

DERBYSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

THE DISSOLUTION OF DALE ABBEY.

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As in other Counties the devotions of the religious have been made apparent in the erection of places for God's peculiar service; so in this have been founded 8 of that nature, which were Dale, Derleye, Darby, Repton, Bechif, Graiesley, Fauwerelle, and Pollewerke; whose peace and plenty stood secure from all danger, till the blustering winds arising in the reign of King Henry the eight, blew off the pinacles of their beautiful buildings, and shooke asunder the Remains of those Foundations which never are like againe to be laid—Speed's *Theatre of Great Britain* (1610), p. 61.

I. SUPPRESSION.

WITH the name of Richard Nottingham (1491-1510) the List of Abbots¹ comes to an end, and the identity of his successor is a little confused. Up to 1535 his name occurs merely as John,² but in that year it appears in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,³ and in the year following in the Commissioners' 'Black Book,'⁴ as JOHN STANTON. All subsequent references, including one of January 30th, 1536/7,⁵ give the abbot's name as JOHN

¹ Cott, MS. Vesp. E. xxvi ff. 178-9, published by Sir W. Hope in *D.A.J.* v. (1883).

² *Reliquary* vii (1866-7), p. 204 (1519): *L. & P. Henry VIII* iv (iii), p. 2700 (1529), No. 6542 (3) (1530).

³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec. Comm. 1817), III, pp. 155-6.

⁴ *D.A.J.* v (1883), p. 98.

⁵ *L. & P. Henry VIII*, xii, p. 143.

BEBE. Sir W. Hope rather unsatisfactorily dismisses Stanton as "an assumed name" given to Bebe by Drs. Legh and Layton in order to cover their extravagant charges of immorality.¹ But this does not dispose of the *Valor* reference, from which, in any case, the visitors probably took the name.² If there is no reason to suppose that Stanton was not abbot from 1510 to 1536, there is perhaps scarcely adequate evidence to establish his independent existence. Indeed it is not improbable that Bebe and Stanton were in reality the same person, 'John Bebe of Stanton,' using either name at will. That at least from January 30th, 1536/7 until the dissolution in October, 1538, John Bebe was abbot, there is, of course, no question of doubt, whether or not he was the immediate successor of Richard Nottingham in 1510.

Of the state of Dale Abbey on the eve of suppression there is little that can safely be said. The will, dated 1506, of Johanne Holme, widow, contains a clause bequeathing to "St. James Agarde my son canon regular of the monastery of our lady of the Dale 20s. and 6 yards of white woollen cloth, a feather bed, a pair of sheets and four silver spoons."³ Such a legacy is perhaps the measure of the comfortable circumstances in which a Premonstatensian canon might live in the sixteenth century, far removed from the primitive austerity of St. Norbert's original rule. Much the same might be said of his abbot, to judge from the convivial party described in the Nottingham Borough records in connection with an attempt on the life of the mayor.⁴ On June 8th, 1516, alderman John Williamson gave a dinner at Nottingham, and among the guests were Thomas Mellers, the mayor, the prior of Lenton, and the abbot of Dale. The company

¹ *D.A.J.* v (1883), p. 99.

² See below, p. 4.

³ Printed in *D.A.J.* xxvii (1905), p. 82.

⁴ *Nottingham Borough Records*, iii, pp. 422-3.

“ was assembled in a friendly manner and joyfully conversing and drinking wine,” when a mercer named Henry Steeper entered the room behind the mayor’s back (he was sitting with his back to the door, facing the two prelates) and stabbed him twice in the left arm and side.

It can only be inferred¹ that Abbot John must have signed the Act of Supremacy of 1534, possibly with apprehension, but, one may suspect, without any great searching of conscience. In the following year the King’s Commissioners were busy compiling the great *Valor Ecclesiasticus* which was to reveal to their master the enormous wealth of the monastic estates which lay within his grasp. At Dale the inquiry was conducted by three local gentry, Sir Henry Sacheverell, Sir Thomas Cokeyn and Ralph Sacheverell.² The temporalities enjoyed by the abbot and convent accounted for £114. 15s. od. of their total clear annual revenue of £144. 12s. od., the remaining £29. 17s. od. being derived from the appropriated rectories of Ilkeston, Kirk Hallam and Heanor, and from the half-rectory of Egginton. Of these Heanor was by far the most profitable, having an annual value of £14. 5s. 9d. The total of £144. 12s. od., which represents the clear annual income of the monastery after the deduction of a little over £37 due as vicars’ stipends, archdeacon’s fees, payments to the bishop, dean and chapter of Lichfield, and pensions to various persons, including the abbot of Croxton (10s.),³ the prior of Shelford (£3), the vicar of Spondon (40s.), and Sir John Willoughby (20s.), is roughly equivalent to something like £4,500 of present-day money.

¹ The incomplete list of acknowledgments of supremacy in the P.R.O. contains none from the Premonstatensian abbeys (see *Dep. Keepers 7th Report*, Appendix 11, pp. 279-306).

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Rec. Comm., 1817), iii, pp. 155-6.

³ In the Dale Chartulary (f. 88^b) are letters from Thomas f. William de Syxtenby to Hugh, abbot of Dale (1253-1268) asking him to pay on his behalf a rent of 10s. from lands in Stanton, Winfield and Pilsley, to the abbot and convent of Croxton, a Premonstratensian abbey in Leicestershire.

The year 1536 saw the beginning of the end. Cromwell's agents, the arrogant Doctors Legh and Layton, were touring the midland abbeys in search of scandal and superstition. So fast did the two Doctors travel—they actually succeeded in 'visiting' eighty-eight monasteries, including Dale, in a mere fortnight—that it is clear that they "never inspected a quarter of the houses upon which they made their reports."¹ In these circumstances, it is unnecessary to attach much importance to their report on Dale.² It runs as follows:—

Incontinence. John Staunton, Abbot, with one single and one married woman. William Brampton with five married women. Here they hold in veneration some of the girdle and milk of St. Mary and the wheel of Catherine in silver. Patron, Gervase Kyngeston, *armiger*. Annual income £140.

It was a simple enough matter for Legh to look up the income and the abbot's name in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, while it was the prurient Layton, no doubt, who made himself responsible for the other details. Though there is nothing very surprising in the abbot's alleged transgression,³ his canon's alleged amours with no less than five married women, causes amusement rather than indignation to the reader. Dr. Layton has overdone it.⁴ Whether William Brampton was a genuine canon of Dale it is impossible to say, although in August, 1491 the Vicar-General had ordered the removal from Easby Abbey of one brother William, "Bramptone *vulgariter dictum*."⁵ Nor do the two relics sound very convincing; there is no other

¹ P. Wilding, *Thomas Cromwell*, p. 98.

² *D.A.J.* v (1883), p. 98.

³ In 1494 John Bebe had confessed to having a child by one Margaret de Halle (*Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, ed. F. A. Gasquet (Camden Soc.), No. 368).

⁴ But reprehensible as the visitors' methods may have been and false as the majority of their charges undoubtedly were, it should be made clear that Dr. Cox's allegation (*V.C.H.* ii, p. 74) that "had they been believed by Cromwell, these charges would assuredly have been made an excuse to withhold their pensions when suppression came," is quite without foundation.

⁵ *C.A.P.*, No. 173. Easby was a Premonstratensian Abbey in Yorkshire.

evidence of their existence, and Dale never attained that wealth and fame which their possession would assuredly have brought.¹

The £140 which the visitors recorded as the convent's annual income—corresponding in round figures to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* estimate—brought the abbey well within the £200 limit for the suppression of the smaller houses,² but on January 30th, 1536/7, exemption from suppression was granted to Dale, together with thirty-two other lesser monasteries.³ For this privilege the considerable sum of £166. 13s. 4d. was paid into the Court of Augmentations.⁴ This voluntary postponement of their dispersal shows that the canons of Dale desired to continue their conventual life rather than transfer to other houses or become secular clergy. It is also worth noting that none applied to the visitors for release from their vows, as did many elsewhere.

They were not long to enjoy this expensive prolongation of their corporate existence, for on October 24th, 1538, less than two years later, Dale Abbey and all its estates in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, totalling some 24,000 acres,⁵ were surrendered to Sir William Cavendish as the Commissioner for the Crown.

The deed of surrender⁶ was signed by John Bebe, abbot, Richard Wheatley, prior, and fifteen canons, John Gadman (or Cadman), Richard Hawsten (or Halsame), Thomas Bagshaw, William Smith, John Banks, John

¹ It has been suggested by Mr. Ward (*Dale and its Abbey*, p. 115) that the Roman salver found at Risley in 1729 was the silver-cased "wheel of Catherine," but the suggestion is too far-fetched to merit more than passing reference.

² *L. & P. Henry*, x, p. 516.

³ *Ibid.*, xii, p. 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii (ii), p. 177.

⁵ *D.A.J.*, xxvii (1905), p. 99.

⁶ *Deputy Keepers Eighth Report*, Appendix II, p. 18: enrolled as acknowledged before Dr. Legh, *L. & P. Henry VIII*, xiii (ii), p. 253.

Shelmode, George (or Gregory) Coke, Robert Harvey, Ralph Harrison, Robert Wilson (or Herwood), James Cheryholme, James Cleyton, John Bateman, Robert Jerett (or Gerard) and Roger Page. Three of these—Smith, Cleyton and Cheryholme—signed with marks, presumably because they were illiterate.

On the same day a jury of twelve assisted the Commissioners to make an extensive inventory¹ of the fittings, property and cattle of the abbey, nearly all of which was sold to Francis Pole of Radbourne, Esqr.

There is no means of telling how far the abbot had been anticipating the suppression of his monastery by hurriedly disposing of its lands and property (though there is a lease of his to John Dilke of a close in Stanton for 41 years, dated April 7th, 1538),² but he succeeded in selling the next presentation to the vicarage of Heanor to Nicholas Powtrel and John Malyn, and on the death of the vicar, one Oliver Pyggen, in 1547, a presentation was duly made on their behalf.³ Parts of the abbey itself have a suspiciously barren air in the inventory.⁴ The other advowsons, those of Ilkeston, Kirk Hallam and Stanton, were disposed of by the Commissioners, and their subsequent histories can be traced in Dr. Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*,

¹ In the P.R.O. (Aug. Office, Misc. Books 172, 61). The inventory is printed in *The Reliquary*, viii (1867-8), in *Archaeologia* XLIII (1871), pp. 221-4, and by Rev. Sam. Fox in his *History of Morley Church* (1872).

² Jeayes, *Derbyshire Charters*, No. 2211. Dilke was still in tenure of this land in 1553 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward VI, v, p. 155).

³ Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iv, p. 234.

⁴ This inventory makes no mention of any books, and of the conventual library little can be said. Probably the only survivors are the Chronicle and the List of Abbots now bound up with the chartulary as Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxvi. *The Catalogue of John Boston* (compiled between 1250 and 1410), which contains a long list of books and the monasteries wherein they were to be found, includes among the latter the name of *La Dale*, but as the reference number of the abbey is omitted from the list of books as published in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748) xxiv-xxv the works at Dale cannot be identified. The abbey's muniments are now scattered among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, and in various other collections. The chartulary came into the hands of Sir Anchtell Gray of Risley, and was presented by him to the Cottonian Library in about 1700.

and in the "Manors of Derbyshire MS.," published in *D.A.J.*, xxvii (1905).¹

For £77. 12s. 2d. (over £2,000 in present-day values) Francis Pole acquired "all such parcels of implements or household stuff, corn, cattle, ornaments of the church, and such other like found within the monastery at the time of the dissolution of the same," a miscellaneous assemblage of goods which included altar-pieces, candlesticks, quire-stalls, screens and other woodwork, the rood with its "Mary and John," a pair of organs, the grating of the founder's tomb, several "tables of alabaster," a clock, a number of old copes and altar-cloths, brewing-machinery, kitchen implements, cutlery and crockery, four feather beds with their mattresses, coverlets and testers, and finally a number of cattle, pigs and horses, four wains, and a quantity of farm-produce. In addition to these movables, Pole acquired the roof, glass, iron, pavingstones and gravestones in the church, the roof, glass, iron and pavingstones in the cloisters, and the glass, iron and pavingstones in the frater and chapterhouse. In Radbourne church there is still to be seen a quantity of woodwork which is believed to be that purchased at Dale by Francis Pole. It includes a wooden font-cover carved with the emblems of the passion and the symbols of the evangelists, five carved bench-ends, and thirteen linenfold panels set in the front of the Pole family pew.² Since it was he who purchased them, Pole has generally been credited with the re-erection at Morley church of five of the cloister-windows, together with their painted glass, but it is more probable that it was Sir Henry Sacheverell of

¹ The Chaddesden Chantry in the joint presentation of the abbots of Dale and Darley, survived until the suppression of the chantries in 1545. The Commissioners' report in that year was a favourable one. They pointed out that the priest kept hospitality and ministered to about 225 people of houseling age, and that their services were the more valuable as the road to the parish church was often impassable in flood-time for four or five days together (*V.C.H. Derbyshire*, ii, p. 15).

² See Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, III, p. 256, plate xiii.

Morley, the steward of the abbey buildings after the dissolution, who was responsible for their removal, having presumably acquired them from Pole.¹

Francis Pole was also put in possession of the "site of the said Priory (*sic.*), and all the demesnes to it appertaining to our Sovereign Lord the King's use, the 24th day of October, in the 30th year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lord, King Henry the VIII." He did not, however, purchase the monastic buildings themselves, and the inventory records that "there remaineth all the houses edified upon the site of the said late Priory, the roof, glass, iron, pavingstones and gravestones . . . sold and only except." Some at least of the domestic buildings surrounding the cloister seem to have been left standing in a more or less complete state, but Cavendish brought with him masons and carpenters to unroof the churches and dormitories and other essential buildings of the monasteries which surrendered to him,² and this seems to have been the procedure at Dale, for when the Lady Chapel was excavated in 1878 it was evident, "from the way the ribs lay on the floor, that its vaulted roof was demolished by knocking out the keystones, and letting the whole fall" on to the tile pavement beneath.³

In addition to the partially dismantled buildings there also remained unsold sundry spoons and chalices and "the plate of a wooden cross," all of white metal, two hundred fothers of lead, valued at £4 the fother,⁴ and six bells

¹ It was at one time thought that these windows were from the refectory (e.g. by Rev. S. Fox, *History of Morley Church*, and by Dr. Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*), but Sir W. Hope (*D.A.J.*, v, p. 91) and Mr. J. Ward (*Dale and its Abbey*, pp. 64-6) have shown conclusively that they are from the cloisters. For the medieval glass which still remains in three of these windows see H. M. Colvin, "Medieval Glass from Dale Abbey," *D.A.J.*, n.s. xiii (1939).

² Rev. F. Broadhurst, "Sir William Cavendish," in *D.A.J.*, xxix (1907), pp. 84-5.

³ W. H. St. J. Hope, "Excavations at Dale Abbey," in *D.A.J.* i (1879), pp. 107-8.

⁴ 24 Fothers still remained to promote trouble in Elizabethan days (Trueman: *History of Ilkeston*, p. 342).

weighing forty-seven hundredweight. These bells were still unsold at the end of Henry's reign, when Legh and Cavendish came to assess them, though a small one weighing two hundredweight had disappeared.¹ What happened to the Dale bells will never be known, but it is not improbable that they went to the melting-pot, the end of so many monastic peals.² There their metal, which for three centuries had daily summoned the abbeys of England to prayer, was turned to the more practical end of debasing her coinage.

Francis Pole paid down only £47. 12s. 2d. of the sum he owed the crown, and he gave an 'obligation' to pay the remaining £30 on the Feast of the Nativity, 1540, "as by an indenture and book more clearly appears."³ As the Commissioners had paid out £55. 9s. 8d. in "rewards given to the abbot and convent [and to their servants] at their departure" and "in cates bought and spent by the Commissioners there, and for the safe keeping of the goods and cattle there, during the said time," they had "paid more than they have received by the sum of £7. 7s. 6d." It was clearly the lands and rents of the abbey which were to make its suppression profitable, rather than its goods and buildings.

The abbey's debts amounted to £24. 11s. 6d. (perhaps £725 to-day), representing a curious medley of different items. Sir Henry Sacheverell heads the list with £6. 13s. 4d. Agnes Brayes follows with a like sum. Other entries are "to Dawson for fish 20s."; "to the church of Ilkeston for wax 3 doz. . . ."; "to Dr. North £4"; "to Piers Holland, for his annuity 10s."; "to Roger Colyar's wife, of Derby, for candles, 9s."; "to the vicar of St. Mary's in Nottingham 4 oaks . . ."; to Robert

¹ Pym Yeatman, *Feudal History of Derbyshire*, ii, pp. 246-7.

² The stories that the Dale bells found their way to Southwell Minster, Lincoln Cathedral, Radbourne church, All Saint's Derby, and elsewhere, have no foundation (see *D.A.J.* i (1879) pp. 57, 107: *Reliquary* xiv (1873-4), p. 225).

³ Rev. F. Broadhurst, *loc. cit.*

Smyth of Derby, for brick and tile 5s. 10d.”; “to John Halom of Stanley for iron and steel 20s.” The convent’s only recorded debtor was Robert Nesse, their former bailiff,¹ who “oweth for woods within the closing of his farm [apparently Stanley Grange], and the rows and hedges thereof, due at our Lady Day next ensuing 20s.”

Some thirty persons, evidently the former servants of the abbey, received from the Commissioners an average ‘reward’ of about 10s. each, probably a year’s wages.² Heading this list of dependants is “Sir William Coke, the Parish Priest of Stanley,” who received a reward of 20s.³

£18. 13s. 4d. in “fees and annuities” had been “granted out by Convent seal, before the time of the dissolution.” The list is as follows:—

Sir Henry Sacheverell	Ralph Hauke	20s.
	26s. 8d.	Thomas Thacker
		53s. 4d.
Richard Wheatley ⁴	40s.	Robert Wheatley ¹
		20s.

¹ See *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iii, pp. 155-6. There is a much worn alabaster slab in Dale church with traces of three incised figures, and the remains of a marginal inscription, here partially restored with the aid of a description made in 1662 by Ashmole (Bodl. Lib. Ashmole MS., 854, f82):—+ ORATE PRO AĪABUS PETRI NESSE, THOME ROGERS, JOHĪS + MID (?) + [ANNO DÑI] MDXXXII + [QVORUM AĪABUS PROPICIETUR DEUS AMEN].

² One of these was called Henry Baldock. The register of Kirk Hallam church has the entry *Matthew Baldock filius . . . baptizatus* under date June 30th, 1539 (published *D.A.J.* ix (1887)), and in the West Hallam register there is the entry: 1745, *Old Sarah Baldock of Dale Parish aged 103 buried Apr. 22* (Cox, iv, p. 228). A Henry Baldock had a hearth in his house at Dale in 1664 (Trueman, *History of Ilkeston*, p. 342 note) No doubt the Baldocks, with many of the other servants employed by the abbey, were kept on by Francis Pole.

³ His connection with Dale is difficult to explain, for Stanley church was never under the jurisdiction of the abbot, but was a chapelry of Spondon. In 1542 it was proved before the Court of Augmentations that Coke and his predecessors in the chaplaincy of Stanley had yearly received £5. 5s. 8d. from the possessions of the later monastery of Dale, and it was accordingly arranged that this sum should be paid by the receiver of rents or by the bailiff out of the possessions of the dissolved monastery. But this order was accompanied by the qualification that the payment was open to future disapproval, and there is no record that it was ever paid (Cox, iv, pp. 527-8).

⁴ There is record of Wheatleys at Dale since the seventeenth century, and the present (1940) custodian of the abbey site bears the name.

Adam Bardsay	40s.	Nicholas Powtrell	20s.
Charles Bruerton	53s. 4d.	Henry Crosse, a house	
Sir John Willoughby		and a close to the	
	20s.	yearly value of	20s.
the Vicar of Spondon		John Tower	20s.
by composition	40s.		

Richard Wheatley, Sir John Willoughby, and the vicar of Spondon are credited with their respective annuities in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, but Dr. Cox alleges that "in the vast majority of cases" these annuitants "were friends of the king's visitors and commissioners, occasionally local magnates, but oftener humbler folk, who belauded Cromwell and his agents and endeavoured to help them in their suppressive work. The very last use . . . to which the common seals of the religious houses were frequently put . . . was the granting out of these deceitful and crafty annuities, whereby the commissioners were enabled to recompense their tools."¹ But this, like other of Dr. Cox's pronouncements concerning the reformation, was the fruit of pious indignation rather than of accurate inquiry, and with the possible exception of Sir Henry Sacheverell, who participated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* inquiry in 1535, and who, together with his son William, appears to have received his pension as a fee for the stewardship of the abbey site,² the only one of the annuitants to whom the charge would seem to apply, is Thomas Thacker. For Thomas Thacker (or Thakker) of Heage was, by all accounts, somewhat of a scoundrel, and whether we believe Dr. Cox or not, we may be sure that the abbot did not give him his pension out of mere goodwill. He was well-known in the midlands as one of Cromwell's agents, and eventually possessed himself of the Prior's Lodge at Repton.³ He first appears in connection with

¹ "The Religious Pension Roll of Derbyshire," *D.A.J.* xxviii (1903), p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, ii, p. 15.

Dale in a letter¹ dated June 18th, 1537 from his brother Robert Thacker, vicar of St. Werburgh's, Derby,² in which the latter says "I shall remember to demand your fee of the abbot (*sic*) of Derley and Dale." This, no doubt, was the annuity of 53s. 4d. above mentioned, a 'fee' which seems to have become hereditary in the family, for, though Thomas died in March, 1548,³ the entry "Edward Thacker for annuity per ann. 53s. 4d. in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year" appears under Dale Abbey in the pension commissioners' report of 1552,⁴ and the pension roll of 1555/6⁵ contains the somewhat mysterious entry "Edward Thacker and Thomas Thacker per ann. 53s. 4d.," though in what relationship they stood to the elder Thomas does not appear. He was succeeded by his son Gilbert, who obtained a pension of 40s. *per annum* from the former abbey of Darley,⁶ and who is said to have "plucked down in one day," the priory church of Repton, "adding that he would destroy the nest, for fear the birds should build there again."⁷

In addition to the Sacheverells and the Thackers, there is evidence that several other of the annuitants continued to receive their pensions after the dissolution—Adam Bardsay, Sir John Willoughby, Nicholas Powtrell, and also, it would appear, Richard Wheatley, who died in 1545, Robert Wheatley, who died in 1546, and Ralph

¹ *L. & P. Henry VIII*, xii (ii), p. 39.

² Robert Thacker was vicar of St. Werburgh's, Derby from 1530 to 1543, when he became vicar of Mackworth. As "sub-deacon (? sub-dean) of the late college or free chapel of All Saints in the town of Derby," he obtained the handsome pension of £6. 12s. (? 13s.) 4d. (Pension Roll, pp. 25, 37: Cox, iv, pp. 77, 174, 286).

³ Cox, iii, pp. 430-1. A letter from Thomas Thacker to Cromwell, dated Sept. 23rd, 1538, in which he relates his attempts to persuade the abbot of Darley to surrender his house, and begs for that abbey's lands as a reward, is printed in *D.A.J.*, xxvi (1904), p. 96.

⁴ Pension Roll, p. 32.

⁵ Add. MS. 8102.

⁶ Pension Roll, p. 29.

⁷ Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, pp. 430-1. For the Thackers see also *D.A.J.* i (1879), p. 28, and n.s. vi (1932), pp. 78-83.

Hauke, who was said to have died in 1551, but whose name appears in the 1555/6 pension roll.¹

For their immediate needs the convent received sums ranging from £16. 13s. 4d. (= about £200 to-day) in the case of the abbot, down to £1 (= about £30) in that of canon John Bateman, the usual payment being either 30s. (= about £45) or 40s. (= about £60). Six days later the pension list² was issued:—

John Bebe, abbot	£26 13s. 4d.	(equivalent to about	£800)
Richard Wheatley, prior	£5 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£160)
John Gadman (or Cadman)	£5. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£160)
Richard Hawsten (or Halsame)	£5. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£160)
Thomas Bagshaw	£5. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£160)
William Smith	£5. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£160)
John Banks	£5. os. od.	(„ „	£150)
John Shelmode	£3. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£100)
George (or Gregory) Coke	£5. os. od.	(„ „	£150)
Robert Harvey	£5. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£160)
Ralph Harrison	£5. os. od.	(„ „	£150)
Robert Wilson (or Herwood)	£3. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£100)
James Cheryholme ³	£3. 6s. 8d.	(„ „	£100)
James Cleyton	£2. os. od.	(„ „	£60)
John Bateman	£2. os. od.	(„ „	£60)
Robert Jerett (or Gerard)	— 16s. 8d.	(„ „	£25)

The scale of these pensions was no doubt proportionate to the seniority of the individual canons. The abbot came off handsomely, and none could complain that they had not been adequately provided for, except perhaps Robert Jerett, who could scarcely hope to live very comfortably on the equivalent of £25 a year. But he was probably a young man, not long professed, who would not find it so difficult to adapt himself to a new way of life as his elder brethren. Roger Page did not receive a

¹ Pension Roll, pp. 32-3; Add. MS. 8102.

² This is attached to the inventory (P.R.O. Aug. Office Misc. Books, 172, 61).

³ A James Cheryholme was chantry priest of St. Nicholas's chantry in St. Peter's, Derby, at its dissolution, and duly received a pension of 53s. 4d. as such (Cox, IV, p. 150).

pension, as he was allowed to retain the living of Kirk Hallam, to which he had been presented by the abbot some years previously, and which he was to occupy until his death in 1569.¹ The living was worth 40s. (= about £60) at this period. In 1536 it had been enacted that the former religious could freely become secular clergy in this manner, and at least two other canons of Dale made use of their opportunity. John Cadman became chaplain of Stanton-by-Dale, a living he is known to have occupied in 1553,² and in the same year Ralph Harrison was curate of "Brearston chapel in Wilne parish."³ Unless the living were in the gift of the crown its tenure did not prevent an incumbent who had formerly been a religious from continuing to receive his pension, and both Cadman and Harrison were still in receipt of theirs in 1555/6. Whether either of them took wives does not appear.

The pensions were drawn at regular intervals by their recipients, and in spite of what Dr. Cox would have us believe,⁴ were never cut down or withheld, nor were they ever refused on grounds of moral irregularities in the past. Trouble, however, arose through the pensioners themselves, some of whom alienated their annuities to others for ready money. In order to check this abuse an act was passed in the third year of Edward VI, entitled "An Act against the crafty and deceitful buying of pensions from the late monasteries."⁵ To secure the proper working of this act a commission was set up to inquire into the matter in each county, and was furnished with an account of the pensions as originally awarded. Together with the

¹ Cox, iv, p. 213.

² *Ibid.*, p. 415.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 406. The other two vicarages of Ilkeston and Heanor were apparently served by seculars at the dissolution, and so did not provide livings for any of the former Dale canons.

⁴ See *D.A.J.*, xxviii (1903), pp. 10-17, and cf. G. Baskerville, *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, (1937).

⁵ *D.A.J.*, xxviii (1903), p. 14.

Derbyshire list is the report of the Commissioners, dated November, 1552.¹

The ex-abbot John Bebe had not long survived his monastery, dying on March 12th, 1540/1, at Stanley Grange, according to the statement of the former prior Richard Wheatley, who also told the Commissioners that Thomas Bagshaw had died at Little Eaton in 1542, William Smith at Stanley Grange in the same year, Robert Harvey at Alton in Staffordshire in 1543, and Robert Herwood in 1545.

The remaining pensions were all in arrears for either six or twelve months. In the case of the four canons whose pensions were in arrears for a whole year this is noted as being "for cause as John Okeley," the former Prior of Gresley, who told the commissioners on oath that it was because Mr. Gooch, the Receiver of the Court of Augmentations "said he had a commission for the first half year to stay the payment thereof until the King's majesty's pleasure were known." The second half year's arrears, which was common to all the pensioners, was due, no doubt, to the uncertainty which prevailed pending the findings of the inquiry. Cleyton, Bateman and Jerett failed to appear, but in 1555/6, in Mary's reign, their names appear in the pension list² together with the other surviving canons of Dale. All were still enjoying their full pensions, and none had died since their interview with the Commissioners. Out of the sixteen who had signed the deed of surrender seventeen years before, there were then left Richard Wheatley, John Cadman, Richard Hawsten, John Banks, George Coke, Ralph Harrison,

¹ In the P.R.O. (Exch. Accts. K.R. Bundle lxxxii, No. 12): published by Dr. Cox as "The Religious Pension Roll of Derbyshire," in *D.A.J.* xxviii (1903). Dr. Cox erroneously dates the Commission to 1548 instead of 1552 (p. 18).

² "Cardinal Pole's Pension Roll" (Add. MS. 8102). The entry relating to Dale was printed by the Rev. C. Kerry in *The Reliquary*, xxiv (1864), p. 223. He wrongly dates it 1553.

John Shelmode, James Cheryholme, James Cleyton, John Bateman and Robert Jerett. This is the last record we have of them.

II. THE ABBEY SITE.

After the dissolution of its abbey, the village of Dale became a peculiar free from all episcopal control, thus perpetuating the exempt jurisdiction enjoyed by the Premonstratensian abbots over their monastery and its precincts.¹ The "chapel of Depedale," traditionally founded by the hermit in the twelfth century, and destined, in spite of its many vicissitudes, to survive the greater but comparatively short-lived abbey of Stanley Park, became the parish church of Dale, and was placed under the jurisdiction of the lords of the manor, who have ever since been solely responsible for the spiritual needs of their peculiar, so much so that in the chancel may be seen a tablet commemorating "THE RIGHT HON. PHILIP HENRY, EARL STANHOPE, OF CHEVENING IN KENT," who died on March 2nd, 1855, under the dual title of "LORD OF THIS MANOR AND LAY-BISHOP OF THIS PARISH," and there is even a chair within the sanctuary known as "the Bishop's throne."

In 1544 Francis Pole's tenure of the abbey lands was changed to a grant in fee, for which he paid £489. os. 10d.² But in the same year "the manor of Dale, with all its appurtenances and 20 messuages, 30 tofts, one water-mill, one dovecote, one orchard, 4,000 acres of land, 3,000 acres of meadow, 6,000 acres of pasture, 3,000 acres of wood, 8,000 acres of open land and bracken, and 40s. of rent

¹ See W. H. Frere, *Visitations and Injunctions*, 1, p. 69 (Alcuin Club, vol. xiv) for similar survivals of monastic exemption after the dissolution. Since this paper was written, an article by the Rev. R. F. Borough on "The Lay-Bishop of Dale," has appeared in *D.A.J.*, vol. lxiii (1942), in which the ecclesiastical status of Dale Abbey is fully discussed.

² *L. & P. Henry VIII*, xix (i), p. 81 (see also xv, p. 566 and xvii, p. 687). The extent of the lands thus granted is given in Add. MS. 6676, f. 529.

. . . . besides the advowson of the church of Dale . . . value £16. 2s. od." were alienated by Francis Pole to Sir John Porte of Etwall, one of the justices of the King's Bench.¹ On his death the Dale estates passed to his son, also named Sir John Porte, who was the founder of Repton School. Anthony Pope and Nicholas Gover brought an action against Porte "re the manor of Dale Abbey," and legal disputes over the rectory and manor of Dale seem to have continued throughout the sixteenth century.² Sir John Porte married the heiress of Giffard, an eminent Staffordshire family, and on his death in 1557 without male issue the property went to his daughter Dorothy, who married Sir George Hastings, afterwards fourth Earl of Huntingdon. A descendant of Hastings sold it to Sir Henry Willoughby of Risley. Willoughby had no sons, and on his death in 1605 was succeeded by his four daughters as coheiresses. The eldest daughter married Sir Henry Griffith, and died without issue; the second married—first, Sir Thomas Aston, and second, the Honourable Anchtell Gray,³ second son of the Earl of

¹ C. E. B. Bowles "The Manors of Derbyshire," *D.A.J.*, xxvii (1905), p. 99.

² I have made no attempt to investigate these in detail. See Trueman, *History of Ilkeston*, p. 342 (Pope, etc. v, Porte, ? 1555); *Cal. State Papers, Dom Series*, 1547-80, p. 28 (case for legal opinion as to a lease of the rectory of Dale during the sequestration of the Bishopric, 1550); Lansdowne MS. 172 f. 162 No. 29 (legal opinion as to whether the lease of the manor of Dale is valid or not); Add. MS. 6702 f. 31^b (grant of common at Dale, 1588), f. 78^b (memoranda relating to letters patent for Dale Abbey, 1563); *Proceedings in Chancery temp. Elizabeth* (Rec. Comm.) h. h. 18 No. 42 (Heron v. Gell concerning the parsonages of Dale and Heanor, etc.); *Staffs. Colls.* xvii (1896), pp. 216-7 (final concord between Geo. Hastings and his wife, complainants, and Thos. Gerarde, kt., and his wife, deforciant, concerning the manor of Dale, 1569); *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on MSS. at Ashby de la Zouche*, p. 108 (legal matters concerning the site and lands of Dale Abbey, 1583); Add. MS. 6695 ff. 176-9 (Wolley's notes on the manor of Dale).

³ He lived at Risley Hall and his chaplain was among those who performed marriages, etc. in Dale Church, which was without any proper minister until 1702, when it was united with Stanton. In 1701 Gray presented the church with a chalice, Bible and prayer-book, which still remain. It was Anchtell Gray who presented the Dale Chartulary to the Cottonian Library. His curious Household Book is printed in *The Reliquary*, vols. 1 (1860-1), III (1862-3). Gray died on July 8th, 1702.

Stamford. The third married—first, Sir John Bellingham, Bart., and second, George Purefoy, Esqr. The fourth married Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart.¹ Eventually the lands and manor of Dale were held in moieties by the families of D'Ewes and Gray. One moiety was in 1716 purchased from Sir Simonds D'Ewes by the trustees of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield for his son Alexander, father of the first Earl Stanhope. The other moiety was bought of the Earl of Stamford² in 1778 by Earl Stanhope,³ and the present lord of the manor is the seventh Earl Stanhope. Though Lord Stanhope retains the actual site of the abbey, together with his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the great estates bought by Francis Pole have long been dispersed.

In its dismantled state the abbey naturally suffered severely from the ravages of time and weather, but its destruction has largely been due to its treatment as a convenient quarry both by its owners and by the local people. Sir Henry Willoughby was responsible for much of this, for he built Risley Hall and the wall which surrounds it almost entirely from stone robbed in this manner.⁴ A fifteenth-century canopy which was found unsuitable for building purposes has remained in Risley churchyard ever since. The stone for a row of Jacobean cottages in Stanton-by-Dale was probably obtained in the same way, for upwards of sixteen masons' marks have been detected on the exterior.⁵ The masonry of a lock

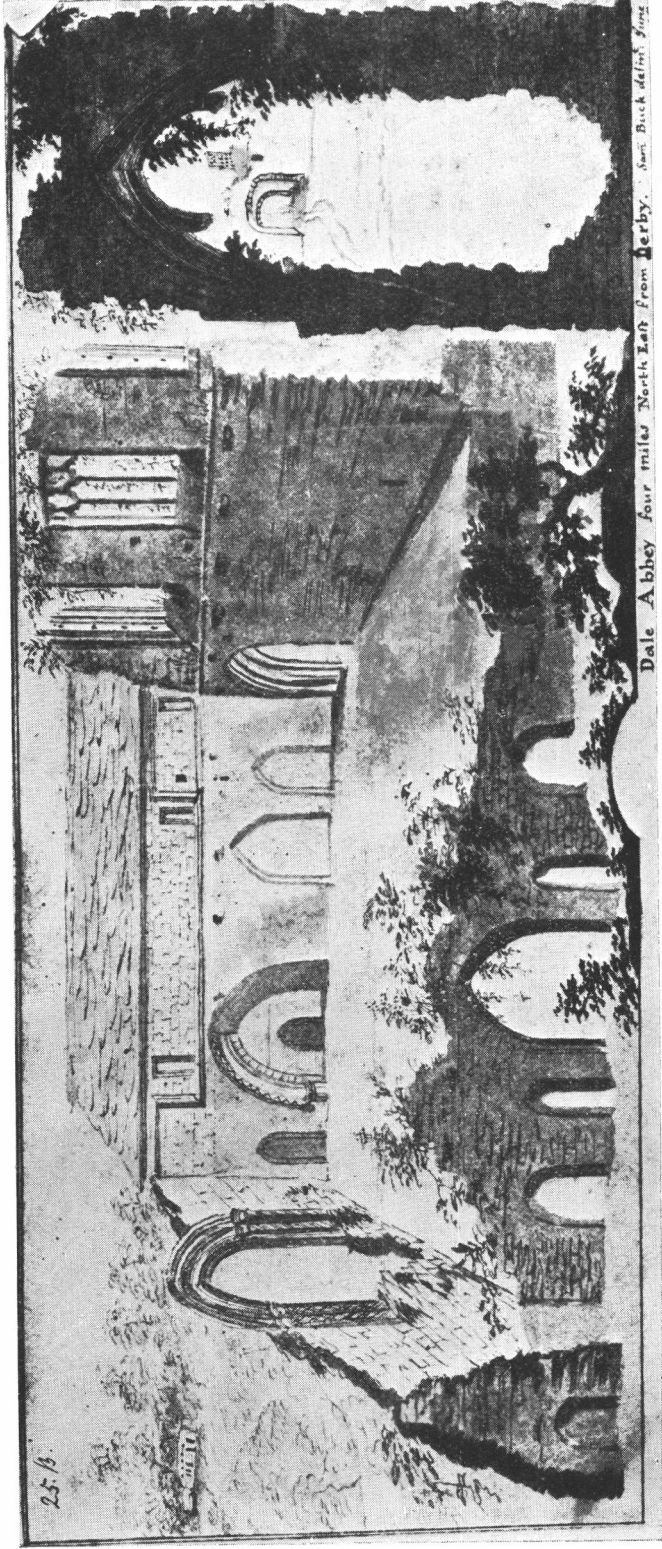
¹ Rev. S. Fox "Dale Abbey, Derbyshire," *The Reliquary*, VIII (1867-8), p. 206.

² In *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, I, p. 189, Dr. Cox records that the Earl of Stamford's tenantry at Dale and Stanton were exempted from the Militia Tax by the action of that nobleman in filing a certificate that he was serving as a colonel of the Cheshire Militia, under a commission of 1764.

³ Add. MS. 6695, ff. 85-166, contains long abstracts of Lord Stanhope's titles to the manors of Dale and Stanton. In Derby Public Library are the draft, for a lease of iron ore, furnaces, canals, etc. at Dale, from Charles, Earl Stanhope, to Thomas English (1789), and the subsequent bankruptcy of English (1791).

⁴ Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, IV, p. 411.

⁵ Rev. R. J. Burton, "Notes on the Antiquities of Stanton-by-Dale," *D.A.J.*, XXXV (1913), p. 79.



on the Erewash canal shows similar evidence of its origin.¹ Sir Henry Sacheverell, who became steward of the site after the dissolution, seems to have been responsible for the removal to Morley church of nearly a whole side of the cloister, together with its painted glass, a thirteenth-century arch which was incorporated in the porch, and a tomb-slab which he turned upside-down in order to make his own memorial.²

But in spite of these depredations the sketch of the ruins taken by Samuel Buck on June 26th, 1727, and preserved in the Bodleian Library,³ shows the whole south wall of the nave intact, the western range still roofed and apparently quite untouched, and other parts of the conventual buildings standing to some height. The east arch of the quire appears much as it does to-day. Indeed, so well preserved were portions that three years later Dr. Stukeley could write "the walls of the cloister, the kitchen, the hall entire, under it the cellars, at the end of the hall the Abbot's parlour, all the ceilings well wainscoted with oak, . . . and a magnificent gatehouse just dropping."⁴

Stukeley seems to have been at Dale earlier, in 1710, for there is a small drawing of the ruins bearing that date in

¹ [Prodgers], *St. Bartholomew's Parish Church, Elvaston* (1905), p. 57, who illustrates similar marks at Elvaston.

² The underside contains the matrix of a large ecclesiastical brass. A rubbing of this matrix in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, London, shows that there was a marginal inscription, and a scroll coming from the mouth of the effigy. Sacheverell's brass is in all probability a palimpsest and if the underside could be examined, might show part of the original brass. See Rev. S. Fox., *History of Morley Church*, p. 8, plate xv.

³ Gough Maps, iv, f. 25^b. This is evidently the original drawing from which the published engraving (*Buck's Views*, I, plate 67—reproduced in Trueman's *History of Ilkston* and *The Reliquary*, VIII (1867-8)) was made. But the latter differs strangely from the original, not only in matters of detail, but in the total omission of the roof of the western range and of a doorway in the eastern range. The former evidently did not fall in with Buck's ideas of the romantic, and in its place he has drawn a row of little trees. In the same way the picturesque effect of the arch has been enhanced by the addition of luxuriant vegetation whose existence is not borne out by the original sketch.

⁴ Quoted by Sir W. Hope, *D.A.J.*, i (1879), pp. 102-3.

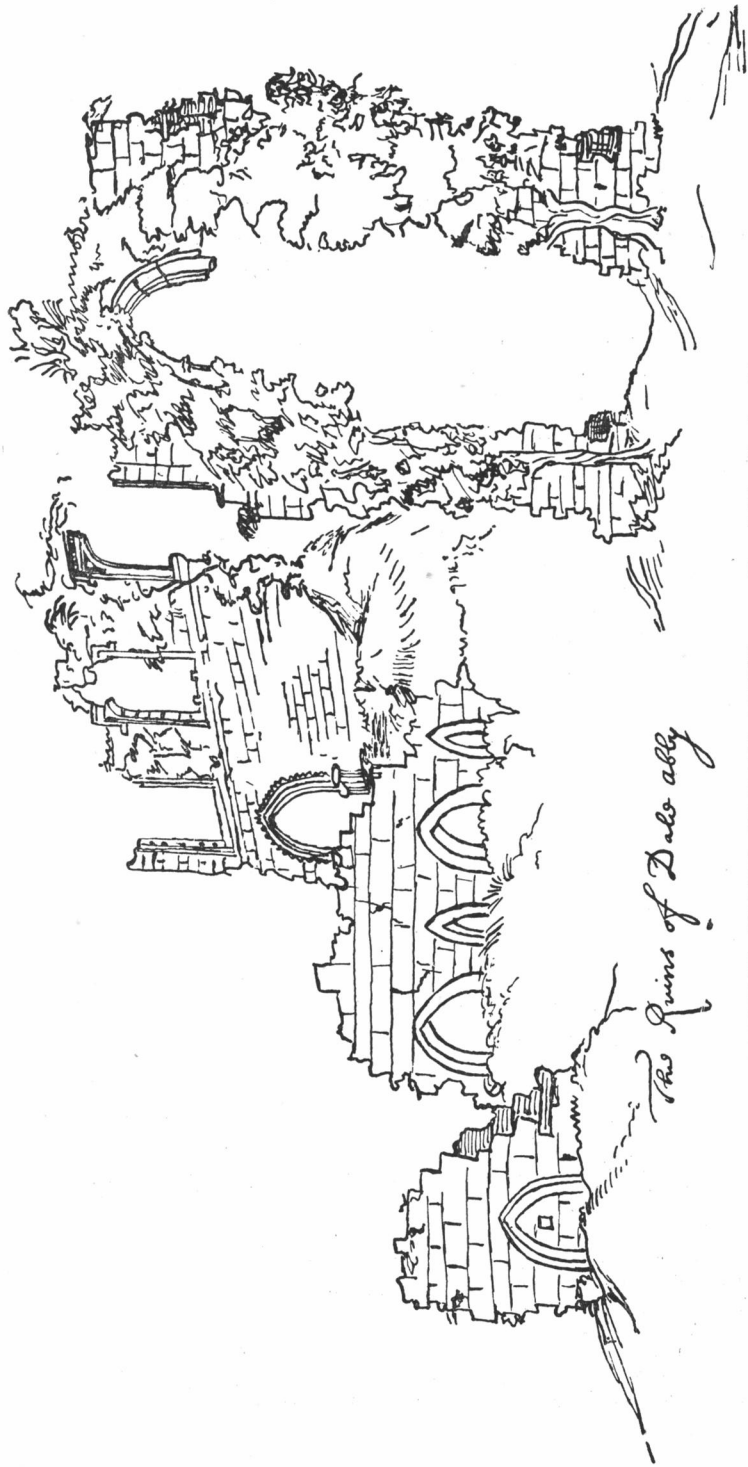
his architectural sketch book in the Bodleian Library,¹ of which the original sketch, preserved among the Gough MSS. in the same library,² is here reproduced. It shows the ruins in much the same state as Buck's drawing, but the west range is entirely omitted, and the tracery of the central window of the nave clerestory is missing, although rather unaccountably it appears in Buck's sketch done 17 years afterwards. Stukeley's plan of the abbey,³ dated 23 September, 1730, is rough and inaccurate, but it shows that the west range (the "priors lodg" Stukeley calls it) still retained its windows, fireplaces and internal divisions, and it was here no doubt that Stukeley saw the "ceilings well wainscoted with oak." The "hall" is, of course, the refectory, and the "cellars," its undercroft, of which a fragment remains to-day, still showing traces of its vaulting. The gatehouse can be seen in the distance in Buck's views, its two arches still spanning the roadway.⁴ The west door of the chapter-house, flanked by lancet openings, is visible in both sketches, but the building itself has gone, together with the north and south transepts of the church, the crossing, the Lady Chapel, the north wall of the nave, the quire, and the infirmary buildings. By

¹ MS. Top. Gen. E. 61, f. 23.

² Gough Maps, IV, f. 25^b. There is an accompanying sketch of the hermitage which was afterwards copied into Stukeley's Sketchbook on the same page (f. 23) as his drawing of the ruins, and which formed the original of the engraving in the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, where Stukeley devotes a few lines to the abbey (p. 53). On f. 13 (rev.) of the sketchbook there is an "inner view of the Hermitage" which explains the rather cryptic description of the cell in the *Itinerarium*.

³ Reproduced in *D.A.J.*, ii (1880), facing p. 132.

⁴ THE GATEHOUSE stood to the west of the main buildings, and part of it remains as the lower storey of a small barn. The square head and chamfered jambs of its remaining windows suggest a fifteenth or sixteenth-century date. Its angle-buttresses have disappeared, but one respond of the main archway remains. Locally the building is invariably known as "the old gaol," but it is not known how it gained this name. The upper storey was used as a Methodist Chapel until the erection of the present brick chapel in 1902. Later it was used as a bake-house and contained an oven and copper. Until the winter of 1935-6, when the oven collapsed, the meat for the Whitsun Feast of the Dale Abbey Society for the Prosecution of Felons continued to be cooked here, the plum-pudding being baked in the copper.



The Ruins of Dale abby

DR. STUKELEY'S SKETCH OF DALE ABBEY 1710 (Gough Maps iv, f. 256.)

1789, when the Hon. John Byng, of the *Torrington Diaries*, inspected the site, little remained standing but the arch of the east window. He describes his visit in detail¹:—

“ Leaving Morley, after a pleasant and long survey, we were directed, by bridle gates, over grass closes, to Stanley; and thence to the object of my pursuit, standing in a sweet valley (as they all did) what shou’d remain of Dale Abbey. Of all that is described in the print [Buck’s], as existing only 60 years ago, (belonging to noblemen, to whom we join an idea of taste) nothing now remains but the lofty arch, which P.² did not walk down to, but I took post as near as I dared from a vicious bull, and executed a drawing with more success (I think) than usual.³ Indeed this bull was its only guard: and I must again express my wonted surprise that a nobleman (of taste I have heard Ld. Stamford to be) who owns, and sometimes visits it, shou’d not enclose, and plant about it; and then it wou’d appear to great advantage.” Pilkington, in his *View of Derbyshire*⁴ (1789), gives much the same picture:—“ The arch is yet standing. It is nearly perfect and looks very beautiful Some of the offices belonging to the abbey are yet standing, and have been converted into dwelling-houses. In some of the windows of these houses there is painted glass with inscriptions.”

With the advent of the nineteenth century the sole surviving arch became a proper object for romantic contemplation, and some seventy-three lines of John Edwards’ curious poem *All Saints Church, Derby* (1805) are devoted to a highly-coloured account of the abbey and its history.⁵ The last lines are these:—

¹ *The Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. B. Andrews, II, p. 65.

² His unidentified companion.

³ The volume of the Diaries containing this sketch is in the library of Dr. E. A. Sadler, The Mansion, Ashbourne.

⁴ Vol. II, pp. 217-8.

⁵ In 1823 William and Mary Howitt of Nottingham published in their *Forest Minstrel* some doggerel verses entitled “ A Legend of Dale Abbey,” and

Like THEE ALL SAINTS ! by gradual degrees
 This House of Worship reach'd its best estate.
 An altar first, then chantry, chapel, church,
 And last in full magnificence it rear'd
 Its pillar'd cloisters, pinnacles and towers !

Time mark'd its rise, and Time, whose rapid march
 Is oft involv'd in clouds and storms, has pass'd
 Again, IN DESOLATION, o'er the Pile !
 Alone, now, of its greatness and its pride,
 ONE MONUMENTAL ARCH ALONE REMAINS !

This poem is accompanied by an attractive engraving showing the arch as it appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A slightly inferior version of this engraving appears on the title-page of the third volume of Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1802). Another view of the arch, taken in 1806, is reproduced in G. J. Parkyns' *Monastic and Baronial Remains* (1816), vol. II, and a third and later one, signed 'J. Gresley' illustrates both Dr. Hall's *Days in Derbyshire* (1863), and the Rev. S. Fox's paper on "Dale Abbey" in *The Reliquary*, vol. VIII (1867-8).

To-day, as in Byng's time, little remains above ground but the arch of the great east window, a portion of the kitchen attached to the "Abbey House,"¹ and a fragment of the refectory undercroft incorporated in a cowshed. When Sir William Hope started his excavations an old woman told him that he must not let down the arch, or the parishioners would have to pay tithes, and it is

Dr. Hall, in his *Days in Derbyshire* (1863), p. 258, quotes three verses of an indifferent poem about Dale by Richard Howitt. Another poem, "Dale Abbey," by Mr. T. L. Tudor, appears in *Notts. and Derby Notes and Queries* (1892).

¹ One of two cottages formed out of the eighteenth-century 'Manor House' (the other still goes by this name). Here manor courts are said to have been held as recently as the last century (Hall: *Days in Derbyshire*, (1863), p. 259), and here Dr. Hall saw "a little door inside . . . made of a piece of beautifully carved wood, which, when new, had probably occupied a much more dignified place in the monastery." This has since disappeared.

undoubtedly this fortunate belief which has saved it from destruction.¹ So strong was this tradition that about a hundred years ago a portion of the highway fund was diverted for its repair!²

The abbey font apparently remained on the site until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was removed to Stanton Hall, where it served as a flower-vase on the lawn. In about 1860 it was restored to Dale by Mr. John Hancock of Boyah Grangè, who deposited it in the churchyard.³ In 1884, at the suggestion of the Rev. C. Kerry, it was placed in the south 'aisle' of the church, where it remains.⁴ It has an octagonal bowl of the fifteenth century, two sides of which bear sculptures representing the Virgin Mary and Child, and the Crucifixion, now much damaged. The remaining six panels are carved with shields in shallow relief, only one of which bears a charge—a saltire.

In the seventies of the last century the late Sir (then Mr.) William Hope discovered Stukeley's rough pen-and-ink sketch of the ground-plan of the abbey "in a private library in Derbyshire."⁵ With the help of this plan excavations were undertaken on the foundation of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society in 1878, and at their conclusion in the following year, the whole of the church, with the exception of the western part of the nave, had been uncovered, together with the sacristy, vestry, chapter-house, slype and part of the warming-house.

The presence of cottages and gardens prohibited the

¹ *The Archaeological Journal*, LXXI (1914), p. 374. This freedom from tithes is actually a result of the extra-parochial character of Dale.

² The flat top of the arch must date from this time, as do the modern jambs at the sides.

³ There is an illustration of it in this position in the Rev. S. Fox's *History of Morley Church* (1872), facing p. 32.

⁴ *The Reliquary*, xxiv (1883-4). For the font cover in Radbourne church, traditionally from Dale Abbey, see Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, III, p. 256, plate xiii.

⁵ *D.A.J.* i (1879), p. 100. Unfortunately Sir W. Hope does not state where the Library was, and I have been unable to trace the MS.

excavation of the western range, kitchen, frater and cloisters, and it was possible to make only one or two trial holes in this area.¹ No attempt was made to excavate the infirmary, but part of its foundations were uncovered by the present writer in the summers of 1937 and 1938.² A wooden building was erected over the site of the chapter-house to preserve the tombs³ uncovered there, and to serve as a museum for the large collection of inlaid tiles⁴ and other objects found during the excavations.

Since then little of importance has occurred on the site of the abbey, apart from Roman Catholic 'pilgrimages' from Ilkeston (*e.g.* in 1889,⁵ 1894,⁶ and 1939⁷), and the conducted visits of archaeological societies. In 1932 the remains of the monastery were scheduled as an ancient monument, and so acquired the national protection implied by this official recognition of their antiquity.

¹ See Sir W. Hope's reports in *D.A.J.*, i (1879) and ii (1880). The plan, as ultimately revealed, was not published until 1914 (*Archaeological Journal*, LXXI, p. 373). The plan published by Ward, *Dale and its Abbey* (1891) p. 55, is inaccurate in its spacing of the nave arcade. There is a photograph in the Bodleian Library (MS. *Top. Eccles.* b 27, p. lxxxii), which shows the site immediately after excavation.

² See H. M. Colvin "Excavations at Dale Abbey," in *D.A.J.*, n.s. xii (1938), pp. 87-94.

³ The fine early thirteenth-century effigy of an ecclesiastic holding a book on his breast is illustrated in *D.A.J.*, i, plate xi. It has at various times been claimed that this represents a lector, an "exorcist," a deacon, a cantor, an abbot, and a prior, but Sir W. Hope eventually came to the conclusion that it commemorated an archdeacon who had possibly been a benefactor to the abbey (*Proc. Soc. of Antiquaries*, n.s. xv, p. 34). This and the other tombs are all described by Sir W. Hope in his two reports. Several fragments of brasses were found during the excavations, and are described and illustrated in the *Trans. of the Monumental Brass Society*, v (1904-7), p. 6. All these are now missing except a palimpsest fragment bearing on one side part of a human face, apparently wearing a wimple headdress (see the *Trans. of the Monumental Brass Society*, iv (1900-3), p. 26).

⁴ For these see Mr. Ward's excellent paper "The Mediaeval Pavement and Wall-Tiles of Derbyshire," in *D.A.J.* xiv (1892), with numerous illustrations; also the excavation reports mentioned above.

⁵ J. Ward, *Dale and its Abbey* (1891), preface to second edition.

⁶ Trueman, *History of Ilkeston*, p. 344.

⁷ Reported in local papers.