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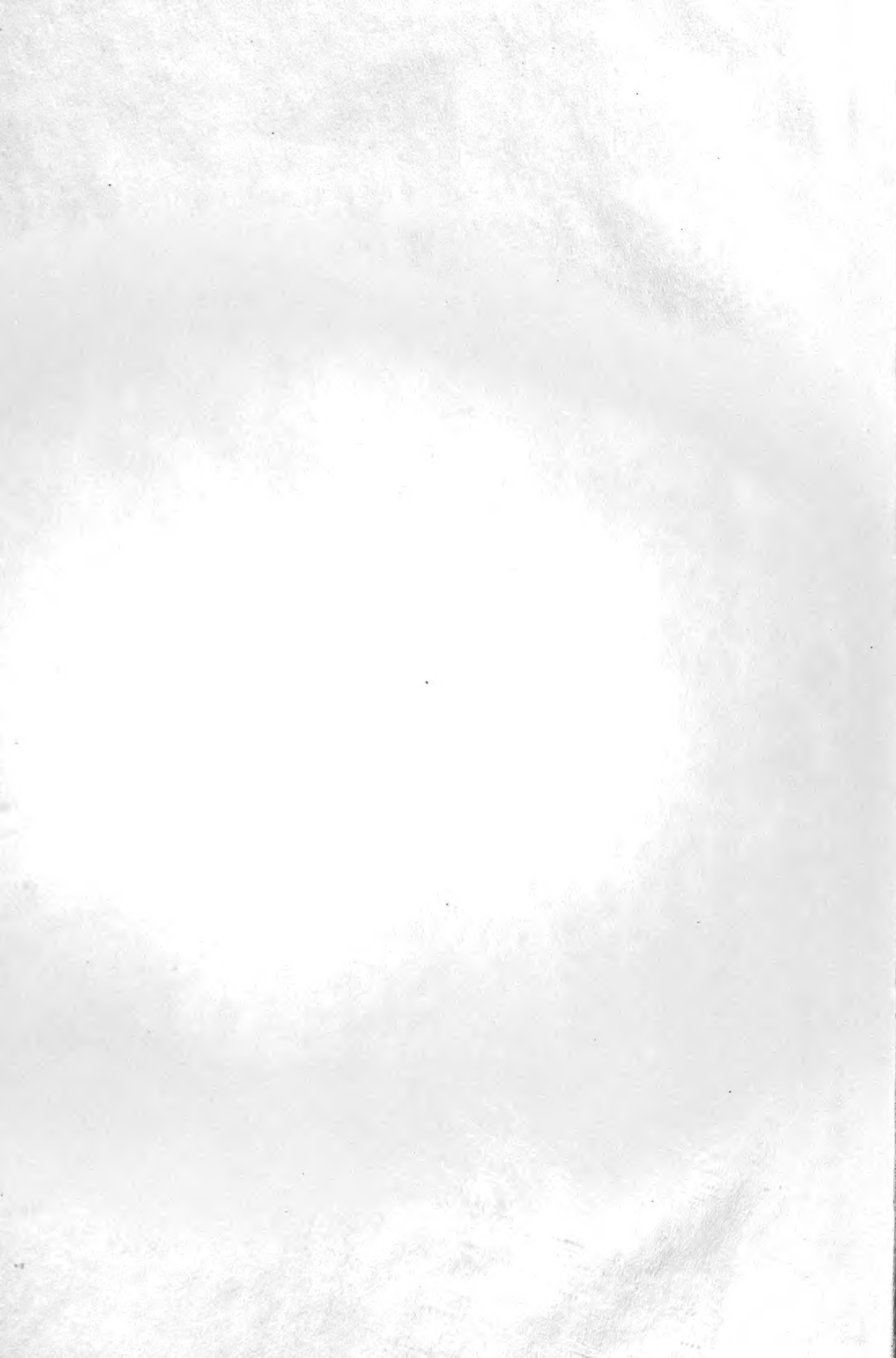
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The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

VOLUME II

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE



LONDON
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INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY





Levon, Electric Engineering, C. S. A.

17. The Long Bridge, Montgomery, 1825
View & survey by John Thomas Roberts.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
NOTTINGHAM

EDITED BY
WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

VOLUME TWO



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CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LIMITED
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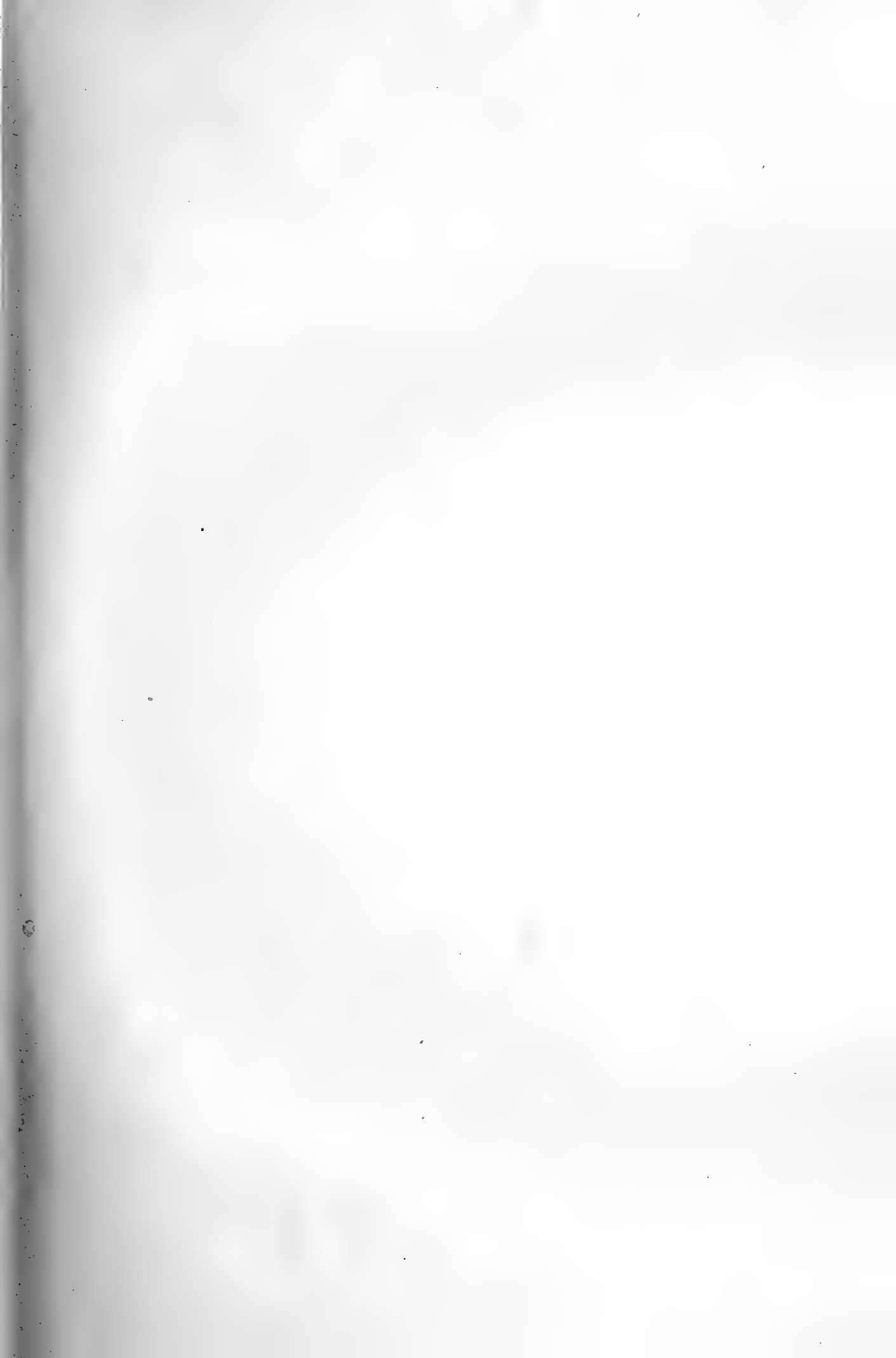


EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Editor wishes to express his thanks to Mr. G. H. Wallis, F.S.A., Director of the Art Museum, Nottingham Castle, for assistance and advice in various ways ; to Professor Haverfield, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A., for reading the proofs of the article on the Roman Remains, and to Mr. T. Cecil S. Woolley and the Rev. A. du Boulay Hill, M.A., for information and illustrations for that article ; to Mr. F. M. Stenton, M.A., for reading the proofs of the article on Ecclesiastical History ; to Mr. Henry Ashwell, J.P., Mr. Ernest Jardine, J.P., Mr. R. H. Beaumont, Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce, Nottingham, Mr. R. F. Percy and Messrs. T. B. Cutts, Ltd., for information regarding the industries of the county ; to Mr. H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A., for notes on bell-founding, and to the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Archæological Institute, and the British Archæological Association for illustrations.



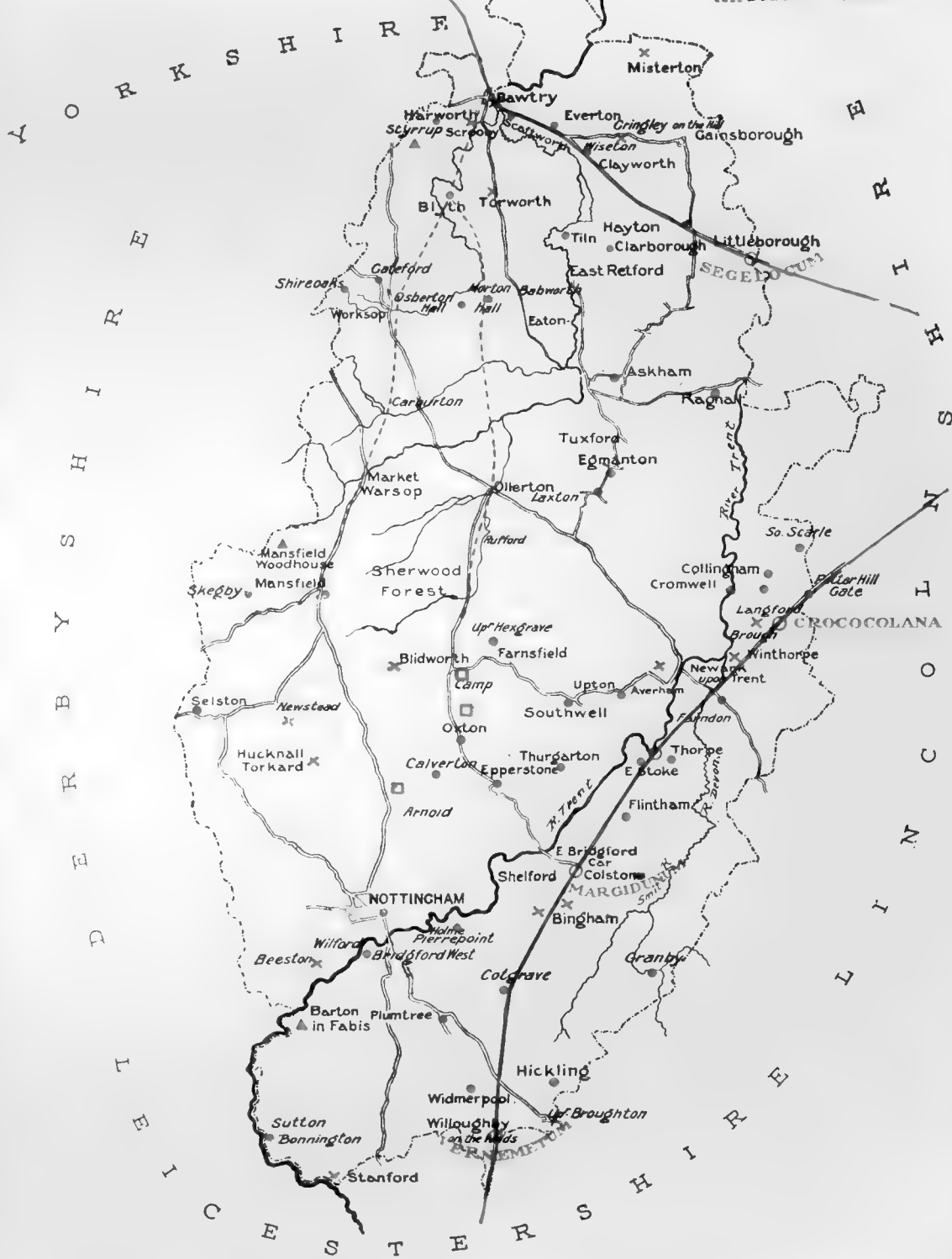
A HISTORY OF
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE



ROMAN MAP OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

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- Settlements
- Camps
- ▲ Villas
- Miscellaneous Finds
- × Doubtful Finds
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ROMANO-BRITISH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE¹

AT the time of the Roman invasion of Britain the whole, or at least the larger part, of the district now known as Nottinghamshire appears to have been inhabited by the Coritani, a British tribe who also occupied the adjoining country on the east, south, and west, and whose chief towns were Lincoln (Lindum), and Leicester (Ratae).² In giving an account of the civilization of this district in the Roman period we do not pretend to write a history of it. Not only is our knowledge insufficient, but the very nature of the subject forbids us. Just as the whole of Roman Britain 'was not an independent unit but part of a vast and complex Empire,'³ so (and still more really) Roman Nottinghamshire was not an independent unit, but a part of Roman Britain. It was not even recognized by the Romans as a distinct division of the country. Thus it is that no consecutive historical account of the region during this period is possible, and that to speak of 'Roman Nottinghamshire,' though undeniably convenient, especially for the purposes of this work, is strictly a contradiction in terms. All that can be done is to show from existing evidence—which is almost entirely archaeological in character—how far a particular district illustrates the general character of Roman Britain.

From the invasion by the Emperor Claudius in A.D. 43 the spread of Roman conquest went on at first steadily, and indeed rapidly. By A.D. 47 the whole of the eastern part of Britain up to the Humber, including the district now known as Nottinghamshire, was probably occupied; and afterwards the troops were moved on to begin the subjugation of the more hilly country to the north and west. Professor Haverfield has shown that the whole of Britain may be divided into two marked portions: the eastern, southern, and south-western districts, corresponding generally with the lowlands, and the northern and western, corresponding with the hill country. These he describes respectively as civilian and military. The border-line may be drawn roughly along the line of Watling Street and Rykniel Street from Wroxeter to Chesterfield, and so on to York.⁴ Thus Nottinghamshire, though close to the hills, falls into the lowland or civilian section.

¹ In this introductory section much use has been made of Professor Haverfield's articles on Roman Derbyshire and Warwickshire in other volumes of the series. For the whole article, general acknowledgements for help and information must be made to Mr. T. Cecil S. Woolley, the Rev. A. du Boulay Hill and others; also to Mr. Watkin's articles on Roman Nottinghamshire in *Arch. Journ.* xliii, and the *Nottingham Daily Guardian*, 1877.

² Ptolemy, *Geographia*, i, 99 (ed. Firmin Didot, 1883).

³ *V.C.H. Warw.* i, 223.

⁴ *V.C.H. Derb.* i, 192.

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As this geographical division has always affected the history of England, so especially in the Roman period. In the development of the country after the conquest there was a sharp contrast between the upland and the lowland ; where the hills began, civilization ceased, and military occupation was the rule. The lowland country was then the region of settled civil life. The troops were at an early stage withdrawn to the less settled parts of the country, and after the first century practically no forts were required in it. It was the usual practice of the Romans, in all provinces requiring armed occupation, to mass their troops along the frontier or in specially disturbed areas, and this rule was followed in Britain. Hence there are in Nottinghamshire practically no traces of that military occupation of which the neighbouring county of Derby yields such fine examples in its northern portion.

Elsewhere, Professor Haverfield has called attention to the complete Romanization of Britain,⁵ and has shown how we may note the general distribution of pottery, of mosaic work, of the decoration of houses or methods of heating them, even in wild and remote parts such as Cranborne Chase or the midland forests, which seem to have offered no obstacle to the all-pervading Romans. But it was a 'Romanization on a low scale.' We find no great works or buildings, no fine specimens of art ; the objects discovered are mostly of a commonplace character.

If the lowland area of Roman Britain falls somewhat behind the general average of western Europe in the intensity of its Roman civilization, the midlands of Britain fall equally behind the rest of the British lowland area. The large cities and more vigorous rural life of the province lie round rather than in the central plain, and Leicester (Ratae) is perhaps the only Romano-British town of any importance in the whole region. This is partly explained by physical facts. The natural features of the country are themselves on a low scale ; it is not specially fertile, and there were no industries, as at the present day, its mineral wealth being as yet undiscovered. The people lived a normal and peaceful life, differing from the ordinary civilization of Britain only in the scantiness of population and the lack of distinctive features. The rural life was little developed, and the land largely wooded, nor was the soil of a character to encourage much agriculture, in either of the two most obvious directions of sheep-farming and corn-growing.

The foregoing sketch of a midland district in Roman times is in actual fact largely taken from Professor Haverfield's description of Warwickshire ;⁶ but almost every word that he has there written will apply equally well to Nottinghamshire, which presents many similar features. Both counties include portions of two great Roman roads, with the stations thereon at intervals, but no towns of importance ; both were largely covered with forest, especially on the western side ; and both lie at about the same distance from the dividing line between the lowlands and the hill country.

A glance at the map will show that traces of Roman occupation are fairly well distributed all over the county, though rarer in the central district occupied by Sherwood Forest and along the western border than along the lines of the main roads in the north and east, and nowhere are they found in great quantities. As has been said, there is no site deserving the name of a

⁵ *V.C.H. Warw.* i, 225.

⁶ *Ibid.* 228.

ROMANO-BRITISH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

town : the only settlements where there can have been anything like permanent occupation are the stations of Brough (Crococolana), East Bridgeford (Margidunum), and Willoughby (Vernemetum) along the Fosse Way, and Littleborough on Ermine Street (Segelocum). To this list Southwell should possibly be added, though the importance attached to it by older writers was much exaggerated. Its Roman name, if any, is unknown, but the Saxon name of Tiovulfingaceaster, if indeed it denotes this spot, suggests a Roman site, and considerable if unimportant remains of pavements, &c., have been found there.⁷ Much more doubtful are the claims of Newark or 'Eltavona' as advanced by Stukeley.⁸

In addition there are three examples of villas : at Barton in Fabis, Styrrup, near Blyth, and Mansfield Woodhouse. The first two of these have yielded mosaics, and the third, if less luxuriously fitted, was certainly extensive. These and similar villas were probably (as Professor Haverfield has pointed out) the property of the Romanized nobles and upper classes of Britain (as was the case in Gaul), who cultivated their land by means of slaves and let it out in part to *coloni*. Seldom if ever were they owned by Roman officials, and in view of what has been said about the peaceful character of the lowland districts under the Romans, it is clear that the oft-repeated statements that these villas were the residences of local commanding officers or 'centurions' cannot be substantiated. The peasantry, it may be imagined, lived under very poor conditions.

No fewer than twelve hoards of coins have been discovered in the county at different times. The list, with approximate numbers and dates, is as follows—in probable order of deposit :—

(1) Askham . . . — B.C. 49—A.D. 96	(7) Nottingham — A.D. 253—73
(2) Selston . . . — A.D. 54—117	(8) Epperstone 1,000 A.D. 254—93
(3) Babworth . . 91 A.D. 54—180	(9) Everton . . 600 A.D. 253—305
(4) Calverton . . 200 A.D. 98—138	(10) Osberton . . 940 Constantines (4th century)
(5) Hickling . . 200 A.D. 70—175	(11) Oxton . . . — No details
(6) Mansfield . . 350 B.C. 31—A.D. 212	(12) Wilford . . . — No details

It will thus be seen that they cover practically the whole period of the Roman domination of Britain. In regard to the Nottingham and Epperstone finds it has often been noted that hoards for which the date of their concealment must be fixed during the last half of the third century are not infrequent in Britain. The reason assigned for this is that they were hidden to avoid loss by plunder during a disturbed condition of the country ; but a more systematic investigation of the whole subject is to be desired. In particular we need to know more accurately the latest coin in each hoard. It is often a solitary specimen of a brief-ruling Emperor in whose time the hoard was deposited, and such a solitary coin is exactly the feature which is easiest lost. We rarely possess the whole of a hoard, and our published records pay far more attention to the Emperors represented by hundreds of coins than to the all-important single specimen. In addition to the finds above mentioned, some allusion should be made here to Mr. Cecil Woolley's carefully-recorded discoveries of coins at Brough, covering the period from Domitian to Gratian.⁹

⁷ See below, p. 34.

⁸ See p. 32.

⁹ See below, p. 14.

A HISTORY OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Several earth-walled 'camps' are scattered about the county, the majority being in the Sherwood Forest district, its highest part. The list of those which for one or other reason have been considered to be Roman is given below; but in hardly any case can the supposition be upheld, either on account of form or the discovery of Roman remains. The majority appear to be hill-fortresses or defences¹⁰ of an earlier date, constructed and utilized by the native Britons. They are here classified in accordance with the system laid down by the Congress of Archaeological Societies¹¹ and adopted in the article 'Earthworks' in the previous volume of this work.

Type A.—PROMONTORY FORTRESS
Farnsfield (Combs). Roman remains

Type B.—HILL FORTRESS
Blidworth
Farnsfield (Hexgrave)
Grove
Mansfield Woodhouse
Oxton (Oldox)
Scaftworth (Everton)

Type C.—RECTANGULAR CAMPS
Arnold
Bridgeford, East. Roman station of Margidunum
Epperstone
Harworth
Oxton (Lonely Grange)
Southwell (oval form)

Type X.—UNCERTAIN
Barton in Fabis (British)

In this list Margidunum is the only one of which we can safely state that it was inhabited in Roman times. It was indeed a Romano-British village. Combs also has yielded Roman remains, but not such as to prove very definite occupation.

Lastly, a few words may be said on the traces of Roman roads in the county. The subject is treated in full detail in the succeeding section, where the literary evidence, mainly derived from the *Itinerarium Antonini*, the Roman 'road-book,' is compared and combined with such archaeological evidence as is available. The latter is supplied chiefly by actual remains, such as milestones or traces of ancient metalling, or by the straightness of the existing tracts between known Roman sites. The Itinerary, which in the form in which we have it may date from the early part of the 3rd century, is a source of evidence which—like the straightness of roads—must be used with caution, owing to its lack of accuracy and mistakes in the manuscripts. Even the mileage, which is invariably given between the stations, is qualified by the formula M.P.M., *millia plus minus*, though this probably means in the first place that fractions are omitted. But in default of detailed topographical descriptions by contemporary ancient writers, its information has been and always will be invaluable. Three of its routes passed through the county; the fifth along Ermine Street or one of its branches, the sixth along the Fosse Way, while the eighth combines the two.

ROADS

(1) THE FOSSE WAY

This road is one of the best known and best authenticated Roman roads in this country, and is mentioned in numerous ancient charters, some of them older than the Conquest. An outline of its course as one of the four royal

¹⁰ Roman camps, it should be remembered, were not necessarily placed on high ground like those of earlier times.

¹¹ *Report on Ancient Earthworks*, 1903; cf. *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 294, ff.

ROMANO-BRITISH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

roads is given by the mediaeval chroniclers, in particular by Henry of Huntingdon¹³ and by Higden,¹⁸ the latter of whom wrote that from Leicester it proceeded 'per vasta plana versus Newark' and ended at Lincoln. It has been suggested that the name itself originated in the *fossa* or covered drain which the Roman road-makers are alleged to have made to remove the surface soil and receive the gravel, but this is altogether improbable.¹⁴

Its course through Nottinghamshire is traced in the sixth and eighth routes of the Antonine Itinerary, the former giving the stations from London via Venones (High Cross) to Lincoln, the latter those from York to Lincoln and thence in the reverse direction from Lincoln to London. With one exception the same names appear between Leicester and Lincoln in both routes, and in each case the sum total of the distances amounts to fifty-two Roman miles.¹⁵

The following table shows the stations with their modern names and the distances as given :—

<i>Iter VI</i>	<i>Iter VIII</i>
Ratis (Leicester) — —	Lindo — —
Verometo (Willoughby) ¹⁶ M.P.M. ¹⁷ xiii	Crococolana M.P.M. xiiii
Margiduno (East Bridgeford) ¹⁸ M.P.M. xii	Margiduno M.P.M. xiiii
Ad Pontem (Thorpe or Farndon ?) ¹⁹ M.P.M. vii	Vernemeto M.P.M. xii
Crococolana (Brough) ²⁰ M.P.M. vii	Ratis M.P.M. xii
Lindo (Lincoln) M.P.M. xii	

It will be seen that there are trifling discrepancies in the mileage of the two routes. The identification of the three intermediate stations may be considered as certain ; the question of Ad Pontem is fully discussed later on in this section.

Even among Roman roads the Fosse is remarkable for the directness of its course, which is marked in a straight unbroken line on the maps of the Ordnance Survey for this county. It enters it from Lincoln at Potter Hill, 120 ft. above the sea, in the parish of North Collingham. After a slight turn, a stretch of six miles continues in a straight line through Newark, intersecting the parishes of South Collingham, Langford, and Winthorpe. The road appears near Coddington to have been fenced in originally, twenty to thirty yards wide, and to have been since narrowed in many places, by which the general straightness is disguised.²¹ At a distance of two miles from Potter Hill we reach the station of Crococolana, the modern Brough, which is described elsewhere.²² At Langford, Dickinson claimed to have found traces of a camp,²³ and at Winthorpe the foundations of a Roman bridge over

¹³ 'Hist. Lib.' *Rerum Angl. Script.* i, 199.

¹⁵ *Polychronicon*, Lib. i (*Hist. Brit.* [ed. Gale], iii, 196).

¹⁴ Guest, in *Arch. Journ.* xiv, 101 ff. On this road and its course generally see Codrington, *Rom. Roads in Brit.* 245 ff.; also Nichols, *Hist. Leic.* i, cxlvii; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 42.

¹⁶ Wesseling, *Vetera Rom. Itin.* 476 ff.; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 388; Codrington, *op. cit.* 21; Forbes and Burmester, *Our Rom. Highways*, 208; Raven in *Antiquary*, xxxviii, 294.

¹⁷ Gale, *Anton. Iter. Brit.* 96 ff., gives Charnley; Salmon, Leicester.

¹⁸ M.P.M. as noted above, indicates *millia plus minus*, or approximate mileage only.

¹⁹ Gale and Salmon, *New Surv. of Engl.* i, 288 ff., Willoughby.

²⁰ Gale and Salmon, E. Bridgeford; Reynolds, *Iter. Brit.* 264 ff., Farndon.

²¹ Salmon, Newark.

²² Codrington, *op. cit.* 248. But deviations to avoid holes in the roadway may perhaps better explain this feature.

²³ See p. 11.

²⁴ *Antiq. in Notts.* i, 104.

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the Trent,²⁴ but in the latter he appears to be mistaken.²⁵ Stukeley, who travelled here in 1722, wrote that from Brough the Fosse 'goes extremely strait to Newark between hedge-rows, it is in very ill repair; nay, in some places they dig the very stone and gravel out of it to mend their streets.'²⁶ Its course through this town is parallel with the river, along Northgate, Castlegate and Millgate, the direct line being lost for a short distance in the last-named thoroughfare.

Beyond Newark there is a slight turn; then the road runs for two and a half miles in another straight line through the parishes of Farndon, Thorpe, and East Stoke, where it nears the banks of the Trent. Here we are on the debatable ground where the missing site of Ad Pontem must be sought. Concerning this the theorizing has been endless, from Gale to the present century.

It has already been noted that this name, occurring in the sixth Itinerary, is omitted from the eighth, although both obviously follow the line of the Fosse. Moreover, the actual distance between the two stations on either side, Crococolana and Margidunum, is given in both routes the same, viz. fourteen miles.²⁷ It has been suggested—though it is obviously unlikely—that no such independent point as Ad Pontem ever existed, and that the phrase *ad Pontem* was merely a note added to Margidunum (East Bridgeford) to mark the point of digression from the Fosse to a supposed bridge over the Trent there, for which purpose a notice was affixed by the side of the road, and that some transcriber, mistaking the note for the name of a separate station, halved the mileage to make the numbers correspond.²⁸ Several early antiquaries²⁹ identified Ad Pontem with East Bridgeford, until Horsley corrected this error. It is, however, worth noting that a road runs at right-angles to the Fosse from Margidunum down to the river,³⁰ and that this road has been held to be Roman.

Horsley, however, pointed out that the mileage as given in the Itinerary inevitably fixed Ad Pontem at about three miles from Newark, and suggested Farndon as a likely site.³¹ 'I went to view the ground,' he wrote, 'when last at Newark, and did not think the situation or appearance very unpromising.' Reynolds³² and Wright³³ agree with him in accepting this view. The exact half-way between Brough and East Bridgeford is in Thorpe parish, between Farndon and East Stoke.

The question was again considered more than fifty years later, when Bishop Bennet of Cloyne and Mr. Leman traced the course of the Fosse from Lincoln to Devonshire, and agreed in fixing this much-disputed site at Thorpe,³⁴ where coins and pavements have been found.³⁵ Mr. Leman gives his reasons in a footnote: 'Tumuli, appearances of the corners of a camp, and the

²⁴ Op. cit. i, 92.

²⁵ See pp. 7, 36.

²⁶ *Itin. Cur.* 104.

²⁷ Watkin in *Nottingham Daily Guardian*, 20 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 22. He calls it a 'mansio' or 'mutatio.' Cf. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 43. But he begs the question when he explains the name as 'the point for branching off and crossing the river.'

²⁸ Standish in *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* vii, 37; *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* iv, Dec. 1896, p. 183.

²⁹ Stukeley, Gale, and Salmon; see below, p. 15; also *Standard*, 31 Oct. 1884, for a later advocate of this view.

³⁰ See under Bridgeford, p. 17.

³¹ *Brit. Rom.* 438.

³² *Iter. Brit.* 264.

³³ *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* (6th ed.), 152.

³⁴ Nichols, *Hist. and Antiq. of Leic.* i, cxlix; 'not far distant from the present turnpike gate.'

³⁵ See Index.

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remarkable circumstance of the bending of the road on leaving it,' while the bishop adds as further proof the proximity of the Trent to the road, the correspondence of distance, and the neighbourhood of Southwell, which he believed to be a Roman station. The same arguments are quoted by Throsby in his additions to Thoroton, on the authority of 'a gentleman of high respectability,' perhaps the bishop or his friend; but in a later passage he mentions a tradition of a bridge across the Trent from Thorpe Bar to Southwell, and suggests that the supposed station of Ad Pontem might have stood on an eminence at East Stoke commanding it.³⁶ Thorpe was subsequently also accepted by Watkin and others.³⁷ We have, however, no evidence that a bridge ever existed at Thorpe or Farndon. The same objection applies to Throsby's theory (adopted by Compton)³⁸ advancing East Stoke as the locality.

Lower down the river traces of a bridge were, according to Dickinson,³⁹ observed in 1792-3 north of Newark at Winthorpe. He brought this forward in support of his view that Ad Pontem was to be identified with Southwell. But the subsequent discovery in 1877 and 1884 of remains of an undoubtedly Roman bridge three miles below, between Cromwell and Collingham,⁴⁰ demonstrated that Dickinson was either mistaken in the locality he gives, or that he had given too free rein to his imagination. But even accepting the Winthorpe bridge as Roman, the absurdity of placing Ad Pontem at Southwell remains as great, involving as it does, firstly, an irreconcilable discrepancy with the mileage of the Itinerary, secondly an inconceivable détour from the line of the Fosse, entailing two crossings of the Trent; and this though Southwell cannot have been a place of much importance in Roman times.⁴¹ Yet Dickinson's theory, in part if not wholly, has been seriously considered by recent writers,⁴² even Dr. Raven writing in 1902 'that the Trent had to be crossed by a bridge is manifest,' and regarding the Cromwell bridge as 'admirably suited to the name Ad Pontem.' Perhaps to the name, but hardly to the locality!⁴³ It is obvious that both Farndon and Thorpe correspond far better with the distance and line of route than any other site, although in neither case is there any evidence for the existence of a bridge. Nor can we safely accept another suggestion which has been made. It has been pointed out that Ad Pontem is equally possible Latin for 'to the bridge' and 'at the bridge.' It is not therefore essential to predicate the existence of a bridge over the Trent at all. A glance at the Orographical map of the county in Volume I will show that Farndon and Thorpe lie in very low ground (not exceeding 50 ft. above the sea) between the Trent and the Devon. It is conceivable that there was here, if not a

³⁶ *Hist. of Notts.* i, 71, 148; see also *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 43. Throsby also seems to suggest Newark or Ponton in Lincolnshire as possibilities.

³⁷ *Standard*, 5 Nov. 1884; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 22; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 297. Watkin's statement that 'at least as much masonry has been found here as at Southwell' is not clear. It is not the case (see Index, *s.v.* Thorpe), and if it was, would prove nothing.

³⁸ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 43 ff.

³⁹ *Antiq. in Notts.* i, 92; see pp. 5, 36; also the map in Dickinson at end of part i.

⁴⁰ See Index, *s.v.* Cromwell.

⁴¹ Cf. Nichols, *Hist. and Antiq. of Leic.* i, cxlix; *Nottingham Daily Guardian*, 20 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 28; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 43.

⁴² *Standard*, 31 Oct. and 3 Nov. 1884; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 297.

⁴³ A writer in the *Standard*, 5 Nov. 1884, places Ad Pontem at Cromwell, taking the road along the right bank of the Trent to Littleborough.

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bridge, at least a raised causeway with culverts carrying the Fosse over the most marshy and low-lying part of the route. The notification in the Itinerary would then be for the benefit of the traveller from the south, indicating where he would leave the high ground over which he had so long been passing for the alluvial levels of the Trent valley with their attendant dangers of swamp and flood. Unfortunately such notifications do not occur in the Itinerary, nor is this one so lucid in its form as to have much claim to be considered such a notification.

The fact is that we waste time thus torturing the sense of the Itinerary and the probabilities of the case. It seems plain that there existed a 'station'—perhaps a very small one—at the Fosse near Thorpe, and connected perhaps with the remains actually observed here, and this station was known as Ad Pontem. Why it was so called, whether a now vanished branch-road crossed the Trent, or the crossing of the Fosse over the Devon is concerned, and whether that crossing was in Roman days exactly where it now is, and whether there was any other bridge for the Fosse in the low ground beside the Trent, are questions which it is useless to ask, because we lack evidence at present to answer them. Equally idle is it to inquire why the Itinerary names Ad Pontem in one place and omits it in another. Such omissions are not uncommon in this as in other road-books, and their causes are in general neither discoverable nor worth discovering.

Resuming our route, the road now ascends to the higher ground between the Trent and Devon valleys, and passes through the parish of Flintham, where Roman pottery has been found. For eight miles from East Stoke it runs in an absolutely straight line to High Thorpe near Bingham (200 ft.),⁴⁴ where after crossing the railway it finally leaves the high road, which turns off to Nottingham. For the whole distance from Flintham to Willoughby, where it crosses the county boundary, it serves as a division between parishes, except at Cropwell Butler, where the parish lies on either side of it. About six miles from East Stoke the road reaches East Bridgeford, where it passes right through the middle of the 'station' of Margidunum⁴⁵ fourteen miles from Brough.

At High Thorpe there is another slight turn, and thence it is straight, and still a passable road, for three and a half miles to Cotgrave Gorse (250 ft.). From here to the crossing of the Nottingham and Melton road, near Widmerpool station, it is described as 'a wide rough track, not appearing very straight because of encroachments.'⁴⁶ Between East Bridgeford and Willoughby Stukeley found what he took to be the pavement of the road 'very manifest,' and near Lodge-in-the-Wolds, in Cotgrave parish, it was (he says) 100 ft. broad and made of 'great blue flagstones laid edgewise very carefully,' which were taken, he said, from quarries near. 'From this point,' he writes, 'it has been entirely paved with red flints, seemingly brought from the sea-coasts: these are laid with the smoothest face upwards upon a bed of gravel over the clayey marl,' and he mentions a local tradition that this pavement, 'very broad and visible when not covered with dirt,' extended from Leicester to Newark. Gale speaks

⁴⁴ About here Stukeley, in his view of Ad Pontem, as he calls Bridgeford (*Itin. Cur.* pl. 90), represents a tumulus or barrow apparently right across the line of the road. It may be intended to indicate the position of Vernemetum (see below).

⁴⁵ See p. 15.

⁴⁶ Codrington, *Rom. Roads*, 248.

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of the pavement of the Fosse as visible a little east from Widmerpool by Lodge-in-the-Wolds and then again at East Bridgeford and near Collingham.⁴⁷ Nearly a century after Stukeley, Laird wrote, 'This road may be easily traced for many miles along the *Wolds* and it is literally a *fosse*, dug so deep that an army might march along it even now without being seen except by those on the very edge of the bank. Several of the roads through the wolds cross it in different places, particularly about *Owthorpe*, and in many parts the remains of the old pitching with stones set on edge may be found by clearing away the grass and weeds.'⁴⁸ Twenty-five years ago Watkin found the Fosse about here much in the same state, and described it as grass-grown with its pavement full of deep ruts.⁴⁹ 'From Widmerpool station,' says Codrington, 'for a mile a narrow metalled road runs along the middle between fences twenty yards or more apart, and then turns off, the wide green road continuing on to Six Hills (447 ft.), eight-and-a-half miles from Cotgrave.' In Cotgrave parish a late Roman burial has been unearthed close to the road, and finds of coins are recorded at Hickling and Widmerpool.⁵⁰

A little more than two miles from Widmerpool station brings the road to the site of Vernemetum at Willoughby.⁵¹ Thence it follows the county boundary for about two-and-a-half miles to Six Hills,⁵² where it finally leaves it for Leicestershire.

(2) ERMINE STREET

The fifth and eighth routes of the Antonine Itinerary followed a branch of the so-called Ermine Street, which led from Lincoln to York, and crossed North Nottinghamshire on its way.⁵³ The routes are given as follows :—

<i>Iter V</i> (London to Carlisle)	<i>Iter VIII</i> (York to London via Leicester)
Causennis . . . —	Dano —
Lindo (Lincoln) M.P.M. xxvi	Ageloco M.P.M. xxi
Segeloci (Littleborough) M.P.M. xiiii	Lindo M.P.M. xiiii
Dano (Doncaster) M.P.M. xxi	

It branches off from the northward road about four miles beyond Lincoln, and some writers like to speak of it as a *via vicinalis*, others give it the name of Ermine Street itself. In all probability it was a more convenient route to York than the more direct one which involved the crossing of the Humber estuary. Segelocum and Agelocum, as given in the two routes, are only forms of the same name, and the former is to be traced on a milestone found at Lincoln with the distance of this stage given as in the Itinerary, fourteen miles.⁵⁴

From Lincolnshire, where it is known as Till Bridge Lane, this road crossed the Trent and entered Nottinghamshire at Littleborough, the site of Segelocum, where a Roman ford is still said to exist.⁵⁵ There is a road hence in a line with Till Bridge Lane, as far as the village of Sturton-le-Steeple, and

⁴⁷ 'Essay towards the Recovery of the Courses of the four Great Roman Ways,' *apud* Leland, *Itin.* vi, 116.

⁴⁸ *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 42.

⁴⁹ See below, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Wesseling, *Vet. Rom. Itin.* (1735), 474; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 439; *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* ix, 167; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 295. ⁵¹ See p. 19.

⁴⁸ *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, (i), 5.

⁵⁰ See Index.

⁵² See *V.C.H. Leic.* i, 217.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

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thence (after a short break through that village) past South and North Wheatley, Clayworth, and Everton, to Bawtry, which, except for an occasional turning or break, appears to show the line of the Roman road.⁶⁶ At Wiseton in Clayworth parish, at Everton, and at Scaftworth between Everton and Bawtry, are traces of Roman occupation.⁶⁷ From Bawtry to Doncaster the road may be assumed to follow more or less closely the line of the present Great North Road, but this lies almost wholly in Yorkshire, after forming the county boundary for two miles.

A Roman road is also said to have been noted in the parish of Gringley-on-the-Hill, to the north of Clayworth,⁶⁸ but this is probably without authority.

(3) OTHER ROADS

The two roads already described are the only Roman roads in Nottinghamshire which are attested by sound evidence. Numerous other roads have been suggested, but for the most part only in order to fit in with preconceived theories. With one or two exceptions, they may be briefly dismissed as devoid of authority.

(i) Perhaps the most likely to be of Roman origin is that from Ollerton along the east side of Clumber Park, and past Ranby to Blyth. This runs practically in a straight line until it approaches Blyth, and forms the boundary of parishes through almost all of its course. But no Roman remains have been found along the line except a hoard of coins at Morton Hall in Babworth parish, and coins at Blyth,⁶⁹ and these hardly supply evidence. Watkin considers that the road may be traced from the 'camp' at Arnold, just north of Nottingham,⁶⁰ along what is now known as Hollinwood Lane;⁶¹ but there is practically no evidence to prove his view. There is indeed from Oxtun to Ollerton a 'fairly' straight road (the Old Rufford Road) running in a line with the road from Ollerton to Blyth, through the parishes of Farnsfield and Rufford, and it is possible that there is a southern continuation of the latter. But whence it came and whither it went requires further investigation which may or may not establish its Roman origin. The Oxtun and Farnsfield camps, formerly adduced in its favour, are now known to be British.⁶²

(ii) The Ordnance Survey⁶³ maps trace the course of a road marked as 'Leeming Lane, Roman Road,' from Mansfield northwards to Warsop. This road would pass quite close to the villa at Mansfield Woodhouse,⁶⁴ and, if continued, traverse Worksop, Blyth, and Bawtry, to join the Ermine Street, but except between Worksop and Blyth there is no modern track in this direction. Mr. William Stevenson, who calls it 'undoubtedly Roman,' traces it on the other side of Mansfield from 'that remarkable ridge known as Robin Hood's Hills' at Annesley,⁶⁵ and quotes Brewster as connecting that place by

⁶⁶ Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 93; *Family Mem. of S.* (Surtees Soc.), ii, 315; Codrington, *Rom. Roads in Brit.* 153; *Arch. Journ.* xxxvi, 283, xliii, 43; Stevenson, *Bygone Notts.* 4.

⁶⁷ See Index.

⁶⁸ See Index.

⁶⁹ See Index.

⁶⁰ See Index.

⁶¹ *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 43; he appears to continue the course of this road as far north as Bawtry. The old Ordnance Survey (sheet 82) marks a 'Roman Road' between Blyth and that town.

⁶² See Index.

⁶³ O.S. 6-in. xxiii, SW., xxiii, NW., xviii, SW.

⁶⁴ See p. 28.

⁶⁵ *Bygone Notts.* 14.

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a road with Derventio (Little Chester) near Derby. The latter would accordingly claim it as the north-eastern extension of Rykniel Street; but the Ordnance maps, as Mr. Stevenson points out, lend no countenance to such an idea, and Professor Haverfield recognizes no road but the one leading northwards from Little Chester to Clay Cross.⁶⁶ Thus the only portion of this road which rests on anything like adequate evidence is that passing the dwelling at Mansfield Woodhouse, which must have had some means of communication with the outside world.

(iii) Watkin mentions a supposed road from Little Chester (Derventio) in Derbyshire, crossing the Trent at Sawley, and continuing by Leake to join the Fosse at Willoughby.⁶⁷ Professor Haverfield accepts the Derbyshire portion of this road,⁶⁸ but rightly points out that the traces of a continuation, which Watkin says are 'almost obliterated,' are really non-existent,

PLACES OF PERMANENT OCCUPATION

(I) BROUGH (CROCOCOLANA)⁶⁹

The first Roman station on the Fosse, after it enters Nottinghamshire from Lincoln, the Crococolana of the Itinerary, is now certainly identified with the little hamlet of Brough, about one-and-three-quarter miles east of Collingham.⁷⁰ According to Horsley affinity of sound induced some antiquaries to fix it rather at Collingham,⁷¹ in which parish Brough lies. Dr. Wake says the name was first fixed by Gibson,⁷² and Throsby seems inclined to dispute the identification.⁷³ The distance from Lincoln is given in one Itinerary as twelve miles, in the other as fourteen, the former being the actual distance in English miles.

Crococolana seems to have been a place of some small importance. An area of about forty acres is thought to have been inhabited, and the objects discovered here show that it was more than a mere outpost or halting-place.⁷⁴ No buildings or earthworks are now visible on the surface, and as long ago as 1732 Horsley wrote that 'the ramparts at Brugh are levelled by the plow.'⁷⁵ He goes on to say 'many Roman coins have been found here. I purchased one, which I take to be *Philip*, of an old man who had lived here many years, and gave me an account of several things relating to this station. He told me they often struck upon ruins in plowing or digging, and had a tradition of an old town formerly standing there.'

⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Derb.* i, 245.

⁶⁷ *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 43; see also Bennet in Lysons, *Derb.* p. ccxv; *Journ. Derb. Arch. Soc.* viii, 213; *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* vi, 83.

⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Derb.* i, 246. He suggests that it served to connect Derventio with the navigable Trent, but thinks it may have turned off to the villa at Barton (p. 23).

⁶⁹ So the better MSS. of the Itinerary, as it seems. Other MSS. read 'Crococolano.'

⁷⁰ O.S. 6-in. xxxi, SW. See section on Roads, p. 5.

⁷¹ Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 439; Pointer speaks of a 'camp near Long Collingham,' which might be held to imply Brough. *Brit. Rom.* 41; Gale, *Anton. Itin. Brit.* 102.

⁷² *Hist. of Collingham*, 2; cf. Gibson's *Camden*, i, 435; and *Antiq.* xxxviii, 297.

⁷³ Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* i, 374.

⁷⁴ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x, 63 (Woolley).

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.* 439.

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Before Horsley wrote, Stukeley had been unable to discover any remains of circumvallation, though he too heard much of foundations of houses and walls,

. . . in digging too they find great foundations for half a mile together on each side the road, with much rusty iron, iron ore, and iron cinders ; so that it is probable here was an eminent Roman forge. Across the road was a vast foundation of a wall, and part still remains : out of one hole they showed me, has been dug up ten or fifteen load of stone ; so that it should seem to have been a gate : the stones at the foundation are observed to have been placed edgewise and very large ones, but not of a good sort. . . . They told me some very large copper Roman coins had been found here, and silver too, and many pots, urns, brick, &c. ; they call the money 'Brough pennies.'⁷⁶

In foot-notes he mentions other coins which he came across (including a 'large brass' of Faustina Junior), and he suggests the derivation of Collingham from Colana, the later form of Crococolana.

Roman coins have at all times been very frequent, and Mr. T. Cecil S. Woolley of South Collingham⁷⁷ has a very fine series ; but those noticed by earlier writers are mostly of late date (A.D. 250-350).⁷⁸ A correspondent of the *Standard* who signs himself 'South Collingham'⁷⁹ mentions coins of Hadrian (A.D. 98-117), Gallienus (A.D. 253-68), Maximian (A.D. 300), Magnentius (A.D. 350) and Gratian (A.D. 375). Fragments of Roman pottery were still abundant in Wake's time (1867), and he tells a tale of 'a figure in gold' found a few years before.⁸⁰ His comment on Stukeley's reference to the inferior quality of the stone employed here is that it must have been the limestone still quarried in the neighbourhood. But he adds, 'I have seen some large blocks of excellent freestone, which have evidently formed part of the buildings once standing at Brough.' Watkin, writing in 1877, quotes the Rev. G. Fosbery, late rector of South Collingham, to the effect that coins and other remains were still occasionally found on the surface.⁸¹

At Danethorpe Hill in the parish of South Collingham and at Potter Hill in that of North Collingham, at the point where the Fosse Way enters the county, human remains and coffins, and more recently fragments of Roman pottery, are said to have been dug up,⁸² and both have been suggested as possible sites of outposts for guarding the camp at Brough. The latter is described by Stukeley as 'a high barrow or tumulus, where they say was a Roman pottery.'⁸³ Of the last-named theory, however, the finds are no confirmation, although Wake urged that it was implied by the name.⁸⁴

Recent excavations by Mr. T. Cecil S. Woolley have revealed far more of the Romano-British occupation.⁸⁵ He has dug trenches over a considerable area in two fields lying one on either side of the Fosse, at the fourth milestone from Newark and twelfth from Lincoln. The area and nature of the operations are indicated in the accompanying plan.

⁷⁶ *Itin. Cur.* 104.

⁷⁷ See below.

⁷⁸ Pointer, *Brit. Rom.* 41 ; Gibson's *Camden*, i, 435 ; Wake, *Hist. of Collingham*, 2.

⁷⁹ 1 Nov. 1884.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.* 4.

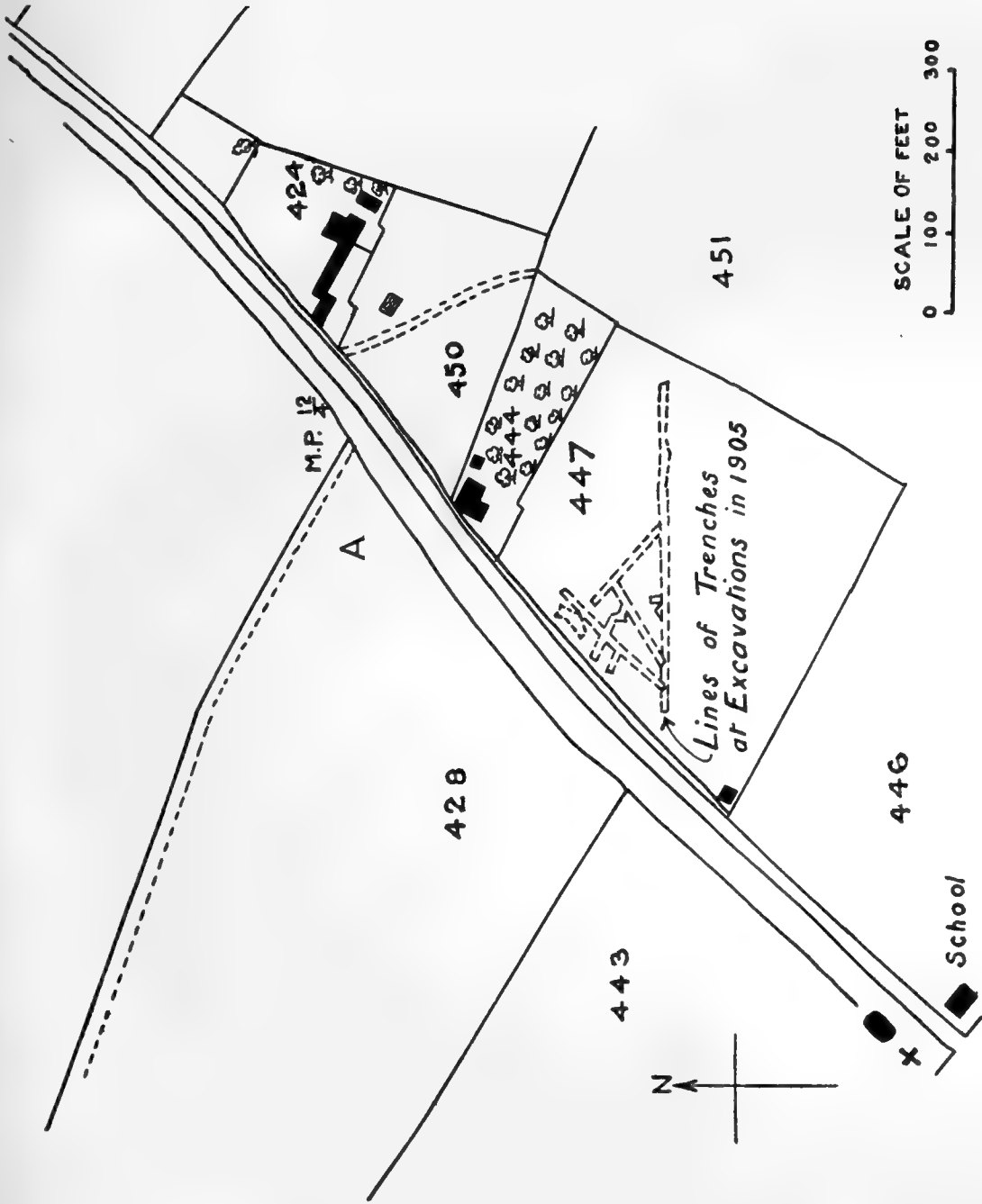
⁸¹ *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 25 Jan. 1877.

⁸² Wake, *op. cit.* 2, 42 ; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 17 ; Brown, *Hist. of Notts.* 121 ; Kelly, *Dir. of Notts.* 1904, 48.

⁸³ *Itin. Cur.* 103.

⁸⁴ Matters are not improved by the suggestion that the word Crococolana has something to do with 'crocks,' put forth with apparent seriousness by a writer in the *Standard*, 31 Oct. and 3 Nov. 1884.

⁸⁵ See his paper in *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x (1906), p. 63 ff. The writer is also greatly indebted to Mr. Woolley for personal assistance and information.



PLAN SHOWING EXCAVATIONS ON SITE OF CROCOLANA (REMAINS OF WALLS FOUND AT A)

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Adjacent to the road and at right angles to it, part of the foundations of a wall 5 ft. thick came to light, the foundations and lower courses of the wall being of lias, above which was 'stud and mud.' An adjoining roof is indicated by flanged and covering tiles of the usual types, and the mud walls were plastered inside and painted in various colours. Smaller buildings on the site were probably temporary erections of timber. Mediaeval and modern builders, says Mr. Woolley, have carried on their depredations to such an extent, even underground, that reconstruction of the plan must be the merest guess-work. His researches, however, indicate buildings of considerable extent, as his plan shows; but as to the nature of these structures it is difficult to speak with confidence. The walls which have been unearthed on the west side of the road are indicated on the plan at A. Mr. Woolley has since acquired the adjoining field on the south-east, and a trial digging made by him in the writer's presence in October, 1906, yielded a few fragments of tiles.

The finds of movable objects made by Mr. Woolley on this site, and now preserved at his residence at South Collingham, are sufficient in themselves to form a small museum. They were mostly obtained from the trenches dug in the field on the east side of the Fosse (see plan). They include coins, fragments of pottery, glass vessels, iron tools, objects in bronze, stone, bone, and horn, and painted wall-plaster. Some of the pottery is illustrated in fig. 1. The most noteworthy object is the bronze cheekpiece of a helmet (fig. 2),⁸⁶ ornamented with a design in relief: a woman standing by a horse and holding the bridle in her left hand, while the right grasps a rope: in the background is another rope, or perhaps cable-pattern encircling the design. A curious deer's horn pick was also found (fig. 1, B).

The coins,⁸⁷ with the exception of one Republican *denarius* of the Valeria gens, the presence of which is doubtless accidental, extend from Domitian (A.D. 81-96) to Gratian (A.D. 375-83); they number 136 in all, and are all from single finds. It is interesting to note that the finds of pottery may be dated within the same limits. The earliest varieties belong to the end of the 1st century. These include fragments of jars of black ware with 'scored' patterns of intersecting lines of lattice-work, done with a blunt tool, and fragments of smaller jars of a hard brown ware with scale patterns worked in relief⁸⁸ (see fig. 1, c). Rather later are some fragmentary 'face-jars' of grey ware, on the front of which rude human faces are modelled in relief, one with the mark of a trident on the forehead⁸⁹ (see fig. 1, A); from similar finds in Germany these may be assigned to the 2nd century. Of later date are jars of polished black ware with indented vertical patterns or 'thumb-markings,' not earlier than the 2nd century, red-glazed bowls with raised leaf-patterns in thick slip, and vessels decorated in red and white paint, belonging to the 3rd or 4th century.⁹⁰ There is also much Castor (Durobrivian)⁹¹ ware and other that cannot be confidently dated.

Among the glazed red wares or *terra sigillata*, part of a hemispherical bowl with figures, of Form 37 (Dragendorff) (see fig. 1, c) is interesting as

⁸⁶ *Arch.* lviii, 573, pl. 55 (exhibited to the Soc. Antiq. in 1903).

⁸⁷ A list of these is given in *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x, 71.

⁸⁸ In Germany these two varieties are found with coins of the latter part of the 1st century, e.g. at Trier, Andernach, and Wiesbaden.

⁸⁹ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* pl. 4, figs. 10-12.

⁹⁰ See *op. cit.* pl. 1, figs. 7, 8, and pl. 2 (wrongly numbered 3).

⁹¹ Cf. *Artis, Durobrivae*, pl. 53, and specimens in B.M. from Northants.



FIG. 12.—FRAGMENTARY 'FACE JAR' FOUND AT BROUGH



FIG. 13.—HORN USED AS A PICK FOUND AT BROUGH



FIG. 14.—SPECIMENS OF POTTERY FOUND AT BROUGH



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bearing the name of a German potter REGINVS F (*Reginus fecit*)⁹³ incised on the exterior; he worked at Tabernae Rhenanae (Rheinzabern in the Palatinate) in the 2nd century. There are also fragments of the Gaulish Lezoux ware of the same period, with figure subjects. The following marks of Gaulish potters, mostly of the 2nd century, appear on plain red-glazed bowls⁹³ :—

Form 31 : GENITOR F
IVSTI MA
CASVRIM
MASVET
. . IAS FEC

Form 32 : ATTIANVS
Form 33 : MAIORIS
QVINTIM
SAMILLIM
SEVERIANIO
SCOPLIM

Uncertain form : VICTOR

There are also a fragment of a *mortarium* with CICVR F,⁹⁴ and an amphora handle stamped II · AVR · HER · PATE,⁹⁵ *duo Aur(eli) Her(aclae) pate(r) [et filius ex figlinis? . . . 'the two Aurelii Heraclae, father and son, from the potteries of (so-and-so).'*

(2) EAST BRIDGEFORD (MARGIDUNUM,

The Itinerary station of Margidunum,⁹⁶ thirteen miles from Vernemetum or Willoughby, and about the same from Crocolana or Brough, was identified first by Horsley with East Bridgeford. Some of his contemporaries (Gale, Stukeley, and Salmon) had been led by the similarity of the name to assign Ad Pontem to this parish. This theory assumes an error of seven miles in the Itinerary, and, as Horsley argued, 'the numbers and distances ought to preponderate.' As noted above, those writers were consequently forced to place Margidunum at Willoughby.⁹⁷ Additional reasons in support of Horsley are given by Throsby, who urges (1) the existence of an ancient encampment, (2) the name of Burrow given to a field close by, (3) finds of pottery and coins, (4) the distance from Willoughby.⁹⁸

The village of East Bridgeford is itself about a mile to the north-west of the Fosse, which runs right through the fields where the Roman station once stood, the eastern half of it being in Car Colston parish. They are still known as 'Burrow Fields, or 'Castle Hill Close,' both being familiar names in most of the early accounts of the place.⁹⁹ The site is marked on the 25-in. Ordnance Survey, sheet xxxix, 15,¹⁰⁰ and a plan of it is given in the article on 'Earthworks,'¹⁰¹ from which it will be seen that the lines of the camp and its defences are still to be clearly traced.¹⁰²

⁹³ Op. cit. pl. 1, fig. 4.

⁹³ Op. cit. p. 70.

⁹⁴ Op. cit. pl. 3 (wrongly numbered 2), fig. 7.

⁹⁵ Op. cit. pl. 3, fig. 5; cf. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1331, 20 (from Catterick), and xv, 2561 (from the Monte Testaccio, Rome), both more complete examples.

⁹⁶ See p. 5.

⁹⁷ Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 438; Gale, *Anton. Iter. Brit.* 101; Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 105; Salmon, *New Surv.* i, 294. This theory was again revived by a writer in the *Standard*, 31 Oct. 1884. See above, p. 5 ff.

⁹⁸ Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* i, 148.

⁹⁹ E.g. Gough's *Camden*, ii, 400 (all references to Gough are to the second (1806) edition); *Magna Brit.* (1727), iv, 41.

¹⁰⁰ The 25-in. map marks on the west side 'coins and pottery found'; on the east 'human remains found.' Stukeley seems to place Burrow Field on the west side of the road.

¹⁰¹ See *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 300.

¹⁰² The writer explored them in Oct. 1906, with the Rev. A. du B. Hill, vicar of East Bridgeford, guided by an old map of the parish kindly lent by Mr. T. M. Blagg, F.S.A., of Newark.

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Stukeley, who came here in 1722, saw near a spring in Burrow Field—called Oldwork

The Roman foundations of walls and floors of houses composed of stones set edgewise in clay, and liquid mortar run upon them : there are likewise short oaken posts or piles at proper intervals . . . Houses stood all along the Foss ; whole foundations have been dug up and carried to the neighbouring villages. They told us too of a most famous pavement near the Foss Way : close by in a pasture, Castle Hill Close has been a great building which they say was carried all to Newark. John Green of Bridgeford, aged 80, told me that he has taken up large foundations there, much ancient coin, small earthen pipes for water : his father, aged near 100, took up many pipes fourscore yards off the castle and much fine free-stone ; some well cut or carved : there have been found many urns, pots, and Roman bricks.¹⁰³

He also 'heard of Roman pavements dug up there,' and in a footnote to the same edition he mentions the discovery on the Fosse Way of a fine brass contorniate of M. Aurelius, with heads of that emperor and Commodus, found in an urn with one or two others. His description of the site is illustrated by a drawing showing the relative position of the village and station.

Horsley corrected Stukeley's identification of the site from Ad Pontem to Margidunum.¹⁰⁴ Another account speaks of the lordship in Car Colston parish 'called in old writings "Aldwerck," and at this time "Oldwarke" . . . where foundations of solid wrought stone are found, the Grounds thereabout bearing the Signs and Memory of old Fortifications, viz. one Close still having the name of "Castle-Hill," and two other of "Castleton-closes," as also a Spring called Oldwark spring, and the adjacent Ground on the other side the Foss-way in Bridgford parish—called the Burrough-Field, where ancient Coins have been found.'¹⁰⁵ Gibson speaks of a 'fair silver coin of Vespasian' found here.¹⁰⁶

Apart from these no other details seem to be forthcoming to support or supplement Stukeley's account until the middle of the 19th century. In 1857 Mrs. Miles, wife of the rector of Bingham, began to explore the Burrow Fields, on the surface of which she had for a long time noticed fragments of pottery. Afterwards she described the results of her excavations to Mr. Watkin for his article on the Roman remains of this county.¹⁰⁷

The circumvallation of the camp was still clearly marked, especially at the north-east angle, and the cemetery seems to have lain outside its south-east angle. Several fields on each side of the Fosse were full of remains, especially a ploughed field on the west side through which runs the bridle-path known as 'Newton Street.'¹⁰⁸ 'Here,' says Mrs. Miles, 'we gather every year numbers of specimens of pottery lying on the surface, besides deer-horns, bones, balls, or "runnings" of lead, flue-tiles,¹⁰⁹ stone tiles, *tesserae*, and thousands of pieces of pottery of different colours, qualities, and materials. Many of these are worked in patterns, and the pieces of Samian ware have hunting subjects, leaves, &c. on the ground, and we have a considerable number of

¹⁰³ *Itin. Cur.* 105, with pl. 90.

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 6. The doctor was misled by the similarity of the ancient and modern names. *Brit. Rom.* 438 ; see also Gibson's *Camden*, i, 435 ; Salmon, *New Surv.* i, 294.

¹⁰⁵ *Mag. Brit.* iv, 41 ; see also Pointer, *Brit. Rom.* 53 ; Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), i, 148 ; *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* iv, 183 (Dec. 1896).

¹⁰⁶ *Camden*, loc. cit. ; *Mag. Brit.* iv, 40.

¹⁰⁷ *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 5 Feb. 1877 ; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 19.

¹⁰⁸ See Index s.v. Bingham for a possible instance.

¹⁰⁹ See below.

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potters' marks.' Several of the fragments of 'Samian' ware showed traces of having been repaired with rivets by the original owners, and one bore a representation of Pegasus, another an eagle with thunderbolts. Of the potters' marks only three are recorded by Watkin: FLO (probably Florentinus, a German potter of the 2nd century); NDE (probably Indercillus, a Lezoux potter of the same date); and the rim of a *mortarium* with the letters GVDV, [Lu]gudu[ni factum], i.e. 'made at Lyons.'¹¹⁰

On one occasion Mrs. Miles found two perforated prisms of red cornelian; coloured wall plaster, broken flanged tiles, Roman mortar, a knife handle, and oyster shells are also mentioned, as well as coins of Vespasian (A.D. 70-9), Carausius (A.D. 287-93), and Julian (A.D. 352-62). Stukeley's story of buildings here was corroborated to some extent by an old inhabitant who had seen a considerable portion of a wall, and it was a common practice with the residents to dig up the stones of Roman dwellings for building purposes. The soil appears to have been full of the débris left by many years of human occupation, and it is probable that systematic excavations would have revealed important remains.

Near the southern side of the camp area a bridle path leaves the Fosse Way at right angles in a north-westerly direction, and after crossing the lane leading into the village, its course can be traced in the same direction through private grounds as far as the edge of the steep bluff overlooking the Trent. It is known as Newton Street or Bridgeford Street, and is marked with the latter name on the Ordnance Survey map (25-in. xxxix, 15). The writers who placed Ad Pontem here¹¹¹ naturally saw in this the Roman road leading to the supposed bridge. On the north side of the present road to the ferry are numerous traces of earthworks, including a prominent mound, which appear to be the remains of a mediaeval stronghold of the 'Castle mount and bailey' type.¹¹²

(3) WILLOUGHBY ON THE WOLDS (VERNEMETUM)¹¹³

In this parish, at the southern extremity of Nottinghamshire, just where the Fosse Way leaves that county for Leicester,¹¹⁴ lies the site of Vernemetum (Verometum) (see plan, fig. 4). Most antiquaries have agreed in fixing here one of the sites of the sixth and eighth routes of the Antonine Itinerary, and the judgement of Horsley, who first pronounced it to be Vernemetum, is now generally accepted.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 290. Three potters' names occur in Britain with this formula: Albinus, Urbanus, and Ripanus (see *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1334).

¹¹¹ See p. 6.

¹¹² They are not mentioned in *V.C.H. Notts.* i, in the article on Earthworks, but seem to belong to Class E.

¹¹³ So the best MSS. of the Itinerary. The word is good Celtic and means 'great sanctuary.'

¹¹⁴ O.S. 25-in. li, 9.

¹¹⁵ *Brit. Rom.* 437. He refers to Stukeley's account given below, and gives a more correct account of the distances from the adjacent stations than Gale and other writers have done. Gale and Salmon placed Margidunum here and Vernemetum in Leics. but their surmises are hopelessly at variance with the recorded distances. *Anton. Iter. Brit.* 96; *New Surv. of Engl.* 289; see above, p. 5; Burton, *Descr. of Leic.* 58, appears to follow Camden in placing Vernemetum at Burrough in Leics.; he explains the name as Gaulish for 'fanum ingens,' 'a great temple' (cf. Horsley, 438) quite correctly.

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One of the earliest and certainly the fullest description of the place comes from Stukeley, who visited Willoughby—or Margidunum, as he believed it to be—in 1722:—¹¹⁶

When arrived over against Willoughby on the wold on the right, Upper and Nether Broughton on the left, you find a *tumulus* on Willoughby side of the road, famous among the country people: it is called Cross Hill . . . the name of Broughton set me to work to find the Roman town . . . after some time I perceived I was upon the spot, being a field called Herrings . . . Here they said had been an old city called Long Billington . . . The soil is perfectly black, though all the circumjacent land be red, especially north of the valley upon the edge of the hill and where most antiquities are found. Richard Cooper, aged 72, has found many brass and silver coins here; there have been some of gold. Many mosaic pavements have been dug up: my landlord, Gee of Willoughby, says he has upon ploughing met with such for 5 yds. together, as likewise coins, pot-hooks, fire-shovels and the like utensils, and many large brass coins which they took for weights, ounces and half-ounces, but upon trial found them somewhat less. Broad stones and foundations are frequent upon the sides of the Foss. The ground naturally is so stiff a marl that at Willoughby town they pave their yards with stones fetched from the Foss Way. At Over and Nether Broughton and Willoughby too the coins are so frequent that you hear of them all the country round.

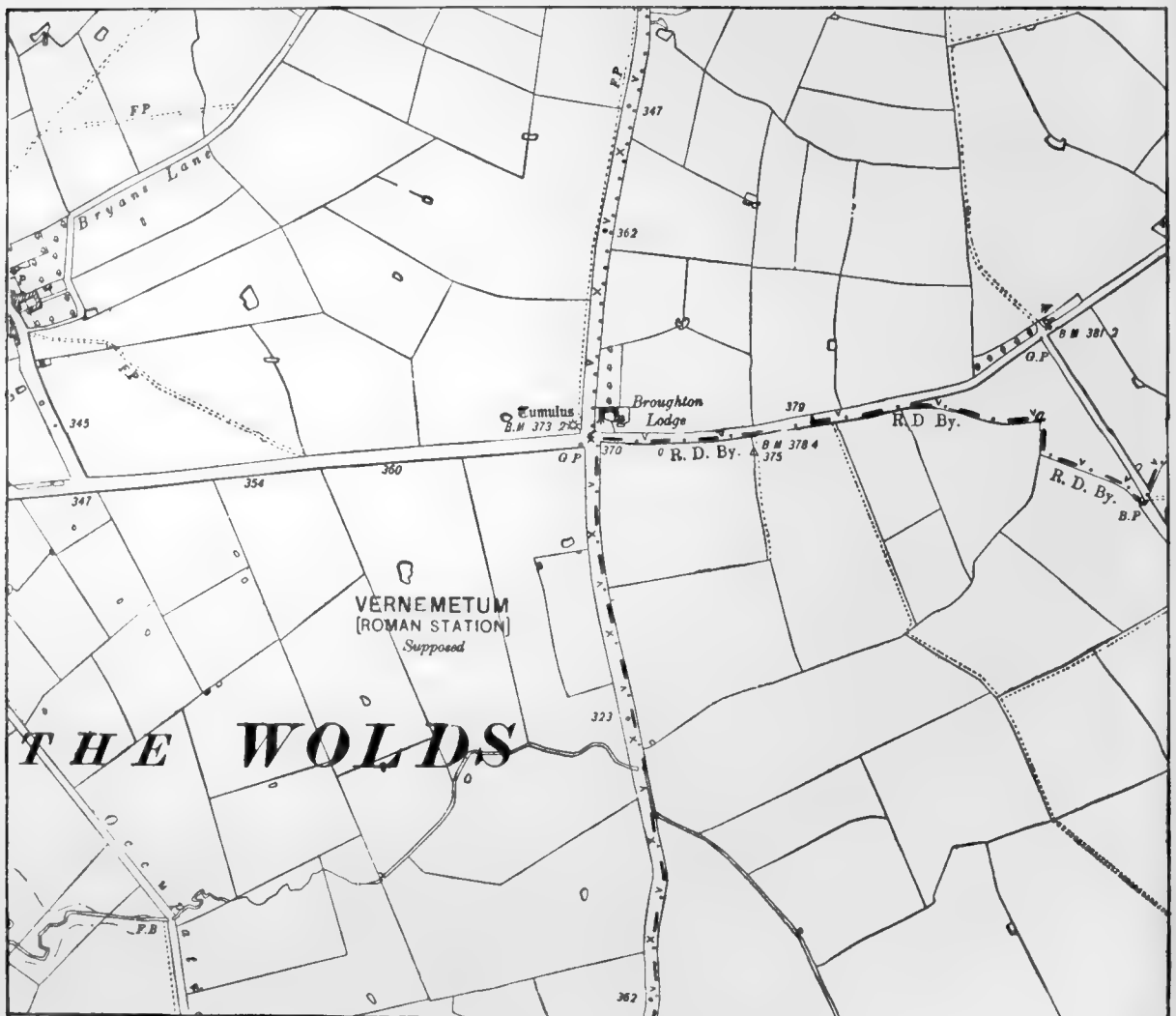


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF THE SITE OF VERNEMETUM
(From the Ordnance Survey)

¹¹⁶ *Itin. Cur.* 106, with plan on pl. 91; see also Dickinson, *Antiq. in Notts.* i, 87, who identifies Vernemetum here, and *Antiq.* xxxviii, 296.

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The brief allusions of other 18th-century antiquaries (Horsley, Gibson, Gough, Pointer, Throsby) do little more than echo this account, though Gough adds on Stukeley's authority that urns were often dug up on the site.¹¹⁷ In 1788 it was visited by Bishop Bennet of Cloyne and Mr. Leman, who were tracing the course of the Fosse. After passing the tumulus they found that the road descended the hill to a field called 'Herrings' or 'Black Field,' the site of Vernemetum.¹¹⁸ The bishop mentions that coins were found here, but gives no particulars. The tumulus itself, which seems to be a Celtic work,¹¹⁹ is marked on the Ordnance Map, but not named, nor do the other names recorded by Stukeley appear there. The drawing given by Stukeley¹²⁰ shows the relative position of the village, the Roman station, and the Fosse as seen from the little eminence marked as Wells Hill.

A later writer mentions a tessellated pavement found at the church in 1829 and afterwards incorporated in the floor of the north aisle, but it is doubtful if this was Roman.¹²¹

Mr. Bellairs, writing in 1898, aims at placing Vernemetum at Six Hills, two miles to the south over the border, on a supposed cross-road from Derwentio by Leake to Durolipons in Huntingdonshire,¹²² but the received identification of Willoughby is defended against him by Mr. Whatmore.¹²³

(4) LITTLEBOROUGH (SEGELOCUM)

Besides the three villages or stations on the Fosse Way, there is a fourth site in Nottinghamshire which we are justified in regarding as a place of permanent occupation in the form of a 'statio' or a village. Curiously enough this, although the smallest, has actually yielded the most remains; but as at Brough, there is now little or nothing visible above the surface.

The identification of Littleborough with the Segelocum or Agelocum—as it is less correctly spelt—of the sixth and eighth routes of the Antonine Itinerary, is due to Camden.¹²⁴ He had once been inclined to place this station at Idleton or Eaton,¹²⁵ but the situation of Littleborough on the military way, and the Roman foundations and coins found there induced him to alter his opinion. A branch of the great Ermine Street, leading from Lincoln to York, used to cross the Trent here by a Roman ford,¹²⁶ and the place is, according to the *Itinera*, fourteen miles from Lindum, equivalent to twelve or thirteen English miles. In 1879 a Roman *milliarium* was found at Lincoln, the inscription on which ends with the letters A·L·S·M·P· XIII. This, according to several writers, with whom Professor Haverfield concurs, is to be read as

¹¹⁷ Bateman in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 186, refers to this 'on the authority of the imaginative Stukeley.' Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 437; Gibson's *Camden*, i, 435; Gough, *ibid.* ii, 401; Pointer, *Brit. Rom.* 41; Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* i, 71, 149.

¹¹⁸ Nichols, *Hist. and Antiq. of Leic.* i, p. cxlvii; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 296.

¹¹⁹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 186; cf. *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 315.

¹²⁰ *Op. cit.* pl. 91.

¹²¹ Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 366.

¹²² See above, p. 11.

¹²³ *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* vi, 83, 99; see also *V.C.H. Leic.* i, 217.

¹²⁴ *Britannia* (ed. 1607), 413; Gough's *Camden*, ii, 404; see also Wesseling, *Vet. Rom. Itin.* 474; Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), iii, 292; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 434; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 392; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 295.

¹²⁵ *Britannia* (ed. 1586), 311.

¹²⁶ See above, p. 9.

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A Lindo Segelocum millia passuum quattuordecim, thus agreeing exactly with the Itinerary.¹²⁷

At the ford, to which allusion has been made, the bank was sloped away on either side to form an easy descent to a raised causeway, 18 ft. wide, in the bed of the river. The greater part of this, which was held up by strong stakes and paved with stone, was removed in 1820 to facilitate navigation, but at low tide large loose stones may still be seen in the channel.¹²⁸ Frank Lambert, a servant of the Trent Navigation Company, who took part in the removal of this ford, described it as 'paved with rough square stones, and on each side of this road piles 10 or 12 ft. long were driven into the bed of the river, and pieces of timber from one to the other, giving support to the whole. The timber was all black oak . . . but soon rotted when exposed to air.'¹²⁹ There is still a ferry here, and a portion of the paved descent was visible on the Nottinghamshire side as late as 1868, when Dr. Trollope wrote on Ermine Street.¹³⁰ He thought the causeway probably dated from the time of Hadrian's visit to Britain in A.D. 120, and recorded the fact that a large bronze coin of this emperor, bearing a figure of Justice on the reverse, was found in a cleft of one of the piles.

Camden, in describing the site in his 1607 edition, writes as follows:—

The river collecting itself runs from hence due north among a number of villages, and has nothing remarkable on its banks till it comes to *Littleborough*, a small town strictly answering to its name; where as the most usual ferry is at present, so it was formerly that famous station or mansion mentioned more than once by Antoninus, and called in different copies AGELOCUM and SEGELOCUM. This I had before sought for in this neighbourhood without success, but am now clear I have found it, both by its situation on the military way, and because an adjoining field shows evident traces of walls, and daily in ploughing yields innumerable coins of Roman Emperors, which being often turned up by the hogs (*quia porci eruncando saepius detegunt*), are called Swines Pennies (*porcorum denarios*) by the country people.¹³¹

In the early part of the 18th century foundations and pavements were seen in the river bank, from which Roger Gale, crossing in 1701, had extracted a 'Samian urn' containing burnt bones and a coin of Domitian.¹³² According to Gale and Horsley the Romans had a 'camp' on the east side of the river, where coins were frequently found, but no remains of it were visible in 1723 when Mr. Ella, vicar of Rampton, described the antiquities of Littleborough in a letter to Stukeley.¹³³ The station itself is generally believed to have been on the west side of the Trent, where traces of a wall and fosse still exist (see plan, fig. 5).¹³⁴ Stukeley says it was of square form and surrounded only by a ditch.¹³⁵ Great foundations of buildings lay near it in a field between the village and the river, and part of the channel, according to the inhabitants, had once been occupied by the Roman town.¹³⁶ Some of the materials of

¹²⁷ *Arch. Journ.* xxxvi, 283; xxxvii, 139; *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* xv, 13; *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 335, no. 1097; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 295; Codrington, *Rom. Roads in Brit.* 153.

¹²⁸ *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 167; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 12.

¹²⁹ *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 20 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* loc. cit.

¹³⁰ *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 168; Stevenson, *Bygone Notts.* 4.

¹³¹ *Britannia* (1607), 413, translated in Gough's ed. (1806), ii, 396.

¹³² Gale, *Anton. Iter. Brit.* 96; Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 93; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 434; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 187.

¹³³ See below.

¹³⁵ Loc. cit. See the plan or view given by him, pl. 87.

¹³⁴ *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 12.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

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which this had been built are still to be seen in the walls of the parish church, where bonding-tiles are worked into the masonry.¹³⁷

Coins seem always to have been plentiful on this site, as Camden noted.¹³⁸ In Mr. Ella's time the majority of those found belonged to the Lower Empire, though there were also some of earlier date. Stukeley¹³⁹ describes some of which that gentleman sent him an account, including a 'consecration-piece' of Vespasian (*sic*), with the mole at Ancona on the reverse; one of Hadrian with seated figure of Britannia; ¹⁴⁰ coins of Constantine with VRBS ROMA and the twins, or with CONSTANTINOPOLIS; and others of Aurelius and Faustina

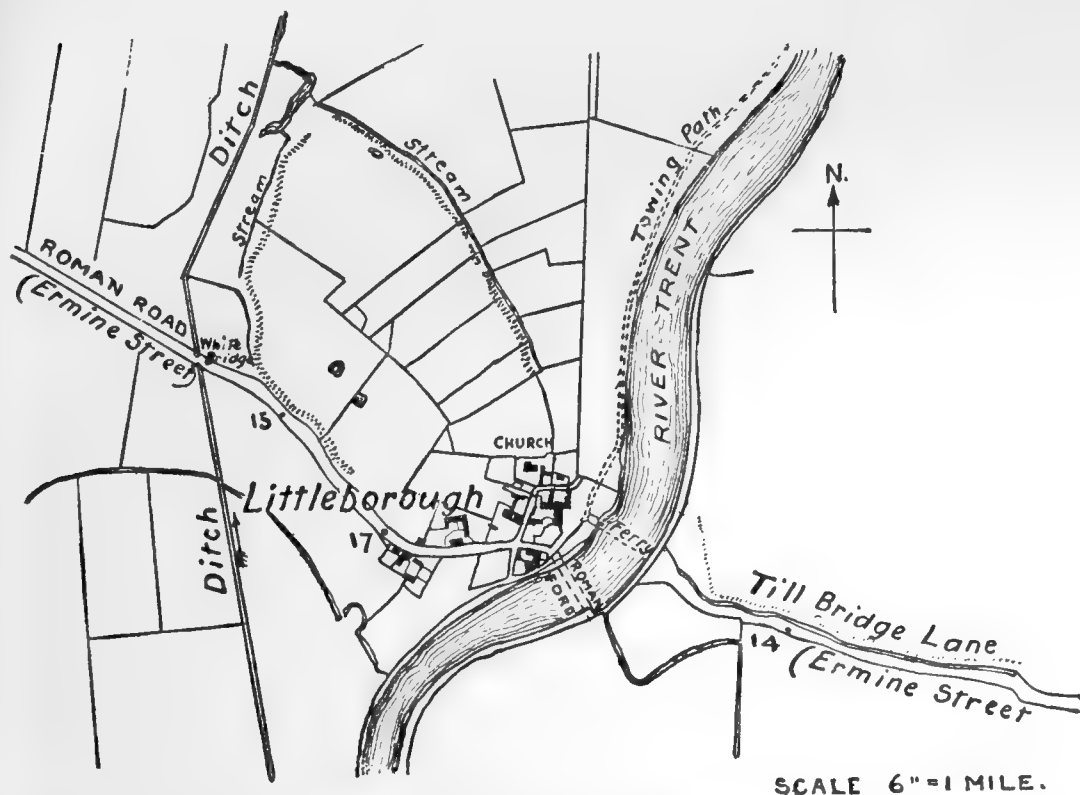


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF SITE OF SEGELOCUM, SHOWING POSSIBLE INDICATIONS OF ROMAN SETTLEMENT

(A.D. 161–80), Gallienus (A.D. 253–68), Tetricus (A.D. 268–73), Victorinus (A.D. 265–67), Carausius (A.D. 287–93), Constantine (A.D. 306–37), Constantius, Crispus (A.D. 317–26), and Allectus (A.D. 293). He had also seen 'a great many imperial coins between Nero and Gratian' found in the neighbourhood.¹⁴¹

'There are also found,' says Mr. Ella, 'but very rarely, Roman signets of agate and cornelian; one of the fairest and largest I ever saw was found at

¹³⁷ *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 18 Jan. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 14; Stevenson, *Bygone Notts.* 5; Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 386.

¹³⁸ See above.

¹³⁹ *Op. cit.* 93.

¹⁴⁰ Of these two coins the first is a Trajan, about A.D. 102, the mole being probably the bridge over the Danube (Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'Emp. Rom.* ii, 73, 542; cf. Stevenson, *Dict. of Rom. Coins* 643); for the other see Cohen, *op. cit.* ii, 121, 197. He also mentions a coin of Trajan with a 'Genius,' i.e. Roma, seated on a trophy, holding a 'Victoriola' (A.D. 104–10; Cohen, *op. cit.* ii, 59, 391), and a coin of Constantine II with ALEMANNIA DEVICTA (Cohen, *op. cit.* no. 1).

¹⁴¹ *Op. cit.* 93; *Bibl. Topog. of Brit.* iii, 126 ff.; *Family Memoirs* (Surtees Soc.), iii, 144 ff.; Horsley *Brit. Rom.* 434; *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 168.

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this place.' The only complete piece of pottery was 'of a singular make, with an Emperor's head embossed upon it, the same with that which Dr. Gale had given us the figure of, found at York.'¹⁴³ Coarse grey ware was also met with, which Mr. Ella considered to have been made at 'one of the most noted Roman potteries in this island, Santon near Brigg in Lincolnshire.'¹⁴³ Mr. Hardy possessed 'a large urn with the face of a woman on the outside.'¹⁴⁴ It is singular that no traces of tessellated pavements should have been found.

In 1718 two wrought stones of coarse gritstone, one part of an altar, the other supposed to be sepulchral, were dug up from a sand-pit near White's Bridge. The discovery is recorded by Gough, Ella, and Stukeley. The last-named says: 'two altars, handsomely moulded, are set as piers in a wall on the side of the steps that lead from the water-side to the inn; on one is the remnant of an inscription LIS ARAM DD.'¹⁴⁵ Ella says they were placed so that the inscriptions were not visible; further that 'the one appears to be a sacrificing altar from the Discus on the top; the mouldings are all entire and clean as if new cut, yet no inscription in the field, tho' it is very smooth and plain.' He supposes an inscription had been purposely erased; but notes the LIS ARAM DD. Watkin, in 1877, repeats this, suggests that LIS is part of the word *cancellis*, and adds that the altar was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1759.¹⁴⁶ He contributes the further information¹⁴⁷ that at Osberton Hall there was a Roman altar, bearing an inscription not yet deciphered, and found at Littleborough. It appeared to him different from that found in 1718. He 'thought there was IOM on the capital,' and IRAT in the fifth line (on a sunk panel on the face of the shaft). He gives the measurements of this as 3 ft. 2 in. high, 22 in. broad at the capital, and 16½ in. broad at the centre.¹⁴⁸

Subsequently Professor Haverfield suggested that these two were one and the same, and having examined the Osberton stone found it was so. 'The stone,' he says, 'is a well preserved sandstone altar, 3 ft. 1 in high, with a panel 15 in. square. The only traces of lettering are some faint marks filling two-thirds of the last or penultimate line: LIPARMM. No trace of IOM is visible, and the seven letters given were merely scratched in, not necessarily by a Roman hand. For the rest, the panel was smooth as if it had never been inscribed.'¹⁴⁹ An illustration of the altar is given in fig. 3.

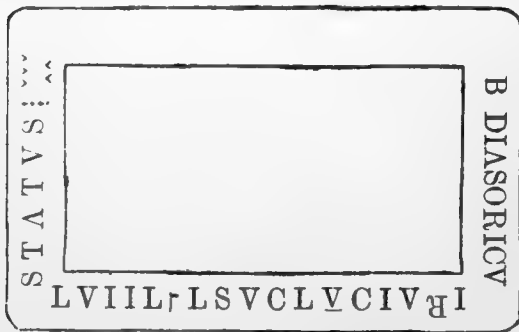


FIG. 6.—DRAWING OF OCULIST'S STAMP FOUND AT LITTLEBOROUGH

¹⁴² Gale, *Anton. Iter. Brit.* 23. It is a 'Face-urn' like one from Lincoln in the British Museum, the upper part roughly modelled as a human head.

¹⁴³ Compare *Phil. Coll.* (1681), 4, 88, and Stanford's *Guide to Lincs.* (1903), 222.

¹⁴⁴ Stukeley, *op. cit.* 94. It is probably the one described above.

¹⁴⁵ Gough's *Camden*, ii, 404; *Bibl. Topog. of Brit.* iii, 128; Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 94; cf. *Family Memoirs* (Surtees Soc.), iii, 149; *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 168.

¹⁴⁶ *Soc. Antiq. MS. Min.* i, 88.

¹⁴⁷ From Mr. F. J. S. Foljambe, M.P.

¹⁴⁸ *Notst. Daily Guardian*, 18 Jan., 5 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xxxi, 352; xxxiv, 63; xliii, 13; *Ephem. Epigr.* iii, 120, 71, iv, 199, 673; White, *Workshop*, 99; *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* v, 24.

¹⁴⁹ *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 335, no. 1097; *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 232.



FIG. 3.—ROMAN ALTAR, FOUND IN TRENT AT LITTLEBOROUGH
(OSBERTON MANOR)

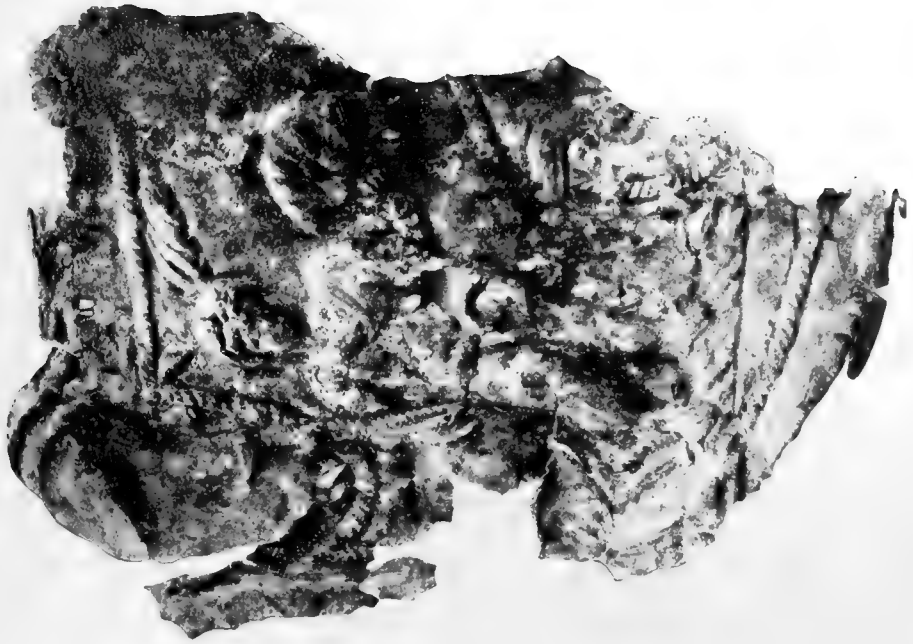


FIG. 2.—CHEEKPIECE OF ROMAN HELMET,
FOUND AT BROUGH



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One more inscription was found at Littleborough before the close of the 18th century. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1772¹⁵⁰ contains a letter from 'C.D.' dated Southwell, 20 August, inclosing a drawing of a small, flat, square piece of stone, which he supposed to be a *tessera* or token used by a Roman centurion in setting the nightly guard. It is, however, obviously an oculist's stamp, bearing the names of the medicines prescribed and perhaps also that of the oculist himself.¹⁵¹ The stamp is now missing but the drawing of it given by 'C.D.' (fig. 6) enables us to read it :

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| (a) LVIIIILVCIVCIVSI | <i>T. A[nn]i ? stact(um) at clari(tatem) ('for clearness of the eye').</i> |
| (b) BDIA3ORICV | <i>. . dia[ps]oricu(m)</i> |
| (c) STATVS | <i>Sta[c]tu[m] ?</i> |
| (d) <i>Vacat.</i> | |

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX

ARNOLD.—Two miles to the north-west of this village is a large camp, situated on the highest ground in Sherwood Forest (508 ft.), and commanding the smaller camps near Farnsfield and Oxton. The hill on which it stands, formerly known as Holly Hill, is marked on the Ordnance Survey (6-in., xxxiii, SE.) as 'Cockpit Hill, site of encampment' [*Arch.* x, 378, with plan; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 41]. Whether ever occupied by Roman forces or not, the camp is at all events of rectangular form [*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 292, with plan].

ASKHAM.—An urn containing bones and some silver and copper coins was found in 1850 by Mr. I. Smith Woolley in a cutting of the Great Northern Railway. Fourteen silver coins from this hoard were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, ranging from Julius Caesar (B.C. 49) to Domitian (A.D. 96) [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), ii, 100].

AVERHAM.—On Mickleborough Hill, to the north of the village, W. Dickinson saw 'traces of Roman fortification, and in its relative situation symptoms of a Roman *iter*' (see pp. 7, 36 for the same writer's view that a road led thence over the supposed bridge at Winthorpe to Brough) [*Dickinson, Antiq. in Notts.* 93; no description or details given].

BABWORTH.—In 1802 ninety-one Roman coins, sixty-two copper and twenty-nine silver, were found about 200 yds. to the south of Morton Hall. A stone set up on the spot to mark this is indicated on the Ordnance Survey maps. The coins were exhibited at Nottingham in 1899 by their present possessor, Mr. W. H. Mason, who described the find to the Thoroton Society and pointed out that the site was only a quarter of a mile from the Roman road from Ollerton to Blyth. Coins have also been found at Osberton, just on the other side of this road. The Morton Hall coins range in date from A.D. 54 to A.D. 180, and include examples of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Domitilla, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and the two Faustinas; the majority are coins of Trajan and Hadrian [Information from Mr. W. H. Mason of Morton Hall]. [Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 196; R. White, *Workshop*, 38; *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* iii, 20, 24; Ordnance Survey 6-in., xiv, NW.]

BARTON-IN-FABIS.—During the first half of the 19th century tessellated pavements were, it is said, sometimes met with beneath the soil of a yard on the glebe farm. In a field close by, which from time to time showed square and comparatively barren patches on its surface, large stones and remains of walls were also occasionally found. It does not seem, however, that any attempt was made to investigate the site before April 1856, when the parish clerk struck against the edge of a tessellated pavement in ploughing here. Excavations were immediately begun under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Wintour, then rector, and part of a fine pavement was disclosed one foot below the surface. This, which consisted of an oblong rectangle, 15 ft. by 10 ft., was supposed to have formed one-fourth of the whole pavement. It was made up of red, white, and blue *tesserae* arranged in an outer border of red and then one of

¹⁵⁰ p. 415; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 260. Gough was similarly puzzled by it (Camden ii, 404, pl. 14, fig. 5).

¹⁵¹ *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1321; xiii (3), 597, no. 10021, 204 (Espérandieu, *Signac. medic. orac.* no. 84); *Monthly Journ. Med. Science*, xii (1851), 248 (Simpson, *Arch. Essays*, ii, 280), pl. 3, fig. 8; *Arch. Journ.* vii, 358; xliii, 14 (with cut); *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xx, 175; *Philologus*, xliii (1858), 164, no. 73; Grotefend, *Stempel der röm. Augenärzten*, 125, no. 108; *Revue Archéologique*, xxii (1893), 28; *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 18 Jan. 1877.

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- blue, with a double line of white inclosing a brilliant scroll border in which all three colours were interlaced. Inner lines of white and blue separated this scroll border from the centre, which was filled with a great variety of geometrical figures grouped round a large ellipse. The floor of *tesserae* was laid in a bed of cement with a great depth of black artificial soil beneath it. Much charred wood was found about the site, which, with the absence of other relics, makes it probable that the villa was destroyed by fire. No attempt seems to have been made to investigate any other part of the field, or even to complete the excavation of this pavement [*Nott. Daily Guardian*, 23 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 31; *Gent. Mag.* 1856, i, 506; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 259; Briscoe, *Old Notts.* (Ser. 2), 141]. At no great distance from the villa is a supposed fortification known as Brand's Hill or Brent Hill [Ordnance Survey, 6-in. xlv, NE.; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 312], which has been thought to show traces of Roman occupation. Gough speaks of coins found here, as do Reynolds and Throsby, apparently on his authority [*Camden, Brit.* ii, 401; *Iter. Brit.* 422; *Hist. of Notts.* i, 101]. Watkin concluded that it was Roman¹ [*Arch. Journ.* xliii, 32]; but the generally received opinion, upheld by Mr. Stevenson in his article on Earthworks [*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 312]² is that we have here probably remains of prehistoric terrace-ploughing. It is not, however, impossible that the Romans occupied a position here subsequently, as suggested by Laird [*Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, pt. 1, 3, 187].
- BEESTON.—Portions of a Roman road are said to be discernible, also 'remains of an ancient building' [Lewis, *Topog. Dict. of Engl.* (7th ed. 1849)].
- BINGHAM.—In the Castle Museum at Nottingham is a tubular earthenware tile, said to be from Bingham, but more probably from Mrs. Miles' excavations at East Bridgeford (p. 16); also other objects found with it [Information from Prof. F. Granger].
- BLIDWORTH.—A bronze key found here [*Sketch of Sherwood Forest*, pl. 4, fig. 2, p. 25], may be Roman (cf. MANSFIELD).
- BLYTH.—Roman coins were found here in 1692 [Gough's *Camden*, ii, 407; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 36]. See also TORWORTH.
- BRIDGEFORD, EAST.—Site of Margidunum; see above, p. 15.
- BRIDGEFORD, WEST.—Throsby quotes from Deering to the effect that West Bridgeford may have been a Roman station, owing to its proximity to the Trent, and its distance of not five itinerary miles from the Fosse, and of eight or nine miles from East Bridgeford. The arguments seem inadequate; but a pot of Roman coins appears to have been found at Wilford close by (*v. sub voce*) [Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), ii, 11; Deering, *Nottinghamia vetus et nova* (1751), 287]. A 'stone man' on a slab at the chancel door of the church is maintained by 'Camulodunum,' writing in a local magazine, to be a figure of a Roman centurion in a toga, and not a Crusader, as popularly believed. This theory is, however, stated by Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore to have not the slightest authority [*Notts. and Derb. Notes and Queries*, ii (Feb. 1893), 7, 22].
- BROUGH.—Site of Crococolana; see above, p. 11.
- BROUGHTON, UPPER. See WILLOUGHBY, p. 17.
- CALVERTON.—Nearly two hundred denarii, chiefly of Trajan and Hadrian (A.D. 98–138), were found in 1797 in a broken pot [Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), ii, 147].
- CARBURTON.—Stated, but without authority, to be a Roman settlement [Kelly's *Dir.* 1904, p. 40.]
- CAR COLSTON.—Part of the station of Margidunum is in this parish; see under BRIDGEFORD, EAST (p. 15).
- CLARBOROUGH.—A Roman marble bust from this site, lent by Mr. Henry Hill, was exhibited at Nottingham, Jan. 1899 [*Thoroton Soc. Trans.* iii, 51, no. 354]. This bust is illustrated in fig. 7, from a photograph kindly supplied by the owner, who states that it was found by a labourer some fifty years ago, and that he acquired it at the sale of the effects of the late Canon Brookes of Nottingham, formerly of Clarborough. No other Roman remains have been found here, but the discovery seems to be authenticated; it is certainly remarkable that such an exceptionally good piece of work, ranking with the best examples of Roman sculpture found in Britain, should have come to light in this unexpected place. The bust is about 14 in. high, and appears to date from the 3rd century. It represents a clean-shaven elderly personage in military costume, but it is doubtful whether it is an emperor, though the close-cut hair and the features suggest Balbinus (A.D. 238).
- CLAYWORTH. See WISETON.
- COLLINGHAM, NORTH.—Roman pottery has been frequently met with, and stones supposed to be Roman are worked into the walls of cottages and gardens [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 84].

¹ He compares similar terraces near Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland.

² See the plan there given. He classes it among uncertain earthworks (Class X).

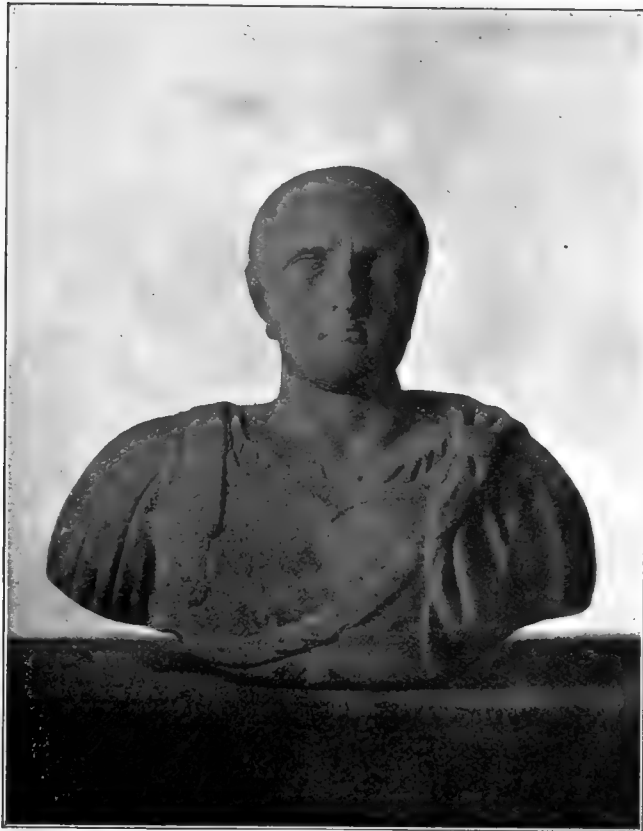


FIG. 7.—ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST (THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST), FOUND AT CLARBOROUGH



FIG 8 —REMAINS OF ROMAN BRIDGE OVER THE TRENT, FOUND NEAR CROMWELL IN 1885



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About 1840 a large number of skeletons were found between the railway station and Potter Hill (see p. 12), and according to one report Roman coins with them [Wake, *Hist. of Collingham*, 42; Kelly's *Dir.* 1904, p. 48]. An amber and a stone bead, 'British or Roman,' were found in a field near the High Street [Wake, loc. cit.].

COLLINGHAM, SOUTH.—Quantities of Roman pottery, including a few fragments of Gaulish ware and a *mortarium*, are said to have been found here [Wake, *Hist. of Collingham*, 43; Kelly's *Dir.* 1904, p. 48]. In this parish is the station of Crococolana (see under BROUGH, p. 11). See also CROMWELL for the bridge across the Trent here.

COTGRAVE.—Four skeletons lying in separate graves were found in the line of the Fosse Way about 1836; with one was a third brass of Carausius (A.D. 287–93), and it is said that two iron spears, varying in length from 16 in. to 18 in., were deposited with each interment. Other Roman coins from the neighbourhood are also reported, but not in detail. Bateman regarded this as a Saxon burial, but Mr. Reginald Smith considers it Roman of the 5th century [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iii, 297; viii, 190; Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 397; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 197].

At Lodge-on-the-Wolds in this parish Stukeley, in 1722, saw the Roman pavement of the Fosse [*Itin. Cur.* 106; see above, p. 8].

CROMWELL.—In this parish is the site of a Roman bridge crossing the Trent (Ordnance Survey, 6-in. xxv, SE.) a little way below a bank or island called the 'Oven.' Part of this bridge seems to have been cleared away early in the last century to improve the navigation of the river. Its piers were described by Frank Lambert, an old servant of the Trent Navigation Company, who had assisted in its removal, as of 'lozenge-shape,' formed by trees laid on the bed of the river, and the inclosed space filled in with Coddington stone laid edgewise. Mr. Watkin, who obtained this information for his series of articles on Roman Notts., thought it probable that the construction of this bridge was Roman, and compared the shape of the piers with those at Chesters and Corbridge in Northumberland [*Nott. Daily Guardian*, 20 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 26]. His belief was confirmed seven or eight years later, when a fresh discovery was reported in October 1884. Two piers, apparently of an ancient wooden bridge, were discovered in the course of dredging operations between the parishes of Cromwell and South Collingham, and after some observations and measurements had been made, they were blown up by dynamite. A photograph³ of the remains taken at the time is here reproduced (fig. 8). The foundations were of wood set in Ancaster, or, as a later correspondent reported, Yorkshire, limestone mixed with Yorkshire flagging, and from the quantity of stones dredged up below the bridge it seemed likely that the piers themselves (which must have been six or seven in number, with a length and a span each of 29 ft.) were of masonry, 'the wooden crib forming a foundation, and the upright timbers acting as bond-timbers.' Some of the timber was in very good condition, and the mortar was hard and adhesive. The walings and balks were of hard black oak, the former fastened across

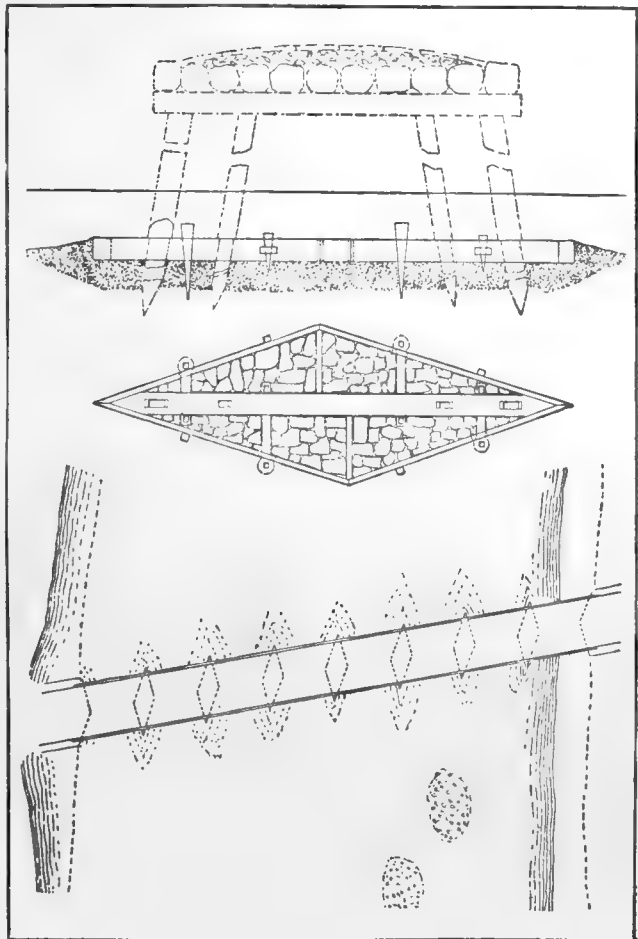


FIG. 8a.—PLAN OF ROMAN BRIDGE AT CROMWELL

³ For this photograph we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. T. Cecil S. Woolley, of South Collingham.

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through the centre balk by wooden tie-pieces with octangular heads, through which wedges were driven. The abutment appears to have been washed or carried away.⁴ Another account says :—

The piers consisted simply of two stout piles, protected each by a fender, set in a species of strong cribwork filled with rubble masonry. The strength of the cribwork is shewn by its lasting to this day, and the lightness of the superstructure (of which there are of course no traces except the mortices in the sleepers) was such that it would enable the bridge to be destroyed in a few hours and rebuilt again in a few days.

A number of human skulls and bones were dredged up near the same place [*Standard*, 28 Oct., 5 Nov. 1885; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 84 (see for various additional details); *Antiquary*, x, 274]. The first announcement of this discovery was followed by other correspondence, dealing mainly with the vexed question of Ad Pontem (see p. 6), and a summary of conflicting opinions on this point was given by Mr. Compton [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 43 ff.; see also *Standard*, 31 Oct., 3–5 Nov. 1884]. Somewhat later a plan of the piers of the bridge and a note on the excavations were communicated to the Association named by Mr. Wheldon of the Trent Navigation Society [*Journ.* xli, 83, with plan; see fig. 8a]. It seems to have been generally agreed that the bridge was of Roman construction, made of stout piers with a roadway of wood, and the mention by one correspondent of a balk of black oak bearing the numerals CLII⁵ inclined Mr. Watkin to believe that part of the roadway still lies embedded in the channel of the river [*Standard*, 5 Nov. 1884; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 27].

EATON.—Eaton or Idleton was at first identified by Camden with Agelocum or Segelocum, afterwards shown to be Littleborough (see p. 19) [Camden, *Brit.* (ed. 1586), 311; (ed. 1607), 413; Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (1677), 398; *ibid.* (ed. Throsby), iii, 257].

EGMANTON.—Earthworks here have been thought to be part of a series of defences extending from a Roman camp at Laxton, but they appear to belong to a mediaeval castle mount of type E; a few small bronze coins, chiefly of Constantine, have been found [*Arch. Journ.* xxxviii, 427; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 306].

EPPERSTONE.—A hoard of nearly 1,000 small copper coins was found in 1776, all of the 3rd century; the emperors represented are Gallienus and Salonina, Postumus, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus, the Tetrici, Quintillus, Carausius, and Aelianus (A.D. 254–86). The last-named is said to have been a remarkably fine specimen, with (on the rev.) Victory and Fame and VICTORIA AVG. [Merrey, *Remarks on the Coinage of Engl.* pp. 6, 101; Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), iii, 40; *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii (1), 273]. On Holy or Solly Hill in Epperstone Park Dickinson places the site of a Roman camp [*Antiq. in Notts.* i, *Expl. Obs.* 7; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 40]. It is rectangular in form and may be Roman [*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 301 (type C.)].

EVERTON.—A hoard of 600 Roman coins found in 1885 in a field between Everton and Bawtry, all of copper except a few that appear to have been washed with silver; the emperors represented were from Valerian to Diocletian (A.D. 253–305) [*Num. Chron.* (Ser. 3), vi, 245]. See also SCAFTWORTH.

FARNDON. See above, p. 7.

FARNSFIELD.—Remains of an encampment, inclosing 40 acres, at Hill Close near Hexgrave Park, are described by Major Rooke, who considered them Roman; he states that the ditch and vallum are perfect in places though obliterated elsewhere. Dickinson, however, regarded its irregular shape and the absence of remains of walls or fortifications as a proof that it was not Roman, and Bateman also considered it British; Mr. Stevenson classes it as a hill fortress (type B) [O.S. xxix. NW.; *Arch.* ix, 200; Dickinson, *Antiq. in Notts.* i, 288; Rastall,^{6a} *Hist. of Southwell*, 366; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 183; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 39; Kelly's *Dir.* 1904, p. 531; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 295].

At Combs Farm, 3½ miles south-west of Hexgrave Park, is a smaller camp, 249 yds. by 66 yds., which both Rooke and Dickinson accepted as Roman; Mr. Stevenson considers it a promontory fortress (type A). The west and part of the south side of the ditch and vallum remained in 1788, and also a circular vallum of earth about 40 yds. in diameter, a short distance to the north. Rooke saw here fragments of Roman bricks and tiles and a large brass coin much defaced, and Dickinson mentions Roman weapons found here. It

⁴ Mr. Wheldon notes that stone like that used for the foundations may be seen in cottage walls and gardens at Collingham (see above).

⁵ It is almost incredible that the correspondent alluded to should actually have endeavoured to interpret this numeral as 152 A.D. ! On this he builds a theory of the date of the Fosse Way in the reign of Antoninus Pius !

^{6a} This was the surname formerly borne by W. Dickinson, when he published this earlier work in 1787.

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may therefore have been occupied at one time by the Romans. The camp commands an extensive view over Sherwood Forest, and the road from Southwell to Mansfield, which has been thought Roman, passes between this and Hexgrave [*Arch.* ix, 200, pl. 11; x, 380; Dickinson, *op. cit.* i, 290, *Expl. Obs.* 5; *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii (1), 271; *Arch. Journ.* xliiii, 40; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 291; O.S. xxviii. SE.].

Near the first-mentioned camp was found a Roman pig of lead (fig. 9), from the Derbyshire mining districts, in 1848. It was formerly at Thurgarton Priory, but was acquired by the British Museum in 1879. It is inscribed C · IVL · PROTI · BRIT · LVT · EX · ARG, C. *Ful(i) Proti*

Brit(annicum) Lut(udarense) ex argentariis. It measures 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. and weighs 184 lb. *Lutudarense* is explained by Professor Haverfield as referring to the lead mines of Lutudarum (Matlock); *ex argentariis* denotes that the lead was mined as containing silver which was separated in the smelting. Professor Gowland states that this pig has been treated for the extraction of silver [*V.C.H. Derb.* i, 231, fig. 30, no. 3; Hübner in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1216; *Arch. Journ.* xvi, 36; xliiii, 40; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* v, 79; viii, 55; (New Ser.) iv, 275; *Gent. Mag.* 1849, i, 518; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 1), i, 259; Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* (6th edn.), 295; Yates in *Somerset. Arch. Soc. Trans.* viii (1858), 11; *Arch. lvi*, 402 (analysis of metal by Gowland) with pl. 57, no. 4].



FIG. 9.—PIG OF LEAD, HEXGRAVE PARK, FARNSFIELD

FLINTHAM.—A Roman vase, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, was dug up from a ditch at the depth of 3 ft. in 1776, and was at one time in the collection of Mr. John Disney at the Hyde, Ingatestone, Essex. It is described as a 'grey terra cotta vase of sun-dried clay, broken at the lip; on the shoulder, a rough raised border, folded inwards in a sort of wave.' See fig. 10 [*Gough's Camden*, ii, 401; *Museum Disneianum*, ii, pl. 93, fig. 4, p. 226; *Arch. Journ.* vi, 85; Gerhard, *Denkm. u. Forschungen*, 1849, *Anzeiger*, 55; *Inventory of Disney Vases*, 278 (in Greek and Roman Departmental Library, Brit. Mus.)]. Roman urns and coins have also been reported at different times [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 187].



FIG. 10.—ROMAN VASE FROM FLINTHAM (DISNEY COLL.)

GATEFORD. See WORKSOP.

GRANBY.—A stone altar of the Roman period was dug up in the churchyard in 1812, and was afterwards in the possession of Andrew Esdaile, but has now disappeared. He describes it as 10 in. high and 5 in. square, with rude columns at the corners, and a hollow at the top; on the sides are carvings; on the front 'a Roman figure,' with helmet and toga, sword in left hand; on the sides 'hieroglyphics,' i.e. the head of a lamb with the body and wings of a dragon; on the back 'a finely-cut vegetable figure' [Esdaile, *Rut. Mon.* 50; Godfrey, *Notes on Churches of Notts.* (*Bingham Hund.*), 201; information also from Rev.

A. du Boulay Hill of East Bridgeford]. It is possibly in this parish that a find occurred in 1786 of 'several Roman coins in a field near Belvoir, Nottinghamshire, some with the head of Adrian (A.D. 117–38) and others with that of Vespasian' (A.D. 70–9) [*Gent. Mag.* 1787, i, 83].

GRINGLEY-ON-THE-HILL.—Traces of a Roman road have been noted [*Family Memoirs of Stukeley*, (Surtees Soc.), iii, 150], but the road from Littleborough to Bawtry passes over a mile away to the south-west through Clayworth.

HARWORTH.—In 1828 three silver Roman coins, of Hadrian, Antoninus, and Faustina (A.D. 117–68), with part of a vase and pieces of pottery, were found on the site of a supposed Roman station at Merton. It is said that the outlines of an octagonal building could be traced here in the middle of the last century [Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*; Dickinson, *Expl. Obs.* p. 2 (under Bawtry); *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 16 Mar. 1877; Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 362; *Arch. Journ.* xliiii, 35]. The Ordnance Survey marks a 'Roman bank' at Serlby Park in this parish, presumably the rectangular camp of type C described in the article 'Earthworks' of this History [O.S.

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25-in. vi, 9; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 302; see also SCROOBY]. For the Roman villa near here see under STYRRUP.

HAYTON.—At Tilne, a hamlet in this parish, Gough records the discovery of ‘a Druid amulet of an aqueous transparent colour with yellow streaks, and many Roman seals on cornelians.’ Mr. Watkin thinks that the amulet must have been of Roman workmanship, and that this find is identical with one recorded by Laird, who speaks of ‘a stylus and several agates and cornelians with inscriptions and engravings,’ dug up in this parish [Gough, *Camden*, ii, 405; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 36; Brayley, *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, (1) 309].

HEXGRAVE. See FARNSFIELD.

HICKLING.—A supposed Roman station, 2½ miles from the Fosse [Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 30; Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), i, 147; Kelly’s *Dir.*, 1904, p. 76; Lewis’s *Topog. Dict.* places it on Standard Hill]. In 1777 an urn containing nearly two hundred denarii was turned up by the plough. Among the emperors represented were Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian, also the two Faustinas (A.D. 70–175), and a few coins of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius, once preserved in a local collection, may have come from the same hoard. Throsby describes a coin of Augustus with *DIVI F. AVG* on obv. and *Apollo* on rev., with *ACT* for *Actium*⁶ [Merrey, *Remarks on the Coinage of Engl.* pp. 6, 100; Thoroton, *Hist. Notts.* (ed. Throsby), i, 147; ii, 143, pl. 10, figs. 1–3; Reynolds, *Iter. Brit.* 445].

HOLME PIERREPONT.—An ancient cemetery found here in 1842 seems to have been Saxon rather than Roman; but with the Saxon objects were one or two undoubtedly Roman, viz. a brooch in the form of a spotted quadruped, and part of a thin yellow glass bowl about six inches in diameter, with the figure of a bird, and part of an inscription *SEMPER* (fig. 11) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iii, 298 (with figs.); viii, 190; *Arch.* xxxvii, 471; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 195].



FIG. 11.—GLASS BOWL FROM HOLME PIERREPONT

HUCKNALL TORKARD.—An ancient burial place found in 1870 included thirty-five skeletons in five graves, but no objects found therewith, nor any other indication as to the date of the interment [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), v, 35].

IDLETON. See EATON.

LANGFORD.—Dickinson in searching for a station between Brough and Mickleborough Hill (see AVERHAM), found traces of a small encampment, which he assumed to be Roman, but on very insufficient evidence. He was evidently led astray by his belief in a bridge at Winthorpe, and supposed road from Brough to Ad Pontem (Southwell) [*Antiq. in Notts.* i, 104, *Expl. Obs.* 6]. A large tumulus and trenches were visible in 1867 [Wake, *Hist. of Collingham*, 5]. Roman coins are sometimes found in the parish [ibid. 84].

LAXTON.—Roman coins have been found, among which was a denarius of Trajan (98–117) [*Arch. Journ.* xxxviii, 427]. See also EGMANTON.

LITTLEBOROUGH.—The site of Segelocum; see above, p. 19.

MANSFIELD.—Rooke gives illustrations of a few bronze articles found here or in the neighbourhood; they include a key which may be Roman (cf. BLIDWORTH, p. 24), a *fibula* of Roman 2nd-century type (cf. SKEGBY, p. 34), which appeared to have been ornamented with enamel or precious stones, and Bronze Age objects; the key was found at Berry Hill. Rooke calls them all Roman [*Sketch of Sherwood Forest* (1799), 25, pl. 4, figs. 1, 4–6]. In 1788 coins of Vespasian (A.D. 70–9), Antoninus and M. Aurelius (A.D. 138–80), and Constantine (A.D. 306–37) were in his possession, all found in the town [*Arch.* ix, 203; Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), ii, 312].

In 1849 a hoard of between 300 and 400 denarii, many in a fine state of preservation, was discovered on the railway towards Pinxton. They included coins of Augustus, Vespasian, Hadrian, L. Aelius (A.D. 135–8), Antoninus, M. Aurelius, Commodus (A.D. 180–92), Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211), and Geta (A.D. 209–12) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* v, 160, 375; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 38].

Rooke believed that a Roman road ran from Southwell to Mansfield. See also p. 10 for a supposed road from here to Warsop (Leeming Lane).

MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE.—The discovery of a villa in this part of Sherwood Forest, where no Roman road or station was supposed to exist, was made by Major Rooke in the spring of 1786. His attention was first attracted by some *tesserae* about an inch square, called by the

⁶ There is a silver coin of B.C. 12 answering to this description; see Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'Emp. Rom.* i, 84, 144.

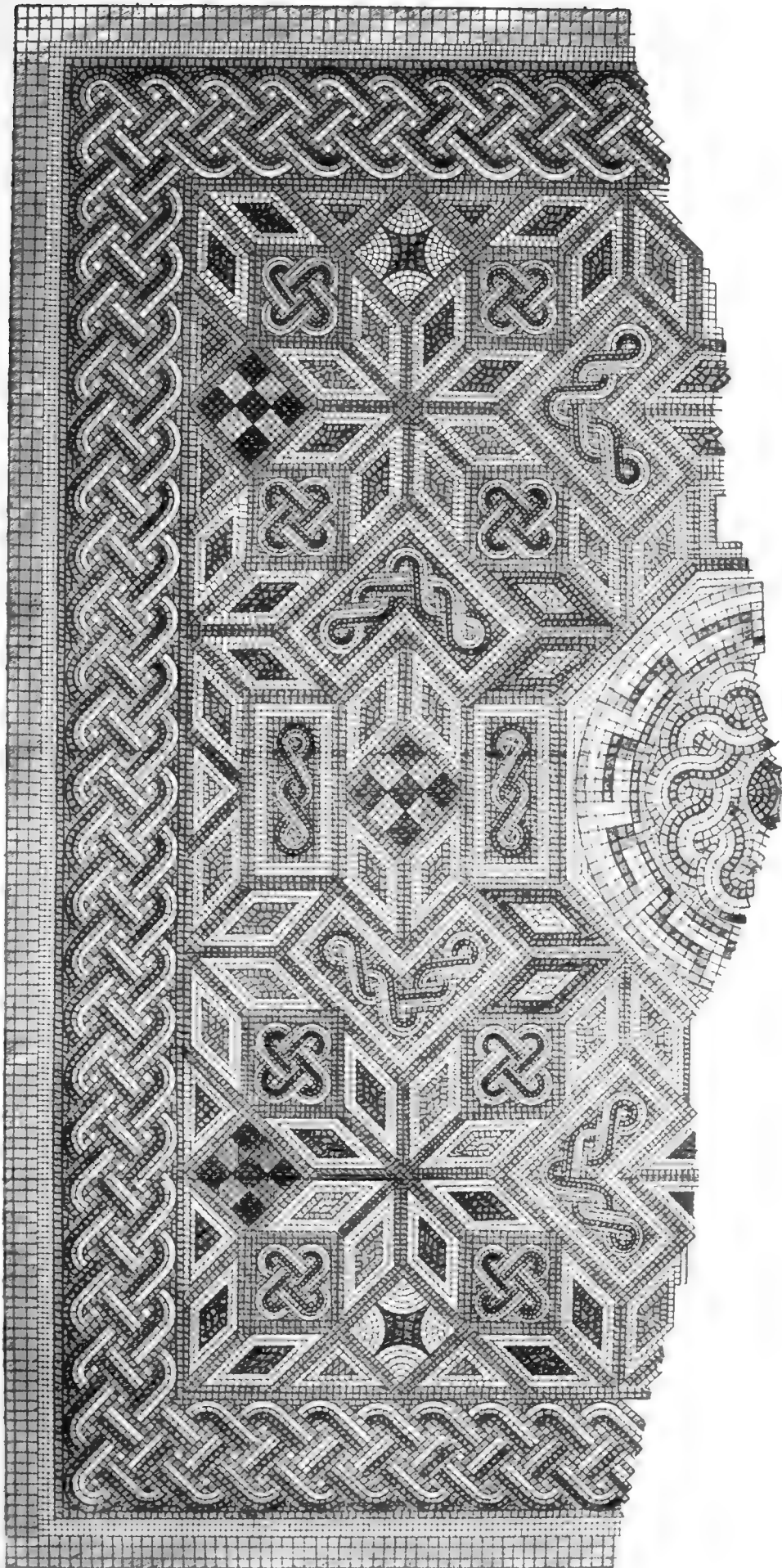
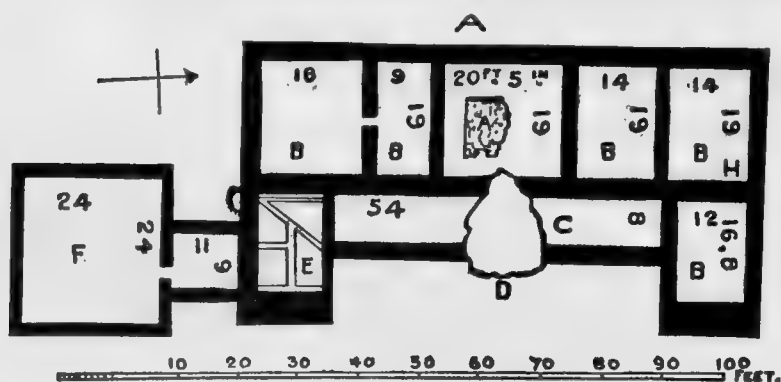


FIG. 12.—PAVEMENT FOUND IN ROMAN VILLA AT MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE

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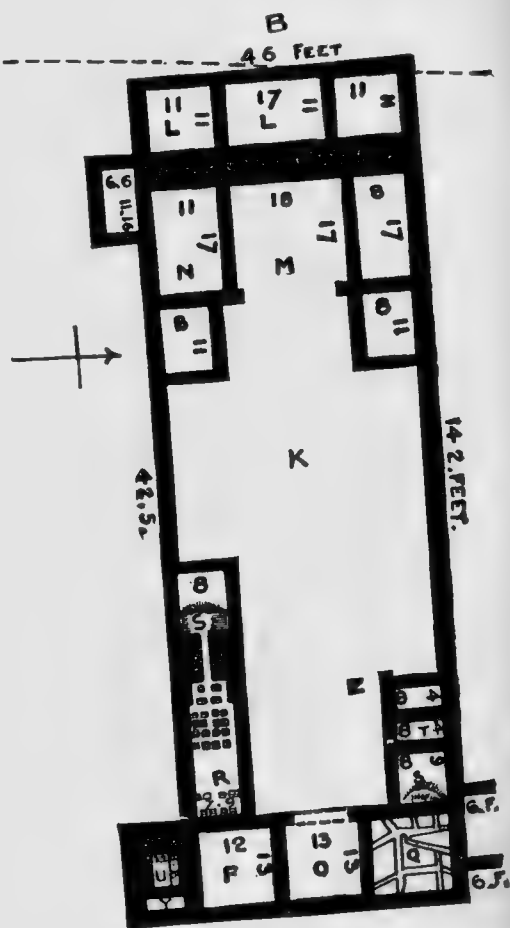
country people 'fairy pavements,' which had been found about a mile from the village, in a field from which stones and bricks were occasionally removed for agricultural purposes. Observing that several bricks from this spot were Roman, he determined on its exploration. At the beginning of the excavations walls were disclosed about a foot below the surface, and then several rooms of a villa of the corridor type, the entrance to which seems to have been by a corridor, 54 ft. long and 8 ft. wide, on the east side (see plan, fig. 13, A). Remains of a



fine tessellated pavement were unearthed in the centre room, and fragments of wall-plaster painted in stripes of purple, red, yellow, green, and other colours were found here and in five smaller rooms (plan, B), in which were also ashes and traces of fire. The floors in these latter were of *opus Signinum* (lime, clay, and pounded tile). In the corridor were the remains of another tessellated pavement, most of which had been destroyed by

FIG. 13.—PLAN OF ROMAN VILLA AT MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE

a limekiln of recent date. It consisted of a border of *tesserae* of light stone colour surrounding squares or grey *tesserae*, all alike being nearly one inch square. Here again the walls were painted. At the south end of this corridor was a hypocaust (E), and adjoining it a small room with a doorway leading into another 24 ft. square, supposed to have been the kitchen. The top of a lamp, and part of a colander were found here, and there were marks of fire on the floor. The end walls of the hypocaust and of the room at the north end of the corridor were 5 ft., the outer walls 2½ ft., the party-walls 1½ ft. thick. Fourteen feet from the north-west corner of the villa was found a small building with flat stone paving. The pavement in the centre room (fig. 12), described by a contemporary writer as 'the most curious and beautiful of the sort ever beheld in this part of the kingdom,' appears to have been covered over by a building erected by Mr. Knight; but in 1797 this had become ruinous, and the pavement in a neglected condition [*Arch.* viii, 363 ff., plates 22-6; *Gent. Mag.* 1786, ii, 616; *Rom. Brit. Rem.* i, 259; Thoroton (ed. Throsby, *Hist. of Notts.*), ii, 319; Morgan, *Rom. Brit. Mosaic Pavements*, 121; *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 23 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 28 ff. (abstract of Rooke's account); Ordnance Survey, 25-in. xxii, 8, marked as 'site of VILLA ROMANA']. In the following autumn Major Rooke discovered another building which he calls the *villa rustica*, or part of the house appropriated to the use of servants, the first being in his opinion the *villa urbana*, or master's residence. However this may be, there is no doubt that the second dwelling (see plan, fig. 13, B) was closely connected with the first; for though no actual junction was discovered, it was only 10 yds. distant from its north-east end, from which it stood in a diagonal line. The wall of the west front, near the so-called *villa urbana*, was 40 ft. long, the side walls each 142 ft. The space inclosed was occupied by two groups of rooms at the east and west ends, with a court between. Of the seven rooms at the west end two (M and N on plan) had painted walls, but no tessellated pavements were found, and



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most of the floors seem to have been of cement. These measured respectively 18 ft. by 17 ft. and 17 ft. by 11 ft., and were separated by a thick double wall from the room marked L. At the east end only one room had painted walls, the colours in which were very bright; at this part of the building were two hypocausts (Plan Q and R; see figs. 13 and 14), with their fireplaces and pillars of tiles supporting the upper floors, also a bath and cellars. A floor of large flat stones was removed in clearing out one hypocaust, and the flues beneath were found

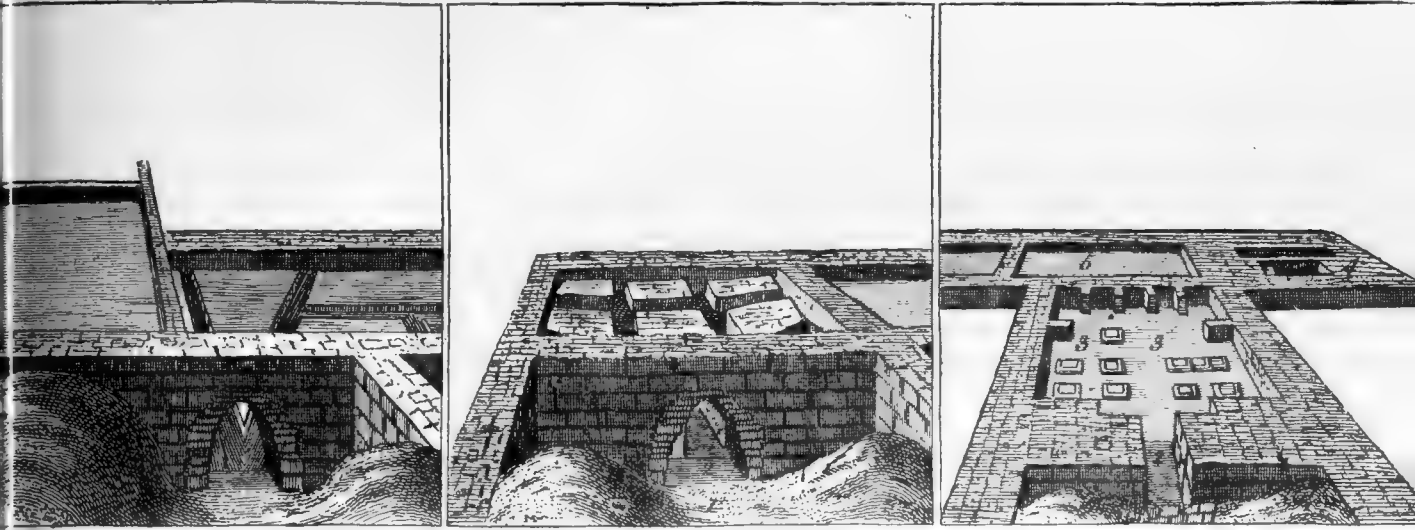


FIG. 14.—HYPOCAUSTS IN ROMAN VILLA, MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE
(From *Archaeologia*)

to be filled with earth. The flues here, which were very perfect, had a sort of chimney of coarse baked clay at the end of each. In clearing the other and larger hypocaust, some large pieces of cement, of lime and pounded brick, possibly fragments of the floor above, were found. In two very small rooms, perhaps cellars, at this end of the villa, were found fifteen small copper coins: one of Salonina (A.D. 263–8), one of Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 268–70), and three of Constantine (A.D. 323–37), the rest illegible. Two oblong bases of pillars, with grooves on the top, were fixed in the inside walls of these small rooms, and these were thought by Major Rooke to be altars. His view was subsequently upheld by the discovery of a capital of an altar on the spot. Two walls projecting from the smaller hypocaust may have belonged to an open porch. Roofing slates were also found with holes pierced for fixing [*Arch. loc. cit.*, q.v. for further details and measurements; see also *ibid.* ix, 203, with pl. 12 (views of hypocausts)].

A hundred yards south-east of what is styled the *villa urbana* were two tombs; of one only the foundations remained, but the side walls of the other were found, and a cement floor. Beneath this was a vault, at the bottom of which stood an urn containing ashes, and some unburnt human bones lay near it. The floor of this tomb consisted of three dressed stones, and its roof must have been of red tiles. Between the two tombs was a pavement 7 ft. square, with

a kind of pedestal in its centre. On clearing away the earth fragments were found of an inscribed stone or *titulus sepulcralis*, which must have stood thereon, but the inscription is incomplete (fig. 15) [*Arch. Journ.* xliii, 29; *Arch.* viii, 372; *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 197].



FIG. 15.—INSCRIPTION FOUND IN VILLA AT MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE

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Among the smaller finds on this site were various fragments of pottery, a small Gaulish bowl stamped ALBVS [*Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 289], bricks and tiles with impressions of animals' feet, part of a large stag's horn, an ivory pin, parts of a *fibula*, and another ornament, and fragments of hand-mills. In a room which he calls the *apodyterium*, Major Rooke found a kind of 'rubber' of pale grey colour, a *fibula*, fragments of a floor of pounded tile and lime, and the altar-capital above mentioned [*Arch.* ix, 203 ff., pl. 12].

When Major Rooke reported these discoveries to the Society of Antiquaries, he expressed the opinion that this villa, though unquestionably Roman, was not connected with any station. Twelve years previously an urn filled with *denarii* had been found, from which he had seen two coins of Antoninus (A.D. 138-61), and the vicinity of an ancient road (see p. 10) may also indicate Roman occupation in the neighbourhood. But the camp at Winny Hill in this parish, described by Rooke as Roman, forming one of a chain between Southwell and Chesterfield, is classed by Mr. Stevenson among the hill-forts (type B) of circular form, and of British origin, and though the Romans may have made use of it, they cannot be claimed as its originators [*Arch.* ix, 193 ff., pl. 10; Dickinson, *op. cit.* *Intro.* 3; *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, (1), 399; *Arch. Journ.* xliiii, 41; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 296].

MISTERTON.—In this parish are the remains of the old Bycar Dyke, said to have been a Roman canal connecting the Trent with the Idle [Stevenson, *Bygone Notts.* 1].

NEWARK.—Roman urns are said to have been found here from time to time by the side of the Fosse Way, the date of the first recorded discovery being 1722, when four were found lying in a straight line and at equal distances. Burnt bones and ashes, and what seemed to be part of a bronze fibula were found in one, in another was 'a small brass bar about an inch and a half long'; others contained square clay beads supposed to be British. A pot of Roman coins is said to have been dug up near them [MS. Min. Antiq. Soc. i, 68; Dickinson, *Antiq. in Notts.* ii, 2 ff.; Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 104; *Arch. Journ.* xliiii, 41, quoting Gough (*op. cit.* ii, 403), who probably only relies on Stukeley]. Watkin relates that six more urns were found in 1826 in digging the foundations of a house; and a much larger number, between thirty and forty of which were complete, were unearthed on the left side of the Fosse, just outside the town, in 1836-7. They were placed upright in the ground, and contained calcined human bones; Bateman, however, showed that these were all of Saxon type [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 184, 189 ff. with pl. 27; *Arch. Journ.* xliiii, 41; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 201].

Stukeley endeavoured to prove that Newark was the site of a Roman city called Eltavona, and an entry in his diary also records the finding of urns, probably those mentioned above. He saw many fine coins ranging in date from B.C. 2 to A.D. 353, and mentions in particular a fine large brass of Trajan with a trophy and captive,⁷ found on the river bank; the commoner kinds were so abundant as to be current in the town as half-pence [*Family Memoirs* (Surtees Soc.), iii, 150; see also Dickinson, *loc. cit.*]. Horsley says that Newark arose out of the ruins of Ad Pontem and Crococolana! [*Brit. Rom.* 439]. Dickinson enlarges on these and other discoveries, with the view of establishing the Roman origin of Newark, deriving the imaginary name Eltavona from the River Tavon or Devon, and refers in particular to the roads supposed to run from Newark to Southwell and Mansfield, and southward towards Stamford [see *V.C.H. Rut.* i, 87]. Of coins, he had in his possession one of L. Piso, master of the mint to Augustus, dated B.C. 2, and others of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, L. Verus (A.D. 98-163), and Magnentius (A.D. 350-3), the latter with the monogram of Christ. He also mentions silver coins of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), Volusenus (A.D. 251-4) and Postumus (A.D. 258-68), a brass of Faustina (A.D. 138-41), and a coin of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-61), with Britannia on the rev. Another collection belonging to Mr. John Herring included specimens of Nero (A.D. 54-68), Trajan (A.D. 98-117), Faustina (A.D. 138-41), and 3rd-century emperors [*Antiq. in Notts.* i, 105; ii, 2-16; *Expl. Obs.* 6]. Apart from the finds of coins, which may be accounted for by the proximity of the Fosse Way, there does not appear to be the slightest evidence for regarding Newark as a Roman station, or as having any existence in pre-Saxon times. Stukeley's Eltavona is, of course, as great an absurdity as Dickinson's Sidnaceaster.

NEWSTEAD.—A bronze key found in making a road through Sherwood Forest was thought by Major Rooke from its shape and patina to be of Roman workmanship, but this seems doubtful; it resembles that found at Mansfield (see p. 28) [*Sketch of Sherwood Forest*, 25, pl. 4, no. 3; *Arch.* x, pl. 34, p. 380].

NOTTINGHAM.—A hoard of Roman coins was ploughed up near the town in 1698. Throsby, who obtained some specimens, described them as common, and mostly of Tetricus (A.D. 268-73), though there were others of Gallienus (A.D. 253-68), Victorinus (A.D. 265-7), and Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 268-70) [*Philos. Trans.* xx, 208].

⁷ Gold coins of this type were struck by Trajan in A.D. 116-17, in commemoration of *Parthia capta*.

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In 1890 two red earthenware vessels, about 4 in. high, resembling small amphorae, were found in a ditch between Warser Gate and Carlton Street, and appear to be Roman; they are now in the Castle Museum [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xiv, 24; *Antiq.* xxv, 127]. A Roman (?) lance-head from excavations in the town was shown at an exhibition in 1899 [*Thoroton Soc. Trans.* iii, 50, no. 349].

Gale identified Nottingham with Causennae of the Itinerary, and maintained that its caves were the work of the Romans, a theory revived 150 years later by Mr. Dutton Walker [*Iter. Anton. Brit.* 95; *Thoroton, Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), ii, 7 ff.; Deering, *Nottinghamia Vet. et Nov.* App. 286; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), viii, 75 ff.; Briscoe, *Old Notts.* (Ser. 1), 118 ff.]. The latter found traces of a *sepulcrum commune* and a *columbarium* in two of the caves, one of which still showed from 150 to 160 cells for the reception of cinerary urns.

Stevenson states that Nottingham was intersected by a Roman road leading from Leicester to York, 'known here as Stoney Street' [*Bygone Notts.* 41]. For this, of course, there is absolutely no authority, nor is there any adequate reason for regarding Nottingham as a place of Roman occupation.

OSBERTON.—In December 1853 a pot containing 940 bronze coins of the emperors of the Constantine family was dug up near the third milestone from Worksop. The coins are now in Mr. Foljambe's possession at the Hall [White, *Worksop*, 98; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 37; *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* v, 11]. See also **BABWORTH**.

For the Roman altar now preserved at Osberton Hall see p. 22, under **LITTLEBOROUGH**.

OXTON.—A camp in this parish (O.S. 6-in. xxxiii, NE.) is described by Major Rooke, under the name of 'Oldox' (i.e. 'Old Works'), as a 'small exploratory camp, very perfect,' with a double ditch 154 yds. long on its north-eastern side. From its shape it would appear to be a hill-fortress of British origin (type B), but it may have been occupied by the Romans [*Arch.* ix, 201, pl. 11; x, 381 ff., pls. 34 D, 35; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* viii, 185-8; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 40; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 298]. Rooke also examined another 'ancient work,' 314 yds. by 67 yds., with ditch and vallum still recognizable on the north and west sides, in a field called 'Lonely Grange,' about half a mile east of Oldox. This, too, he regarded as Roman, and its form appears to be more rectangular than that of Oldox [O.S. xxxiii, NE. and xxxiv, NW.; *Arch.* x, 379, pl. 34 B.; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 303, described as of type C].

At both places coins were found, but quite defaced. In 1765 a vessel full of Roman coins, some 'of a scarce class,' was dug up at Robin Hood's Pot (now Robin Hood Hill) [Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iii, 1277; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 39].

PLUMTREE.—A considerable number of Roman coins found in this parish were seen by Deering before 1751, but he gives no details [*Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova*, 287; *Thoroton, Hist. of Notts.* (ed. Throsby), ii, 11].

RAGNALL.—There are traces of a Roman encampment at Whimpton Moor, where a stone coffin containing a skeleton, with another skeleton beside it, was found in 1834, and remains of foundations of buildings are said still to exist [*Nott. Daily Guardian*, 16 Mar. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 41].

RUFFORD.—This place is stated to have been 'anciently a Roman encampment' [Kelly, *Dir.* 1904, p. 522]. It is, at all events, close to a possible Roman road (see p. 10).

SAXONDALE. See **SHELFORD**.

SCAFTWORTH.—Fragments of pottery and part of a spear were found in 1750. Some ancient intrenchments, visible at the close of the 18th century, were supposed, in consequence of this discovery, to be the remains of a Roman station on the branch of Ermine Street leading from Littleborough to Doncaster, but they belong to a British fortress (type B) [*Thoroton* (ed. Throsby), *Hist. of Notts.* iii, 323; Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iii, 1250; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 36; Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 303].

SCARLE, SOUTH.—A piece of rough earthenware, supposed to have formed part of the rim of a Roman urn, was found opposite the church in 1865. Foundations of buildings are frequently met with in the village [*Wake, Hist. of Collingham*, 53].

SCROOBY.—A 'Roman bank' mentioned here [*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 313], is apparently identical with the supposed camp at Harworth [*v. supra*].

SELSTON.—About 1830 an earthenware vase containing Roman silver coins was found 18 in. below the surface, in a field. The coins were well preserved, and covered the period from Nero to Trajan (A.D. 54-117). There were also some Republican coins, and a counterfeit coin of the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 70-79) [Lewis, *Topog. Dict. of Engl.*; *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 16 Mar. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 39].

SHELFORD.—At Saxondale, which is now part of this parish, the compiler of *Magna Britannia* (1727) states that Roman (?) stone coffins have been found. They are more likely to be from the site of the old parish church, destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII [*Magna Brit.* iv, 53].

SHIREOAKS. See **WORKSOP**.

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FIG. 16.—BRONZE FIBULA FROM SKEGBY
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

SKEGBY.—A Roman bronze fibula of 2nd-century type was found here, and is now in the British Museum, acquired 1873; length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. See fig. 16.

SOUTHWELL.—There seems to be reason to suppose that this ancient city, the ‘Civitas Tiouulfingaceaster’ of Bede, contains the site of a small Roman settlement. Dickinson, indeed, sought to prove that it was the missing station of Ad Pontem (see p. 7), ‘the centre of four great roads from Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, and Mansfield,’ but in interpreting that term as ‘the station on the road to the bridge’ (*sc.* from Margidunum), he only darkens counsel, as the bridge must then be looked for west or north of Southwell [Dickinson, *Antiq. in Notts.* i, 88 ff.; *Expl. Obs.* 5, with map at

end of part i; cf. Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 439; and Gough, *Camden*, ii, 402].

Dickinson, however, records the discovery in 1793 of a tessellated pavement five or six feet below the surface on the east side of the archbishop’s palace, with which were found some fragments of urns. Shortly before, a small vault, composed almost entirely of Roman bricks, had been found on the north side of the church, and when from time to time some of the more ancient buildings were pulled down, it was generally seen that Roman bricks formed part of their foundations [Dickinson, *loc. cit.*; Brayley, *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii (1), 256]. A few Roman coins had been found in the town before Dickinson’s time, two of which he describes as small copper coins of the reigns of Constantius and Magnentius (A.D. 291–312) [*ibid.*].

Though there are no records of Roman remains in that part of the town known as the Burgage, which Dickinson believed to be a camp occupied by the Romans, he may be correct in that supposition, but it is of oval, not rectangular, form [see *op. cit.* for a plan of the course of the fosse; also *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 304, where it is classified as a camp of Class C]. Dickinson’s account is corroborated by that of a more unprejudiced antiquary, Major Rooke, who was present when some discoveries were made by the vicar of Southwell in his garden. Stones, apparently forming part of a wall, were found 5 ft. below the surface, and near them fragments of painted plaster, a few pavement tesserae, and some pieces of Roman tiles resembling those found at Mansfield Woodhouse (p. 32) [*Arch.* ix, 199].

Another pavement has been found quite recently in the gardens at the residence, but the writer who describes it states that, though pre-Norman, it is certainly not Roman. In this he appears to be wrong. The pavement is described as ‘of rude and coarse work, simple in design, viz. square spaces of about eleven inches each way, composed of stone tesserae of a greyish-blue colour, surrounded by a double row of red tesserae made of chopped-up tile relieved by four of the blue tesserae at each corner of the square.’ Rough as it is, it is clearly Roman; such pavements are not found in mediæval buildings.⁸ This writer further maintains that there are no grounds for ascribing a Roman origin to Dickinson’s pavement of 1793, or to another found thirty years ago in the garden of the house in Vicar’s Court. He mentions tiles found here ‘of peculiar form, having both their edges turned up and shallow ornamentation on their surfaces;’ they are of the ordinary Romano-British types [A. M. Y. Baylay in *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* v, 58 (with plate)].

STANFORD.—Camden states that Roman coins have been found here [*Brit.* (1607), 412 (not in 1616 edition, but see Gough, *op. cit.* ii, 395); see also Reynolds, *Iter. Brit.* 463; Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 38].

STOKE, EAST.—There seem to have been traces of an encampment or post of some sort visible in the 18th century. Stukeley mentions ‘a Roman camp opposite to the church,’ and Throsby refers to a site here [*Family Memoirs of Stukeley* (Surtees Soc.), iii, 151; *Thoroton, Hist. Notts.* (ed. Throsby), i, 148].

STYRRUP.—In the Styrrup portion of the hamlet of Oldcoates, about two miles north-west of Blyth, the remains of a Roman villa were found in 1870 during the erection of a Roman Catholic church in the Manor Field. It had been noticed that Roman roofing-tiles and bones of

⁸ Mr. W. H. St. John Hope informs me that similar coarse Roman pavements have been found at Silchester.

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animals were frequently turned up as the work proceeded, and this led to the digging of some trial pits in May of that year. The discovery was described to the Archaeological Institute by the architect, Mr. S. J. Nicholl, who also exhibited plans of the building. Only three rooms seem to have been excavated. In the principal room, which measured 20 ft. by 17 ft., was a tessellated pavement with a central design supposed, on somewhat insufficient grounds, to represent Theseus in the Cretan labyrinth. It was composed of very small *tesserae* of the local grey limestone and red grit arranged in borders of various patterns, chequers, scrolls, squares, and triangles, inclosing a labyrinth pattern. The latter is said to be almost identical with one found at Caerleon;⁹ in the centre, which is much injured, the lower part of a human figure in an attacking attitude remained.

A projection at the south end, which, like the sides of the room, had been finished by a red plaster moulding to form a plinth, might, Mr. Nichols thought, have been an altar. Near a second room, paved with grey *tesserae*, was a passage where traces of charred wood, fragments of coloured plaster, and roofing-tiles were found. The third room uncovered had no pavement. Elsewhere were found walls, a stone trough full of hardened lime, fragments of wall-paintings, and roof-tiles. Among the broken pottery and tiles in the trial pits was a floor covered with plaster and painted. An illustration is also given of a covering tile and flanged tile; and *tegulae mammatae* are mentioned, produced by cutting away the flanges except at the corners. It seems probable that the building extended far beyond the area of these excavations, which were covered up shortly after they were made [*Nott. Daily Guardian*, 23 Feb. 1877; *Arch. Journ.* xxviii, 66-74, xliii, 32; O.S. v, NE.].

SUTTON BONNINGTON.—A quantity of Roman urns and coins, all well preserved, were found in 1825 on Kirk Hill, the supposed site of a Roman camp [Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 339; Kelly, *Dir.* 1904, p. 547].

THORPE.—In 1789 a stone was found, supposed to be part of a Roman sepulchral monument, with effigies of a man and woman under straight-sided canopies; the drawing given is obviously a bad one, but whatever else it may be it certainly does not look Roman. On the same spot were found mouldered wood, bones apparently human, stones, and fragments of decayed bricks once cemented with mortar [*Gent. Mag.* 1790, i, 18, 116, with plate 2, fig. 2]. A fine tessellated pavement and coins are said to have been found here, but no account of their discovery has been preserved [Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*]. On this site in connexion with the identification of Ad Pontem, see above, p. 6.

THURGARTON.—Numerous Roman coins, chiefly of the later Empire, were found at the Priory towards the end of the 18th century [Dickinson, *Antiq. in Notts.* i, 97].

TILNE. See HAYTON.

TORWORTH.—A Roman urn (*sic*), 10 in. in diameter, found in 1820 at Mantles House; said to have been covered with a globular vessel containing a human heart! [Bailey, *Ann. of Notts.* iv, 310].

UPTON.—Early in the 18th century a Roman urn was turned up by the plough on the side of a hill, the contents of which are described by Mr. Lamb of Southwell in a letter now preserved in the Harleian MSS. [6824, fol. 51; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 34]:—

In it were several round balls w^{ch} fell to dust upon y^e touch, and a great many round things w^{ch} seem to be Romish [Qu. Roman?] beads, of blew and speckled colours, and of a sort of glass, a bridle, curiously enamelled, y^e ground brass, no Reins, but only bit chain and bosses, but all so small y^t they seem to have been made for some less creature yⁿ a horse, lower still was found an entire egg cover'd with a hard mummy [*sic*] as was also y^e top of y^e urn, blackish, somew^t pitchy and partly like Spanish Juice [*i.e.* liquorice]; w^{ch} being broke open there were found 20 silver coins, perhaps scarce to be equalled in England.

Some of the coins seem from the description which follows to have been of Republican date; the others represent all the emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian (B.C. 49 to A.D. 96), except Titus. Many bones were also found, suggesting to the writer a burial-place.

WIDMERPOOL.—Roman coins were found in this parish (which borders on the Fosse), including a silver coin of Hadrian (117-38), and a copper coin of Claudius (41-54) [Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*].

WILFORD.—Roman coins seem to have been found on more than one occasion. When Stukeley was at Willoughby in 1722 he was told of a pot of Roman money dug up here, which is probably the 'pot full of copper coins' mentioned by Gough [Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 107; Deering, *Nottinghamia vetus et nova*, Introd. 6, App. 286; Thoroton, *Hist. Notts.* (ed. Throsby), ii, 11; Gough, *Camden*, ii, 399]. Laird also records finds of coins of the later emperors in

⁹ Morgan in *Publications of Monmouth and Caerleon Antiq. Soc.* (1866).

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the early part of the 19th century [*Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii (1), 182 ; Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*]. See also BRIDGEFORD, WEST.

WILLOUGHBY.—The site of Vernemetum ; see above, p. 17.

WINTHORPE.—According to Dickinson the foundations of an immense bridge, supposed to be Roman, were seen in the Trent near here during the summers of 1792-3. It is supposed, however, that he was mistaken in the locality, and that it is really identical with the bridge discovered near Cromwell (q.v.) nearly a century later [Dickinson, *Antiq. in Notts.* i, 92 ; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 50 ; *Standard*, 3 Nov. 1884. For Dickinson's mistaken conjectures founded on this supposed bridge, see pp. 5, 7]. See also under CROMWELL.

WISETON.—At Drakeholes in this township, in the parish of Clayworth, at the point where the branch of Ermine Street between Littleborough and Bawtry (see p. 10) touches the Trent and Chesterfield Canal, has been supposed to be the site of a small Roman station. Some coins of Constantine (A.D. 306-37) and human bones have been found in a cutting of the canal [*Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii (1), 302 ; Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* ; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 43 ; Brown, *Hist. Notts.* 177 ; O.S. 6-in. vi, NE.].

WORKSOP.—In 1826 several coins of Nero (A.D. 54-68) and Domitian (A.D. 81-96) were found in the ruins of the old manor house at Gateford, two miles from the town [Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* ; *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 36]. Small brass coins of the later emperors were found at Shireoaks (also two miles distant), some years before 1875 [White, *Worksop*, 98]. See also OSBERTON.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IT is an unfortunate fact, which complicates both the ecclesiastical and the political geography of England, that the boundaries of the earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms did not coincide to any notable extent with the lines which determine the county divisions of the present day. In the 7th century, for instance, it seems probable that the district comprised within the modern shire of Nottingham included lands which severally formed part of the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumbria and Lindsey. In any case it was in connexion with the last of these that Christianity first reached the district in question, for there can be little doubt that the ephemeral conversion of Lindsey at the hands of Paulinus implied the reception of the faith by some at least of the men whose dwellings lay on the western bank of the Trent. More than this we cannot say, nor dare we attempt to fix the position of the mysterious 'civitas' of *Tiovulfinga cæstir*, near which it was reported to Bede that Paulinus had baptized a mighty host of converts in the river. The recrudescence of paganism which followed the battle of Hatfield in 633 marks a definite severance between the evangelizing work of Paulinus and the historical Christianity of the north of England.

The more successful labours of the saints of the reconversion are related by Bede without specific reference to any events which can reasonably be supposed to have happened within the modern Nottinghamshire. Before the 10th century, there is no definite evidence that a religious house was founded within the boundary of the shire; and this although the Mercian kings who followed Penda were zealous in their profession of Christianity. Higher up the Trent, however, a double community of monks and nuns had been established at an early date at Repton, from which, towards the close of the 7th century, Guthlac, the future saint, migrated to found for himself a hermitage at Crowland, in the fens of Holland. This primitive monastery is connected with the history of Nottinghamshire by the fact that at the beginning of the 11th century the body of Eadburh, the sainted abbess of Repton and the personal friend of Saint Guthlac, was known to repose in the minster of Southwell.¹

In the 7th century it seems to have been the rule that each kingdom should possess its own bishop, the limits of whose diocese contracted or expanded with the fortunes of the people of whom he had the spiritual charge. In accordance with this practice it would seem that by the middle of the 8th century Nottinghamshire as a whole formed part of the Mercian diocese

¹ *Liber Vitae* (Hants Rec. Soc.), lviii, 83.

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of Lichfield. It is at least certain that when the latter see was elevated into an archbishopric by Offa (787) Nottinghamshire must have lain within its obedience, and there is no reason to doubt that by this time the county as a whole had become part of the Mercian kingdom, which coincided in the narrower sense with the diocese in question. It is reasonable to suppose that this arrangement persisted until the end of the independent kingdom of Mercia; but with the coming of the Danes a thick obscurity settles upon the ecclesiastical organization of the eastern midlands which is not lifted in the case of Nottinghamshire until we reach the age of Dunstan and Edgar, nearly a century later; and when this happens we find the county disconnected from Lichfield and forming to all appearances an integral part of the great diocese of York.

Before the middle of the 10th century there is no evidence whatever that any Archbishop of York had exercised authority, either as diocesan or metropolitan, within the limits of Nottinghamshire. It is rarely safe to apply an argument from silence to any part of the Anglo-Saxon period; but we possess information in some detail about the early ecclesiastical organization of Northumbria, and it is very strange that nothing in the recorded history of Wilfred, John of Beverley, or of their successors the first Archbishops of York, serves to connect Nottinghamshire with their sphere of government. On the other hand, as soon as we have passed the year 950 we begin to receive what seems to be conclusive evidence in this matter. The great collegiate church of Southwell suddenly appears in being, and as subject to the patronage of the northern archbishop.² Earlier than the date of any unquestioned reference to Southwell, King Edgar in 958 had granted to Oskytel, Archbishop of York, a large estate in the north of the county which subsequently developed into the soke of Sutton and Scrooby. The distribution of the lands which in 1086 were held by episcopal lords in Nottinghamshire clinches the argument³—the Bishop of Lichfield held nothing, the Bishop of Lincoln possessed a wide estate which, however, had been granted to him subsequently to 1066; the lands of the Archbishop of York fill a folio of Domesday Book; and clearly, as a whole, represent ancient possessions of the see.

In view of these facts, a strong presumption is raised that the addition of Nottinghamshire to the diocese of York was accomplished somewhere about the middle of the 10th century. The constant anarchy of Northumbria under its Scandinavian rulers had so wasted the archbishop's patrimony that the statesmen of the south recognized the necessity of supplying him with an endowment which should not be subject to the disorders which distracted his unruly province. Such an endowment was furnished for a time by the see of Worcester, which Archbishops Oswald, Ealdwulf, Wulfstan II, and Ealdred held *in commendam* together with their metropolitan see; but there is a strong probability that the addition of Nottinghamshire to their diocese represents an earlier attempt to supply the same need. It was a matter of the gravest importance to prevent the Archbishop of York from making common cause with the 'Danish' lords of Northumbria; and this could most readily be accomplished by giving to him a substantial interest in the more purely English parts of the country. We cannot in this place enter into questions

² Cart. Sax. 1049.

³ V.C.H. Notts. i, 255, 257.

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which properly belong to the general ecclesiastical history of the time, but we may note the existence at this moment of a remarkable group of prelates who would intimately be concerned in the transference which we are considering. Oskytel, Archbishop of York from 954⁴ to 971 was a kinsman of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury from 942 to 958; Dunstan of Glastonbury, the personal friend of Odo, was a kinsman of Cynesige, Bishop of Lichfield from 949 to 963. It is a significant fact that just at the time when on other grounds we should suppose the present change to have taken place, the ecclesiastical affairs of England were in the hands of a knot of men, who were united both by personal relationship and by a community of ideas respecting the organization of the Church. In the present state of our knowledge, then, it would seem most likely that the Archbishops of York added the county of Nottingham to their see at some point between 954 and 958; and that this point probably fell in the earlier part of this period and in the reign either of Eadwig or of his brother Eadred.

The general chronicles of England during the period which immediately precedes the Norman Conquest contain but scanty information with regard to England north of the Humber; the later records of the see of York tell us little about its Nottinghamshire dependency during this time.

The story of Ealdred the last Saxon Archbishop of York (1061-9) who crowned in Westminster Abbey, within a few short months, both Harold and the Conqueror, belongs rather to the history of York diocese than to the archdeaconry of Nottingham. The same too may be said with regard to his Norman successor, the learned Thomas of Bayeux (1070-1100). In his episcopate, however, definite records as to the Christian Church in Nottinghamshire begin with the Domesday Returns of 1086.

That the Domesday Survey nowhere professes to include all or indeed any of the churches is now so well known, that it scarcely needs even the briefest reassertion. Their inclusion or exclusion depended to a large extent on the view of their duties taken by different sets of commissioners. In proportion to its area and the population Nottinghamshire has far more churches and priests mentioned in the Survey than the great majority of the other counties of England. The number of churches named (making units of the fractions) is eighty-four,⁵ and of the priests sixty-one. In five of these cases, namely Elston, Linby, Normanton, Wilford and Thoroton a priest occurs without any reference to a church, but in each of these places it is fair perhaps to assume that there was a church or chapel.

In seven instances where half a church is entered, and in the two where a quarter of a church occurs, it means that the manor or hamlet shared with

⁴ There is some uncertainty as to the succession of Archbishop Oskytel. His predecessor Wulfstan I had been deposed from his see and it is not clear at what time Oskytel took effective possession of the latter. See Plummer, *Two Sax. Chron.* ii, Addenda; Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*; and Searle, *Angl.-Sax. Bishops*, &c.

⁵ Adbolton, Averham, Barnby in the Willows, Basford, Bole, East Bridgeford, Bunny, Burton Joyce, Calverton, Carlton in Lindrick, Chilwell ($\frac{1}{2}$), Clifton ($\frac{1}{2}$), Clifton with Glapton, Collingham (2), Colston Basset ($\frac{1}{2}$), Colwick, Cotgrave ($\frac{1}{2}$), Cotham, Cuckney, Danethorpe, Eakring, Edwinstowe, Elkesley, Elston, Elton, Epperstone, Fledborough, Flintham, Granby, Greasley, Gringley on the Hill, Grove, Harworth, Hawton (2), Hockerton, Hoveringham, Kirkby in Ashfield, Kneeton ($\frac{1}{2}$), Laneham, Langar ($\frac{1}{2}$), Langford, East Leake, South Leverton ($\frac{1}{2}$), Linby, Mansfield with Skegby (2), East Markham, Misterton, Newark with Balderton and Farndon (10), Newbold, Norwell, Nottingham, Orston, Osberton, Plumtree, Rampton, Ratcliffe on Soar, Rolleston, Selston, Shelford, Sibthorpe, Stapleford, Staunton, Stoke Bardolph, Sutton on Trent, Thurgarton, Tollerton, Toton, Trowell, Wansley ($\frac{1}{2}$), Warsop, Weston, Winkburn, Wysall.

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one or more of its neighbours in the possession of a church, or that different tenants held shares of the same church.

Numerous as are the entries of churches of this shire in the early Norman days, it is quite obvious that the roll is not complete. Even the old mother church of Southwell is not named, nor can there be much doubt that there was then a church at Cropwell Bishop. In at least five or six cases remains of church fabrics (as at Farndon), or of pre-Norman carved stones (as at Hickling and Shelford) point to other early places of Christian worship not named in Domesday. Moreover it can be proved in other counties that chapels of ease or early manorial chapels hardly ever find a place in the Survey,⁶ and there is no reason to suppose that Nottinghamshire is in this respect an exception.⁷ Taking all these points into consideration, it is within the mark to say that there were at the very least 110 places of Christian worship in the county in the year 1085, a striking and practical proof of the reality and vitality of the faith of those early days. The proportion of church accommodation of those rough times in proportion to the population was certainly far in excess of that supplied at the beginning of the 20th century.

The considerable share of Nottinghamshire manors held by the church at the time of the Survey has already been adequately discussed,⁸ and need here be only very briefly recapitulated. In addition to Southwell and its numerous berewicks in the centre of the county, the Archbishop of York held a fairly extensive group of manors in the further north, such as Bole, Beckingham, Scrooby and Everton; also Cropwell Bishop and Hickling in the south. The possessions of the Bishop of Lincoln all lay about the centre of the eastern verge of the county, and were dominated by his widespread manor of Newark, with its ten churches and eight priests. The Bishop of Bayeux held six manors, but his holding had no ecclesiastical signification. The only religious house which held land in this county in chief of the crown was the Abbey of Peterborough; its holding was restricted to the two manors of Collingham (with two churches) and North Muskham.

It is interesting to note that glebe land or other endowments are named in connexion with some of these churches. In a few of these cases the endowment was considerable. Thus at Sibthorpe a fourth part of the land of the manor belonged to the church; and at Barnby in the Willows the church had half a bovate of land. The one church mentioned in Nottingham in the king's demesnes was remarkably well off; it possessed three burgess houses, 5 bovates of land adjacent to the town and 5½ acres of other land.

The extant chronicles and records of the 12th century yield but meagre ecclesiastical information as to Nottinghamshire. During that period different archbishops attached four new prebends to their southern cathedral church of Southwell. Only one religious house was founded in the 11th century, namely the priory of Blyth; but the following century saw the establishment—named in chronological order—of the houses of Lenton, Worksop, Thurgarton, Rufford, Welbeck, Felley, Shelford, Newstead and Mathersey. It was essentially the century of monastic development.

⁶ See *V.C.H. Suff.* ii, 10.

⁷ Where William Rufus gave the churches of Mansfield and Orston to the Bishop of Lincoln in 1093 the gift specially mentions the chapels of the various berewicks in each parish. Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1271.

⁸ *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 217-22.

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The first half of the 13th century witnessed the singular vigour and systematic discharge of duty so unceasingly displayed by Walter de Gray during the forty years (1215-55) that he presided over the see of York. Of this most distinguished of York's archbishops, it has been well said that he was 'cautious and wise as a statesman, pious and munificent as a prelate . . . He found the province to which he was translated a barren wilderness, he left it a fruitful garden.' His register, the most ancient and perfect of its kind in the kingdom, yields evidence of the energy of his rule in the archdeaconry of Nottingham as well as over the rest of his great diocese. This register was transcribed and worthily edited by Canon Raine for the Surtees Society in 1870.

Archbishop Gray was a strenuous advocate for the erection of and encouragement of chapels in order to secure a better supply of the means of grace in the large parishes. On this subject he was strengthened in 1233 by a rescript from Pope Gregory IX advising the building of chapels and oratories in a diocese where many of the parishes were so widespread (*diffuse*) that the more distant inhabitants were not able to assemble for worship without great inconvenience, and not infrequently passed away in illness without the opportunity of receiving the last sacraments or making their confession.⁹

The archbishop's register contains various references to such chapels or oratories in Nottinghamshire. In 1227 licence was granted to Gilbert de Cancia, rector of Tuxford, to build and hold service in a chapel *in curia sua* at Tuxford on account of the distance of his house from the church and the badness of the road in winter.¹⁰ Two years later Robert de Lexington was licensed to build a chapel and to have a chaplain ministering at Laxton.¹¹

In 1231 an ordinance was promulgated as to the chantry chapel of Barnstone in the parish of Langar, where the men of Barnstone had been in the habit of hearing mass celebrated three times a week. In order to secure full service with a chaplain and clerk resident in Barnstone the inhabitants covenanted to allow Robert the rector of Langar and his successors, in addition to the two bovates of land pertaining to the chapel, 7 quarters of corn payable on the vigil of All Saints, and 3 quarters of barley payable on the vigil of the Purification. The Barnstone parishioners also undertook to sustain the fabric repairs of the chapel, the lights and all ornaments, except books, wine, and hosts, which were to be supplied by the rector. All divine offices were to be performed in the chapel with the exception of funerals; but all parishioners were to visit the mother church at Easter, Michaelmas, and Purification.¹²

The archbishop granted in 1235 to Alexander de Vilers and his heirs a chantry in his chapel at Newbold in the parish of Kinoulton, for himself, his family, guests, and household; but the mother church was to be attended at the principal feasts.¹³ About the same time Robert de Lexington obtained a similar licence for a chapel at his manor-house of Marnham in Marnham parish.¹⁴ In 1239 the archbishop confirmed to Robert le Vavasour the grant of a chapel at Hempshill, made to him by the patron and rector of the church of Greasley.¹⁵ Again, in 1254, a grant was made to Sir Simon de

⁹ Add. MS. 15353, fol. 173.

¹⁰ *Archbp. Gray Reg.* (Surtees Soc.), lvi, 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 27.

¹² *Ibid.* 43-4.

¹³ *Ibid.* 69-70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 84.

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Headon, with the consent of the rector, to have a chapel at his manor-house of Headon for himself and household.¹⁶

At an earlier date, namely in 1228, the archbishop had confirmed an ordination respecting the services in the chapel of Edwalton, at the delegation of the pope, whereby the rector of Flawforth was to do service four days a week in that chapel, the lord and his men of Edwalton endowing the chapel with two bovates of land, a meadow, and a toft.¹⁷

The appropriation of churches to religious houses was more frequently accomplished in the 14th century, but there were several such in Nottinghamshire in the second quarter of the 13th century, as shown by the confirmations in Archbishop Gray's register, where the following are specified:—Rolleston, to Southwell Minster, 1225; Hawton, to Thurgarton Priory, 1228; Stapleford, to Newstead Priory, 1229; Hucknall Torkard, to Newstead Priory, 1234; Barton on Trent, to Worksop Priory, 1234; and Basford, to Catesby Priory (Northants), 1246.

Numerous entries also occur in this register of confirmations of pensions or portions of tithes out of rectories to religious houses, varying in amount from 2*s.* to 5 marks. The churches of Costock, Cotgrave, Langar, Tollerton, and the three Nottingham churches of St. Mary, St. Nicholas, and St. Peter paid pensions to Lenton Priory; Burton Joyce, Gedling, and Laxton, to Shelford Priory; Cotham, to Thurgarton Priory; Sutton on Trent, to Worksop Priory; Elton and Weston, to Blyth Priory; and Marnham and Sibthorpe, to the order of the Templars.

Traces of the old customs with regard to clerical marriages and the ownership and descent of ecclesiastical property lingered on until Archbishop Gray's time. In 1221 Pope Honorius III wrote to the archbishop directing him to remove married clergy from their benefices, and also all who had succeeded their fathers in their preferments.¹⁸ Unfortunately Gray's register from 1221 to 1225 is missing, so it is impossible to know to what extent the diocesan carried out these orders in their freshness. Between 1225 and 1250, however, about ten reformations in such cases were ordered or made by the archbishop, but none of these instances occurred in Nottinghamshire.

In another way the archbishop also proved himself a reformer, namely, in the endeavour to get rid of portions or medieties in the same benefice. A Nottinghamshire example occurs in the case of Grove, where, when the rectory was vacant in 1226, the archbishop instituted G. de Ordeshal, vicar of the same, to the rectory, thus consolidating the rectory and vicarage. The instances where there was both a rector and a vicar, each supposed to be resident, were not at that time uncommon. Portions and medieties of rectories were also to be met with in all dioceses, but with unusual frequency in the archdiocese of York. It is supposed by some that these subdivisions, sometimes of a comparatively small rectory, originated with divisions of property amongs: heiresses or different proprietors.¹⁹ Nottinghamshire rectories which were thus split up in the 13th century included those of Eakring, Gedling, Treswell, Trowell, and West Retford.

The use that was frequently made by royalty in the 13th century of monastic superiors in the suppression of secular illegalities is a striking

¹⁶ *Archbp. Gray Reg.* (Surtees Soc.), lvi, 271-2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 18.

¹⁸ *Add. MS.* 15352, fol. 124.

¹⁹ *Raine, Introd. to Gray's Reg.* pp. xxx-xxxii.

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witness to the general estimation and respect with which they were for the most part regarded. There was also in all probability another somewhat mean reason for their employment when a civil affray was expected; for any kind of assault on an ecclesiastic was subject to much severer penalties than the like treatment of a sheriff or his officers. When the advisers of Henry III decided to prohibit the holding of a tournament at Blyth, in 1234 and again in 1235, the Priors of Lenton, Blyth, and Shelford, together with the cellarer of Lenton, were ordered to attend personally at Blyth to stop the tournament and to execute the king's mandate.²⁰ On another occasion the Abbot of Roche was associated with the Priors of Lenton and Blyth in a like prohibition.

The register of Archbishop Walter Giffard (1266-79) is another of those valuable ecclesiastical documents printed by the Surtees Society which throw so much light upon church administration in the 13th century.²¹ Giffard made zealous endeavours to cope with the many abuses of the day. The unsettled condition of the country towards the close of the reign of Henry III gave rise to a variety of disputes as to advowsons. Sometimes there were as many as three applicants for the same benefice under different patrons, and in one case there were actually five different presentations to a single vacant rectory. The archbishop commissioned in such cases a special tribunal, composed of members of the rural deanery in which the vacancy occurred, to make inquiry concerning the title of the patron and at the same time as to the fitness of the presentee. Of this highly interesting class of document, not to be found (so far as we are aware) in other episcopal registers, there are unfortunately only a few examples. Many of the presentees were in minor orders. In the case of a vacancy at West Retford, one of the presentees was an acolyte, whilst the other had only received the first tonsure. The inquisition in this case was held on 3 October 1267 in full chapter of the deanery of Retford, in the church of St. Michael, before the Archdeacon of Nottingham. The right to present was claimed by Sir Henry de Almaine, nephew of the king. Robert de Sunfield, acolyte, was declared to be of legitimate birth, of good manners, and a fit person, so far as human frailty could determine. On the following 9 January, the same chapter was convoked in the same place, when it was reported that they believed the true presentation rested with Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I), as the prince had recently presented to the half church of Grove, which was of the same fee. The report was witnessed by the vicar of Blyth and by the incumbents of eight other parishes in the deanery, as well as by the respective parochial chaplains, whereupon Prince Edward a week later wrote to the archbishop explaining that a certain lady had come to him and made him believe that the patronage belonged to her, but that his relative Sir Henry de Almaine had now proved to him that he (the prince) had granted the advowson to Sir Henry; therefore the archbishop was asked to do justice to his presentee.²²

In cases of minor orders it was Giffard's custom to demand the presence of the presentee at the next ordination, and in the meantime commit the

²⁰ Pat. 18 Hen. III, m. 10; 19 Hen. III, m. 3; 20 Hen. III, m. 14; 26 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 13.

²¹ Issued in 1904; edited, with introduction, by Mr. William Brown.

²² York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 35 d., 36, 36 d.

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custody of the benefice to some suitable person of his own nomination. Treswell affords a Nottinghamshire instance of this. Of that church there were two rectories, and on 20 September 1267 John Musters, clerk, was presented to a moiety by his brother Robert. The archbishop ordered the archdeacon to hold an inquisition, and on 3 October the full chapter of Retford deanery pronounced that the presentee was in every way qualified by birth, manners, and conduct, but was defective in age. On 24 October, John Musters was admitted, but the archbishop, on account of his age, knowledge, and orders, committed the custody of the moiety of Treswell to Edward de Welles, instructing the Dean of Retford to induct him.²³ Other instances about this date of admission to benefices of those in minor orders are those of an acolyte to Arnold and of a sub-deacon to Bonnington. In the case of a presentation to St. Nicholas, Nottingham, by the prior and convent of Lenton, the report of the inquisition was that Nicholas de Wermundesworth, an acolyte, was of legitimate birth, of good life and conversation, and of good manners, so far as his age permitted, and of that they judged from his personal appearance.²⁴

Cardinal Otto, when legate in England in 1237, had ordered that all rectors or vicars were to proceed to the priesthood within a year of their institution. Giffard did his best to enforce this rule, and in one case (Carnaby in the East Riding) deprived an incumbent who failed to comply.²⁵

Giffard also endeavoured to stop the evil of pluralities. In two of his mandates to commissioners appointed to make inquiries throughout the diocese, the question of plurality occupied the first place; he directed that offenders were to be cited before him to produce their dispensations to hold more than one benefice. But the archbishop was impeded in this direction by the action of the court of Rome. Thus in the case of one John Clarell, a most notorious pluralist, holding the Nottinghamshire churches of Bridgeford, Elton, and Babworth and three others elsewhere, as well as the Southwell prebend of Norwell, the archbishop had no choice but to admit him in 1272 to the additional church of Hooton Roberts, as he held a papal dispensation.²⁶

Worse even than this last case were the foreign pluralists, quartered on the diocese by direct papal intervention, who did not serve a single one of their English cures. The charge of 50 marks a year levied on the holder of a Southwell prebend, in favour of the pope's nephew, is mentioned in the subsequent account of that collegiate church.

Giffard, through his strenuous attempts to administer righteously, met with not a little opposition from his own officials. One of the most troublesome of these was Thomas de Wyten, Archdeacon of Nottingham. On one occasion, namely on 11 February 1267-8, the archbishop took the grave step of publicly admonishing his archdeacon to be obedient. His monition to that effect was delivered in the presence of the archdeacons of Richmond and the East Riding, of the sub-dean of York, and of many others.²⁷

Giffard's register includes the lists of several ordinations, with records of the titles for deacons, sub-deacons, and priests. At the ordination held in September 1268 the sub-deacons of Nottingham archdeaconry included

²³ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 34 d., 35.

²⁴ 'De qua in parte corporis aspectum nobis consta'; *ibid.* fol. 35.

²⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 98.

²⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 17; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 363.

²⁷ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 7.

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Adam de Sneinton, Henry Burdon, Nicholas de Schafteworth, and Hugh de Bardeshale, on the title of their own patrimony.

The large September ordinations of 1273 and 1274 were held in the church of Blyth. In the first of these cases, various sub-deacons from different parts of the diocese were ordained on the strength of patrimony titles and two *ad titulum probitatis*; six were presented by the chapter of Southwell. In 1274 the chapter of Southwell presented two deacons; Beauvale Priory one, Newstead Priory four, the Nottingham Carmelites one, Worksop Priory two, and Welbeck Abbey two. For the priesthood, Southwell presented four, Thurgarton Priory three, Wallingwells one; and there were various priests ordained to titles of patrimony or probity as well as those who were secular clergy.²⁸

Towards the end of Giffard's register there are some highly interesting references to the crusading movement at the time of its close. The eighth and last genuine crusade was that undertaken in 1270-1, when Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I) was at Acre and Nazareth. This register contains a copy of the letter of the king, dated 12 May 1270, addressed to the bishops stating that it was the intention of himself and his sons to go to the Holy Land on 25 June.²⁹ The bishops at a council held on the subject had granted the king a twentieth. There was, however, an earnest attempt made in 1271 at the Council of Lyons to fan the flickering flames of crusading fire into renewed life. Gregory V, Prince Edward's particular friend, was its warm advocate; but on his death in 1276 the whole scheme collapsed. On 14 July 1275 Archbishop Giffard sent a letter to the archdeacons of his diocese, ordering them to give every assistance to the Friars Minor who were commissioned to preach for the crusade.³⁰

The ingenious method adopted throughout the whole of this diocese to raise crusading funds in the spring of 1275 is remarkably illustrated in the various archdeaconries. Henry de Tiversold, Dean of Nottingham, is entered as *crucesignatus*, inasmuch as he had received all sacred orders from foreign³¹ bishops, without the licence of his diocesan. For this technical offence he was absolved on payment of 5s., which evidently went into the crusading chest. William de Mysen, Dean of Retford, was also *crucesignatus*; and for absolution for a like offence he had to pay 20s., or to go personally to the Holy Land, according to which course he preferred. It is not a little remarkable to find that two other of the rural deans of Nottinghamshire (out of a total of five) had also committed the like offence, and each of them was sealed with the cross, paying the sum of 5s.

Having begun this line of action with the rural deans of Nottinghamshire the archbishop next caused like steps to be taken with the various clergy and laity who had committed technical or other offences, granting them absolution on becoming Crusaders to the extent at least of subscribing to the war chest. In the deanery of Retford, two priests and five laymen were thus treated, each of them paying 5s. Richard de Watton paid 6s. 8d.; whilst Gilbert de Mora of Worksop undertook to give the third part of all his goods as a subsidy to the Holy Land, or else to go there in person. In the deanery of Nottingham there were fifteen cases in which absolution was secured by

²⁸ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 92, 93.

²⁹ Ibid. fol. 74.

³⁰ Ibid. fol. 116.

³¹ That is, any bishops other than the Archbishop of York.

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payments varying from 2*s.* to 20*s.* In the deanery of Bingham four priests each paid 2*s.*, and four laymen 5*s.* each.

John de Neumarche, a layman of the parish of Bingham, was *crucesignatus*, and fined 6*s.* 8*d.* for laying violent hands on a certain priest. In the deanery of Newark there were three fines of 2*s.*, and one of 20*s.*; the last of these was imposed on a knight. There was an exceptional case at Southwell: Nicholas de Cnoville, one of the canons, promised the archbishop out of his great devotion, in order to merit the wearing of the sign of the cross, to pay £20 as the expenses of a suitable man to join the crusades, or to go to the Holy Land with the general concourse of Crusaders in person. This undertaking was committed to writing and substantiated by the diocesan seal.³³

The well-arranged register of William Wickwane, archbishop from 1279 to 1286, affords many particulars as to the methodical execution of episcopal functions in the archdeaconry of Nottingham.

Wickwane's official mandate was issued to the archdeacon in November 1279, instructing him to seek out and receive any Nottinghamshire clerks who had been imprisoned by the justices, and to transfer them to canonical custody.³³ An interesting mandate was served on the archdeacon in December 1280, wherein the archbishop ordered him to demand the release of two of the *conversi* or lay brothers of the monastery of Rufford who were in prison at Nottingham, inasmuch as they wore the habit and insignia of religion, and therefore were entitled to the immunity and privileges of clerks. The archdeacon was ordered to retain them in canonical custody until the archbishop made known his further pleasure concerning them.³⁴

The episcopal mandate in March 1280-1 was addressed to the Dean of Nottingham and the rector of St. Peter's, instructing them to excommunicate in all the churches of Nottingham on Sundays and festivals those who had committed a violent assault on one Geoffrey Scathelockes, who bore the distinct signs of being a clerk, and to do their best to ascertain the names of the offenders.³⁵

A curious case with regard to the ecclesiastical penalties for lay incontinence was decided by the archbishop in 1279. Thomas de Gateford, a smith, was convicted of adultery before the official of the archbishop at Southwell, and was sentenced to a heavy fine and to public penance. Thereupon Thomas protested that his poverty was such, as he could testify by his own oath and by those of his neighbours, that it was impossible to pay any considerable fine, but that he was prepared to accept the severest form of corporal punishment. He also submitted that it was not just to impose the two-fold penalty, and appealed to the archbishop. Wickwane decided in the man's favour, and ordered the Archdeacon of Nottingham, his official, and the Dean of Retford on no account to exact money from Thomas; for ecclesiastical discipline was never intended for the extortion of fees, but for the correction of life; but they were to see that public penance was duly carried out in the market-place and the churches.³⁶

The references to the holding of plurality of benefices are not numerous in Wickwane's registers so far as Nottinghamshire is concerned. In June 1280 two commissaries of the archbishop sanctioned the holding of the churches

³³ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 122 d., 135 d., 140 d.

³⁴ Ibid. fol. 178 d.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 179.

³⁶ Ibid. Wickwane, fol. 120.

³⁷ Ibid. fol. 120.

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of Soulbury (Buckinghamshire) and a mediety of Treswell in this county by Edmund de Everley, who appeared before them in the church of Retford.³⁷

The archbishop seems to have been powerless to check the grave and partially-sanctioned abuse whereby comparative youngsters were admitted to rectories and instantly became non-residents on the plea of attending the schools for study. The following licences of absence for study were granted to Nottinghamshire rectors within three years (1280-2):—Arnold, Averham, Clayworth, Cotgrave, Normanton on Soar, and Wilford for three years; Broughton, Gedling, Grove, and Thorpe for two years; and Bingham, Clifton, Elton, Gotham, Kilvington, Langar, Leake, Strelley, Tollerton, and Weston for one year. In some cases the licence suffered the holders to attend the schools of Paris or elsewhere across the seas. Occasionally the archbishop seems to have suspected the *bona fides* of the application; thus in the case of the rector of Broughton, he was reminded that he was only to be absent from his parish for genuine study (*honesto studio*). In the case of Autelynus Day, rector of Sibthorpe, licence was granted him on 19 November 1279 to proceed to Paris for his studies up to the feast of St. John Baptist (24 June), provided that he then returned and proceeded to priest's orders at the next ordination. Ralph Samson, rector of Epperstone, was allowed to leave his parish for study on 26 December 1280 up to the ensuing Michaelmas; but in March 1282 he obtained renewed leave of absence for two years. Edmund de Everley, rector of a mediety of Treswell, obtained diocesan sanction in January 1281 to absent himself for three years on account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.³⁸

The most important appropriation of a Nottinghamshire church during the episcopacy of Wickwane was that of Mattersey to the Gilbertine priory of that place. The vicarage was ordained in October 1280, sanction being given to the appropriation of the rectory to the prior and canons of Mattersey owing to the severe losses they had sustained through a recent fire. The priory was to have the tithes of grain from the lands in the parish of Mattersey then actually under cultivation, except of certain specified lands, the tithes of which, together with the tithes of hay and the various small tithes of the whole parish, the rectory manse, and all oblations and mortuaries, were to belong to the perpetual vicar. No tithes were to be paid on the priory fisheries, tannery, or mills, nor any small tithes on anything within the monastery precincts. The tithes of the gardens and orchard of the grange of 'Bachowe,' and of the young livestock of the same grange, were also saved to the religious. The collation to the vicarage was reserved to the archbishop. The priory was to pay synodals, and 20s. in silver yearly by way of pension to the vicar, and 4s. a year towards the repair of the books and ornaments of the church, together with 4d. a year for waxshot of Ralph son of Hugh and his heirs. The priory was also to keep the chancel in repair, or to rebuild it if the occasion demanded. The archbishop reserved to himself and his successors the right to add, change, lessen, correct, declare, or interpret this ordination as often as it might seem expedient. The canons were to have the right, as aforetime, of entering the church, and a like right was reserved to the archdeacon and his official.³⁹

At Michaelmas 1281, after an inquisition as to its value had been held by twelve of the rectors and vicars of Retford deanery, the officials of the

³⁷ York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 121 d.

³⁸ Ibid. *passim*.

³⁹ Ibid. fol. 15.

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church of York assigned to the vicarage of Blyth, as an augmentation, all the tithes both of corn and hay of the chapelries of Bawtry and Austerfield. Whereupon the prior of Blyth and William de Elton, the vicar of the same, appeared in York Minster before the official, who gave the prior the choice whether the whole tithes of the two chapelries should be allotted to the vicarage or whether he would pay £60 to the vicar and his successors, in good portions. The prior selected the latter alternative.⁴⁰

In January 1279–80 Sir Henry de Sibthorpe, in consequence of his zeal and devotion to the Catholic faith, obtained leave to have an oratory within the court of his manor of Sibthorpe for the use of himself and his household, served by a competent chaplain at a suitable stipend, the due rights of the parish church being reserved. A particular proviso was also entered to the effect that the licence should be totally void if ever the oratory was lacking in vestments, ornaments, or chalice.⁴¹

An entry of particular moment to liturgiologists occurs in Wickwane's register, under date 7 May 1282. A mandate was then addressed to the Dean of Retford by the archbishop, to command each of the rectors and vicars throughout the archdeaconry of Nottingham to provide themselves, within a year, with books of the Use of York, denouncing any who might prove contumacious.⁴²

Under the heading *Correcciones Claustrales in Archidiaconatu Notinghamie*, the injunctions consequent on Archbishop Wickwane's visitation of the religious houses of Newstead, Worksop, Thurgarton, and Blyth, in 1280, are set forth at length.⁴³

Archbishop Wickwane's successor, John Romayne, or Romanus, ruled the diocese for some ten years. Two cases occur in his register of the awkward and exceptional arrangement by which there was a rector and a vicar both resident on the same benefice. In 1287 the archbishop drew up an ordinance to regulate the enrolments and duties of Master William de Barrok the rector and Thomas the vicar of Flintham, to put an end to long-standing contention between them. The rector was to reside and to exercise daily hospitality; he was to have a bovate of the demesne land then held by the vicar, the tithe of 2 bovates of land in the field of Kneeton, and the mortuaries pertaining to the church both in cattle and chattels. The vicar was to retain everything else assigned to him by the original ordinance of the vicarage. This agreement was, however, only to hold good so long as the present rector and his successors were personally resident.⁴⁴

In 1291 the archbishop had occasion to administer a severe rebuke to the rector of Marnham because of his conduct towards the vicar of the same parish.⁴⁵

The chapter of Lincoln, on 24 June 1288, requested the archbishop to admit their newly-elected dean, Philip de Willoughby, into the benefices in York diocese belonging to the deanery. Dean Philip appointed Robert de Wadingham, chaplain, to act as his proctor, and to promise canonical obedience on his behalf to the archbishop for these benefices. On 12 July Henry,

⁴⁰ York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 180.

⁴¹ Ibid. fol. 14, 120 d.

⁴² Ibid. fol. 179. As to the Use of York and its important divergencies, see *Diocesan Hist. of York*, 294–307.

⁴³ Ibid. fol. 136–7. Reference is made to these in the subsequent accounts of the religious houses.

⁴⁴ York Epis. Reg. Romayne, fol. 72 d.

⁴⁵ Ibid. fol. 78.

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Archdeacon of Richmond, the archbishop's vicar-general, issued his mandate to the vicar of Mansfield, Dean of Nottingham, to induct the new Dean of Lincoln with possession of the church of Mansfield. A similar mandate was also issued as to the induction of the dean into possession of the church of South Leverton.⁴⁶

Archbishop Romaine, in a letter dated 4 September 1291, to the warden of the Friars Minor at York, expressed his intention of preaching in York Minster on behalf of the crusade on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and asked him to send three friars to preach for the same object on the same day at Howden, Selby, and Pocklington, promising a hundred days' indulgence to those who joined or supported the expedition. A like commission was sent to all the houses of Dominican and Franciscan friars throughout the diocese to send out three, or at the least two, of their members to preach the crusade on that day. The Franciscans of Nottingham were to supply preachers for Nottingham, Newark, and Bingham.⁴⁷

This renewed but abortive crusade preaching was caused by Pope Nicholas IV giving the tenths of the papal tax on benefices to Edward I for six years, towards a fresh expedition to the Holy Land.

The vicarage of Hucknall Torkard was sequestered for a singular reason in 1292. Adam de Hoknale the vicar had taken a special oath of residence at his vicarage, but in spite of this he had departed covertly to the Holy Land, alleging a vow. The archbishop was willing to overlook the perjury, but instructed his diocesan official to sequester the profits of the vicarage from the time of his departure until his return from the Holy Land, providing meanwhile a priest to serve the parish.⁴⁸

Philip of Willoughby, Dean of Lincoln, was summoned in 1292 by the official of York diocese to pay canonical obedience to the archbishop for the churches in York diocese annexed to his deanery, as had been done by his predecessors. From the tenor of Archbishop Romaine's mandate to his official, dated 28 November, it is evident that the dean had treated previous intimations with disdain or contempt, for the terms of the mandate are most peremptory; the dean was to be at once personally cited to appear to yield obedience to the archbishop, if the official could find him, and if not the official was to cause the matter to be proclaimed distinctly and openly in each church of the diocese held by the dean, at high mass, on some solemn day where most people were assembled, summoning the dean to appear personally or by proxy before the archbishop in his manor of Hexham on the next court day after the Circumcision.⁴⁹ The dean disregarded this solemn summons, and, on 14 February 1292-3, the archbishop again issued a citation, entrusting the delivery of it on this occasion to the official of the Archdeacon of Nottingham.⁵⁰

Careful provision was compassionally made for Nicholas the vicar of East Markham, on his resignation in 1293, when bowed down with old age. The archbishop arranged that he was to have for life the greater tithes of the vill of Tuxford which belong to East Markham vicarage. Nicholas was to bear his share of any extraordinary burdens. A new vicar was inducted into the vicarage of East Markham, but the archdeacon's official, on the same day

⁴⁶ York Epis. Reg. Romaine, fol. 73.

⁴⁷ York Epis. Reg. Romaine, fol. 79.

⁴⁹ *Letters from Northern Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 93-5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 80.

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that he received a mandate to make that induction, received another mandate to induct Nicholas the late vicar of East Markham into the portion of tithes belonging to that vicarage at Tuxford.⁵¹

Robert, rector of one portion of Cotgrave, was accused of simony in 1293. He canonically purged himself before William de Blida, sub-dean of York, and William de Beverly, the archbishop's commissioners, and was duly restored to good fame.⁵²

In 1295 William de Sutton-in-Ashfield, a secular priest, was in gaol under a charge of theft; but he purged himself by canonical purgation⁵³ before the archbishop's official; he was released, and the archbishop issued his mandate to the Archdeacon of Nottingham to cause his good fame to be proclaimed throughout the whole archdeaconry and especially in those places where he was known and where he had been defamed.⁵⁴

Archbishop Romaine executed a formal ordination of the chapel of Harby on 24 October 1294, confirming an ordination of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln and William de Langwath canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Clifton, for the support of a chaplain to celebrate for the soul of Queen Eleanor, who 'at Harby, as God willed, breathed her last.'⁵⁵

Notices of visitations by Archbishop Romaine of the Nottinghamshire religious houses which were under his control were sent out on 27 December 1286. He, or in the case of Felley his clerks, were to be expected at Worksop on 10 January, at Newstead on the 12th of the same month, at Felley on the 14th, and at Thurgarton on the 17th. Parochial visitations were to be held at the same period. The clergy, churchwardens, and four of those whom we should now term lay representatives of each parish of the deanery of Nottingham, were summoned to the parish church of Sneinton on 16 January, and those of the deanery of Retford to the parish church of St. Michael in that town on 9 January.⁵⁶

In January 1290-1 notices were given of the archbishop's intention to hold visitations (*ad clerum et populum*) of the parishes in the deanery of Retford, in the church of St. Michael, on 15 February; of the deanery of Newark, in the parish church of Marnham, on 17 February; and of the deanery of Nottingham, in the church of St. Mary, on 20 February.⁵⁷

On 5 July 1294 notice was given of the following parochial visitations to be held on behalf of the archbishop in the archdeaconry of Nottingham:—the deanery of Bingham on 23 July, in the parish church of Bingham; the deanery of Nottingham on 24 July, in the parish church of Gedling; the deanery of Newark on 27 July, in the parish church of Laxton; and the deanery

⁵¹ York Epis. Reg. Romaine, fol. 82.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ There is so much misconception as to mediæval purgation or compurgation that it may be well to remark that in certain of the less grave offences an accused person was allowed to clear himself by taking an oath that he was not guilty and by producing a certain number of witnesses who swore that they believed in his innocency; evidence of this corresponded to modern witnesses to general character. Canonical purgation was safeguarded in two ways:—(1) It could not be exercised until due notice had been given, and if after such notice strong corroborative evidence against the accused was forthcoming, the purgation was not proceeded with but sentence pronounced upon the offender. (2) Purgation could only take place in the rural deanery where the alleged offence had occurred, so that when the case was a notorious one evidence might be readily forthcoming. In the 13th century the ceremony of ecclesiastical purgation was an exceedingly solemn one, preceded by the solitary vigil of the accused in the church on the previous night. See Serjeantson, *Hist. of St. Peter's, Northampton*, 17-19.

⁵⁴ York Epis. Reg. Romaine, fol. 85.

⁵⁵ Ibid. fol. 84; see p. 62.

⁵⁶ Ibid. fol. 70 d.

⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 77.

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of Retford on 29 July, in the church of the blessed Michael at the Bridge of Retford. On this occasion Nottinghamshire was visited by the archbishop's official, and by Master W. de Blida, sub-dean of York, because the archbishop was at that time (as is set forth) in parts remote from his diocese, engaged in arduous work on behalf of the Church of England.⁵⁸

These two visitors were further commissioned by the archbishop on 1 September following for the correcting, reforming, and repairing all the offences that had been discovered (*comperta*) during their visitation of the archdeaconry of Nottingham, according to their nature and quality, as set forth on the rolls attached to the commission.⁵⁹

Serious accusations were preferred against Richard vicar of Bingham in 1283. He was charged with keeping a public-house, revealing the secrets of confessions, drunkenness, quarrelling, neglecting service, illiteracy, and grave incontinency. For these enormities the vicar made absolute and humble submission to his diocesan, pleading for mercy and expressing complete penitence. The archbishop bound him under a bond of £10 to abstain from all these acts; stating that any return to incontinence or breaking the seal of confession would be followed by deprivation.⁶⁰

Bingham was at this time doubly unfortunate in its parish clergy, for four years later (1287) Robert the rector of Bingham was bound under a penalty of £50 to be of good behaviour, and not to repeat divers evil actions. The rector, however, returned to his evil life, for in 1294 we find the archbishop writing to the Archdeacon of Oxford about the rector of Bingham, who was accused of incontinence with a woman living in St. Giles Street, Oxford; he begged the archdeacon to see that the woman, whom he named, was duly corrected, and that he would also proceed against the rector if he could find him, for he had fled to escape canonical punishment and there were many other charges against him.⁶¹

The entries near the beginning of Archbishop Romaine's register relative to leave of absence so freely granted to youthful rectors for the purpose (as alleged) of study take, in several instances, rather unusual forms.

In 1286 William de Bosco rector of Attenborough had leave to attend the schools (*stare in scolis*) for three years, and in the meantime to let his church. In the same year Henry rector of Kirkby-in-Ashfield handed over his church to be farmed by Walter Oliver, clerk, from 15 April, for the term of three years, having permission to attend the schools for that period. William de Weston rector of Car Colston had leave to study for two years, from Michaelmas 1286, in a place in England where he might solemnly pursue his studies in theology or in canon law, provided that his church and the cure of souls were meanwhile in the charge of a suitable proxy, who would be held responsible to the ordinary.⁶²

Previous letters of Archbishops Giffard and Wickwane, dated respectively 1272 and 1280, permitting Edmund de Everley to hold a mediety of Treswell together with one Oxfordshire benefice were inspected and confirmed in May 1286. At the same time Archbishop Romaine granted Edmund three years' leave of absence to study in this country or across the sea,

⁵⁸ York Epis. Reg. Romaine, fol. 83 d. Two continental councils were held this year, the one at Saumur, the other at Tarragona.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. fol. 70 d.

⁶¹ Ibid. fol. 72 d.

⁶² Ibid. fol. 69.

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wherever the solemn study of theology or canon law prevailed. This was a remarkable case, for although Edmund had been a rector in two dioceses for fourteen years, he was still only in sub-deacon's orders. During his absence he was to let his Nottinghamshire church and to make the usual provision.⁶³

In December 1286 Henry de Gloverna, rector of Sutton-on-Trent, was licensed to be absent for study for a year from the next Whitsuntide.⁶⁴ The ease with which such leave of absence was obtained, for 'study' that must often have been merely nominal, is again illustrated in this case. Rector Henry obtained like leave of absence on like grounds from the same archbishop on two subsequent occasions, namely for two years in 1289, and for another two years in 1295.⁶⁵

There are a few instances of appropriation of churches in Archbishop Romaine's register. In 1287 a vicarage was instituted in the church of Cotham, the rectory of which had been annexed to the prebend of Master R. de la Ford of Southwell Minster. The vicar was to receive all small tithes, save those of wool and lambs, which went to the prebendary, together with the rectory buildings and the tithes of grain and hay throughout the parish. The prebendary had to pay yearly to the vicar, at Martinmas and Whitsuntide, a mark in equal portions. The vicar was to have the house adjoining the churchyard with its garden, where the parish priests of that church had been accustomed to live, and also all mortuaries.⁶⁶

The church of Colston Basset was appropriated to Laund Priory in 1290, the formal sanction of the archbishop being secured on 28 November.⁶⁷

In the same year another church, that of Eaton, was appropriated to a prebend of Southwell. The vicar was to have all small tithes, including those of lambs and wool, with mortuaries and the turbary rights of the church, and the prebendary was also to pay him 4 marks a year. The prebendary was to have the manse and its buildings, the great tithes, all the land and meadow pertaining to the church, and the tithes of hay. The vicar was to serve the church personally, and with sufficient suitable ministers of the usual and customary number, and to bear all ordinary burdens. Extraordinary burdens, as often as they occurred, were to be shared by prebendary and vicar. The prebendary was to provide ornaments and books.⁶⁸

In February 1294-5 the archbishop collated to the vicarage of Bingham through lapse of time. An inquisition was held with regard to the customary income of the vicar; he was declared to be entitled to the oblations of three halfpence with holy bread on Sundays, the wax due of the parishioners, bread and other oblations, and to tithes except those of corn, wool, lambs, and hay. He was also to have mortuaries, bequests, tithes of inclosed gardens whenever sowed with seed, tithes of mills, and 7*s.* 4*d.* from the rector in addition to 20 marks. Also the manse in which the vicar had been accustomed to live.⁶⁹

The Dean of Nottingham in 1289 was instructed by the archbishop to warn Sir John de Heriz, kt., not to interfere with the chantry of three priests of old foundation in the chapel of Broadbusk (Gonalston), as threatened, informing him that he would be solemnly excommunicated for interfering with the liberties of the Church of England unless he retracted within eight days.

⁶³ York Epis. Reg. Romaine, fol. 69 d.

⁶⁴ Ibid. fol. 72.

⁶⁵ Ibid. fol. 76-7.

⁶⁶ Ibid. fol. 70 d.

⁶⁷ Ibid. fol. 75.

⁶⁸ Ibid. fol. 75, 84 d.

⁶⁹ Ibid. fol. 84 d.

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This threat apparently had the desired effect, for the next entry in the register is the grant by Sir John de Heriz to Geoffrey de Hoveringham, chaplain, of the custody of his house of Broadbusk, with lands, rents, possessions and all things pertaining to it, as it was *elemosina mea et antecessorum meorum*, so that he may hold the cure of it for making and ordaining as should seem best; but providing that he should never sell any lands or rents, nor make or receive any brother without the assent of Sir John or his heirs. The chapel was to be held by Geoffrey for life, unless it should happen that he should absent himself or be convicted of any grave delinquency against the house.⁷⁰

An exceptional mandate was issued to the archdeacon's official in 1286, whereby he was instructed to warn William de Beltoft, a parishioner of the church of Clayworth, to treat his wife Cecilia with proper respect (*maritali affectu*), and to make provision for her sustenance.⁷¹

In February 1287-8 a mandate was issued to the Dean of Bingham to publish the excommunications of the persons who had violently assaulted Adam de Bonnington, priest, at high mass in all churches of his deanery on Sunday and festivals; when their names were discovered, the offenders were to be summoned to appear before the archbishop (wherever he might be) on his next court day after the festival of Sts. Peter and Paul.⁷² Sentence of excommunication was pronounced in January 1288-9 in the church of Flintham and in adjacent churches against those who had unjustly accused Sir John de Hose, kt., of various crimes which he had not committed; and at the same time a general sentence of excommunication was uttered against slanderers, against those who wilfully hurt their neighbours by fraud or malice or by theft, contrary to the primitive principles of the Decalogue.⁷³ Absolution and restitution to fame was granted by the archbishop in 1289 to John de Calveton, priest, after he had solemnly purged himself of the charge preferred against him, for having so severely thrashed a boy named William de Wympton that his back, it was said, was a continuous mass of bruises.⁷⁴

The last archbishop of the 13th century, Henry de Newark (1296-9), was a native of Nottingham and kinsman of William de Newark, Canon of Southwell and Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who died in 1286. Henry de Newark was a favourite of Archbishop Wickwane, who made him Archdeacon of Richmond, whilst Archbishop Romayne gave him the stall of Muskham in Southwell Minster. In 1290 he was promoted to the deanery of York.⁷⁵

Before proceeding to the 14th century, it may be well to give a brief analysis of the Taxation Roll of Pope Nicholas taken in 1292 for the province of York.

From the manner in which the returns are entered, this Taxation Roll is not to be quite relied upon for including all the appropriated churches and vicarages that had been formally ordained up to that date; but the following is a list of those churches (numbering forty-eight) therein entered as then appropriated to religious houses within the county:—*Lenton Priory*: the churches of St. Mary, St. Nicholas, and St. Peter in Nottingham, Lenton, Beeston, and Radford; *Welbeck Abbey*: Whatton, Ratcliffe on Soar,

⁷⁰ York Epis. Reg. Romayne, fol. 74.

⁷¹ Ibid. fol. 71 d.

⁷² Ibid. fol. 72.

⁷³ Ibid. fol. 70.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Raine, *Hist. of York and its Archbishops*, 349-51.

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Ruddington, and Cuckney; *Worksop Priory*: Worksop, Walkeringham, Osberton, Littleborough, Gringley, West Burton, Normanton, Marnham, and Wysall; *Thurgarton Priory*: Thurgarton, Hoveringham, Sutton in Ashfield, Granby, Owthorpe, and Tythby; *Newstead Priory*: Stapleford, Hucknall Torkard, Papplewick, and Lowdham; *Felley Priory*: Annesley; *Broadbolme Priory*: Thorney; *Beauvale Priory*: Kimberley; *Shelford Priory*: Saxondale and Shelford; *Blyth Priory*: Blyth and Wheatley; *Mattersey Priory*: Mattersey and Elkesley; and *Wallingwells Priory*: Carlton in Lindrick.

Rectories appropriated to foundations outside the county (sixteen in all) were Mansfield to the Bishop of Lincoln; South Leverton and East and West Markham, to the Dean of Lincoln; Orston, Edwinstowe, and Harworth, to the common fund of the same church; Stoke, Coddington, Farndon, Balderton, Scarle, and Clifton, to various prebendaries of Lincoln; Colston Basset to Laund Priory, Leicestershire; Basford to Catesby Priory, Northamptonshire; and Newark to St. Katharine's, Lincoln. There were also three of those exceptional cases where vicarages were ordained in parishes in which there were unappropriated rectories; such were, at this time, Flintham, Laxton, and Lowdham. These bring the total of vicarages up to sixty-eight, exclusive of the several prebendal vicarages round Southwell. The prebends of Southwell (which are discussed in the subsequent account of the college), together with the common fund, &c., were taxed at an annual value of £342 13s. 4d. The cathedral church of Lincoln drew about as much as this out of the greater tithes of the county of Nottingham; the prebends alone being worth £201 a year.

Another interesting feature of this return is the large number of small pensions from churches or portions of tithes that went out of the county to religious houses in other shires, in addition to various sums that went to Lenton or other Nottingham houses and to the archbishop or chapter of York. The abbeys or priories of Bayham, Beauchief, Belvoir, Bermondsey, Bollington, Bredon, Catesby, Croxton, Dale, Darley, Delapre, Elsham, Freiston, Grace Dieu, Haverholme, Heynings, Langley, Laund, Newhouse, Peterborough, Repton, Sempringham, Stamford, Swineshead, Torksey, and Ulverscroft were all in receipt of pensions out of Nottinghamshire churches.

The very considerable value of many of the Nottinghamshire rectories at this date is a proof of the fertility of a large share of the county, and of the success attending the growing of corn crops. In addition to the high value of the prebendal rectories attached to both Southwell and Lincoln, the rectory of Orston was worth £60, of Ratcliffe on Soar £46 13s. 4d., of Bingham £53 6s. 8d., and of Blyth £50, whilst Marnham and several others were worth upwards of £30.

The contrast between the annual value of the rectory and the vicarage is usually somewhat striking. A few examples are set forth:—

Name	Rectory			Vicarage		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Mansfield	26	13	4	5	0	0
Lowdham	16	0	0	4	13	4
Colston Basset	30	0	0	5	0	0
Elkesley	25	6	8	4	6	8
Blyth	50	0	0	10	0	0
Laxton	23	6	8	5	6	8

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But in some cases, as happens at the present day, a country vicar was better off than a rector. A few of the rectories had a very low income ; thus the rectories of Colwick, Nuthall, Eakring, and three or four others were only worth £5.

There was a considerable increase in the number of appropriated churches before the next taxation roll of benefices was drawn up in 1535, known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

At that time there were 18 rectories and 14 vicarages in the deanery of Nottingham ; 29 rectories and 14 vicarages in the deanery of Bingham ; 16 rectories and 27 vicarages in the deanery of Retford ; 15 rectories and 16 vicarages in the deanery of Newark ; and 1 rectory and 20 vicarages in the jurisdiction of Southwell. This gives a total of 79 rectories and 91 vicarages. In three cases these rectories were in duplicate, for there were two rectors in each of the three parishes of Cotgrave, Trowell, and Treswell.

The 14th century opened with the episcopate of Thomas Corbridge, who was consecrated Archbishop of York at Rome by Pope Boniface VIII, on 28 February 1300. There are but few incidents relative to the archdeaconry of Nottingham recorded during his brief rule. In 1300 the archbishop licensed the construction of a south aisle to the Nottingham church of St. Peter, with an altar dedicated to St. Anne.⁷⁶

On 31 May 1301 Corbridge received from William de Newark, Canon of Southwell, a missal after the Use of York, which he promised to restore to him whenever required.⁷⁷ He died at Laneham, Nottinghamshire, on 22 September 1304, and was buried in the collegiate church of Southwell on Michaelmas Day.⁷⁸

After two years' vacancy, the see was filled by the appointment of William Greenfield, who ruled from 1306 until his death in 1315. Archbishop Greenfield licensed the consecration of the altar of Our Lady in the church of the Carmelites, Nottingham, in 1308, and two years later he licensed the Franciscan Friars of the same town to obtain consecration by any Catholic bishop for their renewed church and its altars.⁷⁹

The appropriation of the church of Saxondale and of mediocrities of the churches of North Muskham and Shelford were sanctioned by the archbishop in 1310-11.⁸⁰

In 1312 Greenfield granted licence to the parishioners of Newark to remove their chapel within the churchyard of their parish church, constructed by Archbishop Henry de Newark (1296-9). Nothing had been given towards its sustentation nor for the support of a perpetual chantry therein, nor had it been in any way dedicated, and it stood deserted. The space it occupied was much needed for burial purposes. The archbishop ordered that the timber, stone, lead, glass, and iron were to be used in the fabric of the church. Special mention was to be made of Henry and all other archbishops in the canon of the mass.⁸¹ The church of Newark a little later became polluted by effusion of blood, and on 7 May 1313 a commission was issued to Walter, formerly Archbishop of Armagh, to reconcile it.⁸²

⁷⁶ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 100b.

⁷⁷ Raine, *Hist. of York*, 358.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 360.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 378.

⁸⁰ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 238.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* fol. 239.

⁸² *Ibid.* Walter de Jorge held the archbishopric of Armagh from 1306 to 1311.

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In November 1314 the parish church of Blyth was interdicted by the archbishop for not having paid the fees of Thomas Bishop of Withern in Galloway, who had been commissioned to reconcile it when it had been polluted by the violent effusion of blood. No offices were to be performed in it except the baptism of infants and the absolution of penitents near to death. The convent of Blyth were to see that this interdict was observed, and when they said mass it was to be with closed doors, in a low voice, and without ringing of bells, the parishioners being rigorously excluded. A body that had been brought privily to the church and buried was to be exhumed, nor was it to be interred in the chapels of Bawtry or Austerfield or in any other dependencies of the church of Blyth.⁸³

Greenfield's successor in the archbishopric, William de Melton, ruled from 1317 until his death in 1340. Almost the whole of his diocese, with the exception of the archdeaconry of Nottingham, suffered grievously from the forays of the Scottish marauders. The rout at Myton-on-the-Swale went by the name of 'the Chapter of Myton,' from the number of the clergy whom the archbishop persuaded to enter the ranks to oppose the Scots. In November 1319 Archbishop Melton made an appeal to the abbot and convent of Welbeck to help him in his great need; he recited the very great losses he had sustained in the Scottish war, wherein he had suffered the destruction and waste of his manors of Hexham, Ripon, Otley, and Sherborne, particularly at the battle of Myton, where he had lost all his plate and other valuables. Similar letters were sent to the Nottinghamshire houses of Rufford, Shelford, Thurgarton, Worksop, Lenton, Newstead, Blyth, and Mathersey.⁸⁴

The following are some of the more interesting Nottinghamshire incidents of Melton's rule. In 1320 the Abbot and convent of Rufford entered into obligations to entertain for a day and a night each Archbishop of York on coming to his diocese; a most exceptional step to be taken by a Cistercian house. The archbishop issued a commission in 1323 to dedicate the altars in the monastic church of Thurgarton, which had been reconstructed. On 12 June 1326 the certificate of baptism and conversion of a Jew, named Walter de Nottingham, in the church of St. Mary Nottingham, which had taken place on Monday after the octave of the Holy Trinity of the previous year, was entered in the diocesan register; Sir Walter de Goushill and Sir Richard de Whatton, knights, and Orframia wife of Robert Ingram of Nottingham, were the godparents. A further notice, apparently referring to the same case, was entered by the archbishop in his register in March 1334, stating that Walter Conversus, formerly called Hagyn in the Hebrew tongue, was baptized at Nottingham on 30 June 1325. A further entry of about the same date tells of the severe penance enjoined on Sir Peter de Mauley, knight (an old offender), for adultery; he was to fast every Friday in Lent, Ember Days, and Advent for seven years on bread, water, and small beer, and Good Friday and the Vigil of All Saints on only bread and water, to make pilgrimages to the shrines of St. William of York, St. Thomas of Hereford, the Blessed Virgin of Southwell, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon; and further to be fustigated or scourged seven times before the Sunday procession in the usual scanty dress of penitents.⁸⁵

⁸³ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 241.

⁸⁴ York Epis. Reg. Melton, fol. 9b.

⁸⁵ Raine, *Hist. of Archbps. of York*, 415-19.

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William de la Zouch who had been Dean of York since 1336, and who was constantly employed by Edward III in various capacities, became Melton's successor in the episcopate in 1342, ruling the see of York until his death just ten years later. That terrible event, the Black Death of 1348-9, overshadowed his rule.

He issued a pastoral in July 1348, of a most devout and earnest character, urging that earnest prayer should be offered to turn away the scourge, with special litanies and processions on Wednesdays and Fridays.⁸⁶ Archbishop Zouch seems to have been the first English prelate to foresee the coming catastrophe; the plague had been gradually sweeping over Europe from the south during the earlier months of 1348, and on 7 July the first death in England occurred at the port of Melcombe Regis or Weymouth. It did not reach Nottinghamshire until February 1348-9.

The attack fell with dreadful severity on the religious houses of this county. The superiors, with their more commodious rooms and better food, suffered as heavily as any class. Among those who died in this fatal period were two priors of Thurgarton and two of Shelford, the Abbot of Welbeck, the priors of Blyth, Newstead and Felley, the warden of Sibthorpe and the master of St. Leonard's, Newark. More than half of the beneficed clergy perished; out of 126 benefices, sixty-five were emptied.⁸⁷

Among certain of the survivors of this awful calamity there was an outbreak of reckless debauchery; but almost every county yields evidence that one of the results was an awakening of religious earnestness, which not infrequently manifested itself—in accordance with the spirit of the times—in the founding of chantries whose priests were to offer masses for the souls of those who had so suddenly perished, and also to assist the parochial clergy in sacraments and sacramentals for the living. Nottinghamshire affords instances of this in the founding in 1349 of two chantries in the great church of Newark, and of a triple chantry at Clifton, near Nottingham.

On the death of Zouch in 1352, John Thoresby, a man of learning, piety and munificence, was translated from Worcester to the see of York, which he held till his death in 1373.⁸⁸ On 18 April 1364, Thoresby issued a general mandate forbidding (as had often been done before) the holding of markets, wrestling matches, archery, &c., in churchyards.⁸⁹ In September of the following year he issued an order to the parishioners of Worksop to desist from wrestling, archery, dancing, and singing in their churchyard.⁹⁰ The chief care, however, of this excellent prelate was to endeavour, through the spiritual agencies of the church, to dispel ignorance and to provide due intelligible instruction for the people in the principles and articles of the Christian faith. But his mandates in this respect, issued to all his archdeacons alike, refer more appropriately to the county of York.

Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York from 1374 to 1388, when he was deposed as a devoted adherent to the cause of Richard II, made no particular impression on any part of his diocese; and the same may be said of Thomas Arundel, who was translated to the primacy of Canterbury in 1397.

⁸⁶ *Hist. Papers from Northern Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 395.

⁸⁷ Gasquet, *Black Death* (ed. 2), 173.

⁸⁸ There are many of Archbishop Thoresby's letters in Cott. MS. Galba E. x, but none of them have particular reference to Nottinghamshire.

⁸⁹ York Epis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 144.

⁹⁰ Raine, *Hist. of Archbps. of York*, 462.

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In 1389 returns were ordered to be made to the king in council as to the ordinances, usages, properties &c., of the various gilds then established in England. A considerable number of these returns are lost, but for most counties a few yet remain in the Public Record Office.⁹¹ Those of Nottinghamshire are only four in number. Three of them relate to the respective gilds of Corpus Christi (founded 23 Edward I), of Our Lady (36 Edward I) and of the Holy Trinity (1339) in connexion with the parish church of Newark.⁹² The fourth pertains to a gild in the small parish of Owthorpe. The certificate of this gild or fraternity states that it was founded in the church of Owthorpe in honour of the Crucifix, and was entered in the chancery of the king on the vigil of the Purification, 1389, by Robert Deltoft, master of the gild. This brief certificate states that the brethren and sisters of the gild assembled at a certain house in the town at Whitsuntide, when they chose a master who ordered a brewing of two quarters of malt for an 'ale' (*ad quandam potacionem*), and the profits were used for the sustaining of the wax tapers before the Crucifix or Rood. Each brother or sister gave half a pound of wax on admission to the fraternity. The gild had but few goods or chattels pertaining to it.⁹³

There is little to be gleaned that is of moment with regard to the ecclesiastical history of Nottinghamshire during the 15th century. Certain interesting incidents arose from time to time in connexion with the development and administration of the monasteries and of Southwell Minster, but all these receive some attention in the subsequent accounts of the religious houses.

John Kemp, who was translated from London to York in 1426 and promoted to Canterbury in 1452, was probably the most generally unpopular prelate throughout Yorkshire of all the prelates of the northern province. He was for the most part a non-resident diocesan, though occasionally taking shelter in his manor-house at Southwell. During the height of his well-earned unpopularity in 1441, he complained to the king and council that when he had issued processes against certain of the laity of his province for offences within the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, the mob had been instigated to destroy mills, break down park palings and do other grievous damage to his manors; and that so far from being satisfied with these aggressions, they were then threatening to attack his residence at Southwell. Upon investigation it was found that the rioters had been instigated by the Earl of Northumberland.⁹⁴ Kemp's action in coming to the aid of Southwell in procuring the annexation to the collegiate church of the property of the alien priory of Ravendale, co. Lincoln, in 1452, was probably caused by gratitude for the peaceful retirement that he occasionally found at Southwell.⁹⁵

To the two Archbishops Booth and their attachment to Southwell, brief reference is made in the account of that minster. The archbishop who ruled between these two brothers, from 1465 to 1476, was George Nevill, the brother of the great Earl of Warwick, whose high connexions involved him in the grievous civil strife of that period. Nevill paid but the smallest attention to the spiritual affairs of his diocese, almost all his episcopal duties being

⁹¹ As to these Gild Returns, see Toulmin Smith, *Engl. Gilds* (1870).

⁹² Cert. of Gilds, Chan. no. 385, 386, 387.

⁹³ Hook, *Archbps. of Cant.* v, 240.

⁹⁴ Ibid. no. 384.

⁹⁵ Harl. MS. 3875, fol. 165.

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discharged by commissioned suffragans, of whom William Egremont, Bishop of Dromore, was the most usually employed. It is, however, to the credit of Nevill that at a provincial council held at York in 1466 certain admirable constitutions were promulgated by the archbishop. 'By these he enjoined every parish priest to expound to his people, in their mother-tongue, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two evangelical precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins *cum sua progenie*, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace; and he enters into a long explanation of these several points, so that they might know how to teach their people.'⁹⁶

This is not the place in which to offer any kind of general opinions as to the reformation of the Church of England, which began towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII and was not crystallized until the restoration of the episcopate and monarchy in 1660. It may, however, be remarked that the reforming wave, so unworthily fostered by the king for his own private ends, did not meet with so ready an acquiescence in the northern as in the southern province. It was not until the month of May 1531 that the York convocation consented, after long debate, to recognize the title of Supreme Head. The see of York was at that time vacant. Wolsey's death occurred in November 1530, and it was not until 10 December 1531 that the vacancy was filled by the consecration of Edward Lee.

Archbishop Lee's sympathies were strongly on the side of the unreformed faith, and he did his best in a vain endeavour to check the dissolution of monasteries in his diocese. A Nottinghamshire example of his dealing with those propagating heretical opinions in his diocese may be here cited from his register. It is the elaborate recantation of a Dutchman who had settled at Worksop; the archbishop had apparently had various personal interviews with him to persuade him of his errors:—

In the name of God, Amen. I Lambert Sparrowe, oderwyse callyd Lambert Hook, douchman borne, now of the dyocese and jurisdiction of Yorke, accusyd and detectyd of Heresie here before you most reverend Father in God, Lord Edward by Gods permission Archbishop of Yorke Primate of England and Legate of the See Apostolique, my Ordinary, openly confesse and knowledge that I have heretofore openlie spoken and affirmed, and also declaryd diverse erroneouse opinions and Articles against the true faith of Holy Church . . . I have diverse and sundry tymes affirmed and said within the parish of Wirksope that there is noe priest but God only—that the holy Sacrament of the Aultor is but bread—that noe Bishop ne priest can assoile any man of his sinnes—that every man may baptize and Christen as well as an oder—that tithes and oblations bee not due, ne ought to be taken.

He further acknowledged to speaking against fasting, purgatory, pilgrimages, pardons, &c., and that 'mannys promise and womans touching contract of matrimony is sufficient without any Solempnization of the Church.' His abjuration of every form of error was most detailed and complete, pledging himself never again, by oath on the Holy Gospels, to speak, declare, affirm, teach, pronounce, hold or believe anything contrary to the teaching of the Church, 'ne that I wolle hereafter use, reede, teach, keepe, buy or sell any bookes, volumes, or queeres, or any workes callyed Luthers or any odre mannys bookes of his Hereticall Sect . . . In witness

⁹⁶ *Diocesan Hist. of York*, 202.

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whereof to this my present abjuration I have subscribed my name and sett to the Crosse.⁹⁶

The treatment of the large number of varied monastic establishments that were suppressed in Nottinghamshire will be dealt with in detail in the article on 'Religious Houses.' One point in connexion with the suppression of the Nottinghamshire religious houses, not noticed elsewhere, may be here set on record, namely the sweeping away with the monks, canons, and nuns of a great store of alms by which the poor of the county had to no small extent benefited for centuries, without compensation. We do not now allude to the almost universal distribution of broken victuals daily at the monastic gates, the relief of the very poorest class of wayfarers, or the rule of assigning to the poor after an inmate's death the commons of the deceased for a whole year—but to the actual obligatory alms that various houses were bound by their statutes to distribute on specific days, often dating back to the very time of their foundation. Among such obligatory alms were: Worksop £25 1s. 4d.; Welbeck £8 13s. 4d.; Thurgarton £6 8s. 1d.; Newstead £4; Blyth £3 6s. 8d.; and Shelford and Wallingwells £2 6s. 8d. each—yielding a total amounting to £52 2s. 8d. or considerably more than £500 a year according to the present purchasing power of money.⁹⁷

Lee's episcopate, which ended with his death in 1544, was marked by the alienation to the Crown in 1542 of various ancient episcopal manors, including that of Southwell, in exchange for lands which had belonged to certain of the dissolved priories. To this course of action, by which, it is needless to say, the Crown profited, the archbishop was practically compelled to submit. His successor, Robert Holdegate, an ex-canon of the Sempringham Order, and a man of very different calibre, submitted so readily to wholesale stripping of the emoluments of the see—including six Nottinghamshire manors—within a few weeks after his translation, that there can be little doubt as to this spoliation being a condition of his appointment.⁹⁸

The obsequious Holdegate was in power during the reign of Edward VI. The suppression of the chantries at this period was a far severer blow to the general ordinances of religion than the dissolution of the monasteries, and was carried out on like lines of spoliation, mitigated by pensions to the dispossessed. It cannot be too plainly stated that the popular idea of a chantry priest as a mere mass priest for the souls of the departed, with no other functions attached to his office, is a complete misconception. The chantry priests were often assistant parochial clergy, or, as we should now say, curates, and occasionally had sole charge of detached places of worship at some distance from the parish church, which served as chapels of ease to the hamlets. In 1545 Henry VIII decided on appropriating the revenues belonging to chantries, collegiate churches, and like foundations, and in that year obtained an authorizing Act from his subservient Parliament.⁹⁹

Few foundations, however, were actually dissolved under this Act owing to the king's death, but as a preliminary measure, commissions were issued to take valuations of the properties and inventories of the chattels. A

⁹⁶ York Epis. Reg. Lee, fol. 150.

⁹⁷ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), passim.*

⁹⁸ Sixty-seven manors in all were transferred to the Crown in exchange for the paltry grant of thirty-three small impropriations and advowsons late pertaining to monasteries. See Drake, *Hist. of York*, 452.

⁹⁹ Stat. 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 4.

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joint commission was issued for the counties of Nottingham and Derby dated 13 February 1545-6, addressed to Sir John Markham, kt., William Cowper and Nicholas Powell, esqs., and John Wyseman, gent.¹⁰⁰ The broad reasons alleged for the suppression of chantries were that they were superstitious and their possessions were wrongfully used; and yet, save perchance in the multitudinous chantries of the collegiate establishments of Southwell and Newark, there does not seem to have been a single case in Nottinghamshire where the presence of these chantry priests could reasonably be said to be superfluous if religious worship was to be duly maintained. It is to the credit of the commissioners to note that, although they must have been well aware of the intentions of the Crown, they had the courage in several instances to exceed their instructions and with laudable honesty to make plain the good service that was being done by the priests supported by chantry endowments.

The commissioners were to survey and report on 'All Chauntries, Hospitalles, Collegies, Free Chappelles, Fraternities, Brotherhodes, Guyldes and Salaries of stipendarie Prides.' Their reports on colleges and hospitals are cited under the subsequent account of religious houses. With regard to free chapels, the term is strictly applicable to chapels founded by the king and free from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, but it was also sometimes used of chapels under no obligations to the priest of the parish church. In the case of Nottinghamshire the two or three that are thus styled by the commissioners of Henry VIII and his successors are scarcely distinguishable from chantry chapels or chapels of ease at more or less distance from the parish church.

The stipendiary priest differed from the chantry priest inasmuch as he had no perpetual endowment, but usually one for a given number of years; moreover, his position was occasionally unfettered by any stipulation for masses for particular individuals. Thus as to the great parish of Blyth, with its 400 communicants, the commissioners say:—'The Stipendare of Blyth ordayned by diverse men in consideration that the parishe is large and other foundacyon the incumbente hathe nott butt that he prayethe for all cristian soules and helpethe the vicare to serve there.'

At Rampton the parishioners in 1493 gave lands worth £4 16s. 7d. to find a (stipendiary) priest for a hundred years, and as though foreseeing a change, stipulated that at the end of a century the income was to be used in marriage portions for poor maidens, in the relief of poor householders, or in making of highways. At East Markham, where there were 400 communicants, lands purchased by the parishioners sufficed to find an income of £3 17s. 6d. for a stipendiary priest to help the vicar of this great parish. At Walkeringham the commissioners found lands producing £4 a year, which sum they were told was sometimes used to obtain the services of a stipendiary priest and at other times for the repair of the church or the 'mendinge of the Trente bankes.' Malling had a stipendiary priest (£4 6s. 8d.), whose duties were to help the vicar and to teach the children. The stipendiary priest of Lound in Sutton parish (£3 18s. 4d.) was neither instituted nor inducted, but appointed by the parishioners there to serve God 'and to mynystre Sacramentes when nede requirethe bycause the parishe is

¹⁰⁰ Chant. Cert. no. 13; Cert. no. 14 is a paper book which is for the most part an abstract of no. 13.

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great,' and the incumbent had no other help; the commissioners further stated that the chapel at Lound had been built by the residents there so that they might have mass three days a week, because it was a mile or more from the parish church of Sutton, and that from 40 to 60 communicants resorted there 'daily' (*sic*). At Sturton, where there were 400 communicants, there was a stipendiary priest with an income of £4 2s. 8d., and at East Markham, with a like number of houseling folk or communicants, there was another stipendiary with an income of £3 17s. 6d.

At Clipstone, in Edwinstowe parish, there was a chapel a mile from the parish church roofed with slate; the priest's chamber seems in this case to have been under the chapel, for the commissioners say, 'itt hathe no mancyon butt a parlor under the chappell of no valewe.' A chapel is also mentioned at Harby, 2 miles from the parish church of Clifton, where there was a chantry for Queen Eleanor, who died there in 1290. There was also a chapel of St. Helen at Bingham, '2,000 ft.' from the parish church.

The chantry of Tilne (£4 1s. 4d.) was a chapel founded in 1311 in Hayton parish to serve the hamlets of North and South Tilne, because the waters often prevented the inhabitants coming to their parish church; the chapel was 2 miles from Hayton.

As to chantries proper, served by priests within the parish church, the commissioners' report expressly mentions their general utility in certain instances. Thus at Annesley, of a chantry worth £4 16s. 7d. a year, founded by Sir Robert Annesley and another, they say that it was 'founded in consideracion that there be diverse villages belonging to the parisshe of Annysley wherof iij of them be distaunte from the parisshe church and all other Churches and Chappells a mile or more, for whiche cause the chauntrie preste there shulde saye everye holy daye masse before the parisshe matyns shulde be begoun and that done to assist the parisshe preste for the tyme being att mattyns, masse and evensonge, and on worke dayes to saye masse and praye for the benefactors soulles of the said Chauntrie and all Cristian soulles as more plainlye dothe appeare by the foundacyon of the King's license to the Commyssioners shewed.'

At East Retford, described as a market town greatly inhabited and of much resort, there were 500 communicants and no one to help the vicar save the priests of the chantries of Trinity and Our Lady; the mansion house of these two priests had been lately burnt; the chantries had been founded by the bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty, and one of the priests was to serve as 'a scolle master ther for the bryngyng upp of youthe in Godley learnynge.'

The great parish of St. Mary's Nottingham had more than a thousand communicants; ¹⁰¹ of the chantry of Our Lady, with an income of £8, it is expressly stated that it was used partly for the relief of the poor, and that it was founded 'to be an ayde for the vicar.'

In a few other instances the destruction of the chantry involved a distinct loss to the poor. Thus the chantry priest at Beckingham had to furnish a bushel of wheat to be distributed to the poor in bread on Good Friday. The chantry at Wollaton is a remarkable example; it was worth

¹⁰¹ According to commission of Edw. VI, 1400.

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£5 16s. 2d. a year, and out of this sum £3 10s. 6d. was distributed to 'bedefolk,' leaving £2 5s. 8d. for the priest.

Other chantries within parish churches were those of Beeston, Caunton, Coddington, Edwinstowe (280 communicants), Laxton, Mattersey, Mister-ton (400 communicants), Misson (200 communicants), Ratcliffe, Rempstone, Saundby, Sturton (400 communicants), Thorpe, Thurgarton, and Willoughby.

One of the earliest actions of the council of the boy king Edward VI was, in 1547, to procure a new Act by which these threatened chantries, colleges, &c., might be suppressed and their revenues confiscated to the Crown. A twofold plea was put forth for their suppression, namely that they promoted superstition and that there was need of money for the army;¹⁰⁸ new commissions of survey were therefore issued for each county. The Nottinghamshire commissioners, appointed on 14 February 1548, were Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir John Hersey, and Sir Anthony Nevill, kts., and William Holles, esq.¹⁰⁸ Their detailed report covers much the same ground as that of their predecessors, but they were also expected to give the age of incumbents (doubtless with a view to their pensions), and to state whether they were learned or unlearned. How the latter fact could be ascertained by the commissioners during their hasty visits to certain centres it seems impossible now to conjecture. It has been stated that 'unlearned' meant without a degree; but this is not possible when a considerable number are entered as unlearned and a small minority as learned. The chantry priest of Willoughby was 'indifferently lerned'; of Saundby, 'meanley lerned'; and of Annesley, 'metely lerned.' There is only one reference to the universities: the stipendiary priest of Sturton was 'a student at Cambridge.'

Like their predecessors, these country gentlemen were bold enough to set out the great need of these foundations, at all events in certain cases. Thus of Annesley they say:—'It ys reputed that in the parish of Annesley there are above 260 parishioners and the parish being very large and wyde and of greate dystaunce betwene the standing of the houses. They have no more mynysters to helpe the Curate but thie Chantry preiste.' Of South Leverton:—'The churchwardens there have deposed that there ys a chappell within the parishe of South Leverton called the Chappell of Cottam . . . dystant from the parishe Church one myle and that there are belonging to the sayd chappell 80 people that Receyvethe Communion and other rytes ecclesiastical. And further they saie that many tymes they are environed with waters that they cannot come to their parish church of Leverton. For the whiche cause the churchwardens for the tyme being have alwaies bene accustomed to Receyve the above named xxvjs. viijd. towards the finding and maynteyning of a preist at the said chappell of Cottam.'

These commissioners were also required to report on the numerous small endowments for providing lights in churches, as well as for obits for maintaining the memory of deceased parishioners on the anniversary of their deaths. As to bequests for lights or lamps, they were found in thirty-six parishes, usually for a single lamp; but in some cases, as at East Markham, Hickling, Maplebeck, and Thorpe by Newark, for divers lights.

¹⁰⁸ Stat. 1 Edw. VI, cap. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Chant. Cert. no. 37.

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The usual idea as to an obit is that it was simply a fee to a parochial or chantry priest for an anniversary mass ; but this is a great mistake: the larger portion of an obit endowment usually went to the indigent of the parish, so that this Act of Suppression sometimes robbed God's poor far more than His ministers. The following is a table showing the proportional distribution of obit money in a variety of Nottinghamshire parishes :—

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Parish	Total		Poor		Priest	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beckingham	3	4	2	10	0	6
North Collingham	13	4	10	0	3	4
Bole	3	4	0	20	0	20
Girton	3	0	2	8	0	4
Sutton Bonnington	16	0	14	0	2	0
Sutton on Trent	2	4	1	10	0	6
Treswell	0	7	0	6	0	1
Tuxford	23	4	16	4	7	0
Great Wheatley	0	18	0	12	0	6

It therefore follows that the mass priest received about a fifth of the endowment, the rest was distributed on such occasions to the poor. Ten other obits are entered by the commissioners, without the division being stated ; but there is no reason to doubt that it would approximately follow a like proportion.

This grievous ejection of so large a number of the assistant clergy of the county, coupled with the spoiling of the chantry chapels, where they were detached buildings, even to stripping them of their roofs, must have proved a serious set-back to religion. Lound, for instance, at that date lost a chapel and remained for more than three centuries without a place of worship ; it was not till 1859 that a new chapel of the Church of England was there erected.

The pension commission of Edward VI towards the end of his reign, which is largely cited in the subsequent introduction to the Religious Houses, gives full lists of all the dispossessed chantry and stipendiary priests of the county.¹⁰⁴ The pension list drawn up for Cardinal Pole in 1554 shows that the discharged chantry priests of Nottinghamshire then numbered exactly fifty (they lost their pensions if they obtained preferment), in addition to six stipendiary priests.¹⁰⁵

In the last year of Henry VIII, the king, anxious to prevent embezzlement, caused inventories to be taken of the goods of churches and parochial chapels, but only a few of these returns are extant. Further inventories were drawn up under Edward VI in 1549, but no general confiscation resulted. However, on 3 March 1551 the council, having used up the spoils gained by the suppression of chantries, stipendiary priests and colleges, placed on record their reason for taking further measures :—‘ That for as muche as the Kings Majestie had neede presently of a masse of Money therefore Commissions should be addressed into all shires of Englande to take into the Kinges handes such church plate as remaineth, to be employed into his Highness use.’¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Accts. Exch. K.R. 78.

¹⁰⁵ Add. MS. (B.M.) 8102.

¹⁰⁶ *Acts of P.C.* (new ser.), iii, 228.

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The inventories taken in 1552 for almost the whole of the Nottingham churches are extant at the Public Record Office, though scattered about among a variety of documents.¹⁰⁷ Two of the shorter inventories of country churches are given as examples:—

Basford. The inventory of all the goods and Juyles within the parishe church of Basford takyn the fyrst day of September in the vjth yere of the Reigne of oure Sovereyn lord Edward the Syxth by the grace of god Kyng of England, France and yrland, etc.

The challes stolen in Maie quinto
Fyrste in the Stepull three Bellys
Item one Crosse of Lattyn
Item one Cowpe of velvyt of dyverse collours
Item one Vestament of Blew Satten
Item one Whyte Vestement of Fustyan
Item one Vestament of grene Sylke
Item one Vestament of velvett of dyverse colores

Item ij albys. Item ij towellys. ij candyl-
sticks of brasse
Item ij autaclothys. A Crystmatory
Churchwardens Hughe Rowell Robert Morris
Crystaine Tynmore vicar
Parishoners William Daneson, Henry Scheye
and Clement Grene¹⁰⁸

Shelforde (3d Sept. 6 Edw. 6)

Imprimis a chalyce and a patten sylver and
gylte
Item a pyxe off laten nott gylte
Item a crosse of coper gylte
Item ij crosses of wode covered with laten
Item a pare of censers and a cryssmitory of
laten
Item ij laten candlestyckes: a holy water
stocke
Item in ye stepull iiij beelles and a sanctus
beell

Item ij hande beelles
Item a cowpe of grene satten bryges
Item a cowpe of Reed and blacke
Item a westement of damasske velvett
Item a westement and a tyvacle of Reyd
worsted
Item a westement of Reyd Sey
Item ij Vestmentes of Whytt fustian
Item ij Corparasses
Item ij Aulta clothes: iij towelles
Item a syrples and a Rochett¹⁰⁹

Out of this great mass of church goods other commissioners were expected to leave behind a chalice, a bell, and a surplice, as the bare minimum of what the council considered necessary for divine worship. There are schedules extant of goods suffered to remain, or 'deliverances' as they are usually termed, according to statements drawn up in May 1553, two months before the young king's death. One of these schedules, dated 6–8 May 1553, contains the deliverances to twenty-four churches of the hundred of Rushcliffe; in each case a chalice, with its accompanying paten, was left behind, and from one to four bells.¹¹⁰ At Colston Basset the commissioners on 26 May delivered to the churchwardens a silver chalice and paten and four bells, and lest they should imagine themselves secure in the possession of this remnant of the spoils of which they had been stripped, added that these were 'to be kept unspoiled unembesced and unsold untill the Kinges Maties pleasure be therin furder knowen.' At Littleborough the commissioners left 'ij belles of one accorde with a sarvice bell hengginge in the steple.'¹¹¹

The commissioners who superintended the spoiling of the Nottinghamshire churches were Henry Earl of Rutland, Sir Gervase Clifton, and Sir G.

¹⁰⁷ See printed list, with reference numbers for each inventory, by Mr. William Page, in *Antiq.* xxviii, 267–9.

¹⁰⁸ Aug. Off. Bks. 507, fol. 8b.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 79.

¹⁰⁹ Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.), 78.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 79.

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Pierrepoint. Their deputy, William Philpote, brought into the Jewel House, on 1 June 1553, 97 oz. of broken or damaged church plate of Nottinghamshire; 54 oz. were parcel-gilt, and 43 oz. 'white' or silver.¹¹³

Under Queen Mary, Archbishop Holdegate, the ex-canon of the Gilbertine Order, was deprived by reason of his marriage, and for a time committed to the Tower.¹¹³ Holdegate was deprived on 13 March 1554; he lived in retirement, being warned to exercise no episcopal functions, and died in 1556.¹¹⁴ The see remained vacant for some months; it was not until January 1555 that Nicholas Heath was translated from Rochester to York. Although there were various isolated cases of deprivation of incumbents on account of marriage, there can be no doubt that the Marian reaction was generally accepted by the clergy in Nottinghamshire as elsewhere.

'Archbishop Heath was a learned and most exemplary prelate, devout in the exercise of his own personal religion, but mild and tolerant as regarded the conscientious convictions of those who took opposite views.'¹¹⁵ The happy immunity which the north of England enjoyed from the grievous persecutions of the later years of Queen Mary—an immunity in which Nottinghamshire fully shared—was to a great extent due to the gentle nature of Nicholas Heath, who put every impediment in the way of making martyrs of the reformers. By his influence with the queen, Southwell and five other Nottinghamshire manors were restored to the archbishopric.¹¹⁶ With Mary's death, on 17 November 1558, came the end of Archbishop Heath's ministrations. In common with the whole of the bishops, except Kitchin of Llandaff, Heath refused to take the oath of supremacy under Elizabeth, and was deprived. Several of his episcopal brethren were imprisoned; but the new queen fully recognized Heath's amiable qualities, and visited him on more than one occasion in his retirement at Cobham in Surrey.¹¹⁷

Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, to which was annexed the third revision of the Book of Common Prayer, was passed on 28 April 1559.¹¹⁸ By this Act it was provided that the revised book should come into use on the ensuing festival of St. John Baptist. In June commissions were issued to inquire into the carrying out of the new regulations, and to secure the subscriptions of the clergy to the book and to Elizabeth's supremacy. The visitors for the Northern Province were Edward Earl of Derby, Thomas Earl of Northumberland, William Lord Evers, several knights and esquires, Edward Sandys, D.D., and Henry Harvey, LL.D.; most of the work was done by the last two. Their commission was dated 24 June 1559. The full record of this visitation of the Northern Province has been happily preserved.¹¹⁹ The commission paid its first visits to the archdeaconry of Nottingham.

The visitation was opened in the church of St. Mary, Nottingham, on Tuesday, 22 August 1559. When prayers were ended, and a sermon had been preached by Dr. Sandys, the preacher, with Sir Thomas Gargrave,

¹¹³ Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.), 1¹/₃.

¹¹³ 'Sede Vacante Reg.' Canterbury, fol 38.

¹¹⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, xv, 370; Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 100.

¹¹⁵ *Dioc. Hist. of York*, 332.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 334.

¹¹⁸ Stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

¹¹⁹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. x; it is a volume of 400 pages. On the subject of the Elizabethan clergy and their deprivation, see Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy* (1898), and Birt, *The Elizabethan Settlement* (1907).

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Sir Henry Gates, and Dr. Harvey, proceeded to a place in the chancel duly prepared (*decenter ornatum*) and caused the commission by the queen to be read by Thomas Percy, notary public and registrar. Thereupon Robert Cressy, official of the Archdeacon of Nottingham, produced the queen's citatory mandate for summoning the clergy and people of the deanery of Nottingham to undergo visitation at that time and place, together with certificate of its execution and the names and titles of all thus summoned. All cited were publicly called by name, and the commissioners pronounced contumacious all those who did not appear. After Sandys had addressed an exhortation to the people, the commissioners directed the lay parishioners and churchwardens of each parish, having laid their hands on the Holy Gospels, to furnish (after dinner at two o'clock) their answers to the articles of inquiry. The clergy of all kinds (whether with or without cure) were instructed to appear at the same time, to exhibit letters of orders, dispensations, and other like instruments, and 'to do further what justice and equitable reason shall persuade.'

At the appointed hour the churchwardens and parishioners exhibited their bills of detection, together with the inventories of their church goods. After this, diligent examination was made as to the condition, teaching (*doctrina*), and conversation of the clergy, each being severally examined and exhibiting letters of orders and other documents. An immediate result was that the parish church of Adbolton, being found destitute of a curate, was sequestrated, and William Lee and Thomas Clay, two of the parishioners, were appointed administrators.

On Thursday, 24 August, the commissioners were at Southwell holding a visitation of the deanery of Newark, when three churches, namely Winthorpe, Edingley, and West Drayton, were sequestrated, as they lacked an incumbent. On the following day the commissioners met in the chapter house, Southwell, for the visitation of the collegiate church, when seven prebendaries appeared by proxy, four prebendaries and four vicars-choral appeared in person, four were absent without offering any excuse, whilst of one no information was forthcoming. The most eminent of these prebendaries who made no personal appearance was Robert Pursglove, the well-known and much-esteemed suffragan Bishop of Hull; he appeared, however, by proxy. Those who made no appearance were William Mowse, George Gudley, George Lambe, Robert Snell, and William Saxye. In the result, of the sixteen prebendaries of Southwell, five were certainly deprived, and six as certainly conformed; of the remainder three were almost certainly deprived, whilst definite information is lacking as to two.

The commissioners took cognizance of morals, as at ordinary visitations. Thus, at Southwell, Edward Baker of Winthorpe was presented for living in adultery with Margaret Brewen. Baker made confession, and the commissioners ordered him to appear in the market-place of Newark on the Wednesday following, with bare feet and head, and in like manner on the next Sunday in the parish church of Newark, plainly and distinctly declaring before the people his confession according to a schedule delivered to him.

On 26 August the visitors were at Blyth for the deaneries of Blyth and Laneham. Here, in addition to the particular parochial and clerical visitations,

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a suit as to a marriage celebrated in the church of West Drayton came before the commissioners. The parishioners of Stokeham presented the vicar of Drayton for not supplying them with a curate; the visitors ordered the vicar to serve Drayton and Stokeham *alternis vicibus* up to the ensuing Easter, and from that day to supply Stokeham with a curate at his own costs. The church of Fledborough was destitute of a curate, and was in consequence sequestered.

From Blyth the visitors passed on to Pontefract, where, on 28 August, they began the visitation of Yorkshire. After record had been made of the various visitation centres throughout the four northern dioceses, the register contains the entries of ecclesiastical suits as to benefices brought before the commissioners; thus at Nottingham they dealt with the restitution of Oliver Columbus to the rectory of Stanford, at Southwell with a dispute as to the vicarage of Newark, and at Blyth with a dispute as to the rectory of Clayworth. This is followed by a list of institutions made by the visitors to vacant benefices. At Nottingham they filled up the rectories of Treswell, Keyworth, Lowdham, and Wollaton, and the vicarage of Leeds; at Southwell, the vicarage of East Markham and the rectory of Burythorpe; and at Blyth, the rectory of Grove and the vicarages of Cropwell Bishop and Wheatley.

The summary of *Detectiones et Comperta* is of much interest, and is evidence of the thorough nature of the visitation, apart from the supremacy and subscription questions. The chancel of St. Mary's, Nottingham, was in great decay, and the windows unglazed; and the churches of St. Peter and St. Nicholas were in sore decay. The parishioners of St. Peter's complained that 'the curate upon Sondaies and hollydaies after the Gospel dothe not use the Lords Prayer the belief and the tene commandmentes.' In none of the three churches was there a register book kept. North Clifton had no curate for two years; Adbolton no service for the like period; at West Drayton, Bawtry, and Stockwith, 'no curate this xij moneth'; Hoveringham, 'long without a curate'; Lenton, neither vicar nor curate; Whatton, vacant since Candlemas; and Attenborough, cure unserved. The parishioners of Bunny, East Retford, Tuxford, Edingley, and Sturton were content simply to present that they had 'no curate.' At Kirkby in Ashfield the rector was non-resident, and the parishioners complained that he gave nothing to the poor; at East Stoke the vicar was non-resident, and they had had no service since Midsummer Day; and at Balderton 'the parson ys not resident.'

Whatever may be said of monasteries, the neglect of the chancels of their appropriated churches can hardly ever be brought against them. But after their suppression the lay rectors were frequently neglectful of their responsibilities. There were several cases of such neglect in Nottinghamshire. At Lowdham both chancel and church were in great decay; at Winthorpe the chancel was uncovered; and at Calverton the chancel had nearly fallen down. The presentments of the chancels of Clayworth, Bevercotes, Wheatley, and Bothamsall are almost equally grave. At Stanton, Eaton, and Balderton, the churches were in general decay.

The prebendal houses of Southwell were in decay, and a like report was made of the vicarages of Cropwell, Stoke, and Eaton.

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The parishioners of Bunny, Lowdham, Whatton, Carlton, Hawton, Stapleford, and Scarrington, reported that their books, supplied in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, such as communion books and Erasmus's *Paraphrase* (and in two instances Bibles), had been burnt in the time of Queen Mary. In one or two cases it was reported that they had been handed over to Mr. Cressy, the archdeacon's official, for this purpose; this must have been rather awkward for Cressy, for he was in attendance on the Elizabethan visitors.

At the end of this visitation register the names of the clergy who failed to appear are set forth. The Nottinghamshire absentees, including the prebendaries of Southwell, amounted to about fifty. The incumbents who did not respond to the summons to this royal visitation were the rectors or vicars of Attenborough, Barton, Beckingham, Bole, Bonnington, Broughton, Carlton, Clayworth, Clifton, South Collingham, Colston Basset, Cotgrave, Cromwell, East Drayton, Egmanton, Epperstone, Finningley, Fledborough, Gamston, Gotham, Gringley, Harworth, Hawksworth, Hawton, Holme, Kirkby in Ashfield, Laneham, Great or East Leake, North Leverton, Misterton, North Muskham, Normanton, Owthorpe, Rampton, Rolleston, South Scarle, Thorpe in the Glebe, Warsop, South Wheatley, Widmerpool, and Worksop. At this stage in the proceedings the absentees were pronounced contumacious; but there is no doubt that the majority of these Nottinghamshire clergy eventually acquiesced in the change.

The first Elizabethan Archbishop of York was Thomas Young, translated from St. David's early in 1561. In the course of a few years Young procured the consecration of a suffragan under the title of Bishop of Nottingham. Richard Barnes, born at Bold, Lancashire, in 1533, a fellow of Brasenose, Oxford, B.A. in 1553 and M.A. in 1557, after holding small preferments, became chancellor and canon residentiary of York in 1561. On 4 January 1567 he was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham by Archbishop Sandys and others in York Minster.¹²⁰ On the report of the death of the Bishop of Carlisle in April 1570, Sir Henry Gates wrote to Cecil recommending that Richard Barnes, Bishop of Nottingham, should be promoted to that see,¹²¹ and he was elected Bishop of Carlisle in the following June. Barnes gained high favour with Burghley, and was promoted to the very wealthy see of Durham in 1577.

There seems no reason to think that Barnes in any way left his mark on the county whose name he bore for some three years. He seems to have acted as suffragan for the whole diocese; at all events he resided in Yorkshire all the time he was Bishop of Nottingham, either in the city of York or at Stonegrave Rectory, which he held together with the rectory of Stokesley and his prebend.

Nottinghamshire enjoyed a far greater measure of religious peace under a succession of Elizabethan archbishops than was the case with several of her neighbours, particularly Derbyshire. The recusants who clung to the unreformed faith were not numerous in this archdeaconry, and there was but little harrying of those who declined to conform, whether Papists or Puritans. The most pious and learned of these prelates, Archbishop Sandys, not

¹²⁰ Pat. 9 Eliz. pt. xi, m. 33.

¹²¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxvii, 78.

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infrequently resided at Southwell; it was there that he died and was buried in 1588.

We are not aware of any particularly stirring incident in the ecclesiastical history of the county until the beginning of those combined civil and religious disorders which resulted in the temporary establishment of the Commonwealth. Nottinghamshire opinions seem at the outset to have been fairly evenly divided, as was the case in several of the midland shires. The policy of Archbishop Neile, who held the York diocese from 1631 until his death in October 1640, was that of a staunch Churchman and warm ally of Laud. He did much towards repairing and adorning the churches of the Nottingham archdeaconry, and when he visited Southwell he took order for a quire service there.¹²² This line of action naturally gave great offence to those who were puritanically disposed; and the latter received much support from Bishop Williams of the adjacent diocese of Lincoln. On the death of Neile, Williams, Laud's chief rival, was translated to York, but was driven from his new diocese in the following year.

In 1641 a petition was presented to Parliament from the county and town of Nottingham, subscribed by 'above 1,500 hands of Esquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen,' complaining of grievances under the ecclesiastical government by archbishops and bishops, and setting forth in much detail in an annexed schedule the heads of their grievances, and outlining a Presbyterian government, under an elected county moderator, as preferable. The whole forms a small quarto tract of twenty-eight pages.¹²³ Some of the grievances are of a local nature, and others somewhat curious and unexpected. A sub-heading is concerned with the exactions of money from parishes through the churchwardens, as in the transmitting of copies of registers to York, 'for which if not brought in their time they take what they list'; also 'for Pentecostall offerings to the Collegiate Church of S: upon unknowne or superstitious originall.' One form of discountenancing preaching and hearing of God's Word was alleged to be the 'Hindering the full Audience of Sermons and withdrawing the opinion of the use of Churches for Auditories, by pulling downe Lofts in great Congregations.' In another place the church authorities of the county are charged with 'Preferring the Communion Table to the East end of the Chancell, turning it to the posture and name of an Altar, advancing it with new steps to it, rayling it with single or double Rayles, placing a Canopie over it, Tapers by it, Crucifixes or other superstitious Images upon over or above it, appropriating peculiar parte of service to it . . . bowing to the Altar upon approaches, and in comming and in kneeling to the Rayle for the Sacrament.'

A large number of county petitions against episcopacy reached the House of Commons in January and February 1640-1; they mostly followed a form adopted by the ministers of London and its district, which was submitted to a committee of thirty on 9 February, after considerable debate. On 19 February petitions from Cheshire and Devon reached the committee, and those from Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire on 23 February.¹²⁴

¹²² *Dioc. Hist. of York*, 376.

¹²³ Thomason Tracts, E. 160 (4).

¹²⁴ Shaw, *Engl. Ch. during the Civil Wars*, i.

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In reply to this petition, an influential counterblast was speedily presented to the High Court of Parliament asserting that the petition from Nottinghamshire in favour of abolishing episcopacy and making other alterations had been signed and presented without the petitioners' knowledge or consent. They expressed their desire that the long-established government of the church might continue 'free from the abuse and errors of some particular persons,' adding, 'We likewise humbly crave the Booke of Common-Prayer, by Law established, may continue in force, with such alterations (if there be cause) as to your Honours Wisdomes shall seeme meet.' The broadside on which this brief petition is printed concludes with a note stating that it had been subscribed by one viscount, five knights, above a hundred gentlemen of quality, all the clergy of the county, and above a thousand commoners, 'being all of them Communicants'; but unfortunately no names are given.¹²⁵

Another reason why there was a real revival of churchmanship in this county and a sincere attention to decency of worship may have been owing to the fact that William Robinson, the Rector of Bingham and Archdeacon of Nottingham from 1635 until his death in 1642, was brother by the mother's side to Archbishop Laud.

Among those who were ejected at the beginning of the Puritan movement was John Neile, a prebendary of Southwell, and Archdeacon of Cleveland, who was a nephew of Archbishop Neile. He eventually settled at Farnsfield in this county, where he resorted to teaching, and 'made a hard shift to live till the year 1660,' when he was made Dean of Ripon. Other ejected clergy were the incumbents of Keyworth, Clifton, Widmerpool, Ruddington, East Retford, and Holme Pierrepont. The rector of East and West Leake was 'seized and carried prisoner towards Nottingham, at which time being forced to lie in a waggon in the fields he got a palsie of which he died.' Dr. More, Rector of Ordsall, is said to have been sequestered 'for three times playing cards with his own wife.'¹²⁶

The elaborate system of Presbyterian church government formulated by the Parliament in 1644 took some hold in this county. After the general failure of State Presbytery, the voluntary organizations on this basis remained well established in the parishes round Nottingham during the later period of the Commonwealth, and were even kept alive for a very short period after the Restoration. The notes of the Nottingham Classis are extant from June 1656 to June 1660. The attendance of ministers at first numbered about thirty. Their chief concerns were maintaining of discipline and ordination. At their last meeting they were engaged in trying some elders elected for St. Mary's, Nottingham.¹²⁷

The thirteenth volume of the important collection of the original series of the Commonwealth Survey of Livings among the Lambeth MSS. is concerned with those of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, and of the counties of Northumberland and Nottingham. The Nottinghamshire livings occupy folios 199 to 444. The livings of the wapentake of Broxtow were dealt with at an inquisition held at the Shirehall, Nottingham, on 14 August 1650, before John Hutchinson, Gervase Pigot, Robert Raynes, Nicholas Charlton,

¹²⁵ Thomason Tracts, 669, fol. 4, 36.

¹²⁶ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy, passim*.

¹²⁷ Shaw, *Hist. of Ch. during the Commonwealth*, ii, 161-2, 452-3. These Notts. notes have been printed by the Chetham Soc. xl, 153-7.

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and Clement Spelman, esquires, and John Martyn, gentleman, and a sworn jury of fourteen. The result of the evidence laid before them is summarized in the following table :—

Parish	Benefice	Minister	—
Mansfield with Skegby .	Improprate Rectory, £175 .	—	—
” ” ”	Vicarage, £30	None	—
Mansfield Woodhouse .	Improprate Rectory, £110 .	—	—
” ” ”	Vicarage, £20	Edward Momsley .	Preaching minister
Sutton in Ashfield . . .	Improprate Rectory, £90 .	—	—
” ” ”	Vicarage, £4 13s. 4d. . . .	Nicholas Hazard .	Preaching minister
Kirkby in Ashfield . . .	Rectory, £100	John Hoyland . . .	”
Teversal	Rectory, £50	William Smithson .	”
Selston	Improprate Rectory, £80 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £10	Samuel Tildon . . .	Preaching minister
Trowell	Rectory in two medieties of £35 each	Henry Denham . . .	”
Bulwell		Rectory, £40	Nicholas Clarke . . .
Hucknall	Improprate Rectory, £40 .	Matthew Laccocke .	”
”	Vicarage, £13 6s. 8d. . . .	—	—
Linby	Rectory, £40	Henry Hatton . . .	Preaching minister
		Richard Walker . . .	‘A preaching minister, but a drunkard and a common swearer’
Arnold	Improprate Rectory, £70 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £30	Peter Fullwood . . .	Preaching minister
Greasley cum Membris .	Improprate Rectory, £106 .	—	—
” ” ”	Vicarage, £10	Mr. Turner	Preaching minister
Attenborough	Improprate Rectory, £160 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £20	Anthony Wood . . .	‘A godly preaching minister and well affected to the Parliament’
Nuthall	Rectory, £40	John Hill	‘A preaching minister, but hath formerly been in arms against the Parliament’
Papplewick	Improprate Rectory, £20 .	None	—
Wollaton	Rectory, £20	John Wagstaffe . . .	Preaching minister
Cossall	Rectory, £10	”	”
Bilborough cum Broxtow	Rectory, £40	William Fox	”
Stapleford	Improprate Rectory, £40 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £7	Mr. Leigh	Preaching minister
Radford	Improprate Rectory, £23 6s. 8d.	—	—
”	Vicarage, £12	Robert Malham . . .	Preaching minister
Annesley	Improprate Rectory, £16 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £8 13s. 4d. . . .	None	—
Lenton	Improprate Rectory, £46 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £7	Robert Ollorens Shaw	‘Preaching minister at present, but is a drunkard and of an ill conversation’
Basford	Improprate Rectory, £55 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £18	George Hickson . . .	Preaching minister
Bramcote	Improprate Rectory, £39 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £6	—	—
Strelley	Rectory, £35	Abraham Gorbes . . .	‘Lives in the parsonage, but is sequestered from the said liveinge by reason of his delinquency to the Parliament’
Eastwood	Rectory, £40	Thomas Howet . . .	Preaching minister
Beeston	Improprate Rectory, £50 .	—	—
”	Vicarage, £30	William Westby . . .	‘A godly honest painefull minister and well affected’

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The commissioners for this wapentake made two recommendations as to the amalgamation of livings, namely that Skegby should be united to Sutton in Ashfield, and that Papplewick should be united to Linby.

With the restoration of the monarchy came the revival of episcopacy. A generous period of grace was allowed up to 24 August 1662 for the withdrawal of those Presbyterian or Independent incumbents who could not conscientiously accept ordination and the use of the Book of Common Prayer. According to Calamy's list the following incumbents were on that date ejected, namely the vicars of Arnold, Beeston, Bleasby, Blidworth, Calverton, Flintham, Greasley, Kirton, Kneesall, Mattersey, Nottingham (St. Mary and St. Peter), Rolleston, Southwell, Sutton in Ashfield, and Thrumpton; and the rectors of West Bridgeford, Clayworth, Collingham, Cotgrave, Cromwell, Eakring, and Linby. But out of this total of twenty-three, ten afterwards conformed.¹²⁸

Of the ejected ministers of this county, the only one of any eminence was Joseph Truman. He was born at Gedling in 1631. He graduated at Clare College, Cambridge, B.A. in 1650, and M.A. 1654. He was placed by the Presbyterians in the rectory of Cromwell in 1657. At the Restoration he declined to use the Book of Common Prayer, because, as Calamy reports, 'there were lies in it.' After ejection he resided in Mansfield, and is said to have always attended the services of the Established Church. In 1669 he published a theological work of close and subtle reasoning entitled 'The Great Propitiation,' and was afterwards engaged in considerable literary controversy with Bishop Bull. He died in 1671.¹²⁹

It is a common mistake to suppose that the Commonwealth period was a time of general toleration of religious beliefs. The Presbyterians and Independents, as well as the much smaller body of the Baptists, concluded a truce; but for Anglicans, Romanists, Quakers, and Unitarians, there was little but persecution. The Quakers as a rule suffered the most severely, though it must in common fairness be admitted that their continuous interruption of the worship of others was most provocative, and that their objection to the payment of tithes naturally brought them into collision with the authorities. The Quakers, in direct contradiction to their eventual development, were by far the noisiest and most aggressive of the sectaries during the earlier period of their history. George Fox, their founder, born at Fenny Drayton, Leicestershire, in 1624, was apprenticed to a shoemaker at Nottingham.¹³⁰ His first imprisonment occurred in that town in 1649.¹³¹ Besse, the 18th-century historian of the Quakers, acknowledges that this imprisonment was caused by 'his opposition to one of the public preachers.' After a eulogy as to the holy zeal and fervency of his preaching, he naïvely adds, 'Nevertheless, some took offence at his appearing in their place of worship, and the officers of the parish took him away, and put him into a nasty stinking prison.'¹³² His earliest recorded convert at Nottingham was a widow named Elizabeth Hooton, who became the first woman preacher of the society. After serving his term of imprison-

¹²⁸ Calamy, *Nonconformist's Memorial* (ed. 1775), ii, 275-300.

¹²⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* &c.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* *sub voce.*

¹³¹ His imprisonment at Derby, where the nickname of Quaker had its origin, occurred in 1650; *V.C.H. Derb.* ii, 29.

¹³² Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers* (1753), i, 551-2. Chapter xvi of vol. i is entirely concerned with Nottinghamshire.

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ment at Nottingham for brawling in church, Fox proceeded to Mansfield Woodhouse, and there followed out the same tactics, delivering his testimony to the congregation in church. Here his conduct provoked much violence, and after a rough experience in the stocks he was stoned out of the town.

Besse records several imprisonments and distresses in 1658 in this county for non-payment of tithes. John Cowper of Skegby, for refusing to pay 16s. of tithes, had three cows taken from him worth £10. William Clayton of Elton, for large arrears of tithes, is said to have had goods taken from him to the value of £22, and also to have been imprisoned for upwards of three years. William Smith of Besthorpe, Edward Langford of North Collingham, and Thomas Elsham of Girton also suffered considerable imprisonment for unpaid tithes. During the same year Mary Leadbeater and Anne Fricknall were set in the stocks at Mansfield Woodhouse 'for some words they had spoken displeasing to a priest (i.e. an Independent minister) there,' whilst Robert Wild of Wollaton was fined £3 6s. 8d. for not putting off his hat in court.

In 1659 a mob broke up a meeting of Quakers, using much violence. In April 1660 Elizabeth Hooton the woman preacher, 'passing quickly along the road, was met by one Jackson, priest of Selston, who abused her, beat her with many blows, knockt her down, and afterwards put her into the water.' During this latter year Besse records the names of thirty-six Quakers who were imprisoned in the town and county gaols of Nottingham for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Charles II, in addition to others for refusing to pay tithes. From this time forward, until peace came in 1688, the Quakers of Nottingham were severely harried throughout this county, not only as to tithes, but more especially for illegal gatherings under the Conventicle Act. Besse states, and he sets forth many names and particulars, that the then immense sum of £598 10s. 10d. was taken from the Nottinghamshire Quakers in 1670, through goods seized by distress on account of their religious meetings. The goods seized in 1676 from Edward Wood, a wheelwright of Eakring, for a meeting held at his house, and from four of those who were present, amounted to £63 1s. 6d. Several meetings held during that year at the house of John Seaton of Blyth produced the astounding total of £348 16s. 10d. Robert Thoroton seems to have been the most severe of the justices in the suppression of conventicles; warrants under his hand and seal to the constables, churchwardens, and overseers of Wellow, Sutton in Ashfield, and Hucknall, are printed by Besse.

In 1659 a sheet was printed for Thomas Simmons at the 'Bull's Mouth,' Aldersgate, subscribed with the initials G.F. for George Fox, headed—'Surely the Magistrates of Nottingham are blinde, as though they had never read the Scriptures, have they cast a man into prison for saying, "The Scriptures were not the Living Word."'¹³³

Charles the Second's celebrated 'Indulgence' was published on 15 March 1672. It was thereby declared, on the authority of the king in council, that all penal laws against Nonconformists and recusants should be suspended, and that a sufficient number of places of worship should be allowed for all Nonconformists (save Papists), but that none should meet at any place until the place of meeting and the teacher of the congregation had been approved and registered. Nottingham eagerly embraced this opportunity.

¹³³ B.M. 1865, C. 15 (9).

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The number of Nonconformist ministers licensed in this county were nine Presbyterian, six Congregational, and two Baptist. The following lists show the places in which buildings for Nonconformist worship were licensed, or where Nonconformist ministers resided.

Presbyterian (15) : Adbolton, Beeston, Bingham, Blyth, Bole, Carburton, Clipston Ironwood, Eastwood, Greasley, Halam, Mansfield, Newthorpe, Nottingham, Thrumpton, and Watnall.

Congregational (12) : Arnold, Ashfield, Barton, Cotgrave, Flintham, Kersall, Markham, Merton, North Collingham, Nottingham, Skegby, and Woodborough.

Baptist (6) : Carlton, Collingham, Muskham, Norwell, Scarle, and Sutton.¹³⁴

The great majority of these licences were for dwelling-houses, but at Nottingham, where the Presbyterians were strong and courageous, the following applications were sent in before 15 April 1672 :—John Whitlock, at the Town Hall ; William Reynolds, at the County Hall ; John Barrett, in the Spice Chamber in the room under it, anciently called the Old Shambles ; and Samuel Cotes, in the Free School.¹³⁵

This well-intentioned indulgence was, however, of very brief duration. Owing to the action of Parliament, it was cancelled within a twelvemonth, the king on 7 March 1673 breaking with his own hand the impression of the great seal attached to it.

The interesting and pathetic Nonjuring movement of the beginning of William and Mary's reign made little impression on the diocese of York at large ; there were probably few counties less affected by it than Nottingham. Two, however, of the beneficed clergy, namely the vicars of Marnham and North Clifton, resigned rather than abjure their old oath of allegiance, and George Knight, curate of Keyworth, also joined the nonjuring ranks.¹³⁶ There was also one ecclesiastic of eminent position who must be named, although not resident in the county. Dr. Crowbrough, who was a staunch nonjuror, was canon not only of York but also of Southwell, and was Archdeacon of Nottingham from 1685 until his deprivation in 1690.

One of the few men of much note in the ecclesiastical world at all closely connected with Nottinghamshire in the 18th century was William Warburton, the author of the *Divine Legation of Moses* (1737) and a celebrated controversialist. He was the second son of George Warburton, town clerk of Newark. In 1727 he was appointed to the vicarage of Greasley. From 1760 until his death in 1779 he held the bishopric of Gloucester.

The great itinerant evangelist, John Wesley, was a frequent visitor to this county. The first time Nottingham is mentioned in his *Journal* is on Thursday, 11 June 1741, when 'the Society' met him in the evening. On the following Sunday he preached at 8 o'clock in the forenoon in the market place to an 'immense multitude,' and met with very little opposition. Wesley was dissatisfied with his small 'society' at Nottingham, and in March 1745 he cut off all triflers and worldly walkers at a stroke, 'leaving only that little handful who (as far as could be judged) were really in earnest to save their souls.' His occasional subsequent visits to Nottingham were uneventful, and

¹³⁴ *Gal. S.P. Dom.* 1672-3, p. liv.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 1671-2, p. 326.

¹³⁶ See list at end of Overton's *Nonjurors* (1902).

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only obtained very brief mentions in his journal. The reason for this appears from an entry of Thursday, 20 March 1766, when he records having preached there 'in the new house throughly filled with serious hearers. Indeed there is never any disturbance here ; and there could be none anywhere, if the magistrates were lovers of peace and exerted themselves in defence of it.' He had intended to preach in the market-place on the following Sunday ; but a heavy fall of snow in the night rendered this impracticable.

On Sunday 22 July 1770, Wesley preached at Misterton in this county at 8 a. m. ; at 1 p. m. at a place half a mile from Haxey Church ; and at 5 p. m. at Epworth Cross, where he found the largest congregation he had seen in Lincolnshire. He was at this date 68 years of age. At five in the evening on the following Sunday he preached in Nottingham market-place — 'thousands upon thousands flocked together, and all were still as night.' On the next day he preached at Bingham, where he did not form a high idea of the mental capacity of his audience :— 'I really admired the exquisite stupidity of the people. They gaped and stared, while I was speaking of death and judgment, as if they had never heard of such things before. And they were not helped by two surly, illmannered clergymen, who seemed to be just as wise as themselves.'

At noon on Sunday, 7 March 1776, Wesley preached at Stapleford, standing in a meadow, as no house could contain the congregation ; but the assembly was as nothing to that which gathered round Nottingham Cross in the evening. When at Nottingham in the following year, he wrote :— 'There is something in the people of this town which I cannot but much approve of ; although most of our Society are of the lower class, chiefly employed in the stocking manufacture, yet there is generally an uncommon gentleness and sweetness in their temper, and something of elegance in their behaviour, which, when added to solid vital religion, make them an ornament to their profession.' In May 1780 Wesley met with a curious experience at Newark. Preaching there on a weekday evening to a crowd of two or three thousand people, 'a big man, exceeding drunk, was very noisy and turbulent, till his wife (*fortissima Tyndaridarum*) seized him by the collar, gave him two or three hearty boxes on the ear, and dragged him away like a calf. But at length he got out of her hands, crept in among the people, and stood as quiet as a lamb.' In the following June Wesley had an unpleasant experience at Worksop ; he had been asked to preach there, but on his arrival found that they had not fixed on a place. 'At length they chose a lamentable one, full of dirt and dust, but without the least shelter from the scorching sun. This few could bear. So we had only a small company of as stupid people as ever I saw.'

On 4 February 1784 Wesley was again in Nottingham and preached a charity sermon for the General Hospital. He preached at Misterton on a Sunday in June 1786 ; on that day he entered in his journal, 'I was grieved to see so small a congregation at Haxey church. It was not so when Mr. Harle lived here. O what a curse in this poor land are pluralities and non-residence.'

The energy of the aged evangelist was marvellous in his declining years. On Wednesday, 7 February 1787, when he was 85 years of age, Wesley was preaching at Brentford and at Lambeth. Being earnestly desired by the Society

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at Newark to come and open their new house, he took the mail-coach on Friday the 9th in the evening, and reached Newark about four in the afternoon of the following day. He had, however, so heavy a cold and so little voice that he could not preach that evening. On Sunday, having partly recovered, he preached in the new meeting house at nine, and again at half-past five, when the service was attended by the mayor and aldermen and there was a great crowd. In November of this year Wesley paid his last visit but one to Nottingham. He described the 'preaching house as one of the most elegant in England,' and stated that he had a 'lovely congregation.' He preached a charity sermon for the County Infirmary, which he praised in enthusiastic fashion. In June of the same year (1787) he preached at Misterton and at Newby near Haxey, and on Sunday 13 July at Nottingham for the last time.

The church history of Nottinghamshire for the first forty years of the 19th century was uneventful, and was distinguished by no men of special eminence. There were few counties in England which benefited more than Nottinghamshire from the Statutes which did away with the holding of benefices in plurality, an evil that had been rampant for fully six centuries.

The incorporation of Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1836 speedily began to work for good in this shire. The alteration in the establishment of Southwell is referred to in the subsequent account of that minster church. The statute 6 & 7 William IV, cap. 77, in its wholesale readjustment of the revenues, patronage and extent of the episcopal sees, took Nottinghamshire out of the province and diocese of York and transferred it to the province of Canterbury and the diocese of Lincoln, which was otherwise much reduced in size.

When Dr. Christopher Wordsworth was consecrated to the see of Lincoln in 1869, that learned and most zealous prelate found that the work involved in the episcopal supervision of the two counties of Lincoln and Nottingham could not be maintained with efficiency. In the first year of his episcopate, Bishop Wordsworth petitioned the Crown 'that he might have the assistance of a bishop suffragan according to the ancient use of this realm before and after the Reformation.' The petition was granted and in accordance with the suffragan Act of Henry VIII, two names were presented to the Crown. The choice fell upon Henry Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Nottingham, and on 2 February 1870 he was consecrated at St. Mary's, Nottingham. A particular interest was given to the service by the presence of Alexander Lycurgus a bishop of the Greek Church.¹⁸⁷

Bishop Mackenzie died on 15 October 1877, and in the following December he was succeeded as suffragan Bishop of Nottingham by Edward Trollope, who died in December 1893.

Bishop Wordsworth was not, however, satisfied with this suffragan arrangement, although he was faithfully served by both his assistant bishops who took their title from the county. He laboured continuously for the subdivision of his diocese and made great pecuniary sacrifices to secure it. In 1868 an Act was passed providing that, when an income of £3,000 a year had been raised, bishops might be consecrated for the sees of Southwell, Wakefield, Newcastle and Liverpool. At last on the festival of Sts. Philip and James, 1884, Bishop Wordsworth had the satisfaction of taking part with

¹⁸⁷ *Dioc. Hist. of Lincoln*, 358-9.

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the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lichfield and other prelates in the consecration at Westminster of George Ridding, who had been head master of Winchester since 1868, as the first Bishop of Southwell, the county of Derby being taken from the diocese of Lichfield to form with Nottinghamshire the new see.

Bishop Ridding, who resided at Thurgarton Priory, died in 1904, and was succeeded by Edwyn Hoskyns, who had been suffragan Bishop of Burnley since 1901. In 1907 the second Bishop of Southwell entered into residence in his cathedral city, having built a new episcopal residence.

Nottinghamshire did not produce any clergy of special note either in the evangelical movement at the dawn of the 19th century, or in the Oxford movement that followed in its wake; but in the aftermath of these two great religious revivals within the church a name stands forth that will always take a high position among the clergy of Victoria's reign. Samuel Reynolds Hole, curate and vicar of Caunton from 1844 to 1887, rural Dean of Southwell 1873-87, proctor in Convocation 1883-7, and Dean of Rochester from 1887 until his death in 1904, was a fine example of a high minded, genial, hard-working parish priest, of whose memory Nottinghamshire will be always proud.

APPENDIX

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

From the earliest times of which there is any definite record, the county of Nottingham formed a single archdeaconry of that name; and this has remained the case in the latter days of its transference to the sees of both Lincoln and Southwell.

That there were deaneries in the county at least as early as the 12th century is clear from the names of witnesses to various charters; but it is not until we come to the Taxation Roll of 1291-2 that we know for certain the names of the different deaneries and of the parishes included within their limits. At this date there were four deaneries:—Nottingham, Newark, Bingham and Retford, in addition to the peculiar jurisdiction of Southwell. This fivefold division was maintained at the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII, and remained the same until some time after the transference of the archdeaconry to the see of Lincoln.

A subdivision of the ancient deaneries was effected during the fairly vigorous administration of Bishop Jackson of Lincoln in 1856. Twelve rural deaneries were then formed, but the old titles were retained, there being 1, 2 and 3 Nottingham; 1, 2 and 3 Bingham; 1 and 2 Newark; 1, 2 and 3 Retford; and Southwell.

In 1884 on the establishment of the see of Southwell the rural deaneries were recast and renamed, the number being reduced to eleven:—Mansfield, Nottingham, South Bingham, Bingham, West Bingham, Collingham, Newark, Retford, Tuxford, Worksop and Southwell.

Under Bishop Hoskyns the planning and number of the deaneries has undergone further change; they now are:—Bawtry, Bingham, Bingham South, Bingham West, Bulwell, Gedling, Mansfield, Newark, East Newark, Norwell, Nottingham, Retford, Southwell, Tuxford, Worksop.

**ECCLESIASTICAL MAP
OF
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE**

(ARCHDEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM IN YORK DIOCESE)

*Showing ancient Rural Deaneries according to the Valor of 1535
and the Religious Houses.*

SCALE.

Miles 2 1 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 Miles

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BENEDICTINE MONKS

1. *Blyth Priory.*

BENEDICTINE NUNS.

2. *Wallingwells Priory.*

CLUNIAC MONKS.

3. *Lenton Priory.*

CISTERCIAN MONKS.

4. *Rufford Abbey.*

CARTHUSIAN MONKS.

5. *Beauvale Priory*

AUSTIN CANONS.

6. *Felley Priory.*

7. *Newstead Priory.*

8. *Shelford Priory.*

9. *Thurgarton Priory.*

10. *Worksop Priory.*

PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS.

11. *Welbeck Abbey.*

PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONesses.

12. *Broadholme Priory.*

GILBERTINE CANONS.

13. *Mattersey Priory.*

KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.

14. *Ossington Preceptory.*

FRIARS.

15. *Nottingham Franciscan.*

16. " *Carmelite.*

17. *Newark Observant.*

COLLEGES.

18. *Clifton*

19. *Newark*

20. *Ruddington*

21. *Sibthorpe*

22. *Southwell.*

23. *Tuxford.*

HOSPITALS.

24. *Bantry.*

25. *Blyth St Edmund*

26. " *St John the Evangelist*

27. *Bradebusk.*

28. *Lenton St Anthony*

29. *Newark St Leonard.*

30. *Nottingham Holy Sepulchre*

31. " *St John the Baptist*

32. " *St Leonard.*

33. " *St Mary.*

34. " *Plumtree's.*

35. *Southwell St Mary Magdalen.*

36. *Stoke St Leonard.*

N.B. The Parishes of Beckingham, South Wheatley, North Leverton, Rampton, Eaton, Dunham, and Cropwell were in the Jurisdiction of Southwell



THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

Almost every variety of mediaeval religious foundation was represented within the comparatively small limits of the county of Nottingham.

Benedictine monks were found at the priory of Blyth, which, though under the supremacy of an abbey at Rouen up to the beginning of the 15th century, was to some extent controlled by the home diocesan after a fashion unknown in most alien priories. Benedictine nuns had a small priory at Wallingwells. Those reformed Benedictines known as Cluniacs and Cistercians were each represented on Nottinghamshire soil, the former by the important priory of Lenton and the latter by the abbey of Rufford. The stern-lived Carthusian monks had a house of some importance and of early foundation at Beauvale.

The Black or Austin Canons had five priories, at Felley, Newstead, Shelford, Thurgarton, and Worksop. The White or Premonstratensian Canons had one of their largest abbeys at Welbeck, as well as one of the only two English nunneries of the order at Broadholme. The Gilbertine Canons were also represented in the priory of Mattersey.

The Knights Hospitallers had a preceptory at Ossington, with other property which they had inherited from the dissolved Templars.

As to the Friars, this was one of the few counties lacking a house of Dominicans, who had, however, settled close to Nottinghamshire at Derby, Leicester, and Lincoln. Nottingham had settlements of Franciscan and Carmelite Friars, whilst Newark had a small convent of Observants (reformed Franciscans).

The colleges or collegiate churches of the county were six in number, namely the great minster of secular canons of early foundation at Southwell, and the five later aggregations of chantry priests, leading to some extent a common life at Clifton, Newark, Ruddington, Sibthorpe, and Tuxford.

The hospitals or almshouses of mediaeval foundation numbered thirteen, namely five at the county town and others at Bawtry, Blyth (2), Bradebusk, Lenton, Newark, Southwell, and Stoke. In Nottinghamshire, as elsewhere, the story of most of the old hospitals is a gloomy tale of the peculation by masters or wardens of funds intended mainly by the founders for God's service and the relief of the sick and poor, so that the grasping of their funds, planned by Henry VIII and carried out under Edward VI, did but little harm. In this county, however, the exceptionally large proportion

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of three of these hospitals, namely Bawtry, Newark, and Plumtree (Nottingham), survived the various storms and are now doing good work.

It will be found in the following accounts of the various religious houses that there is an exceptional amount of interest pertaining to the history of several of the monasteries.

Thus Blyth Priory, in addition to the difficult problems connected with its rule under the clashing authority of the Norman abbot and the Archbishop of York, is of interest through its influence upon the trade of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire by reason of the tolls that it was empowered to impose on all merchandise passing through the place by road or water.

The great semi-foreign Cluniac priory of Lenton entirely overshadowed the county town in matters spiritual, in the same way that the priory of St. Andrew of the same order overshadowed Northampton.

The story of the Premonstratensian abbey of Welbeck, on the verge of the great forest district of Sherwood, includes various picturesque incidents, such as the attack on those in charge of the assize rolls of the king's justices, when being conveyed over bad roads from York to Nottingham, or the insistence of the visitor of 1456 on being met at Papplewick, many miles south of the abbey, lest he should lose his way in the forest. Welbeck, too, as is but seldom remembered, was exalted in 1512 by the joint action of both pope and king into the supreme place over all the houses of White Canons in England and Wales, who were no longer to be in any way subject to the great mother house of Prémontré.

The special position and privileges of such houses as the Austin priory of Newstead and the Cistercian abbey of Rufford, in the centre of Sherwood Forest, have already been discussed to some small extent.¹

Various visitations of the Nottinghamshire religious houses subject to diocesan control, as well as those made by special visitors of exempt orders, such as those of Cluni and Prémontré, are set forth in the following accounts of particular monasteries. Nothing that tells of evil or careless living is shirked; but the smallness of the number of grave charges, as compared with the numbers of the inmates, and the frequency of visitations wherein no laxity was discovered, compel every honourable and competent judge to come to a distinctly favourable conclusion as to the life and work of the great majority of the 'religious' who dwelt in the monasteries of Nottinghamshire, as well as to the determination on the part of those in authority to deal sternly with careless or criminal living.

Nor should it be forgotten that every order, whether under diocesan control or not, had its own system of visitation. This comes to light in Nottinghamshire in connexion with the order of Austin Canons and Newstead Priory.

As to the *Comperta*, or abbreviated charges of Legh and Layton, Cromwell's notorious visitors of 1536, their outrageous accusations against the religious of this county are instantly confuted by a study of the subsequent pension lists. For instance, the charges against Abbot Doncaster of Rufford were perfectly appalling, and yet within a few months of this report being tendered the abbot received a pension of £25, which was, however, almost immediately voided by his appointment by the Crown to the rectory of

¹ *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 373.

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Rotherham. Again, in the cases of the abbey of Welbeck and the priory of Worksop the visitors singled out four in each house as guilty of vile offences, and yet seven of these were pensioned and the eighth retained in a vicarage ! If the *Comperta* were true, the action of the granters of pensions and preferments was worse than that of the accused.

As to the pensions, they seem as a rule to have been granted to the superiors only of the smaller religious houses which were dissolved in 1536-7. Thus the Prior of Blyth was the only one of that house who obtained any pension, and the like was the case with the Prioress of Broadholme. The Act of 1536, which was supposed to extinguish all those that had a less income than £200 a year, was made an engine in over fifty cases throughout England and Wales for the exacting of all that was possible out of the monasteries by encouraging the smaller houses to contract out of its provisions by big fines ; for the Crown agents must have been well aware that all were really doomed. In three Nottinghamshire instances this policy was successfully achieved. Newstead paid to the Crown £233 6s. 8d., Beauvale £166 13s. 4d., and Wallingwells £66 13s. 4d. for this short-lived exemption from destruction.

Many members of the suppressed religious communities throughout England received no pensions, and such was certainly the case in Nottinghamshire. Moreover, when once a pension was granted, the amounts were subject to deductions on account of all subsidies granted to the king by Parliament. A tenth part was withheld for that cause in the first year after the general dissolution. Two years later a fourth part was abstracted from the pensions of 'all the late religious persons having £20 and upwards,' and when the half-year was due, on 25 March 1543, the religious only received one quarter of the annual payment.²

There was also a definite reduction of 4d. on each quarterly payment made by the officials of the Augmentation Office in London, or by the royal receivers of monastic properties appointed in different parts of the county. The expense, too, of journeys to obtain the money, either personally or by attorney, was considerable.

By the time that Edward VI came to the throne a great scandal in connexion with not a few of these pensions became apparent. Pressing necessity, or the cajoling of unprincipled speculators, had caused various of the disbanded religious to part with their pension, securing patents or certificates for small sums of ready money, 'supplanting them to their utter undoing.' To stop this evil an Act was passed in 3 Edward VI 'against the crafty and deceitful buying of pensions from the late monasteries.'³ By this Act it was provided that all who had bought pension patents were to restore them within six months. The same statute, to check the notorious arrears, ordered all officials and receivers to pay all pensions on demand under a penalty of £5 ; and if they demanded more than the legal fee they were to forfeit ten times the amount taken.

To secure the due working of this Act and to check further pension scandals, commissions of inquiry were eventually appointed for each county. The majority of the reports of these commissioners are extant at the Public

² Harl. MS. 604, fol. 108.

³ Act 2 & 3 Edw. VI, cap. 7.

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Record Office, but have been very rarely consulted.⁴ The following is an abstract of the Nottinghamshire report as far as it affected those driven out of the monasteries.

Sir John Markham and William Meringe, Anthony Foster and William Bolles, esqs., were appointed in 1551 commissioners for Nottinghamshire, 'for the diligent inquisition of pensionaries, stipendiarie priests and others.'⁵

They met at Newark on 26 October. With regard to Thurgarton Priory they reported of Thomas Dethick, the penultimate prior, entitled to £30 a year, that 'of him we can her nothingse.' One of the canons, Robert Cant, to whom had been assigned a pension of £5, appeared and stated on oath that he had sold his patent to Richard and William Hopkin for £13 6s. 8d. on 18 June 1547; Richard Hopkin produced the patent, stating he was unpaid for a whole year. Richard Hopkin, late canon, himself held a pension of £6 13s. 4d.; he produced the patent, and was a year in arrears. Henry Gascoigne, late canon, entitled to £5 a year, appeared half a year in arrear. Of John Chapnaye, George Dawkin, John Robert, Humphrey Dethick, Robert Warrington, John Ayleworth, and John Biron, pensioners from £5 down to 40s., the commissioners could hear nothing.

As to Worksop, the late prior, Thomas Stokes, produced his patent entitling him to £50 a year; his pension was half a year in arrear. Robert Starkbone (£5 6s. 8d.) sold his patent, 21 April 1548, to John Castlin, bailiff of Worksop, for £10 13s. 4d.; and on 12 January 1551 the bailiff resold his bargain to William Bolles for £34; Bolles produced the patent, which was in arrear two years. James Windebanke (£4) sold his patent to Peter Tailor of Tuxford for £12 in 1542; George Oxlaye (£6), William Meth (£6), Alexander Bothe (£5 6s. 8d.), Edward Robinson (£5 6s. 8d.), Thomas Bedale (£5 6s. 8d.), Christopher Hasleyne (40s.), Richard Ashelaye (£6), and George Barnsley (£5 6s. 8d.), appeared and produced their patents, all of which were in arrear. Thomas Richardson (£5 6s. 8d.) had died in 1551, whilst of Richard Hernested (£4) the commissioners could hear nothing. Several others are named under pensions, holding patents for small sums, but they are more correctly lay annuitants.

The prior and four canons of Newstead produced their patents; of the remainder the report is 'we can here nothingse.' Of George Dalton, late Prior of Blyth, the single pensioner of that convent, nothing was known. The prior and five out of the eight pensioned monks of Beauvale showed their patents; the other three appear to have died or their whereabouts were not known.

Joan Angevin, late Prioress of Broadholme, the solitary pensioner of that house (£4 13s. 4d.), 'appered by here attournaye Charles Angevin who beeing swarne and examened shewed unto us her pattent unsold and saithe she is alive and is unpaid for ij yeyres at Michelmas A^o E. sexti septo the cause whye it was not payd the first yeyr none did require it of the

⁴ The whole report for Derbyshire was printed *in extenso* by Dr. Cox in vol. xxviii of the *Derb. Arch. Soc. Journ.* (1906).

⁵ Exch. Accts. K.R. bdle. 76, no. 19. It is strange that William Bolles, a receiver of the Court of Augmentation, and himself a bad offender in the purchase of pension-patents, &c., should have been appointed one of this commission. As to his conduct in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire see *Derb. Arch. Soc. Journ.* xxviii, 15-16.

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Recayver and the second yeyr ye Recayver said he had a restraine to the contrarie.'

Of the pensioned Abbot of Welbeck and three of his monks, the commissioners could hear nothing. Four of the monks appeared and showed their patents; all were in arrear for a year, James Cassey had (accidentally) burnt his patent. In the case of Thomas Holme (£2 13s. 4d.), Henry Bentley, the attorney of Brian Bailes, of Wakefield, showed the patent, which Holme had sold to William Drake, vicar of Market Rasen, for £10 in January 1540, 'which Drake solde his interest to Richard Pimond for £13 6s. 8d. whiche Pimond is dead, so yt ye said Brian Bailes hathe married the said Pimond his wife and hathe the sayd pattent in the right of his wif unsold and is unpaid for one hole yeyr at Michaelmas A^o xxxviiij H. viii, and for one yeyr at Michaelmas A^o E. sexti sexto for he colde not recayve it at the Recavyer his handes.'

Thomas Norman, late Prior of Mattersey, appeared through attorney and showed his patent. Margaret Goldsmith, late prioress of Wallingwells, appeared personally, producing her patent; Agnes Fines (40s.) of the same convent appeared by deputy, but of Alice Coventry and Ellen Pye (each 40s.) the commissioners could hear nothing.

When the return of pensions, &c., was made in 2 & 3 Philip and Mary it was found in addition to annuities and corrodies that the number of the ejected religious of Nottinghamshire to whom pensions were then being paid amounted to fifty-one—namely five canons of Thurgarton; fourteen canons of Worksop; the prior and six canons of Newstead; the prior and seven monks of Beauvale; the prioress of Broadholme; seven canons of Welbeck; the prior and four canons of Mattersey; and the prioress and three nuns of Wallingwells.⁶

HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

I. THE PRIORY OF BLYTH

The priory of Blyth was founded for Benedictine monks in the year 1088 by Roger de Builli, the first Norman lord of the honour of Tickhill, who crossed the seas with the Conqueror. Roger de Builli became the largest landed proprietor in Nottinghamshire, owning the greater part of the north of the county, as well as a large number of neighbouring manors in the counties of York and Derby.¹ He derived his name from Builli or Busli, near Rouen, and hence it is not surprising that he so ordered his foundation at Blyth that it was but an alien priory, the appointment of whose prior was vested in the abbot of the Holy Trinity of Rouen, to which abbey Roger had granted the tithes of Builli about 1060.²

The foundation charter of the priory states that Roger, in conjunction with his wife Muriel, for the stability of William the king and the soul of Matilda the queen, and for the health of the donors' souls, gave to God and St. Mary of Blyth, and to the monks there serving God, the church and all the township of Blyth, with every kind of appurtenance; toll and passage from Radford to the Thorne³ and from 'Frodestan'³ to the Idle; a fair, and full manorial rights, including gallows and market at Blyth; the vill of Elton, also Beighton (Derbyshire), and land in Barnby (Moor); together with the tithes of a great number of his demesne lands in various manors. The charter concludes by setting out that these benefactions were made for the purpose of building the priory, and for the food and clothing of the monks who there served God and His Mother, saving that there was yearly to be given

⁶ Add. MS. 8102.

¹ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth* (1860), 12-16.

² Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, no. 83; *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 223.

³ That is, along the high road to the north between the Rivers Ryton and Thorne.

³ Frodestan has not been identified.

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to the church of Holy Trinity, Rouen, 40s. of English money.⁴

Confirmation charters of Kings Henry II, John, and Edward I, together with other benefactions, are cited from the chartulary in the *Monasticon*.⁵

Roger the founder died in 1098; he left a son who died without issue in 1102, and was succeeded by his brother Arnold, who was one of the witnesses of the foundation charter. Arnold's son John, weary of the world, entered his uncle's priory as a monk, giving at the same time a gift of land. On the day of his burial Richard, his eldest son, laid his father's grant upon the altar, and confirmed it by attaching his own seal.⁶

This Richard de Builli was one of the joint founders of the neighbouring Yorkshire Abbey of Roche. John de Builli his son built the two chapels or churches of Bawtry and Austerfield in Blyth parish, giving them to the monks of the priory. Idonea his daughter, who married, in the reign of John, Robert de Vipont, a great lord in Westmorland, confirmed this gift in the time of her widowhood. She died in 1235, and with her ended the family of de Builli.⁷

It may be noted here that the cathedral church of St. Mary of Rouen became possessed, in the course of the 12th century, of an interest in the neighbourhood of Blyth, which at first sight seems inconsistent with the dependence of the priory upon the abbey of the Holy Trinity. In 1174 Henry II granted to his clerk Walter of Coutances 'the chapelry of Blyth' with its appurtenances. After Henry's death his son John, as Count of Mortain, confirmed this gift to the cathedral church of Rouen and to Walter of Coutances, then archbishop of that see.⁸ In an original charter issued by Count John between 1191 and 1193, the 'chapelry of Blyth' is defined as 'the church of Harworth with the chapels of Serlby and Martin.'⁹ It is clear that this grant was never intended to convey any rights over the priory of Blyth, and the history of the churches comprised within the chapelry is well ascertained, and is quite distinct from that of the priory.

In the time of Henry III and Edward I this priory is several times referred to as sub-

ject to the abbey of St. Katharine of Rouen, and occasionally at that period and later to the Abbot of Holy Trinity, Rouen. These two titles refer to one and the same place. This Benedictine abbey, on a hill-side near Rouen, was originally dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity, being consecrated by the Archbishop of Rouen in 1130. At a later date, early in the 13th century, the religious of St. Katharine were transferred here by Simon, monk of Mount Sinai, and hence the abbey was more frequently known as St. Katharine of the Mount.⁹

The alien priories are generally divided into two kinds, dative or conventual. The majority were of the former style, and mostly quite small houses whose priors and monks were removable at will by the superior and convent of the foreign house to whom they owed allegiance, and for whom they chiefly acted as stewards of their English possessions. The second or conventual class acknowledged the supremacy of the mother house, paying an annual apport or tribute, but possessing their own English property and usually electing their own superior. Under this latter head came the Cluniac monks of England, and to some extent the Cistercian monks and the Premonstratensian canons. Blyth occupied an intermediate position between the two, as will be seen from the following extracts from the archiepiscopal registers at York. Various archbishops successfully maintained certain powers which were but rarely exercised by diocesans over alien houses; but at the same time the Abbot of Rouen claimed the right to remove both the prior and any member of his flock at pleasure.

This claim of the Abbot of Holy Trinity was, however, contested at an early date. Pope Lucius in the 12th century issued a bull to the Prior of Blyth, strictly forbidding anyone from removing him from his office or appropriating the possessions of his church.¹⁰

Again, Archbishop Godfrey in 1260 issued a preceptory mandate to Theobald, Prior of Blyth, who had been recalled by his abbot to Rouen, forbidding him under pain of excommunication to cross the seas without his (the archbishop's) permission, for Theobald had been instituted as perpetual prior by the archbishop's predecessor.¹¹

Blyth was situated on an important early high road, which led from Newark through East Retford to Rotherham and the further north. In 1249 Archbishop Gray assigned to Blyth an annual pension of 5 marks out of the church of Weston, stating that he was moved to grant this in order to assist the prior and convent in

⁴ Harl. MS. 3759, fol. 48. Harleian MS. 3759 is a well-written and well-preserved register or chartulary with rubricated headings, of 153 parchment folios, in various hands, most of the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. The first part chiefly consists of a series of rentals and lists of tenants of the reign of Edward I. At folio 48 begins the chartulary proper, which extends nearly to the end of the book; it contains copies of abstracts of about 375 charters.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 623-5.

⁶ Harl. MS. 3759, fol. 105.

⁷ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 17.

⁸ *Cal. of Doc. France*, no. 30, 46.

⁹ *Ibid.* no. 61.

⁹ Migne, *Dict. des Abbayes*, 156

¹⁰ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 46. It is not known whether this was Lucius II (1144-5) or Lucius III (1181-5), but probably the former.

¹¹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 144b.

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their laudable and heavy work of providing hospitality for wayfarers and guests.¹²

In December 1270 a grant was made to the priory of Blyth by Archbishop Giffard of the toll of his town of Scrooby.¹³

Earlier in the same year the archbishop sent his mandate to the Dean of Retford to warn the convent of Blyth to pay the tithes due to the abbot and convent of Vaudey, or to appear at his court.¹⁴

An agreement was entered into in 1276 between the convent of Blyth and Sir William de Cressy as to a long dispute that had been waged in the York court and in various civil courts as to certain tithes and oblations. Through the mediation of Archbishop Giffard, it was covenanted that Sir William would neither by himself nor others molest or hinder the priory in the collection of tithes (in kind), or in the carriage of them through field, park, meadow, or elsewhere, wherever they had been in the habit of gathering or carrying them without damage to Sir William. Sir William de Cressy also undertook for the future to see that all his tenants, both free and serf, made all their oblations at the church of Blyth, as well for the dead as for purifications and other customary offerings; and further to restore to the church if possible any dues of which they had been deprived during the controversy. Both parties agreed to withdraw from any litigations then in progress, save in the matter then before the king's court concerning the right of Sir William de Cressy to raise gallows in the hay of 'Emmeslouwe.'¹⁵

A list of the rents paid to the priory of Blyth for the year 1273 is fully set forth in the chartulary; they amounted to £24 9s. 3½d.¹⁶

In the Hundred Rolls of Nottinghamshire in 1276 the jury of Retford complained that the prior and his bailiffs took 4d. toll for every sack of wool passing through Blyth, whereas they used only to demand 2d. for every cart-load, and so with regard to other merchandise, to the great injury of the merchants. But from the *Quo Warranto* returns of about the same date we find that the prior's attorney sets forth with minuteness the tolls claimed and the boundaries within which they were levied from time immemorial and by chartered right. The western boundary extended from Radford to Shireoaks, and thence to 'Austan' and 'Frodestan'; the northern from 'Frodestan' to Loughton, and thence successively to Field, Malpas, Rossington, and the Thorne; the eastern from the Thorne to Bawtry, Scrooby, Mattersey, Sutton, West Retford, and the Idle; and the southern from the Idle to Ordsall, Twyford Bridge, Normanton by Bot-

hamsall and Radford. Within these limits the convent levied tolls on every cart-load of timber or bread (for sale), ½d.; for every cart-load of any other article for sale, 2d.; for every horse-load of salmon, 1d.; for every horse-load of any other article, ½d.; for every back-load or pack of merchandise, ¼d.; for every horse or cow (for sale), ½d.; for every sheep and pig (for sale), ¼d.; and for every sack of wool packed and sold at Blyth, 4d. All these tolls and boundaries were held to be established.¹⁷

At a somewhat later date the citizens of Lincoln claimed their own chartered privileges. They took proceedings in the Exchequer against the priory for having levied tolls on them; but a compromise was arrived at whereby the convent ceded all future demands on condition of the citizens waiving all claim to damages for past demands.¹⁸

A remarkable entry on the Hundred Rolls must not be overlooked. Peter de Parkes, the steward of Tickhill Honour, took a cutpurse, caught by the Blyth bailiffs in that market, out of their hands and conveyed him to Tickhill. The prior claimed that the thief should be tried in his court, and the Tickhill bailiffs consented to surrender him on payment of 5s.; on the prior's refusal to pay, the culprit was immediately hanged at Tickhill.¹⁹

The Taxation Roll of 1291 enters the temporalities of the priory in Nottinghamshire as producing an income of £43 15s. 10d., with the addition of 6s. 8d. in the Yarburgh deanery of Lincoln. The spiritualities included £50 for the rectory of Blyth (the vicarage was worth £10), and portions of the churches of Weston, Bingham, Elton, and Wheatley, £9 6s. 8d.²⁰

An inquisition of 1379, made at Nottingham before one of the barons of the Exchequer and the county escheator, declared the total average income of the alien priory of Blyth to be £140 3s. 4d. The church of Blyth was valued at £66 13s. 4d.; the toll, markets, pleas, and perquisites of market and other courts, £62 6s. 8d.; and one hundred and twenty days' work in harvest from customary tenants in gathering the prior's crops, 20s. The remainder was made up of a pension of £3 6s. 8d. from the church of Weston, and a variety of small accounts for lands and rents in different parishes of the county.²¹

A highly interesting return was at the same time made as to the exact state of the priory's revenue and outgoings, with a view of enabling the Crown to determine at what rent this convent, with other alien priories, should be permitted

¹⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 26, 27, 29, 302, 304, 317-19; *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 616, 627.

¹⁸ Harl. MS. 3759, fol. 132.

¹⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 303.

²⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 65b, 74, 310, 311, 311b, 312, 314, 338b, 339.

²¹ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 42-3.

¹² York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 105-6.

¹³ *Ibid.* Giffard, fol. 75 d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 105 d.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 127.

¹⁶ Harl. MS. 3759, fol. 22-4.

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to hold its estates. The jury stated that there was in the priory a foreign monk, the late prior, who had resigned through old age and infirmities, but was allowed for meat and drink as much as two monks, amounting to £12 17s. 9d. a year. He was also granted for fire and candle and other necessaries and for a servant's allowance a further sum of £2 6s. 8d. Two chaplains serving the church, with table and clothing, £8; a clerk for the church, with food and clothing, 20s.; the vicar (besides his vicarage dues), in money and a quarter of wheat (worth 4s.) with places for himself and chaplain at the prior's table at twenty-four festivals in the year valued at 12s., what is estimated to be worth £1 16s. a year; a clerk serving the prior and his house, including the value of table and a robe, £3 16s. 8d.; a steward and his clerk £4, and a serjeant at arms 13s. 4d. There were nine secular persons in receipt of corrodies, worth about £2 13s. 4d. each.²² Other servants included a cook for the prior and guests, whose board and wages came to £2 10s.; a baker with servant, £5 14s. 3d.; a butler, £2 10s.; and a servant who attended the prior on his business on horseback, £1 3s. 4d. The yearly expenses of hospitality were estimated at £10. A yearly sum of £27 10s. was expended in the sustentation of the prior, his servants, horses, and other necessaries, in addition to a sum of £16 for his expenses in travelling to and from London and other places on the priory's business. The repairs of the chancel of Blyth Church with the books, ornaments, &c., of the building of the priory and its granges, and of Blyth Bridge (in return for tolls), averaged £17 a year.

The jury finally declared that the surplus income of Blyth Priory after paying all the above-cited and other small charges only amounted to 46s. 6½d.²³ It will be noted, too, that nothing is entered in these accounts for the sustenance of the monks; they would be in the main supported from the farms of the estate.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 shows a reduction in the value of the priory; it had been much harassed during the various times that it was in the hands of the Crown as an alien priory during the wars with France. The gross annual income was set down as £126 8s. 2½d., and the clear value as £113 0s. 8½d. The total of the temporalities in the county of Nottingham, from the demesne lands and rents, lands and tenements at Blyth, Elton, Barnby, Elkesley, and Styrrup (Nottinghamshire), Beighton (Derbyshire), and Firbeck and Billingley in Yorkshire, were valued at £65 14s. 6½d. The rest of the income came chiefly from the rectory of Blyth (£47 17s.), and from pensions from the Nottinghamshire

churches of Marnham, Grassthorpe, Elton, and Weston, from the Yorkshire churches of Billingley and Laughton in le Morthen, and from the Lincolnshire priories of Thornham and Elsham. Among the deductions was £3 6s. 8d. distributed in alms yearly in memory of the founder.²⁴

A composition was entered into before the archbishop in 1287, between the Prior and convent of Blyth and William the perpetual vicar of Blyth concerning the tithes of a certain place called Wetcroft in the township of Blyth, and of two outlying members of the manor of Hodsock called Hillertrewong and Le Comynger, the tithes of which three places were worth 16s. a year, and also concerning a certain close called Stubbing valued at 2s. a year, and a place called Northeway worth 24s. a year. These tithes had long been the subject of contentions, but for the sake of peace it was agreed that the vicar would waive all claim to them, on condition that the vicar of Blyth and his successors, together with his parochial chaplains for the time being, were to have the right of taking their places, suitably vested, in quire with the convent on twenty-four solemn days of the year. The vicar and his successors were also to receive from the convent a quarter of rye at Michaelmas and pasturage for four cows wherever the convent cows might be pasturing. At the same time the prior and convent gave their unanimous and willing consent to the following ordination for the vicarage—the tithes of hay, lambs, and wool in the township of Blyth, except in Northway; the oblations and blessed bread in the parish church and chapel; all incomings of the chapelries of Bawtry and Austerfield, except the tithes of grain and the mortuaries; and the offerings at marriages and purifications throughout the whole parish. They excepted, however, from the vicar's portion the offerings on the five principal feasts, namely Easter, the Assumption, All Saints, Christmas, and Purification, and the offering that might be made at the altars of the monastery within the cloister on the days of the saints in whose honour they were dedicated, and the mass pence offered to the canons out of devotion.

It was further determined that the vicar was to receive the bread called 'Maynport' throughout the whole parish, the wax cess and the offerings made at the baptism of children, with their chrysons. Also the tithes of young pigs, goslings, calves, doves, orchards, and of corn and hay in closes, save of the places already named. Also tithes of markets and of flax and hemp and all minute tithes. The vicar was to have the use of the manse which had been customarily assigned him. He was to serve the church of Blyth personally, and to find and support another fit assistant priest, as well as two other fit priests to

²² These corrodies were usually sustenance for life granted to old persons who gave large gifts to the convent or made over all of which they were possessed.

²³ Add. MS. 6164, fol. 393-4.

²⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 176, 177.

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serve the chapels of Bawtry and Austerfield. The vicar was further to provide the prior yearly, within eight days before Easter, with a robe worth 20s. or with 20s. in money.²⁵

Blyth Priory was personally visited by Archbishop Wickwane in 1280, with the result that on 28 June the following corrections were forwarded to the house, prefaced by the statement that although the reformation of the religious belonged to the diocesan, he was willing to approve of the statutes of the Abbot of St. Katharine's, Rouen. The general rule of St. Benedict was, however, also to be followed; silence was to be kept at the usual times and in the usual places; no drinkings after compline; only the genuinely sick to be accommodated in the farmery; food and drink not to be thrown away, but reserved for the poor; no money to be received for furs or clothing; the prior to direct his own household more sternly; small gifts and money offered at mass to go to the common fund; the carols and chests of the monks to be opened twice a year; the prior always to be present in dorter, frater, quire, chapter, and collations; the church, houses, and defences of the monastery to be repaired in the roofs and whenever necessary.²⁶

Archbishop Romayne held a visitation of Blyth Priory in their chapter-house on 20 December 1286. On the following day he sent his mandate to the prior and convent stating that at his recent visitation he had found Thomas Russel, one of their monks, so intolerable in his conduct that, for his own good and that of their house, he ordered that he should be sent back to the chief abbey of their order, whence he came, there to do penance; the journey was to be undertaken on that side of the Epiphany.²⁷

The conduct of this monk must have been singularly bad to evoke so immediate a mandate. The archbishop, having relieved his mind as to this bad blot on the fair fame of the priory, took a considerable time before he forwarded any general injunctions consequent on his visitation. It was not indeed until almost a twelvemonth after his visit, namely on 6 December 1287, that his rulings were sent out to the priory. The decrees of former archbishops were to be observed; approval was given to the injunctions of the Abbot of Holy Trinity, Rouen, which were to be read in chapter once a month; the convent was to obey the prior reverently, without murmur or reluctance, and the prior was to treat the convent with kindly consideration; the prior was to take yearly a faithful inventory of the goods of the monastery and to render an account twice in the year; the custom of feeding in the misericorde, where flesh was permissible, instead of in the frater was condemned, but it was allowed that whilst two parts of the convent dined in the

frater, the third part, according to the disposition of the president, might have the solace of dining in the chamber termed misericorde; enjoined penances were always to be performed for the cleansing of the soul.²⁸

In July 1289 the archbishop had occasion to write a kindly letter to the Abbot of St. Katharine (Holy Trinity), Rouen, on behalf of John Belleville, a monk of Blyth, of good conversation according to the testimony of prior and convent, and asking that he might be allowed to return to Rouen, as he was suffering from the climate, which did not agree with him.²⁹

Subsequent letters from the archbishop to the abbot, as entered in the former's register, were of a different character. In April 1291 he ordered the French abbot not to keep his monks at Blyth for more than four or five years. From the wording of this letter it is clear that the monks of Blyth for the most part regarded their sojourn there as a kind of banishment, and looked forward with eagerness to the prospect of a return to their native land.³⁰ Four months later the archbishop wrote, sending back to Rouen Robert de Aungerville, one of the monks, for unruly conduct, and besought the abbot to send no more monks to Blyth of that character. In the following February, John de Belleville (the same monk whose removal had formerly been sought on the score of ill health) was sent back to Rouen by the archbishop on account of intolerable conduct, and as the cause of quarrels and discords. In terms of some dignity and severity, the archbishop repeated his request that only well-behaved monks should be sent to Blyth in the future.³¹

In April 1291 the archbishop again wrote to the abbot, but on this occasion in quite a different strain, for it was a letter of protest against the recall to Rouen of Nicholas de Bretteville, as he was of inestimable value to the priory of Blyth. It would almost seem as if the abbot was determined to pay out the archbishop for sending back evilly disposed monks, by recalling those who were most essential to good order, for in the following October the archbishop wrote yet another letter entreating him not to recall the prior, whom his diocesan described as his dear son, whose probity and religious and honourable life he had noted, nor Nicholas de Bretteville, both of whom were so necessary to the good government of the priory. The archbishop pressed this all the more, as he was going to the Roman court.³²

Archbishop Greenfield wrote to the Abbot of St. Katharine's in 1310 asking that his convent would nominate some fit person to be prior of Blyth between that date and Michaelmas, for he found that the prior was very old and weak. The archbishop commended two of the monks

²⁵ Harl. MS. 3759, fol. 6, 7.

²⁶ York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 7.

²⁷ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 70d.

²⁸ Ibid. fol. 72.

²⁹ Ibid. fol. 77.

³⁰ Ibid. fol. 78.

³¹ Ibid. fol. 75.

³² Ibid. fol. 77 d.

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of the best repute to him, namely Ralph de la Campayne the sub-prior and Laurence Sennale.³³

Nicholas de Bretteville resigned his office as prior on St. Bartholomew's Day 1310, and the archbishop admitted Robert Clyvill, a monk from Rouen, as prior. Provision was made for the old prior during his life.³⁴

On the death of Prior Nicholas English in 1409, the king claimed the presentation in consequence of the war with France, and William Ouston was instituted in succession.³⁵ Prior John Halum died in 1420, and on 30 October Robert Clifforth was elected in his place. But the king claimed to be the true patron, and soon afterwards presented John Gaynesbury to the priory; he was admitted on 5 May 1421.³⁶ King Henry VI again presented on 23 November 1431; the new prior was John Cotyngham, a monk of St. Mary's Abbey, York.³⁷

There was a royal presentation in 1465, when another monk of St. Mary's York, Robert Scotis, was instituted prior.³⁸ Edward IV in 1472 presented William Massam, a monk of Durham, to whom his own house were greatly attached; he was granted the privilege of wearing the Durham frock, like any other brother of the house, whenever he came on a visit.³⁹ Henry VII presented in 1496 and again in 1507, when Thomas Gardiner, a monk of Westminster, was made prior; on this last occasion the presentation is entered in the register as having been made by the king as Duke of Lancaster.⁴⁰ The institution of the last prior in 1534 is also registered as being done under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁴¹

The special commissioners of 1536, Legh and Layton, visited this priory and affected to have found four monks guilty of disgraceful offences and one of adultery. They declared the annual value to be £180.⁴²

On 25 March 1536 Prior Dalton wrote to Cromwell saying that he was visited with sickness and could not go up to show Cromwell his muniments, regal and papal, in accordance with his injunctions, but he was forwarding him all the evidence concerning royal grants and the Bishop of Frome's confirmations.⁴³ The modest pension of 20 marks was granted to George Dalton, the dispossessed prior, on 2 July 1536.

Sir Gervase Clyfton obtained a grant from the Crown of the site of the monastery, together with Blyth rectory, on 10 July 1538.⁴⁴

³³ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 145*b*.

³⁴ Ibid. 6972, fol. 18.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 24*b*.

³⁷ Ibid. fol. 28*b*.

³⁸ Ibid. fol. 34*b*.

⁴⁰ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 43.

⁴¹ Ibid. fol. 47.

⁴² Ibid. 550.

⁴⁴ Aug. Off. Bks. ccix, fol. 111*b*.

³⁶ Ibid. 6969, fol. 119.

³⁹ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 51-2.

⁴³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

There is an imperfect impression of the seal of this priory at the British Museum, attached to a charter of 1420. The Virgin is seated on a carved throne, with the Holy Child in her lap, lifting up His right hand in benediction, and having a flower in the left. The legend is wanting; the matrix was of 13th-century date.⁴⁵

PRIORS OF BLYTH

R. de Pauliaco, 1188⁴⁶
 William Wastell, 12—⁴⁷
 Gilbert, occurs 1224⁴⁸
 Theobald, occurs 1260⁴⁹
 William Burdon, 1273, resigned 1303⁵⁰
 Nicholas de Bretteville, elected 1303⁵¹
 Robert de Clyvill, 1310⁵²
 Ralph de Toto, 1328⁵³
 Peter Meslier, resigned 1344⁵⁴
 Peter Textor, 1344⁵⁵
 Gilbert, occurs 1365⁵⁶
 Thomas de Vymond, resigned 1376⁵⁷
 Nicholas English, 1376⁵⁸
 William Ouston, 1409⁵⁹
 John Halum, died 1420⁶⁰
 Robert Clifforth, 1420⁶¹
 John Gaynesbury, 1421⁶²
 Robert Toppeclyff, 1429⁶³
 John Cotyngham, 1431⁶⁴
 Nicholas Halle, 1438⁶⁵
 Thomas Bolton, 1448⁶⁶
 William West, 1451-8⁶⁷
 Robert Bubwith, 1458⁶⁸
 Robert Scotis, 1465⁶⁹
 William Massam, died 1472⁷⁰
 Robert Gwyllam, 1496⁷¹
 Thomas Gardiner, 1507⁷²
 John Baynebrig, 1511⁷³
 George Dalton, 1534⁷⁴

⁴⁵ Harl. Chart. 44 A. 19.

⁴⁶ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 50.

⁴⁷ Ibid. ⁴⁸ Harl. MS. 3759, fol. 123.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 6970, fol. 144*b*.

⁵⁰ Ibid. fol. 100*b*.

⁵¹ Ibid. ⁵⁹ Ibid. 6972, fol. 23.

⁵³ Ibid. ⁶⁴ Ibid. fol. 24.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 51.

⁵⁷ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 63.

⁵⁸ Ibid. ⁶⁹ Ibid. 6972, fol. 24*b*.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 6969, fol. 119.

⁶¹ Ibid. ⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 51.

⁶⁴ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 28.

⁶⁵ Pat. 17 Hen. VI.

⁶⁶ Pat. 26 Hen. VI, pt. i.

⁶⁷ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 27.

⁶⁸ Ibid. fol. 30.

⁶⁹ Ibid. fol. 34*b*.

⁷⁰ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 51.

⁷¹ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 39.

⁷² Ibid. fol. 43.

⁷³ Ibid. fol. 44.

⁷⁴ Ibid. fol. 47.

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HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

2. THE PRIORY OF WALLINGWELLS

Ralph de Chevolcourt (or Caprecuria) in the time of Stephen granted, with the consent of his heirs, to Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin a place in his park of Carlton in Lindrick by the Wells (*juxta fontes et rivum fontium*), whose name was to be St. Mary of the Park, to make and build there a dwelling for religious, independent of any other house, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, for the remission of his sins and for the good estate and the soul's health of himself and his heirs and progenitors and of all who should help and maintain the house. By way of endowment the founder granted the house, the water for mill use, pasture in the park for all their beasts, pannage in the same for ninety swine, a right of way through the midst of the park for carting their crops, all the lands held of his fee by Gunwat, Thori, William son of Lefwin, Rushtoch and Ernwi, with various other small plots, common rights in the field of Carlton, common of pasture on all his demesnes, and the whole underwood (*arbustum*) of Sicam to inclose. The charter concludes with an unusually solemn blessing upon his heirs who should cherish and maintain his gifts to this house, and a malediction on all who should attempt to disturb, diminish, or straiten the benefactions.¹

The church of Cantley, Yorkshire, was appropriated to the nuns of Wallingwells in 1273. Archbishop Giffard gave his assent, on account of their penury, in terms of warm eulogy as to their devout life. The appropriation was to come into operation on the death or resignation of John Clarell, the then rector, and meanwhile the rector was to assign to the priory the yearly pension of a mark.²

At the end of Giffard's register, the ordinance of Archbishop Godfrey, in 1262, concerning certain rights of this nunnery in the churches of Carlton in Lindrick, Cantley, and Mattersey is cited. On account of their great poverty, the archbishop, with the express consent of Warin de Dyson, rector of Carlton, assigned to them the corn tithes of eighteen bovates of land in that parish, and the nuns were to be held clear of all tithes, small and great, on their lands in Carlton. Moreover the rector of Carlton was to sustain all burdens of the church, save the extraordinary ones of a fourth part. The advowsons of the rectory of Carlton (saving this fourth part) and of the rectory of Cantley were reserved to the

Archbishop of York, but a pension was to be paid of 20s. out of Carlton rectory and of two marks out of Cantley rectory to the prioress and nuns of Wallingwells. It was at the same time agreed that the presentation to the rectory of Mattersey was reserved to the priory.³

The Taxation Roll of 1291 enters that the prioress held in spiritualities in Carlton in Lindrick £10 13s. 4d., and in temporalities £4 18s. 4d.; also £2 13s. 4d. in temporalities at Handsworth Woodhouses.⁴

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII gives the total annual value of the house as £87 11s. 6d., but heavy reprises reduced the clear annual value to £58 9s. 10d. The demesne lands produced £6 a year, and other Nottinghamshire lands in Carlton, Gildingwells, Gringley, 'Willourne,' together with Yorkshire lands in Handsworth and its members, brought the total of the temporalities to £21 11s. 10d. Campsall rectory (Yorks) produced the large annual income of £51 14s.; Cantley rectory and a pension out of Carlton rectory brought the total of the spiritualities to £65 19s. 8d. The chief outgoing was from Campsall rectory, which included £16 13s. 4d. to the vicar as his pension, £1 6s. 8d. to the deacon of the same church, £5 to a chantry priest in Pontefract Castle, £1 to the Archbishop of York, and 10s. to the York chapter. There was also a distribution of alms to the poor four times a year, amounting to £2 6s. 8d., in commemoration of the founder.⁵

The Prioress of Wallingwells took action in 1247 against Thomas de Lyncoln and Juliana his wife for obstructing a certain highway in Carlton, so that she could not use it for her carts to the granges; but the action failed, as the jury found that the priory never had any right of way, and only used it on sufferance.⁶

In November 1295 Archbishop Romaine appointed Lady Emma de Stocwelle prioress of Wallingwells, and issued his mandate to the archdeacon to induct her. A memorandum in the register states that the diocesan appointed in this manner because there was no exhibition of the election in writing; but it would appear that Lady Emma was the choice of the nuns.⁷

Dame Isabel Crofte, Prioress of Wallingwells, by indenture dated 30 June 1507 covenanted with George Hastings to farm to him all manner of tithes of the town and manor of Fenwick pertaining to the priory and including tithes of

³ Ibid. fol. 145 d.

⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 179.

⁶ Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 410.

⁷ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 85.

¹ Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 408.

² York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 17.

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corn, hay, hemp, flax, goosegrass, wool and lambs, together with mortuaries and oblations, and all other profits, for the term of both their lives, at £3 a year. It was also agreed and provided that the township of Fenwick was to make due oblation unto the mother church of Campsall at the four principal feasts, and further covenanted that the inhabitants 'shall well and trulye content and paye the Lenton bokes and the profetts thereof unto the saide Dame Isabell prioresse, or ellus unto hir deputs.'⁸

This small nunnery was visited in 1536 by Legh and Layton. Wonderful to relate, they had no slander nor scandal to report of this house, whose annual value they returned at £60. Under the head of *Superstitio* they recorded the comb of St. Edmund, and an image of the Virgin said to have been discovered at the founding of the house.⁹

In April of this year Sir John Nevill, in a letter to Cromwell, wrote:—'I beseech you have me in remembrance for Wallyng Wellys, as I wrote to Mr. Richard, your nephew or for something else.'¹⁰

Wallingwells, however, though so small a house, was one of those religious foundations which managed to procure a respite by a heavy bribe or fine. More than a year's income, namely £66 13s. 4d., was paid to the Crown officials to secure exemption from the schedule of the condemned smaller monasteries.¹¹

On 2 June 1537 Margaret Goldsmith, the prioress of the 'Monasterye of ower Ladye of Wallyngwells, in the countye of Nottingham,' entered into a covenant with Richard Oglethorp demising to him the entire monastery and all its possessions for the term of twenty-one years, lying in Wallingwells, Carlton in Lindrick, Gildingwells, Handsworth, Brinsworth, Todwick, Wales, Throapham, Dalton, Rawmarsh, Gringley, Woodsetts, Harthill, 'Rownbromen,' Welham, and Mattersey, in the counties of York and Nottingham, together with the parsonage of Campsall. The actual church of Wallingwells, and the prioress's chambers, the dormitory, the infirmary, and all other houses and dwellings pertaining to the monastery, were alone excepted, and these were reserved for the prioress and convent. Oglethorp, or his executors or assigns, was also to be entitled to cut down and carry away all timber and underwood. He was, how-

ever, to provide at his own cost an able priest to sing and read in the monastery, and to pay yearly during the terms of the lease £3 6s. 8d. to the prioress, 6s. 8d. to every lady or sister of the monastery there abiding, 11s. to the prioress's maid for her wages, to the convent maid 6s. 8d., and to the cook and butler yearly for their wages £1 6s. 8d. Further he was to supply to the convent every week 'one mett of whete and one mete and one pek of rye for ther brede corn, to be grounde molter free,' and three bushels of blended malt, half barley and half oats, for the 'dryncke corn.' He was also to deliver yearly six fat kine, four fat pigs, six calves, twenty sheep, six stone of cheese, a quarter and a half of salt, and a quarter of oatmeal for the kitchen, and 40s. in money for them to buy fish with at their pleasure. The final clause of the indenture bound Oglethorp to supply the prioress yearly with one load of coals, ten loads of wood, and twelve pounds of candles; and twelve loads of coal, twenty loads of wood, and twelve pounds of candles for the convent; and also to find them, summer and winter, two milk kine and two 'suez.'¹²

The priory was surrendered on 14 December 1539, when a pension of £6 was assigned to Margaret Goldsmith the prioress, of 53s. 4d. each to Anne Roden the sub-prioress and to Elizabeth Kyrkeby, and of 40s. each to six other nuns.¹³

PRIORESSES OF WALLINGWELLS

Emma de Stockwell, 1295¹⁴
 Dionysia, resigned 1325¹⁵
 Alice de Sheffield, resigned 1353¹⁶
 Helen de Bolsover, resigned 1402¹⁷
 Isabel de Durham, 1402¹⁸
 Joan Hewet, died 1465¹⁹
 Elizabeth Wilcocks, 1465²⁰
 Elizabeth Kirkby, 1504²¹
 Isabel Croft, 1508-11²²
 Anne Goldsmith, 1516²³
 Margaret Goldsmith, 1521²⁴

¹² Dugdale, *Mon* iv, 298-9.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 651.

¹⁴ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 5b.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 19b.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 6969, fol. 88.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 6972, fol. 33b.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 43.

²² *Ibid.* fol. 43b, 44.

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 45.

²⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 46.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon*. iv, 297.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*. x, 364.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 633.

¹¹ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 451.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF CLUNIAC MONKS

3. THE PRIORY OF LENTON

The Cluniac house of Lenton Priory, in the suburbs of Nottingham, was founded by William Peverel in honour of the Holy Trinity, out of love (as the foundation charter expresses it) of divine worship and for the good of the souls of his lord King William, of his wife Queen Matilda, of their son King William and of all their and his ancestors, and also for the health of his present lord King Henry and Queen Matilda and their children William and Matilda, and for the health of his own soul, and those of his wife Matilda and his son William and all their children. He gave the house to God and to the church of Cluni, and to Pontius the abbot there and his successors, but so that it should be free and quit of obligation save the annual payment of a mark of silver as an acknowledgement.

By this charter Peverel substantially endowed the house with the township of Lenton and its appurtenances, including seven mills; the townships of Radford, Morton, and Keighton,¹ with all their appurtenances, and whatsoever he had in Newthorpe and Papplewick both in wood and plain; also, with the consent of King Henry, the Nottingham churches of St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Nicholas, and the churches of Radford, Linby, and Langar, and the tithes of his fisheries, all in Nottinghamshire; Bakewell with all its appurtenances, two parts of the tithes of Newbold, Tideswell, Bradwell, Bakewell, Hucklow, Ashford, Wormill, and Holme, and two parts of the tithes of his demesne pastures in the Peak, namely in Shalcross, Fernilee, Darnall, Quatford, Buxton, Shirebrook, Stanton, Cowdale, 'Crochil' Callow, 'Dunningestede,' Chelmorton, and Sterndale, also the whole tithe of colts and fillies, wherever there was a stud-farm in his Peak demesnes, together with the tithes of his lead and of his venison both in skins and meat, all in Derbyshire;² Courteenhall with its appurtenances, two parts of all the tithes of his demesnes in Blisworth and Duston, and the churches of Harlestone, Courteenhall, Irchester, and Rushden, all in Northamptonshire; and the church of Foxton, in Leicestershire, with a virgate of land.

By the same charter he also granted, after a somewhat unusual form, whatsoever his men (homagers or feodaries) bestowed on the priory for the good of their souls: namely two parts of the tithes of the demesnes of Avenel in Haddon,

¹ These villis Morton and Keighton have disappeared, but the former was part of the Peverel fee in 1086.

² The Derbyshire lands from which these gifts were made had been bestowed by Henry I upon William Peverel.

Meadowplace and Monyash, Derbyshire, and of various other places in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Buckingham.

There is no reason to doubt that the extensive possessions enumerated above represent genuine grants made to the priory by William Peverel and his under-tenants; but the present charter contains a chronological discrepancy which is quite fatal to its authenticity. The priory is explicitly granted to Pontius, Abbot of Cluni, but the charter is witnessed by Gerard, Archbishop of York. As Gerard died on 21 May 1108, while Abbot Hugh of Cluni, the predecessor of Pontius, died on 29 April 1109, the charter clearly loses all claim to be regarded as a contemporary record. That some genuine document or documents underlay the fabrication of the charter is made probable by its occasional agreement, in the names of Peverel sub-tenants, with the evidence of Domesday; but the only authority for the text of the charter, since the destruction of the Lenton Chartulary in the great Cottonian fire, has been an *inspeximus* of 1317. Under these circumstances, the charter cannot be cited as evidence for the date of the foundation of the priory, but it may be noted that the abbacy of Pontius extended from 1109 to 1125. As the alleged bestowal of the priory upon Abbot Pontius not improbably represents a genuine tradition, the foundation may well have fallen within these years. A charter of Henry Ist confirming Lenton to Cluni, preserved among the muniments of the latter house, is ostensibly not later than 1115, but its authenticity is doubtful.

The *inspeximus* of 1317³ records the royal confirmation charters of Henry I, of Stephen, of Henry II and of John, as well as the following additional benefactions:—the church of Wigston, Leicestershire, with the tithes of his demesnes in that lordship and certain lands, by Robert Earl of Leicester and Count of Meulan; the tithes of the assarts or tilled lands within Peak Forest, by William de Ferrers; the churches of Ossington, Notts, and Horsley, Derbyshire, and the half church of Cotgrave, Notts, in 1144, by Hugh de Buron and Hugh Meschines his son and heir; the church of Nether Broughton, Leicestershire, with all its appurtenances, including a chapel to which were attached 15 acres of land, by Richard Bussell; the Derbyshire manors of Holme and Dunston, by Matthew de Hather-sage; and a moiety of the church of Attenborough, the land of Reginald in Chilwell, the church of Barton in Fabis, and two parts of his

³ *Cal. of Doc. France*, no. 1383.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 112.

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demesne tithes in Bunny and Bradmore, by Odo de Bunny.⁴

Fortunately for the sake of peace, it very rarely happened that the gift of a pious founder gave rise to whole centuries of litigation and strife, as was the case with one part of the benefactions of William Peverel to this priory—we allude to the various tithes of the Peak district just enumerated. When the vast estates of the Peverels were confiscated to the Crown in the reign of Henry II, they were bestowed by the king on his second son John, Count of Mortain. No sooner had Richard ascended his father's throne than John began to play the part of a conspirator. One of John's most ready and able tools in the Midlands was Hugh de Nonant, the turbulent Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. When his attachment to John began to wane, the count secured his further support by the gift of the churches of Bakewell, Hope, and Tideswell, with all their appurtenances. When John came to the throne, he confirmed the gift of these churches to the then occupant of the see, Geoffrey Muschamp, but Geoffrey's successors in the bishopric, William Cornhill (1215-1224) and Alexander Stavenby (1224-1240), transferred these rights to the dean and chapter of Lichfield.

Almost immediately after this transfer had been completed, litigation broke out between the priory and the chapter, which extended, with certain intervals of peace, over three centuries, during which period there were five several appeals to the Roman court. The matter at issue between Lenton and Lichfield, though presenting slightly different phases of the same questions, always related to (1) the extent of the lordships of William Peverel, (2) the right of bequeathing tithes of land not under cultivation at the time of the donation, and (3) more especially how far the charters of the Count of Mortain overrode those of William Peverel, whose descendants had suffered sequestration.

The disputes assumed a violent form in the years 1250-1, when the monks of Lenton by force of arms seized on certain tithes of wool and lambs in the parish of Tideswell. The chapter of Lichfield actually ordered the wool to be stored and the flocks to be folded within the nave of the church for security; but the adherents of the priory disregarded sanctuary rights and burst open the doors. Thereupon a free fight ensued between the two parties; many of the sheep and lambs were butchered under the horses' hoofs or by the weapons of the combatants; and the pollution of both church and churchyard rendered the suspension of all religious rites obligatory until they had been formally reconciled by the bishop. In this encounter eighteen lambs were killed in the church and fourteen were carried off to the grange of the

Lenton monks. Geese, hay, and sheaves of oats were also seized by violent methods about the same time. Bishop Weseham of Lichfield found that it was high time to interfere to check such a scandal, and himself suggested an appeal to Rome. Pope Innocent IV, after failing with earlier-appointed commissions, nominated a commission of three with extended powers, consisting of the warden of the Franciscans of Leicester, the Archdeacon of Chester, and the Prior of the Dominicans of London. A decision was given in 1252 in the church of St. Mary at Leicester to the effect that (1) the priory should pay 100 marks fine to the sacrist of Lichfield, in addition to the £60 already voluntarily paid by the priory to the chapter as compensation for the damage; that (2) all the greater and lesser tithes of Tideswell belonged to the chapter, except two-thirds of the tithes of lead on the demesnes formerly held by William Peverel, of the tithes of the mill of Richard Daniel, and of the tithes of the studfarm and of the venison; that (3) the chapter should pay 14 marks yearly out of the tithes of Bakewell and Hope to the priory; and that (4) two-thirds of the great tithes only should go to the priory in other parts and of pastures and places then under cultivation at Bakewell, Nether Haddon, Ashford, and Chapel en le Frith.

This decision was respected and secured peace for about a quarter of a century, but the dispute broke out again with some vehemence in 1275, and was frequently renewed up to the time of the dissolution of the religious houses.⁵

The connexion of the Cluniac house of Lenton with the adjoining town of Nottingham was as close and important as that of the monastery of St. Andrew, of the same order, with the town of Northampton. The first charter of Henry II freed from every form of tax, toll, or custom the whole of the priory of Lenton, and any one disturbing the monks or their tenants in this respect was liable to the then huge penalty of £10. By his second charter the same king granted the priory a fair of eight days at the feast of St. Martin, with full toll of all things from which toll may be taken, excepting on those purchases which were made for food or clothing. In the same charter Henry II warned both the sheriff and castellan of Nottingham not to molest the monks of Lenton in the slaughter of oxen, nor in anything else to which they have been accustomed, such as the right of buying freely in the markets. No complaints or pleadings against the monks were to be permitted in any of the local courts, but only before the king or his chief justice.

⁵ For a summary of this *Lis Lentonensis*, see Dr. Cox, *Cat. of the Lich. Mun.* 66-9; also *Derb. Arch. Soc. Journ.* v, 129-64, where Dr. Cox has given transcripts of nine of the more important of the Lichfield documents treating of this subject. See also Cox, *Ch. of Derb.* ii, 140, 270.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 112.

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It may be mentioned that Henry III in 1232 still further extended the length of the great fair of Lenton at Martinmas, making it of twelve days' duration.⁶

The benefactions to the priory and privileges granted to it, in addition to those already cited, were very numerous.⁷ The following deserve special mention:—The cell or hermitage of Kersall, Lancashire, by Henry II; the first draught of smelts, next after the draught of his steward, by John de Laci, in his fishing of Chilwell, and whatever God should bestow in the said draught on the brethren—as salmon, lamprey, or any other kind of fish, he gave them freely; the same donor subsequently increased the fishing rights of the monks, provided they were for the monks' own use and not let to farm; considerable gifts at Widmerpool by Robert de Heriz, desiring that his body should be Christianly buried in the priory church; the advowson of the church of Nuthall, by Sir Geoffrey de St. Patrick, a gift challenged (but in vain) by William de St. Patrick in 1200, as being made under undue influence on his deathbed.⁸

By a charter of King John, in 1199, there were confirmed to the priory the churches of Meppershall and Felmersham, Bedfordshire, and also free entry and exit, daily, into the forest of Bestwood with a cart to take dead wood, and with two carts to take heather, as much as would suffice for the monks' proper use.⁹ There were various other grants of fuel, royal and otherwise; but a yet more important charter of John at the end of his reign granted to Peter the prior and the monks of Lenton the tithe of the game taken in the royal forests of the counties of Nottingham and Derby, that is to say of harts, hinds, bucks, does, wild boars, and hares.¹⁰

The ecclesiastical rights of Lenton in the town of Nottingham are strikingly exemplified in the statutes of Archbishop Gray, granted to the hospital of St. John in that town in 1234, which are given below in the account of that hospital.

Henry III appears to have been ever ready to assist the monks of Lenton in their building operations. He granted them quarry rights in 1229 in Nottingham Forest to obtain stone for the rebuilding of the tower of their church, which had fallen in the previous year;¹¹ and later in the same year five oaks were assigned to them out of the king's hay at 'Willey' to make shingles for the roofing of their dormitory.¹² In the following years they were granted twenty-five tie-beams out of Mansfield, and two oaks out of Linby Hay

to make shingles, and in 1232 thirty oaks out of Sherwood towards building their church.¹³ In 1249 the Prior of Lenton obtained the royal licence to quarry stone in the wood of Nottingham within Sherwood Forest, for the fabric of his church, a favour which was renewed in the following year. In 1253 sanction was given to the prior to take seven score cart-loads of stone from the king's quarry in the same wood for certain works there in progress at the priory.¹⁴

The taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291 gives the annual income of the priory as £339 1s. 2½d., which was obtained as follows:—Spiritualities—Lincoln diocese, £15 19s. 4d.; Coventry and Lichfield diocese, £66 13s. 4d.; York diocese, £108 12s. 10d.; Temporalities—Lincoln diocese, £37 3s. 10½d.; Salisbury diocese, 13s. 4d.; Coventry and Lichfield diocese, £17 6s.; York diocese, £92 12s. 6d.¹⁵

The seizing of the revenues of the priory by the Crown as subject to alien rule, during the wars with France, which prevailed throughout almost the whole of the 14th century, brought about a diminution in income. Extents of the priory possessions taken in 1380 give the total income as £305 1s. 8d.¹⁶ A detailed valuation taken by inquisition in Lent 1387 gives the total as £300 14s. 4d.; the net income derived from the great Martinmas fair averaged £35 a year; the chief income came from appropriated tithes of corn, the rectories of Lenton, Radford, 'Kyrkton,' and Sutton brought in £20, St. Mary's, Nottingham, 80 marks, Bakewell rectory, £54 13s., as well as many smaller sums.¹⁷

The financial history of this priory is somewhat exceptional, inasmuch as it obtained several additions to its income in the period shortly before the general dissolution. Thus the advowson of Arksey, Yorkshire, was granted to the monks in 1502, and the appropriation of the same in 1513.¹⁸ Middlewich, Cheshire, was also appropriated to the priory in 1504; it was worth £30 a year.¹⁹

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 gives the gross income as £387 10s. 10½d., and the clear annual value £329 15s. 10½d. Of this estimate the Derbyshire tithes and portions (about which great sums of money had been spent in litigation) contributed £70 18s. 11½d., but far the largest share came from Nottinghamshire. The tithes of corn and hay from Beeston, Lenton, St.

¹³ Ibid. 15 Hen. III, m. 18; 16 Hen. III, m. 12.

¹⁴ Ibid. 33 Hen. III, m. 12; 34 Hen. III, m. 12; 37 Hen. III, m. 5.

¹⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 33b, 34, 35b, 38b, 39b, 40, 53b, 55, 63-5, 67, 74, 191, 246b, 249, 264, 310-13b.

¹⁶ Add. MSS. 6164, fol. 365, 391.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 502.

¹⁸ Hunter, *South Yorks.* i, 327.

¹⁹ Godfrey, *Hist. of Lenton*, 171.

⁶ Chart. R. 14 Hen. III, pt. ii, m. 10.

⁷ See Thoroton, *Notts.*; and Godfrey, *Hist. of Parish and Priory of Lenton* (1884), *passim*.

⁸ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 24.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 112, 218.

¹⁰ Ibid. no. 9.

¹¹ Close, 13 Hen. III, m. 6.

¹² Ibid. 14 Hen. III, m. 20.

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Mary's Nottingham (with oblations), and Radford realized £48 6s. 8d.; tithe portions from Greasley, Basford, Attenborough, Langar, Stapleford, Ruddington, Sutton, Thorpe in the Glebe, and Bunny, £32 3s. 2d.; pensions from Barton in Fabis, Basford, Costock, Cotgrave, Lenton, Linby, Nottingham St. Nicholas, St. Peter and the hospitals of St. John and St. Mary, and Rempstone, £5 6s. 4d.; demesne lands, rents, mills, fair, &c., at Lenton, Newthorpe, Nottingham, and Radford, £78 13s. 8d.; and rents at Awsworth, Ompton, Barton in Fabis, Bradmore, Costock, Cotgrave, Cropwell Butler, Keyworth, Mansfield, Normanton, Rempstone, and Watnall, £17 4s. 3d. The remainder of the income came from the counties of Chester, Lancaster, Leicesters, Northampton, and York.

The outgoings were considerable, including payments to the warden of Clifton College²⁰ and to chantry priests in York Cathedral and in the churches of Rotherham and North Wingfield. The sum of £41 1s. 8d. was expended in the daily meat, drink, lodging, and firing, and a penny each per week on five needy men, who were to pray for the souls of William Peverel and Adeline his wife, of Henry I and Matilda his wife and their heirs. A further sum of £2 13s. 4d. was distributed yearly to the poor on the anniversaries of William and Adeline Peverel, which were kept respectively on 20 and 28 January.²¹

The statement made by Godfrey²² that the distinguished justice Robert de Lexinton was Prior of Lenton during the early years of Henry III is an error, apparently based on the casual juxtaposition of Robert de Lexinton and the Prior of Lenton on certain commissions.^{22a}

In 1234 Gregory IX issued his mandate to the Abbot and Prior of Dale to induct the Prior and Convent of Lenton into corporal possession of the church of St. Mary Nottingham, granted to them by the pope on the resignation of Nicholas his nephew, subdeacon and chaplain, a vicar's portion being reserved.²³

One of his immediate successors in the papacy granted a privilege to the Lenton monks which would be much appreciated, as the great majority of them came from the warmer climes of France. They obtained a faculty from Alexander IV in the winter of 1257-8, to wear caps suited to their order at divine offices, in consequence of the vehement cold of those parts.²⁴

Several interesting records of visitations of this priory during the 13th century are extant.

In 1262 Henry Prior of Bermondsey and John Prior of the French house of Gassicourt were appointed visitors of the subordinate English houses by Yves de Poyson, twenty-fifth Abbot of

Cluni. They made searching inquiry as to the condition of Lenton Priory, through two of the obedientiaries of the house, Brother Alfred the sub-cellarer, and Richard the almoner, who met them in London; but the visitors do not appear to have gone in person to Lenton. By the showing of these, it was manifest that the state of the convent was all that could be desired in respect of spiritualities, and that divine offices were conducted becomingly and according to church ritual; the religious community consisted of twenty-two monks and two lay brethren. On a further inquiry of them as to the convent's financial condition, it is evident that the house was loaded with debt, to the extent of £1,000 of the English currency.²⁵

The visitors appointed for England by the Abbot of Cluni in 1275-6 were John, Prior of Wenlock, and Arnulph, the abbot's equerry. They visited Lenton on Friday, 22 February. The monks then numbered twenty-seven and the lay brethren four. The priory's debts amounted to 180 marks. There were various set orders enjoined by these visitors on most of the houses, which were repeated at Lincoln, such as the use when riding of saddle, crupper, and leggings, the non-eating of meat with seculars, the reading of the lection in the infirmary at dinner, and the tarrying of any in the priory after compline. These were all enjoined at Lenton, as had previously been the case at Montacute, Wenlock, and other houses. It also came to the visitors' knowledge at Lenton that the lay brothers were wearing red or russet habits; they were ordered henceforth to use as their distinguishing colour something darker and more nearly approaching black.²⁶

The English visitation of 1279 for the Abbot of Cluni was made by the Prior of Lenton in conjunction with the French Prior of Mont-Didier. They arrived at Lenton on 6 September and found twenty-five monks, the usual complement, leading good and commendable lives, living according to rule, and solemnly conducting their devotional exercises. As the Prior of Lenton was himself one of the two visitors, it is to be hoped that only the Prior of Mont-Didier was responsible for the report sent to Cluni, for it was stated therein that the superior of the Nottingham house was 'a worthy good man, of blameless repute.' When he entered on his office there were debts of 935 marks in money and of forty sacks of wool at 15 marks the sack. Of this latter debt thirty-two sacks had been paid, but the money debt had risen to 1,030 marks, chiefly through the strife with the chapter of Lichfield, 'composed of rich and influential persons, some of them being about the King.' The matter in dispute was said to concern a yearly tithe of 250 marks; the prior had already

²⁰ See below. ²¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 149.

²² Godfrey, *Hist. of Lenton*, 179-81.

^{22a} *Cal. Pat.* 1225-32, pp. 281, 353.

²³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 141. ²⁴ *Ibid.* 355.

²⁵ Duckett, *Visit. of Engl. Cluniac Foundations*, 11, 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 17, 18.

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spent 160 marks in litigation, and anticipated further legal trouble and expense. The prior, when first entering on his duties, found an insufficiency of all necessary provisions, and he had also had to pay an annuity of 40 marks to his predecessor, which could ill be spared. There was another debt of £40 on certain property, which originated with Roger, a former prior.²⁷

In 1263 the prior became involved in a most serious affray connected with the patronage of the church of St. George's Burton-on-Trent, which doubtless arose through the preferment of absentee foreigners. According to the deposition of Bartholomew son of Adinulf, knight, of Anagni, papal chaplain and rector of St. George's, the Prior and Convent of Lenton, pretending that he was dead, presented to it one Thomas de Raley; whereupon Bartholomew obtained papal letters addressed to Master John de Anagni, papal chaplain, resident in England, who, on the prior's promise to expedite the business at his own expense, committed the matter to him. Afterwards the prior went to the church of St. George with Bonushomo de Portia, the rector's proctor; but certain servants of Thomas de Raley stripped the proctor in the prior's presence, robbed him of the papal letters, and eventually killed him in the churchyard. The prior and Thomas were cited to appear before the pope within a given time, which they did not do, and were therefore declared contumacious and excommunicated by the Cardinal, to whom the pope had committed the matter. This excommunication was pronounced in November 1263, but it was not until August of the following year that the Bishop of London received the papal mandate to publish the excommunication of the prior and Thomas de Raley throughout the archdeaconry of Nottingham and in other prescribed places, until they made condign satisfaction in the cathedral church of London.²⁸

In 1267 the vicar of Lenton complained to the diocesan that the Prior and Convent of Lenton were detaining certain mortuaries and oblations that pertained to the vicarage. Giffard directed the Archdeacon of Nottingham to hold an inquiry, and if the allegation were true, to order the prior to restore the payments in dispute.²⁹

The Prior of Lenton in 1285 appointed brother Thomas de Amundesham, a monk of that house, to serve as general and special proctor, for presenting in his name to vacant benefices, &c. The cause for this was doubtless the visit of the prior to a general chapter at Cluni.³⁰

The finding of a Nottingham jury, in 1284, that William son of Nicholas de Cauntlow was born in the abbey of Lenton (*in abbatia de Lenton*),

and was baptized in the church of the abbey on Palm Sunday twenty-one years before, is at first sight a little startling.³¹ But within the precincts of so important a priory as this there would be sure to be special guest-chambers for visitors of distinction, and occasionally, though somewhat irregularly, they would be of the fair sex.

In fact Lenton Priory possessed in all probability a finer set of guest-chambers than any that could be found in the town of Nottingham. Henry III lodged at the priory in 1230. It was at Lenton Priory that Edward I sojourned in April 1302, and again in April of the following year; whilst Edward II visited the house for some days in the year of his accession, and again in 1323. Edward III was a royal visitor in 1336, as well as on other occasions.³²

In 1289 Pope Nicholas IV wrote to Edward I requesting him to restore to Peter de Siriniaco the full possession of Lenton Priory, of which he had been wrongfully deprived, as other priors had been, by the abbot and general chapter of Cluni, in consequence of appeals to the Roman court in regard to the non-observance of statutes made by Gregory IX for the reformation of the order, and to which Ranaudus or Renaud, a Cluniac monk, on presentation of the abbot, had been inducted by the king as patron. The pope urged Edward to assign to the proctor of Peter de Siriniaco possession of this priory, as the Abbot of Cluni had died at Rome whilst the cause of Peter and the priory was pending, and Peter's presence was required at Cluni for the election of an abbot.³³

There were various disputes between the priory and the mayor and burgesses of Nottingham as to the duration of the great Lenton fair and its ordinances. An interesting agreement was arranged between the parties in the reign of Edward I, c. 1300. The priory pledged itself to be content with eight days, beginning on the eve of St. Martin, remitting four days, and promising never to ask for any extension beyond the octave. The priory also covenanted for themselves and their successors that cloth merchants, apothecaries, pilchers (makers of fur garments), and mercers of the community of the town, wishing to hire booths in the fair, were to pay 12*d.* for as long as the fair lasted, excepting those selling blacks (*Blakkes*) and ordinary cloths, whose fee was to be 8*d.* All others desiring to hire booths were to pay 8*d.*, save that those selling iron and desiring ground as well as a booth paid 4*d.*, or without extra ground 2*d.* Tanners and shoemakers not occupying ground were to be quit of covered and uncovered stalls. Each booth was to be 8 ft. long and 8 ft. broad. None

²⁷ Duckett, *Visit. of Engl. Clun. Houses*, 31.

²⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 406-7.

²⁹ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 34 d.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Wickwane, fol. 70.

³¹ *Cal. Gen.* i, 139.

³² Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, 900, 922; iii, 13, 14; Pat. and Close R.

³³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 505-7; see also Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, 453.

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of the community of Nottingham were to hire booths or stalls for any stranger, or for the sale of any alien goods, but only for themselves and their own wares. All men of Nottingham buying and selling hides, tanned or untanned, and all from Nottingham passing through Lenton in fair time with carts, wagons, or packhorses, were to be quit of toll and custom. In return for this quittance, the mayor and burgesses granted to the prior and convent a building for ever in the Saturday market free of charge, and that no market of any kind of merchandise be held within the town of Nottingham during the eight days of the Lenton fair, except within houses, and in doors and windows.³⁴

The priory was in an unhappy financial condition in 1313. In May of that year Edward II, at the request of the prior and convent, appointed John de Hotham to be keeper of that house and of all issues and profits and possessions, as the king had taken it into his protection on account of its poverty and indebtedness. After a reasonable allowance had been made for the prior and convent and their men, all issues were to be reserved for the discharge of debts, and for making good the defects of the priory. So long as the priory was in Hotham's custody, no sheriff, bailiff, or other minister of the king was to lodge there without his licence.³⁵ This appointment, which was 'during pleasure,' was renewed in the following year.³⁶

In 1319, much to his credit, Prior Geoffrey de Chintriacio had the courage to resist the papal order to induct the proctor of Bertrand, Cardinal of St. Marcellus, to the rectory of Ratcliffe on Soar. In January 1320 Pope John XXII issued his mandate to the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Hereford and Winchester to cite the prior to appear personally before him to answer for his disobedience, and at the same time to cite in like manner Walter de Almiarslond, who had 'thrust himself into the parish church of Radcliff of which papal provision had been made to Cardinal Bertrand.' Prior Geoffrey put in no appearance at Rome, and was excommunicated by the Cardinal of St. Susanna as papal commissioner. For about three years the prior remained contumacious, and then in November 1323 a fresh mandate was issued by Pope John to the Archbishop of York and two others not only to renew the citation of Prior Geoffrey to Rome, but also to publish and enforce the suspension of the papal letters of protection granted to the English Cluniacs, under which the Prior of Lenton had sheltered himself in the matter of Cardinal Bertrand, and to inhibit the Abbot of Westminster, as conservator of the order of Cluni in England, from taking any action in the matter. Early in 1327, immediately after the accession of

Edward III, Prior Geoffrey again disobeyed a papal mandate by refusing to put Cardinal Fouget in possession of the rectory of Ratcliffe on Soar. Being threatened by the pope with the destruction of his house of Lenton, the prior petitioned the king, and implored him by the love of God to write letters excusatory to Rome. To this petition the king acceded and wrote to Pope John XXII from Nottingham on 15 May 1327, and also at the same date to the Cardinal of St. Susanna, explaining the situation and justifying the prior.³⁷

At the close, however, of 1328, the pope secured the due submission of Prior Geoffrey and removed the excommunication.³⁸ In 1331 Prior Geoffrey resigned Lenton, which was reserved by Pope John to Guichard de Jou, monk of Cluni: the priory of Montacute being at the same time reserved for Geoffrey.³⁹

A grant was obtained from Edward in 1327, that on any voidance of the priory no escheator or other minister was to enter or intermeddle with its possessions; but that, at the request of the sub-prior and convent, the sheriff or the constable of Nottingham Castle should place a servant at the door for the protection of the goods of the priory, taking nothing therefrom save his entertainment. It was stated in the grant that this was but a confirmation of the original chartered privilege of William Peverel, the founder,⁴⁰ whom we know to have been appointed castellan of Nottingham in 1068.

Edward III, on his accession, restored to the priory of Lenton and sixty-four other alien priories their lands in England, seized by his father on account of the war in Aquitaine.⁴¹ But on the resumption of the war with France the Crown resumed its hold on the property of Lenton and of the other alien priories. The Patent Rolls of both Edward III and Richard II abound in entries of Crown presentations to the numerous benefices whose advowsons were nominally in the gift of the Prior and Convent of Lenton.

The year 1329 was of some celebrity in the annals of Lenton Priory on account of two lawsuits which were then brought to an issue. In the one case a dispute had arisen between the Prior of Lenton and the Abbot of Vale Royal, Cheshire, in consequence of the former selling the tithes of beasts pasturing in Edale, Derbyshire. The abbot entreated Queen Isabella, who was at that time lady of the Castle and Honour of the High Peak, to instruct her bailiff to see that the tithes both of deer and cattle in Edale were reserved for the benefit of the church of Castleton, of which the abbot was rector. An inquisition on oath was accordingly held, with

³⁷ *Parl. R.* ii, 393; Rymer, *Foedera*, iv, 289.

³⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 194, 234-5, 284.

³⁹ *Ibid.* i, 346.

⁴⁰ *Pat.* 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 12.

⁴¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, iv, 246.

³⁴ *Not. Bor. Rec.* i, 60-7.

³⁵ *Pat.* 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 11.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 15.

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the result that the ancient rights of the church of Castleton were confirmed.⁴²

The other case was the revival of an old dispute as to the advowson of the church of Harlestone, Northants, which had been granted to the priory by Peverel in the foundation charter, but had been claimed on several occasions by alleged Peverel representatives. At last in 1329 one Thomas de Staunton claimed the advowson, stating that his ancestor William de Staunton had been seised of it in the time of Henry III, and had successfully presented to it. Both parties agreed to submit the decision of the cause to single combat, and appointed their champions, William Fitz Thomas for the claimant, and William Fitz John for the Prior of Lenton. All the formalities necessary to a trial by combat were enacted, but at the last moment, when both champions had been sworn at the bar and were about to advance, Staunton was persuaded to relinquish all claim for himself and his heirs to the prior and his successors.⁴³

It was in this year, too, that the pleas *De Quo Warranto* were held in Nottingham at Martinmas. By the production of charters the Prior of Lenton was able to establish the claim of his house to the great Lenton fair, to full manorial rights (including gallows) at Lenton and at Cotgrave, to freedom from every kind of toll, to market privileges, and to avoidance of escheat during vacancy.⁴⁴

In 1331 the priory procured the appropriation of the church of Beeston,⁴⁵ and in the following year that of Wigston.⁴⁶

In consequence of the great burdens of the priory, the king granted his protection for two years in 1334, appointing three custodians to administer the temporalities.⁴⁷

In 1345 Astorgius de Gorciis, Prior of Lenton, in conjunction with the Cluniac priors of Lewes and Northampton and of other English houses, refused to pay his proper subsidy to Iterius, Abbot of Cluni; the abbot appealed to Rome, whereupon Clement VI issued his mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury to cite Astorgius and the other defaulting priors to appear before him.⁴⁸

On the petition of Prior Astorgius, to whom the king had committed the custody of the priory at farm for such time as the priory remained in his hands on account of the war with France, Edward III in 1347 granted licence for him to lease the manor of Dunston for ten years, and to sell all portions of the tithes of sheaves and hay pertaining to the priory in the High Peak for a like period. The plea for this ex-

ception was the debt and other misfortunes that were overwhelming the house. On a further petition in the same year they obtained the royal sanction to lease their High Peak lead tithes for sixteen years to William de Amyas.⁴⁹

Prior Peter in 1350 obtained the assistance of the civil power to try to secure the arrest of John de Tideswell, John de Rempstone, and Richard de Cortenhale, apostate monks of Lenton, who were wandering about the country in secular dress.⁵⁰

An interesting case occurred among the pleas of the borough court of Nottingham in 1355, relative to the repair of a costly pyx belonging to the priory. Prior Peter appeared, by his attorney, against Walter the Goldsmith, complaining that though Walter had covenanted to repair a vessel of crystal to carry the body of our Lord Jesus Christ with pure silver and gold, he had broken the agreement in three particulars: (1) in not making it of pure silver; (2) in not well or suitably gilding it; and (3) in soldering the vessel with tin instead of silver. The prior claimed 100s. for this serious damage. Walter replied that the vessel had been well and suitably repaired, and would verify this by a good inquest; an inquest was accordingly ordered against the next court. The prior further appeared against Walter on a plea of debt; alleging that he was unjustly withholding from him a noble and a half of gold; the prior had delivered two gold nobles to Walter wherewith to gild the vessel, but only a half noble had been used. On this claim Walter also demanded and obtained an inquest. As a set off, Walter in his turn appeared against the prior on a plea of debt, alleging that he was unjustly withholding 36s. in silver, which was the covenanted price for the work, although repeatedly asked for the same.⁵¹ Unfortunately the issue of this case is not extant.

In February 1361-2 Edward III restored to the Prior of Lenton all the lands, tenements, advowsons, &c., that had been in the hands of the Crown by reason of the war with France.⁵² This was in consequence of the peace of Bretigny; but on the recurrence of war a few years later Lenton and the other alien priories were again in a like plight.

The custody of three messuages and 164 acres of land of the cell of Kersall, Lancashire, was committed to Lenton Priory.⁵³

Grant for life, during the war with France, was made by Richard II in 1387 to William Kylmyngton, one of the king's servants, of the office of porter of Lenton Priory, with power to execute the office by deputy.⁵⁴

⁴² Harl. MS. 2064, fol. 251.

⁴³ Godfrey, *Hist. of Lenton*, 81.

⁴⁴ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 643.

⁴⁵ Thoroton, *Notts.* 211.

⁴⁶ Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 25.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2.

⁴⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 19.

⁴⁹ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 17, 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14 d.

⁵¹ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 161.

⁵² Rymer, *Foedera*, vi, 311.

⁵³ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii, 314.

⁵⁴ Pat. 10 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 11.

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In May 1389 Richard II requested the Archbishop of York to inquire into certain dissensions that had arisen between Geoffrey, Prior of Lenton (who rendered a certain yearly farm to the king for that alien priory), and certain of his monks who had rebelled against him, to examine the condition of the priory and inform himself as to its rule and the rebellion, correcting defects and removing monks refusing obedience to other houses of the same rule. A further commission to laymen about the same time shows that the disturbance was a serious one, involving the breaking open houses and chests of the priory, taking two horses valued at £10 as well as other goods and moneys, and so threatening the prior and his servants that neither could he attend to divine service nor they to the cultivation of the land. Some of the monks seem to have taken the side of the mob.⁵⁵

It was under Prior Geoffrey that this much-tried alien priory became nationalized or reputed denizen, and no longer liable to be seized into the king's hands. Richard II sealed this grant, with the assent of the council, on 7 October 1392, a sum of 500 marks having been paid to the Crown.⁵⁶

In 1395 a commission was issued to the Sheriff of the counties of Nottingham and Derby, to the Mayor of Nottingham and others, to arrest and bring before the king and council one William de Repyngdon, a monk who had been to the Roman court without licence and there acquired divers bulls for obtaining certain offices in the priory of Lenton, without the assent either of the king or of the prior and convent of that place.⁵⁷

The general control that the priory exercised over the ecclesiastical affairs of Nottingham was again illustrated in the year 1400, when the foundation instrument of Plumtree's Hospital at Nottingham Bridge provided that the presentation of the two chantry chaplains was to be in the hands of the Prior and Convent of Lenton.⁵⁸

Boniface IX, in 1402, permitted the Prior and Convent of Lenton to let to farm to clerks or laymen all fruits, tithes, and oblations of their churches, chapels, portions, pensions, and other possessions, without requiring licence of the ordinaries.⁵⁹

A visitation report sent to Cluni in 1405 gives the proper complement of the brethren as thirty-two, although some maintained that there was no fixed number. Six daily masses were celebrated, of which three were conventual with music and three low masses; of the latter one was of the Trinity and the two others for the dead. The visitors found that monastic obliga-

tions were all duly and strictly observed. William Peverel is named as the founder, and it is added that he and his successors, as patrons, were bound to transmit yearly to the church of Cluni a mark of silver, a provision confirmed by the king's letters patent.

The same visitation records that the cell of Roche, subordinate to Lenton Priory, consisted of a prior and one monk.⁶⁰

On 11 June 1414 the temporalities of this priory were made over by the Crown to a prior of considerable celebrity in the world of letters. Thomas Elmham was a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, but joined the Cluniac order in the year of his appointment as Prior of Lenton. In 1416 he was appointed vicar-general to Raymond, Abbot of Cluni, for England and Scotland. Ten years later (1426) he was made commissary-general for all vacant benefices belonging to the Cluniac order in England, Scotland, and Ireland. In the same year he resigned his priorship of Lenton and was succeeded by John Elmham, who was probably his younger brother. Elmham was an historical author of no small repute. His history of the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, was published in the 'Chronicles and Memorials' series as early as 1858. He was also the author of a prose life of Henry V.⁶¹

The 15th-century records of the borough court of Nottingham contain various incidental references to the priory. Thus in 1436 Prior Elmham and John Dyghton his fellow monk complained, through their attorney, of Robert Selby, carpenter, in a plea of debt of 2s. 8d.; it was alleged that Selby on Sunday 8 May 1435 bought of Dyghton a cowl of black worsted, promising to pay for it at the feast of St. John Baptist, which promise he had failed to keep. Another action by the same prior was also against Selby, for a table and trestles which he refused to deliver; and a third was for a debt of tithes of hay.⁶²

In 1464 William Lord Hastings, then Lord Chamberlain, was a guest at Lenton Priory; the corporation made him a present on Easter Day of 'iij galons of rede wyne.'⁶³

In the year 1504 the royal free chapel of Tickhill, which had for some time belonged to this priory, was transferred to the abbey of Westminster.⁶⁴

A corrody was granted by Henry VIII within this monastery in 1510, under privy seal, to Robert Penne, gentleman of the Chapel Royal.⁶⁵

The foundation deed of the Nottingham Free School, dated 22 November 1513, shows great

⁵⁵ Pat. 12 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 9, 16 d.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 16 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 19.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 19 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 21 d.

⁵⁸ Thoroton, *Notts.* 494.

⁵⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 545.

⁶⁰ Duckett, *Visit. of Engl. Cluniac Houses*, 38, 43.

⁶¹ Godfrey, in his *Hist. of Lenton* (182-9), gives a good summary of the life and writings of Elmham.

⁶² *Nott. Bor. Rec.* ii, 153-5.

⁶³ Ibid. 378.

⁶⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 109.

⁶⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1081.

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trust in and affection for Lenton Priory. The foundress provided that if the mayor and corporation were in any way remiss in their trust, the Prior and Convent of Lenton were to have the rule, guidance, and oversight of the lands and the school.⁶⁶

When there was a vacancy in the headship of this house in 1534, Sir Anthony Babington wrote to Cromwell begging that the new prior, in succession to John Annesley, deceased, might be chosen from one of the monks of the house, as it was then likely to prosper better than under a stranger; 'for which reason my lord Cardinal in his time made Thomas Holrose prior and Simmes (?) that is late prior.'⁶⁷

Nicholas Hethe or Heath, the last prior, was appointed by patent on 27 December 1535.⁶⁸ Soon after his appointment the new prior wrote to Cromwell one of those numerous letters which show so plainly the extortions of which that minister was guilty. Heath states that it was of Cromwell's favour that he obtained this promotion, but he had not found it in so clear a state as had been anticipated. He had granted to 'Mr. Richard' (Cromwell's nephew) for Cromwell's use £100, but begged he would take £60 and remit the rest till Martinmas. He was bound to keep up hospitality, and if he did not get this remission would have to resort to some London merchant, which would be to his great hindrance. He had accomplished Cromwell's pleasure touching the cell of Kersall in Lancashire. He further begged that the new rule discharging all religious under twenty-five might be relaxed in favour of two of their young monks, for all his brethren, except four or five, were very impotent and of great age, and requested his favour that they might continue in their religion.⁶⁹

The quasi-legal means adopted to dissolve this monastery differed from all others save the similar case of the Cistercian abbey of Woburn, in Bedfordshire. Lenton had been much perturbed by Cromwell's visitors. Here, as elsewhere, certain religious were incited or tempted to bring railing accusations against their superiors. Hamlet Pentrich, one of the monks, brought a charge against his prior before the Privy Council, being released for the purpose from the Fleet, where he was prisoner. Pentrich was, however, a twice-forgiven 'apostate,' and for a third time he forsook his monastery, carrying away with him goods belonging to the priory.⁷⁰

It is clear that Pentrich and one or two more were ready enough to repeat or invent monastery gossip against the king and Cromwell, in order to save themselves from the results of their own disorderly conduct. A long statement that reached the Privy Council in the spring of 1537 as to talk over the fire (in the *Misericorde*) at Christmastide contains it would seem much truth, and in the light of resulting consequences is somewhat pathetic reading. Said Dan Haughton, 'It is a marvellous world, for the King will hang a man for a word speaking nowadays.' 'Yea,' said Dan Ralph, 'but the King of Heaven will not do so, and he is the King of all Kings; but he that hangs a man in this world for a word speaking, he shall be hanged in another world himself.' Then, said the sub-prior, 'I was afraid for my life, for I had heard many of the monks speak ill of the King and Queen, and lord Privy Seal, whom they love worst of any man in the world.'⁷¹

The documents effecting the dissolution of Lenton Priory, though fairly numerous, are fragmentary, and it seems impossible now to discover with precision under what nominal plea the prior and many of his monks were accused of high treason; but there can be little doubt that it was accomplished under the provisions of what was known as the Verbal Treasons Act of December 1534.⁷² Prior Heath was seized and thrown into prison in February 1538, and it is clear from Cromwell's private 'remembrances' or notes that his doom was fixed and he was to be executed.⁷³ In March the prior with eight of his monks and four labourers of Lenton were indicted for treason. The names of the monks were:—Ralph Swenson, Richard Bower, Richard Atkinson, Christopher Browne, John Trewruan, John Adelenton, William Berry, and William Gylham.⁷⁴ The prior and Ralph Swenson, according to a letter from the special commissioners to Cromwell dated 11 April, were the first to be executed.⁷⁵ One other monk, William Gylham, as well as the four labourers, was also sentenced, according to the Controlment Roll, to the shocking punishment then dealt out for treason, of being hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all its unspeakable barbarities. The executions were at Nottingham or its immediate vicinity, and, judging from analogy, directly in front of the priory, where some of

⁶⁶ Deering, *Nottingham*, 147.

⁶⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1626; 'Simmes' is probably an *alias* for Annesley.

⁶⁸ Pat. 27 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 9.

⁶⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 1234.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 655. The letter of the prior about this case is dated 12 April, but no year. It is wrongly placed in the calendar, as it is evidently of the year 1537, and not 1536.

⁷¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, 892; see also 912, 1327.

⁷² Under this Act it was high treason to deprive the king or queen by words or writing of their dignity, title, or name, or to pronounce the king a tyrant.

⁷³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, 877.

⁷⁴ Control R. 30 Hen. VIII, m. 39. Cited by Gasquet in *Hen. VIII and Engl. Mon.* ii, 190, where various other particulars are set forth.

⁷⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 786.

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the quarters of the victims would be displayed. There are two references to these executions in the chamberlain's accounts of Nottingham for 1537-8. The town gave my Lord's judges two gallons of wine, costing 16*d.*, 'when the Monks of Lenton suffered death.' Another charge in these accounts is 2*d.* paid for clearing Cow Lane 'when the monks of Lenton suffered death.' Judging from this last entry it is possible that the victims were done to death in the market-place, for Cow Lane was one of the principal approaches; the name was altered to Church Street in 1812.⁷⁶

As the priory was dissolved by attainder, not a single monk or servant of the house obtained a pension. Even the five poor men maintained there in accordance with the charter of the time of Henry I were apparently thrust out penniless.

The site of the priory has changed hands with extraordinary frequency ever since the dissolution of the house.

PRIORS OF LENTON

Humphrey, temp. Henry I⁷⁷

Philip⁷⁸

Alexander, occurs c. 1189⁷⁹

Peter, occurs 1200-1214⁸⁰

Damascenus⁸¹

Roger, 1230⁸²

Roger de Normanton,⁸³ occurs 1241⁸⁴

Hugh Bluet, occurs 1251⁸⁵

Roger Norman, 1259⁸⁶

Matthew, 1269⁸⁷

Peter de Siriniaco, occurs 1281, 1285, 1287⁸⁸

Reginald de Jora, occurs 1289, 1290⁸⁹

William, occurs 1291, 1292, 1294, 1299, 1305, 1306⁹⁰

Stephen de Moerges, 1309⁹¹

⁷⁶ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* iii, 376-7.

⁷⁷ Nichols, *Leics.* ii, 419.

⁷⁸ Baker, *Northants.* i, 142.

⁷⁹ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 2.

⁸⁰ Cart. 14 John 32; Thoroton, *Notts.* 244, 355, 373.

⁸¹ Named as predecessor of Roger de Normanton; Nichols, *Leics.* ii, 110, citing register of Croxton Abbey.

⁸² Pat. 15 Hen. III, m. 6 d.

⁸³ Probably the same as Roger.

⁸⁴ Nicholls, *Leics.* ii, 110.

⁸⁵ Harl. Chart, 84 F. 35.

⁸⁶ Pat. 44 Hen. III, m. 3. Formerly Prior of Montacute.

⁸⁷ Pat. 54 Hen. III. Formerly almoner of Lewes.

⁸⁸ Pat. 10 Edw. I, m. 21; 13, m. 4; 14, m. 6.

⁸⁹ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), i, 659.

⁹⁰ Pat. 19 Edw. I, m. 7; 20, m. 18; 22, m. 22; 27, m. 12; 33, pt. i, m. 6; 34, m. 29.

⁹¹ Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 25.

Reginald de Crespy, 1313⁹²

Geoffrey, 1316⁹³

William de Pinnebury, occurs 1324⁹⁴

Guy de Arlato, occurs 1333⁹⁵

Astorgius de Gorciis, occurs 1336-7⁹⁶

Peter de Abbeville, occurs 1355⁹⁷

Geoffrey de Rochero, occurs 1389⁹⁸

Richard Stafford, died 1414⁹⁹

Thomas Elmham, 1414¹⁰⁰

John Elmham 1426¹⁰¹

John Mydylburgh, 1450¹⁰²

Thomas Wollore, 1458¹⁰³

Richard Dene, 1481¹⁰⁴

John Ilkeston, occurs 1500, 1505¹⁰⁵

Thomas Gwyllam, occurs 1512, 1516¹⁰⁶

Thomas Nottingham *alias* Hobson, 1525

John Annesley, 1531

Nicholas Heath, 1535¹⁰⁷

SEALS

There is a fine but imperfect impression of the common seal of the priory attached to a charter c. 1212. It is a pointed oval, about 3 in. by 2 in. when perfect. The obverse has Our Lord enthroned on a rainbow, right hand raised in benediction, book in left hand. Legend:—

.. GILLUM : CONVENTUS SAN . . . NTO . . .

On the reverse is the smaller pointed counter-seal of Prior Peter, showing the prior in half length, holding a book, in base a plinth with arcade of round-headed arches. Legend:—

+ SIGNUM PETRI P . . . RIS DE LENTONA¹⁰⁸

There is a sulphur cast at the British Museum of very imperfect impression of a second seal of the 15th century, which has the Trinity in a carved niche. The only lettering remaining is . . . MONASTERII : s . . .¹⁰⁹

⁹² Pat. 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 15.

⁹³ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 30.

⁹⁴ Plac. 17 Edw. II, cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 109.

⁹⁵ Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 20; pt. ii, m. 19.

⁹⁶ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37; 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 17.

⁹⁷ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 160.

⁹⁸ Pat. 12 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 9.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 9.

¹⁰⁰ Pat. 2 Hen. V, pt. i, m. 19.

¹⁰¹ Pat. 5 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 12.

¹⁰² Pat. 29 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 19.

¹⁰³ Pat. 37 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 9.

¹⁰⁴ Pat. 21 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 407; iii, 76, 120, 182.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* iii, 120, 134, 345, 422.

¹⁰⁷ Pat. 27 Hen. VII, pt. ii, m. 9.

¹⁰⁸ Harl. Chart. 44 F. 19.

¹⁰⁹ Seal Casts, lxx, 46.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

4. THE ABBEY OF RUFFORD

Rufford Abbey was founded towards the end of the reign of Stephen by Gilbert de Gaunt, Earl of Lincoln.¹ It was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and colonized from Rievaulx Abbey with Cistercian monks. By the foundation charter, the house was at first endowed with all the founder's lands and appurtenances at Rufford, with thirty acres on the banks of the Trent, and also with lands at 'Cratel,' Barton, and Willoughby. A short subsequent charter of Robert de Gaunt, brother of the founder, testifies to the justices, sheriff, and other officials of the king that his brother had given to the abbey the whole of his lordship of Eakring.²

Harleian MS. 1063 is a full transcript of the chartulary or register compiled by John, Abbot of Rufford, in the year 1471, from the various charters and muniments of the monastery; it covers 188 paper folios and is clearly written.

It begins with charters of confirmation of Stephen,³ Henry II, and later kings.

An inspeximus confirmation charter granted to the abbey in 1462 by Edward IV supplies a comprehensive survey of the more important Rufford charters. They were as follows:—(1) two charters of Stephen; (2) a charter of Henry II confirming the original grants of Earl Gilbert; (3) a charter of the same king exonerating them from toll, passage, and pontage; (4) a charter of Richard I, exonerating them from toll; (5) letters patent of John, licensing them to erect a dyke between their wood of Beskhal and the town of Wellow (Welhagh), and to build keepers' lodges; (6) two confirmatory charters of Henry III; (7) two charters of Edward I confirming grants of Rotherham; (8) a demise of 1278 by Abbot Bono and the convent of Clairvaux to Rufford of a moiety of the church of Rotherham, of the gift of John de Lexinton at a rent of £20; (9) the record of a forest inquisition, 15 Edward I, whereby it was found that the men of Clipston and Edwinstowe ought to take nothing in the woods of the abbot and convent within Sherwood Forest; (10) grants by Robert de Waddesley and Edmund de Dacre to Elias, then abbot; (11) a charter of free warren grants, 13 Edward I; (12) two letters patent of Edward I granting special wood rights; and (13) letters patent 28 Edward III as to the acquisitions in mortmain.⁴

¹ The Chronicle of Louth Park gives 1146 as the exact year, but the Chester Chronicle 1148. See Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 517-18.

² These charters are cited in full in Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 518.

³ Three confirmation charters of Stephen are cited in Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 336.

⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. v, m. 20.

There are a large number of original grants, charters, bulls, and agreements pertaining to this abbey among both the Harleian and Cotton charters of the British Museum. Most of these are either of minor importance or are also referred to in the patent rolls or chartulary. Among the bulls, however, is one of the English Pope Adrian IV, of the year 1156, confirming all the donations and privileges of Rufford;⁵ and another of his successor Alexander III, dated 1161, whereby it was declared that no tithes were to be paid on lands brought into cultivation by the monks of Rufford with their own hands or at their own expense.⁶

In the year 1159 an agreement was entered into between the Abbot of Rufford and Thomas Paul, Canon of York, in the presence of Roger, Archbishop of York, and Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, that the church of Rufford as a mother church should pay no more tithes after the death of the said Thomas. The abbot paid Canon Thomas ten marks for the tithes of the past ten years, and covenanted to pay a mark of silver yearly during his life.⁷

A grant was made by Henry III in 1233 to the Abbot and monks of Rufford, confirmatory of the gift of Ralph son of Nicholas of all his land in 'Werkenefeld,'⁸ accompanied by licence to inclose the said land with a dyke and hedge, so that beasts of the chase might have free entry and exit, and to cultivate the said land, build on it, or dispose of it as they will.⁹

In the same year the king licensed the abbot and monks to enlarge the courts of their house by taking in an acre of the king's wood, without any interference from the forest ministers.¹⁰

In 1251 Henry III granted a charter confirming the abbey in numerous additional benefactions, particularly of lands at Morton near Bothamsall, Eakring, Hockerton, Kirton, Willoughby, Walesby, Besthorpe, Maplebeck, and Kelham, Nottinghamshire, and Abney and Brackenfield (Brittenithe), Derbyshire. By the same charter there were also confirmed to the monks the rights in Sherwood Forest granted them by Henry II, and approved by Geoffrey de Langley, forest justice, namely licence to take green or growing wood throughout the forest so far as it was necessary for their own use, and estovers for all their granges both within and without the forest, and to have their own forester to guard their own

⁵ Harl. Chart. 111 A. 2.

⁶ Ibid. 111 A. 3.

⁷ Harl. MS. 1063, 6-7.

⁸ The site of this place is unknown, but it lay somewhere near Bilsthorpe.

⁹ Chart. R. 17 Hen. III, m. 10.

¹⁰ Close R. 17 Hen. III, m. 11.

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wood, who was to render fealty to the king's foresters and verderers.¹¹

The Abbot of Rufford in 1275 maintained his right to all manner of chartered privileges for his house and its tenants on their Nottinghamshire lands, including freedom from every form of secular exactions on all that they bought or sold and on all that was conveyed to them, whencesoever it came, whether by land or water. The right of free warren in all their lordships was also upheld.¹²

Four years later the abbot was equally successful in maintaining his full manorial rights at Rotherham, including assize of bread and ale, tumbrel, pillory, standard measure and gallows, as well as free warren at Rotherham and Carlecotes.¹³

Reference has already been made to Archbishop Wickwane's action in ordering the release in 1280 of two *conversi* of this house from the civil prison of Nottingham and their transference to canonical confinement.¹⁴

Early in the reign of Edward I John de Vescy granted to Thomas de Stayngreve, Abbot of Rufford, and to his monks eight bovates of land at Rotherham, together with the manor of the same, the advowson of the mediety of the church, the fair, market, mills, ovens, courts, and other appurtenances.¹⁵

In August 1288 Henry, Abbot of Rufford, obtained a licence to cross the seas to attend the general chapter of his order, and to be absent until a fortnight after Easter.¹⁶ Edward I spent September 1290 in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Northamptonshire; on the 18th he was at Rufford Abbey, where he sealed a variety of documents.¹⁷

Licence was granted to the abbot in 1291, after an inquisition *ad quod damnum* by John de Vescy, justice of the forest, to fell and sell the wood growing on 40 acres of his wood within Sherwood Forest.¹⁸

In 1292 the Abbot of Rufford again obtained royal licence to leave the kingdom, from May until All Saints tide, to attend a general Cistercian chapter.¹⁹ In 1300 the abbot was allowed

to cross the seas from July until Christmas for a like cause.²⁰

The Taxation Roll of 1291 gives the annual income of the temporalities from the three counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, and Derby as £118 4s.; by far the largest part of this (£110 5s.) came from the county in which the abbey was situated.²¹ The valuable church of Rotherham is entered in the text of the MS. as subdivided without any mention of Rufford, but a variant reading states that it was appropriated to the Abbot of Rufford *in totum*.²²

References to the woods by which the abbey was surrounded occur with some frequency in the rolls. Thus in 1300 the abbot and convent obtained licence to sell the cablish or windfalls in their woods, although they were within the metes of the forest of Sherwood.²³ In 1323 the abbot was licensed by Edward II to grant to Henry le Scrop twelve oaks fit for timber in his wood within the king's forest of Sherwood, and for the same Henry to fell them and carry them away.²⁴ Again, in 1328 Edward III licensed the abbot to give twelve oaks from his wood to John de Roos, who might fell them and take them to his manor of Eakring.²⁵ In 1334 the king licensed the same John de Roos to fell and take away whither he will twelve living oaks and twelve old oaks not bearing leaves given him by the Abbot and convent of Rufford. An indemnity was given so that they might not hereafter be charged by the ministers of the forest in respect of the same.²⁶ John de Horton, who had served the late king well and faithfully, was sent by Edward II in 1307 to Rufford Abbey, there to receive sustenance.²⁷ William le Lound, king's clerk, was licensed in the same year to fell three oaks in the woods of the Abbot of Rufford, and two in the woods of the Prior of Newstead, respectively given him by the two houses, and to take them wherever he will.²⁸

It would be tedious to continue enumerating many like entries during the 14th century, but perhaps an exception may be made in mentioning that in 1336 the abbot was licensed to grant to Henry de Edwinstowe, king's clerk, trees out of his woods within the forest of Sherwood, sufficient to make a hundred quarters of charcoal.²⁹

The references to the forest woods are fairly frequent in the chartulary. The Abbot and monks of Rufford claimed to cut and take green wood in their wood within the regard of Sher-

¹¹ Chart. R. 36 Hen. III, m. 22.

¹² *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 632-3.

¹³ *Ibid.* 206-7.

¹⁴ York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 178 d.

¹⁵ As set forth in a confirmation and inspection charter of 1283; Chart. R. 11 Edw. I, m. 6.

¹⁶ Pat. 16 Edw. I, m. 10. The rule obliging all abbots to attend each annual chapter was relaxed in favour of England owing to distance. A deputation attended yearly from England. On this occasion the Abbot of Rufford was accompanied by the abbots of Pipewell, Calder, Kirkstead, Vaudey, and Combermere.

¹⁷ Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 10, 8, 7 d.; Close, 18 Edw. I, m. 3.

¹⁸ Pat. 19 Edw. I, m. 15.

¹⁹ Pat. 21 Edw. I, m. 12.

²⁰ Pat. 28 Edw. I, m. 11.

²¹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 72, 262, 312.

²² *Ibid.* 299b, 300.

²³ Pat. 28 Edw. I, m. 15.

²⁴ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 1.

²⁵ Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 20.

²⁶ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16.

²⁷ Close, 1 Edw. II, m. 15 d.

²⁸ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23.

²⁹ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23.

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wood Forest for whatever was necessary for their own use and for the use of all their granges both within and without the forest, in return for warding the wood.³⁰

In 1359 the abbot was charged with having completely laid waste the wood of Beskhal, cutting down and selling the oaks over 20 acres and 3 roods of land. It was pleaded that the charters of Kings Edward I and Edward II sanctioned this action, and the abbot obtained licence to fell and sell to the extent of 40 acres. The total receipts from the wood sale of 40 acres amounted to just over £400, and the expenses to £31.³¹

An apparent outrage was participated in by two of the monks of this house in 1317, as to which we have only the statement of complaint. On 10 December 1317 a commission was appointed to inquire into the charge made against Andrew le Botiller, Richard de Balderton, John de Rodes, Thomas de Rodes, together with Brother William Sausemer and Brother Thomas de Nonyngton, monks of the house of Rufford, of gathering to them a multitude of men and seizing Thomas de Holme, as he was passing between the abbey of Rufford and the grange of Roewood (Rohagh), robbing him of his goods, and taking him to some unknown place and there detaining him until he should satisfy them with a ransom of £200.³²

Edward III in 1328 confirmed a grant of Henry, former Abbot of Rufford, whereby Henry de Shirley for life, at a rose rent, obtained their grange of Brackenfield (Brithrichfeld), Derbyshire, with the houses there, and the moiety of the town of Brackenfield belonging to the grange and certain common of pasture.³³

In 1331 a curious case from this abbey was reserved to the pope. John XXII issued his mandate to the Abbot of Rufford to grant a dispensation to Thomas de Nonington, one of his monks, touching the irregularity he had contracted by having pointed out to a bailiff a thief, who was taken and executed. The monk had been appointed guardian of a manor and a town belonging to the monastery; one day, two years before, being hailed 'master,' on entering the town, a bailiff said that a thief, whom he was following, had escaped him, and on the thief's clothes being described the monk identified him.³⁴

Licence was granted in mortmain in 1349, at the request of the king's yeoman John Braye, for the abbey of Rufford to charge their lands in the county of Nottingham with 12 marks yearly for two chaplains, to wit 6 marks for one in the parish church of Upton by Southwell, and 6 marks to another in the parish church of

Newark, to celebrate divine service daily, as they shall be ordained.³⁵

In 1331 licence was obtained at the request of Henry de Edwinstowe, king's clerk, for the abbot and convent to appropriate a moiety of the church of Rotherham which was of their advowson.³⁶

Notification was made on the Patent Rolls on 5 June 1343, at the request of the Abbot of Rufford, that by a certificate of the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer it is shown that the farm of the mediety of the church of Rotherham, of which he was bound to pay yearly to the alien Abbot of Clairvaux £20, was taken into the king's hands on 16 July 11 Edward III on account of the war with France, and that the abbot has since paid the farm at the Exchequer.³⁷ In November of the same year there is an entry to the effect that although the king had lately presented Richard de Wombewell, king's clerk, to a mediety of the church of Rotherham, believing the same to be void and in his gift, yet because it has been found by inquisition that the Abbot of Rufford long before the statute of mortmain acquired from the Abbot of Clairvaux a mediety of the church at a rent of £20, and that the Abbot of Clairvaux previously held it appropriated, the advowson of the same does not belong to the king, and he has seen fit to revoke the presentation.³⁸

Henry Beaumont, king's esquire, obtained a royal grant in August 1438, for the joint duration of his life and of the war with France, of the annuity of £20 which the Abbot and Convent of Rufford paid to the house of Clairvaux in Burgundy; previously granted to Richard Crecy, deceased, and then at the king's disposal.³⁹ In the following October Beaumont obtained a renewed grant of this annuity, as the previous one was invalid on account of errors; this sum of £20 a year was a payment made by the Abbot of Rufford to the king for the keeping of a mediety of the church of Rotherham belonging to the alien Abbot of Clairvaux.⁴⁰ In 1440 peace was made between England and France, but the grant of this annuity was renewed jointly to Beaumont and to two clerks his nominees, buildings and divine service to be maintained by the grantor; in this third grant it is asserted that the grant of 1438 was incorrect, as it did not belong to the Abbot of Clairvaux.⁴¹

A grant for life of £10 a year was made by the Abbot and Convent of Rufford in 1461 to one William Spencer, out of the church of

³⁰ Harl. MS. 1063, fol. 4.

³¹ Ibid. fol. 5, 6.

³² Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 13 d; pt. ii, m. 26 d.

³³ Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30.

³⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 369.

³⁵ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 12.

³⁶ Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 16.

³⁷ Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 35.

³⁸ Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 15.

³⁹ Pat. 16 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 15.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 17 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 25.

⁴¹ Ibid. 18 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 8.

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Rotherham.⁴³ A second reference to this pension shows that it was in reality a grant by the Crown out of the £20 paid by the abbey.⁴³

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 gives the gross income of the abbey as £254 6s. 8d. and the clear annual value as £176 11s. 6d. The temporalities were spread over a large area, viz. at Ompton, Babworth, Besthorpe, Bothamsall, Boughton, Coddington, Eakring, East Retford, Holme, Kelham, Kersall, Kirklington, Kirton, Littleborough, Maplebeck, Nottingham, Rufford, Southwell, Staythorpe, Walesby, Warsop, Welham, Willoughby, and Winkburn, Notts.; Abney, Brampton, Brackenfield, Chesterfield, Palterton, and Shirebrook, Derbyshire; Alkborough and Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire; and Rotherham (£76 13s. 11d. clear) and Penistone, Yorkshire. The only spirituality was the rectory of Rotherham, of the annual value of £67 13s. 4d.; but from this there were very large deductions, the heaviest of which was a pension of £36 13s. 4d. to the dean and canons of Windsor, bringing it down to the net income of £23 6s. 8d.

The monks had at this time granges at Kirkton, at Parkleys in Kelham parish, at Babworth, at Foxholes, at Roewood in Winkburn parish, at Maplebeck, and at Abney in Derbyshire.⁴⁴

The abbey was visited in 1536 by those notorious royal commissioners, Legh and Layton, who reported that there were six monks guilty of disgraceful offences, and the abbot had been incontinent with two married and four single women. They further stated that six of the monks desired exemption from their vows. Under the head of *Superstitio* it is recorded that the abbey claimed to possess some of the Virgin's milk. The annual value was declared to be £100 and the debts £20.⁴⁵

Abbot Doncaster obtained a pension on the dissolution of the house among the lesser monasteries, of £25 a year; but it was voided on his speedy appointment to the rectory of Rotherham on 2 July 1536.⁴⁶ It is therefore absolutely impossible to believe that any attention was given to the slander of Legh and Layton.

George, Earl of Shrewsbury, in October 1537 obtained a grant in fee of the site, &c. of the late abbey, with all the lordships, manors, messuages, &c. in the counties of Nottingham, York, and Derby, whereof Thomas Doncaster, the late abbot, was seised in right of his monastery.⁴⁷

There is a sulphur cast of a fine impression in

⁴³ Pat. 2 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 1.

⁴⁴ Pat. 4 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 16. The second half of this £20 was soon afterwards granted to another of the king's courtiers.

⁴⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 171-3.

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

⁴⁷ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxxii, 19b.

⁴⁸ Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 10.

the British Museum of a 13th-century seal of an Abbot of Rufford. The abbot stands on a platform, with pastoral staff in the right hand and book in the left. Legend:—

+ SIGILLUM : ABBATIS : RUFFORDIE ⁴⁸

Another abbot's seal, c. 1260-70, bears an eagle rising:—

+ AVE MARIA GRACI ⁴⁹

A third abbot's seal, of the year 1349, bears the Virgin and Child, with an abbot kneeling, holding up a flowering branch:—

+ MATER DEI MISERERE MEI ⁵⁰

A counterseal of the year 1323, bearing a dexter hand and vested arm holding a pastoral staff; in the field, on the left a crescent, on the right a star.

SIGILL' RUDFOIRD . . . ⁵¹

ABBOTS OF RUFFORD

Philip de Kyme, temp. Stephen ⁵²

Edward, occurs 1203 ⁵³

Geoffrey, occurs temp. John, 1218, &c. ⁵⁴

Thomas ⁵⁵

Simon, occurs 1232 ⁵⁶

G——, occurs 1239 ⁵⁷

Geoffrey, occurs 1252 ⁵⁸

William, occurs 1259 ⁵⁹

Henry, 1278 ^{60a}

Thomas de Stayngreve, occurs 1283 ⁶⁰

Henry, occurs 1288 ⁶¹

Henry de Tring, occurs 1315 ⁶²

Elias, occurs 1332 ⁶³

Robert de Mapelbek, 1352 ⁶⁴

Thomas, 1366 ⁶⁵

John de Harlesay, 1372 ⁶⁶

⁴⁸ B.M. Seal Casts, lxx, 55.

⁴⁹ Harl. Chart. 83, C. 46.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 48.

⁵¹ Ibid. 47.

⁵² Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 126. Witness to a Pontefract charter; probably first abbot.

⁵³ Harl. MS. 1063, fol. 28.

⁵⁴ Ibid. fol. 19, 20, 23b.

⁵⁵ Ibid. fol. 71.

⁵⁶ Ibid. fol. 26.

⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 86b.

⁵⁸ Ibid. fol. 72.

⁵⁹ Harl. Chart. 112, F. 38.

^{60a} At the general chapter in 1278 the Abbots of Cogshall and Jervaulx, who had been appointed to inquire into the recent election of an abbot at Rufford, reported that Henry, a monk of that house, had been duly elected, but had been unduly rejected. The chapter ordered that Henry should be accepted as abbot. Martene, *Thesaurus*, iv, 1458.

⁶¹ Chart. R. 11 Edw. I, m. 6.

⁶² Pat. 16 Edw. I, m. 10.

⁶³ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 11.

⁶⁴ Harl. Chart. 112, F. 42.

⁶⁵ Harl. MS. 6971, fol. 161.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 6972, fol. 20

⁶⁷ Ibid.

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John de Farnsfield, 1394⁶⁷
Thomas Sewally, occurs 1400⁶⁸
Robert de Welles, 1421⁶⁹
Robert Warthill, died 1456⁷⁰
William Cresswell, 1456⁷¹

John Pomfrat, died 1462⁷²
John Lilly, 1462⁷³
John Greyne, 1465⁷⁴
Roland Bliton, 1516⁷⁵
Thomas Doncaster, last abbot⁷⁶

HOUSE OF CARTHUSIAN MONKS

5. THE PRIORY OF BEAUVALE

There is a fine register or chartulary of the Carthusian Priory of Beauvale compiled by Nicholas Wartre, who was prior of this house in 1486, which is in excellent preservation.¹ The foundation charter herein set forth shows that Nicholas de Cauntlow, lord of Ilkeston, Derbyshire, obtained licence of Edward III in 1343 to found a monastery of the Carthusian order in his park of Greasley for a prior and twelve monks, endowing it with 10 librates of land and annual rents thereto pertaining in the townships of Greasley and Selston, together with the park of Greasley and the advowson of the churches of Greasley and Selston. The charter recites that the founder did this for the glory of God and of the Virgin and of All Saints, for the furtherance of divine worship, and for the good estate of the king, of Archbishop Zouch, his most dear lord and cousin, of the Earl of Derby, of himself and his wife Joan, and William his son and heir, and of their souls when they should die, and also for all his progenitors and heirs. He gave the monastery that he had built (called Pulchra Vallis or Beauvale) in his park to God and the Holy Trinity, and to the prior and monks of the Carthusian order and their successors, together with 300 acres of land, 10 messuages, and 12 bovates in Greasley, and 13 messuages and 17½ bovates in Selston, with the villeins who held these lands in villeinage, and the advowson of the two churches. He further granted to the monks common of pasture for all manner of cattle throughout his demesnes, together with the rights of quarrying stone for their buildings, and taking marl to marl their lands in all the said places with the exception of his park of Kirkstall.

This charter was witnessed at Greasley on 9 December 1343 by an imposing company which included the Archbishop of York, the Bishops

⁶⁷ Harl. MS. fol. 23. ⁶⁸ Ibid. 1063, fol. 88b.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 6972, fol. 24.

⁷⁰ Ibid. fol. 30.

⁷¹ Ibid. fol. 31.

⁷² Ibid. fol. 34.

⁷³ Ibid. fol. 45.

⁷⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 171.

⁷⁵ Add. MS. 6060, 122 parchment folios. This is the register cited by Dugdale; it was given to the British Museum by the Rev. T. L. Cursham, vicar of Mansfield, in 1814.

of Durham, Lincoln, and Lichfield, the Earls of Derby, Northampton, and Huntingdon, Sir John de Grey, Sir William Deincourt and Sir William de Grey of Sandiacre, knights, William son and heir of the founder, and William's son Nicholas. Another charter, to the like effect but in shorter terms, was sealed at the same time and place and witnessed by several knights of the district.²

In the year 1347, on 20 October, at Greasley, a further deed was executed, witnessed by the same bishops and earls, to the effect that Nicholas de Cauntlow and his heir gave additional lands and rents to the value of £20 per annum to the monastery in the towns of Selston, Watnall, Kinmark,³ and Newthorpe.⁴ Another early benefaction was the advowson of the church of Farnham, with an acre of land, by Sir William Malbis and others in 1344.⁵

Nicholas de Cauntlow the founder died in 1355, and there is entered in the chartulary a detailed account of the descent of his Derbyshire lands from the time of the Conquest.⁶

Hugh de Cressy of Selston and Cecilia his wife assigned to the priory in 1360 all their lands and tenements in Kimberley and Newthorpe, on condition of Hugh receiving from the priory £7 10s. during his life, and Cecilia £4 11s. if she survived him.⁷

Sir William de Aldburgh, for the soul of his lord Edward Baliol, King of Scotland, and for the soul of Elizabeth his wife, and for others his near kinsfolk, did in 1362 grant to the priory of Beauvale the hay of Willey in Sherwood. In the succeeding reign (18 Richard II) a chantry was founded in the conventual church for two of the monks to say mass for the souls of William de Aldburgh and Edward Baliol. The founders of this chantry were Isabel wife of Sir William de Ryther, and Elizabeth wife of Sir Brian Stapleton, who were the sisters of William de Aldburgh; each of them granted 40s. a year out of her respective moiety of the manors of Kirkby Overblow (Yorkshire)⁸ and 'Kereby.'⁹

² Ibid. fol. 17-19.

³ Probably Kimberley, Notts. (? Kynmarl). The Domesday form of the name is Chinemarelie, and the priory possessed tenements there at the Dissolution.

⁴ Add. MS. 6060, fol. 19, 20. ⁵ Ibid. fol. 22, 23.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 28; it is set forth at length in Dugdale,

Mon. vi, 13-14.

⁷ Add. MS. 6060, fol. 32.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 35-8.

⁹ Not identified, as the grant specifies no county.

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The chartulary sets forth with much detail copies of title deeds referring to bequests of land in Selston, Wandesley in Bagthorpe, Brinsley, Hucknall Torkard, Newthorpe, Cressy Fee, Watnall Chaworth, Brook, and Willey, all in Nottinghamshire.¹⁰

One of the most important of these grants was that of the manor of Etwall, Derbyshire. Sir William de Finchenden, kt., Richard de Ravenser, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Nicholas de Chaddesden, Richard de Chesterfield, and Richard de Tissington, clerks, obtained licence from Edward III to grant this manor to Beauvale Priory (soon after its foundation), to pray for Sir William whilst living, and for his soul and that of his wife Blanche after death.¹¹

Some forty folios are occupied with the setting out of the various papal privileges enjoyed by the priory. By far the greater part of these were common to the whole Carthusian order; but the bull of Clement VI names and confirms the special liberties granted to Beauvale on its foundation.¹²

The chartulary concludes with the setting forth in full of the various documents relative to the appropriation of churches to this monastery.¹³ The archiepiscopal and royal assent of the appropriation of the churches of Greasley and Selston were obtained at the time of the first foundation of the house; 2 marks out of the rectory of Greasley and 1 mark out of the rectory of Selston were assigned as pensions to successive Archbishops of York, and 20s. and 10s. respectively to the Dean and Chapter of York. In the following year (1344) the resignation of the rectors of both Greasley and Selston was secured, and they were at once presented to mediocrities of the rectory of the church of East Keal, Lincolnshire. Vicarages were duly ordained for both parishes. In the case of Greasley a vicarage house was to be built, adjoining the church, on an area of 180 ft. by 100 ft.; the vicar was to receive all mortuaries and oblations, together with all small tithes valued at £10 a year, and the priory was to find bread, wine, lights for the high altar, and a parish chaplain or curate. The Selston vicar was to have a house on the king's highway, near the church, having an area of 154 ft. by 140 ft., and the mortuaries and oblations and the tithes of wool and lambs and all other small tithes of the value, according to inquisition, of 6 marks or £4.

The church of Farnham was appropriated in 1355, the archbishop securing a pension of 6s. 8d., and the dean and chapter 3s. 4d. The vicarage house was to include a hall, two suitable chambers, a kitchen, a stable, a bakehouse, and a barn for grain and hay.¹⁴

At the beginning of the chartulary are transcripts of ten royal charters, confirming the

various benefactions afterwards recited. On the last folio, in a cursory hand, is the statement that this chartulary, compiled through the industry of Nicholas Wartre, recently prior of the house, extends from the foundation up to the year 1486; prayers are asked for the good estate of Nicholas during his life and for his soul after death.¹⁵

There are various deeds at the Public Record Office relative to this priory; the most interesting are the four here briefly cited:—

1. A licence by John de Grey, lord of Codrington, in 1358, to Robert Bernow and William Braydeston to grant to the Prior and Convent of Beauvale the manor of Kimberley with its appurtenances.¹⁶

2. A mining lease granted by the priory in 1397 to William Monyash of Costall and others of a coal mine in 'Kyrkestallavnd.'¹⁷

3. Release in 1404 by John Prior of St. Fremond, Normandy, to William Prior of Beauvale of all rights in the priory of Bonby, Lincoln diocese.¹⁸

4. Confirmation in 1462 by John Day, vicar of Selston and others, of the grant of a ninety-nine years' lease to the priory made by the late William Arnalde (in 1457) of all coal and right of digging for the same in Selston parish, and of all wood growing there to make 'punches and proppes,' paying 13s. 4d. a year so long as they obtain coal.¹⁹

There are numerous records of grants to this priory on the Patent Rolls of Edward III; but they need not be cited, as they refer to matters of which particulars are given in the chartulary.

In 1403 Henry IV granted to this house the alien priory of Bonby, Lincolnshire, with its advowsons, lands, rents, and services not exceeding the annual value of 18 marks. The Prior and Convent of St. Fremond, of which it was a cell, had granted Bonby (without licence) to the London house of Carthusians in 1390, but at that time Bonby was in the hands of Richard II on account of the war with France, and therefore that grant was void. The possessions of Bonby included the rectory of the parish church of that place, pensions of 13s. 4d. each from the churches of Saxby and St. John's Stamford, and the advowsons of the churches of Sts. Peter, John, Paul, and George, Stamford, and Saxby and Grafton.²⁰

There is a highly interesting document extant dated 7 February 1422, whereby Dom Richard de Burton, Prior of Beauvale, covenants with Brother John de Bedysdale, of the Derby Do-

¹⁵ Prior Nicholas is named in two deeds of 1486 and 1489; Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 81, 2165.

¹⁶ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 1711.

¹⁷ Ibid. 1782; Kirkstall, Yorks.

¹⁸ Ibid. 480.

¹⁹ Ibid. 3217.

²⁰ Pat. 4 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 31, 3; Anct. D., B. 480.

¹⁰ Add MS. 6060, fol. 39, &c. ¹¹ Ibid. fol. 55-9.

¹² Ibid. fol. 77-91, 104-22. ¹³ Ibid. fol. 92-103.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 101-3; Harl. MS. 6971, fol. 113b.

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minicans, prior provincial of that order, for an intercommunion of prayers and devotions between the Carthusians and Dominicans, both in life and in death.²¹

Edward IV in 1462 granted to the Prior and Convent of Beauvale 24 marks yearly from the customs of the port of Kingston on Hull, in exchange for a grant of two tuns of the better red wine of Gascony at this port at All Saints tide, which had been made by Edward III. But in 1465 the charge of 24 marks a year on the Hull customs was exchanged for the like charge on the fee farm and increment on the town of Derby at the hands of the men or bailiffs of that town.²²

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 gave the annual value of this priory as £227 8s., and the clear value £196 6s. The appropriated churches at that time were those of Greasley and Selston, Nottinghamshire; Farnham, Yorkshire; Bonby and a pension from St. John's Stamford, Lincolnshire. The temporalities were chiefly in Nottinghamshire, but there was an income of £12 13s. 4d. from Etwall, Derbyshire, in addition to the £16 from the town of Derby. Among the outgoing was the payment of 27s. 4d. a year to Sir John Chaworth for the passage of coal over his lands.²³

Maurice Chauncey's beautiful and pathetic account of the last days of the English Carthusians, who were practically unanimous in rejecting the supremacy of Henry VIII in matters ecclesiastical, makes special mention of the part taken by the superior of this Nottinghamshire house.²⁴ Soon after the king's new title of 'Supreme Head' had been formally adopted by the council, early in 1535, Robert Lawrence, the Prior of Beauvale, and Augustine Webster, Prior of Axholme, came to visit and consult with their brethren at the London Charterhouse. Lawrence had been a member of the London house, and had been transferred to Beauvale as its superior at the time, five years previously, when John Houghton, Prior of Beauvale, was summoned to take charge of the mother house of the English province. The three priors determined to forestall the visitations of the royal commissioners, and sought a personal interview with Cromwell; but the Lord Privy Seal, on learning the purport of their visit, refused to listen to any pleadings, and at once sent them from his house to the Tower as rebellious traitors.

A week later, namely on 20 April, the priors were interrogated before Cromwell, when they stoutly refused to take the oath of supremacy and

reject the authority of anyone except the king over the Church of England.²⁵ Whilst in prison the three superiors were again closely examined; the depositions record their several opinions in much the same language. The Prior of Beauvale declared that he could 'not take our sovereign lord to be supreme head of the Church, but him that is by God the head of the Church, that is the bishop of Rome, as Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine teach.'²⁶

Thereupon a special commission was appointed to try these three Carthusians, as well as a Brigittine monk of Syon who had been imprisoned on a like charge. On 26 April they underwent another examination in the Tower by Cromwell and other members of the Privy Council. On 28 April they were indicted before a jury on the charge of openly stating on the 26th that the king was 'not supreme head in earth of the Church of England.' Lawrence and his three companions pleaded not guilty to the novel charge of verbal treason. The verdict of the jury was deferred till the following day.²⁷

The jury were unable to agree to condemn the four accused, notwithstanding the all-embracing nature of the statute, on the ground that they did not act 'maliciously.' The judges, however, instructed them that whoever denied the supremacy, did so 'maliciously,' and that the use of that word in the Act was 'a void limit and restraint of the construction of the words and intention of the offence.' On the jury still refusing to condemn them, Cromwell used violent threats against them, with the result that at last they found them guilty and received great thanks; 'but they were afterwards ashamed to show their faces, and some of them took great [harm] from it.'²⁸

The prisoners were condemned to death and conducted back to the Tower. On 4 May Prior Lawrence of Beauvale, with his two fellow priors, as well as the Brigittine father and John Hale, vicar of Isleworth, were done to death at Tyburn, in the midst of a vast crowd, among whom were a great number of lords and courtiers. The condemned were all drawn to the place of execution in their respective habits, and everything seems to have been arranged to make their death an awful example of the king's power over the religious and ecclesiastics of his realm. To each of the victims, as he mounted the scaffold, a pardon was offered if he would accept Henry as supreme head of the Church, but all rejected the offer. The details of the execution were even more ghastly and revolting than was usual

²¹ Eccl. Doc. K.R. bde. 6, no. 47.

²² Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iv, m. 23; pt. vi, m. 36; 5 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 13.

²³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 156.

²⁴ Chauncey, *Commentariolus de vitae ratione et martyris Cartusianorum*, largely cited and translated by Froude, *Hist.* ii, chap. 9.

²⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 565(1). ²⁶ *Ibid.* 566.

²⁷ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* iii, App. ii, 238.

²⁸ Arundel MSS. clii, fol. 308 Froude doubts Cromwell's threats to the jury, but Chauncey gives a similar account. See the whole story of the treatment of the Carthusians in Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Mon.* i, chap. vi.

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in executions for high treason. The cords used for the preliminary hanging were especially stout and heavy, in order to avoid the possibility of fatal strangling before the subsequent butchery could be achieved. Whilst life was still in them, they were ripped up in each other's presence, their bodies obscenely mutilated, their hearts 'cut out and rubbed into their mouths and faces,' and all this before the process of quartering was begun.²⁹

Meanwhile the Carthusians of the mother house were treated with either blandishments or terrible threats in order to secure by any possible means their yielding to acknowledgement of the supremacy. The more obstinate of them were placed in prison, either in the Tower or in Newgate, heavily chained upright to posts under circumstances of diabolical cruelty. No wonder that under such a punishment several of them died. We need not be surprised that the general determination of the Carthusians to be true to their original vows gave way in not a few cases. A new prior was required to take the place in London of the martyred Houghton, who, it will be remembered, came from Beauvale. It was another monk of Beauvale, William Trafford, who was selected by Cromwell to fill the place. How he came to give way and submit to be thus cajoled cannot now be explained. The truer-hearted of the London Carthusians quietly resented his intrusion. Chauncey (being himself, as he acknowledges, one of the partial time-servers) says of Trafford's brief period of administration that 'being deprived of a prior exterior to ourselves, every man's conscience was his prior.'

Trafford's submission is the more remarkable as he had been singularly bold in proclaiming his refusal to acknowledge the supremacy when Sir John Markham and other special commissioners visited Beauvale to 'take the value.' Trafford, as proctor of the convent, was then in charge, for the prior was in safe custody in the Tower, awaiting his trial. Addressing Markham on this occasion the proctor said, 'I believe firmly that the Pope of Rome is supreme head of the Church Catholic.' On the commissioners asking him if he would abide by his words, he replied 'Usque ad mortem.' He also went so far as to commit his words to writing, and Markham carried the paper away and left the monk to the special custody of the sheriff of the county.³⁰

The clear annual value of this Carthusian monastery was just under the £200 which was the limit for the suppression of the lesser monasteries; but by paying the heavy fine of £166 13s. 4d. the monks of Beauvale obtained the doubtful privilege of deferring the evil day of their dissolution. This bargain was effected on 2 January 1537-8.³¹ Thomas Woodcock

had been appointed prior by the Crown on 16 December 1537.³²

The surrender of this house, and of all its possessions in the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, and Derby, took place on 18 July 1539. It received the signatures of Thomas Woodcock, prior, and of seven other monks, John Langdale, William Welles, Alexander Lowthe, Edmund Garner, Robert Gowton (proctor), Thomas Leyghton, and Thomas Wallis. The surrender was delivered to Dr. London, the king's commissioner, in the chapter-house.³³

London, writing from Nottingham on 24 July, certified that he had granted the following pensions to the 'Charterhouse of Bew Vale':— Thomas Woodcock, prior, £26 13s. 4d.; John Langford, £6; W. Welles, A. Lowthe, E. Garnett, and R. Gowton, £5 6s. 8d. each; Nicholas Dookmer, T. Leyghton, and Thomas Wallis, £5 each. In addition to these, 40s. each was assigned to two lay brothers, Richard Wakefield and Richard Bynde, described as 'converse and aged men.'³⁴

In another letter from London, dated 27 July and addressed to Cromwell, he tells the Lord Privy Seal that on visiting Beauvale for the surrender he found the prior in short gown and velvet cap ready for their coming, and the proctor of the house in like apparel next day.³⁵ Woodcock was evidently one of those time-serving monks chosen by Cromwell to be prior, to serve his own ends.

With regard to the eventual fate of the surviving Carthusians of Beauvale, we know of the survival of one till old age. Nicholas Dugmer (or Dookmer), a Beauvale monk, who eventually followed Prior Chauncey across the seas, died on 10 December 1575.³⁶

The manor of Etwall was granted by the Crown to Sir John Porte in 1540;³⁷ but the site of the priory and the rest of its possessions in 1541 to Sir William Huse of London.³⁸

There is a sulphur cast of an impression of the original seal of this priory at the British Museum.³⁹ It represents Our Lord seated in a canopied niche, with cruciform nimbus, lifting up the right hand in benediction, and holding in the left hand an orb surmounted by a long cross. At the base a monk kneels in prayer under a round-headed arch. Legend:—

S : COMUNE : DOMUS : BELLE : VALL' :
ORD' : CAR. .

²⁹ Pat. 28 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 17.

³⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 660; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 9.

³¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1313.

³² *Ibid.* 1323.

³³ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Mon.* ii, 486.

³⁴ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. v, m. 17.

³⁵ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. viii, m. 25-7.

³⁶ Casts of Seals, lxx, 33.

²⁹ S.P. Spanish, v, 452-3, 474, 517, 521, 539.

³⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 560.

³¹ *Ibid.* xiii (3), 457.

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PRIORS OF BEAUVALE

William, occurs 1404⁴⁰

B—, occurs 1412⁴¹

Richard de Burton, occurs 1422, 1426⁴²

Thomas Methely, occurs 1468⁴³

John Swift, occurs 1478⁴⁴

Thomas Wydder, occurs 1482⁴⁵

Nicholas Wartre, occurs 1486⁴⁶

Robert Lawrence, executed 1535⁴⁷

Thomas Woodcock, surrendered 1539⁴⁸

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

6. THE PRIORY OF FELLEY

Ralph Britto of Annesley founded the priory of Felley in the year 1156, giving to Austin Canons the church and hermitage of Felley. Reginald de Annesley, son of Ralph, confirmed his father's gifts, and that of the church of Annesley, and rents to sustain a lamp burning at all service hours in that church. But in 1151, according to a Worksop register, Ralph and Reginald had granted the church of Felley to the priory church of Worksop. Hence the older priory claimed the subjection of Prior Walter and the canons of Felley; Pope Alexander III by bull of 1161 confirmed Felley to Worksop Priory. Consequently it remained subject to Worksop until the year 1260.¹

A chartulary of this priory, written early in the 16th century, came into the possession of the British Museum in 1903.² It consists of 141 vellum folios of 4to shape, carefully written with rubricated initials. In the centre of the first folio the title is given as 'The Booke of Felley Called the Domesday.'

The foundation charter of Ralph Britto of Annesley (fol. 24*b*) was mutilated at an early date; only the opening clause remains, stating that by this charter he confirms to God, the Blessed Mary, and St. Helen, and to Brother Robert the hermit and his successors, his place of Felley with its appurtenances in pure and perpetual alms.

A bull of confirmation issued by Pope Celestine III (1191–8) gives various particulars as to the early benefactions to the Austin Canons of St. Mary of Felley, including the church of Annesley by Ralph de Annesley; Bradley with the site of the mill; lands in Nottinghamshire, by Serlo de Plesley; an acre of land and 15*d.* in rents at Chesterfield, by William Britton; and a variety of parcels of lands at Newark, Colwick, Southwell, and other places in the county. This bull

gave the priory the right to say mass in a low voice during a general interdict, but with doors shut and without sound of a bell; and also permission to bury those who might devoutly desire sepulture there, unless they were excommunicate.³

This is followed in the chartulary by a bull of Gregory IX (1227–41) making like confirmations, and by other letters of the same pope in the 6th, 7th, and 10th years of his pontificate.⁴

The chartulary contains a transcript of a highly interesting and exceptional document, which makes mentions of a variety of the early grants to the house. On 6 May 1311 the prior and canons of Felley appeared in the collegiate church of Southwell before the official of the Archdeacon of Nottingham, requesting that their ancient evidences might be publicly recorded whilst they were yet perfect. Thereupon the official cited them to appear in the church of St. Mary's, Nottingham, on the day after Ascension Day, when there was produced a writing with a seal of very old white wax dependent, the impression of a woman holding her right hand on her right side, and carrying a bird on her outstretched left hand, with the marginal legend *Sigillum Leonie de Raines*. The tenor of the writing was to the effect that Leonia de Raines, and Henry de Stutivill her son and heir, gave the church of Annesley to God and the Blessed Mary of Felley, and the canons there serving God, for the health of King Henry and Robert de Stutivill, and her and their ancestors; for which they were to find a canon to celebrate daily. A second writing produced had a seal of white wax, the impression being a lion passant, and the legend *Sigillum Reynaldi de Annesley*; this was the grant made by the latter, at the request of his father Ralph, of all right of patronage in the church of Annesley to the house of Felley. A third writing had the seal in old green wax of a bishop in his pontificals with pastoral staff in left hand, and

⁴⁰ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 480.

⁴¹ Ibid. B. 219.

⁴² Eccl. Doc. K.R. bdle. 6, no. 47; Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 355.

⁴³ Wolley Chart. vii, 15.

⁴⁴ Willis, *Mitred Abbeyes*, ii, 167.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Add. MS. 6060, last fol.

⁴⁷ S.P. Spanish v, 45.

⁴⁸ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 660.

¹ Thoroton, *Notts.* ii, 266, 271; Dugdale, *Mo.* vi, 125–6.

² Add. MS. 36872. It was purchased at Sotheby's on 24 Oct. This chartulary is not referred to by Dugdale, but Tanner mentions it as in the possession of Gilbert Millington, whose name appears on a fly-leaf at the end, with the date 1690. The site of the priory was granted by James I in the first year of his reign to Anthony Millington.

³ Ibid. fol. 4, 5.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 6–10.

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right hand raised in benediction, with the legend *Sigillum Gaufridi Dei gracia Ebor. Archiepi.*; the tenor of this was that Archbishop Geoffrey seeing the controversy between Leonia de Raines, Reginald de Annesley, and Hugh, rector of Kirkby in Ashfield, concerning the church of Annesley, it was appeased in his presence by all of them giving up their respective rights to the canons of Felley, and he hereby confirmed it to them for their own proper uses. The letters apostolical of Celestine III were also produced with the leaden bull attached by a silken string.⁵

Possibly other sealed charters and grants were at the same time produced, but these are the only ones solemnly recorded, with the nature of their seals fully described; the reason being that they all four related to possible disputes that might arise with regard to the church of Annesley. It was this fear that brought about the display of the ancient writings before the diocesan official, as is clear from the fact that Sir John de Annesley, Lord of Annesley, Thomas, rector of Kirkby in Ashfield, and William de Manthorp, a priest of Lincoln diocese, were summoned to St. Mary's, Nottingham, as those 'whom the matter chiefly concerned,' to show cause, if they had any, of canonical impediment; but none of them appeared.

The following are among the more important of the early grants to this house which appear in the chartulary:—

Ivo de Heriz gave to William de Lovetot, Prior of Felley, and to his convent, 20 acres of land in Ogston and Brackenfield, co. Derby (temp. Henry II).⁶ At a somewhat later date, John de Heriz, for the health of his soul and that of Sarah his wife, gave 18 bovates of land at Tibshelf, Derbyshire, to sustain two canons daily celebrating in the church of Felley for ever.⁷

Another early grant was that made by Serlo de Plesley, lord of Ashover, who died about 1203. Serlo confirmed to the canons of Felley 4 bovates of land at 'Ulneseys,' and also gave them 16 acres of the land of Geoffrey the Hunter, together with pasture for 100 sheep and for 10 cows and a bull. Serlo states that he had already been permitted to enter into fraternity with the canons, and desired to be buried with them.⁸

An important 13th-century Nottinghamshire grant to the priory is that by Geoffrey Barry of lands at Whiteborough, in Teversal parish, on behalf of himself, Alice his wife, and their ancestors and successors for daily mass at the altar of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, within the priory church.⁹ This undated charter could not have been earlier than 1248, the year of St. Edmund's canonization.

⁵ Add. MS. 36872, fol. 33, &c. An English transcript of this long document is given in Thoroton, *Notts.* ii, 271-3.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 90.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 95.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 85.

⁹ Ibid. fol. 113-14.

In the year 1260 the subjection of the priory of Felley to that of Worksop, which involved an annual tribute of 10s. to the older house, as well as a variety of technical submissions such as the consent of Worksop to the election of a prior by the canons of Felley, came to an end. John, the Prior of Worksop, in March of that year, with the assent and advice of Archbishop Geoffrey, sealed in the chapter-house of Worksop an agreement by which, on the part of his convent, he released to Prior Henry of Felley and his successors all claim to recognition and obedience of any kind, in consideration of Felley covenanting to pay to Worksop a yearly rental of 20s. There had been much litigation for some time past between the two houses, and this covenant of peace was evidently considered one of moment. The witnesses included the Archbishop of York, the Abbots of Rufford and Welbeck, the Priors of St. Oswald (i.e. Nostell), Thurgarton, Newstead, and Shelford, and Richard de Sutton, canon of Southwell.¹⁰

In 1268 Geoffrey de Langley, for the souls of himself and of his children, and of his two wives, Christina and Matilda, gave to God, St. Mary, and Sir Ralph, Prior of Felley, and the canons there, all that he had in Ashover (Derbyshire), namely 'Peynstonhurst' and 'Williamfeld,' on condition that his name and the names of his wives and ancestors and successors were daily recited in the mass for benefactors, also that his obit was to be kept like that of a prior, and that on that day thirteen poor people should be fed, each receiving a white loaf, a gallon of the better beer, and half a dish of meat. He also enjoined that another mass should be celebrated on the obit of his wife Matilda (which was kept on the day of the Translation of St. Benedict), and that on that day five poor people were to be fed after a like fashion.¹¹

In 1279 Sir Geoffrey de Dethick assigned lands to Thomas, Prior of Felley, on condition of the priory maintaining a chaplain to celebrate daily in the chapel of Dethick, Derbyshire, for himself and all his ancestors and progenitors.¹² One of the witnesses to this charter was Simon, rector of Ashover.¹³ By an undated letter of Archbishop Giffard to the Prior and Convent of Felley, apparently about 1266, instructions were given, couched in most devout scriptural phraseology, for the readmission of Robert Barry, an apostate brother.¹⁴

In 1276 the process of election of a Prior of Felley, after the deposition of Ralph de Plesley, is set forth in Giffard's register at some length in a letter asking for his confirmation. Episcopal licence to elect was read in the chapter-house on 10 July. On the morrow, after solemn cele-

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 130b-1b. ¹¹ Ibid. fol. 91.

¹² Cox, *Ch. of Derb.* i, 462-3.

¹³ Add. MS. 36872, fol. 126.

¹⁴ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 86.

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oration of Lady Mass, the chapter-house was entered, and after singing the *Veni Creator* the method of election was discussed. At length the canons decided to proceed by way of scrutiny, when it was found that all had voted for Thomas de Wathenowe, one of the canons. On Thomas giving his assent, he was conducted before the high altar with chanting of the *Te Deum* and ringing of the bells. After prostrating himself in prayer, the prior-elect was then led to the altar itself, which he kissed. The archbishop's assent was humbly asked, and Giffard, who was then stopping at Southwell, made formal confirmation of the election on 13 July.

Felley had been personally visited by Giffard on 9 July. The visitation resulted in the deposition of Prior Ralph de Pleasley for various irregularities, in the confining of Ralph de Codnore to the cloister for incontinence, and in the infliction of a like punishment on Robert Barry and William de Dunham for theft and immorality. The charges against the prior were not quite so grave, but by his own confession and by the sworn testimony of others he was convicted of suffering the goods of the house to be wasted, and the house itself to become dilapidated; of laying violent hands on Alan, one of the canons; of breaking open a lock against the will of the convent; and of neglecting to correct in chapter. He was also found to be insufficient for the position on account of weakness and old age.¹⁵

The Taxation Roll of 1291 enters the appropriated church of Annesley as of the annual value of £5 6s. 8d. the temporalities in the archdeaconry of Nottinghamshire £4 15s., and temporalities at Pleasley, Derbyshire, 20s.; giving a total taxable income of £11 1s. 8d.¹⁶

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 shows a considerable increase in the income of this small house. The gross annual value is declared at £61 4s. 8d., and the clear value at £40 19s. 1d. The spiritualities comprised the rectories of Annesley (£4 18s.) and Attenborough (£15 12s. 10d.), with a portion of 6s. from Cossall. The temporalities included rents, &c., from the Nottinghamshire parishes of Attenborough, Awsworth, Annesley, Bunny, Bramcote, Kirkby in Ashfield, Hucknall Torkard, Nottingham, Selston, Toton, Teversal, and Woodborough, and from the Derbyshire townships of Ashover, Houghton, and Tibshelf. The heaviest outgoings were £6 13s. 4d. out of the church of Attenborough as a pension to Lenton Priory, and £4 to a chantry priest in the church of Mansfield Woodhouse.¹⁷

Another curious testimony as to the value of seals occurred in 1290 with regard to this house. The seal of the letters patent of Henry II securing to the canons of Felley exemption from all

toll and custom throughout England on their own goods which they sold or which they bought for their own use, and forbidding any person disturbing them on this account under pain of £10, had been broken. The opportunity was therefore taken on 17 October, when Edward I was at Clipston, of securing an *inseximus* and exemplification of this grant.¹⁸ In 1305 the latter king granted to the prior and canons all the tithes of assarts within the hays of Lindeby, Rumwood, and Willey, within the Forest of Sherwood, which had been assarted within the king's reign, as appropriated to their church.¹⁹

Licence was obtained from the Crown in 1323 to permit the Prior and Convent of Felley to acquire in mortmain lands and rents to the value of 100s. a year, for the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the church of their house for the souls of the faithful departed.²⁰ In 1339 licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain by Sir John de Grey of Codnor to this priory (in full satisfaction of the 100s. a year which they had the licence of Edward II to acquire) of the reversion of an acre of land in Toton, and the advowson of the church of Attenborough—now held for life by Thomas de Vaus—of the yearly value of 60s. 2d.²¹

In 1339 John, Prior of Felley, covenanted with Robert Stuffyne of Newark and Alice his wife to find 6 marks annually to maintain a chantry priest at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the church or chapel of Mansfield Woodhouse.²²

There was an old dispute of long standing between Henry Lord Grey and the Prior and Convent of Lenton as to the advowson of a moiety of the church of Attenborough, which was settled by Archbishop Walter Gray in 1246, when it was arranged that the priory should have tithes to the value of 40s. yearly out of Bramcote chapelry in that parish, and that the other moiety should remain in the gift of Richard Lord Grey and his heirs. In 1340 John de Grey of Codnor granted the Grey moiety to the priory of Felley, and in 1343 this rectory was appropriated to the priory. The appropriation was confirmed in a long document by Archbishop William de la Zouch, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of York, under date 11 March 1343, securing to himself and his successors a pension of 20s. 8d. and of 20s. to the Dean and Chapter.²³

¹⁵ Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 6.

¹⁶ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 6.

¹⁷ Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 8. Transcripts of several letters patent affecting Felley, granted by Edward I and Edward II, appear in the chartulary immediately after the papal bulls; fol. 106-14.

¹⁸ Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36.

¹⁹ Add. MS. 36872, fol. 122-5.

²⁰ All this is set forth in full, reciting the previous settlement of 1246, in the chartulary; fol. 15-23.

¹⁵ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 188, 142.

¹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 264b, 310, 312, 339.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 155.

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The consent of Edward III to the appropriation was obtained on 9 May of the same year;²⁴ and in June of the following year the archbishop made a formal ordination of the vicarage.²⁵

An indenture made in April 1504 between Laurence, Prior of Felley, with his convent, and John Vyncent of Braithwell, Yorkshire, is given in English in the chartulary. It recites that there had been 'diverse variaunces and contraversies' between the two parties with regard to certain lands and tithes of the said John in Braithwell, but that by the mediation of Robert, Prior of Worksop, and Robert Henryson, the said parties had come to an agreement.²⁶

This small priory was visited in 1536 by the commissioners, Legh and Layton; but they merely reported that the annual income was £40 and that the debts amounted to a like sum.

Christopher Bolton, the last prior of this small house, was granted a pension of £6 a year on its dissolution. This pension was cancelled on 2 July 28 Hen. VIII, when Bolton was appointed to the rectory of Attenborough, Nottinghamshire.²⁷

In 1536-7 the possessions of this priory, dissolved under the Act for the confiscation of the lesser houses, passed into various hands; Richard Samond obtained the lease from the Crown of the rectory of Annesley for twenty-one years at 106s. 8d. annual rent, and grants were made of other parcels to different officials of the royal household.²⁸ In September 1538 William Bolles, a receiver of the Court of Augmentation, and Lucy his wife obtained a grant in fee simple of the house and site of the late priory, with the whole of its lands in Felley and Annesley, of the clear annual value of £13,²⁹ to be held in the same way as Christopher Bolton, the late prior, held them.

There is a cast of the 13th-century seal of this priory in the British Museum.³⁰ It is a pointed oval, displaying the Blessed Virgin crowned and seated on a throne, in the right hand a sceptre, fleur-de-lis, and having the Holy Child on the left knee. Remains of legend:—

SIGILLUM SAN IE . . . HA . . .

PRIORS OF FELLEY³¹

Walter, probably first prior³²
Adam de Nokton, temp. Henry II³³
William de Lovetot, temp. Henry II³⁴

²⁴ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 26.

²⁵ Add. MS. 36872, fol. 128.

²⁶ Add. MSS. 36872, fol. 69, 70.

²⁷ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxxii, fol. 30b.

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii, 316; xiii (1), 579-81.

²⁹ Pat. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. vi, m. 19.

³⁰ Casts of Seals, lxx, 45.

³¹ The first five names occur in the chartulary in various undated charters. The order in which they are given is only conjectural, based on the witnesses to the charters.

³² Ibid. fol. 29.

³⁴ Ibid. fol. 83-84, 90.

Henry, temp. Henry III³⁵
Thomas, temp. Henry III³⁶
Walter, occurs c. 1240³⁷
Henry, occurs 1260³⁸
Ralph de Pleasley, occurs 1268, deposed 1276³⁹
Thomas de Wathenowe, 1276⁴⁰
Alan de Elksley, 1281⁴¹
William de Toveton, resigned 1315⁴²
Elias de Lyndeby, 1315⁴³
John de Kirkeby, 1328⁴⁴
John de Holebroke, 1349⁴⁵
Richard de Shirebrook, 1349⁴⁶
Robert Eavys, died 1378⁴⁷
Thomas Elmeton, 1378⁴⁸
John de Mansfield, 1381⁴⁹
William Tuxford, died 1405⁵⁰
John Gaynesburgh, died 1442⁵¹
Peter Methlay, 1442⁵²
John Throgcroft, died 1454⁵³
William Acworth, 1454⁵⁴
Richard Congreve, 1463⁵⁵
William Symondson *alias* Bolton, 1482⁵⁶
Laurence Ynggam, 1500⁵⁷
Thomas Gatesford, resigned 1519⁵⁸
Thomas Stokk, 1519⁵⁹
Christopher Bolton, last prior⁶⁰

7. THE PRIORY OF NEWSTEAD

The priory of St. Mary of Newstead (*De Novo Loco*) in Sherwood, a house of Austin Canons, was founded by Henry II about the year 1170. The first witness to the foundation charter was Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Canterbury; he was preferred to the see of Ely in 1174. This charter, executed at Clarendon, conferred on the prior and canons a site near the centre of the forest; Papplewick, with its church and mill and all things pertaining to the town in wood and plain, together with the meadow of Bestwood by the side of the water; and 100s. of rent in Shapwick and Walkeringham. At the same time the king confirmed to them lands in Nottinghamshire, the gift of Robert de Caus and John the cook.¹

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 84, 106.

³⁶ Ibid. fol. 89.

³⁷ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 38.

³⁸ Add. MS. 36872, fol. 131b.

³⁹ Ibid. fol. 91; York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 142-3.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 179.

⁴² Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 11.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid. fol. 16.

⁴⁵ Ibid. fol. 18.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid. fol. 23.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid. fol. 24.

⁵¹ Ibid. fol. 28.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. fol. 30.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid. fol. 31.

⁵⁶ Ibid. fol. 37.

⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 41.

⁵⁸ Ibid. fol. 45.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Pat. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. vi, m. 19.

¹ Cited in confirmation on charter of 1247; Chart. R. 31 Hen. III, m. 9.

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The great forest wastes around the monastery granted to the canons by their founder were known in the old charter as 'Kygeell' and 'Ravenshede,' their bounds being set forth with much particularity at the beginning of an old chartulary.²

King John in 1206 confirmed the founder's grant, making mention also of the church of Hucknall, and of his own gift, when Earl of Mortain, of £7 os. 6d. of lands in Walkeringham, Misterton, 'Sepewic,' and 'Walkerith' (Lincolnshire).³

On 8 May 1238 the royal mandate was sent to the Prior of Newstead to let Thomas de Dunholmia, citizen of London, have all the goods late of Joan, Queen of Scots, deposited with them after her death by Brother John de Sancto Egidio and Henry Balliol to do therewith what the king has enjoined on them.⁴

In April 1241 the convent of Newstead had licence from the king to elect a prior; the said licence being delivered at Westminster to Henry son of Walkelin and Thomas de Donham, two of the canons who took the news to the king of the death of Prior Robert.⁵

A confirmation charter of Henry III in 1247 makes further mention of the gifts of Robert de Lexinton of all the land of Scarcliffe, with the capital messuage, park, mills, homage, and service of William de Grangia from his holding in Crich (Derbyshire) with the towns of Staythorpe (Nottinghamshire) and Rowthorn (Derbyshire).⁶

Henry III in 1245 ratified the gift which John de Stutevill made by charter to St. Mary of Newstead in Sherwood and the canons there of 40s. rent and a quarter of wheat yearly out of the manor of Kirkby in Ashfield and to provide wine and bread for the altar use.⁷

In 1251 Henry III gave to the priory 10 acres of land out of the royal hay of Linby, to be held quit of regard and view of foresters and verderers and of all forest pleas, with licence to inclose the land with a hedge and dike.⁸

The convent was so seriously in debt in 1274 that the king appointed Robert de Sutton of Averham to take the custody of the priory during pleasure.⁹

The Prior of Newstead maintained his various rights in Misterton, Papplewick, Staythorpe, Walkeringham, &c. at the beginning of the reign of Edward I, by the production of charters that covered the various possessions of the convent in Derbyshire as well as Nottinghamshire, and also their various chartered privileges, such as freedom

from toll and custom throughout England. They had neither pillory nor tumbrel jurisdiction on their Nottinghamshire manors, but were able to maintain their rights to assize of bread and beer and to view of frankpledge.¹⁰

A few years later, namely in 1279, the prior and convent obtained leave to fell and sell the timber of the wood of 40 acres which had been given them in 1245; such a step as this would bring considerable financial relief.¹¹

The Taxation Roll of 1291 gives the income of the priory as £86 13s. 6d. The appropriated churches of Stapleford, Papplewick, Tuxford, Egmanon, and Hucknall Torkard produced £49 19s. 4d.; the remainder was from temporalities in Nottinghamshire £35 17s. 6d. and in Lincolnshire 16s. 8d.¹²

This house was again in financial difficulties in 1295, when at their own request Hugh de Vienna was appointed by the Crown to take charge of their revenues, applying the income, saving a reasonable sustenance for the prior, canons, and their men, to the relief of their debts, no sheriff, bailiff, or such-like minister to lodge in the priory or its granges during such custody.¹³ On 25 July 1300 another like custodian, Peter de Leicester, a king's clerk, was appointed after a similar fashion.¹⁴

The king in 1304 made an important augmentation of the possessions of Newstead, by granting the house 180 acres of the waste in the forest hay of Linby at a rent of £4 due to the sheriff, with licence to inclose them and bring them into cultivation.¹⁵ Two years later a grant was made of all tithes of these 180 cultivated acres, provided they were not within the limits of any parish.¹⁶

Both Edward I and Edward II seem to have been attached to this house in the centre of the forest, notwithstanding the important royal hunting lodge at Clipston. Edward I sojourned at Newstead in August 1280 and in September 1290, and Edward II in September 1307 and October 1315, as is shown by the Patent and Close Rolls.

In 1310 the priory, on account of its indebtedness, was once again taken into protection by the Crown, John de Hothun, king's clerk, being appointed to administer the revenues.¹⁷

The royal licence was obtained in 1315, when Edward II was at Clipston, to permit the appropriation of the church of Egmanon.¹⁸

¹⁰ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 60; ii, 25, 26, 29, 301, 302, 305, 311, 315; *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 646-7.

¹¹ Pat. 7 Edw. I, m. 2.

¹² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 74, 310, 310b, 311b, 312.

¹³ Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 3.

¹⁴ Pat. 28 Edw. I, m. 8.

¹⁵ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 28.

¹⁶ Pat. 35 Edw. I, m. 19.

¹⁷ Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 5.

¹⁸ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 2.

² Cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 474-5.

³ Chart. R. 6 John, m. 4, no. 42.

⁴ Pat. 23 Hen. III, m. 8 d.

⁵ Pat. 25 Hen. III, m. 8.

⁶ Chart. R. 31 Hen. III, m. 9.

⁷ Pat. 29 Hen. III, m. 2.

⁸ Pat. 35 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁹ Pat. 2 Edw. I, m. 3.

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In 1317 the prior and convent obtained licence from Edward II when at Nottingham to acquire in mortmain lands, tenements, and rents to the value of £20 a year.¹⁹ This licence was vacated and surrendered in 1392, for it was not until that date that Newstead acquired (by a number of small grants) lands and tenements in full satisfaction thereof.²⁰

A grant of some pecuniary value was made by the same king in 1318, when it was settled that on a voidance of the priory the sub-prior and convent of Newstead were to have the custody thereof with full and free administration of all its possessions and issues during such voidance, saving to the king, however, knights' fees, advowsons, wards, reliefs, and marriages which might fall in.²¹

In 1324 the Crown granted pardon to the Prior and Convent of Newstead for the unlicensed alienation to them in mortmain by Ralph de Frechville of all the lands which they had of fee of Ralph in Scarcliffe and Palterton, Derbyshire, with capital messuage, inclosed park, mill stews, services of freemen and villeins, &c., together with the homage and service of William de Warsop and his heirs for a tenement he held in Crich, with grant that they might hold the same in frank-almoign.²²

News of the resignation of Prior Richard de Grange was brought to the king at Nottingham by the canons Robert de Sutton and Robert de Wylleby on 13 December 1324, and they took back with them leave to elect. On 10 December the king signified the Archbishop of York that he had assented to the election of William de Thurgarton, canon of Newstead, as prior. Owing to informality, the archbishop quashed the election and claimed that the right of preferment had devolved upon him. Recognizing, however, the worth of William de Thurgarton, the archbishop proceeded to collate him as superior; and the king, when at Ravensdale, the forest lodge of Duffield, Derbyshire, on 10 January 1323, issued his mandate for the deliverance of the temporalities to the new prior.²³

The financial difficulties of Newstead do not seem to have much abated when Edward III came to the throne. In 1330 the prior and convent, in consideration of their poverty, had remitted to them the rent of £4 due to the sheriff for the 180 acres within the hay of Linby, granted to them by Edward I.²⁴

Licence was granted in 1334 for the alienation by William de Cossall to the priory of twelve messuages, a mill, and various lands, &c., in Cossall and Nottingham, to find three chaplains, to wit,

two in the church of St. Katherine, Cossall, and one in the priory to celebrate daily for the souls of him, his ancestors and successors.²⁵

In 1341 Henry de Edwinstow, king's clerk, and William and Robert his brothers had licence to alienate to the priory various lands in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, of the annual value of £10, to find two chaplains to celebrate daily in the church of St. Mary, Edwinstowe, one in honour of Our Lady and the other for the good estate (and after death for the souls) of the donors, their father, mother, and other relations, friends and benefactors, and to celebrate Henry's obit. The prior and convent bound themselves to pay to one of these chaplains, who was to be warden of the altar of St. Margaret in Edwinstowe Church, ten marks a year for the stipends of himself and his brother chaplain and another mark for the obit of Henry. After the donor's death, and the death of one Robert de Calverton, the presentation to these two chaplaincies was to rest with the priory of Newstead.²⁶

Richard II in 1392 granted to the Prior and Convent of Newstead a tun of wine yearly in the port of Kingston upon Hull, in aid of the maintenance of divine service.²⁷

Henry VI in 1437 licensed Prior Robert and convent to inclose 8 acres within Sherwood Forest, just in front of the entry to the priory, and to dike, quickset, and hedge it, for which they were to render at the Exchequer one rose at Midsummer.²⁸

Edward IV in 1461 licensed John Durham the prior and his convent to inclose 48 acres of forest granted them by Henry II, adjoining the priory on the north, east, and south, with a ditch and low hedge, and to cut down and dispose of the wood growing thereon.²⁹

Much can be gleaned relative to Newstead Priory from the York Episcopal Registers.

The appropriation of the church of Stapleford to the priory of Newstead was sanctioned by Archbishop Gray in 1229 on the score of their poverty.³⁰

Archbishop Gray in 1234 on account of their poverty granted to the priory and convent of Newstead the church of Hucknall Torkard for their own uses, of which they already had the advowson; they were to enter into it after the death or cession of Helias the then rector.³¹

Archbishop Gray visited Newstead Priory in the octave of the Holy Trinity 1252, when he found, after individual examination, that the

¹⁹ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24, 18.

²⁰ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10; pt. iii, m. 1; see also Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 25; and 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21.

²¹ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 37, 19.

²² Pat. 15 Hen. VI, m. 18.

²³ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 10.

²⁴ York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 30. ²⁵ Ibid. fol. 66.

¹⁹ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 32.

²⁰ Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7.

²¹ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 25.

²² Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27.

²³ Pat. 18 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 2, 1; pt. ii, m. 34.

²⁴ Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 41.

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prior and canons were fervid in religion and lovers of peace and concord. After praising them most highly the diocesan laid down, for their still better rule, that the third prior was to regulate cloister discipline when the prior and sub-prior were not present; that the prior and sub-prior, with three or four canons, were at least once a year to hear from the cellarer and other obedientiaries an account of the expenses and receipts of all matters under their control; that when this audit was finished they were to present to the convent the state of the house and what money was owing; that they were to make a special inventory of the rents and of the stock of every kind, stating sex and age, that it might readily appear whether the goods of the house were increasing or decreasing; that one copy of the account was to be in the charge of the treasurer and another in the charge of the cellarer; that the seal of the convent, sealed with the seal of the prior, should be in the treasury in the custody of some discreet canon, nor were any letters to be sealed with it save in the presence of the convent or of the senior part of it; that the collection and custody of alms should be put by the prior into the hands of some honest person; that the cloister, refectory, and other places appropriated to the canons be guarded from the access of boys and dishonourable persons; and that these injunctions be read twice a year before the convent.³²

Archbishop Geoffrey de Ludham (1258-65) personally visited Newstead on 4 July 1259 and approved of the statutes made by Archbishop Gray, adding certain injunctions of his own. The prior, considering the evil days in which they were living, was to do his best to obtain grace and favour with patrons; he was personally to receive guests with a smiling countenance (*vultu prout decet hilari et jocundo*) and to merit the love of his convent, doing nothing without the counsel of the older canons. Medicines were to be reserved for the sick; any brother noticing the infringement of a rule was to speak; there was to be no drinking after compline, nor wanderings outside the cloister; and a canon was to be specially deputed to look after the sick.³³

It is often forgotten that all the chief religious orders had their own scheme of visitation, independent of the diocesan. An interesting reminder of this occurs in an entry of a Newstead visitation which took place on 16 July 1261; it was subsequently entered in Giffard's register. The visitors on this occasion were the priors of the two Austin houses of Nostell and Guisborough, who were at that time the duly appointed provincial visitors of the order. They enjoined that a good servant, with a boy, was to be placed in the infirmary, and that one of the canons was

to say the canonical hours for them, as well as celebrate mass, according to the rule of the Blessed Augustine.³⁴ A chamberlain was to be appointed to provide clothes and shoes for the convent; he was to have a horse to attend fairs and a servant assigned him to buy necessaries. The canons' dishes were to have more eggs and relishes, but within moderation, never more than three eggs. No one was to drink but in the refectory after collation, and then to attend compline. Accounts were to be rendered twice a year. Canons were to make open amends in chapter on Sundays for transgressions. A lay brother (*conversus*) was to look after the tannery, with a canon to superintend and to see to the buying and selling. Another lay brother was to have charge of the garden, under the sub-cellarer. Finally, the prior was ordered to bring Canon Richard de Walkeringham with him to the next general chapter; he was to testify whether these injunctions had been obeyed.³⁵

On 24 October 1267 the resignation of Prior William, who had held office for thirty-seven years, was accepted by Archbishop Giffard, in consequence of age and infirmity.³⁶

Consequent on a personal visitation of Newstead, Archbishop Wickwane, on 4 July 1280, issued injunctions, wherein he charged the prior to be earnest about divine service and the spiritual refreshment of the brethren; to punish impartially; and to obtain the convent's consent in matters of business. The sub-prior was exhorted to be zealous in his office, to see that silence was kept as appointed and the rule generally observed. Those who were really ill were to be well treated; nothing was to be drunk after compline, save in illness; the carols were to be unlocked twice a year, and oftener if there was occasion, in order to eradicate the vice of private property; clothes were to be allotted from a common store, the distribution of money for this purpose to be altogether abandoned; the roofs of the frater and dorter were to be repaired; visits of outsiders to cloister, frater, farmery, or the precincts of the monastery were interdicted; letters to be sealed before the whole convent and the seal to be in safe custody; two

³⁴ 'The master of the infirmary ought to have mass celebrated daily for the sick, either by himself or by some other person, should they in anywise be able to come into the chapel; but if not he ought to take his stool and missal and reverently at their bed-sides make the memorials of the day, of the Holy Spirit and of Our Lady; and if they cannot sing the canonical hours for themselves, he ought to sing them for them, and frequently in the spirit of gentleness repeat to them words of consolation, of patience, and of hope in God; read to them, for their consolation, lives of Saints; conceal from them all evil rumours; and in no wise distress them when they are resting.' Willis Clark, *Customs of the Augustinian Canons*, 205.

³⁵ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 100b, 101.

³⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 98b.

³² York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 210.

³³ This visitation is entered in Giffard's Reg. fol. 98b.

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of the canons, Robert de Hykeling and John de Tyshulle, to be confined to cloister for the improvement of their manners; another canon was to be restored to the general convent through penitence, but the cellarer and cook were to be deprived of their office; accounts were to be rendered twice a year; and these injunctions to be read in full chapter once a month.³⁷

The submission of Adam, sub-prior, and of the convent of Newstead is enrolled in Archbishop Romayne's register, under date 1 August 1288, inasmuch as they had proceeded to the election of a prior, the cession of the former superior, John de Lexinton, not having been admitted. On the following day the cession was duly admitted by the Archdeacon of Richmond, the archbishop's vicar-general, and licence granted to elect his successor. On 2 September Richard de Hallam, sub-cellarer of the house, was presented to the vicar-general as the new Prior of Newstead, elected in the place of John de Lexinton. The election, however, was quashed on account of various technical irregularities, but the vicar-general, recognizing the personal fitness of Richard for the position, appointed him to the office on his own authority and prayed the king to be favourable to the appointment and give it his sanction.³⁸

On 9 January 1292-3 the archbishop confirmed the election of Richard de Grange, a canon of Newstead, as prior; mandate was issued to the archdeacon to install him; and on the same day information was forwarded to Edward I asking for his royal sanction.³⁹

Consequent on a personal visitation of this priory by Archbishop Romayne, injunctions were issued on 19 August 1293 for the correction of the house, to the effect that silence was to be observed in church, cloister, dorter, and frater; that anyone receiving new garments from the common store was to give up the old ones; that the sick were to be more delicately fed, and not with the gross food of the convent; that the presence of seculars was to be discouraged; that accounts were to be rendered once a year; that no corrodies were to be sold; and that the carols were to be inspected once a year. The archbishop at the same time laid down that John their late prior was to be honoured and his counsel followed, because of his great services to the house and his generosity about his pension in freely and voluntarily giving up much to which he was entitled. As a new ordinance for his pension, the archbishop ordered that Brother John was to have his chamber and garden as previously arranged, with a canon's livery for himself and another for the canon who was to dwell with him and say the divine offices, and another for his boy; and also 30s. a year for his

own necessaries and for the boy's wages; any guest who came to visit him was to have his meals in the frater or in the hall.

Another of the injunctions concerned the restoration of eight marks out of the legacy of R. de Everingham for the fabric of the church, which sum Brother John, who was then prior, converted to other uses of the house; and a loan of twenty marks lent to the sacrist was to be secured. The sacrist, for various lapses, was to be removed from his office. Richard of Hallam, the late prior, was to be confined to the cloister. Finally, all games of dice were prohibited.⁴⁰

In September 1326 Pope John XXII issued his mandate to the Archbishop of York to appropriate the church of Egmonton, valued at £10 per annum, to this priory, due provision being made for a perpetual vicar.⁴¹

Archbishop Richard le Scrope on 19 September 1397 commissioned Prior William de Allerton to administer vows of perpetual chastity to Cecilia, widow of John Crowshaw, burgess of Nottingham, giving her ring, veil, and mantle.⁴²

The *Valor* of 1534 gave the clear annual value of this priory as £167 16s. 11½d. The spiritualities, amounting to £58, included the Nottinghamshire rectories of Papplewick, Hucknall Torkard, Stapleford, Tuxford, and Egmonton, and the Derbyshire rectory of Ault Hucknall, with the chapel of Rowthorn. The temporalities in the counties of Nottingham and Derby brought in an income of £161 18s. 8½d. The considerable deductions included 20s. given to the poor on Maundy Thursday in commemoration of Henry II, the founder, and a portion of food and drink similar to that of a canon given to some poor person every day, valued at 60s. a year.⁴³

Notwithstanding the considerable drop of the clear annual value of Newstead below the £200 assigned as the limit for the suppression of the lesser monasteries, this priory obtained the doubtful privilege of exemption, on payment to the Crown of the heavy fine of £233 6s. 8d. A patent to this effect was issued on 16 December 1537.⁴⁴

The surrender of this house was accomplished on 21 July 1539. The signatures attached were those of John Blake, prior, Richard Kychun, sub-prior, John Bredon, cellarer, and nine other canons, Robert Sisson, John Derfelde, William Dotton, William Bathley, Christopher Motheram, Geoffrey Acryth, Richard Hardwyke, Henry Tingker, and Leonard Alynson.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 82, 83.

⁴¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 254.

⁴² Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 93.

⁴³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 153-4.

⁴⁴ Pat. 28 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 18.

⁴⁵ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 33.

³⁷ York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 137.

³⁸ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 73.

³⁹ Ibid. fol. 79d.



LENTON PRIORY



SOUTHWELL COLLEGIATE CHURCH



PETER, PRIOR OF LENTON



NEWSTEAD PRIORY



THURGARTON PRIORY



RELIGIOUS HOUSES

On 24 July Dr. London, to whom the surrender was made, forwarded to Sir Richard Rich the pension list he had drawn up, and asked for its ratification. The prior obtained a pension of £26 13s. 4d., the sub-prior £6, and the rest of the ten canons who signed the surrender sums varying from £5 6s. 8d. to £3 6s. 8d.⁴⁶

Immediately on the surrender being accomplished the custody of the house was handed over to Sir John Byron of Colwick.⁴⁷ In May 1540 Sir John Byron was put into legal possession of the house, site, church, steeple, churchyard, and of all the lands, mills, advowsons, rectories, &c. of the late priory.⁴⁸

There is a good impression of the first (12th-century) seal of this priory attached to a charter in the British Museum.⁴⁹ The Blessed Virgin is represented seated on a throne, with the Holy Child on her left knee, and in the right hand a fleur-de-lis. Legend:—

+ SIGILLUM . SANCTE MARIE NOVI LOCI I SCHI.

There is also a cast from an imperfect impression of the second seal (14th-century) which also bears the Virgin and Child, and has a diapered background. Only two or three letters of the legend remain.⁵⁰

PRIORS OF NEWSTEAD

Eustace, 1216⁵¹
 Richard, 1216⁵²
 Robert, 1234⁵³
 William (late cellarer), 1241⁵¹
 William, 1267⁵⁵
 John de Lexinton, resigned 1288⁵⁶
 Richard de Hallam, 1288⁵⁷
 Richard de Grange, 1293⁵⁸
 William de Thurgarton, 1324⁵⁹
 Hugh de Colingham, 1349⁶⁰
 William de Colingham, resigned 1356⁶¹
 John de Wylesthorp, resigned 1366⁶²
 William de Allerton, 1366⁶³

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1313.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1321.

⁴⁸ *Pat.* 32 *Hen. VIII*, pt. iv, m. 7.

⁴⁹ *Harl. Chart.* 83, C. 43.

⁵⁰ *Seal Casts*, lxx, 54.

⁵¹ *Harl. MSS.* 6957, fol. 241. ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Pat.* 19 *Hen. III*, m. 17.

⁵³ *Close*, 25 *Hen. III*, m. 9.

⁵⁴ *Harl. MS.* 6970, fol. 177.

⁵⁵ *Harl. MS.* 6972, fol. 5; *Pat.* 16 *Edw. I*, m. 10.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Harl. MS.* 6970, fol. 107; *Pat.* 21 *Edw. I*, pt. i, m. 22.

⁵⁸ *Harl. MS.* 6872, fol. 16, 279; *Pat.* 18 *Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 2, 1.

⁵⁹ *Harl. MS.* 6972, fol. 18; *Pat.* 23 *Edw. III*, pt. ii, m. 6.

⁶⁰ *Harl. MS.* 6972, fol. 20.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

John de Hucknall, 1406⁶⁴
 William Bakewell, 1417⁶⁵
 Thomas Carleton, resigned 1424⁶⁶
 Robert Cutwolfe, resigned 1424⁶⁷
 William Misterton, 1455⁶⁸
 John Durham, 1461⁶⁹
 Thomas Gunthorp, 1467⁷⁰
 William Sandale, 1504⁷¹
 John Blake, 1526⁷²

8. THE PRIORY OF SHELFORD

Shelford Priory, a house of Austin Canons, was founded by Ralph Haunselyn or Hauselin,¹ in the reign of Henry II. In a suit between William Bardolf and Adam de Everingham in 1258 for the patronage of this priory, the former pleaded that his ancestor Ralph Hauselin, whose heir he was, in the time of the then king's grandfather founded the priory and enfeoffed it of all his lands in Shelford and elsewhere, and of the advowson of certain churches. Adam, on the contrary, asserted that Robert de Caus, his ancestor, was founder, because the canons presented a certain person to John de Birkin (Adam's grandfather), whose heir he was. The prior himself could not say who was patron, as he had one charter by which Ralph Hauselin founded the priory, another by which Robert de Caus gave lands to 'his monks (*sic*)' of Shelford, and a third recording a joint grant by Ralph and Robert. The litigants each held a moiety of the barony of Shelford,² but the jury decided in favour of Bardolf, declaring that Ralph Hauselin was the true founder.³

The Taxation Roll of 1291 sets forth the income of the house: in spiritualities, the church of Saxondale £4, part of the church of Muskhams £10 13s. 4d., and pensions from the churches of Shelford, Burton Joyce, and Gedding £1 2s.; and in temporalities, in various parts of the county, £2 2s. 11d., making a total income of £37 18s. 3d.⁴

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 shows a great rise in the annual value of this house; the gross income is entered at £151 14s. 1d., and

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 24; *Pat.* 7 *Hen. IV*, pt. ii, m. 3.

⁶⁵ *Dugdale, Mon.* vi, 474.

⁶⁶ *Harl. MS.* 6972, fol. 25.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*; *Pat.* 2 *Hen. VI*, pt. iii, m. 12.

⁶⁸ *Harl. MS.* 6972, fol. 30.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; *Pat.* 1 *Edw. IV*, pt. i, m. 14.

⁷⁰ *Harl. MS.* 6972, fol. 34; *Pat.* 7 *Edw. IV*, pt. ii, m. 19.

⁷¹ *Harl. MS.* 6972, fol. 42.

⁷² *Ibid.* fol. 46.

¹ Forms which represent the 'Alselin' of Domesday. In many printed records and some MSS. it is given as Hanselin.

² The Domesday fief of Geoffrey Alselin.

³ *Coram Rege*, Mich. 14 *Edw. II*, m. 153.

⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 310, 310b, 312, 338.

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the clear at £116 12s. 1½d. The spiritualities were considerable, including the rectories of Shelford, Saxondale, Gedling, Burton Joyce, and North Muskham, Nottinghamshire; Elvaston, with the chapel of Ockbrook, Derbyshire; and Westborough, Rauceby, half the church of Dorrington, with several pensions from other churches in Lincolnshire. The temporalities were chiefly in Nottinghamshire, but also included rents at Weston, Elvaston, and Kirk Hallam, Derbyshire, and at Fulbeck and Lincoln, Lincolnshire. The heaviest outgoing was £10 a year to the chantry of Corpus Christi in the church of Newark; the sum of £2 6s. 8d. was also paid annually in alms to commemorate the founders, who are there set down as Ralph Hauselin and Robert Caus.⁵

There are various references to this priory in the earlier of the York registers. Archbishop Gray in 1230 confirmed to the Prior and Convent of Shelford several pensions out of Nottinghamshire churches, half a mark out of the mediety of the church of Gedling; half a mark from the church of Laxton; half a mark from the church of Burton-on-Trent, i.e. Burton Joyce; a stone of wax from the church of Kelham; and after the deaths of the then rectors of Gedling and Laxton, each of these churches to pay a mark as pension.⁶

On 4 November 1270 Archbishop Giffard instructed his bailiff at Southwell to deliver three oaks suitable for timber to the Prior of Shelford, out of his wood of Sherwood.⁷

In January 1270-1 the archbishop gave an award as to the right of pasturage in the field of Basford, about which there had been a fierce dispute between the priory of Shelford and the burgesses of Nottingham, the parties having bound themselves under oath to observe the award, under a penalty of 100 lb. of silver. The award was in favour of the burgesses, but the town had to pay the priory 30 marks for damages and expenses.⁸

Consequent on a personal visitation of Shelford Priory, the following injunctions or corrections were dispatched to the house on 4 June 1280:—The prior to discard all torpor both in spiritual and temporal affairs, and to rely on the counsel of his brethren; the sub-prior to restrict himself to his office, such as the joint custody of the seal; useless servants in granges to be removed; the rule of silence at stated times and places not to be infringed; worthless persons not to be allowed to eat and drink in the frater; no one to be admitted to the farmery save the doctors; no one to be allowed to drink or eat after compline, save in the presence of the prior and by his express licence, or in case of

sickness; the sick to be better treated and fed, and alms (in kind) to be more safely kept; canons not to go out of cloister save for necessity or by express leave of the president; carols and chests with locks to be opened twice a year by the prior in the presence of a fellow canon, in order that the vice of private property might be expelled; no money to be paid for clothes, but they are to be allotted out of the common store; no little gifts or letters to be received without licence of the president, and these to be applied to the common use; and these injunctions to be read in full chapter at the beginning of each month.⁹

The visitation of Shelford Priory by Archbishop Romayne in 1280 produced the following injunctions: The prior to do his duty better, to refrain from indulgence in drink (*a superfluis potacionibus se temperet*), and to avail himself of the advice of his experienced and faithful servants, to frequent church and chapter at the proper hours, to correct excesses without favour, to sell no corrody without the diocesan's special licence, to feed with the convent, except at the advent of guests or for other reasonable causes, to correct the obedientiaries after a temperate fashion, to retain no waster nor quarrelsome person, and to take the advice of the convent on the expenditure of the house. The sub-prior was to obey the prior, to punish with discretion, and to abstain from all manner of business. The cellarer and the bursar to render their accounts yearly. Silence to be strictly observed at the appointed times and places; no gifts to be received but by leave; all canons to keep within the cloister, save by leave, which is to be freed from seculars and closed after compline; old clothes to be given to the poor without payment; the carols to be opened now and again, with the view of excluding private ownership; the sick to be better fed and tended, and the farmery kept clear of secular persons; the canons' boys returning from their exterior labour to be excluded from the farmery and to have their meals in a proper place in the common hall; and no seculars or unfit persons to enter the cellarer's buildings or the frater. These injunctions were to be read in full chapter thrice a year, in a distinct and intelligible voice.¹⁰

On 30 March 1289 Archbishop Romayne issued licence to the sub-prior and convent of Shelford to elect a new prior in the place of John de Nottingham, who had held the office for many years.¹¹ On 21 April the archbishop confirmed the election of Robert de Tytheby, canon and sacrist of Shelford, as prior.¹²

The mandate of the archbishop was addressed to the (rural) Dean of Retford 5 September 1293, ordering him to forbid the Prior and Convent of

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 162-3.

⁶ York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.* Giffard, fol. 54.

⁸ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 50-3.

⁹ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 137.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 71 d.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 74.

¹² *Ibid.* fol. 74 d.

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Shelford to use the divine offices in the parish church of Shelford, polluted by the shedding of blood, until it had been reconciled, and citing the prior to appear before him on 1 October, wherever he (the archbishop) might happen to be.¹³

The priory obtained the royal licence in 1310 to appropriate the moiety of the church of Gedling, which was of their patronage.¹⁴

Diocesan sanction was given in 1311 to the appropriation of the churches of Shelford and Saxondale and the mediety of the church of North Muskham to the priory of Shelford.¹⁵

The priory had licence from the Crown in 1316 to appropriate a moiety of the church of Westborough, which was of their advowson.¹⁶

From the dating of various entries on the Patent Rolls for 1317 and 1319 it would appear that Edward II made brief sojourns at Shelford Priory during those years.

Part of the income of the priory was derived from the sale of wool from sheep feeding on the demesne lands. In 1333 Crown licence was obtained for Godeking de Revele and Robert Stuffyn of Newark, merchants, to convey to the staples and thence export at will, notwithstanding the ordinance of the staples, wool purchased by them from the Prior of Shelford before the making of such ordinance.¹⁷

At the pleas of the forest held at Nottingham in 1335 the Prior of Shelford successfully maintained his rights in a wood at Gedling commonly called 'le Priors Parke.' Thomas de Birkin, soon after the foundation of the house, gave to the canons of the Blessed Mary of Shelford all his park of Gedling and the wood therein.¹⁸

In 1348, on payment of £20 to the Exchequer, the priory obtained the Crown licence for the appropriation of the church of Burton Joyce.¹⁹

In May of the following year confirmation was obtained of an indenture of Prior William de Leicester (who died of the plague a few months later) and the convent of Shelford, granting to John de Woodhouse, perpetual chaplain of the altar of Corpus Christi in the church of Newark, and to his successors, a yearly rent of 5 marks to pray for the souls of Alan Fleming of Newark and Alice his wife, their sons and daughters and others; for due payment the prior and canons bound their house and goods, and specially their manors of Saxondale and North Muskham.²⁰

Confirmation was also obtained in June 1350

of an indenture of Prior Thomas de Chilwell and the convent of Shelford, binding themselves to pay yearly to the chapter of Lincoln £6 13s. 4d. to a chantry chaplain celebrating daily for the souls of Henry de Edwinstow, late canon, and his benefactors, in return for a welcome subsidy from the executors of Canon Henry's will. As a special security for this payment every prior of Shelford, within fifteen days of his appointment, was to swear on the Holy Gospels to observe the premises.²¹

In 1392 licence was obtained by John de Landeford, vicar, for the alienation in mortmain of a moiety of the church of Gedling, and by John Ward of Shelford for the alienation of three messuages, lands and rents in Shelford and Stoke Bardolph, co. Nottingham, and one messuage in Alvaston, co. Derby, to the Prior and Convent of Shelford.²² In the following year licence was granted for further gifts of lands in Lowdham, Gunthorpe, and Caythorpe.²³

The second half of the church of Westborough, co. Lincoln, was appropriated to Shelford in 1398.²⁴

At the time of the death of Prior William de Kynalton and the succession of Robert Lyndby, in 1404, it was found that during the rule of the late prior, which had extended over a period of nearly forty years, the house had become indebted to the extent of 80 marks, the burden of the perpetual pensions amounted to £20, and the corrodies to a total of £40. The temporalities and spiritualities were declared to be of the annual value of £120.²⁵

Shelford was subjected in 1536 to a visitation from Legh and Layton, who stated that three of the canons were guilty of unnatural sin and three others of incontinence, and that three desired release from their vows. They also stated that the girdle and milk of the Virgin and part of a candle which she is said to have carried at her purification were here venerated. The priory was further possessed of some of the oil of the Holy Cross and of St. Katherine. They estimated the annual income at £100, and the debts at £30.²⁶

Archbishop Cranmer was not above asking favours of Cromwell out of the wreck of the monasteries. On 25 March 1536 he wrote from Lambeth to Cromwell:—'I desire your favor for the bearer, my brother-in-law, who is now clerk of my kitchen, to have the farm of the priory of Shelford, or of some other house in Notts, now suppressed.'²⁷

In June 1536 the Crown granted almost the whole of the manors, advowsons, and other

¹³ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 82 d.

¹⁴ Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 20.

¹⁵ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 238.

¹⁶ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 22.

¹⁷ Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2.

¹⁸ Harl. MS. 4954, fol. 31, 39, 44.

¹⁹ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7.

²⁰ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 11.

²¹ Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.

²² Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 36.

²³ Pat. 17 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 10.

²⁴ Pat. 22 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 16.

²⁵ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 88.

²⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 547.

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properties of the priory to Michael Stanhope for sixty years, at a rental of £20. The property is described as 'late of Henry Norres, attainted.'²⁸

In November 1537 Michael Stanhope and Anne his wife obtained grant in tail male of the house and site of the suppressed priory of Shelford, with church, belfry, churchyard, 174 acres of arable land, 30 of meadow and 60 of pasture in Shelford, together with the common fishery.²⁹ Michael Stanhope was the second son of Sir Edward Stanhope of Rampton.

There is a cast from a 13th-century impression of the seal of Shelford Priory at the British Museum.³⁰ It is a pointed oval, displaying the Blessed Virgin, crowned and seated on a carved throne, beneath a canopy supported on slender shafts and with the Holy Child on her left knee. Remains of legend:—

SIGILLUM . . . HELFORDIE

PRIORS OF SHELFORD

- Alexander, occurs 1204³¹
- William, occurs c. 1225³²
- John de Nottingham, occurs 1271,³³ resigned 1289³⁴
- Robert de Tithby, 1289³⁵
- Laurence, died c. 1310
- Thomas de Lexinton, c. 1310³⁶
- Robert de Mannesfield, 1315³⁷
- William de Breton, 1320³⁸
- William de Leicester, 1340³⁹
- Stephen de Bassyngborn, 1349⁴⁰
- Thomas de Chilwell, 1349⁴¹
- (Alexander de Insula, elected 1358)⁴²
- Roger de Graystock, appointed 1358⁴³
- William de Kynalton, 1365⁴⁴
- Robert Lyndby, 1404⁴⁵
- William de Righton, 1408⁴⁶
- Walter Cutwolfe, died 1459⁴⁷
- John Bottesford, 1459⁴⁸

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

²⁹ Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 33.

³⁰ Seal Casts, lxx, 36.

³¹ See account of Welbeck Abbey below.

³² Thoroton, *Notts.* i, 288.

³³ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 50.

³⁴ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 106.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Thomas de Lexinton, elected by the canons on the death of Prior Laurence, was approved by Edward II and instituted by Archbishop William (died 1315); *Coram Rege*, Mich. 14 Edw. II, m. 153.

³⁷ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 243.

³⁸ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 16.

³⁹ Ibid. fol. 13.

⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 18.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid. fol. 20. The archbishop appointed Roger de Graystock, quashing the election of Alexander as a *persona inepta*.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. fol. 20.

⁴⁶ Ibid. fol. 24.

⁴⁷ Ibid. fol. 30.

⁴⁸ Ibid. fol. 37.

Richard Stokes, 1479⁴⁹

Robert Helmsley, 1491⁵⁰

Henry Sharp, 1498⁵¹

Robert Dickson⁵²

9. THE PRIORY OF THURGARTON

The name D'Aincourt or Deincourt had its origin in the village of Aincourt in Normandy, not far from Mantes on the Seine. The first English baron of this name was Walter, connected by marriage with the Conqueror, and himself a kinsman of Bishop Remigius. This Walter Deincourt was richly rewarded by his leader, obtaining the grant of one manor in Northamptonshire, four in the West Riding, eleven in Derbyshire, seventeen in Lincolnshire, and thirty-four in Nottinghamshire, including that of Thurgarton.¹

Walter had two sons, William and Ralph. The firstborn died young, and was buried before the western door of Lincoln Cathedral. Ralph became his father's heir and the second Baron Deincourt.

This Ralph Deincourt, for the health of his soul and of those of his sons and daughters, his parents and all his progenitors, founded a house of Austin Canons at Thurgarton in honour of St. Peter. The baron was moved to do this, as he states in the foundation charter, by the advice and prayers of Thurstan, Archbishop of York, of pious memory. He bestowed on the house the whole of Thurgarton and Fiskerton and all the churches of his demesnes, namely those of Granby and Coates, Nottinghamshire, Swayfield, (Cold) Hanworth, Scopwick, Kirkby, Branston, Timberland, and Blankney, Lincolnshire, and Langwith, Derbyshire, with all manner of appurtenances.² The reference to Archbishop Thurstan shows that the house was not founded until after 1140, which was the year of that prelate's decease.³

Two registers or chartularies of this house survived its dissolution, both named by Tanner; one of these was in the possession of the Earl of Chesterfield, and the other in the hands of Mr.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid. fol. 37.

⁵¹ Ibid. fol. 39.

⁵² Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 136. 'Last prior.'

¹ He must, however, have been enfeoffed by his father, upon a portion of the latter's fee, for he granted the tithes of Granby and Knapthorpe to the abbey of St. Mary York; see below.

² It deserves notice that tithes from a number of manors in the d'Aincourt fee had been granted before the foundation of Thurgarton Priory to the abbey of St. Mary York. Walter d'Aincourt, the founder of the family, had given the tithes of Thurgarton itself to the latter house (*Mon.* iii, 537). It does not appear, however, that any dispute arose on this question between Thurgarton and St. Mary's.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 191.

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Cecil Cooper in 1677. There are a considerable number of benefaction charters cited from the former of these in the *Monasticon*.⁴ Among Gervase Holles's collections are a long series of extracts from the latter chartulary, which was 'penes Rogerum Cooper mil. A.D. 1643.'⁵ This Cooper chartulary is the one which is now in the library of the cathedral church of Southwell.^{6a}

A charter of inspection and confirmation, granted by Edward III in 1340, recites a large number of benefactions conferred upon the priory subsequent to the foundation charter.⁶ The more important of these were the gifts of the church of Blackwell (Derbyshire), by William Fitz Ranulph; of the church of Warrington (Lancashire), the church of Tythby, and the chapel of Cropwell Butler, by Matthew de Vilers; of the church of Sutton in Ashfield and 2 bovates of land in that township, by Gerard son of Walter of Sutton; of the mill of Clive, by William Carpenter; of the mill of Doverbeck, by Robert de Cauz; of Snelling mill, on Doverbeck, by Ralph de Beauchamp; of the church of Hoveringham, by Robert de Hoveringham; of 7 bovates of land in Tythby, by Hugh de Hoveringham; of the church of North Wingfield (Derbyshire), by Ralph son of Roger Deincourt; of much land and a moiety of the church of Owthorpe, by various donors; of the church of Lowdham, by Ralph Beauchamp; of demesnes and tenements in Hickling and Kinoulton, and in Kirkby and Scopwick (Lincolnshire), by Gerard de Phanecurt; of the church of Adlington (Lancashire), by Henry Bisett; of considerable lands, tenements, rents, &c. in Saxondale, Harmston, Hawksworth, Aslockton, Screveton, Car Colston, Flintham, Hoveringham, Shelford (Notts.); and of other land in Boyleston, Burnaston, Heanor, and Pilsley, Derbyshire.⁷

By far the greater part of the Thurgarton chartulary now at Southwell is concerned with the grants of the benefactions just briefly recited. Citations may be made of two or three other entries of interest.

Richard Hacun of (Cold) Hanworth (Lincolnshire) by an early undated deed gave to the priory a toft in the town of Hanworth and 3 bovates of land in the fields of Hanworth, &c., in return for which gift the canons covenanted to sustain in perpetuity two wax lights burning at the daily mass of Our Lady in their church of Thurgarton, from the beginning of the canon to the Our Father, and the celebrant to say at mass the

special collect *Inclina* for the donor and for the souls of his father Roger, his mother Maud, and his uncle Matthew.⁸

Occasionally the spiritual interests of benefactors were secured after a much vaguer fashion. Thus Sir Philip de Timberland in 1244 gave to the canons of Thurgarton 4 acres of arable land in the field of Timberland, requiring nothing in return for himself or his heirs save only their prayers.⁹

Roger son of Wolvin de Kirkby granted by an undated 13th-century charter all the land which he held of Ralph son of John de Bergates in the territory of Timberland, together with the right to dig in Ralph's marsh in Timberland wherever he wished to the extent of 400 turves yearly.¹⁰

The Taxation Roll of Pope Nicholas in 1291 gives the total income of the priory as £247 16s. 3d. The temporalities in various parts of Nottinghamshire yielded £137 19s. 2d., and those in Lincolnshire £27 13s. 9d. The appropriations of the six Nottinghamshire churches of Thurgarton, Sutton in Ashfield, Granby, Owthorpe, Hoveringham, and Tythby supplied an income of £75 6s. 8d., while small pensions from the churches of Coates, Hawksworth, and Cotham brought in an additional 10s. Pensions from the four Lincolnshire churches of Blankney, (Cold) Hanworth, Branston, and Swayfield, and from the Derbyshire church of Langwith, supplied a further income of £6 6s. 8d.¹¹ It is also of interest to note that Alexander de Gedling, the Prior of Thurgarton, was the collector of the crusading tenth of this date throughout the archdeaconry of Nottingham.¹²

The returns of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 yield the much larger gross revenue of £359 15s. 10d. The appropriations had considerably increased. The Nottinghamshire rectories of Thurgarton, Hoveringham, Sutton in Ashfield, Owthorpe, Tythby, Ratcliffe on Soar, Granby, 'Feldkirk,' Cotham, and Fiskerton, and those of Kirkby with Scopwick and Timberland in Lincolnshire and Blackwell and Elmton in Derbyshire, in addition to a few pensions from other churches in these three counties, brought in an income of £169 10s. 8d. The total in the same counties from temporalities amounted to £210 5s. 2d. But the outgoing were so numerous that the clear income was reduced by more than a hundred pounds

⁸ Southwell Chart. fol. 95a.

⁹ 'Nisi tantummodo preces et orationes predictorum canonicorum.' Ibid. fol. 103.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 99a.

¹¹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 60b, 61b, 71b, 246b, 310, 310b, 311, 311b, 312, 338.

¹² Mr. Leach's suggestion that this appointment showed that the prior was 'the chief ecclesiastic of the county' (*Visit. of Southwell*, xxiv) is wide of the mark; such a position was burdensome and always evaded if possible.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 191-2.

⁵ Lansd. MS. 207c, fol. 1-93.

^{6a} It was given to Southwell chapter by Cecil Cooper, great-great-grandson of Thomas Cooper, to whom Henry VIII granted the dissolved priory.

⁶ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30, 29.

⁷ See also Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 54-7.

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to £259 9s. 4½d. The chief deductions were for stipends paid by the priory to chantry priests at Southwell, Newark, Ratcliffe on Soar, St. Benedict's Lincoln, and to two each at the Derbyshire churches of Chesterfield and Crich. There was also an annual charge of obligatory alms, at the cost of £6 8s. 1d. distributed to the poor in meat, beer, and bread on the obit of Ralph Deincourt the founder, and on the fourteen following days.¹³

In 1209 Innocent III licensed the priory of Thurgarton, in the event of a vacancy in the cure of souls of any church belonging to them, to appoint three or four of their canons, one of whom was to be instituted to that church by the bishop.¹⁴

Henry III in 1270 granted to the priory a weekly market to be held on Tuesday, on their manor of Fiskerton, and also a yearly fair there on the feast of the Holy Trinity and the two following days.¹⁵

In 1275 the prior claimed view of frankpledge in his manors of Thurgarton, Fiskerton, Crophill, Owthorpe, Hickling, Granby, and Sutton; and assize of bread and ale in Hickling and Harworth; and that his villeins in Hawksworth, Granby, Cropwell Butler, Owthorpe, Wiverton, and Tythby, should not do any suit to the king's wapentake court of Bingham, for which they produced a charter of Henry III of the year 1234. Other claims, all of which were substantiated, were for right of gallows at Thurgarton and for the recently granted market and fair at Fiskerton.¹⁶

Varying fragments of information can be gleaned with regard to Thurgarton Priory from the earlier episcopal registers at York.¹⁷

In 1228 Archbishop Gray confirmed to the canons the grant made by Roger son of William of the advowson of the church of Hawton.¹⁸ Seven years later the archbishop granted to the priory of Thurgarton, to assist them in their laudable hospitality, a pension of two bezants (*bisencios*) out of Hawton rectory.¹⁹ In 1234 the archbishop confirmed to the same priory the small pension of 3s. 4d. out of the church of Cotham.²⁰

A strife of considerable duration between the priory and canons of Thurgarton as rectors of

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 150-3.

¹⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 34.

¹⁵ Chart. R. 54 Hen. III, m. 4.

¹⁶ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 147, 414, 417, 418, 419, 422, 635. There are also numerous references to the like claims in the Hundred Rolls.

¹⁷ The registers of Archbishops Gray and Giffard have been printed by the Surtees Society. Through the courtesy of Mr. W. Brown, hon. secretary of the society, we have been able to consult proof sheets or transcripts of the registers of Archbishops Wickwane and Romanus.

¹⁸ York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 24.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 68.

²⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 66.

Timberland of the one part, and the prior and canons of St. Katherine's, Lincoln, of the other part, concerning the turbary tithes of Timberland, was amicably settled in 1245. The Lincoln priory agreed that in each year when they dug turf in Timberland marsh they would give 12d. at Easter to the church of Timberland by way of tithe for a certain piece of the marsh pertaining to that church, but that no tithe was to be expected from them for other carefully defined parts of the marsh which had been specially assigned to St. Katherine's.²¹

About the same time another dispute between the priory as rectors of Timberland with Simon the vicar of Timberland and the priory of Kyme, concerning tithes of wool and milk and of lambs and calves of animals pasturing in the parish of Timberland on lands which Walter son of Walthof formerly held, was brought to a conclusion. The priory of Kyme covenanted to pay to the church of Timberland 5s. yearly as wool tithe for each 100 sheep, and 5s. yearly for each 100 lambs at the feast of St. Margaret, and 2d. for each cow and calf at Martinmas; and the priory of Thurgarton covenanted not to exact any other small tithes from that land, nor any share of wax-shot and blessed bread.²²

The commuting of tithes in kind for a money payment was fairly common in the 13th century. Thus an agreement was entered into between this priory and the hospital of St. Sepulchre, Lincoln, whereby the brethren of the latter house covenanted to pay to Thurgarton the annual sum of 27s. in lieu of the tithes that pertained to the churches of Kirkby and Scopwick for the lands which had been granted them by the son and grandson of the founder of Thurgarton.²³

Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln 1147-66, confirmed to the priory the churches of Branston, Hanworth, Timberland, Blankney, Scawby, Kirkby, and Swayfield, and a similar confirmation act as to these seven churches was executed by St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200.²⁴

A dispute as to the church of Branston in Lincoln diocese, which was brought to a head in 1236 by a papal decree, is dealt with at length in the chartulary. The Prior and Convent of Thurgarton sought from William de Marcham, rector of Branston, 5 marks annually by way of pension, which they had received of old from that church, namely for the space of forty years and more and which they alleged the rector had detained for two years. The rector retorted that if this payment had been made it was an unjust action. The pope appointed as his commissioners the Abbot of De Pratis, the Dean of Christianity, and the Master of the Schools of Leicester, all of Lincoln diocese. The priory

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 104b.

²² *Ibid.* fol. 105b.

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 132b.

²⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 145b.

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produced five witnesses before the commission, namely John their sub-prior, Ralph the cellarer, Geoffrey de Hanworth, another of their canons, George, who had been a priory servant for fifty years, and Adam de Scawby, a very old layman, who by their depositions most clearly (*luculenter*) proved that the priory had received the 5 marks yearly for over forty years without any intermission, namely from the days of Bishop Walter de Coutances (1183-4) of good memory up to the presentation of William de Marcham to the rectory. Evidence was also forthcoming of the formal confirmation of the pension of Bishop Walter. The rector was ordered to refund to Thurgarton the arrears of 10 marks, and henceforth punctually to pay the pension.²⁵

Archbishop Giffard (1265-79) confirmed to the prior and canons of Thurgarton the churches of Sutton in Ashfield, Granby, Tythby, Owthorpe, Hoveringham, Hawksworth, and Keyworth.²⁶

Thurgarton Priory was personally visited by Archbishop Wickwane (1279-86), with the result that the following injunctions or corrections were forwarded to the house on 8 June 1280: The prior was to be more discreet in temporal matters and more moderate in his corrections; no base person, stranger, or layman was to be admitted to the frater, and no one but the physicians to the farmery; no drinking after compline, save for some necessary cause or infirmity in the presence of the prior; no letters to be sealed but in full consent; gifts to the canons or lay brothers from their friends were to go to the indigent or for common use; silence at proper times and places, according to rule, was to be strictly observed; canons not to go out of cloister (save the obedientiaries), except by the leave of the president; alms (of food) were not to be imprudently consumed, but warded for the poor. Carols and lockers of the canons to be opened thrice a year in the presence of the prior and of two or three of the most trustworthy of the canons, that the vice of private property might be obliterated; the lay brothers were to be faithfully instructed in devotions and works of merit; the fasts were to be observed, and canons serving outside the house not to be absent longer than a fortnight. These injunctions were to be publicly read in full chapter at the beginning of each month.²⁷

On 22 August 1284 the archbishop confirmed the provision made by the Prior and Convent of Thurgarton for Brother Robert de Barford, their late prior. The ex-prior was to have suitable good rooms in the priory where he could live with one of the canons, an attendant and a boy, who were to wait on him, as was seemly. Provision was to be made daily for the ex-prior

at the rate of one and a half canon's portion. Due provision both in board and clothing was also to be made both for the attendant and the boy. The ex-prior was himself to receive yearly two marks for clothing, and he was to be excused attending the divine offices whenever he desired.²⁸

'Arduous and urgent business' prevented Archbishop Romaine, early in his episcopate, from fulfilling an engagement to visit Thurgarton Priory on 8 May 1286, and it was postponed to the 14th of the same month.²⁹ It was as a consequence of this visit that Gilbert the prior, who was accused of incontinence with a married woman, formally purged himself of this sin, publicly and solemnly, with his witnesses or compurgators, before the archbishop on 19 May, and was thereupon declared by his diocesan, under his seal, to be of good fame.³⁰

In August of the same year an episcopal mandate ordered Prior Gilbert to put Alexander de Gedling, a canon of that house, to penance for using opprobrious, presumptuous, noisy, and scandalous language in a chapel of the house where the convent daily assembled for the discussion of business.³¹

About the same time the archbishop addressed the Prior and Convent of Thurgarton with respect to one of their canons, Simon de Lincoln, who had been to Rome because of his faults and had now returned. They were ordered to receive him back in charity and to consider his penance at an end, save that he was not to be allowed to leave the cloister without the president's sanction.³²

A request was addressed by Archbishop Romanus in 1289 to Henry de Anra, the provincial prior of the Carmelites, to permit Richard Maulovel, a fervently devout canon of Thurgarton, of the order of St. Augustine, who desired a stricter rule, to enter his order.³³

In 1290 a scandal was caused at this house by W. de Bingham, one of the canons, violently assaulting John de Sutton, a clerk, in the conventual church, for which he was sentenced to the greater excommunication; his eventual absolution was committed by the archbishop to the prior.³⁴

On the resignation of Prior Robert de Baseford in 1284 the convent elected two of their number and presented them to Archbishop Romanus for his choice, namely Alexander de Gedling and Nicholas de Gameley; but the archbishop passed them both over and nominated Gilbert de Ponteburg as prior.³⁵ When Gilbert, however, resigned the priorship he was succeeded by Alexander de Gedling.³⁶

²⁵ Ibid. fol. 54.

²⁶ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 69.

²⁷ Ibid. fol. 69 d. As to compurgation see p. 50.

²⁸ Ibid. fol. 70.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid. fol. 74 d.

³¹ Ibid. fol. 76.

³² Ibid. fol. 49.

³³ Ibid. fol. 51.

²⁵ York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 146b.

²⁶ Ibid. Giffard, fol. 78.

²⁷ Ibid. Wickwane, fol. 137.

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On 17 October 1290 the episcopal licence was issued to the sub-prior and convent to choose a prior in the place of Gilbert de Ponteburg, who had resigned. On 20 November the archbishop quashed the election of Alexander de Gedling as prior because of canonical informalities in the form of procedure, but himself provided him to the office. He issued his mandate to the sub-prior and convent to yield due obedience to Alexander and to the archdeacon to install him.³⁷

In February 1292-3 an archiepiscopal mandate was issued to the prior not to allow his canons to go outside the priory precincts.³⁸

Notice of visitation of this priory on 14 January 1293-4 by the archbishop was given on the 6th of the previous December.³⁹ There are no consequent injunctions registered, so it may be assumed that all was well.

In February 1294-5 the prior and convent received another letter relative to Richard Maulovel, the canon who several years previously had left this Austin house desirous of entering one of a stricter rule. Since that time he had been wandering about far and wide among various religious houses under pretext of seeking admission and then causing a scandal. The priory were ordered to receive him back till he found another house, but not to admit him to the cloister.⁴⁰

A letter was addressed by the archbishop in September 1295 to the prior on behalf of Hugh de Farndon, a canon of the house, who was in a miserable plight, urging his readmission to undergo due penance.⁴¹

In 1304 the prior was admonished by Archbishop Greenfield to resign, but the convent besought that he might be retained, pleading the expense of a new election. Some of the canons sent a letter to this effect to the diocesan, but it lacked the common seal. The archbishop ordered them to hold an election, and their choice fell on John de Hikeling. The archbishop, however, quashed this election on the ground of informality, and the convent then chose John de Ruddeston. This election was also quashed on the like grounds, but the archbishop duly collated Ruddeston to the office, as he thought him a worthy man.⁴²

In 1312 Archbishop Greenfield absolved Walter Bingham from being Prior of St. Oswald (Nostell), and he returned to the monastery of Thurgarton, of which he was a canon.⁴³

Archbishop Greenfield, 1311, sanctioned the appropriation to this priory of the churches of Thurgarton, Owthorpe, Tythby, Hoveringham, Sutton, and Granby.⁴⁴

³⁷ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 76 d.

³⁸ Ibid. fol. 79.

³⁹ Ibid. fol. 84.

⁴⁰ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 101.

⁴¹ Ibid. fol. 130b.

³⁸ Ibid. fol. 83.

⁴¹ Ibid. fol. 84 d.

⁴⁴ Ibid. fol. 146b.

The church of Cotham was appropriated to Thurgarton Priory by the archbishop's licence on 1 July 1350, the plea being the poverty of the house through the ravages of the plague. The archbishop was careful to secure for himself and his successors a pension from the church of 4 marks, and another of 2 marks for the chapter of York.⁴⁵

Boniface IX in 1402 granted power to the prior and convent and their successors to rent, let, farm, or sell to clerks or laymen all fruits, tithes, and oblations of churches, chapels, and other possessions without requiring the licence of ordinaries.⁴⁶ In December of the same year the priory obtained an indult from the pope to have made anew in their dormitory as many cells as might be expedient for the sleeping of their canons; such cells, when made, were not to be changed in the future.⁴⁷

The same pope in 1403 granted the petition of the priory that—as they were bound to find and keep at their own cost a secular priest and to depute a canon of their house to celebrate at certain altars in the priory church for the souls of Thomas Horoft (*sic*) and Walter de Elineton, laymen, who were buried therein—the prior and his successors might depute at pleasure, for these celebrations, two secular priests or two canons of the priory in priests' orders.⁴⁸

Licence was granted in 1431 for Alice widow of Sir William Deyncourt to found a perpetual chantry for daily celebration at the altar of St. Anne in the conventual church of St. Peter, Thurgarton, for the good estate of the king and the founder and their souls after death, and for the souls of the said William and of John Deyncourt, knight, and Jean his wife, and of Alice's relatives and friends, and for all the faithful departed. The chaplain to receive a yearly rental of 100s., and the advowson of the chantry to be in the hands of the Prior and Convent of Thurgarton.⁴⁹

The Prior of Thurgarton by an old-established custom had a right to a stall in the quire of the great collegiate church of Southwell, and this would carry with it, we suppose, a right to a seat in the chapter-house. The origin of this is not known with any precision. Mr. Leach says: 'How or when the prior got in is a mystery,' and suggests that it may have originated as a matter of courtesy, in 1225, in return for the priory having given up Rolleston Church to the archbishop for Southwell.⁶⁰ This is probably the solution of the difficulty; but it is much more likely that the seat was at that time definitely assigned to the prior as a part of the

⁴⁵ Ibid. 6971, fol. 111b.

⁴⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 510.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 546.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 601.

⁴⁹ Pat. 9 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 3.

⁶⁰ Leach, *Visit. of Southwell*, xxix.

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bargain about Rolleston Church rather than as an act of mere courtesy.

The royal visitors Legh and Layton visited Thurgarton in 1536, where they surpassed themselves in the wholesale character of their hideous charges. Out of the comparatively small number of canons of this house, they actually stated that ten were guilty of unnatural offences, that the prior had been incontinent with several women, and six others with both married and single women. They also stated that eight of the canons desired to be released from their vows. They further recorded that a pilgrimage was held here to St. Ethelburg, but so little acquaintance had they with hagiology that they described this well-known lady saint as a man—*ad Sanctum Ethelburgum*. The annual income was returned at £240.⁵¹

On the resignation of Prior Thomas Dethick in February 1537 a *congé d'elire* was granted by the Crown to the sub-prior and convent to hold a new election. Their choice fell on John Berwick.⁵²

Dr. Legh, who had made such a string of appalling charges against the Thurgarton canons, wrote to Cromwell on 12 June 1538, to the effect that he had just succeeded in carrying out the dissolution of the monastery of Halesowen and was setting out for this Nottinghamshire house.⁵³ Two days later the surrender of Thurgarton Priory was signed by John Berwick, prior, William Chace, sub-prior, and by seven other canons, namely John Kampney, John Longeyscare, John Ryley, Richard Leykes, Robert —, Henry Gaskyn, and Richard Hopkyn.⁵⁴

Legh, who received the surrender, tarried some days at Thurgarton. On 16 June he wrote from the dissolved priory to Wriothlesley, telling him that he had accomplished his desires with regard to Mr. Cooper.⁵⁵

The following pensions were granted to this house on 23 July 1539:—John Berwick, prior, a house called Fiskerton Hall, with a chapel in the house, a garden, a stable called 'le mares stable,' tithes of hay of two meadows, and £40 a year; Richard Hopkyn, sub-prior, £6 13s. 4d.; and John Ryley, Henry Gaskyn, John Langeskar, Robert Cant, Richard Leke, John Champney, and William Chace, canons, £5 each.⁵⁶

It is noteworthy that Richard Hopkyn, who, according to Legh and Layton, was a confessed adulterer, obtained the highest pension, and among those in receipt of a pension of £5 appears the name of Richard Leke who was entered on both the black lists of the commissioners.

⁵¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

⁵² *Pat.* 28 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 31.

⁵³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1172.

⁵⁴ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 45.

⁵⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1184.

⁵⁶ *Aug. Off. Bks.* ccxxxii (2), fol. 56-7.

PRIORS OF THURGARTON

Thomas, occurs c. 1190⁵⁷
 Henry, 1209; ⁵⁸ occurs 1218⁵⁹
 William, occurs 1234-45⁶⁰
 Richard, occurs 1250-7⁶¹
 Adam, occurs 1263-76⁶²
 Robert de Baseford, resigned 1284⁶³
 Gilbert de Ponteburg, 1284-90⁶⁴
 Alexander de Gedling, 1290-1304⁶⁵
 John de Ruddeston, 1304-19⁶⁶
 John de Hikeling, 1319-31⁶⁷
 Robert de Hathern, 1331-7⁶⁸
 John de Ruddeston, re-elected 1337-8⁶⁹
 Richard de Thurgarton, 1338-45⁷⁰
 Robert de Hickling, 1345-9⁷¹
 Robert de Claxton, 1349⁷²
 John de Calveton, died 1381⁷³
 William de Saperton, 1381⁷⁴
 Robert de Wolveden, occurs 1432; ⁷⁵ resigned 1434⁷⁶
 Richard Haley, 1434⁷⁷
 William Bingham, 1471-7⁷⁸
 Richard Thurgarton, died 1494⁷⁹
 John Allestre, 1494⁸⁰
 John Goverton, 1505⁸¹
 John Angear, 1517-34⁸²
 Thomas Dethick, 1534-6⁸³
 John Berwick, 1536⁸⁴

10. THE PRIORY OF WORKSOP

The priory of Worksop for Austin Canons, according to an old chronicle cited by Dugdale, was first founded, probably after a humble fashion, by William de Lovetot in the year 1103.¹

The fuller endowment charter of Worksop Priory is in the hands of Colonel Henry Mellish of Hodssock Priory.² By this charter, of the

⁵⁷ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 63.

⁵⁸ Willis, *Mitred Abbeys*.

⁵⁹ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 81.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 82, 83, 88.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* fol. 84, 86, 87, 89.

⁶² *Ibid.* fol. 85, 86, 89, 90.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 6970, fol. 67b.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 73b, 80b.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 84, 101.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 101; 6972, fol. 22b.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 22b. 23.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 25.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 29.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 6971, fol. 74.

⁷² *Ibid.* 6972, fol. 35.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 37.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 49.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 53b.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 118.

² *Thoroton Soc.* (1905), ix, 83-9, where the charter is given in facsimile.

⁶³ *Ibid.* fol. 23.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 23, 25.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 41-2.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 43b.

⁸² *Ibid.* fol. 51, 53b.

⁸⁴ *Thoroton, Notts.* 305.

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reign of Henry I, c. 1130, William de Lovetot, with the assent of his wife Emma and of his sons (Richard and Nigel) granted to God and the Holy Church and to the canons of St. Cuthbert of Worksop all the chapel furniture (*capellaria*) of his house, with the tithes and oblations; the church of Worksop, where the canons were, with lands and tithes and all that pertained to the church; the fish-pond and mill and meadow near the church; the whole tithe of his customary rents, both in Normandy and England; a carucate of land in Worksop field, *ad inwara(m)*,³ and his meadow at 'Cathale'; all his churches of the honour of Blyth, namely, those of Gringley, Misterton, Walkeringham, Normanton, Car Colston, Willoughby, Wysall, and portion of the church of Treswell, with all tithes, lands, and possessions belonging to these churches; the tithes of his pannage, honey, venison, fish, and fowl; and the tithes of malt and of his mills, and of all his possessions from which tithe was wont or ought to be given.

This charter was confirmed by his eldest son Richard de Lovetot, who also added valuable grants of his own, including half the church of Claborough; two bovates of land in Hardwick Grange, near Clumber, *ad utwara(m)*; ⁴ the whole site of the town of Worksop near the church, inclosed by a great ditch as far as Bracebridge meadow; also without the ditch, a mill, mansion, and Buselin's meadow; other moist lands on the north by the water; and from the water by the road under the gallows towards the south, marked out by crosses set up by himself and his son; a mill with fish-stew at Manton; and all Sloswick. By the same charter Richard also confirmed grants by his mother Emma of a mill at Bolam, an oxgang at Shireoaks, various other lands at Hayton, Rampton, Normanton, and Tuxford, and the church and two oxgangs at Car Colston. He further granted to the canons the privileges of feeding as many pigs as they possessed in Rumwood, and of having two wagons for the collecting of all the dry wood they required in the park of Worksop. Finally he confirmed the grant of land in Thorpe by Walter and Roger de Haier. The date of this long and important charter is about 1160. The charter itself was laid on the altar of the priory church by Richard de Lovetot and his son William.⁵

³ This phrase, which is of extreme rarity, means that the land to which it is applied was appropriated to the service of the house that received the grant, in contrast to land *ad utwaram*, from which service was due to the king. The two bovates which Richard de Lovetot granted to the priory in Hardwick Grange (see below) were to be held *ad utwaram*. See *Athenaeum*, 24 June 1905, for the employment of these terms.

⁴ See above, note 3.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 118-19; Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 386-7.

Richard's wife Cecilia gave, as her gift to the priory, the church of 'Dinsley,' Yorkshire,⁶ (Over or Low Dinsdale).

These various grants to the priory were confirmed in 1161 by Alexander III, in a bull giving the canons the privileges of exemption from tithes, presentation to their churches, burial rights for all persons save the excommunicate, and leave to celebrate mass at a time of general interdict in a low voice with closed doors and silenced bells.⁷

The third great benefactor was William de Lovetot, the son of Richard and Cecilia. On the day of his father's funeral he gave to God, St. Mary, St. Cuthbert, and the canons of Radford⁸ or Worksop, the tithes of all the rents he then had or ever should have on this side of the sea or beyond it. He died in 1181, his wife Maud daughter of Walter Fitz Robert being but twenty-four years of age, and leaving a daughter of the same name, aged seven, as heiress. This great heiress was eventually given in marriage to Gerard de Furnival, who joined the Crusades and died at Jerusalem in 1219. Gerard slightly increased the grants to the priory, allowing the canons the privilege of pasturing forty cattle in Worksop Park between Easter and Michaelmas.⁹ His widow Maud, who survived him several years, granted a full charter of confirmation in the year 1249 with one or two small additions, such as a wood in Welham and further property in Gringley.¹⁰

Thomas de Furnival, the eldest son of Gerard and Maud, was slain in Palestine in the lifetime of his mother; his son Gerard gave the third part of his mills at Bradfield to the priory. This Gerard died childless, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas.¹¹

The Prior of Worksop in 1269 brought an action against Thomas de Furnival because there had been so much waste, sale, and destruction of timber in Worksop Park that there was not a sufficiency of dry wood for his two wagons according to old covenant.¹²

It would seem, however, that peace was quickly made between the litigants, for in the following year, when Thomas de Furnival obtained licence to build a castle on his manor of Sheffield, he agreed with the canons of Worksop to provide him with two chaplains and a clerk at

⁶ White, *Worksop*, 25.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 120.

⁸ The priory stood a little to the east of Worksop proper, in the district called Radford, and hence not infrequently bore the latter name. The stream which is now known as the River Ryton, from a village on its banks, was commonly in mediaeval times called the water of Radford.

⁹ Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 388.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 119-20.

¹¹ White, *Worksop*, 29.

¹² Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 389.

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his castle, to whom he engaged to pay 5 marks a year.¹³

The *Quo Warranto* Rolls of the beginning of the reign of Edward I show that the Prior of Worksop had no difficulty in establishing the freedom of his men from tolls, passage, pontage, and all manor of customs before juries of the counties of Nottingham, York, and Derby, by the production of a charter of Henry I granting them these exemptions throughout the whole of England. He also maintained his rights to free warren on the Nottinghamshire manors of Walkeringham, Hardwick, and Shireoaks, and on the Derbyshire manor of Brampton; as well as to the amercement of his own tenants at Worksop for breaking the assize of bread and ale.¹⁴

The Taxation Roll of 1291 yields a total of £71 6s. 8d. as the income of Worksop Priory, namely £40 for temporalities, all within the county; £10 out of Sheffield rectory; the appropriated churches of Normanton £12, and of Burton £8; and pensions from the churches of Car Colston 6s. 8d., and Willoughby 20s.¹⁵

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 sets forth the annual value of the temporalities in the counties of Nottingham, York, Derby, and Lincoln, as £156 8s.; whilst the appropriated Nottinghamshire churches of Worksop, Walkeringham, Gringley, Sutton, Normanton, Burton, Osberton, Car Colston, Willoughby, Wysall, and Screveton, with pensions from the Derbyshire church of Clowne, the Lincolnshire church of Rushton, and the Yorkshire church of Wickersley, together with a third part of the rectory of Sheffield (£5 6s. 8d.), yielded £145 18s. 10d. This gave a total value of £302 6s. 10d. But the clear value was reduced to £239 15s. 5d. There were various pensions paid to York for appropriations. The obligatory alms also involved a considerable annual charge. The distribution to the poor at Christmas in commemoration of William Lovetot the founder was on an unusually large scale, costing in wheat and rye bread and in beer £9 16s. 4d. The prior's dish of meat given every day cost £3 a year, and the Lady dish another £3; whilst the canons' dish, which had been given every day in the chapter-house since the foundation of the priory, cost £4 a year. Other gifts in kind, as the obits of priors and benefactors came round, cost £5; and there were also 'two pyes of the pytaunce geven in almes to poore people, vs.'¹⁶

There are various entries pertinent to this priory in the earlier episcopal registers of York. In 1227 a contention arose as to the church or chapel of Osberton between the Prior and Con-

vent of Worksop and Robert son of William. An inquisition was held by the Archdeacon of Nottingham, whereupon Archbishop Gray declared that it had been made plain that the church of Osberton was a chapel of Worksop and belonged to the priory there, although it had been alienated for some time, and he therefore allowed them to convert it to their own uses for the support of the poor, after the death of the clerk who then held it.¹⁷

The prior and canons in 1234 obtained the archbishop's sanction to appropriate to their own uses, especially in the exercise of hospitality, the church of West Burton, of which they had the advowson.¹⁸

In 1276 Alan de London, one of the canons of Worksop, was instituted to the vicarage of the church of Worksop by Archbishop Giffard, on the presentation of the prior and convent of the same; Alan swore obedience only to the archbishop.¹⁹

Archbishop Wickwane visited Worksop Priory on 26 May 1280, with the result that the following injunctions were subsequently issued: The prior was not to permit the holding of any private property, and to forbid all going outside the gates of the priory save for some inevitable and necessary cause. All lockers of the canons were to be opened four times a year and oftener if there was any cause, anything found therein to be applied to the common use of the monastery; the canons were not to go out alone, when there was necessity for leaving the house; idle canons lingering without cause in the farmery were to be treated as paupers and otherwise punished; two canons in particular, Robert de Sancto Botulfo and Peter de Retford, were to be removed from the farmery and to consort with the convent; Adam de Rotherham, the late cellarer, to stay in the cloister and do penance; the sick to be kindly treated; all sinister and unfitting speech forbidden; no canon or brother to eat and drink with any outside guest, unless the prior was present; silence to be strictly observed according to rule; alms not to be wasted; the entertaining of costly and useless guests forbidden; William Selliman, a rebellious and quarrelsome canon, and William de Grave and Henry de Marcham, two lay brothers, accused of incontinence, to be punished. These rules were to be read in chapter once a month.²⁰

John de Tykill, Prior of Worksop, had three canons of his monastery deputed by the archbishop in 1311 to act as his coadjutors. At the visitation of 1313 he was found guilty of incontinence and maladministration, and was removed.²¹

¹³ Pat. 54 Hen. III, m. 31.

¹⁴ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 161, 221, 627, 651.

¹⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 299b, 310b, 311, 311b, 312, 338.

¹⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 174-6.

¹⁷ York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 17.

¹⁸ Ibid. fol. 66.

¹⁹ Ibid. Giffard, fol. 114.

²⁰ Ibid. Wickwane, fol. 136 d.

²¹ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 11.

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An *inspeximus* and confirmation charter of 1316 recites, *inter alia*, a grant of Henry III in 1268 to the priory to take two cart-loads daily of heather in Sherwood Forest, not to exceed the annual value of 60s., in consideration of the loss sustained in their wood of Grove, which Edward the king's eldest son had caused to be felled in the time of trouble in the realm to make engines and other necessities to invade the Isle of Axholme, then resisting the king.²³ The cart-loads were only to be taken in two places, namely in Rumwood and 'Cuthesland.' At the same time the appropriation of the church of Sutton on Trent, originally granted in 1302, was confirmed.²³

In 1316 licence was granted for the appropriation of the church of Car Colston.²⁴

Edward I had granted the Prior and Convent of Worksop 60 acres in the east part of his wood of Rumwood at a rental of 10s., and to inclose and bring it into cultivation if they thought fit. But in 1335 they complained to Edward III that after they had inclosed it Ralph de Nevill and his fellow justices of the forest took the whole site into the king's hands on a presentment by the forest ministers, alleging that they had inclosed more than the 60 acres, and demanding a further rental of 2s. 2d. for an additional 13 acres. The king, willing to show the canons a special favour, in return for the manifold charges they had frequently incurred when he visited their priory, granted them the whole space they had inclosed free of all rent for ever.²⁵

In 1338 there was an *inspeximus* and confirmation of the charter to the priory executed by Thomas de Furnival III, the great man of that great family, who was summoned as a baron to Parliament from 1294 till his death in 1332. Almost the only addition that this baron made to the grants of his ancestors was that he gave permission to the convent to have free ingress and egress to his park to look after the forty cattle of the priory feeding there between Easter and Michaelmas.²⁶

In 1384 the priory paid the heavy sum of £40 to William de Nevill, keeper of the king's manor house of Clipston in Sherwood Forest, for its repair, in return for which they obtained the Crown licence to appropriate the church of Willoughby.²⁷

In the following year 25 marks were paid to the king by the priory to secure the alienation to them of five messuages and a moiety of three more messuages in East Retford, the joint gift of

Richard de Rawclyf, rector of Clowne, William de Burgh, rector of Babworth, and Peter Cook, chaplain, towards finding a chaplain to celebrate daily in the priory for their good estate and for their souls after death.²⁸

This priory was subjected in 1536 to a visit from the notorious commissioners, Legh and Layton. They affected to have discovered four canons guilty of unnatural sin; one desired release from his vows. The annual income was declared to be £240 and the debts 200 marks.²⁹

Sir John Hercy, writing to Cromwell on 31 October 1538, remarked that 'the prior and convent of Worksop are so covetous, they sell flocks of sheep, kye, corn, woods, etc.'³⁰ And who can blame them? They clearly foresaw their overthrow. On 15 November of the same year came the surrender of the priory with sixteen signatures. We give the names of those who signed, adding the amount of pensions they obtained on 25 March 1539;³¹ all the four accused by Legh and Layton obtained their pensions.

Thomas Stokkes, prior	£50
William Nutte, sub-prior	£6
Thomas Richardson	£5 6s. 8d.
William Inghame	" "
George Copley	£6
*Richard Astley	£6
Laurence Starkebone	£5 6s. 8d.
*Alexander Boothe	" " "
*Thomas Bedall	" " "
*George Barnsley	" " "
Edmund Robinson	" "
James Windebank	£4
Robert Armstead	"
John Hayles	40s.
Christopher Haslam	"
William White	"

The four canons to whose names an asterisk is prefixed are those so foully branded in the *Comperta*.

In November 1541 Henry VIII granted the priory of Worksop and divers parcels of demesne lands, &c., to Francis, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, in exchange for the manor of Farnham Royal, Buckinghamshire.³²

There is in the British Museum a cast from a damaged impression of the seal of Henry, prior temp. John. It is a pointed oval, and bears the prior standing on a platform, lifting the right hand in benediction, and holding in the left a scroll inscribed . . . CIA DEI. The legend is:—

. HENRICI . PRIORIS . DE . WIR

²³ Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 5.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

²⁵ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 726.

²⁶ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 50; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 185; Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxxiii, 163-5.

²⁷ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 6.

²² This refers to the defence of Axholme by the remnants of Simon de Montfort's party at the close of the Barons' War.

²³ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 36.

²⁴ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 31.

²⁵ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25.

²⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25.

²⁷ Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 3.

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PRIORS OF WORKSOP

William de Huntingdon, first prior³³
 William, 1180³⁴
 Stephen, c. 1196³⁵
 Henry, 1200³⁶
 Walter, occurs c. 1230³⁷
 Robert de Pikebow, 1260³⁸
 J., occurs 1267³⁹
 Alan de London, resigned 1300⁴⁰
 John de Tykill, 1303, also occurs 1311 and
 1313⁴¹

Robert de Carlton, 1313⁴²
 John, 1396⁴³
 Roger de Upton, died 1404⁴⁴
 John de Leghton, 1404⁴⁵
 Charles Flemmyng, occurs 1458, resigned
 1463⁴⁶
 William Acworth, 1463⁴⁷
 Robert Ward, occurs 1486, died 1518⁴⁸
 Robert Gateford, 1518⁴⁹
 Nicholas Storth, 1522⁵⁰
 Thomas Stokkes, occurs 1535⁵¹

HOUSE OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS

II. THE ABBEY OF WELBECK

Joceus de Flemmaugh is said to have formed one of the train of William of Normandy at the time of the Conquest; he acquired the third part of a knight's fee in Cuckney. Joceus begat a son named Richard who married a Nottingham lady. There was living in Cuckney a man called Gamelbere,¹ described as a 'drenc,' who held, before the Conquest, two carucates of land of the king in chief by the service of providing a palfrey for the king, shod on its four feet at the king's forge, whenever he visited his manor of Mansfield, and by attending him in the time of war. Gamelbere died without heir, and his land escheated to King Henry I. The king gave this land to Richard the son of Joceus. Richard had a son of the like name by his first wife, and on her death he took for a second wife Avice, a kinswoman of Earl Ferrers, granting her as dower the two carucates of land at Cuckney. By his second wife Richard had a son called Thomas. Thomas was brought up in the king's court, and on his father's death inherited the two carucates. Thomas is described as a most warlike man, who followed the king (Stephen) throughout his campaigns; but when there was peace in the kingdom, in the reign of Henry II, founded the abbey of Welbeck.²

This is the first part of the account set forth at length towards the end of the Welbeck char-

tulary as to the history of the foundation and of the founder's ancestry and progeny; but it represents a very confused tradition as to the origin of the house, for another shorter account, which immediately follows, makes Richard the son of Joceus the original founder of the abbey.³ This latter statement is nearer the truth, for the abbey was begun by Richard in 1153, and finished by his son Thomas in the reign of Henry II;⁴ but, even so, the fact remains that 'Joceus' cannot be identified in the more authentic records of the period to which this tradition would assign him.

Nevertheless, as Thomas carried out and fulfilled his father's intentions with definite endowments, he is generally regarded as the founder; but it was in his father's lifetime that a colony of Premonstratensian canons from the abbey of Newhouse, Lincolnshire, established themselves in this north-west corner of the county of Nottingham. Thomas's charter, addressed to Roger, Archbishop of York, and to all faithful sons of the Church, sets forth that he has granted to Berengarius, Abbot of Welbeck, and his successors, by the counsel of Serlo, Abbot of Newhouse, the site of the abbey of Welbeck, where the church of St. James is founded, and all the land from that site to the place called Belph, between the rivulet and the wheel road (*viam quadrigarum*) from the abbey to Belph. He also granted all the meadows, pastures, groves, and cultivated ground in Belph, and all his adjacent wood-

³³ White, *Worksop*, 33. Signs, as 'William,' the foundation charter of Welbeck Abbey.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 3.

³⁸ White, *Worksop*, 33.

³⁹ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 2.

⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 7.

⁴¹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 146; *ibid.* 6972, fol. 11.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ White, *Worksop*, 33.

⁴⁴ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 74.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Bodl. Chart. Notts. no. 10; Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 31.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid. fol. 45.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid. fol. 46.

⁵¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 174.

¹ The name is pure Danish; see *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 243, where also reference is made to the significance of the title 'drenc.'

² Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 160-1. This MS. is a valuable but irregular and imperfect register or chartulary of Welbeck Abbey of 175 folios, in hands of the end of the 13th and of the 14th and 15th centuries; it is the one cited by Thoroton in his history of the county, but parts are missing since that date. Harl. MS. 5374, fol. 1-18, contains a number of excerpts from Lord Chesterfield's chartulary of this abbey relative to benefactions of the de Vylers family, of Lincoln.

³ Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 161 d, 162.

⁴ Ashm. MS. 1519, cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 872.

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land where Geoffrey and Hugh and Drenghel dwelt; together with the church of St. Mary of Cuckney, the church of St. Helen of Etwell (Derbyshire), and the church of St. John Baptist of Whitton (Lincolnshire), the mill of Langwith, all his lands at Hirst, and common pasture throughout his demesnes. The charter concludes with the statement that all this was done with the assent of Emma his wife and of his three brothers, Ralph, Silvan, and Richard. The first of a large group of witnesses is William, Prior of Radford (Worksop).⁵

Thomas son of Richard had by his wife Emma a daughter Isabel. After her father's death Isabel was a royal ward and given in marriage by the king to Simon son of Simon. This Simon and his wife gave the mill of Cuckney to the abbey.⁶ To Simon and Isabel were born three daughters, Agnes, Isabel, and Petronilla, who were respectively married to Walter de Falcomb, Walter de Riboeuf, and Stephen de Falcomb. These three heiresses and their husbands confirmed to the abbot and canons all the gifts they had received from their ancestors.

From their heirs and descendants, John Hotham, Bishop of Ely, 30 September 1329, bought the whole manor of Cuckney, together with other lands and advowsons of the abbey.⁷ On 4 December following the Bishop of Ely granted to the abbey the whole manor of Cuckney, together with the towns or hamlets of Cuckney, Langwith, Bonbusk, Holbeck, Woodhouse, Milnthorpe, Clowne, and Norton by Cuckney.⁸ On 9 December John de Nottingham, Abbot of Welbeck, entered into a composition with the Bishop of Ely, whereby the abbey undertook to add at least eight canons to their number, whose special duty it should be to act as chantry priests in saying masses for the king and his royal ancestry, for Bishop Hotham and his parents, and for other specified benefactors or relatives. It was covenanted that the Abbot of Newhouse, their father abbot, should always at his annual visitation inquire into the due observance of this composition.⁹

A memorandum in an early hand in the midst of the Welbeck chartulary briefly records the fact that the church of Whitton, Lincolnshire, was dedicated by Robert, Bishop of Bangor, on 27 April, when he consecrated three altars, namely the high altar in honour of St. John Baptist, the altar in the body of the church (*in corpore ecclesie*) in honour of the Blessed Mary the Mother of God, and the altar in the north aisle in honour of St. Mary Magdalene.¹⁰ Robert de Shrewsbury was Bishop of Bangor from 1197 to 1215. The following are among the more important entries from the chartulary,

⁵ Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 150.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 25 d.

⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 148.

⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 147.

the episcopal registers at York, and other sources, relative to other property of the abbey, both in temporalities and spiritualities:

Richard de Furnival released all his right in the chapel of Bothamsall to the abbey of Welbeck, acknowledging it to belong to the mother church of Elkesley in the abbey's patronage.¹¹

Robert de Meinill, lord of Whitwell, Derbyshire, gave to the canons a quarry on his land, wherever most convenient, for building the church of St. James and the necessary buildings, with free ingress and egress for those thus engaged. Walter de Goushill also granted a quarry for the like purpose on the moor between Whitwell and Belf, or elsewhere in the common pastures of Whitwell parish, after the same manner as had been done by his ancestor Robert de Meinill.¹²

Roger Deincourt gave to the church of Welbeck, for the sustenance of three canons who were to specially celebrate for himself and his family, all his lands and meadows and right of pasture except the advowson of the church in North Wingfield, Derbyshire. This gift was confirmed by John Deincourt, rector of North Wingfield, Roger's brother.¹³

In 1213 the Abbot of Welbeck brought the king four palfreys to secure his confirmation of the gift of the church of Flintham, together with lands and tenements at the same place, which Agatha daughter and heiress of Hugh Bretel had made to the abbey.¹⁴ This Agatha was first married to Geoffrey Monachus, and afterwards to Humphrey, King John's cook. The gift was accompanied by pasture rights for 300 sheep at Flint-ham.¹⁵

Geoffrey, Archbishop of York (1191-1212), sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Whitton to the abbey, providing that a third part of the income was to be assigned to the vicar as a competency.¹⁶

A fine was levied in 1204 between Richard, Abbot of Welbeck, and Alexander, Prior of Shel-ford, whereby it was arranged that the advowson of the church of Kelham was to be held in moieties between them.¹⁷

A royal grant was made to the church of Welbeck in 1250 of 5 acres and a rood of inclosure in the Peak Forest at 'Cruchill,' to be held by rendering 21d. yearly at the Exchequer; also a grant of the pasture of 'Cruchill,' by the wood of Ashop and up the valley to Derwent-head, and also of all the pasture of Ashop up that water to its head, and thence to Kendalhead, which pasture the canons held by a charter of King John.¹⁸

¹¹ Thoroton, *Notts.* 444.

¹² Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 164.

¹³ *Ibid.* fol. 164 d.

¹⁵ Thoroton, *Notts.* 133.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 143.

¹⁸ Chart. 35 Hen. III, m. 13.

¹⁴ Pipe R. 14 John.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 331.

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The abbot succeeded in 1276 in maintaining his rights to freedom from passage and pontage dues, and from all manner of hundred and other court contributions, &c., as well as rights of free warren on his Derbyshire estates at Duckmanton, North Wingfield, Newbold, and Cresswell, and the like over all his numerous Nottinghamshire possessions, by the production of early charters.¹⁹

Grant of free warren was obtained or confirmed by the Abbot and Convent of Welbeck in 1291 throughout all their demesne lands in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln.²⁰

A considerable and long-sustained controversy was maintained in the reign of Henry III and in the days of Abbot Hugh between the abbey of Welbeck and the burgesses of Retford as to the mills of that town; eventually in 1297 the mills were taken into the king's hands and granted to the abbey at £10 a year.²¹

In 1299 the Archdeacon of Nottingham resigned into the hands of the Archbishop of York the presentation to the church of Elkesley which he had received from the abbot and canons of Welbeck.²²

There are various entries in the chartulary as to the rights of the abbey in Sherwood Forest, and perambulations both of Sherwood and of the Peak Forests in the reign of Edward I are recorded.²³ In 1307 the abbey obtained leave from the Crown, on paying a fine of 200 marks, to break and inclose and make a park of 60 acres in Rumwood. The site is described as lying between the park of Thomas de Furnival and the abbot's wood, extending by the highway that led from Worksop to Warsop.²⁴

The church of Elkesley was appropriated to the abbey in December 1348. In giving his sanction Archbishop Thoresby provided that 10s. was to be paid annually by Welbeck to the quire deacons of York Minster.²⁵

The church of Flintham was appropriated to the abbey in 1389: at the date when Archbishop Richard le Scrope sanctioned this appropriation the abbot's chair was vacant, and William Staveley was prior.²⁶

According to the Taxation Roll of Pope Nicholas in 1291, the temporalities of this abbey in the three counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln yielded an annual income of £56 13s. 10d.; whilst the spiritualities produced a further income of £52, namely the church of Whatton £30, the church of Cuckney £20, and a pension from the church of Rawmarsh in the deanery of Doncaster 40s. The total income recorded amounts to £108 13s. 10d.²⁷

A taxation roll entered in the chartulary of only two years' later date shows a considerable increase in income over that just recorded, making the total £140 18s. 2d. The increase chiefly arises from the rectories of Littleborough (Notts.), £3 6s. 8d.; of Etwall and Duckmanton, Derbyshire, which are respectively entered as yielding incomes of £16 0s. 2d. and £5 6s. 8d.; and of Whitton and Coates, Lincolnshire, with the respective incomes of £18 6s. 8d. and £3.²⁸ It would therefore appear that these five churches were appropriated to the abbey between 1291 and 1293.

A later hand has added the annual value of later appropriations, namely Flintham £30, and Elkesley rectory 38 marks, and the vicarage 6 marks.²⁹

The return as to Welbeck in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 possesses much interest. The office of the general visitorship of the Premonstratensian Order in England and Wales brought in the annual sum of £14. At each general chapter held every four years all the houses of White Canons throughout England paid 10s. to Welbeck as the head house, producing (every fourth year) a further sum of £14 10s. 'whiche draweth yerely to the summe of lxxijs. vjd.' Cuckney Manor and rents, with rents from Retford mills and divers places in Nottinghamshire, produced £128 10s. 11d.; Derbyshire temporalities at Newbold, Duckmanton, and Etwall, £33 5s. 1d.; and Lincoln temporalities, £10. The Nottinghamshire parsonages or rectories of Cuckney, Elkesley, Bothamsall, Whatton, Aslockton, Flintham, and Littleborough produced £66 19s. 7d.; whilst from the same county there was an annual pension out of Shelford Priory of 20s. and a payment in wax of eight pounds at 6d. a pound. Other appropriated churches were Anstey, Yorks. (with a pension out of Rawmarsh); Whitton and Coates, Lincolnshire; and Etwall and Duckmanton, Derbyshire. The total annual income from all these sources was entered at £298 4s. 8d. Outgoings, however, brought down the clear income to £249 6s. 3d. Under this head was included the sum of £8 13s. 4d. expended in obligatory alms, namely 3s. 4d. to the poor of Anstey on Good Friday, and the remainder in ale and bread weekly at the abbey in commemoration of Thomas Cuckney the founder.^{28a}

Welbeck was a highly important house of the English branch of the order, on account of its numerous offspring, for the abbot was the father abbot of no fewer than seven abbeys, and, somewhat irregularly, stood in a like relationship to one of its grandchildren, the Abbey of Titchfield, Hampshire, founded in 1231 by a colony from the recently-formed house of Halesowen. The abbey of Talley, Carmarthenshire, was founded from the monastery of St. John's,

¹⁹ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 138, 147, 613.

²⁰ Chart. 19 Edw. I, m. ii.

²¹ Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 23 d-25. ²² *Ibid.* fol. 16.

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 16 d, 17, 20. ²⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 29 d, 30.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 6971, fol. 110. ²⁶ *Ibid.* 102 d.

²⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 72, 265, 299b, 311, 311b, 312, 321, 333.

²⁸ Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 35.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

^{28a} *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 170-1.

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Amiens, but was subsequently made subsidiary to Halesowen on account of the distance from the father's house; and when that arrangement proved unsatisfactory owing to its poverty-stricken and desolate condition, this small Welsh abbey was transferred to the guardianship of Welbeck.³⁰ Welbeck's seven direct children, naming them in the order of their birth, were Dureford, Sussex, c. 1160; Hæ naby, Lincolnshire, 1175; Leiston, Suffolk, 1183; Beauchief, Derbyshire, 1183; West Dereham, Norfolk, 1188; Torre, Devonshire, 1196; and Halesowen, Salop, 1218. There must have been indeed a most marvellous vitality and fervour in this Nottinghamshire abbey, to have been able to send out seven swarms into distant parts of England within less than half a century.

The abbots of Premonstratensian houses, though exempt from diocesan visitation, usually made submission to their diocesan after election, promising canonical obedience in all things saving the rights of their order. Many of these submissions of the abbots of Welbeck to their diocesan appear in the archiepiscopal registers of York.

The entry recording the obedience of John de Duckmanton on his election in 1309 states that he was a canon of the Austin Order.³¹ When William de Kendall was elected in 1316 the see of York was vacant, but the abbot duly proceeded to that city and made his promise of obedience to the dean and chapter on 25 July of that year.³²

A commission was appointed in 1334 on the complaint of Elizabeth widow of the late Thomas Furnival, alleging that John de Nottingham, Abbot of Welbeck, with one of his fellow canons, his chamberlain, and several others, had broken into her park at Worksop, and there hunted and carried away deer.³³

Robert de Spalding, one of the canons of the house, was elected abbot in 1341. Whereupon the Abbot of Langdon, as commissary of the Abbot of Prémontré, wrote to the Abbot of Sulby stating that Spalding had lately been convicted of conspiracy and other crimes before him and other visitors in the church of Welbeck, and that he was to be peremptorily cited to appear before him at Langdon. A certificate was in due course forwarded to the commissary that on 21 July the new abbot of Spalding had been served with the citation in his own chambers, which was exhibited and read to him by two canons of Sulby, in the presence of three of the discreet canons of Welbeck, John de Retford, John de Blyth, and William de Gedling.³⁴ We know nothing further of these

charges, but at all events Abbot Robert was allowed to continue in office until he was carried off by the plague in 1349.

There is no necessity for entering here at any length into the general question of the disputes at the beginning of the 14th century between the Abbot-General of Prémontré and the houses of the English province, for Welbeck took no exceptional part in this prolonged dispute.³⁵ Suffice it to say that Prémontré made three claims from the English White Canons:— (1) The attendance of the abbots at the general annual chapter at the mother house; (2) The appointment of a visitor to report to the abbot-general; (3) The taxation of the houses for the benefit of the order in general and of Prémontré in particular. It was the last claim that was the source of so many disputes. A royal proclamation of 1306 forbade the payment of any subsidy by religious orders in England to a foreign superior. The English abbots, however, were all summoned in 1310 by Adam de Crecy (abbot-general from 1304 to 1327) to Prémontré and strictly ordered to bring with them the arrears of tallage. Thereupon the English abbots met, including John de Cesterfeld, Abbot of Welbeck, and sent word to the abbot-superior that they could not obey him, for Parliament had forbidden them to leave the kingdom, and if they disobeyed they would certainly be outlawed and unable to return to their respective houses. Two of their number, the Abbots of Newhouse and Sulby, were, however, permitted to go as proctors of their brethren. Eventually, at a general chapter held in 1316, an agreement was arrived at whereby the English abbots, owing to their distance from the foreign centre, were permitted to be represented at the annual chapter at Prémontré by certain delegates, and the question of apport or tallage to the mother house was held in abeyance until the law of England should be changed. Subsequently during both the 14th and 15th centuries no impediment was placed in the way of the delegated Premonstratensian abbots crossing the seas, provided the Crown licence was obtained in each case. The entries on the Patent Rolls granting permits of this kind to successive abbots of Welbeck are sufficiently frequent to show the importance of this abbey.

The granting of corrodies to royal pensioners by this abbey was insisted on by the autocratic Edward III. John de Norton was sent by the

³⁵ The matter has been dealt with at some length in the account of Sulby (*V.C.H. Northants*, ii, 138-42). It is fully discussed and all the documents cited at length in Abbot Gasquet's three valuable volumes, *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia* (1904-7), where Bishop Redman's register (Ashm. MS. 1519) and Peck's collections in the B.M. are fully set forth. Future references in this survey of Welbeck will be given to these volumes instead of to the MSS.

³⁰ Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 18 d.

³¹ *Ibid.* 6970, fol. 145.

³² *Ibid.* fol. 156 d.

³³ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34 d.

³⁴ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* ii, 167-9.

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king in 1353 to receive such maintenance at Welbeck as Richard del Almoignerie, deceased, had there at the king's order.³⁶ But all this was changed in the succeeding reign. By the advice of the council Richard II in 1383 released the abbot and convent in respect of any corrody at the request of the king and his heirs, notwithstanding the enjoyment heretofore at the special request of Edward III of such corrody or maintenance by John atte Lane, by Richard de Merton, by Agnes the late king's laundress, and by others. This release was granted on the petition of the abbey to the effect that their house was founded by Thomas de Cuckney, and was then in the patronage of his kinsman and heir John de Cuckney; that it was never in the patronage of any of the king's progenitors, and that it was always free of corrodies up to the time of the special requests of the late king.³⁷

At the general provincial chapter of the order held at Northampton in July 1454 it is recorded that Brother Robert Staveley, sub-prior of Welbeck, was allowed to be present as proctor of that house. Abbot Greene of Welbeck was at that time across the seas on business of the order.³⁸

The servants of John Bankwell, Abbot of Welbeck, were concerned in a singular and serious affray in 1393 under the following circumstances: Robert Veel, keeper of the rolls of the King's Bench, and John Wynchecombe, appointed to take carts for the carriage of the rolls, were directed on Saturday before the feast of St. Katherine, by Walter Clopton, chief justice, to take the rolls from York to Nottingham by the following Tuesday. The excessive rainfall much impeded them, and they found that they could not reach Nottingham without additional horses. Whereupon, by virtue of their commission and of the chief justice's order, they took two horses of John Levet and John Turnour of Norton by Welbeck, to be paid for in due course. This action was so fiercely resented that a number of the abbey servants raised all the men of Norton in insurrection, and at dusk, armed with bows and arrows and swords and clubs, set upon the said Robert and John (instigated by one of the canons of Welbeck and by the vicar of Cuckney), assaulted them, shot at and pierced the rolls in the carriage, took the horses and would have carried them away 'but that by the grace of God and help they made too good a defence.' Eventually the delinquents in February 1392-3 obtained a royal pardon.³⁹

The general Premonstratensian register contains a full account of the exceptional method of electing John Greene to the abbacy in 1450 on the death of John de Norton. The election

was held under the direction of Robert, Abbot of Newhouse. Almost immediately after the burial of the late abbot, namely on 13 April, the absent brethren having been duly summoned, the electoral proceedings began. The mass of the Holy Spirit having been sung, all assembled in the chapter-house, John, Abbot of Dale, being present as the coadjutor of the Father Abbot of Newhouse. The aid of the Holy Spirit having been invoked and the statute of their order relative to elections recited, the whole of the brethren for certain reasonable causes, of their own free motion, not under any compulsion or suggestion, but of their own absolute free will, declined to exercise their franchise personally, but besought the two Abbots of Newhouse and Dale to select an abbot for them. Thereupon the abbots, after much consideration, chose John Greene, one of the Welbeck canons, a prudent and discreet man, and much to be commended in his life. The consent of the elect having been humbly accorded, the election was duly approved, ratified, and confirmed by decree in chapter. The abbot was then conducted by his brethren before the high altar, the *Te Deum* being solemnly sung. He was invested with corporal possession of the church, installed in the abbot's seat, and brought back to the chapter-house, where each of the brethren made formal acknowledgement of obedience, placing his hands, when on his knees, within those of the abbot (*obedientiam manualem*), as his father and pastor, without any objection from anyone; meanwhile the obedientiaries laid their respective keys at his feet, in token of obedience and subjection. So soon as the election was complete, the abbot first of all made oath to observe in all its articles the composition made between the house of Welbeck and John Hotham, Bishop of Ely, for the manor of Cuckney.⁴⁰

A letter has been preserved addressed to Abbot Greene by one Richard Clerk, of Coventry, touching the appointment of Harry the abbot's nephew; it is dated 28 September 1454. The particular interest of this homely letter lies in the writer's intended pilgrimage to Our Lady of Doncaster, and to the cause which prevented his making it. Welbeck lay on the north-western confines of Sherwood, and was approached from the south by a road through the forest.

'I hade proposede to a vysset you, and to hafe soght that blessyd Virginne oure Lady of Doncastre now this Flesch-Tyme; but (os I was enformid) ther was so grete wynde in Schirwod, that hit hade bene no sesenabull tyme for me (at that tyme made be the persones aboveseyde), and I hade cummen with xl horses I schulde hafe bene overthrowne, os it was sayde.'⁴¹

Shortly after the receipt of this letter, Abbot Greene wrote a dimissorial letter on behalf of

³⁶ Close, 27 Edw. III, m. 23 d.

³⁷ Pat. 12 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 8.

³⁸ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* i, 129-30.

³⁹ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 5.

⁴⁰ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 169-71. ⁴¹ *Ibid.* 171-3.

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John Lessbryke, a professed canon of Welbeck, who had become a Trinitarian friar of Thelsford, Warwickshire. The abbot declared that he left them to aim at the perfecting of a better life, that he was free from any obligation to their house and order, and they to him.⁴³

Another letter, addressed to the same abbot in 1458, affords proof of the possession of a most tender conscience by one of the beneficed secular clergy. Thomas Hill, rector of Chesterford, Essex, wrote to the abbot at some length, about two books, the one a breviary (*bibliam portativam*) and the other a book of the Archbishop of Genoa on the Sunday Gospels.⁴³ These two books Hill had borrowed from Richard Scott, formerly a chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but (as he afterwards heard) one William Danyell left them to the monastery of Welbeck. Through the influence of Scott and other friends, Hill obtained possession of these two volumes in 1420 from the then Abbot and Convent of Welbeck by purchase, paying for them 60s. Hill writes to say that he was at that time young and given to worldly gain, but that since he has been led to think that he did not give a sufficiently good price for the books, and he is willing either to return the books on receipt of £3 or to pay to the convent another 20s. so that the books should remain at his disposition. On receipt of a message under their seal, the 20s. would be forwarded. If his proposals were not pleasing, he would arrange to charge his executors after his death to hand the books to an accredited messenger on receipt of the 60s., but otherwise to sell the books for the best price they could obtain, and to forward the balance to Welbeck. He was directing his executors to spend the 60s. for the good of his soul, that is in masses. The old rector is careful to tell the abbot his exact address; he was 7 miles beyond Cambridge and 2 miles distant from Saffron Walden. He adds, out of the kindness of his heart, that if there was any scholar from their parts reading at Cambridge, who was accustomed to pay occasional visits to parents or friends in Nottinghamshire, he would be glad to entertain him at Chesterford Rectory, which would be a less expense.⁴⁴

The most interesting man who appears in connexion with the Premonstratensian order in England during the 15th century was the zealous official, Richard Redman, abbot of the small house of Shap in Westmorland. At an early

age he was appointed commissary-general by Simon Abbot of Prémontré. We first meet with him in connexion with Welbeck in 1458. Writing on 11 September, Redman warns Abbot Greene of Welbeck to present the subsidies due from him for the past and present years at the visitation which he proposed to hold at that abbey on 9 December. He ordered that dinner should be provided for him and his suite at Papplewick, adding that he expected to be thence safely conducted by the right road to Welbeck, which he hoped to reach in time for supper.⁴⁵ Papplewick lies about 8 miles north of Nottingham. From thence to Welbeck is 13 miles as the crow flies. At that period the abbot would have to pass through the densest part of Sherwood Forest, leaving the Austin Priory of Newstead on his left hand and the Cistercian Abbey of Rufford on his right. The way could not fail to be intricate, and we wonder at his courage in undertaking it after dinner (probably at noon) in the depth of winter. He naturally suggested that he should be conducted from Papplewick, for this was his first visitation, and in all probability he had not previously traversed the great forest.

It was not, however, until 1 October 1466 that Redman was formally appointed visitor of all the houses of the order in the British Isles; at that date the commission as visitor granted to the Abbot of Bayham was cancelled because he had wholly neglected its duties.⁴⁶ Redman was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in 1471, translated to Exeter in 1496 and to Ely in 1501, dying in 1505. During all that period he was allowed to be Abbot of Shap *in commendam*, and he also acted with much zeal and diligence as vicar-general to the Abbot of Prémontré. He visited, as a rule, each house of the order every three years.

In Redman's register particulars are given of eleven of his visits to Welbeck, which occurred in the years 1462, 1472, 1475, 1478, 1480, 1482, 1488, 1491, 1494, 1497, and 1500.

On 6 May 1462 Bishop Redman, visitor of the White Canons of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, on behalf of the Abbot of Prémontré, made his formal visitation of Welbeck. He found nothing of which to complain save slight breaches of the rule of silence. Contrariwise, he entered in his register unstinted praise of the way in which the divine offices were conducted (*ad unguem perfectos*) day and night, under the most serene rule of their venerable abbot, who himself day by day observed the rule with the most faithful minuteness, truly bearing in all things the burden and heat of the day. The visitor was so much struck with the

⁴³ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* i, 67-8. The levy expected to be paid yearly to Prémontré by Welbeck about this time was 66s. 8d.; *ibid.* i, 76.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 73-4.

⁴³ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 175.

⁴⁴ *Librum Jannensis in suo Catholicon.* This was a popular collection of 13th-century sermons by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa (i.e. Gennensis, usually corrupted into Jannensis). When printing came in, this book passed through nine editions before the end of the 15th century, it was found so useful to preachers.

⁴⁵ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 176-7.

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faithful zeal of the aged abbot, whom he noted to be almost broken down with age and weakness, that, entirely of his own motion and special grace, he exempted the venerable father of the monastery from obligatory attendance at any of the quire offices, save of his own good pleasure, and he also left the use of woollen underclothing entirely to the latter's discretion. At the last visitation there was a debt on the house of £40, but he found it reduced to £20. The house was abundantly supplied (*peroptime staurata*) with grain and all necessaries.

The bishop further ordered, for the honour of God, the convenience of this house, and for the good of religion, that the abbot should without delay select the most suited in life and knowledge of his fellow canons, and send him up before Michaelmas to the university of either Oxford or Cambridge, there to be supported at the expense of the house.⁴⁷

The next recorded visit of Bishop Redman was in 1472, when he freed Robert Ouston, one of the canons, from the obligation of attending quire offices, on account of his infirmities and age.⁴⁸

In the record of the visitation of 1475 the names of all the community who were present are set forth. William Burton was abbot, Robert Stanley prior, and Richard Symondson sub-prior; there were also ten other professed canons, and two novices. In addition to these there were five vicars and a chaplain present who were also still reckoned as White Canons and subject in certain particulars to the rule. The Premonstratensians were the only religious order who held the privilege of presenting their professed brethren to livings in their gift and appropriation, without the need of any dispensation. When once episcopally instituted these vicars could not be recalled, but they were expected always to wear the habit of their order, to attend visitations at their own abbey, and in all ways possible to keep the rule. On this occasion there were present the vicars of Cuckney, adjoining Welbeck; of Littleborough, on the opposite side of the county near the Lincolnshire borders; of Whatton,⁴⁹ in the south-east of the county; of Whitton and Coates, both in Lincolnshire; and a chaplain *in conventu Watton*, which must mean 'in residence at Whatton,' unless it be the Gilbertine priory of Watton, Yorkshire.⁵⁰

The general answers to the usual questions at the visitation of 1478 show that the abbey at that time held ten churches and two chapels. Redman on this occasion appointed certain of the canons to extra-official positions to help the

abbot, namely *circator*, *provisor exteriorum*, *succentor*, and *magister grangie*, whose titles at once show the duties expected of them. It was enjoined on the circator to see that the doors of the cloister were firmly locked and shut at nights and at appointed times during the day. Brethren were to wear almuces under their capes; the abbot was to supply better bread and ale for the convent, and to provide an infirmary where a vicar was then residing, those premises being vacated at once. All were to rise in time for mattins; delinquents in this respect to be punished. None were to go into the woods for shooting or hunting. At the previous visitation the house had been found in debt to the extent of £90, and the debt had not been lessened owing to the great trouble there had been in defending the rights and liberties of the monastery. There was only a moderate supply of grain and other necessaries. The community present on this occasion numbered twenty-four, including two deacons and three novices; four vicars appeared, and two others who are entered as the respective chaplains of Bothamsall, near Welbeck, and of Aslockton, a chapelry of Scarnington parish.⁵¹

The visitation of 1482 shows a grievous decline; Abbot Burton proved a sad successor to the virtuous Abbot Greene. Under an evil superior any religious house would naturally go downhill. The abbot was found guilty of incontinence, as well as of dissipating the goods of the monastery, pledging the jewels and plate, and suffering the buildings to go into ruin; he was formally deposed before the whole convent and the Abbot of Beauchief, and sent to Barlings Abbey, there to undergo certain years of penance. Two other canons were also found guilty. The care of the monastery was temporarily assigned to John Colby, one of the canons, who held the offices of sacrist and circator.⁵²

Matters were not much better when Bishop Redman visited Welbeck in 1488. One of the canons was found guilty of incontinence; he admitted the sin with great contrition, and was subjected to severe penance for forty days, to be followed by three years' banishment to some other house of the order.⁵³ Another canon, William Hankyn, guilty of disobedience, of absence from divine offices, and of hunting, was warned that for every repetition he would be put on discipline for forty days; he was never to be allowed out of the precincts lest he should return to his evil habits, and he was meanwhile ordered to say through the whole psalter by heart within the year. John Colby, who was then vicar of Cuckney, was charged to pay yearly to the abbot and

⁴⁷ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 177-8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 179.

⁴⁹ In the north aisle of Whatton Church is a 14th-century effigy of a priest in the habit of the White Canons.

⁵⁰ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 179-80.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 182-3. The canon who served the chapel of Bothamsall lived in the abbey; and this also seems to have been generally the case with the vicar of Cuckney.

⁵² *Ibid.* 184-5.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 186-7.

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convent 20s. at the feast of the Assumption, according to custom, and for this was to have his meals provided within the house and not outside. Games for money were prohibited. Better provision was to be made for the infirm. The abbot was to see that the community had their usual pensions, but if they did not spend sufficient on their clothes he was to stop the payment, and himself buy what was necessary.⁶⁴

The next visit was made on 14 August 1491, when Redman found that Abbot Acastre was ruling well both in external and internal matters; the buildings of the church and cloister as well as outer buildings were then so fair, instead of being ruinous and foul, that the abbot might be regarded not so much as a repairer as a new founder. A canon of Sulby who had been sent in punishment to Welbeck was found guilty of disobedience and not attending divine offices either night or day; he was adjudged to be put on discipline for forty days, and then to be removed to St. Agatha's for ten years, but meanwhile to be kept in strict custody. William Hankyn, who had been warned three years before, was convicted of apostasy, and of eating meat in secular houses; he was now put on discipline for forty days. Other canons were punished for eating meat with seculars and not rising for mattins, whilst the sub-prior was blamed for not at once correcting these things. The tonsure was to be in accordance with the form approved by the order. Neither deacon nor sub-deacon was to genuflect at the elevation of the Host, but only reverently to incline. At the election of the abbot the debt of the house was 300 marks; it had been reduced to £30. The house was abundantly supplied with necessary stores. There were twenty-four present at the visitation, including six vicars, but the minister of Bothamsall is entered as a vicar and not as a chaplain.⁶⁵

Three years later Bishop Redman was again at Welbeck, where twenty-two inmates offered themselves for visitation, including six vicars. He happily found everything in good order, and nothing to correct; but he pronounced excommunication on one canon who had fled.⁶⁶ Redman was here again in 1497, when twenty-three inmates or canon vicars were visited. Two canons were punished for the extravagance of their tonsures (*pro enormitate tonsure*); one of them had to say the whole psalter, but the other *Salvum me fac* nightly. Everything else was in an admirable state; there was unity, concord, and love between the head and the members, and no complaints; there was an admirable provision of every kind of grain and cattle and of all necessaries.⁶⁷

When the abbey was visited on 22 November 1500, the community were ordered to have their meals together in the refectory on fast days and

⁶⁴ *Coll. Anglo-Premou.* iii, 186-9. ⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 189-92.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 192-3.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 193-4.

during the seasons of Advent and Lent. One canon had broken the rule and got into debt; he was to see that he was clear of debt before the next provincial chapter. For the rest all was in good order; there was mutual goodwill between the abbot and household, with filial obedience.⁶⁸ Here the visitation records of this house come to an end.

Thomas Wilkinson, who was elected abbot in 1503, became commissary-general and visitor for the Abbot of Prémontré on the death of Richard Redman (who was at that time Bishop of Ely) in 1505.⁶⁹

Shortly before the dissolution of all the English monasteries, namely in the year 1512, singular honour was done to the abbey of Welbeck, for it was placed both by pope and king at the head of all the houses of White Canons in England and Wales. The abbot (Thomas Wilkinson) and his successors were declared *ex-officio* visitors-general; a provincial chapter was to be held annually at Welbeck, or some other place appointed by the abbot, and its power was to be the same as that of the general chapters hitherto attended by the English abbots at Prémontré. The order was henceforth to be exempt in England and Wales from any foreign jurisdiction, and the Abbot of Welbeck was always to be numbered amongst the king's chaplains.⁶⁰

John Maxey, the penultimate Abbot of Welbeck, was appointed in 1520. In 1525 he was consecrated Bishop of Elphen, but allowed to remain abbot *in commendam*; he did homage to the king and took the oath on Sunday 23 July, when he was graciously received by Henry.⁶¹ This abbot was a favourite of Wolsey's, and formed part of his suite in 1527.⁶² Two years later the cardinal gave him a valuable spoon of crown gold.⁶³ When Wolsey in the following year proceeded to his manor of Southwell, the Abbot of Welbeck was entrusted with the duty of providing corn for bread, and drink for the household.⁶⁴

After the fall of Wolsey and the rise of Cromwell there are no more gifts for the Abbot of Welbeck, and the correspondence with the Lord Privy Seal bears the almost invariable characteristic of forcing money or money's worth from the religious houses placed under his control. On St. Matthew's Day 1533 the abbot wrote to Cromwell from Welbeck saying that he sent him his poor fee, and also 'according to your desire I send you a good bay gelding, the best I have.' At their next meeting he promised to further show him his mind concerning religion (i.e. the

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 195-6.

⁶⁹ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 49b; *Coll. Anglo-Premou.* i, 123.

⁶⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiii, 338-9.

⁶¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv, 1511.

⁶² *Ibid.* 3216.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 5341.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 6329.

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Premonstratensian Order). He had heard that in the lower house an act had been conceived touching vicars, which would profit no one but the bishops. 'My religion was mostly founded in spiritualities, and if the vicars are called home and their benefices given to secular priests, it would undo the third part of our houses. By the pope's bulls and the king's grants, we may give our vicarages unto our religious brethren.'⁶⁵

The abbot of the Premonstratensian house of West Dereham, Norfolk, died on 26 October 1535, and when the certificate reached Abbot Maxey at Welbeck he wrote on 2 November to Cromwell desiring to know his pleasure in writing, although the king had granted him and the monastery of Welbeck the elections of all of their religion within the realm.⁶⁶ He was evidently determined to do his best to deserve well of the despot. In January 1536 Maxey again wrote to Cromwell, sending him £10, 'as your fee for my religion,' a 'fee' for which there could be no shadow of pretence.⁶⁷

The abbey had to submit in 1536 to a visitation from the notorious royal commissioners, Legh and Layton. According to their statement three of the canons were guilty of unnatural offences and one was incontinent. Three of them sought release from their vows. The annual income was returned at £280, and the debts at £40.⁶⁸

Abbot Maxey, Bishop of Elphen, died in August 1536, and the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to Cromwell on the 18th telling him of the death and saying that the brethren were going up to the king to make suit for free election. The earl begged Cromwell that he would favour them, believing that there were several among them discreet and able to be master.⁶⁹

In the spring of 1537 the Abbot of Barlings was accused of concealing various items of property pertaining to his own and other religious houses in order that it might escape confiscation at the hands of the Crown commissioners. Information was given to the council that he had deposited over £20 worth of plate with the vicar of Scothern near Barlings, which was laid in pledge by the Abbot of Welbeck, deceased.⁷⁰

Richard Bentley was the name of the abbot eventually nominated by Cromwell to succeed Abbot Maxey. On 20 June 1538 he signed the surrender of his house; the deed of surrender was also signed by William Hatfield, the sub-prior, and by the following sixteen other canons: Thomas Sysson, John Cheenys (cook), John

Rawlinson, William Rotheram, Richard Awsten, Thomas Hyll, Richard Hogley, Edward Thomson, William Almunde, John Lychfeld, Nicholas Bolland, James Casson, Richard Halifax, Christopher Bentley, Thomas Castell, and William Wilson.⁷¹

In the following month pensions were assigned to the dispossessed canons. The abbot obtained a pension of £50, William Hatfield the sub-prior and one other £6, and the rest sums varying from £4 to £40.⁷² The pension list omits altogether five canons who signed the surrender: they were probably holders of the abbey's vicarages; but three others who did not sign, and who were most likely absent at granges, gained pensions; it therefore follows that there were twenty canons of Welbeck, in addition to the abbot, at the time of its dissolution.

It is noteworthy, as discrediting the scandals of Legh and Layton, that of the four canons accused by them of terrible offences three received pensions, of £6, £5, and 7 marks respectively, whilst the fourth retained his vicarage.

In February 1539 Richard Whalley of Shelford obtained the grant in fee, on payment of £500, of the church, steeple, churchyard, water-mill, &c., within the site of the dissolved abbey of Welbeck, together with the granges called Bellers Grange and Hurst Grange, and various closes and pastures in the parish of Cuckney, Rumwood and other woods, and the reversion of other of the monastic property, of an annual rent of 56s. 2d.^{72a}

The first seal of Welbeck Abbey was a pointed oval, bearing St. James in episcopal vestments, right hand raised in benediction, and pastoral staff in left hand. The somewhat indistinct impression in the British Museum has the marginal legend: + SIGILLUM: CONVENTUS . . . OBI. APOSTOLI DE WELLEBE. . .⁷³

A small second seal (late 13th century) is a pointed oval having St. James, with bonnet, wallet, and staff, standing on a platform, and an abbot with a pastoral staff kneeling before him. Above the figures is a trefoiled canopy, and in the field an estoile of six points. Remains of legend:— . . . IGI . . . SCI. JACOBI . D . . . WELLEBE . A.⁷⁴

A later 14th-century seal has St. James in similar pilgrim dress standing on a carved corbel; the wallet is charged with an escallop. Only a few letters of the legend remain.⁷⁵

There are also impressions extant at the British Museum of the seals of Abbot Adam (1193) and of Abbot Richard (13th century).⁷⁶

⁶⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 1142.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* ix, 745.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* x, 110.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 364.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* xi, 326.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* xii (1), 765.

⁷¹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 47.

⁷² *Aug. Off. Bks.* ccxxxii, (2), fol. 62-4.

^{72a} *Pat.* 30 *Hen. VIII*, pt. ii, m. 33.

⁷³ *Harl. Chart.* 45 A. 30.

⁷⁴ *Wolley Chart.* i, 52.

⁷⁵ *Harl. Chart.* 45 A. 31.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 6; *Seal Casts*, lii, 12, 13.

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ABBOTS OF WELBECK

Berengar, occurs between 1153 and 1169⁷⁷
Adam, occurs between 1183 and 1194⁷⁸
Richard, occurs between 1194 and 1224⁷⁹
William, occurs 1229, 1236, 1243⁸⁰
Richard, occurs 1250, 1252, 1256-7⁸¹
Adam, occurs 1263, 1272, 1276⁸²
Thomas, occurs 1281, 1292⁸³
John de Duckmanton, 1309⁸⁴
John de Cestrefeld, 1310⁸⁵
William de Kendall, 1316⁸⁶
John de Nottingham, 1322⁸⁷
William de Aslakeden, 1335⁸⁸
Robert Spalding, 1341⁸⁹
John de Wirksoy, 1349⁹⁰

Hugh de Langley, 1360⁹¹
George de Gamelston, occurs 1369, 1383,
1387⁹²
William de Staveley, occurs 1389⁹³
John Bankwell, occurs 1393⁹⁴
John de Norton, occurs 1412, dies 1450⁹⁵
John Greene, 1450⁹⁶
William Burton, occurs 1475, 1482⁹⁷
John Lancaster alias Acastre, occurs 1488,
1491⁹⁸
John Copper, occurs 1492⁹⁹
Thomas Wydur, occurs 1494, 1497, 1500¹⁰⁰
Robert, occurs 1502¹⁰¹
Thomas Wilkinson, 1503¹⁰²
John Maxey, 1520,¹⁰³ died 1536
Richard Bentley, surrendered 1538¹⁰⁴

HOUSE OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONESSES

12. THE PRIORY OF BROADHOLME

There were but two convents of canonses of the Premonstratensian Order in England, namely at Broadholme, Nottinghamshire, and Ilford, Lincolnshire.

There is some uncertainty as to the date of the foundation of the small house of Broadholme on the borders of Lincolnshire, and as to the name or names of the original founders. It was an early offshoot of the Premonstratensian house of Newhouse (Lincolnshire). It appears, strange to say, to have been originally a house for both sexes, for the first benefaction named in a long inspection charter of Edward II, subsequently cited, was made to God and St. Mary and to the brethren and sisters of Broadholme—an expression which is repeated in other early grants. Leland states that Agnes de Camville, wife of Peter Gousla (or Gousley), the founder of Newhouse, placed here a prioress and nuns of the Premonstratensian Order about the latter part of the reign of King Stephen.¹

When the Taxation Roll of Pope Nicholas was drawn up in 1291, it was found that the

Prioress of Broadholme held a variety of small temporalities in Lincolnshire to the annual value of £4 13s.; and that in Nottinghamshire the appropriated church of Thorney (in which parish the house was situated) brought in an additional income of £8.²

A charter of inspection and confirmation granted to the priory of Broadholme by Edward II in 1318 gives a summary of the benefactions up to that date.³ The principal of these were:—An orchard by the cemetery of the church of St. Botolph, Saxilby⁴ (Lincolnshire), by Ralph D'Aubeny; a large amount of land, meadow, pasture, and tenements in Saxilby, on the south side of the Fosse Dyke, by Peter and Agnes Goushill and their children and others; lands in Ingleby (adjoining Saxilby), by Geoffrey de Crosby; rents in Skellingthorpe (Lincolnshire), by Baldwin Wake; the church of St. Helen, Thorney, with lands and the site of a mill, by Walter and Agnes de Clifford; rents in Newark and two quarters of corn from the manor of Wigsley, by Hugh de Basset; a toft in Fillingham, Lincolnshire, by

⁷⁷ Harl. Chart. 45 A. 30; Addy, *Beauchief*, 25.

⁷⁸ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 8; Harl. Chart. 45 A. 6.

⁷⁹ Addy, *Beauchief*; Harl. Chart. 49 I. 16.

⁸⁰ Pat. 13 Hen. III, m. 10 d.; Welbeck Chart. fol. 38; Wolley Chart. (B.M.), i, 49.

⁸¹ Welbeck Chart. fol. 84, 86, 87, 89,

⁸² *Ibid.* 85-6, 89, 90.

⁸³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* 1, 110; Wolley Chart. (B.M.), i, 52.

⁸⁴ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 18; 6970, fol. 145.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 6970, fol. 146b.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 156b; 6972, fol. 20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 6972, fol. 23.

⁸⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 872.

⁸⁹ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 167.

⁹⁰ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 25b.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 27b.

⁹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 872; Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 2; 18 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 20.

⁹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 872.

⁹⁴ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7.

⁹⁵ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 165.

⁹⁶ Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 35b.

⁹⁷ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 179, 186.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 188, 191.

⁹⁹ Surtees Soc. *Publ.* lvii, 133.

¹⁰⁰ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* iii, 193, 195.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 165.

¹⁰² Harl. MS. 6972, fol. 49b.

¹⁰³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 1511.

¹⁰⁴ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 47.

¹ Leland, *Coll.* i, 94.

² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 74b, 310b.

³ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 9.

⁴ Saxilby is on the borders of a projecting loop of East Notts.

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William Wynok; rents at Broadholme, by William Newbrid; lands and rents in the parish of Sir Edward Wigford (Lincoln), by Aubrea and Ivo, children of Ralph son of Lambert; rents at Collingham, by Ralph de Muscamp and Isabel daughter of Alured de Collingham; lands in North Collingham, by Richard de Claypole; lands in Torksey (Lincolnshire), by Walter Faber; rents in Stow (Lincolnshire), by Peter de Campania; and lands, pastures, meadows, and rents in Little Hale (Lincolnshire), by Simon de Hale.

A confirmation charter granted by the king in the following year conjointly to the abbey of Newhouse and the priory of Broadholme is evidence of the close early alliance between these two houses, and also makes mention several times of the 'brethren and sisters of St. Mary's, Brodholme' in the earlier grants.⁵ But such a title as this does not appear to have long prevailed, and was clearly out of date when this confirmation charter was issued. In the very next year (1320) a licence appears on the Patent Roll for the 'prioress and nuns of Brodholme' to acquire in mortmain lands, tenements, and rents to the value of £10 a year.⁶

In 1326 Matthew Brown, escheator for the counties of Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Rutland, was ordered by the Crown not to intermeddle further with a toft and 20 acres of land of the prioress (Matilda) of Broadholme in Saxilby, which had been mistakenly taken by the escheator into the king's hands, on the death of Margaret Warrok, who was the priory's tenant for those lands.⁷

Queen Isabel was a particular patroness of the nuns of Broadholme. In February 1327, 'for the special affection which she bore to them,' the queen granted the prioress and nuns a yearly rent of 8 marks out of certain lands in Great Massingham, Norfolk, whereof one moiety was to be applied for clothing, 2 marks for their pittance, and the remaining 2 marks for the repair of their buildings.⁸ In October of that year the priory, at the request of Queen Isabel, obtained licence to acquire in mortmain land and rent, not held in chief, to the yearly value of £10.⁹

Two years later a mandate was issued to the sheriff of Norfolk to aid the prioress and nuns in recovering the rent of 8 marks granted them in 1327 out of Great Massingham.¹⁰

The advowson or patronage of Broadholme, which simply implied a formal approval of the appointment of the elected prioress, usually went with the manor of Saxilby. William Cressy of Markham settled that manor with the advowson

of Broadholme, in 1365, on James son of Sir John de Lysers and Maud his wife; it afterwards frequently changed hands for lack of heirs male.¹¹

A papal confirmation of a former ordinance of the chapter-general of Prémontré, granted by Alexander V in 1409 at the petition of the Prioress and Convent of St. Mary's, Broadholme, is of much interest in connexion with the somewhat meagre history of this house. The ordinance hereby confirmed was passed in 1354, when Joan de Rield was prioress. Out of consideration for Queen Isabel, and by the mediation of a number of abbots of the order, and particularly of Alan, then Abbot of Newhouse, the father abbot of the priory, it was ordained, in the presence of the Abbots of Barling, Langdon, Croston, and Welbeck, and of Sirs Richard Gray, John Lysyers, John Pigot, and John Everingham, knights, that (1) on voidance of the priory of Broadholme the Abbot of Newhouse should repair there in person, or send a fit member of the order, to investigate in the chapter-house the wishes of each sister under oath, and should appoint as prioress her on whom falls the consent of all or the greater part; (2) that all the money arising from the fruits, &c., of the priory, together with the common seal and muniments, should be kept in a chest fitted with two keys of different make, one to be kept by the prioress and the other by the sister whom the others shall choose; that (3) in order to avoid the impoverishment of the priory only one canon of Newhouse should dwell there, to say daily mass for the sisters and to overlook their temporalities, but he is not to presume to dispose of aught thereof against the will of the prioress; that (4) the prioress should have temporal jurisdiction over all her servants, appointing and removing them at pleasure; that (5) in the event of paucity of sisters, she may, with the counsel and leave of the abbot, admit others; and that (6) the father abbot should have right to hear or cause to be heard four times a year, without expense to the priory, the confessions of the prioress and sisters, and should also visit them for two days once a year, with four or five carriages, and stay at their expense.¹²

Among the Premonstratensian records is the fragment of a visitation of Broadholme, probably of the year 1478, from which it appears that all the nuns, before reception, were to know how to sing and read.¹³

In a list of the names of the order in the English province, drawn up in 1494, nine canonesses are entered as on the roll of Broadholme, namely:—

Dame Elizabeth Brerworth, priorissa
„ Johanna Stertone, suppriorissa
„ Johanna Uptone
„ Agnes Aschby

¹¹ Thoroton, *Notts.* i, 386.

¹² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 159-60.

¹³ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* ii, 104.

⁵ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 29.

⁶ Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10.

⁷ Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 6.

⁸ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24.

⁹ Ibid. pt. iii, m. 17.

¹⁰ Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22.

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Dame Elizabeth Formane
„ Johanna Newsome
„ Johanna Roos
„ Johanna Steynton
„ Margery Robynson¹⁴

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 gives the gross annual value of this small priory as £18 11s. 10d. Rents at various places in the counties of Nottingham and Lincoln, together with 80 acres of demesne lands, only brought in £16 11s. 10d., whilst the value of the great tithes of Thorney had dropped to 40s. The clear annual value was but £16 5s. 2d.

On 12 December 1536 Joan Aungewen (or Angevin), the last prioress, was assigned a pension of 7 marks.¹⁵

The site was granted by the Crown in 1537 to Ralph Jackson.¹⁶

PRIORESSES OF BROADHOLME

Matilda, occurs 1326¹⁷
Joan de Rield, occurs 1354¹⁸
Elizabeth de Brerworth, occurs 1496¹⁹
Joan Aungewen, occurs 1534 and 1536²⁰

HOUSE OF GILBERTINE CANONS

13. THE PRIORY OF MATTERSEY

The Gilbertine priory of Mattersey was founded in the lifetime of the memorable founder of this order, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, by Roger son of Ranulph de Mattersey, about the year 1185. It was established on an island in the River Idle, was dedicated to the honour of St. Helen, and intended to support six Gilbertine canons.¹

An inspection and confirmatory charter of the year 1341 recites a grant of confirmation.

Pope Celestine in 1192 committed a cause between the Abbot of Welbeck and the canons of Mattersey concerning the advowson of the churches of Mattersey, Misson, Bolton (Lancashire), Gamston on Idle, and Elkesley, to the judgement of the Abbot of Darley and two other ecclesiastics, before whom an agreement was sealed at Blyth, whereby the right to all these advowsons was conceded to Mattersey, saving the church of Elkesley, which was to remain with Welbeck.²

About the end of the reign of Edward I, Isabel de Chauncy, daughter of Thomas de Mattersey, for the souls of herself and of her late husband, Sir Philip de Mattersey, gave in her widowhood to the prior and convent of St. Helen on the Isle of Mattersey her whole demesne, with all homages of the township of Mattersey and Thorpe, and all lands and tenements which they had by the gift of her ancestor in Mattersey, Thorpe, Gamston, Elkesley, West Retford, Misson, and Bolton, together with the advowsons of the churches of Mattersey, Gamston, Misson, and Bolton.³

In 1303 John, Prior of Mattersey, was granted simple protection by Edward I for two years, as he was going to the court of Rome.⁴

The prior and canons in 1307 were granted free warren in Mattersey and Thorpe.⁵

The Prior of Mattersey in 1276 claimed full chartered privileges of freedom from pontage, passage, and every kind of toll and custom, and from hundred and other dues throughout England; also free warren in his demesne lands of Mattersey and Thorpe. In support of these claims he produced a charter of Henry III, of the year 1251, and another recently granted by Edward I.⁶

The Hundred Rolls of 1275 show that the Prior of Mattersey was charged with making so great encroachments on the road leading from Gringley on the Hill to Mattersey, that it was scarcely possible for a cart to make its way there. The jury also declared that the prior held a charter of Henry III to the effect that his men need appear only before the king or his chief justices to answer any complaint or charge, and that on this account the former waxed too bold and were a source of much annoyance to their neighbours. It was also set forth that the Prior and Canons of Mattersey held 11 oxgangs of land of the fee of Lancaster at Mattersey; a parcel of land at the same place on which their house was situate, of the gift of Roger de Mattersey, senior; also the advowsons of the churches of Gamston and Misson, and half the church of Mattersey, of the fee of Lancaster; with 4s. rent from the nuns of Wallingwells; an oxgang and a half at Finningley, of whose gift they are ignorant; half an oxgang at Morton, of the fee of Lancaster, the gift of Robert le Vavasour; a toft and about 30 acres of land

¹⁴ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* ii, 105.

¹⁵ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxxii, 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ccix, 84.

¹⁷ Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 6.

¹⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 159.

¹⁹ *Coll. Anglo-Premon.* ii, 104.

²⁰ *Valor Eccl.* v, 185; Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxxii, 40.

¹ Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 442.

² Welbeck Chart. fol. 129; cited in Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 332.

³ Cited in inspection charter, Chart. R. 4 Edw. III, m. 50.

⁴ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 39.

⁵ Chart. R. 35 Edw. I, m. 17.

⁶ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 624-5.

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in Elkesley, of the fee of Lancaster, the gift of Alexander de Kirkton; 4s. rent in West Retford, of the same fee, the gift of William Doynel; 2 oxgangs in Torworth, of their own buying, of the same fee; 3s. rent in Lound, of the same fee, the gift of Roger de Osberton; 12d. rent in Lound, of the fee of Tickhill, the gift of Matthew de Sutton; 4s. rent at the same place and of the same fee, the gift of William son of Hubert; 4 acres and a toft in Mattersey, of the fee of Lancaster, the gift of Thomas, Dean of Crumwell; 40 acres of land and a toft in Clayworth, of the fee of Tickhill, the gift of Henry son of Robert; 60 acres of the land of the soke of Oswaldbec, bought in the time of the late king; 12 acres of land in Eaton, of the fee of Tickhill, the gift of Robert de Ulington; and half a mark rent in Normanton, of the fee of Lancaster, the gift of Thomas the chaplain.⁷

A severe fire wrought dire destruction at this priory in the year 1279. On 20 November of that year Archbishop Wickwane ordered an inquisition to be held concerning the destruction of the charters and other muniments pertaining to the pensions and possessions of the house which had perished in the flames. The jury, consisting of rectors and vicars as well as religious, were to make minute inquiry on oath as to the substance of the writings which had been burnt. On 5 December a certificate was registered from the official of the Archdeacon of Nottingham, stating that the rectors of the churches of Elkesley, Kirton, and Boughton, and the vicars of Wheatley, East Markham, West Markham, Walesby, Elkesley, South Leverton, and Headon, with other jurors, declared that the monastery of Mattersey possessed before the fire a certain document, under the seal of Archbishop Gray, assigning to them an annual pension of 5 marks out of the churches of Misson and Gamston on Idle. Moreover the jurors declared that they had formerly seen and read a composition between Mattersey and the nuns of Wallingwells, whereby the patronage of the church of Mattersey was assigned to that priory.⁸

In October 1280 the diocesan's licence for the appropriation of the church of Mattersey to the priory was obtained, in consequence of their poverty through the fire.⁹

The Taxation Roll of 1291 estimates the annual value of the temporalities of this priory in Nottinghamshire at £35; there were also in spiritualities the appropriated churches of Mattersey £5 and Misson £12, giving a total taxable income of £52.¹⁰

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 shows that the priory held 100 acres of demesne lands worth £9 a year, and other temporalities to the value

of £30 6s. 7d. The most valuable of their spiritualities was a pension of £10 out of the rectory of Bolton, Lancashire, whilst the appropriated rectory of Misson, tithes of certain oxgangs in Mattersey, and a pension from Gamston Church, brought their total income up to £61 16s. 7d. The clear annual value, however, was only £55 2s. 5d.¹¹

Henry IV in 1403 granted the priory a weekly market on Monday at Mattersey and two annual fairs, the one on the vigil and day of St. John of Beverley, and the other on the vigil and day of Sts. Simon and Jude.¹²

This priory was visited by the notorious Legh and Layton in 1536. They stated that they found one of the canons incontinent, and he desired release from his vows. The annual value was returned at £60. They also stated that the founder (patron) was Edward Thirland.¹³

The priory was surrendered on 3 October 1538 by Robert, Bishop of Llandaff, commendatory general master of the Order of Sempringham, and by Thomas Norman, Prior of Mattersey, Thomas Bell, sub-prior, and John Garton, William Schylton, and Richard Watson, canons.¹⁴

Pensions were assigned on 2 December 1539 of £12 to the prior, £2 13s. 4d. to the sub-prior, and 40s. each to the three other canons.¹⁵

The site, with houses, church, steeple, churchyard, a warren of coney, a water-mill, a wind-mill, fishery rights, and rectory and advowson of vicarage of Mattersey, was granted to Anthony Nevill, esq., of the Royal Body, and Mary his wife, together with all the priories, manors, &c., on 4 November 1539.¹⁶

There is a cast in the British Museum from a damaged impression of the original seal of this priory. It is a pointed oval, and appears to have the figure of a prior kneeling before St. John Baptist, with a long cross, holding up his hand in benediction. Legend:—

S' PRIORIS DE MARESEYA¹⁷

PRIORS OF MATTERSEY

Walter, occurs 1247¹⁸

A—, occurs 1266¹⁹

John, occurs 1303²⁰

Thomas Norman, occurs 1538²¹

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 178.

¹² Inq. a.q.d. 4 Hen. IV, 22.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

¹⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 619.

¹⁵ Aug. Off. Bks. ccxxxiii, 66b, 67.

¹⁶ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, in. 11.

¹⁷ Casts of Seals, lxx, 47.

¹⁸ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 51b.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 56b, 60.

²⁰ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 39.

²¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 619.

⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 26, 303-4.

⁸ York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 620 d.

⁹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 105.

¹⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 311b, 312.

A HISTORY OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

14. THE PRECEPTORY OF OSSINGTON

Roger de Buron, toward the close of his life, in the latter half of the 12th century, gave the town of Ossington to Lenton Priory, joining the Cluniac order and wearing their habit. But early in his life he had bestowed the same town on the Knights Hospitallers, who held his charter. This not unnaturally gave rise to considerable litigation. His son, Walter Smallet, in 1204 confirmed the original grant to the Hospitallers. Eventually in 1208 the superior claim of the Hospitallers was admitted by the priory, with some slight modification.¹ Henry III granted them free warren over their demesne lands in Ossington.²

In a compendious chartulary of the possessions of the order, drawn up in 1434, it is stated that Archbishop William (probably William Fitz Herbert, 1143-54) granted them the church of Ossington with its appurtenances. The next entry adds that one Henry Hosatus gave the Nottinghamshire churches of Winkburn and Averham to the order, and that Adam Tyson gave the town of Winkburn.³

The gift of the two churches of Winkburn and Averham must have been earlier than 1199, for in that year they are included in a long general confirmation to the Hospitallers, executed by King John.⁴

Archbishop Gray confirmed to the brethren of the Temple in England in 1230 their rights in the churches of Marnham and Sibthorpe, with their annual pension of 2s. from the first and of 2 marks from the other.⁵

A letter of recommendation of the Hospitallers was issued by Archbishop Romaine in 1287 to the Archdeacon of Nottingham, by him to be forwarded to all the rectors, vicars, and priests of his archdeaconry, urging that when the messengers of the order arrived after their accustomed manner, they should be admitted, heard with kindness, and not hindered in any way whatsoever in expounding to their parishioners the nature of the business on which they were sent.⁶

The jury of the wapentake of Bingham stated in 1276 that the officials of both Templars and Hospitallers had on many past occasions and up to the present day treated the inhabitants unjustly and extorted money from them. Other jurors of

the county at the same time certified that the Hospitallers held the manors of Deyvilthorpe (Danethorpe), Winkburn, Ossington, and 4s. rent in Willoughby, as well as free warren in Ossington, Winkburn, and Danethorpe, and a park at Winkburn. The jurors of Newark testified that both Templars and Hospitallers had made encroachments on the waters of the Trent.⁷

At the time of the cruel suppression of the Templars in 1312 there was an unseemly scramble for the property of the order in England. Edward II seized some for himself, and transferred not a little to his favourites. The strong remonstrance of the pope against this secularization of ecclesiastical property brought about an Act of Parliament in 1324, by which the Hospitallers were put into legal possession of that which had previously been declared to be theirs by papal decree.⁸ Some, however, still remained in lay hands. The Templars had comparatively small estates in Nottinghamshire, but Hugh le Despenser managed to retain Templars' lands at Carlton worth 20 marks a year.⁹

In 1338, when Prior Philip de Thame made a return to the Grand Master of the English possessions of the Hospitallers, full particulars were entered of the *Bajulia de Ossington*, as well as of the smaller estate or *camera* of Winkburn, with its member of Danethorpe,¹⁰ which throw much light on the working of these establishments.

The total receipts and profits of the preceptory of Ossington for that year amounted to £85 8s. 8d. The capital messuage and garden were valued at 16s. 8d.; two dovecotes at 12s.; 600 acres of demesne land at 6d. an acre, £15; 32 acres of meadow, at 2s. an acre, and 6 acres of pasture land, 20s.; two windmills, 40s.; labour and customary service of villeins, 79s. 4d.; rent in cocks and hens, 20s.; court pleas and perquisites, 40s.; a messuage at 'Thurmeton,' with 91 acres of land and 10 of pasture, 10 marks; common pasture at Ossington for 12 cows and 600 sheep, 2s. a cow and 1d. a sheep, 74s.; assize rents, £24; *confraria*, not quite accurately known, owing to the delay of certain donors, but averaging in recent years £22 10s.; and the appropriation of the church of Ossington, £8 10s.

The outgoing for the support of the household, namely a preceptor, a brother, a chaplain, two clerks *de fraria* and various servants, together

¹ Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 172-3.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* (orig. ed.), ii, 552.

³ *Ibid.* 546.

⁴ Chart. R. I John, pt. i, 114. As to Winkburn see also Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 177-8.

⁵ York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 71.

⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 27-9; *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 655-6.

⁸ Porter, *Knights of Malta*, i, 198-9.

⁹ Larking, *Knights Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc. 1857), 212.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 54-6, 114-17.

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with many occasional visitors and guests, included bread and corn, £9; 80 quarters of barley for brewing, £8; flesh, fish, and other necessaries for the kitchen at 2s. 6d. a week, £6 10s.; oats for the horses of the preceptor and guests, £5; habits and clothing for the preceptor and his confrater, 54s. 8d.; stipend of the steward, 20s.; stipend of the parochial chaplain, 26s. 8d.; clothing and salary of servants, 33s. 4d.; two boys of the preceptor, one cook boy, a swineherd, a cowherd, a carter, 5s. each, and three pages, 20d. each; repairs of the houses, 20s.; the two days' visitation of the prior, 40s., and archidiaconal fees, 14s. The outgoings also included four life pensions, which were a heavy charge on the house, namely £10 a year to Henry de Edwinstow, clerk of the king's chancery; 5 marks to Sir John de Bolybrook; £20 to Sir Robert de Silkeston; and 5 marks to Brother Thomas de Warrenne. These charges brought the total of outgoings up to £77 7s.; this leaving a balance of £17 13s. 8d. for the general treasury of the English 'language.'

The two brothers then in charge of this preceptory were Sir Nisius Waleys, the preceptor, and Sir Thomas de Warrenne.

At the *camera* of Winkburn there was a manse with garden and dovecote, valued at 16s. 8d.; arable land worth £15, and meadow and pasture, 76s.; underwood (beyond that used in the house), 28s.; a windmill, 20s.; assize rents, £9 11s. 2d.; customary labour and service, 45s. 7d.; and court pleas and perquisites, 16s. 8d. The messuage of Danethorpe, with its lands, meadows, and pasture, was let out to farm at the annual rent of 10 marks. The appropriated church of Winkburn, with the chapel of Maplebeck, was of the yearly value of 25½ marks; common pasture for twenty cows produced 40s., and the same for 500 sheep 41s. The total receipts and profits of the *camera* realized 93 marks 8s. 5d.

The outgoings included a composition of 66s. 8d. for tithes to the rector of Kneesall; for tithes and archidiaconal fees, 9s. 9d.; the stipends of two chaplains for the church of Winkburn and its chapel, 60s. There was also a payment of 10s. a year for life to Richard de Coppegrave,¹¹ who is also entered as a 'corrodian,' that is in receipt of board and lodging. The repairs of the house cost 6s. 8d., and a like sum was expended on wax, wine, and oil for the church and chapel. The expenses of the house, that is for the sustenance of the preceptor or warden, the chaplain, and household servants, amounted to 60s.; for bread and corn, grain for brewing, £4; kitchen expenses, 78s.; stipends

¹¹ Richard de Coppegrave was ordained priest in the church of Blyth by Archbishop Giffard on 20 September 1274; he must therefore at this time have been eighty-eight years of age. York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 93.

and clothing for five servants, 33s. 4d.; robe, mantle, &c., for the warden, 33s. 4d.; and 2s. for the warden's page.

The sum of the expenditure came to 30 marks 8s. 5d., leaving a balance of 60 marks for the general treasury. Brother William Hustwayt was at that time warden.

Perhaps the most interesting item in these accounts is the very large sum of £22 10s. (fully £400 at the present value of money) entered as *confraria*, which was collected throughout the county of Nottingham yearly by the two clerks appointed for that purpose. The *confraria* was a voluntary contribution made by the order throughout England, which Archbishop Romayne commended to the clergy of this county, as we have seen, in 1287. It seems to have been collected by a house-to-house visitation. The whole amount gathered in England in 1338 amounted to about £900; so that Nottinghamshire, when we consider its comparatively small size, contributed an exceptionally large share to the fund for holding the infidels in check. The Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell, visited each preceptory annually at the expense of the house visited.

The chief expense was the maintenance of the household, and it should be remembered that most of the provisions would be furnished from the stock of the estate. In the hall were three tables, the first for the preceptor, his confrater and chaplain, and any corrodian of good birth; the second for the full servants; and the third for the hinds or labourers. The rule as to hospitality was a stringent one, and guests or wayfarers would be placed at table according to their station. In the stricter days of the order there were never more than two meals a day, and the food was moderate. The two collectors attached to each bailiwick were enjoined never to feed sumptuously when entertained on their travels. When dark they were always to carry a lanthorn, and to hold it before them when entering a house.

Maplebeck, a chapelry of Winkburn, had originally belonged to the Templars.¹² Rents at Sibthorpe, another Templar property, to the value of 10 marks a year, were in 1338 somewhat strangely returned to the Lincoln bailiwick of Temple Bruer. The transference of the church of Sibthorpe is mentioned under the college of that place. The rectory of Marnham was at that date farmed, up to 1340, by Sir Robert de Silkeston at 30 marks a year; whilst at Flawforth there was a messuage and a plough-land let for life to Thomas de Sibthorpe at 7 marks a year.¹³

From the *Valor* of 1534 it appears that the bailiwick of Ossington was then merged in the larger one of Newland, Yorkshire, of which

¹² Larking, *Knights Hospitallers in Engl.* 158.

¹³ *Ibid.* 161.

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Thomas Pemberton was preceptor. The Newland returns included £20 a year from rent and farms in Ossington bailiwick, and also £5 2s. from Roger Rogerson the bailiff of the same.

In addition to this rents and farms in Winkburn came to £19, bringing the total up to £44 2s. Bailiff Roger was in receipt of a stipend of £2 14s. 4d.¹⁴

FRIARIES

15. THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF NOTTINGHAM

The exact date of the settlement in Nottingham of the Franciscans or Grey Friars is not known, but it was an accomplished fact before the year 1230. This order of mendicants only reached England in 1224, so that they were not long in obtaining a foothold in this busy centre of the Midlands. The Nottingham house was one of the eight friaries in the wardenship of Oxford; it was situate in the south-west corner of Broadmarsh, not far from the castle.

The earliest known record occurs on the Close Rolls of 1230, when Henry III granted the Friars Minor of Nottingham twenty tie-beams for the construction of their chapel.¹ Two years later he made them a further grant of five trees out of the forest of Sherwood for the stalls of their chapel,² and yet another grant for the same purpose in 1234.³ In 1236-7 the friars were constructing a quay on the river, and received two royal grants of timber for this purpose.⁴ In 1242 the friars had a gift of ten oaks out of the hay of Willey.⁵ Fifteen oaks were granted them by Henry III, in April 1247, for their buildings, and again in August of the same year six more oaks for their infirmary.⁶

A few years afterwards the friars began to build a church of stone, and the king granted them licence in 1256 to take stone from his Nottingham quarry for that purpose;⁷ but they were still maintaining their other wooden buildings, and had a grant of twelve Sherwood oaks for their repair in 1258.⁸ In 1261 grants were made them of twenty oaks from Bestwood for the dormitory and chapter-house;⁹ and in 1272 they had a further grant of ten oaks for building purposes.¹⁰

Reverting to a much earlier transaction of this reign, it may be mentioned that Henry III in 1235 issued a writ of *Allocate* in favour of the bailiffs of Nottingham with respect to 5s. due yearly for a place in that town wherein the

Friars Minor were lodged, and which the king out of charity had pardoned to the friars so long as they lodged there.¹¹

The Patent Rolls of Edward I and II yield some further disconnected information as to this friary.

On 28 April 1277 the Crown licence was granted, after inquisition by the sheriff of Nottingham, to the Franciscans to stop and inclose a lane adjoining the wall of their close, to effect a slight extension of their site.¹² In 1303 licence was granted after inquisition to the same friars to make an underground conduit from their spring in Atherwell to their house within the town, and to lead the watercourse through it.¹³ This licence was renewed in 1311, when Edward II sanctioned the carrying of this subterranean conduit through the king's lands and park at Nottingham.¹⁴ This spring is probably identical with the 'Frere Watergang' mentioned in 1395.¹⁵

Commission was issued by Archbishop Romaine in May 1286 to the Franciscan Friars, in highly laudatory terms, authorizing them to absolve those who had been excommunicated for laying violent hands on clerks—cases which by right or privilege were reserved to the diocesan, but which were by his letters patent permitted to these friars, but not in any way to exceed canonical letters. These powers were to be held by special friars of the different houses in the diocese, including the one at Nottingham, but were revocable at pleasure.¹⁶

In January 1292-3 the same archbishop licensed the warden of the Friars Minor of Nottingham to absolve excommunicate persons who had been guilty of violence against clerks as above. A like licence was again issued to the warden in October 1294.¹⁷

The new stone church of the Friars Minor was finished early in the 14th century. On 24 September 1303 Archbishop Corbridge issued his commission for the dedication of this church and churchyard.¹⁸ Further progress was

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 68-9.

¹ Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 14.

² Ibid. 16 Hen. III, m. 3.

³ Ibid. 19 Hen. III, m. 23.

⁴ Ibid. 20 Hen. III, m. 4; 21 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁵ Ibid. 26 Hen. III, m. 2.

⁶ Ibid. 31 Hen. III, m. 9, 5.

⁷ Ibid. 40 Hen. III, m. 11 d.

⁸ Ibid. 42 Hen. III, m. 23.

⁹ Ibid. 45 Hen. III, m. 20, 15.

¹⁰ Ibid. 56 Hen. III, m. 9.

¹¹ Pat. 19 Hen. III, m. 4.

¹² Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 20.

¹³ Pat. 21 Edw. I, m. 27.

¹⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. II, m. 21.

¹⁵ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 282.

¹⁶ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 69 d.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 79 d. 84.

¹⁸ *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* i, 68.

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then made with side aisles or chapels, for another commission was granted in 1310 to any Catholic bishop to dedicate the altars of these friars.¹⁹

Mention is made in a deed of 1359 of the cross (exterior) of the Friars Minor in Nottingham.²⁰ This cross, which stood on the Marsh in Greyfriars Gate, is again referred to in a document of 1365.²¹

The first entry relative to these Franciscans among the town records is a bequest of 40*d.* made to them in 1382 by John de Wolaton.²²

In 1393 one John Leveret of Pinchbeck fled to the church of the Friars Minor for sanctuary—the offence he had committed is not stated, but he broke sanctuary and was seized at Coddington, near Newark, and committed to the king's gaol at Nottingham.²³

The Franciscan rule, like that of the other mendicant orders, did not permit of the accepting of any grant of land save that of the site of their house and of adjoining plots used for the purpose of extension; but the acceptance of small testamentary bequests of money for masses was not forbidden. Among such bequests to the Nottingham Franciscans may be mentioned: Simon de Staunton, rector of Staunton, 40*s.* in 1346; Richard Collin, 20*s.* in 1368; Robert de Morton, 5 marks in 1396; John Taunesley, 5 marks in 1413; John Pool, 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1479; Sir Henry Pierrepont, 40*s.* in 1489; Sir Gervase Clifton, 22*s.* in 1508; Robert Batemanson, 10*s.* in 1512; Sir R. Basset, 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1522; Thomas Willoughby, alderman of Nottingham, 10*s.* in 1524; and John Rose, alderman of Nottingham, £5 in 1528.²⁴

Among the presentments at the Nottingham sessions of July 1500 is that of Friar William Bell, warden of the Friars Minor, who was accused of being an accomplice in a charge of incontinence against another man.²⁵

In January 1521–2 'the Warden oth Gray-fres' was presented for 'baudre.'²⁶

The surrender of this friary was made to the king's commissioner, Dr. London, on 5 February 1539, being the same day as that of the White Friars of this town. It was signed by Thomas Basford, warden, and seven other friars, namely Thomas Ryppon, Francis Bryce, Robert Hampton, Robert Alyne, John Chester, Robert Morton, and Roger Stanley.²⁷

After remaining in the hands of the Crown for nine years, the house and site of the Grey

Friars was granted in 1548 to Thomas Heneage.²⁸

There is a cast of the 15th-century seal of this friary at the British Museum.²⁹ It bears St. Francis, three-quarter length, praying beneath a rich canopied niche; the inner border is engrailed. Legend:—

SIGILLU • CONVENTUS • FRATRUM • MINOR •
NOTINGHAMIE •

There is also at the Museum an imperfect impression of the seal of Thomas the warden, attached to a charter of 1520.³⁰ The Virgin and Child are shown in a canopied niche, with tabernacled sides. There is a smaller niche above with an imperfect subject. The legend is broken away excepting the four first letters of SIGILLUM.

16. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF NOTTINGHAM

The house of the White Friars or Carmelites of Nottingham was situated between Moothall Gate and St. James's Lane in the parish of St. Nicholas. It is generally reputed to have been founded about 1276, by Reginald, Lord Grey of Wilton, and Sir John Shirley, kt.;³¹ but all the foundation that was permissible for a friary of the mendicant orders was the gift of a site. There is, however, an entry on the Close Rolls at the end of the reign of Henry III which shows that the Carmelites had been established here at a far earlier date. In 1272 they obtained a grant from the king of ten oaks to repair their church.³² That Reginald de Grey was the donor of a site is, however, established by a confirmation charter granted by Edward II in March 1319, wherein he is mentioned as granting to the brethren of Mount Carmel two (adjacent) plots of land, the one described as being in the French borough of Nottingham and the other in St. James's Lane. The same charter mentions a variety of subsequent grants of adjoining plots of land for the extension of their site, which were the only gifts of land permissible to be held by friars, by William de Crophill and Agnes his wife, John de Wymondswold, William le Chaundeler, William de Watton, Henry Putrel, William de Lonesdale, Ralph de Lokynton, Alice widow of John le Palmere, Henry Curtyse and Agnes his wife, Nicholas de Shelford, William de Strelley, John le Collier, William de Chesterfield and Claricia his wife with their sons and daughters, John le Netherd and Sarah his wife, Robert le Carter, Ranulph le Leper, John son of Walter

¹⁹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 238.

²⁰ Anct. D. (P.R.O.) C. 3236.

²¹ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 432.

²² *Ibid.* i, 218.

²³ *Ibid.* i, 256.

²⁴ *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.); *Nott. Bor. Rec.* *passim*.

²⁵ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* iii, 74.

²⁶ *Ibid.* iii, 355.

²⁷ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 35.

²⁸ Deering, *Nott.* 52.

²⁹ Seal Casts, lxx, 51.

³⁰ Add. Chart. 5838.

³¹ Deering, *Nott.* 53.

³² Close, 56 Hen. III, m. 5.

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de Thornewton, William de Mekesburgh, Thomas de Radford, chaplain, Cecilia daughter of Ralph de Ufton, and Robert de Ufton. The king concludes his confirmation charter by granting remission to these friars of all secular exactions, as well as a rent of 5s. 6d. due to the Crown from certain of the places, 'on account of the special affection that we have and bear to the said prior and brethren, and in order that they may the more freely and devoutly attend to divine services.'³³ These numerous small gifts of parcels of land or tenements, chiefly situated in Saturday Market and Moothall Gate, are clear evidence of the affection of the townsfolk for these White Friars.

Three years prior to this Edward II, when at Clipston, had made an important grant to these Carmelites, not recited in the confirmation charter, whereby he assigned to them the old chapel of St. James adjacent to their dwelling-place, which had belonged to the priory of Lenton, but which the king had induced that convent to exchange for another piece of land in order that he might bestow it on the Carmelites.³⁴

In October 1319 licence was obtained for the bestowal on the friars of yet another plot of land, 80 ft. in length by 60 ft. in width, the donor being Hugh de Bingham, chaplain.³⁵

Licence was obtained in 1327 for the Prior and friars of the order of Mount Carmel, Nottingham, to acquire a rent of 13s. 4d. in Nottingham and to convey the same to the parson of St. Nicholas, in exoneration of the same sum due from them to him as tithes for land within his parish, acquired for the enlargement of their house.³⁶

The earliest reference in the town records to the Carmelites is under the year 1311, when an agreement that had been made on 25 March 1307, in the garden of the Friars Carmelite, as to an association for sustaining the light of Our Lady, is cited.³⁷

On 3 April 1379 Brother Robert, Prior of the Nottingham Carmelites, made plaint in the local court against John Carter, his servant, on a plea of trespass and contempt against the statute. But John placed himself *in misericordia*, and swore before the mayor and bailiffs on the Holy Gospel to serve the prior and convent faithfully until the feast of St. Nicholas, and to be no more rebellious against them.³⁸

Henry de Whitley of Nottingham in October 1393 killed his wife Alice in the night-time and fled to the church of the Friars Carmelite for sanctuary, and could not be taken as he kept to the church. Whereupon the town authorities

seized his goods as those of a felon; they were valued at 11s. 2½d.³⁹

Mention is made in 1442, in an action for the detention of goods, of Robert Sutton, B.D., who was at that time Prior of the Nottingham Carmelites.⁴⁰

John Mott, Prior of the Carmelites, complained of John Purvis, in 1482, that on Monday next before the feast of All Hallows he came with swords and clubs and other arms and broke into the house and chamber of the prior and took away two copes, one of worsted and one of white say, valued at 6 marks; a violet scapulary of woollen cloth, valued at 15s.; a silvered maser, ornamented and gilded, 26s. 8d.; a silver cup, £4; a set of amber beads, 10s.; a gold signet, 40s.; and divers other things, £10; making a total damage of £23. The defendant appeared in person, justifying all that he did, and the court ordered the matter to be placed before a jury.⁴¹

In March 1494-5 Thomas Gregg, Prior of the Carmelites, took action in the Nottingham court against Thomas Newton, draper, for having on 6 November last, by force and arms, to wit with clubs and knives, entered the house and inclosure of the White Friars, dug up the soil with the plaintiffs' spades and picks, pulled down a large tenter,⁴² broke a furnace of lead, and done other grievous damage to the extent of 40s. At the same time Gregg brought a second action against the same defendant for neglecting to well and sufficiently repair, within a certain time according to promise, the plaintiff's house or mansion wherein he dwelt, at the gates of the house of friars, whereby he had sustained damage to the value of 20s.⁴³

In the following year an action was brought against Prior Gregg by William Stark, mason, to recover the sum of 10s. alleged to be due as balance for the repair of the east window of the quire of the Carmelite church, over the high altar. Stark and another had conventioned to do the work for £3, but they had only received 40s., and the prior would not pay the balance of 20s. due to Stark, though frequently asked.⁴⁴

In 1513 an action was brought by Thomas Smithson the Carmelite prior, in conjunction with Thomas Bradley his brother friar, against Thomas Marsh, clerk of the vicar of Marnham, for a debt of 2s. 8d. which he owed them. The friars stated through their attorney that whereas Marsh had engaged Thomas Bradley to celebrate mass in the chapel of St. James on the bridge over the Trent for three days a week during five weeks, and although Bradley had duly celebrated for the five weeks and for one day besides, at the

³³ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 23.

³⁴ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 9.

³⁵ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 31.

³⁶ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 20.

³⁷ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 72.

³⁸ *Ibid.* i, 208.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 254.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 328.

⁴² Tenter was the name of a frame for stretching cloth.

⁴³ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* iii, 28, 30.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 42.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 176.



WELBECK ABBEY



WELBECK ABBEY



CARMELITE FRIARS OF NOTTINGHAM



BEAUVALE PRIORY



FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF NOTTINGHAM

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

rate of 4*d.* for each mass, the sum of 2*s.* 8*d.* was still owing, although payment had often been asked.⁴⁵ No friar could receive personal payment: the mass money would go to the community; hence the action to recover was taken in the name of the prior as well as in that of the friar who had performed this service.

When Henry VIII was at Nottingham in August 1511, in the days when he was zealous for the unreformed faith, he made an offering, doubtless in person, at the Rood of the White Friars.⁴⁶

Richard Sherwood, Prior of the Nottingham Carmelites, obtained a pardon from the king on 10 May 1532 for having killed William Bacon, one of his brother friars, by a blow given in a quarrel which arose when they were drinking in a chamber of the house. The blow was struck on 21 February, and the recipient died on the following day.⁴⁷

The general popularity of both houses of Nottingham Friars throughout their history is attested by the frequency of small bequests, such as they were allowed to receive. Among such bequests by will may be mentioned those of Simon de Stanton, 4*os.* in 1346; Thomas de Chaworth, 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1347; Richard Collier, 20*s.* in 1368;⁴⁸ John de Wollaton, 40*s.* in 1382;⁴⁹ Robert de Morton, 5 marks in 1396; John Tannesley, 5 marks in 1414;⁵⁰ Sir Henry Pierrepont, 40*s.* in 1419;⁵¹ Sir Gervase Clifton, 22*s.* in 1508; Robert Batemanson, 10*s.* in 1512;⁵² Roger Eyre, of Holme, Derbyshire, ten fodder of lead and 40 days' work of a mason, in 1515; Sir R. Basset, of Fledborough, 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1522; Thomas Willoughby, alderman of Nottingham, 10*s.* in 1524; and John Rose, alderman of Nottingham, £5 in 1528.⁵³

The surrender of the house of the Nottingham Carmelites was made on 5 February 1539 and signed by Roger Cappe, prior, and six of the brothers, namely William Smithson, William Frost, Robert Wilson, William Cooke, John Roberts, and William Thorpe. Ambrose Clarke and John Redyng were appointed their attorneys to deliver possession to John London and Edward Baskerfield, clerks, for the king's use.⁵⁴

In November 1541 the Crown granted the late priory of White Friars in Nottingham, with a garden and other lands in the parish of St. Nicholas and certain lands in the parish of St. Mary, to James Sturley of Nottingham.⁵⁵

⁴⁵ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* iii, 124.

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 1342.

⁴⁷ *Pat.* 24 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 20.

⁴⁸ *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.), i, 28.

⁴⁹ *Nott. Bor. Rec.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.), iii, 44.

⁵² *Visit. of Southwell.*

⁵³ *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.), *passim.*

⁵⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 621.

⁵⁵ *Pat.* 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iv, m. 8.

Two of the Carmelite Friars of the Nottingham house were of some celebrity during the 14th century. Philip Boston, a native of Nottingham and a Carmelite Friar of the same town, 'studied Philosophy and Divinity at Oxford, but returned again to Humanity and became a famous poet and orator, yet so as that he was a frequent preacher to the people, and according to Leland, left behind him in writing learned Sermons and Epistles and died in 1320.'⁵⁶

John Clipston, a Carmelite Friar of Nottingham, was also born in this town. He was Doctor and Professor of Divinity at Cambridge: 'he taught Divinity there long and explained Divine Mysteries with much applause to himself and improvement to his hearers, ever following the paths of virtue and religion, as close as those of literature.' He left behind him many writings, including Expositions of the Bible, a Commentary on St. John, Scholastic Disputations and a variety of sermons for particular seasons and festivals. He died and was buried at his monastery in Nottingham in the year 1378.⁵⁷

PRIORS OF THE CARMELITES

Robert, occurs 1379⁵⁸

Robert Sutton, B.D., occurs 1442⁵⁹

John Mott, occurs 1482⁶⁰

Thomas Gregg, occurs 1495-6⁶¹

Thomas Smithson, occurs 1513⁶²

Richard Sherwood, occurs 1532⁶³

Roger Cappe, surrendered 1539⁶⁴

There is a cast of a 15th-century impression of the seal of this friary at the British Museum.⁶⁵ It represents within a carved and cusped border of eight points the Blessed Virgin crowned, with the Holy Child on the right arm. Before her kneels the founder (Reginald Lord Grey) holding his shield of arms, barry of eight, a label of eight points. The background is diapered with lozenges. Legend:—

... COMVNITATIS D . . . NOTINGAMIE ORDINIS
BEATE MARIE DE CAR

17. THE OBSERVANT FRIARS OF NEWARK

When Henry VII became a special patron of the reformed branch of the Franciscans termed Friars Observant, he founded several English houses, which were chiefly refoundations of original Franciscan establishments. But there

⁵⁶ Stevens's continuation of Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 162.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 165.

⁵⁸ *Notts. Bor. Rec.* i, 208.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 176.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 328.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* iii, 28, 30, 42.

⁶² *Ibid.* 124.

⁶³ *Pat.* 24 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 20.

⁶⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv, 621. ⁶⁵ *Seal Casts*, lxx, 52.

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appears to be no evidence that there was any house of Grey Friars at Newark prior to the days of that king. His founding of the Newark house of this severe order occurred about the year 1499.⁶⁶ By a codicil to his will, Henry VII in 1509 left £200 to the convent 'that by his succour and aid was newly begun in the town of Newark.'⁶⁷

In the Dodsworth MSS. occurs the mention of 'Gabriel, fader of the Observant friars at Newark.'⁶⁸

Among payments made by Henry VIII in 1538 there is entry of 40s. to Richard Lucas for 'bringing one Bonaventure a friar of Newark.'⁶⁹

Early in 1539 Dr. London, who was the chief instrument of Henry VIII in the suppres-

sion of the friars, wrote asking for a commission from Cromwell to take the surrender of the friars at Newark.⁷⁰

The ex-friar Richard Ingworth, Bishop of Dover, writing to Cromwell in March 1539 said that he had recently received 'to the king's use' twelve houses of friars, one of which was that of Newark; they were all poor, each house had a chalice of 6 to 10 oz., and those he had with him.⁷¹

Richard Andrewes, of Hailes, Gloucestershire, and Nicholas Temple were the recipients, in July 1543, of much monastic property in the Midlands: *inter alia* of the site, churchyard and certain gardens of the 'late house of Augustinian Friars' in Newark, Notts.⁷²

COLLEGES

18. THE COLLEGE OF CLIFTON

Sir Gervase Clifton in 1349 obtained licence to give eleven messuages and certain lands in Clifton and Stanton on the Wold, with the advowson of the latter, to three chaplains celebrating divine service in the church of Clifton by Nottingham, for the good estate of Sir Gervase and of Isabel his wife.¹

His great-great-grandson, Sir Robert Clifton, began in 1476 to change this three-fold chantry into a small collegiate establishment, increasing the endowments and causing it to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The three priests had a mansion in common, and the senior was termed the warden. Sir Robert died in 1478, and the founding of the college was concluded by his son Sir Gervase, an esquire of the body to Edward IV and a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Richard III.²

Sir Gervase assigned certain lands to Lenton Priory on condition that they paid £10 a year to the warden of Clifton College to celebrate for his soul and for the soul of William Booth, late Archbishop of York. Sir Robert had married Alice sister to the archbishop. This £10 is entered among the annual outgoings of the priory at the time of the *Valor* of 1534.³ The clear annual value of the college was at this time entered as £20 2s. 6d.; of which sum the warden, John Fynnes, had £6 13s. 4d., and the two fellows or chantry priests (John Hemsell and Thomas Rusby) £6 each.⁴

⁶⁶ *Coll. Anglo. Minorit.* i, 211; ii, 39.

⁶⁷ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, 42. There can be no doubt that this refers to the Observant Friary; owing to a misconception as to the word 'convent' there has been much idle local speculation as to the site of this convent and as to the order to which it belonged.

⁶⁸ Dods. MSS. (Bodl.), xcix, fol. 200.

⁶⁹ Arundel MSS. xcvi, fol. 28b.

⁷⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (1), 3.

The suppression commissioners of 1547-8 returned the annual value as £21 5s. 10d. The same warden and priests were resident.⁵

19. THE CHANTRIES OR COLLEGE OF NEWARK

Although not styled a college in pre-Reformation documents, the coalition in common life of a large number of chantry priests of the great parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, Newark, is more deserving of the name of college than the much smaller foundations of a like kind in Nottinghamshire, such as those of Ruddington, Sibthorpe, Tuxford, or Clifton. It is therefore thought well to give a brief sketch of these combined chantries under Religious Houses.

One of the earliest of these chantries was that founded in 1330 at the altar of St. Laurence by Maud Saucemer of Newark, for her soul when dead, for her husband William, and for their respective fathers and mothers. A rent of six marks was to be paid out of the monastery of Wellow by Grimsby. The presentation rested with Maud for her life and then with the vicar of Newark, taking counsel with six of the more trusty parishioners, preference being given to the kin of her and her husband. The chantry priest was to work in harmony with the priest of

⁷¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (1), 413.

⁷² Pat. 35 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 12. There is no other reference to any settlement of Austin Friars in Newark, and it seems clear that it is a slip. The seal attributed to the Austin Friars by Brown (*Hist. of Newark*, 63) is shown by its legend to be that of a secular cleric.

¹ Thoroton, *Notts.* i, 105-6.

² *Ibid.* 106-7.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 149.

⁴ *Ibid.* v, 167.

⁵ *Coll. and Chant. Cert. Notts.* xxxvii.

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another chantry founded by William Saucemer, her late husband.⁶

Thomas Sibthorpe, rector of Beckingham, obtained licence in 1349 to assign a message in Newark to Robert de Alyngton, Robert Leef, and William de Stokum, chaplains respectively to the perpetual chantries founded for the souls of William Saucemer, of Maud his wife, and of Master William de Glenham, for them and their successors to celebrate divine service for the souls aforesaid, as well as for the souls of Thomas and Isabel Durant.⁷

Later in the same year (which was that of the Black Death, when many chantries were founded by survivors) confirmation was granted of an indenture of William, Prior of Shelford, and his convent, granting to John de Wodhouse, perpetual chaplain of the altar of Corpus Christi, to celebrate at that altar for Alan Fleming and Alice his wife, their sons and daughters and other persons, and for their souls when dead, a rent of 5 marks to be paid at Newark yearly.⁸

Another chantry was founded in this church in November 1349 by John Braye, king's yeoman and usher of the exchequer, endowed with 6 marks yearly.⁹

The chantry priests continued to increase, and somewhat later in the reign of Edward III Alice Fleming (after the death of her husband in 1361, to whose memory a noble brass is still preserved) founded a common mansion house for all the chantry priests, in order 'that they shulde be commensalls and associate togethere within the said mansion as by the licence of Kinge Edwarde the iij dothe appeare.'¹⁰

When the *Valor* of 1534 was drawn up, fifteen of these Newark chantry priests, all celebrating in the great parish church, are named, together with the amount of their respective stipends, which varied from £3 8s. 0½d. to £5 17s. 8½d.¹¹

Further particulars can be gleaned as to these chantries from the return of the commissioners of Henry VIII in 1545, preparatory to their dissolution.

They make mention of (1) the chantry of St. Nicholas, at St. Nicholas altar; (2) the Durant chantry, at the altar of St. James; (3) the chantry of Maud Saucemer, at the altar of St. Laurence; (4) the chantry of William Saucemer, at the altar of St. Laurence—here the morrow mass was celebrated at four o'clock every morning all the year round; (5) the chantry of William Wansey and others, at St. Katherine's altar;

⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 31, &c. (*inspeximus* and confirmation).

⁷ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 10.

⁸ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 11.

⁹ Ibid. pt. iii, m. 12.

¹⁰ Chant. and Coll. Cert. Notts. xiii, 28. This common chantry house stood in Appleton Gate.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 189-91.

(6) Alan Fleming's chantry, at Corpus Christi altar; (7) Isabel Caldwell's chantry, at the same altar; (8) Robert Caldwell's chantry, at the same altar, for a daily mass of Corpus Christi; (9) the chantry of William Newark, Archdeacon of Huntingdon; (10) the chantry of the Blessed Trinity, at the Holy Trinity altar; (11 and 12) the joint chantries of All Saints and the Nativity of Our Lady, founded in 1367 by Simon Surfleet and other inhabitants, 'in consideration that Newark is a great town and a thorowfare and the vicar and his parish priest were not sufficient to find the cure, to the intent that two chantry priests should say Mass Mattyns and other divine service and pray for the founder's souls and all Christian souls': (13) Foster's chantry, founded 1452 by John Burton, vicar of Newark, Thomas Foster, priest, and others, at the Trinity altar; (14) a chantry for Edward III and his mother and his queen and for the brethren and sisters of the Trinity Guild, at the Trinity altar; and (15) a chantry founded by John Leeke and others, for a priest to 'continually keep the quire at Mattins, Mass and Evenin song' &c.¹²

Another report was made on these chantries, immediately prior to their extinction, by the commissioners of Edward VI in 1547. On that occasion the report was expected to include comments on the degree of scholarship possessed by the chantry priests. One of the number was pronounced to be 'honest and lerned,' another 'lerned,' a third 'somewhat lerned,' a fourth 'something lerned,' whilst nine were written off as 'unlerned.'¹³

On their suppression the chantry priests of Newark obtained pensions, varying in accordance with their age and the worth of the chantry, from £6 to £3 10s.¹⁴

20. THE COLLEGE OF RUDDINGTON

William Babington, son of Sir William Babington and Margaret his wife, obtained the licence of Henry VI in 1459 to found a college at Ruddington for a warden and four chaplains; two of the chaplains were to officiate in the chapel of St. Andrew within the church of St. Peter of Flawforth¹⁵ and two in the chapel within the manor of Chilwell. They were to pray for the good estate of Henry VI, Margaret his queen, Edward Prince of Wales, William Babington the founder and Elizabeth his wife, and for the souls of the founder's parents, of Robert Prebend sometime Bishop of Dunblane,¹⁶ and of Richard,

¹² Chant. and Coll. Cert. Notts. xiii, 14-20.

¹³ Ibid. xxxvii. ¹⁴ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, 72.

¹⁵ Near Ruddington, now decayed.

¹⁶ Robert de Prebenda was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane (Scotland) in 1258. Archbishop Wickwane about 1280 gave commission to Robert, Bishop of Dunblane (*parochianus noster*), who had constructed an altar in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin and

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Hugh, and Robert Martell. The lands assigned to this chantry or college were of the value of £25 at the time of its foundation.¹⁷ Richard Martell of Ruddington and Hugh Martell of Chilwell had previously established a chantry at Flawforth, early in the preceding century.

When the *Valor* was taken in 1534 it was found that the lands at Chilwell, Bramcote, Lenton, Clifton, Clapton, Beeston, and Ruddington pertaining to the college were then worth £30 a year. Henry Scott, the warden, drew a stipend of 8 marks; Edward Ersden, who celebrated at Ruddington, and William Holome, who celebrated at Chilwell, each drew 7 marks. The two other chaplaincies, the one for Ruddington and the other for Chilwell, had both been vacant for some time.¹⁸

When the chantry and college commissioners of Henry VIII made their survey of this county in 1545-6 they reported of Ruddington that there were divers chantries founded there by the ancestor of Edward Sheffield esq., but no foundation was shown them. Their value was declared to be £24 13s. 4d. a year. Henry Scott was warden at a stipend of £5 6s. 8d.; two chantry priests ought to have been each in receipt of £4 13s. 4d., but for two years (on a vacancy) Edward Sheffield had retained in his hands the stipend of one of these priests, and since then the other had died. The rural dean of Bingham and the vicar of Ruddington said that the warden did nothing for his salary, but the warden himself deposed that he did duty at Chilwell. The chalice, &c., had been taken away (from Flawforth) by the warden. There was a mansion house in Ruddington, then partly in decay, where the warden and priests used to dwell.¹⁹

21. THE COLLEGE OF SIBTHORPE

In November 1324 Thomas de Sibthorpe obtained licence to alienate in mortmain a messuage, a toft, 50 acres of land and 5 acres of meadow, in Hawksworth and Aslockton, to a chaplain to celebrate daily in a chapel to be built on the north side of the church of St. Peter of Sibthorpe, to be dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, St. John Baptist, and St. Thomas the Martyr, for the souls of himself, his father, mother, brothers, sisters and ancestors, and others.²⁰ In October of the following year the just cited

the Apostle St. Andrew and All Saints, in the new chapel which he had erected at Flawforth, the place of his birth, to dedicate it at any time he pleased. York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 44; Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 78.

¹⁷ Inq. a.q.d. 37 Hen. VI, 4022; Thoroton, *Notts.* i, 126-7.

¹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 168.

¹⁹ Coll. and Chant. Cert. Notts, xiii, 5.

²⁰ Pat. 18 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17.

licence was surrendered and vacated. The chapel was then built, and a somewhat extended alienation was sought and obtained by Thomas de Sibthorpe. At the same time Thomas and William le Mareschal of Sibthorpe obtained licence to alienate 3 messuages, 3 oxgangs, 50 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, and 10s. rent in Sibthorpe, Syerston, Elston, Aslockton, and Thrumpton, to John Notebroun, chaplain of the chantry, just ordained by the said Thomas in this new chapel, to celebrate daily for their good estate and for their souls after death and also for the souls of Maud mother of the said Thomas, and for the brothers and sisters and ancestors of Thomas and of Simon de Sibthorpe, &c.²¹

By the time that the beginning of the reign of Edward III was reached, this chantry began to assume collegiate proportions. In April 1327 Thomas de Newmarket, kt., confirmed the grant by Thomas de Sibthorpe, presumably a native of Sibthorpe, who was then rector of the church of Beckingham, Lincolnshire, founder of the chapel and chantry, to John Notebroun, described as chaplain and keeper of the altar of St. Mary in the chapel, of certain lands in Hawksworth, held of the said Sir Thomas as chief lord of the fee.²² In July of the same year Geoffrey le Scrop, kt., licensed Thomas de Sibthorpe to assign all the lands that he held of Sir Geoffrey, either in demesne or in service, in Sibthorpe, Elston, and Syerston to certain chaplains or other men of religion, to celebrate divine service daily in the newly constructed chapel.²³

In February 1328 the deed was enrolled of Sir Geoffrey le Scrop, whereby he licensed John Notebroun, now called warden of the chantry in St. Mary's Chapel, and John Edwalton, chaplain of the said chantry, to acquire three messuages, 40 acres of land, and 10 acres of meadow in the three parishes mentioned above, to be held by them and their successors as wardens and chaplains of the chapel, without making any rent or service or custom to Geoffrey and his heirs.²⁴ In November of the same year William son of Geoffrey le Clerk of Sibthorpe had licence to alienate a messuage in Sibthorpe and Syerston, of the yearly value of 11s. 7d., to John de Edwalton, chaplain and warden of the chapel of St. Mary, Sibthorpe, in succession to John Notebroun, the late warden.²⁵

There was a further advance in 1335, for in that year Thomas Sibthorpe, rector of Beckingham, who is then styled king's clerk, bestowed further lands in Sibthorpe and Syerston on John Cosyn, chaplain and warden of the chapel, towards the sustentation of the warden, two chaplains, and a clerk as their server, who

²¹ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 20.

²² Close, 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14 d.

²³ Ibid. pt. ii, m. 21 d.

²⁴ Close, 2 Edw. III, m. 36 d.

²⁵ Pat. 2 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10.

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were to celebrate daily in the said chapel of St. Mary and in the chapel of St. Anne, in the church of St. Peter, Sibthorpe, on behalf of the Sibthorpe family.²⁶

In November 1336 certain small parcels of land were exchanged in Sibthorpe, to permit of the enlargement of the dwelling-house of John Cosyn, the warden.²⁷ The endowment of this collegiate chantry rapidly increased, for in December of the same year the founder gave fifteen messuages, a toft, 3 oxgangs, and 170 acres of land, 50 acres of meadow, and 30s. of rent in Sibthorpe and five adjoining parishes, together with the reversion of another parcel, for the sustenance of the warden and two other chaplains celebrating divine service daily in the chapel of St. Mary in the church of St. Peter, Sibthorpe, and in the chapel of St. Anne, St. Katherine, St. Margaret, and St. Mary Magdalene, of two clerks to serve them in the celebration and at other times, as well as for the finding thirty wax lights in the church and chapels and a lamp before the Rood there at certain times.²⁸

In 1339 John son of Reginald de Aslacton and Joan his wife assigned certain rents to the value of 20s. a year towards the provision of the thirty wax lights in this chapel and church.²⁹ In the same year Thomas de Sibthorpe the founder, who was then rector of Kingham, Oxon, transferred certain lands and rents in Beccingham and other Lincolnshire parishes to John Cosyn as warden of the chapel at Sibthorpe.³⁰

A yet further extension of this collegiate chantry occurred in 1340, when Thomas the founder obtained licence to alienate 6s. 7d. of rents in Sibthorpe and Sutton, together with the advowson and appropriation of the church of Sibthorpe, to maintain a warden and four chaplains in that church to say daily mass for the soul of Edward II, for the good estate of the present king, for his soul after death, for the souls of the heirs of Edward III, for the said Thomas the founder and certain others, and also for the distribution of weekly alms.³¹ The advowson of Sibthorpe had belonged to the Knights Templars, and was transferred on their suppression to the Knights Hospitallers. In order to secure the advowson and rectory and certain other appurtenances, Thomas de Sibthorpe transferred to the Hospitallers valuable lands at Woolhampton and Midgham, Berkshire. From the entry of January 1341 recording this exchange on the Patent Rolls, we find it clearly stated that this appropriation was carried out in order to sustain a warden and four chaplains in the church, in addition to the three chaplains and two clerks already ap-

pointed; so that the college then consisted of eight priests and two clerks. It was further provided that seven wheaten loaves, each of the weight of 50s., were to be distributed every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday to the poor of the parish.³²

In this same year, before the justices of the bench at the pleas at Westminster, judgement was given in a variety of actions brought against Warden John Cosyn to recover certain of the lands wherewith the college had been endowed; but in every case the decision was in favour of the college.³³ Again in 1342 legal attempts were made to deprive John Cosyn, the warden, of the advowson and appropriation of the church of Sibthorpe, but they all failed. In the course of these pleas John the warden, in his evidence, mentioned that all the chaplains and clerks assembled in the chapel of St. Anne yearly on the vigil of the Annunciation, celebrating an anniversary for the souls of Simon de Sibthorpe and others and their heirs, ancestors, and relations, as for a corpse present, with bell tolling; and also in the chapel of St. Mary a like anniversary for the souls of Thomas de Sibthorpe the founder, William and Maud his parents, &c., and for all benefactors, and for the parishioners of the church; and that on the Annunciation, directly after mass, the warden distributed in the churchyard, among the poorer parishioners who had attended the mass, 60 farthings or the equivalent in bread, and gave yearly on the same day to each of the chaplains 2d., and to each clerk 1d.³⁴

Another advance was made in 1343, when the reversion of the manor of Sibthorpe, valued at £6 5s. a year, was given to the college, and two other chaplains were added to the seven then existing, to pray daily for the souls of the king's father and the king and his heir, and for William and Isabel Durent, and for John son of Reginald de Aslacton, kt., and Joan his wife.³⁵

In 1345 the endowments were increased by the gift of parcels of land by Reginald son of Simon de Sibthorpe, which permitted of the enlargement of the rectory manse, where the warden and chaplains lived, and also of the enlargement of the cemetery.³⁶ A reiteration of a previous licence to the founder on the Patent Rolls, inasmuch as it had originally only been sealed by the privy seal, brings out the fact that the endowments were also used for the support of a poor man who kept the gates of the chaplain's dwelling, and for the finding of a poor

²⁶ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.

²⁷ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 15.

²⁸ Ibid. m. 11; 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24.

²⁹ Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 33.

³⁰ Ibid. pt. ii, m. 31.

³¹ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10.

³² Ibid. pt. iii, m. 3.

³³ Set forth at great length on the Patent Rolls, 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 43-39.

³⁴ Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25-19.

³⁵ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24. This manor came into the possession of the college in 1346; Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 19.

³⁶ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 1.

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woman of the parish in food and clothing, who probably served as charwoman.³⁷

Edward III, when staying at his favourite Nottinghamshire residence of Clipston, in December 1345, informed the sheriffs, bailiffs, ministers, and all purveyors and takers of victuals and other things for the king's household, that the king had taken under his special protection the chapel of St. Mary, Sibthorpe, with the warden and chaplains thereof and their lands and possessions, and that nothing was to be taken of their crops, hay, horses, carts, carriages, victuals, or other goods against their will.³⁸

A licence for a further assignment of lands and rents to the college by the founder in 1399 shows that at that time there were eight chaplains and three clerks, in addition to John Cosyn the warden.³⁹

John Cosyn the warden died, in all probability of the plague, in 1349, and was succeeded by Robert de Kniveton, one of the chaplains.⁴⁰

When the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was drawn up in 1534, Thomas Magnus was warden of Sibthorpe. The clear value of the college or chantry was declared at £25 18s. 8d. The gross value was £31 1s. 2d., of which sum £13 6s. 8d. came from the rectory of Sibthorpe.⁴¹ There is no record of the number of chaplains at that date.

The surrender of the property that this college held in Sibthorpe, Hawksworth, Flintham, Beckingham, Kneeton, Syerston, Elston, Staunton, and Shelton, was signed by Thomas Magnus on 17 April 1545. The warden is described as *Custos sive Gardianus Gardianati Collegii sive Cantariae Beatae Mariae de Sybthrope*.⁴²

In July of the same year, however, Thomas Magnus, described as clerk and king's councillor, obtained a grant for life, for £197 6s. 7½d., of all that had pertained to the college wardenry or chantry of Sibthorpe, both in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, as he held them when warden of the college. On his death remainder was granted to Richard Whalley and his heirs.⁴³

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John Notebroun, 1324⁴⁴

John Cosyn, 1335⁴⁵

Robert de Kniveton, 1349⁴⁶

Thomas Magnus, occurs 1534⁴⁷

³⁷ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 31.

³⁸ Ibid. pt. iii, m. 6.

³⁹ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

⁴⁰ Ibid. m. 3-1.

⁴¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 186.

⁴² Rymer, *Foedera*, xv, 71.

⁴³ Pat. 37 Hen. VIII, pt. xviii, m. 3.

⁴⁴ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 20.

⁴⁵ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.

⁴⁶ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 3.

⁴⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 186.

22. THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL

The mediaeval diocese of York contained, in the churches of York, Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell, four ancient foundations of secular canons. The early history of each is involved in much obscurity; and the difficulty is increased in the case of Southwell by the uncertainty which prevails as to the date at which Nottinghamshire became transferred to the see of York. For reasons given in a former article it seems probable that the latter event took place not earlier than the middle of the 10th century, and that it was immediately followed by the grant to the reigning archbishop of lands which possessed in great part the boundaries of the later manor of Southwell.

This is not the place in which to discuss in detail the very difficult problems presented by the charter by which the lands in question were conveyed.⁴⁸ The charter is only preserved in a late copy, made by a scribe ignorant of Anglo-Saxon, and in all probability founded upon an original already in part illegible. The strongest witness to its authenticity is the occurrence, in a clause appended to the delimitation of boundaries, of a number of terms, relating to the local distribution of the land, which became obsolete in this part of England soon after the Norman Conquest, and which no later forger would have been in the least likely to invent. The date of the charter is given in the text of the document as 958, which must be corrected to 956;⁴⁹ the donor is King Eadwig, and the donee Oskytel, who was probably translated to the see of York in the latter year.

Taking, then, the document as it stands, we may believe that by it the archbishop was put in possession of a large estate centring in the vill of Southwell, but including land in a number of neighbouring hamlets. The charter gives a list of the 'towns' which belonged to Southwell 'with sake and soke';⁵⁰ and the latter are certainly included in the eleven unnamed berewicks which are assigned to Southwell in Domesday Book. Their names, as given in the charter, represent the modern Normanton, Kirklington, Upton, Fiskerton, Morton, Gibsmere, Goverton, Bleasby, Halloughton, Farnsfield, and Halam; Blidworth, which afterwards formed the western portion of the manor of Southwell, was only acquired by the archbishop subsequently to 1066. Within the boundaries of this land there were several *enclaves* of territory not subjected to the archbishop, but even with this reservation we may safely say that no such extensive

⁴⁸ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 1029.

⁴⁹ As by Stubbs, *Mem. of St. Dunstan*, Introd. p. lxxxix, n. 3.

⁵⁰ No instance of this formula has yet been quoted from any earlier land-book.

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well-defined estate existed at the period in the hands of any subject between the Humber and the Welland.⁶¹

It is probable that the foundation of the collegiate church followed hard upon the archbishop's acquisition of his great estate. Oskytel, the recipient of the grant in question, is one of the obscurer Archbishops of York, but he is known to have been connected with the group of ecclesiastical reformers of whom Dunstan was by tradition the leader. It has, therefore, been contended that such a man, whose personal relations lay all with the monastic party in the English Church, would not have been likely to found an establishment of secular canons; ⁶² an argument which is arbitrary at the best, and scarcely admits the possibility that a prelate might be a zealous advocate of monasticism and yet recognize the need of working by means of men outside the rule. In so far as our knowledge at present extends, it certainly implies that the church of Southwell should pay the honours of a founder to Archbishop Oskytel.⁶³

The new foundation was destined for a life of unexampled length, but it is more than a century after the times of Eadwig and Oskytel before materials sufficient for a connected narrative of its fortunes begin to accumulate. By 1000, as we have seen, the church contained the shrine of St. Eadburh. In 1051 Archbishop Ælfric Puttoc died at Southwell, an event which probably implies the existence of an archiepiscopal residence in the vicinity of the church.⁶⁴ Ælfric's successor Cynesige (1051-60) gave bells to the latter; ⁶⁵ and the first phase in the history of the minster comes to an end with the death of Ealdred, the last native Archbishop of York, who had established a common refectory for the use of the canons, and had created a number of prebends in the church out of certain estates which he had procured for his see with his private wealth.⁶⁶

⁶¹ The charter recognizes exceptions to the archbishop's ownership in Normanton, Upton, and Fiskerton.

⁶² We may compare the action of Remigius of Lincoln, himself a monk, who founded an establishment of secular canons in connexion with his new cathedral in the latter city.

⁶³ This statement does not imply that no earlier church existed in Southwell. It is quite possible that a minster upon the royal demesne there already in 956 contained the relics of St. Eadburh. In this case, the foundation of the college of canons would be paralleled by the action of Ethelred II sixty years later in establishing a similar body in connexion with the minster at Oxford, 'where the body of the blessed Frideswide reposes.'

⁶⁴ *Hist. of the Cb. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 343.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 344.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 353. The Chronicle from which these pieces of information are derived was formerly ascribed to the hand of Thomas Stubbs (c. 1350), and has

There is good evidence, then, that the prebendal system had been established at Southwell before Ealdred's death in 1069. By this system each canon fulfilled a double function—that of a parish priest in the church which gave title to his prebend, combined with participation in the duties of the collegiate body of which he was a member. In course of time, as will appear hereafter, the average prebendary discharged his parochial office by means of a resident vicar; and was represented in the choir of Southwell by a vicar choral—the practice of non-residence played havoc with the theory on which a college of secular canons was founded.⁶⁷ By the middle of the 13th century at the latest non-residence was recognized as the normal condition of affairs; and the two last prebends of Eaton and North Leverton were provided, at the time of their creation, with a special endowment for vicars parochial and choral.

The full number of prebends attached to the church was sixteen, a number completed in 1291 by the separation of North Leverton from Beckingham. We possess information in some detail about the foundation of seven of these prebends; the date at which the remainder were created is a matter of inference. The evidence bearing upon the latter may here be given in a concise form.

1. *The Sacrists' prebend.* No endowment in land, but probably early, as connected with the maintenance of the services of the church.

2. *Normanton.* Undoubtedly early; the prebendary of Normanton was patron of the vicarage of Southwell, and the statement in Domesday Book that 2 bovates in the manor of Southwell were *in prebenda* almost certainly refers to the Normanton prebend.⁶⁸

3, 4, 5, *Norwell I, II, III.* The church of Southwell had possessed a manor of Norwell before the Conquest. Norwell I was the most valuable of the sixteen prebends; Norwell II was also valuable; Norwell III much less so. This looks as if the latter was a later creation than the two former, but as there is no record of its foundation it had probably come into being before the archiepiscopate of Thurstan, from whose time we have complete information on the subject. It seems probable that in the Norwell series we have two, possibly three, of Ealdred's prebends.

6. *Woodborough.* The prebendary of Woodborough may safely be recognized in the 'clerk'

been incorrectly cited as the work of Hugh the Chantor of York (c. 1135); but it was shown by Raine (*Hist.* ii, Pref. p. xx) that the first part of the Chronicle in question belongs to an anonymous author of the early part of the 12th century.

⁶⁷ So late as the time of Thurstan an attempt was made to keep up the common refectory; *Hist. of the Church of York*, iii, 47.

⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 219.

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who is entered in Domesday Book as holding 1 bovate in the latter vill under the archbishop. In addition to this bovate, the archbishop possessed 7 other bovates in Woodborough, making a total estate of 1 carucate. As the clerk's holding is only spoken of in the present tense, it was probably detached from the carucate in question subsequently to 1066, and the foundation of Woodborough prebend may therefore be assigned either to the last years of Ealdred or to Archbishop Thomas I, more probably to the latter.

7. *North Muskham*. The archbishop's holding of 1½ carucates is entered in Domesday Book as a note to the description of Southwell. It is uncertain whether any prebend had been created out of this estate by 1086, but it is not improbable.

8, 9. *Oxton I, II*. The creation of these prebends presents great difficulty. They included an endowment in the distant vill of Cropwell Bishop which 'St. Mary of Southwell' had held in 1066. The archbishop's land in Oxton itself had been acquired during the Conqueror's reign, and had not apparently by 1086 been appropriated to the church of Southwell. It is therefore possible that the Oxton prebends date between 1086 and Thurstan's time, though in their later form they may represent the addition of land in Oxton to an earlier prebend or prebends in Cropwell Bishop. This, on the whole, seems the more probable explanation.

10. *South Muskham*. Probably to be assigned to Archbishop Thomas II (1108-14).

11. *Dunham*. The church of this royal manor was given by Henry I to Archbishop Thurstan for the foundation of a prebend. The exact date is uncertain.

12. *Beckingham*. Created by Thurstan. Beckingham was one of the 'berewicks' of the archbishop's great manor of Laneham.

13. *Halloughton*. With the exception of Normanton (q.v.) the only prebend created within the limits of the manor of Southwell. The foundation of Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Evêque, confirmed by Pope Alexander III.

14. *Rampton*. The solitary lay foundation among the prebends of Southwell. Bestowed upon the church by Pavia de Malluvel and Robert her son about 1200.

15. *Eaton*. Founded by Archbishop Ro-mayne 1290.

16. *North Leverton*. Separated from Beckingham by the latter archbishop 1291.

These remarks are somewhat inconclusive, but it would be futile to try to define more closely the order in which the earliest prebends of Southwell came into being. The evidence which we possess hardly lends support to the idea, founded on the analogy of other churches of the same description, that the original foundation at Southwell consisted of seven preben-

daries;⁶⁰ it rather suggests the gradual extension of some much smaller nucleus. In any case, however, the notable increase in the number of prebends, and the length of time over which that increase continued, are very remarkable facts. In the period which lies beyond 1200 but few of the canons are known to us by name, but it deserves notice that Master Vacarius, the great teacher of the civil law, held for a time one of the prebends of Norwell.⁶¹

One more unsolved problem in the early history of Southwell may here be mentioned—the fate which befell the remains of St. Eadburh. We know that the Norman prelates who followed the Conquest possessed but scant respect for the native saints of the land, but it is not easy to account for the disappearance of a shrine which clearly was an object of frequent pilgrimage in the early 11th century. It has to some extent escaped notice that a discovery of wonder-working relics was made at Southwell in the reign of Stephen; these, however, cannot be connected with St. Eadburh's remains. While a grave was being prepared, there were found the relics of certain saints, and a glass vessel filled with clear water, which restored health to those who tasted it. The matter was brought to the notice of Thurstan,⁶¹ the then Archbishop of York, but nothing further is recorded in connexion with the discovery.

The Taxation Roll of 1291 enters all the sixteen prebends, though it is a little difficult to distinguish them with precision, as some are given under the name of the prebend and others under the name of the prebendary then holding the preferment. The estimate of the annual value of these prebends (including £4 13s. 4d. for the vicar of Dunham prebend; the church of Rolleston—which was assigned to the common fund—£13 6s. 8d.; and the church of Kirklington, £5) amounted to the large total of £342 13s. 4d. The prebends varied very greatly in value; thus Dunham and another one held by Master John Clavell (one of the Norwells) were each worth £36 a year, but the recent foundation of North Leverton was worth £13 6s. 8d. and that of Eaton only £6 13s. 4d.⁶²

When the *Valor* of 1534 was drawn up, separate returns were made for each of the sixteen prebends. The prebend of Dunham had then fallen in value, being worth £28, but Eaton was worth £9 6s. 8d. Each prebendary at that time paid £4 a year to his vicar choral, and 2s. 2½d. to the chapter for visitation fees.

⁶⁰ This was the number at Lichfield, York, Beverley, and probably Ripon. But with regard to Southwell we cannot well throw either Woodborough or North Muskham beyond the Conquest, and Norwell III is almost certainly no original prebend.

⁶¹ *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xi, 312, n. 63.

⁶² *Chron. of John of Worc.* (ed. Weaver), 44.

⁶³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 312.

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Each of the sixteen vicars was in receipt of £7 4s. 8½d. (including the £4 from his prebendary), their common revenues being equally divided. There were also thirteen chantry priests attached to the minster, whose respective incomes varied from £8 7s. 5d. to £4 16s. 5d. A fabric fund brought in a clear annual income of £10 12s. 6½d.

There was also a common fund of the minster. To this the appropriated Nottinghamshire churches of Upton, Rolleston, Edingley, Kirklington, Barnby, and the third part of Kelham contributed £36 16s. 8d., and the church of Barnborough, Yorkshire, £16 13s. 4d. Among other receipts were £8 in offerings during 'Whitsandaye weike'; two stone of wax from Thurgarton Priory; three stone of wax from Shelford Priory; and 26s. 8d. from the parish church of South Wheatley to buy wax and oil. The outgoings from this fund included £6 9s. 4½d. to six poor choristers; 63s. 4d. to two 'thuribularies'; £4 to two deacons, and 66s. 8d. to two sub-deacons; to the master of the choristers, 20s.; to the verge bearers, 3s. 4d.; and for bringing hallowed oil and cream, 12d.⁶³

When the college and chantry commissioners of 1545 visited Southwell Minster, they described it as 'reputed and taken for the hed mother Church of the Towne and Countie of Nottingham, wherin is sedes archiep̄alis founded by the Righte famous of memorye Edgare the Kinges majesties moste noble progenitor,'⁶⁴ for three canons residentiary, a parish vicar, sixteen vicars choral, thirteen chantry priests, four deacons and sub-deacons, six choristers, two 'Thuribales,' and two clerks. The sixteen prebends and the thirteen chantry priests are all specified; the latter had each a chamber and share in a common hall.⁶⁵

On 12 August 1540 the Archbishop of York granted to the king the patronage of all promotion in the collegiate church of Southwell.⁶⁶ On the same day the vicars choral surrendered their chief house or mansion in Southwell with all their possessions, and like surrenders were also executed by the prebendaries and by the chantry priests.⁶⁷ But these definite surrenders, through some unknown influence, were suffered to pass as so many dead letters, and in January 1543 their effect was formally annulled by a special Act of Parliament, whereby 'the colledge and church collegiate of Southwell' was legally re-established in every particular; the whole of its

property and officials were restored, including lamps, obits, chantries, and chantry priests.⁶⁸

Almost the whole of the upwards of two hundred collegiate foundations extant throughout England in pre-Reformation days, both great and small, were ruthlessly confiscated by either Henry VIII or Edward VI; even the fabrics were in many cases destroyed and merchandise made not only of the lead and bells but of the very monuments, brasses, and gravestones. In some cases, like Beverley and Ripon, Southwell's sister minsters, the churches were bought back by the inhabitants and turned into parish churches. In only five, or at the most six instances, were fabrics and endowments eventually spared—Windsor and Manchester being amongst them—but of these by far the most ancient and famous, as well as one of the largest, richest, and most beautiful, was the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin of Southwell.

It seems that at this time it was the intention of the king to make Southwell the seat of a bishopric. The revenue was set down as £1,003, of which one-third was to be allotted to the bishop, who was designated in the person of one of the prebendaries, Dr. Richard Cox, who afterwards became Bishop of Ely.⁶⁹ But this idea, like the great majority of paper schemes of Henry VIII, came to naught.

The commissioners of Edward VI, in 1547-8, went over much the same ground.^{69a} They were, however, sufficiently uncritical deliberately to repeat the legend as to the founding by King Edgar in definite form as to each of the sixteen prebendaries and the sixteen vicars. 'The Thuribularies' serving at the altar are again entered as in receipt of 13s. 4d., and the 'dilation of Oyle and Creme from York' costing 12d. Of the chantry priests one is entered as a preacher, two as 'meatly lerned,' and four as 'unlerned.' Three chapels of ease are mentioned as served from the minster, namely those of Halam, Halloughton, and Morton. There is a curious entry to the effect that, when the commissioners of Henry VIII visited Southwell on 24 November 1545, the prebendaries and heads of the college sold a 'Holy water Stocke of Sylver,' weighing 51 oz., and with the money provided due entertainment for the visitors.

They found that the church had already been stripped of 626 oz. of plate. They left to the minster two silver-gilt chalices with their patens, weighing 45 oz., for use at the Holy Communion, and also £20 6s. 2d. worth of vestments, copes, &c.

The visitation of the commissioners of Edward VI not only swept away all the chantries of Southwell, but the college itself, the church being continued as the parish church, on the petition of

⁶³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 192-8.

⁶⁴ The commissioners wisely added to this statement as to the founding of Southwell by King Edgar, which seems to have been then current, that it was 'without any foundation in writinge showed to the Commyssioners.'

⁶⁵ Coll. and Chant. Cert. Notts. xiii, 40.

⁶⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 971.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* xvi, 275.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* xviii (1), 65 (45).

⁶⁹ Strype, *Mem.* i, pt. ii, 407.

^{69a} Chant. and Coll. Cert. xxxvii, 4.

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the parishioners. John Adams, the sacrist's prebendary, was appointed parish vicar with a salary of £20, and two others made 'assistants to the cure' at £5 each. By an Act, however, of Philip and Mary (1557) the chapter was restored. Most of the confiscated property had passed to John Beaumont, Master of the Rolls, but he had fallen into disgrace and his estates had been resumed by the Crown in payment of his debts.

After this restoration until the final dissolution of the chapter in 1841 the constitution of the collegiate church was governed by a set of statutes promulgated by Queen Elizabeth on 2 April 1585,⁷⁰ interpreted by injunctions issued by successive Archbishops of York as visitors of the church and by resolutions of the chapter themselves. No definite scheme of residence is propounded in these statutes, which leave the performance of this duty to the will of the several prebendaries.⁷¹ Provision was made for the performance of the sacred offices by insistence on the continued presence of at least six vicars choral, *presbyteri et musici*, assisted by six choirmen and an equal number of choristers.⁷² A new officer, elected by the canons from among their number and known as the vicar-general, was created at the same time to exercise the ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonging to the chapter.⁷³ For the edification of the officers of the church weekly or fortnightly lectures in theology were instituted; and in the afternoon of each Sunday the rudiments of the Faith were to be expounded by one of the canons to an audience including, beside the vicars choral and choristers, the boys of the grammar school with their master.⁷⁴ Advantage was taken of the existing opportunity to provide for a suitable distribution of the lesser offices connected with the church; and the chapter were directed to institute a fitting person to see to the maintenance of the fabric.⁷⁵ The whole set of statutes is evidence of a thorough reorganization, the nature of which reflects much credit upon the queen's advisers, among whom we may certainly reckon in the present case Edwin Sandys, the reigning Archbishop of York.

The main feature of the constitutional history of the church in the succeeding period lies in various attempts made by the canons to arrange a permanent system of keeping residence. In 1693, by a resolution of chapter, which received the sanction of Archbishop Sharpe, it was decreed that for the future each prebendary, in the order of his seniority, should keep a term of residence for three months, an arrangement which in theory prevailed until the dissolution of the

chapter.⁷⁶ It followed from this that the canon in residence for the time being became in effect the temporary head of the whole collegiate body; he presided over the sessions of the chapter, and was responsible for the conduct of the services of the church. It could scarcely have been expected, however, that those canons who held high ecclesiastical office elsewhere should consent to go into retirement at Southwell for three months in every four years, and in practice the office of residentiary is found circulating among a small number of prebendaries, mostly connected with the neighbourhood by birth or family. At last, in 1841, provision was made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the gradual abolition of the chapter as a whole; the decease of each successive canon after this time involved the extinction of his prebend, and on 12 February 1873 the ancient corporation came to its appointed end upon the death of the Rev. Thomas Henry Shepherd, rector of Clayworth and prebendary of Beckingham.

The history of the chapter of Southwell in the 18th century raises no points of special interest. It bore very much the character of a select clerical association of which the members were nominated by an external authority, the Archbishop of York, but which enjoyed virtual autonomy in the management of its internal concerns. The latter were regulated by a quarterly meeting of the chapter, which was rarely attended by more than five or six out of the sixteen canons, while three was a number competent for the transaction of business. The deliberations of this body were usually conducted with unanimity, but a grave difference of opinion is clearly reflected in the following entries taken from the minutes of chapter:—⁷⁷

October 19th, 1780.

Decreed

That for the future, on the Installation of any Prebendary the expensive Dinner of late years given on that occasion shall be laid aside, and every succeeding Prebendary in stead thereof shall pay into the hands of the Treasurer £10; of which sum at least £2, according to old custom, shall be applied to improve the Library, and the rest disposed of according to the discretion and determination of the Chapter.

July 19th, 1781.

At a chapter held the 19th day of October 1780 it was Decreed that on the Installation of any prebendary in future the expensive Dinner of late years given on that occasion should be laid aside, w^{ch} Decree appears to this Chapter to be inconvenient, therefore it is now Decreed that the same be postponed.

It is rather a suggestive circumstance that a new canon was to be installed the next day.

⁷⁰ Printed by Dickenson, *Hist. of Southwell* (ed. 1), 152-69.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* cap. 3.

⁷² *Ibid.* cap. 23.

⁷³ *Ibid.* cap. 13.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* cap. 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* cap. 12.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 171.

⁷⁷ MS. incomplete. In the possession of Mr. F. M. Stenton.

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Three years later the dispute in question was settled by the intervention of the Archbishop of York as visitor of the college, who enjoined :—

That hereafter no publick dinner or entertainment shall be made at the installation of any Prebendary, but, instead thereof, the sum of six pounds shall be paid by the person installed, in addition to the two pounds heretofore given for the benefit of the library.⁷⁸

A resolution of chapter, made 24 October 1783, 'that the chanting of the service in the church be performed in a monotony,' is of some interest from its date, but it must be admitted that the 18th-century canons of Southwell can hardly be claimed as exempt from the lethargy which characterized the Church of England as a whole during this period. Here and there among the resident canons may be recognized a divine of superior scholarship and wider intellectual interests, such as Dr. Ralph Heathcote, vicar general from 1788 to 1795, who in his youth had taken an active part in the theological controversies of the middle of the century.⁷⁹ Earlier than this the same office had been held by George Mompesson, the heroic vicar of Eyam, Derbyshire, in the days of the great plague of 1666; and William Rastall, Heathcote's immediate predecessor, showed commendable diligence in his care for the fabric of the magnificent church of which he and his colleagues were the custodians. But these men were exceptions, and for such a body as the chapter of Southwell in its latest days there was but one possible fate in the decades of radical reform which followed 1832. Eleven years after the death of the last surviving prebendary the church of Southwell became once more a centre in the ecclesiastical organization of the county by its elevation to be the cathedral of the see newly created in 1884 for the counties of Nottingham and Derby.⁸⁰

The constitution of this great Nottinghamshire church was based on that of the cathedral church of York. In the bull of Alexander III, granted in 1171, confirming the canons in all their possessions, it is expressly stated that the ancient customs and liberties 'which the church of York is known to have had from old time and still to have' were renewed and solemnly maintained to them.⁸¹ In this bull sanction was given to the ancient custom, already well established, of both clergy and laity making Whitsuntide procession to Southwell as the old mother church of the county, and thence they were to obtain the holy oils for distribution among their churches, brought thither from York. The clergy, too, were expected to attend an annual synod at Southwell.

⁷⁸ Dickenson, *Hist. of Southwell*, 278.

⁷⁹ An interesting autobiography of Dr. Heathcote was included by Dickenson in the second edition of his *Hist. of Southwell*.

⁸⁰ For some information upon points of detail included here we are indebted to Mr. W. G. Patchett of Southwell.

⁸¹ Liber Albus, fol. 1.

The special privileges that the Southwell canons enjoyed in common with those of York were freedom in their common lands and also in their respective prebends from all ordinary jurisdiction, spiritual or temporal, of archbishop or king. No distress, &c., could be taken by the sheriff without the chapter's leave, or without the individual prebend's leave in the case of prebendal lands. 'The canons had civil and criminal jurisdiction over all their tenants and people in their liberty. The judges on circuit had to hold the pleas of the Crown at the south door of the church; in criminal cases in one of the canon's houses, outside the minster yard. They had to make a return of their proceedings to the canons, and the fines and forfeitures inflicted went to the canons and not to the king.'⁸² The canons also held the assize of bread and beer throughout their liberty, and could fine the infringers of this and other market regulations; but they did not possess either pillory or tumbrel. They and their tenants were also free from every form of toll and custom throughout England. These extensive powers and privileges were granted by charters of the first three Henrys, and were fully maintained by them under the *Quo Warranto* proceedings of the beginning of the reign of Edward I.⁸³

In spiritual matters the collegiate church of Southwell was exempt from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction, save that the diocesan had the power to visit to see that they kept their statutes; but this power was seldom if ever put in force after the 13th century. The chapter alone exercised jurisdiction over the vicars choral and chantry priests, and over their prebendal or parochial vicars (whom they instituted), and also over the laity throughout their peculiar.⁸⁴

In one important point the canons of Southwell differed from those of York. Unlike any other foundation of secular canons save that of Ripon, they possessed no head warden or dean. Even Ripon gave a recognized supremacy, though no special title, to one of their number, the prebendary of Stanwick; but at Southwell all were of equal rights throughout their history. In actual practice it is probable that the senior canon in residence would preside at chapter meetings, and in other ways take precedence.⁸⁵

⁸² Leach, *Mem.* xxxi.

⁸³ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 615, 636.

⁸⁴ Mr. Leach, however, goes much too far when he says (xxxiii) that 'they possessed all archiepiscopal functions except ordination,' for of course they could not confirm, nor consecrate altars or churches, &c.

⁸⁵ One Hugh, Dean of Southwell, occurs as a witness to certain deeds, c. 1225. Mr. Leach thinks that possibly the chapter tried the irregular experiment of having a dean for a few years about this date. But we have no doubt that Hugh was but a rural dean; we have found other later instances of such Deans of Southwell.

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There is no regular body of statutes of an early date defining the duties of the various members of the chapter; but Mr. Leach is able to show by numerous references that the necessary functions of precentor, of sacrist or treasurer, and of chancellor were duly discharged by particular prebendaries.⁸⁶ From quite early times Southwell suffered from the invariable abuse of all establishments of secular canons, the non-residence of its highly-paid members. Owing to the illicit sanction of pluralities and non-residence, it came about that each canon had two deputies, the one to act as parish vicar in his prebendal or village church, and the other to take his singing place in quire as vicar choral. The non-residence of many of the Southwell prebendaries must have been well established at a fairly early date, for the bull of Alexander III (1170) definitely assigns to the canons the right to institute fit vicars, whom they please, in their prebendal churches without anyone's interference.

The oldest ordinances of this church are those of Archbishop Gray, dated 20 April 1225.⁸⁷ These ordinances (sealed by the Southwell chapter as well as by the archbishop) clearly endeavoured to secure better residence by a system of rewards for attendance. By these ordinances, it was provided that every canon attending mattins on ordinary feasts was to receive *3d.* from the common fund, and *6d.* on double feasts. The old common fund had been increased in 1221 by the appropriation to it of the rectory of Rolleston Church, and the surplus of the whole fund was to be divided equally among the resident canons at Whitsuntide. To be a resident canon and entitled to this portion the canon had to reside three months at one time, or in two halves, but the study of theology elsewhere might count as residence.

When this statute or ordinance of 1225 was reconsidered by a convocation of the canons in 1260, it was decided, with the assent of Archbishop Giffard, that the study of theology was only to count as residence if the student followed the regular course at Paris and Oxford or Cambridge at least for two terms of the year.⁸⁸ Mr. Leach concludes, with much probability, that this explanatory ordinance was aimed at Italian canons thrust upon the chapter by papal provision.⁸⁹ At the same time it was decided that the absence of a canon at his prebend for the purpose of preaching, hearing confessions, or the fulfilment of like duties in his prebendal church, provided he did not sleep more than three nights out of Southwell, and had asked leave of

the other canons resident, was not to count as absence.

Non-residence was, however, so fully recognized as the usual custom, that Archbishop Romaine, when founding two new prebends in 1291, made provision at the same time for the due appointment of prebendal and choral vicars in each case.⁹⁰ At a visitation in 1293 the same archbishop ordained that each canon was to have a duly authorized proxy, that vicarages were to be established in all the prebendal churches, and that the prebendaries were to pay their vicars choral 60s. a year. Thomas de Corbridge, the next archbishop, after visitation, provided in 1302 that at all times three or at least two canons were to be resident in the church, to hold chapter, and personally in consultation direct and handle business.⁹¹ Henceforth this minimum of canons residentiary was treated as if it was the maximum.

At a later period even this minimum was set aside from time to time. Mr. Leach cites an instance in 1361 of a single canon residentiary 'making and holding a chapter,' whilst in the 15th and 16th centuries a single residentiary constantly sat as a tribunal, described in the official entries as 'making a chapter.'⁹²

The later mediaeval Archbishops of York, instead of trying like their predecessors to do somewhat to stay the plague of the Church's tithes being squandered on sinecure pluralists, vied with popes⁹³ and kings in its extravagant promotion.

An exceptional reason was given by Henry IV in 1405 for permitting papal provisions for one Brian de Willoughby, a Nottinghamshire clerk.

⁹⁰ Liber Albus, fol. 24.

⁹¹ Ibid. fol. 51, 52.

⁹² Mem. xlvi.

⁹³ The following are three papal examples of this pernicious practice. Dispensation was granted in 1259 by Alexander IV to John Clarel, canon of Southwell, to hold one additional benefice, although in addition to his prebend of Norwell in Southwell Church he already held the rectories of Overton, Hemingford, Bridgeford, Houghton, Elton, and 'Babworth' (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 363). In July 1308 William Melthon, rector of Hornsea, Yorkshire, was dispensed by Pope Clement V to hold a canonry and prebend of Southwell, although he already held canonries and prebends of Dublin, Bangor, and Worcester, and two more rectories in the dioceses of York and Lincoln. Two years later the same canon of Southwell was further holding prebends in Lincoln and York, the provostship of St. John's, Beverley, and the deanery of St. Martin's le Grand, London (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 42, 72). Master Robert de Beverley, doctor of canon and civil law, obtained papal dispensation in 1352 to hold a prebend of Southwell, notwithstanding that he was then canon of Beverley, sub-treasurer of York, rector of North Burton, and expecting a benefice in the gift of the provost of St. John's, Beverley; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 425.

⁸⁶ Mem. xxxviii-xlii.

⁸⁷ They were confirmed by Archbishop Giffard in 1260, and have several times been wrongly cited as of this latter date. York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 3.

⁸⁸ Liber Albus, fol. 45.

⁸⁹ Mem. xlvi.

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It appeared that substance of his maintenance, amounting to 200 marks yearly, had been so wasted by the rebel Welsh that he had but £7 a year to keep up his estate. The king therefore granted that he might obtain from the pope a provision and collation to a dignity and a prebend in the cathedral church of York and also like appointments in the three collegiate churches of Beverley, Southwell, and Ripon, all of the advowson of the Archbishop of York.⁹⁴

All the canonries of Southwell, as well as of York, Beverley, and Ripon, were in the gift of the archbishops, and it was by no means infrequent for these prelates to bestow three or even more of such prebends on their favourites. Archbishop Nevill in 1474 collated and personally inducted Edmund Chaterton into the Southwell prebend of South Muskham; Chaterton also held prebends of Beverley, Ripon, Lincoln, St. Paul's, St. Stephen's Westminster, and Salisbury, and was also warden of Sibthorpe College, rector of Calverton, Dean of Barking, and Archdeacon of Chester, Salisbury, and Totnes.

Henry Carnbull, collated by Archbishop Rotherham in 1499 to the Southwell prebend of Norwell Overhall, was also canon of York, Beverley, and Lincoln, and fellow of the archbishop's own foundation at Rotherham.

William Claburgh, collated by Archbishop Wolsey in 1527 to the Southwell prebend of Rampton, already held four other canonries, three of them in this diocese, namely those of York, Lincoln, Howden, and Hemingbrough.

The work of this great collegiate establishment had, however, to be in some sort fulfilled, both in temporalities and spiritualities. As to the former a somewhat unusual system of churchwardens, beginning about the middle of the 13th century, was gradually developed. They are spoken of in 1295 as 'wardens of the *communio* of the canons and of the fabric of the church.' In 1302 it was provided that no one bound to choir service was to absent himself without leave from a canon residentiary, or from the wardens of the chapter if no canon was present. There is a provision in an ordinance of 1329 that these two wardens were to be elected annually at the audit next after the feast of Trinity. The references to these wardens of the commons are constant at a later period.⁹⁵

As to spiritualities, the Chantry Commissioners stated that this collegiate church was 'atte the firste cheffely founded for maintenaunce of Gods worde and mynstringe of the most blessed sacramentes and for to have all dyvine service there dayleye songe and sayde.' It remained therefore for the vicars choral to discharge these duties of perpetual divine service, beginning in the early hours of the morning, for which the canons were originally appointed.

⁹⁴ Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 31.

⁹⁵ *Mem.* liii-iv.

The statutes, or 'Acts of Convocation of all the brethren and canons of Southwell,' drawn up in 1248, laid down many injunctions as to the vicars. They were not to quarrel; to have a warden of their commons, elected by themselves, who was to divide legacies and payments for masses or obits among them; incontinence was to be canonically punished; bad language or insults in the church to be punished by two disciplines (floggings) in chapter, or fine of 2s.; like offences outside the church, one flogging or 1s. or wearing in the Sunday procession the old *bulgewarium* round the neck; for a third offence, expulsion; to attend all the hours, especially mattins, with 1s. fine for absence; readers in quire to read over lessons beforehand, ridiculous reading to be punished by discipline in chapter; tavern and play haunters to be suspended; and fines for missing hours to be handed to the commons warden for division among the other vicars.⁹⁶

In 1379 a part of the eastern side of the churchyard was assigned as the site of the vicars' hall and common mansion, the site of the present vicars' court, in succession to a predecessor at some little distance, which was much out of repair. Canon Richard de Chesterfield, who built this house, was also a benefactor to the vicars in 1392 by a grant of property.⁹⁷

In March 1439 Henry VI granted to Southwell chapter the alien priory of Ravendale, Lincolnshire, of the clear yearly value of £14, with all its advowsons and profits. The reason alleged for this grant was that the revenues of the collegiate church had decreased; so that of the canons, vicars, chaplains, chanters, deacons, sub-deacons, choristers and other ministers there to the number of 60 persons, only a few of the chaplains could live on the portions assigned them, and that the residue to the number of about forty persons of the lower grades of the ministry were about to leave the church for lack of sustenance.⁹⁸

The chantry priests of this church formed another important body, whose special function here as elsewhere was to pray for the souls of their founder or founders and their relations and benefactors. Several, however, of their number also served chantries and acted as assistant chaplains to the prebendal churches and their chapels of ease round Southwell. One of their number was also usher of the grammar school. Eight of these chantries were founded in the collegiate church of Southwell in the 13th century; the number was eventually increased to thirteen. By the statutes of 1248 they were brought under the same discipline as the vicars choral. When Canon Thomas Haxey founded a chantry in

⁹⁶ These statutes are set forth at length in *Mem.* 205-9.

⁹⁷ *Liber Albus*, 443.

⁹⁸ Pat. 17 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 2.

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1415 he gave certain small endowments of common lands, the revenues from which were to be divided among the ten chantry priests then existing.⁹⁹ He also built for them a common chantry house on ground taken out of the north-west corner of the minster yard. Here they dwelt together in common. This chantry house stood intact till 1784. Mr. Leach mentions what he rightly terms 'a quite pathetic provision' in a lease of 1574 of the west part of this house to a layman; he was to allow 'Sir Francis Hall and Sir Richard Harryson, sometime chauntry priests,' to enjoy their two several chambers therein for their lives. Hall was then sixty-nine and Harrison seventy-seven years of age.¹⁰⁰

The following are brief particulars as to the dates and founding of the thirteen chantries:—

Three chantries in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, founded c. 1240 by Robert de Lexinton, canon of Southwell, one of the king's justices.

St. Peter's chantry, at the altar of St. Peter, founded by Richard Sutton, canon of Southwell, 1274.

St. Nicholas chantry, at the altar of St. Nicholas, founded by Sir William Widington, steward of the archbishop and bailiff of Southwell, c. 1250.

St. Stephen's chantry, at the altar of St. Nicholas, founded by Andrew, bailiff of Southwell, c. 1250.

St. John Baptist's chantry, founded by Henry Vavasour, canon of Southwell, c. 1280.

St. John the Evangelist's chantry, at the altar of the same name, founded by Henry de Nottingham, canon of Southwell, c. 1240.

St. Mary's chantry, at the altar of St. Michael, impoverished at the time of the Black Death, augmented by William Gunthorpe, canon of Southwell, 1395.

The Morrow Mass chantry for very early celebrations,¹⁰¹ founded in 1415 by Thomas Haxey, canon of Southwell.

The double chantry of Our Lady and St. Cuthbert, for two priests, in the chapel of St. John Baptist, founded by Archbishop Laurence Booth, 1479.

The chantry of St. Mary Magdalen, at the altar of the same name, founded by Robert Oxton, canon of Southwell, who died in 1408.

There is a second valuable register book preserved at Southwell. It is a register of the Acts of Chapter from 9 November 1469 to 23 July 1542. It contains records of chapter courts in slander, tithes, and perjury cases of the usual ecclesiastical court description, visitations and corrections by the chapter of vicars choral and prebendal and of chantry priests, wills within the peculiar, admission and resignation of canons,

vicars choral, and other officers of the church, presentations to livings, &c. The contents of this quarto volume, containing 355 pages of paper, have for the most part been reproduced *in extenso* by Mr. Leach, as well as analysed after a vigorous fashion, in his notable volume of 1891, so that a very brief reference need only be made to it in this sketch. The triennial visitations held by the chapter of the inferior ministers exposed many delinquencies of various kinds, from sleeping at mattins, laughing during service, spitting in quire, gabbling the psalms, celebrating in dirty vestments, and shirking the services, down to more serious matters, such as disobedience to the chapter, revealing chapter secrets, gaming, hunting, hawking and cock-fighting, drinking, and incontinency.

Wherever we are able to obtain detailed evidence as to the conduct and administration of a large house of secular canons, it is matter of common knowledge to students that its discipline (as was almost bound to be the case) was distinctly inferior to the more rigid rules of the cloistered monasteries. It is of course quite easy for anyone desirous of doing so to draw up a heavy and well-merited indictment against the forty-five minor ministers whose lives and actions are here so pitilessly unveiled so far as evil, small or grievous, is concerned. But, contrariwise, it is by no means difficult, and far more just, to regard these painful revelations as a proof of the decent and comely lives led by the majority. Visitations, by their very nature, can only take account of breaches of rule by a minority, and never record a syllable of praise as to those who are obedient. To judge in broad general terms as to the life and morality of such a community as this from the registered offences, is as unjust as to estimate the life and morality of any district in England of the present day from the police and assize intelligence, or the condition of a great public school from the tale of canings and impositions.

Moreover, to any fair-minded man the occasional notices of torn surplices, dirty habits, jesting during service, lolling in the seats, carelessness in singing, or missing book-clasps, are so many proofs of a sincere desire after decency of worship, and by no means any evidence of a general slovenliness. Such questions would have been ignored, or lightly treated, had there been any widespread irreverence in the worship of the unreformed collegiate church of Southwell during the last century of its existence. If the best of our present-day cathedral establishments was put through such rigorous and detailed visitations as those to which Southwell was subjected, it would not emerge immaculate.

The worst part of these visitation records is the comparatively mild punishment enjoined in bad cases of incontinency, such as a very short period of suspension. Another punishment not infrequently assigned carried, or ought to have

⁹⁹ Liber Albus, fol. 65.

¹⁰⁰ Mem. lxiii.

¹⁰¹ The Morrow Mass at Newark was celebrated at 4 a.m. all the year round.

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carried, much shame with it, namely the walking in the Sunday procession with bare legs, feet, and head, and carrying a wax taper. The contrast between secular penances and the severity of those usually inflicted in monasteries is strongly marked.

It is unfortunate that there are no records of visitations of the chapter or prebendaries. It would appear from the *Liber Albus* that there were at one time visitations made by archbishops, as the statutes of both 1293 and 1303 state that they were drawn up in consequence of visitations. But from beginning to end of the voluminous pre-Reformation episcopal registers of York there is no entry of a visitation of Southwell.¹⁰² Such visitations may possibly have escaped entry, but it is far more probable that none were held later than 1303.

Other references to this great collegiate foundation are of rare occurrence in the diocesan registers, save in the matter of the collation to prebends.

Archbishop Gray in November 1234 granted an indulgence of thirty days of enjoined penance to all penitents who should aid in the construction of the fabric of Southwell Minster, the indulgence to hold good for three years.¹⁰³ This gives the date when the beautiful Early English quire was in progress.

There are various references to Southwell in Archbishop Giffard's register (1266-79), though mostly on minor points. In 1270 the archbishop addressed a letter to the sequestrator, ordering him to respite the fine for non-residence imposed on Henry de Skipton, canon of Southwell.¹⁰⁴ About this same date Henry de Brondeston was collated to the prebend in the church of Southwell which had been held by Richard de Sutton. In making this appointment the archbishop invested the new canon with his ring, and demanded of the chapter that they should assign him a stall in quire and a seat in the chapter-house. But the particular feature of this collation was that he was made subject to the yearly heavy payment of 50 marks out of the profits of the prebend to Adinulf, the pope's nephew, during his life. This gross case of papal nepotism was imposed on Archbishop Gray in 1241, when collating Richard de Sutton to this prebend.¹⁰⁵

The date of the exquisite chapter-house is determined by an ordinance of Archbishop Romaine of 1293, when he directed that the houses of alien canons threatened with ruin were to be duly repaired within a year, under pain of a heavy fine for the fabric of the new chapter-house.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² The present writer can say this with confidence, for he made a special search on Mr. Leach's behalf in 1890.

¹⁰³ York Epis. Reg. Gray, fol. 64-5.

¹⁰⁴ York Epis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 29b.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid fol. 38, 38 d.

¹⁰⁶ Liber Albus, fol. 52.

Southwell was a favourite residence of many of the archbishops, and several chose it as the place for their interment. Archbishop Ælfric Puttoc died at Southwell in 1051; he was buried at Peterborough.¹⁰⁷ Archbishop Cynesige (1051-60) bestowed on the minster bells of great size and tone.¹⁰⁸ Archbishop Gerard (1096-1108) died at Southwell, but was buried at York.¹⁰⁹ Archbishop Thomas II (1109-14) wrote a letter soon after his appointment to all his parishioners of Nottinghamshire, praying them, for the remission of their sins, to help with their alms in building the church of St. Mary of Southwell; promising to all who gave the least assistance a share in all the prayers and good works done therein and in all his (minster) churches, releasing them at the same time from their Whitsuntide visit to York Minster, and substituting Southwell Minster in its place. Archbishop Corbridge died at Laneham in this county in 1304, and was interred in the minster.¹¹⁰ Archbishop William Booth, who appropriated the church of Kneesall to the vicars choral, died and was buried at Southwell in 1464.¹¹¹ Archbishop Laurence Booth, who founded a chantry of two priests, also died at Southwell in 1480, and was there buried.¹¹²

There are two imperfect impressions of the old 12th-century seal of the collegiate church of Southwell. The one is attached to a grant to Rufford Abbey, c. 1220;¹¹³ the other is attached to the deed of surrender of 1540, at the Public Record Office. It rudely portrays the Blessed Virgin seated, with the Holy Child on her lap; the legends runs:—

SIGILLUM SANCTE MARIE WELLA.

An engraving of the latter of these impressions appears as a frontispiece to Mr. Leach's *Visitations and Memorials*.

23. THE COLLEGE OF TUXFORD

John de Lungvillers in 1362 obtained the royal licence to found in the rectory house and church of Tuxford, of his patronage, a college of five chaplains, one of whom was to be termed the warden. They were to hold the advowson of the church, to pray for the founder's good estate during his life, and for his soul after death, and for the soul of Thomas his father and for all the faithful departed. For some reason or another this scheme was not carried into effect, and six years later John de Lungvillers gave the advowson and appropriation of Tuxford to the priory of Newstead, ordaining that they were to maintain three chaplains to celebrate daily for a

¹⁰⁷ Raine, *Hist. of the Ch. of York*, ii, 343.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 344.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 361.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. iii, 412.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 436.

¹¹² Ibid. 438-9.

¹¹³ Harl. Chart. 83, D. 2.

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like purpose at Tuxford and two more at Newstead.¹¹⁴

The clear annual value of this small college or chantry was declared to be in 1534 £9 2s. 1d. The three chantry priests of that date were John Asheford, John Danson, and John Segreaves.¹¹⁵

When the commissioners of Henry VIII, preparatory to confiscation, visited Nottinghamshire in 1545, they declared the annual value to be £9 2s. 2d., but found that the number of priests had been reduced to two; and that they had already surrendered the property to the king, each receiving a life pension of 60s.¹¹⁶

HOSPITALS

24. THE HOSPITAL OF BAWTRY

The great parish of Blyth was one of those few cases in which parochial boundaries extended into two shires. The chapelries of Bawtry and Austerfield were in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but pertained to Blyth, and were given to Blyth Priory in the reign of Henry II. On this account the hospital of Bawtry is for the most part described as a Yorkshire foundation. But this is certainly not the case; it was on various occasions in mediaeval days treated as pertaining to the county of Nottingham, and as a matter of fact the county incidence is not in any way a debatable question, for the site of the old hospital usually known as Bawtry was in reality in the Nottinghamshire parish of Harworth, and merely contiguous to the adjacent Yorkshire township of Bawtry.

There is much uncertainty about this early foundation dedicated to the honour of St. Mary Magdalen; but when King John in 1200, in his grant to the church of Rouen, included the church of Harworth, with the chapels of Serlby and Martin, it is highly probable that the chapel of Martin, a township of Harworth, within which stood the hospital, was the hospital chapel.¹ At any rate the hospital with its chapel was of Norman foundation.²

The hospital was for the sustenance of certain poor persons, and was under the rule of a master or warden. If it was ever in the patronage of the church of Rouen, as might be supposed to follow from the Blyth connexion,³ that arrangement came to an end at an early date, for the Archbishops of York held the patronage at least as early as the beginning of the reign of Edward I. The earliest recorded entry of collation to this mastership in the episcopal registers occurs in 1280.⁴ Thomas de Langtoft, priest, was collated by Archbishop Romaine to the hospital of Bawtry on 10 February 1289-90, and a mandate was issued to the rural dean of Retford

to induct him;⁵ and on 27 September 1291 the archbishop collated Roger le Porter of Beverley, priest, to this foundation.⁶

There are two entries of collation of masters of Bawtry Hospital in the register of Archbishop Thoresby, both of them the result of exchanges. In 1361 Elyas de Thoreston of this hospital exchanged with John de Grandle, chaplain of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Angels, York. Again in 1363 an exchange was effected between Henry Barton and Roger de Nassington, prebendary of Brickhill and Lincoln.⁷

The foundation was extended in 1390 by Robert Morton, a wealthy and charitable benefactor. Morton was escheator of the county of Nottingham and a knight of the shire from 1361 to 1393. In 1390 he gave to the neighbouring prior and convent of St. Oswald, i.e. Nostell near Pontefract, the considerable sum of £240, for which they stipulated to pay 8 marks yearly for ever to the chaplain of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, near Bawtry (*vocata Le Spittle*), in augmentation of this stipend, to secure his prayers for the good estate of Robert the donor and Joan his wife during life, and for their souls after death, and for the souls of their parents, ancestors, and benefactors. To secure the due payment by St. Oswald's of the chaplain's stipend, there was a proviso that if the rent was a term in arrear, it should be lawful for the chaplain to enter upon the prior and convent's manors of Tickhill, Wilsill, Swinton, and Holwell, and distrain for arrears.⁸

An indenture was entered into between Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, and Adam, Prior of St. Oswald, as to the due fulfilment of this undertaking.⁹

Robert Morton's will, made at Bawtry in 1396, provided numerous ecclesiastical bequests. Among them he left 40s. to the Bawtry Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen; also to William Myrfyne, then master of the hospital and one

¹¹⁴ Pat. 25 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 17; 31 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25.

¹¹⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 180.

¹¹⁶ Coll. and Chant. Cert. xiii, 18.

¹ Chart. R. 2 John, m. 23.

² There are remains of Norman work still to be traced in the hospital chapel.

³ See above under Blyth Priory, p. 84.

⁴ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 81.

⁵ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 75 d.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 78.

⁷ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 50, 51.

⁸ Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 3.

⁹ *Langtoft's Chron.* ii, 395-7.

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of his executors, cattle and corn to the value of £10. He also expressed a wish that his wife should give to the hospital cooking utensils and other necessaries to the value of 40s.¹⁰

Robert Morton junior, of Bawtry, was involved in the revolt of the Percys and the Welsh at the beginning of the reign of Henry IV, and all his estates in the counties of Nottingham and York, to the value of 40 marks yearly, were forfeited to the Crown. In 1405 all his property was granted by Henry IV to John Peryent, the king's esquire, together with the chapel and chantry of St. Mary Magdalen by Bawtry.¹¹

In October 1403 John Scot, 'chivaler,' obtained licence for 20 marks to grant the manor of Misson to William Myrfyne, warden or chaplain of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen by Bawtry, to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in the hospital for the good estate of the said John and for his soul after death, and for the souls of his wives, sons, and ancestors, and also for the souls of Robert Morton and Joan his wife.¹² These letters patent were not, however, executed, and were surrendered in February 1406, when by payment of an additional 5 marks John Scott was permitted to transfer the manor of Misson to the Prior and Convent of Mathersey in aid of their maintenance.¹³

The *Valor* of 1534 names Richard Pygott as master, and gives the clear annual value of the hospital as £6 6s. 8d., of which £5 6s. 8d. was paid by the priory of St. Oswald, whilst 20s. was entered as the value of 12 acres of land.¹⁴

When Sir John Markham and other commissioners visited this hospital in 1545 they reported under the head of 'The parrishe of Harworthe' that—'The Hospitall of Mary Magdalen juxta Bawtrie (was) founded by one Robert Morton, for a Priest, there to be resident and to keep Hospitalie for poore People, to pray for the Founder's Soule and all Christian Soules, as the Deputye of the Incumbent saith upon his Oathe, without any Writings shewed to the Commissioners.' The whole of the revenues (amounting to upwards of £14) at that time were in the hands of Richard Pygott, described mistakenly by the commissioner as 'chaplaine to Kinge Henry the eight,' except 13s. 4d. which he gave to a priest to say mass there two days a week.¹⁵ This man Pygott was not in orders, but was 'a gentleman of the Chapel Royal' and a favourite of the king; Henry VIII insisted on bestowing on him prebends and other ecclesiastical appointments 'notwithstanding his laity.'¹⁶

Notwithstanding the definite chantry purpose of the income to this hospital from the priory of St. Oswald, the payment was continued on the dissolution of that house, and it even escaped confiscation as a 'superstitious' use in the days of Edward. This ancient charge even now continues to be paid by the Crown.

One James Brewster was collated by Archbishop Sandys to the mastership or chaplaincy of this hospital in 1584. Brewster entered into a conspiracy with Thomas Robinson and two others to subvert the hospital and its funds, and, upon false information, to enable them to sell the hospital and its grounds. In 1590 a warrant was issued by the High Commissioners for Lands Ecclesiastical at York to attach James Brewster and others 'for profayninge and ruininge the House and Chappell of the Hospitall.' The opening sentence of the warrant runs:—'Whereas We are crediblie enfourmed, that diverse evill disposed Persons have of late entered the Hospitall of Mary Magdalen at Bawtrie and pluckt up and carried away certaine Stalls and other Furniture belonginge to the same, contrary to all order and without any Awthoritie.' The various conspirators made confession of their actions and of their endeavours to transfer the archiepiscopal rights as patrons to the Crown, and Archbishop John Piers, in conjunction with John Cooper of Southwell, whom he collated to the mastership, jointly made suit before the barons of Exchequer to recover the title. Cooper in his evidence stated that from time immemorial this hospital had been founded for the relief of certain poor people and for the support of a master who was to be an ecclesiastical person; that divine service and common prayer ought weekly to have been said; that the patronage was in the hands of the Archbishop of York, or of the Crown during voidance of the see; that within two years last past one James Brewster of Chelmsford, claiming to be master, set himself to upset the state of the hospital, and to make acquisition of its possessions to himself and his heirs, disburdening himself of residence and obligation to hold divine service; that latterly he had profaned the chapel, carrying away all ornaments, changing the same 'from a Chappell to be a Stable or a Roame for their Horses and Cattell, to the great offence of the inhabitants neare thereabouts adjoyninge . . . and contrary to all Law and Equitie and good Conscience, seinge as the same Hospitall was never lawfully dissolved'; and that therefore Brewster had for his long absence and 'other lewd Demeanors' been deprived of the hospital by the archbishop. On the death of Archbishop Piers, in 1594, this suit was continued by his successor Archbishop Hutton in conjunction with John Cooper, and in 1595 decree was given in their favour, Cooper being empowered to recover the profits of the last five years and apply them to the

¹⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 210.

¹¹ Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 1.

¹² Pat. 5 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 28.

¹³ Pat. 7 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 15.

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 177.

¹⁵ *Langtoft's Chron.* ii, 399-400.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx, *passim*.

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rebuilding or repair of the hospital, chapel, and other buildings.

John Cooper died in 1610, and John Slacke, M.A., was collated to the mastership by Archbishop Matthew. Slacke, however, was denied entry into the premises by John Bradley and others who had been tenants under Cooper and had paid him £6 a year rent for the same. But after considerable litigation the new master obtained possession, and according to his own statement 'builded up the decayed Chappell, repayred the Windowes with Stone, Iron and Glasse, made new Seats and the Pulpitt and bought the Bell now in the Chapell.'

When John Slacke set forth his account of this hospital and chapel, with details of all the post-Reformation litigation, written in 1635, he stated that all the profits then coming to the master both by pensions and rents were £14 10s., and that two poor widows lived in the hospital, each of whom received 20s. a year.

At the end of his record or chartulary he enters three names as his benefactors: Archbishop Matthew (1606-28), Archbishop Harsnett (1628-32), and 'Anthony Morton Esq. who was buried in the Chappell.'

The last sentence runs—'There is a free Rent of a pounce of Peper to be payed out of the Hospitall yearely to the Mortons, whos Ancestors were founders of this Hospitall.'¹⁷

A later master of this hospital became a celebrated ecclesiastic—John Lake, Bishop of Chichester 1685-9, who was one of the seven bishops sent to the Tower by James II. The chapel afterwards became again desecrated through the scandalous inaction of later non-resident masters. When the late Canon Raine came to Blyth and first saw this chapel in 1834 it was used as a carpenter's shop. It was soon afterwards (1839) restored by Mr. Greaves of Hesley Hall.¹⁸

The income of this hospital foundation now amounts to about £120 a year; the chaplaincy and mastership has been held by the Rev. Henry Kendall since 1900; it continues to house and support two widows.

MASTERS OF BAWTRY

Roger, 1280¹⁹

Thomas de Langtoft, 1289²⁰

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 7385; 'An account of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, near Scroby, in Nottinghamshire, by John Slacke, Master of that Hospital.' It was printed by T. Hearne in 1725, as one of several appendices to *Peter Langtoft's Chron.* (ii, 389-438). It is supposed that Thomas de Langtoft, master of this hospital in the reign of Edward I, was a brother or near relative of Langtoft the chronicler, who was a canon regular of Bridlington, Yorks.

¹⁸ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 179-80.

¹⁹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 81.

²⁰ Ibid. fol. 107.

Roger, 1299²¹

Adam Usflet, c. 1320²²

Elyas de Thoreston, resigned 1361²³

John de Grandle, 1361²⁴

Henry Barton, resigned 1363²⁵

Roger de Nassington, 1363²⁶

Robert del Strete, occurs 1390²⁷

William Myrfyne, occurs 1403²⁸

Roger Malton, died 1421²⁹

William Sadeler, 1421³⁰

Thomas Wirell, c. 1450³¹

John Hawkins, c. 1510³²

William Hollgill, occurs 1527³³

Richard Pygott, occurs 1534³⁴

William Clayburgh, S.T.P., 1549³⁵

John Houseman, resigned 1584³⁶

James Brewster, 1584³⁷

John Cooper, 1590³⁸

John Slacke, 1610³⁹

25. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. EDMUND, BLYTH

There was an ancient leper-house immediately without Blyth, probably at the northern entrance to the town; it was dedicated to the honour of St. Edmund. Only a single reference to it has been found. It was probably, like many of these small leper-houses near the gates or entrances of towns, unendowed and entirely dependent on alms. Henry III, when tarrying at Blyth in January 1228, granted to the proctors of this house (*nuncii leprosorum hospitalis Sancti Edmundi extra Bliam*) letters of protection *sine termino*, whereby the king asked his bailiffs and faithful subjects, when their messengers came seeking alms for the support of the infirm, that they would admit them kindly and hasten to extend charity to them, so that in addition to eternal reward they might receive their king's gratitude.⁴⁰

26. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, BLYTH

A hospital dedicated to the honour of St. John the Evangelist was founded on the south side of Blyth in the township of Hodsock in the reign of King John, by William Cressy, lord of Hodsock. It was designed for a rector or warden and three

²¹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 133.

²² *Langtoft's Chron.* ii, 401.

²³ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 5b.

²⁴ Ibid. fol. 51

²⁵ Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 3.

²⁶ Pat. 5 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 28.

²⁷ Harl. MS. 6069, fol. 120.

²⁸ *Langtoft's Chron.* ii, 401.

²⁹ Ibid. 399.

³⁰ Ibid. 399.

³¹ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 137.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. 433.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 177.

³⁹ Ibid. fol. 183.

⁴⁰ *Langtoft's Chron.* ii, 408.

⁴¹ Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 6.

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chaplains, and for the residence and relief of leprous persons; the patronage was vested in the lords of Hodsock.⁴¹

Pope Honorius III in 1226 issued a bull promising the protection of the Holy See to the possessions and liberties conferred on this leprosy-house by the Prior and Convent of Blyth and by William de Cressy its pious founder.⁴²

Henry III, in a letter dated at Newark 5 January 1230, took under his protection the brethren of this leper hospital and their possessions, bidding all his faithful subjects to defend them, and commending them to their alms and support, as they would have recompense from God and from him.⁴³

Edward II in 1316 licensed Hugh de Cressy to alienate the large amount of seven messuages and 4 bovates of land in Blyth and Hodsock to three chaplains, who were to celebrate daily in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist of this hospital.⁴⁴

Edmund de Cressy, the brother of Hugh, executed an instrument at Hodsock at Michaelmas 1320 by which he granted to William de Howelle and Philip de Ilkeston, chaplains, the hospital of Hodsock, with all its lands and appurtenances, together with goods and chattels to the value of 20 marks. The chaplains undertook to conduct divine service in the chapel, to find lights, to keep the buildings in proper repair, and on their ceasing to officiate to leave behind them goods to the value of 20 marks. They were not to be allowed to appropriate to themselves any of the revenues; but they were to be allowed to take any person into the hospital, spiritual or lay, at their discretion, with the view of improving its income, that is to receive them as paying guests. Philip de Ilkeston was to pay as a subsidy on his entry to office 4 marks. The bursar was to render his account yearly before the bailiff of Cressy, who reserved to himself the right of appointing a third chaplain, when the rent of a messuage near the gate of the hospital's cemetery would admit of it.⁴⁵

A deed on somewhat similar lines—in Norman French—records the appointment of Robert de Russyn as chaplain of this hospital by Sir John Cressy, in 1374.⁴⁶

Sir John Clifton, who died in 1403, had obtained the Hodsock estate, with the patronage of the hospital, by marriage with Katharine sister and co-heiress of Sir Hugh Cressy. Katharine his widow married for her second husband Ralph Mackarel; on his death in 1436 he was entered as seised of the hospital of St. John the Evangelist, Blyth.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 148.

⁴² Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 624.

⁴³ Pat. 14 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁴⁴ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 18.

⁴⁵ Blyth Chart. fol. 77-8.

⁴⁶ Ibid. fol. 102.

⁴⁷ Inq. p.m. 14 Hen. VI, no. 21.

About ten years later, namely on 21 July 1446, an indulgence of 100 days was granted by the Archbishop of York to all penitents contributing 'to the erection and new construction of a certain house or hospital in Blyth, for receiving and lodging poor strangers and pregnant women.' Canon Raine, the historian of Blyth, considers that this entry in the episcopal registers refers to a re-establishment of the decayed hospital of St. John, its leprous inmates having disappeared.⁴⁸

The will of Sir Gervase Clifton, great-grandson of Sir John Clifton, first lord of Hodsock of that name, dated 27 April 1491, contains the following references to this hospital: 'To John London and his wiff an annuytie of xxs. of my lands in Sterop; for the house which he dwelleth in belongeth unto the spitell of Blith of my fadir gift. As for all such landes and tenementes as is in Blith of my fadir purchase they belongen unto the spitell of Blith of my said fadir gift, and hit is my will yat the said spitell have theyme; and require my here also yat he make a sufficient graunte unto the preste of the said spitell of all such landes and tenementes with th'appurtenance as I have purchased in Blith aforesaid in augmentation of the said preste of ye said spitell lyvelode there.'⁴⁹

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 shows that the property had sadly deteriorated. Silvanus Clifton was master, and the income of the hospital, which he seems to have regarded as solely his, was £8 14s.⁵⁰

When the Survey of Colleges, Chantries, Hospitals, &c., was taken by the commissioners of Henry VIII in 1545-6, preparatory to their overthrow, Robert Cressy was priest of 'the Spittell of Blyth,' saying mass thrice a week 'by the commandment of the Lorde of Hodsock,' as appeared by the gift thereof made to him five years before by Sir Gervase Clifton. The clear value was then £8 14s. There were no church goods 'otherwise than one vestment and one altar cloth of no valewe and a bell of small valewe.'⁵¹ Robert Cressy also held the vicarage of Blyth.

This hospital, in its much reduced state, escaped confiscation under the action of both Henry VIII and Edward VI.

Sir Gervase Clifton, made baronet by James I in 1611, in his will dated October 1662 described himself as patron of the house or hospital of St. John the Evangelist without Blyth, and Robert Thirlby as 'maister or rector of the sayd house and brethren.'⁵²

As late as 1703 there is record of one Thomas Ousely being master of this hospital. About 1810 the master's house, known as Blyth Spital,

⁴⁸ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 149.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 141.

⁵⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec Com.), v, 177.

⁵¹ Coll. and Chant. Cert. Notts. xiii, 18.

⁵² Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 143.

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was pulled down and replaced by a substantial farm-house. At the same time the adjoined houses for the poor inmates were demolished and six small almshouses built nearer Blyth for six poor persons, to each of whom the owner of the Spital property pays the pittance of 10s. a year.⁵⁸

27. THE HOSPITAL OF BRADEBUSK

The hospital of Bradebusk,⁵⁴ in the parish of Gonalston, was an old establishment dedicated to the honour of St. Mary Magdalene, founded by William de Heriz in the time of Henry II.

It is named in the Taxation Roll of 1291, where entry is made of *Ecclesia de Gonoldeston, preter porcionem domus de Bradebuske indecimabilem*, £8.⁵⁵

In the year 1325 there was an *inspeximus* and confirmation of three charters to the masters and chaplains of this hospital. The first of these is the foundation charter by which William de Heriz gave to the infirm of Bradebusk the mill of la Moore with all its appurtenances, and the mill which was called 'Heverard' near the church of Lowdham, to hold by rendering to Simon son of Richard annually a mark as long as he wished to receive it, and also certain lands and meadows. They were also authorized to collect in his grove all the firewood they required. All this he did for the love of God and the souls of his father and mother and of all his ancestors. Among the witnesses to this charter were the Abbots of Darley and of Rocester. The second charter is one of Ivo de Heriz, who was probably the nephew of the founder.⁵⁶ He granted and confirmed to the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene of Bradebusk and to the infirm therein dwelling, or who should dwell there in the future, fifteen selions of land near to the said hospital. This charter is probably early in the reign of Henry III. The third charter is from John de Heriz, adding 4 bovates of land in Gonalston to the endowments of the house of Bradebusk and to the chaplains there serving God, to the intent that they should pray for the souls of John de Heriz, Sarah de Heriz (his daughter), and of Henry de Heriz (his brother). The date of this charter is at the end of the reign of Henry III or at the beginning of that of Edward I.⁵⁷

In 1386 Archbishop Nevill granted a confirmatory licence to the chaplains of the chantry of Bradebusk of celebrating without prejudice to the church of Gonalston.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 151.

⁵⁵ The spelling of this place-name varies greatly; but this is the form usually adopted in the York Epis. Reg. ⁵⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 310.

⁵⁷ See pedigree of the somewhat confusing Heriz family in Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 50.

⁵⁸ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16.

⁵⁹ Tanner, *Notitia*.

Henry Marston, rector of Cressingham, was admitted to the custody of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene of Bradebusk, on the presentation of Sir Roger de Swillington, on 30 October 1399. The vacancy arose through the resignation of Roger Wydmerepull. Sir Roger again presented in 1406.⁵⁹

Some of the property of this hospital seems to have been lost before 1534. At that date the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* names only one chaplain, Thomas Newton, of the chantry at the chapel in Gonalston, *voc' Brodebask*, and the clear annual value was £5 18s. 9d.⁶⁰ There was evidently no income for any infirm.

The commissioners of 1545-6 made a like report as to the annual income. The priest who received it celebrated three times a week in the parish church of Gonalston, but the rest of the week in the hospital chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, a quarter of a mile from the parish church.⁶¹

The commissioners of Edward VI of 1547-8 returned the income as £6 3s. 9d.; it all went to Thomas Newenton, chantry priest, who was reported to be sixty years of age, 'unlernerd, lame and without any other living.'⁶²

When John Kirkby was instituted to the custody of this chapel in 1556, 'Georg Moneoux, com. Nott. armig.' was patron. Louis Moneoux was patron in 1603.⁶³

The Heriz estates passed by marriage to the Swillingtons in the time of Richard II, and thence in the reign of Henry VI to the Pierreponts. In the reign of Henry VIII Sir William Pierrepont sold Gonalston Manor and the advowson of the chapel of Bradebusk to Alderman Monox of London.⁶⁴ The rector of Gonalston is still technically warden of Bradebusk Hospital.

WARDENS OF BRADEBUSK

Roger Wydmerepull, resigned 1399⁶⁵

Henry Marston, 1399⁶⁶

Henry Elmessall, resigned 1406⁶⁷

John de Asshelby, 1406⁶⁸

William Dyngall, 1421⁶⁹

Thomas Newton, occurs 1547,^{69a} died 1556⁷⁰

John Kirkby, 1556⁷¹

Laurence Mitchell, died 1603⁷²

Hugh Baguley, 1603⁷³

⁶⁰ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 93, 95.

⁶¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 160.

⁶² Chant. and Coll. Cert. xiii.

⁶³ *Ibid.* xxxvii.

⁶⁴ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 156, 188.

⁶⁵ Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 53-4.

⁶⁶ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 93.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 95.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

^{69a} *Ibid.* fol. 120.

⁷⁰ Chant. and Coll. Cert. xxxvii.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* fol. 156.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.* fol. 188.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

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28. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. ANTHONY, LENTON

There are two references in the Lenton chartulary to a hospital of St. Anthony within the precincts of the priory.

The earliest of these references records the grant to the hospital by Anker son of William of 3 roods of meadow in Bunny; and the other of 7 bovates of land in Bradmore by Gervase de Somerville, to which gift Ralph de Frecheville added an eighth bovat with common of pasture and turbary rights.⁷⁴

29. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, NEWARK

A leper hospital dedicated to the honour of St. Leonard was founded outside the walls of Newark by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln (1123-48). A copy of the charter of foundation is preserved in the Lincoln registry in an ancient book entitled *Libellus de chartis Pensionum*.⁷⁵

A licence for alienation in mortmain was obtained in 1311 by William Durant of Newark, to grant to the master of the hospital of St. Leonard in that town two messuages and 20 acres of land in Newark, Balderton, and Hawton, to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in the church of the hospital in honour of the Blessed Virgin and for the souls of the grantor and Isabel his wife, Ivo his father, and all his ancestors.⁷⁶

Protection was granted by Edward II in 1322 from 1 September until the following Easter for the master of the hospital of St. Leonard without Newark.⁷⁷

The patronage of the hospital was in the hands of the Bishops of Lincoln; but in 1323 Edward II granted the mastership to William de Northwell, as the temporalities of that see were then in the king's hands. A writ *de intendendo* was directed to the brethren and sisters of the hospital.⁷⁸

In 1347 John le Chaumbre, king's clerk, obtained a life grant of this wardenship from Edward III by reason of the voidance of the see of Lincoln.⁷⁹

William de Askebi, warden of the hospital, was licensed by Pope Clement VI in 1349 to hold in conjunction with it the rectory of Elton and a prebend of Lincoln. An extension of this dispensation in 1351 enabled William to hold yet another benefice.⁸⁰

On 30 January 1350 the notification of the

⁷⁴ Lenton Chart. fol. 55b, 185; cited by Thoroton, *Notts.* i, 90, 92.

⁷⁵ Brown, *Newark*, i, 9.

⁷⁶ Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 7.

⁷⁷ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* m. 2.

⁷⁹ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21.

⁸⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 357, 387.

estate of William son of Hugh de Scoter, as warden of the hospital of St. Leonard, Newark, by the collation of the Bishop of Lincoln, was entered on the Patent Rolls.⁸¹

On 14 June of the same year a licence was granted by John Gynwell, Bishop of Lincoln, to Thomas de Sibthorpe, rector of Beckingham, to give a messuage in Middlegate, Newark, held of the said bishop as of the hospital of St. Leonard extra Northgate, unto Robert de Arington, Robert Leef, and Robert de Stokam, perpetual chantry priests in the church of Newark, to pray for the souls of William Saucemer and Matilda his wife, of William de Glenham, of the said Thomas de Sibthorpe, and of Isabel Durant. This messuage was to serve as a residence for these chantry priests, saving to the hospital the accustomed rent and services.⁸²

This foundation was further confirmed in 1417 by Philip Repingdon, Bishop of Lincoln, who decreed that there should be a master having rule of the hospital, and two poor men kept in the hospital with a chaplain to perform divine service, and that the chaplain and the two poor men were to be received into the hospital and maintained with the rents and profits of the same, the residue being devoted to the master's use, to the repair of the building and of the places belonging to it, and to the supporting of other charges.⁸³

When the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was drawn up in 1534 Christopher Massingbred was master, and the clear annual value was declared as £17 1s. 9½d. The chapel and manse of St. Leonard, with the close and certain parcels of meadow in the fields of Newark, were worth £6 19s. 11d. a year, a cowgate 16s. 6d., mills 40s., tenements and a grange in Newark £6 6s. 8d., rents in Newark £5 3s. 4d., and the remaining income from parcels of lands or rents in South Clifton, Girton, North Collingham, Cropwell, Cotham, Balderton, and Hawton. Out of this the chaplain and three poor men received £6 18s. a year.⁸⁴

The annual value of this hospital was declared by the commissioners of Edward VI to be £17 10s. 9d., founded (i.e. refounded) by Philip, Bishop of Lincoln, for a priest to say divine service there and to find three poor bedesmen to serve God, and also to maintain hospitality. They found a chaplain in receipt of £5 a year, and £3 18s. distributed annually among the poor; the remaining income went to the master. They further declared that the hospital was a parish church of itself, having all sacraments and sacramentals therein ministered and observed.⁸⁵

This was one of the hospitals that escaped

⁸¹ Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35.

⁸² Shilton, *Hist. of Newark* (1820), 263-4.

⁸³ Brown, *Newark*, 9.

⁸⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 190.

⁸⁵ Chant. and Coll. Cert. *Notts.* xxxvii.

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destruction at the hands of Edward VI. This hospital of St. Leonard, usually called the Spittal, was leased to Sir Robert Constable, and hence passed to William Cecil, Earl of Exeter, who built there a goodly house; after his death this house with the surroundings was exchanged by Act of Parliament, 17 Charles I, with the hospital for lands of better value, and settled on his widow the Countess Dowager of Exeter and her heirs. The Act provided that the countess was, within three years, to build a house of brick or stone, roofed with tile or slate, consisting of eight rooms, viz. four low rooms and four chambers over them to receive the master, chaplain, and two poor men from in or near Newark, and to inclose an acre of ground with a brick or stone wall to serve as an orchard and garden.⁸⁶

The St. Leonard's Hospital charity is now endowed with valuable property in Newark, Girton, Balderton, Claypole, and Elston, mostly let on unexpired leases. There are six almshouses in Northgate, erected in 1890, which accommodate four single men and two married couples; each inmate receives 10s. a week.

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD

William de Northwell, 1323⁸⁷
John le Chaumbre, 1347⁸⁸
William de Askebi, occurs 1349⁸⁹
William de Scoter, 1358⁹⁰
Christopher Massingbred, 1534⁹¹

30. THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, NOTTINGHAM

Very little is known of this ancient foundation. Bishop Tanner was the first to call attention to its existence in his *Notitia Monastica*, by referring to a Patent Roll entry of 1267, where mention is made of the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre of Nottingham.⁹²

In 1283 Edward I granted protection for a year to the master and brethren of St. Sepulchre's, Nottingham, for the collection of alms.⁹³

A boundary reference among the town documents of the year 1307 makes mention of the 'land beyond the ditch of the town next the cemetery of Saint Sepulchre.'⁹⁴ The fact of this house possessing a cemetery of its own is sufficient to show that it was at one time a

⁸⁶ Thoroton, *Notts.* i, 390-1.

⁸⁷ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 2.

⁸⁸ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21.

⁸⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 357, 387.

⁹⁰ Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35.

⁹¹ *Valor Eccl.* v, 190.

⁹² Pat. 51 Hen. III, m. 24; *Fratres S. Sepulchri de Nottingham*.

⁹³ Pat. 11 Edw. I, m. 21.

⁹⁴ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 438.

foundation of importance; there are, however, no later references to it.

An undated confirmation by Henry II of the foundation of a hospital at Nottingham, c. 1170, though no name is given, may be taken with virtual certainty to refer to that of the Holy Sepulchre. By this charter confirmation was given to a grant of 3½ acres of land to the palmers of Nottingham, which Robert de Saint Remy had given them to establish a hospital for poor men, for the soul of his brother Richard de Saint Remy.⁹⁵

The bull of Pope Lucius III (1182-5) to the master and brethren of the almshouse of Nottingham probably refers to this foundation. By this bull the pope placed the house under the protection of St. Peter and himself, ordering that no one should dare to exact tithes from them of their gardens, trees, or fodder of their animals.

There was an early-founded order of canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre, which had several small houses in the British Isles, the first of them being established at Warwick.⁹⁶ This order was specially connected with the pilgrims of Jerusalem, and it can hardly be doubted that the 'palmers' referred to above were the canons of this house of the Holy Sepulchre. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1188, this special order began to decay, and most of their lands and revenues were transferred, in the time of Henry III, to the friars of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives. The house at Warwick continued as an ordinary Austin priory. At Stamford a house or hospital of St. Sepulchre is definitely mentioned both in the 12th and 13th centuries; but, as at Nottingham, it afterwards dropped out of notice.⁹⁷ Possibly in both cases it became absorbed into some other hospital. It is clear, however, that at Nottingham, after the order of canons of the Holy Sepulchre had ceased to exist, the inmates were termed brethren, and continued for some little time to carry on hospital functions.

31. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, NOTTINGHAM

The hospital of St. John Baptist, commonly known as St. John's, was an early foundation, outside the walls on the north side of the town. Until recently local historians, following the lead given by the usually accurate Thoroton, connected the house with the Knights Hospitalers, with which order this hospital had no connexion of any kind.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Stapleton, *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* 196.

⁹⁶ *V.C.H. Warw.* ii, 97.

⁹⁷ *V.C.H. Northants.* ii, 195.

⁹⁸ The mistake may have been due to confusion with the canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and their connexion with the hospital of that name in Nottingham.

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From the beginning of the 13th century onwards this hospital is known by its dedicatory name. It stood close by the side of the important road to the north which traversed the town; and to the brethren was committed, in the first half of this century, the important duty of keeping the Trent Bridge in repair and collecting alms for that purpose.

The earliest reference to the brethren of this hospital cited by Tanner is of the year 1202, when they were entrusted with keeping in repair the great bridge.⁹⁹ In 1221 Henry III took under his express protection the brethren of St. John, to whom was committed the custody and repair of the bridge; strenuously enjoining that they were not to be in any way molested, vexed, or impeded, and that a generous response was to be made to their gatherings for the repair fund.¹⁰⁰ In 1229 the brothers of this hospital, who are again stated to have undertaken the making and repairing of Nottingham Bridge, were once more taken under the protection of Henry III.¹⁰¹

Pope Honorius III in 1220 wrote to the Archbishop of York to the effect that the master and brethren of St. John's had petitioned for a chaplain and a cemetery, and commanded the latter as diocesan to grant their request without prejudice to anyone's rights. It is probable that this was speedily done, though there is no formal record of it extant earlier than 1234.¹⁰²

About 1225 Hugh de Nevill, justice of the forest, granted the hospital the important privilege of gathering two cart-loads of firewood weekly in the wood of Arnold, for the use of the poor occupants. When Henry III was at Nottingham in November 1251 he granted a formal ratification of this gift.¹⁰³

At this period (not later than 1235) occurs what has been mistakenly termed the foundation charter, by which one Robert son of Ralph son of Fulk of Nottingham gave the brethren of St. John's 8 oxgangs of land at Stanton on the Wolds, a windmill and 20 acres of land in the field of Nottingham, and all the houses erected within the convent yard of the hospital. Durand, brother of this Robert, was at that time prior.¹⁰⁴

Of approximately the same date is a charter of Robert de Salcey, granting 2 oxgangs of his demesne land at Stanton, a cultivated plot of land called 'Rihelands,' together with pasturage for 200 sheep, eight oxen, six cows, two horses, and ten swine.¹⁰⁵

In 1235 Pope Gregory IX took the almshouse of Nottingham under his special protection.¹⁰⁶

Archbishop Gray in 1232 confirmed to the brethren of the hospital of the Blessed John at Nottingham all their possessions and goods conferred on them by the pious devotion of the faithful. He placed the hospital and brethren under the protection of the Blessed Peter and Paul, solemnly warning anyone against invading their possessions or in any way presuming to rashly disturb them.¹⁰⁷

On the feast of St. Andrew 1234 the archbishop promulgated an ordinance for this hospital whereby it was determined that, with the consent of the rector and patrons of St. Mary's, the brethren should have a chapel and a chaplain for divine worship for themselves and their guests; that the chaplain was to solemnly swear not in any way whatsoever to defraud the Prior and Convent of Lenton of any kind of due or offering; that the rector or master of the hospital should take a like oath; that the hospital should have a cemetery for the brethren or for any who died there; that no other parishioners were to confess, to receive the Eucharist, or to be buried within the hospital; that the brethren were to have a bell on the roof to call them to mattins and the hours, to mass, to vespers, and to compline; that on the day of St. John Baptist the perpetual vicar of that church, or some one on his part, should celebrate in the hospital and receive all oblations and all other oblations that had been made in the hospital during the previous year; that on the festivals of the Blessed Virgin there should be no celebration within the hospital save with closed doors and in a low voice; that the brethren, in recompense for the oblations and obventions customarily made before this present ordinance, should give a mark of silver annually to the mother church; that the brethren were not to have an outer door in the chapel towards the town; and that if the chaplain, master, or brethren are guilty of any excess, they should be canonically punished by the Archdeacon of Nottingham, or in his absence by the rural dean of the place.

To this instrument were affixed the seals of the archbishop, of the Prior and Convent of Lenton, and of the vicar of St. Mary's,¹⁰⁸ and in making this ordination the archbishop had the express authority, under seal, of the burgesses of Nottingham.¹⁰⁹

In 1241 Archbishop Gray sent to Robert Alwin, the master, detailed rules to be observed by the brethren and sisters (the latter being now mentioned for the first time), of which the following is an abstract:—(1) Two chaplains to be provided; (2) all the brethren to assemble for mattins at daybreak from Michaelmas to Easter, after mass to betake themselves to their respective duties, and to attend evensong and

⁹⁹ Pat. 3 John, m. 3. ¹⁰⁰ Pat. 5 Hen. III, m. 4.

¹⁰¹ Pat. 14 Hen. III, m. 7.

¹⁰² *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, xiii, 20.

¹⁰³ *Chart. R.* 36 Hen. III, m. 26.

¹⁰⁴ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 16.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* i, 26.

¹⁰⁷ *York Epis. Reg. Gray*, fol. 33-4.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 168-78.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

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compline if not hindered of necessity ; (3) regularly to obey the warden or master ; (4) the warden, if he has anything of his own, to convert it to the benefit of the house ; (5) all to wear the like habit, and to take their meals together in silence, or speaking low if forced to speak, and only to eat meat on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, save by licence of the warden ; (6) to occupy one dormitory, clothed in breeches and shirts, or in the garment used instead of a shirt, and to observe silence in the dormitory until after the first Cantate ; (7) to be chaste and sober, not to drink in borough or suburbs, and faithfully to employ the goods of the house and alms given to the necessities of the poor and infirm ; (8) to wear a regular habit of russet or black cloth, and to assemble in the chapter-house at least once a week ; (9) all excesses to be regulated by the warden ; (10) no brethren nor sisters admitted but such as are necessary to serve the infirm and keep the goods of the house ; (11) no brother to go into the town or elsewhere, save by leave of the warden ; (12) the sisters to observe the same things appointed for the brethren ; (13) the lay brethren and sisters at the beginning of mattins to say the Creed and Our Father, so that twenty-five Our Fathers be said, and seven at prime, terce, sext and nones and compline, but fifteen at evensong, and after the compline another Our Father and Creed ; (14) one hundred other Our Fathers to be said every week, for the brethren and sisters dead and living, and also for the benefactors of the house.¹¹⁰

A considerable variety of minor grants to the hospital made about the middle of the 13th century, chiefly in Nottingham or its immediate vicinity, are cited in the *Records*, as well as two more substantial grants of lands at Kirkby in Ashfield.¹¹¹

Archbishop Wickwane issued his mandate at the close of 1279 to the Dean of Nottingham to compel the vicar of St. Mary's to replace the goods of this hospital, which he had, as it was alleged, transferred from thence, and to make restitution without any delay ; provided that the hospital is in as good or better state as it used to be, and that it is capable of having custody of them.¹¹²

In the following March the care and custody of the hospital of St. John was committed by the archbishop to Robert, vicar of Retford.¹¹³

In 1286 Edward I granted the wardenship of

¹¹⁰ These statutes appear in York Epis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 171, and they are transcribed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 679-70. They are also set forth in full in the *Bor. Rec.* (i, 29-33), where they are followed by an office for the admission of the brethren, which is beautifully worded in solemn terms.

¹¹¹ *Not. Bor. Rec.* i, 36-46.

¹¹² York Epis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 13 d.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* fol. 121.

this hospital for life to Alan de Salopia, king's clerk, the king claiming the presentation on account of the voidance of the see of York.¹¹⁴

On 29 September 1289 Archbishop Romayne appointed Thomas de Cancia, his priest, master of St. John's Hospital, Nottingham, with all its burdens and rights both temporal and spiritual, in full confidence that he would deal faithfully with the poor and with the goods of the house. He was to have power to dispose of goods acquired within three years. But afterwards, if it should happen that he resigned or left, he must leave seed for the hospital lands and oxen for the ploughs.¹¹⁵

A commission was issued by the archbishop in January 1289-90 to the Dean of Nottingham and to the diocesan sequestrator, on behalf of Thomas de Cancia, master of St. John's Hospital, about goods taken from that house. John le Palmer, executor of the will of Lord Hugh de Stapleford, deceased, deposed that Hugh when living had deprived the hospital of certain houses and inflicted other damages ; and Thomas de Rempston owned to having wronged the hospital of meadow hay during two years, and made submission. Restitution was ordered to be made.¹¹⁶

In 1304 Edward I granted the life wardenship of his hospital to Robert de Sutton, king's clerk, owing to the voidance of the see of York.¹¹⁷

In 1310 Archbishop Greenfield wrote to Robert de Elton, master of the hospital, to make provision for Nicholas de Danelby, who enjoyed a place in that hospital, having been commended to Thomas de Cancia, the late master, by Archbishop Corbridge.¹¹⁸

There was a great decline in the life and work of this hospital about the beginning of the 14th century, a condition of things from which it never recovered, chiefly owing to the laxity and non-residence of the masters or wardens.

In 1325 Archbishop William de Melton issued a severe mandate to Matthew de Halifax, rebuking him for living alone in the hospital, and ordering him to take one or two fit brethren, as the means of the hospital permitted, to live with him, all wearing a decent habit, such as used to be worn in times past ; rendering prayers to the Highest daily and nightly, and devoting the whole of their lives to the Saviour of all. A commission of inquiry then instituted reported that the master or warden was originally appointed by the community, or burgesses, of Nottingham ; but that Archbishop Giffard happening to be at the castle of Nottingham^{118a} during a voidance, when there was great dissension between the

¹¹⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. I, m. 19.

¹¹⁵ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 75.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 75 d.

¹¹⁷ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 2.

¹¹⁸ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 236.

^{118a} The archbishop's register shows that he was at Nottingham on several occasions in the winter of 1270.

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townsmen as to the appointment, the archbishop (whom they dared not at that time gainsay) intervened and instituted one Ralph Wilford as warden; and that at the next voidance, the see of York being vacant, the king intervened and instituted Malcolm de Harley¹¹⁸⁶ as warden; and so up to that time the election and institution had continued without any right or sanction of the community of the town. The jury of this commission further returned that the hospital was originally so endowed in lands and chattels, granted to a master, two chaplains, the brethren and sisters and the poor of the house, that all was to be held in common; that the charters and writings were in possession of the master and could not be inspected, so that they knew not whether any had been abstracted or not; that the goods were not then sufficient for alms, as used to be the case, because Henry de Calverton, Robert Ker, and Thomas de Cancia, as masters, had deteriorated and wasted the property, converting it to their own uses; that there used to be two priests celebrating divine service there, but that there was then no priest save the master; that the rule ordained by Archbishop Gray and written on a missal had for long time been missing, having been maliciously cut out by a warden, but that the leaf had recently by divine grace been found and could be produced before the archbishop; that the hospital was so completely destroyed and annihilated that without the divine grace and the counsel and assistance of the archbishop, they knew not how it could be relieved; and finally that there used to be a hospital seal.¹¹⁹

Matthew de Halifax died in 1329; but Archbishop Melton's choice of a successor brought about no improvement.

In November 1332 Master John Lambok of Nottingham, parson of the church of Elkesley, master of the hospital of St. John Baptist, Nottingham, on going beyond the seas, had protection and also letters nominating Bartholomew de Cotgrave and John de Shirewode his attorneys in England for two years.¹²⁰

The hospital probably saw little or nothing of this pluralist. Whilst absent from England he obtained a dispensation at the court of Rome to cover all his pluralities.

In October 1333 Pope John XXII allowed John Lambok, M.A., skilled in civil and canon law, to hold the canonry of Wilton and prebend of Chalk, notwithstanding that he was rector of Elkesley in the diocese of York, and also warden of the house of St. John Baptist, Nottingham.¹²¹

¹¹⁸⁶ For Malcolm de Harley, the king's clerk, see *Cal. Close*, 1271-88, *passim*.

¹¹⁹ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 90-4; Stapleton, *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* 30-3.

¹²⁰ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 11.

¹²¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 398.

Licence was granted to the master, brethren, and chaplains in 1350 to acquire land and rent in mortmain, not held in chief, to the value of £10 yearly.¹²² There is, however, no information as to any benefactors availing themselves of this sanction.

Archdeacon John de Nottingham, who was warden of this hospital at the opening of the 15th century, was an outrageous pluralist. In 1402 Pope Boniface IX collated him to the provision of canonries of York, Salisbury, Lincoln, Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell, with reservation of a prebend in each; and this notwithstanding that he already held the archdeaconry of Nottingham, canonries with prebends in Chichester and Lichfield and in the chapel royal, Tettenhall, as well as the parish church of Cottingham and the wardenship of the hospitals of St. John's Nottingham and of St. Mary Magdalen Ripon.¹²³

Grant for life of the wardenship was made by Henry VII in 1424, with the advice and assent of the council, to John Tamworth, clerk.¹²⁴

In February 1431-2 an action was brought by the warden, Roger Hunt, against Thomas Taylor, clerk, of the school of Nottingham, for rent of houses the property of the hospital. A verdict was given for the plaintiff.¹²⁵

For an aid granted to the king in January 1503-4, St. John's Hospital is assessed at the small annual value of £5 6s. 8d.¹²⁶

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 gives a like assessment, but the clear annual value was only £4 13s. 4d., as a pension of 13s. 4d. had to be paid to the priory of Lenton.¹²⁷

Leland, who visited Nottingham about 1540, entered in his journal:—'S. John Hospitall almoste downe, without the towne.'¹²⁸

The commissioners appointed by Henry VIII in 1545 to arrange for the transference to the Crown of colleges, chantries, and hospitals, apparently found no master, chaplain, or poor at St. John's Nottingham. They reported that one Roger Oker farmed it, who stated on oath that he knew nothing as to the time or the intent for which it was founded. On 12 October 1540 Oker had made an indenture by which he was to pay yearly to the master the sum of £6 9s. 4d. The commissioners add further evidence as to the master's mean and pilfering conduct:—

Abought iij or iiij yere paste, att the commaundemente of oon Henrye Whitinge then Mr. of the same hospitall, the said Roger Oker did take of all the

¹²² Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 1.

¹²³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 492-3.

¹²⁴ Pat. 2 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 5; 3 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 14.

¹²⁵ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* ii, 128.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* iii.

¹²⁷ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, v, 157.

¹²⁸ Leland, *Itin.* viii, 24.

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leade of the said hospitall and made a newe Roffe for the same and covered ytt with slatte, and that the same leade dyd amounte to iij foders and some what more. Whiche was sold by the Comaundement of the said Henrye Whitinge to Olyver Dande of Mannys feld for *ixli. xvij. viijd.* and over that he solde the said tyme to dyverse men of Nottingham certyn other webbes of leade the weights therof nor yet the monye he remembrith the not.¹²⁹

Under Edward VI came about the final wreck of this once useful and devout establishment, after so many years of shameless pillage by those who ought to have been its genuine wardens. The Certificates of Colleges, Hospitals, &c., doomed to dissolution in 1548-9 stat:—

The Hospitall of Saint Johannes without the Wall in the parishe of Saint Maries there founded by whome they knowe not for the relief of the poore and worthe in Lands Tenements and other possessions lying and being in Diverse places within the said Towne and Shere of Nottingham, As by the Survey therof made remayning with the Surveyour of the saide shire particularly yt doth appere . . . £6 13s. 4d.
Whereof in Rente resolute 13s. 4d.
and so remayneth unto Thomas Webster, clarke, master of the saide hospitall, of what age or of what lerning it is unknowne £5 17s. 0d.¹³⁰

From this it is evident that the masters kept up their evil character to the end, for Webster clearly treated this preferment as a sinecure, and was non-resident.

In February 1551 the property of the hospital, with that of other small religious foundations of the town, was diverted by Edward VI towards the sustentation of Trent Bridge, and conveyed for that purpose to the mayor and burgesses. An inquisition in June of the following year found that for a long time before 1540 the late master and his brother chaplains wholly withdrew and absented themselves from the hospital and had never since returned, whereby divine services, prayers, almsgiving and other works of piety had remained totally unperformed. Meanwhile the corporation were put to no small trouble by the last master, Thomas Webster, who had been inducted in 1545 by the Archbishop of York. He exhibited a bill in Chancery in 1553, complaining that he was seised of the mansion-house of the hospital of St. John, of three other messuages, and of 400 acres of land, meadow, and pasture in Nottingham and Stanton on the Wolds, and that the corporation had made an untrue suggestion that the property had come into the king's hands by reason of the Act 37 Henry VIII, cap. 4, for the suppression of certain chantries and hospitals. The town replied, citing the king's grant of 1551. Webster rejoined, citing his induction on 9 December 1545, and stating that at that time, or shortly afterwards, two poor men

were brethren of the hospital, one named Bacon and the other Fellowe.

Failing in Chancery, Webster in 1561 exhibited a bill of complaint against the mayor and burgesses stating that through being spoilt of the hospital he had suffered loss to the clear annual value of £10. The mayor and burgesses were cited to appear at York Minster on 30 September. The archbishop lectured them severely, and threatened to impose a heavy fine, saying that his court was as high as that of Chancery. The town clerk appeared again at York on 3 December on behalf of the corporation, but Webster did not appear to prosecute, and the opposition to the king's grant of 1551 speedily evaporated.

In 1601 the old hospital buildings were turned into a poor-house, and somewhat later into a house of correction.¹³¹

PRIORS OF ST. JOHN'S^{131a}

Durandus, c. 1230
Robert Alwin, occurs 1241
Ralph Wilford, c. 1270
Malcolm de Harley, 1279
Robert, vicar of Radford, 1280¹³²
Alan de Salopia, 1286¹³³
Thomas de Cancia, 1289¹³⁴
Henry de Calverton, }¹³⁵
Robert Ker }
Robert de Sutton, 1304¹³⁶
John Dant, 1307¹³⁷
Robert de Elton, occurs 1310¹³⁸
Roger son of Richard de Whatton, 1311¹³⁹
Matthew de Halifax, 1323¹⁴⁰
John Lambok, occurs 1332¹⁴¹
John Brun, 1343
Ralph Yarwell, 1349
Robert de Yarwell, 1356
John de Houdon, 1363
William Askham, 1371
John de Nottingham, died 1418
Robert Clough, 1418
John Tamworth, 1424¹⁴²
John Mosley, 1427
William Woodgrave
Roger Hunt, occurs 1432¹⁴³

¹³¹ For the post-Reformation history of this foundation see *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* i, 34-8.

^{131a} *Ibid.* 32.

¹³² Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 65.

¹³³ Pat. 14 Edw. I, m. 19.

¹³⁴ Harl. MS. 6970 fol. 106.

¹³⁵ Mentioned in conjunction with Thomas de Cancia as former masters in a document of 1325. *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 92.

¹³⁶ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 2.

¹³⁷ Town MSS.

¹³⁸ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 236.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 238.

¹⁴⁰ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 95.

¹⁴¹ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 11.

¹⁴² Pat. 2 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 5.

¹⁴³ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* ii.

¹²⁹ Coll. and Chant. Cert. Notts. xiii, 38.

¹³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 680.

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John Grenville, 1447
 John Alestre, 1464
 Edward Carter, occurs 1534¹⁴⁴
 Henry Whiting, c. 1542¹⁴⁵
 Thomas Webster, 1545^{146a}

32. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, NOTTINGHAM

The Nottingham leper hospital of St. Leonard was certainly in existence as early as the reign of Henry II (1154-89). Henry III, when at Nottingham in 1231, instructed Brian de Lisle to allow the leprous brethren of St. Leonard's to have a cart to collect dead wood in Bestwood, as they had done in the times of the king's ancestors; and when this grant was renewed in 1226 it is expressly stated that it was confirmatory of like grants made by Henry II and by John.¹⁴⁶

This house, which stood outside the walls on the north side of the town, is mentioned in a grant to St. John's Hospital c. 1230, wherein half an acre of land is described as abutting upon the hospital of St. Leonard.¹⁴⁷ Another 13th-century grant to St. John's describes a parcel of land as lying between the land of St. Leonard and that of the church of St. Mary.¹⁴⁸

In a charter of the year 1339 there is reference to an acre of arable land at Snapedale, Nottingham, 'abutting upon the dovecote of the house of St. Leonard.'¹⁴⁹ This in itself is sufficient to prove that the house was at this time endowed with a fair amount of land, otherwise a dovecote would not have been sanctioned.

An interesting record of 1341-2 tells us that the Prior of Lenton then pleaded that his tithe income from St. Mary's parish was diminished owing to the fact that 60 acres of land pertaining to St. Leonard's Hospital was lying barren and uncultivated, and that the adjoining chapel of St. Michael had been recently destroyed.¹⁵⁰

In 1358 William Chaundeler, keeper or warden of the hospital of St. Leonard, was charged with making an encroachment of half an acre in the king's demesnes, within the court of the town of Nottingham.¹⁵¹

Until we get to the time of Henry VIII the town records, strange to say, are entirely silent with regard to this leper hospital, except by way of occasionally making a bare mention of it in reciting boundaries of property.¹⁵²

Amid the enrolment of grants at the local

court in 1335 to William de Amyas of Nottingham, a piece of land lying in the field of Nottingham is described as abutting upon the land of the hospital of St. Michael.¹⁵³ The house of St. Michael is also mentioned as a land boundary in an enrolment of grant to John Taunesley in 1416.¹⁵⁴ These entries have given rise to some confusion; but, from the position of this house, it becomes quite clear that in both cases the real reference is to St. Leonard's Hospital; the closeness of the old chapel of St. Michael gave rise to this error in title.¹⁵⁵

An important document of 1521 throws much light on the functions formerly discharged by this hospital, though at the date when it was drawn up it is highly improbable that there were any lepers in the town of Nottingham, so that the warden of St. Leonard's held a sinecure office. By this document the mayor, burgesses, and community confirmed to Thomas Gibbonson, chaplain, the hospital house of St. Leonard, vacant by the death of John Alestre, the late warden, with all lands, tenements, rents, &c., there-to belonging, for his whole life, subject to the charge of sustaining and housing the lepers born of the liberty of the town of Nottingham, supplying each of them for three weeks with a bushel of wheat and pease and one piece of cloth of the value of 2s., according to the original form and foundation of the hospital; it was also provided that the warden was to be allowed to have yearly three cart-loads of firewood to burn in his chamber.¹⁵⁶

In 1534 the mayor and burgesses appointed William Lewes, chaplain, to the wardenship of St. Leonard's.¹⁵⁷

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of this same year has no reference to this hospital, although it enters the income received by the warden, William Lewes, from the chantry of St. Mary, which he also held.¹⁵⁸ Nor is this hospital named in the certificates of the commissioners of either Henry VIII or Edward VI.

The possessions of St. Leonard's appear to have remained with the corporation, and there is some slight proof of a small continuance of a charitable foundation in an entry in the chamberlain's accounts as late as 1571-2.¹⁵⁹ This reference to 'a lasar of the Spytell House' has been somewhat absurdly twisted to mean that leprosy still continued at Nottingham in Elizabeth's days, and that the sufferers were provided for at the town's expense. All that it necessarily implies was that there was an almsman living at the old hospital. Thus at Northampton the borough retained the old leper hospital of St. Leonard and

¹⁴⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 157.

¹⁴⁵ Coll. and Chant. Cert. Notts. xiii, 38.

^{146a} See above.

¹⁴⁶ Close, 5 Hen. III, m. 7; 10 Hen. III. m. 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 16.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* i, 44.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* i, 402.

¹⁵⁰ *Inq. Nom.* (Rec. Com.), 290.

¹⁵¹ Deering, *Nott.* 153.

¹⁵² *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 222; ii, 443.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* i, 24.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 110.

¹⁵⁵ Stapleton, *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* ii, 148-9.

¹⁵⁶ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* iii, 150.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 442.

¹⁵⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 157.

¹⁵⁹ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* ii, 142.

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placed an almsman there, who received 2s. a year, a suit of clothes, and a load of firewood; he was called the 'lazer' or the 'lazerman' as late as the 18th century.¹⁶⁰

WARDENS OF ST. LEONARD'S

William Chaundeler, occurs 1358¹⁶¹
John Alestre, died 1521
Thomas Gibbonson, appointed 1521¹⁶²
William Lewes, appointed 1534¹⁶³

33. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY AT WEST BAR, NOTTINGHAM

Protection was granted for two years by Edward III in 1330 to the leprous men of the hospital of St. Mary atte Westebarre, Nottingham, when collecting alms for the support of their house.¹⁶⁴ This protection was renewed for another two years in July 1334.¹⁶⁵

Nothing more is known of this lazar-house; it is not once mentioned in the borough records. Most of England's walled towns had small lazar-houses at their gates—sometimes, as at Norwich,¹⁶⁶ at each gate—which were unendowed and chiefly supported by the casual alms of travellers or of charitable townfolk.

34. PLUMTREE'S HOSPITAL, NOTTINGHAM

John Plumtree of Nottingham obtained licence from Richard II in July 1392 to found a hospital or Domus Dei at the Bridge End (now Red Lion Square), to be served by two chaplains, one of whom was to be the master or warden, for the support of thirteen aged poor widows. The founder endowed it with a message on which the house was built and with ten other messages and two tofts all within the borough of Nottingham.¹⁶⁷

In this case, as in many others, preparations for the establishment of a house of this character were made some little time before the formal legal sanction had been obtained. There are two documents of the year 1390 among the town muniments transferring land to the founder for this hospital.¹⁶⁸

John de Plumtree was a leading burgess of the community and was thrice mayor, namely

in 1385-6, 1394-5, and 1408-9. This hospital, dedicated in honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, was founded for the good estate of the founder, of his wife Emma, and for their souls after death, and for the souls of their parents and other ancestors. To emphasize this purpose a chantry was ordained, in the year 1400, at the altar of the Annunciation in the chapel of this hospital. By this document a stipend of £5 was assigned to each of the chaplains, and the presentation, after the founder's death, vested in the Prior and Convent of Lenton.¹⁶⁹

Prior, however, to the formal founding of this chantry, an important special recognition of the altar of St. Mary was obtained from Boniface IX. The pope, in February 1393, granted relaxation of two years and two quadrage of enjoined penance to penitents who on the principal feasts of the year or their octaves, and of 100 days to those who during the six days of Whitsun week, visited and gave alms at the altar of St. Mary in St. Mary's Hospital, Nottingham, in Fishergate, for the construction of the same.¹⁷⁰

The first two chaplains entered in the episcopal registers were Thomas Tawburne, master, and John de Coventry, second chaplain. They were instituted on the same day that Archbishop Scrope confirmed the establishment of the chantry, namely on 22 July 1400.¹⁷¹

Boniface IX in 1402 granted to the warden and others of the hospital of the Annunciation of St. Mary the Virgin, at the Bridge End, Nottingham, exemption for all their houses, possessions, and goods, present and future, from all jurisdiction of the ordinary, taking them under the immediate protection of St. Peter and the apostolic see, to which alone they were to be subject both in spiritualities and temporalities; with indult to the warden and his successors to grant to the brethren and sisters plenary remission in the article of death, and power to choose and depute three or more fit priests, over and above the number of two priests as instituted by the founder, for the celebration of divine offices. The pope further directed that the warden and chaplain shall in future, on greater double feasts, celebrate or cause to be celebrated mass and other divine offices in the hospital chapel solemnly with music.¹⁷²

Although thirteen widows are named in the foundation of this house, it does not appear certain that the endowments were ever sufficient in old days to maintain such a number. The will of Anne Plumtree, 1403, leaves to the widows of this hospital a dozen of woollen cloth to be divided among them. The will of Henry Plumtree, elder brother of the founder, 1408,

¹⁶⁰ *Northampt. Bor. Rec.* ii, 332-3.

¹⁶¹ Deering, *Nott* 153.

¹⁶² *Nott. Bor. Rec.* iii, 150.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 442.

¹⁶⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34.

¹⁶⁵ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 7.

¹⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Norf.* ii, 449.

¹⁶⁷ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 28.

¹⁶⁸ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* i, 249.

¹⁶⁹ York Epis. Reg. Scrope, fol. 75.

¹⁷⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 450.

¹⁷¹ Stapleton, *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* 78.

¹⁷² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 489.

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left 12*d.* to every bed of the hospital then occupied.¹⁷³

By a singular choice, this chapel was used in January 1408-9 for the marriage of Sir Edward Pierrepont to Margaret Rempston; a licence for this purpose was issued by the archbishop to Thomas Tawburne, the warden.¹⁷⁴

An enrolment of enfeoffment, at the local court, of John de Plumtree of the possessions of his hospital, dated 20 May 1414, is extant among the town muniments. From this document it appears that there were two chapels within the precincts, evidently distinct buildings, one of St. Thomas the Martyr and the other of St. Mary; probably the former was a small oratory pertaining to the masters.¹⁷⁵ Both chapels were to the rear or to the east of the dwelling portions; that of St. Thomas on the north or Fishergate side, and that of St. Mary on the south.

The founder in 1415, probably disappointed of the help of others in this foundation, and recognizing that there was not a sufficiency to support thirteen widows, executed an amending instrument, by which he confirmed the appointment of two priests, raising the stipend of the warden to £6, and limiting the number of poor widows to seven. At the same time he augmented the chantry by giving it his dwelling-house in Cuckstool Road, after his death and after the death of Thomas Plumtree, chaplain, his kinsman. Shortly after this the founder died, leaving 20*s.* to each of the widows.¹⁷⁶

Save for the record of the institution of successive chaplains, nothing more is known of this hospital until 1503, when in a taxation of lands and tenements of Nottingham the brief entry is made:—'The Chaunterie of John Plomtre at ye Briggend, £18.'¹⁷⁷

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 gives the full annual value of the hospital property as £13 10*s.* William Baker was warden, and he and his fellow chaplain would absorb £11; £1 10*s.* was all that went to the poor (the widows seem to have quite disappeared), whilst the remaining 20*s.* went in various small dues to the burgesses of Nottingham, Lenton Priory, Newstead Priory, and the manor of Sutton Passeys.¹⁷⁸

The commissioners for the survey of chantries, hospitals, &c., preparatory to their dissolution in 1545-6, certified that there were no poor widows left in this house, but that the revenue was employed in the living of the two chantry priests, Peter Bursall and William Browne.¹⁷⁹ It was then described as the Hospital and Chantry of

Our Lady at the Bridge End, and the revenues were estimated at £11 1*s.*¹⁸⁰

During the next three years the secondary chaplain disappears, for when the commissioners of 1548-9 arrived to carry out under Edward VI the designs of his father, they found that there were no poor supported, but that the lands were wholly employed for the benefit of Peter Bursall, the surviving senior chantry priest, or master.¹⁸¹

The hospital at this date became vested in the Crown, and various masters or wardens obtained successive patents to enjoy the revenues, without fulfilling any of the former functions of the office. At last, in 1644, one Huntingdon Plumtree, of the founder's kin, obtained the patent and made allowances of 5*s.* a month to certain poor, with an additional 6*d.* on New Year's Day. In 1650 he pulled down the old ruinous buildings and erected a new hospital, a brick building of some distinction, of which Thoroton gives a plate.¹⁸² Eventually, in 1751, the building was made capable of accommodating thirteen widows according to the founder's original intention, through the action of John Plumtree, grandson of Huntingdon Plumtree. The present hospital was built in 1823-4 by John Plumtree of Fredville, Kent. The endowments then brought in £680 a year, out of which the thirteen resident almswomen received £1 10*s.* a month, as well as an annual ton of coals and a gown; in addition thirty out-pensioners received £10 a year.¹⁸³

At the present time the income of the hospital is £1,100 a year, and each of the thirteen inmates receives £13 10*s.*, a ton of coals, and a gown yearly; there are also forty out-pensioners, each of whom receives £13 a year.

WARDENS OF PLUMTREE'S HOSPITAL^{183a}

Thomas Tawburne, 1400
John Edward
Richard Knolles, 1488
John Bradley, 1500
Robert Braidill, 1502
Edward Ersden, 1527
William Baker (or Barker), 1534
Peter Burdesall (or Bursall), 1540

35. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, SOUTHWELL

As to the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen without Southwell, hardly anything is known save that the mastership was in the patronage of the Archbishop of York. Several collations by

¹⁸⁰ Coll. and Chant. Cert. Notts. xiii.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. xxxvii.

¹⁸² Thoroton, *Notts.* ii, 78.

¹⁸³ There is a good summary of the post-Reformation history of this revived foundation in Stapleton, *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* 83-7.

^{183a} Ibid. 81-2.

¹⁷³ Deering, *Nott.* 146.

¹⁷⁴ *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.), iii, 319.

¹⁷⁵ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* ii, 96.

¹⁷⁶ Stapleton, *Relig. Inst. of Old Nott.* 80-1.

¹⁷⁷ *Nott. Bor. Rec.* iii.

¹⁷⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 137.

¹⁷⁹ Deering, *Nott.* 147-8.

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respective archbishops to this benefice occur in the York registers.

The earliest of these is of the year 1313, when Henry de Hykeling, master of the Southwell Grammar School,¹⁸⁴ acolyte, was appointed warden of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen extra Southwell.¹⁸⁵

An exchange was effected in 1361 between Richard de Otteringham, prebendary of Parva Pipe, Lichfield, and Henry de Barton, warden of the Southwell Hospital.¹⁸⁶

On 30 October 1399 an exchange was effected between Alexander Herll, warden of St. Giles Hospital, Little Maldon, and Robert Manfield, warden of St. Mary Magdalen's Hospital, Southwell.¹⁸⁷

Roger de Newbold was collated to this wardenship in 1456.¹⁸⁸

From the relevant entry in the *Valor* of 1534 it would appear that this small mediaeval hospital, like the majority of its fellows throughout England, had by that time ceased to do any service for the poor or infirm, and simply found a salary for a master or chaplain. The clear annual value was but 44*s.* 11*d.*, and the chaplain, one John Bulle, was also one of the vicars choral of the collegiate church of Southwell in receipt of a stipend of £7 4*s.* 8½*d.*¹⁸⁹

The 1545-6 commissioners of Henry VIII made the following enigmatical entry with regard to this hospital, of which apparently only the chapel survived:—

'The Chapelle called Marie Magdaleyn Chappell in Estthorppfeldes in the parisshe of Southwell by whome or to what intente and purpose ytt was founded no man answerithe.'¹⁹⁰

The commissioners of 1547 also left the question of the founder of 'the frechapell called Mawdeleyn capell' unsolved, but stated its intent to be the support of a chaplain to sing divine service. The name of the incumbent was unknown, and the clear value was returned as 45*s.* 6½*d.*^{190a}

36. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, STOKE

Much confusion has been made by Thoroton, Tanner, and others between the hospital of St. Leonard, Newark, and the hospital of the like dedication at Stoke juxta Newark. It is, however, certain that there were two separate establishments, and it may safely be assumed that

both were primarily intended for lepers. Tanner's statement¹⁹¹ that the Stoke Hospital is mentioned in Ralph d'Aincourt's foundation charter of Thurgarton Priory, though often repeated, goes beyond the warrant of the text; all that is therein stated as to this place has reference to a charge of 10*s.* *infirmis de Stokes*.¹⁹²

Several of the references given in Tanner and repeated in Dugdale to rolls and records pertain to the Newark Hospital, but the following relate to Stoke.

In 1315 licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain to the master of the hospital of St. Leonard, Stoke by Newark, by Henry de St. Lis of 10½ acres of land in Elston and Stoke, and by William le Venur of 3 acres of land in the same towns, and by Henry de Sibthorpe of 1 a. 3½ r., also in the same towns.¹⁹³

In 1332 William de Melton, Archbishop of York, sanctioned a reordination of this hospital (founded originally to further the worship of God and to sustain the poor), as requested by John Chanson, the master, Robert de Bilbrough and Robert de Donham, chaplains, and Simon de Botelsford, clerk, the brethren of the hospital. These officials of the hospital had at that time, through exertion among their friends, increased the endowments by 40 acres of land and 30*s.* in rents, for the celebrating of sixty masses annually by the chaplains or brother associates; thirty of these masses on the principal feasts, and the other thirty during Lent. In recompense for this trouble the master, or whoever celebrated these masses, was to receive 5*s.* out of the rent of a certain tenement in the town of Stoke.¹⁹⁴

In August 1332 licence was obtained for the alienation of various small plots of land to the hospital of the yearly value of 10*s.*¹⁹⁵ There was a further alienation of other small plots of the annual value of 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1339,¹⁹⁶ and again in 1347 of others worth 13*s.* 6*d.* a year.¹⁹⁷

Richard II in 1392 licensed the alienation by Thomas Angle, clerk, and Alice Porter of a messuage and half an acre of land in Stoke, and by John Coney and Alice his wife of another messuage in the same place, to the master and brethren of St. Leonard's Hospital, Stoke by Newark, in full satisfaction of a licence granted them by the late king to acquire lands, tenements, or rents to the yearly value of 6 marks.¹⁹⁸

A grant was made in 1477 by Edward IV to Laurence Duckworth, rector of Iden (Sussex), of the mastership of the Stoke Hospital, which was

¹⁸⁴ It may be noted that this is the earliest extant reference to the Southwell Grammar School.

¹⁸⁵ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 240.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. 6969, fol. 51.

¹⁸⁷ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 36.

¹⁸⁸ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 46.

¹⁸⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 195-8.

¹⁹⁰ Cert. Coll. and Chant. Notts. xiii, 40.

^{190a} Ibid. xxxvii, 4.

¹⁹¹ *Notitia*, Notts. xx.

¹⁹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 191.

¹⁹³ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 8.

¹⁹⁴ York Epis. Reg. Melton, fol. 378. Cited in full in *Mon.* vi, 733.

¹⁹⁵ Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23.

¹⁹⁶ Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16.

¹⁹⁷ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

¹⁹⁸ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 2.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

in the king's gift by reason of the custody of the lands of Francis Lord Lovell, a minor, on an exchange of benefices with Richard Sharpuls.¹⁹⁹

At the time of taking the *Valor* of 1534 it appeared that the prior and convent of Thurgarton paid yearly 24*s.* to the master of Stoke Hospital for certain tenements in that town, and also a further annual sum of 16*s.* in lieu of fifteen cart-loads of wood.²⁰⁰

The commissioners of 1545-6 reported of the 'Spittle of St. Leonard and St. Anne in Stoke,' that it had been founded by the ancestors of the Lyndecortes 'for the relief of poore people and now the Kinge is patron by reason of the attainder of the late Lord Lovell.' The annual value was declared to be £8 13*s.*, and the income for the support of three poor people and for the repair of the hospital and property; but at that time there were only two poor women resident.²⁰¹

The commissioners, however, of Edward VI two years later returned the income as £10 19*s.*

¹⁹⁹ Pat. 16 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 13.

²⁰⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 151.

²⁰¹ Chant. and Coll. Cert. Notts. xiii, 13.

and stated that the whole of it went to the then master, William Burden, who held 'other great livings.'²⁰²

The hospital was suppressed by Edward VI, but refounded by Philip and Mary.²⁰³ It was again suppressed under Elizabeth, and the site and lands were granted in 1576 to John Mersh and Francis Greneham.²⁰⁴

MASTERS OF STOKE HOSPITAL²⁰⁵

John Chanson, 1332

Nicholas Wymbysh, resigned 1399

Hugh Hanworth, 1399

Edmund Chaterton

Robert Sharpuls, resigned 1477

Laurence Duckworth, 1477

William Burdon, occurs 1535,²⁰⁶ 1547²⁰⁷

²⁰² Ibid. xxxvii.

²⁰³ Pat. 5 & 6 Phil. and Mary, pt. v, m. 13.

²⁰⁴ Tanner, *Notitia*, Notts. xx.

²⁰⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 735.

²⁰⁶ *Valor Eccl.* v, 189.

²⁰⁷ Chant. and Coll. Cert. Notts. xxxvii.



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INTRODUCTION

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ranks high among English counties in the amount of its provision for secondary education. In spite of its having been in the Middle Ages largely forest, and even the chief church of its chief town reputed as the scene of incursions and alarms by the fabled Robin Hood, in meeting which the sheriff of the county invariably came off second best, its education was not neglected. No less than three of its existing schools can produce documentary evidence of their existence in the 14th century and earlier. It is practically certain that Southwell Grammar School, and reasonably probable that Nottingham High School, existed before the Conquest, while Newark School no doubt dated from the time when the town became a 'new work' of great magnitude. There were, apparently, a great many more grammar schools in pre-Reformation times which have perished without leaving a discoverable trace of their existence.

It will be seen in the history of Southwell Grammar School that the earliest known statutes of Southwell Minster witness to the existence of unknown schools in places where their existence has never even been suspected. For one of these statutes, made in 1248, forbids schools being held on the prebends or possessions of the canons except according to the custom of York, to which diocese, until 1837, Nottinghamshire belonged: 'Item, quod non teneantur scole de grammatica vel logica infra prebendas canonicorum nisi secundum consuetudinem Ebor.' This custom brought the schools under the jurisdiction of the chancellor of the minster (not of the diocese), so that no one could keep a school without his licence; and then he used to appoint a master for three years only, with power of extension for a fourth, and the master was necessarily an M.A. Schools on the prebends of the canons can hardly have been very rare when we find them thus the subject of statute. Yet of none have we any knowledge, except of one in the 14th century at Dunham.

In 1351¹ Hugh son of Robert Payn (Paganus)

¹ Cornelius Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 176.

of Upper Laneham quitclaimed to John of Nagenby of Dunham on Trent all the right which he had in all the lands and tenements which belonged to Robert le Taillour, formerly master of the Grammar School of Dunham, in the towns and fields of 'Dunham, Wystone, Derletone, Draytone, and Ragenhille.'

In 1472 there will be found in the history of Nottingham Grammar School mention of a rival grammar school at Wollaton, restricted by the chapter of Southwell in virtue of their jurisdiction as ordinary over all schools in Nottinghamshire to 26 'boys and men.'²

We shall see under Southwell Grammar School when we come to Elizabethan times, and the licensing of schoolmasters was again for a season rigorously enforced, mention of several other schools in the Liberty of Southwell, at Cauntton and Bingham, and elsewhere.^{2b} Whether they were descendants of ancient grammar schools, or more modern schools of a private adventure type, there is nothing to show. As the ancient endowment of Southwell Grammar School itself seems only to have been £2 a year, which was not increased with the diminution of the value of money, it seems probable that if the schools on the outlying prebends were endowed they died of inanition when the value of money fell; and they had no secondary resources, like the chantries or vicar-choralships of Southwell Minster, to supplement them.

It is perhaps the case that these schools were not endowed at all, but depended solely on tuition fees for their support. When the movement for the foundation of grammar schools sufficiently endowed to be free grammar schools—free, that is, from tuition fees—began under Henry VI, and, partially stopped by the Wars of the Roses, was resumed with accelerated force during the reign of Henry VII and the later Tudors, Nottinghamshire seems to have enjoyed its share of such foundations. Besides East Retford Grammar School, the history of which is separately given, we hear of several others which came to an untimely end.

About 1530 a grammar school was founded at Kneesall. By will,³ 4 March 1527-8, John

² *Infra.*

^{2b} *Infra.*

³ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), v, 240, from Reg. Test. Ebor. x, 52b.

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Chapman, notary public, citizen and mercer of York, 'count palatine of the holy palace of the Lateran,' and registrar of Cardinal Archbishop Wolsey for York diocese and city, 'born in the parsonage of Kneesall,' provided that a fit chaplain to celebrate mass and other divine offices at the altar of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of schoolboys, in the parish church of Kneesall, should be erected and newly established to pray for his soul and the souls of his parents, and his nephew, William Clairburgh, doctor of either laws (and also canon of Southwell, Lincoln, Howden, Hemingbrough, and St. Sepulchre's, York), and the last two archbishops. He directed his feoffees of lands in Kneesall, Ampton, and Allerton in Sherwood, and in Foggathorpe, Escrick, and North Dalton in Yorkshire, to convert the income to the use of his chantry.

Evidence⁴ taken after the dissolution of chantries shows that there was duly 'erected one chantry and one scholehouse in Kneesall and he that was the chantry priest was also the schole-master.' The chantry priest was Mr. Clegborowe, born at Southwell, the son of a mercer. He sang mass in the chantry choir, commonly on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, and continued chantry priest and schoolmaster there for about sixteen years, when he went north to a better preferment. After him Mr. Baxter kept the school, but had not the chantry. Bartholomew Truswell said that as a young man he led sandstone and wood for building the school and the priest-schoolmaster's lodgings, of two or three chambers, built of sandstone. Baxter only taught the school when the plague was at Newark. The school was then pulled down, and none maintained there since. Among those educated at the school were Sir William Mering, Mr. Thomas Markham, and Mr. Lee of Southwell.

In a somewhat similar way the chantry at Mattersey was either founded or used as a grammar-school endowment. This foundation is described by the Chantry Commissioners of 1546⁵ as follows :—

The Chauntrie of Mattersey, so named in the Booke of the 10ths. Nevertheles Robert Buttie, Stipendarie prieste there, Deposithe vppon his othe that the same is no Chauntrie, butt Certeyn landes gyven by diuerse men, as apperithe by Dedes of Feoffimete, to Fynde A prieste for helpinge of the vicare there and to teach children, beinge no foundation therof nor Donatyve perpetuale, butt a prieste to singe at the will of the parishsheners.

[The yerlye valewes, accordynge to the boke of the tenthes] £4 6s. 8d.

[The yerlye valewes as now svrveyed &c.] £4 10s. 3d. clere, besides 2s. 2d. in Rente resolute to diuers per-

⁴ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 178. The reference for the document is not given.

⁵ Leach, *Engl. Sch. at the Reformation*, 161, from Chant. Cert. 13, no. 29.

sons, which is employed to the lyvinge of Roberte Buttie, stipendarye pryste there.

The same is not voide nor hathe anye macion.

There is neither chalis, plate, goodes, nor ornaments to the same belonginge, butt a vestment of Grene satten of Briggis with an olde alb of smale valewe, by the othe of the said incombente.

The later abstracts of the certificates say curtly :—

A Chauntrie within the parish Churche there.

Founded to Fynde a priest to helpe the Vicar And to teache Children, £4 10s. 4d.⁶

A Chauntrie within the parishe church.

Founded to finde a priest to helpe the vicar and to teache Children, £4 10s. 3d.⁷

The Court of Augmentations must, however, have held that the school was not obligatory by the original foundation. For by the Continuance Warrant issued 20 July 1548 under a section of the Chantries Act providing for the continuance of payments to preachers, schoolmasters, and the poor, though two houses belonging to the chantry of John the Baptist, held rent-free by two almsfolk, were continued to them, no mention is made of the school, which would otherwise have been continued with a salary charged on the Crown revenues of the county equal to the net income previously enjoyed.

This school therefore perished as a result of the Chantries Act of Edward VI, which purported to take the chantry property from superstitious uses, and apply it to pious uses, such as the maintenance of grammar schools. On the other hand it will be seen that the inhabitants of Retford bought back some chantries, though not those of Retford itself, which they had used for their grammar school, and which form the endowment of the present school; while at Mansfield a chantry or stipendiary priest's property seems to have been actually diverted for the first time after the Dissolution from superstitious uses to a grammar school, though not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Mansfield seems to be the only existing grammar school in Nottinghamshire which was founded in those Tudor times, which have been so erroneously credited with the creation of English schools. The next foundation is attributable to that much maligned period of the Interregnum. The grammar school at Elston was provided for by the will of a former rector, Laurence Pendleton, and decreed to be founded by the Court of Chancery in 1614, though it was not actually founded till 6 February 1652. Tuxford Grammar School, founded after the Restoration, in 1669, was better provided for, and was apparently a grammar school. At Bulwell Free School, founded by George Strelley in the same year, the schoolmaster had only 'all revenues which were on

⁶ Chant. Cert. 95, no. 8 (Leach, op. cit. 170).

⁷ Ibid. 96, no. 50 (Leach, op. cit. 171).

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or should be thereafter settled upon it to the value of 20 nobles (£6 13s. 4d.) a year, of which the house and close of ground whereon the house stood were estimated at 7 nobles, out of which the said schoolmaster was to allow 6s. 8d. for entertaining the governor and assistants.' Four acres and a cottage was the whole endowment beyond the schoolhouse and garden, and was worth in 1835 only £15 a year.

The upward limit of number set by the founder was, however, only 30, though he was to instruct 'such of the scholars as were capable in the Latin tongue and upwards,⁸ until they should be fit for the university if their parents or friends should desire it, and be able to maintain them there.' But the children were likewise to be taught to write and read written hand, and to cipher and cast accounts, viz. to be taught in arithmetic, till they should attain the five first rules therein, i.e. as far as rule of three, but not fractions. This founder, however, can hardly have seriously contemplated a grammar school, and he seems to have hoped only for birds of passage as masters, as he provided that the schoolmaster should 'engage to continue in the free school for 5 years at least.'

Yet we find so late as 1688 John Sampson founding by deed, 26 March 1688-9, the year of the 'Glorious revolution,' a free grammar school at South Leverton, and thinking £20 a year enough endowment for a new foundation of that kind, and, unfortunately, giving that, not in lands producing that rental, but in the form of a fixed rent-charge of £20 a year issuing out of his own lands in the parish. The uses of this £20 he declared by will of 16 September 1691. Reciting that he had erected certain buildings and tenements for a free grammar school and for a convenient habitation for a schoolmaster, for the teaching of the youth and children of the inhabitants of South Leverton to read English, and further also to teach and instruct in Latin and Greek, he proceeded to establish a governing body of eight trustees, headed by Sir Thomas Parkyns, with four neighbouring parsons to assist them to manage the property, elect the masters, act as visitors, and reform abuses. He also showed by the rules and regulations he laid down, that he really contemplated a bona-fide grammar school, though it was to perform the functions of an elementary school as well. For the master was to be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge and Master of Arts if it may be, or otherwise an orthodox minister or preacher of God's Word; he was not to hold any ecclesiastical living further than within the parish, and was to teach reading, English, Latin, and Greek gratuitously (thus showing what he thought a free grammar school to mean) to the children of South Leverton. A rather

exceptional requirement, which has, however, parallels elsewhere about this time, is that 'female children be not admitted.' This is one among several indications that the female sex were then beginning to intrude on the male monopoly of the grammar schools. Probably the school was intended to be of the type of the old parish schools of Scotland, where 'stickit ministers' taught Latin and Greek to any stray clever lad there might be, and he was helped to the university. But for common folk it was just an elementary school. At South Leverton it had become customary to appoint the vicar as master, but by 1835 he had devolved his duties on an usher, and the founder's rules were honoured by breach in every particular, as only reading was taught free, 2d. a week being charged for the other two R's; girls, too, were admitted, and paying scholars from other parishes.

The mention of Latin in the foundation of schools seems, however, to have been a sort of incantation, the repetition of a formula devoid of any real meaning. Thus at Walkeringham, Robert Woodhouse, who founded a school by will, 19 May 1719, giving £15 a year rent-charge as endowment, directed it should be paid to a schoolmaster 'to teach and instruct in the English and Latin tongues, and in writing and arithmetic, the children of the inhabitants of the town.' The owner of his lands, with consent of four inhabitants, was to appoint or displace the master, and the vicar was expressly to have no authority in such election or displacing, nor was he to be master except with the consent of all the inhabitants of the town. A bonus was offered to tempt a master to stay four years. He was to teach freely, without demanding or requiring any reward or payment beyond the endowment. The founder was a very arbitrary person. No persons were to have the benefit of the school that should endeavour to keep up the feast of Walkeringham in the harvest time, which, in the donor's judgement, tended much to the inconvenience of the town; nor such persons as should oppose the majority of the town in making good orders for the good government of the town; nor such poor persons as should beg, or work abroad when there should be work for them in the said town, and should refuse to be content with common wages. We can hardly imagine a beggar's children attending a grammar school, even if it was free.

Latin appears, too, in the rather exceptional form of foundation which took place at Sutton Bonnington. The then rector, Charles Livesay, with Jane and Charles Parkyns, the two principal landowners, and 133 other persons, covenanted under their hands and seals, by deed of 1 July 1718, to pay the sums set opposite their names, and the rector covenanted to employ £100 in erecting a schoolhouse and endowing it. The school was declared 'to be for ever free

⁸ The upwards includes Hebrew.

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only for the child or children of such subscribers thereunto who then were or thereafter should be inhabitants of the parishes of St. Michael and St. Anne in Sutton *alias* Sutton Bonnington.' The total subscriptions amounted to £111 13s. 6d., besides 'the ground whereon the school is to be built' given by Charles Parkyns, which is recited in a later deed as 'given for a Free School.' Henry and William Tate, however, actually found the money for building the school, so the subscriptions of £111 13s. 6d., with £100 given by the rector, were applied in buying lands for the endowment of it, some 29 acres at Barrow on Soar. These were conveyed by deeds of 8 and 9 April 1725 to trustees, for 'a schoolmaster that should be well qualified to teach children to read, write, and cast accounts, and the Latin tongue, for the use of the children of the inhabitants.' If this school ever was higher than elementary or really taught Latin, long before 1829 it had ceased to be free or to be anything but elementary, and it has remained an elementary school ever since.

This was the last attempt at a grammar school. Subsequent founders frankly founded elementary schools as some previous ones had done. No addition was made to the secondary schools of the county for another 150 years. Not, indeed, that no addition was wanted. But a blight seems to have fallen on nearly all public secondary schools, except the greatest, about the middle of the 18th century. The causes of this are very obscure. One cause was the growth of dissent among the prosperous trading and mercantile classes, accompanied by a development of exclusiveness in the Church of England, so that while the Church monopolized the governing bodies and excluded all who would not repeat the Church Catechism, the schools were left to the upper and lowest classes. With the development of means of communication the upper classes flocked more and more to the great public schools, so that eventually the free grammar schools became the refuge of the destitute and a few clergymen's, lawyers', and doctors' sons. Private schools took the middle classes. Moreover, religious dissent was accompanied by educational dissent. A profound disbelief in a classical education overspread the middle classes, and it seems to have been amply justified by classics as taught in most local grammar schools. They would not teach the new subjects, and deadness had overspread the old. Moreover, in most cases the pay of the masters had not been increased with the pay of other professions. Largely owing to the misfeasance or apathy of governing bodies, the endowments were stationary, and the remedy of proper tuition fees was not tried or was declared illegal, while the buildings were decrepit and long out of date. From some or all of these causes, the decay of the ancient schools was almost universal. In Nottinghamshire the decay

and decadence were most marked in the 19th century. Nottingham and Newark were reduced to a position little above elementary schools; East Retford and Mansfield were actually in abeyance; and Southwell, which managed to retain a certain status until 1840, sank to the same condition when practically deprived of endowment by the withdrawal of the adventitious aid of subsidiary clerical offices in the minster. Revival came in the second half of the 19th century, after the reform of municipalities and other local governments and the removal of religious disabilities had had time to make themselves felt. The liberal movement penetrated the sphere of education. As in ancient times, the universities were the first to feel its effects, which culminated in the Universities Commission Act of 1854; the great public schools next, in the Public Schools Act of 1863; and, finally, the other public or grammar schools in the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. Before those Acts were actually passed the agitation for them produced some reform. The endowments were, so far as circumstances allowed, restored to their proper uses. Nottingham was the first of Nottinghamshire schools to reform itself by a private Act of Parliament in 1860. Schemes of the Court of Chancery after long delays restored their life to East Retford and Mansfield. The doors were thrown open to Dissenters. Finally, schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts passed by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, the Charity Commissioners, and the Board of Education, by reconstituting the governing bodies on the old principle of representative government, sweeping away clerical restrictions, frankly recognizing the necessity of tuition fees, modernizing the curricula, and, above all, by substituting an elastic code of regulations, capable of easy alteration from time to time by amending schemes, for the cast-iron will of the founder, have placed the schools in a better position to adapt their work to the needs of the day than they have ever previously enjoyed. The result is that never in the history of education have the secondary schools of Nottinghamshire been fuller or more prosperous than now, and never have they more deserved to be so. So far from reform having deadened private beneficence as some prophesied, it has called it to life again. The large number of exhibition foundations at Nottingham, and the gifts to Nottingham University College, are notable examples. But the most remarkable instance in the county probably is the new spacious site and ample playing-fields, and half the total cost of rebuilding on the new site the Magnus Grammar School at Newark, given by Mr. T. Earp, a Nonconformist and a former Liberal M.P. Having made his own fortune in business, he has thus restored the fortunes of the school founded by an eminent Churchman who made his fortune out of ecclesiastical preferments nearly four centuries ago. Other developments

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arising out of the improved administration of old foundations are the girls' grammar school at Mansfield and the girls' school at Newark, still in embryo, and the Brunts' Technical School at Mansfield. Modern corporate activity has shown itself in the Nottingham High Pavement Secondary School, descended from an old British school founded in 1788 and transferred to the Nottingham School Board in 1891, enlarged into a higher-grade elementary school in 1870 and later developing into an Organized Science School, and in 1907 still further exalted by the City Council, as the local education authority under the Education Act, 1902, into a secondary school for some 600 boys and girls. A perhaps still more modern enterprise is that of the Nottingham Girls' High School in Arboretum Street, founded by one of the latest specimens of corporate activity, the Girls' Public Day School Company, Limited, lately converted into an endowed company, and the school into an endowed school, where some 300 girls receive the highest form of secondary education, and go forth to compete, not unsuccessfully, with men in triposes and class lists for all subjects at Oxford and Cambridge.

SOUTHWELL MINSTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

It is through the connexion of Nottinghamshire, at some unknown, or at least doubtful, date, with the Northumbrian kingdom, instead of the Mercian kingdom, with which geographically it would seem more connected, that the history of Southwell Grammar School has been so well preserved. For at Southwell the bishop of the Northumbrian kingdom, the Archbishop of York, had one of the four cathedrals or bishops' stools of his enormous diocese, which included in the 11th century Lincolnshire, and until the middle of the 19th century Nottinghamshire in addition to Yorkshire. What Beverley Minster was to the East Riding of Yorkshire, Southwell Minster was to Nottinghamshire. 'The collegiatte church of our Blessid ladye the Virgyn of Sowthewelle comenly called Southwell Mynstre'¹ was according to the Chantry Commissioners of Henry VIII 'reputed and taken for the hed mother church of the towne and countie of Nottingham, wherein is *sedes archiepiscopalis*, and so allowed by the Kinges maiesties grace 3 yers paste by an Acte of Parliamente, and the chapter of the same church have particuliere jurisdiction and is exempted *ab omni archiepiscopali* [jurisdictione] preterquam in causis appellacionum et negligencie. Whiche collegiate church of auncient tyme was founded by the righte famous of memorye, Edgare, the Kinges maiesties most

¹ A. F. Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 161, from Chant. Cert. 13, no. 40.

noble progenitor.' It has been shown by the present writer that there is some reason to doubt the ascription of the foundation to King Edgar.² The earliest document referring to Southwell contained in the York chartulary,³ the *Liber Albus* or *White Book*, is a grant by 'Eadwy rex,' who may or may not be intended to be Edgar's predecessor and brother, in 958. It is quite likely that if the grant is genuine at all it represents a gift by some Northumbrian king of the name, and not the later West Saxon overlord. But, however that may be, it is certain that Southwell Minster was a Saxon foundation at least 100 years before the Norman Conquest, a church of secular (that is, ordinary) canons, or clergy, like our modern cathedral canons, who formed the Archbishop of York's chapter for Nottinghamshire. The chapter—originally consisting of seven canons like York itself, a number afterwards enlarged to sixteen—exercised in the archbishop's stead the archbishop's ordinary jurisdiction, though the Archdeacon of Nottingham had his stall not in Southwell Minster but in York Minster, and an appeal lay from the chapter to the archbishop. In virtue of their jurisdiction as ordinary the chapter had control of the schools of the county, just as that of Lincoln had over those of Lincolnshire, that of York in Yorkshire, and that of Beverley in the liberty of Beverley. Just as the chancellor of these churches exercised this control on behalf of the chapters, so the canon or prebendary of Normanton, a church and parish close to Southwell, as chancellor of the minster exercised the control in Nottinghamshire. No doubt he had originally taught the school himself. But there are no records at Southwell earlier than the second quarter of the 13th century, by which time everywhere the title and work of schoolmaster had given place to the title of chancellor, and the work of a legal adviser and the teaching of theology only remained to him. The first mention of schools in the extant records of Southwell is in connexion with a dispute about Newark Grammar School in 1238, related at length in the history of that school. A marginal note on the entry says: 'Since the collations of grammar schools throughout the whole archdeaconry of Nottingham belong wholly and solely to the prebendary of Normanton in the collegiate church of Southwell, as chancellor in the same church,' the particular agreement set out as to Newark, which derogated from the right of collation of the prebendary of Normanton, was bad. The next mention of schools in relation to Southwell

² *Mem. of Southwell Minster* (Camd. Soc. 1891), new ser. xix, xx, no. 48.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1312; Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 472. The deed as printed purports to be witnessed by Edgar, the king's brother. But in the original MS. this witness is not Edgar, but 'Eagelr frater regis.'

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is ten years later. On 26 March 1248, at a general convocation of the canons, statutes were made dealing with various matters, chiefly of internal economy. The second ordinance and statute ran: 'also, that schools of Grammar and Logic shall not be held in the prebends of canons, except according to the custom of York.' The fact that grammar schools were held in the outlying prebends of the minster raises an irresistible presumption that in the mother town itself of Southwell there was a school. The grammar school and the logic school were generally one and the same, except at places like universities; logic or the science of argument having been taught in the grammar schools at least from the age of Quintilian, who, writing his *Institutes of Rhetoric* about A.D. 90, complains that grammar schoolmasters have encroached and are daily more and more encroaching on the sphere of the rhetoric schools, which included dialectic, or logic.

The custom of York we only know from the York statutes as written down rather more than half a century later, in 1307,⁴ in which it is said the chancellor 'who anciently was called schoolmaster, to him it pertains to collate to grammar schools, but he ought to present to the school of York a regent master in arts, of whose proficiency there is hope, who according to the ancient custom of the church shall hold it for three years, and no longer, except by grace for one year more.' Probably the object of the Southwell statute was to enforce that the right of collation, i.e. of appointment, of the master in all grammar schools belonged to the chancellor as the officer of the chapter, not to the individual prebendary in whose prebend the school happened to be. In 1248 there were thirteen territorial prebends, besides Normanton, viz. at Norwell (three prebends), Oxton and Cropwell (two), Woodborough, North Muskham, South Muskham, Beckingham, Dunham, Halloughton and Rampton. None of them were ever places of any size or importance; but in mediaeval and Elizabethan times there is evidence of schools at Dunham, Oxton, South Muskham, and two other places in the prebends. Unfortunately Southwell has not, like York and Lincoln, preserved all the minute books of its chapter proceedings. Its Chapter Act Books, as they are called, begin only in November 1469, while those at York and Lincoln commence at the beginning of the 14th century. So there is no definite information about Southwell Grammar School till after the date when the Chapter Act Books begin. That it existed, however, is clear from one casual mention of it in the White Book. The chapter on 1 September 1413 made a charter of *inspeximus* of an

earlier deed containing the result of an inquisition taken in 1372 setting out the lands of the various chantries founded in the minster. This *inspeximus* of 1413 was witnessed among others by Master Metham, rector of Southwell Grammar School ('magistro de Metham, rectore scolorum gramaticalium Suthwell'). The first mention of the school in the Chapter Act Book has the marginal note 'Southwell Grammar School (*Scola gramaticalis*),' and bears out the statement made in the White Book that the presentation to the grammar schools belonged to the prebendary of Normanton. For at a chapter held on 1 December 1475⁵ a new grammar schoolmaster of Southwell was admitted on his nomination.

To the Venerable the chapter of the collegiate church of the Blessed Mary of Southwell in the diocese of York, John Danvers, prebendary of the prebend of Normanton in the same church, Reverence due to such great men with honour. To the grammar school (*scolas gramaticales*) of the town of Southwell aforesaid now vacant and belonging to my presentation in right of my prebend aforesaid, I present to you my beloved in Christ, John Barre, humbly and devoutly beseeching you that you will graciously deign to admit the same John to the aforesaid school with all its rights and appurtenances, and to do all other things which it is incumbent on you to do in this behalf. In witness whereof I have set my seal to these presents given at London 26 Nov. 1475.

The record proceeds: 'After the exhibition, inspection, and examination of which letter, the chapter aforesaid duly and effectively admitted the aforesaid John Barre, being fit and able in arts and learning, at the presentation of the aforesaid John Danvers, to the grammar school of Southwell with all its rights and appurtenances as has been anciently accustomed to be done.'

It will be noted that though the legal document and entry has grammar school in the plural, the marginal note has the word in the singular. It was just at this epoch that the mediaeval use of the word school in the plural was being superseded in common parlance by the word in the singular. John Danvers, the prebendary, was, like most of the canons, non-resident. At Southwell, as at Beverley and elsewhere, there were never more than three canons resident at this time, and often only one.

John Danvers, who was also a canon of York, was an Oxford man, who often acted as vice-chancellor or commissary of Thomas Chaundeler, warden of New College, when chancellor of Oxford University, between 1457 and 1467. Danvers became canon and prebendary of Normanton 13 March 1463, and remained so till he resigned in 1495, on a pension of £14 a year, payable at the high altar of St. Magnus the

⁴ A. F. Leach, *Early Yorks. Schools* (Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser. 1899), 12.

⁵ Leach, *Mcm. of Southwell Minster*, 29.

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Martyr by London Bridge. He probably never resided at Southwell.

Barre or Barry, his appointee, held office for no less than thirty years. He was perhaps the John Barry, elder brother of Robert Barra, called also Barrye, doctor of decrees and Canon of York (Osbalwick) and Southwell (Dunham), admitted 27 August 1499, to whom the latter gave by his will⁶ of 4 October 1526 a legacy of 20s., while appointing as an executor Robert Barra his nephew, son of his brother John. The 'custom of York,' of holding a schoolmastership for only three or four years, was therefore extinct at Southwell by this time as at York itself. After the Black Death the scarcity of masters of arts had caused appointments to be made for life or at the pleasure of the chapter.

Barry occurs several times in the Act Book. The year after his appointment, on 6 May 1476,⁷ he appeared in chapter as plaintiff against Thomas Button, executor of Robert Button, chaplain, for 14s. 5d. debt. He produced a chantry priest as witness that in the chamber of another chantry priest, William Barthorp, who also gave evidence to the same effect, Thomas Button promised to give him 14s. 5d. The executor was ordered to pay accordingly.

At the visitation of the minster by the chapter through Mr. William Worsley, the canon residentiary, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, on 1 July 1478,⁸ one of the articles of inquiry was 'if the schoolmasters were sufficient and diligent in their office.' The schoolmasters (*magistri scholarum*) means the masters of the grammar school and of the song school. For though there is no direct mention of the latter school, a song school was of course kept, as in all great collegiate and cathedral churches, to teach singing to choristers and others. As will be seen, the Chantry Commissioners of 1546 give definite evidence of there being one at Southwell, as usual under the control of the precentor, while the grammar school was under the chancellor. As no complaint is made of the schoolmasters at the visitation in 1478 we may conclude that Mr. John Barre was doing his duty effectively. All the junior members of the church were expected to attend the grammar school. Thus on 12 September 1483⁹ Richard Gurnell, a deacon, was 'suspended from his habit' for frequent quarrels with laymen, and he and Palmer 'and all the clerks of the Sacrist' or treasurer, were ordered 'on pain of perpetual suspension from office and benefice to attend the

grammar school daily, unless there was any lawful impediment (quod vacent cotidie absque legitimo impedimento scolis gramaticalibus).⁹ At the visitation in the following year this matter was again brought up. Richard Gurnell was complained of for playing cards with laymen and for the quarrels and threats of murder which arose from it, and grave complaint is made of his and the master's slackness.¹⁰ 'Note generally. The ministers of the church do not attend the grammar school. The Grammar Master does not attend at the proper hours of teaching his scholars in school; and often gives remedies indiscriminately to his scholars on whole school days, so that for the time they learn nothing, expending their parents' substance in vain and to no purpose; and they do not speak Latin in school, but English.' This is an illuminating passage about grammar schools. It is one of many proofs that could be cited to overthrow the assertion made by Dr. Kennedy of Shrewsbury in support of his doctrine that free schools did not mean free from fees, that before the days of Edward VI schools were all free. If this school had been free there would have been no point in the complaint that the boys were wasting their parents' goods by not learning. It is also the earliest instance known of casual holidays, not holy days, being called remedies, as they are in Colet's statutes for St. Paul's School, by which remedies were wholly forbidden, and as they still are at Winchester to this day. The complaint as to not speaking Latin in school is interesting. It was the universal rule in grammar schools that the boys should talk only in Latin, and the rule is frequently found in school statutes, till the end of the 17th century. Nor is this general note the only complaint. William Norram, John Adcot, and Robert Cook, clerks of the church, are said 'not to frequent the grammar school scarcely in the whole year.' Mr. John Barre, the use of the title showing that he was an M.A., is specifically complained of. He 'receives 40s. a year for teaching the grammar school,' this time the plural is used, 'and does nothing for this stipend, nor does he share any part of it with Sir William Barthorp, who has the charge of teaching grammar for him.'

William Barthorp, whom we saw above giving evidence on Barre's behalf, was probably usher in the school. He was chantry priest of St. John the Baptist's chantry in 1469, and was a very irregular attendant at the services, being

⁶ *Mem. of Southwell Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 125; *Test. Ebor.* v, 220. Mrs. Agnes Barra, widow, made her will 26 June 1525, and mentions besides Mr. Dr. Barra, Robert Barra, a married man, while James Barra, priest, and Edward Barra, brothers of the doctor, are also mentioned in the doctor's will.

⁷ Leach, *Mem. of Southwell Minster*, 30.

⁸ *Ibid.* 39.

⁹ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 49. Nota generaliter. Ministri ecclesie non vacant scole gramaticali. Magister Grammaticalis non attendit debitis horis doctrine suorum scolarium in scola; et quam pluries dat remedium suis scolaribus diebus ferialibus, quod quasi ad tempus nichil addiscunt, expendendo bona suorum parentum frustra et inaniter; et non locuntur Latinum in scola sed anglicum.

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warned on 23 August 1470 to keep suit of choir better on pain of suspension. Again on 2 October 1475, and on 30 July 1478, he was given a similar warning, and on 6 May 1484, when he was warned to attend on feast days only. In 1490 he was said to say his masses out of choir and to come to choir barely twice or thrice a week. He had in 1476 resigned his original chantry for Haxey's chantry, and at some unknown date, probably November 1503, exchanged that again for one of the two chantries of Our Lady and St. Cuthbert, founded by Archbishop Laurence Booth in 1479.¹¹ The chapel of this chantry, in which both Laurence himself and his brother and predecessor as archbishop, William Booth, 1452 to 1464, were buried, was built at the south-west corner of the church. It is probable that all through Barthorp was acting as usher in the grammar school, probably holding his chantries on condition of doing so. He was much better endowed than the master, whose usher or at all events deputy he was, if, as seems to be the case from the entry quoted, the grammar schoolmaster only received £2 a year, for the chantries were worth £3 18s. 11d. and £10 19s. 11d. The master must therefore have derived the chief part of his emoluments from tuition fees. He may have had boarders. After Barthorp's death on 3 December 1504 a rather solemn entry is made as to the appointment of his successor. Mr. William Fitzherbert and Thomas Fitzherbert, the two canons residentiary, holding a chapter, put before the assembled churchwardens, registrar, and vicars choral, their title to collate to the chantry. Then Henry Frankyshe, one of the sixteen vicars choral, asked to be promoted to the same according to the ordinance and foundation of it.

They answered that his petition was just, but they asked him to abandon his proposal this time in order that for the common benefit and his own they might present a fit chaplain who would be able to teach the grammar school. For which reason Sir Henry Frankyshe acceded to their request. And so the said canons residentiary the same day instituted, invested, and installed a chaplain named Sir William Babyngton, who was sworn according to the ordinance and foundation of the said chantries. Moreover, after his institution and installation, on the same day in the chapter-house, of his own free will and not under compulsion, the said Sir William Babyngton swore on the holy gospels, that he would undergo the burden of teaching the grammar school, the whole time that he held the said chantry.¹²

In this very convenient way the endowment of the grammar school, or of its usher, was increased by the chapter who were bound to maintain it, without any cost to themselves. It is

probable that from this time onwards the chantry chapel was used as the grammar school. At least it is stated to have been so used about 1784, in which year it was pulled down by the chapter 'because it destroyed the regularity of the buildings' of the minster. By a curious coincidence,¹³ which may have been suggested by its previous use, the endowment of the chantry, being a fixed rent-charge of £13 6s. 8d. a year payable out of the archbishop's manor of Battersea, was after the Dissolution in 1548 granted by Edward VI as the chief part of the endowment of Guildford Grammar School. Afterwards by forgery Archbishop Heath regained the endowment to Southwell Minster under Mary, but it was restored to Guildford Grammar School by Act of Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Battersea Manor afterwards passed to the St. Johns and then to Earl Spencer, who still pays the rent-charge, though it is believed that the lands out of which it issued have been sold.

Apparently Babyngton, after his appointment to St. Cuthbert's chantry, did the whole work of the school, and Barre practically retired on a pension. For a little later, 18 January 1505-6, the chapter decreed that Barre should pay Babyngton 11s. 8d. at Whitsuntide following and at Martinmas another 11s. 8d. and £1 a year afterwards. It does not appear when Barre ceased to hold office. As we have seen, he was probably alive in 1525, when Dr. Robert Barra made his will. He, by the way, gave to Edward Barra, scholar, his nephew, if he wished to become a priest, £10 and all his grammatical and legal books, and the course of canon law and Abbatt on the Decretals if he wished to learn law or canon law. Babyngton was still holder of the chantry when on 17 August 1540 it was surrendered by him, when the rest of the possessions of the church were surrendered by his colleagues and the chapter and vicars choral and other holders of offices and endowments, to Henry VIII. So that two masters only filled the office in the seventy years from 1469 to the Dissolution.

Before that event took place an attempt seems to have been made to establish in Southwell a free school, that is, a school free from tuition fees, the chapter school with its small endowment being, as we saw from the entry of 1484, not free, but one which cost money. Robert Batemanson, who was seemingly one of the household of Laurence Booth, Archbishop of York, whose will of 28 September 1479 he witnessed, came from Broom, near Durham, to Southwell, in the time of the archbishop, and his brother Roger was a vicar choral in the minster. Robert made his will on 23 June 1512.¹³ He had by deed of 18 June 1492 given to Hugh

¹¹ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iii, 250.

¹² *Leach, Mem. Southwell Minster*, 177.

¹³ *V.C.H. Surr.* ii, 166-7.

¹³ *Leach, Mem. Southwell Minster*, 115; cf. *Test. Ebor.* iii, 250 n.

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Clifton and others all his lands at Egmonton as feoffees to the uses of his will. He now willed that his feoffees should

stand and be infeoffed in the same to the use of the most reverend fader in God Christover Baynbryg, archbisschope of York, and his heires, upon condition and to the entent that the said archbisschoppe his heires or executours within 4 yers next after my decease, shall founde a free gramer scole in Suthwell ever to endure, paying yerly to my executors to the said scole be founded 40s., And if it fortune ye said archbisschoppe his heires or executors not to provide a fre scole as is aforsayde then I will that my sayde feoffes shall stand and be infeoffed in the same To the use and behove of the Prior and Convent of Thurgarton

for ninety-nine years on condition of giving to the prior and convent of Beauvale (Bevale) a quarter of wheat and to the Friars Observant of Newark another quarter each year. The will was proved 27 November 1512. It will be noted that the term 'free grammar school' is used here in English nearly half a century before the supposed invention of the term and thing by Edward VI, and that this gift was made in the same year as that of Agnes Mellers at Nottingham, for the same purpose there. There is no evidence seemingly at Southwell of the foundation having been effected. But it must have been. The sum of £10 a year paid by the chapter to the school, and as will be seen continued by the Chantry Commissioners as a charge on the Crown revenues and paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to this day, was probably due to this benefaction.

In 1530 Southwell received a benefaction which had a lasting influence in preserving the status of the school, though it was not conferred directly on the school. This was the foundation of the Keton or Keyton scholarships and fellowships at St. John's College, Cambridge, by Dr. John Keton, as he usually spelt himself, canon of Salisbury. He had begun life as a chorister of Southwell Minster, admitted¹⁴ 25 March 1479-80, and in 1492 was a chaplain at Southwell,¹⁵ though in what precise capacity does not appear. By deed of 27 October, 22 Henry VIII, 1530,¹⁶ made between Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, judge of the Common Pleas, and himself of the first part, the 'Chapiter' of Southwell of the second part, and St. John's College, Cambridge, of the third part, in consideration of £400 (equivalent to at least £8,000) given to the college in money, plate, and other jewels, the college covenanted to maintain two fellows and two 'disciples or schollers,' in the same way as the fellows and scholars of the Foundress

foundation, with 13s. 4d. a year more to each of the fellows, 'over and above the wages limited unto other fellows of the Foundress foundation.' These fellows and scholars were to be 'elected and chosen of those persons that bee or have been quiristers of the chapter of Southwell aforesaid, if anie such able persons in maners and lerninge can bee found in Southwell biffore-said, and in default of such persons there, then of such persons as have been queristers of the said chapter of Southwell, which persons be then inhabitante or abidinge in the Universitie of Cambrigge.' If 'none such be founde able in the Universitie aforesaid then . . . such persons that shall be most singular in maners and lerninge of what country soever they should bee that shall be then abidinge in the said Universitie.' Though the scholar was not bound to have been at the grammar school in terms, in practice he was, and this endowment proved an attraction to the school. Even during the Commonwealth when 'the chapter of Southwell was abolished and there were no choristers,' we find Samuel, son of Thomas Leeke, clerk, 'bred at Nottingham under his father, who was head master there, and some time also at Southwell (aliquantillo etiam tempore in schola de Southwell), admitted to St. John's 4 May 1654, while immediately on the resumption of the college Stephen Fothergill, of Epperstone, bred at Repton for two years, is described as *chorista Southwellensis* when admitted on 8 June 1661. So when Charles Leeke, son of Francis Leeke, of Halam, was admitted 7 June 1665, he is said to have been bred at Southwell School *et a choro ibidem*. He became a Keton fellow 30 October 1669. In later years, when choristers had become of a lower class, it became the practice for the canons to appoint their sons or relations and friends as choristers merely to qualify for these scholarships and exhibitions, while not performing any duties except on Sundays and holidays, but paying someone else to do them.

After the surrender of the college and all the dependent foundations in 1540 it was refounded by an Act of Parliament in 1543. This Act enacted 'that the colledge and church collegiate of Southwell . . . shall stande and bee in his hole perfecte and essentiall estate in all degrees and in such manner and forme to all intents or purposes, as it was or stood the first day of June, in the 32nd yere of the reigne of our sovereign lord the king [i.e. 1540] or at anie time before, and shall remaine, continue and bee for ever a perfecte bodie corporate by the name of the chapter of the collegiate church of the Blessed Marie the Virgine of Southwell in the countie of Nottingham.' All its property and officers, including chantries and chantry priests, lamps, and obits were restored. The only difference was that the archbishop's manor and his rights of patronage in the appointment of the

¹⁴ Leach, *Mem. Southwell Minster*, 188.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 57.

¹⁶ Printed in *St. John's Coll. v. Toddington*, 1 Burr. (1757), 158. Also set out in Southwell Reg. Leases, 30.

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canons passed to the Crown, the king being declared founder, and expressly given the patronage. But the patronage of the minor ministers of the church, vicars choral, chantry priests, and the like, remained in the canons as before.

In the scheme of Henry VIII for new bishoprics,¹⁷ Southwell is set down as the see of a new bishopric to be erected for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. So it is clear that he always intended to preserve it and its revenues intact, or even augmented. The revenue of the minster is set down at £1,003 a year, 'of which one third for the bishop,' who was designated in the person of Dr. Cocks, ex-head master of Eton. The grammar school would have been, as in other new cathedrals erected by Henry, an integral part of the foundation. But the see was not established till nearly three centuries and a half later, when, oddly enough, its first bishop, George Ridding, was also an ex-head master, but of Winchester, not Eton.

Meanwhile the college has been thrice since dissolved, in 1548, 1649, and 1848. In both cases the grammar school survived its parent and patron. The college was first threatened by the Chantries Act of Henry VIII, which enabled him, three years after he had refounded it by Act of Parliament, to enter on it and dissolve it. The account given by the commissioners under that Act says that the 'comen lands' were worth £33, which 'clere Reveneux ben employed as well vppon the wages of the Deacons, 66s.; Choristirs, 26s. 8d.; clerkes, 20s.; Thuribulers, 13s. 4d.; who hathe no more wages to fynde them meate and Drinke then before is sett vppon their heddes, and also for the Relyvinge of poore scollers thither Resortinge for ther erudycyon either in Grammer or songe, as for ther expenses in hospitalitee, emongiste suche the said prebendaries as there be resident, and partelye for the socoure of pore people thither Resortinge, as by the said certificate dothe appere, wherunto the said prebendes are sworne.' It is curious that no sum is set down for the amount expended on those 'resorting for their erudition either in grammar or song.' The prebend of Normanton is entered as worth clear £20 6s. 8d., besides 6s. 8d. for the mansion-house, after paying £4 for the wages of John Trapps the vicar choral of the prebendary, 'also, besides 40s. given to the scole master of the Free Scole there'; a term which suggests that Batemanson's benefaction had taken effect, and the school had been made free. This is a crucial instance to show that a free school did not mean free from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, since it was wholly under the college of canons of the minster. The college was spared by Henry VIII, only to fall under Edward VI. The report of the commissioners under the new Chantries Act, which abolished

all colleges except cathedrals, university colleges, and Windsor, shows the two schools of grammar and song going on as before. For the latter there was paid out of the common lands, worth gross some £48 a year, the income of which was divided among the residentiary canons, to 'the master of the queristers, 20s.' The former was paid out of the income of the prebend of Normanton, worth £27 a year. 'Wages yerely paid unto the Scholemastre there, 40s.' The people of Southwell made a great effort to keep the minster as a parish church, and also the school. Six persons, 'churchwardens of the sayde parishe church of Southwell within the said collegiate church,' presented that 'within the said towne of Southwell and within 3 villagies thereunto adionyng called East thropp (Easthorpe) West thropp and Normanton are 2000 crystened soules' and 'in the parishe and sooke 2000 christened soules and more,' and the vicar to serve all these had only 20s. from the prebend of Normanton.

And thei present that the said parishe church of Southwell standeth in the mydle of the Shere, accompted as a chief Church, wherin ys and hath ben kept a Gramer scole most apte for the same (tyme out of mynd), And towards the mayntaynaunce therof ys given 40s. by yere out of the Prebendary of Normanton.

And that, in Respect of the Great nombre of people pertheyng to the saide Sooke and Royaltie, there hathe ben 16 prebendes, and no preacher charged for the same. In consideration of the premysses and other moste vrgent not here alledged, We, the poore Inhabitautes and parishioners, the Kinges maiesties tennautes there, Do not onely make our requeste that our parishe church maye stande, and to haue therin suche preachers apte and mete to enstructe vs our Dueties towards God and our king, as his maiestie shall appointe, But also that our Grammer scole maie also stande with suche stipende as apperteyneth the like, Wherin our poore youth maie be enstructed, and that also by the resorte of their parentes we, his Graces poore Tennautes and inhabitautes there, maie haue some relief wherby we shalbe the better able to serue his Grace at tyme appoynted.

Partly on this representation the people of Southwell secured the continuance of the minster as the parish church. The commissioners under the Chantries Act for the continuance of schools, preachers, and curates of necessity, found 'that a Grammer Scole hath been contynuallie kept in Southwell aforesaid with the revenues of the late college of Southwell, whiche Scole is very mete and necessarie to contynue Wee therefore . . . have assigned and appointed that the said Scole in Southwell aforesaid shall contynue and that the Scolemastre there for the tyme beyng shall yerelie have for his wages £10.' By the same order £20 was assigned for the 'stipende and lyving' of the parish vicar, one of the canons, John Adams, being appointed vicar, while £5 each

¹⁷ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii, 406.

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was assigned to two vicars choral appointed assistant curates. Accordingly, the accounts¹⁸ of the Receiver-General of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown for Nottinghamshire show 'And in like cash by the said receiver paid to John Lowthe master of the grammar school (*scole grammaticalis*) in Southwell from ancient time at £10 a year, by virtue of the warrant aforesaid,' i.e. the warrant of Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelway for continuance of the school. We thus learn the name of the master who presumably was master from the time of the refoundation of the church. He may be identified with John Lowthe, scholar of Winchester 1534, of New College 1540, in which year he took his B.A. degree, and a fellow there till 1543. He afterwards became chancellor of the diocese of Gloucester, rector of Gotham, Canon of Wells and of Lincoln, vicar of St. Mary's, Nottingham, and Archdeacon of Nottingham, which promotion he held when he told John Foxe, the martyrologist, some weird and, it must be admitted, libellous stories against the warden of New College, Dr. London, in the early days of the Reformation, when he was trying to suppress the reformers. Lowthe was paid until Michaelmas 1552,¹⁹ when he was succeeded by Henry Rathebye.²⁰ In 1553 the money was not paid, but on application to the Court of Exchequer,²¹ and production of the warrant, it was held by the Court that the amount was payable to the master of the grammar school for the time being, and, 12 November 1554, was ordered to be paid, together with a year's arrears, to Henry Rabye (*sic*) now master of the said grammar school. He continued to be paid till Michaelmas 1555.²² After that year the payment cannot be traced.

While the school was thus going on the collegiate establishment was in abeyance; the prebendaries, vicars choral, chantry priests, and even the choristers, having been pensioned off. In 1553 9 prebendaries, 13 vicars choral, 7 chantry priests, 2 deacons, and 6 choristers, were still in receipt of their pensions; while the vicarage was served by Robert Salvine and William Allerne at stipends of £6 and £4 a year apiece. The bulk of the property had been granted to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and by him to John Beaumont, Master of the Rolls, who, being convicted of fraud and misfeasance in his office, 'conveyed and assured them by de-

benture fine or otherwise' to King Edward VI 'for the discharge and satisfaccion of divers great sums of money wherein the same John Beaumont was indebted to the said late king.' The title of the Crown against Beaumont was confirmed by Act of Parliament, 4 & 5 Philip and Mary, cap. 1, sec. 7. The site and precinct and the rest of the land had remained in the Crown. During the Roman reaction under Mary, in the same year which witnessed the restoration of Westminster Abbey, 1557, thanks no doubt to the action of Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York and chancellor, the canons and chapter of the minster re-entered on the church and their houses, and retook possession of the lands. An information was then laid on 9 April 1558, by Edward Gryffyn (Attorney-General *v.* Chapter of Southwell), for trespass on lands belonging to the Crown in virtue of the Chantries Act. The information was no doubt collusive; for the Attorney-General himself argued that the college had not been in the actual and real possession of Henry VIII. After elaborate pleadings the Court of Exchequer gave judgement²³ in favour of the chapter on the specious and untenable plea that owing to the refoundation of Henry VIII by Act of Parliament the college had not come to the Crown under the Chantries Act, and that the grant to the Earl of Warwick and the subsequent escheat to the Crown were void. By *Inspeximus* Charter, 20 June 1558,²⁴ all this was recited and confirmed. So the minster was re-established in law as it had already²⁵ been in fact. It was, however, constantly harassed in the title to its lands till a fresh charter and grant were obtained from James I, 26 July 1604.

The Chapter Act Books begin again at Michaelmas 1558. There is, however, no mention of the school in them for some thirteen years. Presumably Henry Rathbye or Raby carried it on continuously. On 1 March 1571-2 injunctions were given by Edmund, Archbishop of York, after a visitation. One of these injunctions²⁶ is—

Item 10. Item we do injoyne, that a dewe regarde be had that the grammer schole there be alwaies furnished with a godlie, lerned and zelouse scholemaster And an usher for the educacion of the youthe in good lerning and vertue and that thae be sufficientlye provyded for of a competent lvyng and lodging. Provided alwaies that yf enye be or shalbe admytted to that office or funcion who shall not diligenty and carefullye behave him selfe therin to the proffett of the youthe there to be brought upp, that then everye suche Scholemaster or usher without delaye to be removed, and a more diligent to be provyded with as convenyent spede as maye be.

¹⁸ P.R.O. Land. Rev. Rec. Accts. 2 & 3 Edw. VI, bdle. 90, m. 29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 3 & 4 Edw. VI, bdle. 89; 4 & 5 Edw. VI, bdle. 91.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 5 & 6 Edw. VI, bdle. 75, m. 24.

²¹ Exch. L.T. Memo. R. Mich. 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, m. 2.

²² *Ibid.* 1 & 2 to 2 & 3 Phil. and Mary, bdle. 66, m. 17.

²³ Exch. K. R. Memo. R. East. 4 & 5 Phil. and Mary, m. 20; Southwell Min. Reg. Leases, fol. 35.

²⁴ Southwell Min. Reg. Leases.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 95.

²⁶ Chap. Act Bk. ii, 62.

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The purport of this injunction seems to be to bring the school under the direct power of the chapter—that is in effect the residentiary canon instead of the prebendary of Normanton. Hugh Baskafild, M.A., is the next master mentioned. On 22 May 1574 the chapter granted to him, described as *schole gramatice Southwelliensis ludi-magistro*, in consideration and recompense of his labour and industry from time to time heretofore bestowed and hereafter to be bestowed on the education and instruction of children in grammatical learning (*in litteris grammaticalibus*), an annuity or yearly rent of £14 a year for the term of his natural life if he remain in the zealous education and instruction of youth in the school of Southwell aforesaid. This document is followed in the Act Book by an act appointing him attorney to receive £6 a year from Henry Rubye of Wolverhampton, M.A., which he was bound to pay to the chapter for the use of the schoolmaster of Southwell for the time being. Rubye is no doubt the same as Rathebye in the Receiver's Accounts and Rabye in the order of the Court of Exchequer in 1554. Probably, therefore, this sum of £6 was the balance of £10 a year payable from the Exchequer, Raby retaining the rest as a kind of retiring pension. Such an arrangement we saw made in 1504, and such arrangements were frequent in after days both as regards schoolmasterships and ecclesiastical benefices, as well as civil offices, till the 18th century. Baskafild appears as Baskerville in the Gonville and Caius College register, in which occurs the admission of Reginald Eton, who had been a chorister at Southwell under Mr. Thetford, *musicus*, and at school there under Mr. Baskerville. At the 'audit' of 1577²⁷ the chapter made and agreed upon certain articles, three of which affected the school, settling its hours, viz. 6–11 a.m., 1–5 p.m. from Lady Day to Michaelmas; and from Michaelmas to Lady Day 7–11 a.m., 1–5 p.m. The order runs:—

No. 6. Also for our Scholemaster it is determined that he shall hereafter frome the feaste of the Annuntiation of our ladye repayre together with his scholers to the schole, at the howre of sixe of the clocke in the morninge, his scholers continuinge there untyll a leven of the clocke, and to repayre agayne at one of the clocke, and remayne untill sixe of the clocke, and this order to laste frome the saide feaste of thanuntiation untill the feast of St. Michaell, after which feaste thaie shall keepe theire howre at seven of the clocke in the morninge and continewe as afforesaide untill a leven of the clocke, and come againe at one, and continew untyll fyve and this to continewe untill the feaste of thanuntiation, and this order shall continewe yearelye.²⁸

No. 7. Moreover it shall not be lawfull for the scholemaster to geve his scholers leave to playe any daye in the weeke, but onelye thursdaye in the after noone, excepte thaie have leave of the residentiarie, or in his absence of the nexte senior master [i.e. canon].

No. 8. Also the said scholemaster shall have his scholers to repayre to the schole everie saturdaye in the after noone, there to exercise theire writinge and other exercises untill evyninge prayer.

Two years later solemn warning was given to the master:—

1579, 26 Oct. The xxvjth daie of October Anno Domini 1579 Mr. Thomas Wethered and Mr. Robert Cressie, Canon residentiaries, caused Hughe Baskafild, Scholemaster of the grammer schole in Southwell to be called before them in to the Chapter house and there commaunded me, John Lee, notarie and Registrar to the Chapter, to reade openlie unto the saide Hughe Baskafild certen articles before specyfyed and registred towching certen houres and orders to be by him and his schollers observed; which I red accordinglie; after the reding wherof the afforesaid Mr. Wethered and Mr. Cressie dyd admonisse the said Hughe Baskafild to observe the same houres and orders declaring further unto him that it was my Lord Graces pleasure that he should so doo.

J. Lee, Registrarius.

On 12 April 1580 the same residentiaries 'syttin in the Chapter House, caused the above-said Hughe Baskafild to come before theme in the presence of Mr. John Todd, Canon Residentiarie, and of me John Lee, Registrar, and then and there did discharge the saide Hughe Baskafild of kepinge the grammer schole, or teaching eny longer, and also of his wages for the same, for that he had so notoriously slacked and neglected his dutie in teaching the said schole, to the great hindrance of the youthe therein brought upp.' A month later, 11 May, Mr. John Cowper, M.A., was appointed by the chapter as schoolmaster, during their pleasure.

On 2 April 1585 new statutes²⁹ for the college were made by the Crown in the form of letters patent in Latin. They emphasized the fact that the foundation was as much for education as for religion; 'Understanding that the church aforesaid is hitherto by no means established with laws and statutes; for the singular love with which we embrace the continuous worship of God, the catholic preaching of God's word, the institution of youth in truth and virtue and good literature (*juventutis in veritate in virtute ac bonis literis institutionem*) and the perpetual maintenance of the poor.' These statutes were prepared by a general commission issued to the Archbishop of York and others for all the collegiate churches of the province of York, founded by Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Cardinal Pole. The statutes left the sixteen prebendaries untouched, but reduced the vicars choral to six, while the thirteen or fifteen chantry priests had been swept away by the Chantries Acts, though the college managed to obtain the lands. As usual in cathedral statutes

²⁹ Orig. at Southwell. Printed in Dickinson, *Hist. of Southwell*, 364; and Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1317–23.

²⁷ Chap. Act Bk. 368.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 370.

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both grammar and song schools were duly provided for.

A master was to be set over the choristers that the chapter may have boys rightly brought up, both in modesty of manners and skill of singing and was also to play the organ. The grammar school was dealt with in chapter 10.

Of the Teacher or Schoolmaster (*De Didasculo sive Ludimagistro*). That piety and good literature (*literae*) may daily flourish and increase more and more in the said church and in neighbouring places, we ordain that one learned in Greek and Latin, religious, honest, industrious and skilled in teaching, to be elected by the said Chapter and approved and confirmed by the said Archbishop when the see of York is full, and by the Dean and Chapter of York *sede vacante*, be set over the Grammar School of Southwell, who may continuously labour in instruction both in learning and conduct (*tam literis quam moribus*). Whose office it shall be not only to read teach and hear Latin and Greek grammar and humane literature ('grammaticam Latinam et Graecam literasque humaniores') poets and orators, but also to imbue the boys' minds as far as possible with the institutes of the Christian religion. And to him we assign and order to be paid the usual and customary salary.

It is unfortunate that what the 'usual and customary salary' was is not stated. The statute concludes by giving a power of removal, if the master is found idle or negligent, after three warnings; and that he should take an oath to faithfully perform all things belonging to his function in this behalf. By chapter 18 provision was also made, in revival of the chancellor's theological lectures, for a prelector in theology, who was to give two or three lectures a week. Catechizing of the members of the church by a canon elected by the chapter was also to take place; 'an explanation (*explicatio*) of the catechism, that is the apostles' creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist,' being held at 2 and 3 p.m. on Sundays. At it the vicars choral, choristers, and other servants (*ministri*) of the said church, also the schoolmaster and his pupils, were to be present.

On 10 October 1584 two of Cowper's pupils were admitted to Gonville and Caius College,^{29a} when he had already been made a canon with the prebend of Normanton. On 6 August 1586 the chapter 'did release and acquite' him 'as well of and for all suche summes of monney as hathe bene due to be payde by him furthe of his said prebende, since he hathe bene prebendarie of the same, unto the Scholemaster of the gramer schole as also for all suche summes as hereafter shalbe due.' In lieu of the sum of £2 so released, on the admission of John Bayly, M.A., as master, on 7 November 1587, the chapter granted him £3 6s. 8d. a year, 'besides the yearly sum of £10 paid out of the Exchequer.'

^{29a} J. Venn, *Biog. Hist.* i, 121.

William Dyson, M.A., succeeded at some date unspecified; for on 12 April 1589 he came before the chapter and recited that because 'through my own business I was unable to attend and be present in the school as duty required, I was by a decree of the charter removed and expelled from the prefecture and rule of the same,' and then, 'to remove all doubt and question merely and of my own free will I simply resigned the school into the hands of the chapter.' William Cartwright was his successor; but his name only appears under the title of 'schoolmaster or gymnast of Southwell (*ludimagister sive gymnista*)' as being pronounced contumacious for being absent from a visitation held by the chapter on 10 July 1589.

There was a great deal of scholastic activity at this time in the chapter liberty; for among other persons who failed to attend the visitation was Roger Swinscoe, schoolmaster at Caunton; and proceedings were taken against James Colly, curate and schoolmaster of East Halam, for failing to produce his ordination letters, and his admission as master there was adjourned. At the same time Alexander Barton of Oxton was 'presented to teach children' and summoned for Tuesday week following, when he was inhibited on pain of law not to presume to teach (*instruere*) until admitted by ordinary authority. On 12 June 1592 James Horrocks of South Muskham was presented at a visitation 'for teaching of schoole without license.' He was summoned and inhibited from teaching until he had been admitted by authority of the ordinary, i.e. the chapter. On 21 July 1593 Richard Eirith or Ayray, B.A., of South Muskham, was 'presented to teach Mr. Marshall's children privately and is not known to be licensed,' while Ann Marshall was presented for 'not cumminge to church nor communicange.' But Ayray must have satisfied the inquisitors, for he was the same day admitted 'to instruct boys in the art of grammar in the parish of South Muskham' after being duly sworn. Two years later, 13 June 1595, William Garlande of Kirklington was 'presented for teachinge of children without license,' but he appeared and on affirming that he only taught abecedarians, i.e. reading ('affirmat se instruere abecedarios tantum'), he was dismissed as regards this article, but inhibited against performing service in Kirklington chapel or elsewhere unless duly admitted by the ordinary.

On 10 February 1594³⁰ the chapter had to petition Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the annuity due 'to the master of the free grammar school of Southwell,' six years' arrears remaining unpaid. It appears from an admission of Edward Manestie as master of the choristers and organist on 6 April 1596,³¹

³⁰ Chap. Act Bk. iii, beginning in 1590, p. 37.

³¹ *Ibid.* 46.

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that he was nearly as well paid as the grammar schoolmaster, receiving £10 as organist and £2 as master of the choristers.

It would appear that already the Keton scholarships were being fraudulently given to boys who only qualified for them by being colourably admitted choristers. For on 16 September 1596 the appointment, 6 April of the same year, of John Grace as chorister, was read in chapter, and a testimonial of his good conduct, with a petition for his admission to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a pupil or scholar (*discipulum sive scholarem*) according to Keton's deed, was sealed with the chapter seal.

The school must have been of good status at this time, for among the entries at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge,³² on 27 September 1596, was Francis son of Francis Leek, esq., of Sutton Scarsdale, Derbyshire, educated at Southwell Grammar School, admitted as a fellow commoner at the age of fourteen, with Francis Carter of Somerlay, also educated at Southwell, as his servitor. Leek was a royalist and made Earl of Scarsdale in 1645.

At some time not stated Richard Potter became master of the grammar school. After Potter's resignation on 3 May 1615 John Bayes, M.A., formerly master of Lobthorpe School, Lincs., was admitted in solemn form in Latin, which recited that he was first sworn 'not only to the oath prescribed by an Act of Parliament of 23 January 1558-9 and to obedience to the chapter, but also to the new ecclesiastical canons or royal constitutions required in this behalf.' The chapter also granted him their licence 'to exercise and execute the duty and office of schoolmaster and public instructor in the school aforesaid, and of publicly professing the art of grammar and of reading good and approved authors as well Greek as Latin to his scholars, according to the capacities of the hearers.'

The printed register of St. John's College, Cambridge, comes to our assistance in the next few years. It shows that Mr. Satchell, Setchell, or Sechell, as he is indifferently spelt, was master from at least 1625 to 1640. William son of William Horborie, husbandman, of Walkeringham, who had been seven years under Mr. Sechell, was admitted a pensioner 29 May 1632; Edward Mason, son of the rector of Hockerton, was admitted 4 June 1634, and John Marler, son of the late rector of Aperston (Epperstone), who had been four years at the school, was admitted 27 May 1639. The Civil War made no difference to the school. On 5 June 1645 Thomas son of John Holecroft of Balderton, gentleman (and gentleman then meant gentleman), was admitted sizar at the age of eighteen, having been under Mr. Palmer at Southwell School, and on 10 June 1647 Jervas son of Miles Lee, who had also been under Mr.

Palmer, was admitted pensioner, or paying undergraduate, at the age of fifteen. When the college of Southwell was once more abolished with other cathedral and collegiate churches by Act of Parliament in 1649, special provision was made for the preservation of the schools and other charities attached to them. So we find William son of Herbert Leeke, gentleman, of Halam, admitted a pensioner at St. John's 25 October 1649. A little later, 7 April 1652, an order,³³ made by the Trustees for Plundered Ministers and Schoolmasters, to whom this matter was delegated, recites: 'Whereas the yearly stipend of £14 heretofore payable to the Scholemaster of the Free Schole within the towne of Southwell in the county of Nottingham out of the revenues of the late prebend of Southwell is now charged and payable by the said Trustees; It is ordered that the said yearly stypend of £14 be continued and paid to Mr. Henry Moore, Scholemaster of the said Schole, together with the arrears payable since the 16th of Oct. 1650.' A few days later Mr. John Cary, receiver, was ordered to pay the said stipend 'from tyme to tyme . . . for and during such tyme as the said Mr. Moore shall continue to educate the youth in good litterature there and untill further order of the said Trustees.' He was duly paid on 25 March 1651.

On 4 May 1654 two boys from Southwell were admitted to St. John's, Cambridge; viz. Samuel son of Thomas Leeke, clerk, bred under his father (who was head master of Nottingham School), and also a little time in Southwell School, 'aliquantillo etiam tempore in schola de Southwell,' no doubt to qualify for a Keton scholarship, and Matthew Sylvester, son of a mercer, two years under Mr. Henry Moore.

In 1655 Moore had given place to Mr. Francis Leeke, an order of the trustees³⁴ being made, 24 January 1655, for payment of the sum of £14 a year to him, 'hereby appointed scholemaster of the said schoole, out of the rents and profits of the impropriate tythes of Oxton and Scarrington . . . to be continued . . . for such time as he shall discharge the duty of schoolemaster there, or untill further order of the Trustees, And Lewt. Col. John Robinson, receiver, is appointed to pay the same accordingly.' Leeke continued master to the Restoration. When the minster was restored and the canons and vicars returned after the third dissolution and restoration, one of their first capitular acts³⁵ on 12 September 1660 was to appoint Francis Leeke surrogate and deputy for probate of the residentiary canon, John Niele.

³² Lamb. MSS. Aug. Bks. 969, p. 95; 978, p. 452; 1019, pp. 49, 70.

³³ *Ibid.* 967, p. 15.

³⁴ Southwell Minster Chap. Min. 1660-70, under date. This is the first Chapter Act Book the pages of which are not numbered.

³⁵ Venn, *Biog. Hist. Gonville and Caius Coll.* i, 160.

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On 21 February following 1660-1 'the masters (*domini*) read publicly a certain certificate in the name of the chapter on behalf of Master Francis Leeke holding the office or place of schoolmaster and ordered it to be sealed.'³⁶ In this quiet way they validated Leeke's title to the mastership without professedly making a new appointment or confirming the old one made by the Parliamentary authorities. On 8 June 1661 Stephen Fothergill, bred at Repton and *chorista Southwellensis*, was admitted at St. John's, and on 7 June 1665 the master's own son or nephew, Charles Leeke of Halam, son of Francis Leeke, clerk, bred at Southwell, *et a choro ibidem*, was admitted pensioner, and became a Keton fellow 30 October 1669.

Leeke seems to have remained in office till his death some ten years later. There is no specific mention of the cause of vacancy in the Chapter Act on the next appointment of a master. This is entered in the Act Book under date 11 April 1670 as 'business of the election and collation of the place of schoolmaster of the free grammar school of Southwell on Andrew Meires, deacon.' Andrew Meires was probably a Southwell boy and had been admitted a sizar of St. John's on 16 June 1669 at the age of twenty, so that his university career was probably passed at some other college. Four boys from the school, bred under Mr. Meers or Myres, as he is variously called, were admitted at St. John's between 1677 and 1684. As one of them was born at Hartington in Derbyshire, it would appear there were boarders at the time. The last admitted, 14 May 1684, was son of Henry Watkinson, D.C.L., which shows that the sons of the canons as well as others frequented the school. Meires probably died in 1688. For on 12 June 1690 'at a chapter court,' upon petition 'made by Mr. Thomas Hasildon, scholemaster of Southwell grammer Schole, a Certificat was made in these words viz. We the chapter of the Collegiat Church of the Blessid Mary the Virgin of Southwell in co. Notts. do eertify whom it may concern that Mr. Thomas Hesildon was Scholemaster of the Gramer Schole in Southwell aforesd. at Lady Day 1688 and so has continued ever since.' Mr. Hesilden is called Haseldine on the entrance in 1689 at St. John's, of Robert son of Samuel Leek, clerk, of Nottingham, who had been bred under him at Southwell. He seems to have been somewhat of a pluralist. For on '30 June 1692 This day was a chapter held, Mr. William Mompesson the canon residentiary and Mr. Porter being present, at which it was decreed that . . . Mr. Hesleden's being Schole

³⁶ Southwell Minster Chap. Min. 1660-70, under date: 'Publice perlecto quodam certificatorio nomine capituli ex parte magistri Francisci Leeke gerentis officium seu locum ludimagistri schole grammaticae in Southwell domini idem certificatorium sigillandum fore decreverunt.'

Master, Vicar Choral and Vicar of the parish, is thought to be inconvenient, if they can be legally separated.' As, however, the pay of the master was restricted to the ancient £14 a year, the practical difficulty of separating the offices was very great. As a vicar choral only got £9 a year and the parish vicar £20, the united salary of £43 a year could not be regarded as excessive. A vicar choralship at all events remained an inseparable accident of the schoolmastership until the fourth dissolution of the collegiate church took place and the school suffered to the verge of extinction afterwards. The union of these two offices at least was practically recognized by Archbishop Sharpe in his injunctions at a visitation held in 1693.³⁷

Sixthly.—Furthermore whereas complaints have been made unto us that the Grammar School of Southwell is much prejudiced through the School-Master being a Vicar Choral of the Church (his attendance on the service of the quire necessarily occasioning a neglect of the school) For remedying this inconvenience We do order and require, that from henceforward the Master of the Grammar School strictly and constantly attend his school on all school-days and at all school hours as much as any former master of the School that was no Vicar Choral was accustomed to do or so much as he himself if he was no Vicar Choral is in duty bound to do; and, further, if notwithstanding this constant attendance that we require of the School Master the Chapter nevertheless find it necessary (either for his encouragement or for performance of the Church service on Sundays and Holidays when most of the other Vicars may be supposed absent at their cures) that the said Schoolmaster should be continued a Vicar. In that case We do enjoin that the said Chapter shall provide some fit person to supply his place in the quire at all times when his presence is required in the school Provided that he himself do in person perform the duties of his Vicar Choral's place on Sundays and Holidays.

As no independent or augmented endowment of the school was made, though the value of the 'wonted and accustomed salary' had very much lessened, the practice of appointing vicars choral to the schoolmastership necessarily continued.

The Chapter Act Book from 1692 to 1727 has disappeared. St. John's College Register^{37a} supplies the names of masters: Mr. Benson, from at least 1699 to 1707; Mr. Neep, an 'old boy,' from 1714 to 1720; Mr. Lambe, probably 1720 to 1723; and Mr. Hodgshon already there in 1728. The next Chapter Act Book shows that the chapter fully recognized the inadequacy of the salary and met it by conferring a plurality of offices on the master.

24 Oct. 1728 Decreed that Mr. Hodgshon Schoolmaster of Southwell and Vicar Chorall do succeed

³⁷ Dickinson, *Hist. Southwell*, 381.

^{37a} Op. cit. ii, 151, 170, 184, 215; iii, 30, 32, 37, 47.

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Mr. Barnard deceased, in the vicarage of Upton and was collated accordingly, *prestis prius* etc.

Whereas there is a Decree with respect to the Vicarage of Upton made July 31. 1701. That it be for the future disposed of to one of the Vicars Chorall who is best qualified to be Vicar Chorall according to the Statutes of this Church, which Decree is confirmed and extended to all the livings in the gift of the chapter, after the refusall of the Prebendaries, by a Decree made 22 Oct. 1724. This Rule we think proper to be generally observed; but considering that Mr. Hodgshon the present Schoolmaster is a diligent man and lies under great discouragements with respect to his School, the Salary of £10 per annum due from the Exchequer having been stopt for 4 years past, and it is uncertain when or whether ever it will be paid, for his encouragement we do give him the Vicarage of Upton, None of the other Vicars Chorall who may be better qualified in Church Musick being willing to accept it, except Mr. Bird, who was this day presented by the Chapter to a living in Lincolnshire.

A gallant and successful effort was then made to get arrears of the grant from the Exchequer.

On 28 Jan. 1728-9 Whereas there are 4 years arrears due to the Schoolmaster Mr. William Hodgshon, out of H.M.'s Exchequer, Decreed that a Petition be drawn up in Order to be presented to Sir Robert Walpole, Chancellor of the Exchequer which was drawn up accordingly and ordered to be ingrossed and sealed with the seal ad causas and signed by the hands of the prebendaries and is as follows,

To the Right Honble Sir Robt. Walpole Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of H.M.'s most Honble. Privy Councill. The Humble Petition of the Chapter of the collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Southwell in the county of Notts. Humbly sheweth

That the free Grammar School of Southwell being a very ancient foundation was endowed in the reign of King Edward VI with a pension out of his Majesty's Exchequer of £10 per annum, in recompence we believe for severall hardships which we find put upon our church at that time, which pension appears to have been duly paid till 37 Elizabeth when we find a petition in our old Ledger Books from our Chapter to Sir John Fortescue, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, complaining that the said Pension had not been paid for 6 years past and praying that he would be pleased to grant a warrant to the Auditor or Receiver of H.M.'s rents and revenues in the said county of Nottingham, to allow and pay the arrearages of the said pension and to continue the payment of it, upon which we find it was ordered to be paid and was accordingly paid, so far as appears to us, till the year 1724, since which time the School Master tho' he hath often applied to the proper officers hath not been able yet to get it paid We beg leave to represent to your Honour that our present Schoolmaster Mr. William Hodgshon is a deserving man and diligent in his office, that he is obliged to teach all boys that are sent to him belonging to the town of Southwell freely, and that his salary is but small and that without this Royall Bounty very far from being a suitable reward. We therefore presume from this example of our Predecessors to trouble your Honour with our humble petition that out of your regard to piety and

learning you would please to take our case into consideration which we hope will meet with the same favourable acceptance as that of our Predecessors did, and that your honour will give effectually orders for the payment of the said pension, as well as of the arrears due upon it; which will be a great benefit to this church and town and will engage our prayers for your happiness.

The petition was granted, and since that time there have been no further difficulties with the Exchequer payment, it having become insignificant with the fall in the value of money.

25 June 1730. This day Mr. Henry Bugg, clerk, was chose Schoolmaster of the free Grammar School in Southwell in the room of Mr. Hodgshon, deceased; to be admitted when approved and confirmed by the Archbishop as the Statutes direct.

N.B. Mr. Bugg was examined by the Residentiary in the chapter house, and chosen before 2 others who were examined with him.

On 23 July 1730 Bugg having exhibited the instrument of confirmation under the seal of the archbishop was duly admitted in a Latin form and to a vicar choralship at the same time.

Mr. Bugg seems to have been of a combative disposition, quarrelling with the parents, the vicars choral, and the chapter. The first quarrel was with the parents, and the chapter found Bugg in the wrong.

On 21 Oct. 1731 Whereas Richard Lloyd and Talbot Leybourne were upon some misunderstanding between the schoolmaster and their parents taken from the free Grammar school, and Mr. Bugg having refused to take them into the school, and the reasons he offered for it being no way satisfactory to the Chapter; It is hereby ordered that Mr. Bugg shall signifye to the parents of the said children that he is willing to receive the said children again into the School and teach and instruct them as he does other boys and according, Mr. Abson at Mr. Bugg's desire, undertook to deliver a copy of this decree to Mr. Leybourne and Mrs. Lloyd.

The same day it was 'Decreed that the Bill relating to the repairs of the school be paid by the clerk of the fabric.'

The next quarrel was about his vicarial duties.

19 Apr. 1733. There having been some dispute between Mr. Bugg, Schoolmaster and Mr. Cooper, vicar of the parish of Southwell, about reading prayers on certain days. It was agreed between them upon the recommendacion and consent of the Chapter that Mr. Cooper is to read prayers on St. Stephen's, St. John's, Innocent's and Newyear's Day (except any of these days happen on a Sunday, in which case Mr. Bugg is to take one part of the day as usuall and in lieu thereof Mr. Cooper is to read on Epiphany, when it so happens, to make up 4 holy days every year) Mr. Bugg to doe all occasionall offices as Christnings, Churchings, or any other that shall happen at the time of his reading prayers on Sundays in Mr. Cooper's absence.

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Finally Bugg was deprived of his vicarage.

24 July 1735. You Henry Bugg clerk, Vicar Choral of this church, for your notorious breach of the Statutes of this church and for your subsequent contumacy thereupon the Chapter has unanimously decreed you to be legally deprived of your office of Vicar Choral of this Church. And I, Edward Wilson, Canon Residentiary, by the order and in the name of the said chapter doe pronounce you expelled, and the said office of Vicar Choral to be void to all intents and purposes of law as if you were naturally dead.

Mr. Bugg's vicar's place being made void who as Schoolmaster and vicar used to read prayers every Holyday and one part of the day every Sunday pursuant to an injunction of Abp. Sharp; It is decreed that the other remaining vicars be required to take upon them the reading of prayers at such times till further provisions be made.

It would seem, however, that the deprivation was revoked, and that Mr. Bugg afterwards lived at peace, for the Chapter Books reveal no more of him for nearly thirty years, when the next master was admitted on his resignation. An intermittent stream of boys flowed to St. John's, Cambridge, throughout his time, beginning 9 May 1734 with his brother John son of Henry Bugg, husbandman, and including a son, Whaley Bugg, in 1756.

In 1755 St. John's College rebelled against the restriction of the Keton fellowships to Southwell choristers. Thomas Todington, son of a farmer in Leicestershire, bred at Southwell School under Mr. Bugg, was admitted a sizar 'for Mr. Bugg,' the schoolmaster's brother, 12 April 1751. When a Keton fellowship fell vacant in 1755 Thomas Todington became a candidate for it, but the college elected William Craven, a Craven scholar, fourth wrangler, and Chancellor's medalist, afterwards master of the college, in preference, and he was admitted 17 March 1755. Todington therefore appealed to the Bishop of Ely, as visitor, stating that he had 'been for three years a chorister of the church of Southwell and constantly performed choral duty there.' The college said that a statute of the college provided that no scholar should be in any way deformed or mutilated, and that this necessarily applied to fellows also, and Todington was deformed and had been declared ineligible to a fellowship on that account, and that they had reason to believe his learning defective, while his behaviour 'did not incline them to elect him.' The bishop, however, directed them to elect him. The college then moved the King's Bench for a prohibition to the bishop as not being in order. This was refused by Lord Mansfield 26 November 1757, and Todington was admitted in place of Craven 19 March 1757-8. He resided for nearly twenty years, and afterwards held several college livings, and died 27 January 1790.

21 Jan. 1762. Decreed that Davies Pennell clerk B.A. be admitted a Vicar Choral in the colle-

giate church of Southwell. Decreed that the said Davies Pennell be elected Master of the Free Grammar School of Southwell, now void by the resignation of Henry Bugg clerk, and that his licence to the same be sealed at the next chapter.

Next day he was given 'all the Salary due in the Vacancy.' The only incident noted in Pennell's time is a decree, 19 July 1764, 'that the Grammar School scholars have leave to sit in the seat on the south side the choir under the choristers.' After eleven years, on 22 April 1773, 'The Reverend Mr. Pennell desired leave to resign the office of Master of the Free Grammar School of Southwell, which resignation was accepted and Mr. Pennell further desired leave to continue the vicarage of Barnby in the Willows, which he now holds and such leave was granted as far as the Chapter had power so to do.' In 1778 Pennell was master of Newark Grammar School. Pennell's successor at Southwell was Richard Barrow, clerk, who was admitted a vicar choral and master of the free grammar school of Southwell 20 January 1774. It was at the same time 'Decreed that the Expences of Advertizing etc. for a School Master be defrayed by the quarter's salary of the School during the Vacancy and out of the money arising by sale of the wood at Warsop.'

'21 Apr. 1774 Decreed that the Grammar School house be repaired in such necessary manner as the next Residentiary shall direct and that the Expences of such repairs be paid out of the Fabric Account.'

In 1775 the Keton fellowships again proved a bone of contention. William Wood, son of a husbandman of Hockerwood near Southwell, had been a chorister at Southwell for six years, from 1756-62, and had been in the grammar school till he went to St. John's on 16 March 1764, and after taking his degree became parish vicar at Southwell in 1769 and vicar of North Leverton in 1773. In 1775 on the resignation of Todington, the hero of the battle of 1755, he resigned his living and stood for the vacant Keton fellowship. The college preferred Chamber William Abson, B.A. 1774, a much younger man, who was not a Johnian, though his father had been. The father was vicar of Kirtlington, and Abson had been at Southwell school from 1759, at the age of seven, but only became a chorister when he was sixteen years old for a quarter of a year so as colourably to qualify for a Keton fellowship. Wood disputed the validity of the qualification, and the Bishop of Ely decided against Abson, and Wood was admitted fellow 24 October 1775. He seems to have been a litigious, but successfully litigious, person. He became junior bursar and then senior bursar of the college. In 1797 he was turned out on the ground of maladministration and lengthy legal proceedings ensued, which reduced him to bankruptcy. Eventually, however, he took the

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college living of Lawford, Essex, and died in 1821.

In 1784 Barrow resigned, and the grammar school, which was as we saw located in the Booth Chantry Chapel, attached to the second bay of the nave on the south side, was ordered to be pulled down. The school was held for a short time⁸⁸ in the 'Red Prebend' or Oxton altera pars, afterwards the Assembly Room. But on 20 January 1784 it was 'Decreed that Mary Becher should treat with Mr. Lock for the Chantry in order to accommodate a Schoolmaster with a house and school.' The treaty was brought to a successful conclusion, and the school was planted, where it now stands, in the old chantry priests' common house at the west end of the churchyard. William Pinching, clerk, M.A., admitted a vicar choral and master the same day, was at first placed in lodgings, Mrs. Sturtevant being, 19 January 1786, 'paid such reasonable Bill for lodging for Mr. Pinching the Schoolmaster as the Residuary shall think proper to allow out of the Rota fines.'

Pinching's term of office was short, the Rev. Magnus Jackson being appointed probationer vicar choral and grammar schoolmaster in the room of William Pinching resigned, 18 October 1787. He was given, 17 April 1788, 'the seat in the church lately used by Mr. Lock's tenants of the Chantry'; whence we may conclude that he had boarders to accommodate. He soon found the new premises insufficient for the school. It was decreed 21 January 1790 'that Mr. Jackson be paid £14 for Repairs and making an addition to his School room in the Chantry,' and next year, 21 July 1791, a lease of a piece of ground (part of a messuage and garden in Southwell) was granted him for forty years in order to erect and build a schoolroom upon such piece of ground. On 28 July 1794 Mr. Jackson was desired to order the boys of his school not to trespass on the churchyard, but confine their play to Popley's piece.

After twenty years of service Mr. Jackson was, on 20 April 1809, 'permitted to resign the school as soon as a successor can be appointed, and also have leave to reside in the vicar's house now occupied by Mr. S. Becher from and after the 1st day of June next, if it should be more advisable for the new Schoolmaster to occupy the Chantry.' On 20 July 1809 the Rev. Henry Kempson, clerk, M.A., was elected master of the free grammar school at Southwell with permission to occupy the chantry house and premises, and at the same time appointed a probationer vicar choral in the room of Sherard Becher, clerk, licensed to the curacy of Kirklington. Jackson was paid £125 due for surrendering the lease of the chantry 'when the funds of the Chapter are better adapted for the discharge thereof, with lawful interest in the

⁸⁸ H. Livett, *Southwell Minster* (1883), 139.

meantime.' On 18 October 1810 Mr. Kempson had leave for his boarders to sit in the pew No. 1 during the chapter's pleasure at the usual rent. He was allowed the sum of £15 by way of additional salary as schoolmaster to Michaelmas 1810 to be paid out of the Rota Fund, this making his salary £25 a year besides the Crown payment. Two years later 23 January 1812, Mr. Kempson resigned. So low had the school sunk that an advertisement was ordered to be inserted in proper newspapers stating the vacancy and requiring that candidates applying for the same must have taken their first degree at either of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge. A B.A. was elected on 23 April in the person of the Rev. James Foottit. He was made a probationer vicar choral and curate of Kirklington at the same time.

19 October 1815: 'Decreed that the arrangement which for many years has been made between the Parish Vicar and the Schoolmaster (being Vicars choral) by which they perform the duty of this church on Sundays and on Christmas Day alternately, morning and evening, be confirmed by the chapter.' In case of illness the evening lecturer for the day had to perform this duty. On 23 January 1817 ten guineas was voted to Mr. Foottit 'out of the Rota Fund, in part of the repairs of the chantry House occasioned by an accidental fire.' As rector of Briggsley (from 1813) he engaged in a suit for tithes which cost the chapter £178. At an election of a proctor to Convocation on 23 July 1818 he was curate of Halam, and next year, 21 January 1819, became vicar of Upton, which he held with Briggsley. His son James Foottit was admitted 18 January 1811 with a view to a Keton scholarship, the names of the Keton scholars and fellows being asked of St. John's College. He never got one. On 24 January 1822 Foottit resigned Briggsley for the vicarage of Barnby in the Willows.

In 1819 the old chantry house was pulled down and the present unbeautiful structure substituted for it. On 4 November 1819 it was decreed that

the plans submitted at the Chapter for the improvement of the house and premises late under lease to Mr. Lock and Humphrey Bralesford by taking down the Chantry and the School Room now in the occupation of Mr. Foottit; and by rebuilding a House and School room for the School master on the site now exhibited, appear to present an opportunity of realizing important advantages; that the same be carried into effect and that the proposal of Mr Foottit to relinquish all the premises in his occupation except those delineated in the design for a dwelling house, school room and playground, and to contribute towards the expenses thereof the sum of £600, on condition that in case he shall cease to be School master at any time during the next 20 years (reckoned from Lady Day 1820) he shall be repaid the sum of £30 for every year of such term that shall be then unexpired, be accepted.

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In 1825 the old music school also disappeared, being with the vicars' vestry converted into a library, the *rector chori*, who was also organist, being ordered to instruct the choristers in the room adjoining the treasury. A curious order made 24 July 1828 shows how unblushing was the practice of colourable choristership, which had been apparently accompanied by a practice of 'sweating' applied to the wages of the substitute, the chapter finding it necessary to provide that 'every chorister obtaining dispensation from attendance at service shall provide a sufficient substitute and the compensation to be in the same proportion as the stipend allowed by the chapter to such chorister.'

In 1831 Foottit as a vicar choral joined in an attempt to extract from the chapter a proportion of the improved rents of the old common lands of the vicars choral, but the request was peremptorily refused, on the ground that they had been merged in the chapter lands on the refoundation. In 1835 Foottit resigned Upton for Farnsfield Vicarage.

An entry in the Chapter Decree Book of 12 November 1835 shows a quaint survival of mediaeval manners and customs. 'The Rev. Robert Fowler, a vicar choral, did on 13 October in the College School house,' the first use of this term for the old one of Free Grammar School, 'by using violent and intemperate language produce an affray to the great scandal and disgrace of the church and clergy as proved by the testimony of eye witnesses and his own admission.' He was therefore called in and reprimanded by the residentiary, and the reprimand ordered to be entered on the minutes. Unfortunately the *causa belli* is not recorded.

In 1836 the movement began which ended in the abolition of vicars choral, residentiaries, and canons, and in fact of the whole collegiate establishment, and with it the depravation, by the almost total disendowment, of the school.

Foottit soon retired on one of his many vicarages, receiving £100 for the school buildings. He died in 1841. The Rev. Thomas Massey, B.A., was elected master and vicar choral in his place 19 January 1837, and the following year was made perpetual curate of Halloughton. The change of master was signalized by a repeal of the school rules of 24 January 1716, and the making of new ones. The school hours were now made from 7 to 9, 10 to 12 a.m., and 2 to 5 p.m., but in winter 'Sunrise to sunset.' Saints' days were whole holidays except for morning school; and Wednesdays and Saturdays half-holidays from noon. A week was added to the vacation, which now became five weeks at both Midsummer and at Christmas. Fees were imposed of £4 a year for English subjects and writing and arithmetic, and another £4 a year for mathematics. The choristers were now sent to the endowed school at Easthorpe, the master

of it being paid 8s. a quarter for each 'under the general superintendence of the *rector chori*.'

Massey was made rector of Hatcliffe 24 October 1839, on his resignation of the school. Charles Taylor was elected 23 July 1840, and the freedom of the school was finally abolished, 'the Master of the College Grammar School' being now 'authorized to demand any sum not exceeding £2 quarterly, from any boy born in the parish and in consideration instruct them in English, Greek, Latin and reading, writing and arithmetic.' He was also to examine the choristers at Easthorpe School quarterly, but the *rector chori* was still nominally responsible for their supervision and instruction. In consequence of changes made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the parish vicar was no longer to be a vicar choral. It was in consequence provided that whereas morning service on Sundays had hitherto been performed by the parish vicar and schoolmaster alternately, now the parish vicar was always to take the morning service, and the schoolmaster, 'being a minor canon' (that title having now superseded that of vicar choral), the evening or second service and preach at it, receiving £1 a sermon. The chapter now with dissolution imminent bethought them of the elementary education of the town and gave £100 and a site for a National school. Two years later they gave £2 a year out of the Rota Fund for prizes in the school for proficiency in classical and general knowledge, 25s. for the first and 15s. for the second.

Taylor resigned the mastership and vicar choralship on 15 May 1843. William Fletcher was on 7 January 1844 elected 'master of the Free Grammar School,' but there was now no vicar choralship to be added to it, the 'minor canons' being now reduced to two. The chapter on 17 April 1845 instituted, or at least for the first time paid for, an examination of the school by an independent examiner, the master of St. John's, Cambridge, being asked to nominate the examiner, while the archbishop gave £10 for prizes. Fletcher stayed for five years.

The Rev. William Cole succeeded on 1 November 1848. On 4 April 1850 new rules were made for the 'Master and Scholars of the Collegiate School of Southwell.' Morning school underwent a further alleviation, being reduced to an hour, from 7.30 to 8.30 a.m., later school from 10 to 1 and 3 to 5. But Saints' days were curtailed, there being school from 8 to 9 and 11 to 1 and 3 to 5 p.m., while the half-holidays began at 1 instead of 12. Reversion to a practically free school took place, it being ordered that 'Every male person born in the parish of Southwell be instructed pursuant to the Statutes free of expense,' i.e. in classics, but for other subjects he [the master] might charge £12 a year, excepting sons of any former or existing vicar or minor canon of the collegiate body, who were to be

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admitted at £2 10s. a quarter. The restriction of freedom to these classes was quite unhistorical and unstatutory.

Now that the chapter revenues were transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the last members of the chapter developed a generous regard for the endowment of the school, which, though the moral claim was overwhelming, they had not exhibited before. On 4 April 1850 they petitioned the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to increase the ancient salary of £12 to compensate for the loss of the minor canonries and chapter benefices held by former masters as an endowment of their office, and of which they were now deprived by the late Cathedral Acts of Parliament. No response was made. A further blow was struck by 'St. John College in the recent case of Arthur Calvert and in the former one of Maltby, who had been Sunday or Saints' day choristers, having objected to admit them to Keeton fellowships,' and the Bishops of Ely, as visitors, confirmed the objection of the college.

Cole retired from an untenable position. On 14 February 1853 the Rev. Richard Bethell Earle was appointed by George Wilkins, B.A., canon residentiary, and Archdeacon of Nottingham, as the representative of the chapter who were dying out. On 4 June 1854 he was made curate of Edingley. He informed the Cathedral Commission³⁸ that he could not get possession of the schoolhouse because the Ecclesiastical Commission demanded a rent for it, and the late master made a claim for fixtures which the Commissioners would not take. So he had no boarders and only seven day boys. 'Without knowing the intention of the Commissioners, I am,' he says, 'necessarily unable to judge whether it is desirable for me to continue to hold the mastership of the school or to incur the necessary expenses in having it fairly and properly organized.' The Ecclesiastical Commissioners then and since, in their ignorance of the history and law of collegiate churches, regarded themselves as having no duty to the grammar school, though an integral part of the foundation, and instead of restoring to it a proportionate part of the endowment of which it had been robbed, refused to help it at all. The result was that on 26 August 1858 Earle was appointed vicar of Barnby in the Willows on the death of the former master, Charles Taylor. So the school for five years ceased to exist.

In 1857 another blow was struck at Southwell School by the severance of its long connexion, extending over three centuries and a quarter, with St. John's College, Cambridge. By a statute made by the Cambridge University Commissioners 22 May 1857, all local preference for fellowships of the college were swept away, it being provided that 'no preference shall here-

after be given to any fellowship to any person in respect of such person's place of birth, or of his having been a scholar on any foundation in the college . . . or of his having been a chorister in any capitular or collegiate church,' and the same provision was made as to scholarships and exhibitions. The statute, however, only confirmed the extinction of a right which most probably would have been extinguished with the chapter, and was anyhow in fact in abeyance, as only 'colourable' choristers had for many years gone up to the college. The last Keton scholar was the Venerable Brough Maltby, Archdeacon of Nottingham in 1888, but he won an open scholarship, and to his admission a special proviso was attached, that he was 'no way admitted owing to the fact of his having been a chorister,' since his choristership was nominal. When in 1852 he applied for a Keton fellowship he was refused.

On 8 April 1862 the residentiary canon recorded that he had obtained from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the grammar schoolhouse, which they claimed as vested in them, for the future residence of the master, and a sum of money for repairs. The Rev. Charles Peter Inledon was therefore appointed master. Before, however, he could reopen the school at Midsummer 1863, as intended, he 'met with unexpected misfortune,' and left Southwell. The Rev. James Dudley Cargill, B.D., was then nominated 12 January 1864, by George Wilkins, last Canon Residentiary, Vicar General and Canon of Normanston. He had 11 day boys that year, and in 1867 the Schools Inquiry Commission³⁹ found 11 boarders and 21 day boys. While the school was closed a successful private school had been established to take its place, and Mr. Cargill had an uphill fight. The last Canon of Southwell died 11 February 1873, and later in the year Mr. Cargill resigned the mastership.

The inhabitants of Southwell then petitioned the Bishop of Lincoln, to whose diocese Nottinghamshire had been transferred, to preserve the school. On ascertaining that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would recognize his appointment and pay 'the ancient salary,' he appointed the Rev. A. C. Whitley. After four years, during which the school did not rise above 13 boys, Whitley left. The bishop then persuaded Mr. John Wright, who had a private school of some 30 boys, to move to the grammar school, and purported to appoint him master. In 1888, when the Charity Commissioners took the case up with a view to a scheme, there were 45 boys in the school, of whom 19 were boarders. In spite of the demonstration of the history of the school and its relation with the collegiate church,⁴⁰ the

³⁸ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xvi, 427.

⁴⁰ The report was made by the present writer as Assistant Commissioner.

³⁹ *Rep.* 1854, App. 754.

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Ecclesiastical Commissioners refused a grant for the school under section 27 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, which gave them power, and practically directed them to give grants to a school forming part of the foundation of any cathedral or collegiate church. So the scheme was not proceeded with. In 1897 the Rev. Joseph Souden Wright, who had long acted as master, succeeded his father in the mastership. He won a leaving exhibition from Cowley's School, Donnington, and was a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

At length, after the establishment of a quasi-collegiate church with a chapter of honorary and unpaid canons, the present writer had the satisfaction as an Examiner of the Board of Education of completing the scheme which had been begun nearly twenty years before. It was sealed by the Board under the Charitable Trusts Acts 22 December 1902. The scheme created a governing body of thirteen persons, the Bishop of Southwell and the rector *ex officio*, two appointed by the honorary canons, two each by the councils of the parish and rural district of Southwell and the county of Nottingham, one each by the governing bodies of Nottingham University College and of Trinity and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge. The tuition fees to be charged are fixed at from £6 to £12 a year, and boarding fees at £50 a year. The school now contains some 50 boys, of whom about half are boarders. Alas! the whole endowment which this august body has to manage amounts to £47 4s. a year: consisting of the commuted Crown payment, reduced by the deduction of fees before commutation, and the reduction in the interest of consols since, to £7 4s. a year, and £40 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, made up of the old payment of £2 from the Canon of Normanton as Chancellor, £12 from the chapter revenues, £20 the augmented payment of the song schoolmaster, £2 a year given for prizes in the grammar school, and £2 for general purposes of the song school. If the school had its due proportion of the revenues of the church, according to ancient payments, it is certain that not less than ten, and probably not less than thirty, times that sum should be payable. Another £60 a year is payable to the school so long as the choristers are educated in it. At the next shuffle of ecclesiastical revenues perhaps the rights of this immemorial institution to a proper share of the revenues of the collegiate church may receive as much recognition as some vicarage of yesterday.

THE MAGNUS GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWARK

Newark Grammar School was supposed to date, and to be early at that, from the gift of the endowment it still enjoys made by Archdeacon Magnus in 1530-1, until it was shown, from the

records of Southwell Minster, that it existed some 300 years before that at least, being the subject of a dispute terminated by arbitration in 1238. Further, it was shown to have been frequented by two nephews or other relations of an Archbishop of York a century later, while a presentation to its mastership in 1485 was also extant.¹ Since then more gaps in its history have been filled up by the researches of Mr. Cornelius Brown among the Newark Town Records, and the results published in his *History of Newark*, which appeared at the end of 1907, a few weeks after the author died.

The first mention of the school certainly shows that it was no new foundation, but one which may have existed for a century or more. Inserted in the White Book of Southwell Minster for the sake of preserving on record a settlement by the highest judicial authority in the Church—the pope—affecting one of the chief rights and duties of the Chapter of Southwell, is a 'Letter on the right of presentation of the school of Newark' ('Littera de jure presentacionis scholarum de Newerke').

It is so important a document in the history not only of Newark School and Southwell Minster, but of schools in general, that it must be given in full:—

Know all sons of holy mother church to whose notice the present letters shall come that when a suit had been brought by the authority of the Lord Pope between Stephen, cardinal priest by the title of Saint Mary Trastevere (*trans Tiberim*), canon of Southwell (Suwell), of the one part, and the Prior and convent of the canons of S. Katharine, of the other, as to the collation of the school of Newark, at length the said suit was settled between² the Lord Abbot of La Roche (*de Rupe*), proctor of the same Cardinal in England, with the consent of the chapter of Southwell, by a friendly agreement in this manner:

In the year, to wit, of the incarnation of the Lord 1238, viz., that the said Prior and Convent shall in chapter at Southwell present a clerk for the rectorship of the school aforesaid fit to instruct boys in the art of grammar to the canon, or to the keeper of the said prebend for the time being, if the canon shall not be present, as often as it may happen to be vacant, which clerk shall be admitted by the canon or keeper of the said prebend without any difficulty; and the same clerk shall swear canonical obedience to the canon of the said prebend and to the chapter.

But if the said clerk shall offend in anything against the liberties of the church of Southwell or of the said prebend, if he remain incorrigible, and the said Prior and Convent shall be negligent in punishing him for any his excesses which require correction, he shall, after receiving a mandate in that behalf from the

¹ A. F. Leach, *Memorials of Southwell Minster* (Camd. Soc.), xli, xlii, 52.

² Sic. It is probably one of the sins of the document referred to in the note attached to it that it is not stated who was the representative of the other side between whom and the abbot the compromise was effected.

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canon of the prebend or the chapter aforesaid, be removed by the same Prior and Convent, and another presented by them in his place shall be admitted.

That this grant may have the strength of perpetual endurance the Chapter of Southwell and the aforesaid Prior and Convent have put their authentic seals on one side and the other to this writing.

Written in the margin is the note already partly quoted *apropos* of Southwell School.

Because the collations of grammar schools throughout the whole archdeaconry of Nottingham belong solely and wholly to the prebendary of Normanton in the collegiate church of Southwell, as chancellor in the same church, and although some pretended agreement as to the collation of the grammar school of the town of Newark may have been made, yet it can be of no authority, as appears from its tenor, because it sins in several respects.

This is a remarkable document, and the note is even more important than the document. It sounds strange that an Italian bishop, the pope, should have to interfere in a contest between the chapter of Southwell and the convent of St. Katharine, and that a canon of Southwell should be an absentee Italian priest and a cardinal, who should be represented in a dispute as to the rights of the chapter, not by the chapter, but by a monastic abbot. It sounds stranger still that a monastery at Lincoln—for such St. Katharine's was—should claim and effectively maintain a right to appoint the master of Newark Grammar School.

The claim of the convent of St. Katharine's of Lincoln to appoint the grammar schoolmaster arose from their being the rectors of the church of Newark, which had been appropriated to them. Newark had belonged to Godiva of Coventry fame, who, according to a spurious charter in the Eynsham chartulary, *circa* 1055, granted it to the church of St. Mary of Stow. This church has been talked of as if founded as a monastery—a convent of monks. But it was not. It was founded as a collegiate church of secular canons.

Stow was in Lincolnshire, and the minster there seems to have occupied the same sort of position in regard to the Mercian bishop of Dorchester that Southwell Minster did to the Northumbrian Archbishop of York. For a Saxon charter, which reads as if it was authentic, begins :—

Here is shown in what manner was had that agreement between Wulwi [otherwise Wulwig] the bishop and Leofric the earl and Godgifu wife of the earl made concerning the minster³ of Saint Mary at Stow. They established priests there and wished to have altogether the same service there as is had at St. Paul's in London . . . and let this bishop have for his table all those things which Bishops Ætheric and Ædnoth had before him of those things which by

right belong to the bishopric ; namely, two parts of all things which belong to the minster, and let the priests have the third part, two festivals excepted . . . the lands which the bishop and earl and Godgifu and pious men shall have given it shall always be annexed to that holy place for the brethren and the repairs of the minster.

It is this last word which has been mistranslated 'monastery,' and so an entirely different complexion has been given to the foundation and its history, and the inhabitants of Stow have been called monks. But in the foundation charter of Exeter Cathedral by Edward the Confessor,⁴ the life of secular canons is spoken of as the 'minster life.' The distinct statement that it was for priests and the reference to St. Paul's, London, as the model, shows that Stow was a college of secular canons, not a convent of regular monks, just as Warwick collegiate church⁵ was to be on the model of St. Paul's and Salisbury.

Remigius apparently turned Stow into a monastery, and his successor, Robert Bloet, transferred it to Eynsham near Oxford, where he endowed the monks with other lands, and so regained sole possession of Newark to his own use. But while Bloet's successor, Bishop Alexander, made Newark his principal place of residence and built the castle, the next bishop, Robert of Chesney, who founded or assisted Gilbert of Sempringham in founding one of his bi-sexual houses of Gilbertine canons and canonesses at St. Katharine's, just outside the city of Lincoln, gave the church of Newark to the newly-created prior and convent about the year 1148. Gilbert himself was much interested in education ; indeed, he had started and kept a school for boys and girls before he founded his order for men and women. Hence, no doubt, when the chancellorship of Southwell had fallen into alien and distant hands, it vexed the soul of the prior of St. Katharine's that there was delay or neglect in the appointment of a schoolmaster at Newark. Moreover, the gift of the church not unfrequently carried with it the gift of the school, as we saw in the cases of Warwick, Thetford, and Gloucester elsewhere, schools being essentially ecclesiastical institutions, and the superior of the principal church being *prima facie* the governor of the school. The alien chancellor was content with the acknowledgement of the authority of the chapter implied in the requirement that the prior and convent should present the schoolmaster they nominated to the chapter. But the marginal note, probably written by a later chancellor, part of whose duty it was to compose charters and chartularies, shows that the chapter had repudiated the agreement of 1238 before the compilation of the *Liber Albus* in the 14th century, and, as we shall see, had recovered, if they had ever in fact abandoned, the right of

³ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, i, 17.

⁴ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv, 118, no. 791.

⁵ *V.C.H. Warw.* ii, 300.

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patronage of the school, which, without express episcopal and papal authority, it is certain they could not effectively transfer to anyone else.

The next item of information we have as to Newark School is 100 years later, and shows it as the school selected by Archbishop William Melton for some of his young relations. In his accounts occurs the item: 'To Simon, master of the school at Newark, for the expenses of our kinsmen (*consanguineorum*) William and Thomas of Melton and their tutor, as long as they are there, 2s. 5d. a week.' This sum is made up, probably, by 8d. a week for each of the boys and 1s. 1d. for the tutor, since at Winchester and Eton we find 8d. a week the sum allowed for the boys' commons, and 1s. a week for those of the fellows and masters. The disturbed state of the North, due to the war against Scotland, no doubt accounts for the archbishop, though an East Riding man, sending his cousins, nephews, or perhaps sons, to a school under the shelter of Newark Castle rather than to Beverley or even Southwell.

The schoolmaster, Simon, to whom the boys were sent was Simon of Botelesford (Bottesford), clerk. For next year, 1334, among the corporation records is a deed which witnesses that John son of Henry Cotington granted to Symon of Botelesford, schoolmaster (*rectori scholarum*) of Newark, a message in Frere (Friar) Lane near a message of the prior of St. Katharine outside Lincoln,⁶ while some eleven years later, on St. Gregory's Day 1345, Thomas son of Sir Richard of Byngam, kt., appointed⁷ Master Simon of Botelesford, schoolmaster (*magistrum scholarum*) of Newark, his attorney to receive rents for him in the Peak. As early as 1325 he occurs, probably as a trustee, in a grant⁸ by William son of John son of Peter to John son of John son of Peter, chaplain, and Simon of Botelesford, clerk, of four messuages in Newark. He acquired property on his own account. On 17 June 1334⁹ Gilbert Girdeler granted him a rent of 2s. out of a house in Northgate, and William of Barnby another rent of 6d. out of a house in Barnbigate (Barnbygate). On 25 April 1334¹⁰ Robert Stuffyn had granted him a rent of 13s. 4d. from a house in Baldertongate next to Gild Lane. This rent was by deed of 25 March the year following,¹¹ 1335, under licence in mortmain 20 March 1334,¹² granted by Simon to John of Bynington, chaplain, warden (*custodi*) of the Trinity altar, who celebrated for the brethren of the Trinity gild, and especially for Robert Stuffyn,

his wife Alice and their children, and the soul of Richard Stuffyn. On 24 August Simon further granted to the same chaplain celebrating for the fraternity of the Trinity and St. Peter, and especially for the king and queen, Queen Isabella, Archbishop William of Melton and others named, eight messuages worth 40s. a year and 20s. rent. The chaplain was to be presented by the provost of the gild, or, in default, by the five other chantry priests of the church. This was not, as Mr. Brown says, the foundation of a chantry, but the augmentation of an existing one; as is shown by the property being valued in 1535¹³ at £4 18s. 4d., whereas the grant by Simon of Bottesford was only £3 13s. 4d. It would appear that school-mastering was a gainful profession at Newark in the reign of Edward III, when its master could thus afford to endow a chantry priest in his own lifetime. The papal sanction to it was given in 1341. When Simon died we do not know.

That Newark School maintained its reputation is evidenced by a safe-conduct granted by the king on 26 July 1380 to—

Brother Hugh Maigne, monk of the order of St. Benedict, of Paslowe in Scotland, who has supplicated us that, inasmuch as he has stayed at Newark for a long time in order to study there, and purposes to stay longer, we will be so good as to graciously provide for his security. We, therefore, wishing to accede to his request, have taken the aforesaid Hugh and all his goods into our safe and secure conduct and into our especial protection and defence, while for his aforesaid study at the aforesaid town of Newark sojourning there and going thence to the aforesaid parts of Scotland, in order to seek his expenses and transact other business there, and returning thence within our Kingdom of England to the aforesaid town of Newark. . . . To last for one year.¹⁴

It is sufficiently amazing to find a monk thus journeying backwards and forwards from Scotland to Newark for his studies. The document almost looks as if Newark, like Stamford, had developed a kind of university. This would account for the resort to Newark. Mr. Brown points out that Maigne is probably the same name as Magnus, which suggests that this 14th-century monk may have been a Newark man, and of the family which afterwards produced the 15th and 16th-century Archdeacon Magnus, the later endower and hitherto reputed founder of the school. But it seems that there are no other traces of the name at Newark before the archdeacon's time.

The next mention of the school is in a deed of 6 December 1418, by which a house in Carter Lane¹⁵ granted by Roger of the 'chaumbre' is

⁶ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 175.

⁷ *Ibid.* from B.M. Wolley Chart. ii, 25.

⁸ *Ibid.* op. cit. i, 111.

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 134.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i, 216. A facsimile of the deed is given.

¹¹ *Ibid.* i, 218. A facsimile.

¹² 8 Edw. III, and therefore not, as in *Hist. Newark*, 1336, but 1334. The licence of course preceded the grant.

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 190.

¹⁴ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, 26.

¹⁵ By an unfortunate oversight, with all the wealth of illustrations in Brown's *Hist. of Newark*, there is no plan of the town either ancient or modern.

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described as next to a message of Stephen Moys, *magister scholarum*, of Newark. He had probably been master for some years, as Stephen Moys, clerk, appears with other trustees of a message in Newark in a fine in 1405-6.¹⁶ In the accounts¹⁶ of the bailiff of Northgate, 1434-5,¹⁷ Agnes Genne (?) paid 4*d.* for a piece of land to enlarge her garden in Northgate, 'late in the tenure of Stephen Moys.' In a rental¹⁸ of the tenants of the Bishop of Lincoln in Newark, said to be of the reign of Edward IV, Richard Doggettes pays 6*d.* for a tenement (in Northgate) late of Master Stephen, rector of the school, and Richard Melborn pays 12½*d.* for a tenement late of Master Stephen of the school. The town account of 1434-5 mentions 'a tenement in Scolane in Northgate late of Alice daughter of Margaret.'¹⁹ The school was therefore originally, not in the place in which it now is, in Appleton Gate on the south-east side of the church, but on the north side of the church. Stephen Moys, master *circa* 1405 to 1435, was probably succeeded immediately by Nicholas Bellerby, who in 1485 is recorded as having resigned.

The Southwell Minster Chapter Act Book furnishes the next reference to the school, and shows us the prebendary of Normanton as chancellor of the minster, and not the prior of St. Katharine's, exercising the right of patronage over it. On 5 May 1485²⁰ 'Sir Robert Harcourt was sworn, &c. and admitted to the grammar school of Newark, vacant by the free resignation of Nicholas Bellerby, last teacher of the same school, on the presentation of our beloved brother Master John Danvers, prebendary of Normanton, as heretofore has been accustomed to be done.' Who Bellerby the last master was does not appear. Harcourt had in 1484 been admitted one of two chantry priests of the gild of St. Mary at the altar of the Virgin and All Saints. This was one of the numerous chantries in the parish church and was expressly founded in 1367 because 'the vicar,' who was a Gilbertine canon, 'and the parish priest were not sufficient to serve the cure.' He was also probably the Robert Harecowirte or Harcourte to whom by will of 21 March 1465-6 William Boston, chaplain, gave 3*s.* 4*d.* Harcourt was also a witness to the will. He had witnessed also the will of Juliana Hardyng, 12 November 1465; of John Williamson, 4 March

1465-6; and John Smyth, chaplain at St. Nicholas altar, 6 June 1467; a frequency of which witnessing which suggests that like many other schoolmasters of the date he was an ecclesiastical lawyer and drew the wills. He ceased to be chantry priest in 1488, though whether he then died does not appear.

It is possible that the grammar school was connected with or supported by St. Mary's gild. For when William Pygg, who became cantarist of the second chantry of the gild in 1470, made his will²¹ 14 February 1498-9, proved 28 May 1500, he gave to the chapel of All Saints his 'Marrow of Grammar' (*medulla gramatice*), and to the schoolmaster (*magistro scholarum*) a chair (*cathedram*, the technical word for a master's chair) for a writer (*pro scriptore*).

No further mention of the school is forthcoming for some forty years, when Thomas Magnus gave the munificent though much misappropriated endowment, now called Magnus' Charity, to the school.

Thomas Magnus was, like so many other school and college founders from Walter of Merton downwards, one of the successful king's clerks or civil servants of the day, who were paid and rewarded for their services to the State by ecclesiastical preferments in the Church. The usual tale is told of him as of other founders—as of Archbishops Chicheley and Rotherham, Sir Thomas Gresham and the like—that he was a pauper foundling. In this case, whether by way of a joke or seriously it is hard to tell, a stupid derivation is given of the name 'Magnus' in Camden,²² and copied thence by Anthony Wood.²³ Some clothiers found him, 'an exposed child left by his mother (nobody knows who) in the parish church of Newark,' and being adopted and brought up by them—'among us'—he became known as 'Tom Amangus,' whence 'Magnus.' Whether the name 'Magnus' is latinized from the French Maigne or Maine, or the Danish saint Magnus, or whether it is a translation of Large, as Melancthon was of Schwarzerd, we can but unprofitably guess. Thomas Magnus was not, as Wood seems to have supposed, a foreigner. He was an Englishman born and a native of Newark, having, as he informs us in his will,²⁴ 5 March 1549-50, 'received the holie sacrament of baptism within the parishe church of Newarke-uponne-Trent,' in which he accordingly desired to be buried 'in the Trinitie yle.' He was born in the year 1460. At least the Chantry Certificate of 1546²⁵ informs us that he was then eighty-six years old, and already in 1537 he is mentioned

¹⁶ Brown, *op. cit.* i, 177.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 155, from P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 954-8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* i, 160, 163, from P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. no. 538.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 155.

²⁰ Leach, *Mem. of Southwell Minster*, 52: 'Dominus Robertus Harcourt erat admissus ad scolas gramaticales de Newark ad presentacionem . . . prebendarii de Normanton, prout perantea fieri consuevit, juratus, &c. per resignacionem liberam Nicholai Bellerby, ultimi preceptoris earumdem scholarum vacantes,' &c.

²¹ Brown, *op. cit.* i, 356.

²² *Remains*, 146.

²³ *Fast. Oxon.* 29.

²⁴ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 210; from Reg. Arch. Holgate, fol. 95 d.

²⁵ (Chant. Cert. 631) *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (ed. W. Page, Surt. Soc. 1895), ii, 428.

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as a 'good old man, less able every day.' He was no doubt educated at Newark Grammar School under Mr. Nicholas Bellerby. He owed a large part of his promotion in life to Richard Savage, Archbishop of York, 1501-7; for in his will Magnus desired that if he died at or near York he might be buried in the cathedral there, 'as nighe as conveyentlie maye be to the tombe of my lord Savage, who was my singular good lorde and maister.' He first comes to light as rector of South Collingham in Nottinghamshire, a living in the gift of the Abbot of Peterborough, on 16 November 1498. On 25 May 1544²⁶ Magnus is mentioned by the Archbishop of York in some statutes made by him for Ripon Minster, which were read before him by 'Master Thomas Magnus our secretary (*secretarium*).' In June 1504 he was made by Archbishop Savage archdeacon of the East Riding, the highest ecclesiastical promotion which he attained, which gave him the title by which he was generally known. His accumulation of other preferments was considerable. In 1504 he was made sacristan or head of the collegiate church of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, 'commonly called Sepulchre chapel,' a sort of archiepiscopal mortuary chapel, which stood near the archbishop's palace against the north side of the nave of York Minster. The sacristanship was worth £14 17s. 6½d. in 1535, plus whatever savings arose out of the absences of the twelve prebendaries, who got 3d. a day for attendance at mattins, mass, and vespers, the total amounting to £43 5s. in 1546. At the accession of Henry VIII Magnus entered the royal service, and was made a royal chaplain. He was employed for many years on business in the north of England and embassies to Scotland, and as adviser of Queen Margaret of Scotland, the king's sister. He became a member of the Privy Council. On 14 August 1517 he was made dean of the collegiate church of Bridgnorth Castle, which brought him in £40 a year. In 1519 he was given a canonry in the collegiate church of Llandewi Brefi with the living of Llanbadarn, Cardigan, worth £6 a year. In 1520 he was made a canon of Windsor, receiving £51 1s. 10d. a year in 1535; in 1521 canon of Lincoln with the prebend of North Kelsey, exchanged next year for that of Corringham, worth £38 16s. 6d. a year. He also became master of Bootham, or the Horse Fair Hospital, for aged clerics, just outside the walls of York, which was suppressed by Cardinal Pole, its endowment being transferred to and still forming the endowment of St. Peter's School, York, the cathedral grammar school. It added to his income £11 a year. Magnus was also master of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, which brought him in some £362 a year (£4,000 of our money). This hospital spent £30 a year in maintenance of '12 choristers and clerks, there

dwelling for their instruction both in song and in grammar (tam in cantu quam in scientia grammaticali), as well in eatables as drinkables and in clothing and other necessaries'; an institution which may have suggested Magnus's own song school. Besides this he was rector²⁷ of Kirkby in Cleveland (£20), of Bedale (£89 4s. 8d.) and of Sessay (£17),²⁸ all in Yorkshire, 'of Meifod Pool and Guilsfield, in deanery of St. Asaph,'^{29a} and vicar of Kendal (which was appropriated to St. Mary's Abbey, York), £92 5s.; and he did not despise the chapel of Whipstode, Hampshire,²⁹ with its poor little income of £3 6s. 8d. In Nottinghamshire itself he only held one promotion, the wardenship of Sibthorpe College, which brought in clear £25 18s. 8d. No wonder he was rich enough to hire from Eton College in 1530,³⁰ in what is now St. James's Palace, the 'great house' or 'mansion house' of St. James's Hospital, which had been annexed to Eton chiefly to provide the provost with a town house. Magnus grumbled in 1530³¹ that he had to give up St. James's for the season and reside at Sibthorpe because the King's laws being so strait he must reside in one of his benefices. When Wolsey wanted to stay there, after his fall, on his way north, Magnus pleaded that it was 'unmeet,' unless he were there to receive him; being too small even for his own retinue. His total income from ecclesiastical preferments was some £743 13s. 6d. in 1535, and is estimated³² at £615 13s. 9d. in 1546, when he had resigned some of them. The former sum was nearly two-thirds of the whole income of Eton, and more than two-thirds of the whole income of Winchester College, by far the richest school foundations of the kingdom. It is equivalent to at least £14,800 a year of our money and relatively is worth a great deal more. This was besides his secular pay as ambassador and member of the Privy Council, member of the Court of Wards, &c., which amounted to at least another £300 a year. In fact, he must have been one of the richest men of the day below the rank of a bishop. It is therefore not surprising that with the examples of Colet and Wolsey, and a host of others before him, he complied with the almost binding custom of the day, and like them endowed and made free of fees the grammar school of his native place. It was apparently during his enforced residence in the college of Sibthorpe (which Magnus afterwards surrendered to the Crown 17 April 1545³³ and bought back as joint purchaser with Richard Whalley, 'esquire

²⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 89.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 98.

^{29a} *L. and P. Henry VIII*, xx (1), g. 846 (93).

²⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 21.

³⁰ Eton Coll. Audit R. under date.

³¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 6341, quoted by Brown.

³² *York. Chant.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 428.

³³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), 534.

²⁶ *Mem. Ripon* (Surt. Soc. 1901), iv, 281.

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of the body,' on 17 July following³⁴ for £197 6s. 7½d., he taking an estate for life with reversion to Whalley) that he first took steps towards the endowment of the school. On 11 December 1529 he had acquired what was by far his richest preferment, the mastership of St. Leonard's, the cathedral hospital at York. On 4 January 1529-30 three persons, doubtless his representatives, agreed³⁵ to buy from Ursula Benett, formerly wife of Charles Pilkington, and Robert Pilkington, son and heir of Charles Pilkington, a messuage and an acre of pasture land, formerly two messuages, then called the Porch House, on the east side of Appleton (Appulton) Gate, and next to the chantry house, for £7 10s. This is the site of the present schoolhouse. The conjecture that because it was called the Porch House, and schools were sometimes held in church porches, this was the old grammar schoolhouse, is quite untenable. The old school was, as we saw, in Northgate, on the other side of the church. On 15 March 1529-30 Ursula Benett and her then husband and Robert Pilkington conveyed this and apparently another house next door to Master Thomas Magnus, warden (*gardiano*) of the church of Sibthorpe, and Robert Browne, founder of Browne's Charity, and eight others, to the use of Magnus. On 20 June and 5 December 1530 and 24 February 1530-1, Magnus conveyed the lands intended for the endowment to William Hoolgill, clerk, Edmund Molyneux, gentleman, and twenty-one others, to hold to the use of Magnus and to perform his last will thereof declared. The first deed comprised 160 acres of land at Sandwith, Cumberland, half the manor of Harwell and 1,050 acres of land and twenty-one houses and three cottages at Harwell and Everton, Nottinghamshire; with 340 acres, two houses and six cottages in Folkingham, Walcot, and Aslackby in Lincolnshire, which last lands the corporation in 1733 disclaimed ever having had. The second deed comprised three houses, two cottages, and 300 acres of land at Mattersey, Barnby, and Ranby, Nottinghamshire. The third deed conveyed the two messuages, two gardens, and one acre of pasture in Newark. The deed by which Thomas Magnus declared the uses of the endowment was made between the founder, 'Archdeacon of Estriding in the cathedral church of Yorke on that one partie and William Hoolgyle, clerk, and Edmonde Molyneux, gentyelman, on that other partye.' William Hoolgyll, or Holgill, was, seemingly, like Magnus himself, a Newark boy who had thriven in the service of the State and been rewarded with ecclesiastical preferments. He first appears as chaplain and executor of Roger Layburn, Bishop of Carlisle, in his will 17 July

1504.³⁶ He was now master of the Savoy Hospital, London, founded by Henry VII and his executors, joint rector with Magnus of Otley,³⁷ in Yorkshire, and rector of Guiseley.³⁸ He was the principal executor of the will of another Newark benefactor, Robert Browne, made a few months later, 4 September 1532. Edmond Molyneux seems also to have been a Newark boy, a barrister, who was in 1541 a serjeant-at-law and became Sir Edmond, and in 1550 a judge of the Common Pleas. A William Molyneux of Hawton, gent., who was one of the feoffees of Robert Browne's lands, was his nephew.³⁹ From the latter's will it appears that the Molyneux were a branch of the Lancashire family of the name now represented by the Earl of Sefton.

The deed of settlement was perhaps executed in 1532, instead of the foundation being postponed to his last will, in order, as suggested by the anonymous author of *An Account of the Donations to the Parish of Newark* in 1748,⁴⁰ to anticipate the Act against Superstitious Uses, passed 1 March 1532. It is one of the most elaborate of school foundation deeds we have, its provisions being complicated by the desire to avoid the Statute of Mortmain and to provide for apprehended changes of circumstance.

The original deed does not seem to be extant, but a contemporary office copy, in a leather binding, with copies of the conveyances of the property, evidently made at the time to serve as a perpetual memorandum, is among the town muniments.

This indenture is dated 21 February, 23 Henry VIII, i.e. 1531-2.

In this document, after reciting that the whole net value of the lands was £42 8s. 4d., Magnus 'covenanteth, agreeth and graunteth' and the feoffees 'agre and graunt to and with' Magnus 'in manner and forme underwritten':

That ys to saye, £18 parcell of the Yssues, Revenues, and Profitts of the saide Landys, Tenements and Heredytaments shall yerely be payde and ymployde to and for the Exhibition and fyndyng of two seculer honest Prests, wherof the one Prest shall have sufficient Connyng and Lernyng to teche Gramer, and the other Prest, Connyng and Lernyng to teche playne Song, pryke Song, descant and to play at the Organs; and the said two Prests frely shall teche and instruct all persons and chyl dren that wyll at Newarke aforsaid come to Scoole with theym, and shall be dysposed to lerne Gramer, pryke Song, playne Song or descant. That ys to say, the one of the same Prests to teche gramer and the other playne Song, pryk

³⁶ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iv, 263.

³⁷ W. Page, *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 395.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 411.

³⁹ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), vi, 141-2.

⁴⁰ Reprinted by T. F. A. Burnaby, town clerk, for the trustees, Newark, 1855.

³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), g. 1335 (46).

³⁵ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 185.

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Song and descant. And that the same Prests or either of theym, shall not have, nor take, or require to have, or take for his or theyr techyng any thyng, oneless yt be frely and liberally gyven unto theym by the Frendys of the Scolers, or by the same Scoolers, by way of Rewarde, without any former Covenant or Promyse, except yt be for teching to play at the Organs.

In other words, there was to be a free grammar school and a free song school. Of the £18 the grammar schoolmaster was to have £10 a year and the song schoolmaster £8. 'Which two prests shalbe at Newarke aforesaide contynually abydyng there to teche childer and scolers.' The 'continual abiding' was however to be tempered by both holy days and holidays. 'And that the saide two Prests and either of theym, for mayntenynge of dyvnye service, shalbe every Sunday, festyvall Daye and other Holyday, in the whiche worldly Occupation ys prohibited to be usyd, in the Parishe Church of Newarke aforesaide, at Evensong, Matens, Messe and Processyon, . . . and there to helpe to the Celebracion of the Solempne dyvnye Service.' They were also daily to pray for the souls of Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth, Henry VIII, the queen's grace (i.e. Katherine Howard), and my lord prince (Edward VI), Magnus himself, John and Alice Magnus, his father and mother, his three sisters, 'and for all his other benefactours, famylers and for the estate of the inhabitantys,' and of the feoffees, present and future. So much for the holy days. As for holidays: 'And forsomuche as yt ys tedyous and grevous for the saide two Prests, for the tyme beyng, contynually to remaine and tary at Newark, as ys aforesaid, without some convenyent tyme for solace and recreation to be had to theym, and for other theyr necessary and nedefull Busynes; the said Thomas Magnus covenanteth and graunteth by thys Presents, that the said two Prests, and eyther of theym, shall have yerely 30 daies for their Recreation and to do their Busyness.'

The reforming view then coming into the ascendant that it was not necessary that schoolmasters should be parsons then finds expression,

And yf yt shall or may soe happen or chauce hereafter, upon any resonable consideration, as the Case and Tyme shall requyre, that yt shal be thought moore convenyent and rather [easier], to make and ordeyne two temporall and Lay-men School-maisters of the said Scooles, or aither of theym, then two Prests: the said Thomas Magnus covenanteth, agreeth, and graunteth, that like Order be taken with theym, and to the same temporall or laye-men, or oone of theym, as afore is mencyoned, for the saide Prests, and either of theym. Always provyded that if Prests can or may be had, doyng their dutie, as ys abovesaide, that they be suffered to have the Use, Occupation and exercysyng of the said two Roomes, devysed for the said two Scoolemaisters, before any temporall or laye Persones.

The 'said two roomes' does not of course mean the schoolrooms, but the rooms or offices of schoolmaster. The difference between the scholars attending the two schools is plainly marked. There were to be

sex Chylder chosen apte and mete to lerne to syng, and they to be taught by the said Maister of the Song Scoole their playn Song, pryk Song, descant and to play the organs. So that their Maister and the sex childer, every Sondag and other Festyvall or Holyday, be present and do mayntayn dyvnye service in the high querre of the Church of Newark aforesaid with syngyng and playing at the Organs. And the same Childer syx dayes in every wooke, that ys to saye, every Sondag, Monday, Tuesday, Wennesday, Thursday and Saterdag, shall kepe our Ladyes Masse at the Alter dedycate in the Honour of our Lady in the said Church of Newarke; and every Fryday Masse of Jhesus in the Place accustomed there. And that the said Masses and every of theym shalbe solelymply song with Note and Organs

except on Tuesday in Whitsun week and the Wednesday to Saturday after Palm Sunday.

Moreover the Song Schoolmaster and the 6 children were to

nyghtly kepe our Ladyes antyme [anthem] . . . in the place accustomed; and forthwith . . . another antempne of Jhesus . . . afore the roode in the bodye of the church (i.e. the nave); the same Schoolmaister and chylder knelyng in the manner and forme as . . . hath and ys usyd before the Roode of the North Dore in . . . Seynt Paule in London and in the college of Wyndesore, with lyke prostracions and devout maner.

On the other hand the grammar schoolmaster and his scholars were only bound to attend church on one week day, Friday, and on saints days.

And that every Frydaye the said Gramer Scoole maister and his Scoolers, two and two together, shall come to Jhesus Masse in the Parishe Church of Newarke aforesaid and ther to be exercysyd in Prayers, Contemplacyons, Redyng upon Bookes, or otherwyse vertuously occupied as the Tyme and Place requyryth. And also the same Maister and Scoolers of the said Gramer Scoole every holy daye shall kepe, and be present at Processyons and helpe in the said querre to mayntayne dyvnye Service as they convenyently canne and may.

Even the little ones attended at a side chapel of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of schoolboys and the original of the boy-bishop. 'And that the said maisters shall see that suche childer as cannot well syng and rede nor be convenyent to come into the Querre doe say their matens and evensong two and two of theym together, and after the same doon, otherwyse to be vertuously occupied, and to contynue and be every hooly-day in the chapell called Seynt Nicholas chapell or Seynt Nicholas quere.'

The six song-school children were to receive each £1 6s. 8d. a year 'towardys their mete

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drynke and clothyng,' part of it for cloth for a gown 'to be made not after the facyon of choristers or collegyanes but after chapel facyon'; which appears to mean that they were not to be clothed like the scholars or choristers of e.g. Winchester and Eton, in long gowns reaching to the ankles, but like the children of the Chapel Royal. Unlike Winchester and Eton boys too they were 'to have theire heere of theire hedes long and not polled, honestly and clene kept by the oversight of the maister of the said Song Scoole.' The six children were to enjoy 'the said poore rewarde' of 26s. 8d. 'soe long as they doe sing in their chyldys brastys and abide with their saide maister . . . and not after nor longger.' They were therefore boarders in the song-schoolmaster's house.

Most complicated are the provisions about the governing body. What was perhaps the most important function of a governing body—more so even than their primary duty of managing the property—the appointment of the two schoolmasters, was not given to the feoffees, but was broken up and distributed among several authorities. The masters were to be appointed by the vicar and the aldermen of the four gilds, Trinity, Corpus Christi, Our Lady, and Mary Magdalen, with the assent and consent of the 'more partie' or majority of the feoffees, who were 'to indevyr theym selfe in the same . . . as they shall intende the mayntenance of dyvynne service in the said churche and the vertuou education and setting forwarde of the yong childern of the said Towne and parissh and the contrey nere there aboute.' There was no idea of restricting the school to Newark children only. Having agreed on the 'School maister of the Gramer Scoole,' they were to present him to the 'Wardeyn of the Freers Observants at Newarke aforesaid.' The deed does not say what was to happen if the warden disapproved. But if he 'fynde the same maister to teche gramer to be sufficient and able in vertue and connyng,' the vicar and four aldermen or two of them were to show him his 'charge' and administer an oath which is set out in Latin in which the school is said to be 'in honour of the name of Jesus and the most blessed Virgin Mary his mother,' as was the case with Colet's foundation of St. Paul's School. Then they were to put the said grammar schoolmaster in possession by setting of him in his chair, saying these words: 'Syr, ye be chosyn to be maister in-structur and preceptour of this scoole and to teche chyldern repayryng to the same not onely good literature, gramer and other vertuou doctrine but also good maners accordyng to the ordynance of Maister Thomas Magnus. Wherefore we doe ascertyne you that this ys a perpetual roome of contynuance upon your good demeanour and dutie to be done in this scoole.'

The last sentence is remarkable. It shows that Magnus knew and deliberately departed from the precedent set by William of Wyke-

ham at Winchester, Waynesflete at Eton, and Colet at St. Paul's, who expressly made the head master of those schools removable. Colet's inaugural address begins: 'Sir, we have chosyn you to be maister and techer of this Scole to teche the children of the same all not only good literature but also good maners, certifying you that this is no rome of continuance and perpetuite but upon your deuty in the scole,' and goes on to warn the master that he is to submit to yearly examination by the governors, 'and founde doyinge your dutye . . . ye shall continue, otherwise reasonable warned ye shall content you to depart.' Magnus evidently had experience which pointed to fixity of tenure in a schoolmaster being desirable. Modern experience has decided against him, and in favour, not indeed of the Coletian excess of a yearly tenure, but of a head master being an officer removable at pleasure of the governing body as opposed to the freehold tenure, terminable only on misconduct, which Magnus and most founders of chantry schools gave. Magnus provided, however, that the master might be summoned by the vicar, the alderman of the four gilds, the 'churche wardeyns' and the majority of the feoffees to appear before them or three of them in private in 'the vestrye . . . or any other honest and secret place' and be warned, 'or ells . . . submytte to the correction and reformation of the archdeacon of Notyng-ham or his officyal.' If the archdeacon made default the vicar and the aldermen of the four gilds might withhold the wages of the master, and if he was still obstinate, finally and utterly remove and expel him. As regards teaching, the duty of the grammar schoolmaster was to 'aplye and compell his scoolers to rede and lerne not only Gramer and Rethorique and other lyke vertuou thyngs, but that either of the said Scoole maisters teche and enforme their scoolers in knowlege of the tenne commaundements, the articles of the Faith (i.e. the Apostles Creed), the understanding of the hooly psalmes and hymnes.' The school hours were to be 6 a.m. till 9 a.m. 'and then to goe to their brekfast or drynkyng;' school again from 10 to noon 'and then to goe to theyr dyners, and to be in the scoole ageyne' at 1 p.m. or 1.30 to 6 p.m., and then to go to their 'soupers or other theyr busynes.' The usual elaborate psalms, collects and prayers at beginning of school and the anthem of our Lady with De Profundis and prayers for the soul of Magnus at the end of the day, are laid down. Then follows a clause against excessive holidays: 'The said Maisters shall not be myche inclyned nor gyven to graunt remedy for recreacyon or dispoorte to their Scolers ones it be once in a wooke upon the Thuysday or Thursday or that further remedy be requyred by any honorable or worshipfull . . . personage or other of good honeste, in whiche case the granting of the said remedy the said Thomas Magnus remyttith unto the

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wysedome and discrecyon of the said maisters.' This regulation breathes a very much milder spirit than the absolute negative of Colet at St. Paul's, 'And I will that ther be no Remedies.' It is of interest to note that Tuesdays and Thursdays were still the regular days for 'remedies,' as they are still called, at Winchester, instead of, as in most modern schools, Wednesdays and Saturdays, Eton having Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The reason is that Wednesday was a half fast day and Saturday was specially devoted to the service of our Lady. Magnus anticipated modern practice by forbidding other employment: 'Nonne of the Scollmaisters for the tyme beyng shal be religious'—i.e. monks, friars, or regular canons—'or beneficed persones, officed or stipendaries' (i.e. chantry priests). Lastly, as in modern schemes, it was provided that the masters should have a copy of the 'Ordinance,' if they required it, made at the expense of the trust.

The provisions in the deed as to other things, and especially the management of property, are very complicated. Leases were to be made by the aldermen of the two gilds of the Trinity and Mary Magdalen (Mawdelyn) with 'sex of the eldest and most auntyent and saddest feoffees then lyvyng and beyng of the towne of Newark,' with the advice of the churchwardens. They were to be under seal of the vicar and two aldermen and six feoffees, but all the feoffees were to confirm them as 'things clerely past from them all by their owne acte, assent and consent.' Another body were to see to the collection and spending of the rents, viz., the vicar, the two aldermen, and the churchwardens (churche maisters). They were to appoint a receiver 'to receive' the rents and deliver them when received to the churchwardens, who were first to pay the 'two secular prestys or laymen beyng Scoolemaisters.' Next, they were to keep an obit 'with Placebo and Dirige at after none in one day and masse on the next morowe' for the souls of the founder, his father and mother and other his benefactors. £2 was to be spent at this obit. Of this 2s. 4d. was for the vicar 'yf he do execute at the Dirige and syng the masse of Requiem, and elles but 12d.;' but he had to offer 2d. Every parish and chantry priest in the church was to have 6d. and other priests 4d. 'so the hoole number . . . passe not 24 prests.' The parish clerks had 4d. and the six children 2d. each. The alderman of the Trinity Gild was to have 2s. and his wife 1s. 4d.; the aldermen of Mary Magdalen, Our Lady, and Corpus Christi Gilds each 1s. 4d., and their wives 1s.; each of them had, however, to 'offer,' the husbands 2d., and the wives 1d. each; 2s. 8d. was to be spent on wax for candles; the bellman was to receive 'so muche . . . as hath byn and ys accustomed.' The residue of this 40s., which would be more or less, according as the aldermen had wives or

not, was to go among 'the pore and nedy' of the town of Newark. Special provision was made that 'the Maisters of the Gramer Scoole and Song Scoole and their scolders shalbe present bothe at the saide Dirige and Masse'; but they were to be rewarded. 'For all that day' after mass 'they . . . shal have remedy, and be absent from the said Scoole and take their lafull dysporte and libertie.' Besides the obit money 'the Alderman of the Trinytie Gilde, otherwise called the Alderman of the Towne of Newarke,' was to have £2 a year 'towardys the mayntenance of his charge in the said office,' while two chantry priests, who lived together in the chantry house, which though wholly rebuilt, still goes under that name, were also to have £2 a year 'towardys their comons.' In return they had to pray daily for Magnus' soul in their graces after dinner and supper. The churchwardens were not, however, to be unchecked in these payments; they had to make them under the oversight of the vicar and the aldermen of the four gilds. The payments directed amounted to only £32 out of the £42 odd which was the estimated income. 'The rest of the revenues . . . shalbe put . . . in a chest in the Treasour house within the Revestry' under three keys, one to be kept by the alderman of the Trinity Gild, another by the vicar or 'the eldest chauntery prest . . . or . . . saddest man of the chauntery' and the third by the alderman of the Mary Magdalen Gild. When this residue amounted to over £40 or more, the surplus was to be employed in putting the endowment into mortmain, or for the church works or for 'some other comon weale as nede shall requyre.' If the vicar, two aldermen, and churchwardens could not agree as to how to spend the money they were to call in the eldest chantry priest and the two schoolmasters and two eldest feoffees 'and as the moost part of theym shall accorde, the said residue of the money to be employde and bestowed.'

Magnus thought it necessary to provide that if 'the covenants agrements and graunts especyfyed in this present Indenture shalbe in any wyse frustrate by any lawes or statutes of this realme,' then, if no other lawful remedy could be devised for the maintenance of the same, the executors of his testament and the feoffees, or the latter alone, might sell the lands and apply the money to the same uses. This is a curious anticipation of the present law of mortmain. In a similar spirit of foresight Magnus provided that if the gilds failed, 'whiche God defende,' the alderman of the two longest continuing gilds should have the powers given to the aldermen of the two chief gilds; while 'for lakke and defaulte of the said aldermen,' the vicar, bailiff, church masters, and two eldest feoffees, if the lands should not have been put into mortmain, were to have 'the hoole orderyng of the premisses.' As a matter of fact Magnus himself survived to assist at the dissolu-

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tion of the friars and to see that of the gilds and chantries.

Who was master of the school when Magnus thus renewed its strength is not known. The Trinity Gild Account for 1540-1,⁴¹ happily preserved in the first minute book of the corporation established on its ruin, contains the name of Master Haryson, teacher of grammarians (*Mag. Haryson, Informator grammaticorum*), among the list of members 'now in town' paying the usual subscription of 8d. His name follows that of Anthony Forster, the bailiff and his wife, which follows those of the vicar and fifteen chantry priests. It is suggested in Mr. Brown's *History* that he is the same person to whom in 1512, nearly thirty years before, Henry Carnbull, Archdeacon of York, gave a legacy in the terms—'unto Maistir Herryson, the lerned man, 20s.,' bequeathing to Magnus 'a standyng cop all gilted with a cover with dropes oppon it.' Carnbull of course knew Magnus, his brother archdeacon, whom he had preceded in the archdeaconry of the East Riding. He was a Yorkshire man from Rotherham, like the archbishop of that name, whom he assisted in the foundation of Rotherham College with its three free schools of grammar, song, and writing. But that was in 1480. He belonged to an earlier generation than Magnus and had no connexion with Nottinghamshire. Schoolmasters in those days were generally quite young when appointed. It is not, therefore, very probable that the two Harrisons are identical. The monument of the first master of the song school is extant on the wall of the vestry: 'Here lyeth buried the bodye of Robarte Kyrkbye the first Mr of ye songe Scoole of this Towne of Newarke, in which rowme he was plaste by Master Thomas Magnus, ye fownder thereof, and continued a worthy teacher therein ye space of xlii yeares, who departed this lyfe ye xixth of March in ye yeare of our lorde God 1573 and Here lyeth also Elizabeth his wyfe who dyed before hime ye xvii of November 1566, to whome God sende a joyfull resurrectio.'

This Robert Kirkbye Mr. Brown identifies with Robert Kirkbye, singing-man, who is mentioned in a deed of 23 May 1507, a power of attorney to Robert Baxter to make livery of seisin of 'a toft in Osmondthorpe, *alias* North gate, in the tenure of Robert Kyrkebe, syngyng man,' to Robert Howys, baker. Assuming that Kirkbye was then twenty-four years old this would make him when he died ninety years old, and forty-eight when appointed song-schoolmaster. Thus the identification seems doubtful. On the other hand, Magnus himself was seventy when he founded the school. So it is possible that to both schools he appointed men who, though above or

close on forty, seemed to him quite young. Kirkbye appears as still living in 'Bargate and Norgate,' in the Gild Roll of 1540-1: 'Mag. Kyrkby et Elizabeth uxor ejus.' The song school would not therefore appear to have been carried on in the same place as the grammar school. Perhaps it enjoyed the old grammar schoolhouse, which as we have seen was in Northgate.

It is curious that with his avowed preference for priests as schoolmasters, Magnus should thus have appointed a layman, and a married man to boot, as first song schoolmaster. But it was apparently hard to get a man in orders who was a good organist, as even in the statutes of Eton College in 1443 there is a special exception of the requirement of being a celibate cleric in the case of the organist.

In 1545 Harryson had ceased to be grammar schoolmaster, Magister Brockett appearing as *preceptor grammaticorum* in the gild list of that year.⁴²

In 1547, in pursuance of a policy inaugurated by Henry VIII of making the great ecclesiastics give up their temporal lordships of towns, the Bishop of Lincoln surrendered to the Crown the borough, wapentake, and castle of Newark, and certain manors, receiving in exchange other lands or tithes, chiefly monastic spoils. On 21 December 1549 by letters patent of the Crown a municipal corporation was established in Newark consisting of an 'alderman and 12 assistants inhabitants of the town,' the last alderman of the Trinity Gild, who had also been the bishop's bailiff, becoming the first alderman of the new corporation.

That Magnus' own foundation was not itself confiscated as superstitious by reason of the chantry and obit attached may be explained probably by its not having been put into mortmain or incorporated, and to the saving provision that the two masters were not necessarily to be priests and had not themselves to perform the masses and obits.

Magnus himself survived the foundation some eighteen years. Three years after it, in 1535, he was active in preaching in his archdeaconry against the papal supremacy; in 1537 he assisted at the suppression of Bridlington Priory and other monasteries, and as a member of the Council of the North took part in the proceedings against the vicar of Newark, Henry Lytherland, hanged for high treason in taking part in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Magnus surrendered to the Crown St. Leonard's Hospital at York 1 December 1539, and was allowed to retain the principal mansion house, a grange, a fishery, money and goods. On 17 April 1545⁴³ he surrendered 'the college or chantry' of Sibthorpe, and on 4 July 1545 for £197 6s. 7½d.

⁴¹ Brown, *op. cit.* ii, 194.

⁴² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), 534.

⁴¹ Brown, *op. cit.* i, 250.

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paid, the king granted 'the College, Wardenry or chantry of St. Mary Sibthorpe' and its possessions to Magnus for life, with remainder to Richard Whalley, who occurs frequently in connexion with Newark.⁴⁴ On 3 September of the same year he surrendered Whipstrode Chapel.⁴⁵ On 11 May of that year he had received from Lord Chancellor Wriothesley a grant of an annuity of £60 for life out of the manor of Titchfield,⁴⁶ but this was probably a private transaction in return for money lent.

Magnus died at the age of ninety on 28 August 1550. He was buried at Sessay, Yorkshire, where his brass may still be seen, but not in the church he knew. This was destroyed in 1847 and a brand-new one erected in its place.

A few months after Magnus' death, on 6 January 1551-2, Sir Edmond Molyneux and the other surviving trustees appointed new feoffees, the survivors of whom, on 28 February 1571-2, conveyed the estates to the alderman and assistants inhabitants of the town, i.e. the corporation, who held and administered them until the Municipal Corporations Acts, 1835.

The school received an additional endowment under the will, 18 March 1556-7,⁴⁶ of William Philipotte, as he is spelt in his will, though he signs Phillipott on a deed of 1 May 1557. He was of a family which for three or more generations had been drapers in the town. He had established an almshouse for five men in Coddington Lane and gave most of his lands and property, which was considerable, after his wife's death, to the corporation of Newark for its maintenance and other purposes, including 40s. yearly to the 'Usher of the Gramerschole in Newarke towards the augmenting of his wages in teaching the petittes.' The bequest shows that already the usual demands had begun that the grammar school should perform the two irreconcilable functions of an elementary and a secondary school in one. Phillipott died in May 1557.

No names of masters have been recovered nor does anything appear to be known about the grammar school after Phillipott's will to the year 1595,⁴⁷ when, in the Corporation minutes, one Dorothy Pell is said to have been 'daughter of Mr. John Reaner, Newark Grammar School master deceased.' On 12 January 1596 his successor 'John Hearing, Maister of Arte was admitted chosen and sworn and installed gramar Scolemaister during his life, uppon his good behaviour and demeanour, he to have for his wages and salarie every yere £10 according to the ordinances set downe by Mr. Thomas

Magnus, founder of the said gramar scole, and no otherwayes.' At about the same time, 30 September 1595,⁴⁸ there was a change in the song schoolmastership also, when:—

Edward Manestie, late school mayster of the Songe schol in Newarke-uppon-Trent in the countie of Nottinghame, delevered upp unto the handes of William Standley, alderman, and the assistants of the same towne and parishe, the setts of singing bookes belonginge to the children, querristers of the songe schol, as followeth, all which was delivered unto the hande and custodie of Geo. Ffyshburne now occupyng the place of Songe Schol.

Imprimis five violine bookes with blacke covers.

Item, five songe bookes covered with parchement.

Item, four anthe me bookes.

” two setts of service bookes of four parts viz. viii bookes.

Item, five mathringall bookes.

” eight setts of other olde bookes.

” five surplazes for quirristers besides one for the mayster.

Item, five quirristers gownes.

” five violins, and there remayneth in Mr. Manesties hands an anthe me of service, which is written against and by him and is to be delivered to the alderman for the schol.

The names of the quirristers now beinge in the Songe Schol:—Thomas Standishe, George Armstrong, Thomas Parking, Joseph Allin, William Marstone, Thomas Hutchingsonn, and that the day and yere above written Edward Manestie hath abated Thomas Kingstone his apprentice two years of his service.

On 25 February 1596 George Fishburne, gentleman, 'was admitted and sworn and installed Song School Master during his life, upon his good behaviour and demeanour, he to have for his wages a salary every year of £8 according to the ordinance of Mr. Thos. Magnus, founder of the said Song School, and no other wages. Thomas Kingstone, the apprentice of 1596, himself became master of the song school in 1641. In 1649 John Hinton was appointed, and held office all through the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and continued after the Restoration, dying in 1668. This continuance even of an institution so 'churchy' as the song school must appear somewhat remarkable to those who are under the erroneous impression that the Republicans of the 17th century had any quarrel with schools or learning.

At some date unascertained Godfrey Pye succeeded Herring as master of the grammar school. For a meeting was held on 30 March 1615⁴⁹ 'by John Noble alderman and his assistants inhabitants of the town and parish of Newark . . . in the Schole house chamber . . . for nominating and electing an honest and learned man to teach in

⁴⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII, xx (1), g. 1335 (46).*

⁴⁵ *Ibid. xx (2), 282.* Whipstrode Chapel was granted, 15 Sept. 1545, to Lord Chancellor Wriothesley.

⁴⁶ *Ibid. xx (1), g. 846 (93).*

⁴⁷ *Brown, Hist. of Newark, ii, 361.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid. 194.*

⁴⁹ *Newark Council Minute Book, 1539-1674.*

⁵⁰ *Council Minute Bk.*

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the grammar school in the place of Godfrey Pye deceased.' At this meeting

divers persons weare named as scholemaisters . . . amongst whom one was to be chosen Scholemaister of Newark, and thereupon by consent of Mr. Symond Deedes, vicar and preacher of God's word at Newarke, and according to Mr. Magnus' will, Luke Mason, maister of arte, was the day and yeare aforesaid by all voices elected and chosen into the place of a scholemaister at Newarke and installed accordinge to the directions of Mr. Magnus' Will, in all thinges, excepte takinge of an Oathe which is respected (i.e. respited) untill further consideracion be had thereof, and which Oathe the said Luke Mason hath promised to take at any time hereafter if it shall be so required.

Magne pater, coeptis dexter adesto tuis.

And where, by Mr. Magnus' Will, his salary or wages was £18, Mr. Alderman and the assistants are agreed that he should have yearely £20.

And it is agreed that Mathew Mason, brother of the said Luke Mason, shall be usher of the said schole for the better enformeinge and teacheinge of children, and shall have for his painestakinges therein yearely £10.

This is the first mention of an usher, and points to a school of some size—70 or 80 boys at least. Mason was succeeded by Richard Poynton, of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he had matriculated in 1619, and took his M.A. degree in 1626. He was master of Mansfield Grammar School before his election at Newark, to which he was licensed 9 August 1634.⁵⁰ The Admission Register of St. John's College, Cambridge, begins in that year. We learn from it that Newark was a school of good social as well as intellectual status. Peter son of Edmund Fulwood, barrister, of Bilsthorpe, who had been at Newark school for two years under Mr. Poynton, was admitted to that college on 14 June 1636, at the age of eighteen, as a sizar, and Edward eldest son of Francis Thompson, esq., of Somerton Castle, Lincolnshire, who had been under Poynton for three years, was admitted as fellow-commoner, a position only held by the wealthy and well-born, on 2 October 1637. He was only fifteen years old. Poynton was buried at Newark 20 August 1637. Possibly the young squire was sent to the university earlier because of the death of the master under whom he was being educated. These two names are alone sufficient to show that the school was then a boarding school and well frequented.

Edward Gambell⁵¹ seems to have succeeded Poynton, as Gilbert, son of Edward Standish, gentleman, of Newark, who is said to have been at Newark School under Mr. Gambell for nine years, was admitted to St. John's College, 4 July

⁵⁰ Brown, *op. cit.* ii, 194, from York Archiepis. Reg.

⁵¹ His name does not appear in the list of masters given in Brown's *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 194.

1640. The meaning must be that he, although only fourteen years old, had been at Newark School for nine years, and that Gambell was then master, unless, possibly, Gambell had been usher under Poynton before becoming master. As boys from Thurgarton, Allington, Lincolnshire, and Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, are all recorded on admission to St. John's as having been under 'Gambull' at Newark, the status of the school must have been well maintained under him. He seems to have left in 1642, as William Marshall is said⁵² to appear in a Magnus charity account for 1641-2 as being paid £20 'for his whole year's allowance.' He was followed for a year by Richard Jalowelle,⁵³ who died in office.

At a Meeting held in the Church of Newarke upon Trent in the County of Notts, the sixteenth day of August, A.D. 1643,⁵⁴ before Christopher Wilson, Mair,⁵⁵ Thomas Truman, Vicar [and 11 aldermen], Mr. John Shore was duly nominated and elected Scholemaister of the free Gramar Schole at Newarke aforesaid of the foundation of Mr. Thomas Magnus in the roome and stead of Mr. Richard Jalowell, late Scholemaister there, deceased, by the severall and unanimous consent of all persons then present interested therein.

The Civil War had now begun, and Newark was held by a Royalist garrison, and after the defeat of a half-hearted attempt in February 1643 by General Ballard, remained one of the main seats of the king's party till Charles surrendered to the Scotch investing force in April 1646. Some of the scholars no doubt joined and stayed in the Royal army, unlike John Cundy of Boston.⁵⁶ He 'being at school at Newark and 16 years old was induced to join the king's party, but disliking their intentions procured a protection from Col. Hatcher to proceed to Boston, where in Jan. 1645 he took the covenant.' We may presume that the school went on more or less quietly during the war. Cambridge being a Parliamentary stronghold, the flow of scholars to St. John's ceased. Nor apparently was it resumed till after the Restoration. During the Commonwealth the school went on under Thomas Gibson, who appears as master in 1649. He seems to have been of Queen's College, Oxford, and was vicar of Horncastle, Lincolnshire, from 1634 to 1647. George Hill succeeded in 1650. A boy named John Owsley, who had been under him for a year, and afterwards at Bingham School, was admitted to Caius College, 21 May 1661. Benjamin Masters, a Christ Church man, matriculated 29 November 1633, M.A. 21 June

⁵² Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 194.

⁵³ Not Hollowell, as Brown, *op. cit.* ii, 194.

⁵⁴ Council Minute Bk. 210.

⁵⁵ The titles of mayor and aldermen had been substituted for that of alderman and assistants by a charter of 1 July 1626.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 135.

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1640, followed in 1655. He was probably displaced at the Restoration, as an order is subscribed by the mayor, 1 May 1661, to the chamberlain, 'to pay unto Mr. Edward Lads, of the Free Grammar School, Newark, the sum of 46s. 8d., being money disbursed by him towards the payment of the usher, over and above his salary, and ordered by agreement to be repaid him.' Lads, more properly Leeds, is described as 'late high master of the Free School of Newark,' when on 30 September 1663 he was elected high master of Bury St. Edmund's School,⁶⁷ where he had a large school of some 150 boys, and has left many memorials behind him. An entry in the Gonville and Caius Register shows that one of his pupils of Newark followed him to Bury St. Edmunds.^{67a}

Walter Peare or Paire, his successor at Newark, sent a boy to St. John's in 1665.

Benjamin Willey of Magdalene College, Cambridge, B.A. 1668, M.A. 1672, became head master in 1670, and sent up William Shrimshire of Holme to St. John's in the following year. Described as 'sometime master of the Free School of Newark' he appears as the author in 1688 of 'verses on the last Dutch War' in some 'Poetical Recreations,' published in that year by Mrs. Jane Barker.

His place at Newark was taken about 1672 by a Mr. White, who sent his brother to Gonville and Caius in June of that year.^{67b} He was succeeded in the mastership in 1674 by John Twells, a Nottingham boy, who had matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, 19 May 1670. He held the record for by far the greatest length of tenure amongst Newark masters, until the 19th century, having remained in office for forty years. As, at his death, he was only sixty-one years of age, he commenced his scholastic career at an unusually early age, even for those times, being barely twenty-one. Though his connexion was, no doubt, mainly with Oxford, he sent several boys of good family to St. John's College, Cambridge, the register of which twice conceals his name under the variant of Twelves.

In 1683 he published a reformed grammar, '*Grammatica Reformata*, a general examination of the art of grammar, designed for initiating the lower forms in the Free School at Newark-upon-Trent.' Among the pupils of Twells' later days who profited by this work was William Warburton, the theologian and critic, and friend of Pope, who became Bishop of Gloucester. He was a son of the town clerk of Newark, and born there in 1698. He was at first at Newark School, then sent to Oakham Grammar School, and after Twells' death in January 1713-14, when William Warburton, his cousin, who had

taken his M.A. degree in 1711 from St. John's College, Cambridge, became head master of Newark, returned to that school. Under Warburton the school maintained its reputation, and in his last few years generally contributed a scion to St. John's College. In 1729 came David Hartley, of Jesus College, Cambridge, B.A. 1725, M.A. 1729, who combined his teaching of grammar with practice in physic; a combination common enough in Elizabethan or Jacobean days. Apparently the result was not very satisfactory in this case, as he held the office for a very short time. His fame as a philosopher and as the writer of 'Observations on Man,' which made the first Coleridge call his son Hartley, arose long after he left Newark.

The Rev. Gustavus Broughton, a Leicestershire man, of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1731 and took his B.A. degree in 1734 and his M.A. degree ten years later, who had held the vicarage of St. Martin's, Leicester, from 1740 to 1753, then became 'curate'⁶⁸ of Newark, and combined with his cure the office of schoolmaster, 'two offices which the traditions of the last generation induce us to believe,' says Dickinson, 'he filled with reputation to himself and advantage to the publick.' He died 17 November 1760,⁶⁹ at the age of forty-seven, and an inscription on his monument in Newark Church credits him with all the virtues usual in that epoch of turgid epitaphs. The ambiguous remark that at St. John's 'he acquired as much learning as was required for either a divine or a gentleman,' and that 'had his charities been as large as the benevolence of his heart few would have left greater monuments of true generosity than he,' are probably not due to a sarcastic intention of the writer so much as to an unfortunate infelicity of expression. The Rev. Davies Pennell, of Christ's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1745, formerly head master of Southwell School, combined the offices of vicar and head master from 1778 to 1814, having previously held the latter office only. The usual result ensued. In 1818 Carlisle⁶⁰ was informed that 'no names of eminent men are recollected, as so many years have elapsed since the school was in high repute.'

The school was fortunate in its next master, the Rev. John Burdett Wittenoom, of Brasenose College, Oxford, matriculated 16 March 1807, M.A. 1813. He revived the school and enlarged it. He ruined, indeed, the picturesqueness of the old school by building at his own expense, at a cost of £2,500, the existing school-house in front of it, throwing the old building

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Suff.* ii, 321.

^{67a} J. Venn, *Biog. Hist. of G. and C. Coll.* i, 425. The head master's name is incorrectly given as Masterson.

^{67b} *Ibid.* i, 446.

⁶⁸ Brown, *Hist. of Newark*, ii, 195.

⁶⁹ Brown, *op. cit.* ii, 195, seems to be in error in speaking of 'a later Gustavus Broughton, who died in 1760, as a different man.'

⁶⁰ *End. Gr. Sch.* ii, 271.

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into the master's house, which on the basis of the straitened accommodation then thought good enough for the unhappy boarder, was estimated to provide for 60 boarders. Carlisle reports the school in 1818 as 'rapidly advancing in celebrity.' In 1820 Wittenoom received the compliment of being asked by the corporation to preach the funeral sermon on George III. Lord Brougham's Commission of Inquiry concerning charities said that there had been as many as 104 boys in the school. The usher, then Mr. Boor, received a salary of £90 a year. The Madras or Lancaster system was introduced, which depended largely on making the older boys, acting as pupil teachers, teach the younger scholars in large classes. It had been adopted in some other public schools, notably Charterhouse, at about the same time. Though regarded as a novelty it was in fact a curious reversion to the Middle Ages, during which it was extensively cultivated. It was no doubt a cheap way of increasing the teaching staff and, in moderation, is an effective way of teaching the pupil teacher, if not the pupils. It has now been discarded except in elementary schools, and is condemned theoretically even for them.

Apparently the system was not long attractive at Newark, as in 1828 the Commission of Inquiry found only 38 day boys and 7 boarders. The school was still a free school, no tuition fees being charged for classics to day boys. For other subjects five guineas a year inclusive of books was charged; and the few who did not take anything but classics 'were accustomed to give a voluntary gratuity' of half a guinea half-yearly. As the whole endowment produced at this time over £2,300 a year, and the master only received £220 a year instead of £550 a year as he ought to have received if the pay was proportionate to that given by Magnus, it was obvious that some payment was needed from the free scholars. The boarding charge was £34 to £40 a year. The song schoolmaster was much better paid in proportion with £105 a year. A National School had been built and was maintained out of the endowment with £150 a year.

This at least, though strictly excluded by Magnus' deed, was at all events an educational payment. But he would have surely opened his eyes in astonishment at finding that while the grammar schoolmaster was paid £220 a year, £290 a year went in paving and lighting the town, and £150 a year in maintaining a dispensary; the rest of the income being consumed in lavish estate expenses.

Wittenoom left Newark in 1829 for Western Australia, and in the cathedral at Perth is a large tablet to his memory. His grandson was Minister of Education in the colony, and as the Hon. Sir E. H. Wittenoom, K.C.M.G., took part in the Old Boys' dinner in 1901.⁶¹

⁶¹ Brown, *op. cit.* ii, 203.

Joseph Cooke of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, matriculated 27 May 1814, M.A. 1822, and afterwards, in 1836, D.D., became head master in 1828,⁶² and held office for twenty-six years. He had a distinguished pupil in his nephew, the late Dean of Rochester, Samuel Reynolds Hole, better known as the author of *A Book on Roses* and many jests, and for forty-three years vicar of Caunton. One of his chief memories of the school was when W. E. Gladstone was elected M.P. for Newark as a Tory, through the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, against Serjeant Wilde, afterwards Lord Truro, 12 December 1832, and the boys threw open their windows at night to shout 'Red for ever,' and were met by a volley of stones from the 'blues.' Another was Mr. W. Newzam Nicholson, who was one of the last M.P.'s for the borough, the representation being divided at the election of 1880 between Mr. Thomas Earp, now chairman of the governors, a Liberal, and Mr. Nicholson, a Conservative, who had been mayor in 1851.

A new scheme was made by the Court of Chancery in 1834, but it was not in the interests of the school. It left the master with his wretched stipend of £220 a year, providing that 'the free scholars who were taught the classics should also be taught English grammar, writing, and arithmetic without charge,' while an English school was started in a new room added to the grammar school with an usher at the miserable pay of £60 a year. Meanwhile large additional payments were directed for the church; and the parish clerk, sexton, and five vergers were also planted on this educational endowment. In fact, the church, which according to Magnus' foundation was given a contingent and conditional share in the problematical surplus, now, through the conversion of the song schoolmaster into a mere organist, the increase of the number of choristers by the addition of six 'low boys' or under choristers, and the augmentation of their salaries, received over £500 a year, while the first and main object, the grammar school, was given only £340 a year.

Under Herbert Plater, who was appointed 1 June, and entered on the duties of office as head master 1 August 1854—the summer holidays were then in June and July—the school was again more fortunate than could have been expected after such misapplication of its endowments. Belonging to a family of Polish extraction, one of whose members, Emilia Plater, was conspicuous in a revolution in 1830, he was educated at King's College School, London, whence he obtained a post mastership at Merton College, Oxford, and took a second class in Greats in 1849. He was one of the earliest 'fellows,' i.e. masters, of the new high church foundation of Radley College in 1851, and an

⁶² Not 1838 as given by an unfortunate misprint in Brown, *Hist. Newark*, ii, 195.

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assistant master at Marlborough College 1862-4. A favourable account of the school was given by Mr. H. W. Eve, afterwards head master of University College School, to the Endowed Schools Commissioners.⁶³

'No provision, then, is made for a high second-grade education, such as is necessary in a town like Newark. Under the late head master the system was as follows:—The English usher had a separate room, in which, besides teaching English and Greek writing to the classes under the head and second masters, he gave an English education, with the rudiments of Latin, to the junior boys. The second master kept up the English subjects to a certain extent, and devoted himself chiefly to classics; the head master taught classics and mathematics only. Under this system the school was very full, and produced several good scholars. Both the head master and the English usher had boarding houses.

'The present head master has entirely changed the plan of the school. Instead of the English usher he has appointed as mathematical master a graduate, whose salary he augments from his own profits. From the same source he increases the stipend of the second master, and pays the whole salary of a fourth. They all live in his house, and assist in the management of the boarders. Writing is taught at fixed times by a person living in the town. The partition separating the English schoolroom from the other is thrown down.

'The classical teaching appears to be in a satisfactory state. The upper boys are very few in number, and necessarily divided into small classes. The standards are fixed so as to correspond as nearly as possible with those at Marlborough. . . This classification gives two boys in the sixth, four in the middle fifth, four in the lower fourth. There is a separate classification for mathematics, which are efficiently taught. One boy did a creditable paper in conics and trigonometry; none of the rest were very advanced, but several passed a fair examination in Euclid and elementary algebra. They would bear comparison with most boys of their age in public schools. French is taught to most of the boarders, and to such of the day boys (at present two) as desire it; they are not accurate in grammar. . . . A good deal of time is given to English subjects in this [i.e. the second] and the first form. It appears to be difficult to keep boys in the upper forms; many of the boarders go to larger schools at about thirteen.

'The discipline is good, and the relation between masters and boys is very cordial. . . The boarders' bedrooms are practically part of the head master's house, and are kept in excellent order. Six or eight of the boys sleep in a

dependance on the opposite side or the street, where one of the masters is also quartered. A detached house, about 100 yds. from the school, is rented . . . for cases of infectious sickness. Except the small playground, the school possesses no land adjoining. . . .

'About half the day boys, that is, one quarter of the school, are sons of tradesmen, a small number considering the population. The zeal and kindness of the head master and his assistants are universally appreciated; but there is a feeling that the system is adapted rather for the boarders and the higher class of day boys, who now constitute three-quarters of the school. If a capitation fee was imposed, or the income of the school otherwise increased, it would be easier to meet the wants of the town; under existing circumstances it is almost impossible to work the school efficiently without a large supply of boarders. The school is in high repute among the neighbouring clergy, more especially for young boys; in fact, . . . the school has tended to become a preparatory school for the public schools, with a few upper boys. . . .

'The head master has had some difficulties with the town, especially at the beginning of his mastership. One incident is worth quoting. A boy had been kept from school by his father without permission for the sake of a holiday. The head master, of course in accordance with a rule he had made, detained the boy after lessons next day. The father protested, and finally kicked the schoolroom door open. An action for damages was brought, in which the head master gained his point. Since then parents have conformed better to the rules of the school. . . . the religious instruction, it is said, . . . is distinctively High Church in tendency, and sufficient respect has not always been shown to the opinions of Dissenters. Boys were, in fact, withdrawn on that ground. . . .

'At present the number of boys going to the universities is very small.

'The song school is entirely separate from the grammar school. . . . At present [the song master gives] instruction in singing to a general class for two hours in the week. . . . The appointment of organist, which is in the gift of the vicar, . . . has usually been held by the song master. . . . A new house has been recently built for him, with a singing-room, 23 ft. by 15 ft., attached. It is, perhaps, worthy of remark that the salary of the song master, who is able to hold the office of organist, and whose duties leave him plenty of time to increase his income by private pupils, is fixed by the scheme at £5 higher than that of the usher of the grammar school.'

There were in 1864 85 boys in the school, 44 day boys and 41 boarders.

On the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, which was the result of the Schools

⁶³ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xvi, 403.

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Inquiry Commission, the acting governors of the Magnus Grammar School were very prompt in taking advantage of the new opportunities for improvement afforded by it. The Act received the royal assent on 1 August. On 6 September the governing body gave notice to the Endowed Schools Commissioners appointed under it of their intention to submit a scheme under section 32 of the Act. But the scheme, when presented, proved reactionary, and provoked strong opposition from many quarters. It proposed to give only three-sevenths of the endowment to education, and to dissipate that in trying to run two schools, one of the third and one of the second grade, and to give the suggested governing body, practically a committee of the town council, power to regulate the fees at pleasure and vary them for each individual boy—a pleasant method to encourage jobbery and favouritism. The scheme also proposed to limit arbitrarily at pleasure the number of boarders, on which the prosperity of the school depended. The scheme, however, was not in a form to go forward under the Act, and necessarily waited until the Endowed Schools Commissioners could take it up in the course laid out for themselves. Long before that time arrived the commission was abolished and its powers transferred to the Charity Commission, which it had temporarily superseded. At length, in 1877, an assistant commissioner, Mr. D. R. Fearon, was sent to Newark to inquire. At that time the school had increased to 126, of whom 51 were day boys, and the quarters of the boarders had overflowed to the opposite side of Appleton Gate. A quaint revival, due to Mr. Plater's High Church proclivities, which even more than any real religious intolerance detracted from the confidence of Nonconformists in the school, was that the boys were made to sing *De Profundis* in English every Wednesday and Friday evening.

It was not till 1885 that a draft scheme, founded on the inquiry, was put forth. After long struggles, chiefly with the vicar over the song school, the scheme became law by the approval of Queen Victoria in Council, 13 May 1887. This scheme established a new governing body of sixteen persons, the chairman of quarter sessions of the Newark division, the mayor and the vicar *ex officio*, five representatives of the town council, two of the School Board, two of the county justices, and one of the churchwardens of the parish church, with four co-optatives, who included Mr. Earp. Owing to the opposition of the town council and the vicar the misapplications of income authorized by the Court of Chancery could not be wholly undone. The scheme declared, however, the whole endowment to be educational subject to the payment of three-eighths of the net income, after providing for all expenses of management, for non-educational purposes. Of this amount £204 was to go

for church, vergers, &c., £84 for choristers, and £150 for the dispensary. But by the time the scheme was made the income from endowments had fallen from £2,500 a year to £1,350, so that in the result the school was but little better off than it had been a century before in actual income, and relatively not so well. Some alleviation was afforded by the requirement that tuition fees of £4 to £8 a year should be paid by all boys; Greek to be an extra at £3 a year. But one in every 10 boys was to be a free scholar.

Mr. Plater retired at Christmas 1893 to the living of Kirton, where he died and was buried in 1899.

The Rev. Edward Spencer Noakes, who succeeded, came from the Perse School, Cambridge, where he had been head of the modern side from 1889. He was of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, where he took a second class in the Theological Tripos. He developed the modern side, and secured the erection of science laboratories, an art room, and a gymnasium. He had about 90 boys. A Joseph Gilstrap scholarship to the university was founded in 1897 by Mrs. Mary Fletcher in memory of her father. The endowment fund produces some £36 a year, which is hardly enough in these days for more than a prize. In 1902 the representations of the Charity Commissioners in favour of a new site and buildings were taken up in the town. Mr. Earp purchased a new site of some 12 acres at the end of a new street called Winchelsea Avenue, and a subscription list was started for the buildings, headed by Mr. B. Tidd Pratt, solicitor, the chairman of the governors, with £500.

Dr. Noakes, who had achieved his doctorate in law by examination, for which he taught himself in the interval of teaching others, retired to the vicarage of Edale, Derbyshire, at the end of 1904.

The present head master, Mr. Edgar Arthur Menneer, was appointed in 1905. Son of the head master of Torre College, Torquay, he won a scholarship at Rugby School. Then, with a school exhibition and a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, he proceeded to Oxford, where he took a first class in Moderations and in Final Schools in Literae Humaniores. He went as an assistant master to Winchester College in 1899, then to Cheltenham College, thence to assist in starting the Royal Naval College at Osborne. Though Magnus, as we saw, expressly made laymen eligible for the head-mastership, Mr. Menneer has the distinction of being, so far as is known, and certainly for the last two hundred years, the first layman to fill the office. He has had also, so far as records extend, the most distinguished academic career of any of the masters.

In July 1905 Mr. Samuel Reay, the last of the song schoolmasters on the Magnus foundation,

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died. A new scheme under the Charitable Trusts Acts was made by the Charity Commissioners, and sealed on 27 March 1907, dealing with the song school.

The song school had long ceased to serve its original purpose, and had been at all events since the Restoration merely an endowment of the organist of a church. John Barlow (1668-82), John Spencer (1682-1731), Richard Justice (1731-51), are merely names. Samuel Wise, who then came, but held for only three years before becoming organist of St. Mary's, Nottingham, was the author of several compositions for the harpsichord. Lloyd Raynor, afterwards organist of Lincoln Cathedral, was succeeded by Marley, who resigned in 1758; John, son of John Alcock, organist of Lichfield, appointed when only seventeen years old, then held the office for ten years (1758-68). He was in 1762 allowed £3 a year for a house because the song schoolmaster's house, on the north side of the church, was so much out of repair that it was not sufficiently good for him to live in. It was then repaired, but pulled down in 1866, when the present house near the grammar school was erected. Thomas Jackson (1768-82) wrote some chants; his successor John Calah some Kyries; William Hunter (1784-1802) shot himself; William Brydges (1802-35) enjoyed the singular combination of duties of adjutant of the town volunteer corps during the Napoleonic scare and of organist. Dr. Dearle, a chorister of King's College, Cambridge, then held for twenty-nine years, and composed an oratorio. Mr. Reay was son of the organist of Hexham, and a chorister in Durham Cathedral. As organist at Tiverton in 1847 he composed several part songs; there are tunes by him in Hymns Ancient and Modern. He ceased to be organist at Newark in 1901, though he still held the song schoolmastership as a retiring pension till he died 20 July 1905 at the age of eighty-three.

The scheme of 1907 bisected the endowment, giving the house and £30 a year to the parish church organist on condition of teaching the choristers to sing, and the rest to the grammar school 'on condition that vocal music is efficiently taught to the scholars in the school.' The same scheme settled the non-educational part of the charity in a very obscure and almost untranslatable clause as three-eighths of the net income, but with an upward limit of £500 a year. As the present gross endowment is only some £1,300 a year and the outgoings amount to some £500 a year, the amount of endowment available for the grammar school, the primary object of the foundation, is only some £450 a year. Fortunately through the generosity of Mr. Earp, who besides expending £4,631 on the site has given £5,000 for the buildings, supplemented by a gift of £500 from Mr. James

Gresham, and other subscriptions amounting to £1,700, including £400 from the Notts. County Council as the local education authority, new buildings have been provided with little further demands on the capital of the endowment. The buildings, designed by Messrs. Sheppard & Lockton, afford accommodation for 150 boys, including 30 boarders, and cost £12,000. They were opened by Lord Belper as chairman of the Notts. County Council on 22 May 1909. There are at present 100 boys and a staff of 5 assistant masters; but it is confidently anticipated that the numbers will soon pass the high-water mark of 120 to 130 reached under Mr. Plater.

THE NEWARK GIRLS' SCHOOL

In the course of this year (1910) it is hoped that Newark will also be provided with a Girls' Grammar or High School by the aid of the endowment known as Lilly and Stone's Charity, formerly the Jersey School. The Jersey School was in existence when, on 19 December 1623, John Lilly by deed gave lands at Bathley, now 63 acres, the income of which was to be disposed of among the poor children in the Jersey School, and in default of such school among the poor of the town. By will of 6 July 1688 Henry Stone gave to trustees £1,400 to buy lands, half for Lincoln, half for Newark, 'for the employment of poor people in work living and inhabiting within the precincts and limits of the said corporations,' and if the Newark half 'should not be thereafter employed to the use of a Jersey or working school' there was a gift over to Lincoln, and if they both failed to carry out the intention, to Christ's Hospital, London. Lands were bought at Besthorpe and Girton in Nottinghamshire, partly with funds belonging to another charity, and a proportion of the rents applied to the support of the Jersey School. In this school spinning-wheels were provided on which jersey—which meant, not as now a particular kind of woollen garment, but a particular kind of woollen yarn—was spun and made into stockings, which were sold at a cheap rate. In September 1775 the original school was exchanged for another in Guildhall Lane, mixed up with which were some cottages inhabited by alms-women. The Lincoln Jersey School had ceased before 1837, and £700, representing its original endowment, was paid over to Christ's Hospital. But the Newark School was still going on in 1877, when it was reported on with a view to a proposed scheme. There were two schoolrooms, one above the other, with eight wheels at work in the lower and four in the upper room, a scholar to each wheel and a teacher to each room. The scholars spun from 9 to 12 o'clock, and were given elementary

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instruction in the three R's and needlework in the afternoons. The head or reading mistress received a salary of 13s. a week; the second or spinning mistress 8s. a week. Each girl admitted at twelve years old received 2s. 6d. a week the first year and 3s. 6d. the second year. None of the girls ever went on with spinning after they left the school, because at that time hand-spinning had long been replaced by spinning by machinery in factories. The endowment of some £320 a year, being $\frac{7}{8}$ of the income (£329), of the lands and about £90 a year derived from accumulations of income was practically wasted. Some of the trustees wished for a scheme to be made for it under the Endowed Schools Acts, but the Charity Commissioners decided that it was not under these Acts.

Under a scheme made by the Board of Education under the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1906, this endowment is now to be applied to the erection of a girls' high school, with large provision for technical instruction. Buildings are now in course of erection, and it is hoped that the school will open in September 1910. The endowment amounts only to some £300 a year.

NOTTINGHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Mention of the school at Nottingham a hundred years earlier than any yet known has recently been found. Just as one of the earliest mentions of St. Paul's School, London, appears in a writ by the acting Bishop of London to put down its rivals in 1137; so Nottingham first appears in a similar utterance by the bishop of the diocese, the Archbishop of York, 150 years later. Only the Nottingham master seems to have been trying to get the embargo against rivals extended beyond Nottingham itself, and succeeded but partially. On 30 June 1289 Archbishop Romanus¹ directed to the schoolmaster at Nottingham a letter, or rather, writ, as it is expressed to be under seal, which is headed in the Register—'That school may not be held in the parish of Kynewaldstowe (Kinoulton) except by the parish clerks of the same; which is important for the schoolmaster of Nottingham and 'the vicar of our church of Knewaldstowe' (*sic*). The letter runs: 'As we wish our rights to be preserved entire, so we do not wish that through us others should find their rights derogated from. We decree, therefore, that only the clerks of our parish of Kynewaldstowe may keep, if they wish, the school (*exerceant scolae*) which has been anciently accustomed to be kept there, all other clerks and outsiders (*foraneis*) being excluded from the same school, as they may in no wise be admitted in the said school.

¹ York. Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 75. Communicated by Mr. W. Brown, Secretary of the Surtees Society.

By this we provide for the rights of our church or free chapel aforesaid, while your rights, master, are wholly preserved as regards outside clerks.'

It is only owing to the fortunate accident of Kinoulton having been a 'peculiar' of the archbishop's that this quarrel was settled by him and the record preserved, since, as we have seen, ordinary contests about schools in Nottinghamshire were for the Chapter of Southwell to decide, and they have mostly lost their records. We shall see later the Nottingham master asserting his monopoly in Wollaton; it is still more striking to find him asserting it so far off as Kinoulton, some ten miles away.

The next reference to the school, so far as has yet been discovered, is in a grant of 13 August 1382² to Robert of Retford, vicar of St. Mary's, and William of Adbolton, master of the grammar school of Nottingham (*magistro scholarum grammaticae de Notyngham*) of a message upon the Pavement (*super Pavymantum*). The High and Low Pavement are still streets in Nottingham. In 1389 this same man is referred to as 'William Scolemayster' and also as 'William of Adbolton, scolemaystre.' Next year he was dead. On 19 October 1390 William Dynet and Richard Werdesaus, executors of the will of William son of William of Adbolton, late master of the grammar school of Nottingham, with Robert of Retford, perpetual vicar of the parish church of the Blessed Mary of Nottingham, granted to William of Farwell a tenement in St. Mary Street between the cottages of Nicholas of Hopton and Cecilia.

The casual character of the mention of the schoolmaster negatives any idea of the school being a new creation, and is consistent with any extent of antiquity.

The next master was Robert Fole. On 15 January 1394-5 Robert Fole, chaplain, sued William Cupper on a plea of debt. Cupper had several times made default, but now appeared. Fole demanded 3s. 4d. due to him as school fee for five terms' teaching of Cupper's son and damages 2s. Cupper denied the debt, and a jury was ordered for the next court. On 10 February, however, they came to an agreement, and Cupper was 'in mercy' and fined. On 3 November 1401³ we meet with the same master acting as a trustee in a deed which witnessed that John of Sawmby of Nottingham has given and granted to Sir (*domino*) Robert Fole, chaplain, master of the grammar school of Nottingham, and two others, all his goods and chattels absolutely with power to any of them to grant, sell or bequeath (*legare*) them at pleasure. Whether this was a grant for the benefit of creditors, or to avoid a prospective forfeiture for

² *Rec. of the Borough of Nott.* i, 246, footnote.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 12.

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felony, or for a settlement on marriage, or for some other purpose, we can only guess. It is significant of the close connexion between learning and law, and of the duties of the original schoolmasters who became chancellors of the cathedrals that we find the schoolmaster of Nottingham thus acting in a legal capacity, just as we saw the schoolmaster at Ripon⁴ doing frequently in the 15th century.

The next evidence relating to the school shows that it was of some size, as it mentions an usher: '2s. from Robert Goldsmyth, late usher of the Grammar School' (*nuper Hostiario Scole Grammaticalis*), being included among the es-treats of the men of Nottingham in the third year of Henry VI, September 1424 to September 1425. The use of the singular for the word school instead of the plural suggests that the plural in the passages before quoted does not mean there were several grammar schools in Nottingham—the plural being in common use for a single school from the 12th to the 16th centuries.

The next occurrence of the schoolmaster shows him acting in his capacity as master, though not perhaps very creditably. On 26 January 1429-30, George Mortymer, by John Ode his attorney, lodges a plaint (*queritur*) in the mayor's court against Thomas Rydley, clerk and schoolmaster (*magistro Scolarum*) of Nottingham, in a plea of debt for that he had on Monday, 26 September 1429, let a house called the schoolhouse (*unam domum vocatam Scolehou*) for 7d. for the quarter beginning at Michaelmas Day and ending on St. Thomas's Day (21 December), payable at Christmas; but Rydley 'though frequently asked refused and still refuses to pay the money, whereby he [Mortimer] is damaged to the extent of 4d.' Rydley appeared and denied the debt. So a jury was ordered. But it is evident that Thomas Rydley was only putting off the evil day of payment, as on 22 February he 'put himself in mercy,' i.e. was fined, for licence to come to terms with George Mortymer, clerk. George Mortymer was in some way connected with the school. Probably he was Rydley's predecessor in office as master, and the schoolhouse was not a permanent endowment, but one for which the master for the time being had to pay rent. On 28 May 1433 we find Mortymer suing John Crophill, 'skynner,' for a debt of 4d. 'for scolage of a boy of his' (*pro scolagio unius pueri sui*) which he ought to have paid at Easter 1433, while on another occasion he sued Robert Bennington for 6d. for school fees (*scolagio*) of his son. As Mortymer is not described as master he was probably suing for arrears due to him when he was master, before Rydley's accession.

Rydley seems to have been unfortunate. He was again defendant in an action of debt for rent

⁴ *V.C.H. Yorks.* i, 432.

on 29 February 1431-2. This time he is described as Thomas Rydley, clerk of the school (*clerico scolorum*),⁵ and was sued by Roger Hunt, late keeper and farmer (*custos et firmarius*) of the mansions of the Hospital of St. John by Nottingham for 26s. 8d. rent for the mansion and houses (*mansum et domos*) of the hospital, which he had let to Rydley from Christmas 1429 to Holy Cross day (14 September) 1430. Rydley was also sued for trespass in having broken and burnt the wall of the manse. Probably the hospital was used as a master's house and for boarders, as was St. John's Hospital at Banbury and St. John's Hospital at Exeter. The buildings had apparently been burnt down, in which case, in the absence of special provision, Rydley would not have been liable for the rent.

The Nottingham Records are now silent as to the school for 70 years. But the Southwell Minster Chapter Act Book which begins in 1469 partly fills the gap. As we saw, the chapter of Southwell Minster, usually acting through their chancellor as ordinary, had jurisdiction over all schools in Nottinghamshire. One of the points on which this jurisdiction was most frequently invoked was that of competition. Overlapping was not allowed, and from the 12th century onwards there are numerous instances on record of the public schoolmaster invoking ecclesiastical censures against private or unauthorized rivals. Some occasion of this kind produced the 'Agreement' between the School Masters of Nottingham and Wollaton which was approved by Master William Worsley, canon residentiary, and the chapter of Southwell, on 19 February 1472-3. 'By a certain friendly composition Master Thomas Lacy, master of the grammar school of Nottingham, covenanted with Sir William Cowper of Wollaton in this form: that he promised that during his life the said Sir William should teach 26 boys or men the art of grammar in the town of Wollaton, but in no way exceed that number.'

We may perhaps infer that Wollaton, just outside Nottingham to the west, was within the liberty of the borough, or so much a suburb of it as effectively to compete with Nottingham School, which was probably not in the height of efficiency. For four years later we find in the

⁵ It is probable that the word 'magistro' has been accidentally omitted before 'scolarum.'

⁶ A. F. Leach, *Mem. of Southwell Minster*, 13: 'Concordia Magistrorum Scolarum Nottingham et Willaton (*sic*). Ex quadam amicabile compositione Magister Thomas Lacy, magister scolorum grammatice Nottingham convenit cum Domino Willelmo Cowper de Wollaton (*sic*) sub hac forma; quod promisit durante vita sua dicto Domino Willelmo docere 26 pueros aut viros in arte grammatice in villa de Wollaton, et quod nullo modo excedet. Approbata est hujus modi conventio per me magistrum Willelmum Worsley et Capitulum Suthwellense.'

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same Southwell book Master Thomas Lacy being dismissed for negligence. On 8 September 1477, 'Thomas Blakburn, B.A., on the presentation of John Danvers [prebendary of Normanton and therefore chancellor of the minster], because it appeared as well by the report of trustworthy persons as by inquiry held that Master Thomas Lacy, last schoolmaster of the school of the town of Nottingham, was too negligent in teaching boys and others there, and had been a long time absent from the teaching of the said school, was admitted to the said school by the chapter and in right of the chapter and duly constituted master of the same.'⁷ This Thomas Blakburn was no doubt the Cambridge B.A., from whose security, deposited on admission, the proctors of Cambridge University had in 1472-3 taken 13s. 4d.,⁸ 'because he did not determine in arts,' which apparently means either that he did not give the usual feast⁹ on taking his B.A. degree; or that, after taking it, he did not stay up to lecture as the statutes required. Nearly twenty years later Thomas Blakburn was still master. The Nottingham Court Rolls show us 'Thomas Blakebourne, scolemaister,' on 15 September 1496, suing Robert Oldam, 'sherman,' i.e. a shearer of cloth, for a debt of 6d., he having promised him on 6 May previous to pay by the hands of his wife that amount for the tiling of the almshouse (*pro tegulacione domus Elemosinarum*). The damages claimed were 4d. A verdict was found for the defendant. Probably the almshouse was the same as St. John's Hospital, and the school was still quartered there, and the debt was for an unpaid subscription for re-roofing it.

In the chamberlains' accounts¹⁰ for 1503-4 is an 'Item, payd unto Rychard Pykkerd for the Scolemester Dason, 6s. 8d.'

There is among the Nottingham records a document of 5 May 1512, a bill, said to be in the handwriting of William Barwell, the mayor's clerk, for 'Reparacions made by Richard Halom opon the cottage boght of Thomas Shyrwod at Notyngham standyng in the Peperstrete at John Howes bak gate Item, for a loode of cley to the tofalle (i.e. lean-to) that the chyldren lerne inne, 3d. Item for a bonche of ston lattes (? stone slattes—the stone slates common in the north) to the same hous that the children lerne inne, 3d.'^{10a}

⁷ A. F. Leach, *Mem. of Southwell Minster*, 31. 'Thomas Blakburn . . . in artibus baccalaris . . . pro eo quod Magister Thomas Lacy, ultimus magister scholarum ville Notinghame, nimis negligens in docendo pueros et alios ibidem . . . et de regimine dictarum scholarum longo tempore absens fuerat . . . ad dictas scolas per capitulum et jure capitulari admisus fuerat, et magister earumdem debite constitutus.

⁸ *Camb. Grace Bk.* A.I. p. 94: 'De caucione Domini Blacborn, quia non determinavit in artibus, 13s. 4d.'

⁹ Rashdall, *Hist. Univ.* ii, 444.

¹⁰ *Borough Rec.* iii, 320.

^{10a} *Ibid.* 402.

Mr. Corner, second master of the High School, to whose researches into the history of the school this history is deeply indebted, assumes¹¹ that this entry shows the old school existing 'after the present foundation.' But it seems probable that it refers to a much less exalted institution, probably to some sort of 'petits' or elementary school.

In 1512-13 a movement seems to have been set on foot to make the school of Nottingham—which had hitherto been, as we have seen, a school in which fees were paid, and in which even the school building was not, at all events in the early part of the 15th century, an endowment, but leased by the master—into a free school. When the movement for the establishment of free schools began it is hard to say. It is on record that Abbot Sampson at Bury St. Edmunds,^{11a} about 1180, endowed the school of that town with half of a neighbouring rectory, in consideration of which 40 boys were to be free from tuition fees; and a little later freed the schoolboys from contributing to the hire of their school building by buying a stone house after the expulsion of the Jews, and giving it to the school. In 1384 Katharine Lady Berkeley established a free grammar school, which still flourishes at Wotton under Edge.^{11b} The endowment of free grammar schools received a great impetus in the reign of Henry VI, culminating in Eton. After a partial cessation, during the Wars of the Roses, the movement went on with increasing vigour from 1480 onwards.

The Lady Margaret, Dowager Countess of Richmond and of Derby, mother of Henry VII, set a conspicuous example to all benevolently-minded widows by founding in 1496^{11c} a chantry grammar school at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, where her parents were buried, the priest to 'teche grammer frely to all theym that will come thereunto.' She endowed the Lady Margaret Professorships of Divinity in Oxford and Cambridge in 1503^{11d}, refounded or augmented and established Christ's College, Cambridge in 1505,^{11e} and when she died in 1509 was in process of founding St. John's College, Cambridge, one of the greatest foundations in either university at the time. While the Lady Margaret, with the vast possessions she had inherited and acquired by successive marriages, was the richest woman in the kingdom, so probably Dame Agnes Mellers was the richest woman in Nottingham in her day. Her husband was of the family¹²—as his 'canting' arms, three merles on a shield argent,

¹¹ *The Forester*, July 1887, p. 8.

^{11a} *V.C.H. Suff.* ii, 306.

^{11b} *V.C.H. Glouc.* ii, 396.

^{11c} *Exch. K. R. Eccles.* iii, 36.

^{11d} C. H. Cooper, *The Lady Margaret*, 89.

^{11e} *Ibid.* 101.

¹² See article by Mr. S. Corner in *The Forester*, July 1886.

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suggest—of the Mellers of Mellor, Derbyshire. Both he and his brother William were bell-founders, William at Leicester, Richard at Nottingham. In 1472-3 he was sheriff of Nottingham, in 1484-5 chamberlain, in 1499-1500 mayor, and a second time mayor in 1505-6. On 7 June 1507 he made his will, and died on 16 June, the will being proved 26 June. His wealth is attested by his giving £16 for an honest priest to say mass for him for three years, and £10 to the repair of 'Hethbeth' Bridges, while to his son Robert he gave metals for his trade to the value of £20, and no less than 6,000 lb. of copper, with all the implements of his craft and bell moulds. To Dame Agnes his wife he gave all his real property for life, a messuage in St. Peter's churchyard absolutely, and the residue of his personal estate. The eldest son, Thomas Mellers, was a mercer. He had been common serjeant of the borough in 1485, became chamberlain 1508, sheriff 1509, an alderman, and was mayor in 1514, and on two subsequent occasions.

The original charter for the school, which, framed and glazed, hangs in the office of the governing body of the school, in Peter Gate, is dated 22 November, 4 Henry VIII, i.e. 1512. It gives the whole credit of the foundation to Sir Thomas Lovel, treasurer of the household, and Agnes Mellers. She is depicted in the initial letter¹³ kneeling by the side of Henry VIII, who is seated robed and crowned, with orb and sceptre in his hands. The preamble runs:—

Know ye that we, considering the pious purpose of our beloved councillor Thomas Lovel, knight, treasurer of our household, and of Agnes Mellers, widow, in the foundation and building of a school to endure for ever in the parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the town of Nottingham . . . for boys in the same school to be educated and taught and instructed in good manners and literature, and for the maintenance of a master and an usher of the same school and other things necessary there to be made and done hereafter according to the ordinance and will of the same Thomas and Agnes or one of them, their executors and assigns. . . .

The king therefore gives licence to them to begin, found, erect, unite, create, and establish the school. Then follows a licence in mortmain to 'the Mayor and burgesses of our town of Nottingham and their successors' to take and hold lands to the annual value of 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.), over all reprises (outgoings), 'to hold for the use and purposes aforesaid according to the constitutions and ordinances to be made by the said Thomas and Agnes.' The usual

¹³ This is reproduced in *The Forester* for Midsummer 1879. The elaborate 'Irr' for 'irrotulatur,' i.e. 'it is inrolled,' written by the clerk of inrolments, has been misread as being the king's initials R.H. (Rex. Henricus). But the king did not sign patents; the great seal was his authentication.

writ of *ad quod damnum*, and the inquisition taken thereon, held before such lands could be granted, and all fines and fees, were dispensed with.

In point of fact, it would appear that Sir Thomas Lovel's part in the matter was merely to act as intermediary with the king in presenting the petition for the charter. He was a lawyer, who took a prominent part in bringing in Henry VII, and was rewarded by being made Chancellor of the Exchequer for life. For his services at the battle of Stoke, against Lambert Simnel, he was knighted, and on 11 March 1488-9 made constable of Nottingham Castle. This appears to have been his sole connexion with Nottingham and Agnes Mellers, as he was himself a Norfolk man. But he was an executor of the Lady Margaret, and prominent in pressing on the foundation of St. John's College, Cambridge, and may therefore be taken to have been zealous in the cause of education. Possibly it was due to his influence that the licence in mortmain was granted without any fine or fee, though this concession had become almost common form for educational endowments, Colet's licence for St. Paul's School and others being granted in like form. As it has been contended¹⁴ by the late head master, Dr. Gow, though perhaps rather in sport than earnest, that the real meaning of free school, as applied to this and other like foundations, was 'free from the Statute of Mortmain,' it is as well to observe that this charter, like all other licences in mortmain, did not free the school from the Statute of Mortmain generally, but only to a limited extent, namely, in this case, to the extent of lands producing a net income of £13 6s. 8d., or about £260 a year of our money. If after the school had acquired lands to that amount, any one wished to give more, or the school to acquire more, a fresh licence in mortmain would have been necessary. In point of fact it will be seen that a further licence did become necessary, and a new charter therefore was granted with an extension of this licence up to £26 13s. 4d. The school was never, therefore, absolutely freed from the Statute of Mortmain by this, or, as will be seen, by its subsequent charters. Moreover, there were many free schools, such as Newark, which never had a royal charter, and, never being incorporated, needed no licence in mortmain, and were, therefore, not freed from the Statute of Mortmain to even a limited extent.

The original ordinance or constitution of the school made under the letters patent is, unfortunately, not extant. It is known only from a copy made in the reign of Elizabeth by or under William Gregory, town clerk from 1596

¹⁴ See articles in the *National Observer*, 3 Sept., 24 and 31 Oct. 1896, reprinted in *Nott. Daily Guardian*, 29 Oct. 1898, and discussed by Mr. S. Corner in *The Forester* for April 1897, and April 1898.

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to 1617, and is imperfect, not containing the witnessing clause or date. It purports to be made on 2 February 1512-13, by 'Agnes Mellars, wydowe, and vovesse,' i.e., vowed to perpetual chastity after the death of her husband. It is in English, as was not unusual at this time. Whether the spelling is given as in the original seems doubtful; probably not. After reciting the letters patent, the deed which, though in the form of a deed poll, calls itself 'this present writing triplicate indented,' proceeds:—

Know ye that I, remembringe how the universall faythe catholyke by clergy and comons fyrmye [ys] corrobred and by learninge the publike weale comenlye ys governed, ardentlie have desire to the honour of almighty God, laude and praise to the electe and choson Mother of mercye and virgin our Lady Saynte Marye, to accomplishe the said vertuous and blessed graunte, and by force thereof begynne, erecte, founde, create, establishe and make one Free Schole of one Maister and one Ussher to teach grammar¹⁵ everlastinglye to endure and to be kepte in the parishe of Our blessed Ladye Saynt Marye the Virgin within the Towne of Nottingham; and Mr. John Smithe, parson of Bilburghe, I make Schole maister of the same as longe as yt shall seeme [to] me and the sayd¹⁶ Mayor of the same towne of Nottingham for the tyme beinge convenient; and my right trustye frendes Mr. William Inglishe and William Barwell I make deputyes, and ordeyne guardians keepers and surveyors of the sayd Free Schole during theyr lives.

Inglishe was Dame Mellers' son-in-law.

The deed then proceeds to establish a governing body. 'I will also, ordeyne and establishe, that the Mayor aldermen and the Commen Councell of the sayd towne of Nottingham and theyr successors after the decease of the said William shall yerely from yere to yere in the feaste of the Translacion of Saynte Richarde the Bysshop choose two discrete persons, burgeysse of the sayd towne . . . to be chamberlayns gardians keepers and surveyors of the lands tenements and possessions . . . belonging to the sayd Free Schole, to rule governe and supporte the charges payments and businesses of the same,' and to account to the mayor and aldermen within eight days of the following Translation of St. Richard. This was, as we are told later, 16 June, the day of St. Richard of Andria. It was no doubt the birthday of her husband Richard Mellars. These guardians were to be the corporate governors, and 'by the name of Gardyans of the Free Schole of Nottingham maye pleade and be ympleaded.'

The most important function of a governing

¹⁵ It was the school, not, as seems to be supposed by Mr. Corner in *The Forester* for Christmas 1880, the grammar, that was everlastingly to endure.

¹⁶ Oddly enough the mayor has not been previously mentioned in the deed; but probably these statutes were scheduled to an indenture tripartite to which Dame Agnes, the mayor, and the two 'deputies' were parties.

body, that of appointing the master, was delegated to the Corporation of Nottingham, or eight of them, of whom the mayor and guardians were to be three. They were, after Smith's departure, to 'conducte (cf. the Eton "conduct" or hired chaplain) and hire one other able person of good and honest conversacion to be the Scholemaister . . . and one ussher such tyme and as soone as the lands and possessions gyven to the said Free Schole will supporte the charges thereof,' and remove them for good and reasonable causes. Then follow 'Orisons to be used in the Schole.' Under this heading the boys were every morning, 'ere they begin theyre learninge, to saye with an hye voice whole *Credo in Deum patrem etc.*' Probably the et cetera comprised observances such as 'Ave Maria' and collects for the souls of the dead better not remembered in the days of Elizabeth. The elaborate provisions, however, for the obit of Dame Mellers' husband and herself on 16 June in St. Mary's Church are set out, because they were accompanied by an expenditure of 20s. 'for our soules health,' viz. 3s. to the vicar, if there in person, and 'if he occupie by deputye,' 2s.; to every priest of the church and either clerk of the parish, 4d.; to the mayor 6d., the aldermen 4d. each, the mayor's clerk and two 'sergiants' 2d. each if personally present; to the parish clerks for ringing eight peels, 3s. The guardians were to keep 'towells, cuppes and other necessary things' for the 'celebration' of the obit, and to spend on bread 2s., cheese 8d., ale 1s. 4d., to be sent to the aldermen and others.

The residue . . . if any . . . I will that yt shall be distributed to the poorest scholers of the sayd Free Schole to pray for our sowles and all our frends. I will also, ordeyne and establishe and straitlye enjoyn that the Scholemaister and Usshers nor any of them, have, make nor use, any potacions, cock-fighte or drinking, with his or there wiffe at wiffes' hoost or hoostices, but onely twice in the yeare, nor take any other giftes or avayles whereby the Schollers or their Frendes shoulde be charged, but at the playsure of the frends of the Scholers, save the wages to be payde by the sayde Gardyans.

If the corporation do not do their duty, the Prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, Lenton, shall have 'as a fforfayture, the rule guyding and oversight of the sayd landes tenementes and Scholemaister, with all other things.' The mayor, aldermen and common council were empowered to make additional statutes, and to repeal them at pleasure, 'as often and when soever they shall thinke it most necessarye and convenient,' provided they be not 'in any wise contrarye or repugnaunte to the Statutes establisshementes and ordinaunces by me in my liffe under my seale made written and determined.'

Agnes Mellars did not long survive her ordinance. On 10 June 1513 she made her will,¹⁷

¹⁷ Printed in *The Forester* for February 1887.

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which was proved 12 May 1514. It provided for a priest to sing for her husband's soul and her own and Christian souls for three years at 7 marks a year. To Thomas Widerlay or Weatherley she gave 10 marks, and if he died before the end of his apprenticeship 'then the said 10 marks to be imploid to the use pro- fect and sustentacion of the Free Scole which I have fownded in Notingham.' Similar gifts over were attached to three legacies of 10 marks each to William, son of William Mellers, of Leicester, and his brother John; to William, son of William English, and his brother John; and to Agnes, daughter of Robert Mellers. After several other bequests the will sets out the property she gave the school:—

Also I will that the Mayre and Burgesis of the Town of Notyngnam shall have possede and enjoy to them and their successors for ever one measuage sett in the side of Church yerde of Sent Petre in Notingham, now in the holding of Edmund Hall, baker, and 3 chamburs in the said Church yerd now in the holding of Sir John Hunt, Sir Richard Morley and an other vacant; and on other measuage in the Bridel- smyth gate . . . ; and on garden in Berwardgate . . . ; and on garden in Sent Nycholas parich, in the holding of John Cokham, and an other garden in same parich in the holding of William Nicholson, walker (i.e. fuller), to and for the edificacion and supportacion of the said free Scole, which I have erected to be kept in parich of Sent Marie in Notyngnam according to sooch constitucions and ordinances as I thereof have maid a note and draght;

And for the better sustentacion and dotacion of the said free scole I will and gif to the said Maire and burgises and their successours all that my state, title and possession and terme, which I have in any measuages, landes, tenementes, or hereditamentes, by reason of any leas to me or to my said late husbunde in any maner of wyse maid perteyning or to any of us belonging; and wher that my son William Inglich hath boght for me on measuage with appurtenances lieing and sett in the Town and feldes of Ancaster in the cownte of Lincoln, whereof as yet I have noo possession, I will that after season (i.e. seisin) and possession thereof to and by me or myn assignes had, that the same measuage and the appurtenances shall forthwyth be delivered to the said Maire and burgesis and ther successors for ever to the use and supportacion of the said free scole.

The expression in the will that the school was to be conducted 'according to sooch consti- tucions and ordinances as I thereof have maid a note and draght' looks as if the constitutions were not then executed, which may perhaps account for there being no original deed extant. But however this may be they were acted upon from the first, as a copy exists of part of a list of subscriptions to the school beginning 2 February 1512-13, their supposed date, in the time of the two wardens named in them.

The Names of dyvers well desposed persons that hath gyffen lands, tenements, and other yerely rent and profits to and for the exhibicion and fyndyng of

oon Scolemaster of a Free Scole, presently to be kept in the parych of St. Mare in Nodyngnam, in the tyme of Wylliam Inglysh and Wylliam Barwell, Wardeyns of the same Free Scole, begynnyng at the fest of the Purificacion of our Lady, in the yere of our Lord God 1512 and in the 4th yere of Kyng Henre VIII, whereof the parcells and somes folowe:—

In the Parish of Seynt Maries	
First, Dame Annes Mellers, fundresse of the same Free Scole, hath gyffen a tenement in the holdyng of Edmunde Halle in St. Peter's chirch-yerde by yere	26s. 8d.
Item an other adjoining next it by yere	
" " " next it by yere	
" " " " " " "	
" " " in Grydelsmyth Gate by yere.	
Thomas Alestre, Alderman, hath gyffen 3 acres of land in Todeholes.	
Wm. Kyrkby, baker, hath gyffen to gar- dens, whereof oon is in the holdyng of John Ca—	12d.
Item an other in the holdyng of John Astwyke	14d.
John Howet, Alderman, by yere . . .	3s. 4d.
John Rose, " " "	6s. 8d.
Thomas Willoughby, Alderman, by yere.	4s. 0d.
John Cost, " " "	5s. 0d.

Bailey,¹⁸ who seems to have seen the full list, says there were about eighty subscribers.

The corporation, too, contributed its quota, for on 6 February 1515-16, when Thomas Mellors (*sic*) was mayor, the schoolwardens, 'for the bettering, maintenance and edification of the same school' (which apparently means not teaching but building), were allowed to inclose a piece of land in the common fields afterwards called Freschole Close. Robert Mellers, the son of Dame Agnes, who succeeded to the father's bell-making business, by his will 16 July 1515, gave a close in Basford-wong and a house in Bridlesmith Gate to the school; 'but if it should not be kept according to the foundacion as it was granted, his heirs should re-enter and have the said close . . . again.'

The Mr. John Smyth, parson of Bilborough, who was named as the first master, was a Bachelor of Decrees, i.e. of canon law, when instituted rector of Bilborough on 15 July 1502.¹⁹ Mr. Corner found in the Borough Court Book of 1505 a memorandum²⁰ which shows that Smyth was already in that year teaching school, or at least taking in private pupils as boarders for fees, at Bilborough, and in one case sued for the fees, amounting to 9s. for twelve weeks, or at the rate of 9d. a week.

Memorandum that John a Pole sonne in law to Thomas Samon, gentyلمان, come to Bylborough to scole and to burde to the parsonage of Bylborough on

¹⁸ *Ann. of Nott.* i, 372.

¹⁹ *The Forester*, July 1888, from Torres MSS. in York Minster.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

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St. Dunstanne day last past : And cummaund was made by Rycharde Samon sonne to the sayde Thomas Samon for 9*d.* in the weke : And theyre continuyd frome the sayde day of St. Dunstane unto the Assumpcion day of owre lady last past whiche ys 12 wekes and 3 days : And soo the sayde Rycharde Samon remanes in dett and owys for the burde of the sayde John a Pole 9*s.* As appereth by sufficient record : And alsoo by the wrytyng of the day of hys cumming to the scole and to burde.

Wryten by me Mr. SMYTH, Deyne of
Notyngnam and parson of Bylbrough.

There is record of an action brought on 11 May 1506 by Thomas (which appears to be a mistake for John) Smyth for 9*s.* 2*d.* John Payn, his attorney, alleged that Richard Samon had placed one John Pole as a boarder (*commensalem*, sometimes translated at this date 'tabler,' and at Winchester and at Oxford still called commoner) at 9*d.* a week for twelve weeks and three days, making altogether 10*s.* 2*d.*, which he refused to pay. The damages were laid at 1*s.* 8*d.* Samon was defended by Robert Hyrd, his attorney. A jury was impanelled and, sad to relate, the result was, 'Nihil debet per patriam,' i.e. the jury found a verdict for the defendant. Poor Smyth no doubt found it pleasanter to teach a free school in Nottingham at a good salary than to have to sue for fees at Bilborough, especially as he retained his living.

An interesting school bill²¹ for a writing master of this date is preserved, apropos of an action brought in 1532 by John Burton against the mother of William Merryman for his fees at the rate of 4*d.* to 6*d.* a week for writing lessons and 9*d.* a week for board.

Payd by me John Burton for William Meryman, sone unto William Meryman, thes parcelles folowing :—	
Payd to the skrevener [scrivener] of the Long Rowe for techyng hym to write, 5 wekes	5. 4.
Payd to William Cost for techyng hym to write, 8 wekkes	2 6
Payd agayne to the skrevener of the Long Rowe for techyng hym 8 wekkes	2 8
Payd to Maistur Holynhed for the techyng of hym 4 wekkes	2 8
Payd for papyr for hym that he boughte hym selfe	16
Payd for ynke to hym that he bought	4½
Payd for a payre of shows (shoes) for him	4½
Payd for a payre of hosse for him	6
Payd for a penne knyfe and another knyfe	3
Payd at his firste sampyll to the skryvener	2
Payd for ynke to the skryvener unto the tyme that he had spokyne with his fader	1
Payd for his borde for the space of 27 wekkes at 9 <i>d.</i> a weke	20 3
Item lent to Elys his broder when that he bought hym bottes (boots)	9
Summa totalis 32 <i>s.</i>	

²¹ By Mr. Corner in *The Forester*, July 1888.

John Smyth held the living of Bilborough till he died, his successor being recorded as instituted on 20 August 1538 on a vacancy caused by his death. But he does not seem to have retained the office of schoolmaster till then. For on 15 July 1532,²² the freemen of the eastern part of the town 'present [blank in MS.] scolemaster for wylfulle murder doone to Ser John Langton,' while those of the west say, 'we indyte the Skolle mayster of welfulle murdar.' The bill thereon founded runs : 'Let inquiry be made on behalf of the Lord King if George Somers late of Notingham, scolemastar, did on 17 June 24 Henry VIII with club and daggers of malice aforethought assault John Langton, chaplain, and then feloniously and wilfully murder him.' The constables found a true bill, but the result does not appear. The fact that the culprit is called not merely schoolmaster but 'the Schoolmaster,' seems to be conclusive that he was the head master of the free school. If he had been usher he would have been so described, and, of course, no rival grammar school was allowed in the town.

Thomas Mellers, the eldest son of the founder, by his will, 16 August 1535, added to the school endowment :²³ 'Also I bequeath and giffe all my lands, tenementes and hereditaments within the towne and fields of Bassford, in the county of Nottingham, to the use of the Free-schoole lately foundyt within the sayd towne of Nottingham by Dame Agnes Mellers my mother, deceased, for ever : which lands, tenements, and hereditaments I lately purchased of William Spyssar of Lowghborow, gentelman.' The will was proved 27 April the following year. A few years later a further endowment was given by Elizabeth Gillestrop, by will 12 April 1543.²⁴ 'Item I bequyth to the seid Maior and Burgesses of yeseid town of Nottingham for ye tyme being, two stabulles sett, lying and being of the bake syde of Rotenrowe [now Walnut Tree Lane] in Nottingham afforseid, now in the severalle tenures and occupacion of Bartelmew Sygrave and William Pettie, to have and to holde to ye seid Maior and Burgesses and ther successors for evermore, to thusse, intent and main-tenaunce of the Free Scole within the seid town of Nottingham.'

In spite of the 'superstitious' provisions contained in the Foundation Ordinance for an obit, Nottingham School escaped the fate which overtook so many grammar schools at the hands of King Edward VI in the 'Acte for the Dissolucion of Colleges and Chantries.' This was probably because the incorporated wardens were laymen, and the schoolmaster and usher were not necessarily priests. The school is men-

²² *Borough Rec.* iii, 372.

²³ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), vi, 50.

²⁴ *Borough Rec.* iii, 394-8.

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tioned in the Chantry Certificate of 1548.²⁶ It thence appears that it received assistance from the Trinity Guild, the schoolhouse and garden, valued at 8*s.* a year, being apparently the property of that gild, and enjoyed by the master rent-free. It looks as if we are to infer from this that the old schoolhouse continued to be used after the new foundation, and that no new one had been built. The certificate runs:—

NOTTINGHAM TOWNE.

The Guylde of the Trynytie in the parishe of St. Mary, founded by Thomas Thurlande to mayntayne 2 preestes to sing Masses for ever. Ys worthe by yere in landes and possessions, lying and being in diverse places of the saide towne of Nottingham, as by the Survey therof made remayning with the Surveyour of the said shiere particlerly appereth $\text{£}18$ 9*s.* 6*d.* Whereof in wages yerely paid to William Raynes stipendiary there, $\text{£}6$. Rentes Resolute, 7*s.* 5½*d.* Rents deciaied and vacant, 9*s.* Rentes given and paid yerely towards mayntaynaunce of a fie scole, 8*s.*, the poore 15*s.* 2*d.*

A special commission was appointed under the Chantries Act for the Continuance of Schools, charities for the poor, and 'curates of necessity,' supported by or out of chantries, the commissioners being Sir Walter Mildmay, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Robert Kelsey, afterwards serjeant-at-law. They ordered that the school should continue to enjoy the schoolhouse:—

Forasmuch as it apperith by the Certificat . . . that the Scolemaster of the Scole of Nottyngham hath yerlie hadd in augmentation of his lyvyng, the house called the Frescole in Notyngham, with a gardeyne, parcell of the late Guylde of Holy Trynytie in Our Ladie Church, in Notyngham aforesaid, without paieng any rente therefore . . . We therefore . . . have assigned and appointed that the Scolemaster of Nottyngham for the tyme beyng shall enjoye yerelie the said house called the Scolehouse, with the said gardeyne in Nottyngham aforesaid, without anything paying for the same.²⁷

The school was in Stoney Street, which is close to St. Mary's Church on the south side, until 1868. In later years 2*s.* a year rent was paid for it to the corporation, wrongfully, it would seem, according to the order above quoted. It is unfortunate that the certificate did not, as usual, give the name of the master. For there is no other evidence forthcoming as to who was master at this critical time.

A man who, if not famous himself, had a famous or, as we may regard him, infamous, son, was now or soon after master of the school. This was Brian Garnett, father of Henry Garnett the Jesuit, hanged for being an accessory to the Gunpowder Plot, whose education by his

father at Nottingham School no doubt contributed to his election, at the age of eleven, as a scholar of Winchester College in 1567. He is there entered as being born at Hennore, i.e. Heanor, Derbyshire, and the parish register at Heanor records in 1576, that 'Brian Garnett, late Skoolemaster of Nottingham, was buried the xxith day of December.' The boy learnt his Romanism at home, apparently, as his brother Richard, a fellow of Balliol, was also a Romanist, and had a son Thomas, a priest, also executed, while a sister Mary became a nun. It seems likely that Brian Garnett was the master who, on 27 April 1553,²⁷ was attacked by the 'Mickle-torn' or Leet jury. 'We presente the Skolle mastar that shoulde teche the Frescolle, for there hath bene dyvers men afore hus and hath complenyd of hym, wherefore we desyer you to have hym chaunged.' The entry, perhaps, rather suggests negligence in the phrase 'that shoulde teche the Fre Scolle.' But it seems not improbable that religion was the real grievance. For at the same time one of the school wardens was complained of:—²⁸

We present Maister Mayre (6*s.* 8*d.* and all his brether 6*s.* 8*d.* a pece) and his brethren for amytyng Maister Quarmbe to be one of the Wardyns of the Fre Scolle, contrary [to] the foundacyon, where as the land ys in daunger of losyng yf yt were knowen, and yt hath bene offyntymes presentyd and no reformacyon done: there fore, yf any hynderaunce be, the faulte wylbe leade [laid] unto you . . . We desyer you, Maister Mayre, and alle your brethren that we may have every yere the account for the Bryges and the F[r]ee Scolle landes made openly, that the Burgesys may here and in what case they stande in and what the summa of ther rentaulles be.

It has been suggested that the danger in Quarmby, who had been sheriff in 1534-5 and mayor in 1542-3 and 1549-50, was, that having married Elizabeth daughter of Robert Mellers, he 'might endeavour to get possession of the school property.' But it is difficult to see how this could be. It is noticeable that Quarmby was mayor in 1555-6 and M.P. in 1554, at the beginning of Mary's reign, and it seems likely, therefore, that he was a Romanizer, and that his religion was the danger. As young Garnett was born at Heanor in 1555 or 1556 it would appear that his father had then retired there, being dispossessed of the school after this adverse presentment of the jury.

After the accession of Mary to the throne it was deemed necessary to obtain a charter of *inspeximus* of the licence in mortmain of Henry VIII. The charter was sealed 11 October 1554 'on the request of William Watkinson, alderman.' It is merely an 'exemplification, or copy, without even any words of confirmation, of the charter of Henry VIII.

²⁶ Chant. Cert. 37, no. 1, printed in Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reform.* i, 164.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 171, from Schools Continuance Warrants.

²⁸ *Borough Rec.* iv, 106.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 108.

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There is evidence that the 'superstitious use' which might have wrecked the school foundation, the obit of the Mellerses, was resumed. John Heskay, alderman, an innkeeper, by will 29 September 1558,²⁹ gave all his tithes of hay in the meadows and fields of the town of Nottingham to Alice his wife, and John Mellers his brother-in-law, who was seemingly the John Mellers mentioned in Dame Agnes's will, for their lives, and after their deaths to the mayor and burgesses 'to the intent and on condition that they should yearly bestow the full rents and profits of the same to the uses thereafter specified, viz. that they should pay on the day of the yearly obit kept for the late Lady Mellers, foundress of the free school, 10s. among poor, sick, and needy people, to pray for the soul of himself and the souls of the foundress and his wife Alice, and should permit the wardens of the free school to receive all the residue yearly to employ the same for and towards the increase and augmentation of the schoolmaster's wages and living of the said free school.' This is probably one of the latest gifts for an obit, as two months later they again became 'superstitious uses.' He also bequeathed a message in Swine Green to Thomas Mellers, his wife's son, for his life, and, after his death, to the mayor and burgesses for the schoolmaster.

The next thing known of the school is another endowment. By deed of 26 September 1567, John Colynson gave to two feoffees a message near the Hencross in 'Cuckstoole Rowe' [the alley in which was the cuckstool pit (or public latrine), in which scolds were ducked in the cuckstool] with three shops and a barn newly built, with a garden adjoining and all other his lands in the town, to the intent that they should yearly pay 53s. 4d. half-yearly to the masters of the free school and their successors, and, if it should be dissolved, to the poor. Cuckstool Row became the Poultry, and the annuity is still paid.

Ten years later we have the earliest extant school account. It is in Latin, and is rendered by Gilbert Seele and James Hartley, 'guardians of the free school in the town of Nottingham.' On 21 May 1578, for the year from Lady Day 1577 to Lady Day 1578, the total 'charge' (*onus*) or receipts amounted to £29 6s. 8d. But of this £8 4s. 7d. was the balance from the year before. So that the real income was £21 2s. 1d., of which 20s. came from a legacy by Master Bonner, and the rest from issues (*exitibus*) of the lands. One item of the 'charge,' 'And for nothing given in presents (*in regardo*) to the same school,' shows that it had been usual to receive voluntary subscriptions or donations for the support of the school, as we saw was done in 1512-13; but these had now ceased. The 'allowance' (*allocatio*), or payments, admitted as

good on the audit, came to £18 10s. 6d. Of this £13 6s. 8d. was paid to John Depupp, schoolmaster (*judimagistro*), for his salary. The amount paid to Richard Slacke 'le ussher' for his salary is not legible through defect in the MS., but was probably, as five years later, £3. A fee of 10s. was paid to the schoolwardens and 2s. to Nicholas Plumtree, gentleman (and probably therefore attorney), for making the account.

It is rather remarkable to find that repairs were done at the school next year by the Bridgemasters out of their moneys, and not apparently out of the school income.³⁰

Item payd to Stonsbe for the frame of the house at Fre Scole and for the frame standing over the Cow Bar	£9 4s.
Item payd to Frybus and hys man for 5 days burning plaster at Fre Scole at 16d. a day	6s. 8d.
Item payd for carydng of tymbar to the Fre Scole	2s.
Item payd for tymbar to the Fre Scole.	10s. 4d.
Item payd to Selfe for workyng 6 days at the Fre Scole at 12d. a day . .	6s.
Item to hys 3 men for 6 days at 10d. a day	15s.
Item payd to William Wyldy for makyng of the chymney at the Fre Scole and grounselyng of alle the house	£3 14s. 8d.
Item payd to Selfe and hys man for 2 dayes makyng of 5 dors, 2 pentyces (i.e. penthouses) and mendyng of the pale at the Fre Scole	3s. 4d.

Depupp, the master, seems to have been already master for some time and to have been appreciated. For in 1579, when Slack, the usher, had apparently gone, the Mickleton jury said: ³¹ 'We present to have an husscher for the Free Skoole, a thing very neydfull for this towne; and to geve him £10 a yeare to have a good maister and a good husscher in one skoole.' The jury had no idea of allowing the wardens to be too independent: 'Wee presente the Wardens of the Free Skoole that the shall geve upp there a counte be twyxt this and Chryssonmas nexte and to have two newe chosen in ther romm by the elexysyon of the 48.'

The same two, however, were chosen and rendered the school accounts for 1582-3. To the new usher (*subjudimagistro*) £3 was paid, but the Bridgemasters' account for the same year shows that they paid him 53s. 4d. So that he received altogether £5 13s. 4d., a good deal more than the previous one. In the same account is an item of 3s. 4d. for 'copes of the charter and of the ordinaunces of the Free Schoole'—the latter is thought to be the extant copy quoted above.

²⁹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xx, 386.

³⁰ *Borough Rec.* iv, 182.

³¹ *Ibid.* iv, 191.

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The master who was so highly praised in 1577 meets with equal blame ten years later. The jury on 11 October 1587 'present the Skole Mayster because ther hathe bene juste proufe that he hathe abussed his skollers with suche unressonable correccion that fewe skollers will tarry with hime,' and he was fined 1s. This resulted in his departure; for the jury of 22 April 1588,³² 'request your Woo[r]shippe, Maister Maior, with the reste of your brethren, for as much as we see our Scoole to increase, by mennes wherof much more delleygence is used then hath benne latlye hertofore, and partlye by a carfulle Ousher well lerned and brought up in teachinge: wee dooe alle most willingly request you that, wheras he hath in wadges for the whole yeare £6 13s. 4d. that it may be mad £8.' At the same time they presented 'the Free Scoole to lacke reparacions, and that the Scoole is greatly anoyed for lacke of casementes,' which looks as if the usual window-breaking had taken place.

The accounts show that the new master under whom the school prospered was Christopher Heylowe or Healow, with Lancelot Butler for usher. But, alas! three years later he was accused of the somewhat mean device of stealing the boys' books, and so we get one of the few indications of what the boys learnt. On 21 February 1591-2 Launcelot Butler, of Nottingham, 'ussher,' was bound over to give evidence at the next assizes against Christopher 'Heyloe,' 'skolmaister.' 'Christofer³³ Heyloe, examyned, sayth he stole no bookes of enye hys skollers; and he saythe he had Tullyez "Orations" aboute Michelmas laste of Humfrey Quermyez in this sorte; when he redde a lecture thereon in the shoole, he toke hyt into hys chamber, and broughte into ye shoole agayne; and he gave to Maister Greyez sonne an other Terens in eschange for hys; the Ovidez "Metamorphosocez" he sayth he boughte hyt of the stacyoner aboute a yere agone.' Though this entry is cancelled it is preceded by an uncancelled entry³⁴ of the same date: 'Yt ys agrede yat Maister Cristofer Heyloe, nowe Shoolemaister of the Free Shoole, shalbe displased and shalle be no longer Shoolemaister there; the towne to paye hym £10 and he to receyve hys wagez for thys quarter, viz. 5 marces.' The chamberlain's accounts for the year show: 'Item given to Maister Healow, late Scolemai[ster] of Frescoole, by the commaundement of Maister Maior and his brethren and others of the Clothinge [i.e. livery], £10.' So that it would seem that though Heyloe was not convicted there was sufficient case against him to make his removal desirable. The school accounts show that he was also paid 40s. for implements in the school. Healow seems to

have taken his revenge; for in the following year, 11 May 1593, the jury presented 'Maister Healowe for slarndring our towne with the sicknes, wich will be to our Dekaye.' He was not, however, fined, but discharged (*Disoneratur*). Two years later he is found doing clerical work at St. Mary's: 'Minutes of the Common Council 23 April 1595, Yt ys ordered and decryed, yat Maister Heylowe shalbe tenante of the Freschole Hous in Snenton, paying bye yere 13s. 4d. at Michel[mas] and th'annunc[ia]cion], duryng al suche tyme as he dothe servyce at Sainte Maryez Church, and to do reparacions.'

Meanwhile the corporation found that 'the lands and tenements of the annual value of 20 marks are so thin and slight as not to suffice for the maintenance of the school,' and therefore 'humbly asked the royal munificence' of Queen Elizabeth. She, on 8 March 1593-4, 'greatly affecting such pious and devout works and purposes and desiring after her power to maintain, augment and promote them, graciously assented,' and by letters patent,³⁵ confirmed the charter of Henry VIII, and 'for the better sustenance and maintenance of the school' granted them licence to acquire lands for it up to the value of 40 marks, or £26 13s. 4d.—double the old amount, 'to be for ever disposed and converted to the sustenance and maintenance of the Master or Pedagogue, and Usher or Underpedagogue' and the defence of the property, 'and not otherwise or to any other uses or purposes.' No stronger or more effective proof could be given that calling the school a free school did not mean that it was free from the Statute of Mortmain, since a new licence had thus to be obtained when it was intended to increase the income to meet modern requirements. It is probable that the application for the new charter with increased licence in mortmain was not a voluntary act on the part of the governors. Already we saw that in 1578 the net income of the school was £20, well beyond the authorized amount of £13 6s. 8d., and in 1594 it was over £27. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth and James I, till a quieting Act was passed in 1620, there was a regular trade by sharp attorneys and others in informations under the Chantries and Monasteries Dissolution Acts, alleging that lands properly fell within them and were concealed from the Crown. What with the obit provisions of the foundation ordinance and the added income arising from John Heskey's gift, which confirmed and added to the 'superstitious use,' and the breach of the Statute of Mortmain by exceeding the licence, there was ample scope for an action against the governors. Whether any proceedings were actually taken or not, the new patent was a

³² *Borough Rec.* iv, 223.

³³ *Ibid.* 236.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 235.

³⁵ Pat. 36 Eliz. pt. xiv, m. 9, 10. In this document the upward limit is, by a slip, said to be £40, as well as the correct amount of 40 marks.

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necessary and effective protection against any such action.

The master who succeeded on Mr. Heylowe's discharge was Mr. Lowe, he being paid his full year's salary up to Lady Day 1593, and he had for usher till 1602 Mr. Forman. Lowe's Christian name is nowhere given; so he cannot be traced at the university. But in view of the local connexion which can generally be traced in those days, it may safely be guessed that he belonged to the Nottinghamshire family of that name, which in our time produced the famous Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke. This Lowe held office as schoolmaster for fifteen years. In 1596 he saw the school wholly or partially rebuilt, the Bridge-masters' Account, 20 December 1596,³⁶ containing the item 'Paid Samwell Browen by Maister Maier's apoyntment for worke at the Free Scoole, for caringe of tymber 4*d*. Also they requeste allowance, viz., Payde to Maister Jowette for the Freescoole byldyng, £15.' Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, Lowe seems to have been accused of tenderness to young scions of the aristocracy suspect of Romanism, as the Mickletorn Jury, 8 May 1601,³⁷ 'present Maister Lowe, Scholmaster, for that he teacheth Maister Powdrell and one Maister Grene and wyll nott see the com to devyne servys.' But he was pardoned (*Perdonatur*). That is, the mayor saw no reason to proceed.

The entry in the Bridge Wardens' Account³⁸ in 1603, 'Item to the Usher of the Free Schole, 20*s*.' points to a change of usher, Mr. Hussey, who succeeded Forman in 1602, having given place to one Robert at Lady Day 1603. His successor, Braithwayte, received an increased salary at the rate of £13 a year. He commanded the confidence of the town. For the council on 25 January 1604-5 agreed, that 'Maister Braithwayte, the usher, shall teach att some place within a myle or 2 of the towne, yf parents will board theyr children att such place; upon refusall whereof he shall be att libertie to go to Cambridge and lyve there till he be sent for hither agayne, and in the meane tyme to have the contynewance of his wages.' This was due to a visitation of the plague, which in London carried off, it is said, though it is incredible, 38,000 people and was very destructive in Nottinghamshire. The school was closed for three months; at a council meeting on 8 April 1605 it was agreed 'that the Schooll shall be begun agayne, by the favour of God, this day senight.'

There was a drop in the salaries both of master and usher in 1606. For five years after 1599, Mr. Lowe, the master, had received £20 a year, and Mr. Braithwayte, the usher, had been paid £13 a year. But on 23 June 1606 the following entry was made on the council

minutes: 'Ytt ys agreed by this company, that Maister Low, now Schoollmaister shall have £18 per ann: wages payable quarterly; and Maister Hall, now Usher, shall have £12 per ann: wages payable quarterly; and so to contynew upon theyr good deservings.' Mr. Hall was the Rev. Gervase Hall who in 1610 went on to be head master of Derby School, where he reigned some seventeen years.^{39a} On 3 April 1607 Mr. Lowe's reign came to an end.

*Maister Low.*³⁹—Maister Low, schoolmaster, hath this present day surrendred and resigned his place of schoolmaster voluntarily unto this company, which ys accepted with love and kyndnes.

Maister Kynnersley, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Phips, Mr. Jowett, Mr. Richd. Parker, Mr. Pynder and ye wardens to see the waynscottt att ye schooll and to deliver theyr opinions for Maister Low's demand and to consider of the convenyency of the parlour for Maister Usher.

New Schoolmaster.—Maister Thomas Sowresbye, elected and chosen schoolmaster, and hath taken the oath of supremacye, and all voyces have passed with him, so that he be of honest behaviour and contynew diligent in his place and callinge.

A little later—

28 April 1610 *Maister and Usher of the Free-school.*—This company being espetically assembled for and touchinge the nominating and chusinge of an new Usher in the place and roomth of Maister Hall, late Usher, who is now to go to Darby to be Head Master there, ytt is agreed as foloweth:

First, that [*blank in MS.*—his name was Richard] Sully, here present and commended to the company for his sufficiency both by Maister Soresby and Maister Hall, shall be Usher, and so to contynew upon his well dirservinge att the pleasure of the towne.

And whereas, by an order formerly made, when Mr. Lowe was Schoollmaster, the Usher's wages was made £12 per ann: and the Head Master's £18 per ann. and so 40*s*. per ann: was taken out of the Master's wages (which was £20 per ann:) and added to the Usher (which was £10 per ann:), and this was done then in respect of Mr. Lowe's declyninge sufficiency, and that the Usher then was to be most trusted with the discreet government of the sayd Schooll and by Mr. Lowe's consent: which rate of wages hath stood ever sithence; now, forasmuch as this company is well satisfied of the sufficiencie and well deservinge of Mr. Soresby, the Head Master, as hath appeared by tryall of him, . . . the sayd former order shall be voyde, and that now from hencefurth the said 40*s*. per ann: shall be fetched back agayne from the Usher and annexed to the Head Master's wages, as of right ytt owght, and that now from henceforth the Master's wages is and shalbe £20 per annum, and the Usher's £10 per annum. And hereto Mr. Soresby and [*blank*] Sully have assented.

Maister Hall.—And the company is contented that Maister Hall shall have his wages payd unto him now att his departure from Our Lady Day last till this day, accordinge to the rate thereof and accordinge to

³⁶ *Borough Rec.* iv, 242.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 262.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 264.

^{39a} *V.C.H. Derby*, ii, 219.

³⁹ *Borough Rec.* iv, 285.

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the measure of the tyme, and withall the company have subscribed theyr names to a letter in his behalfe to the Bailiffs and brethren of Darby to commend him unto them and to desier theyr loves towards him.

It is interesting to see from the next entry, under the same date, that it was not at Newark alone, because of its song school endowment, that singing was still taught in school, but in Nottingham also provision was made for it, though by voluntary effort and no doubt on payment of fees. It is also noticeable that, as in the Middle Ages, the teacher of singing was also the teacher of elementary subjects. 'Maister Allen.—Lastly, the company is contented that Mr. Allen doo teach still to wryte and singe, as heretofore he hath doone, and that he have the libertie of the parlor to teach his children in: whereto Mr. Soresby hath assented, and that those children be under the order and government of the said Mr. Soresby. And so all things is thus established amongst them to all theyr good lykings and contentmentes.'

This Mr. Allen was probably the person who was 'presented' on 13 October 1623 as 'William Allen of Adboulton, for keepinge of a Writinge Scole in the parishe of St. Maryes, for that he is a recusant,' i.e. Roman Catholic.

It is amusing to see the council taking advantage of an application by the master to enforce Sunday observances and fewer holidays.

19 June 1611.⁴⁰ Before this company was the Schooll account made, and the company is contented, upon Mr. Soresbies good desert and upon his humble mocion, to build him a little brewhouse for his necessary use; and accordingly Mr. Hurtt, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Stables, Aldermen, the Schoolwardens and others are gone to view ytt.

And itt is agreed, that the Schoolmaster have a care to have his children come to him upon every Sunday morninge before servyce, and so in the after noone and lykewise on every holyday, to be instructed by him and to attend him to the churche. And that the children be restrayned from so oft playinge as heretofore they have used, and herein Mr. Soresbye is required to take a speciall care that they p'lay not, in any case, upon any Monday, Wednesday, or Fryday, nor att the request of any mariadges, *prout* heretofore, &c.

On 17 August 1614 King James I spent a night at Nottingham, and the school no doubt took part in his reception; and in spite of the prohibition in Elizabeth's charter against the school endowment being applied to any but school purposes, it was made to contribute £6 13s. 4d. towards the expenses of the visit. As however the visit cost the town £57 19s. 3d., the bulk of which they had to borrow, they might perhaps be pardoned for getting a contribution from the school. A less defensible payment was that of 40s. out of the school funds

towards the wages of William Gregory as M.P. for the borough, an office he combined with that of member of the town council and town clerk.

Soresby had a distinguished pupil in the person of Richard Sterne, who became in 1633 master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and after being ejected in 1644 was at the Restoration made Bishop of Carlisle and in 1664 Archbishop of York. He is perhaps best known now, not so much for what he did as by his monument in York Minster, and most as having been great-grandfather of that somewhat disreputable cleric, Lawrence Sterne, the author of *Tristram Shandy* and the *Sentimental Journey*.

Soresby was buried in St. Mary's Church 11 March 1615-16.⁴¹ His successor, Robert Theobald, a scholar of Westminster School and of Trinity College, Cambridge, was installed in state, according to the Council Minutes.⁴²

29 May 1616. *New Schoolmaister*.—Before this company Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Alton brought Maister Theobald, who delivered a letter to Mr. Maior and his brethren in his commendacion from Mr. Doctor Richardson and 8 or 9 of the Fellowes of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge to preffer him to be Schoolmaister, and upon conference he is admytted to be schoolmaister upon his tryall and desert and to have £20 wages and the howse, and to be moderate in takinge of borders. And Mestris Soresby, beinge talked withall by us att the Schooll, ys contented and hath promysed to departe att Barholemewtyde nexte, and in the meane tyme the Scholl Master to have the garden and all the upper roomths, and she att her departure to have 20s. of this present quarter's wages and young Smith and his brother to have 30s. of the same quarter's wages and the new Schoollmaster to have 50s. of the same quarter's wages att Midsomer next. And hereupon he was admytted, all this company beinge atte ye Schooll with him.

Theobald had a distinguished pupil in one of Nottingham's chief worthies, John Hutchinson, the Parliamentary colonel, governor of the town, whose memory was enshrined in a *Life*, by his widow Lucy. He was the son of a country gentleman, Sir Thomas Hutchinson, of Owthorpe, but born in Nottingham, having been baptized in St. Mary's Church there on 18 September 1615.

When it was time for them to go to school [which would be about 1622], both the brothers were sent to board with Mr. Theobalds, the Master of the Free School at Nottingham, who was an excellent scholar; but having no children, some wealth, and a little living that kept his house, he first grew lazy and after left off his School. Sir Thomas removed his sons to the Free School at Lincoln, where there was a master very famous for learning and piety, Mr. Clarke; but he was such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantic forms that he gave Mr. Hutchinson a disgust of him, and he profited very little there.⁴³

⁴¹ *The Forester*, Apr. 1891, from Parish Reg.

⁴² *Borough Rec.* iv, 342.

⁴³ *Memoirs* (ed. Firth), 66.

⁴⁰ *Borough Rec.* iv, 302.

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Sir Thomas removed John from Lincoln and sent him again

to the Free School at Nottingham, where his father married a second wife and for a while went up to London with her; leaving his son at board in a very religious house, where new superstitions and pharisaical holiness, straining at gnats and swallowing camels, gave him a little disgust, and was for a while a stumbling block in his way of purer professions, when he saw among professors such unsuitable miscarriages . . . but he rejoiced in his removal, coming from a supercilious pedant to a very honest man, who using him respect, advanced him more in one month than the other did in a year. This tied him to no observation, nor restrained him from no pleasure, nor needed not, for he was so moderate when he was left at his liberty, that he needed no regulation. The familiar kindness of his master made him now begin to love that which the other's austerity made him loath; and in a year's time he advanced exceedingly in learning, and was sent to Cambridge.^{42b}

The character for laziness given to Theobald by Mr. Hutchinson is borne out by the Borough Records.⁴³ On 19 January 1623-4, the school wardens were presented 'for nott kepinge a sufficientt ussher in the Free Scoole; and we intreat your Worships to take good order for it, for the towne is greatlye hindred by it.' Next year the complaint was repeated and extended to the head master, 17 January 1624-5.⁴⁴ 'Item we present Mr. Wylleam Borrowes, Usher of the Free Scoole, for his insufficientie, and desire that thear may be another placed in his rome.' 'Item we present Mr. Theoballs for his necligence in teachinge and not followinge his scollers as the place deservethe.' Both of them were fined 3s. 4d. The head master, however, held office for another three years before giving up at Lady Day 1628. He retired to the living of Colwick, where he was buried 23 June 1643.

The proceedings of the council on the departure of Theobald and the election of his successor present to modern eyes a curious arrangement, amounting to what we should call a corrupt bargain, by which the outgoing sold his succession to the incoming master, with the full concurrence of the electors. But since, as is well known, any reversion not only of ecclesiastical benefices but of Crown appointments and even of fellowships of colleges was made a matter of bargain and sale it is not surprising that schoolmasterships were treated in like fashion. There are many instances of it. In the present case, the council took exceptional trouble to secure that the purchaser was competent for the post.

29 April 1628.⁴⁵ Scholemaister.—Ytt is agreed by this Companie thatt Mr. Leake shalbe Schoolemaister of the free-schoole in this towne in the place

^{42b} *Memoirs* (ed. Firth), 71-2.

⁴³ *Borough Rec.* iv, 389. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 391.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* v, 131.

and roome of Mr. Theobalds, nowe Schoole-maister, whoe nowe is preferred to the parsonage of Collwicke, soe thatt Mr. Theobalds doe resigne the same place unto Mr. Leake, and Mr. Coates, nowe parson of St. Peter's, doe lykewise approve of his sufficiencie for the same place and lykewise arbitrate betweene Mr. Theoballs (*sic*) and Mr. Leake whatt shalbe geven for his resignation; otherwise, in case Mr. Coats dow nott approve him to be sufficient for thatt place, then this Companie, upon such his dislyke signified to Mr. Maior, to proceed to a newe ellection of a Schoolemaister; and memorandum thatt Mr. Coats approvinge of him before this Companie, all the same companie went to the Schoole and gave him possession of the schoole with Mr. Thibball's (*sic*) consent and lykinge.

Mr. Thomas Leake's bargain, whatever it was, proved a good one both for himself and for the town. There were Leakes at Halam in Nottinghamshire and in 1596 at Sutton Scarsdale in Derbyshire, and Francis Leeke was head master at Southwell a little later. Thomas Leake held office for close on thirty years and died in harness. All through 'the troubles' he was sending a continuous stream of scholars from Nottingham to Cambridge; and no doubt, when Oxford ceased to be a Royalist camp, to Oxford also, but Oxford has not recorded the schools of its scholars. The registers of two Cambridge colleges enable us to ascertain for certain, what we could hitherto only guess or infer from casual scraps of biography, that this and other schools were doing the duty they were designed to do of sending boys up to the universities to complete their qualifications to serve the Commonwealth in Church and State. The two colleges are Gonville and Caius and St. John's. The former was then but a small college, the latter one of the largest and most fashionable in either university. The list of Nottingham boys at St. John's begins with Francis, son of Thomas Leake, gentleman, of Halam, no doubt a relation of the head master, who was entered as a sizar on 24 May 1632. He was followed by John Burnell of Winkburn, who went up as a pensioner, or paying scholar, on 29 June 1633; while William, son of John Alvey, a Nottingham baker, went up on 1 July 1634. They all entered at sixteen years of age. Amongst other Johnians were William Kinder, son of the rector of Cotgrave, in 1638; Erasmus, son of Daniel Delingue, kt., of Harlaxton, Lincolnshire, in 1639; Francis, son of Edward Willoughby, gentleman (and gentleman meant as a rule a son of a person of knightly birth), of Cossall, in 1651; and the sons of a Nottingham baker, of a husbandman or farmer, and of a tailor in 1655. These latter were some seventeen, most eighteen years old, on admission. The last admitted at the college who had been under Mr. Leake was Thomas Bealy in 1661. There were two boys from Nottingham at Gonville and Caius: one, son of a merchant, admitted

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in 1644, had passed on to Merchant Taylors' School, London, before going up; another who entered in 1660 had used Nottingham as a finishing school after three years at Melton Mowbray Grammar School. It is noticeable that both day boys and boarders were sent up, and that there was a much greater mixture of classes then than now, alike in the school and in the university: the school being free, and the university by the aid of sizarships being more open to the poor and much less expensive for them than now.

As usual a new head master was not long in getting a new usher, and soon after Leake's arrival we read in the Council Minutes:—

20 September 1630,⁴⁶ Monday. Mr. Lightfoote.—This companie are willinge to geve allowance that Mr. Samuell Lightfoote, an Universitie man, att the request of Mr. Leake, the Schoolemaister, and by the approbacion of Mr. Coats and Mr. Goodwyn, ministers, and others (whoe are well satisfied of his sufficiencie for thatt purpose) shalbe usher of the freeschoole in the place of Mr. Burrowes, and shall lyke-wise have and receive the usuall wages and benefitts thereunto belonginge, in hope thatt thesaide Mr. Lightfoote will be carefull in the same place and hereafter geve thatt content thatt shalbe well pleasinge to the Companie, and the generall good of the wholl towne.

2 June 1634, Monday.⁴⁷ About the King's Entertaynement on 4 Aug. 1634. Maister Lightfoote, the usher of the freeschoole, beinge sent for, hath undertaken to deliver a speeche to the Kinge and Queene att theire cominge to Nottingham; and hee to be furnished with apparell accordingly.

7 July 1634,⁴⁸ Monday. Maister [Samuell] Lightfoote to have £6, viz. £5 from the Scholewardens, and 20s. from Maister Maior, to fynd him clothes and other accooterments.

The Council Minutes for the year, under date 20 June, show that Robert Parker, mayor, borrowed of William Nix, alderman,

£200 to be ymployed by him for the intertaynement of the Kinge and Queene's Majesties whoe came to Nottingham 4 Aug. 1634 and stayed there 5 nights, Whereof paid as followeth . . . Item for Maister Lightfoote's sute, cloake, hatt, stockings, garters, showes, and other accooterments, £8 6s.

13 January 1634-5,⁴⁹ Tuesday. Maister Leeke.—This Companie are agreed thatt Maister Leeke, the Schoolemaister, shall have £6 13s. 4d. added to his £20 per ann: from the Schoolewardens, oute of the rents and profits of the Schoole; and this addicion to contynewe unto him duringe the pleasure of this companie, in hope thatt by his paynes and good deservinge in his place, hee will indeavor by his care to have the contynewance thereof to the good lykinge of the Companie.

That year 'John Cooke, a scholler of Cambridge' and a native of Nottingham, had 40s. presented to him by the schoolwardens on the authority of the council towards the expenses of

taking his degree, he being 'a hopefull yonge man.' Mr. Lightfoot proved inattentive to his duties. On 19 September 1636 the Minutes of the Common Council record that a committee of three 'beinge sent to Maister [Samuell] Lightfoote, the Usher, by this companie, to tell him of his neglecte in his place, in teachinge the Schollers under his tuition etc. hee hathe voluntarily resigned upp the same place and desires this companie to make choice of annother to succeed him; and hee is nowe att liberty.'^{49a} The appointment of his successor was chronicled on

29 November 1636.⁵⁰ Maister Wigfall.—This companie att the request of Sir Thomas Huttchinson, and Maister Byron, and with the good lykinge of Maister Leeke, the Schoolemaister, have accepted of Maister Wiggfall a M.A., to be the Usher in the roomthe and place of Maister Lightfoote, the late Usher, whoe hathe verie thanckfully accepted the same; and the saied Maister Wiggfall to have onely £10 per ann: and to have contynewance of the place and payment upon his good behavior, and att the pleasure of this companie; and Maister Wiggfall to be observant to Maister Leake, the Schoolemaister, as usually hath beene and ys nowe thoughte fittinge, and in his absence to be redy and diligent in the instruction of Maister Leak's side, as hereafter shall be occasioned; and this Companie are content thatt Maister Leake shall have 40s. for teachinge the usher's side this last quarter, and Maister Wiggfall to have 20s. geven him for his encouragement, for thatt hee is to receive nothings before Our Lady Day nexte; which somme of £3 is to be paid them by the Schoolewardens.

Perhaps Mr. Leake was exacting, as a new usher, Mr. David Woodroffe, was admitted 23 May 1637 'att the mocion of Maister Leake' at the same salary 'as Maister Wigfal had, . . . to be and contynewe unto him upon his good deservinge, and att the pleasure of this companie and his entrance to be from our Lady Day last.'^{50a}

It is strange to find the salary of the master in arrears.

20 February 1637-8. Maister Leeke.—This companie havinge taken into consideracion the demaunds of Maister Leeke, the Schoolemaister, touchinge the £31 3s. 4d. areres due from Maister Hopkyn, late Schoolewarden, for Mr. Leeke's annuall allowance for teachinge Schoole, and havinge referred himselfe and the same busines to the order of this Companie, ytt is ordered thatt Maister Leeke shall onely receive £30 and abate the odd monie, and the same £30 to be paid him by £3 6s. 8d. yearely att Michaelis by the Schoolewardens then in beinge; and yf Maister Leeke shall dye or leave the Schoole, before the saied £30 be fully paid, yett the same annuall payment to be contynewed to him, his executors and administrators, notwithstandinge such death or removeall of the saied Maister Leeke; and to this agreement Maister Leeke hathe assented by wittnessing the same under his hand.

^{49a} Ibid. 175-6. ⁵⁰ Ibid. v, 179. ^{50a} Ibid. 182-3.

⁴⁶ *Borough Rec.* v, 144.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 168.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 165.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 171.

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The Minutes of the Common Council, Thursday, 10 March 1641-2,⁸¹ show differences between master and usher:—

Maister Leeke and Maister Woodroffe.—Upon the hearinge of the matters of difference betweene Maister Leeke, Schoolemaister, and Maister Woodroffe, his Usher, Maister Leeke havinge preferred dyvers articles of negligence againste him, which beinge read unto him and havinge particularly answered thereunto, is nott altogether excusable from the same, insoemuche as the Companie are nott willinge thatt hee should be soe farr invested in the same place as thatt he may nott be removed from the same, yett this Companie are content to make a further triall of him for one quarter more, in hope of amendement of his negligence; and Maister Leeke, beinge herewith acquaynted, is well pleased to approve of this companie's direction, and hath accepted of Maister Woodroffe accordingly, upon hope of reformation in future; and soe for this tyme these differences are thus determyned.

But not seemingly for long, as next year, 5 April 1643, 'Maister Leake' was 'allowed by this Companie to have 25s. for servinge in the usher's place for this last quarter, and to gett an usher withall speede, or ells this companie to provide one withall speed.'

The school went on quietly all through the Civil War and the Commonwealth, Leake's services being highly appreciated. '13 October 1646.⁸² Maister Leake.—This company are desirous to augment Maister Leake his yearely fee, the Schoolemaister (the Governor mooveing it this day), and it is referred to Maister Leake whether hee will have it in monie, or have the two Ladies' Closes (that Maister Sergeant Boone held and Maister Greaves) at some small yearely rent. He elected money, as on 18 November 1646,⁸³ it was agreed that he 'for his tyme, shall hereafter have £40 a yeare wages, scilicet £10 a quarter, the first quarter payment begininge at Christmas next.' We hear little of the school for ten years, when probably Mr. Leake was getting somewhat past his work.

25 April 1656^{83a} Maister Drewrie, Alderman, Mr. Garner, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Bayly, Mr. Whitbye, Mr. Sulley [and] Mr. Hawkyngs are to order the busines touchinge the complainyt againste the Schoolemaister and usher.

3 Aug. 1657, Monday.⁸⁴ Maister Oxley, the usher, havinge petitioned for an increase of wages, this Companie are content to add £4 per ann: to his wages and to be paid him quarterly by the Scholewardens, the firste quarter to begyn att Michaelmas nexte.

19 Oct. 1657. This Companie are agreed thatt Mr. Docter Tuckney shall be written unto for his assistance in procuringe a Schoolemaister to supply the roome and place of Mr. Leeke, deceased, and this companie have promised to suspend theire voices, or assents, in anie eleccion of anie other thatt may be propounded to the companie untill Dr. Tuckney have written unto them touchinge his indeavors herein.

⁸¹ *Borough Rec.* 203.

⁸² *Ibid.* 244.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 245.

^{83a} *Ibid.* 287.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 293.

Dr. Tuckney was Anthony Tuckney, the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, appointed in 1653.

16 November 1657. The question is, whether Mr. Birtch and Mr. Pitts, commended by Mr. Dr. Tuckney to be Schoolemaister, onely, or they twoe and Mr. Ullocke shall bee in nominacion for to be Schoolemaister.

The 2 gentlemen commended by Mr. Dr. Tuckney to be onely in elleccion to be Schoole Maister; and by the vote of the howse the greater partt have made choyce of Mr. Pitts to be Schoole Maister, yf his sufficientye bee approved by these gent. followinge, or anie 5 of them:—Collonell Pierepont, Mr. Dr. Plumtree, Mr. Harcoortt, Mr. Whittlocke

and 5 others.

Mr. Ullock must have been some relation of William Ullock, who was a Johnian, and at the time head master of Repton, then in the height of fame and with some 200 boys. But he himself was probably not at St. John's, as he was not recommended by Dr. Tuckney, and is not in the St. John's Register; but neither is Birch or Pitts. The selected candidate was Pitts, Birch getting his turn after the Restoration. Pitts was probably the Henry Pitts who took his M.A. degree from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1663. The terms of his appointment are entered in the Council Minutes.

23 Nov. 1657.⁸⁵ Mr. Henrie Pitts, the committee having under their hands approved his sufficiency thereunto, beinge here in person, the towne are contented to allowe him for his sallarie £40 per ann. to enter and begyn presently after Christmas nexte, and a further addicion to be made to him as by this companie shall bee thoughte fittinge, accordinge to his diligence and paines in the same place; and onely to have 2 potacions yearely, and noe more, and nott to take above 12d. a peice of anie of the towne's children for those potacions, and nott to preach for Hire, nor to take upon him anie pastorall chardge, and nott to graunte or allowe anie play dayes above one in everie moneth, besides holly daies and such usuall tymes, and to give Mistris Leeke a convenient tyme to remove her goods. To all which Mr. Pitts doth consent and hath hereunto subscribed his name 23 November 1657.

Before he arrived he got the council, 17 December 1657, 'to make an addicion of £10 per ann. to the £40 formerly voted, . . . to make his salarie £50 by the yeare.' Mr. Oxley, the usher from 1653, resigned in 1658. 'Monday 24 May 1658. Mr. Oxley, the usher of the Freeschoole by reason of his weaknesse in his bodye, dothe freely surrender his place of an Usher, and hee is to have att Midsomer £6, and £6 more then and £6 more att Mich^{as}. nexte. And to have free libertye to teach schoole att his howse as formerly, and hee demeaninge himselfe well and orderly.'

The council kept Mr. Pitts strictly to his bargain not to do clerical duty. On 24 May 1658

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 294-5.

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the 'Companie' ordered 'thatt Mr. Pitts, the Schoole maister, shall nott preach att anie tyme duringe the tyme of his beinge Schoolemaister, unlesse, by the vote and lycence of Mr. Maior and Councell, hee bee thereunto lycenced and appoynted.' But on 1 July 1658 'Lycence is graunted to Mr. Pitts to preach att St. Marie's or elsewhere, the nexte Lords day onely, not withstandinge anie order to the contrarie.'⁵⁵ 17 June 1658. Mr. Pitts the Scholemaister, acquayntinge the Companie of his want of an Usher to assist him, hee hath proposed Mr. Thomas Ellkinton to have thatt ymployment; and the Companie doe take tyme until Mich^{as}. nexte to approve of the said Mr. Ellkinton and to have the assistance of Mr. Grauntt, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Barrett or anie 2 of them for his triall and approbacion.'

The following entry⁵⁶ shows that there had been great laxity in the administration of the school endowment: '3 March 1658-9. It is ordered that it be putt to the vote wheather the schoole lands should be allotted for Burgesse parts,^{56a} or to continue for the sole use of the Schoole. . . . It is ordered, that all such lands belonginge to the Free Schoole as have bene formerly allotted for burgesse partes, shall, from hence forward, as such Burgesse parts shall come in, be for ever hereafter imployed to the use of the Schoole.'

Mr. Pitts seems to have departed from the school without adequate notice. He went on to Walkeringham School, Norfolk.^{56b}

5 February 1663-4.⁵⁶ This day Mr. Samuell Birch M.A. is by this society conducted and hired [and] chosen to bee Schoolemaster of the free Schoole of the towne of Nottingham aforesaid and the said Mr. Birch is to have £50 per ann. . . . And . . . hath promised that he will not leave the sayd Schoole without giving a quarter's warning, in case hee should go from it; also that he will not take a personage nor vicorage, nor curatship upon him, nor preach without the consent of the Maior and Schoole-guardians, or 2 of them, firste had and obtained; also that he will bring his schollers to church on Frydays in Lent, to heare divine service etc. and likewise use prayers every morning in the schoole.

Birch had been an unsuccessful competitor on Pitts' election. There was the usual flow of ushers. '27 April 1664. This day Mr. Bastian was present, and by reason of his ministeriall function is willing to relinquish his place, beinge the under Schoolemaster, and the Schoolewardens are requested to search out for another to perform his place. . . '17 June' [*blank in MS.*] Bradshawe, now an Undergraduate of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, shalbe usher of the Grammer Free Schoole of this towne of Nottingham, if he shall accepte

⁵⁵ *Borough Rec.* v, 302.

^{56a} i.e. parts of the common lands allotted to burgesses.

^{56b} *St. John's Col. Reg.* pt. ii, 74.

⁵⁶ *Borough Rec.* v, 312.

thereof, and make his speedy comeinge to this towne.' Bradshaw, who took his B.A. degree this year at Cambridge and his M.A. degree in 1668, came and held office for seven years. On 23 August 1671 Mr. Joshuah Vringe or Uring was elected to 'succeede Mr. Bradshaw in the usher's place in the Freeschoole, at the same Sallary and condicions as Mr. Bradshaw formerly had.' Five of Birch's pupils were admitted to St. John's College between 1666 and 1672; the last, Edward Greathead of Stow, Lincolnshire, was presumably a boarder.

On 30 May 1672⁵⁷ the council 'freely elected Mr. Jeremiah Cudworth, M.A., to be Schoole-master in the place of Mr. Samuell Byrch, at the same yearely Sallary and under the same lymitacions and restriccions as Mr. Byrch was obliged unto.' Cudworth was of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1662 and M.A. in 1668.

On 25 May 1677 a committee was appointed to 'view the Free Schoole hou[s]e in order to the pulling down the West end.' It seems to have been in contemplation to remove the school altogether, a committee being ordered to 'be imployed to treat with Roberte Pierrepont esq., aboute the Exchang of the Freeschoole.' But nothing came of it. On 26 July 1677 Mr. John Littlefaire, B.A., was made 'Usher of the said Freeschoole dureinge pleasure in the place of Mr. Joshuah Vringe, deceased.'

Littlefaire was an 'old boy,' son of a 'mercier,' who had gone from the school to St. John's on 27 April 1674 at seventeen years of age, and was now only just twenty. On his death Mr. Samuel Birch was on 12 August 1685 elected to serve in his room. He was also probably an 'old boy' and the son of the former head master and a pupil of Cudworth's, as he was of Christ's College, B.A. 1678, M.A. 1682. On 2 December 1687⁵⁸ we find this entry in the Council Book: 'Be it remembered that this present day, the abovesaid Mr. Jeremiah Cudworth came personally into this house, and voluntarily requested to resign up his place of Head Schoolmaster of the Freeschoole of this town, in regard he had happened upon another preferment, which request was readily granted by this house, and ordered, that for the singular prudent and faithful management of his said office for divers yeares last past, whereby ye said school hath very much flourished, that their gratefull acknowledgements of his meritts may be recorded in the leiger book, to remain to posteritye.' The same day it is noted that, Cudworth 'being preferred to a considerable hireing, in a full house Mr. Knight was unanimously chosen in his place of head Schoolemaster aforesaid.' A few days later, 18 January 1687-8, 'the summe of £6 per ann.' was 'added to the salary of the under Schoolmaster, it being thought formerly

⁵⁷ *Borough Rec.* v, 317.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 335.

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too small for his maintenance.' This raised the salary to £30.

Knight was, perhaps, a Nottingham boy, as a Richard Knight was one of the councillors named in the town charter of 1688. Gowan Knight went up to Christ Church, Oxford, as a servitor on 23 July 1656, took his B.A. degree in 1661 and became a fellow of Merton College in 1663. He was vicar of Ashby de la Zouch in 1672 and of Ponteland, Northumberland, a Merton College living, in 1675. He became rector of Longford, Derbyshire, in 1690. This gave occasion to the following minute of 16 September 1690:⁵⁹ 'Whereas Mr. Knight, the Schoolmaster, was sent for by the Counsell this day, to know of him whether he intended to leave the school, having lately a living given him, as reported, and to acquaint him of complaints against him touching the discharge of his place and refusing to come; it is ordered that the Schoolwardens shall have notice given them to pay him no more quartridge after Michaellmas and to give him notice thereof, and that the Councill will take care for another Schoolmaster in his place.' On 8 January following it was 'ordered, that unlesse Mr. Knight and Mr. Birch, the Schoolmaster and Usher, do appear to-morrow at 2 o'clock at the towne hall, to attend the mayor and councill, and answer to such things as shall be charged upon them, notice whereof is ordered to be given them by Mr. Wingfield, one of the Schoolwardens, that this Councill will proceed to displace them and chuse others in their roome.' Next day the question was put

Quaere, whether Mr. Gowen Knight shall be removed from the office of Head Schoolmaster of the Free school of Nottingham; and also whether Mr. Samuell Birch shall be removed from the office of usher of the said free school?

Whereas power is given by the last will and testament of Agnes Mellors, the founder of the Free School of Nottingham, unto the Mayor, Aldermen, Counsel and the present Schoolwardens for the time being, or 8 of them, . . . for reasonable causes to remove and displace the Schoolmr. and Usher of the Free School from their places or offices: We therefore the Mayor etc. having severall times sent to the present Head Schoolmaster, Mr. Gowen Knight, and Mr. Samuell Birch, Usher of the said School, formerly and particularly having notice given them by the present guardians of the said School, to appear this day before the said mayor etc. to acquaint with such things as were objected against them in neglecting the duty of their office or places, which by the said mayor etc. are judged reasonable causes for their removall, which are ready to be alledged to them when required; and the said Mr. Gowen Knight and Mr. Samuell Birch have refused to appear here this day: we therefore the mayor, etc. have unanimously ordered that Mr. Gowen Knight shall be removed from the office of Head Schoolmaster of the said free school of Nottingham, and Mr. Samuell Birch from the office of usher . . .; and they are removed accordingly.

⁵⁹ *Borough Rec.* v, 368.

A new usher was elected in Birch's place the same day. But he had left before 3 April 1691. 'Memorandum, Whereas Mr. Griffith was by this howse chosen usher of the free schoole and that the said Mr. Griffith hath relinquisht and left the same; it is this day ordered that the aforesd. order be revoked, and it is accordingly revoked and made void.'

As a matter of fact Birch remained usher till 1708, while Knight, who probably made it understood that he would sacrifice the requirements of residence at his rectory to those of residence at the school, remained head master to the day of his death, 9 September 1691. He was buried in St. Mary's in the middle of the south aisle under a stone with a brass plate on it recording his being 'sometime fellow of Merton College in Oxford, late master of the Free School in this town,' and having died 'in the year of his age 56 current.'

'Whose name so fully doth his worth express
That to say more of him were to say less.'

On 14 September his successor was appointed: 'Whereas there is a vacancy in the free School of Nottingham by the death of Mr. Gowin Knight, . . . by the majority of votes of this house, Mr. Edward Griffith is elected and chosen to be Head Schoolmaster of the said School in h[is roome]. And the Schoolwardens are . . . ordered to g[ive] him possession of the same; And it is this day ordered that the said schoolwardens pay to the relict of Mr. Gowin Knight the quarterage due till Mich^{as}.' This is the first occasion on which an usher appears to have succeeded to the head-mastership. Edward Griffith was of Queens' College, Cambridge, B.A. 1689, M.A. 1693, in which year he was also incorporated M.A. at Oxford.

For some unknown reason on 25 April 1693⁶⁰ the schoolwardens' accounts for the year ending Michaelmas 1692 are solemnly entered on the minutes. They showed

	£	s.	d.
Rentall of the Lands belonging to the said Free Schoole as by their booke for that purpose appeareth	56	14	6
The tyth hay	38	17	7
Arreares of rents received by them	2	3	0
<i>Summa totalis</i> of the charge	97	15	1

Under the heading, 'The Discharge,' there are, among others, the following items:

Paid the Schoole masters for their yearly payment	80	0	0
For tollinge the Scholle's bell	0	4	0
For the Schoole Wardens' Fee	0	13	4
For the Schoole Wardens' Horses	1	0	0
For their necessary expenses	1	0	0
For glaseinge the Free Schoole	1	1	1
For repaires the Free Schoole	1	2	0

⁶⁰ *Ibid* 381-2.

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The usual difficulty arising from clerical employment arose in course of time with Mr. Griffith. On 18 August 1697⁶¹ he 'appeared upon summons and beeing charged for neglecting the Schoole whereby the Schoole is much decayed in its reputacion; he did then promise that he would not preach, or take upon him any pastorall office or care, and desired that Master Carrill, Mr. Drake and Mr. Simpson may examine the schollers of the Free Schoole as to their learning and the method of his teaching; which is agreed to be done the weeke after Michaelmas next.' The result of the examination seems to have been unsatisfactory.

19 December 1698. Itt is ordered that Mr. Griffyn, the present master of the Freeschoole, shalbe removed from his said place of master of the sd. Freeschoole, he having verry much neglected his duty therein, whereby the said Freeschoole is verry much decayed and lessened, to the greate prejudice and damage of the burgesses of the said towne in perticuler, and to the Inhabitants of this towne in generall, they beeing necessitated to send their children to other Schooles in the countryes for their education, to their greate charge and expence. And that the Schoole wardens doe give him a discharge, which they have done accordingly. And if he shall refuse to leave the said Freeschoole by Laydy day next, that they shall withdrawe his sallary.

Griffith, however, stuck to his post. So on 5 May 1699 the school wardens were ordered that they 'doe anew discharge Mr. Griffith, Schoolemaster; and in case he doe not resigne that an ejectment be delivered him to through him out of possession; or if he will give under his hands and seale that he will surrender imedyately, he shall have his sallary till Christmas next.' However, Christmas saw him in possession, and on 23 January 1699-1700 the 'house' agreed that the 'Schoolewardens doe pay Mr. Griffiths master of the Freeschoole his sallary and he to continue Schoole master till further order.'

For seven years more Mr. Griffiths continued and then was discharged again. This time his place was filled, and he had finally to leave with a solatium of £85. The new-comer was a person of considerable standing in age, experience, and reputation. Richard,⁶² son of Robert Johnson, of (Market) Harborough, Leicestershire, bred in the Grammar School there, was admitted a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of 18 on 15 September 1675, where he was a contemporary of the great classical critic, with whom he afterwards engaged in fierce literary war, Richard Bentley. After taking his degree he became in 1681 second master of the King's School, Canterbury. In 1684 he became head

⁶¹ *Borough Rec.* v, 395.

⁶² The greater part of this account is derived from an article by Dr. Dixon, formerly head master, in *The Forester* for 1871, for reference to which the writer is indebted to Mr. S. Corner.

master. But becoming a non-juror and refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William III, he was dismissed in 1689. He afterwards had a private school in Kensington. He was 50 years old, much older than the usual run of head masters in those days, when elected at Nottingham in 1707. He obtained the appointment on the recommendation of the Archbishop of York, John Sharpe, who was thanked by the Corporation 'for his care and trouble in making the selection and for the benefit he had conferred on the town by procuring so worthy and able a schoolmaster.' His advent to Nottingham was marked by a new addition to the school due to a new benefaction. John Parker, alderman, had by his will of 26 October 1693 directed the purchase of lands of the value of £20 a year, out of which his trustees were to employ £9, part of the first year's rents and profits, to apprenticing 3 boys from 13 to 15 for eight years at the rate of £3 a boy, and then bestow £10, part of the second year's rents and profits, in purchasing books such as they should think fit, for the founding and beginning of a library for the use and benefit of the master and scholars of the Free School in Nottingham, and so alternately to the end of 8 years; £9 a year to put out apprentices, and £10 a year to buy books. The rent in the ninth year was to be employed in setting up in trades the boys completing their apprenticeships; and afterwards in alternate years for apprenticing and setting up in trade. The books bought were to be lettered outside—'John Parker.' The £3 a year of any apprentice who 'miscarried' was to go to augment the book fund. The lands were bought at Harby, near Leicester. In 1707 the school wardens were ordered to fit up a place in the school for books, and in that year the first purchase of 12 books was made, and the next in 1709. A School Library was thus gradually built up.⁶³

The year following 'the part of the school next Barker Gate was ordered to be rebuilt,' and 'trees from the coppice were selected for use in the rebuilding.' The new building was commemorated by a Latin inscription to the effect that, 'This hinder part of the grammar teacher's house, decayed by age and all but fallen, was restored and enlarged by an upper row of chambers with money taken from the town treasury. William Drury, esq., mayor, Matthew Hoyland, Francis Smith, school wardens; Richard Johnson, master, A.D. 1708.'⁶⁴ There was

⁶³ The Parker Library was in 1904 placed in the large west schoolroom.

⁶⁴ 'Pars haec postica aedium Preceptoris Grammatices vetustate labefacta et tantum non collapsa, instaurata est et superiore conclavium ordine amplificata pecunia ex oppidano aerario deprompta, Gulielmo Drury, Arm[igero], Praetore; Matthaео Hoyland, Francisco Smith, Scholae Procuratoribus, Richardo Johnson, Moderatore, A.D. 1708.'

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apparently an accession of boarders to fill these upper chambers and the school increased. For next year Johnson proposed to find two ushers at £30 a year between them, which proposal was accepted by the Corporation. John Peake, who had been admitted a sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge, on 29 June 1706, and, though he came from Newcastle-under-Lyne, was probably a relation of John Peake, mayor of Nottingham in 1702 and 1709, was one of them. He apparently did not graduate.

Johnson had already published *A Treatise of Genders* (1703) and *Grammatical Commentaries* (1706) before being appointed to Nottingham, and he now, in 1707, put forth a *Defence* of the latter. The books were an attack on Lilly's, or the authorized, grammar, which the more advanced educationalists, as Milton had done in his English Latin Grammar, oddly called *Accidence commenced Grammar*, were beginning to criticize and endeavour to supersede by something more scientific. In 1709 he published a Latin poem on Nottingham races, entitled *Cursus equestris Nottinghamiensis, Carmen Hexametrum*, written in Virgilian style and treating the young lords, who in those happy days rode their own horses, as Aeneid heroes. In 1714 he published *Noctes Nottinghamiae*, discussions on grammatical points after the manner of Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. In 1717 he issued from the Nottingham printing-house of William Ayscough, in Bridlesmith Gate, *Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus*. This was a furious attack on Bentley, in which he purported 'to show 46 mistakes of Bentley, some occurring close together and such that he ought to blush for them, in his commentary on the First Book of Horace's *Odes*, as well as 90 most disgraceful slips in Latinity in the notes to the whole work.' He sought to obtain a market for this in Germany by sending a copy to James Gronovius, of Leyden, whom Bentley had 'gnawed with his savage wit,' and asking him to get the booksellers to take unbound copies at 2s. apiece. But Gronovius died before the letter reached him. Johnson makes some points against Bentley, though not of any great importance, and the book is so disfigured by abuse and exaggerations, making mountains out of molehills, that it seems probable the author's mind was already giving way.

In 1718 Johnson published *Additions and Emendations to Grammatical Commentaries*. In June the Town Council resolved that, as he had neglected his duties as master and had been for three months and upwards delirious and *non compos mentis*, 'he was unfit to hold office,' and should be displaced and a new master appointed in his room.

Mr. William Smeaton, of Queens' College, Cambridge, B.A. 1711, who had just taken his Master's degree (1718), was appointed and duly certified to the Archbishop of York for his

licence. Johnson, however, contested his dismissal and an action of ejectment was brought against him. Dr. Dixon quotes from Gilbert Wakefield's *Memoirs*:—'The advocate of the Corporation, after much personal reflection and unblushing rudeness, said: "In short, Mr. Johnson, that has happened to you which Felix imputed to St. Paul—" Much learning hath made thee mad.'" To this Johnson replied, that whatever might be the case with himself, he was persuaded that the excellent judge upon the bench and the honourable court would agree with him . . . that the gentleman who made this remark would never be mad from the same cause.'

This, and the production of a testimonial to his qualifications, given by the Corporation themselves, to enable him to procure another place, was the case for Johnson. In December 1719, however, he executed a deed of resignation in consideration of a pension, and received £40 down and £20 for costs. Two years later he was found lying with his head downwards in a shallow stream, outside the town, and the register of St. Nicholas records:—'1721, Mr. Richard Johnson, clerk, author of ye Gramat. Comment. burd. Oct. 26.' So that there is little doubt that counsel was right, and that Johnson was mad, whether from much learning or from other causes, and committed suicide while of unsound mind.

Before the legal proceedings were over, Smeaton had gone, and Mr. William Saunders, of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, M.A. 1714, had been appointed in his place. On his resignation, Mr. Miles was appointed and certified to the archbishop, but, before entering on office, retired. A Mr. Hardy was master in 1731, when a pupil of his entered at St. John's College, Cambridge. John Womack, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, took his place, to be succeeded within the year by John Swale or Swaile. A pupil of Swale entered St. John's College, Cambridge, on 20 February 1733-4. He proved a more permanent official. One of his first acts was to procure the erection of a fireplace in the school, which had apparently till then been unwarmed. This is no particular reflection on Nottingham, as there is a striking passage in a poetical account of Winchester School about 1650 (which used to be attributed to 1560) as to how the school faced the sun, and the boys warmed themselves in the breath of his mouth, there being no fireplace until the present school was built in 1689. It was not till after the Restoration that we find anywhere fireplaces in schools. At the same time the salary of the head master and usher—the latter being George Bettison—was increased. Mr. Swale restored the fortunes of the school, as we find sons of a parson at Southwell and of an esquire at Shenton, who had been at the school under him, admitted at St. John's College, Cam-

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bridge, in 1734 and 1735. The Rev. John Herson, whom Carlisle⁶⁶ gives as succeeding Swale in 1731, was not head master, but usher. On Swale's departure the Rev. Edward Chappell was appointed, but resigned almost immediately. James Herson⁶⁶ was then elected master and George Wayte usher. The latter was succeeded after a short interval by the Rev. Thomas Nixon. The Rev. Timothy Wilde was appointed head master in 1758, and his long reign of 35 years proved well-nigh the ruin of his school. The usher, Nixon, resigned on his arrival, and his place was filled by the Rev. Francis Herson, who was, we may conjecture, the son of the late master, and then by Samuel Beardmore. Soon after the latter's coming disputes arose between him and the master, which produced an order from the Corporation 'for the writings to be inspected' as to their power over them. In the result Beardmore resigned. The Rev. William Fell succeeded, but did not prove very satisfactory, the Corporation really wanting the usher to become an elementary teacher. So we find them passing a minute to the effect that 'if Mr. Fell resigns, Mr. Anderson shall be appointed to teach English Grammar and give lessons every day in an English book.' Mr. Fell did resign, and Mr. Anderson was selected on that basis. At length, in 1793, Timothy Wilde agreed to resign on conditions; and the Rev. John Challand Forrest, of Queens' College, Cambridge, where he had taken his M.A. degree in 1783, was appointed. A year later the then usher, the Rev. Leonard Chapman, resigned, and Robert Wood, of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A., 1793, long afterwards head master, succeeded him. If the school had lapsed into the decadence into which so many, probably the majority of Grammar Schools in the second half of the 18th century fell, this was owing to the mismanagement of the Corporation, who, in spite of a large increase in the value of the endowment, had continued to pay the master £50 a year and the usher £30. The salary was now increased to £100. Under Forrest there were no boys on the foundation; but he taught a few, not exceeding 10, private day scholars for whom he was paid by the parents. The usher had a few boys, never more than 10.

On the death of Forrest, the Rev. John Toplis, B.A., was appointed head master, and the Town Council made an effort, by no means wisely designed, to effect an improvement in the school, which though it brought at all events some boys to it, degraded it for half a century into little more than a close elementary school for the sons of the freemen of the borough.

⁶⁶ *End. Gram. Sch.* ii, 279.

⁶⁶ It is possible that 'James' is written by mistake for 'John' in the council minutes, and that the usher was appointed head master.

By Ordinances and Statutes⁶⁷ of 17 February 1807, which affected to be made in addition to the regulations contained in the deed of foundation, in pursuance of the power committed to the Town Council by the foundation deed (though the statutes to be made under that power were not to be 'in any wise contrary or repugnant to the statutes' of the foundress), the school, which was by her statutes free and open to all, was now limited to 60 boys, who had to apply for admission through the mayor, and were admitted by the Common Council, the Town Clerk furnishing a certified list to the School Wardens. At the time the endowment of the school brought in £461 a year. In 1818 the head master had a house and £150 a year, of which £50 was called 'a gratuity at Lady Day if his conduct has been satisfactory to the Trustees.' The under master, the Rev. Robert Wood, D.D., received £110, of which £40 was 'gratuity,' and a writing and arithmetic master, added soon after the new regulations of 1807, had a salary of £60 a year, and a capitation payment of 10s. a year from each boy, or £90 a year in all. The result was that Carlisle⁶⁷ in 1816 reports that the corporation sent only 55 boys to the school, which 'may now be regarded as a useful seminary for teaching boys English Grammar, reading, writing, and arithmetic. But its former celebrity in classical learning is at an end.'

In spite of this the school managed in half a century to produce even wranglers at Cambridge, among them the Rev. C. W. Woodhouse, who entered the school in 1826, was a scholar of Caius College, 22nd wrangler in 1840, and subsequently canon of Manchester; and Joseph Bell, a wrangler in 1846. J. R. Hind, who went to the school about 1831, was a scientific author at 16, and became an astronomer of some note. He received a medal from the French Institute in 1869, became President of the Astronomical Society in 1880, and died in 1895. The head masters of this inglorious period of the school history were, besides Toplis, Robert Wood, D.D. (1820-33), who had been second master, and William Butler (1833-61).

When the school was visited by Mr. W. H. Eve for the Schools Inquiry Commission⁶⁸ in 1867 he found it with 92 boys, divided into classical and English schools, the foundationers nominated by the trustees paying £2 2s. a year, and others £10 10s. Only day boys were allowed. The playground, which was 225 sq. yds., was open only to the classical school. The results of the close system were deplorable. The school gave neither a good classical nor a good modern education. No boys had gone from the school to the university for more than five years.

⁶⁷ *Char. Com. Rep.* xx, 394.

^{67a} *End. Gram. Sch.* ii, 278.

⁶⁸ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xvi, 411.

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The first class on the classical side contained two boys between 15 and 16, who did very fair Latin verses and construed and parsed Xenophon and Cicero well. The rest were considerably below them. The second class was in Caesar. Of the Latin of the third class it was said: 'All of them . . . but a few boys of 10 would be called decidedly backward for their age.' The English school was taught by two certificated, i.e. elementary, teachers. The boys in the first class knew practically no French. 'Their English was very fair. . . . They (i.e. the whole school) worked arithmetic neatly . . . but were not very advanced.' The Rev. Frederick Teeling Cusins⁶⁹ was then master. Though described as 'temporary,' he had been master for seven years. Educated at Sheffield Grammar School and King's College School, London, he went to St. John's, Cambridge, where he became a senior optime in 1849. He came to Nottingham as second master in 1854, and became head master in 1861. He was the only graduate on the staff. Cusins retired to the living of Hykeham in 1868, and died in 1900. A tablet to his memory was erected in the school in 1901.

The reason why Mr. Cusins was called temporary master was that under powers contained in a private Act of Parliament in 1860 the school was in course of re-construction and removal. In 1862 a site for a new building was purchased in the centre of the ridge on the north side of the town. The ground formed part of extensive Lammis Lands, which had then been recently inclosed, and out of which the general cemetery, the arboretum, the church cemetery, and the Forest recreation ground, were secured as open spaces. The building on the new site was erected from the designs of Mr. E. Patchitt, a solicitor and clerk to the trustees, who is believed to have had the occasional assistance of a professional architect. One of Mr. Patchitt's ambitions was to build an imitation of the up-turned boat which is described in *David Copperfield* as the abode of Mr. Peggotty, and a huge room of this shape accordingly forms part of the present school. The rest of the plan comprised three more very large rooms and a number of very small ones, all alike unsuited in the opinion of subsequent head masters to the purpose for which they were intended. Moreover, though a large site was secured, the buildings, in spite of many remonstrances, were placed in the middle of it, and what might have been a handsome playground was frittered away into two small areas. As the building, which resembled three small churches connected by the up-turned boat above-described, did not contain floor space enough for the boys who subsequently came to the school, a passage was excavated beneath it in the solid rock and in this more rooms were built, but the

main building was left, supported at every corner by a shapeless pillar of rock. It was not till 1885 that the present buildings were completed, the lawns laid out, and the school made presentable.

It is interesting as showing how little any of us can see ahead that the site was said in 1867 to be 'between the Arboretum and the race-course, so that however much the town extends it is not likely to be enclosed by buildings. There is land enough for a large playground.' The school is now surrounded on every side by buildings, except on that of the Arboretum, which has fortunately been converted into a public park 'for ever to endure.' The playground has long proved insufficient. The Act gave the school the name of High School, a very ancient title for the great or chief school of a town, in use at Winchester before Wykeham's foundation and at Lincoln in the 14th century, but now chiefly confined to girls' schools.

Among the competitors for the head-mastership in the new buildings was the late Walter Besant, the novelist. Robert Dixon, the selected candidate, born at Marlborough in 1835, had been at Marlborough Grammar School, whence he had gained a Somerset Exhibition at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was fifth senior optime and third in the second class of the classical tripos in 1857. He was, when elected, second master of Hereford Cathedral Grammar School, and an M.A. of Cambridge. While at Nottingham he took the degree of LL.M. in 1872 and of LL.D. in 1878. Mr. Dixon was a big man, with a powerful brow and a long brown beard, which gave him an Olympian aspect. He was equally keen as a geologist and as a student of Horace. His old pupils' account of him when he died 8 February 1893⁷⁰ shows that he impressed the boys alike with the variety of his knowledge and the force of his character. On 16 April 1868 the new High School was opened with 80 boys; by Midsummer 1869 the numbers had risen to 281, and ten years later to 395.

In the new buildings, however, the school was organized, as of old, into an upper and a lower school, the fee for the former being £8 a year, and for the latter £4. But as the payments of fees was a novelty it was very unwelcome to the old inhabitants of the town. The upper school seldom exceeded 100 boys, but the lower school sometimes had as many as 250. Both schools were understaffed. Yet the quality of the output improved as well as the quantity. An exhibition at Balliol in 1871 was followed by a junior studentship at Christ Church in 1873, and other scholarships and exhibitions at both universities.

It is a remarkable proof of how reform of charities, so far from killing charity, as is often alleged by those who oppose reforms, begets

⁶⁹ *The Forester*, July 1902.

⁷⁰ *The Forester*, April 1893.

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charity, that whereas there had been only one gift to the school since the days of Elizabeth, no sooner was the school reformed and put on a better basis so as to command the confidence of the town than further endowments came pouring in. Between 1868 and 1882 the Morley, the Moore and Copestake, two Cooper, a Trustees' and Town, and an Old Boys' scholarship, each worth £60 a year, had been founded by individual donors or joint subscriptions, together with a Bishop Exhibition of £5 and a William Enfield Exhibition of £25 a year.

After 1880, however, a decline set in. This fact and the long-standing squalor of the school premises and other causes produced a ferment of indignation in the town, and general pleasure was felt when, in 1882, the Charity Commission framed a new scheme for the management of the foundation and introduced new blood into the governing body. The scheme, made under the Endowed Schools Acts, was approved by Queen Victoria in Council 3 May 1882. It took the management of the High School out of the hands of the Municipal Charity Trustees, and vested it in a body of seventeen governors, consisting of the lord-lieutenant of the county, the mayor of the town, and the chairman of the now defunct School Board, together with three representatives of the Town Council and the Justices of the Borough and one each of the three universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, with five co-optatives. The school was made one and indivisible, the separate departments being abolished; the tuition fee was fixed at £8 to £16 a year, and the boarding fee at £65 a year. The name of the foundress was commemorated by 10 Agnes Mellers scholarships, to be awarded preferentially to boys from elementary schools, entitling to freedom from tuition fees, and an allowance of not less than £5 a year in addition. By another scheme, becoming law the same day, Sir Thomas White's charity, founded 6 July 1552, so far as applicable to Nottingham, was made applicable to the school, £25,000 capital being reserved for the original purpose of free loans to tradesmen on setting up in business. This curious charity consisted of four-sevenths of the income of estates held by the corporation of Coventry which was applicable in rotation to Coventry, Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham and Warwick, each town receiving its share once in five years. In consideration of this the school scheme provided for 10 Sir Thomas White scholarships for day boys of the same value as the Agnes Mellers scholarships, three leaving exhibitions of £50 a year, tenable at universities or other place of higher education, and two leaving exhibitions of £30 a year. As a result of the new scheme a large number of scholars left and the school sank rapidly to less than 200 boys. The new governors, of whom the late Dr. W. H.

Ransom, F.R.S., was the most conspicuous and energetic, soon thought it advisable to have a new clerk and a new head master. The former was found in Mr. (now Dr.) E. H. Fraser.

In 1884 Dr. Dixon retired to Cullompton in Devon and in 1887 was made vicar of Aylesbeare.

Dr. James Gow, the new head master, was at King's College School, London, whence he won a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was chancellor's medallist and third in the classical tripos in 1875, and a fellow of Trinity in 1876. He was called to the bar in 1879. As a University Extension Lecturer in the early days of the Cambridge movement to spread university ideas and culture among the populous regions of the north and the midlands, he made a great impression at Nottingham, which ensured his election out of a strong field for the head-mastership in 1884. He was perhaps the first layman to hold the office, at all events since the days of Elizabeth. He stayed for seventeen years. His legal experience stood him in good stead, for in fact little had been done to carry out the directions of the new scheme, and many subsidiary schemes and re-arrangements were left over for the new officers. It should be said, in fairness to Mr. Patchitt, that he had greatly increased the value of the school property and, though most of his expenditure was worse than useless, he had provided the school with a good revenue. The buildings were now taken in hand and put into good order: the accounts were recast, plans drawn up for the award of scholarships and exhibitions, new time-tables and curricula prepared, a scheme of salaries arranged and some improvements in the staff effected. These things were not carried through without opposition, which was all the stronger because Dr. Gow had not previously had much experience of school-teaching. But gradually he got the better of all difficulties and launched the school on the tide of prosperity. He began with 178 boys. For the first five years his increases were small. The first open scholarship was won at St. Catharine's, Cambridge, in 1888. Two years later there were scholarships at Sidney, Cambridge, and at Durham. In 1890 he passed 5 boys for the London matriculation, and 44 for the Cambridge Local Examinations, with 9 distinctions. In 1891 he ventured to publish his first school list, which showed over 250 boys.

In July 1900 there were 362 boys in the school, of whom 9 had passed the London Matriculation, and 29 the Cambridge Local Examinations; and 23 old boys as undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge, of whom 15 had open scholarships. Successes at the universities, when once they began, came abundantly, and it was considered a poor year when boys of the High School won less than five open scholarships at the universities. The new cricket ground in Map-

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perley Park was opened in Dr. Gow's time, and he also established the cadet corps. When in 1901 he left Nottingham for the head mastership of Westminster, amid many demonstrations of gratitude and goodwill, he could look back on an immense deal of good solid work. He had won for the school a distinguished place among the grammar schools of the country and an enduring popularity and respect in the city of Nottingham itself. He has since been elected a Governor of the High School, Nottingham.

On 1 July 1901 George Sherbrooke Turpin was elected head master. He was an old Nottingham boy, born in the town, who entered the school in 1874. In 1882 he won a leaving exhibition and a Gilchrist scholarship, and in 1883 a scholarship in physics at Owens College, Manchester. Thence he went with a major foundation scholarship to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was in the first class in the Natural Science Tripos, Part I, in 1886, and in Part II in 1887. Spending a year at Berlin University, he was made Doctor in Science of London University in 1889. He became lecturer in chemistry at Cardiff University College in 1890. After being in succession principal of the Storey Institute, Lancaster, and of Huddersfield Technical College, he became in 1895 head master of Swansea Grammar and Technical School. He has engaged in researches on the ignition of explosive gases.

There were on the school list for September 1909 371 boys, including the preparatory school, in which the smaller boys are under the charge of two mistresses.

The Classical Sixth contained 11 boys, headed by one who had gained a scholarship at St. John's, Cambridge, while the second had won one at Selwyn College, Cambridge, and the third an exhibition at St. John's. The Mathematical and Science Sixth consisted of 12 boys, of whom the second had also got a scholarship at St. John's, and the Modern Sixth of three boys. The Classical Sixth drop science and the Science Sixth eschew Greek.

NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

This college is unique in England as being the product and possession of a municipal corporation. When the University of Cambridge started its first University extension movement, in no place were its lecturers received with greater fervour or by larger and more enthusiastic audiences than in Nottingham. Moved by their success and desirous of placing them on a permanent basis, a donor, who still remains anonymous, in 1876 offered to the Town Council of Nottingham £10,000 on condition that they should provide buildings for University extension

to include a lecture room capable of holding 400 persons. The Town Council resolved at once to erect buildings for the scientific and other higher education of the town and include the Free Library and Natural History Museum. A site of two and a half acres in the centre of the town in Shakespeare Street was given by the Town Council in 1877, and £60,000 out of funds under the control of the Corporation, besides £10,000 spent on the splendid pile of buildings erected on it. The buildings front on Shakespeare Street, with a tower and spire 120 ft. high above the principal entrance. The centre or main building is occupied by class-rooms and laboratories, including the stipulated lecture room for 400 people. The west wing is occupied by the Natural History Museum, removed from Wheeler Gate, where it had been formally inaugurated in 1872, and technical schools. The east wing is devoted to the Public Library, removed from Thurland Street, where it had been opened in 1868. The college was opened by Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, on 30 June 1881. William Garnett, scholar and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, fifth wrangler in 1873, was appointed to organize it in 1882. When it was reported on by the Royal Commission on Technical Education in 1884,¹ he informed them that 'to attract students he had been willing to start classes for even a single individual.' There were in day classes, which represented the higher teaching, 7 students in electricity, 10 in mechanics, 30 in elementary mathematics, 3 in intermediate arts, and 1 in intermediate science. The evening classes of a more popular character contained 40 students in electricity, and 4 in theoretical mathematics. In 1890 Cooper's devisees gave £5,000 for engineering workshops, to which the Drapers' Company of London added £4,000, and the Nottingham Town Council £6,000 in 1891. A Heymann scholarship of £25 a year was founded the same year. In 1898 there were a principal, 6 other professors, and 52 lecturers, the bulk of whom were 'visiting,' and 1,879 individual students, of whom about 1,400 were evening students only. Only 216 students received more than 20 weeks' instruction.

The college, till then managed by a committee of the Town Council, was incorporated by charter of 27 August 1903, and is governed by statutes approved by the Privy Council 6 May 1904. The government is still practically vested in the City Council, as the Court of Governors consists of the President, now the Duke of Portland, some Vice-Presidents, and the Corporation; and the Council, of President, Vice-Presidents, two representatives each of Oxford and Cambridge and thirteen representatives of the City Council.

¹ Rep. i, 477.

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In 1907³ the college contained 2 general laboratories, 6 physics laboratories, besides laboratories for applied chemistry, metallurgy, biology, and geology, a special laboratory with photographic room, and one for private research, 17 class-rooms and 9 private rooms for professors and lecturers. There were 5 departments—languages and literature, including history, chemistry, and metallurgy; natural science, mathematics and physics, and engineering—under the Principal, the Rev. J. E. Syme, 10 professors, and 49 lecturers and demonstrators. There were 2,320 students, of whom 499 were day students. Only 281 received more than 500 hours' instruction, of whom 168 were men and 113 women. The fees were £9 a year for London matriculation; £18 a year for science and engineering, and £21 a year for the chemical course. The evening classes averaged about 2s. 6d. an hour a term.

In 1905-6 degrees at London University were gained by 13 students of the college, and in 1906-7 by 16, of whom 3 became B.A. and 13 B.Sc., 5 with honours.

EAST RETFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The first we hear of this school is in connexion with the benefaction of Thomas Gunthorpe, parson of Babworth, who¹ in 1518 'of his good charitable and virtuous disposition,' agreed with the bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty of the town that they should 'at his own proper costs and expenses build and set up in timber, workmanship and all other things necessary, a schoolhouse in East Retford, upon such a convenient ground in the same town as could be devised between the said parties.' Apparently it was only the building which was due to the private benefactor, the school itself being endowed by the appropriation to it of the Trinity and Our Lady's chantries. Such at least was the practice as set out in the chantry certificate made by 'Sir John Markeham, knight, William Cowper and Nicholas Powtrel, esquiers, and John Wyseman, gentleman,' commissioners appointed 14 February 1545-6 under the Chantries Act of 1545, which enabled the king to take possession of any colleges, chantries, guilds or brotherhoods and appropriate their revenues to the service of the state, especially to the cost of the wars against France and Scotland.

These commissioners found in^{2a}

THE PARISSHE OF EASTE RETFORD

The Chauntries called the trynite Chaurtrie and our ladye Chaurtrie, in Este retforde, founded by the

³ *Bd. of Education Rep. on Univ. Colleges.*

¹ John S. Piercy, *Hist. Retford*, 1828, p. 20.

^{2a} A. F. Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 160, from Chant. Cert. 13, no. 26.

predecessors of the bailiffes, burgesses, and Comynalte of the said towne, in Consideracion that the saide towne of Esterettford, being a markett towne, and greatlye inhabited withe people, and muche resortte therunto, to the intente that Godes service moughte be the better and the more honorablye mayntayned, and also for other Godlie purposes, as mor playnelye apperithe by the foundacyon to the Comyssoners shewed. [The yerlye valewes accordynge to the boke of the tenthes], 73s. 4d.

[The yerlye valewes as nowe surveyed, &c.], 73s., Goyng owte of 9 decayed howses and 5 toftes in the said Burgage, whiche were for the moste parte consumed and brente, like as almoste the holle Burghe was; and sythens the tyme of the same fire there the moste parte of the said rent hath ben employed towards the Reedificacion of the same decayed howses, and the residewe ben imploied towards the lyvinge and fyndynge of oon Discrette prieste, beinge a Scolle master there, for the Brynginge vpp of youthe in Godley lernynge, and to mynistrer within the said Churche accordynge to the said foundacyon.

The said Chaurtrie is no pariche Churche, but within the parissh church of Estretford aforesaid, and that there be 5 hundred howselinge people by estymacion, havinge no more priestes, but the vicar and this prieste there.

The mancion howses of the said two Chaurtrie priestes were consumed and brente by casuaty of Fyer, and as yett not Reedyfyed.

The population represented by 500 'howselinge people' or communicants is about 2,000. Probably no town of that size in pre-Reformation days was without its school. It is certain that the school did in fact exist before the fire in question, which took place about 1528, as proved by Gunthorpe's agreement in 1518. But it is possible that it was not endowed, and lived on tuition fees until the fire. For it must be remembered that the educational movement, of which Dean Colet's re-endowment of St. Paul's Cathedral Grammar School as the 'Free Scole of Poules' formed a conspicuous instance, was not a movement for the erection of grammar schools, but for the endowment as free of grammar schools which had been fee-paying schools before. The certificate of Edward the Sixth's Chantry Commissioners³ two years later states that the appropriation of the chantries to the school only took place after the fire, and was made because the income was so decreased that it would not suffice for two priests, but would temporarily help one priest-schoolmaster, whose name was Charles West. They found in

EASTRETFORD

Twoo Chaunteries of the holie Trynytye and our Blyssed Ladye within the parissh of Este Rethforthe.

Founded by the Bailyff and burgieses there to finde 2 prestes and nowe converted to kepe a Scole for a certain tyme. Ys worthe by yere in landes, Tenementes, and other possessions, lying and being in

³ Leach, *op. cit.* 164, from Chant. Cert. 37, no. 66.

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Diuerse and sondrye places within the parishe of Est Retforth, As by the Survey therof made particularly yt dothe appere, 73*s.* 8*d.* Wherof in

Rentes Resolute yerely, 9*s.* 3*d.*, And so

Remayneth clere yerely vnto Charles Weste, Scholemaster there, for and his finding in keping of a Scole there by yere, 64*s.* 5*d.*

Memoranda: Goodes Remaying or coming to the Kinges maiesties vse by reason of this chauntry, over and besydes one Challice of syluer waying 7½ ounces not deliuered vnto the Master of the Kinges Jewell house as yet, 3*s.* 4*d.*

The Churchwardaines there haue vpon their othes presented, That there ys one Annuall rent of 73*s.* 8*d.* apperteyning to this saide 2 Chaunteries comming and Growing of Ten decayed messuagies and 5 Toftes in Estrethforthe aforesaide, Nowe in the severall tenures of the Inhabitauntes of the Burgage there for terme of certaine yeres, as appereth by a Rental therof made, Whiche houses about 20 yeres paste were burnt with the hole towne, By reason wherof Richarde Beyoke and Robert mowbery, Then Chauntry preistes there, were removed by the mutuall consentes of themselves and the saide Baillyfes and Burgiesses for a tyme vntill the saide Toftes and messuages were buylt and Reedyfyed againe, at whiche tyme it was agreed, as before, that they shoulde be restored vnto the hole lvynges againe, whiche, before the said burning chaused, was moche more then the said somme of 73*s.* 4*d.* And forasmoch as the said Baylyfes and Burgiesses were not able to buylde the said houses and other the premysses vnto the valiewe of suche a some as of long tyme before was payeable to the said Chauntry preistes, They haue employde and converted the said somme of 73*s.* 4*d.* by them recouered (before this Survey) vnto the finding of one syr Charles Weste, preste and scolemaster there, towarde the Bringing vp of youth, And for bycause, in the meane season, the said landes are commen vnto the Kinges maiesties handes by reason of an acte of parlyament therof made, the saide 2 incumbentes are vnprovydede of theyr said lvynges vnto them promysde by the sayd Baylyves and Burgiesses, And that Sir Robert mowebury hath £16 yerely, That is to saie, being pencyoner of one of the vicar's chorals in Southwell, and £10 being vicar of Knesall.

An abstract⁴ of this certificate, made shortly afterwards for the purpose of enabling the officers of the Court of Augmentations to determine what chantries or parts of chantry income should be continued because appropriated to education or eleemosynary purposes, found at

EAST RETFORDE

The Trinytie Chauntrye and our Lady Chauntrye within the parishe Churche ther, wher Arr by estymacion Fyve hundreth houselinge people and no mo priestes but the vycarr and this

Founded to maynteyne the seruyce in the Churche ther, to bringe vp Children, and other Godly purposes not expressed, 73*s.* [Plate and Gooddes], 44*s.* 8*d.*

But the statement that the chantries were founded to bring up children, being in contradic-

tion to the certificate, was ignored, as in the warrant for the continuance of schools and the like in Nottinghamshire, 20 July 1548, the only schools mentioned are those of Southwell and Nottingham.

Whether the school ceased then may well be doubted. The loss of £3 4*s.* 5*d.* a year, though no doubt a great deprivation in days when £10 a year was, as we have seen, a good endowment for a first-rate school, was not necessarily fatal to its continuance. As the corporation bestirred itself and received the assistance of the country round, and the aid of the diocesan, the reforming Archbishop of York, Robert Holgate, who had shown his own keen interest in the spread of free schools by founding no less than three in Yorkshire, they obtained not indeed a restoration of their own chantry lands, but a grant of the lands of dissolved chantries in other places in the county, towards the endowment or re-endowment of the school.

By letters patent 9 December 1551⁵—not, as it is given by Carlisle and other writers through a misrendering of the year of the king into the year of the Lord, 1552—‘on the petition as well of the bailiffs and burgesses of East Retford as of very many others of the whole country round, the king granted that there should be a grammar school at East Retford to be called the Free Grammar School of King Edward VI,’ to consist of a master and usher, to continue for ever. For its maintenance he granted ‘all that chantry of Sutton in Loundale within the parish of Lound’ and its lands, the chantry of Tuxford with its lands, mostly in Kirton, and the chantry of Annesley and its lands in Kirkby in Ashfield, Morton, Annesley, and Bleasby, the whole worth £15 5*s.* 3¼*d.* a year, ‘for the maintenance of the school and of the master and under master and for other things concerning the same.’ The bailiffs and burgesses had the appointment of the master and usher, and were empowered to acquire other property up to the value of £20 a year and to make statutes with the advice of the Archbishop of York. The statutes made accordingly and signed by the archbishop on 30 April 1552 are preserved, and are some of the fullest and most interesting of Edwardian school statutes, very few specimens of which are extant.

The statutes begin with assigning the usher to teach the lower forms, and directing master and usher to ‘command and compell’ their scholars to attend service in the parish church every Sunday and holiday, ‘and that those scholars which be apt and meet for the same do help in the quire to maintain divine service there.’ This might have been taken from any pre-Reformation statutes. But the next was new. They were to ‘cause one of their said scholars every Sunday to read the catechism in English openly and distinctly in the body (i.e. nave) of the said

⁴ Leach, *op. cit.* 170, from Chant. Cert. 95, no. 9.

⁵ Pat. 5 Edw. VI, pt. ii, m. 2, 3.

SCHOOLS

parish church between the Morning Prayer and the Communion, as well for their own instruction as for the instruction of other young children in the said parish.' Instead of prayers for the souls of founders and benefactors school was begun by saying or singing a psalm, followed by a prayer, the main part of which was: 'We . . . beseech thee, O eternal father, so illuminate our wits and understandings that we may have our whole affection upon wisdom in these years of our infancy'—a petition which it is to be feared was doomed to perpetual ill-success. The evening prayer, also to be preceded by a psalm, was the collect 'Lighten our darkness,' a translation from the Latin evensong.

The chief interest of these statutes is that they set out the curriculum. 'The said Schoolmaster and Usher, or one of them, to every form of scholars within the said grammar school shall teach these books and authors in order hereafter following,' that is to say:—

I. The said Schoolmaster or Usher shall diligently teach and read unto their Scholars of the First Form within the said Grammar School the figures and characters of letters, to join, write, sound and pronounce the same plainly and perfectly. And immediately to learn the inflection of Nouns and Verbs, which if it be done with diligence, a good and apt nature in one year may attain a perfect reading, pronouncing, and declining of Nouns and Verbs, and the more prone natures may spare some part of the year to hear the explication of Tullie's Epistles written *ad Terrentiam Uxorem*, or *Tyronem Libertum*, for the familiar phrase in the same, out of which the scholars must be commanded to write certain Latin words and repeat the same in the morning next after past.

II. Item, in the Second Form, after usual repetition of the inflection of Nouns and Verbs, which is attained in the first form, a more full explication of the Eight Parts of reason, with the Syntaxis or Construction, must be shewed, and the other hours of reading may be spent in the *Colloquia Erasmi*, and some harder epistles of Tully, which must be dissolved and discussed verbatim, and the reason of every Construction shewed. The exercise of the Form is to turn sentences from English to Latin, and *e diverso*. Now is attained your analogy of Nouns and Verbs with precepts, orations conjunct, and that no scholar over one month do continue in the said School without books requisite for his Form, unless he do daily write his own Lessons. And further we ordain that in this Form be taught the Scriptures both the Old and New Testament, Salust, Salern, and Justinian's Institutes, if the Schoolmaster and Usher be seen in the same.

III. Item, the said Schoolmaster or Usher shall read and teach unto the Third Form of Scholars within the said Grammar School, the King's Majesty's Latin Grammar, Virgil, Ovid, and Tully's Epistles, *Copia Erasmi verborum et rerum*, or so many of the said Authors as the said Schoolmaster shall think convenient for the capacity and profit of his scholars, and every day to give unto his said scholars one English to be made into Latin.

And also that the Scholars of this Form, and likewise of the Second and First Form, so many as shall be conveniently able thereof, shall every Monday, Tues-

day, Wednesday, and Thursday, being work days, first in the morning say over one of the eight parts of speech, like as the manner and fashion is of all Grammar Schools, and upon Friday *Sum, es, fui* with his compounds, as shall seem to the schoolmaster convenient, and to repeat upon Saturday, or upon the Friday, if Saturday chance to be a holiday, such things as they have learned in the same week before.

IV. Item, the said Schoolmaster or Usher shall teach to the Fourth Form of Scholars within the said Grammar School, to know the breves and longs and make verses, and they of this Form shall write every week some Epistle in Latin, and give it to the said Master or Usher at the end of the Week. And also the said Master shall teach the scholars of this Form the Greek Grammar and also the Hebrew Grammar, if he be expert in the same, and some Greek authors so far as his learning and convenient time will serve thereunto.

The fact that no higher form than the fourth is provided for, whereas all the great schools at this time went up to the sixth, and at Winchester, Eton, and Westminster to the seventh, while Winchester in the 16th century and Eton two centuries later shed all the forms below the fourth, seems to show that the school was not expected to be of what was called the first grade, but of the second or third. It is, however, sufficiently startling to find not only the Greek grammar but also the Hebrew grammar in the fourth form, which was attained at the age of twelve or thereabouts. It is noticeable that the master himself is not to be expected to know much Greek beyond the bare grammar. The hours of the school were prescribed as 6 to 8 a.m. 'and then the scholars to go to breakfast, and to come again before 9 of the clock'; at 11.30 a.m. to go to dinner. Afternoon school began at 1 and lasted till 3.30, 'and then to go to their drinking,' or bevers, as it was called at Winchester and Eton, a sort of afternoon tea, only the liquid imbibed was not tea but beer. The final session was from 4 'strictly' to '6 of the clock at night.' In winter, however, from Michaelmas to Lady Day, the hours were 7 to 11.30 a.m., with no stop for breakfast, which was presumably to be had before coming, and from 1 to 5 p.m. The schoolmasters were not to stay out of school, as was too frequently the case: 'All which times we will and ordain that the Schoolmaster shall be present in the school, and also the Usher, and shall not use of custom to absent or withdraw themselves from their said scholars at times above-said but only for honest, necessary and reasonable causes.' Nor were they to be absent from Retford 'over the space of 3 days in any one quarter of the year, except it be by special licence of the bailiffs and burgesses.' There was the usual attack on casual holidays or half-holidays: 'And that they give not remedy to their scholars over one day in the week.' The master or usher might be expelled by the bailiffs and burgesses if

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he 'shall be a common drunkard or . . . remiss or negligent in teaching the scholars or have or use any evil or notable crime, offence or condition' after 3 monitions at 15 days' interval. The schoolhouse was to be appointed by the corporation—'which house shall have in the east end thereof two chambers which . . . the schoolmaster . . . shall have and occupy for his lodging and his books, and one other chamber in the west end' for the usher. And there being an orchard and garden to the schoolhouse, two-thirds of the profits were to go to the master and one-third to the usher. But within a year the bailiffs and burgesses were to provide 'two sufficient and honest mansions and houses, that is to say, for either of them one, for them to inhabit and dwell in without any rent paying.' Laymen being eligible as schoolmasters, and priests being now allowed to be married, the single or double chambers of the old celibate chantry priests were no longer sufficient, and we may credit this interpolation, which really conflicts with the provision as to the chambers for lodgings, to the archbishop himself, who had specially granted in his three schools that the masters might be laymen, and appointed his own father-in-law to the school he founded at Malton.

When the Crown endowment of £15 a year had been received and supplemented by another £20 a year from the town, the stipend of the master was to be fixed at £10, and that of the usher at £5 a year, with an express provision that 'as it shall happen the lands to be increased by virtue of the said licence (i.e. that granted by the letters patent of 9 December 1551) and by diligence of the bailiffs and burgesses, so the wages and salary of the schoolmaster and usher to be increased as shall be seen convenient from time to time.'

The statutes conclude with the oath to be taken by the master, 'elected and named as master or instructor of the King's Majesty's Free Grammar School of East Retford.' The bailiffs and burgesses were to put the master in possession by delivering the hesp (hasp) of the door in his hands and addressing him with a formula modelled on, though departing from, that of Colet's at St. Paul's, and giving, like Magnus' at Newark, a freehold for life in the office, subject to satisfactory service:

Sir, ye are chosen to be schoolmaster (or usher) of this school to teach scholars thither resorting not only grammar and other virtuous doctrine but also good manners, according to the intent of the most excellent and virtuous prince King Edward the Sixth, founder of the same. Whereupon we assure this to you a room of perpetual continuance upon your good behaviour and duty to be done within this Grammar School.

An augmentation to the endowment was given by Sir John Hercie, kt., on 2 October 1553, consisting of two tofts and two burgages in

Chapelgate; and another on 6 April 1562 by William Rosell and James Homes, consisting of a messuage in Bridgegate and some fields in Gringley.

Little is known about the school after the re-foundation. Carlisle⁶ knew nothing of it until his own time (1818). The local history by Mr. J. S. Piercy tells us nothing till 1764, except that the corporation misappropriated the estates.

This we learn in detail from the proceedings⁷ on Commissions of Charitable Uses issued out of Chancery under Elizabeth's Statute of Charitable Uses, 43 Eliz. cap. 12.

The first great misappropriation took place in 1656, when the corporation coolly sold all the school lands at Kirton for £300 to rebuild the church spire which had fallen down.

On 10 May 1699 an inquisition was held at Retford before William Simpson, William Sampson, and others as commissioners, John Byron being the foreman of the jury, which found that the property of the school was worth £145 5s. 8d. a year, but that the bailiffs and burgesses had detained the whole from the school for twenty-nine years last past, except £29 a year, which they had paid to the master and undermaster. Accordingly, by a decree dated 17 June 1699 the commissioners ordered and adjudged the bailiffs and burgesses within a month to pay to Mr. Henry Boawre, now schoolmaster, the full and just sum of £3,372 4s. 4d. for the upholding and maintenance of the said school and of the master and undermaster, according to the letters patent of Edward VI, and £60 for costs. They were also ordered to pay over all the rents and profits to the school for the future, and not to take fines for renewal of leases, but to make them at rack rent; and to render accounts yearly before a person nominated by the Archbishop of York or the dean and chapter *sede vacante*.

The bailiffs and burgesses took exception to the decree, and witnesses on either side were examined on a new commission to take evidence on 3 October 1700. The line of defence taken by the corporation was that the schedule of property produced to the commissioners on which they made their decree included corporation as well as school property, and that the items were indistinguishable; that the £30 salary paid was enough; and that large sums had been spent on repairing the church. From the evidence we learn that Henry Boawre, an odd spelling which probably represents Bower, according to the St. John's College Register, had been master for twenty-nine years, taking him back to 1669. On his coming the salary of the master was raised to £20, besides an orchard and three little cottage houses worth £2 a year, while lands at Ordsall

⁶ *End. Gram. Sch.* ii, 280.

⁷ *Chan. Petty Bag Inq.* 11 Will. III, 45, no. 26; 46, no. 28, and Dep. 16, no. 2.

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of the value of £6 a year were given by Mr. Haughton,^{7a} rector there 'sixteen years ago,' i.e. 1684, of which £4 was paid to the master and £2 to the usher, Samuel Jackson, making his salary £10 a year. The witness seems to have been in error as to the date of Haughton's gift, as his will is dated 23 June 1673, though perhaps he may not have died till later. The head master before Bower was named Pinchbeck, and he had been paid only £19 and the usher £8 a year.

The corporation witnesses, particularly William Jessopp of Mattersey, probably a solicitor, who had acted as collector to the corporation, seem to have urged that Mr. Bower ought to have considered himself uncommonly lucky to get £30 a year from the corporation 'over and above what he makes by teaching boys that live out of town, he taking of some boys soe taught 20s. per annum, and other some more money.' As usual the local people thought they were entitled to rob the school as the master could make it up on boarders. None of the witnesses unfortunately say how many boarders or day boys there were. Jessopp also said that the schoolhouse was built at the expense of the corporation, and cost £300, and that the repairs ran to 'some years £5 and some years less,' while a bricklayer, John Walker, said that he had repaired it at a cost of £30 in one year. One witness alleged that the direction of the commissioners 'or some of them' to the jury was that though the rental included corporation lands 'they might find the said lands or the greatest part as belonging to the school.' But no evidence whatever was produced to show in fact that there were any lands belonging to the corporation other than the school lands, or what was not school land. On the other hand, it was stated that the corporation had appeared before the commissioners by counsel, John Tooker, esq., and that the rental and other documents were 'debated and considered.' Evidence was also given by Mr. Timothy Ellis to show that the corporation had let the Tiled House Farm and another by the churchyard at Bleasby, admittedly part of the chantry lands given to the school, at 30s. and 10s. a year, which were worth £18 and £10 a year, and had taken £200 fine for the lease. He said that the lands were called sometimes school lands, sometimes 'Collegd lands,' sometimes corporation lands. A Mr. Dunstan had 3 or 4 acres in Clareburgh (Clarborough) for which he paid £50 fine for a lease for twenty-one years at 20s. but which were worth £9 a year; while another witness was under-tenant of some school land worth £4 a year, which was let for 13s. a year, £22 fine being paid; and another tenant said that 'when the collectors come to receive his rents they tell him that the schoolmaster wants

his money.' Further lands called the Millers and the Royalty had been purchased by the corporation, but out of the fines they received on the leases.

After various postponements, on 7 February 1701 this case was ordered to be put in the paper⁸ for hearing on the second cause day after that term. But the actual result does not appear. There can be no doubt on the evidence that the corporation had no answer to the charge; but the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1820⁹ thought possibly there was a doubt whether the Statute of Charitable Uses applied to a grant from the Crown before the first year of Elizabeth. This was certainly not the law as acted on in other cases. It seems more probable that some compromise was reached and Mr. Bower satisfied, though probably not to the full extent of the decree. The school must have been of good standing under Bower, who may be identified with the Henry Bower from Melton Mowbray School, admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, 25 June 1662. Savile Wharton of Gainsborough, who had been educated in the school 'under Mr. Bower,' was admitted a sizar on 20 February 1678-9, and next year a pensioner, and on 12 May 1597 Christopher Coe of Ordsall, who is also said to have been under Bower, was admitted a pensioner at the same college.

Whatever may have been the result of the suit for Mr. Bower, it does not seem to have done much good for his successors, as it is stated by Mr. Piercy¹⁰ that the salary remained at £29 a year until 'the present master was appointed,' in 1801, when it was raised to £53, and in 1813 to £80 a year, while the usher received £21 a year until 1801, then £30, and from 1813 £40 a year. In 1805, 1806, and 1816 the corporation sold school lands and applied the proceeds to their own purposes. The schoolhouse, on the north side of Chapelgate, was rebuilt in 1779 at a cost of £290. In 1797 the master's house was rebuilt at a cost of £360, and in 1810 the usher's at a cost of £556.

The master who received this augmented salary was the Rev. William Mould. The usher who was still there in 1820, though then decrepit¹¹ and unfit for the duties of his office, had been appointed in 1780.

Carlisle, in 1818, says that the school was free to boys of East Retford—a restriction for which there was no warrant whatever in the charter. Neither the master nor the usher had any private pupils in their houses; and he significantly adds: 'Many of the families send their sons to distant boarding schools for education.'

The master did not benefit so much as he might have done by the augmentation in 1813,

⁸ *Char. Com. Rep.* iv, 197.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Hist. of Retford*, 126.

¹¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* iv, 196.

^{7a} Haughton's will is dated 23 June 1673.

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as, according to the local historian, writing in 1828, no salary at all had been paid to him by the corporation 'since Lady Day 1821.' This was no doubt because a case was certified to the Attorney-General to take proceedings for the recovery of the school lands. The case became a 'leading case.' He filed a bill in Chancery 7 July 1821; on 1 February 1825 the Master was directed to inquire; and on 1 May 1830 he made his report. This was objected to by the corporation, and in 1831 a trial at law was ordered as to some of the lands. The corporation were beaten on that. The case then returned to the Master in Chancery; at last it came on before Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls,¹² who decreed restitution 10 June 1833, and directed an inquiry into what corporate property the corporation had out of which they could make restitution, and ordered the corporation to pay the costs. On appeal, which took five years to come to a hearing, Lord Chancellor Cottenham, on 14 November 1838,¹³ reversed so much of the decree as directed a general inquiry into the corporate property. But the corporation had to restore the school property. The master, William Mould, died before the last decree, and the school was in abeyance. On 5 March 1847 the corporation were ordered to pay into court £2,753 8s. 4d., the value of the lands alienated by the corporation, and the Master was directed to prepare a scheme for the school. This took him seven years, his report being made 1 March 1854, and being confirmed 15 May following. So that it took the Court of Chancery more than a generation to arrive at a decision and remedy on as plain a case of breach of trust and misapplication as could well be imagined.

Under this scheme a new site was provided, and the present school buildings were erected at a cost of £10,000, with class-room accommodation for 120 boys, and a head master's house with room for 20 boarders.

The Municipal Charity Trustees of the borough appointed by the Court of Chancery, but in practice self-elective, were the governors. The scheme imposed tuition fees from £3 to £6 a year on all boys according to age, except that the classics and Scriptures were to be taught free to those who asked for them in writing. The income from the recovered endowment amounted to a little under £400 a year.

In October 1857 the Rev. Jonathan Page Clayton was appointed master, and the Rev. Henry Clarke Hutchinson second master. In 1860 the school numbered 35 boys, of whom 9 were boarders. The return made to the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1864, reported 60 boys, of whom 53 were day boys and 7 boarders. But in 1867, when it was visited by Mr. W. H. Eve, for the commissioners, the numbers had risen to 78, of whom

11 were boarders. The Rev. E. S. Sanderson, M.A., was the head master and the Rev. Arthur Evans second master. The school was not pronounced successful, the master having at first tried to make it too exclusively classical, and then having gone to the other extreme of letting the parents decide whether the boys should learn Latin or French or both or neither. The school was divided into two departments, classical and English. The result was chaos, and while those who were going to the universities went to other schools, the lower classes were badly taught in elementary subjects. It is curious to find that as in the days of Edward VI the fourth form was the highest form. But probably it was very much below what that form was three centuries before. The boys could construe Caesar tolerably, but were deficient in accidence and almost entirely ignorant of syntax. Five or six boys learned Greek, but none had advanced further than Valpy's Greek Delectus. Mathematics were fair, but no one proceeded beyond simple equations. There were scarcely any boys above fourteen years old. The school in fact rose little above the third grade. A very different tone was given to the school when the present head master, the Rev. Thomas Gough, B.Sc., was appointed in 1886. At school at Elmfield College, York, he went to the Royal College of Science at South Kensington and obtained a first class in Botany and a second class in Geology in London University. He was seven years an assistant master and seven years head master of his old school before he became head master at Retford.

Shortly after his arrival a scheme promoted by the Charity Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Acts became law by the approval of Queen Victoria in Council on 7 March 1887. This scheme constituted a representative governing body of fourteen members, three appointed respectively by the Town Council and Municipal Charity Trustees of Retford, two by the School Board, now absorbed in the Town Council, two by the justices of the Retford Petty Sessions, for whom were substituted by an amending scheme of 27 November 1896 two representatives of the Nottinghamshire County Council. Besides these there were four co-optative governors. The tuition fees were raised to a minimum of £4 and a maximum of £10 a year for all boys, except holders of scholarships, allotted on a competitive examination at the rate of not more than one for every 10 boys in the school; while Greek was made an extra at £3 a year.

Under Mr. Gough the school has laid itself out with great success for modern subjects, particularly natural science. In the buildings large developments have taken place in his time, especially in the provision of laboratories and lecture rooms for science and the making of science an effective subject in the curriculum. There are now 120 boys, of whom 50 are boarders in

¹² 2 My. & K. 35.

¹³ 3 My. & Cr. 484.

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the head master's house, and a staff of four assistant masters, including a music master and instructor in art and manual work. The tuition fees are £6 to £9 a year, and the boarding fees 45 to 51 guineas a year.

MANSFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

There does not seem to be any trace of a school, at least an endowed school, in Mansfield before the Dissolution of Chantries in 1548. Mansfield was only a royal manor and village in Sherwood Forest. The Chantry Certificate of 1548¹ reports only one chantry priest, the 'Stipendiary of Maunsfelde in Sherewood,' and he was only temporary, 'founded by Sysley Flogan, widowe, to mayntaine a prieste to sing masses for terme of certaine yerres.' It is expressly found in answer to the interrogatory whether any preachers, schoolmasters, or poor people were maintained out of the chantry—as any such provisions were exempted from the Act and by it directed to be continued—'Preacher, scolemaster and the pore relieved by this Chauntry, none.'

The chantry in question, however, became more or less indirectly the foundation of the grammar school. Cicely Flogan, by will in 1521,² directed that all her lands in the town and lordship of Mansfield, which were copyhold of the Crown manor of Mansfield, and which she had vested in feoffees by a surrender in 1515-16, apparently for ninety-nine years, should go after her death 'to find Sir John Porter, her kinsman, for to sing and say mass in the parish church or in the chapel of St. Lawrence for the souls' of herself and her husband Robert Flogan and Thomas Edsy, and her father's and mother's souls and all Christian souls, with a stipend of 8 marks (£5 6s. 8d.) a year; and to continue chantry priests in succession for ninety-nine years. The Chantry Certificate unkindly describes Sir John Porter, who was still the chantry priest and only fifty-four years old, though he had held the chantry for twenty-seven years, as 'unlearned.' The lands, being copyhold, were excluded from the Act. So the commissioners found that 'After thende and terme of 99 yerres begynning in anno 7 Henry VIII [i.e. 1515-16] these parcells before mentioned being but copyholde, are in reversion to theyres of Syssley Flogan.' The lands seem to have been seized or claimed by the Crown, but on the case being brought before the Court of Augmentations in the last year of Edward VI

an order was made, 6 June 1553, exemplified in a copy 24 June 1553,³ that Thomas Farnworth, the tenant, who held all the property on a long lease from the feoffees, which still had thirty years to run, should pay £5 a year to Porter, who was still living, and 6s. 8d. to the Crown, and at his death the whole rent to the Crown for the residue of the lease, and that the king should have the residue of the term of 80 (?99) years, of which 62 were unexpired.

But on 23 February 1557 the vicar and churchwardens were incorporated, by letters patent of Philip and Mary,^{3a} as governors of the lands and possessions of the parish church of Mansfield, with licence in mortmain to hold lands to the amount of £40 a year, and were granted the rents of Lady Flogan's lands (£5 6s. 8d.) and a tenement, part of the property of the 10 chantry priests (of Southwell),^{3b} altogether worth £6 3s. 8d., for finding a chaplain to celebrate in the church and for the relief and support of the burdens of the priest.

Three years later, on the petition of the inhabitants of Mansfield, Queen Elizabeth, by letters patent 8 March 1560-1, granted that there should be a school, called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth, in the town of Mansfield for the instruction of boys and youths in grammar, to consist of a master and usher, and incorporated the vicar and churchwardens as 'the governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods' of the school. This incorporation was legally a distinct entity from the governors of the lands of the parish church, though consisting of the same persons, and using, it is said, the same seal. The incorporated vicar and churchwardens were empowered, with the advice of eight of the more honest inhabitants (*inhabitantium magis probiorum hominum*), to be chosen by the rest of the parishioners or the greater part of them, to appoint and remove the master and make statutes. Licence in mortmain to take and hold lands up to the annual value of £30 was given. But no lands were granted by the charter. Whether the Flogan lands, given by Queen Mary to the chaplain, were intended to be transferred to the school does not appear; but a rental of 'Lady Flogan's lands' in 1597 contained one column headed 'School Rents,'^{3c} and another column headed 'For the Preacher.' About 1573 John and James Sybthorpe, as the heirs of Lady Flogan, claimed the lands on the ground of intestacy, she having only directed what was to be done with them for ninety-nine years.

¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks., 105, fol. 309, 310; Land Rev. Rec. class v, no. 52; Thoroton, op. cit. ii, 314-18.

² P.R.O. Chant. Cert. 37, no. 6.

³ Land Rev. Rec. class v, no. 52. The will is printed in Thoroton's *Hist. of Notts*, ii, 315, and in a truncated form in W. Harrod's *Hist. of Mansfield* (1801), pt. i, 5.

^{3a} Pat. 4 & 5 Phil. and Mary, pt. viii, m. 11, 12.

^{3b} *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 196; not of Mansfield, as Thoroton, *Hist. of Notts*, ii, 213.

^{3c} The school rents amounted to £26 3s. and the rents for the preacher to £11 17s.

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They must have obtained judgement in their favour (no decree can be found), as they were admitted tenants on the Court Roll 28 July 1574, but immediately surrendered them to the use of the governors for the school. On 5 August 1589 the vicar and churchwardens⁴ were admitted to the same lands and also to other properties (including a messuage in the north part of Scotland Close [next to] the cemetery, then or lately used for a schoolhouse), which had apparently until 1573 been in the hands of separate trustees, as it had been surrendered to the use of the school on 17 October 1573 by Robert Barley and William Wyld. The vicar and churchwardens were admitted to some of this property in their capacity of 'governors of the possessions of the church.'

Statutes were duly made for the school, under the charter, on 8 August 1564, by the vicar and churchwardens and eight assistants. They are verbatim the same as the Edwardian statutes for Retford Grammar School, except that instead of setting out the authors to be taught in each form the masters are directed 'to teach such good authors as were most commonly used to be taught in grammar schools.' The salary of the master was settled at £13 6s. 8d. If, as would appear, there was then no endowment, the money was presumably found by subscription or a voluntary rate, as we saw was the case at Ashbourne Grammar School, Derbyshire,⁵ until the Flogan lands were assigned for the benefit of the school in 1574.

The historians vouchsafe us no information as to the school and its masters before 1673. It appears, however, from the register of Gonville and Caius College that a Mansfield schoolboy, who had been two years under Mr. Bowater (probably Christopher, M.A. of Oxford), entered there as early as 1583, and that another, who had been under Mr. Colley six years, entered in 1612-13. The register of St. John's College, Cambridge, shows that the school was sending boys to the university in 1634, soon after the date of the beginning of that register—William Cresswell, son of a yeoman at Longdon, Staffordshire, being admitted 3 July of that year, at the age of twenty, after being three years at Mansfield under Mr. Poynton. Next year, 6 April 1635, Clyfton Clough, son of a yeoman of Whitkirk near Leeds, who had been five years under Mr. Poynton, and then for a year a commoner (*commensalis*) at Christ Church, Oxford, was admitted a sizar. A testimonial from Christ Church, in which the name appears as 'Cluff,' showing that the pronunciation was the same then as now, bears witness to the fact that

scholars went from Mansfield to both universities. Both boys would seem to have been boarders. Poynton's predecessor was named Walker.^{6a} He seems to have been succeeded in the mastership by Mr. Hallowell, who sent a boy to Gonville and Caius in 1641.^{6b}

A somewhat obscure transaction took place in 1606-7, by which the school acquired further endowment. Lands of about 100 acres, called the Eight Men's Intake, an ancient inclosure from the common or waste lands of the manor of Mansfield, which the vicar and churchwardens had held to the use of the *concionator* or preacher of Mansfield, had seemingly been recovered for the Crown. It must be remembered that until comparatively recent times, after the Restoration, it was not the duty, or at all events the practice, of an ordinary parish priest to preach. He was a mass priest. From the time of Henry VI, or perhaps earlier, there were special endowments for the support of preachers, such as that in Archbishop Rotherham's foundation of Jesus College at Rotherham, where the provost was specially endowed as preacher, wholly independent of the vicar. Some such endowment as this must have existed at Mansfield, and remained in the hands of the vicar and churchwardens, which had now come to the Crown on the motion of some of the informers who made a regular trade in suits to recover lands for the Crown which fell under the various Acts for the dissolution of monasteries and of chantries. On suit brought it was now held to fall under the Chantries Act as superstitious, and recovered from the vicar and churchwardens for the Crown. James I sold these lands, said to be of the net value of £5, to two persons, William Derson and Thomas Eley of London, together with other property, for £560 18s. 8d., conveyed by letters patent of 20 February 1606-7. A month later, 18 March 1606-7, the purchasers sold them for £20, paid by the churchwardens, to the king's use, and conveyed them to eight persons, who were no doubt the same as the eight *probi homines*, assistants to the vicar and churchwardens, without declaring any trusts. By deed 3 March 1625-6 the property was vested in one of the surviving trustees to lease them as agricultural land, the rents to be employed to 'divers necessary and behoofful uses of the said town,' clearly showing that they thought the old use for the preacher had come to an end, as of course it had when the lands were recovered for the Crown, and that they had been bought back by the inhabitants for general purposes. During the Commonwealth some dispute arose as to the use of the rents, and at a public meeting of inhabitants, held on 24 October 1654, it was agreed to settle the lands one-third for the vicar, one-third for

⁴ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxv, 382. The words in square brackets are a conjectural emendation to make sense, as it appears from subsequent documents that Scotland Close was not the cemetery but next to the cemetery.

⁵ *V.C.H. Derb.* ii, 257.

^{6a} J. Venn, *Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius Coll.* i, 290; W. H. Groves, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 162.

^{6b} J. Venn, *op. cit.* i, 345.

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the school, one-third for relief of the poor and 'payment of the rent of the Lord Protector and his commonwealth and other reprises.' Mansfield being a Crown manor, the Lord Protector's rent meant only the fee-farm rent payable to the Crown (2s. 6d.). Rowland Dand, however, the heir of the surviving trustee, objected, and eventually conveyed the property, by deed of 1 December 1656, to eight persons as feoffees or new trustees—two-thirds of the rent for the *concionator* or public preacher (who was at that time actually the vicar, one of the great Puritan reforms being to convert the parish clergy into preaching ministers), and one-third to the school, of which third, two-thirds were to go to the master and one-third to the usher. It was expressly provided that the vicar should have nothing out of it unless he was also the preacher. According to a tale told by the vicar some thirty years afterwards this was a new gift to the school, the preacher having previously had the whole; but in view of the expressions in the deed of 1625-6 this is extremely unlikely. At all events it was an appropriation which the inhabitants had no right to make, and as the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1833 pointed out, the panel in the church which purports to give a record of the Mansfield charities gives a mistaken account when it represents the purchase of the Intake lands in 1606-7 as being made for the use of the preacher.

The school received indirectly encouragement and endowment from the foundation by deed in 1673 by Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, of four scholarships at Jesus College, Cambridge; two for scholars of the county of York, and two out of the county of Nottingham, of whom one was to be a native of Mansfield.

About 1682 the then schoolmaster James Holcote and the usher Gabriel Hazard made an attempt to get the school property separated and distinguished from the church property, filing a bill in Chancery against the vicar and churchwardens, the governors of both school and church lands. The outcome was a deed of arrangement or amicable compromise of 7 November 1682, which from James Firth, the vicar, being the party of the first part, came to be known as Firth's Agreement. Under this the vicar was to receive £60 and the schoolmasters £30 a year, of which the master had £16 6s. 8d. and the usher £13 13s. 4d.; the residue of the rents, about £20 a year, going to the use of church and school. This agreement was made between the vicar and churchwardens and seven of the assistants, and the schoolmasters were not parties to it. On a subsequent information of the Attorney-General at the instance of Holcote, it was alleged by the vicar that to better the resources of the school, which were only £24 a year, he had persuaded the last trustee of the Eight Men's Intake, worth £60 a year, which according to him was

intended to provide a *concionator* or preacher, to allow £20 to go to the school; further that about 1682 when Holcote, the schoolmaster, exhibited articles in Chancery against him and others, for the recovery of the school lands, he had with the wardens and assistants, guaranteed £50 a year to the school for the future; that they had given £40 to settle better industry in the town from surplus funds, and expended £100 for church and school for objects for which the parish was liable: that the value of church and school lands was £108 8s. 6d. per annum, besides the profit of a lease taken for the use of the school by the vicar and churchwardens amounting to the clear yearly value of 33s. 8d.; that the schoolmaster was really satisfied, but was being egged on by other persons who had promised to indemnify him. The Firth agreement was acted upon for 180 years, the income being divided in the proportion of two-thirds to the vicar, who also held the office of preacher, and one-third to the school.

James Holcote, the master at the time of the suit, was of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1676, M.A. in 1682; while Gabriel Hazard, the usher, a Nottingham School boy, was of St. John's College, Cambridge, admitted 19 April 1675, B.A. 1678. A Mansfield boy, Thomas Langford, was sent from the school to St. John's, 20 August 1685; and Holcote was still master in 1696, when a boy, Richard Goodwin, who was probably a boarder, as he was born at Shirland, Derbyshire, also went up to that college.

In 1709-10 we learn from the admission at St. John's of Cornelius Ford, son of a doctor, that Mr. Man, called in 1711 Dr. Mann, was master. He was perhaps Miles Man, admitted to St. John's 28 June 1683, a Westmorland boy, and seems to have been master at Hemsworth School, Yorkshire, before coming to Mansfield. In Dr. Mann's time the school was rebuilt, Queen Anne, as lady of the manor, giving 20 loads of timber for it, Dr. Mann £10, and the usher, the Rev. Mr. Haywood, £4; while there was 'collected from ladies at a dancing £3 4s.'⁶ It was a lofty room, 63 ft. long by 18 ft. broad. In 1719 the master's house was rebuilt partly by subscription, with accommodation for about 12 boarders.

In 1722, when John Jebb went from Mansfield to St. John's,⁷ Mr. Hucklebridge was master, and also in 1727.

In 1747 Mr. Depleidge, called in 1749 Deplage, had become master.

From a tombstone in the churchyard we get the name of a later master, William Kendall, clerk, *scholae grammaticae praeceptor*, who died 4 September 1794, at the age of 46.

The Rev. William Bowerbank was appointed master in 1801, and John Cursham usher. At

⁶ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, pt. ii, 27.

⁷ *St. John's Coll. Reg.* pt. iii, 33.

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the time of Bowerbank's appointment there was only one boy in the upper school. In 1801 it was stated⁸ that 'the head master receives into his house a limited number of young gentlemen, who are taught the learned languages, the French tongue, &c., with every other polite accomplishment.' As the boarders increased the day boys did also, said the Commissioners of Inquiry, thirty years later. In 1807 another attempt was made by bill in Chancery to separate the school from the church lands, and an answer was put in by the vicar; the suit was not actively prosecuted. Before 1818 the master seems to have given up taking boarders.

Carlisle⁹ says of the school in 1818: 'Its present state may be attributed partly to the inattention of the governors in not drawing up Rules for the management of the School applicable to present times and circumstances, and more particularly because Mansfield is now more a *manufacturing* place than it formerly was; little classical learning being now unfortunately in requisition. Still, however, the institution has been, and may again be, productive of much utility. The neglect of classical lore has evidently had a pernicious effect upon the manners and morals of the inhabitants. The two masters of the Royal Free Grammar School are of a highly respectable character; neither of them are graduates. . . . At present there are no scholars with the Head master; and but few with the sub-master, and these more for the purpose of receiving an English education in an adjoining room, which is paid for; seldom proceeding in the schoolroom further than the Latin Grammar.'

The usher in question was the Rev. William Goodacre. It is stated of him, some fifteen years later,¹⁰ by Lord Brougham's Commission of Inquiry concerning Charities, that he had served two curacies and resided about 2 miles from Mansfield. It is stated that he had at one time 30 boys under his care; but for some time previous to his resignation he had no scholar, and during the fifteen years he was usher only three boys passed through the lower to the upper school. He was induced to resign in 1830 by the strong representation of the governors, repeated complaints having been made of his neglect and inattention.

The next usher, Hodgson Brailsford, was appointed on probation, and confirmed in August 1831. He had 27 boys, including eight boarders, learning besides Latin the three R's, for which latter they paid 5 guineas a year.

Mr. Bowerbank had only one boy in his school at the time of our examination in March 1832. A notion seems to have prevailed that the head master was not obliged to take any boy under his care who

had not passed through the lower school. Mr. Bowerbank, however, stated that he considered himself obliged to take scholars at once into his school if sufficiently qualified; and that he had three or four in Mr. Goodacre's time, who came to him without passing through the lower school. These three or four boys, with the three above mentioned, who passed through the lower school, seem to be all who have been under the head master for the last 15 years, besides the one boy under his care, who was sent up to him from the lower school a very short time before our inquiry took place.

The neglected state of the school has been the general subject of complaint on the part of the inhabitants of Mansfield. In 1821 a meeting was called, and the under master reprimanded, and more exact attendance required. The parents were, however, unwilling to send their children to the school, and the establishment was utterly useless to the town. We are glad to be spared the necessity of making further observation on the subject, having learnt that since our inquiry the head master has resigned his situation, thereby affording an opportunity to the governors, by a judicious appointment of a new head master, to restore to the inhabitants of Mansfield the benefit of this institution of which they have been so long deprived.

There is a library of books belonging to the school which consists of about 130 volumes, but many of them are imperfect and in bad condition. They were formerly kept in a chamber over the schoolhouse, but they have been removed by Dr. Cursham^{10a} into his own house for safe custody; and the room in which they were formerly placed has been used for keeping fuel. The room should be restored to its former use, and the books replaced there, proper care being taken for their preservation.^{10b}

The school, however, only struggled on under the usher, Hodgson Brailsford. The next head master was the Rev. John Poole, who was succeeded before 1850 by the Rev. Charles Adolphus Row, who resigned in 1861. William Espin, the usher, then carried on the school until his death in 1865, when the premises were let to a private schoolmaster, Richard Tyrer, B.A., who seems to have met with some success. The school was in abeyance as a grammar school for nearly twenty years. A third application to Chancery, in 1858, was successful, and the Master of the Rolls found no difficulty in deciding that the school was entitled to seven-ninths of the whole income of the confused church and school lands, and directed that it should receive that amount after the then vicar's death, which occurred in 1867. The result was that the school gained an endowment of £1,200 a year instead of about £400 a year.

The school was not resuscitated till a scheme was made by the Endowed Schools Commissioners and approved by Queen Victoria in

⁸ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, pt. ii, 29.

⁹ *End. Gram. Sch.* ii, 263.

¹⁰ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxv, 403.

^{10a} The Rev. Thomas Leeson Cursham, Vicar of Mansfield.

^{10b} *Char. Com. Rep.* xxv, 404.

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Council under the Endowed Schools Acts on 28 June 1875. This scheme established a governing body of seventeen persons, the chairman of the Local Board when constituted, now the mayor of the borough, *ex officio*, and the chairmen of the School Board of Mansfield, which never came into being, and of Sutton in Ashfield; with eight representatives of the £10 householders who then constituted the Parliamentary electors of the town, and six co-optatives, to whom by an amending scheme of 27 November 1896 two representatives of the Nottinghamshire County Council were added.

This body was directed to provide and maintain two grammar schools, one for boys and one for girls.

The former was to be a school for 150 boys, and £4,000 was the sum mentioned in the scheme as necessary for new buildings. In point of fact the site and buildings, in a fine position about a mile from the centre of the town on high ground off the Chesterfield Road, cost over £10,000, the architects being Messrs. Giles & Gough of London. They are a fine pile in the Tudor style, with a large playground and cricket ground, and a 'hostel' for 30 boarders. Chemical and physical laboratories and lecture rooms and workshops have been added since. The school was opened under the Rev. Edwin Johnson, a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, appointed in 1878. In the years 1885 to 1889 the boys numbered about 75. Mr. Johnson resigned in 1902.

The school received a very useful augmentation in Faith Clarkson's Mansfield Exhibitions by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, which received the royal approval on 26 September 1901. This scheme converted into exhibitions a 'charity school' which had been endowed with £2,000 by bequest under a codicil to the will of Faith Clarkson, dated 29 October 1725.

About 1731 a site for the school of over 2 acres was purchased for £160, and a schoolhouse was erected in 1731 for £450 15s. 4d. The surplus funds were invested in property at Everton, Harwell, and Scaftworth. The management of the trust was disputed in a suit in Chancery by the Attorney-General on the motion of one of the senior 'assistants of the Free Grammar School,' but it was justified by a Master's and others' report, and by a decree of 1 July 1743.¹¹

In 1833 in this school 20 boys and 20 girls of Mansfield and 15 boys and 15 girls of Mansfield Woodhouse were given an elementary education, taught spinning, knitting, and sewing. In 1849 it became an ordinary elementary girls' school, while in 1879 it had room for 184 girls and infants, and, in fact, had 114. In view of the ample provision made out of the rates for elementary education, the school was ordered to be sold; and the Mansfield half of the endowment, amounting to about £60 a year, was directed to

be applied in establishing Clerkson Junior Exhibitions of £20 a year tenable at the grammar schools or any place of education higher than elementary, and one Clerkson Senior Exhibition of £50 a year to take a junior exhibitioner on to the university. This scheme was further amended by a scheme made by the Board of Education under the Charitable Trusts Acts on 19 December 1903, dealing with an income of £447, the school in Mansfield having been sold for £4,020, and other sales of land at building prices effected. It provided for Clerkson Senior Exhibitions of £30 to £60 a year to places of higher education, on which not less than £150 nor more than £200 a year might be spent; and assigned the residue for Clerkson Junior Exhibitions, half for children of Mansfield, and half for children of Mansfield Woodhouse; £25 a year was also to be given to the school of art.

The governing body of the grammar school was reconstituted by an amending scheme made by the Board of Education on 22 September 1904 in accordance with modern conditions. It consists of the mayor and eight governors appointed by the town council of Mansfield, three by the Nottinghamshire County Council, one each by the urban district councils of Mansfield Woodhouse and Sutton in Ashfield, one each by Nottingham University College and Cambridge University, and three co-optatives. The income from endowment shown in the scheme is £1,455 17s. a year.

The present head master, Mr. Arthur Jagger, was appointed in September 1902. Educated at Shrewsbury School, where he won a school exhibition, he became an open scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and was placed in the first class in the Classical Tripos in 1890, and rowed stroke of one of the university trial eights in 1891. After being an assistant master at the King's School, Ely, and Victoria College, Jersey, he was three years at Hymer's College, Hull, whence he came to Mansfield. He has written school books, editing portions of Xenophon, Livy, and Plautus for school use. Under him what seemed to be a decaying industry has become a prosperous concern. In 1909 there were 117 boys in the school, at tuition fees of 6 to 9 guineas a year, of whom 28 were boarders in the schoolhouse, under a staff of four assistant masters who are university graduates, and four others, including teachers of music and art. Never, for 200 years at least, has the school been so flourishing as it is now, under, so far as is known, its first lay head master.

BRUNTS' TECHNICAL SCHOOL, MANSFIELD

Brunts' Technical School is the first attempt among endowed schools at a real technological school, as distinct from a mere science and art

¹¹ Land. Rev. Rec. class v, bdlc. no. 32.

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school, being intended to give practical as well as theoretical instruction in handicrafts to girls as well as boys, and to prepare them for learning a trade. It was founded out of Brunts' Charity by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Acts, which received the royal approval 26 September 1891.

Samuel Brunts, who was a Unitarian, by his will, 31 January 1709, after a gift to the Unitarian minister, gave £2 a year for a bread dole for the poor, and £8 for the following uses, viz.: '£4 a year for putting forth apprentice such a poor boy born within the parish of Mansfield, of honest parents, as his trustees should think meet, and £4 for the putting to school poor boys of honest parents, so as to make them fit for honest trades.' The residue was to go to poor people who 'received no alms from any public stock.' The endowment consisted of about 375 acres of land in Mansfield and 17 acres in Nottingham. Thanks to the growth of Nottingham the endowment had by 1891 risen in value to £3,800 a year, of which £2,900 came from the Nottinghamshire property, and was expected to rise and has risen by about £1,000 a year more. This whole residuary income, after providing for rebuildings and expenses of management, was to be applied in pensions of £4 a year apiece, to over 400 persons. The apprenticeship share was still represented by casual payments of only £4 a year. The payment for schooling, also only £4 a year, was made to the master of Thompson's School, a small elementary school founded by Charles Thompson by will of 4 December 1784, with an endowment of about £100 a year.

The scheme of 1891 merged the endowment of Thompson's School with Brunts' and provided for the establishment on Brunts' Close, Woodhouse Road, of a technical school for boys and girls. Buildings were to be provided at a cost of £5,000, and the school was to be endowed with £750 a year out of Brunts' Charity till 1902, and thenceforth with £1,000 a year. The tuition fees were to be not less than 6*d.*, nor more than 1*s.* a week. This school was built at a cost of £6,000 by Messrs. Evans & Jolly, architects. It was opened in 1894 under Mr. Charles Stacey, B.Sc., of London University. It has 260 scholars, about equally divided between the sexes.

THE GIRLS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL

This school was opened in temporary hired buildings in January 1885 under Miss Crossland. In 1889 there were 81 girls in the school. It was intended that the greater part of the endowment should be provided out of the endowment of the Eight Men's Intake, but owing to technical difficulties and opposition eventually only one-sixth of that income, about £45 a year, was applied to this school, by a scheme under the

Charitable Trusts Acts, the rest being—with questionable propriety in view of its history, as above stated—applied for the benefit of the vicar, the hospital, and other non-educational objects. In 1891 a piece of land belonging to Brunts' Charity in Woodhouse Road was assigned for the site of the school, and new buildings were erected on it at a cost of over £5,000. On Miss Crossland's retirement, Miss. M. Macrae was appointed head mistress. In 1899 there were 170 girls in the school. A Portland scholarship of £20 a year has been founded by the Duke of Portland. The school is under the governors of the grammar school, with three ladies added. There are now 180 girls paying tuition fees of £8 a year. The school shares, as already shown, in the Clerkson Exhibitions.

TUXFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

This school owes its existence to Charles Read, who in less propitious times, with smaller means and less adaptation of means to ends, emulated the achievements of the first Protestant Archbishop of York, Robert Holgate, in founding no less than three free grammar schools. While Holgate confined his benefactions to his native county of York, Read divided his between the three counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham, at Drax, Corby, and Tuxford. All these foundations were on the same lines, and all were failures as grammar or secondary schools, Tuxford perhaps most so of all. Drax School at least had a fair endowment in land, and aimed at Greek and Hebrew as well as Latin. But Corby and Tuxford not only received a smaller endowment than Drax originally, the master having £30 a year at Drax and £20 a year at the other two places, but suffered still further and more acutely through the fatal mistake of having been given a fixed rent-charge instead of lands to produce the same amount. By his will 30 July 1669,¹ proved 27 June 1671, Charles Read devised to his executors and their heirs a rent-charge of £97 10*s.* 10½*d.* a year arising out of the manor of Folkingham, Lincolnshire, and directed them to convey half of it to 'six able freeholders, or others, men of integrity and estate, of the parish of Tuxford' in trust to pay £20 thereof yearly to a schoolmaster, who should instruct the children of the inhabitants for the time being in reading, writing, and casting accounts, and in Latin as occasion should require, in a free grammar school to be erected and established after his death in the said parish for that purpose; also on trust to pay £5 apiece to four poor boys, sons of widows of ministers and decayed gentlemen and their widows, who

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxxii, pt. iv, 327, where the will is set out under Corby; and pt. ii, 650, where the account of Tuxford School is given.

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should not be able to maintain their charge, the said boys to enter at the age of seven or upwards, to be instructed gratis by the master in the same manner as the other children, and to reside in the said school until sixteen years of age, when they should be removed and others admitted in their place.

The rest of the money, £8 15 5½*d.*, and such monies as should accrue from vacancies in the places of the master or of any of the 4 poor boys was to be put in some chest or safe place for the repair of the buildings, 'and for the binding out the said four boys as apprentices or otherwise promoting them.' The cost of building the school in the first place was to be paid out of the first year's rents and the rents of some leasehold lands in Darlton, Nottinghamshire, which he held, of which two years were unexpired. The building was to be 'after the form' of the schoolhouse and lodgings for the schoolmaster which he had erected at Drax.

The site for the school and house was given by Mr. White, a landowner in Tuxford, and the house duly erected.

The choice of the master and boys was given to Read's trustees, with the consent of the visitors of the school, whom he appointed to be the mayor or aldermen and common council of Newark, with the minister of Newark and two justices of the peace who should reside nearest Newark—not a very hopeful body judged by the way the corporation and town of Newark administered their own grammar school endowment.

It is probable that at first the four boys for the university were really found and taught the higher subjects, as we find John son of Richard Charlesworth, clerk, of Tuxford, admitted a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 17 January 1679–80. Moreover, by ordinances said to have been made by the founder's executors in 1705, but which were verbatim the same as those made for Corby in 1674, and were probably really of that date, it was provided that 'no person thereafter shall be elected school master but such as shall be an M.A. of one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or at least an orthodox minister of God's word and lawfully ordained' and 'no person shall be appointed master who shall hold any ecclesiastical or spiritual living other than the parish of Corby, or who shall teach any other than that school, and that if he shall hold any such preferment for six weeks after his appointment his appointment shall be, *ipso facto*, void; with this saving, however, that he may hold any prebend or other dignity under a dean of a cathedral church, which shall be without cure of souls and have no vicarage or parsonage other than impropriate belonging thereto.'

The idea that any canon or dignitary of a cathedral would seek the appointment of schoolmaster of Tuxford, unless he also held the living of Tuxford, must have been somewhat chimerical. We learn, however, from Carlisle, that one vicar who was schoolmaster produced a distinguished scholar, in his son Walter Taylor, who was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Greek in the university (1726–44).

The only higher element in the foundation, that of the 4 boys for the universities, had been discontinued at least from the appointment of Mr. Martin Bowes or Bower (Carlisle dubs him Bowes, the Commissioners of Inquiry Bower) in 1815. He was not a graduate and did not teach Latin. He received the £20 applicable for these boys, and so doubled his salary. The school was from that time and probably long before purely elementary. In 1818² there were 60 free boys and 20 paying boys; no language but English was taught. Bower resigned in July 1836. His successor, Mr. James Wood,³ was also not a graduate, though he professed himself qualified to teach Latin, and ready to do so 'on the request of any parent requiring it.'

In 1867,⁴ when the school was visited for the Schools Inquiry Commission, Mr. John North Dufty conducted a school of 60 to 70 boys in connexion with the National Society. The assistant commissioner found that 'the lessons on science, &c. mentioned in the returns' made to the commissioners 'are not yet given. One boy learns a little algebra.'

A scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts approved by Queen Victoria in Council 6 September 1880 revived the secondary character of this school under the name of Read's Grammar School, Tuxford. It created a governing body of eight persons, one elected by the vicar and churchwardens of Tuxford, two by the School Board, now the Nottinghamshire County Council, and two by the justices of East Retford Petty Sessional division, with three co-optatives.

Tuition fees of £2 10*s.* to £5 were made, payable by all boys. Latin and science were introduced, while by a scheme for Lady White's charities, approved 29 November 1881, half of £18 10*s.* was applied for scholarships in the school. Mr. Dufty was, however, continued as master.

He was succeeded by William Pullen, M.A., Oxon., who since 1903 has taken orders. There are now 32 boys in the school paying tuition fees of £5 a year. The standard aimed at by the school is that of the Oxford Local Examinations.

² Carlisle, *End. Gram. Sch.* ii, 291.

³ *Cbar. Com. Rep.* xxxii, pt. ii, 650.

⁴ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xvi, 431.

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NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FOUNDED BEFORE 1800¹

ELSTON.—All Saints' School, Elston, which, in 1907, had an average attendance of 57, was originally founded as a grammar school in 1615, and endowed with property left by a former rector, the Rev. Lawrence Pendleton (see *Introduction*). The school was probably always elementary in character, and was already under Privy Council inspection in 1867. The income from endowment at that time was £20, and still remains at very much the same figure.

WORKSOP.—William Medley on 28 March 1628 gave one-sixteenth of the rents of lands, to be purchased with £100, for the parish clerk, for teaching poor children; and Mary Sterne, at a later date, gave the residue of the rents of lands, to be acquired with a like sum, for teaching poor children to read and write, the teacher to be by preference one of the eight poor widows receiving 2s. 6d. at Christmas under her will. The income of these charities, together with Woodhouse's, amounted in 1827 to £30 a year, from property at Butterthwaite in Ecclesfield parish, together with £12 12s. interest on accumulated savings; and from this source £14 was paid to the master of the Abbey National School. Under a settlement of 1778, by which he was to teach the children, the parish clerk also received 10s. a year, though no longer giving instruction.² In 1907 the Worksop Abbey National School in four departments, boys', girls', junior mixed, and infants', had an average attendance of 966 children.

RUDDINGTON. — James Peacock, by will 31 August 1641, gave £100 for converting a messuage into a school and schoolhouse, and a cottage and adjoining land in the parish for supporting a schoolmaster. In 1828 the rents (£65) were paid to a master, who occupied the schoolhouse rent free, for teaching the three R's, reading the Scriptures and the Church Catechism free of charge, to all boys and girls of Ruddington above six years of age. The attendance in summer averaged 20, and 50 in winter. The schoolhouse had been recently restored and improved at a cost of £420. Non-parishioners were charged a fee.³ In 1866 the gross income from endowment amounted to £86; and next year 76 boys and 8 girls were being instructed without fee. The school was under diocesan inspection. The pre-

mises were rebuilt in 1875, on land belonging to the charity acquired by exchange, by the family of the late Charles Paget, M.P. for Nottingham, in memory of him and his wife, who were drowned at Filey Brigg in 1873. In 1907 the Ruddington Endowed Elementary School had an average attendance of 149 boys.

SUTTON-IN-ASHFIELD.—Until 1827 a sum of 30s. a year had been paid to a mistress at Sutton, out of the rents of land given for education by Anne Mason, by will 1 November 1669; it was then decided to employ it for the support of a National School, erected in 1818. The proceeds of a gift by Elizabeth Boot for educating poor children, increased by the rents of an inclosure allotment, amounting altogether in 1828 to £9 8s. a year, had been devoted to the same object.⁴ In 1907 the Sutton-in-Ashfield National School had an average attendance of 280 in the mixed, and of 124 in the infants' department. The present buildings were erected in 1845, and enlarged in 1882.

WEST DRAYTON.—Henry Walter, steward to the Earl of Clare, by will 10 April 1688, gave a rent-charge of £25 on lands in Yorkshire for a schoolmaster to teach reading, writing, and what he could of grammar learning, free of charge, to children up to fourteen years of age from Houghton, Bothamsall, Elkesley, Gamston, West Drayton, Milton, and Bevercotes; and £1 a year for providing coal for the schoolhouse and 10s. a year for books. He directed his executor to build a school of brick and covered with tile, 33 ft. long and 18 ft. broad, with a chimney and an outstroll at one end; and desired the master to spend £5 on a dial, and an inclosing ring of oaks 100 ft. away from the school. A site was given by the Earl of Clare. The school was erected in 1692. In 1837 there was a schoolroom, and apartments for the master adjoining and above it. The master was responsible for repairs. At that time about 50 boys attended in winter and were taught in accordance with the founder's instructions; boys also remained after fourteen, beginning then to learn arithmetic at a fee of 8d. per week. Some scholars paid 1s. a year for coal. The master's salary was £26.⁵ The income from endowment in 1866 was £26, and in 1867 the master instructed 27 boys and 1 girl. The school was not under government inspection. In 1907 the Houghton Endowed Mixed School, West Drayton, had an average attendance of 79. The present building were erected by a voluntary levy in 1878 at a cost of about £260.

SOUTH LEVERTON.—The Endowed Elementary School was built by John Sampson and

¹ The account of these schools is based upon the reports of the Commission for inquiring concerning Charities and Education, to which detailed references are given, supplemented by the Tabular Digest of Returns in the Report (xvi, 451-9), of the Schools Inquiry Commission (1867), *Tenure and Trusts of Voluntary Schools*, published by the Board of Education in 1907, and the latest official list of elementary schools (1908).

² *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 420-3.

³ *Ibid.* xxi, 454, 455.

⁴ *Ibid.* 415, 416.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxxii, pt. ii, 647, 648.

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endowed by him as a free grammar school with a rent-charge of £20 on 16 September 1691 (see *Introduction*). It was purely elementary in 1837, although the vicar was nominally master. Mr. H. W. Eve in 1867 favoured its conversion into a National School under government inspection. This change was effected in 1877 by the Charity Commissioners. The average attendance in 1907 was 85.

KIRTON.—John Ambler, by will 2 September 1692, gave £20, afterwards invested in land, for teaching two children to read the Bible. This land was exchanged at the time of the inclosure (1821); and in 1827 the sum of 25s. was paid on account of the legacy to a schoolmaster for teaching five poor children to read.⁶ The income from Ambler's charity (£1 6s. 1d.) is given in prizes to Kirton children for regular attendance at elementary schools.

MISSON.—A schoolroom was erected in the churchyard by Thomas Mowbray and John Pinder, with the consent of the town, in 1693. An Inclosure Act of 1760 recited that a sum of £5 had been yearly paid to a master, who also received an allowance of coals and turf, for teaching six poor children to read, and the schoolhouse had been repaired out of lands belonging to the town; and in accordance with instructions contained therein the Commissioners in 1762 awarded to the master lands worth £8 a year, for his salary and allowances, and to the trustees the privilege of letting certain herbage for repairing the school, and other public uses. The master received £64 a year in 1827 from the land, and instructed six poor children in reading and arithmetic. For 20s., left by William Wood some time before 1757, he instructed two poor boys in reading and writing, and provided books for them; and for another sum of 10s., a gift of unknown origin, one poor boy. He had also paying pupils, day and boarding. The Commissioners for inquiry concerning Charities and Education suggested an increase in the number of free scholars, proportionate to the increase of the emoluments.⁷ New buildings were erected in 1860. In 1866 the gross income from endowment was £54, and in 1867 65 children (39 boys and 26 girls), were under instruction by two teachers. There was no schoolhouse, and no government inspection. In 1907 the Misson Parochial School, which received the endowment, had an average attendance of 89 children.

MORTON.—A rent-charge of £2 10s., left by William Daybill, by will 17 September 1695, for a school at Fiskerton and Morton, was paid in 1827 to a schoolmaster for teaching two children from each parish to read and write.⁸ The endowment is now received by the Fiskerton cum Morton Church School (mixed), which

in 1907 had an average attendance of 67. The present buildings were erected in 1855, and subsequently enlarged in 1888 and 1897.

NORTH AND SOUTH COLLINGHAM.—William Hart, by will 4 August 1699, left property in Bicker, Lincolnshire, to be employed after his wife's death in teaching poor children of North Collingham; and his widow, by will 9 January 1718, added lands in South Collingham, and extended the benefit to children of that place. In accordance with her husband's wishes she required the trustees and schoolmaster to be 'such as before that time had been dipped, that is, baptized after the example of Christ Jesus and the practice of the Apostles, and in full communion with the people called Baptists, or in this nation now falsely called Anabaptists.' Two-thirds of the rents were to be paid to the master as well as the surplus of the remaining one-third, after providing books and fuel. Should the master ever be disabled from teaching by persecution, the school was to cease for the time, and the endowment be used for relieving him and fellow-sufferers. In 1828 the rents (£18 from Bicker, and £21 from South Collingham), were paid to a master, a Baptist, who provided material and fuel, and taught the three R's, and occasionally geography, to 23 boys—(five of them Baptists)—between the ages of eight and twelve, in a school in North Collingham, erected seventeen years previously out of trust funds and subscriptions.⁹ In 1866 the income from endowment was £41; and next year 15 boys and six girls were taught by a master, assisted by a mistress for needlework. There was no teacher's residence, and no official inspection. £20 was given to each parish by Thomas Fisher some time before 1794, for educational purposes, the annual proceeds of which, in 1828, were paid to two schoolmistresses, each teaching two children.

HARWORTH.—The endowment was given this school by Robert Brailsford, by will 21 October 1700, who left lands in Hatfield Manor, Yorkshire, the rents to provide a salary of £10, £1 a year for coal, £1 for a gratuity (optional) for the master at Christmas, and the remainder for buying English books and paper; and by Mary Sanderson, who died in 1724, bequeathing a rent-charge of £20 on her property at Serlby (rented at £66), one-half for a schoolmaster, and one-half for apprenticing boys and girls, buying religious books for the scholars, and clothes for new apprentices, and providing a dinner for the trustees. A schoolhouse was built in 1705. Each bequest required 20 children to be taught, and the instruction was to be of an elementary character. The rents of Brailsford's charity, between 1788 and 1809, amounted to £30; at the latter date they were increased to £59; and in 1827 there was

⁶ *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 349, 350. ⁷ *Ibid.* 360-2.

⁸ *Ibid.* xx, 536.

⁹ *Ibid.* xxi, 424-6.

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£253 13s. of 3½ per cent. stock, the proceeds of falls of timber. Practically the whole income (£20) from Sanderson's charity was devoted to education. The school, conducted on the Madras System, was in 1827 open to all poor children of Harworth, Serlby, and Styrrup, above seven years of age. The schoolmaster received a salary of £35 15s., and an allowance for coal of £4 4s.; also £20 for boarding a mistress, whose salary was £6 6s. The attendance varied with the season from 60 to 20. The boys were taught in the school, and the girls in a room of the adjoining master's house.¹⁰ The income from endowment available for education in 1866 was £50. There were 60 free places; other scholars paid fees of 3d. or 4d., the total attendance in 1867 being 100. Twenty-nine boys and thirty-eight girls were clothed from Sanderson's charity. The school, conducted by a master and mistress, was not inspected. The buildings were enlarged in 1876. The Harworth Church School, which receives the endowment (£58), had in 1907 an average attendance of 68 scholars in the mixed and of 39 in the infants' department.

BUNNY WITH BRADMORE.—The school, with four rooms for four poor widows, was built in 1700 by Sir Thomas Parkyns, who later, by will 18 August 1735, gave a yearly sum of £2 for a mistress to prepare children for admission by teaching them spelling. The school was endowed by his mother, Lady Anne Parkyns, 12 July 1709, with part of the income from 30 acres of land in Thorpe, which were to be let at a rent of £16, to be increased if any part was converted into tillage. For a salary of £10 a master was to teach the children of Bunny and Bradmore in spelling, the three R's, and the Catechism, free of charge, if the parents did not contribute to the public levies, otherwise on condition of paying an entrance fee of 1s. and a quarterage of 6d., of contributing (6d. by husbandmen's children, 3d. by cottagers') towards a love feast of cakes and ale before the Christmas holidays, and of delivering a certain amount of coal or other fuel (graduated according to the value of the property held by the parents). Outsiders were to pay 1s. on entrance, and 1s. a year for coals. The entrance age was fixed at five years, except for children able to read the primer perfectly; provision for teaching alphabet and primer by poor widows was to be made out of surplus income. The scholars were to attend church on Sundays and holy days; and on Wednesdays and Fridays also, if the master was a clergyman. £1 was set apart for providing a dinner or love feast for the trustees at Midsummer. In 1828 the master received £26 6s. from the property at Thorpe, and an additional £12 from an allotment made by an inclosure award in 1798; in return he taught

40 to 100 children of the two villages, taking them to church on Sundays. Children of rated inhabitants paid 1s. entrance fee and 1s. quarterage, and for coal 1s. (cottagers' children), or 3s. (farmers'). The school was held in a large room on the ground floor; four adjoining rooms were occupied by the almspeople; and the master had the first floor and garrets above for his residence.¹¹ In 1866 the gross income from endowment was £60, £49 of which was devoted to education; and in 1867 there was an attendance of 37 boys and 21 girls. The quarterage had been reduced to 6d. The school was not under government inspection. The endowment is now received by the Bunny Church School (mixed), which, in 1907, had an average attendance of 73 children. The existing buildings were erected in 1876.

BABWORTH.—With £10, given in 1702 by William Simpson towards teaching children to read, and £5 by Mrs. Elizabeth Simpson in 1746, a cottage was rebuilt in 1771, which was used as a school. Lindley Simpson, by will in 1781, gave a share in the Chesterfield Canal for teaching poor children of the parish to read, and for the purchase of copies of the Old and New Testament, and other good books. In 1827 the dividends, amounting to £8, increased by voluntary subscriptions, provided Bibles and Prayer books for the poor, and supported a mistress, who taught poor children in her cottage, which had been used for the purpose during the past forty years.¹² The Babworth Church School (mixed) had in 1907 an average attendance of 64 children. The existing buildings were erected in 1876, and enlarged in 1895. Lindley Simpson's legacy is spent in accordance with the directions of his will, in connexion with this school.

CLAYWORTH.—The endowment of this school in 1827 consisted of the rents (£58) of certain lands in Clayworth, awarded by Inclosure Com-

¹¹ *Ibid.* xxi, 437-46. According to the recital of the indenture of 12 July 1709, the master was to teach 'so much of trigonometry as relates to the mechanical and useful parts of mathematics'; and an inscription on the school runs:—'Nemo hinc egradiatur ignarus Arithmetice' (cf. *μηδεις ἀγεωμέτρητος εισίτω*—the inscription said to have been on Plato's door). Sir Thomas Parkyns also wrote a *Practical and Grammatical Introduction to the Latin Tongue* for the use of his grandson and of Bunny school, and the possibility of a clergyman as schoolmaster is contemplated in the indenture already referred to. These facts suggest that instruction in higher learning was encouraged at one time, though the school was not founded as a grammar school. Sir Thomas made a practical application of mathematics to the art of wrestling, in a book which he wrote on that subject, teaching 'to break Holds and throw most Falls Mathematically.' There is an account of him in *Proc. of the Thoroton Soc.* vi, 12 ff.

¹² *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 306.

¹⁰ *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 344-8.

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missioners in 1792 on account of a close of 3 acres and about 20 acres of arable land given by the Rev. William Sampson, rector, who died in 1702; of land worth £2 2s. a year given by Christopher Johnson in 1707; of tenements rented at £1 15s., given by Lacy Dickonson, at an unknown date; and of a house and field, occupied by the schoolmaster at a rent of £4, given by will of Francis Otter, who died in 1813. There was a schoolroom, built in 1816 on the land bequeathed by Mr. Otter with £88, surplus rents. The master was required to instruct 12 poor boys in the three R's and the Catechism on account of the first three legacies; and one boy on account of Otter's gift. There were actually only seven boys in attendance. The rents of the house had been devoted to providing prizes for the best ploughers and reapers until 1814, in accordance with the terms of the bequest, but then ceased to be so employed.¹³ In 1867 there were 30 boys and 10 girls, eight free and the rest paying 3d. a week; £41 of the income in 1866 was devoted to the school and £10 to other benefit of the scholars, under Sampson's will. The school was not under government inspection; it was conducted by a master, assisted by his daughter for needlework. The endowment now goes to the Clayworth Parochial School, which in 1907 had an average attendance of 53 in the mixed, and of 29 in the infants' department.

NOTTINGHAM: BLUE COAT SCHOOL.—This school was established in 1706 by voluntary contributions; and the site in High Pavement was acquired by the trustees in 1720. It was endowed with a rent-charge of £2 a year (from property in Pilcher Gate) by Thomas Saunderson in 1711; with two tenements in Houndsgate by Charles Harvey in the same year; with a messuage and buildings and gardens belonging in St. Peter's churchyard by Jonathan Labray in 1718; with a rent-charge of 5s. by Thomas Roberts in 1729; with a close in Clayfield by Gilbert Beresford in 1747; with a security on the Nottingham and Grantham Turnpike Road, by John Key in 1774; and also with various gifts of money, amounting in all to £2,507 5s., including £600 from Mary Holden in 1760. The income from endowment in 1827 was £360 2s. 9d.; annual subscriptions reached £68 14s. 6d.; and the collections after charity sermons £103 19s. 2d. The master in 1827 received a salary of 100 guineas and a house free; in return for which he and his wife taught, in two schoolrooms, 50 boys and 18 girls—who were completely clothed once a year—the boys in the three R's, and the girls in reading, writing and sewing. The full number of scholars (60 boys and 20 girls) had not been taken for some few years, to allow accumulations for repairs. The school was limited to children of poor in-

habitants of Nottingham certified to be members of the Church of England. The boys on leaving were apprenticed for five years at a premium of £5 5s.¹⁴ In 1866 the total income from endowment was £471, and in 1867 there was a full complement of scholars. The master was certificated, but the school was not under government inspection. The school is now in Mansfield Road; the income is over £600 and provides education and clothing for 75 boys and 35 girls.

EAST MARKHAM.—James Gunthorpe, by will 31 October 1706, gave a rent-charge of £5 for teaching 10 poor children to read the Bible; and William Dunstan, by will 18 October 1713, added another rent-charge of £5 for another 10 children, on condition that writing and instruction in Church principles formed part of the curriculum. From 1714 to 1811 a salary of £6 from these sources was paid to a master; the remaining income, regarded as a clothing fund, with a legacy of £50 by Jeremiah Eliot in 1725 for the poor, had accumulated to £105 by 1776. In 1811 the schoolmaster was considered entitled to both rent-charges in full. In 1827 that sum was paid to the parish clerk, and the interest of the £105 was used for buying shoes for the 20 free scholars.¹⁵ In 1867 there was an attendance of 12 boys and eight girls, and the gross income from endowment in the previous year was £14. The school was not under government inspection; and there was no teacher's residence. The East Markham Council School is the only school in the village, and in 1907 had an average attendance of 115 in the mixed and of 51 in the infants' department. The income (£17) of the three gifts mentioned is applied in providing clothing for children.

MANSFIELD: BRUNTS' AND THOMPSON'S SCHOOL.—Charles Thompson, by will 4 December 1784, ordered £600 of 3 per cent. consols to be purchased out of his estate, the dividends to be devoted to improving the education of poor children of Mansfield. The residue of testator's property, after satisfying all claims, seems to have been devoted to the same purpose. The endowment in 1831 consisted of £1,300 4s. 4d. of stock, and the dividends amounted to £46. There was a school and residence in Tothill Lane, and a master for £28 and a mistress for £12 instructed 40 boys and 40 girls in the three R's and the girls in needlework. The master also received £4 a year from a legacy of Samuel Brunts, 31 January 1709, for putting to school poor boys born in the parish, so as to make them fit for honest trades, and in return he taught reading to 20 children.¹⁶ In 1866 the income of Thompson's legacy was £45, and in 1867 there were 93 children (47 boys and 46 girls) under a master and mistress, both certificated.

¹⁴ Ibid. xv, 456-65.

¹⁵ Ibid. xix, 353, 354.

¹⁶ Ibid. xxv, 426-36, 437-8.

¹³ Char. Com. Rep. xix, 322-4.

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The school was not under government inspection. The school continued elementary until it was converted into Brunts' Technical School by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Acts in 1891 (see under Brunts' Technical School, Mansfield, *supra*).

BESTHORPE.—George Carver, by will 21 October 1709, gave a rent-charge of £5 to support a school for poor children of Besthorpe, to be conducted in Besthorpe or the neighbourhood. The endowment was increased by William Wilson in 1802 by a legacy of £100, which in 1827 brought in £3 12s. The joint income was paid to a schoolmaster, who taught eight poor children of the township in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He also had paying pupils. The existing school had been built in 1784.¹⁷ In 1866 the income from the endowment was £8. The school was under government inspection and there was a staff of two teachers, who in 1867 instructed 33 boys and 21 girls paying fees of 4d. or 2d. a week. There was a residence for the head teacher. The national school was closed in 1876, and the only school in Besthorpe in 1907 was the Council School, with an average attendance of 46 in the mixed and of 14 in the infants' department.

STURTON-IN-THE-CLAY.—George Green, by will 2 January 1710 (proved 1728), gave a close for teaching reading to 8 children. The rents in 1827 amounted to £6 14s., and had been paid to a master conducting a school in the vestry of the parish church until recently, when they were employed to pay legal expenses connected with an inclosure (£22 8s. 4d.).¹⁸ In 1907 the Sturton Parochial School (Mixed) had an average attendance of 86. It receives the benefit of Green's Charity. The buildings were enlarged and almost entirely rebuilt in 1879, at the expense of the Rt. Hon. F. J. Savile-Foljambe.

WEST BURTON.—George Green, by his will 2 January 1710 bequeathed 3 acres of land for teaching reading to three poor children. The rent was not paid for many years before 1818; between 1818 and 1824 £1 19s. a year seems to have been spent according to the terms of the will, but afterwards had to be employed in defraying the cost of inclosing the land (£17 10s. 11d.).¹⁹ The children now attend the school at Sturton-in-the-Clay, which receives about £2 a year from the endowment.

WEST STOCKWITH.—William Huntington, shipwright, by will 24 August 1714, gave a rent-charge of £5, to be paid to the schoolmaster in West Stockwith for teaching 10 poor children of widows of ship-carpenters or seamen placed in his almshouses in West Stockwith, or, in default of such children, as many others of poor parents as his trustees should think proper. The schoolmaster received £5 up till 1813, when the

salary was doubled. In 1827, there being no almshouse children, he taught the three R's to 10 others.²⁰ In 1904 £105 from Huntington's Charity went to the almsfolk, and £14 to the school, which also benefited by the gift of Miss Wells, who left the great tithes of Everton, worth about £300 a year, to the parishes of Everton, Misterton, and Stockwith, one half in each parish for distribution among the poor at Christmas and the other half for the education of poor children. The school is now known as the West Stockwith Council School, which in 1907 had an average attendance of 113 in the mixed and of 52 in the infants' department. The existing premises were erected in 1876 by the Wells family and enlarged in 1898.

CALVERTON.—Thomas Smith, to whom Jonathan Labray of Nottingham, in 1718, gave an estate in Calverton for charitable purposes, set apart £10 a year from the rents for supporting a schoolmaster. Only £6 a year could be paid until 1821, when the master's salary was doubled. In 1828 he taught the elements to 14 children free of charge, and also had paying pupils. The school and schoolhouse, of unknown date, were under one roof.²¹ In 1866 the income from endowment had increased to £50; and in 1867 there were 70 boys in attendance, and fees of 1d. and 2d. were charged. The school was not under government inspection. Labray's Endowed School, Calverton, which is undenominational in character, had in 1907 an average attendance of 61 boys.

SUTTON BONNINGTON.—The existing elementary school was originally built and endowed about 1718, by joint parochial effort, as a school in which the Latin tongue was to be taught (see *Introduction*). In 1828 the demand for that subject had ceased. The premises were rebuilt in 1844 by subscriptions and grants from the Privy Council and the National Society. Since that time the school has been under government inspection. In 1907 the average attendance was 107 in the mixed and 37 in the infants' department.

WALKERINHAM.—The Church school, which in 1907 had an average attendance of 76 in the mixed and of 48 in the infants' department, receives the endowment of a school founded by Robert Woodhouse 19 May 1719, for teaching Latin among other subjects (see *Introduction*). In 1827 Latin was said to be occasionally taught, but it ceased to be required under an order of the Gainsborough County Court in 1860. The existing premises were built in 1850.

EDWINSTOWE.—The Rev. John Bellamy, vicar, by will 12 June 1719, gave the schoolhouse and two closes to trustees, the closes to be let and the rents to be paid to a schoolmaster, who was to be unmarried at the time of appointment,

¹⁷ *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 427-8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 406. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* 320.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 364-72.

²¹ *Ibid.* xx, 445-9, 513.

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for teaching English reading to not more than eight children of poor religious parents, born in the town. Bellamy and his wife also founded an almshouse in 1698 for poor widows. In 1824 the school was rebuilt and a house for the master added, at the expense of Earl Manvers. From that time the school was conducted as a national school, being open to all poor children of Edwinstowe and the adjoining townships. Parents who could afford it paid 6*d.* a quarter, and the master's salary from endowment (£10) was increased by voluntary contributions.²³ In 1867 the school was under government inspection, and the master was certificated. Forty boys were in attendance, and fees of 1*d.*, 2*d.*, and 4*d.* a week were charged. The endowment in 1866 brought in £12 a year. Five-sixths of the proceeds of the sale of the almshouse and lands connected with it were allocated to educational purposes and the provision of a parish reading-room, by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 10 February 1899. The proceeds of the sale of the Poor's lands in 1904, amounting to about £24 11*s.* 4*d.* a year, was devoted to education and poor relief. The Edwinstowe Church School had in 1907 an average attendance of 144 in the mixed, and of 43 in the infants' department. The existing buildings were erected by Earl Manvers in 1872, and he added a room for infants in 1895.

WEST MARKHAM.—William Miller about 1721 left £200 to be invested so as to produce £8 a year, which was to be paid to a schoolmaster. The sum was not invested, but a schoolmaster was appointed and paid from 1734. John Kirke, grandson of the original trustee, on 23 August 1776 gave a rent-charge of £8 on property of his in East Markham in consideration of the legacy. Poor children of West Markham and Milton were to be instructed in reading, writing, and Church principles. In 1827 the parish clerk had received the £8 for fifteen years, but the instruction had been given by his mother till her death and for the last four years by his younger brother.²⁴ In 1907 the West Markham, Markham Clinton School (mixed) had an average attendance of 38 children. It receives the benefit of the endowments.

BINGHAM.—£100—one half for placing poor children at school—bequeathed by Thomas Tealby, who died in February 1721-2, together with other small bequests, was invested in lands, which in 1823 were let at a clear rent of £15. Half this sum was paid in 1828 to a schoolmaster for teaching reading to 10 poor children of the parish. He instructed others, also free of charge, and had many paying pupils. The attendance at the time was 61. In 1827 it was decided to increase the endowment by shares in the Grantham Canal, which had

been purchased with £80, the profits of theatrical performances given in 1784 and 1785 for the benefit of the poor of Bingham, and with £70 contributed by George Baxter and John Foster in equal proportions, the interest of those gentlemen being first purchased.²⁴ In 1907 the Bingham Church School had an average attendance of 91 in the mixed and of 45 in the infants' department.

WEST RETFORD.—Stephen Johnson, because certain conditions, on which the establishment of a school for this town under the will of Richard Brownlow of 20 March 1691 depended, had been unfulfilled, as his executor made good the default in 1723, giving £10 a year for providing a salary for the master and a place to teach in. The school was to be for children of West Retford between five and thirteen years of age, and the master a member of the Church of England. By a codicil of 1725 he gave a cottage in West Retford as schoolhouse and desired the master to be unmarried. In 1827 the subjects taught were reading, writing, and the Church Catechism. Children of West Retford were admitted free, but there were also paying pupils.²⁵ In 1867 the school was under government inspection and taught by a mistress. The income from endowment in 1866 was still £10. In 1907 the West Retford Church School had an average attendance of 37 girls and 68 infants. The school is under the East Retford Borough Education Authority, to which the endowment is paid in mitigation of rates.

MANSFIELD AND MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE FAITH CLERKSON'S SCHOOLS.²⁶—An account of this foundation is to be found under Mansfield Grammar School (*supra*).

BALDERTON.—William Alvey, by will 26 August 1726, gave an estate worth £35 a year, £20 for educating poor children of New Sleaford, Lincolnshire, and £8 for similar objects at Balderton. Two-thirds of surplus income was to be paid to the master of the former and one-third to the master of the latter school. In 1828 the rents amounted to £120, and the schoolmaster at Balderton received £18 a year, teaching free of charge 12 boys and 6 girls, all in reading and spelling, and the girls in knitting also. He had 42 paying scholars in addition. The schoolroom, originally intended for a Sunday school, had been built by parish subscription a few years previously in a garden, part of property left by Benjamin Gibson in 1727 for the benefit of the poor.²⁷ In 1866 the income from Alvey's endowment is given as £28, and in 1867 there were 80 boys and girls paying fees of 2*d.* and 3*d.* per week under the instruction of two teachers. There was a house for the head teacher. The school was under government inspection. The Balderton Council School (Gibson's Charity) had

²³ *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 331-2.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 358-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.* xxi, 384-7.

²⁶ *Ibid.* xxv, 418-24.

²⁷ *Ibid.* xix, 402-4.

²⁸ *Ibid.* xxi, 417-20.

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in 1907 an average attendance of 269 in the mixed and of 142 in the infants' department. The income of Alvey's gift is distributed among the scholars in prizes for regular attendance. The mixed school buildings were erected in 1873 (enlarged in 1893) and the infants' in 1903.

NORTH MUSKHAM.—On 27 March 1745, Mary Disney, in pursuance of the will of her mother, Mary Woolhouse, of 26 February 1727, who had charged her estate with an annual payment of £4 until the trust could be established, bought for £123 3s., and conveyed to trustees, property in the parish rented at £5 5s. a year, on condition that the rent, after deductions for repairs and taxes, should be paid for teaching 14 children reading and writing and the girls among them sewing also, devout behaviour, their prayers and the Church Catechism. The scholars were to be taken to church on Sundays, and surplus rents above £5 used in purchasing Bibles and Prayer Books for them. About 1794 a schoolroom and house were erected on part of an inclosure allotment by Mr. Pocklington, at a cost of £70. In 1828 the rents amounted to £60 14s., out of which the master paid rates and taxes and repairs, keeping the remainder. With the assistance of his wife he taught the 14 free scholars as required; but he demanded from 3d. to 6d. per week for arithmetic. He also took paying pupils, who averaged about 50 in winter, and 30 during the rest of the year. The requirement with regard to the supply of religious books was not properly observed. The master's residence was valued at £8 8s. a year.²⁸ In 1866 the gross income from endowment available for education was £40; and in 1867 39 boys and 32 girls were under instruction; the school was not officially inspected. New buildings were erected on the old site in 1880 at a cost of £1,000. The North Muskham Council School in 1907 had an average attendance of 93 in the mixed, and 42 in the infants' department. The income of Mary Woolhouse's gift (about £22) is devoted to the support of the Church Sunday School.

SOUTH WILFORD.—A combined school and residence was erected in 1736 with £200 given by will of the Rev. Benjamin Carter, rector, 13 February 1730. He had previously, by indentures of lease and release, 11 and 12 March 1727, endowed the master with £30 a year from the rents (£55) of houses in Lloyd's Court, St. Giles in the Fields, on condition that he should not be curate of the parish, and that he should teach freely all children whose parents could not afford to pay, in reading and writing; and also assigned two sums of £5 a year from the same source, for buying material and for the benefit of the poor of the parish, £10 a year for the support of the Girls' Charity School in St. Giles in the Fields, and the residue for apprenticing a

boy at Wilford. In 1827 the rents amounted to £164, and there were also dividends of £46 16s. on £1,560 Old South Sea Annuities purchased from surplus income. The master's salary was £60; and £10 was spent on books, £10 on the poor, £20 on the London School, and £5 in apprenticing any boy applying. There was a separate schoolroom erected by Sir Gervas Clifton and rented by the master for 12s.; and from 25 to 35 poor scholars were instructed in reading and writing without charge. A fee, however, was required for arithmetic. In 1826 there were 10 paying scholars (eight day and two boarders). The Commissioners for Inquiry concerning Charities and Education suggested the provision of a new schoolroom out of the balance at bank (£250) and the employment of a mistress.²⁹ New buildings were erected in 1866, at a cost of £1,100. The master in 1868 received a salary of £80, his predecessor a pension of £26 a year, and the London School an annual grant of £58. A scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 1888 established an exhibition fund (£180 a year) out of the endowment for children of the parish. The school still goes on, and in 1907 had an average attendance of 78.

NORWELL.—The charity school was endowed by Thomas Sturtevant, by indentures of lease and release 1 and 2 June 1727, with lands, also liable to an annual charge of 10s. for a sermon, the rents of which in 1827 amounted to £15 1s.; at various dates with £50 by Robert Marsden, the clerk to the trustees, and £40 (for diligent scholars) by Mary Wilkinson, which sums, with others, were in 1733 invested in lands, rented at £34 10s. in 1827; and with £2 a year by Samuel Wood in 1782. The master's salary in 1825 was raised to £50, having been more than doubled in the previous six years; and he instructed 12 boys and 12 girls without charge in the three R's, the girls being also taught knitting and sewing. He had also paying pupils, and free residence in an 'ancient' schoolhouse. A clothing fund of £100, to provide blue coats and gowns for the boys and girls, was given by Mary Sturtevant in 1768.³⁰ 14 boys and 14 girls were taught and clothed in 1867, and £40 from endowment was available for education. The school was not under government inspection. The Norwell Church School (mixed) had in 1907 an average attendance of 68. The present buildings were erected in 1871 on a site given by Lord Ossington and enlarged in 1893. The income from endowment in 1904 was about £20.

EAST RETFORD.—George Wharton, who died in July 1727, gave £5 a year out of his estate at Little Gringley for teaching and clothing five poor boys, not being the sons of freemen. In 1827 this sum was spent in clothing five boys attending the National school. Sarah Brown in

²⁸ *Cbar. Com. Rep.* xxi, 463-6.

²⁹ *Ibid.* xx, 506-11.

³⁰ *Ibid.* xxi, 467-70.

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1795 gave £21 to the trustees of the charity school for boys and girls, the interest to be divided equally among the scholars, and any residue devoted to teaching reading and needlework to such poor girls of East Retford as they should appoint. The proceeds in 1827 were paid to a schoolmistress for instructing two poor girls in reading and needlework. Nothing seems to have been known in 1827 of a gift of £50 by Hannah Saltmarsh before 1756 for teaching poor children.³¹ The East Retford Church School had in 1907 an average attendance of 183 in the boys', of 160 in the girls', and of 121 in the infants' department. The sole endowment is the income of Sarah Brown's charity (10s. a year).

FLINTHAM.—Robert Hacker, of Flintham Hall, by will 2 December 1727, gave all his property in Caythorpe, Lincolnshire, for teaching poor children of Flintham to read and their duty towards God and man. In respect of this legacy £20 a year was paid in 1828 to a master who had agreed to instruct 14 free scholars, also providing material and firing; he had paying pupils in addition. Arithmetic was taught to boys remaining until twelve years of age. The schoolroom had been built in 1779.³² In 1866 the annual value of the endowment was £22. The school was free, and in 1867 there was an attendance of 14 boys. The existing school was erected in 1873 at a cost of £1,000, of which £300 was derived from the sale of lands left by Robert Hacker; the rest of the endowment, about £10 a year, being distributed among deserving scholars. A new infants' schoolroom was added in 1897. The old school has been converted into a reading-room. The Flintham and Screveton Undenominational School had in 1907 an average attendance of 61 in the mixed, and of 19 in the infants' department.

EAST LEAKE.—John Bley built the school, and on 20 October 1730 he gave it by will to trustees, together with an adjoining orchard, for the sole benefit of the township, and endowed it with £450, with which lands in Burton-on-the-Wolds and Wimeswold in Leicestershire were bought. The children were to be taught reading, Church doctrine, and other useful knowledge. The rents in 1828, amounting to £48 10s., were paid to a schoolmaster, who repaired the building and, assisted by an usher, taught the three R's, the Commandments, reading the Bible, and the Church Catechism (unless objected to) to all poor boys and girls between four and fourteen legally settled in East Leake. There was an entrance fee of 1s., and a charge of 6d. or 1s. for firing. Pupils paying tuition fees were taught in a separate room. There were 42 scholars in all.³³ In 1867 the attendance had risen to 67 (45 boys and 22 girls). The school was not under government inspection. The endowment is

now worth about £50 a year, and is enjoyed by the East Leake Council School, built in 1875, which in 1907 had an average attendance of 112 in the mixed, and of 54 in the infants' department.

BECKINGHAM.—By his will, 10 March 1731, James Wharton gave property in Beckingham worth £40 a year, to the governors of Gainsborough Grammar School in trust, £5 of the rents and profits to be devoted to clothing and teaching five poor boys and girls of Beckingham, and the residue to educating and apprenticing poor children of Gainsborough, and for other charitable purposes in that town. In 1811 a vestry meeting at Beckingham decided to employ the endowment for education only, increasing the number of children benefiting to 10. In 1827 the income was £15 3s. 9d., which, together with a sum of £1 14s., being interest on £34 which represented a legacy of £50 given by William Jackson some time before 1772, was paid to a schoolmaster.³⁴ In 1866 the income from endowment was £12. The school was under government inspection in 1867, and seven boys and three girls were instructed by two teachers free of charge. There was a residence for the chief teacher. The National School was closed in 1898. The only school in Beckingham, the Council School, had in 1907 an average attendance of 78 in the mixed, and of 21 in the infants' department. Wharton's gift (£8 a year) is now distributed in prizes for regular attendance among the scholars of this school, and Jackson's gift (13s. 6d. a year) among the poor.

EDINGLEY.—This school was founded by Samuel Wright, who, on 1 May 1731, transferred certain property to John Lamb and his heirs for the benefit of a school. In 1810 the old schoolhouse and yard were sold for £105; and another house was adapted for school uses at a cost of £55. Interest on the remainder was paid to the master until 1821, when repairs almost swallowed up the principal. In 1828 the school premises consisted of a house, garden, and 3 closes, about 5½ acres in all, in the occupation of the schoolmaster, and considered to be worth £15 a year. Poor children of the parish were taught reading and writing free; non-parishioners paid a fee.³⁵ In 1866 the gross income is given as £15. The school still exists, but for one and a half years has ceased to be recognized by the Board of Education. It is attended by 26 children, paying 1d. a week. The income from endowment is £19 a year.

WINKBURN.—Acton Burnell, of Winkburn Hall, in 1733 left property in Upton for a master to teach 12 poor boys or girls in the three R's and the Christian religion. Masters and scholars were to be nominated by his brother William and his heirs. William Burnell erected

³¹ Op. cit. xx, 381, 383-4.

³² Ibid. xxi, 391.

³³ Ibid. 448-50.

³⁴ Ibid. xix, 442-5.

³⁵ Ibid. xx, 528-30.

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a schoolhouse in 1738. In 1828 the property brought in £30 a year, which sum a master received for instructing 14 boys and girls free of charge. He also had paying pupils.³⁶ In 1860 the income from endowment was £25, and in 1867 there were 13 boys and 15 girls under instruction. The school is now designated the Winkburn Church School (mixed). In 1907 it had an average attendance of 24 children.

WESTON.—The school was built with £50 and endowed with £100, used to buy lands in Lincolnshire and to erect a cottage in Weston, by Richard Hawksworth, by will 13 April 1736. The master was to teach 10 poor children of the parish until they could read the Bible well. The lands in 1827 brought in £7. The cottage had been sold at the time of the Inclosure for £20, which with accumulations of rents during a vacancy in the mastership formed a fund for repairs. In addition to the instruction specified the Church Catechism was taught.³⁷ In 1866 the income from endowment was £11; and in 1867 there were 27 boys and 26 girls attending the school, 10 being instructed free and the rest paying a fee of 2*d.* a week. The school was not under government inspection. A new school was erected in 1871, since rebuilt by the late Earl Manvers. The Weston Church School (mixed), to which the income of Hawksworth's gift (£7 a year) is paid for upkeep of the buildings, had in 1907 an average attendance of 40.

WOODBOROUGH.—The Rev. Montague Wood erected a schoolhouse, and on 17 June 1736 gave an endowment, consisting of lands and tenements at Woodborough and Blidworth, worth £12 a year, for maintaining a master to instruct the children in Church of England principles. In 1739 he assigned property in Stapleford, of the annual value of £30, to meet repairs and augment the salary. In 1828 the schoolmaster was a clergyman, the Rev. James Hewes. He managed the estate, received the rents (£99), and undertook repairs. All children of Woodborough who had learnt the alphabet were instructed in the three R's free of charge. Between 40 and 50 scholars usually attended.³⁸ In 1866 the gross income from endowment was £110. The incumbent of the parish, with an assistant, conducted this school, which was not under government inspection. A fee of 1*s.* a year was charged in 1867, and 62 boys and girls were under instruction. The premises were rebuilt in 1878. The Woodborough Wood's Foundation School in 1907 had an average attendance of 80 in the mixed and of 38 in the infants' department. The endowment in 1904 brought in £74.

SUTTON CUM LOUND.—Richard Taylor, on 18 May 1737, bequeathed £70 for the benefit

of poor children of Sutton cum Lound, which sum was settled in trust 13 May 1742 for teaching them reading and the Church Catechism. The money was invested in stock (£112 10*s.* 3½ per cents.), which in 1827 produced £3 18*s.* 8*d.* a year. This sum, together with £24, the annual rents of an Inclosure allotment awarded to the inhabitants in 1778 and appropriated in 1783 to the support of the school, was paid to a master, who taught 30 children in the three R's at a fee of 3*d.* a week. There had been no free scholars since his appointment in 1813. A school and residence had been built in 1783, partly by public subscription, partly out of trust funds.³⁹ The gross income from endowment in 1866 was £18, and 30 boys were instructed for a small weekly payment. The school was not under government inspection. In 1907 the Sutton cum Lound Church School had an average attendance of 75 in the mixed and 38 in the infants' department. The existing buildings were erected in 1875.

OLLERTON.—Up to 1795 a sum of 8*s.* yearly, part of the interest on £22 left by Francis Thompson (? died 1739), for bread and teaching two poor children, was paid to a mistress. From that date the income was apparently spent in repairing the chapel; but in 1827 the vestry determined to administer it in accordance with the conditions of the bequest.⁴⁰ The Ollerton Church School, built by public subscription in 1842 and enlarged in 1848 by Earl Manvers, had in 1907 an average attendance of 119 in the mixed and of 46 in the infants' department. Nothing is received by it on account of Thompson's gift.

MATTERSEY.—Edmund Nettleship in 1742 gave £140, to be invested in land, the rents to be paid to a master, who was never to be the incumbent or curate, for instructing seven poor boys in the three R's. Stock was purchased with the money, which in 1827 consisted of £248 10*s.* 7*d.* 3½ per cents. The dividends, £8 13*s.* 10*d.*, were paid to a master for instructing seven free scholars; he had also paying pupils.⁴¹ The existing Church School (mixed) was built in 1859 by public subscription on a site given by the Duke of Portland; in 1907 it had an average attendance of 66 children. By a scheme of 18 March 1905 the income of Nettleship's gift (now £6 4*s.*) was devoted to providing scholarships for Mattersey children to East Retford Grammar School.

BILBOROUGH AND STRELLEY.—By deed of 30 March 1744 Richard Smedley gave £5, part of a rent-charge of £60, for teaching 18 or 20 poor boys or girls from Bilborough and Strelley parishes, the majority to be from Strelley. The condition of admission to the school was to be 'having learned the battledore'; the instruction

³⁶ *Char. Com. Rep.* xx, 525-6.

³⁷ *Ibid.* xix, 440, 441. ³⁸ *Ibid.* xx, 526, 527.

³⁹ *Ibid.* xix, 448-50.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 333.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 360.

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was to be in the English tongue; and children were to be superannuated when considered by the trustees sufficiently instructed therein. In 1828 the £5 was paid to a mistress for teaching reading to four children from Bilborough and eight from Strelley, nominated by the ministers.⁴² The endowment is now received by the Bilborough and Strelley Church School (mixed), which in 1907 had an average attendance of 49 children.

AWSWORTH.—The chapelry of Awsworth benefited to the extent of £5 a year from Richard Smedley's gift, mentioned under Bilborough and Strelley. In 1828 this sum was paid to a mistress who taught reading to all children of the chapelry presenting themselves.⁴³ Smedley's gift is now distributed among the most regular attendants at the Awsworth Council School, which in 1907 had an average attendance of 216 in the mixed and of 163 in the infants' department.

NEWTHORPE.—This hamlet in Greasley parish, like Bilborough and Awsworth (*supra*), received £5 a year from Richard Smedley's gift. In 1828 a mistress, on account of it, instructed 12 poor children in reading.⁴⁴ The Newthorpe School was closed in 1876. Smedley's gift is now applied to the education of children, bona fide inhabitants of Newthorpe, who attend or have attended Public Elementary Schools.

SOUTHWELL.—The endowments for elementary education recorded by the Commissioners for inquiry concerning Charities and Education were:—(1) A house and lands, given by Thomas Brailesford, of Easthorpe, by will 13 July 1744, for teaching 10 poor children to read, knit, and sew, in 1828 worth £25 a year, and occupied by an aged dame; (2) an earlier legacy by another Thomas Brailesford, 23 November 1721, for teaching poor children of Easthorpe and Southwell, which was non-operative; (3) £150 given by Richard Stenton, by will 9 August 1771, for teaching 10 poor boys or girls to read, the interest on which (about £7 10s.) was paid in 1828 to a mistress; (4) certain property given by a former vicar, the Rev. John Laverack, by will 5 June 1775, for educating and clothing poor children, the income of which (£6) was in 1828 spent in clothing poor girls; (5) and £400 given by Thomas Spofforth, by will 19 September 1823, for educating and clothing children of the parish, and in the first instance his kindred and namesakes, the interest on which (£18) was employed in 1828 for clothing six boys and for providing instruction for them in the three R's, under two masters. The last three legacies were bequeathed to the vicar and parish of Southwell.⁴⁵ The Southwell Church of England School had in 1907 an average attendance of 87,

99, and 41 in the boys', girls', and infants' departments respectively.

HICKLING.—The Parliamentary Return of 1786 states that Joseph Westby at some date unknown gave land, producing 10s. a year, for teaching poor children; and that Henry James in 1746 gave £100 for the same purpose. The latter legacy was said in 1828 to have been lost; while the income of the former was paid to a schoolmaster for teaching one child.⁴⁶ The Hickling Council School had in 1907 an average attendance of 58 children in the mixed and of 17 in the infants' department. The schoolmaster still receives Westby's legacy.

GREASLEY.—Lancelot Rolleston, by will 5 November 1748, gave £300, and his sister Frances later gave £100, to be invested in lands, the rents to support a schoolmaster to teach reading and writing and to buy books. The money was at first invested in stock; but lands were bought in 1755. The school was built by Rosamond Rolleston in pursuance of an agreement entered into by her on 1 July 1752 when conveying the site to the trustees. The rents in 1828 amounted to £45, and the schoolmaster instructed free of charge 22 boys appointed by a representative of the founder's family, and the vicar in the three R's. There were no paying scholars.⁴⁷ In 1866 the gross income from endowment was £27. Besides the 22 free scholars there were in 1867 others at fees of from 2d. to 6d. a week; altogether, 40 boys and 7 girls. The school was not under government inspection. The endowed school was closed under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 1887. The funds were placed in the hands of trustees, and are used in part to provide prizes for children attending elementary schools.

FARNDON.—£6 a year from two houses, the proceeds of a gift for such a purpose by Mrs. Draper some time previous to 1764, was paid in 1828 to a mistress for teaching 8 to 10 poor children of the parish to read and say the Church Catechism.⁴⁸ The endowment is now represented by £40 consols, the interest on which is expended on providing instruction in the Catechism at the school. The existing buildings were erected by subscription in 1858. The Farnon Church School had in 1907 an average attendance of 70 in the mixed and of 35 in the infants' department.

NORMANTON-ON-TRENT.—Henry Jackson built a house in Normanton, placed a schoolmaster therein, and paid him £4 a year for teaching poor children of the place to read and write. His daughter, Elizabeth Hall, in fulfilment of an intention of her uncle, the Rev. Richard Jackson, whose bequest was void, permanently endowed the school with 4½ acres of meadow in Normanton producing that amount, by indentures of lease and release 20 and 21 December 1781,

⁴² *Char. Com. Rep.* xvii, 188; xxi, 402-4.

⁴³ *Ibid.* xxi, 413.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 409.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* xx, 538-40.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* xxi, 393, 394. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 404-6. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 433.

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on condition that the master should instruct freely in the three R's such poor children of Normanton as should be selected by her or her trustees. He was to be at liberty to take other pupils. The income from endowment in 1827 was £9 9s., for which the master taught 10 free boys and repaired the premises. A sum of 20s., rent of land given by Peter Moreau, who died in 1726, was spent in providing books.⁴⁹ Mrs. Hall's gift brought in £12 in 1866; and 28 boys and 25 girls were under instruction in 1867. The existing buildings were erected by George Esam in 1872, and the older school is now the master's residence. The Normanton on Trent Church School (mixed) had in 1907 an average attendance of 60. The income of Mrs. Hall's gift (£9 18s.) is paid to the County Council in relief of rates.

WALESBY.—Elizabeth Hall, under similar circumstances (see under Normanton-on-Trent), in 1781, gave 2 acres of meadow in Normanton worth £2 a year for teaching reading and writing to poor children in Walesby. In 1827 the rents amounted to £5 10s., which went to a master, who paid out of them the hire of a house, the poor's rate, and the expenses of letting the lands (5s. a year), for teaching nine children to read and write, usually appointed by the vicar.⁵⁰ The Church School (mixed), built in 1878, and enlarged in 1886, now receives the income (£4 a year) from Elizabeth Hale's gift, and had in 1907 an average attendance of 48.

BOLE.—In 1827 the endowment for elementary teaching in this parish consisted of a yearly rent-charge of £2, bequeathed by William Nettleship, who died in 1781, of £27 (£30 minus legacy duty) given by John Nettleship, who died in 1807, and of £24 3s. residue of £30 left by Robert Wilkson by will 7 March 1820; and the total income, £4 6s., was paid, two-thirds to a master for teaching reading to six poor children, and one-third to a mistress for giving similar instruction to three poor children, with knitting and sewing for the girls among them. It was a condition of William Nettleship's legacy, that four poor children of Bole should be taught to read in the Bible and repeat the Church Catechism by heart, and of Wilkson's legacy that three of the poorest children of the parish should be instructed in reading, until each of them should be able to read distinctly and accurately such parts of the Bible as are usually read in churches and schools.⁵¹ The Bole Church School (mixed), built in 1857, is the property of Lord Middleton, from whom it is held at a nominal rent. It receives £2 a year from Nettleship's endowment and had in 1907 an average attendance of 29 children.

OXTON.—By indenture of 26 June 1783 Margaret Sherbrooke granted lands in Alstonfield, rented at £16 10s., to trustees for supporting

a schoolmaster to teach the three R's and Catechism, free of charge, to 24 children of Oxton. The appointment of the master and scholars was vested in the foundress or the owner of the mansion house in the parish. She also erected a schoolroom, and before the indenture of 1783 contributed £6 a year to the school, a contribution which was kept up by members of the family. The master in 1828 taught 30 children.⁵² In 1866 the income from endowment realised £20, and next year 4 boys and 14 girls were under instruction by a master and mistress. The rents at present amount to £16 a year. The school was rebuilt in 1870 by a member of the Sherbrooke family. The Oxton Church School (mixed) had in 1907 an average attendance of 87.

ARNOLD.—The Parliamentary Return of 1786 states that Daniel Chadwick gave £50 for teaching eight poor children, Henry Sherbrooke land producing £3 a year for teaching seven poor children, and Margaret Birch land producing £2 a year for teaching six poor children, at various dates unknown; and that Rebecca Elley in 1785 gave £6 for teaching one poor child. The total income from these sources, together with £5 from certain other lands, brought in £22 16s. a year in 1823; and the parish was also possessed 'from time immemorial' of a house and schoolroom, with a small court in front and a garden behind. The master appointed in that year received a salary of £20, being required to repair his house, and a further £10 for managing the Sunday school. The school had been rebuilt and the schoolhouse improved in 1813 and 1814, and in 1827 a room was added above the school. In 1828 the master taught the three R's, the Catechism, and reading the Bible, to 32 poor boys and girls of Arnold and some paying scholars in the lower room, while his wife conducted a private girls' school in the upper room, the use of which she was allowed on condition of her husband taking the Sunday scholars in writing every Monday evening.⁵³ In 1866 the income from endowment was £25, and in 1867 the school was attended by 52 boys, 32 being admitted free of charge and the remainder paying fees of 2d. and 3d. a week. The school was not under government inspection. The school was closed about 1870 and the endowment given to the National School on conditions of receiving 32 scholars free. Subsequently the old school was pulled down and a girls' department of the National School erected on its site by public subscription. The National School was transferred to the School Board in 1883. The income from endowment was subsequently awarded in prizes to children of the elementary schools, but at present provides scholarships to secondary schools.

⁴⁹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 430-2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 409, 430-2. ⁵¹ *Ibid.* 318.

⁵² *Ibid.* xx, 521-2.

⁵³ *Ibid.* xxi, 398-400.

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BLYTH.—The Parliamentary Return of 1786 states that land rented at £5 a year had been given by some unknown donor for teaching 10 poor children to read and write. This land was exchanged in 1815 for Drawbridge Moor Fall Fields, which in 1827 were let by the schoolmaster at £18 a year. Besides this rent, in return for which he instructed 10 poor children in reading and writing, he received a voluntary donation of 5 gns. a year from the churchwardens out of the parochial funds 'for his encouragement.' The school was held in a disused chapel, repaired out of the same fund.⁵⁴ In 1867 there were 70 boys in attendance, paying a weekly fee of 1d. The income from endowment had fallen to £12. The ancient schoolhouse was refitted in 1875. The endowment in 1904 was still £12. In 1907 the Blyth Church School had an average attendance of 85 in the mixed and of 60 in the infants' department.

COTGRAVE.—The Parliamentary Return of 1786 states that a school had been built here with £30, all that was left of £100 given by an unknown donor for teaching poor children of the parish. The school was still in existence in 1828.⁵⁵ The Church school, the only school in Cotgrave, built, with a master's house, by Earl Manvers in 1863, had in 1907 an average attendance of 85 in the mixed and of 35 in the infants' department.

FARNSFIELD.—With £400, consisting of £226 13s. 10d., chiefly given by two persons named Watson and Hornby before 1786 for building and endowing a school, and of a further sum arising from the sale of parish lands, a house with land adjoining was purchased on 1 and 2 December 1790. Sarah Thorneley made a gift of land in the same year. A trust deed of 1816 provided that the teacher should be a member of the Church of England, and that not more than 15 free scholars should be appointed by the trustees. In 1828 the master, in consideration of free occupation of the school, schoolhouse, and adjoining land, worth about £20 a year, instructed 11 free scholars in reading. Writing and arithmetic were charged for, and paying pupils were admitted. His wife kept a fee-paying girls' school.⁵⁶ The attendance in 1867 was 79 boys and 72 girls, at fees of 1d. and 2d. The gross income from endowment in the previous year was £11. The school was under government inspection, and taught by a master (certificated), two mistresses, and a pupil teacher. It is now known as the Farnsfield Endowed Church School, and in 1907 had an average attendance of 92 in the mixed and of 49 in the infants' department. The endowment in 1904 brought in about £27.

⁵⁴ *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 307-8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* xx, 488.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 533-4.

LAXTON.—In 1827 it was stated that for the past thirty years £2, the interest on £40 given before 1786 by some person unknown for teaching poor children of the parish, had been paid to a schoolmaster for instructing 10 scholars in the three R's. He had also pupils at a fee.⁵⁷ Mrs. Procter, in 1859, increased the endowment by a gift of £50. The existing parochial school, erected in 1860, had in 1907 an average attendance of 28 in the mixed and of 18 in the infants' department.

RAMPTON.—In 1827 a schoolmaster taught 13 poor children of the parish in the three R's on payment of 1s. at entrance and 1s. a year for firing, and in return occupied land, mentioned in the Parliamentary Return of 1786 as given by some unknown person, worth about £4 a year. There was a schoolroom in the churchyard.⁵⁸ The gross income from endowment in 1864 was £15, and 41 boys and 37 girls were being instructed by a certificated mistress and her assistant. The school was under government inspection. There was no teacher's residence. The school has since been endowed by the Eyre family with 6 acres of land producing £10 10s. yearly. Its official designation is the Rampton Church of England School (mixed), which in 1907 had an average attendance of 76.

NOTTINGHAM: HIGH PAVEMENT SCHOOL.—This school was established in 1788 by 'The Society of Protestant Dissenters assembling at the High Pavement,' an influential Nonconformist congregation. For over a century it was attended by the children of many of the most prominent citizens of the town. In 1870 it became a higher grade school, and ten years later the upper division developed into an organized science department. In 1891 it was transferred by the trustees to the School Board. New premises were erected in Stanley Road in 1896, and here the school started afresh as an organized science school, though still bearing its old designation of the High Pavement. In 1907 it was further promoted to the rank of a secondary school.⁵⁹

WELLOW.—A board in the church states that £31 5s. 3d. was given to this parish, the interest to be used for educating six poor children. In 1827 the interest, at 4 per cent., was paid to a schoolmaster for teaching three children to read.⁶⁰ There is now no school at Wellow. The old infants' schoolroom, disused since 1894, is now maintained by the Parish Council for parish purposes. The children attend school at Ollerton, and the income from the old endowment is distributed among them in prizes for regular attendance.

WILLOUGHBY-ON-THE-WOLDS.—A yearly sum of £2 10s., interest of £50 given by Samuel

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* xix, 350.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 375.

⁵⁹ *City of Nott. Secondary Sch. Prospectus*, 1907.

⁶⁰ *Char. Com. Rep.* xix, 416.

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Wells for the purpose, was paid in 1828 to a master who taught six free scholars, and others at a fee, in a small room screened off from the body of the church.⁶¹ The Willoughby-on-the-Wolds Council School, erected in 1863, which now receives the endowment, had in 1907 an average attendance of 49 in the mixed and of 19 in the infants' department.

WINTHORPE.—£10 a year was paid in 1828 from the rents of property given for the poor by Thomas Brewer, by will 7 September 1616, to a schoolmaster, who, assisted by his wife, taught 12 poor children of the parish in reading and writing, and the girls among them knitting and sewing also. The remainder (£44 4s.) was used to provide distributions of money and coal,⁶² the proper object of the charity. When the rents subsequently declined, the grant for education ceased. The only school in the village in 1907 was the Council School (mixed), erected in 1879, with an average attendance of 29.

⁶¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxi, 462.

⁶² *Ibid.* 435-7.

NORTH AND SOUTH CLIFTON.—A school-room and master's house were built in North Clifton by subscription in 1799, and next year an annual payment of £3 10s. was sanctioned to the schoolmaster out of the rents of property purchased with £100 given by Simon Nicholson, in 1669, for the benefit of the poor. In 1827 the rents were £17, and the master's salary had been raised to £10 10s., for which he instructed 15 children (8 from North, and 7 from South Clifton) in the three R's; the residue was distributed among the poor.⁶³ The North Clifton Parochial School (mixed), which stands on the original site, erected in 1873 and enlarged in 1877-8, and provided with a playground in 1897 by Mr. and Mrs. George Freeth, had in 1907 an average attendance of 58 children. Nicholson's Charity, amounting to £16 a year, is now distributed in doles to the poor.

⁶³ *Ibid.* xix, 424-6; *Tenure and Trusts of Voluntary Sch.*, issued by the Bd. of Education in 1907, wrongly gives the salary in 1827 as £5 5s. This latter amount was to be paid half-yearly.

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THE economic and social development of Nottinghamshire has certainly been favourably affected by the position and physical features of the country. It forms the connecting link between northern and southern England, and its chief towns, Nottingham and Newark, command the great water highway of the Trent. Moreover, its internal resources are not small, and were early developed; the great Forest of Sherwood formerly covered the northern part of the county; the quarries of Basford, Gedling, and Mansfield supplied the stone which served for many of the principal buildings in the county; and the coal mines at Cossall, Wollaton, and Selston early proved valuable. Thus in the variety of its natural riches Nottinghamshire had the advantage of many of the more fertile counties of the south.

Early political and social influences also favoured Nottinghamshire. The Danish influence, though far less strong than in Lincolnshire, is shown by the number of socmen in the county. Exclusive of the town of Nottingham, over 1,700 Nottinghamshire socmen are mentioned in Domesday,¹ as compared with about 2,500 villeins and less than 1,400 bordars. In comparison with Lincolnshire the proportion of socmen is small; but it is greatly in excess of that of the freemen in many southern counties.

There are but few classes of tenants mentioned in the Nottinghamshire Domesday. There are about seven 'franci homines,'² two 'Englishmen'³ (mentioned as if forming a class by themselves), and about twenty 'servi.'⁴ Of other tenants holding directly of the tenants in chief there were between fifty and sixty. At Newark there were fifty-six burghers⁵; and holding under the Archbishop of York at Southwell there were six knights⁶; while the tenants in chief were few, numbering only twenty-eight besides the king's thegns, of whom there were about twenty-three.⁷

The number of the tenants in chief, however, greatly increased during the succeeding century and a half. One great landowner indeed, the Countess d'Eu, held over thirty knights' fees, and much of the land in Nottinghamshire had been gathered into the great honours of Peveril, Tickhill, Richmond, and

¹ *Dom. Bk. (V.C.H. Notts. i).*

² *Dom. Bk. Notts. fol. 283b (V.C.H. Notts. i, 257)*

³ *Ibid. fol. 283 (V.C.H. Notts. i, 255).*

⁴ *Ibid. fol. 287, 287b, 289, 293 (V.C.H. Notts. i, 269, 271, 275, 276, 287).*

⁵ *Ibid. Notts. fol. 283b (V.C.H. Notts. i, 257).*

⁶ *Ibid. fol. 283 (V.C.H. Notts. i, 255).*

⁷ *Ibid. fol. 292b, 293 (V.C.H. Notts. i, 284-8).*

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Lancaster ; but on the other hand, a large part of the king's land had been alienated ; so that by about 1237 those who held of the king himself, and of the honours of Lancaster, Peverel, and Tickhill, numbered about seventy.⁸ In addition, there were numerous tenants holding by money payments ; the great religious houses in Nottinghamshire, such as Lenton, Rufford, and Blyth, were beginning to be amply endowed ; and there were six serjeanties held by various services. The most common of these was the provision of one horse (valued at 5s. 4d.), one sack (worth ½d.), and one man for the king's army in Wales. The serjeanty of Ratcliffe and Kynaston was held by the service of carrying the king's goshawk ; that of Cuckney by shoeing the king's horse whenever he came to Mansfield ; and that of Mansfield Woodhouse by blowing a horn and chasing wolves in Sherwood Forest.⁹

The same increase in the number of tenants in chief, showing a greater distribution of land, may be gathered from the details given in the Nottinghamshire section of the Feudal Aids. In 1284, in two wapentakes only out of the six, there were thirty-two tenants in chief and between forty and fifty mediate tenants¹⁰ ; in 1302-3 there were about a hundred and fifteen holders in chief and about seventy mesne tenants, holding altogether about one hundred and thirty-nine fees in five and a half wapentakes,¹¹ and in 1346 there were a hundred and seventy-six fees and about a hundred and seventy-five holders.¹² The subdivision of fees also points to an increasing number of landowners : in the Testa de Nevill such fragments as one-fourth, one-fifth, and one-tenth of a fee are common.

This increase among the large landowners was not necessarily due to the natural growth of population, which accounts for the increase among their tenants during the same period. General or complete evidence for this increase is unhappily wanting as far as Nottinghamshire is concerned during the 12th and 13th centuries ; but the evidence of cartularies and extents seems to show that it was considerable, particularly among the freer classes. Thus, at Collingham in 1073, there were 37 socmen, 8 villeins, and 20 bordars ;¹³ while in the reign of Henry I there were 50 socmen and 20 villeins ; and at the same time at Fiskerton there were 20 socmen and 43 inferior tenants (villeins, half villeins, cottars, and bordars),¹⁴ while in Domesday 14 villeins and no socmen at all are mentioned.¹⁵ At a later date extents exist such as those of Carlton-in-Lindrick¹⁶ and Orston,¹⁷ in the reign of Henry III, in which the number of tenants is not mentioned ; but where the land in socage is so large a part of the whole as to suggest a considerable increase in land held freely. As time went on, however, the term 'socman' or 'socager' tended to disappear : probably the class represented by the term became merged either in the free tenants or the *nativi* ; most likely the former, to judge from the surveys of various estates.

Of these surveys, about fifty-two cover the century from 1230 to 1330. In seven of these cases free tenants are mentioned in places where not even socmen are to be found in Domesday. In ten other cases the number of free tenants is mentioned, and shows an absolute increase over the free tenants

⁸ *Testa de Nevill for Notts. and Derb.* (ed. J. R. Yeatman), 418-20.

⁹ *Ibid.* 428-31.

¹⁰ *Feud. Aids*, iv, 91-4.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 94-103.

¹² *Feud. Aids*, iv, 111-24.

¹³ *Dom. Bk.* Notts. fol. 284 (*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 258).

¹⁴ *Chron. Petroburgense* (Camd. Soc.), 166.

¹⁵ *Dom. Bk.* fol. 288b (*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 274).

¹⁶ *Inq. p.m.* 28 Hen. III, C, file 2, no. 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 26 Hen. III, C, file 1, no. 11.

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and socmen in Domesday. In five cases only an absolute decrease occurs ;¹⁸ and even here it may be accounted for by the suggestion that the estates surveyed do not cover the whole area of the vill or parish in question. In the remaining cases no information is given as to the number of the tenants ; but from the amount of their rents it may be inferred that it is in excess of that of the Domesday socmen.

In regard to the unfree tenants, the same fifty-two surveys are our main source of information. On the whole the increase in their numbers is smaller than among the free tenants. Out of seventeen surveys in which the actual number of unfree tenants is given, eight only show an increase in the number of villeins and cottars, and nine a decrease when compared with the population of the same places in Domesday.¹⁹ In one case only are villeins mentioned in an extent where none appear in Domesday ; and in several cases villeins are enumerated in Domesday and not in the extents ; but as in the case of the free tenants this may simply result from the surveys not covering the whole area in question. In the main, however, the balance of evidence points to a greater increase of free than unfree tenants during the 250 years following Domesday. As regards the various classes of tenants, the socmen, as has been seen, tend to disappear. In two or three cases, 'sokemen' or 'socagers' as well as free tenants are mentioned,²⁰ marking the distinction of class. Otherwise, there is no specified gradation among the free tenants.

The unfree holders are very variously described : 'bondar' is perhaps the commonest term ; *nativus* is also frequently used ; 'villein' or *custumarius* more rarely. All four classes appear to correspond roughly to the 'villeins' of Domesday. The 'bordars' of that record appear only once in later years—in the survey of Fiskerton in the reign of Henry I.²¹ In the same survey are mentioned villeins, half-villeins (holding and paying half of what was held and paid by the villeins), and the cotarelli. The half-villeins appear nowhere else, but possibly both they and the bordars were merged in that numerous class, the cottars.

The land held and services rendered by the free tenants and socmen of course varied greatly. In the early surveys of Collingham and Fiskerton, already quoted, the holdings of the socmen appear to be very small. At Collingham 50 socmen hold altogether 2½ carucates, and 20 villeins hold 1½ carucates,²² the average holding of the free tenants being thus decidedly below that of the villeins. Generally, however, the free tenants seem to have had somewhat larger holdings than the villeins possessed.

The rents of the free tenants seem to have been very arbitrary. Thus, in 1279, Walter Prat held in Gringley about eighty-one and a half acres of arable, and half an acre of meadow of ten landlords, by services which varied in value from less than ¼*d.* to 3½*d.* an acre. Tenure by a rose or a clove gillyflower was not uncommon. The same Walter Prat held 2 acres of land in Hodsock by service of a peppercorn, and a rent of 12*d.* by a clove

¹⁸ Inq. p.m. Cal. and MSS. See App. I for list ; Notts. Inq. and Extents : also MSS. of Blyth, Harl. MSS. 3759, and the *Hund. R.* for Notts. 3 Edw. I ; Godfrey, *Hist. of Lenton*, 125, &c. ; *Chron. Petroburgense* ; Rent. and Surv. R. 534 and 546.

¹⁹ App. I. and note 18.

²⁰ E.g. Houghton, Inq. p.m. 15 Edw. II, no. 47 ; Wheatley, Rent. and Surv. R. 546, 14 Edw. II.

²¹ *Chron. Petroburgense* (Camd. Soc.), 166.

²² *Ibid.* 163-4.

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gillyflower.²³ Frequently, however, the free tenants and socmen performed actual services. The socmen of Collingham did each six days' work a year, and an additional three days in August. Among them they had fourteen ploughs, and each ploughed thrice in Lent. Together they ploughed and harrowed 48 acres, which they reaped in August. Further, they paid altogether £12 a year. The villeins each did one day's work a week, and three extra days in August. They dug and carried twenty loads of turf, and carried sixty cart-loads of wood. They harrowed all the winter and paid £4 of tax.²⁴

The works of the free tenants and *nativi* elsewhere and at a later date were similar, though sometimes more complicated. The custom of giving food to the tenants while they were working for the lord was common.

At Wheatley (14 Edw. II)²⁵ the work of eleven socmen, holding altogether 9½ bovates, is as follows: they find half a plough for each bovat, ploughing one day in winter, one at Lent, and one in summer; and further they plough, harrow, and sow with corn from the lord's granary, half a rod of land; also, still for each bovat, the socmen find four men for three days' boon work, who receive each two loaves worth 1d. for each day. Further, each of the eleven finds one man for three and a half days at harvest who also receives two loaves; and each socman is to harrow two days a year and weed for one day; and to find one man for mowing and haymaking, and for carrying four loads of hay to the manor; finally, for each bovat they must make 18 perches of hedge.

The work of the three free tenants belonging to the same manor was lighter. They found three ploughs, and ploughed for three days; like the socmen they did mowing, haymaking, and carrying. One of them had to find three men for three days in autumn, and one two men, but this was all.

The forty-one *custumarii*, on the other hand, had much heavier tasks: they held altogether 30 bovates, and found three ploughing oxen or avers for each bovat; ²⁶ like the socmen they ploughed three days a year, but the additional land, which they were to sow, plough, and harrow, was 1 acre per bovat instead of half a rod. They were to finish the weeding of the lord's corn, which is estimated at six days' work for each bovat. They shared the socmen's task of haymaking, and mowed an extra meadow and carried the hay thence; their boon work was similar to that of the socmen, but at harvest they had to find a man per bovat for six days instead of for three and a half. They had to finish the work of the harvest, if the ordinary work did not suffice, and to help to carry it; and like the socmen they made 18 perches ²⁷ of hedge for each bovat. Altogether the work of the *custumarii* seems to have been worth about a third as much again as that of the socmen,²⁸ while their holdings were clearly smaller, which probably accounts for the socman's relief being 16s., while the heriot of the *custumarius* was only 5s. 4d.

Still the socman was probably nearer akin in social status to the *custumarius* than to the free tenant. By the manor customs of Wheatley, socman and *custumarius* alike could be chosen to the office of reeve, and both, as well as

²³ Inq. p.m. 6 Edw. I, no. 268. ²⁴ *Chron. Petroburgense*, 166. ²⁵ Rent. and Surv. R. 546, 14 Edw. II.

²⁶ The Wheatley plough is stated 'to be made of eight beasts.' Each plough received four loaves a day while on the lord's service.

²⁷ The Wheatley perch of arable measured 20 ft.; of meadow, 17 ft.

²⁸ The 'rents of assize' on this manor were £30 18s. 0½d.

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the cottars, were subject to the servile 'leer wyte'; in this case *2s.*: the 'merchet,' curiously enough, is not mentioned. As for the sixteen cottars, they did no ploughing. They made one day's hay and stacked it; they each found one man for three days at harvest, each reaper in this case, as in that of the other classes of tenants, receiving two loaves worth *1d.* a day. Further, each cottar had to weed for one day, and to make 3 perches of hedge; but harrowing and sowing were not demanded of this class of tenants.

On the whole, this Wheatley survey appears to give a fairly typical account of the work demanded from the various classes of tenants in Nottinghamshire. There is, however, in this case no mention of the small special dues which occur elsewhere. At Gringley,²⁹ for instance, the bondars and cottars were expected to mend walls and gather apples, to pay *1d.* for every five sheep which they possessed, and to give to the lord every seventh pig. If they kept bees they paid *1d.* per hive; and they also owed the tribute of eggs which was common in other places, such as Blyth. The Gringley holdings, however, which were usually one toft and 18 acres of arable, must have been larger than those at Wheatley. The latter (reckoning the bovat at 16 acres) must have been below the average, to judge by details given elsewhere. At Kingston,³⁰ for instance, the holdings appear to have averaged about 1 virgate with a payment of *10s.* for all service; at Warsop³¹ 1 bovat was the average; and at Elton about the same time the 'bondi' had from one to two bovates.³²

These Elton 'bondi,' tenants holding of the abbey of Blyth, had a heavy labour rent—two days' work a week for each bovat; the work days falling either on Monday and Thursday, or Monday and Saturday. These days, however, might be remitted for certain special pieces of work: ploughing half an acre meant the remission of one day's work; so did harrowing and weeding the same quantity of land, and reaping, and carrying its produce. The carriage of half a quarter of corn three times a year was held as equivalent to two days' work in summer, or to three in winter: and carrying half a cart-load of wood from Sherwood stood for another day. The holders of each bovat were also to bring half a cart-load of hay from each of two neighbouring villages, and were to harrow wheat for one day, and peas or barley for one day. The free labourers on the other hand merely provided two labourers for three days in harvest.

This kind of proportion between the labour rents of the free and unfree tenants appears in most of those surveys where details of the rents are given: but these details are often incomplete. In the majority of cases, especially with the later extents, the rents are given simply in money. Occasionally the amounts due for work and due for rent are separated, but frequently the rents of all three classes, free tenants, bondars, and cottars, are lumped together. These estimates of labour in money value must have greatly facilitated the commutation of labour into cash, and probably indicate that such a commutation was already taking place at the beginning of the 14th century, the period when money estimates begin to be common. What proportion of the produce of the land was consumed by these rents, it is difficult to say; but it is worth noting that in eleven extents dating from 1272 to 1325 the average

²⁹ *Rent. and Surv. R.* 504, 25 Edw. I.

³¹ *Inq. p.m.* 2 Edw. I, C, file 5, no. 1.

³⁰ *Inq. p.m.* 17 Edw. II, no. 64.

³² J. Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 34; Harl MSS. 3759

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rent per acre from the bondars appears to be about 5*d.*, while the demesne arable land is valued at 4½*d.*, and demesne meadow at about 2*s.* 3*d.* per acre.³³

The cultivation of these lands was probably on the ordinary three-field system, to judge by the notices of land of which one third lay fallow. The prevalent customs, even to the present day, of Laxton and Eakring seem to show that the regulation of cultivation and the assignment of meadow and pasture was generally determined by the whole body of those whose holdings conferred a right to vote (i.e. toft holders), or by an elected field foreman and jury.³⁴ The number of beasts each tenant might have on the common pasture was also a matter for the decision of the community, to judge by the regulations of the free tenants of Mansfield.³⁵

Other customs, which varied from township to township, were those concerning marriage, inheritance, dower, and sale of land. Differences in these regulations may, of course, be frequently traced to the preponderance of free or servile elements in a manor. Thus 'the king's free tenants of Mansfield' proudly declared that any one of them, man or woman, might marry whomsoever he or she chose, thus distinctly repudiating the servile 'merchet'³⁶; whereas the *nativi* of Southwell³⁷ paid 5*s.* 4*d.* for the marriage of a daughter. Again at Mansfield, if a woman married a stranger her sons were to share her lands at her death; while at Gringley the three reeves and twelve men swore that no tenement was to be shared among brothers.³⁸

Further rules of inheritance at Mansfield were that all tenements of this manor were 'partable among the heirs females if heirs males want, except all those that hold of the king by charter,' and the new-born children as soon as they were christened, whether male or female, were of lawful age to have their inheritance.³⁹ Otherwise there are no special regulations as to inheritance from the father; but at Gringley, where the bondars preponderated, there is perhaps a trace of Borough English in the rule that the younger son of the first wife should inherit.⁴⁰ The rules as to dowry are elaborate in the case of Mansfield. A tenant is to dower his wife with half his tenements, and these cannot later be alienated without her free consent given in open court.⁴¹ At Gringley, it is merely stated that the heir is to dower his mother:⁴² while at Southwell, the widow may enter on her husband's tenement on paying 5*s.* 4*d.* to the chapter.⁴³

In regard to transfer of lands the rules of both Mansfield and Gringley forbid the alienation of land to strangers; and in both cases sub-letting is considered objectionable. But the Mansfield tenants were permitted to grant forty-year leases: and land they acquired by purchase they could dispose of: a subject not touched on in the Gringley rules.⁴⁴ At Southwell the tenants could not alienate their lands without leave of court, on pain of forfeiture: and no freeman could enter on bond land without special leave.⁴⁵

³³ See names with an asterisk in App. I.

³⁴ G. Slater, *The Engl. Peasantry and the Inclosure of Common Fields*, 11-13; *Trans. of Thoroton Soc.* vi, 71.

³⁵ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 57. (In this history are given the customs of the manor of Mansfield stated to be presented in the reign of Edw. I, and taken apparently from a forest book written early in the 16th century, pp. 3, 53).

³⁶ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 53.

³⁷ Rentals and Surv. R. 534, 25 Edw. I.

³⁸ Rentals and Surv. R. 536, 25 Edw. I.

³⁹ Rentals and Surv. R. 536, 25 Edw. I.

⁴⁰ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 54-7.

³⁷ Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, 88.

³⁸ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 54.

⁴¹ Harrod, *op. cit.* 56.

⁴² Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, 87-9.

⁴³ Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, 87-9.

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Altogether the rules of the manor of Mansfield suggest, as compared with those of Southwell and Gringley, an active and thriving little community in which the accumulation of wealth is to be anticipated. Such an accumulation may have been less probable in the more servile communities: but the impression of prosperity is on the whole confirmed by a consideration of wages, which seem to have been fairly up to the average of the time.

As regards agricultural wages, indeed, there seems to have been a slight depression, though it is difficult to speak with certainty, as the local variations were great. In Gringley⁴⁶ about 1297 a free tenant's ploughing was reckoned at 3*d.*, and a bondar's at 2*d.* a day; both received four loaves daily. Ploughing half an acre was reckoned at 4*d.* At Laxton,⁴⁷ a few years earlier, a day's ploughing was rated at 2*d.* and food: while at Wheatley, in the reign of Edward II, the use of the large eight-oxen plough for one day was reckoned at 8*d.*, and the ploughing of an acre at about 1*s.* Harrowing at both Gringley and Wheatley was usually reckoned at 1*d.* a day; sometimes food was given and sometimes not. Mowing was reckoned at 2*d.*, and haymaking at 1*d.* or 1½*d.* a day. Reaping at harvest was reckoned at 1½*d.* and food, and general harvest work at 2½*d.* and two loaves. These figures appear to be a little below those given for the same period by Thorold Rogers.⁴⁸

As regards agricultural produce, the information obtainable is too slight to base any generalization on it. What indications do appear, however, suggest that it was fairly cheap. At Gotham, indeed,⁴⁹ about 1275 a quarter of wheat was sold for 6*s.* 8*d.* and a quarter of barley for 5*s.*, prices rather above than below the average; at Mansfield at about the same time barley was apparently expected to be about 20*d.* and oats about 1*s.* 6*d.*⁵⁰ Similarly about sixty years later at Winkburn⁵¹ corn was about 3*s.* and malt 2*s.*; malt at Gringley⁵² in 1297 was 1*s.* 6*d.* Hens appear to have averaged about 1*d.* each; all which prices are considerably below the averages given by Thorold Rogers at similar times.

Respecting the great agricultural product of wool, there is no very definite information during the 13th century, but it must have been important, and the trade through Nottinghamshire in it must have been great, since in 1340 a tax was levied on all wool according to the price which it commanded in Nottingham market. Nottinghamshire wool itself was about £5 a sack, increasing in 1343 to about £7; in both cases the price was a little below the average.⁵³

This lowness of agricultural wages and prices alike may have been simply due to the abundance both of produce and of labour. This idea is supported by the results of the *Inquisitiones nonarum* in 1291: the value of the ninth sheep, lamb and fleece in Nottinghamshire (exclusive of Nottingham town) was nearly £15,000. Proportionally to the size of Nottinghamshire this was considerably above the sums levied in many of the Midland counties, the county town payments being excluded.

That agricultural labour was the chief industry in the county is also suggested by the high wages of mechanics and artisans, if these high wages

⁴⁶ Rentals and Surv. R. 536, 25 Edw. I.

⁴⁷ Inq. p.m. 15 Edw. I, C, file 48, no. 5; 17 Edw. I, C, file 54, no. 6.

⁴⁸ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, i, 320-2.

⁴⁹ Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. I, C, file 9, no. 6.

⁵⁰ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 59.

⁵¹ Larking, *Knights Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc.), 115

⁵² Rentals and Surv. R. 536, 25 Edw. I.

⁵³ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 120-1, 138.

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may be accounted for by a paucity of such workers. The unskilled labour, it is true, is not much above the average; during the repairs to Nottingham Castle (1307-8) the lowest wages paid were those to the masons' servers, who had 1½*d.* a day, when men, and 1*d.*, when women. The quarrymen who hewed the local stone at Basford, Gedling, and elsewhere, received 2*d.* a day, which seems to have been the general average for unskilled labour. Stonecutters had 4*d.*; the wages of master craftsmen, such as carpenters, sawyers, and masons, averaged 5*d.* a day. The plumbers, who were the most highly paid, received 6*d.*, and their assistants from 2½*d.* to 3½*d.*⁵⁴ The wages of the master craftsmen seem to be about 1*d.* a day above those recorded in *Agriculture and Prices*.

Except for such artificers as the above, there are but few traces of any employment besides agriculture in Nottinghamshire. The great cloth-weaving industry is rarely mentioned, and the infrequency of the name 'textor' or 'wabster' may be due to the early privilege obtained by the citizens of Nottingham town of being the sole cloth-makers within a radius of ten leagues.⁵⁵ Outside the town there are a few signs of the work, the existence of which was thus threatened. In one or two cases the name 'textor' or 'wabster' occurred, notably at Warsop, where there was also a fulling-mill worth 40*s.*;⁵⁶ but these instances are rare.

The development of the natural resources may have preceded the growth of any special industry. The use of local wood and local stone was common: the wood-cutters are noted as receiving 4*d.* a day⁵⁷ in contrast with the quarrymen's 2*d.* The local coal-mines were also worked: about 1306 a trace of the system of royalties appears in a contract by which the coal-mines of Selston were leased to Walter de Cantilupe for ninety-nine years, or as long as the coals lasted, in return for a payment of thirty-two horseloads of coal a year.⁵⁸ At Cossall also coal-mines formed a valuable part of the property, being rented at 20*s.* a year.⁵⁹ The coal here was termed 'sea-coal.'

In addition to these minor activities there was a certain growth of commerce in Nottinghamshire during the 13th century. The numerous grants of fairs and markets at this time indicate an increasing trade, encouraged probably by the central position of the county and its command of the great waterway of the Trent. About fifteen markets and fairs were granted to different Nottinghamshire towns during the 13th century,⁶⁰ and of these, one at least, the fair at Lenton, rose into considerable importance. In 1300 it was the subject of a lengthy contract between the prior of Lenton and the citizens of Nottingham, from which it appears that cloth-merchants, apothecaries, and mercers—to mention only a few of the various trades—were in the habit of attending the fair: and it was necessary to assign stations to these people and to regulate the prices which they paid for their booths.⁶¹ Despite the importance of Lenton Fair, however, but few persons living otherwise than by agriculture are mentioned in the *Inquisitiones nonarum*. There were none in the wapentakes of Thurgarton and Rushcliffe; at Blyth there were about fifteen merchants, owning on the average about five pounds

⁵⁴ Accts. Exch. K.R. bdle. 471, no. 19, 1-2 Edw. II.

⁵⁵ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* i, 3.

⁵⁷ Accts. Exch. K.R. bdle. 471, no. 19, 1-2 Edw. II.

⁵⁹ Inq. p.m. 11 Edw. I, C, file 37, no. 7.

⁶¹ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* i, 61-7.

⁵⁶ Inq. p.m. 52 Hen. III, C, file 35, no. 16.

⁵⁸ Anct. D. B. 3216.

⁶⁰ See *Cal. of Chart. R. passim*.

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worth of merchandise ; but these, too, lived by agriculture and sheep-farming. At Newark there were sixteen and in Retford about thirty-one, and no others are mentioned.⁶³ Similarly in the Subsidy Roll of 1327-8⁶³ the distribution of the tax-payers suggests rather a scattered agricultural population than one engaged in either commerce or industry. Exclusive of Nottingham itself there are only two places—Newark and Gedling—out of two hundred and forty mentioned, in which more than fifty persons contributed the twentieth of their goods ; in other words, were possessed of property above the value of 10s.

The rarity of trade names may also be indicative of the same state of things. At Newark, indeed, the names taverner, 'pistor,' saddler, shearman, cordwainer, and 'fleshour' occur. In Retford there were two bakers, a butcher, tanner, and candlemaker ; and scattered throughout the roll there are mentioned glovers, linen-drapers, shoemakers, tanners, brewers, bakers, and so forth ; besides the names of various artisans such as masons, plasterers, and thatchers ; but the rarity of these names is such that they occur only in eighty-four villages out of the two-hundred-and-forty of which the details can be deciphered. Wherever such tradesmen as butchers and bakers did exist they must have been subject to strict inspection, if the rules which prevailed at Mansfield are any guide.⁶⁴ The bakers were instructed to graduate the size of their loaves according to the price of corn. When corn was at 1s. a quarter the loaf was to weigh 'six pounds sixteen shillings ;'⁶⁵ when corn was 1s. 6d. the loaf must weigh £4 10s. 8d., and similarly through succeeding variations in the price of corn. In the same way the price of ale was regulated by that of malt : and though no rules are given as to the price of butchers' meat, yet the butchers were under strict regulation, being prohibited from selling meat that is tainted ; or from buying meat of the Jews, of whom there was a colony in Nottingham and the neighbourhood. The penalty for an infraction of these regulations was fine and pillory or imprisonment for early offences, and banishment from the community if the fault was repeated. This punishment was of course inflicted by the local court ; which, in the case of the 'free tenants' of Mansfield, decided small cases by six chosen men charged on their fealty ; and in pleas involving questions of land or questions of life and death, referred the matter to twelve men sworn 'on a book.'

As throughout the rest of England, summary justice in Nottingham was mainly administered in these local courts, to which the tenants almost always made suit. The majority of the lords possessed the rights of the gallows, the pillory, the tumbrel, and infangenthef, together with the assize of bread and ale.⁶⁶ This jurisdiction as a general rule may have been satisfactory ; but the disturbances of the reign of Henry III, in which many Nottinghamshire men took part, seem to have interrupted the administration of justice within the county. Thus, complaints were made that the bailiffs of various lords made unjust arrests for the purposes of extortions, or fixed arbitrary prices at markets, or exacted undue tolls. The sheriffs and under-officers after 'the Evesham battle' were accused of taking bribes ; cases which should have been

⁶³ *Inq. Nonarum.*

⁶³ Lay Subs. 1 Edw. III, bdl. 159, no. 4.

⁶⁴ Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 53-60.

⁶⁵ By Mansfield weight a shilling equalled three-fifths of an ounce ; and a penny therefore one-twentieth. Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 59-60.

⁶⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii.

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brought before the justices in eyre had been summoned to the local courts. The Constable of Tickhill was at feud with the men of Blyth, and attacked the town with armed men. It was plain that Nottinghamshire was suffering heavily from the disorganization caused by the recent civil war.⁶⁷

This disorganization, however, does not appear to have seriously affected the prosperity of the county, as is witnessed by the *Inquisitiones nonarum*. The Subsidy Roll of 1 Edward III seems to be incomplete for Nottinghamshire, since only 240 places are mentioned; but so far as it goes it suggests a considerable distribution of capital. About four thousand persons are mentioned who pay altogether a little under £400: that is, the average property of the Nottingham tax-payer was about 40s.⁶⁸ Such a fact harmonizes tolerably with the tendency already noticed towards the greater distribution of land among the upper classes, and the increase of freedom among the lower. It also confirms the conclusion that Nottinghamshire in the early 14th century was a fairly prosperous county. At the same time it had as yet no special industry but agriculture, and its population was still somewhat scattered, and in character perhaps primitive.

During the next century and a half however, Nottinghamshire appears to have shared in some degree in the general tendency in England towards the growth of town life and the accompanying increase of commerce. This tendency must have received a certain impetus from the period of agricultural depression which, in Nottinghamshire, marked the close of the 14th century. The causes of this depression were probably various. In 1390 Nottinghamshire was cited as one of the counties in which no 'farm' could be gathered, by reason not only of the amount of land exempted from taxation, but of the ruinous effects of the war.⁶⁹

Probably the Black Death and the subsequent plague of 1360 also contributed to the fall in the value of land which this statement implies, and which the evidence of the 'extents' of this date confirms. The fact that this fall is by no means universal suggests that it was partly the effect of a disease, which might possibly desolate one township and leave another untouched. Thus some manors, like Langar,⁷⁰ absolutely increase in value; others, like Warsop, fall from about £17 to £4 15s. 4d.⁷¹ Altogether out of about twelve cases in which surveys exist for years shortly before and shortly after the Black Death, six show a marked decrease in value—a decrease both in the amounts of the rents paid and in the actual value of the demesne lands.⁷²

In regard to the rents, labour rents are rarely mentioned, though they must still have existed. The tenants of Blyth, for instance, in 1379 had among them to do 120 days' work, valued at £1, and the services of the bondars to the manor of Elton seem to have been similar to those they performed 100 years before.⁷³

On the other hand, the labour dues were in some places highly recompensed. At Norwell, for instance, the tenants of the Southwell chapter in the reign of Henry IV each possessed a messuage or a bovate of land, for which in winter and at Lent they must plough one day, receiving wheaten bread and

⁶⁷ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii.

⁶⁸ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 280.

⁶⁹ *Inq. p.m.* 8 Edw. II, C, file 37, no. 2; 46 Edw. III, no. 64 (1).

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 2 Edw. I, C, file 51; 26 Edw. III, no. 53.

⁷² Raine, *Hist. of Parish of Blyth*, 42.

⁶⁸ *Lay Subs.* 1 Edw. III, vol. 159, no. 4.

⁷³ See *Inq. p.m.* for period 1300–1400.

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peas to the value of 3*d.* ; they must also harrow with one horse, receiving 2*d.* for bread. They were to weed and get a halfpenny ; to mow a meadow of about thirteen acres and make and carry the hay, they themselves receiving 1*d.* for bread per cart-load, while their helpers had a halfpenny. Further, they were to mow 3 acres of the moor meadow. Each tenant also was to reap his lord's corn and provide two helpers for the purpose ; and tenants and helpers alike were each to receive a pennyworth of bread and three herrings. Each tenant was also to carry two cart-loads of corn. At the end of the mowing the lord gave the tenants 4*d.* for drink, and a pair of white pigeons. During the hay harvest the tenants were to feed at the prebend's house on bread, beer, beef, pork, lamb, broth, ducks, &c., and then drink in the hall. A bucket of beer holding 8½ flagons was carried by two men through the town to the meadow where the tenants had ' plays,' and the lord gave them two pairs of white gloves.⁷⁴

Under such circumstances a commutation of labour for cash might be to the lord's advantage as well as to that of the tenants. Evidence of such commutation appears in the account of the king's manor of Gringley (46 Edw. III), in which the tenants are spoken of as paying various sums for ploughing, reaping, weeding and so forth, the value of each individual ' work ' being given.⁷⁵ The general absence throughout the 15th-century extents of any mention of labour rents confirms the idea of this commutation. Whether it was accompanied by any marked change in the rent per acre there is little evidence to show.

As before, the rent per acre appears to have followed closely the value of demesne arable. Between 1348 and 1400 a calculation based on the figures given in about nineteen extents shows the value per acre varying from 3½*d.* to 4*d.*, almost 1*d.* less than it had been for 100 years previous. It rose again to 4½*d.* between 1400 and 1450, only to fall to 3¾*d.* during the next fifty years. On the other hand the average of meadow falls steadily from 1348 onwards ; prior to that date it had been about 2*s.* 4*d.* an acre yearly value ; during the next fifty years it falls to 1*s.* 6*d.* ; from 1400 to 1450 the average was 1*s.* 1*d.*, and from 1450 to 1500 10*d.*⁷⁶

At the same time the proportion of meadow or pasture to arable seems to have been on the increase. Out of ten estates of which surveys exist between 1275 and 1348, and between 1348 and 1400, eight cases show an increase of meadow, accompanied in three instances by a decrease of arable. The same thing occurs between 1400 and 1450 ; out of twelve extents, eight show an increase in meadow and pasture. The increase in quantity, coupled with the decrease in value of meadow-land, suggests the idea that there was a tendency to rural depopulation, which forced the landowners to economize labour by a conversion of so much of the arable left vacant into meadow as to diminish the value of the latter. This idea is confirmed by other details of the extents. In the case of Carlton in Lindrick⁷⁷ 1,400 acres of arable lay waste because there was no occupier, and in various places messuages or buildings which were valuable before 1348 are reported as ruined and worth nothing ; this happens even in the case of manors of which the value has

⁷⁴ Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, 107.

⁷⁵ Mins. Accts. Duchy of Lanc. bdl. 542, no. 8619.

⁷⁶ See Inq. p.m. for Bunny, Warsop, Wheatley, Widmerpool, Gamston, Grassthorpe, Gotham, Granby, Knapthorpe, Kneesall, Langar, Laxton, Orston, Perlethorpe, Tuxford, etc. and Blyth. Harl. MSS. 3759.

⁷⁷ Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. VI, no. 27.

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increased. Again, there are various cases during the 15th century in which numerous buildings are mentioned of which no previous trace appears, and which therefore may have been newly built, but which are still stated to be ruinous and worth nothing. Apparently rural housing in the 15th century was an unprofitable speculation. The inference from these facts seems clear. Nottinghamshire, like the rest of England, must have suffered from a decrease of rural population as a result of the social disorganization caused by the Black Death.

Higher wages among craftsmen were probably characteristic of Nottinghamshire as elsewhere, as appears by the account of the repairs at Nottingham Castle about 1361. The master craftsmen (with the exception of the plumbers) had an advance of 2*d.* or 3*d.* a day on their earlier earnings, and their assistants of 1*d.* a day.⁷⁸ The master masons earned from 6*d.* to 8*d.* a day, and their assistants from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a week; stone-cutters got 5*d.* a day, and their servers 3*d.*; master carpenters got 6*d.* a day, or 3*s.* 4*d.* a week, and their assistants 5*d.* a day; plasterers and plumbers got 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, and their men 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 4*d.* a day; while quarrymen and unskilled labourers earned respectively 4*d.* and 3*d.* instead of 2*d.* Servants, too, seem to have had higher wages. At Blyth the cook's servant in 1379 had 13*s.* 4*d.* for board and clothing,⁷⁹ whereas a similar servant at Ossington in 1330 received only 5*s.* besides his living.⁸⁰

As before the Black Death, these wages are in excess of those quoted by Thorold Rogers, and, with the exception of the plumbers, they show a decided advance over the wages in Nottingham itself about forty years before. Possibly these high wages may have been transitory. At Nottingham Castle⁸¹ about 1395 the carpenters received only 6*d.* a day, the masons 5*d.*, and their servers 3*d.*, a tile maker and his man 8*d.* The plumbers, however, continued at their old rate of 6*d.*, and the unskilled labourers at 3*d.* About the same time there was a general complaint of overcharging at Nottingham. Carpenters, plasterers, stone-cutters, and labourers were all said to demand too much.⁸² These objections may possibly have only anticipated the real tendency of economic conditions. At any rate wages seem to have been fairly stationary in Nottingham during the 15th century. Between 1400 and 1500, masons appear to have received 6*d.* a day, and their servers 4*d.*; thatchers 5*d.*, and their servers 3*d.* Plumbers got 6*d.* as before. There is a solitary instance of a carpenter earning 1*s.*, and labourers' wages rose to 4*d.*, while those of quarrymen sank to 3*d.*; but these are the only changes of note. It is, however, observable that the wages were no longer above the general English average.⁸³

Outside Nottingham, too, wages seem to have been less; at Clipstone in 1350-1⁸⁴ masons received only 2*s.* a week; slaters, 4*d.* a day; plumbers, 6*d.* (the plumbers' wages seem fairly steady), and carpenters only 1*s.* 8*d.* a week, while the inferior workmen received only 2*d.* a day. The wages mentioned above were apparently all paid in money; but at Bestwood, about 1395, labourers from various neighbouring villages were largely recom-

⁷⁸ Accts. Exch. K.R. bdle. 478, no. 7.

⁸⁰ Larkin, *The Knights Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc.), 54-6.

⁸¹ Accts. Exch. K.R. bdle. 478, no. 14, 17-19 Ric. II.

⁸² *Ibid.* ii, 364-8; iii, 33, and 229-32, &c.

⁸⁴ Accts. Exch. K.R. bdle. 542, no. 24, 23 Edw. III.

⁷⁹ J. Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 48.

⁸³ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* i, 275.

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pensed in kind in a way suggesting that their work was in the nature of a feudal service. Thus the Bulwell men received 1s. 6d. in bread, beer, and cheese, and 1s. 2d. in meat. Seven men and five servants received 1s. 2d. for one day, and 10d. for meat. Where direct wages were given they do not seem to be high; two pavours for instance received only 10d. a day.⁸⁶ On the whole the great rise in wages seems to have been confined to Nottingham.

For agricultural wages there is little evidence; but the fact that arable land decreased so little in value suggests the idea that they did not vary much: besides the custom of labour rents would have tended to render them less easily affected by external influences. This contrast between town and country wages must have increased the attraction of the towns, especially since the depreciation in money rendered the prevailing scale of agricultural wages quite inadequate. This depreciation had been going on throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, and seems to have been particularly serious at the period now under discussion. The silver penny in 1351 contained 18 grains; in 1412 it was reduced to 15; in 1464 it fell to 12 grains.⁸⁶ Nottinghamshire especially must have suffered from debased coinage, since it was probably largely supplied with coin from York mint, of which the issue was stated in 1423 to be especially bad.⁸⁷

This fall in the value of money must have affected prices, but the information is too scanty for any general conclusion to be drawn as to prices in Nottinghamshire. As far as the evidence goes, they seem to have been highest towards the end of the 14th century, and to have fallen slightly in the 15th; thus coinciding with the fluctuations in the value of the arable land which, as has been shown, fell towards the end of the 14th century and then recovered. Where details of prices do appear they are usually below the average of the time; thus in six cases in which the price of wheat is given between 1377 and 1433, only twice is it definitely above the average: in 1377, when it is 4s. a quarter, and in 1397, when it is 1s. 4d. a bushel in Nottingham town.⁸⁸ The price of barley appears four times between 1388 and 1403; and only once, about 1397, is it above the average, being 6d. a bushel.⁸⁹ At other times it varies between 2s. and 2s. 8d. a quarter, though even at this rate it shows an advance on earlier prices.

The price of oxen, like that of wheat and barley, seems to have been highest in Nottingham towards the end of the 14th century, and to have sunk slightly during the earlier years of the 15th century. In 1388 an ox was sold for 16s. 8d.,⁹⁰ slightly above the average; but during the 15th century the price frequently given is below 10s., an extraordinarily low figure.

Sheep were also apparently above the average price in 1394, when 1s. 6d. and 2s. were given for them.⁹¹ In 1450 also, a flock of sixty sheep and a cow were held to be worth 15 marks.⁹² Otherwise Nottinghamshire sheep seem to be slightly below the average price, and the same appears to be true of

⁸⁶ *Accts. Exch. K.R. bdl. 460. no. 22.*

⁸⁷ *Parl. R. (Rec. Com.), iv, 200.*

⁸⁸ *Rec. of Borough of Nott. i. 355, no. 182.*

⁸⁹ *Ct. R. 20 Ric. II, Carburton and Edwinstowe.*

⁹⁰ *Inq. p.m. 11 Ric. II, 196 (2), C, fi'e 240 (Goods of Archbp. of York at Southwell).*

⁹¹ *Ct. R. 19 Ric. II (Carburton and Edwinstowe), 196 (2).*

⁹² *Esch. Inq. file 1442 (Ser. 1), m. 6.*

⁸⁶ *W. A. Shaw, Hist. of Currency, 44.*

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the wool, which, however, slightly improves in price during the 15th century. On the whole the conclusion appears to be that the economic position of Nottinghamshire relatively to the rest of England had not changed: it was still a county where low prices ruled.

Low prices for country producers and high wages for town work would naturally tend to the continued growth of the larger communities; and there are signs that Nottinghamshire shared in that tendency towards the increase of town life which marked the 15th century in England.

The subsidy rolls for the 15th and 16th years of Henry VI are noteworthy as being the first in which taxation is remitted in the case of impoverished and depopulated towns.⁹³ For the whole county this remission was to be £73 18s. 7¼d., the actual payment made being £632 3s. 6½d.; thus, roughly speaking, one-tenth of the whole tax was remitted. The way this remission is allotted is striking; at Nottingham only about one-eighteenth of the tax was remitted; at Retford, one twenty-first; at Newark, one-thirteenth; at Southwell, one-thirtieth. Again, a comparison with the poll tax of Edward III⁹⁴ shows that, in the main, the smallest proportionate remissions were made in the places which were previously the most populous. Bearing in mind that by 1434 Nottinghamshire was probably beginning to recover from the depression that marked the end of the 14th century, it is clear that its recovery must have been most marked in the largest townships; in other words that a movement had begun towards the concentration of wealth and population.

This change, which in many of its features was common to Nottinghamshire with the rest of England, seems to have been brought about in this particular county with comparatively little suffering. Nottinghamshire was strongly Lollard; a circumstance which suggests prosperity, since a certain degree of comfort must usually be reached before men concern themselves with intellectual or moral problems. There were, indeed, signs of unrest in Nottinghamshire in the early 15th century. In 1410 it was noted as being a county in which riots were frequent.⁹⁵ Earlier disturbances too, are mentioned, but these were probably due to the depression it underwent at the end of the 14th century. It lay quite outside the area of the Peasants' Rising. This was no doubt due to the fact that the conditions already existing showed some approximation to those demanded by the rebels. The rent of arable land indeed was somewhat above the 4d. per acre which was proposed by the peasants; but the difference could not have been very great. Further, as has been pointed out, a very considerable commutation of labour rents for money had already taken place. In brief, it is probably true that the poorer agricultural class in Nottinghamshire were in a condition somewhat above the average, and that therefore the economic changes at the end of the 14th century were less violent than in many cases.

The increase of town life induced by these changes had its natural result in the increase of trade, a considerable proportion of which probably went by way of the Trent. The importance of the river in the 14th century appears in the numerous complaints made of obstacles blocking its course. In 1378 a commission was appointed to inquire into the matter, and in 1382 persons

⁹³ Lay Subs. bdle. 159, no. 69, 15-16 Hen. VI.

⁹⁴ Ibid. bdle. 159, no. 27, 51 Edw. III.

⁹⁵ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.) iii, 624.

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owning land on the Trent bank were expressly forbidden to levy fines on persons trading between Hull and Nottingham.⁹⁶ Trade was certainly sufficiently hampered without these unwarranted exactions. Of regular and permitted tolls there were many. At Blyth, for instance, among the tolls on goods brought for sale was $\frac{1}{2}d.$ on every cart-load of timber or of bread, and $2d.$ on cart-loads of other goods; $1d.$ on a horse-load of salmon; $\frac{1}{2}d.$ on other goods, $\frac{1}{4}d.$ on a man's load; $\frac{1}{2}d.$ on every ox, horse, or cow; $\frac{1}{4}d.$ for every sheep or pig; and $4d.$ on every sack of wool.⁹⁷ Doubtless such restrictions increased the trade of towns, which, like Nottingham, were free of them. In Nottingham itself however, as elsewhere, licence to trade had to be purchased; but there were plenty to buy it. In 1414, thirty-eight annual licences to trade were granted,⁹⁸ while in 1478 sixty-eight were given.⁹⁹ Wholesale as well as retail trade increased. In 1354 there was a request for a wool-staple at Nottingham; ¹⁰⁰ this was not granted, and a few years later the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham and Derby joined in petitioning for the re-establishment of the wool-staple at Lincoln.¹⁰¹ Throughout the 15th century this trade seems to have been active; although Nottingham wool seems to have shared in the decline in price which marked that period, as in 1454 it seems to have ranged from seven marks (£4 13s. 4d.) to £5 a sack, whereas a hundred years earlier it had been about £7 (i.e. ten and a half marks).¹⁰² The low price did not however discourage the traders, and in 1455 wool merchants were to be found not only in Nottingham itself, but at Newark, North and South Muskham,¹⁰³ and many other towns; and a further sign of the activity of the trade appears in the efforts of the merchants to evade the regulation compelling them to send all their goods to the Calais staple. With this object, they chose Newcastle as the place of export; ¹⁰⁴ and so persistent were they that in 1472 the exportation of midland wool elsewhere than to Calais was made a felony.¹⁰⁵

Nottinghamshire shared not only in the old trade in raw wool, but in the growing commerce in cloth. If Nottingham town still maintained its old right of forbidding all weaving of cloth within ten leagues, the city itself must have been almost the sole seat of the manufacture in the county. But vendors, at least, of cloth were not confined to the town. About 1393-5 the ulnage accounts mention merchants of Retford and Newark as well as of Nottingham.¹⁰⁶ The total amount of ulnage paid for the counties of Nottingham and Derby was £9 4s. 2½d. The cloths were generally termed cloths of assize, of which the rate of ulnage was $2d.$ a dozen; but other varieties were mentioned, such as 'blanket' and 'russet.' In 1402 ulnage was paid by about seventy merchants belonging to the three towns mentioned above.¹⁰⁷ Despite this activity, the primitive condition of trade is shown by the payment in kind which sometimes occurs; thus in 1410, a parson agreed with a weaver to pay him a quarter of corn for three-quarters of a yard of scarlet cloth.¹⁰⁸ Rents in kind also continue; rents not only in grain, which occur frequently, but also in live stock. Thus the Prior of Worksop is said to

⁹⁶ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* i, 225-7.

⁹⁸ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* ii, 103-5.

¹⁰⁰ *Parl. R. (Rec. Com.)* ii, 253.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* v, 295, 296.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* vi, 164.

¹⁰⁷ Ulnage Accts. Exch. K.R. bdle. 343, no. 21, 3 Hen. IV.

⁹⁷ J. Raine, *Hist. of Blyth*, 32.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 299-303.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 332.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* v, 564.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* v, 275.

¹⁰⁶ Ulnage Accts. Exch. K.R. 346, no. 9, 16-18 Ric. II.

¹⁰⁸ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* ii, 71-3.

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have let Shireoaks in 1458 on a twelve years' lease for twelve sheep foddered on Shireoaks land, 31 quarters of wheat, 2 bushels of rye for the sheep every third week, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of oats.¹⁰⁹

Nor do the Nottingham merchants show signs of great wealth. Luxury no doubt crept in; articles of plate for instance appear, such as five silver spoons which belonged to a Nottingham burgess in 1433:¹¹⁰ and there seems to have been considerable activity in building in Nottingham towards the end of the 15th century; while at the same period Nottingham burgesses, following in the footsteps of William de Amyas in the 14th century, appear to have been gradually accumulating land and houses. Still, compared with the traders of the eastern counties, the Nottinghamshire men would probably not have been considered wealthy or luxurious.

Among the rural classes personal property appears to have been both rude and scanty. The bulk of the goods of various husbandmen outlawed for debt or attainted for felony during the early years of the 15th century consisted naturally in farm produce and implements; growing wheat, barley and peas; carts, iron-bound or otherwise; pigs and sheep; horses and oxen; occasionally a very little household furniture. A brass bowl, various cooking utensils and a pair of sheets were among the most common possessions. The household goods of one John Shaw of South Leverton, about 1428, were valued at 18s. 4d.; but this was an exceptionally large sum, to be accounted for perhaps by the fact that household goods constituted his whole possession.¹¹¹ In other cases the goods (including standing crops and farm stock) were about 40s., and the household goods about 4s. Again, in a list of outlaws in the reign of Edward IV, the value of the goods varies from 1s. to 10s.¹¹²

Altogether these inquisitions confirm the other evidence adduced. It appears that Nottinghamshire was still a county drawing its chief wealth from the land, and that this wealth was not great; the peasant got a living, but not much more than a living, from the soil; and the townward movement was still only beginning.

With the 16th century came changes for Nottinghamshire, as for all England, though at first these changes were less violent than in many parts of the country. The inclosures, which were so marked a feature of this period, were in Nottingham of comparatively slight extent. A little less than 2,500 acres are noted in the Domesday of Inclosures as having been inclosed between the years 1490 and 1518.¹¹³ This may perhaps have been partly due to the fact that so large a part of the county was covered by the great forest of Sherwood, where inclosures would be an injury, not to the people, but to the king. Thus the largest inclosures are in the comparatively small hundred of Bingham, where about 100 more acres were inclosed than in the large forest division of Bassetlaw.

Of the total inclosures, about 100 acres had previously been waste; about 300 had been common, and 300 private pasture; and about 1,500 arable. Of this land when inclosed, over 700 acres were made into parks, a higher proportion than in almost any other county; and almost the whole

¹⁰⁹ J. Holland, *Hist. of Worksop*, 174.

¹¹⁰ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* ii, 141.

¹¹¹ Escheator's Inq. file 1428, no. 6, 4-5 Hen. VI.

¹¹² *Ibid.* file 1451, no. 2, 7-8 Edw. IV.

¹¹³ *Trans. of Thoroton Soc.* iv, v; I. S. Leadam, *Domesday of Inclosures for Notts.*

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of the remainder was converted into pasture ; in other words, the growing tendency towards sheep-farming, which had marked the whole of the 16th century, was accelerated.

To judge by the *Domesday of Inclosures*, however, this acceleration did not cause the misery that might have been anticipated ; altogether about 19 ploughs were said to be put down ; forty houses were ruinous, or pulled down (of which thirty-one were in Nottingham itself), and about 120 persons evicted. Of these eighteen were rehoused by the landlord at Wollaton ; probably the existence of the coal-mine there made their labour valuable. The two really startling cases of eviction were at Wiverton, where Sir George Chaworth converted practically the whole township into park-land and private pasture, evicting about twenty-six persons ; and at Holme, where William Pierpoint evicted thirty-six persons from about 220 acres of arable and meadow, converting the whole into pasture. Another curious instance was at Cropwell Butler, where the inclosure of 6 acres of common meadow apparently meant the displacement of six persons. The whole of the evictions, however, apparently took place on less than 700 acres ; whence it seems that the bulk of the inclosures were made on land which the inhabitants had already deserted. The conversion of arable into pasture may have been partly necessitated by the difficulty of procuring labour. Another circumstance which probably diminished the misery caused by this change was that Nottingham was evidently still a county of small holders.¹¹⁴ The inclosures were made by about a hundred and fifty individuals, and 'closes' of one or two acres were common. Thus the class which in other places might have been dispossessed, in Nottinghamshire probably shared the spoil.

The small freeholders were, however, gradually becoming a less important class ; the large inclosures were naturally made by the large owners, and the abbey lands also fell for the most part into their hands.

The monastic lands in Nottinghamshire, according to Dugdale, amounted in yearly value to something over £2,000 (a low estimate) ; and the *inquisitiones post mortem* on the estate of about a hundred landowners for the period from 1470-1540¹¹⁵ give an average value of about £20 for the ordinary estate of a tenant-in-chief. Hence the distribution of the monastic lands added vastly to the wealth and power of the lay landholders. The prizes fell naturally to the more powerful among them. The families of Stanhope, Byron, Strelly, Cowper, and Hussey were amongst those enriched at this time. A new class of landowners appeared also in the persons of London citizens, many of whom received grants from Henry VIII. Three London aldermen acquired a large part of the land of Newstead ;¹¹⁶ and much of the possessions of Worksop passed into the hands of a London mercer.¹¹⁷ These grants seem to have been made generally as a means of liquidating the king's debts ; but the eagerness of the successful merchant to invest in land is a well-known feature in English life, and the phenomenon recurs throughout the reign of Elizabeth and during the earlier part of the 17th century.

¹¹⁴ Such is the opinion of Mr. Leadam, as given in the article previously quoted.

¹¹⁵ W. P. W. Phillimore, *Abstracts of Inq. p.m. relating to Notts.* The estimate above is taken from an average of about a hundred surveys ranging from 1476 to 1546. Exceptionally large estates such as those of the Archbishop of York are omitted.

¹¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), g. 166 (55).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* xv, 1032.

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The same influences were at work throughout the 16th century. The inclosures continued despite all attempts to prevent them by legislation. In 1593 Sir Francis Leake was said to have 'dispeopled' Langford, putting down twelve ploughs.¹¹⁸ The Act of 39 Elizabeth, cap. 2, by which all future conversion of tillage to pasture was forbidden, may have checked inclosures for the time. The attempted resumption of the crown land in Sherwood Forest showed how much had been inclosed even there. A fresh series of inquiries into inclosures took place about 1631, when it was ascertained that during the last three years 741 acres had been inclosed in Bingham and Rushcliffe by about thirty-two persons; 394 in Thurgarton by about thirteen persons; and 536 in Bassetlaw by about twenty-one persons.¹¹⁹ These inclosures did not necessarily mean a conversion from arable to pasture. Occasionally arable itself seems to have been inclosed with a view to better tillage: and the Nottinghamshire justices gave it as their opinion that small inclosures below 5 acres tended to the improvement of agriculture,¹²⁰ and did not depopulate the country. The great majority of inclosures were small, though not so small as this. The usual course seems to have been that one landholder on a manor inclosed a large parcel of ground, a hundred acres or thereabouts; and half a dozen others inclosed small portions, usually varying from five acres to forty.¹²¹ These inclosures are alleged, in 1631, as one cause of the poverty in Nottinghamshire: the evicted people took refuge in the towns, which were thereby overburdened, or else erected cottages on the wastes, where they had no means of support, and thus vagabondage was much increased.¹²² Despite these allegations, however, the inclosures seem to have continued without much regard to the rights of the public. In 1637 there was a proposal to inclose about five hundred acres of waste near Radford, part of which was common to the town, and to rent it of the king for £6 13s. 4d.¹²³

Long before this period an enormous change had been effected in the value of land. Both the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the inclosures must have tended to break down the force of custom in ruling the price of land. The rent of inclosures seems to have been sometimes decidedly heavy; thus from 1500 to 1544 the average rent as calculated on fourteen estates seems to have been 6¼d. an acre for arable, and 1s. 5¾d. for meadow; but in 1541, the rent of certain inclosures in Lenton seems to have been 3s. 4d. for arable. In some of the Lenton inclosures the same sum was charged for meadow and pasture also; whilst in others the inclosed meadow land rises to 4s. 5d. and the pasture to 3s. 8d.¹²⁴ Apparently when land, by inclosure, was removed from the influence of the old manor customs, the landlord was at liberty to exact the highest price he could; and the substitution of strangers and men of business for the old ecclesiastical lords probably created a class of landholders who would have no scruple in taking the utmost advantage of the new state of things.

Indeed, the change in the value of money during the 16th century made higher rents inevitable. The influx of the precious metals, coupled with the debasement of the coinage, caused an enormous permanent increase in prices.

¹¹⁸ E. G. Wake, *Hist. of Collingham*, 117-18.

¹²⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625-49, p. 411.

¹²² *Ibid.* clxxxv, 86.

¹¹⁹ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, dxxxiii, 29; dxxxi, 82.

¹²¹ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, dxxxiii, 29.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* ccclxix, 82, 82 I. ¹²³ Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. 7, m. 2.

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The average value of wheat throughout England between 1590 and 1600 seems to have been about six times its amount a hundred years earlier,¹²⁵ while wool had about trebled in price.¹²⁶ This depreciation in the value of money, added to the breakdown in customary rents already mentioned, naturally increased the price of land to an unprecedented extent. Its full effect appears towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, when 3*s.* 4*d.* per acre seems to have been a low price for arable, and 16*s.* was a common price for meadow.¹²⁷

Although Nottingham appears to have shared with the rest of England in the increase of prices already mentioned, yet as before those prices remained somewhat below the average. As late as 1566 a cow is valued at only 32*s.* and a sheep at 1*s.* 6*d.*; wool appears to have been only about 5½*d.* per lb. in 1577,¹²⁸ and between 1591 and 1601 Worksop wool averages only about 18*s.* 5½*d.* to the 'tod.'¹²⁹ On the other hand, when any record is found of the price of corn it seems to have been about up to the average. In 1536 wheat was 1*s.* 4*d.* a bushel, dearer as usual when measured in small quantities; rye 14*d.*, and peas 7*d.* The last was cheap, an important fact for Nottingham people, who are said to have lived to a considerable extent on pea bread. Oats were dear, being 4*s.*¹³⁰

On the other hand, in 1586, a year of general high prices, wheat seems to have been lower than in many places. It averaged about 26*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. In 1587, however, when general prices had gone down, those in Nottinghamshire had risen. Barley, perhaps the most important grain, seems on an average of twelve prices taken from seven different places to have been about 19*s.* 4*d.* the quarter,¹³¹ decidedly above the average price (10*s.* 6¾*d.*) throughout England.¹³² That prices were not higher still in Nottingham in this year of dearth was attributed by the magistrates to the action of the Earl of Rutland,¹³³ who brought corn from the distant parts of England, such as Tiverton, and sold it to the poor at less than the market price. Further, Nottinghamshire did not depend wholly on her own supplies: when the price rose, corn came plentifully from other counties up the Trent.¹³⁴ Supplies came also by other roads. Every summer carts appeared from the neighbouring counties bringing grain, which they exchanged for coal from the mines of Wollaton and Selston, to be conveyed back by the same carts. The coming of the coal carts, as they were called, was the signal for the lowering of the price of food in Nottinghamshire. Even in the time of dearth in 1619-23 the Nottinghamshire magistrates declared they had no fear of future scarcity, owing to this trade, which made storehouses for corn unnecessary.¹³⁵ This commerce was obviously a steady source of supply. It is alluded to again and again in the magistrates' reports of this period, and that of 1630-1;¹³⁶ and its importance to the general well-being of Nottinghamshire appears in the statement in 1631 that

¹²⁵ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, iv, 292; v, 276.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* iv, 328; v, 407.

¹²⁷ e.g. Kingston. Rentals and Surv. ptfo. 1, no. 3. Similar prices appear to have existed during the earlier part of the 17th century. At Dunham and Ragnall the rent for arable land varied from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.* per acre, and for meadow it remained at 10*s.* to 12*s.* from about 1619 to 1665, while pasture appears to have been about 13*s.* 4*d.* an acre. (Add. MSS. 36981. Particular of Ragnall, &c.)

¹²⁸ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iv, 168.

¹²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1155.

¹³⁰ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, v, 268.

¹³¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxc, 14.

¹³² S.P. Dom. Chas. I, clxxxix, 12; *ibid.* Jas. I, cxl, 10.

¹²⁹ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, v, 409.

¹³¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxcviii, 57.

¹³² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1581-90, p. 333.

¹³³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1619-23, p. 130.

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all the barns were empty, and the only hope of filling them lay in the arrival of the coal carts in the summer.¹³⁷

This barter of coal for corn was, however, only one part of the growth of trade and industry in Nottinghamshire throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries. In favourable seasons, agricultural produce as well as coal was exported. The county was reckoned in the reign of Henry VIII as one of the horse-breeding counties.¹³⁸

A sign of the increasing trade appears in the frequent complaints against tolls, especially the tolls of Newark and Retford.¹³⁹ Their abolition, it was declared, would help a multitude of poor people at the expense of one rich man. Retford was one place where the tolls were heavy; Newark Bridge was another; for the importance of the Trent as a highway must have been enhanced by the fact that the Nottingham roads were notoriously bad. 'About Tuxford is the most absolutely ill road in the world,' said Sir William Uvedale in 1640.¹⁴⁰

The articles taxed at Newark suggest that trade was developing; provisions, live-stock, and wool are, as of old, the principal commodities, but there are tolls also on furniture, china and glass, and cloth, while the mention of stage wagons and trade carts suggests a decided development in local traffic.¹⁴¹

As regards industry, it was probably still in a backward condition, as is suggested by the fact that when in 1530 Wolsey desired to have his gallery at Southwell cast with lime and hair, there was no workman in the town capable of undertaking the task.¹⁴² Still, it was probably expanding, and various regulations concerning apprenticeship suggest the intrusion of those unauthorized workmen whose existence seems to imply the prosperity of industry. In 1577 it was proposed in Nottingham that no man should become a burgess unless he had been apprenticed and paid £10.¹⁴³ The cause alleged for this was the influx of 'foreigners' into Nottingham, a phrase implying non-citizens. Possibly the effect would be to check the enrolment of labourers as burgesses, which had been a pretty constant feature of the earlier part of the century.

Apprenticeship seems to have varied both in length and cost. In 1488 a 'barker' took an apprentice for six years, receiving with him 16*d.* a year for the first five years, and 13*s.* 4*d.* for the last year.¹⁴⁴ In 1582 13*s.* 4*d.* seems to have been the recognized apprenticeship fee in Nottingham.¹⁴⁵ In 1636 £3 10*s.* was given with a pauper child bound apprentice to a tailor at Eaton. The length of time for which poor children were bound seems enormous; boys remained apprentices till they were twenty-four; girls till they were twenty-one.¹⁴⁶

In regard to special industries the late 16th century saw an invention by William Lee of the stocking frame which, at a later date, was to make the fortune of Nottingham. The making of the frames themselves was said by Felkin to have been carried on at Woodborough, Calverton, and Thoroton,¹⁴⁷

¹³⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1631-3, p. 18.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* xiv (1), 839.

¹⁴¹ W. D. Rastall, *Hist. of Newark*, 353-5.

¹⁴² *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iv, 171.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* iv, 199.

¹⁴⁷ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufacture*, 60. This is distinct from the same author's *Account of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.*, quoted later.

¹³⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 178.

¹⁴⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640-1, p. 241.

¹⁴² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 6329.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 429.

¹⁴⁶ *S.P. Dom. Chas. I*, cccxxix, 63.

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and the weaving of hosiery appears to have been a Nottingham manufacture in 1641, when Deering gives two framework knitters in the list of craftsmen then living in Nottingham.¹⁴⁸ But neither machine-making nor stocking-knitting seems at this period to have taken deep root in Nottinghamshire. Cloth-making, on the other hand, had continued, and had probably spread beyond Nottingham town itself, to judge from a petition of non-burgesses in 1605 for the right to weave.¹⁴⁹ An allusion to the industry appears in the licence granted to the men of Nottingham in 1640, to import forty chaldrons of fullers' earth by sea from Rochester and Gainsborough.¹⁵⁰

Another industry of which mention is made is the manufacture of alabaster figures for tombs or images of saints. The best alabaster appears to have been obtained from Chellaston in Derbyshire, and the trade seems to have been vigorous for some time. Throughout the late 15th and 16th centuries image-makers appear among the burgesses of Nottingham. In 1530 there was a dispute between two citizens concerning an alabaster head of John the Baptist which required repainting.¹⁵¹ It appears that these heads were usually coloured. The number of alabaster tombs in Nottinghamshire churches of the 15th and 16th centuries show the prosperity of the industry at this time.

Of other trades, all those connected with leather seem to have flourished. Glovers, tanners, and shoe-makers were plentiful in Nottingham in 1587, and a bookbinder is also found there.¹⁵² Bell-founding, too, seemed to be of importance, and bone lace-making is mentioned in 1597.¹⁵³ The importance of these industries was probably small in comparison with agriculture, but their existence serves to show that in Nottinghamshire, as in the rest of England, there was a certain tendency towards expansion and luxury.

Towards these developments, especially towards development in trade, the political events of the 16th century may have tended. Though there seems to have been much smothered sympathy in Nottinghamshire with the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' the county as a whole took no part in the rising. On the contrary, it was throughout held by the king's troops; and though their presence must have been exceedingly burdensome, yet it may have drawn Nottingham into closer touch with the rest of England. Another and more permanent cause tending in the same direction was the increased importance of Anglo-Scottish relations during the 16th century. Newark, Scrooby, and Tuxford were all stages on the road between London and Berwick. The constant intercourse between England and Scotland during the 16th and 17th centuries resulted in Newark's becoming a post town; a circumstance which is alleged by the Newark burghers in their plea for incorporation in 1626, as one cause of their growing prosperity and increasing population.¹⁵⁴

How far the workman shared in the prosperity which these circumstances suggest is doubtful. Certainly, wages by no means increased in proportion to prices, though, on the whole, the payment of the less skilled labourers seems until 1560 to have been above the average. In 1501 labourers at

¹⁴⁸ Deering, *Vetus Notinghamia*, 95.

¹⁵⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640, p. 532.

¹⁵² *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* cxviii, 57.

¹⁵⁴ *S.P. Dom. Chas. I.* xxvii, 42, 42 (i).

¹⁴⁹ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iv, 275.

¹⁵¹ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iii, 17, 82, 84, 181, 183, &c.

¹⁵³ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iv, 244.

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Nottingham were paid 4*d.* a day. Hedging throughout the century is paid at so varying a rate as to suggest some difference in the work done; otherwise such fluctuations as 8*d.* in 1501, 4½*d.* in 1558, and 6*d.* in 1593 seem unaccountable. About 1570 6*d.* a day seems to have been the ordinary wage for such odd jobs as brushwood-cutting, digging, or road or dyke-making. The wages of the master craftsmen also increased towards the end of the century. Carpenters and masons received 8*d.* a day in 1558, while a tiler got 4*s.* 6*d.* a week. But in 1590 a carpenter received 10*d.*, a rate shared by coal-diggers¹⁵⁵ (1595), and assistant builders (1599), while master builders appear to have got 1*s.* On the whole, the average wage for inferior workmen seems to have risen from 4*d.* to 8*d.* during the century,^{155a} and this is confirmed by 8*d.* being the pay usually given to a private soldier.¹⁵⁶

Apparently therefore, wages in Nottinghamshire were slightly above the average in the first half of the 16th century: but at its conclusion they were rather below it. Labourers, hedgers, ditchers, and the like received only 8*d.* a day between 1619 and 1640. The wages of workmen employed in bridge-building—presumably masons, carpenters and builders—varied from 10*d.* to 1*s.* or 1*s.* 1*d.* a day.¹⁵⁷ Considering that these wages are almost all paid in Nottingham itself, and are therefore probably the highest given, the slightness of the rise is remarkable, and compared with the cost of living, the amounts seem small indeed. As early as 1510–11 1*s.* 10*d.* was considered the equivalent for board for five and a half days (a working week) of a shipwright and his man; i.e. 2*d.* a day was apparently the value of a man's food; ¹⁵⁸ and this must have greatly increased with the increased prices during the century. Clothes, too, were expensive. In 1512 a man's boots cost 2*s.* 4*d.* and shoes 5*d.* to 8*d.*; ¹⁵⁹ while in 1542 a coat cost 3*s.* 4*d.*¹⁶⁰

Hence, it is clear that the rise in wages, such as it was, by no means corresponded to the increased cost of living, nor can the state of Nottingham during the 16th century have been really satisfactory. Expanding trade there was, but it could not have been of great extent. The population still appears to have been scanty and scattered in small groups. In the muster roll of 1542 the able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty number only about 2,300 men in the four wapentakes of Bassetlaw, Bingham, Thurgarton and Newark. These were drawn from about a hundred places; and parishes sending only four or six men are common.¹⁶¹ On such a population—one of small holders on a not too fertile soil—low wages, increased prices and high rents would fall heavily. The result was, as might have been expected, the growth of the power of the greater landholders.

The inclosures, the fall of the abbeys, and the enhanced rents had by the end of the 16th century resulted in the creation of a class of large estates. The Willoughby lands in Nottinghamshire were reckoned at £600 a year,^{161a} those of the Earl of Shrewsbury at £1,500; Lord Scroop's lands

¹⁵⁵ This amount was to be paid to a man hired to search for coal in 1595. *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iv, 239.

^{155a} *Ibid.* iii, 314–325, 328 et seq; iv, 119, 121, 129, 135, 136, 149, 182, 196.

¹⁵⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 880, fol. 29*b*.

¹⁵⁷ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iv, 359, 381; v, 115, 180.

¹⁵⁸ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iii, 331.

¹⁵⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 922.

^{161a} *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cclxv, 81; cclxxxviii, 34.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 121.

¹⁶¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 505–6.

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were estimated at nearly £400.¹⁶³ Even allowing for the fact that the rents had on the average increased sixfold, these figures imply an absolute increase in the estates themselves above those existing at the beginning of the 16th century.

With the growth of wealth arose a class of absentee landlords, increased by those merchants and tradesmen who had invested in Nottinghamshire land. In 1625, the resident gentry complained that their number had been much diminished; they had been bought out by citizens; many manors were in the hands of 'foreigners,' such as the Earl of Devonshire or Mr. Soames, alderman of London. Such manors were said to be worth annually £5,000 or £6,000 a year.¹⁶³ The point of the complaint lay in the heavy burden thus inflicted on the remaining gentry by local duties and central taxation. But the increased burdens also implied increased influence. This had been growing throughout the 16th century. The fall of the monasteries had left the resident gentry without rivals. Sir John Markham, it was said in 1539, 'ruled all the country round Newark.'¹⁶⁴ In the muster above mentioned Sir John Byron furnished twenty men from among his personal attendants, another gentleman appeared with fourteen, and various other landholders furnished six or seven.

The distance of Nottinghamshire magnates from the central authority left them free to pursue their quarrels unchecked, and breaches of the peace were not uncommon. In 1592, at a violently contested election at Nottingham, Sir Thomas Stanhope brought all his tenants armed.¹⁶⁵ Between the Stanhopes and the Cavendishes there had long been a feud. In 1599 Sir Charles Cavendish and three or four men were assaulted by John Stanhope and his company in Sherwood Forest. Two men (one an unlucky keeper whom Stanhope had impressed that morning) were killed, and three others wounded.¹⁶⁶ Stanhope himself fled. But the government, apparently unconcerned, bound over both combatants to keep the peace, and a little later conferred a post in the forest on John Stanhope.¹⁶⁷

The landholders of Nottinghamshire, however, were not wholly occupied in making war on their neighbours. On their shoulders, as justices of the peace, devolved most of the public responsibilities of the county, and they seem to have exercised their functions with considerable zeal. Their task, as the 16th century drew to its close, was proving a difficult one. Despite the increase of trade already mentioned Nottinghamshire seems to have been falling somewhat behind the rest of England. Between 1341 and 1453, it had risen from the twenty-fifth to the twentieth place among English counties. In 1503 it had sunk to the twenty-first, and it remained in this position throughout the 16th century. In the ship-money assessments it is still twenty-first, but there were many complaints of the undue heaviness of the burden. In 1641 it had sunk to the twenty-ninth place.¹⁶⁸ Further, in spite of enhanced prices, the condition of the tenants in Nottinghamshire was probably less favourable towards the end of the 16th century. The scarcity of money which marked the time seems to have borne hardly

¹⁶³ S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclxi, 85.

¹⁶⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 295.

¹⁶⁵ W. D. Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, ii, 129.

¹⁶⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1598-1601, pp. 222-3.

¹⁶⁸ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. & Prices*, iv, 88, 89; v, 118.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* Chas. I, x, 61.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 357

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on the husbandman, who had perforce to find cash, for rents were now rarely paid in labour.¹⁶⁹ In 1623, the Nottinghamshire justices complained that the law confining the sale of corn to market towns was a serious injury to the small husbandman, who often had not horses wherewith to convey his corn to the distant market. Further, the regulations which these magistrates made for the due sale and distribution of corn could not extend to all market towns, of which circumstance townspeople took advantage to the loss of the husbandman :¹⁷⁰ whereas, had the latter been free to choose, he might have sold his corn to better advantage nearer home. It was absolutely essential to him, declared the complainants (mostly landlords) to sell his corn in the best market, in order that his rents might be paid. Nor was the high money rent the only disadvantage which the change of custom brought to the tenant. His very tenure was often rendered insecure. At Wheatley in 1629 the tenants (numbering about 800 men) sent up a piteous protest against the action of their new landlords, to whom the land had been sold by the City of London, to which the king had granted it. Time out of mind, the tenants declared, they and their fathers had been copyholders in North Wheatley, paying 16s. 8d. for every oxgang of land, with a fine of 12d. on every alienation. Many of them held their land on a twenty or twenty-one years lease, paying 2s. on each 'copy' (i.e. on each renewal). Further, they had from the time of Edward IV held the demesne of the manor at £9 6s. 8d. a year (of late by a similar lease). The woods too, had been common to the town at the rent of 6s. 8d. ; all which rights and customs appeared duly in the Court Rolls of the manor. These had been kept securely locked up with two keys, one in the custody of the lord's steward, the other in that of the tenants of the manor. But now not only were fines and rents alike enormously raised, but the steward had taken possession of both keys, and removed the Court Rolls from place to place, so that the tenants, fearing to lose the sole evidence of their right, petitioned for the intervention of the Council.¹⁷¹

Again, privileges granted to new lessees often injured the old tenants. Thus in the famous quarrel over the draining of Hatfield Chase, the Nottinghamshire tenants of Misterton and Gringley, Everton, Sutton and Scrooby, had really serious cause of complaint, inasmuch as Sir Cornelius Vermuyden (the patentee), in the course of his operations, dammed up the Idle, whereby their meadows were flooded for the past five years, involving a total loss of £1,550 a year.¹⁷² Further, at Misterton, Vermuyden had inclosed 1,000 acres, and excluded 200 families of the township from the common. These people employed forty-six ploughs and kept a thousand cattle besides sheep and swine; but now they were 'barred forth of North Carr, and drowned forth of Thack Carr, and bereft of all means of livelihood.' They were promised redress, but it was apparently delayed, as the complaints extended over several years.¹⁷³ These cases were no doubt exceptional, but the new conditions obviously bore hardly on the small tenants.

¹⁶⁹ Traces, however, both of servile tenure and of the labour rent are to be found as late as, or later than, this period. At Farndon, one of the queen's manors, the rents of the *nativi* and the value of their work are mentioned in 1633. (S.P. Dom. Chas. I, ccxxxv, 3.) At Collingham, the sum of £9 arising from boon-days for ploughing, threshing and so forth was mentioned among the dues owing in 1649. (Wake, *Hist. of Collingham*, 109.)

¹⁷¹ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cli, 38.

¹⁷² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1633-4, p. 286.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 1634-5, p. 400.

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Another cause of distress appeared in the sickness which was rife in Nottinghamshire during the 16th century. In 1518 there was a report of an epidemic.¹⁷⁴ In 1559 it was stated that sickness was causing great distress in Nottinghamshire.¹⁷⁵ For the next seventy years there are reiterated complaints on the subject; and in 1630-1 the plague was so bad as to prevent the musters from being taken.¹⁷⁶ Such a state of things must have accentuated the difficulties under which Nottinghamshire laboured at this time.

One of the most obvious results of the impoverishment of the poorer classes appears in the complaints of vagrants which occur continually at this time. As early as 1487 complaints were made of vagrants in Nottingham itself,¹⁷⁷ and the dissolution of the monasteries increased the evil. The Pilgrimage of Grace probably had the usual effect of a disturbance in bringing together a host of vagabonds; but shortly after its suppression there is a congratulatory statement that the 'vagrant beggars' in Nottinghamshire had disappeared.¹⁷⁸ Their disappearance was of short duration. Complaints of vagrants and foreigners occur in 1545, 1552, and 1556.¹⁷⁹ At first the Nottinghamshire authorities were inclined to treat them as a simple nuisance, and dispatched them to their native places with all convenient speed. A report of 1571 states that in Bassetlaw twenty-seven vagrants were taken in one day, punished and sent to their own homes, either in other parishes in Nottinghamshire or in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire.¹⁸⁰

The vagabonds were evidently considered as outside the community; and their summary treatment contrasts with the careful endeavour of the magistrates to find palliatives for the general distress in 1586-7. These latter efforts took the form of attempts to ensure a supply of corn, and to prevent its being wasted or engrossed by a few. The rates at which bakers and brewers were to sell were carefully regulated; and there was a vigorous effort to check the conversion of barley into beer.¹⁸¹ For this last effort there may have been real need, to judge from the fact that ten years earlier ale-houses in Nottinghamshire numbered 588,¹⁸² and that in 1587 115 traders in Nottingham town combined the manufacture or sale of ale or aqua vitae with other occupations.¹⁸³

The measures taken by the magistrates however seem to have had no permanent result. Complaints of vagabonds and beggars continue to occur for the next thirty years; and the irritation caused by the distress of 1622-3 was such that the county forces were held in readiness to put down a disturbance.¹⁸⁴

The insufficient increase of wages also led to trade combinations, such as that among the shoemakers' servants in 1619, which was sharply put down.¹⁸⁵ In the period of distress, 1619-23, Nottinghamshire suffered severely. The corn in the threshing was said to yield only one-third its usual quantity, and the price rose accordingly. At one time wheat was 50s. the quarter, rye 44s., barley 38s., malt 40s., peas 32s., and oats 18s. Luckily these prices did not last long: in 1623 wheat and rye had gone down to 48s. and 36s. respectively, barley was 33s., malt 34s., pease 26s. 8d., and oats 12s. It is, however, not only of the high prices that complaint is made, but of the

¹⁷⁴ C. Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, i, 291.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 1638-9, p. 514; *ibid.* 1631-3, p. 163.

¹⁷⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 295.

¹⁸⁰ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* lxxxi, 23.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* cxviii, 57.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* cxviii, 57.

¹⁸⁴ W. A. Shaw, *Hist. of Currency*, 142.

¹⁷⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547-80, p. 122.

¹⁷⁷ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iii, 11.

¹⁷⁹ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iii, 400; iv, 112.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* cxviii, 5.

¹⁸⁵ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* iv, 362.

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previous low prices, which had impoverished the farmers. Certainly the fluctuations must have caused great distress, and in addition to the ordinary attempts to supervise and regulate the prices and supply of corn, the magistrates complain of the difficulty of setting to work the many poor farm servants who had been perforce dismissed by their masters when the harvest failed.¹⁸⁶

The effects of this distress did not pass away quickly, to judge from a letter from various Nottingham county gentlemen in 1625 protesting against the heaviness of the loan demanded by the government. The increase of industry already noticed had not been sufficient to prevent the petitioners from declaring that the county possessed neither trade nor manufactures, neither lead, iron, nor hidden treasure. Thus it was largely dependent on agriculture; and so much was still forest that the good land was said to be hardly sufficient to supply the people's needs. Hence the losses caused by the recent floods of the Trent and by bad harvests were such that the best grains wherewith the farmer paid his rent had failed. Not one in ten, it was declared, were as well off as they had been twelve or sixteen years ago. Not only landowners and tenants, but the class of yeomen hitherto so flourishing were decaying 'by the deadness of commodities.'¹⁸⁷

This last clause, which speaks of the decay of the yeomanry as a recent thing, is confirmed by the list of freeholders in various manors in 1612 given by Thoroton. The number, though by no means all the villages are included, is so great as to make it clear that the small owner was still an important factor, though his power was overshadowed by the much more striking growth of the greater gentry. At the same time the economic tendency of the time was against him, and its results perhaps appear in the letter quoted above; though, considering the object of the document, the colours were probably rendered as dark as possible.

The next few years were, however, far from prosperous. In 1630-3 the harvests again failed; and but for the charity of those who gave help at reasonable prices and on trust many poor husbandmen would not have had corn to sow for the next harvest.¹⁸⁸ The justices were again busied trying to find work for the servants dismissed in the time of dearth:¹⁸⁹ by this time however (1631) the administration of the poor-law according to the Act of Elizabeth (1601) seems to have got into working order. 'Inquisition' was made after rogues and vagabonds and those who relieved them. Cases of poor and impotent persons were reported to the justices by the churchwardens and overseers, who stated what was done to relieve them, and also how a town 'stock' was raised for setting them to work and for apprenticing poor children.¹⁹⁰

To find work was difficult except in the neighbourhood of the mines. Agricultural work was usually done by the families of the husbandmen themselves, who objected to taking apprentices 'for want' when they also were poor, and the difficulty must have been increased when, as was reported in 1634, the apprentices ran away, or, being encouraged by their parents, behaved so ill that their masters were very unwilling that they should serve out their term.¹⁹¹ Further, the magistrates complained of the desolation of the country, owing to the inclosures ('there be few habitations among us that live in the

¹⁸⁶ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxi, 10.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. clxxxix, 12.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Chas. I, x, 61.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. cxcciii, 79.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. clxxxvii, 28.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. cclxxii, 40.

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champaign'), and of the improvident marriages of the servants, who in numbers far exceeded their masters.¹⁹²

Despite all difficulties the little townships in Nottinghamshire seem to have set themselves energetically to their problem: a report of the action taken in Bassetlaw in 1636 shows that the majority of the townships there had raised a 'town stock,' and were busily apprenticing children, relieving the aged, and setting the able-bodied to work. The town stock was in part raised by local rating, but it also included money lent or given for the purpose. The relief was differently administered; sometimes weekly, sometimes monthly, occasionally yearly. It was very various in amount: 40s. yearly was perhaps the largest sum given to one individual; 2d., 4d., or 6d. a week were common amounts. Occasionally coats or food were given instead of, or with, the money. Children too young to be apprenticed were put in the care of old people needing relief, or left with their parents. How adults were set to work is not clear. Possibly the smaller communities in the county followed the example of Nottingham, where a few years later (1649) twelve spinning wheels were bought and £20 was lent by the town to a certain William James; and he was further allowed 22s. 6d. a quarter to set all the willing poor to use the said wheels at certain fixed rates. An overseer was appointed to receive complaints, and, oddly enough, no work was to be begun until summer.¹⁹³ Twelve years later flax was bought to set the poor people to work, and this plan was pursued through the closing years of the 17th century.¹⁹⁴ Land was also bought by Nottingham town in 1658 to set the poor to work.¹⁹⁵ In one or two places mentioned in the report of 1635-6 the town stock was devoted to building houses for the reception of the poor, but this was rare. On the whole, as might be expected in a small community, the relief seems to have been given much more individually and on a much less definite system than was possible in later times. Vagrants under such an arrangement were of necessity severely dealt with, punished and sent back whence they came.¹⁹⁶ This led to friction between the parishes, as appears from Mrs. Hutchinson's story of the dispute of the three parishes of Kinoulton, Hickling, and Owthorpe about a cripple who was sent from one to another.¹⁹⁷ But the mere fact of such an occurrence in 1659 shows that the administration of the Poor Law must have early got into this rough working order; otherwise it would hardly have continued in vigour when the Civil War had so effectually diverted the attention of the gentry and landowners who had been at the head of local administration.

The burden of the Civil War fell with peculiar force on Nottinghamshire. Not only was it the scene of the opening of the war, but the town of Newark and the castle of Nottingham both underwent prolonged sieges. Further, the bulk of the country gentry in Nottinghamshire, who, as has been shown, had filled very definite places as leaders of the county, were, with few exceptions, on the side of the king, and to a considerable extent the yeomanry appear to have followed them. The list of estates which were sequestrated, or for which their owners compounded, did not only include

¹⁹² S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cxciiii, 79.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 309, 311, &c.

¹⁹⁶ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccxxix, 63, &c. Also see the *Early Hist. of Engl. Poor Relief*, by Miss E. M. Leonard.

¹⁹⁷ *Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (ed. 1906), 314.

¹⁹³ *Rec. of Borough of Nott.* v, 259.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 296.

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the lands of such men as Sir Gervase Clifton, of a capital value of £22,875 ; they also comprised possessions like those of John Bingham of Hayton, who owned two messuages and appurtenances worth £22 a year, household goods valued at £10 16s., and live stock of the value of £19 10s.¹⁹⁸ Altogether the estates of about seventy-four persons were sequestrated by 1648,¹⁹⁹ and various others were seized later as belonging to recusants or to Royalist conspirators.²⁰⁰ Of the seventy-four, a considerable number were below £500 in capital value, a circumstance which shows how widespread were the results of the war.

A considerable proportion of the estates thus forfeited belonged to the inhabitants of Newark, or to persons who had taken refuge there previous to the siege, and they afford opportunity for such a comparison of the possessions of burgesses with yeomen as serves to suggest how much greater were the comforts enjoyed by the former. Thus, a butcher and an apothecary of Newark own each £40 of household goods,²⁰¹ while two husbandmen, apparently no poorer than the burghers, own personalty to the value, the one only of £20, the other of £24. The contrast, however, does not imply any strong line of demarcation between landowners and citizens. The burghers of Newark, like those of Nottingham, were frequently landowners. Christopher Haslam, servant to an ironmonger,²⁰² was the owner of lands both in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire : and the combination of tradesman and landowner seems to have been common. To these lesser land-holders, however, the shock of the war must have been especially serious : and not only landlords but tenants suffered. The Calendars of the Committee for Compounding give various instances of tenants who declared that they and their forefathers had been on the land for generations, and were now disturbed or ousted by the new landlords.²⁰³ Complaints occur also of cattle-driving and other oppressions.²⁰⁴

Further, the plague, which had been hanging about Nottinghamshire all the century, was intensified by the evils of the war. It raged especially at Newark, which had probably been overcrowded during the siege. A thousand persons were said to have been swept away there during the last six months of 1646.²⁰⁵ Hence a report in 1650 that Nottinghamshire was in a 'ruinous condition' ²⁰⁶ was not surprising. Nor even after the Civil War was the county free from depressing influences. Various Nottinghamshire gentlemen (including Colonel Hutchinson) were believed to be involved in the rising of 1663-4, and the plague had laid so firm a hold of the county that after sweeping away one-third of the population of Newark in 1665,²⁰⁷ it revived again in 1667, the last occasion, it is said, on which it appeared in England.²⁰⁸

Despite all these drawbacks, Nottinghamshire seems to have recovered in some degree from the poverty into which it had fallen previous to 1650. A certain suspension of industry there must have been during the Civil War, especially in mining, to judge from the statement in 1663 that the coal mines

¹⁹⁸ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 1717.

²⁰¹ *Com. for Compounding*, vol. ccxvi, 175-91.

²⁰³ e.g. at Littleborough and Shelford, *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 2579, &c.

²⁰⁴ e.g. at Misterton and Gringley, 1644 ; *Com. for Advance of Money*, 537.

²⁰⁶ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 1335.

²⁰⁷ W. D. Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, ii, 215.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 107-8.

²⁰² *Ibid.* vol. G, 201 (261).

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 741-2.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 342.

²⁰⁵ C. Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, i, 691.

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in Peveril Honour were quite 'decayed.'²⁰⁹ They were, however, leased at a low rent (£50) and set to work again. Perhaps the disorganization and slackness of trade appear in the difficulties experienced by the persons set to cut wood in Sherwood Forest for the supply of the navy. Writing from Ollerton, the government agent complained bitterly of the difficulty of transporting the timber. Carts were scarce, carters 'sluggish,' nor was transport by water easier. There was only one ship at Stockwith fit for the work in 1662-3:²¹⁰ a year later two great ketches were in use; but there was a difficulty in getting men to work these as the watermen objected to leaving their own county for fear of being pressed.²¹¹

Despite this laxity, however, Nottinghamshire steadily gained ground during the comparatively quiet period following the Restoration. By the end of the century the Hearth-money Rolls show that Nottinghamshire had risen to the twenty-fourth place among English counties; though the number of houses (17,818, or one house to 29 acres) suggests that the population was still scattered.²¹² The description of the county in the diary of Celia Fiennes also gives an impression of prosperity. She commented on the good stone-built houses to be seen, not only in the towns, but along the banks of the Trent between Newark and Nottingham. North of Nottingham the little towns were built of brick, though Mansfield, 'a little market town,' was built of stone. Many slight traces of luxury and comfort are also noted, such as the 'Piazy' in Nottingham, or the 'sashed' windows at the great house at Blyth. The fertility of the land round Nottingham excited her admiration. 'The Green Meadows with the fine Corrn-ffields which seem to bring forth in handfulls. They soe most of Barley and have great Encrease.' The barley was no doubt the source of the Nottingham ales of which Celia Fiennes speaks. These were famous for long afterwards; and were frequently sold by the yard. Other industries mentioned by Celia Fiennes were the weaving and dyeing of 'Tammys' at Mansfield, the spinning of glass, and making of buttons in Nottingham itself; and the weaving of stockings.²¹³ She speaks of this manufacture as if confined to Nottingham town; but it is probable that it was beginning to spread through the villages. In 1669 there are said to have been under a hundred stocking frames in Nottinghamshire; in 1714 they had increased to four hundred,²¹⁴ and since as late as 1751 Deering mentions only fifty frame-work knitters in Nottingham town,²¹⁵ it is probable that the industry had spread through the adjacent villages before the close of the 17th century. As a domestic industry, in which both women and children could take part, stocking-weaving was well suited to a country of small occupiers such as Nottinghamshire appears still to have been. The details of the Duke of Newcastle's rent-roll during the 18th century distinctly suggest that in the earlier part of the century his tenants held small farms. At Sutton Bonnington in 1738 four tenants paid altogether £31; at Brinsley fifteen paid £145; at Basford twenty-one paid £202 12s.; at Hucknall, four paid rather over £19, and these rents continued without alteration till 1764.²¹⁶ At Colston Basset, in 1710, rents seem to be high, varying from about 11s. 5d,

²⁰⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1663-4, p. 160; 1665-6, p. 168.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* 1664-5, p. 213.

²¹³ Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the time of William and Mary*, being the diary of C. F. ed. by the Hon. Mrs. Griffith.

²¹⁵ Deering, *Vetus Nottinghamia*, 95.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1663-4, p. 166.

²¹² Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, v, 121.

²¹⁴ W. Felkin, *Account of the Machine-wrought Hosiery Trade*,

²¹⁶ Add. MSS. 33165.

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to 15s. 1d. per acre ; yet fifteen years later, a period during which it is not stated that there was a decline in rents, thirty-one tenants and cottagers paid altogether only about £1,040 11s. 8d.,²¹⁷ a sum suggesting that many of the holdings must have been well under 50 acres.

Prices, too, seem as usual to have been low ; so that except where the farmer could actually live on the produce of his land he would probably have a hard struggle. In 1736-7 malt seems to have varied from 4s. to 3s. 9d. a strike (or bushel) at Colston Basset ; oats were 8s. 6d. and 10s. a quarter ; while sheep seem to have varied from about 11s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. On the other hand, cows ranged up to £5 16s. 6d., and two Colston Basset oxen were sold in London for £15 1s. 7d.²¹⁸

At a later date, and in other parts of Nottinghamshire, the prices of corn increased ; at Kirkby in 1769-71 oats were 12s. and 17s., and barley 26s. 6d. a quarter ;²¹⁹ but even these prices could not be considered high. At the same time that arable farming seems to have been depressed, the progress of agriculture, as is well known, was rendering stock farming more profitable, and was tending towards the creation of larger and larger farms. In Arthur Young's *Northern Tour* he lamented over the small farms held at a rental from £20 to £70 round Worksop and Welbeck and advised the laying of four or five together. He attributed the low rents in that neighbourhood (4s. to 8s. an acre) entirely to the existence of these small farms, and he made similar complaints of farms round Newark, usually rented at 10s. an acre, while round Tuxford the rents were higher, 15s. an acre.²²⁰ That the landowners should consult their own interest, and let large in preference to small farms, was only to be expected ; and before the date of the *Tour* the process had probably begun, to judge by the rent-roll of the Duke of Newcastle before quoted. In 1764 the rents, stationary since 1738, began to increase, and the number of tenants to decrease ; the obvious inference being that the estates were divided into larger holdings.

The causes which made large farms profitable also gave a fresh impetus to the movement for inclosures. As has been seen this movement had been active during the 17th century, and it was continued in the 18th. Instances appear in the licence by Charles II in 1661 to empark 1,200 acres at Annesley ;²²¹ and in the inclosure of the Newark lands in 1700 despite the remonstrances of many of the burghers.²²²

With the 18th century, however, the great inclosure period in Nottinghamshire begins. All through the latter half of the century inclosures were going on rapidly. In Carlton in Lindrick alone 2,492 acres were inclosed in 1767,²²³ nearly the same amount as the total inclosures in all Nottinghamshire in the beginning of the 16th century. In Kirkby, about 1765, 3,700 acres of common, 1,985 acres of forest, and 23 acres of 'lanes' were to be inclosed ; in this case the principal landholder, and the person therefore to reap the greatest profit, was the Duke of Newcastle.²²⁴

Frequently, though by no means invariably, these inclosures meant the conversion of arable to pasture. Between 1761 and 1799 the acreage under

²¹⁷ Add. MSS. 22252.

²¹⁹ Ibid. 18552, fol. 23, 26.

²²¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1661-2, p. 35.

²²³ G. Slater, *The Engl. Peasantry and the Inclosure of the Common Fields*, 127.

²²⁴ Add. MSS. 18552.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²²⁰ A. Young, *Northern Tour*, i, 97-100, 319-28.

²²² W. D. Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, ii, 214-18.

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wheat in Nottinghamshire is estimated to have decreased by 1,823 acres.²²⁵ Altogether from 1759 to 1800, 112,880 acres are said to have been inclosed, and the inclosures continued during the 19th century; 18,596 acres were inclosed between 1802 and 1826; and 3,269 acres by the general Inclosure Act of 1845.²²⁶ These inclosures were of necessity more favourable to the great landowner than to the small one. The apportionment of the land inclosed was according to the interest which each freeholder possessed in the common: and the common rights, above all the rights of pasture, were naturally of the greatest importance to the poor man with few beasts and but little capital. Hence it might well happen that his fractional share of the inclosed land did not compensate him; nor would the inclosure by Parliament be likely to be enacted at the wish, or on the initiative, of the small freeholders, whose powers of influencing legislation were small.

In the 17th century, as has been pointed out, the small *illegal* inclosures were often for the benefit of the small farmer; and may have taken place in defiance of the lord of the manor.²²⁷ The latter's opposition at least tended to equalize the chances of the small and the great freeholders. But in the inclosures by enactment during the 18th century, the interests of the great freeholders were chiefly considered. Thus at the end of the 18th century 1,100 acres of waste and common were inclosed at Normanton on Soar; of these about 240 acres went to the rector of the parish, and 520 to another local magnate; while the remainder (except such as was needed for laying out new roads) was divided among eleven other persons, in portions varying from 1 acre to 88 acres.²²⁸

Hence the whole trend of the time was towards the elimination of the small tenant and the small freeholder, while the agricultural labourer probably suffered from the diminution in the number of his employers, and of the necessity for his services.

Wages, indeed, appear to have been low from the beginning of the 18th century. In 1724 at a magistrates' meeting at Rufford the wages were settled as follows:—For farm servants (presumably living in the house) from £5 for the head man to £3 for a youth between sixteen and twenty; while maidservants were to be paid £2 and £1. Day labourers were to receive 8*d.* a day in summer and 6*d.* in winter without food; or half these sums with food. These wages were, if anything, a trifle lower than they had been a hundred years before. Drivers of hay carts got 6*d.* with food, or 1*s.* without; so did haymakers, or half that sum if they were women. Mowers received 8*d.* with food, or 1*s.* without; women helpers at corn harvest got 4*d.* with food, or 8*d.* without. A summer day's work lasted from six in the morning to six at night with two hours allowed for meals; every additional hour of rest meant the abatement of 1*d.* from the wages. In winter (from September to March) the work lasted from dawn to dusk. That these terms were not altogether acceptable appears from the regulations for enforcing them in the same document. A workman who left his work unfinished for any reason but that of not receiving his wages was to be imprisoned for a month. All hiring of servants was to take place at the 'statutes,' which the constables

²²⁵ G. Slater, *The Engl. Peasantry and the Inclosure of the Common Fields*, 108.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* 227–8.

²²⁷ Dr. Slater suggests that where no inclosures occur in the 18th century, it is probably because the lord of the manor had opposed them.

²²⁸ Add. MSS. 35228.

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were to see duly held in every district on the 16th and 26th of October. To prevent servants from going from one 'statute' to another and hiring themselves first to one person and then to another (which seems to have been a common practice), the constables were to keep a list of the names of those hired at the 'statutes.' Finally, persons under twenty years of age coming to be hired were to enter their ages in the constable's book, and bring a certificate of their birth with them.²²⁹

Such regulations suggest a constant attempt to evade the orders of the justices, which is highly probable in view of the rates fixed. These improve a little as the century goes on. In 1739 at Colston Basset, a dairymaid (a skilled worker, the demand for whose skill grew with the increase of pasture) received £6 10s. a year.²³⁰ A gardener at the same place and the same time, however, receives only £5 a year. Ordinary agricultural wages also advanced slightly. In 1775 haymakers and harvesters received 1s. a day with board; ordinary winter wages sometimes rose to 8d.; mowing varied from 1s. to 1s. 6d.; and ditchers got 1s. a day.

Improved as these wages were, they were still small at a period when a labourer's cottage was rented at 15s. a year without land, or 25s. a year with, whilst his firing seems to have cost him from 20s. to 30s. a year.²³¹ Fortunately the labourers' other expenses were probably low: butter between 1770 and 1780 seems to have been about 6d. per lb., beef 3½d. to 4d., cheese 4d., mutton 3d., candles 6d. or 6½d.; while wheat, as has been shown, was cheap. The improved condition of the agricultural labourers which these figures suggest was however a development of the third quarter of the 18th century; and was perhaps partly a result of the general growth of trade and industry which marked the preceding period.

Coal-mining and the distribution of coal remained as before an important factor of Nottinghamshire life. In 1751 coal was given as the most important item among Nottinghamshire exports:²³² a local means of distribution was by loaded asses,²³⁴ as well as by coal carts, until the opening of the canal from Chesterfield to Stockwith in 1774 diminished this traffic. In 1795 a canal was opened at Sawley which passed through the mining district of Wollaton. Curiously enough, this was followed after an interval by a rise in the price of coal, a fact discouraging to water-traffic.²³⁵

Other articles which were exported from Nottinghamshire in 1751, chiefly by way of the Trent, were lead, timber, wool, corn, pottery, and cheese from Cheshire and Warwickshire.²³⁶ The trade in this last article seems to have been important. It was a stage in the conveyance of the produce of the west midlands to London: and considerable anxiety was aroused by a stoppage in the trade owing to serious riots in Nottinghamshire in 1766.²³⁷ Nottinghamshire ale was also a staple export; Newark beer being sent as far as Russia in 1786.²³⁸

The general increase of trade in 1751 appears in the fact that Nottingham tradesmen no longer laid in a stock of goods at Lenton Fair, but went to

²²⁹ Nott. SS. Rates and Proportions of Wages for Artificers, &c. (1724).

²³⁰ Add. MSS. 22252.

²³¹ A. Young, *Northern Tour*, i, 94-101.

²³² Deering, *Vetus Nottinghamia*, 92.

²³⁴ Add. MSS. 18552.

²³⁵ J. Holland, *Hist. of Worksop*, 146-7 n.

²³⁶ Deering, *Vetus Nottinghamia*, Sec. 5.

²³⁷ 1766, *Home Office Papers*, no. 321.

²³⁸ Blackner, *Hist. of Notts.* 137.

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London for their supplies ;²³⁹ whilst from Nottingham itself nine carriers departed weekly, plying not only between the city and the neighbouring counties, but going also to Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, and London.²⁴⁰ Small local industries, such as basket-making²⁴¹ and the cultivation of liquorice,²⁴² sprang up in a way which suggested a community alert and resourceful, prepared to make the best of its opportunities, but the great industry which was beginning to absorb most of the energies of Nottinghamshire was, of course, stocking-weaving.

In its earlier stages, this trade must have been exceedingly profitable. In Anne's reign 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d. a day were said to be the average wages throughout England earned by a workman making plain hosiery. On the whole, the workmen outside London, working only four days a week, could earn about 10s.²⁴³ In a county like Nottingham, peopled by small holders, beginning to have a hard struggle for existence, a home industry producing such brilliant results naturally spread fast and far. There were, however, serious drawbacks : the hire or purchase of the frames was a heavy expense, and the necessity for a long apprenticeship naturally checked the influx of workers.

The question of apprenticeship had always been a difficult one in this trade. The London Company (which was invariably at feud with the Nottingham hosiers) objected as early as 1641 to the introduction of non-apprenticed hands in Nottingham. In 1710 two manufacturers, Cartwright and Fellowes, removed from London to Nottingham, one with twenty-three, the other with forty-nine apprentices. The London Company attempted to crush the manufacture ; but the decision went against them. The industry was fairly established in Nottinghamshire, and the complaint now was that the apprentices were growing too numerous ; a statement which shows the Nottinghamshire opinion of the benefits of the trade. One man invariably had twenty-five. The parishes saw a chance of relieving themselves of a burden, and offered £5 a piece to apprentice pauper children. Meantime the general trade increased rapidly ; by 1750 the number of frames in Nottinghamshire had risen to 1,500.²⁴⁴

Nor were stockings the only articles made : fancy articles, mittens, gloves, and so forth, were woven ; and wages for this skilled and complex work ranged from 5s. to 6s. a day in the early 18th century.²⁴⁵ These times of brilliant prosperity, however, could not last. The increase of workers seems to have outstripped the increase of trade. Already between 1740 and 1750 complaints were heard of a fall in wages.²⁴⁶ In 1745 the London Company obtained another charter whereby a seven years' apprenticeship was necessary before working, and frames were to be hired from none but members of the company. Though the Nottingham employers and county gentlemen complained loudly of this, the journeymen, probably desirous of seeing their competitors restricted, supported the company.²⁴⁷ The number of apprentices and unskilled workers continued, however, to increase, and wages appear to have decreased. The 'stockinners,' impatient of this

²³⁹ Deering, *Vetus Nottinghamia*, Sec. 5.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufacture*, 72.

²⁴³ Ibid. 73, 75, 76.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. 82.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴² J. Holland, *Hist. of Workshop*, 6.

²⁴³ Ibid. 82, 3.

²⁴⁷ Ibid. 76-81.

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declension, demanded that Parliament should fix a minimum wage, and signalized the rejection of the Bill by riots in which 300 frames were broken.²⁴⁸

Despite these complaints, however, the condition of the workers must have long been prosperous. Felkin gives the case of a man born in 1745, and apprenticed in 1755. He worked for ten hours a day, five days a week, passed from the condition of apprentice to that of journeyman, when he boarded with his master, receiving food, lodging, and washing; and eventually, having served out his time and married, he prospered sufficiently to be able, in 1783, to build for himself a small house, to which the lord of the manor added garden ground, and he continued to be able to maintain himself and his family in reasonable comfort during the period of high prices which ensued.²⁴⁹

This man, however, had apparently the advantage of being apprenticed before the apprenticeship system had reached its worst; what that system might be in Nottinghamshire appears in the case of another 'stockinner,' in Kirkby, in 1783. This man must have been apprenticed at about nine years of age. He remained an apprentice for fourteen years. He was bound first to a joiner, who subsequently transferred him to a weaver, who in his turn transferred him for four and a half guineas to a soldier. That under these circumstances the apprentice should have thoroughly learned his trade could hardly be expected; therefore it is not remarkable that, though he appeared to be an intelligent man of good character (able to read, and a church-goer), his earnings were small. He could make half a dozen pairs of stockings a week at 1s. 6d. a pair, out of which he had to pay 1s. or 10d. for frame-rent, 3½d. for footing, and 1d. for seaming.²⁵⁰

Such a declension from the high wages of the early part of the century sufficiently explains the unrest among the workpeople, even supposing the skill of the worker to have been in this instance below the average; while the possible success of the competent workman, as instanced in the previous case, shows how easily that unrest might have been looked on as unreasonable, especially among the hosiers, who conceived that these efforts at regulation might drive the trade to France.²⁵¹ The contest continued, accompanied by riots, for another ten years; then in 1787 a list of wages was agreed on, which lasted for twenty years, till broken down by the decline of trade consequent on the French War.²⁵²

For the fall of wages previous to 1777, which had been the cause of these troubles, there was another reason besides the over-flooding of the labour market, and the natural reaction after a too prosperous beginning. The progress of invention was for the time being making against the worker.

From early days Nottinghamshire is said to have been famous for smiths' work, though direct evidence for local work of the kind is scanty. With the increase of stocking-making, however, the old industry revived in a new form, and stocking frames became an important Nottinghamshire manufacture. In 1751, Deering's list shows thirty-four craftsmen in Nottingham in some way

²⁴⁸ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufacture*, 229 et seq, 116, 117.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 451 et seq.

²⁵¹ Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery*, &c. 117.

²⁵⁰ Add. MSS. 18552.

²⁵² *Ibid.* 230.

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concerned in the making of stocking frames.²⁵⁵ To Nottingham, therefore, came the inventors and improvers, such as Strutt and Arkwright. They found followers on every hand, and the ensuing hundred years is the great inventive period for Nottinghamshire. The result was necessarily a temporary decrease in the demand for labour in industries where machines were replacing hand-work. The numerous inventions of Arkwright and Strutt and lesser mechanics altered the conditions of every textile industry in the country. In Nottinghamshire itself a fever of energy and unrest seemed to possess the population. From 1764 to 1852 about one hundred and seventeen persons in Nottinghamshire obtained patents for over two hundred inventions, and though such inventions were essentially labour-saving in their character, yet more than a third of the number of inventors were themselves artisans, not only frame-smiths, but stockinners and weavers. Stocking-weaving was being supplemented by engineering as a Nottinghamshire industry.²⁵⁴

Another industry was springing up also; that of cotton-spinning; in 1786 coarse linen and sail cloth were woven at Newark,²⁵⁵ and in 1801 there were various cotton mills at Mansfield, one employing about a hundred and sixty hands.²⁵⁶ But a far more important manufacture then coming into existence was that of lace-making. The gradual adaptation of the principle of the stocking frame to the purpose of lace-making was proceeding all through the latter half of the 18th century. From 1760 onwards improvements were constantly made on the adapted frame,²⁵⁷ and from 1775 to 1852 no less than eighty-eight patents were taken out for improvements or modifications of lace machines.²⁵⁸

Both the making and the using of lace machines quickly spread throughout Nottinghamshire. In 1777 the first 'square-net' frame was set up in Nottingham. In 1790 200 lace frames were manufactured; and their export to France, Spain, Italy, and Germany had begun. In 1810 15,000 hands (men, women, and children) were said to be employed in the making of point net alone.²⁵⁹

Unhappily, there are few trades more subject to the caprices of fashion than that of lace-making. Not only did the demand for lace vary enormously, but the demand for different kinds of lace varied also, and as these different varieties of lace required that the machines on which they were woven should be variously constructed, a change of taste and fashion would frequently ruin lace-maker and machine-maker alike. Thus the point-lace frames so widely used in 1810 had entirely ceased working by the end of 1828,²⁶⁰ and warp-lace frames, also much used in 1810, had vanished by 1819.²⁶¹

This characteristic of the lace trade, which had taken so great a hold on Nottinghamshire, encouraged a spirit of speculation among the people. In the early days of the manufacture wages were exceedingly good. Four guineas a week was earned by workers at the warp-lace frames in 1810; £10 by makers of silk blonds in 1807.²⁶² But in a trade so uncertain, these

²⁵⁵ Deering, *Vetus Nottinghamia*, 95.

²⁵⁴ The above details were obtained from an MS. list of Nottinghamshire patents kindly lent to the writer by Mr. Prosser of H.M. Patent Office.

²⁵⁶ W. D. Rastall, *Hist. of Southwell*, ii, 138.

²⁵⁵ W. Harrod, *Hist. of Mansfield*, pt. ii, 5, 6.

²⁵⁷ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.*, 133 et seq.

²⁵⁸ Mr. Prosser's list.

²⁵⁹ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.*, 134-9.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 139-40.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* 149.

²⁶² *Ibid.* 147-9.

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occasional high wages could bring little permanent prosperity, especially at a time when the staple industry of Nottinghamshire, the stocking-weaving, was in a state of depression.

How important the stocking trade was appeared in the fact that 12,950 frames were said to be at work in 1812, despite the distress that prevailed. This distress was severe. The commercial crisis of 1797 had caused the stoppage of many frames,²⁶³ and the high prices induced by the war had been felt in Nottinghamshire as elsewhere. In 1801 the average price of wheat all over the country was 129s. 8d., and of barley 69s. 7d., and though prices sank for a time, yet the influence of the war and of bad harvests had raised the price of wheat again in 1808 to 90s. a quarter.²⁶⁴ In 1812 it was 108s.²⁶⁵ As usual, wages lagged far behind prices; the stockinners of Nottingham received only about 7s. a week,²⁶⁶ while the conditions of stocking-making were said to be unhealthy in the extreme.

The distress was intensified by a severe outbreak of smallpox. This disease, which is said to have been a frequent complaint in Nottinghamshire during the 18th century, broke out into a violent epidemic in the years 1807-8.²⁶⁷ But despite this scourge, and despite the scarcity both of work and food, the population was steadily increasing: in 1801 it numbered a trifle over 140,000; in 1811, 162,000.²⁶⁸ Hence the pressure of poverty was yearly increasing; and combined as it was with the recollection of past prosperity it served to excite the working classes to violence.

From the beginning of the French war there had been a recurrence of outbreaks: in 1791 there had been a riot by the 'stockinners': in 1795 a bread riot occurred, and again in 1800.²⁶⁹ During the next decade the hostility to the machines was growing. As early as 1788 the government had endeavoured to check it by an Act making frame-breaking punishable by transportation. But the Act proved ineffective to protect the machines; and coupled with the popular hatred of them was the desire to keep down the number of the workers. In 1805 a man was prosecuted for working himself at the stocking frame and teaching others without having been apprenticed.²⁷⁰ What the Association of Framework Knitters endeavoured to do by law, the Luddites²⁷¹ tried to effect by force. In one of the earliest outbreaks of these famous rioters in 1811, they smashed a set of frames at Kimberley on the pretext that their owners had worked at the trade without being apprenticed. Frames were also destroyed during this year and the next at Arnold, Bulwell, Lambley,²⁷² and elsewhere to the number of about 624, and the Luddites are said to have terrorized the neighbourhood. A committee was formed in Nottingham, with a fund of £2,000, to check them, and a statute was passed (which was repealed two years later) making frame-breaking punishable with death. Neither course was effectual. The Luddites could neither be terrorized nor bribed, and they expressed their

²⁶³ Blackner, *Hist. of Notts.* 392.

²⁶⁴ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.*, 231-4.

²⁶⁵ T. Tooke, *Hist. of Prices*, i, 237.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 231.

²⁶⁷ The practice of inoculation, then novel, was used during this epidemic by Dr. Attenburrow—an early instance of its being tried on a large scale. It was believed to be successful. *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, iv, 422; J. Clark, *Medical Report for Nottingham*.

²⁶⁸ *Official Census Tables*, 1861.

²⁶⁹ Blackner, *Hist. of Nott.* 385, 395.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 217.

²⁷¹ The name 'Luddite' was said to be taken from that of a certain 'Ned Lud,' a Leicestershire framework knitter, who smashed his father's frame instead of working it.

²⁷² J. Russell, 'The Luddites' (*Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x).

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opinion of the Nottingham committee and its action pretty forcibly in a proclamation in which they menaced death to anyone who gave information concerning their doings, and suggested that the members of the committee in question were only fit for the house on Sneinton Fields, i.e. the madhouse.²⁷⁴

The Luddites themselves were said to be organized into four gangs and directed by a committee, and this committee was said to hire men to destroy the frames. If this was the case the loyalty of the rioters to each other was the more remarkable.

For the next few years food riots and frame-breaking riots occurred with monotonous frequency. It is probable that these disturbances may have been connected with the rising in 1817 under Jeremiah Brandreth, "the Nottingham captain," though the character of that attempt was probably mainly political. At any rate, the Luddites ceased to be formidable about that time, in consequence, according to Mr. Felkin, of the execution of one of their number in 1816.²⁷⁵ That so long a period should have passed before a conviction was secured is perhaps in itself a proof of the popular sympathy with the movement. From this time onward, though riots were frequent, they were generally either simple bread riots or else they assumed a political character. Nottinghamshire sent a contingent to Peterloo, and the Reform movement convulsed the county; but the epidemic of frame-breaking was abated.

The misery of the time was probably enhanced by the maladministration of the Poor Law, which was, however, perhaps less mischievous in Nottinghamshire than in many other places. To some extent parish help may have been less needed; benefit clubs and sick clubs were common in the county. Eighty pounds of club money was lent out in Kirkby in 1772-4,²⁷⁶ and in 1794 fifty-six clubs joined in an annual procession at Nottingham.²⁷⁷

The practice of apprenticing poor children was in itself an evil; it had resulted in supplying employers with labourers over whom their power was almost absolute and for whom they were responsible to no one.²⁷⁸ Apart from this, however, there appears previous to the French war to have been a certain effort to give relief by setting the applicants to work. At Collingham, for instance, flax was bought for the pauper women to spin, weave, and make up into garments. In 1783-5 money was expended in setting the poor to work in about a hundred and twenty-two parishes. These efforts must have been slight, however, since only about £479 out of £21,520 raised by the poor rate was annually expended in the process. This, however, was an improvement on the state of things in 1776, when only about £68 was so expended.²⁷⁹ The increase of distress, however, made the plan of setting the poor to work less and less practicable, and many parishes adopted the plan of paying a rate in aid of wages. Relief was also given according to the number of children possessed by the applicant, and in many cases cottages belonging to the town were assigned to the paupers for their dwellings.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁴ J. Russell, 'The Luddites' (*Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x).

²⁷⁵ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.* 238.

²⁷⁶ Add. MSS. 18552.

²⁷⁷ S. and B. Webb, *Hist. of Trade Unionism*, 23.

²⁷⁸ This was specially the case with the 'London apprentices,' pauper children who were brought from London and bound to the Nottingham manufacturers, and who were of course completely without friends.

²⁷⁹ *Returns of the Overseers of the Poor in 1783-5.*

²⁸⁰ *Report of the Poor Law Commission*, 210.

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The usual result ensued, distress increased greatly. In 1812 half the population of the three parishes of Nottingham were on the rates.²⁸¹ In 1807 it had been suggested that the Corporation of Nottingham should erect a House of Industry for the Poor for 12 miles round, but this was defeated by the strong local opposition.²⁸²

Meantime, full advantage was taken of the rate in aid of wages. Frame-work knitting was the chief industry in the cottages for about twenty miles round Nottingham. The 'stockinners' rented these frames for 1s. a week from the manufacturers, who employed them and paid them wages. The manufacturers lowered the wages to about 6s. per week, for instance, and gave the workmen a certificate to that effect; the workpeople, who lived outside the employers' parishes, applied to their own overseer for relief and showed the certificate, whereon the overseers made up the deficit by a grant of 4s. or 5s. weekly. At Southwell false certificates were sometimes given, so that larger sums might be claimed.²⁸³ That such a system greatly increased the fluctuations in wages appeared from their steadiness where these regulations were not adopted. At Thurgarton, for example, wages were not tampered with nor partial relief given for the forty years previous to 1834,²⁸⁴ with the result that all through that critical period wages remained steady in amount, though they gradually increased in purchasing power.

Yet more interesting instances of Poor Law administration occurred at Southwell and at Bingham. In both these parishes the rate in aid of wages and the payment per child had at one time been adopted. In Southwell certain cottages had also been devoted to the use of paupers and exempted from assessment, but both parishes had discovered the evil effects of the system and had relinquished it, Bingham in 1818, Southwell in 1822. In Southwell a workhouse had been erected, where the aged and impotent were maintained, well fed, and clothed, though under considerable restrictions.²⁸⁵ Drinking and smoking were forbidden, the sexes were separated, and the inmates not allowed to see visitors. Able-bodied paupers were also maintained and set to work with the best results. 'Violent young paupers who came in swearing they would beat the parish,' on being set to stone-breaking, discovered that they preferred working for themselves, and departed. In 1834 the inmates of the workhouse had sunk to eleven.²⁸⁶ Crime, immorality, and improvident marriages had all diminished, and the people themselves approved the change, with the exception of the alehouse keepers. Before the reform, violence towards local authorities had been common. The overseers had sometimes been assaulted, and it had been feared that an outbreak would follow the introduction of the new system.²⁸⁷ No such consequences, however, ensued, and before long the authorities, by one judicious step, had made the people their allies. The town cottages were no longer utilized for the paupers, and they and every other tenement in the place were assessed. In a community as small as Southwell the result was a sudden development of public spirit; the cottagers, proud of being rated, put their rate certificates in their windows, and watched most

²⁸¹ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery*, &c. 231.

²⁸² *Report of the Poor Law Commission*, 1831 (1894 ed.), 65.

²⁸³ *Ibid.* 45.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 189, 190.

²⁸⁵ Blackner, *Hist. of Notts.* 399.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 196, 199.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 203.

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carefully to see that the funds to which they contributed should not be squandered on unworthy objects.²⁸⁸

At Bingham a similar effect was produced by somewhat different means. The authorities took upon themselves the entire support of applicants for relief and their families, but insisted on their working at appointed tasks. Such work was not arranged with a view to profit; the chief object was that it should be somewhat more irksome than was the case with ordinary labour.²⁸⁹ In this parish also applicants for relief diminished, those desiring outdoor relief from seventy-eight to twenty-seven, and those in the work-house from forty-five to twelve.²⁹⁰ And whereas previous to the regulation 'scarce a night had passed without mischief,' subsequently disturbances almost ceased; while—a circumstance not recorded of Southwell—ordinary wages had greatly improved.²⁹¹

Such results certainly seemed to imply that one great source of evil was removed by the introduction of the new Poor Law; but the state of Nottinghamshire for the next thirty years was far from satisfactory. The increase of population already noted had continued; it rose 15 per cent. in the decade from 1811 to 1821, and 21 per cent. between 1821 and 1831.²⁹² Thus at the latter date there were 225,327 persons, comprised in 47,117 families, in Nottinghamshire. About one quarter of the whole population lived in Nottingham town. How great a preponderance industrialism had now gained over agriculture appears in the fact that nearly twice as many families were employed in trade and manufacture as in agriculture.²⁹³ Under these conditions the money panic of 1837 seriously affected the condition of the people. Perhaps the best proof of the depression which marks the period is the fact that though the population increased between 1830 and 1840, the number of persons engaged in trade and manufactures actually decreased. In especial the ever fluctuating lace trade²⁹⁴ was affected. Not only in Nottingham itself, but in the villages round about—Bassford, Beeston, Radford²⁹⁵—lace-making was an important industry, and the suffering was intense. In 1837–8 thousands of families were thrown out of employment,²⁹⁶ and the wages of workmen remaining in work were reduced 30 per cent., and in some trades much more; so that, whereas 30s. had been a low wage for a man in the bobbin-net trade in 1824, twenty years later 12s. was not uncommon.²⁹⁷

For these evils numerous remedies were suggested, statutory and otherwise—wages boards, a minimum wage, the limitation of output, the prohibition of the export of lace machinery. This last suggestion was fiercely combated by the machine-makers, who, as has been pointed out, were an important class. Their export trade had been prohibited ever since the reign of William and Mary, but licences to trade had been frequently given, and when these were not obtainable the machine-makers proved very successful in smuggling their goods. This species of commerce the lace manufacturers (themselves very successful in smuggling in their own trade) attacked energetically. A committee was formed in Nottingham and a

²⁸⁸ *Report of the Poor Law Commission*, 1831 (1894 ed.), 210, 211.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 189.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 193.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* 196–9.

²⁹² *Population Abstract*, 1831.

²⁹³ *Population Abstract*, 1831.

²⁹⁴ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery*, &c. 346.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 333.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 376.

²⁹⁷ W. Felkin, *Acct. of Machine-wrought Hosiery*, &c.

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reward offered for the apprehension of persons smuggling 'the bobbin net insides,' and this conflict of the two industries added to the troubles of the time. Eventually the struggle was decided in favour of the machine-makers by the repeal of the Act of William and Mary in 1842-3.²⁹⁸

If the lace-makers suffered, so did the stocking-weavers. The low wages which marked the beginning of the century were continued. In 1845 about 86,000 men, women, and boys were employed in the stocking trade, working generally for employers who owned three-fourths of the frames, the rent of which was a heavy burden on the worker. The lace factories centred chiefly round Nottingham; the stocking-weaving district lay principally to the east of Newark. It comprised about sixty villages, and the wages varied considerably in the different localities. At Sutton in Ashfield, one of the most important centres, 11s. 4½d. seems to have been the highest wages received by one man. Five shillings a week was about the lowest, and seems to have been common in many places. Where the wife did the seaming of the stockings, the conditions were more tolerable. Some families earned 24s. and over. Coals and rent amounted usually to sums varying from 2s. 10d. to 3s. 6d. a week. Truck payments were common, and so much disliked that men would walk many miles to obtain work for which they would be paid in money. Potatoes, bread, and treacle seem to have been the staple of their diet. The housing accommodation was, on the whole, the best feature of the case; it frequently consisted of a workshop, kitchen, and three living rooms. The most noteworthy point was the difference made in the condition of the workers by access to land. In Selston, wages were low, but the common was still uninclosed, and the frame-workers improved their circumstances by keeping pigs and poultry. The superior condition of those workers who possessed gardens was noticed, and led to a practice of letting quarter-acre lots to the frame-workers in Arnold and elsewhere.²⁹⁹

Such efforts mark the beginning of better times, and they were needed; since the beginning of the century wages had fallen by one half. The reduction was especially noticeable since 1814,³⁰⁰ the year of the repeal of the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices. Possibly the increased competition resulting from this repeal may have injuriously affected wages; and certainly the evil effect of the Poor Law in that respect would not be easily removed. Throughout the thirty years therefore between 1830 and 1860, the suffering was great and strikes were many.³⁰¹

The repeal of the Combination laws had made trade combinations legally possible, and the Nottingham workers took full advantage of the fact. Between 1840 and 1850 there were numerous unsuccessful strikes at the Nottinghamshire collieries, whilst in the lace and stocking trades strikes seem to have been very frequent. Throughout this period, reiterated demands were made for the fixing of a legal minimum wage or the limitation of output.

To balance these difficulties the opening of the Midland Counties Railway in 1843 gave a further impetus to commerce; though the strong opposition of the inhabitants of the town of Nottingham for some time

²⁹⁸ 6 & 7 Vic. cap. 84.

²⁹⁹ W. Felkin, *Acct. of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.*

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ Comte de Paris, *Les Associations Ouvrières en Angleterre* (ed. 1869), 166.

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postponed the erection of a station there. The stimulus to invention, however, which the new steam power gave appears from the fact that between 1816 and 1852 nineteen patents were granted to Nottinghamshire inventors for discoveries connected with steam power or with railways.³⁰²

As time went on the condition of the workpeople gradually improved ; by 1860 wages varied from 16s. to 24s. for women home workers, and young and aged persons. Men earned from 16s. to 30s. at various species of work ; and factory workers (an increasing class) received, the men 20s. to 25s. and the women from 12s. to 20s., while the wages in the various auxiliary trades had also improved.³⁰³

Despite this improvement in wages, this very year (1860) saw three or four strikes ; but it also saw the creation of the machinery whereby these conflicts were for a considerable time kept in check, to wit, the establishment of the Hosiery Board. The principal creator of this body was Mr. Mundella ; it consisted of a board formed of representatives of both employers and employed, and its function was to regulate the various disputed points in the trade. Among the first objects of its attack was the Truck system, and the inconvenient custom of paying workmen at about 12 o'clock on Saturday night. For more than twenty-five years it averted serious conflicts in the hosiery trade, and its breakdown at a time of commercial stress in 1886 was followed by its revival in 1890.³⁰⁴

From 1861 onward the history of Nottinghamshire has practically been the record of life in the chief towns. This development has been peculiarly marked. Between 1831 and 1861 the whole population of the county increased by about one-third, that of Nottingham by not quite a half ;³⁰⁵ in other words, though the town was gaining on the country, the great industries of Nottinghamshire were still village industries. But about the end of this period the application of steam power to the hosiery and lace-making industries began. In 1870 machines existed which worked eighteen hours a day in four or five-hour shifts.³⁰⁶ The result appeared, of course, in the redistribution of the population. In the thirty years from 1861 to 1891 the whole population of the county increased by 200,000, i.e. more than one-third, but the population of Nottingham town had *trebled* ; it had risen from 74,531 to 213,877. The villages were deserted or absorbed in the town. The men and women who had worked in their own homes were now all gathered into large factories. With the growth of factory life came naturally the growth of trade unionism. This had already taken root between 1831 and 1861, and in the ensuing thirty years it so increased that in 1891 there were 31,050 trade unionists in Nottinghamshire.³⁰⁷ Town life and town industries have absorbed what was once an agricultural population. In only one respect does the condition of Nottinghamshire resemble what it was 200 years back. In spite of inclosures it still includes one or two of the few remaining parishes where the open-field system still exists,³⁰⁸

³⁰² Prosser, MS. List of Patents.

³⁰³ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.* 514.

³⁰⁴ D. Schulze Gaevernitz, *Social Peace.*

³⁰⁵ *Population Abstract and Official Census Tables.*

³⁰⁶ W. Felkin, *Hist. of Machine-wrought Hosiery, &c.* 155.

³⁰⁷ S. and W. Webb, *Hist. of Trade Unionism*, 414.

³⁰⁸ e.g. Laxton and Eakring. Slater, *Engl. Peasantry and Inclosures.*

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and in spite of high farming it is, or was until recently, a county, if not of small holders, at least of small occupiers. In 1887 the holdings of 20 acres and under numbered about a thousand more than did the holdings above, and in 1902 it was stated that the demand for holdings of 50 acres was increasing.³⁰⁹

APPENDIX I

The following is the list of Inquisitions Post Mortem in Nottinghamshire, between 1275 and 1330, containing 'extents' which give some information as to the proportion of bond and free land. Names marked with an asterisk are those of which the 'extents' contain details of land values, on which the calculations in the text are based.

Place	Date	Reference to Inquisition Post Mortem	Details
Allerton	17 Edw. I	C, file 54 (6)	Details of works of bondars given
Beckingham	53 Hen. III	C, file 37 (2)	—
Basford	7 Edw. I	C, file 2 (7)	Value of services in money given
*Bassingfield	17 Edw. II	No. 64	15 <i>nativi</i> mentioned
Bunny	19 Edw. II	No. 98	Details of works and dues
Bothamsall	30 Hen. III	C, file 4 (17)	'Extent' partly obliterated
* "	2 Edw. II	No. 37	7 <i>nativi</i> , 4 <i>cotarelli</i>
"	19 Edw. II	No. 77	—
*Broughton	17 Edw. II	No. 36	—
Colston Basset	8 Edw. I	C, file 25 (17)	—
*Cossall	11 Edw. I	C, file 37 (7)	—
Carlton in Lindrick	28 Hen. III	C, file 2, no. 16	Land in socage
* " "	2 Edw. II	No. 37	9 free tenants, 10 <i>nativi</i>
*Clifton	17 Edw. II	No. 36	4 cottagers
"	1 Edw. III	No. 33	—
*Eakring	2 Edw. I	C, file 5 (1)	—
Eaton	19 Edw. II	C, file 95, no. 62	—
Gedling	15 Edw. I	C, file 48 (5)	—
Granby and Sutton	20 Edw. II	No. 3	—
Gotham	3 Edw. I	C, file 9 (6)	—
Gonalston	15 Edw. II	No. 47	—
Holme	49 Hen. III	C, file 31 (13)	—
Houghton	15 Edw. II	No. 47	—
Knapthorpe	16 Edw. II	No. 46 (1)	—
Kirkby in Ashfield	4 Edw. II	No. 7	—
" "	16 Edw. II	No. 61	35 free tenants, 8 tenants for life, 14 <i>nativi</i> , 22 toft men and cottars; reduction of rents mentioned
Kneesall	48 Hen. III	C, file 45 (3)	23 bondars, 10 cottars
*Langar	8 Edw. II	C, file 37 (2)	—
"	2 Edw. III	C, file 11 (42)	One-third of land lies fallow
Linby	11 Edw. I	C, file 33 (11)	—
"	3 Edw. III	No. 52 (2)	21 free tenants, 5 cottagers
Laxton	36 Hen. III	C, file 13 (10)	12½ bovates freehold
"	15 Edw. I	C, file 48 (5)	Works enumerated
*Markham, W.	17 Edw. I	C, file 54 (6)	2 bondars
Marnham	17 Edw. I	C, file 54 (6)	Work valued in money
Nettleworth	33 Hen. III	C, file 8 (14)	—
Orston	15 Edw. III	No. 53 (2)	—

³⁰⁹ Rider Haggard, *Rural Engl.* ii, 280.

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Place	Date	Reference to Inquisition Post Mortem	Details
Perlethorpe . . .	12 Edw. I . .	C, file 39 (1) . .	—
*Ratcliffe . . .	56 Hen. III . .	C, file 17 (19) . .	—
” . . .	14 Edw. I . .	C, file 44 (8) . .	13 freeholders, 12 cottars
” . . .	1 Edw. III . .	No. 32	—
Skegby	8 Edw. II . .	No. 16	—
Sutton	2 Edw. II . .	C, file 51	20 bondars
Stoke Bardolph . . .	4 Edw. I . .	C, file 14 (7) . .	—
” ”	18 Edw. I . .	C, file 57 (2) . .	—
Toton	2 Edw. II . .	No. 47	7 free tenants
Willoughby	18 Edw. II . .	No. 81	—
Warsop	52 Hen. III . .	C, file 35 (16) . .	—
* ”	2 Edw. I . .	C, file 5 (1)	35 cottars
Wiverton	37 Hen. III . .	C, file 14 (18) . .	—
”	6 Edw. II . .	No. 24	—
*Wollaton	11 Edw. I . .	C, file 37 (7)	9 cottars
”	18 Edw. II . .	No. 81	14 bondars

APPENDIX II

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801 TO 1901

Introductory Notes

AREA

The county taken in this table is that existing subsequently to 7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61 (1844). By this Act detached parts of counties, which had already for parliamentary purposes been amalgamated with the county by which they were surrounded or with which the detached part had the longest common boundary (2 & 3 Will. IV, chap. 64—1832), were annexed to the same county for all purposes; some exceptions were, however, permitted.

By the same Act (7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61) the detached parts of counties, transferred to other counties, were also annexed to the hundred, ward, wapentake, &c. by which they were wholly or mostly surrounded, or to which they next adjoined, in the counties to which they were transferred. The hundreds, &c. in this table are also given as existing subsequently to this Act.

As is well known, the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor took the then-existing ecclesiastical parish as the unit for Poor Law relief. This continued for some centuries with but few modifications; notably by an Act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Charles II which permitted townships and villages to maintain their own poor. This permission was necessary owing to the large size of some of the parishes, especially in the north of England.

In 1801 the parish for rating purposes (now known as the civil parish, i.e. ‘an area for which a separate poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed’) was in most cases co-extensive with the ecclesiastical parish of the same name; but already there were numerous townships and villages rated separately for the relief of the poor, and also there were many places scattered up and down the country, known as extra-parochial places, which paid no rates at all. Further, many parishes had detached parts entirely surrounded by another parish or parishes.

Parliament first turned its attention to extra-parochial places, and by an Act (20 Vict., chap. 19—1857) it was laid down (a) that all extra-parochial places entered separately in the 1851 census returns are to be deemed civil parishes, (b) that in any other place being, or being reputed to be, extra-parochial, overseers of the poor may be appointed, and (c) that where, however, owners and occupiers of two-thirds in value of the land of any such place desire its annexation to an adjoining civil parish, it may be so added with the consent of the said parish. This Act was not found entirely to fulfil its object, so by a further Act (31 & 32 Vict., chap. 122—1868) it was enacted that every such place remaining on 25 December, 1868, should be added to the parish with which it had the longest common boundary.

The next thing to be dealt with was the question of detached parts of civil parishes, which was done by the Divided Parishes Acts of 1876, 1879, and 1882. The last, which amended the one of 1876, provides that every detached part of an entirely extra-metropolitan parish which is entirely surrounded by another parish becomes transferred to this latter for civil purposes, or if the population exceeds 300 persons it may be made a separate parish. These Acts also gave power to add detached

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parts surrounded by more than one parish to one or more of the surrounding parishes, and also to amalgamate entire parishes with one or more parishes. Under the 1879 Act it was not necessary for the area dealt with to be entirely detached. These Acts also declared that every part added to a parish in another county becomes part of that county.

Then came the Local Government Act, 1888, which permits the alteration of civil parish boundaries and the amalgamation of civil parishes by Local Government Board orders. It also created the administrative counties. The Local Government Act of 1894 enacts that where a civil parish is partly in a rural district and partly in an urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish; and also that where a civil parish is situated in more than one urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish, unless the county council otherwise direct. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical parishes had been altered and new ones created under entirely different Acts, which cannot be entered into here, as the table treats of the ancient parishes in their civil aspect.

POPULATION

The first census of England was taken in 1801, and was very little more than a counting of the population in each parish (or place), excluding all persons, such as soldiers, sailors, &c., who formed no part of its ordinary population. It was the *de facto* population (i.e. the population actually resident at a particular time) and not the *de jure* (i.e. the population really belonging to any particular place at a particular time). This principle has been sustained throughout the censuses.

The Army at home (including militia), the men of the Royal Navy ashore, and the registered seamen ashore were not included in the population of the places where they happened to be, at the time of the census, until 1841. The men of the Royal Navy and other persons on board vessels (naval or mercantile) in home ports were first included in the population of those places in 1851. Others temporarily present, such as gipsies, persons in barges, &c. were included in 1841 and perhaps earlier.

GENERAL

Up to and including 1831 the returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for the enumeration, but the 1841-1901 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder's Schedule was first used in 1841. The exact dates of the censuses are as follows:—

10 March, 1801	30 May, 1831	8 April, 1861	6 April, 1891
27 May, 1811	7 June, 1841	3 April, 1871	1 April, 1901
28 May, 1821	31 March, 1851	4 April, 1881	

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE TABLE

This table gives the population of the ancient county and arranges the parishes, &c. under the hundred or other subdivision to which they belong, but there is no doubt that the constitution of hundreds, parishes, &c. was in some cases doubtful.

In the main the table follows the arrangement in the 1841 census volume.

The table gives the population and area of each parish, &c. as it existed in 1801, as far as possible.

The areas are those supplied by the Ordnance Survey Department, except in the case of those marked 'e,' which were calculated by other authorities. The area includes inland water (if any), but not tidal water or foreshore.

† after the name of a civil parish indicates that the parish was affected by the operation of the Divided Parishes Acts, but the Registrar-General failed to obtain particulars of every such change. The changes which escaped notification were, however, probably small in area and with little, if any, population. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in 1891 and 1901 in tracing the results of changes effected in civil parishes under the provisions of these Acts; by the Registrar-General's courtesy, however, reference has been permitted to certain records of formerly detached parts of parishes, which has made it possible approximately to ascertain the population in 1901 of parishes as constituted prior to such alterations, though the figures in many instances must be regarded as partly estimates.

* after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that such parish (or place) contains a union workhouse which was in use in (or before) 1851 and was still in use in 1901.

‡ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the ecclesiastical parish of the same name at the 1901 census was co-extensive with such parish (or place).

§ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the civil parish of the same name at the 1901 census was co-extensive with such parish (or place).

o in the table indicates that there is no population on the area in question.

— in the table indicates that no population can be ascertained.

The word 'chapelry' seems often to have been used as an equivalent for 'township' in 1841, which census volume has been adopted as the standard for names and descriptions of areas.

The figures in italics in the table relate to the area and population of such subdivisions of ancient parishes as chapelries, townships, and hamlets.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION

1801—1901

—	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ancient or Geographical County ¹	539,756	140,350	161,600	186,873	225,394	249,910	270,427	293,867	319,758	391,784	445,792	514,628

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Bassellaw Wapentake—Hatfield Division</i>												
Babworth § . . .	6,344	297	310	416	449	577	608	701	726	731	753	760
Blyth (part of) ² :—	11,839	1,337	1,496	1,870	1,976	2,090	2,092	1,749	1,861	1,881	1,703	1,705
Barnby Moor Township §	1,982	141	168	182	222	221	261	245	228	235	247	213
Blyth Township †	1,294	589	670	801	811	758	765	698	621	618	529	540
Hodsock Lordship §	4,236	157	139	224	228	225	205	207	244	220	200	227
Styrrup Township † ³	2,950	307	359	444	510	634	603	362	566	585	508	512
Torworth Township §	1,377	143	160	219	205	252	258	237	202	223	219	213
Bothamsall † † . .	1,630 ^o	235	287	310	326	325	319	296	262	264	264	235
Boughton § † . . .	1,374	190	217	289	295	309	398	390	344	296	286	210
Carlton in Lindrick †	3,980 ^o	737	631	888	974	1,047	1,054	1,035	985	1,046	984	960
Edwinstowe :—	18,020	1,419	1,558	1,753	1,992	2,418	2,599	2,651	2,460	2,457	2,328	2,375
Edwinstowe . . .	6,052	506	628	648	740	948	1,009	1,065	1,003	931	944	986
Budby Township	2,118	145	133	140	139	127	147	113	107	129	121	120
Carburton Chap. §	2,276	122	131	154	143	193	161	177	160	191	157	148
Clipston Township §	4,033	134	129	142	223	286	265	266	220	256	241	273
Ollerton Chap. § †	1,773	439	462	576	658	777	937	932	831	818	726	690
Perlethorpe Chap. †	1,768	73	75	93	89	87	80	98	139	132	139	158
Elkesley § † . . .	2,661	291	306	347	377	414	404	362	377	331	268	282
Finningley (part of) ⁴ :—	3,257	429	588	665	551	733	504	540	576	507	448	447
Finningley § ⁵ . . .	2,397	292	339	368	424	608	404	434	415	376	328	352
Auckley Township (part of) ⁴	860	137	249	297	127	125	100	106	161	131	120	95
Harworth § ⁶ . . .	4,533	270	543 {	395	581 {	546	595	925	632	549	593	554
Haughton § . . .	1,020	41		40		77	78	61	66	51	44	51
Mattersey § † . . .	2,459	327	351	426	455	519	493	436	368	342	322	371

¹ *Ancient County.*—No changes in the area of this county were notified under the Act 7 & 8 Vict. cap. 61. The area is taken from the 1901 Census Volume. Pinxton Parish, though partly in the Ancient County of Nottingham, is for convenience entirely shown in Derbyshire. The population for 1811 is exclusive of 1,364 Militia, who were not assigned to the parishes, or places, to which they belonged. (See also notes to Auckley, Misson, Wallingwells, Weibek, Flawford, Normanton upon Trent.)

² *Blyth Parish* is situated in Bassellaw Wapentake (Hatfield Division), in Southwell and Scrooby Liberty, and in the West Riding of Yorkshire—Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake (North and South Divisions).

³ The boundary between *Styrrup Township* and *Harworth Parish* was not correctly known by the local Census officers in 1861.

⁴ *Finningley Parish* and *Auckley Township.*—The remainder of each is in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Soke of Doncaster). The population of Auckley Township for 1811 and 1821 is entirely shown in Nottinghamshire.

⁵ *Finningley Township.*—The 1841 population included 143 strangers at the annual feast.

⁶ See note 3, *ante*.

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Bassetlaw Wapentake—Hatfield Division (cont.)</i>												
Misson § † 7 . . .	6,172	482	571	720	841	834	837	803	752	683	574	608
Norton	5,324	1,094	1,273	1,435	1,638	1,697	1,548	1,454	1,602	1,434	1,405	1,312
Cuckney † :—												
Cuckney	1,120	—	397	427	633	625	620	540	663	555	506	489
Township §												
Holbeck	1,293	—	226	239	244	267	255	266	307	247	251	224
Township §												
Langwith, Nether	1,304	—	361	378	437	443	275	328	335	376	363	322
Township §												
Norton	1,607	—	289	391	324	362	398	320	297	256	285	277
Township §												
Ordsall § † . . .	2,061	560	599	632	809	955	1,342	1,911	2,473	3,011	3,852	5,199
Retford, West § †	1,000	483	542	571	593	618	653	637	691	816	821	782
Rufford Extra Par.	9,938	265	285	323	322	363	370	420	345	333	350	343
Liberty §												
Walesby § . . .	1,474	250	287	308	340	416	362	327	286	282	274	261
Wallingwells	742 ²	29	—	7	21	36	38	25	26	32	40	27
Extra Par. † ⁸												
Warsop † :—	7,174	944	1,047	1,141	1,281	1,384	1,398	1,426	1,603	1,364	1,510	2,187
Sookholme	991	—	63	69	68	66	48	52	117	35	43	55
Township § ⁹												
Warsop	6,183	—	984	1,072	1,213	1,318	1,350	1,374	1,486	1,329	1,467	2,132
Township §												
Welbeck	2,792	66	64	64	63	86	117	12	49	72	71	97
Extra Par. § ¹⁰												
Woodhouse Hall	303	8	9	5	11	12	8	62	85	129	167	185
Extra Par. §												
Worksop* § . . .	17,935	3,263	3,702	4,567	5,566	6,197	7,215	8,361	10,409	11,625	12,734	16,112
<i>Bassetlaw Wapentake—North Clay Division</i>												
Applethorpe, or Habblethorpe †	1,040 ⁶	107	99	103	95	109	103	142	130	113	108	119
Bole	1,218	160	181	193	144	191	220	238	216	208	177	142
Burton, West †	710 ⁷	33	19	37	40	35	28	67	56	56	52	51
Clarborough* † † ¹¹	3,698	1,202	1,531	1,929	2,106	2,207	2,504	2,412	2,648	2,946	2,899	3,291
Clayworth † :—	3,195	543	516	557	577	627	601	538	567	559	562	564
Clayworth § . .	2,139	420	516	431	459	506	474	414	434	439	446	410
Wiseton	1,056	123										
Township §												
Gringley on the Hill § †	4,352	533	573	647	737	790	866	874	869	832	742	720
Leverton, North †	1,050 ⁶	270	286	300	303	344	336	329	267	299	270	285
Leverton, South:—	2,530 ⁶	354	383	374	400	451	484	494	578	510	447	464
Leverton,	1,630 ⁶	278	324	300	323	362	395	408	488	403	356	365
South † †												
Cottam Chap. †	900 ⁶	76	59	74	77	89	89	86	90	107	91	99
Littleborough § .	345	62	60	64	82	77	84	60	70	64	50	49
Misterton :—	5,001	1,142	1,339	1,429	1,579	1,706	1,743	1,627	1,740	1,880	2,134	2,100
Misterton § . .	4,313	612	770	811	944	1,055	1,089	1,089	1,132	1,218	1,411	1,433
Stockwith, West	688	530	569	618	635	651	654	538	608	662	723	667
Township §												
Retford, East § † .	118	1,948	2,030	2,465	2,491	2,680	2,943	2,982	3,194	3,414	3,438	3,436
Saundby §	1,415	100	82	101	104	107	88	86	98	113	126	103
Sturton † †	4,610 ⁶	509	526	605	638	646	637	583	593	529	505	457
Wakingham § †	2,997	419	453	518	529	536	608	683	747	709	752	718
Wheatley, North §	2,192	371	373	441	435	424	427	461	406	389	400	385
Wheatley, South §	645	41	33	47	35	41	34	32	35	37	44	42

⁷ *Misson Parish* may be partly in Lincolnshire, but none has been shown in that county.
⁸ *Wallingwells* is partly in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but none has been shown in that county.
⁹ *Sookholme Township*.—The 1871 population included some railway labourers, temporarily present.
¹⁰ *Welbeck*.—The 1811 population was estimated.
¹¹ *Clarborough Parish* was sometimes considered part of Southwell and Scrooby Liberty.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Bassetlaw Wapentake—South Clay Division</i>												
Bevercotes § . . .	734	30	26	48	51	44	51	48	33	32	40	29
Bilthorpe § † . . .	1,580	201	212	252	217	244	217	197	191	194	203	120
Darlington § . . .	1,506	126	139	153	162	203	185	163	173	150	139	135
Drayton, East § . . .	1,555	226	226	266	256	212	251	263	248	214	187	161
Drayton, West § . . .	680	95	113	117	108	109	101	96	98	75	75	90
Dunham :—	2,268	313	432	415	557	538	581	531	536	454	447	443
Dunham § . . .	1,065	158	295	269	389	335	362	327	350	271	280	273
Ragnall Chap. § . . .	1,203	155	137	146	168	203	219	204	186	183	167	170
Eakring § † . . .	2,567	441	500	564	598	661	710	650	540	424	390	330
Eaton §	1,526	219	200	215	234	189	158	184	131	127	138	144
Egmanton § † . . .	2,217	267	312	320	341	391	429	386	281	235	231	241
Gamston †	2,000 ^a	410	341	385	306	331	308	282	251	252	246	228
Grove § †	1,325	117	100	106	121	91	92	113	117	126	157	195
Headon with Upton § † . . .	2,347	278	232	241	248	269	268	282	231	224	218	196
Kirton § †	998	172	165	200	247	265	195	170	164	126	119	123
Kneesall (part of) ¹³ :—												
Ompton Township § . . .	614	69	73	106	120	109	109	110	81	58	55	55
Laxton, or Lexington § † . . .	4,007	513	561	615	659	642	621	613	547	483	428	394
Markham, East § ¹³ . . .	2,755	665	589	756	805	771	956	807	816	752	693	696
Markham, West, or Markham Clinton § . . .	1,067	176	181	209	197	191	186	193	171	165	160	158
Rampton § †	2,159	322	313	391	411	420	455	496	453	357	341	331
Stokeham §	604	42	37	45	48	49	60	53	53	43	35	30
Treswell §	1,570	175	212	216	224	228	254	270	266	185	170	178
Tuxford § † ¹³	2,893	785	841	979	1,113	1,079	1,211	1,034	1,016	962	938	1,283
Willow § †	1,001	344	378	444	473	549	597	468	406	368	323	290
<i>Bingham Wapentake—North Division</i>												
Bingham * § †	3,070	1,082	1,326	1,574	1,738	1,998	2,054	1,918	1,629	1,673	1,487	1,604
Bridgford, East § † . . .	1,943	526	662	768	938	1,110	1,155	1,078	934	898	866	756
Car Colston § †	1,642	152	167	213	249	276	319	299	263	276	215	217
Elton § †	991	90	97	93	91	81	79	94	84	76	73	51
Flintham § †	2,201	459	455	546	545	611	639	524	452	381	346	338
Granby § †	2,311	329	342	389	342	516	515	479	422	396	439	380
Hawksworth † †	720 ^a	154	152	215	212	203	171	176	167	158	147	173
Kneeton § †	983	88	103	104	119	109	109	116	117	115	115	113
Langar with Barnstone § † . . .	3,870	266	271	287	274	307	316	320	356	425	401	485
Orston §	1,955	351	356	391	439	501	461	424	464	484	408	326
Scarrington §	932	152	171	171	188	230	230	231	231	208	203	178
Screveton § †	1,152	225	247	292	312	315	307	241	219	179	172	159
Thoroton †	730 ^a	110	103	145	143	152	177	210	188	152	121	88
Whatton :—	3,032	479	587	663	677	956	764	763	767	687	639	625
Whatton § † ¹⁴	1,759	308	372	390	388	532	404	353	360	283	281	253
Aslockton §	1,273	171	215	273	289	424	360	410	407	404	358	372
Chapelry § ¹⁵												
Wiverton Hall Extra Par. § ^{16a} . . .	1,026	—	—	—	—	3	7	11	39	18	18	33

¹³ *Kneesall Parish* is situated in Bassetlaw Wapentake (South Clay Division), and in Thurgarton Wapentake (North Division).

¹³ *East Markham and Tuxford Parishes.*—The 1851 populations included a number of labourers, temporarily present, engaged on railway works.

¹⁴ *Whatton Township.*—The 1841 population included 83 strangers at the annual feast.

¹⁵ *Aslockton Chapelry.*—The 1841 population included 60 strangers at the annual feast.

^{16a} See note 17, *post*.

A HISTORY OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Bingham Wapentake—South Division</i>												
Bridgford, West (part of) ¹⁶ :—	.											
Gamston	448	97	116	102	107	103	124	110	99	95	87	96
Hamlet §												
Broughton Sulney, or Upper	1,902	230	278	348	344	371	394	406	370	327	345	323
Broughton § †												
Colston Basset § †	2,455	220	257	310	387	403	337	297	348	310	295	302
Cotgrave † . . .	3,698	596	666	779	842	850	833	878	831	818	702	654
Cropwell Bishop § †	1,647	307	364	392	473	533	640	638	616	636	575	517
Hickling § † . . .	2,866	391	476	497	529	581	613	642	559	498	448	426
Holme Pierrepont †	2,120 ⁹	171	191	205	205	222	179	150	191	221	211	209
Kinoulton § † . . .	3,089	275	307	370	389	388	405	430	391	331	317	263
Lodge on the Wolds	24											
Extra Par.												
Owthorpe § † . . .	1,649	107	117	138	144	143	137	112	113	131	105	89
Plumtree (part of) ¹⁶ :—												
Clipston	938	62	74	72	82	86	81	73	74	50	61	47
Township § . . .												
Radcliffe on Trent † †	1,880 ⁹	761	924	993	1,125	1,246	1,273	1,371	1,340	1,704	1,868	2,093
Shelford † :—	3,877	486	542	671	704	808	775	692	609	535	474	476
Shelford § . . .	3,793	418	464	553	588	687	645	597	510	437	389	386
Saxondale Township §	684	68	78	118	116	121	130	95	99	98	85	90
Tollerton § † . . .	1,216	176	142	153	149	155	157	148	127	124	123	156
Tythby † ¹⁷ :—	2,473	517	549	635	695	804	811	718	692	621	574	575
Tythby § . . .	583	155	170	146	144	126	116	114	84	81	96	88
Cropwell Butler Township §	1,890	362	379	489	551	678	695	604	608	540	478	487
<i>Broxtow Wapentake—North Division</i>												
Annesley § † . . .	3,125	359	341	326	335	274	239	288	1,201	1,445	1,374	1,271
Arnold §	4,613	2,768	3,042	3,572	4,054	4,509	4,704	4,642	4,634	5,745	7,769	8,757
Basford *	2,894	2,124	2,940	3,599	6,325	8,688	10,093	12,185	13,038	18,137	22,781	27,119
Bulwell †	1,647	1,585	1,944	2,105	2,611	3,157	3,786	3,660	4,276	8,575	11,481	14,767
Felley Extra Par. §	413	33	70	71	67	41	44	33	42	31	44	41
Hucknall Tor- kard § †	3,282	1,497	1,793	1,940	2,200	2,680	2,970	2,836	4,257	10,023	13,094	15,250
Kirkby in Ashfield	5,814	1,002	1,123	1,420	2,032	2,143	2,363	2,886	3,075	4,212	6,533	10,392
Linby §	1,488	515	434	439	352	271	310	257	257	320	310	319
Mansfield *	7,252	5,988	6,816	7,861	9,426	9,788	10,667	10,225	11,824	13,653	15,925	21,445
Mansfield Wood- house § †	4,834	1,112	1,349	1,598	1,859	1,871	1,972	2,263	2,474	2,618	2,819	4,877
Newstead Priory Extra Par. Liberty §	3,258	143	142	174	159	193	155	108	200	967	1,036	1,100
Papplewick †	1,992 ⁹	709	647	593	359	319	307	270	270	331	384	365
Selston §	3,318	833	1,102	1,321	1,580	1,982	2,101	2,628	3,670	4,373	5,267	7,071
Skegby § †	1,467	416	453	584	656	775	865	805	1,382	2,401	3,120	3,867
Sutton in Ash- field :—	6,083	3,311	3,994	4,655	5,734	6,557	7,692	7,643	9,121	10,551	13,584	18,943
Sutton in Ash- field †	4,855	2,801	3,386	3,943	4,805	5,670	6,542	6,483	7,574	8,523	10,552	14,866
Hucknall under Huthwaite Hamlet †	1,228	510	608	712	929	887	1,150	1,160	1,547	2,028	3,032	4,077
Fulwood Extra Par. †	174	—	—	—	12	6	12	7	7	5	12	8
Teveral § †	2,723	333	368	414	400	423	373	351	373	415	385	473

¹⁶ West Bridgford and Plumtree Parishes are situated in Bingham Wapentake (South Division), and in Rushcliffe Wapentake (North Division).

¹⁷ Tythby Parish.—The population for 1831 included that of Wyverton Hall.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Broxtow</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>South Division</i>												
Attenborough :—	2,837	813	870	1,031	1,094	1,036	1,030	1,110	1,088	1,239	1,258	1,362
Chilwell Town- ship §	1,449	638	691	823	892	896	897	910	887	1,046	1,013	1,176
Toton Town- ship §	1,388	175	179	208	202	140	133	200	201	193	245	186
Beeston § † . . .	1,601	948	1,342	1,534	2,530	2,807	3,016	3,195	3,134	4,479	6,948	8,960
Bilborough § . . .	1,098	307	269	291	330	267	255	232	225	199	210	202
Bramcote § . . .	1,064	354	378	441	562	732	722	691	616	751	762	745
Brewhouse Yard Extra Par.	2	111	107	90	80	110	110	108	110	84	42	35
Cossall §	987	353	328	317	341	334	303	256	235	244	829	940
Eastwood § † . . .	951	735	1,120	1,206	1,395	1,621	1,720	1,860	2,540	3,566	4,363	4,815
Greasley †	8,010 ^o	2,968	3,673	4,241	4,583	5,184	5,284	6,230	7,282	9,028	10,918	11,861
Lenton †	5,080 ^o	893	1,197	1,240	3,077	4,467	5,589	5,828	6,315	10,194	18,436	23,872
Nuthall †	1,644 ^o	378	326	465	509	669	685	842	960	1,305	2,090	2,501
Radford †	1,000 ^o	2,269	3,447	4,806	9,806	10,817	12,637	13,495	15,127	20,619	31,975	35,354
Stapleford § † . . .	1,253	748	954	1,104	1,533	1,837	1,968	1,729	1,967	3,196	4,255	5,766
Strelley §	1,069	250	298	350	426	284	279	253	232	252	204	205
Trowell § †	1,621	235	482	464	402	380	392	343	270	421	414	434
Wollaton §	2,097	838	769	571	537	574	581	555	658	712	654	541
<i>Newark</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>North Division</i>												
Clifton, North :—	5,050 ^o	640	682	864	949	1,056	1,148	1,110	932	892	789	797
Clifton, North § .	1,097	167	202	219	225	241	265	269	174	181	144	179
Clifton, South Township †	1,681 ^o	214	238	292	340	332	367	319	295	270	275	247
Harby Hamlet §	1,229	180	180	267	304	390	415	428	370	352	297	308
Spalford Hamlet §	1,043	79	62	86	80	93	101	94	93	89	73	63
Collingham, North § †	2,479	508	660	805	881	911	935	1,010	979	928	875	813
Collingham, South § †	3,028	539	566	686	727	721	834	863	756	776	705	670
Girton §	1,052	125	129	182	183	206	191	188	177	150	125	132
Langford §	2,186	124	118	147	125	146	146	161	158	167	181	145
Scarle, South :—	2,395	335	382	422	479	525	510	513	438	348	328	289
Scarle, South § .	1,093	119	149	151	157	198	170	175	192	156	150	130
Besthorpe Chap. §	1,302	216	233	271	322	327	340	338	246	192	178	159
Thorney † :—	4,123	243	201	264	308	342	412	395	402	348	366	371
Thorney §	2,250	134	108	129	155	160	191	175	189	162	186	192
Broadholme Hamlet §	640	47	41	57	67	90	115	115	105	95	102	90
Wigsley Hamlet §	1,233	62	52	78	88	92	106	105	108	91	78	89
Winthorpe † † . .	680 ^o	196	194	235	228	225	243	269	260	256	277	240
<i>Newark</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>South Division</i>												
Balderton § † . . .	3,790	636	659	773	830	899	1,048	987	1,009	1,075	1,404	2,203
Barnby in the Willows † †	1,703 ^o	195	204	247	237	266	294	302	224	218	240	217
Coddington § † . .	1,970	326	366	374	435	436	577	510	541	521	553	477
Cotham § †	1,355	77	73	74	74	87	98	95	88	130	115	113
Elston † ¹⁸	1,640 ^o	394	383	446	266	259	282	262	479	453	323	323
Farndon † †	1,710 ^o	387	451	499	570	575	590	692	652	698	699	684
Flawford Extra Par. † ¹⁹	272 ^o	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	14	12	14

¹⁸ *Elston Chapelry*.—The entire area, and the population, 1801–21 and 1871–1901, are included in those given for *Elston Parish*.

¹⁹ *Flawford* is partly situated in Lincolnshire, but is wholly shown in Nottinghamshire.

A HISTORY OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Newark</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>South Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Hawton § †	2,181	107	167	216	258	240	227	246	225	286	246	242
Kilvington ²⁰ :—	938	—	44	24	45	56	52	77	37	41	81	53
Kilvington §	493	—	20	24	29	30	27	37	30	24	49	30
Alverton	445	—	24	—	16	26	25	40	7	17	32	23
Hamlet § ²¹												
Shelton § †	853	73	52	105	113	102	119	127	132	116	89	104
Sibthorpe § †	951	85	98	142	144	154	146	142	141	130	106	76
Staunton ^{20 21} :—	2,353	217	199	227	173	172	173	151	170	171	151	161
Staunton §	1,372	—	128	142	93	93	93	87	108	95	95	102
Flawborough	981	—	71	85	80	79	80	64	62	76	56	59
Chap. §												
Syerston †	610*	109	137	129	138	208	241	196	184	165	104	123
Thorpe § †	722	44	48	96	105	106	115	107	107	90	72	66
<i>Rushcliffe</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>North Division</i>												
Barton in Fabis †	1,564	322	347	403	379	333	339	295	266	276	246	267
Bradmore §	1,254	325	407	410	369	416	401	296	267	279	244	230
Bridgford, West (part of) † ²²	1,272*	235	210	208	231	229	258	280	237	293	2,502	7,018
Bunny §	2,137	359	374	395	371	360	336	273	226	262	239	205
Clifton with Glap- ton †	1,921	381	399	470	405	419	401	382	390	382	391	383
Edwalton † †	813*	126	138	119	130	117	118	115	107	113	234	228
Keyworth § †	1,438	325	401	454	552	576	667	736	749	893	771	789
Plumtree (part of) ²² :—	2,662	311	382	507	523	556	516	478	424	477	479	439
Plumtree §	1,859	209	242	313	338	326	306	285	273	378	270	230
Normanton on the Wolds Township §	803	102	140	194	185	230	210	193	151	99	209	209
Ratcliffe upon Soar § †	1,135	156	169	168	177	224	146	165	151	146	135	142
Ruddington § †	2,990	868	1,017	1,138	1,428	1,835	2,181	2,283	2,436	2,638	2,370	2,493
Stanton on the Wolds § †	1,406	98	113	119	125	154	177	158	119	107	112	98
Thrumpton § †	1,014	121	119	109	132	147	133	144	194	163	141	167
Wilford †	1,853	478	494	569	602	569	570	604	669	1,106	2,769	5,079
<i>Rushcliffe</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>South Division</i>												
Costock § †	1,688	244	307	341	412	470	493	440	426	311	287	287
Gotham § †	2,563	475	549	625	748	747	792	771	917	1,026	1,134	1,009
Kingston upon Soar § †	1,331	152	155	166	175	181	196	197	210	196	281	271
Leake, East § †	2,530	608	737	783	975	1,057	1,148	1,059	1,031	943	819	876
Leake, West § †	1,608	171	183	211	203	208	190	171	159	162	154	112
Normanton upon Soar § †	1,449	265	308	326	365	428	393	360	326	322	339	339
Rempstone § †	1,579	324	384	368	398	409	389	377	339	314	302	270
Stanford upon Soar § †	1,515	119	120	160	129	146	147	140	94	105	165	197
Sutton Bonning- ton §	2,184	790	862	983	1,136	1,307	1,220	1,019	1,009	1,005	993	1,005
Thorpe Bochart, or Thorpe in the Glebe §	863	20	16	33	39	44	33	36	49	51	33	37

²⁰ *Kilvington Parish.*—The population for 1801 was probably returned with that given for *Staunton Parish.*

²¹ *Alverton Hamlet.*—The population for 1821 was entirely shown in *Staunton Parish*, and the population for 1831 was partly shown in the same parish.

²² See note 16, *ante.*

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Rushcliffe</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>South Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Widmerpool § †	2,106	206	230	229	180	182	147	151	149	148	183	158
Willoughby on the Wolds §	2,103	355	305	450	465	569	600	573	472	480	414	398
Wysall §	1,554	260	279	287	271	379	286	274	266	261	193	188
<i>Southwell and</i>												
<i>Scrooby Liberty</i>												
Askham § † ²² . .	1,312	220	231	270	329	288	401	287	290	219	219	240
Beckingham § †	2,634	425	438	515	481	491	456	450	445	448	492	504
Bleasby §	1,538	215	269	290	324	353	358	332	279	296	282	287
Blidworth § † ²⁴ .	5,473	427	557	744	901	1,132	1,376	1,166	1,064	1,109	1,079	1,024
Blyth (part of) ²⁵ :—												
Ranskill Town- ship §	1,317	208	263	317	347	333	348	337	322	376	414	416
Edingley †	1,800 ^o	286	286	344	398	429	381	390	352	297	279	265
Everton † :—	4,903	580	679	741	786	1,094	888	849	776	760	747	756
Everton ²⁶	3,819	468	585	641	708	825	662	605	602	654	637	640
Harwell Hamlet												
Scaftworth Township §	1,084	112	94	100	78	100	114	117	99	106	110	116
Farnsfield † . . .	3,920 ^o	564	697	811	1,010	1,099	1,149	1,071	1,004	1,013	899	886
Halam §	1,623	284	271	310	371	411	390	382	327	290	264	255
Halloughton § . .	988	90	93	101	103	88	79	67	67	64	65	67
Hayton § †	2,406	236	233	244	256	281	260	258	252	255	252	233
Haywood Oaks Extra Par. § ²⁴	677	—	—	—	—	12	12	11	24	33	24	28
Kirklington § † .	1,989	140	237	240	243	280	276	241	205	220	168	182
Laneham † † . . .	1,605 ^o	302	337	347	347	385	410	376	379	305	328	313
Lindhurst Extra Par. ²⁴	713	—	—	—	—	10	10	11	16	32	33	18
Morton †	498 ^o	101	135	150	156	131	140	142	120	109	119	108
Scrooby §	1,608	225	293	269	281	297	271	256	203	196	219	181
Southwell † . . .	4,550 ^o	2,305	2,674	3,051	3,384	3,487	3,516	3,469	3,205	2,897	2,871	3,196
Sutton cum Lound :—	4,546	551	584	717	801	890	870	916	756	726	671	701
Lound Town- ship †	—	268	306	370	382	438	434	458	374	354	334	334
Sutton Town- ship †	—	283	278	347	419	452	436	458	382	372	337	367
Upton * § †	1,492	329	325	432	533	601	629	587	532	499	403	459
<i>Thurgarton</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>North Division</i>												
Averham :—	2,830	230	240	260	243	264	267	237	225	208	190	186
Averham §	2,169	166	186	191	182	196	203	175	165	164	139	130
Staythorpe Township §	661	64	54	69	61	68	64	62	60	44	51	56
Caunton † †	3,130 ^o	366	341	467	542	539	611	596	502	396	388	345
Cromwell § † . . .	1,423	203	194	184	184	203	190	162	161	154	142	111
Fledborough § † .	1,449	71	82	75	86	112	130	115	123	106	105	91
Hockerton § † . . .	1,386	100	103	115	108	136	114	108	110	101	68	79
Holme †	1,330 ^o	111	109	114	121	127	144	121	107	127	100	100
Kelham	1,862	227	219	199	189	169	167	178	157	151	224	235
Kneesall (part of) ²⁷ :—	2,980	418	429	496	493	487	491	443	408	342	339	307
Kneesall §	2,311	368	367	414	399	391	382	360	332	283	284	250
Kersall Hamlet §	669	50	62	82	94	96	109	83	76	59	55	57

²² *Ashham Parish*.—The 1851 population included a number of labourers, temporarily present, engaged on railway works.

²⁴ *Blidworth Parish*.—The populations for 1801—1831 probably included those for *Hayward Oaks* and *Lindhurst*.

²⁵ See note 2, *ante*.

²⁶ *Everton Township*.—The 1841 population included 126 strangers at the annual feast.

²⁷ See note 12, *ante*.

A HISTORY OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Thurgarton Wapentake—North Division (cont.)</i>												
Maplebeck § † . .	1,196	152	175	193	181	162	162	136	122	123	114	85
Marnham † :—	3,091 ^a	279	322	351	376	350	323	348	300	271	239	218
Marnham † . .	2,380 ^a	—	229	254	258	256	240	273	231	196	173	168
Grassthorpe Township §	711	—	93	97	118	94	83	75	69	75	66	50
Meering Extra Par. §	485	—	—	7	4	5	11	7	2	3	2	9
Muskham, North † :—	2,449	361	515	617	681	825	877	848	774	711	633	730
Muskham, North §	1,203	—	336	445	484	573	663	614	552	542	472	559
Bathley Township §	1,246	—	179	172	197	252	214	234	222	169	161	171
Muskham, South § †	2,807	284	284	278	261	262	303	277	279	245	221	196
Normanton upon Trent § † ²⁸	1,208	286	288	297	349	362	388	402	360	318	312	305
Norwell :—	3,720 ^a	776	802	874	939	954	957	1,026	813	705	727	615
Norwell † ²⁹ . .	2,343 ^a	468	547	476	533	568	599	601	478	422	449	372
Norwell Woodhouse Township § ²⁹	455	—	—	111	141	156	127	135	113	87	93	71
Carlton on Trent Chap. § †	922	308	255	287	265	230	231	290	222	196	185	172
Ossington § † . .	2,412	217	255	301	257	228	235	231	199	188	211	175
Park Leys Extra Par. §	241	—	13	10	16	10	20	10	9	4	8	7
Rolleston (part of) § ³⁰	1,679	265	269	306	272	316	252	268	246	232	208	193
Stoke, East (part of) ³¹ :—	1,719 ^a	293	363	424	606	645	586	473	249	273	316	331
Stoke, East Township (part of) † ³¹	1,719 ^a	293	363	424	320	360	288	263	249	273	316	331
Elston Chap. ³² . .	—	—	—	—	286	285	298	210	—	—	—	—
Sutton upon Trent § †	2,657	614	731	884	1,002	1,142	1,262	1,147	1,056	966	969	873
Weston § † ³³ . .	1,740	246	286	300	395	402	487	380	375	348	332	310
Winkburn § † . .	2,371	153	153	159	134	144	129	172	142	132	115	103
<i>Thurgarton Wapentake—South Division</i>												
Burton Joyce † :—	2,038	595	564	650	676	764	773	834	787	779	978	1,024
Burton Joyce § . .	1,388	447	459	508	534	610	690	698	669	668	877	931
Bulcote Hamlet §	650	148	105	142	142	154	83	136	118	111	101	93
Calverton § † . .	3,424	636	904	1,064	1,196	1,339	1,427	1,372	1,319	1,246	1,199	1,159
Colwick § † . . .	1,340	116	102	120	145	109	120	110	101	113	480	899
Epperstone § † . .	2,503	422	429	513	518	518	511	518	436	435	378	362
Gedling :—	4,504	1,530	1,903	2,017	2,343	2,642	2,922	3,130	3,354	5,307	7,628	11,384
Gedling §	1,918	554	525	499	458	411	402	397	379	506	526	785
Carlton Hamlet	1,471	819	1,214	1,345	1,704	2,015	2,329	2,559	2,807	4,625	6,914	10,386
Stoke Bardolph Township §	1,115	157	164	173	181	216	191	174	168	176	188	213
Gonalston § † . .	1,346	146	127	96	107	113	100	107	133	119	115	128
Hoveringham § . .	934	324	339	335	347	398	408	387	331	328	384	311

²⁸ Normanton upon Trent Parish.—The 1801 population was estimated.

²⁹ Norwell Woodhouse Township.—The populations for 1801 and 1811 were probably included in those given for Norwell Township.

³⁰ Rolleston Parish is situated in Thurgarton Wapentake (North and South Divisions). The 1841 population for Rolleston Township included 82 strangers at village feast.

³¹ Stoke East Parish and Township are situated in Thurgarton Wapentake (North Division), and in Newark Borough.

³² See note 18, ante.

³³ Weston Parish.—The 1851 population included a number of labourers, temporarily present, engaged on railway works.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Thurgarton Wapentake—South Division. (cont.)</i>												
Lambley § †	2,174	467	583	690	824	983	951	836	796	803	729	770
Lowdham † :—	3,163	999	1,127	1,334	1,463	1,483	1,596	1,503	1,317	1,357	1,393	1,523
Lowdham	1,691	553	555	679	791	819	930	868	728	740	795	923
Caythorpe	315	168	267	285	289	315	315	304	262	294	243	232
Township												
Gunthorpe	1,157	278	305	370	383	349	351	331	327	323	355	368
Township												
Oxton †	3,580 ^a	697	778	798	778	841	850	738	636	516	439	440
Rolleston (part of) ²⁴ :—												
Fiskerton	1,043 ^a	230	313	342	314	402	333	319	277	283	272	261
Township † ²⁵												
Snenton	911	558	953	1,212	3,605	7,079	8,440	11,048	12,237	15,473	17,439	23,093
Thurgarton §	2,573	334	292	330	329	365	385	361	332	328	303	321
Woodborough § †	1,945	527	611	717	774	801	852	893	898	889	768	722
 <i>Borough of Newark</i>												
Newark upon Trent †					9,541	10,195	11,321	11,498	12,187	14,018	14,457	
Stoke, East (part of) ²⁶ :—	1,931	6,730	7,236	8,084								14,992
Stoke, East Township (part of) † ²⁶					16	25	9	17	8	0	0	
 <i>Town, and County of the Town, of Nottingham.</i>												
St. Mary *	1,864	22,654	27,371	32,712	39,539	41,135	45,729	64,553	76,130	101,906	99,897	101,433
St. Nicholas †	69	3,415	3,820	4,117	5,447	5,424	5,846	5,154	5,452	5,221	3,918	7,480
St. Peter †		2,732	2,839	3,361	5,234	5,605	5,832	4,986	5,039	4,521	3,802	
Standard Hill and Limits of Nottingham Castle Extra Par.	266	60	223	225	460	927	1,012	1,072	1,309	1,942	2,305	2,351

²⁴ See note 30, ante.
²⁶ See note 31, ante.

²⁵ Fiskerton Township.—The 1841 population included 61 strangers at village feast.

GENERAL NOTE

The following Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts were co-extensive at the Census of 1901 with one or more places mentioned in the Table :—

Municipal Borough, or Urban District	Place
Arnold U.D.	Arnold Parish (Broxtow Wapentake—North Division).
Beeston U.D.	Beeston Parish (Broxtow Wapentake—South Division).
Eastwood U.D.	Eastwood Parish (Broxtow Wapentake—South Division).
Hucknall Torkard U.D.	Hucknall Torkard Parish (Broxtow Wapentake—North Division).
Mansfield Woodhouse U.D.	Mansfield Woodhouse Parish (Broxtow Wapentake—North Division).
Newark M.B.	The Borough of Newark as shown in the Table.
Warsop U.D.	Warsop Township (Bassetlaw Wapentake—Hatfield Division).
Worksop U.D.	Worksop Parish (Bassetlaw Wapentake—Hatfield Division).



INDUSTRIES

INTRODUCTION

THE industrial history of the county of Nottingham lacks neither variety nor interest. We are presented with a mediaeval record of spirited traffic, both at home and abroad, in that commodity of wool which built up the fortunes of numerous merchant princes, Florentine and Flemish as well as English, placing them in intimate financial relations with the throne itself. Passing over in this place the important hosiery trade and various other industries to which fuller allusion will be made in their separate sections, we find the modern craft economy of the county principally concerned on the one hand with the production of machine-made lace at Nottingham, the preponderance of female labour in the sphere of its operations being its most arresting characteristic;¹ and on the other with the remarkable development² of the coal-mining industry which has taken place within the last decade, the output of coal during the period in question having almost doubled. The results of recent borings and sinkings in the concealed coalfields of the district point to still greater activity in this department of local industry in the future.

Among the natural resources of the county, premier rank must be assigned to that waterway of 'Princely Trent,' which, until the successive advent of canals and railways, shared with the somewhat uncertain means of communication offered by the early roads of the district the only possible solution of the pressing problem of mediaeval transport. And in spite of changing conditions and the rapid expansion of the railway systems of the county, this ancient commercial route through its very heart is still of some importance and utility. Evidence was forthcoming before a recent Royal Commission on Canals and Waterways that the traffic by this route is still 'considerable,' comprising corn, skins, leather, tanning materials, glass-ware, manures, pitch, paper and paper-boards, timber, oil-cake, &c. 'With a waterway like the Trent put in

proper form,' declared one witness on this occasion, 'Nottingham would be much more important than it is to-day.'³

The necessity for keeping the roads of the county in good repair was, naturally, ever present to the minds of those whose chief livelihood, if not actual wealth, was derived from a wool and cloth traffic. Early benefactors of the highways were numerous. In 1439 Richard Davy of Newark, mercer, left 40s. to repair the way between his town and Kelham. In 1443 John de Boston of Newark, mercer, left 10 marks to the same road, also to the causeway extending in the same direction. In 1466 Alexander Lowe bestowed 1s. on the 'cawse' between Newark and Kelham. The repair of the bridges was of no less importance, and we hear of benefactions to 'Colebrigges,' 'Fennebrigge,' and Muskham Bridge, in mediaeval wills.⁴ In Tudor times we learn that the highways in Nottinghamshire were 'much cried out upon, especially about Newark, seeing that at every small flood no man could pass in a mile space, either on foot or horseback, without marvellous great danger to horse and man.'⁵ Again the problem of street traffic engaged early attention at Nottingham.

¹ Sir John Turney, *Rep. Com. Canals*, 1908, vol. ii, 461. There was formerly a great agricultural traffic along the Trent to Newark. Private boats collected the wheat from the farmers along the banks and brought it to Newark to be milled. This trade has now, however, almost entirely passed to Hull; *ibid.* 246. At some date unknown in mediaeval times, Richard Biron was charged at Nottingham with impeding the passage of ships and boats by drawing off the waters of the Trent at Colwick to supply his mill-dam; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* i, App. 106.

⁴ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 172.

⁵ *Ibid.* 343. The so-called Smeaton's Flood Road, constructed by the famous engineer in 1770 at a cost of £12,000, was the outcome of the serious inconvenience caused to traffic on that section of the great highway to the North by the frequent floods to which it was subject. As many as ninety coaches, besides stage-wagons and packhorses, passed at one time daily along this route; *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* vi, 56. Out of twenty-two turnpike trusts averaging 20 miles each, only two were reported to be in bad repair in 1840; *Gaz. Engl. and Wales*, 1840, p. 546.

¹ According to the latest returns 14,000 women are employed in this manufacture alone; *Parl. Rep. Cost of Living*, 1908, p. 350.

² See section on 'Coal.'

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In 1579 the causeway against Sneinton Ford was presented by the Mickletorn jury to be in need of gravelling, 'for when the waters be out, it is so deep worn it doth overthrow pack-horses.'⁶ Alderman Clarke, again, was presented in 1593 for 'encroaching his clue hedge in the sandy lane that 2 packhorses could not meet.'⁷

The road from Nottingham to Loughborough was long 'almost impassable,' an Act of Parliament being passed in 1738 for its repair.⁸ On the road between Worksop and Warsop, a post-chaise has been known to take three hours to travel 8 miles.⁹ 'Time was when the roads near (Worksop) were almost impassable to common carriages, and vehicles almost hidden by the depth of the ruts and the hollowness of the roads.'¹⁰ In 1766 that part of the Great North Road between Newark and Bawtry was amended by legislative direction, being diverted from its ancient course across the forest, so as to pass through Retford.¹¹ Great improvement indeed was noticeable in the roads towards the close of this century, and the inauguration of the epoch of macadam, owing to greater attention being given to surveying. This improvement, however, as a writer of the period points out, did not apply to those roads which traversed the clay and coal districts, where there was much heavy carriage.¹² Municipal, no less than county vigilance, was concerned with this matter, which it was impossible to dissociate from its influence on commerce.

Passing to the era of the canals, we find their construction coincident with the expansion of the mineral resources of the country,¹³ a feature of the development of this means of communication being the adaptation of existing waterways to its purposes. To such adaptations the Trent,

⁶ We are here furnished, says Mr. Stevenson, with early evidence of the use of the packhorse as a mode of commercial traffic; *Rec. of the Boro. of Nott.* iv, 188. Indispensable as it was to the conduct of the wool, malt, and other industries of the county, we find this picturesque method of transport attracting the invariable attention of historian and topographer. From one of these we learn of the 'packhorses whose tinkling bell was the signal that whichever of the carriers' trains came first to a wider space should remain there until the other had passed by'; Holland, *Hist. Worksop*, 8. As many as sixty packhorses in a drove might be met with at one time on a Notts. highway; Wake, *Hist. Collingham*, 42.

⁷ Stevenson, *op. cit.* 238.

⁸ White, *Notts.* (1864), 44.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Holland, *Hist. Worksop*, 8.

¹¹ White, *Notts.* (1864), 44.

¹² Lowe, *Agric. Notts.* 53.

¹³ 'The passage of the Nottingham Canal through the liberties of Eastwood, Newthorpe, Cossal, Trowell, and Wollaton (at all of which places pit-coal is gotten in abundance), facilitates trade'; Blackner, *Hist. Notts.* 15.

'the key to the trade of Nottingham,'¹⁴ and the Erewash gave their names, providing under their new aspect a greatly-extended outlet for the famous malt of the county.¹⁵

At the present time there are two canals in the county, the Nottingham and the Grantham, the boats engaged in the traffic of both being 155 in number.¹⁶ The first of these canals, which runs for a distance of about 15 miles from the Cromford Canal¹⁷ at Langley Mill to the Trent at Nottingham, was constructed under an Act of Parliament in 1792, purchased by the Ambergate, Nottingham, and Boston and Eastern Junction Railway Company under an Act of Incorporation in 1846, and finally leased by the latter company (now the Nottingham and Grantham Railway and Canal Company) to the Great Northern Railway Company for 999 years from 1 August 1861.¹⁸

Four railway systems traverse the county, those of the Midland, Great Northern, North Western, and Great Central Companies.

The mineral activities of the county have mostly been on a limited and local scale, with the exception of those connected with the coal industry, which will be dealt with later on, and the traffic in gypsum, which is at least as ancient as it is full of interest, in view of its subsidiary trade of the mediaeval alabasterman or imagemaker.¹⁹ The Permian limestone is largely quarried in the county for building, yielding a rough-hewn stone for outer walls, and being also extensively worked for lime-burning.²⁰ The basal limestone of the Lias formation yields lime and hydraulic cement of noted quality at Barnston.²¹ The county is well provided with sand, that for mixing mortar being taken from the Bunter and from the sandy seams of the Trent gravel.²² Moulding-sand, for iron-founding, is yielded by the Bunter Lower Mottled Sand-

¹⁴ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 91.

¹⁵ Lowe, *Agric. Notts.* 52-3.

¹⁶ *Parl. Rep. Cost of Living*, 1908, p. 349.

¹⁷ This canal, the construction of which was authorized in 1789, is now practically derelict; *ibid.* 64.

¹⁸ *Rep. Com. Canals*, 1908, p. 221.

¹⁹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 492.

²⁰ *Midland Naturalist*, v, 171.

²¹ Each bed of limestone possesses peculiar properties; the desired properties in the cement are therefore obtained by blending the different beds.

²² A considerable traffic in sand from the Bunter bed was formerly carried on at Nottingham by itinerant vendors, one of whom, named Ross, made an excavation, now closed, 306 ft. long, and containing upwards of two hundred chambers; Carr, *Geol. Notts.* 20.

Harrison, in his 'Survey' (1636), writes of 'very good quarries of stone near Worksop for building and limestone for the making of lime not only for necessary uses in building, but especially for the manuring of grounds'; White, *Dukery Rec.* 133.

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stone, at Spring Close Quarry, Lenton, which has supplied many parts of the Midlands for about twenty years; at Bobber's Mill in the Leen Valley, and at a pit, now disused, at Two Mile Houses, Basford. The Bestwood Iron-works draw their sand from a pit in the Lower Bunter Pebble Beds, at the Warren, Bestwood. Moulding-sand of excellent quality is also dug at Mansfield.²⁵ The raw material for bricks and pottery is abundantly furnished by the Permian and Keuper marls, the bright red variety of the former being extensively quarried round Bulwell for the manufacture of bricks and flower-pots. It is claimed for the articles made from this clay that they have a better colour, and are less liable to the formation of a buff-coloured deposit when burnt at a high temperature than the bricks made from the Keuper marls. The centering of the trade at Bulwell is owing to the pits being in the vicinity of the railway, also to the fact of the full thickness of the marls being available at that point. Although covering a wide area, the depth of the formation rarely exceeds 20 ft.²⁴ At Newark and Bowbridge the manufacture of bricks from the Keuper marls is carried on in connexion with the gypsum quarries. The marls are also worked for bricks and drain-pipes in an old-established yard at Harlequin, near Radcliffe-on-Trent, also at Southwell, Lowdham, and other places. At Bottesford, the Lower Lias clay is similarly employed.

The Lower Keuper sandstone or water-stones is extensively worked for brick-making, especially at the east end of Nottingham,²⁵ where the majority of the mediaeval tile-houses were situated, Robin Hood Yard at Hockley being on the site of one of these.²⁶ Like the mediaeval potters, says Mr. Stevenson, the brick and tile-makers of early times brought their clay from the spot where it was dug to the tilehouse, where the manufacture was actually carried out. John Slater was carrying on his craft at Nottingham in 1397, when an action was brought against him by William Huntston for having put bad tiles on his house, which fell off, and caused the timber to be damaged by divers tempests of rain. The complainant claimed 40s. damages.²⁷ In 1482-3 John Howett was paid

16d. for 200 tiles, Robert Ratcliff providing 100 at 3s. 4d., also fourteen bricks at 4d.²⁸ John Wylford, tiler, was paid 6d. a day, and his servant 4d., for tiling in 1511.²⁹ Eighty new tiles and three ridge tiles for the Mercery at Nottingham cost 11d. in 1484-5, Steven Tyler being engaged to carry out the repairs there at 6d. per day, his servant being paid 4d. William Grey, another tiler, earned 4d.³⁰ John Chrytchley, 'teyler,' paid 2,000 tiles to the burgesses instead of the usual 6s. 8d. in 1581.³¹

The Mapperley brick-making industry seems to have been carried on during the 17th century by numbers of vagrant brick-makers, for in 1682 we find the Nottingham Town Council taking measures to discharge forthwith the several persons that dig clay upon the wastes in or near Nottingham plains, their kilns and hovels to be pulled down the same day.³² In 1689 the Mickleton jury presented Thomas Elliott, and fined him 5s. for a brick kiln upon the plains.³³ The prices of bricks at the kilns near Nottingham, presumably those made at Mapperley, are given in Deering's time as follows:—Common bricks, 10s. per 1,000; dressed, 17s.; flat tiles, 15s.; and pan tiles, £1 1s.³⁴ The yards were closed in winter, as the primitive condition of the road did not permit of the carriage of coals to the plains, and the plastic bricks could not therefore be dried. The clay was ground by horses going round and round in a mill. In winter the brick-makers were working maltsters, and found employment in the numerous malt-kilns and malt-rooms of the neighbourhood.³⁵ In the middle of the last century thousands of bricks of the old duty size (9 in. by 4½ in. by 2½ in.) were made by hand in the summer every week.³⁶ Whole families, as for example that of the Oaklands, were engaged in the trade.³⁷

Chalk, which is not common in the county, has been dug however between Nottingham and Aspley.³⁸ A particular variety of the Keuper marl is used for the preparation of a loam for a top-dressing for cricket-pitches and lawns, the material being chiefly obtained from a pit in the upper part of the marl at Cotgrave and from the Harlequin Brick-works near Radcliffe, and is exported to distant localities in small quantities. Marl of excellent quality has been obtained from pits near East Bridgeford.

The numerous pits and spoil-heaps of open-cast workings,³⁹ of which traces remain in several

²⁵ Groves, *Hist. Mansfield*, 367.

²⁴ *S. Derb. and Notts. Coalfield*, 1908, p. 177.

²³ *Midland Naturalist*, v, 172; Aveline, *Geol. Notts.*

17.

²⁶ Stapleton, *Old Mapperley*, 208. 'The Tilehouse' (ye Tylhusse) at Nottingham is first mentioned in the Borough Records in 1435, a later allusion being to the 'Tyle House'; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 358; iii, 358. Mediaeval tiles, says Mr. Stevenson, were largely used for the wide fireplaces and chimney stacks of the wooden houses of the period. The same authority cites an instance of a house thus constructed, now pulled down, in St. Peter Gate; Stapleton, *Old Mapperley*, 208.

²⁷ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 349.

²⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 391.

²⁹ *Ibid.* iii, 325.

³⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 230.

³¹ *Ibid.* iv, 167.

³² *Ibid.* v, 323.

³³ *Ibid.* 356.

³⁴ Deering, *op. cit.* 88.

³⁵ Stapleton, *Old Mapperley*, 222.

³⁶ Dearden, *Dir.* 1834.

³⁷ Stapleton, *op. cit.* 216.

³⁸ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 88.

³⁹ *S. Derb. and Notts. Coalfield*, 1908, p. 85.

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localities, are evidence of a former active iron industry. The local ores, however, have long been replaced by imported Jurassic ores from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. The former consisted chiefly of 'rakes,' or rows of ironstone nodules. Honeycroft, Civilly, and Dale Moor, or Hagg Rake, were 'rakes' much in request in the Stanton district.⁴⁰ Iron is also present in the county in the form of iron pyrites, of which 205 tons were raised in 1907, valued at £82.⁴¹ There are seven blast furnaces in Nottingham, with an average of five in blast during the year. At Bennerley (Awsorth), Ilkeston, there are three, owned by Mr. E. P. Davis, whilst at Bestwood, Nottingham, four are worked by the Bestwood Coal and Iron Company, Ltd.⁴² The pig iron production of Nottinghamshire is included in the returns for Derbyshire.

There was, in Deering's opinion, a sufficient quantity of coal and iron ore forthcoming in the county to induce 'plenty of all sorts of workmen in iron to settle here, especially saddlers, ironmongers, and husbandry implement makers.'⁴³ The lorimers were a fairly numerous craft in ancient times, the name and the trade being frequently identical. William de Holm held a tenement in the Lorimers' Street (*Vicus Lorimeriorum*) at an early date.⁴⁴ In 1578 evidence is forthcoming that the ironworker was not permitted to exercise his craft without being previously apprenticed to the same, Thomas Nix being presented by the Mickletorn jury for 'exercising the craft mystery or manual occupation of an ironmonger of small-made wares,' such as nails, horse-shoes, ploughslips, shivers, spade shoes, hatchets, cart-clouts, wain-clouts, brandreths, and irons. A fine of £22 having been inflicted, Nix 'after comes, and acknowledges he will not further meddle with the sale of such wares.'⁴⁵

By the 16th century the Lorimers' Street of mediaeval times had become Bridlesmithgate, of which an anonymous writer of an account of Nottingham at the former date says that

Bridle Smith and Gridle Smith Gates were so called no doubt by reason of the store of smiths then dwelling therein who made bits, snaffles, and other stuffs for bridles, of which trade there are some still inhabiting that street, though the greater number be worn out by smiths of a rougher stamp, such as make

⁴⁰ *S. Derb. and Notts. Coalfield*, 1908, p. 90.

⁴¹ *Mines and Quarries*, 1907, pt. iii, p. 214. In 1908 the production was slightly less, 192 tons.

⁴² *Ibid.* 1907, pt. iii, 207.

⁴³ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 92.

⁴⁴ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 131, 293-4, 367, 435.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* iv, 51. It was a curiosity of the ironmongers' trade of Nottingham that they were also the chief purveyors of fish. Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 97. The smiths' quarter in Nottingham was that known as *Vicus Magnorum Fabrorum*; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 440.

plough irons, coulter shares, stroke and nails, harrow teeth and the like, of which trade there are at this day such store in this street and other parts of the town as serve to furnish not only this city of Nottingham, but divers other bordering shires, as Leicester, Rutland, and Lincolnshire, the reason of which number I suppose to be the great plenty of coals got and the great plenty of iron made in these parts.⁴⁶

Barnaby Wartnaby, the founder of Wartnaby's Hospital in 1665, was a wealthy ironworker of the 17th century. His burial at St. Mary's is recorded in the parish registers 16 November, 1672.⁴⁷

The author of a *Tour in the Midlands* in 1772 speaks of an ironwork at Carburton, adding that there was one other disused at a site near Nottingham. 'These forges,' he adds, 'are scattered about at a distance from the mines, where the ore is raised, for the convenience of easily obtaining charcoal, to supply them, and perhaps because the metal, when brought hither, is on the way to water-carriage.'⁴⁸ Iron ore has been found in the alluvium, near Bleasby.⁴⁹

Richard, the parchment-maker of Newark, would seem to have been one of the earliest purveyors of writing material in the county, for in 1371 we find him supplying eighty-four dozen of parchment for the king's use at 3s. a dozen, at a cost of £12 12s. A second account was for sixty dozen. The trade, Mr. Brown suggests, must have been a lucrative one, as twenty rolls of parchment were used for the trade pleas alone at Nottingham every year.⁵⁰ There was a mill 'of very ancient date'⁵¹ at Bollom, where glazed pressing boards were made, also glazed, shop, and other papers.⁵² At Welham brown paper was formerly made at a mill previously used for grinding bones.⁵³ The Epperstone Paper-mill, worked by the Dover Beck and owned in the early part of the 19th century by Mr. W. Forster, was burnt down in 1828, but rebuilt shortly afterwards.⁵⁴ Mr. Horatio Nelson had a paper-mill at Retford in 1794.⁵⁵ At the present time the industry is carried on at Lowdham, near Nottingham, by the Epperstone Company, who manufacture Jacquards and other middlings, filtering, fly, and absorbent papers, and by Ben Haigh, of the Albert Mills, Retford, where browns, caps, middles, and Royal Whites are produced.⁵⁶

The earliest existing specimen of Nottingham printing, according to Mr. Briscoe, is a pamphlet, now included in the Nottinghamshire collection

⁴⁶ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* i, 34.

⁴⁷ Ward, *Notes on St. Mary's Reg.* 35.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* 88.

⁴⁹ Aveline, *Geol. Notts.* 21.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 188.

⁵¹ Curtis, *Topog. Hist. Notts.* 33.

⁵² White, *Notts.* 735.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Curtis, *op. cit.* 94.

⁵⁵ Piercy, *Hist. Retford*, 10.

⁵⁶ *Papermakers' Dir.* 1908, p. 107.

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in the Nottingham Free Library, entitled 'The Country Man's Proposal,' by Richard Cooper, which was printed and published by John Colyer at Long Row early in the 18th century.⁶⁷ The art of printing, according to Deering, was introduced into the town by William Ayscough about 1710, when he started business in a house on the west side of Bridle-smithgate, midway between Pepper Street and Peter Gate.⁶⁸ Colyer and Ayscough were respectively patronized, we are told, by the Non-conformists and the Episcopalians.⁶⁹ In 1716 Colyer began printing the first Nottingham newspaper, *The Notts Post*, first in a house on Timber Hill, afterwards occupied by Mr. Wilson, draper, and afterwards at Long Row.⁶⁰ In 1732 George Ayscough, son of William Ayscough, began the *Nottingham Courant*. In 1757 Samuel Creswell, of Nottingham, and John Gregory of Leicester, started the *Leicester and Notts Journal*, which was printed in Leicester and published in Nottingham. In 1769 Mr. Creswell bought the *Courant* from Ayscough, and converted it into the *Notts Journal*, which was published in a house on the south side of the Exchange. In 1772 George Burbage set up the *Nottingham Chronicle* in Long Row, No. 14, which was the second house west of the Crown Inn. In 1775 Creswell and Burbage became joint owners of the *Journal*, until the death of the former, the paper eventually passing into the possession of Mr. Stretton, who married Burbage's daughter. In 1780 Henry Cox, writing-master, started the *Notts Gazette* on Middle Pavement, but this publication was given up in a year. In 1808 the *Notts Review* was started by Charles Sutton in Bridlesmithgate. In 1813 a second *Notts Gazette* was begun by William Tupman in High Street.

Lithographic and letterpress printing employ a number of hands in the city of Nottingham, show cards, wall posters, and illustrations for the leading magazines and weekly papers being largely and artistically produced. The leading firms engaged in this industry are—Thomas Forman & Sons, Stafford & Co., Ltd., and Tom Browne & Co., Ltd.⁶¹

Basket-work is a very ancient industry of the county. John le Skepper⁶² was carrying on his occupation in Nottingham as early as 1303,⁶³ Robert Cony being located in Fletcher Gate in 1534.⁶⁴ At a later date Deering writes of the

basket-makers of Nottingham as 'making not only common work, but being famed all over England for the curiosity of their workmanship in wicker-ware.'⁶⁵

In 1894 Nottingham and Southwell were largely engaged in the manufacture of basket-ware, wicker chairs, and bamboo furniture, the preparation of osiers during the summer giving occupation to numbers of women.⁶⁶

The making up of birch twigs into besoms was a former industry chiefly carried on in the winter in country districts. The 'twigging' was first let to the besom-makers at so much per bottle (bundle), which was usually 4 ft. in girth. After being cut the twigs were allowed to lie till March, when they were stacked like corn, and thatched. The shafts or staves cut from the birch trees were sold to the brushmakers at so much per 1,000, or per 100, being utilized for brush heads, painters' brush handles, banisters, spindles, and distaffs, whilst the shorter pieces were worked up by the cloggers and shoe-heel cutters.⁶⁷ Willows were grown to furnish hurdles, flakes, gates, and other farming implements.⁶⁸

The liquorice,⁶⁹ formerly abundantly cultivated at Worksop, gave rise for many years to a flourishing industry. 'In the west, near Worksop,' writes Speed, 'groweth plenty of liquorice, very delicious and good.'⁷⁰ 'England,' declares Fuller, 'affordeth the best in the world for some uses, this county (Nottingham) the first and best in England.'⁷¹ Sundry entries of 'licoras gardens' occur among Worksop leases, most of these cultures being situated on the east margin of the park, near the present Stack Walk.⁷² The last of these plantations were in the neighbourhood of Forest Lane, in the pleasure-ground before Mr. Roe's house, and in some of the gardens near the town. On the site of one, a gardener left his name to the Brompton Stock. The liquorice was not only sold in Worksop, but carried to the neighbouring towns. An old woman on a grey pony was a well-known vendor, the bundles being brought into Mansfield once a week, and bought by the children at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a stick.⁷³

⁶⁵ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 96.

⁶⁶ *Ann. Rep. Factories and Workshops*, 1894, p. 217.

⁶⁷ Lowe, *Agric. Notts.* 103. The caverns known as the Rock Houses at Mansfield were long tenanted by a colony of besom-makers; Groves, *Hist. Mansfield*, 108. Birch brooms from Newark were supplied to the ducal household at Belvoir in 1611 at 3s. per dozen; *Rutland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), 486.

⁶⁸ Lowe, *op. cit.*, 123.

⁶⁹ *Glycyrrhiza vulgaris*. 'One of the chief commodities of the county,' according to Overton's rare map of Notts. published in 1714.

⁷⁰ Speed, *Theatre Great Brit.* (1614), 65.

⁷¹ Fuller, *Worthies*, ii, 205.

⁷² White, *Worksop*, 61.

⁷³ Holland, *Hist. Worksop*, 6. Harrison's 'Survey' (1636) mentions a 'Licoras Garden' at Worksop in the King's Close; White, *Dukery Rec.* 137.

⁶⁷ *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* Oct. 1897.

⁶⁸ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 96.

⁶⁹ *N. and Q. ut supra.*

⁶⁰ Blackner, *loc. cit.*

⁶¹ Communicated by the courtesy of Messrs. Thos. Forman & Sons.

⁶² Skip—a shallow basket, when used as a measure, a bushel.

⁶³ Stevenson, *Rec. Bero. of Nott.* iv, 500.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 442.

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A curious modern industry of Nottingham is that of the collection in the surrounding meadows of worms, which are carried to various parts of the country and sold for bait.⁷⁴

Various small industries have been carried on in the county from time to time. Candle-wicks were largely manufactured at Gamston,⁷⁵ also at Retford.⁷⁶ One halfpenny per lb. was paid to the poor for carding candle-wick, and 1d. per lb. for spinning it, in the 17th century; 1d. per lb. being charged for pulling the 'middling' (the coarser part) out of it.⁷⁷ John Turberville made blacking at Worksop in the 18th century, in the form of rolls, or large pastilles.⁷⁸ The poor of Sherwood Forest 'made a scanty livelihood in 1755 by gathering fern and selling the ashes when burnt to the soapmakers.'⁷⁹ Pin-making and wire-drawing were carried on in 1815 by

Henry Redgate, Hounds Gate, Nottingham, also by Samuel Wood, Leenside; hand-workers alone being employed at the latter establishment.⁸⁰ A sword and scythe factory formerly stood on a site at Mansfield, now marked by a mound known as 'Hallam's Grave,' and styled in deeds belonging to the Portland family the 'Island Meadow,' the charcoal used in the process of forging being furnished by the forest, and the iron being supplied by Pleasley Forge. The swords manufactured here were famous for their excellent quality.⁸¹

The vicinity of Sherwood Forest, and the consequent ready supply of wood, has given rise to the industry of Windsor chair-making, chiefly at Worksop and Wellow, whilst at Edwinstowe wood-carving has been successfully undertaken, notably in 1864, by Mr. R. I. Tudsbury.⁸²

COAL

The county of Nottingham has very early associations both with the actual mining and the industrial employment of coal.¹ Indeed, soon after the middle of the 13th century mineral coal was being largely used in the town of Nottingham itself, and in 1257 Queen Eleanor, who had purposed making a long stay there, was forced to leave for Tutbury 'owing to the smoke of the sea-coals.'² As there can be no question of any considerable employment of the mineral for domestic use at this period,³ we may safely conclude that it was in request as fuel for the lime-burner, the baker, the brewer, and the smith.

It is quite likely that a certain quantity of coal in 1257 may have been brought from the pits just inside the frontier of Derbyshire,⁴ but although owing to lack of records we cannot produce definite evidence, it is equally probable that already mining had begun at Cossall and Selston, for only twenty-five years after a mine of sea-coals at Cossall (*minerarium de carbonibus maris*) was appraised at the yearly value of 20s.⁵

Again, towards the close of the reign of Edward I, coal-mining on a considerable scale was certainly proceeding at Selston,⁶ for we hear of serious contention about the waste and destruction wrought by the mining operations of William de Cantlow in three dwellings and gardens in 'Selleston,' which Simon de Greenhill and Lecia

his wife held from William de Cantlow for term of life. In the composition which closed this quarrel the life tenants 'granted and gave up to the Lord William all mines and diggings of coal and iron with appurtenances in all lands and tenements in the said township of Selleston for the digging, selling, carrying and convenience of the said Lord William and his heirs with free ingress and egress to the same through the said township as it may be more expeditious for him, without opposition from Simon and Lecia during their lifetime.' For this release Simon and Lecia were to receive annually (during the working of the mine) thirty cart-loads of coal which they could deal with at their own pleasure. Mineral coal was evidently by this time recognized as a valuable incident of land wherever it was found bassetting to the surface.

Towards the middle of the 14th century we again hear⁷ of the mining at Cossall, when William de Smalley of Stanley gave notice that he had granted to Richard Stour of Nottingham 'that half portion of the mine of sea coals and culms with appurtenances in the township and fields of Cossall which Henry son of Peter of Cossall had of the gift and feoffment of Henry

⁷⁴ Communicated by Mr. R. H. Beaumont.

⁷⁵ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, p. 488.

⁷⁶ Piercy, *Hist. Retford*, 10. 'Celebrated candles' were made at Newark; *Gaz. Engl. and Wales*, 1840, p. 546.

⁷⁷ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 260.

⁷⁸ Holland, *Hist. Worksop*, 145.

⁷⁹ *Four Topog. Letters*, 10.

⁸⁰ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 251.

⁸¹ Groves, *Hist. Mansfield*, 256, 367.

⁸² White, *Hist. Worksop*, 629, 787, 666.

¹ For a description of the geology of this coalfield and an account of the chief seams the reader is referred to *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 1 et seq.

² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 203.

³ Even as late as the reign of Elizabeth, wood from Sherwood Forest was largely used in Nottingham for domestic fuel, though by that time, as Camden remarks, 'many employed the offensively smelling dug-up coal.'

⁴ *V.C.H. Derby*, ii, 349.

⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* file 37, no 7 (11 Edw. I).

⁶ *P.R.O. Anct. D. B.* 3216.

⁷ *Stevenson, Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 144.

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son of Richard of Cossall.' Amongst other Cossall miners mentioned in this deed were Robert Plomer and John Shepherd.⁸

A few notices of the Nottingham coalfield are found amongst the charters of the religious houses of the county. It is not improbable that the Prior and convent of Newstead, who are mentioned in the deeds last quoted, had some interest in this mine at Cossall, but the Carthusian house of Beauvale in particular had a long connexion with the mining industry of Nottinghamshire, especially at Newthorpe, Selston, and Kimberley. A lease⁹ granted by these religious in the third year of Richard II reveals several points of interest. By this instrument they gave to Robert Pascayll, William FitzHenry, Henry Marchall, and William Cock, all of Eastwood (Estwayt) to three Denby men, Henry Gyllyng, John Horseley, and John Boliwod, and to Roger Rage of Horsley Woodhouse 'tout le myne de carboun de meer qe a eux appartient dedeinz le soill de Neufeld de Neuthorp' at an annual rent of 5 marks, which, however, was not due until coal was found, the output being apparently limited and determined by a restriction as to the number of miners working. As long as the lessees carried out their contract the Carthusians would permit no competitors to work coal within the soil of Newfield, but retained the right to enter again and enjoy their own property if the rent were allowed to fall a quarter in arrear.

Nearly three quarters of a century after, in 1457, William Arnalde granted¹⁰ to the Prior and convent of Beauvale *accepto precio* all his coals underground within the parish of Selston with power to sink shafts (*puteos facere*), and make drains (*fossas facere*), as well as timber and underwood for 'punches¹¹ and proppes,' for a term of ninety-nine years at a yearly rent of 1 mark. In confirmatory deeds of slightly later date connected with this grant we hear of the *aqueductum vocatum le Sugh*, the adit or drainage level so often met with in coal-mining when the industry had passed beyond the stage of open-cast works. The sough was certainly known and probably employed in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, as in Durham, before this time,¹² the tendency to avoid

⁸ In 1394 a petition was presented to Parliament complaining of the unjust extortion by the constable of Nottingham Castle of 4d. on every load of coals carried by the highway through the forest of Sherwood for the use of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and this, notwithstanding a prohibition of the same, to the great damage of the king's lieges (*Parl. R.* iii, 330a). It is possible, however, that the 'coals' here mentioned referred to charcoal.

⁹ Cart. Misc. Aug. Off. ii, no. 211 (Tuesday after Nat. of St. John Baptist 3 Ric. II).

¹⁰ P.R.O. Anct. D. B. 3217.

¹¹ 'Joists,' i.e. for the timbering of the mine.

¹² In the reign of Edward I adits were commonly employed in the Devonshire silver-lead mines, and at these hundreds of Midland miners were employed.

it as long as outcrop coal was to be got naturally proceeding from a fear of the serious expenditure its construction demanded. According to the terms of the lease, during the period of the construction of the 'Sugh,' no rent was to be exacted.

Coal from these Selston pits found during the 15th century a ready sale in Nottingham, and we hear¹³ of a bond in 100s. given by Elys Dey, of Watnall Cantelupe, husbandman to Richard Ody, of Nottingham, draper, for the delivery at Nottingham of ten wain-loads of coal called 'Pytte Coles at the feast of St. Peter's Chains 1483'—every wain-load to contain a whole 'roke' of coals of 'Selston Pitte'—and another 10 loads on the 14 September following. 'Forstalling' was an offence not unknown, and some years earlier, complaint¹⁴ was made that one Thomas Marshall, at a place in Nottingham called 'Sandecliff,' 'forestalled 4 wain-loads of sea coals, not allowing those coals to be led and carried to the king's market in the town aforesaid.'

In 1459 we hear¹⁵ of another religious house, the priory of Lenton, acquiring from the Carthusians of Beauvale a certain portion of their 'underground coals' in Newfield, measuring 30 'pikshafts' in length and 8 selions in breadth, 2 acres in all, for a term of seven years. The fine paid at entrance was £10. Probably no extensive operations at a great depth were contemplated in this lease, for it was agreed that the Prior of Lenton and his assigns after obtaining their coal should fill up the pits and make them level with soil, with the proviso, however, that 'if the said pits (*putei*) should seem to the Prior of Beauvale very good and necessary,' then they shall be delivered to him and his successors *open*, in order that the coals remaining there might be taken out.¹⁶

The Carthusians of Beauvale retained an interest in certain of the coal-mines on their property until the Dissolution, as for instance those at Kimberley,¹⁷ where an annual profit of £13 was mainly derived from this source. Apparently the Selston coal-mines had been leased on a long term¹⁸ by the priory to John Garnon as the Dissolution drew near.

During the 16th century the coal-mines of Wollaton and Strelley were wrought with energy, and their exploitation was so profitable as to lead to sharp bickering and consequent actions at law between the Willoughbys and

¹³ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 421.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 264.

¹⁵ Cart. Misc. Aug. Off. xiii, no. 106.

¹⁶ There is also a clause providing that even within the seven years' term the Prior of Beauvale shall have 'eisiammentum suum in dictis puteis' whenever he shall think it necessary.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 14.

¹⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xv, 560.

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Strelleys, their respective owners. Before the dissolution of the religious house of Lenton the prior had permitted Sir Henry Willoughby,¹⁹ then lord of Wollaton and owner of the coal-mine within the manor, to make 'one sowth (sough) from his sayd colemynes thorowgh certeyne of the landes' of the priory 'for the advoydyng and conveye of the water from the sayd colemyne, for which sowthe there was yerely reservyd vnto the sayd pryor and to his successors 8 rookes of coles.' On the Dissolution this reserved rent was commuted to 12s. in money paid yearly to the king by Sir John Willoughby, son and heir of the Sir Henry, who at his 'greate costes and charges' had originally made the sough. The extant Star Chamber proceedings²⁰ relating to the rival coalpits of Sir John Willoughby and Mr. Nicholas Strelley are imperfect, but apparently the competition for the custom of the shire of Nottingham and of the 'schyres of Leicester and Lyncoln, being veray baren and scarce contres of all maner of fuell,' led Nicholas Strelley to employ John Roberts, Thurstan Roberts, and others to 'synk a newe colpitt yn a certain place comenly callid Sterley fylde next adioyning to the myne of cawlys or cawle pittes' of Sir John Willoughby, who complained that his neighbour 'of his malycyus mynd' intended to 'drowne and distroye with water such pittes and cole mynes' as he had in his lordship of Wollaton, and, in fact, declared roundly that Strelley's workmen had undermined the freehold and proper soil and coal-mine of Wollaton, 'gathered and gatte a great substance and multitude of his colys,' and so hollowed the ground as to turn the water into the Wollaton pits. In consequence Sir John Willoughby had appealed to the law, an action of trespass was begun, and writs of *capias* directed against the miners.

Strelley pointed out to the judges in the Star Chamber that coal could not be got from his mine,

but to the grett costys and charges of your said subgett by cause of the depnes of the same and specyally for that suche grett abundance of water gadereth and renneth thorghowte the saide coole workys and myne that it is not possyble to gayte any colys there but by the meane of a soghe or drayn wheche must be trenched by a grete space in length and deper then the said coole worke wheche soghe or drayn cannot be cast or made but to an onreasonable cost and charge to the makar and so it is . . . that your said sugett nowe of late hath sonken a certen coole pytt within hys said lordship of Strylley on the sowthe part of the same on the syde adioyning to the sayd manor of Wollaton thynkyng and entending that the water resortyng to the worke within the same pytt schold and myght be lafully and well convayd from thens by

¹⁹ Proc. Ct. Aug. xxv, no. 40. Sir Henry died about 20 Hen. VIII.

²⁰ Cf. Star Chamb. Proc. Hen VIII, bde. 18, no. 115; bde. 22, no. 94.

a certen olde soghe or drayn being within the said lordship of Wollaton without eny maner of hurt damage or los of the said Sir John Wylloghby.

This naïve expression of a design to avoid expense by using the old Wollaton sough may afford a better explanation of Willoughby's opposition than the pleasant insinuation of Nicholas Strelley that his rival's 'veray malyce and evyll wyll' was due to the fact that 'your said subgett hath more plentie of the comodytye of coolys lefte within hys said lordship of Strelley then the said Sir John hath within hys maner of Wollaton.' Strelley, however, complained that by a counter work Willoughby had prevented his use of the Wollaton sough, the new mine could not be drained, and the 'poor men' his miners had been dragged up to Westminster and put to 'dyvers and menyfold other vexacions trowbyll and costys.' The final decision of the Star Chamber is not forthcoming; probably some compromise or pecuniary adjustment ultimately settled the matter.

In the following reign (of Edward VI), when Wollaton Manor through the death of Sir John Willoughby without issue is found in the possession of his nephew Henry Willoughby, esq., the famous mine served by the sough originally granted by the Prior of Lenton had become 'so decayd,' as the owner represented to the Court of Augmentations, that he was obliged to 'synke other cole pyttes.' To drain them of water he begged licence to make a new sough in the king's lands late the possession of Lenton Priory, the 'same sowgh to begynne at the water of Lyne on the sowth easte of a certeyn More called Helle and so thoroughe a lytle crosse called Allwell now yn the holdyng of one John Chapman and so thenes overthwarte a lane ynto another crosse Safron Platte now yn the holdyng of John de la Pyerre and so through the common feldes of Lenton towne dyrectly ascendyng unto the sayd colemyne.' The opening out of fresh supplies of coal did much to enrich the Willoughbys, and it is said that Sir Francis of that name built Wollaton Hall mainly from the profits of his mines, the Ancaster stone employed having been received in barter for pit coal. But while the Willoughbys increased in substance, the Strelleys declined, and as early as 1620 we find²¹ an ominous entry in the 'Hall Book' of the Corporation of Nottingham concerning certain merchants of London 'who have interest in the coal mines at Strelley'—and this interest, it is possible, was that of the foreclosing mortgagee.²²

Before quitting the early history of the mines of Wollaton and its neighbourhood it may be worth while to mention an action at law of the

²¹ *Rambles round Nott.* (1856), 259.

²² The Strelleys had certainly been borrowing money in large sums a few years before.

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year 1549, which illustrates the customs attending the sale of coals at Wollaton pit.²³ Richard Smalley, a collier of twelve years' standing, sued John Parleby, who had carried away a roke of coals valued at 18*d.* without paying for them. Smalley had in consequence been forced to pay himself, since he had delivered the coals to Parleby, who was well aware of the existence of an ancient and approved custom within the manor that the collier delivering the coals also gave with them 'a merke or token' for each whole roke, three-quarters of a roke, or half a roke purchased. The buyer was thereupon bound to deliver the token and pay the purchase money to the 'gatekeeper of the coals' (*janitori carbonum*). If, however, the customer made default the collier was responsible, but his right to recover from the dishonest or impecunious purchaser does not seem to have been recognized in this case at least, as the verdict was for the defendant. But the grounds on which it was based are not stated.

It is possible that the rich returns derived from the mines in the neighbouring manors may have stirred the corporation of Nottingham to prospect for coal beneath their own walls, since we find²⁴ them early in March 1594-5 agreeing with 'Robert Hancocke for 10*d.* a daye and hys too wurkemen 10*d.* a pece to digge in the Copenze (Coppice) for serche of coles and to be provyded of yron wurke viz. 2 mattockes and a shovelle, a herryng barrel, and to beginne the furthereste at Our Ladye Daye.' Nothing of any import seems to have issued from this, but dreams of mineral wealth haunted the mayor and his brethren five and thirty years after, since on the minutes²⁵ of the Common Council 13 September 1630 it is recorded:—

This Companie are agreed that Maister Maior, Maister James, Maister Nixe and Maister Greaves thatt have nowe undertaken to sincke a pitt or pitts in the townes woods and wasts, in hope (by the favour of God) to fynde coales there, and all others that shall nowe before the worke begynne, adventure a partt or proporcion of monie shall have oute of the workes and coales for everie 20*s.* laied out, £5, and soe after thatt rate; and thatt after the work begin none shall be admitted to adventure in any wise.

There is, however, no evidence of any extensive demand for shares, nor do we read that the promoters enhanced their substantial comfort from the profits of the venture. Even the Puritan régime did not restrain the speculative activity of the Council, and 'Maister Cooper' in February 1648-9 is instructed²⁶ 'to tamper and deale with Mais er Jackson privately and not as from the house how hee wold deale about it (i.e. the Coppice) to suffer the towne to gett coale.' And

again about a year after it was resolved²⁷ 'that Maisters Chamberlins with the assistance of Maister Fillingham and Maister Hawkeings shall confer with men of judgement and such as they like of, and use indevors and meanes to discover whether or noe there bee any coles in the Copies, and to be allowed for their paines and charges therein.' As the result apparently of expert advice it was accordingly agreed²⁸ in May 1650 that 'the parties imploied by the towne proceed further to try for coales by sincking a new pitt and otherwise as shalbee fitt.' Unfortunately the experts were too sanguine. In September of the same year it was ordered²⁹ that 'in respect of the force of the water and the greatnes of the charge in sinckinge that the pitts be sunck no deeper, and that soe soon as may bee they make triall by boareinge, whether coales or no coales in the coppice.' The curt phrasing of the last clause of this resolution may possibly indicate a natural impatience and some sense of hope unreasonably disappointed. Two months later the city fathers, as practical Englishmen, accepted the decrees of destiny, and the minutes record: ³⁰ 'Agreed the pits to be covered: or else some to take the wood for their labour to fill them upp and Maister Jackson and John Herwood furst to have notice hereof.'

During the 17th century the Nottinghamshire coalpits continued their steady local trade described³¹ so accurately by the justices in 1620, when they informed the judges of assize, Sir Henry Hobart and Sir Edward Bromley, that Nottingham needed no storehouse for corn, the prices—barley 18*s.* the quarter, wheat 26*s.*, rye 24*s.*, peas 16*s.*, oats 11*s.*—being not extraordinarily low, while they had no fear of future scarcity, since other counties who send up the Trent for coals bring in corn whenever it is needed. Coal-mining was thus recognized as one of the most significant industries of the shire.

Some indication of the value of the Nottinghamshire coal-mines lying within the honour of Peverel is afforded by the Parliamentary Survey³² of 1650, since it was then declared that 'all those mines, delfes or pitts of coale now in worke or sunke or hereafter to be digged, soughed and putt in worke within upon and throughout the comon and wast grounds of Trowell Moore . . . which premisses are now in the occupacion of Sir Francis Willoughby, knt., or his assignees' were of the annual value of £20.

About the same time a survey³³ was made of 'certain coale pitts and delfes' lying on Fulwood Moor where the herbage was claimed and taken by the inhabitants of Hucknall under Huthwaite, but 'the soyle thereof and mines within the same belong unto the State.' The sur-

²³ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 8 et seq.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 239.

²⁵ *Ibid.* v, 144.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 259.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 264.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 265.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 272.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxiii, 22.

³² P.R.O. Aug. Parl. Surv. no. 21.

³³ *Ibid.* no. 14.

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veyors appraised 'the benefit of the coale mines and delfes to be digged and soughed within the said moore to be worth (over and above the charges thereof being considerable, and the gaine and adventure uncertaine) 50s. per annum.' As a matter of fact the commissioners had on 7 June 1650 demised and leased the 'benefitt of the working and getting of coales on Fulwood Common to Jonathan Everard gentleman for one whole year' at the rent of 30s. And some twenty years later³⁴ we find James Coghlean, a servant of his Majesty, petitioning for a lease of soft coal in Fulwood near Hucknall 'not now worked because there is good coal within a mile.' It may also be remarked that Charles, Earl of Norwich, in a petition³⁵ to the king dated June 1663 in reference to the stewardship of the honour of Peverel and the farm of coals, complained that the coalworks were quite decayed and required heavy outlay before they could be made profitable. But expectant grantees may have thought it good policy to cheapen the object of their desire.

Towards the close of the century the Nottinghamshire coal trade was probably brisk enough, though complaints were made that in the county town itself 'coals were scarce and dear.' The corporation attributed this to the accumulation by dealers of such excessive stocks that they hindered and 'forestalled the bringing of coals to the town.'³⁶

About the middle of the 18th century, however, it is quite clear from Deering's account³⁷ that Nottingham was kept well supplied from the neighbouring pits, especially those in the possession of the Middleton³⁸ family. Coals were then never above 4d. to 6d. per hundred, unless a wet winter season made the roads exceptionally miry. Comparing the midland with the northern coals Deering proceeds:—

The coals of this county, though they do give way to those which come from Newcastle to London in durableness, and consequently are not altogether equal to those for culinary uses, yet for chambers and other uses they exceed them, making both a sweeter and a brisker fire, and considering the difference in price these are divers ways preferable. A chaldron of coals which should weigh full a tun weight is at the cheapest at London in the Pool £1 3s. besides carriage whereas the dearest, i.e. at 6d. per hundred, we have a tun of our coals brought to the door for 10s.

The coak or cynder which is used in the drying of malt and which is sold at 1s. 4d. per horse load is much sweeter than that made of the Yorkshire coal, which appears in that the Nottingham malt has hardly any of that particular taste, which the Yorkshire malt communicates to the best of their ale.

³⁴ S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cclxxx1 A, no. 42.

³⁵ Ibid. lxxv, 4.

³⁶ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v.

³⁷ *Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova*, 87.

³⁸ Sir Thomas Willoughby, bart., had been created Baron Middleton in Jan. 1712.

The visible Nottinghamshire coalfield as known to the 18th-century mining engineers was thus defined by Lowe³⁹ in 1798: 'The line of coal begins a little north of Teversall, runs about south and by west to Brookhill; then south to Eastwood; afterwards about south-east, or a little more easterly to Belborough, Wollaton, and the Lene. This line is scarce above a mile broad in this county, and above the coal is a cold blue or yellow clay.' At this time the coals of this district were largely conveyed by the Erewash and Nottingham Canals as well as by land-carriage. The opening of the canals indeed at first helped to raise the price of coals in the county owing to the increased demand from outside, but new pits were opened to supply the demand, and by 1798 prices at Nottingham had already fallen considerably.

The pits⁴⁰ at work about the beginning of the 19th century were situated as follows:—

- Beggarlee, 1 mile north-east of Eastwood.
- Bilborough, Hollywood Colliery, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south-east of the church.
- Brinsley, the New or Fenton's Colliery, north of the village, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles north of Eastwood; and the Old Colliery, east of the village, 1 mile north of Eastwood.
- Dunshill, 1 mile west of Teversal.
- Eastwood, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of the town.
- Greasley, to the south of the church.
- Hucknall, near Blackwell, $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-west of Skegby.
- Limes, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of Greasley.
- Shilo, north-west of Hucknall, 2 miles west-south-west of Skegby.
- Skegby, 1 mile west of the town.
- Trowell Moor, 1 mile west of Wollaton.
- Wollaton, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles west-north-west of the village, and also at Aspley, near Bobber's Mill.

Besides these Farey reports that collieries had been quite lately worked at Awsworth, Bramcote, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north-west of Cossall; while he mentions as formerly in operation collieries at Beauvale Abbey, north of Greasley; Bilborough, north of the town; Eastwood, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west and north-west of the town; Newthorpe Common, 1 mile north-west of Awsworth; Nuthall, on south side of park, 1 mile north-north-west of Bilborough. This last colliery was no less than 160 yds. deep.

At the larger collieries in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire at this time steam engines of considerable size and power were used for raising water and for drainage purposes, and smaller engines or whimseys for drawing coals from the pits. The outside demand for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire coals came principally from the surrounding counties, and, according to Farey,⁴¹ the 'hard coals' were almost the only coals

³⁹ *Gen. View Agric. Notts.* (1798), 5.

⁴⁰ Farey, *Gen. View of Agric. and Min. Derb.* (1811), i, 189 et seq. ⁴¹ *Op. cit.* i, 185.

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which the buyers for the midland counties south and east of Derbyshire would purchase, and only such were deemed 'hard coals' as could be loaded into the boats in pieces from near the size of a man's head at the smallest to the largest pieces which could be lifted by two or three men. In consequence the waste of soft coals, 'in hurrying after the hard seams because more saleable,' was enormous. But one⁴⁵ serious attempt had at this time been made to introduce the coals of the Erewash district to the London market, 'where owing to the heavy expense on inland navigation before they reached the mouth of the Humber, and then paying the same duty on being sea-carried as those from Newcastle and its neighbourhood, the adventure was attended with considerable loss.' In 1819 a railroad or tramway was completed from Pinxton Wharf to Mansfield. The iron wagons⁴³ with the coal were drawn by horses as far as Kirkby Summit, and thence by their own weight came into Mansfield, their speed being controlled by blocking the wheels with pieces of wood. After discharging, the empty wagons were drawn up to the Summit again and then descended to Pinxton in the same manner as they came to Mansfield. In 1847, however, the Erewash Valley Railway line was brought into the town.

With the railway era a great development took place in the coal industry of the shire, and extensive operations were entered into by Mr. Thomas North, who by 1856 was the owner on long leases of some 9,500 acres of continuous coalfield, the centre of this activity being the Cinder Hill Colliery in Basford, held under the Duke of Newcastle, where in 1841 a pair of 7-ft. pits had been commenced and carried to a depth of 666 ft. High hopes were already beginning to be entertained of a wide extension of the then narrow area of the visible Nottinghamshire coalfield.

A popular account of the Cinder Hill Colliery as it was in the middle 'fifties of the last century will be found in *Rambles round Nottingham*,⁴⁴ published in 1856. The visitor, who was much impressed with the latest types of engines used at Cinder Hill, noticed that at the Babbington Collieries the great pumping engine was still a 'noble specimen of the old gigantic walking beam structure of James Watt, with the parallel joints.' It was of 120 horse-power, and possessed a pumping-rod of 186 ft. Another engine on the high-pressure principle at this colliery was of 40 horse-power, and served to put 2,000 tons of coal a week out of a pit 150 yds. deep.

In 1854 the Duke of Newcastle began the great work of the sinking of two pits at Shire-oaks, near the Nottinghamshire border. This

enterprise⁴⁶ was carried out under the superintendence of Mr. John Lancaster. In March of this year sinkings began, and although considerable difficulties were encountered, the first thick coal, 4 ft. 6 in. in section, of good quality, was cut at a depth of 346 yds. This was identified with the Clown or Wathwood coal of the Derbyshire and South Yorkshire district. At 381 yds. 8 in. the Furnace coal was cut, and the Hazles coal at 428 yds. 1 ft. 11 in. Finally, on 1 February 1859, at a depth of 509 yds. 5 in., the Top Hard coal, the main object of the undertaking, was reached.

In 1861 the principal collieries⁴⁶ working round Nottingham were the Cinder Hill, Newcastle, Kimberley, and Babbington, belonging to Mr. North; the Radford, Catstone Hill, and Old Engine-pit, near Trowell Moor, the property of Lord Middleton; and the Watnall Colliery.

In 1860 twenty-one collieries were at work in Nottinghamshire, nine years later there were twenty-six.⁴⁷ In 1862 the output of coal reached 732,666 tons. In 1867 the figures were 1,575,000 tons, more than double the quantity raised five years before.

During the last quarter of a century an enormous development has taken place in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, and the Chesterfield to Lincoln line assists to carry the new supplies of coal opened out beneath the Triassic strata, especially on the Portland and Newcastle estates. The Mansfield district is being rapidly developed, and although the industry is said to be handicapped by high railway rates, every four or five years a colliery is sunk here, each proving a further area of coal beyond. The output is largely a good steam coal, and several Scottish coal owners have turned their attention to the district.

The amount of coal conveyed by water-carriage has during the last thirty years still further decreased, and is now insignificant. In 1881 the Digby collieries, situated at Giltbrook, used water-carriage⁴⁸ for at least 25 per cent. of their output, in the year 1906 the figure was only 37 per cent. Equally instructive was the evidence of Sir John Turney⁴⁹ before the recent Royal Commission:—

I have been connected with a colliery for thirty years, and we turn out 7,000 tons a week; we spent a good deal of money some years ago in making a tip and everything for tipping the coal directly out of the tram from our colliery on to barges on the River Trent, and we thought we were going to have a considerable trade. We sent a lot of coal for a time, but the river got into a bad condition, and after a number of barges had got on the shoals and rolled over and the coal had all gone, we ceased to send our coal in that way.

⁴⁵ See account by Messrs. Lancaster and Wright in *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xvi, 137.

⁴⁶ Aveline, *Geol. of Country round Nott.* 10.

⁴⁷ *Rep. Com. Coal Supply* (1871), iii, 89.

⁴⁸ *Rep. Com. Canals* (1908), iii, 95. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 468.

⁴³ Farey, *Gen. View of Agric. and Min. Derb.* (1811), i, 185.

⁴⁴ Groves, *Hist. of Mansfield*, 358.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* 330.

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The principal collieries now or lately at work are the Annesley, belonging to the Annesley Colliery Company, the Babbington, Broxtow and Newcastle, Bulwell and Cinderhill Collieries to the Babbington Coal Company, the Bentinck and New Hucknall to the New Hucknall Colliery Company, the Bestwood Colliery to the Bestwood Coal and Iron Company, the Brinsley and Selston, the Moor Green and the Watnall Collieries to Messrs. Barber, Walker & Co., the Clifton Colliery to the Clifton Colliery Company, the Clinton to the Stoney Lane Brick Company, the Cossall and Trowell Moor to the Cossall Colliery Company, the Digby, Gedling, and New London to the Digby Colliery Company, the Hucknall to the Hucknall Colliery Company, the Kirkby, Plumtree, and Portland to the Butterley Company, the Langton to the Pinxton Coal Company, the Linby to the Linby Coal Company, the Mansfield to the Bolsover Colliery Company, the Manton to the Wigan Coal and Iron Company, the New Selston, Pollington Pye Hill and Tunnel to J. Oakes & Co., the

Newstead to the Newstead Colliery Company, the Radford and Wollaton to the Wollaton Colliery Company, the Shireoaks and Steetley to the Shireoaks Colliery Company, the Sherwood to the Sherwood Colliery Company, the Silverhill and Teversal to the Stanton Ironworks Company, the Sutton to the Blackwell Colliery Company, and the Warsop Main Colliery belonging to the Staveley Coal and Iron Company.

The output from the Nottinghamshire collieries during the last ten years has been continually increasing⁶⁰ and is bound to attain much greater proportions. In 1897 6,970,424 tons of coal were raised within the county, and 23,024 men and boys employed at the collieries above and underground. In 1907 the output reached 11,728,886 tons of coal, and the figures of those employed 35,415. Indeed, owing to the gradual opening up of the 'concealed' field, coal-mining must claim the first place in economic importance among the industries of the shire.

BUILDING STONE

In 1229 the king granted to the Prior and monks of Lenton a quarry 'in rifeto foreste de Nottingham,' the stone from which was to be employed in certain repairs to their church tower, which had fallen down the previous year.¹ In 1247 the prior² of the same house was permitted to dig stone in Sherwood Forest, a similar permission being accorded in 1253, when a score of cart-loads were specified as the amount of stone to be taken from the 'quarry within Nottingham wood for his works at Lenton.'³ In 1234 Brian de l'Isle was ordered to permit the men of Nottingham to take stone from the quarry in the wood called 'Brullius de Nottingham' for the repairs of the bridge at Nottingham.⁴ By licence from Edward III (16 October 1337) leave was granted to the chapter of Southwell Minster to cart stone for their church from their quarry at Mansfield through Sherwood Forest free of toll.⁵ Again, about the middle⁶ of the 14th century material for the repair of Nottingham Castle was brought from Gedling. One hundred stones cost 5s., while the expense of transporting them amounted to as much as 6s. 8d. In 1495 stones also from a quarry at Gedling were used in the fabric of St. Peter, Nottingham, for we find John Ward of Gedling,

labourer, who had been hired by William Stark, mason, to dig the same for fourteen days at 3d. a day, suing for the amount due to him. Stark brought a counter-action, repudiating the claim, and stating that Ward, who was 'engaged by John Eaton at the desire and for the use of the said plaintiff to find and to clean a stone quarry at Gedling for the church of St. Peter,' worked so lazily and carelessly that the said part of the quarry was not cleaned nor bared by the time before limited; and so the said plaintiff had not nor could have the same stones when he could best have worked them, by reason of the lack of work of the said defendant, whereby Stark was damaged to the value of 20s.⁷

There was a quarry at Broxtow which furnished stone for the bridge at Nottingham in 1503, John Meyson of Lenton being paid 3s. for six loads and for getting the same, 6d.⁸ In 1504 14d. was paid for three loads of boulders for the pavement at the Malt Cross.⁹ Allusions to this road-metal from the Trent are numerous. Deering writes of 'the veined and spotted paving-stone got out of the Trent,'¹⁰ and Blackner speaks of the streets of Nottingham being 'paved with boulders from the bed of the Trent,'¹¹ whilst an anonymous author of the 17th century¹² describes the Trent, 'from four miles above Stoke,' as being 'naturally paved with gravel, pebbles, and boulders, the most

⁶⁰ Since the statement in the text was put in type the Government returns for 1908 show an output of 11,028,639 tons, a decrease of 700,247, owing to transient trade depression.

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1227-31, p. 196.

² *Close*, 33 Hen. III, m. 12.

³ *Ibid.* 37 Hen. III, m. 5.

⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1232-4, p. 391.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ix, 539.

⁶ *Accts. Exch. K.R. bdl.* 544, no. 35 (22 Edw. III).

⁷ *Rec. Bor.* *Not.* iii, 33.

⁸ *Ibid.* 321.

⁹ *Ibid.* 316.

¹⁰ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 88.

¹¹ Blackner, *Hist. Not.* 74.

¹² *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* i, 26.

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excellent paving-stone, for it will never break, nor in any reasonable time wear with iron-bound carriages.' The stones, he adds, were collected from 'divers hursts or shelves,' and carried to Nottingham for paving purposes. The coarse paving-stone¹³ dug at Linby was employed for the same purpose; 8s. was paid for one load of this stone in 1637.¹⁴

The extensive use of Mapperley stone, especially in 1813, when it was employed for facing the buildings on the south bank of the Leen from Fickhill Street to Sussex Street, gave rise to the local saying that Nottingham once stood on Mapperley Hills.¹⁵

The stone of Mansfield obtained the favourable notice of the commissioners appointed in 1839 to consider the suitability of the various building stones of the kingdom for the construction of the Houses of Parliament. There were at that date two quarries at work, Lindley's Red Quarry, which yielded a roseate-brown sandstone, and Lindley's White Quarry, the stone from which was described as whitish-brown in tint. Blocks were obtainable up to 10 tons, at a depth of 30 ft., from both quarries. The price at the quarries was 8d. per block. The cost of the stone delivered in London was 2s. 6d. per cubic foot, or 2s. 2d. in the case of stone taken from the White Quarry, the method of transit being by land to the railway wharf at Mansfield, one mile, at 1s. 8d. per ton, to Pinxton by rail, 2s. 10d., to Gainsborough by the Trent, and by the Erewash, 7s. 6d. The freight to London by sea was 11s. in the case of the White Quarry stone, 18s. in that of the Red

Quarry stone. Stone from the latter quarry was used in the construction of Belton House, while the White Quarry furnished stone for the Mansfield Town Hall, Clumber Lodge, and Wollaton.¹⁶

In 1855 a great trade was being carried on at Mansfield in cutting and working architectural ornaments from the stone of the neighbouring quarries.¹⁷

A Mr. Alton had a manufactory for artificial stone, largely used for chimney-pieces, at Mansfield in the early part of the last century, the process of manufacture consisting in laying a composition on stone, which was then coloured, the effect being designed to resemble marble.¹⁸

Among the minor geological products of Nottinghamshire are the bluish stone of Maplebeck, which bleaches almost white on exposure, and the blue stone of Beacon Hill, approaching marble in texture, and used for hearths, also for lime-burning.¹⁹ At Bulwell, a yellow stone, brown-red in a few places, is quarried from thin, irregular beds for lime-burning. In the lower part a few feet of more regularly-deposited beds yield paving-slabs, 4 in. to 5 in. thick, some measuring 6 ft. by 5 ft. The stone is also occasionally used for shallow troughs and cisterns.²⁰ At the Kimberley quarries the stone is of the same quality as at Bulwell, but the slabs are of larger size. At Strelley a reddish-brown limestone is quarried.²¹

The county output of magnesian limestone for 1907 was 128,293 tons, of the value of £12,929,²² while 3,574 tons of sandstone were obtained from the quarries, the value being £1,611.²³

GYPSUM OR ALABASTER

The workable gypsum within the county of Nottingham occurs in the marls of the Keuper Beds in irregular layers usually 1 in. to 12 in. in thickness¹; taking the forms of nodular beds or floors, or of large spheroid or lenticular masses, called 'balls' or 'bowls,' or rows of cakes.² Mainly raised at the present day for the manufacture of plaster of Paris, the industry has a twofold history of long standing and considerable mediaeval interest, the foliated variety of the mineral having been largely used in former times for plaster for

floors, whilst the fibrous gypsum gave rise to the industry of the alabaster-man or image-maker.³ 'Therein,' writes Speed, 'groweth a stone softer than alabaster, but being burnt maketh a plaister harder than that of Paris; wherewith they floor their upper rooms, for betwixt the joists they lay only long bulrushes and thereon spread this plaister, which being thoroughly dry, becomes most solid and hard, so that it seemeth rather to be firm stone than mortar, and is trod upon without all danger.'⁴ Gotham⁵ was formerly

¹³ Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* iii, 459.

¹⁴ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 180.

¹⁵ Stapleton, *Old Mapperley*, 215-16.

¹⁶ *Rep. Building Stone*, 1839, p. 22. Freestone was 7d. per cubic ft. at Mansfield in 1800; dressed for floors, 4s. per yd.; Harrod, *Hist. Mansfield*, 34.

¹⁷ *Imperial Gazetteer*, ii, 290. Mills 'of a very ingenious construction' were employed; Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* iii, 250.

¹⁸ Groves, *Hist. Mansfield*, 369.

¹⁹ Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* iii, 458.

²⁰ Aveline, *Geol. of Country round Nott.* 12. ²¹ *Ibid.* 13.

²² *Mines and Quarries*, 1907, pt. iii, 226.

²³ *Ibid.* 239. In 1908 the output of limestone decreased to 124,238 tons, and of sandstone to 2,880 tons.

¹ Metcalfe, *Rep. Brit. Assoc.* 1898, p. 760.

² *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 28.

³ The two trades, according to Mr. Stevenson, were identical, and among the most important in the county in mediaeval times; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 492.

⁴ Speed, *Theatre Empire Gr. Brit.* (1611), 65.

⁵ 'The village of Gotham stands on a rock of alabaster'; Wanderer, *Walks round Nott.* 233.

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the chief centre of the supply for this purpose, that raised at Orston, however, being considered 'the finest in the kingdom.'⁶ Gypsum was at one time extensively dug in the village, where, however, the works are temporarily in abeyance, to a depth in some instances of 5 ft., several 'plaster beds' having been found in a well 30 ft. in depth. The gypsum quarries of Messrs. Cafferata & Co. are situated at the foot of Beacon Hill, the section visible here in 1905 being about 31 ft. 9 in., the mineral occurring in the following forms: 'top white rock,' 'riders,' 'middle white rock,' 'blue rock,' 'bottom white rock.' This firm also own a quarry at Hawton. The Vale of Belvoir and Newark Plaster Co. work a total depth of about 61 ft. at their Bowbridge Works. The plaster floors and ceilings still to be seen in old houses in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, says Mr. Stevenson, testify to its frequent use.⁷

Plaster floors went out of fashion as the result of the reduction in the price of floor boards by the introduction of the planing machine and the abolition of the duty on timber.⁸ During the 18th century the gypsum of Beacon Hill, near Newark, furnished 'stucco and curious ornaments for ceilings,' after being 'burnt upon the kilns, ground to powder, and exported in tubs and barrels.'⁹ 'Excellent plaster' from these pits was 'run' in 1794 at 9d. per square yard, or 6d. per strike.¹⁰ The 'satin stone' of East Bridgeford was largely manufactured at Derby into ornaments.¹¹ At the Trent Plaster Works at Newark, belonging to Mr. William Jacobs, plaster to the amount of 100 tons was prepared for the Paris Exhibition of 1861.¹² At the present time, the gypsum which occurs in veins at East Retford is largely used for garden work.¹³

The imagers or 'carvers' in alabaster were active at least as early as the 14th century, when Peter the Mason of Nottingham made a *tabula* or reredos of alabaster which was placed upon the high altar in the free chapel of St. George at Windsor. This great reredos was carried from Nottingham to Windsor in ten carts, each drawn by eight horses, and the sculptor received for his work the sum of 300 marks.¹⁴

⁶ White, *Notts.* 453. In 1541 Nicholas Northe of Orston was paid 8s. 4d. for digging 20 tons of plaster (gypsum), *Rutland MSS.* (Hist MSS. Com.), 317.

⁷ Stevenson, *Bygone Notts.* 50.

⁸ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 500.

⁹ *Brit. Dir.* 1793, p. 57.

¹⁰ Lowe, *Agric. Notts.* 51.

¹¹ Curtis, *Topog. Hist. Notts.* 137.

¹² White, *Hist. Notts.* (1864), 386.

¹³ *Midland Naturalist*, v, 12.

¹⁴ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 482; *Issue R.* (ed. Devon), 193. For information respecting the mediæval workers in alabaster the reader is referred to the articles by Mr. St. John Hope in *Archæologia*, lii (2), 679 et seq.; and *Arch. Journ.* lxi, 221 et seq.

Nicholas Goodman, 'alebasterer,' in 1478-9 paid 8d. for licence to traffic at Nottingham.¹⁵ Nicholas Hill was an image-maker at this date. On 31 October 1491 we find him suing his salesman, William Bott, for an account of the sales of fifty-eight heads of John the Baptist,¹⁶ part in tabernacles and niches.¹⁷

Bott would appear to have acted as agent for Hill, for in December 1491 we find him claiming 10d., owed and unjustly detained by the former.¹⁸ In this instance, the claim seems to have been his charge for 'painting and gilding 3 alabaster salt-cellar, with 2 images,'¹⁹ this being an art which the image-maker frequently combined with his craft. On 7 January 1494-5, Hill figures as defendant in a suit brought against him by Robert Tull, husbandman, who had been hired to carry 'divers heads and images of St. John Baptist from Nottingham to London,' for 3s. wages, of which he had only received 2s., leaving 12d. unpaid.²⁰ In this year, John Lyngard was an image-maker whose name occurs in the Records of Nottingham, that of Walter Hylton appearing in 1496.²¹ A workman of this date was John Spencer, references to whose craft occur in an action for detinue of household goods, the complainant being one Emma Spencer, presumably the widow, one allusion being to 'divers images of alabaster,' in the original draft, 'Item cum tabulis et aliis imaginibus de alabaster in opella sua existentibus, pretii xxx.'²² In 1499, Thomas Grene of Beeston, plasterer, sued Nicholas Hill for a head of John the Baptist, value 16d.²³

The best alabaster employed at Nottingham in the Middle Ages was probably obtained from Chellaston in Derbyshire, and as late as 1530 we hear of the claim of William Walsh for 18d. for the carriage of alabaster from Chellaston to Nottingham.²⁴ The decline in the amount of the mineral obtainable, however, which set in after the 16th century, gave a considerable impetus to the Nottinghamshire trade in the raw material. Large supplies were

¹⁵ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 303.

¹⁶ The trade in these objects, says Mr. Stevenson, was a particularly brisk one.

¹⁷ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Notts.* iii, 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* 29.

²¹ *Ibid.* iv, 482.

²² *Ibid.* iii, 39.

²³ *Ibid.* 499.

²⁴ The defendant in the suit in question was John Nicholson, 'steynour,' and the sum quoted was 'for the carriage of a wain-load (*plaustrati*) of alabaster stone'; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 182. See also *V.C.H. Derby*, i, 366, for interesting evidence furnished by early documents relative to a visit to England in 1414 of certain agents of the Abbot of Fécamp charged with a mission to obtain Chellaston alabaster, the actual purchase, however, being completed at Nottingham, which seems to have been 'the business headquarters of the Chellaston carvers'; *op. cit.*

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drawn at the latter date from the Red Hill Quarry, whence, we are told, quantities of gypsum were sent in lumps to the London colourmen, also some of the white kind, ground, and packed in hogsheads,²⁵ whilst the 'fine columns in the hall at Kedleston' are not from Chellaston, but from this same source.²⁶

At the present time, the county of Nottingham is responsible for nearly one-half of the whole output of the United Kingdom. In 1907 the total tonnage mined was 235,517 tons, of which the county of Nottingham produced 101,147 tons, valued at £53,507, 73,765 tons being from the mines, and 27,382 tons from the quarries.²⁷ Gypsum is put to many and varied uses. In the lump form, as it is brought out of the mine, all qualities of the stone are very effective for rockery work, the pure white quality being the material more generally known as alabaster. Ground gypsum

is known by other names, such as Terra Alba, and Mineral White, and, as such, is largely used by trades so widely divergent as those of bleaching, the manufacture of paper, oil, paint and grease, and chemical manures. Gypsum is also very largely ground and manufactured into plaster of Paris, and Keene's, Parian, and other patent cements for the building and decorative trades.²⁸

The quarrymen have distinctive names for the more important veins, the smaller cake-like lenticular masses being known to them as 'knurrs and fundlers,' whilst similar masses united by strings of gypsum are called 'riders.' Two methods of obtaining the mineral are in use. In one case this is done by quarrying, in the other by levels driven in from the quarry. The former method is used at the Hawton quarries, the latter at the deeper workings at Bowbridge and Cropwell Bishop.

GLASS AND POTTERY

In 1693, according to Houghton, the 'glass-pots,' that is, the crucibles for the glass-makers, were made at Nottingham of Derbyshire ('crouch') clay.¹ In 1696 there was one glasshouse in the town, where bottles were manufactured.² And Celia Fiennes³ in her pleasant *Diary* of about that date tells us that at Nottingham 'was a man that spun glass and made several things in glass, birds and beasts. I spun some of the glass and saw him make a swan presently with divers coull'd (*sic* coloured) glass; he makes buttons which are very strong and will not breake.' By Defoe's time, we find him writing of 'the glasshouses which, I think, are of late much decayed.'⁴ About twenty years later, the industry had somewhat revived, for there were 'a few at the east end of the town,' where Glass Court in York Street, it is suggested, marks the site of former kilns.⁵ In 1747 three persons engaged in this trade were entitled to vote for common councilmen, namely, Robert Verney, Henry Towell, makers, and Jonas Haberjon, founder, whilst in 1754 Henry Hogg, glassmaker, figures on a poll-book.⁶ In 1764 there were none, and the trade

was regarded as 'laid aside' by the close of the century.⁷ There was a new beginning, however, in 1815, when two glasshouses were carrying on some trade, one being at the east end of Sneinton Street, a 'very large' establishment, and the other at the end of Glasshouse Lane, between Charlotte and York Streets. The industry was nevertheless considered as of 'no consequence.'⁸

Evidences of the early pottery and paving tile industry at Nottingham are to be found, says Mr. Jewitt, in the discovery of specimens of this handicraft, in the shape of kilns, domestic vessels, &c., which were excavated whilst digging foundations for the New Methodist Connexion Chapel in that town,⁹ whilst similar discoveries in 1897, when the Great Central Railway was in course of construction, yielded examples of equally ancient pottery, jugs for water and ale, wine and stew jars, potters' kilns, and a potters' wheel. The clay of which the specimens were made was coarse, the vessels themselves being reddish-brown in colour.¹⁰ The Potters' Street (*Vicus Figulorum*) marks the quarter occupied

³ *Through Engl. on a Side Saddle*, 56.

⁴ Defoe, *Tour*, iii, 18. In the *Nottingham Mercury* of 19 Feb. 1719 appeared the following advertisement: 'Whereas John Bark, Salter and Richard Reeve, Glassfounder (late servant to Mr. Bretnal) have taken the Glasshouse lately Mr. Christopher Wood's deceased in Nottingham any gentleman or others that have occasion for any sort of glass bottles, flint glasses, viols, or anything belonging to the glass trade may be furnished with the said goods at reasonable rates.'

⁵ *N. and Q.* loc. cit.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Tour in Midlands*, 63. ⁸ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 251.

⁹ Jewitt, *Ceramic Art*, 240.

¹⁰ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* viii, 49.

²⁵ Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* iii, 458.

²⁶ *V.C.H. Derb.* i, 366.

²⁷ *Mines and Quarries*, 1907, pt. iii, 194. In 1908 the total production was 82,280 tons from mines and 29,685 from quarries.

²⁸ Communicated by the courtesy of Mr. Anthony (The Gotham Co. Ltd.).

¹ Jewitt, *Ceramic Art*, 240. Houghton's description, which occurs in his table of clays, is as follows:— 'With flat or thin sand, glittering with mica, Crouch white clay of Derbyshire, of which the glass pots are made at Nottingham'; *Letters on Trade and Husbandry*, iii, no. 62.

² *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* Feb. 1896, p. 31.

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by early members of the craft in Nottingham, where Roger and Robert the potters were engaged in the industry in 1242.¹¹ Potters' ware was long part of the traffic of 'princely Trent.'¹² There were numerous 'earthenware houses' in Defoe's time, when 'the fashion of tea-drinking, and the consequent demand for fine stone mugs, tea-pots and cups,' caused these establishments to be 'much increased.'¹³ William Lockett, potter, was admitted a burgess in 1739.¹⁴ Brown earthenware was made by Charles Morley (sheriff of Nottingham in 1737), in the lower part of Beck Street (Mughouse Yard, Mughouse Lane), and he there amassed a considerable fortune.¹⁵

In 1744 the following were engaged in the industry in Nottingham: John Ash, William Barns, John Clayton, Moses Colclough, John Coppock, Thomas Elnor, Thomas Glover, John Handley (mug-maker), John Hazelley, Thomas Hough, William Lockett (pot-maker, New Buildings), Isaac Selby, Leonard Twells, Samuel and John Wyer; most of these being still at work in 1780. John Bacon was a pot-maker in Sheep Lane in 1799.¹⁶

There were two potteries in Nottingham in 1815, one on the east side of Milton Street and the other at the bottom of Beck Lane,¹⁷ the 'town's market,' according to Blackner, 'being well supplied' with their productions.¹⁸ The sellers of the coarse and fine earthenware of the county were accustomed to take their stands, says Deering, round the Malt Cross at Nottingham.¹⁹

Nottingham ware, 'distinguished,' writes Miss Hodgkin, 'from others of the same period by a curious smoothness of surface and an almost metallic lustre peculiar to itself,'²⁰ was of great celebrity in the Midlands, especially the brown earthenware jugs frequently found in public-houses. An example of these, in the possession of Mr. Briscoe, is 5½ in. high, holds half a pint, has one handle, and is of the usual brown, hard, and durable clay. The jug in question was discovered during excavations in Victoria Street, Nottingham, near the site of the 'Old Ship.'²¹

The articles produced were chiefly beer jugs, tobacco jars, puzzle jugs, and bowls, the clay from which they were made being brought, it is thought, from the neighbourhood of Hucknall Torkard—a yellow clay, imported from Staffordshire, being also utilized. This importation,

according to Blackner, 'added so much to the cost of the ware as to prevent the proprietors maintaining a competition with the Staffordshire dealers.'²² Pinks²³ were the flowers most commonly used in the decorations of the ware, whilst the date, name of the person for whom the article was intended, and in some cases the address, were generally written upon the jug before baking. Dark red pinks together with the initials 'G. B.,' and the date, 1755, figure on an existing puzzle jug, whilst the oldest piece preserved, a jug in the possession of Mr. E. Norman, bears the following inscription: 'John Smith, junr. of Basford, near Nottingham, 1712.' A brown stoneware jug bears a hare-hunt in relief, with the inscription: 'Southwell for ever. J. H. and W. C. M. 1739.'²⁴ 'The finest piece of Nottingham pottery extant' is said to be a headstone in St. Mary's Churchyard, dated 1714, the letters being burnt into the earthenware of which it is composed.²⁵ A speciality of this manufacture, however, was the production of drinking jugs in the form of a bear, similar to those made at Brampton and Fulham. A specimen of the shape in question is described by Mr. Jewitt as being entirely powdered, except the neck, with fragments of dry clay sprinkled over the surface before firing, and burnt in, the outlines of the ears, teeth, and claws being laid on in white slip.²⁶

A coarse red ware²⁷ suitable for garden pots and other rough uses was made in considerable quantities at Sutton in Ashfield towards the close of the 18th century.

'Elegant, useful, and ornamental china' was being made at Pinxton in 1796, under the superintendence of the celebrated William Billingsley, who would seem to have resided in Belvedere Street, Mansfield, during his engagement with Mr. John Coke, younger brother of the lord of the manor of Pinxton, by whom he had been brought from Derby.²⁸ At Pinxton, where he remained five or six years, Billingsley produced the 'granular body' which he afterwards perfected elsewhere. The china manufacture which he inaugurated continued until 1818, but was not so good after his departure.²⁹

The modern pottery trade of Nottingham consists chiefly in the production of chimney-pots, flower-pots, and ornamental rough vases.³⁰

¹¹ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 43, 437.

¹² Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 91.

¹³ Defoe, *Tour*, iii, 18.

¹⁴ *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* July 1895, p. 108.

¹⁵ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 251; Mr. Morley's house in Beck Lane, says a local historian, is now more or less represented by the People's Hall in Heathcote Street; Granger, *Old Notts.* 23.

¹⁶ Jewitt, op. cit. 241.

¹⁷ Blackner, op. cit. 251; Granger, *Old Notts.* 119.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 63. ¹⁹ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 8.

²⁰ *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* Oct. 1892, p. 7.

²¹ *Notts. Journ.* 15 Jan. 1872.

²² Blackner, op. cit. 251.

²³ Possibly suggested by 'the maiden pink which groweth so plentifully by the roadside on the sandy hill you ascend going from Lenton to Nottingham'; Ray, *Catalogus Plantarum* (ed. 2, 1677), 57.

²⁴ Chaffers, *Marks on Pottery*, 790.

²⁵ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* i, 34. ²⁶ Jewitt, op. cit. 242.

²⁷ Lowe, *Gen. View Agric. of Notts.* (1798), 139.

²⁸ Harrod, *Hist. Mansfield*, 6. We are told of his having 'brought the art of painting and gilding this china to great perfection.'

²⁹ *V.C.H. Derb.* i, 366.

³⁰ *Ann. Rep. Factories and Workshops*, 1905, p. 89.

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FISHERIES

The fisheries of the Trent were of early importance, and a nameless writer¹ of the reign of Charles I, in discussing the fishery of the Trent, quaintly remarks:—

. . . I rather incline to believe that this River took its Name of Trent from the sorts of Fishes it affords according to the old verse Triginta dat mihi Piscem, not meaning thirty fishes of all sorts in a promiscuous Number for I suppose it contains many times thirty thousand, but thirty specific sorts of Fish, for the word Trent signifyes in the french Tongue as much as triginta in latin, in english thirty. Trent so denoting both the Name of y^e River and the sorts of Fishes it harboures. Now if any Man shall not believe y^t that this River affords so many kind of Fishes I have for his satisfaction here set down what I long since, when there was no thought of making this use of it, collected touching the sorts of Fishes in the Trent partly by my own Experience and partly by Conference with many ancient Fishermen, who have spent most of their Days upon that River, but principally by Discourse with a most expert Angler who I suppose admits of no equal either for the knowledge of the kinds of Fish, or Skill to take them, the Names of which are these following: viz.

1 Sturgeon	11 Pearch	21 Laxbrood
2 Shad	12 Flounder	22 Loach
3 Salmon	13 Ruff	23 Crayfish
4 Carp	14 Lamprey	24 Whitling or Bleake
5 Trout	15 Lamperns	25 Tenches
6 Pickerel	16 Eel	26 Burbolts
7 Grayling	17 Smelts	27 Bullheads
8 Barbell	18 Goodgeons	28 Minnows
9 Chevin	19 Dates	29 Stuttlebag
10 Bream	20 Roach	30 Pinkes

Of these 18 are properly y^e Produce of Trent, Sturgeon, Salmon and Smelts are accidental from y^e sea. Carp Trout Tenches are drove by floods out of y^e smaller brooks and ponds into y^e Trent.

If any Man shall doubt whether Sturgeon be taken in this River, he knows little, if whether Salmon he knows less of Trent. The former being taken yearly, the latter weekly in the Spring and Sum^r. Shads are not so frequent indeed, yet have I known divers in this River and have eaten my parte of some of them, with no more Delight I confesse than those at London, this Fish in my Opinion being one of the basest, that either Trent or the whole sea affords.

References to fisheries abound in the early records of Nottinghamshire, and a few only can be cited here. In Domesday Book² several fisheries are mentioned, two of them in connexion with the land of the king, since in Dunham and its berewicks lay one worth 10s. 8d., and in Broxtow Wapentake another rendering 2s. Amongst

other holders of fishery rights was the Archbishop of York, who had a fish-pond at Southwell, two fisheries at Laneham, and another at Norwell St. Mary. In the account of Newark on the lands of the Bishop of Lincoln we also read of a fishery.³ It is probable that this was afterwards developed and improved, for nearly two centuries later a presentment occurs on the Hundred Rolls⁴ that the course of the River Trent was barred (*astoppatus*) at the castle of Newark by a weir there belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln. Many other Domesday fisheries might be mentioned, but these must suffice. At a slightly later period we hear of valuable rights of fishery or tithes of fish being granted to various houses of religion. For example, in the reign of Henry I, William Peverel,⁵ the founder of the Cluniac monastery of Lenton, granted the monks among other noble gifts the whole tithes of his fishery of Nottingham. In course of time the Nottingham fishery passed into the king's hands, and the Prior of Lenton, in spite of royal confirmations and writs in his favour, at times had difficulty⁶ in extorting his due from the constable of Nottingham Castle, the local representative of the Crown. The fishery of Chilwell was apparently one of the most important in the county, next to that of Nottingham and Newark. It was bestowed by John, Constable of Chester, upon the church and monks of Lenton, to whom the benefactor gave 'the first draught of sperlings next after the draught of his steward in the said fishery, as also salmon and lamprey or any other fish in the said draught.' He also gave 1 acre in his demesne to make a dwelling thereon for servants to look after the fishery.⁷ The same fishery, together with certain lands in Chilwell, was bestowed in 1547 upon Robert and Hugh Thornehill.⁸ In the following reign it was given to Hercules Witham and Francis Thekeston,⁹ and again to Francis, Dorothy, and Bridget Willoughby.¹⁰ At a later date a Mr. Charlton claimed the right to draw nets over a close in Chilwell called the Borrass, which was part of the possessions of Darley Abbey in Derbyshire.¹¹

The priory of Newstead again was granted by King John a fishery in the Bykersdyke worth half a mark a year, in pure almoign, but during the troubles of the long reign of his son right often went down before the strong hand, and 'Adam de Stavele Steward of the King of

³ Ibid. 257a.

⁴ Hund. R. ii, 311b.

⁵ Dugdale, Mon. v, 111.

⁶ Close, 4 Edw. III, m. 21.

⁷ Reg. Lenton, 46b (Add. MSS. 24816, fol. 50).

⁸ Ibid. fol. 52.

⁹ Ibid. fol. 55.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 67

¹¹ Ibid.

¹ This tract is printed in *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* ii, 29.

² *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 249a, 250b, 255a, 255b

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Almain 'seized on his lord's behalf the fishery of the canons.¹³

The Hundred Rolls of the reign of Edward I contain numerous references to fishery rights. At times presentations were made that a powerful lord as Robert de Bruse¹³ or Henry de Neufmarche¹⁴ had created for himself a several fishery where hitherto the free tenants had held one in common. At times also the jurors complained that the stream of the Trent had been unduly affected by the construction of weirs. For instance, the Master of the Temple in England¹⁵ had throttled (*astringit*) the flow of the Trent at Girton by Sutton in this way. One notice at least concerns monastic fish-stews, since the Abbot¹⁶ of Rufford was said to have dug a pond (*stagnum*) at 'Wilkenfeld,' in the demesne forest of the king, and thus infringed the rights of the Crown.

In 1291 a commission of oyer and terminer was issued to Gilbert de Thornton and Elias de Bekingham to inquire concerning the persons who came to the Bishop of Lincoln's free fishery in the water of Trent, near his manor of Newark, and carried away the boats, nets, and engines which his men of his said manor had there for the capture of a porpoise, fished there themselves, took the said fish, and when his bailiffs and men arrested the said fish, and raised the hue and cry to attach them, assaulted them, recovered the said fish, and carried it away.¹⁷ In 1302 the servant of the master of St. Leonard's Hospital was trying to catch some fish for the Friday dinner, in the mill-pond at this place, when he tumbled into it. His net was worth 4*d.*¹⁸

In 1348-9 the fishing of the Trent, which was kept for the town, was given to Stephen Romilou, constable of Nottingham Castle, 'for his time, for having his good counsel and assistance.'¹⁹ In 1350 Robert de Screveton was charged with coming to the house of Robert at the Well in Newark, and there seizing, on the Wednesday before Lent, fish to the value of £4, which he carried away for the needs of the lord king, receiving payment for the same from the keeper of the wardrobe at Chester, but withholding any part of the said sum from Robert at the Well, with whom a certain Hugh Benet appears to have been in partnership; Robert de Screveton was therefore ordered to be imprisoned for unjust detention.²⁰

In 1382 Geoffrey de Skelton hired from the chamberlains of Nottingham the fishery in the waters of the town for a certain rent by the year. William de Retford came and took fish there in nets at divers times, and carried the same away, to the value of 20*s.*²¹ In 1395 Geoffrey de Skelton was himself complained of by Richard Palmer, fisher, of Nottingham, for taking away and breaking certain fish-leaps which Palmer had lying in the common waters of the Trent, to the value of 40*s.*²² In this same year, William Bank, fisher, paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for his burges-ship.²³ In 1461-2 the rent of the fishery of Nottingham was entered in the town accounts at 53*s.* 4*d.*²⁴ About this date, Henry Hareyscha, fisherman, of Newark, was a tenant of the Bishop of Lincoln in that town, paying 6*d.* for a tenement.²⁵ The sale of fish was strictly regulated at Newark in early times; William Nyx being presented for 'regrating of fish that cometh to the market, for he buyeth it at the hands of them that sell it in the town, and by that means the town complained that 'we can have no reasonable pennyworth.'²⁶ In 1499 Lawrence Tailor of Newark bequeathed to William Tailor 'My nets with all appurtenances for fishing, with a "puppe" and a "trunke,"²⁷ together with "my fowling nets."²⁸

The town of Nottingham received from Richard Smith in 1531 40*s.* for the common fishing belonging to the town.²⁹ The fishing of the pools was let in 1578-9 on condition of a salmon being paid yearly to the mayor.³⁰ Thomas Daye and Master Foster, miller, were presented in 1593-4 for 'denying burgeses for casting a "nell" (eel) string in the Trent.'³¹

The fish and fishing trade at Nottingham was overseen by wardens, a copy of their oath being preserved in the records of the borough.³² It runs as follows:—'Ye shall well and truly search and oversee all the fish that shall be offered to sale within this town for the space of one whole year from this day now ensuing, that the same be good and seasonable victuals for man's body not corrupted nor putrefied. And all other ancient customs you shall keep that belongeth to your office, to your best cunning and power.'³³ By this body the price of herrings was fixed in 1596 as follows:—'Whyte, ful 5 for 2*d.*, shuten, 3 for 1*d.*, redde ful 5 for 2*d.*, shotten, 3 for 1*d.*'³⁴ In 1597-8,

¹² *Hund. R.* ii, 302*a*; cf. also an interesting presentation as to fishing rights in the Bykersdyke, *ibid.* 303*b*.

¹³ *Hund. R.* ii, 302*a*. ¹⁴ *Ibid.* 319*a*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 311*a*. ¹⁶ *Ibid.* 303*b*.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, p. 520.

¹⁸ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 30.

¹⁹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 411.

²⁰ Assize R. 672, m. 2. I am indebted for this reference to Miss Tanner.

²¹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 221.

²² *Ibid.* 287.

²³ *Ibid.* 283.

²⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 413.

²⁵ *Newark Advertiser*, 12 Mar. 1890.

²⁶ Brown, *op. cit.* 195.

²⁷ A place for keeping fish, in Halliwell, *Dict. Archaic Words*, 892. Every trunk of eels paid 4*d.* toll at Newark; Dickinson, *Antiq. of Notts.* 353.

²⁸ Brown, *op. cit.*

²⁹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 370.

³⁰ *Ibid.* iv, 185.

³¹ *Ibid.* 238.

³² *Ibid.* 245.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.* 243.

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the following proclamation for the season of Lent was issued to the towns' fishers and fish-mongers:—'Master Mayor commands on Her Majesty's behalf that all men keep this season of Lent according to the laws of the realm in such case provided. And that no fisher or fish-monger, or any other person offering any fish to sale, that they offer to putt to sale any manner of fish but such as shall be good and seasonable for man's body and not corrupted. And that the same persons do sell their herrings' at the rates already quoted.³⁵

The fishing in the Trent was strictly regulated as regards the nets employed. John Howit was presented in 1637 for fishing with a shove net, and fined 2s.,³⁶ whilst George Bucher, for similarly offending in the Leen to the value of 20d., was dealt with in the same manner.³⁷

On 5 February 1644-5, the council let to William Clarke the fishing in the Trent, both above and below the bridges, to hold from Candlemas last for one year, paying 10s. per annum at Lammas next, provided he let Master Steven Hall have fishing there as he useth to have, giving him reasonable allowance.³⁸ In 1657 the constables' jury presented certain children for 'fishing on the Lord's day.'³⁹ In 1686, Nathaniel Bates was presented for fishing in the mayor's pools with 'quick' (live) bait.⁴⁰

Some account of the present state of the fisheries of the shire will be found in the section devoted to sport, since at the present time they are better considered from that point of view, while the natural history of the various species found in the Trent is dealt with in the first volume of this history.

TANNING

The tanning trade was in early activity in the county. Tanner appears as a surname in Newark documents of 1280.¹ A saddler and cordwainer are mentioned in the town records of the same place in 1328. By agreement between the Prior of Lenton and the burgesses of Nottingham regarding Lenton fair, the great commercial mart for the county in mediaeval times, it was enacted that the men of Nottingham buying and selling hides, tanned, or with the hair on, or skins, dry or fresh,² passing to and fro between their town and the aforesaid fair, with their carts, wagons, and packhorses, should be quit of toll and custom.³ The tanners' quarter in Nottingham was the *Vicus Tannatorum*, known in the vernacular as Barkergate.⁴ In 1385 all tanners dwelling in Little Marsh on the south side were presented before the Mickletorn jury for 'blocking up the common water called Lene, with stakes, poles, and turves, and laying leather therein to the detriment of the people passing by.'⁵ In 1395 all tanners were presented for selling leather not well tanned, and for selling the same each in his own house, without view of market, or being placed in the market for sale.⁶ Among presentments by the Mickletorn jury in 1396 we find

that of John Albayn, who came into the market at Nottingham, on Easter Eve, and there forestalled and bought a cart full of tanned hides from Richard Hudson of Bredon, to the great prejudice and deception of John de Linby, John Ball, Thomas Holland, and Edward de Wheatley, because they had spoken with the aforesaid Richard for the aforesaid hides, and were all but agreed to the price, when the aforesaid John came secretly and against the statute of our lord the king, and bought the hides for a greater sum.⁷

On 28 November 1502 the tanners of Nottingham agreed together not to sell any manner of leather until the same had been sufficiently tanned, searched,⁸ and sealed, upon pain of forfeiting to the craft 4d., and to their light⁹ 4d.¹⁰ The searchers themselves were on the other hand as strictly overseen by the municipal authorities. Thus, in 1503, John Sybthorp was presented for selling leather to the king's people not sufficiently barked (tanned).¹¹

We gather from the Chamberlains' Rentals of 1574 that the Leather Hall was 'a house over

mongers; *Hist. Nott.* 210. Among his many interesting reminiscences of old Nottingham, Mr. Granger recalls the fact that, seventy-two years ago, entering Narrow Marsh from Drury Hill, the pedestrian successively noticed Tanner's Hall Court, Vat Yard, Pelt Alley, and Leather Alley; Granger, *Old Notts.* 45.

¹ Stevenson, *op. cit.* 273.

² *Ibid.* 271.

³ *Ibid.* 319.

⁴ The appointment was a yearly one, Richard Pickard and Thomas Willoughby holding office in this year; *ibid.* iii, 89.

⁵ Mr. Stevenson suggests that this was a saint's light maintained by the Tanners' Company.

⁶ Stevenson, *op. cit.* 309-10.

⁷ *Ibid.* 327.

³⁵ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 245.

³⁶ *Ibid.* v, 182.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 184.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.* 292.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 331.

¹ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 190.

² At Nottingham, the skimmers inhabited Pilchergate, dealing in skins, dressed with the hair and wool on, also in furs. Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 98.

³ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 63.

⁴ *Ibid.* 439. Evidences of a former extensive tanning trade have been found between Turncalf Alley and Bridge Street, where the great number of horn snuffs and old vats point, says Blackner, to the whole of the ground having been occupied by fell-

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the tavern under the Council House,' 4s. 8d. rent being paid for the same.¹³ There was a Tanners' Hall in Newark in 1577, no other crafts having apparently a corresponding possession. In the reign of Henry VIII there were five tanners, six corvisers, one saddler, and two glovers, members of the Trinity Guild of Newark.¹³ In the following reign, the tanners of this town claimed the right to carry leather, rough and tanned, from Nottingham to Grantham and back free of toll, acknowledging however their liability to pay toll on bark.¹⁴

The anonymous author of a description of Nottingham in the 17th century¹⁵ says that he 'knows of no trade like to breed offence' in the town 'but the tanners, fellmongers, and whittawers,¹⁶ all of whom dwelling in a row on the bank of the River Leen, all the refuse of the trades are by that river daily swept away and cleansed.'¹⁷ In 1605, among the chief rents due to Richard Lord Burghley at Newark, we read of 12d. received from Christopher Jennesson for the tanners and all.¹⁸ The rent of the Leather Hall at Nottingham had risen in 1627-8 to 8s., which was duly paid by the wardens to the town authorities.¹⁹ In 1641 there were thirty-six tanners in the town,²⁰ besides nine master fellmongers and six curriers.²¹

In 1646 Mr. John James, alderman, afterwards mayor, was chosen master of the tanners' trade of Nottingham, John Townrow and Thomas Truman being wardens for the year. Meeting on the Monday after St. Andrew's Day in that year, the company ordered that all apprentices who were not freeborn should pay to the wardens of the trade for their recording 5s., and for their upset 10s. 6d., also that such as were freeborn should pay for their recording 2s., and for their upset 6s. 8d. On 5 December 1664, forty-seven master tanners subscribed to an order declaring that if any person duly elected master should refuse to accept office he should pay a fine of 20s. William Fillingham paid this fine in 1716. On 8 September 1668, at a meeting of twenty-five master tanners at the house of Thomas Hardement, it was agreed and concluded that the particular persons whose names were underwritten should buy such proportion of hides affixed to their names underneath for one month next ensuing, under penalty of forfeiting to the wardens 6d. for every hide neglected to be bought, and it was intended that such hides should be bought of the butchers of Nottingham.

No tanner, journeyman, or apprentice was to buy any hide, kep, or calfskin above 9d., nor tan them at any rate for themselves or the fellmongers. In 1672 the company agreed that any one buying hides within 6 miles of Nottingham, except in open market, should be fined 5s. No journeyman was allowed to be employed who had not served his apprenticeship to a master belonging to some company, and no master not belonging to the Nottingham company could set up or keep a stall in the town.²² The company paid the corporation 20s. yearly until 1747, when the refusal of a master shoemaker named Hancock to enter the company involved the latter in a lawsuit which was given against them, the company thereupon deciding to withhold their annual tribute, 'because the Corporation did not protect their interests.' The company had previously comprised four masters, two stewards, and two wardens, to whom all fees were paid, and who also remitted all payments to the corporation; in order, however, that there should be no official on whom to levy after the Hancock incident, no wardens were afterwards elected.²³

During a visitation of the plague in 1667, the immunity of the lower part of the town, where the tanners' quarter was situated, was ascribed to the forty-seven tanyards, the odours from which were popularly supposed to be an antidote to the disease.²⁴

The leather sellers and glovers sold together in their appointed place in the market. The tanners, 'when they had made their markets in the morning for buying hides, stood all day after to sell bend leather.'²⁵ The buying and selling of hides was strictly regulated by the company. He that brought a hide to the hill (which, Blackner suggests, was the hill near the Timber Market) had the privilege of buying it. If any other, he should pay the first chapman 1s. Any tanner buying hides of butchers at shops or slaughterhouses in the week-day was fined 2s. 6d., any hides so bought being forfeited to the wardens for promoting the feast.²⁶

Caleb Wilkinson, leather-seller, was presented in 1686 for following his trade, not being apprenticed.²⁷ Among burgesses enrolled 1693-4, the following appear 22 May 1694:—Thomas Shaw Robinson and James Robinson, tanners.²⁸ In 1707 there were twenty-one master tanners in the town;²⁹ in 1739 two fellmongers and four curriers were included in the trade.³⁰ In this year Ralph Peet paid the last fee for recording apprentices.³¹ In 1766 William Haigh paid the last fee for an upset. This master tanner was

¹³ Stevenson, *op. cit.* iv, 156.

¹⁴ Brown, *op. cit.* 190.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Printed in *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* ii, 67.

¹⁶ Tanners of white leather; *ibid.* 46.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

¹⁸ Shilton, *Hist. Newark*, 488.

¹⁹ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* 132.

²⁰ *Brit. Dir.* 1793, p. 45.

²¹ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 212.

²² Curtis, *Hist. Notts.* p. xv.

²³ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 208-9.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 212.

²⁵ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* ii, 37.

²⁶ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 210.

²⁷ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 331.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 97.

²⁹ *Brit. Dir.* 1793, p. 45.

³⁰ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 212

³¹ *Ibid.* 210.

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chosen warden in 1769, together with William Henshaw.³³ In 1801 inspectors of hides were appointed, the office being filled by Robert Lineker and John Bailey, fellmonger in 1815. These inspectors, the last of whom was Thomas Radforth, were provided with two stamps, one marked S. (sound) and the other D. (damaged), the hides after inspection being marked according to their quality. The fees for sealing ranged from $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $1d.$

In 1812, when Thomas Roberts, then the only master tanner in the town, applied to the corporation for the yearly stipend formerly paid to his company, the ancient grant³³ of 40s. was

bestowed upon him without discussion, the sum being divided by Roberts between his journey-men.³⁴

The modern tanning trade of Nottingham gives rise to an extensive export and import trade, largely carried on by means of the Trent route, as many as 60–70 tons of birch bark from Sweden being brought to the town at a time by this means.³⁵ Seven thousand bags of tanning materials from Palermo are delivered yearly to one establishment, which exports pickled skins and leather to Hull for shipment to Boston, U.S.A., and also imports sheepskins from Holland and Belgium.³⁶

SHOE-MAKING

Intimately connected with the tanning trade was that of the corvisers, or shoemakers, who appear in early records of the county. In 1385 the shoemakers of Nottingham were presented by the Mickletorn jury for selling their shoes too dear, for putting calf-skin therein among ox-leather, and for selling bazen (sheepskin) for cordewan¹ to the deception of the people.² Ten years later the same craftsmen were accused of selling shoes of cloth steeped in water, and each of them tempered old cloth with new in the 'wamppeys,'³ to the deception of the people.⁴ Six shillings and eightpence was paid to the wardens of the company for setting up as a corviser.⁵ In 1484–5 the Bridge Wardens at Nottingham answered for 3s. 4d. received from the wardens of the Shoemakers' Company for the fine of Richard Spencer and Thomas Colt, who had engaged in the craft of shoemakers within the town aforesaid against the form of the ordinance of the said craft.⁶ In 1517 we find Thomas

Barbur, corviser, suing Robert Taverner for a pair of shoes, price 6d.⁷ Michael Bell, 'cordyner,' leased a shop in the Saturday Market in 1590.⁸ In 1619 John Ratcliffe, Henry Newcome, Gervase Huthwait, and John Raggett were charged with inciting divers and sundry shoemakers in Nottingham not to make three-soled shoes under 3s., nor two-soled shoes under 2s. 6d.⁹ The defendants were fined 2s. It was the office of the leather searchers at Newark not only to oversee the preparation of the hides to be converted into leather, but also to see if the shoemakers harboured either 'insufficient leather,' or boots and shoes made of 'unlawful stuff.'¹⁰

Abraham Booth, of Hen Cross, was the first shoemaker in Nottingham to keep ready-made shoes and boots in his shop. His prices in 1796 were as follows:—Good strong wax-leather shoes, 6s. per pair; women's leather slippers, 3s. 9d. per pair; and Spanish leather slippers, 4s. 9d.¹¹

³³ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 210.

³⁴ On 18 Feb. 1545, the mayor and burgesses of Nottingham 'obliged themselves' by deed 'to William Sharpington, James Mason, John Revell, John Gregorie, Thomas Sibthorpe, tanners, to pay to them and their successor tanners of Nottingham for ever, an annuity of 40s.' (Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 92.) In 1774 the mayor and burgesses refused to make good this payment to the tanners. From this date they only received 20s. per annum.

³⁵ Blackner, *op. cit.* 210.

³⁶ *Rep. Com. Canals*, 1908, i, 466.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 461–2.

¹ Leather prepared from goatskins; *Rec. Boro Nott.* i, 445.

² *Ibid.* 271.

³ Vampey—the bottoms of hose, or gaiters attached to the hose, covering the foot; Halliwell, *Dict. Archaic Words*, 907. (?) vamp.

⁴ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 273.

⁵ *Ibid.* 155.

⁶ *Ibid.* 5.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 484.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 402.

⁹ *Ibid.* 362.

¹⁰ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, ii, 190.

¹¹ Granger, *Old Notts.* 135.

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GLOVE-MAKING

The glove-making industry is among the most ancient in the county. In 1311 Walter the Cooper was convicted at Newark of stealing twelve pairs, whilst Gilbert son of John Wygan, of the same town, stole six pairs of his master's goods.¹ Robert de Burton, glover, was made a burgess, paying the customary fine of 6s. 8d., in 1395-6.² In 1418 Roger Malyng, glover, was convicted of housebreaking at Newark.³ William Spondon, who carried on the craft in the same town, by his will dated 20 July 1476, left bequests to his apprentices William Atkynson and John Wyngale.⁴ Thomas de Lenton, glover, brought an action against Thomas del Peek at Nottingham in 1480, the said Thomas having agreed to take from him twenty-two dozen gloves, to be supplied at the rate of two dozen a week, until 5s. 6d. advanced for leather should be paid back. Thomas only cut six dozen and four pairs of gloves, and left sixteen dozen and eight pairs unworked, which should have been sold at Lenton Fair.⁵ Thomas Huby, glover, was enrolled as burgess in 1547-8,⁶ and similar entries are numerous in the records of the borough.

The manufacture of gloves continued to be an industry of the county throughout the following centuries, leather being largely replaced, however, by silk, cotton, and thread, gloves of these materials, together with mitts, being made upon the stocking-frame.⁷

The Spanish industry of glove-making on the stocking-frame, which was introduced from Cor-

dova into England about the middle of the 18th century, soon became a very lucrative trade of Nottingham, high wages being obtained. The gloves in question were made by split fingers, in which the workman wrought with seven threads at once, one for the forefinger and two for each of the other fingers, the thumb and gussets between being made after the glove was completed. A quantity of ornamentation was introduced round the thumb and on the back leading to the fingers. It was in silk mitts, however, that the greatest ingenuity was displayed in this direction, rose leaves, branches, and other designs being worked by hand with running stitches from one needle to another.⁸

Numbers of persons were engaged at Mansfield in 1800 in the manufacture of silk and cotton gloves, principally the latter, two frames having been set up there by Messrs. W. and T. Haynes of Nottingham.⁹ In 1828 the 'fashion of black kid gloves' caused the silk glove to suffer.¹⁰

In 1843 there was 'an enormous demand for French point net gloves and mitts,' which were exquisitely embroidered, we are told, in gold, silver, and coloured threads, pearls being even sometimes inserted in the fabric. The cost of these articles was from 14s. to 32s.¹¹ Mitts were largely manufactured by Mr. Fellowes of Nottingham, whose factory was at the Weekday Cross, under the direction of Ferdinando Shaw of Mansfield, who learnt some secrets of the trade from a widow in Valenciennes.¹²

WOOL

The geographical position of the towns of Nottingham and Newark, commanding alike the great highway to the north and the no less important waterway of 'princely Trent,' together with the easy access of these commercial centres to the staple ports of Lincoln, Boston, and Kingston on Hull, gave a singular impetus to the wool trade of the county in mediaeval times. Early alien colonies, for the most part Flemish in constitution,¹ were established in both Not-

tingham and Newark,² whilst intimate trade relations existed at as early a date between both Flemish and Florentine wool merchants and the great religious houses of the shire.³

Such transactions, however, were by no means confined to alien purchasers. A mediaeval incident of the wool commerce of the county is recorded in the chartulary of Welbeck Abbey, William, merchant of Lincoln, being ordered 'to come to reasonable terms with the Abbot,'

¹ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 191.

² Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 287.

³ Brown, *op. cit.* 191.

⁴ *Ibid.* 358.

⁵ Stevenson, *op. cit.* i, 329. Thomas Greg, glover, rented a close called the Hermitage in 1513; *ibid.* iii, 472.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv, 2.

⁷ Henson, *Hist. Framework Knitting*.

⁸ *Ibid.* 105.

⁹ Harrod, *Hist. Mansfield*, 6.

¹⁰ *Gaz. Engl. and Wales*, 1843, p. 547.

¹¹ Henson, *Hist. Framework Knitting*, 282.

¹² Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 170.

¹ It may be assumed that weavers were numerous in colonies of this character.

² Robert le Fleming was a burgess of Nottingham in 1276; *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, p. 176.

³ The following sold wool in the 13th century to foreign merchants:—Rufford, Welbeck, Mattersey, Worksop, Shelford, Lenton, and Newstead; Cunningham, *Engl. Industry and Commerce*, 628 (App.).

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whom the said William had 'overreached in a contract for wool for 10 years, lest he should become obnoxious to the penalty for usury or other correction.' The abbot, it would appear, could not supply wool, as agreed, 'on account of a murrain amongst his sheep (*occasione morine ovium suarum*).'⁴ About this date (1299) 60 acres at Wellodal in the field of Cuckney were given by Thomas son of Richard de Cuckney to make a sheep-walk and pasture for 700 sheep.⁴

The county of Nottingham played no inconsiderable part in the furnishing of that wool revenue which was the chief support of Edward's armies in the field.⁵ The price of Nottingham wool as assessed in 1337, when a subsidy of 20s. on every sack of wool exported was granted to the king for the defence of the realm, was taken, says Professor Cunningham, as the basis of the royal trading transactions at that date.⁶ In 1340 the price of Nottinghamshire wool was 7½ marks per sack.⁷ In 1341 the price was again ordained at Nottingham,⁸ but two years later, the price having advanced to 10½ marks, the merchants declared that it was impossible to keep to the same.⁹

Judging from the records of the time, the 14th century was the golden age of the wool trade of Nottinghamshire. Not only did the wool of the county command the favourable attention of Parliament, as before-mentioned, whilst great families of local merchants, such as the Stuffyns, Keyzers, Revilles, and Durants of Newark, were building up their fortunes on the sales of this precious commodity; but we hear at the same time of merchants of Brabant, of 'Almain,' and of Revel actively engaging in the traffic. Beyond the confines of the county we find Hardolf de Barton of Kingston on Hull, and Thomas Tyrwhitt of Beverley, proving themselves, on more than one occasion, good customers of the king, as purveyors of the wool of Nottinghamshire.¹⁰ Thus, in 1340, they were purchasers of 1,000 sacks at £4 13s. 4d. per sack,¹¹ whilst in the following year orders were issued to the receivers of wool in the county to deliver 326 sacks, 1 quarter, 12 stones,

3½ lb. of wool to Barton, the same having been sold to him for 17 marks per sack.¹²

The importance of this commodity accounts for the frequent records of thefts of wool in early times. Thus, in 1325, Richard Poye of Landford stole twenty-seven fleeces from a cart belonging to Henry Warde at Newark,¹³ whilst in 1361 Thomas Pakker and Beatrice, formerly the wife of Thomas de Leppyngton, broke into the house of Richard Prentiz, in Newark, and secretly seized and carried away 20 stones of wool worth 100s.¹⁴

It will be of interest to pass briefly in review the fragmentary histories of these merchant-princes of Nottinghamshire which have come down to us. We first hear of Robert Stuffyn in 1305 as a brother of 'the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and St. Peter the Apostle' of Newark. In 1328 his goods were valued at 12s. 9½d., and himself described as a 'marchand.' Ten years later we find him exporting wool in considerable quantities from the port of Boston to Dordrecht, and in the same year from Hull.¹⁵ In 1337 he was appointed taker and buyer of wool in Nottinghamshire for 1,200 sacks, William de Amyas, Roger de Bothale, and Robert de Beghton being associated with him in that office.¹⁶ Stuffyn, it would appear, owed his appointment to the misconduct of his predecessor in office, Henry de Chestrefield, who had 'conducted himself badly' in its execution.¹⁷ Stuffyn and Roger de Bothale were appointed 'to take wool according to the fifteenth in the county of Nottingham' in 1338.¹⁸ The names of numerous Nottinghamshire merchants appear among those who lent 'divers sums of money to the king for his affairs' in 1338, and to whom 'allowance' was ordered to be made in that year¹⁹ :—John le Colier for £82 12s. 11d. in the port of Kingston on Hull, also for a further sum of £69 6s. 2d.; Matilda Sausmer of Newark for £120 in the port of Boston; William de Amyas of Nottingham for £1,075 8s. 1d. in the same port; Robert de Stuffyn for £200 in the two ports of Boston and Kingston on Hull; William Durant for £60 in the latter port; Robert de Beghton of Nottingham for £195 12s. 2d. in the same; Roger de Bothale of Nottingham for £385 0s. 4d. in the same.²⁰ We read of John de Ferriby, the king's clerk, being paid 2s. a day in 1339 for wages when sent to Nottingham to control the sum of

⁴ Harl. MS. 3640, fol. 68, 74.

⁵ Cunningham, *Engl. Industry and Commerce* (ed. iv), 299.

⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 195; *Rot. Parl.* ii, 11.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.* ii, 120b.

⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1341-3, p. 230.

⁹ *Rot. Parl.* ii, 138b. It was John Bowes, member for Nottinghamshire, and Speaker of the Parliament of 1345, who was largely responsible, says Professor Rogers, for the several financial operations whereby the wool trade of the country was turned to account for the augmentation of the royal revenue; Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, iv, 164.

¹⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1339-41, p. 615; *Rot. Parl.* ii, 120b.

¹¹ *Rot. Parl.* ii, 120b.

¹² *Cal. Close*, 1341-3, p. 184.

¹³ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 184.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 184. The amount sent from Boston was 23,268 lb., and from Hull, 20,888 lb.

¹⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 269.

¹⁷ Chan. Misc. R. bdle. 19, no. 20.

¹⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 602.

¹⁹ These sums were advanced to the king on condition that they should be deducted from the customs dues.

²⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, pp. 425-7, 430, 434, 435.

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wool received there for the king's use by Robert de Stuffyn and Roger de Bothale.²¹

William Durant was associated with Robert de Staynton (Stuffyn?) in 1338 in the transport of 50 sacks of wool from Boston to the staple at Antwerp, the collectors in the former port having orders to allow them £100 in custom and subsidy due thereon in part satisfaction of £640 lent by them to the king in parts beyond the sea, as they had besought the king to grant the licence to take 100 sacks to the said staple, 50 from Boston, and 50 from Kingston, and the king has granted their request.²² John Keyser was a Newark wool merchant with whom Edward III had frequent financial relations. We find him petitioning in 1331 for payment of 77 marks lent by him to the king in the ports of Boston and Kingston on Hull, as appeared by letters patent under the seal called 'coket'; or in default of such payment, for an assignment to be made to him on the first customs of wool, hides, or wool-fels, sent out of the realm. It is interesting to note, in passing, that Keyser seems to have combined with his traffic in wool the office of purveyor of wines to the royal household, for we find that he had presented a petition a little earlier for payment of a claim of £10, the import of wines from Gascony being a feature of the trade of his day.²³

Newark wool merchants, in common with those of the rest of the Midland counties, were compelled to export their wool from Boston, where the staple²⁴ had been fixed in 1369. Prior to this date, the staple town for these counties had been Lincoln.²⁵ The wool trade of Newark was controlled by the mayor and twenty-four aldermen, merchants of the fellowship of the staple of Calais.²⁶ A Newark man, John Hesil or de Hesyll, was appointed controller of the customs at Hull in 1380, on condition that he exercised the office himself. De Hesyll was Warden of the Trinity Guild of Newark from 1381 to 1403.²⁷

²¹ *Cal. Close*, 1339-41, p. 147. See also p. 306.

²² *Ibid.* 1337-9, p. 579.

²³ *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, pp. 104, 242.

²⁴ Staple—a depôt where goods were deposited so that tolls might be collected thereon. *Jus stapulae*—the right of a town to have such goods exposed for sale in its market; Huvelin, *Droit des marches*, 206.

²⁵ Cunningham, *Engl. Industry and Commerce*, 316. A petition from the Midland counties in 1376 that the staple might be restored to Lincoln was rejected, it being directed that 'St. Botolph's' should continue a staple town during the king's pleasure; *Rot. Parl.* ii, 322*b*.

²⁶ By statute 14 Edw. IV, cap. 3, all wools, northern or otherwise, were ordered to be sent to the staple at Calais. The trade of Newark with this port was very considerable, as we learn from a petition addressed by the merchants to the king in 1455; Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 186.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

If Flemish merchants were domiciled in Nottinghamshire at an early date we also find Nottinghamshire merchants resident abroad, with a view no doubt to be in closer touch with and more effectually to control the conduct of the wool traffic in the heart of the staple centres. In 1332, for example, we find James Keyser of Newark dwelling at Bruges, where in conjunction with several other English merchants he 'arrested and detained the wool of one Nicholas de Pydeford, a merchant of Bridgnorth,' alleging, it would appear, that they were well within their rights in so doing, and taking their stand upon the 'pretext of a staple newly-established by them,' contrary to the statute.²⁸ For this offence, the sheriff of Lincoln was ordered to arrest and keep the wool belonging to James Keyser, because he had not restored that belonging to the said Nicholas.²⁹

In 1336 a charge of extortion brought against certain Newark wool merchants acquaints us with the names of some of those engaged in the early traffic of this commodity. The delinquents were accused of buying wools by the stone of 13½ lb. instead of that of 12½ lb. to the hurt and oppression of the people. On the sheriff commanding them to come and appear before him, all but one obeyed the order, and were fined as follows:—John Kayser, 6*s.* 8*d.*; William de Mounfort, 40*d.*; Henry Mons, 13*s.* 4*d.*; Thomas de Kelham, 20*s.*; William and Richard de Wanseye, 16*s.* 8*d.*; John de Balderton, 40*s.*; Richard de Burton, 40*s.*; Henry de Lincoln, 40*s.*; William Fleshhewer, 6*s.* 8*d.*; Robert Stuffyn, 6*s.* 8*d.*³⁰

An inquisition on John Ashton, vicar of Colston Basset, in the reign of Henry IV, gives the price of a stone of wool as 3*s.* 6*d.*, whilst the price of a sheep is given in the next inquisition, that on Nicholas Fuller, parson of Hockerton, as 5*d.*³¹

These Nottinghamshire wool merchants were by no means above suspicion in the execution of their office as collectors and receivers. Thus we find William Durant and Richard de Leycestre

²⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, p. 467.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 498, 519. For this English colony at Bruges Professor Cunningham claims that it was probably the predecessor of the Merchant Adventurers (*Engl. Industry and Commerce* [ed. 4], 317). The staple had been regularly established in Flanders in 1343 (*ibid.* 312), although the English colony does not appear to have been regularly organized, or to have had its mayor until 1359 (*Rot. Stap.* 27-46 Edw. III, m. 11); Armstrong, in his 'Treatis concerning the Staple' (1519) (Pauli, *Denkschriften*), writes of Bruges as 'the first mart in the Low Countries,' fifteen foreign nations having their depôts or factories at one time in this 'chief emporium of the towns of the Hanseatic League.' See Weale, *Bruges*, 7; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, 165.

³⁰ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 184.

³¹ Esch. Inq. 2-3 Hen. IV, no. 1410 (1).

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of Nottingham presented by the Newark jury in 1339 for receiving the wool of the county by stones of 15 lb., and making acquittance for 14 lb. only; whilst Richard de Caldewell, another collector, took one sack from Hugh de Landford at Newark, the said Hugh having paid 5s. per stone for the same, and being compelled to sell it to Caldewell for 2s., or go without any price.³³ Caldewell further took strangers to the house of the vicar of Scarle, where he took wool for the king's use, and 20s. for himself, by extortion.³³

The names of many of the Brabant and other foreign merchants trading with Nottinghamshire in the 14th century are recorded for us in ancient documents. In 1338 we find Reynere de Evelane and Godefroy Kirkhere, merchants of Brabant, complaining that, when they had brought 12 sacks of wool of that county and placed the same in the house of William Durant of Newark, and delivered to him the key of the said house, Stephen le Heyr, who held the king's commission to take into his hands the goods, lands, and chattels of aliens, took such wool from Durant, and committed it to Robert Stuffyn, who was by the king's order commanded to deliver the same to the merchants, the king desiring to be in friendship with the Duke of Brabant.³⁴

Similar complaint was lodged by Godekin le Calkier, also of Brabant, the wool in this case having been taken by Stephen le Heyr, who had delivered the same to Stuffyn. The treasurer and barons of the Exchequer however ordered Stuffyn to come before them to answer for the said wool or for the price thereof, the wool to be restored to Godekin, because the king did not wish the goods of the merchants of Brabant to be so taken into his hands.³⁵

Godekin de Revel and Hildebrand Suderman again, both merchants of Almain, trafficked in wool of the county at this time. Orders were given to the collectors of the customs on wool, hides, and wool-fels in the port of Boston to allow these merchants to load 200 sacks of wool in that port, and to take the same to Antwerp, according to the king's grant of £400.³⁶ Later, we hear of their having paid custom and subsidy on the wool in question to William de Northwell, keeper of the wardrobe.³⁷

³³ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 184.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 121.

³⁵ *Rot. Parl.* ii, 102a, b.

³⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 314-15.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 504.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 575.

Much of the wool which found its way from the Midlands in the 15th century to the Flemish ports should legally have been carried to the staple at Calais, an economic irregularity to which legislation was promptly directed in 1474, when it was stated in a statute³⁸ that 'a great multitude of wool, woolfels and fells called morling and shorling, growing in . . . the county of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby, and in other counties . . . under the colour of the exception before rehearsed in the same North parts, be carried out of this realm of England unto Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other divers places.' All wool was thereby ordered to be sent to Calais, whether northern or otherwise.

It may be gathered from the evidence of the records of the 15th century that the wool trade, in relation to that of cloth, itself at that time a slight industry of the county, was inconsiderable. Records of prices throughout the 16th and 17th centuries are of the scantiest,³⁹ although the archives of Bruges furnish evidence that in 1567 there was still surviving in that mediaeval 'first mart of the Low Countries,'⁴⁰ if not a Nottinghamshire colony of wool-merchants, at least a market for the freight of certain ships from Boston, in which the wool of Newark may well have figured as of old.⁴¹

With the advent of the stocking-making industry, the wool-producer in the county was provided with a new market,⁴² whilst the numerous worsted mills which grew up at a somewhat later date created a further demand for this commodity.

³⁸ Stat. 14 Edw. IV, cap. 3. The Halifax weight was occasionally used in wool transactions at this date. On 16 Feb. 1495, Edward Jackson and William Wilson, tailors, lodged a complaint with the authorities at Nottingham against Thomas Gregg, glover, of whom they had bought 100 stones of fleece wool and skins, paying by the weight above mentioned 2s. 8d. per stone. Out of this amount they had only received 10 stones of fleece wool and 22 stones of skin wool, and none of the remainder; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 43.

³⁹ From 1591 to 1601, wool at Worksop averaged 18s. 5½d. per tod, black wool being priced higher than white; Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 409.

⁴⁰ Armstrong, 'Treatise on the Staple,' in Pauli, *Denkschriften*, 176.

⁴¹ Gilliodts van Severen, *Bruges port de mer*, 216.

⁴² Henson, writing from the point of view of the practical hosier, states that 'the Forest of Sherwood produced a peculiar breed of sheep, small in size, covered with a fleece having a wool whose staple was equal to any in Europe for fineness'; *Hist. Framework Knitters*, 57.

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CLOTH

The cloth made in Nottinghamshire came under the designation of northern cloth, this term being applied to all cloth made in the counties north of the Trent.¹ Frequent references to the fabric in question are to be found in the Statutes of the Realm, northern cloths being directed by legislation to be from 23 yds. to 25 yds. in length, 7 qrs. broad, and 46 lb. in weight. Half pieces or dozens were to be from 12 yds. to 13 yds. in length, and to weigh 37 lb.²

By a charter³ of Henry II, which probably belongs to the year 1155, dyed cloth was forbidden to be worked within 10 *leuca* of Nottingham except in the borough.⁴ The men⁵ of Newark paid an annual tax in the reign of Henry II, that they might buy and sell dyed cloth. In 1203 this tax⁶ amounted to £1 6s. 8d.

Fifteen yards of woollen cloth cost 11d. in 1496, the same amount being charged for a doublet cloth, 17 yds. of broadcloth being supplied at 2s.⁷

Again, in a bill for cloth supplied which is preserved amongst the records of the Nottingham municipality, we find that 2½ yds. of housewife cloth cost 13d., that fustian sold for 10d. per yard, 3¼ yds. of buckram being 18d., whilst 10 yds. of kersey sold for 3s. 4d.⁸ It is probable that this cloth, of which Prof. Rogers writes that it was 'early naturalized in England,'⁹ was one of the staple products of this shire also. John Belyn, a Nottinghamshire tailor of 1496, supplied John Marshall with green, watchet (blue), and black kersey in 1496, a cloth known as muster de Villers¹⁰ being another item in the bill in question.¹¹ 'A piece of white kersey' formed the subject of an inquiry to which fuller

reference will be made in the section of this article dealing with the fullers' craft. The manufacture of linen was carried on in the county at an early date, for we find in a bill of debts due to John Lawson, weaver, in Nottingham, in 1496, the following item:— 'For weaving a piece of linen cloth of 23 yds. 17d.'¹² Flannel appears to have been made at Newark in 1435, when R. Smith of that town owned two pieces, worth 12d.¹³

Elsebeth Jenyn of Newark was a mediaeval cloth dealer, for she bequeathed to William Dymok in 1504 'the cloth in the shop as it cost at the first buying.'¹⁴

Stamell¹⁵ was a textile product of Nottinghamshire. In 1614, 6½ yds. of this fabric were bought at Nottingham for the waits' coats at £3 18s.¹⁶ Red kersey cost 2s. 5d. per yard at Nottingham in 1625.¹⁷

John de Rolleston, parson of Plumtree, complained in 1410 of one Thomas Fox, a draper of Nottingham, who agreed to let him have three parts of a yard of scarlet cloth for a quarter of corn. The cloth was to be 'good scarlet,' but on delivery of the same by Rolleston's servant, John Stillingfleet, the cloth, for which Fox claimed that there was 'no better in town or country,' was found on the contrary 'never to have been scarlet.'¹⁸

Clothiers and linen-drapers paid an entrance fee of 6s. 8d. on taking up their freedom as burgesses. George Molson and John Clayton paid this fee in 1547–8.¹⁹

The great mart for cloth, as well as for the other leading commodities of the county in mediaeval times, was Lenton Fair, an agreement dating from 1300 between the Prior of Lenton and the burgesses of Nottingham fixing the hire of a booth at 12d. for cloth merchants, pilchers, and mercers.²⁰ Nottingham was made a staple town in 1355,²¹ all those 'many considerable

¹ Henson, *Hist. Framework Knitting*, 23.

² Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, iv, 207.

³ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 4 n.

⁵ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 245.

⁶ Pipe R. 1203.

⁷ Stevenson, *op. cit.* iii, 295.

⁸ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 268.

⁹ Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 576.

¹⁰ This cloth, which has wrongly been supposed to have been made in mustard colour only, actually owed its name to the place of its origin, Montivilliers (Seine Inférieure); *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 495. Mustardevelin, or Mustardvillars. A mixed grey woollen cloth, often mentioned by writers of the 15th and 16th centuries; Fairholt, *Costume in Engl.* ii, 294.

¹¹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 295.

¹² *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 295.

¹³ Esch. Inq. 16 Hen. VI, no. 4.

¹⁴ 'Newark Wills,' in Brown, *Hist. Newark*, App. 357.

¹⁵ A coarse woollen cloth; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 327. Fairholt quotes several authorities as bearing out his contention that this cloth was probably chiefly worn by persons in the lower rank of life, by countrywomen for petticoats; Fairholt, *Costume in Engl.* ii, 379.

¹⁶ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 327.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* v, 120.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* i, 71.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* iv, 2.

²⁰ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 61.

²¹ Smith, *Mem. of Wool*, 29.

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families'²² of whom Deering writes 'to which the cloth trade gave rise,' having been merchants of the staple of Calais.²³

Early in the 17th century, however, when the decay in the cloth trade which was setting in all over the kingdom was beginning to be felt in this county also, a proposal to make Nottingham a staple town once more was somewhat contemptuously dismissed by the municipal authorities, the suggestion, we are told, being 'regarded as not beneficial or commodious.' The consideration of the question was therefore deferred to a future date.²⁴

The Nottingham Gild of Weavers was one of the few gilds acknowledged by Henry II, says Professor Cunningham.²⁵ They paid an annual rent of 40s. to the exchequer for their privileges,²⁶ no weaver being allowed to work within 10 leagues of Nottingham unless he were contributing to the king's ferm and all other charges pertaining to the gild.²⁷ In 1348 we find the Nottingham weavers successfully petitioning the king that they might be discharged from payment of the 40s. which they used to render yearly at the Exchequer from their gild, on the plea that some of them were not now staying in the town, though the treasurer and barons still exacted the ferm.²⁸ Weavers were presented by the Mickleton jury, 8 October 1395, for taking too much for exercising their art, for a dozen of cloth, 2s. and more, against the statute of our lord the king.²⁹ A tax or assessment was levied on the weavers' web-looms ('pro les weblomis inter eos habitis et constitutis.') In the Borough Court Rolls of Nottingham for 1391 an action is recorded wherein Margaret, widow of Hugh de Stapulton, webster, sued Thomas de Coventry for 32d. given her by Richard Knight, baker. This sum was due for the tax in question, but had been paid back except in this instance, Coventry refusing to refund the same.³⁰

William Bakman was collector of the subsidy annually pertaining to the king from the weavers in 1407, when we find him complaining of John Innocent for a plea of debt.³¹ In 1499, we find a certain Robert Parkinson, weaver, complained of by Richard Wild and James Brasenby, wardens of the weavers, for using the occupation of a weaver without paying the customary fine of

6s. 8d. He had only paid 3s. 4d. and was now sued for the remainder.³²

Before passing on to consider later incidents of the weavers' craft, it will be of interest to notice briefly a few scattered allusions to their apparatus, which figure frequently in mediaeval lawsuits. In 1404, a woollen web-loom with a cam and sley was appraised at Nottingham at 13s. 4d., whilst a linen loom, warping stick, warping tree, and wheel, were valued at 2s. 4d.³³ In 1410, we find Thomas de Gedington accusing Margaret Webster, whose surname determines her craft, of unjustly detaining a pair of warping trees, valued at 12d., sleys, valued at 20d. per pair, of rings, 1d., a wool-shaft, 4d., a spindle, 2d. Damage, 5s.³⁴ Hugh Buntynge was sued by Nicholas Bradley in 1517 for 6s. 8d. the rent of weavers' looms (*pro occupatione lomorum textorialiarum*) (*sic*).³⁵ Edward Marshall complained in 1538 against John Saunders of a plea that he render him a woollen loom with rung-rathes, warp-bars and spool-wheel, to the value of 4s.³⁶

Weavers' earnings may be gathered from a bill of debts recorded at Nottingham in 1496. For weaving a piece of linen cloth, 23 yds., 17d. was due. The weaving of a coverlet cost 16d., 15 yds. of woollen cloth being woven for 11d., and doublet cloth for 11d., whilst 17 yds. of broadcloth were charged at 2s.³⁷

Presentments before the Mickleton jury of weavers 'occupying the trade being no burgesses' were frequent throughout the history of the industry. Frances Obler was thus presented in 1588.³⁸ This restriction was, however, strongly resented by those weavers who were not burgesses. In 1604, a number of them petitioned the mayor for liberty to use their trades, in spite of their disability, weavers who were burgesses seeking to 'put them down from working, to the undoing of themselves and their poor families.'³⁹ John Redforne was presented in 1613 for infringing the regulation in question.⁴⁰ Robert Tomlinson, stranger and coverlet-weaver, who had set up his trade in the town, being neither burges nor free of the company, came into conflict with the Weavers' Company in 1624, his continuance in the industry being declared to be hurtful and prejudicial to the town.⁴¹

The art of the fuller, whose duty was set forth by statute⁴² to be that of 'fulling, rowing, and teaseling of cloth,' was in early evidence in the county as a cloth-making centre, being

²² The Bugges, Bingham, Willoughbys, Tanne-streys, Mapperleys, Sharlands, Amyas, Allestrees, Samons, Plumptres, Hunts; Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 92.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 355. ²⁵ *Op. cit.*

²⁶ *Cal. Rot. Chant.* (Rec. Com.), 39.

²⁷ Wilda, *Das Gildenwesen in Mittelalter*, 313-14; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 57.

²⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1346-9, p. 448.

²⁹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 272.

³⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 58.

³¹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 37.

³² *Ibid.* iii, 57.

³³ *Ibid.* ii, 23.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 69.

³⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 505.

³⁶ *Ibid.* iii, 201.

³⁷ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 295.

³⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 218.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 274-5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 308.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 390.

⁴² Stat. 4 Edw. IV, cap. 1.

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known by the name of 'walker' as well, as in the record of an appraisement of goods seized for execution, 1 August 1403, John Ingham, walker, being complained of by John de Aldsworth for a plea of debt, and claiming amongst other articles a strike of fuller's earth (*unum stryk de walkerherth*).⁴³ The Nottingham fullers were presented by the Mickleton jury 8 October 1395, for taking too much for exercising their craft.⁴⁴ The art was strictly overseen by the wardens of the Fullers' Company. In 1517, a piece of white kersey was entrusted by Robert Mellers, the bell-founder of Nottingham, to one William Nicholson to be fullled, sheared, scoured, and redelivered to Mellers in three weeks. Mellers, however, having complained of a 'fault' in the fulling, John Sainton and Robert Strelley, the then wardens, proceeded to 'survey' the same, and reported thereafter that Nicholson should lose his whole work, and receive nothing, a decision which Nicholson declared in protest to be 'crafty and malicious.'⁴⁵

Robert Bullocke, fuller, paid 40s. on being enrolled as burgess in 1585-6.⁴⁶

The fulling mill in mediaeval times was frequently the scene of quarrels and accidents, occasionally with fatal results. In 1339, for example, Thomas Corelle, walker, and Robert de Tyleseph, engaged in the same occupation, quarrelled at twilight in a fulling mill at Newark. In 1332, Richard le Lord and Robert Jolivet were in a fulling mill in the same town at bedtime, and Richard placing his foot on a trunk, which overturned, was thrown into the water and drowned.⁴⁷

Topographical allusions to the tenters on which the fullers stretched their cloth are numerous in the Borough Records of Nottingham. In 1404, John London occupied a croft with tenters near the Postern.⁴⁸ In 1494, John Marshall, shearman, sued Nicholas Cok, for detinue of two tenters, one broad and the other narrow (*duarum tenturarum unius strayte et alius brode*) price 10s. In 1496, John Saynton sued John Marshall, shearman for 9s. 6d., rent of a tenter (*tentura*) for half a quarter 10d., for the seventh year of Henry VII, 2s. for the eighth, and 3s. 4d. for the ninth year.⁴⁹

In a rental of the Chamber Estate of Nottingham 29 September 1531, the following entries occur:—'Item the taynteryerd (taynter yard, a yard for a tenter) on the south side of the Chapel

Bar, 2s.,'⁵⁰ and again, 'For the taynters at Dykebuttes, 8d.'⁵¹ Elsewhere we find allusion to 'the taynter yard on Low Pavement.'⁵² Edward Bradshawe paid 4s. rent for a garden and tenters at the Bridgend in 1548.⁵³

The alnager, whose fee was fixed by statute⁵⁴ at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ on every half cloth, and $\frac{1}{4}d.$ for his office, was indispensable to the cloth trade, all cloths put to sale before his seal had been affixed to them being forfeited. In 1384, William Hunston was appointed collector of the subsidy on cloth in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, to retain a moiety of the forfeited cloth.⁵⁵ In 1401, Walter Stacy being alnager, William Seme of Newark paid 12d. tax on his cloth, and a further $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ for measuring and marking the same. Thomas Ferrour paid on four dozen cloths, John Hosyer on one, William de Bekyngham on fifteen, Roger del More on six, and Roger Bracebrig on six.⁵⁶ Thomas Shire of Newark was approver of the subsidy and alnager of cloth in Nottinghamshire in 1481.⁵⁷

The office of sealer of cloths was frequently let, or leased. In 1511, for example, Thomas Langford let to John Plumptre the office of sealer of linen cloths made for sale in Nottingham at £2 6s. 8d. a year.⁵⁸

The account of Walter Stacy, collector of issues and profits from alnage in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, contains the following items relative to the cloth trade in the former county for one whole year from 16 September 1393:—From Walther de Notyngnam for eleven dozens, 4d. From John de Plumptre for the same, 22d.⁵⁹ The account of John Connell, holding the same office 7 November 1374, accounts for 12d. received from John Sauce, *pro tribus pannis* 12d., and from John Colyn *pro quatuor pannis*, 16d.⁶⁰

The accounts of Hugh de Annesleye, Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derby, record in 1398 the following:—Received of John Samon, sen., for sixteen whole cloths, 5s. 4d., of William Botiller, four of the same, 16d., of John Plumptre of Nottingham, eighteen of the same at 6s.⁶¹ In 1401, Walter Stacy being alnager, the subsidy of cloth received from Henry de Plumptre on four dozen of cloth was 8d.⁶² Numerous similar entries in this account prove the extent of the cloth-making industry in the county at this date.

The tailors constituted a company at Not-

⁴³ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 41. The site of a fulling mill on the Greet at Southwell was known as Walkmill Furlong. Shilton, *Hist. Southwell*, 220. There was a 'walking mill' in Worksop in 1544, *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix, 527-43.

⁴⁴ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 272.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 139.

⁴⁶ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 213, (1625, p. 61).

⁴⁷ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 189.

⁴⁸ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 61.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* iii, 367.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 371.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 367.

⁵² *Ibid.* iii, 477.

⁵³ *Ibid.* iv, 94.

⁵⁴ 25 Edw. III, cap. 1 and cap. 4.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 459.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 190.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1476-85, p. 234.

⁵⁸ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 113.

⁵⁹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 346, no. 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.* bdle. 343, no. 21.

⁶² *Ibid.* I am indebted to Miss Wallis Chapman for these references.

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tingham as well as in other great towns in the kingdom. Like other crafts, the right to exercise their art was only granted to those who were burgesses or free of the trade. On 18 July 1614, at Nottingham, John England was presented for infringing this regulation, 'to the great wrong and abuse of the trade.' Similar offenders were Henry King, Henry Wells, and Allen Capp. Fines of 3s. 4d. were inflicted.⁶³

Ten years later, decay seems to have set in with regard to this industry, the Tailors' Company describing themselves in 1624-5 as 'above all trades the poorest company in the town,' and complaining to the authorities of the numbers of strangers who were allowed to trade under the names of persons who had sufficient means to live by, but who, it would appear, accepted a bribe from these 'strangers' for the use of their names.⁶⁴

Instances are not wanting at Nottingham of that shrewd economy which was at all times in the past history of the English poor-relief system concerned with the problem of 'setting the poor on work.' Orders were given to this effect in 1640, the work assigned to those in need of it to be the spinning of linen and woollen, also the carding of candle wick, at the following wages:— For carding and spinning the finest wool 6d. per lb., 5d. per lb. the second sort, and 4½d. the third sort. For spinning all sorts of linen, 1d. per skein (ley). The reel held 4 yds. One halfpenny per lb. was paid for carding candle-wick, 1d. for pulling the 'middling' (coarser kind) out of it, and 1d. for spinning candle-wick.⁶⁵ About half a century later a somewhat more elaborate scheme was set on foot in the city. One Abraham Grooby of Melton Mowbray, described as a 'woosten weaver,'⁶⁶ entered into an agreement, 5 February 1693, with the corporation to set up a spinning school, in which, however, it was stipu-

lated that he should not employ any 'foreigners.'⁶⁷ The work to be taught in this school was, in addition to spinning, that of jersey combing.⁶⁸ A salary of £20 and £6 for rent were to be paid to him;⁶⁹ but four years after we gather that the enterprise had not justified the expectations formed of it, as the rent was ordered to be 'suspended,' and Grooby to return all materials and wheels which had been supplied to him.⁷⁰

The manufacture of 'coarse cloth for hobbags'⁷¹ was employing 'many indigent people' at Retford in 1772.

According to the first *Nottingham Directory*, published in 1799, there were at that date five cotton manufacturers in Nottingham.⁷²

Smock-making was carried on at Newark and other places in the county, a well-known 'smock-mill' being that of Paul Reddish at East Bridgeford.⁷³

In 1839 2,272 persons were employed in the textile trades of the county at twenty-one mills, thirteen of these producing cotton goods at Bulwell, Cuckney, Lowdham, Mansfield, Nottingham, and Sutton in Ashfield, whilst at Nottingham, Radford, and Sutton Bonnington there were four worsted mills, and four silk mills at Nottingham and Southwell.⁷⁴

A former feature of the textile trade of Nottinghamshire, the practice of custom-weaving, had by this date passed away. Custom-weavers, being those who wove the yarn spun in private houses, were originally a numerous class, but owing to the altered conditions of production, they gradually drifted into agricultural and other pursuits.⁷⁵

A modern development of the textile trade of Nottingham is the 'making-up' industry, which employs some thousands of hands in the making of blouses, ladies' shirts, aprons, children's pinafores, costumes, bonnet fronts, cap shapes, frillings, embroideries, and trimmings.

DYEING AND BLEACHING

Both these trades, intimately connected at an early date with the wool and cloth industries, and in modern times with those of lace and hosiery, were established in the county in remote mediaeval times. In a deed dated 1328 mention is made of the release of a house formerly belonging to Thomas le Lyster (dyer), opposite the Friars Minor.¹ In 1407 Robert de Chesterfield, occupying a 'poytre,' in the highway, injured

his neighbours with his dyes (*aquatincturae*).² Several of de Chesterfield's fellow-craftsmen were similarly presented by the Mickleton jury for blocking up the king's highway with 'purprestures'³ of their 'poyetres,' and defiling the same with ejection of the waters of their art, to the corruption of the whole people there passing, the names of the offenders being Robert de Selston, Richard Lister, Thomas Bedford, John Remay,

⁶³ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 324.

⁶⁴ *Ibid* v, 259-60.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 418. ⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 380.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 395.

⁷¹ Quincey, *Tour in Midlands*, 44.

⁷² Willoughby, *Dir.* 79.

⁷³ Granger, *Old Notts.* 29.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 391.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Rep. Handloom Weavers*, 1840, p. 254.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 352.

¹ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* 1, 275.

² *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* Jan. 1898, p. 13.

³ 'Purpresture'—an encroachment on anything that belongs to the king or the public; Halliwell, *Dict. Archaic Words*, 653.

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Robert Lovet, and John Loughborough.⁴ In 1434 we find the dyer's craft of Nottingham figuring in a suit wherein Simon Ilkeston, mercer, of that town, appeared as plaintiff, the defendant being Thomas Stretton, dyer, who had agreed to 'dye or tinge or colour' for the said Simon a pack of woollen cloths, comprising, it would appear, ten pieces 'of the make of Nottingham,' and the same number of pieces of 'North country cloth,' six of the pieces to be blue, six red, and six green, whilst two pieces were to be dyed 'murrey or tawney,' all to be 'of good and equal colour.' Ilkeston had paid £4 beforehand for the execution of the order, but Stretton had broken his covenant, to the 'great loss and damage' of the mercer.⁵ In 1435, according to the accounts of Richard Smyth, the Bishop of Lincoln's bailiff at Newark, John Wakeman, litster, paid 2d. new rent for waste of land between his own and the water of Trent.⁶

Of considerable value to the dyers' trade was the meadow saffron, or autumn crocus,⁷ which still grows wild in the meadows near Crankley Point at Newark, and which was largely cultivated in mediaeval times by the chantry priests of Newark. In this connexion the will, dated 21 March 1466, of William Boston, chaplain, of Newark, is of interest. It contains bequests to Thomas Hette and Johan his sister of 'a garden planted *cum croco*,' lying at the east end adjoining the chancel of Newark, also of 'all heads of crocus planted in my garden at the end of the Appilton Gate, except 6 quarters.'⁸ At a later date there was also at hand for the dyers' trade of the county weld, or dyer's weed, which was largely grown around Scrooby, Ranskill, and Torworth, in quantities varying with the demand. Prices ranged from 3s. per stone (14 lb.) to £24 per ton. Towards the close of the 18th century they had declined to £5 6s. 8d. per ton.⁹

It was formerly the custom for Nottingham dyers to hang their cloths when dyed from posts fixed to the front of the houses, but owing to complaints received from shopkeepers and householders, the practice was forbidden, 1 April 1625, as 'it blinds many booths and other shops.'¹⁰ The cloths were in future to be hung close to the wall. A 'stoope,' or sign-post of Mr. Hum-

phrey Greaves was ordered to be taken down to prevent dyers hanging cloth thereon.¹¹ According to the first *Nottingham Directory*¹² there were fifteen dyers in the town in 1799.¹³ A special branch of the dyeing trade of Nottingham after the advent of the stocking-frame was the dyeing of goods made in Leicester, Mr. Elliott, a well-known dyer, charging 3s. 6d. per dozen pairs for dyeing hose black.¹⁴

The modern application of the art in Nottingham is concerned with the dyeing of hose, &c., also of yarn, a special red dye, however, being supplied for the latter by Scotch dyers.

In 1579 we find a petition presented by the Mickleton jury that a bleaching-ground should be provided for the town, 'ther being a common piece of ground beyond the new bridge fit for the purpose.'¹⁵ In 1593 the mayor was presented for 'letting the bleaching ground from the town.'¹⁶ In 1641 there was one bleacher in Nottingham.¹⁷ In 1659 we find certain Nottingham bleachers named Anne Gregory, Mary Hearson, Robert Allicocke, and Thomas Elnor, ordered to be suited 'for laying and bleaching of cloth in the common meadows after Midsummer Day during the commonable time, to the loss and prejudice of the commoners and in hindrance of their just right and usage of the common.'¹⁸ On 18 June 1660 it was ordered that a warrant for the discharge of the bleachers at Leenside should be sent to them, thereby charging them that they and every of them remove and take away all their cloths on or before 25 June, the like warrant and discharge being sent to the bleachers in the fields, who were to remove their cloths by 1 August. The 'warrant and discharge seems to have been ignored, for on 7 August we find an order made to take action against persons 'laying to bleach' linen cloths in the meadows when the latter were 'lying in common.'¹⁹ On 24 June 1668 the bleachers were ordered to remove their cloths from the Leenside by 1 July following, so that the burgesses might have liberty and use of their common.²⁰ In 1688 Widow Hazard was presented by the Mickleton jury 'for a bleach-house and two wells,' and fined 5s.²¹ Deering states that there were eight bleachers of linen cloth in Nottingham in his time.²² The operations of the bleaching industry were considerably extended by the introduction of lace-making. Cheap competition in the lace trade was greatly facilitated, we are told, by the introduction in 1828 of chemical bleaching, there being at that date from twelve to fifteen establishments

⁴ Stevenson, *op. cit.* i, 273.

⁵ *Ibid.* 137.

⁶ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 192.

⁷ It has been suggested (*Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* Dec. 1897, p. 182) that the *crocus nudiflorus*, which is a native of the Pyrenees, but which is found within certain well-defined limits in the midlands, was imported into its alien surroundings by monastic immigrants.

⁸ Brown, *op. cit.* 353.

⁹ Lowe, *Agric. of Notts.* 14.

¹⁰ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 277-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iv, 278. ¹² Willoughby's. ¹³ *Op. cit.* 80.

¹⁴ Gardiner, *Music and Friends*, ii, 810.

¹⁵ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 189.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 238.

¹⁷ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 94.

¹⁸ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 125.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 305-6.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 314.

²¹ *Ibid.* iv, 253.

²² Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 94.

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engaged in bleaching in or near Nottingham.²³ The lace was carried to and from Nottingham on mules, the goods being laid out on the meadows, where they were watched all night by men specially told off for the purpose.

The following interesting details relative to the leading bleaching establishments in the county have been furnished from the unpublished reminiscences of Mr. Henry Ashwell of Nottingham:—

Mr. Joseph Pearson established a bleaching works at Basford on a somewhat extensive scale about 1780–5. About 1790, at the time of Tennant's patent, he acquired a licence to manufacture chloride of lime. 'Crofting' was employed previous to this period, the land now known as the Vernon Public Park having been the crofting-ground. Joseph Pearson bleached the first piece of bobbin net lace produced by Heathcoat. He also served with a number of other gentlemen of the district as one of a guard called 'the Watch Ward,' patrolling the district at night for the protection of the lace and hosiery machine owners against the Luddites and frame-breakers. Pearson also took out a patent for the gassing of lace; and was the first to finish merino hosiery by fulling and brushing. In this connexion he worked Cartwright and Warner's patent for many years, and invented brushing and other machinery for carrying on the operations above-mentioned. Having amassed a considerable fortune, he transferred the business to his son-in-law, Mr. Charles Cox, who was associated in partnership with Mr. Samuel Cartledge. About 1855 Cartledge retired, and the firm became Charles Cox & Sons, which title it still retains. The firm of bleachers known as Inger, Brown & Inger was founded at Basford by Robert Hall and Mr. White, who were succeeded in their ownership by John Hall, then by Mr. Amos Fox, his manager or book-keeper. After the death of the latter the works were carried on by Mr. Hall for the benefit of the family, and afterwards for a short time for himself, the present proprietors entering into possession after his death. The bleach works of J. Brown at Basford adjoined those of Charles Cox & Sons. At his death the concern was taken by John Burton, in the employ, it is believed, of Messrs. Heard & Hurst, a Mr. Eames also bringing capital into the business, the firm being then known as Burton & Eames. On the death of Eames Burton continued the business, which passed at his death to a nephew, Mr. Joseph Burton, who eventually disposed of it to T. B. Milnes & Co., by whom it was converted into the Vernon Road Bleaching Company. Mitchell's bleaching works were established by a bleacher of the name who made a considerable fortune by the undertaking. He was also under contract with Samuel Hall, the

lace-gassing patentee. His works passed into the hands of Mr. E. Stevenson, who continued them for many years; at his death they were closed, and are now dismantled.²⁴ The works of Diggle & Co. were started by a former workman at one of the Basford Works, but owing to low prices in the trade the undertaking failed. The works were then taken by Mr. Richards, who was chiefly engaged in bleaching lace, but finding the water unsuitable for his purpose, he removed to small works in Nottingham, just off the Alfreton Road, where for a few years he was engaged in bleaching hosiery, but trade depression eventually caused the undertaking to be brought to a close, and the works were converted to other purposes. The works established by Mr. Garton at Bulwell were afterwards worked for some years by Mr. John Woodward, then by Garton, Woodward & Co., and a 'Patent Bleaching Company,' working on a closed keeve principle. This, however, was not successful, and the establishment is now carried on as woollen-finishing works by Messrs. Murray Bros., Ltd. The Staniforth works were predecessors of that now known as Messrs. E. Charles, Ltd., at Bulwell. The works now known as Messrs. Henry Ashwell & Co., Ltd., were founded by Mr. John Milnes, brother of the T. B. Milnes before-mentioned, and were afterwards carried on by Messrs. Heard & Hurst, the leading hosiery manufacturers in Nottingham, for the sole purpose of bleaching their own goods. Their successor in 1853 was Mr. Henry Ashwell, by whom they are still carried on as Henry Ashwell & Co., Ltd. Mr. Allcock's works at Bulwell were afterwards carried on by his sons, and later by his sons-in-law, Ebsworth and Walker, under which style they are still existing. Mr. T. B. Milnes, after engaging successfully in the bleaching trade, first at Lenton and afterwards at Basford, and amassing a considerable fortune, failed, owing to unfortunate speculations in the iron trade. On his death his successors were his widow, his head trimmer, W. Culley, and W. Bexon, the chief vanman, also, after the death of Culley, Mr. G. Horner. The firm has now ceased to exist, Milnes' Lenton works passed to Messrs. Manlove & Alllott, who carried them on for a few years, during which period they acquired from a person named Seyrig a centrifugal drying machine which proved a very profitable investment, and caused them to relinquish bleaching. They sold the business to Messrs. Burton & Eames, who added it to their Basford works. At Eames' death they passed successively to Burton's nephew, J. J. Renals, and to Alfred Cleaver, by whom the lace bleaching business is still carried on. The firm of George Farrand, now Arthur Whyatt, was founded by the former in conjunction with a

²⁴ Mr. Ashwell recollects as a boy, about 1836, seeing the lace spread on the hill-side at the back of these works.

²³ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 168.

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farm of about 300 acres. At his death his son Milnes Farrand entered into partnership with Mr. Whyatt, but the business was never very profitable, except for a few years about 1872, the golden era of the modern lace trade. After the breaking up of the bleachers' combine the competition in prices was severe, and Farrand was eventually compelled to retire. Mr. Arthur Whyatt, a son of Farrand's former partner, still carries on the business. The firm of Birch, Musson & Hopewill, all its members being workmen from the neighbouring districts, were engaged in the bleaching of lace only until the business was taken over by Messrs. Lindley & Lindley, by whom it is still carried on. One of the members of the firm of Birch, Musson & Hopewill dissolved partnership with the other two in order to acquire the bleaching works founded by Mr. G. Stretton, and afterwards belonging to a Mr. Mason. The works were eventually dismantled and are now occupied by Messrs. Green & Co., perambulator manufacturers. J. Pearson, of Highbury Vale, was a bleacher at Bulwell of fine yarns only; the

business is believed to have been acquired by the Fine Cotton Spinners' Association, but is still carried on under the original style.

Mr. Bromley established a bleaching establishment at the same place a few years ago, but it has now been converted into dyeing works. The combined works of the Bleaching Association, Ltd., include the Bulwell Finishing Co., Ltd., who deal with lace curtains only. George Pearson & Co., at Basford, bleach lace and yarns only. On the site where these works stand a small bleaching or crofting ground previously stood, prior to the invention of chloride of lime. A Mr. S. Robinson erected works at Basford which failed in two or three years, the business being then sold to Mr. B. S. Oliver. On his death the works passed to his son George, from whom they were acquired by Mr. G. A. Beardmore, and at his death by Charles Cox & Sons, who carried them on as the Springfield Bleaching Company, and afterwards by Messrs. Lindley & Co., Ltd., the starch works of Messrs. D. Mordle & Co. now occupying the premises.²⁵

SILK AND VELVET

The manufacture of silk appears to have been introduced into the county somewhat earlier than its establishment in the neighbouring county of Derby, for according to Deering, there were two silk weavers in Nottingham in 1641,¹ but the industry undoubtedly received a fresh impetus from the advent of the stocking-frame. The manufacture was carried on for over seventy years by the Fellows family at Nottingham. At the funeral of Mr. Samuel Fellows, 18 December 1765, the pall-bearers, we are told, were presented, in lieu of the customary mourning scarves, with scarves made of the finest China silk, 'a new material made on the stocking-frame.'² The Nottingham silk mills at the close of the 18th century were worked by horses.³

In 1815 the following were at work:—Mr. Elliott's, in Sheep Lane; Mr. Bolton's, in Low Pavement; Nelson's and Watson's, Fletcher Gate; the most important, however, being that

of John Fellows, in Turncalf Alley, where 2,800 'swifts' were employed.⁴ In 1828 the chief silk mill business was that of Messrs. Fellows & Crosby, at whose establishment 150 men, women, and children were employed in preparing raw silk, as imported, for the stocking-frame by winding, doubling, twisting, dyeing, and sorting, 600 lb. of raw silk being thus treated every week.⁵ In 1844 there were 2,096 persons engaged in the production of silk goods in Nottingham, 687 at hose frames, and 1,409 in the manufacture of gloves.⁶

There was a short-lived velvet industry at Nottingham in the 18th century recorded by Blackner, dating from 1767, when two persons named Ross and Dorrella began the manufacture of this fabric on the stocking-frame. The industry, however, was chiefly located in London and at Edmonton, the quantity produced at Nottingham being small. The undertaking fell through, we are told, 'owing to the pile not being fast.'⁷

²⁵ For these numerous and hitherto unpublished details I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Ashwell.

¹ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 94.

² Ward, *Notes on St. Mary's Re*, 90, 101.

³ Lowe, *Gen. View Agric. Notts.* (1798), 139.

⁴ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 251.

⁵ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 169.

⁶ Felkin, *Hist. Hosiery and Lace*, 463.

⁷ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 223.

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FLAX AND LINEN

As elsewhere in the kingdom, we find early attention paid to the cultivation of flax,¹ which found a constant demand from the home spinners of the county. The raw material was also much in requisition at a later period for the frequent and widespread purpose of 'setting the poor on work.' On 1 November 1675 a 'trusse' of flax was ordered to be bought at Hull to supply those of Nottingham.² According to the parish accounts of Besthorpe, the town's reel was in frequent use, large quantities of flax being bought, and poor women paid 2d. for winding linen yarn, which was bought by the neighbouring farmers for household use at 1s. per lb. Both wool and linen were at this date woven, warped, bleached, dyed, by hand. In 1790 the parish paid for washing and winding linen yarn 1½d. per lb.; for warping ¼d. per yd; for weaving 3d. per yd.; and for bleaching 2d. per yd. Dyeing the town yarn for gowns cost 1s. per lb.³ The diary of a gentleman in 1699 records the payment to Mary Timbrill of 3s. 6d. for spinning 1 lb. of flax and knitting one pair of stockings. Flaxen cloth was bought at the same date at the rate of £2 19s. 5d. for 31 yds.⁴ In 1795 the poor of Worksop in receipt of parish relief were supplied with flax, and paid 1d. for every 300 yds. of thread spun, 1 lb. spinning 6 leys.⁵

The linen manufacture carried on at Newark

was the chief textile industry of the county in the middle of the last century, 100 weavers being employed by Messrs. Scales & Son of that town. The fabrics produced at this establishment were huckaback, shirting, sheeting, and table-cloths. The method of business was for the manufacturer to build cottages fitted with looms, which he let to the weavers at from 2s. 8d. to 3s. 3d. per week. Every weaver not having a family sub-let lodging and loom to two or three others, who generally paid 1s. 6d. for shop rent, lodging, and cooking, per week. A third part of the shops were in the lower parts of the houses, underground, in order to keep the looms damp. This fact, together with the fatiguing nature of the work, sufficiently accounted for the small number of women and children employed in the industry, though a few of the latter were put to the production of narrow, coarse goods. Women, when employed, earned from 5s. to 6s. per week. The looms cost from £4 to £5. Weavers found their own shuttle, brushes, picker, a journeyman paying 2d. out of every shilling earned for winding of the quills, for brushes, and dressing to his web. Weekly wages averaged 14s. 6d.⁶ 'The greatest enemies to the Notts linen trade of the 19th century were, it is said, the progress of machinery, and the cheaper rate of labour in Scotland.'⁷

COTTON

The cotton manufacture of Nottingham has a peculiar claim upon the attention of the student of textile economics, Richard Arkwright's first cotton mill having been erected in 1771 on a piece of ground between Woolpack Lane and Hockley.¹ At a later date, finding horse-power too costly, he removed to Cromford, in order to take advantage of the water-power which was available at that village, associating himself at the same time with Messrs.

Strutt and Need, the well-known hosiery manufacturers of Nottingham, from whom he had obtained financial assistance in carrying out his undertaking.² The expansion of the industry was coincident with the growth of the framework knitting trade, the gradual triumph of cotton over thread in the stocking manufacture giving a great impetus to the spinning of the former commodity.³ In 1785 a steam cotton mill was started at Papplewick,⁴ but the majority of the mills at work at this date were driven by

¹ The field name of 'Line Lands' in the parish of Upton marks the former sites of such cultures; Shilton, *Hist. Southwell*, 220. Cf. also article 'Cloth.'

² Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 319.

³ Wake, *Hist. Collingham*, 114.

⁴ Granger, *Old Notts*, 246.

⁵ Eden, *State of the Poor*, ii, 581.

⁶ *Rep. Handloom Weavers*, 1840, pp. 350-2.

⁷ *Ibid.* 254.

¹ Cunningham, *Engl. Industry and Commerce*, pt. ii, 621; Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 147. A small factory

had, however, been previously erected in Mill Street by James Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning jenny, who had removed from Blackburn to Nottingham in consequence of the opposition of the hand operatives. At his latter place of residence he patented in 1767 a new jenny, capable of spinning eighty-four threads; Granger, *Old Notts*, 23.

² *V.C.H. Derb.* i, 373.

³ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 174.

⁴ Cunningham, *op. cit.* 628.

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water power.⁵ There were the following mills in the county in 1794 :—

In Nottingham, those of Messrs. Dennison & Co., Green & Co., J. James, Cox & Co. (stands still), Hippininstall, Pearson & Co. (stands still), Morley, and Harris. In Nottinghamshire, Messrs. Stanford & Burnside, Hancock & Co., Unwin & Heygate, and Stanton's, were leading cotton-mill proprietors in Mansfield.⁶ Some of these establishments were very large, one mill containing 2,400 spindles, and giving employment to 160 persons, who were engaged in carding, drawing, rowing, and machining.⁷ At Papplewick and Linby were Robinson's Upper Mill, Old Mill, New Mill, Middle Mill, Forge Mill, and Nither Mill. There was a mill at Sutton in Ashfield owned by Mr. Unwin, also a mule factory, and a company of hosiers worked a mill at Radford. Mr. Thomas Caunt owned one at Southwell, Fiskerton Mill standing still. At Newark was the mill belonging to Messrs. Handley, Sketchley & Co., Hardcastle's mule factory in the same town standing still. Messrs. Hall and White were at work at Basford; also Burdins' mill at Langworth. That belonging to Messrs. Salmon & Clevell was nearly finished, part of that at Bulwell owned by Mr. Walsh being built but remaining unfinished. Rod & Co. owned a mill at Worksop, possibly that of which White writes in his *History of*

Worksop that 'cotton spinning was attempted at Worksop at the close of the 18th century, but the enterprise failed, and the two mills erected for the purpose were converted into mills for sawing wood and grinding corn.'⁸ There were also mills at Gamston, Lowdham, and Gonalston.⁹

In 1797 there was a mill at Nottingham employing about 300 hands, chiefly women and children, in the manufacture of cotton thread for stockings, at wages averaging from 1s. to 5s. weekly.¹⁰ Willoughby's, the first *Nottingham Directory* (1799) gives the number of cotton manufacturers in the town at that date as five. In 1825 there were fifteen cotton merchants, seven twist cotton preparers, and three cotton ball manufacturers in the town.¹¹ In 1831 the stoppage of a large cotton mill at Papplewick caused a marked decrease in the population.¹² For sixty years, says Mr. Potter Briscoe, the Leen stream was utilized as motive power for several cotton mills, erected by Mr. Robinson under lease, an area of 70 acres being occupied as reservoirs and watercourses. The most important part of the machinery was a breast-wheel 44 ft. in diameter. On the expiration of the lease in 1840, and in consequence of the growth of the Lancashire cotton trade, the mills were taken down and the watercourses filled up.¹³

HOSIERY

'The English invention'¹ of framework-knitting,² which was to revolutionize the stocking trade,³ is attributed to William Lee of Woodborough, sometime curate of Calverton.⁴

⁵ Lowe, *Agric. Notts.* 54, Dennison's cotton mill in Pennyfoot Lane, Nottingham, which contained 3,024 spindles and gave employment to 300 persons, was built in 1792, and destroyed by fire 28 Nov. 1802; Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 248. Arkwright's mill at Hockley was sold in 1809, and converted in 1810 into a worsted mill, with an engine of 14 horse power by Messrs. Cole, Hudleston & Phipps; *ibid.* 250.

⁶ Harrod, *Hist. Mansfield*, 5. The motive power for these mills was supplied by the River Maun; Curtis, *Hist. Notts.* 171. It is of interest to recall the fact that the cotton spinning trade is indebted for two inventions, which have never been superseded, to Mansfield operatives, Joseph Tootel having invented the fluted or grooved rollers known as 'stretchers,' whilst John Green invented the incline plane movement of the spindle, and also the cone movement; Groves, *Hist. Mansfield*, 216. ⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Holland, *Hist. Worksop*, 145.

⁹ Lowe, *Agric. Notts.* 126.

¹⁰ Eden, *State of the Poor*, ii, 565. In 1805 Mr. Samuel Cartledge produced a cotton yarn of fine twist for lace; Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 2489.

¹¹ Glover, *Dir.* 1825.

¹² *Pop. Ret.* 1831, p. 480.

¹³ Briscoe, *Old Notts*, 30.

¹ Rowlett, *Tech. Framework Knitting*, 129.

² 'Framework-knitting, which works with a single thread, like hand-knitting'; Rowlett, *op. cit.*

³ 'About the time of the French refugee immigration the stocking manufacture,' says a pamphlet of the day, 'took a new turn all over England from knitting to weaving or frame-making, to the great loss of the poor, who were quite struck out of work by these being wrought on the frame'; *A Brief Deduction*, 41. The pair of hose which cost 5*d.* per pair at Nottingham in 1519 were doubtless hand-knit; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 354. From an Act of Parliament of the reign of Edward VI (1563) we gather that the articles produced by knitting at that date were 'hose, petticoats, gloves, and slieves.'

⁴ In 1589, says Mr. Rowlett, William Lee built the first slurcock hand frame, and carried on the hosiery manufacture at Calverton, near Nottingham; Rowlett, *op. cit.* Lee's frame, it is said, was very simple, consisting of jacks only, and a 12 gauge; whilst it is worthy of note that in all its essential features, his ideal is still in use for the class of work for which he designed it; *Ency. Brit.* xii, 299.

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haustively told.⁵ On his death his brother, James Lee, removed from Old Street Square, London, to Thoroton, where he was joined by Aston, the miller who had refused to accompany William Lee to France, and who was the first to apply to the stocking-frame the still-existing improvement of the lead-sinkers.⁶ The trade grew but slowly in Nottinghamshire. In 1641 there were two master hosiers in Nottingham,⁷ whilst in 1664 200 workmen were engaged at 100 frames.⁸

The web produced on the first stocking-frame was flat and even, making, when joined at the selvages, an unshapen cylinder; Lee, however, we are told, soon learned to narrow or take in, or to widen or let out, the web, by loops added or taken away at the outer edges. The flat web continued to be the only one which could be produced until the invention by Sir Marc Brunel of the tricoteur, by which a stocking could be knitted in one piece.⁹ This machine, the largest wheel in which was only 16 in. in diameter, although coming into existence in 1816, does not appear to have reached the Nottingham market until 1845. It eventually became the property of M. Ternaux of Paris.¹⁰

At the first enumeration of frames in the United Kingdom in 1669 there were 660 in the whole country, 100 being in Nottingham, three-fifths of the articles produced being of silk.¹¹ Roger Ryley (1688) and John Goodall (1694) are amongst the earliest members of the craft whose names occur in the Borough Records of Nottingham, the latter having been made a Burgess in the above-mentioned year.¹² At the opening of the 18th century there were 8,000 frames at work, 400 of these being at Nottingham.¹³ In 1714 a stocking-maker, working four days a week, could earn 10s. 6d.¹⁴

At this date, the framework knitters of the midland counties, where the industry was gradually growing in importance, and centering to an almost exclusive degree, were about to enter on their prolonged resistance to the claims and exactions of the parent company of the London Framework Knitters, who were incorporated during the Commonwealth. Their charter was renewed by Charles II in 1663-4, the jurisdiction assigned to them extending over all members of the craft in England and Wales.¹⁵ The note of rebellion was most vehemently struck against the fees im-

posed upon the country craftsmen, which were universally regarded as excessive. These fees were: for entering and binding an apprentice, 9s.; for admittance on becoming a journeyman, 15s.; on becoming a workhouse keeper, to take apprentices, 13s.; a total of 37s. a year, with 5s. for stamps, and 1s. a year for quarterage.¹⁶ In response to the protest, the London Company appointed deputies for the three hosiery-producing counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, their names being William Wilson, John Wright, John Gillman, William Robinson, James Stephenson, William Hurst, and William Pagett.¹⁷ In 1727 out of a total of 3,500 framework knitters in the Midlands, 400 were in Nottingham, about forty in Mansfield, and rather more in Sutton in Ashfield.¹⁸ From about 1730 onwards, a feature of the trade, pointed out by Blackner,¹⁹ was its gradual migration from London to Nottingham, a migration which must have been complete but for the fact that it was then the fashion to wear stockings of the same colour as the suit,²⁰ and consequently more convenient to have the former made on the spot, where it was easier to effect a match. Between 1732 and 1750 it is estimated that 8,000 frames were brought from London to Nottingham, where they were sold for less than half-price.²¹ From 1733 to 1739, 135 framework knitters were enrolled and took up their freedom as burgesses.²² In 1739 there were fifty framework-knitters, fourteen frame-smiths, twelve needle-makers, eight setters-up, and five sinker-makers engaged in the industry in Nottingham.²³ In addition to their standing grievance against the London Company regarding fees, the number of apprentices which a master framework knitter was allowed to take, and the employment of women at the frames, were now put forward as subjects requiring the restrictive attention of Parliament.²⁴

Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire associated themselves with the framework-knitters of Derbyshire in 1773, when at a meeting held at the 'Green Dragon' at Derby, the following resolution was passed:—²⁵

It was unanimously resolved—First, with the consent of the London Company of Framework Knitters, that Courts of Assistants should be established in every principal town where the manufacture is carried on, in order the more effectually to remedy those abuses which

⁵ See Felkin, *Hist. Hosiery and Lace*; Blackner, *Hist. Nott.*; Cunningham, *Engl. Industry and Commerce, &c.*

⁶ *Gaz. Engl. and Wales*, 546.

⁷ Henson, *Hist. Framework Knitting*, 58.

⁸ *Ibid.* 60. ⁹ *Ency. Brit.* xii, 12.

¹⁰ Beamish, *Life of Brunel*, 143.

¹¹ *Rep. Com. Framework Knitters*, 1845, p. 15.

¹² *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 340.

¹³ *Rep. Com. Framework Knitters*, loc. cit.

¹⁴ Henson, op. cit. 105.

¹⁵ Brentano, 'Origin Trade Unions,' in Toulmin Smith, *Engl. Guilds*, clxxix.

¹⁶ Henson, op. cit. 198.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 136.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 106.

¹⁹ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 215.

²⁰ Yellow, pompadour, peach, and pea-green were favourite colours at this date; Henson, op. cit. 168.

²¹ *Ibid.* 169.

²² Bailey, *Annals of Notts.* iii, 1, 181.

²³ Blackner, *Hist. of Nott.* 215.

²⁴ One man in Brewhouse Yard had as many as twenty-six apprentices, and 'never a journeyman for 30 years'; Henson, op. cit. 100.

²⁵ *V.C.H. Derby*, ii, 368.

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of late years have crept into the business to the great detriment of those who have served a lawful apprenticeship to the art of Framework Knitting. Secondly, whereas Derby is the central committee for the said county, that all manufacturers should have the liberty to send Deputy or Deputies to represent them at the committee aforesaid at the undermentioned times, viz.,

The first Monday in July, and
 " " " " Oct.
 The first Monday in Jan. and
 " " " " April.

Thirdly, that the several committees of Nott. Leicester and Derby should immediately proceed to correct and revise the sevl. by-laws belonging to the company, and then the deputy or deputies aforesaid to repair to Loughborough in order for a genl. approvt., and then sent to London for the company's ratification . . . And whereas it is the opinion of 3 eminent Council (*sic*) . . . that persons exercising framework knitting are compellable to be made free of the Company: therefore it is hoped that none will stand or march in their own light as not to be predd t(o) enter into so just or necessary a cause, that will lead so much to the adv. to thousands, and our worthy employers also.²⁶

Fresh regulations were issued by the London Company in 1745,²⁷ of which Brentano writes that they contained 'the first direct news of the practice which was to bring such infinite misery on the workmen, namely, of owners of frames who, though they did not themselves exercise the trade, let frames out on hire.'²⁸ In 1750 there were fifty manufacturers, employers of 1,200 frames, called 'putters-out' in Nottinghamshire, all trading directly with London.²⁹ In the following year the London Company, in a last endeavour to bring back the trade of the Midlands to their own control, appointed deputies for Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Warwickshire.³⁰ The Nottinghamshire deputies met at the 'Feathers,' Wheeler Gate, where a court was held once a month, two assistants coming down from London every quarter, to enforce the authority of the company, and to collect fines and fees.³¹ A special visit was paid in 1752 by the master and wardens, attended by their clerk and beadle and a full court of assistants, and a meeting called of the trade, who refused to submit to the by-laws drawn up in London, whereupon the company proceeded to enforce their claims by law.³² The sympathies of the House of Commons were, we gather, with the Midland 'employers and shopkeepers that are got into the hose business,' the company's regulations were pronounced 'injurious and vexatious to the manufacturers,'³³ and the legality of many of the dis-

puted by-laws called in question. From this date, the Midlands seem to have finally emancipated themselves from the authority of the London Company.

No history of the hosiery trade of Nottinghamshire would be complete without some mention of the ribbed stocking manufacture, which was started in 1758 by the introduction of the rib machine with which the name of Jedediah Strutt is associated.³⁴ Although a native of Derbyshire, Mr. Strutt became closely connected with Nottingham about 1759, when he and his brother-in law, Woollatt, entered in partnership with Mr. Need, a hosiery manufacturer of that town, where the firm, thenceforth known as that of Messrs. Need, Strutt, and Woollatt, carried on a successful business for several years,³⁵ both in Nottingham and Derby, the latter town giving its name to the stockings produced on Strutt's machine and known as 'Derby ribs.' Workers in this branch of the hosiery manufacture commanded higher wages than those employed in the plain branch.³⁶

In 1776 the framework-knitters of Nottinghamshire petitioned Parliament to inquire into the practice of false marking of stocking pieces, 2-thread goods being marked as 3-thread, and 3 thread as 4-thread, thus denoting the goods so marked to be of better kind and greater value than they actually were. Inquiry into the matter proved the frauds in question.³⁷ At this date the Stocking Makers Association for Mutual Protection was formed by members of the Framework Knitters' Company in the Midlands, mainly to protest against the continual reduction of wages.³⁸ In 1777 Parliament was petitioned on the subject, but on being referred to a Select Committee of the House, the petition was rejected.³⁹

The system of hiring out frames was common in the county, 'tyrannical and cruel deductions being made for rent, winding, seaming, needles,

³⁴ The mechanism which Strutt added to Lee's frame consisted of iron, hung close to the needles of the original machine. Upright needles were placed so as to pass between the horizontal needles of the original machine, taking from them the loops, which were then knitted in the reverse direction, so as to produce the rib. Before this time it had been impossible to produce anything but a plain piece of knitting in the fine machine-made hose, and the greater elasticity of the ribbed hose made the invention a very important one; *V.C.H. Derby*, i, 368. Strutt's patents were no. 722, 19 April, 1758 and no. 734, 10 Jan. 1759.

³⁵ *Ex informacione* Hon. Frederick Strutt of Milford House, Derby.

³⁶ *V.C.H. Derby*, loc. cit.

³⁷ *Commons' Journ.* xxx, 545, 697. The Tewkesbury Act (6 Geo. II, cap. 29) compelled hose to be marked with the same number of eyelet holes as there were threads in the stocking; Henson, op. cit. 361.

³⁸ Felkin, op. cit. 115.

³⁹ *Commons' Journ.* xxxvii, 117 et seq.

²⁶ *Gent. Mag.* 1773. ²⁷ *V.C.H. Derby*, ii, 367.

²⁸ Toulmin Smith, *Engl. Gilds*, p. clxxx.

²⁹ Felkin, *Hist. Hosiery and Lace*, 83.

³⁰ *Commons' Journ.* xxvi, 730.

³¹ Henson, op. cit. 92.

³² *Rep. Com. Framework Knitters*, 1845, p. 10.

³³ *Commons' Journ.* xxvi, 788.

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and candles.⁴⁰ Frame rents averaged from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. per week, the frames costing £16 to £20 in the case of the narrow frames, and £30 to £40 in that of the wide frames; 3d. was paid for standing room, and 6d. per week was charged at the great holidays of the year.⁴¹ The workers were compelled to hire their frames from the master stockinger, who in all instances refused to employ any workmen who did not comply with this regulation.⁴²

In 1779 an attempt being made to get the privileges of the London Company extended to Arnold, Mr. Need placed himself in opposition to the movement. The operatives thereupon retaliated by breaking his frames, drawing the jack-wires, without which it was impossible to work them, from the mechanism, and in some instances depositing the ruined frames in Arnold Church.⁴³

The indignant remonstrance of the journey-men framework-knitters drew forth from the London Company an inquiry into the matter; two master hosiers, Fellowes, who had migrated from London, and Cartwright of Nottingham, being singled out for attack. The former, we are told, had no less than forty-nine apprentices in his employ, whilst Cartwright had twenty-three. For this infringing of the company's regulations a fine of £400 was levied on Fellowes, and one of £150 on Cartwright. Supported by the gentry and shopkeepers of the county, who desired to see the stocking trade firmly established in their midst, Cartwright, on his goods being seized to pay the fine, retaliated by bringing an action for trespass against the company, and a resultant verdict in his favour struck a blow, destined to be final, at the power of the London body.⁴⁴

In March 1811 the Luddite⁴⁵ or frame-breaking movement, to which fuller reference is made elsewhere⁴⁶ in this volume, began in the county. 'The curtailment of hands by the wholesale hosiers' caused great distress among the framework-knitters.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Toulmin Smith, *Engl. Gilds*, 233.

⁴¹ Henson, *op. cit.* ⁴² Toulmin Smith, *op. cit.*

⁴³ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C. 1), 181. From 1794 to 1810 (see advertisements in the *Notts. Journ.*) framework knitters and tailors were constantly meeting 'to consider of matters relative to the trade'; Webb, *Trade Unionism*, 66.

⁴⁴ *Rep. Framework Knitters*, 1845, p. 8.

⁴⁵ From Ned Lud, a Leicestershire imbecile, who is said to have destroyed his father's stocking-frames in a fit of passion. Russell, *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x, 54. The movement lasted, according to Felkin, until 1817, by which time about 1,000 stocking-frames and eighty lace-machines had been destroyed by the rioters, many of whom suffered the death penalty. Felkin, *op. cit.* 239.

⁴⁶ See 'Social and Economic History.'

⁴⁷ *Ann. Reg.* 18 Nov. 1811. In a 'Statement of the transactions in Nottingham and the neighbour-

The first *Nottingham Directory*⁴⁸ contains the names of 149 hosiers who were carrying on their industry in 1799. In 1812 there were said to be 6,685 frames in the county, of which 2,600 were at work in Nottingham.⁴⁹ A noticeable feature of the trade at this date was the gradual disappearance from the market of many of the seventeen or eighteen different kinds of hose which had been worn at the opening of the century, the following now beginning to go out of fashion:—silk and cotton non-elastic plated twilled, and warp-vandyked hose, &c.; the decline in this branch of the manufacture put out of employment no fewer than 500 frames.⁵⁰ Silk tickler mitts, and silk elastic mitts and gloves, which were included in the hosiery trade, had also ceased to be in demand.⁵¹

Great damage was being done to the industry at this date by the system of 'colting,' 'colts' being men who started the occupation of stocking-makers without having served the customary apprenticeship, and who were therefore considered inferior workmen. It was common for gentlemen's servants who had saved £150 or £200 to pay a premium of five or ten guineas to learn the art, and then to set up, frequently at the end of six months, with ten or twelve frames, which the poorer, skilled workman could not afford to buy.⁵²

In 1819, Nottingham having been selected as a centre, a schedule of prices was issued, which the employers agreed to pay and the operatives to accept,⁵³ but commercial depression making it impossible to maintain this schedule, a general strike took place in 1821 as the result of a meeting at Alfreton of the Midland framework knitters, 'scarcely a dozen hose being made in the three counties,' writes Felkin, 'for two months.'⁵⁴

By this date Nottingham, though still acknowledged to be the centre of the cotton hosiery trade, Derby being famed for its silk

hood from the commencement of the disturbance, 11 March 1811 to 8 Feb. 1812,' transcribed by Mr. Russell from the private papers of the late Mr. Richard Enfield of Bramcote, and printed in the *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x, 54, it is stated that the 'Frameworkers were very vociferous in their condemnation of their employers, and clamorous for work at a more liberal price.' 'Some frames at Kimberley,' we learn from the same source, 'were destroyed on the allegation that the person in whose possession they were had been in the habit of teaching Framework knitting without being bound apprentice.' 'The wide frames used for cut-ups were the most obnoxious to the Luddites.' See Luddite facsimiles and transcripts, *op. cit.* 59-61.

⁴⁸ Willoughby, *Dir.* 1799.

⁴⁹ Felkin, *op. cit.* 437.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 435.

⁵¹ *Rep. Framework Knitters*, 1812, p. 37.

⁵² Felkin, *op. cit.* 442-3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 445.

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stockings, and Leicester for worsted,⁵⁵ was gradually transferring its manufacturing activities from the framework to the lace trade. Sir Richard Phillips, writing in 1828,⁵⁶ expresses himself as 'astonished at the change of employment of the people.' 'I used to see,' he says, on revisiting Nottingham after the lapse of several years, 'hosier on every mercantile door, but now every second or third house had on it lace warehouse or lace manufacturer.' Of these, the writer tells us, there were from three hundred to four hundred. Mr. Drinkwater again reported in 1833 that while the thump of the lace-machine was to be heard in all the approaches to the centre of the town, the running click of the frame resounded only in the obscure courts and alleys.⁵⁷ There was an inevitable increase in the production of low-priced articles. Stockings which had formerly been made with two or three threads were now manufactured in single threads of varying fineness, nos. 7 to 20, Manchester being the chief source of the yarn supply.⁵⁸ Earnings averaged 6s. per week at the narrow frame and from 9s. to 12s. at the wide frame.⁵⁹ A framework knitter's expenses were stated to be on an average; rent, 1s. per week, needles, 2d., half a pound of candles, for eight months in the year, 3½d., metal and oil, 1d. per week, or 5s. average per annum, seaming, 1s. 5d.⁶⁰ From a statement compiled by Thomas Emmerson, stocking-maker of Arnold, the scale of prices paid to stocking-makers for work, per dozen, showed a steady decline from 1811 to 1842.⁶¹ An inquiry ordered to be made into the condition of the framework knitters in 1845 proved it to be 'very deplorable.' Working from daylight till 10 o'clock at night, five days in the week, they merely contrived to earn a scant livelihood.⁶²

Every plain stocking frame was estimated to make twelve pairs of fashioned hose per week, and from ten to fifteen dozen 'cut-ups.' About a tenth part of the output only were sold in England, the rest going abroad, where, however, the market had declined.⁶³ There were now 10,500 frames in Nottingham,⁶⁴ the vexed question of frame rents being still in evidence, as before a Factory Commission of 1833, when a workman named Gretton gave evidence to the effect that he had in his shop three frames, rented

by the year at 40s., or by the week at 1s. The men paid 6d. for standing and bringing in. Sitting sixteen hours a day, the workman received 10s. 6d. for fifteen pair of slender women's hose, seaming being paid for at the rate of 3½d. per dozen.

It will be of interest at this point to pass briefly in review the various productions to which the stocking-frame gave birth until, by an irony of economics, there sprang from William Lee's invention the lace trade which was finally to overshadow in great measure the hosiery industry of Nottingham. The first stockings made on the frame were of worsted, three, four, or five threads being used.⁶⁵ The first pair of cotton stockings ever made in England was produced in 1730. The material employed was Indian spun cotton,⁶⁶ which had been introduced by some Indian merchants to the notice of the London market, but having been rejected by them, was sent to Nottingham, where a workman named Draper, of Bellargate, undertook to make stockings from it on a 20-in. gauge stocking frame. The cotton was so fine that he doubled four threads for the leg, and five for the heel.⁶⁷ Thomas Heywood, who was Sheriff of Nottingham in 1744, is said to have been the first to venture on the experiment of making silk stockings on a frame, of which he had as many at work as ten at one time. The goods produced by this hosier were largely exchanged, it was said, for foreign tobacco.⁶⁸ In 1745 Joseph Stocks ('Old Joe Stocks') was employed to make a pair of stockings from a 28-gauge frame, and succeeded in producing a pair weighing not more than 1¼ oz.⁶⁹ Lyons was a great rival of Nottingham at this date in the manufacture of fine hose. Large numbers of orders, however, were received at the English manufacturing centre from Spain, the Spanish fleet, which sailed every third year, being fitted out, we are told, with silk hose from Nottingham, at a price 3s. or 4s. dearer than those usually made for the home market. This trade with Spain lasted until the close of the century, when it fell off, owing to the rise in the price of silk.⁷⁰ Prior to 1814 silk framework knitters, working twelve hours a day, earned from 15s. to 20s. a week. The making of plain silk stockings and gloves was styled the plain silk branch; in it, at the beginning of the 19th century, wages averaged from 10s. 6d. to 15s. a week.⁷¹ The silk trade, as it was concerned with that of

⁵⁵ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 162.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C. 1), 34.

⁵⁸ Phillips, *op. cit.* 168.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 169.

⁶⁰ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C. 1), 63.

⁶¹ *Rep. Framework Knitters*, 1845, p. 37.

⁶² *Ibid.* 17.

⁶³ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C. 1), 62. The exportation of hosiery frames was being largely carried on at this date to North America, shipments of one house in machinery alone amounting, it was said, to many thousand tons annually; *Notts Review*, 29 Nov. 1833.

⁶⁴ *Rep. Com. Framework Knitters*, 1845, p. 16.

⁶⁵ Henson, *op. cit.* 105.

⁶⁶ India ('bob') cotton was imported in bunches in the early part of the 19th century, and wound in Nottingham; Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 174.

⁶⁷ Bailey, *Annals of Notts.* ii, 1196.

⁶⁸ Henson, *op. cit.* 160.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 165.

⁷⁰ Young, *Annals of Agric.* x, 447.

⁷¹ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 25; *Rep. Framework Knitters*, 1812, p. 9.

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hosiery, was carried on by commission, or 'bag-work,' the London hosiers sending two threads, each containing about thirty fibres of silk. This was then wound on bobbins, and afterwards made into threads of the required size by a woman who was known as a 'sizer.' The price charged for making the silk into stockings was from 4s. to 5s., of which the hosier received 6d. The first merchant to purchase silk on his own account was a Mr. Booth.⁷³ Boys were employed in the stocking trade in winding, seaming, and chevening,⁷⁴ working from fourteen to sixteen hours a day as apprentices.⁷⁴ The introduction of gore or narrowed clocks increased the labour of stocking-making by about one-third.

By 1845, when an inquiry was ordered into the condition of the framework knitters of the Midlands, decline was reported to have set in in the silk hosiery trade of Nottingham, notably in the export of silk knotted hose to South America. For this decline, according to the evidence of Mr. Morley⁷⁵ before the Commissioners, the following causes were responsible:—Changes in fashion, as, for example, in men's dress, the advent of trousers and boots, especially of a kind of boot sold with stockings sewn in;⁷⁶ and in ladies' dress, the boot and the vogue of the trained dress.⁷⁷

Shetland woollen work was begun on the stocking frame by Thomas Hill in 1854. Experiments with various grey woollen yarns failed to provide a yarn equal to that employed for the hand-knitted Shetland veils which it was hoped to rival, but the difficulty was finally overcome by Messrs. Walker & Co., of Bradford.⁷⁸ In 1862 William Farrands of Hucknall began to make shawls of this yarn in bright colours, which were soon in great demand in Spain, South

⁷³ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 173.

⁷⁴ Chevening, first practised in England, says Felkin, by Mrs. Elizabeth Drake, who began the art in 1782 (*Hist. Hosiery and Lace*), consists in embroidering the fronts of socks and stockings. Stubbes, however, writes in his *Anatomie of Abuses of Elizabethan stockings* adorned with 'quirks and clocks about the ankles, and sometimes haply interlaced with gold or silver threads, as wonderful to behold.' Fairholt, *Costume in Engl.* ii, 385. Nottingham silk stockings were embroidered, says Henson, in gold, silver, and coloured silks, worked in the points and clocks in flowers. The usual weight of these stockings was 4 oz. a pair; op. cit. 103-5.

⁷⁵ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C.1), 44.

⁷⁶ The house of Morley, still honourably represented in the City of Nottingham by the firm of Messrs. I. & R. Morley of Fletcher Gate, was established in 1795, and was noted at an early date for the production of silk and cotton hose, as well as being, according to the evidence of a witness before the Select Committee of 1845, 'the greatest house for silk gloves;' *Rep. ut supra.* 42, 60.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 82.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

America, and the United States, the first order received being for 1,300 shawls.⁷⁹ The yarns used cost from 4s. to 12s. per lb.

Industrial statistics of successive decades point to the fact of the modern hosiery trade of Nottingham being completely overshadowed, as we have said, by the phenomenal activities of the lace trade. In 1894 the hosiery framework knitters' workshops were reported to be 'gradually disappearing' owing to the work being more and more absorbed into the factories. One large firm, which had been in the habit of employing one dozen outworker occupiers of workshops in 1884, had but two thus engaged in 1894. The superior class of silk hose was, however, still being made in such workshops, and hosiery seaming carried on under the same conditions. The villages of Ruddington, Gotham, Arnold, Woodborough, and Calverton were said to be specially affected by the economic changes at this date.⁸⁰

The hosiery trade of Nottingham at the present day may be said to strike an almost national note in economics, the firm of Messrs. I. & R. Morley, of Fletcher Gate, with several factories in different parts of the town and county, being under contract, along with other firms in the district, with his Majesty's Government for the supply of hosiery to the War Office, the Admiralty, and the India Office.

The total output of the above-named house comprises all kinds of hosiery and underwear in silk, cotton, lisle thread, wool and merino, the yarns being supplied from Lancashire and Yorkshire and also, in the case of woollen yarns, from France, Belgium and Germany. In silks, those from Italy, China, and Japan are used, being procured principally from English throwsters. In the various factories may be seen the gradual process of hosiery in the making, from the winding of the yarn to the final stage of the forwarding of packages to the retailer or to the London wholesale warehouse.

Between these operations are the successive processes of the actual making upon every variety of machine; followed by the scouring, dyeing, trimming, folding and packing of the various products.

An interesting feature in Messrs. Morley's factories is the presence of some old stockingers, whose memories of the days of the hand-frame are still vivid. These old workmen are employed in winding oddments of yarn or in fixing needles into the leads. Of the old hand-frames this firm has still about five hundred employed in the city and county, chiefly in the homes of the workmen, or in small workshops where a few operatives gather together. The very finest and best goods are still made by hand upon the frames just referred to.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ann. Rep. Factories and Workshops*, 1894, p. 187.

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The method of stocking-making by machinery, which remains, as we have said, in all its essentials a practical survival of Lee's invention, is as follows:—The working of each separate loop of yarn is by means of a hooked or barbed needle, the thread being passed over the needle stalks and within the terminal hooks, and separate loops of yarn are secured, sufficient to ensure a fabric of regular, equal surface, by the yarn being waved or depressed between each pair of needles, which is effected by allowing the sinkers (thin plates of shaped metal) to fall between each pair, the yarn being thrown across the whole range. The presser bar next presses the needle-points into a groove, the action temporarily closing the row of metallic hooks through which the yarn is threaded. The already formed loops on the

needles are now drawn through these for a new series, and the operation is repeated until the whole is complete.⁶¹

Ribbed stockings are made by raising the needles on the completion of a row of plain loops. At their respective intervals the needles lay hold of the last-formed loop, and bringing that through the loop which was on the rib-needle itself before, give an additional or double looping or twisting, reversing the line of chaining and producing the ribbed appearance.⁶²

Trimming is a distinct branch of the hosiery trade, the workers having their own society. The process, which is subsequent to that of making, comprises several operations, namely those of washing, fulling, stretching, softening, pressing, brightening, colouring, brimstoning, &c.⁶³

WORSTED

Although the industry was somewhat discounted by the rivalry of Derby in the fine worsted trade, and of Leicester in the coarse variety, the 18th-century prosperity of the hosiery trade in Nottingham created a fair demand for this commodity.¹ There were several mills in the county at that date. In 1788 Messrs. Toplis erected a mill for spinning wool at Cuckney, 7 miles from Mansfield,² which was afterwards converted into a corn mill.³ The failure in the same year of a worsted mill at Retford, established by Major Cartwright, caused great distress among its employees.⁴ Robert Davison and John Hawksley built a worsted mill on the Leen, which was destroyed by fire in 1791.⁵ A second

mill, started by Hawksley at Arnold, failed, and was sold by auction 14 May 1810.⁶ A third mill was started under the same proprietorship at Butcher's Close, Nottingham.⁷ In 1833 Mr. Wilson had a mill for spinning Angola (cotton and wool mixed) at Radford.⁸ In 1844 sixty-one frames were engaged in the manufacture of worsted, lambs' wool, and merino goods at Nottingham.⁹ The manufacture was also carried on at Gamston, famous for candle-wicks,¹⁰ and at Worksop, where filleting, turban-stuffs, and sashes were also woven.¹¹ Messrs. W. Hollins and Co., Ltd., of Pleasley, Nottinghamshire, are now the principal spinners engaged in the manufacture of angola or merino yarns.

LACE

The early lace industry of Nottingham was that of bone-lace,¹ Roger Clarke having been a 'bond-lace weaver' in that town in 1597.² Between that date and the introduction of the stocking-frame,³ which was to revolutionize the manufacture of this commodity, the trade was chiefly in the hands of women.⁴ From 1776-7 was 'a great era of experiments,' numbers of

workmen employing their leisure in endeavouring to discover new meshes. The names of Flint and Lindley are associated with the introduction at this date of a lace with a sexangular mesh, made on the stocking-frame.⁵ In 1777 Robert Frost invented a square net, described as 'very lustrous and durable,' which was used for mitts, gloves, purses, shawls, and even for the

⁶¹ *Ency. Brit.* xii, 299.

⁶² *Ibid.* 12.

⁶³ *Rep. Trade*, 1900, p. 138.

¹ Quincey, *Tour in the Midlands*, 63.

² Cunningham, *Engl. Indus. and Commerce*, pt. iii, 657.

³ Curtis, *Hist. Notts.* 79.

⁴ Piercy, *Hist. Retford*, 10.

⁵ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 249.

⁶ Add. MSS. 6715, fol. 105.

⁷ Blackner, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C. 1), 40.

⁹ Felkin, *Hist. Hosiery*, 463.

¹⁰ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, p. 488.

¹¹ Holland, *Hist. Worksop*, 145.

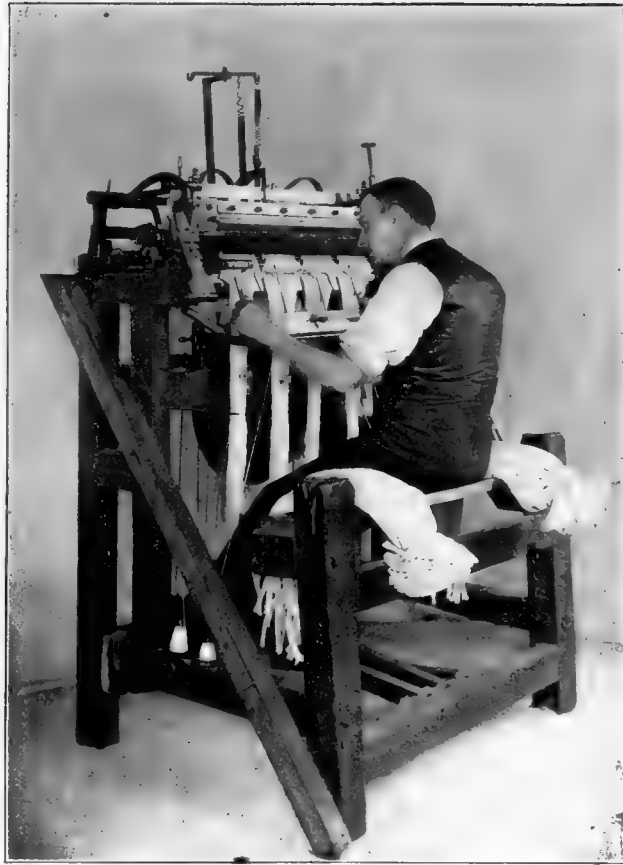
¹ So called, in Fuller's opinion, from the custom of using bone bobbins prior to the introduction of those of wood. 'Bone-lace, from fine thread from Antwerp;' Fosbroke, *Ency. Antiq.* 466.

² Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 244.

³ The first idea of manufacturing lace on the stocking frame was given, says Blackner, by the facility with which eyelet-holes could be made by the covering tickler; *Hist. Nott.* 229.

⁴ Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 94.

⁵ Henson, *Hist. Framework Knitting*, 298.



OLD-FASHIONED HAND FRAME



NEW PATENT HOSIERY FRAME, MAKING TWELVE ARTICLES AT A TIME



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foundations of wigs,⁶ forty machines being employed in this manufacture alone. No description of the machines on which 'spider net' was made is forthcoming, although as many as 400 were at one time engaged in the production of this article, which was largely used for ladies' habit-shirts, but went out of fashion about 1810.

Warp-lace was introduced into Nottingham by Mr. Ingham in 1784, the undertaking, however, only lasting for about three years. William Dawson, a needle-maker, set up a factory for this lace in Turncalf Alley, where numbers of warp-engines were employed, but the manufacture met with so little success that it was replaced by that of net for officers' sashes, window curtains, and braces.⁷ In 1786 John Rogers of Mansfield invented durable, pressed, fast-point net, fifty frames being soon at work, each 20 in. wide,⁸ but the extreme fineness of these frames, says Blackner, formed an obstacle to its manufacture with other than silk until 1804, when success at length crowned the persevering efforts of the spinners to spin yarn sufficiently fine to admit of its being worked double. Fine cotton and flaxen yarn, the latter costing 40s. per lb., had been tried in conjunction with silk, but the thread always cut and became discoloured. In 1808 Joseph Page of Nottingham made the first piece of double press point net in which doubled fine yarn was used.⁹ This net sold at 3s. 6d. per square yard.¹⁰

Two years later 15,000 persons were engaged in this industry, 1,500 to 1,800 frames being at work.¹¹ The advent of the twist bobbin net trade dealt a blow at the manufacture against which it struggled vainly for a few years. By 1815 scarcely a yard of cotton point net¹² was being made, except a little single-press at Mansfield,¹³ and the last twenty-eight point-lace frames ceased working in 1828.¹⁴

The winter of 1811 brought great distress, not only to the weavers, who suffered from the 'curtailment of hands by the wholesale hosiers,' but also to the lace-making operatives. Great injury was being done at this date to the trade by the production of fraudulent goods, that is, by the production of single-press lace, which was

made at a third of the cost of the double-press, and sold for 4d. a yard, whilst the superior variety cost from 6d. to 7d. The single-press lace, owing to its being looped only once in the process of manufacture, was rendered loose in texture, and was consequently liable to become ragged when washed. So great was the prejudice against it that an instance is related of a framework knitter having to carry his double-press lace round the country, and being unable to obtain a market for it then. Persons to whom he offered it declared that they had been so often imposed upon by the fraudulent single-press lace, that they would sooner give 7s. a yard for Buckingham lace than 6d. a yard for his.¹⁵ In addition to this grievance, a final blow seemed to the lace hands to be dealt at their industry by the introduction of the wide frames, which aroused equal opposition amongst the stocking-makers. Frame-breaking riots were reported from all parts of the county. A carrier bringing a consignment of the obnoxious frames from Sutton was set upon by the mob, who broke the frames in pieces, and burnt the woodwork.¹⁶ Three months later several valuable warp-lace frames,¹⁷ one 72 in. wide, belonging to Mr. Harvey of West Street, Broad Lane, Nottingham, were destroyed by the rioters.¹⁸ The method of the frame-breakers was to cut the warp asunder on the beam of the frame, and to take away the wheels necessary to the formation of the two-course-hole mesh.¹⁹

The bobbin-net manufacture, with which the name of John Heathcoat is associated,²⁰ was firmly established in the county by 1815, when there were 1,500 frames and lace machines at work in Arnold.²¹ About 1816 warp-pearling was introduced by Kirkman of Nottingham, and by 1819 warp Mechlin had disappeared from the trade.²² In 1820, the application of

¹⁵ *Rep. Framework Knitters*, 1812, p. 12. Against this description of lace the fury of the Luddites was particularly directed; see Russell, 'The Luddites,' *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* x, 54 et seq., also for facsimiles and transcripts of Luddite proclamations from the private papers of Mr. Richard Enfield of Bramcote.

¹⁶ *Ann. Reg.* 18 Nov. 1811.

¹⁷ Mechlin net, made from cotton yarn, specially prepared, at a cost of 15 gns. per lb., was made on these frames, the workers earning 4 gns. a week. Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 175.

¹⁸ *Ann. Reg.* 24 Feb. 1812.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Luddism, according to Felkin, became extinct about 1817, when about 1,000 stocking-frames and 80 lace machines had been destroyed by the Luddites; *Hist. Hosiery and Lace*, 239.

²⁰ His patent (no. 3151) is dated 14 July 1808. At a later date, owing to the frame-breaking riots in Notts. the inventor withdrew to Tiverton, where his factory was 'the largest in England' in 1833; *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833, xx, 70.

²¹ Curtis, *Hist. Notts.* 34.

²² Felkin, *op. cit.* 149.

⁶ Felkin, *Hist. Hosiery and Lace*, 136.

⁷ Blackner, *op. cit.* 231. Dawson removed to Islington in 1800, his Nottingham actory being converted into a silk mill.

⁸ Felkin, *op. cit.* 139.

⁹ *Ibid.* 169.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* The silk of which Nottingham lace was made was brought from Italy as organzine; Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 251.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 139.

¹² Blackner, *op. cit.* 235.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Felkin, *op. cit.* 140. The pattern-books of the leading firms in this industry, those of Messrs. W. & T. Hayne, Maltby & Brewitt, Wilson, Burnside & Watson, and Robert & Thomas Frost (*ibid.* 141) containing upwards of 20,000 patterns, are still preserved at Nottingham.

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steam and water to the bobbin-net machinery caused great distress amongst the owners.²³ In 1822, warp tattings were placed upon the market by Copestake of Stapleford and Read of Radford. In 1824 William Hardy of Nottingham invented a machine for spotting and figuring twist net.²⁴ In 1825, 'new real Mechlin lace' had 'begun to be made at New Basford.'²⁵ A considerable impetus was given to the lace trade of Nottingham in 1831, when Queen Adelaide appeared at one of her balls in a dress of white silk lace, the product of the Nottingham frames.²⁶ According to the *Population Returns* for that year, the extension of the lace and lace-machine manufactories caused a marked increase in the numbers of the inhabitants of Basford.²⁷

John Heathcoat was the son of a farmer of Long Whatton, who in 1784 was apprenticed to a framesmith, and at the close of his apprenticeship was engaged as a setter-up of hosiery and warp frames at Nottingham. His chief connexion was with Leicester, his first machine, which he named 'the Loughborough,' having been used in a factory near that town owned by himself and his partner, Boden, where fifty-five people were employed. It was against this establishment that the Luddites marched, 28 June 1816, from Beeston and Lenton, destroying fifty frames, besides burning and cutting the lace.²⁸ Heathcoat's factory eventually passed into the hands of Messrs. Hine & Mundella of Nottingham.²⁹

The growth of the bobbin-net manufacture may be estimated by the fact that the population of Nottingham, Lenton, Beeston, Radford, Basford, Arnold, and Sneinton, which was 47,300 in 1811, at the beginning of the industry, had risen by 1831 to 79,000.³⁰ One-fourth of the frames at this date were worked by their owners, who thus placed themselves in the position of journeymen as well as masters, thereby exercising a marked influence on wages. Numbers of persons who owned two or three machines were compelled to mortgage them for more than their worth in the market, owing to the fact that fall in prices of nets did not correspond with the reduction in the price of cotton and its wages. Excessive prices were also paid for thread, in consequence of the net makers' indebtedness to the thread merchants. The brown nets sold in Nottingham were disposed of by agents employed by about fifteen of the larger houses engaged in the trade, to the extent of £250,000 per annum. The remainder, valued at £1,050 more, was sold by about two hundred agents, who carried

the goods from one warehouse to another. Silk bobbin-net shawls were a feature of the Nottingham lace trade at this time. These were embroidered by young women who earned 1s. a day. A 'splendid specimen' of this kind of needlecraft is noticed by Felkin as having occupied seven workers for 6 weeks, 6 days, 14 hours.³¹

'Twist-lace' hands paid premiums of £10 to £15 for learning their art, the course of instruction extending over 15 to 18 months.³²

Children were largely employed in the bobbin-net trade in winding and threading the bobbins, also in 'winding off,' which consisted in unwinding the remnants of thread from the used bobbins, and tying them together to be rewound and worked up. The trade of 'threaders,' in which numbers of little girls were employed, was claimed to be peculiar to Nottingham. The children lived with their parents, and were sent for, sometimes in the middle of the night, when a piece was 'ready to come off,' several being allotted to one machine. Winders-off earned wages averaging 2s. 6d. per week.³³ Lace-runners, who embroidered bobbin-net by hand,³⁴ and often worked fifteen hours a day, earned 3s. 6d. a week.³⁵ Spotters with the tambour-needle earned from 5s. to 6s. a week, being paid at the rate of 4d. per 100 for sprigs.³⁶ Thousands of girls were employed throughout the Midlands in figuring net at 4s. to 5s. a week.³⁷ The run tambour lace, which according to Mrs. Palliser came into fashion after the machine-made net had made such work possible, was largely copied from designs in foreign specimens, chiefly those in use at Lille.³⁸

The yarn used in the bobbin-net manufacture was spun exclusively at Manchester, girls and women being employed in doubling, that is, in twisting two yarns together, when the yarn arrived from Nottingham in cops (heads), as taken from the spindles of the spinning-frame.³⁹

By 1833 from 220 to 230 frames were employed in the blonde branch of the warp-lace industry, which was considered a separate manufacture.⁴⁰ There were large exports of Nottingham lace to France at this date, the lace being bought unbleached through the medium of 'commissioners,' who effected a sale at a charge of 2½ per cent. The lace was taken abroad to be gassed,⁴¹ bleached, and figured,

²³ *Blackwood's Mag.* Oct. 1882, p. 484.

²⁴ Felkin, *op. cit.* 149.

²⁵ Glover, *Dir.* 1825, p. 8.

²⁶ Felkin, *op. cit.* 150. ²⁷ *Op. cit.* 480.

²⁸ Fletcher, *Chapters in the Hist. of Loughborough*, 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 6. ³⁰ *Pop. Ret. sub anno.*

³¹ *Factory Com. Rep.* ³² Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 172.

³³ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C. 2), 63.

³⁴ *Ibid.* (C. 2), 16. ³⁵ *Ibid.* 18. ³⁶ *Ibid.* 64.

³⁷ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 85.

³⁸ Palliser, *Hist. Lace*, 441.

³⁹ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833 (C. 1), 38.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* (C. 2), 64.

⁴¹ Samuel Hall & Co. patented the process of gassing lace in 1828, when it was described as that of exposing the lace to a horizontal tube pierced with holes through which carburetted hydrogen gas ascended. The machine was worked by two or three

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giving employment to numbers of women in France and the Netherlands.⁴² About 1,100 machines were making quillings or plaitings (so called from being used quilled or plaited round the head or shoulders) in 1835.⁴³ In 1836 372 machines were making plain net, 1,006 quillings, and 784 fancies, or 2,162 in all; ⁴⁴ but the trade suffered greatly from the commercial panic of 1837.⁴⁵ By 1840, 80 of the 1,863 machines which had been making twist lace in Nottingham and its suburbs had been exported, besides 143 which had been fitted with new interiors; 485 had been broken up, and 50 new machines had been built.⁴⁶

The lace machines, which cost from £500 to £1,000, usually stood in the attics of substantial houses, the lower part being let out as shops or lodging-houses. There were only four or five factories where twist machines were worked in numbers, ten or twelve constituting a shop. In 1829 the widest machine was that known as a 'twelve-quarter,' which was capable of making a piece of net 3 yds. wide. By 1833 machines called 'twenty-quarters' were used, which could make a piece 5 yds. wide. The machines were worked by two or three men, who relieved each other during the day. By an agreement in 1828-9 the hours of work were fixed at twelve hours for the power machines, the hand machines being worked continuously.⁴⁷

One type of machine, known as the 'pin machine,' which was largely used in Nottinghamshire between 1790 and 1795 in the manufacture of a certain kind of fine lace, had passed so entirely into the hands of the French lace-makers by 1841 that no trace of it was to be found in the Nottinghamshire markets.⁴⁸

In the autumn of 1833 considerable efforts were set on foot in Nottinghamshire to prevent the exportation of machinery which was being so largely carried on at that date to France,⁴⁹ as

women; Phillips, *Personal Tour*, 175. In 1833 the repute of the Nottingham lace-dressers was such that lace was sent from Devon to be treated by their methods. The lace was first starched, then spread out on long wooden frames, beaten with cane, dried by heat and fans in 10 minutes, and then wrapped up. Dressers' wages averaged at this date from 2s. 6d. to 8s. 6d.; *ibid.* (C. 2), 23.

⁴² *Rep. Framework Knitters*, 1845, p. 160.

⁴³ Felkin, *op. cit.* 350.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 343. ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 376. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Factory Com. Rep.* 1833, (C. 1), 35, 36, 70, et seq.

⁴⁸ *Rep. Com. Export Machinery*, 1841, p. 164.

⁴⁹ John Heathcoat was the proprietor at this date of a lace-machine-making factory at St. Quentin, which included sixty power machines for spinning and doubling, besides a shop for building machines, the whole being under the superintendence of English workmen. Machines were produced in the workshop at the rate of one a month (*Notts. Rev.* 4 Oct. 1833). As showing the advance of mechanical science, it is of interest in this connexion to mention the fact that the resources of Mr. Jardine's lace-machine factory at

well as to other parts of the Continent. Agents from Prussia, Switzerland, Saxony, and Bohemia were actively engaged in placing orders for those countries, several machines, with the latest improvements, being ready packed in the town, whilst orders for over 100 were in abeyance until the views of the trade were known. A general committee being appointed to take measures for the protection of the lace manufacturers and other interested persons, a handbill was circulated offering rewards ranging from £1 to £10 for information which should lead to the seizure of bobbin-net machines destined for smuggling out of the country, also for seizure of sets of bobbins and carriages, models of machines, presses, lathes, grinders, or other tools used in the manufacture, for sets of combs, bolts, guides, hooks, pushers, points, or springs, locker blades, getting-up frames, winding engines, &c.⁵⁰ The export was sometimes actually carried on under Treasury warrants, the machines in some instances being described as 'machines for spinning tow.'⁵¹

The method of smuggling was occasionally to take the machines to pieces, and to pack the 'carcass' and 'insides' separately, one being frequently exported from one port, and one from another, the machine being put together again on arrival at the destination.⁵² In response to a deputation from the Board of Trade, two customs officers, Mr. George Blake and Mr. Robert Chapman, searchers, &c., at the port of London, were sent down to Nottingham for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the description of machinery called bobbin-net machinery. These officials, we learn, 'appeared to be men determined to do their duty'; one of them was a draughtsman, who proposed during his stay in the town to collect samples of different kinds of bobbins, carriages, combs, bolts, &c., to be forwarded to every port in the kingdom, in order to intercept the smuggled machinery.⁵³ The export, however, seems to have continued, seventy-nine machines being exported, according to the evidence of Mr. Felkin, between 1836 and 1840 from Nottinghamshire.⁵⁴

Lace-makers, it would appear, naturally followed in the wake of the lace-machines to France. At Calais, it was reported in 1845, English hands commanded wages averaging from 30s. to 50s., as against 25s. to 30s. in England.⁵⁵

Nottingham at the present day enable a machine to be completed, if necessary, in one day.

⁵⁰ *Notts. Rev.* 27 Sept. 1833. One of these handbills is still in the possession of Mr. John Chapman, author of *The Cotton and Commerce of India*, &c., by whose courtesy the writer has been enabled to examine it.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 20 Sept. 1833.

⁵² *Rep. Com. Export Machinery*, 1841, p. 142.

⁵³ *Notts. Rev.* 27 Sept. 1833.

⁵⁴ *Rep. Com. Export Machinery*, 1841, p. 142.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 177.

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In 1843, wages were much reduced in Nottingham, the younger hands earning 10s., the men from 16s. to 18s. per week, plat-net hands earning from £2 10s. to £3, plain net costing 4d. per square yard, plat net from £5 to £10. There were 600 fewer machines at work, 500 had been broken up, 100 sent abroad, 2,600 however being still engaged, 2,300 in making cotton and 300 silk goods. Of these 1,500 made plain and 1,100 fancy work.⁶⁶

In 1848 the trade was crippled by commercial depression.⁶⁷ At this date there was beginning in Nottinghamshire the manufacture of black silk ornamented shawls, scarves, and flounces.⁶⁸ In 1851⁶⁹ 150 machines, chiefly Jacquards, were employed in the production of cotton and muslin edgings, insertions, linen laces, coverlets, blinds, toilet covers, d'oyleys, &c., the curtain manufacture alone, which was to become so marked a feature of the Nottinghamshire trade, being responsible for an output of no less than several tons per week.⁶⁰ At the opening of the next decade there were 250 manufacturers and 700 bobbin-net frames.⁶¹

From the evidence of Mr. Richard Birkin, lace maker and lace-machine builder, in 1845, before a commission of inquiry into the condition of the framework knitters, thirty machines, valued at £6,500, were engaged at his establishment, which gave occupation to 2,250 persons.⁶² This firm, which is represented at the present day by that of Messrs. Birkin & Co., the largest warehouse merchants in the lace trade of Nottingham, was almost exclusively engaged in the manufacture of fancy bobbin net, which was ornamented by machine and partly embroidered by hand by women.⁶³ In the employ of the firm at that date were also 172 frame and jobbing smiths, who worked to order, under the superintendence of the manufacturer.⁶⁴ In a period of eighteen months Mr. Birkin had sold to French agents at his warehouse £3,580 worth of bobbin net.⁶⁵

The modern history of the Nottingham lace trade, in spite of the inevitable fluctuations of fashion which govern it, is practically that of the preponderant commercial interest of the county. From 1873 to 1883 was a period of great prosperity in the trade, the number of machines in use during that period increasing from 1,050 to 2,250.⁶⁶ At the beginning of the next decade the home worker was much in evidence, engaged for the most part in the processes known as clipping, scolloping, and drawing, all of which take place after the actual manufacture has been

accomplished.⁶⁷ In 1903 there were 2,282 out-workers thus employed, one firm alone employing 200.⁶⁸ According to the latest returns there were 24,731 persons engaged in this industry, of whom 14,000 are women, their employers numbering about 600 firms.⁶⁹ The majority of the Nottingham lace-makers are employed in what is known as the Levers branch, that is to say, in connexion with Levers machine. Of about 3,500 persons engaged on the three principal lace machines about 900 are employed on curtain machines and 700 on plain net machines, the remainder being engaged on Levers machines, the plain net being the simplest.⁷⁰ The warp in this machine comes off the beam in much the same way as in cotton weaving, the threads, however, occupying an upright instead of a horizontal position. A number of bobbins swing between these upright threads, passing on one side, and, owing to a motion communicated to the warp, returning on the other, thus putting a simple twist round the warp thread. These bobbins, which may be described as narrow metal rollers about 2 in. in diameter, and of about the thickness of a penny, are carried on the machine in a metal carriage which slides in a special groove, a small spring in the carriage controlling the tension of the bobbin thread. After executing a certain number of motions, the bobbins are carried by the action of the machine to the right, the twist being then put round the next warp thread. The twist is held up and the holes in the network created by a series of steel points inserted at each warp thread, which may be considered, according to expert authority, as occupying much the position of the reel in an ordinary power loom. This traversing motion is peculiar to the plain net machines, the bobbins thereby passing the whole way across the breadth of the lace in front, being then transferred to the back row, two sets of bobbins being always in operation, front and back. The fineness of the lace is measured by the number of points to the inch. Machines coming under the head of 'plain net' are of many varieties, never making patterns, in the strict acceptation of the term, but producing, nevertheless, numerous variations of plain net-work, as, for instance, quillings (lace in which the threads are so arranged, at short intervals, that the lace can be cut across at these

⁶⁷ *Ann. Rep. Factories and Workshops*, 1905, p. 102.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 1903, p. 228.

⁶⁹ *Rep. Trade*, 1900, p. 168.

⁷⁰ The lace trade of Nottingham is divided into the 'Fancy Lace' department, including all kinds of trimmings; that known as 'Lace Curtains and Nets'; and a third, 'Plain Nets,' a large quantity of lace being produced off warp lace machines, different in character from any of the above-mentioned. About 600 firms are engaged in the manufacture, employing about 20,000 hands; *Official Programme*, Assoc. Chambers of Commerce of United Kingdom Nottingham Meeting, 1901, p. 49.

⁶⁶ Felkin, *op. cit.* 395.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 378.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 379.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 382.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 379.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 397.

⁶² *Rep. Framework Knitters*, 1845, p. 171.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 172.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 179.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Rep. Cost of Living*, 1908, p. 350.

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points without giving a frayed edge), taping, spotting, &c.⁷¹

The Levers machine, which is the most important machine in use in the lace trade, is concerned with the manufacture of a number of strips of lace of the same pattern which are made at once in the breadth of the machine, the threads used in the making moving simultaneously. These threads do not come off separate spools, as in the case of the curtain machine, but are divided into groups, each group coming off a roller, which resembles a miniature weaver's beam. Each group passes through holes in a thin bar running along the whole breadth of the lace. The pattern is put in by these bars, which are directly controlled by Jacquards, whose action determines which bar shall shift the threads it holds across the warp, also how far a bar shall move. The threads are held up by points, and fastened into place by the bobbins that swing through the warp.⁷²

On the curtain machine there are, besides the warp threads, numbers of other threads, which come off a separate spool, these being used in making the pattern. The movements of the rods or wires are controlled by a series of perforated cards, as in the warp net machine. The bobbins swing between the warp threads, but there is no traversing motion.⁷³

Payment in the lace trade is by the 'rack,' that is, a certain number of motions, each swing of the bobbins constituting one motion; the standard rack is 1,440 motions in the curtain branch, and in the Levers branch 1,920.⁷⁴

The wages of lace-makers in the Nottingham trade are governed by price lists varying with the machine in use. Warp lace makers, who are chiefly employed in the outside districts, are subject to a uniform list also. The hours worked in the lace trade are somewhat unusual. The machines are generally started at 4 a.m., and run until midnight, except on Saturdays, when they stop at 2 p.m. Two men, working in alternate shifts of about five hours each, take charge of one or two machines, a working day therefore amounting to about 9½ hours on five

days in the week and five on Saturdays. The week's output of the machines is divided between the two men. A four years' apprenticeship is served by a lace-making learner, who is definitely attached to a teacher, the wages earned by the machines being divided in the Levers and curtain branches into two halves, one half going to the teacher and a continually increasing fraction of the other half being paid to the learner, the balance being divided equally between the teacher and the employer. In the plain net branch the whole balance goes to the teacher.⁷⁵ The method of payment in this branch is by the 'rack,' namely, 240 holes along the length of the lace. Payment varies in the trade according to the breadth of the lace made, which is always measured in 'quarters' of 9 in., and with the closeness of the warp threads measured by the number of points to the inch.⁷⁶ According to the latest reports lace-makers in the Levers branch earn from 40s. to 50s. per week, plain net workers earning from 32s. to 44s.⁷⁷

Auxiliary lace-workers attached to the Levers machine are engaged in winding (putting silk or cotton on bobbins, a number being wound at once); threading (putting the bobbins in the carriages, and arranging the thread in position); pressing (to make the bobbins take up less room); and jacking off (removing the superfluous threads from the bobbins).⁷⁸

Mechanics attached to the lace trade are needle-makers and carriage straighteners, the former being employed in making the special class of needles used in this as well as in the hosiery and clothing trades, the leading varieties being known as plain, long beards, twizzle beards, and circular, Cotton's patents and coverer points. The latest price list in this connexion only affects about twenty men.⁷⁹

Carriage straighteners are mechanics whose duty it is to straighten the carriages in which the bobbins are held in the process of lace-making. The rate of payment in this industry is per 100: ⁸⁰ Levers 9s., mechlin 8s., curtain 7s. 6d., rolling lockers 4s. 6d., rotary 3s. 6d., grooved mules 5s., and pushers 4s. 6d.

MALTING AND BREWING

The malting and brewing trades are of great antiquity in the county, the conversion of the 'prodigious crops' of barley of the vale of Belvoir into the 'powerful and pleasant liquor'¹

which had more than a local reputation,² turning to greater account than its former industries of cloth and wool.³ Although here as elsewhere in the kingdom the domestic character of the brewing

⁷¹ *Rep. Trade*, 1900, p. 169.

⁷² *Ibid.* 147.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 145

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 147.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Rep. Cost of Living*, 1908, p. 351.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 149.

⁷⁹ *Rep. Trade*, 1900, lxxxii, 73.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 79.

¹ 'As they brew very good liquor here,' writes Defoe, 'so they make the best malt and the most of it of any town in this part of England, which they draw a great profit from.' Defoe, *Tour*, iii, 19; Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* iv, 18.

² *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* ii, 41.

³ *Mag. Brit.* loc. cit.; Deering, *Nottinghamia*, 92.

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trade was emphasized by the predominant influence of the ale wife, yet the strict supervision which was at all times exercised over its conduct gave rise in the course of its history to more than one spirited incident. The brewers of Newark paid tolcestre⁴ to the lord of the manor for liberty to brew. The amount of fines thus received was 58s. in one year.⁵ A similar custom prevailed in the manor of Fiskerton, where, 'if any ale wife brew ale to sell she must satisfy the lord for tolcestre.'⁶ Presentments of offenders against the assize abound in the Nottingham Records. In 1396, John Ile, John Dauntre, and Richard Armer were presented for selling ale by measures not signed.⁷ Fraudulent sales were not unknown in the early trade in Nottingham ale. In 1397, we find William and Agnes de Brodbury complained of by Roger de Strelley, who had bought ale of them for 2d. per flagon, having been previously impressed by the good quality of a former similar purchase. On this occasion, however, the said William and Agnes had, it would appear, 'grievously deceived,' not only the original purchaser, but the men at Lenton fair, to whom Roger had sold the ale, for it had been discovered that the good ale had been reserved by the said William and Agnes for sale by them at home, and the bad ale had been disposed of to Roger for 3d. instead of 2d. per flagon.⁸

Malt, purchased as 'good and fitting,' but which on examination proved to be so 'raw, reeked, and damaged with weevils that hogs, hens, and capons, were therewith killed as above,' was called in question in 1432, in a suit brought by Thomas Abbot of Colwick against Thomas Sharp of Crophill, from whom he had bought the same, Sharp considering himself damaged to the value of 20s.⁹

In a valuation of household goods in 1498, the following items connected with the brewing industry are of interest:—'A gylle fatt (or gyle tun) (a fermenting vessel for the wort), value 20d., and 2 ale-looms,¹⁰ value 8d.'¹¹

At the Nottingham Sessions 5 October 1500, Elizabeth Fisher, housewife, was presented for buying much malt in the market of that town on divers days before the market bell had rung, and selling the same in the town over again, also for carrying the same to Derby, causing the great

dearness of malt in Nottingham, and grievous detriment to the king's lieges.¹²

Presentments relating to this industry at the Nottinghamshire Sessions 21 July 1520, include that of Thomas Stabollys for selling ale above the mayor's price, that is, above the price fixed by the assize of ale.¹³ In January 1556, the mayor having, it would appear, dealt somewhat leniently with certain offenders against the assize, was promptly presented by the constables, 'because he seys no execusion of the bruars and tepellars for sellynge theyr alle abowf the syes.'¹⁴ Again, in 1576, Master Mayor was advised, the measure of ale being too small, that one constable in every ward should have a sealed measure.¹⁵ At the same time it was suggested that every innkeeper and tippler should keep in his house a quart-pot and a pint-pot of pewter, and that a quart of ale or beer should be sold for 1d., and a pint for ½d., both to travellers and townsmen, upon pain of a fine.¹⁶ In 1524 the mayor was quaintly 'besought to be a good master to us, and to see a remedy to the brewers, for we find us grieved with their ale.'¹⁷ Nicholas Haa, malt-miller, was presented in this year for grinding malt for the toll, whereas burgesses were wont to have it ground for 1d. per quarter, after the old custom.¹⁸ Helen Attewell, known as 'Ellyn of the High Pavement,' was presented in 1533 for selling ale contrary to the mayor's command, not under 2d. per gallon, nor out of her house by measure.¹⁹

From the Chamberlain's Rental, 18 October 1548, we learn that the 'Malt Mill ground paid 2s. at Candlemas,'²⁰ also that Bryan Smetheley held a 'Maltinmylne' in the Narrow Marsh, paying quarterly £3 6s. 8d., held by virtue of a twenty-one years' lease granted to him in 1532-3.²¹ Margaret Styholm, a mediaeval tenant in the same town, paid the same rent quarterly at an earlier date for 'the Maltmyln in Berker-gate.'²²

At a special court held at Newark for fining brewers and tipplers (the Tolsester Court of Brewers, Tipplers, and Hucksters of the town of Newark), held there on the Monday after the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, 1567, Robert Simpson was fined 12d. because his wife is a common brewer and sells against the assize, Nicholas Godderd, tanner, being fined 4d. at the same time because his wife was a common tippler, and sold ale with unstamped vessels.²³

Malt of Nottingham was furnished in 1591-2, for the use of the captive Queen of Scots, the Chamberlain's Accounts for that year containing the following item:— 'Paid to Cottes and Rawson for carriage of

¹ 'One sextary of beer called a tolsester.' *Cal. Chart. R.* i, 168.

⁵ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, i, 54.

⁶ Thoroton, *Notts.* iii, 64.

⁷ Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* i, 315.

⁸ *Ibid.* 347.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 131.

¹⁰ 'Loom,' a drinking vessel for ale (*loma cerevisialis*), but sometimes holding from 8 to 18 gallons. Margaret of the Hylle was presented at Nottingham 'for selling of ale after the rate of 3s. 6d. for a loom of ale.' Stevenson, *op. cit.* iv, 494. *Ibid.* 97.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii, 299.

¹³ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 79.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 356.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* iv, 110.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 166.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 195.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* iii, 357.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* 373.

²¹ *Ibid.* iv, 94.

²² *Ibid.* 95.

²³ *Ibid.* 370.

²⁴ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 67.

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certain quarters of malt for the Queen of Scots' use, 20s.²⁴

At the opening of the 17th century, Nottingham maltsters found themselves greatly hindered in their trade by the setting up of numerous malt querns in the town, this 'hindrance' drawing forth a petition to the mayor from 'certain malt-millers who were tenants to the town for 'your malt mills of a dear reckoning.' One Master Kyme, M. Collenson, James Skott, and Dawson, who were strangers, and no burgesses, had taken the malt mill under the castle, which had been made for the use of the castle only, to the great detriment of the trade.²⁵ The traffic in barley was strictly regulated in the interests of the malt trade. Orders were given, 3 June 1608, that all maltsters in Nottingham should forbear buying of barley to malt either by themselves or their servants, and that every maltster should bring into the market a strike or two of malt to furnish the market withal.²⁶

The conduct of certain refractory ale-wives drew forth a request to the mayor in 1614 that 'some order should be taken with them all,' 'for we think that never an ale wife doth as her husband is bound to do.'²⁷ In 1619 the number of alehouses in Nottingham provoked a protest from several persons whose names have not been recorded. Strangers in the town, it was declared, 'when all trades fail, turn tipplers which will in the end come to something.'²⁸ John Foster was presented in this year for 'selling his ale continually in sermon-time,' and fined 3s. 4d.²⁹

'Foreigners,' that is, persons not free of the town, were forbidden to malt without licence. In 1620 William West, an offender against this regulation, on being presented at the sessions, was 'content of his own good will and free offer' to give 4d. a week to the maintenance of the House of Correction, to be paid to the overseers, while he continued not a burgess.³⁰ On 15 January 1624, Nicholas Draper was presented for brewing in a little house without windows to the great danger of his neighbours, and fined 3s. 4d.³¹ Risks of a conflagration were at all times strictly guarded against in connexion with this industry. Every maltster in Newark was

ordered at the time of drying his malt on the kiln to have two tubs of water standing by the kiln continually. The drying of flax or hemp over the mouth of an oven or kiln was also strictly forbidden, on pain of imprisonment.³² Richard Browne was presented in 1625 for not keeping the malt mill in repair, 'being the town-mill.'³³ A fine of 10s. was inflicted on Humphrey Ayscough, who broke the assize of ale and beer in this year by selling less than a whole quart of best ale or beer for 1d.³⁴ Thomas Hollings, the maltster, was paid £22 14s. 8d. for 11 qrs. of malt delivered to the king's buttery, after the rate of £41 0s. 4d. by the new measure, where-with he is satisfied.³⁵ On 20 May 1648 it was suggested that all ale-house keepers who were not yet burgesses should be made so.³⁶

In 1695 the bailiffs, aldermen, burgesses, &c., of East Retford, presented a petition to Parliament against the Bill then depending in the House for making the Derwent navigable. The intended scheme would, it was asserted, cause starvation to many families, and destroy the market for malt; the petitioners, it was pointed out, subsisted by sending malt into the neighbouring counties and bringing back in return lead from Derbyshire.³⁷

The 'good ale of Nottingham' did not escape the notice of that observant traveller and piquant diarist, Celia Fiennes,³⁸ at this date, when it still claimed to be 'the best of all liquors.' 'At Newark,' she says, 'I met with the strongest and best Nottingham ale that looked very pale but exceeding clear.'

An interesting landmark of the brewing trade of Nottingham was Brewhouse Yard, a separate constableness, deriving its name from being for a long period the site of the malting-offices and brewhouse of the castle.³⁹ The kiln used here for malting was lost, says Blackner, by 1815, in

²⁴ Brown, *Hist. Newark*, ii, 31.

²⁵ Stevenson, *op. cit.* v, 106.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 105. ²⁷ *Ibid.* 192. ²⁸ *Ibid.* 255.

²⁹ *Com. Journ.* xi, 434. Maltsters, says Mr. Holland, in his *Hist. of Workop*, 88, were also lead carriers until the opening of the canals. Blocks of the metal, he tells us, used to be laid along the roadside from Sand Hill to Steetley Bar.

³⁰ Fiennes, *Through Engl. on a Side-saddle*, 55, 56.

³¹ Stukeley, *Gent. Mag.* xxii, 38. Various causes have been assigned for the 'softness and pleasant taste' (*Liter Curios.* 53) which more than one topographer has remarked as characteristic of the ale of the county. In Blackner's opinion, 'Nottingham ale owes its superior flavour to the coal of the country' (*Hist. Nott.* 202); in Deering's, 'to the coke or cinder used in drying the malt, which was sold in his time at 1s. 4d. per horse-load' (*Nottinghamia*, 78); the cellars, again, which were hewn out of the rock at Nottingham 'two or three storeys deep, to fourscore steps sometimes' (Stukeley, *op. cit.*), were held to exercise a beneficial effect upon the liquor stored therein.

²⁴ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 199.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 265. ²⁶ *Ibid.* 289. ²⁷ *Ibid.* 325.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 361. Francis Corve was presented by the Mickleton jury 11 July 1614 for brewing, being a stranger, i.e. not a burgess. *Ibid.* 325.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 365.

³⁰ Stevenson, *op. cit.* iv, 364. In 1685-6 William Parnham, Thomas Whitlock, and George Beeston, 'foreign maltsters,' were admitted freemen of the corporation on payment of £10; *ibid.* v, 330. In this year also George Linney, maltster, was presented for forestalling the market by buying two cartloads of barley; *ibid.* 332.

³¹ *Ibid.* 377.

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an icehouse belonging to Mr. Topott, confectioner, in Bridlesmithgate.⁴⁰ The Malt Cross of Nottingham, around which the great market trade in malt was carried on, was pulled down in 1714.⁴¹

There were three wholesale breweries in Nottingham at the close of the 18th century; one at Goose Gate, established in 1792, owned by Thomas Simpson; another on the site of Poplar Place, started in 1794 by Henry Green & Co.; and a third, that of Messrs. Deverill & Co., at the north end of Leen Bridge, this latter firm being noted for the excellence of its porter, which found a ready sale in spite of the prejudice against brewer's ale then prevalent in the country. So strong was this prejudice, that in 1800-4 the brewers endeavoured to compel a sale of their 'inferior' liquor by combining to buy up all the public-houses. The magistrates thereupon retaliated by stopping the licences.⁴² In 1800 malt was 12s. per bushel, and ale 6d. per quarter at Mansfield.⁴³

The flourishing malting industry of Retford had been gradually superseded by that of Worksop, which paid to the Excise at one time £50,000 for malt.⁴⁴ At Carlton-on-Trent a

very extensive malting business was that of Mr. Hole, which was 'capable of wetting down 140 qrs. of barley at a time.'⁴⁵

In 1820 Messrs. Handley owned a brewery in North Gate, Newark, which was 'a very extensive concern.' The trade with the Baltic at this date was considerable,⁴⁶ whilst the Empress Catherine of Russia was, we are told, 'extremely partial to stout, humming liquor,' which was largely exported from Nottinghamshire to that country.⁴⁷

According to the brewing returns for 1823-4, Nottinghamshire produced in that year 24,309 barrels of strong beer, 5,472 barrels of table beer, and 2 barrels of intermediate quality, 100,452 bushels of malt being consumed in the manufacture.⁴⁸

In 1852 Clinton malt-kilns were erected at Worksop by Mr. J. M. Threlfall. At this establishment, for nine months in the year, 300 quarters of malt were wetted down every four days.⁴⁹

At the present day an extensive trade in malt is done at Newark and Nottingham, and the output of the breweries of the county is still of excellent repute.

IRONWORK, FOUNDRIES, MOTORS, CYCLES, MACHINE BUILDING

The varied activities of the mechanical trades of Nottingham prove its craftsmen in the metallic arts to be the worthy successors of that 'little smith of Nottingham,' for whom it was proudly claimed that he could 'do the work that no man can.' On one feature of these activities the notable lace trade of the county is itself dependent, for without those marvels of delicate accuracy, the lace machines which are so largely produced in the town, the textile staple produced by their means could never have come into existence.

The Nottingham framesmith, whether engaged in the repairing of the stocking-frame or in the building of the lace-machine, worked under peculiarly local conditions, as the industry differed in certain well-defined respects from its conduct in all other counties. Here the mechanic worked under the immediate supervision of the lace

manufacturer, by whom he was employed at a weekly wage.¹

A small iron foundry was erected in 1773 in Narrow Marsh by Mr. Foljamb, which frequently changed hands. That erected in Granby Street in 1803 by Mr. Alderman Ashwell was spoken of by Blackner as 'a concern of considerable magnitude, which is worked by one of the most complete steam engines in the kingdom, of 5 horse power.' Dispatch and execution of workmanship are found here in an equal degree to those at any other foundry in the country. 'A few years after the commencement of this concern,' adds the historian of the city, 'Mr. Ashwell introduced brass casting also, which is pursued with flattering success.'²

In the production of the Jardine lace machinery 2,460 persons are employed, the works

⁴⁰ Blackner, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 473.

⁴² Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 202-3.

⁴³ Harrod, *Hist. Mansfield*, 34.

⁴⁴ Percy, *Hist. Retford*, 10.

⁴⁵ White, *Hist. Worksop*, 67.

⁴⁶ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* ii, 41.

⁴⁷ Shilton, *Hist. Newark*, 542.

⁴⁸ *Accts. and Papers*, xviii, 325.

⁴⁹ White, *Hist. Notts.* 628.

¹ *Rep. Com. Export Machinery*, 1841, p. 172.

² Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 207. We are informed by Mr. Henry Ashwell, son of the founder of this firm, that in March 1815 a person named George Harrison was killed by the engine at this establishment, at the moment when he had clandestinely introduced himself for the purpose of carrying to another foundry the improved application of its powers.

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covering a floor space of 410,119 super. ft., and being situated at various points of the town, and known as the Basford, Church, Deering, Moscow, and Raleigh Works. The boilers at the Basford and Deering Works are contained in spacious and well-lighted boiler houses, which contain three steel Lancashire boilers on brickwork seatings, each 28 ft. long, 7 ft. in diameter, working at a steam pressure of 144 lb. to the square inch, one having been made by Daniel Adamson & Co. of Dukinfield, and the other by Edwin Danks & Co. of Oldbury, Birmingham, both mounted with Cowburn dead-weight safety-valves, Hopkinson's high and low water alarms, Hodgkiss circulators, and Green's economizers. Jardine's patent smoke consumers are fitted in the flues, whilst water from wells on the premises is constantly supplied to the boilers by pumps, the power derived from the latter being sufficient to drive the engines in the power-house. The total power of the engines driving Jardine's various works is 2,110 h.p. The Marshall's installation at the Deering Works consists of two Winans and Robinson 350-h.p., one 80-h.p., and two combined sets of engines and dynamos, the current conveyed to twenty-four motors, forty-six arc and 660 incandescent lamps in use throughout the works. The machines produced comprise go-through, Mechlin, levers, curtain, plain net, and Sival, the operatives being concerned with such departments of manufacture as making, straightening, casting, and squaring, the numerous processes which are connected with the carriage.

Amongst the interesting equipments of this remarkable establishment is a bar-planer, which is said to be the biggest and fastest in the world. This machine, built specially for Jardine's, is capable of planing four lace-machine bars at a time, its speed being 100 ft. per minute, cutting both ways. The table travels about 100 miles during one of the factory's full working weeks. The length of the table is 45 ft., the length of the bed being 84 ft., and the weight 26 tons. The planer is driven by a 30-h.p. electric motor.

Delicate electrical apparatus is employed to test the temper of the needles, whilst the most patient and perfected skill is brought to bear, in a succession of operations, upon the preparation of the carriages in which the bobbins are to be carried on the finished machine.

Only the briefest allusion can be made to the numerous institutions which exist for the benefit of the employees of this firm, but we may remark that opportunities are afforded to all operatives of attending the technical evening classes at the University College, where several of Jardine's employees have secured notable successes.³

In addition to lace machines, the modern machine-building industry of Nottingham is concerned with the production of hosiery machines, steam engines, boilers, gas engines, sanitary and laundry machines, sugar-refining and printing, and Burrough's adding machines.

The motor industry is represented by the Humber and Raleigh Companies, cycles being also built in the town.

The necessities of the hosiery trade have given rise to numerous hosiery machinists' establishments in Nottinghamshire, those of Messrs. Moses Mellor & Sons, Ltd., Messrs. Kiddier Bros. (The Hosiery Machine Building Company), Messrs. G. Blackburn & Sons, Charles Dean, B. Hague & Co., Messrs. G. Hopewell & Son, of Basford, in addition to hosiery finishing machinery, being makers of improved boards for shaping hosiery, and N. Marshall of Moorgate Street being a maker of all kinds of wheels for circular hosiery machinery.

At the moment of writing, the municipality of Victoria, British Columbia, have placed with the Stanton Works, Ltd., of Nottingham, the contract for the delivery of 300,000 tons of iron piping required in connexion with the new water, gas, and other public improvement schemes in that city, the contract in question being stated to rank as the most valuable individual order of a similar character ever placed by Canada.⁴

BELL-FOUNDING

The bell-founder's art was practised at an early date at Nottingham, Mr. Phillimore being of opinion that the William Brasyer de Nottingham, made a freeman of Norwich in 1376, was identical with William de Norwyco, who cast bells still in use, and the ancestor of the Brasier family of Norwich, afterwards found as bell-founders in that city. It may be assumed, adds this authority, that Brasyer, having learned his art in Nottingham, possibly from some monastic craftsman, afterwards migrated to Norfolk.¹

Our knowledge of the early bell-founders of the county is mainly derived from ancient records of their frequent appearances as litigants. Richard Redeswell, for example, comes before us for the first time in 1433, when he brought an action against John Barley of Kimberley, who came with force and arms, to wit, a club, and trod down a close belonging to the said Richard with two cart-loads of sea-coal, so that Redeswell was not able to make bells there. Barley, however denied that Redeswell had any cause for com-

³ We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Ernest Jardine, J.P., for the above information.

⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 7 July 1908.

¹ Phillimore, *Old Notts*. 107.

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plaint, having let the close in question to Thomas Whissentide, who allowed Barley to occupy it. Redeswell in the sequel, though previously declaring that he had been injured to the extent of 3s. 4d., withdrew from the suit.² In the following year Redeswell was defendant in a suit brought at the instance of Robert Greg of Lincoln, who had supplied him with bell-metal worth 37s.³ In 1436 Thomas Glen, who had been engaged by Redeswell to serve in the craft and business of bell-founding, had exchanged his master's service for that of John Barley of Plumbie (probably the same with whom Redeswell had been to law two years previously), by whom he was being received and harboured.⁴

There was a William Belyetter carrying on his trade in Nottingham at the same period, for we find him complained of in 1437 by one Hugh Bladesmith on account of a plea of debt of 2s. for metal of brazen pots bought from him at Michaelmas last.⁵ In mediæval times, it is worthy of note, the art of the bell-founder and that of the potter (maker of brazen vessels) were frequently identical, and there are numerous interesting examples in the early records of the borough of Nottingham.⁶

Richard Mellors or Mellors, who was twice mayor of Nottingham, seems to have been at work at least as early as 1487-8, when his name appears in connexion with the grant of a mesuage in Castle Gate.⁷ In 1499, he cast the second bell of St. Peter's Church, the gild book of St. George still recording the payment received by him. In earlier documents, he is styled 'bellyetter,' the old form of bell-founder, and the origin of the modern name of Billiter.⁸ Mellors' foundry is supposed to have been in Parliament Street, Narrow Marsh, suggested by Bailey as a probable site, having no evidence to support the claim.⁹

A pardon granted to Mellors in 1507 acquaints us with his offence against the statute of weights and measures, and thus incidentally with the connexion already referred to between the bell-founder's and the potter's arts.¹⁰ Reference to his

business as a bell-founder is made in his will, by which he bequeaths to his son Robert (of whom little is known) all the instruments of his trade.¹¹

The widow of Mellors, Dame Agnes, the foundress of the Nottingham Free School, left by her will the sum of 10 marks to William Mellors son of William Mellors of Leicester. 'There can be little doubt,' says Mr. Phillimore, 'that this William Mellors of Leicester was a younger brother perhaps of Richard Mellors of Nottingham, and the William Mellors, Bell Heytaur, whose will was proved at Peterborough in 1507, and whose widow afterwards married Thomas Newcombe'¹² of the famous bell-founding dynasty of that name.

Mellors' mark is as follows:—In the centre of a shield a cross, on the dexter side of which is the letter R., on the sinister side a bell, and in chief two crowns (the arms of Nottingham).¹³

Robert Mellors, of whom little is known, succeeded to his father's business. In 1517-18 we find him figuring in an action against one Thomas Blyth of Linby.¹⁴ He cast bells for Louth and Wigtoft in Lincolnshire in 1510 and 1525.¹⁵ He married Juliana Mapurley, and left one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Humphrey Quarneby or Querneby, who succeeded to his father-in-law's business,¹⁶ and was among the founders who purchased bell-metal from the commissioners at the dissolution of the religious houses, one of his purchases being a small bell weighing 4 cwt. 3 quarters, which belonged to the Grey Friars.¹⁷ The register of St. Mary's contains the following entry for 1589:—'For carrying the bell for Master Quarnby to the Church, 6d.'¹⁸ A second item relates to the payment to Master Alvie of £7 10s. 8d. 'for the second bell of St. Mary's,' 4d. being paid in addition 'for an obligation for the bell's casting.'¹⁹ The following item appears in the churchwardens' accounts of Worksop for 1559-60:—'£3 6s. 8d. Humfrey Quernby in part of payment of a more somme as appeareth by his acquittance.'²⁰

Like many of his fellow-craftsmen in mediæval times, Richard Seliok comes before us in the Nottingham Records in 1536 'complaining' of

² Stevenson, *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 143; *Notts. and Derb. N. and Q.* Jan. 1896, p. 3.

³ Stevenson, *op. cit.* ii, 143.

⁴ *Ibid.* 159.

⁵ *Ibid.* 161.

⁶ There is an entry, says Mr. Stevenson, in the Nottingham Court Rolls of an action in 1437 by Margaret Potter against John Sollers of Nottingham for brazen pots bought from her for 2s. 4d.; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* ii, 166. William Langton, who appears to have entered into partnership with Richard Redeswell by that date, was complained of in 1438 by John Westhall, with whom they had covenanted to make for him from certain metal agreed upon between them to a certain weight two brazen pots and a chafing-dish ('et unum chafur'). They had, however, only made one pot and one chafing-dish; *ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 428.

⁸ Phillimore, *Old Notts.* 107.

⁹ *Ibid.* 108.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 109.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* 108.

¹³ *Reliquary*, xiii, 81. A bell at Morcott, Rutland, has R. Mellours' trade mark together with a lion's head stamp used by Newcombe and Watts of Leicester. (Communicated by Mr. Walters.)

¹⁴ Stevenson, *op. cit.* iii, 141.

¹⁵ North, *Church Bells Lincs.* 103.

¹⁶ Phillimore, *op. cit.* 111.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The original record of this transaction is printed in White, *Dukery Rec.* 384. (Blyth Ch. Gds. 12/4), and runs as follows:—'The grey friars caste j small bell pond. iiij cwt. iii quarters sold by me William Bolles to Humfrey Querby of note for xxs. le c. and yet unpaid.'

¹⁸ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 233.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 225.

²⁰ White, *Dukery Rec.* 316.

INDUSTRIES

Roger Green and William Pateman, churchwardens of Grantham, with whom he had agreed to make a baritone bell (*a mertun*) for the sum of 5 marks. This bell, it appears, was to be made 'out of an old broken bell then and there hanging in Grantham steeple, and to be delivered in 3 days.' Seliok, having received his instructions, proceeded to prepare forms, moulds, and all other necessaries for founding, to the value of 10 marks. The contract was, however, given over his head to one John Wooley, whereby the work, industry, and labour of the Nottingham founder was brought to naught. The court, however, non-suited his claim for 20 marks, holding that the agreement had been entered into by conversation which took place at Grantham, and therefore out of the jurisdiction of that court.²¹

For some two hundred years the Oldfield dynasty were famous bell-founders in the county. The Henry Oldfield, potter, of Lister Gate, Nottingham, whose name appears in the will of Margery Mellers in 1539, was probably identical with Henry Oldfield, bell-founder, with whom, in 1545, the churchwardens of Mottram, in Cheshire, entered into an agreement for 'the exchange of a tenor bell for 20s.,' the founder's servant, Henry Stockes, being associated with his master in the undertaking. The bell was to be 'of a true accord with the other two bells in Mottram steeple; if not, the founders were 'to carry and re-carry the same until they had brought a bell of perfect accord.' They were also to keep the bell in repair for a twelve-month.²² The Thomas Oldfield who supplied a bell to Melton Mowbray in 1553 is supposed to have been a relative of Henry's.²³ Henry Oldfield was assessed to a lay subsidy in Nottingham in 1558.²⁴ From 1572-3 this founder was largely employed. He was the first to introduce the practice of adding the date to the legends on his castings. A bell at Sutton Bonnington, cast in 1579, bears his usual emblems, the Cross of Calvary, with his initials on either side, and, above, a star and crescent, a crown being sometimes added.

The first Henry Oldfield died in 1589.²⁵

Contemporaries of this founder were Thomas Reve and his brother Mychael, who received £5 10s. in 1567 from the churchwardens of Worksop for casting four bells and three brasses; and Thomas Wood, who paid 12d. rental for a garden in Nottingham in 1573-4.²⁷

The second Henry Oldfield was casting from 1590 to 1620. His stamp is the same as his predecessor's, with the occasional addition, for his most important works, of 'Made Bi Henry Oldfield.' In 1592 he cast the first bell of Holme;²⁸ in 1593 he was associated with Robert Quernby in casting two bells, on which both founders' names occur, the tenor bell of Lincoln Cathedral, and the third bell of Ruskington.²⁹ In 1595 his name appears alone on the bell which he cast for St. Mary's.³⁰ In 1603 we find him being presented by the Mickleton jury for inclosing a certain parcel of ground called Cockpytt Leys (probably, says Mr. Stevenson, near the Cockpit at the Coppice or St. Anne's Well), but there is no evidence forthcoming as to this having been the site of his foundry.³¹

In 1609 he cast the first bell of Plumtree.³² The tenor bell at Papplewick, which bears the date 1620, and the inscription, I SWEETLY TOLING MEN DO CALL TO TASTE ON MEATE THAT FEEDS THE SOUL, is proved by the trade mark to be from Henry Oldfield's foundry, and was probably the last cast by him, his death taking place in the year recorded on the bell.³³

In addition to his Nottinghamshire bells, Oldfield cast largely for Lincolnshire, where his bells are hung at Alkborough, Asgarby, Aylesby, North Carlton, Marvis Enderby, Hagworthingham, Holton le Clay, Kirkby cum Osgodby, Lenton, South Willingham, and Wragby.³⁴ An assistant of Oldfield's, Henry Dand, whose daughter Frances married Robert Quernby, and whose name occurs, together with that of 'Harry Oldfield,' in 1591 in the books of Shrewsbury Abbey Church,³⁵ also cast bells for several Lincolnshire churches, as Burgh, Ewerby, South Hykeham, Lenton, and Corby.³⁶

The episode of Oldfield's connexion with Congleton in Cheshire may be briefly noticed before passing on to consider the work of his successors. In 1586 Oldfield married Mary daughter of Richard Spencer, who was mayor of Congleton in 1582-3, 1585-6, and 1595-6. The marriage seems to have secured for him the commission to cast the first and second bells of the chapel at Congleton in 1595, the parish records of that place still preserving the bond whereby 'Henricus Owtfild de Nottingham, bell-founder,' agrees with 'Willmo. Stubbes maior de Congleton,' in the sum of £40 to keep in repair two new bells lately cast by him, 'that

²¹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iii, 199.

²² *Ibid.* 445.

²³ Phillimore, *op. cit.* 112.

²⁴ *Ibid.* In 1574-5 Henry Oldfield was living in Long Row, afterwards known as Bellfounders' Yard; *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 106, 205.

²⁵ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 232.

²⁶ Churchwardens' Accts. Worksop, in White, *Dukery Rec.* 316.

²⁷ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 185.

²⁸ *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* ix, 36.

²⁹ North, *Church Bells Lincs.* 103.

³⁰ *Reliquary*, xiii, 82. ³¹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 264.

³² *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* ix, 82.

³³ Briscoe, *Old Notts.* (Ser. 2), 26. His burial is recorded in the Churchwardens' Bk. of St. Mary's:— 'For Henry Oldfield, 6s. 8d.' *Rec. Boro. Nott.* iv, 232.

³⁴ North, *Church Bells. of Lincs.* 124.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.* 110.

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is to say, the first and second bells now hanging in the steeple at the chapel of Congleton aforesaid.'³⁷

In the following year Oldfield was entrusted with another Cheshire commission, the casting of the three bells at Tattenhall, where the 'Ringers' Rules' contain a reference to his name not met with elsewhere in the following couplet:—

If for to ring you do come here
You must ring well with hand and ear.
By Atkins made and Oldfield writ also,
That foreign ringers may their forfeits know.³⁸

At the Congleton foundry Oldfield seems to have been assisted by George Lee and Paul Hutton, who were afterwards casting there from 1620 to 1630. The former founder, it has been suggested, was most probably a partner of Oldfield's, and managed what may have been the Congleton branch of the Nottingham foundry.³⁹ The presence on the four Waverton bells, cast by Lee in 1615, of a stamp similar to that appearing on Oldfield's Lincolnshire bells in 1589, 1595, 1596, seems to prove a connexion between the two founders.⁴⁰

George Oldfield succeeded to his father's business, and was at work from 1620 to 1674. He cast six bells for St. Martin's, Leicester, in 1658.⁴¹ In 1672 there was a Hugh Oldfield engaged in the industry. On his death in 1680 his widow, Alice, is supposed to have carried on the foundry, no name appearing on the bells of this period, accredited, however, to this dynasty. Another George Oldfield was casting from 1741 to 1747, when their foundry passed to the Hedderleys.⁴²

Daniel Hedderley of Bawtry was presumably the father of Thomas, the first to occupy the tiled building in Bellfounders' Yard, which was afterwards (in 1850) converted into a slaughterhouse.⁴³ In his time it was the custom of the workmen to assemble for prayer before running the metal.⁴⁴ He made use of several of the Oldfields' legends and patterns,⁴⁵ but although placing his name as a rule in full on all his bells, he only added 'of Nottingham' after the death of the last George Oldfield.⁴⁶ His numerous

bells, says Mr. Phillimore, include some which are well cast, many others, however, being of inferior workmanship and carelessly executed lettering.⁴⁷ He died in 1778, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who died in 1785, and was followed by a younger brother, George, who alludes, in an advertisement inserted by him in a local paper, to the Old Bell Foundry having been in existence for upwards of three centuries.⁴⁸ He eventually emigrated to America, where he died in 1799. His name appears in 1788 as a subscriber to *Clavis Campanologica*. John Hedderley, a brother of George, finally abandoned bell-founding for the more lucrative trade of framesmith, when the industry of framework knitting had become a staple of Nottingham.⁴⁹

William Noone, who cast the fifth bell of St. Martin's, Leicester, in 1700,⁵⁰ and who was probably identical with the member of the Nottingham Town Council whose name occurs in the Borough Records in 1690,⁵¹ may have been employed, as North suggests,⁵² after the death of George Oldfield in 1680 to carry on the business during the minority of his grandson George. Payment of £1 8s. to 'Mr. Noone, bell-founder,' occurs in the Congleton parish records,⁵³ the connexion of the Oldfields with this place being pointed out elsewhere. William Noone was buried in St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, 17 August 1732.

Small bells were cast at Nottingham in the 18th century by Mr. Tatham, first at Castle Gate, and afterwards at Bridlesmithgate, where he had established a brass and cock foundry.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Ibid. Those at Mansfield Woodhouse bear the inscription, 'Touch me not, and I am silent: strike me, and I sound sweetly' (Harrod, *Hist. Mansfield*, 36); on the fourth bell at Eakring, the legend runs, 'The note lyeth betwixt A and G' (*Notts. and Derby N. and Q.* Nov. 1898, p. 177). He also cast the fourth bell at Shelford (*Thoroton Soc. Trans.* vii, 43).

⁴⁸ Phillimore, *Old Notts.* 117. Phillimore reproduces in his article on 'Notts. Campanology' in the *Reliquary* entries from a pocket-book belonging to this founder, relating to accounts for bells, weights, measures, &c., also sketches of bell-frames, op. cit. 84.

⁴⁹ *Reliquary*, op. cit.

⁵⁰ North, *Church Bells Lincs.* 131; *ibid.* 'Accts. Churchwardens, St. Martin's,' 216. It was agreed that the bell-founder should 'have 20s. per cwt. for casting it, tuneable to the rest, and as near the same weight as may be, he allowing 10d. per lb. for what it wants, and we 12d. for what it wants more. The parish is to be at charge to carry it to Nottingham; and he to return it and recast it if not tuneable, or if cracked in a year.' Noone also cast the tenor bell in 1704; the bell being taken down weighed 19 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lb.

⁵¹ *Rec. Boro. Nott.* v, 371, 377.

⁵² North, op. cit.

⁵³ Earwaker, *Ches. and Lancs. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), vi, 6.

⁵⁴ Blackner, *Hist. Nott.* 218. The writer is indebted to the courteous assistance of Mr. Walters in the preparation of this article.

³⁷ Earwaker, *Local Gleanings*, 109-10.

³⁸ Gaythorpe, *Ches. Courant*, 6 May 1908.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ North, *Churchwardens' Accts.* 206. The following items occur in the Churchwardens' Accts. of Newark, 1657 and 1658:—'Carriage of a letter to Mr. Oldfield, 2d. Spent on Mr. Oldfield when he came over, 6d. For casting the brasses at Nottingham, 54s. Paid Mr. Oldfield for ye chipping of 2 bells as by bills, 22s. Paid Henrie Goddard for grinding Mr. Oldfield's tools, 4s. 6d. Spent upon Mr. Oldfield, 18d.' Brown, *Hist. Newark*, 327.

⁴² North, op. cit. 129-31. ⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Briscoe, *Curiosities of the Belfry*, 89.

⁴⁵ *Reliquary*, xiii, 88. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

AGRICULTURE

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE may be described as an undulating county, although a large part of it, especially in the Trent Valley, is absolutely flat. Its slight elevations are dotted with abundant foliage and pretty villages, and intersected by several river valleys, in fact it is marked by typical English scenery. The Magnesian Limestone occurs in a long narrow strip on the west, and the extreme east is included in the Oolite formation, but the larger part belongs to the New Red Sandstone. The soils are chiefly of sand or gravel, of limestone or coal land, or of clay. The whole of the poor forest land and that by the banks of the Trent is of the first kind; the limestone is in the extreme west, while the clay in the north, being mixed with sand, is very productive, but in the south, including the vale of Belvoir, it is more stubborn and less fertile. As Fuller noticed, 'it is divided into two parts, the sand and the clay, which so supply the defects one of another, that what either half doth afford, the whole county doth enjoy.'¹ The climate is dry and healthy, the west winds, often so laden with rain in England, being robbed of much of their moisture by the higher hills of its western neighbours.

At the death of Edward I English agriculture was in a prosperous condition, though from that time till the beginning of the 17th century it was, in the opinion of Professor Thorold Rogers,² stationary or even retrograde. Prices of corn and stock at various markets in the county during the Middle Ages have fortunately been preserved. At Gringley, for instance, in the twelve months from Michaelmas 1295 to Michaelmas 1296, the farming year being thus reckoned, barley was from 3*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a quarter, oats 2*s.* 10½*d.* to 3*s.* 10*d.*, beans 4*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*, peas 4*s.* Oxen, then chiefly valued as draught animals, were selling at the same time at 10*s.* each. In the next year wheat was cheap in the Midlands, 4*s.* to 4*s.* 4*d.* a quarter at Gringley,

though in the south of England it was worth twice as much, a common occurrence in those days of isolation. Oats were 2*s.* and seed beans 4*s.* 1*d.* Eggs were sold there for 4½*d.* the great hundred (120). For threshing a quarter of wheat a man was paid 2*d.*, for a quarter of barley 1½*d.*, of oats 1*d.*, and winnowing oats cost 2*d.* a quarter, this work being usually done by women, and much of it fell on the *daya* or dairymaid.³ Grease, which was used for the cart-wheels, the home manufacture of candles, and for dressing sheep, was sold at Gringley in 1297 for 10*d.* a *petra* or stone of apparently 7 lb., and in the same year wheat had risen to as high as 6*s.* 8*d.* a quarter, though it fell during the year to 4*s.* 9*d.*; and barley was dear at 6*s.* a quarter.⁴ There is a record of a sale of pigs there in 1298 which made 3*s.* 6*d.* apiece, and the price of threshing a quarter of oats had sunk to ¾*d.* The hides of oxen were worth 3*s.* 2½*d.*; cheese fetched 8*d.* per stone of 28 lb., and butter 9*d.* a stone.

In the 13th century and for long afterwards the crops were small and the cost of cultivation light. Walter of Henley says:⁵ 'You know surely that an acre sown with wheat takes three ploughings, and that each ploughing is worth 6*d.*, and harrowing 1*d.*, and on the acre it is necessary to sow at least two bushels. Now two bushels at Michaelmas are worth at least 12*d.*, and weeding ½*d.* and reaping 5*d.* and carrying in August 1*d.*, and the straw will pay for the threshing; and at three times your sowing you ought to have six bushels worth 3*s.*' This without allowing anything for rent, then mostly paid by services of various kinds, would involve a loss of 1½*d.* However, the author of the anonymous *Treatise on Husbandry* of the same century says 'Wheat ought to yield to the fifth grain.'⁶ In 1312 at Wheteley (Wheatley) rye

³ The hoeing of land at this date was generally done by women, and they worked at piecework in harvest, often at the same rates as the men.

⁴ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, ii, 47 et seq.

⁵ Walter of Henley, *Husbandry* (Roy. Hist. Soc.), 17.

⁶ *Ibid.* 71.

¹ *Worthies of Engl.* ii, 568.

² *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 442 et seq.

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was 2s. 4d. a quarter, a very low price, as the average then was about 4s. At the same market a sow and pigs were sold for 8s. and capons at 2d. each; 51½ acres of grass apparently to be mown by the purchaser was worth 3s. an acre, and the price of threshing a quarter of wheat had risen to 3d. Mowing an acre of mixtil (probably a mixture of wheat and rye) cost 6d.; a thatcher received 3½d. a day,⁷ and his servant or assistant only 1d. Fourteen plough-shoes, which were iron shoes for fixing on the wooden plough-shares, were purchased for 1¼d. each; horse-shoes for 3s. 10¼d. a hundred, and the nails for them about this time at the same place cost 1s. 3d. per 1,000. In the same year, 1312, oxen were sold at Retford for 15s. 6d. each, and at Wheatley for 15s. 3d.

The years 1315 and 1316 were probably two of the worst years in the history of English agriculture, as they were marked by universal famine and pestilence, and prices, according to the chroniclers of the day, went up fabulously; though the market records do not confirm some of their statements. The result of these bad years was felt at Gringley market in 1317-18, when wheat sold for 9s. a quarter, though in the summer the prospect of a good crop brought the price down to 5s. 6d., a little under the average. Mixtil also sold at 5s. 6d. and beans at 2s. 6d. a quarter. Two years afterwards, at this market, a pair of millstones fetched 7s., and they would be put up most likely by the miller himself, as he and the farmer about this period fashioned nearly everything at home. Owing to the poor means of communication the price of grain in the Middle Ages was often low at one market and high at another; at Wheatley, for instance, in 1320, wheat was from 6s. 8d. to 10s., though the average price in England was 6s. 5d., and barley was 5s. 8d. against an average of 4s. 1¼d.

In the 15th century the price of grain was even lower than in the century preceding, and at Codynton (almost certainly Coddington) in 1413 wheat was only worth from 3s. 4d. to 4s. a quarter. Oxen sold at from 9s. 2d. to 14s. 7½d. each, a much lower price than a hundred years before at Retford. Calves were 2s. 4d., muttons or wethers 2s. 0¾d., lambs 1s., a boar 5s., a sow in pig 3s. 11d., and 'porculi,' probably good-sized porkers, 2s. 6d. Eggs had hardly advanced since 1296, and were only 5d. the great hundred, their cheapness being due to the fact that poultry-rearing was universal. Hurdles cost 2s. 4¾d. a dozen, and a pair of cart-wheels were 3s. 6d., a very low price, as 7s. was sometimes paid for them. In 1415 a cow sold at the same place for 8s., an average price, and a cart-horse for 16s. 2d., rather a low price, as a good cart-horse was then worth from 20s.

⁷ At Wheatley in 1323 a thatcher earned 2½d. a day.

to 25s. and a good saddle-horse double that amount. Wool changed hands there at 7s. 8d. a tod of 28 lb., the normal rate.

In the 16th century prices began to rise, and at Southwell in 1535 wheat was 10s. a quarter, about the average price in England; barley, however, was low, 3s. 4d., and oats from 4s. to 6s. 8d. During the 16th century a large quantity of land was inclosed and laid down to grass, and grazing was the chief occupation of farmers, so that the land enjoyed a well-needed rest. It was well-nigh exhausted, for the common-field system was wasteful, owing to superficial ploughing, and frequent cropping without sufficient manure, for as the land was thrown open to all tenants of the manor after harvest manuring was difficult; there was also a dearth of labourers since towns were growing, and the increase of commerce and manufactures forced up wages. William Harrison, who wrote in the latter part of the century, in his *Description of Britaine*, tells us that 'the soile of Britaine is more inclined to feeding and grazing than profitable for tillage and bearing of corne, and such store is there of cattle in everie place that the fourth part of the land is scarcely manured for the provision of graine.'⁸

Professor Thorold Rogers has collected a valuable list of prices, from 1583 to 1596, at Worksop, from which it appears that there, as all over England, wheat had risen considerably, and anything under 20s. a quarter was cheap. It was 21s. 4d. at Worksop in 1583, and next year 16s. to 21s. 4d.; barley 10s. to 13s. 4d.; oats 5s. 4d. to 8s.; rye 11s. 4d.; peas 9s. 4d. For threshing rye a labourer was now paid from 6d. to 8d. a day, but 6d. seems to have been the more usual price.⁹ Chickens sold for 2d. apiece and ducklings for 2d. and 3d., a fat cow was worth £2 5s. 11d., a yoke of oxen £5 11s. 8d., twenty hogg sheep sold for 3s. 6d. each, and a ram at 3s. 4d. Geese were 6d., hens 4d., and capons 8d., and a gelding fetched £8, a fair price then. 1595 and 1596 were years of exceedingly high prices all over England owing to the usual cause, wet seasons, and at Worksop wheat went as high as £2 2s. 8d. a quarter; barley malt was £1 9s. 8d.; oats 13s. 4d.; beans £1 4s.; rye £1 14s.; but by 1598 prices were coming down to their normal level, and oats were 6s. 8d.

From assessments made of the various counties at this period it does not appear that Nottingham-

⁸ Op. cit. chap. 18. The substitution of grass for tillage began in the 15th century, but became much more frequent in the 16th. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Ind. and Commerce* (Early and Mid. Ages), 331.

⁹ The daily wages of an agricultural labourer varied widely at this period. In 1564 in Rutland he received 7d. a day in summer, in 1593 in Yorkshire 5d. and in Cheshire 4d., in 1610 in Rutland 7d. Thorold Rogers, *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, 389 et seq.

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shire was very wealthy. In the Composition in Lieu of Purveyance of 1593 the assessment of the county was—

	£	s.	d.
20 lean oxen at £2 13s. 4d. .	53	6	8
200 „ muttons at 6s. 4d. .	63	6	8
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		
	£116	13	4

whereas Leicestershire was assessed at £489 and Derbyshire at £470.¹⁰ In the ship-money valuation of 1636—not a very accurate assessment, however—Nottinghamshire came twenty-first in the list of counties in comparative wealth, and in the various assessments of the 17th century occupied a still lower position, with the exception of a poor-rate assessment in the later years of the reign of Charles II, when it was seventeenth. Gervase Markham, the well-known writer on agriculture, a Nottinghamshire man, complained bitterly of the unfair way in which he was assessed to ship-money, saying he would sooner have presented his head.^{10a}

The 17th century saw much progress in agriculture; the turnip and artificial grasses were brought from the Low Countries, then far ahead of England in farming; liming and marling were revived, and implements greatly improved.¹¹ Rents probably increased six or eightfold, and Sir William Davenant, an exception to the inaccurate statisticians of the time, places the average rent of tillage at 5s. 6d., and of grass at 8s. 6d. an acre, though this is perhaps too high an estimate. The rental of Lord Kingston's estate in North Nottinghamshire for 1689 is in the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian Library, but the rents, averaging 10s. an acre, must not be taken as representative, for much of the property was meadow and pasture, the farm-houses were excellent, in two of the parishes the tenants had rights of common, and in Saundby and North Wheatley the tenancies were tithe-free. There was very little arable land let on the estate, three small tenancies renting for 6s. 8d. an acre, and apparently most of it was grazing-land for sheep. Some of the pasture-land in Saundby was let at 14s., 15s. 6d., 16s. 3d., and even 18s. an acre, perhaps an accommodation price, or an illustration of the great difference then between arable-land and grass-land. The largest farm, Saundby Hall, was 607 acres, nearly all meadow and pasture, let at a little more than 9s. 10d. an acre. The cottages generally had small pieces of land attached to them; in Saundby Richard Ffydall rented a cottage and 2 acres of arable land for £1 13s. 4d., Widow Johnson a cottage and yard for 13s. 4d., William Daubney a cottage, 6½ acres of arable, and 5½ of pasture for £7 18s. 6d. A farm in Scrooby consisting of a messuage,

cottage, and 113 acres of arable, meadow, and pasture, only rented for £23.

The difference in the price of corn in various localities before noticed continued to comparatively modern times, showing clearly that there was little improvement in the means of communication. At Newark in 1692–3 wheat was from 36s. to 40s. a quarter, while the London average was 54s. 9½d., and at Brentford it reached 76s. At Newark in the same year barley was 22s. to 25s., malt 25s. to 26s. 8d., oats 12s. to 16s., rye 28s. to 40s., beans 25s. 4d. to 28s. Next year was a bad one, and wheat almost everywhere was high, reaching 86s. at Brentford, yet at Newark it was from 32s. to 44s. In 1695–6 wool sold at the same market for 36s. a tod of 28 lb., a high price, and the year after for 24s., and at Nottingham in 1701–2 it was 17s. 6d. Hay at Newark in 1695–6 was 13s. 4d. a load, but it must have been of very inferior quality, or it is another instance of the isolation of towns at the time, for at Northampton it was 35s. to 40s. At Nottingham from 1699 to 1701 hay was 40s. a load, the load being generally a ton of new, or 19½ cwt. of old hay.¹²

The 18th century was a period of great changes in agriculture associated with five honoured names, those of Jethro Tull, Lord Townshend, Bakewell of Dishley, Arthur Young, and Coke of Holkham, and through their improvements English farms instead of merely providing sufficient for the farmer and his family were converted into bread and meat manufactories for the great industrial towns that sprung up in the latter half of the century. At the commencement of Young's career half England was farmed, as it had been for centuries, on the old open-field system, and this was one of the obstacles to good farming that he set himself to remove. In 1768 the country between Newark and Tuxford when Young journeyed through it was mostly inclosed, and appeared to him 'pretty well cultivated.' Round Cromwell the land let at from 10s. to 20s. an acre, and farms were mostly small, cropped on a three-course system of (1) turnips; (2) barley or oats; (3) rye. Here beans were sown broadcast and never hoed, with the natural result of poor crops. At West Drayton arable land was let at from 10s. to 12s. an acre, and grass at from 15s. to 20s., and here, too, farms were small. At Bawtry Mr. Lyster was making agricultural experiments, one of which was the feeding of cabbages to cattle, by no means a success, as the cattle ate them too quickly for profit. Another experiment was the cultivation of lucerne, recommended by Hartlib a century before, which was cut thrice a year, and used for soiling horses.

In 1770 Young, when at Arnold, noticed 'some uncommon improvements lately carried

¹⁰ Eden, *State of the Poor*, iii, cxiii.

^{10a} *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1635–6, p. 11.

¹¹ Thorold Rogers, *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, 449.

¹² Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, vi, 211.

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on, particularly in the carrot culture.' The soil, a fine, rich, deep, dark-coloured sand, yielded great crops of every kind, and was let on an average at 18*s.* an acre, considerably above the ordinary rent of land in England at the time, which Young put at 10*s.* an acre all round. The balance-sheet for an acre of carrots was—¹³

nips, and some malt grains. The flocks of sheep ran from sixty to 140, the average value of their fleeces being 4*s.* For 100 acres of tillage the farmers of that part of the county considered eight horses necessary, three or four being used for a plough. One plough did an acre a day only 4 in. deep, which was considered

DR.				CR.
	£	s.	d.	
Rent	0	18	0	
Tithe and town charges	0	5	0	
Seed	0	4	0	
Sowing	0	0	6	
Six ploughings	1	10	0	
Two harrowings	0	1	6	
Cleaning	2	0	0	
Taking up	1	5	0	
Manuring	2	5	0	
	8	9	0	
				1,045 strike of carrots (45 lb. to the strike) at 9 <i>d.</i> 39 3 0
				Less expenses 8 9 0
				Profit 30 14 0

Turnips usually followed the carrots, and then barley, which on the doubly-hoed land produced great crops of 6 to 10 quarters to the acre.

Sherwood Forest was then waste land, but 'highly improveable, for the sand is not devoid of fertility,' a prophecy which subsequent events fully justified. West of Newstead the land was all inclosed, a somewhat unusual circumstance at this date, rich, and let at £1 an acre nearly, and farms were from 50 to 300 acres. The rotation of crops was either three-course : (1) fallow ; (2) wheat ; (3) oats, the same rotation that had been customary under the old open-field system for centuries ; or four-course : (1) fallow ; (2) barley ; (3) clover (two years) ; (4) wheat. The average crop of wheat for which the land was ploughed four times was 30 bushels per acre, and of barley 35 bushels. Turnips were commonly fed off with sheep, though some were given to the cattle, and the average crop was valued at £3 an acre. Lime was much in use for manure, especially for wheat on cold land, the usual dressing being two cart-loads per acre at 6*s.* a load. Wet lands were well drained with covered drains, no doubt made in the then prevalent way, that is filled in about 18 in. deep at the bottom with stones which were covered with clods, and these again with loose mould and turves ; or by sod drains.

The best grass-land let at 30*s.* an acre, and was mainly used for dairying, an acre keeping a cow through the summer. The favourite breed of cattle was the Longhorn, though there were some Shorthorns which at this date had not yet benefited by the work of the Collings, and their winter food was hay and sometimes a few tur-

worth 6*s.* All the ploughs then used were swing ploughs.

The labourer's wages had risen 1*s.* 6*d.* a week since 1750, and at this time (1770) were about the same as those paid in England generally ; 1*s.* a day in winter, and 1*s.* with board in addition in harvest time, and in hay time 10*d.* a day and board. To reap an acre of wheat cost 5*s.*, an acre of oats 4*s.* ; to mow barley cost 1*s.* 6*d.*, which was also the price of mowing grass. Hoeing turnips cost 5*s.* an acre, threshing wheat 1*s.* 8*d.* a quarter, making faggots 2*s.* a hundred. Women earned in harvest time 8*d.* a day and board, and in hay-making time 6*d.* a day and board.

The price of implements was—

	£	s.	d.
A wagon	20	0	0
A cart	10	0	0
A plough	1	0	0
A pair of harrows	0	15	0
A stone roller	0	5	0
Harness for a horse	1	0	0

And of provisions—

Oat cake bread, 14 lb. for	0	0	11
Cheese, per lb.	0	0	4
Butter „	0	0	6
Beef „	0	0	3½
Mutton „	0	0	4
Pork „	0	0	3½
Bacon „	0	0	7
Milk, per pint	0	0	0½

The labourer's cottage cost him £1 10*s.* a year, and rates were only 1*s.* in the £.

A typical 100-acre farm near Mansfield, half grass and half tillage, let at £100, was stocked with eight horses, nine cows, six young cattle, four fattening beasts, and sixty sheep, and the

¹³ Carrots were at this time by no means a common crop in England.

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arable was cropped mainly with wheat and oats, together with some barley, peas, beans, turnips, and clover.¹⁴

Leases were not usual in Nottinghamshire at this time, but among the covenants in a Lady-Day lease of 1786 common to Nottinghamshire and the Midlands were the following: Tenant to pay double rent so long as he continues to hold after notice given. To repair buildings, accidents by fire excepted, also gates and fences. To repair hedges and ditches and pay to the landlord 1s. per rood for such as shall not be done after three months' notice has been given in writing. Not to break up certain lands specified in the schedule under a penalty of £20 per acre. Not to plough more than a specified number of acres in any one year under the same penalty. To forfeit the same sum for every acre that shall be ploughed for any longer time than three crops successively without making a clean summer fallow after the third crop. And the same penalty for mowing more than a specified number of acres, clover excepted, in any one year. At the time of laying down the arable lands to grass he shall manure them with eight quarters of lime an acre, and sow 12 lb. of clover seed, and one strike of rye-grass seeds per acre. To spend on the premises all the hay, straw,¹⁵ and manure, or leave them at the end of the term. Tenant to be allowed on quitting for hay left on premises, all clover and rye-grass sown in last year, and lime expended in last year, and fallows made in the same time.

The farm buildings at the same date were not large or commodious; but the walls were mostly brick, the timber-work oak, and the covering 'knob tiles' which had replaced thatch. In most parts of the county, except in the new inclosures, they were crowded together in villages as they had been for centuries, a relic of the old common-field system. The older farmyards were principally open, with mangers round the inside of the fences, and cribs in the centre. In the common-field townships still remaining, where the farming was always inferior to that on the inclosed land, temporary winter roofs of bean stacks were erected.

The roads until about 1770 were in a state of almost total neglect, then a spirit of improvement set in, but until the period when Macadam and Telford began their work there was no substantial advance.

The price of provisions in 1795-6 was high, beef and mutton being 6d. and 6½d. a lb. but in 1798 they were down to 4d. and 4½d., little more than their price in 1770. Tithes at the same date were taken in kind in many parts of the county, but were more frequently compounded for, and in the new inclosures land was universally given in lieu of tithes. The compositions, from

the desire of the clergy to live well with their parishioners, are described as much lower than the general value of the tithe. The greater part of the farms were let to tenants at will who were completely satisfied with this arrangement, and on the same holding son succeeded father for generations. Many of the small copyholds preserved the custom called borough English, that is they descended to the younger son. Farms were generally small, few exceeding £300 a year, and more were under £100 than above that sum, while in the clay district many were as low as £20 or under. In the vale of Belvoir a considerable part of the land was uninclosed, and cultivated on the ancient three-course system, the inclosed portion having a four-course rotation of (1) wheat; (2) barley; (3) beans; (4) fallow.

The wages of labourers rose in the latter years of the 18th century, and in Nottinghamshire they were getting 1s. 4d. and 1s. 6d. a day, and for the three harvest months 2s. with beer.¹⁶ Threshing wheat was 4s. a quarter, barley 2s. 6d., oats 1s. 6d. Lowe says in his report: 'There are few counties in England where they (the labourers) will be found better lodged, clothed, or fed.' Yet as prices had risen greatly the rise in wages helped them little, and this was the commencement 'of the worst time in the history of agricultural labour, which lasted for twenty-five years.'¹⁷ In Nottinghamshire, however, there were many alleviations in the labourer's lot. Most of the cottagers had a garden and potato garth; there were few who did not supplement their earnings by spinning; and many, particularly in the clay district, had a few acres adjoining their dwellings which enabled them to keep a cow or two and some pigs.¹⁸

Nearly all the draught work on the farms was now done by horses, chiefly a 'midding kind of black cart-horse' improved lately by Leicestershire stallions, and oxen were only used on some of the larger estates. The most common plough was the Dutch swing plough, but in the vale of Belvoir the two-wheeled one was popular, and south of the Trent, near Nottingham, a one-wheeled plough with two horses. The kinds of wheat commonly sown were the 'red lammas,' 'Kentish or white chaffed,' and a bearded wheat called 'Yeogrove,' about two Winchester bushels (somewhat smaller than the imperial bushel) per acre being the ordinary amount, and this in the common fields yielded from 16 to 24 bushels per acre, and in the inclosed 20 to 32 bushels. Rye was little sown,

¹⁶ According to Thorold Rogers, *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, chap. 18, the average wages in England 1799-1803 were 10s. a week.

¹⁷ Thorold Rogers, op. cit. chap. 17.

¹⁸ Lowe, *Gen. View of Agric. of Notts.* 140. This contemporary account inclines one to accept Thorold Rogers's statement with considerable qualification.

¹⁴ Young, *Eastern Tour*, i, 150.

¹⁵ Marshall, *Rur. Econ. of Mid. Cos.* i, 24.

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'being scarce at all used for bread,' but a considerable quantity of barley was, and oats of various kinds, of which the chief were 'the Poland' and 'the Friesland Holland'; 80 bushels per acre of the latter being sometimes obtained, though the average crop was 32 to 56 bushels. Hops in 1798 were a considerable article of produce, principally about Retford and Southwell. They were known by the name of North Clay Hops, and were much stronger than the Kentish, but many said their flavour was too rank. Although the quantity was said to have diminished in the previous thirty years there were then from 1,100 to 1,400 acres of hopyards, chiefly on the strong clay and bog or black earth, in valleys and wet lands not very valuable for other purposes. The yield, however, was small: in the best years only 8 cwt. per acre, owing, however, not to the quality of the land but to the ignorance and poverty of the small planter. In 1905 there was not an acre of hops in the county, because foreign competition has stopped the growth of any but the best sorts.

The grass land was used more for grazing than dairying, yet most farmers kept a few milking cows of no particular breed, and there was a considerable amount of dairying along the Soar and in the towns on the south bank of the Trent, cheese being the chief product in the latter district. The cattle were of various kinds, Irish for feeding in some places, black cattle, the Longhorns, and some people had improved their stock by the famous Dishley breed, as much as 400 guineas having been given for a bull,¹⁹ a very high price then. The beasts reared in the clay district were generally of a poor coarse kind called the 'woodland beasts,' which some of the gentry and principal farmers were trying to improve. The chief sheep were the old forest breed (some horned), with grey faces and legs, whose wool was fine and averaged about 2 lb. to the fleece. They weighed about 8 lb. a quarter fat. In the vale of Trent sheep had been much improved by the introduction of rams of the Lincolnshire and New Leicestershire breeds,²⁰ and many breeders were spreading the improvement by letting out their rams. In the North Clays the sheep were a poor lot, a mixture of the forest and the Lincolnshire, though here too the New Leicestershire was being introduced with good results, which had also followed the same innovation in the vale of Belvoir. Pigs were little attended to, only enough being kept for home use, of the 'old

lop-eared sort' for bacon, and 'the Chinese dunky or swing-tailed sort' for pork. Poultry-rearing was also greatly neglected: fowls were of a bad breed, generally the game sort, reared as much for cock-fighting as for the table, and few turkeys or geese were kept.

The period of the great French War, 1793-1815, witnessed considerable inflation of prices; land sold far above its real value, the standard of living became unduly extravagant, rents were raised excessively, there was undue expenditure on buildings, and invaluable pasture was broken up to grow wheat, which sometimes sold for a guinea a bushel.²¹ With peace came the inevitable reaction from artificial prosperity, which however had been considerably discounted by the heavy taxation, and there was widespread distress among landlords, tenants, and labourers, though the last-named had had little share in the good times. So sudden was the change that in Nottinghamshire in 1816 rents had fallen from 10 to 30 per cent., and on one farm in the parish of Averham there had been a reduction of 50 per cent. The labourers were reported by various parishes to be in great distress for want of employment, and many were employed by overseers at low wages, and this raised the rates still higher than they were. Yet the farmers were saying that the labourers' wages were too high, though from 1811 to 1814 the average was 12s. 9d., and in the next four years they sank 17 per cent., whereas prices of provisions had risen enormously. Blacksmiths, whitesmiths, collar-makers, ropers, and carpenters, had during the war raised their prices threefold, and farmers now could not afford to pay them. In some parishes labourers were working for the farmers for 1s. a day, but as the overseer paid any further sum required for the maintenance of his family, the farmer gained little or nothing by this. In other parishes, men who had applied to the overseer for relief were let out by him to farmers for little more than their meat. According to the law of the time, some farmers were 'in confinement at the instance of their creditors.'²²

The remedies proposed by various farmers in the county, in answer to queries sent them by the Board of Agriculture, were to lower the rents still further, and the taxes, which during the war and for some time after were a most grievous burden, to prohibit imports, give a bounty on exports, and one recommends the nobility to stay at home, and presumably spend their income there. The distress lasted about twenty years, and the foundation of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1838 marks the turn of the tide, when a period of great progress commenced, in which the chief feature was the application of science to practice.

²¹ The highest price of wheat in England in modern history is that of Dec. 1800, £6 13s. 4d. a quarter. Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, i, 198.

²² *Agric. State of the Kingdom*, 1816, p. 250.

¹⁹ Bakewell was not so successful with cattle as with sheep; the Dishley breed of the former has disappeared. In 1795 Charles Colling's famous Durham ox weighed 3,024 lb. and sold for £140.

²⁰ The New Leicestershire, Bakewell's production, was based, it is supposed, on the old Leicestershire or Warwickshire crossed with the Ryeland.

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It was said in 1844²³ that no part of England had undergone so great a change for the better in the preceding half-century. In the western or sand district of Nottinghamshire, instead of vast tracts of waste land where only the rabbit browsed, nutritious pasture in the summer and fine crops of turnips in the winter furnished food for large flocks of sheep, and these were supplemented by fine crops of corn of the best quality. The farms were usually from 300 to 500 acres, some being considerably larger, and a few over 1,000 acres. The leader in this progress was the Duke of Portland, who did for Nottinghamshire what Lord Leicester did for Norfolk. He was one of the first to use bones for manure, and was always ready to make experiments in the interests of agriculture. He was an energetic tile-drainer, having the entire work done systematically at his own cost, and then charging a moderate percentage on the outlay. Many, however, of the owners of encumbered estates were unable to follow his example, with the result that their land went undrained, and on the same estates farm-buildings were imperfect and inconvenient. When the forest land was first broken up it was often nearly pure sand, or sand and gravel, yellow and unpromising to look at, and it did not assume the appearance that generally indicates fertility until it had been under cultivation for many years.

One of the main causes of the improved state of farming in Nottinghamshire was the introduction of the swede turnip by Colonel Mellish of Blyth, who distributed small portions of seed to the leading farmers, but owing to their ignorance of its cultivation the first results were most disappointing. No implement for slicing them was known, and they were regarded at first as a failure. However, slicing-machines were invented, drills were used for planting, and the swede was soon described as the 'sheet anchor of the farmer.' Another impetus to good farming was given by the use of bones, which is said to have changed the face of the western part of the county. As they were cheap, boning was overdone, and farmers had to look out for substitutes, with the result that a long list of artificial manures came into use.

The course of cropping in the western division then was the Norfolk, or four-course : (1) turnips; (2) barley; (3) seeds; (4) wheat. The early-sown turnips were generally ready to stock in September, when the lambs were turned on them. The most approved kinds of barley were the 'Welsh' or 'Chevalier,' 14 or 16 pecks per acre being used if sown by hand, and 12 pecks when drilled. Of red clover, 12 lb. was thought sufficient to the acre, with half a peck of ryegrass, or 10 lb. white clover with 2 lb. of ryegrass, 2 lb. of trefoil, and 2 pecks of dwarf rye-

grass. For the wheat crop 9 to 12 pecks were sown to the acre, nearly always Hunter's White, and 30 to 40 bushels was the result, in harvesting which the scythe had displaced the sickle. Mowing, taking up and binding the sheaves, and binding the rakings, cost 6s. to 8s. an acre. The farming in this division, the north and west, was in many respects superior to that in the south and east.

Nottinghamshire had for some time been famous for its superior breed of sheep, and in the middle of the 19th century the pure Leicestershire, or a cross between that and the Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, was the favourite, a few Southdowns being kept on the large estates. As much as 1,000 guineas had been paid for the hire of a ram for the season, and nearly all the farmers in the western district were sheep-breeders. Many persons then living could remember the time when forest farms of 300 acres, then supporting 500 to 700 sheep, could not maintain more than fifty. The breed formerly peculiar to the district, known as the Forest Sheep, was by this time nearly extinct. The cattle, with few exceptions, were Shorthorns, bred to a greater or less extent on most farms, the chief breeders being Earl Spencer, Mr. Parkinson, near Newark, and Mr. Watson of Walkeringham; and their efforts, with those of other less well-known breeders, had effected a great improvement in the last few years. But no animal had changed for the better so much as the pig, which, from being a long-eared, coarse-offaled animal, difficult to fatten and unpalatable to eat, had now become compact, with small ears, short snout, deep in the sides and thigh, and short in the leg.

Ploughing in the north-western division was done invariably by two horses abreast, of a more active kind than formerly, many of the mares of late having been crossed by a Cleveland stallion brought into the county by Mr. Watson of Walkeringham, a great supporter of agriculture. In the south-eastern or clay district, it is interesting to learn that in 1844 there were several of the old open fields still in existence.²⁴ Ploughing was here done by three or four horses in line, and the common plough all over the county was the swing-plough, the wheel-plough only being used on the borders of Leicestershire.

The farms were as a rule much smaller in the clay district than in the sand, the most common size being from 70 to 150 acres, and throughout the county they were nearly all held by tenants at will who had no wish for leases, as the confidence between the tenant and the landowner, especially the large landowner, was complete. The live stock in the south-eastern division had undergone as much improvement as in the north-western, and the cattle, of which there were a greater number in the former, had attained a standard of great excellence. Among manures

²³ *Roy. Agric. Soc. Engl. Journ.* (1st Ser.), vi, 2.

²⁴ *Roy. Agric. Soc. Engl. Journ.* (1st Ser.), vi, 24.

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shoddy was a comparative novelty, used for turnips and wheat; so was guano, and nitrate of soda, which had been a failure, and its fate was said to be sealed. Every farmer now used the threshing-machine instead of the flail, with a great saving of expense, and on most large farms there were fixed machines. Among implements then in favour was the horse-rake, 'lately introduced from Yorkshire,' and used for raking barley.

The question of allotments for labourers was then, as to-day, much discussed, and they were looked on favourably by most people in the county, not only as improving the condition of the poor, but as relieving the classes above them by diminishing pauperism. The Duke of Newcastle had in 1844 let 2,000 allotments, chiefly near the towns and villages, with most satisfactory results. Wages were higher than in most parts outside the county; even with the then depressed prices 2s. a day was given, and sometimes 2s. 3d., while at task work in summer a man could earn 3s.; cottage rents were from £2 10s. to £5 per annum.

One of the greatest improvements of the first half of the 19th century was the Duke of Portland's water-meadows. These, extending in 1844 to 300 acres over a distance of 7 miles in length, watered by the River Mann, had been constructed at a cost of £40,000, and had raised the annual value of the land enormously. The net profit was then computed at nearly £12 an acre a year, and they also conferred great benefit on the arable land adjoining. The tract irrigated was formerly a succession of barren hill-sides covered with gorse and heath, the bottoms being swamps filled with rushes. The water of the Mann, charged with the sewage of Mansfield, was confined within a new bed at a higher level along the hillsides. The ground was then well under-drained and cleared of inequalities, and laid out for letting on and taking off the enriching waters. These, after flowing over the surface of one side of the valley, were received into a brook, from which some miles further down they were passed over meadows on the opposite side of the valley. The water was laid on at all seasons of the year, and a barren waste converted into rich meadow-land. Another great improvement of the first half of the 19th century was the draining by means of steam power of the 6,000 acres of reclaimed bog-land, a portion of the vast morass once known as the 'Level of Hatfield Chase.' Previous to this the land, which had never been cultivated before the beginning of the century, was so boggy that in many parts no horse could be used for ploughing it. In 1850 the rich lands between Newark and Nottingham ranged from 35s. to 65s. an acre, and in the neighbourhood of the latter town land was worth as much as £4 an acre.

On a farm of 300 acres 4 miles south of Nottingham, the average wheat crop was 46

bushels per acre, of barley 65, and of beans 42. Swedes were generally 24 tons and mangolds 32 tons to the acre, these good crops being obtained mainly by liberal supplies of dung and shoddy.

It was the custom on many of the larger farms to provide the head man with a large-sized cottage and garden, rent-free, he undertaking to lodge and board the unmarried workmen. The wages of this foreman were from £25 to £30 a year, and he was allowed 1s. a day for the board of each man, with stated quantities of milk, fuel, pork, and malt for himself and the others yearly. The yearly wages for men boarded either in this way or in the farm-house were in 1861 from £13 to £18, and the men were generally well satisfied with either system. Where the men had to 'find themselves,' wages for the ordinary labourer in the same year on a good farm were about 15s. a week and a quart of table-beer a day, and a man with his family had no difficulty in earning £1 a week. Cottage rents were low, £2 12s. to £4 a year, the lowest rents being paid on the large estates. As an instance of the beneficial results flowing from the alteration of the Poor Law system a village containing 1,500 acres may be quoted where in 1836 the rates exceeded 2s. an acre, but in 1860 had decreased to 5½d.; yet in Nottinghamshire before the repeal of the old law there was a general determination to find work for labourers, and rely as little as possible on relief from the rates.

The soil of the ancient Forest of Sherwood is as a rule a very light sandy loam, poor and hungry, and forest farms are therefore characterized by the extensive use of cake and artificial manures to provide food for the crops. We will take a large farm of 550 acres in the forest district in 1868 as an example of farming there when agriculture was extremely prosperous. Only 20 acres were in grass, and the rotation was the Norfolk four-course shift generally prevailing in the forest, but subject to varieties owing to land becoming turnip-sick, or to the paucity of the grass, or to some of the land being more adapted for wheat than for barley. For wheat the land was manured with from 8 to 10 loads of farmyard manure per acre a short time before ploughing, and the land was ploughed 4½ in. to 5 in. deep, pressed and sown broadcast without delay with 9 or 10 pecks to the acre, usually of 'Hunter's White.' There was generally a top dressing of 1½ cwt. of guano, and from 4 cwt. to 5 cwt. of salt in the spring, and then the land was harrowed. Horse and hand-hoeing was done by day work, or the latter let at from 2s. to 3s. an acre. For harvest a large number of extra labourers, including many Irish, were employed, as many as ninety or a hundred men being set to work at once. No less than 130 acres would be devoted to roots,

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and 100 acres of this area would be in swedes, only 10 in white turnips, and 20 in potatoes. These received 8 loads of farmyard manure and 2 cwt. of guano per acre. Hoing twice and singling cost 6s. per acre. Most of the swedes were consumed on the land by sheep with cake, and about a fifth hauled for the feeding beasts. As soon as the roots were off the land was scarified, or lightly ploughed to prevent the manure being washed off the surface. Spring ploughing was done from March to the first week in April about 5 in. deep, when nine or ten pecks per acre of Chevalier barley were drilled. Seeds were either sown with the barley or immediately after it was in, the mixture for pasture being 11 lb. White Dutch, 3 lb. trefoil, $\frac{1}{2}$ peck perennial rye-grass to the acre; the proportion of land sown with red clover being about one-half.

The sheep generally kept in the forest at this time were half Leicester and half Lincoln, and the number of breeding ewes on the farm described above was 300; and during the winter as many as 1,000 sheep were kept. No cattle were bred on this farm, but between twenty and thirty yearlings were annually bought to graze the seeds, and fed off in stalls as two-year-olds; and in the autumn a number of beasts were brought to consume the straw, 8 lb. of oil-cake being allowed them per day. There were usually 50 pigs of the small white breed, sold off at a year old, when they weighed 20 stone.

The first agricultural returns of any value issued by the Board of Trade appeared in 1867, those of 1866 being in one or two respects misleading, and by these the total area of statute acres in the county is given as 526,076, of which 427,273 were under cultivation; 282,124 being arable and 145,149 pasture, the latter excluding heath or mountain land. The number of horses was not stated, but there were 65,574 cattle, 319,707 sheep, and 39,273 pigs.

Farm labourers in the forest in 1868 got from 13s. to 15s. a week and no extras as a rule, a shepherd 14s. a week with a cottage and garden rent-free, and an allowance for potatoes, £1 in harvest time, the same for lambing, also 2 bushels of malt a year and some milk from the farm-house every day. Some hands were boarded by the foreman, and some in the farm-houses.

About 1878 the period of agricultural prosperity which had set in with the gold discoveries of 1849 to 1851 came to an end. The decade ending with 1862 was probably the most prosperous ever enjoyed by English farmers, and this halcyon time continued with little abatement for another sixteen years, when the decline definitely commenced. Yet until 1883 prices kept up fairly well; wheat, perhaps the best criterion of farming values, was 41s. 7d. in that year; but in 1884 it had fallen to 35s. 8d., in 1886 to

31s., and in 1894 to 22s. 10d.²⁶ Since then it has recovered, but has generally been below 30s. a quarter, and the prices of other farm produce have fallen greatly with it. The depression which has now lasted a generation is from its severity and long continuance the worst that has affected British agriculture; large numbers of landowners and farmers have been ruined, more perhaps of the former, while the labourer on the other hand is better off to-day than he ever was.

The terrible rains of 1879 and 1880 will long be remembered in the midland, western, and southern counties of England, when the land was utterly water-logged, to the detriment of the herbage, the imperfect maturing of grain, and the prevalence of mould, ergot, and flukes. In Nottinghamshire many of the large flocks on the red gravel and sandy land escaped, but other districts were not so fortunate. At Kelham, near Newark, all the sheep died or had to be killed owing to flukes. Of a flock grazing on low land at Bulwell regularly flooded by the River Lien not one escaped. These instances on low damp land could be multiplied many times; but on good dry land there was little rot, and salt and dry food were found most efficacious in staving off the disease.²⁶ As a whole, however, the county did not suffer as much as many, for in 1878 the number of sheep was returned as 279,949, and in June 1880 it was 258,120, no very striking diminution.²⁷

The agricultural returns for the year 1880 were fuller than in previous years, and give interesting figures as to Nottinghamshire. The total area was returned at 526,176 acres, of which 450,862 were under crops, bare fallow and grass, a considerable increase since 1867.

The corn crops consisted of:—

Wheat acres	Barley acres	Oats acres	Rye acres	Beans acres	Peas acres
63,587	47,239	23,452	1,489	8,771	4,624

a total of 149,162 acres.

According to these figures there was no change worthy of note in the cultivation of corn in the county since 1878.

Green crops were:—

Potatoes	Turnips & Swedes	Mangolds	Carrots	Cabbage, Kohl-rabi & Rape	Vetches & other green crops
6,100	35,791	4,458	214	1,093	4,178

a total of 51,834 acres.

Clover, sainfoin, and grasses under rotation occupied 55,771 acres, flax 7, hops 29, bare fallow 24,232, making a grand total of 281,035

²⁶ In 1877 wheat was 56s. 9d. a quarter, the last occasion on which it was more than 50s.

²⁶ 'Report on Liver Rot' in *Roy. Agric. Soc. Journ.* (2nd Ser.), xvii, 174.

²⁷ *Agric. Returns for Great Britain, 1878 and 1880.*

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acres of arable land, and 169,827 acres were permanent pasture.

The live stock consisted of:—

Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
20,348	77,619	258,120	23,026

One thousand seven hundred and twenty acres of the arable or grass land were also planted with orchards, 515 acres were devoted to market gardens, and 25,998 were in woods and plantations.

The number of the various holdings in the county according to acreage was:—

50 acres & under	From 50 to 100 acres	From 100 to 300 acres	From 300 to 500 acres	From 500 to 1,000 acres
6,101	731	1,105	205	74

and there were 7 holdings of over 1,000 acres.

When we come still nearer to our own day, about 1888, the breed of cattle prevailing generally in the county was the Shorthorn; where they were reared good bulls were used, and the produce naturally improved. The large winter graziers, however, bought great numbers of Irish bullocks at York. The sheep were principally Leicesters, or Lincolns crossed with Leicester

portion of the county they found much distress and depreciation, although the greater part of the permanent grass is in this district. Hedges all through the county were very good and well kept, but it was doubtful if the drainage of the wetter soils was continuing to be improved at the rate that had prevailed during the century. The Nottinghamshire farmer has a well-founded faith in the feeding value of oats for almost all kinds of stock, and for long grew crops of skegs, that is very thin and light oats, on the worst lands, though they are now perhaps going out of fashion.

By 1888 rents generally speaking had been reduced, owing to the depression of the preceding ten years, about 25 or 30 per cent. In the farm prize competition of that year the first prize farm occupied by Mr. S. C. Machin, at Papplewick, Nottinghamshire, of 522 acres, of which 61 were grass, was stated to return a net profit of £3 1s. per acre, and the following are some particulars of its management:—

Cattle, including calves in hand in February . . .	72
" " " " " July	6
Sheep in hand in February	9
" " including lambs in July	41
Number of draught horses at work	10

DR.		CR.	
Rent, tithes, rates, taxes, &c.	£ 278	Corn, hay, potatoes, and like produce sold	655
Paid in wages	387	Live stock, poultry, dairy produce, and wool sold	4,941
Purchase of cake, corn, seeds, manure, &c.	688		
Purchase of live stock	2,654		
	<u>£4,007</u>	Profit	£1,589.
			<u>£5,596</u>

rams, but pure Shropshires were being increasingly bred, as well as a cross between them and the white faces. The Shire breed of cart-horses was in good favour, owing to the revival of trade in them, and the farmers of the vale of Belvoir were, as they had long been, famous for their success with them.

The western division of the county, including the whole of the light and sandy forest district, was then, and is to-day, let for the most part in large holdings as compared with the rest of the county, the worst land in the larger occupations, but well farmed in spite of bad times. The chief feature of the farming on these light soils is the great expenditure of skill, capital, and labour on the cultivation of the root crop, and its well-deserved success. The judges of the farm prize competition in 1888 expressed their surprise at the root crops 'clear in skin, superb in quality, marvellously level in size, growing in some cases on land looking dear at 10s. per acre rent.'²⁸ On the clays and stiff loams of the south-east

However, on another farm of 570 acres, about half arable and half grass, the net profit per acre was 18s. 6d., and on another of 433 acres, 155 in grass, 12s., and yet another returned no profit at all. The labour bill for the Machins' farm was extremely low, 15s. an acre, yet this was owing to good management and not to bad pay, as the labourers were receiving 16s. and 17s. a week, a price above the average of the district.

In 1905, owing to bad times, the acreage under crops and grass had diminished since 1880 to a total of 445,383 acres, made up as follows:—

Corn crops, 117,217 acres, consisting of:—

Wheat acres	Barley acres	Oats acres	Rye acres	Beans acres	Peas acres
38,291	30,106	37,427	2,723	3,813	4,857

Green crops, 49,031 acres divided into:—

Potatoes acres	Turnips & Swedes acres	Mangolds acres	Cabbage, Kohl-rabi & rape acres	Vetches or Tares acres	Other crops acres
7,946	28,625	6,457	1,809	2,095	2,099

²⁸ Roy. Agric. Soc. Engl. Journ. (2nd Ser.), xxiv, 532.

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Clover, sainfoin, and grasses under rotation comprised 53,031 acres; there were also 14 acres of flax, 973 of small fruit, and 9,309 of bare fallow, but not a single acre of hops.

In all there were 229,575 acres of arable, and 215,808 of permanent pasture.

The diminution in the crops of wheat, barley, and beans, and the increase in oats and in pasture, is common to most counties since the period of agricultural depression commenced.

The live stock in the same year numbered:—

Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
23,241	85,908	167,995	30,235

a considerable increase in cattle and an extraordinary decrease in sheep.

The acreage in orchards has grown considerably in the last quarter of a century, there being in 1905 2,481 acres of arable or grass-land planted with fruit trees.

The following statistics of the Board of Agriculture for the same year are also interesting: 390,864 acres in the county were occupied by tenants, and 54,519 by owners. From the table of the number of holdings grouped according to acreage it will be seen that the tendency towards amalgamation, which has been evident all through the history of English agriculture, has been strongly marked in the last quarter of a century:—

50 acres and under ²⁹	From 50 to 300 acres	Above 300	Average size of holding
4,809	2,070	241	62.6

And it will be noticed there is also since 1880 a decrease in the largest holdings. Woods and plantations increased in the same period to 30,433 acres.

The Board of Agriculture has carefully compiled the average yields per acre of various crops in the different counties in England, and compares them with the average yield for England for the period 1895 to 1904. According to these figures Nottinghamshire crops are below the average, except hay cut from permanent pasture.³⁰

Bushels per acre	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Peas
Notts . . .	27.97	31.21	36.22	24.23	25.15
England . . .	30.53	32.58	40.71	27.39	26.36

Tons per acre	Potatoes	Turnips & Swedes	Mangolds
Notts	4.73	11.53	18.37
England	5.84	11.91	18.39

Cwt. per acre	Hay from grasses under rotation	Hay from permanent grass
Notts	27.76	23.78
England	28.79	23.61

²⁹ Of these 1,487 were above 1 and not exceeding 5 acres.

³⁰ The average yield per acre of wheat in Scotland for the same period was 37.72 bushels, of oats 36.43.

Nottinghamshire has felt the full effect of the agricultural depression which set in thirty years ago. When Mr. Rider Haggard visited the county in 1901 he found land that had fetched £70 an acre in the 'seventies' selling at £30 to £45, and rents had fallen 40 per cent. in the south-east and even more in some localities. The picture he painted was dark in the extreme, the agricultural interest was going steadily downhill, several leading agents and farmers were of the opinion that agriculture pure and simple had no future, and only paid when combined with dealing or petite culture, and on a farm of 1,000 acres in the forest district, where the occupier employed a capital of £14,000, he had for several years only made one per cent. on his money. Few of the old stamp of tenants were left, and though there were few failures, farmers were living from hand to mouth, and one with a long head and a long purse said 'I made money, now I'm losing it, and I'm going out before I lose more. There is no prospect.'³¹

It cannot be said, writing in 1908, that these gloomy predictions have been fulfilled. Rents still remain down, and in some districts have been reduced slightly in the last few years; but prices have risen a little and farmers still seem to make a fair living even out of agriculture pure and simple. Near Bingham, for instance, there has been considerable improvement during the last ten years, farms are now in fairly good order, there are plenty of applications for any farm that comes to hand, and no farms are to let, while generally speaking there has been no decided deterioration in their cultivation. Rents generally have been reduced about 30 per cent. since 1878, though on the clay lands they have often fallen 50 per cent. and the average rent of arable land in the latter is 12s. an acre, though permanent pasture lets at from 20s. to 40s. The light soils near Retford fetch about 15s. an acre for tillage, and 20s. for permanent pasture. North of Mansfield tillage lets at from 15s. to 25s. and permanent pasture at from 30s. to 60s., the latter price, however, being for 'accommodation' land; in the loamy soils near Wollaton, 22s. an acre all round is about the present price; near Southwell about £1 an acre.

Farms, apart from what are commonly called small holdings, vary in size from 150 to 500 acres, though there are few of the latter figure, and most of them to-day are between 150 and 300 acres, the majority following the four-course rotation of crops with variations according to soil and locality. Nearly all are let on yearly agreements, and from Lady-Day, some few from Michaelmas. The grass-land is fairly divided between grazing and dairying, a considerable amount of Stilton cheese being made in the neighbourhood of Bingham, but except in the Trent valley there is little good feeding land in the

³¹ Rider Haggard, *Rur. Engl.* ii, 280.

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county. The Shorthorn, pure or cross-bred, is almost universally used for the dairy with, in some places, a few Lincoln Reds, and the same two breeds are most in favour with graziers, the former being the favourite, the best all-round animal. Very few farmers breed any horses except for their own use, but the limited supply of hunters and hacks here as elsewhere helps to keep up the price. The Lincoln is without doubt the favourite sheep in Nottinghamshire, frequently crossed with the Hampshire or sometimes the Oxford, but year by year an increasing number of the Border sheep are bought, known locally as Baumshires, but really a first cross between Cheviots and Border Leicesters, and these are crossed again with Hampshires. In pigs, the large white seems generally preferred, though there are many middle whites, Berkshires, Tamworths, and crossbreds.

In spite of fallen rents and increased taxation, landowners have as a rule kept the farm-houses and buildings in a good state, often at great cost to themselves, the county being fortunate in the possession of a number of public-spirited landlords. There are in most parts sufficient cottages with fair accommodation, and near Edwinstowe it is curious to hear of many isolated ones standing empty and going to ruin; on the other hand near Bingham there are always half a dozen applicants for any cottage that is to let. Their rent varies from £2 to £7 a year, but there are more at from £4 to £5 in the purely agricultural districts, the highest rents being near the collieries; often cottages are let with the farms and not separately rented. Mr. Rider Haggard found the labour question the blackest of all; men would not milk, and some farmers consequently were compelled to give up their cows; in one village nearly the whole of the young people had gone, and everywhere the young men were deserting the country. To-day the outlook is not quite so bad; several districts report the labour supply as sufficient, except during prosperous times in the collieries, when men rush off thither; in others it is, however, very deficient: as for the quality, the universal opinion is that it has deteriorated, there are few skilled workmen, and the present system of education, from an agricultural point of view, has done more harm than good judging by its results. The boys are kept at school too long and do not take to farm-work as easily as when they started younger, they are not 'broken in' soon enough, and prefer the glamour of the pavement.

Yet the wages generally paid in the county

are high, and with the low cottage rents, and the good gardens, a man would on the whole be as well off as in the town, and much healthier. At Ruddington the late Mr. Charles Paget initiated the half-time system to counteract the effect of too much school, with great success. He duplicated the boys on his farm so that each spent a day at school and a day on the farm, and they are said to have become capable farmers, while at the same time their schoolwork did not suffer. The ordinary labourer earns from 15s. to 20s. a week; with the lower wage often getting a cottage in addition, and there are various extras in harvest-time. A carter or a shepherd earns from 18s. to £1 a week, generally with a cottage rent-free, and extras for harvest and lambing. Very few itinerant Irish labourers come over for the harvest, although it is not so long since they crossed in numbers; and the employment of women in field-work has fortunately decreased largely, many now refusing to turn out when asked.

Allotments are not much in favour in the county, especially in agricultural districts where a good garden is better for the man and his employer; but they are a good 'stand by' for colliers and artisans when trade is irregular. Where there are small holdings, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, they are from one to fifty acres, held at a rent of from 20s. to 30s. an acre; but the men who occupy them as a rule are not agricultural labourers, but men who do carting, small tradesmen, dealers, and others. The yeoman class, who farm their own land, have gone on steadily decreasing, and now in some districts have completely disappeared; yet in one village at least, near Bingham, men are still farming their own land that has been handed down to them from their forefathers.

Like other counties, Nottinghamshire has been active in the formation of agricultural societies. Besides the county society there are several local ones, such as those of Newark, Mansfield, Bassetlaw, the Welbeck Tenants, Clumber Tenants, and Moorgreen Tenants, and others, all doing valuable work. In agricultural education also the county is abreast of the times, nearly all the instruction in this direction being carried out through the Midland Agricultural and Dairy College, which is also supported by Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and the Lindsey division of Lincolnshire. Among other work experiments are carried out on different farms, with the satisfactory result that the demand for more is steadily increasing.

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HUNTING

FOXHOUNDS

THE record of Nottinghamshire as a foxhunting county is one of the most ancient in the kingdom, and its popularity in this respect is as great to-day as at any period of its past history. If a good deal of it would not satisfy the expectations of the Leicestershire man, its sporting possibilities are great, and in the way of variety it has almost everything to offer. In its time the county has produced many whose names in the hunting world are as household words, and among the masters of its packs may be found some of the greatest of those whose names are inscribed upon the scroll of hunting fame. To mention only a few of them—there are the Musters, who between them—father, son, and great-grandson—hunted the South Nottinghamshire country for the greater part of a century; the Foljambes, whose history is so closely connected with the early fortunes of the Rufford and Grove countries; the Earls of Scarbrough, famous for their associations with the same packs; the Viscounts Galway, who presided over the destinies of the pack so long, and until quite lately, known by their name; Lord Henry Bentinck, Mr. Lancelot Rolleston, Mr. Osbaldeston, and many more. In their early days the history of the three great Nottinghamshire packs is much the same, and in later times they have perpetually been connected by family ties and associations.

THE RUFFORD

The early history of the Rufford country is concerned as much, or more, with the chase of the deer as with foxhunting, and it is very certain that this part of Nottinghamshire has been the home of hounds of one sort and another for at least two and a half centuries past. Theophilus, fourth Earl of Lincoln, is credited with

having hunted here in the middle of the 17th century, and fifty years later Lord Castleton had hounds of some description, which probably divided their attention between fox and deer. At a later date, up to about 1790, the Rufford country was included in the territory of the Earls of Scarbrough, and Mr. Francis Foljambe seems to have had a share in it, as well as in what was subsequently known as Viscount Galway's country. Lord Castleton appears to have hunted the country for about fifteen seasons, till his death in 1723, and it was then that the Earls of Scarbrough came on the scene.

Mr. Francis Foljambe is said to have taken over the Grove (afterwards Viscount Galway's) country in 1788, and it is certain that before this date he had a controlling interest in the Rufford country. His was a long reign, at any rate, and he no doubt had a share in any and every pack that hunted within reach, for he was by all accounts an indefatigable sportsman. This Mr. Francis Foljambe was the grandfather of Mr. George Savile Foljambe, who guided the destinies of the Grove pack from 1822 to 1845.

It is not till we come to the year 1834 that any precise information as to the Rufford country is forthcoming, the dates mentioned above being all more or less approximate. The three divisions of country now known respectively as Earl Fitzwilliam's (Grove), Lord Harrington's (South Nottinghamshire), and the Rufford, were doubtless all regarded as one in earlier days, and possibly other countries, since divided, were included as well. Lord Harrington's territory is mentioned as having been hunted by the fourth Earl of Lincoln in conjunction with the Rufford country, and this state of things must have prevailed till an effort was made early in the last century by Lord Henry Bentinck to mark out a country for himself. During this period he formed a pack of hounds and began to hunt fox in the forest district. After two seasons he gave it up, however, and was succeeded by the sixth Viscount

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Galway, who left in 1838. By this time the boundaries of the Rufford Hunt were well defined, and they have remained practically the same ever since.

At this period there comes a gap in the history of the pack, no one being forthcoming to take over the mastership for a space of three seasons. At the end of that time, in 1841, Captain Percy Williams began his long reign of twenty years' mastership. He had the assistance of the Saviles of Rufford Park, and new kennels were erected here at the beginning of Captain Williams' career. Whether the old pack was still in existence it is impossible to say. It had probably been broken up at the end of Viscount Galway's mastership in 1838. At any rate during Captain Williams' stay the establishment of the Rufford was for the first time put upon a sound foundation, and fresh blood was introduced from all the neighbouring kennels of repute.

By the time that he relinquished the mastership Captain Williams' pack had become famous all over the country, and buyers from every part attended the sale by Tattersall's in April 1860, when the hounds were dispersed for a sum not far short of £3,000. Among the notable purchasers was Lord Fitzwilliam, who bought ten couples for £550 and other lots as well, making in the aggregate a purchase of some £1,400. The Honourable Mark Rolle also secured some good hounds, which helped to lay the foundation of his pack; and the Honourable Ernest Duncombe, subsequently created Earl of Feversham, who was at that time master of the Bedale, was another considerable purchaser.

Major Welfitt, who succeeded Captain Percy Williams in 1861, had to begin all over again, and at once set to work with drafts from noted packs, including the Belvoir, the Cottismore, and the Duke of Buccleuch's. With this pack he hunted the country for seven seasons, being succeeded by Mr. T. Harvey Bayly in 1867. The new master found himself in the same position as his predecessor, the hounds having once more been dispersed. He therefore secured drafts from the kennels of the Belvoir, Atherstone, and Fitzwilliam, among others, and gradually built up a sound pack, which during his five years of mastership attained a high state of efficiency and won for themselves a great reputation.

In 1872 Mr. Bayly retired and was succeeded by Mr. J. L. Francklin, who only remained for a single season. After him came Mr. J. J. Barrow with another short period of mastership, his stay only lasting from 1873 to 1875. Then came that good Sussex sportsman, Mr. Charles A. Egerton, who had held the mastership of the East Sussex for the previous five years, the first two of which were spent in partnership with Mr. W. E. M. Watts. Mr. Egerton stayed with the Rufford for five seasons and eventually returned to his old love, the East Sussex, with

which he put in two further periods of mastership—by himself from 1884 to 1893, and with that other hard rider, the Honourable T. A. Brassey, from 1899 to 1902.

After Mr. Egerton's retirement in 1880 Mr. A. Legard took hold for a season, and then Mr. T. Harvey Bayly resumed control once more, his return being welcomed with enthusiasm by his many previous supporters. The quality of the pack had been well maintained during the period that intervened between Mr. Bayly's two periods of mastership, but the old master spared no expense on his return in introducing new blood, of which he felt that his kennel was by this time in need. New drafts were brought in from the South Nottinghamshire, the Brocklesby, and the Fitzwilliam, and with the help of these importations the fame of the pack rose even higher than before. Among the more famous hounds bred by Mr. Bayly were Galliard and Ganymede, both, we believe, out of the litter got by Oakley Rhymer out of Gipsy, the latter bred in Mr. Charles Egerton's time by Belvoir General out of Bounty, a bitch with Brocklesby and Belvoir blood in her veins.

Mr. Bayly's death in 1889 deprived the pack of a master who had done more for the Rufford than any of his predecessors, and no two men of the period could have been more justly proud of their kennel than were Mr. Bayly and his huntsman Sam Hayes. The unexpected gap was filled for a single season by Mr. Lancelot Rolleston, and upon his retirement in 1900 the vacant post was occupied by Earl Manvers of Thoresby Park, who succeeded to the title in the same year. Since that time and up to the present his lordship has shown capital sport with the assistance of his successive huntsmen, Tom Ashley and Alfred Capon.

As at present constituted (1908) the Rufford pack consists of fifty couples of hounds, meeting three times a week, with kennels at Wellow, near Ollerton. Alfred Capon, the present huntsman, has been with the pack since 1903, when he was appointed second whip. He became first whip in 1906, and huntsman in 1907 in succession to T. Ashley; the whippers-in are H. Land and G. Thorne. Land joined the pack as second whip in 1906, and succeeded G. Travis as first whip the following season.

The Rufford country lies chiefly in Nottinghamshire, but runs into the adjoining county of Derby, where it meets the territory of the Barlow. To the south are the Earl of Harrington's, to the south-east the Belvoir, to the east the Blankney, and to the north Earl Fitzwilliam's (Grove). It is a wide piece of country in proportion to its length from north to south, and covers, roughly speaking, an area of some three hundred square miles. The Nottinghamshire side of the territory is a fence and ditch country, and a strong horse with good jumping powers is needed. In

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this part the going is heavy in wet weather, the land being mostly clay. There are extensive coverts and the fences are strong, many of them being of the stake and binder description, while the numerous ditches require a good deal of negotiation. More galloping is to be had on the Derbyshire side, where the country is for the most part open with flying fences. On this side there is plenty of grassland, which affords some of the best of going, and a fast horse with ability to jump is the most useful. Mr. F. Armstrong of Mansfield is the honorary secretary.

THE SOUTH NOTTS

The destinies of the South Notts, or, as it is now called, Lord Harrington's Hunt, were bound up with that sporting family, the Musters, for over a century of its long and honourable history, for the country was originally founded on business lines by Mr. John Musters in the year 1775. More than a hundred years before that time, however, the South Nottinghamshire country had been included in that immense area over which the fourth Earl of Lincoln held sway, but it can hardly be claimed that the sport of that period has any particular connexion with present-day foxhunting so far as concerns Lord Harrington's territory. History is silent for the space of more than a century prior to 1775, and we may safely conclude that if the country was hunted at all no organized pack of foxhounds was in existence.

But from 1775 onwards the history of the South Nottinghamshire country is fairly clear, and with the exception of a break of about fifteen years—from 1845 to 1860—it has always maintained a pack of foxhounds of considerable fame. Mr. John Musters, the great-grandfather of the noted John Chaworth Musters, hunted his pack for a period of thirty years, and when his son, John Musters the second, succeeded him in 1805, the family interest in fox-hunting was well maintained. Between the years 1805 and 1845 Mr. John Musters occupied the position of master for a period, off and on, of over a quarter of a century.

His first mastership lasted from 1805 to 1810, when he sold the hounds and gave up the country. During his term of office he had greatly improved the already good pack of hounds that his father had left him, and it is not quite certain what the country did for a pack during the next four seasons. After Mr. Musters gave up, Mr. George Osbaldeston took hold for a time, but the hunt seems to have been in no very flourishing condition until Mr. Musters again came to the rescue in or about the year 1814. He then set to work to form a fresh pack, with which he hunted the country for some seasons. From 1821 to 1827, however, we find him in the Pytchley country, to which he is said to have

transported his pack bodily, selling them afterwards to Lord Middleton. According to one account Mr. Musters stayed with the South Nottinghamshire till 1823, but whether this be so or not, he was succeeded by Mr. L. Rolleston in that year, and for four more seasons the pack managed to exist without him.

Once more—in 1827—Mr. Musters came back to his original country and stayed for eight seasons, the sixth Lord Middleton coming on the scene in or about the year 1835. It is not quite certain whether Mr. Musters sold his pack to Lord Middleton at this time or at an earlier date, but Lord Middleton was hunting a pack of his own in his own country from 1832 to 1834. These were hounds which he had bought of Sir Tatton Sykes in the former year, and it does not seem likely that he brought them away with him, for Sir Tatton again took over Lord Middleton's country in 1834. Probably, therefore, the sale of Mr. Musters' hounds to Lord Middleton took place in that year. After Lord Middleton came Mr. Dansey, and then Mr. Musters entered upon his fourth and last term of mastership, which lasted for five seasons—from 1840 to 1845.

At this point occurred the interregnum of sixteen seasons, during which the country must have suffered considerably. Throughout that long time nobody came forward to revive the past glories of the hunt, and it seemed as though the country would remain vacant for ever. At length, however, another member of the Musters family came to the rescue, Mr. John Chaworth Musters establishing a new pack in 1860 and controlling the country for eight seasons. When he handed over the reins of management to Mr. J. L. Francklin in 1868 the hunt was firmly established once more, and he left behind him a pack of even greater excellence than that which had been hunted by his great-grandfather. Mr. Musters purchased several good drafts at sales, notably in 1862 when the pack of Mr. Tom Drake was dispersed, and the Colwick kennels at the time of his departure boasted some of the best blood in the kingdom.

In 1868 Mr. Musters went to the Quorn, taking his pack with him; and he showed some remarkable sport in that country before his return to the South Nottinghamshire in 1871. Meanwhile, Mr. Francklin had been hunting the latter country with a pack of his own, but on Mr. Musters' return hounds were kennelled at Annesley and were hunted from there for a period of five years. In 1876 Mr. Chaworth Musters' second mastership came to an end, his successors being Mr. P. H. Cooper and Mr. Lancelot Rolleston, who built new kennels at Gedling near Nottingham. The partnership lasted for five seasons, Mr. Cooper retiring in 1881, after which Mr. Rolleston kept on the hounds for one more season. During this time

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the pack had been further improved by the introduction of fresh blood from the York and Ainsty, the Ledbury, and other hunts, and in 1882 the Earl of Harrington purchased the whole establishment from Mr. Rolleston. Since then his lordship has maintained the excellence of the pack quite in accordance with its old traditions, and there is no more popular master in the whole of England. Some of his country is decidedly difficult, and it would tax the ingenuity of any but a native of the district to show good sport in the big woodland districts.

Lord Harrington hunts hounds himself, and has some sixty couples, which meet five days a week, kennelled at Gedling near Nottingham. Until the season 1907-8 the master had the assistance of a professional huntsman, his last being German Shepherd. The new arrangement involves the engagement of three whips, Fred Earp (who has lately joined the pack), G. Travers and E. Jolland.

Lord Harrington's country lies chiefly in Nottinghamshire, extending into Derbyshire on the west side. To the south are the Quorn, whose committee lend a strip of their country to his lordship who hunts it twice a week. On the north-west the Barlow territory adjoins, and the Rufford are to the north. The Belvoir country joins Lord Harrington's boundary on the east side, and the Meynell are to the south-west. Roughly speaking, the country extends over between 400 and 500 square miles. The greater part of it lies to the north-west of the Trent, and this portion is hilly with some heavy land and extensive woodlands. On the other side of the river the land is of a more even character, and affords heavy going after rain. Some of the best of the woodland country is in the Oxton Forest neighbourhood. There are not very many stiff fences, but a well-built horse with plenty of bone and muscle is needed for the hilly part of the country. A moderate jumper will usually suffice. The honorary secretaries of the hunt are Lieut.-Colonel Birken of Basford, and Mr. John Ford, King's Walk, Nottingham.

THE GROVE

The early history of the pack, known as Viscount Galway's up to the year 1906, and since then as Earl Fitzwilliam's (Grove), is very vague, but it is generally supposed that the hunt as at present constituted was not in existence until 1827. There had been hunting of sorts in these parts for years before that, but there seems to have been no regular pack of foxhounds until the latter part of the 18th century. Before that time the packs of these parts had hunted anything—stag, fox, or whatever they could find.

In the later years of the 18th century we

meet with the name of Mr. Francis Foljambe, who was the father of the famous Mr. George Savile Foljambe, a subsequent master of the pack. After Mr. Francis Foljambe's death in the early years of the last century the hounds were taken over by Lord Thanet, of Osberton, for the space of three seasons, and in 1807 he sold the establishment to Richard, sixth Earl of Scarborough, who held the mastership from 1807 till 1822. In the latter year Lord Scarborough came to an arrangement with Mr. George Savile Foljambe to hunt the country, but the hounds did not actually pass out of his possession until some years later, when a re-arrangement of the country was made.

From 1832 to 1837 there was a dual mastership and a temporary division of the country. Mr. Foljambe hunted the Grove side, and Colonel Fullerton, acting for the committee of which he was the chairman, hunted the Sandbeck portion of the country with a scratch pack. In 1837 Mr. Foljambe resumed the control of the whole country and continued as master, until failing eyesight obliged him to give up his hounds in 1845.

The actual name of the hunt before the year 1845, when Mr. Foljambe gave up office, is not very clear, but it was certainly known as the Grove from that time and probably before, for Mr. Foljambe had his kennels at Grove, a village 2 or 3 miles from Retford. Mr. Foljambe was generally his own huntsman, and during his reign the pack earned a great reputation, as may be gathered from the fact that when the establishment was broken up in 1845 the hounds were sold for £3,500, the majority of them being purchased by the sixth Viscount Galway. Mr. Foljambe was a very clever man with hounds, a good judge of horse and hound, and a splendid horseman.

Lord Galway only stayed one season, from 1845 to 1846, and was succeeded by Mr. Richard Lumley, afterwards ninth Earl of Scarborough. He remained until 1858, when failing health obliged him to hand over the reins of management once more to Viscount Galway, whose second term of office lasted till 1876. The pack became his lordship's property in 1862 for the sum of £2,000. Lord Galway was master, with Jack Morgan as huntsman, until his death in 1876, and Morgan died a year or two later. Sam Morgan, son of Jack, was kennel huntsman and first whip to Viscount Galway's for several years, and became huntsman to Earl Fitzwilliam's (Wentworth) in 1907.

On the death of his father in 1876, the seventh Viscount Galway succeeded to the mastership of the pack, the name of which was altered to 'Viscount Galway's' in 1887, when hounds were removed from Grove to Serlby, where new kennels had been erected. Lord Galway held office till 1907, when he retired, and the name

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of the hunt was then once more altered to Earl Fitzwilliam's (Grove), although by Lord Galway's permission hounds are still kennelled at Serlby. Earl Fitzwilliam purchased the pack and is now (1908) master, with Frank Bartlett as huntsman. Bartlett was huntsman to Lord Fitzwilliam's from 1884 to 1907, and before that was with the Cambridgeshire for a season.

During the past season (1907-8) followers of the Grove have enjoyed some of the best sport provided by the pack in recent years. Hounds met on Friday, 13 December, at South Leverton and found a fox at Watkin's Willows which ran parallel with the River Trent. The pace was good nearly up to Burton Willows, where a brief check occurred; but hounds soon hit off the line again and ran over grass between these willows and Sturton-le-Steeple, crossed the Great Central Railway at Bole, and went on as if for Wheatley Wood. They next ran over grass past the Bungalow to the foot of Sturton Highhouse Hill, where they recrossed the railway to Caddow Gorse, again crossed the railway, and hunted past Morman's Holt towards North Wheatley, but before reaching this village the fox turned back and hounds were at fault. The fox was viewed across a fallow field, but several valuable minutes were spent before the pack arrived, and scent had completely failed. The time of this run was seventy minutes, fifty minutes being done at a good hunting pace. A fresh fox found at Morman's Holt gave a gallop of thirty minutes by North Wheatley to the railway near Sturton station, when a storm of rain set in and scent gave out. On the following Monday Scaftworth was the fixture, and many acres of land in the Idle Valley were under water, so the order was given to draw the hills. A fox found at Barrow Hill was hunted for fifteen minutes before he went away, and gave a fast thirty minutes. He ran over Gibson's pasture farm and Everton Carrs, across the Bawtry-Gringley road to Pusto Hill, then passed over the grasses, which were wet and near the river under water, to Wiseton Low Covert, where he went to ground. Wiseton New Covert provided a fresh fox, which went away at the top end as if for Freeman's Gorse, but soon veered to the left, and hounds were in difficulties near the farmstead. They were soon running, however, at a good pace over the grass on Red Hill towards Clayworth Wood, then bent over Gringley Grange farm and the grass nearly to Walkeringham Brickyards. Here-

abouts they crossed the canal and ran down Gringley Carrs to Wainwright's farm, where they turned over the canal at Scott's Wood, the run to this point having lasted forty-five minutes. The fox was viewed over the road, and hunted slowly towards Walkeringham and the Gringley-Beckingham road at Pear Tree Hill, where hounds were at fault. After a fruitless cast towards Beckingham Wood, Bartlett swung round into Gringley Gorse, where the pack ran up to their hunted fox and soon brought him to hand.¹

The present constitution (1908) of Lord Fitzwilliam's Grove pack is fifty-five couples of hounds, kennelled at Serlby near Bawtry, with the Earl himself as master, and Frank Bartlett as huntsman. Hitherto Sam Morgan, now huntsman to Lord Fitzwilliam's Wentworth pack, had assisted Viscount Galway in hunting the pack or acting in his lordship's stead when absent. Frank Bartlett, who was with the Wentworth pack until the 1907 season, went to the Grove on the making of the new arrangement consequent on the retirement of Lord Galway. Bartlett has taken with him his two whips, Tom Lockey and W. Pittaway, from Wentworth to Serlby. The honorary secretary of the general purposes committee, Mr. R. C. Otter of Royston Manor, remains; and Mr. John J. Beevor, The Mantles, Ranskill, Bawtry, is honorary secretary to the hunt as before. Days of meeting are still four a week, while the Wentworth pack meets twice a week instead of three times, as formerly.

The Grove country is situated in Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and covers a large area of about 700 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Holderness, and on the north-west by the Badsworth. To the east are the Lincolnshire packs, the Brocklesby, the Burton, and the Blankney, while on the south is the Rufford territory. Earl Fitzwilliam's (Wentworth) adjoins on the west, and the Barlow are to the south-west.

Part of the Grove territory is heavy, but there is a large area of sandy soil, and some limestone country. There is a fair amount of grass with good galloping, and a moderate jumper with staying power is the most useful kind of horse. Wire exists in places, but the matter is dealt with by Mr. Otter's committee, and most of it is taken down early in the season.

¹ *Field*, 21 Dec. 1907.

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RACING

Horse-racing has flourished in Nottinghamshire from an early period in the history of the sport. Among the amusements of the people in 1620—twenty years before the first races were established at Newmarket—were the annual races held on Coddington Moor. These were under the patronage of the corporation of Newark, and in the minute book for that year are the following entries:—

‘Received of William Cowper, Esquire, towards a cup yearly to be found by the town of Newark for Coddington races xxviii li. in gold, whereof there was lost in weight xvi s. vi d.

‘Received of Robert Sutton, Esquire, v li., whereof was lost in two white Rials xii s. viii d.’

There was sold at the same time a bell of gold, weighing almost 6 oz., at £3 3s. per oz., and a silver bell, weighing 5 oz., at 4s. 6d. per oz. This would seem to indicate that after public races had been instituted in the reign of James I they were introduced at Newark, for the most important races throughout the kingdom at that time were called ‘bell courses’ from the fact that the prize given to the winning horse was a bell. Concerning the above entries we find that Mr. Cowper subsequently increased his benefaction by giving £6 15s. 6d. more for the cup. The articles of agreement under which the races were held appear in the minutes for the year 1624. The parties to the agreement were Mr. Thomas Hobman, alderman, and the assistants of Newark, on the one part, and William Cowper and Robert Sutton, esqrs., on behalf of themselves and other gentry of the county, on the other part. In consideration of a sum of money which the latter had collected the town agreed to provide a cup of silver, double gilt, of the value of £7 10s. and to have the same in readiness on 4 May yearly at the Staffe at Coddington Moor at 9 o’clock of the forenoon, to be run for with horses ‘according to the ancient usage of that race.’ The conditions on which the races were to be held are set down. For every horse competing 20s. had to be paid before starting, but any freeman of the town of Newark was to be free to run his horse, nag, or mare without putting down any stake. The race was to be run in three heats. Two of the rules are as follows:—

‘It is agreed that no man or boy that is a partie or hath money lent on any of the horses matched shall dare to switch or drive any of them in rising or running, but only the ryder.

‘It is agreed that as the stakes shall come in the Alderman shall keep them until the stake is made up to £200, and then he shall provide a cup yearly to be run for as aforesaid.’

When these races ceased is not recorded, but in 1846 the sport was revived. At a ‘numerous and respectable’ meeting in July of that year a sum of money was collected for the purpose of re-establishing the annual races. A fine piece of ground was obtained for a course near the Nottingham and Lincoln Railway (as it was then called), and the races were started on 1 October 1846. They were conducted with varying success, the sport being almost entirely of local interest. The new rule promulgated by the Jockey Club in 1877, requiring that the stake money given at any meeting should not be less than £300 per day, with a minimum of £100 for each race, put an end to small race gatherings like that at Newark, which sprang up like mushrooms and as quickly died away.

In the county town racing is of considerable antiquity. The earliest entry in the records of the corporation of any matter relating to Nottingham races is the following in the year 1689:— ‘The Hall (i.e. the town council), at the request of the county gentlemen, resolved to subscribe towards a piece of plate to be run for at the races.’ On 26 May 1690 the corporation decided ‘to gratify the gentlemen of the county’ in their request that they should subscribe towards a piece of plate for the horse races, as formerly they had done, provided Master Christopher Renolds would bring in £4 2s. that he had left of a former horse race. The amount of the usual subscription is indicated by the following minute on 16 June 1699:— ‘Ordered that the Chamberlyns doe pay five pounds towards a plate to be run for upon Nottingham and Basford Lings at the next horse race.’

The first race-course was laid out on Nottingham Forest, which in bygone times formed a fringe of historic Sherwood Forest. A fine piece of open, undulating ground, it furnished in those days an excellent site for the purpose. ‘As a place of amusement in the racing line,’ writes a local historian in the 18th century, ‘there are but few which are considered in any light in competition with it.’ ‘It has enough of variety for a rider to show his skill in the management of his racer,’ he quaintly adds, ‘either on trying, easing, or accommodating ground. Its turf is admirably calculated for sporting, here a gentle swell of earth, there a gentle declivity.’ At first the course measured 4 miles round, but early in the 18th century it was reduced to 2 miles, and thus continued without alteration until the year 1797, when, on the inclosure of that portion of the forest adjoining Lenton and Radford, it was all but utterly destroyed. A year later another course was made and, owing to the circumscribed extent of the ground, was laid out in the form of a figure 8. In conse-

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quence, however, of the universal complaints of the spectators as to the poor view of the sport that was obtainable, this course was soon replaced by another of an oval shape, a mile and a quarter in length. Various alterations and additions were subsequently made, and about the middle of the 18th century it was claimed to be one of the most commodious and complete courses, both for horses and spectators, in the kingdom.

The grand stand, which has an interesting history of its own, was erected in 1777. It was at the time of its erection taken as a pattern for the rest of the country, and that at York is an exact replica. The movement for securing this much-needed building was inaugurated on 21 October 1776, at a meeting of noblemen and other gentlemen, held at the White Lion Inn at Nottingham, when a subscription list was opened, no person present being allowed to subscribe less than 20 gs., which entitled the subscriber to two silver tickets, to be transferable, each ticket to admit a lady or gentleman during the races. The principal subscribers were the Dukes of Newcastle, Norfolk, and Portland, and Lord Edward Bentinck, 200 gs. each; Lord Middleton, Sir George Savile, Sir Charles Sedley, and Mr. John Musters, 100 gs. each; Sir Gervase Clifton, 60 gs.; the Earl of Stamford, Lord Melbourne, Mr. Anthony Eyre, Mr. Abel Smith, Mr. John Hewitt, 50 gs. each; Messrs. John and Thomas Wright, 40 gs. each; and the rest, thirty-two in number, 20 gs. each; the total amount raised being £2,460. To facilitate the carrying out of the object of the subscribers, the corporation of Nottingham granted a lease of the ground to Lord Edward Bentinck and others in trust for the noblemen and other gentlemen of the county, the lease containing a covenant that in the event of a Town Inclosure Act being passed, such leasehold property should immediately revert to the corporation. Accordingly, under this covenant, on the passing of the Inclosure Act of 1845 the town council took legal possession of the property, which is now vested in their hands.

On 1 February 1777 the foundation stone of the grand stand was laid, the architect being Mr. John Carr of York. According to a description published in a local newspaper at the time, the structure was designed upon an entirely new plan. The lower story was occupied by tea and card rooms and other apartments, while in the upper story was a large room intended for entertainments. A platform, supported by an arcade, was available for those who wished to have an opportunity of seeing the whole of the course. The lead-covered roof afforded standing accommodation for 500 people. In May 1907 the town council proposed to pull down this grand stand, but it still remains a silent witness to the old racing days on the Forest.

With the exception of the silver ring, the

course was always free, and the slopes, which formed a natural amphitheatre, presented a remarkable sight when crowded by thousands of spectators. Of the eleven royal plates run for in England in 1727 one was offered at Nottingham for six-year-old horses, 10 st., 2-mile heats; but in 1774 they were altered to 2½-mile heats, and in 1750 for four-year-olds, 9 st., 2¼-mile heats. At this period the races took place in July, and they were, according to an old chronicler, exceedingly popular with all classes, who, however, appear to have divided their allegiance to racing with the other national pastimes of bull-baiting and cock-fighting. Sir Charles Sedley and Mr. John Borlace Warren were the life and soul of the sport at this time, and the latter was concerned in one of the most exciting contests ever witnessed on Nottingham Forest. Mr. Warren's Careless and the Duke of Devonshire's Atlas were two of the most famous horses of the day. They had beaten all comers, and when pitted against each other at York on 30 August 1760 Atlas proved the winner. This verdict was not accepted as conclusive, and accordingly the owners determined to have a trial at Nottingham in order to see which was really the best horse in England. Bred by Mr. Warren at Stapleford, Nottinghamshire, Careless was a chestnut horse of wonderful power and size, and was indisputably favourite among local sportsmen, who, we are told, risked every shilling they could raise upon him; in fact, so great was the interest excited in the race that a greater amount of money was dependent upon the issue than upon any race ever run in the Midland counties. Alas for the opinions of local *cognoscenti*! Careless was beaten by Atlas, owing, it was said, to the superior skill of the latter's jockey.

Two years later—in July 1763—a very distinguished and numerous company favoured Nottingham with their attendance for the races (and cocking), those present including such consistent supporters of the Turf as the Dukes of Rutland and Kingston, the Marquess of Granby, and Lords Byron, Strange, and Sutton. From 1777 to 1779 inclusive the races reached the zenith of their popularity. They had been transferred from July to August and extended over four days. A memorable day was 3 August 1779, for it brought to the town not only an immense influx of people, but royalty in the person of the Duke of Cumberland, brother of George II, who was attended by the Duke of Portland and a large circle of nobility. The Duke of Cumberland, who had an enthusiastic reception, having been presented with an address and the freedom of the town proceeded to the race-course. He several times spoke in praise of the course, and after seeing his horse Pomona run (and lose), his royal highness returned to the town.

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The *Calendar* for that year (1779) sets out the return of the race thus :—

THE NOTTINGHAM SWEEPSTAKES of 25 gs. each (40 subscribers) for four-year-olds, colts 8 st. 7 lb., fillies 8 st. 4 lb. Over the course.

Mr. Wentworth's br. c. Honest Robin by Black Prince	1
H.R.H. Duke of Cumberland's ch. f. Pomona by Herod	2
Lord Rockingham's b. f. by Herod	3
Sir L. Dundas's ch. c. Prince Ferdinand by Herod	4
Lord Abingdon's b. f. by Herod	5
Mr. Greville's gr. f. by Goldfinder	6
Mr. Lechmere's f. by Dux	7
Mr. Gascoyne's f. Hip by Herod	8
Mr. Douglas's f. Sting by Herod	9
Lord Craven's b. c. Bacon Face by Wild Air	10
Sir C. Bunbury's b. c. Wormwood by Herod	11

Betting : 7 to 4 against Honest Robin, 5 to 2 against Lord Rockingham's f., 7 to 2 against Sting, 10 to 1 against Pomona, and 10 to 1 against Prince Ferdinand.

It is remarkable that no fewer than seven of the eleven starters were by Herod—evidence of the esteem in which the great horse was held at that period.

In 1795 the races seem to have fallen upon evil times. The fixture was arranged for 4, 5, and 6 August, and the events were singularly unproductive of sport. On the first day the King's Purse of 100 gs. was a walk-over for Mr. Hutchinson's Constitution, and in the Four-year-old Plate there was no race, only one horse being entered. The second day produced but two competitors for the Three-year-old Plate, which was won with the greatest ease in the first heat by Mr. Milbank's Sober Robin, and the Hunters' Sweepstakes was carried off by Mr. Limbey's Mischief, which beat Mr. Ichabod Wright's Draper with almost equal ease. On the third day there was no race for the Aged Plate, so that out of five races advertised to take place in the three days there were only two heats. This appears to have been the beginning of a period of depression ; but later there came a revival, and the opening year of the 19th century witnessed excellent sport on two out of the three days upon which racing was held. The races took place in the first week in August, and the events comprised the following :—

Tuesday : His Majesty's Plate of 100 gs. for horses of all ages ; the best of three 4-mile heats ; the Hunters' Sweepstakes of 5 gs. each ; £50 given by the members for the county for three-year-olds.

Wednesday : The Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Plate of £50 for four-year-olds, best of three 2-mile heats ; a Gold Cup value 100 gs., one 2-mile heat.

Thursday : A Maiden Plate of £50, given by the town of Nottingham, and also a Sweepstakes of 20 gs. for three-year-olds.

Well-known racing men of the period were Lord Stamford, Lord Grey, Sir H. Williamson, Mr. Savile, Captain Musters, and Mr. Smith-Wright. The King's Plate was won by Mr. Johnson's four-year-old Sir Solomon, which also secured the Noblemen's Plate, and carried off the Gold Cup in the following year. Much difficulty was experienced at this time owing to unauthorized persons encroaching on the course while the races were being run, and accidents were of somewhat frequent occurrence. For example, in 1801 Captain Musters not only lost a race, but he and his horse were injured, through an imprudent individual getting in the way.

The races were continued for some years on the lines indicated above, but in 1810 there was an addition to the programme of a Cocktail Stakes, for hunters warranted not thoroughbred ; but it attracted only one competitor. When the 1813 meeting came round local race-goers saw that a new course had been made, while two additional sweepstakes were added to the programme, and the time of starting was altered from five to two o'clock. In addition, there were also three matches arranged, one for 100 gs. and two for 50 gs. each. All this induced a revival of interest, and there was an exceptionally large attendance. The races were the most successful that had taken place since the great races of 1777-9. The fixture in the following August was described as the Centenary meeting. Among the company present were the Duke of Portland, Viscount Newark, Sir J. Borlace Warren, bart., and Admiral Frank. For many years before and after this date it was customary to wind up the races with a 'main of cocks,' and later in the evening there was a grand ball at the Assembly Rooms. By 1820 the County Members' Plate had been increased to £60, and the plate given by the town of Nottingham to the same amount. The sport upon the whole was better this year than for several years past, and on the second day there was a vast assembly. Several new stakes were opened and filled well.

In 1831, owing to the Reform Riots, when Nottingham Castle was burned down by the mob, no meeting was held in Nottingham, threats having been made by the rioters that they would injure any horses sent to compete.

Many famous racehorses have been seen on the Nottingham race-course. The great Eclipse, winner of eleven King's Plates, as well as many other races, won the King's Plate here in the 18th century, and in October 1836 Mundig, a Derby winner, ran in the race for the King's Plate. This was the first occasion upon which the meeting was held in October, the summer meetings, for a few years before this, having invariably proved a failure. The departure was not regarded with favour by all local patrons of the Turf, some of them withholding their subscriptions to the Town Plate, but the races were well

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attended, and the sport was superior to anything witnessed on the course for many years. It was in this year that a famous Nottinghamshire sportsman, Lord George Bentinck, inaugurated a sensational innovation in the transit of racehorses. Instead of walking them from meeting to meeting, as had hitherto been the practice, he conceived the plan of conveying them in vans from one place to another, and when, a few years later, horses began generally to be conveyed by rail, it gave an impetus to Nottingham, in common with other meetings, for hitherto owners in the south had hesitated before incurring the expense and risk of a journey by road to the midlands.

The Nottingham meeting of 1843 was notable for the appearance of Mr. Plummer's Alice Hawthorn—the Chester Cup winner of the previous year. She secured the chief prize, beating Mr. Clay's King of Trumps in a canter in both heats. In the same year and again in 1844 she won the Doncaster Cup. She was not only a fine racer herself, but had the distinction of being the dam of Mr. Merry's Thormanby, perhaps one of the gamest horses ever foaled, which won the Derby in 1860 in a canter.

In 1846 the races were transferred back to August. On the passing of the Nottingham Inclosure Act the race-course and stand had fallen into the hands of the corporation, and a committee of that body, with Mr. W. Page as chairman, was elected to conduct the races, Mr. J. G. Birley of Doncaster being appointed clerk of the course in succession to Mr. W. Lacey, who had held the position for many years.

As illustrating the changes that have occurred in racing conditions within the last sixty years, it is interesting to glance at the programme of events in the year above mentioned. It included the Nottingham Stakes of 10 sovs. with 50 added; the County Members' Plate of £50; the Two-year-old Stakes of 13 sovs. each, with 50 added; the Chesterfield Handicap of 20 sovs. each with 100 added by the Earl of Chesterfield; a Plate of £50 given by noblemen and gentlemen of the county (first day); the Tradesmen's Plate of 100 sovs. in specie, added to a handicap of 15 sovs. each; Her Majesty's Plate of 100 gs.; a Cup of 100 sovs. in specie, given by noblemen and gentlemen of the county, added to a handicap of 10 sovs. each; the Innkeepers' Plate of 50 sovs. each, added to a Sweepstakes of 5 sovs.; and a Selling Stakes of 5 sovs. each, with 25 sovs. added (second day). Although the sum added was comparatively small, the total value of the stakes, when the races filled well, often exceeded £200. The first meeting under the auspices of the corporation was a gratifying success, there being good fields and tens of thousands of spectators lining the slopes of the Forest. From this time until about 1864 the Nottingham meetings achieved a high reputation. The Nottinghamshire Handicap, established in 1847, was an

immediate success, the value for some years seldom falling below £600, which was a large sum for those days. Among its early winners were Inheritress (winner of the Queen's Plate two years in succession), Maid of Masham, Typee, Pretty Boy, Newcastle, Wallace, and Atherstone. Pretty Boy's victory came between his successes in the Liverpool Cup and the Goodwood Stakes. By this time there was a decline in heat-racing, and about the middle of the 19th century this method of deciding events appears to have been discontinued, though there are veteran local sportsmen living in Nottingham to-day who remember that on one occasion, owing to dead heats, four horses covered the 4 miles distance four times, with the result that two of them died from exhaustion.

In 1853 Nottingham advanced to the dignity of two meetings. A successful spring meeting was inaugurated on 8 February of that year, the principal event being the Nottingham Spring Handicap of 10 sovs. each, with 50 sovs. added; the other events consisting of Sweepstakes of 5 sovs. each, with 25 sovs. and 30 sovs. added; a Hurdle Race of 5 sovs. with 40 added; and a Hunters' Stakes of 2 sovs. with a silver cup. Fisherman, described by some of his admirers as 'the horse of a century,' winner of the Ascot Cup two years in succession, ran in the Trial Stakes at the Spring Meeting of 1856, and won a poorly-contested race. He appeared on the Forest in the three following years and was undefeated on each occasion. Many consider him the best horse ever seen on the ground, but this claim is challenged by Rataplan, Parmesan, and St. Gatien. A fine stayer, full of courage, and true as steel, Rataplan was a great favourite with local racegoers. He carried off the Doncaster Cup in 1855, and would undoubtedly have won the Derby in 1853 if he had not had the misfortune to be pitted against that marvel, West Australian, winner of the Two Thousand, Derby, and St. Leger. In the race for the Little John Plate in 1859 White Rose won from a field of fifteen or sixteen, but she was not the best, and two of the unplaced runners created a considerable stir in the racing world later. One was Mr. Saxon's Ben Webster, which, two years later, won the Chester Cup, and the other Mr. Henry Savile's Parmesan, a grand horse, which not only achieved some remarkable performances when a three-year-old but defeated all the best horses of the day when he was four. Only once had he to acknowledge defeat and that was by Thormanby in the Ascot Cup, and even then he finished in front of a St. Leger and an Oaks winner. At the stud he became the sire of Favonius and Cremorne, which won the Derby in 1871 and 1872 respectively. The winner of the St Leger in 1861, Mr. W. I'Anson's Caller Ou, ran at the July meeting, 1864, and annexed the Queen's Plate, which about this period was doubled in value. Subse-

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quently it was increased to £300 and given at the same meeting in alternate years only.

In 1869 we find a writer bewailing the fact that, with such an excellent course, magnificent inclosure, and capital ground for witnessing the races, the fields should be so small and the class of horses engaged so moderate. This was the first year of the Biennial Stakes of 10 sovs. each with 100 sovs. added, for two-year-olds, and it was won by Agility, a sister to Apology, the winner of the St. Leger in 1874. Both belonged to Parson King, who ran his horses under the assumed name of Launde. Something to redeem the Nottingham meeting from the charge of mediocrity was contributed by The Colonel, winner of the Grand National in 1869 and 1870, Fidelia which competed six times, winning in 1868 and 1869 and running second in 1870 and 1871; and Lilian, a rattling good mare, which carried off Queen's Plates all over the country. She ran at Nottingham for six seasons, and won the Queen's Plate four years in succession.

No more upright sportsman ever patronized the Nottingham meeting than Mr. Henry Savile of Rufford Abbey. He sent some splendid animals to compete on the old race-course, among them being Uhlan, which in July 1872 defeated a hot favourite in Mr. Launde's Agility, and thus after a magnificent race secured the coveted Queen's Plate. Another splendid finish was that in which Mr. Vyner's Thunder participated in the Midsummer Handicap, 1874. Jem Goater was in the saddle, and opposed to him was Fred Archer, who had already begun his unparalleled series of triumphs, but Thunder, carrying 8st. 10lb. managed, after a desperate struggle, to get home first. So intense was the enthusiasm excited by his victory that even some who had laid against him joined in the shouting. All distances from six furlongs to two miles seemed alike to him, and he won the City and Suburban under the burden of 9st. 4lb. in a canter.

When Mr. W. J. Ford assumed the reins of management, the Nottingham meetings were soon improved, and gradually more valuable stakes were provided. For example, by 1879 the Spring Handicap was worth nearly £500, and the interest in that meeting was enhanced by Drumhead and Mars fighting their Lincoln battle over again. The former, however, could not give the weight away to Julius Celsus, which won by a head, after a rare set-to from the distance. At this period the names of the Duke of St. Albans, Sir J. D. Astley, Sir G. Chetwynd, Captain Machell, and Mr. Savile frequently appear in the list of owners of horses engaged. The duke had a very good horse in Crann Tair, which in 1876 appropriately won the Bestwood Nursery. Moorhen was more than once a winner during the seasons 1879 and 1880. The daughter of Hermit, she was the dam of Gallinule and Pioneer, and founded a line of

such champions as Pretty Polly, Slieve Gallion, Galvani, and Polar Star. Although up to that time he had never been beaten, there were few who saw St. Gatien win the Little John Plate on the Forest in 1883 who dreamt that they beheld the virtual winner of the next year's Derby, for, although he ran a dead heat with Harvester, there can be no doubt which was the better horse when a comparison of their subsequent records is made.

At the October meeting in 1884 an outstanding performance was accomplished by Thebais, a first-class mare by Hermit out of Devotion. She was the property of the Duchess of Montrose, who raced under the pseudonym of 'Mr. Manton,' and won both the One Thousand and the Oaks. In the race for the Queen's Plate she was opposed by the Doncaster Cup hero, Louis d'Or, which had throughout the season been busy collecting Queen's Plates. Louis d'Or, ridden by Charles Wood, made all the running, but Thebais, with Fred Archer in the saddle, came along with a rush in the last furlong, and won a very fine race by a neck. It was a consummate piece of horsemanship, but some of the mare's backers thought that Archer had cut things a bit too fine. This was the last occasion upon which a Queen's Plate was raced for in Nottingham.¹

The October meeting of 1884 was memorable for other reasons. The Nottinghamshire Handicap was increased from £206 at the previous October, to about £500, and naturally attracted more entries, and of a better class. Eight started, and Hauteur, the One Thousand winner of 1883, was beaten by Antler, Natilus, with Archer up, being tired out by the weight he carried. But the most sensational incident of the day was the double dead heat² in the Friar Tuck Selling Plate, between Scotch Pearl and Candahar II.

A striking illustration of the difference between steeplechasing and flat-racing was afforded in 1885, when Roquefort, winner of the Grand National, was beaten in a mile and a half on the flat by a horse that was only a good selling plater. Other notable horses that have appeared on the old track include Tommy Tittlemouse, Seahorse, Son o' Mine, and Marco, whose fame was renewed in the deeds of such distinguished progeny as Querido, a Chester Cup winner, and Marcovil.

¹ These royal plates were originated by Queen Anne and were provided from the privy purse until their abolition in 1887.

² Never since 1871 had there been a parallel case. In that year, at the Newmarket Houghton meeting, Captain Machell's Curtius, and Mr. Joseph Dawson's Marquis of Lorne ran the course twice without the judge being able to separate them. Instead, however, of dividing the stakes, as was done in Nottingham, the two horses ran a third time, the Marquis of Lorne winning by a neck.

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An event that roused great local enthusiasm was the annual race for a cup, value £50, presented by the members for the borough for competition among the members of the Rufford and South Nottinghamshire hunts. Year after year such well-known figures as the Earl of Harrington, Captain (now Colonel) Rolleston, Mr. (now Sir) John Robinson, Mr. W. J. Ford, Mr. C. Hibbert and Mr. J. Williamson (father of the professional, George Williamson), turned out in friendly rivalry in this event. Mr. Williamson rode the winner on no less than seven occasions.

Looking back over the race of famous jockeys who have been associated with the old Nottingham meetings we find the name of Flatman, Frank Butler, Tom Aldcroft, Charlton, Jemmy Lye, Cartwright, Ashmall, Chaloner, Osborne, George Fordham, Harry Custance, S. Rogers, T. Cannon, sen., J. Snowden, Luke Snowden, the two Grimshaws, Charles Wood and Fred Archer.

The conditions surrounding racing at unclosed meetings in the old days on the Forest were in many respects vastly different from those of to-day. Cabs were permitted to pass over the course, to get to the grand stand, until one day J. Grimshaw was dashed into by one of these vehicles, and badly injured; then things were altered. Dogs were, of course, an ever-present nuisance, and at one time a decree was issued that any of these animals found on the course would be destroyed. On one occasion when J. Fagan was riding Pampas Grass, a collie ran between the animal's legs, horse and rider being thrown and injured, while the dog was killed on the spot.

All things, however, have an end, and in 1890 the race meetings held almost uninterruptedly for 200 years and more on the picturesque grounds of Nottingham Forest ceased to exist. For some years the fixture had shown unmistakable symptoms that it was declining. The inadequate character of the course, which some irreverent scribe likened to a circus inclosure, had become painfully apparent, while Nottingham could not compete with the more valuable prizes offered at Derby and Leicester, the result being seen in small fields, and animals of an ordinary plating character. It was therefore a blessing in disguise when the fiat was issued, that there was to be no more horse-racing under the *aegis* of the corporation.

Thwarted of the enjoyment of the national pastime within the borough boundary, local sportsmen went just outside and secured an ideal course at Colwick Park, on the banks of the Trent, where racing has since been pursued under more modern conditions, and amid charming surroundings. The Colwick Racing and Sporting Company, Ltd., was formed, and an excellent course, with grand stand and every accommodation, laid out. The full course, a

mile and a half in length, with easy turns, adjoins the straight mile rather more than half a mile from home, and is splendidly adapted for its purpose. The last race-meeting was held on the Forest on 29 and 30 September 1890, the last race—the Cotgrave Gorse Plate of 80 sovs. for hunters—being won by Mr. T. Tyler's Sir Hamilton, ridden by A. Nightingall. The first meeting at Colwick Park took place on 19 and 20 August 1892. Although it occurred in the middle of a general election, and had to contend with the potent attractions of grouse shooting, there was an excellent company, among those present being Lord Rosslyn, Sir George Chetwynd, Lord Newark, Major and Lady Eleanor Wickham, Major Egerton, General Duncombe, and Mr. R. Fitzhugh, the mayor of Nottingham. Six events were placed on the card for decision, and altogether forty-five horses turned out. The owners represented included the Duke of Portland, Lord Hastings, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Abington, Mr. Blundell Maple, Mr. H. McCalmont, Lord Zetland, and Mr. D. Cooper, and among the jockeys were M. Cannon, J. Watts, F. Rickaby, C. Loates, O. Madden, W. Bradford, and S. Chaloner. To Fred Rickaby, on Mr. Sibary's Delaval, fell the honour of winning the first event on the new course, defeating M. Cannon on Mr. Abington's Halsbury; but the race of the day was the Welbeck Abbey Plate of 500 sovs., the same amount as the Old Nottinghamshire Handicap. Thirteen runners turned out, and the winner was found in Mr. H. McCalmont's Whisperer, which beat all the favourites. The successful jockey was Chaloner, who secured three successive wins. The second day was a Saturday, and there was an enormous attendance, estimated at between 25,000 and 30,000 people. The great race of the day was the Nottinghamshire Handicap, which had been increased to 1,000 sovs., run over a straight mile, and this was won by Mr. Blundell Maple's Golden Garter, which defeated a field of eleven, including the favourite, Breach, belonging to Lord Hastings. A most exciting finish was witnessed between Halma and Scottish Maiden in the Robin Hood Plate, which resulted in a dead heat, the stakes being divided. Over £3,500 were offered at this inaugural meeting, which altogether was an unqualified success. Instead of four days' racing in the year, it was decided to have fourteen, and this has since been increased to sixteen, but the patronage accorded has not been sufficient to justify the continuance of the Nottinghamshire Handicap at 1,000 sovs., and now it stands at 500 sovs. Practically all the leading owners have from time to time competed at Colwick Park. Under the management of the Ford family the races maintain their popularity, and, if few 'stars' are attracted, the class of horses engaged is of a fairly high standard.

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Although flat-racing is chiefly indulged in over the Colwick course, followers of National Hunt sport are also admirably catered for; indeed, the prizes provided for steeplechases and hurdle races are remarkably liberal, and there is generally at each meeting one race equivalent in value to that of the principal event at the gatherings under Jockey Club rules. In 1907 the jumping programme comprised meetings in January (this, however, was abandoned on account of frost), April, May, and October. The April fixture was under the auspices of the midland hunts, who usually patronize this course, and the card consisted of a 2-mile handicap steeplechase, a 2-mile selling steeplechase, a 2-mile handicap hurdle race, a 2-mile selling hurdle race, a 3½-mile handicap steeplechase, a 3-mile hunters' steeplechase, and a 3-mile foxcatchers' hurdle race—a very attractive and comprehensive programme. The long distance steeplechase was won by Merry John, owned by Colonel Birkin, a highly esteemed local sportsman.

Although National Hunt sport in the Midlands has for some years been of moderate quality and generally tame by comparison with that in vogue in other parts of the country, there is no doubt that at Nottingham, at any rate, it is distinctly of good class; indeed, visitors to the meetings in December 1907 and January 1908 were loud in their praises. Horses were sent from all parts of the country, big fields contested almost every event, and many exhilarating finishes were seen, whilst several promising recruits to the jumping business were on view. Colonel Birkin won the principal race at the January meeting, the Nottinghamshire Handicap Steeplechase of 400 sovs., distance 3½ miles, with his fine 'chaser, Springbok. It is evident that the enterprise and liberality of the Colwick Park executive are to be rewarded, and much good racing over obstacles may be looked for in the future. This class of sport in recent years has been exceedingly tame and uninteresting, but the Nottinghamshire gatherings can certainly be quoted as bright exceptions to the general rule.

The Southwell Hunt meeting has developed from a humble beginning. Originally it consisted of pony races on Burgage Green, grandiloquently described as open to all England, although the prizes did not exceed in value £4! These races, organized by a small committee of local sportsmen, were usually run on the Thursday after Whitsuntide. By 1853 three races were contested: an Innkeepers' Plate of £15, a Hurdle Race of £30, and another race of £15. For several years the fixture was conducted, with more or less success, under the conditions indicated, the stakes being increased and further races added as the meeting grew in importance. A new and more convenient course was also obtained just outside Southwell.

In 1883 a new committee was formed and

fresh energy thrown into the work. The programme embraced the Tally-ho Hunters' Flat Race and four hurdle races. In 1886 a limited company was formed to carry on the meeting, the chief promoters being Messrs. C. F. Henry, R. Horsley, R. Harvey, sen.; L. Gyngell, J. Townrow, R. Hatfield, and W. Harrison (secretary). Subscriptions were collected, a grand stand was erected, and the meeting placed upon a more satisfactory basis. The stakes were still insufficient to induce owners to send horses from long distances, and the event had to depend principally upon local support. The experiment of an October meeting was tried, and in 1890 a new reserved stand was built, and the spring meeting was extended to two days. Eventually the National Hunt refused to license the course, which was palpably inconvenient, and the last meeting was held on 17 October 1897. A succession of bad days as regards weather, especially at the October meetings, militated seriously against the efforts of the executive, and their ill-luck seems to have culminated on the last race day on the old ground, when the attendance was the smallest for years.

The company next obtained a lease for twenty-one years of land at Rolleston from the four owners, Mr. Manners-Sutton, Lord Manvers, Mr. Preston, and Mr. John Pepper. Here an admirable steeplechase and hurdle race-course was constructed, the land readily lending itself to the purpose. The subsoil for the greater part of the mile-and-a-quarter circuit is sandy, and the turf firm and sound. It is level throughout, and from the stand the horses are always in view. For about half the way the course runs alongside the River Greet, and all the obstacles have been constructed in a line with the natural fences. A commodious ring was formed, with a stand 112 ft. in length, capable of accommodating 1,200 people.

At the inaugural meeting on 16 May 1898 the attendance exceeded anything ever seen on the old ground, and excellent sport was witnessed. The seven races produced 110 entries, the fields averaging as nearly as possible eight runners for each event. The programme included the Rufford Abbey Hurdle Race, the Rolleston Maiden Hurdle Race, the Barnby Moor Selling Hurdle Race, the Southwell Selling Hurdle Race, the Blidworth Oaks Steeplechase Plate, the Westhorpe Selling Steeplechase, and the Fountain Dale Steeplechase; the stakes in each case, with the exception of the Rolleston Race of 25 sovs., being of the value of 40 sovs. The races have since been continued with little alteration in the value of the stakes or character of the sport. Racing now takes place four days a year, and although few celebrated horses have been seen there, the fixture has a peculiar charm of its own. Among sportsmen who have given it support in one capacity or another are the Earls

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of Harrington and Shrewsbury, Lord Savile, General Warrant, Colonel Rolleston, Mr. Abington, and Mr. F. Platt.

Mansfield was the scene of a race meeting from early in the 19th century until 1877, and the sport was often of surpassingly good character. The race-course, situated on the Southwell Road, a short distance from the town, was of unusual excellence for so small a place. It had a straight course of about 5 furlongs, which enabled heavy weights to lie back until they reached the distance, when their desperate rush to get home often resulted in exceedingly close and exciting finishes. At the beginning the prizes did not soar very high, consisting for the most part of silver tankards and saddles and bridles; but as time went on the stakes were increased and the meeting attained some celebrity, horses being sent to it from as far as Newcastle. In 1814 there were two days' racing, the card each day consisting of two events, run in heats, and the prizes being a silver tankard, a silver cup, and two saddles. Later the value of the stakes was considerably increased, the races being generously supported by the Duke of Portland, the owners of Rufford Abbey, and the neighbouring gentry. In 1840 stakes of the value of £40 and £20 respectively were run for in heats, and three years later the programme comprised the Sherwood Stakes of 3 sovs. each, with 30 sovs. added; the Innkeepers' Purse of 10s. each with 5 sovs. added; a Sweepstakes of 1 sov. each, with 10 sovs. added on the first day; the North Broxtowe Stakes of 2 sovs. each, with 20 added; and sweepstakes of 1 sov. and 10s. each, with 10 sovs. and 5 sovs. respectively added on the second day. There were twenty-four starters in the whole of the races, which were held, as usual, in July. In 1845 a hurdle race was for the first time introduced.

Subsequently the races were allowed to lapse, but after a brief interregnum were revived, and new life was infused into the proceedings; but it failed to sustain the fixture for long, and the last meeting took place in 1874. On one occasion, it is recorded, the Duke of Newcastle's horses carried off nearly all the prizes, but his grace generously returned them to be competed for on a future occasion.

In bygone times Mansfield's claim to fame as a racing centre did not entirely rest upon its race meetings, for it was for a considerable period very popular with trainers. Here that celebrated trainer Mr. John Scott, 'the wizard of the north' as he was called, managed a racing stable for Mr. Petre, and subsequently for Mr. Thomas Houldsworth, who purchased Sherwood Hall, and laid out a race-course there for training purposes. Mr. Scott had in his charge at this time Filho da Puta, which won the St. Leger in 1815. In the following year this famous horse passed into the hands of another

trainer, and came to grief in the match with Sir Joshua (the property of Mr. Neville, afterwards Lord Braybrooke) at Newmarket.

The connexion between Mr. Scott and Mr. Houldsworth was terminated in unhappy circumstances in 1823, after his horse Sherwood was beaten in the St. Leger by Mr. Watts's Barefoot. Mr. Houldsworth, believing, rightly or wrongly, that the race was sold, and that Scott was implicated in the matter, parted with the great trainer, who afterwards joined Mr. Petre at Malton. He trained the winners of five Derbys, sixteen St. Legers, and innumerable other races. Another gentleman who had racing stables at Mansfield was Mr. Lacey of Nottingham, and there were also training quarters at Tithe Barn, Toothill Lane, Mansfield.

Among well-known sporting characters associated with the town Mr. Short, landlord of the Bowling Hand Inn, Leeming Street, may be fitly mentioned as a racing enthusiast. He travelled from Mansfield to see forty-nine St. Legers run, and was buried at Mansfield on St. Leger Day 1871, at the time when Hannah was winning the great race.

So far back as 1866 the village of Hazelford Ferry witnessed its first racing festival, but for some reason or other it was not continued. On 22 September 1884, however, there was a revival of the sport in the little hamlet, and a capital course, three-quarters of a mile round, was laid out. The originator of the meeting was Mr. A. Merryfield, now of Southwell, who, with the able assistance of Mr. W. J. Ford of Nottingham, carried through the meeting for thirteen years. Six events, subsequently increased to seven, constituted the programme, and they were run under the rules of the National Hunt. The stakes ranged from 25 sovs. to 50 sovs., and so popular did the fixture become with owners that it attracted surprisingly good entries, and the sport was often above the average. After the first occasion the meeting was always held in May. In some respects it became the most popular of local meetings. At first a temporary stand was provided, but later a permanent structure was built and other improvements carried out, including the formation of a steeplechase course.

Lord Shrewsbury, who was a generous supporter of Nottinghamshire race meetings, won the first steeplechase with Beacon, and other owners running horses at these meetings included Lord Harrington, Lord Savile, Captain Middleton, Mr. (now Sir) John Robinson, Sir James Duke, Messrs. W. R. Brockton, J. G. Elsey, T. Price, R. Botterill, F. Platt, R. Howett, C. Hibbert, T. Tyler, W. Pidcock, W. Black, F. Godson, G. E. Paget, W. E. Elsey, Hamar Bass, H. D. Johnson, Woodland, Savage, and Leader. A feature of several of the meetings was the battle between Mr. Godson's Arron and Mr. Jolland's

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Clawson, whose merits were so equal that they invariably provided an exciting finish. Other horses of some note that appeared on the course were Johnny Longtail, owned by Mr. T. Price; Prince Paul, the property of Captain Tomasson, the chief constable of the county; and Worball. The last meeting was held on 10 May 1897, but it cannot have been from any want of popularity that the fixture was abandoned, for on that occasion the attendance was larger than it had been for years.

With regard to other meetings, it only remains to add that point-to-point races are run annually in connexion with the Earl of Harrington's hunt and the Rufford Hounds, and are so well managed that they have enjoyed deserved support from hunting people and farmers and have been productive of capital sport.

Among celebrities past and present prominently associated with the racing history of Nottinghamshire we must mention, besides those already named, Lord George Bentinck, the Napoleon of the racing world in his day. Born at Welbeck, 27 February 1802, he was the second son of the Duke of Portland who won the Derby with Tiresias in 1819. His first great victory on the turf was won in 1836, three years after he started a racing stud, when he carried off the St. Leger. Grey Momus placed the Two Thousand and the Ascot Cup to his credit, and Crucifix won for him the Two Thousand Guineas, the One Thousand, and the Oaks, besides eleven good races as a two-year-old, bringing her owner in stakes alone upwards of £12,000. A colossal bettor, he stood to win £150,000 on Gaper for the Derby of 1843, and his net winnings by betting in 1845 amounted to upwards of £100,000. His abandonment of the sport was as dramatic as it was sudden. In a moment he parted with the finest racing stud in the kingdom, including Surplice, the winner of the Derby and St. Leger of 1848, for £10,000. Four months later Lord George was found dead in a meadow on his father's estate at Welbeck, the strange verdict of the coroner's jury being, 'Died by the visitation of God, to wit, a spasm of the heart.'

Descended from the same race of sportsmen, the sixth Duke of Portland is one of the foremost patrons of the turf. Since Mowerina took the Portland Plate at Doncaster in 1881, his grace has had a remarkable career. In 1888 he won the Two Thousand Guineas and Derby with Ayrshire, and the Middle Park and Dewhurst Plates with Donovan. That colt carried off the Newmarket Stakes, Derby, and St. Leger in 1889, while Ayrshire won the rich Eclipse Stakes. In 1890 Semolina secured the One Thousand Guineas, and Memoir was the heroine of the Newmarket Stakes, Oaks, and St. Leger contests. The duke has not since added to

his Derby successes, although in 1893 Raeburn finished third, in 1900 Simon Dale was second, in 1901 William the Third also was second, and in 1902 Friar Tuck ran third. Other 'classic' victories were, however, achieved by Mrs. Butterwick, which won the Oaks of 1893, by Amiable, whose successes in 1894 included the One Thousand Guineas and Oaks, and by La Roche, which in 1900 won for her owner his fourth Oaks.

The Duke of Portland experienced in 1889 a most extraordinary run of good fortune on the turf. His winnings in that year amounted to the huge sum of £73,857 10s.,³ and this amount was put together by only nine horses, who among them captured thirty-four races. The sum mentioned has never been approached by any other owner as the result of a season's work, and held the world's record until the end of 1907, when it was announced that the famous American sportsman, Mr. James R. Keene, had succeeded in passing the duke's figures. It must be observed, however, that in America racing goes on practically all the year round. The duke had several other good years besides 1889; but that season, as indicated, stands out by itself, and to emphasize this it is only necessary to state that in 1907 a sum of considerably under £20,000 was sufficient to place an owner at the head of the list. In addition to the Newmarket Stakes, the Derby, and the St. Leger won by Donovan and the Eclipse Stakes won by Ayrshire, Donovan carried off the Prince of Wales's Stakes worth £11,000 at Leicester and the Lancashire Plate of the value of £10,131 at Manchester, whilst Ayrshire landed the Kempton Park Royal Stakes worth £9,500, his Eclipse success securing £11,165. Semolina, too, was an important factor, for out of fifteen races she won fourteen, her efforts yielding nearly £10,000. Thus it will be made clear how his grace came to reach such a wonderful total as £73,857, the extraordinary thing being, of course, that a single owner should possess a string of horses capable of winning all the big stakes in a year when these mammoth prizes were more common than at any other time.

Not only, however, in this respect does the Duke of Portland truly deserve to be called 'the lucky duke.' On the death of Prince Batthyany, the breeder of St. Simon, that horse passed into the possession of the master of Welbeck. St. Simon, foaled in 1881, was a son of Galopin, the Derby winner of 1875, and during his racing career remained unbeaten. As a two-year-old he won the Hal-

³ It should be mentioned, perhaps, that at this period there was a boom in big prizes, but these were found to be so expensive to their promoters that most of them have dropped out, so that at the present time it would be almost impossible for one man to compile so big a total in stake-winnings.

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maker and Maiden Stakes at Goodwood, the Devonshire Nursery at Derby, the Prince of Wales's Nursery at Doncaster, and a match. In 1889, owing to the rule voiding engagements of horses at the death of their nominators, St. Simon could not take part in the 'classic' races, but he won the Trial Match at Newmarket, walked over for the Epsom Gold Cup, and carried off the Ascot Gold Cup, Newcastle Gold Cup, and Goodwood Cup. It was then decided to retire him to the stud.

The extraordinary success of his stock soon showed the wisdom of this course. St. Simon's first stock ran in 1889, the great year for the duke to which reference has just been made, and won no fewer than thirty-four races worth £24,286, a remarkable achievement considering that the horse's representatives were all two-year-olds. From that year onwards St. Simon continually headed the list of successful sires.⁴ Since 1902 his stock have always won respectable sums, and in 1908 St. Simon, though twenty-seven years old, had a full subscription list at 500 gs., while at one period of his career 600 gs. were charged and eagerly paid for his services. He died full of years and honours on 2 April 1908, having spent the whole of his stud career at the Welbeck Paddocks.

It is impossible within the limits of this history to describe the doings of the sons and daughters of St. Simon or even to give a full list of them. The following names, however, provide a formidable catalogue indeed. St. Simon sired the king's three famous horses Florizel II, Persimmon, and Diamond Jubilee, as well as Persimmon's great rival, St. Frusquin; whilst at various periods he was the sire of such celebrities as Memoir, St. Serf, Semolina, Signorina, Simonetta, Simonian, Sabra, Charm, The Smew, Raeburn, Perigord, Silene, Bill of Portland, Amiable, Mrs. Butterwick, Matchbox, La Flèche, Childwick, Watercress, Saintly, Haut Brion, Simonburn, Tarporley, Raconteur, St. Florian, Utica, Roquebrune, Smean, St. Bris, Phoebus Apollo, Lady Frivoles, Leisure Hour, His Reverence, Desmond, Collar, Soliman, Simon Dale, The Gorgon, Manners, La Roche, St. Aldegonde, La Force, Winifreda, Pietermaritzburg, Santa Brigida, St. Maclou, Sidus, St. Windeline, William the Third, Rabelais, Pekin, Darley Dale, Pamflete, Chaucer, and Saltpetre. Truly a bewildering array, but one which could be added to by the inclusion of almost as many more really good horses.

A careful calculation reveals the fact that St. Simon's progeny have won, from 1889 to 1907, 540 races of a total value of £530,671,

⁴ His figures for 1890 were £32,799; 1891 £26,890; 1892 £55,995; 1893 £36,582; 1894 £41,886; 1895 £30,469; 1896 £59,219; 1897 £22,541; 1898 £14,902; 1899 £17,285; 1900 £55,230; 1901 £28,770; 1902 £38,531.

and he was without doubt the greatest sire since Stockwell's day. His sons, too, have inherited his own ability to transmit their own good qualities to their offspring, as witness the successful stud careers of those great stallions Persimmon, St. Frusquin, Diamond Jubilee, St. Serf, Raeburn, Perigord, Bill of Portland, Watercress, Tarporley, Desmond, Collar, and Soliman. His daughters, too, are uniformly successful as dams of high-class racehorses. The Duke of Portland has had many other good stallions at Welbeck, such as St. Serf, Donovan, and Carbine (the famous Australian horse imported with a view to imparting stamina to the native stock), and he has always a few horses in training at Kingsclere, that famous Hampshire stable from which so many Derby winners have come. The speculative side of racing does not appeal to the duke; but the poor of the district in which Welbeck is situated have reason to remember with gratitude his successes of the past, for all his gains on the race-course have been devoted to charity, and a row of almshouses on the estate, known as 'The Winnings,' are a standing memorial to this great owner's generosity.

Sir John Robinson of Worksop Manor, who shares with the late Mr. John Gully the distinction of being the only bookmaker who has served his county as high sheriff, has always taken a keen interest in racing. In his younger days he was a capital horseman, and rode at Nottingham, Croxton Park, and other meetings, establishing in one season the record of four winners out of five mounts. A shrewd judge of a horse, he was elected a member of Tattersall's and appointed a member of the committee over twenty years ago. He has owned many excellent horses, including the grey Tipperary Boy, by Zouave out of Chanticleer, Myra, Raby Castle, and Distingué, but in racing has experienced indifferent luck. He founded at Worksop Manor a breeding stud, for which he at one time hired Donovan, and his matrons have included Violet Melrose, the dam of Melton, which won the Derby for Lord Hastings in 1885.

Sir John's yearlings are sold every year at the Doncaster bloodstock sales, when the demand for them is ample proof that the system of rearing pursued by their breeder is highly judicious. Of late years the Worksop Manor yearlings have invariably realized good prices, and in 1907 and 1908 several were sold at sums well over four figures. Trainers like them because, not having been pampered in any way, they come to hand early and are invariably hardy.

Although he lives in Derbyshire the Earl of Harrington is so conspicuous a figure in the sport of our county that he is almost regarded as a Nottinghamshire man. A few years ago his colours were regularly seen on the Nottingham race-course, and he owned some very useful horses.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Leslie Birkin, D.S.O., of Ruddington Grange has, within recent years, been prominently associated with racing under both Jockey Club and National Hunt rules, and is particularly identified with the meetings held at Colwick Park. His horses are trained by E. Martin at Lambourn, but there are also a few with C. Brown at Melton Mowbray. His two steeplechasers, Springbok and Merry John, are excellent fencers, and as both are very partial to the Nottingham course local admirers of their gallant owner frequently have the opportunity of cheering his equine favourites.

Mr. Charles Hibbert, the well-known book-maker, is also a Nottinghamshire man, and takes great interest in the Colwick Park and Southwell meetings. He has a long string of flat-racers and jumpers in training by W. Nightingall at South Hatch, Epsom, and his ambition to win the Grand National came near to realization when, in 1906, Red Lad ran second to Ascetic's Silver. That horse was trained for him by Joseph Cannon at Lordship, Newmarket. Amongst Mr. Hibbert's horses are several whose names have reference to localities in the county, including Sherwood Rise and Sherwood Forest, and the former won recently over obstacles at Southwell.

The famous cross-country jockey, George Williamson, also claims Notts as his native county. He won the Grand National on Manifesto in 1899, and was also in the saddle when that great horse ran third in the years 1900 and 1903. For many years Williamson fulfilled lucrative engagements in Austria, and his successes in the saddle on the Continent were very numerous. He does not now ride so frequently as hitherto, but occasionally takes a mount for owners with whom he has been associated in past years. Williamson is also a cricketer of some ability, and regularly figures in the annual matches of Jockeys against Athletes and Jockeys against Actors.

No history of Nottinghamshire racing would be complete without reference to the Ford family. Mr. W. J. Ford has been associated with the sport as judge, clerk of the course, and in other capacities for half a century, and no man in the Midlands is regarded as a greater authority on the subject. He is assisted by his sons, Mr. W. Ford, Mr. John Ford, and Mr. Stanley Ford, who appear to have inherited the qualities which have rendered Mr. Ford senior *facile princeps* in his departments. The Messrs. Ford are in great request as clerks of courses, stakeholders, and starters in various parts of the country, and officiate at meetings as far distant as Carlisle.

SHOOTING

Although given over very largely to foxhunting, Nottinghamshire affords a good deal of sport for the shooting man. For pheasant-rearing on a large scale many parts of Nottinghamshire are admirably suited, especially the western half of the county, including the district about Sherwood Forest, where the soil is for the most part sandy and gravelly. Further east there is more clay and the land is not so good for pheasants, although partridges do fairly well in the better farmed districts. In the Trent Valley the land is so largely devoted to pasture that it is by no means suitable for game, and the disappearance of arable land in many parts of the county has here, as elsewhere in England, been entirely against the welfare of game-preserving. In the southern portion of the county adjoining Leicestershire, foxes are much too plentiful to allow of any very remarkable achievements in the way of partridge-shooting, and in the extreme north the same difficulty occurs. Driving, in preference to walking up, is the recognized method of partridge-shooting nowadays on most of the more important Nottinghamshire estates, and by its means the stock of birds has been improved in those parts where other conditions were favourable. Much of the open land of the county is, however, quite useless for partridges,

which cannot thrive on poor uncultivated soil that produces nothing better than gorse, heather, and brambles; and there is a large acreage of poor land in Nottinghamshire that cannot even support ground game in any quantity. Wild pheasants thrive very well in certain districts where the soil is suitable and the land is well looked after. But the foxes make it impossible in most places to get up a large head of wild birds; as may be judged from the fact that on one estate, consisting of 12,000 acres of covert upon which no birds at all are reared by hand, the annual bag of pheasants does not average more than one bird to 18 acres! The western portion of the county is better than the eastern for game-preserving purposes, while in the eastern half there is still good sport to be had with wild-fowl, including snipe, of which great numbers are sometimes to be seen.

If there is nothing very famous to record in the matter of shooting in the county at the present time, the past has not been wholly without remarkable incident. It was in Nottinghamshire, for instance, that the remarkable match between Squire Osbaldeston and Mr. Crawford came off, and few events in the sporting world created more sensation than this test of shooting skill between two of the greatest

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gunners of the old days. The following account of this wager is taken from *Bell's Life*:—¹

The shooting match for £500 a side between W. S. Crawford, esquire, of Church Langton, and G. Osbaldeston, esquire, of Melton, came off on Tuesday and Thursday last, over the preserves of Lord Scarborough of Rufford Hall, Notts, Sir Richard Sutton acting as referee. The weather was rough and stormy, which was much in favour of W. S. Crawford, esquire, who won by two brace of birds.

Details of a sporting event of a similar character decided between the same pair are supplied in the Badminton Library volume on *Shooting (Field and Covert)*,² where the following account is given:—

A somewhat celebrated match at partridges took place in 1850 between Mr. Crawford and Mr. Osbaldeston, the former allowing the latter a start of 20 brace, being equivalent to one brace for every year that he exceeded him in age. On the first day each sportsman killed 80 brace, on the second day Mr. Crawford killed 102 brace and Mr. Osbaldeston 30 brace. The writer (Lord Walsingham) has received the above particulars from Mr. Savile's keeper, Samuel Herod, who walked with the shooters.

"The Squire," as all the world knows, was always keen on a wager, and often backed himself to do great things with the gun. On one occasion, according to an account that is quoted in Mr. E. V. Lucas's *Hambledon Men*,³ Squire Osbaldeston killed 98 out of 100 pheasants, and backing himself to kill 80 brace of partridges in a day he killed 97½ brace, while the 5½ brace which were picked up afterwards brought the total to over 100 brace. A remarkable feat, surely, in the days of muzzle-loaders!

During recent years there has been no great amount of shooting on the Worksop estate, belonging to the Duke of Newcastle. The home shoots, which comprise the whole of Clumber Park, together with several farms and coverts lying adjacent thereto, are in hand, and the land is well suited for partridges and pheasants. During the last two or three years, however, there has been practically no rearing by hand. Upon this estate in the parish of Haughton is situated the old and famous Haughton Duck Decoy. The decoy yields a fair number of wild duck and is maintained in good working order by his grace. All the rest of the shooting on the estate is let to farm and other tenants, the holder of the largest shoot being Mr. W. Hickson of Clumber Cottage, Worksop, who rears systematically.

Lady Chermiside's Newstead Abbey estate comprises 18,000 acres, of which the greater

portion is woodland. There are in all some 12,000 acres of pheasant coverts, but the yield is not great, the average yearly bag being about 350 brace. Partridge grounds extend to 6,000 acres and yield 500 brace of birds in a season. Pheasants are not now reared by hand, Sir Herbert Chermiside, who does all the shooting on the estate, having decided to go in for wild birds only. Partridges are both driven and walked up, and the ground is considered some of the best in the county. Woodcock are fairly frequent, twelve couple or more being usually bagged in a season. The Ground Game Act has brought about a great scarcity of hares, and rabbits are kept within rigorous limits. A warren of some 59 acres is, however, maintained, and about 2,000 rabbits are taken from it every season. These are crossed periodically with the silver grey.

Mr. W. H. Mason of Morton Hall, East Retford, who has about 2,400 acres of partridge ground and 105 acres of covert, besides rough land, in Nottinghamshire, has supplied us with a very interesting account of his shooting, and part of his letter must be given *verbatim*. He says:—

Though I own 3,000 acres of shooting in this county, it is scattered about in eight parishes. I have between 600 and 720 acres in this parish (East Retford), but in a long narrow strip; nearly the whole of South Wheatley parish (over 600 acres); over 1,000 acres in the joint parishes of North Leverton with Habbleshorpe; and also a farm in South Leverton, Headon cum Upton, Clarbrough, and land in Hayton and Cottam. We have generally reared some pheasants here, but our record is no more than 120 birds in one day. There are 96 acres of covert here, but I give 14 acres of this to a neighbour. Our best day's partridge shooting (driving) is 46 brace, with six guns. Perhaps it may be interesting to state that red-legged partridges were quite unknown in this county when I was a boy (I was born in 1846), but now there are any quantity. I cannot say when they first appeared; not earlier, I imagine, than 1865, though an odd pair may have been seen here and there before that date. Partridges are both walked up and driven, but the latter method is generally adopted wherever they are really plentiful and there is enough ground. I have in this house a couple of stuffed hares—one pure white all over and the other a very pale grey-brown. Both of these were killed here, and both, I believe, by my grandfather. The white one was killed by him, my father told me, and I think before my father could remember; so it must be getting on for a hundred years ago. The Ground Game Act has had little effect. There are as many hares now as there were before the Act. If there are more rabbits it is the fault of the tenant farmers, who sell their right to kill them to a professional rabbit-killer, who takes the cream off, but does not kill down in the thorough way the keepers used to do. This applies, of course, to cultivated land only, not to woodland. Gangs of poachers, ten to twenty and even more in number, net the rabbits systematically wherever there are enough to make it worth while. Woodcock are not very common, and breed here less frequently, I think, than they did in years gone by.

¹ Sunday, 13 Oct. 1850.

² Op. cit. 178, 179.

³ A new edition of John Nyren's *Young Cricketer's Tutor*.

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The Tollerton Hall estate, belonging to Mr. W. E. Burnside, furnishes some 1,200 acres of shooting, of which only about a dozen acres are covert. A few pheasants are, however, reared annually and these are spread over the estate, providing a little sport all through the season.

Partridges vary a good deal, but in a good season a hundred brace or so can be killed without overtaxing the stock. Woodcock are rare, and no more than one or two stray specimens are killed in the course of the year. Hares are fairly numerous, the season's bag sometimes totalling a hundred, but they are not so plentiful as before the Ground Game Act was passed. Considering the small amount of covert, rabbits must be considered plentiful, and during the past ten years there has been no great diminution in numbers. There is a little ground suitable for snipe and wild-fowl, about twenty to forty couple of the latter being bagged in a season. A couple of bags obtained within the past twelve years may be given to show the results by comparison of a good season and a bad one. The year 1897 was a good one for game, the season's bag being made up as follows:—Pheasants, 204; partridges, 185; woodcock, 2; wild-fowl, 33; hares, 127; rabbits, 1,405. Total, 1,956 head. The year 1907 was a poor one for game generally, but wild-fowl did well and rabbits showed no great decrease in numbers. The bag was:—Pheasants, 106; partridges, 9; woodcock, 1; wild-fowl, 66; hares, 41; rabbits, 1,202. Total, 1,425 head.

On Lord Middleton's estate at Wollaton Park some remarkable bags used to be obtained some twenty years ago, details of which, unfortunately, are not forthcoming at this date. The shooting consists of 1,100 acres, the greater proportion of which is nowadays laid down to grass and therefore yields no great head of partridges. Considering that there is a comparatively small acreage of covert and rough land suitable for pheasants the results must be considered very good indeed, for only great care and very favourable conditions could yield a bag of between 500 and 600 pheasants in a season without the assistance of hand-rearing. All the birds shot at Wollaton are wild. Partridges are usually driven, and a few red-legged birds are occasionally bagged. Woodcock are rare, but there are a few snipe and wild-fowl. A recent bag, which may be taken as being typical of what the estate can produce in an average season, is as follows:—Pheasants, 552; partridges, 102; woodcock, 4; wild duck, 42; snipe, 3; hares, 57; rabbits, 1,263; wood pigeons, 50; various, 100. Total, 2,173 head.

One of the best sporting estates for its size is that of Blyth Hall near Rotherham, on the Yorkshire boundary, owned by Major Willie. There are only 200 acres of covert, but nearly a

thousand pheasants have been killed here in a season, many of them, of course, being hand-reared birds. Partridges also do well, and are usually driven. Twenty brace of imported Hungarian birds were turned down a few years ago.

Woodcock are not numerous, but there is a nice sprinkling of these sporting birds in most seasons, and six or eight couple is not an unusual total for the year. The marsh, which is not more than 30 acres in extent, yields a remarkable quantity of snipe for its size. The birds breed here in considerable numbers, and a great many more, the head keeper states, could be killed if desired. As it is, twenty-five couple is by no means an unusual bag, and as many as two hundred couple of duck have been shot in a season. Ground game is fairly plentiful, the annual bag of rabbits running well into four figures, while hares also represent a respectable total in the game-book. An average season's bag is made up, in round numbers, as follows:—Pheasants, 900; partridges, 600; woodcock, 12; wild duck and other fowl, 400; snipe, 50; hares, 200; rabbits, 1,500. Total, 3,662 head.

Not very much shooting is done on Viscount Galway's property at Serlby Hall. A few pheasants are reared, and partridges, which have improved in numbers during the past few years, are usually bagged by driving. The land is very suitable for game, and if there were fewer foxes good bags of partridges might be obtained. Some woodcock are shot every season, but, as elsewhere in the county, they are not common.

Foxes also have a good deal of influence in the matter of sport with the gun in the Worksop district, as Mr. H. V. Machin's keeper at Gateford Hill observes with some regret. The season of 1907 was a particularly poor one in this neighbourhood, and very little shooting was done.

Mr. W. Denison, upon whose property the once well-known Ossington Decoy⁴ was situated, does a good deal of shooting on his estate, which is situated between Newark and Tuxford. The property is capable of carrying a head of 1,500 to 1,800 pheasants, and it has been the custom to rear anything up to these numbers for some years past. The soil is clay, and therefore not entirely suited to partridges, of which, however, as many as 500 brace can be killed in a good season. Mr. Denison says that the ground is not well adapted for driving, but as he does not care for walking up he only adopts the modern method. Hares, which at one time used to be very plentiful, are now to be found only in moderate numbers, and none are shot unless they are specially wanted. Rabbits are numerous in woods and hedges, the average season's bag being from 3,000 head upwards. There are a few woodcock, but in most seasons they are scarce. Wild-fowl are not so plentiful since the decoy, which

⁴ See below under "Decoys."

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was established in or about the year 1860, was abandoned some five and twenty years ago, but there are generally a few to be shot in suitable weather. The lake in the park where the decoy was situated is still in existence, and wild-fowl frequent it in the winter. Wood pigeons afford some sport in winter, when they are present in some numbers, but they are not seen here in the big flocks which appear elsewhere.

DECOYS

In the days when the population of Nottinghamshire was smaller, and before shooting became so universal, large numbers of wild-fowl used to resort to the many considerable lakes which are a feature of this part of England. The county once possessed at least four decoys, where duck and other fowl were taken; and none of these, so far as we can discover, was used with any idea of making it a commercial success, as was the case with the majority of the decoys in other parts of the kingdom.

Writing in 1886, Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, who has studied the ways of wild-fowl more closely than any other man of our own time, says that he considers Nottinghamshire to contain, at most times, more wild-fowl than any other English county that is without a sea-coast. But he goes on to state that the decoys therein have always been of a rude and primitive description, having been copied from the curious, and doubtless original, one of the county—that at Haughton.

Haughton Decoy, which is situated at a distance of about a mile to the north of Walesby, and some 4 miles to the south-east of the park at Clumber, is of very ancient origin, but there are no records now available to decide its age. It stands in an ideal situation in the middle of a wood of 30 acres, the pond itself being some 8 acres in extent. In this decoy, the fowl, instead of being taken, as in other decoys, by means of tunnel nets at the end of pipes, are captured by the simple expedient of letting down a trap-door at the entrance of the covered pipe, after they have been enticed therein by the food thrown into the water. No attempt is made to remove them when they are caught, such a proceeding in an open decoy of this pattern being fatal to success, because of the disturbing influence it would have on any other fowl in the vicinity. The birds are therefore left in the cage until flight time in the evening; when the other fowl having taken their departure the caged victims are taken out and killed. In a decoy of this sort no great 'takes' are ever made, and at Haughton no more than thirty birds at a time have been captured. Some 300 to 400 fowl a year, including wild duck, teal, and wigeon, used to be the average, but on a few occasions this number has been considerably exceeded. In the

season 1884-5, for instance, nearly 500 birds were secured. If this decoy were worked on a more comprehensive scale with extra pipes and tunnel nets, it would doubtless be capable of yielding much higher figures than those given; but it has never been regarded as a commercial enterprise, and has always fulfilled well enough the purpose for which it was intended. The Haughton Decoy is supposed to be the oldest of its kind in England, and is said to be the pattern from which the more recently established decoys at Park Hall, Ossington, and at Hardwick were constructed. The ancient fish-ponds and other appurtenances of the decoy show the great care and expense that were bestowed upon it, and it is worth mentioning that the pond has been under the care of a family of the name of Ward, well known in the district as a race of decoy-men for many generations.⁵

The other decoys of Nottinghamshire are of much less importance than that at Haughton. That at Park Hall, 2 miles north of Mansfield, consists of a channel some 80 ft. in length, cut through an island in the lake and arched over with wire netting. It has a falling door at each end with a division in the centre, the operation of capturing the fowl being exactly the same as that employed at Haughton. This decoy is in good working order, the present owner being Mr. Francis Hall.

At Wollaton Hall, 3 miles to the west of Nottingham, there formerly existed a small trap decoy, similar to those described, and situated on a small island in the centre of a lake of some 23 acres. This decoy was on the property of Lord Middleton, but the date of its beginning is unknown, and it has long since fallen into a state of disrepair. Here, however, there also existed at one time—probably about 1825—a three-pipe decoy on about an acre of water. This was close to the lake on the west side and in a good situation; but, although the decoy appears to have been worked for a period of about twenty years, it was never very successful, no doubt owing to the fact that the district became every year more thickly populated. The 'takes' are said to have been from 100 to 300 fowl a season when the decoy was at its best, but the numbers fell away so rapidly towards the end that the decoy was abandoned in 1845.

A decoy of comparatively recent construction was that formed at Ossington Hall, about the year 1860. This was a trap-decoy of much the same pattern as that at Haughton, but on a much smaller scale. An ingenious arrangement enabled the decoy-man to see how things were going when he wanted to make a catch, a sunken path being constructed nearly to the edge of the decoy, with evergreens planted along each side to assist in screening his move-

⁵ Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, *The Book of Duck Decoys*.

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ments. Peering through the bushes, he could wait until a sufficient number of birds was in the cage, and then, by means of a clever contrivance of cords and pulleys, would lower the door of the trap and imprison his victims. This method of working a decoy, although neither so skilful nor so sporting as that in which the man and the dog work together to drive and entice the fowl up the pipe, is very successful on a small pond, where it can be conducted without making any noise and without raising the least suspicion on

the part of the fowl that they are not alone. Such decoys as these, however, were generally only employed when the object of their existence was simply to supply the household of the owner with fowl when required, and at Ossington no more than sixty to a hundred birds were taken in a season, the best catch at one time being no better than seventeen. This small decoy was abandoned about thirty years ago, when the lake, which was silting up, was dredged.

ANGLING

From the earliest times the art of fishing for food or recreation has been practised in the well-stocked River Trent, and the fame of the Nottingham style, the Nottingham reels, and the Nottingham floats, has spread far and wide.

In the records of the corporation of Nottingham for the year 1527 is the following interesting entry: 'Hit is an olde custome for the Mayre for the tyme being to give his bredren knowlege for to see the annual sport of the fishynge'—which indicates that there was a day set apart yearly for the members of the corporation to enjoy the sport.

In 1531 the fishery was farmed by one Richard Smith for the sum of 40s. a year. Twenty-one years later an Act was passed, applying to the Trent among other rivers, to preserve the spawn of the fish which in some places had been used for food for swine and dogs. Salmon and trout were not to be taken out of season, nor was pike or pikerel to be captured of less than 10 in. in length, salmon 15 in., trout 8 in., and barbel 12 in., and—except for taking smelts, loches (ruffes), minnies, bull-heads, gudgeons, and eels—no nets were to be used of less mesh than 2½ in.

The last entry in the corporation records with reference to what is termed the 'Corporation fishery' is in the year 1715, when we find it leased to Alderman Watkinson. In 1783 an Act of Parliament for rendering the river navigable at all times to large boats was passed, and the Extension Act of 1794 mentions that 'the fisheries on the river are amply protected.'

For coarse fishing the Trent is unsurpassed in England, and there was a time when it abounded with trout and grayling.

And bounteous Trent that in himself enseames
Both thirty kinds of fish and thirty sundry streams.

So sang Spenser in 'The Faerie Queene,' and the statement has been repeated by Izaak Walton and many other writers since. Rising in the moorlands of Staffordshire, the Trent receives the waters of the Tame, the Derwent, the Dove and the Soar, and entering Nottinghamshire near Thrumpton, it flows in a broad stream past

Nottingham to within a mile of Newark, whence it takes a more northerly course to West Stockwith. Here it enters Lincolnshire, and finally empties itself in the Humber, after a serpentine course of nearly 200 miles. During its passage through Nottinghamshire it receives the waters of the Erewash, the Leen, the Dover Beck, and the Greet, as well as of a number of smaller streams, and its character is so diverse that it affords remarkably varied sport. Here it flows majestically along; there it ripples merrily over its gravelly bed; anon it broadens out into still and quiet pools, or, compressed by narrow banks, rushes along in a surging stream.

Charles Cotton described the Trent as 'one of the finest rivers in the world and the most abounding with excellent salmon and all sorts of delicate fish.' Salmon it still contains, and in 1905 an exceptionally large number ascended the river. While spinning for pike Mr. Clements caught a salmon estimated to weigh about 40 lb., but as it was the close season the fish was restored to the river. This was an exceptional size for Trent salmon, one of 20 lb. being considered a fine capture. Tom Bailey of Newark on one occasion landed a salmon that scaled 32½ lb. It is notorious that salmon cannot be taken on the Trent with the fly; but with a spinning artificial bait and worms they fall victims to the wiles of the Nottingham bottom-fishers, who generally employ a strong 12 ft. barbel rod.

Sixty years ago we find angling writers lamenting that the fish in the Trent had sadly diminished in size and number. The increase in the number of anglers and the decrease in the size of the mesh of the nets, with which the river was then so frequently drawn, accounted for this state of things. There were giants in those days. The veteran Caborn, Bendigo, the prize-fighter, and William Bailey, author of 'The Angler's Instructor' and the champion of Nottingham—these, with many others, formed a school of fishermen unsurpassed in skill by any others in the kingdom. Bailey's career is a singularly interesting one. Forsaking the shoemaker's stool for the rod and line, he had at the age of 17

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to depend upon his skill as a fisherman for the means of livelihood; but in those days there were, he tells us, ten times as many fish in the Trent as there were when he closed his career. In a match with Watson, the Sheffield champion, in 1858, he killed over 50 lb. weight more trout than his opponent, and one cold morning in April landed twenty-two fish, weighing 65 lb., in two and a half hours.

Bailey has left on record an interesting statement as to the most noted fishing spots on the Trent in 1876. Shardlow, Clifton, Colwick, Burton Joyce, Hoveringham, Hazelford, Fiskerton, Stoke, Farndon, Holme Pierrepont, and Collingham were then, as now, favourite resorts of anglers, and the fishing included grayling, barbel, pike, bream, dace, roach, perch, and chub. At Hoveringham, which was famous for its excellent fly-fishing, grayling were more numerous than at any other place between Nottingham and Newark, and a good many were caught at Shardlow; but poisonous matter from Burton had even then, it was stated, almost extinguished this beautiful fish between Nottingham and that town. Any quantity of fish, especially barbel, could be caught at Colwick in the summer, and more than a hundredweight was taken several times during the season of 1875. Excellent sport was then to be had among roach, dace, perch, and bream; and barbel would have been found in far greater numbers if that unsportsmanlike method of catching fish called 'skull-dragging' could have been stopped. The Trent was at this time perhaps the best river in England for the number and size of its chub. Fish of 5 and 6 pounds were fairly common, and Bailey once killed one that was only 2 oz. under 7 lb., while another that he secured weighed 6½ lb.

Since those days not only has the number of anglers in the county vastly increased, but the appliances of the expert angler have been greatly improved, and the rods, reels, lines, and tackle of a Nottingham bottom-fisher to-day represent the highest achievement that ingenuity and practical experience can suggest. On the other hand, the fish peculiar to the Trent, although they haunt the stream in large, if diminished numbers, have become more wary and cunning, and it is much more difficult to fill the creel nowadays. Mr. C. Jackson, a member of the Nottinghamshire Piscatorial Society, who has fished the Trent for sixty-five years, has killed as much as 11 stone of coarse fish in a day, but such bags are things of the past. The sport is, however, no less fascinating, for, in addition to the lordly salmon and a very occasional trout or grayling, there are barbel, chub, bream, pike, roach, perch, dace, eels, and flounders, not to mention such small fry as bleak, gudgeon, ruff, and minnow, in more or less abundance in the river.

The Trent is not considered a very good river

for perch. A perch of 1½ lb. is regarded as a good specimen, but in 1885 Mr. W. Rigby landed one at Clifton weighing 2 lb. 1½ oz. The bait that is used consists of worms, minnows, and very small gudgeon or dace. Chub are now less plentiful than they used to be, and a 4 lb. specimen is a rarity. That voracious feeder, the chub, takes anything from a fly to a small frog. A fine specimen, measuring 25 in. in length, 16 in. in girth, and weighing a little over 6 lb., was taken out of the Muskham waters by Mr. Cubley of Newark; and Mr. Frank Sims, another Newark angler, caught one at Winthorpe that scaled 8 lb. It is impossible, however, now to repeat the performance of an angler who some years ago took forty-two chub with forty-three baits in 300 yds. of water.

The Trent shares with the Thames the distinction of being the best barbel river in England and occasionally tremendous catches have been made. Mr. J. W. Martin, the 'Trent Otter,' records that about fifty years ago an old angler caught on one occasion thirty-two fish which weighed exactly a couple of hundredweight, being an average of 7 lb. each. In more recent years Mr. H. Coxon of Nottingham has taken as many as forty-four barbel in an afternoon, and on another occasion he killed thirty-eight, both catches being effected in the Colwick waters. Mr. G. Bates of Shardlow captured at Averham, within a week, two fish that scaled a trifle over 19 lb. the pair, and Mr. W. Trivett of Mansfield landed one at Thrumpton that weighed 17½ lb. The late Mr. S. Hibbert of Newark caught a barbel at Averham that scaled 14½ lb., and in the same spot Mr. W. Revill of Nottingham obtained one of 12 lb. Bendigo, it is recorded, took one of 13½ lb. at Trent Bridge. From 3 to 5 lb. is a fair average weight in these days, and a barbel of nine or ten pounds is something of which to be proud. In 1907 Mr. T. Barnett of Nottingham caught a unique specimen on the Farndon stretch of the river while roach-fishing. It weighed 3½ lb., and when dissected by Mr. H. Motteram of Nottingham was found to contain an eel 13 in. in length, while lower down the stomach was a gudgeon above the average weight employed in baiting for pike. The baits generally used for barbel on the Trent are worms, slugs, gentles, grubs, scratchings, and cheese, and experienced fishermen use fine tackle.

Roach-fishing has a legion of votaries in Nottingham. Gentles, cad baits, worms, paste, creed wheat and brewers' grains are favourite baits. The fish are rarely known to exceed 3 lb. in weight, and they are exceedingly shy of the hook. When a bream hole near Newark was netted some years ago several roach weighing from 2 lb. to 3 lb. each were caught, and in 1884 members of local clubs secured two that turned the scale at 2 lb. 4 oz. and 2 lb. 1 oz.

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respectively. One of the largest ever caught on the Trent with rod and line weighed $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb.; it was taken in winter at the Erewash mouth. Mr. J. Theaker, a well-known Nottingham angler, killed a brace in the Weston fishery that scaled 1 lb. $14\frac{3}{4}$ oz. and 1 lb. $13\frac{1}{2}$ oz. respectively. One of the most successful roach fishers in the district is Mr. F. W. K. Wallis of Long Eaton, a member of the Nottingham Wellington Angling Society, who is very fond of creed wheat as a bait. In the Nottingham Museum is a roach which he caught at Shardlow in 1894, weighing 1 lb. $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz. A capital spot for this branch of the sport is Attenborough Bend.

There is a tradition that a bream weighing 17 lb. was once taken from the Trent, and it is on record that two carp bream, weighing respectively $12\frac{3}{4}$ lb. and $12\frac{1}{4}$ lb., were caught by Mr. Beck in his eel nets at Hoveringham. As a rule bream run from 3 to 5 lb. each, and there are some famous haunts of this fish on the river. Out of a bream hole below Newark upwards of 2 tons were taken with nets some twenty-five years ago. The best baits seem to be cockspur, brandling, and lob-worms; ground-baiting with lob worms is most successful, although big bags are sometimes taken with lures of a most unusual description.

The predatory pike does not attain a very large size in the Trent, one of 20 lb. being an exceptional catch. Spinning is the method most in vogue, but occasionally pike are captured with a worm. In the Nottingham Museum may be seen one of 19 lb. caught at King's Mills in 1896, and another of 20 lb. taken at Kingston reservoir, near Belvoir.

Dace are found in innumerable swims in the Trent, and fishing for them is a speciality with many local anglers, cad baits, gentles, lobs, cockspurs, and red worms being used according to the season. In the Trent a half-pound dace is a good one, but occasional captures of 9 or 10 oz. apiece are made. Mr. J. Griffin caught a dace of $9\frac{3}{4}$ oz. at Beeston and one weighing $8\frac{1}{2}$ oz. fell a victim to Mr. H. Spray's skill in 1889. These, however, appear insignificant when compared with two which were in the possession of Mr. S. Pogson of Nottingham. They were netted out of a small private pond near Newstead Abbey and weighed 1 lb. 3 drachms and $13\frac{3}{4}$ oz. respectively.

Eels are plentiful, and often attain a considerable size in the Trent, even six-pounders being not uncommon. On one occasion two weighing 8 lb. and 7 lb. respectively were caught on a night-line at Collingham with a nest of young blackbirds for bait. The flounder is found in considerable numbers in the lower reaches of the Trent, and occasional baskets of tench are caught. The ruff, or pope, affords practice for the young angler, and the burbot is sometimes taken.

Porpoises are occasionally attracted up the river

by the salmon, and prove a great nuisance to anglers. One was shot at Laneham in May 1907, thus incidentally dispelling a popular belief in the neighbourhood that it was impossible to shoot a porpoise with a gun on account of its tough hide. Sturgeon are occasionally captured at Averham Weir, the heaviest caught in the district of late years weighing 20 stone.

The only trout-fishing of any note in the county is to be obtained in the Dover Beck and the Greet, and both these tributaries of the Trent are strictly preserved. The Dover Beck rises near Blidworth, and passes through Oxton, Woodborough, and Lowdham, falling into the Trent near Caythorpe. It holds some fine trout, up to 5 lb. in weight, and is well stocked with chub and dace. The Greet, which rises near Farnsfield, and flows by Southwell and Fiskerton to the Trent, is an even better trout stream, and restocking operations have recently been carried out on several sections of the river. Efforts have also been made by the Wellington Angling Society to secure trout-fishing on certain reaches of the Trent. Analyses of the water having proved satisfactory, the society in 1899 purchased a batch of Loch Leven and brown trout from the Milton Hatchery and turned them into the shallows at Donington Corner, Shardlow. Since that time a large quantity of trout of the Milton strain, including 10,000 fry and a lot of two- and three-year-olds, have been put into the river, and are said to have thriven well. The other leading angling societies in Nottingham and the Trent Fishery Board have co-operated in this interesting experiment, and today there are a fair number of trout on the reaches extending from Shardlow to Wilford, and from Hoveringham to Fiskerton. They do not, however, seem to rise very freely to the artificial fly, and the best specimens killed have fallen to the attractions of the cockspur worm, used in tight-floating style. Jem Morris, the Wellington Society's bailiff, landed a beautiful specimen, weighing about 6 lb., in perfect condition, while fishing for barbel at Shardlow four years ago.

Nottingham has many angling associations, among which may be mentioned the Wellington Angling Society, the Nottingham Piscatorial Society, the Nottinghamshire Anglers' Association, and the Waltonians. The Wellington Society rents the exclusive right of fishing from both banks of that portion of the River Trent which extends from the iron railway bridge at Castle Donington to opposite the Red House below Cavendish Bridge on the south side, and to Crowder's Eve on the north side of the river—a total distance of about 4 miles. The society has also, by the generous gift of the late Sir Henry Bromley, the exclusive right of fishing the south bank of the Trent from the island below Hazelford Ferry to the wharf in Stoke Park.

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This stretch of water is rather more than 4 miles in length. The Bromley Challenge Cup—the gift of Sir Henry Bromley for the best record of specimen fish caught during the year—is one of the society's most treasured trophies. It was won outright by Mr. F. W. K. Wallis, who generously gave it back to the society for competition under the same conditions except that it cannot now become the absolute property of any member. Another of the society's trophies is the Hooley Challenge Cup awarded for the best specimen fish of the season. Gold medals are also given at the end of each season for specimen fish of any species. The minimum weights for fish that can be entered for prizes are as follows: Trout, 2 lb.; barbel, 6 lb.; bream, 4 lb.; chub, 3 lb. 8 oz.; roach, 1 lb. 8 oz.; perch, 1 lb. 8 oz.; dace, 9 oz.; pike, 12 lb. The present patron of the Wellington Angling Society is the Duke of Newcastle. The honorary president is Sir Maurice Bromley-Wilson, bart.; the president, Mr. T. J. Hodson; chaplain, the Rev. T. B. B. Ferris; while among the vice-presidents are the Rev. H. C. Russell, Sir John Robinson, and Captain J. Dalby. Mr. Harry Spray, of 24 Pilcher Gate, Nottingham, who has kindly furnished the foregoing particulars of the society, is the honorary secretary.

The Nottingham Piscatorial Society was formed early in the year 1891 by a few keen local anglers, and now possesses a large membership. The waters which it rents are reserved for the exclusive use of members. At the outset the society had the right of fishing in the Lockington waters extending from just above the junction of the Soar with the Trent, close to Trent Lock. To this was added about 2 miles of the canal connecting the Trent above and below Sawley Weir, the property of Sir Vauncey Crewe. After three or four years these waters were given up, the society having the opportunity of securing the fishery of Rolleston Staythorpe and Overham, belonging to Mr. Manners-Sutton of Kelham Hall near Newark. These waters, which are about 5 miles in extent, are still in the possession of the society and held on lease. The society also rents the Attenborough and Barton waters belonging to Sir T. Birkin and comprising both banks of the

river for a distance of about 2½ miles. Recently also the Kneeton water, consisting of about 2 miles running through the Canarvon estate, has been acquired.

Much of the success that has attended the Nottingham Piscatorials is due to the energy of Messrs. W. Benson and C. Jackson, who are never failing in their support of the society, and have occupied their present position of vice-chairmen almost from the date of the society's foundation. Messrs. F. Truman and C. Jackson were the pioneers of the society and have in consequence been elected life members. The former filled the post of president for a period of eleven years. The present chairman of the society is Mr. A. J. Sewell, and Lord Henry Bentinck is president. Mr. J. E. Wootten, a past president of the society, now fills the office of secretary at head quarters, 9 Smithy Row, Nottingham. Among the society's trophies is the Guy Challenge Cup, presented by Mrs. Guy, the widow of a former supporter of the Piscatorials. Angling competitions for prizes are arranged from time to time, the minimum size limits of the various fish being as follows: Pope, 3½ in.; bleak, 4 in.; flounder, 6 in.; gudgeon, 5 in.; dace, perch, and burbot, 7 in.; roach or rudd, tench and grayling, 8 in.; bream and chub 9 in.; carp and trout, 10 in.; eel, 12 in.; barbel, 13 in.; pike, 20 in.

The Nottinghamshire Anglers Association, which has a total membership of about 2,000, possesses many miles of excellent coarse-fishing water; and the Waltonians have a nice stretch below Wilford Bridge. There are many other minor angling societies, and a large number of unattached fishermen. In addition to the waters mentioned, certain lengths on the Grantham Canal and the lake at Oxton offer good sport with the rod.

The close times for fish in the Trent Fishery District are as follows: Salmon, with nets, between 1 September and 1 February, both inclusive; salmon, with rod, between 2 November and 1 February, both inclusive; trout and char, between 2 October and 1 February, both inclusive; grayling and coarse fish, between 15 March and 15 June, both inclusive.

CRICKET

Few counties have a greater cricket history than Nottinghamshire. In George Parr, Richard Daft, Arthur Shrewsbury, and William Gunn, the county gave to the world of cricket four of the finest batsmen that ever defied attack. In Alfred Shaw was found the finest slow bowler yet developed, and with him will always be associated Fred Morley, his comrade in so many efforts. Later William

Attewell bowled more maidens than any other cricketer, and in yet more recent times Mr. A. O. Jones has proved the keenest of players in every department. These are only the foremost among many skilled in the game, and it must be borne in mind that Notts. was at one period the recruiting ground whence professionals were hired out under the residential qualification among the majority of the other counties. That

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the success of Notts. has not been uniform need occasion no surprise. In the heyday of triumph the slow methods of run-getting deliberately adopted by the principal batsmen alienated much local support, while in a county mainly dependent on professional talent a good deal of friction frequently occurred. These things are, however, but slight blots on the success of the midland county, a success in no small measure due to its good fortune in possessing such a fine cricket ground as that at Trent Bridge.

Two of the earliest recorded county fixtures in connexion with Notts., although nominally restricted to the chief town, are the matches which took place in 1789 between Nottingham and Leicester at Loughborough, that place being equidistant from the two county towns. In the first match the bat completely beat the ball, Nottingham being dismissed for 31 and 23, while Leicester totalled 70. The return, known in cricket history as the 'odd notch game,' was played a month later, when Nottingham lost by 1 run. In 1791 M.C.C. beat XXII of Notts. by 13 runs. Notts. took revenge on Leicester in 1800, for Chapman and Warsop bowled the latter out for 15 and 8, eleven noughts being on the score sheet. On 29 September of the same year Nottingham for the first time met Sheffield, and the same pair of bowlers sent back the Yorkshire visitors for 24 and 22. On 3 November a match arranged between Nottingham and XXII of Sheffield ended quite as decisively. The *Sporting Magazine* of 1815 says 'such is the ardour of the Nottingham cricketers about this time that on Monday and Tuesday in *Christmas* week Mansfield played Mansfield Woodhouse a two-day match.'

In 1817 XXII of Nottingham beat England by 30 runs. The match was said to have been 'sold' on both sides. Lord F. Beauclerk had a finger broken (and lock-jaw nearly supervened) in trying to stop an angry overthrow from Sherman, whom he had rebuked for slackness. Bentley was given run out so unfairly that the umpire was changed. Mr. E. H. Budd caught out nine opponents. Fourteen thousand spectators witnessed this acrimonious game, and 'it was arranged to stop each night at seven as it was the time of the Cuddite riots.'

The ground at Trent Bridge was opened by Clarke in 1839, and the first big match was played there in 1842. M.C.C. had declined to proceed with their game against Notts., so Fuller Pilch decided to play with his All England Eleven. His side, composed of Box, Dean, Dorrington, Hawkins, Hillyer, Lillywhite, Mr. A. Mynn, Fuller Pilch, Hon. F. Ponsonby, Sewell, and Wenman, was victorious by ten wickets, scoring 218 and 5 for 0 against 115 and 110 made by Notts. By this time matters had advanced beyond the stage when in a Nottingham and

Sheffield match the Nottingham umpire called 'no ball' whenever a straight one was bowled. Clarke was the 'general' of the Notts team. His career was remarkable, for though he represented his town as far back as 1816, he did not appear at Lord's until 1836, and was not chosen to represent the Players until he was forty-seven. He was a successful manager of the All England Eleven, and did more to popularize cricket than anyone before Dr. W. G. Grace. Caffyn has observed that Clarke as a bowler must have been the counterpart of the old Hambledon bowlers. He had had his right eye destroyed at fives, and bowled a wicket with his very last ball a few months before his death. In early life he was a bricklayer; he later became a landlord.

George Parr, known as 'the lion of the north,' was a magnificent bat, very sound in his defence, and he certainly hit more balls to leg than any other cricketer. It is curious that though he was an excellent captain he never liked the game and took no interest in it after his retirement. Possibly he alone found no gratification in being on the victorious side in 1847 when Notts. beat All England by ten wickets. In 1852 the county was again victorious, this time by 27 runs, thanks to the bowling of a colt named Bickley who claimed eight wickets in the second innings. Great enthusiasm was aroused by the defeat of Surrey by ten wickets that year; Parr was the principal scorer with 69. The friction of those days is revealed by the fact that none of Clarke's men were chosen by M.C.C. to play for England against Notts. at Trent Bridge in 1854, when the nation won with ease. In 1859, at the Oval, Notts. made the then huge score of 320 against Surrey, Parr getting 130 and Richard Daft, at that time a colt, 52. Considering the local keenness, it is a matter for surprise that the form degenerated so much in Notts. for a time. The county club was really in a slack state, but in 1869 matters improved. In those days the habitual programme was six county matches, out and home.

At this period there was an enormous gap between Richard Daft and the rest of the team. Originally appearing as an amateur, Daft reverted to that status at the very close of his career: he and Diver are the only men who have played for both Gentlemen and Players. Richard Daft succeeded Parr as captain, and was at his best as a bat between 1861 and 1876. He played in exceptionally fine form, utilizing every inch of his height, and being very strong in back play. No man ever shaped better to fast bowling, and it was on him that Arthur Shrewsbury closely modelled himself. In 1870, when scores were much smaller than in more recent years, he actually averaged 61.

The death of Summers in the cricket field was a tragic incident. In the two matches with Kent, J. C. Shaw, a capital left-handed fast

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bowler, captured seventeen wickets for 71 runs. Yorkshire only won by two runs at Nottingham, Emmett being prevented from bowling because he changed ends more than the legal number of times.

Next year Alfred Shaw became recognized as a great bowler; indeed, at his pace he has never been equalled, and no praise is great enough for his skill. At this epoch, although Jackson, in his day so destructive, Grundy (who, when Yorkshire needed 101 to win, took five wickets for 13), Wootton, the best left-handed bowler of his time, Parr, and Tinley had retired, new men were coming forward, chief among whom, besides the Shaws, we must name Martin, McIntyre, Bignall, Wild, Selby, a capital bat, and Oscroft, a vigorous run-getter and the last of the old school of leg-hitters. Out of J. C. Shaw's fifty-four wickets, forty were caught, an abnormal proportion in those days. Dr. W. G. Grace's first match at Trent Bridge drew 25,000 spectators. Notts., having scored 364 in their first innings, had only to go in for 1 run in their second, while of Gloucestershire's 147 and 217, Dr. W. G. Grace compiled 79 and 116 out of 163 while in. In the following summer, against the same visitors, Notts. amassed 489, the biggest total then made at Trent Bridge, Wild, Selby, and Daft being responsible for 316. An extra match against Yorkshire at Prince's, 'notable for all on both sides being native born,' resulted in a victory by 6 runs, J. C. Shaw taking seven for 35, and A. Shaw six for 31.

In 1873 fresh developments were seen, for the prize bat in the colts' match was awarded to Arthur Shrewsbury, whose 35 was 'cool, steady, and well played.' He eventually proved to be the greatest professional bat of his day. It was not until he came back from Australia, strengthened by the sea voyages and warm climate, that he really developed his wonderful staying powers. He himself always considered his best innings to be the 164 that he made in the Test Match at Lord's in 1886. His style of back play was masterly in grace, and peculiar to himself. It was said of him that he seemed to see the ball closer up to the bat than did any other player. Certainly there never was a better judge of length. His patience, too, was inexhaustible, and he introduced the system of leg play which other players have so outrageously abused.

Morley, the fast bowler, began to be destructive, and McIntyre at the Oval took the last four Surrey wickets for 0, and the last five wickets, four bowled, in eleven balls. At Sheffield in 1874 he claimed five all bowled for 8 runs, while Morley took six for 14 at the Oval and Alfred Shaw claimed eighteen for 167 in the matches with Middlesex. It was remarkable that in one county fixture, in which he was not put on to bowl, his side was victorious by one

wicket. His record for 1875 was eighty-two for 628, his chief performances being seven for 7 against M.C.C., and six Surrey wickets for 8, while in 1876 he bowled 1,011 overs for 918 runs and seventy-eight wickets. North against South was chosen for Daft's Testimonial Match, when the South, having 190 to get, made the runs in ninety-six minutes for one wicket. Dr. W. G. Grace scored 114, and was assisted by Messrs. I. D. Walker and A. J. Webbe, the bowlers being Shaw, Morley, Hill, Ulyett, and Lockwood. Surrey was sent back at Trent Bridge for 26, Shaw taking five for 15, and Morley five for 10. The season of 1877 was, however, a doleful time, although Morley claimed sixty for 929, for Shaw fell sick, and bad fielding was as conspicuous as the absence of a regular wicket-keeper. Middlesex amassed 400 at Nottingham, Mr. A. J. Webbe and the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton each getting exactly 100, but the last pair of the home team ultimately played out time. Championship honours went to Notts. in 1878, when Morley took 118 wickets for 9 runs each, and Shaw eighty-one for 12. Selby batted with great vigour. Flowers was recognized as a most useful all-round player. Barnes was a most valuable batsman, especially strong on the off-side, and it was sometimes through undue eagerness that he lost his wicket. He detested bowling, although he was cunning with the ball and had hours when he was deadly. The Australians played their first match in England in May 1878 at Nottingham, and on that occasion Shaw and Morley bowled unchanged on a slow wicket, and Selby beat the first total of the Colonials off his own bat.

On the phenomenally wet pitches of 1879 Nottinghamshire was superior to Lancashire, their nearest opponents. Morley's figures were eighty-nine for 867. Oscroft's fine hitting averaged 32. He was the leading professional bat of the summer, and his 140 at Canterbury, exceeding by 14 runs the effort of the Kent eleven, was the largest innings of the year.

The first Test Match on English soil took place at the Oval towards the close of the summer of 1880, and the three professionals chosen—Barnes, Shaw, and Morley—were all Nottinghamshire men. Later, when no other county had done so, Nottinghamshire beat the Australians by one wicket, Shrewsbury and Barnes scoring 108 out of 125 in that last innings from the bat. Shaw took twelve for 95, was twice not out, and made the winning hit. The following Nottinghamshire men have been chosen for Test Matches in England: Mr. A. O. Jones, Shrewsbury, Scotton, W. Gunn, Barnes, Shaw, Morley, Flowers, Attewell, Sherwin, and J. Gunn. All these have been to Australia, and so have George Parr, Jackson, Tinley, McIntyre, Oscroft, Selby, Bean, W. Lockwood, Hardstaff, and George Gunn. Daft's unbeaten team

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in America in 1879 consisted of Barnes, Os-croft, Selby, Shrewsbury, Shaw, Morley, Bates, Emmett, E. Lockwood, Pinder, and Ulyett.

The championship in 1880 rightly remained with Nottinghamshire, who had eight victories to set against their defeat by Yorkshire by five wickets. The sensation of the season was the dismissal of Surrey for 16 at the Oval, Morley claiming seven for 9, and Shaw three for 6, whilst Barnes was in great form with the bat. In 1881 Shaw, Shrewsbury, Barnes, Morley, Selby, Scotton, and Flowers, making a deliberate combination against recognized administration, refused to play for Nottinghamshire unless all received an engagement for the season. With great pluck the executive stood to their guns, and brought out a new eleven including Butler, a good bat, Walter Wright, a left-handed fast bowler who was afterwards useful to Kent, and Attewell, one of the finest and steadiest bowlers ever known. William Gunn was gradually developing into a great bat, though he unduly curbed his great punishing powers. Sherwin, burly in figure, popular with the crowd, was recognized as a wicket-keeper of consummate ability.

At full strength in 1882 Nottinghamshire again won the championship, the extraordinary partnership at the Oval between Shrewsbury (207) and Barnes (130) producing a record in county cricket of 289. Shacklock replaced Morley in 1883, without, however, greatly improving the attack; but in the following summer Nottinghamshire enjoyed an undefeated season with nine victories and a draw. Shrewsbury headed the list, while Scotton became the best left-handed batsman, only ruining his cricket by his stonewalling propensities. Shaw, at the age of forty-two, took sixty-eight wickets for 10 runs apiece on hard wickets—a marvellous performance—while Attewell took seventy-one for 12.

Only one crushing defeat from Yorkshire in 1885 marred the triumph of the Nottinghamshire eleven, who won five of their victories with an innings to spare. Gunn at last became recognized as Shrewsbury's chief colleague with the bat. In 1886 there was not one reverse to set against seven victories. Lockwood, afterwards so famous for Surrey, played in a few fixtures. Scotton took three hours and thirty-five minutes for his 45 against the Australians. For the Players at Nottingham against the Colonials, Barlow scored 111 and took five for 51. In 1887 the bowling seemed to lack sting and the fielding was unsafe. Surrey gained a wonderful victory by 157 runs after Mr. J. Shuter aroused controversy by ordering his later batsmen to get out. The way in which Gunn played Lohmann's bowling was admirable, while Shrewsbury was the greatest batsman of the year. That keen cricketer, Mr. J. A. Dixon, began to be regarded as a capital bat, fair

bowler, and alert field, as well as a judicious captain.

The absence of Shrewsbury left an irreparable gap in 1888, and in other respects the play fell off. The two great Bank Holiday struggles ended in favour of Surrey, and the best feature was the slow bowling of H. Richardson. After winning six matches off the reel in 1889, Nottinghamshire fell away despite consistent batting by Gunn and admirable bowling by Attewell. Flowers did capital work in all departments, and some extraordinary results were credited to the team. Until the end of July in 1890 the side was equally fortunate, and so long as Shrewsbury and Gunn were defying attack the falling off in the bowling was not perceptible. Shrewsbury's 267 against Sussex was not really so meritorious as his 117 and 76 not out in the Lancashire match. Attewell received far too little support with the ball, but he also batted with considerable success.

In the early nineties the splendid traditions of the Nottinghamshire team began to be tarnished, and their tiresome deliberation in scoring seemed to alienate the support of the local public. At Brighton in 1891 Shrewsbury and Gunn added 312, and in the match against Kent they made 232. Richard Daft reappeared at the age of fifty-six, but, except for Attewell, the weakness in bowlers was obvious. After playing twelve matches without a reverse in 1892, Nottinghamshire had to take second place to Surrey. Mr. A. O. Jones, a pupil of Shrewsbury, came forward, but it was not yet that he made his mark as a delightfully keen cricketer, superb field, and a most attractive and aggressive bat as well as an energetic captain. H. B. Daft, though a tame bat, was splendid at third man. It was as usual the batting of the two stars that accounted for the success, but the bowling improved. In celebration of the victory over Surrey by four wickets the sum of £200 was subscribed and presented to the team.

There was a sad falling off in 1893. Nottinghamshire men, however, showed to advantage in Shrewsbury's benefit match between the Australians and an England eleven, when the English side—Dr. W. G. Grace, Messrs. A. E. Stoddart, L. C. H. Palairt, and W. W. Read, with Shrewsbury, Gunn, Peel, Wainwright, Lockwood, Attewell, and Storer—won by an innings and 153 runs. Peel claimed eleven for 110, twice defeating Mr. J. J. Lyons. In 1894 Shrewsbury's inability to play and Gunn's ill-health produced a depressing effect, and though matters improved somewhat next year the form was on the whole mediocre, and the play was singularly tame. A revival with six victories against as many defeats came in 1896, when Mr. A. O. Jones did great things. H. B. Daft's defensive 77 in the Surrey match was a notable effort.

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John Gunn, as hard-working an all-round professional as ever could be found, joined his uncle on the side in 1897. Mr. J. A. Dixon with 268 played the largest score yet made at Trent Bridge, when Sussex were the victims. Some formidable batting throughout the summer threw into clear relief the enormous difference between Attewell and his colleagues with the ball.

There was not much satisfaction to be derived from two wins, four defeats, and ten draws in 1899. The side, however, made 607 at Bristol and 581 at Derby. Mr. A. O. Jones, who had rattled up 250 against Worcestershire, was fitly linked in the averages with Shrewsbury and Gunn. A capital fast bowler was found in Wass, who with John Gunn had thenceforth to bear the brunt of the bowling. A Test Match was played to a disappointingly small attendance at Trent Bridge, time alone saving England from defeat. K. S. Ranjitsinhji gave a masterly display, and Gunn was the only local representative chosen. Matters improved in 1900, thanks to the increased prowess of the two young bowlers, and an important new bat destined to be of great service was Iremonger. A victory over Surrey early in 1901 by five wickets was hailed with enthusiasm. No such result had been chronicled since 1892, while in the return the Notts. team was again successful. On the other side must be set the fact that Haigh and Rhodes on their own ground sent them back for 13. Iremonger justified his inclusion in the team by making centuries in four successive matches, and Mr. A. O. Jones played splendid cricket. The pair without being separated made the 140 required against Surrey in eighty minutes, the captain forcing the runs in astounding fashion. John Gunn was emphatically the best all-round man on the side.

As they finished third in 1902, the Nottinghamshire side could feel pleased with their work, although three out of the first five places in batting averages were obtained by men over forty. Shrewsbury appeared to take a fresh spell of youth, and for the first time scored a double century, 101 and 127 not out, against Gloucestershire. Wass bowled splendidly, taking 138 wickets for 15 runs each, though Hallam gave him but moderate support. Dropped catches robbed Nottinghamshire of any chance against the Australians. In 1903, as again in 1904 and 1905, John Gunn accomplished the notable feat of scoring 1,000 runs and taking 100 wickets, being the only man who has yet done this while playing for Nottinghamshire. So flattering to batsmen was Trent Bridge in 1903 that in the matches against Leicestershire, Surrey, and Essex, only seventy-one wickets fell for 3,398 runs. Later in the season Nottinghamshire scored 427, to which Lancashire responded with 491, Mr. R. H. Spooner in seven

hours scoring 247, the largest innings ever obtained against this county. In this game Mr. A. O. Jones obtained his first double century. He scored 296 in the match with Gloucestershire, thus beating John Gunn's score of 294 against Leicestershire two months earlier, until then the longest score amassed for Nottinghamshire.

In 1904 four men—Mr. A. O. Jones, Iremonger, John Gunn, and Wass—practically did all the work for Nottinghamshire in a successful season. So carefully had the home wicket been prepared that in five games in June and July totals of 352, 452, 602, 356, 447, 586, 395, 363, 636 and 393 were obtained. The out-fielding of Hardstaff and the steady defence of George Gunn excited admiration. The county dropped, however, from fifth to tenth place in 1905. With Wass hurt, John Gunn and Hallam had too much to do. Iremonger was very powerful in his watchful scoring, especially at Trent Bridge. George Gunn as a stonewaller and Hardstaff as hitter materially improved, whilst Oates continued to keep wicket well. It was owing to Mr. Bosanquet's phenomenal success—eight for 107—that England won the Test Match at Nottingham by 213, when Mr. A. C. MacLaren had scored 140, the Hon. F. S. Jackson 82 not out, and Tyldesley 61. Mr. A. O. Jones and John Gunn were both chosen in the national team.

The fine record of 1906 was marred by a couple of defeats in the last week of the season. The triumph was the defeat of Yorkshire by 25 runs after Nottinghamshire were 77 runs behind on a bad wicket. A superb effort by Mr. A. O. Jones was followed up by fine bowling. Hardstaff scored 100 for the Players at the Oval, and Iremonger batted superbly.

In 1907 Nottinghamshire were unbeaten and regained the championship, but they did not meet Kent or Worcestershire, and rain spoiled both matches with Yorkshire. Throughout the season they played the same side, and the bowling of Hallam and Wass seemed to need no support other than that given by the fine fielding of the side. The sensational figures of these two bowlers were as follows:—Hallam 156 wickets for 1,901 runs, 12·18 average; Wass, 163 wickets for 2,328 runs, 14·28 average. Neither was chosen for the Players at Lord's. Payton's success in getting 149 not out against Surrey deserves special mention. Of the fifteen victories five were by a single innings, and only thrice were the Notts. men pressed. After the season Mr. Branston went with M.C.C. team to America; Mr. A. O. Jones captained the M.C.C. side in Australia, for which George Gunn, as supernumerary, batted best of all; and Hardstaff also assisted regularly.

The following are the principal batting and bowling averages up to the close of 1908,

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a disastrous season; Messrs. A. O. Jones and J. A. Dixon, with Barnes, Flowers, and J. Gunn, appear in both tables:—

BATTING AVERAGES

	Inns.	Runs	Most	Averages
Shrewsbury (A.)	518	19,492	267	37·326
Iremonger	273	9,900	272	36·72
A. O. Jones	435	15,617	296	35·392
Gunn (W.)	534	18,381	230	34·225
Daft (R.)	162	4,674	161	28·132
J. A. Dixon	362	8,908	268	27·134
Barnes	362	8,453	156	26·141
Gunn (J.)	300	7,421	294	24·221
Flowers	394	7,983	173	20·103
Oscroft	216	4,279	140	19·175
Scotton	209	4,143	110	19·172
Selby	234	4,422	128	18·210

BOWLING AVERAGES

	Runs	Wickets	Averages
Shaw (A.)	9,876	867	11·339
Shaw (J. C.)	3,378	263	12·222
Morley	9,279	676	13·491
Attewell	20,252	1,351	14·1338
McIntyre	3,915	268	14·163
Flowers	11,342	682	16·430
Shacklock	6,844	369	18·202
Barnes	7,983	410	19·293
Hallam	11,387	599	19·6

BOWLING AVERAGES (cont.)

	Runs	Wickets	Averages
Wass	19,836	999	19·855
Gunn (J.)	18,565	795	23·280
J. A. Dixon	4,777	168	28·73
A. O. Jones	6,959	214	32·11

SCORES EXCEEDING TWO HUNDRED

Shrewsbury	1887 v. Middlesex	267
	1890 v. Sussex	267
	1886 v. Gloucestershire	227*
	1885 v. Middlesex	224*
	1892 v. Middlesex	212
	1884 v. Sussex	209
	1882 v. Surrey	207
Gunn (W.)	1901 v. Derbyshire	273
	1898 v. Surrey	236
	1897 v. Derbyshire	230
	1895 v. Sussex	219
	1896 v. Derbyshire	207
	1887 v. Sussex	205
A. O. Jones	1903 v. Gloucestershire	296
	1905 v. Essex	274
	1899 v. Gloucestershire	250
	1901 v. Sussex	249
Iremonger	1904 v. Kent	272
	1905 v. Essex	239
	1903 v. Kent	210
	1906 v. Gloucestershire	200
Gunn (J.)	1903 v. Leicestershire	294
J. A. Dixon	1897 v. Sussex	268*

OLD-TIME SPORTS

Some of the sports and pastimes which contributed to the amusement of our forefathers continued in various parts of Nottinghamshire down to the end of the 18th century, and even in some cases until the beginning of the 19th century. Bull-baiting, which, after an existence of seven centuries, was finally suppressed by Act of Parliament in 1835, was a very popular diversion in this county. The rope was tied round the horns of the bull, and one end fastened to a ring attached to a post driven into the ground, the bull being confined to a space of about 30 ft. diameter. Then the well-trained bull-dogs of the butchers 'and other gentlemen' were one by one let loose at the poor animal, which tried—usually without success—to keep them at bay. If the bull's horns were so sharp that there was a danger of the dogs being impaled, their points were placed in sheaths. On one occasion an old man named Leavers was looking on at one of these exhibitions when a dog tossed by the bull fell at his feet. The owner, enraged, abused him for not catching the dog, according to rule, whereupon Leavers replied, 'I am for the bull'—a saying which afterwards became a local proverb. At Carlton bull-baiting was sanctioned on the plea that it rendered the beef tender, while at

Worksop the practice seems to have been compulsory, a by-law of the lord of the manor providing 'that every person who shall kill a bull, except he shall first bait him at the bull-ring, shall forfeit three shillings and fourpence.' In order to comply with this by-law, passed, it is said, with the object of preventing people from purchasing bull-beef unknowingly, the local authorities placed a bull-ring on the Lead Hill, and it existed there until the middle of the 18th century. There were also bull-rings at Burton Leys, in the inclosure at the Leather Bottle Inn at Hockley, and another near Angel Row in the market-place at Nottingham.

Upon the mayoress for the time being fell the responsibility of finding the rope, for which she received one shilling from everyone who took up the freedom of the town. Afterwards, in lieu of this sum, the butchers paid the 'Lady of the Mayor' the sum of three shillings and fourpence, which was called pin-money, for every bull killed.

Bear-baiting was another favourite sport, and in a book belonging to the corporation of Nottingham, written early in the 16th century, occurs the following curious entry: Item. The said Mayre for tyme being is lykewise to give

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them knowledge of every bere baityng and bull baityng within towne to see the sport of the game after the old custom and usage.' There is a local tradition that Bearward Lane (now Mount Street) was the place where the bears belonging to the castle were kennelled.

Badgers were baited until the close of the 18th, and perhaps until early in the 19th, century. In the *Autobiography of George Prime*, nephew of the Rev. Owen Dinsdale, a former rector of Wilford, it is stated that this cruel sport was carried on at Bradmore about the end of the 18th century. Many of these barbarous recreations were formerly adjuncts of the country 'wakes,' held on the festival of the saint to whom the parish church was dedicated. These 'wakes' are still kept up with much rejoicing in various parishes, but the debasing pursuits that amused our forefathers have, happily, long since disappeared.

Cock-fighting flourished much longer than any of these other brutal sports. Cock-pits were to be found at most of the large inns in Nottingham and other towns in the county, and for many years a main of cocks was a regular accompaniment of the races on Nottingham Forest. A 'battle royal,' in which an unlimited number of birds fought until finally one emerged the conqueror of all, and the Welsh main, in which sixteen pairs of birds fought, were the most popular forms of cocking. Frequently county was pitted against county. Thus, for example, it is recorded that on 6 July 1772 the gentlemen of Nottinghamshire and the gentlemen of Derbyshire fought a main of cocks for 2 guineas a battle and 20 the odd one at the Ram Inn at Nottingham, when Nottinghamshire gained the day. Four days later there was another main of cocks fought at the 'White Lion' pit at Nottingham, between gentlemen of London and Derbyshire, for 10 guineas a battle and 200 the odd one, when Derbyshire won by sixteen battles to eleven. The 'White Lion' was the principal inn in the town at that time, and here some of the most important cock-fights in the country were held. During the race meetings the gentry of the surrounding district spent the early part of the day in the 'White Lion' cock-pit, which, according to Mr. William Stevenson, was in existence and used as a chandlery in the 'eighties, the entrance being by Pawlett's Yard on the Long Row. In 1763 a fight which led to important results was arranged here between the gentlemen of London and Nottingham. The London birds were placed in a cellar of the inn, where access was obtained to them by some unprincipled townsman, who, to profit by the betting, poisoned the water with arsenic, thus rendering the whole of the London cocks incapable of fighting. This act caused the formation of an 'Association for the Defence of Game

Fowls' for the counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, and a reward of £50 was offered for the apprehension of the delinquent.

This advertisement, which appeared in the *Nottingham Journal* in 1795, is a typical specimen of an announcement of cock-fighting:—

COCKING.—A main of cocks and stags will be fought at the White Lion Inn in Nottingham on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, 16th, 17th, and 18th of February, betwixt the gentlemen of Derbyshire and the gentlemen of Nottinghamshire.

To show 16 stags and 25 cocks in the main and ten byes. To fight for four guineas a battle and one hundred guineas the main.

Feeders: Redfern, junior, for Derbyshire; Clay for Nottinghamshire.

Opinion is divided as to whether the attachment of artificial spurs of steel added to the cruelty of this sport; it certainly made the battles shorter and sharper. Cock-fighting figured prominently in the sports of the common people at Shrovetide, when, in addition, there were practised the even more barbarous pastimes of throwing at the cock and thrashing the fat hen. In throwing at the cock the victim was tied to a stake by a short cord, and men and boys, standing about 20 yds. off, threw at the poor creature with broomsticks until it was killed. Hens were sometimes thrashed to death with a flail on the barn floor, or the bird was tied to a man's back while a number of persons followed blindfolded with boughs in their hands and endeavoured to strike the hen, whose movements were indicated by the sound of a bell.

Besides these sports, which were not, except in some details, peculiar to Nottinghamshire, there were other amusements of a more rational and picturesque character, which throw interesting sidelights on the habits and manners of our forefathers. May-day customs are in many respects similar to those in other counties, but Nottinghamshire has the honour, according to Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, of being the parent of some of the happy pastimes that characterized this period of the year, many of the May-day games having had their origin in the accounts of Robin Hood, who is so intimately associated with the district. May-poles and Morris dances were until a comparatively recent period very general, and Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, Maid Marian and others were conspicuous characters of the revelries. May-poles existed until recent years at Hucknall Torkard, Linby, Farnsfield, and other places. Mr. J. Potter Briscoe, F.R.H.S., says he can find mention of only one in Nottingham. It was erected in 1747¹ and remained in its position at the end

¹ This May-pole was the gift of Sir Charles Sedley, elected M.P. for Nottingham Town, 30 June 1747. He presented the highest fir-tree in Nuthall to commemorate the triumph of his party.

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of Parliament Street until 1780, when it was ordered to be taken down by one of the overseers of the highways for that year. In 1907 a successful attempt was made to revive the custom of braiding the May-pole on the village green at Clifton. At Edwinstowe and other Nottinghamshire villages it was the custom on May-day morning for young men and maidens to gather ferns and flowers and branches from the forest and decorate the houses of their lovers and neighbours before they were up. In most towns and villages there was a milkmaids' dance. The milkmaids borrowed all the tankards and salvers they could, and building these into a pyramid on their pails danced with them on their heads from door to door, receiving small gratuities from their customers.

Plough Monday, commonly known in Nottinghamshire as Plough Bullock Day, was regarded as an important carnival by farm labourers. During the day the boys, adorned with paper finery, and their cheeks dyed a deep red, paraded the villages, soliciting contributions with the request 'Remember the Plough Bullocks.' In the evening the men, elaborately and fantastically attired, and often dragging a plough with them, visited the residences of tradesmen and farmers in a body, singing the words:—

My back is made of iron, my boots are made
of steel,
And if you don't believe it, put your hands
on and feel.

Sometimes, when they were refused presents, they would plough up the ground round the door. In South Nottinghamshire they recited a novel play, of which the following is the first verse:—

In comes bold Anthony
As bold as a mantle tree.
I am come to show you sport, activity,
A room, a room, a gallant room,
And give us leave to sport,
For in this house I do resort ;
It is a merry day.
Step in, the King of England, and boldly
clear the way.

Then entered the representative of the king, while other characters were St. George, Selina, and a doctor. Washington Irving describes one of these rude pageants that he witnessed at Newstead Abbey. Here in the servants' hall appeared a set of rustics, dressed in some attempt at antique style. One was the clown or fool of the party, and the rest were decorated with ribbons and armed with wooden swords. The leader recited the old ballad of St. George and the Dragon, his companions accompanying the recitation with some rude attempt at acting, while the clown cut all sorts of antics. To these

succeeded a set of Morris dancers, among whom were Robin Hood and Marian, the latter represented by a smooth-faced boy. There was also Beelzebub, equipped with a broom and accompanied by his wife Bessy, a termagant old beldam.

An old pastime which existed on 'Oak and Nettle Day,' the 29th of May, has now died out. Bands of youths, with their button-holes adorned with sprigs of oak and each carrying a bunch of nettles, sallied forth in the morning and bade all persons whom they met to 'show the oak.' If they failed, their faces, hands, and necks were well 'nettled.' The rejoicings and sports peculiar to Whitsuntide have all disappeared. One of them, at least, that of drinking, feasting, and gambling—known as Whitsun ale—under the auspices and for the benefit of the Church, is well banished into the limbo of the past. A game called Eakring ball-play took place every Easter Tuesday at that village. It derived its name from the fact that it was anciently a great meeting for the trial of skill in the game of football, and such a firm hold did the game take on the peasants of the district that they even kicked the ball to and from church on Sunday. So vigorously were the contests waged that sometimes the kicking of a football changed into the kicking of shins. On Midsummer's Eve bonfires were lighted and were accompanied by rustic games, one of which was the very ancient pastime of leaping to and fro across the burning pile.

Dancing and other games in churchyards continued in many parts of England till recent years, but so far back as the 14th century it was necessary to order their discontinuance at Worksop. The following is quoted in White's *Dukery Records* under the year 1365:—'An order to the parishioners of Worksop to desist from wrestling, archery, indecent dancing, and singing in the churchyard.'² Archery, which is here mentioned, was, of course, in ancient times a popular sport. In the Nottingham Borough records there is an account of an arbitration upon a wager at archery on 2 April 1464, when it was 'ordained, arbitrated, and decided' that a Glover should give 5s. 4d. to two other persons immediately after the arbitration.

Wrestling, too, retained its popularity in this county well into the 19th century. About the middle of the 18th century it was as popular as cricket is at the present time, and there was keen rivalry between the different parishes and counties. It received a great stimulus from Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny Hall, who wrote *The Inn Play: or Cornish Hugg Wrestler. Digested*

² Reg. Abp. Thoresby, *Fasti Ebor.* i, 462.

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in a method which teacheth to break all holds and throw most falls mathematically. He established annual wrestling matches at Bunny in 1712, which were continued until their suppression by Lord Rancliffe in 1810. Sir Thomas Parkyns died in 1741 at the age of seventy-eight, and his statue in Bunny Church represents him in a wrestling attitude.

Of the five places licensed by Richard I for holding public tournaments in England one was between Blyth and Tickhill in Nottinghamshire. The knowledge of the site of the tournament had long been lost, but the researches of the Rev. J. Stacey located the ground in the neighbourhood of Styrrup, a hamlet about mid-way between the two places. This field was so famous in its day that, according to a document of the time of Edward II, a 'Turneur de Blie' became a proverbial expression

throughout the land. The Rev. James Orange, in his *History of Nottingham*, says that King John certainly held a tournament in Nottingham. The lists are believed to have been outside Chapel Bar in the fields fronting Park Row (formerly Butt-dyke) which were set apart for games of archery and bull-, bear-, and badger-baiting.

On the plains near St. Ann's Well in Nottingham was the old Shepherd's Race, or Robin Hood's Race—a maze 535 yds. in length cut in the turf. It was ploughed up on 27 February 1797, but another maze was cut in the greensward, and about the middle of the 19th century running the Shepherd's Race was a favourite amusement of the boys and girls of the town. The game consisted in running the whole distance without tripping at its many turns or treading on the grassy sides of the path.

ROWING

No records are available of the early history of rowing in the county, but there are veteran oarsmen living in Nottingham to-day who remember vividly the aquatic contests of the middle of the 19th century. The *Nautilus*, the *Lady of the Lake*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Briton* were four excellent crews, whose rivalry was very keen, and the achievements of Webb, Kirk, Radford, the two Buxtons, Briggs, Kenyon, Abbott, and Fidler are still recalled with pride. Of the *Nautilus* crew of the days before 1859, Mr. Registrar Speed, Mr. Thomas Lambert, and Mr. J. Henry Brown are, it is believed, the only survivors. In those days the crew often assisted to build their own boats, the distinction between professionalism and amateurism was not observed, and matches for money prizes were frequently arranged. A race for four oars between the *Nautilus* and the *Lady of the Lake* for £10 a side, when the latter won, may be mentioned. The crews were:—*Nautilus*: R. Bailey, F. Jameson, J. Burton, C. James (stroke), and Lambert (coxswain); *Lady of the Lake*: H. Newham, W. Clayton, J. A. Green, G. Abbott (stroke), and H. Fox (coxswain). A few years earlier Charles Buxton, having beaten Radford and Sharp respectively for the championship of the Trent, was met and defeated by Tom Grant of Newcastle, the match being for £20 a side.

Attempts to popularize rowing by means of regattas met with considerable support. These events were conducted by a committee of prominent rowing men and yacht owners, and the course, about 2 miles in length, was in the Colwick Waters, the turning point being marked by a buoy. The boats, of course, were

not so light as those now in use, and sliding seats had not been invented. Extraordinary public interest was excited by these events, and in 1852, when the population of Nottingham numbered only about 80,000, it was estimated that 25,000 people witnessed the regatta. T. Cole of Chelsea, the champion professional sculler, formed one of the crew of the *Princess* (London) in the All-England four-oar race, while the Newcastle cutter, it is interesting to note, was manned by four brothers, R., W., T., and H. Clasper, with H. Clasper, jun., as coxswain. The programme at this time included a four-oared prize-boat, value £30, for fours, and the Town Plate was carried off by the *Lady of the Lake*.

A feature of the year 1867 was the launching of the lifeboat *Robin Hood* on 7 January on the Trent by W. J. Martin, H. A. Mann, J. Abbott, J. H. Whitty, J. H. Naylor, W. Hibbs, W. Hopkin, G. Abbott, J. Chiswell, J. Buxton, E. Stupple (rigger), S. P. Knight (coxswain), and S. Collinson (honorary secretary), who were all prominent men on the river. Two years later the regatta was planned on more ambitious lines under the title of the Grand Annual Regatta, and occupied a leading position among similar events in the provinces for some years, crews coming to compete from as far away as Tynemouth.

Some six years previously, in 1862, the Nottingham Rowing Club, which is still the premier organization of its kind in the city, had been formed for the encouragement of aquatics on the Trent, one of its cardinal principles being that no boats be taken out on Sundays. Mr. W. A. Richards was elected the first president,

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retaining the office for twenty-six years until his death, when he was succeeded by Sir John Turney, one of the original members, who still occupies the position. Among the early members were W. H. and J. T. Mallet, R. Edmondstone, R. F. Hardy, J. H. Jacoby, C. Coggan, A. P. Lacey, W. Glaser, R. S. Earp, F. B. Whitty, J. Johnstone, W. H. Blackburn, A. C. Pearse, H. Bradley, H. Browne, A. R. Bilbie, and H. M. Schofield. Under its fostering care, rowing increased in popularity, and several notable racing crews have been turned out, including such sterling men as G. Reckless, J. Gaskin, J. White, Greer, A. W. Ward, A. H. Strachan, J. H. Williamson, H. Brown, T. S. Cheetham, S. Howitt, L. H. King, G. King, Dr. Noble, A. Darby, H. H. Bowden, and others. In 1882 the Rowing Club resuscitated the regatta, which for several years, after being held at irregular intervals, had lapsed altogether. In addition to the Corporate Plate, the Challenge Trophy, the Smith Challenge Cup, and the Page Cups, the club offered in 1897 the Victoria Gold Vase, value 250 gns., perhaps the most valuable trophy in the rowing world, and since then the list of trophies which are the property of the club has been augmented by the Berrey Cup and the Willows Cup. The regatta has gone on from success to success, and to-day is, at all events as regards entries, the most important in the provinces, the number of entries in 1907 being equal to those at Henley.

To give a complete list of the trophies won by the club at open regattas would be impossible in the space at our disposal. In 1897 the senior four had a most successful season, the Boddington Vase (Stourport), the City of Chester Vase, the Burton Town Plate, and the Nottingham Corporate Plate being captured. But two years later this record was eclipsed. Then they won practically every valuable trophy away from Henley, the total value of the plate held by the club at the end of the season being about £1,000. The decision of Messrs. King to go in for pair-oar racing in the following year broke up probably the best crew that had ever represented the club, and from the point of view of racing the ensuing seasons were disappointing, though in other respects they were marked by increased activity and advancing membership. In 1904—as in 1908—the experiment was tried of holding the annual regatta over the new course at Trent Bridge, and on that occasion the club won the Corporate Plate, which they retained the following year. Some difficulty has been experienced of late years in selecting settled senior crews, but the attention devoted to maiden crews, no fewer than four of whom competed at certain regattas in 1908, should bear fruit in the future. The number of members is 208, of whom forty-six are honorary and twenty-nine life members. The club possesses a larger fleet

of boats than any rowing club off the Thames, and in addition to a well-equipped boathouse at Trent Bridge, opened in 1886, has a houseboat, with a flourishing branch, at Beeston, where a regatta is held annually. The Nottingham Rowing Club is affiliated to the Amateur Rowing Association, and is one of the two provincial clubs having a representative (Mr. H. Gover Ford) on that body.

The present captain is Mr. S. H. Hind, the vice-captain Mr. J. H. Ratcliffe, and the honorary secretaries Messrs. J. H. Trease and T. E. Palmer.

The Nottingham Britannia Rowing Club, founded in the year 1869, was the offspring of a canoe club, and had its quarters at Radford's (now Whitty's) boat-building premises on the Trent. It was not until 1892 that the club possessed a boathouse of its own. In that year the present well-equipped structure was erected on land belonging to Earl Manvers, the pavilion being opened in July by the late Mr. H. Smith Wright, M.P., who was then acting president. Unfortunately, the records of the early days of the club have been lost, but for many years it was essentially a pleasure organization, though founded on a sound business basis, having been floated as a limited liability company. After a time the members, encouraged by the example of the Rowing and Union Clubs, began to prepare crews for racing purposes, their first senior crew being successful in winning the plate given by the corporation of Nottingham when first offered in 1882. Again in 1883 they carried off the trophy, the winning crew on both occasions being Messrs. Winterton, Wharton, T. Danks, and T. Wood. The club had several crews out between 1885 and 1895, but there was a lack of that enthusiasm which ensures success. In 1897 the Gresley Plate at Burton-on-Trent fell to the Britannia Club, and the following year they won the Drakelowe Plate at the same place, while the Mansion House Vase at Burton was secured in 1899 and 1900. Purchasing a new boat, the club determined in 1901 to make a special effort to obtain premier place on the river. Splendid form was shown by the senior crew, who won the Boddington Vase at Stourport, the Chester Cup at Chester, the Borough Plate at Burton, and the President's Plate at Bridgnorth. In the two following years the Britannia again showed to advantage, capturing in 1902 the Burton Borough Plate, the Evesham Mayor's Prize for pairs, the Chester Cup, and the West of England Vase at Bath, and in 1903 they repeated several of their previous victories, including the Borough Plate at Burton, the Chester Cup at Chester, the Corporate Plate at Nottingham, and the Derwent Plate at Derby. With the exception of the Birmingham crew, which won the Victoria Gold Vase at Nottingham, it is

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doubtful whether there was a better senior crew in the provinces at this period than H. Gandy, B. Wesley, Gee, and Crecraft, who won these triumphs. The year 1904 was a blank, and within the last few years more attention has been paid to training junior crews than to coaching seniors for competition at provincial regattas, their short list of successes comprising the Maiden Fours at Nottingham in 1905, the Nottingham Corporate Plate in 1906, and the Derwent Plate at Derby in 1907. From the beginning the club has continued to grow in membership, and many enjoyable social functions have been held in connexion with the organization.

The Nottingham Union Rowing Club was established in 1871, among its founders being Mr. (now Alderman) F. R. Radford, Mr. A. Tootell, and Mr. F. H. Sissling. Its objects included the teaching and practising of its members in the art of rowing and the promotion of a generous spirit of emulation and friendship. The first senior crew to represent the club included A. and H. Tootell and J. Radford, and among the trophies won of recent years are the Trent Challenge Cup and the Ladies' Plate at Burton in 1901, and the Town Vase at Worcester in 1907. During Mr. H. Bull's secretaryship from 1889 to 1895 the club made notable progress. By 1890 it was able to rent its present boat-house at Meadow Lane, which was formerly occupied by the defunct Aquatic Club. For thirteen years the late Alderman F. Pullman was president of the club, and on his death Alderman J. A. H. Green was elected to the office. The only trophy possessed by the club is the Eminson Cup for pairs, a prize given by the brother of the late Mr. Robert Eminson, a promising oarsman who lost his life at Colwick Weir in 1894. The present captain is Mr. F. Stapleton, who has held all the swimming championships of Nottingham; and the vice-captain is Mr. P. S. Rawson. For long and continuous service Mr. J. Pooler probably holds the record for Nottingham, having been vice-captain of this club in 1896, captain in 1897, and honorary secretary and treasurer since.

The Nottingham Boat Club is, with the exception of the Ladies' Club, the youngest rowing organization in the city. It was formed on 4 May 1894, at a meeting over which Mr. E. Cope, J.P., presided, the officers appointed including Lord Henry Bentinck as president, A. G. Page captain, and W. T. Crofts and M. Ross Browne vice-captains. In 1897 a boat-house was built on Trent-side. The first crew to represent the club consisted of A. G. Goater (stroke), W. T. Crofts, B. Hardstaff, W. Page, and E. Braithwaite (coxswain), but they lost in the final for the Corporate Plate at Nottingham Regatta. Owing in a great measure to the enthusiastic work of the secretary, Mr. Frank Harrison, the new organization continued to prosper, and soon

established for itself a firm position among the rowing clubs of the city. A further impetus was given to it in 1895 and 1896 by the success of the senior crew, B. Heald (stroke), W. T. Crofts, M. Ross Browne, W. Page, and A. Toplis (coxswain). They succeeded in winning many open races at Nottingham, Driffield, King's Lynn, Agecroft, Burton, Chester, and other places, being the first Nottingham crew to capture the Bass Challenge Vase, value 150 gns., at Burton-on-Trent. Although less successful in 1897, maiden crews of the club won at Derby and Loughborough, and in 1898 and 1899 respectively the President's prize and the Corporate Plate were won at Nottingham. A senior crew won at Evesham and a maiden crew at Nottingham in 1901, while in the following year the club secured for the second time the Nottingham Corporate Plate. These successes, however, were eclipsed in 1904, when they carried off from powerful crews the valuable Victoria Gold Vase at Nottingham, a triumph which was repeated the following year. Like its sister organizations, the boat club has of recent years experienced some difficulty in organizing senior crews equal to those of its palmy days, but judged by the advancing membership and the number of oarsmen in navy-blue and gold seen on the river, the club retains all its old popularity.

The rowing clubs have done much to foster a love of aquatics among ladies, and in 1908 a Ladies' Boat Club was formed, with Miss A. Coupland as captain, Miss Wright vice-captain, and Miss Niese honorary secretary.

Newark is the only other town in the county where rowing has flourished. Here there are two old-established clubs, the Newark Rowing Club, and the Newark Magnus Boat Club associated with the Magnus School. The former was formed in April 1873, the originator being Mr. J. Pawson, who was the first captain, for twenty-one years honorary treasurer, and to-day is not only vice-president, but, after thirty-five years' zealous service, an active member. Mr. W. B. White was elected the first president, Mr. J. Hutton vice-president, Mr. R. Castle treasurer, and Mr. R. Gee secretary. In those early days boats were hired, and the first race took place on 24 June 1873, between old members—J. Longden, T. Castle, F. Wignall, F. Derry, and J. Pawson (coxswain)—and new members—P. Johnson, W. B. Taylor, F. Lineham, R. Gee, and G. Mackenzie (coxswain)—resulting in a victory for the former. The course was from the Weir to the Devon mouth, and the time 14 min. 45 sec. From the first the club made rapid strides. In 1874 races were rowed from Farndon Ferry to Averham Weir, and on 2 August 1875 the first annual regatta, which was confined to members of the club, took place and was successful in every respect. During these years the club kept on

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increasing its membership and improving in the art of rowing. Crews were entered at Lincoln Regatta in 1875, and the Lindum Plate for fours and the Ladies' Plate for pairs were won. New boats were purchased, and in 1876 the first boat-house was built. In addition to club races an open regatta was held, and a crew who competed in the fours at Gainsborough brought home the cup. At Derby Regatta in 1877 two of the members, Derry and Undy, won the Harrington Plate. At this period the Newark Regatta was annually attracting some of the best crews in the Midlands, but in 1880 it was decided to restrict the event to the club with the object of encouraging members in rowing. By 1881 the membership had largely increased, and not only was an addition made to the fleet of boats, but a new and well-appointed boat-house was built. The year 1882 witnessed a further accession of members, and the usual races were supplemented by a four-oared race between officers of the Sherwood Foresters stationed at Newark, and a crew selected by the captain, Mr. H. A. Marsh, the latter winning by three-quarters of a length after a severe struggle. In 1883 the annual regatta was once more thrown open. In 1885 the fixture was a conspicuous success, and the attractions included a water tournament and open swimming race. There was a record entry at the 1888 regatta, crews from York, Burton Leander, Lincoln, Mersey, Leicester, Nottingham Rowing Club, Nottingham Britannia, and Derwent attending. The Clinton Challenge Cup, presented by Mr. A. Jollands for yearly competition, attracted six entries at the 1890 regatta, and was won by H. Pinkscrew. This coveted trophy and the accompanying gold medal have furnished many keen contests since then. The vexed question of amateurism at this time assumed an acute phase, and after a conference attended by the captain, Mr. G. S. Wright, and the honorary treasurer, Mr. J. Pawson, the club became affiliated to the National Amateur Rowing Association. In 1892 Alderman Earp, the president, gave prizes for pair-oared races, which brought out the best men in the club. The regatta, which had lapsed for three years, was revived in 1894. Mr. Marsh made a donation of twenty

guineas to the club, and two years later the committee purchased a silver challenge cup, which is now annually rowed for. In 1897 Mr. J. Pawson resigned the honorary treasurer-ship, which he had held for twenty-one years, and was elected vice-president and presented with a purse of gold and an address. The outstanding event in 1903 was the success of a crew composed of Staniland, Richmond, Powell, and Derry, who won the Toddington Vase at Tewkesbury Regatta, and also competed at Evesham, Worcester, Stourport, and Nottingham, capturing prizes to the value of £104. G. D. Lidgett won the sculling race at Matlock in 1904, and another member, G. Clark, the swimming race. In the following year Derry and Powell were responsible for a fine achievement in winning the Ladies' Plate at Evesham, where they were opposed by the most accomplished oarsmen in the Midlands, and at Derby they secured the Town Plate for open pairs.

The club continues to prosper. This year another cup, styled the Trent Challenge Cup, for pair-oared gig races, has been purchased from the Marsh fund, and the club now possesses property to the value of over £1,500. Mr. J. R. Starkey, M.P., follows a long line of notable men in the presidential chair, including Alderman Earp, the late Mr. R. J. Beard, Mr. B. T. Pratt, Mr. G. Tallents, Mr. F. B. Footitt, Dr. Hallowes, Mr. H. A. Marsh, and Councillor Stennett, while the names of other prominent members, past and present, are H. and F. Hutchinson, E. Hutchinson, R. E. Hindley, J. Kelway, E. Wignell, J. E. Easterfield, F. Spellin, R. Ridge, J. D. Axanio, D. Hooks, J. Roberts, G. Undy, J. Hooke, G. Wright, M. Wilkinson, T. Walker, F. A. Smith, J. Whyte, J. Glover, H. Weaver, W. H. Clarke, G. H. White, G. Walker, G. Gale, F. Richmond, H. Cox, and E. E. Conolly (the honorary secretary).

Mention may be made, in conclusion, of the Trent Sailing Club, which was brought into existence by Messrs. A. Flersateim, E. T. Morris, F. W. Fox, A. Black, H. Brown, and G. Cowen, who in the early eighties possessed the first houseboat on the Trent.

SWIMMING

Each succeeding year witnesses increased development and progress in regard to swimming in Nottinghamshire. In the county town the corporation have provided commodious and well-appointed swimming and private baths, while the education authority has for many years given the greatest encouragement and support to the work of instructing children in the art of swimming and life-saving; since 1895 the subject has

been compulsory in the curriculum of the schools. In 1891 was founded the Nottingham School Board Swimming Association, the title of which has since been changed to the City of Nottingham Education Committee School Swimming Association. This organization is affiliated to the Midland Counties Amateur Swimming Association and the Royal Life-Saving Society. A number of handsome trophies are offered for competition

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amongst the various schools each year, and the annual aquatic sports, which have been held for eighteen years, furnish abundant evidence of the useful work that the organization is doing. Instruction in life-saving claims special attention. Over 2,000 children have passed practical tests in life-saving and have earned the various certificates and medallions awarded for passing the Royal Life-Saving Society's examination, while there have been seventeen instances of schoolboy heroism recognized by the Royal Humane Society.

The Nottingham Swimming Club, which contains over 700 members, is the largest organization of the kind in the provinces. It was established in the year 1880, and is divided into three sections—senior, junior, and ladies; the last-named being inaugurated in 1905. The Nottingham Swimming Club were the first winners of the Royal Life-Saving Society's national competition, defeating the famous Ravensbourne Swimming Club at Liverpool in 1892 by 65½ points to 58½ points. In the following year, however, the tables were turned, Nottingham succumbing to Ravensbourne in the final at the Excelsior Baths, London. A graceful compliment to the Nottingham Swimming Club was paid in 1905, when the annual tournament of the Royal Life-Saving Society was held in the city, Hastings beating the powerful Leicester club for the trophy by eight points. The various championships and handicaps conducted under the auspices of the club have done much to produce swimmers who possess both speed and stamina. The winners of the cups since they were first offered are as follows:—

100-yards Senior Championship of Nottinghamshire—1895-6-7, A. Pounder; 1898, F. Stapleton; 1899-1900, A. Pounder; 1901-2, F. Stapleton; 1903, G. H. Carlile; 1904-5, F. Stapleton; 1906, G. H. Carlile; 1907, F. Wright.

220-yards Championship of Nottinghamshire—1898, F. Stapleton; 1899, A. Pounder; 1900-2, F. Stapleton; 1903, F. C. Gadsby; 1904, H. R. Cobbin; 1905-6-7, G. H. Carlile.

440-yards Championship of Nottinghamshire—1904-5, F. Gadsby (a one-legged swimmer); 1906-7, G. H. Carlile.

Half-mile Championship of the Trent—1895, A. Pounder; 1896, G. Shepherd; 1897, J. Gee; 1898-1900, F. Stapleton; 1901, H. V. Hancock; 1902, A. Pounder; 1903, R. Wilson; 1904-5-6-7, G. H. Carlile.

100-yards Junior Championship of Nottinghamshire—1899, C. B. Small; 1900, A. Tompkins; 1901-2-3, F. Wright; 1904, A. Butler; 1905, W. Baker; 1906, G. N. Hammond; 1907, B. W. Stafford.

100-yards Ladies' Trophy—1907, Miss Roberts.

Water Polo has many votaries among members of the Nottingham Swimming Club, and an impetus was given to the game in 1901 by the formation of a Water Polo League, which has met with a considerable measure of success. Open to clubs in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, it is divided into two divisions, which this year (1908) comprise the following clubs:— Division I: Victoria (Nottingham), Radford (Nottingham), Derby, Nottingham Manufacturing Company (Loughborough); Division II: Nottingham II, Derby II, Boots Athletic, Nottingham Y.M.C.A., Forest (Nottingham). Although the Nottingham Swimming Club have twice reached the final of the Midland Counties Water Polo Championship—in 1897 and 1901—they have failed to win the trophy, having on each occasion had to acknowledge defeat by the powerful Leicester Club. In 1905, however, the junior championship was won by the Nottingham Swimming Club, a success that was doubly welcome after the club had missed the distinction by one goal in 1897 when Smethwick Swimming Club were the winners. Many large and important swimming galas have been carried to a successful issue by the Nottingham Swimming Club, chief among which have been the charity gala in 1897, the monster fête held in conjunction with the rowing clubs of the city on the Trent in 1902, and the national championships which have been decided in the Victoria Baths, where records have been broken on more than one occasion. Nearly all the great swimmers of the time have appeared in Nottingham, but the town has yet to produce its champion. In 1885 T. Hallam, Nottinghamshire, won the half-mile championship (bath) of the Midland Counties, and the 100 yards for the same district was carried off by F. Stapleton, Nottingham Swimming Club, in 1899.

Of the other swimming clubs in Nottingham those attached to the City Police Force and the Y.M.C.A. may be mentioned. The latter, founded in 1900, at one time was second only to Nottingham Swimming Club in point of numbers. In 1900 they were holders of the shield presented by the Nottinghamshire Institutes Association Swimming Clubs Alliance, an organization established in 1899.

Swimming has grown enormously in favour in Mansfield during recent years. The Mansfield Swimming Club was restarted on a sound basis in 1907. The captain is Mr. W. H. Poultney, formerly instructor to the Nottingham City Police Swimming Club, who holds the club championship. A life-saving class is conducted each season by Mr. W. H. Hare, the baths manager, who holds the certificate of the Royal Life-Saving Society. With a view to increasing interest in the pastime, the club has joined the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Polo League, and monthly handicaps and competitions are held.

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At Newark, the corporation rent from the Duke of Newcastle, the lord of the manor, a stretch of the River Trent, on the banks of which they have built bathing sheds, both for men and women. Swimming has become very popular of late years, mainly owing to the efforts of the Newark Swimming Association, an increasingly successful organization. From the different schools scholars are taken at appointed times to the bathing place and tuition given them. By this means a large number of children are yearly taught to swim, and encouragement to persevere in the art is given by the offer of prizes for various races and acquirements.

The Town Council of Retford own an excellent swimming bath, and realizing the importance of a knowledge of swimming, the Council encourage it by every means in their power. The local education authority have included swimming in the curriculum for both sexes in elementary schools, the use of the bath being granted free to classes of scholars and girls attending the Pupil Teachers' Centre, the instruc-

tion fees being paid by the Retford Education Committee and the Nottinghamshire County Council respectively. The Retford Swimming Club, which was formed in 1896, mainly by the efforts of Mr. T. H. Denman, has well maintained its membership. In 1896 a ladies' section was established, but this has since lapsed. Life-saving classes were instituted in 1898, and in 1900 classes of boys from the elementary schools were formed for the purpose of teaching them to swim, and continued until 1907, when swimming was included in the school curriculum. Sports are held annually and water polo matches played with adjacent towns. Two of the members—Mr. George Mellors and Mr. George Tebbs—have distinguished themselves by rescuing persons from drowning, while another—Mr. H. Tanner—although young, has achieved remarkable success in local races, and was chosen for the test in the 100-metres race at the Olympic Games in the Stadium (July 1908). On that occasion, however, he swam a bad course and was placed sixth, his time being 1 min. 18½ secs.

ATHLETICS

In Nottinghamshire, as in other parts of the United Kingdom, athleticism, in its modern sense, hardly existed prior to the middle of the 19th century. Before that period such running and walking contests as took place at irregular intervals were between professional pedestrians; but records were seldom kept, and little reliance can be placed on such as have survived, the distance being rarely measured with exactness, or the races timed with accuracy. The programme usually consisted of a match between two local celebrities, or a race against time for a wager, and an enormous amount of public interest was aroused by some of these encounters. A striking instance of this is provided by a race which took place on the Nottingham Race-course on 21 April 1773, between Harrison, a Staffordshire man, and Granny of Belper, two of the most noted pedestrians of the day. Spectators from all parts of the Midlands assembled, upwards of 15,000 people being present. The betting was 7 to 4 and 3 to 2 in favour of Harrison, and many of the supporters of Granny, according to a contemporary account, 'sold their beds and cows and swine in order to make bets, while others pawned their wives' wedding rings for the same purpose.' The match was for £200, and the distance 10 miles—five times round the course. For the first 7 miles the runners kept fairly level, but in the fourth lap Granny fell lame in his right leg, and Harrison gained nearly 50 yds. Although struggling gamely, Granny continued to lose ground, and after a desperate but fruitless spurt in the tenth

mile he gave up the contest. The distance was covered by Harrison in 56 mins. 2 secs.

During the next half-century there is little worth recording; but, as a comparison with modern times, it may be mentioned that in September 1831 Kemp of Nottingham won a 100 yds. race on the Forest from Finn of Ashby in 10½ secs., the match being for £10 a side. At this time the Derbyshire champion was Robert Watson, and when in 1836 he was pitted against George Hames, a Nottingham youth, he was, much to the surprise of his supporters, easily beaten.

Walking, which has of recent years witnessed something of a revival, was one of the most popular forms of athleticism in the first half of the 19th century. One of the fairest and best exponents of this branch of pedestrianism was Charles Westhall, who appeared on the Trent Bridge ground in 1848, when he walked 7 miles in 57¾ mins. for a purse of £20, and also accomplished the feat of walking 20 miles in three hours. On one occasion he competed against Molineaux of Manchester, in a quarter of a mile race over ten hurdles, and came in the winner. Later in his career Westhall walked 7 miles in 52 mins. 47 secs., and covered 21 miles 147 yds. in 2 hours 59 mins. 1 sec. In 1853 a local celebrity named John Handley undertook without success to repeat Captain Barclay's famous feat of walking 1,000 miles in 1,000 consecutive hours. A rather noted miler, T. Horspool, frequently arranged matches in the neighbourhood of Nottingham.

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It was only to be expected that, being so near to Sheffield, the home of professional athletics, Nottinghamshire-born men should be tempted to compete for the £60 and £100 prizes given at Hyde Park, Queen's, and other running grounds in the cutlery town. On 3 July 1866 H. Swann of Nottingham, starting off the 65 yds. mark, won the £35 first prize in a 200 yds. handicap decided on the Hyde Park inclosure. In the succeeding season, on 9 September 1867, J. Ross of Nottingham, off 65½ yds., won the £60 200 yds. handicap at the Queen's Grounds. A year passed without a victory for Nottinghamshire, although there were eight handicaps at Sheffield in 1868, but on 27 July 1869 J. Ross scored again at Hyde Park. This time he won off 68½ yds. in the 225 yds. £70 handicap, an experimental distance which just suited Ross, who had become quite a seasoned runner and could stand the severity of a professional preparation. On 19 April 1870 Jem Hall of Nottingham won the 204 yds. handicap at the Queen's Grounds, Sheffield, off the 67 yds. mark, the prize being £100. On 27 December 1871 T. Smith from the same place won the £200 first prize given in the 200 yds. Christmas handicap, starting off 71¼ yds. This was the first £200 race offered in the Sheffield handicaps, and in the next season J. Smith of Mansfield, off 74 yds., secured the £200 prize in the 200 yds. race at the Newhall Grounds at Sheffield. After this the sum offered came down to £100, and it was not until 22 May 1877 that the next victory of a Nottingham man was recorded at Sheffield. On that date T. Bakewell, a Radford runner, with 79½ yds. start, won the 204 yds. race and £100. Eight yards further was the distance of the race held at Queen's Grounds on 15 April 1879, when J. Armstrong of Nottingham, off 79½ yds., beat a big field.

The Nottinghamshire township of Hucknall Torkard was the home of W. Wright, who won the Queen's and Newhall Handicaps, each worth £100, in 1880 and 1881. How good a man he was is proved by the fact that in one season his mark over 205 yds. dropped from 81½ to 77 yds., and professionals are not fond of exposing their form in public too frequently. Then in 1883 (6 February), at Queen's Grounds, J. Briggs of Basford won the £100 race over 205 yds., receiving 85 yds. start. After this came a decline, most probably caused by the growth of amateur athletics, and it was not until the Christmas Handicap of 1890, at Sheaf House, Sheffield, that the county of Nottingham again provided a winner of the popular sprint. This was that fine runner, Charles Harper of Bulwell, who took the 202 yds. race off the 86½ yds. mark. When he won the corresponding handicap three seasons later his mark was down to 82¼ yds., and it became less and less as he advanced in prominence at the pastime of which

he was for so long a devotee. Harper became champion of England and resisted the attacks of many sprinters in search of that title until one day he challenged the youthful Scot, A. R. Downer. The latter was right at the top of his form, and had to concede Harper 1½ yds. start in 130 yds. for £100. The match was decided at Higginshaw, Oldham, on 22 April 1899, and Downer was soon at Harper's shoulder, but from 60 to about 90 yds. the Nottinghamshire man kept his advantage. Here Downer made a desperate effort, and drew level 20 yds. from home. He beat Harper by half a yard, and the official time was returned at 2½ yds. inside even time. Other watches, however, made it much faster, their times averaging about 3½ yds. inside 'evens,' which goes to show what a grand pair of runners they were. Thus Downer won the championship of England, and so ends the story of the predominance of Nottinghamshire in the world of professional athletics. Money matches for small sums are still decided in the sporting villages of the county, but amateur athletics have a huge following to-day, and some of the finest galas of the whole athletic year are held in and near to the county town.

In the middle of the 19th century great efforts were made to popularize amateur athletics, and an impetus was given to this branch of sport in the county in 1868, when the Nottingham Forest Football Club, three years after its formation, commenced its series of successful meetings. The first was held on 7 May at Trent Bridge, and the entries, which numbered 210, included such crack amateurs as Barnes and W. M. Chinnery of the London Athletic Club; Thompson of Leicester; Lambert of Cambridge University; Duckworth of Manchester; and Needham and Johnson of Sheffield. The walking race in the following year was invested with additional interest by reason of the appearance of the amateur champion, Tom Griffiths of the South Essex Athletic Club, who in 1870, in a match against time, walked 20 miles in 2 hrs. 47 mins. 52 secs. Sheffield competitors in Clegg, Whelan, and Barber, carried off most of the prizes. The bicycle race was regarded as a novelty and, we are told, created great amusement. After the sports there was a dinner at the Lion Hotel presided over by Mr. F. C. Smith, M.P. This dinner is held to this day at the Maypole Hotel, following each year's meeting. For many years the programme was framed on almost identical lines, but as time went on such events as throwing the cricket ball, putting the weight, the pole jump, and the long jump were eliminated, and additional bicycle and other races substituted.

For a considerable period at this meeting the events on the flat have usually comprised an invitation sprint race, handicaps of 120 yds., 220 yds., 440 yds., half a mile, and a mile, together with two

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! races for schoolboys and one for volunteers and football teams. The hurdle races, which at one time were exceedingly attractive, have dropped out of late years, but steeplechases of 500 yds. and 1000 yds. continue in favour, and the introduction of a relay race has proved a great success. The cycling section includes two half-mile handicaps—one for novices—a scratch race for the same distance, and a mile handicap. For the most part there has been no departure from the ordinary events, but a mile walking handicap has recently been revived. Owing to the ground being required for cricket the meeting, with only two or three exceptions in the last twenty years, has been held on the last Saturday in April, and, though the date is too early for athletes to be in thorough training, the names of the best of the competitors for the amateur athletic championship usually appear among the entrants. Prizes to the value of over £200 are offered for competition, and the entries, which for a number of years fluctuated between three hundred and four hundred, now frequently exceed five hundred in number.

Looking back over the names of the men who have figured conspicuously on the Trent Bridge ground at this annual athletic festival, one recalls such champions as C. F. Daft, W. G. George, E. W. Parry, C. A. Bradley, A. R. Downer, R. W. Wadsley, G. W. White, A. E. Tysoe, G. Butterfield, S. J. Robinson, F. W. Cooper, T. M. Donovan, Denis Murray, A. E. Underwood, A. Trafford, A. E. Hind, O. Groenings, Denis Carey, J. W. Morton, J. P. George, A. Astley, I. F. F. Crawford, and such first-class Nottingham men as Spencer, Widdowson, Bestow, Cleaver, Gowthorpe, A. V. Edwards, F. Rivers, and A. Foster.

In the Diamond Jubilee year magnificent gold medals, worth £10 each, were awarded as first prize in the open events in commemoration of Queen Victoria's long reign, and the attendance on that occasion constituted a record. Since then the festival has grown in importance and attractiveness, and has an average turnover of about £600. It would be impossible to give a complete list of the officials who have worked so enthusiastically to make this event one of the best organized in the kingdom, but mention ought to be made of Messrs. W. T. Hancock, T. G. Howitt, C. J. Caborn, C. F. Daft, C. J. Spencer, T. Danks, C. W. Gowthorpe, S. Widdowson, J. H. Scothern, H. P. Day, W. Luntley, S. Bestow, R. Hallam, H. W. Davis, W. B. Bowyer, J. F. Bishop, B. Kirk, A. G. Drewry, H. S. Radford, S. Weston, F. Earp, W. J. Bowyer, and H. Hallam, besides many others, some of whom have passed away.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Nottingham Forest meeting is the chief festival of the whole athletic year, despite the fact that its early date entails a big risk in regard to spring

weather. But the huge ground at Trent Bridge never looks better than when it is laid out for the foot, cycle, hurdle, and steeplechase events to be decided over its surface. The best of runners have first essayed their paces at Nottingham. W. G. George, the great miler, whose record still stands and is likely to do so for years to come, first made his appearance in the walking race at the Nottingham Forest meeting. After the race, in which he made comparatively slow progress, he decided to abandon walking and go in for running. It was at the same gala that G. W. White, the Northampton quarter-miler, was given a goodly mark by the handicapper and won easily in a 440 yds. race, to carry off the national honour the same year from R. W. Wadsley. It was on the Trent Bridge ground also that George Butterfield, who lost the A.A.A. mile championship on 4 July 1908, after holding it for three seasons, won a mile handicap in such hollow style that he was quickly marked down as a coming man. J. Groenings, another English champion, a hurdler from the London Polytechnic, also showed some excellent work over the classic flights taken by such adepts as 'the Nottingham School,' as the old-time hurdler champions were called.

Second only in importance to the Forest sports was the meeting held for twenty-three years in connexion with the Beeston Cricket Club. A splendid grass track was provided on the cricket ground near Beeston railway station, and upwards of £100 was given in prizes, the entries, numbering between three hundred and four hundred, invariably including the names of many of the best-known athletes in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately this event lapsed in 1905, but the gap thus created has been well filled by the sports meeting organized by the Nottinghamshire Rugby Club. At the inaugural fixture in 1907, held on the Victoria Ground at Beeston, prizes to the value of £120 were offered, three hundred individual entries being received, amongst those competing being J. W. Morton, the 100 yds. champion for four seasons; G. Butterfield, one mile champion for three seasons; I. Fairburn Crawford, English and Irish half-mile champion in 1907; and A. Astley, half-mile ex-champion.

For thirteen years a very successful meeting has taken place under the auspices of that flourishing organization, Boots' Athletic Club, on the ground of the club at Lady Bay, West Bridgford. Thirty-five years ago the Mansfield Cricket Club founded a sports meeting which has been attended with conspicuous success, the entries frequently exceeding three hundred and the attendance numbering over five thousand. One of the features of this meeting is the competition for the challenge cups presented by the Duke of Portland. Another meeting which has a history extending over thirty-five years is that annually

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held by the Newark Football Club on Whit-Monday, when some well-known athletes turn out; while the Retford sports meeting, which usually takes place on the same day, is fortunate in possessing a distinguished list of patrons, including the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Newcastle, Viscount Galway, Sir F. Milner, Mr. F. J. Foljambe, and Sir John Robinson. Other meetings in the county are, or have been, held at Worksop; Sutton-in-Ashfield, where they are organized by the Friendly Societies Council; Hucknall Torkard, promoted by the Excelsior Temperance Prize Band; Kirkby-in-Ashfield, in connexion with the Temperance Prize Band; Stanton Hill, Southwell, Langwith, and Glapwell. Smaller events also take place in connexion with the village fêtes and flower shows. Old sports meetings which have fallen through include those promoted by the Nottingham Manufacturing Company's Football Club and the Nottingham Castle Bicycle Club. The former originated so far back as 1869, when a notable feature of the gathering was the division of the principal prizes between two competitors, J. B. Ward and J. White.

Although the number participating in amateur athletics may be larger and the general level of excellence higher than in days gone by, Nottingham does not now figure so prominently in the athletic world as it did when it produced so unexampled a succession of national and northern counties champions as the late Charles Spencer, Sam Widdowson, Sam Bestow, Frank Cleaver, Charles Gowthorpe, and Charles Daft. In hurdle-racing, which calls for special qualities of speed, judgement, and skill, Nottingham stood pre-eminent for half a century. From 1870 to 1895 the six men mentioned above practically carried everything before them, not only in the Nottingham district, but at all the big meetings, such as Manchester, Sheffield, Huddersfield, and Stoke-on-Trent, some of which extended over two days.

The late Charles Spencer (who died in June 1907) was unquestionably the finest 120 yds. hurdle racer in the country in his day. When the present Sheffield Football Club organized races for the northern counties they offered challenge cups which were regarded by athletes as championships, although not officially designated as such. The challenge cup for the 120 yds. hurdle race was won three years in succession in the early 'seventies by Spencer, who thus made it his permanent property. That was his finest achievement, but he won well over a hundred prizes in hurdle and flat races up to a quarter of a mile, and was a frequent and popular winner on the Nottingham track.

Another member of the group, Sam Widdowson, succeeded in winning as many as 200 prizes, 180 of them being won at 200 meetings. Besides being an international footballer, he was a good all-round athlete. His versatility may be

gauged by the following performances for which he was responsible:—Throwing the cricket ball, 109 yds. (on a still day); high jump, 5 ft. 4 in. (off the grass); 100 yds. flat race, $10\frac{3}{8}$ secs.; one mile flat race, 4 mins. 47 secs.; and 440 yds., $51\frac{3}{4}$ secs. (on grass). To appreciate properly these achievements it must be remembered that vast improvements in conditions have been brought about since his day. Thus Widdowson's time for the quarter-mile was only 2 yds. outside the best amateur time then on record—that of J. C. Clegg. On one occasion he left Madrid on Wednesday afternoon and travelling the whole time arrived in Nottingham at one o'clock on Saturday. In the afternoon he ran at the Forest sports, and although he had not been on a running track since the previous year, won one first and one second prize.

Two other ex-amateur champion hurdlers are C. W. Gowthorpe and C. F. Daft, both of whom achieved many excellent performances on the path in Nottingham and elsewhere. The former won the A.A.A. hurdle championship in 1884 in $16\frac{3}{8}$ secs., and still takes an active part in the management of the Nottingham Forest sports. Daft was probably the most proficient hurdle-jumper in the world in his time. The great secret of his success was the complete mastery he attained of what is known as 'the three-stride trick,' that is, taking three strides only between each hurdle. In 1885, 1886, and again in 1890 he won the amateur championship, and held the British record, 16 secs., made at Stamford Bridge, 3 July 1886, until it was wrested from him in 1895 by G. B. Shaw, who reduced the time for the 120 yds. hurdle race to $15\frac{1}{8}$ secs., a record which has since been lowered to $15\frac{1}{8}$ secs. by A. C. Kraenzlein.

Another Nottingham athlete who deserves mention is E. H. Greenhalgh of Mansfield, who, like the great hurdlers already mentioned, belonged to the Forest Club, of which he was for eighteen years captain and secretary. Three years in succession he won the 120 yds. flat race (open to amateurs) at Trent Bridge, and held the amateur championship of the county for some time. He won something like a hundred prizes on the running path, and at an athletic meeting at Mansfield in 1873 took the following five events, starting at scratch on each occasion:—100 yds. (club), 120 yds. (open), 220 yds., quarter-mile, and 600 yds. steeplechase.

After a long interval there has been a great revival of cross-country running in Nottinghamshire in recent years. Unorganized cross-country runs there were in the county at irregular intervals from the early days of the pastime in this country, and some eighteen years ago a club existed in Nottingham, but it was not affiliated and did not survive very long. Four years ago, however, mainly through the efforts of A. H. Varney, the present honorary secretary, the

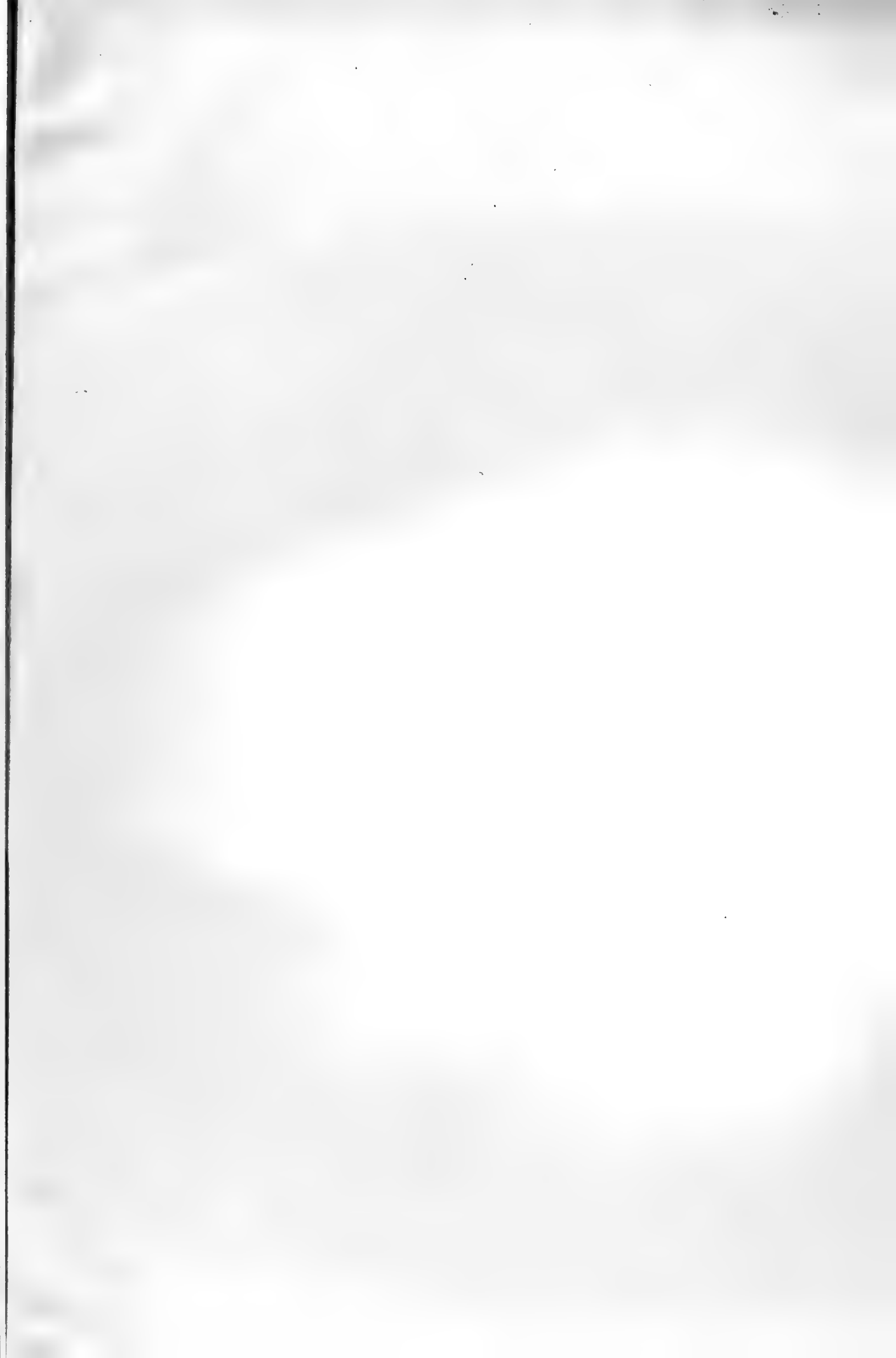
A HISTORY OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Harriers were formed, and this organization has progressed so rapidly that it now has over a hundred members. It is divided into sections, one of the most flourishing being the Sutton section, which includes among its members some very keen and smart performers, two of whom were in the counting six in the Midland Counties Senior Championship run at Derby in 1907. The Nottingham section has a brilliant home record, but it has not been quite so successful in inter-club engagements. It is affiliated to the National Cross-Country Union and the Midland Counties Cross-Country Association, and prominent amongst its members are P. Mann, P. W. Mann, J. W. Padley, W. Clark (winners of 10 miles club championships), J. Parry, Knowles, Wilson, W. Jowett, H. Goodger, H. Nurse, R. H. Hackett, W. A. Dove, and A. H. Varney. Mr. Varney has been on the path for fifteen years and has won a large number of prizes at Midland race meetings, beating, amongst others, the Midland half-mile champion, and G. Smith of the Derby Harriers, winner of the Midland one mile championship three years in succession. In 1894, 1895, and 1896 he won the Lincoln Harriers championship, and in 1904 was first in the Beeston Harriers 10 miles championship. He also carried off the 8 miles handicap and secured the highest number of points in inter-club races the previous season. Since the establishment of the Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Harriers a number of smaller organizations for the promotion of this, the purest, form of amateur sport have sprung up in the city, including the Mapperley Hare and Hounds, the Nottingham Savages, the Robin Hood Harriers, and the Bulwell Harriers. It is also proposed to form a junior section and a walking club in connexion with the Nottinghamshire Harriers, and an athletic meeting, in aid of charity, was held in July 1908, under the joint auspices of this club and the Nottingham Castle Bicycle Club.

An older club than the Nottinghamshire Harriers is the Beeston Harriers, which was

founded in 1900. It is strongly represented at local athletic sports, and several of its members figure prominently in races demanding both pace and stamina. A more recently formed organization is the Beeston Rylands Athletic Club, which includes in its programme both indoor and outdoor athletics, the outdoor items including pedestrianism in addition to cricket, rowing, and swimming. Other clubs in the county are the Netherfield Harriers and the Mansfield St. Peter's Harriers, the president of the latter being the Rev. Canon Prior, himself an old athlete and the winner of various trophies.

Nottingham and Beeston being situated in the midst of the cycle industry, it is not to be wondered at that men bred and born in the county should take high rank in the national cycle championships and perform well at the athletic galas held in the immediate vicinity. In 1885 Robert Cripps of Nottingham, a sturdy pedaller who late in life went in for cycle making, won the N.C.U. 5 miles tricycle championship at Birmingham in 16 mins. 53½ secs. The finest and most consistent mile cyclist of all time was Herbert Synyer, of the Nottingham Boulevard C.C., who in 1888 upon an ordinary bicycle won the mile N.C.U. championship in 2 mins. 32⅔ secs., which remained the fastest mile in a N.C.U. championship for many years. Synyer that year won the 5 miles ordinary championship at Newcastle in 15 mins. 4⅔ secs. In 1889 he again won the 5 miles honour in 18 mins. 24½ secs. (there were no time limits in those days) at Paddington. A Nottingham tricyclist, H. H. Sansom, came to the fore in the N.C.U. championship events for the three-wheeled machine in 1889, for at Paddington he beat the fields in the mile (time 3 mins. 12 secs.) and the 5 miles (time 17 mins. 15⅔ secs.) in capital style. Next year Sansom repeated his 5 miles victory on the same track. Nottingham has had in her city many handicap and scratch riders of repute, and F. W. Millard almost rose to championship rank in a year when there were many first-class sprinters awheel.





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