

# THE LANDOWNERS OF SHARDLOW AND GREAT WILNE, 15th CENTURY TO 1924

By MIRIAM WOOD



## INTRODUCTION

Shardlow and Great Wilne together at one time formed a township and from 1838 a parish. They lie at the confluence of the Rivers Derwent and Trent in south-east Derbyshire, the Derwent forming the boundary of the township/parish on the north-east and the Trent on the south-east and south (Fig. 1). A small area of Great Wilne, however, known in the 19th and early 20th centuries as Wilne Pastures, lies to the south of the Trent, probably as a result of the river changing course and cutting it off from the rest of the township (Fig. 2). This must have happened at some time after the latter's formation in the Saxon period and the process seems to have been complete by the time of the enclosure award of 1757<sup>1</sup>. Beyond the Trent lies Leicestershire, here linked to Derbyshire by Wilden Ferry, until it was superseded by the Cavendish Bridge in the 18th century. Derby is some 6 miles to the north-west.

Shardlow and Great Wilne (see endnote) were jointly until 1838 one of the two townships of the ancient parish of Aston upon Trent, the other being the village and fields of Aston upon Trent itself. Two new parishes were created from the old parish in 1838, based upon the former townships, although their connection was not completely severed until 1850. Great Wilne it should be noted was often in the past referred to simply as Wilne, as it will be in this article, whilst Aston upon Trent will also be abbreviated to Aston, and references to it are to the township before 1838 and to the new parish after that date.

Shardlow and Wilne together comprised 1137 acres of land, of which 250 acres were said to be in Wilne. The latter probably covered the south-eastern quarter of the township as far west as the ferry which preceded the present Cavendish Bridge (although not in exactly the same position). The figure of 1137 acres comes from adding the 885 acres dealt with in the enclosure award of 1757<sup>1</sup> to the 252 acres covered by the tithe award of 1850.<sup>2</sup> In the enclosure award 885 acres of arable and common pastures were enclosed, but the 252 acres later included in the tithe award were not as they were already enclosed, either because they were never part of the open fields or had been enclosed by private agreement before 1757. There may also have been a small area of land along the Trent, where the canal port developed in the late 18th and 19th centuries, which was not included either in the enclosure award or the tithe award. It should be noted that the figure given for the extent of Shardlow and Wilne differs slightly in different sources.

The farmhouses of an open field township such as Shardlow and Wilne would normally have been concentrated in one village settlement. Shardlow and Wilne, however, did not quite conform to the usual pattern as here there were two settlements; Wilne near the Derwent and Shardlow on the London Road (as well as the riverside buildings which served Wilden Ferry). It is possible, however, that originally each settlement had its own separate field system. A typical farmhouse had a yard, garden and orchard, barns and other buildings, together with a close (field) which might be known as the home close; a complex which at least from the 18th

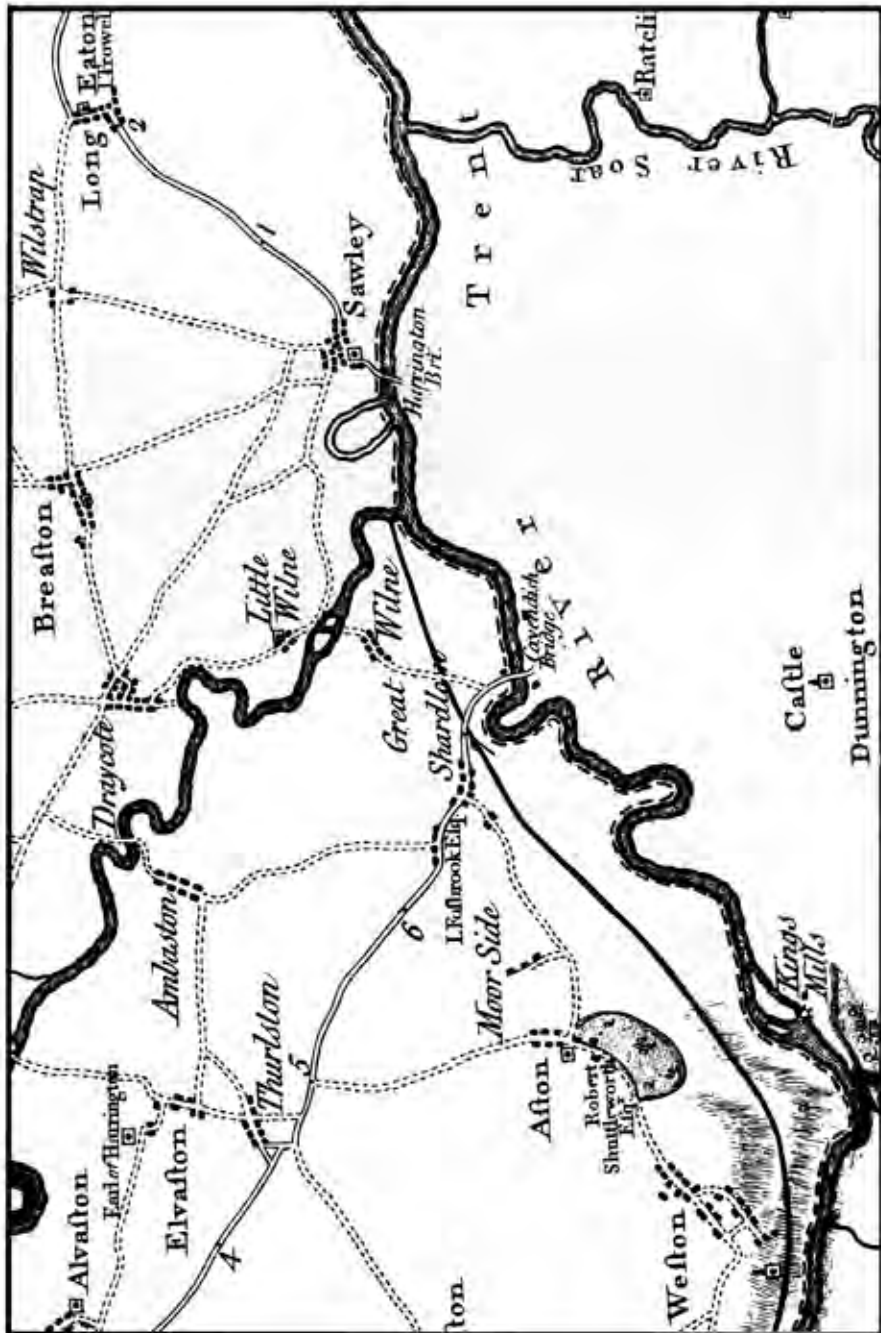


Fig. 1: Extract from The Facsimile of Burdett's Map of Derbyshire 1791. Originally surveyed by Peter Perez Burdett between 1763 and 1767, it was revised for the 1791 edition and shows the Cavendish Bridge, which by that date had superseded the Wilden Ferry across the River Trent into Leicestershire. (Acknowledgement to the Derbyshire Archaeological Society)

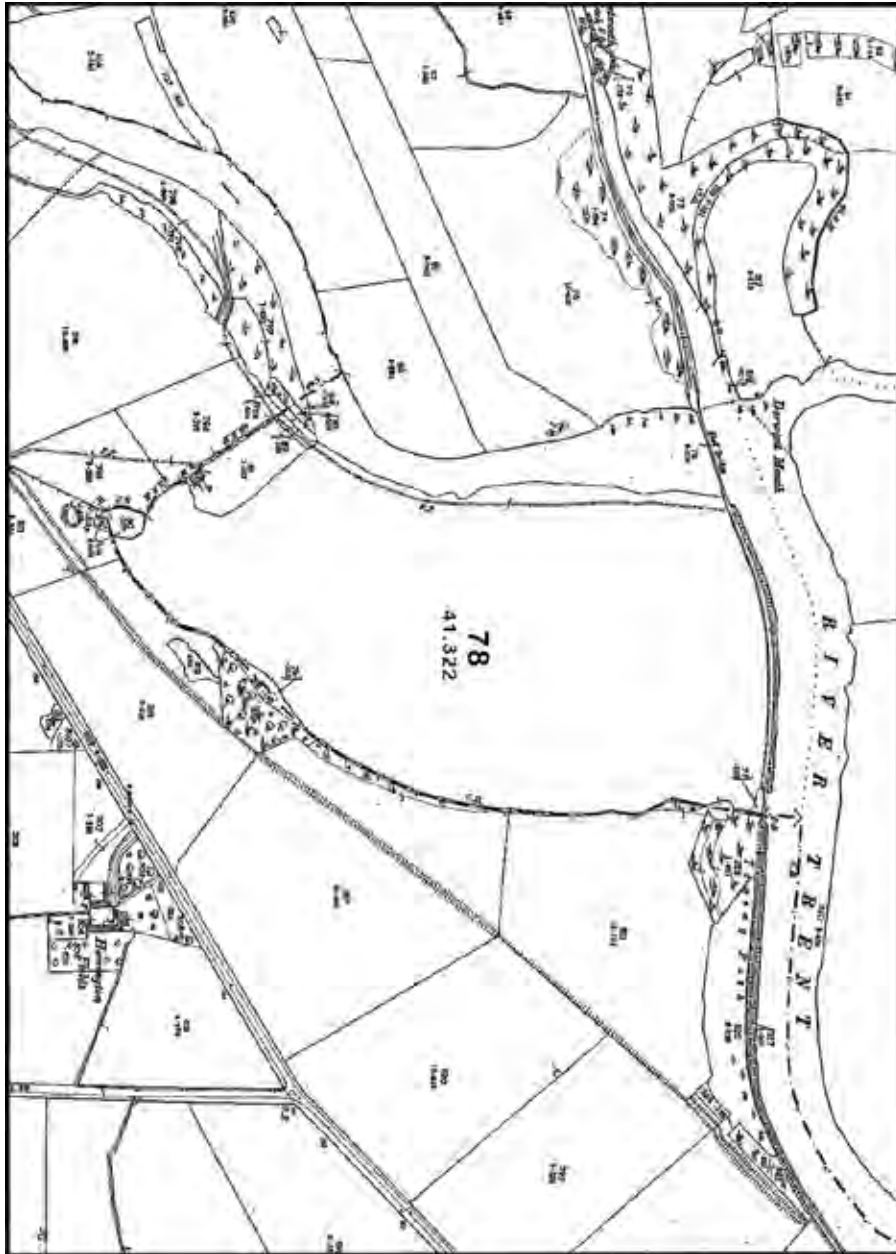


Fig. 2: Extract from Ordnance Survey map, scale 25 inches to the mile, 2nd edition 1901, Derbyshire 56/9. This shows the county boundary by a series of dots and dashes along the course of the Trent, but with alternating dark and light bars along the east and south boundaries of Plot 78 (numbers enlarged). This probably reflects the course of the River Trent as it was in the late Saxon period when the boundaries were established in this area along the line of the River Trent. It is suggested that the river has since changed its course leaving the area known in the 19th century as Wilne Pastures (Plot 78) isolated from the rest of Wilne to which it belonged. (DRO)

century seems to have been described as a homestead,<sup>2</sup> although not normally in title deeds. A farm's lands in the township, until 1757, consisted of numerous strips of land distributed over the huge unfenced fields and intermingled with the strips of other farms, but might also include a close or closes (in addition to the home close). The canal port was a late 18th century development.<sup>3</sup>

This paper does not follow the history of those who owned only a cottage or a small area of land, called a smallholding, although they will sometimes be mentioned. The smallest property normally concerned with here will be a farm consisting of a messuage or house (messuage being the normal word used in title deeds) and at least one yardland (before the enclosure of 1757) or about 25 acres after that date. The exact size of the yardland in Shardlow is not known but such evidence as there is suggests that it may have consisted of about 20-21 acres of arable and some 4 acres of meadow.<sup>4</sup> Each yardland also had rights of common pasture for ten beasts (cattle, with horses counted as equivalent to cattle) and 50 sheep.<sup>5</sup>

Generally it was thought that cattle needed an acre of land apiece and 10 sheep also one acre, although in Shardlow it is possible that a cow pasture was somewhat less than an acre. The enclosure award of 1757 shows that the cow pastures were separate from the other lands in the township, but the sheep commons were not – presumably the sheep fed on the wastes (which would also have had other uses for the commoners) and the stubble after harvest. The enclosure award also shows that just over 200 acres were devoted to the cow pastures and more than 80 acres were waste or moor. The large extent of cow pastures meant that to all intents and purposes there was the equivalent of well over 30 acres to a yardland, although the cow pastures were not held individually but were calculated in terms of the number of cattle which could use the common cow pastures. In part, this was probably the reason that Shardlow yardlands were so much more valuable, say, than Aston yardlands. In the mid 17th century it was said that the Aston yardlands of Weston manor, with about the same area of arable and meadow, were sold at £6 per annum (that is, calculated to be worth £6 in annual rent) but a Shardlow yardland was £10.<sup>6</sup> There is not much information concerning beast or cattle pastures in Aston: the Rector for his 3½ yardlands of glebe in 1693 had 11 cow pastures every year and 13 every two years,<sup>7</sup> but a deed of 1755 relating to other property refers to 5 cowgates for a larger than usual yardland of 30 acres.<sup>8</sup> The number of sheep pastures to a yardland – 50 – seems to have been the same in Aston as in Shardlow and Wilne.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE MANOR OF WESTON ON TRENT UNTIL 1648

Before the Norman Conquest, Weston, Aston, Shardlow and Wilne comprised one estate, although it had begun to break up by the time of Domesday Book (1086). Exactly what the extent of the estate, or the manor which developed out of it, was in the late 11th century is uncertain, but William the Conqueror gave it to Hugh Earl of Chester, who in turn had given it or part of it to the Abbey of Chester by 1093. The manor remained in the hands of the Abbey until the dissolution of the greater monasteries in 1538 and 1539. The earliest information relating to the make-up and size of Weston manor is in the survey known as the King's Book, made in preparation for the attack on the lands of the church. According to this (and rounding up the pence), the total rental from Weston was £50 6s, from Aston £18 10s, from Shardlow £10 7s and from Wilne £6 8s.

From 17th century evidence (see below) it appears that the manor comprised most of Weston with large areas of Aston, Shardlow and Wilne, making it not only the largest landowner in

Weston but probably also in Aston, Shardlow and Wilne in the later Middle Ages. It was to remain so throughout the 16th century and first half of the 17th century.

Immediately following the dissolution, the old abbey church became, as it still is, the Cathedral church of the newly created See of Chester, and in 1541 the manor of Weston was given as an endowment for the Bishopric. This arrangement did not last long and in 1546 Henry VIII forced the Bishop to give up the Manor of Weston in return for property of much less value.<sup>10</sup> In the same year, the lordships and manors of Weston, Aston, 'Wilney' and Shardlow, as the property was described, with the advowsons of Aston and Weston, were sold to Sir William Paget for the huge sum of £5708 18s 5½d.<sup>11</sup> Sir William Paget 1st Baron of Beaudesert (Staffordshire) was a privy councillor and secretary of state under Henry VIII. He continued to play a prominent part in politics in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, but relinquished all offices after Elizabeth's accession and died in 1563.<sup>12</sup> The manor of Weston he settled on his third son Charles, although the latter probably only came into his inheritance in 1578.<sup>13</sup> Charles was a committed Catholic, becoming involved in the plots among the Catholic émigrés, supporters of Mary Queen of Scots in Paris.<sup>14</sup> After the discovery of the Babington Plot and Mary's execution, he was attainted of high treason and his lands confiscated in 1586-7, but he escaped with his life as he was out of England. On James I's accession to the throne, Charles' attainder was reversed and his lands restored to him.<sup>15</sup>

Charles enjoyed the manor of Weston for only 9 years before his death in 1612 and it then descended to his great niece Mary Gerard who married Anthony Roper of Eltham in Kent, a descendant of Sir Thomas More through his daughter Margaret.<sup>16</sup> All were Catholics. Mary Roper died in about 1623, leaving a daughter, another Mary, and her father continued in possession of the manor until his death in 1647. In his will, proved in February 1648,<sup>17</sup> he directed that the manor of Weston should be sold by his executors, but not for the benefit of his daughter Mary, whose inheritance it was. Mary, however, stepped in before her father's will had been proved, to sell the major part of the manor to Nicholas Wilmot in October 1647.<sup>18</sup> This included most of the Weston lands and properties in Aston, Shardlow and Wilne. Then in March 1648, Wilmot's cousin, Robert Holden of Shardlow purchased from Roper's wife and executors (not from Mary) the manor, that is the lordship, Weston Hall, the manorial demesnes and the lands in Aston, Shardlow and Wilne<sup>19</sup> which Wilmot had not bought. This was, however, only the beginning and not the end of the break-up of the manor.

Nicholas Wilmot came from a successful Derby merchant family and was the son of Robert of Chaddesden who had purchased estates in Chaddesden, Osmaston and Litchurch. In 1637 Robert had conveyed to Nicholas the manor of Osmaston together with a capital messuage and lands there,<sup>20</sup> but Nicholas was making his own way in the law and is often described as of Gray's Inn. In later years he was knighted and became a sergeant at law. Robert Holden son of Henry of Wilne and Alice, Nicholas Wilmot's sister, appears to have made his fortune out of cattle trading. He may have raised some of the cattle he traded himself but the numbers involved suggest he was buying in cattle for fattening before selling them on. He leased a farm at Shardlow which he lived in until 1648 when, after his purchase of the Aston Hall estate, he moved to Aston.<sup>21</sup>

#### THE MANOR OF SHARDLOW<sup>22</sup>

There was another manor in Shardlow, smaller in extent than the lands belonging to the manor of Weston, and whose history before the early 15th century is unknown, although there was a reference to a Hall in Shardlow in 1331.<sup>23</sup> The manor itself is first mentioned in 1416, when

Thomas Tykhull enfeoffed it to five persons, to four of whom he again enfeoffed it 5 years later. These deeds were probably feoffments to uses, in modern terms conveyances in trust. The exact purpose of these is not known, but they document the existence of the manor in the late mediaeval period and the name of its owner at that time. The Tykhulls (the name is variously spelled) were probably from Chellaston where their name appears in the 13th and 14th centuries in two deeds and in the lay subsidy of 1327-8,<sup>24</sup> but Thomas is known in Aston from 1396. There he owned land and was involved in a number of deeds relating to Aston from that date until 1419.

The next reference to the manor of Shardlow is in a conveyance by Thomas Tikhill gentleman of the manor and all his meases (messuages or houses), lands, services, 'comyns' etc. and all other hereditaments in Shardlow, Aston and Wilne to John Hunt of Ashover gentleman. The Hunt family had long been established in Ashover but why John Hunt was buying in Aston, some distance from Ashover, is puzzling. An estate in law for their lives was to be made to Thomas and Elizabeth his wife of the manor and all lands in Shardlow and for Elizabeth's jointure and recompense of dower. The manor accordingly was leased back to Thomas and Elizabeth for their lives later in the year. It is evident that the sale took place because the Tikhills had no heirs, for provision was made that the property should return to Thomas in the event of his having a male heir who should live for a year. By 1520 Thomas Tikhill was dead and although presumably Elizabeth continued at Shardlow until her own death the manor eventually came into the full possession of the Hunt family.

When John Hunt's son Christopher died in 1538, his inquisition post-mortem described his chief Shardlow property as the manor (that is, the lordship) a cottage, two tofts (house sites), 100 acres of arable (which would have been dispersed in the open fields), 40 acres of meadow, 120 acres of pasture and 3s 4d in rents. No house is mentioned, but its existence may have been assumed. The description of the lands cannot entirely be taken at face value as the figures were probably rounded up and the pasture may well refer to the area over which pasture rights were exercised, rather than land owned. The manor was an unusually large farm, but no more than that whatever it may have been in the past.

Possibly from as early as 1546 the Wright family was tenant of the manor, but there is only proof of its tenancy from 1580. Later, in 1586, Christopher Wrighte of Shardlow mentions the manor or farm in which he dwells but his reference to the term of years to come in the property shows that it was leased not owned by him. His widow remained in the property until her death in 1610 or early in 1611, but by then the manor had changed hands. The Hunts were in financial difficulties in the latter part of the 16th century, selling off a large part of their Aston Hall estate in 1571<sup>25</sup> and a farm in Wilne in 1584 (see below). The sale of Shardlow manor took place in 1593, when Thomas Hunt gentleman sold it to Richard Sale clerk of Weston, his wife Dorothy and son Richard. It was described as the manor of Shardlow, a capital messuage or manor house in the holding of Alice Wright widow, with a cottage, a fishing place or pool called Halmondiche or Horndich 'with the Fish therein' (see endnote), messuages, dovehouses (a related document refers to a dovehouse) etc. with all properties in Shardlow, Wilne and Boulton. Why there is a reference to Boulton is not known.

Richard Sale, Rector of Weston upon Trent, had already bought some property in Wilne (see below) and was evidently providing for his family's future. The Rectory and the glebe of Weston upon Trent would, of course, pass to the new Rector on the Reverend Richard Sale's death and would not descend to his heir. The Rector did not need the manor house for himself and it would seem that Alice Wilmot continued to live there until her death at the end

of 1610 or early in 1611. Who succeeded to the occupation of the manor at this time would have depended on the lease term. When the Reverend Richard Sale died in December 1625 his son Richard would presumably have inherited the manor and he was undoubtedly living in Shardlow soon after his father's death.

Richard Sale the younger died in 1636, and when his probate inventory was drawn up it referred to his house at Shardlow Hall and to the 'great house at Shardlow' indicating its status (not the same as the house called Shardlow Hall which Leonard Fosbrooke built in the 1680s on another site).

Richard's son John succeeded to the manor and settled it to provide for his younger children in 1639-1640, but how long it remained the property of the Sale family is unknown. Like the Hunts at Aston, who appear to have been forced to sell the manor in 1593, John Sale was undoubtedly in difficulties by the 1640s. He sold property in Wilne in 1647 (see below) and in 1649 agreed with Joseph Holden of Shardlow for the latter to hold closes called The Alleys and Horndykes (closes associated with the manor) in Shardlow for 12 years in return for paying off Sale's debts of £169. Later, in 1653, John Sale described as the son of Richard late of Shardlow deceased sold Booth Hall and substantial lands in Sawley.<sup>26</sup>

In March 1650, John Sale conveyed the manor of Shardlow, four small rents, fishings, rights etc to Nicholas Willymot (later Wilmot) for a competent sum. This was the same Nicholas Wilmot who had bought a large part of the lands belonging to the manor of Weston upon Trent in 1647. Neither the manor house nor any lands were mentioned in the deed of conveyance and no specific sale price is given. As Wilmot after his 1647 purchase of Weston manor lands proceeded to sell the Aston and Shardlow parts of them, retaining only the Weston lands, this Shardlow manor conveyance is puzzling. It is possible that he was interested in acquiring the fishing rights, even if he did not want the land, and was buying only manorial rights. Whatever the truth behind this transaction, the manor is never mentioned again in any document, so far as is known, but although there is a gap in the history of the house it continues to be described as the manor house and the former manor lands continued to be associated with it. It seems, moreover, that the Sale family remained in the manor house, for in the Hearth Tax Assessments for 1662-1670 a 'Mr Jn Sales' held the largest house in Wilne and Shardlow assessed for eight hearths, whether as the tenant or the owner is unknown.

#### A WILNE FARM AND THE HUNT AND SALE ESTATES

In his inquisition post-mortem of 1538, Christopher Hunt of Aston held two properties in Shardlow and Wilne, the manor as above and another described as a messuage, 60 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow and 100 acres of pasture in Wilne.<sup>27</sup> This is probably 2½ yardlands, but the figure for pasture cannot be taken too literally and may well refer to rights of common pasture – the stylised description of property in inquisitions post-mortem can be difficult to interpret. Nothing is known of the earlier history of this property, but together with the manor of Shardlow, Christopher Hunt may have held about 200 acres of land in Shardlow and Wilne, in addition to the rights of pasture which belonged to the manor and this farm.

In 1584, Thomas Hunte and his wife Alice conveyed what was probably the same property to Richard Sale clerk although described as a messuage, 80 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 20 acres of pasture and common of pasture in Wilne.<sup>28</sup> The Hunt estate was disintegrating in Shardlow and Wilne to the benefit of the Sale family, which, with the purchases of the Wilne farm and, later Shardlow manor (described above), by 1593 held all, or almost all, of the former Hunt estate in the township. The Sales were now, second only to the lord of the manor

of Weston, the largest owners of land in Shardlow. The Reverend Richard Sale was to add a little more land to his estate in 1609, though probably only a half yardland (see below).

The Sale family was probably from Staffordshire and must have been fairly well-off, for both William Sale, brother of Richard Sale, as well as Richard himself were able to acquire good ecclesiastical livings, William the Rectory of Aston and Richard, as already seen, the Rectory of Weston. The advowsons of both the Rectories of Aston and Weston were owned by the Pagets, that is, when vacancies occurred, they had the right to present to the Bishop the names of the new incumbents of these Rectories. Although Aston was much the richest, both were good livings and anyone wishing to be presented to them would have had to pay a substantial price to the Paget of the time. No doubt finance was provided by their father or other family members, but Richard himself evidently had sufficient money to provide an estate for his son and heir towards that time when the Rectory and its income should pass to another Rector.

As seen above, John Sale, grandson of the Reverend Richard Sale, apparently ran into financial problems as had Thomas Hunt in the 16th century. The history of the Wilne farm is clearer than that of Shardlow manor, however, as there survives a conveyance from John Sale of Shardlow gentleman to John Bryan of Weston yeoman of a messuage and 2½ yardlands in Wilne and Shardlow in 1647.<sup>29</sup> In addition, 24 pastures (there would normally be 10 [cow] pastures to a yardland) and a cottage in Shardlow were included in the sale. The conveyance was also a settlement as the property was for the use of Richard Bryan and his wife Mary (John's parents) for their lives and only then for the use of John (their second son). Nothing is known of John Bryan, except for his relationship to Richard Bryan and that the family appears to have come from Weston. In 1661, a further deed settled the property on John and his male heirs, referring to Richard as deceased and without reference to Mary.<sup>30</sup>

#### OTHER LANDOWNERS OF THE 16th AND EARLY 17th CENTURIES

The owners of Weston manor and Shardlow manor are the only landowners we know of in the 15th century. It was not an extensive township and the manor of Weston and the estate held by the Hunts, later held by the Sales, together comprised a substantial part of it. Moreover, there was a large area of cow pastures and common land (in 1757 about 200 acres of cow pastures and over 80 of moor) in which known land owners and perhaps some landowners unknown had rights of common. This land was not suitable for arable and not individually owned. Nevertheless, there was land enough for other small farms as below.

The earliest 16th century reference to a landowner in Shardlow other than those already mentioned, is in the inquisition post-mortem of Ralph Sacheverell esq. dated 1539, in which he is said to hold a tenement in Shardlow, 30 acres of land (arable) and 6 acres each of meadow and pasture.<sup>31</sup> The inquisition post-mortem of his heir Henry dated 1559 describes his property in 'Shardley' as a messuage, 20 acres of land, 10 of meadow, 15 of pasture and 30 of heath and gorse.<sup>32</sup> Almost certainly both these references are to the same property, probably 1½ yardlands, the heath and gorse in the later one relating to the amount of common pasture belonging with the land. The Sacheverell family had held property in the Aston area since at least 1327,<sup>24</sup> but their main properties were at Hopwell and Snitterton.

In 1567, another Henry Sacheverell sold property to Christopher Wright<sup>33</sup> and in his will of 1586 Christopher Wright of Shardlow referred to lands and tenements in Shardlow, Wilne and Aston which he had purchased of Mr Sacheverell.<sup>34</sup> What Wright bought, however, was only part of the Sacheverell holding, described only as a cottage with 10 acres of land, 1 of meadow



and 8 of pasture, and it appears that some of this was in Aston. This was the same Christopher Wright who held the manor of Shardlow as a tenant and whose widow Alice continued to hold it until her death. There is no evidence as to what happened to the main part of the Sacheverell lands in Shardlow.

In an Index<sup>35</sup> to the feet of fines for 1563-1568 there is an entry in which Lawrence Sareson and Edward Wynter gentleman and Katerina his wife are named, suggesting a conveyance from the Wynters to Sareson of a tenement in Shardlow in 1564. It is, however, without context and the final concord is missing, so no detail is available. Of Sareson nothing is known, but an Edward Wynter, whether the same or another of that name, sold property in Aston in 1555, whilst a Robert Wynter was associated earlier with the Aston property and with Weston property in 1514.<sup>36</sup>

The name Sareson does, however, reappear in the early 17th century, when a final concord probably shows Richard Sale clerk acquiring from William Sareson and his wife Anna a messuage with its garden and orchard, 14 acres of land, 3 acres of pasture and common of pasture for all animals in Shardlow, Aston and Wilne. This may be about a half yardland and a Shardlow property. This is dated in the summer of 1609<sup>37</sup> and is the last addition to the holdings of the Reverend Richard Sale in Shardlow and Wilne, so far as is known. His other property, the manor of Shardlow and a farm at Wilne, were far more considerable.

In 1574 a John Wood acquired from Isabella Cleybroke widow and William Robyns and his wife Elizabeth a farm of what was probably about 1¼ yardlands, described as a messuage with a garden and orchard, 40 acres of land, 12 of meadow, 3 of pasture, 100 acres of heath and gorse and common of pasture for 17 animals (there were normally 10 beast or cow pastures to a yardland) in Wilne, Aston and Shardlow. Later evidence shows that this was a Wilne farm.<sup>38</sup> Nothing is known of any of these persons, though one may suspect that Elizabeth Robyns was Isabella's daughter. More than a century later, in 1690, descendants of John Wood settled their property described in similar terms<sup>39</sup> still including pasture for 17 beasts, but also including 88 sheep commons, which would be about right for 1¼ yardlands.

A William Kendall appears in the 1603 subsidy list for Shardlow and Wilne assessed on his goods for £5 tax, along with Alice Wright assessed on goods for the same.<sup>40</sup> These two paid the highest tax in the township. Goods would in a rural area have chiefly been farm stock and crops, whether in the field or in barns and yards, and probably indicate the scale of farming activities (but not whether the taxpayer owned or tenanted his lands). Kendall was from the Smisby family of that name, but in his will dated 1604 he is described as of Aston<sup>41</sup> and he says that he had bought lands in Shardlow. There is nothing to suggest, however, that he owned enough property in Shardlow for him to farm on a scale large enough to attract so much tax and it may be that he also leased land or was being taxed on his goods elsewhere in addition to those he had in Shardlow.

William disappeared from the 1609 subsidy list<sup>42</sup> and in 1621 and 1623 John and Alice Kendall were involved in two transactions relating chiefly to Shardlow lands, which may refer to their sale of 2 yardlands there. In 1625 one was to Katherine Fillingham widow of a messuage, 20 acres of land (arable), 4 of meadow and 10 of pasture;<sup>43</sup> the other to Robert Porter gentleman of 24 acres of land and 4 acres each of meadow and pasture.<sup>44</sup> Nothing is known of Katherine Fillingham, although it is possible that she was William Kendall's widow as his wife was named as 'Katheren' in his will (see above). Robert Porter was probably the son of the Reverend Robert Porter who had been Rector of Aston until his death in 1617. Whether these references really are to two farms or only to one and whether in the earlier case a family

settlement rather than a conveyance was involved is uncertain. Either way, the amount of property described is not very large. A reference to Robert Porter of Shardlow yeoman, who at his death in 1633 was said to have a tenement in Wilne and Shardlow, possibly related to the 1625 property.<sup>45</sup>

It is impossible to know whether there were other farms than those so far mentioned, but if there was it is unlikely that there were many. The 18th century Parliamentary enclosure award, covering 885 acres, enclosed not only arable and meadow, but also about 200 acres of cow pastures and 80 acres or so of moor (on which the owners of the yardlands pastured their cattle and sheep), whilst some 250 acres lay outside the areas to be enclosed. That is, about 530 acres of Shardlow's 1130-1140 acres were either cow pastures and moorland or already enclosed and there were therefore only about 600 acres of arable and meadow, perhaps 24 yardlands.

As will be seen below, 14 yardlands (as well as some enclosed lands) in Shardlow and Wilne belonged to the manor of Weston and Shardlow manor comprised 4 yardlands (as well as closes). The latter was held for much of the 16th and 17th centuries with a Wilne farm of 2½ yardlands whilst the farm bought by John Wood in 1574 seems to have been 1¾ yardlands. The Sacheverell and Kendall properties are more difficult to quantify and may even be the same lands, but even leaving them out 22 yardlands are accounted for. These figures suggest that the manor of Weston comprised over half of Shardlow and Wilne.

It would be unwise, however, to assume the number of yardlands as given here is necessarily correct (yardlands were not always exactly uniform in size), nor may we assume that the situation in the 16th and 17th centuries was exactly as it was in the 18th century. It may be, for instance, that some of the already enclosed land not subject to the enclosure award had been common pastures in the 16th or 17th centuries and since enclosed by private agreements. Nevertheless, it does look as though much of Shardlow and Wilne is accounted for in the properties of which some evidence has been found and that the estimate of the proportion of the township held by the Manor of Weston is roughly correct.

#### THE END OF THE WESTON MANOR ESTATE

Although the manorial estate was dismembered, the manor or manorial lordship continued to function and its jurisdiction continued to extend to Shardlow and Wilne. The ownership of the manor was disputed between the Holden and Wilmot families for some years, but by the beginning of the 18th century was settled in favour of the Holdens of Aston Hall. Records of the proceedings of the 18th century manorial courts survive from 1749-1776 in the Holden papers.<sup>46</sup>

Nicholas Wilmot seems to have always intended to dispose of the lands in Aston, Shardlow and Wilne bought from Mary Roper in 1647, whilst retaining his Weston lands, because he began to sell the non-Weston property almost immediately. On the same day, 1 March 1648, he sold three farms comprising 6 of the 8 yardlands he had bought in Shardlow and Wilne. A messuage and 1½ yardlands in Wilne and Shardlow were sold to Robert Roulston; a messuage and 2 yardlands in Shardlow to Simon Roberts,<sup>47</sup> and a messuage and 2½ yardlands in Shardlow and Wilne to Joseph Wright of Shardlow yeoman.<sup>48</sup> These three surnames occur in subsidy lists earlier in the 17th century (e.g. the Wrights as lessees of the manor of Shardlow – see above) so these families were already established here as some of the more prosperous members of the community.<sup>49</sup> Although the status of only one of these three was given, it seems likely that all were, like Joseph Wright, yeomen.

When Joseph Wright bought his property in Shardlow (together with a yardland of Aston land) he had paid £580. On the day after the conveyance, he mortgaged the Shardlow and Wilne land he had purchased for £400 to Nicholas Wilmot, the man from whom he had bought it. By 1673, some of this was said to be owned by William Statham of Borrowash yeoman, but the series of mortgages and assignments relating to Wright's property is both complicated and incomplete. Exactly what happened to the land bought by Wright is unclear. Much later in 1732 a Christopher Wright sold to the second Robert Holden a messuage and lands in Shardlow (see below), but whether they were part of the property bought by Joseph Wright in 1648 is uncertain.<sup>50</sup> It is even possible that some of them were the lands acquired by Christopher Wright from Henry Sacheverell in 1567 (see above).

The 2 yardlands which at the time of Wilmot's purchase of the manor estate had been in the occupation the Pym family were split up. On 1 Jan 1651, Wilmot sold to John Pymm (the spelling varies) of Aston yeoman for £51 10s part of a yardland in Wilne and Shardlow lately parcel of 2 yardlands belonging to a messuage in Shardlow commonly called Pimm's Farm<sup>51</sup>. The will of a John Pymme of Aston yeoman 1655 left his land in Shardlow and Wilne to his sons John and Richard and it is probable that this is a reference to the land sold by Wilmot to John Pymm in 1651<sup>52</sup>. In general this paper does not deal with such small properties, but as part of the dismemberment of a larger farm it deserves notice.

On the same day, 1 January 1651, Wilmot sold to Henry Pymm of Shardlow yeoman for £115 part of a messuage in Shardlow in Henry's possession (tenancy), a yardland in Shardlow and Wilne also in his possession, a parcel of ground on which John Pymm's house then stood, the building called the Kiln in the possession of Robert Cantrill, the West part of the foldyard and ½ a beast pasture, all the last mentioned premises being parcel of the 2 yardlands belonging to the messuage. The property was sold to him for the lives of himself and his wife Alice and then was to be to the use of William Bryan of Shardlow yeoman, his heirs and assigns for ever.<sup>53</sup> William was probably the nephew of the John Bryan who had bought 2½ yardlands in Wilne from John Sale in 1647.<sup>29</sup> Henry Pimm had been a tenant of 2 yardlands when Wilmot purchased the Weston manor lands, so it was perhaps a continuation or extension of a lease, and only after the deaths of Henry and his wife would William Bryan be able to enjoy the farm or the main part of it himself. Later it was described as 1½ yardlands (see below), but further land may have been added to William Bryan's holdings.

In 1658, Wilmot sold to John Bryan and others for £70 the messuage or cottage lately inhabited by John Pym, and the cottage in which Robert Cantrell lately dwelt, a close (field) near adjoining the messuage or cottage, and all other lands heretofore parcel of the 2 yardlands formerly in the possession (tenancy) of Henry, Richard and John Pym and not sold before by Wilmot to Henry Pym of Shardlow and John Pym of Aston both deceased, in trust for Ellen widow of William Bryan and ultimately for her son William Bryan.<sup>54</sup> Then, in 1661, in confirmation of a conveyance by John Sale, father of the John Sale involved in the deed of 1661, two cottages, lands belonging in Shardlow and Sympsons Close together with 6 beastgates and 20 sheep pastures belonging to the messuages, formerly of John father of John Sale, were settled on Ellen and her son William.<sup>55</sup> It is likely that this represents an enlargement of Ellen's settlement. These two small properties occur later in title deeds of William Bryan and others in association with his more substantial lands.

Meanwhile, Robert Holden at first retained all his lands in Shardlow and Wilne. These included two farms in Wilne, one of 1 yardland (which Robert held as the tenant) and one of 3 yardlands – the latter in the tenancy of Robert's elder brother John and the farm which

John and Robert's father Henry had first leased from Weston Manor in 1569.<sup>56</sup> In Shardlow Robert's purchase included a farm of 2 yardlands probably his own home until he moved into Aston Hall in 1649.<sup>57</sup> In 1656, however, Robert sold the Wilne yardland and the Shardlow farm, perhaps because of the costs of the legal disputes between him and Nicholas Wilmot over aspects of the Weston Manor sales.

The Shardlow farm went to Nicholas Cowlshaw or Cowlshaw of Shardlow yeoman with a flat of arable used for rye, and 100 sheepgates belonging to the yardlands. He paid £450.<sup>58</sup> Normally, there would have been 20 cow pastures to 2 yardlands and it may be that Holden kept these for his cattle business. The Wilne yardland (there was no message with it) was sold to John Soare of Shardlow yeoman, this time including both 10 beast or horse pastures and 50 sheep pastures as well as some property in Aston. It cost Soare £320.<sup>59</sup> There is no evidence as to the background of these two purchasers or how they could afford these properties. A Richard Cowlshaw was recorded in the lay subsidy list for Aston for 1641-2<sup>60</sup> and was obviously prosperous but whether he was related to Nicholas is not known. There was a family named Sore (the spelling of this name varies) in Aston in the 16th and early 17th centuries,<sup>61</sup> but again there is nothing to connect it with John Soare of Shardlow.

Robert Holden remained in possession of some meadow land and the Wilne farm, which his brother John had held at the time of Robert's purchase in 1648 (see above), but after the latter's death in 1660 the ownership of the Holden property became split between two of his sons. Samuel, Robert's second son, who was to have the Aston Hall property, kept some enclosed meadows in Shardlow and Wilne,<sup>62</sup> whilst John, Robert's youngest son, had the Wilne farm and a piece of land called the Shrubbs. He may have later enlarged his landholding.<sup>63</sup> This division was to remain until 1729.<sup>64</sup>

Of all these who benefited from the break-up of Weston manor only the Holdens, the Cowlshaws and perhaps the Pims (whose property, however, was small) remained landowners in Shardlow into the late 18th century and 19th century. The rest gradually disappeared over the years. There is information on the Soare family in the late 17th century, but thereafter little is known of them, whilst William Bryan's lands and those of the Roberts and Roulston families passed out of their hands in the early 18th century as will be seen. Little is known about Joseph Wright's lands.

## THE LATER 17th CENTURY

### **John Boilston**

John Boilston (the Rector of Weston upon Trent) and his wife Debora were involved in a final concord of 1652 relating to 30 acres of land, 15 acres each of meadow and pasture and 10 of furze and heath in Shardlow,<sup>65</sup> but nothing more is known of their involvement with Shardlow. The Reverend John Boilston had bought some land in Aston in 1649 to which he added in 1657,<sup>36</sup> presumably trying to provide for his son, as when he left Weston Rectory the house and glebe would go to his successor as Rector.

### **The Roberts family**

There are two wills for the Roberts family in the latter part of the 17th century<sup>66</sup> which suggest that the family's fortunes may have begun to decline at this time. There appears to be a considerable difference between the wealth of Simon Roberts, perhaps the Simon who had bought a message and 2 yardlands in Shardlow from Nicholas Wilmot in 1648, and his

son Joseph. In his will of 1666 Simon Roberts of Shardlow yeoman left his freehold lands in Shardlow to his son Joseph and a house and land in Melbourne and Newton to his son Thomas, but the accompanying inventory is surprising. It amounted to the large sum of £571 and of this £440 consisted of debts with specialty that is money lent out on bonds or mortgages. He was also owed £101 in desperate debts, i.e. that were unlikely to be repaid. It was normal enough for people to lend money to each other at a time when there were no banks, but he would seem to have had a considerable amount to lend and perhaps also to have been somewhat incautious in his lending. Otherwise, Simon had only £10 in his purse and apparel and a mare and foal worth £20. He had presumably retired from farming and handed over to his sons. When Simon's son Joseph made his will in 1682 his inventory was very different. It came to the more modest sum of £147, made up of his purse and apparel, household goods and farm equipment and animals, but he was described still as a yeoman. Eventually the Roberts' farm was to be sold in the early 18th century.

### **Nicholas and John Cowlishaw**

Nicholas Cowlishaw's will, made in 1669 (it was proved in the following year<sup>67</sup>) shows he had an estate in Wilne, Shardlow and Castle Donington (but no details are given) to leave to his eldest son, also called John, and his inventory was valued at £403 so he was comfortably off. Otherwise, there is no information on the Cowlishaw family until the 18th century (see John Soare below).

### **John Bryan and his family**

When John Bryan, who had bought a farm at Wilne from John Sale in 1647, made his will in 1671<sup>68</sup> he described himself as a yeoman of Great Wilne, so presumably had settled on the farm he had purchased. He left his eldest son, another John, the house in which the testator lived and land but without giving any details; and to his second son Thomas a cottage and croft in Wilne and a little other land. To his wife Grace was left a cottage and his two daughters were each to have a portion of £100 when age 16. The value of his inventory was £171 18s. Although he was not a poor man he would appear to have been less prosperous than Nicholas Cowlishaw. In 1698 a John Bryan of Wilne yeoman was in possession of land and a messuage, cottage and croft in Wilne.<sup>69</sup> Nothing further is known about this Wilne farm or the Bryan family which owned it in the second half of the 17th century, until the early 18th century.

### **John Soare**

In the Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments 1662-72<sup>70</sup> the house with the second largest number of hearths – six (the largest number eight being for Shardlow manor house) was in the occupation of John 'Soer'. Otherwise, there were two houses assessed for four hearths and two for three, with the remaining thirteen assessed for one or two hearths. His probate inventory dated 1683 lists 9 rooms, presumably the house of the Hearth Tax Assessments, and the value of his goods was given as £202 10s 8d, considerably less than the value of Nicholas Cowlishaw's inventory (see above).<sup>71</sup> How he came to be living in this larger than usual house or to own the property later documents indicate he had, and why his success was so short-lived, are all unknown.

The will of John Soare of Shardlow yeoman (1683)<sup>71</sup> shows that he was in financial difficulties by that time, although his direction to Robert Wood and his wife Katherine, John's eldest daughter, to use his goods to pay his debts and raise money for John's children was

not unusual. He also left his messuage in Derby called the Swan (but this is not clear) then in mortgage, to Robert and Katherine to sell and pay off the mortgage. The will then referred to a sale of some lands to Mr Fosbrooke, saying that whereas Fosbrooke has an assignment (amongst other charges) of a messuage and 3 yardlands where John lives from Sir John Curzon upon the promise of Fosbrooke that the messuage and 3 yardlands should have been by him assigned to John and his heirs 'which be not done', he be requested to assign the same to John's heirs to wait upon the lease made to Wood and Katherine for 12 years. It is not possible to be sure what this about, although one may suspect that another mortgage was involved.

A number of final concords in the latter part of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century may relate to the Soare family and its connections, but there is no context to enable their significance to be understood. A final concord involving James Bacon and Benjamin Wells (names which appear below, but not concerning the same property) apparently shows them acquiring from William Soare and Robert and Katherine Wood in 1683 a messuage, 60 acres of land, 20 of meadow and 30 of pasture and common of pasture in Wilne, Shardlow and Aston.<sup>72</sup> This reads like 2½ yardlands. Whether this indeed relates to a conveyance or to a settlement it is impossible to say. Another shows William Gregg likewise apparently buying from William and Robert Soare 24 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 6 of pasture and common of pasture in Wilne, Shardlow, Aston and Sawley in 1690.<sup>73</sup> In this case, probably one yardland is involved. Again, the context of the final concord is unknown.

Another final concord, rather later in 1703, involved John Cowlshaw, Robert and Abigail Wood and William and Rachel Gregge and 13 acres of land and 5 acres each of meadow and pasture in Wilne, Shardlow and Sawley.<sup>74</sup> Much later, in 1748, a John Cowlshaw referred in his will to lands and cow and sheep pastures in Wilne and Shardlow bought from a John Soare, but without any indication of the date of this transaction. Whether there was any connection between John, the property in the final concord and that in Cowlshaw's will is not known.

### **Leonard Fosbrooke**

The first Leonard Fosbrooke known in Shardlow leased the ferry at Wilden (near where the later Cavendish Bridge was built) from 1641<sup>3</sup> and from there controlled the navigation of the Trent upstream to Burton on Trent. This, and his trading activities as an important carrier, particularly of cheese, brought him the wealth that was to enable him to build up an estate in Shardlow and elsewhere, although few of his title deeds survive.

A marriage settlement of 1693<sup>75</sup> is the earliest deed relating to the Fosbrookes we have, but it is very informative, not only concerning what the Leonard Fosbrooke of the time owned but also from whom he had acquired it. The deed refers first to the messuage lately built in Shardlow in which Leonard Fosbrooke the elder now lives (the marriage settlement was for his son and heir, Leonard the younger), an oxgang, 3 acres of land, two closes in Shardlow and Wilne and a yardland in Wilne and Shardlow and all the other lands purchased from John Soare to the aforementioned premises belonging, with 10 beast or horse pastures and 50 sheep pastures belonging to the yardland. The yardland is perhaps the Wilne yardland sold by Robert Holden to John Soare in 1656.<sup>59</sup>

The other settled property, which had once belonged to the Soares, was described as Wilkinsons Yard Land in Shardlow and Wilne, with 10 beast and 50 sheep pastures, bought in the names of James Bacon and Benjamin Wells from William Soare of Shardlow, yeoman son and heir of John Soare of Shardlow yeoman deceased and Robert Wood of Shardlow and his wife Katherine, eldest daughter of John Soare.

The next property described was arable land, meadow and pasture in Wilne, Shardlow and Aston, bought in the name of Robert Wood from John and Christopher Wood, with 12 horse or beast pastures and 88 sheep pastures. This is no doubt the farm (or part of it) bought more than a century before by John Wood from Isabella Cleybroke and William and Elizabeth Robyns, although the house is not included and the number of beast pastures was only 12 rather than the 17 John Wood had bought. Finally, there were small pieces of land with 4 horse or cow pastures bought from Joseph Wright. Exactly how much land was involved it is difficult to say – if it was related to the number of pastures mentioned it was less than a yardland.

Fosbrooke built Shardlow Hall, according to the date stone, in 1684. It is sometimes assumed that the house was built on land bought from Nicholas Wilmot but there is no evidence to support this. This settlement suggests, although it is not certain, that it was more likely to have been built on land bought from John Soare. As far as Soare's land is concerned, the oxgang (the only time this word has been noted in a Shardlow document) may be the same as a yardland. Altogether there were 3 yardlands, counting the oxgang as such, which Fosbrooke had from the Soares, perhaps but by no means certainly, the 3 yardlands mentioned in John Soare's will. From this settlement, it can be seen that Fosbrooke had over 4 yardlands in Shardlow and Wilne by this time, that is at least 100 acres, but we do not know whether this was the whole of what he owned in the township. The Fosbrookes were one of the families who were to dominate Shardlow and Wilne in the 18th century and would indeed be the largest of the landowning families there by the end of that century.

Much of the land mentioned in this settlement appears to have come from the Soares, some of it already known to us – the yardland which had probably been bought by John Soare in 1656. Whether some other of the former Soare property is already known to us but evidence of its succession to the family's ownership is lost it is impossible to say, but one of their former properties appears to be new. 'Oxgang' is not a term used in any other known surviving documents relating to Shardlow and there is no evidence of the history of this land.

### **William Bryan and the Kendall family**

The lands to which William Bryan was to succeed, according to deeds of 1651 and 1658 mentioned earlier (see above), were settled by him previous to his marriage to Rebecca Kendall, sister of Jonathan Kendall of 'Aldrestrey' (Awstrey), Warwickshire gentleman, in June 1674.<sup>76</sup> This he was able to do because his mother Ellen in the previous month had assigned to William the estate given her by the deeds of 1651 and 1658, presumably in preparation for the marriage.<sup>77</sup> Rebecca's dowry was £200. The property was described as a messuage, cottage or tenement in which Bryan lived and a close near in Shardlow, 1½ yardlands in Shardlow and Wilne, two other messuages or cottages and lands in Shardlow and Wilne, Banton's Flatt in which a messuage or cottage lately stood, and Sympons Close in Shardlow. This is the same Kendall family which earlier in the century had owned property in Aston but had sold it, so far as one can tell. It is unexpected to find that the family, now living in Warwickshire, still had connections with Aston.

By the 1690s William and Rebecca seem to have been in difficulties. In 1691, William sold a cottage with a small amount of land in Shardlow<sup>78</sup> and may have mortgaged some of the property in the marriage settlement to Jonathan Kendall of Awstrey, Warwickshire, gentleman and two others (probably trustees).<sup>79</sup> In 1712 premises described as a messuage, Morley, Naylor and Sympons Closes, Banton and Little Flatts in Shardlow and 1½ yardlands and 16 beast gates in Shardlow and Wilne were conveyed by persons who may have been trustees or

mortgagees, to Jonathan Kendall<sup>80</sup> (see below). These, on the face of it surprising transactions, may have been to help William and Rebecca out of money problems and to protect Rebecca's interests in the event of her widowhood, but this can only be conjecture.

## THE EARLY 18th CENTURY

### **Curzon of Kedleston**

In 1703, Sir Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston bought from William Roberts of Shardlow yeoman, son and heir of Joseph Roberts deceased, a messuage and 2 yardlands in Shardlow and Wilne for £400. This will be the former Weston manor farm sold to Simon Roberts by Nicholas Wilmot in 1648 (see above). Shardlow is not near the Curzons' main estate, but nevertheless a Curzon had been involved with Shardlow before as John Soare's will of 1683 has shown. In fact, John Curzon was dealing in property in the area at this time. He was buying in Elvaston near Shardlow in 1673,<sup>81</sup> whilst on the other hand selling property at Alvaston in 1681.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the Curzons held on to their Elvaston property until 1724.<sup>83</sup> So far as is known, the family did not add to their land holdings in Shardlow, although they remained in possession of this farm for almost a century.<sup>84</sup>

### **The Cowlshaw family**

A John Cowlshaw was involved in a final concord of 1703 (see above) which may indicate that he bought a small amount of land from Robert Wood consisting of 13 acres of land and 5 acres each of meadow and pasture (which it is possible are the same 5 acres differently described)<sup>74</sup>. This may represent a half yardland. John Cowlshaw in 1731 also bought a messuage from George Roulston, with its garden and orchard in 'Wilden', probably what was called a homestead in the 18th century.<sup>85</sup> Otherwise, it is not until (presumably) another John describing himself as of Shardlow gentleman made his will in 1748 (proved in 1750) that there is any further evidence available as to their property.<sup>86</sup> A major part of it was in Aston, the inheritance of John's mother, Grace, as was Bingham Green in Shardlow and Mill Holm in Castle Donington,<sup>87</sup> but Cowlshaw also referred to a messuage in Wilne purchased from Robert and George 'Roulson' with its orchard and gardens, and lands and cow and sheep pastures bought from John Soare in Wilne and Shardlow. It is possible that the last-named property was in fact that apparently purchased from Robert Wood (see John Soare above), John Soare's son-in-law. There are however no dates given for these purchases so it is impossible to identify them with certainty.

### **The Burgin family**

#### *1) Shardlow manor house and lands and the Burgin family<sup>22</sup>*

A gap in the history of the manor house and the lands attached to it strictly lasts until 1707, but it may be that its history can be traced from at least 1683. In that year, John Harryman of Derby woollen draper referred in his will to his lands at Shardlow, although without giving any details. Almost certainly, this reference is to the manor house and its lands (see below). He may have been the John Harriman who was mayor of Derby in 1665 and was named as one of the Brethren of the Borough for life in the Borough charter of 1682. John left his Shardlow property to his wife Frances for her life, then to his son John. It seems that the decision was made to sell the property and John the son as tenant in tail levied a fine (see endnote) to the eventual purchaser before his mother's conveyance of it.



The house and its lands were sold by Frances Harryman of Derby widow of John of Derby woollen draper to John Burgin of Shardlow yeoman in 1707 for £1250, described as the capital messuage, manor house or tenement in which Burgin lived, and the closes of pasture called Horne or Halman Dike, the Alleys and the Rindle, all in Shardlow, 4 yardlands of arable land dispersed in the fields of Shardlow and Wilne, 20 acres of meadow some on the North side, some on the South side, of the Trent, 40 beast (cattle) pastures and 200 sheep commons belonging with the manor house, all in Shardlow and Wilne, and three cottages. The conveyance is endorsed 'Old Farm' although the writing is difficult to date. Probably this was about 150 acres, with the 4 yardlands about 100 acres, to which must be added the house and yard (later said to be 5 acres), 20 acres of meadows, and the Horndykes and Alleys (again from later evidence) nearly 30 acres. In the following year, Burgin mortgaged the property for £600 so he was able to fund around half the purchase price and he or his son must have eventually paid the mortgage off as the Burgins remained in possession of the manor house and most of its lands for nearly two centuries.

Little is known of John Burgin's background. The Hearth Tax Assessments (1662-1670) name a John Burgaine and a Widow Burgaine, each assessed for one hearth in Wilne and Shardlow, so they would not appear to have been well off. A letter addressed to a Mr Burgin in 1679 gives his address as a house in Shardlow near the Ferry, but he may or may not be the John Burgin who bought the manor house. If he was it raises the possibility that he made his money from traffic on the river, but there is no evidence concerning his career. It is also possible that John Burgin was one of the appraisers of the will of John Soare in 1683, along with Leonard Fosbrooke and John Wood, so was already of some local note. John and Sarah Burgin baptised a son John at Aston Church in 1688 and in this case John senior is undoubtedly the John of the 1707 purchase. In 1710, the elder John settled on his son the two closes called the Horndykes (15 acres) and Sheepy Flatt with a cottage in it (6 acres), 1½ acres of meadow, 4 beastgates and 20 beast pastures. The lands bought in 1707 were therefore reduced by 22½ acres, as well as by a number of beast gates and sheep commons.

## 2) *Kendall and Burgin*<sup>22</sup>

John Burgin's elder son had the unusual name of Alpheus, which was to continue in use within the family for some years. It was he, who in 1714, paid £610 15s to Edward and Jonathan Kendall gentlemen respectively of Old Swinford, Worcestershire and Awstrey, Warwickshire, for the property which Jonathan had bought from William and Rebecca Bryan in 1712. It was described as a messuage and a messuage or cottage in Shardlow, 1½ yardlands belonging to the first messuage mentioned and dispersed in the fields of Shardlow, Wilne and Aston, Morley, Naylor and Sympons Closes and Banton and Little Flatts in Shardlow and 16 beastgates in Shardlow and Wilne.<sup>88</sup>

It is difficult to gauge the size of the property as the sizes of the closes and flatts are unknown. Even if they were quite small, it seems likely that Alpheus must have acquired at least 50 acres of land. When the two purchases are combined (and after the land settled on his younger brother is taken into account) the Burgins may have held 180 acres or more and could possibly have been the largest landowners in Shardlow at this time (but the extent of the Fosbrooke estate is an unknown quantity at the beginning of the 18th century). This purchase was the last major one the Burgin family made and their estate was never to grow any larger, although there were some changes to it over the years. Nevertheless, they remained in Shardlow as owners of a modest estate together with the manor house (although the name

was to be forgotten) until almost the end of the 19th century.

### **Roulston, Attenborow and Cowlshaw**

Little is known of the Roulston family after the purchase by Robert Roulston of a messuage and 1½ yardlands in Wilne and Shardlow from Nicholas Wilmot in 1648, when the latter sold part of his newly-acquired Weston Manor property. A final concord of 1710, however, probably shows that a Robert Roulston sold part of his property at that time to Richard Attenborow.<sup>89</sup> It appears to have consisted of 20 acres of land, together with 6 acres of meadow and 6 of pasture with common of pasture in Wilne and Shardlow. This may have been the majority of Robert Roulston's land for it was probably a yardland. It was some 41 years later before anyone with the name Attenborow was named in any other known document (see below).

Other information relating to the Roulston's farm comes from the will of John Cowlshaw made in 1748,<sup>86</sup> in which he refers to a messuage in Wilne purchased from Robert and George Roulson (sic) with its orchard and garden. It would appear therefore that the Roulston's small farm was dismembered in the first half of the 18th century, bringing Richard Attenborow into Shardlow and enlarging the Cowlshaws' property in the process.

### **The Holden family**

The Holden lands had remained divided between the Aston Hall family and the line which descended from Robert Holden's youngest son John. The former family do not appear to have held much land in Shardlow or Wilne, but the latter held a substantial property chiefly in Wilne, but also in Shardlow. As described in a marriage settlement of 1693<sup>63</sup> John Holden of Wilne gentleman held a messuage in Wilne, 3 yardlands belonging to the messuage, Wards Close, a cottage and lands, four closes including one called the Shrubbs, said in a later deed to be 15 acres,<sup>90</sup> closes now divided into three called the Osiers or Stenyard, all in Wilne, two flats in the fields of Wilne and Shardlow, the Hall Greene, cottage and lands with Coate Close, and a cottage with five crofts all in Shardlow. He also held half the manor (that is, the lordship) of Weston, which at this time was still divided between sons of Robert Holden, although within a few years it belonged wholly to the Aston Hall family. Again, it is difficult to quantify John Holden's property, but it must have been over 100 acres taking into account the 3 yardlands and the Shrubbs, the lands for the size of which we have some knowledge. Most of this, perhaps all, had once belonged to the manor of Weston. In 1719, a final concord described the property of Robert, then head of the family, as three messuages, 86 acres of land, 30 acres each of meadow and pasture and common of pasture in Shardlow and Wilne.<sup>91</sup>

In 1720 came the first sign that the family was struggling, as in that year Robert sold The Shrubbs, adjoining the Derwent, containing 15 acres, and a holt to Leonard Fosbrooke for £800.<sup>92</sup> It was valuable land to be sold for so high a price. A few years later, in 1725 Mary, Robert's widow and Charles, Robert's son and heir, mortgaged the 3 yardlands for £350,<sup>93</sup> the first of their borrowings which finally led to the whole of their remaining land being sold to Robert Holden of Foremark esq. in 1729.<sup>94</sup> He paid £1250 for the messuage, 3 yardlands, a cottage and all other lands of Charles in Wilne and Shardlow, but over £730 of this was to pay off the mortgage to Robert. An interesting aspect of this is that Mary and her son Charles had borrowed largely to buy a stock of cattle, implements of husbandry and 'other things' for the management of the farm at Wilne.<sup>95</sup>

Robert Holden of Foremark was the grandson of the Robert who had established the modern Aston Hall estate in 1648 and son of Samuel Holden who had held Aston Hall from

the 1660s until his death in 1692. Robert his heir does not appear to have lived at Aston Hall until late in his life, after he had rebuilt it (in 1735). He was a very successful lawyer and had begun to add to his lands in the 1720s, but this was his first purchase in Wilne and Shardlow. His other purchase was smaller, completed in 1732, although first agreed to in 1729. When the conveyance from Christopher Wright of Toton, Nottinghamshire, yeoman was finally completed it consisted of a messuage in Shardlow, two closes near the messuage, 2 Flatts and 8 horse or cow pastures all in Wilne and Shardlow (and a close and some small pieces of land including a reference to Hornditch pool in Aston).<sup>96</sup> The origins of this property are by no means clear as indicated earlier (see The End of the Weston Estate above). It is difficult to estimate the size of the property in Shardlow bought from Wright as the acreages of the closes and Flatts are not given, and there was a little land in Aston also included, but the price of £505 was quite substantial. With this, the closes inherited from the 17th century and the more sizeable lands bought from Charles Holden, the head of the Aston Hall estate was now one of the larger landowners in Shardlow.

### **The Bryan and Swindell families**

Of the farm at Wilne, at one time belonging to the Hunt family and bought by John Bryan from John Sale in 1647, little is known for some years, although John's will of 1671 indicates that he had settled on the farm (see John Bryan and his family above). In 1714, however, the Bryans were mortgaging their Wilne property and by 1728 it was heavily mortgaged to Henry 'Swindale' Tonge, Leicestershire, yeoman. In 1735, Elizabeth Bryan widow together with Thomas Martin probably sold the property to Henry Swindell gentleman.<sup>97</sup> It was described in the final concord concerned (no conveyance is known to have survived) as a messuage, 50 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow, 16 acres of pasture, pasture for 24 beasts and common of pasture for all cattle (this may mean pasture for all animals) in Wilne and Shardlow. There can be little doubt that this is the farm described in the 1647 conveyance as 2½ yardlands with 24 pastures. Swindell did not live in Wilne and presumably bought the property as an investment. It passed to his son the Reverend Henry Swindell, a graduate of Cambridge who, although in holy orders, never held a living. Presumably the proceeds of the land he inherited or otherwise acquired in Shardlow and Spondon were sufficient for his needs.<sup>98</sup> Like his father he never lived in Wilne and in the later years of his life he lived at Borrowash where he died in 1801 aged 74.

### **The Fosbrookes**

The Fosbrookes continued to add to their estate but the purchases of which we know were small-scale. The sale of the Shrubbs (15 acres) by Robert Holden of Wilne to Leonard Fosbrooke in 1720 has already been noted, but in addition Leonard bought a neighbouring piece of land called Dobholme or Woodshrubbs (10 acres) and an ozier bed (3 acres), perhaps in two parts, in 1694 and 1719.<sup>99</sup> Between 1719 and 1744 the Fosbrookes made a number of small purchases of messuages, cottages, a close, small areas of land in the open fields, and beast and sheep pastures in Wilne and Shardlow,<sup>100</sup> and in 1735 Sheepy Flatt (6 acres) together with a cottage, two pieces of meadow (1½ acres), 4 beast pastures and 20 sheep pastures from John Burgin of Sawley malster<sup>101</sup> – some of the property settled by John Burgin on his younger son John in 1710 (see above). It is impossible to estimate the total extent of these purchases as acreages are not always given, but where they are they are not large. Much of what was bought was already enclosed.

It is evident that when larger properties came on to the market in the first half of the century, they had not been bought by the Fosbrooke family. Instead, they had gone to John and Alpheus Burgin, Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Robert Holden of Aston and Henry Swindell. Mr Attenborow's lesser lands were also purchased in this period (see Roulston, Attenborough and Cowlshaw above).

### **John Burgin and the parish of Lockington in Leicestershire**

Earlier it was noted that that the smaller properties settled on John Burgin the younger in 1710 were sold to Leonard Fosbrooke in 1735, but already the larger part of what had been settled on him had been sold to the Reverend George Metcalfe of Lockington, a nearby parish in the County of Leicester. The sale was in fact made through the agency of Queen Anne's Bounty for the augmentation of the livings of poor parishes. In the deeds relating to this sale John Burgin junior described himself as of Sawley gentleman and the lands concerned were described as two closes of meadow in Shardlow with a pool adjoining computed as 15 acres. In other documents relating to the sale by Burgin the lands are referred to as the Horne Dikes. The sale appears to have been completed by 1729.<sup>102</sup> The parish of Lockington continued to hold this land into the mid 19th century, although it seems to have lost part of its area. As a footnote, it is interesting to see that a pool is included, so the Horne Dikes had apparently not entirely dried out, yet the pool had not been mentioned for many years. (The 'Hornditch' pool is also mentioned in another context 3 years later in 1732).<sup>96</sup>

### THE EARLY 1730s TO THE ENCLOSURE AWARD OF 1757

By now, three families – Burgin, Holden and Fosbrooke – were well established and would remain the principal landowners in Shardlow and Wilne throughout the 18th century, together with Cowlshaw, Curzon and Swindell (or Swyndall) as lesser names but still substantial owners. The last name is new. This family was the last of the larger 18th century owners to emerge, their property rivalling that of the Cowlshaws. The Reverend Mr Swyndall (the spelling varied) had succeeded his father Henry, purchaser of the former Bryan farm, by the time of the enclosure award.

Of the two purchasers of the Weston manor estate, Wilmot had sold on everything very quickly, but the Holdens continued to hold a substantial part of what Robert Holden had bought in Shardlow and Wilne, more particularly in Wilne. The Cowlshaws, one of the second stage buyers from the Weston lands, remained and as will be seen increased their holdings. The lands bought by John Soar, Simon Roberts and William Bryan had fallen into the hands of Leonard Fosbrooke, Sir John Curzon and, ultimately, John Burgin respectively. A small part of Joseph Wright's farm had also been bought by Leonard Fosbrooke but the fate of the rest of it is uncertain. A series of deeds relating to Pym's small property does, however, survive in the Sutton archive<sup>103</sup> and shows that the family continued to hold it into the 19th century (see below).

The last of those who had bought lands from Nicholas Wilmot was Robert Roulston who had purchased a messuage and 1½ yardlands from him. Although nothing further is known of Robert's family in the 17th century it will have been seen above that their farm was broken up early in the 18th century. Part had been sold by Robert and Katherine Roulston to Richard Attenborow and part (the messuage with its gardens and orchard) to John Cowlshaw. A little more of the history of this property appears later when, in 1751, 5 acres of land with 20 sheep pastures and 2 cow pastures were mortgaged by Kirby Wharton of Woodborough,

Nottinghamshire, and his wife Anne. Anne's father Richard Attenborow deceased was said to have bought it from a Robert Roulston and his wife Catherine, but whether this property was part of the sale mentioned above or whether it was an additional purchase is not known.<sup>104</sup>

The Fosbrookes sold all their Shardlow lands in the early 19th century. Presumably, title deeds relating to the lands involved in their sales were passed on to the purchasers, but the archives of the Earls of Harrington to whom a large part of the Fosbrooke estate was sold include very little relating to their Shardlow properties and the archives of the Sutton family who bought some of the Fosbrooke lands (and eventually much else in Shardlow) are scrappy and incomplete. Much evidence concerning the earlier history of the lands these three families (Fosbrooke, Harrington and Sutton) came to own in Shardlow and Wilne is therefore missing and they (together with Weston manor and the Holdens and Burgins who are better documented) are the most significant of the township's landowners.

#### DOCUMENTARY SOURCES, THE MID 18th CENTURY TO 1924

From the mid 18th century there are public records which can give much information on landownership in Shardlow and Wilne, although they are unable to completely make up for the lack of private deeds. The earliest is the enclosure award of 1757, covering 885 acres of the area. This also created a drain rate although no records of it survive until the early 19th century. Confusingly, it also covers a small area of Aston township (later parish) but a note of which entries in the rates lists relate to Aston is appended to this article. Drain rate records exist for 1823, 1825, 1827-1857 and 1872, although they do not cover the whole area of Shardlow and Wilne.

Some three years after the enclosure award, from 1780, land tax assessments survive and continue in unbroken series until 1832. They show the proportion of the township held by individual owners and document changes in ownership (though without giving all the detail). Five years after the land tax assessments came to an end, a valuation of land in 'The Townships and Parish of Shardlow and Wilne' was made, possibly associated with the creation of the new parish of Shardlow and Wilne in 1837-1838. Next, in 1850, the tithe award gives information on the 252 acres not covered by the enclosure award and, although much later than the enclosure and chiefly providing evidence for its own time, it is sometimes able to supplement the information in the earlier document. This is particularly so for the Holden and Fosbrooke estates, despite the Fosbrookes having left Shardlow some years before the tithe award was made. Finally, the land valuation records of the early 20th century show the situation for the whole of the township almost at the end of the period with which this account is concerned.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE ENCLOSURE AWARD<sup>105</sup>

##### **Introduction**

The enclosure award of 1757 is described as being for the enclosure of Aston and Shardlow Moor common fields meadows and pastures within the manor of Weston and the prebend of Sawley (Dobholme Shrubs, a small piece of waste was said to be within the prebend). It dealt with 885 acres of unfenced common land in the common fields, largely arable with some meadow, but including about 200 acres of cow pastures and 80 acres or so of moor. The area of cow pastures was large and evidently separate from the moor. Together, cow pastures and

moor made up about a third of the land enclosed and a quarter, perhaps a little more, of the whole area of Shardlow and Wilne township.

The enclosure award provides for the first time a survey of the landowners of the township yet it is an incomplete survey. It is concerned with only 885 acres as observed above, whilst the remaining 252 acres of Shardlow and Wilne are not included, but it is, of course, necessary to know what each landowner held within both areas to know the size of his estate. There is no information for the area not subject to the enclosure award until almost a hundred years later, when, in 1851, a tithe commutation map and award was made for these 252 acres showing what each landowner held in the area and what he should pay to the Rector in lieu of tithe. It is, however, so much later than the enclosure award that the two awards cannot be used together to give a complete picture of land ownership at any one time. Nevertheless it is possible that, late as the tithe award is, it can illustrate the extent of the estates of James Shuttleworth and Leonard Fosbrooke in the 18th century (see below). It should perhaps be added that as the tithe award covered the built-up areas of the village of Shardlow and the hamlet of Wilne, probably most of those holding land enclosed in 1757 would also have had at least a farmstead in one or other of these settlements (with Mr Attenborow a possible exception).

### **Tithe and the Rector**

Tithe payments from the lands subject to the enclosure award were extinguished under the award and land allotted to the Rector of Aston in lieu of tithe. As a result, the Rector became a substantial landowner within Shardlow, allotted 100 acres of land, whereas before he had held only 1 acre in the township, his glebe lying almost entirely within Aston up to this time. This explains why in the account of land allotted to the landowners under the enclosure award two figures are given, land before enclosure and land after, the latter always lower than the former (except for the Rector), the difference representing the amount of land given up to the Rector (Fig. 3).

### **The allotments to the landowners**

The largest landowner was given as Leonard Fosbrooke esq. with 201 acres before the enclosure and 184 acres after. (NOTE that the figures following show the 'before' figures in brackets and the word 'acres' is omitted.) Then came Alpheus Burgin gentleman (179) after 157; William Cowlshaw gentleman (126) after 113; the Reverend Mr Swyndall (116) after 101; James Shuttleworth esq. – husband of Mary, the Holden heiress – (111) after 98; and Sir Nathaniel Curzon (70) after 63. There were six others who were allotted land, one of them the Rector with 1 acre before the enclosure and 100 acres after, as described above.

The other five had much smaller estates and only one of them owned sufficient land for its history to be followed in this study. He was Mr Attenborow with 32 acres before enclosure and 27 after. The remaining four held between them only 46 acres of land before and 36 after enclosure. Two of these may perhaps relate to families which had figured amongst the 17th century landowners. One was Mr Pimm (18), 14 after and another Ab. Wood (15), 12 after. Pimm may well be a descendant of the family which bought a small property from Nicholas Wilmot in the mid 17th century and the land was possibly what his ancestor bought then. Perhaps, too, Wood came from the family known as landowners in the late 16th and 17th centuries, but this can only be conjecture.

*Leonard Fosbrooke*

The quantity of land which Leonard Fosbrooke owned is greater than expected from known deed evidence but the figures given above are not what they seem. The acreages given for lands held before the enclosure include lands allotted in lieu of cow pastures and moor. The amount of arable and meadow, that is the land described as yardlands in deeds, is therefore sometimes considerably less than the total of lands said in the 1757 award to have been held before the enclosure. So, Fosbrooke was allotted 50 acres for his cow pastures and 20 acres

	A	R	P	A	R	P
<i>S<sup>r</sup>. Nathaniel Curzon</i>	70	...	55	63	...	07
<i>James Shuttleworth Esq<sup>r</sup></i>	333	...	15	98	3	29
<i>Leonard Fosbrooke Esq<sup>r</sup></i>	203	...	16	184	2	23
<i>Alpheus Bagen Gen<sup>l</sup></i>	374	...	08	167	3	09
<i>The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Swindall</i>	336	...	02	103	3	35
<i>William Cordishaw Gen<sup>l</sup></i>	326	3	26	333	2	09
<i>M<sup>r</sup>. Ottenbrow</i>	32	2	38	27	...	32
<i>M<sup>r</sup>. Tim</i>	38	2	29	11	2	27
<i>M<sup>r</sup>. Grewley</i>	1	3	31	3	2	36
<i>M<sup>r</sup>. Harrison</i>	9	...	19	7	3	37
<i>M<sup>r</sup>. Wood</i>	15	3	07	32	3	05
<i>The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Rolleston</i>	3	3	37	100	...	07
	<b>885 3 19</b>			<b>884 ... 01</b>		

Fig. 3: Schedule from an account of lands in Shardlow and Wilne 'proposed to be divided and inclosed' and the parcels allotted for the shares of each proprietor [1757]. The 3 left-hand columns indicate the allotments before the Rector of Aston was allotted his share and the 3 right-hand columns show what each proprietor received when the Rector's share had been calculated. His allotment is shown at the end of the list. (DRO D1326 A/PZ 1, with acknowledgement to the Parish of St James, Shardlow)

for moorland, that is, 70 acres in all, and his 201 acres included only 131 acres of common arable and meadow, more in line with what we know of his purchases up to this point. After his allotment to the Rector, Leonard Fosbrooke had 184 acres. Crucially, however, the account of the Fosbrookes' estate is incomplete as we cannot know how much land they had bought in the area not covered by the enclosure award, that is, land already enclosed at the time of purchase (or possibly enclosed by private agreement after purchase). It was this land, enclosed before 1757, which was included in the title award of 1851.

There is no doubt that some of their property had been in the area of the 1851 award even from the late 17th century, for Shardlow Hall, built in 1684, was there, together with two closes referred to in a settlement of 1693 (see Leonard Fosbrooke above). Dobholme or Woodshrubs and an ozier bed, together 13 acres, had been added between 1694 and 1719.

A later Leonard Fosbrooke had bought The Shrubs (15 acres) from Robert Holden of Wilne in 1720 (see The Holden family above), other small properties in 1726 and 1731 and some small pieces of land from John Burgin in 1735. These were not individually large purchases, but, together with the enclosed land already acquired by 1693, the Fosbrookes had a by no means negligible extent of land already enclosed before the 1757 enclosure award and the tithe award suggests; it could have been as much as 90 acres (see below).

#### *William Cowlshaw*

William Cowlshaw also held more land than expected (126 acres), but in his case this was still so, even after taking account of 24 acres in lieu of cow pastures and 9 acres for moor. The remaining land amounted to 93 acres, more than he would have had for the 2 yardlands his ancestor had bought from Robert Holden in 1656. It has already been noted, however (see above; John Soare, The Cowlshaw family and Roulston, Attenborow and Cowlshaw) that the Cowlshaws may have bought additional land from various persons – Robert Wood, Robert and George ‘Roulson’ and John Soare – and these purchases may account for the size of their property in 1757. William also had his farmhouse in the area covered by the tithe award and another homestead in Wilne (bought from Robert and George ‘Roulson’; see above Roulston, Attenborow and Cowlshaw), both additional to what he held according to the enclosure award.

#### *Alpheus Burgin*

Alpheus Burgin, on the contrary, had at first sight much what one would have expected, but as his allotment of 179 acres included 40 acres for cow pastures and 16 for moor, his arable and meadow was reduced to only 123 acres. This is rather less than the 130-140 acres one would have expected for the 5½ yardlands his ancestors had bought in their two purchases early in the century. On the other hand, he also had property in the area covered by the tithe award, for the manor house in its 5 acres in 1746 (although later reduced to 3¼ acres) and the Alleys (14 acres in the 18th century) were there, together almost certainly with other lands. The purchases made by John and his son in 1707 and 1714 respectively had included 3 closes and 2 flatts but we do not know their size – the ‘flates’ or flats shown on a map of 1766<sup>106</sup> may be anything from 3 to 9 acres. The largest of these flats was owned by the Burgins in 1851 but how far this is relevant to the 18th century we do not know. Altogether, it is possible that Alpheus Burgin had about 30 acres of land in the area covered by the tithe award to add to the 157 acres allotted to him in the enclosure award after 22 acres had been assigned to the Rector.

#### *James Shuttleworth*

James Shuttleworth like Alpheus Burgin was shown in the enclosure award as holding less than one would have expected, but a survey of the Holden estate probably made in about 1796 gives a very different account of the Shuttleworth/Holden estate. When the survey was made of the estate (by then held by the Reverend Charles Holden who had taken the name of his mother) he was said to have 204 acres in Shardlow and Wilne,<sup>107</sup> well above his enclosure allotment of 98 acres (including 28 acres of cow pastures and 11 acres of moor). In the nearly 40 years since the enclosure award much might have happened, but there is no evidence of the Holdens having added to their property in the township at any time after Robert Holden II’s purchases in 1729 and 1732.

The 72 acres of arable and meadow which James Shuttleworth was allotted in 1757



must almost entirely relate to the 3 yardlands Robert II had bought in 1729. The family's other lands, not subject to the enclosure award, probably came from three sources, enclosed meadows from Robert I's Weston manor lands bought in 1648, Robert II's 1729 purchase which included some closes (old enclosures) and the rest from his 1732 purchase which consisted of a house and closes (and 8 cow pastures). The title award of 1851 shows Edward Anthony Holden, the head of the family at that time, with 82 acres. We do not know exactly how much of the Shuttleworth/Holden estate dated from the 17th century or the purchases of 1729 and 1732, but it is at least feasible, if not certain, that the 82 acres the Holdens held in 1850 had been held by them from 1732 and some from before then. Added to the 98 acres allotted in the enclosure award, the 82 acres makes a total of 180 acres, rather less than the 204 acres of the survey, but the reason for the difference is not known.

It is evident that James Shuttleworth, far from holding less property than the Reverend Mr Swyndall and William Cowlshaw, was probably a larger landowner than either and it is possible, though less certain, than Alpheus Burgin. The latter, however, was soon to sell some of his lands (see below) and undoubtedly by the end of the century held less land than Shuttleworth and his Holden successors.

#### *Curzon, Attenborow and Swindell*

Note that the name Swindell may also be spelled Swindall or Swyndall, but has been standardised at Swindell here.

Probably the information given for the Curzons in the enclosure award comes closer to indicating the true size of their estate in Shardlow. Their 70 acres including 21 acres of land in lieu of cow pastures and moor, is about right for 2 yardlands, but they too may have had a farmhouse in the area subject to the title award as the latter covered the village settlements. Like the Fosbrookes they had left the area long before 1850 so there is no information on this.

The Reverend Mr Swindell's holding of 116 acres (before 15 acres for his share of the Rector's allotment had been deducted) included almost 26 acres of land in lieu of cow pastures and 10½ acres of moorland, so he would appear to have acquired about 80 acres of arable and meadow. This suggests that he had about 3 yardlands before the enclosure, that is, about ½ yardland over and above the extent of land bought by his father from Elizabeth Bryan in 1735 – earlier reckoned as 2½ yardlands. The 1735 conveyance had included only 24 beast pastures and as a little less than the equivalent of an acre was generally allocated for each beast in Shardlow and Wilne, 26 acres is probably about right for 3 yardlands. That the Swindells might have bought some additional land to that in the 1735 purchase it must be emphasised can only be conjecture on the evidence available at the moment. Their farmstead was in Wilne which lay within the area of the title award.

Mr Attenborow's land, at 32 acres before 5 acres were deducted for the Rector's glebe, presumably represents Richard Attenborow's purchase from Richard Roulston in 1710, but the farmhouse had not been included in that sale (and had much later been sold to John Cowlshaw) so, unless another house had been bought by the Attenborows at some time, they may not have held any additional property in the area covered by the title award. They had ceased to hold any land in Shardlow by 1780 (see below).

#### 1757-1780

In this short period there were few changes, but a sale of land by Alpheus Burgin large enough to make a noticeable difference to the size of his estate, almost certainly took place. The

drain rates of 1823 and 1825<sup>108</sup> refer to 42½ acres then belonging to the Earl of Harrington, whose 'original' owner was Alpheus Burgin. As Burgin's land tax did not decrease after 1780 (the first year for which we have a record of the tax), it must have been sold before 1780. Likewise, as the last Alpheus Burgin died in 1803 and the Earl had no property in Shardlow and Wilne until about 1815, the property had not passed directly from Burgin to Harrington. It must have come to the Earl from an intermediate owner, but there is no direct evidence as to who it might be.

The enclosure award<sup>1</sup> had initiated the drain rate and the names of the 'original' owners in the 1823 and 1825 documents (and even in 1872,<sup>109</sup> when Alpheus was again given as the original owner) appear to be the owners as given in the enclosure award. One of the allotments given to Alpheus Burgin indeed consisted of 42 acres. Moreover, the location of the allotment as described in the enclosure award could equally well apply to an area of 41-42 acres which the Earl owned according to the Land Valuation map of the early 20th century.<sup>110</sup> The description of the allotment to Alpheus 'Burgin' in 1757 was briefly 'a piece or parcel of Meadow or Pasture land on the South side the River Trent and adjoining thereto on the North west parts...containing Forty two Acres Two roods and Twenty nine perches'. As will appear below, the history of this property is not straightforward and as a result the drain rates are somewhat puzzling. The Earl undoubtedly owned the land by 1837, but in what circumstances and exactly when he acquired it is unclear. It does seem, however, that it came to him through a family which first appeared in the records as landowners in Shardlow and Wilne only in 1780 (see below).

This sale by Alpheus Burgin also gives some information on the size of his estate, said to have been 157 acres after the enclosure, though undoubtedly with land in that part of Shardlow and Wilne not included in the enclosure award. It was thought that, at this period, Alpheus Burgin might have had about 30 acres in the area of the tithe award, making a total of up to 190 acres of land. With 42 acres sold, it would seem that he would have had only 140-150 acres left. It is probable that Alpheus Burgin also sold a little other property at this time for the manor house and its site decreased in size from 5 to ¾ acres and the Alleys too became smaller, with both developments having occurred by 1766.<sup>106</sup> Whatever the case, the land tax he paid indicates a landholding of around 150 acres.

The tax levied on the Fosbrookes' property in the land tax assessments varied little from 1780 to 1812,<sup>111</sup> about the time when the first, though small, sale heralding the family's move to Ravenstone was made. It would appear, therefore, that their estate was complete by 1780. A settlement of 1794<sup>112</sup> gave their estate in Shardlow and Wilne as 284 acres, substantially above their enclosure allotment of 184 acres. There is reason to think, however, (see below) that the family may have held as much as 90 or more acres in the area covered by the tithe award and if this was so it would account for the 1794 settlement total.

It must have been in this period that Richard Attenborow ceased to own land in Shardlow and Wilne, for his name does not occur in the first land tax assessment of 1780, nor in any subsequent assessment. In the drain rate list of 1825, however, 17 ½ acres of land owned then by James Soresby was said to have been originally owned by Richard Attenborow and 9½ acres owned by James Sutton also.<sup>113</sup> As these quantities total 27 acres, Attenborow's allotment as set out in the enclosure award, they presumably account for all of his lands although exactly when and how they came into the hands of Soresby and Sutton is not known.

THE LAND TAX ASSESSMENTS 1780-1832<sup>114</sup>**Introduction**

The land tax was introduced in the late 17th century, but few of the assessments survive until 1780. From that date until 1832 they were used to show who was qualified to vote in Parliamentary elections, as the basis for the franchise was the ownership of land or the leasing of property above a certain value. They were therefore retained and have survived in the records of Quarter Sessions and are invaluable for tracing the history of land ownership where deeds are lacking. The lists were drawn up annually and give the names of owners (called proprietors) and tenants (occupiers) of each property and the land tax payable. They give no details of the properties but as the tax payable on a property does not vary from year to year it is possible to track ownership through the sums assessed. There can, however, be difficulties when a property was split between more than one new owner, and sometimes small changes may not be registered. Although the extent (acreage) of properties is not given, it is possible roughly to assess the proportion of the township's lands held by any one person, unless the land concerned was very small.

Land tax assessments consulted were those for 1780, then every fifth year from 1785 to 1825 inclusive and 1832, as well as other years as necessary. The first year of the assessments was only 23 years after the enclosure award and all the names one would expect were in the tax list, but there were additional names which did not appear in the enclosure award. One was the Rector of Lockington, holding the land bought for Lockington through Queen Anne's Bounty (see John Burgin and the parish of Lockington above), not named in the enclosure award because the Horne Dykes was already enclosed and not therefore affected by it. Another was John Thacker, probably the purchaser of the 42 acres which Alpheus Burgin had sold between 1757 and 1780 (see below).

An oddity of the Wilne and Shardlow (their usual title) assessments is that the total of the tax assessed varies over the period. In 1780 it was £18 15s 1¼d, a very low sum compared with the assessments for other places. By 1790 it had doubled to £37 10s 2½d and by 1795 it had doubled again to £75 0s 5d (and later was calculated at £75 0s 7d). It was not increased again. Sums charged on the individual land holdings were scaled up accordingly. The figures used here will be those given for 1795 onwards. This latest annual total was in line with what would be expected. It suggests that the assessment for 100 acres was perhaps about £6 10s, based on a figure of 1130-1140 acres for the township. Although it is impossible to be certain that this is correct, it does seem to be about right. For instance, the Swindell estate is said to have been 101 acres in the enclosure award (and there was also a homestead in Wilne) and it was assessed for £6 13s 10d. Using this figure allows a rough estimate of the size of a landholding to be made when, as is more usually the case, no precise figure is available.

**The Fosbrooke estate**

The assessments show that Leonard Fosbrooke paid a little over a quarter of the tax levied on the township in 1780 until and including the 1812 assessment, at which point the annual tax on his property was £19 4s 8d.

It is in the assessment for 1813 that there is the first evidence of sales from the estate with the tax on two of Fosbrooke's small properties now payable by James Sutton and William Bullock respectively.<sup>115</sup> A more significant amount of land is shown in the ownership of the Earl of Harrington (his family name was Stanhope) in the 1815 list,<sup>116</sup> when he was taxed for

what was possibly a little over 60 acres of former Fosbrooke property. In the following year, Leonard Fosbrooke agreed to convey to the Earl about 94 acres of land, described in detail, to which agreement was added all other lands held by Thomas Moore, altogether 130 acres, the sale to take effect in 1817. In fact only the 94 acres appear to have been conveyed.<sup>117</sup> The 1817 assessment shows that a large property in the occupation of Thomas Moore, paying £6 1s 8d in tax, had ceased to belong to Fosbrooke and had passed into the ownership of the Earl of Harrington.<sup>118</sup> In the 1820 assessment, Leonard Fosbrooke's was again reduced by a small amount for land sold to James Sutton<sup>119</sup> and he was left with what was almost certainly Shardlow Hall and lands sufficient to pay £5 15s 8d tax, plus another small property on which he paid £1 10s 8d.

Fosbrooke by 1820 paying £7 6s 4d in tax, therefore, had a little over a third of his old estate left. The Earl of Harrington had bought most of the land sold by Leonard Fosbrooke, but he was never to have Shardlow Hall. By 1827,<sup>120</sup> the remainder of the Fosbrooke estate had fallen into the hands of James Sutton (although he sold the smaller property on to the Earl) and Fosbrooke had moved to Ravenstone, then partly in Derbyshire and partly in Leicestershire, but now wholly in Leicestershire.

### **The Earl of Harrington**

The Earl of Harrington from the neighbouring parish of Elvaston was a newcomer to Shardlow and Wilne. Although the Stanhopes had owned the manor of Elvaston since 1565 and it was one of their main family seats,<sup>121</sup> so far as is known they had never tried to buy land in the township. It was at this period, however, that the Earl also first bought land in Aston, though his purchases were smaller than in Shardlow and Wilne.<sup>36</sup>

The account above of the break-up of the Fosbrooke estate shows that the Earl was first taxed for land which had previously been a part of it in 1815 – about 60 acres. This was quickly followed by the largest of Harrington's purchases from Leonard Fosbrooke, probably the 94 acres described in detail which the latter in 1816 agreed to convey to the Earl, the purchase to be completed in 1817. The last of the Earl of Harrington's purchases of former Fosbrooke property came through James Sutton. By 1827 the whole of the property remaining in the ownership of Leonard Fosbrooke, after his earlier sales, was in the hands of James Sutton. By 1830,<sup>122</sup> Sutton had sold on to the Earl the land on which Fosbrooke had paid £1 10s 8d land tax. Harrington now had almost three fifths of what had once been the Fosbrooke estate, paying land tax of £11 11s, probably for 170-180 acres of land.

### **Thomas and James Sutton**

A lesser part of Leonard Fosbrooke's lands had gone to James Sutton, the other newcomer to Shardlow and Wilne, but Shardlow Hall was his from about 1826-1827.<sup>123</sup> In the longer term his family was destined to be more important than Harrington's to the history of Shardlow and Wilne. Unlike the Earl, he was a new man who had made his money out of trade and the traffic on the Trent and Mersey Canal. The Canal section from Derwentmouth (the junction of the River Trent with the Canal at Shardlow) to Great Haywood was opened in 1770. As traffic transferred from the river to the Canal, the canal port came into existence and the population of Shardlow began to expand. The Suttons, though not the only ones to take advantage from this, were the most successful.

Thomas is the first member of the Sutton family known in Shardlow. He was registered as a licensed victualler (innkeeper) at Shardlow from 1779 to 1793 inclusive,<sup>124</sup> but he may also

have had other interests in the area, for in 1783 Messrs Sutton and Burkinshaw of Cavendish Bridge announced that they had taken premises in Derby for their carrying business, but would also still take goods at their Cavendish Bridge warehouse on the Trent.<sup>125</sup>

In 1788, John Pym of Boulton gentleman agreed to demise (lease) to Thomas part of a close of meadow in Shardlow, occupied by Sutton and staked out from the rest of the close, for the latter to build a house and stables and other necessary outbuildings on the land, with Pym paying £200 towards the cost. By March of the following year the house was built and nearly completed and the piece of land and the newly-built house were leased to Sutton for a term of 80 years. This was to become the Navigation Inn,<sup>126</sup> but Thomas ceased to be licensed in 1793 and in 1794 was succeeded by his son.<sup>124</sup>

In 1792, Thomas still described as an innkeeper, bought a 4 acre close in 'the parish of Aston', but this appears to have been in the township of Shardlow and Wilne as he began to pay a small amount of land tax there rather than in Aston. This he bought from another innkeeper, George Thorpe of Nottingham.<sup>127</sup> Thomas never seems to have acquired any other land in Shardlow and Wilne. By 1795 he was leasing land in Aston<sup>128</sup> and bought perhaps 40-50 acres of land there in about 1799.<sup>129</sup> This must have cost him a four-figure sum as it was the major part of a property consisting of 68 acres which had sold in 1791 for £4500.<sup>130</sup> It was the last of Thomas's purchases in either Aston or Shardlow and Wilne.

Thomas was father of the better-known James, who may have been the James, son of Ellen and Thomas Sutton, baptised at St Alkmund's Church, Derby, on 24 December 1767.<sup>131</sup> A Thomas Sutton and Helen Swindell were married at Kedleston in 1763 (Ellen and Helen were often interchangeable) and in January 1814 an Ellen Sutton aged 72 and a fortnight later Thomas Sutton aged 85, both of Shardlow, were buried at Aston (Shardlow's parish church at this time).<sup>132</sup> There is no indication of their relationship in the burial register. On the face of it, however, it does appear that this is James' family. Like Thomas, James was registered as a licensed victualler, from 1794 the year after his father was last so registered, to 1810 inclusive.<sup>133</sup>

In 1805, James was known as a salt merchant and was a member of the firm of Broughton and Sutton, salt proprietors of Shardlow and Lawton in Cheshire. Later, he was associated with the Shardlow Boat Company which ran fly boats along the Canal and an announcement from him and the Boat Company in 1816, showed how extensive were his interests. In addition, it said, to the regular stage boats between Gainsborough and the Potteries, Manchester and Liverpool, they had established a service of fly boats between Shardlow, Manchester and Liverpool. By the 1820s, Sutton & Co. was sending boats to places throughout the Midlands from Derby and Shardlow, whilst Broughton and Sutton at Shardlow were still described as 'saltmen'.

As a result of his commercial activities, James Sutton was able to buy property and to begin the process of setting himself up as a landowner and member of the gentry. The first property in the area bought by the Suttons was acquired by Thomas at the end of the 18th century and was in Aston (see above), but by 1805 it was in James's possession together with some other land in Aston.<sup>134</sup>

By June 1800, James Sutton, described as an innkeeper, had made his first purchase, in Shardlow buying the Scarsdale (Curzon) farm when Lord Scarsdale sold it to redeem land tax.<sup>135</sup> After the enclosure it had been measured at 63 acres (with in addition the farmhouse and probably a little land in the already enclosed part of Shardlow). This was followed by two small purchases: a cottage and a croft of 2½ acres bought in 1803 from the Reverend

Charles Holden,<sup>136</sup> and land formerly owned by George Hodgkinson, probably 9½ acres once belonging to Richard Attenborow, which was Sutton's by 1805.<sup>137</sup> In 1811, he obtained a game certificate and in 1812, when he bought the property referred to at the start of the next paragraph, he described himself as 'esquire'.<sup>138</sup>

In 1812, Sutton bought three messuages and lands, altogether just 17 acres, from Leonard Fosbrooke, but seems to have sold on a little more than half of it to William Bullock.<sup>139</sup> Other very small properties were bought by James Sutton in 1818.<sup>140</sup> In 1820 the land tax payable on the Curzon property, £4 4s 7d, added to the land tax on his other purchases made a total of £6 8s 2½d, which probably means that he held almost 100 acres of land in Shardlow and Wilne, the major part of it the former Curzon farm.<sup>119</sup>

In May 1826, Leonard Fosbrooke of Shardlow Hall sold to James Sutton 24 messuages and their gardens in Great Wilne and Shardlow together with four closes and a small plantation, all in Fosbrooke's occupation and in Shardlow, a total of nearly 42 acres, for £7,030.<sup>141</sup> About the same time, Fosbrooke must have sold the Hall and other lands to Sutton. Certainly, in the 1827 land tax assessment<sup>142</sup> all the lands Fosbrooke had held according to the assessment of 1826 were now in Sutton's possession. By 1830, the small property which Fosbrooke had retained along with the Hall property had passed into the ownership of the Earl of Harrington.

James Sutton probably owned about 180-190 acres of land in Shardlow and Wilne at the time of his death in 1830<sup>143</sup> (see note in next paragraph) and this remained so for his son, another James, in 1832, the year of the last of the land tax assessments.<sup>144</sup> In Aston he had bought in a long series of mostly modest purchases some 300 acres, more than he had in Shardlow and Wilne, but his successors bought nothing more there.<sup>36</sup> In Shardlow and Wilne in 1832 James Sutton's estate was slightly larger than that of the Earl of Harrington who paid £11 11s 0d in land tax, but slightly smaller than that of Edward Anthony Holden, who in the same year paid £12 14s 5½d. There were then three large landholders with properties of much the same size, who between them owned around half the township.

The land tax assessments from 1830 show that James Sutton paid a sum of only £1 4s 7d where he had paid tax of £4 4s 7d on the former Curzon property. This is almost certainly a copying error as is explained in an endnote.

### **Other landowners**

The history of the Holden estate during this period is at first sight confusing, but the apparent complications are caused by there being two different estates involved. The Reverend Charles Shuttleworth, later Holden, was Rector of Aston until 1796 and therefore held the glebe lands until that time and so paid tax on them, but surprisingly continued to pay their tax into the early 19th century. His mother paid tax on the former Holden lands until her death in 1791 when they passed to her son, the Reverend Charles, who changed his name to Holden. From then until the early years of the 19th century, he held both the glebe lands and his inherited property. By the time of the 1805 assessment, however, he had only the Holden estate, whilst the Rector who succeeded Holden held the glebe henceforward.<sup>134</sup> In a terrier (survey) of Charles Holden's lands of 1796-7 his Shardlow and Wilne lands were measured at 204 acres.<sup>107</sup> Tax on the Holden lands remained the same from 1805 until 1832, marginally less than might have been expected for 204 acres at £12 14s 5½.

The Earl of Scarsdale (Curzon), as already noted, sold his property to James Sutton, but the landholdings of Burgin, Cowlshaw and Swindell showed only minor changes during this period. The assessment for Thomas Roby Burgin in 1832 of £9 2s 4d, a few pence more than

in the early assessments, suggests that Thomas and his predecessor Alpheus held about 150 acres of land. The Cowlishaw and Swindell families each had over 100 acres, the Cowlishaws rather more than the Swindells, paying £7 16s 2d in land tax and the latter £6 13s 10d. The Rector who had been awarded 100 acres of land by the enclosure award paid tax on his glebe lands of £6 7s 1d.

The only other landowner with land sufficient to be included in this study was John Thacker assessed for tax of £2 16s 1d. Neither John Thacker nor anyone else with that surname had appeared in the enclosure award of 1757. It seems probable therefore that John Thacker had bought his property between 1757 and 1780, unless it was in the area not covered by the enclosure award. In that case the date of his purchase could not be narrowed down to these years. It appears, however, fairly certain that the Thackers' land (whose tax was appropriate for 40-50 acres) was Alpheus Burgin's enclosure allotment of 42 acres and the same as the 42 acres which the Earl of Harrington had acquired by 1837 (see 1757-1780 above).

A successor to John Thacker, John Lovatt Thacker, held the same quantity of land in 1832 as John Thacker had held earlier, but its history is not entirely clear. It seems to have been in the hands of the Earl of Harrington according to the land tax assessments for 1824-1826 inclusive, about the period in which it appears as the property of the Earl of Harrington in the drain rates, only for it to reappear in the possession of John Lovatt Thacker in 1827 and to remain in his possession until the last land tax assessment in 1832. The occupier from 1823 to 1827 was always named as Alpheus Thacker.<sup>145</sup> In 1832, although John Lovatt Thacker was given as the proprietor (owner) the occupiers were named as Tillard & Draper.

The drain rate book<sup>146</sup> covering 1827-1857 might be expected to show John Lovatt Thacker as the owner again of the land his family had once held, perhaps from 1827. This is not the case. Although the land tax assessments for 1827-1832 show him as the owner, Thacker's name does not appear anywhere in the drain rate. The Earl of Harrington, however, is said to be the owner of 42 acres, original owner Alpheus Burgin, as in the drain rates of 1823 and 1825. The two sources apparently contradict each other. The explanation for this is unknown, but the combined information from the drain rates, the land tax assessments and the land valuation of Shardlow made in 1837 (see below),<sup>147</sup> particularly the drain rates, does make it clear that the Thacker property derived from Alpheus Burgin and passed to the Earl of Harrington.

#### 1832-1898

The land valuation of 1837 referred to above did not name John Lovatt Thacker or anyone else of that surname, whilst the Earl of Harrington was shown to hold 210 acres of land, substantially more than he had been taxed for in 1832. His land included Wilne Pastures containing 42 acres. The Earl's total holding is a little less than might have been expected given a substantial addition of 42 acres to the land he had held in 1832, but there is no doubt that he now held the Thackers' property and that it was through them that he had acquired one of Alpheus Burgin's enclosure allotments.

The only important change the land valuation documents is the disappearance of Thacker and the probably associated enlargement to the estate of the Earl of Harrington. There is, however, one puzzling entry: E A Holden's land was recorded as only 166 acres. As the Holdens later held much what they had held earlier, about 200 acres, this might be a slip of the pen, particularly as the total for the township was given as 1088 acres, rather than

between 1130 and 1140 acres. On the other hand, it is also possible that it was connected with a settlement of the boundary between Aston and Shardlow, as a result of which some of Holden's Shardlow land was reclassified as Aston land. A new parish of Shardlow and Wilne was in the process of creation out of the ancient parish of Aston at this time and the timing of the valuation may relate to this. The Rector also had less land than expected, 82 acres. This too may have resulted from the new parish boundaries, but whatever the explanation, the figure is consistent with later records.

Otherwise the acreages given are much as expected, 148 acres for B R Burgin, 120 for Thomas Cowlshaw, 182 for James Sutton and 107½ for J R Swindells (sic). Mr Soresby had 20 acres and Lockington glebe 13 acres. There were also many houses, shops and commercial buildings such as warehouses, offices and stables, for which no acreages are given and which may account, if only in a small way, to the underestimate of the area of the parish. Sutton owned a large number of houses as well as shops, warehouses and offices whilst Soresby, in addition to some houses and shops, had a dockyard and a large number of commercial buildings, outnumbering those in Sutton's hands.

Shardlow tithe map and schedule of 1850<sup>2</sup> dealt only with 252 acres of land, that part of Shardlow and Wilne which had not been involved in the enclosure award because it was already enclosed (Figs 4 and 5). When enclosure took place the opportunity was taken to extinguish tithe, granting the Rector land in lieu, but this left the old enclosed area still paying tithe in kind. Possibly because the separation of Shardlow and Wilne from the parish of Aston was finally being completed, the commutation of the tithe for the area was at last dealt with in 1850, to take effect in 1851. Commutation involved the payment of tithe rents in lieu of tithe payments in kind, not a grant of land as had been the case in the enclosure award.

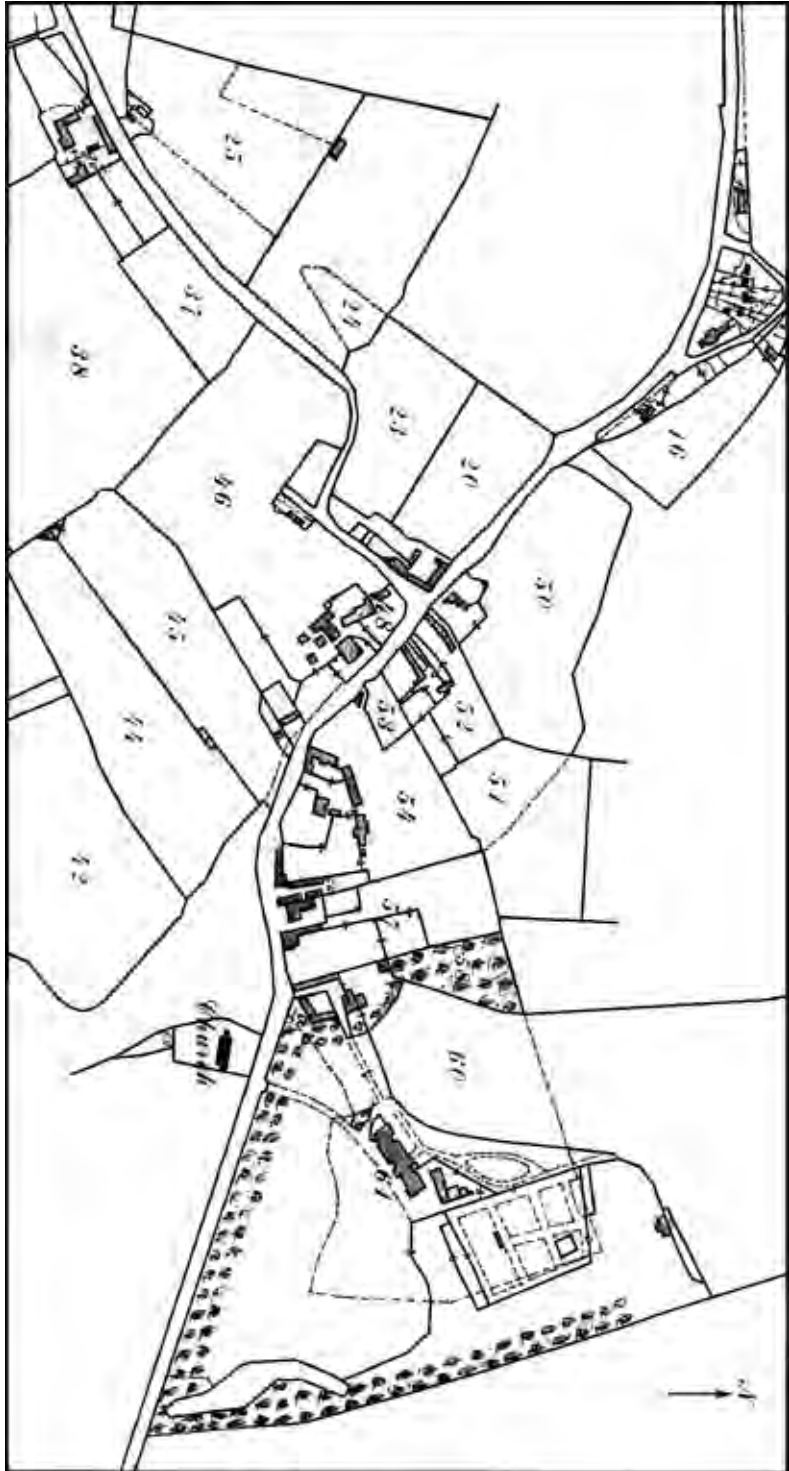
Another result of the creation of the new parish of Shardlow was that the land granted to the Rector of Aston in 1757 must now have passed to the Rector of the new parish. Later, the early 20th century Land Valuation records show that some 80 acres of land was held by Shardlow's Rector (see below). These can only have come from the glebe formerly held by the Rector of Aston as a result of the 18th century enclosure award, although reduced from the 100 acres allotted to him in 1757.

As the schedule and map covered only a limited area and commutation occurred at a period for which we have good information on the size and ownership of landholdings in Shardlow and Wilne, it might be thought that their evidential value would be very limited. However, in addition to the obvious value of the detail given for this part of the parish (particularly as it is not well supplied with maps) the map and schedule are very informative about the make-up of the Fosbrooke and Holden estates.

The tithe award shows that the Earl of Harrington held almost 81 acres in this part of Shardlow. This or almost all of this must have come from the Fosbrookes, for, so far as we know, the Earl had bought from no-one other than Leonard Fosbrooke, with the exception of the land acquired from the Thackers, which as an enclosure allotment was not included in the tithe award.

The land held by the Earl of Harrington was not the only land once owned by the Fosbrooke family in this part of Shardlow and Wilne. Shardlow Hall, once their home, was now the home of James Sutton II together with its grounds. The Hall, its outbuildings, gardens and plantation, and the Pinfold Close adjoining together comprised 10 acres. James Sutton altogether owned 34 acres in the tithe map area and it is probable that much more than the 10 acres immediately next to the Hall had come to him from Leonard Fosbooke. Not quite all of his land in the area





Figs. 4: Extract redrawn from the Tithe Map for Shardlow and Wilne 1850, showing the village of Shardlow. The Tithe Award covered only 252 acres of Shardlow and Wilne, chiefly the areas of the two settlements. At no. 61 is Shardlow Hall with the layout of its grounds clearly shown; no. 54 is the manor house, although not identified as such in the Award; whilst across the road are the two closes called the Alleys (nos 44 and 45) long associated with the manor of Shardlow. Large homesteads identified in the Tithe Award are Thomas Cowlishaw's (48) and the Old Homestead (50) belonging to Edward Sutton. Nothing is known of the history of this homestead. (DRO D1326 A/P 3a, with acknowledgement to the Parish of St James, Shardlow)



Fig. 5: Extract redrawn from the Tithe Map of Shardlow and Wilne 1850, showing the hamlet of Wilne. Sites identified in the Tithe Award as homesteads are no. 70, owner Edward Anthony Holden (with 72 as the Home Croft); no. 74, owner James Sutton (with house 75 also owned by Sutton and occupied with 74); no. 78, owners the trustees of the late John Rose Swindell; no. 81, owner Bradshaw Roby Burgin; and no. 82, owner Thomas Cowlshaw. All were let out to tenants. The parish noted at the north is normally called Church Wilne. (DRO D1326 A/P 3a, with acknowledgement to the Parish of St James, Shardlow)

of the tithe award however, came from the Fosbrooke estate as, for instance, the Curzon farm bought by the first James Sutton had included a farmhouse (and no doubt the usual 2-3 acres which comprised the farmstead).

It seems that the Fosbrookes had owned at least 90 acres of land, 80 or so acres sold to the Earl of Harrington and at least 10 acres to James Sutton, in that part of Shardlow and Wilne concerned in the tithe award. It is likely that the Fosbrookes had held more than this amount of land in the area, but it is not entirely certain how much of the Sutton land here came from Leonard Fosbrooke. Land in the area of the tithe award accounted for at least one third of the Fosbrooke estate, explaining the low figure given for his lands in the enclosure award compared with the total extent of his estate as described in a family settlement of 1794 (see 1757-1780 above).

Similarly, E. A. Holden held the large extent of 82 acres of land in this area out of an estate total of about 200 acres, again explaining the low figure allotted to his ancestor in the enclosure award, compared with the survey of his father's (Charles Holden) property made about 1796-7.<sup>106</sup> Bradshaw Roby Burgin had only 23 acres, less than expected (but including a homestead probably the site of the manor house), and Lockington parish only 8 acres, certainly less than noted earlier; whilst Thomas Cowlshaw had both a homestead at Wilne (4 acres) and a homestead on the corner of Aston Lane opposite the premises of the Dog and Duck (7 acres) where he lived; and the trustees of John Rose Swindell owned a homestead at Wilne (3 acres).

The drain rates for 1827-1857 showed no major changes,<sup>146</sup> but that for 1872 (none survives for the intervening period)<sup>108</sup> shows that there had been two notable developments since 1857. Firstly, the Cowlshaw property of 109 acres now belonged to a Mrs Radford, who may have been Thomas Cowlshaw's daughter Sarah, wife of Henry John Radford.<sup>148</sup> Thomas, by the end of his life calling himself gentleman, had died in 1862, apparently without a male heir. Secondly, the whole of the 101 acres said to have been formerly owned by the Swindell family now belonged to Mrs Sophia Sutton, widow of James who had died in 1868.<sup>149</sup> There had also been at least one other smaller purchase, the Pym family's 15 acres (with the Navigation Inn). Mrs Sutton's estate must have been 300 acres or more by this time and have overtaken both the Holden and Harrington estates.

Since the land valuation of 1837, the Sutton firm by 1846 had become Sutton, Clifford & Hawkins of Shardlow, general carriers and salt merchants, running fly-boats from Derby to Manchester and Liverpool and to various Midlands destinations. Their reach extended to London via Gainsborough and they were also carrying by rail from Derby. The canals were in decline as the railways took their trade and to continue in business in the long term it was necessary to recognise this. The Sutton family would have been taking income from their firm's carrying activities as well as from the profits of land and, if the family had an excess of income over expenditure, in all probability they were also investing in shares. It was from all of this, that it was possible for them to finance the new church at Shardlow and to further extend their estate as they were to continue to do.

#### THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY

The Reverend William Roby Burgin, the last of his family, died in 1897 and his executors sold his estate over the next two years. The sale catalogue dated 26th April 1898 gives details of 119 acres in Shardlow and 31 acres in Wilne, altogether 150 acres, and 98 acres in Castle

Donington.<sup>150</sup> The house was sold to Hepworth Tropolet Alton of Derby esquire in 1899,<sup>151</sup> but following his death in December 1904, it was bought by Southwell Diocesan Finance Association to serve as a Rectory for the parish of Shardlow.<sup>152</sup> With the house was included the old homestead, 3 acres in all.

The largest sale was to Edward Sutton, to whom the executors sold between 70 and 80 acres as well as a few houses.<sup>153</sup> Horticulturist, Henry Dickinson of Shardlow bought two closes containing 9 acres (probably part of the Alleys or what had been known as the Alleys), a close of 2 acres and four closes containing 20 acres (Wilne Meadows), in all 31 acres of land.<sup>154</sup> About 21 acres were probably sold to the new owner of the Aston Hall estate, William Winterbottom.<sup>155</sup> The Dog and Duck became the property of Z. Smith & Co. of Shardlow, brewers, together with the two neighbouring closes, and 2-3 acres passed into the hands of the Board of Guardians (shown in the Land Valuation maps and schedule, see below). The Burgin property was therefore dispersed in a way that the lands of the Swindells, Cowlishaws and Holdens (see below) were not when they were sold.

On the death of Chares Shuttleworth Holden in 1821, his estate had descended to his son Edward Anthony. He added considerably to the Aston Hall estate within Aston, but added nothing in Shardlow and Wilne. There it remained much as it was by the mid 18th century. After Edward Anthony's death in 1877, he was succeeded by his grandson, still a minor, Edward Charles Holden. He followed a military career and possibly did not wish for the life of a country gentleman. He may also have felt burdened by the settlements made on his large family by his grandfather. Whatever the reason, Edward Charles Holden sold the Aston Hall estate in its entirety to William Dickson Winterbottom, a highly successful book cloth manufacturer from Manchester, in 1898. The Aston estate in Shardlow included Glebe and Field Farms and the Holden Arms.<sup>156</sup> It was an abrupt end to the Holden family's ownership of the Aston Hall estate, founded in its modern form by Robert Holden I in 1648 and held by his descendants for 250 years. So far as we know, the only change to his estate was possibly the addition of 21 acres of land, once part of the Reverend William Roby Burgin's property.

At some time, but we do not know when, the whole of the Cowlishaw lands, with one small exception, were sold to the Suttons. It must have been later than 1872 when they were owned by Mrs Radford, but only in the second decade of the 20th century is there evidence of the sale. It comes from comparing 'A Plan of Mr Cowlishaws (sic) Separate Lands in Shardlow'<sup>157</sup> with the Land Valuation Maps and the accompanying schedule (see below).<sup>158</sup> The earlier 'Plan' must have been made between about 1815 and 1826 as the Earl of Harrington, James Sutton and Leonard Fosbrooke's lands were noted as neighbours to parts of the Cowlishaw property, and it was only in those years that all three were simultaneously owners of land in Shardlow.

Cowlishaw's map showed him to have 104 acres of land in Shardlow (and an acre in Castle Donington). The Land Valuation documents show that every one of the properties drawn on the 'Plan' was in the hands of Edward Sutton by 1910, with the one exception of a close of 4 acres in the possession of the Earl of Harrington. In addition, Sutton owned a property in Wilne containing 4 acres which had belonged to Thomas Cowlishaw in 1850, according to the tithe award. None of the families from the 17th and 18th centuries now survived and none of the estates they had held remained as separate entities, except for the Aston Hall estate. Although no longer owned by the Holden family, this had not been absorbed into a larger estate and remained intact.

## THE EARLY 20th CENTURY

Under the Finance (1909-10) Act 1910 concerning duties on land values a number of documents were created by the Board of Inland Revenue valuation offices, amongst them a valuation précis and working sheet maps for each area. The Land Valuation maps and the précis, commonly called Domesday books, are available in the Derbyshire Record Office and show who owned land in Shardlow and Wilne in 1910 when the Domesday books for the area were compiled. The base maps used were the second edition of the large-scale 25 inches to the mile OS maps, in this county published in 1901. Plots were coloured and numbered to differentiate the different holdings and the Domesday book gave the owners, tenants and acreages (and some other information) of the numbered plots. The valuation was intended to lead to the taxation of land values, although this never happened.<sup>158</sup>

The total extent of Shardlow and Wilne was given as 1155 acres, somewhat more than the combined totals given in the enclosure and tithe awards (1135 acres) and considerably more than in the land valuation of 1837 (1066). Edward Sutton dominated with just over 500 acres of land. His address was given as Market Deeping in Lincolnshire and his agent as the Reverend Canon Sutton of Bridekirk, Cockermonth, Cumberland (who also had a few acres of land). Edward Sutton also had many houses and three inns; the Navigation which his ancestor Thomas had built, the Shakespeare formerly owned by the Swindell family and the Rose & Crown. Next came the Earl of Harrington with 212 acres of land, then William Winterbottom with the 193 acres of the old Holden estate, and the Rector with 85 acres including the former house and grounds of the Burgin family, now the Rectory.

The extent of Winterbottom's land is about what it had been from the late 18th century (except as it was given in the 1837 land valuation, when it was owned by E. A. Holden). This total, however, does not account for Winterbottom's probable purchase from the Burgin estate when the latter was sold in 1898 (see above). It is perhaps possible that the explanation lies in a definitive redrawing of the boundary between Aston and Shardlow attendant on the creation of new parishes out of the ancient parish of Aston. It may be that land formerly understood as being in Shardlow was now accounted as part of Aston. It will be seen that in the sale of the estate in 1924 land described as part of the Shardlow estate is nevertheless said to be in Aston.

Nurseries set up by Henry Dickinson, formerly a clerk in the Canal company in Shardlow, became very successful in the 1870s, with their vegetables, fruit and flowers sent all over the country. The executors of the Dickinsons appeared in the Land Valuation records holding 48 acres, including not only the land once called the Alleys, bought after the death of the Reverend William Roby Burgin, but also the Horne Dykes which must have been bought from Lockington parish. Once both of these had been part of Shardlow manor lands but had been separated by John Burgin's settlement of the 'Horndykes' on his younger son in 1710 (see above). Now they were once more held together and covered with glass houses.

Other owners were a Joseph Marshall of Castle Donington who had 15 acres, the Board of Guardians also with 15 acres and the North Staffordshire Railway with 23 acres. Z. Smith & Co. Ltd of Shardlow had 34 acres of land, houses, a brewery and malt house, warehouses, the Dog and Duck public house (which Alpheus Burgin had bought in 1796),<sup>159</sup> the Malt Shovel Inn and the Canal Tavern.

The four biggest estates, those of Edward Sutton, the Earl of Harrington, William Dickson Winterbottom and the Rector, together amounted to almost 1,000 acres. Of these, the Sutton estate was by far the largest. The situation was not unlike that in the 16th and early 17th centuries with one dominant owner, at first the Abbey of Chester, succeeded successively by

the Paget and Roper families. In the earlier period, however, there had been only one other large owner (successively the Tikhill, Hunt and Sale families), holding about 200 acres.

The last of the old estates, that created by the Holden family and held in the first years of the 20th century by William Dickson Winterbottom, was sold at auction in 1924 following Colonel (as he then was) Winterbottom's death. The Shardlow property chiefly consisted of Field farm (95 acres) and Glebe Farm (85 acres) <sup>160</sup>. There is little evidence as to who bought these properties, whether Edward Sutton or the Earl took the opportunity to add to their Shardlow and Wilne estates or whether the property was bought by others, but we do know that some 27 acres of Trent side meadowland, not part of either of the two farms, was bought by Richard Radford the tenant of Field Farm. The total acreage of the two farms and the land bought by Richard Radford is therefore 207 acres, rather larger than the size of the Winterbottom property (193 acres) as given in the Land Valuation survey. The sale catalogue lists all of the Glebe Farm lands and about 56 acres of Field Farm as in Aston, despite describing both as Shardlow farms. Field Farm included the land which had come from the Burgin estate (see above).

As a footnote, Kelly's Derbyshire Trade Directories after 1925 list only three names as principal landowners in Shardlow in each edition, Dickinson, Sutton and Harrington, and in 1941 the principal owners are given as Miss Dickinson, the trustees of the late Edward Sutton esq. JP and the Earl of Harrington.

## SUMMARY

### **The landowners**

From the 15th to the mid-17th century the greatest landowners in Shardlow and Wilne originated not only from outside the township but also some distance from it. Chester Abbey is the most obvious, but this is true also of the Hunts from Ashover, the Sales from Staffordshire, and the Pagets, whose Weston property was to descend in the 17th century to the Ropers of Eltham in Kent. Lesser owners such as the Sacheverells and the Kendalls were also from outside, though from less distant places, Hopwell and Smisby respectively, both in the southern half of Derbyshire. The exception to this was the Tikhull/Tikhill family, who presumably descended from the family of that name which had lived in Chellaston, a neighbouring parish, from at least the 13th century. The greater owners as with the Tikhull, Hunt and Sale families might, however, settle in Shardlow and Wilne or in Aston, the mother parish. Even Charles Paget seems to have lived, if not in Shardlow, at least nearby in Weston at times, although politics kept him away, not only from his manor of Weston, but from England, for long periods.

From the mid-17th century it was more common for owners of land in the township to be fairly local. The change came with the break-up of the manor of Weston. It was bought by Nicholas Wilmot from Osmaston (whose family made its money in Derby) and by Robert Holden, brought up in Wilne and a farmer and trader living in Shardlow, until his move to Aston Hall. Wilmot's and Holden's sales of some of the manorial property in Shardlow and Wilne brought in local buyers from Aston (Nicholas Cowlshaw), Shardlow and Wilne and Weston (John and William Bryan). Cowlshaw and the Bryans settled in Shardlow and Wilne, probably because they did not own property elsewhere on which they could live.

Although buyers from this time tended to originate locally, they did not necessarily come from Shardlow and Wilne itself as did the Burgins, but might come from places not too far distant. The Swindells, for instance, never lived on their Wilne farm, but had a modest estate

in the area including land in Spondon, Ockbrook and Borrowash. One of the most important of those who bought in Shardlow and Wilne, James Sutton, was born in Derby, although little is known of his antecedents.

There were exceptions, one of whom was of considerable importance in the history of Shardlow and Wilne, that is Leonard Fosbrooke. He came from Northamptonshire via Nottingham, but settled in Shardlow, building a grand hall in which to establish his family and developing a substantial landholding in Shardlow and Wilne. His family remained for more than a century. Sir Nathaniel Curzon's purchase was very different, presumably an opportunistic investment and but a small addition to his family estate centred on Kedleston Hall. The family did not add to his purchase but retained the farm he bought for nearly a century. The other outsider, at the very end of the 19th century, was the Manchester book cloth manufacturer, William Winterbottom, who bought the whole of the Holden estate, including lands in Shardlow and Wilne, in 1898. He lived at Aston Hall, possibly even buying a little more land in Shardlow, and so maintained a local presence.

### **Their estates**

At the beginning of the period covered by this study and until the mid 17th century, the Weston manorial estate dominated Shardlow and Wilne, as did the Sutton estate at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In the intervening years estates were much more modest, only the Fosbrooke estate approaching 300 acres. Others tended to be between 100 and 200 acres. Even during the period when Weston manor and the Suttons' estates flourished there was room for others, for instance the Tikhill, Hunt and Sale properties in the 16th and early 17th centuries, the Holden, later Winterbottom, and Harrington estates in the 19th and 20th centuries.

It has also to be remembered that owners of land in Shardlow and Wilne often held property elsewhere and this was true of lesser owners as well as the Curzons (later marquises of Scarsdale) and the earls of Harrington, proprietors of extensive aristocratic estates. It was also true at all periods.

The manor of Shardlow was held by the Tikhills and the Hunts along with the Aston Hall estate in the 16th century and, in the same era, the Sacheverell and Kendall families of Hopwell and Smisby respectively held lands in their home parishes as well as in Shardlow. The Sacheverells also had lands in Aston and Snitterton

The Holdens had other properties when they purchased Weston manor lands in the mid 17th century and also acquired at that time lands in Aston and Weston, including the Aston Hall estate.<sup>21</sup> Amongst other properties bought later by the family was an estate of nearly 500 acres in Leicestershire which it purchased in 1754 and held for over a century.<sup>21</sup> The Sales had land in Sawley as well as in Shardlow and Wilne; we find John Sale selling Booth Hall and substantial lands there in 1653.<sup>26</sup> The Cowlshaws inherited lands in Aston and Castle Donington in 1722, although they sold the Aston lands later in the century.<sup>36</sup> Much later in 1860 Thomas Cowlshaw sold property worth nearly £6000 in Ibstock, Leicestershire.<sup>167</sup> The Burgins too had property in Leicestershire; the sale catalogue for the disposal of the estate of the Reverend William Roby Burgin in 1898 included 98 acres in Castle Donington.<sup>150</sup>

The two families which made their fortunes from the river Trent and the Trent and Mersey Canal respectively (see below), not only bought lands in Shardlow and Wilne but elsewhere. An abstract of title to Leonard Fosbrooke's lands in Shardlow 1693-1804 also refers to sales of property in Castle Donington, Diseworth, Aston, Draycott and Sawley, and when the

last of the family to live in Shardlow sold all their lands there they moved to a property in Ravenstone<sup>161</sup>. The Suttons also bought elsewhere and, although they retained their lands in Shardlow and Wilne, Edward Sutton moved to Market Deeping in Lincolnshire at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

### **The origins of their wealth**

In the Middle Ages and until the dissolution of the monasteries, the greatest landowner in Shardlow and Wilne was the Abbey of Chester to which belonged the manor of Weston whose lands extended into the township. The land had been acquired by gift, the major part soon after the Norman Conquest, but added to by the devout over the years. After a short period following the dissolution when the manor belonged to the newly-created Diocese of Chester, it was sold to one of Henry VIII's ministers, Sir William Paget who was establishing a great estate. His huge wealth came from Royal service. Later, the manorial estate descended to the Roper family by inheritance.

These apart, little is known of the landowners of the 15th to mid 17th centuries. We know some of their names – those with the most land were the Tikhill, Hunt and Sale families, and we know what they held but there is no hint as to the origins of the wealth which enabled them to acquire their properties. Other lesser owners are also little more than names, although a little more is known about two of them, but little of their finances. William Kendall, named in the 1603 subsidy list, was from a Smisby gentry family whilst Henry Sacheverell of Hopwell belonged to a family of some importance in the county during the Middle Ages but now in decline, probably as a result of its recusancy.<sup>162</sup>

Aside from the Pagets, it is only in the mid 17th century when it begins to be possible to know something of the source of the wealth funding the purchase of lands in Shardlow and Wilne. When the Weston manor estate broke up it was shared between representatives of the law and of trade, two of the more lucrative sources of the money needed for landownership. Nicholas Wilmot of Osmaston, who bought a large part of the manor, particularly the Weston lands but also farms in Shardlow and Wilne, was a highly successful lawyer. His cousin Robert Holden of Shardlow gentleman (described as a yeoman earlier in his career) who bought the remainder of the manorial estate, including farms in Shardlow and Wilne, seems to have been a cattle trader. He may have sold some cattle bred by himself but it is probable that his chief trade was in the purchase, fattening and sale of cattle bred by others.

Wilmot did not remain a force in the township as he sold off his property. Holden, too, having moved to Aston Hall, sold the farm where he had lived in Shardlow and a small farm in Wilne, whilst the farm in Wilne where his father Henry had established himself as a tenant in the 16th century descended to Robert's youngest son John. The Holden business had been a family affair and John had been involved in it with his father and indeed may have continued it for a while after his father's death in 1660.<sup>21</sup>

The disposal of lands by Nicholas Wilmot, Robert Holden and John Sale, for the only time in the known history of Shardlow and Wilne, brought into the market men often described as yeomen who took the opportunity to buy what they could. They were men such as Robert Roulston, Simon Roberts, John Pym, Joseph Wright, John and William Bryan, Nicholas Cowlshaw (who bought Holden's old home and farm at Shardlow) and John Soare. Some were well established amongst the better-off tenant families in Shardlow and Wilne in the early 17th century, as they were named in subsidy lists – Roulston, Roberts and Wright – and they were perhaps the more successful of the tenant farmers in the township, along with the



Pyms. The Bryans likewise seem to have been successful tenant farmers but in Weston, where opportunities for buying were few.

Little is known of two of the new owners – Nicholas Cowlshaw and John Soare. The first of the Cowlshaws, Richard, appeared from nowhere in the Aston subsidy list of 1641-2, and as one of the more prosperous of those listed. Nicholas Cowlshaw may well have been from this family, but how the Cowlshaws made their money is unknown. This is also true of the Soares, although the surname was known in the area. Both were said to be yeomen, but how far farming was important in their success and how far other activities we do not know. Of all these families, only the Cowlshaws survived as landowners in the long term (and indeed added to their lands), although the descendants of John Bryan continued in their Wilne farm until the 1730s. The Pyms also seem to have hung on to a small amount of land into the 19th century. Farming was rarely the route to wealth.

Even in the 18th century we cannot be certain of the origins of the money with which some bought land in Shardlow and Wilne, Henry Swindell and John Thacker being cases in point. The law, but only once again as far as we can tell, appeared as an important player in Shardlow and Wilne. In the early 18th century the descendants of John Holden at Wilne farm ran into financial problems and sold the farm to Robert Holden's grandson, another Robert, who had succeeded to the Aston Hall estate and was a very successful lawyer. So the farm passed back to the main line descended from the first Robert Holden and was absorbed into the Aston Hall estate.

The aristocracy played only a small part in the history of landownership in Shardlow and Wilne, with the purchase of a farm by the Curzons in the early 18th century, sold less than a century later, and the creation of a moderate sized estate by the Earl of Harrington in the early 19th century. Presumably they were able to buy from the proceeds of their large rentals. Manufacturing also played little part in the creation of estates in Shardlow and Wilne, but at the very end of this study, the Holden estate, including its lands in the township, was sold in its entirety to the bookcloth manufacturer William Winterbottom of Manchester.

Trade, however, was the main source of finance for the purchase of lands in Shardlow and Wilne from the 17th to the 19th centuries. Robert Holden has already been mentioned as the cattle trader who was able to buy much of the Weston manor estate including Shardlow and Wilne property. It is also known that John Harryman of Derby, a woollen draper, was able to acquire the manor of Shardlow sometime in the late 17th century. There is only evidence that it was in his family's hands, however, from 1683 until 1707, when it was sold to John Burgin, the origin of whose prosperity is unknown.

The most important source of the funds to buy property in Shardlow and Wilne, however, was water-borne trade rather than trade overland (although of course they were interdependent). The two greatest estates in the township were built respectively from the proceeds of trade on the Trent and, later, the Trent and Mersey Canal.

The Fosbrooke estate (ultimately nearly 300 acres) was created out of money from the family's trading activities on the Trent and from its ruthless control of Wilden Ferry and navigation of the Trent upstream to Burton on Trent. It is also just possible that the Burgins made their money from the Ferry or trade on the river. Nothing is known of the origins of their money, but there is just a hint – no more – of a connection with Wilden Ferry.

The Fosbrookes' successors at Shardlow Hall and eventually as the greatest landowners in the township (later parish) were the Suttons, who also made their money from water-borne trade. In their case, it was not from river traffic but from trade on the Trent and Mersey Canal,

the first part of which opened in 1770. They came to own almost half Shardlow and Wilne. Although the family was the greatest of those who were able to profit from their connection to the Canal, there were also others.

In the early 19th century the Soresby family, like James Sutton, operated fly boats on the Canal and had a small property in Shardlow.<sup>3</sup> Late in the 19th and into the 20th century, the Smith family's company Z. Smith & Co. Ltd acquired some 34 acres of land, presumably from the profits of their brewing and malting and their public houses, all of which had ultimately grown out of the development of the canal port. Even the Dickinsons' market gardening had a connection with the Canal, as the founder Henry had formerly been a clerk in the Canal Company, but whether his work had enabled him to accumulate the capital to begin his market gardening business we do not know.<sup>3</sup> By 1910 the family held some 48 acres.

The importance of trade in creating the wealth needed to buy land is obvious from the history of landownership in Shardlow and Wilne. There is nothing unusual in this, as trade was the foundation of many estates throughout England. In one respect, however, the location of the township at the junction of the Derwent and Trent rivers and its favourable position for a canal terminal later, gave opportunities for the amassing of wealth which were not available in most places.

#### ENDNOTES

##### *The township (later parish) of Shardlow and Great Wilne*

In this article the township and later parish is referred to as Shardlow and Wilne, except when using the wording of a document where Wilne is placed first. Often deeds relating to property will refer to both places (and sometime to Aston as well) and as a general rule it appears that the place first mentioned in a document is the place where most, and sometimes all, of the property concerned was situated. Aston may also be referred to where there is some doubt as to the boundary with Aston or (before the parish of Shardlow came into being in 1838) because the township was within the parish of Aston.

There is reason to believe, however, that Wilne was originally the more important part of the township, although much the smaller. In subsidy lists e.g. those for 1571 and 1626,<sup>163</sup> hearth tax assessments<sup>70</sup> and land tax assessments,<sup>114</sup> Wilne always preceded Shardlow in the naming of the township and was named simply Wilne, not Great Wilne. This is also seen in the heading of an assessment of 1798-1799 for levying various duties, where the title is given as the Liberty of Wilne and Shardlow.<sup>164</sup> Even as late as 1910, long after the old township had become the parish of Shardlow, it is listed as Wilne and Shardlow in the land valuation schedule.<sup>165</sup>

The reason for Wilne's primacy is not known. It may have been settled before Shardlow or its importance may have arisen from its position, lying as it did between the rivers Derwent and Trent, with the river ferry crossings lying within its territory. Of these, much the most important was the one across the Trent known as Wilden Ferry (replaced in the late 18th century by Cavendish Bridge). The name 'Wilden' is used in a final concord of 1731<sup>85</sup> and as late as 1756 the township could be called Wilden and Shardlow, for the earliest surviving Town Book (containing the accounts of the parish officials), beginning in that year, is labelled Wilden and Shardlow Town Book.<sup>166</sup> Before then, however, Shardlow had already overtaken Wilne as the more important of the two places and the development of the canal port in the late 18th century completed the process.

*The calendar, land measurements and money*

Until 1752 the year began on 25 March (Lady Day). Therefore dates from 1 January to 24 March inclusive were dated a year earlier than they were after 1752, e.g. the date given as 4 February 1668, using today's calendar, would be given as 4 February 1669. In this article all dates are given as they would be today.

There were 4 roods to an acre, making a rood one quarter of an acre, and 40 perches to a rood.

Pre-decimalisation, there were 12 pence (d) to one shilling (s) and 20 shillings to £1. There were 240 pence to £1. One penny could be divided into 4 farthings or 2 halfpence. 1 farthing would be expressed as ¼d and 3 as ¾d. 2 farthings would however, be expressed as a halfpenny (written ½d)

*Final concords (agreements) often abbreviated to 'fines'*

A final concord was the result of a collusive law suit intended to produce a statement of title (the final concord or fine) in a court of record. To levy a fine was to initiate the process. The description of property in a final concord is formalised and it is not always possible to know the exact nature of the transaction to which it refers (although it will generally relate to a conveyance). Final concords are of value, however, when there is no other source of information available. They may be found in collections of title deeds, but those referred to here are the court copies, known collectively as feet of fines, filed in the records of the Court of Common Pleas held at The National Archives (TNA CP 25/2/).

*The Horndykes and variations in the spelling of the name*

The references are taken from Miriam Wood, Shardlow Manor and Manor House (number <sup>22</sup> in the list of References below), unless otherwise indicated.

This name varies and appears as follows, sometimes coupled with the Alleys (whose spelling is either Alleys or Allies)

A fishing place or fish pool called Halmondiche or Horndich 'with the Fish therein', 1593  
2 closes called the Horndykes and The Alleys, 1649

The Horne Dikes, 1699 and 1722, Church of England Record Centre, as in Reference <sup>102</sup> below

Closes called Horne or Halmon Dike and the Alleys, 1707  
2 closes called the Horndykes containing 15 acres, 1710

Note that the property is described as two closes of meadow with a pool adjoining, 1728, Reference <sup>101</sup> below and see Hornditch pool below.

Horndikes or Holmon Dikes, c.1728, Reference <sup>102</sup> below

Hornditch pool, 1732, DRO D779 B/T 467-468, Reference <sup>96</sup> below

*Persons mentioned in the drain rates whose land was in Aston<sup>165</sup>*

Sarah Measham 14 acres

Christopher Wright 11 acres

J. Williamson 4 acres

S. Cowlshaw 11 acres

Thomas Hickinbotham 7 acres

L. Fosbrooke 9 acres

These small areas of land were allotted in 1757 to owners of Aston lands who had rights in Aston Moor, enclosed at the same time as Shardlow Moor and Shardlow open fields.

The 'present' owners of these lands, as given in the drain rate of 1825,<sup>113</sup> are E.A. Holden for Sarah Measham's land, Susan Dawson for L. Fosbrooke's land and James Sutton for the land of all the other original owners named. Sutton may have held more than 200 acres of land in Aston by 1825, mostly bought in small lots from various owners.<sup>36</sup>

The land originally said to have been owned by L. Fosbrooke related to property in Aston, probably bought early in the 18th century by the family, which passed to Miss Fosbrooke and then to Susan Dawson, perhaps a granddaughter of the marriage of Susanna Fosbrooke and the Reverend William Dawson in 1768.<sup>36</sup>

#### *James Sutton's land tax in 1829 – 1832*

In the land tax assessments for 1830-1832, the tax of £4 4s 7d formerly paid on the property which Sutton had bought from Curzon had decreased to £1 4s 7d, but no-one else appears to have increased their payment(s) to reflect a purchase or purchases from James Sutton. Moreover, the total at the end of the pages concerned is given exactly as in 1829, but the sums actually add up to £3 short of the total given. It is likely that there was simply a copying error with regard to the tax on the former Curzon lands of James Sutton and that the pages as a whole had been copied from 1829, but with this one error. If the sums had been checked the shortfall would have been noted and presumably the copying error corrected.<sup>167</sup>

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#### Abbreviations

BL	British Library
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office
Leics RO	Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland Record Office
LRO	Lichfield Record Office
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office
TNA	The National Archives

<sup>1</sup> DRO, D1326 A/P 1

<sup>2</sup> DRO, D1326 A/P 3a,3b

<sup>3</sup> John Heath, *A Look at Shardlow's Past*, Paddock Publications, Castle Donington, 1984, revised 1985

<sup>4</sup> BL, Add Mss (Wolley Mss) 6710 f.51; Leics RO, 3D42/73/71

<sup>5</sup> Eg DRO, D779 B/T 269, T 270, D447/17/1; Leics RO, 3D42/73/71

- 6 DRO, 779 B/T 307
- 7 DRO, D2360/1/7/2
- 8 DRO, D518 M/Z 32
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- 38 TNA, CP 25/2/1172/16ElizISouls [All Souls]
- 39 TNA, CP 25/2/819/1WmandMHil
- 40 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6482
- 41 Henry J B Kendall, *The Kendalls of Austrey Twycross and Smithsby A Family History* referencing Somerset House wills and Hayes 56, 1909
- 42 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6446
- 43 TNA, CP 25/2/284/21JaIEaster
- 44 TNA, CP 25/2/405/1ChasIMich
- 45 TNA, Misc.592-3

- 46 DRO, D779 B/M 2-77  
 47 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6387  
 48 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6861  
 49 TNA, E 179/93/954; DRO, D3155/Deeds 7538  
 50 DRO, D779 B/T 431-468  
 51 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6409  
 52 LRO, B/C/11 will of John Pyme of Aston 1660  
 53 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6524  
 54 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6361  
 55 DRO, D3155/Deeds 6380  
 56 DRO, D779 B/T 149  
 57 DRO, D779 B/T 235-236  
 58 DRO, D779 B/T 269  
 59 DRO, D779 B/T 270  
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 61 SRO, D(W)1734/2/3/104; TNA, CP 25/2/104/1278/44ElizIEaster,103/1224/30ElizITrin  
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 77 Leics RO, 3D42/73/29  
 78 Leics RO, 3D42/73/170-171  
 79 Leics RO, 3D42/73/124-125  
 80 Leics RO, 3D42/73/60-61  
 81 DRO, D518 M/T 122  
 82 DRO, D518 M/T 222  
 83 DRO, D518 M/T 162-163  
 84 Kedleston Deeds, O8/24, 22  
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