

BYGONE

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

WILLIAM STEVENSON





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NEWARK CASTLE.

NEWARK CASTLE.

Engraved by F. Wallis, 1850.

BYGONE
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

BY

WILLIAM STEVENSON.

AUTHOR OF

“THE BUILDING MATERIALS OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE,” “THE TREES OF
COMMERCE,” “WOOD AS A MATERIAL OF CONSTRUCTION FROM A
PRACTICAL STANDPOINT,” LIFE-HONORARY MEMBER OF
THE NOTTINGHAM NATURALISTS’ SOCIETY, ETC.

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TO
THOMAS CHAMBERS HINE, F.S.A.,
OF NOTTINGHAM,
AUTHOR OF "NOTTINGHAM, ITS CASTLE A MILITARY FORTRESS,
A ROYAL PALACE, A DUCAL MANSION,
A BLACKENED RUIN, AND A MUSEUM AND GALLERY OF ART,"
A GENTLEMAN WHO HAS TAKEN A LIFE-LONG,
AND A LONG-LIFE, INTEREST IN ALL THAT RELATES TO THE
MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS
OF HIS NATIVE TOWN,
THIS WORK,
BY A FELLOW STUDENT OF LOCAL HISTORY,
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

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ENGLISH LOCAL

Preface.

THIS work, the greatest literary task I have hitherto performed, is uniform with other "Bygone" county histories from the press of my friend William Andrews, F.R.H.S., who, from being a native of Nottinghamshire, has evinced great interest in its publication. This uniformity extends little beyond the title, inasmuch as it is the production of one pen alone.

To render the work acceptable to the public, I have travelled over a wide field for my subjects; these I have endeavoured to treat without colour from political or other sources; although necessarily epitomised, I claim for them, if they possess no other merit, originality. Where authorities exist they are invariably given; where otherwise, I am personally responsible for the matter.

My object in compiling this work has been twofold, *firstly*, to shed a light, obtained from

PREFACE.

sources beyond the reach of the ordinary student, in the dark recesses of our local history, and *secondly*, to prove that, although poor in size compared with many other counties, Nottinghamshire is rich beyond comparison in ancient lore.

In connection with the illustrations I have a pleasing task to perform, in thanking the gentleman to whom this work is dedicated for contributing the panoramic view of Farndon, Stoke, and Nottingham, from a drawing evidently contemporary with and relating to the Battle of Stoke-field, copied by him from the original in the British Museum; and in thanking Mr. Robert White, of Worksop, the northern light of our local history, for contributing the engraving of the grand old priory gatehouse of his town. In performing this office I must not overlook my son, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, the editor of the "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," the "Calendar of Close Rolls. Ed. II., 1307-1313," etc., to whom I am indebted for the Forest-boundary map of A.D. 1227, and assistance in revising the proofs.

Of the other illustrations little need be said

PREFACE.

further than "Newark Castle," is a process reduction of the rare print in the "History of Newark," by William Dickinson, published in 1805, and the "Sketch map of the county," which cannot fail to be a guide to the Text, is a production of my own. The views of Southwell and Newstead are from Cassell's "Cathedrals, Abbeys, and Churches of England and Wales."

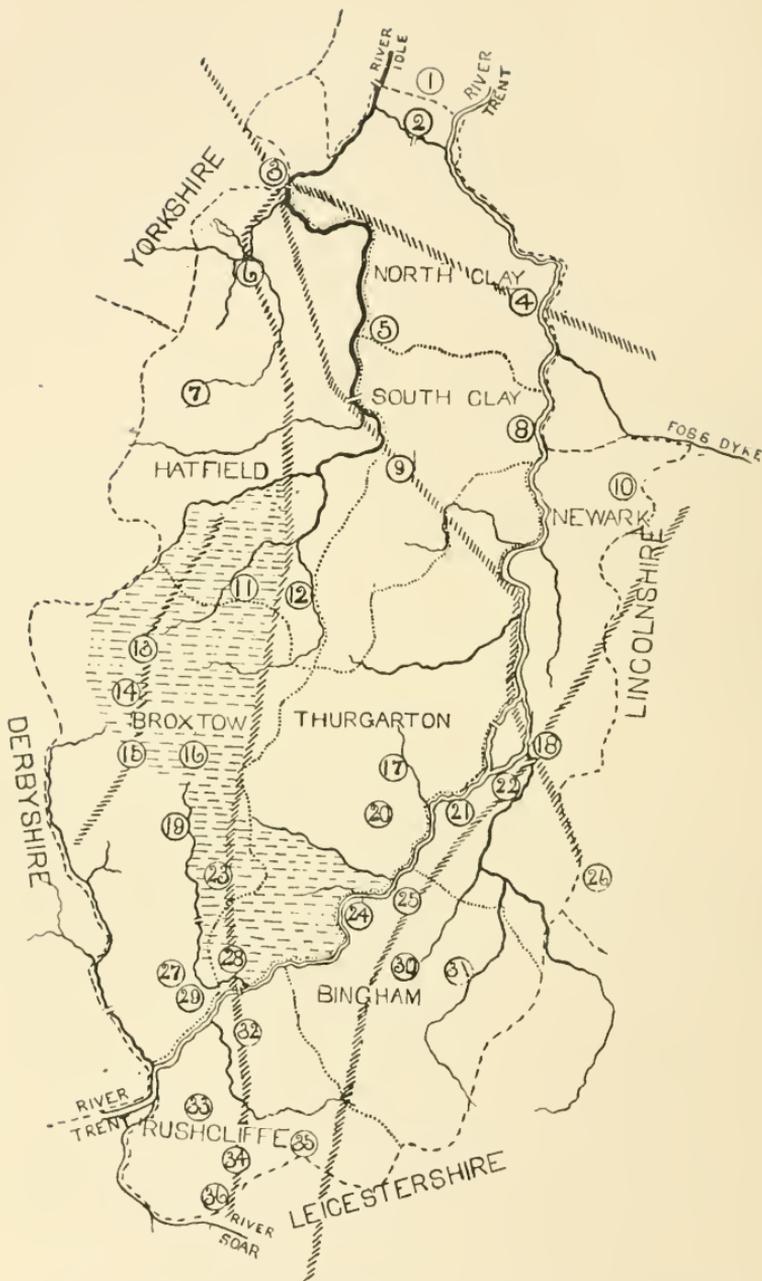
WILLIAM STEVENSON.

15 JOHN STREET,

HULL, *December 8th, 1892.*

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Sketch map of the county of Nottingham, showing the Wapentakes, the ancient and principal roads, the boundary of the Royal Forest of Sherwood, references to text, etc.

BYGONE NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

The Wapentakes.

WE commence our work with a sketch-map of the county, compiled from Overton's map of 1714, with the object of showing the arrangements of the Wapentakes or Hundreds, of which it is composed, the river system, the ancient roads, of which we have the best information, and as a key to places of importance or interest alluded to in the body of the text.

(1.) THE OLD BYCAR-DYKE, a Roman canal, connecting the Trent with the Idle, mentioned in the Domesday survey as the "*Bigredic*," on the occasion of a villain holding a garden at Saundby, a few miles south, part of the king's great manor of Mansfield, for the rent of finding salt for the king's fish taken in this water; also in the charter of John, Earl of Mortain, to the burgesses of Nottingham, *circa* 1189, as the boundary of their ancient franchise.

This canal is said to have been drained by Sir Cornelius Vermuiden and his Dutch and Flemish associates about the year 1650. It now exists in part as a small drain, known as the Heck-dyke. This appears to have been a variant name before the Dutch drainage works, as it is called the "Hokdike" by John Speede, in his "Theatre of Great Britain," published in 1610.

(2.) THE NEW BYCAR-DYKE, said to have been cut by Sir Cornelius Vermuiden, a navigable water to Bawtry, part of the Idle river canal. Locally, the old name is nearly lost, as the dyke appears on the Ordnance maps as "The Morther Drain." The statement that this dyke was cut by the Dutch drainers is incorrect, for it is shown to exist in Speede's map, forty years before their time. The probability is that this is the original Bickarddyke, and that the boundary was pushed north to the Heckdyke, so that the Bickarddyke, for the purpose of toll, was wholly in the county. Leland, in his "Itinerary," gives a picture of this district, part of the levels of Hatfield Chase, before the drainage, over which his journey to the Isle of Axholme, a few miles further north, was performed in boats. The navigation of the Idle river canal, from the Trent to Bawtry, has,

since the construction of the Great Northern Railway, fallen into decay.

(3.) BAWTRY, partly in Yorkshire, was probably a Roman town and port, and is situate on the line of the Roman road from Lincoln, *via* Doncaster, to York, mentioned in the v. and viii. Iters of Antoninus ; but, unlike Littleborough, its Roman name is unrecorded. It was rated as one of the ports of England in mediæval times, being a busy place for the shipment of lead, millstones, grindstones, timber, etc. It is the place whence the Pilgrim Fathers removed with their families and household goods, *via* the Foss Dyke and the river Witham to Boston, to embark for Amsterdam, the first act of the subsequent founding of New England in America. Bawtry is the point at which the great North Road, passing through Newark, leaves the county for Doncaster, situate eight miles to the north-west. It was also on another North Road of a very early date, which passed through Nottingham by the Roman Way, now known as Blyth Lane, along which the Danish invaders probably marched from York to the entrenchments of Nottingham, in 868, a road by which they probably returned to York in the following year. This road, still in exist-

ence through the old Sherwood forest district, bears the names of Stoney Street, Broad Street, and York Street, at Nottingham, and was known as the "Stanstrete of Nottingham" in 1227, when it formed the eastern boundary of the king's forest of Sherwood. It is recognised at different points between Bawtry and Nottingham about this date as the "great way," "great road," or "great street." Bawtry was the only point west of Lincolnshire where a road trending north could possibly exist, owing to rivers, canals, and swamps.

(4.) LITTLEBOROUGH, on the river Trent, was the *Segelocum* of the v., and the *Agelocum* of the viii., Iters of Antoninus. It was the site of the ford on the great Roman highway from Lincoln, *via* Doncaster, to York. On the Lincolnshire side this road is perfect, and is known as "Till-Bridge Lane." Between Littleborough and Bawtry it exists in a distorted form, on its line is the village of Sturton, a mere corruption of "Street Town," as in old records it is called "Streton." The river here is tidal, and at low water was formerly fordable on a roadway of blocks of stone, pinned down with stakes, a Roman work, disturbed only in part in improving

the navigation of the Trent. The ferry still exists, and here, until the introduction of railways, coaches plying from Retford and Bawtry to Lincoln were ferried over on a flat-bottomed boat, now a ruin on the river bank. Here the sea-wave, called the “*Egre*,” “*Eagre*,” or “*Hygre*,” rushes up the river at the change from the ebb to the flow of the tide, a powerful and, at full tides, a destructive wave. Roman remains have often been found here, and portions of Roman bricks, or bond-tiles, may now be seen worked in with the wall-stones of the little Saxon church which still does office as the village temple. Some extensive banks, or earth-works, exist on the west side of the village, and paved or pitched roads have been found in the neighbourhood when draining the low lands. The village, from a once important place, has shrunk to a mere hamlet, which does not even possess an inn or tavern, the large establishment formerly known as the Ferry Boat Inn having settled down into a farm house. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, gives a bird’s-eye view of it in the last century.

(5.) RETFORD IN THE CLAY, the site of an ancient ford crossing the river Idle on the road from

Littleborough to North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, for the three counties meet on this line. Next to Nottingham, it is the oldest municipal borough in the county. It is situate on the great North Road; but it was not so in old times, as the road passed it a few miles to the west, the diversion being the work of the old coaching days. Here are a range of red sandstone cliffs, forming the east bank of the river Idle, in which are some rock excavations, inhabited as dwelling houses until within the last few years. This red cliff at the ford furnished the town's name.

(6.) BLYTH, on the river Ryton, a stream which rises in the south. This is a town which probably bears the former name of the river, the present one being borrowed from a hamlet on its western bank. With the exception of Ollerton, it is the only town on the great stretch of the ancient road from Nottingham to Bawtry, and the manner in which it sweeps round to embrace this town is suggestive of a diversion of the ancient road at this its northern end, a diversion possibly dating from the close of the twelfth century, when Roger de Busli, one of the Conqueror's chief barons, who had his great castle on

the neighbouring mound of Tickhill, founded an important priory here in 1088, one which remained down to the dissolution of Religious Houses, a noted place of hospitality on the great highway. It was a halting stage for kings, bishops, and nobles, and it played an important part in mediæval history, being one of the three places in England at which tournaments could only legally be held. The priory buildings, and the east end of the great church, have been demolished; but the nave, one of the finest examples of Norman architecture in the county, still exists. From the seat of a market of considerable importance, Blyth has shrunk to the compass of a sleepy village. To the north-west was a natural lake, the only one in the county, called "White Water," this interesting feature, by the process of drainage, has for some years past been transformed into cultivated land. This portion of the county appears in old times to have formed part of a district known as "Lindrick," preserved in the name of a neighbouring village, "Carlton-in-Lindrick," to distinguish it from three other Carltons in the county. This fact lends considerable weight to the view that Nottingham, as a

county, was carved out of Lincolnshire, which was formerly known as "Lindesse," a name preserved in "Kirton-in-Lindsey."

(7.) WORKSOP, or RADFORD, the former denoting a fortified hill, which still exists, and the latter the ford of the river near a red sandstone cliff or mound, the hill or mound, still called the Castle Hill, does duty in both names. Here an important road, which entered the county a few miles south-east of Newark, crossed the river Ryton on its way to Tickhill and the north-west. Here was seated a great priory, founded by William de Luvetot. The nave and western towers of the church remains; near to stands a noble gateway, leading into the old priory grounds. This latter, still in a fairly perfect state, constitutes the finest building of its class in the county. This town, intersected by the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, is the heart of the so-called "Dukeries," for near to is Clumber, the seat of the Duke of Newcastle, and Welbeck Abbey, another old-time important religious establishment, the seat of the Duke of Portland. To this may be added Thoresby Hall, the seat of Earl Manvers, whose ancestors were the Dukes of Kingston.

At Worksop itself is the great estate known as the Manor Park, the manor being a comparatively modern house, occupying the site of a former residence of the Earls of Shrewsbury.

(8.) **LANEHAM**, a village on the west bank of the river Trent, one of the ancient great manors of the Archbishops of York. Here the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Lincoln, who resided at Stow, near Littleborough, the site of whose moated residence is still known as "The Bishop's Hospice," met on July 2, 1310, in conference touching the weighty business of suppressing the Knights Templars; and here Archbishop Thomas de Corbridge (1299-1303) was visited by death, his body being subsequently buried in Southwell Cathedral.

(9.) **TUXFORD**, an ancient post town on the great North Road, when the post was rarely used except for imperial purposes. Letters from Lincolnshire and Derbyshire were at great cost conveyed to this town, to Newark, or to Scrooby, near Bawtry, in the North, at which latter place William Brewster, who became one of the principal figures in the Pilgrim Fathers, was the royal postmaster, and had to furnish horses and conveyances for State officials and the royal mails.

During the visits of the Stuart kings to Nottingham, postmasters were appointed by the Corporation. These officials frequently rode to Newark. In H. Overton's maps of 1714, this great North Road is figured as the only post road in the county. To the north-west of Tuxford the road crosses the river Idle, by what is known as Merrils Bridge. This was one of the places where the burgesses of Nottingham, who had charge of the rivers and the great roads of the county, collected toll. This is no doubt the "Water of Retford" in the charter of King Henry II. to the burgesses of Nottingham (1155-1165). It is clearly mentioned, on November 17, 1225, as Miriild Bridge in the lease of the northern tolls to the burgesses of Retford for twenty marks of silver annually for ever. Tuxford was the centre of the old hop district of the county, and a Hop fair was or is held here on the 25th of September. This is a decaying industry, as these North Clay hops are stronger than the Kent hops, and consequently of less value.

(10.) HARBY, on the extreme east of the county, the scene of the death of Queen Eleanor on November 29th, 1290. She was conveyed

here from Sherwood Forest, where her husband and his court were indulging in the sports in this his royal forest, presumably to be within reach of medical aid at Lincoln, some six miles distant. The grief of King Edward I. at her death is one of the most touching episodes in our history. He joined his queen some days before her death ; was with her body at Lincoln, where a noble tomb was erected in the cathedral to mark her temporary resting-place, a work of art which was destroyed during the Commonwealth, to be replaced, as I write, by one of Lincoln's most noble sons, Jos. Ruston, D.L., J.P. The king was with the cavalcade when it started on its historic dead march to Westminster, and held with it, as stage by stage it dragged its slow length along, for nearly a fortnight, only leaving it when within easy reach of London to arrange for the public entry into the city. Subsequently each halting place was marked by the erection of a beautiful memorial cross. The route of the procession from Lincoln is not known, and hence Sleaford, Grantham, and Newark, are claimants for the honour of being the first halting place. The weight of evidence, however, seems in favour of Grantham. Stamford, on the evidence of Cam-

den, was the second stage; but Geddington, Northampton, Waltham, and Charing, were undoubted stages, in which the crosses mostly exist. It is matter of regret that Harby, in our county, the central scene of this tragic event, has failed to receive a memorial honour. (See note No. 35.)

The boundary of the county, two and a half miles north of Harby, is formed by the Fosdyke, a canal constructed by the Romans to connect the river Witham, at Lincoln, the highway to Boston, and the Car-dyke, the highway to Peterboro', with the river Trent.

(11.) CLIPSTON, the site of a Royal palace, the hunting seat of our ancient kings in Sherwood Forest. The area or bounds of this royal hunting ground is shaded, as it existed in A.D. 1232, from which it will be seen that the portion which constitutes the present Dukeries was not then in its view. It extended somewhat further north at an earlier and at a later date. Here, at the north-east corner, abutting upon the great road, was the "Coningswath"—the king's-ford of the perambulation of 1227, when the whole of the area east of the great street was disafforested. It was from this hunting seat, the ruins of which

still exist as "King John's Palace," that Queen Eleanor, when seized with her fatal sickness, was removed to Harby. Clipstone has been the scene of many stirring events in our national history, and it is one of the principal places to be visited by tourists to "The Birklands," or what is now considered the southern part of Sherwood Forest, for here stands that venerable ruin, the parliament oak, which tradition associates with King John and his parliament, and the sentence of hanging passed upon the Welsh hostages at Nottingham Castle.

(12.) RUFFORD, where Gilbert, Earl of Lincoln, in 1143, founded a Cistercian abbey, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. At the dissolution, its site, with twenty-four other manors in this county, were granted by King Henry VIII. to the Earl of Shrewsbury in exchange for certain estates in Ireland.

Being situate, like the Priory of Blyth, on the great north road *via* Nottingham, it was largely called upon to dispense hospitality to travellers. I have a note from Dixon's "Lives of the Archbishops of York" (page 415) of the abbot and convent of Rufford, on June 17, 1320, entering into an obligation to entertain for a day and a

night the archbishops of York, with their great retinues, on their first coming into their diocese, of which Nottinghamshire formed the southern part.

The crypt of one of the abbey buildings remains as part of the modern mansion—the property of the Saville family.

(13.) MANSFIELD, the king's great manor in the Forest of Sherwood. Its name is drawn from the river Maun, upon which it is situate, and from being a field or pasture in the forest. This town, the principal one in the Wapentake of Broxtow, is built at the intersection of two ancient roads; that figured on the map, and known as Leeming Street or Lane, is undoubtedly Roman; to the south it traverses that remarkable ridge, known as Robin Hood's Hills, at Annesley. Brewster, in his Historical and Geographical Atlas, connects this end with Little Chester, near Derby, and the northern part with Bawtry, and claims it as the north-east termination of the great Rykenield Street, the south-west arm of which extends to Cirencester, near Bath. The Ordnance surveyors do not endorse this north-east course, but continue it north from Little Chester *via* Chesterfield to near Rotherham.

The other ancient road approaches the town from the direction of Southwell, and is figured on the ordnance maps as a Roman road. (See No. 22 of this series.) Part of this road is known as Radcliff gate, and here, a mile to the east of the town, in a range of cliffs, created by this old sunken road, are some rock excavations where the modern *Troglodytes* or Cave-dwellers have their residence, or had at the time of the writer's last visit. On this line of road, near the Archbishop's great park of Hexgrave, a Roman pig of lead, now in the British Museum, was found in 1849. Bronze Celts and Roman coins have often been found, and the remains of an extensive villa, with tessellated pavements, was unearthed by Major Rooke in the last century, a short distance from the town. William Rufus gave the church of St. Peter here, with all its possessions, to the cathedral of Lincoln, to which it is still attached. Tradition singles out this town as the scene of the rhyming tale, printed by Percy in his "Reliques," of the "King and the Miller of Mansfield." Sir Robert Plumpton anciently held a *bovate* of land in Mansfield Woodhouse, called *Wolf-hunt Land*, for the service of blowing a horn and driving or frightening away the wolves in the forest.

In the eastern suburb, known as Mansfield Forest, in a walled mound thickly planted with trees, is the landmark called "Thompson's grave," where repose the ashes of an old townsman, who died in 1784. One clause in his will says:—"I desire that George Allen, and assistants, be employed to make my grave, and if they can make it six yards deep, to be handsomely paid for their trouble; but to make it as deep as they can." Tradition says he was buried here as a protest against disturbing the dead by overcrowding in the churchyard; but from the coffin being bound or hooped with iron, and the grave being partly filled with branches of trees, it was no doubt a precaution against the dark doings of the resurrectionists.

(14.) *HARDWICK-UPON-LINE*, now Kirkby-Hardwick, formerly a residence of the Earls of Shrewsbury, the end of the first day's stage of the Constable of the Tower of London in charge of Cardinal Wolsey on the journey, in 1530, from Sheffield Manor towards Leicester Abbey, the scene of his death. It appears in our old county maps as Hardwick, but in modern maps it is rarely noted.

(15.) *ANNESLEY*, the ancient seat of the

Chaworths, immortalised by Lord Byron in his love for its beautiful heiress, Mary Chaworth :--

“The ocean to the river of his thoughts.”

Annesley Hills constitute the highest land in the county, and here, a century ago, a Mr. William Rooth was surprised by the return of two of his sheep, which had been buried in the forest twenty-nine days, under thirteen feet of snow.

(16.) NEWSTEAD ABBEY, an important old-time monastic house of royal foundation, located in the Forest of Sherwood. At the dissolution, it was granted to Sir John Byron, the then lieutenant of the royal forest, the last of whose line, the late Lord Byron, endowed it in his poems with an undying name. It was the neighbouring estate to Annesley, and could his lordship's day-dream of joining the two estates by the bond of matrimony have been realised, it is possible that his name as a poet would scarcely have reached our time. Here may still be seen the monument to his Newfoundland dog :—

“In life the firmest friend,
The first to welcome, foremost to defend.”

The ruins of this priory, which in its perfect state was an hospice of our old kings and nobles,

is woven in with the modern residence to which it hath bequeathed its name. In 1488, I have a note of its importance as a guest house, in the clergy of the province of York granting in convocation a tenth, when the friars of Newstead and Worksop were exempted from the levy, because, being situate on the king's highway, they were burdened beyond what they could bear by the coming of strangers (Hunter's "Yorks," vol. 1, p. 3), and again, "The costly hospitality of Newstead and Worksop induced the crown, in 1488, to exempt them from the payment of tenths" (Wolcott's "English Minsters," vol. 2, p. 243).

(17.) SOUTHWELL, the seat of the mother church of the county, which in its turn is a daughter of the cathedral of York. It is the foundation of some one of the early archbishops of the northern primacy, and is associated with the time when York was the capital of the great kingdom of Northumbria. It was erected on one of the great manors of the Archbishops, and its ancient endowments can be traced to their hands. Here, as noted in a subsequent chapter in this volume, they erected a palace or residence, the ivied ruins of which are nestled on the sunny side of this old grey minster. Our

local historians have laboured to associate the foundation with St. Paulinus, the first archbishop (625-644), on the authority of this saint baptizing his converts in the river Trent at or near some place bearing, according to the Venerable Bede, the name of *Tiovulfingacester*. This is an unsettled point, but it is pretty clear that King Eadwig granted to Archbishop Oseytel lands at Suthwellan (Southwell), Fiscetun (Fiskerton), etc., in A.D. 958. A. F. Leach, in his "Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster" (Camden Society, 1891), has doubts about the manuscript relating hereto, but none about the foundation of the church being far older than this date.

Archbishop Kinsius (1050-1060) gave bells to Southwell, Stow, and Beverley, and Aldred, (1061-1069) endowed stalls in the minster, then growing into importance ("Diocesan History, York," page 102). This grand old temple weathered the fierce storm of the Reformation, and is now endowed with the dignity of the cathedral church of the newly created diocese of Nottingham. A glance at one detail of Southwell, viz., the antiquity of its church, must suffice, as our next note presses close upon us.

(18.) NEWARK, a very ancient town, the capital of the Hundred, to which it has furnished its name. It is situate at the intersection of the great North Road with the Roman Fosseway; but although it may have been a fort defending the fords here situate, as its great castle was in later times, it was never a stage or a station on the Fosseway, at least it is not so recorded in the vi. and viii. Iters of Antoninus, which relate to this great military highway at its north-east extremity connecting Raris or Ratis (Liecester) with Lindum (Lincoln). In our day it is called Newark-upon-Trent; but in truth it is situate on the river Dean or Devon, its connection with the river Trent towards the south-west being artificial. The date of the cutting of this canal is not clear;* it has its counterpart on a smaller scale at Doncaster, where the meadow, intervening between the river Don and the Roman Castrae, was transformed by a canal into an island, a work admitted by all authorities to be Roman. The site of the ancient fort at Doncaster is occupied by the church, whilst that of Newark appears to be tenanted by the market-

* It is shown to exist in the ancient drawing reproduced on page 31.

place. It was some such earthwork, repaired and re-occupied, which furnished the present name of New-work, a name it bore long before the Norman Conquest. The Norman castle, guarding the fords of the river, and reflecting their importance in early times, is the most important and picturesque ruin in the county. It was built by Alexander de Blois, the warlike Bishop of Lincoln, who was lord of the town and wapentake, in the days of King Stephen. Legally it belonged to the church of Stow, the cathedral church of Lincolnshire before the See was transferred to Lincoln, having been given thereto by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and his Countess, Godiva, the Lady Godiva of romance. This castle could scarcely have been completed before it was transferred, under compulsion, from the bishop to the king, whereon it became the sister-royal fortress to Nottingham Castle, the office of each being to guard the passes of the river Trent, which was a legal and military line of the first order, "north and south of Trent" being synonymous with "north and south of the kingdom." The great event of its early history was the death within its wall, on October 18th, 1211, of King John.

Henry III. is credited with restoring the castle to its rightful owner, the Bishop of Lincoln; but it is questionable whether this went farther than constituting him, as the lord of the town and wapentake, its custodian or constable.

In later times it was associated with King Charles I., for it was the last fortress which held to his cause, and only fell with his crown. The penalty of its fidelity to a long line of kings was its demolition during the Commonwealth.

Newark is noted for its magnificent church, which forms such an important feature on the north side of the market place. Also for its ancient half-timbered houses, with their hanging or over-hanging chambers. It boasts of some old-time inns. The Saracen's Head has existed since the days of Edward III. The White Hart since the time of Henry IV., a date which the architectural details of the present house confirms, at which time it must have been an old foundation to have warranted its construction, or rather re-construction, on such an important and costly scale. My friend Cornelius Brown, Esq., the author of "The Annals of Newark," a volume to which I have great pleasure in referring the reader, gives reference to the

Talbot Inn in 1341 ; and the Swan and Salmon, existing as the boundary of some neighbouring property, in the reign of "Bluff King Hal." That these inns exist to-day is an illustration of the antiquity and continuity of our institutions. Newark, as an old post-town on the king's highway to the north, is rich alike in history, architecture, and incidents of travel, not the least of which relate to the horseman, the post-chaise, the coach, the stage-wagon, the pack-horse, and the Scotch drover. Newark, and its neighbour Southwell, are gems of antiquity of which any county might justly be proud.

(19.) HUCKNALL TORKARD, an ancient manor on the west border of the royal forest, the greater part of which was owned, at the time of the Domesday survey, by Ralph de Buron, in whose family it continued nearly down to our own time. Here is the mausoleum church of a long line of his descendants, the last of which, on the male side, but not the least, was Lord Byron, the gifted poet, whose body was conveyed hither from Missolonghi, in Greece. On the 15th of July, 1824, the body of the noble bard arrived at Nottingham, and was deposited in one of the rooms on the ground floor of the Blackmoors'

Head Inn, High Street, where, during the course of the evening, it was visited by hundreds of people. On the following morning it was removed, accompanied by a procession of carriages, and a numerous body of pedestrians, to Hucknall Torkard church, where it was deposited in the family vault, beside the remains of his mother. To those interested in this historic event, it may not be out of place to observe that this ancient inn exists in the range of shops on the east side of High Street, Nottingham, the upper stories of which are carried on a line of columns standing on the outer edge of the causeway. In this vault repose the ashes of William, the fifth Lord Byron, who died on May 20th, 1798, aged eighty-five. This Lord, the subject of part of the following chapter on "Old Family Feuds," possibly merited the title of "the unfortunate Lord," but during the latter part of his life he was awarded that of "the wicked Lord." The last interment in this vault was that of Lord Byron's daughter, the Countess of Lovelace:—

"Ada! sole daughter of my house and heart."

The accompanying plate depicts the chancel of this church upon the writer's visit some thirty



BYRON'S GRAVE, HUCKNALL TORKARD CHURCH.

years ago. The stones covering the vault are marked by the insertion of large rings, a corner of one of these covers was broken off, through which the female attendant lowered a lighted candle on a stick, by which the visitors could see the coffins. All this is now at an end, for Major A. E. Lawson Lowe, F.S.A., in his able chapter on this vault, which the reader will find in J. P. Briscoe's "Old Nottinghamshire," informs us it is now permanently closed. It was somewhat of an accident that Lord Byron was buried at Hucknall Torkard, for had the officials at Westminster Abbey been less bigoted, his remains would have found a more honoured sepulture in "the poet's corner." This town was formerly noted for the longevity of its inhabitants, and as being the birth and burial place of Benjamin Caunt, the pugilist, who, with the "Bendigo," so called, of Nottingham, were the two finest men in the country who practised the "noble art of self-defence."

(20.) THURGARTON, a village which gives its name to the Wapentake or Hundred in which it is situate. It is noted as the site of a great priory, founded in 1130 by Ralph de Ayncourt, for canons of the order of St. Augustine. The

following extract from the recently published State papers is of local interest:—

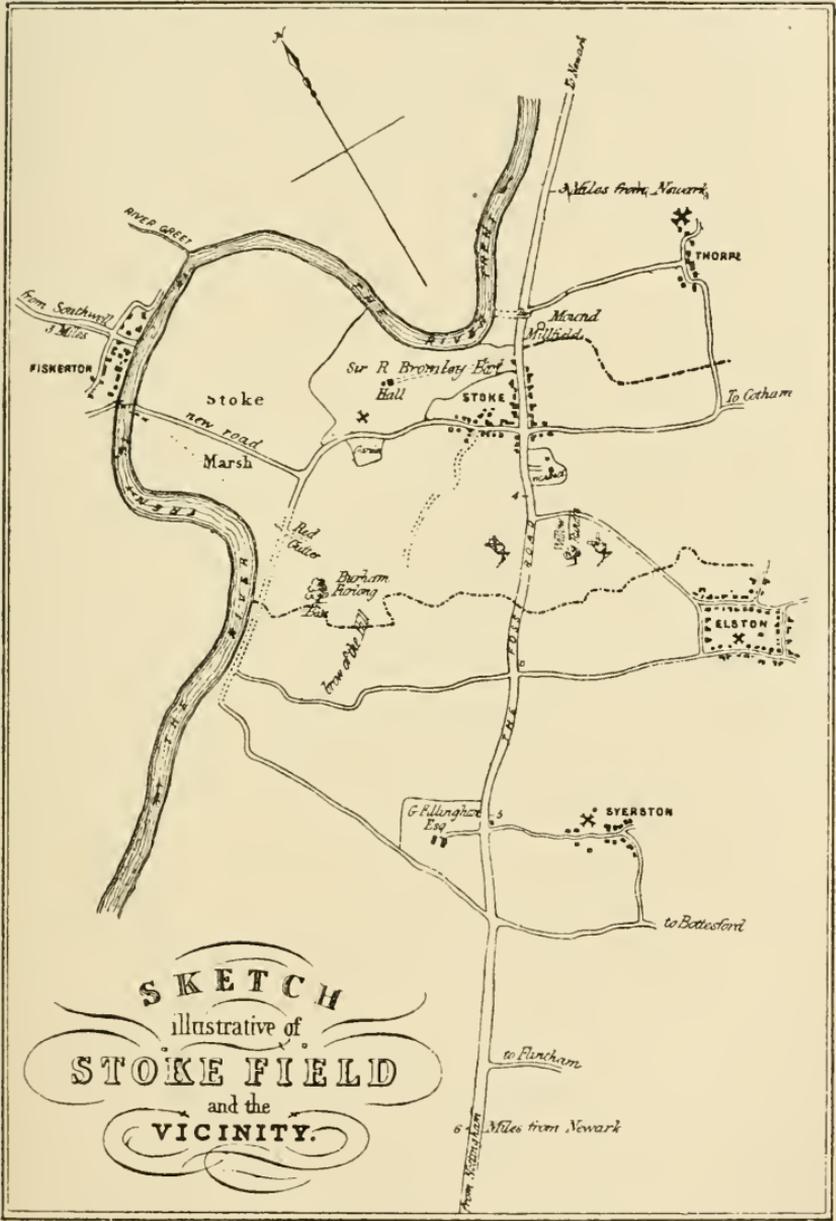
“March 7, 1534.—Chester Herald (formerly Mont Ongueii) to Cromwell.—On Saturday, 7th March, 25th Hen. VIII., I was with Dr. Claybroke at Thurgarton Abbey, Notts., where Sir Will Draglay, prebendary of Southwell, took hold of a gold scutcheon on my breast, and asked me what it was. I said, ‘It is the King’s arms.’ ‘Marry,’ said he. ‘I love it the worse.’ ‘Sir,’ said I. ‘Wot ye what you say?’ ‘By God’s passion,’ said he, ‘I love him not, for he taketh our goods from us, and maketh us go to the plough. I have been at the plough this day myself.’ ‘Sir,’ said I, ‘Ye need not for no necessity, for ye have enough if ye can be content; but I fear that ye will rather impair than mend, so much have you said now. The King’s grace covets no man’s goods wrongfully.’ ‘God’s passion,’ said he. ‘I think no harm. God save the King.’ ‘Marry, amen,’ said I. ‘But whatsoever you think your saying is naught.’ ‘I pray you, Mr. Chester,’ said he, ‘be content, for if ye report me I will say that I never said it.’ ‘Sir,’ said I, ‘that will not serve you, for I am one of the King’s heralds;

wherefore I must needs report all such things as are contrary to his honor.' Whether he were overcome with drink or no, I cannot tell, but the bearer, Dr. Claybroke, will inform you of his quality. I have been servant to King Hy. VII., and the present King, thirty years and more, and never till now heard any of their subjects rail upon them, except one in the late King's days. I took one that railed against his Grace in Cheapside, London, and delivered him to Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, the day that Perkin Warbeck was 'raynd' upon a scaffold in Cheapside, but for all that he was let go in a fortnight, and when he met me he was like to have slain me. And so it will be now if the King is not good to me. I have paid large money for writing, as I cannot see little things without spectacles, nor with them, but my own hand binds me to be always ready."*

The priory was suppressed at the time of the dissolution of religious houses, but the buildings appear to have reached our time within about one and a quarter centuries. All that now remains is the crypt or undercroft of one of the principal buildings. Thurgarton Hall, which

* Letters and Papers, Vol. vii., p. 298, and 708 note.

STOKE FIELD.

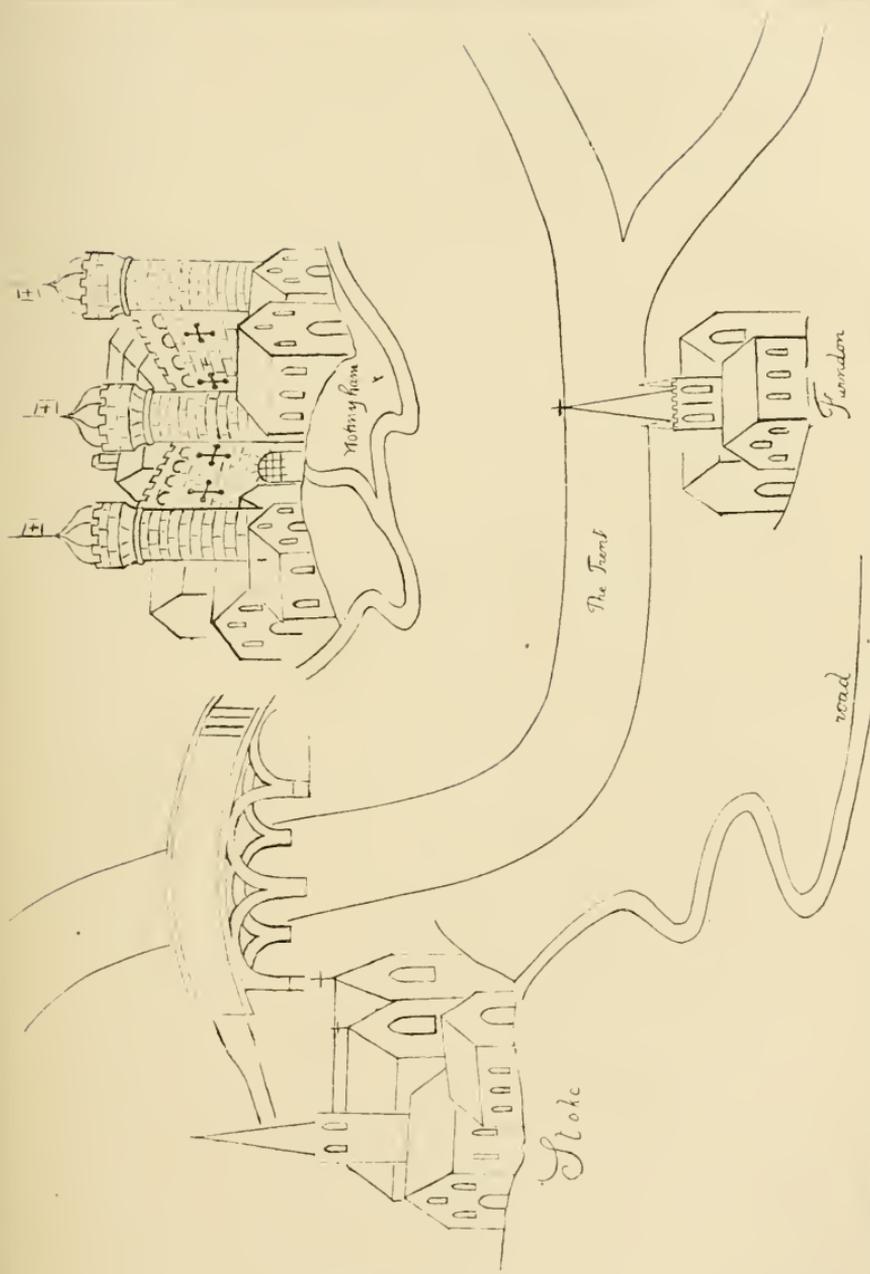


SKETCH
 illustrative of
 STOKE FIELD
 and the
 VICINITY.

occupies the site, is the residence of his grace the Bishop of Nottingham, whose cathedral church of Southwell is only about three miles distant.

(21.) *STOKE-UPON-TRENT*, celebrated as the scene of the Battle of Stoke Field, between Henry VII. and the Earl of Lincoln, who had espoused the cause of the imposter, Lambert Simnel, who personated Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son and heir of the late Duke of Clarence, brother of Richard III., then a prisoner in the Tower.

John Speede, on his county map, published in A.D. 1610, gives an engraving of this battle. In the foreground men are pictured fighting with guns, and a number of dead may be seen between the contending hosts. In the middle distance are a vast host of spearmen, and a number of flags. In the back-ground are cavalry charging, the King's army being recognised by the Royal Standard quartering England and France. Near to is the following text, "At Stoke in this county, nere unto Newark, was fought a great Battell against King Henry by the erectors of Lambert, a counterfeit Warwick, where John De-la-pole, Earle of Lincoln, Francis, Lord Lovell, Tho Garadyne, Chancellor of Ireland, Martyn Swart, and Sir



Reproduction of an illuminated drawing in the British Museum, evidently contemporary with, and allusive to, the battle-field of Stoke. The Trent Bridge and the town of Nottingham are shown, the latter being intended to convey the fact that it was a fortified town or stronghold. Compare this latter with the present borough seal.

Thos. Broughton, with 4000 of their naked Irish lost their lyues. Lambert was there taken, and made a turne-spitt in the King's kitchyn, and lastly one of his ffalconers. This conflict was fought the 16 of June, Anno 1477, and in the third yeare of H. 7."

This battle, fought a mile to the south-east of Stoke, was one of three hours hard fighting, at the end of which the rebel line was broken, and all the chieftains slain. The slaughter on both sides is said to have amounted to 7000 men. In our old county maps, John Speede's, 1610, and H. Overton's, 1714, the site is marked by a military tent.

The Battle of Stokefield is remarkable as the last of the "Wars of the Roses," which had afflicted the country for over thirty years, in which eighty princes of the blood, a large portion of the English nobility, and some 100,000 soldiers were slain. Between this battle-ground and the river Trent the line of retreat was an old sunken road, which bears the name of "Red-gutter," along which a stream of blood is said to have run to the river Trent.

(22.) FARNDON, in old times "Farendon," two miles south-west of Newark, a place interesting

to the student of Roman Nottinghamshire, as one mile to the south on the Roman road was noted the *Ad pontem* of the vi. Iter of Antoninus. It is not mentioned in the viii. Iter, which deals with the same road from Lincoln to Leicester. In both Iters the stations on either side are mentioned, viz. :—Crocolano (Brough) four miles north-east of Newark, and Margiduno, six and half to the south-west, near Bridgford-on-the-Hill. We have here proof of a Roman bridge crossing the Trent, near Farndon, and that on its line there must have been an important road. The topography suggests its course up the valley of the Greet river. Here we find an ancient road, exactly in line, passing the north-east side of Southwell, where, at the intersection of a cross road, which forms the main street of Southwell, are situate some old earthworks which have furnished the name “Burgage” to this part of the town. This is the road making direct to Mansfield, which a few miles further on is figured on the Ordnance survey maps as “a Roman road.” William Dickinson, in his “History of Southwell,” published in 1801, gives a Roman map of the county, in which he labours to identify Southwell town with *Ad pontem*; but there are fatal

objections to this theory furnished by the ITERS themselves.

(23.) BESTWOOD PARK, the seat of his Grace the Duke of St. Albans, the most southerly point of the Dukeries, an ancient hay or enclosure in the forest, in which no man had right of common. The royal forest,* shaded in the sketch map, was divided into two keepings by a line across the north end of the narrow neck. In the southern part, called Thorney Wood, with which we are dealing, there were also the hays of Lindby in the north-west, and of Willay on the east side of the great street. In the northern part, called the High Forest, the palace of Clipston, with its park, was the base of hunting operations, and in this wide expanse of chase, bounded on the east by the great street, were the hays of Birkland and Billhay, both in the north-east. These two extensive enclosures were granted by the Crown, in 1818, to the Duke of Portland, in exchange for the patronage of the church of St. Mary-le-Bonne, in London. The former is now the property of Earl Manvers. Of this ancient royal

* As it existed in A. D. 1232, *vide* Orange Hy. Nottin., p. 170. This was an enlargement upon the perambulation of A. D. 1227, and it had enlarged still further by A. D. 1506. (Deering, p. 311.)

forest little besides the name is preserved. A small number of the ancient oaks, more or less in a state of ruin, exists in the north-east corner known as the Birklands, where they constitute a charm to the summer tourist.

(24.) SHELFORD PRIORY, of which nothing but the name remains. It was founded by Ralph Anselin in the time of King Stephen, for canons regular of St. Austin. This house played a part in the suppression of the Knights Templars, as noted in a subsequent chapter. In the 29th Hy. VIII., the estate was granted to Michael Stanhope, Esq., whose lineal descendant, the Earl of Chesterfield, is its owner. The first Earl, created 4th Car. I., 1620, was held a prisoner by the Parliamentary army during the Civil War. His residence here was fortified by his eldest son Philip, a colonel in the King's army, and here, with most of his forces, he was slain on the house being stormed and the buildings set on fire. Shelford priory was remarkable as the only religious establishment in the county of importance on the south side of the Trent. The church here was the old burial-place of the Stanhope family. In it repose the remains of the accomplished Earl of Chesterfield, the author

of the celebrated letters to his son, whose death occurred in 1752. The writer, years ago, was shown through this vault, and told that it had been broken into, and one of the gilded coronets taken from the top of one of the coffins by a thief, who was under the impression that all was gold that glittered.

(25.) EAST BRIDGFORD OR BRIDGFORD ON THE HILL. Near to, on the Fosseway, was situate the Roman station of Margiduno, noted in the vi. and viii. Iters of Antoninus, the half stage between Leicester and Lincoln. Here, from the Roman way, is a green lane leading direct to the river Trent, called Bridgford Street. It is the first point on the great Fosseway, starting from Cirencester on the Akeman Street north-east of Bath, where it touched the river Trent, *i.e.*, a navigable highway to the eastern sea, to York, and to the north of the kingdom. It is curious that at Farn-don we have historical proof of a Roman bridge, and that the end of this street on the river bank affords evidence of another in the village name. The inference is that a bridge here crossed the river in Roman times, and that the knowledge, or possibly some remains of it, existed at the time of the Teutonic settlement and the naming of villages

or towns, say in about the sixth century of our era. At the crossing of the Trent at Nottingham we have a village identical in name, the two being distinguished to-day as East Bridgford and West Bridgford. There are some interesting secrets locked up in these village names. The site of this Roman station has never been explored, although it is well-known, and has yielded coins, fragments of red embossed Samian ware, etc., a good collection of which I saw some years ago at the Bingham Rectory House, the property of the late Rev. R. H. Miles, M.A., rural dean, or rather of his intelligent lady.

(26.) LONG BENNINGTON, in Lincolnshire, the point near which the Great North Road enters the county. It is curious that throughout the course of this road to Bawtry in the north, it affords no evidence historically or topographically of a Roman origin, except it be in Lombard Street, Newark, and in the road from thence to Long Bennington, part of an ancient road called Sewsterne Lane, which forms the boundary of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire further south. This road appears to have formerly gone direct north-west from Lombard Street across the

Island of Newark, or the Trent Valley, to Kelham Bridge, and thence, *via* Ollerton, to Worksop, etc. The Great North Road, with its many turns, twists, and angles, suggests that it was formed out of older roads where they would fit its course. Viewed as a whole, it is undoubtedly ancient, being at least one thousand years old, or say half the age of the Roman highways, which, in their turn, may in many cases have grown out of British trackways.

(27.) WOLLATON, in old times Olaf's-town, notable as the residence of the Right Hon. Lord Middleton, a nobleman who represents an ancient county family, and who possesses in Wollaton Hall the finest Elizabethan mansion in the county, indeed, it is a question whether the entire country can boast of a finer specimen of domestic architecture of this period. Constructionally it represents the transition from the great towers of the Norman castles to the modern mansions. The great hall of the former is preserved as the central feature, around which are grouped withdrawing and other apartments, the developments of the older chambers in the cavities of the great walls. This historic mansion stands in a deer park of 700 acres, fenced by a high

brick wall, through which, towards the south, are two imposing entrances.

This estate was formerly the most southern one in the county yielding coal. In connection with the building of this mansion, we are told that coal was conveyed into South Lincolnshire on the backs of mules, who on their return brought stone from Ancaster for facing the outer walls. In the strong room at this hall are a large store of ancient documents, which are under examination by a government commission, with the view of publishing a *resumé* of their contents. This work is looked forward to with great interest, as it will, no doubt, prove a valuable addition to our national and local history.

The church of St. Leonard here is one of the few rectories in the county. For many centuries it has been the mausoleum of the Willoughby or Middleton family, one celebrated member of which was Sir Hugh Willoughby, the famous navigator, who was frozen to death in the North Seas. Another was Sir Henry Willoughby, killed in the fight with the Norfolk rebels in 1548. The greatest of the Willoughby family was the natural philosopher, Francis, who lived in

the time of Charles II. He died under forty years of age; but a posthumous work on fishes was published, and Ray, his friend and assistant, published most of his other works, and got the credit himself. There is a bust of this Francis Willoughby in the Cambridge University Library. In Wollaton church, as may reasonably be presumed, are some imposing monuments, erected to perpetuate the memory of the bygone members of this ancient family.

(23.) NOTTINGHAM, the metropolis of the county, one of the most ancient, important, and historic sites in Mid-England. It first appears in history as a fort, possibly an inhabited one, of considerable dimensions, on the crown of a sandstone hill, on the north bank of the Trent Valley, its south being a precipitous cliff. This enclosure or stronghold was intersected from east to west by an ancient road (part of which possesses the mysterious name of "Pepper Street,") running for miles on the brow of the hills skirting the Vale of Trent. South to north it was intersected by what appears to be a Roman road, the direct line from Leicester to York, a portion of which, at Nottingham, bears the name of "Stoney Street," a name that occurs in the

forest perambulation of 1227 as the "Stanstrete" of Nottingham. This name is, no doubt, as old as the reign of Henry II. (1154-1189.) In connection with these perambulations, it may be noted that a "Lecamstrete in Nottingham" is also mentioned ("Close Rolls," 11, H. III., Memb. 19). That this great hill-fort is of Roman or British origin admits of little doubt. It does not appear to have been occupied by the Romans as a town or city. The interior of this fort being a bare rock was not favourable to the preservation of the remains of its ancient occupants, and the lines of its earthworks having been built over for centuries are not available for exploration, nevertheless a few yards which were bared in Warser Gate in 1890 yielded some earthenware vessels of Romano-British date (*vide* Proceedings Society of Antiquaries, January 28, 1892), and opportunity for further investigation is anxiously looked forward to. It was the fort the Danish army of invaders bore down upon on the occasion of their entry into Mid-England in A.D. 868, one they held for nearly a year, as noted in a subsequent chapter,* against the national army. Its importance is further

* "The earliest recorded visitors to the county."

registered in the fact that it was adopted as the metropolis of the county, its neighbours on three sides, Leicester, Lincoln, and York, being undoubted Roman cities. In connection with the crown it has always been an important town. It was, from its earliest history, purely a military centre, and as such it remained to the close of the Civil War. In this great dispute between the King and his people, it was selected as the spot upon which to plant the Royal standard, round which the subjects, true to the old institutions of Church and State, were invited to rally with their arms, and it only ceased to occupy this position upon the subsequent demolition of its castle. With many the failure of the great ecclesiastics of old times to identify themselves with the capital town has been deplored. The highest ecclesiastical dignity it attained was that of an archdeaconry, but even this was in name, for its officials were located in early times at Southwell,—the ecclesiastical centre of the county.

In our day Nottingham has been promoted to the dignity of a suffragan bishopric. It is now in the recently created see of Southwell.

The great business of war appears to have

been at the root of the ancient trade of Nottingham. We have confirmation of this in the number of knights' houses registered in the Domesday Survey, and in the ancient smiths, or armourers, located in such streets as Bridle-smith Gate, and Greatsmith Gate (now Pelham Street and Carlton Street), of which the present Smithy Row towards the west is probably a relic. Not far removed from these craftsmen were the tanners, recorded in "Barker Gate;" the dyers in Litster (now Lister) Gate; and the pilchers, or furriers, in "Pileher Gate." In peaceful trades and commerce it was an important place, its fairs and markets being amongst the largest in mid-England. Its merchants, owing to the Trent being navigable from the town to the sea, were of the first order, their wealth, largely won from traffic in wool, laying the foundation of many of our county families. Some of these merchants rose like meteors in old Nottingham, amassed great fortunes, and so disappeared. Of these William de Amyas is an instance. Others, as Richard Mellers, the wealthy bell-founder, left such bequests to the poor as will preserve their names for ever green.

As Nottingham reaches us in our early maps, we find it a great residential centre, a "Mayfair," when London, owing to its distance, and the difficulty and cost of travel, was but rarely visited. Here were the great mansions of the Earls and Dukes of Newcastle, the Thurlands, succeeded by the Earls of Clare, the Pierreponts (Dukes of Kingston), the Plumtrees, the Gregorys, the Willoughbys (Lord Middletons), and a host of lesser dignitaries. Through the narrow and picturesque streets rumbled their coaches when such vehicles were but little known in provincial towns of like population. Its modern trade, which has made it such a wealthy and populous centre, owes its origin to the application of machinery to the art of knitting, an invention attributable to Mr. William Lee, born at Woodborough, a village about seven miles to the north of Nottingham, who, in the year 1589, set up a framework knitting machine, which is said to have been exhibited to Queen Elizabeth. This machine, shown, as it existed in the early part of the last century, on page 99 of Deering's "History of Nottingham," was the parent of the present hosiery and lace machines. The necessity of supplying these machines with cotton yarn

stimulated the inventive faculties of the late Sir Richard Arkwright, then a humble resident in the town, to apply machinery to that purpose; and here, on the site of the present Hockley Mill, he erected, about 1769, the first cotton spinning works in the world, the machinery of which was turned by horses. At the south-east corner of this mill-yard, fronting the street called Hockley, stood the residence of this remarkable man, who removed to Cromford in 1771 to obtain water power, and who, to use Orange the historian's words, "from a penny barber, raised himself to be the richest commoner in England, and the founder of a 'great family.'"

(29.) LENTON, or the town on the river Leen. The site of a great priory founded by the "Peverils of the Peak," the Norman lords of Nottingham Castle, and the owners of the many lordships in this and the neighbouring counties which constituted the Honour of Peverel. Its long line of priors, so intimately associated with the history of the county, terminated with Nicholas Heath, who fell upon unlucky times by associating himself and his brethren with the great rebellion of the North known as "the Pilgrimage of Grace," a fatal slip which led

direct to the gallows. This great establishment is noted in a subsequent chapter on "The great Priory Fair of Lenton."

The fate which befel its last occupants extended to the buildings themselves, which, passing into secular hands, were demolished for the value of their materials, the walls being converted into a stone quarry for the district. This is matter of regret, for could they alone have been spared they would have constituted the Melrose or Fountains of our county. To-day, the lower portion of one of the internal columns, situate in a cottage garden, is all which is left above ground of this once great priory. An item of its furniture, viz., the Norman font, a very beautiful specimen of that period, is preserved in the neighbouring church of New Lenton. This village, with its former priory, constitutes a great local subject, which has been ably dwelt upon by Mr. J. T. Godfrey in his "History of the Parish and Priory of Lenton," published in 1884.

(30.) BINGHAM, an ancient market town, the capital of the Wapentake or Hundred to which it has lent its name. It is not on the great Fosseway, being nearly a mile distant to the south. It is a curious feature that throughout the whole of

the county there are few villages on the known Roman roads. It would appear that they were not, say in about the sixth century, favourable lines on which to plant settlements, a valley, a stream, or the margin of a wood, being far more enticing. Here is an interesting and wealthy church, the rectory of which was granted, as personal estate, by Edward VI. to Dr. Thomas Cranmer, the Martyr-Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1710 the town had a narrow escape from being destroyed by fire. The buildings were fired in three different places, but providentially without doing much damage, the flames being speedily extinguished. The incendiary who committed the act was a surgeon, named Thomas Patefield. He was tried at Nottingham for the offence, but being proved to be labouring under mental derangement, was directed to be confined during the rest of his life in this town. A strong building, containing two rooms, was erected for him in the market-place, and here he lived for nearly thirty years, subject, as Bailey says,* "to the insults and irritations of those who chose to make mockery of his affliction."

(31.) ASLACTON, a pleasant and picturesque

* "Annals of Notts," p. 1103.

village situate on a little stream called the Smite, two-and-a-half miles east of Bingham. In Norman times it was a manor of the Cranmers, a family which is reported to have come in with the Conqueror. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, the Martyr-Archbishop of Canterbury, the first Protestant occupant of the throne of St. Augustine, was born here in 1489.

The site of the manor, the birthplace of this historic archbishop, is now occupied as a farm residence. Near it may still be traced sundry moats, islands, and other remains of the pleasure grounds, and at a short distance is a raised walk which leads to Orston, called "Cranmer's Walk." A short mile distant to the south-east is Whatton, the mausoleum church of the ancient Cranmers, and here lies buried Thomas Cranmer, the father of the archbishop, who died at Aslacton Manor on May 27th, 1501.

(32.) WILFORD HILL, two miles south of the bridge of Trent on the ancient north road from Leicester, *via* Nottingham, Bawtry, and Doncaster, to York. The south and highest portion of this eminence is figured in the Ordnance survey charts as Mickleborough Hill. The primitive meaning of this would be "the

great hill," but the ordinary meaning, contemporary with the nomenclature of the county, is "the great burh or fort." This is accepted as the site of the burh on the south side of the Trent, constructed by Edward the Elder, in 924, to guard the crossing of the Trent on the south bank, as the burh of Nottingham, "inhabited by Danish as well as English people," did that of the northern bank, the special occasion being the building of a bridge at this important ford or crossing. This ancient road is cut or worn deeply into the high land, from which cause it has fallen into disuse, and is now a green lane o'ershaded by a group of tall but picturesque firs. The modern road is a diversion to the west, constructed to avoid this narrow way climbing over the hills.

(33.) GOTHAM, near which lingers the local name of Ruscliff, or Rusheliff, from whence the Wapentake is named. Geologically this is an interesting district, as it furnishes abundance of gypsum, or sulphate of lime. It is the source from whence the material was furnished for the plaster floors and ceilings of old Nottingham and neighbourhood; the east part of the county being supplied by Newark, and the north

part by Gainsborough. These plaster floors were common in the writer's early days, and they have been the subject of many notes by the old writers of local history. As a branch of trade, the mining of gypsum is not energetically followed at Gotham, possibly



THE CUCKOO BUSH.

owing to the district being badly served by railways. The reverse is the case at and near to Newark, where it is a flourishing industry. Gotham is known for some old gossiping tales of the coarsest and most vulgar order, some of which formed the subject of jingling rhymes intoned by rustic clowns at ancient fairs, others

were the subject of chap-books and catchpennies, illustrated after the manner of the accompanying drawing, the subject of a tavern sign in the village. "The Cuckoo Bush" is a place-name recorded in the Ordnance survey maps, its locality being one mile to the south of the village. These "Merry Tales" first appeared—printed in black letter—in 1565, the authorship being attributed to a doctor of "phisicke," named Andrew Borde, but it is questionable whether he intended them for our Gotham, or the township of like name in Sussex. Several of these tales are traceable to the north of Europe, where they possess a high antiquity. The following is the form in which the cuckoo was served up to our forefathers:—

"On a tyme, the men of Gottam would have pinned in the Cuckoo, whereby shee should sing all the yeere, and in the midst of ye town they made a hedge round in compasse, and they had got a Cuckoo, and had put her into it, and said: Sing here all the yeere, and thou shalt lacke neither meate nor drinke. The Cuckoo, as soone as she perceived herself incompassed within the hedge, flew away. A vengeance on her! said they: we made not our hedge high enough." (Old Notts., p. 108.)

(34.) REMPSTON, the township at which the ancient north road *via* Nottingham entered the county. Our local history is nearly silent respecting the section of this great highway from Rempston to the river Trent; but it may safely be counted as part of the "road to York" of the Domesday survey, in charge of the men of Nottingham, for it is so indicated in the charter of the town granted by Henry II., 1155-1165, as follows:—"Know ye that I have granted, and by this my charter have confirmed, to the burgesses of Nottingham all those free customs which they had in the time of King Henry (Henry I., 1100-1135), my grandfather, to wit Tol and Theam, and Infangenetheof, and Toll, from Thrumpton (near Gotham) to Newark, and of all things crossing the Trent, as fully as in the borough of Nottingham, and on the other side (in the other direction) from the brook beyond Rempston (the county boundary) to the water of Retford (the river Idle) in the north." It is clear from this that it is an ancient road, and that the burgesses of Nottingham here collected toll long before it was customary to register such details in charters. The valleys

here must in early times have abounded with rushes; "*Rush-cliff*" as a place-name is suggestive of this: but there can be no question in regard to Rempston, for within half a mile of the village stood its ancient church of "St. Peter's in the Rushes," the burial ground of which is now an open field, the vernal monument, amongst others, of Robert Marsden, Archdeacon of Nottingham, who, dying in 1748, bequeathed the "Little grange close" to the Rempston poor.

(35.) WILLOUGHBY-ON-THE-WOLDS. This is the point at which the Roman Fosse-way from Leicester to Lincoln enters the county, and here was the first station from the former city, as noted in the vi. and viii. Iters of Antoninus, called Vernometo. The former, traversing the road from Leicester to Lincoln, is recorded as follows:—

Ratis	—	<i>Leicester</i>	
Ver[n]ometo	M.P. XIII.—	<i>Willoughby</i>	13 mls.
Margiduno	,, XIII.—	<i>E. Bridgford</i>	13 ,,
Ad Pontem	,, VII.—	<i>Farndon</i>	7 ,,
Crococalano	,, VII.—	<i>Brough</i>	7 ,,
Lindo	,, XII.—	<i>Lincoln</i>	12 ,,
			52 mls.

The latter, the return journey, being recorded in this variant form :—

Lindo	—	<i>Lincoln</i>	
Crococalano M.P. XIV.	—	<i>Brough</i>	14 mls.
Margiduno	,,	XIV.— <i>E. Bridgford</i>	14 ,
Vernemeto	,,	XII.— <i>Willoughby</i>	12 ,
Ratis	,,	XII.— <i>Leicester</i>	12 ,
			52 mls.

It will be noted that *Ad Pontem* is omitted in the latter, and that a difference of two miles exists in the spacing, but that the totals are the same, —fifty-two Roman miles. This difference is of no moment, for the stations are identified topographically. This station is marked on the Ordnance survey maps where Willoughby brook crosses the line of the great road, in which respect it is on all fours with Margiduno, the next station, where the supply of water was called, by Dr. Stukeley, the “old wark spring.” Our historians say, “Hereabouts the ploughmen and shepherds commonly gather up Roman coins in great numbers, raised by the plough or spade.”* Many coins, pavements, and other antiquities have been found near the village †; and a

* *Magna Brittania*, Notts., p. 36.

† *White's History*, etc., 1804, p. 557.

Tumulus is here figured on the map, upon which Stukeley says an annual revel is held, in allusion to some traditionary festival of the Roman Mythology. In later times it was the manor, residence, and burial-place of the Willoughbys, the ancestors of the present Lord Middleton, whose family name is drawn from this village.

It is one of the battle-fields of the county, being the scene of the bloody contest during the Civil War known as "The Battle of Willoughby-Field," in which Colonel Stanhope was slain. He was the third of that county family who fell by the sword in this so-called "Civil War." A tablet in Willoughby church bears the following inscription:—"Here lieth the body of Colonel Stanhope, who was slain in Willoughby-Field, in the month of July, 1648, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, being a soldier of King Charles the First." The lofty cross, the former ornament of the village, was condemned by the soldiers of Cromwell; but its destruction was averted by the vicar beguiling them with a free allowance of strong beer. As a work of art, and a monument of the piety of our ancestors, it existed down to the early part of the present century, when it fell upon more evil

times than it had before experienced. An engraving of this cross is given in Stukely's "*Itinerarium Curiosum*." (2nd edition, 1776, vol. i., p. 11.) The existence of a "lofty cross" in this village lends support to the claim of Newark being the first halting place of the funeral procession of Queen Eleanor. The Beaumont cross offers no obstacle to this view (see Brown's "History of Newark," p. 323); if this could be proved, it suggests that Willoughby was the second, and Leicester the third stage. This is probable, as we find an undoubted stage further south at Geddington, in Northamptonshire. The only obstacle to this view is Camden, who states that an Eleanor cross existed in Stamford in his day. The Stamford historians of our time ought to be able to confirm or refute this statement, *i.e.*, to retain or remove this obstacle.

(36.) STAMFORD ON THE RIVER SOAR. The true rendering of this name is Stoneford, which implies a former paved or pitched causeway across the bed of the river; a similar feature, accepted as of Roman origin, furnished the name of Stamford, in Lincolnshire. It is not on the line of the old road from Lough-

borough, *via* Rempston, to Nottingham; but on one *via* Leake, Gotham, and Wilford, which is said to have formerly been a highway to Nottingham. Camden says "it stands upon the river Trent, just at its entrance into the county," and that he was informed there were many remains of antiquity then extant, and that many Roman coins were found there. The probability is that this old topographer was mistaken, and that the information supplied to him referred to Barton in Fabis, which occupies the position indicated, where some ancient earthworks exist on Brentshill, and a portion of a tessellated pavement, the remains of a Roman villa, has been found in the adjoining valley. Stanford itself affords no evidence of antiquity except in its name, and the fact of being situated one and a half miles north of Loughborough, a town which occurs in Brewer's map of Saxon England as Liegunburge, through which I think he ought to have continued his Roman road from Little Chester (which terminates on the Ordnance maps at Sawley) to Leicester, instead of carrying it across an additional river (the Soar) to Willoughby, a route which affords no topographical evidence.

The Origin of the County.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE first appears on the page of history in A.D. 1016, as "Snotingahamscire," the occasion being the Danish incursions into the kingdom of Mercia, as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. The capital town itself is mentioned much earlier, viz., in A.D. 868.

It is a small inland county formed of a group or cluster of Wapentakes, each of which, in old times, possessed its open-air court, where, in case of danger, the inhabitants were called to arms; where politics were discussed; laws made and administered; and old customs, etc., mentally registered. Wapentake is an old English term peculiar to the northern counties, and appears to be related to the Scottish "Wapinshaw,"—a gathering or exhibition of arms, made at certain seasons, in each district. These territorial divisions were formerly larger in number, the smaller ones, like the kingdom of Poland in our day, have been absorbed by their larger neighbours.

The bounds of the Wapentakes do not appear to have moved on their outer lines abutting upon the neighbouring counties of Leicester (south), Derby (west), York (north), and Lincoln (east). Viewed as a whole, they embrace the right and left banks of the river Trent, which appears, along with the important Roman roads, to have been placed in the charge or guardianship of the metropolis of the country, as being the great highways by water and land through the county. John Speede, the author of one of the first maps of Nottinghamshire, the date of which is A.D. 1610, in his description of the county, says:—"For the Taxe t^o the Crown, or service for state, [the county] is parted into eight Wapentakes or Hundreds, wherein are seated 168 parish churches." The Wapentakes which have reached our time are six in number, viz., Rushcliffe, or Riscliffe (formerly called Plumbtree), Bingham, or Binghamshow, and Newark, on the right bank of the river Trent, Broxtow, Thurgarton, and Bassetlaw, Bersetlaw, Bernedeselaw, or Bersetlaw, on the left bank, *i.e.*, in the north-west of the county. The latter appears to have derived its name from some long-forgotten hill where

the Wapentake court was held. This Wapentake is very large in area, so much so that it has been divided, like the great county of York, into three parts, suggestive of the mysterious Church number, viz., South Clay, North Clay, and Hatfield. Bassetlaw, in its North Clay division, absorbs the lost Wapentake of Oswardebeck, or Oswaldbec-Soc, whose ancient place of meeting, like that of Bassetlaw, cannot be identified.

Thurgarton Wapentake absorbs two other old Wapentakes, viz., Lee, or Lyda, and Southwell, or Cherlington. Lee, or Lyda, are forgotten topographical names, and Cherlington is a name which Thoroton identifies as the present Kirklington, a village three miles north-west by west of Southwell. Near to this place, on a prominent hill, an "ancient encampment" is figured on the Ordnance map. This is no doubt the moot-hill, or meeting-place, of this lost Wapentake of Cherlington.

With regard to Thurgarton, there is no information to be derived from maps; but R. P. Shilton, in his "History, etc., of Southwell," says:—"A close adjoining the priory, southwards, is called to this day [1818] the *castle hill*; but history is silent as to Thurgarton having

possessed a building of that description. Nevertheless, the term seems to supply presumptive proof that a fortress once occupied the spot." This is no doubt the site of a British or Roman camp, which, as in other cases, became, at a subsequent age, the meeting-place of a folkmoot.

The Wapentake of Bingham, or Bingham-hill, for such is the meaning of Bingham*shew*, has preserved its ancient place of meeting. This is on the hill by the side of the Roman Fosse-way, in the west corner of the Bingham lordship. It is a large depression, and gives one the idea of a Roman amphitheatre. It is still called the "Moadus Pit," or "Moot-House pit." N. Bailey, who published his dictionary in the reign of George II., singles Bingham, out of all the country, in illustrating the meaning of these old meeting-places, as follows:—

<p>"Moot-House,"</p> <p>"Moot-Court,"</p>	}	<p>[in <i>Bingham, in Notting-</i> <i>hamshire</i>], the Hundred Court.</p>
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The meeting-place of the Rushcliff Wapentake was on the hill a mile south of the village of Gotham, and within one quarter of a mile of the wildly traditional "Cuckoo-bush,"

where it is figured on the Ordnance map as Court Hill. The place-name "Crow Wood Mot" lingers, and an old trench, possibly an ancient encampment, may there be traced; three-quarters of a mile from this spot, Rusheliff is noted; but as topographical names they are so far lost that they have hitherto been unchronicled in our local histories.

The topography of Newark is suggestive of the market-place being a Roman camp at the intersection of two important highways, an enclosure which no doubt came, in due course, to be the court or meeting-place of the Hundred, and may possibly be reflected in the Motehall mentioned in the history of Newark, in 1621.

The ancient meeting-places of the Wapentakes of Broxtow cannot in our day be identified.

The fees of the Wapentakes, or Hundreds, of the county appear to have originally been in the Crown, and the administration in the sheriff; that of Newark to have subsequently been granted to the Bishops of Lincoln; and those of Broxtow and Thurgarton to have merged, after the Conquest, into the Honour, or great manor, of Peveril.

The Wapentakes are inferior in age to the settlement of the country by the Saxons and Angles, or rather to the naming of the towns and villages, which Professor Freeman ("Norman Conquest," vol. i., p. 18,) says, dates from the fifth and sixth centuries.

They existed as territorial districts until the time of King Edward the Elder (901, 924-925), when, according to Professor Stubbs, in his "Constitutional History of England," Mercia was divided into shires. Now as Nottingham did not fall into this King's hands until A.D. 922, it is clear that this grouping of the Wapentakes into the county was one of the closing acts of his reign. It is certain that it could not have been formed long after his time, as the county is recorded in history, as above noted, in A.D. 1016.

W. H. Stevenson, the able editor of the "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," whose opinion is worthy of every consideration, writes:—
"I think the creation of the shire must have been very late in date, say tenth century. The shires [Wapentakes] roughly grouped round and called after a central town seem to be all late, and to correspond to the mention in the A.S. Chronicles of thanes of districts that belong to

certain boroughs. Thus Nottinghamshire would represent the military division having its headquarters in Nottingham, to which the thanes would render military service, and probably contribute to the fortification of the town, or *burh*."

In Norman times, when the county was studded with houses of the religious orders, these territorial lords of the faith prayed the then kings to relieve them from the jurisdiction of these ancient Wapentake courts. Henry II. exempted the monks of Blyth from the jurisdiction of Wapentake, Hundred, and Shire courts, making them amenable only to the court of the Honour of Tickhill, which was held in the Norman castle of Tickhill, near Blyth. King Henry I. granted similar exemptions to the monks of Lenton, and Henry III., in the eighteenth year of his reign (A.D. 1234), exempted the villains on the land of the priory of Thurgarton, at Hokeswood, Graneby, Crophill Buttiler, Outhorp, Wiverton, Titheby, and Hikeling, from doing suit to the King's Wapentake court of Bingham.

The town of Nottingham, with its ancient lands of the freemen, does not appear to have been attached to either of the Wapentakes

abutting upon it, but to have had a free court of its own, endowed with all the privileges of a Wapentake. It had its moot-hall and prison, and was altogether independent. Here was the King's hall and prison for the county = the County Hall and prison of our day. When the burgesses of Nottingham had the privilege granted them of constituting their land a county of itself (A.D. 1448), it was stipulated by the King that "our messuage called the 'King's Hall,' wherein is our gaol for the counties of Nottingham and Derby, should be alone excepted." Prior to this date, the township was amenable to the sheriffs of the county in the same manner as the Wapentakes were.

A curious note hereon arises out of the old Nottingham, or Town, Bridge, which crossed the swampy meadows at the foot of the town. This was sometimes called the Leen Bridge, from it crossing that stream. It was an enormous structure, which, like the great bridge of Trent, was a link in the King's highway to the north of the kingdom. Its origin cannot be traced, but it appeared as a great bridge in the time of Edward III. (1329), repairable at the cost of the town and the whole county. An

inquisition was held on this subject in 1457, when the fabric was an ancient one of twenty stone arches, Nottingham being charged with the town approach and the two most northern arches; the remainder of the arches and the southern approach being divided between the Wapentakes of the county, as had been the custom time out of mind. Nottingham Castle, and the land thereto, although extra parochial, appears to have been in the Wapentake of Broxtow, at least such was the verdict of the jury at Leicester Assizes, in 1832, when that Hundred was sued by the Duke of Newcastle for the destruction by fire of that Carolean mansion in the Reform Riots of 1831, the damages being assessed by the jury at £21,000.

The Origin of the Town.

THIS is a subject of absorbing interest. Its present name carries us back to the earliest settlements of the Teutonic invaders. "Snotingaham" is its earliest form, and it so appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles of A.D. 869. Except in the statement of Asser, the contemporary historian of King Alfred the Great, who gives its former or British name as "Tigguocobauc," the home or town of caves, the ancient or former name of the town is lost. The present abridged form of the town name is of Norman origin, and shows the influence of their tongue on the name of the town in which they largely took up their residence.

The site of the town, on St. Mary's Hill, appears to have been an ancient hill fort or place of shelter for the inhabitants of a wide district in case of danger; one in which they could, as in other known hill forts, secure themselves and their cattle, or worldly possessions, in time of danger.

This point is quite clear in A.D. 868, when it appeared as a great, if not the principal, fort or stronghold in the kingdom of Mercia, connected direct with York by an ancient road, called in the Domesday Survey "The road to York," and in the perambulation of the Forest of Sherwood, the tenth Henry III. (1227), the "stanstrete of Nottingham," and (where the men of Bulwell had common of pasture in the wood of Beskwood) "the Great Street." It is the Stoney Street, Broad Street, and York Street, of Nottingham, and the Blyth Lane, of to-day.

The Danish invaders were, in A.D. 868, in possession of York, the capital of Northumbria, from whence they marched, on pillage bent, to the great fort of Nottingham, and there secured themselves; a stronghold which they held for close upon a year, defying the united forces of two kingdoms, viz., those of Mercia and the West Saxons to displace them.

The fact of this ancient road, *via* Ollerton and Blyth to Doncaster and York, starting from the very heart of this fort, carries its date back to remote times. In late Anglo-Saxon and in Norman times, this was the great north and south road of the kingdom; but

the enormous size of the enclosure of the town, and its irregular lines, which are known and recorded by existing streets, strongly suggests its ancient British origin. This fort formed one of the five burhs or strongholds of mid-England held by the Danish invaders for forty-eight years, viz., from 874 to 922. It might be considered the strongest, for it was the last to fall before the conquering hosts of King Edward the Elder. Professor Freeman says, "its acquisition was the crown of his conquests in central England."

As a military position of strategical importance it was not overlooked by William the Conqueror, who, when passing through the town on his northern progress in the summer of A.D. 1086, ordered a castle to be erected on the western height overlooking ancient Nottingham, a town whose defences of ditch and bank gave place shortly after to newer, longer, and more formidable lines, which enclosed the hitherto undefended new or Norman borough lying between the old town and the castle.

The men of Nottingham were a free community, possessing important rights and privileges in the time of King Edward the Confessor, from whom they held their manor direct, in return for which

they had important military duties laid upon them, which presumedly date from the time King Edward the Elder wrested the town from the Danes, and brought the country under the sway of his sceptre.

The Domesday Book says:—"In Nottingham, the water of Trent, the Foss, and the road to York, are in the custody of Nottingham, so that if anyone should impede the passage of vessels, or should plough up, or dig, a trench, or ditch, within two perches (75 ft.) of the King's highway, he shall pay a fine of eight pounds." (About equal to £125 of our present money.)

This means that the charge of the river Trent, the road through the county to York, and the Fosse-way, passing through the south of the county, from Leicester to Lincoln, were placed in their charge, in return for which they had many privileges. The most important, in a financial point of view, being the fines on the roads, and the tolls for the crossings of the river from Thurgarton, in the south-west, to Bicarsdyke, in the north-east, and the fisheries of the river. This latter was taken from them by the Norman conqueror; but the tolls remained for centuries

to prove sources of discord between the men of Nottingham, Newark, and Retford.

It is a curious fact that the six Wapentakes of the county are each associated with the above-named river and ancient roads. The Trent was navigable for boats or ships, hauled by manual power, in Anglo-Saxon times, as it was unquestionably in Roman times. The Fosse-way passes through the south-easterly Wapentakes of Ruscliffe, Bingham, and Newark, each of which, in their turn, form the right bank of the river. The great stone street of Nottingham, trending north towards York, parted or passed through the remaining Wapentakes of Broxtow, Thurgarton, and Bassetlaw, each of which formed, in its turn, the left bank of the great river. The guardianships of these highways, by water and land, was primarily a duty devolving upon King Edward the Elder, who conquered the district from the Danes, and constructed the bridge over the Trent at Nottingham, in A.D. 922. This suggests the idea of grouping the involved and impinging Wapentakes into a shire or county, and creating the most important place therein its capital, a step to be followed by relegating, or placing, these state necessities in the hands,

charge, or keeping, of a local or resident body or community, whose income for maintenance should be the tolls and the fishing of the great river, and the fines of the roads. These Anglo-Saxon fishing rights, taken away by the Norman conqueror, have generally been held to have pertained only to the small part of the river passing through the borough lands, but the fact of the river itself, through the main part of the county, being in their charge, suggests a more extensive and valuable right, the loss of which would be of sufficient importance to be noted or chronicled in the Domesday record.

Nottingham may truly be said to be a borough by prescription, for nearly all its ancient rights or privileges had their being before the existence of royal charters. Its great annual fair of eight days, commencing on St. Matthew's Day (Sept. 21st), and terminating on Michaelmas Day (Sept. 29th), alluded to as being held, time out of mind, at the granting of the charter of King Edward I., A.D. 1284, has an antiquity we cannot trace. The shadow of this great fair is still with us as "Nottingham Goose Fair," by which title it is one of the best known fairs in England.

The Earliest Recorded Visitors to the County.

IT is not clear when the county was first formed. The best authority, Bishop Stubbs, "states that it was in King Edward the Elder's time," this would mean in the close of his reign, or about the date of the building of the bridge over the Trent at Nottingham, as recorded in A.S. Chronicle, viz., A.D. 924.

Prior to this date it seems to have formed part of the older territorial district called Lindesse, or Lindsey, as the old name of Lindrick lingers in the north-west of the county.

Going back to Roman times we have nothing by which we can frame even an inference. The district formed part of that great central division of the island called *Flavia Cesariensis*, extending from the Thames to the Humber, and the east coast to the Severn. The contemporary road book, which has reached us by the title of the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*, but which in truth deals with a portion of the Roman roads only,

furnishes us with the names of some towns or stations situate within the confines of the county. The author of this *Iter*, if we only knew his name, would certainly compete for the honour of being our first known visitor.

A writer in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, September, 1878, says:—"The Antonine Itinerary is of the same age as Ptolemy's work, and is conceived to have been compiled in direct connection with the journeys of the Emperor Hadrian, embracing as it does the whole of the towns he systematically visited."

If this view can be accepted, we can claim the Roman Emperor Hadrianus *Ælius*, as being our first visitor, in A.D. 121. He would enter what is now known as the county by the great military Fosse-way, three-quarters of a mile east of Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, and leave it at Potter Hill, near South Collingham, ten miles south-west of Lincoln. Leaving Lincoln for York he would enter the county again by crossing the Trent at Littleborough, and leave it at Bawtry in the north. These roads are in existence to-day, with the exception of part of the section from Littleborough to Bawtry, and the sites and names of the stations, etc., are known.

Hadrian commenced his western travels in A.D. 120, and returned to Rome two years afterwards.

When in our island he left his mark in a great earthen wall or rampart extending from Solway Firth to the German Ocean, near the mouth of the Tyne. This wall was a little south of the more substantial wall of stone subsequently raised by Severus.

Hadrian was a remarkable traveller, and spent nearly ten years so occupied in the East. He used to say:—"An Emperor ought to be like the sun, visiting by turns all the regions of the Earth." It is said of him that he was the first emperor who let his beard grow, in order to conceal some blemish in his face.

The busts, statues, and medals of this Emperor are very numerous, and all bear a striking resemblance to each other in the character of the countenance. Those who wish to make closer acquaintance with this Roman Emperor will be pleased to learn there are two busts and a full length statue of him in the Townley gallery of the British Museum.

Coming down to the early Mercian kings, we cannot identify them with the district, though we know they possessed it. The same may be said

of Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, who, as the Venerable Bede informs us, baptized his converts in the river Trent, "near the city which is called in the English language Tiovulfingacester," for we cannot identify the locality, although it is traditionally claimed by Southwell, the present seat of the Bishop of Southwell.

Volumes might be written on the centuries we thus pass over in search of the first historic visitors to the county ; but the truth is we cannot in the area under notice absolutely identify a living creature therewith until A.D. 868, at which date the town of Nottingham first appears on the page of history in that invaluable record, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. Here we have notice of a heathen host of Danish piratical invaders swooping down upon the town like vultures on their prey, their instruments being fire and sword, and their object plunder and the enslavement of the people. This was a formidable host or army which had wintered in the country, had devastated what we now know as Lincolnshire, had crossed the Humber into what is now known as Yorkshire, and had laid the city of York at their feet. It was from this fallen capital of Northumbria that this

heathen host bore down upon Nottingham. They marched by the great Roman road figured in the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* from York, *via* Castleford, to Doncaster and Bawtry, from whence they took the important, though unrecorded, way, west of the river Trent, *via* Ollerton, to Nottingham; a road which a few years later appears as the great highway, from York and the north, to the southern parts of the kingdom, the "road to York" of the Domesday Survey, the "Great Street," and the "Stanstreet of Nottingham," in the days of King John, the Stoney Street, Broad Street, and York Street of Nottingham, and the Blyth Road of to-day.

This heathen host, marching to Nottingham, which was a hill fort, or a fortified town, in the heart of the kingdom of Mercia, we cannot number, but it is certain they had chiefs or leaders with them, whom they designated their kings and earls; their names do not appear during their stay at Nottingham, but two years after their departure their kings, Buchsecq and Halfdene, are mentioned as being slain, together with five of their earls, *viz.*, Sidroc the Elder, Sidroc the Younger, Osbearn, Fraena, and Hareld.

On the Danish side, these seven kings and earls

are all we are able to inferentially identify amongst the first visitors to what we now know as the county of Nottingham. They were a fierce, savage, or untamed body of menslayers, to whom might was right, the very antithesis of our modern kings and earls, the raw material from which they are the finished objects.

On the English or native side this intrusion of an invading host into the heart of the kingdom of Mercia, brought a group of interesting figures on the scene, viz., Burgraed, King of Mercia, who had his palace at Lichfield, the seat of the metropolitan of his Christian Church. The pedigree of this King, according to Florence of Worcester, was traceable to the Scandinavian god, Wodin, whom we are reminded of in the name of the third day of the week. Being unable to deal with this savage host, whose name had long been a terror to the land, he solicited aid from Ethelred, his over-lord and brother-in-law, the neighbouring West Saxon king, whose domain was parted by a line drawn from London to Bristol.

This king, looking upon the invaders as a common foe, marshalled his hosts, and with his younger brother Ælfred, who afterwards became

that absorbing figure in English history, Alfred the Great, joined the army of King Burgraed, and bore down in martial array upon the lost or occupied town of Nottingham, which then figured in its older name of "Snotingaham." We have here visitors upon whom tomes might be compiled, for they form the genesis of our national history.

The Mercian King had been upon the throne for fourteen years when he came with his army to Nottingham. This Danish host was the curse of his reign. In A.D. 874, six years after he was at Nottingham, they paid him an unwelcome visit at his royal or mausoleum town of Repton. The A.S. Chronicle say:—"This year the army went from Lindsey to Repton, and there took up their winter quarters, and drove King Burgraed over sea, about twenty years after he had obtained the kingdom, and subdued the whole country, and Burgraed went to Rome, and there remained, and his body lies in St. Mary's church, at the English school (college)."

We have nothing to do with the fight at Nottingham, which was of no great magnitude, for the Danes would not leave the shelter of the fortifications to fight, and the English army

could not force an entrance; nor the peace made with the Danes, their subsequent wintering within the lines or defences of ancient Nottingham, and their departure in the following spring to their stronghold at York, as our heading is purely biographical. King Ethelred died in 871, probably from the effects of a wound received when fighting the Danes at the battle of Merton. He was buried at Wimborne, in Dorsetshire, and was regarded as a saint and martyr.

Upon the death of Ethelred, Ælfred became King of the West Saxons, *i.e.*, Cornwall and Devonshire, the eastern boundary being a line drawn from the Wash to the Isle of Wight. He lived to enlarge his kingdom by driving back the Danish invaders; but it rested with his son, Edward the Elder, who finally subdued the Danes at Nottingham, to become the first real King of all England. Ælfred was nineteen years of age when he came with the armies of his brother and his brother-in-law to Nottingham, and it is remarkable that this was the year of his marriage, his bride being of that tribe which has registered its mark in the town-name of Gainsborough. Alfred proved himself a great and learned

King, the champion and deliverer of his country from the Danish invaders, and he consequently exists in history as the most popular of all the kings before the Conquest. His writings set an example that resulted in England possessing a richer early literature than any other people of Western Europe. Like other great figures in history, he has been made the hero of a host of legendary or mythical exploits, amongst which we may rank the story of the cakes, and that of hanging the corrupt judges, whilst that of disguising himself, and visiting the Danish camp, may, as Professor Freeman remarks, have a grain of truth in it. Upon the long night of unrecorded history, these, our earliest known visitors to the county, follow as the first morn; although a thousand years or more have passed since the incident we here narrate, they fail to dim or obscure its brightness, for we can, by the A.S. Chronicles and the topography of the town, picture the old earthworks within which the heathen invaders successfully defended themselves against the warlike hosts of these two early Christian kings.

The Suppression of the Knights Templars.

THE incident we here narrate arose out of the Crusades, preached, in the first instance, by Peter the Hermit (1096-1100), the object of which was to win, by force of arms, the Holy Sepulture, at a time when the Moslems were a supreme power in Asia, and the journey from Western Europe to the Holy Land was a task almost superhuman. It was a movement led by the Romish Church of that day, one which, viewed in our time, cannot be called other than fanatical; it cost thousands of lives, and millions of treasure, against which the results achieved were as nothing. These Crusades were eight in number, commencing in 1096, and continuing at intervals, ranging from nine to forty-seven years, for nearly two centuries, during which, as the Holy Wars, they collectively absorbed a period of twenty-three years, or an average of about three years each.

Henry Murdoc, Archbishop of York (1147-

1153), is credited with preaching one of these Crusades. The dangers of travel by the way were such that a body of nine French knights constituted themselves the guardians and leaders of the crusaders and pilgrims, a chivalric act that attracted the admiration of Europe. In their initial state they are said to have been so poor that they had but one horse amongst them, upon which it was customary for two of their number to ride at once. They subsequently grew in volume and in wealth, in which state they outlived the object they were created for, and offered in their riches a pretext to the ecclesiastical and civil powers of Europe to plot their ruin.

The Templars, the Falkensteins of their day, took the lead in every Crusade, and were the first to carry their standard of the Red Cross into the Moslem vanguard.

“Chieftains, lead on ! our hearts beat high,
Lead on to Salem’s towers !
Who would not deem it bliss to die
Slain in a cause like ours ?”

The last Crusade was practically over in 1270 ; but the northern archbishopric was moved to preach a further, but an abortive one, in 1291, in

which William de Hotham, a Yorkshire knight, took an active part. A provincial council was held in York, touching this subject and the proposed amalgamation of the sacred orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers. Commissions were issued by the Archbishop to preach on behalf of this Crusade. Mr. John Carell, a canon of Southwell, was one of the recipients, and the lists of the places at which he was to preach is still preserved in Archbishop John le Romanus' Register at York.

At the close of the century the Red Cross Knights' occupation was gone, and they flocked homewards to settle down on their estates in Europe, which had been given to them in bygone years by pious kings and nobles.

The enthusiasm for the rescue of holy places had then disappeared, the exploits of those whose blood had been shed by the infidels were forgotten, and avaricious rulers longed to grasp the riches that the Templars had amassed.

In 1307 a deliberate assault was made upon the body by the King of France, to which Pope Clement V., himself a Frenchman, lent his countenance; incredible crimes and heinous blasphemy were laid to their charge, evidence,

hearsay of the most contemptible kind, such as a Court of Justice would now deride, was listened to, and on this noble gentlemen were led to the torture chamber and the stake, rather than confess themselves guilty of offences they had never committed. At this time attempts were made by foreign potentates to induce Edward II. to take similar action in England, but he refused to join in the crusade against them until January, 1308, when, at the request of the Pope, he seized upon their possessions in England, and the Templars were put under restraint. This was not enough, but punished must follow. On the 12th of August, 1309, the Pope sent two bulls to William de Greenfield, Archbishop of York, the one a denunciation of the Templars in his province, and the other a mandate for the institution of an official enquiry before commissioners or judges of his nomination, two of whom, the Abbot of Lagny, in France, and M. Sicard de Vaur, canon of Narbonne, chaplain to the Pope, and auditor of the causes of his palace, were for two years expediting the persecution, supported by a tax levied upon the clergy of the diocese of York.

The first effect of these papal mandates was

the arrest of the Knights Templars in the province of York, and their imprisonment in York Castle, where they languished, subjected to numerous examinations and confessions, with the view of establishing a case against them, for nearly two years. The last of many council meetings was held at York, on the 30th July, 1311, when the northern clergy, who had shielded them as prisoners from cruelty and torture, befriended them still, they were brought, twenty-four in number, from the castle to receive their long pending sentence, which was, under the ban of excommunication, imposed upon them on July 2nd, 1310, that they should be detained under vows in certain monasteries of the bishopric for life, to do penance for their errors, a provision for their support being granted by the King out of their sequestered estates. They were all sent to different abbeys or priories, two being relegated to our county, viz., Stephen de Radenhalgh, priest of their house or manor of Westerdale in the north, to Worksop Priory, and Walter de Clifton, to Shelford Priory.

Of these ill-fated survivors of the soldiers of the cross, Walter de Clifton is the only one we can locally identify, and the fact of his being sent

down to this southern monastery in the bishopric implies that his sentence was tempered with the degree of mercy that he should end his days near his paternal home of Clifton, by Nottingham town.

The monastic orders in the bishopric were not favourable to this innovation of their abbeys and priories being converted into ecclesiastical prisons ; but the Templars conducted themselves with propriety, and gave their gaolers little trouble, they had grown old in the order, as some of them admitted they had been members for twenty to thirty years, having joined in the East, which implied they had graduated from crusaders in the Holy Wars, or pilgrims to the Holy Shrine. Time had now laid heavy hands upon them, and the light of their lives had fled. They appear to have been weary pilgrims who had returned home for rest, which they found and accepted without a murmur, although it proved to be on a bed of thorns.

The Rev. Canon Dixon, M.A., in his "Lives of the Archbishops of York," the source from which the major part of these notes is drawn, says :—"The leaders of Christ's flock manifested a strange ingratitude when they struck a fatal blow at that illustrious order."

Within a year of the passing of this sentence, we can trace the relaxation of pressure from high quarters upon the Archbishop of York, a divine of the most exemplary piety and zeal, releasing the old soldiers from the sentence of excommunication.

This date, 1312, brings us to the end of the first year of their incarceration; Henry de Kerreby, at Revaux, had been refused his food, against which the Archbishop remonstrated to the Abbot. Richard, or Roger, de Shefeld (Sheffield) had been allowed to leave Kirkstall Abbey, against which the Vicar General wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Abbot. Thomas de Stannford was visited with a sharp reproof for using violent language, and refusing to comply with the rules of Fountains Abbey, by which, it is recorded, he was brought to his senses. On August 5th, the good Archbishop permitted William de Grafton, senior, who had been preceptor of Ribstan, to leave his prison-house in Selby Abbey for a month, on account of business in the dioceses of York, Lincoln, and London. Nineteen years afterwards he was absolved by the King from his vows, and allowed to turn to a secular pursuit, from which we may infer that he

lived to regain his liberty, a privilege vouchsafed to no other member. Our great poet, the subsequent lord of the neighbouring Abbey of Newstead, might have had this scene in the field of his vision when he wrote the following lines :—

“ At last men came to set me free,
 It was at length the same to me
 Fetter'd or fetterless to be,
 I learn'd to love despair.
 These heavy walls to me had grown
 A hermitage—and all my own ;
 And half I felt as they were come
 To tear me from a second home ;
 So much a long communion tends
 To make us what we are :—even I
 Regained my freedom with a sigh.”

It is said that the Templars lingered a long time in the monasteries. We find proof of this in the Pope, on August 31st, 1319 (eight years after their sentence), granting them permission to join the brotherhood of the monasteries in which they were immured, a questionable privilege, of which two only, Robert de Langeton at Gisburgh, and Henry de Kerby at Selby, took advantage. Probably the last flicker of this historic flame is to be found in Thomas de Streche, who, on April 2, 1335,—nearly twenty-four years after his sentence,—received, at

Nostell Priory, an order from Archbishop William de Melton to be paid the arrears of his pension of five marks per annum.

So far as our county is concerned, we can find no further allusion to the prisoners in the priories of Worksop and Shelford, from which it is fair to infer they there found that peace which surpasseth all understanding. We have been minute in dealing with the details of the last of these soldiers of Christ during their incarceration in the grim walls of those old monasteries, our object for which has been to blend the few sparks into a pale but distant light, and to reflect the same on the priories of Worksop and Shelford in our county, and so rescue from obscurity an interesting and hitherto unrecorded page of local history.

Old Sanctuary Days.

THE right of sanctuary, which was the exemption of holy shrines, and places consecrated to religious uses, from the civil law, was of ancient origin, and followed closely upon the introduction of Christianity into this country. It extended to the churches and the churchyards, and in some isolated cases, as in that of the shrine of St. John of Beverley, to the adjoining town, or, speaking more exactly, for a mile every way from the church, a privilege which enabled fugitives in certain cases to reside in those towns.

The protection of sanctuary was limited to forty days, during which the fugitive had to appear before the coroner clothed in sackcloth, to confess his guilt, and take oath to abjure the realm. In A.D. 1530, an act was passed imposing the penalty of every fugitive being branded on the brawn of the thumb with the letter "A," that they might be known amongst the King's subjects to have abjured. If they tarried beyond this time they were barred

the benefit of abjuration, and it was unlawful for anyone to furnish them with food.

During these forty days the Church would intercede for the fugitive, and an arrangement or atonement might possibly be made, failing which the delay would assist him in obtaining an impartial trial or hearing of his case. If the atonement was abjuration, a port would be assigned from whence to embark; he would be called upon to keep a straight course to such port, carrying a cross in his hand to denote that he was under the protection of the Church.

A fugitive flying to sanctuary, and avoiding the law, forfeited his goods and chattels to the King.

The chief crimes for which sanctuary was sought, were murder, homicide, debt, and horse and cattle stealing. Among the minor crimes we find those of being backward in accounts, failing to prosecute, and being in receipt of suspected goods.

The recorded instances afforded by the town and county of Nottingham are as follow. They amount to twenty-four cases, but there must have been hundreds of unrecorded ones :—

A.D. 1191.—This is the first and certainly the most remarkable case on record, one which an

elegant writer upon the subject says "possesses all the interest of a romance." It refers to Geoffrey Plantagenet, the base-born son of King Henry II., whose mother is said to have been no less a person than Rosamond Clifford, otherwise known as Fair Rosamond. As a step to the high office his late father had promised him, viz., the Archbishopric of York, he was ordained a priest of Southwell. Upon visiting York he conducted himself in a manner that displeased King Richard I., who only made peace with him upon condition that he contributed three thousand marks towards the expenses of his Crusade. In the early part of 1190, Geoffrey joined the King at Lyons, who shortly after left for the Holy Land, but not before exacting a promise from Geoffrey and his brother John that they would not return to England for three years after his departure. His object in this was to protect the Bishop of Ely, whom he had left behind as his deputy or regent.

Shortly after this, William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, with the precentor of York, and a canon of Ripon, arrived at Lyons from Rome, whither they had been for the confirmation of the Pope to Geoffrey's election. This they obtained,

with permission for the Archbishop of Tours to consecrate Geoffrey Archbishop of York, which he did on the 18th of August, 1191.

Geoffrey was now wishful to return to England and his brother John urged him to embark, but there was his promise to the contrary to prevent him. The Bishop of Ely, who is said to have had some strong reasons for keeping him away, won over the Countess of Flanders and Boulogne to forbid his passage through her dominions, or his sailing from any of her ports. Geoffrey's train managed to reach Dover, but he was not found amongst it, having on the open sea transferred himself to a fishing vessel, from which, in disguise, he landed at Dover early the following morning, to be recognised, arrested, and ordered to the castle, then held by the brother-in-law of the Bishop of Ely. Geoffrey refused to go, and, mounting a swift horse, he galloped for sanctuary to the priory, the ruins of which every visitor to Dover is familiar with. Having gained this asylum, the constable of the castle pressed him to take an oath of supremacy to the regent, or to return to France. He would do neither. The prince-bishop was undaunted, and confronted his foes with a fearless bearing from his chair

beside the altar, arrayed in his stole and alb, and bearing in his hand his crosier, wrought with ivory and gold.

When the soldiers gazed upon him as he sat, they would think of the martyrdom and the intrepidity of Becket. A sudden movement now came over them, they threw themselves on their knees before him, and beat their breasts, as if to beg forgiveness for what they were about to do; and then they caught hold of Geoffrey by the arms and shoulders, and dragged him to the door. He resisted, and his head was dashed against the pavement; but they carried him out by the feet and arms. They tried to force him on his horse, but he would not mount it, so they pushed him along through the wet and mud—still bearing his crozier in his hand. They took him to the castle, where the constable, on his knees, received him with tears streaming down his cheeks. On that night, it is said, a wind came roaring over the sea, and a storm arose which shook those massive walls to their foundations.

Geoffrey was in Dover Castle eight days without fire, water, or food, except such as his own servants could convey to him. The news of the

outrage flew through the country, and the Bishop of Ely was strongly censured from the highest quarters. This led to Geoffrey's release, whereon he journeyed to London, calling at the shrine of Thomas à Becket on the way. From there he paid a visit to his brother, Prince John, at Reading. We next hear of him at Northampton, from which town he travelled north to York, where he was enthroned on the festival of All Saints. Although we have no documentary evidence to prove it, he would of necessity pass through Nottingham on his way.

A.D. 1329.—John de Colston for slaying the wife of Henry de Pek (Peak), both of Nottingham, escaped from the town gaol, and fled to the sanctuary of St. John of Beverley.

A.D. 1393.—Henry de Whitby, of Nottingham, after slaying his wife fled to the church (St. James's chapel) of the Whitefriars at Nottingham.

A.D. 1393.—John Leveret, for some unknown crime, committed near Newark, escaped from his keepers at Nottingham, who were conveying him to the county prison, and fled to the church of the Greyfriars at Nottingham.

A.D. 1478.—Robert Alestre, of Nottingham,

gentleman, after slaying John Hill, of Westminster, in Nottingham, fled to Beverley.

A.D. 1482.—Thomas Vyncent, yeoman, of Screveton, for slaying Richard Whalley, of Barrowby in Lincolnshire, with a wood-knife, fled to Beverley.

A.D. 1482.—Thomas Fitchett, of Alverton, in Shirwod, in the County of Nottingham, fled to Beverley for sanctuary, for slaying John Gaindre of the same town. (Alverton is seven miles from Newark, so Shirwod must imply the county, or it is an error for Calverton-in-the-Forest.)

A.D. 1482.—Robert Abthorp, of North Muskham, weaver, fled to Beverley for sanctuary for slaying William Barton of the same town.

A.D. 1485.—Richard Cok (Cook) of Newark fled to Beverley for slaying with a club William () of Newark.

A.D. 1493.—Thomas Jonson, of Retford-in-the-Clay, butcher, fled to the liberty of the church of St. John at Beverley, for debt and other causes.

A.D. 1493.—Richard Feyndpen, surgeon, of Retford, fled to Beverley, for slaying William of the Isle of Axholme, labourer, and other matters.

A.D. 1493.—Tristram Heverton, of Notts.,

draper, fled to Beverley, and asked the liberties of Saint John, for debts that he owed to divers persons, and was admitted to the said liberty.

A.D. 1500.—John Lawson, of Nottingham, yeoman, fled to Beverley for his life, his crime not being recorded.

A.D. 1502.—John Towneshend, mercer, of Redford-in-the-Clay, fled to Beverley, for slaying Richard Wright.

A.D. 1506.—William Kyde was imprisoned in the King's gaol of the county at Nottingham for stealing certain merchandise from Mark Thompson, of Beverley, who was bound over to prosecute; but, owing to the threats of the friends and relatives of the prisoner, he failed to prosecute, and fled for sanctuary to the Cathedral church of Durham. William Johnson, of Nottingham, pynner, and N. Howden of Lukburgh (?) in the same county, were Mark Thompson's sureties to prosecute William Kyde.

A.D. 1517.—John Bristow, of Newark, tailor, fled to Beverley, for slaying James Jackson of the same town.

A.D. 1517.—Thomas Marshall, late of the parish of Suth . . . , Notts., gent, fled to Beverley for debt and other causes, and was admitted, etc.

A.D. 1519.—Thomas Wilson, of Blithe, butcher, fled to Beverley for debt, and other causes touching the security of his person.

A.D. 1521.—Christopher Walker, of Nottingham, pochemaker, fled to Beverley for debt.

A.D. 1534.—Christopher Thomlynson, of Newark, glover, for buying cloth suspected to have been stolen, was imprisoned in the county gaol of Nottingham, from whence he escaped and took sanctuary at Beverley.

A.D. 1534.—Thomas Thomlenson, of Newark, glover, fled to Beverley, for the security of his person, etc., for suspicion of felony (no doubt in connection with the above case).

A.D. 1535.—Robert Warren, of Nottingham, maltster, fled to Beverley on account of certain debts.

The materials drawn upon for the above facts are the "Lives of the Archbishops of York," the recently published "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," and the "Sanctuaries of Durham and Beverley" (Surtees Society Publications).

Blackstone says, "Ordinary churches had no right of sanctuary for murder, this was reserved for the higher sanctuaries, where a *frith* or *frid-*

stool was near the Altar." Two such stools are now in existence, at Beverley and at Hexham. Nottingham furnishes an exception to the above law, in the case of the murderer flying to the chapel of St. James at the Whitefriary in 1393.

Notable Instances of Sanctuary.

1. JOHN DE COLSTON, A.D. 1329.

A fugitive at the Church of St. John of Beverley.

IT is an incident of which Nottingham may justly be proud, that it furnishes in its valuable records the earliest note of a fugitive flying for protection against the offended laws of the country to the sanctuary at the minster church of St. John of Beverley. It appears that a man, John de Colston, was arrested in Nottingham, in the year 1329, for slaying, in the town, the wife of Henry le Pek, and was conveyed to the town prison beneath the old Town Hall in the Week-day cross. About the same time another murderer, named Henry Spur, was arrested for slaying one Simon Carp, and was lodged in the same prison to await his trial at the next assizes. This John de Colston escaped from the town prison, and fled for sanctuary to Beverley, where we hear of him afterwards dwelling in that franchise. (Records of

Nottingham, Vol. III., p. 207.) The Records of Beverley furnish no evidence of any case of sanctuary until nearly 150 years later.

Henry Spur appears to have died in prison (a most common thing in the old fever dens, the gaols of a bygone age) before the next assizes came round, and the coroner omitted to call a jury to hold an inquest upon his body.

When the king's justices arrived to deliver the gaol, they found their work had been done by other means, and the bailiffs, the coroner, the Mayor and his brethren, and the Burgesses, were soundly rated, their shortcomings being reported to the king, who suspended their treasured charter of liberties, and placed the government of the town in commission. This was a terrible trial to our old townsmen of five hundred and sixty-three years ago, and there is no doubt that they paid dearly to regain the king's favour, and to defray the legal costs, which only ceased upon their regaining their charter, in a new and more strictly defined form, from King Edward III. at his palace of Woodstock, on the first day of May in the following year.

2. HENRY DE WHITLEY, A.D. 1393.

*A fugitive at the Church of the Whitefriars,
Nottingham.*

Ox Sunday night, October 19th, 1393, Henry de Whitley, of Nottingham, murdered his wife, Alice de Whitley, and, upon realizing the magnitude of his crime, fled for sanctuary to the Church of the White or Carmelite Friars in Nottingham, known as St. James Chapel, which stood in the grounds on the north-west side of Friar Lane, and as the Records of the Borough of Nottingham say (Vol. I., p. 255) "kept to the church and could not be taken." On the following day, the Monday, the bailiffs of the town, John Albyn and John de Lindby, seized his goods and chattels, forfeited to the king as the property of a felon who had fled from justice. They called a jury of six burgesses or townsmen, and placed them under oath to appraise, or fix the value of the above goods and chattels, at which appraisement they would no doubt be sold, and the money arising therefrom paid to the sheriff to be transmitted in due course to the king's

exchequer. The assessors sworn were John de Aldenby; Fletcher (arrow maker), a former bailiff; John de Wyrhall, a decennary or constable, of Bridlesmith Gate, whose wife sold white herrings in the daily and Saturday markets; John Lorimer (Bridlesmith), who made stirrups, bound chests, made bridles, locks, and keys, spurs, etc., also a constable of Bridle smith Gate; Thomas Tait, Henry de Rossington, and Robert Ferror (smith). Of the three latter we know nothing. The following is the valuation:—

			s. d.
One coverlet and one tapet (tapestry or curtain) of grey and green colour - - -	4	0	
A coverlet, dorry (gilt), and of a blue and white colour -	1	6	
A blue gyde (female's gown) -	1	6	
Four cushions - - -	0	2	
Three slippings of woollen thread - - -	0	4	
One old sack with wool (a wool bed) - - -	0	8	
An old chair - - -	0	3	
An old barrel - - -	0	1	

Three boards (tables), with the trestles broken, for cutting out, and one furnace (fire grate) - - - -	s.	d.
	0	4
One wooden bowl, and one clout- lining with sale - - - -	0	2
One old chest - - - -	0	2
A verjuice barrel - - - -	0	1
A coffer - - - -	0	6
Two old and broken skillets (vessels) of brass - - - -	0	1½
A bowl, a little maser, a tankard, a pair of boots - - - -	0	4
A tub and a sack with oatmeal	0	8
Another broken board (table) -	0	1
A crossed trestle - - - -	0	1
An old tapet - - - -	0	2
	<hr/>	
	Total, 11	2½

The fate of Henry de Whitley is not known.

3. JOHN LEVERET, A.D. 1393.

*A Fugitive at the Church of the Grey Friars,
Nottingham.*

LATE in the day of Thursday, December 4th, A.D. 1393, too late to see the Sheriff of the County, or the keeper of the King's prison at Nottingham,

a body of six horsemen approached the town by the Carlton Road. They had journeyed from the village of Coddington, near to Newark, and they intended staying at one of the inns or public-houses of the town. One of the party, a John Leveret, of Pinchbeck, was mounted on a bay horse, he was a prisoner in charge of the other five horsemen, having committed some crime, of which we do not know the nature, in the village of Coddington. These five custodians of the criminal were named Robert Galshe, William Galshe, his son, and Robert de Harpham, all of Coddington, William in le Wroe, and John de Langar. They entered the town of Nottingham, and took lodgment at the house of William Shipwright, presumably in Barker gate or in Bellar gate, as he was there informed against by Roger de Beeston, decennary or constable of those streets, for selling ale against the law or assize, fourteen years before.

The document to which we are indebted for these facts is printed in the "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," Vol. I., p. 257, and it states that the prisoner, John Leveret, was arrested by William Galshe, William in le Wroe, and Robert Galshe. Sleep closed the weary eyes

of these five custodians that night at the house of William Shipwright, but not those of the prisoner, who had the gallows staring him in the face, if he escaped the distempers attending the prison of that time. The laws against what we now account small crimes were then very severe, in A.D. 1315-1316, a Gervase Aubery was hung for stealing a cow, and Walter le Shepherd for stealing sheep. In 1328, John, the son of William de Hamsterley, for stealing a chest, value fivepence, was sentenced to abjure the town, the court ruling that he should not be hanged on account of the small amount of the theft.

Our prisoner had no doubt parallel cases fresh in his mind, and was consequently in desperate straits, being so near to the gates of the King's prison of the county: be this as it may, he effected his escape, and reached an asylum or haven of rest from the officers of law, in the church of the Friar Minors, or Grey Friars, which stood to the east of the street or gate which still bears that name in the town. The morning light found the prisoner fled, when a hue and cry was raised, upon which it was found he had taken sanctuary within the pale of holy

church. This matter came to the ears of the two bailiffs of the town, John de Lyndby and John Albyn or Albayn, whose duty it was to seize the chattels of felons and fugitives who had not abided judgment, on behalf of the King. In this official capacity they came to the house of William Shipwright, and seized the bay horse that the fugitive had entered the town upon, although the men of Coddington, from whom the prisoner had escaped, protested, and avowed the horse was theirs, and had simply been brought there as a means for conveying the prisoner. This would not suffice for the bailiffs, who took away the horse, telling the Coddington men their remedy was the court of the borough, held at the Old Town Hall every Wednesday fortnight. The above event occurred on the Friday, so it is clear, if the court day fell on the following Wednesday, they would only have to wait five days; but it is possible they had to wait twelve days. Be this as it may, it is clear they attended the borough court, and claimed the bay horse, which was seized by the bailiffs of the liberty of the town. We are not conversant with the verdict of the Mayor (William Huntston) and his brethren, nor can we follow

the fortunes of the fugitive in his sanctuary at the Grey Friars, the mist of five hundred years being too great to further penetrate.

4. ROBERT ALESTRE, A.D. 1478.

A town fugitive at the Beverley Sanctuary.

ON Thursday, April 19th, 1478, an affray of blood occurred in Nottingham between Robert Alestre, a resident gentleman, and John Hill, of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, yeoman, in which the latter was slain with a dagger, commonly called in English "a whinyard" (a hanging sword). We are not acquainted with the details of this fatal quarrel, but it appears that Robert Alestre fled to the Sanctuary of Beverley, where we hear of him taking the oath, etc., on the 3rd of the following month (twenty-three days after the murder). In the meantime the sessions of the town occurred, viz., on the 23rd of April (fourteen days after the murder), when the jury presented the case as follows:—

"The Jurors say, upon their oath, that Robert Alestre, late of Nottingham, in the county of the town of Nottingham, gentleman, on Thursday, the ninth day of April (1478), in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth

after the Conquest, at Nottingham, in the county of the town of Nottingham, with force and arms, to wit, with a dagger, commonly called in English 'a whinyard,' of the value of 12d., made an assault upon John Hill, and then and there feloniously slew the said John with the aforesaid dagger against the peace of our Lord the King."

Upon turning to Poulson's "Beverley," 1829, p. 249, we find the following:—

"On May 3, 1478, Robert Alestre, of Nottingham, gentleman, took sanctuary in Beverley Minster for the death of John Hill, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, yeoman, slain by him on April 16th (this should be April 9th according to the above presentment), and was sworn and received into the peace of St. John of Beverley. "*Sanctuarium Beverlacense*," p. 160.

Mr. Poulson says this is one of the earliest entries preserved in connection with the Beverley Sanctuary.

A Note on the Beverley Sanctuary.

THE reader of "Old Sanctuary Days," finding the Shrine of Saint John of Beverley playing such an important part in "Bygone Nottinghamshire," will no doubt accept the following note thereon with a degree of pleasure, for without it the subject is incomplete.

The fame of this sanctuary, or city of refuge, was great in the land, from Anglo-Saxon times down to the period of the Reformation. It was endowed with special privileges by our early kings, under the fostering hands of the primates of the northern metropolis, whose manor or real property it was, being called "the Archbishop's town."

The business of this great sanctuary was carried on for centuries without any records, as the fugitives were not, so far as we know, registered until comparatively late times. The only book of entries extant is "The Beverley Register," contained in the MS. Harl., 4292,

embracing from about A.D. 1478 to 1539, a period of about sixty-one years; during this brief epoch 469 cases were recorded, which gives an average of nearly eight cases per year; of these the small county of Nottingham furnished eighteen, or about one in every three-and-a-half years.

There is scarcely any part of England unrepresented. Fugitives arrived from Kent, London, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Exeter, Bristol, the Isle of Anglesey, etc., and even from places like Durham, where the shrine of Saint Cuthbert was a celebrated sanctuary.

The editor of the "Annals of Newark," p. 43, speaking of the case of Christopher Thomlynson, of Newark, says:—"Whether Southwell Church had lost its privileges in the days of Henry VIII. (1524) we cannot say; but if it had not, Christopher Thomlynson must have had an especial desire to leave the country, or he would not have travelled all the way to Beverley, when there was an equally safe sanctuary within a few miles of his home."

It is quite manifest that some very special privileges were attached to Beverley, and that these were well-known all over the country, but what they were, further than Beverley being the

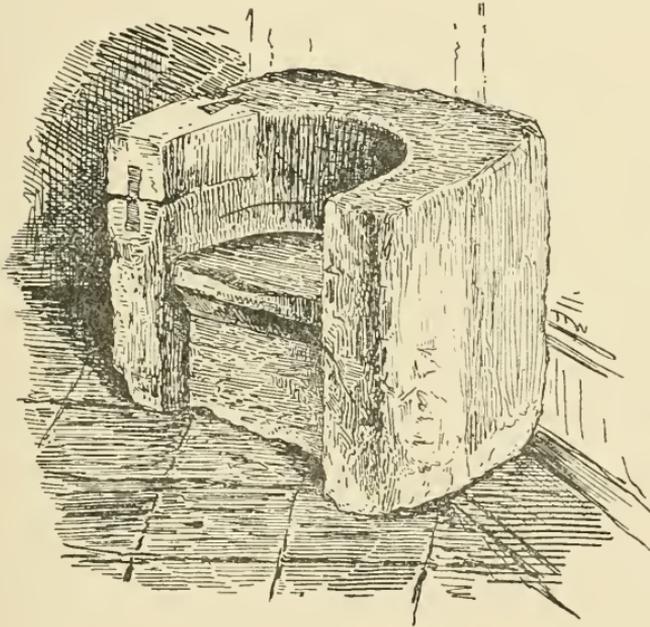
shrine of an early archbishop and saint of the church, is not quite clear to us at this distance of time.

Many of the fugitives rode to this great refuge, and cases are on record where horses were stolen to facilitate their flight. Those fleeing from Nottingham and the district would no doubt take Newark, Lincoln, Brigg, and Barton-on-Humber, crossing the Humber to Hessle, near Beverley, as the Yorkshire route *via* Selby would be too far north. In numerous cases they took friends with them, who no doubt assisted in effecting settlements with the parties aggrieved, failing which they became witnesses to the confessions upon oath, and possibly to the embarkation of the fugitives at the neighbouring port of Hull.

In numerous cases they appear to have continued to reside in Beverley, and to have become burgesses of the town, owing fealty to the Church. The above register is interleaved with lists of burgesses owing fealty, which were, as the editor of the recent publication says, "perhaps originally sanctuary men."

We find the following note in *Fasti Eboracenses* (p. 358):—"In the 31st Edward I. [1303], the

Sanctuary men at Beverley, and many thousands of thieves and outlaws, had been allowed to enlist [for the army in Scotland], and were in bad repute for deserting, especially after receiving their wages."



BEVERLEY SANCTUARY CHAIR.

Upon a fugitive arriving within a mile of this great church, he entered the charmed circle of the Sanctuary, the intervening spaces, supposed to have been marked by stone crosses, were endowed with higher or stronger powers, so that if any refugee was arrested, the fine was greater

as the church was reached; but no money, payment, or fine would atone for the arrest of a fugitive when once seated in the "Frithstool," or "chair of peace," beside the high altar, a piece of church furniture in stone, which still exists in Beverley Minster. Fugitives were received at all hours at the door of the church, and for thirty days were provided with food in the Refectory. If of gentle blood, they would be lodged in a dormitory, or in a house within the precincts. A fugitive could claim sanctuary a second time; but if his life was saved a third time by the privilege, he became permanently a servant of the Church.

A fugitive claiming sanctuary took an oath to be true and faithful to the Lord Archbishop of York, Lord of Beverley, to the provost, canons, and ministers; to bear good heart to the bailiff and twelve governors of the town, and to all the burgesses and commoners; not to carry a weapon of any kind; to give assistance in case of strife or sudden fire; to attend at the warning of the bellman of the town, the masses at the church, and the obits of King Athelstan; and to do duty in ringing the church bells.

In the ordinary sanctuaries, to which it is

admitted that Beverley possessed a special exception, the fugitive was safe for forty days, during which any one of three courses might be adopted. (1.) The Church, and the fugitive's friends, might intercede and purge the offence. (2.) He might give himself up to the law and go to prison for trial. (3.) He might forego the law, confess his crime before the coroner and witnesses, which included the people, and claim, under the protection of sanctuary, to abjure the kingdom.

The records of the city of Durham furnish a case (A.D. 1497) which illustrates this stage of our subject:—

“A man from Wolsingham is committed to prison for theft. He escapes, and seeks refuge in the cathedral. He takes his stand before the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and begs for a coroner. John Raket, the coroner of Chester Ward, goes to him and hears his confession. The culprit, in the presence of the Sacrist, the Sheriff, Under-Sheriff, and others, by a solemn oath, renounces the kingdom. He then strips himself to his shirt, and gives up his clothing to the Sacrist as his fee. The Sacrist restores the clothing, a white cross of wood is put in his hand, and he is

consigned to the Under-Sheriff, who commits him to the care of the nearest constable, who hands him over to the next, and he to the next, in the direction of the coast. The last constable puts him on a ship, and he bids an eternal farewell to his country."

It was found that in sending these sanctuary men out of the country, they carried with them secrets of the realm, of warfare, and of handicrafts, so that in A.D. 1531, an Act was passed by which the oath of abjuration was abolished, and that of remaining in some sanctuary for life was substituted.

It follows that the two last cases quoted in "Old Sanctuary Days" came under this law.

The privilege of sanctuary was further abridged by Henry VIII., and James I. finally abolished it in 1624.

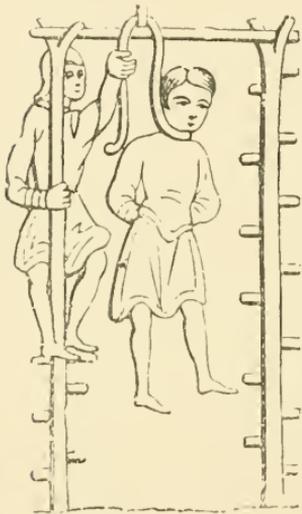
The right of sanctuary fitted the rude and lawless days of early Christianity. "How gladly must the victims of internal warfare have turned their eyes from the baronial castle, the dread and scourge of the neighbourhood, to the venerable walls of the sanctuary, within which not even the clamour of arms could be heard to disturb the chaunt of holy men."

The King's Gallows of the County.

THIS important feature, which stood on the northern confines of the town lands of Nottingham, is no longer an institution of the county, but from its high antiquity, and the important part it has played as an instrument of the law, it is worthy of a place in "Bygone Nottinghamshire." Like other details of the town, it carries with it associations of a doubtful order; but its contemplation, although it may fail to afford us pleasure, enables us to judge of the march of modern improvements, and to justly value the enlightened age in which we live.

The gallows at Nottingham, from being the legal one at which the Sheriff of the county executed the criminals, was called "the King's Gallows," and it no doubt dated from the Saxon era when, as Bishop Stubbs says in his great work, "The Constitutional History of England," Mercia, under Edward the Elder, was divided into shires.

Although the burgesses of Nottingham, as a community in which the government of the county was largely vested, had infangenetheof in the township, and along the river Trent from Thrumpton to Newark, in the time of Henry I., and a prison in or before the time of King John, it is questionable whether they adjudged criminals to death, or had right of



ANGLO-SAXON GALLOWES.

gallows. The Sheriff of the county, under whom the Reeve of Nottingham in early times was an officer, held his great courts twice a year at the King's Hall (County Hall). The judges, in the absence of the King, were the eurls of the county, who were then petty kings; and the bishops, the one to watch over the lay, and the other the clerical, parts of the offences. In 1177, Henry II. inaugurated the present system of itinerant or travelling judges as his representatives, and the civil and ecclesiastical courts were finally separated. The power of condemning a man to death was held by the King, who deputed his

judges to administer it, and hence the prerogative of mercy is vested in the Crown. The bishops and abbots, as being next in power to the kings, held their own courts, and tried and condemned prisoners for petty offences taken on their own lands, and claimed and exercised the right of gallows. This accounts for the existence at one time of a gallows at Collingham, in our county. In some cases the kings granted right of gallows to the great lords of the soil.

Roger de Busli, who came in with the Conqueror, and who had granted fully one-fourth of the county, gave to the monks of Blyth, in this county, the church of Blyth, and all the town, with its privileges, which embraced the right of gallows.

Edward III., A.D. 1307, granted to Peter Picot the privilege, amongst others, of gallows in his manor of Ratcliff-upon-Soar. The Abbot of Peterborough, in the reign of King Henry III., set up a gallows at his manor of Collingham, and hung a thief thereon.* The Bishop of Lincoln, who claimed to be Lord of the Wapen-

* This capital sentence was probably passed upon the thief by the King's justices at the county assizes.

take of Newark, and to have superior rights, had this gallows pulled down.

We find a gallows alongside the Great North Road, on the south of Newark town, in the time of Charles II. *Vide* Ogilvie's "Book of Roads." This might have been the gallows at which King James I., when at Newark, ordered a thief following his retinue to be hung without consulting judge or jury.

Queen Isabella was Lady of the Manor of Mansfield, and claimed, amongst other rights, that of gallows.

In A.D. 1230, we find the Justices sentencing Richard Canting, a man belonging to the Abbot of Dornthorp, to death, and handing him over to the bailiff of the Abbot of Peterborough to be hung at the manor gallows at Collingham. It was deemed inexpedient to hang the man at Collingham, owing to some Church festival, and hence they sought the King's gallows at Nottingham, where he was hung; but it did not waive the right of the Abbot of Peterborough to his goods and chattels. ("Chron. of Peterborough.")

In 1273, we find William de Cressi, knight, granting to the Abbot of St. Catherine, at Rouen, and the Prior of the convent of Blyth,

the right to hang thieves taken within the liberty of Blyth, on his gallows at Edwinstowe. (Bailey, "Annals of Nottingham," p. 158.)

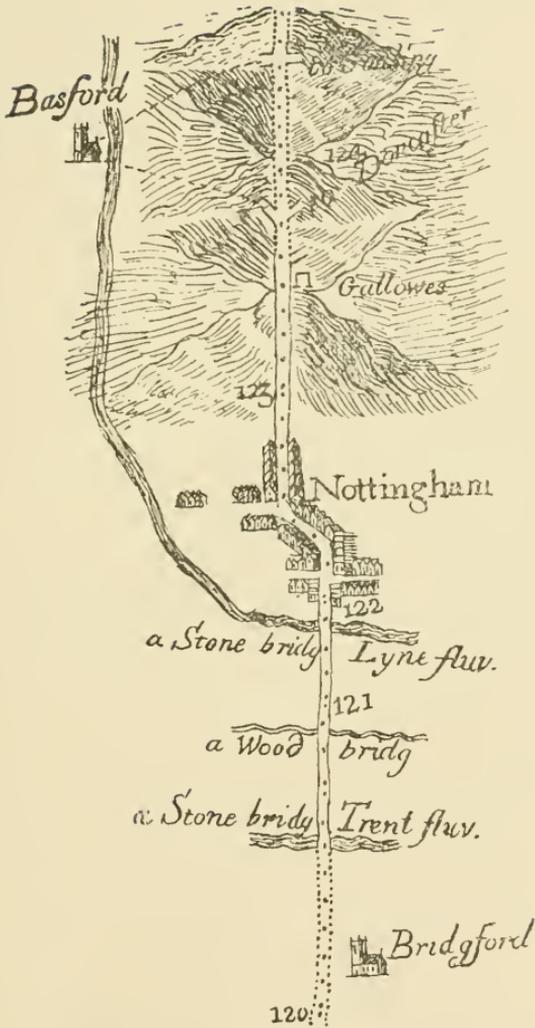
Prior to the expulsion of the Jews from the country in 1291, a "Jew gallows" stood in the Lingdale Field of Nottingham, which lay to the north-west of the old town, a district now occupied by Shakespeare Street.

In primitive times malefactors were hung from the arms of trees; but in the Middle Ages the gallows was understood to be two upright posts, with the fatal beam on the top; whereas a gibbet was one post, with a single or double arm.

We are able to identify the site of the gallows, as early as A.D. 1280, by one of the "Stretton MSS.," in the Nottingham Free Library, where some land is mentioned between the Hospital [of St. John] and the gallows. It is subsequently called the gallows of [the hamlet of] Whiston. ("Records of Nottingham," Vol. I., p. 442). The one fixing it on the north side of the town, and the other at the top of Mansfield Road, where we find it figured in Ogilvie's "Book of Roads," published in 1674, on the ground now occupied by St. Andrew's Church, a reproduction of which we here give. In later times, for it was

often replaced, it stood near the present church cemetery gates.

The earliest execution we hear of was that of a country gentleman of considerable means, of the name of John, son of Thomas de Cuckney, who was tried at the suit of another gentleman of position, Ralf de Edwinstowe, for theft, in the year 1201. He was tried and condemned by the Judges of Assize at the gaol delivery of the county, as may be seen on reference to Thoroton (p. 449). Almost every offence in those rude times was visited by the penalty of death. This arose from the confined character of the prisons, and the difficulties experienced in keeping prisoners from escaping. The prisons of Nottingham were dungeons hewn in the sand-rock. Those under the ancient prison of the town, and under the House of Correction, were known to exist; but those of the county prison exist to-day, and were in use so late as John Howard's time. The "Records of Nottingham" give some valuable examples of the light value formerly placed upon human life. A.D. 1315-16, Gervase Aubrey, for stealing a cow, was sentenced to be hung (vol. 1, p. 85). A.D. 1323, Richard de Buckley sentenced to abjure the



NOTTINGHAM, FROM OGILVIE'S "BOOK OF ROADS."

town for stealing a "tapet," escaped being hanged on account of the small value of the article (vol. 1, p. 95).

At or about this date we ought to notice the doings of Robin Hood and his merry men at the gallows of Nottingham, in rescuing Will Stuteley, one of the robber band, and in another instance of three squires condemned to death for deer slaying; but we refrain, as it is no part of our duty to enlarge on the doings of these myths of the Middle Ages, the scene of whose exploits were so largely laid in and about our ancient borough.

The records of the executions on Gallows Hill are very fragmentary. Our early evidence is almost a blank, during which hundreds of malefactors must have been conveyed from the town and county prisons, through the North Bar of the town, a similar construction to the Castle gateway, to that dismal hill, where this instrument of death formed the first intimation to the traveller from the North that he was approaching an important county town. It would appear that the malefactors, in some cases, were buried at the foot of the gallows, for upon disturbing the site in 1826, to procure soil to raise the low or south side

of the great Market Place, over fifteen skeletons were exhumed. Some of the skulls were preserved, and one of them was in the Naturalists' Museum, when that collection was, a few years ago, handed over to the town.

The gallows played a heavy part during the great rebellion of 1537, called the "Pilgrimage of Grace."

Harrod, the historian of Mansfield, informs us that in 1546, Coll (Nicholas) Davy was hung at Nottingham, having been condemned at the Assizes for setting fire to some property in Mansfield, whereby 131 bays of buildings were destroyed. In some cases the malefactors were hung on gibbets at, or by, the scenes of their crimes; bearing on this point we have a note, under date 1571, in the Mayor's book: "Paid to Bate, for taking Cranwell down off the Jebytt, 1s." This was some unfortunate who was granted the favour of a grave, after being exposed within the confines of the borough on a gibbet.

A parallel case was that of Joan Phillips and Edward Bracey, who were executed for highway robbery in 1685. They appear to have been gibbeted near the scene of their crime, which

was on the London Road, south of the Trent Bridge, near the end of Wilford Lane. Bailey (p. 1025) gives a lengthy notice of these malefactors, and states that this was the common place of execution for criminals from the prisons of Nottingham. We may here state that all the evidence we possess points to the contrary, which is that the gallows was fixed, from early to late times, on Gallows Hill. As noted above, Ogilvie shows it on this spot in 1670, and the execution under notice occurred in 1685. This is clearly a case of confusion between a gallows and a gibbet.

The Reign of Terror in Wotts.

IN 1752, the then existing laws were looked upon as insufficiently brutal to meet the circumstances of the times, and an Act was passed limiting the grace between condemnation of malefactors and their execution to one clear day, and capital punishment was dealt out to almost every transgressor of the law. This reign of terror existed until 1834, during which the majority of the executions of which we have any record occurred. Added to their speedy exit, the criminals were condemned to mutilation, in the form of having their bodies handed over to the doctors for dissection, a degradation that was followed by public exposure of the body, and in some cases by articulation of the bones, the skeletons gracing the studios of the doctors, or the lecture rooms of the General Hospital. Neither age nor sex was respected. The judges attending these bloody Assizes were in some cases tempered with mercy, and would defer passing capital sentence until Friday, by which means

the culprit had an extra day, the Sabbath, to prepare for eternity, a day which was dead in law. These capital offences were murder, infanticide, violation, forgery, highway robbery, cattle stealing, burglary, frame-breaking, incendiarism, returning from transportation, and even stealing a portmanteau. In one instance the malefactor was a girl of fifteen, in another a youth of nineteen; in the latter case the culprit begged the judge to remit the portion of his sentence which referred to dissection and exposure of the body, but this the judge, in a heartless manner, refused, remarking that he "cared more for his body than his soul."

We find one instance of a judge deferring sentence on a frame-breaker, and upon reaching his lodgings, finding the culprit's wife and children awaiting him, who on their knees prayed him to show mercy to the husband and the father, which, to his honour be it said, he did, for on the following day the sentence was a nominal fine, and a short imprisonment.

One of the earliest victims of these terrible times was a respectable young gentleman named Samuel Ward, executed on April 4th, 1759, for unlawfully entering the house of Mr. Liptrot,

grocer, at the corner of Fletcher gate and Byard Lane, Nottingham, the site of which is now an open space; the motive for this act was never clearly known, as the culprit maintained a rigid silence; but it was supposed to be an unfortunate attachment to the lady or mistress of the house. It is recorded that this

“Settled shadow of an inward strife”

was more than the lady could bear, and that the sad episode terminated shortly afterwards by her death from a broken heart. (Bailey’s “Annals of Notts.,” p. 1240.)

Another case was related to the writer by the late C. V. Wilcockson, chemist, of the Long Row, Nottingham, a business lately conducted by Messrs. Parr and Atherton. These premises were formerly liquor vaults; a burglar who entered regaled himself too freely in the cellar, where he was found asleep; the charge of housebreaking was proved against him, and he was hung for this capital offence.

From Sutton’s “Date Book,” and other sources, we glean particulars of what the old catch-pennies called the “behaviour and execution” of the criminals. The processions commenced from the county or town hall, as the

case might be, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the cavalcade being on foot, the prisoners not being conveyed to Gallows Hill in carts until 1775. There were exceptions to this rule, in the case of John Revel, executed in 1729, and William Hall, the Eugene Aram of our county, executed in 1758—the former for shooting, and the latter for child murder, committed thirty years before, who were driven to the gallows in their own carriages.

Emerging from the prison doors, the culprits were, in some cases, taken to St. Mary's Church, to hear, as it were, their own funeral sermons, where they were allowed to inspect their own graves, to don their own shrouds, and even to test the capabilities of their graves to hold their remains, and it was common for the choristers of this church to join the fatal processions, and sing psalms on the way to the gallows, in which the culprits generally took an active part. Middle Pavement, Bridlesmith Gate, and Clumber Street (then a narrow street called Cow Lane), was the route, and the throng on these occasions was immense; the windows of the old houses were crowded with heads, and every sign post, or point of vantage, was seized upon by the spectators; one in particular, an immense oak

beam, that crossed the Cow Lane, from which creaked the great swinging sign of the White Lion, was a favourite seat, being lined, as the old writers inform us, from end to end. As the culprits passed on, guarded by the constables and the spear or javelin men of the Sheriff, they were greeted with the howls and yells of the populace, who gauged the intensity of their cries by the measure of the crimes for which the culprits were about to suffer. This treatment, under the most favoured circumstances, was sufficient to embitter the last moments of these victims of the offended law.

Amongst these scenes by the way, we are told of a man named Allcock, whose crime was the murder of his wife in 1733, beguiling the tedium of the march by singing an old ballad of Robin Hood, to the air of "Derry, derry, down;" of John Spencer, in 1779, who, under the mental pressure of his surroundings, fainted several times; and of a young man of respectable family, whose crime was stealing a portmanteau, in 1803, from the coach office in Newark, a crime for which he was arrested when alighting from the coach at the Lion Hotel, Nottingham. This victim of the law was met on the way to the

gallows by his youthful wife, to whom he had only been married two days when the theft was committed. This was a stirring scene in one of our local tragedies. We are told that the crowd opened at the cry of female anguish, and that a heartrending scene ensued, the wife fainting in her husband's arms, from whose embrace she was torn by the constables.

In numerous cases the processions were stopped by the host of the last inn on the route, and the culprits were allowed to partake of "a parting glass." The old Highland Laddie, the inn of the Scotch drovers, which stood at the corner of York Street and Woodborough Road, was the scene of this custom; but upon building the Nag's Head Inn, higher up the road, the custom was transferred to this, the nearest tavern to the gallows.

Public Executions.

THE preceding sketches, somewhat dark in tone, "The King's Gallows of the County," and "The Reign of Terror in Notts.," will prepare the reader for this the closing chapter.

The execution of malefactors in public, or in the face of all the people, is an institution, the origin of which we cannot trace. It was a custom appealing direct through the eye to the mind, and, like other details of the machinery of law, reflects a bygone age, when the medium of importing knowledge by writing, except with the lettered few, was impossible; it also represents a state of primitive freedom long sustained, one which our most aggressive kings failed to suppress in favour of capital punishment in private. Even in our enlightened days it is only suppressed in part, for every one executed must come under the view of the coroner and his jury of twelve true and lawful men, and there can be no doubt but this safeguard of the liberties of the people will obtain until the system of capital

punishment, now viewed with disfavour, is abolished. Arriving at the gallows, the malefactors, in early times, were swung from ladders ; in later times the executioners placed them on the fatal plank across the top of a cart, where the chaplain of the gaol, or some minister of religion, would engage them in devotion of prayer and song, in which the choristers of St. Mary's Church, and the great concourse of people, joined. Instances are on record where such offices extended over an hour.

At the close of this ceremony, the culprits would, in some instances, address the crowd, and proclaim their guilt or innocence. Our local history bears record of hardened criminals, who, at this stage, would make light of their situation, and would cry out to their companions, "Never mind, lads ;" or would kick off their shoes to belie the old adage that "Rogues always die in their shoes." William Hebb, who was executed in 1769, obtained permission for his cousin, a companion in crime, recently acquitted, to be his executioner. At the gallows it is stated he was too nervous to perform the office, and that Hebb fixed the noose himself, and thus became his own executioner ; his last act was to

take a note from his pocket, and, after kissing it, to clench it in his dying hand; this was afterwards found to be an affectionate parting epistle to his wife.

In the instance of William Hall, who was executed in 1803, he had to be dragged from his cell, and pinioned by the aid of six warders; on the way to the gallows he was chained to the vehicle, and at the fatal tree he jumped from the cart, and made desperate efforts to escape. A scene of confusion ensued, in which the Sheriff's men freely used the butt ends of their javelins before the culprit could be overpowered. Some, upon the rope being affixed, would jump from the cart, crying, "Come on," and so end their sufferings. Others would allow the cart to be drawn from under them, and die through mere strangulation, their bodies swinging to and fro from the fatal beam. Instances are not wanting where the ropes have broken, and the half-hung criminals have passed (a second time) the terrible ordeal. We could in these cases endorse the words of one culprit, "It is hard, it is hard."

All being over, the bodies were hurried away, some to St. Ann's Well, others to the County Hall, or the General Infirmary, or to some house

where they became subjects to the "big wigs" of the time for dissection; after which their bodies were publicly exposed in the County Hall or in the public street. In the case of Ann Castledine, who was executed for infanticide in 1784, her body, after being exposed on boards and tressels in front of the County Hall for two days, was sent to a surgeon at Derby. Whilst there a gentleman, supposed to have been her betrayer, called to view the remains, where he took up her heart, and after squeezing a drop of blood from it into his handkerchief, replaced it, and rode away. This poor creature was denied a grave, and her dangling bones long graced the studio of the Derby surgeon, as those of the youth of nineteen did the Lecture Hall of the Nottingham General Hospital. Capital offences were in some cases atoned for by gibbeting after hanging. The body of Robert Brown, a blind imbecile, was so exposed on Mansfield Forest in 1767, and that of John Spencer near the toll gate on the Great North Road at Scrooby in 1779. These gibbets were intended to be a grim warning to evil-doers; but they were made subjects of baser ends. It was customary for the lower orders of the people to visit these

scenes, especially on the Sabbath, from all the country round. Scenes of riot and debauch were the consequence, and hawkers of nuts, gingerbread, etc., attended as at a feast or fair.

John Spencer's was a remarkable case. His body, besmeared with pitch and tar, was hung in chains, with the hedgestake, the instrument of the murders at the Scrooby toll-bar, in his hand. After hanging for a few weeks, his body was shot through by the sergeant of a band of soldiers passing with a deserter on the Great North Road. For this offence he was followed and reported, whereon he was tried by court-martial, and reduced to the ranks. This disturbance of the body caused its rapid decomposition, and the odour blown over the neighbouring village of Scrooby was pestilential. The end of this exhibition is a tale of years, piecemeal the bleached bones and the rusty cage fell to the ground, to be secretly conveyed away by the morbid people. In April, 1841, the tooth of time completed the gnawing down of the post; but a portion of it does duty as a gate-post to a field on the railway side, and on it is deeply engraved the date of the murders at the Scrooby toll-gate, "1779."

In 1817, upon the day of the execution of Daniel Diggle approaching, who was condemned for shooting in the so-called Luddite wars (frame breaking), it was considered dangerous to publicly convey the culprit to the old gallows, as a rescue by his numerous associates, in this and the neighbouring counties, would no doubt have been attempted. A gallows was erected in front of the County gaol on the high pavement, where the culprit was swung from a cart in the old orthodox manner.

Ten years after (in 1827), the last of innumerable acts was played on Gallows Hill, in the execution of William Wells for highway robbery, after which the gallows, which for twenty-seven years had been a portable construction, was finally removed.

Its permanency was disturbed by a gang of daring young fellows, who, on the eve of the execution of John Atkinson, for passing bad notes in 1800, chopped it down and dragged it into a stack-yard near to Coal-Pit Lane.

The writer, when a youth, was acquainted with an old burgess, a carpenter, an expert with the axe, who took an active part in the above incident of felling the gallows, and he has spoken

with several witnesses of scenes he here attempts to portray.

It is passing strange that such scenes should have been enacted down to the very fringe of our time. The present does not represent the change wrought in one generation; but is the work of a new generation altogether, for, had the old one lived on, it would have clung to the old order of things. This opinion is forced upon the writer by the fact of an old-time resident maintaining to his dying day that no punishment short of death should be meted out to a burglar who entered a man's house under the cover of night.

Old Family Feuds.

I N times past feuds were ripe between neighbouring families, especially so amongst the old feudal lords of our historic castles, who could raid upon each other, and retire into their strongholds at will.

This state of things obtained throughout all Europe, and some interesting chapters might be written thereon. Shakespeare, in his "Romeo and Juliet," pictures one of these "blood hatred" feuds between the noble houses of Montague and Capulet.

Our county furnishes some interesting instances where passion mastered reason, or where the arbitrament of the sword was appealed to.

The first local case of family feud we hear of is that of William Peverel, the lord of Nottingham Castle, who was charged with compassing the death of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, for which he met with the King's displeasure, and is reported to have fled for sanctuary to Lenton Abbey, where he became a monk.

A case that savours strongly of this class is that of the Darcys, an old family holding lands at Kirkby-in-Ashfield, as recorded by Thornton:—
“King Ed. II. (A.D. 1307), at the request of his well beloved and faithful men, Robert Darcy, John Darcy, his brother, and John Darcy le Cosyn, of his special grace, granted to them Philip Darcy and Norman Darcy, his enemies and rebels, taken and detained in his prison at York, to be delivered or otherwise disposed of according to their wills, saving to the said King the escheat and forfeiture of their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, belonging to him on that occasion.” The above Darcys were known to be of one family.

Cardinal Wolsey, in his fallen state, when in residence in the Palace of Southwell, in the summer of 1530, acted as peace-maker between families at enmity. George Cavendish, who was in attendance there as his gentleman usher, says:—
“He made many agreements and concords between gentlemen and gentlemen, and between some gentlemen and their wives, that had been long asunder, and divers other agreements between other persons; making great assemblies for the same purpose, and feasting of them, not

sparing for any costs, where he might make a peace and unity ;” and later in the year, when at Serooby, “and thus with good deeds practicing and exercising during his abode there at Serooby, as making of love-days and agreements between party and party, being then at variance, he daily frequented himself there about such business and deeds of honest charity.”

A writer in the “State Book,” which emanated from the office of the King’s printer in 1536, entitled, “A remedy for Sedition,” says, “He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge betweene any of them ; yf there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the churche, and made them all one.”

A case which has only recently come to light in “a descriptive catalogue of ancient deeds in the Public Record Office,” vol. 1, published in 1890, may here be noted. It is given under the heading of “Series C., Court of Chancery,” and dated 16th day of September, 29th Henry VIII. (1538), as follows :—

“Award of Anthony Coope* and Edmund

* This was evidently the gentleman, who, in 1547, was knighted as Sir Anthony Cope, whose father was William Cope, Esquire, cofferer to Henry VII. Sir Anthony was principal chamberlain to Queen Catherine Parr. He was an author and a polished gentleman. He died in 1551.

Hessilwodd Esquires. Arbitration between John Byron Knight, and Nicholas Strelley Knight, and also between the said Nicholas Strelley and Richard Greenhill, servant to the said Sir John Byron. Sir Nicholas is to pay 53s. 4d. to Richard Grenehill for the 'hurts and mayme' to him given by Sir Nicholas, and his servants, at Nottingham. Sir John and Sir Nicholas are to stay at each others houses twice yearly during the next three years, 'to hunt and passe the tyme togeder famylyerly, and to declare and open theyre myndes ayther to oder, to avoid future variences etc.'"

We cannot tell the nature of this feud: but it is clear that Sir Nicholas Strelley and his servants fell foul of the servants or retainers of Sir John Byron at Nottingham, and that Richard Greenhill was nigh being slain by Sir Nicholas. These great men of the county were not amenable to the common law, and the battle, so to speak, was refought in the High Court of Chancery, and the noblemen became subject to the verdict of two arbitrators. Sir Nicholas had to pay for the personal injuries done to Richard Greenhill, and the two noblemen were to join company, to visit together, and to sleep

beneath each other's roofs at stipulated times, for three years.

We have strong inference that the terms of this award were faithfully carried out, and that the family feud was by this means healed, for the son of Sir John Byron, also named "Sir John," married Alice, the daughter of Sir Nicholas Strelley. Of this latter nobleman we know little, except that he died at Strelley, in this county, 3rd February (1561). Of Sir John Byron we have several notes. He was known in his time as "Little Sir John with the great beard;" he was steward of Manchester and Rochdale, and lieutenant of Sherwood Forest; he was the first lord of Newstead Abbey, in this county, this estate being granted to him by King Henry VIII., two years after the issuing of the above remarkable award.

Thoroton narrates a curious case under Kirby Woodhouse, in this county. "The manor is now (1670) the inheritance of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. Sir Charles Cavendish, his father, had begun to build a great house in this lordship on a hill by the forest side, near Annesley Woodhouse, where he was assaulted and wounded by

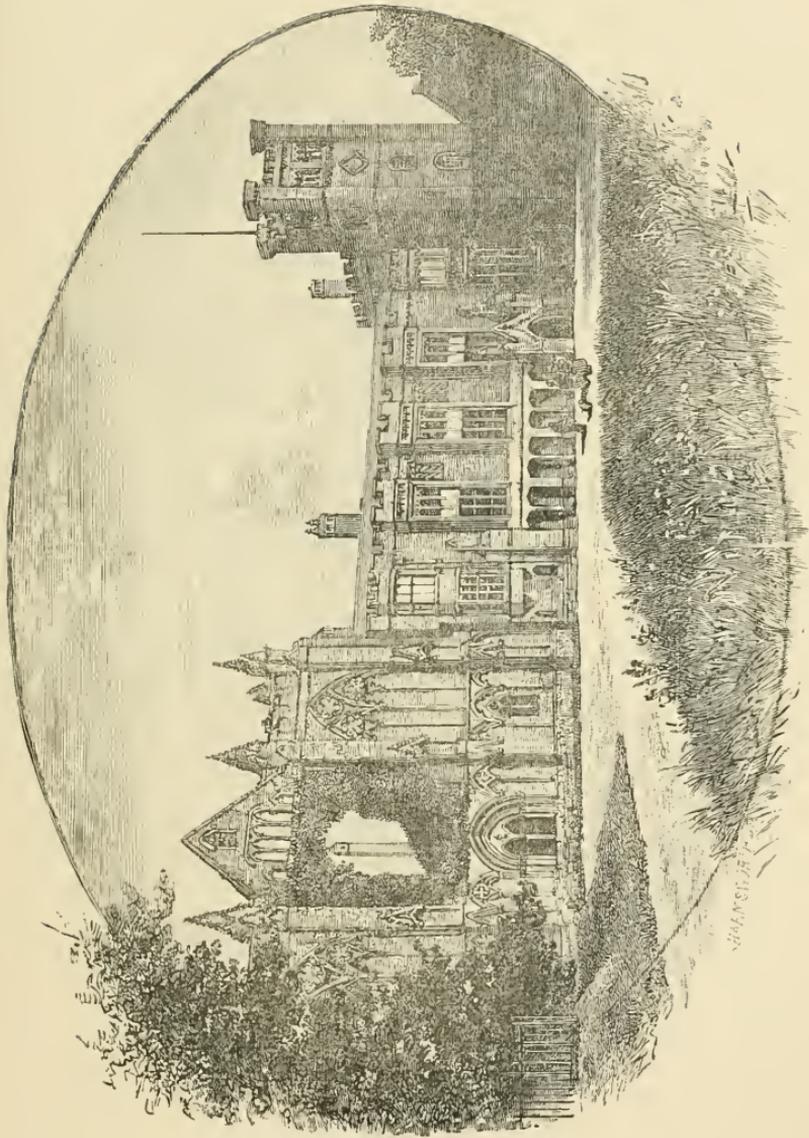
Sir John Stanhope,* and his man, as he was viewing the work, which was therefore thought fit to be left off, some blood having been spilt in the quarrel, then very hot between those families." This Sir Charles Cavendish was younger brother to William, the First Earl of Devonshire, and he was father to the First Duke of Newcastle, the builder of the present Castle of Nottingham, his mother being the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick," whose ashes repose in the church of All Saints', at Derby. We do not know the date of this feud, but we presume it would be in the closing years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Perhaps the saddest case in the county occurred in 1765, in which, strange to say, another Lord Byron played a leading part. On the 24th January, certain county noblemen, who in London constituted the "Nottinghamshire Club," met at the Star and Garter Tavern, Pall Mall, about seven at night. A conversation was started upon the best method of preserving game on estates, in which Mr. Chaworth, of Annesley, and William, the fifth Lord Byron, took a heated

* Sir John Stanhope, the father of the First Earl of Chesterfield, came to his family estates in 1596, and died in 1609.

part; Mr. Chaworth saying, "Your Lordship knows where to find me in Berkeley Row." An hour after they met on the stairs, whereon Lord Byron said, "Sir, I want to speak with you," they went into a vacant room, and fought with swords by the light of a tallow candle, and Mr. Chaworth was slain.

For this offence, owing to some alleged unfair practices during the combat by the noble lord, an indictment was preferred against him before the grand jury for the county of Middlesex, when a true bill for wilful murder was returned. Lord Byron was arrested, and conveyed to the Tower of London, from whence he was brought to trial before the Peers in Westminster Hall, on April 16th; as he approached his Judges, he made three reverences, and then fell upon his knees, till bidden to rise by the Lord High Steward: the axe being carried before him by the gaoler, with the edge turned towards him. The charge was made, and the witnesses examined, whereon Lord Byron had his defence read by the Clerk, in which he begged their Lordships to have some consideration for human weakness and passion, and to acquit him of malice, etc. The Peers' verdict gave four *not guilty*, and one hundred and



NEWSTEAD ABBEY.
(From a Photograph by Allen, Nottingham.)

nineteen *not guilty of murder, but guilty of manslaughter*. The prisoner was then asked what he had to plead why judgment should not be pronounced against him, whereon he pleaded the benefit of the statute of Edward VI.—the privilege of a Peer; and was discharged on paying the fees. This event clouded Lord Byron's after-life, which he spent in the strictest seclusion at Newstead Abbey.

This gave rise to many absurd stories and superstitious reports among the country people; two grim images of satyrs in the garden were stiled by them, "The old Lord's devils." He is said in his solitude to have tamed crickets, and allowed them to crawl over him; to have always gone about armed; and to have had a case of pistols placed upon his table as a customary part of his dinner service. He closed his career with only one male and one female servant about his person.

It is generally believed that this fatal quarrel between two neighbouring families of distinction was one of the causes of dislike Mary Chaworth entertained for George Gordon Byron, the sixth Lord. This was a union Lord Byron greatly desired, as he said it would have healed feuds in

which blood had been shed between the two families; and there can be no question but her refusal of his hand imparted a tinge of sadness to all his poetry, which, but for the incident of this feud, might never have been written.

Speaking to a friend, Lord Byron said, "Our estates [Newstead and Annesley] adjoined; but owing to the unhappy circumstances of the feud, our families [Byron and Chaworth], as is generally the case with neighbours who happen to be near relations, were never on terms of more than common civility, scarcely these."

There was a tradition that if Lord Byron, "the duellist's heir," ever passed a night at Annesley Hall, the residence of the Chaworths, the ancestors of this family would descend from their frames on the walls and haunt him.

It is recorded ("Dic. Natl. Biog.," vol. viii., p. 134) that he did sleep there one night, being nervous on account of a "bogle" seen on the road to Newstead, or for some less fanciful motive. This incident is supposed to have suggested the following lines:—

“ As the eyes may seem
Of the restless who walk in a troubled dream :

“ Like the figures on arras, that gloomily glare,
Stirr'd by the breath of the wintry air,
So seen by the dying lamp's fitful light
Lifeless, but life-like, and awful to sight :
As they seem, through the dimness, about to come down
From the shadowy walls where their images frown :
Fearfully flitting to and fro,
As the gusts on the tapestry come and go.”

* The Siege of Corinth, xxii.

* Visitations of the Plague.

UNDER the head of "plague" our forefathers classed a variety of zymotic diseases, the definition or classification of which is the work of modern times. It would appear they were maladies generated in countries possessing a high degree of temperature, and fostered amongst dense populations, with whom sanitary laws were little known and less regarded.

Plagues in ancient times were looked upon as scourges from God, sent to mark his displeasure for their sins and wickedness; or they were attributed to the baleful influence of unlucky planets. In the Middle Ages the same agencies were accounted all-potent, and to the sins visited by such maladies were added those of questionable legislation.

With our ancestors a mass of terms were used to define these maladies, amongst which those of "plague," "black death," "sweating sickness," "pestilence," "grievous distemper," and "visitation of God," may be mentioned. It would appear

that they swept over the land from the adjoining continent, making their appearance in the Spring, and increasing with the rate of temperature. The towns visited were, in some cases, desolated, grass growing in the thoroughfares. The inhabitants, as a whole, owing to the well-known contagious character of the disease, were isolated from the neighbouring towns or districts, and they were not allowed to travel on business without a permit from the mayor or chief magistrate, which specified that they were unsuspected.

Particular families inhabiting these plague-stricken towns were denied the privilege of quitting their houses if any member was suspected, and, although the records of Nottingham are not so full of detail as those of the neighbouring town of Leicester, we may rest assured that watch and ward was constantly kept to prevent them from wandering abroad. In some cases the houses were hedged round, in others the fearful sign of the red or flaming cross was painted on the doors along with the pathetic prayer, "Lord, have mercy upon us." Persons thus prescribed, were, upon emerging from their houses, forced back again by the guards, whose local powers were such that upon

refusal of their request they were empowered to shoot them down, and hanging was the punishment of any plague-stricken person found at large. Such was the rigour of these measures that suspected families were imprisoned in their own houses for two months at a time, and owing to the consequent breaking up of their businesses to have been, in some cases, reduced from comparative wealth to abject poverty. Fairs and markets were prohibited, and the support of the visited was drawn from voluntary, and later from forced, taxation of the whole county.

The bodies of the dead were buried in the fields, and this in a large measure accounts for the numerous skeletons exhumed in the neighbourhood of ancient towns, and it no doubt explains the numerous interments which at one time occurred in the neighbourhood of Milton Street and the Trinity Church, Nottingham, where, on lowering the ground in 1829, human remains in quantities were found two or three feet below the surface. In later times the dead were interred in the churchyards, proof of which is afforded by the fluctuations of the old registers.

With regard to our district we have no light shed upon this subject equal to the writings of

Henry of Knighton, a monk of Leicester, who did so much for this neighbouring county, nor have the materials we possess been woven into such a thrilling story as that of De Foe's celebrated work, "The Plague in London."

A great plague visited this country in 1551. We are told that it broke out in Shrewsbury in April, and speedily spread itself over the country, reaching this county early in July, and terminating in the north of the country in September. Strype tells us it was at its height in July, and that it was fatal to the most healthy persons in twelve or twenty-four hours after the attack, and that it was most fatal to men of middle age. As was usual in such cases, men began to repent of their sins, and to give alms; but as this malady subsided, this devotion subsided also. Erasmus, writing in 1556, ascribes the frequent occurrence of pestilence in England to the slovenly and dirty habits of the people, and in this he was no doubt correct.

In 1603, the state of the large towns of the country was so bad, owing to the constant visitations of the plague, that an elaborate Parliamentary measure was passed, which enabled the corporate bodies to deal with the effect of

these dread visitations, but the cause, as heretofore, was totally disregarded. By this Act taxes or weekly rates could be imposed, the proceeds of which should aid the poor and plague-stricken to prevent their wandering abroad; they could further defray the costs of searchers and examiners of suspected persons, and provide watchmen or guards for suspected houses or districts, keepers of plague-stricken persons, and buriers of the dead. In case of need, the districts within a radius of five miles were bound to contribute. Under this Act the Mayor, Alderman, and three other persons, constituted themselves a Committee of Overseers.

With the present generation it is fair to say that they can lay claim to immunity from the plagues that haunted the day-dreams of our ancestors. Leprosy, various plagues and distempers, amongst which that of small-pox may be ranked, are now practically unknown: but in our church service we are forcibly reminded of the old times in the beautiful old prayer that forms part of our Litany:—

“From lightning, tempest, from plague, pestilence, and famine; and from battle and murder, and from sudden death, *Good Lord deliver us.*”

Visitations in the Town.

THE first allusion to the visitation of the plague in our local history is in A.D. 1510, but there can be no question but they had been the bane of the townspeople for many centuries. The above allusion is interesting, as it reflects a primitive state of the town, no laws or provisions having then being made to deal with the scourge.

The scene opens with the plague-stricken inhabitants being isolated and housed in the caves or rock holes hewn in the foot of the sandstone cliffs at the west end of the town, *i.e.*, beneath the rock now known as Castle Terrace. These were called the Bugholes, Bugholis, Boge Holys, or Boke Holles. This form of local name survived to the date of Deering's map, 1744, and is figured thereon as No. 19. The name may have been drawn from the "bog" or meadow at their level, or from the neighbouring high lands called the Bughilles, or Bugehills, so named from being the property or

place of residence, "Bugge Hall," of Ralph Bugge, the founder of the Bingham family, who witnessed a grant to St. John's Hospital in this town in A.D. 1241.

It would appear that the caves beneath the castle rock and on the north side of the Brew-house Yard were used for like purposes; but being out of the borough, they seem to have been inhabited by the plague-stricken people from the neighbouring Wapentakes; but nevertheless to have been in the charge or management of the governing body of the town. This seems to imply an ancient burden laid upon the town as the capital of the county.

Our first case, as noted above, is that of Thomas Birch, of Carlton, whose daughter Agnes was "visited with the visitation of God, to wit, the sickness of the plague." This daughter was at Nottingham, and Thomas requests an unmarried person named Margaret to pay twenty pence for her expenses. Thomas refunds to Margaret twopence of this money, but fails to pay the balance, for which she sues him two years afterwards in the Borough Court. She had during that interval married a person of the name of Bower, who, as customary at that

time, joined his wife in the plea. We cannot say whether Agnes recovered, nor what was the result of this legal action; but we take it that Agnes was immured in one of these plague-dens at the foot of the Castle, and that her friends had to provide for her maintenance, etc. The epidemic was abroad in A.D. 1514, arising out of which we have another legal case in the following year. A Mark Fredence was then on the scene, who professed to cure the plague-stricken; a Richard Dawson, glover, who feared he was "infected with the infirmity of the pestilence," became his patient; but as he failed to cure him, he (Richard Dawson) sued this old medicine man for twenty pence damages.

A.D. 1541 furnishes us with a valuable note:—
"Item. Peyd to Thomas Guymer, at the commandments of Master Meyre, for the vyset folke in Boge Holys ijs (two shillings)." This Thomas Guymer was no doubt a keeper or constable, he was certainly a public man, for we find him fourteen years later collecting the toll of salt in the public market.

The Mickleton Jury, in October, 1570, advised that weekly or fortnightly searches be made in

the wards of the town to weed out idle persons, as the plague was about in the country.

A.D. 1575 throws a strong light upon a very serious case, viz., that of a "vysyted woman at Hye Crose in the felde," who was in the charge of one William Hall. There are five payments by the chamberlains and other officials "for hyr charges," varying from eighteen to twenty-two pence, extending over many weeks. This High Cross stood where we now find "Fulforth Terrace," on the east side of the Mansfield Road, and it implies that a more humane kind of treatment than placing the patients in the Bog Holes was supervening.

A.D. 1582-3, a present or reward of tenpence was given to a poor man to avoyd (quit) the town, as he was suspected of having the plague.

A.D. 1603, the plague was raging during this and the following year. Seven Aldermen and three other persons were appointed to oversee and guard the town against the pestilence, no inhabitant to attend the great fair at Lenton except in connection with cattle; the ale-houses on the back side of the town, frequented by the poor migratory portion of the inhabitants, to be

closed, guards or watchmen to be placed at the entrances of the town, and men to watch at Lenton Fair to see that no townsmen were there.

These precautions were of no avail, for the plague made its appearance, and assessments were made under the powers conferred upon the municipal bodies by the new Act of Parliament, and cabins, or plague houses, were built away in the fields to the north of the town. A collection was made extending over nine weeks, Alderman Morehaghe, the mayor, being the trustee of the fund, and as he only accounted for eight weeks of the collection, he was presented at the Sessions as a defaulter. These cabins were built on Mapperley Hills, at a place called Gorsey Close, a name still preserved in "Gorsey Road," for in letting this land on September 19th, 1606, a clause reserving the right of building cabins there was inserted.

In A.D. 1609, the plague was again abroad, the same precautions of watching the entrances of the town being adopted. This action was taken on March 30th, and it was in force on the 20th of the following May, when it was to be continued. These precautions were again use-

less, and the plague took up its residence in the town for three years, during which cabins were erected in the "Trough Close," the valley below Gorsey Close, sometimes known as "Plague Dale." On October 12th, 1612, a rebate of six shillings was allowed by the chamberlains to "Maester John Parker, for his losse received these three yeares, in his Trough close, by the visited people."

A.D. 1610 pictures again the old order of things. The overseers of the plague-stricken "bury a child in St. Nicholas' churchyard" (was this a death in the old Bog Holes of this parish). The father of this child, Robert Rotherham, and the mother, Jane Rotherham, resisted the overseers in this interment, and abused "Maister Maior," for which they were bound to "theyr good behaviour," and were ordered for their breach of law to appear at the next assizes.

There were at this time a number of plague-stricken people housed in the caves at the foot of the castle rock, towards the expenses of which the wapentakes of Rushcliff, Bingham, Thurgarton, and Broxtow, contributed the sum of £22 11s. 8d., being an assessment made by the

justices of the shire, and collected by the constables, for “the relief of the people under the castle, being out the county of the town, and aided by the counties,” which was paid to “Maister Maior.”

✧ The receipts of the mayor from the 12th day of January, 1610, and so onwards were :—

	£	s.	d.
“ For thirteen weeks collec- tions by assessments out of the seven wards of the town - - - -	28	2	8½
From the benevolence of Knights, ladies, and gentlemen, living in the town, and not assessed -	1	7	0
From the chief constables of the wapentakes of Rushliff, Thurgarton, Bingham, and Broxtow, being assessed by the Justices of the shire, for the aid, etc., of the people under the castle -	22	11	8
Total	£52	1	4.”

"DISBURSED.

	£	s.	d.
For the charges of the visited, and watchmen in the town, and at the plains - - - -	11	6	0
For the charges of the visited, and watching, at the Brewhouse yard, and under the castle - -	39	10	0
In hand - - - -	1	5	4
	<hr/>		
	£52	1	4." ✕

The watchmen here alluded to appear to have been the keepers or custodians of the plague-stricken. The disbursements pertaining to the caves of the castle rock were partly drawn from the town, and it is clear that this district, though in the county, was a burden upon the town. The charges for the town are comparatively light; but they are divided "in the town," and "at the plains." This, associated with the interment of a child at St. Nicholas' Church at the same date, implies that the Bog Holes were still in use. May it not have been that "the town" pertained to the stricken of St. Nicholas's

and St. Peter's parishes, and "the plains" to the like of St. Mary's parish.

The last note we have from our most valuable published records is :—

A.D. 1624, June, "paid for pullinge downe the house on ye playnes xvjd. (sixteen pence)."

The published records only reach down to A.D. 1625, but there are no doubt some later cases of interest buried in the unpublished records of the corporation; of these, which include the fearful visitation in London, in 1665, which spread itself all over the country, we shall get a faint reflection in the following chapter.

Visitations in the County.

THE task of compiling a chapter pertaining to old times under this heading is not an easy one, as the materials are either unpublished, or hid in the county histories, which, in most cases, are unindexed; the later sources of the subject are the church registers, which, in their turn, have not received at the hands of the historian the attention they deserve, and are consequently not generally available to the student. We learn from the "Records of the Borough of Nottingham" (Vol. III., p. 374), that, in A.D. 1537, the plague was abroad at Bradmeres and Bunny, in the south of the county; a Mr. Rychardson, whose father, Thomas, resided on the west side of the town of Nottingham, was there the keeper of the plague-stricken people. This Thomas Rychardson received "sertyn stuffe of his son, that com from the sekenes," for which he was presented by the freemen of that part of the town. A further charge presented by the constables at the sessions

was "for subportynge of his son to this towne, where be he puttes the towne in grete danger and juberte (jeopardy)."

In A.D. 1558, East Retford, or Retford-in-the-Clay, as it was anciently called, was visited by the plague, which, from July to October, swept away no fewer than eighty-two persons in West Retford alone.

In 1583, the county appears to have been sorely afflicted. Our evidence of this is the church register of Austerfield, near Bawtry, immediately across the county border, as given by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, in his "Collections concerning the founders of New Plymouth," who says (p. 201):—"This was in the time of the pestilence, with which these parts were so sorely visited. Above 700 persons died at Doncaster, of whom 141 died in this sad month of July."

In A.D. 1586, the plague was abroad at Derby, and the people on the western side of the county took what precautions they could against its spreading. In Nottingham, the townfolk were ordered to keep away from Derby on account of the plague there; no innkeeper or victualler to receive any persons from Derby into their houses on pain of a fine of ten shillings.

In A.D. 1592, the plague was abroad again; a great collection was made throughout the county by messengers from the mayor of Nottingham, and a considerable amount of money and



THE BROAD STONE, EAST RETFORD.

provisions was obtained. The contributors were Sir Thomas Stanhope, Sir John Byron, Sir Francis Willoughby, Sir Charles Cavendish, "ye Lady Strange," Justice Beaumonte, the Justices of the Peace of the county, parson Tomson of

Wilford, the parsons of Plumtree and Tollerton, Maisters Alsop, Power, Armestronge, Hollys, John Manners, Parkyns, Revill, Torney, Sutton, and Wholley ; Mestrays Molyneux, and Huthwayte of Colwick, Jervys Handlye, and Robert Ossybroke. The provisions given consisted of butter, cheese, bacon, corn, rye, malt, and one bullock.

We have no particulars of this visitation ; but it is clear some of the patients were at Nottingham, others in adjoining towns. We find two charges presented at the Borough Sessions which throw some light on the latter :—A.D. 1592-3, from the eastern part of the town : “ We present Edmond Garland, *de Nottingham*, glover, for receavinge his sister and kepinge her knowinge yat ye vesitation of God is in the sam towne where she dwelt.”

“ We present Maister Myhill Belle, *de Nottingham*, cordyner, for ye lyke offence.”

In the May of the latter year we find the Mickleton jury presenting “ Maister Herlowe, for slandrings our towne with the sicknes, which will be to our de kaye.” From the last it would appear the state of the town was not so bad as the country, certainly not so bad as Mr. Herlowe slanderously reported.

A.D. 1646, appears to have been a great year of plague in the county. Many of the inhabitants of Bingham were carried off by this dreadful scourge, and were interred in a large yard at the west end of the town, where human remains have often been found. It visited Newark, and added to the horrors of war with which that loyal old town was afflicted. In the register of the parish of Stoke, which embraced the castle and a large portion of the town, occurs the following:—"All these names that have ye crosse before them, did dye of ye plague, from which plague good Lord deliver us." The epidemic appeared in May, and continued with appalling severity until September. Families were rapidly thinned, several of the same household being buried in one day. So fast did they die when the pestilence was at its height, that some were buried on their own land, thus after one death is the entry:—"buried in ye field;" and after another:—"buryed in his croft." Robert Bagguley, the parish clerk, succumbed, and was buried on the 7th September; a cross of extra size was placed against his name in the register. At the end of this list of fatalities occurs the following:—"There dyed in the

towne of Stoke, 1646, eight score and one, whereof of the plague seven score and nineteen, William Lloyde, vicar, 1646." The average deaths of other years in the same parish was only seven or eight persons.

Tradition says the great Plague of London, in the summer of 1665, was conveyed to Newark in some patterns of woollen cloth sent to a draper in the Market Place. Mr. Dickinson, the historian of Newark, says:—"The disease is said to have carried off more than one-third of the inhabitants, and it raged so great a length of time that the streets were entirely grown over with grass. The bodies were not allowed to be buried within the precincts of the town, and a large pit was opened at the south end of Mill-gate, into which the dead and dying were promiscuously thrown by a cart every morning before sunrise."

This statement is not supported by the registers of Newark Church, but, as the victims were not buried in holy ground, the omission may probably be thus explained. The vicar at that time may not have been a communicative person, for the same silence obtains in the preceding year, when the register of the neighbouring

parish of Stoke was so fully entered. The following entry does occur, which shows that the plague was raging in the diocese of York :—

“August 2nd, 1665, collected towards the relief of the towns infected with the plague, to be transmitted to the Archbishop of York, £2 3s. 8d.” Other sums were collected and forwarded during the three following months.

The same epidemic visited Retford, when, from May 20th to October 10th, 1664, it swept off sixty-six persons.

In 1831, three human skeletons were found in a close at Moorhouse, near Tuxford, where tradition says there formerly were several houses, the inhabitants of which died of the plague. X

Nottingham Goose Fair.

THE origin of this great fair is lost in the obscurity of time. It is the fair of the county, and is no doubt coeval with its formation, which, as before stated, is held to have been early in the tenth century. Its first historical mention is in the charter of King Edward I., dated February 12th, 1284, where it is mentioned as an existing Fair, belonging to the Burgesses and Community of Nottingham, as follows:—"besides their fair, lasting for eight days, at the feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle (September 21st), they shall have, etc." The earliest notice of the fair in its present form is in 1541, "Records of Nottingham," Vol. III., p. 392, where it occurs as "gose Feyre Dey."

This ancient fair commenced on St. Matthew's Day, September 21st, and terminated eight days afterwards, viz., on Michaelmas day, September 29th.

Its present popular name is undoubtedly ancient, although we cannot trace it further

back than 351 years. It no doubt originated in the great number of geese brought to this fair for sale. We can imagine them being driven in flocks from the districts, fat from the stubble fields, and especially so from the neighbouring county of Lincoln, the home of the old goose-herds.

A great number of the ancient fairs of the country are popularly known by the leading commodities there exposed for sale, hence we have horse fairs, cattle fairs, cheese fairs, onion fairs, cloth fairs, etc., whilst that of our town, in mediæval times, absorbed the title of a poultry or goose fair.

The revision of the calendar in the last century, when twelve days were dropped, threw this ancient fair into the early days of October, *i.e.*, the old 21st of September. This was the case with most of the English fairs, as the mass of the people clung to the old order of things, and could not be induced to hold their fairs twelve days earlier than in old times. The writer has an old book, published about 1714, which says of Nottingham:—"The markets for all sorts of cattle, corn, and other conveniences of life, are kept here three times a week, viz., on

Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and the fair of St. Matthew's day, September 21st."

In the middle ages fairs were seldom held in the winter time owing to the badness of the roads, and the difficulties attendant upon merchants travelling with their pack horses and bales of goods.

Our Norman kings exercised the sole power of granting the right to hold new fairs. We can trace their hands in the great fair granted to the Priory of Lenton, to which was annexed the prohibition of holding fair or market in the borough of Nottingham during its continuance, but we cannot trace to them the granting to the burgesses of Nottingham of their great fair of St. Matthew's.

This fair was no doubt proclaimed in ancient times by sound of horn, but down to a few years ago it was performed by the Mayor and Sheriff with their officers, before which it was unlawful to begin traffic. The writer once heard the proclamation from the mouth of the late Mr. Greasley, the Sheriff's officer, who commenced with the old Norman cry *oyez, oyez, oyez*; the translation of which is, "hear ye;" but this, like the former purpose of the fair, has fallen into disuse.

The form of proclamation has never been published, but we understand it is preserved in the "Proclamation Book" belonging to the Nottingham Corporation.

An ancient court of *pie-poudre* held its sittings for the cognizance of offences committed in the fair. This is from the Norman *pied poudreux*, "dusty foot," alluding to pedlars and hawkers or persons tramping on the roads, and attending the fairs with dusty feet. This was a summary court to punish those itinerants by fines, etc., and to compel them, and those with whom they dealt, to carry out their contracts.

There are few of the ancient fairs in England which have maintained their character of great markets; like St. Bartholomew's Fair, in London, they have died a natural death, or have degenerated into public holidays for purposes of pleasure; the great horse fair at Horncastle, in Lincolnshire, and the stock fair at Barnet, are alone exceptions. These do not afford such pictures of the past as the present great fairs of Nijni Novgorod in Russia, and of Leipsic in Germany.

At the Nottingham Goose Fair of 1764, there

was a riot on account of the high price of cheese, which was selling at from 28s. to 30s. per hundred-weight. Cheeses are said to have been rolled down Wheeler Gate and Peck Lane in abundance. The Mayor, in his attempt to restore peace, was knocked down, the Riot Act was read, and a party of the 15th Dragoons was called out, whereon one man was shot. The riot ended in several arrests being made, and various punishments being doled out to the ringleaders.

The Great Priory Fair at Lenton.

THIS was a chartered fair, granted by Henry III., who ascended the throne in 1216. It was a flourishing institution in 1234, for Richard de Malquinci, of Ruddington, was at the fair that year, and gave lands to the prior. There has been great confusion respecting the date of the charter of this fair. Thoroton says it was *temp.* Henry. I. ; a local historian gives it as Henry II. ; but the "Records of the Borough of Nottingham" prove it to have been granted by Henry, son of King John (Henry III.) It was a fair of twelve days, commencing on St. Martin's Day (November 11th), better known as "Martinmas." This was an important holiday of ancient date, being the Roman "vinalia," or feast of Bacchus; when this holiday was Christianized, it re-appeared as the feast of St. Martin, and this saint was credited with the failings of the old god of wine. With our Anglo-Saxon ancestors it was the great slaughter time of the year, when beeves, sheep, and hogs,

whose store of food was exhausted, were killed and salted. The public used to begin this Saint day with feasting and drinking, and hence St. Martin became the patron saint of those who drank deep and heavily.

We mention these facts, for it is clear the old monks of Lenton selected a happy time for holding their chartered fair.

About 1300, there was great friction between the burgesses of Nottingham and the prior of Lenton as to the duration of the fair. It pressed heavily upon Nottingham, the capital of the county, two miles distant; for not being content with the grant of the fair, the priors obtained the monopoly of fair and market during those days, so that Nottingham was prohibited from holding market during its continuance, nothing could consequently be sold in public, but only in private, *i.e.*, within doors and windows. The hardship to Nottingham was that it invariably suppressed their great Saturday or Sabbath market for two consecutive weeks, which meant a great loss in tolls, inconvenience to the inhabitants, who had to go to Lenton for their markets, and a loss of customers at the taverns and cook-shops. This friction ended in an arbitration and

an agreement, two copies of which are in possession of the Corporation of Nottingham. This agreement limited the duration of the fair to eight days, during which time the prior was to have all tolls in Nottingham, and the mayor was there to proclaim Lenton fair; on the other hand, the burgesses of Nottingham were to be free of toll in Lenton. This was no concession, for the burgesses were made free of toll throughout the whole of the land, within and without fairs, by the charter of King John, granted a hundred years before. This was followed by a clause granting the burgesses the first pick of the booths in the fair, the right to choose the best, etc.; but they were not to sub-let, nor to sell any other person's goods, and the warden of the fair, who represented the prior, had power to remove offenders.

From this and a subsequent agreement, we can in some measure picture this great mediæval fair held under the shadow of the priory, and within touch of its walls. It was a town of booths or canvas tents, some of which were roofed with coverings belonging to the prior, for which an extra rent was charged. They were occasionally described as shops eight to ten feet in length,

or square, with a pent-house in the rear, in which the so-called merchants no doubt lodged and slept. These booths were arranged in rows or streets. There was the Vestment or Goldsmith Row, a name redolent of cloth of gold, at the north-west end of the church. The churchyard gate is here mentioned, and two cookeries by the west side of the churchyard. Next comes the Saddlers' Row and the Causeway Row, which extended a great distance. Next came the Mercers' Row, where the Court Chamber and the Hospital of St. Anthony and the outer gates are mentioned; here were the Skinners' Row, Fishers' Row, and the Drapery.

The merchants are described as spicers, cloth merchants, pilchers (furriers, from which we obtain our "Pilcher Gate" in Nottingham), and mercers of Nottingham, ironmongers, tanners, shoemakers, bowyers, sellers of brass pots, gloves, ale-sellers, cooks or refreshment sellers, bakers, and, indeed, every conceivable class of tradesmen.

We have a note of a man coming from Lincoln to sell "saleable bows" at two shillings each, and being robbed of three at his lodgings in Nottingham; of one merchant charging

another with owing him forty shillings, and the bailiff of the fair seizing the debtor's brass pots, etc.; of a Lenton merchant engaging a glove maker at Nottingham to make him two dozen of gloves every week, for eleven weeks preceding Lenton Fair; of an ale-seller suing a Nottingham ale-wife for supplying him with inferior ale to sell at the fair.

This fair, which we have endeavoured to picture, existed as one of the largest and most picturesque gatherings in the country for over three hundred years, when it fell upon unlucky times, for the prior and the monks took active part against King Henry VIII., in the Northern Rebellion against the suppression of the abbeys, etc., a movement that was piously called "The Pilgrimage of Grace." They lost their cause, and were arrested as traitors, tried for their lives at Nottingham, sentenced to death by the King's judges, and hung on the King's gallows on Gallow's Hill, Nottingham, in the summer of 1538, and if tradition is correct, the mutilated remains of the last of the old priors was impaled on the gatehouse of the priory, overlooking alike the scene of his departed glory and the field of St. Martin's, or the Priory Fair.

Note.—It is a curious fact that for some hundreds of years nearly every allusion to the old priory appears as Lenton Abbey. This was the case all over the county. Newstead Abbey, Worksop Abbey, and Blyth Abbey, were and are everyday terms, but the fact remains they were merely priories.

The Pilgrimage of Grace.

THIS historic rebellion of the North has a melancholy interest for the county of Nottingham, which marked the southern range of this great revolt. This was a protest on the part of the nobles and the ecclesiastics against their enslavement at the hands of one they called a "low-born knave, and an upstart," one who guided the hands of King Henry VIII., and who ruled as Lord Privy Seal, Vicar General of England, etc., with a rod of iron, viz., Thomas Cromwell, the successor of the fallen Cardinal Wolsey. Some of the old nobles, who clung to the ancient faith, mustered courage to face this powerful and dreaded minister of the King. They found, as J. R. Green, in his "History of the English People," says, "Their opportunity in the discontent of the North, where the monasteries had been popular, and where the rougher mood of the people turned easily to resistance. In the autumn of 1536, a rising broke out in Lincolnshire, and this was hardly quelled when all

Yorkshire rose in arms. From every parish the farmers marched, with the parish priests at their head, upon York, and the surrender of this city determined the waverers. In a few days Skipton Castle, where the Earl of Cumberland held out with a handful of men, was the only spot north of the Humber which remained true to the King. Durham rose at the call of the chiefs of the House of Neville, Lords Westmoreland and Latimer. Though the Earl of Northumberland feigned sickness, the Percies joined the revolt. Lord Dacre, the chief of the Yorkshire nobles, surrendered Pontefract, and was acknowledged as their chief by the insurgents. The whole nobility of the North were now enlisted in the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' as the rising was called; and thirty thousand tall men and well horsed moved on the Don, demanding the reversal of the royal policy; a re-union with Rome; the restoration of Catherine's daughter, Mary, to her rights as heiress to the Crown; redress for the wrongs done to the Church; and above all things the driving away of base-born councillors, or, in other words, the fall of Cromwell. Though their advance was checked by negotiations, the organization of the revolt went steadily on throughout the

winter; and a Parliament of the North, which gathered at Pontefract, formally adopted the demands of the insurgents; only six thousand men under Norfolk barred their way southward, and the Midland counties were known to be disaffected.

“But Cromwell remained undaunted by the peril. He suffered, indeed, Norfolk to negotiate, and allowed the King, under pressure of the Council, to promise pardons, and a free Parliament at York, a pledge which Norfolk and Dacre alike construed into an acceptance of the demands made by the insurgents. Their leaders at once flung aside the badge of the Five Wounds, which they had worn, with a cry, ‘We will wear no badge but that of our Lord the King,’ and nobles and farmers dispersed to their homes in triumph. But the towns of the North were no sooner garrisoned, and Norfolk’s army in the heart of Yorkshire, than the mask was flung aside. A few isolated outbreaks in the spring of 1537 gave a pretext for the withdrawal of every concession. The arrest of the leaders of the ‘Pilgrimage of Grace’ was followed by ruthless severities, the country was covered with gibbets, and whole districts were given up to military execution. But it was on the leaders of the

rising that Cromwell's hand fell heaviest. He seized his opportunity for dealing a fatal blow at the northern nobles. One of the chief among them broke fiercely out as he stood at the council board:—'Cromwell, it is thou that are the very special and chief cause of all this rebellion and wickedness, and dost daily travail to bring us to our end, and strike off our heads. I trust that ere thou die, though thou wouldst procure all the noblest heads within the realm to be stricken off, yet there shall one head remain that shall strike off thy head.' But the warning was unheeded. Lord Daere, who stood first among the nobles of Yorkshire, and Lord Hussey, who stood first among the nobles of Lincolnshire, went alike to the block (June and May, 1537). The Abbot of Barlings, who had ridden into Lincoln with his canons in full armour, swung with his brother Abbots of Whalley, Woburn, and Sawley, from the gallows. The Abbots of Fountains, and of Jervaux, were hanged at Tyburn, side by side with the representative of the great line of Percy. Lady Bulmer was burned at the stake, and Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains before the gate of Hull (July 1537)."

Our national and local historians are practically silent as to the part played by Nottinghamshire in this great tragedy; but it is quite true that the Prior and monks of Lenton Priory cast in their lot with the warlike pilgrims, and took "arms against the sea of trouble" that threatened to engulf them.

All we have been traditionally taught is that Nicholas Heathe, the last Prior, was convicted of high treason, for not acknowledging the supremacy of the king, and that he was hung over the gateway of his Priory. The real case was far worse than this, for the Prior and the monks were arrested, and lodged in the King's prison, which consisted of dungeons hewn in the sand rock beneath the County Hall at Nottingham; from there they were brought before the King's judges, at what we believe was a special assize, where they were condemned to death, and subsequently marched, in charge of the sheriff and his men, to the gallows on Gallows Hill, where they expiated their crime, which was that of clinging too well, if not too wisely, to the faith of their fathers.

The records of this great local event have nearly all perished; what remains consists of items

of payments made by the chamberlains of the Borough of Nottingham, between September 25th, 1537, and the like date in 1538.

The first is a payment, present, or reward, of twenty-pence to the minstrels of George Hastings, first Earl of Huntingdon, who was engaged in the suppression of the insurrection. Twelvence ditto to the Queen's minstrels. The like to the minstrels of the Lord of the Privy Seal—Thomas Cromwell. The like to the minstrels of Francis, Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon, and eightpence to the minstrels of Master Sacheverel. These payments refer to a host of minstrels or retainers belonging to the nobles holding command in the King's army, when Nottingham was mainly the base of operations for the suppression of this great revolt. As in the instance of the Queen and Thomas Cromwell, it does not imply that they were in Nottingham in person; but rather that they contributed all they could to the available forces at a time when one half of the country was lost to the King.

We next find a payment or present of twelve-pence to the King's auditors. This seems to imply that they were in Nottingham in connec-

tion with the great escheat of the Priory, etc., of Lenton, which was then in the King's hands. *Vide* "Ministers' accounts, 29th, Henry VIII. (1538)."

Next follows an item of sixteen-pence for two gallons of wine, given to the Lord Judges when the monks of Lenton suffered death. There is a later item of fourteen-pence for wine, bread, ale, and cakes, given to the Lord Judges on St. James's Day (July 25th, 1538), an intervening item being that of five shillings for wine given to the Mayor of Leicester; the Earl of Rutland and his eldest son, Henry, Lord Roos, also appear as recipients of similar gifts.

A further item, under the head of "Necessary Expences," is twopence, paid to Ross for scavenging or cleaning Cowlane (Clumber Street) when the Monks of Lenton suffered death. At the Sessions of the town, held in the following January, 1538-9, the Freemen of the eastern side of Nottingham presented Sir John Markham, Knight, the sheriff of the county, for a nuisance occasioned by filth exuding from the County Gaol into the street below, called Narrow Marsh. This last item shows the crowded and insanitary state of the County

Gaol, arising out of the failure of this historic "Pilgrimage," and it speaks volumes for the part the gallows played in the gaol delivery of the previous summer.

We cannot decide whether the remains of Nicholas Heathe, the last prior, were exposed on the gatehouse of Lenton, as alleged by tradition; but as the monks were hanged within two or three miles of the priory, it is highly probable, especially as the same revolting acts were perpetrated on the bodies of other leaders of the revolt on the towers of York.

There were no other large religious communities in the county who hazarded their lives and fortunes in this great revolt; they were simply lookers on, who peacefully surrendered their possessions to the King after May, 1539, whereon they became his pensioners until time blotted them from the troubled scene.

Another county victim of this revolt was Henry Lytherland, vicar of Newark, who appears to have joined the revolt in its initial stage at Lincoln, in 1536, for which he was arraigned on the charge of high treason at York Assizes in July, 1538, and there sentenced to death, along with Thomas Mylner, the Lan-

caster herald, and Moreby, the monk of Fountains.

The county does not otherwise appear to have identified itself with this great revolt, for the suppression of which Nottingham and Newark were the basis of operations, these strongholds being designed as the rallying points in case of reverses further north, for the King was nervous on the point of the rebels crossing the lines of the rivers Don and Trent.

The Pilgrim Fathers; or, the Founders of New England.

IT is far better known in America than in our midst that Nottinghamshire is the cradle of the Anglo-American race, and that the little village of Scrooby, in the north of our county, is their most sainted shrine. It is to this village, whose name bespeaks a Danish origin, that the first compact body or community of Dissenters or Separatists from the established Church, better known as the Puritans, owe their origin in the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth. This was the outcome of an Act passed a few years before "for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church," and it culminated in an exodus of the Scrooby community to the free country of Holland, from whence, some years afterwards, they migrated, as the "Pilgrim Fathers," in

"The simple *Mayflower* of the salt sea mead,"

and two other vessels, and thus became the founders of New England, where freedom in

religion, for which they had sacrificed all earthly considerations, became their first law.

These were dreadful times in England, when the examples of the bishops, united with those high in the State, were such as ran counter to that part of the clergy and laity who lived in the fear of God, and sought to follow in His ways; when at least one-fifth of the ministers in the north of our county were struggling for a purer and higher standard around which to range their following of earnest laity. These divines were hotly persecuted by the prelate; some submitted from fear of losing their benefices, others offered themselves as sacrifices, and became pastors or leaders of scattered groups of the seceding laity. Such a man was Richard Clifton, the minister of Babworth, near Scrooby, described as a good and fatherly old man, with a great white beard, who fled to Amsterdam in August, 1608, and died there an exile eight years later. This earnest professor of religion was supposed to have been a connection of the Cliftons, of Clifton, near Nottingham, and of Hodsock, near Worksop.

The spark of freedom burned in the breasts of those who were terrorised into silence, as is proved in the case of Robert Gifford, the minister

of Laughton, near Worksop, one of whose family subsequently became Major-General John Gifford in the Parliamentary army.

Another was John Robinson, the pastor, who is supposed to have fled from Norwich, and to have taken charge of this infant church at Scrooby. He was a minister of sterling parts, who lived through the fearful ordeal of planting the colony of New England, which resulted in the loss of fifty, during the first year of occupation, out of the hundred who sailed in the *Mayflower*.

Of the lay members, the first in order was William Brewster, the postmaster at Scrooby, who resided in the former archbishop's palace, a moated manor house that had afforded lodgment to many of our kings, of which some remains still exist as a farm house near the railway side. He was in charge of the royal mails between Tuxford and Doncaster, a section of the Great North Road from London to Berwick-upon-Tweed, to make local deliveries from his centre, and to provide relays of post horses, and bed and board for travellers. We find him in this office in 1594; but he had previously been in the service of Mr. Davison, a former and fallen secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, an office for which his

classical education befitted him. He was replaced in this State office of postmaster of Scrooby, on September 30, 1607, by one Francis Hall, before which time he had brought himself under the displeasure of the ecclesiastical authorities by the countenance he lent to the Separatists; his house being their church, to which they wended every Sabbath from all that country side.

William Brewster's cession of the above office was shortly followed by the infliction of a fine for his non-appearance to a citation returnable at the collegiate church of Southwell, for he, like other members of the community, was afflicted with apparitors, pursuivants, and commission courts. He was one who lived through the ordeal of planting the new settlement beyond the great sea, and his name as "Elder Brewster" is justly revered by the American people, who designate him the "Aaron of the Exodus."

Next to Brewster comes a remarkable figure, that of William Bradford, the so-called "Moses of the Exodus." He hailed from Austerfield, just by our northern border; he was a mere youth, but attended Clifton's ministrations at Babworth, seven miles distant, and Brewster's meetings at Scrooby, about half that distance.

He subsequently became the historian of the new colony, chief manager of its civil affairs, and Governor of New Plymouth. He was born in 1588-9, and died on May 9th, 1657. When in Holland he was engaged in the manufacture of silk, and was a passenger in the *Mayflower* with his wife, Dorothy May, who was drowned by falling overboard from the vessel just before the landing of the historic burthen.

There were other well-known names associated with this movement, the results of which are still important factors in the New World, such as the Clintons, Jessops, etc., but the names of the majority of the Scrooby community, numbering several hundreds, who realized their worldly possessions, and imposed upon themselves the ordeal of exile in the year 1608, are lost to history.

It is clear that their object was to migrate as a body to Holland, where other dissentients, notably from Gainsborough, had taken refuge, and were in the enjoyment of liberty in their faith. To this end they divided into two parties, one making for the port of Boston, and the other for the north of Lincolnshire, to be in touch with Hull. The former contingent engaged a Dutch

vessel, then in port, the captain of which informed the Mayor of Boston, who arrested and imprisoned the principal members, and dispersed the remainder; some were shamefully robbed, and a portion temporarily returned to Scrooby. The latter contingent fared little better, for they engaged a Dutch vessel to take them off the coast, the captain of which, when only half the company were on board, pleading fear, set sail, and left the remainder in distress upon the beach. It was thus a matter of time to reach their destination, which was Amsterdam. In this city they resided one year; from thence they migrated to Leyden, where they resided eleven years.

This brings us to 1620, a time in which religious persecution was rife in England, the Act of Toleration not being passed until sixty-nine years later.

There was then a sighing at Leyden for some other home than that among strangers in blood and language, and the thought of crossing the vast Atlantic, and settling in the New World, dawned upon them. They had an old home friend in Sir Edwin Sandys, the treasurer or governor of the Virginian Company, whose elder brother, Sir Samuel, was the owner of Scrooby

Manor, a property diverted by his late father, Archbishop Sandys, by lease from the see of York. A concession or patent of settlement was reluctantly granted them by King James I., and the first contingent of one hundred sailed from Southampton in the *Mayflower* to this land of promise on the 5th of August, 1620, the remainder following later in the *Fortune* and the *Anne*.

This settlement they called New England, and their first town New Plymouth, in remembrance of the last port they touched on the shores of their native land.

In old England it is the boast of the best blood that their ancestors came in with the Conqueror; but in New England, and in the other states of the Union, the proudest boast of a citizen is that his ancestors were numbered amongst the pilgrim fathers who sailed in the historic *Mayflower*.

The Scrooby of to-day is the same sleepy little village, wholly devoted to the pursuit of agriculture, as it was in the days of Queen Elizabeth. To a stranger it presents itself as the last place in England to be associated with a great historic event. If you enter the town you are sure to be

looked upon as an American, for it is said there are but three spots in the old country they care to visit, viz., Scrooby, Stratford-upon-Avon, and the metropolis, the latter largely from its association with Charles Dickens.

The Scrooby villagers will tell you that these travellers from the far west, the pilgrims of our day, have piecemeal transferred the old yew-tree from the churchyard to their native land. The writer remembers some thirty years ago a branch in the form of a walking stick or staff reaching Nottingham to have the head of a pilgrim father carved upon it: this was done by the late Mr. Smith, the sculptor of the Clifton Statue at the end of the Queen's Walk, with the view of its being carried as a souvenir to America. The remains of the village stocks, which had long been a standing institution, and the ancient font of the church, have recently been bought, and have followed the old yew-tree and some fragments of the palace in their western course. These are by no means the only moveables which have gone to the new home of the old residents; but the fixtures, such as the ruins of the old palace or manor house, and the unpretending church, in which Cardinal Wolsey, after his fall,

attended with a bleeding heart, and from which the pilgrim fathers mainly seceded, still remains.

This church, now a neat cleanly structure, the resting-place of Penelope Sandys, a great-granddaughter of Archbishop Sandys, whose ashes repose in Southwell Cathedral, was a sad picture a century ago, when Edward Miller, Esq., was compiling his "History and Antiquities of Doncaster;" and our old townsman, Paul Sandby, Esq., R.A., was in part illustrating the same. As his notes offer a strange reverse to the present picture, we cannot do better than reproduce them.

"In my visits to the different churches mentioned in this book, I have not met with so dirty, so indecent a place for the performance of divine service as this building. It has exactly the appearance of an old barn or lumber room.

"The chancel is chiefly the receptacle for logs of wood, old laths, fragments of stone, ladders, long brushes never used, and all sorts of rubbish; yet this is the place, enveloped in dirt, where the sacrament of our Lord's supper is administered.

"O! shame! where is thy blush?" Would our clergy condescend to drink their wine in their own habitations surrounded with such filthy furniture? I believe not. Surely then they

should use their influence not to have a house of prayer resemble a den of thieves. The poverty of the parishioners cannot be pleaded as an excuse for such neglect, for in the parish are several wealthy farmers, two of whom are generally appointed churchwardens, and doubtless might be induced, by small exertions on the part of the officiating minister, to remedy the above abominable evil."

It is a detail worthy of note that this rural district, which forms the lower reaches of the valley of the Trent, is pregnant with historic events associated with dissent from the Established Church, for only a few miles from Scrooby is the village of Epworth, the birth-place of the Rev. John Wesley, whose father was the minister of that parish. This marks a far more formidable separation from the Mother Church than that of the Pilgrim Fathers; but it occurred at a later and more propitious time, when liberty as to the form in which God should be worshipped, for which the Scrooby community offered themselves as a sacrifice, was fairly won.

The Descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers.

THERE are few in the old county of Nottingham who can form a just estimate of the veneration in which our northern boundary is held by the inhabitants of New England. It is the shrine of their faith, and, to those in favoured circumstances, the Mecca of their pilgrimage.

In New England, where every relic connected with the old home of the pilgrim fathers is treasured with sacred care, it is an all-absorbing subject. We have proof of this in the "New England Magazine" being mainly devoted to its literature. As we write we have before us the September number for 1889, in which the following editorial paragraph appears:—

"The first number (of the New Series) is devoted almost entirely to (New) Plymouth, and the history of the pilgrims. Within the month the Great Pilgrim Monument at (New) Plymouth, finally completed after thirty years (labour), has been dedicated. No recent event

has been of greater import to the student of our history, or to the people throughout the country whose roots are in New England, or who are moved by the New England spirit. Few events have drawn greater numbers of people to New England from all parts of the country. It is, we believe, fortunate and fitting that the initial numbers of the 'New England Magazine,' published at this time, should devote itself especially to topics of wide interest and permanent value relating to (New) Plymouth, and to this notable celebration. We believe that no number of any magazine has ever contained so much of lasting interest to the student of pilgrim and New England history."

This monument, situate on Monument Hill, (New) Plymouth, is crowned by a colossal granite statue of Faith, thirty-six feet in height, the pedestal upon which it stands being forty-five feet high. This statue was the tribute of the Honourable Oliver Ames, of Easton, Mass. On the corner pedestals beneath are four colossal seated figures of Morality, Education, Freedom, and Law. Two of these, which cost about fifteen thousand dollars each, were the gift of Roland Mather, Esquire, of Hartford, Conn.

The third was the tribute of Congress, and the fourth of the Legislature of Massachusetts.

This tribute of the great nation of the West to the religious movement of four centuries ago, the centre of which was Scrooby in our county, does not end here, for it is supplemented by the "Pilgrim Hall," and the majestic construction called "the Canopy," erected over the rock upon which the pilgrims landed from the *Mayflower* on December 22, 1620. Of the Pilgrim Hall no better description can be given than that engraved on the foundation stone :—

"In grateful memory of our ancestors, who exiled themselves from their native country, for the sake of religion, and here successfully laid the foundation of Freedom and Empire, December XXII., A.D. MDCXX., their descendants, the Pilgrims Society, have raised this edifice August XXXI., A.D. MDCCCXXIV."

The canopy over the Plymouth Rock is contemporary with the Pilgrim Monument, and affords a shrine for thousands who are debarred the greater pleasure of visiting Scrooby. It was here that the wife of the late General Grant prostrated herself, and in devotion kissed the historic stone.

With these descendants of the pilgrim fathers a passion exists for collecting and storing in the museum of Pilgrim Hall, at (New) Plymouth, every object associated with the early and pious settlers, a sentiment to which Scrooby has largely contributed. The journal above noted furnishes a description of the visit of a small party of these descendants to Scrooby, and, as this is the section appertaining to our work, we give the extract:—

“Surely, and especially for the children of New England, there are few more sacred spots than this. It seemed like a sabbath on the bright summer morning as we drove over the hills from Gainsborough to Scrooby. We had passed the night at Gainsborough. It is a long monotonous town beside the river Trent, with a narrow, ugly, squalid main street; and we were glad to get out of it and over the bridge (into Nottinghamshire), which took us into the green country and up the hills towards Scrooby. Through the little village of Beckingham we rode, and, further on, through Gringley-on-the-Hill. We wished that this were Scrooby; for a finer site it were hard to imagine. In every direction for twenty or thirty miles one can see

over the Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire farms; and the mind's eye easily runs on, beyond the far horizon, until it comes to Plymouth Rock itself.

“ We wished that Gringley-on-the-Hill were Scrooby, as we did not like to come down to the plain again; though we found Scrooby pretty, too, when we came to it in the green meadow beside the Idle. A less important little village than the Scrooby of to-day it would be hard to find in all Nottinghamshire. The bright girl in the white apron at the White Hart (Hotel), in Gainsborough, was sure there was no such place at all, and the man who drove us over, talking of Americans who had bought old clocks of his master, had never had passengers for Scrooby before, and at two or three cross-roads had to enquire the way, regretting at the end that he had not come by Bawtry instead of by Ranskill. But Scrooby knows itself and its past, however small it is; and here and there over England are those who, as they rattle past in the railroad train, look out with interest on the little cluster of brick houses round the church, and think of the story of Brewster and Bradford, and of the great oak beyond the sea which has grown from this little acorn.

“Now that the antiquarians have thoroughly identified these places, it may be expected that a big crop of myths will quickly grow. Already they show at Scrooby the place on the Idle where the pilgrims launched their boats for the Humber; and the daughter of the Scrooby postmaster, as she went with us for the keys of the church, even told us, with exuberant confidence, that it was from this point that the *Mayflower* sailed.

“Yes, the myth will grow, and the tradition, mixed up with the ever fuller and more careful history, and the fact will turn with the scholar more and more as the centuries go on, to this little Scrooby in the meadow. It will be ever less and less the Scrooby which Elder Brewster knew. Besides the old church and the remains of the old buildings which once stood in the yard of the manor, only the village inn and a rude little cottage, where a feeble woman teaches the Scrooby children, have lasted to our day. These, too, will yield to time; but the sacred memories of Scrooby will not yield, and year by year the historian shall revive the old time more completely for the pilgrim hither.

“We wish that there might be some monument

at Scrooby, some monument reared by the children of New England, the children of the Pilgrim Fathers. We wish that that monument might be a library, standing by the ground of the old manor house. We wish it might be full of books showing what has come of the faithfulness of these old saints and heroes. Not only for the use of the American student who wanders here, but for the use, too, of these simple folk of Scrooby, etc.; memorials of Brewster, and Robinson, and Bradford should be upon its walls, and none could turn there without getting good, without getting inspiration for nobler service in old England or in New."

It may truly be said that to the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, Scrooby possesses an ever-growing interest: we have proof of this, for in July, 1891, a party of one hundred American pilgrims, with a large attendance of English and resident American people, entered the village in procession. It is stated that these pilgrims, with their following, numbered at least a thousand persons, and that it was the most imposing sight ever witnessed in the village. Tents were erected in the old palace grounds, and suitable speeches were made by the leading members.

The resources of the old village were not equal to entertaining such a vast number, in consequence of which the duties of feeding the multitude were undertaken by the host of the old hostelry at the neighbouring town of Bawtry, so well and so widely known as the "Crown Hotel."

Archiepiscopal Palaces.

1. SOUTHWELL.

OUR old county boasts of having possessed, in the palmy days of the ancient faith, two at least of the many palaces belonging to the old archbishops of York, fellow residences to the palaces of York, Bishopthorpe, and York Place, now Whitehall, London, and the great castle of Cawood, near Selby.

The palaces in our county were at Southwell and Scrooby, and there is some evidence of one having existed at Laneham. As these were in the extreme south of this great archbishopric, they were largely used in connection with State affairs, as the government of the country, down to the period of the Reformation, was largely in the hands of the great ecclesiastics. The archbishops, when in residence at these Nottinghamshire palaces, were in more intimate touch with the King and his Court than when in residence at the Yorkshire palaces.

The Collegiate Church of Southwell, the

mother church of the county, boasts of an antiquity little inferior to the cathedral church of York, of which, like Ripon, Hexham, and Beverley, it was a direct offshoot. This church was in the hands of the Chapter, and was endowed with a fabric fund for its maintenance. The palace grew out of the manor or endowment of the Archbishop, of which there were a number in this county. It was built by some one of the early archbishops, and subsequently passed as part of the endowment of the see.

As a residence of the archbishops, it is of ancient foundation. They had lands here before the Norman Conquest. Archbishop Ælfric, who assisted at the coronation of King Edward the Confessor, died at Southwell on the 22nd of January, 1050; and his successor, Archbishop Cynsige, gave some bells to Southwell Church before the advent of William the Conqueror. The earliest mention of the palace is on the 21st of May, 1108. This was in the reign of Henry I., ten years after the death of William Rufus; it relates to the death of Archbishop Gerard on his way to the Court at London. He was suffering from a slight illness. After dinner

he went to take his repose in his garden adjoining the palace, and lay down to sleep in the open air among the grass and flowers, with a cushion under his head. His clerks left him for awhile at his request, and on their return their master was dead. He had passed quietly away. His opponents asserted that this was a fitting termination of a wicked life. He had departed "unhouselled, unanealed." A few persons carried his remains to York, but on account of the way in which he died, they were not received with the customary procession of the citizens and clergy. The boys pelted the bier as it passed along, and the canons denied the corpse a resting-place within the minster, and it was interred ignominiously without the walls of the cathedral, to be removed into the church by his successor. Evil tongues said unjust things of this divine. A treatise on magic, or the forbidden arts, by Julius Firmicus, is reported to have been found under his pillow in his garden at Southwell. This was in truth a work on astronomy; but it is a part of history that, as in the instance of Galileo, this divine study was in those days of darkness rated as sorcery.

Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Evêque (1154-

1181) is said to have rebuilt all his residences so magnificently that they could almost rival those of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

During this and the following century the archbishops lived in a state little inferior to the kings themselves. Walter Gray (1216-1255) was at one time Regent of the kingdom during the King's absence in France, at another time he was Constable of the Tower of London. He was a palace-builder, and bought the estate of St. Andrewthorpe, near York, where he built a palace which subsequently became known as Bishopthorpe, the solitary residence of the archbishops of our day. This was the archbishop who made the deer parks of Hexgrave, Hockerwood, and Norwood, in the hunting-grounds attached to Southwell Palace.

The coming of the old archbishops to Southwell with their vast retinues may be pictured in the following quaint lines of old Chaucer:—

“And on the morwe whan the day gan spring,
Of hors and harness noise and clattering
Ther was in the hostelries all about ;
And to the paleis rode ther many a route
Of lordes, upon stedes and palfreis.”

We find an entry in Archbishop Wickwaine's register, November 30th, 1280, “an order to the

bailiff of (his manor of) Southwell to supply us with geese, hens, and other birds, against the festival of Christmas." A further order empowered him to pay 100s. to Simon, the Archbishop's poulterer, for his use. This prelate possessed twenty-three manors as his endowment, and he left upon them, as a gift to his successors, a stock of 602 oxen, 54 horses, and 1000 sheep, to say nothing of carts and other necessaries.

Archbishop Romanus (1286-1296) surpassed all his predecessors in his hospitality and munificence. He had a great number of knights among his retainers. He was a great benefactor to Southwell, and founded several stalls in the Minster. There was something doing at the palace in 1332, in connection with new floors, for on November 12th an order was made to pay to John de Dyock the money necessary to hire a ship to bring "plastre ston" (gypsum) from Gainsborough to Southwell.

The palace, the ruins of which exist, is supposed to have been erected by Cardinal-Archbishop John Kemp, who was installed in 1425, and translated to the see of Canterbury in 1452. During the following 136 years, seven archbishops were buried in the diocese; of these

four were interred at Southwell, a fact which speaks volumes for the importance of the old palace as a residence. The site of the palace was on the south side of the great church, and was separated therefrom by a few yards of holy ground.

From the present remains a competent idea may be formed of its ancient extent and grandeur. In the ruined walls are still many pointed gables, Gothic windows, and circular chimneys; these, from being deeply overshadowed with ivy, add much to the beauty of Southwell. The quadrangle, once surrounded by the offices, is now a garden. The state rooms appear to have been to the east; the lodging apartments to the south; the offices to the west; and the chapel and great hall to the north. A building, probably the latter, still exists, and is known as the Court Chamber, from the sessions of the Soke of Southwell being there held. It is lighted from the west by a Gothic window; and at the east end are the arms of the founder, projected on the breast of an angel, the device being three corn sheaves, in allusion to his origin, which was that of a husbandman's son, of Rye, in Sussex.

Notwithstanding the obscurity of the birth of

Cardinal-Archbishop John Kemp, his promotions were extraordinary, viz., successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, from whence he was advanced to the Archbishoprics of York and Canterbury: his death occurring one year after obtaining this last and greatest dignity. In law he attained the eminence of Lord Chancellor of England; and in divinity that of a Cardinal of Rome. We write of him almost as a county magnate, for we believe, had his translation been delayed a few months, his ashes, like those of his successor, Archbishop William Booth, who died twelve years afterwards, would have reposed at Southwell.

Archbishop William Booth (1452-1464) is said to have completed the work of his predecessor, the chapel always bearing his name; and Archbishop Thomas de Rotherham (1480-1500) to have rebuilt the south side of the palace.

Tradition has been wont to attribute the building of this residence to the great Cardinal-Archbishop Wolsey (1514-1530), but such, in truth, is not the case, as he held the archbishopric until the last year of his life without being installed, or even visiting the diocese.

This palace, in its prime, had attached thereto

a park of excellent ground, called "the little park," or "new park," in contradistinction to the larger parks of Hexgrave, Hoockerwood, and Norwood.

John Leland, the antiquary, library keeper to King Henry VIII., when visiting Southwell, soon after the date of his travelling commission, issued under the Great Seal, in 1534, says:—"The Bishop of York hath ther a preaty palace." His notes on Southwell are very brief, and travel little beyond the expression of his disapproval of the architecture of the minster-church; its Norman details not being after the fashion of his heart.

Our notes on the palace are the fullest about this date, viz., in 1530, in connection with Cardinal Wolsey; they are the work of his genial biographer, George Cavendish, his Gentleman Usher. He was brother to William Cavendish, who married the celebrated Bess of Hardwick, whose remains repose under a stately tomb in the Church of All Saints, at Derby. This William was grandfather to the builder of the present Castle of Nottingham.

When Wolsey was dismissed, in 1529, from the councils of the King, owing to the failure of his

policy with Rome touching the divorce of the King with Queen Catherine, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, a dismissal that was accompanied with the surrender of his vast property, including the Bishoprics of Winchester and St. Alban's, he was ordered to betake himself to his only remaining dignity, the Archbishopric of York. The fall of Wolsey was mainly the work of the then Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who, having supplanted him in the councils of the King, wished him far away. This removal from London to York, which would now be the work of a few hours only, occupied the Cardinal, ambling on his mule, as many months. After a stay at Peterborough of some days, he left that town on the Thursday in the Easter week of 1530, and arrived at Southwell eight days afterwards. His entry into Southwell was devoid of the splendid pageantry which he indulged in before his fall. What little show he made was defrayed by a grant of money made by the King to cover the expenses of his journey. Nevertheless, he had one hundred and sixty persons in his train, twelve carts to carry "his stuff of his own," which came from his college in Oxford,

where he had three-score carts to carry such necessaries as belonged to his building there.

It will be best at this stage to fill in the picture in Cavendish's own words:—

“Now let us return where we left my lord in the Castle of Newark, intending to ride to Southwell, which was four miles from thence, took now his journey thitherward against supper, where he was fain, for lack of reparation of the Bishops' Palace, which appertained to the see of York, to be lodged in the prebendarys' house against the said palace, and there kept house until Whitsuntide next, against which time he removed into the palace, newly amended and repaired, and there continued the most part of the summer, surely not without great resort of the most worshipfullest gentlemen of the country, and divers other, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had of him the best cheer he could devise for them, whose gentle and familiar behaviour with them caused him to be greatly beloved and esteemed through the whole country.

“He kept a noble house, and plenty of both meat and drink for all comers, both for rich and poor, and much alms given at his [palace] gates.

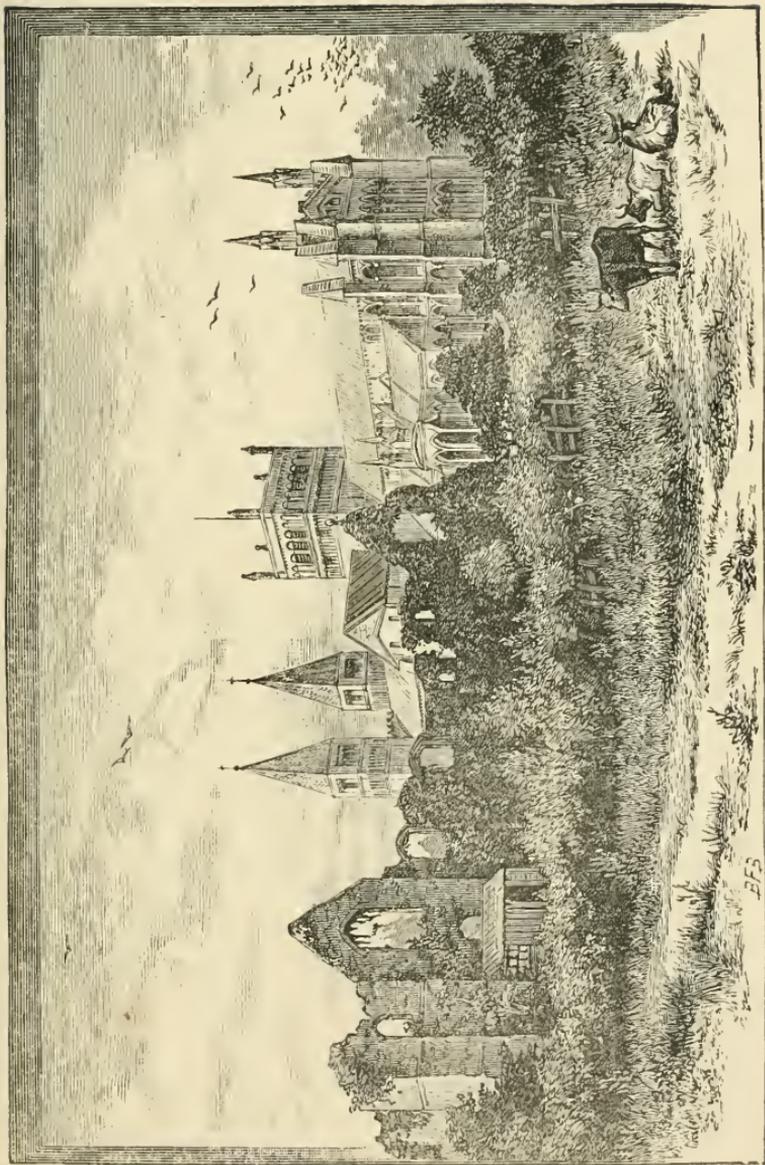
He used much charity and pity among his poor tenants and others, although the same thereof was no pleasant sound in the ears of his enemies, and of such as bear him no good will; howbeit the common people report as they find cause, for he was much more familiar among all persons than he was accustomed, and most gladdest when he had occasion to do them good."

About eight days after the Cardinal was installed in the palace, a remarkable incident occurred, the nature of which was and is a State secret.

"It chanced that upon Corpus Christi eve, after supper, my lord commanded me to prepare all things for him in a readiness against the next day, for he intended to sing high mass in the Minster that day; and I, not forgetting his commandments, gave like warning to all his officers of his house(hold), and other of my fellows, to foresee that all things appertaining to their rooms were fully furnished to my lords' honour. This done, I went to bed, where I was scarcely asleep and warm, but that one of the porters came to my chamber door, calling upon me, and said, there was two gentlemen at the gate that would gladly speak with my lord from

the King. With that I arose up and went incontinent unto the gate with the porter, demanding what they were who would so fain come in. They said unto me that there was Master Brereton, one of the gentlemen of the King's privy chamber, and Mr. Wrothesly, who were come from the King empost, to speak with my lord. Then having understanding what they were, I caused the porter to let them in. And after their entry they desired me to speak with my lord without delay, for they might not tarry; at whose request I repaired to my lords' chamber, and waked him, who was asleep. But when he heard me speak he demanded of me what I would have. 'Sir,' quoth I, 'there be beneath in the porters' lodge, Mr. Brereton, gentleman of the Kings' privy chamber, and Mr. Wrothesly, come from the King to speak with you: they will not tarry: therefore they beseech your grace to speak with you out of hand.' 'Well then,' quoth my lord, 'bid them to come into my dining chamber, and I will prepare myself to come to them.' Then I resorted to them again, and showed them that my lord desired them to come up unto him, and he would talk with them, with a right good will. They thanked me and went

with me unto my lord, and as soon as they perceived him in his night apparel, did to him humble reverence: whom he took by the hands, demanding of them how the King his sovereign lord did. 'Sir,' said they, 'right well in health and merry, thanks be unto our Lord.' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'we must desire you to talk with you apart.' 'With a right good will,' quoth my lord, who drew them aside into a great window, and there talked with them secretly: and after a long talk they took out of a male (mail-bag) a certain coffer covered with green velvet, and bound with bars of silver and gilt, with a lock of the same (gilt) having a key which was gilt, with the which they opened the same chest: out of the which they took a certain instrument or writing, containing more than one skin of parchment, having many great seals hanging at it, whereunto they put more wax for my lord's seal: the which my lord sealed with his own seal, and subscribed his name to the same: and that done they would needs depart, and (forasmuch as it was after midnight) my lord desired them to tarry, and take a bed. They thanked him and said they might in no wise tarry, for they would with all speed to the Earl of Shrewsburys' directly



SOUTHWELL MINSTER AND RUINS OF PALACE.

without let, because they would be there or ever he stirred in the morning. And my lord, perceiving their hasty speed, caused them to eat such cold meat as there was in store within the house, and to drink a cup or two of wine. And that done, he gave each of them four old sovereigns of gold, desiring them to take it *in gree*, saying that if he had been of greater ability, their reward should have been better, and so taking their leave they departed, and after they were departed, as I heard say, they were not contented with their reward. Indeed they were not none of his indifferent friends, which caused them to accept it so disdainously. Howbeit, if they knew what little store of money he had at that present, they would I am sure, being but his indifferent friends, have given him hearty thanks: but nothing is more lost or cast away than is such things which be given to such ingrate persons. My lord went again to bed: and yet all his watch and disturbance that he had that night notwithstanding, he sang High Mass the next day as he appointed before. There was none in all the house (besides myself and the porter) that knew of the coming or going of these two

gentlemen: and yet there lay within the house many worshipful strangers.”

These horsemen, who thus left the palace gates in the dead of night, rode with their guide to Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, a nobleman who, a few weeks later, held Wolsey a prisoner under the weighty charge of high treason at his neighbouring manor of Sheffield. Wolsey stayed at Southwell Palace until the Autumn, called by Cavendish “grece time,” meaning “grease time,” *i.e.*, the season of hunting, when the hart is in *grease-fat*, or in full season. When it was known he intended to journey to his other and larger palace of Scrooby, in the north of the county, as his course lay through a forest district, one of the finest hunting grounds of the former archbishops in the kingdom, the gentry of the county, then largely gathered about the Cardinal at Southwell, arranged to entertain the Archbishop with stag-hunts on the way, an arrangement he could not be induced to countenance. As this was the closing scene of one of the principal incidents of which the old palace of Southwell has been famous, it will be best to allow George Cavendish to tell it in his own quaint way:—“My lord

continued at Southwell until the latter end of grease time; at which time he intended to remove to Scrooby, which was another house of the Bishopric of York. And against the day of his removing, he caused all his officers to prepare, as well for provision to be made for him there, as also for carriage of his stuff, and other matters concerning his estate. His removing and intent was not so secret but that it was known abroad in the country; which was lamented by all his neighbours about Southwell, and as it was lamentable to them, so was it as much joy to his neighbours about Scrooby.

“Against the day of his removing, divers knights and other gentlemen of worship in the country came to him to Southwell, intending to accompany him in his journey the next day, and to conduct him through the forest unto Scrooby. But he, being of their purpose advertised, how they did intend to have lodged a great stag or twain for him by the way, purposely to show him all the pleasure and disport they could devise, and having, as I said, thereof intelligence, was very loth to receive any such honour and disport at their hands, not knowing how the King would take it; and being

well assured that his enemies would rejoice much to understand that he would take upon him any such presumption, whereby they might find an occasion to inform the King how sumptuous and pleasant he was, notwithstanding his adversity and overthrow, and so to bring the King into a wrong opinion of him, and cause small hope of reconciliation; but rather that he sought a mean to obtain the favour of the country to withstand the King's proceedings, with divers such imaginations, wherein he might rather sooner catch displeasure than favour and honour. And also he was loth to make the worshipful gentlemen privy to this his imagination, lest peradventure they should conceive some toy or fantasy in their heads by means thereof, and so to eschew their accustomed access, and absent themselves from him, which should have been as much to his grief as the other was to his comfort. Therefore he devised this mean way, as hereafter followeth, which should rather be taken for a laughing disport than otherwise; first he called me unto him secretly at night, going to his rest, and commended me in anywise most secretly that night to cause six or seven horses, besides his mule for his own person, to be made ready by the

break of day for him, and for such persons as he appointed to ride with him to an abbey called Welbeck, where he intended to lodge by the way to Serooby, willing me to be also in readiness to ride with him, and to call him so early that he might be on horseback, after he had heard mass, by the breaking of the day. Sir, what will you more? All things being accomplished according to his commandment, and the same finished and done, he, with a small number before appointed, mounted upon his mule, setting forth by the breaking of the day towards Welbeck, which is about sixteen miles from thence: whither my lord and we came before six of the clock in the morning, and so went straight to his bed, leaving all the gentlemen strangers in their beds at Southwell, nothing privy of my lord's secret departure, who expected his uprising until it was eight of the clock. But after it was known to them and to all the rest there remaining behind him, then every man went to horseback, galloping after, supposing to overtake him. But he was at his rest in Welbeck or ever they rose out of their beds in Southwell, and so their chief hunting and coursing of the great stag was disappointed and dashed. But at their thither to [at Welbeck]

my lord sitting at dinner, the matter was jested and laughed out merrily, and all the matter well taken."

The last most important of the ecclesiastical residents in the old palace was Archbishop Edwyn Sandys (1576-1588). He is said to have spent the greater part of his time here, or to have made it his constant place of residence, a statement which is borne out by his death taking place in the palace, and his burial in the Minster Church. Archbishop Samuel Harsnet (1629-1631) is the last we have note of residing there.

The palace was most probably the lodging of King Charles I. on his two visits to Southwell in 1642, and also of his Queen during her two days with the army in 1643. When the King arrived in Southwell, in 1646, the palace was occupied by the Scotch Commissioners, who were the last of its civil tenants of consequence, and it was this incident that caused the King to take up his lodging at the King's Arms, the old hostelry now known as the Saracen's Head, where, on May 5th, 1646, he surrendered to the Commissioners, by which act he terminated the great Civil War. From 1650 to 1660 the see of York was vacant, an interregnum that was fatal to the old palace,

for during that time it was dismantled, everything but the principal walls being removed or carried away.

Upon the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary of Southwell being elevated to the rank of a bishop's seat, it was proposed that the palace should be restored and applied to its ancient purpose, but the building and its surroundings were not considered suitable for a bishop's residence.

The following lines, written by Bishop Selwin at the above hostelry, on March 5th, 1858, refer to the old palace :—

“ I cannot rest, for o'er my mind
Come thronging full and fast
The stories of the olden time,
The visions of the past.

“ I cannot rest, for Wolsey's pride,
And Wolsey's deep disgrace—
The pomp, the littleness of man—
Speak from this ancient place.

“ Here gloriously his summer days
He spent in kingly state,
Here his last summer sadly pined,
Bow'd by the stroke of fate.

“ How mighty was he when he rul'd
From Tweed to Humber's flood ;
How lowly when he came to die,
Forsaken by his God !”

These, added to the ruins of the palace, constitute one of the many pleasing pictures which Southwell possesses. Another, deeply engraved on the writers' memory, relates to his visit, in the spring of life, to the old minster. Standing sentinel as it were over this, the richest shrine in the county, were some stately trees; these were musical with rooks, whose song seemed almost sacred, for it was blended with the loyal prayer, chimed from that old grey tower, of "God Save the Queen."

2. SCROOBY.

THE existence of two palaces in the north of the county of Nottingham, and some evidence of a similar residence at Laneham, shows the almost regal state in which the old Archbishops of York lived down to the time of Queen Elizabeth. Of the early history of the palace of Scrooby we know but little; it was a sister residence to that of Southwell, but larger in size, more domestic in its character, and more associated with the pleasures of the chase; it reflects a time when the north portion of the county retained its primitive character of forest and chase, and was

divided for hunting purposes between the kings and the archbishops of York.

The palace of Southwell, as above noted, is not without its association with the chase; but we elect to attach this detail to Scrooby, where the palace, in the reign of the Virgin Queen, was said to have been excellent in itself, more spacious than that of Southwell, and a better seat for provisions, having greater jurisdiction, and a fairer park to it. The position of this hunting in connection with the holy office is seen in the appointment of Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet in 1191. He begged to be excused the office, for, as the son of a King, he said he was fonder of dogs and hawks than books and priests, to which the Chapter of the diocese replied, "it was not altogether necessary that he should abandon those tastes when he came into the north." Four years later these electors complained to the Pope that Geoffrey did nothing but hunt and hawk, and busy himself with military affairs, and that anyone remonstrating with him was thrown into prison.

The lordship of Scrooby is described in the Domesday Survey as being in the possession of the archbishop of York, and as showing the

continuity of our institutions the present Archbishop is still the Lord of the Manor.

The liberties of Southwell, Laneham, and Scrooby were of great extent, and in them the archbishops had the franchise of free warren—the exclusive right of hunting or killing beasts and fowls of warren within their sokes or territorial jurisdiction—proof of which is recorded in the 17th Edward II. (A.D. 1324).

Thoroton informs us that an inquisition was held at Nottingham before Robert, Earl of Leicester, at the commencement of the reign of King Henry II. (A.D. 1155), touching the customs and liberties of the archbishops of York in the county in the time of Henry I. (A.D. 1100-1135). On this occasion the jury consisted of twenty-four, who, from their names, appear to have been the leading men of the county. They swore that the whole of the land of the Archbishop was without the bounds of the Kings' forest, and was contained between the bounds as underwritten:—"As Doverbeck falls into the Trent, and on the upper part, from the Doverbeck (northward) unto Coningswad (Kingsford—the crossing of the river Meden), as the way of Blyth goes (the ancient way to York *via* Nottingham,

Red Hill, and Ollerton), and all that land that is beyond Cuningwad (north of the river Meden), and beyond the aforesaid way (east of this great road), was out of the (Kings') forest unto Bykersdyke (the northern bound of the county), so that no forester of the King could intermeddle on the Kings' part concerning that land; but the Archbishop and his men did fully both assart (convert woodland to pasture, etc.,) and do what they would with it as their own."

It will thus be seen that this hunting-ground of the old archbishops extended northward from near Thurgarton to beyond Scrooby, and from Ollerton eastward to the river Trent, embracing part of the "Sand," and all the "North clay" district of the county.

This jury further swore that "the Archbishop had right, and did exercise the right, of hunting nine days in each year in the King's own Forest of Sherwood [on the west side of the great street or way], viz., three [days] against Christmas, three against Easter, and three against Whitsuntide, through the whole forest of Blythworth [Blidworth], and in that wood of Blythworth the Archbishop and his canons, and

his men, had all their attachments [power of issuing writs returnable to their courts] without waste [power of cutting down the covert], and had their proper foresters, and aieryes of hawks, and pannage [the rights of feeding swine, or to the acorns and beech mast].”

Thoroton further informs us that Archbishop John Romanus, or John le Romaine [A.D. 1285-1295], had great pleading before three Justices in Eyre [itinerant judges], in A.D. 1288, concerning their right to hold pleas of vert [trees, such as cover deer or afford them food], and many other privileges. The *Liber Albus*, or White Book of Southwell, states that the kings, from Stephen to Henry III., and indeed those who came after them, made the archbishops and their prebends very secure in their forest rights.

From the *Fasti Eboracenses* we learn that Archbishop Walter Gray, in 1217, was one who prompted the young King Henry III. to grant the royal charter De Foresta; and he gave the monks of Blyth, a town situate on the ancient North Road in the north of the county, five marks out of the church of Weston, to enable them the better to give hospitality to travellers.

Archbishop Walter Gifford (1266-1279) is said to have been of handsome presence, fond of gaiety and humour, and of a luxurious disposition. His chief expense was undoubtedly the great number of retainers he had to support. He had his regular officers to preside over each department of his household, with fixed, and by no means small, stipends. In addition to these, some of his servants were constantly living at each of his numerous residences to take charge of the establishments; and at the various manors there were the farm-labourers and the bailiffs, all of whom depended upon him for their subsistence. This would be increased by the migratory life which he delighted in. He was rarely more than three days at a time in one place, and passed from residence to residence with great pomp and ceremony. Hawks and hounds were frequently his companions in travel, and he would turn aside to flush the heron from the pool, or to chase the red deer through the woods. Behind the Archbishop rode a long train of domestics, with his wardrobe and his plate, and a great part of his furniture, with which his manors, palaces, or castles, were equipped, to be again stripped when he journeyed thence. The bailiff of the place

had little more to do than provide the kitchen from his lands and streams.

On June 7, 1269, there was an order from Archbishop Gifford, "to give to Dame S. de Heriz three oaks from our wood at Sherwood;" and elsewhere in his register someone was excommunicated for taking a hawk's nest; but the deer were the chief care.

July 11, 1270, is the earliest mention, except in Domesday, we have of Scrooby, when a payment is made to two valets of the Earl of Warwick for bringing deer. This had probably something to do with stocking the park of this manor. On Nov. 4th of the same year an order was given for the Prior of Shelford to have three oaks from our forest of Sherwood, for [building] timber.

Dec. 20, 1301.—Sir William de Ros, Junr., of Ingmanthorp, did homage to Archbishop Thomas de Corbridge, in the chapel of Scrooby, for the manor of Muskham, which he held under the Archbishop by knights' or military service. This is the first notice we have of the fabric of the palace; but as a residence it is no doubt of higher antiquity.

Jan. 27, 1315.—Archbishop William de Green-

field allowed his Bailiff of Southwell 74s. 8d., which he paid "for stone and flint, bought for making a certain chamber in our manor of Scrooby."

May 17, 1315.—"To our steward at Scrooby, money to buy certain things required to build a chamber in our manor there."

Aug. 9, 1331.—Archbishop William de Melton allowed Richard de la Mare and Thomas de Egrom their expenses, etc., "in taking the fattest of the deer in our parks in the county of Nottingham."

"August 1, 1334.—To John Levenyng, our valet, the money required for hunting for us, and storing what he takes, at Southwell and at Scrooby." This, no doubt, from the time of the year, refers to deer which would be cured or salted.

We are further told that Archbishop Thomas Savage (1500-1507) made Scrooby his favourite hunting seat.

John Leland, the old antiquary, who personally visited Scrooby, gives the following description of this ancient palace as it existed in Cardinal Wolsey's days:—"In the mene town of *Scroby* I markid 2 thinges, the paroeche church, not bigge,

but very welle buildid *ex lapido polite quadrato*. The second was a great manor place standing withyn a mote, and longging to archbishop of *York*, buildid yn to [two] courtes [courts], wherof the first is very ample and al buildid of tymbre, saving the front of the Haule [hall] that is of brick, to the which *ascenditur per gradur lapideos*. The ynner Courte Building, as far as I markid, was of Tymber Building, and was not in compace [size] past the 4 part of the utter [outer] courte."

The great archbishop, Cardinal Wolsey, was a resident here for a short time, during which we have a full account by his contemporary, George Cavendish.

In our notice of Southwell Palace, we left the Cardinal at Welbeck Abbey, where he had made a detour westwards to avoid the straight line through the forest to Scrooby, and the sport of the chase provided by the county gentry. We may take it for granted that this compliment they wished to pay followed the lines of precedent, and that many a former archbishop had been so honoured or entertained.

Wolsey, upon leaving Welbeck Abbey, was met with a repetition of the same unwelcome

compliment at the hands of the retainers of the Earl of Shrewsbury, when passing through Worksop manor park on his way to dine at the Priory, commonly called the Abbey, of Worksop or Radford, which Cavendish chronicles as "Rufford Abbey," an error that has caused great confusion to the early editors of the MS. As before, we elect to give the incidents of his progress in the author's own words:—

"My lord the next day [late in August, or early in September, 1530,] removed from thence [Welbeck Abbey], to whom resorted divers gentlemen of my Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants, to desire my lord, in their master's name, to hunt in a park of the earl's called Worksop park, the which was within a mile of Welbeck, and the very best and the next way for my lord to travel through on his journey, where much plenty of game was laid in a readiness to show him pleasure. Howbeit he thanked my lord their master for his gentleness, and them for their pains; saying that he was no meet man for such pastime, being a man otherwise disposed, such pastimes were meet for such noblemen as delighted therein. Nevertheless he could do no other than account my Lord of Shrewsbury to be

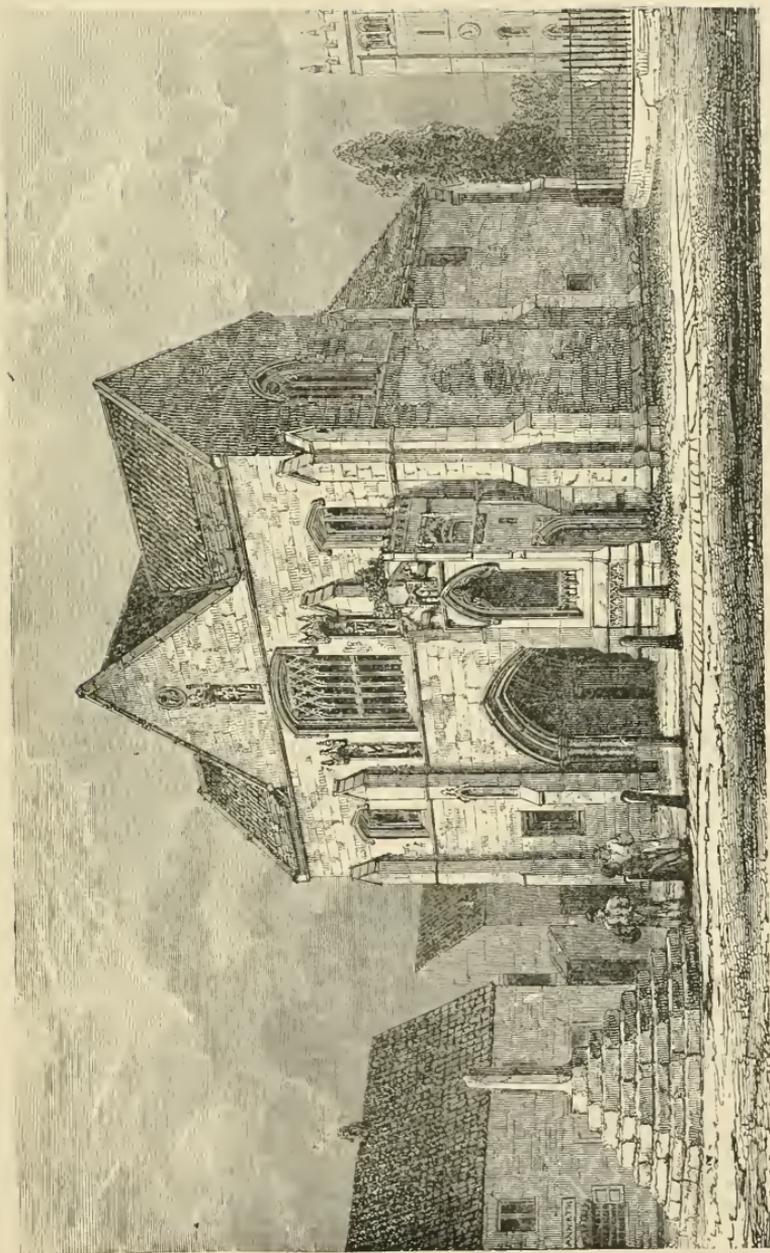
much his friend, in whom he found such gentleness and nobleness in his honourable offer, to whom he rendered his most lowly thanks. But in no wise they could entreat him to hunt. Although the worshipful gentlemen being in his company [having followed him from Southwell] provoked him all that they could do thereto, yet he would not consent, desiring them to be contented; saying that he came not unto the country [county] to frequent or follow any such pleasures or pastimes, but only to attend to a greater care that he had in hand, which was his duty, study, and pleasure. And with such reasons and persuasions he pacified them for a time. Howbeit yet as he rode through the park [on his mule] both my Lord of Shrewsbury's servants, and also the aforesaid gentlemen, moved him once again, before whom the deer lay very fair for all pleasant hunting and coursing. But it would not be; but he made as much speed as he could to ride through the park. And at the issue out of the park he called the earl's gentlemen and the keepers unto him, desiring them to have him commended to my lord their master, thanking him for his most honourable offer and good will, trusting shortly to visit him at his own

house ; and gave the keepers forty shillings for their pains and diligence who conducted him through the park.

“And so rode to another abbey, called Rufford Abbey* (to dinner—as stated by S. W. Singer), and after he rode to Blyth Abbey (priory), where he lay all night. And the next day he came to Scroby, where he continued until after Michaelmas, ministering many deeds of charity. Most commonly every Sunday, if the weather did serve, he would travel to some parish church thereabout, and there would say his divine servise, and either hear or say mass himself, causing someone of his chaplains to preach to the people. And that done he would dine in some honest house in that town, where would be distributed to the poor a great alms, as well as of meat and drink as of money to supply the want of sufficient meat, if the number of the poor did so exceed of necessity.

“And thus with good deeds practicing and exercising during his abode there at Scroby, as making of love-days and agreements between party and party, being then at variance, he daily

* This is an error for Radford Abbey or Priory at Worksop.



GATEHOUSE, WORKSHOP PRIORY.

frequented himself there about such business and deeds of honest charity. And then about the feast of St. Michael (September 29th) next ensuing my lord took his journey towards Cawood Castle.”

King Henry VIII. is said to have been lodged in this quaint old palace, and there can be little doubt but its hospitality, standing on the great highway from London to Berwick-upon-Tweed, had been drawn upon by other and earlier kings. Archbishop Edwyn Sandys (1576-1588) is said to have made this palace his residence during the early years of his prelacy, and one of his great-grand-daughters is buried in Scrooby Church. We know, as above stated, that his later days were passed at Southwell, where he is buried; and that his connection with Scrooby did not terminate even then, for he had leased the old palace, etc., to his son, Sir Samuel Sandys, at a nominal rent, who subsequently granted it to his brother, Sir Martin Sandys, who made it his residence, where he was known as “Sir Martin Sandys of Scrooby.”

This old bishop, the 63rd on the list, was the first who was bound in holy wedlock. This was not a matter of congratulation for the well-being of the See of York, for, as his monument

in Southwell Cathedral testifies, he had a family of six sons and two daughters, to provide for whom he lived in a humble style, one which offered a striking contrast to the splendour of his predecessors, who being unmarried, lavished their wealth, with few exceptions, after providing for princely establishments, on the fabric of the cathedral church of York, on the churches of their manors, or on the repairs, enlargements, or rebuilding of their many palaces.

The later days of this old palace, when it had become a royal post-house, and an inn for important travellers, is pictured in part in our chapter on "The Pilgrim Fathers," to which we refer the reader, but a fuller account is given in the Rev. Joseph Hunter's work upon the subject, entitled "Collections concerning the Church or Congregation of Protestant Separatists formed at Scrooby, in North Nottinghamshire, in the time of King James I., the Founders of New Plymouth, John Russell Smith, London, 1854." Since this time its history has been that of ruin. By the commencement of the last century it had by its lay owners been allowed to almost fall to the ground, the large gateway and porter's lodge were then demolished, and the

extensive park was converted into a farm, in the garden of which a large mulberry tree existed a few years ago, which tradition says was planted by Cardinal Wolsey.

A farmhouse, converted from part of the ruins, exists, near which are a few verdant mounds, and the old moat, traceable in the depression of the grass; these are all that remain of this once stately palace, the abiding place of a long line of archbishops, some of whom, clothed in the purple of Rome, wielded a power as mighty as that of kings.

These high priests, clad in fine raiment, disciples of the poor carpenter of Nazareth, had, so far as our picture of Scrooby Palace is concerned, a merry time; but upon glancing over their chronology a reverse of this picture may sometimes be traced; instances are recorded of these pall-bearers of Rome being beheaded, excommunicated, outlawed, banished, poisoned, deprived of office, or of sinking into unknown graves.

Amongst these latter, Cardinal Wolsey finds a place, for he died under arrest for high treason, and his grave at Leicester Abbey is unknown. Wolsey affords an instance of the truth of the

saying that "man proposes, but God disposes," for in anticipation of his death being on the same scale of splendour as his life, he prepared for himself a monument of fine copper, a dream of metallic art, which never fell to be used for the purpose he fondly intended.

The Ancient Inns and Taverns of Nottingham.

NOTTINGHAM, although unquestionably an ancient and important town, has preserved few records relating to its early inns and taverns. This is a matter of regret, as they must have been important, not alone in connection with the great fairs and markets, but from the town, in early times, being situate on the Great North Road of the kingdom.

From the Norman Conquest to Elizabeth's reign, the castle was the seat of lodgment for royal personages, whose visits to the town were far more numerous than is generally supposed. James I., owing to his royal castle being in decay, lodged, during his four visits to the town, between 1614 and 1624, at Thurland Hall, where he was the guest of Sir John Holles, who, in the latter year, was created Earl of Clare. Upon the ill-fated Charles I. visiting the town in 1642, the occasion being the erection of the Standard, he chose the place of lodgment

occupied by his father, and Prince Rupert, his daring General, stayed at the "Castle Inn." From a contemporary letter we have a picture of the King passing from the old ruined castle to his lodgings at Thurland Hall. (Bailey, p. 663.) "His Majesty came into the castle-yard accompanied by the Prince, Duke, Prince Rupert, and Maurice, his brother, the Duke of Richmond, and divers other courtiers and cavaliers, and finding out the highest pointed hill in the yard, from whence it might be perspicuous, the Standard was brought in and there erected, at which time all the courtiers and spectators flung up their caps and whooped 'God save King Charles, and hang up the Roundheads,' and so whooped the King to his lodgings."

Turning from the King to Prince Rupert, we have a glance at his doings whilst at the "Castle Inn," the authority for which is an old manuscript, incorporated with the Deering Manuscripts, now in the Bromley House Library, which, so far as our knowledge extends, has never been printed. It is as follows:—"Prince Rupert, being at Nottingham, at the Castle Inn, was introduced into a room where the gallery looked into the yard. He called for a bottle of

wine, and bid the waiter open it and drink a glass, which he (the waiter) refusing, the Prince drew his sword, and the waiter jumped (from the gallery) into the yard. He tells his master, who went up to the Prince and enquired the reason of his being angry with the waiter. He (the Prince) said, 'because he refused to drink the first glass!' 'Your Highness (says the Host) will forgive him because he never drinks anything strong; but if you will permit me to attend upon you, I will oblige you by drinking the first glass of every bottle, let you call for as many as you will.' We have other proof that Nottingham of old possessed a "Castle Inn," which was undoubtedly a leading hostelry in the town, for we find it mentioned in some Drewry Manuscripts, dated 1678, which were lent to the late Thomas Bailey, when compiling his *Annals of Nottinghamshire*, as follows:— (Bailey p. 975) "After the Mayor and Alderman were come from the Hall, they went to the sign of 'The Castle,' with the then Common Councilman, Mr. Wartley, to dinner, &c." This "Castle Inn" of the seventeenth century, with its court-yard and its galleries, prototypes of which have reached our time in London

and other ancient towns, appears to have occupied the western part of the site of the County Hall, for one of the Hall books of the Corporation, about 1639, mentions a messuage, situate on High Pavement, next to Gilbert Bonn's, called "the Castle."

In 1695, upon William of Orange proposing to visit Nottingham, it was decided by the Corporation to meet his Majesty on the outskirts, and conduct him into the town on horseback, to present him with a fitting speech, and a purse of one hundred guineas, and to give a grand banquet to his honour at the "New Inn," or at the "White Lion." Bailey (p. 1049) gives this "New Inn" as the great hostelry, afterwards known as the "Blackamore's Head," but he fails to record his authority for so doing.

Having exhausted our notes upon royalty, we will turn for a moment to the nobility, the *elite* of the court and camp, satellites, as it were, which hovered round the persons of royalty. Those immediately attached to the throne were, in mediæval times, lodged within the castle, which, from the ancient plan furnished by Smithson in 1617, in its halls, its chambers, its kitchens, its stables, and its court-yards, was but an inn of a

royal or imperial character. William Harrison, the associate of R. Holinshed the chronicler, writing in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, has the following note bearing upon this subject:—"I might speak here of the great trains and troops of serving men which attend upon the nobility of England in their several liveries, with difference of cognisances on their sleeves, whereby it is known to whom they appertain. I could also set down what a goodly sight it is to see them muster in the court, which, being filled with them, doth yield the goodly contemplation of a noble variety unto the beholder, much like to the show of peacocks' tails in full beauty, or of some meadow garnished with infinite kinds or diversity of pleasant flowers." The accommodation in the castle of Nottingham was at the best but limited, and ambassadors or courtiers arriving on business of State took lodgings in the town. On this point we have a valuable note in the Harlein MSS., as follows:—"James III. of Scotland sent an embassy, in 1484, to Richard III. when he was at Nottingham Castle. On the 9th of September it was arranged for a train to meet the ambassadors (coming from York), and to

convey them unto their lodgings in the town of Nottingham. They arrived on the 11th; on the 12th they saw the King. They came into the King's presence before high mass of this same day, the King being in his great chamber (hall) under his cloth of royal estate, having there waiting upon his said Highness, besides the lords and other of his council, many noble knights and squires as well for his body (guard) as other of his royal household." Of the great nobility, who were interested in the midland or northern parts of the kingdom, we should be prepared to learn they had inns of their own in Nottingham, and the inference is strong that the "Talbot Inn" had some association with the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, who had estates at Hardwick-upon-Line (near Kirkby), Worksop, etc. With inns of this kind it was customary to hang out the arms, allusive or otherwise, of the owner, and hence the origin of heraldic signs. It was also customary, during the absence of the owners, for these houses to be used as inns for the accommodation of guests or travellers.

Another, and an important type of mediæval inns, were the religious houses, of which Nottingham could boast of the Hospital of St.

John, and the Grey and White Friaries. These would be largely used by spiritual persons, the former, through the period of its existence, was in the hands of its patron, the Archbishop of York.

In 1488, we have a note of their importance as guest houses, in the clergy of the province of York granting in convocation a tenth, upon which occasion the priories of Newstead and Worksop were exempted from the levy, because, being situate on the King's highway they were burdened beyond what they could bear by the coming of strangers. (Hunter's "Yorkshire," vol. 1, p. 8.) In the same strain we find Ellen, sister to Dr. William Gull, late rector of St. Peter's Church, Nottingham, making her will, July 1st, 1485, and desiring her body to be laid beside that of her brother in the chancel of St. Peter's Church; and her two cows and all her other property to be given to the prioress of Heynynges, for the use of the guests and strangers who came to that house. (Reg. Rotherham, 324 b.)

Again, as stated on page 237 *ante*, we find Archbishop Walter Gray, in 1217, giving to the monks of Blyth five marks out of the church of

Weston, "to enable them the better to give hospitality to travellers.

From a valuable local work, "The History and Antiquities of Blyth," we obtain an insight into the doings of the great ecclesiastics when passing through the country on business of Church or State. In 1274, "Richard de Insula," newly elected Bishop of Durham, journeyed to London, in company with Richard Claxton, the prior of Durham, in order to obtain an interview with the King. They returned in October by the way of Blyth, and there stayed at the Angel Inn.* Their bill at this hostelry was as follows:—"In pane, 10s. ; in cervisiâ et vino, 33s. 5d. ; in coquinâ, 27s. 5½d. ; in prebendâ, feno et literâ, 18s. 9d." From Blyth, the prior, on behalf of the Bishop, sent a person forward with a present of 2s. to the Friars Minor of Doncaster, where they intended to claim hospitality, as they had no doubt done at one of the Nottingham Friaries. Under this head we must not omit to mention the neighbouring Priory of Lenton, which answered as the lodgings of the great princes of the Church. The Prior of this house was a person of great local distinction.

* An Angel Inn still exists in Blyth.

He was the priest of St. Mary's Church, and the recipient of the great tithes. He was represented in this church by his vicar, whose portion or living was the lesser tithes. He was also patron of the churches of St. Peter and St. Nicholas, whose rectors were of his nomination. In 1327, he had as his guest the then Bishop of Ely, Lord High Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal. This great official was in daily attendance upon King Edward III. at Nottingham Castle. This was the first year of the young King's reign, and we learn from Rymer's "*Foedera*" (vol. 2, p. 7719) some interesting details connected with the new Great Seal. It appears that the old one (his father's) was broken in the presence of the King in the great chamber (hall) of the Castle on a certain Friday, and a new one was produced (proclaimed) and afterwards carried to the Bishop's chamber at Lenton Priory, where it was daily used for attesting letters, charters, briefs, etc. (in the King's name). These were the palmy days of the gentle Mortimer, when the court of the young King, and Isabella, his Queen mother, was frequently kept at the Castle, when the inns and other places of lodgment and hospitality were crowded to the full

with ecclesiastics and their retinues, or with courtiers and their great waines of idle serving men.

Of a sadder type was the visit of Cardinal Wolsey when on his death ride to London—a ride which terminated at his last lodgment, viz., Leicester Abbey. We fail to identify the place of lodgment of this great man on the night of the 25th of November, 1530. We know he had a wholesome dread of castles, and that this feeling was respected by the Earl of Northumberland at Pontefract, who there lodged him at the Priory. At Nottingham he was in charge of Sir William Kingston, the Governor of the Tower, who, we take it, would not be less considerate than the noble Earl, as it was too apparent that his illustrious prisoner was performing a double journey. The inference is strong that he lodged at one of the Nottingham Friaries, as his biographer clearly states “he lodged that night at Nottingham.” Tradition states that he lodged at Lenton Priory, and there left behind him a brass plate of the Crucifixion, which, some years ago, was found on the site of that ancient house. (“Rambles Round Nottingham,” p. 127.)

In mediæval times, inns for the accommodation of travellers were extremely rare, and we are told that, in the form in which we now find them, they did not exist before the commencement of the fourteenth century. When they were fairly at work, it became a question with travellers whether they stayed at a monastery, with some leading resident of a town, or at a public inn. So far as Nottingham is concerned, we have few records of inns or hostelries before the period of the suppression of religious houses and the demolition of the Castle; but that they did exist, as in the instance of Newark, where the Talbot Inn and the Saracen's Head were mentioned in 1341, we fully believe.

Having completed, as it were, our prefatory remarks, we will notice a few of the inns and taverns of Nottingham in chronological order. As houses of refreshment, there can be no doubt that ale-houses or taverns existed in Nottingham prior to the Norman Conquest. We read of ale-shops in Anglo-Saxon times being places to which special justice was awarded in case of murder there committed, and to which priests were forbidden to resort. (Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," vol. 2, p. 132.) In these early

times "mead" and "wine" were spoken of, but the principal drink was ale, of which they had three kinds, viz., "clear ale," "mild ale," and "Welsh ale." (*Ib.*, p. 35.) The Norman Conquest wrought little or no change in the national beverage; indeed, it may be said that little change has been effected in modern times, except in the introduction of hops, and in taxing and supervising the sale of the liquor.

The laws connected with the sale of ale point to an antiquity we cannot trace, but it is clear that up to the period of the Reformation any person could sell ale, and open his house as an inn or place of lodgment for the relief of travellers, providing it was not situate to the prejudice of other like houses. The operation required was to fix a pole or ale-stake before the door, upon which to hang a garland or a bush, the time-honoured badge of an ale-seller.

So far as we can penetrate the past, the old taverns of Nottingham appear to have clustered about St. Mary's Hill, High Pavement, Weekday Cross, and in and about the Saturday market.

A tavern in the daily market (Weekday Cross) is mentioned in the "Records of Nottingham" (Vol. I., p. 139), on May 7th, 1397.

Taylor, in his *Antiquitates Curiosæ* publishes a tradition purporting to fix "The Ram" as an existing inn, in the reign of Stephen. It is a jingling rhyme as follows:—

"In good King Stephen's days, the Ram,
An ancient inn at Nottingham,
Was kept as all old people knows (*sic*),
By a brisk female called old Rose," etc.

—("Notes about Nottingham," p. 52.)

As if to give colour to this, the "Records of the Borough of Nottingham" (Vol. II., p. 392), mentions the Crown Inn and the Ram Inn, on January 28th, 1482-3.

Blackner (p. 101) narrates a tradition of King John, when visiting the town finding the cellar of the chief magistrate destitute of ale, and being vexed at this circumstance, decreed that the mayor should annually have a certain quantity of ale given him by every publican in the town. The same author states that in his time one of the town serjeants collected fourpence annually from every publican, with liberty of tasting the landlord's tap, in lieu of formerly collecting sixpennyworth of ale. This tradition no doubt originated in the mayor, as head of the corporation, having the assize of ale in the borough;

the town serjeant would thus represent the old "ale-taster," or "ale-conner," whose duty it was to look after the goodness of the ale and wines vended to the public, to report all breaches of law to the justices, whose duty it was to punish the offenders with confiscation of the liquors, or with fines, or the ducking-stool.

In 1266, the assize of ale was alluded to as an ancient institution, and it was then enacted by Parliament—the earliest enactment of the kind we can trace—that when a quarter of barley sold in a city or town for twenty-four pence, then two gallons of beer or ale should be sold for a penny, and that in the country three or four gallons should be sold for the like money.

We have evidence of this ancient calling in the names of the early residents. From 1308 to 1347, Ralph le Tavener was one of the leading residents; he was successively bailiff, mayor, and member of Parliament for the borough; and a Stephen le Tavener was bailiff in 1344. In 1299 we find a "John le Bere," or "Beer," which we take to be some old Inn-keeper of the town.

In 1349, hostilers and brewers are mentioned,

who were to sell ale and victuals at a reasonable price.

In 1392, the Flying Horse property, and that forming the east side of Peck Lane—a property upon which there are three old licenses—was granted by John de Plumtre to his “Plumtre Hospital;” but whether it then contained any inns or taverns we are unable to say. The present signs of these houses afford but slight evidence of such a high antiquity. The Flying Horse may be mythological and refer to Pegasus, the god of poetry. It may be heraldic and refer to the Knights Templars, or it may, as is more probable, refer to a popular amusement, *temp.* Queen Anne, of the swinging wooden horse. The “Punch Bowl” has reference to the last century. The “Blue Ball,” the “Ball” of the last century, is of questionable date; it is supposed to have originated in its being the sign of some quack doctor—literally a “blue pill.” Like the Ball on the Long Row, now the Golden Ball, it may date from the introduction of ordnance; the latter has evidently been the “Cannon Ball,” as it is situate at the end of “Cannon Yard.” “Peck Lane” is probably drawn from the same old

tavern called the "Pack Horse" or the "Woolpack."

In 1463, an Ordinance was made against "ale-houses receyvinge suspicious persons, or kepinge theyr howses open after 9 of the clock." "In 1467-8, the Decennaries of Whitrerowe presented Elizabeth Wright as a common scold, and that she held a common tavern about the middle of the night against the Ordinance, fined 8d." "1469, Richard Clark, barker, gives fine for the occupation of a tavern after the ninth hour against the form of the Ordinance, fined 8d."— ("Records of Nottingham," Vol. I., pp. 425, 268.)

In 1494, an Act was passed empowering the justices of the peace to reject or suppress the common selling of ale; this gave them power to exclude disorderly or objectionable people from the trade.

Under the date 1503, Throsby and Bailey state there was an Unicorn Inn on the Long Row, and its site was the south-east corner of Sheep Lane, now Market Street. This property is mentioned at this date as being the first tiled house in the town. Throsby evidently drew his authority from Deering, whom he clearly misunderstood. Deering says in his time (1740) it

was a house "occupied by Mr. Stanton," and that it was "late the Unicorn Inn." From this we may infer it was the Unicorn Inn about 1703, but what it was in 1503 he does not state. Bailey tells us that this inn, when in its prime, was one of the most famous ale-houses in the town, and that a set of "hearty good fellows," composed of the principal business men residing in and about the Market Place, held a "peep o' day club" there; the rules of which compelled every member to be present, and to drink his *first* quart mug of ale before six o'clock in the morning, or to forfeit a shilling.

In 1503, Dame Agnes Mellors founded the Free Grammar School, and in her will she instituted an annual obit in St. Mary's Church to herself and her late husband. To secure the attendance of the mayor, she granted him a payment of sixpence, to each alderman fourpence, and to the mayor's clerk and the serjeant twopence. To this she added a grant of two shillings and eightpence for bread and cheese, and one shilling and fourpence for ale. This strikes us as frugal fare for the dignitaries of the town, but it was then general. Tea and coffee were unknown, and bread and cheese a standing dish. With

regard to the school officials, she made a curious ordinance, one from which we may glean that the morals of our ancestors were no better than our own. It was that they should abstain from drinking, from making and using potations, from attending cock fights, either by themselves or in company with their wives, or with any of the hostesses of the taverns. This rule was not to be absolute, but the exceptions were not to be more than one or two in the year, one of which was, no doubt, the great annual fair, which, from the custom of drinking-booths being erected there in the same manner as is still pursued at our races, was a regular season of carnival.

As we are now drawing towards the period of the Reformation, we may note that we have in their signs other inferential evidence of the existence of ancient inns; instance, "The trip to Jerusalem," in Brewhouse Yard, which refers to pilgrims visiting the holy shrines, made accessible by the Crusaders, "The Salutation," which has reference to the annunciation, or the salutation of the Virgin Mary, the "Cross Keys," in Byard Lane,—the Arms of the Papal See, and the "Old Angel," formerly standing in High

Pavement, which no doubt referred to the angel saluting the Virgin Mary.

In 1552, an Act was passed to license the sale of ales, etc. Publicans were to find surety of twelve-pence to keep order, and breaches of the peace were to be punished by imprisonment for three days without the option of fine. Selling ale, other than in booths at the great fairs, was not to be indulged in without a license, and the fine for breach of this observance was twenty-two shillings. The assize of ale was then fixed at one penny per quart.

At this time there were various kinds of ale in use, such as "single ale," "double beer," "double-double beer," and "dagger ale;" to these slang terms were applied, such as "huff-cap," "mad dog," and "dragons' milk." From being made of malt and water, strong ale was likened to the staff of life, and call by the jolly toppers of the time "tipsy cake."

About 1560, William Harrison, whom we have noted in the first part of this chapter, gives us a picture of the inns of Elizabeth's time. From this source we find they were then springing into wealth and importance, no doubt owing to the suppression of religious houses, and to

private persons taking up a more secluded mode of life, the natural outcome of growing wealth. We are told that some of the inns were so capacious that they were able to lodge two hundred or three hundred guests with their horses, and that they endeavoured to rival one another in the fineness and change of the linen—which was never used unwashed at bed or table a second time—in the furniture of their beds, plate, service of the table, quality of ale and wine, good treatment of horses, and, lastly, in the splendour of the signs hung at their doors. If a traveller came on horseback, we are told that his budget or cap-case was taken from his saddle bow to his sleeping-room, of which he had the key as of his own house, and that the security of his money and goods was answered for by the host or goodman of the house. For all this he had nothing to pay, the charge made for his horse covering all others; but if he travelled on foot then he was charged one penny per day for his lodgment. Feather and flock beds were spoken of as re-placing the old pallets of straw, and chaff pillows as taking the place of round logs of wood. Glass windows were noted as superseding the old open lattice, and a general

improvement on former times in all that related to the comforts of life. The inns were described as being the resort of robbers, who were in league with some members of the house, by which means the nature and value of the goods or wares lodged at the inns were made known. The travellers were safe from robbery within the gates of the inn, but when fairly on the great highways they were the prey of gangs of foot-pads or highwaymen.

From the calendar of proceedings in Chancery, *temp.* Elizabeth, under date 1600, we read of an action being brought by Thomas Sacheverall against Lawrance Hynde and his wife, to recover possession of a house called the "Horse Shoe." We are unable to identify this house, which was undoubtedly an inn or tavern. The horse-shoe, from its forked shape, was a symbol of good luck, as it was believed to possess the power of driving away witches and evil spirits, and hence its popularity as a tavern sign, and the custom of nailing horse-shoes on stable-doors.

In 1603, there were many ale-houses on the Back Side (Parliament Street), some of which undoubtedly exist to the present day. These were said to be the resort of the lower orders

of the people, a class in great measure migratory, and one of which the Corporation had a wholesome fear of conveying the plague from the neighbouring towns into their midst. To guard against this calamity, the Corporations ordered these taverns to be put down or closed for that season.

In the same year, the town authorities ordered Richard Jackson, whom we should now call "a jolly landlord," to prison for suffering players to sound their trumpets in his house, and for allowing his guests to be out all night, which he appeared to have done without proper license. We here obtain a glimpse of the ancient custom of strolling players performing in the inn yards, where the guests could witness them from the galleries or balconies attached to each floor, and the common people from the court-yards. These were the forerunners of the galleries and pits of our modern play-houses.

In Norman times, if a man dwelt in the town of Nottingham for a twelvemonth and a day, he became, in the event of no over-lord claiming him, a Freeman of the borough; but as time wore on, and the right of citizenship became a substantial boon, the Freemen enrolled themselves into a close body, admittance to which was by

payment of a fine, or by being born of, or apprenticed to, a Freeman. A class, looked upon as interlopers, was thus formed outside the Freeman. Laws were passed from time to time by the body corporate to exclude this unfranchised body, and in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. they were carried out with great cruelty and injustice. Bearing on this we find a note in the Mayor's Book of 1611 as follows:—"All shops of persons not Burgesses to be shut up, except on market days. No one to trade in the town unless [he be] a Burgess. Samuel Wilday not to be allowed to keep an ale-house in the town [he] not being free."

In the same year we have notice of the Crown Inn on the Long Row being sold, the deed of transfer being registered in the statute merchant books of the Corporation. We are here brought face to face with an important inn, one of the earliest we are able to identify, and which existed on the north side of the Market Place nearly down to the date of this publication.

In the time of which we write the inns on the Long Row were important buildings, with large frontages to the Market Place, and gateways through their lower stories, through which

the wings of the buildings were reached, beyond these were ranges of stabling and other offices, the whole having outlets towards the north or into Parliament Street. Of these, the "Old Bear" and the "Talbot," recently demolished, were fair specimens; of existing inns, the "Black Boy," although modernised, is the best example.

In 1615, the "Green Dragon Inn" was mentioned as being the first brick-built house in the town. Deering, writing about 1740, says:—"The window frames of this house are of stone, the manner of building in the time of King James I., and that of this son, Charles I." This inn, at the close of the last century, was known as the "Bear and Dragon," a Mr. Beardmore being the landlord. In the early part of this century it was taken down and re-built, and in its new form was christened the "Derby Arms," a name it still retains. In 1638, we have mention of the "Bell Inn," on Angel Row, in Alderman Robert Sherwin bequeathing one half of it to the poor of the town. This is an ancient inn, one that, in our opinion, was in old times called "The Angel," and hence the local name—"Angel Row."

In 1641, Deering tells us there were fourteen inns in the town, and six vintners or wine merchants. He fails to record the number of ale-houses or taverns; but we may judge, from the fact of sixty master maltsters being in the town, that they were numerous. Malting was a great business. Deering tells us that many of these offices were cut or excavated out of the solid rock, and that they had large and level floors, with cisterns for steeping barley, and kilns for drying the malt, and that, from the uniformity of the temperature, malt could be made in them all the year round. Thoroton, speaking of malt, says:—"Since the late Civil War there are many new malt-houses built, and the greatest part of the barley which grows in the Vale of Belvoir and the adjoining parts is here converted into malt, yielding, as I suppose, more profits to the place than wool did heretofore." It would appear that malt was publicly sold in the great Saturday-market, and that this circumstance gave name to the "Malt Cross." A considerable portion of the malt there sold was conveyed by carriers and hucksters, then called packmen, or badgers, into Lancashire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and the Peak of Derbyshire. Those

trading to Cheshire did a good return business in the carriage of salt.

In 1642, and again in 1678, as noted in the early part of this chapter, the "Castle Inn," at Nottingham, is mentioned. A Thomas Burrowes issued an halfpenny token about 1660, with the sun and a rose on one side, and a castle upon the other; but whether this has any reference to the Castle Inn under notice we are unable to say.

Amongst the Stretton MSS., in the Nottingham Free Public Reference Library, is a series of orders for the proper management of the Garrison in Nottingham in 1644, signed by the "Mayor," William Nix, and Colonel Hutchinson, from which we extract the following:—

"Mr. Maior and the Governor doe require all psons whatsoever within this Garrison (for the better orderinge and Governinge of the same) to take notice of their orders here following, or they will answer the contrary:—

"If anyone shall bee found drinkinge in any Taverne, Inne, or Alehouse on the Sabath or fast day, hee shall pay 1s., or suffer imprisonmt till hee pay the same; And the mr of that house shall pay for every pson soe taken in it 1s. and if

hee offend the second tyme hee shall be disenabled for sellenge any wine, ale, or beare any more.

“If any Taverne, Inne, or Alehouse, soever shall sell any wine, ale, or beare out of their houses upon the sabath or fast day (except to any one who is sick), for the first offence he shall pay 10d. (?) for the second 1s., and for the third disenabled for sellenge any wine, ale, or beare any more.

“If any one shall be drunke, he shall pay five shillings, or suffer imprisonmt till he pay the same; and the mr. of the house where he was made drunk shall pay 1s., and likewise suffer imprisonmt till he pay the same.

“If anyone shall bee found tiplinge or drinkinge in any taverne, Inne, or Alehouse after the houre of nyne of the clock at night, when the tap too beates, hee shall pay 2s. 6d.; And the house for the first tyme shall pay 2s. 6d. for every man so found, and the second tyme 5s., and for the third tyme be disenabled for sellenge wine, ale, or beare any more.

“If any soldiers shall bee found drinkinge in their quarters after nyne of the clock at night when the tap too hath beaten they shall pay 2s.,

or suffer 24 hours' imprisonment with bread and water.

“If any Taverne, Inne, or Alehouse soever shall sell any wine, ale or beere (except upon an extraordinary occasion to one that is sick) after the hour of nyne o'clock at night, after the tap too hath beaten, untill the Revelly hath beaten the next morning, he shall pay 1s., or suffer imprisonment till he pay the same; and he who fetches the drinke after the aforesaid houre shall pay 2s. 6d.; or suffer imprisonment till he pay the same.

“Whosoever shall give Information of any pson who shall comitt any of these offences, he shall have halfe the penalties sett upon them for his reward.

WILL. NIX, Maior.

JOHN HUTCHINSON.”

On the back of the sheet of foolscap paper on which the above is written, there is a note giving instructions for a corporal to “See to ye executing these orders to-day,” and dated “Sabbath, December (erasure), 1644.”

In 1647, publicans did not appear as the most respected class of tradesmen, for the Corporation decided that no person of this calling

should be admitted into the freedom of the town, and that money, which had hitherto been all-powerful in obtaining them this franchise, should for the future be inoperative.

In 1648, the inhabitants, owing to the scarcity of small coin, resorted to the system of issuing tradesmen's tokens. Some of these tokens were collected by the late Mr. Stretton, and illustrated by Throsby in his history of the town. From these we obtain some notes relative to the old inns and taverns of the seventeenth century. One reads:—"Thomas Green, at the Black Horse, in Nottingham;" another, "Thomas Greateon, in Nottingham, brewer; his halfpenny," with the allusive trade sign of "Three Tuns." A third "James Galatly, at Ye Three Castles, on St. Mary's Hill, his halfpenny, 1668." This is probably the "Castle Inn" alluded to above.*

In 1660, the ancient rights of Court of Wards and Liveries, Tenures, in *Capite*; Knights Service, and Perveyance, were surrendered by the King, and the Commons granted in lieu an excise on all Beer, Spirits, etc., as follows:—"Upon every barrel of Ale, the value of which may be

* Signs on tradesmen's houses, with the exception of London and Bristol, appear to have been confined to what we now call "the trade."

above six shillings, *fifteen pence*, and on every barrel under that value, *three pence*. For every gallon of Strong-water (spirits) of English make, *one penny*, and for the like measure of Foreign, *two to four pence*." It appears that tea and coffee were brewed in the same manner as ale, for we find a duty of *four pence* per gallon granted to the King on the former, and *eight pence* on the latter.

In 1684, we have mention ("Nottingham Date Book," p. 135,) of the "White Lion Hotel," which we take to mean the building of it, as its architectural character bespeaks this date. It was from its foundation the headquarters of the Tory party, in which respect, so far as we can discern, it was the successor of the old "Crown Inn." The Whig party appears to have centred at the "Feathers' Inn," now the "Old Moot Hall," and to have removed therefrom to the "Blackamoor's Head Inn," which we presume was erecting about this time. The "White Lion Inn" was thus the haunt of the Cavalier party, who followed King Charles II. as their leader, and hence the prominence it so long maintained as a fashionable inn of the sporting aristocracy. This inn had then its

frontage to the Market Place, and its yard in the rear opening into Cow Lane (Clumber Street), on the western side of which was the rear wing, which still exists as part of the present "Lion Hotel," the one-story shops adjoining occupy the site of the old inn yard. The stables, which in great measure exist, were very extensive. Cow Lane was then a narrow street, across which a great beam was fixed, on which hung the swinging sign of the "White Lion." We are told that this beam crossed the lane at the end of the Long Row, and that it was made use of, when criminals were conveyed from the gaols to the gallows, by a string of vulgar people, who indulged their morbid tastes with the sight of the malefactors passing that way to execution. We have mention of this inn in 1695 (Bailey, p. 1049), upon the occasion of the rumoured visit of King William III., when the Corporation agreed to meet the King on his entrance into the town, to present him with a purse of gold, and to give a banquet to his honour at the "New Inn" (Blackamoor's Head), or at the "White Lion." It would appear from this that the two great political parties were as one in

their desire to do honour to the last of our warrior kings. Our notes hereon, as may be assumed, are mostly of a sporting character. During the August race meetings the best blood of the country met at this inn, where the early part of the days were spent in the great cock pit, the scene of the most important cock fights in the country. This old cock pit was in existence a few years ago as a chandlery, occupied by Mr. Minnitt, and later by Mr. G. H. Brown. Its entrance was by Pawlett's Yard on the Long Row; but in old times it was connected with the inn. In 1763, a great event was coming off at this cock pit between the gentlemen of London and Nottingham. The London fowls were stowed away in the cellar of the inn, where access was obtained to them by some daring townsman, who, to influence the betting, poisoned the water with arsenic, and rendered the whole of the London fowls incapable of fighting. This led to an "association for the defence of game fowls" being formed in the three counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, and the head-quarters being fixed at the Red Lion Inn (afterwards the Peacock) in Pelham Street, and a reward

of £50 being offered for the apprehension of the delinquent. On July 10th, 1772, a great battle was fought in this pit between the gentlemen of London and Derbyshire. The conditions were, "to weigh fifty-one cocks in the main, and to fight for ten guineas a battle, and two hundred the odd battle." The contest ended in Derbyshire gaining sixteen battles, and London eleven.

The August race meeting of 1779 was graced by the attendance of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland (brother of George III.), who was running his celebrated horse "Pomona." He stayed at the "White Lion," then in the tenure of a Mr. Pacey, where the Corporation presented him with the freedom of the town; and the inhabitants, at the merry sound of the church bells, flocked thither to witness the Royal Duke, who, it is said, repeatedly showed himself at the windows of his apartments in his light blue military uniform. At the race stand he was the great attraction, being dressed in scarlet uniform, with a brilliant star on his breast, and the blue ribbon of the Order of the Garter across his shoulder. His horse, we are told, made a place at the race, coming in a good second.

In 1780, Daniel Parker Coke, Esq., when contesting the town in the Tory interest for a seat in Parliament, made this inn his headquarters. It would appear that with the close of the last century the Tory interest in this inn ceased, its politics, like those of the "Blackamoor's Head," underwent a radical change, the latter took up the Tory cause, and the Whig party transferred their favours to the "White Lion."

In 1794, we find the honour of holding the petty sessions possessed by this inn, an honour formerly held, as above noted, by the "Crown Inn."

At this period, Matthew Lindley, of Newthorpe, and his brother Robert, were making their way to the magistrates at this inn to prefer a charge against certain persons, who, excited by taking part in the burning of Tom Paine in effigy, had assaulted them for refusing to sell ammunition in prescribed hours. These persons were waylaid by a mob in the inn yard, who dragged them towards the Market Place, to douse them under the Exchange pump. Robert was the first to undergo this rough usage, during which Matthew managed to make his escape into a shop on the Long Row. In the same year the

inn was the scene of great feasting and rejoicing, upon the occasion of Sir John Warren, the naval hero of the French Wars, visiting his seat at Stapleford. We learn that he was here entertained, and that he addressed the people from one of the inn windows.

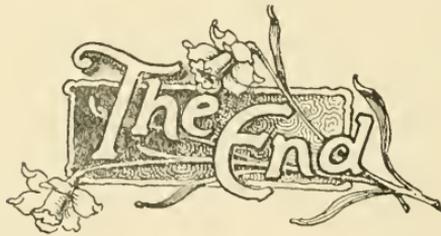
On August 5th, 1779, the Right Hon. Frederick Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Stafford, arrived at this inn to attend the race meeting, and the next day he was found dead in his bed, having been seized with apoplexy during the night.

The "White Lion," or "Lion Hotel" as it is now called, was best known during the early part of this century as a coaching house, and the writer well remembers the open yard, the busy coach office in the rear of the late Mr. Skinner's shop, and the old coaches with their red-coated guards, the sound of whose clarions were familiar to the ear. In 1814, it had three lines of daily coaches to Leicester, Leeds, and London, and one line to Doncaster every two days. In 1830, upon the closing of the "Blackamoor's Head Inn," it had eleven lines of daily coaches to London, Scotland, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Lincoln, Hull, Derby, Newark, and Leicester, and two other lines to London and

Doncaster every two days. With the introduction of railways the decay of this inn ensued; but we believe it was the last in the town associated with the old mode of travelling, viz., with the Mansfield and Sheffield mail, which was continued long after the opening of the Midland Railway. The "White Lion Inn," or "Lion Hotel," is one of the two inns of Nottingham which have afforded shelter to Royalty, and is thus entitled to the appellation of "Royal;" the other is the "Old Moot Hall" (then the Feathers' Inn), which was graced with the presence of Princess Anne at a banquet given in her honour during the time she was at Nottingham, on the occasion of her taking refuge at the castle.

As our space is exhausted, we must close our chronological notes on this subject with A.D. 1697. In the summer of that year the town was visited by a very intelligent lady, a Miss Celia Fiennes, daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, a Parliamentarian officer. This lady's diary, under the title, "Through England on a side saddle in the time of William and Mary" (*London, Field and Tuer, 1888*), amongst other interesting local matter, contains the follow-

ing:—"Nottingham is famous for good ale, so for Cellars, they are all dugg out of the Rocks and so are very Coole. Att y^e Crown Inn is a Cellar of 60 steps down all in y^e Rock Like arch worke over your head; in y^e Cellar I dranke good ale. We were very well Enter-tained and very Reasonobly att the Blackmoor's head." This ancient Inn, already noticed in the paragraph on Hucknall Torkard, converted into shops, with a line of columns supporting its overhanging chambers, is still a picturesque obstruction on the east side of High Street.



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