

THE DERBY 'TOWN CHRONICLE' 1513–1698

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The content of the 'town chronicle' of Derby, covering the 16th and 17th centuries, has long been familiar to the students of Derby's past through the medium of the major histories of the borough, written in the 18th and early 19th centuries, by William Woolley, William Hutton, Robert Simpson and Stephen Glover. Their work has been used, usually uncritically and with vague, passing references to 'Derby's annals', by writers on the town's past to the present day. As a consequence the form and origin of this important source for the borough's early modern history has, on the whole, been overlooked. The aim of this piece is, therefore, to remedy these defects by attempting a critical reconstruction and assessment of this town chronicle and describing and evaluating its role in Derby's historiography.

The early historians of Derby exploited a town chronicle typical of its genre in that it consisted of a year by year list of the borough's chief officers, first bailiffs, then mayors, interspersed with annals of significant events under the appropriate bailiffship or mayoralty. Yet they disguised their use of this source by separating the lists of the chief officers from the annals, generally incorporating the latter into their more extensive chronologies of Derby's history. As a result, perhaps, of their methods, Charles Gross overlooked this record in 1897 when he listed surviving town chronicles in his bibliography of municipal history, though Alan Dyer in 1977 recognised that a chronicle had been subsumed into the text of Simpson's book¹.

William Woolley was the first to use the chronicle in his *History of Derbyshire* (c. 1712–15). Like a good deal of his section of Derby, and unlike the rest of his work, his version of it was based on his own research rather than his exploitation of the collections for a county history made by Samuel Sanders (d. 1688). Woolley was also the first historian of Derby to separate the lists of bailiffs and mayors from the annals. His book remained in manuscript until recently, though the Lysons and Stephen Glover in the early 19th century, who also made use of the annals in their works on the town, had access to copies of it.² William Hutton and Richard Simpson, writing in 1791 and 1826 respectively, appear to have used transcriptions of the town chronicle independently of one another and without reference to Woolley's earlier efforts. Both, like Woolley, separated the lists of the bailiffs and mayors from the annals, but, unlike him, enhanced and extended the annals with additional material. Pilkington also published extracts from the annals of the town chronicle in 1789.³

The works of Woolley, Hutton and Simpson, and to a lesser extent Pilkington and Glover, have been important by providing in print, and thereby preserving, the text of the Derby town chronicle because the original manuscript (or manuscripts) has disappeared without trace. It has usually been assumed that it was part of the borough's muniments and so perished along with the bulk of the town's records in the fire which gutted the Guildhall in the early hours of Thursday 21 October 1841, though this hypothesis depends on inferring that there was only ever one copy of it and that it existed

in this particular archive, all of which cannot be proved.⁴ On the other hand the efforts of these early historians of the town have resulted in a number of difficulties. First, their separation of the officer lists from the annals has resulted in an inaccurate chronology of the town's history, for they failed to make clear in their texts that the lists and annals followed a system of dating from Michaelmas (29 September) to Michaelmas, the term of office of the bailiffs and mayors after their election, and not from 1 January to 31 December. The uncritical use of their works has resulted in the perpetuation of inaccuracies to the present time.⁵ Yet the major problem is the marked differences between the texts of the town chronicle provided by the printed versions.

When compared to Simpson's rendering, William Woolley's transcription of the annals from the chronicle appears complete to the late 1630s, but thereafter its coverage is a mere fraction of the former. James Pilkington provided selections from the annals, omitting the accounts of many years covered by both Woolley and Simpson.⁶ A comparison of Hutton's version with those by Woolley and Simpson reveals many differences in wording. It is clearly a translation of the original into what he considered more stylish prose rather than a transcription. He also added material not found in other renderings of the annals, yet failed to indicate the origin of these addenda. For example, he appends under 1665 an account of a visitation of the plague in Derby and, under 1676, the story of Noah Bullock and his ark on the Derwent. In both cases there are reasons to doubt Hutton's veracity, a reflection of his dubious merits as Derby's 'first historian'.⁷ Simpson also added supplementary material to the annals but carefully distinguished his sources and, except for one case, under 1592, avoided confusion between them.⁸

The task of recovering an accurate text of the town chronicle is alleviated by the existence of a manuscript version, made by Adam Woolley (1758–1827), extant among his Derbyshire collections in the British Library. Though he had a manuscript copy of his earlier kinsman's book, an introductory note within his version makes it clear that it represents an independent transcription.⁹ Its annals in quality are as full as Simpson's and in language close to both William Woolley's and Simpson's efforts. His work lacks the vagaries of Hutton and the selectiveness of Pilkington. The versions by William Woolley, Adam Woolley and Richard Simpson consequently alone bear critical examination with a view to getting back as closely as possible to the original or originals.

Even between these three there is some unevenness in quality. Adam Woolley is the most accurate in listing the names of the bailiffs and mayors of Derby. Simpson copied the lists published by Hutton whereas those provided by Hutton and William Woolley contain several names which other sources show to be misreadings.¹⁰ As for the contents of the annals, there are few major differences between the three versions. William Woolley's rendering, as noted above, become attenuated after 1639. On the other hand his edition provides a few entries which do not appear in Simpson and Adam Woolley, though, even before 1639, it also contains omissions and one misreading.¹¹ A comparison between Simpson's reading and Adam Woolley's throws up both a number of missing entries and two differences over the year of occurrence in the former.¹² Any additions in Simpson's text can be shown to have originated from sources other than the town chronicle.

The text in Adam Woolley's manuscript collection is not only superior to the other two which are available in print, but is also the only source which proves that the annals that he transcribed were written on a roll containing the names of bailiffs and mayors.

Even so, it should not be taken as an absolutely accurate rendering of the original available to him. First, his layout has created problems. The original roll that he borrowed possibly had annal entries after or by the names of the bailiffs and mayors year by year, but Adam Woolley's rendering does not make this certain. He placed short annal entries by the appropriate names of the borough's senior officers but space did not permit longer notices to be so positioned. As he himself explained,

Such Historical notes as are therein made [*in the roll*], and could not be herein inserted against their respective years, I have here subjoined,

that is on separate folios of his manuscript. As a result short entries under one year became separated from longer ones. This practice has resulted in some confusion about the order in which entries in the original manuscript fell.¹³ Appendix 1 below is an attempt to reconstruct the roll, containing the town chronicle, by naming the chief officers of the borough first followed by an entry provided under the year of their term of office. Its accuracy is obviously to some extent guesswork for want of the original document.

In addition, the three versions contain so many major differences in wording and phrasing that it is apparent that none of their authors attempted to produce accurate transcriptions along the lines of modern editorial practice. The edition of the annals below should, therefore, be considered as only an approximate rendering of the original (or originals), used by the Woolleys and Simpson, containing its meaning and details but not necessarily its exact wording.

The three major versions of the annals virtually agree as to their terminal date: 1698–99.¹⁴ Yet the practice of producing short mayoral annals appears to have continued. In Samuel Pegge's manuscript collections there is a printed list of mayors from 1638 to 1736, published at Derby in 1737. Apart from brief references to major national events, such as the execution of Charles I and the Great Fire of London, it adds nothing, down to 1698, to what can be found collectively in the three major, and usually more detailed, versions.¹⁵ Another set of short annals occurs in the manuscript of Samuel Sanders's Derbyshire Collections. They are headed 'Extracts in the Mayoralty copied from my father's book' and are written in the hand of Godfrey Meynell (1779–1854). John Meynell (d. 1802), his father, clearly copied his annals from the list of mayors 1638–1736, and he and then his son extended them down to 1817.¹⁶ These short notes, excluding the names of the mayors and the period 1638–98, are collected together in Appendix 2.

Pilkington, Simpson and Adam Woolley all agree that the manuscript they each used was a parchment roll. Pilkington and Simpson claim that it had been written 'by different attorneys of the town of Derby'. Adam Woolley is more specific,

... it seemingly was wrote by one Edward Brooke who was one of the attorneys of the Borough Court from the beginning to the year 1680 inclusive, and then the residue to the conclusion is continued by another hand.

The roll was in the possession of Mr William Fallows, attorney-at-law in Derby, when he lent it to Adam Woolley for copying on 18 October 1776.¹⁷ What is not clear is the exact part of these attorneys in its production, particularly that of Edward Brooke. Did he draw up it anew to his own times by dint of his own historical research among the records

then available in the borough? Were additions then made by later attorneys? Or did Brooke transcribe an earlier roll of bailiffs and mayors which already contained annals by previous attorneys and add his own part to them, a practice then, perhaps, followed by successors?

These questions cannot be definitively answered, but a few observations can be made. First, as William Woolley's transcription contains so little material after 1639 and, as a whole, diverges more in substance from those made by Adam Woolley and Simpson, it is possible that his was based on a manuscript source different from that used by the other two. If that were so, it might suggest that, as in other places, there were a number of contemporary versions of the chronicle, one of which fell into William Woolley's hands and another of which was acquired by Edward Brooke who added much longer notices for the 1660s and 1670s from which Simpson and Adam Woolley both benefited. On the other hand William Woolley's variant text might be explained as the result of editorial decisions he made about the same manuscript later used by the other antiquarians.

There are certain pointers which might suggest a single authorship of the town chronicle but these are not conclusive. Its annals are at their fullest in Adam Woolley's and Simpson's transcriptions for the years immediately preceding and during Brooke's attorneyship, yet are at their thinnest for most of the 16th century, the period most remote from his own. This suggests that he was better able to write of times within his own memory and those of older contemporaries. However, this supposition fails to take into account the uneven pattern of the annals in all the versions. From 1599 the entries are certainly more frequent in number but not regular in content and by year. There are fairly detailed annals for most of the years of the first two decades of the 17th century, but there are only two short entries for the third decade. In the 1630s the entries are more frequent but thin, in the 1640s few in number and more detailed and in the 1650s few and limited in scope. This irregularity might suggest that Brooke was the victim of uneven written sources or that he had at his disposal an earlier town chronicle which had been irregularly annotated with annals. The last premise fits a pattern, noted by Alan Dyer for other towns: that of two distinct periods for the compilation of such sources, one in the late 16th and early 17th centuries and the other during the second half of the 17th century.¹⁸ The older version tended to be continued by a new author, resulting in a gap with few entries between the two halves. Though it cannot be proved, the shape and, to some extent, the content of the Derby town chronicle suggests that it had two main compilers, the first working in the first two decades of the 17th century who was able only to provide a thin coverage for most of the 16th century, and Edward Brooke who continued it down to 1680–81.

Edward Brooke is the only individual in the annals referred to in the first person, supporting, at least, his partial authorship. In 1672 he recorded his acquisition of the borough's freedom to enable him to continue his trade of maltster in the town and in 1674 his appointment as an attorney in the borough court. His acquisition of this office might have provided him with the interest in corporation affairs, necessary to motivate him to continue the town chronicle, as well as giving him access to the requisite borough records. If this hypothesis is correct, it suggests that his part in the chronicle's compilation should be dated between 1674 and his death in 1682.

Brooke was a parishioner of St Werburgh parish for his traceable life, though he was married at St Alkmund Church on 16 October 1656 to Elizabeth Hankinson. He was

churchwarden and overseer of the poor of St Werburgh parish in 1659–60 and regularly signed the vestry order book in the 1660s and 1670s. He was assessed for two hearths there in the Hearth Tax assessment of 1670. The parish register contains references to the baptisms of his children and notices of his burial on 21 March 1682 and that of his wife on 29 April 1688. His will, dated 17 July 1681 and proved 3 June 1682, describes him as a maltster. His inventory, taken 23 March 1682, shows him to have been a burgess of substance with an estate valued at £357/10/6d, of which £164/8/- represented malt in stock. It also reveals him to have been a man of some education and refinement. One room in his house was a study with a desk, table, chairs, glass case and reading stand among other furnishings. In his will he bequeathed his books, including several volumes of Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum*, published between 1669 and 1676, but excluding his three Bibles, to Thomas, his son, then an undergraduate at St John's College, Cambridge. His possession of Poole's work, assuming that he read it or was even capable of doing so, indicates a man possessed of advanced Latinity with an interest in the most recent biblical scholarship. He or his son had some social pretensions because Thomas was entered in his college register as the son of 'Edward Brook, gentleman'. The only reference to his position as a borough attorney in his probate records is to a debt of £6 'from the court book'.¹⁹

The chronicle gives little away about the sources Brooke and his possible predecessor(s) and successors used. Little or no advantage seems to have been made of the registers of the town's five parishes. Those for St Alkmund and All Saints parishes contain several notices of general interest and, although there is some overlap in content between them and entries in the annals, it is too slight to prove that they provided a source for the annalist. As a borough attorney, Brooke presumably had access to the records of the corporation. Many of the items in the annals can be accounted for as the type of material that might be found in the court and corporation records of a borough which had the privileges enjoyed by Derby. Yet the absence of an extensive archive for the borough, particularly the loss of the Hall books, prevents proof of this hypothesis. The report of the River Derwent drying up appears to have been taken from a pamphlet, published in 1661, about the remarkable events of the previous year. This occurrence is the only one, traced so far, which can be assigned to a printed source with any confidence. Finally the annalists might have exploited their own memories of those of their contemporaries, but, of course, proof is lacking.²⁰

The subject matter of the annals in the chronicle is narrow in scope and concentrates on matters unusual, spectacular and violent. It does not provide an account of the normal life, activities and rhythms of an early modern town, but lists events which disrupted these patterns. Foremost among entries are reports of riots, crimes including suicides, and punishments. Following shortly behind are comments relating to the corporation and its officers: not to their administrative and judicial routines but to the deaths of bailiffs and mayors while serving their terms, legal conflicts to defend property and rights, the renewal of charters and disputed elections. Almost as frequent are notices about violent aberrations in weather conditions and the destruction wrought by them. Plagues and fires are reported in the same vein. There are also a number of entries concerning interruptions to the normal procedures of holding assizes and Quarter Sessions in the town, the deaths of notables in some way connected to the borough, elections of burgesses to Parliament and benefactions to the borough. On the other hand

few national events are recorded, or even notable occurrences in Derbyshire. The attention of the annals lies in secular, rather than in religious and ecclesiastical, affairs, despite their coverage of a period of religious controversy, division and strife. Their chief focus is on the borough and its corporation.

Though the content of the annals is limited in scope, wherever it can be checked against other sources, it can be verified throughout its coverage. For example, the erection of two gallows, entered under 1534–35, was the somewhat delayed consequence of an act of Parliament passed in the spring of 1532 which required corporate towns to maintain or build their own goals and ordered the establishment of a county gaol for Derbyshire. As a consequence one gallows was needed for the town and another for the county. Its report of John Marriott's suicide under the year 1554–55 is confirmed by a note of his burial with details of his death in the parish register of St Alkmund, though the date there is given as 14 June 1556. The account of a popish scare and the sounding of the alarm under 1 December 1678 is supported by a letter, dated 7 December 1678 from the mayor of Derby to the lords of the committee of Examinations. The removal of Leonard Sadd as mayor by royal command in 1688 is confirmed by an order of the Privy Council, dated Whitehall, 2 January 1688.²¹

Yet what would appear to be a strength of the annals underlined another limitation. Far more is usually learnt about the same events from other sources than from the cursory entries of the Derby town chronicle. As for those happenings which appear to be unique to it, they seem either trivial, such as brief notes on the weather, or so laconic that their complete significance cannot be discerned; for example, the performance of a play about Holofernes by the townsmen in 1572–73 and the corporation's controlled licensing of begging in 1608–09, the only comment in the chronicle on the town's efforts to cope with, perhaps, the major problem of early modern England: poverty and vagrancy. In the case of the former, was this a unique event or the beginning, continuation or end of a dramatic tradition? Was the play an example of a Protestant interlude? Its subject matter, the tyrannous Holofernes murdered in his bed by Judith, the virtuous and devout Jewess, anxious to save her people, might suggest as much. Did the play mark an important stage in the development of Protestantism in the borough? It occurred at a time when other sources reveal growing Protestant influence in Derby.²² As for licensed begging, was this a continuation or change to the corporation's policy? Did the experiment work? Was it long-lived or not? What satisfied the annalist as a sufficient historical account for himself and those for whom he wrote, frustrates the modern historian. While he wrote of the town's past as cut and dried, disconnected happenings without a firm communal, local or national context, the latter aspires to detect trends with causes and consequences, changes and continuities within a wider historical framework.

Other sources reveal that the annals lack completeness and thoroughness, even in subjects in which they seem to take a particular interest. Though they note outbreaks of plague in 1586, 1592–93, 1637 and 1646, confirmed by burial entries of victims in the registers of the town's five parishes, they are silent about the most serious epidemic of the 16th century, that of 1557–58, which was still affecting Derby and surrounding parishes during an episcopal visitation held on 12 July 1558.²³ The renewal of the royal charters to the borough by James I, Charles I and Charles II is mentioned, but none of those issued by the Tudors is referred to, not even the grant of 1554, made by Mary I, which considerably extended the corporation's estate. The establishment of some borough

charities by various benefactors, but by no means all, is recorded. The most prominent omission is the foundation of the Devonshire almshouses in 1599 by Bess of Hardwick, even though the corporation had made several concessions to her in order to further her project. Charles I's visits to the town in 1636 and 1642 are noted, but not the one he made while still heir to the throne, with his father, in 1624.²⁴ The latter occurred when entries in the annals for the 1620s are few. Unusual things happened in Derby in periods when the annals are silent; there was simply no effort to record them, a testament to the deficiencies of this source. This point is underlined by the entries concerning deaths in suspicious circumstances and suicides in the parish registers of All Saints and St Alkmund which are not matched in the annals, even though a number occurred at times when the annals are more detailed.²⁵

The terseness of entries results in misleading information. Under 1615–16 and 1617–18 a suit between the corporation and the duchy of Lancaster is recorded, inaccurate as to the parties involved and the period of the dispute. The case was actually between the bailiffs and burgesses of the town and the tenants and other inhabitants of the manors of the duchy of Lancaster. The latter claimed that they should be toll-free in the markets and fairs of the borough under royal privileges granted to Edmund Crouchback earl of Lancaster (d. 1296) and his successors, whereas the borough was anxious to defend its liberties granted by royal charters. A bill of complaint against two duchy tenants who had refused to pay their tolls had been made by the corporation to the court of Exchequer as early as 1600. The bailiffs entered another bill against more tenants to the same court in the Trinity Term of 1610, but the dispute came to a climax between 1615 and 1617. When the corporation used its power of distraint on the goods of two duchy tenants in 1615–16 for refusal to pay tolls, they, in response, launched a well organised campaign against it with the support of other tenants and backed by a campaign fund to cover the legal costs. The bailiffs and burgesses were sued in the chamber court of the duchy of Lancaster, their privileges and liberties under serious threat. The corporation replied with yet another complaint to the court of Exchequer in the Hilary Term of 1617. This court declared in support of the borough's right to raise tolls, though at adjusted and somewhat reduced rates, yet the case was still being contested by duchy tenants in 1620.²⁶

Another example of terse, misleading information in the annals occurs under the year 1539–40. Both Adam Woolley and Richard Simpson refer to 'the Earl of Shrewsbury, a Ward to the Town', undoubtedly a misreading of the original which, as William Woolley had it, was 'award'. The significance of the entry only becomes meaningful in the light of a petition, dated 15 September 1603, from the corporation of Derby to Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury, concerning its internal disputes over leasing burgesses' common rights and consequent enclosure 'riots'. The petition refers to an award made by the fifth earl (1538–60) and others which established a common council of twenty-four to represent the interests of all burgesses and to deliberate with the two bailiffs and twenty-four brethren in the running of the corporation's affairs. It was clearly a major development in the constitutional history of the borough, one that would be overlooked if only the annals were available.²⁷

All these deficiencies might suggest that Derby's town chronicle has remarkably little interest and worth. When compared with the fuller late medieval chronicles of London or with Robert Ricart's *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar* their limitations, particularly their brevity, are further highlighted. Yet they are not useless and ought not to be

dismissed out of hand. No historian of Derby can afford such an extravagant gesture when the surviving corporation archive is so thin. They, at least, offer a minimal substitute for the hall books and other records lost in the Guildhall fire of 1841. Their existence, albeit in secondary format, places Derby firmly within the earliest English urban historiographical tradition, that of producing chronological lists of chief officers interspersed with annalistic notes. They provide a fairly typical example of the genre. Their period of coverage is not unusual. They were usually written by town officials, like Edward Brooke, and continued by their successors, as in the case of the Derby annals.²⁸

As in all examples of this type, the Derby town chronicle reflects the eclectic interests and interpretations of what was important to its author(s) in his times, and beyond this, perhaps, the preoccupations of his contemporaries, particularly the leading members of the community. Though as historical literature it is crude, it is an authentic voice from, and, to some extent, representing an early modern community and its then perceived needs for history. It furnished the town's magistrates and officials with a rough and ready index of past officials, problems, practices and controversies, establishing thereby a communal past. It provided leading families with a *cursus honorum* in which to take pride or to which to aspire.

The chronicle also reveals a change in the focus of attention of its author and, perhaps, its intended readership. Before 1640 its contents are almost entirely inward-looking but from that time are less so. For example, not one parliament or parliamentary election is mentioned before but from 1640 several are, including one county by-election and the elections in the borough during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. How one should account for a greater concern for wider issues is less clear. It might reflect a shift of urban perceptions or a change to a new annalist (Brooke) or the effects of the constitutional upheavals between Crown and Parliament or, more particularly, the political divisiveness of the Exclusion Crisis of 1678–81.

The chronicle is the starting point of Derby's historiography. Not only that, it has continued to have an influence on the writing of history about the town. Though the histories of William Hutton and Robert Simpson were much wider in scope, both were dependent on the chronicle for lists of bailiffs and mayors and for much of their chronological accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries which again saw Derby's past in terms of events rather than trends. It is probably fair to say that, in the absence of a published modern scholarly history of the borough, knowledge of Derby in the early modern period has not greatly advanced since the chronicle's composition.

In addition its details possess much that is of value in an assessment of the town's past. The starting date of the annals (1513–14) is of note. Perhaps this reflected the coverage of the municipal records available to Brooke and his possible predecessor; that by the time of their composition the borough had already lost whatever medieval archive it had had. When Jeayes listed the borough records at the turn of the century, admittedly after the Guildhall fire, he found nothing earlier than a deed dated 30 September 1511.²⁹

The chronicle, above all, is a mine of facts. From it we know that Derby possessed the typical attributes of a chartered, market town. It had a town hall with its bell and a town gaol and gallows. It had mayors, bailiffs, aldermen and brethren, sometimes riven by dispute, and the symbols of authority, such as maces. However brief an entry, a fact is provided which can be used. That about the performance of a play in 1572–73, even

though we might like to know more, actually marks the first traced and recorded reference to the dramatic arts in Derby.

Entries collectively provide insights into the urban environment of the early modern period, such as the occasional intrusion of gentry-led violence on the town's streets down to the early 17th century, despite the efforts of the Tudor state to curb such activities. The chronicle underlines the power and influence of the local magnate, first the earls of Shrewsbury and then the earls of Devonshire, in the town's polity, usually as its patron and high steward. The notices of enclosure riots in 1590–91, 1603 and 1674–75 emphasise the importance of common rights to the burgesses as well as their determination to preserve them and the relationship between an urban society and the land in still a primarily agrarian economy. The accounts of fires, floods and tempests are a reminder of the vulnerability of an urban community at this time to the elements which, in the case of flooding in Derby, lasted well into this century. All these examples, and others which could be drawn, demonstrate that the Derby town chronicle is a historical source which should be treated with some respect.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations used

BL	British Library
DLSL	Derby Local Studies Library
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
LJRO	Lichfield Joint Record Office
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
PRO	Public Record Office

1. C. Gross, *A Bibliography of British Municipal History* (2nd edn, G. H. Martin, repr. Leicester, 1966), xxi–xxiii; A. Dyer, 'English Town Chronicles', *The Local Historian* xii (May 1977), 291.
2. C. Glover and P. Riden (eds.), *William Woolley's History of Derbyshire*, Derbyshire Record Society vi (1981), xxi–xxxii, xl–xlii, xlviii–l, 43–48, 49–52 [henceforth Woolley]; D. Lysons and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia, Derbyshire* (London, 1817), 110; S. Glover, *A History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby* (Derby, 1833), ii.
3. W. Hutton, *A History of Derby down to 1791* (Derby, 1791), 96–101, 188–98; R. Simpson, *A Collection of Fragments illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Derby, compiled from many sources* (Derby, 1826), i, 63–116, 556–60, 744–46; J. Pilkington, *A View of the present State of Derbyshire* (1789), ii, 182–87.
4. M. Craven, *Derby, an illustrated history* (Derby 1988), 47; *Derby Mercury*, Wed. 27 October 1841 in which it is reported that a full list of papers, destroyed in the fire, would be drawn up. No such list was reported in the published council minutes thereafter nor has any other report of the destruction of the town chronicle in this fire been traced. Similar chronicles from other towns and cities often ended up in private possession after being kept in the papers of borough officials who were usually their authors. In some cities, e.g. Bristol, Chester and Shrewsbury, multiple contemporary versions of their town chronicle existed. Perhaps an 'original' from Derby might yet emerge. V. Gross, xix, xxi, xxii; Dyer, 286; Alfred E. Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* (1894) xix, 105–06.

5. For example, Craven, 47, 52–53, 58 (Charles I's charter was issued in 1638, not 1637), 73 (the year was 1688, not 1687).
6. 1554, 1560, 1568, 1572, 1590, 1592–93, 1595, 1599, 1601–02, 1609, 1611, 1614–18, 1621, 1623, 1633, 1640, 1650, 1662, 1664, 1668–71, 1673, 1674–75, 1679.
7. Craven, 105; part of Hutton's account of the supposed plague of 1665 appears to be taken from Edmund Calamy's account of the life of John Crompton, ejected from the vicarage of Arnold in 1662 but from 1636 Dr Wilmot's assistant at All Saints, Derby, that is, present in the town when there was plague in 1637; see Hutton, 194; E. Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, who were ejected and silenced after the Restoration in 1660 by or before the Act of Uniformity* (London, 1712), ii, 534.
8. See 1592, note 24.
9. BL, Add. MS 6705, 98b.
10. Simpson, 560, Hutton, 96–101; in every case, except perhaps one, in which others sources are available for consultation, Adam Woolley's reading has proved the more accurate. The only exception seems to be Smith, bailiff in 1583, 1593 and 1601 whose Christian name was rendered as Edmund by Adam Woolley but who was probably Edward; see notes to the annals, *passim*.
11. For additions in William Woolley's version see under 1601, 1610, 1634, 1660, and 1698; for a misreading see under 1614; for omissions see under 1590, 1608, 1617, 1635, 1637 and 1638.
12. For omissions in Simpson see under 1592, 1609, 1635, 1637, 1638, 1645, 1658, 1659, 1683; for differences of year see under 1602 and 1653.
13. BL, Add. MS 6705, 99–102; for problems about the order of entries see under 1554, 1599, 1604, 1607, 1608, 1674, 1678.
14. William Woolley's last year is actually 1699 but this is owing to a mistake in his mayoral list for 1692, putting his dating one year out, Woolley, 47, 52, 219.
15. College of Arms, Pegge MS, v, 445.
16. Woolley, Microfiche, Sanders Collections, 67v; Woolley, xxvi–xxvii.
17. Pilkington, 182; Simpson, 64; BL, Add. MS 6705, 98b.
18. Dyer, 286.
19. DRO, Derby, St Werburgh, Churchwardens' and Overseers' Account Book 1598–1718; David G. Edwards, *Derbyshire Hearth Tax assessments 1662–70*, Derbyshire Record Society vii (1982), 90; DLSL, Names index under Edward Brooke and Edward Brooke; LJRO, Original Wills B/C/11 Edward Brooke 1682; *Dictionary of National Biography*, v. Poole, Matthew 1624–79; J.E.B. Mayor, *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1882), part 2, 73.
20. Cox, iv, 99–101, 125–26; College of Arms, Pegge MS Vol. 5, 475; *Mirabilis Annus* (n.p., 1661), 59 (*Short Title Catalogue 1641–1700*, 2203). In the Pegge MS is an account of a whirlwind which struck Derby 11 November 1662, taken from *Mirabilis Annus Secundus* (London, 1662), 20. The account of this event in the chronicle is not sufficiently similar to indicate that the annalist had access to this particular printed source.
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26. PRO, Exchequer bills and answers E112/9/86, E112/75/135, E112/75/135, E112/75/146, E112/75/154.
27. LPL, Talbot MSS 3203, 115.
28. Gross, xxi–xxiii; Dyer, 285–91; Peter Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community: Antiquarianism and the English City before 1800', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), 105–14.
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APPENDIX 1

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TOWN CHRONICLE OF DERBY

The punctuation, or its absence, in the Woolley MS has been followed, though suspensions and abbreviations in the text have been rendered in full whereas the word *and* between the two bailiffs named in each year has been omitted. Thorn appears as th. Minor differences between the different texts of the annals which have no relevance to the meaning or factual accuracy of the entries have been omitted. The folio references in the text refer to the placing of entries in the Woolley MS. The abbreviations W, S and SA refer to the works of William Woolley and Simpson and to the Sander's Manuscript, for which full references occur in the footnotes above.

92v A True Catalogue of the Bailiffs of the Borough of Derby from the 5th Year of the reign of King Henry 8th to the 13th year of King Charles I when the Charter was renewed and the Borough had a Mayor, instead of 2 bailiffs.

1513 John Brownell Thomas Bartholomew

1514 John Stringer Christopher Thacker

Derby Assizes and the Sheriffs County Court held at the Market Cross.¹

1515 Robert Liversage William Farrington

1516 Edmund Walker [W, 43 S, 556 *Edward*]² Robert [S, 556 *John*] Jepson

1517 James Oxeley Robert [W, 43 *Rodger*] Haye

1518 William Woodhouse John Johnson

1519 Nicholas Orchard [W, 43 *Orchus*]³ Thomas Parre

1520 Roger Moore Thomas Walker

1521 Thomas Bartholomew John Storerre

1522 Thomas Harould [S, 556 *Harnold* W, 43 *Harwood*] Thomas Parker

1523 Roger Smith Hugh Walker

1524 Robert Liversage John Brookhouse

1525 Robert Jepson Oliver Thacker⁴

1526 Robert Yorke Elias Cooper

93 1527 Nicholas Orchard [W, 43 *Orchous* W, 43] Roger [W, 43 *Robert*] Haye

1528 Roger Moore Thomas Warde

1529 Richard Ilsley Thomas Blackshaw [W, 43 *Bradshaw*; S, 556 *Blockshaw*]

1530 Thomas Bartholomew John Storerre

1531 Thomas Walker Thomas Parker

1532 Roger Smith John Brookhouse

1533 Robert Jepson John Johnson

1534 Christopher Thacker Robert Yorke

This year the two Gallows made to hang prisoners (Criminals) on

1535 Roger Haye Elias Cooper

First dissolution of the abbeyes about this time.

1536 Thomas Parre Thomas Warde⁵

1537 Thomas Ilsley Thomas Blackshaw [W, 43 *Bradshaw*]

1538 Oliver Thacker Robert Ragge

1539 Thomas Parker Richard Stringer

The Earl of Shrewbury, a Ward⁶ to the Town. Also much trouble about the Justices of peace sitting in the Town Hall.

1540 William Bradshaw Edward Turner

1541 William Allestrye William Hodgkinson⁷

1542 Robert Brookhouse William Smith

1543 Humphrey Sutton Edward Lenton

93v 1544 Thomas Warde William Buckley

1545 John Botham John Allsoppe

In this year Mr Gryffin was at St Peters Church, and would have taken Mr George Curzon away, being a Warde. The Towns Bell was rung and they resisted.

1546 Robert Ragge Thomas Storerre

1547 Richard Ward Robert Smith

1548 Richard Stringer William Bradshawe

1549 William Allestrye Richard Parkenson

1550 John Watson [W, 44 *Wadson* S, 557 *Wilson*]⁸ William Fletcher

1551 Richard Haye Anthony Bate

1552 Thomas Warde Edward [W, 44 *Richard*] Garton⁹ 1^o Mar Edward Garton

1553 Oliver Thacker Humphrey Sutton

1554 William Moore Thomas Walker

In this year John Marriott, a Priest, hanged himself in a Bell Rope in St Alkmund's Church.

99 Great Controversy betwixt Mr Bayliffes (id est The Bailiffs of Derby) and Humphrey Bentley for his lands.¹⁰

93v 1555 Richard Warde William Bembrigge¹¹

In this year Joane Waste was burned in Windmill pit.¹²

1556 William Bradshaw John Botham

a Great Dearth of Corn

1557 James Thacker Thomas Allsoppe

1558 William Allestrye Richard Doughtye

94 1559 Richard Parkynson Ralph Bentley

1560 Thomas Brookhouse Robert Stringer

In this year much matter about Mrs Groome [W, 49 *Mr Grouns*], touching Bradshaws wife's death

1561 Henry Yorke Robert Turner

1562 William Moore Robert Watson

1563 Richard Warde William Bembrigge

1564 William Aspinall Thomas [W, 44 *Robert*] Bate¹³

1565 Thomas Goulder William Bradshawe

1566 William Allestrye Anthony Bate

1567 John Botham Richard Doughtye¹⁴

1568 Thomas Allsoppe [W, 44 *Alestry*] Ralph Collyer

In this year the election was altered and 2 maintained in the Vestry by the 24th

1569 Ralph Bently William Wandell

1570 Thomas Brookhouse Richard Harrison

1571 Robert Stringer Ralph Haughton

1572 Henry Yorke Edward Bonsall

In this year Holofernes [W, 49 '*Holofernes*'] was played by the Townsmen¹⁵

1573 Robert Turner Robert Greaves

95v 1574 Robert Watson [W, 44 *Thomas Walkinson*]¹⁶ William Ballydon

1575 William Bembrigge Edward Turner

1576 Thomas Bate Thomas Walker

In this year a great number of persons assembled by Sir John Zouche and Sir Thomas Stanhope should have fought in the Towne, but were restrained by the Burgesses and ringing the Town's Bell.

1577 Thomas Goulder Thomas Ilsley

1578 William Allestrye Richard [S, 558 *Edward*] Fletcher¹⁷

1579 Richard Doughtye Thomas Campion

1580 Ralph Bentleye Robert Willimott

1581 William Wandell William Botham [S, 558 *Bolton*]¹⁸

1582 Robert Stringer Henry Worden [S, 558 *Woxden*]¹⁹

1583 Ralph Haughton Edmund [W, 44 *Edward*] Smith²⁰

1584 Henry [S, 558 *Thomas*]²¹ Yorke Robert Wood

1585 Edward Turner Richard Fletcher butcher

1586 Thomas Bate William Bentleye

In this year The Plague (was) in St Peter's Parish

1587 Thomas Walker Thomas Ilsley

In this year the Mary Bridge was broken and the Mills carried away with the water, which stood at the far end of the Bridge.

1588 Richard Doughtye Richard Fletcher mercer

In this year The great affray between Mr Vernon and Mr Langford's men. W, 49–50 adds *and were parted by the Burgers and ringing the town's bell.*

96 1589 Ralph Bentley Thomas Campion

1590 Robert Willimott William Botham

In this year Edward Smiths Corn was destroyed in the Siddalls²²

1591 Robert Stringer Thomas Fitch [W, 45 *Foucher*; S. 558 *Fritch*]²³

1592 Robert Wood Robert Brookhouse

In this year the great plague and mortality which began at Martinmass and ended at Michaelmas following²⁴

1593 Edward Turner Edmund [W, 45 *Edward*] Smith

In this year The great wind in Lent

1594 William Bentley Edmund Sleigh

1595 Thomas Walker Elias Hawkes [W, 45 *Hanks*]

In this year came £104 [W, 50 *£400*] given unto the Town by Sir Thomas Whyte.

1596 Thomas Ilsley John Parker

1597 Richard Fletcher Robert Brownell

1598 William Botham Nicholas Sleigh

1599 Robert Stringer James Osbourne

one Oker hanged himself²⁵ in the Town Hall, but not known how.

99 In this year the 4 Chamberlains put forth, also Mr Jackson dismissed from the Stewardship, and Mr Baxter was chosen in his place.²⁶

96 1600 Robert Wood Richard Haughton

1601 Edmund [W, 45 *Edward*; S, 559 *Robert*] Smith Thomas Bate

In this year on the 2d of January St Werburgh's Steeple fell down.²⁷

99 A great number of soldiers that came forth of Lincolnshire to the number of 200^d, to go to Ireland, set upon the Townsmen going to their prayers (being Sabbath Day) and were resisted by the Bailiffs, Burgesses and ringing of the Towns bell

96 1602 William Bentley Richard Porter [W, 45 *Potter*]²⁸

In this year²⁹ came the 2 Standing Cups with covers price £23–6–8 to Mr Bailiffs for ever, given by

Mr Walton, also he gave 100£ to 10 poor Occupiers for 4 years free loan.³⁰ A woman was burnt in Windmill pit for poysoning her husband³¹

1603 Thomas Walker Thomas Becke

99 In this year near about vii weeks before Michaelmas did the Burgesses begin to break open Commons.³²

96 1604 Edmund [S, 559 *Edward*] Sleigh William Potter

Mr Botham's gift of 100£ came to the Town.

99 The Burgesses continued their Rebellion. Justices of peace sent for to decide the matter. —Burgesses indicted at the Assises following — 3 or 4 committed to the Common Goal.³³

96v 1605 John Parker Peter Gerye

Mr John Needhams Cattle impounded for coming into [W, 50 *commoning in*] the Syddals by the Burgesses

1606 Robert Brownell Richard Wandell

The Devil in the Vault at Marston [S, 90 *Marton*]

1607 Robert Wood William Turner

A great frost this year. A hot fortnight about St Jamestide.

99 The witches of Bakewell hanged.³⁴ The Old Countess of Shrewsbury died about Candlemass this year, whose funeral about Holy Thursday.³⁵

96v 1608 Richard Haughton Gervase Sleigh

Mr Walthall's gift of 100£ came to the Town. St Werburghs Steeple finished this year.³⁶

99 In this year the Boxes made to hang with chains to poor men's Girdles, to beg withall.³⁷

96v 1609 Edmund [W, 45 *Edward*] Smith Matthew Bate

99 In this year was Roger Moore one of the Sarjeants slain most cruelly by one Henry Bennett, his mother and brother, which Henry was shortly after executed for it.

96v 1610 William Bentley Oliver Porter [W, 45 *Potter*]

Assizes held at Ashbourne this year by Judge Foster. See more at the end of this catalogue

99 In this year a Farryer [W, 50 *a farmer*] was knocked in the head in night, but nobody could tell how.

[W, 51 only adds after this point, *Also, upon New Year's Day, fell great store of rain that it drowned three of the prisoners by the sudden rising of the brook.*]

Also, one Thomas Jackson's wife (a weaver) was delivered of 3 Children, and all three christened at the Church.

Also, a great affray between Sir Philip Stanhope and Sir George Greisley. Great controversy about it with the Town. The Assises taken away and kept at Ashbourne for ringing the Towns Bell, and parting them with the Burgesses. It was Judge Foster's pleasure so to use the Town. — Mr Thomas Burdett of Foremark was this year High Sheriff.

99v Upon Michaelmas day in the morning fell a great snow (at end of³⁸ their office) the like was not seen many yeares before.

96v 1611 Richard Porter [W, 45 *Potter*] Thomas Fisher

The Charter renewed. The Bailiffs then being to be Justices of the peace for the year following.

99v The Charter renewed, The Bailiffs then being to be Justices of the peace for the year following and always so to continue for the Bailiffs to be Justices of the peace for the year following.³⁹

There happened this year, the 14th of May, such a land flood for the Brook, that in the memory of Man the like was never seen.

Also there happened a great drought this year that Peas were all got in before Barley

96v 1612 Thomas Becke William Walker

1613 Peter Gerye Robert Potter

1614 Richard Wandell William Wood

A Great Snow, and after that a Great Drought which continued 4 months

99v Mr Wood, one of the Bailiffs, died this year, some 4 or 5 weeks before Michaelmas, and Mr Thomas chosen in his room till the next election.⁴⁰

96v 1615 William Turner Thomas Smith

This year began the Suit between the Town and the Duchy etc

99v In this year died Old Mrs Walker, and was carried to the Church by her 4 sons, all Brethren of the 24 for the Borough.

Also there happened a murder this year at Marton-Lane⁴¹ in the night, of one Jane Shelliton, supposed to be done by her brother.

Also this year died Thomas Sutton Esq^r and was buried soldier-like.

Also Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury who was High Steward of the Town, deceased this year, and his brother chosen after.

96v 1616 Matthew Bate Francis Goodwynne

In this year Great Controversy about choosing the Bailiffs Mr Francis Goodwyn absent, yet chosen on Michaelmas Day, and sworn 2 days after, and proclaimed again.

99v Also, at a common Hall some 2 weeks after, Edward Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, High-Steward of the Town.

96v 1617 Thomas Fisher [S, 559 *Fletcher*] Thomas [W, 45 *John*] Stringer⁴²

The Cock pit on Nungreene made this year. The Suit with the Duchy continued etc

99v In this year the election was altered and these 2 (bailiffs) maintained by the Company.

There happened also a great fire at one Buxton's house in St Peters parish.

Also another fire at Currier's House in St Mary Gate.⁴³

100 The Cockpit upon the Nuns Green was made this year, paying a yearly Rent unto the Town for it.⁴⁴

Also Edward, Earl of Shrewsbury, died and the Earl of Pembroke chosen High-Steward for the Town.

96v 1618 Oliver Potter Henry Fisher

Fire in Bagge Lane happened etc

100 In this year the fire at Moore's House, in the Bagge Lane happened

97 1619 Peter Gerye Edward Walker

1620 Robert Potter Samuel Parker

1621 William Turner William Potter

In this year Thomas Stringer killed his man

1622 Thomas Smith Nathaniel Hallowes [S, 559 *Halloms*; W, 45 *Hall*]⁴⁵

1623 Francis Goodwynne William Bradshawe

In this year Pymm killed Jefford.

1624 Thomas Fisher William Frauncis

1625 Henry Wandell Stephen Sleigh

1626 Henry Fisher Thomas Walker

1627 Henry Mellor Edward Walker [reversed in W]

1628 William Potter Edward Large [W, 46 *Lane*]⁴⁶

1629 Thomas Smith John Hope

1630 Nathaniel Hallowes Luke Whittington [W, 46 and thereafter *Whittingham*]⁴⁷

1631 William Bradshawe Thomas Haughton

1632 William Frauncis Samuel Doughtye⁴⁸

100 In this year the Steward was changed, Mr Leeming went forth, and Mr Knyveton came in.⁴⁹

97 1633 Thomas Fisher Francis Goodwynne

The king was expected at Derby, but hindred by the Lord Grey.⁵⁰

1634 Henry Wandell Joseph Parker

In this year was the great Snow wherein 4 persons perished between Chaddesden and Derby. [W adds *This year the assessment of Ship-money*].

1635 Stephen Sleigh Robert Brookhouse

In this year King Charles was at Derby.⁵¹

1636 Henry Fisher Thomas Parker

The Plague begun, it was thought in the Bagg Lane — a Forward Spring.⁵²

97v 1637 Henry Mellor John Hope

This year the Charter was renewed and Mr Henry Mellor proclaimed Mayor about July and so continued till Michaelmas twelvemonth after.⁵³

Mayors

1638 Henry Mellor who died in January of the same year, and John Hope served the year out etc⁵⁴

1639 John Hope

[W, 52 only *William Yates farted as he passed by Mr Mayor and was imprisoned for it.*]

1640 Edward Large

100 In this year, in November, a Parliament begun and Mr William Allestrye, Recorder and Mr Nathaniel Hallowes were elected to serve as burgesses for this Borough (scilicet Derby)

97 1641 Luke Whittington

King Charles went through Derby to Nottingham and erected his Standard there August 12th

1642 Henry Wandell in November Sir John Gell garrisoned the Town

100 Henry Wandell Mayor, who when he should have gone forth at Michaelmas following, the fraternity of the town could not agree in the election (of a new one) and so he was constrained to serve the next year also.

In his Mayoralty in November came Sir John Gell to the Town, and garrisoned it and kept court of Guard in the Town Hall.

97 1643 Henry Wandell 2 year

1644 Luke Whittington

1645 Gervase Bennett The Town disgarrisoned etc

100 One Richard Cockeram was hanged at the Gallows on Nun-Green, for killing one Mills, a servant at the Angel. Also the Plague was in Derby, and about the latter end of his Mayoralty the Town was disgarrisoned, and the soldiers disbanded, and the assizes were kept in the Fryers Close.

Sir Edward Coke, Sheriff.⁵⁵

97 1646 John Dalton

1647 Robert Mellor

1648 Thomas Sleigh

1649 Edward Large

1650 John Parker

Caddows house burnt at the head of the Bridge Gate

1651 William Willot

1652 John Dalton

1653 Thomas Youle

Justices of the Peace did marry Persons [S, 100 under 1652]

1654 Humfrey Yates

1655 Thomas Sleigh

1656 Gilbert Ward

98 1657 Nathaniel Hallowes

1658 Edward Large who died 8 June 1659 John Parker served the year out. [omitted in S]

1659 John Gisborne

The new County Hall finished. [omitted in S]

100 August 12th was White's Friday, the Town them making an insurrection against the then usurped powers.⁵⁶

98 1660 John Dunnidge

The new Mace made,

100 before the Mayor had the 2 old ones, which did belong to the bailiffs. [W, 52 *A new mace was bought, and the two old ones that were carried before the Bailiffs, laid aside and disposed of.*]

98 1661 Thomas Potter

100 Toward the latter end of his Mayoralty the regulation of the Hall was; and Mr Degge chosen Recorder in the stead of Mr Chadwicke.⁵⁷

98 The River Derwent wonderfully dried up so that people might goe over dry shod.

1662 John Brookhouse

a Pinnacle of St Weburgh's steeple blown down

100 Nov 11th was a terrible hurricane that blew up trees by the roots, a pillar, or pinnacle off St Werburgh's steeple and untiled the Towns hall and many Houses in the Market place, and Full Street, and on the South Side of Allhallows Churchyard 100v but no one hurt above that Church, not a tile scarce a straw stirred off any house.

In the beginning of November, Edward Smith's wife drowned herself at St James's Bridge, and had a young Child in her arms, but the young Child swimm'd down to a sand bed against Mr Spateman's door, got breath and cryed, and was taken up alive and saved.

98 1663 Edward Walker

1664 Robert Wandell

a great Frost, Darwent froze over etc

100v In February died Mr Roger Allestrye who was Common Clerk and a Burgess for the Town to serve in Parliament — in whose room as Town Clerke was chosen Mr Thomas Gerye, and the Honorable Anchtill Grey, of Risley, Esq^r, as Burgess in Parliament.

Also William, Earl of Devonshire, was chosen High Steward of the Town.

Also a Great Snow fell on the 8th of March, 1664, after 3 months frost.

98 1665 John Harryman

100v March 14th 1665 a Woman prest to death in the Old Shire Hall as a standing mute. Sir Samuel Sleight sheriff⁵⁸

98 1666 Hugh Newton

1667 Samuel Spateman

1668 John Dalton 3d time mayor

100v July 10th, Happened a sad fire at William Taberer's, Baker, in the Waldweeke,⁵⁹ which put the Town generally into a sad affright, that some persons were packing up Goods in the Irongate to remove: But, blessed be God it did little more hurt than burn his fuell, computed to be near 60 loads, and his Stables and Hovels, not the Bakehouse where it begun, wonderful!

Also an Old incorrigible rogue cut his owne throat in the County Goal, and was buried in the Green Lane.

In the year 1665, Anne, the wife of Peter Dyas, was brought to bed of a fine lusty boy, after she had been the mother of 5 or 6 children, and never knew that she was with Child.

98 1669 Humphrey Yates 2d time myaor

2 new bells added to allhallows Church by a Subscription. [omitted in W]

1670 James Ward

a contested election for the county 2875 polled.

101 Nov 24th, was the great Election for a Knight of the County, instead of Colonell Milward. William Sacheverell, Esq^r, and George Vernon, Esq^r, were Competitors. The poll lasted 4 days. The whole polled were 2,875 and Mr Sacheverell exceeded the other in number of votes 643. Cornelius Clarke, Esq. then High Sheriff

98 1671 John Spateman

He dyed in June 1672. Roger Newton served the year out [omitted by S]

101 Mr John Spateman, Mayor of Derby, was buried June 5th 1672.

98 1672 Roger Newton Barley 2s:3d a strike

101 In the Mayoralty of Mr Roger Newton, Maltsters that were not Burgesses, by a Sessions Order upon the Statute of 39 Eliz. Cap. 16. were suppressed about the 20th of November 1672. Upon which 12 did agree with the Corporation for their Freedom about the 25th of the same month. I, Edward Brooke, was one of them. Barley being then 2s 3d per strike

98 1673 Thomas Goodwynne

A Great Flood 13 July 1673

101 July 13th, happened such a flood upon the Brook that did very much hurt by carrying away Hay out of the Nunnes Meadowes, breaking down of Bridges; it filled all the Cellars with water as far as the Angel, the water came near if not to the Shambles-End. It was then the Assizes. Judge Wyndham and Judge Atkins being then in town, Sir John Gell then Sheriff, a small appearance the first day both of Justices and Jurors, because of the flood.

St James's Bridge was landed at the Pump in St Peter's parish.

December 26th about eight at night Elizabeth Horobin, widow, was drowned in the Brook, at St James's Bridge, highly suspected wilfully.

98 1674 George Blackwell

101 24th Aug One Walter Cheadle living on Vinegar Hill, being sick of a violent fever, about midnight broke the Chamber Window, got forth (in his shirt) to the backsides, and so to the Brook and drowned himself, and was found and taken up at Mr Morris's Water Lagg.

In the latter end of this month (of August 1674) the Apprentices with some Journey Men and others, did riotously assemble and pulled down a great deal of the fences of Mr Henry Mellor's Intacks in the Little Field and Castle Field, and burnt many Stoops and Rails. The Mayor and Recorder could not disperse them, notwithstanding they acted their duty as Justices of Peace. But afterwards they sent for the Rioters, imprisoned as many as were informed against, if they did not procure bail, and at a Sessions not long after called, they were indicted and fined 6s 8d a piece.

101v Jan^y 12th, I Edward Brooke was sworne one of the Attorneys of the Borough Court, before the Mayor, the preceeding Mayor, and the Steward Mr. Gerye.

Feb^y 19th was the Great funeral of Christiana Countess of Devonshire solemnized in Great State; the Earl of Alesbury with his son, and many other honourable persons and Gentlemen of quality attending at the Solemnity, 4 heralds at arms. Dr Frampton preached the funeral sermon on Proverbs 14.1. In the Afternoon a funeral oration was made by Mr Nealer on 2 Sam. 3.38 in commemoration and commendation of Colonell Charles Cavendish, who was slain in the intestine wars, about Newarke, in 1643, whose bones they brought with them and then likewise laid up in the Vault at Allhallows Church. An hundred pounds was given as a Dole to the poor of Derby.⁶⁰

A great many suits between the Corporation and Mr Mellor begun both in the Town Court and in the County Court, to the number of 40 about the Commons. Afterwards all differences between the Corporation and Mr Mellor were referred to and agreed by Sir John Curzon, Sir John Harpur, and George Vernon, Esq.⁶¹

98 1675 Edward Walker

Mr Thomas Gerye Town Clerke dyed 14 July

101v Sept 20th 1675 A great fire at Northampton which destroyed most of the Town. Derby sent them £150 beside £20 from Mr Grey.

July 14th Mr Thomas Gerye, late Town Clerke, died, and Mr John Bagnold was elected in his stead (18 July) though many of the Hall opposed.

Aug 29th a dangerous fire happened in the Iron Gate at the lower end of the yards of widow Burne, and next above adjoining, amongst old rotten thatched Buildings, occasioned by casting of Lead in some of the said rooms, to the great affrightment of the Town. But breaking forth in the day time was soon extinguished, with little more hurt than burning the place where it had begun and one house of Edward Kirkye's, 102 And a load of Peas in the straw, Hay etc.

98 1676 Samuel Spateman

2 other new bells hanged in Allhallows Steeple, by means of Mr Thacker and others

102v A very dry summer, and a long frost this winter. Derwent frozen over so as persons went up to Derley, and Waggons loaded went over the Ice upon the Brook, at Tenant Bridge, and lasted from the latter end of October untill the latter end of January.

98 1677 John Brookhouse

1678 Robert Wandell

102v Dec 1st was the Great Alarm in Derby occasioned by a Letter found at Thurleston, hinting that 500 of the Papists wo'd rendesvouz at the Nun Green, the night following. The alarm was on the Sunday night.

Feb 8th Anchetill Grey, Esq^r and George Vernon, Esq^r elected to serve as Burgesses in Parliament the 6th of March next.

A Great Dispute at the Poll upon the Election between Mr Vernon and Sir John Gell, but Mr Vernon exceeded in votes (deducting all exceptions) near 50.

In May 1679 the Parliament prorogued.

In July following that prorogation, the parliament dissolved by proclamation. 1679 Aug 19th Anchetill Grey, Esq and George Vernon, Esq elected Burgesses to serve in Parliament 17 October next *nemine contradicente*.

August 31st Mr John Dalton, the eldest Alderman, who had served the Corporation as Burgess in several Parliaments died at Nottingham (going thither to visit his sister) and Sept 1st was solemnly interred in St Werburghs Chancel.⁶²

98 1679 Roger Newton

102v 1680 In the beginning of January the Parliament dissolved and a new one to be chosen to sit at Oxford the 21st of March then next following Feb 8th Anchetill Grey Esq^r and George Vernon Esq^r chosen to serve as Burgesses for this Borough (of Derby) in Parliament aforesaid, though Mr Cooke of Melborne polled for it, Mr Grey had more votes by above 30.

98 1680 John Lord

102v 1681 March 28th Parliament dissolved at Oxford

98 1681 Edward Walker

102v The Town Charter given in, and the New One obtained

Mr Edward Walker Mayor in whose year the Association was burnt, also the Town Charter given in, and the present one obtained at near £400 charges, said to be chiefly managed by Mr Bagnold.

98v 1682 Roger Newton

1683 Thomas Goodwin

The great frost [omitted in S]

1684 John Dunnidge

1685 Joseph Worden

1686 Solomon Roberts

1687 Leonard Sadd, put out Jan 11th and Ralph Brough put in by King James 2d

1688 John Cheshire

1689 Samuel Spateman

1690 Samuel Cheshire

1691 Samuel Fletcher

1692 John Lort

1693 Thomas Goodwin

1694 Henry Holmes

1695 Henry Norton

1696 Solomon Roberts

1697 William Franceys

102v Mr Bagnold Town Clerk died, and Mr Heathcote put in.

98 1698 Thomas Goodwin

Nov 5 a great Flood which occasioned part of St Werburghs Church to fall. [W, 52 adds *Thomas Goodwin died in his Mayoralty; William served in his room.*]

APPENDIX 2

- 1705 The Hall was regulated and some members put out and others put in.
- 1719 The River Derwent made navigable
- 1723 Mr Samuel Heathcote, Town Clerk, died and Mr Hugh Bateman chosen in his Room.
- 1730 The old Town Hall pulled down
- 1739 William Fitzherbert, Esq, Recorder died and Thomas Burrows, Esq, chosen in his Room.
- Hugh Bateman, Town Clerk, resigned and William Bateman chosen in his Room. a great Frost begun the 24th December
- 1745 Rebels at Derby 4, 5, 6, December
- 1758 William Bateman, Town Clerk, died and Benjamin Blythe chosen in his Room.
- 1762 Thomas Milnes the Mayor died and Joshua Smith served the year out.
- 1763 In the opening of this year the new assembly room built.
- 1776 Robert Hope Mayor died and Samuel Crompton served the year out.
- 1804 Foundation of the Infirmary laid.
- 1808 Open'd to Patients.
- 1817 Three Traitors hanged at Derby.

REFERENCES

1. S, 63 Sir William Milnes, the Sheriff, was obliged to keep his assize and County Court at the Market Cross. W, 49 In this year they caused Mr Sheriff, being Sir William Meering, to keep his Assizes of the County at the Market Cross. The sheriff from 7 November 1514 to 5 November 1515 was Sir William Mering, PRO, *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, List and Index, ix (1963), 104.
2. An Edmund Walker appears in R. Clark, *The Churchwardens' Audit and Vestry Order Book of All Saints, Derby 1465-1689*, Derbyshire Record Society (forthcoming), 22, 38, 43-44.
3. Bailiff in 1511, I. H. Jeayes, *Borough of Derby, Calendar of Ancient Records* (1904), 26.
4. W, 43 has these names in reverse order.
5. W, 43 names reversed and Parr appears as *Pyme*; a Thomas Parr appears in Clark, 49, 56, 58, 60, 65, 70, 75, 77, 79-80, 82.
6. W, 49 *award*.
7. W, 43 names reversed.
8. A John Watson appears in Clark, 96-79.
9. An Edward Garton appears in Clark, 82-84, 87, 88, 92, 95.
10. S, 70-80 reverses the two entries.
11. W, 44 *William Bembrick in whose year Joan Wast was martyred*; Clark, 94 *Mr bayly baynbrygge*.
12. S, 80 *in the parish of St Werburgh* added; W, 49 adds *Mr Thomas Wast is of the same family*.
13. Thomas Bate in Clark, 91-92, 96-97, 99, 102, 105-09, 112, 115-16, 119, 123-26, 129, 131-33, 139, 144-45, 152, 157.
14. W, 44 has the bailiffs for 1566 under 1567 and *vice versa*.
15. Holofernes was, according to the apocryphal Book of Judith, Nebuchadnezzar's general who was assassinated by Judith to preserve the Jewish people from his oppressiveness.
16. Jeayes, 28 confirms the name as Watson.
17. For Richard Fletcher see Clark, 104-05, 108, 111-12, 116-18, 124, 127.

18. Clearly Botham, see Clark, 121; Jeayes, 30.
19. Werden or Worden, see Clark, 122.
20. DLSL, Derby Borough Court Book 1589–1600, 115 has Edward Smith under 1593, probably also bailiff in 1583, 1601 and 1609.
21. Clearly Henry, see Clark, 123.
22. The cause of the destruction was a dispute between Smith and the burgesses of Derby over the latter's commons rights in the Siddals. They claimed their rights there from Midsummer's Day whether the land was under grass or under the plough. Smith believed that the rights existed only when the land was under grass. For full details see LPL, Shrewsbury Papers MS 707, 15, 18.
23. DLSL, Derby Borough Court Book 1589–1600, 88r Thomas Fytche bailiff.
24. S, 87 under 1592 and 1593 is actually, though unacknowledged, extracted for the most part from the parish register of All Saints; see Cox, iv, 99.
25. W, 50 reverses the two sentences.
26. John Jackson, the steward or town clerk, was replaced by John Baxter probably before 4 February 1600, the first borough court session recorded in a new court book which opens with 'tempore Johannis Baxter Sen', DLSL, Court Book 1599–1611, 1, 2. The earl of Shrewsbury, high steward of the borough, disapproved of Jackson's dismissal and attempted to have him reinstated by 1 April 1601 but encountered resistance to his wishes, v. HMC, *Rutland* I, 363; LPL, Shrewsbury Papers, letter, John Harpur to the earl, 1 April 1601, MS 702, 11.
27. W, 50 adds after this sentence *And great taxes of moneys by reason of the fifteens*.
28. DLSL, Court Book 1599–1611, 109; Jeayes, 31; Clark, 152 all confirm Porter.
29. W, 50 *in this year* omitted and in its place *March the 24th*.
30. W, 50 *interest-free*.
31. S, 90 the last sentence is under 1601.
32. According to the petition of the bailiffs to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated 15 September 1603, the enclosure riots referred to occurred on 29 August and 1 September 1603. The targets of the rioters, led by Richard Wandell, one of the brethren, William Wood, a common councillor and Henry Wood, butcher and burgess, were two closes within the lands in which the burgesses had rights of commons. The corporation had recently leased these rights of commons to the owners of the closes, thereby incensing a group of burgesses who had particular interests in these rights. As the rioters continued to defy the bailiffs, they appealed for the earl's assistance. He appointed arbitrators who met the two parties on 27 September 1603 who 'moved peace betwene the said parties . . . But could not prevaile', hence the continuation of the 'rebellion' into 1604–05; LPL, Talbot Papers, MS 3202, 108, 115, 122; Shrewsbury Papers, MS 702, 31.
33. W, 50 and S, 90 end with the sentence about Botham's gift.
34. For the witches v. Daniel, C. I., *Pinnacles of Peak History* (1935), ch. 4.
35. S, 90 begins with the account of the Countess of Shrewsbury's funeral; in W, 50 the account of the funeral follows mention of the great frost.
36. W, 50–51 omits reference to St Werburgh.
37. W, 50–51 opens with this sentence.
38. W omits.
39. The charter was granted 4 March 1612, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1611–18* (London, 1858), 136.
40. Cox, ii, 334.
41. W, 51 *Martinlow*.
42. DLSL, Derby Borough Court Book 1615–22, 88 Thomas Fysshier and Thomas Stringer bailiffs.
43. W, 52 *in the Cannery House in St Mary's Gate*.

44. Omitted by W.
45. DLSL, Derby Borough Court Book 1625–1641, 201 Hallowes.
46. DLSL, Derby Borough Court Book 1625–1641, 160r Large.
47. DLSL, Derby Borough Court Book 1625–41, 201 Whittington.
48. Omitted by W and the bailiffs for 1633–34 substituted; thereafter Woolley's list of bailiffs is a year out until 1637–38.
49. The retiring town clerk was actually Thomas Levinge, as is clear from DLSL, Borough Court Book 1625–41, 63 *passim*. Thomas Knyveton, his successor, was in office when the Quarter Sessions were held 7 January 1633; DRO, Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1625–53.
50. Presumably on Charles I's return from Scotland and his coronation there as he had gone northward via Newark and Worksop Manor, K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (London, 1992), 778–79.
51. S and W omit; the king's baker, who had accompanied the royal progress, was buried at All Saints 15 August 1636, having 'dyed of a spotted fever', Cox, iv, 100.
52. In W under 1635.
53. Omitted in S and reduced in W.
54. Omitted in S and W.
55. S, 97 *and about . . . disbanded* omitted; W, 46 only mentions the plague.
56. For the Presbyterian Rising in Derby and its wider context see D. Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy in England 1649–1660* (New Haven, 1960), 257, 262, 273; *Mercurius Politicus* 584 (24 August–1 September 1659), 691–93; Richard Clark, 'Why was the Re-establishment of the Church of England in 1662 possible? Derbyshire: a provincial perspective', *Midland History* (1983), 93–95.
57. James Chadwicke was last listed as recorder in the borough court held 15 July; Degge first appeared in this office 12 August 1662; DLSL, Borough Court Book, 1659–70. The former is the only known member of the corporation of Derby who fell victim to the purge of the boroughs under the corporation of Derby who fell victim to the purge of the boroughs under the Corporation Act, He was deemed a usurper as he was the successor but one of William Allestry who had been displaced in the 1640s for his royalism.
58. H, 194–95 contains an account of the plague in Derby, supposedly at the same time as the plague in London; followed by S, 109–10.
59. W goes no further.
60. Cox, iv, 101; Lawrence Butler and Richard Morris, 'Derby Cathedral: the Cavendish Vault', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* (1994), 16, 19.
61. The order in S begins with the entry under 12 Jan., then 18 Feb. and 24 Aug.
62. S, 115–16 reverses the events of 1 Dec. and 8 Feb.