THE ORIGINS OF DERBYSHIRE

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An uninitiated observer would be forgiven for concluding that regional studies of late Anglo-Saxon England are a mire of technical discussions on abstruse matters of taxation and local government that the best Christian would be justified in viewing with despond. It is with some trepidation, then, that I embark on yet another analysis which, at best, runs the risk of boredom in the reader and, at worst, of confusion. But, in mitigation, it can be said that much of the blame lies at the feet of William the Conqueror. It is the fact of his great legacy of Domesday Book which makes such studies possible. This, of course, is not a sufficient reason for academic self-indulgence. The minutiae of administration are fascinating for the local historian of garden fences, the pedant, and the historically-minded accountant. But they are not the stuff of History. But such details do have a wider significance. In the absence of more explicit evidence, an analysis of local institutions can illuminate the nature of society and its origins and development. It is with this pious hope that I examine local government in eleventh-century Derbyshire.

Until 1974, local government in England was largely based upon the shire. The institution was of great antiquity. During the course of time its functions had changed beyond all recognition, but almost every English county could trace its history back for some nine hundred years. In the early Middle Ages the shire was central to the governance of the realm, for in its court, presided over by the sheriff, almost all official and administrative business was coordinated. It dealt with taxation, the maintenance of law and order, defence of the community, civil and criminal actions, and much more. Until the reign of William the Conqueror, it even concerned itself with spiritual matters. This should not summon up the picture of some anonymous bureaucrat choosing the hymns for Sunday evensong. It was in every sense a public forum where the whole community was represented, if not always willingly, through the suitors to its court. As a unit, however, the shire was too large for day to day business, and many of its functions were therefore executed through subordinate institutions. In southern and north-western England, it was divided into a number of smaller areas of administration known as hundreds, from the hundred hides at which it was frequently assessed. The immediate responsibility of all freemen within its constituent vills or tithings in matters of crime, trespass, and disputes was to its court. In the Northern Danelaw there was a similar system, but the subdivisions were known as wapentakes, a Scandinavian term which betokens the importance of Danish hegemony in the area. Its functions were identical to those of the hundred, and indeed by the thirteenth century the more familiar term had been adopted throughout much of Derbyshire. In its turn each wapentake was in many areas originally divided into a peculiar Northern tithing called a hundred. Assessed at twelve carucates, this institution is not to be confused with the major divisions of the shires of hidated England. Its affinities were rather to the leet of East Anglia and the five-hide unit. In essence, it performed the role of the township of the later Middle Ages and by the thirteenth century had given way to the vill. Although considerably modified in the later Middle Ages, the substructure of vills and wapentakes survived, albeit largely redundant, into the

nineteenth century[1].

The origins of the shrieval system, although clearly pre-Conquest, have been hotly debated. From as early as the fifteenth century King Alfred was credited with the creation of the system. Since then, numerous origins, from Roman estates to eleventh-century financial arrangements, have been suggested[2]. In the present study the Derbyshire evidence is examined in some detail. An examination of the nature and functions of the Derbyshire wapentakes, and those of neighbouring counties, suggests that the machinery of local government associated with the shire was introduced in the mid tenth century as the infrastructure of the regional system of defence known as the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs. Characterised by a territorially-based tithing, it superseded an early tenth-century burghal system organised on radically different lines, but gave birth to the shire of Derby on its own dissolution in the early eleventh century.

The area of Derbyshire in 1086 is well-known from the Domesday Book account of the county (figure 3), but little is known about the extent of its wapentakes. Hitherto only one attempt has been made to reconstruct the Domesday wapentakes, by R. W. Eyton in the late nineteenth century[3]. But his work is based upon unsupported assumptions, and the analysis has not met with general acceptance. More recent scholars have re-examined the evidence and judged the problem insoluble[4]. The reason for this despair is not difficult to find. Domesday Book, the only contemporary source, furnishes remarkably few details of the structure of local government. Five wapentakes — Scarsdale, *Hamenstan*, Morleyston, *Walecros*, and Appletree — are named in the text[5]. But rubrication — that is, the use of headings to indicate units of local government — is only sporadic and provides inadequate data for even the most rudimentary of analyses. In such circumstances, no absolute reconstruction of the system will ever be possible. Nevertheless, something can be learnt about the eleventh-century wapentakes. Later evidence, drawn from twelfth- to fourteenth-century sources, can be used in conjunction with Domesday Book to indicate the main outlines of the system.

Paradoxically, the earliest evidence for the extent of the Derbyshire wapentakes does not come from a government source, but from the administrative structure of the church. The shire was coterminous with the archdeaconry of Derby within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. The composition of its constituent deaneries is first made explicit in the returns of the papal taxation of 1291. But the system was probably established by the mid-twelfth century, for it is then that we first hear of deans in Derbyshire, and, as elsewhere, it seems likely that it was substantially based upon the existing units of local government[6]. As a source, however, its testimony is not unequivocal, for, as units of primarily ecclesiastical jurisdiction, deaneries often faithfully reflect the unrecorded eccentricities of twelfth-century parochial structure, and their boundaries therefore deviate from the limits of the wapentakes upon which they were based. More detailed, but later, evidence is provided by the record of scutages and inquisitions entered in the Book of Fees and the Hundred Rolls[7]. But they too have their limitations. Although often geographically arranged, feodaries are basically concerned with fees. Land in one wapentake may thus be entered in another because it was a subordinate element in a larger estate. This type of source is therefore not always a reliable guide to wapentake structure. The first comprehensive and accurate survey is found in a later source. The Lay Subsidy account of 1334, the first taxation based upon the township, lists the assessment of 257 vills in seven named wapentakes (figure 1).

Figure 1 Wapentakes in Derbyshire in 1334

High Peak
Wirksworth
Scarsdale
Repton
Appletree
Litchurch
Morleyston

In figure 2 the Domesday settlements, where represented in the Lay Subsidy, are identified by reference to the wapentakes to which they were assigned at this time[8]. As will become apparent in the following analysis, the divisions of the county as outlined in the document were already archaic in 1334, and it is clear from earlier evidence that they substantially represent the wapentakes of the late eleventh century. The evidence for each is discussed in turn.

High Peak, first noticed in 1208, seems to have been known as Bakewell Wapentake in the twelfth century. A part, or more likely the whole, may also have been called *Aselakestou* Wapentake, for the name is used in connection with Glossop from 1179[9]. None of these names appears in Domesday Book, and indeed the wapentake as a distinct institution is probably a twelfth-century formation. In Domesday Book, land in Darley Dale, in High Peak in the thirteenth century, is entered under the rubric *Hamenstan* Wapentake[10]. The name is not found in later sources, but the administrative division seems also to have included land which was subsequently in Wirksworth, for an estate in Wirksworth, Lea, and Tansley is said to have gelded in the wapentake[11]. It seems likely, then, that *Hamenstan* refers to a single wapentake that encompassed land in the later divisions of High Peak and Wirksworth[12]. There is evidence to suggest that its area was identical with their combined territories.

Individually, the extent of each wapentake can be carried back to the twelfth century for the deaneries of High Peak and Ashbourne coincide almost exactly with the bounds of the wapentakes of 1334, with the exception of the parishes of Edlaston, Yeldersley, Bradley, and Norbury which were in the deanery of Ashbourne, but were assessed in the wapentake of Appletree[13]. The discrepancy is less real than apparent. The first three were chapelries of Ashbourne and were therefore naturally included in the deanery in which the mother church was situated[14]. There is no comparable evidence for Norbury, but it seems likely that it too had been a daughter church of Ashbourne in the twelfth century. It would seem, then, that, within the constraints of ecclesiastical structure, the deanery boundaries followed the lines of administrative divisions which are identical with the wapentakes of the 1334 Lay Subsidy. As late as 1219, however, High Peak and Wirksworth were still closely associated, for the manor and soke of Wirksworth were entered under the rubric *Altum Pechum* in an inquisition of that year[15], and the vills of the two wapentakes are generally grouped together in the Domesday Book account of Derbyshire. In *breves* nos 1 and 6 parcels of land which were later in High Peak are described separately from other estates in the Peak and Wirksworth, but in both cases the chapters are divided into two distinct sections which relate to estate management[16]. Only in *breve* no. 10 are lands in the two later wapentakes separately enrolled without apparent reason. Furthermore, the Domesday account of the constituent vills of the fourteenth-century wapentakes share characteristics which are unique to them within their immediate context. With the sole exception of four parcels of land out of the 62 described, ploughland figures are equal to the carucates to the geld[17]. Since the

Figure 2 Assignment of Domesday Settlements to Wapentakes, 1334

SCARSDALE
Alfreton
Ashover
Aston, Cold
Barlborough
Barlow
Beighton
Bolsover
Brimington
Chesterfield
Clowne
Dore
Dronfield
Duckmanton
Eckington
Elmton
Glapwell
Holmesfield
Killamarsh
Morton
Normanton, South
Norton
Scarcliffe
Shirland
Stainsby
Staveley
Stretton
Sutton Scarsdale
Tibshelf
Totley
Walton
Wessington
Whittington
Whitwell
Wingerworth
Wingfield, South

HIGH PEAK
Ashford
Bakewell
Baslow
Beeley
Bradwell
Darley
Edensor
Eyam
Glossop
Nether Haddon
Over Haddon
Harthill
Hassop
Hathersage
Hazelbadge
Hope
Litton
Longstone
Stoney Middleton
Monyash
Peak's Arse
Priestcliffe
Rowland
Shatton
Taddington
Tideswell
Winster
Wormhill
Youlgreave

WIRKSWORTH
Alsop-en-le-Dale
Ashbourne
Ballidon
Bentley, Fenny
Bonsall
Bradbourne
Brassington
Broadlowash
Callow
Carsington
Coldeaton
Cromford
Elton
Hartington
Hognaston
Hopton
Hulland
Ible
Ireton, Kirk
Kniveton
Lea
Mapleton
Matlock
Middleton
Middleton-by-Youlgreave
Parwich
Snitterton
Tansley
Thorpe
Tissington
Wensley
Wirksworth

MORLEYSTON
Breadsall
Breaston
Chaddesden
Chester, Little
Codnor
Crich
Denby
Draycott
Duffield
Eaton, Little
Eaton, Long
Hallam
Heanor
Holbrook
Hopwell
Horsley
Ilkeston
Kidsley
Morley
Ockbrook
Pentrich
Ripley
Risley
Sandiacre
Sawley
Shipley
Smalley
Smithycote
Spondon
Stanley
Stanton-by-Dale

LITCHURCH
Allestree
Alvaston
Ambaston
Aston-upon-Trent
Barrow-upon-Trent
Boulton
Burnaston
Chellaston
Clifton
Derby
Egginton
Elvaston
Etwall
Findern
Ireton, Little
Kedleston
Langley, Kirk
Litchurch
Littleover
Mackworth
Markeaton
Mercaston
Mickleover
Mugginton
Normanton-by-Derby
Osmaston-by-Derby
Potlock
Quarndon
Radbourne
Shardlow
Sinfin
Stenson
Swarkestone
Thulston
Twyford
Weston
Underwood
Weston-upon-Trent
Willington

APPLETREE
Alkmonton
Arleston
Ashe
Atlow
Barton Blount
Bentley, Hungry
Boylestone
Bradley
Brailsford
Broughton, Church
Cubley
Dalbury
Doveridge
Eaton Dovedale
Edlaston
Ednaston
Foston
Hatton
Hilton
Hollington
Hoon
Marston-upon-Dove
Norbury
Osleston
Osmaston
Rodsley
Roston
Sapperton
Scropton
Sedsall
Shirley
Snelston
Somersal Herbert
Somersal, Potter
Sudbury
Sutton-on-the-Hill
Thurvaston
Trusley
Wyaston
Yeaveley
Yeldersley

REPTON
Appleby
Bretby
Cauldwell
Catton
Chilcote
Coton-in-the-Elms
Croxall
Donisthorpe
Drakelow
Edingale
Foremark
Hartshorne
Ingleby
Linton
Lullington
Measham
Melbourne
Newton Solney
Oakthorpe
Ravenstone
Repton
Rosliston
Smisby
Stanton by Bridge
Stanton by Newhall
Stapenhill
Stretton-en-le-Field
Swadlincote
Ticknall
Walton-upon-Trent
Willesley
Winshill

former was an assessment on land in 1086 which was distributed through a wapentake quota, the coincidence of the two sums within this area alone quite clearly points to a discrete identity for that group of vills. It is likely, then, that the townships of High Peak and Wirksworth of 1334 which are represented in Domesday Book constituted an administrative entity in 1086 which was probably known as *Hamenstan* Wapentake[18]. Its likely boundaries are mapped in Figure 3.

Scarsdale Wapentake has retained its name from the time of Domesday through into the modern period. Its area in 1334 exactly mirrors the extent of the deanery of Chesterfield, with the possible exception of Wessington which is geographically in Scarsdale, but ecclesiastically in the parish of Crich[19]. It may therefore have been included in the deanery of Derby. Furthermore, the vills of the later wapentake are without exception grouped together in Domesday Book. In the account of the king's manor of Melbourne, soke in Barrow, Swarkestone, Chellaston, Osmaston by Derby, *Cottons*, and Normanton is said to belong to Scarsdale Wapentake[20]. However, the manors held by Henry de Ferrers in the same vills can be unequivocally assigned to a separate wapentake which was known as Litchurch (see below)[21]. If not a simple mistake, then, the Melbourne reference probably betokens a totally exceptional arrangement for the management of the king's estates, rather than an extension to the wapentake. Elsewhere in the North, royal land was not incorporated into the general system of local government[22]. Separately administered, it was not infrequently attached to a remote royal institution. Soke of Grantham in the Lincolnshire wapentake of Threo, for example, was attached to the wapentake of Aswardhurn[23]. The *terra regis* of eleventh-century Derbyshire was almost certainly extra-hundredal in the same way. Indeed, vestiges of separate administration at an earlier period can be detected in the Lay Subsidy. Chellaston, Normanton, Swarkestone, and Osmaston were each divided into two distinct vills (*Cottons* does not appear as a vill)[24]. In every instance it seems likely that the one relates to the land of the king and the other to that of the honour of Ferrers. It is not improbable, then, that the dues of the soke were attached to Scarsdale in a purely *ad hoc* fashion in 1086 and were never considered a part of the wapentake. Thus, there are no grounds for doubting that the area of the Scarsdale of 1334 substantially represents the extent of the wapentake in 1086 (figure 3).

Repton Wapentake was confined to Derbyshire south of the Trent in 1334. It would seem that Swarkestone, Chellaston, *Cottons*, Normanton, and Osmaston were transferred from Morleyston and Litchurch between 1431 and 1633[25]. The move was probably prompted by the relationship between the vills and Melbourne which was situated in Repton. The wapentake is first noticed in 1156. But it is clearly a later name for the Domesday *Walecros* Wapentake for the rubric precedes entries relating to Croxall, Edingale, Stretton-en-le-Field, Catton, *Bolun*, Linton, Willesley, Stanton, and the two Hartshornes which were all in Repton in the thirteenth century[26]. Its area in the early fourteenth century coincides with that of the deanery of Repton, and, as with High Peak/Wirksworth, and Scarsdale, its vills are grouped together in Domesday Book. It is likely, then, that there had been little change in its constitution between 1086 and 1334 (figure 3).

The history of the remaining wapentakes is considerably more complex, for the piecemeal appropriation of regalian privileges to the honour of Tutbury introduced a degree of fluidity which is not found elsewhere in the county. The process of fragmentation of the wapentake of Litchurch is central to the problem. The division first appears by name in 1185, but from time to time it was known as the wapentake of Derby[27]. As early as 1254 it was linked with Morleyston, and by 1316 the two wapentakes had been joined to form a single institution[28]. The reason for this amalgamation was almost certainly the dismemberment of Litchurch. Sometime before 1275 'nearly half' of the wapentake had been alienated from the crown[29].

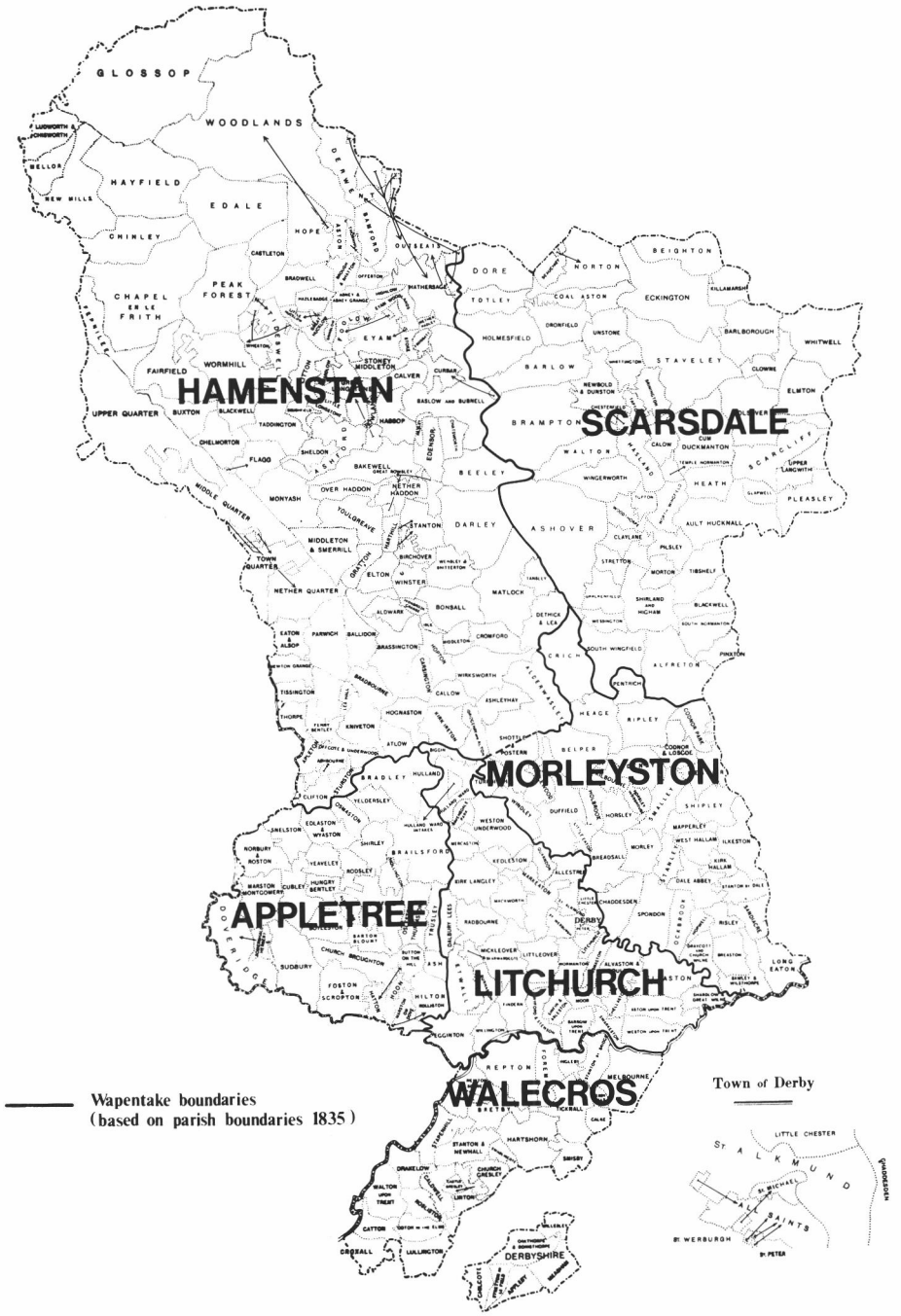

Figure 3 Derbyshire wapentakes in 1086

The vills so demised can be identified with those that constituted the bailiwick known from at least as early as 1313 as Perimplementum of Appletree. In 1650 it consisted of Kedleston, Mercaston, Mugginton, Radbourne, Etwall, Burnaston, Twyford, Stenson, Normanton, Chellaston, Sinfin, Swarkestone, and Egginton, all in Litchurch in 1334, Breadsall in Morleyston, and Dalbury Lees, and Arleston in Appletree[30]. The liberty was held by the Duchy of Lancaster of the honour of Tutbury, and was therefore closely associated with the wapentake of Appletree which had been appurtenant to the honour from the reign of King John, if not before. In 1302, for example, the vills of Perimplementum were surveyed under the rubric of Appletree without further identification[31]. These changes, however, were not recognised in the Lay Subsidy, and it is therefore clear that the tax was levied on the basis of earlier administrative arrangements. The form of Litchurch as defined in the document is evidently archaic. It was probably derived from a twelfth-century source, but almost certainly represents the extent of a unit of local government in 1086. The wapentake is not named in Domesday Book *eo nomine,* but its constituent vills are consistently grouped together in the text. In breve no. 6, for example, twenty of the vills are enrolled one after the other entirely separately from the vills of Appletree and Morleyston. The wapentake was clearly in existence in 1086 and probably had substantially the same boundaries as those of the Litchurch of the Lay Subsidy (figure 3).

By the same token, the Lay Subsidy probably represents the early extent of Appletree. The emergence of the extended wapentake as mapped by Sanderson in 1835 was a protracted process. In addition to the appropriation of Perimplementum, the liberty assimilated the vills of Milford, Holbrook, Makeney, Duffield, Coxbench, Mapperley, Breadsall, Stanley, Chaddesden, and Spondon from the wapentake of Morleyston sometime between 1431 and 1633[32]. Since all of this land was part of the honour of Tutbury, it seems likely that an intrinsic wapentake was appended to the honourial liberty of Appletree for the sake of administrative convenience[33]. None of these changes is recognised in the Lay Subsidy, and, with the exception of Dalbury Lees which was almost certainly in Litchurch in 1086[34], the grouping of its vills is reflected in Domesday Book. The Appletree of 1334 clearly represents in its essentials the Appletree of the late eleventh century (figure 3).

Finally, the area of Morleyston, for similar reasons, appears to represent the area of the wapentake in the eleventh century. In combination with Litchurch, it coincides with the deanery of Derby, with the sole exception of the three parishes of Egginton, Etwall, and Radbourne which, for no apparent reason, are situated in the deanery of Castillar[35]. In Domesday Book the same vills are grouped together in the text (figure 3).

Our analysis, then, suggests that there were six wapentakes in Derbyshire in 1086, one more than the five named in Domesday Book. It is now possible to examine something of their nature and relationship with the shire. The most important evidence is provided by their assessment to the geld, for the burden of taxation was generally imposed upon the shire and its sub-divisions from above. A quota was assigned to the shire and was then distributed to the wapentake[36]. As we have already seen, the king's land was administered separately, and therefore its tax liability did not form part of this quota. With this adjustment, the total assessment of each wapentake in carucates and bovates at the time of Domesday is set out in figure 4.

It cannot be expected that these figures represent geld liability with great accuracy. Many duplications and some omissions have been detected, and no doubt others remain hidden. Further, it is not always possible to identify royal land, for some estates held by the king in 1086 are assigned to thanes in 1066[37]. If anything, the sums are probably somewhat high. Nevertheless, the relationship between the totals is probably statistically valid. Indeed, they

Figure 4 Total Assessment of Derbyshire Wapentakes in 1086

WAPENTAKE	CARUCATES	BOVATES
Hamenstan	87	$0^1/_2$
Scarsdale	86	$1^1/_2$
Appletree	88	$2^1/_3$
Walecros	85	6
Morleyston	98	$0^5/_6$
Litchurch	91	4

show a remarkable consistency which is unlikely to be merely coincidental. All are very close to the average of 89 carucates per wapentake, which implies that each was assigned a standard quota[38]. Moreover, four are assessed at within four carucates of 84, which would suggest a rate of seven hundreds.

There is no independent evidence to substantiate this assertion. Geld records for the county do not survive for the eleventh century, and it has not proved possible to reconstruct them from the Domesday text or later sources. But it is clear that the wapentakes of the shire were divided into a number of twelve-carucate hundreds in 1086. In both Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire breach of the peace was amended by eighteen hundreds, each of which was fined eight pounds. Twelve paid to the king and six to the local earl[39]. The responsibilities of the hundred were many and varied, but its basic function was evidently related to the maintenance of law and order. In its essentials it was a tithing that is, a group of individuals who were mutually responsible for each other's behaviour. As in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, then, it is likely that each wapentake was divided into hundreds[40]. The system cannot be reconstructed in its entirety. Assessments can be arranged in neat units of twelve carucates throughout much of the county. But there is no one solution to a jig-saw puzzle in which most of the pieces are of the same shape and size: the normal liability of the vill in Derbyshire was two or four carucates[41]. But one hundred is named in the text. The Bishop of Chester's manor of twelve carucates in Sawley, with appurtenances in Draycott and Hopwell, is said to lie in Sawley Hundred in the wapentake of Morleyston. Soke of the same estate, similarly assessed at twelve carucates and enrolled in a separate entry, almost certainly formed a second hundred in the same wapentake[42]. The system of twelve-carucate tithings was clearly a feature of the administrative structure of Derbyshire, and the seven-hundred quota suggested by the assessment of four wapentakes is not inconsistent with the overall geld liability of the county of 536 carucates, that is, $44^2/_3$ hundreds. If the data were perfect, a total of 504 carucates (12x7x6) might be expected. But, given the shortcomings of the Domesday text, an error of $2^2/_3$ is hardly significant.

This pattern of administration is not unique to Derbyshire. There are eight major divisions of the shire of Nottingham in 1086. But four were apparently considered half wapentakes, making a total of six wapentakes in all. Their assessment (figure 5) again points to a seven-hundred quota. Indeed, the integration of the two hundreds of the *Roteland* wapentake of Alstoe into the system is clearly a device to make up the assessment of Thurgarton and Broxtowe to that sum[43].

There were many more than six wapentakes in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. But they were grouped in patterns of six in the major divisions of each shire. Quotas of 84 and 504 carucates are also found in both counties[44]. The recurrent pattern is obviously significant, and indicates a defined administrative policy. Indeed, the arrangements are enshrined in late tenth-century provisions for the maint enance of law and order. In the Wantage Code of *c.*997, it is stated that breach of the peace given in the assembly of the Five Boroughs is

Figure 5 Assessment of Nottinghamshire Wapentakes in 1086

WAPENTAKE	CARUCATES	BOVATES
Newark (1/2)	46	5 7/10
Lythe (1/2)	41	6 1/2
Rushcliffe (1/2)	53	3 1/4
Oswaldbeck (1/2)	31	5 17/30
+ Martinsley?	12	0
Bassetlaw (1)	82	6
Thurgarton (1)	74	2 3/4
+ half Alstoe	12	0
Broxtowe (1)	74	1 1/4
+ half Alstoe	12	0
Bingham	85	1 2/3

amended by twelve hundred (sic), peace given in the borough, that is, shire, by six, and that in the wapentake by one[45]. The clause is clearly an echo of the formula given in the Domesday accounts of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. The hundred in question is a long hundred of sixteen-pence Danish *oras,* that is, eight pounds (120x16d = 1920d = £8), and was the penalty which gave the twelve-carucate hundred its name, for it was responsible for the fine in 1086[46]. The legislation, then, emphasises the close relationship between the wapentake and its constituent hundreds. Further, since the penalty exacted in the shire was six times that demanded in the wapentake, it illustrates that six wapentakes were in some way appropriate to a shire. The machinery of local government in Derbyshire is evidently a faithful reflection of a legal principle. Hundred, wapentake, and shire, then, were an integrated system and, as an institution, must have been created by a single legislative act.

No explicit record of its introduction survives, but the characteristics of the system point to a date in the 950's or 960's. Unlike the apparatus of local government of an earlier period, the network of hundreds and wapentakes was independent of seigneurial liberties. With the exception of the king's estates, it embraced all land which was assessed to public dues and services. The one hundred might encompass only part of a manor or the land of a number of lords[47]. The tithings were essentially unrelated to tenure, and suit was theoretically owed to the wapentake by all. Thus, the abbot of Burton held the manor of Mickleover with sake and soke, toll and team. He was, nevertheless, still obliged to attend the three-weekly court of the wapentake of Litchurch[48]. As a system based upon a territorial tithing, then, the apparatus of local government was a superstructure of royal jurisdiction which was imposed upon the earlier organisation of sokes without regard for their administrative arrangements[49]. This concept was a radical innovation. Before *c.*950 all warranty was essentially personal. With the sole exception of the special case of urban peace gilds, it was the lord and kin who were responsible for the good behaviour of their clients and members[50]. The system as we perceive it, then, must have been introduced after the reconquest of the East Midlands in 942. It was either Eadred or Edgar who drew up similar legislation for Wessex and Mercia in the Hundred Ordinance[51], and it is to one or the other that the reforms of local government in the Northern Danelaw can be attributed. Since aspects of the system are found in Yorkshire, it is probably no earlier than 954 when the North submitted to Eadred. Moreover, in Edgar's early legislation there are indications that the whole community was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and in his fourth code of 962-3, the wapentake as an institution for the appointment of witness is first noted in the context of an injunction that

all, both English and Danes, should be in a tithing[52]. Reorganisation of the administrative machinery of the North, then, can probably be assigned to the years 954-963.

As an institutional entity, it is self-evident that Derbyshire must have been created at the same time since hundreds, wapentakes and shire were an integrated system. As we shall see, it seems likely that the functions of the East Midland shires were initially more limited at this time than at a later period. But the essentials were established, and it was on those foundations that their role was extended by the time that the institution as an independent entity, and, indeed, the term shire, first appears in the sources in the early eleventh century. However, if the genesis of Derbyshire as a distinctive type of administration dates from the second half of the tenth century, it is conceivable that it had earlier origins as a discrete territory. There is evidence to suggest, however, that the introduction of the new machinery of local government saw a radical realignment of former political groupings which brought Derbyshire into being for the first time.

Derby had undoubtedly functioned as an important political centre before the Danish colonisation of the area. However, little is known of its role apart from what is suggested by its name of *Northworthy*, 'the northern enclosure', which was probably named in relation to Repton[53]. In 877 the kingdom of Mercia was dismembered by the Vikings, and the East Midlands, including the area of Derbyshire, came under the hegemony of the Danes of York[54]. It was not until 917 that Derby was recaptured by Æthelflaeda, the Lady of the Mercians. At the same time, all those who owed allegiance to Derby submitted to her[55]. The settlement was evidently a political, probably even a tributary, nexus at this time. But it is unlikely that it was the centre of a defined territory. Historical and archaeological evidence suggests that the Danes only began to fortify sites in the East Midlands after the defeat of the Vikings of York at Tettenhall in 910[56]. The battle decimated the ruling class and appears to have thrown the Danish settlers south of the Humber back on their own initiative. The construction of fortifications was consequently *ad hoc* and appears to have been a specific reaction to the campaigns of reconquest of Edward the Elder and Æthelflaeda. Defences were probably slight, and use was made of existing sites wherever possible[57]. Indeed, it seems likely that it was the old Roman fort at Little Chester which was pressed into service — its walls and towers were apparently refurbished at this time — rather than a site in Derby itself[58]. Some scholars have argued that such defensive measures were accompanied by a specifically Danish carucation[59], but no vestige of such a system has been found. The carucation of Domesday is clearly related to the territorial tithing and must therefore be contemporary with or post-date the introduction of the wapentake in the late tenth century. No convincing evidence of an earlier, Scandinavian, assessment has been adduced[60]. On the contrary, contemporary sources suggest the absence of a formal administration, for the organisation of the Danish armies was apparently very fluid. Thus, in 917 the borough of Huntingdon was abandoned in favour of Tempsford with the minimum of complication. Whatever ties there were between the settlement and the surrounding countryside were clearly essentially personal[61].

The impact of the English conquest was probably considerable. Edward or Athelstan seems to have introduced some form of burghal system, for Derby, along with other boroughs in the East Midlands, was producing coins for the English crown between 924 and 939[62]. The issue of legal tender was one of the most important and basic functions of a borough. Some elements of this system may have survived into the later Middle Ages to indicate something of its organisation. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the liberties of some northern boroughs extended into the shires of which they were the administrative centres. In the East Midlands the most persistent, since the most lucrative, of these was

theloneum or *tolenium,* throughtoll. This was a royal due which was levied on all fees and appears to have been related to the king's especial protection of the major lines of communication and the establishment of legal markets within boroughs[63]. The assumption of responsibility for the main roads and waterways by the crown is of some antiquity, while the restriction of trade to specific royal centres dates from the reign of Athelstan[64]. The right to such dues was therefore ancient, and their organisation in the later Middle Ages may thus be indicative of earlier political arrangements.

The first reference to tolls in Derbyshire sources is found in the charter of liberties granted to Derby by King John in 1204. Only the cardinal points of its banlieu are given. The burgesses were to enjoy *tolonea* between the bridges of Doveridge, *Cordy* and *Estweit,* and from all those crossing the Derwent[65]. The due, then, was related to the main rivers in the south of the county — Doveridge was on the Dove, *Cordy,* at Swarkestone, on the Trent, and *Estweit,* Eastwood, on the Erewash[66] — and, as will become clear from toll bounds in the rest of the county, was probably confined to the wapentakes of Appletree, Repton, Litchurch, and part of Morleyston. The liberties of Derby, then, suggest that there had been some organisation of territory in the south of the county which was specifically related to the major rivers, notably the Trent, at an earlier period. Derby, however, was probably not its primary centre. The 1204 charter stresses the primacy of Nottingham's liberties and hints that the tolls of Derby had formerly belonged to that borough. Indeed, its banlieu, which was also closely related to the Trent Valley and its environs — the rest of the tolls of Nottinghamshire and those of part of southern Yorkshire were appended to Blyth — still extended into Derbyshire in 1234 when the men of Nottingham leased their toll to the lord of Ilkeston in the fee of Gant[67]. This characteristic clearly has some bearing on the close links between the two shires which is first attested in Domesday Book[68]. But its origins may be much earlier than the formation of the shires, for the organisation of tolls is unrelated to their area. It seems to betoken different preoccupations. Control of the Trent Valley was the key to effective political power in the North, for it provided rapid and easy communication between Yorkshire and the northern seaboard, and the heart of Mercia. Nottingham, moreover, was ideally situated to control the region, for it commanded the river at the point where it was crossed by the main road from the south to York. Its river-related toll banlieu is an expression of its primary role. It would therefore not be surprising if had also assumed control over the upper reaches of the river and the surrounding territory. It is possible, then, that before the formation of the shires in the mid tenth century, Nottingham's sphere of influence was confined to the Trent Valley and its hinterland, but extended into southern Derbyshire.

The tolls of the north of the county never seem to have belonged to the county borough and therefore suggest a separate organisation. In 1330 the manor of Ashbourne enjoyed toll from an area bounded by the Dove from Doveridge to Biggin by Hartington, Hereward Street, and Birchwood (69). Later sources substitute the bridges of Matlock and Darley for Hereward Street, and it is therefore clear that its eastern boundary was substantially that of Scarsdale, for the tolls of the wapentake belonged to the manor of Chesterfield[70]. No record of the collection of the due in the north of the shire has been found. But the inclusion of the two Peak manors of Matlock and Darley in the Ashbourne banlieu implies that it embraced the two wapentakes of Wirksworth and High Peak. This area, the upland zone of Derbyshire, had a pronounced tenurial identity. In 1066 it was almost all held by the king. The three great manors of Bakewell, Hope, and Ashford, which constituted a single administrative unit, dominated High Peak[71]. Not all land in the vicinity was appurtenant to these estates at the time of Domesday, but the ecclesiastical structure of the later wapentake suggests that

most had formerly come within their jurisdiction. The church was an important appurtenance of a pre-Conquest manor, and its parish is therefore frequently coterminous with the bounds of the estate at the time of its foundation[72]. In the thirteenth century, the church of Bakewell received pensions from the parishes of Youlgreave and Edensor, and the church of Hope from Chapel-en-le-Frith, Tideswell, and probably Eyam, in right of their superior status[73]. Only Glossop, Darley, and Hathersage were seemingly independent, although the grant of each to separate religious houses at an early date may have removed them from the system before the documented period[74]. The rights of the churches, in origin probably attached to Bakewell alone, were known in the fourteenth century as the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Peak[75], and the extent of the liberty hints at a reservation of dues throughout the wapentake to the pre-Conquest royal manors.

The area of the later Wirksworth Wapentake was dominated by the king's manors of Parwich, Ashbourne, Wirksworth, and Matlock Bridge. Along with Darley Dale, they had constituted a single administrative unit in 1066, and, again, ecclesiastical structure suggests that the king's estate had formerly embraced the whole of the area[76]. Ashbourne, granted to the bishop of Lincoln in 1093, was the mother church of Bradley, Edlaston, Hulland, Mapleton, Thorpe, Fenny Bentley, Kniveton, Hognaston, and Parwich[77]. Bradbourne bisects this enormous parish, and the fact seems to indicate that the estate had been booked out of, that is alienated from, Ashbourne sometime before 963 when Ballidon, a chapelry of Bradbourne, was granted to Æthelferth[78]. With the exception of Hartington, the parish of Wirksworth embraced the rest of the wapentake. It received pensions in recognition of its superiority from Kirk Ireton, Carsington, and Bonsall. In addition, Matlock was almost certainly a chapelry since the bishop of Lincoln's rights in the church seem to have been derived from the grant of the church of Wirksworth by Henry 1[79].

There is little in the documentary record to demonstrate an administrative link between the two groups of manors. But the whole area was known as the Peak in the twelfth century, and the estates had long contributed to the royal or comital fisc. Nothing is known about Ashbourne before the Conquest and little about Wirksworth. The settlement had been associated with the royal manor of Repton in the early eighth century, and sculptural and place-name evidence suggests that there was an important church there[80]. Due to the survival of the Burton Abbey archives, there is more information about the north of the shire. Hope, Ashford, and possibly Bakewell had been bought from the heathens sometime before 911 by Uhtred, later ealdorman of Northumbria, on the instructions of King Edward the Elder and Ealdorman Æthelred of Mercia[81]. Encouragement of the initial purchase seems to have been a royal ploy to enlist the support of an influential family in the conquest of the Danelaw. Derbyshire was subject to Danish hegemony until 917, but a grant of land within the area acted as a guarantee of vigorous pursuit of the king's interests in the region[82]. Despite Uhtred's interest, however, royal control or influence remained strong, or at least was exerted whenever possible. Hope and Ashford were granted, or possibly re-granted after a term for life, to the same man in 926 by King Athelstan, and further land in Bakewell was added in 949 by King Eadred[83]. Subsequently, the estates reverted to the crown, probably after 1006[84].

Royal authority, then, was well-pronounced in the north of the county. The tenure of most of the land by the crown in 1066 was accompanied by distinctive liberties throughout the area. Within this context, the reservation of the *thelonea* of Wirksworth and High Peak Wapentakes to Ashbourne is probably a vestige of a primary organisation of land in the Domesday wapentake of *Hamenstan*. Its formation can probably be associated with the construction of a borough at Bakewell in 920 at the culmination of Edward the Elder's

campaign of re-conquest of the East Midlands. In 918 the king had accepted the allegiance of the region by concluding a treaty with the Danes of York, and Nottingham was garrisoned with English and Danes[85]. This left Edward free to attend to separatist feelings in Mercia after the death of Æthelflæda and to secure his own succession to the kingdom[86]. By 920, however, the balance of power had perceptively shifted. The takeover of York by Ragnald's Norwegian army in 919 threatened Edward's control of Nottingham and the East Midlands. Therefore, in 920 he returned to the borough and built a fortification south of the Trent to secure the river and the Great North Road. The strategy was apparently aggressive. From Nottingham he proceeded to Bakewell and built a borough in the vicinity of the settlement. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the whole of the North then submitted to him[87]. There is no unequivocal evidence to indicate that this borough survived for a long period. There is no trace of the institution in the Domesday account of Bakewell. But, in the light of its apparent strategic importance in the North, it is not unlikely that the site, recently identified some half a mile to the north-east of Bakewell, remained an important centre in the reign of Athelstan, and that the reservation of tolls in the north of the county is some vestige of an organisation of territory associated with it[88].

The tolls of the whole of Scarsdale belonged to the royal manor of Chesterfield which, known as Newbold, dominated the wapentake in 1066[89]. This implies that this area too had possessed a distinctive administrative identity. Place-name evidence suggests that this part of the county was originally settled from the north-east, and it has been tentatively argued that the western boundary of the wapentake may have formed the bounds of Mercia in Derbyshire. Equally, Scandinavian settlement appears to have spread out from southern Yorkshire[90]. It had probably always been a frontier zone. In 829 King Egbert of Wessex defeated the Northumbrians at Dore, and in 942 the same settlement and Whitwell Gap marked the boundary between what was later known as the territory of the Five Boroughs and the North[91]. The importance of the wapentake lay in its command of routes into Yorkshire. It is not surprising to find, therefore, very large and important estates within its bounds. Much of Wulfric Spot's land in the county, for example, was concentrated around Whitwell[92]. It has proved difficult, however, to determine its political context before the 960's. Probably independent of Derby, it may have been associated with early territorial organisations in Yorkshire or possibly even in Nottinghamshire.

Our analysis has suggested that the three diverse regions of the county were subject to a single administration by 963. If the tolls of the county are vestiges of early tenth-century administrations, it is therefore likely that Derbyshire as a territorial entity was created at the same time as the institution of the proto-shire. The radical reorganisaion of local government at this time was a national phenomenon. As we have seen, the introduction of the tithing and wapentake probably had its counterpart in Wessex and Mercia[93]. Both Eadred and Edgar were confronted with the problem of ruling a diverse group of peoples who had only just been united under a common authority after twenty years of chaos occasioned by northern separatism and renewed Viking incursions. The establishment of law and order, and an effective system to maintain it, was a major priority. Nowhere was this more vital than in the East Midlands. On the death of Athelstan in 939 the region had declared for Olaf Guthfrithson and, with a Norse army threatening the heart of Mercia, King Edmund was forced to cede the Northern Danelaw. But by 942 the men of the five boroughs of Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, and Stamford seem to have found the yoke of Norwegian hegemony even more irksome than that of Wessex, for they apparently welcomed the reconquest by Edmund and pledged their loyalty to him[94]. York did not finally submit for another twelve years. But it is from this date that the East Midlands were incorporated into

the realm of England. Nevertheless, the region still remained a potential Trojan horse to the security of Wessex. Measures were therefore necessary to maintain the peace and ensure stability and loyalty in the area. It was within this context that the proto-shrieval system was introduced. Whatever vestiges of burghal organisation survived the turmoil of the middle years of the century were incorporated into a new administration centred upon the five boroughs. In addition to the changes in Derbyshire, Lindsey, which had been part of Northumbria until at least 927 and probably even as late as 942, became associated for the first time with the territory of Stamford, and Nottingham assumed authority over land which had probably paid tribute to a borough at Tickhill, and the royal estate of *Roteland*[95]. Early territorial organisation in Leicestershire has not been studied.

The criteria employed in the creation of the shires as territorial units cannot now be determined. But, since wapentakes were unrelated to earlier territorial organisations, and a set number was assigned to each borough, the area of the shire was, in part at least, determined by geld quotas. This suggests that its territory was a function of administrative rather than strategic considerations, a seemingly unlikely conclusion in the context of late Anglo-Saxon England. In the late tenth century, however, the shire was not the apex of local government in the East Midlands. Each borough administered the group of wapentakes assigned to it, but the security of the East Midlands as a whole was the responsibility of an ealdorman and king's reeve within a regional confederation of all the boroughs. Thus, according to the Wantage Code, the peace given by the king's representatives in the meeting of the Five Boroughs was amended by 12 hundred (*sic*), as opposed to the 6 for that given in the borough[96]. The latter was clearly subordinate to the former, and its functions were apparently coordinated through the institution. The penalties paid in 1066 are evidently derived from the same legal concepts, and it is therefore clear that the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs was the superstructure of the system of local government based upon the territorial tithing[97]. Since the ealdorman's authority was regional, the functions of defence were conferred upon the Five Boroughs as a whole. Thus, it is not unlikely that the role of the shire was originally confined to administration and the maintenance of law and order. It is therefore not surprising that its area is an expression of legal theory rather than strategic needs. The shrieval system with its apparatus of tithings was in origin clearly the infra-structure of a military confederacy.

It is this characteristic that hints at the *raison d'être* of the system. As a locus of patronage, the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs must have been designed to foster a sense of identity in the East Midlands. The Mercian Council re-emerges at precisely the same time — it is first noted in 957 after a lapse of some forty years—and was probably intended to perform much the same function in the west and north-west[98]. Within the context of the events of 939-942, the purpose of the confederacy must surely have been to detach the East Midlands from the sphere of Northumbria and create a buffer zone between southern England and an unstable North. Its introduction was clearly an attempt to isolate the Danes of York and thereby prevent further irruptions into Mercia and East Anglia. In the event, it was an experiment that failed. When King Swein of Denmark invaded England in 1013, the East Midlands sided with Northumbria, and the ensuing campaign bears an uncanny ressemblance to the course of events in 939-940[99]. No more is heard of the Five Boroughs after 1015 and, significantly, the East Midland shires appear for the first time in the records individually and by name in 1016[100]. The Confederacy had lapsed, a dismal failure in its central purpose, and its constituent shires subsequently emerged as independent entities.

However, something of its regional organisation probably survived the demise of the confederacy. It was within the Five Boroughs that Lincoln was first associated with

Stamford, for both had a common quota and therefore by implication were subject to a common authority from the time of carucation. By 1066 their territories had been amalgamated to form the historic shire of Lincoln[101]. It was probably in the same context that Derbyshire was first appended to Nottinghamshire, an administrative link which is first noted in Domesday Book and which persisted throughout the Middle Ages[102]. Although the Five Boroughs were a confederacy, the strategic importance of Nottingham, and, to a lesser extent, Lincoln, conferred a greater status upon them, and the resources of the remaining three boroughs may have been annexed to them for their support. It is probably a mere accident of history that Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire were never formally amalgamated like Lincoln and 'Stamfordshire' to form a single shire. But the greatest legacy of the Five Boroughs was the shrieval system which it spawned. Its administration through shire, wapentake, and tithing became the basis of local government in the East Midlands for the next 800 years. Until the nineteenth century the history of many of Derbyshire's local government units could be traced back in an unbroken line to the period when England was only just being forged into a realm.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES

ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, eds. D.Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, S. I. Tucker, London 1965.
BF	*The Book of Fees*, Public Record Office, London 1920-31.
BL	British Library.
CD	J. C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire,* London 1875-9.
DAJ	*Derbyshire Archaeological Journal.*
Derby DB	*Domesday Book: Derbyshire*, ed. P. Morgan, Chichester 1978.
ECNE	C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, Leicester 1975.
EHD	*English Historical Documents* i, ed. D. Whitelock, London 1955.
FA	*Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids* iv, Public Record Office, London 1906.
LS	*The Lay Subsidy of 1334,* ed. R. E. Glasscock, London 1975.
Mon. Ang.	*Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel, London 1817-30.
PNDb	K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, Cambridge 1959.
PR	*Pipe Roll*, Pipe Roll Society.
QW	*Placita de Quo Warranto,* Record Commission, London 1818.
RA	*The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln,* ed. C. W. Foster, Lincoln 1931.
RBN	*Records of the Borough of Nottingham* i, ed. W. H. Stevenson, Nottingham. 1882.
RH	*Rotuli Hundredorum*, Record Commission, London 1812-18.
Rot. Chart.	*Rotuli Chartarum*, Record Commission, London 1837.
TE	*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai c. AD 1291*, Record Commission, London 1802.
TMS	F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw,* Oxford 1910.
TSRS	Thoroton Society Record Series.
VCH Derby	*Victoria History of the County of Derby* , ed. W. Page, London 1905.

REFERENCES

1. P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1985, 141-3. The twelve-carucate hundred is found in Lincolnshire throughout the Middle Ages and was still in existence in the Holland division of the county in the eighteenth century. As an essentially communal institution, its survival in this area appears to be related to the widespread incidence of freedom among the peasantry. In more highly-manorialised regions of the Northern Danelaw the hundred fragmented to form vills which more closely mirror the structure of estates. See D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, (1981).
2. Stafford, *East Midlands*, 141; *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, trans. H. T. Riley, London 1856, 56.
3. *VCH Derby* i, 295. Extensive enquiries have failed to locate Eyton's reconstruction.
4. *VCH Derby* i, 295; *PNDb,* 25, 187, 338-9, 422, 515, 622; O. S. Anderson, *The English Hundred Names*, Lund 1934, 31-7.
5. *Derby DB,* 1,11;19. 2,1. 6,14;70. 10,12. S5.
6. *The Cartulary of Darley Abbey,* ed. R. R. Darlington, London 1945, A lxv, A12; *VCH Derby* ii, 41; *TE,* 246-7.
7. *BF, passim; RH* ii, 287-299.
8. *LS,* 42-7. The *Nomina Villarum* of 1316 is unfortunately incomplete. Returns only survive for the half wapentake of Repton and the wapentake of Morleyston and Litchurch. In both, townships are not recorded *in extenso*, but, as in Nottinghamshire, the document is arranged by the larger groupings of vills known as *ville integre*. The pattern is probably ancient, but no relationship has been observed between the system and earlier institutions. There is a lay subsidy of 1327-8, but the account is incomplete (J. C. Cox, 'Subsidy Roll (lay): Derbyshire in 1327-8 (a twentieth)', *DAJ* 30, (1908), 23-96). The nineteenth-century boundaries date to at least 1633 (S. O. Addy, 'A list of vills and freeholders of Derbyshire, 1633', *DAJ* 6, (1884), 49-74).
9. *PNDb*, 24-5.
10. *RH* ii, 287; *Derby DB*, 1,11.
11. *Derby DB*, 10,12.
12. In the past it has been argued that *Hamenstan* is an earlier name for Wirksworth Wapentake on the grounds that the meeting place has been tentatively identified with Harston Hill in the parish of Thorpe within the bounds of that wapentake (*PNDb*, 338-9).
13. *TE*, 246-7.
14. *CD* ii, 363; *CD* iii, 27, 155.
15. *BF,* 288. In the twelfth century High Peak Wapentake is sometimes called *Nordpech,* 'North Peak', a name which implies a southern division. O. S. Anderson has suggested that this was Wirksworth Wapentake (*English Hundred Names*, 33).
16 The two sections of the *terra regis* relate to the estates held by the king personally and those held by William Peverel in custody.
17. *Derby DB,* 1,11. 6,76;78. In the wapentakes of Scarsdale, Litchurch, Appletree, and Morleyston teamland figures are generally greater than the assessment to the geld.
18. Not all of the Domesday settlements appear as vills in 1334. There are therefore a number of settlements on the periphery of Wirksworth that cannot be assigned to a wapentake with any degree of confidence. Thus, Shottle and Wallstone have not been found in later mediaeval sources. But in Domesday Book both appear under the rubric *Hamenstan* at the beginning of Henry de Ferrers' *breve* where rubrication is regular as far as it goes. They should therefore perhaps be assigned to Wirksworth Wapentake (6,12). In the later Middle Ages, however, they may have been transferred to Appletree for in 1428 Idridgehay to the north was surveyed under that rubric (*FA* i, 263). In 1334 and 1431, however, the neighbouring Alderwasley and Ashleyhay were situated in Wirksworth

(*LS*, 44; *FA* i, 294). None of these vills appears by name in Domesday Book. Hulland, unambiguously in Wirksworth in 1334, and Hough, which does not appear as a vill, are contextually in Appletree in Domesday Book, while Atlow occurs in Wirksworth, although it was later in Appletree (6,47. 9,3; *LS*, 44; *Derby DB*,6,13; *LS,* 45). In neither case can the vills be confidently assigned to one wapentake or the other.

19. *TE,* 246; *CD* iv, 33.
20. *Derby DB*, 1,19.
21. *Derby DB,* 6,82-4;88-9;91.
22. D. R. Roffe, 'Introduction', *Domesday: Nottinghamshire*, ed. A. Williams (forthcoming 1987).
23. *The Lincolnshire Domesday and Lindsey Survey*, eds C. W. Foster and T. Longley, Lincoln Record Society 19, 1/15.
24. *LS*, 43.
25. *FA* i, 299-311; Addy, 'List of Vills 1633', 63-5.
26. *PNDb*, 622.
27. Litchurch was situated in the parish of St. Peter, Derby, and was an integral part of the borough until the thirteenth century (*Derby DB*, B3; *PR 1205*, 220).
28. *RH* ii, 288; *FA* i, 254-5.
29. *RH* ii, 297.
30. R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* i, London 1953, 352; S. C. Newton, 'The Parliamentary Surveys of the Hundreds of Appletree and Gresley', *DAJ* 81, (1961), 32-3. Arleston was locally in Litchurch and is enrolled in Domesday along with the other vills which were later known as Perimplementum. Dalbury, adjacent to Radbourne and Etwall, was entered in the same context.
31. *FA* i, 253.
32. *FA* i, 299-307.
33. H. M. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, Cambridge 1944, 71-4; *RH* ii, 291.
34. See note 30.
35. *TE*, 246,
36. G. Black, D. R. Roffe, *The Nottinghamshire Domesday: Reader's Guide,* Nottingham 1986, 16-17,
37. Longdendale, for example, was divided into twelve manors in 1066 held by nine named individuals (*Derby DB*, 1,30). It may, however, have been appended to the king's manors of Hope, Ashford, and Bakewell, which were farmed at thirty pounds (1,27-9), for if the value of Longdendale is added, the combined total is thirty two pounds. This sum, precisely four long hundreds of sixteen-pence Danish *oras*, is derived from a standard eight pound unit of account (*TMS*, 32-4) and was the farm rendered by the royal manors of Parwich, Darley, Ashbourne, Wirksworth, and Matlock (1,15). It is not unlikely, then, that Longdendale was part of the king's estate in the High Peak before the Conquest. If thaneland, however, the land was probably accounted within the wapentake, and its assessment has been added to the total for *Hamenstan.*
38. The standard deviation of the group is 4.4.
39. *Derby DB,* S1.
40. D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, (1981), 27.
41. *VCH Derby* i, 294.
42. *Derby DB,* 2,1; 2.
43. Roffe, 'Introduction', *Nottinghamshire Domesday.* The two wapentakes of *Roteland,* the northern part of the later county of Rutland, were part of the bailiwick of the sheriff of Nottingham. Alstoe Wapentake gelded with Thurgarton and Broxtowe. There is no record of where Martinsley was accounted, but it may have been attached to Oswaldbeck (*Domesday Book: Rutland*, ed. F. Thorn, Chichester 1980, R1).

44. There were fourteen wapentakes in Kesteven and Holland which constituted a single administrative unit in 1086. But in the thirteenth century Winnibriggs and Threo, and Boothby and Graffoe were closely related. It is likely, then, that there were twelve full wapentakes in 1086. There were six wapentakes in both the South and West Ridings of Lindsey. But seven are found in the North, including Bolingbroke and Gartree which were geographically in the South, but gelded in the North. Bradley and Haverstoe, however, constituted a single wapentake in the thirteenth century. Seven-hundred quotas, or a multiple thereof, are found in fourteen of these wapentakes (*The Lincolnshire Domesday*, lxxiii; Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 34). Little work has been done on the carucation of Yorkshire, but 84 carucates of land were attached to the City of York in 1086 (*Domesday Book: Yorkshire,* eds M. L. Faull, M. Stinson, Chichester 1986, C22).
45. *EHD* i, 403.
46. *VCH Derby* i, 320.
47. Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 34.
48. C. G. O. Bridgeman, 'The Burton Abbey Twelfth-Century Surveys', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire,* William Salt Archaeological Society, 1916, 231. His suit was discharged by Edric the reeve.
49. In the past it has been argued that the wapentake was closely related to the soke. Newark Wapentake in Nottinghamshire, for example, contained the manor and soke of the same name to which its jurisdiction was attached. With the exception of Scarsdale, no such coincidence is found in Derbyshire and, indeed, the institutions were completely different. The possession of sake and soke, toll and team, the hallmark of a soke, did not confer wapentake jurisdiction, and the courts of each were consequently carefully distinguished (M. W. Barley, *Documents Relating to the Manor and Soke of Newark-on-Trent,* TSRS xvi, xxxiii; *TMS*, 44).
50. *EHD* i, 382; H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England,* London 1984, 140-7.
51. *EHD* i, 393.
52. P. Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', *Æthelred the Unready*, ed. D. Hill, Oxford 1978, 65-8; *EHD* i, 397-401.
53. The shrine of St. Alkmund was established before the Danish colonisation (W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7, (1978), 89). The cult clearly had a political dimension for Alkmund was a Northumbrian prince who was ousted from power and murdered in 860. Several dedications to Northumbrian rebels and exiles in Mercia hint at power politics in the area (Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, 106; A. Thacker, 'Vikings, Saints and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History* 10, (1985), 15-16).
54. *ASC*, 48-50. According to Æthelweard, the Danes of York possessed land to the west of Stamford (Lincs.) in 895, and they therefore presumably held the whole of the East Midlands (*The Chronicle of Æthelweard,* ed. A. Campbell, London 1962, 51). After the fall of Derby in 917, Æthelflaeda began negotiations with the northern army to secure the rest of the region (*ASC*, 64-5).
55. *ASC*, 64-5.
56. A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin* i, Dublin 1975, 75.
57. R. A. Hall, 'The Pre-Conquest Burgh of Derby', *DAJ* 94, (1974), 16-22.
58. No excavation report has, as yet, appeared, but see R. Birss, H. Wheeler, 'Roman Derby: excavations 1968-83', *DAJ* 105, (1985), 11.
59. See, for example, C. R. Hart, *The Hidation of Northamptonshire*, Leicester 1970, 24-8; C. R. Hart, 'The Hidation of Huntingdonshire', *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society* 61, (1968), 55-6; C. Phythian-Adams, *Continuity, Fields and Fission: the Making of a Midlands Parish*, Leicester 1978, 20.
60. Hart (*Hidation of Northamptonshire*, 32-7) has argued that the ploughland figures of

much of Northamptonshire represent a pre-918 carucation. There are a number of general objections that can be made to this analysis, but most significantly no satisfactory charter evidence has been adduced in support of the hypothesis. Of the two originals cited — and copies are inadmissable since assessments were usually changed to conform to the liability of the estate at the time when the document was copied — the assessment of Braunston bears no relation to the Domesday hidage or ploughland figures. It is claimed, however, that the thirty hides of an estate in Badby in 944 are represented by thirty ploughlands in 1086. But the identification of the estate at this time is dependent on the unsupported identification of *Chelverdescote* in Fawsley Hundred with Newnham in *Edelweardesle.*

61. *ASC,* 65; Hall, 'Derby', 19.
62. D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England,* Oxford 1981, 127, 131; Stafford, *East Midlands,* 44.
63. F. E. Harmer, 'Chipping and Market: a Lexicographical Investigation', *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies),* ed. C. Fox, B. Dickens, Cambridge 1950, 337-46.
64. J. Hoops, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde,* Strassburg 1911-19, s. v. Zoll.
65. *Rot. Chart.,* 138a. See also *QW,* 158.
66. *PNDb,* 660; A. Henstock, 'The Course of Hereward Street: a Reappraisal', *DAJ* 100, (1980), 39.
67. *RBN* i, 2, 3; *TMS,* 92-3; *Blyth Cartulary,* ed. R.T. Timson, TSRS 27-8, ciii, no. 293; Roffe, 'Introduction', *DB: Notts.*; BL Add. Charter 47,498.
68. *Derby DB,* B15.
69. *QW,* 152-3. *Brithwodebroke* has been identified with a stream flowing through Birchwood Park in the parish of Norbury south-west of Ashbourne. But since Nottingham's tolls were collected as far as Ilkeston, it is likely that the name refers to Birchwood in Alfreton where a small stream runs eastwards to the Erewash (Henstock, 'Hereward Street', 37-9, 42).
70. *Ibid.,* 39; *QW,* 138.
71. *Derby DB,* 1,27-29.
73. J. C. Cox, 'Receipt Roll of the Peak Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, AD 1339', *DAJ* 11, (1889), 145; *CD* ii, 140-1, 187, 257, 587.
74. *CD* ii, 151; *RA* i, 48, 117; *PR 32 Henry II,* 104; *CD* ii, 227; *Mon. Ang.* vi, 188. There is evidence of a grouping of vills that belies the tenurial structure of 1086 and relates to the earlier management of land from royal estate centres. A significant characteristic of Derbyshire manors in the eleventh century is that appurtenances number 3, 6, 9 or 12 with remarkable regularity. The pattern is a well-recognised, if little understood, feature of early estates (W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North,* London 1979, 79-81). Darley, Bakewell, and Hope, however, have 3, 8 and 7 berewicks respectively. But the surrounding vills which were independent of the king's manors in 1086 make up the totals to neat duodecimal sums:

Darley	3 berewicks and Middleton, Youlgreave, Gratton, Elton, Harthill, Stanton, Winster, Ivonbrook, Cowley (with Birchover).	TOTAL 12 vills.
Bakewell:	8 berewicks and Pilsley, Edensor, Chatsworth, Beeley.	TOTAL 12 vills.
Ashford	12 berewicks.	TOTAL 12 vills.
Hope:	7 berewicks and Hathersage, Bamford, Hurst, Stoney Middleton, Eyam.	TOTAL 12 vills.
Longdendale:	12 manors.	TOTAL 12 vills.

Interlocking patterns, such as the division of the vill of Offerton between the manors of Hope and Hathersage in 1086, reveal that these groupings are not coincidental, but point to former estates. The system is remarkably regular throughout the wapentake of *Hamenstan* and indicates that there was a single authority in the area before the Conquest. Indeed, it is not impossible that the 60 vills of 1086 are identical with the 60 *manentes* in Hope and Ashford which had been bought from the heathen (that is the Danes) and were confirmed to Uhtred by King Athelstan in 926 (*ECNE,* 103). Almost all the tenth-century assessments in *manentes* relate to similar groups of vills.

75. Cox, 'Jurisdiction of the Peak'. In 1086 the church of Bakewell had two priests which seems to indicate that it was a collegiate foundation (*Derby DB*, 1,27). By that date it was probably already ancient. In 949 King Eadred gave land to Ealdorman Uhtred to endow a monastery at Bakewell (*ECNE*, 105). It is likely that the foundation was the premier minster in the whole of the Peak.
76. *Derby DB,* 1,11-15.
77. *RA* i, 17-18; *RA* iii, 41-2; *CD* ii, 363.
78. N. Brooks, M. Gelling, D. Johnson, 'A New Charter of King Edgar', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13, (1984), 137-155.
79. *RA* i, 29, 92-3; *CD* ii, 417, 457, 53. The churches were held by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln and in 1310 paid pensions to their rectory of Wirksworth.
80. *ECNE,* 102. The settlement is situated on the Ecclesbourne, an early river name which refers to a church (*PNDb*, 7).
81. *ECNE*, 103; P. H. Sawyer, 'The Charters of Burton Abbey and the Unification of England', *Northern History* 10, (1975), 31-4. The 60 *manentes* of the charter can almost certainly be identified with the 60 vills of High Peak; see note 74.
82. *ECNE*, 103, 105.
83. Sawyer, 'Charters of Burton', 34.
84. Sawyer, 'Charters of Burton', 33.
85. *ASC*, 64-5.
86. F. T. Wainwright, *Scandinavian England,* Chichester 1975, 93, 323-4.
87. Smyth, *Scandinavian York* i, 109; *ASC*, 67
88. C.R.Hart,*The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey to AD1500*, Sheffield 1984,118-22.
89. *QW*, 138; *Derby DB*, 1,1-10.
90. *PNDb*, xxviii, xxix; Henstock, 'Hereward Street', 41.
91. *ASC*, 40-1, 71; H. C. Hoffman, *King Ecgbert and the Treaty of Dore,* Dore 1969.
92. *The Charters of Burton Abbey,* ed. P. H. Sawyer, Oxford 1979, 53-6.
93. See above.
94. Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 90-109; *ASC*, 71.
95. Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 6, 8; C. M. Mahany, D. R. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', *Anglo-Norman Studies v: the Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982,* ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1983, 211-15; Roffe, 'Introduction', *Notts. DB.*
96. *EHD* i, 403.
97. In the past the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs has always been seen as a particularly Danish institution which ultimately dated from the late ninth-century settlement of the Danish armies. However, Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, and Stamford are first associated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *sub anno* 942 (*ASC*, 71). The annal does not necessarily refer to an institution, for it merely notes 'five boroughs' as apposed to 'the Five Boroughs'. Indeed, any alliance seems extremely unlikely at that time. As we have seen, there was no formal burghal system before the conquest of the Danelaw by Edward the Elder, and the constituent boroughs cannot have had any common identity in the reign of Athelstan since Lincoln was almost certainly a part of Northumbria until 942.

The annal, moreover, is written in the form of a panegeric poem which is not absolutely contemporary with the event it describes. Thus, it is clearly written with a considerable amount of hindsight — the East Midlands are said to have been redeemed, with overtones of finality, from subjection to the heathen northmen — and appears to date from sometime after 955 (*ASC*, xi). The Chronicle reference, then, is almost certainly anachronistic. Indeed, as the institution was clearly an integral element in the new system of local government, it must therefore date from the introduction of the proto-shrieval system into the area between 954 and 963. The Confederacy of the Five Boroughs would appear to be an English institution.

98. A. Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum Gentis*: the Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10, (1982), 164.
99. *ASC* 92-3.
100. *Ibid.*, 94-5.
101. Mahany and Roffe, 'Stamford', 211-15.
102. D. Crook, 'The Establishment of the Derbyshire County Court, 1256', *DAJ* 103, (1983), 98-106.

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