

## HARDWICK BEFORE BESS: THE ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE HARDWICK FAMILY AND THEIR ESTATE

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In June 1583 Elizabeth countess of Shrewsbury, better known as Bess of Hardwick, purchased Hardwick Hall, her childhood home, on behalf of her second son William. The rest, as they say, is history. The recent publication of the building accounts of the two halls subsequently built by Bess stimulates interest in the earlier history of Hardwick,<sup>1</sup> the family, their hall and the place from which they took their name. An attempt has here been made to trace the history of the family and the development of their estate in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; on a future occasion it is hoped to describe its geographical setting in that period.

I THE SAVAGES OF STAINSBY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE HARDWICK ESTATE  
Hardwick was only one of several settlements in the large parish of Ault Hucknall, on the Derbyshire side of the border between the closely associated counties of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Its history is from its first appearance entirely bound up with that of the manor, lordship and soke of Stainsby in the same parish. The Domesday survey of 1086 linked Stainsby with a lost place called *Tunstall* in a manor held by Roger of Poitou.<sup>2</sup> In 1102 the lands formerly held by Roger were forfeited to the crown and became the basis of the honor of Lancaster, a large agglomeration of lands mainly in the north west of England which ultimately became the core of the lands of the duchy of Lancaster.<sup>3</sup> Henry II, probably in December 1174 and certainly at Quevilly near Rouen in his duchy of Normandy, granted Stainsby to William fitz Walkelin and his heirs for the service of a sore sparrowhawk each year.<sup>4</sup> From that time it appears in the pipe rolls as an annual allowance of £9 from the farm of the honor of Lancaster.<sup>5</sup> William had been receiving an allowance from that farm as early as 1170-1;<sup>6</sup> he was probably a royal servant, and an obscure reference in the pipe roll for 1164-5 may mean that he was then in receipt of royal livery.<sup>7</sup> On 2-4 April 1200 at Lichfield William obtained confirmation of Henry's grant from his son King John, and in separate charters he secured exemption for his manor from the forest laws and for himself the right to hunt with his dogs for foxes, hares, wild cats and otters throughout Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.<sup>8</sup> William fitz Walkelin apparently had no male heir, and in 1199 Robert Savage, a Sussex man, offered the king 100 marks and a palfrey to be allowed to marry William's daughter.<sup>9</sup> William still held Stainsby in 1212 but died not long afterwards, and by 1214 Robert Savage had obtained it and Rowthorne for a further payment of 100 marks and a palfrey, with the proviso that his children by William's daughter were to hold them by hereditary right.<sup>10</sup> Robert was the first of a long line of Savages who were to hold Stainsby into the sixteenth century, although by then their main interests had shifted to Cheshire. In the late fifteenth century their importance increased, mainly due to their assistance to Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field, but they came to grief in the reign of his son.<sup>11</sup>

By August 1220 Robert Savage was dead and his son, another Robert, owed the king a £20 relief for inheriting his father's land.<sup>12</sup> When in the Nottinghamshire-Derbyshire eyre of June 1232 the abbot of Croxton in Leicestershire brought an action of warranty of charter against him concerning 12 acres of wood in *Lound* (a lost place in Heath, Derbyshire<sup>13</sup>), the final concord which concluded it was made on Robert's behalf by an attorney, a man called Jocelin of

Stainsby.<sup>14</sup> Where other evidence exists to show it, attorneys often prove to have been tenants of the persons they represented in court.<sup>15</sup> It may be that Jocelin already held Hardwick by grant from Robert at that date, as he certainly did by the time of Robert's death; even if he did not, Jocelin's service as his attorney at least indicates a close connection between the two men. In June 1253 Robert gave up his lands to his son John in the presence of Henry III at Southwick, in Sussex near to his main estates, perhaps to ensure a smooth succession and to avoid, with the king's blessing, the payment of a relief.<sup>16</sup> Robert's death could perhaps then already be foreseen, and it had certainly taken place by the early summer of 1257, when his widow Aldeluya was claiming a third portion of the lands held by Jocelin of Stainsby of John Savage, presumably her son, as her dower.

The final concord which settled the question of Aldeluya's dower, made in the common bench at Westminster about 17 June 1257, is the earliest dated document to mention Hardwick and deserves detailed consideration.<sup>17</sup> No bench plea roll survives for that term so it is possible only to infer the circumstances which resulted in the final concord from what is known of similar cases arising during the same period. Since Aldeluya's claim to dower does not seem to have been disputed, the land must have been in her husband's possession when he married her, so that he endowed her with it at the church door.<sup>18</sup> It must have been granted to Jocelin of Stainsby by Robert Savage at some date between 1220 and 1253; during those years the Hardwick estate, held of the lordship of Stainsby, was created. The lawsuit which the final concord brought to an end must have been initiated by Aldeluya suing out a writ against Jocelin of Stainsby to have her dower in the lands her dead husband had granted to him, upon which Jocelin vouched his new lord, John Savage, to warrant to him the grant which his father had made. The charter which Robert Savage had granted must have included a warranty clause, which had the consequence that if the estate were lost through litigation, such as that initiated by Aldeluya, Robert or his heir would have to provide an equivalent estate to be held on the same terms as that lost.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that the whole case was collusive, a device to record the settlement of Aldeluya's dower in the king's court. By the concord she gave up her right to dower from the estate, and also from all the other lands and tenements which Jocelin and William son of Petronilla of Heath held of the lordship of Stainsby, in return for annual payments of 40 shillings from John Savage and 3½ silver marks from Jocelin for life. In short, she was surrendering lands to whose income she was entitled in return for a fixed annual pension.

The estate held by Jocelin from which she claimed dower is described in detail in the agreement. It consisted of 6 bovates of land in Hardwick (*Herdwik'*), 2 bovates of land in Hardstoft (*Hertistoft*), a messuage and a bovat of land in Astwith (*Estveyt*), 2 bovates of land in *Thorneweyt*, 3 bovates of land in Northorp (*Nerthorp*), 40 acres of land in Westwood (*Westwude*), a messuage and a bovat of land in Stainsby (*Steynesby*), 2 bovates of land in Heath (*Heth*), a messuage of 2 bovates of land in Owlcotes (*Holecote*), 100 acres of assart in *Nortwode*, 50 acres of land in *Brodewode* and *Tharlllecrof*, 30 acres of land in *Le Halles clyf*, 30 acres of land in South Hardwick (*Soud Herdewik*), 30 acres of land in Frithwood (*Frythewode*), and 12 acres of wood in *Gryves* (? Griff Wood). It is not clear whether all the properties mentioned other than Hardwick itself were considered to be part of a manor of Hardwick or whether some or all of them were simply other pieces of property Jocelin had received from Robert Savage. In 1289 the manor consisted of 28 bovates in all, including demesne and tenants' holdings, while the total of agricultural land mentioned in 1257 was 19 bovates and 210 acres; if a bovat be taken to include the normal 15 fiscal acres, the 210 extra acres would give an additional 14 bovates, making 33 bovates in all.<sup>20</sup>

## II JOCELIN DE HAREMERE (d. 1268-9)

Jocelin of Stainsby was therefore the first lord of Hardwick. He was not, however, known only by that name. The main cartulary of the priory of Newstead in Nottinghamshire, a house of Augustinian canons founded by Henry II, which was compiled in 1286, includes three grants

made by a man called Jocelin de Haremere.<sup>21</sup> In the first, for the souls of his father and mother, his ancestors and successors, he surrendered to the priory any claims he might have to pasture in the wood called Crosswood; his lord Robert Savage had granted the wood to the priory. Robert's grant is given a little earlier in the cartulary; it was made for the soul of his dead son Thomas, whose body was presented to the priory for burial, and the bounds given indicate that then as now the wood was near Stainsby park.<sup>22</sup> The second grant by Jocelin de Haremere, made to prior William and the canons of Newstead, was of 'the whole assart which Herbert de Hultoces held at another time, which was made around the house of Henry de Forda'; in the third, Jocelin granted them his serf (*nativus*) Walter son of William de Thirnetheyth with all his chattels, in return for a payment of 2½ marks.<sup>23</sup> The next charter in the cartulary is a grant by Jocelin of Stainsby to the church of Newstead and the canons there of his serf Richard son of William Stachard of Newthorp with all his chattels and all his family (*sequela*). There can be no doubt that Jocelin de Haremere and Jocelin of Stainsby were the same man. The former had Robert Savage as his lord, just as the latter had, and the former was referred to as lord of Hardwick (*Jocelyn de Hermer seynur del Hardwik*) when a release to him was mentioned among a collection of evidences recorded in a Newstead priory litigation register compiled in the reign of Edward III.<sup>24</sup> It looks as if 'de Haremere' was his original name, but that he later generally called himself and was known as 'of Stainsby', taking the name from that of his lord's Derbyshire manor.

It seems likely that Jocelin took his original surname from Haremere in the parish of Etchingham, in Henhurst hundred in the rape of Hastings in the eastern part of Sussex; the name still survives there in Haremere Hall.<sup>25</sup> A family of that name can be identified in the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>26</sup> Jocelin may have been the *Wocelin de Haremere* who witnessed an early thirteenth-century charter concerning land in Ossenden, Kent, where the Sussex abbey of Robertsbridge had lands, although in view of the fact that he was still alive in 1268 it is possible that it was his father or another relative.<sup>27</sup> As already noted, Robert Savage senior was a Sussex man, although his and his family's lands were in the Worthing and Horsham areas, over 30 miles to the west of Etchingham.<sup>28</sup> It seems likely that Jocelin came north with the elder Robert Savage when he inherited Stainsby about 1214, or perhaps with the younger Robert after 1220, and as we have already seen he was calling himself 'of Stainsby' by 1232. That suggests that the Newstead charters calling him 'de Haremere' were made before that date, and that he had already been granted Hardwick by then, since the release mentioned in the litigation a century later apparently called him 'Jocelin de Haremere lord of Hardwick'.<sup>29</sup> It is possible that he was a younger son sent to be brought up in the household of the elder Robert Savage with the latter's son, who between 1220 and 1232 granted him the Hardwick estate to sustain him in his service.

No charter of the younger Robert Savage granting Hardwick to Jocelin de Haremere has been found, but there are at Chatsworth two charters which show Jocelin in the process of building up his estate. They share several witnesses and were probably made at similar dates. The first must have been made before Robert Savage relinquished his lands in 1253. By it, Robert Savage, lord of Stainsby, granted to Jocelin de Haremere and his heirs all that assart abutting on the king's highway from Chesterfield to London on the east and Jocelin's assart on the north. He also quit all the corn coming from Jocelin's farm-yard (*curia*) to his mill of the soke of Stainsby of any multure, that is payment in kind for the work of milling. Finally, he granted free passage for Jocelin's wagons and carts, with his horses and other animals, through the middle of his wood of Eastwood in length and breadth as he had allowed him before, and beyond the head of his pond.<sup>30</sup> The second charter shows Jocelin augmenting his estate by purchase from a third party. He acquired, in return for a payment of 4 silver marks, land from Ralph Brito of Hardwick (*del Hertwic*) for which he rendered to Ralph 2d. rent and a white glove annually. It comprised Ralph's land upon Hardwick (*super le Hertwyc*) called *Hympecroft*; all his land lying towards the house of Walter Sisdeners; all his land of *Ravenesbroc* with the meadow which lay next to

it; all his land below Hardwick (*subtus le Hertwic*) lying between Jocelin's land to the north up to the Doe Lea (*Dalhee*), with all the meadow and wood upon it, and so in breadth to the land Ralph's brother Robert was accustomed to hold, so descending to the north by Jocelin's land to *Dalhee*, and so from *Dalhee* ascending to Jocelin's croft on the east; and his pasture rights in Frithwood.<sup>31</sup> The two charters show quite clearly that the estate created by Jocelin was put together by a complex series of transactions spread possibly over several decades, and that it did not all come from the hands of Robert Savage. The estate was from the first known as Hardwick, and Jocelin was the first of a long line to take his name from it, although the great majority of references to him give the other surnames by which he was known.

No grants made by Jocelin other than the four already mentioned have been discovered, but land held by him was referred to in passing in at least four other charters and he was a witness to at least 26 more. The references to his land are to holdings in the south field of Glapwell, near to the Hardwick estate; the land is said to be that of Jocelin of Stainsby.<sup>32</sup> In four of the charters he witnessed, three relating to Glapwell and one to Tibshelf, he was called 'Jocelin of Hardwick';<sup>33</sup> in all the rest he was called 'of Stainsby'.<sup>34</sup> The seniority he was accorded as a witness is instructive. Of nine Glapwell deeds he witnessed, he was named first in eight; in the ninth he was named fourth after three knights, Robert of Ashbourne, Robert le Vavassur and Roger d'Aincurt. A single Stainsby charter he witnessed second only to his lord, John Savage. Of the rest, he witnessed first only in single grants in Walton and Litton. In Hardstoft he was second once, in Tibshelf second twice, third once and fourth once, in Ashover third twice, in Whiteborough (in Teversal) fourth twice. Elsewhere he witnessed one charter each relating to Duckmanton, Hallowes and Coal Aston, Little Ogston, Woodthorpe and Williamthorpe third, fourth or fifth. The men to whom he had to yield precedence, churchmen apart, were nearly all prominent local knights; Jocelin himself is never described as a knight. The picture that emerges is of a man of some local prominence but not of great importance among the Derbyshire gentry as a whole. The only piece of evidence which suggests that he might have had any wider significance is the Litton charter, a grant by Richard de Grey (presumably of Codnor) to William son of Robert de la Morhaghe in which Jocelin, the first witness, is described as 'at that time steward' (*tunc temporis senescallus*).<sup>35</sup> It seems to indicate that he was steward to Grey, one of the more important men of the county,<sup>36</sup> a position which one would more readily have expected him to hold in the households of Robert and John Savage, with whom so much other evidence clearly associates him.

Jocelin of Stainsby seems to have been the right-hand man of the Savages in Derbyshire. It is possible that he looked after their Derbyshire interests while they spent much of their time on their more extensive Sussex estates. In ecclesiastical matters Jocelin followed the same pattern as his lords. Both families patronised the prior and canons of Newstead. Jocelin's known grants to them have already been mentioned. After his death his son William of Stainsby promised to give two pounds of wax each year in the autumn to light the priory church; if he defaulted his chapel at Hardwick was to be suspended until satisfaction was given.<sup>37</sup> As might have been expected, Robert Savage made extensive grants of land to the priory, including the whole of Rowthorne,<sup>38</sup> as well as grants of serfs and their households similar to those made by Jocelin; for example, he granted Alan and Roger the sons of Ralph son of Petronilla of Heath to prior William and the convent.<sup>39</sup>

The parish church for both the Savage household at Stainsby and the Haremere/Stainsby/Hardwick household at Hardwick was that at Ault Hucknall, some distance from both their halls. The church had been granted to the canons of Newstead by Henry II, the charter being made at Rouen.<sup>40</sup> At some time between 1224 and 1238, when Alexander Stavensby was bishop of Lichfield, Robert Savage came to an agreement with Newstead over the potential financial loss to the prior and convent which would result from Robert having his own private chapel at Stainsby.<sup>41</sup> At an unknown date Jocelin of Stainsby and his wife Isabel made a similar



arrangement with the prior and convent. Jocelin was to be allowed to have his own priest, to be presented by the archdeacon (presumably of Derby) for the time being with the consent of the prior and the vicar of Ault Hucknall, to celebrate the divine office in the chapel he had newly built in his house at Hardwick (*in capella quam de novo constructi fecit in fundo apud Herdewik*); Isabel was to retain the same privilege after Jocelin's death if she survived him, as long as she should live within the boundaries of the manor of Hardwick (*quamdiu infra septa manerii de Herdewik manserit*). If the church of Ault Hucknall suffered any loss as a result of the arrangement, the chapel was to be suspended by the archdeacon until it had received full satisfaction; during such a suspension Jocelin, his wife and his household (*familia sua*) would personally visit the mother church at least six times a year, at the feasts of Christmas, the Purification, Easter, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, of the dedication of the church and at All Saints, unless inevitable necessity prevented it. The agreement was renewed by Jocelin's son after his death.<sup>42</sup>

Just as the younger Robert Savage surrendered his lands to his son John some time before his own death, so Jocelin of Stainsby made arrangements to ensure that the land he had acquired passed smoothly to his son William or to his other heirs if William should die first. The chosen method was for William to bring a fictitious plea of covenant against his father in the Lincolnshire eyre held at Lincoln in the early summer of 1263.<sup>43</sup> No plea roll survives, but the settlement is recorded in a final concord made there on about 10 June.<sup>44</sup> By it, Jocelin acknowledged the manor of Hardwick, with its demesnes, homages, rents, services of freemen and villeins, wards, reliefs, escheats, woods, meadows, pastures and other appurtenances, to be the right of William by gift from him. William then granted the manor back to his father for life to hold of him and his heirs for a rent of 20s. a year, payable in equal halves at Michaelmas and Lady Day, and for carrying out the services due to the chief lords of the fee. After Jocelin's death the manor was to revert to William and his heirs. If before Jocelin's death William himself were to die without heirs, or his own heirs were to die without heirs of their own, the manor after Jocelin's death was to go to Roger de Somerville and his wife Lucy (William's sister) for their lifetime and then to William son of Lucy and John son of Mabel (another sister), William's nephews, and their heirs. Jocelin and William were using the king's court to provide for the future of the family estate against all eventualities. In fact Jocelin did die first and was succeeded by William. Jocelin was still alive in 1268, when he witnessed an agreement by which Simon son of Hugh of Glapwell leased land in the south field of Glapwell to William abbot of Darley and the convent of Darley for 20 years, beginning at Michaelmas that year;<sup>45</sup> he was probably dead by Michaelmas 1269, when William witnessed an agreement concerning the manor of Staveley which was confirmed by the king and enrolled on the charter roll.<sup>46</sup> William certainly held the family lands by 20 March 1271, when the king granted him free warren in his demesne lands of Hardwick, Owlecotes and *Threbirches*.<sup>47</sup>

### III WILLIAM OF STAINSBY (d. 1289)

William seems to have dropped entirely the 'de Haremere' surname which reflected his father's Sussex origins, and was only rarely known by the name of his estate. He was 'of Hardwick' in two Glapwell charters and one Hardstoft charter of which he was the first witness; one charter referring to land which he held in the east field of Glapwell said that it belonged to 'William of Hardwick', while a later reference to land he had formerly held in the south field there called him 'William of Stainsby lord of Hardwick' (*le Herdewik*).<sup>48</sup> In a quitclaim to Felley priory he was called 'lord William of Hardwick, knight'.<sup>49</sup> He was only once referred to as 'William of Hardwick' in a central government document. In the 1281 Derbyshire eyre he was sued for common of pasture in Owlcotes by William abbot of Croxton, who claimed that it pertained to his free tenement in *le Lund* but that Jocelin of Stainsby had disseised the former abbot Geoffrey of it.<sup>50</sup> He witnessed at least 20 further charters, in all of which he is described as 'of Stainsby'.<sup>51</sup>

Only one small grant to William has been discovered, and that may have been made during his father's lifetime. By it Robert son of Alan of Glapwell granted to William son of Jocelin of Stainsby an acre of land in Glapwell, of which half was in the south field and half in the east field.<sup>52</sup> Other evidence however shows that he continued to build up his estate. He acquired some property in (Ault) Hucknall. In Michaelmas term 1275, in the common bench at Westminster, Hawise widow of John Savage brought an action against him to obtain dower in a messuage and 2 bovates and 20 acres of land there.<sup>53</sup> In Easter term 1276, through his attorney, William vouched Roger Savage, John's son and heir, who was in the custody of Hawise, to warrant the land to him, and referred to the grant of the land to William by John.<sup>54</sup> There was some dispute over the amount of property involved, and eventually in Michaelmas term it was decided that Hawise should have as her dower a third of 30 acres and one bovat and 30 acres of wood.<sup>55</sup> She also claimed dower from William in 6 acres of land and 4 of meadow in *Lound*, as well as making a number of claims on the Savage lands in Sussex.<sup>56</sup> William also made some acquisitions outside Derbyshire in neighbouring counties. His wife Denise may have come from the West Riding of Yorkshire, since in Trinity term 1279 in the Yorkshire eyre Henry son of Robert de Aynesford was suing William and Denise for 100 acres of land, 18 acres of wood, 3 acres of meadow and 20s. 9d. rent in South Kirkby there.<sup>57</sup> An inquisition post mortem shows that he had acquired holdings in the neighbouring royal manor and soke of Mansfield in Nottinghamshire. He held a quarter of a bovat of land with a toft in Mansfield in socage at a rent of 10d. a year; a toft and two rods of land there for which no service was due; and a toft and three-quarters of a bovat in Mansfield Woodhouse at an annual rent of 3s. 5d. and suit of court and service according to the custom of the manor of Mansfield.<sup>58</sup> An inquisition covering his Derbyshire lands mentions, in addition to his Hardwick properties, an assart held of Richard de Grey in Sutton in the Dale (Sutton Scarsdale) for 4 marks a year; a bovat of land in the same place held of William Swetmylke for a pound of pepper and 1d. annually<sup>59</sup> and that he had bought a meadow of Simon de Glapwell for a rent of a pound of pepper payable to the lord of Stainsby.<sup>60</sup>

William does seem to have enjoyed greater status in local society than his father had done. In July 1271, when the king ordered the sheriff of Derbyshire to give him the money levied from the vill of Eckington because a prisoner had escaped from its custody, William was described as 'our beloved squire' (*dilecto valletto nostro*).<sup>61</sup> In view of the other information we have about him it seems unlikely that he was a squire of the king's household and probable that the term was used only in a complimentary fashion, but his prosperity, the marks of favour he received from the king and his tenure of royal land means that the possibility that he did hold such a position must be kept in mind. Later he was normally referred to both as 'lord' (*dominus*) and 'knight' (*miles*). He may have responded to one of Edward I's orders for distraint of knighthood, in 1278 or 1283, when it was imposed on those holding land worth £20 a year. Where he was not first witness to a charter he was preceded only by knights of greater seniority. In eight Glapwell charters he witnessed first as 'lord William of Stainsby, knight', and in another as 'lord William of Stainsby', in that instance taking precedence over Roger Savage.<sup>62</sup> In a tenth Glapwell charter he was the last of four knights who witnessed, having to yield precedence to Geoffrey of Dethick, Robert le Bretun and Walter de Rybof.<sup>63</sup> In three grants to Thomas Bek, bishop of St. David's, in Glapwell between 1280 and 1289 he was third witness after Richard de Grey and Henry de Pierrepont.<sup>64</sup> In four deeds in the Felley priory cartulary which he witnessed he was first in all but one, in which he was preceded by Pierrepont again.<sup>65</sup> Other than that he was first witness only once, in a grant to Thomas Bek of land at Stony Houghton made at Pleasley in 1280.<sup>66</sup> He witnessed second, after Walter de Rybof, a release by the widow of Ralph of Rearsby at Rearsby in Leicestershire and other places and rights to dower in Ashover and Pleasley; after Thomas de Chaworth a grant of common of pasture in Brampton to Beauchief abbey; and after Henry de Pierrepont an agreement over rights in Pleasley between the bishop of St. David's and the prior of Felley.<sup>66</sup>

William of Stainsby seems to have been loyal to Henry III during the period of baronial rebellion in 1264–5, since he was one of the three men who were given the Derbyshire lands of the rebel Robert son of Nicholas.<sup>67</sup> Even before his father's death and certainly after it he was a man of great prominence in Scarsdale wapentake, comprising the north-eastern portion of Derbyshire. When a jury of twelve knights and freeholders was elected to present the crown pleas of the wapentake at a Derbyshire eyre in 1281, William was one of the two electors who chose the jurors, the other being the wapentake bailiff, William of Catcliffe.<sup>68</sup> In the same eyre he was one of two pledges for the payment of a fine owed by Walter of Rippingale, a former bailiff of Scarsdale, and John le Tollere, his sub-bailiff, for a trespass.<sup>69</sup> Sometime between the 1281 eyre and his death in 1289 he became one of the Derbyshire county coroners; at the next eyre in 1330 his great-grandson John of Stainsby handed in his rolls to the justices.<sup>70</sup> There is no thirteenth century evidence to indicate how many coroners there were for the county, but to judge from the surviving rolls from the late fourteenth century there were then two, and it is likely that the position was the same in the reign of Edward I; from 1256 the borough of Derby also had a coroner of its own.<sup>71</sup> Nothing is known of the districts covered by the different county coroners, but it seems likely that William of Stainsby worked in the northern wapentakes in which he must have been well known.<sup>72</sup> The work involved in holding inquests must have kept him constantly on the move throughout the area under his jurisdiction, and would have meant frequent attendance at the new county court at Derby. He might also have expected occasionally to travel to Westminster on legal business. Although in his litigation against Hawise widow of John Savage in 1276 in the common bench there he was represented by an attorney, he was himself appointed as an attorney by Peter de la Wode in a Nottinghamshire trespass case against Arnald of Calverton in the court coram rege in Michaelmas term 1269, while in Michaelmas term 1267 he was one of eight Derbyshire jurors who failed to appear in the same court to decide, along with six jurors from London, a trespass suit brought by John del Pek against William de Mortain and Thomas le Archer.<sup>73</sup> In June 1288 he did certainly go to Westminster as one of four Derbyshire knights who bore record of a case between Ralph of Wansley and Henry de Grey of Codnor and others in the county court to the common bench there, after they had failed to do so in the previous January.<sup>74</sup> What was probably a very active life came to an end not long before 13 April 1289, when an inquisition post mortem was held into his Derbyshire lands at Hardwick; six days later another was held at Mansfield to inquire into his Nottinghamshire lands.<sup>75</sup>

#### IV THE LORDS OF HARDWICK, 1289 TO 1420

The Derbyshire inquisition post mortem names William of Stainsby's son Jocelin as his heir, stating that he was 19½ years old; he must therefore have been born in 1269, at roughly the time when his grandfather and namesake died. Jocelin inherited the main family estate, but the Nottinghamshire inquisition shows that William had another son who had to be provided for. It named his heirs as Jocelin, aged 19, and John, aged 14, and when dealing with the tenement in Mansfield Woodhouse stated that it ought to be divided (*debet partiri*) according to the custom of the manor of Mansfield. That custom is known, from an early custumal which seems to date from the year 1273, to have been one of partible inheritance between heirs male or, if the former were lacking, heirs female, regardless of age.<sup>76</sup> It so happens that the earliest list of the tenants of the manor of Mansfield to have survived dates from 1292, only three years after William of Stainsby's death.<sup>77</sup> The list includes no Jocelin, but it may well include John. The land which the inquisition said should be divided consisted of a toft and three-quarters of a bovaté of land in Mansfield Woodhouse rendering 3s.5d. annual rent. In 1292 a John son of William was listed as paying almost exactly half of that, 1s.8¾d., in Woodhouse. On the other hand, the same list includes a John of Hardwick (*de Herdewyke*) paying 3s.6d. in Woodhouse. It seems most likely that the latter was the son of William of Stainsby and that it was arranged that he should receive a holding acquired by William while his elder brother inherited the estate created by his

grandfather. It is known that John was also given *Threbirches* about two years before his father's death and had paid the lord of Tibshelf, John de Heriz, of whom it was held, 2s. for recognition of his enfeoffment in it.<sup>78</sup> It will be recalled that it was the third of the three places, Hardwick and Owlcotes being the other two, over which William of Stainsby had been granted free warren shortly after he had inherited his estates in 1271. *Threbirches* too was probably an acquisition by William and as such considered suitable to be given to a younger son. If that interpretation is correct, the John of Hardwick (*de Harthewyck*) on whom a penalty of 6d. was imposed for a default in the Mansfield manor court in 1316 may well have been William of Stainsby's son.<sup>79</sup>

Following William's death the keeping of the main estate and his heir Jocelin was in the hands of his widow Denise until Jocelin should be old enough to inherit. Her position did not, however, go unchallenged. In January 1290 John de Heriz, lord of Tibshelf, brought a suit against her in the common bench at Westminster claiming the custody for himself on the grounds that William had held of him by military service.<sup>80</sup> When after defaults by Denise the case came to trial in November 1290, Heriz claimed that William had held an eighth of a knight's fee of him in *Threbirches* for payment of a sparrowhawk or 4s a year and for paying 5s in scutage when it was levied at 40s on the fee. Denise's attorney claimed that the land had been transferred, with the blessing of her opponent, to her younger son John about two years before William's death, and when a jury was finally assembled in June 1294 it agreed and settled the case in her favour.<sup>81</sup> By that time Jocelin must have been about 25 and had clearly succeeded to his inheritance long before. Indeed, he was himself being sued in the same court by January 1291, when Hawise the widow of John Savage claimed from him dower in a toft, 24 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, 4 acres of wood and 6s rent in Astwith and Stainsby; a messuage, 30 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow and 2 acres of wood held in villeinage in the same place; 8 acres of land in Owlcotes; and 8 acres of land and 9 of meadow in *le Lund*. By the same writ she claimed dower in a messuage and two bovates of land in Heath from Henry son of Roger of Heath.<sup>82</sup> When the case was pleaded in June and then November the same year, Jocelin and Henry vouched John, son and heir of Roger Savage, who was under age and in the custody of Richard of Okeover and his wife Agnes, to warrant the land to them, showing four charters by which John son of Robert Savage, John's grandfather, granted those lands to William of Stainsby; they claimed that since Roger did not hold them on the day that they were married she could not receive dower from them.<sup>83</sup> The case went through several postponements while the court attempted to secure the appearance of the young John Savage and his guardians; by the summer of 1292 he was in the custody of William Foljambe.<sup>84</sup> The case was settled in July 1293, when the king, who now had John Savage in his own custody, intervened directly in Hawise's favour but safeguarding the rights of Jocelin at the same time.<sup>85</sup> The following summer in the same court Jocelin himself sued Richard de Grey and his wife for illegal distraint in attempting to force him to attend Richard's court of Sutton in the Dale.<sup>86</sup>

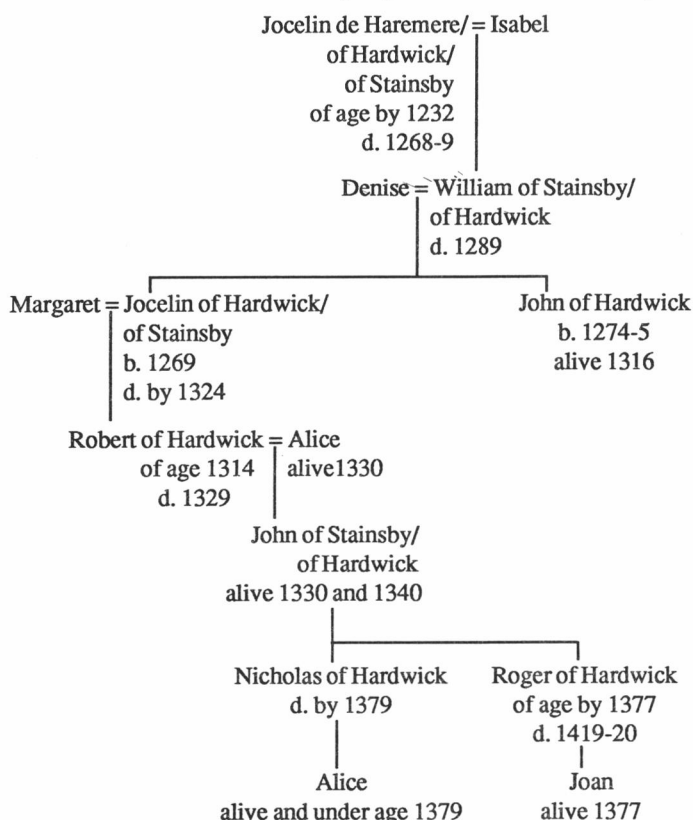
After 1294 the next point of certainty is provided by the quo warranto case in the Derbyshire eyre of 1330-31 which has already been referred to. In it John of Stainsby was asked by William of Deanham, the king's attorney, what warrant he had for claiming free warren in Hardwick, Owlcotes and *Threbirches*. In reply he produced Henry III's charter of 20 March 1271 to his great-grandfather, William of Stainsby. Deanham asked for enquiry to be made as to whether the right had been exercised since the grant was made. A jury agreed that it had been exercised in Hardwick and Owlcotes, but said that William of Stainsby had given all his land in *Threbirches* to a younger son (*postnato*) John, who did not have free warren there, so John of Stainsby was allowed his free warren in the other two places but was subject to a penalty in respect of his claim to it in *Threbirches*, which had presumably by that time become part of the main family estate once again.<sup>87</sup> It seems probable that John of Stainsby was the grandson of Jocelin the son of William of Stainsby. His grandmother may have been the Margaret widow of Jocelin of Hardwick who in the same eyre was being sued by Roger Savage for the right to 40

acres of wood in Stainsby. In the same case Savage sued John son of Robert of Hardwick and Alice widow of Robert of Hardwick for 40 acres and 20 acres of wood respectively in Stainsby. Earlier in the eyre, he had sued Alice alone for her portion, and Alice had countered by alleging bastardy against him, after which the writ was withdrawn.<sup>88</sup> The second case was the result of another writ, which proved upon an allegation of John son of Robert of Hardwick to be defective in form and so failed.<sup>89</sup> It seems clear that Alice the widow of Robert was the mother of John son of Robert, and that Alice's 20 acres of wood was a dower third of 60 inherited by John from Robert, leaving him with 40; Margaret widow of Jocelin's 40 acres was also probably a dower portion. John son of Robert of Hardwick and John of Stainsby were probably one and the same person, so that Robert of Hardwick was his father, Alice his mother and Jocelin and Margaret his grandfather and grandmother. Jocelin certainly did have a son called Robert, for in Hilary term 1314 a Robert son of Jocelin of Hardwick (*de Herdewyk*) was sued by Robert Fraunceys for taking and detaining an ox; he may have been the Derbyshire man at arms called Robert of Hardwick who was summoned to attend a great council at Westminster in May 1324; and even more likely was the subsidy sub-taxer of the same name in Scarsdale wapentake who on 7 December 1323 with his colleagues was fined 300 marks for taxing the untaxables and failing to tax his friends at true value.<sup>90</sup> Robert of Hardwick probably died in 1329. By Trinity term 1328 Robert Savage was suing him in the common bench for taking a horse of his at 'Hobbescroft' in Owlcotes on 7 April 1328. Robert answered in person, saying that he took it because Thomas Savage, who held a messuage and a bovate of land in Owlcotes of him for service of 12d and a pound of cummin annually, was a year and a half in arrears with that service. The case continued into Hilary term 1329, together with another which Ralph of Glapwell had brought against Robert in the court in Hilary term 1328 over the right to two acres of meadow in Heath, but no entries in either case have been found in later terms.<sup>91</sup> It seems likely that he died that year, leaving his son John as lord of Hardwick, which is how we find him in the eyre in 1330. He was probably the John of Hardwick who was one of the arbitrators at a 'loveday' held in Ault Hucknall parish church on 28 March 1340 to settle a dispute between the prior of Newstead and Sir John de Legh and others over a tenement in Stainsby, as one of the nominees of Legh's party.<sup>92</sup> The varying references to Robert and John 'of Stainsby' and 'of Hardwick', if they are indeed to the same men, show that the family still used both surnames interchangeably in the first half of the fourteenth century, but 'of Stainsby' never appears thereafter.

It is now necessary to leap from 1340 to 1379. On 25 February that year, before the midland circuit assize justices at Sawley, Robert Ruddington (*Rotynton*) brought an assize of novel disseisin on behalf of his ward Alice daughter of Nicholas of Hardwick, who was under age, against John de Wortley over possession of two thirds of the manor of Hardwick; the other third was probably held by Nicholas's widow in dower. Wortley claimed that his seisin legitimately derived from a grant of the manor to him by Alice's grandfather John, presumably John of Stainsby/of Hardwick. His claim was denied by Alice, who claimed unbroken possession by John until his death, upon which the manor had descended to his son Nicholas, her father, who had held the manor until his own death, which had probably occurred not long before the case was brought. In addition to seisin of the manor, Alice also claimed 5 marks arrears of rent from its tenants, which had been paid to Wortley, and damages of 46s 8d. A jury accepted her claim and she recovered the manor and the damages.<sup>93</sup> The case gives information about two further generations of lords of Hardwick. The next evidence is a deed of 17 May 1391, surviving in the Hardwick family archive at Chatsworth and dated at Hardwick, by which William del Lowe of Chesterfield granted to Roger of Hardwick and his wife Joan the manor of Hardwick, with the rents and services of its free tenants and serfs, which he had had by feoffment from Roger.<sup>94</sup> Presumably Roger had mortgaged the manor to Lowe for a time and was now recovering it. Lowe was a Chesterfield merchant, who in 1392 was one of the founders of the Guild of the Holy Cross of the Merchants of Chesterfield in the parish church of All Saints there.<sup>95</sup> The problem at this



## Outline pedigree of the Hardwick family to 1420



Note: Some parts of this pedigree are certain, some probable; for the details refer to the text.

point is to establish the relationship between Roger of Hardwick and Alice daughter of Nicholas of Hardwick who had held the manor twelve years before. They cannot have been of the same generation, since Alice was under age in 1379 and Roger's daughter Joan was old enough to be raped, by John Galale of Chesterfield, at Hardwick on 7 September 1377.<sup>96</sup> It may therefore be suggested that he was Alice's uncle, a younger brother of her father Nicholas, and that at a date between 1379 and 1391 Alice died without heirs to be succeeded by Roger as her nearest heir.

From the time of the deed of 1391 onwards the survival of more of the family archive means that there is more certainty about the line of succession, although the date at which one lord was replaced by another often remains unknown.<sup>97</sup> Roger survived into the reign of Henry V. About 29 September 1414 he granted all his lands in Hardwick, Astwith, Northorpe, Hardstoft, Owlcotes, Heath, Sutton in the Dale, Glapwell, Stainsby and Houghton, all in Scarsdale wapentake, to seven men who were probably trustees: Henry Pierrepont, John de Leeke, Nicholas de Wortley, Richard de Wortley, Robert de Whittington, William de Bailey and James rector of the church of Himsforth.<sup>98</sup> About 26 May 1415 the same men granted to Roger of Hardwick and Joan his wife all the lands which they had by gift and enfeoffment from Roger in Hardwick, Owlcotes, Sutton in the Dale and Glapwell, with the proviso that John the first born son of Isabel wife of William Hardwick inherit no part of it but be entirely excluded.<sup>99</sup> Roger was still alive in November 1419, when he was one of those chosen to collect a fifteenth and tenth in Derbyshire, a task he had already undertaken at least three times since 1402.<sup>100</sup> He was

probably dead by November 1420, when William Hardwick of Hardwick came to an agreement with Thomas Babington and John Walker, parson of the church of East Bridgford, Nottinghamshire, over property in Calow in the common bench at Westminster.<sup>101</sup> There is no need at present to pursue them further. Their original close association with their feudal lords, the Savages, had apparently come to an end. When in the 1330s Roger Savage was one of the leaders of the Coterel gang of criminal gentry and Stainsby was one of the centres of the gang's activities, the long list of its outlawed supporters did not include any members of the Hardwick family.<sup>102</sup> Long before the death of Henry V they had settled into their respectable but undistinguished niche in Derbyshire society, their estate and influence limited to Scarsdale wapentake. There in obscurity they remained until the career of their most famous daughter brought their name and their estate the fame it has since enjoyed.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

References to unpublished documents are to sources in the Public Record Office (Chancery Lane) unless otherwise stated. I am indebted to Mr D. A. Bowler for first arousing my interest in the Hardwick estate and for many discussions on the topographical aspects; and to Dr R. F. Hunnisett for comment and advice. I am grateful to the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement for access to the Hardwick charters.

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- 1 *The Building of Hardwick Hall*, ed D. N. Durant and Philip Riden, I (Derbyshire Record Society, IV, 1980) and II (Derbyshire Record Society, IX, 1984).
- 2 *Victoria County History of Derbyshire*, I (1905), 336 and n. 2, where it is stated that Tunstall can be identified on Hardwick estate maps.
- 3 *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, I, (1906), 291-2.
- 4 Devonshire Mss Chatsworth, Hardwick charter, no 337 (original); C 52/13, no 33, printed in *Carte Antique Rolls 11-20*, Pipe Roll Society, New Series XXXIII (1957), no 417, where the index incorrectly identifies Stainsby as being in Lincolnshire. For the date, R. W. Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II* (1878), 187; for the place, *English Historical Review*, XXXVI (1921), 47n.
- 5 *Pipe Roll 21 Henry II*, 7, 8, 9 and successive rolls thereafter. It long continued to be regarded formally as part of the honor of Lancaster, eg E 372/79 r. 4d (1235); B[ritish] L[ibrary] Add. 35170, f. 123v (1340).
- 6 *Pipe Roll 17 Henry II*, 29.
- 7 *Pipe Roll 11 Henry II*, 32: *Et in liberatione regi Insular' et pro pann' Willelmi filius Walkelini et Osberti episcopi xj m.* William was probably a member of the family of fitz Walkelins who were honorial barons of the Ferrers earldom of Derby, possibly a younger son. I am indebted for information on the family to Peter Golob of Pembroke College, Cambridge, who has completed a D. Phil. thesis on the Ferrers earldom. Under Henry I a William fitz Walkelin shared three knights' fees held of the earl of Derby, but in 1166 they were held by another: *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed H. Hall (Rolls Series, 1896), 337. He cannot, however, have been our William, who lived until about 1214.
- 8 Devonshire Mss Chatsworth, Hardwick charters nos 338 and 339 (original); *Carte Antique Rolls 11-20*, nos 416, 418, 419; *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1837), 43. He paid 60 marks for the right to hunt, for confirmation of the disafforestation of his woods made by King Richard but not confirmed, and for confirmation of Henry II's grant to him of Stainsby: *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, ed T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835), 57. Derbyshire between the Derwent and the Erewash and north of the source of the latter was in the forest in Henry II's reign (C 47/11/1, no 17); in 1170 the men of Stainsby were charged one mark for a minor forest offence: *Pipe Roll 16 Henry II*, 83.
- 9 *Rot. de Ob. et Fin.*, 5; *Pipe Roll 1 John*, 208; 2 *John*, 247; 3 *John*, 86.
- 10 *Book of Fees*, ed H. C. Maxwell Lyte (1920-31), 223, 228, 231; *Rot. de Ob. et Fin.*, 526-7; *Pipe Roll 16 John*, 165; 3 *Henry III*, 153. At the same time William's widow Alina was offering 30 marks and a palfrey for her dower from his lands and for not being distrained to marry: *Pipe Roll 16 John*, 160.
- 11 S. M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Derbyshire Record Society, VIII, 1983), 107, 183; C 142/46, no 9 (1528); *Cal. Patent Rolls 1485-94*, 101-2; E. W. Ives, 'Crime, Sanctuary and Royal Authority under Henry VIII: the Exemplary Sufferings of the Savage Family',

- in *On the Laws and Customs of England: Essays in Honor of Samuel E. Thorne*, ed M. S. Arnold and others (1981), 296-320.
- 12 *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, ed C. Roberts (Record Commission, 1835-6), I, 51.
  - 13 K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire* (English Place-Name Society vols XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX, 1959), II, 261-2; cf. CP 40/119, m. 117 (1297) *Heth et Lund in Skarvesdale*.
  - 14 CP 25(1)/182/5, no 128; D. Crook, *Records of the General Eyre* (Public Record Office Handbooks, no 20, 1982), 88.
  - 15 C. A. F. Meekings, *The 1235 Surrey Eyre*, I (Surrey Record Society, XXXI, 1979), 38.
  - 16 *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, II, 165.
  - 17 CP 25(1)/36/11, no 208.
  - 18 *The 1235 Surrey Eyre*, I, 60-1.
  - 19 *Ibid*, 62-4.
  - 20 P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, 1984), 17.
  - 21 College of Arms, Ms Arundel 60 (Ault Hucknall and Rowthorne section), ff. 134v-135r; G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (1958), no 693. The contents of the section are copied into the Elizabethan cartulary of the Leake family of Sutton Scarsdale: Derbyshire Record Office Ms 1005, beginning at p 25. I am grateful to Philip Heath for bringing this to my attention.
  - 22 College of Arms, Ms Arundel 60, f. 190v.
  - 23 Undated, but prior William was elected in 1241: *Close Rolls 1237-42*, 298.
  - 24 B. L. Add. 35170, f. 123v; Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, no 696; see below, note 29.
  - 25 *The Place-Names of Sussex*, ed A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and J. E. B. Gover, II (English Place-Name Society, VII, 1930), 456.
  - 26 *Victoria County History of Sussex*, IX (1937), 213; P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (2nd revised edition, 1976), 166. The modern form of the name, 'Harmer', is still common in the area (*ex inf* Dr R. F. Hunnisett).
  - 27 Historical Manuscripts Commission, *De Lisle and Dudley Mss*, I (1925), 67. For other members of the family see the index to that volume. The editor dates the charter c 1210, but of its main witnesses William abbot of Robertsbridge held office until 1222 and Jordan abbot of Bayham to a date between 1215 and 1221, so it is quite likely that the witness was indeed our Jocelin; D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales, 940-1216* (1972), 141, 193.
  - 28 *Sussex Feet of Fines, 1190-1249*, ed L. F. Salzman (Sussex Record Society, II, 1903), nos 39 (Durrington, 1199), 138 (Thakeham, 1218), 172 (Itchingfield, 1222) and 450 (Broadwater, Worthing, Sedgewick in Nuthurst and Goringlee in Thakeham, 1248). Stainsby itself is included in the last fine.
  - 29 Above, note 24.
  - 30 Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 343 (fourteenth century copy).
  - 31 Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 342 (original).
  - 32 *The Glapwell Charters*, ed R. R. Darlington (Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1957-8), nos 22, 27; *The Cartulary of Darley Abbey*, ed R. R. Darlington (2 vols, 1945), 377, 390.
  - 33 *Glapwell Charters*, nos 5 (*de Herthewhic*), 45 (*de Herdewyke*) and 140 (*de Herdewico*); C 146/9724 (*del Herwic*).
  - 34 *Glapwell Charters*, nos 43, 44, 46, 103, 124; *Derbyshire Charters*, ed I. H. Jeayes (1906), nos 697, 1034 (original is Nottinghamshire Record Office, DDFJ 1/70/2), 1088, 1548, 2702 (also in *The Kniveton Leiger*, ed A. Saltman, Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, VII, 1977, no 158); College of Arms, Ms Arundel 60, f. 141v; *Darley Cartulary*, 18; B. L. Add. 36872 (Felley priory cartulary, Davis no 402), ff. 84r-85r, 86v- 87r, 101v-102r, 104v-105r, 113-115r; C 146/4918; Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 347.
  - 35 *Derbyshire Charters*, no 1548.
  - 36 On the complicated history of the Greys of Codnor, see *Complete Peerage*, VI (1926), 133-5. For the Greys' later interest in Rowthorne and Batley see E 164/23, f. 77v. Jocelin's son William held an assart of Richard de Grey in Sutton Scarsdale (*Suttonendal*) at the time of his death in 1289: C 133/53, no 7.
  - 37 College of Arms, Ms Arundel 60, ff. 139v-140r.
  - 38 *Ibid*, ff. 129v-132r.
  - 39 *Ibid*, f. 140r.
  - 40 *Ibid*, f. 37r.

- 41 *Ibid*, f. 132r.
- 42 *Ibid*, ff. 134v, 139v.
- 43 Crook, *Records of the General Eyre*, 133.
- 44 CP 25(1)/36/13, no 257.
- 45 *Glapwell Charters*, no 44.
- 46 *Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 127.
- 47 *Ibid*, 165.
- 48 *Glapwell Charters*, nos 23 (?1275), 129 (1281), 133; *Darley Cartulary*, 410. The Hardstoft grant is Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 344.
- 49 B. L. Add. 36872, f. 88v.
- 50 JUST 1/151, mm. 13d, 45d. The case was adjourned to the Lincolnshire eyre in July 1281, when attorneys were appointed (JUST 1/501, mm. 67d, 70) but no further pleading has been found. In the second of the attorneys entries, William was described as 'William of Hardwick in Stainsby'.
- 51 *Glapwell Charters*, nos 61, 65, 67, 93, 96, 118, 120, 122, 125, 139; *Derbyshire Charters*, nos 114, 426, 1317-19, 1896, 2282; B. L. Add. 36872, ff. 87v-88r, 89r, 93r-93v.
- 52 Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 335 (fourteenth century copy). For his interest in a smallholding in Glapwell and Scarcliffe, see JUST 1/155, m. 6d (assizes at Sandiacre, 21 September 1289).
- 53 CP 40/11, m. 101. John Savage had died by 26 July 1275: *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem*, II, no 113.
- 54 CP 40/14, m. 49d.
- 55 CP 40/17, m. 47d.
- 56 *Ibid*; CP 40/14, m. 15.
- 57 JUST 1/1066, m. 3. William and Denise vouched Ralph of Carlton (a Lincolnshire man), Adam of Ashley and Hugh of Dingley (both Northamptonshire men) to warrant the land to them.
- 58 C 133/53, no 7; *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem*, II, no 708; D. Crook, 'The Community of Mansfield from Domesday Book to the Reign of Edward III', part II, *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, LXXXIX (1985), 20-21.
- 59 C 133/53, no 7; *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem*, II, no 708.
- 60 *Cal. Close Rolls 1268-72*, 360, 364; 1279-88, 278. For the escape see JUST 1/152, m. 2; I am indebted to Mrs A. Hopkinson for this reference. On the significance of the description *vallettus* see N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (1981), 14-15.
- 61 *Glapwell Charters*, nos 61, 65, 67, 93, 95, 118, 120, 122, 125.
- 62 *Ibid*, no 139.
- 63 *Derbyshire Charters*, nos 1317-19.
- 64 B. L. Add. 36872, ff. 87v-89r, 93r-93v.
- 65 *Derbyshire Charters*, no 2282.
- 66 *Ibid*, nos 114, 426, 1896. The first and last were made between 1280 and 1289.
- 67 KB 26/150, m. 14, Trinity term 1269, when Robert set about recovering them under the terms of the Dictum of Kenilworth. Robert had been in the garrison of Kenilworth and had escaped capture: *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1219-1307*, nos 634, 643-45.
- 68 JUST 1/152, m. 14.
- 69 *Ibid*, m. 10d.
- 70 JUST 1/169, m. 32d.
- 71 R. F. Hunnisett, 'The Medieval Coroners' Rolls', *American Journal of Legal History*, III (1959), 329; D. Crook, 'The Establishment of the Derbyshire County Court, 1256', *D[erbyshire] A[rchaeological] J[ournal]*, CIII (1983), 102.
- 72 On coroners' districts, see R. F. Hunnisett, *The Medieval Coroner* (1961), chap VIII.
- 73 KB 26/192, m. 1d; KB 26/181, m. 6.
- 74 CP 40/70, m. 60; CP 40/73, m. 43.
- 75 C 133/53, no 7; *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem*, II, no 708.
- 76 Crook, 'Community of Mansfield', II, 20-21 and note.
- 77 SC 2/196/9.
- 78 CP 40/86, m. 179d, and see below; JUST 1/167, m. 8; *Placita de Quo Warranto* (Record Commission, 1818), 147.
- 79 Nottinghamshire Record Office, DDP 17/1, m. 12.
- 80 CP 40/81, m. 48d.

- 81 CP 40/83, m. 77d; 86, m. 179d; 95, m. 66d; 96, m. 209; 100, m. 55.
- 82 CP 40/87, m. 63.
- 83 CP 40/90, mm. 62d, 91; 91, mm. 61d, 260. None of the charters mentioned seem to have survived.
- 84 CP 40/95, m. 75; 96, m. 266d; 98, mm. 71d, 77d.
- 85 CP 40/101, m. 92d.
- 86 CP 40/105, m. 113d.
- 87 JUST 1/167, m. 8; *Placita de Quo Warranto*, 147.
- 88 JUST 1/167, mm. 40d, 34d.
- 89 *Ibid*, m. 40d.
- 90 CP 40/204, m. 5d; *Parliamentary Writs*, II, division II (Record Commission, 1830), 637, 651; JUST 1/1389, m. 1d. On the significance of the description 'men at arms' (*homines ad arma*) in 1324, see Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 11-12.
- 91 CP 40/272, m. 17d; 274, m. 18d; 275, m. 193; 277, mm. 53, 151.
- 92 B. L. Add. 35170, f. 128v.
- 93 JUST 1/1488, m. 9d.
- 94 Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 350.
- 95 J. M. Bestall, *History of Chesterfield*, I (1974), 107; P. Riden and J. Blair, eds, *History of Chesterfield* V (1980), nos 167, 168, 255, 260.
- 96 KB 27/529, rex m. 4d (Trinity term 1393).
- 97 For an outline pedigree, without dates, see E. Carlton Williams, *Bess of Hardwick* (1959), 269.
- 98 Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 354.
- 99 Chatsworth, Hardwick charter 353.
- 100 *Cal. Fine Rolls 1399-1405*, 187; *1405-13*, 182; *1413-22*, 151, 300.
- 101 H. J. H. Garratt, ed, *Derbyshire Feet of Fines 1323-1546*, Derbyshire Record Soc, XI (1985), no 1054.
- 102 KB 27/291, rex. mm. 27-28. On the Coterels see J. G. Bellamy, 'The Coterel Gang: an Anatomy of a Band of Fourteenth-century Criminals', *English Historical Review*, LXXIX (1964), 698-717.