

*H.O.*

XL.

SHEFFIELD CASTLE.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

*"If you can't see the part as a living thing, what's the use of worrying about it! The present facts about ruins are as valueless as patient measurements of any old bits of jagged rock on a mountain side. And what's the good of reconstructing the ground plan of a site like a geometrical puzzle unless it leads to an accurate imagining of the whole building?"*

The Old Bridge—W. J. LOCKE.

THE original Sheffield lay between the Castle Hill and the Parish Church, while the three great fields of arable land lay to the north, and the meadow land and the pasturable waste surrounded the town. The crofts still bear the old name, and they are laid out in strips. For the meadow land we may look to Alsop fields and Bailey fields, while the pasturable waste lay on Little Sheffield Moor, Shales Moor, Crookes Moor. It was the village pure and simple with its one street of cottages and tofts, its arable land, its meadows for hay, and its ample common pastures.<sup>1</sup>

The population of the town in 1379 was estimated to be 792, and in 1561 it had grown to 1,500, or about double the earlier figures, whilst in 1615 it was 2,207.

The town was built on a hill, on the top of which the old church had been erected, a well chosen spot, for it could be seen from all directions. The hill had steep declivities, on the north falling to Westbar, on the east to the castle and the River Don, and on the south and south-east to the river Sheaf and the valley where the L. M. & S. railway station now stands.

Its one narrow street was the High Street, which probably extended a short distance up the present Fargate, the whole length being known as High Street. Church Lane, which

1. *Leader Records of the Burgery*—Intro., p. xvi.

diverged from it and passed the old churchyard, led to the "town head," which was the end of the town.

The main entrance to Sheffield for everything on wheels in the direction of Rotherham was on the south east side of the Don and over the narrower river Sheaf at the bottom of Dixon Lane, one of our oldest streets to retain its ancient name.

The Will of Christopher Capper, dated 1636, gives a glimpse of what this street in one of the busiest parts of the city was like nearly three hundred years ago. At the time he made his Will he held, under the lord of the manor, a tenement with a dwelling-house and a tan office, and a piece of pasture thereto adjoining lying in Dixons Lane in Sheffield Town next the river called the little Sheath east, and next the quarries in part and the Pond Mill in part south, and the lord's land in the use of Edward Sanderson north, containing 1 acre 2 roods 32½ perches. And also a garden.<sup>2</sup> This road into Sheffield would lead to the main entrance of the castle. Although Lady's Bridge was built as long ago as 1485, we are told that it was approached by steps just under the castle wall and thus was impassable to wheeled traffic.

*Ladies Bridge*

At the bottom of Waingate, on the south side, stood the old Almshouse, believed to have been, until the Reformation, the Chapel of our Lady. In 1657 it was rebuilt with materials derived from the ruins of the castle.

The markets were held in that part of the town now known as the Market Place, where once stood the market cross. Here the sellers brought their produce from the outlying farms, and purchases were not allowed to be made before the ringing of the market bell, nor was it lawful for anyone to go and meet the sellers on their way to market and purchase any goods. To prevent any fraud, officers were

2 Hunter Archl. *Transactions*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 24 et seq.

3 *Leader, Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 325-6.

appointed to see and search that flesh, fish, bread, and ale be lawful and sufficient, and to see that white meat, as butter and eggs, be brought into the market and none sold until the market bell ring. One Hugh Roberts was fined three shillings and fourpence for forestalling or buying of white meat in the fields before it came into the town or market; and William Spooner and John Harrison fourpence each for buying butter in the fields.

The following curious document shows that there was a shortage of demand in the home production of certain kinds of food, and that quantities were brought into the market from a considerable distance, an act which does not appear to have been relished by some of the home producers.

"Whereas the towne of Sheffield consisteth of handicraftsmen, in greate numbers, who have noe means to make their provisions, but only in the markt, and that the cuntry there aboutes, affordeth not sufficient stoare of white meates, chiefly butter and cheese to serve that towne. And that there is one Elizabeth Heywood of Sheffield, widowe, an honest substanciall woman, who resoarteth to the towne of Ashbourne and diverse other marketts, where there is extraordinary quantities of those kinde of victualles by reason of the fertilitie and goodness of the soile adioyninge. And there buyinge such stoare of butter and cheese as shee is able, bringeth the same to Sheffield, where shee uttereth them, whereby shee benefiteth both the places, where shee buyeth them and likewise the said Towne of Sheffield, where shee uttereth them. And yet nevertheless is troubled by certeyne promoters, who rather seeke their owne benefit then any good to the cuntry, I have thought good att the said widowes request herby to signifie to the better sort that my opinion is, shee doth no harme but much good in this her soe doinge and doe wish that she might not bee anie more causlesly troubled as hertofore she hath beene, given att Sheffield lodge this heartfoore daie of ffbruary 1608. Gilb: Shrewsbury."

4 This document is in the Jackson Collection, Sheffield Ref. Library.

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All water for domestic purposes had to be fetched from the wells, and some of the people were not too fond of carrying water to their homes—at any rate not more than they could help—so that it was found necessary to make an order that "no person at any time shall wash any clothes, calves' heads, calf meats or swine meats or other things within three yards of any of the wells under a penalty of three shillings and fourpence for every offence, and officers were appointed to see that the wells were not corrupted. The streets or lanes were not paved and had a channel running either down the middle or sides to carry away the water, and householders had to keep the street clean in front of their houses so that the water should have a free passage. Hedges and fences had to be cut so that carriages could pass without any interruption. This order mentions Blind Lane [Holly Street] and Coalpit Lane [Cambridge Street].

Blind Lane at this time had crofts adjoining it, and there were evidently hedges at the roadside which had overgrown and become a hindrance to vehicles. Four persons were ordered to cut their hedges in Brockhill Lane so that "a wayne may go with a topp load."

An instrument of punishment was the cuckstool used for ducking scolding wives and unruly women, and parishes were liable to prosecution if they had no tumbrel and cucking stool. The Sheffield stool was kept at Lady's Bridge, where it could doubtless be wheeled into the water at the side of the bridge. Besides the punishment of ducking, in some cases the culprit in the cuckstool was placed before her own door, or in some public place, for a certain time and subjected to the jeers and ridicule of the passers by. As the churchyard was a large open piece of ground it had come to be a favourite playground for the youths of the town, but such games as football, Bads,<sup>5</sup> and several others were forbidden to be played there or in the town streets.

5 A game somewhat similar to tip-cat.

A custom with a certain amount of novelty about it was to hold wedding dinners at which the guests paid for the profit of the young pair. These dinners or feasts must have been very popular affairs for a certain amount of restriction had to be exercised over them. Accordingly, we find that an order was made that "no person shall make any wedding dinner for which he shall take above sixpence a person." An annual event which probably dated from the time of Edward the Confessor, was that known as the "Sembly Quest," a corruption of the words Assembly Inquest, and was no doubt the chief local event of the year. It was a muster of horsemen with horses and harness provided by the freeholders, copyholders, and other tenants who had to appear before the lord of the manor or his steward to be viewed by them of the Tuesday in Easter week. The place of assembly was called the Sembly Green, which was an open piece of flat land on the north bank of the river Don, through which the street known as the Wicker now runs. The old Sembly House where the courts of the manor were held was the only building in the Wicker beyond Lady's Bridge at that time. This open space was the town's green, and like the village greens in the merry time before enclosure acts were known, was the place for the sports and pastimes and athletic exercises of the inhabitants of the town. Lying close under the outer walls of the castle, it doubtless often presented a lively and cheerful scene to its occupants.

This annual assembly of horsemen, fully equipped, was the practical acknowledgment of military service, which was one of the conditions by which the tenants held their lands. There can be no doubt that this was the origin and foundation of the old Sembly Quest. In the year 1637 there were 139 tenants who provided horses and arms. A local deed of the time of Elizabeth<sup>6</sup> throws a little light on this interesting

6 In the Wheat Collection, Sheffield Ref. Library. See also *Transactions of the Hunter Archl. Soc.*, Vol. , part , p. .

old custom. It recites that certain lands in the district of Owlerton were chargeable "with the service to find one horse or gelding and one able man both of them sufficiently arrayed and furnished to serve in the wars of our now sovereign Lady the Queen's majesty her heirs and successors at all and every such time and times as it shall please her said majesty the said service." And that "the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury claimeth and demandeth . . . a certain service once every year to be done unto him . . . upon the Tuesday in Easter week to show unto him the said Earl or his assigns a horse or gelding and a man well armed and arrayed for the wars."

Hunter calls these men who mustered on the Easter Tuesday "mock soldiers," but although it is certain they could have had little or no military training, they were nevertheless liable to be called upon for active service, and it is very probable that they were called up to defend the castle during the civil wars. After being inspected by the lord or his steward the men paraded through the principal streets of the town.

One of the amusements of the day was the Quintain, a favourite game of our ancestors. The men were accustomed to tilt on horseback against a large bag of sand suspended from the bough of a tree or a wooden post, and he who succeeded in piercing it with his spear gained the applause of the spectators; while he who failed was fortunate or adroit if he remained seated in his saddle. The town butts for archery were also in the Wicker.

Military tenures were abolished in 1660, but the old Sheffield custom of mustering on Sembly Green continued for another fifty years, during which time it probably degenerated into a mere gala day.

The Park, in which stood the Manor or Lodge, was very extensive, covering over 2,461 acres, all within a ring fence

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of eight miles, and contained some exceptionally fine timber; one grand old oak is said to have stretched its arms on all sides to the distance of forty-five feet or more from the trunk, and was capable of affording shelter to above two hundred horsemen. There were two principal entrances, one near where the old Shrewsbury Hospital stood and opposite to the castle, the other opened on Gleadless Moor. In the year 1637 there were in the park 1,000 fallow deer, and deer of antler 200.

In some of the notes which Dodsworth made at Sheffield in the year 1620, he writes, "The late Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury was wont in every yeare on a certayne day to have many bucks lodged in a meadow near the towne side about a mile in compasse, to which place repaired almost all the apron-men of the parish, and had liberty to kill and carry away as many as they could with their hands; and did kill some tymes twenty, and had money given them for wine by the Earle." It is thought that the Cutlers' Feast may have grown out of this privilege, and it may well have been the origin of this now celebrated function.

## II.—EARLY HISTORY.

In the year 1086, when the great Domesday survey was made, Earl Waltheof is therein stated to have had an *Aula* (hall) in Hallam, but as his death had taken place eleven years before this date the manor of Hallam was then in the possession of Roger de Busli, who held it under Waltheof's widow, the Countess Judith. The exact spot where this Hall of Waltheof stood has never been settled with absolute certainty. Various places have been suggested by eminent writers of local history, and reasons have been propounded for their probability, some of the places suggested being a distance of several miles from the old castle site, but the fact should not be overlooked that when an important building

has been erected or superseded by a stronger one, the site of the previous building has generally been used for the purpose. The historian of Hallamshire says: "As far as hath yet been discovered, there is only one place throughout the whole of what at any period pertained to the manor of Hallam, where is to be found any stone foundation work that can be supposed to have ever supported such an edifice as the aula of Earl Waltheof. This is on the Castle-hill at the junction of the Sheaf with the Don in the town of Sheffield. On this guarded mount rose the hall of the Norman lords of Hallamshire. They had their residence here at least as early as the time of Henry II (1154-1189) and the first of the two castellated mansions which occupied in succession this well chosen spot seems to command itself with strong circumstances of probability as having been the aula of the Saxon lords of Hallam." Mr. J. D. Leader was of the same opinion. In the introduction to *The Records of the Burgery of Sheffield* he writes: Previous searchers after Waltheof's Hall have scanned the features of the two modern Hallams, Upper and Nether, without any great success, and my contention is that the "Hallam" of Domesday was not coterminous with the Hallam of to-day, but that the Domesday "Hallun" extended up the rivers Sheaf and Don, that Waltheof's Hall stood on the site in Sheffield now known as Castle Hill, and that the Escafeld or Sheffield of Domesday was Sheffield Park and nothing more." With the opinions of two such eminent authorities, given without any hesitation, and which are so convincing, it is safe to assume that the Hall of Waltheof stood on the same hill as that castle which held for so long as prisoner the hapless Queen of Scots. Was Waltheof's Hall actually in existence at the time of the Survey, or had it been destroyed? It may have been standing in spite of the tradition that tells us that "as the resistance of the people of Hallam to the Norman Conqueror was most pertinacious, so his vengeance was most signal."

Waltheof's widow was the Conqueror's niece, and as she was allowed to retain her husband's lands, is it not possible that the same clemency may have spared the Hall from complete destruction? Hunter says, "It is by no means certain whether the original Castle of Sheffield was built by the first of the De Lovetots, or that he found one erected on that most convenient site. It has indeed been disputed whether there was any castle at Sheffield, the residence of its lords, before the Charter of Henry III in the 54th of his reign (1270). The castle of Sheffield is, however, mentioned in a deed, which is still in existence, of 90 years earlier date. Who then can say with certainty who built this early castle which was standing in 1180? It has always been taken for granted that Waltheof's Hall was non-existent at the time of the Survey, presumably because it is referred to in the past tense, but as the Earl had been dead for some time, mention of it could only be in the past tense—"Waltheof had a hall." This may be considered as begging the question, but the building standing here in 1180 must have been either the contentious Hall of Waltheof or one built by Roger de Busli or one of the early De Lovetots.

When or how the family of De Lovetot acquired their interest in Hallamshire does not appear to be known, but early in the reign of Henry I (1100-1135) William De Lovetot was possessed of Hallam and other adjacent places. It is recorded, however, that the early Furnivals (who succeeded the De Lovetots) held the castle and manor of Sheffield of a King of Scotland by the service of rendering two white greyhounds (or hares) yearly. This is probably explained by the fact that the Countess Judith's daughter Maud married for her second husband, David, son of Malcolm III, King of Scotland, and the inference is that King David held the Countess's lands in Hallamshire, sub-feeudating the Lovetots, who appear without any clear connection as the successors

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of De Busli. This may be the explanation as to how the De Lovetots became possessors. They did not, however, hold the lordship for any lengthy period, and it passed to the De Furnivals by the marriage of Maud de Lovetot, lady of Hallamshire, to Gerard de Furnival about the end of the 12th century. She had inherited from her father when quite young. It was during the wars of the barons against their king, which so much agitated the reign of Henry III that the first castle of Sheffield was burnt and destroyed. This was in the early part of 1266, or 180 years after the Domesday Survey. On both sides this war was one of extermination, and John de Eyvill, who is said to have been one of the principal leaders of the barons, has the credit of having destroyed the castle and town of Sheffield. In these wars the Furnivals adhered to the King, and as Sheffield lay in the line of march from Axholme to Chesterfield, whither De Eyvill was leading his friends to join Robert de Ferrers, early in 1266, it would seem that it was then that this disastrous episode in the history of the town occurred. Four years later, in 1270, Thomas de Furnival wanted to build a new castle at his Manor of Sheffield, and obtained permission from the King to do so. It was in pursuance of this charter of the king that the ruins of the ancient castle were either re-edified, or that an entirely new and probably much stronger one was raised from its foundations on the site of the more ancient one which had perished a few years before.

This second castle was the one which remained standing till the end of the reign of Charles I, and is the one which is connected with the events of national importance. It is therefore a matter of infinite regret that no view, plan or ample description of this ancient castle is known to exist. The little that is known will be dealt with later on.

It is certain that there was a chapel in the castle, for Thomas de Furnival entered into an agreement with the

priour and convent of Worksop that they should find him two chaplains and a clerk to administer divine service in this chapel.

The founder of the second, or new, castle died shortly after it was completed, and it is thought probable that he was buried in the chapel. A writer of the year 1707 tells us that when the castle was demolished after the Civil Wars, a large flat stone was found bearing this inscription:—

I Lord Furnival  
I built this Castle Hall  
And under this Wall  
Within this Tomb was my burial.

He states further that the stone coffin in which the body lay was in his time used as a watering trough at the manor farm. Such a stone coffin as was used for the interment of a person of consequence at the period in question, is now to be seen at the Manor Lodge, but the cover is apparently lost.

He was succeeded by his son, Thomas, and it was to this Lord Furnival that the inhabitants of Sheffield owed their emancipation from a state of vassalage ~~for~~ the regular establishment among them of a municipal court, with trial by jury, a market and a fair. Born to a noble estate and of a family which boasted connection with some of the prime nobility of the realm, and living in an age of turbulent unrest, he was a true patriot, always prudent, liberal and valiant.

In the 9th of Edward I (1281) it was demanded of him by what right he claimed to have gallows, waif and free warren in his manor of Sheffield, to which he replied that he claimed to have gallows and free warren by the same warrant by which he and all his ancestors from the conquest of England had possessed them, but as to waif, he claimed nothing of the kind, but remitted that entirely to the king. He was also required to show by what authority he had made strong and embattled a certain castle at Sheffield. In answer

to which he produced the late King's charter granted to his father. From this last question it will be seen that the castle was considered to be a stronghold with embattlements for defence. What the castle really looked like must be left to the imagination. One thing we can be sure of, however, it must have been an imposing structure and also that it underwent little or no alteration in its outward appearance from the time of its erection to the time of its destruction.

The only description that has come down to us is that given by John Harrison, who made a survey of the manor of Sheffield for the Earl of Arundel in the year 1637, or about a dozen years before the castle was demolished. His description is interesting and supplies valuable information. His record is as follows:—

"Imprimis ye site of ye Mannor or Mansion house called Sheffield Castle being fairly built with stone and very spacious containeth divers buildings and lodgings about an Inward Courtyard & all offices thereto belonging having a great Ditch about ye same ye Great River of Donn lying on ye north parte thereof & ye Lesser River called ye Little Sheathe on ye East parte thereof having on ye South an outward Courtyard or fould builded round with diverse houses of office as an Armory, a Granary, Barnes, Stables and divers Lodgeings all containeing by measure 4 Acres 00 Roods 30<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Perches.

Item 2. Three Orchards thereto adjoyneing ye first whereof is compassed about with a stone Wall and lyeth between ye River called ye Little Sheathe on ye West and ye little Parke on ye East & containeth

5 - 1 - 0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

Item 3. ye 2<sup>d</sup> Orchard called ye Nursery & lyeth next ye aforesaid Orchard towards ye South & a parcel of ground called ye Hopyard towards ye North & containeth

1 - 1 - 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

4 Item ye Third Orchard lyeth Between ye Little Parke towards ye East and ye Hopyard aforesaid on ye West and abutteth on ye Nursery towards ye South West & containeth

6 - 00 - 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

- 5 Item A piece of land called ye Hopyard lying between ye 2 Last Orchards towards ye East & ye River of Donn towards ye West and containeth 1 - 00 - 26<sup>1</sup>/<sub>10</sub>
- 6 Item ye Yard called ye Cockpitt Yard lying between ye Last peice in part & ye Nursery in parte towards ye East and ye River of Donn North & containeth 0 - 1 - 28<sup>1</sup>/<sub>10</sub>

Sume Totall of ye Lands oforesaid which are in ye occupacion of ye Keeper of ye Castle is

18a. 3r. 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>p.

From the account of the funeral of the 5th Earl of Shrewsbury we learn that there was a porch going into the hall, *the hall*, the way from the hall to the *great chamber*.

Thomas de Furnival died in 1332, and seventy years later the lordship of Sheffield passed from his family to that of Talbot by the marriage of Maud de Nevil, lady Furnival, to John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury. Seven earls of this house enjoyed the lordship of Hallamshire and had their usual residence at Sheffield Castle and the Manor Lodge.

### III.—TUDOR TIMES.

Great as was the family of Furnival, and their name will for ever be associated with the town as that of one of its greatest benefactors, a greater one still now enters into the history of Sheffield and its castle. John Talbot, who was created Earl of Shrewsbury in the 19th of Henry VI by his marriage with Maud the daughter and heir of Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival, became lord of Hallamshire. We do not know the date of his birth, but his wife, Maud, was born about 1391. He was a great warrior, and Shakespeare immortalizes his name in the following lines:—

"Valiant Talbot above human thought enacted wonders  
with his sword and lance; Hundreds he sent to hell, and  
none durst stand him; Here, there and everywhere enraged  
he slew: The French exclaimed, the Devil, the Devil was  
in arms. All the whole army stood agazed on him. His

soldiers spying his undaunted spirit, 'A Talbot! A Talbot!'  
cried out amain, And rushed into the bowels of the  
battle."\*

This great earl was slain at the battle of Chatillon when fighting against unequal numbers on the 17th July, 1453, his younger son, John Talbot, dying with him. He was buried, as directed by his Will, at Whitchurch in Shropshire.

The Talbots sided with the Lancastrians, and although it does not appear that Hallamshire was the scene of any military operations, it must be supposed that the castle of Sheffield, built for defence and commanding a considerable tract of country, must have been held by its Lancastrian possessors as a fortress for King Henry;

Passing on to George the 4th Earl, who seems to have had a closer connection with Sheffield than his forbears. He was born in 1468 and was only five years old when his father died. Up to this time the lords of Hallamshire had no mansion at Sheffield but the castle, which was now more than 200 years old, and though spacious and strong, was not, for several reasons, the most desirable of residences in times of perfect peace. This earl, after coming of age made great additions to a lodge in the centre of his park, about two miles from the castle and town of Sheffield, or raised there from its foundations a noble country residence, a work which he completed early in the reign of Henry VIII. This edifice was sometimes called the Lodge and sometimes Sheffield Manor, a name which its ruins still bear. The site was airy and elevated, and its towers rising above the woods in which it stood, commanded a glorious prospect of the country around.

It was magnificently furnished and seems to have been his favourite residence. He was a Knight of the Garter and held numerous posts of responsibility, and was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

\* Henry VI, Act I, Scene I.

It was here, at the Lodge, that he entertained Cardinal Wolsey for sixteen or eighteen days, in the year 1530, when on his last journey after his fall. The Shrewsbury Chapel in the Parish Church was built by this earl as a last resting-place for himself and his descendants, and here there is an exceptionally fine monument to his memory, having recumbent figures of himself and his two wives. He died at Wingfield Manor on the 26th July, 1538, and was buried at Sheffield on the 27th March following.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis, who was born in the Castle in 1500 and died at the Lodge on the 28th September, 1560, and was buried in the Shrewsbury Chapel on the 21st October in great state. A contemporary record relates that the coffin containing the body of the earl was placed in the chapel at the Lodge and remained there for twenty-four days till everything was ready for the interment. The Castle was hanged and garnished in the following manner. First, the porch, going into the hall, and the hall also, was hanged with black cloath and garnished with scutcheons of arms. Then the way from the hall to the great chamber was hanged in like manner. The great chamber was hanged from the top to the ground with black cloath and garnished with scutcheons of buckram in mettall. The castle, church, and herse being thus garnished and all in readiness the corse was secretly brought from the said manor to the castle, and there remained till Monday the 21st of October. All the arrangements for the funeral and the ordering of it had been made by the principal officers of the Heralds College, who were present in their official capacity. The nobles and gentry of the surrounding district attended and took part in the procession and ceremony, which were of a stately and imposing character.\*

\* A full account is given in Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's Edition, p. 76.

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After the funeral a great dinner was prepared at the castle. "There was served from the dressors (besides my lords services from his own board, which were three messes of meat) 320 mess, to all manner of people who seemed honest; having to every mess, eight dishes; that is to say, two boyled mess, four roast and two baked meats: whereof one was venison. For there was killed for the same feast, fifty does and twenty-nine red deere. And after dinner, the reversion of all the said meate was given to the poore with dole of two pence a piece; with bread and drink great plenty. And after the same dinner every man was honourably contented for his pains."

There is no monument in the Shrewsbury Chapel to this earl.

George, the son of Francis, would be about 30 years old when he succeeded as 6th Earl, and it was during his lifetime that there occurred in the history of the nation that deplorable and pathetic episode which commenced with the forcible detention, then the imprisonment, and finally the execution of Mary Stuart. After the disaster of Langside, had the unfortunate Queen taken the advice of some of her counsellors and returned to France, how different the story of her life might have been. She decided, however, to place herself at the mercy of her enemy, trusting in the honour of a sovereign and to the pity and compassion of a kinswoman. And this in spite of the bitter hatred shown to her a few years before, when Elizabeth not only insultingly refused to allow her to pass through England on her way to Scotland in 1561, but endeavoured to capture her on the sea voyage thither. Following on this decision Mary landed at Workington, on the Cumberland coast, in the month of November, 1568. She was at first treated as a royal and honoured guest, but very soon discovered that she was virtually a prisoner.

Elizabeth's advisers strongly condemned any attempt to restore the fugitive to her throne, or to permit her to proceed to either France or Spain, adding that it was also dangerous for her to be at large in England. The Queen therefore decided that she must be placed under the care of someone whom she could trust, someone who was wealthy, and had a residence suitable for lodging a person of the rank of Queen with her numerous attendants, and at the same time be able to keep her in safe custody. Who answered to all these requirements better than the Earl of Shrewsbury? He was exceedingly wealthy and was the possessor of several strong mansions, but his Castle of Sheffield was considered to be the most suitable of all his residences for the confinement of the now captive queen. Its situation was a long distance from the Scottish border and far enough from the coast to be safe from attempts at rescue. The Lords of Hallamshire lived in great state. They had their capital stewards, stewards of their courts, their council, auditors-general, receivers-general, district collectors of their several lordships, bailiffs, park keepers and foresters, of which the prime officers were gentlemen of the neighbouring great families. The Earl of Shrewsbury, not without reason, had been fearful that he would be chosen for the distasteful duty of guarding the queen, for soon after Mary's landing in England, Elizabeth told him at a private audience that "er it were longe he should well perseve she dyd so trust him as she dyd few." And a month later on he told his lady,\* "Now it is sarten the Scotcs Quene comes to Tutburye to my charge."

On the 3rd February, 1569, she arrived at Tutbury and was received by the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury not as a guest, but as a prisoner of State. Sir Francis Knollys; in obedience to his instructions, formally delivering her person into the custody of the Earl.

\* Bess of Hardwick. His first wife had died in 1566-7.

She was removed to Sheffield on the 28th November, 1570, but not direct to the Castle. She was taken to the Manor Lodge, which had recently been built by the grandfather of the Earl, and it was whilst she was here that a project was discovered for her escape, which was to have been attempted at the ensuing Easter, but was prevented on the eve of execution by the Earl removing her from the Lodge to the Castle. The window in the ruins of the Manor Lodge was long pointed out as that from which the queen intended to make her escape.

This window was removed and re-erected in the grounds of Queen's Tower, the residence of Mr. Samuel Roberts, at a time when the ruins were rapidly disintegrating, and although one cannot help regretting its removal from its original setting, it is nevertheless a matter of thankfulness that this action probably saved it from complete destruction.

A little before the Christmas of 1570 the Queen of Scots was removed to Sheffield Castle. Her train consisted of thirty persons besides a few supernumeraries, and for her safe keeping the Earl took into his employ forty extra ordinary servants, selected from amongst his tenantry, who kept watch day and night at the Castle. She was kept in close confinement, and the Castle, as already stated, was not a place of the greatest comfort or most healthy conditions. All her letters at this time complain of the ill state of her health, and it not surprising to find that a little later on it was intended she should be taken to the Lodge for five or six days while her apartments at the castle, which were become "unklenly," were thoroughly washed.

Further restrictions were put on her liberty, and all her servants were removed with the exception of ten men and six women. In one of her letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow she says that Bastian was on the list of those who were to be driven from her, but as a particular favour he

had been permitted to remain. He was a servant, she states, who "during these sad times cheers me with his inventions and work, which, besides my books, is all the recreation that is left me." Bastian, being a pleasant fellow, contributed to enliven the Shrewsbury family, as well as his captive queen and her ladies, and therefore was allowed to remain.

Bastian's name occurs several times in the Sheffield Parish Register between the years 1571 and 1581, when several of his children were baptized. His name is there spelt Basten, Bastyan, Pages, Pagez, Pagyons. H/

In addition to the curtailment of her liberty, she was watched and spied upon at every end and turn. She says, "My people are not allowed to approach the castle gates, and the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants are forbidden to speak to mine. I am shut up within my chamber, of which they even intend to block up the windows and to make a door to give them power to enter when I am asleep, not allowing any of my people to come near me but footmen, and I am deprived of the rest of my servants. The Earl of Shrewsbury, as a great favour, the other day told me he would lead me on the leads of his house to take the air. I was with him there about an hour."

In a letter to Lord Burghley, written by the Earl of Shrewsbury and dated from Sheffield Castle the 12th Dec., 1571, he says, "I do suffer her to walk upon the leads here in open ayre, and in my large dining chamber, and also in this courtyard so as both I myself or my wife be alwaies in her company, for avoiding all others talk either to her self or any of hers. And suer watch is kept within and without the walls both night and day."

In the beginning of May, 1573, Shrewsbury, finding the castle in so dilapidated a state as to require a thorough course of repair, took the liberty of removing himself, his family, and his royal charge to the Lodge in the Park—a

more salubrious and comfortable abode for them all. Burrell's secretary, encountering Shrewsbury's son, Gilbert Talbot, at Court soon after, enquired "if it were true that his father had removed with his charge to the Lodge, and whether he had the consent of the Council?" Talbot replied that the removal was necessary in order to cleanse and sweeten the Castle. And on the secretary observing that there had been a project for conveying that lady out of the Lodge, rejoined "that the Earl, his father, took great heed to her, keeping numbers of men continually armed, watching both by day and night under her windows, over her chamber, and on every side of her, so that unless she could transfer herself into a flea or a mouse, it was impossible she could escape."

In 1575 an earthquake shook the walls of the Castle, and the apartments occupied by the Queen of Scots appear to have felt the shock the most, greatly alarming her. Nothing much occurred during the next few years to break the monotony of her captivity. She was allowed to pay several visits to Buxton, and was also at Chatsworth. A full length portrait of her was painted at the Castle in 1578, and this now hangs in the long gallery at Hardwick Hall, one of the seats of the Duke of Devonshire. Much of her time was spent in doing needlework, and two beautiful panels which were probably executed by her whilst in Sheffield, are also most carefully preserved at Hardwick.

In September, 1584, Mary left Sheffield for ever. Shrewsbury was relieved of his charge. He had served his Sovereign long and well, to the sacrifice of his time, his ease, and his liberty. To quote from a translation of the epitaph on his monument:

"He, under the guidance of Divine providence, demeaned himself in such a praiseworthy and felicitous manner in a matter so beset with difficulties, the serious magnitude of which proved to be to the public weal, that

Envy herself bid him to be accounted a man of no less fidelity than of foresight and prudence."

Mary was taken by stages to Tutbury, where she was kept till the beginning of 1586, and from then to Fotheringhay, where on the 8th February, 1587, was enacted the last scene of all. She had been in Sheffield almost fourteen years, much of which time she was confined in the Castle. ref/ cc/

The Earl, after having been in London nearly a year attending to matters of business, which had no doubt been greatly neglected during his enforced continuous residence in Sheffield, or wherever his prisoner was located, returned to the Manor, but spent the greater part of his remaining years at his small and quiet mansion at Handsworth. This house he had built about the 1577, and it is here was born that eminent commander, William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle. year

After the Earl's death, the Countess commenced to build the new hall at Hardwick, which was completed in 1597, and it is most likely that some of the tapestry from Sheffield Castle, as well as needlework done by the captive Queen of Scots whilst there and at the Manor, and some portraits and furniture were taken to help to furnish this new and extensive mansion. She died in 1607, having survived her fourth husband seventeen years and was buried at All Saints' Church, Derby.

The Earl's eldest son, Francis, having died in his father's lifetime without leaving any issue, the title descended on his second son, Gilbert, who accordingly became the 7th Earl. He was born in 1553, and before he was fifteen years of age had been married to Mary Cavendish, daughter of Sir Wm. Cavendish of Chatsworth and Elizabeth of Hardwick, who at that time was about to become the wife of his father, Earl George. The tenure of this Earl is not marked by any events of outstanding importance, but was a period of acute family discord attributed to the pretensions of the dowager Countess, his stepmother. Earl Gilbert signed the proclamation on the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, which named King James of Scotland as her successor, and he entertained James at Worksop on his progress from Edinburgh to take possession of the English throne.

Earl Gilbert was the last male of the family of Talbot to hold the Castle and Manor of Sheffield. He died on the 8th May, 1616, and was buried with great magnificence in the family vault at Sheffield, but no monument marks his resting place. He left no male issue, and the title passed to his younger brother, Edward, who became the 8th Earl and died a year later, also without male issue, the title then passing to a distant branch of the family, the Talbots of Grafton, in Worcestershire.

The principal portions of the Shrewsbury estates, including the Castle and Manor of Sheffield, were left by Earl Gilbert jointly to his three daughters, only one of which, however, left any issue. This was Lady Althea Talbot, the youngest daughter, who by her marriage with Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England and grandson of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, brought the Shrewsbury estates into the noble family of Howard, by whom such a large portion of Sheffield is still held.

Mr. Drury's actual manuscript ended here. The remainder was added by A. L. A.