Ashover and the Wheatcrofts.

By S. O. Addy, M.A.

The Amber.

THE inhabitants of the beautiful valley of Ashover are proud of their river and its name. It is "formed by the junction of two brooks, one of which rises near Buntingfield toll-gate, and the other near Collumbell" (*Memoirs of the Geological Survey*). It is called "Amber flumen" in Speed's map of 1610, and he was only borrowing from others. But I am not aware that it occurs in early documents. In Ashover the word "Amber" enters into a variety of modern compounds as the names of places or houses. It is pleasing to the ear, and is shrouded by the mystery which brings respect.

This river-name is found in Old German. In big type Förstemann (*Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, 1872) heads one of his sections with the word "Ambr." He is clear that it is an Indo-Germanic word meaning a stream, or river. He connects it with the Sanskrit *ambu*, water, and with the Greek ὄμβρος, Latin *imber*, a shower of rain. And he gives examples of its occurrence in German documents of the ninth and tenth centuries. The name is probably Celtic.

The word "Ashover."

This must have been the name of a comparatively small piece of ground, or of an artificial object, in a parish which contains 9564 acres. "Probably," says Mr. B. Walker, it means "the bank lined with ash trees." His explanation is possible, but what was the "bank" (*ōfer*)?

In 1233 the cemetery of a chapel in the parish of Whitestone, Devonshire, was enclosed by a rampart on which ash trees grew. The plaintiff in an action, however, said that this enclosure belonged to him as his *dominicum*, and was not ecclesiastical but secular property. The jury found that a chapel stood there, and that the rampart and the trees belonged to it.[1]

Would it be fair to suggest that the rampart surrounding this Devonshire chapel was a " bank ? " There might have been an earthen rampart at Ashover surrounding the Old Hall—to which I am going to refer—or surrounding the churchyard. And that " bank " might have been " lined with ash trees." There is nothing of the kind there now. But the time was when every *curia*, every manor-house, was surrounded by a mound which the tenants of the manor had to keep in repair.

I might press this point further by saying that mediæval earthen ramparts were surmounted by a stockade, and that the Greeks and Romans used for the *valli* or stakes of their ramparts young trees with the side branches on them. It may be that in later times oak trees, as in Oakover, or thorn-trees as in Thornover, or ash trees, as in Ashover, were planted on the earthen banks of the ramparts instead of stakes. If that were so, the ramparts of those places might have been differentiated from those of other places where dead wood was used. And in this way a name would be given to a place, just as Whitchurch (white church) took its name from the fact that its church differed in colour from that of neighbouring churches.

The Old Hall and the New.

We learn from Domesday that in the eleventh century there were two manors in Ashover. I take Mr. Stenton's translation of the passage from the *Victoria County History of Derbyshire* :—

[1] Bracton's *Note-Book*, ed. Maitland, ii, pp. 576-7.

2 m. In Essovre Levric and Levenot had 2 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 2 ploughs. There now 3 rent-paying tenants (*censarii*) and 14 bordars have 3 ploughs. There is now 1 plough in demesne and a priest and a church and 1 mill (rendering) 16 pence. Wood(land) for pannage 2 leagues in length and 2 in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Serlo holds it.

The word " manor " originally meant a house, a lord's house, and then it came to include the estate and privileges belonging to such a house.

Now there was in Ashover, before the year 1302, a great house called the New Hall, afterwards known as Eastwood Hall.

Such a name as New Hall implies the existence of an Old Hall, as New College in Oxford, founded in 1379, implied the existence of older colleges in that university. Lysons and other writers mention the Old-hall manor and the New-hall *manor* in Ashover. They mean estates so called, not houses.

Where was the house called the Old Hall? Sir George Sitwell has, I think, answered this question rightly. He says: " The Greenhall close on the north side of the church is the site of the Old Hall at Ashover, but before the year 1302 Margery de Reresby had built for herself the New Hall which she afterwards bestowed upon her younger son," Sir Adam de Reresby.[1]

In a field which adjoins the north side of the churchyard irregularities of the ground suggest that buildings may have stood there. Dr. Pegge, whose experience was great, and whose remarks are always valuable, said: " I have observed that our churches generally stand south of the manor-house " (*Anonymiana*, iii, 48). His observation is confirmed by my own studies. A good and

[1] *The Barons of Pulford*, by Sir George Reresby Sitwell, part xxiii, printed at his Private Press at Scarborough, 1889. Sir George refers to Addit. MM. 6675, p. 66 b, in the British Museum.

early example is the church at North Elmham standing on the south of the bishop's manor-house, which manor-house is absurdly called the Saxon Cathedral (see the plan in the writer's *Church and Manor*, p. 2). The hall at Thribergh, near Rotherham, where the Reresbys had also a seat, was on the north side of the church. "North of the church of Chipping Norton, Oxon, is a ground called the Castle ground, where are no buildings remaining, but only the rampire cast up."[1] "Northward of the church of Yardley Hastings is the old Manor-house, now in ruins, but appearing from the remains of arches, with door-cases and window-frames of stone, to be of great antiquity."[2] Spelman, in his *Glossarium, s.v. curia* quotes these words: "Et tunc fuit curia et mansum capitale juxta ecclesiam de Houcton ex parte de North," and then was the court and chief mansion close to the church of Houcton on the north side. North of the chancel of Portslade Church, Sussex, forming the churchyard wall on that side, are the ruins of an ancient manor house. "Behind the parish church of Nigg, Kincardineshire, were to be seen about 1790 the foundations of a building 90 feet long, called the Bishop's House, and doubtless the remains of the old manor-place" (*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, ii, 458). The church of Hutton-Bushell "is situated between the gloomy shell of a mansion of the Osbaldistones . . . . to the north, and a very pretty churchyard to the south."[3] These facts may support the statement that the north side of the church was the site of the Old Hall at Ashover.

The New Hall, now called Eastwood Hall, is a little more than half a mile east of the church, and is quite outside the village. It is in ruins, though enough is left to enable an architect and a photographer to make out

[1] Loveday's *Diary of a Tour in* 1734, Roxburghe Club, p. 3, referring to Plot's *History of Oxfordshire*.

[2] Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, 1791, i, p. 394.

[3] Poole and Hugill, *The Churches of Scarborough, &c.*, 1848, p. 61.

a good account, with a plan, of the chief features of the building, Sir George Sitwell does not describe the building himself. He quotes a paper read by Mr. Bunting, and a discussion which followed it. "The discussion and subsequent investigation," we are told, "of the ruins which followed the reading of Mr. Bunting's paper clearly established the theory that the early part of the present building was erected by the De Plesleys—the arch over the east doorway being a very fine and interesting specimen of Norman architecture at the early part of the 12th century, and the interior of the hall or vestibule also showing traces of the same style. The Early English windows and masonry in the western tower (probably about 1220) were referred to the Willoughbys, while the buildings on the north side appear to be the work of the Reresbys, being Early Tudor probably erected very early in the 16th century. A Jacobean window was also noticed in the northern wall of the hall" (p. xxv). I have seen this ruin, but failed to notice traces of Norman work.

The advowson appendant to the New Hall.

In the thirteenth century the advowson was appendant not to the Old Hall, as one would have expected, but to the New Hall.

Shortly before his death in 1275 Ralph de Reresby had exchanged the manor of Pleasly, in this county, for that of Ashover. (Sitwell, p. xxiii).

Sir George has given us the full text of an important original document relating to the New Hall (p. 17). The effect of it is that on the 20th of January, 1302 [3], Margery de Reresby, formerly wife of Ralph de Reresby, released and quit-claimed to Adam de Reresby, her son, and Deugya, his wife, and their heirs, all the right that she had, or might have, in the manor of Ashover which is called the New Hall, or without, with all its appurtenances

and easements, and with the advowson of the church. Sir George, and also Mr. Jeayes (No. 115) speak of this *release* as if it were a grant in fee. It seems to me that the widow of Ralph de Reresby did no more than release her dower in the New Hall and the advowson. She would have acquired a right to that dower upon her marriage, for there are plenty of cases, in the publications of the Selden Society and elsewhere, proving that widows had dower in the advowsons which had belonged to their husbands. For example, in 1383 Thomasia, widow of Sir William de Furnival, had her reasonable dower (*inter alia*) in the advowsons of churches which had belonged to him.[1] Women were also presented to benefices in right of dower.[2]

I gather from two fines, dated respectively 1252 and 1256, that the New Hall manor, though not mentioned by name, consisted of eighteen librates of land, and that the advowson was appendant thereto.[3] A librate was an estate in land worth a pound a year.

Not only did the New Hall manor come into the possession of the Reresbys, but they also became owners of the Old Hall manor. In 1337 the Old Hall manor was conveyed by Ralph de Reresby to Roger Wynfield of Edelstow Hall (Lysons). In 1623 the New Hall manor, with the advowson, was sold by Sir Thomas Reresby to the Rev. Immanuel Bourne, then rector of Ashover. From the Bournes the estate passed to the Nodders, in whom the advowson is now vested. In 1762 the New Hall was sold to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, to augment the chapel of Brimington (Lysons). No Court Rolls of either of these manors are known to me.

---

[1] *Transactions of the Hunter Archæological Society*, 1914, p. 48.

[2] *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, p. 397.

[3] *Derbyshire Archæological Journal*, ix, pp. 84, 89.

The two Manors of Domesday.

One of these may have belonged, in the reign of the Confessor, to Levric, or Leofric, and the other to Levenot, or Leofnoth. Did the Old Hall manor descend from one of these Domesday manors, and the New Hall from the other Domesday manor? In the reign of the Conqueror, Serlo held the whole; nevertheless the halls of two pre-Conquest manors may have existed in 1086. The hall on the north side of the church was probably older than the church.

The Ashover Hermits.

In his *Derbyshire Charters*, Mr. Jeayes gives the material words of a charter, dated between 1204 and 1235, whereby the Abbot and Convent of Dale granted to Richard Venator (Hunter) the "landa in bosco de Morwde, ubi quondam heremite solebant habitare," the *landa* in Moorwood where formerly hermits used to dwell. He also mentions certain lands in Ashover called in 1319 "le Hermite Ker," the Hermit Marsh. The word *landa* occurs as Lant in some parts of Ashover, as in Peglant, Dicklant, Lant Lodge, King's Lant. The surname Lant also occurs in the parish. A little north of Clay Cross station, in this neighbourhood, is a place called Ankerbold, meaning anchorite's dwelling. The number of hermits diminished as conventual life became fashionable, and we learn from the charter that when the convent of Dale sold the land the hermits had already migrated. They may have gone to Dale. The last foundation of this abbey, says Lysons, took place about the year 1204, a date which agrees with our charter. The abbey is about sixteen miles south of Ashover, and seven miles north-east of Derby.

The site of Dale Abbey itself is said to have been occupied by a hermitage constructed by a baker of Derby, who was in a measure another Cornelius. It is related in the fantastic chronicle of Thomas of Muskham, canon

of Dale, that this baker-hermit first lived in a cave,[1] in hunger and thirst and cold, and nakedness. There he was one day discovered by the lord of the manor, who marvelled that anybody should have had the impudence to make a dwelling there without his leave. But the great man, seeing the hermit clothed in old rags and skins, was smitten at the heart, and gave him some tithe (which belonged at an early time to thanes or lords of manors). Afterwards the baker-hermit discovered a spring in a valley not far from his dwelling, and " near it he made for himself a hut (*tugurium*), and built an oratory."[2] Happily the wearing of filthy and verminous skins and rags is no longer regarded as a Christian virtue.

ALLEGED APPROPRIATION OF ASHOVER CHURCH BY A MONASTERY.

In the twelfth century Walter Durdent, bishop of Lichfield, confirmed to the monks of Derley, near Derby, a grant, among other churches, of the church of Ashover (*Assovera*) made to them by Robert, Earl Ferrers (*Monasticon*, vi, 362). But the church did not belong to this abbey at the Reformation, and there seems to be no evidence that the abbey ever had possession of the advowson. There has never been a vicar of Ashover; the benefice has been a rectory from the beginning. According to Orderic, Robert, Earl Ferrers, was made Earl of Derby by King Stephen in 1138. I am not aware that he was ever the owner of the manor or advowson of Ashover. Henry de Ferrers, Domesday commissioner, is found in that survey in possession of estates in fourteen counties, his chief possessions being in Derbyshire, where he held a hundred and fourteen manors.[3]

---

[1] This rock-dwelling still exists.

[2] The best text is that published, with a translation, by Sir W. H. St. John Hope in vol. v of this *Journal*.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

THE CHURCH.[1]

As we have seen, Ashover had a church and a priest in 1086.

On a recent visit I was told that when the church was undergoing alteration between 1886-90, the floor of the nave was pulled up, and the first few courses of a white wall revealed. This wall ran between the pillars dividing the nave from the aisles, as if the original walls of the nave had stood where the pillars now are. My informant thought that the wall was white on both sides, and it seems to have impressed him a good deal.

The white walls were probably part of the church which was standing when Domesday was compiled.

Our earliest churches were intended to be covered with stucco or plaster both inside and out, and the walls were never left bare, as your modern " restorer " leaves them. The *regia aula*, or royal hall, at Deerhurst, dedicated to the Trinity in 1056, was originally covered, as the remains show, both inside and out, with a thin coat of hard, white stucco, only the dressed quoins being left free of this substance. Whithorn, in Wigtownshire (anciently *Hwitern, i.e.*, White House) had a church which was said to have been founded by St. Ninian in the fourth century. " Qui locus," says Bede, " vulgo vocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more fecerit," which place is commonly called White House because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons (*H.E.*, iii, c. 4). Why a church was called the White *House*, instead of the White Church (compare Whitchurch) we are not told. But it may have been a house which grew into a church under the influence of monachism.

Titus Wheatcroft in his manuscript book called " Church and School, or the Young Clark's Instructor," 1722, says :

[1] Cf. the account of this church by Dr. Cox in his *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. i, p. 17.

"This towne of Ashover hath in it a fair and beautiful Church, about 100 foot high, with a stately broach steeple built of greetstone in the year 1419." He does not give the source of his information, but it agrees very well with the Perpendicular style of the church, and is probably correct. But he is wrong in speaking of a broach steeple for the tower is battlemented. There is evidence of an earlier structure, with a lower roof, in the weather-mould to be seen inside the church.

At the last "restoration" figures painted in fresco were found in the spaces between the arches of the nave, reaching up to the clerestory windows. They appeared to be figures of saints or angels, but, as they had been plastered over at a later period, their forms were not clearly made out. No other wall-paintings were found in any other part of the church.

Stone crosses and other carved emblems are built into the walls in various parts of the church. One of them which is built into one of the south chancel windows, consists of what appears to be a cross, with an axe on one side and a sword on the other. A rude cup, shaped like an hour glass, is carved within the cavity of the squint, and on the inner side of its covering stone is an emblem of some kind now plastered over.

The Roodloft Stair.

The doorway opening upon the roodloft stair is six feet above the floor of the church, and the hinges of the door are still visible. The other end of the stair may be seen in the angle formed by the chancel wall and the north wall of the nave. This other end of the stair is so far below the apex of the chancel arch that it might have opened not only upon a roodscreen but into a room above the chancel. There is no trace of the existence of such a room, but the height of the doorway above the floor suggests that a priest or caretaker occupying such

a room might have used a moveable ladder which he could draw up for safety. We are told by good authorities that " roodloft stairs are not found built in the church walls until the fifteenth century." [1] This agrees with Titus Wheatcroft's statement that the present church at Ashover was built in 1419.

At Wingerworth church, three miles north-east of Ashover, the lowest step of the roodloft stair is 6 feet 3 inches above the level of the floor.

Curfew as a Guide.

In the churchwardens' and constables' accounts for Ashover it was ordered in 1702 that a man should begin to ring curfew at Michaelmas (September 29th) and continue until Lady Day (March 25th). In 1553 the corporation of Leicester ordered curfew to be rung nightly from Michaelmas to Lady Day,[2] and this rule was observed in many places.

Curfew was rung for a variety of purposes, not the least important of which was to guide people home at night. There is a tradition in Ashover that a man's life was saved on the moor by hearing the sound of the bell, and a similar tradition is found in many places.

In proving the fact that the sound of curfew was a guide to those who had lost their way in the dark we are not confined to tradition. About 1390 the town council of Northampton ordained :—

> that at the ninth hour on every night and festival the great and more solemn bell of the church of All Saints should be rung . . . for the space of one hour, so that by the sound thereof whosoever chanced to be in the fields in the darkness of night might more quickly be able to reach the town.[3]

We can now see why curfew was only rung when nights

[1] F. Bligh Bond and Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts*, 1909, i, p. 85.

[2] See other instances in the writer's *Church and Manor*, p. 411.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 409, referring to *Records of the Borough of Northampton*, p. 252.

were dark. It may seem astonishing to us, in these days of good roads, and lamps of all kinds, that people should be lost in the dark three or four miles from home. But the country side, even as late as the seventeenth century, was very different from what it is now, when nearly every waste has been enclosed, and far more land is cultivated. This was especially so in a hilly district like that of Ashover. Most of us have been lost, at one time or other, in the dark when traversing field paths without a lantern. Not long ago I heard of two young women who were lost on the moors near Hathersage, and had to remain there all night.

Leonard Wheatcroft says on the 25th [1] of September, 1670: "I was lost in my way, and at last I found a marke upon the mores, upon which I writ this verse heare following":—

Great Monement for my content
I'le rest me heare a while;
Had'st thou not beene for me to've seene,
I'de wandered many a mile.

He seems to have been lost on Tansley Moor, between Matlock and Ashover, for, in describing his journey home, he says: "For a memoriall we erected by the way 4 heapes of stones [2] betwixt Matlock and Ashover which we judged would stand to many generations: this was done October 5, 1670" (*Journal*, xxi, 33, 34).

On occasions like these the curfew bell must have been a welcome sound.

Heaps of stones and old stone monuments served, like the sound of bells, as guides to wayfarers. In Iceland to this day piles of stone or wood are erected to direct travellers. Stanedge Pole, on the summit of the moor

[1] It will be noticed that curfew did not begin to ring until the 29th.

[2] Cotgrave, 1632, has: *Mont-joye*, a barrow; a little hill, or heap of stones, layed in, or near a highway, for the better discerning thereof; or in remembrance of some notable act performed, or accident befallen, in that place.

between Sheffield and Hathersage, was a similar landmark. In England lights on church towers were sometimes kept burning at night for this purpose.

It is possible, if not probable, that people could distinguish their own bells from those of other villages, for tradition has preserved jingling rimes indicating the different sounds. In Derbyshire we have :—

Offerton (Alfreton) kettles,
Pentrich pans,
Shirland brave ringers,[1]
And Morton ting tangs.

And for Hathersage :—

My coat's as black as pitch
Say the bells of Hathersitch.

The first line of this jingle well represents the melody of an old peal of bells.

Such importance was attached to the ringing of curfew that, according to some traditions, land was bequeathed for the purpose. Thus a Nottinghamshire woman who had lost her way on the heath was enabled to get home by the sound of the church bells. Out of gratitude she left an acre of ground to the sexton.[2]

The Babington Tomb.

The beautiful alabaster tomb in the church was erected in his lifetime by Thomas Babington, Esq., of Dethick (about three miles from Ashover), as a memorial of himself and his wife Edith. In his will, dated 24th February, 1518, he says :—

I will my body be buryed in my parish church of Ashover nere my wif Edith, if it fortune me to deceas within xx. miles of the same . . . . But I will not that the Tombe which I have made in

[1] "Brave ringers" is probably a corrupt version.

[2] Addy's *Traditional Tales and Remains*, 1895, p. 129.

the church of Ashover be broken or hurt for my carkas, but that it be leyed nere the same, and over that place that I shall lye in a stone with a scripture after myne executors and supervisour myndis, or the more parte of them, to be leyde (*Journal*, xix, 80).

The testator's wish was carried out. The tomb was neither broken nor hurt, and his body was not laid in it. An inscription was cut on one side of a brass plate which had already been inscribed on the other side, and probably thrown away as erroneous, in memory of other persons. This palimpsest, as such brasses are called, hangs on a swivel in a niche of the wall dividing the chancel from the nave, near the squint on the south side. On one side are the words :—

here lyeth Thomas Babyngton of dethyk esquier son of john son & heyre to Thomas babyngton & Isabell hys wyfe doughter & heyr' to Robert dethyk esquier which Thomas decessid the xiij day of marche anno domini MV^{c}xviij on whois soules jhesu have mercy.

Turning the plate round we read :—

hic jacent Robertus prykke armiger quondam seruiens panetarie domine margarete regine Anglie [et] Johannes Robertus et Margareta liberi sui qui quidem Robertus pater obiit xxiij° die mensis maij A° domini M°cccc 1° quorum animarum propitietur deus Amen.

Or, in English :—

Here lie Robert Prykke, Esquire, Serjeant of the Pantry to the lady Margaret [of Anjou] Queen of England, [and] John, Robert, and Margaret his children, which Robert the father died on the 23rd day of the month of May, in the year of Our Lord 1450. Whose souls God pardon, Amen.

It is uncertain whether the body of Edith Babington was laid in the tomb, but the words " and the said Edithe " can be read at the foot.

Tombs like this of Thomas Babington and his wife have been called altar-tombs. They are in fact survivals.

or imitations, of Roman sarcophagi, in which figures of the deceased often recline at the top.[1]

The tomb is in the south side of the nave. It abuts against the wall which divides the nave from the chancel, so that no figures were carved, or are visible, at its eastern end. On the top two figures, representing Thomas Babington and his wife, recline. Their faces are turned to the east, and towards the brass on a swivel in the wall This eastward position was usual, and one of Thomas Babington's sons, Ralph, who was rector of Hickling and Althorp, Notts, in his will, dated 1st February, 1520-1, desired to be buried straight before the high altar, so that his feet might rest under the priest as he stood at mass.[2] Thus the face of the corpse would be turned eastwards.

The tomb has been made beautiful by the mellowing hand of Time, and only the painter's brush can fairly transfigure it. More than twenty years ago I tried to describe it in words, sitting in the church and painting, as it were, from still life. I wrote thus. The two reclining figures on the top of the monument seem almost to look through the squint towards the altar. Under canopies which surround the monument at its west end and on its north and south sides, are thirty-three figures, all intended for saints and angels. They have been painted, and in some places gilded. Some of the men have scrolls in their hands and wallets attached to their waists. The women have rosaries suspended from their waists. All the figures are interesting as showing the costume of the period. Under one of the canopies on the west side are two figures. The one on the right is an abbot or bishop with his crozier; the upper part of his mitre, which has been painted green, is broken off.

[1] Dr. Cox describes this tomb in his article *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. i, p. 27.

[2] *Test. Ebor.*, v, 124.

The figure on the left is perfect, and represents St. Catherine. Tinges remain of her robe, which has been scarlet. On her head is a crown which has been painted yellow to imitate gold. The hair which projects from the head on each side is yellow or golden. In her right hand she grasps the pummel of a large sword which reaches nearly to her chin. In her left hand she holds a wheel with eight spokes. She has a belt with tassels. At the same end of the monument there are angels at each corner whose crowns have been gilded. Figures on either side of the abbot and St. Catherine are kneeling in prayer.

The recumbent figure representing Thomas Babington is dressed in a scarlet sleeved gown which reaches down to his shoes. Near his shoes is an animal whose feet have sharp claws—apparently a crocodile. On his right side is a black wallet trimmed with yellow to represent gold Over his breast hangs a double chain of gold. On the leach finger of his right hand is a plain gold ring. The hair is black. The face is white and shaven, and is probably intended for a portrait,[1] though a rude one. On each side of the cushion on which the head is supported are the remains of two small recumbent figures in loose flowing drapery. The same figures are on each side of the woman's cushion, but all the heads are broken off.

The figure representing Edith Babington (daughter of Ralph Fitzherbert of Norbury) is also dressed in a scarlet gown. She wears a large black hood, with a plain green border. Round her waist is a girdle from which hangs a gold chain of twenty-five links ; it appears to be a rosary. Her feet are concealed by her dress. By the side of her left foot is a dog, with a chain, painted yellow, round its neck. The colouring is coeval with the monument itself.

[1] In 1466 Thomas Boston of Newark, desired in his will that an image of his father and himself should be made on a marble tomb in the church. *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Society), ii, 282.

Other Monuments.

There is a well-designed monument in the Italian style on the wall of the south aisle. It consists of a shield surmounted by a medallion portrait. On either side of the medallion is a cherub, one with his finger in his eye as though he were weeping, and the other holding a paint brush. The inscription is :—

Francis Parkes. He by his Natural Genius & great Industry Became a Wonderful Proficient in ye Politer Art of Painting. His singular Modesty Sweet Disposition Strict Sobriety & Ingenious Conversation joined with Unwearied Diligence and uncommon Skill in his Profession made him well esteemed by ye best Judges & rendered him acceptable where ever he was employed.

He was born at Knott Cross in this parish. Died at Nottingham Nov. 29th the 39th year of his Age Anno D° 1713. By his own Orders his Remains were deposited in this Church ; and by the care of his executors this Monument was erected to his Memory.

No account of this painter is given in Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*, 1889. One thinks of Richard Parkes Bonington, who was born at Arnold, near Nottingham in 1801, and whose pictures have fetched thousands of pounds. R. P. Bonington was the son of Richard Bonington, governor of the prison at Nottingham, who was himself a painter. I mention these things because genius runs in families, and it may be that the Boningtons were related to this Ashover worthy. According to some notes made by the Rev. Charles Kerry, a former editor of this *Journal*,[1] a marble monument in Heanor church commemorates William the eldest son of Robert and Anne *Parker*, of Knott Cross in Ashover, who died in 1628 at the age of 35, and of Hannah his wife who died at the age of 24. Is not Parker a mistake for Parkes ?

The following inscription on a marble tablet affixed to the north aisle of Ashover church contains a piece of sarcasm :—

[1] Vol. xix, p. 124.

This tablet is here placed in remembrance of John Milnes, a man of business and in all cases an advocate for a plan. He was born and lived at the Butts where he died a bachelor June 24th 1838 Aged 78 years. N.B. 'T was said he was an honest man.

Another inscription reminds us of the happy life of the English village of the eighteenth century :—

To the Memory of David Wall, whose Superior Performance on the Bassoon endeared him to an extensive musical acquaintance. His social life closed on the 4th of December, 1796, in his 57th year.

There are other monuments in the church, *e.g.*, of the Rollestons of Lea, the Bournes and Nodders of Ashover, the Dakeynes, Twigges, Hodgkinsons, etc. These are described, more or less correctly, in Glover's *Derbyshire.*

In the south-east of the churchyard are some memorials of the Nightingales of Lea. Florence Nightingale, the distinguished nurse, was the second daughter (born in Florence) of William Edward Shore of Tapton, in Sheffield, who took the name of Nightingale on succeeding to the property of his uncle, Peter Nightingale, of Lea. This Peter's father and grandfather had been lead merchants, and lead was the great source of wealth in this neighbourhood.

LEAD-MINING.

It is said that lead has been worked in Ashover " for some centuries " (*Memoirs of the Geological Survey*). The early font in the church is of lead. Thomas Babington in the will just referred to, has a good deal to say about his " boolles," or lead-smelting places at Riber, Ashover, and elsewhere, and the wood and " blakewarke " (piles of charcoal ?) by which the lead was smelted. Much lead ore was owing to him at the time of his death, and he was evidently a great lead merchant. In North Derbyshire, and especially in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, many hill tops lying open to the west are called Bole

Hill, and these were places where lead (and perhaps iron) were smelted.

In 1661 Childrey writes thus of Derbyshire :—

> The Lead-stones in the Peak lye but just within the ground next to the upper crust of the earth. They melt the lead upon the top of the hills that lye open to the West wind ; making their fires to melt it as soon as the West wind begins to blow ; which wind by long experience they find holds longest of all others. But for what reason I know not, since I should think Lead were the easiest of all metals to melt, they make their fires extraordinary great.[1]

The cessation of lead-mining in some parts of Derbyshire has caused some of the smaller houses in villages to fall into ruin, there being no demand for them, and Ashover, in the mid-Victorian period, suffered in this way. But lead-mining has again revived here, and, on account of its natural beauties, and its distance from a railway, the village is becoming a favourite place of residence in summer. Decayed houses are no more to be seen.

Lead-mining must have been practised in Derbyshire from the time of the Romans continuously. About twenty years ago a fine Roman pig of lead, inscribed with the name of its owner, was found on Tansley Moor, between Matlock and Ashover, and was described by Professor Haverfield in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries. Lead-mining has been well discussed in the comprehensive and excellent article in the *Victoria County History* for Derbyshire.

There is evidence that much lead was got at Wirksworth in the ninth century. In the year 835, Cyneuuara, abbess, granted to Hunbert, alderman (*duci*) land in her right called Wirksworth, on condition that he should render yearly to the church at Canterbury, by way of rent (*pro gablo*) lead worth 300 shillings for the use of

[1] *Britania Baconica*, p. 112.

the church of the archbishop and his successors.[1] Here we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the word "abbess." Cyneuuara was a wealthy lady who had been pleased, as the fashion was, to assume that title. The title of abbess passed from mother to daughter. Monasteries were disposed of as private estates, and abbesses could sell their lead, or grant their land just like other people.[2]

In the eleventh century Domesday contains references to Derbyshire lead. It mentions three lead-mines (*plumbaria*) at Wirksworth.

In the next century we hear of the third part of a lead-mine at Winster, which proves that shareholding existed in lead-mines at this early period.[3]

Hereward Street.

Among the many curious place-names of Ashover there is none so interesting as Hereward Street. The road is not at present known by this name, but it is mentioned in two "Bounds of Ashover-moor," made about the year 1250, and a little later.[4] I quote them both :—

(1) A Serleforkys per Herewardestrete, versus Austrum usque viam que ducit de Derley ad Schyterley. Et inde ascendendo per Paystonhirst usque Dewgliswode, & inde ascendendo ex parte australi de Aylewaldesetis usque divisas de Walton descendendo per easdem usque ad Astewode.

(2) A Serleforkes per Herewardstrete versus Austrum usque viam que ducit de Essover usque pontem de Matelock, & sic descendendo per eandem viam usque le Wringandestones, & sic ascendendo usque Ethelstowe, per Watemore, usque Schiterley, et de Schiterley usque Peystonhirstroche, & sic descendendo per le Moresyde usque Staniford Syk, & sic ultra moram per Alwaldsetes usque metas & divisas de Wyngerworth, & de

[1] Earle's *Land-charters*, p. 412.

[2] Earle, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[3] Jeayes, *Derbyshire Charters*, No. 2621.

[4] Pegge's *Beauchief Abbey*, 1801, p. 250.

metis et divisis de Wyngerworth usque metas et divisas de Walton, et sic ascendendo usque Astwod juxta Harewod.

Of these two bounds the second is later, more complete, and more accurate than the first.

It will be noticed that Hereward Street is described as extending from Serleforkes in the north as far as the road which leads from Ashover to Matlock Bridge in the south. Writing in 1722, Titus Wheatcroft says :—

There are three great highways through this parish—one by Buntingfield Nook, which goes betwixt Chesterfield and Derley Bridge, and so to Winster. The second is from Chesterfield through Kelstidge to Matlock Bridge, and so to Wirksworth. The third is by a place called Knot Cross, betwixt the coal pits and the Peak.[1]

The second of these highways is Hereward Street.

For a mile and a half the line of Hereward Street is very distinct. Not only does it run *versus Austrum*, towards the south, but accurately towards the south, as if it had been laid out by a modern surveyor. It is exactly parallel to the eastern side of one of the six-inch Ordnance maps, and it need hardly be said that a characteristic of Roman roads is their extraordinary straightness. I used to think, as I walked along this broad straight piece of highway, that it was a modern road made by turnpike surveyors. Its course may have been made straight in modern times, but it is certainly the second highway mentioned by Wheatcroft, and a part of Hereward Street. The portion of the road which I am describing begins, on the north, at Spitewinter, and, as you trace its course southwards, you pass Span Car, cross Birkin Lane, pass a small house called Hall Moor, and then come to Peglant and Paulstown. At Peglant the road ceases to go exactly southwards, but inclines slightly to the west, and, passing through Kelstedge, goes on to Matlock Bridge.

[1] *Derbyshire Archæological Journal*, xix, p. 25.

The word Hereward is only known in English as a man's name. In Old High German there is a word *herivart*, meaning a campaign or expedition, and, if we had an English cognate, that would make the best sense, for virtually the meaning would then be *via militaris*, military road. In its absence, we ought perhaps to think of Hereward the outlaw, who fills a larger place in legend than in history. It is well known that Watling-street, one of the four great roads known to Anglo-Saxon law, is a mythological name; it is the designation of a street in heaven as well as on earth.

Although the O.E. *strǣt*, Lat. *strata*, means a Roman road, one would hesitate to say that Hereward Street was Roman, because the Ryknild Street which goes through Stretton—the railway station for Ashover—runs parallel to Hereward Street three miles to the east. All that can be safely said is that Hereward Street was an ancient and important road extending between Matlock Bridge and Chesterfield. It does not pass through the village of Ashover, but is a mile to the west of it. The meaning of the word Ryknild—which must not be confused with Icenhild—may be beyond our reach, but it is worth remembering that we have an Old English woman's name Regenhild. This occurs as Ragnild and Rochenild on p. 48 of the Durham *Liber Vitæ* (Surtees Society).

Other Places in "the Bounds of Ashover Moor."

The word "forkes" in Serleforkes appears to mean a gallows, and to refer to the right which Serlo, lord of the manor in the eleventh century, or the later Serlo de Pleasley, had of hanging criminals. I do not know where the place exactly is, but it must have been on the northern verge of the parish, for it occurs as Shirl Fork in 1722, when it was one of the "outmost bounds of the parish" (*Journal*, xix, 26). Sometimes one beam of a gallows

(*lignum furcarum*) stood on one lord's domain and the other on that of an adjoining lord (Thorpe's *Registrum Roffensi*, p. 366). There was a "Serleparroc," Serle's Park, in Ashover in the time of Edward I (Jeayes, No. 116), and Mr. Jeayes says it was in the part of Ashover called Overton—about a mile south of the church.

Schyterley is given on the Ordnance maps as Shooters-lea; it is called Shuterlay in 1722 (*Journal*, xix, 32), when it was the residence of a family called Bower. In Old English *scyte* means shooting, and *scytta*, an archer. I am not sure that this is the explanation of the first element of the word, but the old inhabitants of Ashover seem to have preserved the tradition that it is. The O.E. *scyte-heald* means sloping, oblique, steep.

Paystonhirst, or Peystonhirst, is the farm now called Peasonhurst, not quite three miles north-west of the church, and Peystonhirstroche is Roach Wood, near Peasonhurst, where is "a large quarry, showing a fine rock excellently fitted for building stone." This is near the north-western boundary of the parish.

I cannot find Dewgliswode, Aylewaldsetis, Watemore,[1] Stanyford Syk, or le Wrigandestones. The last name probably contains the old participial ending, and means "ringing stones," that is, encircling stones, as if it marked the site of a stone circle. Titus Wheatcroft in 1722 mentions the Seven Brethren as one of the bounds of Ashover, and Mr. Kerry thought the name might refer to a stone circle.

Mr. Jeayes in his *Derbyshire Charters* (No. 113), refers to a grant of the time of Edward I by Henry de Mousters, of Ashover, to Beauchief Abbey of common of pasture and other privileges in Ashover. The original is among the Wolley manuscripts. Mr. Jeayes gives no bounds.

The bounds which I have quoted are in grants made to

[1] Possibly "wet moor." Hampole's *Pricks of Conscience* has "in wate and drie," in wet and dry.

the abbey by (1) Robert de Reresby and (2) by his son Ralph. It is impossible by these descriptions to make out the exact bounds on the map, though one can do it roughly. The moor, or common, which was of large extent, remained open until the latter years of the eighteenth century, when an Enclosure Award was made.

The Canons of Beauchief had a house called Harewood Grange just outside the northern bounds of Ashover. It is in a sheltered valley, through which the Hipper [1] flows, and about a mile north of Peasonhurst. Here the canons kept sheep which browsed on Ashover moor.

A FEW PLACE-NAMES.

Press, or Prass.—There is a hamlet called Press in Berwickshire, and Praze is the name of a village in Cornwall. Halliwell gives a Cornish word " prase," meaning a small common, but later dictionaries ignore it. The oblique plural of the Old French *pré*, a meadow, is *prez*. The convent of St. Mary de Pratis, Derby, appears as " dez Preez " in a French charter (Jeayes, No. 1443). The O.E. *prass* means array, pomp, and there is an O.E. *press*, press, of French origin.

Collumbell House.—The name of a small farm house, north of Buntingfield, west of Dryhurst, and next to Collumbell Lane. It is marked on the Ordnance map of 1836 as simply Collumbell, without the addition of " House." It is evidently the surname Collumbell—well known in the adjoining parish of Darley.

Buntingfield.—A family called Bunting lived there in the reign of Edward III, and were still there early in the last century (Lysons).

The Rattle : Clattercotes. These two names may be connected in meaning, and I put them together. The

[1] This river is mentioned in a number of charters epitomized by Mr. Jeayes. It occurs as a river-name in German documents of the eighth and ninth centuries as Ipfa, Ippha, &c. (Förstemann) Pegge (*Beauchief Abbey*, p. 146) speaks of it as the Ibber, and the initial *h* must be redundant, and due to the influence of French scribes.

Rattle is the name of a portion of the village lying to the north-west of the church. In 1694 Leonard Wheatcroft mentions "the Rattell grange" (*Journal*, xviii, 63). Clattercotes is in the Milltown quarter, and is written Clattercotis in 1296 (Jeayes, No. 111). An Old English glossary of the eighth century has "*clædur, cledr, cleadur* (Epinal, 218, etc.) which is defined as "tabula qua a segitibus territantur aves," a board by which birds are scared from the crops. Under "clatter," a rattling noise, the Oxford English Dictionary refers to this word, and says that "it appears to be connected but is not phonetically identical." This dictionary also refers to the Dutch *klater*, a rattle. One of the meanings of *tabula* in mediæval Latin is a wooden board by striking on which monks were awakened, that is, by striking the board with a hammer. There may have been a rattle for frightening birds away at Clattercotes, so that the word may mean "the houses by the rattle."

The Oxford Dictionary, however, gives a word "clatter,' which on Dartmoor means "a mass of loose boulders or shattered stones," the first quotation given being as late as 1865. There is a parish called Clattercote in Oxfordshire, mentioned in 1227. Mr. Alexander, in his *Place-names of Oxfordshire*, refers the first part of the word to "clatter" in the last-mentioned sense.

Screetam, Screetham.—This is the name of a place in the north of Ashover, on the road to Darley. It is at an elevation of 1,090 feet, and means "cut-off pieces," *i.e.*, enclosures cut out of the moor. It is the O.E. *scrēad*, a shred, paring, making *scrēadum* in the dative plural. Alfric's *Vocabulary* has "*praesegmina, praecisiones*, screadan."

Dryhurst.—Compare William de Dryeholme of Walton in 1397 (Jeayes, No. 2509).

Edelstow, Ethelstow, Athelstow (Pegge, p. 177), the name of an ancient house. Titus Wheatcroft in 1722 calls it

Edelstall Hall, and says that the Rollestons lived there (*Journal*, xix, 24). From the man's name Æthel, which means "noble," and *stōw*, a place. Wheatcroft must have heard the word pronounced Edelsta, and concluded that the termination was "hall."

Deerleap, a little to the east of Eastwood Hall. A deer leap was a lower place in a hedge or fence where deer may leap.

Span Carr.—Mr. Walker (*Journal*, xxvii, 236), queries this place-name, and says that *spann, sponn*, means "span, measurement, land measured," as of course it does. But it cannot have that meaning in this and many allied place-names. There is reason to believe that the vowel was originally long, and that the word is related to "*spaining*, summer pasturage for cattle" (Halliwell).

About two miles east of Glossop are places called Span Clough and Span Moor. As they stand at an elevation of about 1,200 feet, and as the land is uncultivated, they would have been suitable for summer pasturage, and Span Car in Ashover is on high ground adjoining the moor. The word is of frequent occurrence in the *Coventry Leet Book*, edited by Miss Dormer Harris, as Spon, Spanne, Span, Spane, Spone, Spoone. It occurs in compounds as Spanne-broke (p. 48), and there is a Spayn Brook at Hollow Meadows, near Sheffield. On the same page it is called "the Spanne," and certain fields are said to belong "to the place of the Spoone." There is a Spoon Lane at Stannington, near Sheffield, and the surname Spoyn or Spoon formerly occurred there. There is a place called Span Head on Exmoor, at an elevation of 1,618 feet.

The Old School.

This has been supplanted by the new Council school, and the old school has been converted into a dwelling-house. The inscription over the door has, however, been preserved. It is :—

George Hodgkinson of Overton Hall & Ann his wife design'd this school. It was finished by Wm. Hodgkinson his son & Eliz : his wife Anno 1703.

Udum et molle lutum es, nunc nunc properandus & acri fingendus sine fine rota.

Translation by the present writer :—" Thou art moist and soft clay, now, even now to be hastened on, and fashioned by a sharp wheel without end."

Here the child is compared to clay in the hands of the potter, or schoolmaster, to be moulded on his wheel. Why the potter's wheel should be sharp or stinging I do not know, but Titus Wheatcroft, describing the schoolhouse and garden in 1722 says :—

At every corner of the garden is placed a birch-tree, that the master may not want for the moderate correction of his unruly scholars (Glover).

Before this time there was a Free School at Ashover, for which Leonard Wheatcroft wrote a catechism in 1673.

Leonard Wheatcroft.

In books relating to Derbyshire, Leonard Wheatcroft (1627-1706), and his son Titus, born in 1679, have been almost ignored. The excellent Lysons had never heard of them. In Glover's list of the worthies of Derbyshire, in his history of that county, published in 1829, we have " Wheatcroft Titus, poetical writer, &c. Ashover," and " Wheatcroft William, writer, Ashover." There is no William Wheatcroft known as a writer in Ashover, and he means Leonard. In his account of the village he says that " Leonard Wheatcroft, clerk of the parish, poet, tailor, and schoolmaster, wrote a book about the year 1722 &c." It was not Leonard Wheatcroft, but his son Titus, who wrote this book.

In 1896 the late Rev. Charles Kerry began to publish in these volumes considerable extracts from the manuscripts left by these two writers, and he continued the

work in 1897 and 1899 (see vols. xviii, xix, xxi). The extracts are among the most valued contributions to the *Journal*. Mr. Kerry gave us a good number of Leonard Wheatcroft's poems, and his selection consisted for the most part of verses relating to Ashover and the families who then lived in the village or its neighbourhood. But there are a few poems which Mr. Kerry did not notice, and which, if Wheatcroft was their author, would give him an honourable place in the ranks of English poets. A few of these omitted poems I now propose to examine.

Three or four years ago, when I was staying at Ashover, the Rev. J. B. Nodder, rector of Ashover, very kindly allowed me to read Leonard Wheatcroft's manuscript entitled :—

THE ART OF POETRY [1]

or

Come, you gallants, looke and by,
Heare is myrth and melody.

I read the whole manuscript, and copied some verses which I did not remember to have seen in what Mr. Kerry had published. The most notable of these was the song entitled *The distressed and poore prisoners verses, Nov.* 30, 1664, elsewhere known as *My lodging it is on the cold ground*. It is written in Wheatcroft's neat hand, without a single erasure, on page 100 of the manuscript, and is a far better version of this famous song than that which is given in Sir William Davenant's play called *The Rivals*, published in 1668. Chappell says that this play was acted twice in the presence of Pepys in 1664, but I have been unable to find it either in Braybrooke's or Wheatley's edition of the *Diary*.

I will first give Wheatcroft's song, and then Davenant's,

[1] The first part of the title could not be read in the manuscript, and it is supplied from Titus Wheatcroft's catalogue of books. His father, in his autobiography, speaks of "my book of 'Mirth and Melody.'"—*Journal*, xix, 50.

so that the reader may form his own opinion on their respective merits.

WHEATCROFT'S SONG.

The distressed and poore prisoners verses, Nov : 30, 1664.

My lodging it is on the could ground
And very hard is my fare ;
But that which troubles me most of al's
The vnkindnes of my deare.
Yet still I'le cry O tourne Loue,
And I prethey now tourne to mee,
For thor't the man that only can
Procure my remody.

I'le croune thee with garlands of straw, loue,
And marry thee with a rush ring ;
My frozen hopes shall mally-fie
And merrily will wee sing.
Oh tourne to mee my dearest loue,
I prethey now tourne to me,
For thy loue man's the thing that can
Procure my remodee.

But if thou wilt harden thy hart still,
And be deafe to my pitifull mone,
Then I must endure the smart still
And tumble in straw alone,
Yet still will I cry O tourne loue,
Oh tourne from thy creweltee,
For tho'rt the man that first began
My paine, my miseree.

Finis.

DAVENANT'S SONG.

Here she [Celania] sings.

My lodging it is on the Cold ground,
and very hard is my fare,
But that which troubles me most, is
the unkindness of my dear,

Yet still I cry, O turn Love,
and I prethee Love turn to me,
For thou art the Man that I long for,
and alack, what remedy?

I'l Crown thee with a Garland of straw then,
and I'le Marry thee with a rush ring,
My frozen hopes shall thaw then,
and merrily we will sing,
O turn to me my dear Love,
and prethee Love turn to me,
For thou art the Man that alone canst
procure my Liberty.

But if thou wilt harden thy heart, still,
and be deaf to my pittiful moan,
Then I must endure the smart still,
and tumble in straw alone,
Yet still I cry O turn Love,
and I prethee Love turn to me,
For thou art the Man that alone art
the cause of my misery.
[That done, she lies down and falls asleep].

The Rivals, Act v, p. 48 (1668).

Prof. Moore Smith has kindly sent me a copy of the "Song in *The Rivalls*" which he has found in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 3991, fo. 82, v.). It is substantially identical with that in Davenant's printed quarto. But the following variations occur. The first line of stanza 2 has "Garlands of straw" (as in Wheatcroft's version); the sixth line has "I prithee." The fourth line of stanza 3 has "in straw all alone" instead of "in straw alone." There are also some variations of spelling.

The Rivals, says Chappell,—

acquired its principal celebrity in or about 1667, when Moll Davis and Betterton performed the principal characters. Downes, who was prompter at the theatre from 1662 to 1706, thus speaks of it: '*The Rivals*, a play, wrote by Sir William Davenant: having

a very fine interlude in it, of vocal and instrumental music, mixt with very diverting dances . . . . All the women's parts admirably acted; chiefly Cel[an]ia, a shepherdess, being mad for love; especially in singing several wild and mad songs, *My lodging it is on the cold ground*, &c. She performed that so charmingly, that, not long after, it raised her from a bed on the cold ground to a Bed Royal.' He continues: 'Downes does not here mention the representative of Celania, but the name of Mrs. Davis is found in the printed list of characters in the play, 4to, 1668. Charles II took her off the stage, and had a daughter by her, named Mary Tudor, who was married to Francis, second Earl of Derwentwater. The original air of *My lodging is on the cold ground* was composed by Matthew Lock, and is included among the violin tunes at the end of the *Dancing Master* of 1665; also in *Music's Delight on the Cithren*, 1666, and in *Apollo's Banquet*, 1669. In the two former it is entitled 'On the cold ground'; in the latter 'I prithee, love, turn to me.'"

"The popularity of the song," says Chappell, "was very great, and may be traced in an uninterrupted stream from that time to the present," and he testifies to the fact in the pages which he devotes to it.[1] It is still very popular, but Wheatcroft's fine verses are unknown, and the tune has been changed.

It was also highly esteemed by at least one scholar, for he turned it into Latin verse. In 1899 Professor Moore Smith found the following translation in a copy of Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* (ed. 1635), now in the Sheffield University Library:—

Est mihi terra pro toro
  Et misere vivitur
Tamen hoc quod maxime ploro
  Charus irascitur.

Quin ajo verte vertas
  hem verte jam ad me
Quippe tibi sola potestas
  Medendi miseriae.

[1] *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, ii, pp. 525-30, 785.

Stramine*am* sume Coronam
juncum*que* pro Annulo
Spem inde reficere bonam
Canemus & mutuo.
Quin ajo, &c.

Sed si durescere velis
Querelâ posthabitâ
Acta sum,[1] us*que* telis
Recumbens stipula.
Quin ajo, &c

Scr. 27 Junij 1666, 7 Sleepers Fest.

Professor Moore Smith says that the translation was "apparently written by the same hand which inscribed on the title-page 'Wolfran Mann hunc librum tenet 1665," and we have seen that the lines themselves are dated 27th June, 1666, when the song was the "rage." Professor Moore Smith obtained from a friend at Oxford a copy of the song as it appears in Davenant's quarto, 1668, and I have reproduced it here.[2] The refrain of the Latin version proves that the translator had before him an English version which resembled, or was identical with, Wheatcroft's lines.

Was Wheatcroft the author of *My lodging it is on the cold ground?* Mr. Thomas Davidson, in his essay on ballads in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, says :—

Their makers were not authors by profession, and it is natural that their names should be forgotten. Of course, ballads may have been written by men of any class, especially at a time when all audiences were unlettered and alike in taste, and the possession of literary culture was not the separating line that it is at present . . . . . Our ballads were made by the people for the people, and they went straight to the hearts of their hearers, who, if they lacked the refinement of their successors, were not less quick to feel the hot human emotions—love, hate, pity, and fear. They were versified originally by unlettered men for unlettered audi-

[1] The sense requires that the comma after this word should be deleted.—S.O.A.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 9th s., iv, 397, 505.

ences; and passing as they did from mouth to mouth and generation to generation of reciters possessing the literary sense in in very varying degrees, it is not wonderful that many changes of omission or alteration have slipped in, and that what are really the same ballads are found in versions differing considerably from each other.

Wheatcroft was one of the people writing for the people, and he was unlettered in the sense that he was without Latin or Greek, which in his time were the indispensable requisites of a good education. The son of a yeoman, or small landowner, who was also a tailor, he may have got a smattering of education in the village school, probably a better school than is now to be found in English villages. He had a marked taste for versification, and the collection of books which belonged to his son Titus, and which probably in a great measure had belonged to himself, seem to prove that he was a considerable reader, if not a diligent student. But his work is very unequal and most of his verses have no merit.

Sometimes Wheatcroft signs his verses with his name, or his initials. In the poem which we are considering he merely gives an exact date, referring either to the time when he composed it, or to the day when he copied it from a broadside, or wrote it down from the lips of a reciter.

Do Wheatcroft's other verses show that he had the power to write such a poem as this? It is true that the greater part of his compositions show little or no poetic ability. But in them he is mostly dealing with trivial local incidents which could not have appealed to his emotions. How could a meeting of bell-ringers have touched his deeper heart? Or how could a race between Bacon and Walker on Bonsall moor have given birth to an enchanting lyric? It is when he is describing the passion of love that we see him at his best. About 1652 he had fallen in love with one Frances Smith, whose

father " sparred the door on him," bolted him out. On that occasion he addressed a poem to her beginning :—

Sometimes I walk into the fieldes
My love for to restraine ;
But that to me small comfort yields,
For all is still in vaine :
The merry birds their tunes leave off
To lend an eare to mee
Which am opprest, and cannot rest
For want of liberty.

These and other lines are concluded by the words, " Written at Ashover, by mee, Leonard Wheatcroft," so that there is no doubt about the authorship. They might have been written by Lovelace. We may compare the rhythm of the last two lines with that of the last two lines in the first stanza of Wheatcroft's version of *My lodging it is on the cold ground* :—

For tho'rt the man that only can
Procure my remody.

When Wheatcroft—assuming that he is the author—entitles the poem *The distressed and poor Prisoner's Verses* he is not thinking of a maiden lying on straw in a jail. He is rather thinking of a love-sick shepherdess or milk-maid who has no " liberty " to enjoy the object of her desire.

To bring the matter to a point, it can neither be affirmed nor denied that Wheatcroft was the author of this entrancing song. All that we know is that his version is the earliest on record ; that it is exactly dated ; and that it has none of the faults which appear in Davenant's version. The words of the sub-title of Wheatcroft's manuscript—

Come, you gallants, look and buy

show that he intended to sell his verses, either in printed broadsides, or in a volume. But the volume which he

has left us could hardly have been printed as a whole, because it contains a portion of his autobiography, and also verses, such as epitaphs on local worthies, which would have been of no interest to a larger public. In another portion of his autobiography, after referring to his " booke of poetry," he says : " I also writ a booke of divinity, called by the name of ' The Bright Starre of Love.' I was one-and-twenty years before I had finished it for the Pres " (*Journal*, xxi, 35). His son Titus catalogues this manuscript as " The Bright Star of Love appearing to Bachelors written by my father Leonard Wheatcroft," saying nothing about divinity, and it is probable that his father was merely indulging in a ponderous joke to do with that subject. Mr. Kerry says it is not extant. It was certainly never published.

Although there is no evidence that Wheatcroft ever published a book, it is possible that some of his verses were printed as broadsides. " These," says Mr. Davidson, " were subjected by half-educated editors and printers to a kind of preparation for the press which too often succeeded in stripping the poor ballads of almost all their poetic charm." Is it possible that Wheatcroft's *Distressed and poor Prisoner's Verses* suffered disfigurement in this way? Such a possibility is at any rate more likely than the possibility that he improved a poem which had come into his hands. He has left it on record that on two occasions he presented verses to the gentry living in his neighbourhood, and was " very well rewarded " (*Journal*, xxi, 49, 53). He does not tell us that he hawked his verses about as Taylor, the so-called Water Poet, did. Nevertheless he may have sold verses to the printers, especially on his visits to London.

There are in the manuscript two songs on tobacco, one in favour of it, and the other against its use. Here is the one in favour of it :—

AN EPIGRIME ON TOBACKO.

All dainty meates I doe defy
Which feed men fat as swine.
He is a frugall man in deed
That on a leafe can dine.
He needs no napkin for his hands
His finger ends to wipe
That keeps his kitchin in a box,
And rost meat in a pipe.

In Granger's *Index to Poetry* this song is said to be anonymous, and to be found in Parton's *Humorous Poetry of the English Language*, which seems to be an American book. Not having, at the time of writing, access to a great library, I have been unable to see this volume, or to trace the song to an earlier source.

The other is a counterblast, as King James I would have called it :—

VPON TOBACKO DEATH AND OURS.[1]

The Indian weed withered quite,
Greene at nooune, cut downe at night
Shews thy deceay
All flesh is heay,
Thus thinke, and drinke, Tobacko.

And when the smoake ascends on hye
Then think vpon the vanity
Of worldly stuff
Gone with a puff
Thus thinke, and drinke, Tobacko.

When as the pipe is foule within,
Think on thy soule defil'd with sin
And then the fier
It doth require,
Thus thinke, and drinke, Tobacko.

[1] "Ours" seems to mean "our death."

The ashes that are left behind
The[y] may suffice to put in mind
To dust we must
And all mankind
Thus thinke, and drinke, Tobacko.

The following version was printed in 1672 in a minor "Counterblaste," entitled *Two Broadsides against Tobacco* (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd S. i, 378) :—

The Indian weed wither'd quite
Green at noon, cut down at night,
Shews thy decay,
All flesh is hay ;
Thus think, then drink tobacco.

The pipe that is so lily white
Shews thee to be a mortal wight,
Even as such
Gone at a touch ;
Thus think, then drink tobacco.

And when the smoke ascends on high,
Think thou behold'st the vanity
Of worldly stuff,
Gone at a puff ;
Thus think, then drink tobacco.

And when the pipe grows foul within,
Think on thy soul defiled with sin,
And of the fire
It doth require ;
Thus think, then drink tobacco.

The ashes that are left behind
They serve to put thee still in mind,
That unto dust
Return thou must ;
Thus think, then drink tobacco.

Another and slightly different version is given by Professor Arber on p. 120 of his edition of King James's *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, 1604 (Arber's *English Reprints*).

Here the lines are arranged differently, the words " Shew thy decay, all Flesh is hay " forming one line, not two as in the other versions, and so on throughout. Otherwise it differs little from the versions just printed. Professor Arber says that the poem was " sometimes called *Tobacco Spiritualized*," and remarks that it " is evidently *reprinted* in *Two Broadsides &c*, 1672." He does not indicate the source of his version, but says that the poem was answered by George Wither thus :—

Thus think, drink no *Tobacco*.

Chappell, writing in 1855-59, says that " no piece has been more enduringly popular than the song of *Tobacco is an Indian Weed*." He goes on to say : " The earliest copy that I have seen is in a manuscript volume of poetry which was most kindly lent to me by Mr. Payne Collier. It there bears the initials of G[eorge] W[ither]. He then gives the song, which begins :—

Why should we so much despise
So good and wholesome an exercise
As, early and late, to meditate ?
Thus think, and drink tobacco.

The rest is not worth quoting, for it is evident that Wither could not have written such verses. Chappell was not then aware of Collier's fabrications. Collier's manuscript notes in a second folio Shakespeare, 1632, were pronounced at the British Museum to be recent fabrications simulating a seventeenth century hand. A so-called seventeenth century manuscript of ballads was proved to be an artful fraud, and the whole collection is manifestly written in an imitative hand. It is now in the British Museum (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

Scott, in chapter ix of *Rob Roy*, puts the first stanza of a debased version into the mouth of Justice Inglewood, thus :—

The Indian leaf doth briefly burn ;
So doth man's strength to weakness turn ;—
The fire of youth extinguished quite,
Comes age, like embers, dry and white.
Think of this as you take tobacco.

Three points should be observed in Wheatcroft's version :—

(1) The metre of his second line is correct, and it is incorrect in the other versions, including the one printed by Professor Arber. But it is only made so by writing the word " noon " as " nooune," thus turning it into two syllables. For this I find no authority in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and Wheatcroft may have been taking a liberty. But, at all events, his spelling shows that his ear was attuned to correct rhythm. " Withered " is of course pronounced as a word of three syllables.

(2) He omits the second stanza of the other versions.

(3) He spells " decay " as " deceay," and " hay " as " heay," and there appears to be no authority for such forms. In his autobiography he writes " Ashley Heay," and spells " bay " as " beay " (*Journal*, xxi, 38, 40).

The expression " drink tobacco " refers to the practice of swallowing the smoke and blowing it out through the nose.

A Quill from an Angel's Wing.

In 1657, or about five years from the time of his rejection by Frances Smith, we find Wheatcroft making love to Elizabeth Hawley, of Winster. He married her on the 20th of May in that year, and the vision of his approaching happiness seemed to him so beatific that, on receiving an affectionate letter from her, he " warbled forth," as he tells us, these lines (*Journal*, xviii, 41) :—

I want a quill out of an Angell's wing
To write sweet music, everlasting praise.
I likewise want an angell's voyce to sing

A wished haven to thy happy dayes.
Then since I want both angell's voyce and pen,
Let Angells write and sing: I'll say "Amen."

About sixty years earlier Henry Constable had published in one of his sonnets the lines :—

The pen wherewith thou dost so heavenly sing
Made of a quill from an Angel's wing.

One of Constable's rare volumes may have come into Wheatcroft's hands. Whether it did or not, he was evidently acquainted with some of the best literature. His verses seem to have deteriorated as he grew older, and experienced care and poverty.

Ballads.

There are in the manuscript at least two ballads of the boisterous kind often met with in the great collections. One of them is entitled *The Begger's Delight, to the Tune of the Prentice burying his Wife.* I thought I had seen this ballad before, and only copied the following lines as a specimen :—

A Ragman my father, a Maunder my mother,
A siler my sister, a shifter my brother,
A canter my vnkell that cares for no pelfe,
A Lister my Aunt, and a Beggar my selfe.

The ballad is in the Bagford Collection, where it is entitled *The Joviall Crew, or Beggars-Bush,*[1] the corresponding lines being :—

A Craver my father,
A Maunder my mother,
A Filer my sister, a Filcher my brother,
A Canter my Unckle,
That cared not for Pelfe,
A Lifter my aunt, a Beggar myselfe.

[1] J. Ashton's *Humour, Wit, and Satire of the Seventeenth Century*, 1883, p. 424.

There is also in Wheatcroft's manuscript a long and amusing ballad about *John Barleycorn*, and, if my memory is correct, it greatly resembles one in the Roxburghe Collection.[1]

THE RIGHT TIME TO MARRY.

Both Leonard Wheatcroft and his son Titus have recorded the days when it was lawful or unlawful to marry, the former in verse, the latter in prose. As they were both parish clerks, it is possible that these days were observed. At all events, an examination of the parish register ought to show whether they were or not. The instruction in verse is :—

Times prohibiting and and alowing Marriage.

Advent bids Thee to conteine	December 3
Hilarie sets thee free again	January 13
Septuagesima says thee nay	February 5
Eight dayes from Ester sayes you may	Aprill 17
Ascension pleads for chastitie	May 18
Yet thou may'st wed at Trinity	June 4

Titus Wheatcroft has copied his prose instruction, word for word, with some alterations in spelling, from an almanac for 1678,[2] and it seems unnecessary to reprint it. I have heard it said that fifty years ago the days in the calendar when it was lawful, or unlawful, to marry were a good deal talked about.

In Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1849, ii, p. 168, almanacs for 1559 and 1655 which give these times are referred to, and it is shown that the practice, or superstition, is very old.

TITUS WHEATCROFT AND HIS BOOKS.

Titus Wheatcroft, like his father, committed his thoughts to writing, but he does not seem to have attempted verse.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 207. There are three editions of this ballad in the Roxburgh collection.

[2] See Hone's *Year Book*, 1832, p. 76.

In 1722 he compiled a catalogue of his library of 383 volumes, and Mr. Kerry made a selection from this list (*Journal*, xix, pp. 48-52).

The catalogue includes some manuscripts written either by the father or the son. They are :—

(1) Wheatcroft's Holiday Companion.
(2) A Description of the Church and School of Ashover.
(3) The Memorie's Recreation, or the Holy Bible put into Question and Answer. Begun to be written by me Titus Wheatcroft, 1720.
(4) A Poor Man's Penny well bestowed ; or a Pound's Worth of Wit.
(5) The Sober Man's Resolutions against Drunkenness.
(6) The Clerk and his Companions.
(7) Wheatcroft's Daily Meditations. Written by me Titus for a Guide to walk by, and to order my Family in future Days.
(8) Wise Sentences written by me in 1731 (An addition to the Catalogue).

Besides these written books there was an important manuscript entitled : Many Songs written in a Book called " Love's Delight." Other manuscripts of doubtful authorship are mentioned.

A considerable part of No. 2 was published by Mr. Kerry in vol. xix. It is a pity that he did not print the whole, and give the book its proper title. Having read the manuscript, I can testify that important things have been omitted.

In his selection from the printed books of the catalogue I think Mr. Kerry has omitted nothing which ought to have been included.

Many of the books would have been useful to a schoolmaster and a parish clerk. The best arithmetics of the day are there : Cocker, Wingate, Ayres, and Bridges. There are books on penmanship and shorthand suitable for a writing-school, such as *The Pen's Gallantry, The Pen's Dexterity for Shorthand*, Samuel Botley's *Short*

Writing, and Cocker's *Penna Volans*. There is a book called *The Grammar War*.

With one exception, there are no Latin authors; indeed it is doubtful whether Titus could tell Latin from Welsh, for he puts down one of his books as *A Welsh Common Prayer Book in English and Latin*. But in translation he has *Ovids Four Books*, by which he means Arthur Golding's *The fyrst fower Bookes of the Metamorphoses translated oute of Latin into English Meter*, 1565, and Virgil's *Ænead*, as he spells it. By *Tullys Three Books of Offices* he means *The three Bookes of Tullyes' Offyces, both in the Latynge Tonge and in Englysshe, lately translated by Roberte Whytinton*, London, by W. de Worde, 1534, or the later edition of 1540. There is no Latin grammar, and no Latin-English dictionary.

There are at least two books which would have been useful to a parish clerk: Playford's *Introduction to sing Psalms* and *The Psalm-singer's Guide*.

Oratory is represented by Sir T. Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*, and morals by the *School of Vertue and Good Manners*, and by Seneca's *Morals* in manuscript.

If Titus had any sense of humour he must have chuckled over such a book as *The Pilgrims Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*. Parish clerks and Quakers could never agree.

There is a copy of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, but no work of any other poet except Quarles, whose poems—probably the *Divine Poems* of 1630—Titus Wheatcroft had copied, and except James Shirley's tragedy *The Maid's Revenge*, 1639.

The choicest plums of the collection are old tales, such as *The Wandering Knight, Robin Hood's Songs, The History of Troy, The King and the Cobbler, The Wise men of Gotham, The Seven Wise Masters, The Life and Death of Jane Shore, The History of Sir Richard Whittington*. Some of these, possibly all of them, may have been chap books,

not of great value. On the other hand, *Robin Hood's Songs* may have been a thing of excessive rarity, and the *History of Troy* may have been Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*—the first book printed in the English language.

There is a book called *A Whetstone for Dull Witts—all Riddles and Tales.* I find no such book in Watt, and it may have been a manuscript written by Leonard Wheatcroft or his son.

There is also a book called *The Life of Captain Avery.* Two lives of this famous pirate, sometimes known as the King of Madagascar, have been published. One is entitled *The Life and Adventures of Captain John Avery . . . now in possession of Madagascar, written by a person who made his escape from thence.* It was published in 1700. Another account, attributed to Defoe, appeared in 1720. Both these books, says the writer of the article on Avery in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* are fiction, with scarcely a substratum of fact. The writer of the article doubts whether his name was John, and he says that " the received story that he was born a native of Plymouth is extremely doubtful." I can add some useful facts.

Avery was at school at Dronfield, twelve miles from Ashover. In 1726-7 John Hobson in his *Diary* (Surtees Society, No. 65), says that Nicholas Burley whose funeral the diarist attended, was " educated at Dronfeild, Captain Avery, the noted pyrate, being his scole-fellow . . . . . Godfrey Haslam, his scool-fellow says he (Burley) was born at Greenhill, in Norton parish, Derbyshire, and that Thomas Avery learn'd with them at the same time." Nicholas Burley was baptised at Norton on the 25th of January, 1665-6, and Thomas Avery—which seems to have been the pirate's true name—must have been born about that time. His baptism does not occur in the Dronfield or Norton register, and I have not enquired

elsewhere. The Rev. W. T. Groocock, vicar of Dronfield, tells me that a son of one Godfrey Haslam was baptised at Dronfield in 1664. Where Avery met his death is unknown.

Conclusion.

In how many English villages shall we find two such men as these? They were not professional authors, nor were they scholars, and yet in a strenuous age, when civil war distracted the land, one of them could spare time from his daily manual labour to write verses and an autobiography, to say nothing of many other things. The other, inheriting his father's tastes, but not his father's ability, has recorded many curious and interesting facts. Some day perhaps, in a happier time, we shall have a critical edition of the writings of Leonard and Titus Wheatcroft. Such a work would do not a little to illustrate English village life and the state of popular literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.