh) 1542.
 175 MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, pp. 176-7.
 176 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 140 suggests that Darley, and perhaps other houses, may have recruited on a 'restricted basis'.

- 177 LJRO, B/C/11, Henry Sowter, Duffield 1537; Richard Toft, Duffield 1545; Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 151-3. The tenth was called Wathe and is not identified.
- 178 Currey, 'Two Derby wills', Joan Holme; PRO, PCC, John Stringer.
- 179 Tillotson, *Monastery and Society*, pp. 23-4; Dobson, *Durham Priory*, pp. 58-9.
- 180 Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 78 refers to condemnation of enclosure by Thomas More and Jerome Barlow.
- 181 Blanchard, *Duchy of Lancaster's Estates*, A1, p. 25.
- 182 *Ibid.*, A1, p. 25; A3, p. 26; A4, p. 26-9.
- 183 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 172, an undated account and not as yet traced to an original source.
- 184 Bigsby, *History of Repton*, p. 91.
- 185 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 186 Blanchard, *Duchy of Lancaster's Estates*, A5, pp. 29-42; B2, pp. 57-60.
- 187 PRO, E315/172/64-5; 72; 54-6.
- 188 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 63, 151-2.
- 189 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 138.
- 190 Knowles, *Religious Houses*, vol. 3, p. 260.
- 191 D.J.L. Michelmores (ed.), *The Fountains Abbey Lease Book*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, vol. 140, Intro., xxxvii.; no. 277.
- 192 Tillotson, *Monastery and Society*, pp. 56-7.
- 193 PRO, E315/172/ 54-6; DRO, D187/2/10. Account taken by Cokeram of lands and rents at Scarcliffe and Glapwell.
- 194 PRO, E315/172/54-5, 72, 64-5.
- 195 Michelmores, *Fountains Abbey*, Intro., lxvii.
- 196 Woodward, *Dissolution*, pp. 23-7.
- 197 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, pp. 152-3, Intro., xlv-vi.
- 198 LJRO, B/C/11, Robert Smythe, Darley Abbey 1538.
- 199 PRO, E315/172.
- 200 Jeayes, *Radbourne Hall*, nos. 666-7, p. 107.
- 201 LJRO B/C/10, p. 74, Thomas Blackwall, Wirksworth 1525; On banking see Baskerville, *English Monks*, pp. 33-4.
- 202 PRO, DL3/31/R1.
- 203 A.G.R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State*, p. 29; Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, Intro., xxxvi.
- 204 Haigh, *Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries*, pp. 139-40.
- 205 Walter Hilton, 'Epistle on the Mixed Life', taken from Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 108.
- 206 Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds*, p. 215.
- 207 see D.M. Palliser, 'Introduction. The Parish in Perspective', in Wright, *Parish, Church and People*, pp. 11-15.
- 208 Cox, vol. 4, p. 44; Saltman, *Wakebridge Chantries*, pp. 180-1.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Reformation and the Parish

Introduction: the Predicament

What shall he do then that doth pluck down churches and images, being
but a mortal man as we be?¹

The words of William Ludlam, the 'hermit' of St. Thomas' chapel, Chesterfield, sum up the predicament of opponents of the government's religious policies in the 1530s. Ludlam spoke out in mid-1538 as the destruction of images and shrines gathered pace following the publication of the second Royal Injunctions. He was sent to Cromwell having publicly, in front of the bishop's suffragan and 'after a rage fassyon', asked why it was that if a man pulled down the king's arms he would be hung, drawn and quartered yet the king could not be touched for destroying churches and images. Behind the words was an implicit rejection of Royal Supremacy: Ludlam had been to Rome and was apparently a supporter of the Papacy.² However, in front of Cromwell his memory of events failed him and he was sent home for the local Justices to punish as an example to others.³

Countering the view that the Papacy was unpopular in England, Haigh's most recent work, *English Reformations*, gives numerous and country wide examples of clerical and lay protest against the break with Rome but such records of vocal opposition in Derbyshire are rare.⁴ Only when pre-emptive action was taken to defuse potential sources of unrest does a record survive. In 1534 Roger Dycker of Derby, a 69 year old veteran of many campaigns and a man 'sore bruised in the King's wars', was reported to Sir Anthony Babington for supposedly saying of the king's action in divorcing Katherine of Aragon, 'So noble a lady, so highborn and so gracious, he would not forsake and marry another.' It was perhaps his description of Anne Boleyn as a 'strong hoore', a comment widely circulated, that led to several months incarceration in the Marshalsea.⁵

For ordinary Derbyshire people, who were distant, if not detached, from the progress of events at court and in parliament, the attacks on ingrained and accepted customs and institutions must have been difficult to absorb. The objections of Dycker and Ludlam convey elements of disbelief and serve as indicators of the doubts that the Henrician Reformation raised. This chapter explores the way in which religious policies were applied in the deanery and with what immediate results.

Part One: Reformation Policies and Diocesan Responses.

The Reformation Parliament sat from 1529 to 1536. With only four seats in the House of Commons to represent the whole of Derbyshire the county had, in common with all counties north of the Trent, very little say in parliamentary legislation. Derby was the only borough in the county and returned two members. In 1529 the Brethren of the borough chose Thomas Ward, a town bailiff, and Henry Ainsworth of Lancashire, possibly a nominee of the Earl of Shrewsbury. One of the two county M.P.s was Sir Roger Mynours, who was elected with William Coffin of Bakewell.⁶ The Earl of Shrewsbury, who favoured the Aragonese cause, was the county's chief lay voice in the House of Lords. There was no religious spokesman as no Derbyshire abbot was mitred and Bishop Blythe, now in his sixties, was too ill to attend. After his death, by March 1531 when his will went to probate, the see was to remain vacant until 1534. During these crucial years, when radical measures were passed, there was hardly a voice raised in parliament to express the opinions of 'the fair field' of Derbyshire folk.

Thomas Cromwell's progressive influence at Court resulted in two appointments which, paradoxically, would retard the Reformation within the deanery. The first was the translation of Richard Strete from the archdeaconry of Salop to Derby in 1533. He had already been a participant in the dissolution of the Augustinian priory of Calwich in Staffordshire and Hibbert describes him as Cromwell's agent in the district.⁷ Even so, he was probably a religious conservative as in September 1534 both Strete and David Pole, diocesan Chancellor, had to defend themselves against a report that they favoured 'the bishop of Rome and his wicked laws and practices'.⁸

The other appointment and the first major impact of the Reformation on the diocese was that of Dr. Roland Lee. He was confirmed as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in January 1534 and consecrated on 19 April, in time to cast a vote in favour of the Act of Supremacy.⁹ A member of Doctor's Commons, Lee mixed in humanist circles and was rumoured to have carried out the ceremony of marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn.¹⁰ He was a close enough friend of Cromwell to have been entrusted with the guardianship of his son Gregory and, under Wolsey's direction, he had worked with Cromwell on dissolutions of minor monastic houses. He had knowledge of the diocese through a prior post as diocesan chancellor and had communicated with Strete over the

dissolution of Calwich.¹¹ Even so, from the evangelical point of view this was an opportunity missed. Stephen Vaughan, biased in opinion but in a position to judge Lee's qualities, made his disappointment very clear to Cromwell. On hearing of the proposed appointment he wrote,

You have lately holpen an earthly beast, a mole, and an enemy to all godly learning, into the office of his damnation - a papist, an idolater, and a fleshly priest unto a bishop of Chester.¹²

Cromwell used Lee to help achieve his ambition to incorporate Wales more completely into the 'Empire' state, appointing him Lord President of the Marches of Wales. This office inevitably diminished Lee's personal involvement in the diocese. While he meted out hard if fair justice in Wales, 'hanging thieves, hunting murderers, and forcing juries to give verdicts according to the truth and against favour', diocesan business was left to deputies.¹³ From Brecknock in April 1536 he wrote,

It is said the King intends northwards this summer. Let me know if he will visit any of my poor houses. I am a stranger at home, by reason of my business here.¹⁴

In *Reform and Reformation, England 1509-1558*, Elton describes him as,

a rough and ruthless man, devoid of all graces and (as he himself admitted) unaccustomed to preaching, a curious throwback to the warrior bishops of an earlier age joined to the solid administrator types that served the Tudor Crown.¹⁵

While Latimer at Exeter was assiduously pressing radical change upon his new diocese, Lee appeared to favour traditionalism, pleading the case for certain religious houses. Yet the tone of his letters is tinged with pragmatism and materialistic considerations.¹⁶ Hibbert describes him as 'obsequious', which perhaps goes too far but he was undoubtedly uncertain of his role and deferential to Cromwell.¹⁷ While he responded positively to Cromwell's circular letter of 1535, calling for greater action from the episcopacy, writing from Wales that he would go to his diocese to preach the King's new title, he had to be prompted into action.¹⁸ Yet again in 1538, when he was so tied up in Wales that he had to 'steal home' to Lichfield for Easter Sunday, he was slow to follow up state initiatives, writing from Welshpool,

You note negligence in my Chancellor (i.e. Pole) for not taking heed to the King's injunctions. I am sorry, but have been so busied here in setting order and quietness in these parts, that I could not attend to it.¹⁹

Altogether, Lee, Strete and Pole would ensure that there was no push for reform from the episcopacy.

Part Two: Local Responses

In 1529 six complaints against the clergy were voiced in the Commons, out of which three bills were constructed. The first concerned probate dues, the second mortuary dues and the third incorporated issues of non-residence, pluralism and the taking of farms by the clergy. Fixed fees for probate dues were opposed by the bishops in the Lords but won acceptance as did a measure to set fixed mortuary dues.

Wills for the years 1535 to the end of Henry VIII's reign survive from 24 pre-dissolution parishes. To these can be added two which give the domiciles as Darley Abbey, just prior to its dissolution, and the post Reformation parish of Dale. A small proportion of these wills afford evidence of the speed of introduction of the fixed mortuary due, though not illuminating the wider question of demand for the measure. Phrases such as 'my best gud' and munificent donations such as the silver salt offered by John Stringer, are no longer found. There was swift use made of the new act in November 1530 when the phrase 'my pryncypall as the law will' first appears in wills from Duffield.²⁰ In this parish the act is constantly referred to thereafter, at first ambiguously, as in the phrase, 'as the lawe will according to the lawe and custome of the realme', and later more directly, 'according to the King's Act'.²¹ At Horsley two testators refer to the new measure. John Stonysbe's will, written in July 1531, states,

I bequeth for and in the name off my mortuary and as principall after the acte off the kings parlament.²²

However, at Ockbrook, Richard Adam and his scribe still appears to be unaware of the legislation in 1533 as he bequeathed a more traditional 10s. for his mortuary. The silence on this subject in 21 of the 24 parishes for which wills survive, suggests that the matter was not a great issue amongst testators.²³

In 1531 the clergy faced a damaging charge of praemunire and Convocation, forced to sue for pardon, proffered a sum in excess of £100,000. The local parish clergy had then to pay an extra subsidy which was levied in 1533. The return survives but provides no more information than a list of clergy and the valuation of livings.²⁴ The royal divorce, the Acts of Supremacy and Succession, a new Treasons Act and the Ten Articles of Faith, all followed and would have been promulgated locally but avenues of research into their reception are circumscribed by the paucity of the diocesan records in this regard. The Consistory Court Book is blank for the years 1535 and 1543, visitation

records are void between the years 1524 and 1558 and no relevant cause papers survive. Even All Saints Vestry Book does no more than register the annual audit. Apart from the comments of Ludlam and Dycker, culled from State Papers, testamentary evidence again affords virtually the only indicator of local reactions.

The Act of Supremacy became law in the spring of 1534 but it was October 1539, following Bishop Lee's tardy promulgation of Injunctions, before any will preamble made use of the king's new title and authority, a scribe at Duffield incorporating the words 'supp[re]me head in erthe of the church of yngland Immediately under god' into his introductory sentence, followed by a 'neutral' invocation to 'almighty god'.²⁵ The Injunctions had a Christocentric emphasis in the phrase, 'the King's majesty to be only the Supreme Head under Christ in earth of this his Church of England' but local scribes more typically use phrases as in the will of Thomas Was (1541), 'suprime heed [i]n yerth immedialy unther god of thys church of England'.²⁶ The vast majority of wills in the parish of Duffield incorporate the phrase 'supreme head', though with variants, sometimes omitting 'immediacy' or substituting 'next under god'. Invocations which followed were usually 'traditional'.²⁷ This parish is unique in its early acknowledgement of royal supremacy via the medium of a will. A possible explanation for this is that the right of presentation lay with Bishop Lee and the death of Stokesley enabled him to effect the appointment of an incumbent of his own liking.²⁸

The declaration of Royal Supremacy was followed by an attack on superstitious practices, hastened in Derbyshire by the actions of Cromwell's agents, the Bassetts. In 1536, within 48 hours of receiving a letter from Cromwell, Sir William Bassett of Meynell Langley did his 'bounden duty' and, with his brother Francis, hurried to the two major pilgrimage sites in the vicinity, Buxton and Burton Abbey, to seize the images of St. Anne and St. Modwen. Sir William wrote to Cromwell, describing his actions at Buxton,

And for that there should be no more idolatry and superstition be there used I did not only deface the tabernacles and places where they did stand, but also did take away crutches, shirts, and sheets, with wax offered, being things that did allure and entice ignorant people to the said offering.²⁹

The following years saw the dissolution of all religious houses, accompanied by popular risings in East Anglia and the north of England which will be considered separately in Chapter 5. Lee's injunctions were issued during this phase of the Reformation and seen in this context they were humanistic but hardly evangelical. They required each parish to place a Bible, both in Latin and English, in the choir where it could be read. They also ordered the abolition of certain holy days. The reason given however was not a denunciation of saints but the moral argument that the time was spent by youth and 'other unthrifths' in the alehouse rather than the parish church. They also ordered parish priests to publish the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English but to this Lee linked the Ave Maria. The seven deadly sins and the Ten Commandments were also to be frequently declared and all were to be taught to parishioners.³⁰ There was therefore to be no attack on the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Coventry and Lichfield diocese. The Injunctions vary in several respects from those drawn up by Cromwell in 1538.

The effect of all this activity can hardly be measured except through wills which are the only personal documents that survive in any quantity. As already stated in Chapter Two these can only be used with reservations. An analysis of 212 will preambles from 1535 to 1546 is displayed in Table 11 (see p. 135 below). These represent a cross section of local society though with a heavy imbalance towards men, only 11% of the wills coming from female testators. Except in a few cases they do not provide reliable evidence of individual belief. In some studies scribes appear to make use of a variety of preambles, presumably to accommodate client preferences but an examination of handwriting and phraseology of deanery wills shows that its scribes rarely deviated by more than an odd changed word or omitted phrase from their particular choice of formulary.³¹ The level of clerical input was substantial. A local cleric was usually involved in the making of a will, 70% being signed by a priest, who was first witness on 55% of occasions. When the number of wills that refer to a priest as supervisor or benefactor are added, only 18% make no reference to a cleric. Only in Duffield where settlements were widely scattered and in Derby borough where there was greater opportunity of choice, were a substantial number of wills (one third) made with no use or mention of a priest.

When this study was undertaken it was assumed that a methodology could be employed which would facilitate ready comparison with allied studies. This proved to be impossible as there is a wide disparity in approach amongst researchers. In a recent study

of 'Wills and Religious Mentality in Tudor Colchester', Higgs adopted a scheme of using designated 'indicators' to facilitate analysis. This model proved to be unsuitable, in part because of the degree of differentiation in source material. Colchester, with a population of about 5,300 people, was ranked 12th or 13th in wealth amongst English towns and the nature of the wills written by its citizens, who enjoyed a superior standard of wealth and were subject to different customary influences, allowed Higgs to ask substantially different questions than could be usefully asked in this study.³² In a more recent study of lay responses to changes in official religious policy in Gloucestershire, Litzenberger adopted a different approach, identifying 17 categories of preamble under three main bands, traditional, neutral and protestant.³³ These broad bands provide an overview but invite an oversimplified final result. Religious beliefs were always diverse even in a world of universal catholicism and the Reformation brought new variations in belief as the nation entered an intermediate stage, generally though imperfectly defined by terms such as humanist, reformist, even proto-protestant. Any methodology needs to allow for considerable differentiation.

In both studies will preambles have been used as an aid to the identification of protestant wills. However language interpreted as 'protestant' is difficult to separate from that of the reformist catholic. Duffy makes the point that even phraseology which implies a belief in 'election' cannot be assumed to indicate protestant conviction as the doctrine of predestination had been a feature of English theology and piety since at least the fourteenth century.³⁴ He further points out that the doctrine of justification by faith as identified in the phrase 'trusting solely in the merits of Christ', would not be inconsistent for use by an orthodox catholic. In both contentions he is surely correct as this fourteenth century prayer, popular with devout catholics, testifies.

Sweetest and most loving lord, my Lord Jesus Christ, God's own dear son. For the honour and virtue of your blessed Passion admit and receive me among the number of your chosen people. My saviour and redeemer, I surrender all of myself fully to your grace and mercy, do not forsake me. To you, Lord, I come; do not reject me. Lord Jesus Christ, I ask for paradise and bliss from you, not on account of the worthiness of my merits, since I am but dust and ashes and a sinful wretch, but through the virtue and effect of your holy Passion, by which you have vouchsafed and would buy me, sinful wretch, with your precious blood, and bring me into Paradise.³⁵

The language of this prayer, if it had been written in the 1540s, might have been taken as an example of a protestant declaration of belief in election but it is rooted in Christocentric catholicism and was included in the *Book of the Craft of Dying*, an instructional text universally distributed in the fifteenth century and readily available in printed form. However, Higgs identifies the will of Alderman John Clere, written in 1538, as the first openly protestant will in Colchester on the strength of the phrases 'trusting by his mercy and by the merits, passion and bloodshedding of his dear and only son, Jesus Christ to have forgiveness of my sins'. This identification is not safe. Litzenberger avoids this pitfall by including preambles which refer to the 'merits, precious blood and/or passion of Jesus Christ or Almighty God' in the 'neutral' category.³⁶ This might be an ultra cautious policy prior to 1547 since these phrases are firmly rooted in catholic doctrine and can usually be identified as such through will content. Moreover, they were phrases which could be culled from instructional texts such as the *Book of the Craft of Dying* which were designed to prepare an individual for death and for hopeful entry into purgatory and thus incorporated into the last testament as a means of assisting the passage of the soul out of the material and into the spiritual world.

The preclusion of a definitive model has necessitated yet another individual approach in this study. Preambles are here presented under eight categories, defined with regard to the limited phraseology used by deanery scribes. These categories are:-

- a) Invocation to God, the Virgin Mary and all the saints in Heaven
- b) Invocation to Christ, the Virgin Mary and all the saints in Heaven
- c) Invocation to God and all the saints in Heaven
- d) Invocation to God only
- e) Invocation to God, maker, creator, or redeemer
- f) Invocation to God and Passion,
- g) Invocation to God and Trinity or Holy Ghost
- h) Invocation to God, saved only by merits or election

Between 1530 and 1534 all but one preamble, analysed in Table 11 (see p. 135 below), invoked intercession through the Virgin Mary and this shows little change between 1535 and 1547. At Duffield, 13 preambles have a Christocentric bias, invoking 'Jesus Christ', as in the will of Ellen Brockeshawe,

I bequeythe my sowle to my makar.jesu chryste to oure lady sent mary and
to all the halowes and cumpeyne in heyven.³⁷

These have, as a common denominator, the name of the St. Mary priest, John Elliott who can be found witnessing or named as supervisor in all 13 wills from April 1534 to

October 1542 and all invoking Christ rather than god. These can stand as a statement of his religious teaching if not of the beliefs of the testators.

Only 7% of wills omit an invocation to the saints in Heaven though 11% drop the invocation to the Virgin Mary. It would be wrong to label these as 'non determinant' (a phrase preferred to 'neutral') without reference to their religious content. Alice Tomlynson of Weston's will (1542) falls into category d) but requests burial before the Rood, leaves a torch to her parish church and 10s. for a trental. Half the wills in this category still request some form of intercessory prayers.³⁸ However, the three which fall within category e) contain no other religious content and it may be that here is a demarcation line between the catholic and the would be reformist.

The will of William Glossop, a yeoman of Horsley, written in March 1538 is exceptional and though placed in category h) it embraces category f). In a testament made when sick, he first calls himself a true and faithful Christian and then bequeathed his 'poor' soul to almighty god, trusting to be saved,

oonly and frely thoro hys grace and [th]e multitude of his marcyes for
[th]e love and merits of the passyon death and blode shedyng of hi[s] deer
and well belovyd son oure oonly redemar & medyattor ye ma[jesty] Jhu
cryste and nother be ye meryts and works of my selfe nor of eny other
creature yn hevyn or yn erth.

Having heartily forgiven the world and those who had trespassed against him (an allusion to the Lord's Prayer) the will concludes,

In faith unfained sure hope and p[er]fite charity I betake me holly to All
mighty god and to [th]e holly co[m]pany ev[er] besheing god to have
m[er]ce apon me and of all it he wolde have prayd for to whome oonly be all
honor glory and saved by our oonly meditato[r] Jhu crist Acordinge to his
holly worde.³⁹

Glossop's Christocentric testament can be seen as reformist, not for its trust in Christ but for its denial of intercession except through any agent other than Christ. It followed in the wake of royal pronouncements against the superstitious use of imagery, Bassett's destruction of shrines and the dissolution of many religious houses. Zell talks of the difficulty of placing reliance on will preambles because of the 'one substantial dilemma' of not knowing who actually wrote them or in what circumstances they were written.⁴⁰ However, in this case, the form of language is unique. The will is witnessed by Thomas Dylke, vicar of Horsley, but is unlike any other which bears this cleric's name.

TABLE 11: Deanery Wills: Religious Belief from Will Preambles, 1530-1546.

PARISH	1530-4	1535	1536	1537	1538	1539	1540	1541	1542	1543	1544	1545	1546
Aston		a		c	a						c	c	
Barrow	aa			d	a			aaa			a	a	a
Breadsall	a	a				a	a						
Crich	a		aa	aa	aa		a		aaa		a	a	
Darley/Dale					a							a	
Duffield	aaaab ca	aaa		ba	ba	aacbd	b	aabbb babb	aaaab	aaaa	aacca		
Elvaston	aaa				a		aa	a	a	aa	aa		
Heanor				a			a		a				
Horsley	a			aa	h		c				dd	f	
Ilkeston		a		a		aa				aa	a		aaa
Mackworth		dd		aa		a	aa	aaaaa	a - -		a	aa	
Mickleover						aa		a	a				aa
Morley		a	a	a				a	a	a		a	
Mugginton	a			a	a			a					aa
Pentrich	a		a			a	d					a	
Sandiacre										a		aa	
Spondon	aaaa	a	a	a	a		a			aa	aaa	a	aaa
Swarkestone					a	a				a			
West Hallam				a						aaa			
Weston		a	a						d	aa			
Willington				a									a
Derby All Sts	aaa	aaa		a		cca	aa	aa	a	aaa	a		aa
DerbySt. Michael		a		a			a				aa	a	
Derby St. Peter	aaaaa a			aa		a		a	a	a		aa	
Derby St.Werb.					ada	a	aa	a		a			
Total No.Wills	30	15	6	21	15	18	16	22	17	25	19	22	15

Tables 12a-b (see pp. 137-8 below) analyse religious content. The percentage of those making some form of religious bequest reduced slightly in the 1540s from the 66% who did so between 1535 and 1539 but there was an increase in the actual number of requests for intercession. Marcombe's study of the Nottinghamshire town of Retford found that the last testamentary request for mass and dirige was made as early as 1536 though bequests of lights continued.⁴¹ In the deanery, while the anniversary and obit had faded away by 1540 (to make but a brief re-appearance in 1557), Agnes Wellemot of Morley asked for five masses in 1545 and in Duffield parish such requests continued until 1547.⁴² The Tables show little change in demand for trentals, the rate being 11% from 1530 to 1534 and 13.5% from 1535 to 1539.⁴³ Its appeal then diminished with only 8.7% of testators requiring such provision, except in Duffield where their popularity held up well at 17% until 1545. The last request, excluding that of ex-chantry priest Walter Newham, comes from Radbourne in 1547 just before the practice became illegal.⁴⁴ The trental was largely subsumed at Derby All Saints into the college's own intercessory ceremonials.

Although other reasons can be put forward, some wills do suggest a deeply felt need for intercessory masses to aid the soul's passage through purgatory. Alexander Wandell, a burgess and smith of Derby St. Peter (1536), desired a burial with all the customary accompaniments and went outside his parish with the specific request for the attendance of 12 priests, each to be paid 4d, possibly looking as much to ceremonial that befitted his status as to the benefit of his soul. William Francis of Derby St. Werburgh set up an obit with great precision (1539), specifying not only money for the priests but 6d. for lights, the distribution of 10d. in bread and ale, the mass penny for the bellman, 2d. for the churchwardens and 6d. for the parish clerk for ringing and for the dirige. He invoked the wrath of God to protect his investment, charging John Brookhouse, a local tanner to whom he had sold a property, to answer at the dreadful day of judgement for the upkeep of the obit. Roger More, a Derby burgess, sometime borough member of parliament, innkeeper and draper, whose inventory of goods exceeded £60 (1541), set aside a barn in Walker Lane to pay for an annual 5s. for an obit.⁴⁵

TABLE 12a: Deanery Wills: Analysis of Religious Content, 1535-1539.

PARISHES	No. of wills ¹	Trental	Obit	Mass	Taper Torch	7th Day/ College	Gift to Priest	Gift to PC	Our Lady	High Altar	Rood	Saint
Aston	3 (3)	2						3		2		
Barrow	2 (1)				1				1			
Breadsall	2 (2)			1	1	1			1			
Crich	6 (3)		1				1	1	1			
Darley Abbey	1 (1)		1									
Duffield	12(6)	1	1	1		1		4	4	2		
Elvaston	1 (1)	1					1					
Heanor	1 (1)	1					1	1	1			
Horsley	3 (2)						1	1				
Ilkeston	4 (2)	1						1		Trinity	1	
Mackworth	5 (2)				1			1				
Mickleover	2 (2)				1	1		1				
Morley	3 (0)											
Mugginton	2 (0)											
Pentrich	2 (2)		1				2	2				
Spondon	4 (4)	1				3			2			
Swarkestone	2 (0)						1					
West Hallam	1 (1)	1						1				
Weston	2 (2)							2				
Willington	1 (0)											
Derby All Saints	7 (7)	1	1		3	6	3	1			1	
Derby St. Michael	2 (2)	½				1						
Derby St. Peter	3 (2)				2	1		1				
Derby St. Werburgh	4 (4)	1	2½	1	3	1				1		
TOTAL	75 (50)	10½	7½	3	13	9 / 6	10	20	10	6	2	0

¹ The figures in brackets represent the number of testators making bequests (in two cases ½ a trental).

All entries are taken from the date on the wills, not of probate.

Table 12b: Deanery Wills: Analysis of Religious Content, 1540-1546.

PARISHES	No. of wills ¹	Trental	Obit	Mass Prayers	Taper Torch	7th day/ College	Gift to Priest	Gift to PC	Our Lady	High Altar	Rood	Saint
Aston	2 (2)			1	1		1	1		1	1	
Barrow	6 (6)	1			5	3	1	2		2		
Breadsall	1 (1)			1	1	1						
Crich	6 (3)	2		2			2	4			1	Trinity
Dale	1 (1)											
Duffield	29 (12)	5	1	4	4	5	4	4	4	1	2	5
Elvaston	8 (3)				1	1	2	2		1		
Heanor	2 (1)						1					
Horsley	4 (4)		1		2		3	2		1		
Ilkeston	6 (4)	1			2							1
Mackworth	13 (4)	1			4	3	3	2	1			
Mickleover	4 (1)						1					
Morley	4 (2)			1	1	1	2	1		2		
Mugginton	3 (0)											
Pentrich	2 (1)						1					
Radbourne	1 (1)	1						1				
Sandiacre	3 (3)				2			2		1		
Spondon	10 (7)	2	1	1	2	3	2					
Swarkestone	1 (1)				1							
West Hallam	3 (1)							1				
Weston	3 (2)	1			1			1			1	
Willington	1 (0)											
Derby All Saints	11 (11)	1	1	2	9	10	3	1		1		
Derby St. Michael	4 (4)	1		2	4		2					
Derby St. Peter	5 (4)	1		2	2	1	3	3		1		
Derby St. Werburgh	4 (3)	1			3	2						
TOTALS	137 (83)	18	4	16	45	10/20	31	27	5	11	5	6

¹ The figures in brackets represent the number of testators making bequests.

All entries are taken from the date on the wills, not of probate.

There is an often voiced opinion that women are more devout than men but the evidence of deanery wills only marginally supports this view. Of the 24 wills made by women, of whom 10 are described as widows, 21% made no religious bequest while 25% required trentals or an obit. Another 25% requested torches or tapers, giving 50% who requested some form of intercession. This is 3.5 % above the overall average but it has to be remembered that widows occasionally fulfilled conditions laid down in the will of a husband. Alice Tomlynson left 10s. for a sung trental for the souls of herself and her husband. Widow Joan Walker set aside a garden to fulfil the obit of her husband while she was to be prayed for in the bede roll, announced from the pulpit on Sundays, virtually the only will reference to this common form of intercession.⁴⁶

Cults which revered St. Mary were to continue to attract suppliants, with as much devotion from men as women, perhaps because, as the mother of Christ, she was seen as the most willing and effective mediator as death approached. The preamble to Thomas Derneley's will departs from the normal set words to invoke, 'the glorious Virgin St. Mother Mary'.⁴⁷ At Duffield, where there was a St. Mary priest and almost certainly a religious gild as there are several references to wardens with responsibility for Our Lady services, the cult stood up well.⁴⁸ In 1538 Katherine Lepper requested 15 masses and asked to be buried 'so nighe unto oure lady of gr[ac]e as a place can be found' as also did Thomas Blake four years later.⁴⁹ There was likewise a St. Mary priest at Derby All Saints where Margaret Wydowson requested burial before Our Lady of Pity in 1546.⁵⁰ Otherwise, the attraction of Marian cult apparently waned in the 1540s. Between 1530 and 1534 there were bequests of gifts, lights or burial in front of the Virgin Mary in 28.5% of wills which reduced to 12% between 1535 and 1539. At Spondon a gilded figure of Our Lady is mentioned in four wills between April 1534, when John Butler bequeathed 8d. 'if the priests will gild her', and November 1536, 'by which time injunctions against the adulation of images had been promulgated and there is no further reference to this practice.'⁵¹

After 1535 there are no requests for intercession through saints but the images are not necessarily discarded or disregarded. At Duffield, in a will dated to 1534, Philip Pole Esquire of High Heage, asked for burial before the image of St. Alkmund, his patron. This is the last reference to the saint's image but the phrase, St. Alkmund my patron, continued into the 1540s.⁵² The language of the will has changed to incorporate

the injunction against any charge of idolatry. So Oliver Fletcher of Duffield requested burial in St. Katherine's choir and an obit before her altar and Robert Harrison desired burial in St. John Baptist's choir. The exception comes in the request from Herre Pryor of Ilkeston (1546) for burial before St. Lawrence, sound evidence that images were still in situ there and revered.⁵³

Tables 12a-b show few donations to the High Altar, in sharp contrast to the findings of Ward and Higgs in their studies of Tudor Colchester. In the decade between 1528 and 1537, 79% of Colchester testators left a donation to the High Altar, which Ward attaches to forgotten tithes.⁵⁴ In the deanery, between 1530 and 1539 only 8% did the same, the offerings likewise apparently attached to tithe. At Duffield Thomas Smythe specifically uses the phrase 'decima obligations' and Philip Pole writes of 'dischargeing of my conciens' in donating the customary 12d. When Joan Walker's conscience pricked her in 1535 she left her best basin to the subdean of Derby All Saints. Perhaps in Derbyshire people were more assiduous in tithe payment or the clergy more efficient in claiming their dues. Alternatively, testators may have been less scrupulous in acknowledging their failure to pay tithe, or recompensed their parish priest by some other mechanism.

In general, deanery wills are very matter of fact and prosaic documents with few individualistic expressions. Pole is one exception and his will is probably self worded. He declared that 'the liffe of man upon the erthe is bot as a flowre', a romantic statement, uttering a sentiment well suited to songs of courtly love as in Shakespeare's, 'It was a lover and his lass' from *As You Like it* and harking back to the poetry of the troubador.⁵⁵ Glossop voiced an altogether more reformist sentiment in his desire for burial,

in [th]e earth amongst [th]e bodys of other faithfull peopule of [th]e cristian religian & catholicaull congregacion.⁵⁶

Reformist teaching is however little in evidence. In one respect deanery wills and inventories show a complete void in that there are no references to Bibles. This might be due to a general shortcoming of the source materials which almost never record books. Even in studies of Colchester no probate references to Bibles have been found prior to 1570.⁵⁷ Otherwise it may truly reflect a dearth. No Bibles are recorded in Derby All Saints Vestry Book until the 1560s, nor did Vincent Mundy record a Bible in his household inventory. In 1538 Bishop Lee's injunctions, following those issued by Cromwell two years earlier, had ordered that a Latin and an English Bible be placed in

every diocesan church, an order re-inforced by royal proclamation in 1541. The royal proclamation accepted however that many parishes had so far failed to acquire a Bible and carried a threat of a fine for future non-compliance.⁵⁸ Hutton, in addressing the question of 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations' through a study of surviving churchwardens' accounts, mainly from southern England, found that this was sufficient to pressurised most parishes into obeying the order.⁵⁹ A survey of church goods undertaken in the deanery in 1552 (see Chapter 6) suggests that in spite of the proclamation, the threat of a fine and every encouragement from the government of Edward VI, few parishes had as yet bought a Bible. The survey found a Bible in only nine out of 20 parishes and one out of 13 chapelries, these excluding the borough of Derby for which returns are missing.

Conclusion

Although partial and inconclusive, information abstracted from deanery wills does suggest that Reformation ideas made only slow progress amongst clergy and laity. On the surface Becon's comments on the continuing catholicism he observed in 1543 can only be supported. Possibly, this was true across the East Midlands. Archbishop Lee considered that most priests pretended ignorance of Injunctions and declared that he could find no one able to preach in the archdeaconry of Nottingham.⁵⁹ Reluctant conformity from the laity in Nottinghamshire is also suggested in reports which John Marshall of Little Carlton sent to Cromwell. Three letters survive from 1539.⁶⁰ His comments, doubtless tinged by his commission from Cromwell and a desire to look well in the latter's eyes, indicate a gradual acceptance of the English paternoster while old practices continued. He supports Archbishop Lee's complaint that few sermons were preached. He also found resistance to reforms that threatened rights, such as the introduction of the parish register, because of fears that it would be used to bring in higher taxes and the loss of holy days.

Forces of conservatism were very powerful and probably strengthened in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield with the death of Bishop Lee in 1543. Richard Sampson was then translated from Chichester where he had been bishop since 1536.⁶¹ Primarily a diplomat, the historian L.B. Smith places him alongside the pragmatists in the episcopacy, quoting his words to Cromwell that he was 'not very friendly to novelties except that necessity, or a great expedient cause require it'.⁶² He had supported the Six Acts and Houlbrooke suggests of his later attitude to Edwardian reformism that he was one 'from whom no more than formal compliance with the religious policy of the new government could be expected'.⁶³ His attitude to diocesan responsibilities as bishop of Chichester has been criticised, with suggestions that he neglected necessary reform of its administration.⁶⁴ It is likely that, as in Lee's episcopacy, officials were left with much latitude. Moreover, while the see had been made more manageable by the creation of the separate diocese of Chester, the bishop's civil duties remained onerous and frequently took him out of the diocese.

However this does not fully explain the religious situation by the latter years of Henry's reign. A dichotomy was emerging, though very gradually. One per cent of wills

show movement away from traditional catholicism. Certain members of the gentry had declared support for more reformist policies. The Bassetts had played a leading part in the destruction of imagery and pilgrimage sites while others would support the dissolution of the monasteries. And, even though no evidence has been found in probate records for the dissemination of Bibles, they and other reformist texts were in circulation. In 1543 Becon credited Alsop with the possession of a Tyndale Bible, copies of all his own writings, and other major reformist texts of the time including John Frith's book against purgatory, though just conceivably he may have been using the account of his sojourn with Alsop to make a propagandist statement.

One influence on the parish, the dissolution of the monastic houses and the release into the community, and into the local priesthood, of a body of men supposedly deeply dedicated to the catholic faith has still to be considered. The dissolutions also inflated the number of sacred items within private households and certainly led to the increase of imagery within some parish churches. Any further conclusions need to take this aspect of the Reformation into account. The dissolution and its implications are therefore the subject of the following chapter.

- 1 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/i (1538), no. 1345, p. 501.
- 2 *Ibid.*, Summarised in *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 15.
- 3 H. Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters Illustrative of English History, including numerous Royal Letters, from Autographs in the British Museum, the State Paper Office, etc. With Notes and Illustrations*, Camden Society, 3rd. series vol. 2, no. 136, pp. 135-6. This letter from Cromwell is dated 13th July 1538.
- 4 Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 141-3; See also R.C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, pp. 204-6.
- 5 PRO, C47/7/14; Wilson, *Tudor Tapestry*, pp. 96-7 interprets Babington's actions as unnecessarily punitive and arising out of conversion to protestantism but he takes no account of Babington's duty as sheriff.
- 6 Bindoff, *House of Commons*, vol. 1, pp. 64-5; Glover and Riden, *Woolley*, p. 43 gives Ward as bailiff in 1528. There is no trace of Ainsworth in Derby borough records but this source suggests that he may have been a nominee of Shrewsbury; Hibbert, *Religious Houses in Staffordshire*, p. 33.
- 7 L&P Hen.8, vol. 7 (1534), no. 1188, p. 461, quoted in G. R. Elton, *Police and Police*, p. 342.
- 8 DNB, vol. 32, pp. 373-7.
- 9 N. Harpsfield, 'Pretended Divorce of Henry VIII', *Camden Society*, vol. 21, pp. 243-5.
- 10 L.B. Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics*, p. 153; DNB, vol. 32, pp. 373-7; Hibbert, *Religious Houses in Staffordshire*, p. 33.
- 11 L&P Hen.8, vol. 6 (1533), no. 1385, p. 554; See also Smith, *Tudor Prelates*, pp. 154-5, who suggests that Lee was not partial to any religious doctrine.
- 12 The 'bishop of Chester' - at the time the archdeaconry of Chester was still attached to the see of Coventry and Lichfield.
- 13 G. Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 203.
- 14 L&P Hen.8, vol. 10 (1536), no. 754, p. 316.
- 15 Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 203; see also Smith, *Emergence of a Nation State*, p. 37. His is a less generous assessment, 'a man totally devoid of all the human graces which could reasonably be expected in a Christian bishop'.
- 16 L&P Hen.8, vol. 10 (1536), no. 754, p. 316.
- 17 Hibbert, *Religious Houses in Staffordshire*, p. 57.
- 18 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/i (1538), no. 675, p. 256.
- 19 *Ibid.*, no. 1197, p. 443.
- 20 LJRO, B/C/11, William Orchard, Duffield, 1535, dated 9 Nov. 1530.
- 21 *Ibid.*, Philip Pole, Duffield 1534.
- 22 *Ibid.*, John Stonysbe, Horsley 1535, dated 1 July 1531.
- 23 *Ibid.*, Richard Adam, Elvaston 1534.
- 24 BL, Harleian Mss. 594/13.
- 25 W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 2, pp. 19-24; LJRO B/C/11, Thomas Hasylgrene, Duffield 1542, dated 18 Oct. 1539; MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 190. At Exeter the first use of Supreme Head in parish accounts appears in 1538-9.
- 26 Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, item 3, p. 19; LJRO B/C/11, Thomas Was, Duffield 1541.
- 27 As for example, LJRO B/C/11, William Sowter, Duffield 1541, 'supp[r]eme hedd; Thomas Was, 'next und[e]r god the cheffe & sup[e]me heade'; Nicholas Scortred, Duffield 1543, includes the phrase 'defensor of the faith' for the first time.

28 LJRO, B/A/14iii, f. 27v.
 29 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 244, p. 95, and T. Wright (ed.), *Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*, no. 65; L&P, Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 256, p. 101. Thomas Thacker to Cromwell, 1st. September, on the same matter.
 30 Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, items 3, 5, 8, 11, pp. 20-3.
 31 e.g. Higgs, 'Tudor Colchester', p. 87.
 32 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-100.
 33 Litzenberger, 'Responses of the Laity'; Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p. 262, comments similarly upon research complications arising from differing source approaches.
 34 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 518-9.
 35 From *The Book of the Craft of Dying* as reproduced in Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 138.
 36 Higgs, 'Tudor Colchester', p. 93; Litzenberger, 'Responses of the Laity', p. 42.
 37 LJRO, B/C/11, Ellen Brockeshawe, Duffield 1541.
 38 *Ibid.*, Alice Tomlynson, Weston 1542.
 39 *Ibid.*, William Glossop, Horsley 1538.
 40 Zell, 'Use of Religious Preambles', p. 246.
 41 Marcombe, *English Small Town Life*, p. 221.
 42 LJRO, B/C/11, Agnes Wellemot, Morley 1547; Joan Robynson, Duffield 1547.
 43 The cost of a trental was 10s., as in. Marcombe, *English Small Town Life*, p. 220.
 44 LJRO, B/C/11, Thomas Bradshaw, Thomas Haughe, Robert Jonson, all Duffield 1544-45; Robert Hyll, Crich 1544; George Ward, Spondon 1545; William Yarewodde, Radbourne 1547.
 45 *Ibid.*, Alexander Wandell, Derby (St. Peter) 1536; William Frances, Derby St. Werburgh 1539; Roger More, Derby (All Saints) 1545.
 46 *Ibid.*, Alice Tomlynson, Weston 1542; Joan Walker, Derby All Saints 1535.
 47 *Ibid.*, Thomas Derneley, Derby (St. Werburgh) 1542.
 48 *Ibid.*, Philip Pole, Duffield 1536/7. This will refers to John Elliot as St. Mary priest; Thomas Badeley, Duffield 1533; Robert Harrison, Duffield 1539.
 49 *Ibid.*, Katherine Lepper, Duffield 1538; Thomas Blake, Duffield 1542; see also Thomas Smythe, Duffield 1535.
 50 *Ibid.*; Margaret Wydowson, Derby (All Saints) 1546
 51 *Ibid.*, John Butler, 1534. William Wedowson, 1534. William Drakelow, 1535. William Locckey (the elder), 1537, all Spondon.
 52 *Ibid.*, Philip Pole, Duffield 1536/7; William Sowter, Duffield abt. 1542.
 53 *Ibid.*, Oliver Fletcher, Duffield 1541; Robert Harrison, Duffield 1539; Herre Pryor, Ilkeston 1546.
 54 Ward, 'The Reformation in Colchester', p. 88.
 55 Oxford University Press, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 2nd. edn, pp. 428-32. from 'As You Like It'.
 56 LJRO, B/C/11, William Glossop, Horsley 1538.
 57 Higgs, 'Wills', p. 91, Table 3.
 58 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 430.
 59 Hutton, 'Local Impact', p. 118.
 60 Block, *Factional Politics*, pp. 96, 101.
 61 *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

- ⁶² *DNB*, vol. 50, pp. 230-2. Consecrated on 19th February 1543.
- ⁶³ Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics*, p. 226 et al.
- ⁶⁴ R. Houlbrooke, 'The Protestant Episcopate, 1547-1603. The Pastoral Contribution' in Heal and O'Day, *Church and Society in England*, p. 78. Sampson's financial position as bishop, though weakened by grants to William Paget in 1546, was not further threatened, in comparison to the major Edwardian depredations of Bath and Wells, Exeter, Lincoln and Winchester. See Hoskins, *Age of Plunder*, pp. 138-48.
- ⁶⁵ Heal, *Of Princes and Prelates*, p. 170, taking conclusions from S.J. Lander, *The Diocese of Chichester, 1508-58. Episcopal Reform and its Aftermath*, University of Cambridge, Ph.D. thesis.

CHAPTER FIVE

Dissolution of the Religious Houses

Introduction

The rector of the Derbyshire parish of Pleasely, Nicholas Harrison, in seeking news of the monks of Lenton, openly questioned the policy of dissolving England's religious houses.

It is a marvelous thing, for if the Lords of England were as they have been, as they be now but boys and fools, the King should not have pulled down so many abbeys as he hath done.¹

His remarks, for which he was arrested by the sheriff and brought before local justices, were made soon after the succession of the 5th Earl of Shrewsbury which may account for his reference to Lords who were 'but boys and fools'. He was reported by parishioners but the justices represented the cause of his transgression to Cromwell as 'aged and wit and memory simple'. The pulling down of abbeys was clearly controversial but why did it not spark rebellion in Derbyshire in support of the Pilgrimage of Grace and what were the immediate consequences? These are the questions addressed in this chapter.

The prologue to dissolution began soon after the Act of Supremacy which included a requirement for all clerics, including religious clergy, to take an oath renouncing Papal supremacy. All the Derbyshire houses complied.² It was also decreed that all religious under the age of 24, or any who had been professed under the age of 20, should be dismissed. Although there were an uncertain number who were turned out across the country none have been traced to Derbyshire.³

Although not yet under threat of closure there was already unease, encouraged by the appearance of unknown government agents or supposed agents. When a young man, 'after the scholar's fashion' and calling himself James Billingford, came to Derby on 21 January 1535 Abbot Rag wrote hurriedly to Cromwell reporting his activities. Billingford had visited Kingsmead nunnery while the prioress was absent, asked the numbers in the house and inspected the barns,

beyng to the greate feare of the sayd Jane More and all other her sisteres with the whole household.⁴

His concern to make Cromwell acquainted with Billingford's words on a subsequent visit to Darley demonstrates the unease.

Furste he [Billingford] sayde that he herde reported that there was of oone 'coate of Religyon' in Englande that hadd gathered togedere eyght scores thousande powndes to make an Insurrecyon within the Realme ageynste owre saide Souvreygne lorde the Kynge. And in conclusion he sayde it was the blake Monkes and that the same Money should be schypped over in Woolle pakkes at Southampton to be sent to the byschope of Rome.

As it transpired, Billingford was a dishonest priest from Suffolk who had already been reported to Cromwell after making similar visits to houses in Warwickshire, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, usually seeking money through deception. In May 1534, in Banbury he had claimed to be the Queen's chaplain and kinsman to the Earl of Norfolk and had been thrown into prison. Released, he turned up at the Bull's Head in Nottingham in 1535 claiming to be the Queen's kinsman and from there visited Derby. Two days after the abbot's letter, three abbey servants travelled to the 'Broke head' in Nottingham where Thomas Sherwood, a 'goodman', informed them that Billingford's servant swore that his master 'belonged to Mr. Cromwell, and I was to take care how I meddled with him'.⁵

In such ways rumours spread and alarm was created even before the appointment of visitation commissioners.

Part One: The 1536 Dissolutions and Rebellion

In 1535 the government's policy towards monastic houses was still undetermined and the first inquiry, a financial valuation usually referred to as the Valor Ecclesiasticus, was carried out using local gentry. Sir Henry Sacheverell, steward of Dale and Yeavely, was well qualified to lead the commissioner, acting with Sir Thomas Cokayne and Ralph Sacheverell.⁶ Each house had to present its accounts of regular sources of income though occasional gifts, corrodiess, fees for educational services and income from enterprises such as brewing, were amongst a range of extraordinary sources of revenue that were not included. Heath argues that these figures are, in general, honest on the grounds that there is 'a notable correspondence' in the diocese between figures declared during Blythe's episcopal visitations and those presented to the commissioners in 1535. Too close a correspondence, he suggests, would be 'as suspect as too little', given the complexity of calculations in an era of rising prices and land values. Only in three houses, Stafford, Stone and Tutbury, did he find gross discrepancies.⁷ Savine, however, points to the omission of the important curial income, such as manor court amercements, in the Derbyshire accounts and later rentals do imply undervaluation in some cases.⁸

A second inquiry into spirituality and conduct followed, this time using government servants. Those employed in Derbyshire were Dr. Thomas Legh and Thomas Leyton whose visit was swiftly completed.⁹ In comparison to many parts of the country their report, contained in the *Compendium Compertorum*, laid few charges of immorality or vice, though Darley, the largest house, was unaccountably excluded. Charges of sexual irregularities in Lancashire and Yorkshire were well in excess of those for Derbyshire.¹⁰ In the Lake District, charges of incontinence and sodomy averaged four per house and there were accusations of murder but with 13 houses visited compared to five there was also far more opportunity to find fault.¹¹ (see pp. 84-5 above)

The Act of Dissolution of 1536 which was subsequently passed, although limited in its terms, had grave implications for monasticism in Derbyshire.¹² Extreme charges of 'manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living' were made and the decision to dissolve all houses under £200 in clear annual income, without discrimination, meant that all houses bar Darley, with valuations well under the set limit for survival, were scheduled for closure. All 'ornaments, jewels, goods, chattels and debts' would become

the property of the Crown. In return the head of every house was to receive either a pension or a benefice and the communities were to be allowed capacities and 'some convenient charity disposed to them towards their living' to enable them to 'live honestly and virtuously' in the world outside. If they wished to remain within their order they were to be 'committed to such honourable great monasteries of this realm wherein good religion is observed as shall be limited by his Highness'. The Act was a political compromise, presenting the inmates of small houses as beyond reform while giving the king discretion to grant reprieves. This might accommodate the views of leading conservatives such as the Earl of Shrewsbury.

While Beauchief, Dale and Repton battled for survival, the rest could not hope for reprieve and went quickly. Unfortunately there are no surviving records of the process of their dissolution but it probably took place in August 1536. Thomas Legh was at Darley in August, from where he wrote to Cromwell about visits he had paid to the archdeaconries of Coventry and Stafford where he found people 'very tractable'. He later wrote that having visited Derby and part of Cheshire he had found nothing lacking but godly instruction of the 'rude and poor people' and most of the knights and gentry living incontinently with concubines.¹³

The departure of Thomas Gainsborough, the prior of St. James, should have taken place in 1536. He presumably transferred to the mother house as he was on the pension roll of Bermondsey at its dissolution.¹⁴ However a will from Derby St. Werburgh's, dated 24 April 1538, requested a 'said' mass from the prior of St. James, suggesting a delayed departure, while in 1540 Thomas Derneley of the same parish requested the presence of two priests of St. James at his burial mass.¹⁵ The priors of Breadsall and Gresley received pensions but five canons from Gresley were sent out without pensions, as were the nuns of Kingsmead.¹⁶ None had initially asked to leave the order, a question posed to all inmates during the spiritual visitation. In human terms therefore the 1536 dissolutions, although perhaps traumatic to individuals, amounted to very little, in comparison to dissolutions elsewhere. This may help to explain the calm in Derbyshire at the time of the Lincolnshire rebellion and the northern risings which go under the generic term, Pilgrimage of Grace.

The economic and social dimensions of the rebellions have been discussed in other places and impinge only slightly on this study which is concerned only to establish why peace was maintained in Derbyshire.¹⁷ According to Chapuys, Shrewsbury had opposed the annulment of the King's marriage to Katherine of Aragon and was not present at his remarriage to Anne Boleyn though Francis, his heir, attended. Nonetheless, on receiving news of the rebellion the Earl demonstrated his loyalty to the Crown by promptly rallying local gentry to his side. He moved against the rebels and helped to effect a truce at Doncaster on 27 October. Bernard lays great stress upon the role played by Shrewsbury in subduing the northern risings.¹⁸

The attitude of the Derbyshire people to the Pilgrimage is more debatable. Wilson argues that the gentry who assembled under Shrewsbury's banner in Sherwood Forest, were exceeded by no men in their devotion to duty or in their acceptance of official religious policy. The northern rising provided them with the crowning opportunity to prove their allegiance. To a man the Markhams, Babingtons, Hercys and Lascelles flocked to Nottingham in 1536 to the banner of the Earl of Shrewsbury.¹⁹

Sir Henry Sacheverell and Roland Babington were amongst those called upon to support the Earl.²⁰ However Bernard refers to circumstantial evidence that some of the soldiers in Shrewsbury's train were inclined towards the rebels.²¹ The show of allegiance probably owed much to the respect the Earl of Shrewsbury commanded.

The badge of the Five Wounds of Christ was well chosen as the 'pilgrimage' emblem for it would attract an empathetic response from many quarters but there are no confirmed reports of support from Derbyshire. With economic conditions not notably superior to those which pertained in the northern counties, a major factor may have been the absence of direct causation. A major grievance written into rebel demands was the dissolution of monastic houses but no sizeable Derbyshire house had been dissolved and those which had applied for a reprieve were still awaiting the king's pleasure. At Beauchief, the house closest to the centre of revolt, closure had been delayed although an inventory had been taken in August. The occupants and supporters of this house, which was somewhat isolated and under the nose of Shrewsbury, would gain nothing by rising. As for the southern houses, whether or not they had sympathy for their defiant Yorkshire brothers at Hexham, Norton and Bridlington they were not only distant but still in existence. With so little monastic closure there was correspondingly less at stake in Derbyshire. While not excluding other arguments, Davies, Haigh and Scarisbrick may be

justified in pointing to religious, rather than political, issues, and in particular the closure of religious houses, as the major trigger to revolt in the north.²²

The failure of the risings led to the hangings of the prior of Bridlington and the abbot of Barlings, events which must have been greeted with dismay by their fellow brethren yet may have benefited those houses with outstanding requests for exemption. Nationwide, 67 houses had been promised exemption and of these 51 eventually obtained patents. Of the three Derbyshire houses, Beauchief failed to obtain a patent and surrendered on 4 February 1537. The demise of Beauchief was made easier by three 'opportune' deaths. The position of the Premonstratensians had been weakened in general by the death in August 1536 of John Maxe, Abbot of Welbeck and Head of the Order. Although the Earl of Shrewsbury, as steward, did his best to ensure a free election for his successor, his influence on this occasion was insufficient to counter Cromwell who effected the appointment of a pliant man.²³ The closure of Beauchief was further facilitated by the death of Sir Anthony Babington, who had made a somewhat untypical attempt to rescue the house by writing to Cromwell with an offer of five fadders of lead and 'his daily service at commandment in these parts', as his wife's ancestors' were buried there, although it was Woodward's view that Augmentation officials paid very little attention to outside pressures.²⁴ The death soon after of Abbot Sheffield made closure virtually inevitable. Eight of the brethren obtained capacities.²⁵ They had little alternative if they wished to continue in the church. One, John Shemolde, probably transferred to Dale but such opportunities were very limited for there was no other Premonstratensian house in the county and every region had its own quota to accommodate.²⁶ Royal intentions notwithstanding, the practicalities ensured that the vast majority would be forced to abandon the enclosed life and accept any 'charity' that came their way. The site was acquired by Sir Nicholas Strelley.²⁷

Dale and Repton eventually bought exemption. It was normal to demand roughly the equivalent of a year's net income but at Newstead in Nottinghamshire a sum in excess was demanded and this was also the case at Dale, which was granted its exemption on 30 January 1537 at a cost of £166 13s. 4d.²⁸ In common with other houses Dale raised the necessary sum through the granting of leaseholds. Sometimes, as at Beauvale, one grant proved to be virtually sufficient to pay for exemption. In this case it was a 21 year lease to Sir John Willoughby of part of the demesne estates.²⁹ In contrast, the Welsh abbey of

Neath granted the surprisingly large number of 51 leases probably raising the requisite sum by imposing large entry fines.³⁰ The precise number of grants made by Dale Abbey is indeterminate but a number were made in 1536. The lot and cope of Griffie Grange was leased to Ralph Gell for 61 years at a peppercorn rent for the first six years.³¹ At this time too, the rectory of Ilkeston and its attached chapel of Stanley were leased to Nicholas and Richard Strelley.³²

Repton had to wait until mid summer to learn its fate and only gained exemption on 12 June 1537 and on payment of an exorbitant sum of £266 13s. 4d.³³ It may have been the problem of raising such a huge sum that delayed its exemption and its survival owed much to a 'parson Leveson' who acted as intermediary for his relative John Priest or Prest, a member of the London Grocers' Company. On 29 August 1537 Prest took a lease of Calke and its estate for 99 years, pre-paying the rent for the first 59 years, with an annual rent of £6 13s. 4d. thereafter. His interest in Repton's problems may stem from a former relationship, as a Henry Prest was prior from 1486 to 1503.³⁴ The success of its bid for exemption can also be linked to Sir Francis Bryan and a group of men with local interests, Sir John Port, Sir George Gresley and Henry Audeley, to whom the manor of Great Gransden in Huntingdonshire, properties in Nottingham at Sutton Bonington and East and West Leake, and the advowsons of three churches were alienated in January 1538. They also obtained a similar alienation of an estate at Donesthorpe which raised 100 marks.³⁵ Francis Bryan, a close confidante of the king and a religious conservative, may be the key to the temporary saving of Repton for in obtaining his interest the priory would have found an intercessor to plead their case before Henry VIII, with whom Bryan's influence then stood high.³⁶

At the same time Darley applied for a confirmation of letters patent which had been granted to the abbey by Henry II. These had granted privileges of toll and rights of passage over road and bridge and had placed the abbey under royal protection. While the abbey had escaped any threat of closure for the moment it may have found that government policy was encouraging local challenges to its privileges. Alternatively, the wording of Henry II's patent may have suggested a subtle means of insurance through confirmation of royal protection. The substantive sentences read,

Know that I have taken into my hand and custody and protection of the Abbey and Abbot of saint Mary of Derby and the Canons and all their goods and possessions both in churches and lands and revenues and other things. And hereby I command that this same Abbey and Abbot and Canons and all their goods and possessions both ecclesiastical and other you do guard and keep and protect as though they were mine own, that none may lay upon them any violence, or injury, or charge.³⁷

If they hoped that Henry VIII, who confirmed the patent on 5 May 1537, would follow the example of Henry II, they were to be disappointed.

Part Two: Total Dissolution

At the beginning of 1538 Derbyshire had lost only Beauchief and the minor houses of Kingsmead, Breadsall Park, St. James' and Gresley, the displacement of no more than 30 religious inmates, but a letter from Layton to Cromwell in January indicates that there were widespread rumours of a general suppression. This may have prompted Cromwell's circular letter to the heads of all houses in March, assuring them that

his Majesty intendeth not in any wise to trouble you or to devise for the suppression of any religious house that standeth except they shall either desire of themselves with one whole consent to resist and forsake the same; or else misuse themselves contrary to their allegiance.³⁸

In April 1538 Nicholas Heath, the Prior of Lenton, 'misused' himself along with Ralph Swenson, a brother of the house who had supposedly said that he who hanged in this world for speaking would 'be hanged in another world himself'. The spiritual visitations had been undertaken against a background of the executions of Robert Lawrence, the prior of Beauvale, a Carthusian house in Nottinghamshire and former prior, John Houghton, for refusals to take the Oath of Supremacy.³⁹ These executions were in London but Heath and Swenson were executed in public in Nottingham, a clear warning to the houses in the East Midlands that resistance did not pay.⁴⁰ It was an enquiry into their fate which landed the rector of Pleasely in so much trouble.

In Derbyshire, pressure for closure seems to have been applied from June for Robert Thacker, subdean of Derby All Saints, wrote to his brother Thomas on the 18th, 'I shall remember to demand your fee of the Abbot of Derley and Dale'.⁴¹ This probably refers to an attempt to gain a sum of money out of the abbey in advance of closure, after the manner of Leonard Beckwith who persuaded 22 northern houses to grant him a total of £54 in fees and annuities.⁴² An exemplification of 1539 shows that Thomas Thacker obtained an annuity of 40s. from the Abbot of Darley, dated to 25 February 1536.⁴³ The same pressure or promises appear to have been applied effectively at Dale for Thacker's name also appears in its list of fees and annuities as entitled to a sum of 53s. 4d.⁴⁴ Thacker wrote to Cromwell on the 23 September 1538,

Please it your Lordship to be advertised, I and my friends have by the space of three months laboured to the Abbot of Darley, in the county of Derby, very nigh where I was born, and as my poor lands lie, to surrender his monastery of Darley aforesaid unto our Soverign Lord the King's hands, by your Lordship; and albeit that he hath hitherto prolonged time, I trust he is now at appoint, and that I shall shortly have his letter therof.⁴⁵

Darley was just one of several houses where Cromwell's agents were engaged in attempts to effect closure by agreement but Thacker was faced with resistance and prevarication, as may be construed from the phrases, 'by the space of three months laboured' and 'albeit that he has hitherto prolonged time'. His efforts failed.⁴⁶

The surrenders were eventually effected in October 1538.⁴⁷ There are several factors to explain the timing. The death of the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury after a year of illness on 20 July may well have opened the way forward in the north midlands, for his opposition to the policy was well known, yet his influence can be overstated as Welbeck was closed on 20 June 1538 even though he had selected it to carry out his obits.⁴⁸ Bishop Lee's lack of action, arising in part from a disinclination to support monastic closure, was undoubtedly a factor in the comparatively late survival of the remaining houses in his diocese but in August he was by-passed by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury who wrote to Cromwell, urging the suppression of the priory of Tutbury and asking for the surrender of Rocester and Croxden.⁴⁹ The last phase of dissolution had been set in motion, perhaps through the agitation of Francis Bassett, servant to Cranmer in whose interests the Archbishop sued for an estate out of the Staffordshire houses.

At Cranmer's insistence, John Scudamore was now appointed receiver-general for Staffordshire.⁵⁰ Scudamore dealt in a direct auction of property with the closure of several Staffordshire houses in September and by mid-October Dr. Legh was ready to close others by private deals of purchase, accompanied by William Cavendish as auditor. Beginning at Merevale in Warwickshire on the 15 October they worked their way from west to east, through Brewood to Lilleshall, then Stafford and were at Dieulacres on the 21st of the month.⁵¹ A day later, having travelled 30 miles over difficult terrain, they arrived at Darley and took surrender of the house.

The delay had given Darley, in common with other houses, time to make preparations in advance of dissolution.⁵² Between August and October, while Thomas Thacker was importuning the abbot to surrender, at least seven long leases were granted. One was made for the direct benefit of two brethren, Henry Toft and William Sowter, for towards the end of August a 63 year lease of the grain tithes of Allestree and two cottages was granted to Richard Toft and Henry Sowter of Duffield at an annual rent of 100s.⁵³ Another, on 1 October, may have been made in the interests of another brother, Henry Hey, as an 80 year lease for ten acres of land and two acres of meadow in Derby

was granted to Richard Hey of Derby.⁵⁴ The abbot also looked after family interests. On 31 August a coal mine at Ripley was leased to Robert Ragge at an annual rent of 100s. followed on 12 September by a lease to Robert and Thomas Ragge with Oliver Thacker (brother to Thomas) of grain tithes in Derby for 99 years.⁵⁵ Local gentry were much involved in this late granting of leases. On 1 September an 80 year lease of Aldwark grange was drawn up with Sir Henry Sacheverell and Richard Curzon.⁵⁶ On 6 September Ralph Gell was granted a lease of pasture in Ripley.⁵⁷ This is one of several leases (which appear in later rentals) taken on the manor of Pentrich, including ones made by the Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Babington and Thomas Sutton, which were not enrolled.⁵⁸ Only five days before the surrender of the abbey a further lease was granted to Ralph Colle of the farm of the small tithes of Mackworth for 41 years at £10 annual rental.⁵⁹ As already shown, the abbey had already accepted the practice of long leases, but not on this scale, nor with such rapidity.

At the same time the patronage of almost all the appropriated churches was leased and this was virtually unprecedented. The rights of next presentation of Derby St. Michael, Derby St. Peter, Crich, Mackworth, Pentrich, Scarcliffe and South Wingfield, were all sold, though there is no trace of the actual transactions.⁶⁰ It would be years before many of these rights came to fruition and it is difficult to determine whether they were purely monetary transactions or whether they were intended to create future openings for the brethren.

Lack of surviving leases and rental entries might suggest that the Abbot of Dale was less pragmatic but he had less scope for action, perhaps because most of its properties were already or recently leased. Only one grant made in 1538 has been traced and this was a 41 year lease of a close (made in April) between the abbot and John Dylke of Stanton.⁶¹ However three of four counterparts of leases granted by John Young, prior of Repton, in 1538 were made in September.⁶² These were grants of various minor properties, two messuages, a herbage of pasture and a fishery, to local gentry and husbandmen. The leases were lengthy, from 41 to 80 years. No doubt the houses acted in common purpose, following the example of other houses across the country. The government was aware of such acts of property 'vandalism' and, after the dissolutions, demands were made for these leases to be redefined at 21 years.

The Commissioners based themselves at Darley and closure followed the set procedure, Darley officially surrendering on 23 October. The surrender of Dale was effected the next day, which also witnessed the sale of Darley. News was also brought that the Abbot of Repton had died. Legh wrote to Cromwell on 25 October.

We received your letters admonishing us in no wise to deface the monastery of Pyppewell, and will observe the same. The prior of Repton died three days ago. We intend to be there on Friday next to dissolve the house as we have done others, or else, because there is no head, to act as occasion shall serve.⁶³

Friday next was the 26 October, the date of the sale of Repton priory, after which the Commission employed a guide for the journey to Gracedieu in Leicestershire.

At Dale and Darley the surrender deeds were signed by full houses but at Repton there was a reduced house of nine, headed by sub-prior Ralph Clerk.⁶⁴ Rewards, as elsewhere, were graded to some extent according to length of service but were chiefly dependent upon the value of the house. Excluding the abbots, Darley canons received immediate 'rewards' amounting to £37 13s. 4d., an average of c. 45s. At Repton, where there was no prior to support, the brethren each received around 40s. while Dale canons shared £27, each receiving a lesser average of 32s.⁶⁵

At Darley and Dale, prior agreements must have been reached with the Sacheverell and Pole families who were placed in possession of the sites. Before each sale a local jury was empanelled to value the property. At Darley all but two of the jurors were owed sums varying between 9d. and 26s. 8d. so it may be that here debtors volunteered for service. Two jurors' names also occur under 'fees and annuities granted by convent seal'.⁶⁶ However, the jury empanelled at Dale includes no debtors, of whom there were few, and no known abbey tenants.⁶⁷ At Repton the jury was 'indifferently chosyn' and only Richard Hey's name appears as a debtor.⁶⁸

At Darley, the fabric and contents of the church, cloister, chapter house and frater, including the roofs, glass and pavements, but only the contents of the rest, were sold to Robert, a younger son of Sir Henry Sacheverell, together with grain and livestock on the demesne estates at Darley and Normanton. Of the purchase price of £138 12s. 7d. Sacheverell was allowed to reserve £53 until Christmas 1539. He was also placed in possession of the site.⁶⁹ At Dale, Sir Francis Pole paid £77 12s. 2d. for roofs, glass and paving stones of the church and cloisters but only glass and paving stones in the chapter house and frater, together with grain and stock on the demesne granges of Ockbrook and

Boyah for £77 12s. 2d. Of moveables, he bought only furniture. Pole likewise paid only in part, owing £30 and he was placed in possession of the site, pre-dated to 23 October.⁷⁰ At Repton, Thomas Thacker took the first step towards achieving his ambition by obtaining the farm of the site as escheator, since the site had been dissolved during a vacancy. He bought only the contents of the church, the glass, iron and pavement in the cloister and chapter house, grain and stock on the demesne and the contents of the domestic quarters, even down to napkins, ladle and skimmer. The fabric was largely unsold although it would come into Thacker's possession. His purchases cost only £40 2s. 2d. of which £10 was left to be paid later.⁷¹

Legh received £168 12s. 7d. from Darley with £30 coming from a separate sale of its six bells, but £53 remained outstanding and £70 6s. 4d. had been spent in rewards, fees and annuities and commissioners' expenses. He was left with £45 1s. 10d. in hand. Dale was a lesser sale, much remaining unsold. Having paid out £55 9s. 8d. the commissioners were £7 17s. 6d. in debit.⁷² At Repton £162 19s. 6d. was collected but of this £122 17s. 2d. was money found to have been embezzled from the priory. Legh would write to Cromwell from Gracedieu that many items had been removed by the time of their arrival but that they had recovered some part of the 'stolen' goods. But for the money returned by John Smyth and Richard Hey (who were both owed money) there would have been no immediate cash profit. The commission had paid out £38 16s. 6d, including an award of 25s. 'to v men that founde certein plate'.⁷³ The irony is that Legh and Cavendish were themselves engaged in a number of frauds.⁷⁴ It may be that the removal of goods, which was so ineffectively carried out at Repton, was more successfully engineered at Darley and Dale.

The friars survived for a short time only. Another commission was at work and Derby friary surrendered on 3 January 1539 to John London and Edward Baskerfield.⁷⁵ Seeing the drift of royal policy and following in the wake of the Observants, prominent conservative Dominicans had already left the country, chief amongst them Robert Buckenham and Richard Marshall, priors of Cambridge and Newcastle, the latter defiantly arguing that their order was 'immediately subject to the Roman pontiff'.⁷⁶ There is an unsupported statement that an average of 30 friars occupied the Derby house prior to 1535 though only six signed the deed of surrender.⁷⁷ They were dismissed without pension.

Brandy Brook

Fryer Meadow

8: Acre: 3 Roads: 30 Ponds

The Farm Close

2 Acre: 3 Roads: 30 Ponds

The Park Garden

Stepping Stones

The total of all is - 36 Acre: 3 Roads: 20 Ponds

a Map of the ⁷Ymiers & the Grounds belonging it in
9th & 10th Division time

The Friends Gather

In his study of Glamorgan, Williams paints a depressing picture of the Cardiff friaries in the generation before dissolution, instancing dilapidated buildings, poverty and insolvency. He states that the friars were 'almost universally in a state of squalor and despair' as they no longer had the support of the world.⁷⁸ As evidence for debt he cites the Dominican house in Cardiff, although at the time of dissolution they owed only £1 to a local victualler and 7s. 6d. in arrears of servants' wages. However, the point is not altogether invalid. The Dominican house at Hereford carried a large debt of £52 14s. 3d.⁷⁹ Map 8 shows how slender an estate the Derby friars possessed, never designed to support the brethren of itself.⁸⁰ The precinct covered about 16 acres of which just over half was meadow. Otherwise they held only rented nine cottages, a barn and a pension out of a tenement in Alvaston, bringing in a grand total of £2 14s. 0d.⁸¹ One additional support was an annual £2 6s. 8d. in bread and services from Darley.

If lay support for the friars was waning they still drew more bequests from local wills than the canonical orders. It may be the friars that William Francis had in mind in 1539, four weeks after the dissolution of the friary, when he established an obit for two priests to say mass for his soul.⁸² However he uses the word 'observants' which gives rise to speculation that members of this banned order had found refuge in Derby, which had been designated a sanctuary town, possibly from Newark, the nearest of the country's six Observant houses. It is no surprise that the bequest was crossed out of his will. However 'two observants' were also nominated to say mass in another testament in 1541.⁸³

The closure of the preceptory at Yeaveley and its camera at Barrow provide a postscript to the Derbyshire dissolutions. The Order of Knights Hospitallers had reason to hope that its future was secure for Henry VIII had written to Philip de Villiers, the Grand Master, in November 1530, congratulating him on having found a settled place in Malta, which was signed, 'vester bonus consanguineus Henry'.⁸⁴ In 1538 however Henry VIII made a decision to test the loyalty of the English members, ordered each one to swear an oath of fealty according to the legislation of 1534. Opposition from William Weston on behalf of the Order brought inevitable dissolution in April 1540.⁸⁵ Two members were executed for denial of Royal Supremacy but this appears to have meant little to Ambrose Cave who accepted the oath, drew a pension of £66 13s. 4d., became a convinced protestant and rose to the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1559.⁸⁶

Part Three: Immediate Effects

The longer term implications of the dissolutions will be addressed later, but in order to assess the overall effects of religious changes by the end of Henry VIII's reign the immediate impact on the deanery will be discussed here. It was faced with its most pressing clerical issue in 1540. Virtually all of the religious had obtained capacities for change of habit but had to be redeployed.⁸⁷ They had some advantages over secular recruits, having led disciplined and committed lives and learnt, through the holding of monastic offices, to administer departments and bear responsibility. Four wills have survived, two written by Darley brethren, William Sowter (1544) and Walter Raye (1549) and two by Dale canon, George Coke (1557) and John Cadman (1558). Sowter's will is set out in such a way as to suggest a man used to keeping accounts. Raye's will is exceptionally literate and beautifully scripted. Literacy was a major advantage which could be exploited to increase income, as scribes for example, or as teachers, possibly even doctors if they had knowledge of herbal medicines.

Some openings were found and, as it happened, with the priors of Beauchief and Repton both dead and Abbot Bebe of Dale, now some 70 years of age, in retirement at Stanley Grange, Abbot Rag of Darley was the only abbot who might hope for an alternative career.⁸⁸ Minimally in his forties, Rag had a pension of £50 (calculated upon the value of his house) which was 35% of the total pension of £115 13s. 4d. allotted to Darley.⁸⁹ He was absorbed into the college of All Saints, taking on a pastoral role as 'pastor' of St. Alkmund's church. This he did in spite of the lesser status and modest financial reward, but died in the winter of 1541, shortly before Abbot Bebe.⁹⁰ The early demise of the heads of these Derbyshire houses may have been brought closer by the psychological effects and physical changes from an enclosed into an open life style.

Some heads and priors of smaller houses simply retired. William Pendleton, prior of Breadsall, with a pension of 5 marks a year was reported to have died in the parish of Derby All Saints on 18 August 1545.⁹¹ Richard Wheateley, prior of Dale who died in 1558 has not been linked to any cure.⁹² The prior of Gresley, John Okeley, with a pension of £6, made a vociferous protest against unpaid pension in 1552, suggesting that this was his only means of support.⁹³ Prior Walter Stanbank of Darley however was taken under the wing of William Collier, vicar of Derby St. Peter's, probably as curate, and in

1552 he succeeded Collier. Left without a pension, Laurence Sponer, the prior of the Dominican friary, had perforce to find a living and became a chantry priest at Derby All Saints carving out a new, if undistinguished, career until 1547, after which he obtained his first pension. He died, still a cleric, in Derby St. Michael in 1558.⁹⁴ Of the sub priors, Richard Machyn of Darley initially became a chantry priest in mid Derbyshire at Youldgreave while Ralph Clarke, sub-prior of Repton, has been traced in 1560 at the nearby chapelry of Newton Solney.⁹⁵

The canons were also helped by the nature of their Order. The Dale canons who already served appropriated churches remained in situ, although Richard Banks effected an exchange to Crich, while John Cadman became chaplain at Stanton-by-Dale.⁹⁶ Canon William Sowter of Darley had held and retained the chaplaincy of Allestree until his death in 1544.⁹⁷ One of the brethren gained a curacy as the result of the sale of the next right of presentation of Scarcliffe to Richard Raye. With it came the chapelry of Glapwell into which Walter Raye was instituted.⁹⁸

The rank and file faced mixed fortunes and their subsequent careers have already been well described by Clark.⁹⁹ Studies of Staffordshire, Lincolnshire and, more recently, Yorkshire houses all show that, as in Derbyshire, many ex-brethren stayed locally as they adjusted to changing circumstances. A fair proportion found positions within the county as chaplains or chantry priests and a fortunate few retained or acquired an appropriated benefice.¹⁰⁰ Darley canons, with a documented success rate of 61%, did rather better than Dale's 50%, this percentage including three who already held benefices, and Repton's 37.5%. The Derby friars, excluding the prior, achieved only 20% success locally, just one friar, William Remyngton, recorded at the chapel of Ockbrook in 1548 and obtaining the living of Barrow in 1555.¹⁰¹ However the Dominicans were a migrant order and more likely to lack local connections.

Proximity to Derby proved fortunate in that it offered a greater number and variety of minor posts than were available in rural areas. Thomas Harrison of Darley was still drawing a pension in 1558 and died shortly after as a chaplain at St. Alkmunds.¹⁰² Gregory Hawkeswell of Dale became chantry priest at Derby St. Peter until its dissolution.¹⁰³ How many found their way into private households will never be known but Sir Henry Sacheverell found a place in his household for John Banks, a Dale canon.¹⁰⁴

Others went further afield, their destinations traced through pension and ecclesiastical records. Two canons have been traced to Leicestershire and Staffordshire.¹⁰⁵

A recent study of Yorkshire houses has shown a strong sense of community, maintained for several decades, amongst brothers from three Augustinian priories while the prior and three monks of Monk Bretton actually set up an alternative community, having rescued the greater part of their library.¹⁰⁶ A natural propensity for longer serving members to stay together or in close contact was perhaps nourished by hopes of a restoration. The will of Edward Heptonstall of Kirkstall (1558) expressed the hope that a chest full of books be restored to the abbey if it be refounded, and George Richmond of Bolton left his chalice and two vestments to his former monastery, 'whensoever it shall please god that it shall be restored'.¹⁰⁷ In Derbyshire William Sowter's will suggested a briefly maintained fellowship in the pre-leased cottages at Allestree, cut short by death. Sowter nominated brother Henry Hey, to sing a trental 'at our lady altar where I say mass'. His frock went to Henry Toft, his gown to William Stanbank. The bequests Sowter made emphasise both his communal affinities and his spirituality.

The effect of the dissolutions was a concentration of clergy in the deanery and particularly in the area of Derby. They were men of a more spiritual mein and of stricter moral life than the average priest. Sowter's will, made out in 1542, stands as an example of religious devotion. His chief concern was to dispose of possessions with religious significance; his frock, a suit of vestments, his surplice, two copes and three corporases with cases which he distributed to local chapels.¹⁰⁸ Their impact would be diffused over the next few years as they died or dispersed or accepted new teaching. Twenty years on and in different circumstances, the tone of the wills of John Cadman and George Coke was less obviously devotional, their souls dedicated only to 'almighty god', the former requesting only a chancel burial and the bestowal of money at his funeral and the latter simply leaving his body to customary burial.

There was also a dispersal of religious objects. Some may have been removed before the dissolution or carried away by the brethren. Sowter's will mentions unspecified 'books' and three corporases, an unusual number for a single cleric to possess. Very little work has been done to address the varying fate of religious items of lesser value. Accounts of the sale of Quarr abbey on the Isle of Wight (1536) show that after precious items of silver and parcel gilt had been requisitioned, church ornaments, tables, pictures

and images were sold in lots to various people.¹⁰⁹ In Derbyshire, the contents of the abbey churches went to the purchasers of the sites. Francis Pole bought altars and tables, the rood and three images. Thomas Thacker, while having no obvious outlet for such items, bought the entire furnishings of the abbey church of Repton, all the alabaster tables, the rood and 11 large images.¹¹⁰ That Thacker, a servant of Cromwell, would purchase rather than destroy these images is curious, all the more so as only days before, new Injunctions had attacked imagery and encouraged clergy to take them down.

It is generally assumed that religious items were conveyed away to parish churches or private chapels. Claims have been made that a number of local churches contain former monastic property. Bells at Mugginton are said to have come from Breadsall.¹¹¹ The font and some benches from Dale were carted away to grace Radbourne church. There is documentary evidence that a new north aisle was created at Morley and floor tiles and the fine stone tracery windows, complete with stained glass imagery placed there. A new north aisle at Crich may have included more monastic glass and more woodwork may have found its way into this church.¹¹²

Illustration 13: Monastic Woodcarving at Crich and Radbourne

Crich



Radbourne

Conclusion

In the 1960s Woodward concluded that the dissolutions materially assisted the cause of the reformers, writing that they, 'by implication, undermined the contemporary teaching of the church about purgatory', and were therefore 'a concession to the disciples of Luther'.¹¹³ Marshall, who lived through these events, might have agreed. He believed that there was little sympathy for monastic dissolutions amongst the people of Nottinghamshire and more concern for the benefits. Cameron's research does not entirely confirm Marshall's comments although they may be looking at different people. He detects ambiguities and hesitations among some of the Nottinghamshire gentry and singled out Sir John Willoughby who, as lay protector and seneschal of Beauvale and Lenton, was particularly protective of their interests and took little profit.¹¹⁴

There are no such documentary sources to convey the attitudes of the Derbyshire laity to 'monstrous monks' and their sudden demise. Some instances of personal distress there must have been. The closures could hardly have been welcomed by those abbey 'servants' who had gained their chief subsistence from a religious house and whose future lives were jeopardised. However there were obvious material advantages, not only for the gentry but also for townspeople such as Agnes Yerell who acquired her house through 'the town sayle'.¹¹⁵

On a spiritual dimension the cessation of these centres for intercession may have aided the movement for reform, yet paradoxically, if there had been an intent to move the country on to a more reformist path, the dissolutions may have done more to conserve the catholic faith within parochial communities. While there were scholastic elements amongst the Augustinians who were influenced by Lutheran ideas there is no evidence to link these unorthodox views to Derbyshire. Men of religious conservative temperament, such as the Darley canon, William Sowter, were released into the secular church where their influence would tend to re-inforce traditional catholicism.

Woodward underestimated the importance of the parish church and the tendency of the laity to relate to it in pursuit of their own personal salvation. A study of the wills of parishioners of Derby All Saints shows that belief in purgatory did not lessen amongst the leading citizens. They do suggest that images were less frequently venerated and that religious cults were disappearing but intercessionary requests held up well throughout

these years, upheld by the traditions of the church and the services provided not only by parish but also by the collegiate, chantry and gild clergy amongst whom were a number of the dispossessed brethren. In the deanery, which bore the brunt of religious dissolutions in Derbyshire, the secular clergy appear to have welcomed the religious brethren into their midst. Its churches consequently gained from the increase in the numbers of clerics, most of whom were financially independent and content to remain in the locality and who afforded the laity greater personal access to prayers of intercession and confession. The parishioners of Derby St. Alkmund's had complained of neglect in 1528. There was now a flurry of incumbents as recorded in its parish register. Begun in 1538 and the oldest surviving register in the deanery, the register perhaps owes its existence to the advent of ex-monastic clerics.

Religious objects which would inspire the very devotional practices which were anathema to reformers were also brought into the public domain. Just how many churches, private chapels and households benefited from monastic 'spoils' is impossible to calculate but there are no doubts about the religious iconography which enhanced the churches of Morley, Radbourne, Crich and probably several others. Even if general congregations were not spiritually affected, and it is difficult to see how they could fail to be influenced, given the beauty of the objects introduced into their generally plain churches, gentry beliefs were certainly re-inforced. Nor were these acquisitions frowned upon in the last years of Henry's reign. The publication of 'the King's Book' gave the royal seal of approval to the retention of imagery while seeking to keep the Bible from the eyes of the majority. Sampson, the new Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was in full support of this policy. The Derbyshire gentry who displayed their 'spoils' were in harmony with their bishop.

There is good evidence that gentry families such as the Fitzherberts and the Longfords did regret the passing of the religious orders. Anthony Fitzherbert actually forbade his family to seek any profit and his command was obeyed.¹¹⁶ Others, the Sacheverells and Poles and Sir John Port, who acquired the Beauvale manor of Etwall,¹¹⁷ took advantage of the opportunities offered yet retained and displayed iconographic objects. The description of Vincent Mundy's private chapel, which may conceivably have profited from former monastic goods, must have been paralleled in other gentry households. The altar was clothed with a red cloth decorated with flowers over which

lay a cloth of gold of copper. On it stood a triptych which carried 'an image of our Lady'. There were purple and red vestments, an embroidered rood cross and other embroideries of apostles and prophets worked for vestments, a paper mass book and another on vellum cased in blue velvet, psalters and a primer.¹¹⁸

A dichotomy was gradually emerging, as stated in the conclusion to Chapter Four, and it could hardly be otherwise, given the active role in support of Cromwellian policies played by individuals such as the Bassett brothers and Thomas Thacker. The economic, social and religious landscape of the county had been modified by the very acts of dissolution and would soon be made concrete by sales of monastic estates. In Derbyshire however, the local effect was less than in most counties as there were so few institutions to dissolve and this is reflected in the traditional style maintained in will preambles. In counties with a heavy concentration of monastic houses minds may, as Woodward suggests, have been prepared for more reformist policies but, until personally brought home to people in the parish church, such changes were unlikely to take on any real significance in Derbyshire.¹¹⁹ In the deanery the real test for the catholic faith would only come in the next reign with an onslaught on chantry chapels and attacks upon the traditional ceremonies observed within the parish church.

- 1 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/i (1538), nos. 861, 871, 989, pp. 318, 320, 366; Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 46; footnote 2. Harrison was instituted in 1499 and held Pleasely until his death in 1548. He was accused of immorality in 1517; Cox, vol. 4, p. 274.
- 2 Hamilton Thompson, *Abbey of Welbeck*, p. 101. The renunciations of the Premonstratensian houses were conveyed to Welbeck and the registrar of the Order, Richard Bowyer, wrote to Cromwell in July 1535 to say that they had been received.
- 3 Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 3, p. 309.
- 4 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 14. An account of Billingford's activities in Derbyshire.
- 5 L&P Hen.8, vol. 7 (1534), no. 600, p. 238. Anthony Cope to Cromwell; no. 641, p. 247. Report to Cromwell of an examination of Billington by Cope; vol. 8 (1535), no. 81, pp. 27-8. The testimony of Adam Holland; no. 94, p. 30. The testimony of Thomas Sherwood made to abbey servants Nicholas Quarnby, Antony Smalley and George Dakin.
- 6 Valor, vol. 3. For pages see above, ch. 3, footnote 17.
- 7 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, Intro., lii.
- 8 Savine, *English Monasteries*, p. 131.
- 9 L&P Hen.8, vol.10 (1536), no. 364, pp. 137-8; Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, p. 182.
- 10 Haigh, *Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries*, p. 26; Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 134.
- 11 S.M. Harrison, *The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake District, 1536-7*, p. 18, Table 2.
- 12 J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents A.D. 1485-1603 with an historical commentary*, pp. 59-63. 'An Act whereby all Religious Houses of monks, canons, and nuns which may not dispend manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments above the clear yearly value of £200 are given to the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, for ever'.
- 13 *Ibid.*, no. 273, p. 114; no. 349, p. 140. Letter from Darley dated 11 August.
- 14 *Ibid.*, vol. 13/i (1538), no. 821, p. 303. He received a pension of £7.
- 15 LJRO, B/C/11, Roger Wodward, Derby 1538; Thomas Derneley, Derby 1542.
- 16 D.S. Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers 1534-1549*, p. 75. The nuns did not obtain capacities.
- 17 e.g. C.S.L. Davies, 'Popular Religion and the Pilgrimage of Grace', in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ch. 2, pp. 58-88; C.S.L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', in P. Slack (ed.), *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England*, pp. 16-38.
- 18 Bernard, *Early Tudor Nobility*, ch. 2.
- 19 Wilson, *Tudor Tapestry*, p. 99.
- 20 L&P Hen.8, vol. 11 (1536), no. 335, p. 136.
- 21 Bernard, *Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 39.
- 22 Davies, 'Popular Religion', pp. 36-8; Haigh, *Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries*, pp. 139-41; Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p. 82.
- 23 Hamilton Thompson, *Abbey of Welbeck*, pp. 98-102.
- 24 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 68; Woodward, *Dissolution*, p. 83 for a comparison with other letters on the same subject.

25 Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers*, p. 78.
 26 Clark, 'The Regular Clergy', p. 133.
 27 L&P Hen.8, vol. 12/ii (1537), no. 216, p. 94.
 28 Cameron, 'Some Social Consequences', p. 52; L&P Hen.8, vol. 12/i (1537), g. 311(40).
 29 Cameron, 'Some Social Consequences', p. 52.
 30 G. Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays*, pp. 95-6.
 31 DRO, D258/53/3; see also Kiernan, *Derbyshire Lead Industry*, p. 56.
 32 PRO, SC6 Eliz. 447.
 33 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), g. 457/4, p. 177.
 34 VCH, *Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 62-3; H. Colvin, *Calke Abbey Derbyshire. A Hidden House Revealed*, p. 17.
 35 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/i (1538), g. 190/7, p. 61; vol. 12/ii (1537), g. 1311/20, p. 469. Great Gransden went to Henry Audeley; Garratt and Rawcliffe, *Derbyshire Feet of Fines*, no. 1283, p. 126. Donisthorpe also went to Audley, not Sudeley as stated.
 36 See McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, pp. 254-6, p. 179, 'a trusty friend of the Abbey of Woburn'.
 37 DLSL, DD 1629, with a translation by C.B.H. Elliott.
 38 G.H. Cook (ed.), *Letters to Cromwell and others on the Suppression of the Monasteries*, no. 89, pp. 141-2; Woodward, *Dissolution*, p. 109.
 39 Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 3, pp. 225, 230-2; Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, pp. 246, 196-7 gives a brief biography of John Houghton.
 40 Wilson, *Tudor Tapestry*, pp. 104-5; Baskerville, *English Monks*, p. 178. The prior is said to have quarrelled with 'certain men of Nottinghamshire'.
 41 L&P Hen.8, vol. 12/ii (1537), no. 111, p. 39.
 42 Woodward, *Dissolution*, p. 110.
 43 Jeayes, no. 1012, p. 124. The exemplification was witnessed by Sir Richard Rich for the Court of Augmentations; PRO, E315/172/58.
 44 PRO, E315/172/67.
 45 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 408, p. 158 and Cook, *Letters to Cromwell*, no. 129.
 46 Woodward, *Dissolution*, pp. 110-11. He gives similar examples of pressure brought to bear at Monk Bretton and Byland.
 47 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 670, p. 255 for Darley; no. 681, p. 255 for Dale; no. 688, p. 260 for Repton.
 48 Hamilton Thompson, *Abbey of Welbeck*, p. 102.
 49 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 164, pp. 64-5; Cook, *Letters to Cromwell*, no. 149, pp. 229-30.
 50 Woodward, *Dissolution*, p. 111.
 51 PRO, E315/172, 'A booke of Accompts of Sir Wyllm Cavendishe', is an account of inventories in order of travel; see also Hibbert, *Religious Houses in Staffordshire*, p. 171.
 52 eg. Burne, *Monks of Chester*, pp. 171-2.
 53 PRO, SC6 Hen8/7384/78; E322/72. The abbey had released St. Mary's mill to John Baynbrigg for 31 years in 1537 and two other mills to Thomas Wandell for 61 years sometime in 1538.
 54 Jeayes, no. 1011, p. 124.
 55 PRO, E315/186/82.

56 PRO, SC6 Hen8/7384.
 57 PRO, E315/186/82.
 58 DRO, D1763/16719.
 59 PRO, E315/186/79.
 60 LJRO, B/A/1/14iii, 56v. The institution of former prior William Stanbanke to
 Derby St. Peter.
 61 Jeayes, no. 2211, p. 280. The annual rent was 26s. 8d.
 62 PRO, E303/1/44-46.
 63 L&P Hen.8, vol.13/ii (1538), no. 689, p. 261.
 64 PRO, E322/68, E322/72; E322/200.
 65 PRO, E315/172/54.
 66 PRO, E315/172/58. Thomas Dakyn and Thomas Stephen, 20s. each.
 67 Subsidy lists have also been trawled in vain to establish local connections.
 68 PRO, E315/172/75.
 69 *Ibid.*, E315/172/56.
 70 *Ibid.*, E315/172/66.
 71 *Ibid.*, E315/172/73.
 72 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), nos. 839/6, 839/7, p. 348. Returns into the Court
 of Augmentations.
 73 PRO, E315/172/71-2 and L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 839/8, p. 349.
 74 PRO, SP5 4/2-9 Suppression Papers; L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 1233, p.
 514. Cavendish was charged with doctoring dissolution accounts by adding sums
 of money when recording rewards and wages at Merevale, Brewood, Lillishull,
 Stafford, Dieulacres, Darley, Dale, Repton and Pipewell. There were 15 incidents
 at Darley (three denied), five at Dale (two denied) and ten at Repton (four
 denied). The entries in the book of accounts show no sign of being altered but
 additional sums, mostly of 10s., had been added e.g. Edward Alcocke of Darley's
 5s. reward recorded as 15s. This gave Cavendish £6 5s. 0d. from Darley alone
 and the total obtained was £34 13s. 8d. Some of the abbey servants came up to
 the Court of Augmentations to testify against him.
 L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 1233, p. 514; W.C. Richardson, *A History of
 the Court of Augmentations, 1536-54*, p. 90. Cavendish and Legh admitted
 taking a bribe of £18 from the abbot of Merevale.
 Names were inserted into lists for payment of fees and annuities: 'Mr. Bolles' at
 Repton (William Bolles, a Commissioner) and 'Doctor Legh' at Darley.
 In spite of these charges Cavendish was only required to refund the peculations
 and his career flourished.
 75 PRO, E322/71.
 76 R. Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 64.
 77 Palmer, 'Friar-Preachers of Derby', pp. 17-22; PRO, E322/71/39. The names
 were Laurence Sponar (prior), William Remington, Thomas Calton, Robert
 Sadler, Maurice Mawrington and William Hixworthe whose name was not
 prefixed 'frere'.
 78 Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays*, pp. 96-7.
 79 C.F.R. Palmer (Rev.), 'The Friar Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Hereford',
Reliquary, vol. 23, p. 24.
 80 J. Keys, *Sketches of Old Derby and Neighbourhood*, p. 96. The map reproduced
 here is early eighteenth century, after the death of Dalton in 1729.

LJRO, B/C/11, William Francis, Derby (St. Werburgh) 1539.
Ibid., William Robynson, Derby (St. Werburgh) 1541.
 National Library of Malta, Archive 57.
Ibid., Archive 36.
DNB, vol. 9, pp. 338-9.
 Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers*, pp. 75, 78, 160, 161, 182, 269.
 Gasquet, *Anglo-Premonstratensia*, no. 366, p. 181. Bebe was a novice in 1491; PRO, E101/76/12, E178/3239 (1571), give reports of his death there, 12 March 1541.
 Heath, *Blythe's Visitations*, p. 23. Rag (or Grevys) was at Darley in 1518; PRO, E315/172/57.
 PRO, E101/76/12; DRO, xm 1/160 item 5, Derby St. Alkmund. The parish register records that he died and was buried there, 19 February 1541.
 PRO, E101/76/12.
Ibid., E178/3239.
Ibid., E178/3239. Okeley died c.1568.
Ibid., E101/75/8; LJRO B/C/10, Act Book 5, 118b.
Ibid., E101/75/8; Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 144.
 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', pp. 143-5. Clark suggests that Banks may have been instituted to the rector of Eastwood, Nottinghamshire in 1538. The entry in K.S.S. Train, *Lists of the Clergy of Central Nottinghamshire*, Thoroton Record Series, vol 15, pt. 3, p. 45 gives the presenter as Sir John Port and records this Banks as a Bachelor of Arts. Appointed to Crich in 1543 Banks witnessed wills in this parish with sufficient consistency to have been resident there until his death c. 1579; B/C/11, John Cadman, Stanton 1558.
 LJRO, B/C/11, William Sowter, Allestree 1544; B/C/10, Act Book 4.
 LJRO, B/C/11, Walter Raye, Scarcliff, 1549.
 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', pp. 143-5.
Ibid., p. 143, considers appointments to benefices.
 W.J. Kemp, 'The Dissolution of the Religious Houses of Staffordshire between 1530 and 1550', (University of Keele, M.A. dissertation, 1982); Hodgett, *State of the Ex-Religious*; Cross, 'Community Solidarity'; Woodward, *Dissolution*, pp. 152-4.
 PRO, E179/308/1, a clerical subsidy. There is no will but the probate entry, LJRO, B/C/10, Act Book 5, 134b, reads 'cap. par. St. Alkmunde'; Robert Haryson, Duffield 1538/9. He made his son, Sir Thomas Harryson, supervisor of the will; William Doley, Derby (All Saints) 1539. Sir Thomas Harrison again made supervisor. These may refer to canon Thomas Harrison.
 PRO, E101/75/8.
 LJRO, B/C/11, Sir Henry Sacheverell, Morley 1560.
 Clark, 'Regular Clergy', p. 145.
 Cross, 'Community Solidarity', p. 250; Woodward, *Dissolution*, p. 152; See also Hodgett, *State of the Ex-Religious*, Intro., xxi.
 Woodward, *Dissolution*, p. 151; Cross, 'Community Solidarity', p. 248.
 LJRO, B/C/11, William Sowter, Allestree 1544.
 S. F. Hockey, *Quarr Abbey and its Lands 1132-1631*, p. 236.
 Bigsby, *Repton*, p. 86.
 Cox, vol. 3, p. 223.
 LJRO, B/C/11, Robert Wodwart, Morley 1549; Robert Almon, Crich 1541.

- 113 Woodward, *Dissolution*, pp. 171-2.
114 Cameron, 'Some Social Consequences', pp. 53-4.
115 LJRO, B/C/11, Agnes Yerlles, Derby (All Saints) 1539.
116 Cox, vol. 3, p. 242.
117 Cameron, 'Some Social Consequences', p. 53.
118 DLSL, Mundy Deposition 10, Parcel 213, f. 9.
119 Woodward, *Dissolution*, p. 172.

CHAPTER SIX

A Mid -Tudor Crisis?

Introduction

'remembering and knowing the unstableness of this world'¹

The Mid -Tudor decades held the potential for great instability as the country was faced with unprecedented governance by a boy followed in rapid succession by two women. The youth of Edward VI (1547-1553) and female attributes of Mary I (1553-1558) and Elizabeth I (1558-1603) were viewed as characteristics of weak government for which history could provide good precedent. There was therefore an almost inevitable perception of destabilisation and an air of uncertainty at both national and local level. Soon after the accession of Edward VI, and following the appointment of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, as Lord Protector in February 1548, William Paget set down a 'Remembraunce' in which he advised Somerset to follow certain courses of action as,

otherwaies be uncertaine subdaine and daungerous, to you and yours, and God knoweth to what confusion of thinges.²

A year later, with the Western rebellion not long over and reports of minor disturbances coming in from various parts of the country, Paget was beseeching Somerset not to make him into a Cassandra, 'that is to saie, one that told the trouthe of daungers before and was not beleved' and of his own recommended course of action he wrote,

Theffectes thereof as they seem to be uncertaine (and so they be indede) for no man knoweth the sequele of his advise or counsaill certainly.³

While there is no evidence of actual disturbances in Derbyshire, expressions of 'unstableness' and 'uncertainty' are sometimes found in wills written between 1545 and 1556.⁴ Widow Alice Person of Derby (1547) stated that she did 'dreyd and feyr the onstabylnes of this world'.⁵ Such expressions, while not unique and possibly emanating from ex-religious clergy, support the contention of a general spirit of unease abroad.⁶ Palliser suggests that Derbyshire might be the unidentified county of 'Arvaschier' where, according to the Venetian ambassador, 'rebels' were demanding the restoration of Henry VIII's religious settlement.⁷ However, a letter sent to Shrewsbury by the Lords of the Council on 19th July 1549, stated that the people of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and

Shropshire 'do remain in his Majesty's good peace and quiet order', and promised that their interests would be well looked after in return.⁸

In 1973 the publication of *The Mid-Tudor Crisis 1539-1563* by Whitney Jones initiated a continuing debate on the nature and extent of actual instability. Jones argued that a series of crises in governance, in the economy and within the church, combined to undermine the Tudor monarchy which was saved primarily by the fortuitous longevity and maturing judgement of Queen Elizabeth.⁹ This interpretation has been under revision ever since, with strong alternative arguments advanced, emphasising underlying continuity.¹⁰

Jones stated that religion presented the 'most complicated and contentious aspects' of his thesis and that after 1547, by degrees, it became a less stable influence in people's lives.¹¹ Parish communities were forced to make unheard of decisions and to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances. This and the following two chapters will apply this aspect of the thesis of a mid-Tudor crisis to the deanery and consider the cumulative effects of the Henrician Reformation, the radical religious innovations of Edward VI's reign and the restoration of Roman catholicism under Mary I. This Chapter will consider, in turn, the destabilising effect of varying religious policies upon the church, the clergy and the laity. Chapters Seven and Eight will examine the economic and social implications of religious changes.

Part One: A Destabilised Church?

The first religious upheaval of Edward VI's reign was a wholesale chantry dissolution. Of an estimated 1,733 chantries in the country, 106 (6.1%) fell within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, not a large proportion given its size.¹² Kreider, basing his statistics upon mortmain licences granted between 1279 and 1534 (which excludes the earliest endowments, such as that established at Sawley) calculated that there were 45 Derbyshire foundations, roughly 40% of the diocesan total, of which 34 were established by 1400.¹³

Dissolution had been heralded in the archdeaconry of Derby in 1545 by the closure of the chantry of St. Mary at North Wingfield and then by the Commission of Inquiry of February 1546. The visitation returns of this commission have survived both as separate certificates and as a more summary chantry roll. Together, they form a useful source of evidence.¹⁴ They identify 52 foundations, described variously as chantries, colleges, gilds, free chapels, donatives or services and hospitals.¹⁵ Excluding the three hospitals, there were 72 potential openings for priests, not all of which were occupied and in 1548 only 55 priests were actually granted pensions.

The returns are not very reliable. The commissioners identified deanery 15 foundations of which one was a hospital and three were chapels of ease, the majority lying within or near Derby. Only three rural parish churches were credited with a chantry chapel.¹⁶ There is no mention, for example, of a chantry at Heanor although Robert Storer left 12d. to its priest in 1542, nor of a religious gild at Duffield where wills show that a 'St. Mary priest' had been employed.¹⁷ At Wirksworth two chantries were surveyed but a third, dedicated to St. Mary and referred to in post-dissolution documentation, was missed.¹⁸ The valuation of chantry stock was a low £69 0s. 5d. Many reasons were offered by parishes for lack of chantry and chapel ornaments and some must be viewed with scepticism: chalices stolen (two by clerics), ornaments kept by or belonging to the patron, or found by the parishioners at their own costs, or borrowed from a nearby town, or even at Osmaston borrowed of 'other townes'. Sawley professed that its stock, which included two vestments but no ornaments, was of no value.¹⁹ All this the commissioners accepted.

The commissioners, Sir John Markham, William Cowper, Nicholas Powtrell and John Wyseman, were not local gentry but none the less gave a positive endorsement of the usefulness of the county's chantry endowments, showing that almost all played an essential role in the provision of services. For example, of Chaddesden it was stated that it was over a mile from the parish church at Spondon, with a river lying between that was liable to flood and that the four priests kept hospitality and ministered to about 225 parishioners.²⁰ The resulting Letters of Commission dissolved only one chantry, St. Mary's at Bakewell.²¹

Thus far the policy could be represented as an exercise in removing 'dross' but this changed radically in the autumn of 1547 soon after Edward's accession, with the promulgation of new injunctions and printed homilies attacking superstitious uses. The bill, as introduced in December and prefaced by an attack on the abuses of embezzlement amongst chantries and colleges proposed the destruction of all 'colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and stipendiary priests having perpetuity for ever'. However, after debate, colleges of education, Royal Free chapels, chapels of ease and hospitals were to be excluded.²²

Once the Chantries Act was passed a second survey was set in motion and John Beaumont, a Leicestershire lawyer who had made the former priory of Gracedieu in Leicestershire his chief residence, was appointed to visit Derbyshire.²³ Commissioners were required to produce chantry certificates, with the more important findings summarised in Brief certificates. The Derbyshire returns appear not to have survived but Beaumont's survey is referred to in 1552 when an ex-chantry priest alleged that his position was too lowly valued.²⁴ There were certainly faults within the valuations. An agent for the Earl of Shrewsbury, having looked at Beaumont's books with an eye to the purchase of chantry lands in Crich, wrote that having spoken with him about the valuation, he had been advised to send a trustworthy man to Crich to seek information for a correct rental.²⁵ Beaumont reportedly carried off two chantry chalices from Crich, which would be in keeping with his general reputation for peculation.²⁶ His corrupt actions as Master of the Rolls elicited the comment from William Cecil that he had been involved in 'so many foul matters as we think have seldom appeared in any one man'.²⁷

The wholesale dissolutions which followed deprived some large Derbyshire parishes such as Dronfield, Eckington, Chesterfield and Wirksworth, of essential assistant

clergy and Derby was particularly affected.²⁸ The College of All Saints was dissolved although as a Royal Free chapel it should, strictly speaking, have been spared.²⁹ The three 'fellows' or curates who served there were pensioned off, as were the chantry and gild priests.³⁰ Its deacons and sub-deacons were also cast adrift, with little or no compensatory sum, creating a void church. This contingency had been allowed for in the Chantries Act: in such cases vicarages were to be created and endowed. Walter Mildmay and Robert Kellway, acting as royal commissioners under the act, recognised that Derby was such a case, the dissolution having created a clerical void at both All Saints and St. Alkmund's. They proposed that Henry Brittlebank, the former St. Mary gild priest, be instituted as vicar of All Saints with an annual stipend of £10 and that Edward Mosley, a dispossessed 'fellow', be appointed to assist and receive £5 6s. 8d.³¹ This proposal did not satisfy Brittlebank who said that the cure was too great and he refused the post. In the event, three clerics were appointed, two at All Saints and one to serve St. Alkmunds.³² Scarisbrick states that 'three additional clergy (two of them ex-cantarists) were to be appointed'. In fact there was a considerable reduction in personnel.³³ Both the initial proposal and final arrangement were inadequate, not only in terms of reduced pastoral care but because no endowment was established. Stipends would come, instead of pensions, from the Court of Augmentations. Moreover, no residence was provided, a great necessity since the college house was in the hands of the Crown and was shortly sold.³⁴ The implementation of the Chantries Act also created a void at Chesterfield which was treated in a similar way. For churches such as Derby St. Peter and Crich, both of which had benefited from the supplementary services of two chantry priests, there was a simple reduction in the amount of pastoral care they could offer.

A survey of church goods undertaken in 1552 provides retrospective evidence that chantry dissolutions in the county were sometimes followed by considerable destruction. At Melbourne, iron and glass in St. Michael's chapel was sold and the lead stripped from the roof and conveyed to Sir William Paget.³⁵ Edward Pease acted as servant to Beaumont in the disabling of chantry chapels at King's Newton where iron and glass was removed and at Lea where the bells passed, illegally, into private hands. He profited from his position, buying all the goods and ornaments belonging to the chantries, colleges, gilds and brotherhoods in Derbyshire for £18.³⁶ In the deanery, all chantries which were in discrete buildings survived to serve as parochial chapelries. Some

successfully defended themselves through claiming the status of free chapels. Mildmay and Kellway looked at two, Osmaston and Boulton, and agreed that they were strictly chapels of ease.³⁷ Their recommendation that the chaplains be restored was followed though the chaplain's house at Boulton had been alienated and it survived only by attachment to the neighbouring chapelry of Alvaston.³⁸ By some means Chaddesden and Belper also survived as parochial chapelries. Elsewhere, as at Dethick and Hulland, former chantries survived as private chapels.³⁹

Although most chapels were saved by some means, opportunities for intercessionary prayers were reduced and the nature of the church insensibly altered, paving the way for the dissolution of the mass. Will content in the deanery is entirely devoid of references to intercession through or burial before saints or the rood after 1547.⁴⁰ The mass itself came under attack with the publication of the first Edwardian Prayer Book in 1549, its use made compulsory by an accompanying Act of Uniformity and supplemented by a new set of injunctions, ordering the removal of shrines, images and superfluous lights. Accounts from elsewhere, as at Hull where the visitors themselves broke statues, show that churchwardens attended visitations and were told to implement government policy. It has been suggested that the removal of imagery was already virtually complete in the provinces, with only localised resistance by the end of 1548.⁴¹ Clark has approached the subject of the demise of the cult of saints in Derbyshire through a study of references to church dedications in wills. His figures of 59.6% between 1531 and 1540 falling to 42.2% between 1541 and 1550 suggest a gradual decline in the use of imagery rather than any swift response to government exhortations, though he found a sharp falling off after 1550.⁴²

The 1549 Prayer Book could be accommodated into a catholic service but the revised version, introduced in 1552, was less compromising and again enforced by an Act of Uniformity and further parochial visitations. The visitors were required to make inventories of church goods prior to the confiscation of all essentials of catholic worship. Derbyshire returns are incomplete but many survive for the southern part of the county and are a valuable but under used source of information for the state of the church as the visitors found it. For the deanery, returns for the parishes within Morleston and Litchurch hundred are extant apart from the borough of Derby but Appletree hundred returns are missing.⁴³

Returns from 20 parishes show that by 1552 only 45% had acquired a Bible and 35% a Prayer Book while 25% had a copy of Erasmus' 'Paraphrases'. Only one of the 13 chapelries surveyed had Bible and Prayer Book. In comparison, Hutton sampled 91 churchwardens' accounts and recorded that 41 had bought the 'Paraphrases' by 1552 and 12 more (58%) by the end of the reign while 19 parishes had invested in the Book of Homilies by 1548.⁴⁴ There are no references to homilies in deanery returns, though an account of a Marian heresy trial shows that protestant homilies were preached in Derby.⁴⁵

Patronage may be the key to the arrival of protestant service books. Three churches, Sandiacre, Pentrich and West Hallam in the patronage of Lichfield Chapter, George Zouch and Thomas Powtrell, had Bible, Paraphrases and Prayer Book. The incumbents, Oliver Stoning at Sandiacre, Dr. Bernard Brando, 'minister' at Pentrich and John Haughton, 'clerk' at West Hallam, were recent appointments and were all deprived in 1554, Brando and Haughton as married clergy.⁴⁶ At West Hallam the church looked both ways. There was a lectern, a 'Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Gospells & also upon the Epistles' and the 'booke of Comen prayer & ministracion of the Sacraments' but it was well provisioned for mass.⁴⁷ Ilkeston, where Savages were patrons, was also Janus faced having two holy water vats. In the context of later events, it is useful to note that at Weston, where William Paget was patron and the 'parson' was Hugh Shepey, an ex-monk, there were 'Paraphrases' but no Prayer Book and at Morley, when Sir Henry Sacheverell had influence, though not patronage, there was not even a Bible.

The bishops had been required to see that altars were removed by the end of 1550 but returns show that altar cloths remained in virtually every parish; only at Crich and Denby were 'table cloths' recorded. In general, churches were still very well equipped for mass. No parish was without a set of vestments and Sawley had a splendid collection of eleven. Only four churches were short of an alb and two lacking a cope. Sandiacre, without a chalice and paten and short of an alb, reported the theft of chalice and vestments seven years previously. The pyx and its canopy still hung in 12 churches and two chapels and a few still admitted to censors and candlesticks. Morley still possessed the sheet that 'hanged before the rood' and a pillow of cloth of gold for the missal. The details for the deanery of Derby are displayed in Table 13. The returns for other deaneries are little different. Kirk Ireton, near Wirksworth, gives the most catholic impression, recording two linen and one silk 'coot (coat) of images'.

TABLE 13: Church goods in the Deanery of Derby, 1552.

PARISH	chalice & paten	cross	pyx	steep bell	Sacr. bell	hand bell	vest ment	alb	cope	corpo ral	altar cloth	cruct	towel	Bible	Eras mus
ASTON	1	1	1	3	1	2	5	3	2	2	5		5		
BARROW	1	1		3			3	3	1	2	3	1	3	1	
CRICH	1	2		4		1	3		1	1	2	2		1	1
DERBY: Alvaston	1	1		2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1		
DERBY: Boulton	1			2		1	1	1	1	1	3		1		
DERBY: Quarndon	1	1		2		1	2					1			
DERBY: Osmaston	1			2	1	2	3	1	1		3		3		
ELVASTON	1			4	1	1	4	4	2	1	11	2	4		
KIRK HALLAM	1	1		3			4	1	1	1	2	2	1		
WEST HALLAM	1	2	1	4		2	7	5	3	4	4			1	1
HEANOR	1	2	1	4	1	2	4	4	2	1	3	2	2		
HORSLEY	1	2	1	4	2	2	3	2	1	4	4	2	7	1	
HORSLEY: Denby	1	1		3	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	
ILKESTON	1	1	1		1	1	3	3	1	3	4	2	9	1	
KIRK LANGLEY	1		1	2	1	1	3	3	2	2	3				
MACKWORTH	1	1		2	1	1	4	2							
MACKWORTH: Allestree	1			3	1	1	2		2	3	4	2	2		
MICKLEOVER	1	1		2		2	4	2	2		2		2		
M'OVER: Littleover	1	1		2	1	1	2		1	1	2	1	2		
M'OVER: Findern	1		1	2	1	1	2		1	2	3	2	2		
MORLEY	1		1	3	1	1	4	2	2	3	3	2	4		
MORLEY: Smalley		2			1	1	3	3	1	1	2	2	3		
PENTRICH	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	1
SANDIACRE		1	1	2	1	2	1		1	1	1	2	1	1	1
SAWLEY	1	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	5	2	3	2	2		
SAWLEY: Long Eaton				2	1	1	2	2			2		1		
SAWLEY: Wilne	1	1	1	3		1	4	4	1	1	3		4		
SAWLEY: Breaston	1			2	1	1	2	2		1	2		1		
SAWLEY: Risley				1		1	1								
STANTON-by-DALE	1			2	1	2	3	3			2	2	2	1	
SWARKESTONE	1			3			2		1		2		2		
WESTON	2	1	1	3	2	1	3		3	1	4	2	3	1	1
WILLINGTON	1	1	1	2			3	1	1	1	2	3	1		

Commissioners Sir John Port, Sir Humphrey Bradburne and Thomas Powtrell seized 342 oz. of plate described as broken or defaced, 82 oz. of gilt plate, 200 oz. of parcel gilt and 54 oz. of white plate. In areas of growing protestantism, as at Colchester, church goods were sold as early as 1548 and the money put to glazing, white liming and painting, while, in some Devon and Gloucestershire parishes, plate was sold for town defences, to equip soldiers going to war and for charitable uses.⁴⁸ In the deanery, with exception of the theft of the chalice and vestments from Sandiacre, very little that was essential to the mass appears to have been embezzled or sold. At Eggington two bells had been sold for the repair of a decayed bridge and at Hartington the churchwardens had put the sensors towards the making of a 'bell stoppe', the only recorded instances of parochial sales, and both for legitimate purposes.⁴⁹

The overall picture shows how little heed had been taken, even in south and mid-Derbyshire, of Acts of Uniformity. The 47 returns for Repton, Ashbourne and Wirksworth hundreds record neither Bibles nor Prayer Books though one parish, Lullington, had a copy of the 'Paraphrases'. There is evidence of some resistance to the imposition of the new service. At Bonsall (a village south of Matlock) the visitors were told that during a recent Sunday service, a John Nauton, who already held some vestments, forcibly took away two corporals with the case. The following Sunday the parsons 'dyd not minister for lack of them' and the 'comunion boke was takyn away vyolenter by Henry Bowne'.⁵⁰

While protestant beliefs had a brief opportunity to take root in the diocese Bishop Sampson was no radical champion and within two years the situation was reversed. Sampson pragmatically did homage to Mary but died on 25th September 1554. He was replaced on 18th November by Ralph Bayne, a leading scholar in the field of Hebrew studies. A keen opponent of Hugh Latimer while at Cambridge, he had shown himself to be a dedicated catholic by choosing exile in Edward's reign.⁵¹ His appointment allowed him to take his seat in the Lords in advance of the reconciliation with Rome. In his diocese he was prepared to pursue the restoration of catholicism with vigour, actively supported by staunch diocesan officers, Commissary David Pole, commissary and Chancellor Anthony Draycott.

A paramount requirement was the restoration of altars, ornaments and books. The chance survival of a single return of 1553 for the hundred of Repton shows that the

visitation of 1552 had left most parishes with only a single chalice and occasionally a paten.⁵² New visitation articles and injunctions set standards of reprovision for the guidance of clergy and churchwardens while three Court of Augmentation officers were set the task of tracking down and restoring confiscated goods.⁵³ Their entry for Derbyshire is unfortunately very brief, recording only a summation of deliveries of plate and ornaments: 336 shillings to Sir Francis Jobson (Master of the Jewel House) and 233s. 10d. to Sir Edmond Parkington (the receiver). The goods of the town of Derby are summed up in the single word 'wantyth'.⁵⁴ This does not mean that the churches of Derby had no goods to declare but that the returns had allegedly gone astray, as appears from a letter in which Bailiffs Thomas Warde and Edward Barton insisted that the churchwardens and those who possessed goods had been given a 'straight charge' to complete the survey. A true copy was promised.⁵⁵

Without extant visitation or churchwarden records, it can only be assumed that, as elsewhere, altars were restored or newly built in 1554.⁵⁶ The financial burden of re-equipping the church for catholic worship must always have been high, but the burden would have been all the greater in areas of comparative poverty.⁵⁷ Where ornaments and catholic service books had been bought or retained by parishioners, local patrons or even clerics and not already disposed of, they may have been, as elsewhere, loaned or restored. Otherwise parishes without the means of restitution had to await donations. Gifts are recorded in wills from one in three deanery parishes. The bequest of a banner (and albs) to Derby St. Peter in 1555 indicates that processions were again taking place as perhaps does a bequest at Spondon of a new cross.⁵⁸ Wills suggest real increase in giving from 1556, the vast majority of bequests emanating from an increase in will making at the time of sickness in 1557-8. Robert Bywater, rector of Radbourne, willed 20s. to his church for a 'cofer' and a 'sepulchre', facilitating the revival of the Easter ceremonial of burying and then 'resurrecting' the host. Radbourne was probably adequately provisioned for mass by this time for its curate, John Watson, directed his money to the church at Marston-on-Dove which was still inadequately provided for; two albs, amysses, girdles, stoles and phanans were to be purchased, to add to his own vestment, his mass book, two portuous and two corporases with cases.⁵⁹ Lay donors left Willington a cope of blue satin and a hand bell and Mackworth a hand bell and two lamps while widow Alice More gave Duffield a kerchief to make a corporas for the High Altar.⁶⁰ Wills also

reveal some repairs. In 1556 the windows were glazed at Horsley and money was given for windows at Spondon.⁶¹ John Dethick bequeathed 20s. for reparations and works at Breadsall and 6s. 8d. to the high altar in recompense for tithes which had been withdrawn, while at Barrow, Mackworth and Sandiacre there were general gifts to be spent at the discretion of the parish.⁶²

Bells were a matter of concern. The Edwardian commissioners had left bells in situ until 'His Majesty's pleasure' was known, but there had been damage. At Ilkeston and Elvaston money was donated to the repair of bells.⁶³ Embezzlement of bell metal was suspected and was made the subject of government inquiry. Surviving letters suggest that there had been some such speculation.⁶⁴ Gilbert Thacker of Repton, who allegedly pulled down the conventual church at Repton so that the monks could not be restored, was asked to weigh four bells and two sows of lead but professed himself unable to do so for lack of weights. Local gentry who went to inspect, wrote that the two smaller bells were not in concord.⁶⁵

Arguably, a greater need was for the Marian government to reassert catholic belief. Local records cast little light on 'immediate' influences such as proselytising and preaching. There is just an indication that forces for reconversion were at work. At Radbourne cleric John Watson, from his will a devout priest (1557), requested 'Sir Nicholas the observant' to say five masses of the five wounds of Christ for his soul, if he was available. At this date the only house of Observant Friars was Greenwich, re-established in April 1555, and it is possible that this was the base from which 'Sir Nicholas' was operating a preaching mission.⁶⁶

Part Two: Instability amongst the Clergy

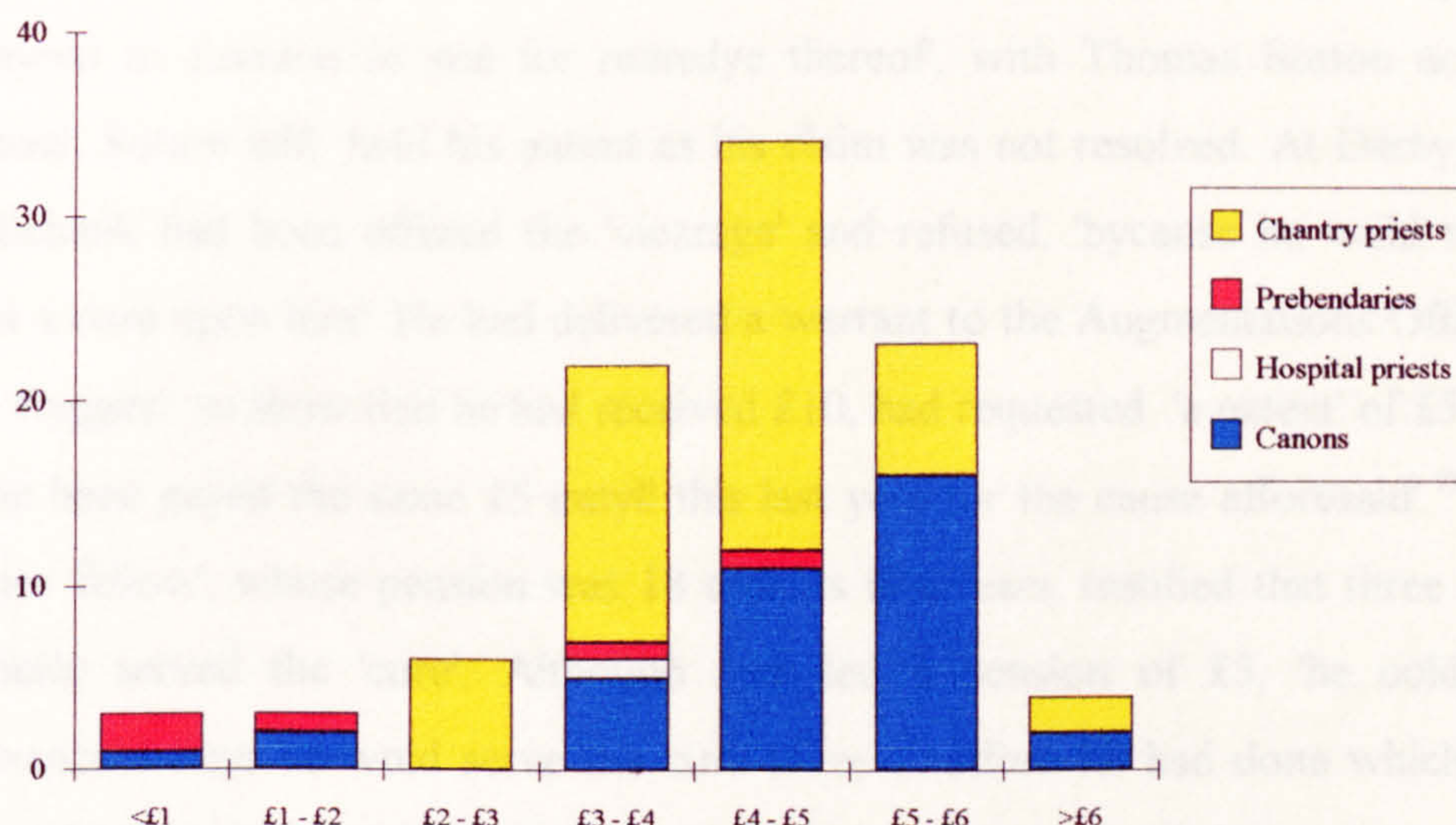
These were years of uncertainty for all clergy, none more so than for dispossessed priests. Pension returns for Derbyshire survive in reasonable quantity and, supplemented by clerical subsidy records, provide useful information on their financial state, migration and death.⁶⁷ The most informative returns come from Commissions of Inquiry set up in 1552 following a decision by the government in 1551 to suspend pensions. The brief was to inquire into entitlement to pensions and pension irregularities.⁶⁸ When the Derbyshire commission met in Derby it brought together a band of 67 aggrieved clerics, which included 17 ex-religious priests, with pensions six to eighteen months in arrears.⁶⁹

Any suspension of a pension would obviously create distress but not necessarily undue hardship if withdrawal was brief. Religious clergy elected to follow vows of poverty although a sixteenth century canonical house offered some material comforts and limited personal ownership. It should not be assumed that they would seek physical comfort in the outside world. Even so the withholding of the annual pension would have an impact, especially since there could be no certainty that pension warrants would be honoured and payments resumed. Pensions were already subject to regular deductions of a handling fee, payable to the Court of Augmentations at a rate of 4d. in the £ and irregular deductions of 10% for clerical subsidy payments. Even in the best situation, their financial state was modest as is illustrated by the estates of the four ex-canons who left wills, all of whom held additional curacies.⁷⁰

Their deaths span these years. Sowter died in 1544. His property, valued at £14 12s. 8d., included ecclesiastical items worth £3 13s. 8d., possibly brought out of the monastery and £6 in ready money, the sum of his pension. Furnishings were modest but adequate: a bed, chair, two cushions, three coffer, six silver spoons, two pair of sconces and books. In 1549 Raye was less comfortable. His goods, valued at £3 0s. 8d., comprised a feather bed, a chair, a few pewter dishes and pots, a candlestick and oddments of furniture. In the 1550s Coke left £6 11s. 0d. including religious garments and a half yearly pension of 50s. but no furniture apart from a bed while Cadman, with property worth £9 18s. 3d. of which £6 11s. 6d. was in money, left a 'little old' featherbed with an 'old' mattress, pillow and wooden bolster, a 'rogett' with a pair of shelves, two chairs, old cushions, an old aumbry and a few utensils.⁷¹

Table 14 and Graph 5 : Derbyshire Chantry and Monastic Pensions Compared.

	<£1	£1 - £2	£2 - £3	£3 - £4	£4 - £5	£5 - £6	>£6
Chantry, gild or free chapel priests			6	15	22	7	2
Prebendaries	2	1		1	1		
Hospital priests				1			
Canons, excluding heads of houses.	1	2		5	11	16	2



The displaced chantry priests had even more cause for concern. Lehmberg suggests that the scale of pensions was more generous to this group than to the ex-religious but this was not so in Derbyshire as illustrated in Table 14 and Graph 5. These show the range and overall distribution of all clerical pensions other than those of the heads of religious houses.⁷² The average pension of the ex-chantry priest, excluding prebendaries, was £4 9s. 5d., the majority (67%) receiving between £5 and £3.⁷³ Ralph Shawe of Chaddesden, with the largest pension of £6, died (1554) with goods assessed at £5 11s. 8d. and owed £1 3s. 0d.⁷⁴ No probate inventories have survived for priests on the lowest pensions. The 6% who received £2 or less may well, as Hodgetts suggests, have lived in penury if they survived on the pension alone.⁷⁵ For the latter the non-payment of pensions in 1551-2, and the continual drain on that pension through fees and subsidies, must have created a great uncertainty.

The report of the 1552 commission pointed to minor irregularities amongst claimants for fees and annuities but focused largely on complaints against the Court of Augmentations.⁷⁶ The returns reveal that relationships between the Court and some priests were already poor before the suspension of pensions and provide evidence of deep discontent at the time of the chantry dissolutions. Hawkeswell, St. Mary priest at Derby St. Peter, valued his position at £6 18s 10d. and complained that it had been greatly undervalued at only £2 16s. 8d. in John Beaumont's survey with the result that Augmentations would pay him only £2 8s. 8d. His sense of injustice was so great that he 'repayred to London to sue for remedye thereof', with Thomas Sutton acting as his counsel. Sutton still held his patent as his claim was not resolved. At Derby All Saints, Brittlebank had been offered the 'vicarage' and refused, 'bycause he wold not take so great a cure upon him'. He had delivered a warrant to the Augmentations Office auditor, 'Mr. Rygges', to show that he had received £10, had requested 'a patent' of £5 a year and 'hathe bene payed the same £5 untyll this last yere for the cause afforesaid'.⁷⁷ Jurdan, a former 'fellow', whose pension was 18 months in arrears, testified that three priests had formerly served the 'cure'. Although awarded a pension of £5, 'he cold not have allowance except he wold serve the cure there as affore he had done whiche hath not been served under £6 13s 4d by the yere'. Dissatisfied, he had obtained a warrant from the Court of Augmentations to augment his pension by 33s. 4d. 'in consideration that he should serve the same as before'. However Jurdan could not produce this warrant as it was 'still with Master Rygges and Goche'.⁷⁸ Thomas Gilbert, another 'fellow', likewise refused to serve the cure for £5. The upset created is indicated in his evidence, for he stated that parishioners persuaded Roger Bartylmewe, who was in receipt of a pension of only £3 6s 8d, to take on the cure, with the promise of obtaining a warrant from Augmentation officers to pay him £6 13s 4d 'as the other hath'.⁷⁹ Jurdan was unhappy with Bartylmewe for accepting this, while Gilbert had 'oft demaunded' his pension but it had not been paid for three years.

Not all had such reason for discontent. Two deanery priests found themselves in receipt of pensions from two careers, first as canons and then as chantry priests.⁸⁰ And by degrees the problems created by displacement were overcome. The urban priests all found new or additional employment within the deanery. Thacker, the subdean of Derby All Saints entered into the vicarage of Mackworth. His will, there is no inventory, shows

that he died with ample material possessions.⁸¹ Bartylmewe died a wealthy man for a dispossessed gild priest turned curate, although the inventory assessment of £59 3s. 10d. encompassed a family inheritance as he possessed two houses.⁸² Soon after the 1552 commission Bywater, then chantry priest at Derby St. Peter, became vicar of Radbourne while the 'wronged' Hawkeswell found a chaplaincy at Morley. His inventory recorded under £4 in goods but £8 in money with money owing to him, while he willed a silver double gilt vessel, a silver vessel and a gold ring to members of the Sacheverell family.⁸³

Most rural priests also found new posts. Calton of Chaddesden chantry finished his days as vicar of Mugginton (1562) which left him reasonably prosperous with £16 6s. 8d. in goods. Swinscoe of Crich was found a chaplaincy at Chaddesden. His clothing and goods (1553) amounted to £5 1s. 0d. and he had a sum of £18 19s. 8d in cash. His will reveals that he had a store of old angels and nobles and three silver spoons.⁸⁴ Marriott of Crich also found a position at Derby St. Alkmund's by September 1551, acting as 'ghostly father'.⁸⁵

It is easier to apprehend financial conditions than the effects of physical displacement. Shawe's insecurity is revealed in a request for burial at Chaddesden, 'yf ytt pleyse god to call for me there'. As he left gifts to his 'host' and 'hostess', the uncertainty possibly hinged upon the lack of a settled place to live. Gilbert was also unsettled, staying only briefly in All Saints parish before drifting, as a curate, first to Mackworth and then to Chellaston.⁸⁶ There could be mental affects too. The entry of John Marriot's burial in Derby St. Alkmund parish register in 1556, records that while pastor of this church he hung himself from a bell rope.

*Sepultus est Johannes Mariatte pastor huius Ecclesiae postqua sese laqueo videlicet funiculo minimae campanae suspenderat vitamq. miserie finierat. Junii 14. Deus det aliis meliorem gratiae mensuram Nota. fregit. Capana corporis gravitate et casu.*⁸⁷

His action, a 'miserable end to life', may not have stemmed directly from his displacement but would possibly not have happened had he lived out his years at Crich.

The beneficed clergy were not financially affected by the dissolutions but all clerics suffered financial loss as a result of Edwardian religious policy. The demise of trentals, obits, anniversaries and lights and the reduction in other ceremonials, diminished the opportunity for occasional income. Thomas Dylke, the vicar of Horsley, was almost invariably willed a small sum, most usually 3s. 4d., attached to a request for prayers. The bequests ceased in 1549 and were only renewed in 1557.⁸⁸ Moreover, the doctrinal

changes they were expected to embrace undoubtedly affected all. The only documented resistance to the Prayer Book comes from the already quoted opposition at Bonsall (see p. 183) but most clerical wills suggest a continued attachment to the catholic faith. Dethick, rector of Breadsall (1559), full of humility, approached god 'in mye most hu[m]ble manor' and betook his soul to 'god almyghte creator & redemer of the same', beseeching 'the holy & gloryouse mother of mye redemer Jesus Christ & all the blessyd co[m]pany in heaven' to pray for him.⁸⁹ Ashton, pluralist rector of Spondon and South Normanton (1550), had a more sophisticated Christocentric faith, placing his soul in the hands of Almighty God,

my lord and saviour Jesus Christ which haith redemid the saime with the effusione of his most precious blud desieringe most humbly the blissed virgiene mary mother of the foresaid own savioure Jesus Christ with all the holy company of hevne to prey for me and with me.

From a study of Colchester wills, Higgs suggests that the concept of placing oneself in the hands of God indicates a more personal belief in a caring God but for Ashton this was accompanied by deep humility and well within the parameters of catholicism.⁹⁰ Pars of Mugginton (1551) was almost abject in his contrition, beseeching 'almighty god father son and holy gost three persons and one god' for forgiveness for sins and offences from the bottom of his heart.⁹¹

Higden of Kirk Langley (1553) was also a trinitarian and bequeathed his soul,

to Almyghtie gode the father who hath mayde me & all the worlde And to god the Son who hath redemed me & all mankynde And to god the holye goste who hath Sanctifiede me & callyd me to this State of lyffe w[hich] is uncertayn and therefore when it shall please god to call me from this wycked worlde I wyll that my bodye be buried in the Channell.⁹²

In Derby there are more indications of acceptance. Elton, curate at Derby St. Alkmund's who was possibly an ex-religious (1551), invoked only 'Almighty God', though he asked for burial in the Holy Sanctuary and ordered the charitable bestowal of his goods, 'as it may be pleasing unto god and helthe to my soule'.⁹³ The beliefs of William Collier, vicar of Derby St. Peter, (1552) appear to have been in a state of transition when he bequeathed his soul to Almighty God and Jesus Christ, by whose painful death and glorious passion 'my faith is to be of the nu[m]ber of thez that shall inherett the kingdome of heyvn'. Though not requesting prayers for his own soul, he left 3s. 4d. to Hawkeswell and another priest, Mr. Langford, to pray for all Christian souls. Two wills written for parishioners shortly before death show an earlier stage in the development of his belief,

the one written for John Borow reading, 'by whose paynfull death and meretts of his gloriouse passion I trust to be saved'.⁹⁴

At Derby All Saints, two of the ex 'fellows' seem to have embraced much of the new Prayer Book teaching. Edward Mosley, describing himself as 'minister', witnessed a will (1549), invoking, 'god ye father and holly to be gov[er]ned by the holy spirit to et[er]nall salvation only in ye merits of christs blood', a statement moving towards justification by faith.⁹⁵ Richard Jurdan, once an Augustinian at Kenilworth, had been thoroughly converted. Sir John Port brought him to the attention of Bishop Bayne, after he had, with 'my lade basset', brought their son to Derby All Saints to be christened, only to be refused the use of a crism. Port accused Jurdan of preaching that the mass was 'the most abomnyacion that ever was sayd' and that he would rather 'eat draffe wythe swyne' than say it again. He also accused him of denying transubstantiation. His report asserted that 'all the towne and cuntrye' had crisms, inferring that Jurdan was an exception.⁹⁶

Support for the continuing attachment of the majority of the deanery's priests to catholicism comes from the small incidence of clerical marriage, made possible in 1549. The Marian pension returns for Derbyshire, unlike for example the diocese of Lincoln, do not record clerical marriages but when Bishop Bayne came to purge the diocese of married clergy, only eight of the 42 he identified came from Derbyshire, of whom three had come into the county from outside. Only two deanery beneficed clergy, Dr. Bernard Brando and Nicholas Cotton, vicar of Mickleover, had married though Oliver Stoning of Sandiacre, another protestant, was also deprived. On the whole, Bayne faced little difficulty in cleansing the deanery of heretical clerics.⁹⁷ A little pressure dampened Jurdan's reformist ardour. Under duress, 'detected denounced and notyd', he was persuaded to abjure, confess his errors and swear not to preach heresies again.

Part Three: A Disaffected Laity?

The pragmatic attitude of Francis, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury perhaps set the tone for the county gentry. He was quick to engage in the purchase of chantry lands in the county at Crich, Monyash and Bakewell with gild lands in Dronfield, and a succession of family purchases followed.⁹⁸ Under Lord Protector Somerset he filled a role as privy councillor and as Lord President of the Council in the North. After Somerset's fall he transferred his support to Northumberland, which brought continuing favours. Even so he was able to reconcile himself quickly to Mary and, although an opponent of the Spanish marriage, was prepared to take his seat on her Council. However, his acceptance of the Marian regime may not have included support for Papal restoration and did not extend to the surrender of monastic lands.

Although the influence exerted by the nobility on parliamentary elections is a matter of debate and there is no evidence of interference in elections, the fifth Earl's favour and policies may have sometimes influenced the selection and actions of Derbyshire's members of parliament. Sir William Bassett, chosen in 1547, regarded him as 'his singular good lord'.⁹⁹ A desire to evade personal involvement in Papal restoration may explain Shrewsbury's absence from the Lords during the third parliament of January 1555, but the excuse of ill health and 'imbecility', is tenable: he was ill again in 1557 and died in 1560. During this parliament, when Papal Supremacy was restored, former church lands were assured to their owners and medieval heresy laws were revived, Sir Peter Frechville and Henry Vernon of Sudbury, the county members, appear to have left parliament without licence, as did Derby's representatives who were fined 53s. 4d. for their action in 1558.¹⁰⁰ Sickness has also been put forward as a reason for their withdrawal though the increased numbers of burial entries in Derby All Saints and St. Peter's parish registers and a reference to 'long sickness, which has continued a great time', relate more to 1557-8 than 1555.¹⁰¹

There were few exiles from Derbyshire under Mary.¹⁰² The notable exception was George Zouch. Archdeacon John Louth states that after Mary's accession there was an attempt to charge him with heresy but he hurried out of reach in spite of his 'age, imbeciletee, and worshyppe'.¹⁰³ Falling ill away from home, he returned to die, 'this noble

gentleman's vertuous lyff being thus shortened by persequutione'. Louth, himself a protestant, shows evident partisanship but there is no need to doubt the main facts.

For the response of the majority of the gentry there is only the uncertain evidence of their wills. Many of the leading players in local politics under Henry VIII, Babingtons, Sacheverell, Powtrell, Port, a Dethick and a Pole all died leaving locally probated wills. Roland Babington of Normanton (1548) gave no indication of any strong religious belief, asking only for a plain stone upon his tomb and a 'srypture (inscription) sett in the wall' to record his burial, leaving his final resting place in the hands of his executors if he died more than 20 miles from Derby.¹⁰⁴ Sir Thomas Babington, the senior member of the family (1558), reveals catholic proclivities though the language used is equivocal. Writing in November, shortly before the end of Mary's reign, he desired 'one honeste and abelle priest and menester to selebrat and dowe devyne servis daylye' for his soul in his private chapel for at least 16 years. He named Miles Whitworth, former chantry priest at Ashover, reserving former chantry property from Alferton for his support, which suggests a certain death bed remorse.¹⁰⁵ One of the most assiduous servants of the Crown had been Sir Henry Sacheverell but the 1552 commission records that he had assigned a patent to Richard Blackwall 'for debyllyte of age'. His Marian will, dated 1557, points to a continuing if temperate catholic faith: a priest, preferably house chaplain John Banks, was to say mass for his soul for one year.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Powtrell and Sir John Port had both played major roles in local affairs during this mid-century period as justices and commissioners. The preamble to Powtrell's will (1557) is traditional but there was little provision for the soul and much emphasis on property.¹⁰⁷ Port was altogether a more dedicated catholic. His will (1557) offers a super abundance of charitable endowments; poor relief, an almshouse, support for prisoners, a school with a 'substantial school house' and 'one honest and well disposed and virtuous priest' to say mass for seven years out of the profits of Musden Grange, all in return for prayers for his, his family's and all Christian souls. In addition he left black coats for his tenants and household servants, an endowment for a perpetual lamp to be kept burning before the 'holy and blessed sacrament' in Etwall church, a cope, vestments made of cloth of gold, a covering for the sepulchre in Etwall church and vestments of silk to four other churches. These and other provisions make this by far the most extravagant catholic will in the deanery.¹⁰⁸ John Dethick of Breadsall's perpetual annual obit established in Boulton church (1558) appears

very ordinary in comparison, as does Richard Pole of Kirk Langley's (1557) desire that four poor men be given black gowns to pray for him.

There have been many attempts to penetrate the obscurity which surrounds the beliefs of the 'commons'. Wills again provide one source of information. For the mass of the people, Edwardian will preambles, drawn from 30 parishes, show no shift of allegiance from traditional beliefs until after the fall of Somerset and the more determined protestant policy pursued by Northumberland. Using the same criteria as in Chapter Four (p. 133 above), Table 15 shows variations from parish to parish in the dropping of catholic invocations until, by 1551, all have disappeared, though there are no proto protestant preambles saving two examples in Derby St. Peter's.¹⁰⁹ The same has been observed in Gloucestershire, where only 2% of preambles were unequivocally protestant and in Lincoln where the first protestant preambles occur in 1551.¹¹⁰

TABLE 15: Deanery Wills: Religious Belief from Preambles 1547-1558.

PARISHES	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	1554	1555	1556	1557	1558
Aston		c			c	ccc		c			c	cca
Barrow					c	c			a	aaa		aaaaa
Breadsall			ac	aa			c	b			aaa	caca
Crich		a					dd	aaa	aaa	aaa	aa	
Dale								b	a			c
Duffield	caaaa	cc	ccccc cca	cc	ccccc	c	cccc	ac	a	aaa	aaaa	aaaac ca
Elvaston		a	aa	a	c		c	a	ac	aaaa	a	acaa
Heanor		a	c	c			d	d	a		aaaac	aa
Horsley	cbab	ba	bbb	c	b	c		a		b	aaacaa	aba
Ilkeston	aa			cc		a			a	a	aaaaa	aaa
Kedleston	a									a		c
Kirk Hallam			a	a	a		a			a		
Kirk Langley	a	c					d				aa	aa
Mackworth	aaa			c	c		d		a	a	aaaa	aaacaaa a
Mickleover					c		ccacac	ab		c	ca	c
Morley			a					a		a	aa	aaa
Mugginton	aaa				a	b	cc	c nul	a		cc	ccccc
Pentrich	a		a		bd			a		ab	a	
Radbourne	a		aa	a			a	a		a	c	aaa
Sandiacre				ba				a	a		aaa	aaaa
Spondon	c			ac	c	bc	cc	c			aaaaaa	aaaaa
Stanton-by-Dale			a		c		c		a	a	a	a
Swarkestone		a				c		d	da	ad	dddaa	
West Hallam								a			a	a
Weston			acac		cc		c	acc				c
Willington	a	d		c			b				ac	aa
Derby All Saints	aac		dec					a	ac	ca	aaa	
Derby St. Alkmund				c			c	aa		b		aa
Derby St. Michael			cc		a						aaaa	
Derby St. Peter	b				deca	da	c	a	aa	aa	a	aaaaa aaaca
Derby St. Werburgh	a									a		ac

Table 15a: SUMMARY

Year	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	1554	1555	1556	1557	1558
a + b	21+3	5+1	13+3	7+1	4+2	2+2	5+1	17+3	17	27+3	56	63+1
c	4	4	15	10	14	8	17	6	2	1	8	19
d + e	0	0	1	0	4	1	6	2	1	1	3	0
TOTAL	28	10	31	18	24	13	29	29	20	32	67	83
NO.												

The value of will preambles as expressions of individual belief is diminished in the deanery at this time by the uncertain input of many scribes, especially if he was a circumspect priest. At Duffield the local curate, William Pendleton, was primary witness and almost undoubtedly the author of 27 wills written between 1545 and 1556: both phraseology and handwriting are consistently the same. The wills span three reigns and the language pragmatically adapts. Invocations to the Virgin Mary are replaced by a neutral 'God, maker and redeemer' throughout Edward VI's reign and are then re-instated under Mary. The wills are invariably brief and primarily concerned with the utilitarian task of disposing of material goods. All are distinguished by the same bland phraseology; 'my mortuary according to the kings acts therof made' and 'my will and mind is to be honestly brought home of the holle of my goods', which together encompass all the arrangements for burial. Duffield is an extensive parish and a few wills were witnessed by other clerics or signed by lay witnesses and these do show some differentiation. John Winter of Heage, in a will signed by lay witnesses, twice returns to the needs of his soul, first leaving 2d. to each godchild to pray for his, and all Christian, souls and, in finality, asking his wife to dispose the residue for the health of his soul 'as she shall think the most best and godly'.¹¹¹

At Crich an almost unbroken succession of 30 wills from 1533 to 1560, and even beyond, suggests that this was a deeply catholic parish as each testator requests burial in the Holy Sanctuary of the church. Only in 1553 does the preamble address the Trinity instead of the Virgin Mary. Here again there can be no positive identification of personal belief as the scribes used virtually the same parochial formula over a period of 40 years. A preamble witnessed by parish priest William Richardson in 1538 is repeated virtually verbatim by John Marriott, when St. Mary priest and by vicar Richard Banks, who witnessed 20 wills between 1541 and 1579. There are occasional individual bequests

but the phrase 'honestly brought home of the whole of my goods' generally summarises funeral arrangements. Preambles from Sandiacre provide a further example of a virtually unbroken run of traditional invocations in 15 wills from 1543 to 1558 where handwriting and phraseology indicate the work of only two scribes. Three variations are employed: seven use the phrase to 'god omnipotent', three (all dated 1557 and written in another hand), bequeath the soul to Almighty God the 'creature and former therof' which is modified thereafter to a more erudite 'maker and creator therof'.¹¹² Only in four cases do the wills, mainly short, matter of fact statements concerned with the distribution of possessions, provide any supplementary religious bequests.

In country parish wills, where a local cleric was a constant factor, as at Duffield and Crich, or Spondon where Robert Coke witnesses 13 wills between 1553 and 1558, or at Horsley where Thomas Dylke witnessed 24 wills between 1540 and 1559, the formula adopted is too universal to allow of much individual input. Litzenburger, having categorised 17 variations of preamble in Gloucestershire wills (1541-1580), argues that many testators had a good deal of preamble choice and believes that the public reading of a will before it was signed afforded an additional guarantee that a will did reflect the testator's wishes.¹¹³ The deanery experience appears to be somewhat different. In its village communities, though inhabitants might well share the beliefs of their village priest, they had, in practice, when sick unto death, little alternative choice of scribe. One obvious recourse for a testator dissatisfied with his parish priest was to cross the parish boundary in search of an alternative scribe. In practice this rarely happened in the deanery not even in Derby where there was greater diversity of clergy or a more educated lay population, than in rural areas.

Will preambles do sometimes however reveal change. The will of Joan Hunter of Ripley, husbandman (1552), is prefaced by a proto protestant dedication to,

almightie god the father th[a]t he of h[i]s bownteows goodnes & nott of my
des[er]ts or meritts will vochsawe to take itt to the endeles felicitie wiche his
sonn owr sawior crist hath bought itt to by his p[re]ciows bloodesheding.

The 'minister' who witnessed this will was the married cleric Dr. Bernard Brando who had been recently introduced into the parish.¹¹⁴

Will content, analysed in Table 16, also shows certain general patterns of change. Intercessionary prayers did not disappear as rapidly as in some areas of the country. At Derby All Saints the dissolution of the college of priests was met by a modification of

existing ceremonies to retain customary practices. In March 1547 Margaret Widdoson willed that the parson lead the mass and dirige. In August, with the college dissolved, Alice Person requested a churchyard burial near the Cross, that all the bells be rung according to the custom of the town 'att my passing forth of this misserabill world' and that the

p[ar]ish priest do say mass and direge for my sooll and all kirsson soolls the day of my burreall and all so of the 7th day in lyke man[ner]. and I will that ther be 3 lights seytt a bowt my boddy in lyke man[ner] of boyth days.

Hugh Reayner's will (1549) neatly blended the teaching of new Prayer Book with tradition. His soul was bequeathed to God, his creator and redeemer and,

all the preests of Alhalowes and synt Mychels do syng the suffraches & minister the comunion for me in the church of alsyntes and they shall have ev[er]y one of them 4d.

The will was signed by curate Thomas Gilbert, an ex-'fellow'.

The disinclination to abandon prayers for the dead was strong. Celebration of the 7th day lingered on until 1550 and appeared again in 1554. This was an entrenched custom in many churches, only squeezed out by political pressures. Torches and lights were twice as popular as in Gloucestershire until 1547 and rapidly returned in 1554.¹¹⁵ Trentals too returned in 1555.¹¹⁶ Gifts to the church diminished by degrees under Edward VI, though support for the parish priest remained constant. High Altar bequests were never common but between 1551 and 1557 they ceased completely. While there was not a great surge of bequests to the church after 1554 there was a marked increase in 1557 and 1558, some gifts specifically for forgotten tithes. Of the 290 wills written between 1553 and 1558 one in four (70) included some religious bequest and in one in seven (41) there was a direct request for intercessory prayers. In 1557 there was also an unexplained grant to the town by four burgesses of granges and lands in Derby and a close in Littleover already leased by the town which were described as 'now or late of the College of Burton, Staffordshire'.¹¹⁷

Table 16: Deanery Wills: Religious Bequests by Year, 1540-1559.

YEAR	No. of wills	Trental	Obit	Masses Prayers	Tapers Torches	7th day College	Gift to Priest	Gift to PC	Our Lady	High Altar	Rood	Saint
1540	16 (10)	1		1	6	4	6	2		1		
1541	23 (3)	2		1	13	10	3	5	2	1		1
1542	17 (9)	3		1	4	12	2	1	2	1	3	
1543	26 (15)	5	2	1	8	4	4	3		1		1
1544	18 (13)	5		2	6	2	2	2	2	3	1	
1545	23 (14)	1		2	5	3	7	10	2	1		
1546	14 (6)				3	4	2	1				2
1547	28 (15)	2		3	7	5	5	5	1	1		
1548	10 (3)				1		2	1		1		
1549	31 (10)				1	2	5	3		2		
1550	18 (5)				1	1	3	1		1		
1551	24 (3)						3	1				
1552	13 (4)						4					
1553	28 (6)						6		1			
1554	29 (12)				1		8	5				
1555	20 (7)	2			2		2	4				1
1556	32 (14)			3	3	3	4	12	1			1
1557	67 (41)	2	3	3	7	7	13	27		7	3	2
1558	83 (40)	3	1	1	11	5	13	22		4		
1559	31 (8)				1	1	4	2				

TABLE 16a: SUMMARY

YEARS	No. of wills	Soul Carers	Trental	Obit	Masses Prayers	Tapers Torches	7th day College	Gift to Priest	Gift to PC	Our Lady	High Altar	Rood	Image
1540-49	206	(97)	19	2	11	54	36	36	32	5	12	2	3
1550-59	345	(139)	7	4	7	26	17	60	68	1	12	-	-

Other methods, as for example the use of churchwarden accounts are, as already explained, not available for this study. However, one type of activity which has been largely disregarded is the concealment of land or property, particularly that bequeathed to gilds, or for obits and lights. This had to be effected by the churchwardens with at least the tacit consent of the community. The practice was widespread in the deanery, greatly assisted in 1547 by the local ignorance of the 'foreign' commissioners. A grant to Sir George Howard in 1559 included allegedly concealed lands in Quarndon and Elvaston for the endowing of an obit and of lamps.¹¹⁸ A similar grant to Mershe and Grene in 1571 included land in Breadsall given 'for 'Oure Lady Priest' and lands in Long Eaton formerly held by the Hospital of St. John whose origins were uncertainly described as for priests or for lights in the church or chapel there, while Palmer and King of London were awarded other parcels in Sawley and further north.¹¹⁹ The widespread nature of concealment across the county is well illustrated by a grant to 1564 William Gryce and Anthony Forster which included concealed lands in Ticknall, Chellaston, Wirksworth, Repton, Milton, Measham, Eggington and Chesterfield.¹²⁰ This grant included various properties in Derby, the 'tithe' of Abbey Barns in St. Werburgh's parish and the Liversage obit in St. Peter's. Extensive concealment in Derby came to light in the 1580s during an inquiry into the church lands of All Saints and other parishes. Some land in Derby had been successfully hidden under the guise of lands granted for church repairs (see also Chapter 8).¹²¹ All concealments involved the personal participation of leading members of each community and a conspiracy of silence by the majority. Although an economic rather than a spiritual protest, the wide support that was necessary for success adds to the overall picture of disagreement with the government's religious policy in 1547.

Two extraordinary sources do show however that protestantism did make some headway amongst the populace of Derby. The first is the complaint of John Port against Richard Jurdan who had denounced the mass and Jordan's subsequent enforced abjuration. The other is the *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous dayes touching matters of the church*, written by John Foxe, which recounts a heresy trial which took place in midsummer 1556.¹²² Foxe's secondary account is the only record of events but there is no reason to doubt the main narrative as he names readily identifiable witnesses, Bailiff William Bainbridge and curate John Cadman. The information he gives

about Joan's father, William Waste, a barber and ropemaker of All Saints parish, together with other family detail, is corroborated in Waste's will (1550).¹²³

Joan Waste was 22 year old and blind. Foxe states that, converted through homilies and sermons, she became 'marvellously well affected' to the Edwardian settlement and was brought to the bishop's notice for her public recitations of chapters of the New Testament and quoting of apt texts. She would have heard Jurdan deny the mass and transubstantiation and was charged with denying the latter. During her trial she supposedly said that she drew inspiration from the preaching of 'divers learned men: whereof some suffered imprisonment, and other some suffered death for the same doctrine', mentioning Dr. Taylor. This would be Rowland Taylor, one of the leading protestant clerics and martyrs from Hadley, Essex who preached that transubstantiation was a 'coniuryng worde' and held some Lollard ideas.¹²⁴ It is most unlikely that Joan could have heard Taylor personally so it must be supposed that his sermons were in circulation or his martyrdom and preaching much talked about. The outcome was that she was burnt as a heretic at Windmill Hill, a spot which was prominent yet outside the town boundary.

As with all attempts to research the topic of lay responses to the Reformation it is impossible to quantify the numbers who moved towards protestantism or to determine the extent to which the restoration of catholicism under Mary was welcomed by the mass of the people. However, Chapter Nine will show that there was considerable gentry support for the 'old' faith within the deanery.

Conclusion

The potential for revolt against religious changes was present in the deanery but it did not develop. Some priests in Derby were distinctly unhappy with their lot. At Derby, and at Chesterfield where one priest was appointed in place of four, the new arrangements for pastoral care were judged to be inadequate. In Oxfordshire, just such an issue led to the execution of Henry Joyce, vicar of Chipping Norton, who took part in rebellion because four chantry priests had been pensioned off, leaving him alone to minister to a congregation of 800 souls.¹²⁵

The rebellion which materialised in the West Country in 1549 appears to owe much a 'grass roots' revolt and if Protector Somerset's assessment is to be believed, rebels assembled through the stirrings of 'seditious priests' and other 'evil people'.¹²⁶ However, an attempt to impose protestant doctrines from above, implemented by William Body, archdeacon of Cornwall, did much to ignite disturbances, leading to Body's murder. Such enthusiasm for reformist doctrines was absent from the Coventry and Lichfield diocese. Bishop Sampson would promulgate new doctrines but not seek to push them through with vigour. Appointed when religious conservatism was in the ascendant at Court, radical opponents lampooned him as 'the double faced, epicureous, bite sheep of Coventry and Lichfield'.¹²⁷ His time in office spanned three reigns ensuring a cautious and pragmatic continuity in religion and the diocese was not provoked into opposition to Edwardian radicalism.

There was a period of instability in Derby after 1547 when all the churches lost at least one cleric and the collegiate churches were emptied. Derby All Saints Vestry Book reflects this loss of order. Accounts are presented only twice under Edward, in 1547 and 1549 and written in a different hand as if scrawled into the book. However, some limited efforts to diminish unrest were made by addressing the shortcomings of the Chantries Act, both in Derby and in some of the surrounding chapelries. The inquiry conducted by Mildmay and Kellway began the process of restoring parochial clergy and restored to the chapelries of Osmaston and Bolton their chapels, albeit with reduced estates.¹²⁸

Hutton, founding his statement on churchwarden accounts, suggests that the protestant service was conducted 'across most, and perhaps all, of the realm' by 1550 but

the returns of 1552 suggest that many parishes in Derbyshire lagged behind.¹²⁹ Palliser quotes a south Yorkshire priest who testified in 1552 that the region 'from Trent northwards' was lagging behind the south in abolishing altars and catholic ceremonial and this study supports his observation.¹³⁰ In Hutton's churchwarden sample every parish had acquired the first Book of Common Prayer by mid 1549 but in the deanery 65% of parishes were still without a prayer book in 1552. The church goods survey affords a reliable quantitative indication of the response to Edwardian legislation at the point of delivery for there would be no benefit in the denial of ownership of a Prayer Book.

As for the Marian catholic revival, the evidence for the speed of parochial response is inconclusive as the most useful source, churchwarden accounts, are not available. Wills show that some parishes were well provided for but others still lacking in essentials in 1557. In considering the willingness of parishes to embrace Marian religious policies the time scale is somewhat in advance of that observed in East Sussex but similar to events in Northampton.¹³¹ However, with Bayne's appointment, the diocese had a pro-active bishop who was eager to promote, in Duffy's words, 'the reconstruction of the material and ritual structures of Catholicism in the parishes'.¹³² The religious content in wills written in 1557-8 perhaps indicate that this reconstruction was well under way.

1 LJRO, B/C/11, James Standley, Heanor 1549.

2 B.L. Beer and S.M. Jack (eds.), *The Letters of William Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547-1563*, no. 4, pp. 14-15.

3 *Ibid.*, no. 16, pp. 22-5.

4 LJRO, B/C/11, 'unstableness' - Robert Wheteley, South House Grange 1546 (dated 1545); 'uncertainty' - Thomas Eyre, Crich 1545/6 (dated 1545); 'instability' - Thomas Coke, Ilkeston 1557 (dated 1547); James Standley, Heanor 1550 (dated 1549); Ralph Hanke, Kirk Hallam 1552 (dated 1551); John Blore, Kirk Hallam 1556 (dated 1556); William Newton, Stanton 1556 (dated 1556); 'instableness' - Thomas Coghen, Stanton 1553 (dated 1553); Hugh Tolle, Sandiacre 1555 (dated 1555).

5 *Ibid.*, Alice Person, Derby 1547.

6 Most phrases can be related to parish clergy, in particular to former brethren of Dale Abbey, viz. Richard Page, vicar of Kirk Hallam, William Carter, vicar of Ilkeston and canons John Cadman and Ralph Harrison witnessed to two wills each. Other clerics involved were Richard Burton, vicar of Southwingfield and Richard Arnold, vicar of Heanor, an ex-Benedictine from Tutbury Priory.

Other examples have been found in C. Cross, *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600*, II *City Clergy*, William Phillipson, Rector, 1542/3; Richard Wod, former monk, 1543/4, John Holme, Rector, 1546.

7 D.M. Palliser, 'Popular Reactions to the Reformation during the Years of Uncertainty 1530-70', in Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, p. 99.

8 Batho, *Talbot Papers*, B 115; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, vol. 1, pp. 159-61.

9 W.R.D. Jones, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis 1539-1563*.

10 As for example, J. Loach and R. Tittler (eds.), *The Mid-Tudor Polity c.1540-1560*; J. Loach, *A Mid-Tudor Crisis?*, *New Appreciations in History*, 25.

11 Jones, *Mid-Tudor Crisis*, p. 71; see also P. Heath, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages', in B. Dobson, *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 213.

12 G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, pp. 18, 108.

13 A. Kreider, *English Chantries. The Road to Dissolution*, Table 3.1, p. 75.

14 Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 212, App. 1; PRO, E301/13/45-78 is a chantry roll. Described by Cox, vol. 1, Intro., xi-ii; PRO, E301/14 is a book and appears to be an abstract; M.E.C. Walcott (Rev.), 'Church Goods and Chantries of Derbyshire in the XVI Century, with notes'. *Reliquary*, vol. 11, pp. 81-8 is a transcript of E301/14.

15 PRO E301/13/45-78.

16 PRO, E179/18/502, f. 11-12. An Henrician schedule of benefices, drawn up for subsidy purposes, lists ten chantry foundations but excludes Chaddesden, incorrectly describing it as a chapelry within the deanery of Repton.

17 LJRO, B/C/11, Robert Storer, Heanor 1546; PRO, PCC, Dame Alice Lady Mynours.

18 CPR, Ed.VI 1549-51, pp. 90, 92. Grant to Richard Venables and John Maynarde.

19 PRO, E301/14. Those lacking stock through theft were Staveley, Dovebridge (chalice stolen by its own priest), Marston, Chesterfield, St. Michael (the vicar ran away with the chalice); held by patrons, Ashbourne, Dethick, Norton, Shirland, Haddon; held by the town, Walton, Derby All Saints, Derby St. Michael, Osmaston-by-Derby; Sawley.

20 PRO, E301/13/51; McCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p. 167, notes the
 conservatism of visitors in that county.
 21 Kreider, *English Chantries*, App. 2, p. 214.
 22 *Ibid.*, ch. 8. This deals in depth with the act and its passing.
 23 *DNB*, vol. 4, pp. 57-8; Bindoff, *House of Commons*, vol. 1, pp. 405-6. John
 Beaumont acquired Gracedieu in 1540.
 24 PRO, E101/76/12. Derby St. Peter's was assessed at £6 6s. 0d. in 1546 but
 Beaumont allegedly valued it at only £2
 25 Batho, *Talbot Papers*, P171; P125.
 26 PRO, E315/495-515. Transcribed in Walcott, 'Church Goods and Chantries of
 Derbyshire', pp. 1-12, this ref. p.8. The printed text has been used for
 convenience.
 27 Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 175.
 28 In addition to the dissolution of the college of Derby All Saints chantry or gild
 chapels in three of its churches, Derby All Saints, Derby St. Peter and Derby St.
 Werburgh, were also dissolved.
 29 J.J. Scarisbrick, 'Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Secular Colleges', in
 Cross, Loades and Scarisbrick, *Law and Government*, pp. 60-1. This traces the
 time table of collegiate dissolutions. In 1547 there were 40 dissolutions.
 30 PRO, E101/75/8 (1548).
 31 PRO, E319/6/76 no. 7; Beer and Jack, *Letters of William, Lord Paget*, no. 18.
 The problems of Derby All Saints were not unique. Paget's correspondence
 reveals a similar problem at Ripon.
 32 PRO, E301/20; E101/76/12; LJRO B/V/1/2. This records 2 clerics at All Saints
 and one at St. Alkmund's in 1558.
 33 Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p. 117.
 34 PRO, E315/67/73.
 35 Walcott, 'Church Goods', p. 5.
 36 *Ibid.*; PRO, E117/13/58; PRO E315/343/12.
 37 PRO, E319/6/76 f. 7.
 38 Cox, vol. 4, pp. 140, 157-8.
 39 BL, Add. Mss. 6668, f. 99; Cox, vol. 3, p. 413.
 40 See Table 16, p. 199.
 41 Hutton, 'Local Impact', p. 121.
 42 R. Clark, 'The Dedications of Medieval Churches in Derbyshire. Their Survival
 and Change from the Reformation to the Present Day', *DAJ*, vol. 112, p. 54.
 43 Walcott, 'Church Goods'. Inventories survive for the Hundreds of Morleston and
 Litchurch (excluding the borough), Wirksworth and Repton and Gresley. 84
 churches and chapels are listed. See also *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 18.
 44 Hutton, 'Local Impact', pp. 124-5.
 45 G. Townsend (Rev.) (ed.), *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, vol. 8, pp.
 247-50.
 46 BL Harleian Mss. 421. Haughton was deprived while at Trowell in Notts.
 47 Hutton, 'Local Impact', pp. 124-5, gives examples of illiterate titles.
 48 Ward, 'Reformation in Colchester', p. 88; Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p. 180;
 Litzenburger, thesis, 'Responses of the Laity', p. 108.
 49 Walcott, 'Church Goods', p. 8.
 50 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
 51 Nichols (ed.), *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. 2, p. 503; *DNB*, vol. 3, p. 456.

51 Nichols (ed.), *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. 2, p. 503; *DNB*, vol. 3, p. 456.
 52 Walcott, 'Church Goods', p. 2.
 53 R.H. Pogson, 'Revival and Reform in Mary's Tudor Church. A Question of
 Money', in Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, p. 145; Scarisbrick,
Reformation, pp. 104-5; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 543-6.
 54 PRO E117/14/194.
 55 BL Stowe Mss. 141 f. 61. Thomas Sutton signed his name at the foot. Vincent
 Mundy was named as a commissioner and Sir Henry Sacheverell was also named.
 56 See Hutton, 'Local Impact', p. 12; Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, p. 286; For a
 northern example see J.S. Purvis, 'The Churchwardens' Book of Sheriff Hutton
 A.D. 1524-1568', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 36, pt. 141, p. 187.
 57 See Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 546-51
 58 LJRO B/C/11, Ralph Pryor, Derby (St. Peter) 1555; Henry Lockow, Spondon
 1557.
 59 *Ibid.*, John Watson, Radbourne 1559 (will dated 1557), Robert Bywater,
 Radbourne 1558.
 60 *Ibid.*, Henry Boylston, Willington 1557; William Columbell, Spondon 1558;
 Nicholas Agard, Mackworth 1558; Alice More, Duffield 1557.
 61 *Ibid.*, Oliver Gybbe, Horsley 1556; Edmund Notton, Spondon 1558.
 62 *Ibid.*, John Dethicke, Breadsall 1558; William Gylbard, Agnes Fisher, William
 Wylson, all Barrow 1558; William Draper, Mackworth 1557; Nicholas Cowtby,
 Sandiacre 1557.
 63 *Ibid.*, Randall Walker, Randall Blythworth, both Ilkeston 1557; Reginald
 Newton, Elvaston 1556.
 64 eg PRO, E117/13/ 61 re Leicestershire.
 65 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 62; PRO, E117/13/53, 54, 56, 57.
 66 Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 231; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, p.
 439.
 67 For pension commissions see PRO, E101/75/8 (1548); E101/76/12 (1552); BL,
 Add. Mss. 8102 and PRO, E164/31/49v-50v (1555); E135/10/42 (1556-7);
 E178//3239/8 (1571). For clerical subsidies see PRO, E179/18/503 (1557);
 E179/308/1 (1558-9).
 68 See A.G. Dickens, 'The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentation Payments and the
 Problem of the Ex-Religious', *EHR*, vol. 55, pp. 384-418.
 69 PRO, E101/17/12. Published as J.C. Cox, 'The Religious Pension Roll of
 Derbyshire, temp. Edward VI', *DAJ*, vol. 28, p. 37. This inquiry arose from 'An
 Act against the crafty and deceitful buying of pensions from the late monasteries',
 2 and 3 Ed VI; see also Johnson, 'Reformation Clergy', pp. 51-3..
 70 See Hodgett, *State of the Ex-Religious*, Intro., xvii.
 71 LJRO, B/C/11, William Sowter, Allestree 1544; Walter Raye, Scarcliffe, 1549;
 George Coke, Dale 1557; John Cadman, Stanton-by-Dale 1558.
 72 S.E. Lehmberg, *Sir Walter Mildmay*, pp. 23-4.
 73 Johnson, 'Reformation Clergy', p. 53 gives the number of displaced priests as 159.
 74 LJRO, B/C/11, Ralph Shawe, Spondon 1554.
 75 Hodgett, *State of the Ex-Religious*, Intro., xvii.
 76 Cox, 'Religious Pension Roll', pp. 19-20. William Bolles, former Augmentations
 official, appointed receiver in April 1536 for monastic property, plate and
 valuables within Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Cheshire at a salary of £20 and
 'profits'. He later purchased Felley priory in Notts. He wrote to complain that he

had purchased Robert Ragge's annuity of 40s. for 20 nobles which, together with an annuity from Repton had been unpaid for two years; Dickens, 'Edwardian Arrears', p. 402, failed to identify William Bowles as Bolles.

77 Cox, 'Religious Pension Roll', p. 41. This was affirmed by the former subdean Robert Thacker, by chantry priests Laurence Sponer and Roger Bartylmewe and by Richard Jurdan, one of the 'fellows'.

78 From 1547 Derbyshire fell within circuit two under Robert Goche and William Rigges, Court of Augmentation officials.

79 Cox, 'Religious Pension Roll', p. 42.

80 Ex-Dale canon James Cheryholme, St. Nicholas priest at St. Peter's, and Richard Machyn, ex-Darley canon, displaced from Youlgreave.

81 LJRO, B/C/11, Robert Thacker, Mackworth 1558.

82 *Ibid.*, Roger Bartylmewe, Derby (All Saints) 1560; Johnson, 'Reformation Clergy', p. 59, quotes extensively from this will.

83 *Ibid.*, Robert Bywater, Radbourne 1558; Gregory Hawkeswell, Morley 1558. The latter painted his name on a central pillar of the church. Compare to Riden, *History of Chesterfield*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 186. At Chesterfield four of the five dispossessed priests remained in the town and the fifth close by.

84 LJRO, B/C/11, Edmund Calton, Mugginton, 1562; Robert Swynscoe, Spondon 1554.

85 *Ibid.*, William Elton, Derby (St. Alkmund) 1551.

86 *Ibid.*, Hugh Reayner, Derby (All Saints) 1550, witnessing this will on 23 Oct. 1549; Robert Sadler, Mackworth 1556. He witnessed this will as curate on 15 Feb. 1551; Walcott, 'Church Goods', p. 10, at Mackworth in 1552; LJRO B/V/1/2. He was curate at Chellaston in 1558.

87 DRO, xm 1/160 item 5, Derby St. Alkmund, 14 June 1556.

88 LJRO, B/C/11, Ralph Grene, Horsley 1549; John Badcocke, Horsley 1557.

89 *Ibid.*, Richard Dethyke, Breadsall 1559; Robert Thacker, Mackworth 1558.

90 LJRO, B/C/11, John Ashton, South Normanton 1550. He left his gown and books to a priest nephew; Higgs, 'Tudor Colchester', pp. 93-5.

91 LJRO, B/C/11, Richard Pars, Mugginton 1551.

92 *Ibid.*, Ralph Hygden, Kirk Langley 1553.

93 *Ibid.*, William Elton, Derby (St. Alkmund) 1551. He has some relationship with German Pole and Thomas Powtrell who were bequeathed items. Elton left unitemised books worth 6s. 8d.; Thomas Gisborne, Derby (St. Alkmund) 1554. Gisborne, a glover and an executor of Elton's will, requested that all the books he had 'of Mr. Elton's accordyng to his will', 'be deyleyv[er]d to his Religion if it please god it go up a gaine'.

94 *Ibid.*, William Coliar, Derby (St. Peter) 1553; Roger Fowler, Derby (St. Peter) 1551; John Borow, Normanton 1551.

95 *Ibid.*, John Knyche, Derby (All Saints) 1549.

96 BL, Harleian Mss. 421, ff. 90-1. Transcribed in Johnson, 'The Reformation Clergy', pp. 56-7; Cattley, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 256.

97 Johnson, 'Reformation Clergy', p. 58.

98 PRO, E315/343/ 1v.

99 Humphrey Bradburne and Vincent Mundy were county MPs in the 4th parliament, 1555. As JPs they professed diligence and obedience in the service of Mary I. More reformist John Zouch and Godfrey Foljambe, were county MPs in

- 100 Bindoff, *House of Commons*, pp. 64-5. William More and William Bainbridge
were the Derby MPs. who withdrew.
- 101 LPL, Ms. 3193/225. Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. 1, no. 62, p. 365.
- 102 C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles. A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan
Puritanism*. Of 472 named as Marian exiles the only possible Derbyshire residents
were no. 157, p. 155, Nicholas Folgeham gent. Derbys/Staffs. At Geneva 5 Nov
56; no. 216, p. 191, Thomas Horton, deacon and student, possibly from Calton.
- 103 Nichols, 'Narratives', pp. 52-7.
- 104 PRO, PCC Roland Babyngton, 1548, 8 Populwell.
- 105 BL, Add. Mss. 6668, f. 99.
- 106 LJRO, B/C/11, Henry Sacheverell, Morley 1560.
- 107 *Ibid.*, Thomas Powtrell, West Hallam 1557.
- 108 Bigsby, *Repton*, pp. 156-62.
- 109 No Edwardian wills exist for Kedleston, Radbourne, West Hallam. Sawley, a
peculiar, is likewise not represented.
- 110 K.G. Powell, 'The Beginning of Protestantism in Gloucestershire', *Transactions
of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 91, pp. 141-57;
Lucas, 'Methodology of Will Analysis', pp. 19-20.
- 111 LJRO, B/C/11, John Wynter, Duffield 1555.
- 112 *Ibid.*, Thomas Tolle 1557. Nicholas Cowtby, 1557. John Tolle, 1558, dated 1557;
Robert Sherwin, 1558, Richard Howett, Alice Howett, husband and widow 1558,
Anne Courtebe, 1559, all Sandiacre.
- 113 Litzenburger, thesis, 'Responses of the Laity', p. 41.
- 114 LJRO, B/C/11, Joan Hunter, Pentrich 1552.
- 115 Litzenburger, thesis, 'Responses of the Laity', p. 95.
- 116 LJRO, B/C/11, Hugh Wylson, Mackworth 1555; Roger Rollestone Esq.,
Swarkestone 1555; Thomas Bosworth, Elvaston 1557; Agnes Wright, Derby St.
Michael 1557; John Hunt, Kirk Langley 1558; Robert Bywater, Radbourne vicar,
1558, 2 trentals; Robert Sherwin, Sandiacre 1558, half trental.
- 117 CPR, P&M 1557-8, p. 327, is a licence to alienate granted to Anthony Bate,
Richard Harrison, John Lont and William Fitzherbert.
- 118 CPR, Eliz.I, 1558-1560, p. 88
- 119 *Ibid.*, 1572-1575, p. 369; 1575-8, p. 210.
- 120 *Ibid.*, 1563-1564, p. 64.
- 121 PRO, E134 34 Eliz. Easter/28; Cox and St. John Hope, *Chronicles*, p. 21.
- 122 Townsend, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 8, pp. 247-50.
- 123 LJRO, B/C/11, William Waste, Derby (All Saints) 1550; PRO, E179/91/150, paid
£4 subsidy, Morledge ward.
- 124 J.F. Davis, *Heresy and Reform*, pp. 109-10.
- 125 Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, pp. 150-1.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- 127 Smith, *Tudor Prelates*, p. 67.
- 128 PRO, E319/6/76 f. 7. The chaplains were John Porter and Humphrey Shelley.
- 129 Hutton, 'Local Impact', p. 125.
- 130 Palliser, 'Popular Reactions', p. 100. The reference is unfortunately not footnoted.
- 131 G. Mayhew, 'Progress of the Reformation in East Sussex', *Southern History*, vol.
5, pp. 53-5; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 551.
- 132 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 543.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Changes in Land Ownership

Introduction

The disposal of post dissolution estates is an important issue in the debate on change or continuity. In *The English Reformation* Dickens states,

While the Dissolution did not ruin the humble or dramatically alter the character of English landlordism, it clearly helped to change the balance of social groups within the nation. The decline of clerical wealth and territorial influence, the corresponding rise of large elements among the gentry, as acquirers of land, tithes and advowsons, these are far-reaching developments that certainly owed much to the Dissolution.¹

The process and effects of the disposal of monastic and chantry estates have usually been examined on a county basis.² In one of the few detailed and seriously scholastic studies, *'Devon Monastic Lands'*, Youings drew general conclusions that sales neither greatly enriched any one family, nor created an altogether new class of land owner. In Devon, the number of 'medium-sized estates' increased (though many of the county's older families acquired no part) but although there were 'new men', often from junior branches of families, there is no sign of a new aristocracy founded even partly on monastic lands.³

The sales of monastic lands could change the local balance of power in favour of the resident nobility or modify gentry relationships. A 'text book' assertion is that the dispersal of lands had the effect, whether or not the product of intentional policy, of attaching people to the Crown's religious policy and therefore increasing the stability of the Crown. However, there was also an inbuilt potential for instability. Sales could have an adverse effect of increasing tensions locally both by creating or exacerbating friction between well established local families and by bringing in 'new men' who would not be welcomed by the 'old'. Such possibilities will be considered in Chapter Eight.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the disposal of properties, chiefly within the deanery and its immediate locality. The lease and sale of monastic sites, manors and granges will be considered first and then sales of properties seized in 1547. The transfer of other forms of property will finally be discussed in so far as they affected the social order. The success of local families, purchase by 'new men', motivations and the consolidation and size of estates are amongst the questions addressed.

Part One: The Local Land Market: Monastic Estates

The pattern of administration was the same everywhere: all properties were initially held by the Crown, farmed and then leased for 21 years. Most were later put on the market for sale at the standard rate of twenty years' purchase, to which the Crown attached a tenure by knights' service in chief.⁴ Three-quarters of all property had been disposed of by 1558, with varying rates of sale across the country. Leases and sales of the most substantial assets, sites and demesne lands, manors and granges, are easy to trace as they were made through Crown grants, documented in the Court of Augmentations. First sales are also traceable through Particulars of Grants and Patent Roll enrolments.

County families showed immediate, almost proprietorial, interest in the major monastic sites. Somewhat illogically, the Sacheverells obtained a lease of Darley although their manors of Hopwell and Morley straddled Dale. The farm and 21 year lease of the site with its demesne estates was granted to Robert Sacheverell, a younger son of Sir Henry, at an annual rental of £28, the lease including mills on the Derwent, other parcels of land and certain tithes.⁵ The opportunity was also taken to lease lands held in Nottinghamshire at Chilwell, Bramcote and Attenborough, complementing family holdings in that area.⁶ Entries in Derby St. Alkmund's parish register, notably the marriage of Ralph Sacheverell in 1547 and the baptism of his children, show that this younger branch then settled at Darley until the lease expired.⁷ Dale, together with its closely associated granges, was first farmed and then leased to Sir Francis Pole of Radbourne.⁸ The pattern of leasehold was modified at Repton as the prior had died before dissolution and Thomas Thacker was appointed escheator.

Of the lesser sites, Laurence Holland of Belper obtained the farm of Breadsall which had no land held in demesne, but the lease of its estates was already held by John Dethicke.⁹ In Derby, William Coke, probably a local man, made the first rental returns for Kingsmead nunnery which was almost immediately sold to the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury.¹⁰ Derby friary was farmed and leased to John Sharpe, possibly a man with Derbyshire connections.¹¹ There is no good reference to St. James' Priory which is only briefly acknowledged in the rental of the dissolved house of Bermondsey as 'Farm of vacant land where St. James' Chapell was'.¹²

There was no universal pattern of sale. Local gentry took an interest in local sites but usually came in as second purchasers. Of resident gentlemen, Sir Francis Pole was the only first purchaser, buying the site of Dale in 1544, a sale facilitated by his position at Court as 'the King's servant'.¹³ Pole was possibly using his position at Court to act as an agent for, having obtained a licence to alienate the property, he sold Dale within weeks to a close friend Sir John Port.¹⁴ He retained his leasehold, occupying the site and Katherine, his wife and children continued to live there after his death in 1547, supported by annuities, including one from Port, who was also a trustee.¹⁵

The fourth Earl of Shrewsbury was the first to benefit, including the site and demesne of Kingsmead nunnery in an exchange of lands in October 1537 granted in lieu of confiscated Irish estates.¹⁶ It was soon leased to Thomas Sutton of Over Haddon, one of the Earl's legal entourage, then sold to him by the fifth Earl in 1543.¹⁷ Two sites were purchased by nobility from outside the county, neither leading to any long term establishment of influence and possibly with swift resales already arranged. John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, acquired Calke priory at the end of 1547 and Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk purchased Breadsall with all its attached properties including the moiety of Mugginton church in 1551.¹⁸ Calke was already held on a 99 year lease granted by the late abbot of Repton to John Prest, a member of the London Grocer's company who occupied it until his death in 1546.¹⁹ It had no immediate value, Prest having pre-paid the first 50 years rental. Both properties were rapidly resold.

The leading gentry newcomer, on paper at least, was Sir William West who purchased Darley in August 1540.²⁰ West was a courtier and soldier of Amberden Hall near Debden in Essex. A commissioner of the peace and sometime sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, his knighthood was bestowed sometime between 1534 and 1536. He turned out with ten retainers at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace and his purchase was close to a gift, probably a reward for military service for he paid only £47 15s. 0d.²¹ The sale was not a straightforward repetition of Sacheverell's lease as the Nottinghamshire lands were not included but considerable estates in north Derbyshire at Staveley and Greenhill (ex-Beauchief) and the manor of Newbold (ex-Welbeck) were added. The West interest in these north Derbyshire lands lay in their south Yorkshire origins. West derived from Aughton, his elder son, Lewis, was settled nearby at Wales and two sisters

had intermarried with the north Derbyshire Eyres of Offerton.²² Sir Nicholas Strelley had already purchased the site of Beauchief which might otherwise have suited West.²³

Other sites went first to Crown servants or officers. Thomas Charde, a gentleman in Anne of Cleves' household, bought the site of Yeaveley in 1542²⁴ and another 'king's servant', Henry Cruche bought Gresley priory.²⁵ Derby friary was acquired by John Hynde, Surveyor of Liveries and a man described as diligent in Cromwell's service.²⁶ Valued at £58 8s. 0d., it was just a small package within a larger speculation which cost Hynde £762 spread over 24 years.²⁷ Another 'civil servant' to acquire a site, albeit a small one, was William Berners who bought St. Helens in 1544.²⁸ The hospital had been swept into the Court of Augmentations during the dissolution of Darley Abbey.

With the exception of St. James', which was still in Crown hands, the sites had all been sold by the Crown and many resold by 1553.²⁹ From this appraisal a pattern emerges which was perhaps standard for sites in the Midlands. Local gentry were very successful in obtaining leases but a powerful connection at Court was needed for purchase. Noblemen and gentry of importance to the Crown, followed by servants of the administration, were better placed than the average Derbyshire gentleman. The importance of good contacts at Court is elucidated in a letter to Cromwell from Thomas Thacker during his quest for a monastic site.

Please it your lordshipp, where of late I was so bolde to move yo^r said Lordshipp to help me to have in ferme of our Soveraine Lorde the Kyng the suppressed Priory of Braydsall Park in the Countie of Darby, bein of the yerely value of £10 17s. 10d. which Mr. Chauncellor of the Augmentation dyd graunt unto me, and put my name in his booke upon the same: albeit the sertificate of that cuntry not being as yet come upp, oon Robert Wodd of Waltham Holy Crosse hath gotyn his name into the Kyngs booke, and therfor Mr. Chauncellor badde me spye some other thyng....³⁰

Thwarted in a bid for Breadsall, he next sued for Calke priory but lost out in the face of competitors closer to the king. His persistence eventually brought him Repton.

The difficulties experienced by local gentry are further illustrated in the Particulars for Sale for Derby friary, made out in 1543. By this time some neglect had set in and possibly some unlawful asset stripping of trees as those on the site were deemed barely sufficient to repair and maintain the buildings and hedges.³¹ The estate had been divided into five lots (the site, garden, orchard, meadow and croft) for which three bids were put forward, two from local gentry. Sir Thomas Sutton bid for the first four lots and 'Master Sacheverell' also declared an initial interest. However Hynde's bid prevailed.

In spite of local success few sites became a chief residence until the latter part of the sixteenth century, a result which can be related to the motivations behind purchase. In the case of Darley events overtook any intended plans for a permanent settlement of the West family. A feud between the Wests and the Yorkshire Darcys came to a climax in May 1556 when two sons of George, Lord Darcy of Aston, ambushed Lewis and Edmund West of Darley. Lewis was murdered; as retold in a 55 stanza ballad,

One pierced there the body through
Of that right worthy wight,
Unto his brother's mortal sorrow,
Which saw that doleful sight.

Yet clasped he the Darses twain,
And cast them to the ground,
And had them both undoubted slain,
Had they not succour found;

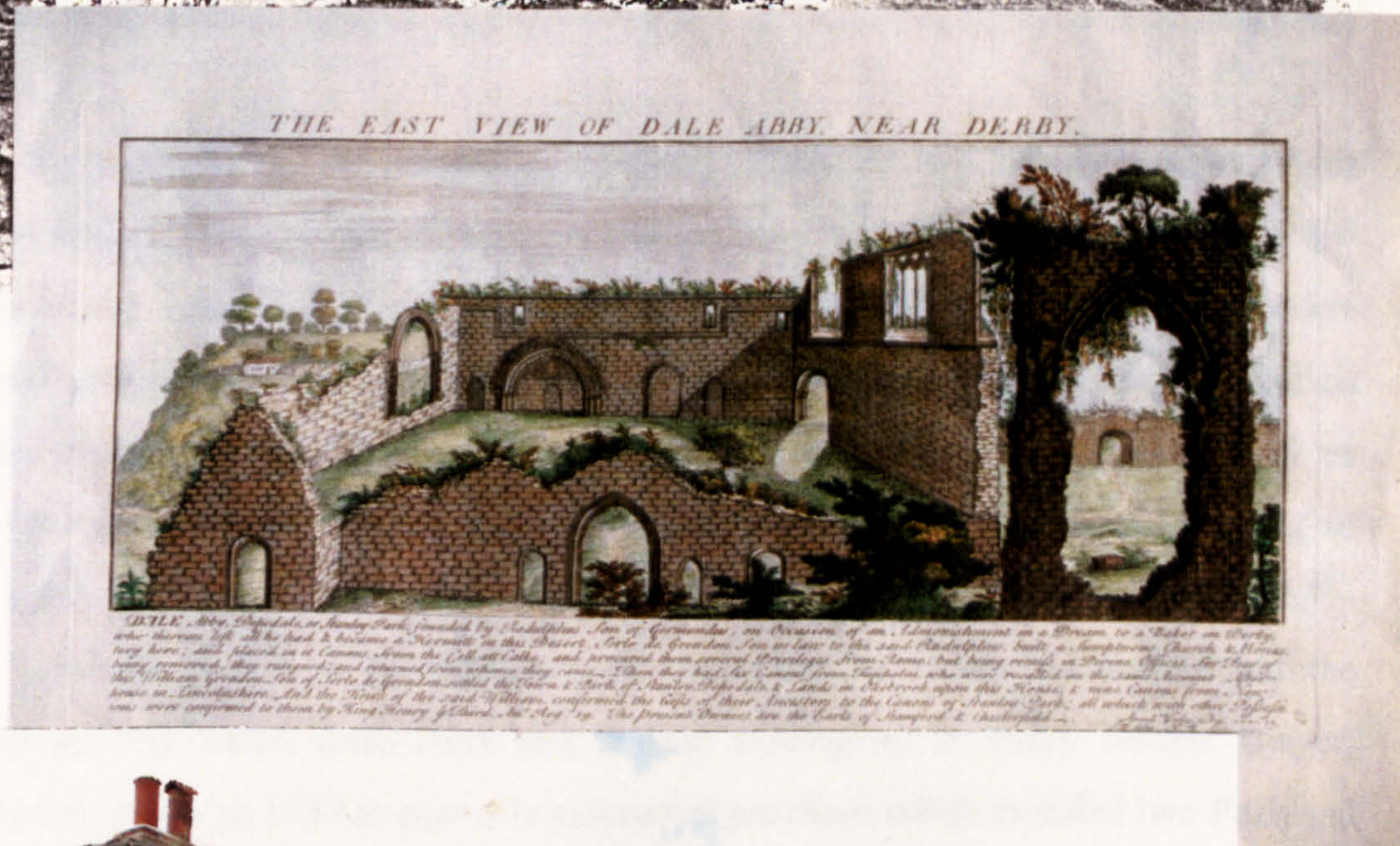
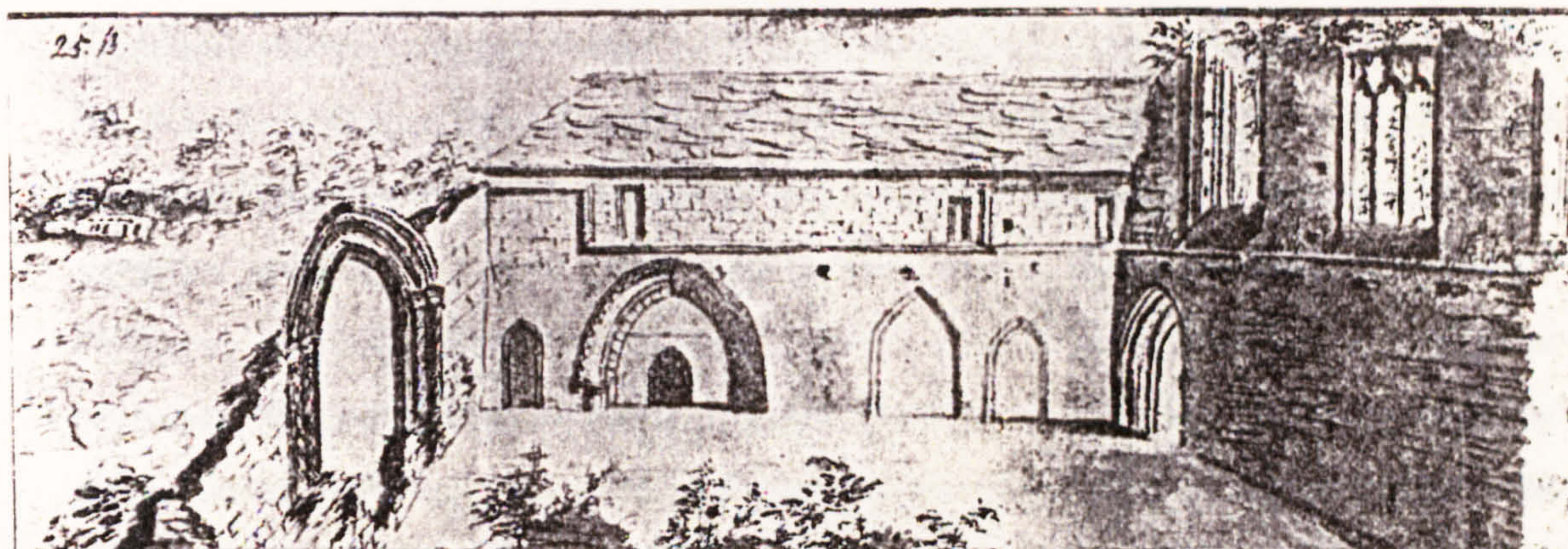
Which him anon from off them tost,
And threw him down aside;
Who forth withall gave up the ghost,
And there among them died.

Yet Edmund West, his brother dear,
Bestrode him in that case,
Till he was fell'd, and dead right near,
As they thought in that place.³²

Edmund survived and in 1557 married Joan Collin, daughter of Margaret, an Essex widow from Brokeshed, with Darley as the marriage portion.³³ Darley and the ex-Beauchief lands, but not the estate at Newbold, were alienated to Robert Hurst of Hartford and Richard Barnard of Essex, with the use to Joan and remainder to Edmund.³⁴ William West died shortly after.³⁵ Having no children, Edmund West began to dispose of his estates in 1570, selling Newbold to his cousins, the Eyres of Offerton.³⁶ Soon after he sold first Greenhill and lands in Norton and then the site of Darley (1574) to another local man, John Bullock, an Inner Temple lawyer who probably built the first Darley Hall.³⁷ Port likewise used Dale as a marriage portion to make possible a prestigious marriage (1556) between Dorothy, the second of his three daughters, and George Hastings, younger brother to Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon. The arms of Henry Hastings were displayed as of Dale but no house was built.³⁸ Illustration 14, below, shows the difference between a sketch and a worked engraving made by Samuel Buck in 1727 which suggests that conventual buildings may have been used as a dwelling house.³⁹

Illustration 14: Dale Abbey and Possible Habitation.

Buck's Original Sketch and Final Print of Dale Abbey



Abbey House

Soon after Sharpe's death in 1558 the friary was sold by his heirs to William Bainbridge of Derby (1562) and was occupied by that family until the mid seventeenth century.⁴⁰ Breadsall had five owners between 1552 and 1600.⁴¹ The priory was a moorland site, the land and situation not of the first quality, which probably accounts for the late sale and frequency of exchange. Calke was resold to Richard Wendsley, a lead merchant, in 1573 for £450. Wendsley also acquired the leasehold making it a more attractive property but, having built a house, he resold to Robert Bainbridge in 1585.⁴² However, Thacker was of yeoman stock and the site of Repton gave him the estate necessary for gentry status. Gilbert Thacker inherited the site in 1548 and reputedly pulled down buildings to prevent its repossession under Mary.⁴³ Sutton also used Kingsmead to elevate himself and his second son, likewise Thomas, succeeded him there.⁴⁴

Local gentry had fair success in the first purchase of manorial and grange estates of local houses, most of which came onto the market in the 1540s, some attached to the sale of a site, others as separate units. The abbeys of Derbyshire held few discrete manorial properties in the terminology of early records and immediate post-dissolution rentals. Darley's estates at Normanton, Pentrich and Ripley were all designated as manorial properties but the word 'manor' appears only once in documents relating to Dale, when while Griffie is described as 'lordship, manor and grange' at its sale in 1546.⁴⁵

Darley's grange at Normanton was farmed by Sir Henry Sacheverell but the Babingtons had leased lands there and Roland Babington, an Inner Temple lawyer, bought the 'manor' in 1544 as part of a substantial purchase which included two Peakland granges, Moldridge (ex-Dunstable) and Roystone, (ex-Garrendon).⁴⁶ The abbey estates at Pentrich were divided and sold. George Zouch expanded his estate at Codnor by exchanging land in Bedfordshire for Ripley manor (1542). He also obtained Butterley Park but Sir William Cavendish acquired the manor of Pentrich.⁴⁷ Burley Grange at Duffield was not sold until 1557 when it was bought even as royal policy was to encourage the restoration of monastic estates.⁴⁸

Dale's demesne granges of Boyah and Ockbrook were farmed, leased and sold to Sir Francis Pole, then resold to Sir John Port.⁴⁹ Abbot Bebe died at Stanley grange 1540-1 and this too was bought by Pole. It was later sold to Thomas Powtrell of West Hallam and John Howe of Brinklowe, a London grocer, for £102.⁵⁰ Other estates went

outside the county. Stanton 'grange' was in the tenure of John Dilke in 1553, together with tithes of meadow hay, when it was sold to speculators Thomas Reve and George Cotton.⁵¹ Southome, originally leased to Richard Wheatley, the abbey seneschal was later leased to a speculative partnership, Nicholas Segnor and William Grene for 21 years.⁵² Pole had first held the lease of Littlehall grange but this too was released to Segnor and Grene. The Crown sold these two granges only in 1562 to Sir Thomas Stanhope of Shelford, Nottinghamshire together with various lands in Spondon, Borrowash and Stanley.⁵³

Local people had no success in the first purchase of manors and granges attached to abbeys outside the county which often went with the sale of a site. In 1544 Robert Dudley was granted the site of the Hospital of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire and with it came the manors of Spondon, Chaddesden, Borrowash, Locko and Overlocko.⁵⁴ These were restored to the Crown two years later on his attainder. Overlocko was granted to the Duke of Suffolk and then sold on, passing through various hands during the rest of the century.⁵⁵ It was the purchase of estates of Chester Abbey in October 1545 that brought Sir William Paget into the deanery, as it brought with it manors at Aston, Weston, Wilne, Shardlow, Morley and Smalley.⁵⁶ In the mid 1540s there was no one at Court with such knowledge of, and access to, Crown lands. The King used him, as chief secretary, to settle grants upon the nobility and the nobility used him in pursuit of other grants. His self-aggrandisement was made possible by their desires and 'his unblushing pride' in serving their interests.⁵⁷ Between 1544 and 1547, through a mixture of opportunistic grants and purchases, he built up a gentleman's estate centred in Staffordshire.⁵⁸ A grant of lands of the Hospital of Kepier in Durham was exchanged for the college of Burton after its closure in 1546, an act so fortuitous in its timing that Paget's role needs to be closely examined. This gave him possession of other Derbyshire manors at Mickleover, Littleover and Findern.⁵⁹ He acquired his chief seat at Beaudesert from the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield who was forced to surrender his palace there.⁶⁰ Paget's aim was the foundation of a dynastic seat and he held on to the greater part in spite of his fall from power and a heavy fine imposed in 1551.⁶¹ This made him a considerable force both as landowner and patron of various livings.

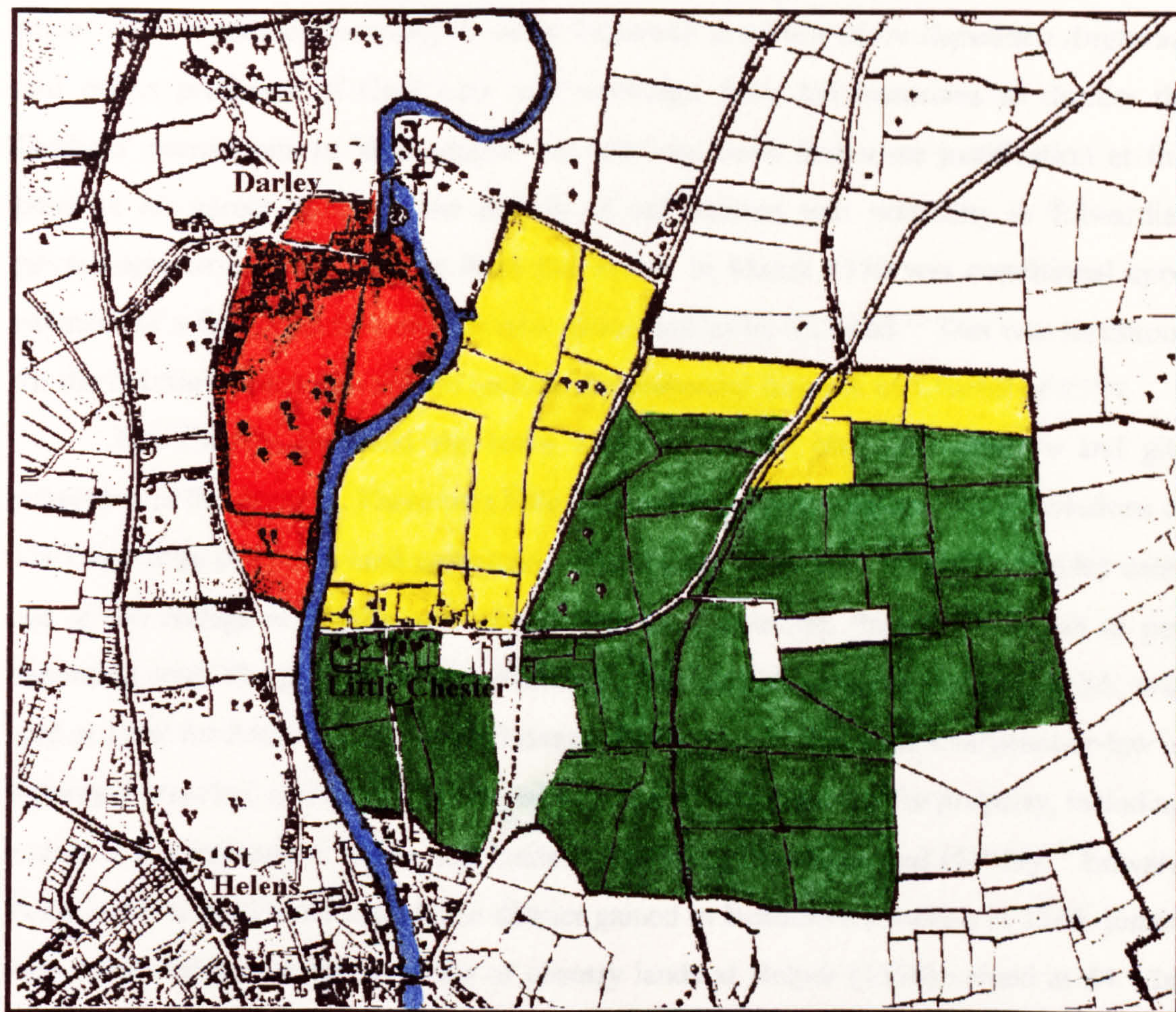
Part Two: Collegiate, Chantry and Lesser Estates.

Few studies on sales of collegiate and chantry estates have been undertaken. Jordan included a national survey of Edwardian sales of crown lands in *Edward VI: The Young King* but Kitching's research on the diocese and county of York (1970) and Woodward's study of chantry lands in Somerset (1980) are still the only major local studies.⁶² In comparison to Somerset, a county one and a half times the size of Derbyshire, clear differences quickly emerge.⁶³ Derbyshire's one college, its chantries, free chapels, fraternities and guilds and hospitals, 49 items in all, were assessed in at £399 10s. 6d. in clear value while Somerset had 108 chantries alone and the clear value of all foundations was £628 13s. 8½d.⁶⁴ While 51% of all Somerset parishes possessed at least one foundation, in the deanery the figure was 20%. However, the disposal of properties dissolved in 1547 followed much the same pattern.

The fifth Earl of Shrewsbury made the largest individual purchase, extending his estates in north Derbyshire and Hallamshire with chantry property to the value of £34 15s. 3d. at Crich, Bakewell, Monyash and Rotherham and gild land at Dronfield.⁶⁵ His approach was entirely pecuniary, instigating inquiries in advance through his agent, Robert Swift, to ascertain the real value of properties.⁶⁶ In 1560 the sixth Earl acquired the gild lands of Chesterfield. Altogether, the Shrewsburys obtained 10% of all chantry properties.

The chief beneficiary in the deanery was the borough, although the prebendal estates of Derby All Saints came by default rather than original design. Initially, the seven prebendal farms, valued in 1535 at £40 9s. 1d., were acquired by Sir Thomas Smythe, then clerk to the Privy Council and soon to replace Paget as Principal Secretary.⁶⁷ Smythe knew of the property as he had occupied a prebendal stall and was drawing a pension of 60s.⁶⁸ Having acquired the prebendal farms for £346 13s. 4d. in 1549, he agreed a 80 year lease with the dean of Lincoln for the adjacent manor of Little Chester, laying the foundations of a neat estate.⁶⁹ Map 10 reconstructs his estate and shows its relationship to Darley and to Derby.⁷⁰ It was briefly held as he was imprisoned with the fall of the Duke of Somerset and the prebendal lands returned to the Crown.

Map 10 : Ecclesiastic Estates to the North of Derby



Darley Abbey Demesne



Sir Thomas Smythe's Estate c. 1549: (Manor of Little Chester)



(Prebendal Farms)

When Anne, Duchess of Somerset, accused Smythe of being both faint in religion and rapacious he had responded by condemning the 'hotlings' who crowded round her and set out his income, valuing the prebendal estate at £34 or 10% of his purchase price.⁷¹ (His reputation for integrity under Elizabeth as author of *De Republica Anglorum* and regius professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, have led historians to dismiss the Duchess' accusations as 'sour grapes' but she may have had some justification at this point in his career although the pursuit of self-interest was normality in Edwardian government circles.) His release from the Tower in March 1550 was conditional upon payment of a fine of £3,000 and his new estate had to be forfeited.⁷² This was fortuitous for the borough which was able to include the prebendal farms in its Charter of 1554.

The Charter endowed the town with 50% of all collegiate, chantry and gild properties in the deanery. There was little left for the open market and the dissolutions of 1547 saw little change in land ownership. The chantry priest's £5 stipend at Sawley came out of the college at Burton and ceased with its dissolution, Paget's obligation to pay becoming void. The property of the chantry at Chaddesden, assessed at £36 13s. 3d., was sold in 1550 for £462 16s. 2d. to Sir Edmund Molyneux, at that time a sargeant-at-law in Somerset's service, and Robert Broke who took a 21 year lease of the property, including a shop and tenements in Derby and lands in Spondon, Quarndon and Horsley.⁷³ Edward Pease, with inside knowledge of the district gained in Beaumont's service in 1546, joined with James Wilson in the purchase of chantry lands at Belper (1550) valued at £4 12s. 8d. The property was sold in three lots; the chantry house, tenanted at 6s. a year, at a purchase price of ten years and a seven acre field of arable and two closes at 20 years purchase. However half the value lay in a sum of 40s. paid out of the dissolved house of Tutbury, which simply reverted to the owner of Tutbury Priory estate. While the Earl of Shrewsbury acquired the chantry lands of St. Nicholas at Crich, Pease and Wilson also bought the chantry lands of St. Mary valued at £6 3s. 4d. and lands attached to the chapel at Osmaston while Reve and Cotton purchased the chantry house of Boulton, even though both chapels had been reprieved.⁷⁴ The church goods returns of 1552 record that Pease also acquired the chapel at King's Newton.⁷⁵ Even the smallest units, such as St. Leonard's hospital in Derby assessed at 10s., found a buyer. In 1559 it was in the possession of Edward Lowe of Alderwasley and leased to a yeoman family named Watson of Derby.⁷⁶

As chantry sales went forward, reserved parcels of monastic lands were also sold off. In the sale of former Kingsmead lands in Mackworth from Robert Thorley of Leigh in Essex to William Thorley alias Draper of Mackworth in 1549, family connections proved useful but many properties were dispersed into large packages.⁷⁷ Lord Clinton and Say, a speculator in monastic properties, having been granted land which had already been granted elsewhere, was recompensed by a composite package which included a meadow in Barrowcote from Kingsmead, a messuage and land in Etwall from Dale and the tithes of grain and hay of the demesne lands of Markeaton manor, tenanted by Robert Sacheverell from Darley.⁷⁸ The Crown had not released, or had regained, some parcels of the Dale and Yeaveley estates which went into sale lots in 1552-3. In addition to Pease and Wilson, Thomas Reve and George Cotton, Thomas and Humphrey Cockes, Leonard Browne and Anthony Trappes, Thomas Wren and Edward Slegge, all ubiquitous patentees, made numerous Derbyshire purchases, few of great individual worth, possibly acting as agents.⁷⁹ Pease and Wynlove appear to have acted for Ralph Gell who bought property from them in 1551-2.⁸⁰ Wren and Slegge may have been so acting in the sale of the profitable Talbot Inn in Derby's Irongate, for the property passed from Anthony Bate, the innkeeper in 1538, to Peter Bate and in 1613 to his heirs.⁸¹

Even in Edward VI's reign there was little dissolution land of value on the market. Crown receivers obtained less than £100 from Derbyshire chantry lands in 1553, 31st of the 37 counties for which returns were made. In Jordan's table of Crown manors which changed hands at this time, Derbyshire is placed 32nd of 39 and of the 12 properties, one changed by gift, one by sale and 10 by exchange.⁸² In Mary's reign, the Duke of Northumberland's treason restored to the Crown some lands in Yeaveley and Alkmonton, Duffield and Derby St. Alkmund and St. Peter's parishes but these were donated to the revived Order of St. John.⁸³ When Elizabeth succeeded and the Order was again dissolved these lands reverted to the Crown as did other monastic lands which came back to the Crown through attainders for treason. These helped to hold up a declining market. Even the smallest units, lands from the abolition of obits and lights, were now sold. In a resale, lands in Morley given for lamps, or the like, in Morley church, granted to the Duke of Somerset went to Cecily Pickerell, a Norwich widow, in 1563 in a package to settle a debt owed to her husband.⁸⁴ Reversions of leases were also put up for sale. In 1568 Bowers and Moyser obtained 35 parcels of reversions and rents,

many leased in 1552-3, including a mill and various other properties in Trowell once owned by the abbey of Dale.⁸⁵ Scouring the barrel, the Crown also sanctioned a market in supposedly concealed lands. The concealed lands in Elvaston endowed for lamps, granted to Sir George Howard in 1559, had a value of only 12d.⁸⁶

None of these later sales brought in much income but the continuing market in Crown properties, accompanied by the unveiling of past petty crimes of concealment, ensured that the dissolutions would not quickly be forgotten.

Part Three: Other Properties

One form of property which merits separate treatment as it aroused great local interest was land with industrial potential. Derbyshire gentry did not stand aloof from industry as Kiernan has well illustrated in his study of the Derbyshire lead industry. Their involvement in extractive industries pre-dated the dissolution of the monasteries.⁸⁷

The Erewash valley was particularly rich in coal bearing seams and, on the western side, coal measures were exposed over an area of 900 square miles and were relatively easy to exploit. Monastic houses held land in this area and were involved in mining for coal from at least the mid twelfth century. The earliest documentary reference to coal mining in the deanery occurs in a charter in which Hugh de Muskham granted to Rufford Abbey,

my land called Grenewsweit with all its pertinances inminerals and common rights of mining and wood cutting in Shipley.⁸⁸

Hoskins was amongst the first to question the thesis, gradually being undermined by new research, that the monastic houses were 'sitting passively on top of untold wealth for later and more commercially-minded owners to develop'. While accepting an element of truth he pointed to houses in coal-bearing districts like Tyneside, Furness and the Forest of Dean which had been digging coal for generations for their own needs.⁸⁹

The Willoughbys, the Greys and later the Zouch family were all heavily involved in coal production. The Willoughby interest was extensive. Their exploitation of coal at Shipley, through the digging of still visible bell pits, grew throughout the sixteenth century, rising to an annual value of £3000 in 1600. Lenton priory also leased coal bearing lands in Nottinghamshire to the Willoughby entrepreneurs who introduced a system of ingenious drainage, engineered with the co-operation of the priory. Surviving accounts reveal a growing industry there, with eight or more pits working in 1526 and a work force of around 50. By the 1530s profits averaged over £400 a year and were to grow throughout the century.⁹⁰

Coal had been mined at Codnor Park before 1430 by the Greys.⁹¹ The Zouch interest emerges from depositions in a case brought before the Exchequer in 1580 concerning a dispute between Sir John Zouch and Sir Henry Sacheverell over a right of way for the transport of coals from Egrevé and Codnor through Kiddersley Park (Sacheverell's land) to Derby. The deposition of Thomas Brownlowe of Duffield, aged

68, refers to mining in the Loscoe and Heanor area by the Zouch family 'by the space of Fiftie yeres' and to an 'olde waye' replaced by a new one in 1550 so that Sacheverell could enlarge his park. One 72 year old cottager, John Shawe of Morley, carried what he called 'passage cooles' and 'helped to carry the coals paid by Mr. George Zouch to Sir Henry Sacheverell'.⁹² In 1540 there was a dispute over a road which passed through Shipley, West Hallam and Baldock mill to Dale abbey, a route which was closed in 1540 and is referred to on later maps as the 'Old Coal Road', almost certainly Zouch's original route.

The new opportunities presented by the sale of monastic lands with mineral deposits attracted not only existing but new entrepreneurs, both gentlemen such as Sir Francis Pole and men of lesser status such as yeoman Robert Ragge and mercer Thomas Parker. There was coal on the abbey's manor of Ripley and about the time of the dissolution Robert Ragge took a lease from Darley which allowed him to mine for coal in Ripley, within the Lordship of Butterley.⁹³ This Lordship had been leased to Thomas Sutton shortly before the dissolution but was sold to George Zouch as part of an exchange in 1542.⁹⁴ Zouch refused to allow Sutton to cut timbers to provide Ragge with pit props for his mine and when Sutton brought to his claim to Chancery, he referred to Ragge working 'colle pitts' in Denby and Ripley at a yearly rent of £5, under indenture. The value of the lease suggests a fair sized operation, already up and running, and since the lease was granted only in the latter stages of the abbey's life it could well be that the abbey was already exploiting these coal mines, perhaps directly, for its own use.⁹⁵

All the religious houses with land lying in the Erewash valley exploited the coal deposits to some extent. There is only one vague early reference to mining activity on the Dale estates but a post dissolution rental refers to a coal mine in Stanley fields, leased to Sir Francis Pole. This is specifically referred to as a *cimborum* in lease and sale documents when it was purchased by Pole.⁹⁶ Beauchief Abbey also mined coal in the Erewash valley, at Swanwick. In 1536 the vicar of Alfreton was taking tithes of coal from the Swanwick mine. It was sold in 1536-37 to Henry Parker, a London mercer and gentleman usher of the Chamber.⁹⁷

Coal measures were the chief industrial asset the Derbyshire houses possessed but they held some land with lead and iron deposits. The value of lead was widely appreciated by monastic houses and there is evidence of its increasing exploitation by

northern houses such as Bolton and Fountains during the fifteenth century.⁹⁸ Derbyshire lead was an important source of local wealth. Wolsey bought lead for the roof of Cardinal College from Sir Godfrey Foljambe, Sir Anthony Babington and the Gells of Hopton.⁹⁹ At Dale, Francis Pole appears to have set up a smelting furnace, though the evidence dates retrospectively from 1582 when Thomas Somers of Mercaston testified that

he did knowe a foot blast in a howse at Dale Abbye about xxxv yeres since which did melt rawe lead ewer And it was one Mr Fraunces Poole that caused the same to be wrought.¹⁰⁰

Kiernan has shown how monastic dissolutions adversely affected the lead trade as stock piles from stripped roofs and drains accumulated. After the sale of Darley 160 fothers remained unsold and at Dale 200 fothers, fairly typical quantities. At £4 a fother this lead alone was valued at £1440 though it had to be reprocessed. First sales of monastic lead abroad were made below market price, causing general deflation in lead prices. In 1539 John Freeman, a receiver of the Court of Augmentations, wrote that the lead mining industry 'nowe is ded.' The depression was aggravated by the loss of the leading domestic market, the Crown itself, which, while still building royal residences, now had ample supplies of roofing lead and also a sufficiency for military purposes. By 1547 Derbyshire lead had fallen to its lowest price of the century and was not to recover for some years as Edwardian dissolutions replenished Crown supplies.¹⁰¹ Government interference further lengthened the period of depression. The Duke of Northumberland tried to maintain the price of the remaining stock of Crown lead (stocks had been depleted in 1550 when he bought 3,000 fothers for his own use) by placing an embargo on alternative lead sales, an unpopular interference in the market which he shortly rescinded. Governments continued to interfere in the lead market however until the 1560s. The major saving of the Derbyshire lead industry in these difficult years was the impurity of monastic lead: 'good and newe peak lead' retained a limited market.

Investments in lead bearing land would yield dividends in time but, in the short term, the industry was unattractive. Even so, Ralph Gell, a local yeoman, seized the opportunity to purchase Dale's grange at Griffes, near Wirksworth, which held lead deposits. Gell had already leased the lot and cope for 61 years in 1536, at a peppercorn rent for the first six years, perhaps to cover the initial outlay of a new mine.¹⁰² In 1546 he bought the grange, including the lot and cope, from the Crown for £107 13s. 4d. This

initially stretched Gell's ability to pay. The accounts in the office of William Bolles, Crown receiver, state 'Ralph Gell owes £33 7s. 6d. for arrears' for Griffe grange and tithe corn in Mackworth. His son Anthony, a lawyer of Clement's Inn, represented his case for non-payment in June and won an extension until August. Perhaps Gell simply lacked ready money but he may have been feeling the effects of reduced profits.¹⁰³

Ironstone deposits were also present in the Erewash valley and there is documentary evidence for early iron working. In 1269 a quitclaim referring to abbey lands at Pentrich mentions certain ditches made there for the working of iron ore and a 'portion of burnt wood'.¹⁰⁴ However, there is no evidence that this was still worked in the sixteenth century.

All the metallurgical processes required fuel and, though coal was available and may have been used, charcoal was in demand. Darley Abbey held land at Wessington described as a 'hey', this being an enclosure in the Morwood, granted to the abbey c.1250.¹⁰⁵ In 1532 Sir Richard Sacheverell leased Wessington with the right to cut wood and burn and make charcoal for 80 years. At his death in 1534 the woods, and two lead boles at Brown Edge, were divided between his nephews, Sir Henry of Morley and Ralph Sacheverell. The reversion of about 60 acres of woodland and ten acres of waste was granted to Thomas Babington although the lease still had 68 years to run. The grant cost £345 7s. 0d. paid to Augmentations and £14 14s. 8d. to the Treasurer, a major piece of forward planning, showing the local importance attached to this woodland. Henry Sacheverell, son of Sir Henry, sold his moiety to William Madder in 1566 for £115, less the value of the bole he sold with it.¹⁰⁶

Darley's mid Derbyshire granges at Aldwark and Wigwell lay in wooded areas which were also used for charcoal burning. When the 80 year lease of Aldwark, hurriedly agreed with the abbey by Sir Henry Sacheverell and Richard Curzon in 1538, was queried in 1540 it was a wood of 20 acres. Commissioners Bolles and Wiseman could not obtain sight of the indenture and Wiseman wrote to Rich at the Court of Augmentations that 'the money therefore is paid to the late abbot' and he could not yet assess its yearly value.¹⁰⁷ Pressure was exerted to reduce the lease to 21 years. In 1562, now described as a manor, it was sold to James Hardwick of Hardwick and thus passed into the Devonshire estates.¹⁰⁸ Wigwell, a moated grange near Wirksworth, had been established out of various grants of land, about 80 acres in all, shortly before 1287. The

grange was first used for the storage of grain and as a sheep holding but it was in a well timbered area. The Babington interest began in 1501 when Thomas leased Wigwell for 44 years at a rent of £3 4s. 8d. After the dissolution, Anthony Babington and John Hyde bought it, the yearly rental now given as only 15s. 0d.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Babington leased it to Richard Blackwall¹¹⁰ in 1563 for a 'red rose flower' (though Blackwall may have paid a large entry fine). Only five years later it was sublet by William Blackwall to Ralph Sacheverell and Henry Needham for two peppercorns of rent. Probably too much wood had been cut.¹¹¹

There were a miscellany of small business ventures which went for sale, including mills. Darley abbey's mill at Pentrich went with the sale of the manor while its mills in Derby went to the borough but this type of property was sometimes retained by the Crown. The Baldock mill at Dale, an early development mentioned in Muskham's Chronicle, was on Stanley grange and is not mentioned in post dissolution documentation which credits Dale with three mill complexes, the Park mill at Dale itself, a mill at Trowell and the Burgh mill near Elvaston. The Crown retained the Burgh mills, charging high entry fines but maintaining the same rent throughout the century.¹¹²

A very different kind of property was the monastic tithe. After the monastic dissolutions the Crown received the tithes of 20 of the deanery's parishes through the demise of monastic appropriations to which were added two more with the dissolution of the college of Derby All Saints. This was 70% of the total tithe but to this must also be added the many small tithe packages granted over time to the monastic houses. The tithes of Darley Abbey in Derby, 25 holdings in all, were scattered across the town.¹¹³ The Abbot had sought to reserve some part to himself, making out a lease to Oliver Thacker, Robert and Thomas Ragge for 99 years of grain tithes in Derby at £10 in annual rent, an indenture not produced for inspection in 1539. In 1544 the lease was reduced by the Crown to the more acceptable 21 years. The tithes, valued at £17 6s. 8d, were described as

within the fields of Derby due to Darley Abbey and its two parish churches of St. Peter and St. Michael, or rented by Darley Abbey from the Collegiate church of All Saints by an indenture dated St. John's day, 1452 or rented by Darley Abbey from the nunnery churches 1451.¹¹⁴

It is obvious that there was ample opportunity for confusion in the market for tithes.

The Crown did not initially sell rectorial tithes, perhaps to help safeguard the interests of the vicar but leases were granted, often broken down into smaller units. As

an exemplar, greater tithes in the parish of Mackworth were fragmented; the Mackworth tithes leased to Ralph Gell, tithes of Markeaton and Fennymore to Robert Sacheverell, and of Allestree to Toft and Sowter.¹¹⁵ The tithes of Allestree were further divided on the death of Richard Toft in 1545, divided between his son Thomas and Joan his widowed daughter-in-law.¹¹⁶

Many tithes were sold during the reign of Edward VI. Some were included in the sales of sites and manors. The sale of Breadsall included the tithe of Mugginton which went from the Suffolks to Thomas Babington who in turn sold to local landowner John Kniveton. Often however they were taken by a speculative partnership. Tithes at Mackworth and Allestree went respectively to Lord Clinton and Saye and Edward Bray.¹¹⁷ Brown and Trappes acquired the greater tithes of Osmaston (1553) which had been leased to Robert Sacheverell.¹¹⁸ Some lesser tithes of Dale abbey in Whitehills, described as meadow hay of 12 ley lands in the tenure of John Dilke, went to Reve and Cotton.¹¹⁹ The tithes of the prebendal lands at Little Chester, then farmed by Oliver Thacker, had been sold to Sir Thomas Smythe but his fall from office restored them to the Crown. They were to be sold again. A letter to the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, dated 20 April 1553 permitting the Chancellor to make out a book for four of the five parcels 'he demandeth at his owne choise'.¹²⁰ The fifth parcel was the tithe formerly held by Smythe. However they were put into Queen Mary's grant of 1554 and the bailiffs conveyed the farm to glover William Allestree. Much other tithe property came back to the town but not all. The tithe of Abbey Barns, formerly held by Kingsmead nunnery, was granted to Gryce and Foster in 1564.¹²¹ Derby All Saints tithes of hay from the Siddals' meadow also went to Reve and Cotton and caused great controversy (see Chapter 8).¹²²

Conclusion

Dissolution sales had, in themselves, little effect on the ranking of local nobility and gentry. In strong contrast to a county such as Norfolk where about 227 monastic manors were for sale, magnates were not much attracted to the Derbyshire land market.¹²³ The market did assist in the consolidation of the authority of the Earls of Shrewsbury but there was still no nobleman with a chief residence in the county. When, in 1558, the Justices of Derbyshire wrote to Shrewsbury in reply to a request for 1,500 footmen, they gave as reason for refusal the fact that many of the most important officials of the county resided and had the bulk of their property elsewhere.¹²⁴

The Shrewsburys looked first to Nottinghamshire and Hallamshire in their twin policies of expansion and consolidation. The fourth Earl acquired Rufford Abbey (1537), the fifth exchanged the manor of Farnham Royal in Buckinghamshire for Worksop Abbey (1541) and acquired Rotherham collegiate estates while the sixth Earl leased and eventually bought Welbeck Abbey (1584).¹²⁵ That is not to say that they had no territorial ambitions in Derbyshire. The fourth Earl extended his hold on the north west through the translation of a long lease of estates at Glossop (ex-Basingwerk) into a purchase. In mid-Derbyshire properties at Pentrich and Crich in the vicinity of the Shrewsbury manor at South Wingfield were acquired. However, this was the limit of their expansion until the marriage of the sixth Earl to the thrice widowed Elizabeth of Hardwick in 1567. She brought to the marriage considerable Derbyshire properties, including those acquired from her second marriage to Sir William Cavendish.¹²⁶

Personal interests, loyalty and connections at the heart of government were keys to success in the first round of purchase but local people often succeeded at a second or third sale. Occasionally, the sitting tenant was able to purchase the land direct. Land at Smalley and Mapperley which had been granted to Dale in the late thirteenth century, had been leased to the Willoughbys of Risley who purchased the land after dissolution.¹²⁷ In contrast, although Sir John Port was leaseholder of a Dale grange at Hilton, the Earl of Shrewsbury, a greater lord, acquired the estate.¹²⁸

Within the deanery some lands were purchased by the gentry to consolidate or expand existing estates. Zouch extended his chief holding at Codnor through the purchases of Ripley manor and Butterley Park though he did not obtain Pentrich. Few

new estates of any size or importance were however created. When, in August 1556, Sir John Port was instructed to collect £100 from himself and eight leading gentry, the list of names had not greatly changed from 1523.¹²⁹ Paget and Stanhope were notable exceptions. Paget put together a sufficiently large holding to make a lasting mark as county gentry though the family base was in Staffordshire. The Stanhope estate grew more slowly. Before his purchase of the Dale granges of Southome and Littlehay Sir Thomas had obtained various properties in the county through his father, Michael's purchase of Shelford to which was attached the advowson of Elvaston and lands there which his son, Sir Philip Stanhope, would turn into a major residence. When, in 1604, Sir George Hastings, now Earl of Huntingdon, sold Stanhope the Dale estates which virtually reunited Dale to its former granges, he became a leading landowner in the deanery.¹³⁰

Haigh argues that it is difficult to see the grantees as a class of land hungry protestant exploiters.¹³¹ This is true for most of the Derbyshire gentry, whether purchasers or leaseholders, although they may have been faint in religion. That is the impression given in the will of Robert Sacheverell of Darley (1549) which is prefaced by a traditional preamble but with religious content confined to a request for burial in Morley church as his executors 'shall think'.¹³² There were families, notably the Fitzherberts and Longfords, which stayed aloof from monastic land sales on religious principle, while others, such as the Curzons came late into the field. Pragmatism rather than belief dictated many decisions to invest in monastic lands. John Port II bought Dale abbey to make possible a marriage alliance for a daughter. There is good evidence to show that he was nonetheless a devout catholic. Thomas Sutton and Roland Babington, men of less clear religious belief, likewise turned legal fees into property investments. There was much local demand for property with mineral assets which seldom went to 'outsiders'. Lead profits were converted by the Babingtons, Sir John Gell, Richard Blackwall and Robert Bainbridge into further ventures or into landed estates. Within this group there was strong, in Bainbridge's case fervent, protestantism but it was not an essential pre-requisite.

Kew suggests that the sale of dissolution lands be considered as part of the total land market in a single county.¹³³ This type of study can only be attempted when a full survey of close rolls and deeds has been undertaken but the argument of land starvation

can be supported to the extent that the gentry were keen to lease or buy in order to provide for an advantageous marriage and settlement in life of younger sons and daughters. What is less in evidence is the purchase of land simply to consolidate or expand an existing estate, though this sometimes happened, as in the case of the earls of Shrewsbury and the Zouch family.¹³⁴

The importance of the monastic land market has to be balanced against other ways in which upwardly mobile lawyers, civil servants and merchants established themselves. Marriage elevated many, while multiple inheritance through the female line or debt brought land on the market at regular intervals. One consequence of the Reformation was that treason emerged as a stronger factor than hitherto. Treason, as expressed in war and rebellion, had often created opportunities, through acts of attainder, for major redistributions of land. One of the larger estates in the deanery, the manor of Mackworth with Markeaton, was acquired by the Mundys as a result of indebtedness which arose out of treason. The Mundys, with little recourse to monastic estates, went on to establish themselves in the highest social circles well into the present century. Reformation politics however created new and varying charges of treason based upon religious allegiances which would effect the land market throughout the century. Another change was that property was no longer alienated away from families to the church and so remained within the potential land market.

While there were considerable regional differences, in this study the dispersal of monastic lands only facilitated change in land ownership, simply speeding an existing trend of the emergence of new local wealth with its concomitant social and political power.¹³⁵ The same conclusion has been reached for neighbouring Nottinghamshire where monastic holdings were 'surprisingly small', though greater than in Derbyshire.¹³⁶

- 1 Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 188-9.
- 2 As for example M. Gray, 'Crown Property and the Land Market in South-East Wales in the Sixteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 35; J. Kew, 'The Disposal of Crown Lands and the Devon Land Market 1536-58', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 18; T.H. Swales, 'The Redistribution of the Monastic Lands in Norfolk at the Dissolution', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 34; J. Youings, *Devon Monastic Lands. Calendar of Particulars for Grants 1536-1558*.
- 3 Youings, 'Devon Monastic Lands', Intro., xxviii.
- 4 *Ibid.*, Intro., xxi; H.J. Habakkuk, 'The Market for Monastic Property', *Economic History Review*, 2nd. series, vol. 10, pp. 362-80.
- 5 PRO, E315/212/179.
- 6 Fox, *History and Antiquities*, Endpaper, Pedigree of the Sacheverells of Radcliffe-on-Soar; R. Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, vol. 2, p. 181 traces the later history of these lands under Elizabeth.
- 7 PRO, PCC, Robert Sacheverell, 8 Bucke, 1550; DRO, xm 1/160 item 5, Derby St. Alkmund. The last two family entries occur in 1559 and 1566.
- 8 W. Flower (ed.), *Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees 1569-1611*, p. 65; PRO, SC6 Hen8/7384/79, f. 61; E315/212/120; L&P Hen.8, vol. 16 (1541), no. 179, p. 722.
- 9 PRO, SC6 Hen8/485/5; E315/399/417; E315/209/31.
- 10 PRO, SC6 Hen8/485/74; Lysons, *Derbyshire*, Intro., lxxxi, Coke of Trusley; PRO, E315/172. A William Coke was priest at Stanley and George Coke a canon of Dale in 1538.
- 11 PRO, SC6 Hen8/7384/69 for farm of the site. The lease, dated 14 February 1540, included nine adjacent cottages, each let at 3s. and a rent from a tenement in Alvaston in the tenure of Sir John Port; M. Craven, *The Derby Townhouse*, pp. 57-9.
- 12 PRO, SC6 Hen8/3464/12.
- 13 PRO, C66/731/26; BL, Add Ms. 6678, f. 529; L&P Hen.8, vol. 19/i (1544), g. 141/56, p. 81. His grant in fee, which cost £484 0s. 10d., included the site and estates of the nunnery of Wykeham in Yorkshire and lands in Marton, Roston and Hallam from the abbey of St. Mary, York and estates of the Knights of St. John, were shortly sold on to a Richard Hutchenson.
- 14 PRO, C66/733/24; L&P Hen.8, vol. 19/i (1544), g. 141/77, p. 85; Garratt and Rawcliffe, *Feet of Fines*, no. 1325, p. 134.
- 15 Chandos-Pole, *Radbourn Charters*, nos. 767, 776, pp. 120-1.
- 16 L&P Hen.8, vol. 12/ii (1537), g. 1008/9, pp. 350-1.
- 17 PRO, E315/399/413-6 Paper Survey; L&P Hen.8, vol. 18 (1543), no. 474, p. 282; g. 981/63, p. 532.
- 18 CPR, Ed.VI 1547-1548, p. 17; 1550-1553, p. 241.
- 19 See above Chapter 5, p.153; CPR, Ed.VI 1548, p. 162. Richard Blackwall of Calke esq. and Alice his wife, widow of Prest and executrix of his will; Colvin, *Calke Abbey Derbyshire*, p. 17. The lease passed to his widow who married Richard Blackwall and in 1549 to Prest's daughter who married William Bradburne, a Derbyshire gentleman.
- 20 PRO, C66/698/25.
- 21 H. Lawrence (Rev.), 'Arms of the Gentlemen of Derbyshire in 1569', *DAJ*, vol. 36, p. as of Amerdon in Essex and Darley Abbey; BL Harleian Ms. 1541, f. 66b. He married Fraunces, d. of Sir Richard Fitz Lewes of West Hordon and Ingrave,

- Essex; L&P Hen.8, vol. 5/ii (1531-2), no. 1694, p. 702; PRO, Sheriffs List, p. 45, Essex 1534-5; W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, vol. 2, p. 50; L&P Hen.8, vol. 9 (1536), no. 580, p. 233; vol. 19/i (1544), nos. 273, 275, p. 150. His later service to Henry included turning out for France in 1544, providing six billmen.
- 22 Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, p. 173, 'Pedigree of West, of Aughton'. The family had intermarried with the Eyres of Offerton.
- 23 R. Meredith, 'Beauchief Abbey and the Pegges', *DAJ*, vol. 87, pp. 86, 90. Strelley was granted the site in April 1537 and settled it on his second son, Nicholas. Strelleys held it until the mid-seventeenth century. In 1547 Strelley used part of the estate to effect an exchange with the 5th Earl of Shrewsbury of lands near Sheffield for lands in Mapperley.
- 24 L&P Hen. 8, vol. 18 (1543), g. 449, p. 237; DLSL, DD 1726; DD 1626, transfer from Francis Colwich to John Hurd (1665), states that it was sold to Charles Blount, 5th Lord Mountjoy who resold in 1557 to William Colwich; See also DLSL, DD 1726, copy of sale by Chard to Vincent Mundy (1542).
- 25 L&P Hen.8, vol. 14/i (1539), no. 1355/44b, p. 593; DLSL, DD 977, 978-9. This is a certified copy of a grant from original records in the Chapel of Rolls, with documents of sale to the Marquis of Hastings in 1826.
- 26 L&P Hen.8, vol. 16 (1540-1541), p. 726, g. 1500/39b; vol. 18 (1543), m. 4, p. 6; m. 17, p. 4, 30 May 1543; On Hynde see Bindoff, *House of Commons*, vol. 2, pp. 432-3; J. Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards*, pp. 223-4.
- 27 L&P Hen.8, vol. 19/i (1544), g. 80/64, p. 45.
- 28 PRO, E318/129; L&P Hen.8, vol. 20/i, (1545), g. 465/82, p. 224.
- 29 For conjectural site see Craven, *Derby Townhouse*, p. 69, under 'Kniveton's House'. In 1611 William Kniveton was paying rent to the Corporation for a house in St. James' Lane and in 1613 a Kniveton was holding St. James' chapel yard.
- 30 L&P Hen.8, vol. 12/i (1537), no. 47, p. 14.
- 31 PRO, E318/593.
- 32 Reproduced in Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. 2, pp. 173-5.
- 33 PRO, C66/928/30 is the licence of alienation, dated 21 July 1557, for which West was charged £8 10s. 0d; City of Sheffield Public Library JC 630, is an indenture of the marriage settlement dated 1 Oct. 1557.
- 34 PRO, C66/931/33, dated 29 Oct. 1557.
- 35 Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, p. 173. In the 'Pedigree of West of Aughton' the date of death is given as 10 Nov. 1557; For the funeral see Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. 3, p. 387; West was buried in the church of St. Sepulchre.
- 36 Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, p. 173; Lysons, *Derbyshire*, p. 83. The sale of Newbold was to Anthony and Gervase Eyre.
- 37 City of Sheffield Public Library, JC 455, an indenture for bargain and sale of Greenhill, dated 1 May 1573. Costing £307 0s. 8½d, it became the marriage portion from John Bullock to Elizabeth Smythe of London; JC 631, the marriage settlement, signed on 11 Oct. 1573; PRO, C66/1120 is the license to alienate Darley, dated 10 Oct. 1574; Lysons, *Derbyshire*, p. cxx. The Bullocks of Darley descended from a younger branch of the Bullocks of Norton which had settled at Onston; DRO, xm 1/160 item 5, Derby St. Alkmund, records baptisms and burials of John Bullock's children from 1577, the burial of his wife and his own burial in 1607.
- 38 Lawrence, 'Arms of the Gentlemen', pp. 60-1; C. Cross, *The Puritan Earl. The Life of Henry Hastings, Third Earl of Huntingdon*, p. 31.

39 The original sketch is in the Bodleian library. The engraving, copied from own collection, is from *Buck's Views, 1727*; see also Drage, 'Dale Abbey: the South Range Excavations'. This describes an excavation adjacent to Abbey House, of which a recent photograph is shown in Illustration 14.

40 CPR, Eliz.I 1560-3, pp. 315-8 (1562); Craven, *Derby Townhouse*, p. 57; J. Keys, *Sketches of Old Derby and Neighbourhood*, map facing p. 97. (see ch. 5, p. 160)

41 J.C. Cox, 'The History of Breadsall Priory', *DAJ*, vol. 27, p. 147. The owners were Duke of Suffolk, Thomas Babington, Thomas Huchinson, John Leake (uncle of Bess of Hardwick) and Sir John Bentley, a London lawyer who converted the priory into a house.

42 The history of Calke has been well researched and this paragraph owes most to Colvin, *Calke Abbey*, pp. 17-20.

43 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 62.

44 DLSL, Derby Borough Archives Box V, rent roll for 1612. Thomas Sutton was paying rental for the enclosure of part of Nun's Green and other enclosures; Woolley, p. 30. Thomas Sutton built a gallery in Derby All Saints; p. 51, under 1615. 'Thomas Sutton died and was buried soldier-like'; LJRO B/C/11, Thomas Sutton of Kingsmeade, 1615/16; Cox and St. John Hope, *Chronicles*, pp. 150-1, suggest that there was monument to Thomas and his wife in Derby All Saints; see also Craven, *Derby Townhouse*, pp. 67-8 for the later history of the site.

45 PRO, C66/752/34, 'manor' and SC6/H8/7384/50, 'grange'.

46 PRO, C66/752/34.

47 L&P Hen.8, vol. 17 (1542), no. 220/81, p. 105; vol. 16 (1540-1), no. 713, p. 1497. Zouch was discharged all fees bar 20s. p.a. to the bailiff of Ripley manor. The King was charged with the fee of the Keeper of Butterley Park; D.V. Fowkes and G.R. Potter (eds.), *William Senior's Survey of the Estates of the First and Second Earls of Devonshire c.1600-28*, pp. 36-9; DRO, DD 16792, a transcript, dated 1792, of a survey of ex-Darley lands in Pentrich and Ripley, dated 1539-40.

48 CPR, P&M 1557-8, p. 214.

49 PRO, C66/733/24; Garratt and Rawcliffe, *Feet of Fines*, no. 1325, p. 134.

50 PRO, E101/76/12, his death reported by Richard Wheatley; L&P Hen.8, vol.19/i (1544), no. 812/35, p. 495; PRO, E318/628, particular for grant; NUMD, Dr P6, Map of 1873, estate of C.L.H. Masters.

51 CPR, Ed.VI, 1553, p. 155.

52 PRO, C66/981/1.

53 CPR, Eliz. I, 1560-3, p. 315-7.

54 Marcombe, 'Knights of St. Lazarus', pp. 55-6.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 56; NUMD, Dr D33/5. This Conveyance from the Duke of Suffolk to George Swyllington of Lydington, Rutland, gives the lands as late of Sir Richard Rich.

56 DRO, DD 6768.

57 S.R. Gammon, *Statesman and Schemer. William, First Lord Paget, Tudor Minister*, pp. 111-15; H. Miller, 'Henry VIII's Unwritten Will: Grants of Lands and Honours in 1547', in E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht and J.J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Wealth and Power in Tudor England. Essays presented to S. T. Bindoff*, pp. 87-90, 97-105; H. Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp. 250-2.

58 Garratt and Rawcliffe, *Feet of Fines*, no. 1335, p. 137. Paget obtained Edlaston manor in January 1544, paying a token rent of £16. Conveyed to Edward Aston in 1545 for £229.

59 Gammon, *Statesman and Schemer*, p. 113.
60 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
61 Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. 1, pp. 170-1; Gammon, *Statesman and Schemer*, pp. 180-4. The fine was reduced from £8,000 to £4000; Beer and Jack, 'Letters of William Lord Paget', p. 139, Anne Paget asks the Privy Council for mercy.
62 W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI. The Young King*, pp. 103-24; C.J. Kitching, 'Studies in the Redistribution of Collegiate and Chantry Property in the Diocese and County of York at the Dissolution' (University of Durham, D. Phil. thesis); G.H. Woodward, 'The Dissolution of the Chantries in the County of Somerset' (University of Bristol, M. Litt. dissertation.)
63 J. Cary, *Correct English Atlas*, unpaginated, gives Somerset as 1520 sq. miles.
64 PRO, E301/14. In stock £270 14s. 2d; G.H. Woodward, 'The Dispersal of Chantry Lands in Somerset', *Southern History*, vol. 5, p. 95.
65 E315/343/1v.
66 LPL, Ms. 3206 f.125, 3206, f.17; Bernard, *Early Tudor Nobility*, p. 142.
67 *DNB*, vol. 53, pp. 124-7. In 1545 Smythe obtained the rectory of Leverington in Cambridge, before being ordained.
68 PRO, E101/75/8.
69 PRO, SC6 Ed VI/112; E315/67/73; Cole, *Chapter Acts 1547-1559*, pp. 31-2. An indenture between Smythe and John Taylor, Dean of Lincoln for an 80 year lease of the manor of Little Chester, 1549.
70 The base map is George Sanderson, *Map of the County Twenty Miles round Mansfield*, 1835; DLSL Map Collection, *Survey of the Corporation Lands in the Liberty of Little Chester of the New Pasture and four Enclosures in Derby Liberty adjoining St. Mary's Bridge. Taken in the Majoralty of Robert Bakewell* (1755); DRO, Thornhill, D769, maps and plans of Darley Hall, dated from 1708.
71 BL, Harley 6989, ff. 141-7.
72 Gammon, *Statesman and Schemer*, pp. 166-7, *DNB*, vol. 53, p. 125.
73 PRO, E318, 3EdVI, f. 39; *DNB*, vol. 38, p. 133. Son of Sir Thomas Molyneux of Haughton, Nottinghamshire. Sat on the Council of the North from 1549, a judge from 1550, died 1552; BL, Harley 605, f. 8, lease made out to Broke, tenants named. See also Chancery proceedings, PRO, C1/1203/26-7.
74 PRO, E315/343/1v; E315/343/12; E315/67/152.
75 Walcott, 'Church Goods', p. 5.
76 DRO, Revell, 184, m.T33, a 21 yr. lease of site and lands of St. Leonard from Edward Lowe of Alderwasley to Robert Watson of Derby, yeoman, 26 Sept. 1559; LJRO, John Watson Snr., Derby 1559; DLSL, DD 7029, Conveyance of 'all that mansion or hospital ...called St. Leonard's...and lands (1615); Borough Family Papers, DD 10137, DD 10351, conveyance of a 4th part (1633-4).
77 DRO, DD 1732. Tenant named as Thomas Shepard, with local witnesses. DD 1733 is the partition into four in 1579 through the inheritance of four daughters.
78 CPR, Ed.VI 1550-1553, p. 91; pp. 317-2.
79 *Ibid.*, Ed.VI 1553, pp. 155; 90-92; 202-5; 218-20; DRO, DD 16979, Robert Goche of Chilwell, Notts.; See Kitching, thesis, 'Collegiate and Chantry Property', Appendices, Table xv. Browne, Cotton, Howe, Pease, Reve, Trappes, Winlove; See also, Habakkuk, 'The Market for Monastic Property' pp. 379-80; Woodward, *Dissolution of the Chantries*, pp. 96-7.
80 DRO, D258/Box7/5b.

- 81 M. Craven, *Inns and Taverns of Derby*, p. 157, with a photograph taken in 1858; LJRO, B/C/11, Anthony Bate, Derby (St. Michael) 1576; Ellen Bate, Derby 1576 (the inn had nine bedchambers); Peter Bate, Derby (St. Michael) 1613. In 1613 the estate was divided between nephews Nicholas Stringer and John Brookhouse; DLSL, 1236, will of John Brookhouse of London, 1628.
- 82 See Kitching, thesis, 'Collegiate and Chantry Property', Appendices, Table xxvii; Jordan, *Edward VI*, p. 116.
- 83 CPR, P&M 1557-1558, p. 318
- 84 CPR, Eliz.I 1563-66, p. 556.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 1566-69, p. 282.
- 86 *Ibid.*, 1558-1560, p. 88.
- 87 Kiernan, *Derbyshire Lead Industry*, pp. 57, 74-5, 110, Appendix 2.
- 88 Ibottson, 'Medieval Shipley', p. 24.
- 89 Hoskins, *Age of Plunder*, pp.129, 164-5; e.g.Dobson, *Durham Priory*, pp. 178-9.
- 90 R.S. Smith, *Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton Hall*, pp. 1-4.
- 91 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 351.
- 92 Kerry, *Smalley*, p. 45-56.
- 93 PRO, E315/186/82.
- 94 L&P Hen.8, vol. 17 (1542), g. 220/81, p. 105; P. Riden, *The Butterley Company 1790-1830*, p. 49 states that the lordship of Butterley went to the Cavendishes of Chatsworth but that freeholds within the manor went to the Zouches who held until the seventeenth century.
- 95 PRO, C1/1156/85.
- 96 Saltman, p. 331, no. 488. In a quitclaim c. 1250, 14 bovates of land in Little Hallam are described as '*cum planis...et mineriis*'; PRO SC6/H8/7384; E315/212/120; C66/35/731.
- 97 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 350; L&P Hen.8, vol. 13/i (1538), no. 29b, p. 579.
- 98 Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 182.
- 99 L&P Hen.8, vol. 10 (1536), no. 787, p. 331.
- 100 DRO, D258/67/25d; Kiernan, *Derbyshire Lead Industry*, pp. 77, 120; L&P Hen. 8, vol. 13/ii (1538), no. 839, p. 348.
- 101 Kiernan, *Derbyshire Lead Industry*, pp. 87-8, 113-5.
- 102 BL, Add. Ms. 6687, f.131. The Lot was every 13th dish of ore and the Cope 4d. paid on every load, or nine dishes. These were dues paid by miners to lessees.
- 103 L&P Hen.8, vol. 21/i (1546), no. 1157, p. 564; no. 1280/3, p. 631.
- 104 Darlington, vol. 2, H23, p. 347. The substantive text reads, '*cuiusdam portionis bosci combusti in bosco de Pentriz et super quibusdam fossis factis ad mineram ferri capeindam in dicto bosco*'.
- 105 Darlington, vol. 2, I78, I79, pp. 476-7; I44, pp. 439-40; L & P, vol. 19/ii (1544), no. 527/15, p. 314.
- 106 Kiernan, *Derbyshire Lead Industry*, pp. 66-7, 64-6, 49.
- 107 PRO, E315/186/82.
- 108 CPR, Eliz.I, 1560-1563, p. 318; Fowkes and Potter (eds.), *William Senior's Survey*, pp. 146-8.
- 109 The attainted estates were acquired by Sir Walter Raleigh who sold to Henry Wigwell; Jewitt, 'Wigwell Grange', p. 83 transcribes the bargain and sale from George Babington, natural heir, to Henry Wigley in 1589.
- 110 Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, pp.196, 216, 218, 243. Blackwall was related by marriage to the Poles and Booths.

- 111 D.A. Wigley, 'Wigwell Grange', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, vol. 3, pt. 8. pp. 637-9. In 1586, after Anthony Babington's treason, the grange was sold to a local lead miner, Henry Wigley of Middleton, for £300.
- 112 DRO, DD 406 (1562). The mill, fishing in the Derwent and two leys, conveyed by Richard Hurst of Nottingham and John Howe of London for the balance of a 40 year Crown lease for £260; DD 4196 (1572). Leased to Francis Grey of London for 21 years at £7 annually, the mills then tenanted to John Dawson; DD 4192 (1572). Transferred to John Dawson; DD 5884 (1576). Dawson, alias Jellicocke, obtained a new lease for 40 years; DD 4193 (1591). The remaining 25 years were transferred to Thomas Williamson for £200, reserving £7 annual rental. Conveyed again in 1593 and again in 1600.
- 113 Darlington, Axxvi; Axxix, pp. 36-7; D2, p.164; Axxvi; Axxix, pp. 36-7; E33, p. 224. At various times Darley was involved in tithe disputes with Dale, Newstead, Shelford and Dunstable abbeys, Derby All Saints and Wirksworth churches.
- 114 L&P Hen.8, vol. 19/ii (1544), no. 1036/17b, p. 647; PRO, E315/186/82.
- 115 Cox, vol. 4, p. 284.
- 116 LJRO, B/C/11, Richard Tofte, Duffield 1545. The tithe was to be used to maintain the daughter of a certain Henry Calton, until reaching the age of 14, when she was to go to Richard Wyte, taking a half share of the tithe.
- 117 CPR, EdVI 1553, pp. 371-2; p. 456.
- 118 *Ibid*, p. 204.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 755.
- 120 PRO, 303/1/41, presentation of indenture by Ragge and Thacker; SC6 EdVI/112, Ministers' Accounts prepared for Smythe and his partner Henry Needham, lead miner, records tithes leased, including Ragge and Thacker; APC, vol. 4, new series p. 258.
- 121 CPR, Eliz.I 1563-4, p. 62.
- 122 *Ibid.*, Ed.VI 1553, p. 155.
- 123 Swales, 'The Redistribution of the Monastic Lands', pp 14-44.
- 124 LPL, Ms. 3193, f. 225; 3193, f. 227.
- 125 This became a marriage portion for George, a son of the fifth Earl, passing out of the family to Manners and then Saville.
- 126 D.N. Durant, *Bess of Hardwick. Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast*, ch. 2.
- 127 Ibbotson, 'Medieval Shipley', p. 29.
- 128 CPR, Ed.VI 1553, p. 71.
- 129 LPL, Ms. 3194, f.276; 3195, f.113; 3196, f.73; 3196, f.77. Sir George Vernon, Sir Peter Frecheville, Sir William Cavendish, Thomas Babington, Sir Henry Sacheverell, Richard Blackwall, Sir George Pierrepont and Sir George Zouch.
- 130 WKRO, Stanhope Papers, T75, Bundle A, a.d.1564-1695; T100 (dated 1831), rent charge out of 'all that the Priory of Boyah Grange'..
- 131 Haigh, *Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries*, p. 138.
- 132 PRO, PCC, Robert Sacheverell, 8 Bucke 1550.
- 133 Kew, 'Devon Land Market', pp. 93-105.
- 134 See also M. Gray, 'Crown Property and the Land Market in South-East Wales in the Sixteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 35, p. 133.
- 135 Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, pp. 129-31.
- 136 Cameron, 'Monasteries in Nottinghamshire', pp. 50-9

CHAPTER EIGHT

Social Consequences

Introduction

The sixteenth century is now seen as a time of 'a significant shift in social relationships at all levels'.¹ As a causal factor, religious changes were once pin-pointed as a prime mover but revisionism increasingly places greater emphasis upon a multiplicity of economic factors; the continuous process of change arising out of the Black Death, the effects of growth in world trade and the long term impact of demographic growth.² Even so some claims are still made for the significance of the Reformation.

The main aim of this chapter is to examine social consequences, beginning with Derby on which the effects were the most intense. Part One will consider changes within the town and Part Two the friction generated. In the introduction to *Derbyshire Feet of Fines 1323-1546*, Rawcliffe argues that in Derby, which was both county town and main economic centre for Derbyshire, there was a continuous demand for property while its rich burgesses were anxious to expand as rentiers into the surrounding countryside, turning profit from trade into income from land.³ In such circumstances the release onto the market of post dissolution properties might be expected to inspire rivalries.

Part Three examines the friction created within the local gentry and tenantry. Although enclosure, trespass, debt and also inheritance were ordinary if sometimes disruptive issues, examples of which can be found within the county, many extraordinary disturbances can be traced to situations arising from the expanded land market or, occasionally, directly traced to changes in religious belief and it is this type of disturbance that will be examined here.

Part One: Changing Corporate Estate

The greatest social impact of the Reformation, and particularly of monastic and chantry dissolutions, was felt in Derby. Outwardly, the dissolution land sales changed Derby little for perhaps one hundred years. Houses were built on the sites of the nunnery and the friary and St. James' was built over but even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, after new building to house an expanded population, Woolley is able to identify some of the former religious buildings; St. Leonards, St. Helen's, 'now converted into dwelling houses' and the Bridge Chapel, 'converted into poor dwelling houses'.⁴ In Derby, the early division into burgage plots led to the maintenance of the boundaries of former monastic properties for centuries and often retaining the same use. This was the case with the Talbot, which survived as an inn in the Irongate until 1880 when it was demolished to make way for a bank.⁵ Ireland, an orchard owned by Darley Abbey lying close to St. Mary's bridge, passed from one Derby tradesman to another through sale or marriage until swept away in early nineteenth century industrialisation.⁶

The town benefited as a corporate body, though at a cost. As there is only a limited sixteenth century archive, it is impossible to assess the full state of Derby's finances but it had been in financial difficulties.⁷ On the six year lease of a town pasture in 1524, at a rent of 40s., the lessee paid an entry fine of £6 (with the consent of the bailiffs, the brethren, the 'commenallte' and the 'common halle') for the town's 'grette nessessite', in the repair and making of the town's 'weyre'.⁸ There was no great wealth in the town. The subsidy assessment in 1523 was expected to raise £32 5s. 8d, an average of 2s. 9½d. a head, with 63.8% of those taxed assessed on goods, 34.9% on wage and 1.3 % on land.⁹ Dyer estimates that about 37.5% of households in Worcester would be excluded from the 1524 assessment because of poverty. If the same situation applied in Derby a figure of 62 non-tax paying households would result.¹⁰ The next useful subsidy of 1544 abandoned the category of wage earner but was probably a fuller registration as there is a disparity of 20.7% between the number charged for subsidy in 1524 and the 280 who were charged in 1543-4 which cannot be explained by migration.¹¹ For the purposes of tax collection the town was divided into 14 wards or 'dosenrys'. The streets of greatest prosperity all opened on to the Market Place but there was no particular zone of wealth.

Two borough rentals, which brought in the chief fixed and constant income, survive from 1540 and 1541, virtually identical in content and still recording the leaseholdings of defunct monastic houses. All 99 properties, chiefly shops and pastures, were occupied and paying rents which ranged from 3d. for a 'bulke', or stall, to £10 for the town mills, an average of c. 7s. 5d. per rental.¹² In 1540 the town obtained an income of £36 12s. 8d. from its rent roll, compared to the £66 the city of Exeter obtained from 137 parcels of property within its walls in 1540. Additionally however Exeter held two manors outside the walls, which together brought in almost £100.¹³

The Charter of 1554 endowed the town with new properties valued at an annual rent of £77 2s. 7d., trebling its rent roll. The initial purchase price was £266 13s. 4d. and an annual fee farm rent of £41 14s. 11d. was due to the Crown. Although there is no record of how the town's bid was initiated the terms were possibly negotiated through Thomas Sutton, then Town Recorder who was certainly in London in 1553-4, representing the borough in the first Marian parliament.¹⁴ It was during the second parliament however, when the borough was represented by William Allestry and George Stringer, that the grant was made.¹⁵

The grant was broadly in line with the Crown's expanding policy of support to urban centres with the objective of providing an income 'to enable them better to support the burdens of that town'.¹⁶ It was made up of 54 parcels of arable, meadow and pasture, messuages, tenements, cottages, crofts, gardens and mills. In all, the town acquired about 86 houses, over 200 acres of land and two mill complexes. The greater part came from Darley abbey but there were two properties once held by Dale abbey, the chapel of St. James and all its lands, the ex-collegiate lands of Derby All Saints, including the mortuaries and profits accruing from the Easter rolls and oblations, and various tithes. Those lands of the former gild of Holy Trinity and the chantries of St. Mary in All Saints, St. Peter's and St. Werburgh's which had not already been sold, 42 properties in all, were also granted to the town. This is most of what was left in the Crown's gift.¹⁷ The most important of Darley's mills lay on the Derwent and their acquisition complementing the town's own Derwent mills.¹⁸ The 1540 rental valued the town mills at 40s. and mills on the Holmes at £3 6s. 8d.¹⁹ The Charter added St. Mary's mill, leased then by Robert Bainbridge, three fulling mills and a corn mill, the latter leased by William Bainbridge.²⁰

A major purpose of the Charter was to enable the town to support the clergy of All Saints and St. Alkmunds. The borough was instituted as patron of both livings. Two perpetual vicarages were to be erected, with mansion houses for each parish and each endowed with a yearly pension of £7 6s. 8d. or tithes to that value. In addition, a sum of £13 6s. 8d. was ordained as the stipend for two priests at All Saints and £6 13s. 4d. for one priest at St. Alkmunds in line with the stipends previously received. The borough was to present and support a minister at St. Michael's, the church and its burial ground being placed in their hands, and it was granted the advowson of St. Peter's and the manor and advowson of Heath. Stipends could be managed, but the sum would not stretch to the erection of two perpetual vicarages and the churches remained donative curacies. No new vicarage houses were built but houses were found. St. Alkmunds was sometimes held independently, sometimes with All Saints or St. Michael's, until 1712 when, the church now 'a nursery for owls and bats', a fresh endowment was found and the vicarage at last instituted.²¹

The Charter gave the town 80% theoretical control of clerical appointments, only Derby St. Werburgh retained in the gift of the Lord Chancellor but in practice they were kept out of St. Peter's. The next right of presentation had been granted by Darley to Peter Marten of Stapleford and his executors presented William Stanbank, the former prior, in 1552. After that the town's claims were not allowed by Queen Elizabeth and John Babington held the right of presentation in 1572 though it was exercised by Ralph Mynars. Following Anthony Babington's treason, Elizabeth gave it to Sir Francis Beaumont of Gracedieu.²²

The Charter was also intended to support the town's grammar school. There had been a free grammar school in Derby since the mid-twelfth century, under the governance of Darley Abbey which employed the schoolmaster. In 1538 Thomas Tupman, then schoolmaster, was pensioned off.²³ However the school house was retained as it had been endowed to the town. The Charter therefore laid upon the town only an obligation to provide a quarterly sum of £13 6d. 8d. for a schoolmaster and under master. This appears to have been put into effect as the second subscription at Derby in 1559 was by John Dyckenson, 'moderator, or teacher of boys at Derby.'²⁴ The school building must however have been unsuitable for in 1566 ironmonger George Greyves bequeathed 10s. towards a new school house but money was still being raised in

1583 when William Bainbridge came to the rescue with a bequest of £40.²⁵ The Elizabethan school house, an unpretentious building of simple plan, was probably rebuilt on the existing site behind St. Peter's church but after Dyckenson there are no recorded subscriptions of, or grants of licences to, schoolmasters until the 1590s.²⁶

The proposition once put forward that the dissolutions were a catastrophe for education is under review.²⁷ It is difficult to argue a case for the deanery as surviving chantry certificates and deeds make no mention of schools although Derby All Saints Vestry Book implies such a school organised under the St. Nicholas priest. Derby grammar school is the only pre-Reformation school to be definitely recorded, and its loss was short term. This was one important change as, while episcopal approval and a licence had to be obtained for the schoolmaster and schools were subject to visitation, the collective will of the governing town elite rather than a religious community now determined the nature of the school.

The status of bailiffs and brethren rose as they now determined appointments central to the town's spiritual as well as material welfare. The office was inevitably burdensome at times. Legal problems multiplied between 1539 and 1554 and there were contentious issues. Even so, some of the wealthiest burghers served twice or even three times as bailiffs and will preambles suggest that to be a burgher, brother or bailiff was a matter of pride. (see App. 2, pp. 309-10). And the office could bring personal rewards. Seventeenth century deeds reveal that William Allestree, William More and William Bainbridge rapidly took advantage of the new Charter to acquire leaseholds on very favourable terms. Four releases granted in 1647 show that on the 4th July 1554 they leased several messuages in Sadler Gate, St. Mary Gate and Bag Lane and land in the Park Field 'in perpetuity'.²⁸ This may have been in return for moneys lent or services rendered; it cannot be assumed that their actions were profiteering. Later rentals also suggest that new tenancy agreements maintained many 1540s' rents into the 1590s, perhaps because the Brethren held vested interests.

Surviving leases indicate that, in general, the borough initially adopted a 21 year leasing policy for commercial properties, the earliest reference coming in a lease agreement for 1565.²⁹ In the 1570s, 40 and then 80 year leases were granted, sometimes with conditions for improvement attached, implying some previous neglect.³⁰ Two

properties on the west side of All Saints church were leased in 1574 on condition that the new tenants 'new build and cover with tyle'.³¹

As Marcombe observes in his recent study of East Retford, the Reformation brought a 'mixed legacy'.³² The town was affected, far more so than rural areas, not only by the secularisation of life occasioned by the reversions of ecclesiastical properties into lay hands but also by the demise of religious gilds and fraternities and by the transference of social services from the religious orders to the town government.³³ Religious town fraternities were powerful social organisations, drawing membership from the governing and most prosperous merchant classes. In the public eye, they frequently imposed behavioural statutes upon members, exercising a form of moral control.³⁴ In 1547 therefore the very heart of the town met a reversal in fortunes at the hands of the state. Derby's gilds reformed but without the spiritual dimension, reconstituted as occupational gilds. Cases brought before the Derby Court of Record at the end of the century show the continuing activity of the bakers' gild and reveal three new, secular organisations, the Occupations of the Tailors and the Clothworkers and a multiple Occupation of Smiths, Braziers, Pewterers, Curriers, Saddlers, Glovers and Cordwainers.³⁵ The restoration of most gild lands to the town in 1554 may have done much to restore confidence but only after several years of uncertainty. Scarisbrick calls these years a 'nerve-wracking time' for towns seeking to negotiate a restoration of property to which they believed themselves morally entitled.³⁶

Many leading merchants and traders held one or more monastic, collegiate or chantry leases, grounded in a seemingly stable relationship and suddenly became tenants of the Crown but while this could be threatening, post dissolution land sales had its advantages for this class of townspeople. Properties, chiefly from Darley, Kingsmead and St. James' and the town's own college, gilds, chantries and hospitals, were put up for sale in stages.³⁷ It is impossible to be precise, as tenancy rather than occupation is recorded, but post dissolution rentals show that minimally 60 households of varying degrees would acquire a new landlord as a result of monastic dissolutions. Kingsmead leased 36 properties in the town, some land but chiefly tenements, of which 19 brought in a rent of 6s. 8d. or above. (see App. 3, p. 311) Darley was the major leaseholder, renting a mixture of properties which included many cottages.³⁸ The dissolutions of 1547 brought onto the market not only collegiate lands about 90 small tenancies attached to the town

gilds and chantries.³⁹ Rents were initially protected by leasehold agreements but with the extension of the land market came uncertainty, possibly ambition to own and unheard of opportunity for investment

There were individuals who benefited, from simple profit to developed wealth. Widow Agnes Yerell, leaseholder of a cottage in Full Street, bequeathed (1539) the indenture and lease of a house that she supposedly 'took' from a town sale of Darley abbey.⁴⁰ Humphrey Sutton, a brazier by trade and in the town by 1537, was already a leading burgher, taxed on goods at £20 in 1543 and with the capital to make a primary purchase of All Saints' collegiate house, the leasehold of its prebendal lands and certain tithes. Probate records show that he set up as an innkeeper, using 'the mault house called the old Colledge', and obtaining a vintner's licence in 1553. His inventoried wealth in 1560 was £161 17s. 8d.⁴¹ The inflated land market brought in 'outsiders' such as Thomas Sutton and John Sharpe at Kingsmead and at Derby Friary. The subsidy roll of 1544, although too early to show the full effects of dissolution land sales, registers the arrival of Thomas Sutton. The enlarged property market also assisted recent incomers such as William Bainbridge, possibly from Nottinghamshire or Leicestershire, whose presence in Derby, in the Market Place, is first recorded in 1543 when he was assessed on goods valued at £5.⁴² Bainbridge was an entrepreneur who leased corn and textile mills on the Derwent, dealt in the lead market and invested in town property. He bought the site of the Friary in 1562 though at his death in 1583 he was dwelling in Full Street. He became three times bailiff (1555-6, 1563-4, 1575-6) and four times member of parliament (Nov. 1554, 1558, 1559, 1563).⁴³ Some local people sought to take unlawful advantage of the changes by concealment of land or property, actions which sometimes came to light in Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁴

The extent to which the dissolutions occasioned hardship to the 'common people' is impossible to separate from other factors such as inflation and harvest dearths and disease. Lack of evidence prevents any true assessment of the communal value of hospitals or of charity dispensed by religious institutions. The loss of St. Helens, St. James and the decayed St. Leonard's was minimal in comparison, for example to the city of York where 13 hospitals were closed but the withdrawal of any useful service can arouse resentment.⁴⁵ The closure of Darley was a further loss of charity and of employment which could have had serious repercussions for the labouring and poorest

people. Added to this, charitable bequests of considerable value had often been attached to prayers for the dead. John Stringer left 20s. for scholars and the poor, while each Saturday, after the obit mass, wheat bread to the value of 6d. was to be distributed in perpetuity. Shore's chantry endowment included a distribution of 30 quarters of charcoal every Christmas Eve, with more for families with children.⁴⁶ There is no evidence that such sums survived the dissolutions. While the adverse effects of the withdrawal of monastic charity have been doubted (see Chapter Three), the importance to the poor of chantry, obit and anniversary endowments and hand-outs of bread, clothing or mass pennies at times of burial, has not been sufficiently stressed.

Response to government attempts to fill any gaps or service new demands is hard to trace and lack of poor law materials or records of donations in life preclude a quantitative assessment. Evidence from wills suggests that the deanery did not respond quickly to government led initiatives. Cromwell's directive in 1536 that a poor box be placed in every church is not echoed in deanery wills until 1549, just predating further legislation (1552) to encourage voluntary weekly giving.⁴⁷ If Derby made a census of its poor, as was the case at Chester in 1539, or kept a register of the needy poor and the amounts of relief collected, as parliament had decreed it should, then these records have disappeared, precluding any comparison with schemes for poor relief adopted in other areas, such as East Anglia.⁴⁸ Wills suggest that individuals still supplied the need though with some changes. While distributions of bread were most usually specified up to 1550, bequests from town tradesmen and merchants thereafter were almost invariably of money. With the resumption of prayers for the dead under Mary, the quality of bequests was quite high. Sums of 20s. were not uncommon from the more prosperous tradesmen but there were exceptional gifts such as £20 from butcher William Bradshaw of Derby All Saints (1559) to be distributed at his burial and on the seventh day.⁴⁹ Roger Bartylmew, minister of All Saints at his death in 1560, asked for £4 to be disbursed in this way and his request that 3s. 4d. be paid out of his estate for ten years could be interpreted as an unofficial obit. Joanne More (1561) left 20s. to be distributed for the health of her soul in heaven and such donations can be found into the 1580s.⁵⁰ At the same time reformist ideas were gaining ground, some testators using the poor box as a medium for giving. Humphrey Sutton (1560) left a sum of 20s. in this way, the first

borough reference to a poor box. George Greyves left 3s. 4d. to the poor box, coupled with 10s. to pay for a godly preacher to deliver a sermon at his burial.⁵¹

Although Derby All Saints' parish register makes several references to the burial of wanderers (*peregrinus*) and paupers in the 1560s it is not until 1605 that the Vestry Book records the election of Overseers of the Poor.⁵² A page of a churchwarden account for St. Peter's parish, dateable to 1581, includes an entry of 6d. 'payd to a poor man', suggesting that no developed scheme of poor relief as yet existed.⁵³ Yet the petition raised in St. Peter's parish calling for extra funds from the Liversage bequest shows a communal conscience in its avowal that it was brought 'in commisseration of the estate of many poor people' and in the addition of the names of eight widows towards the end of the document.⁵⁴ Major charity bequests, such as the town's share of the revolving loans endowed upon 24 towns by Bristol merchant Sir Thomas White in 1566, would come to the town but few had arrived by 1580.⁵⁵

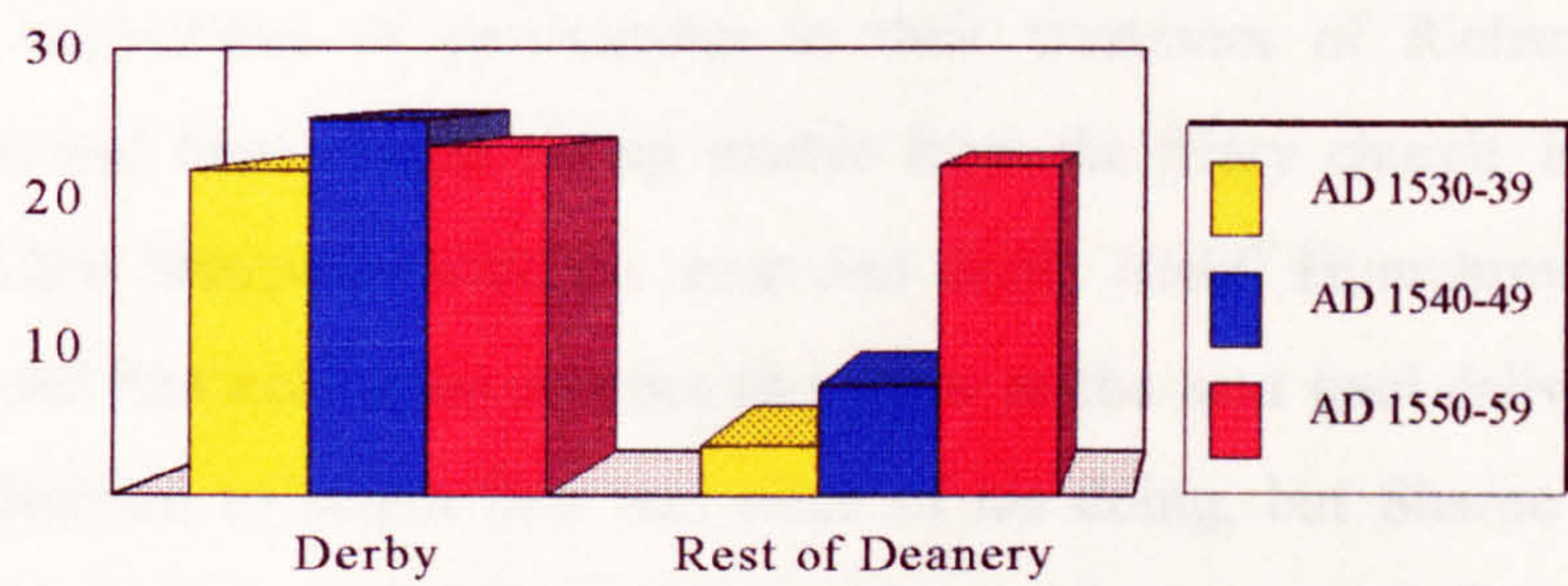
The extent to which the dissolutions exacerbated poverty in the immediate years is difficult to calculate. It has recently been argued that attitudes to poor relief were already changing and would account for any deficit. Slack sees the sixteenth century as a time of a gradual growth in personal giving, accompanied by a changing quality of private benefaction in which unlimited charity gave way to targeting the 'deserving' poor. Yet he also believes that the charity of neighbours was being replaced by the benevolence of the parish authorities.⁵⁶ Heard argues, conversely, that great households were reducing free hospitality and that there was a decrease in poor relief in real terms over the century while agreeing that changing attitudes placed more emphasis on state support and greater discrimination in giving between the deserving and the undeserving poor.⁵⁷

The loss of monastic charity may have been far more serious for Derby than the surrounding countryside. Table 17 (see p. 246 below) presents an overview of poor bequests in the deanery, excluding Derby, between 1530 and 1559. Graph 6, based upon 105 urban wills and 563 rural wills, highlights difference in giving between urban and rural areas. Overall, poor bequests in Derby wills remain fairly constant at between 20-25% while there was a notable increase in giving in rural communities, especially between 1550 and 1559. Graph 7 offers a comparison between the deanery and the south west from figures provided by Whiting as they highlight the modest level of poor giving in the deanery.⁵⁸

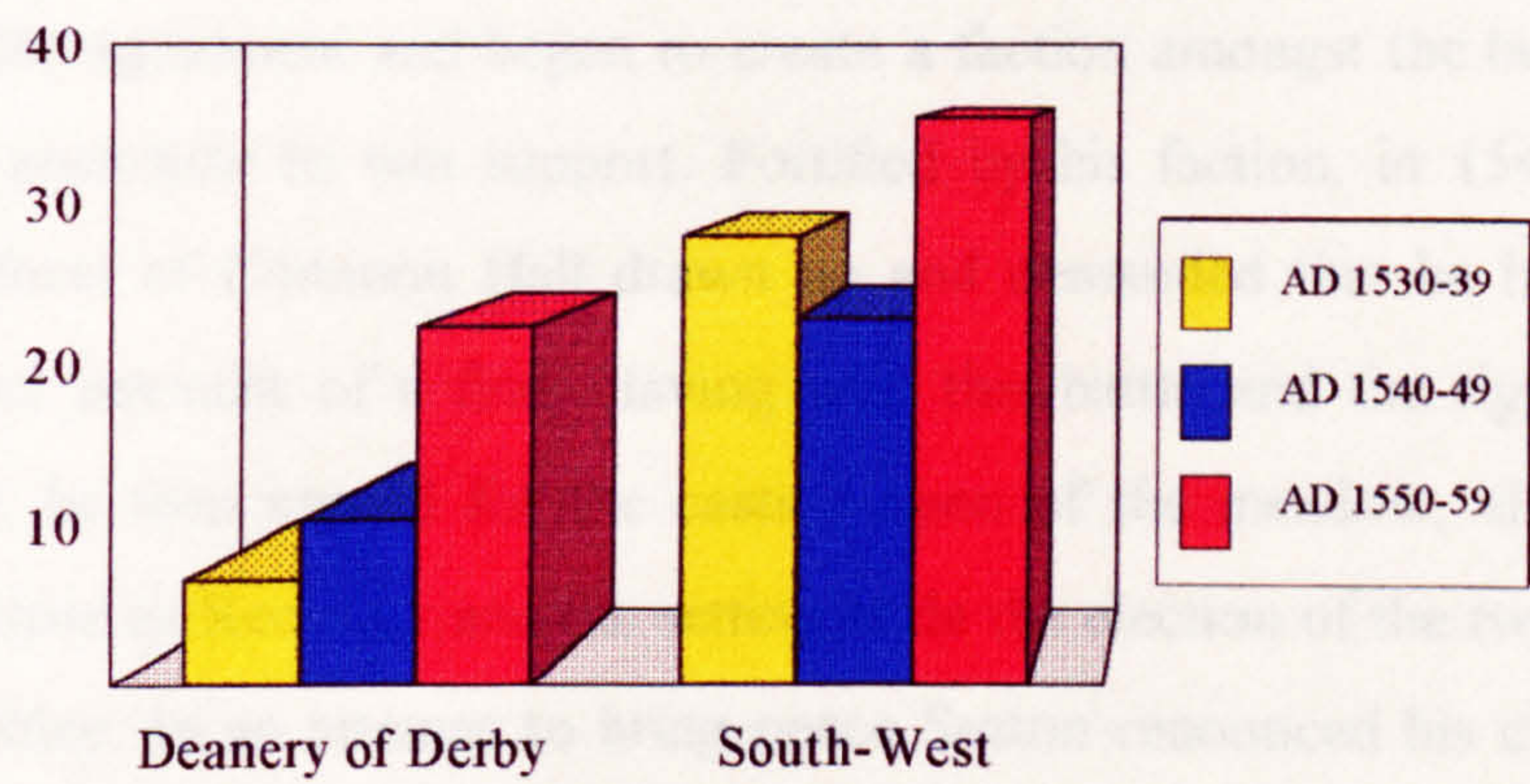
TABLE 17: Poor Relief in Rural Parishes from Wills 1530-59. ⁵⁹

Years	No. of wills	Poor Carers	%	Bequests for Prayers: Bread/Ale: Gowns	Unspecified Money	Poor Box	Cottagers Neighbours	Discretion
1530-39	98	7	7.1	7			1	
1540-49	203	23	11	9	4	1	9	2
1550-59	340	76	22.4	18	23	10	17	10
OVERALL	641	106	16.5	34	27	11	27	12

Graph 6: Poor Bequests in Wills 1530-1559: Town and Countryside.



Graph 7: Poor Bequests in Wills: Comparison with the South West



Part Two: Dissension in Derby.

The borough of Derby was torn by acrimonious quarrels, triggered largely by the dissolutions, which divided the Brethren and threatened social disorder. Mayhew's study of the chartered borough of Rye shows the deep rivalries that could exist and the factional strife that could divide a town when it came to the election of its council.⁶⁰ Although the 1550s probably saw the deepest divisions in Derby, faction continued throughout the century.

The catalyst for unrest would seem to be John Sharpe, an incomer to the town through the lease and purchase of Derby friary.⁶¹ His conflict with the town bailiffs began with accusations of partisanship in their treatment of Richard Camerdey, a labourer who had been caught taking marble from the friary church. Refusing to hold Camerdey unless Sharpe provide his meat and drink, Bailiff Humphrey Sutton averred that he released him only upon sureties to appear at the next gaol delivery and that the jury's later decision to acquit him was none of his doing, but Sharpe laid charges of partiality and subversion of the course of justice against the town.⁶² He transferred his dispute to Thomas Sutton who, in contrast to Sharpe, had been rapidly accepted into local affairs as Borough Recorder and as a member of parliament following his purchase of Kingsmead nunnery. Sutton had obtained an agreement, under the common seal, that he should have the mowing of the nun's meadow, paying 10s. annually to compensate the town for the loss of its customary right of pasture after hay making. Sharpe took exception to this agreement and began to create a faction amongst the burgesses, using opposition to enclosure to win support. Fortified by his faction, in 1545 Sharpe had articles for reform of Common Hall drawn up and demanded that he be made a free burgess without payment of a fine. Having won this battle and the right to speak in Common Hall, he then argued for the casting open of the meadow, also seeking the dismissal of Sutton as Recorder and the setting aside the election of the two new Bailiffs, Ilsley and Buckley. In an attempt to bring peace Sutton renounced his claims to Nun's Meadow.

The conflict continued. William Allestree, another of the brethren, brought a supplication against Sharpe to the Privy Council, accusing his faction of 'ill and seditious demeanour'.⁶³ The protagonists were summoned to London where the Earl of

Shrewsbury's influence ensured that Sutton was cleared and sent home to pacify 'them which wold disturbe the quiet of the Towne', while Allestree, described as 'a combersomme person' and Sharpe, 'a man principallie bente to ill rule and disordre' were detained in London until the Earl had settled the issue. In 1546, after he had enlisted the aid of local J.P.'s, the Privy Council were able to report that the Earl 'hath rule there'.⁶⁴

Dissension was not yet extinguished and was shortly relit, and with some violence, in a conflict over All Saints' tithe hay. In a case brought before Star Chamber Sharpe claimed that Thacker, as subdean, had leased this tithe hay to Thomas Par, from whom he had, in turn, sub-let and then peaceably collected for six years. A rival claim had then been filed by Collier, vicar of St. Peter's, whose parish clerk, with several parishioners in attendance and allegedly armed with staves and picks, took the hay, threatening Sharpe's servant. In his deposition to the Court, Collier denied such threats, arguing that Sharpe's lease was void.⁶⁵ Post dissolution rentals support Collier's right but Sharpe maintained his claim in a long running dispute which was again brought to Star Chamber in Mary's reign. Now Sharpe's story had changed somewhat as he averred that Thomas Reve and George Cotton had purchased the hay and that he had farmed it from them. Stanbanke, Collier's successor, was accused of being behind everything.⁶⁶

Sharpe also disputed ownership of the Angel Inn, a property in Derby Corn Market, donated to All Saints towards church repairs. In 1556, he cited bailiff John Botham in a case in Chancery, claiming unlawful detention of deeds.⁶⁷ He was either very litigious and quarrelsome or had shaky claims to his titles, for he was involved in other legal disputes concerning land in Bakewell. In one of these he clashed with William Bainbridge, another leading member of Derby borough, over land Bainbridge had leased from Sharpe.⁶⁸

Disputes over tithe could, as in the case above, cause communal upheaval and raise contention over a long period of time, even when legal ownership was not in question.⁶⁹ This was the case in a dispute over the tithes of the prebendal lands at Little Chester which had been awarded to the town in the Charter of 1554. The bailiffs had conveyed the farm of the tithe to glover William Allestree who later brought in his son George. Ecclesiastical cause papers record that in 1574 George Allestree passed his rights to William Buckley and that Sir Anthony Lister, who occupied one of the prebendal properties, then refused to hand the tithe over.⁷⁰

William Buckley, one of the Brethren though never Town Bailiff, became a focus of two more serious parochial disputes.⁷¹ The first, involving the Liversage bequest, aroused strong feelings in St. Peter's parish. The most important potential charitable loss to Derby had been the chantry endowment of Robert Liversage but fate had intervened to reserve most of the properties to the town. Liversage had drawn up a will together with a deed of use, or 'last wish', nominating a group of eight feoffees to establish a chantry foundation in Derby St. Peter where, at the weekly Mass of Jesus, 13 poor people were each to receive a silver penny, while the mass penny, bread and ale were to be distributed at the saying of an annual obit.⁷² In this deed Liversage referred to a chapel already set up for his memorial. The obit was instituted and the endowment, five tenements in Derby, hidden from the chantry commissioners, as became evident early in Elizabeth's reign when it was revealed and sold (1564) by the Crown to Gryce and Forster, who soon resold.⁷³ This sale was disputed by George Liversage, a nephew who claimed the entire estate as his inheritance, and by Buckley and Richard Ward on behalf of St. Peter's church.

At the same time the main chantry endowment was in dispute. While the obit had been duly instituted, the lands which would establish the chantry were to pass to the church only after the death of both Liversage and Alice, his wife. The widowed Alice remarried and lived for a further 34 years, dying in 1558, so that the chantry was not recorded by the 1547 commissioners, nor seized by the Crown.⁷⁴ Alice's remarriage to Thomas Bell of London, a tallow chandler, itself caused a stir as the endowment, described as 20 messuages and 200 acres, was placed in jeopardy when Bell leased the whole of Alice's inheritance to Sir Edward Walsingham in settlement of a debt of £125. On the failure of this marriage Alice returned to Derby, bonded to Robert Smythe, a Derby pewterer, but even after Bell's death she remained indebted and her personal affairs, which included an involvement with Humphrey Bentley, a younger man, were left for the town to unravel.⁷⁵

By various arrangements, the estate was freed from encumbrances by her death and was duly claimed by George Liversage. A rival claim by the vicar and churchwardens of St. Peter's, who had been named as chief chantry trustees, resulted in the case coming into Chancery. In 1567 the case went to arbitration in the Court of Common Pleas, under Sir James Dyer.⁷⁶ Dyer reached a judgement to which the parish often returned.

George Liversage was to receive £5 annually from the estate but the parish was awarded the lands to administer as a charity, the leaseholder(s) to pay £3 annually to the trustees for the relief of 13 poor persons of the parish. Any 'surplus' was to be put to 'godly and charitable uses' within the parish.⁷⁷ Almshouses were then probably built near to the church. Judge Dyer apparently adopted a pragmatic Elizabethan interpretation of Liversage's endowment, ignoring the religious intent but favouring the charitable deed.

This was not the end of the matter for Liversage sold his interest in the £5 annual rent charge and several court cases ensued as a result.⁷⁸ The 'overplus' also led to legal disputation, with the parishioners of St. Peter's ranged against Buckley. Through his initial involvement in the case, Buckley had been appointed a trustee and had used his position to obtain the lease of the chantry lands in 1567, eventually acquiring all the deeds.⁷⁹ He refused to acknowledge their right to the 'overplus' or surrender the deeds. The parishioners raised a petition of 100 signatures (c. 1580) which led to a renewed case in Chancery when they were granted the repayment of monies which Buckley was judged to have held back.⁸⁰ Cases in court ran well into the seventeenth century.⁸¹

For many people one drawn out dispute might have sufficed but in 1587 Buckley presented a claim, through Letters Patent from Queen Elizabeth, to various concealed lands in Derby, including land reserved to All Saints for repairs, lands in the holding of the parishes of St. Alkmund, St. Michael and St. Werburgh and the chapel of St. Mary on the Bridge. The chapel was said to have been granted to the town in 1554 but was not listed in the Charter.⁸² After lengthy dispute, a Commission was set up in 1592 to hear the case. The Commission heard one 77 year old witness aver that all the property held by All Saints had been presented to Beaumont in 1547 (see page 178 above) and had satisfied the commission that this was land reserved for church repairs and not for superstitious uses. The chapel, with house, orchard and yard, had been let by the Chamberlain for as long as he could remember. Court depositions show that the Chantry Commissioners had recognised the right of All Saints to the chapel in 1547. Although other witnesses gave vague or no testimony the Commission found for the town, though some ex-collegiate property which had been unlawfully retained was to pass first to the Queen and then revert to the town.⁸³ Buckley was once again defeated by communal protest.

There were other more personal disputes which have left traces in court records, as that over Abbey Barns, a farm which lay on the south western edge of the town boundary. The case of Abbey Barns, a former grange farm of Darley Abbey, which went to Star Chamber between 1554-5, arose out of the violent actions of the sitting tenants against a rival claim. Ellis Cowper had been the tenant under Darley Abbey and, shortly before death, willed the remainder of his lease to 19 year old Ellis II, appointing Thomas Brookhouse as one of the executors until Ellis reached 30 years of age. Ellis II died before he could inherit, leaving a child, Ellis III, so Brookhouse put Thomas Squys into Abbey Barns as sub-tenant. While everyone was out in the fields, rival claimant Roger Smythe forced an entrance and let in his own man, Thomas Hailes. Brookhouse, closely followed by son Robert, hastily left the fields to deal with the intrusion. Robert described his father as 'being a man unwoldye and ympotent' but between them they hauled Hayles out. In court, Smythe accused Robert Brookhouse of riots, rows and unlawful assemblies who responded that they acted in the friendliest manner, even offering to drink a quart of wine with Hailes. The Cowpers and Brookhouses presumably won their case as Ellis III died in possession of Abbey Barns.⁸⁴

Thomas Squys was involved in a tenancy dispute in Chancery over another dissolution property in Derby, being accused by Humphrey Buxton of unlawfully occupying a messuage and garden, and of retaining an indenture to it, which Buxton had lawfully leased from patentee Anthony Trappes. Squys denied that he ever thought to have the property except as a 'tenant at will' and by Buxton's sufferance, alleging that he had held it for about two years, paying 13s. 4d. in rent. He denied holding any deed and said that he would leave, given time to find another house for his wife and three children.⁸⁵ There was also a case in Star Chamber brought against a Robert Smythe who was accused of the destruction of a bridge and of an assault on men working mills on the Derwent leased to William Bainbridge, William More and Humphrey Bentley.⁸⁶ This may have been related to the affairs of Alice Liversage.

Although primarily individual rather than communal upheavals they added to the disorder and uncertainty of the time. When clerical discontent, as revealed in the pension commission of 1552, is also taken into account, there was considerable unrest in Derby, arising directly out of the Reformations. The town was continually beset by challenges and rivalries from within and brought in from outside. In some towns, Rye for example,

religious differences were at the heart of similar factional strife.⁸⁷ In 'Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages', Rosser also points to urban dissension which could arise from the destruction of religious gilds.⁸⁸ It is to be expected that the seizure of chantry and gild properties by the state would be met with opposition from lay vested interests, which in Derby included many leading Brethren, and that the elimination of long held religious practices from within the parish church would be met with some dismay in lay congregations. Where records survive for Derby, they reveal a significant measure of opposition which, in looking to preserve self-interest, was especially directed against 'outsiders'. Some of this opposition developed into internal feuding.

Part Three: Friction and Faction.

There were always minor disturbances of some kind in rural Derbyshire where the search for justice often began with a physical challenge. Beer found records of an enclosure riot in Ashbourne, which was settled by Paget, in the court records of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁸⁹ In 1542 Humphrey Babington organised an enclosure riot at Eggington against Thomas Rolleston, when swords, shields and knives were brought out and grain destroyed.⁹⁰ Riot was denied in the Star Chamber case of Harryson v. Blumston although the scythes, rakes and forks used by the eight mowers who were gathering hay on the manor of Kirk Hallam in distraint of a debt, may well have been displayed as weapons.⁹¹ But during the 1540s and 1550s there were far more disturbances as the effects of the Reformation began to unravel. Many cases were brought into the courts of Chancery, Star Chamber and Requests.

George and John Zouch were at the centre of many minor conflicts of interest. Complaints against George Zouch were brought into both Chancery and Star Chamber by men of various stations in life. William Wilson of Ripley complained in Chancery that he was 'a man of grette power and possessions', so that his case would not be fairly tried at common law.⁹² Wilson's father, Henry, had leased 30 acres of land from Darley Abbey at a yearly rent of 41s. 8d. and William had, 'quietly possessed and enjoyed the profits' of this land until Zouch, who had purchased the reversion of the lease, evicted Wilson in favour of his own tenant, Thomas Ludlam. In defence, Zouch deposed that the lease had been surrendered to him when the complainant's mother had remarried to a tenant on his Butterley estate.

Thomas Sutton also brought a case to Chancery, deposing that he had a lease of Butterley Park under a seal of Darley Abbey which had been examined, found good, enrolled and duly written into Zouch's grant of purchase of the park.⁹³ He claimed that Zouch

perceiving the premises to be profitable and comodious, covertously plotted to get the same, if not through Thomas' own good will, then by any means.

Sutton had an agreement to provide pit props for Ragge's mine at Ripley⁹⁴ but had been prevented from cutting timber. He also complained that he could not afford to fight the case at common law as Zouch has greater wealth and influence, a charge denied as vexatious. As the dispute became deep seated, neighbouring gentry William Legh and

Richard Curzon were called upon to mediate and suggested that Sutton be allowed some waste in 'letting down' of houses and cutting down of trees. Sutton was still dissatisfied as Zouch retained the Mansion house, all the houses standing and the game within the Park and put up a 'great pale', enclosing certain grounds so that Sutton, although paying herbage and pannage, had no access with his animals, nor carriage into the barns.

In his treatment of two priests, Robert Peyden alias Pygden and Christopher Proctor, vicar of Pentrich, Zouch appears to use his considerable power with arrogance. The first case related to the priest who held the free chapel of St. Nicholas within Codnor castle to which he had been properly presented but had been deforced. A judgement in 1542 found in the priest's favour.⁹⁵ The second came before Chancery in July 1545 although the events relate to 1538.⁹⁶ Zouch had engineered Proctor's arrest in Ruddington, 'in most cruell and sispitious maner without any maner of cause or profes' and brought him to Codnor castle where he had been left to sleep on straw until he had agreed to lease his vicarage. He was held with little food for at least four months and when Richard Proctor, his 'servant', tried to help, he was also seized and held in prison in Nottingham until the vicar had signed over the lease. A friend eventually paid £4 to gain his release. In bringing his case, the vicar said that Zouch had now held his vicarage without rent for seven years, paying no clerical subsidies. The case against George Zouch was brought before both Chancery and Star Chamber amid accusations of arbitrary arrest brought by Nottinghamshire gentry Edward Stanhope and George Chaworth.

The motive for Zouch's action, whether religious or financial is not explained but his actions led to poor relationships with the Stanhopes which developed into outright conflict by Elizabeth's reign. Adams' definition of faction as 'a personal following employed in direct opposition to another personal following' with personal rivalry at its essence, seems apposite.⁹⁷ In 1576, during the musters, in a quarrel that had developed into a feud, rumbling on for a generation,

a great number of persons assembled by Sir John Zouch and Sir Thomas Stanhope and should have fought in the town, but were restrained by the Burgers and ringing the town bell.⁹⁸

Zouch was seen by his contemporaries as a man of 'proud mind'. Stanhope looked for support to the sixth Earl whose relationship with Zouch was poor.⁹⁹ Religious differences may have intensified, or even be at the heart of their rivalry, for Stanhope warned

Shrewsbury that Zouch had the support of the Earl of Bedford, a conspicuous puritan.¹⁰⁰ However, the Privy Council saw Zouch as the protagonist; writing to thank the Earl for preserving peace they added that they had ordered Zouch to give an account of 'his doings', and 'shall take such further order in regard to him as will preserve her Majesty's peace and your honour'.¹⁰¹ In 1583 Stanhope, still pursuing his personal vendetta, warned Shrewsbury that Zouch, with other Derbyshire gentry, was plotting to prevent the Earl from choosing the Coroner and while posing as his friend, 'notwithstanding his malice against you', was seeking to subvert the Earl's supporters.¹⁰²

Zouch was not the only focus of unrest. In many cases when incomers tried to physically enter a property they faced opposition both from gentry who exercised a moral right and from other tenants. The chantries of St. Nicholas and St. Mary at Crich had been established by ancestors of German Pole. The Earl of Shrewsbury had purchased the first and Pease and Wilson the second. When a William Orme, possibly of Derby,¹⁰³ claimed a messuage out of the St. Mary chantry endowment, Pole and Richard Banks, vicar of Crich, refused to allow him entry, retaining all deeds and proofs of ownership on the grounds that an earlier grant had been made to the Earl from whom they held at his will and pleasure.¹⁰⁴ This was patently untrue. The outcome is not recorded.

To compound his frustration Orme also faced the powerful Vernons in his claim to the Swan Inn and certain ex-chantry lands at Wirksworth, five miles to the north of Crich. When he brought the case to Chancery, Orme had been trying for two years to enter the property while sitting tenant Thomas Hall took the rent. Hall's defence rested in Sir George Vernon who, about ten years previously, had leased the Swan to Nicholas Hall, his brother, for 21 years. The ex-chantry priest of the Rood (or St. Helen) in Wirksworth church, Richard Tomlinson, was joined with Vernon's name in the lease but Orme argued that Vernon had no lawful interest in the property and that any claims by Tomlinson had been made void by the Statute of Uses and Tomlinson's death.¹⁰⁵

There were a number of disputes over chantry lands in the county, often over detention of deeds.¹⁰⁶ The purchase of Chaddesden chantry by Sir Edward Molyneux and Robert Broke led to yet another conflict with physical overtones.¹⁰⁷ The grant included demesne lands of all description in the tenure of Thomas Eyton, other lands in Chaddesden and four stables.¹⁰⁸ Broke, as an incoming tenant, ran into conflict with Edmund Newham (brother to Walter, recently deceased chantry priest) who had leased a

tenement and land from the chantry at a rent of 25s. 6d.¹⁰⁹ According to Broke, a great gate had been set up across the path leading through a fold yard, blocking his access to the stables. Newham called the case 'imagined onely uppon malice' and referred to an indenture he held from the chantry dated to 1544. He agreed that he had set up a great gate and that people could only pass at his sufferance and licence, but he insisted that this was nothing new.¹¹⁰

Another case proceeded from the lease of the Dale grange of Southhome.¹¹¹ Margery Wheteley, widow and defendant in Chancery before Stephen Gardiner, said that in 1534 the grange had been leased to her husband, for 48 years. There is support for this claim in post dissolution rentals which valued Wheteley's lease at 106s. 8d. but the indenture was not produced for examination.¹¹² Robert Biddell, the complainant, argued that the lease was held by Sir Francis Pole who allowed the Wheteleys to stay out of good will, not of right, and that they paid rent to Pole. On Pole's death the widow of the premises descended to the Crown and in 1553 the property was released for 21 years to Nicholas Segnor and William Grene who sublet to Biddell. The latter accused Margery of altering the number of years on the lease from 21 to 48 and of expelling him.

The dispute was complicated by Margery's alternative version that this was a family quarrel and an attempt by one of her sons, John 'of noughtie and careless mynde' to defraud her and Joan, his niece, who was heir to half the lease, by conspiring with Biddell to pretend title to the land. Local hostility to Biddell is revealed in his reason for not going to common law, 'knowing the affections of the same countrymen do inreasonably inclyne to Margery'.¹¹³ Biddell did not prevail, unless Margery's story of conspiracy is right, as in 1562 the grange, while granted to Nicholas Segnor and William Grene for 21 years, was in the tenure of John Wheteley at the same rent as from the termination of Francis Pole's lease.¹¹⁴

Disputes arose too between local gentry out of the sales of Repton and Gresley. Gilbert Thacker was challenged by Richard Blackwall (who had come into the possession of Calke through marriage) over a ownership of a piece of woodland. Thacker's servants having been molested and the wood cut, he took a charge of criminal action to Star Chamber.¹¹⁵ There was clearly antipathy between Thacker and Blackwall. When an inquiry was raised into the condition of the bells at Repton, Blackwall was quick to act.

The tenancy of Gresley Priory was a more complex affair, an entirely legal issue that arose after the death of Henry Cruche, the first purchaser. The property passed to Edward Appleton who apparently sold it to John Seymour of London. However Francis Rolleston held a lease of this property and argued that it had years yet to run, though this was apparently not mentioned to Seymour and not enrolled. To protect his lease he offered to pay the £30 rent.¹¹⁶

Lack of confidence that justice could be obtained locally, was expressed by Anthony Rollesley, a 'very poore simple man' in his own words, who had been turned out of a close at Cotall in the parish of Breadsall by the Roos family after the death of his landlord John Dethick. Local opinion, as this case suggests, was with the ejected man but he believed that his inferior station was an impediment to justice locally.¹¹⁷

Other cases which appear to be simple inheritance issues or revolve around local differences may have roots in dissolution leases or purchases which are not apparent from the remaining court papers.¹¹⁸ An expanded study of the county would show how widespread disputes were. One long running dispute in the north of the county was clearly based upon religious change. The case of the chapel of St. Anne at Buxton, a former pilgrimage site, was first brought to Chancery in 1541 when it was granted to the local parish. Nonetheless, landowner Roger Cottrell, persistently pursuing a rival claim, succeeding in gaining possession. The case was reopened in 1553 when residents complained that Cottrell 'will not suffer masse and other devyne sevice to be said in the chappell'. Scuffles over the mass book were reported while Cottrell also offended by allowing 'youthful persons' to wash and bathe in St. Anne's well and to drink in the chapel on Sundays and holydays, with music and dancing. Local opinion, amongst 'the honest, sage and discrete persons', was offended by such irreverent acts. The case was referred to the Derby Assizes, where Cottrell was simply bound over for £100 to keep good order.¹¹⁹

These cases indicate considerable friction and agitation in the deanery, both in rural areas and within the borough of Derby.

Conclusion

The deanery was riven with disputes at all levels of society yet remained politically 'calm', even between 1547 and 1549 when there were widespread disturbances. The Western rebellion and the Norfolk risings were perhaps too regional to influence the midlands but there were serious riots and disturbances in counties closer to hand, including Leicestershire and Yorkshire which might have sparked corresponding action in Derbyshire.¹²⁰

In April 1549, in a list of 'Certain Points to be Resolved Upon in Council', Paget commented that the common people were too liberal in speech, too bold and licentious in their doings and 'to wise and well learned in their owne conceites'. His observations may be taken to encompass the Midlands as he spent some of the year at his manor of Drayton in Staffordshire.¹²¹

The loyalty of the fifth Earl of Shrewsbury to the Tudor dynasty was a major factor in the order which was maintained. The letter of commendation from the Privy Council to Shrewsbury in 1549 can be read as a standard letter of thanks for the maintenance of good order but might be an acknowledgement that he had pre-empted serious unrest. There was a strong element of social disorder within Derbyshire. Disputes, factional conflicts and physical confrontations were arising out of, or exacerbated by the Reformations, further inflamed by economic issues such as the right to enclose. The situation in Derby was sufficiently grave to be brought to the attention of the Privy Council but Shrewsbury, with the help of his agent, Thomas Sutton, was able to 'manage' the situation. When Sharpe challenged his right to enclose Nun's Meadow he gave way to keep the peace and was entrusted by Shrewsbury with the task of pacifying the 'commons'. Sutton maintained good relations with the town which granted him a 60 year lease of land on the island of the Holmes (1549), with permission to set up a 'walke' mill on condition that he provide the town with a good way or causeway.¹²² He also acted as legal advisor both to discontented priests and to the borough and went on to serve as one of its M.Ps..

Although there was no rebellion, in Derbyshire litigation often seemed to have been prefaced by violence. There was much local resentment at the intrusion of 'foreigners' or even local yeomen 'upstarts' such as Orme and Thacker. Within the gentry

factions developed which led, on occasion, to open feuding. This needs to be balanced against Palliser's study of post dissolution York which provided little evidence of bloody feuding on the scale of early Tudor times. Palliser came to the conclusion that many of the gentry now poured their energies into litigation and building.¹²³

Gottfried comments that, whereas there was an increasing reluctance in the fifteenth century in Coventry, Leicester, Northampton, Norwich, York and other provincial centres to participate in communal affairs and to invest in urban property, in Bury quite the opposite took place and townsmen were joined in office by local gentry. There was a great pride in the town.¹²⁴ Post Reformation Derby shows no lack of civic pride. Its leading citizens represent the town as bailiffs and in parliament. However, they were increasingly forced by local circumstance and legislation, to take on new duties of administration for churches, education and the poor and it may have been some time before they developed a satisfactory corporate response.

The Reformation introduced change and controversy in the deanery but it also generated deeper divisions as protestantism sought to make headway under Elizabeth and met strong gentry adherence to catholicism. This is the subject of Chapter Nine.

1 N. Heard, *Tudor Economy and Society*, ch. 5, p. 76.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Garratt and Rawcliffe, *Feet of Fines*, Intro., xiii.

4 Glover and Riden, *Woolley*, pp. 23, 25, 3.1.

5 *Darlington*, E14; B53-4; PRO, SC6/7384/50; CPR, Ed V1 1553, p. 218-19. There is no reference to the Irongate in the Darley Cartulary but a 'taberna' is itemised in a fourteenth century note of properties the abbey held in Derby. It was probably the same as a gift of land and buildings made in 1270 which lay next to a toft belonging to Repton priory, for when the two properties were sold to Thomas Wren and Edward Slegge in 1553, two successive landlords, Nicholas Orchard and Anthony Bate are named as occupants both of the Talbot and a messuage and stable formerly belonging to Repton; PRO, E179/92/160, Orchard is assessed at £16 in 1523-4 and PRO, E179/91/150, Bate assessed at £10 in 1543. The nineteenth century Talbot occupied a double frontage width on the Irongate, adding weight to the union of the Repton and Darley properties.

6 PRO, SC6/H8/7384. Post dissolution rental, the tenant named as Thomas Parr; DRO, D1881/16/1, D1881/55/28 (1554), sale of 'the pasture called Ireland adjacent the Bryggate' from Robert Ragge to Richard Stringer; D1881/12/3, D1181/10/1, sale of 'a close called Ireland', from George Stringer to William More, draper, as part of a dowry; D1881/9/14 (1573), sale of 'close and orchard' from William More jr. to William Buckley, gentleman; D1881/55/4 (1576), Francis Bracknocke of Spondon grants the lease which Bracknocke had from William More to Buckley, described as late in the occupation of Francis Leake; D1181/12/4 (1594), included in part of a marriage settlement between Buckley and Philip Draycott of Sedsall for the benefit of his son, Francis; D1881/12/2, The property was again sold in 1610.

7 A town hall fire in 1841 destroyed much of the borough archive. There are no gild records, nor records of market tolls or court fines.

8 DLSL, Derby Borough deposit; currently stored in box P/2; recorded in *Jeayes*, no. 1005, p. 124.

9 PRO, E179/92/160; Comparable to, for example, 34% in Worcester and 37.8% in York; A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 175; D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York*, Table 2, p. 136.

10 Dyer, *City of Worcester*, p. 176. This estimate is based upon the 1563 religious census.

11 PRO, E179/91/150; Hoyle, *Tudor Taxation Records*, pp. 26-31; If Dyer's population multiplier of 6.5 is used on the 1543 subsidy, then a figure of 1,750 is obtained. This contradicts Dyer's theory of decline. PRO, E179/91/116 (1537), E179/91/133 (1540). These lists are summative accounts only.

12 DLSL, Derby Borough deposit, boxes V-W. The 1540 rental was transcribed in F. Williamson, 'Derby Borough Rental, 1540', *DAJ*, vol. 56, pp. 71-9, but with errors, especially in the transcription of sums of money.

13 MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, pp. 58-9.
14 Bindoff, *House of Commons*, vol. 1, pp. 64-5. His fellow M.P. was George Chernely.

15 CPR, P&M 1554-5, pp. 244-6.
16 See R. Tittler, 'The Emergence of Urban Policy, 1536-58' in Loach and Tittler, *Mid-Tudor Polity*; Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, pp. 128-31.

17 Kitching, thesis, 'Collegiate and Chantry Property', Table XXVII gives the
magnitude of payments from chantry revenues to Crown receivers for the year
ending Michaelmas 1553 for Derbyshire as only £50-£100.

18 Jeayes, no. 1015, p. 125.

19 DLSL, Derby Borough deposit, Box V.

20 Jeayes, no. 1000, p. 123; no. 1006, p. 124. In 1511 Thomas Waundell leased
two corn mills and a sythe mill for 16 years at a rent of £5. In 1526 John Johnson,
shearman and Christopher Thacker, mercer, leased five water mills for 41 years at
a rent of £10.

21 BL, Harleian 71 f.183. A terrier of St. Alkmund's parish lands, undated; Cox, vol.
4, pp. 116-7, gives a good account of Goodwin's endowment and includes a
relevant letter, dated 1711.

22 PRO, PCC, Francis Beaumont 1598, 41 Lewyn; Cox, vol. 4, p. 148. They were
successful between 1628-1660 but lost again.

23 PRO, E315/172/58. Thomas Tutman. Scolmaster.

24 LPL, CM 13/2/58x.

25 LJRO, B/C/11, George Greyves, Derby 1566; PRO, PCC William Baynbrigge
1583, 3 Butts.

26 LJRO, B/C/11, William Parker, Derby 1593/4, named as schoolmaster; B/V/1/23,
Gregory Gilbert, ludimagister and Thomas Swetnam, curate of St. Alkmund,
pedagogus (1596).

27 A.F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*. For more recent research see A.
R. Morris, 'The Effects upon Schooling in Sussex of the Legislation dissolving
the Religious Houses and Chantries', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol.
119, pp. 149-55.

28 Jeayes, *Borough of Derby*, nos. 79-83. Although a search has been made of
unsorted boxes of documents in the DLSL no trace of the originals can now be
found, but other documents catalogued by Jeayes have been recovered from Box
P which show that the descriptions in the Calendar were faithfully recorded.

29 *Ibid.*, nos. 9, 23/4, 27, 28-33.

30 *Ibid.*, nos. 8, 12, 14, 15, 25/6. The earliest record of the lease of a domestic
property is dated to Michaelmas 1554 and was likewise for 21 years.

31 *Ibid.*, nos. 14, 15.

32 Marcombe, *English Small Town Life*, p. 230.

33 See H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England*.

34 B.R. McRee, 'Religious Gilds and Regulation of Behaviour in Late Medieval
Towns', in J. Rosenthal and C. Richmond (eds.), *People, Politics and Community
in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 108-22.

35 DLSL, Derby Borough Deposit, 'Court of Record', Book One 1588-1599, f.173,
26 July 1597; f.142, 12 August 1595; f.66, 7 April 1590; f.133, 3 December
1594.

36 Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p. 131.

37 In addition, Breadsall, Dale, Yeaveley, Burton, Croxden and the chantry of
Chaddesden held property in the town.

38 PRO, E315/399 ff.413-5, SC6/H8/487 f.74; SC6/H8/7384 f.50; CPR, P&M
1553-4, pp. 244-5; I.S.W. Blanchard, 'Economic Change in Derbyshire in the
Late Middle Ages 1272-1540', University of London, D. Phil., App. B, 'Derby
Merchants in 1524-5', pp. 448-57, includes monastic leaseholders in biographies
of Thomas Bartholomew, Thomas Blackshaw, Thomas Harwood, Roger More,

Nicholas Orchard, Roger Smith, Henry Stringer, Richard Stringer, Oliver Thacker, Christopher Thacker, William Walker, Thomas Warde.
 PRO, SC6/Ed.VI/112.
 LJRO, B/C/11, Agnes Yerell, Derby 1539.
 PRO, E179/91/116; Cox and St. John Hope, *Chronicles*, pp. 33-4, churchwarden 1549-50, 1555-6; CPR 1-2 P&M, no. 155, p. 132; LJRO, B/C/11, Humphrey Sutton, Derby 1561.
 PRO, E179/91/150, under Breadlepp; Cox and St. John Hope, *Chronicles*, pp. 33-4, churchwarden 1546-7, 1555-6, 1566-7.
 Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation', pp. 273-4; Kiernan, *Derbyshire Lead Industry*, p. 106; Property acquisitions, DLSL, DD 10360-3, acquiring property in Sadlergate and Irongate (1560); CPR, Eliz. I, 1560-63, pp. 375, 385, 531; W. A. Carrington, 'Deeds Enrolled, County of Derby', *DAJ*, vol. 24, pp. 57, 612, 621 (1562) named with Alsop on Close Roll; DRO xm 1/151 item 1, May 5th 1583, burial entry as one of the brethren of Derby; PRO, PCC, William Baynbrigge 1583, 3 Butts; Hasler, *House of Commons*, vol.1, p. 387. A kinsman of Robert Bainbridge of Lockington with a cousin of the same name.
 As in CPR, Eliz. 1572-5, p. 369; 1575-78, p. 210.
 Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 222.
 PRO, PCC, John Stringer; William Shore.
 LJRO, B/C/11, Margery Day, Duffield 1549.
 Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p. 182.
 LJRO, B/C/11, William Bradshaw, Derby (All Saints) 1559/60; Augustine Babington, Derby (St. Peter) 1558, left 40s.
Ibid., Robert Hayes, Derby 1571. William Bradshaw, Derby 1574/5. Thomas Goulder, Derby 1580.
Ibid., Christopher Whyte, Derby 1565. George Greyves, Derby 1565.
 DRO, xm 1/151 item 1, March 1562, 'George the Kendallman'; 1566-7 Arthur Jackson, Richard Brightwell, Joanna Bowman and Philip Cocke, all described as 'peregrinus' and Richard Dawson and Henry Hardy as 'pauper'.
 DRO, 1955F/E420.
Ibid., 1955F/E357.
 Thomas White's bequest came in 1596 when £104 was received and four sums of £25 lent out for ten years. LJRO B/C/11, Richard Fletcher, Derby All Saints 1589. The distribution of a bequest of 40s. was left at the discretion of the bailiffs which may indicate a move towards corporate responsibility.
 P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*, pp. 20, 25.
 Heard, *Tudor Economy and Society*, p. 108.
 Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p. 181. The figures have been modified to fit the decade model adopted for comparison as Whiting quotes 1540-1546, 19% and 1547-1549, 32%; 1550-1553, 47% and 1553-9, 32%. Derby has been included.
 The table shows a real rise in personal giving, though the increase was far from uniform across parishes. Of ten recorded donations between 1550-1559, nine fall between 1550-1553. The sums were token gestures however ranging from 4d. (3) to 12d. (4).
 G. Mayhew, 'Religion, Faction and Politics in Reformation Rye', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 120.

61 Craven, *Derby Townhouse*, p. 57. Craven suggests that Sharpe came from a cadet
branch of the Stathams of Morley but it is more probable that one of Sharpe's
daughters had married into the Statham family.

62 PRO, STAC 2/29/1.

63 APC, 1542-1547, pp. 304-5.

64 The J.Ps. being Sir Henry Sacheverell, Roland Babington and John Beaumont,
sitting with Sir Walter Luke, Justice of Assize and Edmund Molyneux, King's
Sergeant-at-law.

65 PRO, STAC 2/25/11; 2/25/129; 3/3/75; 3/8/27.

66 *Ibid.*, STAC 4/4/23.

67 PRO, C1/1468/27-8; STAC 2/17/138, opposing George Vernon over Cowden
grange; see also STAC 3/11/33; 17/176; 24/17.

68 Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation', pp. 273-4.

69 The issue of lead ore tithe is not discussed here as it did not directly pertain to the
deanery but it was a great bone of contention. See for example N. Kirkham, *Lead
Ore Tithe*, Local History Section of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society,
Supplement No. 9, pp. 3-8. Lenton priory held two thirds of the tithe ore of
Bakewell which was acquired by Sir Francis Leake in 1545 leading to disputes in
the 17th century..

70 LJRO, B/C/5, P/C 101, no. 431.

71 He had a large holding in the town, including the former collegiate house. DRO,
(Catton Hall) D3155/6598, conveyance of the 'College house' from Buckley to
Fletcher, 1591.

72 DRO, Liversage Papers, 1955F/T2-3. For a biography of Liversage see
Blanchard, 'Economic Change in Derbyshire', Appendix B, 'Derby Merchants in
1524-5', pp. 451-2.

73 DLSL, DD 2207, Copy of Letters Patent to William Gryce and Anthony Forster,
1564; DRO, 1955F/T5 is a copy of the resale to Thomas Watwood of Stafford,
clothier and Mathew Bismere of London, silkworker, 26 Nov. 1565.

74 LJRO, B/C/11, Alice Liversage, Derby 1558.

75 PRO, C1/1334/22; 1336/15-17; 1404/36-7; REQ 2/30/47; E. Truman, *History of
Ilkeston together with Dale Abbey, Kirk Hallam, West Hallam, Shipley and
Cossall*, pp. 163-5, relates one case in some detail, based upon PRO REQ
2/30/47. A parcel of Liversage lands lay in Ilkeston.

76 DRO, 1955F/T6.

77 *Ibid.*, 1955F/T6.

78 *Ibid.*, 1955F/E350.

79 DRO, 1955F/T7-10.

80 *Ibid.*, 1955F/T11-12; E342-347, 357. The petition carries 99 clear signatures but
some damage probably obscures a further one.

81 *Ibid.*, 1955F/E349-378; 395; 411-418.

82 CPR, P&M 1554-5, pp. 244-6.

83 PRO, E134 34 Eliz. Easter/28; 37 Eliz. Easter/25; C1/1468/27-8. See also Cox
and St. John Hope, *Chronicles*, pp. 17-23.

84 PRO, STAC 4/10/73.

85 PRO, C1/1336/68-9.

86 *Ibid.*, STAC 4/9/47.

87 *Ibid.*, STAC 2/17/138; STAC 3/11/33; STAC 2/17/176; STAC 2/24/17; STAC
2/25/162; STAC 2/26/142; STAC 2/29/13; STAC 2/29/18; STAC 2/32/25.

- 88 G. Rosser, 'Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages', pp. 39-40
in Wright, *Parish, Church and People*.
- 89 B.L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot. Popular Disorder in England during the Reign of
Edward VI*, p. 151. Paget divided the disputed land between the encloser,
Matthew Kniveton, and his tenants.
- 90 DLSL, Every Ms, 3481.
- 91 PRO, STAC 3/1/28. Blumston was employed as bailiff by the widow of Sir
Francis Leake. The hay was taken as a debt owned by a Margery Dyker but the
case was brought by Thomas Harryson for trespass, Harryson claiming to hold
Kirk Hallam manor; PRO E179/91/140 give Mary Dyker and Thomas Harryson
as the two leading households in Kirk Hallam, both assessed at £5 in goods.
- 92 PRO, C1/1394/65-6.
- 93 *Ibid*, C1/1156/85-6.
- 94 *Ibid*, E315/186/82; DRO, 1763/16719, Robert Ragge paid a rental of £7 for a
mine of coals.
- 95 DLSL, DD 552.
- 96 PRO, C1/1313/75.
- 97 S. Adams, 'Faction, Clientage and Party English Politics, 1550-1603', *History
Today*, vol. 32, p. 34.
- 98 Black, thesis, 'Administration and Parliamentary Representation', pp. 118-19;
PRO, STAC 2 20/ 380; STAC 2 12/48; Glover and Riden, *Woolley*, p. 49.
- 99 DRO, D258/Box 41/30, Henry Foljambe, 1581; Bernard, *Tudor Nobility*, ch. 7;
'Power and Duty in the Elizabethan Aristocracy: George, Earl of Shrewsbury, the
Glossopdale Dispute and the Council', p. 279. Zouch aided and abetted
Shrewsbury tenants in the Peak Forest in a rebellion against rent increases
- 100 HMC, *Bath Longleat Manuscripts*, vol. 5, 'Talbot, Dudley and Devereux Papers
1553-1659', p. 23, January 12 1578.
- 101 *Ibid.*, p. 22, June 17 1577.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 43, July 23 1583.
- 103 Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 132, 200.
- 104 PRO, C1/1251/34-7.
- 105 *Ibid.*, C1/1251/31-3.
- 106 As for example PRO, DL3/27/11, 27/17, 31/6, dispute over St. Helen's,
Wirksworth; DL3/57/1, dispute over St. Catherine's chantry, Melbourne.
- 107 PRO, C1/1203/26; Edward Molyneux was the eldest son of Sir Thomas
Molyneux of Haughton and his mother the second wife of Thomas Powtrell of
West Hallam. Molyneux was knighted on 20th Feb. 1547. His home base was the
manor of Thorpe, near Newark, lands formerly belonging to the Knights Templar.
- 108 BL, Harleian 605/28. Rental, under Colleges. Eyton, a tenant of the former
chantry, held a mansion of three cantarists, 80 acres of arable and 10 acres of
pasture in Spondon at a rent of £4.
- 109 Kitching, thesis, 'Collegiate and Chantry Property', App., Table XV, refers to Sir
Edward Molyneux and a Robert Broke, place unspecified, as also operating
together in Yorshire; LJRO B/C/11, William Newham 1547; BL Harley 605/28.
Newham's lease was of a messuage and 34 acres of arable and pasture on the
demesne.
- 110 PRO, C1/1203/27.
- 111 LJRO, B/C/11, Robert Whetley, South House Grange 1545. Probate granted 5
July 1546.

- 112 PRO, SC6/7384/79; E315/212 f. 120.
113 *Ibid.*, C1/1333/74-9.
114 *Ibid.*, C66/981/2; see also C1/1406/98; CPR Eliz.I 1560-63, p. 315 (1562), a
grant in fee simple to Thomas Stanhope.
115 PRO, STAC 3/1/84.
116 *Ibid.*, C1/1385/23-4; see also REQ 2/25/143, Henry Cruche v. John Seymour.
117 *Ibid.*, C1/1377/65; Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 200. Rollesley of Rowsley
recorded. Roos may be Rowe (Roo), found at Sutton and Alkmonton in 1490.
118 PRO, C1/1147/60-1 Newton v. Sacheverel re Horsley, fastening of doors and
gates and waste of land; STAC 3/1/28 Harryson v. Blumstone.
119 *Ibid.*, C1/1332/57; Langham and Wells, *Buxton Waters*, p. 36
120 Williams, *English Historical Documents*, p. 167.
121 Beer and Jack, 'Letters of William, Lord Paget'. Letters no. 2, 9 and 20 show that
he was at Drayton in July 1547 (suffering from the measles), September 1548 and
March 1549.
122 Jeayes, *Borough of Derby*, no. 7, p. 27. A search amongst the City of Derby
achives has failed to uncover the original document.
123 Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 19.
124 Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp. 249-50.

CHAPTER NINE

Catholic Survival or Revival?

Introduction

I will that there shall be a tomb over my father and mother and me with all picktures graven aloft of a ston with all or armes aboute the s[ai]d tombe and our names beseeching Almighty God to have mercy uppon our soules and all Christian soules.¹

The words, written in May 1557, hark back to the fifteenth century and thus far the Marian years had restored elements of traditional religious practice. But Richard Pole, younger son of Francis Pole of Radbourne and Dale Abbey, was both less assured and more circumspect than his predecessors.² The £6 a year he set aside for a priest to sing masses for seven years came with the proviso, 'if the laws of this realm will suffer him so to do', otherwise the money was to go to the repair of highways and to sustain the poor. The parish church was to have a suit of his best vestments, 'if the lawes will suffer them to remane', but otherwise they were to be retained as family heirlooms. Similar wills have been found from Suffolk to Leeds, signifying perhaps a pragmatic acceptance of whatever the state should decide.³

After the accession of Elizabeth the religious situation everywhere remained confused and the passing of new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity by the end of April 1559 did not altogether clarify the new policy. The Elizabethan Settlement was conciliatory in tone towards catholics but re-introduced the Prayer Book and was therefore protestant in substance. It did not find acceptance amongst the higher ranks of diocesan clergy and was opposed by a substantial number of the county gentry.

This Chapter looks first at the overall effect of the settlement upon the deanery's churches. It then considers the particular responses of the gentry and those divisions which had religious belief as a prime cause. A third section enters the debate on catholic continuity versus catholic revival. The end date of 1570 has been observed to the extent that events such as the Babington plot of 1586, a failed scheme to replace Elizabeth I with Mary, Queen of Scots which led directly to Mary's execution, have been referred to only in so far as they cast light on the situation within the deanery in the first decade of the reign.

Part One: Which Way Forward?: Church and Clergy

The implementation of the Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity devolved upon the state as all but one of the Marian bishops refused to subscribe to an Oath of Supremacy and were deprived of office. Ralph Bayne, having refused the sacrament to Queen Elizabeth, was deprived on 21 June 1559. Anthony Draycott, his staunchly catholic chancellor was later dismissed.⁴ Commissions were issued to various Lichfield canons to exercise jurisdiction during the vacancy.⁵

To establish the law in the localities, bodies of commissioners were appointed and a series of royal visitations were set in motion on 24 June.⁶ Substantial records survive only for the Northern Province⁷ but there is fragmentary documentation of the activities of the commissioners for the Southern Province, which was divided into five circuits. Thomas Bentham, a former Oxford don and a recently returned Marian exile, supported by Alexander Nowell as preacher and a small team of lawyers, was given responsibility for a midlands circuit which comprised the sees of Coventry and Lichfield, Oxford, Lincoln and Peterborough.⁸

In September, Bentham began a swift programme of visitations, allotting just two days, 19 and 20 September, to Derby before moving on to Lichfield.⁹ His authority was reinforced through a body of 23 lay commissioners selected from the nobility, the Privy Council and the county gentry, although Bayne, in his article on 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury, 1559', stated that, apart from attendance at particular sessions, the lay commissioners took little part in the actual proceedings. In *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564*, Gee argued that the lay commissioners were not, as a rule, chosen for their religious persuasion but Bayne disagrees, concluding that while the lord-lieutenants were appointed for the authority their nomination lent to the commission, the county gentry were selected for their reformist views.¹⁰ The Earl of Shrewsbury's name was attached to the Northern Circuit, but four of the nobility, including the Earl of Huntingdon, were appointed to the Midland circuit as were George Lord Zouch and William, Lord Willoughby. The one local gentleman was Sir Thomas Cockayne who would prove to be a staunch supporter of the Elizabethan Settlement.¹¹ Whether intended or not, the commission was weighted towards the protestant faith.

There is little local evidence for the commission's activities. Events in London, as recorded by Henry Machyn, are often used as examples for the nation. On 14 August, 1559 Machyn wrote,

ii gret [bonfires] of rodes and of Mares and Johns and odur emages, ther thay wher bornyd with gret wondur.¹²

He describes the burning of books and all manner of church goods, copes, crosses, sensors, altar clothes, banners and even wainscot.¹³ A surviving visitation return from the diocese of Lincoln in 1566 provides retrospective evidence that in the midland circuit likewise, articles were confiscated, rood lofts cut down and imagery, mass and other service books publicly burnt.¹⁴ The 1559 visitations have been labelled 'draconian' by Duffy but this, although true for London and the south, was not necessarily so throughout the Southern Province.¹⁵ By the time the visitors reached the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield their activities had been well publicised, affording ample time for the secretion of portable items. Moreover the visitation was brief and heavily dependent upon the presentments of churchwardens. If iconoclastic in intent, they were not altogether successful as Bentham admitted in October 1560.

For as moche as I do plainly understand by experience of my selfe in many places made that the most part of churches within this part of my diocese haith not onely yet their altars standing but also their images reserved and conveyed away contrarye to the Quene's maiesties iniunctions, hoping and looking for a newe day as may be thereby coniectured.¹⁶

Bentham referred to the Queen's Injunctions of 1559, a more moderate document than the visitation articles.¹⁷ There was resistance in some parts of the midlands and the north to the removal of altars, images, pictures and rood lofts.¹⁸ Roods and images, where found, were undoubtedly destroyed but on this deanery records are silent. At Derby All Saints the church still owned two chalices and patens, a brass cross and a brass holy water can in 1560 and it is likely that the organs were left in place along with the rood loft. At the same time, there are references to the purchase of lime, suggesting the whitewashing of walls.¹⁹ Bentham produced a set of episcopal articles for normal visitations of the diocese in 1565 which suggest that, as elsewhere, many altars still stood, which were to be 'clean taken away' and no monument of them left. In places rood lofts remained and lights were still burnt at burial.²⁰

The 1559 commissioners were required to receive the subscription of the clergy and to punish refusal. Subscription lists survive from only six sees of the Southern Province, of which Coventry and Lichfield is one.²¹ As yet no full comparison of these

lists for the midland circuit has been made against known names of beneficed clergy, a piece of viable research which could help to quantify the extent of initial compliance to the Elizabethan Settlement from within. Cox, in the *Victoria County History*, attempted such an exercise for the diocese. According to his calculations, of the 351 diocesan clerics who subscribed out of an estimated 500 parochial units, only 29 signatures came from the archdeaconry of Derby and only nine from the deanery.²² The subscription list held at Lambeth Palace shows that a total of 80 priests and two schoolmasters subscribed on 19 September 1559 in Derby and that there were significantly more names from the deanery: at least 13 beneficed clerics subscribed then.²³ Table 18, (see p. 270 below) demonstrates that when prebendal and empty benefices are accounted for c. 75% of all clerics then holding benefices subscribed with subscribers coming from half of the parishes.

There were role models for the clergy to emulate in the recalcitrant bishops and diocesan officials but few deanery clerics followed their example.²⁴ The commission, when in session in Lincoln, was said to have placed those who refused the Oath of Supremacy in confinement while depriving those who remained obstinate.²⁵ Although a few clergy failed to subscribe, there were no immediate parochial deprivations in the deanery, nor in the archdeaconry, though Wirksworth, Longford and Norbury were emptied by the deprivations of diocesan pluralist officers Draycott, Ramridge and Comberford.²⁶

As Haigh points out, almost all Elizabethan parish clergy were recruited as catholic priests and might be disinclined to embrace the Elizabethan Settlement.²⁷ However it is easy, through selective sampling, to over-estimate the general willingness of beneficed clergy to stand against the law when a living was at stake. It was not simply a question of religious indifference as is sometimes suggested. Fieldsend, the vicar of Tideswell became such a notorious mass priest that he was forced into hiding in 1576, later apprehended and eventually banished, yet he subscribed in 1559.²⁸ Of those who subscribed in the deanery there are no such stalwart biographies. Roger Bartylmew made a traditional catholic will in 1560.²⁹ Robert Coke subscribed with no conviction, for the wills he witnessed between 1562 and 1567 requested prayers for the soul; 'a penny loaf for to pray for me and all my frends soules' said husbandman William Locka (1564).³⁰ Thomas Swynnerton of Chaddesden (1565) called Coke his 'ghostly father', leaving 20s.

Table 18: Beneficed Deanery Clergy who Subscribed, 19 September 1559³¹

Aston	Alexander Barlow		d. 1568
Duffield	Ralph Dawson		d. 1583
Elvaston	John Heyward ³²		until 1564
Horsley	Thomas Dylke		res. 1564
Ilkeston	William Carter	ex-religious, Dale	d. 1568
Kedleston	William Pendleton		in 1584
Kirk Langley	Ralph Wrygley		in 1584
Radbourne	Thomas Sheppard		d. 1572
Sawley	John Lane, prebend		
Spondon	Robert Coke		by 1577
Swarkestone	William Babington	(and Eggington)	unknown
Weston	Hugh Shepey	ex-religious, Leicester	d. 1564
Derby All Saints	Roger Bartylmew	ex-chantry priest	d. 1560
Derby St Peter	William Stanbank	ex-religious, Darley	d. 1571

Beneficed clergy who subscribed in November

Mugginton	Edmund Calton	ex-chantry priest	d. 1561
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Curates who subscribed in September 1559³³

Sandiacre	Thomas Twysse (see above)
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Churches which recorded no incumbent in July 1558³⁴

Barrow
Breadsall
Willington
Derby St. Michael
Derby St. Werburgh

Beneficed clergy who apparently did not subscribe but held livings³⁵

Crich	Richard Banks	ex-religious, Dale	by 1579
Heanor	Richard Arnold	ex-religious, Tutbury	d. 1564-5
Kirk Hallam	Roger Page	ex-religious, Dale ³⁶	d. 1569
Pentrich	Christopher Proctor		d. 1564
West Hallam	William Powtrell		not known
Derby St. Alkmund	Henry Bryttlebank	ex-chantry priest	d. 1560

for prayers and requesting that seven gowned poor men attend his funeral.³⁷ Wills witnessed by William Carter still invoked the Virgin Mary.³⁸ However, the majority of wills witnessed by clerics are characterised by noncommittal preambles and dearth of religious content, signifying at least outward conformity.³⁹ More equivocal phraseology is found in wills witnessed by Alexander Barlow, inducted to Aston in 1557, in which the soul was commended to almighty god, redeemer and saviour

by whose merits I trust to be saved and received among the co[m]pany of the faithfull and my body to the yearth in sure hope and trust of the Resurrection at the last daye.⁴⁰

In his own will (1568) he trusted to have remission and forgiveness for his sins through the precious blood shedding of Jesus Christ, his redeemer and saviour, a common formula used in pre Reformation wills and found elsewhere in the mid 1560s.⁴¹

Bentham was instituted as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield on 24 March 1560 and filled the office until 1579. It was a more rapid appointment than in the Northern Province where sees were not filled until 1561.⁴² A fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford he chose exile under Mary and his humanist and reformist preferences are well expressed in recommending Michael Reniger to Sir Francis Knollys.⁴³ Reniger, he wrote approvingly, is a man learned in Latin, Greek, 'besyde his diligent studye in the Hebrew', and fit to be chaplain to the Queen adding, 'He was at Zuriche, when I and others were there also; for which I thynk hym mete to be preferre[d]'.⁴⁴ Although while in exile he had progressed from Zurich to Frankfort and finally to Geneva, he was not, according to his own testament, of the 'hottest' sort. His correspondence admits to an inclination to be broad minded and reveals a concern that he might appear weak and thus encourage papists.⁴⁵

There was an initial clearing out of dissident officials: chancellor Anthony Draycott, archdeacon John Ramridge and cathedral precentor Henry Comberford all refused to subscribe and were deprived and sent away.⁴⁶ Ramridge, archdeacon of Derby, was a prisoner in the Tower in 1561 for continuing to say mass.⁴⁷ From evidence contained in Bentham's Letter Book, he was replaced by Richard Walker, of whose religious beliefs only his conformity is certain.⁴⁸ After Walker's death in 1567, Bentham secured the appointment of Lawrence Nowell, like Bentham a Marian exile.⁴⁹ He was followed by Luke Gilpin in 1577.⁵⁰ Episcopal visitations were quickly set in motion but it was October 1560 before clerical and lay representatives of the deaneries of Derby and

Repton were summoned to Derby St. Michael's.⁵¹ Three rural and two urban benefices were recorded as empty as in 1558 but there were three new vacancies.⁵²

Writing to Archbishop Parker in April 1561 Bentham spoke of the need for 'the reformation of divers and sundrye thyngs far owt of order, allmost in my hoole dioces'.⁵³ This probably explains the further visitation, held at Derby All Saints in June 1561.⁵⁴ Bentham sent a strongly worded letter, ordering Archdeacon Walker to promote an understanding of royal injunctions. The archdeacon was instructed to set all curates to learn certain texts of the New Testament from memory and to see that perambulations were conducted with decorum, with psalms sung in English and a sermon or homily preached. The clergy were to be temperate in their drinking, and avoid superstitious practices, most especially the use of cross, taper or beads.⁵⁵ The visitation returns are curious as they are substantially lacking in content. With three exceptions, the only deanery names recorded are of those of beneficed clerics who subscribed in 1559, just 14 names in all. All the churches of Derby are recorded as empty.⁵⁶ This cannot reliably describe the deanery as it really was. Unless there was a mass refusal to attend the visitation, some administrative explanation must account for the lacuna. A special return, authorised by the Crown in 1563 shows only nine vicarages and two rectories as void in the entire diocese.⁵⁷

The visitation articles Bentham produced in 1565 were fairly standard. He reasserted the use of the Book of Common Prayer, clear recitation of the service, a quarterly sermon and a proper standard of clerical life, exhorting the clergy to denounce the pattering of beads and the continuing use of mass books.⁵⁸ A 'decent and simple table' was to be provided with a 'fine, linen table cloth'. Churches were have a Bible of the greatest volume, a Psalter, copies of the Paraphrases, the Queen's Injunctions, the Declaration and a book of Homilies while images were to be beaten down, hollows filled in, the walls white limed and churches cleared of,

all monuments of idolatry and superstition as holy water stocks, sepulchres which were used on Good Friday, hand bells, and all manner of idols which be laid up in secret places in your church where Latin service was used.

This had some effect. At Spondon, Elizabeth Wedowson willed 12d. to the 'whytt lymynge' of her parish church.⁵⁹ Derby All Saints already had most of the requisite texts but an inventory taken in 1566-7 records the acquisition of two great Latin half Bibles and a copy of the Paraphrases. In 1569 there was a new service book and in 1572 two

books of homilies. By 1575, a copy of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of these latter and perilous dayes touching matters of the church* had been acquired, probably the second edition of 1570.⁶⁰

Many of Benthams exhortations were directed at the clergy who were ordered not to 'innovate, alter nor damage any rite or ceremony about the celebration of the Holy Communion otherwise than set forth in the Book of Common Prayer'. What Benthams could not suffer was a cleric 'that beare ii faces in one hood, to marrye and love images'.⁶¹ Some idea of the difficulties he faced in establishing a reformist clergy may be gained from records of institutions to benefices which survive only to 1578.⁶² This aspect has been well covered by O'Day in 'Clerical Patronage and Recruitment in England in the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Periods'. Diocesan benefices became available at an estimated rate of 100% in 20 years, yet Benthams had direct control through patronage of only five of 147 presentations made between 1560 and 1570, although he was able to nominate 13 indirectly through the Lord Keeper.⁶³ The Crown had, for example, retained the right of presentation to Heanor, where Doctor Lawrence Brookes was appointed in 1565.⁶⁴ However, the bishop exerted quality control over appointments through the ordination examination (entrusted to the archdeacons), the need of incumbents to subscribe and through personal influence with patrons.

Finding suitable recruits was a general problem and arguably the product of years of religious uncertainty. In some parts of the country, as Tindal-Hart pointed out in *The Country Clergy 1558-1660*, vacancies were filled by entirely unsuitable tradesmen, men lacking in education or of poor conduct in the first years of Elizabeth's reign.⁶⁵ To a reformist such as Benthams a sound education, a knowledge of Latin and a grounding in the Scriptures were most important requirements but it was difficult to keep the parishes supplied with sound clergy.⁶⁶ At Horsley, following the resignation of the diligent Thomas Dylke in 1564 after 27 years as parish priest, four presentations were made in the next eight years, each one following a resignation.⁶⁷ At Barrow, Thomas Robinson was presented by Edward Beaumont in 1566.⁶⁸ Robinson and Hugh Carter of Mackworth were cited during the episcopal visitation of 1573 for not catechising, and for failing to read the homilies and injunctions. The churchwardens were ordered to obtain a copy of the homilies.⁶⁹ An episcopal evaluation of the clergy, undertaken in 1593, records that Edward Newsham, curate of Alvaston and Boulton and ordained by Benthams in 1573,

was a 'rural scholar', 'honest' and 'mediocrelly imbued in Holy Writ'. Several Derbyshire clergy ordained in the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign were honest, rural scholars, though by 1593 most were 'well-versed in Holy Writ'.⁷⁰ Clark provides an example of the vicar of Marston-upon-Dove who was still reading the service as a mass at an altar in 1599.⁷¹

Bentham blamed poverty of livings as a chief cause of the failure to attract suitable recruits, an analysis that led him to countenance pluralism and absenteeism.⁷² This is explicitly stated in his pleading for Thomas Aston, 'a godly preacher', to remain at the school in Shrewsbury while holding a benefice in the diocese of Lincoln.⁷³ Graduate brothers William and Richard Sale, holders of the cathedral prebends of Weeford and Ulveton, were instituted to Aston and Weston.⁷⁴ While Richard Sale settled his family at Weston, William Sale divided his time between Aston and a further living in Leicestershire.⁷⁵ At Breadsall, where the recusancy of John Dethick enabled Bentham to appoint directly through lapse of time, Bentham chose John Walton who had recently obtained a Masters Degree at Cambridge (1577).⁷⁶ While spending the next years in further study, Walton became both an absentee and multiple pluralist. In 1584 he was cited not only for neglect of services and the parsonage in Breadsall but also for moral misconduct, a woman living there having borne a him a child.⁷⁷ The policy was also applied to promote any cleric of sound protestant conviction. Richard Jurdan, who had abjured protestantism under duress in 1554, was now presented to Brampton (c. 1562), Kirk Hallam (1569), where the patron was Sir Francis Leake I, a sound supporter of the establishment, and Ilkeston (1573), which he held in plurality.⁷⁸

The effect of all this on congregations is unquantifiable but, as the 1565 episcopal articles imply, old practices were not quickly extinguished. In June 1559 William Bradshaw, a prosperous butcher of Derby All Saints, could request prayers for his soul at his burial and on the seventh day and in 1565 Christopher Whyte, a weaver, still sought intercession through saints.⁷⁹ Protestant teaching however was making headway, especially after the appointment of John Haughton in 1564.⁸⁰ Haughton had been curate at West Hallam in 1543, then briefly rector of Trowell in Nottinghamshire before deprivation as a married cleric.⁸¹ In the will of fellow cleric John Foljam which Haughton witnessed in August 1564, the word 'minister' is used in place of priest and the preamble addressed 'almighty god my creator, redeemer and justifyer'.⁸² A year later

Robert Heath hoped to be amongst the number of the elect. In 1566 shoemaker Thomas Lynley expressed a wish 'to be in the nombr of the[m] that at the layst day shall inherit the Kingdom of Hevon' while ironmonger George Greyves asked for a 'godly preacher' to 'make a sermon' on the day of his burial.⁸³ The 10s. offered was the old price of a trental. Haughton gave the town a decade of ministry and was succeeded in 1576 by Charles Woode.

Elsewhere in the town wills were also initially conservative and show that catholic practices continued for a time. In St. Peter's parish in 1563 Thomas Ward bequeathed 'ye bede close' to the churchwardens to maintain the bede roll. In 1562 Humphrey Buxton of Derby St. Werburgh left 20s. for bestowal at his funeral and when Ellis Kursant, the new curate of St. Werburgh,⁸⁴ witnessed the will of Ellis Cowper III of Abbey Barns (1564), written against a background of fear of 'the infections that now doth reign', the preamble invoked 'our Saviour Jesus Chryste, the Redymer of me and all mankind and to all the blessed company of heaven'. Cowper asked for 10s. to be distributed on the day of his burial. Will preambles invoking the saints were still being written in all parishes during the 1560s and in All Saints in 1571 Agnes Sowter still looks to all the blessed company of heaven.⁸⁵

Duffy talks of a perceptible sense of a changing of the guard by the 1570s.⁸⁶ In Derby the change came gradually and probably later. There is no evidence that Charles Woode, minister of Derby All Saints, had a university education and it was 1592 before this parish acquired, as in pre-Reformation years, a cleric with a degree when Edward Bennett was appointed as 'minister and preacher of gods worde'.⁸⁷ By 1575 however there was a preacher in the town who may have been present for some time as 'Mr. Jacsone, the preacher' is named in an inventory as a debtor.⁸⁸ In 1583 a substantial investment in preaching was made, though the annual sum of 40s. endowed by William Bainbridge for a public preacher, was considerably less than was once set aside for a chantry priest.⁸⁹ Before 1580 the more expansive will preambles divide between those which declare a total justification by faith and those which simply express hope of salvation but there is no suggestion of belief in Calvinist 'election'. Butcher Thomas Sowter (1574) looked to Jesus Christ as 'Saviour of all that unfaynedly beleve in hym' while Katherine Harison (1578), widow of a glover, was 'expectyng and lokyng for a ioyfull resurrection by the onely merytts and bludsheding of our Lord and Saviour Jesus

Christ', but left 40s. to the town poor on the day of her burial.⁹⁰ Old customs died hard! And the town was not altogether protestant nor conformist. Thomas Heyther of St. Peter's parish was entered as a recusant in 1577.⁹¹

In some rural parishes likewise, notably Crich, Heanor, Ilkeston, Morley and Spondon, the 'old' faith is still writ large in wills during the 1560s. In other parishes the language suggests doctrinal invention as protestant theology began to be assimilated. Joan Wilson of Findern's will (1562), begins with a traditionally catholic preamble but continues, 'trusting in the merits of ye blessed passion of Christ to be in ye number of ye that shalbe saved'. At Radbourne (1563), William Hurt, brother-in-law to German Pole, invoked God, maker and redeemer, faithfully trusting that he would be 'one of the children of Salvation at the last day of Judgment'.⁹² The majority of testators, however, as already stated, rapidly adopted a discretely non committal dedication to 'god' or 'god, maker and redeemer'. In 1559 26.4 % of deanery will preambles invoked the Virgin Mary. This fell to 10% by 1562. Even though clergy still act as witnesses in many parishes, few testaments in the 1560s contained bequests of a religious nature and, in general, testators used the will only for disposal of property, with occasional thought for the poor. However, while this indicates legal conformity it does not prove that catholicism was rejected.

Before drawing any such conclusions the activities of the recusant catholic gentry need to be weighed in the equation.

Part Two: Which Way Forward?: the Gentry

The old 'warriors' of Henry VIII's reign were giving way to a new generation. In the spring of 1558, a schedule attached to a letter from the Derbyshire JPs. to the fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, described Sir Henry Sacheverell as 'very aged', Sir George Vernon as 'verie weake' and Sir James Foljambe as 'hath broken his legge'.⁹³ Sacheverell, Sir Thomas Babington, Sir Thomas Powtrell, Sir John Port and Sir George Zouch were all recently dead or dying, as was the fifth Earl himself. The first requirement of their heirs was to show loyalty to the Crown by accepting the religious Settlement.

A reply from Bentham to the Privy Council in 1564 giving recommendations for the bench of Derbyshire Justices, provides useful evidence of acceptance from a proportion of the county gentry, including Zouch, Leake, Cockayne and Foljambe who had all subscribed in 1559.⁹⁴ There was no difficulty in finding ten justices fit to continue in office and six names could be added to the list. Of existing justices Sir Humphrey Bradburne and Henry Vernon of Sudbury were the only two described as 'adversaries to religion', though two others were thought 'miet to be omitted'. Bentham disagreed in the case of one, Richard Blackwall, of whom, through personal contact, he had formed a good opinion. He was not impressed by the inclusion of Sir George Vernon whom he classed as 'a great Jester at religion as well as in all other thinges'. Bradburne, though marked as an adversary and named in a list drawn up in 1574 as a possible friend to Mary, Queen of Scots, was sheriff of the county in 1564 and again in 1574.⁹⁵ Otherwise 'sound' names were usually pricked for sheriff, Cockayne filling the office four times.⁹⁶ German Pole of Radbourne was not initially named as a justice but he had married Dorothy Cockayne and can be counted with the conformists, acting as sheriff in 1575.⁹⁷

Sir Ralph Sadler's correspondence to Walsingham is also useful in identifying the sound protestants in the county. In 1584, when guarding Mary, Queen of Scots at South Wingfield manor, he wrote 'As toching the gentlemen of strength and trust dwelling nearest the place', and named Sir John Zouch, Sir John Manners, Mr. Curzon (who had not been recommended in 1564 but was then high sheriff) and Sir Thomas Cockayne, all of whom were later chosen to attend the Queen on her removal from Derbyshire. Sir Godfrey Foljambe and 'Mr. Bassett' had also agreed to be 'watchful'.⁹⁸

The sixth Earl of Shrewsbury trod a circumspect path of loyalty and conformity.⁹⁹ In 1569, at the time of the Rising of the Northern Earls, he wrote to Cecil that the Queen could be sure that his loyalty extended to 'the shedding of my bloudd when occasion shal requyre'.¹⁰⁰ At the same time he was opposed to protestants with puritanical tendencies. In 1577, when Ralph Sacheverell of Stanton-by-Bridge was proposed as sheriff, the Earl objected on the grounds he was 'a very sedytious and arrogant p[er]son and extreme busie in purytanisme'.¹⁰¹ He identified Sacheverell as a follower of Zouch whose zealous protestantism also met with disapproval and with whom he had numerous disagreements.¹⁰² While he sought to have Sacheverell rejected, Shrewsbury found 'Mr. Curzon of Croxall, Mr. John Vernon of Sudbury and Mr. Anthony Gell of Hopton', to be suitable candidates. The Earl set the tone which the Derbyshire gentry must follow if they were to win his patronage.

However discretely the Earl held to the establishment line, a number of gentry openly espoused catholicism, and although in the deanery there were a few 'sound' names others, Sacheverell, Babington and Powtrell amongst them, were to be conspicuously nonconformist. Bentham faced an early challenge to his authority at Longford and wrote that his softness

makethe the proud & pevyshe papistes stowt & bold, but I must begynne to traveise with theym and purpose, God wyllynge, to do with the proudest of theym.¹⁰³

The 'proud and pevyshe papistes' were not to be persuaded to attend church and forced the bishop and Privy Council to act against them. In 1561-2, several were presented to the bishop, amongst whom were 'Fitzherbert', 'Master Draycott', Dorothy Port and John Sacheverell of Morley.¹⁰⁴ Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, described as 'a very stiff man', was placed in the Fleet along with diocesan Chancellor Anthony Draycott while John Draycott of Denby and John Sacheverell, initially placed in the care of Robert Weston, were transferred to other London prisons.¹⁰⁵ The impact on their localities is revealed in the report of their committal which stated that through the bearing and support of wives, friends, kinsfolk, allies and servants,

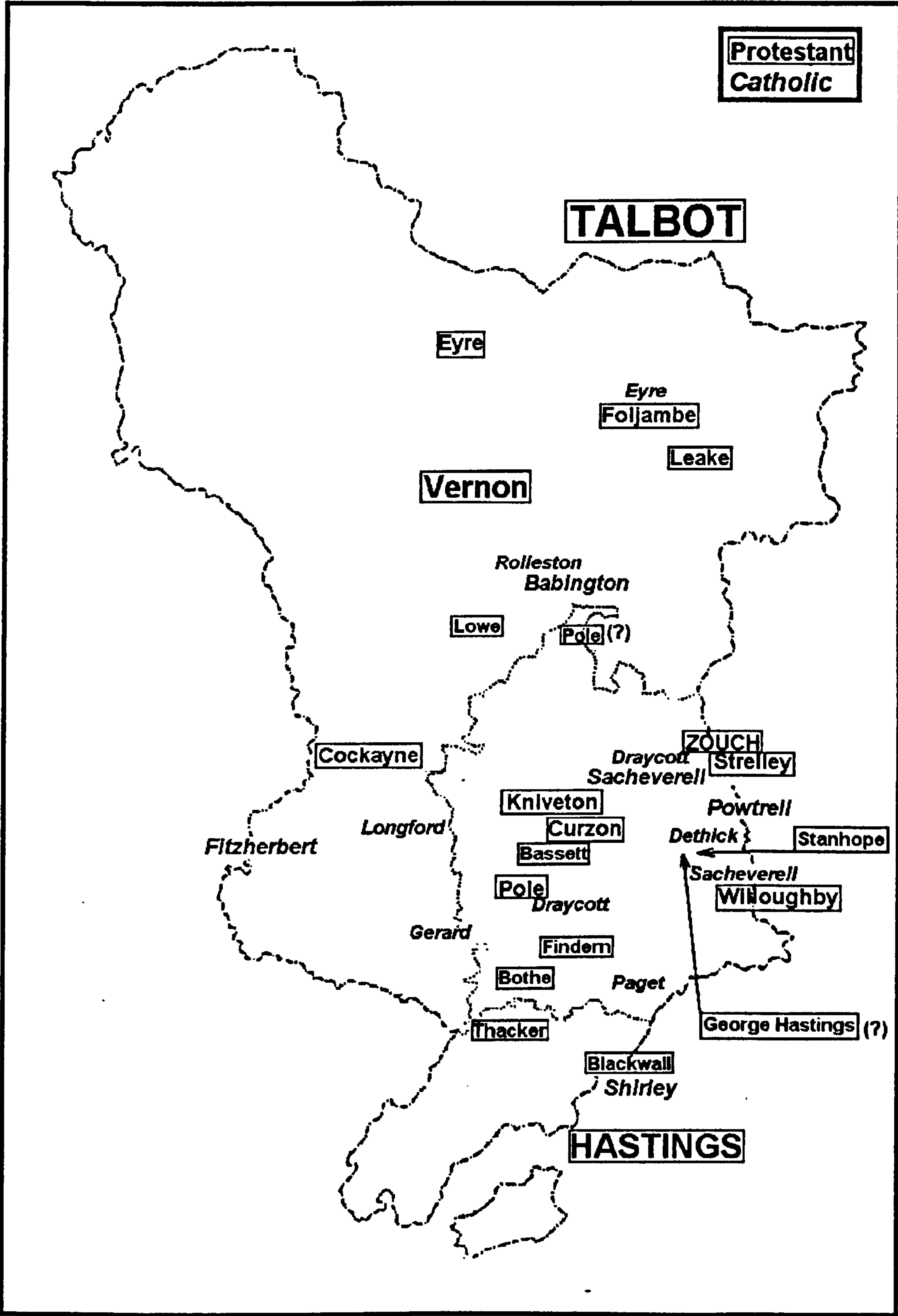
a great part of the shires of Stafford and Derby are generally evil inclined towards religion, and forbear coming to church and participating of the sacraments, using also very broad speeches in alehouses and elsewhere.¹⁰⁶

Sir Thomas Fitzherbert's high profile resistance, imprisonment, release and re-imprisonment, dying in the county gaol in Derby in 1591 at the age of 74, provided a

role model which had a profound effect upon his household, his tenants and his affinity. His brother Nicholas went overseas and became secretary to Cardinal Allen and a nephew, Thomas, became a Jesuit.¹⁰⁷ John Sacheverell of Morley was his nephew by marriage. The Ports were also kinsfolk and the marriage of Elizabeth, John Port II's eldest daughter, to Thomas Gerard of Brun in Lancashire reserved Etwall to the catholics.¹⁰⁸ Gerard, summoned to London to answer charges of recusancy was only released on promises of attending services, but not sacraments, in his parish church. Some time later a report was carried to the Privy Council that Thomas, knowing that he was watched, had transported his younger brother Nicholas to church during a visit to Etwall, but had been defeated in his attempt to show conformity by his brother's loud chanting of Psalms during the service. Thomas soon lapsed and was imprisoned in 1567 though later released.¹⁰⁹ John Gerard, son of Thomas and Elizabeth, became a seminary priest and then a Jesuit. William Eaton, another Jesuit recruit, was a tenant of the Gerards. Dorothy Port, presented to the bishop for non-attendance in 1561-2, had married George Hastings in 1557, younger brother of the staunchly protestant third Earl of Huntingdon.¹¹⁰ Hastings acquired a reputation for catholic leanings and his sympathies would help to create a another sheltered enclave at Dale.¹¹¹ A third sister, Margaret, married Sir Thomas Stanhope of Shelford, Nottinghamshire who purchased the former Dale granges of Southome and Littlehall in 1562.

The third man arrested in 1561 was John Draycott of Denby, a member of a consistently committed catholic family which figured prominently as Staffordshire recusants. John Draycott was again in prison in 1577.¹¹² The Draycotts were tied to the Fitzherberts by marriage and also to the Babingtons who were in turn related to the Sacheverells through the marriage of Thomas Babington to Catherine Sacheverell.¹¹³ The death of Henry Babington had left ten years old Anthony as heir. He was placed under the guardianship of Philip Draycott and the family tie was further strengthened when Anthony married Margaret Draycott in 1579.¹¹⁴ During his minority his mother, Mary, daughter of Lord Thomas D'Arcy, married Henry Foljambe. This brought him into contact with Constance Foljambe who appears as a recusant in 1577 and was arrested by her own grandson in 1588 and confined for recusancy when 'a very old lady'.¹¹⁵

Map 11: Protestant and Catholic: Gentry Divisions in Derbyshire, 1559-1571.



In *English Reformations*, Haigh entitles Chapter 15, 'From Resentment to Recusancy' and sets out reasons for the growth of recusancy. He refers to Sir Thomas Fitzherbert of Staffordshire and Thomas, his equally catholic son, as unusual in their consistent refusal to enter the parish church.¹¹⁶ However, there was an unusually strong commitment to catholicism in the county and in the deanery dissident gentry families outnumbered those who subscribed to the Elizabethan Settlement. The Fitzherbert affinity was not the only dissident colony. Map 11 (see p 280 above) shows how a chain of catholic households created a route east to west, from Leicestershire through to Staffordshire and northwards into the Peak. In 1580-1 Campion, a Jesuit priest, is recorded as having travelled from the Pierreponts at Holme Pierrepont in Nottinghamshire (John Sacheverell's mother was a Pierrepont¹¹⁷) to the Sacheverells at Hopwell, then the Powtrells, Longfords and Eyres.¹¹⁸

Walter Powtrell, baptised in 1545, became altogether committed to the catholic faith. In spite of the restrictive and punitive legislation of 1571 and 1581 he persistently housed priests and was eventually brought to trial with Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham and Sir William Catesby in 1581 for sheltering 'a rable of vagrant and seditious priests and fryers' and in particular of harbouring Campion. When questioned by the Earl of Shrewsbury he confessed that Campion had been at his house for three or four days, 'and had sayd Masse there (a part wherof he heard) and likewise made a sermon there in his hearing'.¹¹⁹

Powtrell refused to answer questions on oath without first perusing the questions and he was sent to the Fleet. He had married Cassandra Shirley of Staunton Harold in Leicestershire, the daughter of another committed recusant. Correspondence and interrogations serve to place the Powtrells within a circle which extended into Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire and included both catholics amongst the Pierreponts and his son-in-law Francis Beaumont of Gracedieu.¹²⁰ Campion also stayed at Longford where, in 1586 there were nine committals for recusancy.¹²¹ In 1585 John Bavant, once tutor to Edmund Campion and in England since 1581, was arrested there. The Longfords formed a catholic enclave to the west of the deanery which included the Sherwins of Rodsley and the Aultes of Barton Blount.¹²² The final halt named was with the Eyres, probably Robert Eyre of Chesterfield, a noted recusant where there was yet another enclave, encouraged by Constance Foljambe at nearby Tupton Hall.¹²³

The interrogation of Derby born Peter Bate in 1586, four days after Anthony Babington's execution for his part in the plot to overthrow Elizabeth, reveals other catholic groupings and suggests methods used to contrive meetings.¹²⁴ The son of Anthony Bate, an innkeeper, he had inherited his father's property in Derby which remained his home base.¹²⁵ Bate was a known acquaintance of both Babington, Thomas Paget (who fled abroad in 1583 with the discovery of the Throckmorton plot) and Charles Paget who fled in 1572 and progressed from plotter to informant.¹²⁶ He had participated in the Northern Rising of 1569 as a soldier in the train of the Earl of Northumberland. Although obtaining a pardon for this treason he was obviously a 'marked' man. During his interrogation he would admit only his relationship to Babington as a tenant but acknowledged a meeting with Charles Paget at William Bassett's house at Meynell Langley and at the house of William Sale, prebendary of Lichfield and vicar of Aston, where he also met Sir George Hastings and 'Mr. Agard' of Foston. His excuse that they met for hunting and hawking may not have convinced but he was released on declaring that he was a protestant and would conform.¹²⁷

In the wake of the Northern Rebellion, the so called Ridolfi Plot of 1570-71 and the Papal Bull of excommunication, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which excommunicated and deposed the queen and provided a justification for conspiracy, the government made life increasingly difficult for openly catholic families. The total loss of the patrimonial estates became a real possibility after 1571 when an act was passed to deal with catholic fugitives overseas.¹²⁸ This act proved to be a powerful weapon and was rapidly applied in the wake of the flight of John Sackville and his failure to return. The entire estate, which was not entailed, was confiscated and his young heir, Henry, chose conformity to regain his inheritance.¹²⁹ In 1576, after 'grave consideration' a lease which had been granted to George Rolleston, Queen's servant, was pronounced void and the family manors were restored to Henry, though under leasehold conditions and an annual rent of £200.¹³⁰ In 1598 the name of Henry Sackville was again on the sheriff's list.¹³¹ Conformity did not however mean a total abandonment of the catholic faith. Campion was received at Hopwell in 1581 as a result of which the house was searched and Henry Sackville brought before the Privy Council. However, unlike Powtrell, Sackville escaped severe punishment by agreeing to conform.¹³² The 1571 act was a powerful

weapon and was used against the exiled Pagets. Here the heir to the chief estate was brought up in conformity.¹³³

Other families, facing serious but less crucial losses as recusants, remained resolute. Walter Powtrell was fined and lost a messuage and 300 acres of land to the Crown in 1579 and faced a heavy fine of 500 marks in 1581.¹³⁴ There was an element of retreat as his wife Cassandra took on the mantle of recusancy. In the 1590s there were reports that Richard Shovell, an old priest who said mass, lived at West Hallam.¹³⁵ In 1588 Philip Draycott was still wedded to recusancy and was visited at Mickleover by Sir John Harpur, acting on behalf of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and forced to attend a church service with his household.¹³⁶ The fact was however that although catholic households could survive they were increasingly relegated to the backwater and local administration was placed firmly in the hands of those who conformed.

Part Three: Continuity or Revival?

By 1580, with the arrival of the first Jesuit mission, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate catholic continuity from catholic revival. The two are not, as the heightened level of debate suggests,¹³⁷ exclusive, but in the deanery the foundations of resistance to the Elizabethan Settlement were entirely internal. Why this was so can be explained in part by the local conservatism of the pre Elizabethan church but the stance taken by the catholic gentry was vital.

The Marian bishops, though deprived, set an example by their continuous resistance to the Elizabethan Settlement. Bishop Bayne did not long survive his arrest but David Poole, deposed from the bishopric of Peterborough, was confined in the diocese at St. Thomas', near Stafford.¹³⁸ The policy of house arrest in his case was a mistake as he was allowed some latitude and was able to foster catholicism, as for example in reconciling John Felton, a wandering priest who became 'a vigorous papist missionary'.¹³⁹ Whether or not rumours that he received many clerics in this way are correct, Bentham recognised that Poole was an obstacle to the promotion of protestantism in his diocese.

A more immediate clerical influence on gentry households was the household chaplain, maintaining mass for the family, friends and servants, often acting also as tutor and with influence over the young. Ex-Dale canon John Banks (d. 1567), house chaplain at Morley, must have played a part in John Sacheverell's upbringing.¹⁴⁰ Miles Whitworth, a former chantry priest, was Thomas Babington's choice as chaplain at Dethick. His elder son, Anthony, born in 1561 and the eponymous leader of the Babington Plot, came under this influence while a younger brother, Francis, gave up a successful life of scholarship and the Vice Chancellorship of Oxford to go to Louvain and become a seminary.¹⁴¹

The ex-religious and chantry priests who served parishes were also well placed to maintain mass and influence the yeomanry and husbandry from amongst whom a proportion of seminary and Jesuit priests were recruited in Derbyshire. In the deanery this was possibly the case at Heanor where the ex-Benedictine vicar, Richard Arnold, was linked to Brian Garnet in testamentary bequests and in an ideal position to influence the Garnet boys, three of whom became papists.¹⁴² One of these, Henry Garnet, would become Superior of the Jesuit mission in England and has been described as a 'godsend'

to the English mission.¹⁴³ A Dale priest, Ralph Harrison, settled in the parish of Sandiacre which produced recruits to the priesthood.¹⁴⁴ However, although they may have sustained catholicism in a few communities, their overall importance can be exaggerated. By 1560 there were only eight ex-religious receiving pensions and by 1570 there were no more than four.¹⁴⁵

The role of Marian priests has also come under scrutiny as a causal factor in the continuity of catholicism.¹⁴⁶ It is suggested that they were seminal influences in the attachment of leading individuals to catholicism, while their ministry could span the greater part of Elizabeth's reign.¹⁴⁷ Ralph Wrigley, a Marian appointee to Kirk Langley, presented himself as incumbent at the visitation of 1584.¹⁴⁸ Whether, in the deanery, they were quietly 'massing' priests, partaking of the 'chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils' as has been suggested elsewhere, it is impossible to determine.¹⁴⁹ William Sale of Aston, a Marian Oxford scholar appointed to a prebend of Lichfield cathedral, was apparently as orthodox as could be wished.¹⁵⁰ However Peter Bate admitted to a meeting with suspect and known catholics at his rectory at Aston and he was called to account for his dealings with the Pagets.¹⁵¹ His background and education could have left him with a foot in both camps, a proposition which his will does nothing to dispel. The preamble reads, 'Almighty God, my maker Redemer and Sanctifyer', hardly the statement of a zealous protestant. Neither this, his reference to 'divine providence' in choice of burial place, nor his poor bequests to artificers in various towns, tie him down but in asking for £10 to be distributed at the day of his burial he followed old tradition. He left money for 4 sermons a year, but the bequest was not accompanied by phrases such as 'godly preacher' and was associated with distribution of alms. In the deanery, the influence of such priests would have been limited as Bayne presented only four new incumbents of whom only Wrigley survived beyond 1570.¹⁵² However, too much influence need not be placed upon this narrow band of appointments where catholic priests such as Robert Coke and Robert Grace were instituted under the conservative Bishop Sampson while Edward VI reigned.¹⁵³ Overall, a number of priests had the credentials and the opportunity to work for the continuity of catholicism but their numbers diminished rapidly, the plagues and 'sweats' of 1557 to 1564 doing more than the state to remove them.

Certain schoolmasters stand out as important to the formative years of young catholics. The first Derbyshire men to go abroad and become priests were probably from a school at Tideswell, where Nicholas Garlick of Dinting near Glossop was schoolmaster for four years.¹⁵⁴ Three of his pupils went to Douai before Garlick followed them himself.¹⁵⁵ A number of boys taught by Brian Garnet of Heanor, schoolmaster at Nottingham Free Grammar School from 1565 to 1574,¹⁵⁶ eventually became priests. William Hartley of Wilne, born in 1551, was educated at Nottingham, went to Oxford and from there went abroad to become a seminary.¹⁵⁷ Edward James, born at Breaston about 1560, when examined, said that he was 'brought up in the grammar school at Derby under one Mr. Garnet'.¹⁵⁸ As a schoolmaster, Garnet conformed outwardly and the preamble to his will (1576) reads,

I beqythe my sowle to all mighty god trusting of his goodnes & mercye th[a]t through the meritts of his sonne Jhesus Christ my only Savior he will receive me into the company of his elect.¹⁵⁹

Even so, his sons took a different path. After early schooling at Nottingham, in 1568 Brian Garnet sent Henry to Winchester College under headmaster Christopher Johnson. This school may have been chosen through personal acquaintance as Johnson was a Derbyshire man, or for its known inclination towards catholicism.¹⁶⁰ Jesuit priest Fr. Thomas Stanney wrote that, although outwardly conformist, both Johnson and the school's Warden, Dr. Stempe, were catholics at heart. Johnson and Garnet both left Winchester in 1571 during a government purge of catholics in education. After an apprenticeship in the printing trade Garnet went abroad in 1575 and travelled to Rome to join the Jesuit Order.¹⁶¹

There was a considerable rate of catholic survivalism in the universities in spite of a major exodus and 63 deprivations between 1558 and 1565. Some of the colleges and halls at Oxford, where Marian endeavours had purged evangelism and nurtured catholicism, were especially attractive to catholic families.¹⁶² For a time, this afforded opportunities of a university education for sons of catholic families. Research on Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall, Oxford has demonstrated that it was possible for catholic teaching to survive well into the reign through scholars who were church papists.¹⁶³ Nicholas Garlick and Robert Ludlam were briefly at Gloucester Hall in the 1570s.¹⁶⁴ Ludlam later spent two years at St. John's, one of two colleges founded by Mary, as did James and Hartley, until expelled. James left in 1577, having consistently refused the oath

of supremacy. Ralph Sherwin of Rodsley went to Exeter College in 1568 and went from there to Douai in 1575.¹⁶⁵

The constancy of recusant women as a seminal influence merits a study in its own right. In October, 1560 Bentham called for more diligence and severity,

For suche sygnes and tokens of open sedition and manifest rebellion this weyke in wycked wemens doyngs haith bene used that yf it be not in tyme corrected yt wyll growe to suche a scabbe that you and I and all the godlye in this contrey shall not be able to cure, besydes the danger that we shall incurr towards the Quene yf we do not whitestand ytt.¹⁶⁶

Dorothy Port was presented in the following year. The role of women surfaces in cases of recusancy more than at any other time as when a woman refused to go to church a fine or imprisonment could be imposed while family estates were safeguarded. So Cassandra Powtrell shouldered responsibility for the family's resistance after 1581. In 1586 there were eight committals for ten months recusancy at West Hallam, mainly women, with Cassandra marked as the ring leader and imprisoned for ten months.¹⁶⁷ The influence of women was not underestimated at the time and house arrest under safe guardianship was frequently employed to control recusant daughters and wives.¹⁶⁸ The recusancy of Constance Foljambe was viewed as sufficiently dangerous even in her old age for her to be placed under the custody of a conformist grandson.¹⁶⁹ Confinement could break resilience. Constance Foljambe conformed to gain release but John Coke, the local rector of North Wingfield, beginning to reconvert his flock, wrote an agitated letter to Shrewsbury to complain that they would be likely to return 'to the filthe from whiche they were washed.'¹⁷⁰

Lying between continuity and revival was the coming of Mary, Queen of Scots whose arrival opened up the possibility of an alternative sovereign favourable to catholicism and so sustained hope for the future. In a letter dated July 1580 Shrewsbury states that for 11 years he had kept Mary safe, 'although there have been many and dangerous attempts'.¹⁷¹ This is not the place to recount the many failed plots to release Mary and place her on the throne as it goes beyond the remit of the thesis but local gentry families became embroiled. In 1569 Mary passed through the deanery at least once, and probably twice, on her way to and from South Wingfield Manor and spent June to late September at South Wingfield before her removal to Tutbury.¹⁷² On reports of the 1569 Rebellion of the Northern Earls, she was transferred from Tutbury to Coventry which foiled attempts to release her.¹⁷³ The part played by local gentry began

to emerge in October 1570 when Bishop Bentham received notification from Sir William Cecil, quickly communicated to the Earl of Shrewsbury, that a former servant of the Earl's, Henry Hall, was a wandering 'practiser of sedition' and was to be searched for in Derbyshire.¹⁷⁴ His name was linked in treason to Francis Rolston, against whom his son, George, laid information.¹⁷⁵ The conspiracy, which owed much to the suffragan Bishop of Ross and bears the name of Ridolfi, certainly drew in the local gentry. It also implicated Sir Thomas Gerard who was placed in the Tower in 1571 charged with implication in a plot to rescue Mary from Tutbury.¹⁷⁶ Charles Paget went abroad and was in Paris by 1572, leading a group known as 'the gentlemen of Paris' who continued to handle Mary's affairs.¹⁷⁷ John Sacheverell also fled the country. He was gone by August 1572 when Shrewsbury wrote to the Queen in response to her demand that a jury be empanelled to enquire into his conduct.¹⁷⁸ His part in conspiracy is not directly documented but his entire estate was seized in 1574. There is insubstantial evidence for a rebellion in the county in 1577. References come in two letters written in 1577 concerning the retention of arms and money by Sir John Zouch. These might relate to 1571 as one letter refers to the 'layt rebellion tyme' but John Draycott was imprisoned in 1577.¹⁷⁹ The Throckmorton plot of 1583 again implicated the Gerards and the Pagets and was a prelude to that of 1586 which carries the name of Anthony Babington. Derbyshire gentry were seemingly involved in every serious plot to release Mary from custody.

The leading factor however in catholic continuity was probably the intransigent resistance of the recusant gentry led by Thomas Fitzherbert, at the heart of which was a deeply held religious belief. However, his was not the only affinity to mount a challenge. Nor were all recusants drawn from the gentry. The catholic protest embraced yeoman, husbandman and labouring families though the large numbers recorded in the 1580s could be the result of seminary and Jesuit activity. The continuity of catholicism merged into reconversion as young men, going abroad, returned as qualified priests, at first seminaries and later Jesuits. There is no indication that either were opposed by the gentry initially. Campion was quickly received by leading catholic families. Without their supplementary missions it may have been impossible to sustain resistance. The question in Derbyshire is not one of revival but of the expansion of an existing alternative church.

Conclusion

To many gentry in the deanery the simple fact that the mass was made illegal was too much to tolerate. From the beginning there was resistance. For this reason this study directly opposes the catholic revivalist arguments of Aveling and Bossy.¹⁸⁰ The argument that medieval catholicism died between 1534 and 1570, after which there was a mixture of spontaneous revival and missionary effort, is not borne out in the deanery which affords an example of conspicuous survivalism and substantial continuity. This conclusion, perhaps surprisingly, is diametrically opposed to that reached by Dickens for neighbouring Yorkshire where, he argues, there was a lack of organic connection with medieval tradition.¹⁸¹

The reasons for the survival of catholicism in Derbyshire are complex but a generation of children born in the 1540s and early 50s, brought up and educated in the 'old' faith, were prepared to stand against the will of the state. That is not to say that missionary activity was inessential: seminary and Jesuit priests provided the needful access to mass and confession and were a force for reconversion as well as helping to break any sense of isolation from European catholicism.¹⁸² They also helped to sustain a communal spirit within the English catholic community. Seminary Ralph Sherwin, condemned to death with Campion, wrote, in a defiant final letter to his uncle, 'Salute all my fellow-Catholics', and died assured of their support.¹⁸³ However the militancy of Sir Thomas Fitzherbert was to set the tone which many local gentry immediately supported.

In his scholarly yet partial biography, Caraman suggests that Henry Garnet, who returned in 1585 and became Superior of the Jesuits in England within a year established a chain of catholic bases in the west and south west of Derbyshire.¹⁸⁴ However, the chain had been in place for some years: as already illustrated it was used by Campion in 1581. Garnet simply utilised and strengthened lines of communication already forged. The argument of discontinuity fails to appreciate the survivalism that Garnet came to rely upon to form 'mass centres'.¹⁸⁵

The extent of general catholic commitment is however unquantifiable. With wills no longer providing meaningful statistical data, recusancy rolls provide the only guide to overall numbers and have formed the basis of several studies. A useful critique of these and other sources for recusancy, including ecclesiastical visitation and quarter sessions

records, is provided in Wark's *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, which concludes, 'Almost without exception the sources for the years before 1580 are disappointing'.¹⁸⁶ This is equally true for this study.¹⁸⁷ The first diocesan recusancy lists were produced only in 1577 when, in response to a sudden demand from the Privy Council for recusant names with valuations of land and goods attached, Bentham quickly returned names. This return was demanded within seven days and Bentham wrote that it contained only the names of those who had been presented, without valuations as he had 'not so good understandinge of theym beinge far off'.¹⁸⁸ It stands as a selective list of names, giving only 38 names from eight places in the county. However, 91 recusants were charged and outlawed at Derby General Sessions and later indicted at Westminster, perhaps because of fears of disorder, while a return of 1586 lists 32 places, eight in the deanery, a mixture of gentry households and people of lesser degree.¹⁸⁹ Recusancy lists do not offer the historian a catholic household census, in part because a charge of recusancy could be evaded by occasional attendance at church and in part because, as Edwin Sandys, Bishop of Worcester explained in drawing up his list of sound gentry in 1564, 'men are loth to meddle in matters that may turne to their displeasure'.¹⁹⁰

Winking and conniving, as Scarisbrick puts it, were all part of the pattern of life in many communities while there were many attempts to reconcile loyalty to the Crown with a catholic belief.¹⁹¹ Elizabeth Brasbridge of Twyford, 'widowe and professor of the true catholicke faith, unto me unvayled by Christ's testam[en]t', had been presented as a non churchgoer in 1573.¹⁹² Her will written in 1585, attempts to marry catholic belief and loyalty.¹⁹³ The preamble addressed Queen Elizabeth as sovereign lady

by the grace of god of England France and Ireland Queene Defendres of the most Anncyent catholicke and Apostoliche faith and imediatlie under Christ of this church of England and allsoe of Ireland, supreme gov[er]nes.

She bequeathed 'my soule to allmyghtie god and my bodie to the earthe in the sure hope of rising agayne to ev[er]lastinge joye by the meritts of Jesus Christ my onlie redeem[er]'.¹⁹⁴

The overall result was a divided community and family divisions. Meredith provides one of many examples of families divided on religion in 'The Eyres of Hassop'.¹⁹⁴ In some cases divisions were so deep as to set son against father or grandson against grandmother. However, there remained a certain neighbourly solidarity, underpinned by affinities which might stretch back through generations. When John Sacheverell fled the country, Sir John Zouch, as sheriff, was advised by the Earl of

Shrewsbury to appoint a jury to try Sacheverell in his absence so that his estates could be confiscated. Zouch refused to follow the Earl's recommendations and was described as 'stout and forward' in returning a jury of his own liking. Shrewsbury acknowledged that they were 'very honest and discreet men; but for that I did well perceive Sacheverel and his friends bear such rule with that jury, and they were so near Norbury, and Sacheverel and his friends (and sundry ways in their danger) as great favour was like to be shewed to the fugitive'. Sacheverell remained overseas while Rolston, who had earlier laid information of conspiracy, was charged 'to follow the inquisition thereof' and Zouch was admonished.¹⁹⁵ When a supposedly zealous protestant such as Zouch, whose grandparents included a Morley Sacheverell, could be swayed to lend support to an openly catholic rebel it becomes clear that religion was not totally divisive.

- 1 LJRO, B/C/11, Richard Pole, Kirk Langley 1558.
- 2 For Richard Pole's family pedigree see Flower, *Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees*, p. 65.
- 3 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 565.
- 4 Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 31-8; Harwood, *Church and City of Lichfield*, pp. 149-50.
- 5 W.H. Frere (ed.), *Registrum Matthei Parker Diocesis Cantuariensis A.D. 1559-1575*, Canterbury and York Society, vol. 35, p. 219. The canons were Thomas Bolt, Laurence Huse and Robert Weston, doctors-at-law, Richard Walker and Thomas Yale.
- 6 P. Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, vol. 3, ch. 2; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, ch. 3.
- 7 C.J. Kitching (ed.), *The Royal Visitation of 1559. Act Book for the Northern Province*, Surtees Society.
- 8 C.G. Bayne, 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury 1559', *EHR*, vol. 28, p. 659; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 97-8.
- 9 Bayne, 'Visitation', p. 650. September 6th to October 10th.
- 10 Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 95; Bayne, 'Visitation', p. 637.
- 11 M. Bateson (ed.), 'Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564', *Camden Miscellany* 9, p. 43. Cockayne took the Oath of Supremacy in 1559 as a J.P. and was chiefly responsible for the 1564 return to the Privy Council, identifying justices of the peace who were sound in religion.
- 12 Nichols, 'Machyn's Diary', p. 207.
- 13 *Ibid*, p. 208.
- 14 Bayne, 'Visitation', pp. 652-3.
- 15 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 566.
- 16 M.R. O'Day and J. Berlatsky (eds.), 'The Letter-Book of Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1560-1561', *Camden Miscellany* 27, 4th series, vol. 22; See also M.R. O'Day, 'Thomas Bentham, a Case Study in the Problems of the Early English Episcopate', *JEH*, vol. 23, pp. 137-59.
- 17 M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*: vol. 1 *Laws against Images*, pp. 302-4, discusses the iconoclasm and the difference between articles and injunctions. See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 568-71.
- 18 Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 244-7.
- 19 DRO, D3372/91/1 f. 31v.
- 20 Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, vol. 3, pp. 165-70; W.P.M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration. An Essay in Sociology and Politics*, vol. 1, Intro., xii-xvi, xx.
- 21 LPL, CM 13/2/58; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 120-4, reproduces the list. The other sees were London, Norwich, Ely, Oxford, and Lincoln.
- 22 *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 20; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 98; O'Day, 'Thomas Bentham', p. 139. All three texts estimate over 500 parishes based upon a return of 1563; compare Hughes, *Reformation*, vol. 3, p. 40 footnote 6, who estimates 359.
- 23 LPL, CM 13/2/58x-xi.
- 24 Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 99, refers to clerical resistance in the south-west.
- 25 Bayne, 'Visitation', p. 651, according to the testimony of Nicholas Morton in 1570.

26 Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 277-8; *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 20 is not
 altogether accurate; K.R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, pp. 1-2,
 usefully discusses the same point for the diocese of Chester.
 27 Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 248.
 28 R. Meredith, 'The Eyres of Hassop, 1470-1640', *DAJ*, vol. 85, p. 63.
 29 LJRO, B/C/11, Roger Bartylmew, Derby 1560.
 30 *Ibid.*, William Locka, Spondon 1564.
 31 LPL, CM 13/2/58x; names correlated with LJRO B/A/1/15; B/V/1/7; B/V/1/8;
 B/V/1/13; B/V/1/15, B/C/11 various wills.
 32 LJRO, B/A/1/15, f. 18v. Nicholas Holmes having freely resigned, John Haywood
 was appointed to Elvaston, 8 March 1558. *VCH, Derbyshire*, p. 20, wrongly
 states 'on the eve' of subscription.
 33 Identified through comparison with contemporary wills.
 34 LJRO, B/V/1/2.
 35 *Ibid.*; B/V/1/4 (1560), ff. 78, 84, 87 for Brittlebank, Powtrell, Banks; B/A/1/15,
 ff. 39, 80v, 82 for Proctor, Arnold, Page.
 36 Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 123.
 37 LJRO, B/C/11, Thomas Swinnerton, Spondon 1565; See also Thomas
 Outram, 1562. Richard Newton, 1566. Ellen Stanforth, 1567. Elizabeth
 Wedowson, Spondon 1565. Thomas Wedowson, Spondon 1565/6.
 38 *Ibid.*, William Stansted, Ilkeston 1563. William Courtbie and Ralph Hall, Ilkeston
 1566; B/A/1/15, f. 81v, presentation after the death of William Carter.
 39 eg LJRO, B/C/11, William Haryson, Duffield 1563; Adam Brodeley, Duffield
 1565; William Grene, Horsley, 1564; Alkmond Bryndiron, Mackworth 1566;
 William Stevenson, Derby 1563.
 40 *Ibid.*, William Cardar, 1563; Elizabeth Fallows, 1561 and Robert Cowper, 1567
 of Aston. The first is quoted.
 41 *Ibid.*, Alexander Barlow, Aston 1567/8; see also Oliver Cowper, Elvaston 1565;
 Emott Hewyt, Elvaston 1567.
 42 Ralph Bayne died in mid-November 1559. Nichols, 'Machyn's Diary', p. 220,
 gives Bayne's death as 18 November 1559 though on p. 221 his undated burial is
 placed after an entry for 4th January, 1560; pp. 229, gives Bentham as bishop by
 20 March when his wife bore him a child. On 22 March he preached at Court.
 43 *DNB*, vol. 4, p. 284; Garratt, *Marian Exiles*, no. 45, pp. 86-7.
 44 O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no. 101 (1560).
 45 *Ibid.*, no. 137 (1560); no. 206. He attempts to assist the deprived rector of
 Hamstall Ridware; For a fuller assessment see O'Day, 'Thomas Bentham', pp.
 138-9.
 46 On Draycott see *DNB*, vol. 16, p. 8; J. Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical
 History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, vol. 2, p. 105.
 On Comberford, APC, 1558-70, p. 64; O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no.
 38 and note; no. 190. For later activity see Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 260.
 47 LJRO, B/A/1/15, f. 19, appointed on 23 November 1558; J.H. Pollen (Rev.),
 'Official Lists of Prisoners for Religion from 1562 to 1580', *CRS, Miscellanea I*,
 pp. 49-50, 55.
 48 O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', nos. 23, 199, 208. See also pp. 118-9, where
 Walker is described as 'approved but carefully controlled'.
 49 Garratt, *Marian Exiles*, no. 301, p. 238.
 50 LJRO, B/A/1/15, f. 84v, 29 July 1577.

- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, B/V/1/4. Parochial visitation records for Bentham's episcopacy, 'libri cleri', with a few comperta or acta, survive for 1559/60 (B/V/1/3: no entries for the archdeaconry of Derby), 1560, 1561/62 (B/V/1/5), 1570 (B/V/1/7) and 1573 (B/V/1/8). There are no separate comperta, acta or presentments for the archdeaconry of Derby until 1609 (B/V/1/26).
- ⁵² LJRO, B/V/1/4, Sawley, Sandiacre, Willington, Derby St. Michael, Derby St. Werburgh; new vacancies were Pentrich, Radbourne and Swarkestone; PRO E179/19/507, a schedule of diocesan tax defaulters, dated to 1559-60, recorded 23 vacancies in Warwickshire, 10 in Staffordshire, only 2 in Shropshire but 24 in the archdeaconry of Derby. Six were from within the deanery. viz. Pentrich, Elvaston, Barrow, Swarkestone, Willington and Derby St. Michael; PRO E179/278/1, a petition of allowance for tax arrears shows the long standing vacancies at Derby St. Michael and Derby St. Werburgh.
- ⁵³ O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no. 198.
- ⁵⁴ On visitations see Staffordshire County Council, *Record Office*, pp. 17-18.
- ⁵⁵ O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no. 199.
- ⁵⁶ LJRO, B/V/1/5. William Powtrel of West Hallam and Richard Banks of Crich are included, notable absentees in 1559.
- ⁵⁷ *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 20.
- ⁵⁸ Referred to in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 572.
- ⁵⁹ LJRO, B/C/11, Elizabeth Wedowson, Spondon 1565.
- ⁶⁰ DRO, D3372/91/1, f. 34v, 36-v, 37v.
- ⁶¹ O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no. 102.
- ⁶² LJRO, B/A/1/15.
- ⁶³ O'Day, thesis, 'Clerical Patronage and Recruitment', pp. 23-6, 212.
- ⁶⁴ LJRO, B/A/1/15, f. 80v.
- ⁶⁵ A. Tindal Hart, *The Country Clergy 1558-1660*, ch. 2.
- ⁶⁶ O'Day, thesis, 'Clerical Patronage and Recruitment', pp. 23-6.
- ⁶⁷ LJRO, B/A/1/15, ff. 38v, 80v, 81v, 83.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 80v.
- ⁶⁹ LJRO, B/V/1/8, f. 125, under Twyford; Clark, 'Derbyshire Clergymen', pp. 42-3, gives a biography of Robinson.
- ⁷⁰ LPL, CM 13/2/37. See Clark, 'Derbyshire Clergymen', pp. 29, 30, 31, 37, 43, 46, 49-52.
- ⁷¹ R. Clark, 'Anglicanism, Recusancy and Dissent in Derbyshire 1603-1730' (University of Oxford, D. Phil.), pp. 108-9.
- ⁷² See M.R. O'Day, 'Cumulative Debt: the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield and their Economic Problems', *Midland History*, vol. 3, pp. 82-4.
- ⁷³ O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no. 198.
- ⁷⁴ Harwood, *Church and City of Lichfield*, pp. 239, 252; LJRO B/A/1/15, f. 81v, 84; See also biography of William Sale in Clark, 'Derbyshire Clergymen', p. 35; on Richard Sale see Cox, vol. 4, p. 429.
- ⁷⁵ *VCH, Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 21.
- ⁷⁶ LJRO, B/A/1/15, f. 84v.
- ⁷⁷ Clark, 'Derbyshire Clergymen', p. 56; LPL, Ms. 156, f. 5, Walton is accused of adultery, non-residence, simony, abusing ministers at his court and accepting bribes.
- ⁷⁸ LJRO, B/V/1/2, f.107; B/V/1/4, f.77 at Derby All Saints; B/C/11, Geoffrey Shawe, Brampton 1562; B/V/1/7, f.57 at Brampton; B/A/1/15 f.8; B/V/1/7, f.42

at Kirk Hallam; B/A/11/15, f 83v; B/V/1/13, f. 54 at Ilkeston. In B/V/1/13 all were held in plurality.

LJRO, B/C/11, William Bradshawe, Derby (All Sts.) 1560; Christopher Whyte, Derby (All Sts.) 1565.

DRO, xm 1/151 item 1, 9 July 1564; LJRO B/V/1/7, f. 37.

LJRO, B/C/11, Lawrence Doughty and Matthew Staley, West Hallam 1543; K.S.S. Train, *Lists of the Clergy of Central Nottinghamshire*, Thoroton Record Series, vol. 15, p. 43; LJRO B/C/11, William Hunter, Heanor, 1562, dated 3 May 1560; see Clark, 'Derbyshire Clergy', p. 28.

LJRO, B/C/11, John Foljam, Derby (All Sts) 1564.

Ibid., Robert Heath, 1565, Thomas Lynley, 1566, George Greyves, 1566; see also Richard Mylner, 1574, witnessed by Haughton, 'trust to be in the number of them to be saved', all Derby (All Sts.).

LJRO, B/V/1/7, f.37 (1570) Kursant described as curate; f.38, also curate at Littleover; LJRO, B/V/1/8, f.33. By 1573 Kursant had been appointed to the cure of St. Peter's parish and replaced by curate Robert Campion.

LJRO, B/C/11, Thomas Ward, Derby (St. Peter) 1563; Humphrey Buxton, Derby (St. Peter) 1562; Ellis Cowper, Derby (St. Werburgh) 1565; Agnes Sowter, Derby (All Sts.) 1571; see also Nicholas Parker, Derby (St. Michael) 1561.

Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 586.

DRO, xm 1/151 item 1, 20 Jan 1577; see also LJRO, B/V/1/13 (1581), B/V/1/16 (1584); buried 21st June 1592; entry for 1592; LPL, CM 13/37/14, Bennett ordained in 1587 as curate, B.A. and licensed to preach.

LJRO, B/C/11, Thomas Storer, Derby (All Sts.) 1575.

PRO, PCC, William Baynbridge 1583, 3 Butts.

LJRO, B/C/11, Thomas Sowter, 1574/5; Katherine Haryson, 1579; Similar expressions are found in Richard Fletcher, 1589, all Derby (All Sts.).

P. Ryan (Rev.) et al, 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577', *CRS, Miscellanea* 12, p. 93.

LJRO, B/C/11, Joan Wylson, Findern 1563; William Hurt, Radbourne 1564.

LPL, Ms. 319/225, 3193/227, dated 4 April.

Bateson, 'Letters from the Bishops', pp. 43-4; Kirkham, '*Lead Ore Tithe*', describes the Leakes as recusants but this does not apply to Sir Francis Leakes I or II.

J. B., 'Apparently Prepared in the Interests of Mary, Queen of Scots, 1574 and 1582', *CRS, Miscellanea* 8, p. 94.

PRO, *Lists of Sheriffs*. In 1560, 1569, 1570, 1580. Francis Cockayne was sheriff in 1590 (but died in 1594) and Edward Cockayne in 1597.

Flower, *Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees*, p. 65.

A. Clifford (ed.), *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler Knight Banneret*, vol. 2, nos. 38, 80.

DNB, vol. 55, pp. 314-6.

LPL, Ms.3196/225.

Ibid., 3197/225, 3206/785.

Ibid., 3197/217, 3197/221, 3206/841 and see Chapter Eight, p. 254.

O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no. 137, November 1560.

LJRO, B/V/1/5, pp. 205, 198, under Comperta.

Pollen, 'Official Lists of Prisoners', p. 49. Thomas Fitzherbert was held in the Fleet; SP Dom., Eliz.I 1601-1603 with Addenda 1547-1565, p. 525. John

Sacheverell was held in the Counter, Wood Street and John Draycott in the Counter, Poultry.

106 SP Dom., Eliz.I 1601-1603 with Addenda, p. 524; Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 184-5.

107 DNB, vol. 19, pp. 171-3; J.J. Delaney and J.E. Tobin, *Dictionary of Catholic Biography*, p. 424, gives Thomas Fitzherbert, imprisoned in 1572, fled to France in 1582 and involved in plots against Elizabeth.

108 A widowed cousin of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert had married John Port the Younger; PRO, PCC, Sir John Port, 20 Wrastley, 1557.

109 VCH, *Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 23-4.

110 J. & B. Burke (Sir), *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronetage and Knightage*, under 'Huntingdon'. Married in July 1557

111 Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, p. 31; C. Cross, 'The Third Earl of Huntingdon and Elizabethan Leicestershire', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 36, pp. 12-13; Flower, *Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees*, p. 80, under 'Stanhope of Elvaston'.

112 J.H. Pollen (Rev.), 'Prisoners in the Fleet 1577 - 1580', CRS, *Miscellanea* 12, p. 130. He was placed in the Fleet by order of the Privy Council from Nov. 1577 to Oct. 1578.

113 Fox, *History and Antiquities*, p. 14, plate ix 'Altar Tomb in memory of Catherine Babyngton'; endpaper, 'Pedigree of the Sacheverells of Morley'.

114 DNB, vol. 2, pp. 308-11.

115 LPL, Ms. 3204/121, 3204/126, 3199/77.

116 Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 251-67, pp. 258-9.

117 Fox, *History and Antiquities*, endpaper, 'Pedigree of the Sacheverells of Morley', Henry had John Sacheverell who died early. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Pierrepont.

118 R. Simpson, *Edward Campion*, p. 187.

119 A.G. Petti (ed.), *Recusant Documents from the Ellesmere manuscripts*, CRS, vol. 60, pp. 5-9.

120 Bindoff, *House of Commons*, vol. 1, pp. 414-5, gives a biography of Francis Beaumont; Glover, *Derbyshire*, vol. 2, pp. 88-9. Pedigree of the family of Beaumont. Francis Beaumont was Justice of the Common Pleas.

121 H. Bowler (Dom.) and T. J. McCann (ed.), *Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls, 1581-1592*, CRS, vol. 71, pp. 13, 28, 51, 61, 106, 188, 197.

122 *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 153.

123 Meredith, 'The Eyres of Hassop', p. 54.

124 SP Dom., Eliz.I. 1581-90, nos. 61-3, p. 356.

125 LJRO, B/C/11, Anthony Bate, Derby 1576.

126 A. Haynes, *Invisible Power. The Elizabethan Secret Services 1570-1603*, pp. 12, 41, 54, 90; McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, pp. 194, 275, 280, 291.

127 SP Dom., Eliz.I 1581-1590, no. 62; W.M. Durrant Cooper, 'Notices of Anthony Babington, of Dethick, and of the Conspiracy of 1586', *Reliquary*, vol. 82 pp. 185-6 gives a transcription.

128 McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, p. 104.

129 Fox, *History and Antiquities*, endpaper, Pedigree of the Sacheverells of Morley, Henry married Joan, daughter of Sir Humphrey Bradburne.

130 SP Dom., Eliz. 1547-1580, no. 91, p. 700, note of the lands of John Sacheverell; CPR, Eliz. 1573-4, p. 151, 27 June 1573; Eliz. I, 1575-1578, no. 654, 20 June

1576; DRO, D518/T88, Assignment from Henry Sacheverell to Sir Thomas Stanhope of lease of lands in Thurlaston and Elvaston forfeited to the Crown.

131 Pilkington, *Derbyshire*, vol. 2, p. 33.

132 APC, 1581-1582, pp. 163, 197, 251, 260-1.

133 Gammon, *Statesman and Schemer*, p. 250.

134 DRO, D3155/6584.

135 On Thomas' death the estate passed to his brother Richard who had married into the recusant Hunlocke family. Stanley Grange possibly became a seminary school under Anne Vaux.

136 LPL, Ms. 3204/123.

137 C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', in Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, giving a brief historiography of the debate.

138 The house was St. Thomas', a former Augustinian priory obtained by the Fowlers at dissolution.

139 Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, pp. 138-9; On Felton see also *DNB*, vol. 46, pp. 20-2; Delaney and Tobin, *Catholic Biography*, p. 410, et al. Felton was put to death in 1570 for affixing a copy of the Papal Bull to the Bishop of London's house.

140 LJRO, B/C/11, Sir Henry Sacheverell, Morley 1560.

141 P. Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606 and the Gunpowder Plot*, ch. 1 gives a brief family history.

142 LJRO, B/C/11, Bryan Garnet, Heanor 1576/7. Garnet died owing £46 0s. 10d out of goods assessed at £70 1s. 11d.;

143 P. Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606 and the Gunpowder Plot*; J. Bossy, 'The Society of Jesus in the Wars of Religion', in J. Loades (ed.), *Monastic Studies*, p. 231.

144 LJRO, B/C/11, Hugh and Thomas Tolle, Sandiacre, 1555, 1557.

145 PRO, E179/308/1; E178/3239.

146 As for example, P. McGrath and J. Rowe, 'The Marian Priests under Elizabeth I', *Recusant History*, vol. 17.

147 H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 42-3; McGrath and Rowe, 'Marian Priests', p. 115.

148 LJRO, B/V/1/15.

149 McGrath and Rowe, 'Marian Priests', p. 106, quoting from William Allen's letters.

150 Cox, vol. 4, p. 429 states (without source reference) that William Sale was a strong adherent of Elizabeth's policy and that the wives of several wealthy recusants, Mrs. Eyre of Dunston, Mrs. Barker of Dore, Mrs. Pole and Mrs. Longford were placed under his and Richard Sale's custody, entailing a three monthly report to the Privy Council

151 SP Dom. Eliz.I 1581-1590, nos. 26-7, p. 292, on Dec. 17th 1585.

152 LJRO, B/A/1/17-19v; B/V/1/8.

153 *Ibid.*, B/A/1/14iii, 55-56v.

154 VCH, Derbyshire, vol. 2, pp.247-9; Cox, vol. 2, pp. 303-5, on Bishop Robert Purslove, a noted papist, and his foundation of Tideswell school.

155 The others were Christopher Buxton, Robert Bagshaw, who became a Benedictine and Oswald Needham. This particular school was perhaps exceptional as it had been founded by Bishop Purslove, a cleric described as a 'scandalous newter'.

156 A.W. Thomas, *A History of Nottingham High School*, pp. 30, 273.

157 J.H. Pollen (ed.), *English Martyrs 1584-1603*, CRS, vol. 5, pp. 20-1.

- 158 G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, vol. 1, p. 188; Delaney and Tobin, *Catholic*
159 *Biography*, p. 601. He died 15 August 1588, having been a priest since 1583.
160 LJRO, B/C/11, Bryan Garnet, Heanor 1576/7.
161 DNB, vol. 30, p. 7, states that Johnson was born at Kedleston c. 1536 and
obtained a B.A. at Oxford in 1558; Kerry, *Smalley*, vol. 2, p. 89 suggests he was
from Allestree.
162 Caraman, *Henry Garnet*, pp. 4-10. Johnson may have been ready to move on to
his preferred profession of medicine, having been granted a degree of bachelor of
medicine by Oxford in 1569, with a licence to practice.
163 G.D. Duncan, 'The Heads of Houses and Religious Change in Tudor Oxford',
1547-1558, *Oxoniensia*, vol. 45, pp. 226-34; E. Russell, 'Marian Oxford and the
Counter-Reformation', in C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (eds.), *The Church in*
Pre-Reformation Society. Essays in Honour of F.R.H. Du Boulay, pp. 212-27,
222.
164 M. Foster, 'Thomas Allen (1540-1632), Gloucester Hall and the Survival of
Catholicism in Post-Reformation Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, vol. 46, pp. 99-128.
165 Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, pp. 215-6.
166 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-7; 188-9; 311-3.
167 O'Day and Berlatsky, 'Letter-Book', no. 120, 31 October.
168 Bowler and McCann, *Recusants*, pp. 14, 26, 29, 68, 138, 161, 197.
LPL, Ms.3200/22, on the custody of two daughters of John Fitzherbert; Cox, vol.
4, p. 429 states, without source reference, that a Mrs. Eyre of Dunston, Mrs.
Barker of Dore, Mrs. Pole and Mrs. Longford were placed under the custody of
the Revs. Sale, on a three monthly report to the Privy Council.
169 LPL, Ms. 3204/121, 3204/126, 3205/36, 3199/77; Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. 2,
p. 341; SP Dom. Eliz. 1581-1590, no. 46, p. 627. Godfrey Foljambe denies
retention of his grandmother's property.
170 LPL, Ms. 710 f. 19 (1589). On Constance Foljambe of Tupton Hall see also, J.C.
Cox (Rev.), 'Derbyshire Monuments to the Family of Foljambe', in Cox,
Memorials of Old Derbyshire, p. 112, which quotes a witnessed testimony of her
conformity.
171 Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. 2, no. CLI
172 P. Collinson, *The English Captivity of Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 31, 'Chronology
and Itinerary'.
173 Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. 1, no. LX.
174 LPL, Ms. 3196/245.
175 Pollen, 'Official Lists of Prisoners', p. 49 names a Rolleston; p. 59, Hall and
Francis Rolleston in the Tower in 1572 for high treason. A Mr. Barker and Mr.
Higford confessed to their part in the plot.
176 Hasler, *House of Commons*, vol. 2, p. 186.
177 DNB, vol. 43, p. 46; T.H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers. The Allen-Persons Party*
and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615,
p. 6.
178 Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol. 1, nos. LXIV, LXVIII. The date of Sacheverell's flight
has not been traced; Wainewright, 'Two Lists of Influential Persons', p. 121. He is
recorded under 'Catholics Banished'; Petti, *Recusant Documents*, p. 1. Named
with Henry Babington in a list of catholic exiles, 1577; Strype, vol. 2, no. 2, p.
596.

- 179 LPL, Ms.3206/811. From Sir Thomas Stanhope to the Earl of Shrewsbury; LPL,
Ms. 194, f. 15.
- 180 J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe. The Catholic Recusants in England
from Reformation to Emancipation*; J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community,
1570-1850*.
- 181 A.G. Dickens, 'The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire', *Yorkshire
Archaeological Journal*, vol. 35 (1941), pp. 180-1.
- 182 For attempts by evangelicals to convert the young see P. Tudor, 'Religious
Instruction for Children and Adolescents in the Early English Church', *JEH*, vol.
35, p. 391-413.
- 183 Challoner, *Martyrs to the Catholic Faith*, pp. 38-46, 41.
- 184 Caraman, *Henry Garnet*, p. 73; Kerry, *Smalley*, pp. 58-9, 89. Johnson may have
provided Garnet with a Derbyshire refuge as he paid Charles Paget £240 in 1578
for a 5,000 year leasehold of property near Heanor, possibly an extension of a
former lease.
- 185 Caraman, *Henry Garnet*, pp. 88, 109.
- 186 e.g. K.R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, p. 128.
- 187 DRO, Q/SB 1/1-7, a file of Sheriff's Returns 1558-89, provides only lists of
coroners and hundred bailiffs; Q/SB contains recognizances to keep the peace but
only from the late sixteenth century onwards; Q/SP 1/1 is a calendar of prisoners
1558-1603 for the county but details of offences are not noted. There are no
order books before 1682.
- 188 Taken here from R.A.H. O'Neal, 'Derbyshire Recusants', *Derbyshire Miscellany*,
vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 235; see also SP Dom. Eliz. 1547-1580, p. 565; Ryan, 'Diocesan
Returns, 1577', p. 93;
- 189 A.E. Oldaker, 'The Recusants of Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, vol. 1, pt.
10, pp. 154-58; Bowler and McCann, *Recusants*, various pages. Places
mentioned in the deanery were Denby, Horsley, Kirk Langley, Mickleover,
Quarndon, Stanley, Twyford, West Hallam.
- 190 Bateson, 'Letters from the Bishops', p. 1.
- 191 Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p. 177.
- 192 LJRO, B/V/1/8 f. 125.
- 193 LJRO, B/C/11, Elizabeth Brasbridge, Barrow 1586.
- 194 Meredith, 'The Eyres of Hassop', pp. 51-7.
- 195 Lodge, *Illustrations*, vol.1, nos LXIV, LXVIII (Howard Papers).

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

If, in one small region of Middle England, the Reformation could raise such divisions how did the rest of England really fare? And which evidence can be trusted? Priest hunter Richard Topcliffe, eagerly tracking down catholic 'nests' in the Peak, wrote to the 7th. Earl of Shrewsbury shortly after he succeeded to that title in 1590 that Derbyshire, together with Nottinghamshire, was 'more dangerously infected than the worst of England'.¹ Only two years later, John Manners, acting as a commissioner of recusancy, informed the Earl that, apart from 'Mr. Langford', he knew of no-one to be disarmed or committed for recusancy as Sir Thomas and John Fitzherbert were both dead, 'Sir Thomas Gerrard comes to church, and Mr. Edward Bentley and [Richard] Fenton lie forth of the shire ('God be thanked')'.² The contradictions in their statements are a reflection of their differing beliefs, attitudes and roles in life. They also illustrate the difficulties of interpretation posed by public letters of this period which are often laced with half truths and evasions.

This study shows that the situation on the ground after 1558 was both complex and varied. The pre-Reformation church had its heretics and splinter groups but it was essentially a unit, a community of the nation, bound together, not so much by the Papacy as by the sacraments, and in particular by the mass. In the deanery of Derby there was little extravagance in the performance of religious practices but wills, the largest body of evidence for this period of study, suggest that response to religious change was slow. Reformation dissolutions and legislation to modify religious beliefs engendered uncertainty and confusion and division, not always at once but by degrees so that positions became entrenched. By 1560, in spite of efforts on the part of the Elizabethan government to accommodate conservatism, there was gentry opposition of a most determined kind to the new religious settlement. The opposition was almost immediate and continuous, probably strengthened by imprisonment and persecution until it became for some, a matter of family honour and personal pride.

It is easy to sympathise with Bishop Bentham's problems, but his failure to act decisively in the first years of the reign, coupled with the emergence of a resistant body of gentry, created, in the words of Christopher Haigh, a period 'in which the constituency from which later recusants could be recruited was substantially maintained'.³ The diocese was a difficult one for a reformist to approach given its long experience of ecclesiastical government by conservative bishops, under whom catholic survivalism had been assisted by the comparative dearth of protestant evangelism. A shortage of sound protestant clerics meant that evangelical endeavour was localised, though the influence of even one or two inspirational preachers could have a snowball effect. Bishop Bentham's efforts to initiate a policy of conversion through an inevitably gradual placement of protestant clerics was diluted by his pragmatic acceptance of pluralism and absenteeism. Yet the appointment of a single reformist minister was sufficient to create a nucleus of protestant belief as illustrated in the parish of Derby All Saints, where religious change may also have been influenced by its one martyrdom under Mary.

Bentham thought that the answer to catholic resistance to change lay in a more educated ministry. In 1571, in an attempt to increase the standard of preaching, candidates for preaching licenses were required to make an account of their faith in Latin. In practice the average standard of literacy remained below graduate level as even at the end of Elizabeth's reign only 1 in 4 of the 433 diocesan clergy were graduates and 1 in 5 licensed as preachers. In the archdeaconry of Derby however, perhaps because of the prevalence of catholicism, there had been progress with 43 graduate clerics appointed by the end of the reign, a third of the total for the diocese and a ten fold increase from pre-Reformation years.⁴ However, a conspicuous and determined recusant such as Constance Foljambe had 'a deeply rooted complex of tradition' as a support and could make direct appeal to emotions that were not necessarily touched by erudite preaching.⁵

The Earls of Shrewsbury were central to the acceptance of royal authority in Derbyshire and ensured that the county did not support rebellions further north but paradoxically as their land holdings in the county increased so their authority over the local gentry waned. There are differences in emphasis on the question of the extent of power wielded by the Tudor nobility.⁶ The fourth Earl held little land in the county but was held in high regard, even by those gentry living far from his power base. Personal respect enhanced his status with lesser gentry such as Sir Henry Sacheverell and Sir

Thomas Powtrell who were ready to acknowledge his good lordship and be classed amongst his 'servants'. In contrast, although his landholdings had been considerably inflated and he retained the support of part of the county gentry, the sixth Earl could not command the same following, because of religious differences. The county gentry were divided. Vernons and Cockaynes continued to fill the highest county offices but the Fitzherberts, Longfords, Sacheverells and Powtrells were eclipsed by their consistent recusancy. The sixth Earl had a far more difficult task than his grandfather when trying to maintain order, stability and loyalty, not only in the county at large but also within local government. In 1577, in a letter written to justify his dislike of Sir John Zouch he complained that the justices of the peace were 'over privately bent to faction'.⁷ In the deanery there was virtually no resident gentry family on whom he could rely.

The Reformation had a profound effect on the deanery gentry, but not primarily, as often argued, because of opportunities presented by an enlarged property market. In a county with so many committed to catholicism, allegiance to the Elizabethan Settlement almost guaranteed political elevation, even if, like Ralph Sacheverell who was so disliked by Shrewsbury, the expected property qualification for office was lacking.⁸ Those who benefited from conformity tended to hold estates in mid and north Derbyshire. The Leakes and the Sacheverells had reached a similar social and political position by the 1530s, both families having gained a knighthood, but the protestant stance of Sir Francis Leake I helped his son to a baronetcy in 1611 and his grandson to the Earldom of Scarsdale in 1645 while the catholic allegiance of John Sacheverell so jeopardised the family fortune that his heir only recovered the *status quo* with difficulty. The Powtrells too had been increasingly successful in carving out a place in local government under Sir Thomas but his son Walter would undo his work. Sir Francis Curzon saved his family from a similar decline by his decision to conform. Even the 'new' Pagets proved not to be dependable but openly rebellious. The Fitzherbert resistance was accompanied by a progressive depreciation in the family fortune but the most conspicuous fall was that of the Babington family whose 'social climbing' in the fifteenth century and building up of the family fortune in the sixteenth, in part through taking advantage of post dissolution sales, was all undone by Anthony Babington's treason. The chief estates were not lost to his heirs as they were under entail but the name was irreparably damaged.

As always, the Earl of Shrewsbury held the politics of the county in his hand and the sixth Earl's choice was to conform. This was to prove vital in 1569. As guardian of Mary Queen of Scots he was in an ideal position to deter or assist catholicism. If he had moved in support of the Northern Earls there were sufficient catholic gentry in the counties of Derbyshire and Staffordshire to have possibly swung events in favour of the rebels. However, the Earls of Shrewsbury had a long tradition of service to the Crown and, as his predecessors, the sixth Earl remained loyal. If he toyed with ideas of rebellion, rumours of which were conveyed to Elizabeth, the arrival of Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon at Tutbury in 1569 was enough to draw him back. He quickly advised the removal of Mary to a safer place and she was dispatched to Coventry until the danger of the Northern Rebellion had passed.⁹ Others became caught up in the plots and conspiracies that surrounded Mary and suffered as a consequence. While the county had remained 'quiet' in the 1540s there were dangerous undercurrents in the 1570s.

Wright observed that in the fifteenth century both the strength and weakness of Derbyshire local government lay in the independence its gentry enjoyed in their shire.¹⁰ This may help to explain how pro-catholic gentry had the pride, or temerity, to follow their own beliefs from the start. Another powerful influence is suggested in the recently published, *Private Matters and Popular Culture in Post-Reformation England*, in which Orlin argues that private property was a central issue in English society and social thought.¹¹ This pride in acquisition may help to explain the behaviour of the Fitzherberts and John Sacheverell who inherited powerful religious legacies from their ancestors. Orlin argues that a sense of individual identity was enlarged in possessions and this might help to account for a willingness to defy the state. However, Sir Thomas Fitzherbert was a patriarchal figure and established a moral order for his affinity. In this he did nothing essentially new but followed in the footsteps of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert who admonished his children not to take material advantage from monastic land sales.

Too much attention is perhaps given to the beliefs and actions of the gentry and too little to the 'commons' but this is inevitable since the lives of the latter are little documented. Deanery wills give some general indication that religious belief was conservative, less advanced than in the south and rooted in customary practices but these for the most part represent those with some property to dispose of and local status to maintain. Conclusions drawn from wills all too readily lead to the ideological assumption

that most people held Christian beliefs. Becon's observations also suggest that 'matins and mass' were generally popular in the region. Yet an 'alternative world of belief and practice' as Wrightson describes, existed in every locality.¹² There was a fine distinction between religion and superstition which 'blurred the clear theological distinction between prayer and magic'.¹³ Sir William Bassett could destroy St. Anne's shrine at Buxton but he could not eradicate the 'magical' properties of its healing waters.

Religious indifference has left only insubstantial evidence but that alternative community to the parish church, the ale house, was well patronised at all times. The church ale proved to be a very popular way of raising funds to complete the building of Derby All Saints' tower. The bishops, who were constantly exhorting the clergy not to frequent alehouses, might have a jaundiced view but there must have been an element of truth in James Pilkington's complaint in 1560 that few could be found in the church on a Sunday but 'the alehouse is ever full'.¹⁴ Derby had 15 times as many ale houses as churches and was noted for its 'excellent ale' and reformist clergy in particular must surely have had an uphill task.¹⁵ Leading Derby burghers and even its M.Ps. were brewers, vinters and 'gentlemen' tavern keepers. Ale houses, if anything, re-inforced traditions and favoured the catholic church. The 69 year old ex-soldier, Roger Dycker was heard to criticise Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn in an alehouse. In 1561 supporters of those imprisoned for recusancy were accused of 'using also very broad speeches in alehouses' and some years later Peter Bate was accused of stating that Campion was put to death for conscience not for treason in a Derby ale house.¹⁶ In 1572 petitioners for the erection of a grammar school in Ashbourne argued that for want of education, the local youth followed 'old traditions of Men and rather cleave to Papistrye than to the truthe of the Gospelle' and 'are given over to wickedness and vyces as swearing, drunckenes, whordome, idlenes and such lyke'.¹⁷ The ale house was almost certainly at the centre of many of these vices. The pre-Reformation church could accept the ills of the ale house, and clerics might even join canons from Dale abbey in a convivial drink. This was not seen to be the right kind of behaviour for the 'godly' minister.

The Henrician Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries were received with some localised disturbances but by the mid-Tudor period, and after chantry dissolutions, there were many disruptive incidents. Social and economic problems played their part but many conflicts were triggered and encouraged by religious change. The end

result in the deanery was division and conflict. Block's recent book, *Factional Politics and the English Reformation 1520-40*, provides a detailed study of the rise of faction at court and provides a developed definition of faction as arising from at least three major elements, affinity, the exercise of patronage and ideology. This definition could well be applied to the catholic and protestant groupings that developed. He remarks that religious commitment could be quite as motivating a force as a search for material gain and this is well demonstrated here though material considerations were not ignored.¹⁸

The Elizabethan Settlement, far from bringing reconciliation, accentuated religious divisions that were maturing in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Edward's reign gave people a brief taste of protestantism while Mary gave them time to reflect and decide where their loyalties lay. By the time Elizabeth came to the throne it was too late for the protestant church to obtain even outward conformity from a large proportion of the Derbyshire gentry. The result was that while protestantism made headway in the centre of Derby where it was fostered by certain of the Brethren it made slow progress elsewhere and some parishes became catholic enclaves.

If historians look for neat answers they will be faced with irreconcilable conclusions. In his latest book, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, Collinson, though reaching a very different final position, can find no more answer than Scarisbrick to the paradox that 'most' English men and women did not want the Reformation yet proved ready to abandon religious habits which seem to have been meaningful and dear, '*simply at the behest of the government*'.¹⁹ In the deanery the evidence is too insubstantial to be conclusive but it would seem that many of its people were not ready to abandon long held practices and beliefs but faced with the authority of the state were gradually driven to conform or to hide in corners.

1 LPL, Ms. 3199/215.

2 *Ibid.*, 3199/415.

3 Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism', p. 179.

4 L.C. Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (1994).

5 MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 5.

6 M. James, *Society, Politics and Culture. Studies in Early Modern England*, Cambridge 1986; Bernard, *Tudor Nobility*, Intro., questions James' conclusions, believing that he exaggerates the power of the early sixteenth century nobility and minimises it in the later part of the century.

7 LPL, Ms. 3197/217.

8 *Ibid.*, 3197/225.

9 C. Sharp (ed.), *The Rising in the North. The 1569 Rebellion, Being a reprint of the Memorials of the Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland*, Intro., xvi.

10 Wright, *Derbyshire Gentry*, p. 94.

11 Orlin, *Private Matters*, p. 1.

12 K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, p. 204.

13 R. Lachmann, 'State, Church and the Disestablishment of Magic: Orthodoxy and Dissent in Post-Reformation England and France', in D.L. Miller, S. O'Dair and H. Weber (eds.), *The Production of English Renaissance Culture*, p. 57.

14 Taken here from O'Day, *The Debate*, p. 161.

15 Camden, *Britannia*, vol. 1, p. 588.

16 SP Dom. 1601-1603 with Addenda, p. 524; Durrant Cooper, 'Notices of Anthony Babington', p. 186.

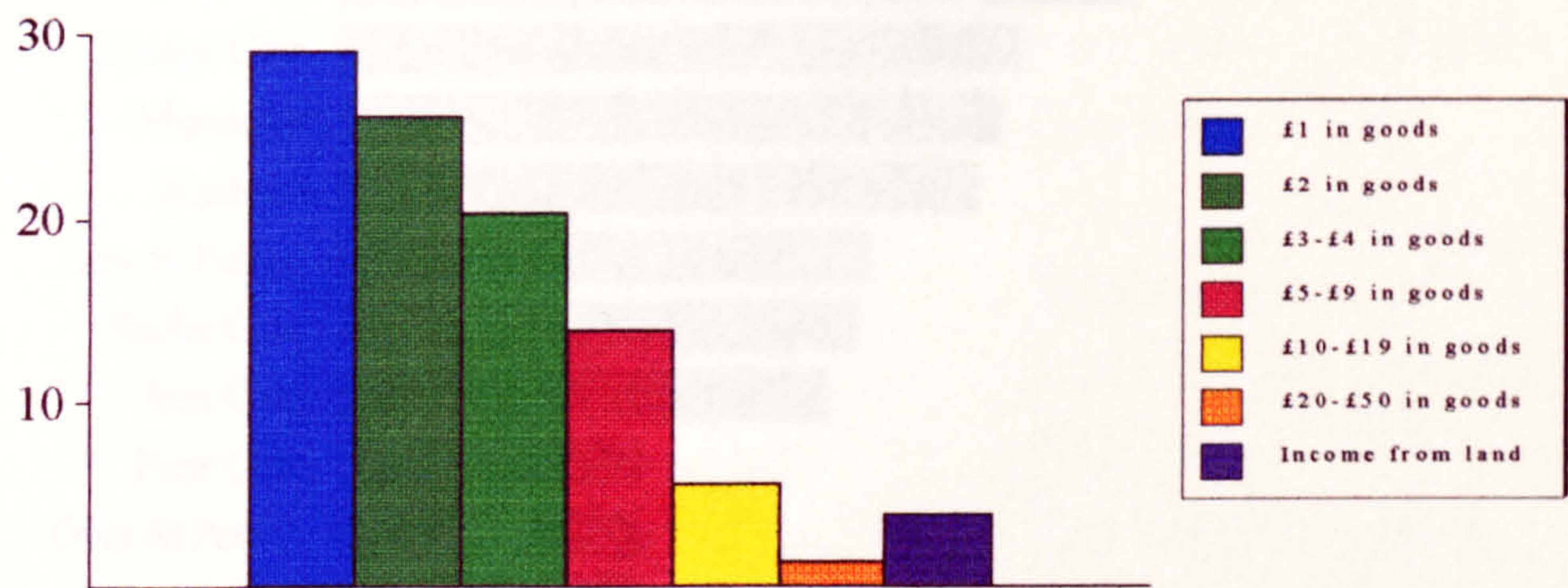
17 Jourdain, 'Chauntries founded in the Parish Church of Ashbourne', pp. 143-5.

18 see Block, *Factional Politics*, p. 2.

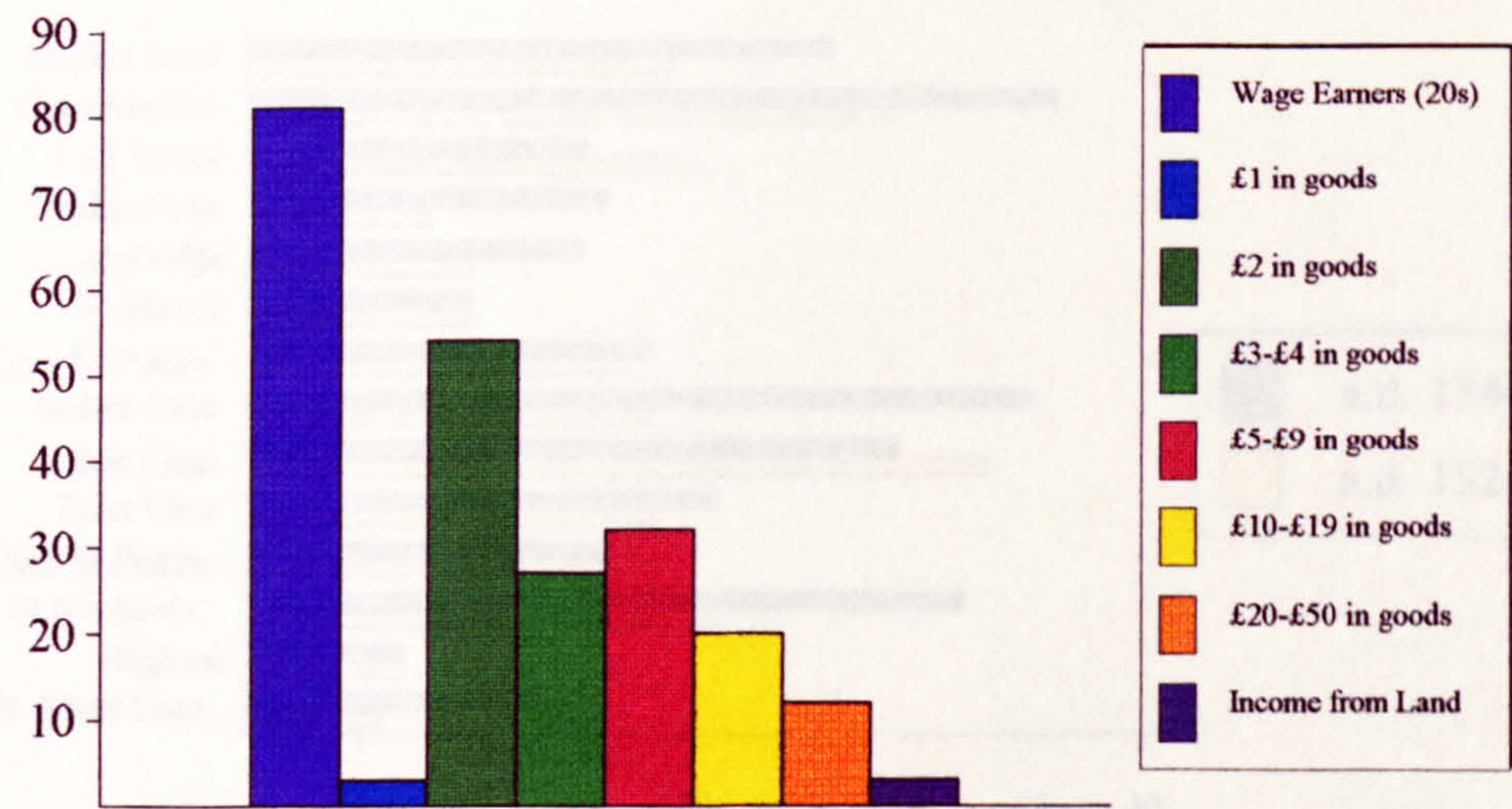
19 P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England. Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 40.

Appendix 1. Distribution of Wealth in Derby from Lay Subsidy Returns.

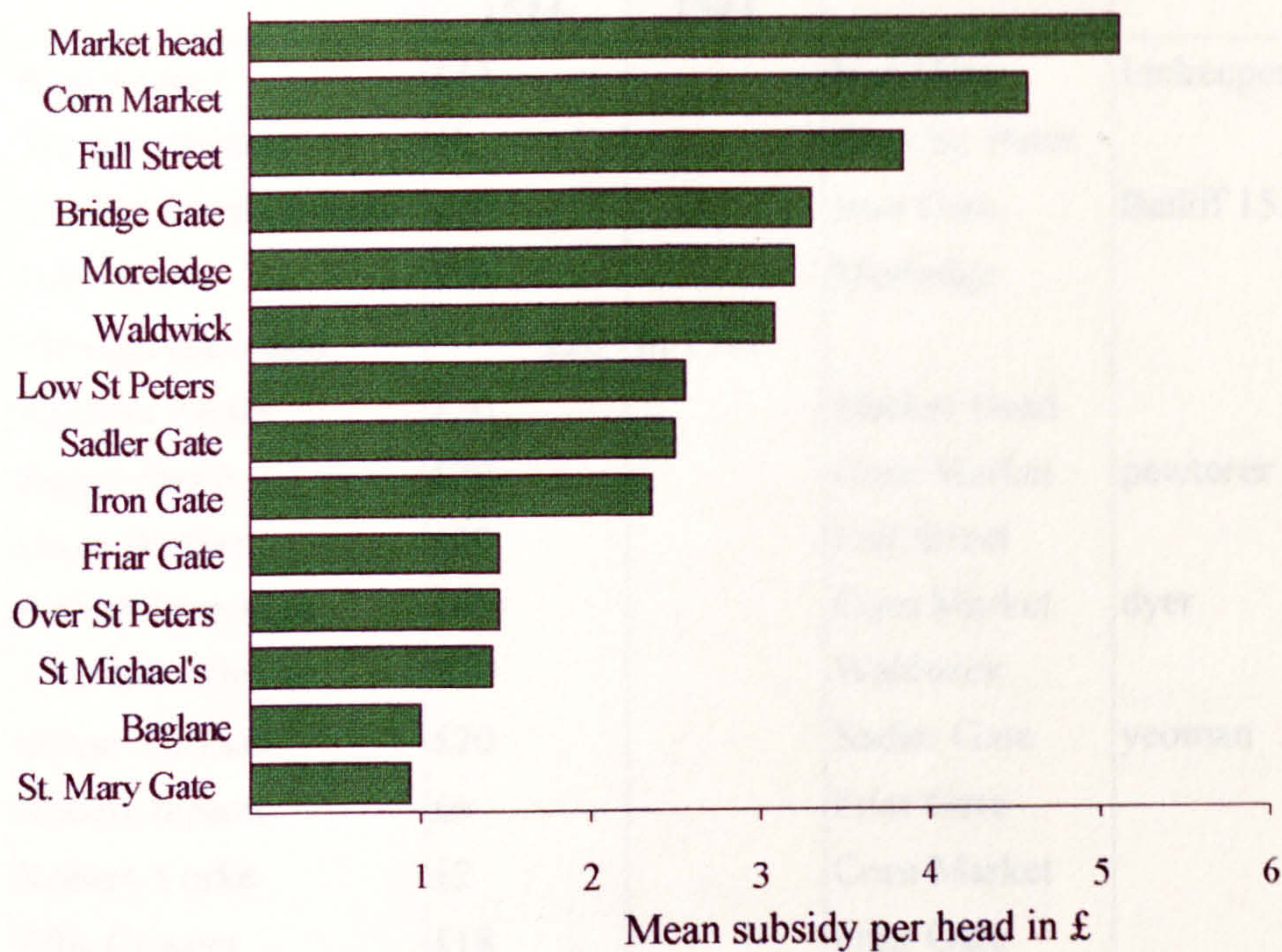
Graph 8: Tax Profile of Derby from Lay Subsidy, 1524.



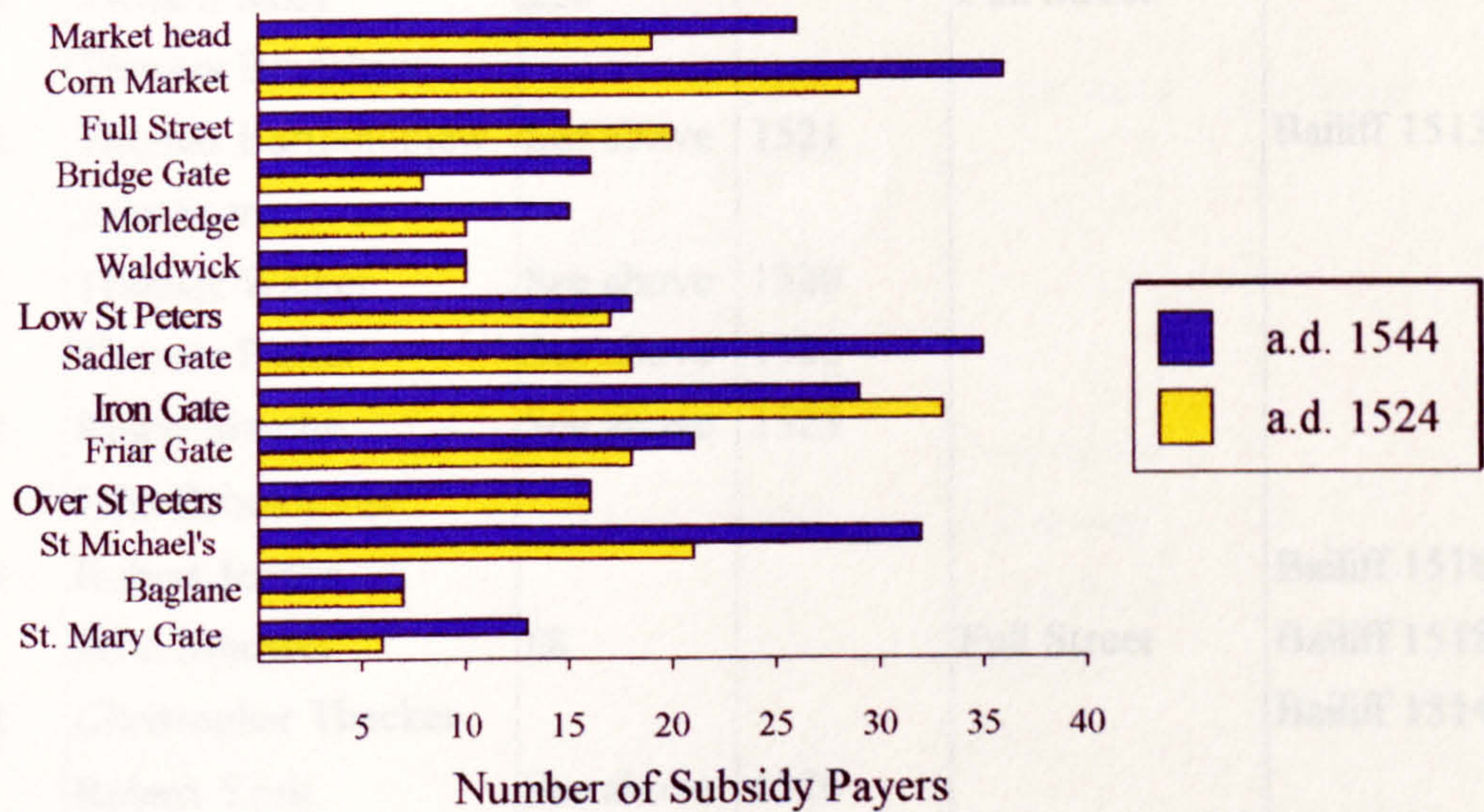
Graph 9: Tax Profile of Derby: Lay Subsidy, 1544.



Graph 10: Profile of Derby: Wards for the Collection of Subsidy 1524



Graph 11: Lay Subsidies 1524 and 1544 Compared.



Appendix 2: Bailiffs of Derby 1520-1554, set against Lay Subsidies 1524, 1544.

Year	Bailiffs	Subsidy 1524	Subsidy 1544	Ward	Occupations
1520	Roger More	£43	in 1537	Iron Gate	Innkeeper
	Thomas Walker	£8		Over St. Peter	
1521	Thomas Bartholomew	£10		Iron Gate	Bailiff 1513
	John Storer	£20		Morledge	
1522	Thomas Harwood	£20			
	Thomas Parker	£20		Market Head	
1523	Roger Smith	£20		Corn Market	pewterer
	Hugh Walker	£20		Full Street	
1524	Robert Liversage	£40		Corn Market	dyer
	John Brookhouse	£20		Waldwick	
1525	Oliver Thacker	£20		Sadler Gate	yeoman
	Robert Jepson	£6		Friar Gate	
1526	Robert Yorke	£2		Corn Market	
	Ellis Cowper	£18		Friar Gate	
1527	Nicholas Orchard	£16		Iron Gate	innkeeper
	Robert Hay				
1528	Roger More	£43		Iron Gate	draper/innkeeper
	Thomas Ward	£10		Corn Market	
1529	Richard Ilsley	£20		Full Street	
	Thomas Bradshaw				
1530	Thomas Bartholomew	See above	1521		Bailiff 1513
	John Storer				
1531	Thomas Walker	See above	1520		
	Thomas Parker	See above	1522		
1532	Roger Smythe	See above	1523		
	John Brookhouse				
1533	Robert Jepson				Bailiff 1516
	John Johnson	£8		Full Street	Bailiff 1518: miller
1534	Christopher Thacker				Bailiff 1514
	Robert York	See above	1526		
1535	Roger Hay				Bailiff 1517
	Ellis Cowper	See above	1526		
1536	Thomas Ward	£10	£8	Corn Market	
	Thomas Pyme				

Year	Bailiffs	1524	1544	Ward	Occupations
1537	Thomas Ilsley		£8	Morledge	
	Thomas Bradshaw	See above	1529		
1538	Oliver Thacker		£20	Sadler Gate	}99 yr lease: All Sts }tithe
	Robert Ragge		£20	Bridge Gate	
1539	Thomas Parker	See above	1531		
	Richard Stringer		£12	Market Head	
1540	William Bradshaw	£4	£20	Morledge	
	Edward Turner		£10	Iron Gate	
1541	William Hodgkinson	40s.		Sadler Gate	
	William Allestree		£10	Iron Gate	
1542	Robert Brookhouse		£10	Friar Gate	
	William Smythe	£5	£10	Market Head	pewterer
1543	Humphrey Sutton		£20	Iron Gate	innkeeper: brazier
	Edward Lenton		£10	Cornmarket	
1544	Thomas Ward	See above	1536	£18 in 1543}	
	William Buckley		£9	Corn Market	
1545	John Botham		£13	Market Head	
	John Alsop		£10	Iron Gate	
1546	Robert Ragge	See above	1538		
	Thomas Storer		£5	Full Street	
1547	Richard Ward				
	Robert Smythe		£18	Bridge Gate	pewterer
1548	Richard Stringer	See above	1539		
	William Bradshaw	See above	1540		
1549	William Alestree	See above	1541		
	Richard Parkinson				
1550	John Watson		£8	Over St. Peter	
	William Fletcher		£5	Full Street	
1551	Richard Hay		£5	St. Michael	
	Anthony Bate		£9	Iron Gate	
1552	Thomas Ward	See above	1536:	1544	
	Richard Garton				
1553	Oliver Thacker	See above	1538		
	Humphrey Sutton	See above	1543		
1554	William More				son of Roger More
	Thomas Walker		£5	Wardwick	weaver?

Appendix 3: Tenancies of Kingsmead Nunnery in Derby with Tenants and Values, 1536

Lord Mountjoy	a tenement	5s.
Abbey of Darley	a tenement	4s. 10d.
Robert Thacker, St. Werburgh	a messuage (indent.1532)	12s. (£2 6s. 8d. for rectory)
Henry Brittlebank clerk	a tenement	3s.
Roger More	a close	26s. 8d.
Roger More	a close at Chadscross	12d.
Roger More	a parcel in Friargate	12d.
Roger More	7 acres	10d.
Roger More		6d.
Edmund Turner	messuage and land	23s. 4d.
William Wodhouse	tenement and close	23s. 4d.
John Sowter	a tenement	18s.
Robert Smythe	3 tenements	14s.
Richard Thanncher	a tenement	13s. 4d.
Richard P[er]sons	sum per annum	11s.
Richard Bayley	a tenement	10s.
Richard Miller	a tenement	10s.
Richard Moseley	a tenement	10s.
Christopher Thacker	sum per annum	10s.
John Pilkington	a tenement	8s.
John Pole	a tenement	8s.
John Sowter	2 cottages at Aldermanhill	8s.
Richard Bailley	a tenement called Smethey	6s. 8d.
John North	a tenement	6s. 8d.
William Tailor	a tenement	6s. 8d.
Edmund Walker		6s. 8d.
Anthony Barker	a tenement	6s.
Roger Hey		5s.
Roger Fern	for 'libo vill'	2s.
John Deneley	a tenement	2s.
Robert Revell	a tenement	2s.
Elizabeth Ward	a tenement	2s.
Margery Widowson	a tenement	1s. 8d.
Henry Tailor	a tenement	12d.
Thomas Horwood		6d.
Nicholas Orchard		6d.
George Findern		4d.

Other tenements and lands in:- Alvaston, Ashbourne, Aston, Barrowcote, Crich (Nunsfield), Fairfield, Nottingham, Stapleford (out of Shelford priory), Thurmansleigh.

Taken from PRO E315/399 fol. 413-6 and SC6 485/74

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Public Record Office

C1	Early Chancery Proceedings.
C47	Chancery Miscellanea
C66	Chancery Patent Rolls
Ct Req	Court of Requests
DL3	Duchy of Lancaster, Depositions, Henry VII to Mary
DL6	Duchy of Lancaster, Depositions,
DL43	Duchy of Lancaster, Rentals and Surveys
E101	Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts.
E117	Church Goods
E134	Depositions
E164	Exchequer, Pension Returns
E178	Exchequer, Pension Returns
E179	Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Subsidy Rolls.
E301	Exchequer, Court of Augmentations, Certificates of Colleges and Chantries, Henry VIII and Edward VI.
E303	Counterparts of leases [with LR1 , Land Revenue enrolment books]
E315	Exchequer, Court of Augmentations, Miscellaneous Books Particulars of Sale: Paper Surveys.
E318	Particulars for Grants
E319	Particular Survey of Lands: Schools
E322	Exchequer, Court of Augmentations.
E331	Bishops' Certificates: First Fruits and Tenths Office
PCC	Prob. Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Will Registers.
SC5	Suppression Papers
SC6	Special Collections, Ministers and Receivers Accounts.
SC11/12	Rentals
STAC 2	Court of Star Chamber, Proceedings, Henry VIII.
STAC 3	Court of Star Chamber, Proceedings, Edward VI.
STAC 4	Court of Star Chamber, Proceedings, Mary I.

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Harley Mss.
Stowe Mss.

Derby Local Studies Library

Derby Borough Deposit.
Every Papers.
Miller Mundy Papers.

Derbyshire Record Office

Deposits of family papers

158M Beresford
D1881 Brookhill
D3155 Catton
D258 Chandos Pole Gell
D187 Hallowes
D518 Harrington
1955F Liversage Charity
D1763 Palmer-Morewood
D769 Thornhill

Parish Records

Historical Manuscripts Commission

Manorial Records

Lambeth Palace Library

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B/C/11 Original Wills and Inventories.
B/V/1/2-8, 13 Parochial Visitations

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