

Royal Visitors to Derbyshire.

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UNDERSTANDING that, in these strenuous days, when so many far younger men are prevented writing from more serious claims on their time, our editor would be glad of a second paper from my much scribbling pen, I have ventured to give the above title to this sketchy paper. In part I have traversed to some extent, in the very numerous pages I have written about this shire within the last fifty years, the same ground, more especially in the articles which I contributed to the second volume of the *Victoria History* on the Political History of the County in 1907, pp. 93 to 160, and in a chapter on Historic Derbyshire, about the same time, which appeared in the volume entitled "Memorials of old Derbyshire," pp. 1 to 33. I can, however, with complete confidence, assure the reader that most of the material put together in the following paper is entirely new so far as my making use of it is concerned.

Perhaps, too, I may be forgiven for saying that in writing about the various Royalties (taking the term in a wide sense) who have visited this shire from very different causes, I have found a distinct pleasure, and I hope some degree of profit, in reviving my recollections of a considerable number of more or less interesting books, dealing with the county, which in the days, when I was resident at Hazelwood, helped to weigh down my local shelves. They all present some degree of merit, though forgotten for many a long year. Such were William Hutton's charmingly worded *History of Derby*, first published in

1791, and again in 1817; James Pilkington's two volumes on the county, published in 1709; the Rev. D. E. Davies's one volumed book on the county of 1811; and Mr. Robert Simpson's much more valuable two volumes on the same of 1826. To give this sketch the greater accuracy, a considerable number of the official volumes of the Public Record Office, and in a few cases the originals, have lately passed through my hands, and more especially the whole series of the yearly issues of the Pipe Roll Society.

The Romans abode in Britain for 360 years, namely from A.D. 43 to A.D. 410. Their occupation of this land was in the main a military one, and they never succeeded, as they did in conquered provinces on the continent, in teaching the mass of the natives to abandon their Celtic tongue in exchange for the Latin language, or in inducing them to take up Roman customs and habits. The towns, indeed, such great military centres as York, or commercial centres such as London, were filled with a Latin speaking population, and rejoiced in temples, baths and forums, with costly villas in the suburbs, but the villages and general country districts held aloof from all this smattering of imperial rule, though they must have been somewhat impressed by their vast engineering works, especially by their wide spread system of road-making chiefly used for the transit of their legionary troops. Occasionally there burst out the fiercest rebellion, as in the second century when the Brigantes of Yorkshire massacred the whole of the legion that garrisoned York. This brought the much travelled Emperor Hadrian on to the scene, when he journeyed across the Esk and fixed the Roman boundary by the erection of the celebrated "Wall of Hadrian," a gigantic stone work, stretching from sea to sea for about 80 miles across the moors from Carlisle to Newcastle, and furnished with forts at frequent intervals.

It is just possible that in the person of this emperor,

Derbyshire may have received its first regal, royal or imperial visitor. In the always eager zest after the mineral wealth of their conquered territories, the Romans, some time before Hadrian's prolonged visit to our shore, had discovered and worked the wealth of lead with which our county was so well stored around Wirksworth. Six pigs of inscribed Roman lead have been found in this county, and it lends some degree of probability to this emperor having traversed the shire in the fact that one of these pigs bears the name of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138).

Though the emperor Constantine was a good deal in Britain in the fourth century, we look in vain for a scintilla of evidence of his presence in Derbyshire, though the probabilities seem strong that he visited the important lead mining of that county. Now though the late Saxon evidences of Christianity are multiplied in this shire, through her many pre-Norman sculptured crosses or other stones, the indisputable trace of the Celtic true faith as shown in the *Christian* monogram in tessellated pavements are confined to Gloucestershire and Dorsetshire, and the same in several stone structural buildings in Cornwall, and in one in Carmarthenshire and one in Wigtonshire.¹

As to the royal visits to Derbyshire of sovereigns, petty or imperial, during the centuries that elapsed after the departure of the Romans and the arrival of our Norman conquerors, history is fairly explicit. The Anglo-Saxon invaders—the future English—drove the main body of the old Britons into Wales and Cornwall about the middle of the fifth century, but a considerable remnant of them tarried in the wilds of North Derbyshire. In 457 the Saxon opportunity, whereby Britain was divided into seven petty kingdoms under the rule of their respective chieftains or kings was more or less firmly established.

¹ See my good friend J. Romilly Allan's *Celtic Art. in Pagan and Christian Times*, of which I edited a second and posthumous edition in 1912.

In 603 Ethelfrith, the last pagan king of Northumbria, crossed the southern end of the dividing Pennine ridge, and by a great victory near Chester extended the dominions of the English to the Mersey and the Dee. It is said that he crossed over into Peakland, which is at the least highly probable, and if this is the case Ethelfrith has a legitimate claim to be reckoned amongst our royal visitors.

But it is around the ancient abbey of Repton, in the south of the county, which claims to have been first established about the same time that the tale of petty royalty, alive or dead, chiefly centres. Its undoubted existence, somewhat later in the seventh century is connected with the establishment of a Mercian bishopric at that place from 654 to 667. That this town was at that time and onwards, a centre of civil life as well as of hallowed associations, is proved by the interment here, in the crypt of this ancient forerunner of Westminster Abbey, of Merewold, brother of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who died in the year 675; of Cyneheard, king of the sixteen counties that acknowledged allegiance to Mercian rule, who died in the following century; and of Wiglaf, king of Mercia in the ninth century. The last of these kings, by his son Wimond, had a favourite young grandson Wistan or Wystan, who on his father's death was destined to come to the throne; but in 850 he was treacherously killed by his uncle Butulph, who seized the throne, and by his cousin Berfurt. The body of St. Wystan was conveyed to his grandfather's mausoleum at Repton, then the most famous monastery in the land, as the chronicler has it, and the subsequent priory church was dedicated in his honour.

The Saxon Chronicle tells us that the Danes in 874 penetrated up the Trent into the land of Mercia as far as Repton. Here they tarried in winter quarters, making a complete wreck of the old abbey, "the most sacred

mausoleum of all the Kings of Mercia," as Ingult has it.

The north-eastern portion of Mercia gradually fell into the hands of the invading Norman, and their leaders ere long formed a small confederacy of five chief boroughs. Derby thus became linked with Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester, and Stafford. Meanwhile Ethelfleda, the lady or queen of the Mercians, the sister of the great Alfred, gradually in her zeal and energy recovered her dominions, and built border forts at Leicester, Stafford, and other places. In 918 she stormed Derby, where there was fierce fighting, and this impetuous royal visitor saw four of her leading thanes fall within the gates. But this signal victory gave her possession not only of the town but of the shire and surrounding district, *provincia et appendicia*, according to the chronicle of Henry Huntingdon.

Meanwhile Athelstan, who followed Egbert and Alfred, as king of the whole of the English, won a vast victory over a great host of Danes, Scots, and others, in the year 937 at a place called Brunanburg. The site of this prodigious strife is in considerable dispute with antiquaries, and it has been confidently claimed for more than one site in Yorkshire. But we happen to know that our fellow-member, Mr. W. J. Andrew, no mean authority, is himself convinced that it was fought in North Derbyshire, and is able to put forth various sound arguments, which we believe have not yet been refuted, in support of his theory. If this can be proved it supplies us with yet another illustrious royal visitor to Derbyshire.

In another way king Athelstan is specially associated with the county town, for the first establishment of a mint at Derby was during his reign. Coins minted at Derby are also extant of the reigns of Edgar, Edward II, Ethelred II, Canute, Harold I, Edward the Confessor, and Harold II.

We must not forget, too, to mention that in 924 Edward the Elder, brother to Ethelfleda, also advanced against

the Danes, through Nottingham, and still further to the north, for the Anglo-Saxon chronicle definitely states that "he fared into Peak-land to Badecanwyll (Bakewell) and Warkwork a burgh there." In 961 king Edmund affected a yet greater work, for the same chronicle leaves it on record that he entirely freed the Five Burghs and all therein from Danish rule, and for a long time "constrained on heathen men in captive chains."

Just another word or so as to Repton will not be inappropriate. For about a century the site of the monastery remained desolate until the reign of Edgar the Peaceable (957-975) When that king chanced to visit the place he was shocked at its condition; on the site of the old monastery, or in its immediate vicinity, a fine church was built, dedicated to St. Wystan, and it eventually became the home of a well-known priory, wrecked by Crumwell, the unworthy minion of the avaricious Henry VIII, who was a rival of the worst of the Danes in the pillaging of holy places.

Meanwhile the best of the Danes, under Guthrum, had themselves fallen under Christian influence and this brings us yet another great name as a royal visitor to the county. King Canute (1016-1035), when at Repton, was so much impressed with the tale of the martyred St. Wystan that he transferred the relics from their humble home by the side of the Trent to the great Abbey of Evesham. But in the year 1207 the central tower of Evesham fell, crushing the presbytery with all its contents, including St. Wystan's shrine. The monks, however, recovered the relics, and at the earnest request of the prior and canons of Repton, gave back to them "a portion of the broken skull and a piece of an arm bone."

Before, however, we pass on to Norman times, it will be distinctly interesting to turn aside for a few minutes to two other distinguished names, both of whom are of royal lineage, and who are closely linked with Derbyshire in the ancient church dedications.

St. Alkmund was at one time for some centuries esteemed as the patron saint of the county town, and his memory was greatly famed because of the miracles stated to be worked in favour of devout pilgrims to his shrine or to the well that bore his name near to the church within its walls which was dedicated to his name. The old calendars always added to his name the initial letters K.M., which it is needless to add stood for King and Martyr. His father was Alured, king of Northumbria, and he ought to have succeeded to his murdered brother Osred, but it seems likely that he never entered into his rights, but that after a period of exile in Scotland, he was arrested and slain by one Hardulph, the wrongful claimant to the throne. Other accounts represent him as slain in battle with the Saxons. His youthful piety and all the stories of his early life appealed greatly to the good lady of Mercia, Ethelfleda, to whom we have already alluded. Her influence and her patriotic support of his memory seems to have been sufficient in those somewhat irregular times to secure his recognition as a saint and martyr, and gain for him the distinct recognition of the capital town of Shrewsbury where a church was erected to his memory.

His body was buried at Lilleshall in Shropshire, but a later expected raid of the church by plundering Danes made his admirers fearful of the seizure of those saintly relics, and they were removed hastily but reverently to a safer spot in the Midlands. Eventually the pilgrims decided to deposit their precious burden at Derby, where it was received with great reverence, and it was placed within a small sanctuary inside the walls. A church of some size was eventually erected over St. Alkmund's remains, which adopted his name as that of the dedication. Owing to alleged miracles at his new shrine, and at the neighbouring well which was for many generations called

after his name, this Derbyshire church was for many centuries esteemed as a place of pilgrimage.

The old church of St. Alkmund,¹ Derby, which had been mainly rebuilt after the fifteenth-century Perpendicular style, was taken down after a wholesale fashion in 1844, and reconstructed on a much larger scale. In digging the foundations of the new church a large ornamented and arcaded stone was uncovered, which was wrongfully supposed to be the old shrine, or rather the stone base on which the shrine of St. Alkmund rested. This stone was built into a recess in the outer wall of a new transept on the south side. The late architect, Mr. F. J. Robinson, contributed to the fifteenth volume of our *Journal*, a series of good plates and a short description of the church as it was previous to the demolition of 1844. For my own part I wrote many pages as to St. Alkmund and the various churches, eight in all, dedicated to his memory.

St. Werburga, of the ninth century, is the saint to whom another one of Derby's old churches is dedicated, and the plausible tradition that this saintly royal lady was more than a casual visitor to our county town, but that she long did good pious work therein, is accepted by that talented lady Miss Arnold Foster in the fascinating pages of her three volumes of *Studies in Church Dedications*, first published in 1899.²

Werburga was one of the saintly daughters of Wulfhere, the first Christian king of Mercia, whilst on the mother's side she came from one of the most faithful daughters of the converted Saxon Church. If on the one side Werburga was the grand-daughter of Penda, the indomitable pagan king of Mercia, on the other side she was the grand-daughter of St. Saxburga, the wife of the king of Kent, the mother of distinguished saintly children,

¹ See Duffield, in my *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. iv, pp. 113-128, with a plate of the details of the old Saxon cross which used to stand in the churchyard.

² See vol. iii, pp. 374-379, where St. Werburga is fully discussed.

and the sister of the much celebrated St. Etheldreda of Ely. St. Werburga was professed at Ely, where her mother lived after her widowhood with her young children; she was invited by her father's brother, king Ethelred of Mercia, to take charge of some of the monasteries which were springing up within his kingdom. Her commission was, in some sense, a roving one, and she is known to have been specially associated with three religious houses, all in the Midland Counties, namely Weedon Beck, Hanbury, and Trentham. It was at this time that she laboured spiritually in Derby. Of the ten old churches which retain her dedication, three are within our own county, namely churches at Derby, Blackwell, and Spondon. When studying the pre-reformation wills at Lichfield many years ago I came across abundant evidence of this being the case at Spondon, though the true patronage of the church had been long lost; but I had no difficulty in inducing the local authorities to accept the ancient name.¹

After St. Werburga's death, there was considerable dispute as to the possession of her relics, but they were eventually secured for Hanbury. Here they remained for a century and a half, when the fear of another Danish inroad caused her body to be translated for greater security to the monastic church of Chester, then known as Sts. Peter and Paul, but this church, made a cathedral at the Reformation, has henceforth been known as "St. Werburgh's."

With regard to the overrunning of this county by the conquering Normans, consequent upon the critical battle of Hastings in 1066, it might naturally have been sup-

¹ There was some difficulty in the case of the Duffield dedication, when I made the like discovery with regard to the modern blunder of substituting All Saints for St. Alkmund, which it had borne for centuries, but the good vicar, in the seventies of last century, was much disturbed as he had recently inscribed the name "All Saints" not only on two new service books, but also on a portable leaden basin within the old stone font! According to an old tradition, the pilgrims with the relics of St. Alkmund made here their last resting place before entering Derby.

posed that Derbyshire, being the most central of all the English counties, would have had but little immediate concern in a great fight on the shores of the distant Sussex coast. But the truth is that, from a variety of rather singular causes, which it would take us far too long to enumerate, the men-at-arms in that historical conflict were to a large extent drawn from our own county. In consequence Derbyshire, at the very opening of the Norman triumph, felt the heavy hand of the merciless William the Conqueror, part of whose shrewd policy, adopted immediately after his coronation, was to declare the estates of all who had fought against him at Hastings, from Harold the king down to the very smallest freeholder, forfeited to the crown, and therefore his own lands.

Probably the only time when the Peakland of Derbyshire had the privilege of seeing their new military master face to face was when, in the mid-winter of 1069-1070, he marched through their snow-covered heights, when he had so ruthlessly crushed the rebellion of the Northumbrians with strong Danish support, and left the whole of Yorkshire desolate behind him. In the fifteen years that followed the English never rose again, and the only future difficulties that the Conqueror had were with some of his own turbulent Norman followers, including his own eldest son Robert.

We have no knowledge that Derbyshire ever saw face to face, as royal visitors, either of the sons of the Conqueror, who came successively to the throne—William Rufus, and Henry I; or of his grandchildren either—Stephen, or the empress Matilda. And we must wait till the reign of his great grandson Henry II, before our county can claim personal knowledge of a reigning sovereign.

It is well also that a plain sentence or two should be here placed on record, or repeated, as to the Pipe Rolls, whose home is in the great store houses of England's

early history, the Public Record Office. Here, many years ago, I patiently stirred the originals when they were comparatively unknown. But now-a-days this ignorance has been long dispelled by the formation since our Derbyshire Society was started of the "Pipe Roll Society," in 1884, composed of some of our expert scholars, under superb editorial control, which still continues its issue of yearly volumes, whose most recent volumes have been illumined by the masterly introductions of my quondam friend Dr. J. H. Round. Year by year, from the opening days of the second Henry, and even a bit earlier, the Pipe Rolls are what may be termed the national budget, arranged systematically county by county, though some shires, as is the case with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, are always grouped together. Here we find the revenue of each shire set forth with accuracy, with the names of the receivers of each item, together with the reasons of each payment. The income of the king for national purposes was mainly drawn from the regular contributions of the biggest of the landowners, but accompanied by other sums paid as fines for rebellions and minor offences, or paid on special occasions to secure what was termed the king's good will. It is at once obvious how absolutely invaluable such rolls are as illustrative of the pedigree and early history of the greatest of our families all over the country, as well as of an infinite variety of knowledge as to the social history of all sections of the community at large. Thus under Derbyshire we can trace in these rolls all that is accurate of the early story of such families as the Curzons and the Fitz-herberts, to take only two out of a score or more of names, intimately interwoven with the tale of the shire's rise in the days of the Romans.

Up to the date of the formation of the Pipe Roll Society in 1884, our printed knowledge of these rolls was very limited; it was confined to two thin volumes by Joseph

Hunter, an assistant keeper of the Public Records, the one issued in 1833, and the second in 1884. The earlier roll was proved to be of 1130-1, that is to say, of the 31st year of Henry I; there were also three other rolls printed, namely those of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Henry II; from the last of these years the Society took up the long neglected work. It may be a convenience to state, for the help of readers at the British Museum, that these small volumes by Hunter are now to be found at 2083 c. on the shelves of the big dome library.

Let us here, too, once for all, make a statement as to the early and long sustained intimacy between the two adjacent counties of Nottingham and Derby. These facts should never be overlooked by the historical student and go far to substantiate the supposition that a stay by royalty in the former of these counties, and specially a sojourn in its castle, imply, almost of necessity, the probability of a visit or visits to the latter. For the convenience of civil administration, the early Normans linked together these two shires after a most intimate fashion, giving in certain respects the preference to Nottingham with its more important fortress. The Assizes for instance, up to the reign of Henry III were held only at Nottingham, and the one county gaol for all serious imprisonment pertaining to the two shires was stationed only at Nottingham. From the beginning of the reign of Henry III up to the days of Queen Elizabeth, the Assizes were held alternately in the two capital towns. During the whole of this period there was but one Sheriff for the two counties; it was not indeed until 1566 that each was possessed of a Sheriff of their own. It should be remembered as the leading excuse for this predominance of Nottingham amidst the castle-ruling Normans, that it arose from the fact that the prodigiously strong fortress of that town commanded an important part of the Trent which eventually went to Wirksworth and the further

district of the Peak, the home of the invaluable lead-mining.

Peak Castle,¹ built by William Peveril in the days of the Conqueror, passed to the crown in 1115, on the forfeiture of his son's estates. The Pipe Roll of 1157-8 shows an entry, repeated annually for a long term of years, whereby a payment was made of £4 10s. towards the support of the porter of Peak Castle, together with two assistant watchmen. In the same year king Henry II was himself present in this great Derbyshire stronghold, and it was here that he received the submission of Malcolm, king of Scotland. The Sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire on this occasion charged £17 for preparing a chamber for Henry II's use, whilst Malcolm's board when at Nottingham Castle and the Peak cost him the sum of £37 12s. 3d.; Henry II's board at the Peak cost an additional sum of £10 1s. 4d., and the wine then consumed at the castle a further sum of 72s. After the Michaelmas visit to the wilds of Derbyshire, the two kings proceeded to Chester, where Malcolm did formal homage to Henry II.

In the following year, the fourth of Henry's reign, 1158-9, that monarch visited Peak Castle for the second time, the Sheriff's charges for this Peak sojourn being the substantial sum of £36 5s.

On the Pipe Rolls covering the first of these two royal visits, the entry of alms to the extent of 10s. from the canons of Derby² to the Knights Templars occurs for the first time; it is repeated annually for a long term of years.

Henry II, in the eleventh year of his reign, 1166-5, paid a third visit to the county, when the Sheriff charged £2 14s. 2d. for conducting him from the Peak to Wood-

¹ As to this fortress, see vol. xi, pp. 12 and 126 of the Society's journals.

² These were the Austin Canons of St. Helens, who afterwards gave birth to Darley Abbey.

stock in Oxfordshire; and a further sum of £9 8s. 2d. on behalf of his sojourn in the castle of the Peak.

The subsequent Pipe Rolls abound with matter relative to Derbyshire, with which we have at present no concern, but briefly to state that considerable sums in 1172-4 on the victualling, strengthening, and garrisoning, both with knights and men at arms, the two strongholds at the Peak and Bolsover, evidently in the expectation of baronial troubles.

William, son and heir of Robert II, Earl of Derby, took a headstrong part in the rebellion of 1173-4, among his exploits being the burning of Nottingham; but on the collapse of the rising his castles were surrendered to the king.

In 1174-5, a chamber was prepared in Peak Castle, at a cost of £4 17s., a fact which apparently points to a royal visit. The Pipe Roll of the following year, names a very considerable expenditure on this castle, namely, the spending of £135 on the repair or rebuilding of its tower, the present keep.

On August 1st, 1175, the king was at Nottingham—a fact which as a rule implied certain strayings into Derbyshire, if not any formal visit—impleading persons for forest trespass. Also a royal charter was granted to the afterwards famous Premonstratensian abbey of Welbeck, dated from the county town.

Again in the year 1176, the king's presence in Derbyshire is proved, as Mr. Hunter shrewdly remarks, by his *Misericordia pro Foresta* in the Pipe Roll of that year.

Henry II also kept Christmas, 1176, at Nottingham Castle with his two younger sons, Princes Geoffrey and John. In the following January, the king left Nottingham for Northampton, where a great Council was held at which a number of important charters were granted or confirmed.

The king also kept Christmas, 1179, at Nottingham,

where he entertained William, king of Scotland. A royal charter to Hughmond Abbey has the date mark of Nottingham at this period. The Pipe Roll tells us that £9 13s. 4d. was during this year expended in the drawing of stone and other material for the king's hall at Nottingham Castle.

In November, 1181, new coinage was issued in England, and the sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire had in that year to expend £10 5s. 6d. on the king's hall at Nottinghamshire Castle, and further to pay 21s. for guarding treasure from that important mint town to Northampton.

About this period, the house, a part of Clipstone in Sherwood Forest, said to have been a seat of the Anglo-Saxon kings, began to come into favour with our Norman royalty. Henry II paid a considerable visit to Nottinghamshire in this year, 1181. The sheriff was instructed to pay the king's factor of that place £40 10s. for 258 days at 2d. a day.

The king was again at Clipstone and Nottingham early in the year 1185; and there is also some evidence of his making a short stay at the county town in 1186 when he was proceeding northward. Dr. Round in his introduction to the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry II, (1184-5), states that the expenditure during that one year in repairing and strengthening the fortress of Nottingham Castle amounted to the great sum of £327, reminding us that it was held for John, nine years later, against king Richard himself.

The close of Henry II's reign found the king in deep sorrow. The work of the First Crusade was completely undone by the occupation by the Saracens of Jerusalem, and the renewed rebellion of his sons Richard and John completed his sorrow. Desiring no longer to live, he died on July 9th, 1189.

On the 2nd of September, Richard was crowned. His heart was almost entirely in the Third Crusade, to engage

wherein he left England in the following December. In the whole course of his ten years' reign, Richard only spent seven months of his life on this side of the channel. His main interests were in France where he had been bred. It was wonderful how this country admired this absentee monarch, for they nearly beggared themselves by paying Henry VI of Germany the enormous ransom of 150,000 marks, when he was imprisoned in 1192. Derbyshire naturally saw but little of their personally valourous king, indeed it is doubtful if he even once visited that county. It will be remembered that he had a far greater affection for his brother John than that evil man deserved, and that he presented him with the castles of Peak and Bolsover during his lifetime.

Fortunately when we come to the reign of the ubiquitous king John we are able without special research to follow accurately his movements in England, as well as of the years which he spent chiefly in Normandy or France, by the almost daily itinerary of this unworthy monarch, as published by Sir T. D. Hardy several years ago. John succeeded his brother on the throne in 1199. On the 30th of March, 1200, the king was at Bolsover Castle, whilst he spent the following day at Derby, when he left to visit Lichfield. In the autumn of the same year, after his return from Normandy, king John paid a second visit to Derbyshire, stopping on this occasion three nights, namely, for November 17th and the two following days at Melbourne. During his several visits to that place there can be no doubt that he lodged at a royal residence, although there is no direct mention of a castle at Melbourne until the following century. It is, however, just possible that he stopped at the rectory house. The rectory of Melbourne had been annexed to the bishopric of Carlisle as early as 1132, and the evil John for a long time kept that bishopric vacant.

It may here be mentioned that the Close Rolls cite an

order of John in 1205 that 40 tuns of wine were to be conveyed from Bristol to Nottingham, of which great supply two tuns were to be forwarded to Melbourne. Again in the following year, 1206, king John ordered 9 marks to be paid for three casks of wine to be used by him at Melbourne. It seems, therefore, far more likely that the king was then housed in some royal establishment.

To return to the itinerary proper, John spent these days of March, 1201, at Bolsover, proceeding thence to Nottingham. In March, 1203, and also in 1205, the king sojourned for some days at Nottingham. On the second of these two dates, he proceeded again to Melbourne, where he tarried for the 15th and 16th of March. We know not what it was that attracted him to this quiet little spot in Derbyshire, possibly some special form of hawking or hunting, though the time of the year seems scarcely favourable for such sport, but we find that the king was yet again at Melbourne in 1306 from March 4th to the 8th. He also spent several days at Nottingham, and then visited Lichfield and Kinver in the other adjoining shire of Stafford.

Afterwards the king tarried on the continent for a year or two, but we find him back at Nottingham Castle in September and December of 1308. He was also at Nottingham in April, 1209, whence he proceeded to Derby on May 3rd of that year. He spent a good deal of the year 1210, as well as of 1211 and 1212 in Nottinghamshire, but we are not aware of his staying over the boundary into Derbyshire until we find him spending a November day at Melbourne in 1212.

In 1214 king John granted the then royal Derbyshire castle of Hareston or Horsley to William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, stating that it was granted him for the purpose of placing his wife there whilst he went away to the Holy Land. A rising by the barons, however, delayed his departure, and having wrested the castles of Peak and

Bolsover from the rebels, he was thereupon made governor of both these fortresses.¹

In 1215 John tarried for a single day at Melbourne in the month of April. During that year he was much at Nottingham Castle and spent Christmastide therein. Altogether, throughout his reign, John visited Nottingham on thirty-one separate occasions.

Notwithstanding the signing of the Magna Charta in 1216, the king was soon again at such loggerheads with the barons, the majority of whom definitely repudiated John and all his house, and offered the crown to Louis, the prince regent of France, and civil war ravaged the land. Happily for England, the perjured John died at Newark Castle, Notts, in October of this year.

John's eldest son, a mere boy of nine, succeeded his father as Henry III, and Louis, after two defeats, returned in the following year to his own country. During the long minority of the youthful king, England was wisely ruled by Hugh de Burgh, the great Justiciar, who occasionally visited the two shires of Nottingham and Derby. When Henry came of age in 1227, he foolishly quarrelled with the old friends of his boyhood and youth, and at last attempted to be his own chancellor, chief justice, and private secretary. The country at last resented the weary muddle of twenty-four years of this feudal rule. Things went specially badly in Derbyshire, particularly in the north of the county. William de Ferrers, the fourth earl of Derby, was bailiff of the Honour of the Peak from 1211 to 1222. But at the Forest Pleas, held in 1251, five years after this earl's death, it was charged and found against that during the time when he was bailiff he had, in conjunction with others, taken upwards of 2,000 head of deer without warrant. Formal presentments as to these offences were made, when Richard Curzon was fined the heavy sum of £40 as one of the late earl's accomplices,

¹ See *Journal* of this Society, x, 22-3.

and various other gentlemen of the county in smaller amounts. But much more serious matters came to pass somewhat later in Henry III's reign, when Robert de Ferrers, the grandson of the earl previously mentioned, was called to account at the next Forest Pleas held at Derby in 1285. At that time everything that had transpired during the thirty-five years since the last Pleas were held was brought to light before the sitting justices. At this eyre the gravest charge was that against Robert de Ferrers, namely, that he had, on three separate occasions in the later months of 1264, hunted in the forest with a great company of knights and others, and had taken 130 head of red deer, and had also driven away many more. This illicit hunting was evidently undertaken on a great scale, for the presentments included thirty-eight persons, and there were many others, besides the earl himself, who had died before this eyre was held. Now in May, 1264, the battle of Lewes was fought, when the king's forces were defeated by those of the barons with whom the youthful earl Robert was closely allied, and it is fairly obvious that when these wholesale raids on the Peak Forest in the months immediately subsequent to the battle of Lewes was undertaken by Robert de Ferrers and his allies, issuing from his great manor house at Hartington, was more to show contempt for the king's forest and preserves, and to get booty and food for his men at arms, rather than for any purposes of so-called sport.

It is interesting to note that in April, 1264, Henry III came into Derbyshire, and lodged for a time at the castle of the Peak after the subjection of Nottingham. which we are inclined to think is the only certified instance of this royal visitor penetrating into Derbyshire, notwithstanding the length of his reign. In that year Henry III sent his son Prince Edward into Derbyshire to chastise Robert de Ferrers, the last earl of Derby of the first creation, for repeatedly inciting the barons to rebellion.

The earl then submitted, promised large sums of money, and renewed his oath of allegiance. But his loyalty was of short duration, for in 1266 he again took up arms, and in conjunction with Baldwin Wake and others assembled a numerous army and marched to Chesterfield. Here they were surrounded by the king's larger forces, under prince Henry, the king's nephew, and were routed. The hot-headed and fickle young earl of Derby humbled himself by hiding among some bags of wool in the church; but a woman betrayed him and he was taken in chains to London. His life was spared, but he was stripped of his great possessions in Derbyshire and elsewhere, which were conferred by Henry III on his younger son Edward, earl of Lancaster, and they eventually formed the chief part of the domains, in the special rights, known as the Duchy of Lancaster.

With the latter period of the old king Henry III's reign, when the county was in comparative quiet, except the striking episode of the battle of Evesham, Derbyshire had no special connection, nor we believe, did the king appear again within her limits.

A great change came over the face of England, especially in the centre of the Midlands, with the accession of the comparatively moral and strenuous Edward I.

As to the reign of Edward I and that great king's visits to Derbyshire, we have fortunately an authoritative and scholarly work, in Mr. Henry Gough's two substantial volumes on *The Itinerary of King Edward the First throughout his Reign, from 1272 to 1307*,¹ and it is a pleasure to acknowledge one's indebtedness to such a source.

Edward, the eldest son of king Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, was born in 1239, and on his baptism was named after St. Edward, king of England and Confessor. He was created earl of Clarence in February, 1253-4, and

¹ This book was published in 1900, by Alexander Gardner of Paisley, and is based exclusively on the author's researches in the Public Record Office.

was knighted in the following December at Bruges by Alfonso king of Castile. After the battle of Lewes in 1264, Edward was in captivity for about a year, but in 1263 Simon de Mountford fell at Evesham and the baronial party lost its power. In a great assembly at Northampton in 1268, Edward, with many others of all ranks, assumed the cross.

Mention should also be made of the presentation by the devout Edward of a notable image of the Blessed Virgin to the church of All Hallows, Barking, immediately to the west of the Tower of London, long known as Our Lady of Barking. This royal gift was made in consequence of a dream, wherein he was admonished to place it there, with a promise that if he visited it five times in every year, and kept in repair the chapel where the figure stood, that he would always be victorious over his enemies, would follow his father on the throne of England, and would conduct successive campaigns against the Welsh and the Scotch. As to the truth of this vision he swore before Pope Gregory X in 1273, and obtained from him an indulgence of 40 days to all the penitents who would contribute to the repair and adornment of the chapel, and pray for the soul of Richard I, whose heart, according to some authorities, was buried beneath the high altar of this church.

In 1269 prince Edward joined the king of France in the Crusade which was then contemplated, and was accompanied by his faithful consort Eleanor. He gained several victories in 1271-2 against the Saracens in the Holy Land. On his return to England in 1272, he was met at Messina with the news of his father's death. Henry III died on the 16th day of November, 1272, and was buried at Westminster Abbey on October 20th. Immediately after the funeral the magnates of the realm swore fealty to his son Edward, at the high altar, who was then absent from the realm. Edward I was detained

in France and Gascony by a variety of unexpected events, and, in company with his Queen, he did not land in England until the 2nd of August, 1274. He proceeded to Canterbury, and thence eventually to Westminster, where they were received in the historic abbey on Sunday, the 19th of that month.

Mr. Gough, in following out in detail Edward I's frequent journeys, through England, Wales, and Scotland, most truthfully remarks that "In all his journeys his route was greatly influenced by the situation of certain peculiarly venerated places of devotion." This pious king's favourite resting places were generally within the shelter of a monastery. On the 19th of August, 1275, the king proceeded from Burton on Trent to Ashborne in this county, and on the morrow he was at Tideswell, where we doubt not that he tarried at the large and famed grange of the monks of Lenton. In 1279 he paid fairly long visits to Nottingham in August and September. In the following year he was again at Nottingham in July, and early in August at Newark. The year 1283 saw Edward during January yet again in Nottinghamshire, at Blyth, Clipstone, and Newark, whilst in February he was at Colston Basset. He sojourned at different places in Nottinghamshire from the 11th to the 22nd of September, 1290, taking his departure on this latter day from Clipstone to Dronfield; after visiting Bolsover and Tideswell and Chapel-en-le-Frith, he proceeded to Cheshire, but returned to Tideswell for the 20th Sunday after Pentecost, which was on October the 5th, and thence for two nights to Ashfort-on-the-Water, and for a single night to Chesterfield. Then for a month or more Edward I was again in Nottinghamshire, chiefly at Clipstone and Harby, where, to his intense grief, queen Eleanor died on the 28th of November.

In the nineteenth year of his reign, namely 1290-1, we find the king again in Derbyshire. On the 19th of March

he proceeded from Sheile in Leicestershire to the once much famed Repton, where he tarried for three or four nights; thence he went to Darley, where he would find another of Derbyshire's religious houses, and on to Belper for Saturday the 24th of March.

Very soon our county saw the king yet again, for on Wednesday the 18th of February, 1292, he started from Welbeck, where he doubtless was the guest of the great abbey there, and tarried at Pleasley on the confines of our county. Thence he proceeded on the 20th to Codnor, and thence to Duffield, after which he again found quarters at Darley, and next at Findern, on the opposite side of the Trent to Repton.

At the close of this year the king undertook his second expedition into Scotland, which happily, like its predecessor in 1291, had but a diplomatic conclusion.

In 1300 Edward I found time, or had cause to be again in Nottinghamshire, as well as in 1301, 1303, 1306, but we have no formal knowledge of his visiting our shire during his later years.

From other sources we obtain the knowledge that between 1290 and 1293, Edward I on more than one occasion visited the forest lodge at Ravensdale, in the parish of Mugginton, where he found sport amongst the fallow deer of Duffield Frith or Forest.¹

We have no concern here with Edward I's Scottish troubles, but it will be remembered that Edward I was made arbitrator as to the throne of Scotland in 1291, and his decision in favour of Balliol was naturally of great interest in Derbyshire, for John Balliol for a time held the custody of the Peak, with the Honour of Peveril, and he was sheriff of the two counties of Derby and Nottingham from 1261 to 1264. All the leading men of our

¹As to Ravensdale there is a good deal of information in vol. xxv of our *Journal*, in an article contributed by the present writer and the late Mr. F. Strutt.

county were already connected with the prolonged wars with Scotland which resulted in the departure of Balliol in 1296.

This county had its share in the discreditable honours which the dissolute Edward II showered on his favourite the evil Piers Gaveston, for early in that king's reign he held, amongst other honours, the custody of the High Peak. In 1322 the Scotch forces entered into alliance with the rebel earl of Lancaster and Hereford. There was a fierce conflict at the bridge, in which the royalists conquered. During the retreat, Derbyshire and the rebel supporters suffered severely. It was in this shire that the king with several of his ministers tarried for a few days at Derby, and from there Edward II visited Codnor Castle, which was then held by one of his ardent supporters, Richard, lord Gray.

We can obtain definite information as to this visit of Edward II to the county town of Derby, and other parts of the shire, through the dates attached to various state papers. Thus the Patent Rolls fix the exact time of this visit of the king to Derby as March 13th to 15th. The same authority tells us that the king was at Ravensdale hunting lodge in 1325, and also at Melbourne Castle, whilst he kept his Christmas at Nottingham Castle, from whence he visited Derby on January 11th, 1326.

The Close Rolls further tells of Edward II's previous visits to Ravensdale, both in November and December, 1323, as well as that of 1325.

That triumphant military leader, Edward III, was crowned in January, 1327. We have failed to find any positive assurance of that king's visits to this shire during the fifty years of his strenuous reign, though the Derbyshire archers and fighting men of the Peak contributed largely to his military forces in both his Scottish and French campaigns.

It may be here remarked that the first mention of the

castle of Melbourne in the Public Records appears to be in the Inquisition, taken 1 Edward III, of the possessions of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who had been beheaded at Pontefract in 1321. This statement was preliminary to the transfer of these possessions to his younger brother Henry, together with the earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester, in the first Parliament of Edward III; which Henry was succeeded by his son Henry, created duke of Lancaster 23 Edward I. From the year 1327 Melbourne, until the time of its decay, is always officially spoken of as possessing a castle.¹

The little king Richard II came to the throne in 1377 when but a boy of ten years old. His reign up to 1399 is chiefly recollected by the poll-tax, and the widespread revolt of the peasantry; but Derbyshire, like most of the west and north Midlands, took but little part in that serious innovation.

Our next king, Henry IV, was not infrequently a visitor to Derbyshire in connection with the rebellious moments of that sorely troubled reign. The Patent Rolls come to our aid in fixing us exact dates. In 1402 the king was at the royal hunting lodge of Ravensdale on the 4th and 5th of August, whence he dispatched orders for expediting resistance to the serious invasion then being prepared from Scotland. On August the 7th he reached the little town of Tideswell, where he tarried for some little time, issuing from thence a variety of orders to sheriffs and other officials as to the military preparations against the Welsh.

In the following year when the Percys and their followers suddenly raised the storm cloud of the north, Henry IV hastened to Derby in July, where he rallied the musters, and passing through Burton-on-Trent and Lichfield, he proceeded to Shrewsbury, where the terrible

¹ See an excellent paper by Mr. W. Dashwood Fane, in the xi vol. of our *Journal*.

battle of Shrewsbury was fought on the 24th of that month. The royalist forces consisted very largely of Derbyshire men-at-arms, under the leadership of several of the great men of the county. On the very morning of the fight, Henry IV knighted several of these gallant esquires of Derby, including Sir John Cokayne, Sir Nicholas Langford, and Sir Thomas Wendesley. It is worth noting that of these three knights, the two first were slain on this singularly fatal field, whilst the third died soon afterwards from wounds then received. Their effigies can still be seen in the respective county churches of Ashbourne, Longford, and Bakewell.

The king was again at Derby in the following year (1403), on July 28th. In 1410 he paid several long visits to the neighbouring shire of Leicester, and when at that town on November 29th, he restored to Melbourne their weekly market on a Wednesday, and their fair on the vigil and day of St. Peter, which his ancestors had of that time as of the Duchy of Lancaster, had in old times granted to the inhabitants together with other privileges.

His successor, Henry V, does not seem to have either sought his pleasure or transacted any public business in either of the counties of Derby or Nottingham, but the former county played a very important part in the memorable battle of Agincourt (fought on October 25th, 1415) in this reign. Almost all the best names of our county appear in the list of honours, such as Curzon, Cokayne, Foljambe, and Steetley, whilst Thomas Beresford, of Fenny Bentley, held an important command, as testified on his monument in that church. Derbyshire also held a notable living remnant of that great victory, for it was at Melbourne Castle that the most honourable prisoner taken on that occasion, John Duke of Bourbon was confined for nineteen years.

The deplorable Wars of the Roses, between the Lancastrian and Yorkshire factions, which extended over

thirty years, from 1455 to 1485, apparently left no time to either of our kings Henry VI or Edward IV, to visit the county, although Derbyshire men took no small part in this continual rancorous strife, now on one side and now on the other. It may just be mentioned, as a sample of the times, that in the course of 1460-61, there were issued no less than four special Commissions to endeavour to suppress disorders in Derbyshire, and it was much the same with the majority of counties.

At last Henry VII'S accession after the defeat of Richard II at the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485, and his marriage with the daughter of Edward IV in the following year, brought about a certain measure of national reconciliation. A great many of Henry VII's official documents, or Letters Patent, are dated from the castle of Nottingham, but we have not found any trace of his visiting the companion shire of Derby.

Henry VIII's highly critical reign, round which it is not too much to say that the whole standpoint of every Englishman's soul, be he learned or simple, is bound more or less to revolve, so far as vital religion is concerned, is amazingly well and most fully illustrated by the most industrious and wholly impartial library of volumes by the late Dr. James Gairdner, termed *Letters and Papers by Henry VIII*. Each of those volumes I carefully studied as they were first issued, and have frequently dipped into or consulted them ever since. In the midst of my many acquaintanceships of three-score years and ten among men of letters, there is no one that takes so high a place as this late master mind. The best comment that I can offer on this long reign of about forty years, as far as our own county is concerned, is to repeat a remark that Dr. Gairdner made to me on one occasion, many years ago, in the entrance hall of the British Museum. One day, when passing me by, he paused, remarking in a genial way: "Well I passed you

once or twice this morning in the great library, and each time you were paying me the compliment of being absorbed in the last volume of *Letters and Papers*," kindly adding, "Is there any point upon which I can give you an odd word of extra enlightenment." The point which I was then considering was this mere local puzzle: "Is it likely that you will ever bring Henry VIII into immediate or personal relationship with Derbyshire?" His reply, which can never fade from my mind, was this: "I scarcely think so. If so, your county was specially blest, for I doubt if that poor man ever took a journey, long or short, in his life, the purpose of which was not the satisfying of some more or less evil lust of one kind or another."

Almost equally disconnected with the inner personal life of the county as far as royal visitors were concerned, were Henry VIII's immediate successors, whether we study the spiritually lawless days of the boy-king, Edward VI, or the brief return of the county under his sister Mary to the old spiritual head of Christendom, so keenly welcomed by a minority of faithful souls.

This was followed by the continuous spectacular splash of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The well known two volumnes of Nichols, published in the eighteenth century, recording all the minutæ of her extravagant "Progresses" in various parts of England, never brought her to our county or even to its immediate confines. Probably Elizabeth was never nearer to Derby than when she visited Leicestershire in August, 1564.

Nevertheless, Derby was by no means unvisited by a queen during this long reign. On January 13th, 1585, the rival of queen Elizabeth, whose long imprisonment and continued ill-treatment by that imperious sovereign will ever be regarded as a deep slur upon her character, Mary queen of Scots was lodged for a single night in the

town of Derby, when being taken from the manor house of South Wingfield to the castle of Tutbury.

“ This day,” said Sir Ralph Sadler, in whose custody the royal captive then was, “ we remove this Queen to Derby, and to-morrow to Tutbury, the wayes being so foule and depe, and she so lame, though in good health of bodie, that we cannot get throughe in a day—I have given stricte order to the bailiffs and others of Derby, to provyde that there be none assemblie of gazing people in the stretes, and for all quietness as much as may be done, I have written letters to Sir John Zouch, Sir John Byron, Sir Thomas Cokayne, Mr. John Manners, and Mr. Curzon, to be ready to attend this Quene to Derby, with but a small trayne.”

Elizabeth was consumed with jealousy lest her prisoner should have the faintest chance of gaining populariey, and so eager were her officers to report anything, however small, that might be twisted in that direction, that Sadler gave great offence by allowing the captive queen to tarry even for a single night in Derby *en route* to Tutbury. He defended himself in the following letter to Lord Burleigh the treasurer:—

“ Now, as touching the Queen’s Majesties mystayking that I lodged this Queen in Darby towne, cominge hitherwarde, I assure her Majesty and your lordship that it was full sore against my will, if it might have been helpen. And to avoyd that town, if it might have been, I sent dyvers times of my servants of good judgement, and once Mr. Somer, ryding to Tutbury, to see if there wer anyway passable with coche and caryage, or convenient places to lodge her and the companye in some village or some gentleman’s house, for the journey was to far in one day ; and after they had hardly well sought, they reported that there was no other passable way for coche but by the common way, and said that at that tyme of the yere, by reason of hills, rocks, and woods ; and I myself making

a tryal two or three myles, finding it true, caused landes to be made through closes to avoyde many evyl passages ; and as for gentlemen's houses in that way or any other, there was but Mr. Kingston's house at Mercaston, a small house for such a purpose, and very little meanes in that village, and standyng in the worst way, which maketh me humbly to beseech her majesty to think that if there had been any other meanes, I would not have come to Darby, for I did fore consider of that, and therefore I wrote long before what we must needs take."

" And toching the information of a great personage, delyvered to him by some officious officer, that the Queen offered to salute and to kisse a multitude of the towns women, and of other speches that (is sayde) she used to them. I do lykewise assure and thereto will be sworne, if need be, I going next before and he next behind her, yea before all the gentlemen of purpose, saving one that carried up her gowne, that her intertaynment to those women was this. In the little hall was the good wife, being an ancient widow, received Mrs. Beaumont, with four other women, her neighbours. So soon as she knew who was her hostess, after she had made a beck to the rest of the women, standing next to the dore, she went to her and kissed her, and none other, sayinge that she was come thither to trouble her; and that she was also a widow, and therefore trusted that they should agree well enough together, having no husbands to trouble them, and so went into the parlour upon the same loe floure, and no stranger with her, but the good wife and her sister. And there Mr. Somer stayde untill the Queen putt off her upper garment and toke other things about her. And farther, so none as be near within her lodging, the gentleman porter stood still at the doore to suffer none to go into the house but her owne people from their lodgings next adjoyning. And then I appointed the bailiffs to cause a good number of honest householders

to beat all the corners of the towne, and in the market place, and eight to walk all night in that strete wher she lodged, as myself byeing over against that lodging can well testify by the noise they made all night."

"This your Lordship may boldly confirme if it please you, upon any occasion, which I will confirme, when God shall sende me to answer it if it shall happen to come in question. So as he might have been better advised, that gave the nobleman such information as was reported to your Lordship."

Mr. Simpson, F.S.A., from whose *Collection of Fragments Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Derby*, published in 1826, we take this account, adds that the house where the queen of Scots was lodged has been taken down; it stood in Babington lane, had belonged to the Babington family, and had been purchased of them by Mrs. Beaumont's husband, Henry Beaumont, Esq., a few years before Mr. Beaumont died in 1584. This mansion was afterwards the residence of Sir Simon Degge.

The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of James I were considerably collected by Mr. John Nichols, F.S.A., in four substantial 4to volumes, published in 1828. Our county comes in for but a short record, and no great display was made within the limits of Derbyshire during that somewhat tawdry reign.

His several sojourns in Nottingham were probably the occasion of at least sojourning within the county with which in time past it was so closely allied. On the 12th and 13th of August, 1619, the king was at Nottingham, where he knighted on the former day, *inter alia* Sir John Ramsden of Derbyshire. Thence he probably went to Derby, as Mr. Nichols assumes, and from thence on the 16th of August to the royal castlè of Tutbury, and next to Tamworth. At these last two places it is stated that James was accompanied by prince Charles, who was

probably also the companion of his royal father both at Nottingham and Derby.

We find the king again at Nottingham in July and August, 1624, when part of the charges defrayed by the Corporation were for "repairing the hyewaiee, &c." On the 16th of August the king visited Derby, on which occasion he knighted Sir Roger Cooper of Thurgarton, Notts. Thence James proceeded to Tutbury, where he knighted Sir Edward Sudbury, whose seat, though close at hand, was in the shire of Derby. The king had previously made knights, on the 10th of August, when he was at Welbeck, of two leading Derbyshire gentlemen, namely Sir Ralph Fitzherbert of Norbury, and Sir John Fitzherbert of Tissington.

His keeping court at Derby in this month is alluded in a letter from Sir Francis Coke of Trusley, dated August 15th, written to his brother John at Austin Friars in London. He says:—"The Court is at Derby—to remove to Tutbury. The Duke went from Belvoir to the new well in Wellingborough and is come again to the King at Derby."¹

In the unhappy reign of Charles I, that king first visited Derbyshire in 1632, when he was entertained after a lordly fashion by the earl of Newcastle at Bolsover.² That stern old fortress had been granted on a lease of 1,000 years, at a rental of £10 per annum, to Sir Charles Cavendish in 1608, a few years later it became his by purchase, and Sir Charles immediately commenced the erection of a large castellated mansion at the north end. His son, the earl of Newcastle, so renowned for his loyalty to Charles I, entertained that monarch at Bolsover three times, namely in 1632, 1633, and 1634. His first reception was after a comparatively simple fashion, and is said to have cost the earl £4,000. The third visit was yet

¹ Cola MSS., Hist. MSS. Commission, Report xii, App. pt. i, p. 168.

² See vol. xxxviii, p. 1, of this *Journal*.

simpler, and cost but £1,500. But the last reception when the queen was present, was, as Lord Clarendon has it, "very prodigious," and "a most stupendous entertainment." The expense of it is supposed to have reached the vast sum of £15,000, and included the performance of Ben Johnson's masque of *Love's Welcome*.¹

We are told by Pilkington that "In the year 1633 King Charles I was expected at Derby, but was prevented by the lord Gray from coming. However, he visited the town two years afterwards."

When the king returned from Ripton in Yorkshire, in 1635, where he had been negotiating a treaty with the Scots, he passed through the town and slept at the great house in the Market Place.² On this occasion the Corporation gave to the earl of Newcastle, by whom he was attended, a fat ox, a veal, six fat sheep, and a purse of money, that he might keep hospitality in the town. They also presented the prince, Elector, the king's brother, with twenty broad pieces.

In August, 1643, the royal standard was erected at Nottingham, and the king marched through Derby. On this occasion he borrowed £500 of the Corporation, and all the small coins they could furnish, both of which he promised to return at the end of the war. But in November following Sir John Gell came to the town, garrisoned it, and kept the court of guards in the town hall.

The last visit of Charles I to the county, where parties were so nicely balanced, has often been overlooked by local writers; it occurred in the middle of August, 1645. The sudden loss of Bristol was a great shock in the now rapidly diminishing quarters of the king. All plans were upset; Charles I hastened from Ludlow, and passed rapidly through Shropshire and Derbyshire, till he came

¹ Glover's *Derbyshire*, i, 132-7.

² It seems that the "Great House" of the Market Place in Derby, afterwards served as the King's Head Inn.

to Welbeck, the Nottinghamshire residence of the now marquis of Newcastle, where he was able to refresh himself and his troops by a two days' rest.¹ The *Iter Carolinus*, published in 1661, states that he rested the night of 13th August at Ashbourn, at Mrs. Cokayne's house, on the 14th, at Chettisford, near Bakewell, belonging to the earl of Devonshire, and then to Welbeck for a night on the 15th.

With the Commonwealth we have now no concern, nor, as far as we are aware, had Charles II on his restoration any degree of special personal connection with our shire.

Charles II died early in 1635. On his death-bed he was openly received into the Catholic Church, by which he had long been a secret partisan. His brother and successor, James II, persisted in his attachment to the old unreformed faith, and resorted to most arbitrary powers to insure the appointment of Catholics to all positions of authority. His second wife, Mary of Modena, bore him a son on 10th of June, 1658, afterwards known as the "Old Pretender," and thus cut that strong Protestant, the princess of Orange, out of succession to the throne. Whereupon a serious conspiracy was set on foot to drive out James II, and to put William prince of Orange on the throne. This plot owed its success to the action by Derbyshire, as to which we must spare a paragraph.

William Cavendish, fourth earl and first duke of Devonshire, who had some cause for his fearfully bitter hatred of king James II, made a direct offer of the throne of England to William on behalf of himself and of divers other malcontent noblemen. The conspiracy came to a head in this county.² The leaders met in a small inn on the edge of Whittington Moor, near Chesterfield, in a

¹ Welbeck MSS., Hist. MSS. Com. i, 251.

² See vol. xxxvi, p. 1, of this *Journal*.

room still known as the Plotting Parlour. The name of this inn was changed after William and Mary came to the throne from the "Cock and Parrot" to "Revolution Inn." The original scheme was for William to land in the north, when Cavendish was at once to seize Nottingham Castle. But these plans were changed, and when the news reached the Midlands that William had landed at Torbay on 5th November, 1688, Cavendish put himself at the head of several hundred armed friends and retainers, entered Derby on 21st of November, when he declared for the prince of Orange. But the mayor had the pluck to refuse to billet the earl's troops, and Cavendish proceeded to Nottingham, where he met with more support, and issued a proclamation justifying the raising and drilling of troops. The new sovereign naturally lavished favours on his chief supporter. The earl was made lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire in 1689, and shortly afterwards created duke of Devonshire and marquis of Hartington. Strange to say we have failed to find any proof of the presence of either William or Mary at any time in this county.

As to the eighteenth century there is little to say but that which relates to the Jacobites in this county. Nevertheless, we must not omit the bare entry in Davies' scrappy book on Derbyshire regarding the advent of a royal visitor in 1768:—"The King of Denmark arrived at the George," Derby. He seems to have been that weak monarch, Christian VII, whose queen Matilda was a sister of our George III.

The Stuart rising of 1715 caused no small stir among the Jacobites of Derbyshire, but it came to an end at Preston, in Lancashire. When the news reached Derby of the "Old Pretender" landing in Scotland, there were general taunts in the county town, and Hutton has an amazing account of the degree of support that the Jacobites received from there out of the four beneficed clergy.

But in the case of the "Young Pretender," or as it is pleasanter to style him, Prince Charles Edward, in the grave rising of 1745, the town of Derby played a more distinguished part. Derby was the furthest part southwards to which the gallant young grandson of the discarded James II, with his brave little army contrived to penetrate. Though the great majority of the upper and middle classes of the county appeared to be quite loyal to the Hanoverian rule, the authorities did not dare trust themselves to the possible views of the working classes, who appeared to be in favour of direct monarchical descent, and a large minority of whom were on the side of an unreformed faith. Consequently they were afraid to call out the militia or any general forces of the county. The Duke of Devonshire, as lord lieutenant, in response to a hint from the privy council early in September, called a meeting of the well-affected at the George Inn, Derby, by the end of that month at which a resolution was carried to oppose the rebellion of a "Popish Pretender." It was decided to raise a volunteer force of 600 men or more, in two companies, of which the marquis of Hartington and Sir Nathaniel Curzon, who were the knights of the shire in Parliament, were to be the respective colonels. Subscriptions for the equipment and support of these troops soon reached a sum of upwards of £6,000, and in the course of the next month the number reached a total of about 1,000.

On December the 4th these volunteers were reviewed in the Market Place, and immediately afterwards an express messenger arrived from Ashbourne saying that the vanguard of the prince's army had reached that town. The volunteers were again assembled in the afternoon, but at 10 o'clock in the evening they marched to Nottingham with the duke of Devonshire at their head. The prince's Scotch troops entered Derby in the forenoon of the following day to the music of their bagpipes. Charles

Edward was proclaimed king in the Market Place, and found a lodging at lord Exeter's house in Full Street, and a sum of £3,000 was seized from the excise officers. But though they tarried in the county town for two nights, numbering 7098 on the first night, and 7148 on the second, they were no way molested by the Derby volunteers, who remained in safety in Nottingham. For this miserable conduct they were deservedly exposed to unmerciful chaff. On the third day, December the 6th, the prince and his council, bitterly disappointed at the non-arrival of promised support and money, decided to retreat northward, and set out on their return march to Ashbourne; eventually he was followed up by the far superior forces of the duke of Cumberland and dispersed.

At one time in my long life, I formed the project of writing a monograph on this stirring Derbyshire adventure, but eventually abandoned the notion; but my inquiries many years ago resulted in gaining a variety of knowledge of circumstances not known, or but quite exceptionally, by the general public. I have elsewhere published, for instance, two new facts about this military visit to Derby. One of these is that it was arranged for Mass to be said in All Saints Church, Derby, for the benefit of the prince and his followers, but that the military chaplain said Mass in strict accordance with the then Roman use, which somewhat offended some of the local Catholics who were in the habit of using in their private chapels the slightly differently arranged missal used in queen Mary's days.

Another point that I brought to light was that the prince on his road into Derby turned aside at Radbourne Hall, the Poles seat, to partake of some lunch, and that it was there that the evil news reached him of the failure of further expected supplies of both men and money. The fullest account of this adventure now in print is to

be found in Mr. Robert Simpson's book on Derby published in 1826.

Though I can fairly state that I have a full general knowledge of the last three centuries of the annals of Derbyshire, through the long time that I took, at the request of Quarter Sessions, in arranging and editing their volumes and papers, I have failed to come across anything that related to the visiting of either queen Anne, or any one of the Georges to this county. The case was very different with the last half of the last century, but such comparatively recent royal visits, such as those of our late king when prince of Wales and king to Chatsworth are quite out of my province and doubtless were well chronicled in the local papers at the time of their occurrence.
