

## THE DEDICATIONS OF MEDIEVAL CHURCHES IN DERBYSHIRE:

THEIR SURVIVAL AND CHANGE FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY<sup>1</sup>

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English parish churches evoke images of the countryside: a rural landscape, cricket played on the village green, thirst quenched in a homely pub, half-timbered or stone or thatched cottages, all nestling around a medieval church, its change ringers or Westminster chimes periodically breaking the stillness.

‘Here, the intersection of the timeless moment  
Is England and nowhere. Never and always.’<sup>2</sup>

Here is traditional England, the essential England, the real England, the England of a thousand year monarchy, a seven hundred year Parliament, a legal tradition based on precedent, the constant England.

Here is the England of the picture postcard, calendar and local tourist board brochure, the England of late twentieth century nostalgia, product of late twentieth century insecurities. It is truly ‘England and nowhere. Never and always’. Its timelessness is myth rather than reality. Try and touch the image and it vanishes.

Timelessness, or continuity, is not the essence of the countryside. The village is seldom now a self-contained unit but a dormitory, an outer fringe of urbanised life. The landscape changes as another hedgerow is grubbed out and a few more acres of old pasture or meadow ploughed up. Ye Olde Englishe Inne is likely to be a grotesque pastiche inflicted on its clientele by the brewery’s interior design department to improve its tenant’s takings and the brewery’s rent. The village church evokes not merely the spirit of the Middle Ages but also the Victorian enthusiasm for Gothic restoration and the current PCC’s determination to provide crèche, coffee and Rite A Communion. Scratch the surface and what often is found is not continuity but change.

No assumptions can or should be made about the antiquity of even the least of details in church, village or landscape. This essay will concern itself with one small detail, the dedication of the parish church, to emphasise that point. One might surmise that that will remain the same, enshrined in folk memory, handed down from generation to generation over the centuries from the day the church was consecrated and dedicated. Sometimes, but not always: the story of church dedications is more strange and complex than a continuous tradition from the origins of a church to the present.

Information about dedications occur in a variety of sources. Chance references emerge in medieval cartularies<sup>3</sup>, but the most systematic of earlier sources are the wills of Derbyshire testators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, either in the details of where their bodies should be buried after decease or in their bequests made to religious institutions.<sup>4</sup> The dedications of 130 churches or chapels, sited in places where an Anglican church exists today, have been traced in them.

From the eighteenth century onwards county surveys of dedications occur in the works of antiquarians, directories of benefices and diocesan handbooks, trade directories, travel books

and guides, and architectural descriptions. The first survey covering Derbyshire was the fourth edition of John Ecton's lists of benefices charged with and discharged from First Fruits and Tenths, published in 1742 under the title of *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*. Three more editions appeared, containing much the same information, in 1754, 1763 and 1786.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter similar surveys came thick and fast, such as Pilkington's *View of Derbyshire* of 1789, Pigot's *Commercial Directory* of 1835 and many later directories, Cox's *Notes on Derbyshire Churches* of 1875-9 and Pevsner's *Buildings of England* for Derbyshire of 1953. The diocesan yearbook churns out church dedications amidst other information in each issue.<sup>6</sup>

When the information from each of these sources is laid out in tabular form for the sake of comparison, the most remarkable feature of the exercise is the number of discrepancies that occur. Out of the 130 churches and chapels whose dedications have been traced in sixteenth century wills, fifty-eight (45%) no longer have the same dedication according to the 1989-90 edition of the Derby Diocesan Yearbook. In nearly twenty other cases a different dedication from the one named in wills and the yearbook has been reported at some time in other sources.<sup>7</sup> The obvious task is to explain why these discrepancies have occurred.

Carelessness of editors and publishers was certainly a factor. Church dedications were peripheral to the main purposes of some of the publications mentioned, such as trade directories and diocesan yearbooks, and so relatively little effort went into ensuring accuracy, the same information being regurgitated in successive editions. Editors simply had more important things to do. Cox, who, as an eminent antiquarian, had a motive to be accurate, was scathing in his comments about the level of accuracy in directories and yearbooks.<sup>8</sup>

The high proportion of changes of dedications since the sixteenth century is too high to ascribe solely to carelessness. One small factor has been re-dedication after a church was rebuilt, sometimes on a new site. In certain cases the earlier church or chapel had long fallen into disuse. The old chapel of ease at Hatton, dedicated to St Stephen, became derelict after its chantry endowments were seized during the Reformation. When a new chapel was built in 1887 it was dedicated to All Saints.<sup>9</sup> Clifton provides another example; the old chapel of Our Lady, having fallen into disuse, was replaced in the nineteenth century by the parish church of the Holy Trinity.<sup>10</sup> In other cases dedications were changed when there was a more immediate rebuilding. After the demolition of the old chapels of Foremark and Ingleby, dedicated to Our Lady and St Lawrence respectively, Sir Francis Burdett built a new chapel at Foremark, consecrated by Bishop Hacket in September 1662 and dedicated to St Saviour.<sup>11</sup> When Atlow Church was rebuilt on a new site in 1874, the dedication was changed to Ss Philip and James, to Cox's evident distaste.<sup>12</sup>

The origin of by far the majority of the changes of dedications is the 1742 edition of John Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*. This was an expanded version of Ecton's original work to meet a demand for further information. As its preface proclaims,

'And as a farther advantage the names of the saints to whom the churches or chapels are dedicated, are placed immediately after the rectorys, vicarages etc. For this, the editors are obliged to that learned and communicative antiquary Browne Willis Esq'.<sup>13</sup>

It is the source of so many changes of dedications because so many later authors and editors accepted its details uncritically. Pilkington and Pigot and Company clearly copied the dedications *verbatim*, though not always accurately, from it. They had neither the time nor the inclination to check them; their interests, as already stated, lay elsewhere. Even Cox, when lacking medieval documentation of a dedication, resorted to Bacon's *Liber Regis* as a sound

authority, particularly in his first volume of church notes. Yet this book was no more than a reprint of the 1742 and 1754 editions of Ecton. Bacon pirated their information, including Browne Willis's dedications.<sup>14</sup> Editors and authors of twentieth century works have referred back to these earlier volumes, particularly Cox's *Notes*, and so many of the dedications proffered by Willis in 1742 have been perpetuated.

To be fair to Cox, when he came across a dedication in earlier sources which differed from that in the *Liber Regis*, he usually accepted the former as the more authentic. For example, he insisted that the patron of Spondon Church was St Werburgh, not St Mary, and that of Walton upon Trent St Lawrence and not John the Baptist.<sup>15</sup> In every such case Cox's evidence agrees with that from sixteenth century wills. Yet his suggestions as to the more correct form were not always taken up and the dedications provided by Browne Willis have been retained to this day.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand Cox himself seems to have been the source of a few of the changes in dedications.<sup>17</sup>

Browne Willis was one of the most energetic and prolific of eighteenth century antiquarians. During the course of his life, among many other achievements, he collected information about church dedications throughout the country. Unfortunately, even during his lifetime, his reputation for accuracy was poor. Thomas Hearne, a greater contemporary antiquarian, described his *Survey of the Cathedrals (1727)* 'a strange rhapsody full of the most gross blunders'. Even Willis's biographer has admitted,

'His great weakness was carelessness — and a serious one it must be admitted — not always his own but frequently that of his amanuensis or his printer, and lack of care was due to hurry. He was more eager to rush into print and, if he had taken more pains and published less, his reputation as a scholar would have stood on a surer footing'.<sup>18</sup>

Though his reputation for accuracy is besmirched, one ought to appreciate the limitations under which he worked. He lacked modern, well-organised record offices in which he or his agents could undertake research. Such were the physical difficulties of travel in the early eighteenth century that it was impossible for him to conduct his own investigations of church dedications and other interests throughout the whole of the country. He, from necessity, was dependent on correspondents and their degree of thoroughness and insight.

When he published his *Survey of Cathedrals* in 1727, of which the second volume contained Lichfield, he was only able to list the dedications of the parish churches of Derby in his gazetteer of livings in the archdeaconry of Derby. One volume of his manuscript collections, dealing with Lichfield diocese, contains a number of letters from a variety of correspondents, dated 1734 and 1738-40, about Derbyshire church dedications, so explaining their appearance in the edition of Ecton of 1742 but not in Willis's publications before.

The quality and methods of working by his assistants varied considerably and so consequently the quality of the results of their labours. George Lowe, of all his correspondents, was consistently the most accurate. When his lists of thirty-five dedications, provided in three letters, are compared with the dedications found in sixteenth century wills, in thirty cases there are no changes, in three cases evidence of changes and in two no evidence from wills with which to compare them.<sup>19</sup>

Lowe was an official in the courts at Lichfield and so had access to diocesan records which probably accounts for his accurate reporting. The number of dedications that he found were comparatively few and he warned Willis that he would not be able to find the dedications of churches with the Dean and Chapter's High Peak Jurisdiction owing to the destruction of its records,

‘... Upon searching many old records I could not find any dedications (however few) worth sending. I have taken particular care in collecting the parishes you desired out of Derbyshire, but have not found above two or three of them. As to Risley Chapel and Bakewell Jurisdiction, to wit the twelve chapels, they are out of our jurisdiction and belong to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, whence I’m afraid you’ll find but little satisfaction by reason they have no very old records now in being...’<sup>20</sup>

As a search of the ecclesiastical records available could not provide a full survey of dedications, Willis was obliged to depend upon other sources, as he explained in a note at the beginning of the manuscript volume,

‘... as the will office at Lichfield could help me little, by the friendship of Mr John Collins, collector of Staffordshire, I had the account of the wakes and feasts of the parishes in that county and the supposed traditional dedications from several of the clergy and from other hands throughout the whole diocese of Lichfield wch see printed in the new edition of Ecton’s Valor in 4<sup>o</sup> 1742.’<sup>21</sup>

For Derbyshire Willis depended on R. Watkins, Edward Bagshawe vicar of Castleton 1723-69, D. Wyvill, an excise collector, and William Norton.

The first three of these correspondents in their letters, presumably following Willis’s instructions, emphasised the dates upon which parish wakes fell. They seem first to have enquired the Sunday on which wakes were held in a parish and whether that Sunday occurred before or after the patronal festival. From these pieces of information they tried to work out the dedication of the parish church.

By this time it was often a custom in many parts of the country to hold the parish feast or wakes on the Sunday nearest to the appropriate feast day as a consequence of a decree of Convocation in 1536 which prohibited the observance of patronal festivals as holy days, the practice before.<sup>22</sup> Yet the attempts of Willis’s correspondents to use Wake Sundays as indicators of parish church dedications in Derbyshire did not always lead, it seems, to accurate conclusions.

Their results agree far less consistently with the evidence of sixteenth century wills than the document-based researches of George Lowe. Edward Bagshawe in two letters provided the dedications of thirty-two parish churches or chapels of medieval origin. In three cases he provided the dates of the wakes and was unable to suggest a patron saint, in eleven cases comparative evidence from wills has not been traced, in ten cases the dedication is different from that named in the wills and in eight it is the same. Wyvill, the excise collector, might have been less than scrupulous. His list of dedications around Derby contains All Saints with suspicious and inaccurate (according to the wills) frequency.<sup>23</sup> Obviously Willis’ correspondents with the exception of Lowe were the cause of most of the discrepancies in the appendix below.

Willis was not an uncritical recipient of information sent to him. He obviously realised that Lowe was the most authoritative of his correspondents. The letters contain several amendments and additions in his hand and these show that he always preferred Lowe as a source to the others. He clearly had other sources of information which are not contained in the manuscript volume and with which he attempted to edit the information in the letters there. His doubts about some of the dedications, suggested to him, remained because in the 1742 edition of Ecton the letter q [question] appears beside a number of them.<sup>24</sup>

His critical editing sometimes did more harm than good. Faced with dates for Wakes for Scarcliffe and Beighton, provided by Bagshawe without any dedications suggested, Willis proceeded to make educated guesses yet failed to select the patron saints mentioned in wills. He

decided that the churches of Barrow upon Trent, Egginton and West Hallam were more likely to be dedicated to St Wilfrid than to St Luke, even though his correspondents had listed the latter as their patron. In the cases of Barrow and West Hallam, according to surviving wills, Willis and his helpers both erred.<sup>25</sup>

The attempts of Willis and his helpers to calculate patronal dedications from the date on which parish wakes fell, was flawed in a number of respects. First, their calculations depended on their accuracy in determining whether or not Wakes Sunday fell before or after the patron saint's feast day. Some of the differences between the dedications given in wills and those published in Ecton can be accounted for by their failure to achieve such accuracy. For example, Bagshawe reported that Killamarsh Church was dedicated to St Giles and its wakes were held the Sunday after the feast day (1 September). The wills identify the Virgin Mary as its patron. The feast day of her Nativity is on 8 September, suggesting that the wakes were held the Sunday before the patronal festival.<sup>26</sup>

Even when the week that the patronal festival fell could be accurately assessed, Willis and his helpers were faced with the problem that several saints' days could fall within any one week. The differences between the evidence contained in the wills and in Ecton can in a number of cases be explained by their unfortunate guesses in such circumstances. The patron of Norbury Church in the sixteenth century appears as St Barlock whose feast day was kept at Chester on 10 September. In Ecton the patron is recorded as St Mary (8 September). The patron of Beighton Church in the sixteenth century was St Radegund (feast day 13 August) and not St Mary, as at Ecton, whose feast of the Assumption falls two days later.<sup>27</sup>

These confusions were probably exacerbated by the calendars used by Willis and his assistants. They seem not to have used medieval calendars but the greatly simplified calendar of the Book of Common Prayer with its twenty-five red letter days and sixty-six (from 1662) Black Letter days. They also possibly used almanacs which recorded the saints' days used in the law terms. This explains why obscure saints, such as Barlock and Radegund, were overlooked and why the joint dedications to Ss Peter and Paul of Hartshorne and Edensor were contracted in Ecton to St Peter only; in the Book of Common Prayer the joint feast of both saints (29 June) is recorded as St Peter's Day.

The assumption that the wakes were held on the nearest Sunday to the patron's feast day was to Willis a rule which did not allow exceptions. Yet during the Middle Ages other cults flourished in some parishes apart from that of the patron saint. Their feast days might in some cases have influenced the timing of the parish wakes. Such an eventuality would explain more, recorded differently in the wills and Ecton. Both Whitwell and North Wingfield are recorded in Ecton as dedicated to St Lawrence. Wills from these parishes reveal the existence of a service of St Lawrence and St Mary at North Wingfield and a St Lawrence aisle in Whitwell Church, even though they show that the parish churches were dedicated to St Helen and All Saints respectively.<sup>28</sup>

In both Melbourne and Staveley there were two churches until the Reformation. Wills from Melbourne testators show that the churches there were dedicated to St Michael and St Mary, whereas a chantry certificate of 1546 reveals that in addition to the parish church of Staveley, dedicated according to wills to St Mary, there was a free chapel, dedicated to St John the Baptist. Both St Michael's church and St John's chapel appear to have fallen victim to the dissolution of the chantries (1548). The former had certainly been dismantled when the commissioners of the Church Goods attempted to survey its possessions at the end of Edward VI's reign. Yet in Ecton the dedications of the surviving churches appear as St Michael and St John, in the latter

case because Willis's correspondent (Bagshawe) recorded that Staveley wakes were held on the Sunday before the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist.<sup>29</sup>

Not all the changes in dedications, traced between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, can be explained by the factors noted above. For around twenty cases there appears, as yet, no obvious explanation, unless over the years the dates of various parish wakes had been changed. Willis and his assistants implicitly assumed that they were firmly fixed but changes in the dates are not beyond the bounds of possibility.

In some areas the tradition of parish wakes was, at times, threatened. Before the Civil War certain bishops and magistrates had tried to suppress them owing to the excess and inapposite revelry that they encouraged upon the Sabbath. There were even attempts to legislate against them in Parliament. Yet, despite earlier hostility, in many parts of England wakes underwent a revival after the Restoration 'as the gentry's desire and the church's power to enforce strict Sabbath observance declined'.<sup>30</sup> In such uncertain conditions it would not have been unlikely that the dates of wakes sometimes underwent changes, especially as it seems that knowledge of their origins became obscure.

The history of parish wakes in Derbyshire is, as yet, uncharted. Willis's correspondence shows that the tradition of wakes was alive and well in the first half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps, earlier, they endured campaigns against them by Puritanical authorities and suffered occasional, or in some cases complete, suppression. Perhaps, as a result, the dates for holding some changed. In the absence of firm knowledge, this is all surmise. Yet one becomes suspicious; that the dates of wakes, as recorded by Willis's correspondents, virtually all fall between June and November with September the peak month. Derbyshire wakes followed a pattern, observed by Phythian-Adams. They were second-half of year events in which seasonal activities probably had as much influence in their timing as dedicatory saints. The attempt by Convocation in 1536 to fix all feasts, celebrating the consecration of churches (not to be confused with patronal feasts), to 1 October might also have influenced the timing of wakes.<sup>31</sup> All such observations point further to the dangers of using Wake Sundays as a guide to parish dedications.

Discussion and analysis of Wake Sundays and their relationship or otherwise to the dates of patronal festivals beg a number of questions, such as why Willis's correspondents had trouble collecting relevant information and why they could not simply ask local parishioners or clergy the name of the patron of their church rather than having to have recourse to the 'will office' at Lichfield or to calculations based upon wakes. One has to assume that the clergy and parishioners, if asked, were, at that time, unlikely to know; that this knowledge was not enshrined in some sort of lingering folk memory. Bishop Piers of Bath and Wells, writing to Archbishop Laud in 1633, suggested that this was the case,

'I find that throughout Somersetshire there are not only Feasts of Dedication, but also in many places church-ales, clerks'-ales and bid-ales. The Feasts of Dedication are more general, and generally they are called Feast-days; but in divers places they are called revel-days. They are not known amongst the ignorant people by the name of Feasts of Dedication; but all scholars acknowledge them to be in the memory of their several dedications, and some ministers of late have taught them [the people] so.'<sup>32</sup>

Such a situation should occasion little surprise, if one considers the English Reformation and the cultural and religious changes that it brought. The essence of the Protestant message was justification through faith only in the redemption wrought by Jesus Christ. Such a doctrine undermined the significance of the saints. At best they could be used as examples of faith, but

Years	Total Wills	Wills showing dedications	Percentage	Number of parishes*
1531-40	463	276	59.6	86
1541-50	685	289	42.2	82
1551-60	1251	288	23.0	56
1561-70	709	136	19.0	21
1571-80	638	79	12.9	17
1581-90	658	30	4.6	10

\*i.e the number of parishes in which the church dedication is recorded in one or more wills during that decade. The five parish dedications of Derby continued to be recorded for the purposes of identifying a testator's place of abode. The number of wills recording dedications from parishes elsewhere in Derbyshire were few by 1590.

the idea of them working as intercessors was condemned as superstitious and popish. Apart from the Swedish Church, the Church of England was alone of all the reformed churches to retain Saints' Days in its Calendar, but the hold of the saints upon the popular imagination was tenuous as a result of the reduction in the number of holidays in 1536, the destruction of the shrines and abolition of pilgrimages in the late 1530s, the removal of images from places of public worship and their destruction in 1548, the radical simplification of the Calendar in the Books of Common Prayer 1549-1662 and the continued attacks of the Puritans on all that smacked of the popish superstition of pre-Reformation days. Saints' days continued to be observed for dating law terms in the church and civil courts, in almanacs, for the payment of rents and, despite the opposition of Puritans, as holy days in a reduced number of cases. But, as David Cressy has recently shown, this old calendar was supplemented and, to a degree, superseded by a new, national, secular and dynastic calendar coupled with festivals of Protestant thanksgiving.<sup>33</sup>

Sixteenth century wills indicate waning interest in the patron saints of Derbyshire churches, providing a rough measure of the impact of the Reformation on attitudes in the localities. During the course of the century fewer testators from fewer parishes named the dedication of the church where they wished to be buried. The figures, given above, suggest that well before the eighteenth century, perhaps before the sixteenth century was out, church dedications were no longer part of popular knowledge and interest. By Willis's time, consequently, they had become the object for the researches of antiquarians as a feature of a world past.

Church dedications can and have changed, and some of the causes of these changes, have, I hope, been demonstrated. Yet the purpose of this paper is to go somewhat further than this banal conclusion and urge local historians to take no detail, however slight, for granted and never assume continuity unless they can palpably prove it. Glib assumptions about folk memory and the strength of English traditions just will not do. The country might not have suffered turmoils, conflicts and revolutions on a scale as those experienced by continental Europe, but English life has been transformed by profound cultural changes over the centuries, the Reformation of the

sixteenth century being just one of them. Moreover I hope that the paper has demonstrated that the works of earlier historians and antiquarians can prove liabilities as well as assets. They can misinform; they are not holy writ. The local historian needs to treat them with a healthy scepticism and have an awareness of the methods of research used by the authors and the difficulties that they faced in undertaking their studies. Tradition and continuity might appeal to our nostalgia but the search for historical reality, though itself as attainable as the Holy Grail, is more fascinating.

## REFERENCES

Bodl. = Bodleian Library, Oxford

L.J.R.O. = Lichfield Joint Record Office

P.R.P. = Public Record Office, Chancery Lane

1. The origins of this paper lie in the discussion after I gave a paper on the Reformation in Derbyshire to the Local History Section of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society in October 1989. I thank members for stimulating my curiosity further and hope that this paper provides an adequate answer to their questions.
2. T.S. Eliot, *Four Quartets*, Little Gidding (London, 1944), 51
3. For example, R.R. Darlington, ed, *The Cartulary of Darley Abbey* (Kendal, 1945), 262, 546, 347
4. The Derbyshire wills used in this survey of dedications were either proved in the Prerogative Court of the archbishops of Canterbury (PCC) or in the probate court of the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield. All the relevant PCC wills covering the period 1470-1558 have been looked at (P.R.O., PROB 11/6-42). The Lichfield wills surveyed were contained either in the two registers of copy wills 1526-40 or in the files of original wills presented for probate covering the years 1531-90 (L.J.R.O., B/C/10/1-2, B/C/11)
5. J. Ecton, *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum, being an account of the valuations of all ecclesiastical benefices in the several dioceses of England and Wales ... to which are added the names of the patrons to the several benefices and the dedications of churches ...* (London), 1742); A. Savidge, *The Foundation and the early Years of Queen Anne's Bounty* (London, 1955), 50
6. J. Pilkington, *A View of the Present State of Derbyshire* (Derby, 1789) 2 Vols; *Pigot and Co's Commercial Directory for Derbyshire 1835* (Derbyshire C.C., County Library, 1976); J.C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (Chesterfield 1875-9) 4 vols; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Derbyshire* (Harmondsworth, 1953); *The Derby Diocesan Year Book and Clergy List 1989-90* (Derby, 1989)
7. See appendix
8. Cox, i, 17, 53, 123, 268, 284, 292, 386; ii, 447; iii, 133; iv, 52, 237
9. P.R.O., PROB11/29, 5 Thomas Clerk chantry priest of Marston upon Dove 1544; Diocesan Year Book, 131
10. L.J.R.O., B/C/11 John Harde 1536, Thomas Plante 1536, Nicholas Sutton 1535; Diocesan Year Book, 99
11. L.J.R.O., B/C/11 Thomas Fysher c.1537, Alice Homme 1537, Henry Stone 1535, Jonne Wanne; Bishop Hacket's Register B/A/1/17, 17-19
12. Cox, ii, 438
13. Ecton (1742), preface
14. Cox, i, 17, 123, 194, 322; iii, 296, 508; iv, 237; J. Bacon, *Liber Regis vel Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* (1786)
15. Cox, iii, 296, 508
16. For example, North Wingfield, Shirley, Tibshelf, see appendix
17. For example, Barlow, Hayfield, Heage, Smisby, South Normanton, see appendix
18. J.G. Jenkins, *The Dragon of Whaddon, being an account of the Life of Browne Willis 1682-1760, Antiquary and Historian* (High Wycombe, 1953), 116, 123

19. Bodl., Willis Ms 16340, 111, 7 July 1739, 112, 7 Nov 1738, 11 Dec 1738
20. Bodl., Willis Ms 16340, 111
21. Bodl., Willis Ms 16340, 1
22. V. Staley, reviser, *Hierurgia Anglicana* (London 1904), ii, 134 for Bishop Piers' letter to Archbishop Laud 1633, concerning wakes in Somerset; K. Parker, *The English Sabbath: a study of doctrine and discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1988) 154; D. Cressy, *Bonfire and Bells: national memory and the Protestant calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989) 5; E. Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1761), 243
23. Bodl., Willis Ms 16340, 109, 3 Dec 1739; 128, 22 Oct 1739, 134v
24. Pleasley, Pinxton, Langwith, Tibshelf, Sandiacre, Barrow, West Hallam: in cases of Pleasley, Pinxton, possibly Langwith, Barrow and West Hallam his caution was justified; see appendix
25. Bodl., Willis Ms 16340, 104 letter from Watkins to Willis 18 Feb 1740, 109 Bagshawe to Willis 3 Dec 1739, 140c letter from D. Wyvill ?1734; Ecton (1754), 73, 75, 76
26. Bodl, Willis MS 16340, 109; for the wills see notes to the appendix; other similar cases might explain the change in dedication for Allestree, Morley, Pentrich and Shirley
27. L.J.R.O., B/C/11 Norbury Nicholas Abell 1558, Thomas Cowappe 1534, Beighton, Robert Atkyn 1557, Roger Blyth 1555, John Cleslye 1540, John Crowkes 1547, Joan Gylbert 1556, Elizabeth Harrison 1540, Richard Lee 1535, John Lylle 1544, Leonard Lynlye 1538, Anne Lynnacur 1533 and several more; Ecton, 71, 75; D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford), 1978), 28, 339
28. Ecton, 74, 75; L.J.R.O., B/C/11 for the service of St Lawrence and St Mary, North Wingfield, William Bacon 1544, Richard Barnesley 1538 (altar of St Lawrence), Ralph Clay 1542, John Dobbe 1538, Richard Shaw 1547, Agnes Watkinson 1538, William Wagstaffe 1540, Henry Watkinson 1540, Thomas Watkinson 1541; for St Lawrence Aisle, Whitwell, William Morewood 1536
29. P.R.O., PROB11/15, 27 Robert Wymonde 1507 bequeathed money to either of the two churches in Melbourne; L.J.R.O., B/C10/1 John Ragg 1514 refers to both churches in Melbourne; while William Ragg 1514 and Cicele Berdsley 1522 refer to St Michael's Church; B/C/11 reference to St Michael's Church, Henry Newton 1539, all other references are to St Mary's Church, Henry Bowley 1558, Robert Bowley 1580, William Campion 1559, John Cantrell 1552, John Cowper 1558, William Kiremore 1545, Henry Shevyn 1547, Christopher Lacye 1578, John Ratcliffe 1580; references to St Mary's, Staveley, Richard Marten 1545, John Parker 1534, William Parker 1557, Richard Rodes 1539, Nicholas Walshe 1549; P.R.O., Chantry Certificates E301/13/35; Cox, iii, 400; Ecton (1754), 75, 77; Bodl, Willis Ms 16340, 109
30. D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: popular politics and culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985), 66, 82, 93, 240, 280-1; Parker, 154, 183-90, 291
31. C.V. Phythian-Adams, *Local History and Folklore* (London, 1975), 25, 26; Gibson, 243
32. *Hierurgia Anglicana*, ii, 134
33. Cressy, xi-xiv, 1-12

## APPENDIX

Summary of dedications of Derbyshire parish churches: Reformation to the present day.

Parish	C16	Ecton	Cox	Year Book
Alfreton	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin
Allestree	Edmund	Andrew	Edmund	Edmund
Alvaston	Michael	Michael	Michael	Michael
Ashbourne	Oswald	Oswald	Oswald	Oswald
Ashover	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Aston on Trent	Peter/Paul	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Atlow	Lawrence		ASts/Philip/Ja	Philip/James
Ault Hucknall	John Baptist		John Baptist	John Baptist
Barlborough	Margaret	James	James	James
Barlow	Vincent		Lawrence	Lawrence
Barrow	Helen	Wilfrid	Wilfrid	Wilfrid
Beighton	Radegund	Mary	Mary	
Belper	Thomas	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist
Blackwell	Werburgh	Werburgh	Werburgh	Werburgh
Bolsover	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Brackenfield	Trinity		Trinity	Trinity
Bradbourne	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Brailsford	Chad	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Brampton	Peter/Paul	Peter	Peter/Paul	Peter/Paul
Brassington	James		All Saints	James
Breadsall	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Brimington	Michael		Michael	Michael
Carsington	Mary Magdalen	Margaret	Margaret	Margaret
Castleton	Edmund	Edmund	Edmund	Edmund
Chaddesden	John Baptist	Mary	Mary	Mary
Chellaston	John Baptist		Peter	Peter
Chesterfield	All Saints	All Saints	Mary/ASts	Mary/ASts
Church Broughton	Helen	Michael	Michael	Michael
Clifton	Mary	Mary		Holy Trinity
Clowne	All Saints	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist
Creswell	Mary Magdalene			Mary Magdalene
Crich	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Croxall	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist
Dale	Margaret			All Saints
Darley	Helen	Helen	Helen	Helen
Denby	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Derby	Michael	Michael	Michael	
Derby	Alkmund	Alkmund	Alkmund	Alkmund
Derby	Werburgh	Werburgh	Werburgh	
Derby	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Derby	Peter	Peter	Peter	Peter
Dronfield	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist
Duffield	Alkmund	Alkmund	Alkmund	Alkmund
Eckington	Peter/Paul	Peter/Paul	Peter/Paul	Peter/Paul
Edensor	Peter/Paul	Peter	Peter	Peter
Elmton	Nicholas	Peter	Peter	Peter
Elton	Margaret	All Saints		All Saints

Elvaston	Mary	Bartholomew	Bartholomew	Bartholomew
Etwall	Helen	Helen	Helen	Helen
Eyam	Helen	Helen	Helen	Lawrence
Findern	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Foremark	Mary	Saviour	Saviour	Saviour
Glossop	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Hartington	Giles	Giles	Giles	Giles
Hartshorne	Peter/Paul	Peter	Peter	Peter
Hathersage	Michael	Michael	Michael	Michael
Hatton	Stephen			All Saints
Hayfield	Mary		Matthew	Matthew
Heage	Mary		Luke	Luke
Heanor	Mary	Michael	Michael	Lawrence
Heath	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Hope	Peter	Peter	Peter	Peter
Horsley	Clement	Barnabas/Cleme	Clement	Clement
Kedleston	Margaret	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Killamarsh	Mary	Giles	Giles	Giles
Kirk Ireton	Nicholas	Holy Trinity	Holy Trinity	Holy Trinity
Lea	John Baptist		Mary	John Baptist
Littleover	Peter	Peter	Peter	Peter
Longford	Mary	Chad	Chad	Chad
Lullington	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Mackworth	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Matlock	Giles	Giles	Giles	Giles
Melbourne	Mary	Michael	Michael	Michael
Mickleover	Nicholas	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Morley	Mary	Matthew	Matthew	Matthew
Morton	Mary	Holy Cross	Holy Cross	Holy Cross
Mugginton	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Newbold	Martin			John Evangelist
Newton Solney	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Norbury	Barlock	Mary	Mary	Mary/Barlock
Normanton,Derby	Giles		Giles	Giles
North Wingfield	Helen	Lawrence	Lawrence/Helen	Lawrence
Norton	James	James	James	James
Ockbrook	Mary	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Osmaston,Ashbourne	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin
Osmaston,Derby	James	All Saints	James	
Parwich	Peter	Peter	Peter	Peter
Pentrich	Helen	Matthew	Matthew	Matthew
Pinxton	John Evangelist	Helen	Helen	Helen
Pleasley	Andrew	Michael	Michael	Michael
Ravenstone	Michael	Michael	Michael	
Repton	Wystan	Wystan	Wystan	Wystan
Scarcliffe	Giles	Leonard/ASTs	ASTs/Leo/Giles	Leonard
Scropton	Paul	Paul	Paul	Paul
Shirland	Leonard	Leonard	Leonard	Leonard
Shirley	Matthew	Michael	Matthew	Michael
Smalley	Peter/Mary	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist
Smisby	Mary Magdalene		James	James
Snelston	Peter			Peter

Somersal Herbert	Blaise	Peter	Peter	Peter
South Normanton	Mary	Mary	Mary/Michael	Michael
South Wingfield	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Spondon	Werburch	Mary	Werburch	Werburch
Stapenhill	Peter	Peter	Peter	Peter
Staveley	Mary	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist
Stoney Middleton	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin
Stretton le Field	Michael	Michael	Michael	
Sudbury	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints
Sutton Hill	Michael	Michael	Michael	Michael
Sutton Scarsdale	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Swarkestone	James	James	James	James
Temple Normanton	Mary Magdalene			James the Apos
Thorpe	Leonard	Leonard	Leonard	Leonard
Tibshelf	Peter	John Baptist	Peter/John Bap	John Baptist
Tideswell	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist	John Baptist
Tissington	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Twyford	Andrew	Andrew	Andrew	Andrew
Walton on Trent	Lawrence	John Baptist	Lawrence	Lawrence
West Hallam	Michael	Wilfrid	Wilfrid	Wilfrid
Weston Trent	Hilary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Whittington	Bartholomew	Bartholomew	Bartholomew	Bartholomew
Whitwell	All Saints	Lawrence	Lawrence	Lawrence
Willesley	James	Thomas	Thomas	
Willington	Mary	Michael	Michael	Michael
Wingerworth	Nicholas		ASts/Mich/Mary	All Saints
Winster	John Baptist		John Baptist	John Baptist
Wirksworth	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Wormhill	Margaret	Margaret	Margaret	Margaret
Yeaveley	Mary		Holy Trinity	Holy Trinity
Youlgreave	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints	All Saints

C16 = Evidence from wills

Ecton = J. Ecton, *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, (1742)

Cox = J.C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (London 1875-79) 4 vols

Year Book = *The Derby Diocesan Year Book and Clergy List 1989-1990*

The references below are to the wills from parishes in which there has been a change in the dedication of their churches since the sixteenth century.

LWO = Lichfield Joint Record Office B/C/11 original wills

LWCR = Lichfield Joint Record Office B/C/10i register of copy wills 1516-26

PROB11/= PRO, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will

Allestree

LWO Alice Hawgh 1545, Elizabeth Hardy 1547,

William Sadlar 1541, Robert Smyth 1541,

William Sowter 1544, William Taberer 1535

Aston upon Trent

LWO Edmund Heyteley 1538, Isabel Hoppekas

1539, Thomas Rygeley 1539

Atlow

LWO William Norman 1534

Barlborough

LWO John Bollesover 1543, Nicholas Jonson

1537, Thomas Johnson 1539, Thomas Macham

1539, Thomas Mapples 1545, Nicholas Macher

1549, Anne Sclater 1545

## Barlow

LWO Thomas Clark 1562, Robert Fentam 1555, Henry Fentam 1557, Philip Fentnam 1560, Laurence Hancoke 1561, Robert Moer 1537, James Moore 1555, Richard Mason 1560, John Maden 1567, John Newton 1555, Ralph Needham 1566

## Barrow upon Trent

LWO John Gilbert 1542, Robert Hyed 1549, Robert Porter 1547

## Beighton

see reference 27; no longer in the county or diocese of Derby

## Belper

LWO Thomas Sacheverell 1534

## Brailsford

LWO John Hone 1534, Robert Hasthurst 1538, Richard Hone 1541, Nicholas Marston 1540, John Morley 1555, William Pendylbere 1538, William Wetton 1541

## Brampton

LWO Godfrey Asche 1560, John Bradbury 1544, William Bower 1556, William Bradbure 1556, Elizabeth Bradbure 1566, Edward Bramall 1572, John Cryelow 1543, William Challener 1553, Thomas Cawltton 1554, Humphrey Croft 1547, Thomas Foljambe 1560, John Garot 1556, Joan Grevys 1557, Robert Hertley 1541, Thomas Hay 1542, Richard Heath 1543, John Stevynson 1534, John Shaw 1538, John Thryst 1566

## Brassington

William Bucston 1541, John Cryelow 1541, Thomas Lawne 1545

## Carsington

LWO Ralph Gell 1547, Jane Stone 1547

## Chaddesden

LWO Robert Bannyster 1544, William Harryson 1538, William Newton 1540

## Chellaston

LWO Agnes Peyrson 1539, Robert Peyrson 1539, William Peyrson 1539

## Chesterfield

too numerous to list here but virtually all the wills, surviving at Lichfield, proved between 1533 and 1560 and published in J.M. Bestall and D.V. Fowkes ed., *Chesterfield Wills and Inventories*, Derbyshire Record Society I (1977) 2-98, attest that the dedication was then to All Saints. Church Broughton

LWO Hugh Challener 1542, Elizabeth Chalner 1545, John Phelype 1559

## Clifton

see reference 10

## Clowne

LWO William Hopkynson 1543, Thomas Palfreyman 1539

## Dale

LWO Thomas Bronlow 1554, Robert Whetley 1545, William Wynfeld 1557

## Edensor

LWO Anne Greensmyth 1558, Thomas Heyward 1560, Philip Lees 1543, Thomas Marple 1558, James Marple 1560, John Newton 1537, Richard Slater 1560

## Elmton

LWO Richard Bridges 1549, Thomas Procter 1551, John Procter 1555

## Elton

LWO Edmond Broxon 1559, Margaret Broxope 1565, Henry Newton 1557, Ralph Wayne 1540, Richard Whyte 1550

## Elvaston

LWO Ellys Potter 1534, Robert Smeythley 1536

## Eyam

LWO Roger Rolande 1536

## Foremark

see reference 11

## Hartshorne

LWO Ralph Benchekyn 1550

## Hatton

see reference 9

## Hayfield

PROB11/21, 37 Guy Rawlinson 1525

## Heage

PROB11/14, 36 William Salford

## Heanor

LWO John Dayne 1545, John Dawkyn 1559

## Horsley

Richard Robenson 1537, John Stonysle 1535

## Kedleston

LWO William Curson 1547

## Killamarsh

LWO Nicholas Atckyng 1559, Thomas Brammell 1559, Constance Bartram 1566, Henry Furthe 1562

## Kirk Ireton

LWO Henry Brownelowe 1539, John Keyne 1536, William Storer 1536

## Lea

LWO John Ball 1534

## Longford

LWO Thomas Kay 1539

- Melbourne  
see reference 29
- Mickleover  
LWO Cecile Alte 1542, Thomas Robynson 1553
- Morley  
LWO Philip Collyschaw 1559, Henry Roper 1543
- Morton  
LWO Ellys Farnsworth 1535
- Newbold  
LWO Thomas Foxe 1536
- Norbury  
see reference 27
- North Wingfield  
LWO John Lawe 1536
- Ockbrook  
LWO Elyn Adam 1557
- Osmaston by Derby  
LWO William Grane 1547, Christopher Longley 1558, John Thaker 1533, Ellen Thakker 1540, Robert Toridge 1542
- Pentrich  
LWO Nicholas Bradbury 1555, George Gardiner 1562, Thomas Kyrkeland 1547, Henry Proctor c.1539, Peter Perteton 1545
- Pinxton  
LWO Ellis Farnworth 1540, Agnes Hoscroft 1539, James Newton 1547
- Pleasley  
LWO Thomas Chastyevon 1534, Thomas Clarke 1544, Robert Caulton 1547, Robert Hynchlyff 1545, John Hollyns 1558, Richard Kechen 1539, Thomas Jepson 1545, Robert Sawnson 1541 and 1543, Nicholas Sansome 1558, John Watson 1562
- Scarcliffe  
LWO William Alen 1542, Nicholas Cropper 1539, John Heath 1543, John Kestewyn 1535, Nicholas Kechen 1537, William Peyse 1539, William Reson 1542, Richard Rokley 1543, Robert Rowson 1543, William Symon 1542, John Wodhous 1539, Agnes Woodhouse 1542
- Shirley  
LWCR William Poope 1518, LWO Robert Gant 1540, John Long 1547, Richard Masgent 1540, John Pegge 1540
- Smalley  
LWO Robert Holland Our Lady, Roland Tayler 1537 churchyard of St Peter
- Smisby  
LWO Robert Herryson 1542, William Kendale 1543, Nicholas Mogg 1546
- Somersal Herbert  
LWO Richard Yrlonde 1544
- South Normanton  
LWO William Mellars 1536, William Webster 1539
- Spondon  
LWCR Thomas Byrde 1524, LWO William Wedowson 1534, Henry Owtram 1545, Richard Smeythley 1544
- Staveley see reference 29
- Temple Normanton  
LWCR Thomas Leeke 1523
- Tibshelf  
LWO Margery Assebroke 1558, Thomas Brelford 1560, Richard Clarke 1540 Thomas Clarke 1541, Humphrey Clarke 1559, Richard Hareson 1544, Roger Renold 1541, Christopher Reynald 1557
- Walton upon Trent  
LWO Ralph Smythe 1534, Raffe Tayler 1562
- West Hallam  
LWO Lawrence Doghtye 1543, Cecele Laughton 1537, Matthew Staley 1543
- Weston upon Trent  
LWO James Rolston 1544, William Hall 1545; in the latter will the saint's name appears to be spelt Tylwary but is clearly Hilary in the former will
- Whitwell  
LWO Thomas Bonyvant 1545, John Fox 1541, John Nelson 1545, Ralph Rodes 1539, John Taylor 1534
- Willesley  
LWO John Goopsel 1541
- Willington LWO  
Margery Baker 1557, Henry Boylston 1557
- Wingerworth LWO  
Joan Broke 1551, Nicholas Bywater 1553
- Yeaveley  
LWO John Harde 1536, Nicholas Sutton 1535