

THE GENTRY OF DERBYSHIRE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By S. C. NEWTON

ALTHOUGH the dust of controversy now seems to have settled on the long-debated question of the rising (or declining) gentry, much useful work remains to be done at a local level in unearthing the facts about the obscurer figures of the 17th century. The establishment of a County Record Office in Derbyshire has opened the way to a detailed study of the social and economic situation of the county during these critical years, and the object of this article is primarily to stimulate such research, rather than to provide any definitive account of the persons to whom reference has been here made.

Derbyshire is fortunate, indeed unique, in that there exists a list of the gentry of the county detailing their political opinions and activities during the Civil War and also indicating their income from land and other sources.¹ This list was published 70 years ago² but with errors of transcription, one at least reversing the correct meaning, and without any notes or editorial matter. As this document is of obvious value for the study of Derbyshire in the Civil War period, it has been here retranscribed and biographical notes have been supplied on each of the persons mentioned.

The list is undated but was certainly drawn up in the late autumn of 1662 as is shown by the reference to Sir Thomas Gresley as high sheriff and by the confusion caused by the change in headship of the Sacheverell family. This was a period of considerable alarm for the recently restored monarchy with rumours of extremist plots and the supposed presence of Colonel Okey in the country. The value of a political census at this time would be great, as would the usefulness of knowing who could be "persuaded" to lend the Crown money or take on a command in the militia. The list is clearly aimed at providing just such information. There is no indication as to the compiler, but the existence of a somewhat similar list for Staffordshire³ produced by a member of the Vernon family for private reasons may be a clue. Certainly the complimentary remarks made there about George Vernon's loyalty are repeated in the Derbyshire list.

The manuscript records the names of forty-four members of the gentry class, and it has proved possible to discover a fair quantity of information about almost every one of these. Although it is, of course, impossible to

¹ PRO, SP 29/66, no. 35.

² *Reliquary*, VI n.s. 1892, 112-3.

³ SRO, MSS. 100/1, published in William Salt Society publications, 4 Series II, 31.

establish complete accuracy in this type of research into a period not well supplied with documentary sources relating to the gentry, the picture which has emerged nevertheless is clear enough to upset some opinions and confirm others concerning the Civil War.

“Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire still full of forests and recusants — these again might be counted as fairly solid for Church and King”, says the historian of the Tory party.⁴ “Derbyshire, without any visible party in it for the King, was under the power of Sir John Gell . . .” laments Clarendon.⁵ Both of these comments emerge as totally unreliable in view of the evidence provided by the manuscript. The position of some of the persons included is difficult to judge, but the figures appear to be sixteen royalists, fourteen parliamentarians and fourteen “neutrals”, so that in fact the balance was much more even than might be supposed.

Of equal significance is the geographical distribution. If we take a line from Rocester, on the Staffordshire border, to Belper and then virtually due north to Dronfield, to the north and west lies the “pasture plus lead” area of Derbyshire, while to the south and east lies the “arable plus coal” area. Coal was certainly worked here in the course of the century but largely by a few entrepreneurs, of whom only one (Frechville) appears in the list. In this south-eastern area there were seven royalists, four parliamentarians and eight “neutrals”, while across the imaginary line the figures are royalists nine, parliamentarians ten, “neutrals” six. The fact that more than half of the gentry mentioned were domiciled in the northern zone may be accidental, but it is interesting that the percentage of neutrals in the north was 24% while in the south it was almost 32%. This is what might be expected from landowners whose incomes depended largely on agricultural profit, but in fact only five seem to have so depended.

Professor Habbakuk has hazarded that the “rising gentry” depended on four forms of profit; agricultural rents and income, trade, the law and the holding of state offices.⁶ None of the persons dealt with here owed the basis of their wealth to state office, but some did derive undoubted benefit from the possession of local offices (e.g. Agard, Curzon). Trade in the strict sense also played little part; only three (Ash, Bennett and Taylor) really fall under this category. Much more important were the embryonic industrial enterprises of lead, coal and iron, especially the first of these in the Peak, where according to Camden, “Lead stones . . . are daily dug up in great abundance which they melt down with large wood fires upon those hills exposed to the west wind.”⁷ In order to maintain the supply of timber it appears that replanting was undertaken even in the early part of the century.⁸

The Peak District, the great lead-mining area, was also a great sheep-raising land; “. . . this part, though rough and craggy in some places, has also grassy hills and vales, which feed abundance of cattle and great flocks

⁴ Keith Feiling, *History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714*, 17.

⁵ Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*, ed. Macray, Bk. vi, 274.

⁶ Introduction to M. E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families*, 1956, xi.

⁷ Camden, *Britannia*, 2nd edition II, 591.

⁸ “Certain observations touching the estate of the Commonwealth . . .”, [by A.L.], 1634, 8.

of sheep".⁹ These animals roamed the vast expanses of unenclosed moorland and at a minimal cost to their owners brought in profits estimated to have risen, in East Anglia for example, by 700% in the century before 1640.¹⁰ No comparable study has yet appeared for Derbyshire, but there had undoubtedly been an attempt to increase the yield of the more remote and intractable areas.¹¹ The eastern lands were highly productive by the standards of the time already, although perhaps as much as 30% was still unenclosed in 1675. Derby depended for its prosperity in Camden's time on the retailing of corn to the highland zone.¹² It has been suggested, and was indeed believed by contemporaries, Aubrey for example, that pastoral communities tended to be more "radical" in outlook than arable, and certainly the evidence provided by the list gives mild support for this thesis. A really complete picture is impossible because of the paucity of information, in some cases, and the complexity of it in others. Several gentry had more than one source of income, but as far as can be calculated the following analysis is an accurate assessment. Where a person relied on two forms of income he has been included once under each form.

<i>Source of income</i>	<i>North and west</i>	<i>South and east</i>
Land only	1	5
Land + lead, coal, etc.	7	2
Lead or industry only	7	3
Merchants	1	2
Professions	3	4
Local office	1	4

The preponderance of land as a sole source of wealth and of local office holding in the south and east is marked, as is the 3 to 1 ratio in favour of the north and west in lead and industry. However great the profits from sheep, few gentry in the county seem to have been able to secure sufficient animals or pasture rights to live by this means alone. Where the small farmers of Kendal and Dentdale took to cloth weaving and stocking knitting, the gentry of Derbyshire became lead merchants, a far more profitable business.

Just how profitable may be gauged to some extent from the figures given in the list, making allowances for the obvious partiality shown in its compilation. No fewer than ten out of the forty-four had personal incomes of £5,000 or more, and four (Curzon, Sacheverell, Stones and Gladwin) were alleged to have £10,000. Stones and Gladwin certainly made their money in the lead trade, and five others can be assumed to have done so. As a comparison it should be remembered that the income of that influential midland family, the Brudenells of Deene, was only £5,000 in 1635, and the earl of Devonshire, one of the richest landowners in the realm, received £16,000 from his estates.¹³ The large totals for Curzon and Pegge were suspected to be the

⁹ Camden II, 591.

¹⁰ A. Simpson, *The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540-1660*, 1961, 211.

¹¹ So thought Gervase Markham at least. See M. Campbell, *The English Yeoman*, 1960, 173.

¹² DAJ, 1944-5, 22; Camden II, 589.

¹³ Finch, 200 and H. Trevor-Roper, *The Gentry, 1540-1640*, Appendix.

profits of sequestration. The following table shows the relative distribution of incomes and values of estates for all three types:

	<i>Personal incomes</i>		<i>Estate values</i>	
	£5,000 and over	Under £5,000	Over £500	£500 and under
Royalists	—	2	6	—
Parliamentarians	6	1	3	2
Neutrals	4	3	3	3

Though the figures must be treated with caution, especially as the royalists were naturally not investigated to the same degree for the purposes of the list, there is a clear significance in the fact that the parliamentarians tended to be men of high income but small landed estate and the royalists the opposite.

The members of the gentry analysed here provide support for the view that parliamentarians were on average older than royalists. Of those whose ages are known and who were fifteen or over in 1640, the average for royalists was 30.5 and for parliamentarians 38.5. Of the forty whose origins are known, no fewer than twenty-six were members of families established in the county for several generations; six were outsiders with no real connections until the member treated below; and eight were "new men" in the sense that, although they came of families settled in the county for some time, no previous member had "emerged" to the same degree. Of these, five were parliamentarians,¹⁴ the rest neutrals inclined to the parliamentary side.

Finally, the list enables us to make some estimate of the loyalty of the parliamentarians to the idea of non-monarchical government through all its vicissitudes between 1649 and 1660. Of the fourteen clear parliamentarians, ten served on local committees during this period and five served on those of every administration down to the early months of 1660. These figures do not include those who acted as assessment commissioners as this was a post which could be accepted by those with royalist inclinations.

As indicated at the opening of the introduction, no major thesis can be based on evidence as restricted as a study of this nature, but it has proved possible to indicate, even on this miniature scale, those areas in which research of this type may well lead to a revision of hitherto accepted interpretations of 17th-century history.

Notes on editing and sources

No attempt has been made to provide full-scale genealogical information on the persons concerned as this would require a disproportionate amount of research and space. For the most part, such information is taken from the *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, published by the Harleian Society, *The Visitation of Derbyshire 1662-3* (1879) and MSS. pedigrees in the British Museum. That many of the descents given in all these sources are inaccurate is recognized, but corrections have only been made where definite evidence exists to support the correction. A thorough search of local parish registers is a *sine qua non* for arriving at a reliable account of the interrelationships of the Derbyshire gentry. "No county in England has a more complicated group of

¹⁴ i.e. Bagshawe, Bennet, Eyre (Robert), Gladwin and Manlove.

relationships within its borders and nowhere, it seems, could more people claim cousins, than in Derbyshire at this time." So comments Caroline Robbins in her introduction to Milward's Diary,¹⁵ and the following pages must surely confirm her statement.

Further facts could be unearthed by a careful study of the Hearth Tax returns in the Public Record Office. For the purpose of the notes printed below only the 1670 return has been used, partly because it is a useful mid-point in the latter half of the century, partly because the returns for this year are available in the county itself.¹⁶ Local record repositories contain an ever-increasing volume of original material which will inevitably make clear in time matters which can only be guessed at in these pages.

Printed sources are disappointing. Although several of the persons mentioned in the list were quite prominent in their day (no fewer than seven are mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*), none has received full-scale treatment in print, with the exception of Miss Robbins' work on Milward and Miss Meredith's on Rowland Eyre. Biographies of Sir John Gell, Sir John Curzon or Lord Frechville are both possible and desirable.

Certain standard works have been used without repetitive footnote references. Sheriffs are listed in Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, no. 9, justices of the peace are given in Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals* I, 37 f. and the membership of Commonwealth committees is recorded in that invaluable compilation *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, edited by Firth and Rait. Other sources are indicated in the list of abbreviations and in the biographical notes.

The list has been transcribed with abbreviations expanded, and with the addition of numbers before each name to facilitate reference from the notes to the document. The biographies are arranged alphabetically for reference in the reverse direction. All additions and expansions are in brackets. It should be said that the biographies are meant more as notes than as connected narratives. All places mentioned are in Derbyshire unless otherwise indicated.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

<i>Alumni Cantab.</i>	<i>Alumni Cantabrigiensis: a biographical list of the students of the University of Cambridge</i> , ed. Venn (1922-54)
<i>Alumni Oxon.</i>	<i>Alumni Oxoniensis: the members of the University of Oxford</i> , ed. Foster (1891)
BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
BM, Add. MSS.	British Museum, Additional Manuscripts
BM, Eg.	British Museum, Egerton Manuscripts

¹⁵ C. Robbins, ed., *Diary of John Milward Esq.*, xi.

¹⁶ Derby PL, D.C., 9953-6.

CCC	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-60</i>
CSP Dom	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
Chesterfield	P. Yeatman, <i>History of Chesterfield</i> (1890)
d.	daughter
DAJ	<i>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock
DV	<i>Visitation of Derbyshire 1662-3</i> (1879)
Derby PL	Derby Public Library
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
FMG	<i>Familiae Minorum Gentium, Harleian Society</i> (1895-6)
Firth and Rait	<i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum</i> , ed. R. S. Rait and C. H. Firth (1911)
Glover	S. Glover, <i>History of Derbyshire</i> (1831-3)
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HS	Harleian Society publications
JR	John Rylands Library, Manchester
LW	Lichfield wills, Diocesan Record Office, Lichfield
m.	married
MI	Monumental inscription
NRA	National Register of Archives
NRO	Nottinghamshire Record Office, Nottingham
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills, Somerset House
PRO	Public Record Office, London
s.	son
SCL	Sheffield City Libraries, Department of Archives
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford
<i>Three Centuries</i>	J. C. Cox, <i>Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals</i> (1890)
VCH	<i>Victoria County History of Derbyshire</i> (1905-7)
WSS	William Salt Society publications
Yeatman	P. Yeatman, <i>Feudal History of Derbyshire</i> (1890)

(fo. 1 recto)

A list of Gentlemen in Derbyshire and how they stand affected

- (1) S(i)r Jo(hn) Harper of Swarson well affected to the Kinge and church but backwards in Actinge for eith(er).
- (2) Anchitell Grey Esq(uire) sonn to the Erle of Stanford.
- (3) S(i)r (Thomas) Greysely Barr(one)t the p(re)sent High Sherif.
- (4) S(i)r John Curson Barr(one)t his Ma(jes)ties Rec(eiver) Gen(er)all of the Dutchy a great Presbiterian appeared uppon all occations as Sequestrat(er) and oth(er) offices of Trust und(er) the Rebels a great enemy to the King and his freinds if hee was called to an account hath many thousands of pounds in his hands. Hee is yet a Justice of the Peace.
- (5) S(i)r Samuell Sleigh is suitable to Curson if not worse *and yet* a Justice of the Peace.

- (6) S(i)r John Gell Barr(one)t his p(ar)ts are well knowne hee is sworne a *gentl(ema)n of the Privy Chamb(er)* Extr(aordinary) by my L(or)d Chamb(er)laine.
- (7) John Gell Esq(uire) his sonn the most Rigid Presbit(erian) in th(a)t County.
- (8) Gervase Bennett* by being Tres(urer) and Sequestrat(er) hath gotten a 1000 li. p(er) ann(um) borne but to x li. p(er) ann(um)† was ever ag(ainst) the kinge untill his comeinge in to Engl(and) he is yet a Justice of the Peace.
- (9) Robert Eyre of Highlow Esq(uire) hee was a Coll(onel) ag(ainst) the kinge a Presb(iterian) form(er)ly but I thinck a convert, hee is in Com(missio)ns of the Peace.
- Theis weare Put into Com(missio)n by the two Burgesses for Derby Allestry and Dalton or Capt(ai)n Mellor, but severall of the Kings freinds will not take the oath whyle theis are in Com(missio)n.
- (10) John Frechvile Esq(uire) a very Loyall Person.
- (11) John Millward a Coll(onel) for his Ma(jes)tie for his Loyalty and discretion equall to any in th(a)t County, hee refused to sitt in Com(missio)n w(i)th the Presbit(erians).
- (12) (John) Munday of Marton Esq(uire) a Rich Presbit(erian).

(fo. 1 verso)

- (13) S(i)r Hen(ry) Every Barr(one)t very Loyall.
- (14) Charles Cotton of Beresford Esq(uire) very Loyall.
- (15) (John) Ferrars Esq(uire) hee is well affected.
- (16) George Vernon Esq(uire) very Loyall hath 3 or 4000 li. p(er) ann(um).
- (17) Charles Agard Esq(uire) very Loyall and fitt for Comaund.
- (18) (William) Fitcherbert of Tissington very fitt for Comaund.
- (19) John Shallcross of Shallcross Esq(uire) a Coll(onel) for the Kinge.
- (20) Nich(olas) Bowdon of Bowdon Esq(uire) hee stood sequest(e)red untill the Kinge came into Engl(and) theis two last onely rayسد both foot and Horse to Joyne w(i)th Sir George Booth and noe oth(er) gentlemen in th(a)t p(ar)te of the County.
- (21) Will(iam) Bullock of Norton Esq(uire) form(er)ly a Capt(ai)n for the King very Loyall a great Lover of Bi(sho)pps.
- (22) Francis Barker of Dore Esq(uire) very Loyall.
- (23) Edward Pegg Esq(uire) a Presbit(erian).
- (24) Raph Clark of the Brooke Esq(uire) Reasonably Honest.
- (25) John Lowe of Ald(er)sly Esq(uire) a Capt(ai)n in the late Warrs for the Kinge and very fitt for Comaund.

*The second "t" is interlined.

†The last seven words interlined.

- (26) Rowland Eyre of Hassopp Esq(uire) a Coll(onel) for the kinge a man of 3000 li. p(er) ann(um) hee rayseed a Regim(en)t of Horse for the Kinge A Catholique, and a great Sufferer.
- (27) Capt(ai)n Howard Brock a very good Comaund(er) a Catholique.
- (28) Thomas Wollas the Younger of Glapwall a Quaker.
- (29) William Wolley of Ryber Esq(uire) once ag(ains)t the Kinge but a very great Penitent.
- (30) Symon Degg a Councell(er) at Lawe very Loyall.
- (31) (Edward) Manlove a Councell(er) at Lawe a Presb(i)t(eria)n.
- (32) (Hugh) Bateman a Councell(er) at Lawe never acted for nor ag(ains)t the King.
- (33) Nich(olas) Willemot a Councell(er) at Lawe very rich and reasonably honest.

(fo. 2)

Persons fitt to lend the Kinge Money

	S(i)r John Curson is worth in a p(er)sonall estate	10000 li.
(34)	Ro(bert) Sacheverell 2000 li. p(er) ann(um) and	10000 li.
(35)	Cornelius Clarke 500 li. p(er) ann(um) and	6000 li.
(36)	Thomas Gladwyn 1000 li. p(er) ann(um) and a seques- trat(er) hee sequestered Jo(hn) Shallcross and N(icholas) Bowdon in S(ir) Ge(orge) Booths actings	10000 li.
(37)	Ro(bert) Ashton of Middleton in land 1000 li. p(er) ann(um) and	6000 li.
(38)	Will(iam) Wright of Longston 500 li. p(er) ann(um) and...	2000 li.
(39)	Will(iam) Savile 300 li. and	2000 li.
(40)	Georg(e) Taylor of Chest(er)feild 300 li. p(er) ann(um) and in stock	2000 li.
(41)	Edw(ard) Ash a great Presbit(erian) and noe freind to the King	5000 li.
(42)	Will(iam) Bagshawe of Litton in land 500 li. p(er) ann(um) a very dissafected p(er)son and worth in money	5000 li.
(see 23)	Edward Pegg Sen(ior) an old Sequestrat(er) hee hath gott in theis tymes beinge but an Attorney at Lawe in land 1000 li. p(er) ann(um) and in money	5000 li.
(43)	(Thomas) Burton of Hounsfeild 1000 p(oun)d p(er) ann(um) and	5000 (li.)
(44)	(Nicholas) Stone of Chest(er)feild in a p(er)sonall estate	10000 li.

These are all Lead Merch(an)ts except Curson Sacheverell and Pegg and never did the Kinge service.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

AGARD, Charles, of Foston (?-1680). (17)

The Agards were feodaries and bailiffs of the honour of Tutbury and had received a grant of arms as early as 1566 (HS, vol. 66 *sub* Agard). Charles was the son of John Agard of Osmaston, high sheriff in 1639, and received from him the three offices mentioned above on 6 June 1648 (*Three Centuries*, I, 71). Lysons (*Magna Britannia*, V, cxii) declares he was the last male heir, his coheiress marrying Sir John Stanhope of Elvaston. However, it is certain he had a son, John, still living in 1679 when he made his will (PCC, 1680, f. 54), when he must have been over thirty (BM, Add. MSS. 6669, f. 103). The estates were heavily encumbered with debt and John received from his father no more than £100 p.a. "a poore pittance". The property, which was conveyed to trustees, consisted of the manors of Scropton, Derbys., King's Bromley, Armitage, Handsacre and Ridware, Staffs.; a moiety of the manor of Boyleston; the rectory of Church Broughton and lands, etc., in Scropton, Foston and Sapperton.

He seems to have played no prominent part during the Civil War, but he was regarded as a good royalist by the restored monarchy and was made high sheriff immediately (PRO, Lists and Indexes no. 9, p. 31). He was also on the list of intended Knights of the Royal Oak and his estates were then valued at £2,000 (Glover, I, pt. 1, App. 86). The following year (1661) he was concerned in the suppression of anti-monarchical plots in the county (BM, Add. MSS. 34306, f. 15). In 1663 he was placed on the committee for enforcing the Corporation Act (13 Chas. II c. 1) along with Frechville, Vernon, Cotton, Degge and others. This committee ordered the removal of Hercules Clay from the position of mayor of Chesterfield (*Chesterfield*, 39). In 1665 Agard was among the county J.P.s of Staffordshire (WSS, 3rd Series, 1912, 338). This appears to be the last official notice of him.

ASH (or ASHE), Edward, of Tideswell (?-1675). (41)

The family of Ash were prominent in Tideswell before this period (Walker, *History of Tideswell*, 32).¹⁷ The earliest notice of Edward is in 1655 when he exchanged lands acquired from the earl of Newcastle (probably forfeited) with the Wrights of Litton (*Reliquary*, VII, 155). He married twice, the second time in 1669 to Dorothy Roberts of Alport (SCL, Luxmoore Collection, 47-1) and had at least ten children, of whom Edward, who was the eldest, inherited his father's business (LW, Ashe). This son married, in 1668, Susannah, d. of William Bagshawe of Litton, the Waterhouse, Cocksbut and the Turfhouse in Tideswell being settled on him (SCL, Crewe Muniments, 278). John Ashe, author of a "Life" of William Bagshawe, the "Apostle of the Peak", was a son of this marriage.

The basis of the elder Edward's wealth was his business as a mercer with a flourishing shop in the upper market place at Tideswell, from which in the 1660s he issued his own trading tokens. Though he was assessed for the relatively small number of six hearths in the 1670 taxation (Derby PL, D.C., 9955), there is no doubt as to the value of his trade. The valuation taken at his death of the goods in his house totalled £1,896. 13s. 10½d. (LW, Ashe) of which the shop stock accounted for £352. 14s. 4d. The royalist estimate that he was worth £5,000 a year may not have been far wrong as, in addition to his mercer's business, he carried on trade as a lead merchant and acted as a local banker.

His estate consisted of his shop and a farm with lands in Tideswell and (from 1660) Bradshaw Hall (SCL, Bowles Deeds, 155). It is interesting that these were all lease-

¹⁷ This author implies that the family were Catholics. Whatever may have been the position at other times, this is certainly untrue for the latter half of the 17th century.

hold properties; he obviously invested his money in other ways than in buying land. His probate inventory significantly includes ". . . one greate salt, one gilded salt, two silver bowles, one great cupp, one little cupp, 38 spoones wayinge ten pound six ounce and a halfe".

Nothing has been said of his Civil War career because nothing is known of it. No doubt he was "a great Presbyterian", but his opinions do not seem to have resulted in action.¹⁸ He knew Robert Eyre of Highlow, to whom he left a small legacy, but does not seem otherwise to have associated much with pronounced parliamentarians. Shopkeepers in such circumstances are likely to be neutral.

Ash was one of the most interesting of the gentry discussed in this article, and it is unfortunate that the surviving references to him should be so few.

ASHTON, Robert, of Stoney Middleton (c. 1610-1687).

(37)

S. of Robert Ashton and Elizabeth Teales of Totley. M. (1) Joan Sharp, (2) Frances, d. of John Fern of Hartington, (3) Alice, d. of Godfrey Kirk of Bradwell. She was probably deceased before 1683.

He seems to have sat expertly on the fence throughout the period, profiting from royalist forfeited estates, yet finding sufficient favour with the restored monarchy to be high sheriff in 1664 (PRO, Lists and Indexes no. 9, 31) and a J.P. in 1673.

Ashton is an excellent example of the "rise of the gentry", or better, the rise of the yeoman into the gentry class. We are able to study this process in some detail by the fortunate chance of the survival of a volume in the Spencer Stanhope Muniments (SCL, Sp. St., 60282), which is, in effect, a cartulary of the Ashton estates. This, in conjunction with his will (Sp. St., 60289-1) and a few deeds not recorded in the cartulary, but surviving as originals in various collections, enable us to form a fairly complete picture of the growth of the Ashton property.

Even before he began systematic purchase in 1647, his estates were relatively extensive and included the manor of Bamford and messuages, lands and tithes in Dore, Norton and Cowley. The Civil War, however, proved a great opportunity. On 16 April 1648 he purchased Ford Hall from James Cresswell and others for £1,040 (JR, Bagshawe, 13/3/350) and sold it with other property in 1663 to William Bagshawe for £1,300 (JR, Bagshawe, 13/3/354). It is perhaps significant that in the first deed Ashton is described as "yeoman" and in the second as "gentleman". One indication of the advantage he took of contemporary conditions is his purchase of a considerable estate in Hathersage for a nominal sum from a trio of London lawyers, a sure sign of speculation in sequestered estates. Between 1647 and his death he laid out over £10,000 in the purchase of property, excluding land resold before 1686. Of this considerable sum over £3,000 was expended in the period 1647 to 1660 with its opportunities for buying at a discount, as might be expected. Nevertheless, his investment did not slacken after the Restoration, but continued at the same pace. These lands were purchased in Hathersage, Aston, Brough, Castleton, Grindleford, Stoney Middleton, and Poolow.

By his will (SCL, Sp. St., 60289-1) dated 24 August 1683 the manor of Bamford was to descend in a rather complicated arrangement to his son Robert for five years, then to the daughters of Alexander Ashton of Whiteley Wood, and finally after three more years to Alexander's son, Robert. Property at Hathersage, including the mill, was bequeathed to Benjamin Ashton and the manor of Over Padley, purchased from William Fitzherbert of Norbury for £1,308 in 1654 (SCL, MD, 3121) — no doubt an enforced

¹⁸ An Edward Ash was a prominent member of the Committee for Compounding in London, but it is unlikely that this was the same man.

sale — was left to his grandson, Robert. From the will it would seem that Robert the elder had at least four sons and one daughter. The poor of Stoney Middleton received £200.

Ashton does not seem to have been a sequestrator himself although we know from the Calendar for Compounding that in May 1653 he was in possession of the countess of Arundel's former manor of Glossop. This was no doubt a lucrative perquisite, and as he was involved in a dispute over common rights, it seems likely he was endeavouring to make it even more lucrative. His success was based on the fact that he had ready money available at a time when many landowners were compelled to divest themselves of their estates.

BAGSHAWE, William, of Litton (1598-1669). (42)

S. of Henry Bagshawe of Abney and Anne Barker of the same. M. (1) Jane, d. of Ralph Oldfield of Litton, (2) Helen, d. of Robert Bagshawe of Taddington. He had four sons, one of whom, William, was later the celebrated nonconformist divine, "The Apostle of the Peak".

William Bagshawe senior was a small farmer who emerged enriched from the Civil War and its aftermath. In 1640 his property consisted of very little more than a small yeoman's holding with a few cottages in Litton (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 2091-3). By 1652, however, he could pay £438. 15s. od. for a farm in Wormhill with beast gates in Peak Forest and Green Fairfield (JR, Bagshawe, 13/3/536a). In September of the same year he purchased houses in Tideswell, part of the sequestered estates of Rowland Eyre (CCC, 2321).

The great change began in 1654 when he purchased an estate at Great Hucklow. This cost him £453. 6s. 8d., but three years later he secured the earl of Newcastle's forfeited property in Hucklow for £2,400 (SCL, Crewe Muniments, 264, 267). No doubt the money came from the profits of the lead trade in which he engaged. Glover (II, 215) says that he ". . . much improved a small inheritance by success in the lead mines". This success continued after the Restoration for, as noted above (*see* ASHTON), he bought the Ford Hall estate in 1663 though he continued to reside at Great Hucklow. The Litton estate, however, he sold off to Rowland Eyre for £170 in 1667 (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 2106-7). Wormhill was granted to William, junior, in 1654 when he was vicar of Glossop, but this estate subsequently became the patrimony of Adam the youngest son.

By his will dated 20 March 1667/8 (SCL, Oaks Deeds, 696) William Bagshawe left the Tideswell messuages as a jointure to his wife Helen with the best bed and two pair of sheets. His son, William, was bequeathed Slack Farm at Wormhill, son John the manor of Great Hucklow and Adam the Tideswell copyholds. Though his property was extensive, it was the "commercial" enterprises which provided the basis of the Bagshawes' wealth. He may well have acted as a local banker and money lender, for in 1663 one Roger Mycocke of Tideswell gave him all his goods and chattels for the sum of £30, being a debt owed to Bagshawe.

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement in the list that he was "very disaffected" towards the royalist cause. The Civil War had improved his wealth and status, his son was a notable nonconformist and his daughter, Susannah (not mentioned in his will), married the son of that other "very disaffected" man, Edward Ash.

BARKER, Francis, of Dore (1627-c. 1682). (22)

S. of Edward Barker of Dore and Dinis, d. of Thomas Fanshawe of Dronfield. M. Ann, d. of John Parker of Norton Lees. J.P. 1666.

The Norton Lees estate passed to him as a result of his marriage and must have been a considerable acquisition. In the 1670 Hearth Tax the Dore and Topley estate was assessed on six hearths and the Norton on ten (Derby PL, D.C., 9954). It appears, however, that he owned lands in Great Hucklow, for in 1670 he conveyed 6 acres there to Robert Eyre of Froggatt. The land probably contained lead as the purchase price was £50 per acre (SCL, Bowles Deeds, 355).

Lead was no doubt an important part of his wealth. In 1664 he was in partnership with John Wigfall and others in the exploitation of the mines in the manor of Wakebridge (BM, Add. MSS. 6677, f. 385). He was able to purchase the newly-erected mansion called the Oaks at Norton for £1,600 in April 1672 (SCL, Oaks Deeds, 5), but for some reason sold it at a loss only three years later (Oaks Deeds, 10). Notices of him are rare, and he seems to have kept sufficiently in the background of events to escape attention for his loyalty to the royalist cause.

BATEMAN, Hugh, of Hartington (1616-1682). (32)

S. of Richard Bateman of Hartington and Ann, d. of John Beresford of Alstonfield. One of his relatives, Anthony, was an apothecary of London and lord mayor in 1664. Hugh m. (1) Mary, d. of Francis Clay of Higham, (2) Elizabeth, d. of William Bateman of London, by whom he had three children who all predeceased their father, (3) Elizabeth, d. of John Dalton of Derby, by whom he had a d. (Elizabeth) who survived him (FMG, MI, north aisle of All Saints, Derby, DV *sub* Bateman, etc.).¹⁹

A pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, he was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1637 (*Alumni Cantab.*). His family were established local gentry who had built Hartington Hall five years before his birth — a good indication of their increasing prestige and wealth. As with many such in his position, Hugh was careful to avoid offending either side in the Civil War period. The only committees on which he served were those for raising the assessment (Firth and Rait, II *passim*). He did, however, act as steward of the manor of Hartington for Henry Marten, the noted republican, and in May 1654 one William Wardle told him:

“You have dealt deceitfully with Collonell Marten and have cheated him and dealt basely with him . . . you are an unworthy fellow, an unjust man . . .” (BM, Add. MSS. 6672, f. 445 (226)).

Though prejudice must be allowed for, it is probable that Bateman did not exert himself to fill the pockets of the “new” landed gentry.

In later years he seems to have resided mainly in Derby (Derby PL, D.C., 9956) and to have acted as legal adviser for the local gentry, notably for the Sleight family (see below). In 1671, as a result, he was associated in a grant of the manors of Etwall, Hardwick and Ash (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 5882), but his own property cannot have expanded much as there is no trace of any deed relating to it in the local repositories.

BENNET, Gervase, of Snelston. (8)

S. of Robert Bennet of Littleover, he m. a coheirss of Rowe and had a son, Robert, age 3 in 1662 (DV *sub* Bennet). M.P. 1654-60, J.P. 1649, 1660. He earned himself a niche in history in October 1650 when he committed George Fox to prison at Derby, and is said on that occasion to have coined the word “Quakers” to describe Fox's followers (W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1955, 57).

¹⁹ The published pedigrees of the Bateman family are not entirely satisfactory, but the above seem reasonably incontestable facts. See Sleight's pedigrees, William Salt Library, Stafford.

He was a commissioner for the militia (1648), and for the assessment on several occasions, judge for the probate of wills (1653), and as an M.P. a member of the Committees for Excise (1653), the Army (1654), Tobacco Planting (1654), the Ejection of Scandalous Ministers (1654), and in 1660 was a commissioner for appeals concerning the excise. From the local point of view, however, his most important position was as a member of the County Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, which he held from February 1650 to August 1653. The zeal of his operations in this capacity may be judged by the fact that in the first seven months of their work he and Robert Mellor sent £1,900 to the Treasury. It should be pointed out, however, that the Central Committee suspected that their activity was not all on behalf of the Commonwealth (CCC, 325-6) and in fairness it must be said that others, not only royalists, believed that Bennet lined his own pocket out of sequestered and compounded estates.

He acquired a long lease of the Great Hailes at Yeaueley from Sir Robert Shirley of Staunton Harold in 1653 (Leicester Corporation Record Office, 26 D 53(395)). Five years later he obtained a lease of lands in Abbotsholme with fishing rights in the river Dove (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 2058). He had held since 1640 a moiety of Ollerbrook Booth in Edale (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 387).²⁰ Otherwise there is little evidence of his holdings, though it is known that he purchased Snelston manor, a sequestered estate worth £55 a year, which he leased at £60 (PRO, SP 23, 199).

Difficult also to assess is the extent of his business interests. He was almost certainly a lead merchant as he was named "overseer" of the will of Lionel Tynley (DAJ, LII (1931), 12) along with John Gell. His relations with the latter family, however, had not been smooth. In November 1645, as mayor of Derby, he refused to return Thomas Gell as M.P., even though he had more votes than Robert Mellor. Bennet declared that he could afford to pay the fine and would return whom he pleased (HMC, 9th Report, Appendix, 384). This incident is of much significance for the light it throws on Bennet's wealth, his relations with Mellor, and the political influence which could be wielded by returning officers at this time. His subsequent dealings with the Gells were no happier. In 1651 he, Mellor and Clarke (see below) seized the estates of Sir John Gell who had just been found guilty of misprision of treason (HMC, 9th Report, Appendix, 395).

His activities during the Commonwealth necessitated avoiding the limelight after the Restoration and, indeed, he took little part in events after the formation of the Protectorate.

BOWDEN, Nicholas, of Bowden (?-1677). (20)

Though little has survived regarding him, what has is of considerable interest. He was probably s. of George Bowden (DAJ, XIII (1891), 160) and had at least eight brothers and sisters. He m. (1) a d. of Woodroffe, (2) Mary, d. of Thomas Barnby of Barnby. She died in 1663 (MI in Cawthorne parish church, Yorks.). The family were well established in the 17th century in the north-western corner of the county and in Nicholas's time their coat of arms was set over their pew in the parish church at Bowden (Chapel-en-le-Frith).

He was a staunch royalist and supported Sir George Booth's abortive rising. Despite the statement in the list, there is no evidence about his sequestration, though doubtless it took place. In 1646 he held for 40 days the rectory of Otford, Kent, probably to assist a royalist whose estates were in jeopardy (BM, Eg. 2985, f. 31). In the Hearth Tax of 1670 he was assessed for eight hearths (Derby PL, D.C., 9955). Otherwise no

²⁰ This deed is of especial interest as it records that Bennet was trading as a mercer at the time and also that he was already associated with Robert Mellor, his subsequent fellow sequestrator.

evidence of the actual nature or extent of his property can be discovered, although his will (PCC, 1677, f. 124) refers to property in the parishes of Chapel and Glossop.

Fortunately for us his father-in-law kept the letters which he received from Nicholas immediately after the Restoration; these passed into the hands of the Spencer Stanhope family and are therefore preserved at Sheffield (SCL, Spencer Stanhope, 60624, 60266). Nicholas joined the throng of royalist gentry in London hoping for rewards from Charles II in the autumn of 1660. On 27 November he wrote to Barnby ". . . you can not imagine soe great a wound can be cured by the very sight of a kinge when all demands are peremptoryly exacted and expected before any advantage attained . . . without the help of a Loyall incumbered estate necessary food had beene wanting . . .". His importuning was interrupted by Venner's plot, which he describes to Barnby. However, on 19 January 1661 he told his father-in-law, "I was yesterday handed to a person of Great Esteeme²¹ by 4 Collonells, Mr. Legh and Parson Elcock²² where in one Quarter of an hour I was entertertyned as his Secretary and the same night at eleven of the clock in the king's Privy Chamber made beside my Secretarie the lister of all the Royall Guard and will be one alsoe myselfe . . .".

At least Bowden obtained some reward for his loyalty.

BROOK (or BROCK), Howard. (27)

Very little has come to light about this figure. He was the nephew of Randle Brock and resided at Brough (PRO, SP 23, 151). Randle was a favoured servant of the Eyres of Hassop (see below). Brook served as a captain for at least four years in Colonel Eyre's regiment (BM, 1329, d. 16 and *Three Centuries*, I, 66). The wife of his commanding officer left him a legacy on her death in 1684. (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 369/19.)

BULLOCK, William, of Norton (1616-1666). (21)

Youngest s. of John Bullock of Darley Abbey and Catherine, d. of Thomas Fanshawe of Ware Park. M. Sarah, d. of George Gill of Lightwood. J.P. 1649. His father died in 1641 and was succeeded by another John who should have compounded for his estates at £1,300. This John died in 1647 before having done so, and the encumbered property passed to the second brother, Thomas, who sold much of it. He died in June 1650, whereupon William inherited the entire estates (PRO, SP 23, 178).

These, according to the Committee for Compounding, consisted of Darley Abbey and mills (annual value £249. 6s. 8d.), tenements and fishing rights in Duffield, Blackwell and elsewhere (annual value of £40. 10s. 4d.), the manor and rectory of Norton with the ironworks there and at Beauchief (annual value £300), lands in Quarndon (annual value £10) and copyholds there and in Little Eaton, etc. (annual value £80), the manors of Quarndon, Little Eaton and Little Chester (annual value £25. 3s. 0d.), and the demesne of Little Chester (annual value £73. 19s. 0d.) — a grand total of £778. 19s. 0d., which approaches the estimate of £1,000 made in 1660 (Glover, I, pt. 1, Appendix, 86).

Several charges were laid on the estate, however. Since 1625 an annuity of £60 had been paid to Thomas Raynborowe, a London armourer, out of Norton, Jordanthorpe and Lees. A few months after William Bullock inherited, the estate was sequestered and only restored on the conveyance of part of it to trustees for the maintenance of the minister at Norton (CCC, 1132-3). In addition, he had to pay the £1,300 composition fine, £40 for his own delinquency, having been in arms against Parliament, and a further £40 in 1655 as a composition for the decimation tax. During the Civil War

²¹ The context suggests that this was Charles, 1st Baron Gerard, who was Captain of the Life Guard.

²² Anthony Elcock, rector of Taxal, Ches., 1633, ejected 1644 and temporarily rector of Methley, Yorks., died 1670. Probably an old acquaintance of the Bowdens.

the roundheads had taken iron worth £900 from the smelting mills. Little wonder that William was "a great Lover of Bishoppes".

Indeed, so great were his sufferings that his name appears in the list of intended "Knights of the Royal Oak" after the Restoration. He was, however, compelled to sell property such as Jordanthorpe, which appears to have been a foreclosed mortgage (SCL, Jackson Collection, 536-9). Even after the Restoration the state made demands on him, and he had to contribute to a muster at Chesterfield when a rising of sectaries was feared in 1661 and subsequently he was employed in the examination of witnesses (BM, Add. MSS. 34306, f. 15^v, f. 24).

William Bullock suffered much in the service of the king and died before he was able to reap the benefit of his labours. His descendants raised a splendid tomb to him in Norton parish church (now much worn) on which they extolled his virtues in the accepted style. They also tell us in passing that he was a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and add, with melancholy truth, "Belli autem furore a musis mollioribus rapide divulsus".

BURTON, Thomas, of Holmesfield (c. 1643-1702). (43)

S. of William Burton of Holmesfield and Mary Mower.²³ He m. (1) Prudence, d. of Francis Lowe of Owlgreave, (2) Dorothy, d. of Percival Willoughby of Derby. The story of his succession to the Holmesfield estates is a complicated one and not documented satisfactorily. The property, it seems, was divided into three by Thomas Burton of Fanshawe Gate in 1649 (BM, Add. MSS. 6666, f. 187) and entailed to Michael Burton, his son. Michael died c. 1656 and almost immediately afterwards also his successor, William, the father of Thomas, who therefore inherited under age. He seems to have divided his time between Holmesfield and Owlerrarr. He was in possession of Codnor Castle and Dunston Hall, which he sold to John Flamsteed for £2,150 in 1683, and the following year Richard Milnes bought from him lands and coal mines at Dunston for £1,700 (SCL, Beauchief Muniments, 805-6, 809).

In an assessment for poor relief taken at Dronfield in 1667 he and his tenants paid 9s. 1d. in the Holmesfield quarter (SCL, Addy Collection, 29) and three years later he paid tax for twelve hearths (Derby PL, D.C., 9954). His wealth was no doubt considerable, but it is possible that the compiler of the list was confusing him with Francis Burton of Dronfield in assessing his financial state. Certainly it is noticeable that he is unable to insert the correct Christian name.

CLARKE, Cornelius, of Ashgate (1631-1696). (35)

The pedigrees of the Clarke family are somewhat confused and not in agreement with one another. The following, however, seems reasonably certain.

He was the s. of Ralph Clarke, a prominent parliamentary supporter, and Frances, d. of George Blount of Eckington, having at least one elder brother. He m. Katherine, d. of Sir Edward Coke of Longford.²⁴ High sheriff 1669, J.P. 1665 to 1671 and again in 1689.

Too young to have fought in the Civil War, he seems to have avoided on the whole any close involvement, though he obviously adhered to Whig principles, as witness his absence from the commission of the peace 1671-89 and his decision to stand for

²³ The pedigree in *The Visitation of Derbyshire, 1662-3*, cannot be made to coincide with the documentary evidence.

²⁴ His will in the Lichfield Diocesan Record Office is unfortunately in a bad condition. The details given here are based on BM, Add. MSS. 6670, f. 311 and *Grantees of Arms* (HS, LXVI), rejecting the pedigree in *The Visitation of Derbyshire*.

Parliament in 1688 (HMC, Hastings, II, 187). In 1668 he purchased the Norton estate from Bullock's trustees (DAJ, II (1880), 5); he had already had an interest in the tithes, which he assigned to Nicholas Stones (q.v.) in 1663 (SCL, Oaks Deeds, 125). The list indicates the extent of his income, and in 1690 we find him acting as a money lender in the marriage settlement of Benjamin and Gertrude Eyre of Edale, to whom he loaned £100 at 6% interest, "which they take for a speciall kindnesse from him" (SCL, Jackson Collection, 835 A(14)). His assessment in the Hearth Tax returns at twenty-one hearths (Derby PL, D.C., 9954) gives some indication of the extent of his property, though no doubt some of these were for lead smelting.

CLARKE, Ralph, of Chesterfield and the Brook. (24)

Virtually impossible to identify owing to the multiplicity of Ralph Clarkes who seem to have existed at the same time in the area. He may have been the Ralph Clarke, vintner, mentioned in FMG²⁵ and a relative of the Ashgate branch of the family. He cannot be the father of Cornelius Clarke as that Ralph Clarke was so pronounced a supporter of the Commonwealth party, as active in sequestration as Bennet or Robert Eyre, that he would never have been described as "reasonably honest".

COTTON, Charles, of Beresford (1630-1687). (14)

Minor poet and associate of Isaac Walton, he was s. of Charles Cotton of Ovingden, Sussex, who married as his second wife the d. of Edward Beresford of Beresford, Staffs., and as a result moved his family to the Derbyshire-Staffordshire border (DNB and Buxton, *The Poems of Charles Cotton*, 1958). Cotton assigned to his father-in-law an annuity from lands in Hampshire, formerly the property of Richard Cotton, a recusant (PRO, SP 23, 67). He seems to have been closely associated with recusants in fact, for in 1662 John Milward wrote to Rowland Eyre of Hassop, "I received a message from Capt. Fitzherbert and my Couzon Cotton that they will eate a peece of beefe with me on munday next. It is their desire and it was my promise to acquaint yow with their coming to me and this I have done in hopes your other occasions will not hinder your former good intentions" (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 1968).

Cotton was a J.P. for Staffordshire in 1665 (WSS, 3rd Series (1912), 338) and was a captain in the militia. According to DNB he served in Ireland. Despite his writing, he never seems to have prospered financially and his estates were heavily burdened with debt. In 1665 he even obtained an act of Parliament to enable him to sell off part of his property to meet his obligations. Aubrey says that he lent money to Richard Lovelace, the cavalier poet, who never repaid him (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Powell, 1959, 65).

Although most of his connections were, in fact, with Staffordshire, he acted on the commission for regulating Chesterfield Corporation in 1663 (see above, *sub* Agard).

He m. Isabella, d. of Sir Thomas Hutchinson of Owthorpe and had at least one son, Beresford. The genealogies in DNB, Buxton, and elsewhere are hopelessly at variance with one another.

CURZON, Sir John, of Kedleston (1599-1687). (4)

The Curzons were settled at Kedleston as early as 1198 (BM. Add. MSS. 6707, f. 75). Sir John was the s. of John Curzon and Millicent, d. of Sir Ralph Sacheverell of Stanton (nr. Swarkeston) and widow of Thomas Gell of Hopton. As a result of this connection,

²⁵ Ralph Clarke the parliamentarian is given in FMG as having died in 1660, but there is evidence he was living till 1663. He may have been confused with Richard Clarke (*Chesterfield*, 195).

John Gell (see below) was brought up in the Curzon household. Curzon was, in fact, connected with several prominent local families and his d. Jane m. John Stanhope of Elvaston in 1647 (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 5813).

Curzon was made a baronet of Nova Scotia at Derby on 11 August 1641 (VCH, II, 126). He was sheriff in 1637 and M.P. for Brackley 1628-9 and Derbyshire from 1640 until he fell a victim to "Pride's Purge" in 1648. He was made a J.P. in 1654 and, despite the remarks in the list, was not removed from the commission until 1670. During the Civil War he played a prominent part in administration, being a member of the Sequestration Committee (1643), the Committees for the New Model Ordinance (1645), for regulating the Excise (1645), for the sale of Bishops' Lands (1646), and several others, but there was a break in his activities between 1648 and 1657, when he was put on the local assessment committee, and in 1660 he acted on the committee settling the militia. He was also receiver-general of the duchy of Lancaster.

In 1660 he made an attempt to get himself re-elected to Parliament through the good offices of Lord Cavendish (BM, Add. MSS. 34306, f. 11). Despite his prominence during the Civil War, he does not seem to have suffered much after the Restoration and was able to leave his son, John, £6,000 in cash at his death (PCC, 1687, f. 19). He purchased estates in Repton (1664), Markeaton (1670) and Littleover (1679), and in 1667 laid out £1,000 for the remainder of a 99-year term of the manors of Elvaston and Thulston. Elvaston was settled on his son John (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 1720, 3809, 4038, 6041, etc.).

DEGGE, Sir Simon, of Derby (1612-1703). (30)

S. of Thomas Degge of Strangshall, Staffs., and Dorothy, d. of George Critchlow of Wollescote, Worcs. He m. (1) Jane, d. of Thomas Orrel of Slaugham, Sussex, (2) Alice, d. of Anthony Oldfield of Lincolnshire. His life has been recorded by F. N. Fisher (*Derbyshire Miscellany*, no. 11, February 1959). He raised forces for the king on the outbreak of the Civil War and served for a time under Colonel Camerford. He was also in Prince Rupert's quarters at Lichfield and then, according to his own account, returned to Stafford where he was taken prisoner and sent to Burton, the queen's forces releasing him when they took the town. Subsequently he obtained leave from Parliament to reside at Callow Hill (PRO, SP 23, 223). In about 1650 he went to Derby and was called to the bar in 1653.

After the Restoration he was to some extent recompensed for his trials and embarked on a distinguished career as a lawyer — recorder of Derby 1661, steward of the manor of Peveril, Justice of the Welsh Marches 1662 (DNB). He was on the list of Knights of the Royal Oak, with estates valued at £600, and was, in fact, knighted in 1669. He received a grant of arms in 1661 (HS, LXVI). Sheriff of Derbyshire, 1674 (PRO, Lists and Indexes no. 9, 31).

In 1670 he was assessed for ten hearths (Derby PL, D.C., 9956), and in 1698 he was still active enough to record his vote in the Derby borough election when he gave his support to Cavendish and Pye (SCL, Pye Muniments, 6).

He no doubt acquired considerable wealth from his practice and he was also lessee of the manor of Little Chester and patron of the living of Norbury (Fisher, as above). Degge had the literary leanings often associated with the law. He wrote *The Parson's Counsellor and Law of Tithes*, a standard work in its day, a defence of John Gratton, the Quaker, and was a contributor to Eardswick's *History of Staffordshire*.

EVERY, Sir Henry, of Egginton (1629-1700). (13)

S. of Sir Simon Every and Anne, d. of Sir Henry Leigh of Egginton. He m. Vere, d. of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels.

His father was a recusant and royalist, and was made a baronet in 1641.²⁶ His principal property was the manor of Newton Solney (worth £350 p.a.), the tithes and rectory of Newton Solney (£360), the manor of Egginton (£100), and two farms there (£116). In addition, the elder Every was receiver-general of the duchy of Lancaster, though only at a period when the post cannot have been very profitable.

The son followed his father in being an opponent of the Commonwealth. Indeed, he is said to have expressed a wish to see all the parliamentary rogues hanged. In 1659 he joined White's rebellion at Derby and was described as a principal actor in that fiasco. He was made a deputy lieutenant in 1661, partly at the suggestion of Milward (BM, Add. MSS., 34306, f. 11). Nevertheless, according to Cox (*Three Centuries*, I, 344) he acted as a protector towards the Quakers when serving on the bench, and he was at least an ostensible Whig by 1688, for on 19 December of that year the Rev. Theophilus Brookes wrote to the earl of Huntingdon to say that Every and other Derbyshire gentlemen had gone to Nottingham to welcome Princess Anne (HMC, Hastings, II, 211). He was still a Whig in 1698 it appears, for he recorded votes for Devonshire and Pye in the borough election at Derby (SCL, Pye Muniments, 6).

An assessment of his wealth is not easy. The family suffered during the Civil War, despite Sir Simon's attempts to defraud the Compounding Committee (CCC 2448), and although Henry possessed twenty hearths in 1670 (Derby PL, D.C., 9956) his name does not appear in deeds with the frequency of some of the other persons listed here. When it does (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 3740, 6014-16, etc.) he is invariably the purchaser of small properties in the Egginton area only.

EYRE, Robert, of Highlow (c. 1618-post 1677). (9)

The Eyres are a perfect example of the division which could exist between two branches of the same family in this period. While the Hassop line was notoriously recusant and royalist (see below), the Highlow line was almost equally notoriously parliamentary.

Robert was the s. of Thomas Eyre of Highlow and Anne, d. of William Jessop of Broomhall, Yorks. He was a ward of the Crown until 1634 when John Dormer bought the wardship. It was agreed that he should pass it to whoever Robert nominated, but he was to receive £400 a year in return (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 779, (39)). Perhaps this exaction was one reason why Robert supported the party opposed to the whole system of wardship. He m. about this time Anne, d. of Bernard Wells of Holme, nr. Bakewell, whose sister married the brother of John Bradshaw, the regicide.

Eyre seems to have enjoyed a somewhat stormy existence. In 1639 he was accused of assaulting John Eyre on the highway between Tideswell and Hathersage. This was probably as a result of his action in closing the traditional way between the two places by ploughing up the Wilfield (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 779 (37, 41, 47)). In 1644 he was appointed to the Derbyshire County Committee and became a J.P. in 1648 and high sheriff in 1657 (PRO, List and Indexes no. 9). In the same year he was added to the local Committee for Ejecting Scandalous Ministers. But his most interesting activity during the Commonwealth was as agent for Adam Baines, well-known speculator in forfeited estates and first M.P. for Leeds. Eyre established himself at Holdenby, Northants., and wrote from thence letters to Baines which have survived (BM, Add. MSS. 21481 f.). He urged his employer to purchase the manor of the High Peak and the honour of Peveril. He even indulged in some match-making in March 1650 when the brother-in-law of Rushworth, the lawyer and antiquary, preached at

²⁶ This paragraph is based on "The Every family and the Civil War" by F. N. Fisher (DAJ, LXXIV (1954), 112-27).

Holdenby. "He is unmarried", writes Eyre, "and I did give both him and Mr. Rushworth a hint of Bessie Baines". In 1651 he was concerned with the dismantling of the house and the sale of the lead and timber, which were valued at £6,000 (for Holdenby see G. Baker, *History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, I, 197).

Eyre's father-in-law died in 1658 and he then took up residence at Holme Hall (Tilley, *Old Halls of Derbyshire*, I, 23 f.). When his son married Katherine Gell in 1664 (another connection with a committed parliamentarian) a schedule of Robert's estates was drawn up which shows that he held the manor of Highlow, the manor of Tideswell, purchased from Lord Cromwell, and property in Eyam, Calver, Chapel, Holme, Litton, Castleton, Little Hucklow, Wardlow, Green Fairfield, and Thornhill, in all 2,359 acres valued at £709. 1s. 11d.

Silence descends after 1660 as we might expect, and the last notice we have of him is in the capacity of a feoffee of the free school of Hope in 1677 (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 159).

EYRE, Rowland, of Hassop (1600-1689). (26)

The only one of the gentry in the list to have received adequate study on modern lines.²⁷

He was the s. of Thomas Eyre of Hassop and Prudence, d. of Nicholas Blackwall of Hamstall Ridware, Staffs., and m. Ann, d. of Sir Francis Smith of Ashby Folville, Leics. He raised a regiment for the king on the outbreak of war, and this was at Sheffield in 1644 when it shared with Milward's men the money raised by the parish constables for its provision (SCL, Jackson Collection, 905). Subsequently the entire regiment was surprised and captured in Boyleston church (Glover, I, pt. 1, Appendix, 64), but it had been in the Newark area, possibly assisting in the royalist attempt to raise the siege (NRO, PR 1710, Constables Accounts).

Thomas Eyre died in 1637 and a general livery of his lands made to Rowland with a "valor" founded on an inquisition (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 2628). This shows that he held the manors of Hassop, Rowland, Calver, Thornhill, Wormhill, Chelmorton and Wadshelf, with the office of barmaster and lot and cope in most of them. In addition he had lands in Hindlow, Earl Sterndale, Dronfield, Baslow, Bradwell, Taddington, Snelston, Hope and Brassington, together with the tithes of Hassop, Rowland, Calver, Hucklow, etc. There was even a messuage in Bawtry, Yorks., probably used in connection with the lead trade. All this passed to Rowland, but he was not to enjoy them long for, as a result of his activities during the war, they were first sequestered and then, in 1651, adjudged forfeit and vested in trustees for their sale (Firth and Rait, II, 521).

The sale was on a vast scale and only a partial estimate of it can be made on the surviving evidence. It is further complicated for us by the fact that Major Wildman was involved, notorious for his trafficking in forfeited estates. The earl of Rutland bought Hassop Hall, the manors of Calver and Thornhill, smelting mills in Dronfield, the barmastership of the king's field, and other properties for £13,000 (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 2726-7, 2731). The manors of Calver and Thornhill, however, were repurchased by Wildman, who also bought the manors of Hassop and Rowland for £3,500 (Bagshawe Collection, 369). Thomas Rogers of Tamworth paid £1,500 for lands in Maveson Ridware, Staffs., Francis Hacker (another army representative) £800 for the Leicestershire property, and Richard Hall £550 for the £100 annual rent charge from

²⁷ In "The Eyres of Hassop 1470-1640" by Rosamond Meredith (DAJ, LXXXIV (1964), 1-51; LXXXV (1965), 44-91) and her study of the sequestration of the Eyres, "A Derbyshire Family in the 17th Century" (*Recusant History* VIII no. 1, 12-77). I am indebted to Miss Meredith for her assistance in this and other sections.

Barlow. This last transaction shows how favourable the terms were for buyers. In all the sum due to the Commonwealth cannot have been much less than £25,000, and it is notable that in 1656 the sequestrators, accused of not being as active as they might, used Eyre as one of the dozen or so examples to disprove the accusation. They declared that in his case they had sold lands worth more than £1,500 a year (Dean and Chapter of Durham, Hunter MSS. 7, f. 29). This would represent more than half of his income, assuming the estimate in the list to be correct.

In view of this catastrophe it is not surprising that Eyre was considered in 1651 to be a likely supporter of a royalist uprising (HMC, Portland I, 578). He did, however, manage to retain Hassop, and after the Restoration he began to purchase property; for example, in 1667 he bought Litton — from William Bagshawe of all people (Bagshawe Collection, 2106-7). Miss Meredith has unravelled for us, in the article to which reference has already been made, the real significance of the Civil War transactions and points out how much could be saved for owners sufficiently determined. The Eyres certainly survived, as did many other Catholic families in similar circumstances, but their social development was greatly curtailed by their losses.

FERRERS, John, of Walton-on-Trent (1629-1680). (15)

S. of Sir Humphrey Ferrers of Tamworth and Anne Packington, countess of Chesterfield, he m. Ann, d. of Sir Dudley Carleton and was a relative of the Gresleys. M.P. co. Derby 1660, Tamworth 1669-70 (WSS, 3rd Series, 1920, 132-4).

His career seems to have been one of masterly ambiguity. Despite his description in the list as being "well affected", he was high sheriff in 1654, a member of the Committee for Ejecting Scandalous Ministers in the same year, and of the county assessment committee in 1657. In 1660 he was one of those (Gell was another) who petitioned Monk for a free parliament (HMC, 9th Report, 396).

He did not have extensive estates in the county, but he sold the manor of Boyleston to William Challenor in 1665 for £670 (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 2183) and also possessed the Mill Fields and other closes in Bradbourne (BM, Add. MSS. 41655, f. 143).

In 1688 he was one of those who went to welcome Princess Anne at Nottingham (HMC, Hastings, II, 211). Whatever the régime, Ferrers seems to have been able to make terms with it.

FITZHERBERT, William, of Tissington (c. 1624-?). (18)

S. of Sir John Fitzherbert and Elizabeth, d. of Anthony Fitzherbert of Norbury. His father died while he was a minor and the wardship was granted to Nathaniel Hallows. As a member of a noted Catholic family he took the royalist side and was a captain when taken prisoner at Lichfield. He took the National Covenant in 1646 and was fined £817 in 1647, but it was claimed he had undervalued his estate and the valuation made by the Committee for Compounding showed this to be worth £513 annually in Tissington and £58 in Snelston (PRO, SP 23, 199).

It is not surprising that in view of his recusancy, royalism and youth, Fitzherbert did not play a prominent part in events. The Hearth Tax returns, however, show that he had eighteen hearths at Tissington, which indicate a reasonable degree of comfort.

FRECHVILLE (or FRESCHVILLE), John, of Staveley (1606-1682). (10)

S. of Sir Peter Frechville and Joyce, d. of Thomas Fleetwood of The Vache. He

m. (1) Bruce, d. of Francis Nicholls of Ampthill, (2) Sarah, d. of Sir John Herrington of Bugworth, (3) Anne, d. of Sir Henry de Vic.

He served in the Scottish War of 1639 and was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.²⁸ He was present at Powick Bridge and the storming of Brentford, and also took part in the first battle of Newbury. Returning to Derbyshire, he based his operations on Wingfield and Staveley. In January 1644 he skirmished with the parliamentarians in Bestwood Park and in April Charles I requested that he, Lord Loughborough and others should join forces and move to the relief of York, but Frechville believed Rupert should attack Derby instead (HMC, Hastings, II, 116, 126, 128). In August, however, he surrendered Staveley without resistance. He joined the Newark garrison, but in October 1645 took the National Covenant and then retired for a time to Holland (PRO, SP 23, 208). His wife compounded for his estates at one-sixth; these consisted of Staveley demesne (£270 per annum), a moiety of Staveley rectory (£90 p.a.), farms in Staveley (£105. 10s. od. p.a.), the manors of Alvaston and Elvaston (£42. 19s. 6d.), coal mines and other property in Barlborough and Killamarsh (£76. 7s. 1d.), chief rents in Barlborough and Killamarsh (£4. 8s. 6d. p.a.), farms in Dronfield and rent charges in Aston and Norton, together with two rent charges from the Yorkshire estates of his nephew, Sir John Ramsden. The latter claimed debts totalling £4,900 for which he had the Elvaston, Barlborough and Dronfield property on a 99-year lease. This was probably a device to avoid the full consequences of the composition.

Although Cromwell personally excused him payment of the decimation tax (CCC, 1048), Major-General Whalley had a different opinion and regarded him as an obdurate royalist, pointing out in a letter to Thurloe that Frechville had played tennis with the king during the latter's imprisonment at Hampton Court (Thurloe State Papers, IV, 509).

Naturally enough he was in considerable favour after 1660 and was made a baron by royal warrant in 1665. He was also governor of York and M.P. for Derbyshire 1661-5 under the aegis of the earl of Devonshire (HMC, Hastings, II, 141). The Crown leased him the manor of Eckington and a pension (much in arrears by 1682) and this he bequeathed to his wife (PCC, 1682, f. 155), but having no heirs the bulk of his property passed to his patron, the earl of Devonshire.

GELL, Sir John, of Hopton (1593-1671). (6)

The most notable participant in the Civil War in Derbyshire. According to Clarendon, the county in 1642, ". . . without any visible party in it for the king, was under the power of Sir John Gell" (*History of the Great Rebellion*, ed. Macray, bk. VI, 274). His career merits much more detailed attention than can be devoted to it here.

He was s. of Thomas Gell and Millicent, d. of Ralph Sacheverell of Stanton-by-Bridge, but was brought up at Kedleston by his stepfather, Curzon (see above). He m. (1) Elizabeth, d. of Sir Perceval Willoughby of Wollaton (co. Nottingham) and (2) Mary, widow of Sir John Stanhope of Elvaston. He was high sheriff in 1634-5 (PRO, Lists and Indexes no. 9) and made a baronet in 1642, an honour which failed to attach him to the royalist party.

The family was connected with Hopton as early as the reign of Edward III, when Robert Gyle had a grant of lands there (NRA, Report on Gell MSS., 71) and in 1550 Ralph Gell was acting as steward at Bakewell for the dean and chapter of Lichfield (Gell MSS., 586). Hopton Hall is an Elizabethan creation, doubtless built from the profits of the receiverships which the family had acquired.

²⁸ There is an account of Frechville's career in DAJ, LIII (1932), 51-64, on which source, with some additions, these notes are based.

On the outbreak of the Civil War Gell quickly moved to assist Parliament. Commissioned to raise a regiment of 1,200 men, he enlisted his brother in support (HMC, 9th Report, Pole-Gell MSS. 391). On 31 October 1642 he entered Derby, and on 10 November he won his first engagement when he defeated Sir Francis Wortley at Dale. A detailed account of his military career was compiled by his comrade in arms, Sir George Gresley (Glover, I, pt. 1, App., 57-73) giving much valuable, if biased, information on the siege of Lichfield and the battle of Hopton Heath, with other less well-known engagements. Gell has, however, had a bad press on the whole and the truth is not easy to discern. One thing does appear certain, that he approached his task in a thoroughly professional manner, witness his grasp of strategy and his realization of the importance of holding Derby at all costs. He also appreciated the value of artillery; the famous incident over the earl of Northampton's body is only one example of this.

After the war he fell foul of the new régime in 1651 when he was imprisoned on a charge of misprision of treason. The facts seem to be that one Benson, a servant of Gell, had, in concert with others, been in contact with Euseby Andrews, plotting to stage a rising in the Isle of Ely. Andrews in fact acted for Gell in a professional capacity, but there is no evidence that the latter, who was aware of the plot, ever approved of it (Toynbee, "The Andrews Family of Daventry", *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, III, 151-162). Gell's estates were seized but his son (see below) declared that the property was settled on him with an annuity only of £1,100 a year to his father (HMC, 9th Report, 395). It seems that the son's efforts were worthwhile as the elder Gell was very shortly released and the matter closed.

As a result of these manoeuvres it is impossible to say what Gell was actually receiving from his estates. He claimed (HMC, 9th Report, 394) that he had lost £5,000 through the depredations of the enemy and only recovered £56, though if there is any truth at all in the accusations made against him, the latter is much too low a figure. A useful addition to his income must have been his dealings in lead. In the same petition he says that the lot and cope of Wirksworth were worth £72 to him. He had aroused the bitter opposition of the leadminers well before the Civil War and in 1619 had successfully claimed a third of the tithe lead ore of Tideswell (*Derbyshire Miscellany*, II, 293, 299 note 6).

He seems to have spent the last years of his life in London and to have handed over the Derbyshire estates to his son. Certainly his will refers only to minor monetary bequests (PCC, 1671, f. 132). Nevertheless, the list indicates that he did not suffer after 1660 despite the animosity both sides felt towards him. Indeed, in 1666 he was still receiver of Needwood Forest (BM, Add. MSS. 34668, f. 82).

GELL, Sir John, of Hopton (1613-1689).

(7)

S. of the preceding, m. Katherine, d. of John Packer of Castle Donnington, Berks. Member of assessment and militia committees for Derbyshire between 1649 and 1660, high sheriff 1672. Rather strangely, in view of his "rigid Presbyterianism" he was approved by James II as a candidate for Parliament (HMC, Hastings, II, 187). He seems to have resided at Hopton as the "squire" before his father's death as his name appears in the Hearth Tax lists (Derby PL, D.C., 9953).

His will (PCC, 1689, f. 63) mentions also property in Wirksworth and Ireton Wood and a messuage in Winterton, Lincs. He leaves to William Eyre of Holme, son of Robert Eyre (see above) "my large mapp of cronology made by Mr. Tallents".

GLADWIN, Thomas, of Tapton (c. 1628-c. 1690).

(36)

S. of Thomas Gladwin, prominent lead merchant and Jane Syddon. M. (1) Eliza-

beth Bright of Chesterfield, (2) Helen, d. of Giles Cowley of Ashover. J.P. 1671, 1682, high sheriff 1667, captain in the militia. He was granted arms in 1687 (HS, LXVI).

In 1660 he sold a house in St. Mary's Gate, Chesterfield, for £95 (SCL, Jackson Collection, 1333). He had property, probably through his second wife, in Ashover, which included a stone quarry (BM, Add. MSS. 6689, f. 332/165). Purchased Tapton Hall from George Taylor (see below) and acquired other lands in the North Wingfield area (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 3917, 5958, 5960).

GRESLEY, Sir Thomas, of Drakelow (c. 1629-1699). (3)

Fourth child of Thomas Gresley and Bridget, d. of Sir Thomas Burdet of Bramcote. M. Frances, d. of Gilbert Morewood of Nether Seal, Leics. He was grandson and heir of Sir George Gresley, the prominent parliamentarian, who died in 1651 (WSS, New Series, I, 92 f.).

The Gresleys were an ancient Derbyshire family who had united with the Gasteneys in c. 1400 and thereby acquired the manors of Colton and Kingston, Staffs. Their own ancestral manors were Gresley, Drakelow and Lullington, Derbys., and Morton, Staffs.; subsequent purchases included Roslaston (DRO, Gresley MSS. Box 6, 3). Owing to the pressure of debts, part of these estates had been sold off by 1622 when a particular of Sir George Gresley's revenue was taken. Even so his income was £1,265. 14s. 5d. per annum, of which he claimed £780. 11s. 1d. as surplus (Gresley MSS. Box 4, 56). By the time of the Restoration Sir Thomas's inheritance seems to have shrunk considerably. The imperfect nature of the records makes comparisons difficult, but the evidence of his rental for 1666 (Gresley MSS. Box 4, 25) indicates that he was receiving little more than £300 per annum. This may partly account for his political quiescence and the fact that he seems not to have entered into the post-Restoration land market.

An additional reason may be the fact that the Gresleys were involved in complicated and disputed settlements. Sir Thomas, in his will (Gresley MSS. Box 7, 118), refers to the fact that his wife is proposing to avoid the settlements made as soon as her husband is dead. On the whole it does not seem that Sir George's fierce parliamentarianism brought any rewards to his successors.

GREY (or GRAY), Anchitell (c. 1624-1702). (2)

One of the few persons in the list to be mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His connexions illustrate the complexity of the pressures which the gentry families must have felt in the Civil War. He was the second s. of Henry Grey, 1st Earl Stamford, the noted parliamentary general (Grey of Groby). He m. Anne, widow of Sir Thomas Anton and d. of Sir Henry Willoughby of Risley and was the brother-in-law of the royalist plotter, Sir George Booth, whom he was suspected of aiding. His great fame was as a parliamentarian in the modern sense. He sat for Derby from 1665 until 1685 and from 1689 until 1694, during which time he made the invaluable compilation of minutes of debates which was later published as *Debates of the House of Commons, 1667-94*.

He was a member of the committee of assessment in 1657 and for the militia in 1660, a J.P. in 1666 and deputy lieutenant of Derbyshire 1690, Nottinghamshire 1692. He resided on his wife's property at Risley (DNB and BIHR, V, 55).

HARPUR (or HARPER), Sir John, of Swarkeston (c. 1602-1679). (1)

S. of John Harpur and Dorothy, d. of John Dethick of Breadsall, educated at Brasenose (*Alumni Oxon.*). M. (1) Catherine, d. of Henry Howard, (2) Frances Willoughby (in 1661), d. of Lord Willoughby. His second wife's sister, Anne, m. Sir John Harpur of Calke, who subsequently inherited the Swarkeston estates.

High sheriff in 1636 and 1641 he was claimed as the "richest man of his times in the county of Derby", and certainly the fines he was subjected to during the Civil War bear out this statement. He sought leave to compound in 1645 for having been in the king's quarters and was mulcted for £4,583, reduceable if he settled £110 per annum on the churches of Barrow, Ticknall and Repton. He apparently did this, but even so he paid £4,000 in fines (CCC, 1021-2 and DAJ, XII (1891), 137).

Whatever his wealth at this date his will, made in 1670, is a sparse document making only one monetary bequest, £10 to the poor of Swarkeston. However, his widow was enjoined to take ". . . care of the Solemnitie of my Funerall in such decent manner as becomes the funerall of a person of my degree and quality" (PCC, 1679, f. 34).

LOWE, John, of Alderwasley (1616-1677). (25)

Probably the s. of Edward Lowe and Jane, d. of Henry Hall of Costock, Notts. He m. Elizabeth, d. of Antony Crofts of Brampton (DAJ, LIII (1932), 169-72). It appears that his father urged John and his brothers to take up arms for the king and had been plundered by Gell as a result. John certainly served as a captain of horse in the royalist army and was at Newark (*Newark-on-Trent, the Civil War Siege-works*, HMSO, 1964, 82), but as there seems to have been another royalist officer of the same name, also from Derbyshire, this identification may not, in fact, be accurate. He is, however, probably the petitioner who describes himself as ". . . captain of horse in his late majesties army and dureing the whole warre did serve him with fidelity and affection, he spent a great part of his estate in the said service and hath been decimated, imprisoned and plundred to his great damage" (BM, Add. MSS. 6666, f. 203). He had interests in lead mining and smelting and was a partner in the Cromford Sough (DAJ, LXXIII (1953), 28).

MANLOVE, Edward, of Ashbourne (?-1671). (31)

An interesting figure who would repay more detailed research. At the moment information about him is scarce (and occasionally inaccurate) despite his appearance in DNB. He was the author of a celebrated treatise on lead mining, *The Liberties and Customs of the Lead Mines*, which was published in 1653. He also published poems in 1667. He was *not*, however, the father of Timothy Manlove, the Presbyterian divine; the surprising fact is that a Timothy Manlove was his wife.

During the Civil War he supported Parliament, not very actively, but he served on various committees and was made a J.P. in 1648. He was steward of the Wirksworth barmote court and owner of lead mines. As a result of a conveyance of 1658 from one Marcellus Pandeurn he was a trustee for the Grange, Godbehere and Raventor Rakes. His other property included lands in Shaw Wood, Bradley and Compton and leased estates in Brassington (LW, Manlove). Among the bequests in his will is one to his son, Thomas, of "all my studdy of bookes both of lawe and divinity". His house was well stocked and the value of the inventory made at his death was £129. 9s. 4d. In the 1670 Hearth Tax he paid an assessment for five hearths in Ashbourne and for six, probably for smelting, in Wirksworth (Derby PL, D.C., 9953).

MILWARD, John, of Snitterton (1599-1670). (11)

Most of the ascertainable facts about him are to be found set out in the introduction to *The Diary of John Milward Esq.*, edited by Caroline Robbins, and it is therefore unnecessary to give details here.

He was s. of John Milward and Mary Blount and m. Anne Whitehalgh. After a distinguished career in the royalist army he was fined £1,000 (CCC, 1025), although

he was commended by the county committee for having prevented his soldiers from plundering. He seems to have been associated in lead mining at Wirksworth with his erstwhile enemy, Gell, and to have purchased ironworks from the Sitwells (Robbins, xiv f.). Apart from his diary, which covers his parliamentary career, there is also preserved his letter book of correspondence as a deputy lieutenant with the earl of Devonshire 1661-6 (BM, Add. MSS. 34306). This contains much interesting information, notably about the Calton plot.

His will (PCC, 1670, f. 179) requests that he be buried at Darley, and contains bequests to the poor of Wensley, Snitterton, Thorpe and Ashbourne, in addition to those to his children. His wealth is difficult to assess, but it seems that the family had always had considerable means. Snitterton Hall, with its 6-light windows and crude classical motifs, has an air of relative sophistication compared with the more usual type of northern gentry house.

MUNDAY (or MUNDY), John, of Markeaton (c. 1601-1682). (12)

S. of Francis Munday and Katherine, d. of William Smith of Quarndon, he m. Anne, d. of Sir Francis Coke of Trusley. He was a staunch supporter of the Commonwealth though not, it seems, of the Protectorate. New Model Commissioner 1645, militia commissioner 1648, commissioner for assessments 1644-5, 1647-50, 1652 and J.P. 1648. Significantly he seems to have held no further official post until 1658, when he became high sheriff. The next year, however, he apparently joined Colonel White's rising (DAJ, LXXIV (1954), 126).

That he engaged in the buying and selling of lead in Wirksworth, Hull and Bawtry is shown by a case in which he was involved in 1669 (BM, Add. MSS. 6678, f. 131). He purchased land on a large scale, in Mackworth, Quarndon and Kniveton (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 1779-81, 1783b, etc.) and even in Tettesworth, Staffs. (SRO, D538, D21).

By his will (PCC, 1684, f. 78, 137) he left Brewards, Pyms, Bratbys and Bloodworth Farms and other property in Mackworth and Markeaton to his son, William, and a house and shops in Irongate, Derby to Edward, his grandson. A legacy was left to his daughter, Lady Middleton, provided she and her family educated their children in London until they were of university age.

PEGGE, Edward, of Ashbourne (1585-c. 1665). (23)

The second reference in the list is clearly to Edward Pegge of Ashbourne, s. of Humphrey Pegge of Osmaston. He m. Ann, d. of Henry Jackson of Stanshope, Staffs. His Civil War career seems to have been compounded of extremes, for in 1646 he was suspected of being a delinquent (SCL, Beauchief Muniments, 1000), yet in July 1654 he was requested to join the Sequestration Committee and did so (CCC, 692) although there is little evidence of his activities to test the accuracy of the statement in the list. His son had a rental of the estates drawn up in 1669 which shows that in Ashbourne and district the property was bringing in about £380 per annum in rent (SCL, MD, 2277).

This son, also Edward (1622-1679), was educated at Ashbourne Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge (*Alumni Cantab.*). He m. Gertrude Strelley and through her inherited the Beauchief estates, including the abbey site where he restored the chapel for use as a church. In 1662 he invited Nathaniel Baxter, a nonconformist minister recently ejected from his living, to officiate in the new church (A. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*). This Edward, who was described as "a very sober gentleman" (S. Pegge, *An Historical Account of Beauchief Abbey* (1801), 208), was high sheriff in

1664, and both he and his father seem to have acted professionally as lawyers (SCL, Beauchief Muniments, 1001). The younger Edward *may* be the person indicated by the first reference in the list as he was clearly a "Presbyterian" in the 17th-century sense.

SACHEVERELL, William (?), of Morley (1638-1691). (34)

That the list is in error in referring to Robert Sacheverell is certain as he could have been only a small boy at the time. Probably the confusion arose because the headship of the family had just changed, William inheriting from his father, Henry in September 1662. His political career as "founder" of the Whig party is sufficiently well known and documented not to require further elaboration.²⁹ That the family, which had been settled at Morley since the early 16th century, was a wealthy one is certain. Gell looted some £3,000 from their house (Glover, I, pt. 1, App., 74) and the average income from the estates in 1671 was said to be £1,488 (Sitwell, 8). In the Hearth Tax of the previous year he was assessed on sixteen hearths (Derby PL, D.C., 9956).

SAVILLE, William, of Bakewell and Beeley (?-1676). (39)

S. of William Savile of Bakewell and Jane, d. of William Gilbert of the same (MI in Bakewell parish church). He m. Dorothy, d. of William Stevenson of Matlock. The Saviles claimed a vague descent from the more distinguished families of the same name, but all that can be said with certainty is that the elder Savile came from Lincolnshire and was an active member of parliamentary committees in that county and in Derbyshire from 1647 to 1657. He was employed as steward by the earl of Rutland at Haddon. No doubt these were all lucrative posts and he was able to settle a portion of £1,000 on his daughter, Manners, when she married William Wright of Great Longstone (Yeatman, section 8, 366).

His son seems to have moved to Beeley Hill Top, where he died. His will (SRO, SD Pearson, 862) leaves to his son, John, lands in Matlock, Darley, North Lees, etc. His daughter was to receive £1,500 at 21. He held leases of property in Bakewell, from the earl of Rutland, and in Birchover. George, his second son, was to have "all the furniture both in the blew and Red Chamber and great Chamber and my Turkey Carpett". All this indicates a high level of existence, and the estimate of £2,000 in personalty is probably not far from the truth.

SHALLCROSS, John, of Shallcross (1603-1673). (19)

Prominent royalist and opponent of the Commonwealth. S. of Richard Shallcross and Mary, d. of Edward Joderell of Yeadsley (co. Chester). He m. Elizabeth, d. of Thomas Bagshawe of The Ridge. He was bailiff of the High Peak 1634, high sheriff 1638, deputy lieutenant 1671 (*Shallcross Pedigrees*, ed. W. H. Shawcross). Perhaps his most interesting link was with the noted financier, Humphrey Shallcross, from whom he borrowed money on occasion (EHR, Oct. 1939, 686 f.).

He commanded the garrison at Chatsworth in September 1645 (Glover, I, pt. 1, App., 14, 66), compounded for £400, and in 1651 he was implicated by Thomas Coke in royalist plots in which he was to join Vernon and Fitzherbert in raising Derbyshire for the king (HMC, Portland, I, 582) and was arrested as a result. That the charges may have been correct is shown by the fact that Shallcross did turn out a few followers to support White's attempted rising in 1659 (Underwood, *Royalist Conspiracy in England*, 276-8).

²⁹ See DNB and Sir George Sitwell, *The First Whig*, 1894.

His estates were in Bowden, Middlecale and Youlgreave. In 1640 he purchased two-thirds of the manors of Monyash, Chelmorton and Flagg, but sold them to Thomas Gladwin (see above) in 1646 (BM, Add. MSS. 6670, f. 453). Part at least of his royalism may have been due to the influence of his wife (DAJ, XXVIII (1906), 106-12).

SLEIGH, Sir Samuel, of Etwall (1603-1679). (5)

S. of Gervase Sleigh of Ash (par. Sutton-on-the-Hill) and Elizabeth, d. of John Cholmondeley (HS, LXVI, *sub* Sleigh). He m. (1) Judith, d. of Sir Edward Boys of Bettshanger, Kent, (2) Margaret, d. of Sir Robert Darcy of Dartford, Kent, (3) Elizabeth, d. of Rev. John Harpur, rector of Morley.³⁰ Gray's Inn 1623, knighted 1641.

A prominent roundhead, he served on the committees for the New Model (1645), defence of Derby (1645), poor prisoners (1653), ejecting scandalous ministers (1654), and the militia committees of 1648, 1659 and 1660. High sheriff 1648, 1665; J.P. 1650. He purchased Pool Hall, Hartington, from the earl of Manchester in 1629 and Etwall, where he afterwards settled, from Sir Edward Mosley of Hough End, Lancs., in 1648 (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 4073), the latter being compelled to sell in order to raise his composition money.

Sleigh undoubtedly made good use of his training as a lawyer and his favour with Parliament to enrich himself. His method, an interesting one, was to get himself made a trustee for royalist families. Thus, in 1651 he was a trustee for the settlement of the Vernon estates (SRO, D1790, B/1/3b) and we learn from the will of Henry Vernon (B/1/4a) that he had a lease of the demesne lands of Sudbury. He was also a trustee for Thomas Coke of Melbourne, and in 1650 he was in possession of the profits of the hundred of Gresley, acting as executor for Lady Darcy, his mother-in-law (DAJ, LXXII (1961), 128, 130).

By his will (LW, Sleigh) he left tithes and fee farm rents in Sutton, Osleston, Thurvaston and elsewhere to Margaret Chetham, his daughter, and his library at Etwall to his grandchildren. Margaret is also to have his lands in Etwall, Ash, Dalbury, Hardwick and Burnaston should Sir Samuel die without a male heir. Reference to a library shows that he had contrived to continue to live in some degree of comfort after the Restoration. The inventory taken after his death shows that he had £50 in ready money and clothes, 48 ewes and lambs, 63 sheep and 9 dairy cows, with 66 strikes of wheat, the total value of his goods and chattels being £887. 15s. 10d. It seems clear that however he came by his property, he believed in exploiting it to the full.

STONES, Nicholas, of Hemsworth³¹ (?-1676). (44)

His epitaph describes him as *mercator florentissimus* and this is the sole significant fact about him. He had a lead mill at Dronfield (SCL, Addy Collection, 29) and eighteen hearths assessed in the 1670 tax (Derby PL, D.C., 9954). He was a partner in the Odin lead mine at Castleton (SCL, Oaks Deeds 228). In 1651 he assigned the lease of a house on the waste near Castleton churchyard to Edmund Chapman of Little Hucklow (JR, Bagshawe, 13/3/73). This lease had been made to certain London merchants by James I and indicates that Stones's contacts in the business world were not confined to Derbyshire. Between 1651 and 1655 he laid out considerable sums in purchasing land in Norton and Hemsworth (SCL, Oaks Deeds, 871, 874-5, 877, etc.).

The attention of the restored monarchy may well have been drawn to him by his

³⁰ There is much confusion in the printed sources concerning the Sleigh pedigree which it is beyond the scope of these notes to unravel. See *Alumni Cantab.*, Cox, *Derbyshire Churches*, III, 329-31, *Reliquary*, VII, 150-1, etc.

³¹ Almost certainly the person intended by the list.

purchases of land in 1662. Great Oldfield and The Lumbe at Hemsworth were bought for £80 and the tithes of Norton due from the 44 acres of Stones's land were redeemed from William Bullock (SCL, Oaks Deeds, 54, 123).

Nevertheless, Stones was sufficiently wealthy at his death to leave £600 to his wife and lands to the yearly value of £14 in trust to pay an annuity to the vicar and schoolmaster of Norton and to provide for the apprenticing of a pauper boy (PCC, 1676, f. 145).

TAYLOR, George, of Chesterfield (1603-1668).

(40)

S. of Thomas Taylor, mercer, of Ashbourne and Audrey, d. of John Milward of Eaton. M. (1) Frances, d. of Francis Stringer, lead merchant, of Whiston, and (2) Elizabeth, d. of Richard Milnes, merchant and alderman of Chesterfield.

His trading connexions are clear from his pedigree and he was at one time an East India merchant in London (HS, LXVI, *sub* Taylor). As might be expected, however, lead was his principal merchandise and he returned to Derbyshire, where he lived till his death. His will (PCC, 1668, f. 160) is a document of considerable interest and worth examining in some detail.

He leaves £120 to Chesterfield Corporation to be lent out to young tradesmen at £5 per cent. "Also I give unto the towne and parish Tenne pounds more or what is needful to buy 2 douzen of Leatherne bucketts with the two first letters of my name sett upon them. And they to be kept safely hanged up in the Crosse North Isle of the Church ready for any suddayne occasion That may happen."

Bequests are then made to Ashbourne Grammar School, the Chesterfield schoolmaster and the Vintners' Company of which Taylor had been a member. His wife receives his house, Durrant Hall, the Bayley Smithy mills and other property, while his daughter, Esther, is to have his lands in Tapton, Chesterfield, Litchurch, Ashbourne, Newbold, Boythorpe, Offcote, Underwood, Clifton, Osmaston, and Taddington and the shares in the lead mines at Bonsall and Cromford. In return she was to found an almshouse at Chesterfield "in some open sweete street".

There then follows a long description of the losses he sustained during the Civil War. He claims that £2,049. 12s. od. is owing to him for 171 fother and 16 hundred-weight of lead "that the Lord Ferdinando Fairfax and his sonne and one Mr. Robert Goodwin sold of myne at York in July 1644 without my consent unto Thomas Dickeson then Alderman of York, Treasurer to the Committee there, and unto Ralph Clarke then Alderman of this towne of Chesterfield and George Gill of Leeds a major for the long Parlyment and 170 li. more for 100 piggs of lead the said Lord Fairfax sold of myne at Hull in 1643 to one James Blades and 36 li. for 17 piggs he caused one Drake of that Towne to Take of myne to melte into Bulletts . . ."

How many of these woes were genuine and how many made up for the benefit of contemporaries and posterity it is impossible to say. It seems, however, that Taylor suffered from both sides, as did many whose wealth was an attraction for plundering, licensed or unlicensed. His widow seems to have kept the smelting business for she was assessed for thirty-one hearths in 1670, an exceptionally high figure indicating the extent of the business (Derby PL, D.C., 9954).

VERNON, George, of Sudbury (1635-1702).

(16)

S. of Sir Henry Vernon of Haslington, Cheshire, and Muriel, d. of Sir George Vernon. M. (1) Margaret, d. of Edward Oneley of Catesby, Northants., (2) Dorothy Shirley, sister of Robert, Earl Ferrers, (3) Catherine, d. of Sir Thomas Vernon of London by whom he had his only child (WSS, VII, 118-19). Commissioner for Restoring

Ejected Minsters 1660 (Cox, *Derbyshire Churches*, III, 508), high sheriff 1663, committee for removing Hercules Clay (*Chesterfield*, 39), M.P. Derby 1678-88, unsuccessfully opposed Sacheverell in 1670 (Sitwell, *The First Whig*, 8).

He is said to have been ready to join the royalist rising of 1659 in company with Frechville (Camden Society, 3rd Series, LXIX, 21) and in 1662 was described as "loyall and very orthodox. A prudent young man sober and active" (WSS, 4th Series, II, 31). As high sheriff he was involved in the Calton "Plot" of 1664 (BM, Add. MSS. 34306, f. 33). In 1688 we find him celebrating the birth of the "warming-pan" baby. "I have observed", he writes to the earl of Huntingdon on 1 July 1688, "your commands to see the birth of our young Prince celebrated here with all joy and zeal." Vernon moved the congratulatory address at the Corporation dinner at Derby (HMC, Hastings, II, 185).

His estates he inherited under a settlement of 1651 (SRO, D1790, B/1/3b) whereby Sudbury, Aston, Hill Somersall and other properties were entailed by Sir Edward Vernon of Sudbury, first to his own heirs then to those of Henry Vernon of Haslington. Sir Edward died in 1657 and Henry the following year, leaving to George his son considerable estates in Staffordshire, including the manors of Hilton, Draycott and Houndhill. The valuation of these estates was as follows:

Demesne of Sudbury and Aston, £754. 10s. 0d.
 Rent of the Sudbury and Aston tenants, £72. 1s. 0d.
 Demesne of Hilton and Essington, £140. 8s. 2d.
 Rent of the Hilton tenants, £65. 15s. 3d.
 Demesne of Houndhill, £229. 7s. 2d.
 Rent of the Houndhill tenants, £3. 12s. 4d.

giving a total yearly value of £1,265. 13s. 11d. (SRO, D1790, C/1/128). The extent of George Vernon's wealth is graphically displayed for us in Sudbury Hall, begun in 1613 (the date is of significance) but completed between 1670 and 1695 by him, work which included much of the interior and the entire upper storey and on which craftsmen of international fame, such as Laguerre and Grinling Gibbons, were employed.

WILMOT, Sir Nicholas, of Osmaston (1612-1682). (33)

Again the pedigrees are faulty, but he appears to have been the nephew of Robert Wilmot of Chaddesden and Dorothy Shrigley.³² He m. Dorothy, d. of Sir Henry Harpur. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1626 (*Alumni Oxon.*) and was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1637. A J.P. he was struck off the commission in 1653 but replaced in 1662 (*Three Centuries*, I, 37) and the following year received a grant of arms, being described as of Osmaston and a bencher of Gray's Inn (HS, LXVI, *sub* Willmot). He had, in fact, quite a distinguished law career and was recorder of Nottingham in 1669. Knighted in 1674 (HS, VIII, 291). As might be expected, he seems to have pursued a middle course during the Civil War, serving on the assessment committees of 1647-50 and 1652 and reappearing in the militia committee of 1660.

In 1662 his son Nicholas married Ellen Chaloner of Duffield, property in Nether Thurvaston and Yeaveley being settled on the pair (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 5849).

WOOLHOUSE (or WOLLAS), Thomas, of Glapwell (c. 1620-1698). (28)

S. of Thomas Woolhouse, he m. Anne, d. of Gilbert Linacre of Plumley, widow

³² The printed pedigrees give him as the son of Robert Wilmot, but this conflicts with the evidence of the grant of arms (HS, LXVI, *sub* Willmot).

of John Parker of Norton Lees. His d. Elizabeth m. Samuel Hallows of Norton, the manor of Mugginton being settled on her (Derby PL, Derbyshire Deeds, 495).

There is little evidence as to his wealth; in the Hearth Tax of 1670 he was assessed for nine hearths (Derby PL, D.C., 9954), which indicates that he had more or less the average size dwelling for a man of his status. His will shows that he had probably spent his money on the interior of his house rather than the exterior, and reveals the possession of articles which a good Quaker might have been expected to regard as frivolous (LW, Woolhouse). His brother receives a suit of clothes and a razor, 10s. a year is to be paid "to each nonconforming minister that hath preached in my house at Glapwell", and 30s. to Jolley (of the famous dissenting academy at Attercliffe). The Hallows received all the real estate, but were enjoined in return to "worshipp God according to the strict Rule layd downe in the Scripture of Truth". His grandson, Thomas Hallows, was to have "all my bookes both of Divinity, Law, History or pamflitts whatsoever and my watch, my silver belted sword, my silver shoe buckells, my razors . . . and sissors . . .". And finally "I give to Justice Sitwell my Cane with the silver head when he retournes to vizit his house at Renishaw". These bequests indicate a fair degree of affluence, but unfortunately there is little evidence to show how he acquired his wealth.

WOOLLEY, William, of Riber (1610-1666).

(29)

S. of Adam Woolley of Riber and Elizabeth, d. of William Middleton. He m. Susanna Bynns of Thorpe, Yorks., who died in 1642 (BM, Add. MSS. 6668, f. 326 and *The Genealogist*, 1st Series, I, 118-21).

A J.P. in 1650 and 1656, he was a member of the assessment committee in 1644-5, 1647-50, 1652 and 1657. On the whole he does not seem to have had a great deal to be "penitant" about.

His property was centred in the Matlock area. In 1641 he conveyed lands at Overton, Ashover, to John Gregory (BM, Add. MSS. 6705, f. 74), and in 1647 he sold an acre of meadow to John Badsley of Matlock (SCL, Bagshawe Collection, 3220). Having no sons, he left the residue of his estate to his brother, Anthony (PCC, 1667, f. 58, 72).

WRIGHT, William, of Great Longstone (?-1668).

(38)

Incredible confusion exists in the Wright pedigree and only the most tentative information can be hazarded. Additional difficulties are caused by the existence of several persons of the name in the same area at the same time. He seems to have been the s. of William Wright and Joan Knight and to have m. Elizabeth, d. of William Milnes (DV, Wright; BM, Add. MSS. 6668, f. 313). His son, who m. Manners, d. of William Savile (see above), predeceased him and it was his grandson, yet another William, who was admitted to a farm and half an acre in Betchstones at Ashford in 1668 (Yeatman, Section 8, 293). On this occasion the manorial court presented that the deceased had held 5 messuages, 10 cottages and 4½ bovates of land in Great Longstone. Nothing of certainty has come to light about his activities during the Civil War or later, but in 1630 he had begun a dispute with the Eyres of Hassop concerning the tithes of Longstone (Wright, *Longstone Records*, 232).