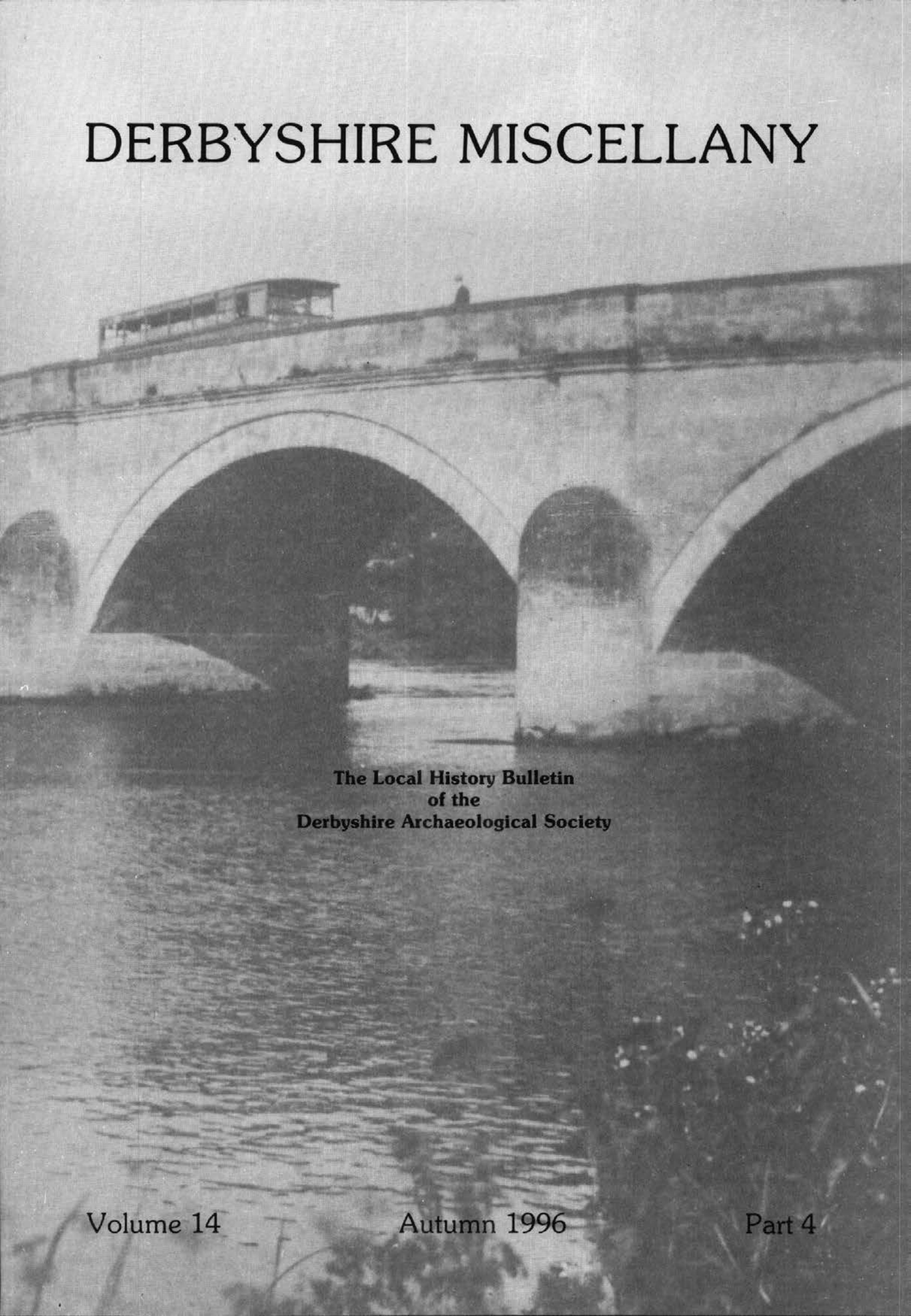


DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



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ASHOVER FABRICK: A LOST SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FOLLY

(by Adrian Henstock, Nottinghamshire Archives, Castle Meadow Road, Nottingham, NG2 1AG)

In geological circles Ashover is well-known as a replica of the 'Derbyshire Dome' in miniature. Thousands of years of erosion by the River Amber have worn away the upper crust of the Ashover Dome to expose the underlying layers of volcanic 'tuff' and lead-rich carboniferous limestone, leaving the remains of the overlying layers of millstone grit as inward-facing 'edges'.¹ On these edges, which rise to nearly a thousand feet in height, can be found occasional rocky crags or 'tors' and natural rock pedestals, similar to better known examples on nearby Stanton Moor. Buried in dense woodland between Cocking Tor and Bradley Tor to the west of Ashover village are two rock pedestals traditionally called the Turning Stone and Robin Hood's Mark, one of which was known to Ashover villagers over a century ago as 'Gladstone's Nose' from its resemblance to the profile of the Victorian prime minister.²

The eastern edges are not so pronounced, but to the north of Eastwood at a height of 982 feet above sea level is a rock outcrop bearing the unusual name of The Fabric(k), locally pronounced '*faybrick*', (Figure 1). From here a fine view can be had over Ashover village with its prominent church spire and down the Amber Valley. There is an even more extensive view to the east, with Bolsover Castle and Hardwick Hall recognisable on the distant magnesium limestone ridge.³ It is claimed that on a clear day six counties can be seen and in 1990 the Clay Cross Rotary Club, with the agreement of the landowners, the Misses Bassett, provided an orientation table adjacent to the Fabrick rock marking the direction and distances to the surrounding landmarks.

Until the enclosure of Ashover's common land under a local Act of Parliament during the years 1778-83 the higher parts of the parish - forming a great arc around the head of the Amber valley - consisted of unclaimed moorland, an extension of the great Eastmoor.⁴ This is clearly shown on Peter Burdett's map of Derbyshire surveyed in 1767, which also marks the Fabrick by name in the midst of the common land (Figure 3).⁵ Sometime after the enclosure some of this moorland on the gentler slope to the east of the Fabrick gained a covering of trees, most of which were felled during the First World War. This wood has now partly regenerated itself with silver birch and mountain ash, supplemented with young trees planted by members of the public in 1983 as part of the national 'Plant a Tree in Eighty Three' campaign. The whole site, including both the rock and the wood, was purchased by Mr John Bassett on the break-up of the Jackson family's Stubben Edge Hall estate in 1921. His was a public-spirited gesture as he acquired it '*with the express idea that it should be kept as an open space*'.⁶

The obvious natural features of this site have made it the focus of natural activity stretching back many centuries. In 1922 a hoard of mid-3rd century Roman coins was found concealed in the cliff edge above Eastwood Old Hall and a coin of Hadrian was unearthed in recent years on the hilltop close to the Fabrick itself.⁷

Several centuries later, during the reign of Elizabeth, this area became the site of a major lead-smelting enterprise. A scientific analysis carried out in 1967 revealed a high degree of residual lead slag in the subsoil, concentrated around three separate points, one of them immediately adjacent to the Fabrick rock. It seems certain that these mark the sites of former lead-smelting hearths or 'boles' whose function was to convert raw lead ore mined from the nearby limestone into lead 'pigs'. 'Bolehills' are usually found on hilltops as maximum wind was required to blast the wood-fired hearths. There are documentary references in Elizabethan times to a bole on the top of Ashover Hill, probably operated by the Babington family of Dethick, which must refer to these structures.⁸

The historical origins of the name 'Fabrick' have been the subject of considerable speculation. Although in place names the word usually occurs in the sense of 'fabric lands', referring to property given to a church or cathedral with the purpose of providing an income to maintain the building fabric, such a derivation seems unlikely in this instance, as this was common land until the enclosure of 1778-83. The earliest mention of the name is in a letter purporting to be written in 1646 by the Rev. Immanuel Bourne describing the destruction of his Ashover home, Eastwood Old Hall, by Roundhead canon stationed on the hilltop. However, as some doubt has been cast on the authenticity of this letter, the original of which has been inconveniently lost, this reference must be discounted.⁹ In fact an explanation of the name's origin can be found in the autobiography



FIGURE 1: The Fabrick rock from the north west. Compare this view with the sketch numbered 6 on Figure 2.



FIGURE 2: Rooke's drawing of the Fabrick, 1784.

of that remarkable Ashover personality of later Stuart times, Leonard Wheatcroft. A jack-of-all-trades he was at various times a soldier, tailor, innkeeper, gardener, parish clerk and amateur poet amongst other accomplishments and he left behind an autobiography and a volume of poetry, both in manuscript.¹¹ Under the year 1691 (when he was aged about 64) he wrote in his autobiography the cryptic entry: 'And in that yeare I bu(i)lded the fabrick upon the top of Ashover Hill, upon which I made a song which you may find in my booke of poetry'. This latter book records how on 11th April 1689 Wheatcroft had lit a 'bonefier' on the hilltop to celebrate the coronation of King William of Orange and Queen Mary Stuart. It was of course at an inn in the nearby village of Old Whittington some five months earlier that the Duke of Devonshire is said to have plotted with other Whig noblemen to depose the Catholic King James II in favour of the Protestant William and Mary, an event subsequently known as the 'Glorious Revolution'.¹²

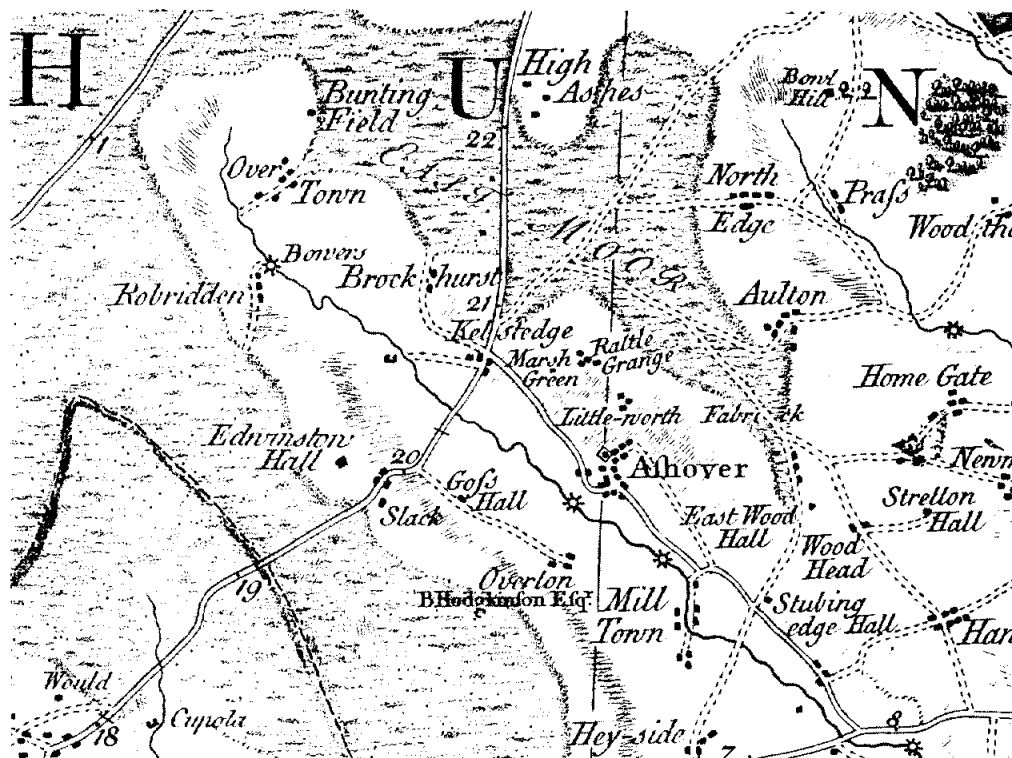


FIGURE 3: Ashover, from Burdett's map surveyed in 1767. The 'Fabrick' is marked to the east of the village centre

Wheatcroft's poem runs to ten rather bad verses praising the new King but revealing a little more about the extent of his building activities at the top of what he called 'my hill'. 'There I'll bu(i)ld me up a fabrick, to behold each pleasant day', he declared. This structure was obviously intended as a kind of rustic folly or summer house where he and his friends could celebrate the Protestant Succession whilst liberally supplied with quantities of 'sugar sacke and claret, besides all sortes of bottle beere'! The idea apparently had its origin on one occasion when:

'twelve of us, being very jolly,
drinking of the highnes' health,
we did agre(e) to bu(i)ld this folly,
for our fancies commonwealth'

It thus seems almost certain that it was Wheatcroft who dubbed his folly 'The Fabrick', probably simply in the sense of a 'fabrication' or man-made structure.¹³

Fortunately we have some knowledge of the appearance of his 'Fabrick' as it was recorded on a plan and elevation drawn in sepia ink and wash by Hayman Rooke on 20 July 1784.¹⁴ Major Rooke was a retired army officer who settled at Mansfield Woodhouse and became an enthusiastic antiquary, having several papers published by the Society of Antiquaries in London. Perhaps his least known claim to fame is that the well-known Major Oak near Edwinstowe in Sherwood Forest is apparently named after him; having published a *Description and Sketches of Some Remarkable Oaks in Welbeck Park* in 1790, the Edwinstowe tree was dubbed

'Major Rooke's Oak', now shortened to the Major Oak. His best work was his careful excavation and recording of a Roman villa site at Mansfield Woodhouse in 1786 but, like many enthusiastic amateurs, he was sometimes inclined to flights of fancy.¹⁵ In a letter published in 1796 he described the two natural rock pedestals near Cocking Tor at Ashover as 'Druidical Remains' and it is probable that he believed the structure at the Fabrick to be of a similar nature.¹⁶ A fellow antiquary, the Rev Samuel Pegge of Whittington, wrote to Rooke in July 1784 informing him that '*Ashover Fabric, of which you have made a drawing, has fallen into the hands of Sir H. Hunloke, on the division [ie at the enclosure] of the common, by his particular desire*', and asking for a copy of the drawing which he could present to Sir Harry.¹⁷ The surviving illustration is probably this same drawing.

Rooke's sketch (figure 2) shows that the natural rock outcrop sloping from north-east to south-west had been built up with squared stone to create an oval tower-like structure measuring nine feet by six. The top of the wall has the effect of being battlemented, but this may simply be the result of years of decay. An entrance was left at the south-east side and around the inside of the horseshoe-shaped wall was a continuous stone seat. The top of the rock seems to have been made up with earth or stones to form a flat but sloping floor, in the middle of which stood an oval stone 'table' measuring two feet by two and a quarter feet. The sketch agrees with Wheatcroft's own poetic description of the structure. '*This fabrickes bu(i)lded like an ovall*,' he wrote, '*'tis neither square nore loung nor round*'; he also mentioned that '*in it there is but one doore*'.¹⁸ Whether it ever had a roof or any type of wooden superstructure is not clear but no trace of this artificial building now remains; 200 years of natural decay, vandalism and stone robbing have taken their toll.¹⁹

Wheatcroft's edifice obviously brought him some ridicule in the locality as he recorded in his autobiography under the years 1694-5 how another local amateur poet called Ouldham from nearby Tupton '*had writ severall verses, not only against me but in derision of the f(r)abrick which I had bu(i)lded upon the top of Ashover Hill*'. The two rivals were encouraged, no doubt somewhat mischievously, by '*sum jentellmen*' to a poetic contest and Wheatcroft describes how, followed by a large crowd, he challenged Ouldham to accompany him to 'Parnishus Hill', '*but we both mis(s)ing our way, we chanced to light of an all(e)-hous(e), and after we had drunk awhile we fell into discours(e) concerning the 9 Muse which he could not name, neithe(r) could he tell from whence the(y) came, or what the(y) had done, or what the(y) might doe; so I in the audiece) of all the companey gave them their right names and all their right titles, where upon the(y) decked my head round with lorill branches to the great vexation of my antagonist Ouldham*'²⁰

This description of Wheatcroft's triumphant, if inebriated, confirmation as the unofficial poet laureate of north-east Derbyshire shows that he thought of his hilltop in Ashover as a reincarnation of the Hill of Parnassus in Greece, which in classical times was the home of the nine goddesses known as the Muses. He had embellished the site with a 'folly' - an edifice which evoked the spirit of classical Greece and which formed an adornment to the landscape - although he does not appear to have made any attempt to copy classical architecture. Follies were popularised by the idealised classical landscape drawings executed by contemporary European artists such as Claude Lorraine, although the movement they inspired did not become fashionable until early in the next century. Wheatcroft's ideas were thus very advanced for his time, although he may have gleaned them from one of his many patrons amongst the local aristocracy and gentry, for whom he wrote occasional eulogies or tributes in verse as a profitable sideline. He was certainly familiar with the original Chatsworth House, some eight miles from Ashover, as in 1685 he recorded that he was '*well receved*' there and was able to view both the interior of the house and gardens.²¹ The Earl of Devonshire began to remodel the house in 1687 and to lay the new gardens in 1690. Although the 'Temple of Flora' in the grounds - probably the first classical folly in Derbyshire - was not begun until 1693, Wheatcroft could have been inspired by what he had heard about the new fashion to erect his own crude rustic version near his home village.²² However, his folly was obviously intended for communing not only with the Muses but with Bacchus as well!

Today the ruins of the Fabrick are still evocative enough for us to imagine old Leonard sitting there with a jug of beer at his side, composing this poem as he admired his favourite view towards Hardwick and Bolsover:

*I can se(e) houses, castells, manners
With guilded postes and famous Towers
I can se(e) woods and springing fountains
And pleasant meadows decu't with flow(e)rs
There are Twenty Parish churches
All within six miles of me*

*With hunting, haucking, fishing, fouling
No county like my c(o)unteree.*²³

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18. DRO, D253A PZ 5/1.
19. The first edition of the Ordnance Survey one inch map (c1840) marks a 'millstone grit quarry' near 'Fabrick Wood'. A contemporary press report stated that 'Two cast brass ancient instruments were found at Mr Milnes' quarry at Febrick, near Ashover, on Tuesday. They were covered with a beautiful coat of green oxide of copper, at least one inch thick'. *North Derbyshire Chronicle* (2 March 1839).
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Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the following for assistance in locating source material: the Rev. Tom Johnson, rector of Ashover; Roger Flindall; Tom Askey of the Chatsworth archives; Jean Radford of the Derbyshire Local Studies Library, Matlock; the staff of the Derbyshire Record Office and the Derby Local Studies Library, Derby.

J.C. BATES 1822-1899

(by Mike Langham and Colin Wells, 14 St James Terrace, Buxton, SK17 6HS)

John Cumming Bates, a true Buxtonian, was the founder and proprietor of the *Buxton Advertiser* which he developed into the principal newspaper of the town during the second half of the 19th century. As editor, he exerted significant influence, through his pen, on the growth of the town but, as this biography will show, he was also an active force in the public life of Buxton. It is difficult to gauge just how influential the *Buxton Advertiser* was in promoting the growth of amenities in the town but J.C. Bates (we refer to him as JCB, as he himself did) was not slow to make suggestions for improvement, nor was he slow to damn those actions taken by local politicians and others which he felt to be detrimental to the town's prosperity. Where he felt it necessary, he would become personally involved to promote a cause. For the local historian the *Buxton Advertiser* is a valuable mine of source material, rich in facts and descriptions and full of character and characters. The character of JCB shows through inexorably in the pages of the newspaper and it is not easy to do him justice in a short biography such as this. Nevertheless he ranks as one of the principal founding fathers of Victorian Buxton and his life should be told.

Origins and family background

John Cumming Bates was born in Buxton, the 6th son of Robert and Mary Elizabeth Bates on 29 October 1822. His father Robert was, himself, born in Buxton in 1787 and is reputed to have been the first male child born in The Crescent. JCB's grandparents, Joseph and Mary Bates, kept a lodging house at no 5 The Crescent but became proprietors of the Hall Hotel in 1812 and, after his grandfather was killed by a fall from a horse at Ashford in 1817, his grandmother continued to keep the Hall Hotel until her retirement to a house in the Square where she died in 1847 aged 83.

Mary Elizabeth Cumming, JCB's mother, was born in London, her parents living for sometime at 202 Oxford Street, where her father was a watchmaker, and she married Robert at St George's Church, Hanover Square in 1813. She, however, had Buxton family connections, not the least of which was that her grandfather, James Cumming, ran the Hall Hotel from about 1791 until his death in 1804. It is not surprising, therefore, that JCB was given his mother's maiden name when he was baptised on 20 May 1827 at St John the Baptist with St Anne, Buxton, although this was a fairly common Victorian practice. Robert and Mary Elizabeth Bates had 10 children and JCB had 5 elder and 3 younger brothers and a younger sister. The family tree gives more details of the family.

The Robert Bates family were part of a large and extended set of related families in Buxton and the surrounding district. In terms of JCB's life, the most notable of these relations were John Smilter (1820-1892) and Brian Bates (1802-1882). John Smilter who kept the Crescent Hotel and the Post Office was married to Mary Bates (1824-1903) who was a cousin of JCB. Brian Bates, the well known Buxton hotelier, was JCB's uncle being the 6th son of Joseph and Mary Bates of the Hall Hotel which he took over on the death of his mother in 1847.

JCB's father may, at one time, have been a stationer though it is unlikely that he influenced JCB's ultimate choice of career to any real extent for he died at the age of 44 in 1831 when JCB would have been only 9 years old. By 1835 JCB's mother was living at a house on Hall Bank which she ran as a lodging house and it is likely that JCB was also living there. Certainly in 1841 this was the case for the census return shows his mother, Mary Elizabeth Bates, aged 48, lodging house keeper, Hall Bank; his elder brother, George Joseph age 25, a watchmaker; his younger brother, Henry B. Bates age 13 and his sister Mary Emma age 11 years. JCB is given as age 18 but no occupation is ascribed. At that time his eldest brother, Robert George Hodgson Bates, was married and in business in Buxton as a chemist. His third eldest brother, Joseph, who was to join JCB in business later was married and presumably living in Buxton. Three of JCB's eldest brothers died in infancy: Henry James (died 1820), Thomas Lewis (died 1821) and a child stillborn in 1826.

It must have been soon after 1841 that JCB went to London to learn typography. His mother meanwhile continued her lodging house business at Hall Bank and in 1851 his elder brother, George, the watchmaker was still residing there, though there is no mention of JCB himself, whom we presume was in London learning his trade.

The Buxton Advertiser is born

It is likely that JCB was back in Buxton some time during 1851 preparing to start in the business of printer and publisher. He published the first edition of the *Buxton Advertiser and List of Visitors* from his mother's house, no. 6 Hall Bank, on Friday 2 July 1852. This was a simple paper of four sides with the front page mainly taken up with advertisements. Notable amongst these was his mother, M.E. Bates Private Lodging House, 6 Hall Bank; his brother, George J. Bates, watch & clock maker at the Billiard Room, Hall Bank and his elder brother, Robert Bates, Chemist & Druggist, Market Place. The list of visitors took up one and a half pages and large advertisements were taken by his uncle, Brian Bates, at the Old Hall Family Hotel and by his cousin (by marriage), John Smilter, at the Great Hotel Boarding House in the Crescent. Page 4 carried his own advertisement where he described himself as Printer & Bookseller, offered all manner of printing books on natural history and a reading room at his premises. From this small beginning the *Buxton Advertiser* was born and one of the short quotations printed in that first edition was to presage the shape of things to come from the *Advertiser*: "... Printing, --Oh, printing! How hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind! Lead moulded into bullets is not so mortal as when founded into letters - Andrew Marvel".

By 1855 JCB was working in partnership with his brother Joseph Bates still at Hall Bank, though they moved to premises in Winster Place, Spring Gardens in the middle of 1856 from where the *Buxton Advertiser* was published by 'J. & J.C. Bates'.

Marriage and family

JCB married Ann Edmonds at the Independent Chapel, Carr's Lane, Birmingham on Thursday, 1 May 1856. Ann, the daughter of the then late Mr Thomas Edmonds came from Birmingham but there is evidence to suggest that she came to Buxton to work in Mr John Smilter's Post Office and it may have been through this that she and JCB met. At the time of their marriage Ann was 25 and JCB 33 years old. From a letter written by JCB to Ann on 20 April 1856 we learn that they were intending to live at Winster Place, presumably over the business. This same letter tells us that JCB's elder brother, George Joseph, had died at the early age of 41. George Joseph had been a watchmaker and the proprietor of the billiard hall at the bottom of Hall Bank certainly until 1852. In July 1853 he married Jane Varley at Bakewell church and they had two sons, Varley, born September 1854 and George Henry born in early 1856 who was christened at Wath-on-Dearne on 4 May. At the time of George Joseph Bates's death his family were living at Masborough near Rotherham and it may be that he had moved there to set up a new business.

John Cumming and Ann Bates settled in Winster Place and their first child, Sarah Elizabeth (Lily) was born on 20 December 1857, followed by their first son, John Cumming born 25 July 1859, who, like his father, was not christened as a small baby but on 4 November 1868 at Buxton when he would have been about 8 years old. JCB and Ann had four further children: Joseph Cumming (born 5 April 1862), Edmund Henry (born 19 July 1864), Marion (born 24 December 1867) and Beatrice Margaret (born 1873/74).

Business change and development

By 1858 it was clear that the business of J. & J.C. Bates was going through a difficult patch for in April of that year a deed of assignment of the estate and effects of Joseph and John Cumming Bates was published with Edward Mycock and Robert Rippon Duke acting as signatories. This was an arrangement to help the Bates over some financial difficulties with their business by trying to get all the creditors to agree to a schedule for the payment of debts. It would seem that the partnership was dissolved from this time: whether the brothers actually fell out is difficult to say, though such a fall out is anecdotal in the family. In fact we can be fairly precise in the date of this split for in the 19 June 1858 edition of the *Advertiser* (published by J. & J.C. Bates) John Cumming was advertising that the Buxton News and Reading Rooms in the centre of the Crescent were 'Now Open'. The edition of 10 July 1858 carried the same advertisement but this edition of the *Advertiser* was printed and published by 'John Cumming Bates at the News and Reading Room in the centre of the Crescent' and the edition of 17 July carried a formal notice announcing the move. In fact JCB's friend, Robert Rippon Duke, at that time a builder, was paid just under £65 by the Duke of Devonshire's Buxton Estate for converting an old building at the back of The Crescent into a dwelling house for J.C. Bates. We conclude from this that JCB and his family moved house and this is confirmed by the 1861 census which shows JCB, his wife Ann and children Sarah E. and John C. living at 'Shady Side' which, from its position in the enumerator's record was close to the

000

b.17.9.1760 b. 14.11.1764

d. 11.1.1817 d. 25.11.1847

Brian	Mary Hannah
b.12.11.1802	b.8.12.1805
d.9.2.1882	d.10.12.1805

Mary Emma
b. 15. 1. 1830
d. 23. 10. 1904

b.30.10.1830

d.8.5.1899 d.3.5.1914

[illegible]

Beatrice Margaret
b. 1873/4
d. 10.2.1949

Old Hall Hotel and The Square. At this time JCB was employing two men and 2 boys in the business and two servants in the house. As we shall see, he was to develop a substantial business from this time.

JCB's brother Joseph remained at Winster Place and in late 1858 was publishing a newspaper, *The Buxton Visitor*, and in a guide of 1860 he is listed as 'Bookseller, stationer, printer, binder and newsagent "Visitor" office, Winster Place, quite obviously in competition with JCB. He appears in the 1861 census still in the same business but fairly soon after that he ceased trading and he is not to be found in the Buxton directory of 1864.

From the break of his partnership, JCB must have worked hard to establish his business and, certainly from 1860, we see some very creative work emanating from his press. In 1860 he collaborated with his younger brother, Henry Brian Bates (who lived in Sheffield), in writing and publishing three guide books. One, launched in January, was titled *'The Buxton Diamond'* and described the Terrace, Gardens, Serpentine and Corbar Wood Walks and was offered at 3d [1p] plain or 6d [2p] with five steel engravings. A second publication was on Fairfield with *'... a description of the village, the old church, the present church, the churchyard, the Barns &c &c ...'* priced at 3d with a steel engraving of the church and 2d plain. The third was published in March and was titled *'A Sketch of the History of Buxton; with remarks on the climate etc'*, price 4d [2p] illustrated. The steel engravings commissioned by JCB and published by him were very popular and would have provided a useful source of income. It was quite usual to assemble such engravings into books of views for tourists and these would be bound in various qualities determined by price. Inevitably the copies of their *'Views of Buxton and Neighbourhood ∞ Published by J.C. Bates'* which remain today are likely to be hard backed often with embossed gilt decoration on the covers. Copies of the cheaper, paper covered versions have quite often been broken up and the engravings framed as pictures. JCB also published views of Buxton showing the Crescent, Hot and Natural Baths, Quadrant, Railway Station, etc. first issued in 1864 and followed with a series of panoramas taken from each side of the town and aspects of the town such as Broad Walk and the Pavilion and Gardens. The latter panorama was bound into the 1868 edition of Dr Robertson's *'Guide to Buxton and the Peak of Derbyshire'* and into other local books published by JCB including one by Edward Bradbury who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Strephon'. The *'Guide to Buxton and the Peak of Derbyshire'* by Dr W.H. Robertson was a very successful guidebook which ran to 11 editions and this was published by JCB who may have had more than just an editorial influence on the content. The 1861 edition contained a map of Buxton and The Peak drawn by Henry B. Bates. JCB also published the Dr Robertson *'Guide to the Use of the Buxton Mineral Waters'* which was produced as a low cost paperback and ran to more than 25 editions.

By 1883 the *Buxton Advertiser* was sub-titled *'Weekly List of Visitors and High Peak chronicle'* and this is likely to reflect the widening of the coverage of the newspaper to areas surrounding Buxton. By early January 1864 JCB had moved his office to the Hot Bath Colonnade and in February of that year the foundation stone of his new printing works was laid. A report in the *Advertiser* for Saturday, 6 February describes the laying of this stone as follows:

"...On Tuesday last the first stone of a new printing office for the Buxton Advertiser was laid by John Cumming Bates junr. in the presence of his mother, aunt Alice, sister Lily and brother Joe who had a good view of the ceremony from the windows of Thorncliffe. Mr Duke (the architect) and Mr Saunders (the builder) attended upon him and rendered any necessary assistance. Taking a large trowel in both hands he prepared a good bed of mortar, the stone was then deposited and a large hammer was given to him which he wielded with both hands and struck the stone about a dozen times, his open mouth and protruding tongue showing that he was quite earnest in the work. The stone was then considered firmly fixed and his proud and admiring father conducted him to the loving family circle where he was received with open arms and many congratulations ..."

The new printing press was in Eagle Street and was designed by the famous Buxton architect, Robert Rippon Duke. It was situated on, or near, the site of the Spa Hotel laundry and is clearly marked on the 1878 Ordnance Survey map. The house referred to in the report was known as 'Thorncliffe Cottage' on Hartington Street (now road) which was designed and built by Robert Rippon Duke in 1862 for JCB.

So by 1864 JCB had consolidated his business with the Advertiser Office and Reading Rooms in the Hot Bath Colonnade, his printing office in Eagle Street and his own modest but detached house on Hartington Street: the *Buxton Advertiser* was firmly established as the local paper. It is worth noting at this point however that the *Buxton Advertiser* was not the first newspaper in Buxton: this was probably the *Buxton Herald* first published by

James Sutton, Spring Gardens in 1842. In the early days of the *Advertiser* there was quite strong competition between the two but JCB was able to promote his paper as the first full-time newspaper because the *Herald* was only published between June and October. Not only that, in the season JCB published the *Advertiser* twice a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. After James Sutton the *Herald* continued to be published by William Dennis Sutton from Spring Gardens, though printed for some time in Sheffield.

Public affairs in the town

As we shall see when we examine the editorial style of the *Buxton Advertiser*, JCB wielded a good deal of influence through the pen but he was also personally involved in important developments in the town. He was the first joint secretary of the Buxton, Fairfield and Burbage Mechanics and Literary Institute founded in 1855 by Robert Rippon Duke. This was established to provide reading and educational facilities for all, but particularly for those engaged in trade and manual labour. It had some very influential patrons and the Duke of Devonshire's agent in Buxton, E.W. Wilmot, was active in its affairs. JCB held this position for about three years and by 1857 he had also become secretary of the committee of management of the Market House. The foundation stone of the new market house was laid by E.W. Wilmot on Wednesday 3 June 1857 at which time JCB placed a hermetically sealed bottle containing various Buxton Bath Charity reports, a recent copy of the *Buxton Advertiser*, some coins and various other objects in a specially constructed cavity under the stone. The market house was built by the firm of Turner & Duke and was opened on Monday 7 September 1857. It was situated where the present Town Hall stands.

During the late 1850s the Duke of Devonshire's agent, Edward Woollett Wilmot, did much to promote facilities in the town and he hosted a series of 'oyster suppers' to which he invited prominent townsmen with the intention of determining joint policy and action for the future welfare of Buxton and we see JCB numbered among the select group of 20 or so at the first of these suppers in 1857. In 1860 he became the secretary of the Buxton Agricultural Club which had been established in 1856 with E.W. Wilmot as President. Increasingly from this time his influence as editor of the *Advertiser* would have ensured him invitations to important meetings such as that called by E.W. Wilmot in December of 1860 to plan the formation of a rifle corps. in Buxton.

JCB stood as a candidate for the Local Board in 1870 and was elected with 307 votes. This was not his first experience of local politics however, for he had been involved to some degree with the work of the civil Vestry. As early as 1857 he had formed a committee with E.W. Wilmot, Samuel Turner and William Swan to report in the 'lock-up' provisions in Higher Buxton. The committee concluded that the mixing of both sexes of vagrants was not appropriate and that the lack of a water closet or 'privy' made the lock-up unhealthy. They suggested that a female vagrant room be constructed. Despite his spirit of public service, however, JCB's career in local politics was short lived: he served for three years from 1870 and re-elected in 1873 but retired in 1876 when he was disqualified for non-attendance. He was obviously a busy man but it is also likely that he found it difficult to sustain an independent editorial line whilst himself involved in Local Board discussions affecting the town.

In common with a number of other prominent townsmen JCB was a freemason, being admitted into the Phoenix Lodge of St Ann in April 1869 and he is to be seen on the photograph of the gathering of the Phoenix Lodge at Wormhill in 1873. He did not aspire to higher office in the movement, however, and resigned in July 1882, probably coincidental with his retirement from business.

Undoubtedly one of JCB's most important activities was his involvement in the formation of the Buxton Improvements Company and his efforts to see the pavilion and gardens developed. As early as 1867 he had reported in the *Advertiser* the offer of the Duke of Devonshire to bear half the expenses of a Winter Garden and observed that, whilst this had taken the town by surprise, he hoped that the offer would be met by an adequate response. This response was a little slow in coming however, and the next we hear is of a public meeting in September 1869 when it was resolved to send a deputation to Mr Drewry (the Duke of Devonshire's Buxton agent) to ascertain that the Duke's earlier offer still applied. The resolution to this effect, passed at the meeting, was seconded by JCB and he was a member of the delegation. Steps were taken to form a company and board of directors to guide the project and a first meeting of the shareholders of 'The Buxton Improvements Company' was held on Monday, 29 November at the news rooms of the *Buxton Advertiser* with JCB in the chair. A board was formed of those holding 10 or more shares and JCB, holding 20 shares, became one of this group of 14. JCB was a very active member of the board and in the early 1870s when it was clear that the pavilion,

designed by Edward Milner, was too small for the number of visitors, he pressed very hard through the pages of the *Advertiser* and at board meetings for an enlargement to the facilities. This was provided in 1876 with the large concert hall, skating rink and other facilities when the *Advertiser* was profuse in its praise. This was in contrast to the somewhat caustic comments made about delays experienced during the building operations. Commenting upon delays with the skating rink, the *Advertiser* sarcastically observed that if the rink took much longer 'rinking' would have gone out of fashion and perhaps then the rink would be big enough. This was a reference to the generally held view in town that the rink would not be large enough to cope with the proposed demands. However, the ability of the *Advertiser* to face in two directions at once is demonstrated in the editorial on the opening of the concert hall where the paper suggested that there had been rather too much criticism of progress of 'open mouthed idle fools' and that, in reality, the architect had lived down all unfavourable criticism and done a perfect job. Interesting to note that the architect was Robert Rippon Duke, a good friend of JCB's.

So influential was JCB in the development of the Pavilion Gardens that one tribute at his death included the following:

"See how Mr Bates worked for the pavilion both with his tongue and with his pen! and when the pavilion was an accomplished permanent institution was it not by general affirmation called 'Bates's Baby.'"

JCB's character and editorial style

John Cumming Bates was, by all accounts, a cheery man, good company and easy to get on with so that he made many friends among the visitors to the town. He was generous in his time, and probably his money, in promoting facilities for the town and to this end he knew the power of the pen and, certainly, pulled no punches in his editorials. In 1858 he wrote a strong leader on the postal services to Buxton commenting upon the irregularities of the mail coaches and his style was, seemingly, not affected by the fact that, at that time, he was going through a major business change. In 1867 he was pushing very hard for a new Town Hall, describing the present one as being ".... objectionable in every respect", though he was not to see a new Town Hall for another 20 or more years. In 1868, before he was himself elected, he produced a classic polemic on the work of the Local Board which deserves quoting in full:

".... It is not often the Local Board undertakes any improvements and when it does it is difficult to congratulate the members on the result. Witness the seats on Terrace road which for bad taste and uninviting appearance could not be equalled anywhere, and the conspicuous iron accommodations erected last year only to be removed immediately. Another attempt has now been made by erecting a public lamp and fountain in the Quadrant in which the Board has been assisted in material and money by the Duke [of Devonshire] but the erection, nevertheless, is meanly inadequate to its position and again indicates the Board's bad taste and imbecility"

Rather strong stuff! - though it should be noted that the Victorians often engaged in direct and very hard-hitting criticism but were equally effusive in their praise. There are many instances of this in the *Advertiser* and we have described examples in the building of the concert hall in the Pavilion Gardens. It is notable, however, how forward thinking JCB was, for as early as 1874 he was arguing for a new Pump Room at the Crescent and again, it was to be 20 years before it was built. In 1877 he wrote a well-reasoned case for improvements in the winter train services, observing that the two companies (Midland and L&NW) took good profits in the summer and going on to argue that:

"... their policy is retrograde and rather than encourage the men of Manchester and elsewhere taking up their residencies here while their families could enjoy health and pleasure all the year round. It is the general impression that Buxton is unfairly served by these companies and they take, for mere immediate profit, advantage of their powerful position to retard the development of the place - not only by causing inconvenient postal arrangements but by causing great inconvenience to the businessmen of Manchester etc. who now reside here. Very little encouragement from them, it is felt, would soon result in large traffic, both in passenger and merchandise, and that increased dividends to the respective companies would be the result of a more liberal and far seeing policy ..."

In fact examination of virtually any issue of the *Buxton Advertiser* during his time as editor will reveal lively and incisive comment on the important local issues of the day, and the growth of Buxton during this period was such that there were always important issues to be considered.

JCB was, politically, a liberal and, for example, he could be counted among the reception for Lord Edward Cavendish and J.F. Cheetham, the Liberal candidates in April 1880. Indeed at that time he was a member of the platform committee and was active in the local committee supporting their election. He was, evidently, also a believer in womens' rights, perhaps somewhat advanced for his time, for at a meeting of the Buxton Improvements Company in 1871 he regretted the fact that there was no one to represent the lady shareholders, many of whom had strong opinions on the gardens. He expressed himself an advocate for womens rights, though by the laughter this created, he may have been offering a rather lighthearted comment.

To round off this brief foray into JCB's editorial style it is appropriate to quote from a piece he wrote in December of 1881, not long before he retired as editor, when he wrote at length about the declining state of Buxton's architecture over the past 25 years and the introduction of 'Mr Jerry Builder'. Part of that editorial was:

"... gone are the oyster suppers which did so much for the development of the town and district much was done in the past for Buxton by those who are now laid low. What has been done at the present by those who have taken their places with a view to the future? Are we to remain as we are? Is there to be no theatre? Is the Market Hall clock never to be right? or the clock tower at the hospital an empty mockery so far as regards the time of day, what is a clock tower without a clock? the hospital opened this year is one of the grandest testimonies to the grand reputation of Buxton as a health resort but to make it complete, the clock tower should not remain a dummy without any intelligence of father time this great hospital business is the greatest testament to the Buxton waters"

It should be noted that the Devonshire hospital extensions including the dome were in the course of completion at that time.

JCB's character, then, shows through in his writing and his actions. We see a man with a single-minded commitment to the town, one not afraid to write and speak his mind. A man of intelligence and sound reasoning but also of courage, he was only 30 years old when he set up the *Advertiser* and not afraid to go it alone when he parted from his brother in the early days of the business. He was a raconteur of some note and is described as having a sonorous voice, a mobile face and rugged features, all of which added a richness to his story telling. We know also that he was a great reader and would have had a fine collection of books but it is through his friend, the writer Edward Bradbury ('Strephon') whose books he published, that we learn of JCB's great love and knowledge of the outdoors. 'Strephon' wrote an appreciative memoir at the death of JCB in which he said that to know him as a friend was a liberal education and taking a long walk with him in the Peak District was a most gratifying experience. He described JCB's knowledge of wildlife in prodigious terms and suggested that even the most common objects of the hedgerow were his delight and that he might have said in all sincerity with Wordsworth:

*"To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."*

JCB was clearly very rich in character and interests and a fascinating man to know.

Later life

JCB continued with his business through the busy years of the 1870s. In addition to employing 4 men and 2 boys he had an assistant printer, his sister-in-law, Rhoda J. Edmonds who was 35 in 1871 and living with the family at Thorncliffe in Hartington Street. He also employed an apprentice, his nephew, Varley Bates, who was then 16 and living at 6, Hall Bank with JCB's mother. By 1875 the *Advertiser* was being produced by steam press. In the same year he made some re-arrangements to his Reading Room and Circulating Library facilities in order to accommodate an expansion of the Hot Baths by the Devonshire Estate. The 1870s saw the *Buxton Advertiser* covering such important developments as the Pavilion and Gardens, new Charity Baths and

extensions to the public baths in the Crescent, two new churches (Trinity and St James), the Burlington Hotel, the new Grammar School (Buxton College), the layout of several new roads including the start of Burlington Road, Hardwick Square and St James Street, building in Devonshire Park and St John's Road and much new building in higher Buxton. It was fairly common practice for the *Advertiser* to produce special 'supplements' to cover major occasions such as the opening of the large concert hall in the Pavilion Gardens. In addition the paper produced regular reviews of progress in the town at the end of each year and these are a valuable commentary on the town's growth.

Throughout his publishing career JCB's mother continued to live at 6, Hall Bank where she ran the lodging house until her death on 22 February 1878 at the age of 85: she was buried at St John's church on 30 February. In December of the same year his eldest brother, Robert George Hodgson Bates died in Widnes aged 64. In fact, of his eight brothers, only one, Joseph (his former business partner) remained alive in 1878. He lost three brothers in infancy and his younger brothers William Septimus died in 1849 and Henry Brian (co-author of the guide books) died in 1870. His elder brother George Joseph had, as we have already recorded, died in 1856.

The obituary of JCB in the *Buxton Advertiser* suggests that he retired as editor and proprietor of the paper in 1878, though the article is contradictory in that it says that he had been in retirement for 17 years when he died in 1899. In fact 17 years from 1899 gives the actual year of his retirement which was 1882. The 1881 census shows JCB and his family at 'Penzance Villa', Hartington Road, though we think this is incorrect since it would have been highly unlikely that he had moved from Thorncliffe which he had extended in 1879. Penzance Villa is next to Thorncliffe so a mistake would have been easy to make. JCB is described as Editor, Printer and Publisher, Ann his wife is 50 and all his family are living at home. Sarah Elizabeth is 23, John Cumming jnr is a bookseller and stationer age 21, Joseph at 18 is described as a lawyer's clerk, Edmund is 16 and a bookseller's assistant and the two girls, Marian[ne], 13, and Beatrice M, aged 7 are both scholars. JCB has a visitor staying: a librarian called Mary Ellen Grimshaw aged 27 from Wigan.

Towards the end of 1882 we see definite changes in the proprietorship of the *Advertiser*: from the Wednesday edition of 20 September there is an advertisement for 'Buxton and High Peak Publishing and General Printing Co Ltd - office of this paper - CF Wardley Lessee' and the address is given as Eagle Street. On Wednesday 4 October there was the following:

".... Special Notice to correspondents and the public generally. All communications respecting this paper should be addressed to Mr CF Wardley, the Printing Office, Eagle street, Buxton"

This was followed up by a very large advertisement in the 11 October edition announcing that C.F. Wardley had taken over the Buxton & High Peak Publishing business and from these entries we can fairly safely date JCB's retirement, his printing and publishing business moving into the hands of Charles Furness Wardley. It is likely that JCB retained the business of bookseller and stationer in the Hot Baths Colonnade from this time and in 1891 it was being run by his eldest daughter, Sarah Elizabeth, who was known as 'Lily' and who traded as 'L. Bates'. Her two sisters, Marian and Beatrice Margaret, also worked in the business.

By 1891 JCB had moved to 'Wiseman House' on Marlborough Road where his family at home included Ann, his wife aged 60, his daughters Sarah Elizabeth aged 33 and Beatrice Margaret 17, a house servant and a 17 year old servant who was described as 'Assistant' and may have worked in the business. His middle daughter, Marion, was 23 and living at Portland Villa, St John's Road, with her aunt, Rhoda Jane. This aunt, Rhoda, sister of Ann Bates, had been JCB's assistant in the printing business in 1871 and the fact that she was resident in Buxton 20 years later suggests she had continued to work for JCB.

Final years

JCB continued to live out his retirement at Wiseman House, no doubt enjoying walking and the delights of the Peak District and reminiscing with his friends. He would have written and read a lot, though in his later years an affliction of the eyes made reading difficult and he had to rely on his, fortunately excellent, memory. The fact that his wife Ann is listed in the directory of the town in 1895 may argue that by this time he was unable to fully act as the head of the family. Though we have not had much to say about Ann in this biography, it is clear that she was involved in the business and that the shop in the Hot Baths Colonnade was very much a family affair. Interestingly, when JCB's uncle, Brian Bates, died in 1882 he left the interest from £1000 in trust to

each of his nephews except JCB. Instead, he left Ann Bates the income from £1200 and from one twelfth of the residue of his estate. From the terms of his will it is not apparent that he had fallen out with JCB in any way. Indeed he was content for Ann to leave the income from these investments to her husband if he were to survive her but what appears more likely is that he trusted Ann's judgement. It is conceivably possible that Ann provided the financial acumen in the family business thus freeing JCB for writing and other creative pursuits.

JCB died on 8 May 1899 aged 77 at Wiseman House, Marlborough Road and the *Buxton Advertiser* of Saturday, 13 May carried a full obituary together with appreciations from Edward Bradbury ('Strephon') and an old journalist friend, Joseph Buckley. His funeral was attended by Ann (his widow), JC and Joseph Bates (sons), the Misses Bates (his three daughters) and, amongst others, H.J. Bates and Varley Bates (nephews), C.J. Smilter (son of John Smilter of the Crescent Hotel), Joseph Taylor (Clerk to the Buxton Urban District Council) and the family doctor, G. Lorimer. There were many floral tributes.

Ann Bates had moved from Marlborough Road by 1904 and she may have lived for some years at Huntley Lodge, 3 Grange Road, though we cannot be certain of this. Her daughters continued the stationery business moving from the Hot Baths Colonnade to Cavendish Circus about 1904, though by 1912 their premises were occupied by William & Deacons Bank (now Royal Bank of Scotland). Ann Bates died on 3 May 1914 at 63 London Road which was described as her residence but was also the house of her daughter Marion and probably the other two daughters. Mrs Bates was remembered for association with JCB and 'Bates's Library' was referred to as a popular meeting place of times past. The *Advertiser* gave a full coverage of her funeral at the Buxton Cemetery and noted that many blinds were drawn along the route of the cortege: more than 30 floral tributes were given.

Her daughters, the Misses Bates, continued to live at 63 London Road and were living there in 1925, though by 1937 they were at 81 London Road running a Travel and Shipping Agency. It is not clear whether they moved or the road was re-numbered. All three daughters remained spinsters living together on London Road: Sarah Elizabeth died in the 1940s, Beatrice Margaret in February 1949 aged 75 and Marion in November 1951 aged 83.

Epilogue

*"By the breath of flowers
Though callest us from city throngs and cares
Back to the woods, the birds, the mountain streams,
That sing of thee - back to free childhood's heart
Fresh with the dews of tenderness" -- Mrs Hemens.*

[From the cover of *'The Buxton Diamond'* by John C. and Henry Bates, 1860]

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Acknowledgement

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DERBYSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(reprinted from *The Reliquary*, January 1878, p191)

It is with the utmost possible satisfaction we announce the actual and active formation of an Archaeological and Historical Society for the county of Derby. The project was first set on foot some years back by Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, Editor of the "RELIQUARY," who, in 1869, had the proposed rules, etc., put in type, and secured a number of ready and valuable helpers in the movement. Through family affliction shortly afterwards, and his own state of health, the matter fell into abeyance and so has remained until now, when the formation of such a society having been mooted in various quarters, the whole has been put in a tangible form, and its foundation has become an accomplished fact. His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, has kindly consented to become president; and a goodly list of members, including the Dukes of Portland and Rutland, Lords Waterpark, Vernon, Scarsdale, and Belper, the High Sheriff of the County, and the Mayor of Derby, the Members of Parliament for the County, Bishops Abraham and Staley, and Archdeacon Balston, with above a hundred of the principal county gentlemen, has already been prepared. The exact title of the society, the drawing-up of rules for its governance, and the appointment of officers and council, etc., will have to be settled at a meeting which is appointed to be held at the Midland Hotel, Derby, on the 25th of the present month (January 1878) at two o'clock, p.m., and that meeting, all who have before that date sent in their names as members, are invited to attend. The Honorary Secretaries *pro tem*, are Henry Howe Bemrose, Esq, Mayor of Derby; Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., of Winster Hall, Derbyshire; J. Charles Cox, Esq., of Chevin House, Belper; and Richard Ussher, Esq., of Osmaston Hall, Derby. It behoves all county men and all persons who take an interest in Derbyshire, its history, antiquities, topography, genealogy, literature, traditions, and natural history, to join this society, and we trust to be able to chronicle in our next the accession of a long roll of members.

Derbyshire Archaeological Society Publications

The *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* is published annually and contains articles on all aspects of the county's archaeology, history and architecture. It is free to members. *Derbyshire Miscellany* is published twice yearly and provides a slightly less formal forum for local history articles and notes.

Subscriptions:	Ordinary Membership (includes <i>Journal</i>)	£12.00
	Ordinary Membership (<i>Journal</i> and <i>Miscellany</i>)	£16.00
	<i>Derbyshire Miscellany</i> (non-members)	£5.00

Application forms are available from:

The Membership Secretary, Mr J. Law, 20 Macclesfield Road, Buxton, SK17 9AH. Tel Buxton 22949

KEEPING IT IN THE FAMILY

A history of Harrison Bros. & Howson, Sheffield cutlers

(by David E. Jenkins,

Finding capital to finance ones own business has long been a problem. It was solved in the case of the Harrison brothers in a fortuitous way that had links to the iron industry of Chesterfield.

John Brocksopp (1753-1812) was an ironmaster operating a furnace in Hasland, near Chesterfield, who seized the opportunity of the French Wars to break away from agriculture and coal mining and move into pig iron production for the Sheffield market. He had remained a bachelor until his fifties when to the surprise of his sisters he married, in 1810, the nineteen year old Mary Marsh, whom he had engaged a few months earlier as a servant girl at a wage of £7 a year.¹

Within two years she bore him two children, Mary and John, and though he was evidently elated at the birth of his son he was already a sick man and when young John was only six weeks old his father died. His death was so sudden that his will was still incomplete and the partial draft and instructions to his lawyer had to be laboriously processed into probate. This testament left most of his fortune to his son, with adequate provision for his daughter and an £80 annuity to his widow, Mary, which was to be halved if she remarried.

The widow Mary promptly sold up the farm and quickly tired of wearing her white mourning weepers, finding solace in the company of James Harrison, of Sheffield, who represented two of John Brocksopp's creditors (Samuel Broadhead and Edmund Gurney) at the winding up of the iron business. The friendship blossomed and the couple married at Sheffield cathedral in 1814 and took up residence in the city.

The family grew quickly, Mary bearing five more children: Henry, James William, Elizabeth, Sarah and Martha. The last two girls were probably named after John Brocksopp's sisters because the Harrisons were extremely anxious to keep on good terms with the Brocksopp family in the hope of financial betterment. Such hopes were however slender, relationships between the families being strained from the start.

On re-marriage widow Mary's annuity was immediately halved to £40 a year, charged on the estate of her son John which was administered by John Barnes of Ashgate, Chesterfield, an old friend of the elder John Brocksopp. The annuity would have probably kept the family in some comfort had James Harrison been anything of a successful business man but he was far from it, wasting his income on drink and getting into serious debt on Sheffield's Change Alley. To compound Mary Harrison's difficulties Barnes never paid the annuity promptly so that she had to keep up a running correspondence to claim her due.²

The family condition in Sheffield was unacceptable to the Brocksopp sisters and arrangements were made for Sarah to be appointed the legal guardian of John Brocksopp's children, Mary and John, who were brought to live in Chesterfield and who were soon placed in local boarding schools. Contact between the Brocksopp and Harrison children was clearly discouraged.

While the children were at school their mother tried to establish a relationship with them, on one occasion sending Mary, at her school in Walton, a twelfth cake and some nuts and fruit. The Harrison girls wrote to Mary and John inviting them to visit them at Sheffield but contacts were few and even the whereabouts of her son was sometimes unknown to Mary Harrison.³

As the family grew up the pressure of debts grew and Mrs Harrison begged her daughter for help, recognising that John Barnes would have represented her as a contemptible woman. Mary replied that Barnes would deal with the matter since she knew nothing of business and asked Barnes '*to give Mrs Harison something out of income ... since I think it is a duty though it may not be strictly necessary*'. But the mother and daughter relationship was not all frigid, the young Mary contributing to the expenses of educating her step sisters.

Mary Harrison's financial problems were eased by the premature death, in 1831, of her son John Brocksopp, who by his will left her annuity, and were resolved when her daughter died four years later leaving her a holding of Consols that yielded £130 a year and could not be compounded to pay her husband's debts. Her second husband died at about the same time so that the annuity from her first husband and her inheritance from the two children maintained her in reasonable comfort at houses in Fitzwilliam Square, and later at Stand House, Fullwood Road, Sheffield, until her death, age eighty, in 1869 and provided the essential capital for her sons Harry and James William to take over an established and thriving business.

The two boys appear to have been trained as cutlers, James William and his mother appearing in the 1841 Sheffield Trade Directory as manufacturers at the foot of Gell Street, a property in later editions identified as number 53 Gell Street.⁴ Together they joined William Howson to take over the business of Thomas Sansom and Sons on Norfolk Street. Later publicity reports of the company suggest that this was in 1843 or 1847, but the first extant partnership document dates this move to 1 July 1849 and tends to be confirmed by White's Trade Directory for that year which shows James William Harrison and William Howson as manufacturers at Sansoms'. The trading name was changed to Harrison Brothers and Howson but with the firm continuing to trade as manufacturers and merchants of razors, pen knives and cutlery and retaining the 'coronet and "ALPHA"' corporate mark granted by the Cutlers' Company in 1836. Thomas Sansom's mark, a hollow T.S., was replaced by the partnership's adoption as their Sheffield Assay office registered manufacturers' silver mark, two hollow H's placed close together, or a shield around H.B. & H.⁵

Thomas Sansom of Norfolk Street, Sheffield, who had been a Master Cutler in 1826, had registered a plate maker's manufacturer's mark at the assay office in 1808 and although later publicity material of the Harrison partnership refers to Thomas Sansom and Sons having been established in 1796 as plate makers, no documentary evidence of this now appears extant. However, by the 1840s Sansoms held the Royal Warrants of William IV and Queen Adelaide, as Queen's cutlers and table, pen and pocket knife and gold and silver plated dessert and fruit knife manufacturers. The company property was in Norfolk Street where a number of plate and cutlery makers had their often cramped works, one of them, William Hancock & John Robotham registering a mark in 1773. Number 45, owned and occupied by Sansoms, consisted, according to the poor rate records, of workshops and appurtenances with a residential house attached, the whole messuage paying a rate in 1840 of £1 8s 11d on the estimated rental value of £42 and a net rateable value of £31 10s. By 1870 the rateable value had risen to £120 but was still less than one sixth of the rateable value of the largest property on Norfolk Street, occupied by Joseph Rodgers, Newbold and Nelstrop, known as the Royal Cutlery Works.⁶

Although Thomas Sansom's two sons had joined him in the business, William in 1826 and John in 1834, the house at number 45 is shown on the rating list as being occupied by George Howson, (who died in 1847), and who was described in White's 1841 Trade Directory as a 'merchant's clerk'. Other references suggest that he had been apprenticed to the cutlery industry in 1803 and he is subsequently described as a 'manufacturer' with Sansoms'. He appears to have retired when his son William (1824-88) joined up with the Harrison brothers and by 1845 William was living at number 45. By 1880 the residential property had disappeared, being absorbed into the manufacturing premises which then comprised of a warehouse, work shop, stable, engine house and showrooms with machinery and appurtenances, all rated at £255. Thomas Sansom had remained the owner, renting the property to the new firm until he sold it in the late 1870s to Knowlton Wilson.⁷

In January 1850 a formal co-partnership deed was drawn up to cover a period of ten years from July 1849, with James William Harrison contributing three-sevenths, William Howson two-sevenths and Henry Harrison the remaining two-sevenths of the £7,000 capital. Each was declared free, separately, to make journeys and trade, keeping all the necessary accounts, but were enjoined not to enter into any transaction in excess of £500 without consulting one another. To retain cash in the business drawings were limited annually to 5 per cent of each of their capital contributions, while any loans by partners to the enterprise attracted interest at 5 per cent.⁸

Some idea of the working conditions can be gleaned from the evidence William Harrison gave about the firm's works to Mr J.E. White's enquiry for the 1862 Commission on the employment of children in the metal industries. Harrison pointed out that in common with most large cutlery manufacturers much of the work, probably half, was done off the premises by outworkers in small places. The 60 or 70 boys, the youngest of whom would be perhaps 12 years old, apart from a few errand boys, were engaged by the men as their helpers. They earned about 3s a week at the beginning, rising by about 1s a year. Very few of them were in any way literate. No girls under 16 or 17 were employed and the few women in the works were engaged in the

warehouse in rubbing (polishing with the hand and rouge) and wrapping goods. According to age they earned from 3s up to 12s and 14s a week.

The factory opened from 6 am to 9 pm or perhaps a little later, dependent on the caretaker, but (since the method of payment was by piecework) the men worked as they pleased, sometimes not coming in until 11 am. The boys hours were tied to those of the men who had an hour and a half for dinner and were provided with tea on the premises. Other employers explained that five days holidays were taken at Christmas with a day for New Year, two days at Easter and Whitsun and half a day on Shrove Tuesday and Guy Fawkes Day and for each of the two Sheffield fairs.

No power was used by the forgers but a steam engine drove the shafts linked by open belting (which could be hazard) to the buffers and grinding machines, but relatively little power was used at all. There were water taps about the place but the site was too cramped for wash rooms. Privies were provided.

The advantages of these arrangements which relieved the undertaking of the trouble of housing and superintending those who worked for the firm were later recognised by the economist Arthur Marshall and evidently made the 1850 partnership very successful. It also benefited from the markets, widened by the ever improving railway services, and was continued beyond 1859 with George Howson, William's son, born in 1851, entering the firm in 1867 (though not as a partner until 1875). The new ownership arrangement stayed in place for a further ten years when J.W. Harrison indicated that he wished to retire from the partnership. His brother agreed to buy out his three-sevenths share for £45,649 11s 4d, of which £20,649 11s 4d was to be paid in cash and the balance by five equal annual instalments guaranteed through promissory notes bearing interest at 5 per cent. This transaction was set out in a formal deed on 13 March 1877 signed by the three partners but almost before it could be put into effect William Howson, who was the firm's very prominent traveller, and who was a Commissioner for the Peace and a director of the Sheffield and Hallamshire Banking Company, decided that he too would like to retire and hand over his share of the firm to his son George. On 9 April 1877 a new agreement was drawn up formally dissolving the original partnership from 31 December 1875.⁹

Immediately a new partnership of Henry Harrison and George Howson was formed for a seven year term with a capital of £75,000; £50,000 coming from Henry Harrison and £25,000 from George Howson, William agreeing (on terms settled with George) to make over his share of the firm's assets as the £25,000 share provided by George Howson. This valuation of the firm at probably over £100,000 shows how prosperous it had been, increasing its capital 14 times in 16 years. This prosperity of the partners was more outwardly displayed in their residences, both James William Harrison, who died in March 1897, and William Howson occupying substantial houses at Tupton Park.

The new partnership, now describing itself as manufacturers and electro-platers, established showrooms in 1881 on a 21 year lease (later extended to 1916 at a rental rising to £425 a year) at 43 and 44 The Viaduct, Holborn, London.¹⁰ Their American market was, by 1896, served by an outlet at 66 West Broadway, New York and an agency on Sutter Street, San Francisco. The manufacturing base continued to operate from 67 Norfolk Street and a plate works in Shoreham Street, Sheffield where three hundred employees were engaged producing cutlery.

By the 1890s Harrison Bros and Howson were thriving, with international renown, as manufacturing cutlers and silversmiths, two utterly distinct and different trades which they pursued with equally marked success, selling not only in the home market but throughout Australia and North America. Sales promotion was taken seriously and above the Shoreham Street works there were not only considerable commercial offices but also an extensive showroom displaying, according to *The Industries of Sheffield: Business Review*, butchers' and other knives, carvers with matching forks in handsome plush cases, a range of small elegantly-designed and well finished knives and a considerable stock of ivory.¹¹

Outside in the yard were about twenty forges, each attended by two skilled artisans. Their output passed through seven departmental workshops at first floor level. Alongside was the ivory handle cutting room, while under the yard were large cellars used to store Egyptian horns and un-cut African elephant tusks. Motive power was provided by a steam engine.

The silver-plated ware was manufactured in separate premises but was also of high quality and sold on the strength of its established 'quality, particularly in the export market. In the 'hype' of the trade journal *'the resolution adopted, and so thoroughly carried into execution by the firm throughout their career, of never turning out into the market a piece of cutlery or a piece of plate that was in any way imperfect in design, or in execution and finish, has resulted in a business the extent of which is seldom surpassed'*.

But the hey day of the Sheffield cutlery industry was almost over by this time with competition from the United States and Germany capturing many of the former export markets of Sheffield. The McKinley Tariff kept British knives out of the American market and a number of Sheffield firms which failed to adapt to the competition can trace the beginning of their demise to the 1890s.¹² Harrison Bros, were perhaps remarkable for the way in which they adapted to these changes and stayed in business for a further half century.

The pattern of three shamrocks and the legend *'O steer my bark to Erin's isle for Erin is my home'* on Henry Harrison's signet ring seal may have suggested a romantic nature for he was a good business man well able to steer the fortunes of the firm as well as serving as a magistrate and Master Cutler in 1862. In 1892 he withdrew from the partnership and the domination of the firm by George Howson was then emphasised by the adoption of G.H. as the manufacturer's mark registered in April 1896.¹³ The Harrison element continued to be represented in the firm by Francis William Harrison (son of Henry) who played no part in the public life of Sheffield and John Brocksopp Wilkinson (who had joined his uncle in the firm in 1865, aged 16) and who signed with G. Howson on the Holborn lease when it was confirmed and extended in 1896.

John Brocksopp Wilkinson was the son of Elizabeth Harrison, who was a sister of the founding Harrisons, Henry and James William. She had married William Wilkinson, a member of another cutlery manufacturing family, the John Brocksopp christian names reviving the link with the original source of finance of the enterprise. The integration of the Howson family and partnership interests were further strengthened by this change, John Brocksopp Wilkinson having married George Howson's only sister.¹⁴

The firm grew steadily, purchasing, by 1883, a silver hollowware and spoon and fork business and its works in St. Mary's Road, Sheffield and then making a major forward step with the acquisition of William Webster's spoon and fork business, with its 'stag head' trade mark, in 1894.¹⁵

This move was accompanied, in 1900, by a considerable investment in a new monumental factory bounded by West and Division Street and fronting on to Carver Street, Sheffield (designed by the firm of Samuel Furness Holmes Watson) with 65,000 square feet of floor space and over 1,000 windows and equipped with electrical driving and the most modern machinery. Its entrance hall was designed to impress customers, no less than three designs of wrought iron ballustrading being prepared for the ornate staircase. Two years later the company took over the long established business of Ibbotson & Co, noted for pen and pocket knife manufacture and by 1910 was employing a workforce of 600.

The partnership, which was operating in an industrial setting that was still dominated by a host of small 'mesters', was, by 1910, remarkable for its size. Though much smaller than the giants Walker & Hall, Joseph Rodgers, Dixons' and Thomas Turner who each employed over 1,000 employees, it was bigger than Wostenholms' and Tyzac, Sons & Turner and of the same size as Mappin & Webb who also had a work force of 600.¹⁶

Commercially the business appears to have been very successful acquiring the royal warrants of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George VI, while adaptation of its products helped to retain a useful share of the USA high-class cutlery market such as silver blades with pearl handles. Much of its reputation rested on its insistence that final grinding of all its knife production would be by hand, a large number of the craftsmen being of the third generation to serve the firm and many with over 50 years service.

Its plan to extend its e.p.n.s. business was frustrated by the outbreak of the First World War when some cutlery making capacity had to be turned over to munitions and machines newly installed to press seamless articles like teasetts and entree dishes were switched to press steel helmets, a experience to be repeated in the Second World War. Its range of products continued to be extended and by the 1960s it had broken into the specialist productions in interchangeable scalpel blades.¹⁷ Unfortunately the company remained private throughout its

life and none of its business records appear to have survived so that assessment of its turnover and profitability remains unquantifiable.

Possibly its profitability declined after the new factory was built. A.J. Taylor, the principal partner of Thomas Turner & Co., when giving evidence to the 1907 Truck Committee suggested that both Harrison Bros. & Howson and Joseph Rodgers, despite their investment in modern machinery, had operated at a loss after constructing large factories, their management having informed Hobson that they would have been better off employing outworkers.

Whatever its profitability and the degree to which the firm may have been financially overstretched in its later years it is clear that George Howson (c1850-1930) was the driving force. He also played an important role in the Sheffield business and sporting communities and served as a magistrate. He had been educated at the Sheffield Collegiate School and in France and this early experience on the continent opened his eyes to the potential of world markets. During his life he made two successful world tours to promote the sales of the company. The cutlers' families were closely allied and this alliance was strengthened when George Howson married Edith Ward, a daughter of David Ward, the Master Cutler in 1877. Howson had been made a Freeman by the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in 1878 and after spells as Searcher and Junior Warden became Senior Warden in 1892 and the 270th Master Cutler in 1893.¹⁸

His business interests were not simply confined to the cutlery trade, where his knowledge of marks was particularly valued, but also held a number of other directorships including service on the boards of the Trustee Savings Bank and the Sheffield Royal Hospital and the chairmanship of Truswell Breweries. He died at his home, Tapton Park, Sheffield where he had lived in considerable style, in his eightieth year in December 1930. Continuity of the Howson interest was retained in the firm his partnership place being taken by his two sons, Col. William Howson and Brigadier Harold George Howson who joined Col. H.W. Wilkinson, the son of John Brocksopp Wilkinson, who had died at his home, Tapton Grange, Ransmoor in 1919 and was the surviving third partner.

The new members of the firm, influenced by their military experiences in the First World War played a much less active role in the political and business affairs of the city and devoted more of their energies to the Territorial Army. Brigadier Howson, who, like his brother, had won a Military Cross in the 1914-18 war, served with the West Riding Artillery T.A. before becoming Commandant of the School of Artillery on Salisbury Plain during the Second World War, returning to the business at the end of hostilities but still playing an important role in the T.A. until his death, aged 66, in 1958.¹⁹



The trade sign of Harrison Bros. and Howson, Alpha House, Carver Street, Sheffield

Competition in the cutlery business was even fiercer than it had been before the Second World War with consumers seemingly less interested in quality and more interested in price when buying and replacing cutlery. Foreign imports flooded in and reduction in the number of companies in the trade became inevitable. In 1960 the partners sold the business to Viners Ltd. of Sheffield for an undisclosed sum, bringing to an end a hundred and twenty years of independent trading.

Despite all the efforts of Viners to hold their trade by aiming at the mass market and their publicity about their managerial methods which enabled them to take over firms that did not turn from old ways which were no longer viable, their competitiveness declined. Even though they enjoyed in the middle 1960s a capital of £455,000 and initially very successful ventures into the export market, the Sheffield branch of the enterprise was only able to sustain the cutlery and silverware business in Sheffield for just another decade before it too faded from the Hallamshire scene.²⁰

All that now (1995) remains as a memorial to the firm of Harrison Bros. and Howson, apart from countless pieces of cutlery in innumerable homes, is Alpha House on Carver Street, the core building of the 1900 factory. The ground floor has been converted to shops and the floors above to offices but the entrance is still dominated by the trade sign, cut in stone, a coronet surmounting the word 'Alpha'.

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EDWARD CLULOW

Victorian railway booking clerk, bookseller, newsagent, stationer and sub-office postmaster

(by Peter Billson,

Edward Clulow was the son of William and Elizabeth Clulow. He was born at Hathern, Leicestershire in 1812 and baptised there on 21 June. In 1815 the Clulows had a second child, a daughter who was named Eliza. On 28 February 1834 Edward Clulow married Elizabeth Mary Frake of nearby Castle Donington.

Sometime before 1836 Edward and Elizabeth moved to Oatlands Park which lies close to Weybridge, Surrey. What took the Clulows there is unknown, but there is record of an Aaron Clulow marrying one Elizabeth Perkins earlier on 4 April 1819 at nearby Chertsey, only 4 miles away from Oatlands. It is quite possible that Aaron was an older relative of Edward's and may have encouraged him to travel to Surrey for a prospect of employment of some sort.

On 25 July 1834 the projected London and Southampton Railway was incorporated by Act of Parliament. By 21 May 1838 the first section of the line had been opened for public traffic from its London terminus at Nine Elms through to Woking Common in Surrey, with one of the intermediate stations located at Weybridge. The construction of the railway had necessitated major earthworks in constructing the long deep cutting past Oatlands and through Weybridge. These works and the coming of the railway must have excited local interest and living nearby, Edward Clulow would have been equally aware. There is no known record but it is quite a possibility that Edward obtained a post with the railway company at Weybridge Station, and this in turn may have led to his subsequent railway employment at Derby. All that is of certain record of this period is that Edward and Elizabeth had two sons while living at Oatlands - George, baptised at Weybridge on 17 January 1836, and William baptised there on 9 April 1837.

Edward Clulow came with his family to Derby at the time of the opening of the North Midland Railway on 1 July 1840. It isn't known why the Clulows came to Derby from Weybridge but it may have been the opportunity of advancement in employment at the headquarters of this new railway, together with the chance to return near to the area of their origins.

The North Midland Railway had been building its line between Derby and Leeds since 1836, but it was not until 1838 that it was agreed with two other companies coming to Derby - the Midland Counties and the Birmingham & Derby Junction Railway that a joint station should be built at Castlefields. Of these companies only the North Midlands decided to make its headquarters at Derby and base these in the station building - the great Derby Tri-Junct station designed by Francis Thompson.

By early 1841 the North Midland Company had found it necessary to build houses for its employees and therefore let contracts for 92 houses and a pub to be built opposite to the station frontage. These were laid out in a triangular plan with four shops incorporated in the layout, two of these on the corners of the triangle, and "The Brunswick Railway and Commercial Inn" at the apex pointing to Siddals Lane. The first houses were complete in 1841, although the whole group was not finished until early 1843.

The Clulows' third child was a daughter called Emma, born in St Werburgh's Parish, Derby in 1840. The Clulows seem therefore to have rented a house or lodged somewhere in that parish before moving into one of the newly-completed North Midland houses, no 8 Midland Place (then called Midland Terrace) in early 1842. At that time Edward was described as a book-keeper with the North Midland Railway. The Clulows subsequently had their fourth child that year (1842), another daughter who they called Elizabeth. It happened that this house, no 8, lay just outside the Derby Town boundary and in adjacent Litchurch Township, since the dividing line cut across the Midland Place/Railway Terrace corner of the triangle. However, she was born in the Derby St Peter's Parish as the ecclesiastical parish extended beyond the town boundary and encompassed Litchurch.

On 10 May 1844 the three railways at Derby amalgamated to form the Midland Railway Company, creating a much greater enterprise, but significantly retaining and centring its headquarters and works at Derby. Edward Clulow was retained by the new establishment and continued to live at no 8 Midland Place. In 1846 we find him described as a railway clerk. A fifth child, Edward junior, had been born in late 1845 and the family was completed with the arrival of a further daughter called Caroline in early 1848. These last two children were baptised at the new church of Christ Church (built 1838-41) on the Normanton Road, so by 1845 the Clulows seem to have joined that congregation. Possibly the pressures of financial need and extra space for a sixth child were the catalyst, or it may simply have been pure enterprise on Clulow's part in moving in about late 1848 into the shop and much larger house known as no 23 Railway Terrace on the corner of Midland Place, prominently opposite the station. Edward Clulow then became listed in Directories as a 'Bookseller and Clerk on the Midland Railway'. Presumably his wife Elizabeth ran the shop whilst Edward worked over at the station. The 1840s had been difficult economic years nationally, but despite some revival in the mid-decade it wasn't until 1848 that the economy began to revive, continuing onwards into the 1850s. This circumstance may also have been an encouragement to Edward Clulow to venture into business.

The shop/house, no 23, was paired with no 22 Railway Terrace. These two houses were different from all the other houses in the group in being the only three storey dwellings, although like all the others they additionally had basement kitchens, larders and coal stores. The shop had originally been occupied by an Ellen Poulton in 1842 and may well have been a grocery. In 1846 John and Charles Bakewell were there as 'Grocers and Tea Dealers'. Adjacent no 22 was purely a house and originally occupied by George Rickman, the first stationmaster at Derby. Rickman moved out across to the station building when Matthew Kirtley, the celebrated first Locomotive Superintendent of the Midland Railway came to take up his post in 1844 and went to live in no 22. These moves were reversed when Kirtley went to live at The Mount, Burton Road in the later 1850s and Rickman then moved back in until his untimely accidental death in 1866. These two houses together with another thirteen adjacent, including Clulow's original house, no 8, were demolished in 1891 to make way for the new Midland Railway Institute which was built over the site.

By 1851 Edward Clulow was described as a 'Railway Clerk in the Booking Office' while at the same time continuing as a 'Bookseller and Stationer'. The separate business was expanding, since by this time he had secured the right to trade on the station itself selling newspapers and books. This he would continue to so until the larger company of W.H. Smith supplanted him on Derby and other Midland stations in around 1859. By 1851 the family also had a live-in shop assistant Henrietta Gandy, who was a relative, and a house servant, 21 year old Elizabeth Squire - both from Syston, Leicestershire.

Although Edward Clulow had advanced by the age of 46 to the position of Head Clerk in the Derby Booking Office of the Midland Railway, he also extended his private business by opening in 1858 an additional shop in the centre of town in Victoria Street. But prior to this he had with foresight purchased a plot of land in December 1850 on the corner of Park Street and Midland Road. The plot was bought from the Trustees of the Borough or Borrow Estate who still owned an extensive remainder of the original Castlefields lands. It cost £503 and had a frontage of 69'-9" (21.26m) to Midland Road, immediately adjoining the recently built York Hotel, and with a site area of 1059 sq yds (885.43m²). When bought, the site was in use for allotment type gardens for local houses. Clulow didn't build on the site until the later 1850s. But shortly after opening the Victoria Street shop in 1858 Clulow had a new shop built on the right hand side of the site next to the York. Over the shop were two floors of domestic rooms. To the rear a garden was laid out, with greenhouses at the bottom against outbuildings and a coach-house - with access to the latter of Park Street. The Park Street side of the site was later built on with an office building used in the late 1890s/early 1900s by the Midland Railway's Architects Department.

The eldest Clulow son, George, and Edward junior both worked in the family firm. By 1862 George was living in his own house on Litchurch Terrace on Osmaston Road, next to Litchurch Street. Edward junior ultimately took over the management of the Victoria Street shop. William, however, followed his father's original course and in 1862 is described as a railway clerk on the Midland Railway and living at 15 Sacheverell Street. Of the girls nothing further is known other than Miss Emma was still alive in 1910, living at "Branksome", 8 Mill Hill Lane, Derby.

When the Midland Road shop opened, the Clulows moved out of 23 Railway Terrace, giving up the original shop there at the same time as Edward Clulow gave up his railway employment. The new Midland Road shop

was advertised as EDWARD CLULOW & SON - Printers, Booksellers, Stationers, Binders, Subscription Library, and agents to the Railway Passengers Assurance Co. The Victoria Street shop had traded under a similar style. Shortly after, the Midland Road shop added - "the supply of all London, Provincial daily and other newspapers, including Foreign, advertising agent and agent to the Caledonian Insurance Company" to its already extensive list.

On 10 January 1840 the new system of uniform penny post came into operation nationally, followed on 6 May by the use of the pre-paid 'penny black' stamps. A post office sorting office was established at the new Derby Station when it opened shortly after on 30 June 1840, as mails were already being carried on the early railways. A facility for posting letters at the Station was provided from 19 August that year, but until 1865 the sole Post Office in Derby was the one under the Royal Hotel in the Cornmarket. By that year the General Post Office had decided that a branch office was needed near the Midland Station. A minute of 31 January 1865 records: "*Receiving House and M.O.O. to be established in Midland Road. The Receivers salary to be £3 per year with £1 allowance for second collection.*" The *Derby Mercury* newspaper for 15 March 1865 reported: "*Branch office in Midland Road to be opened on 1 April. Mr Charles Chadfield, stationer, is to be appointed to keep the office.*" Savings Bank facilities were provided from 8 May 1865. Chadfield's shop was at no 9 Midland Road, two shops past the Station Inn, towards the London Road. This initial provision proved short lived for some reason. On 1 September that year Edward Clulow was appointed Post Office Receiver (ie Postmaster) instead, at the higher salary of £5 per annum and the branch post office was transferred into his Midland Road shop. These Midland Road branch offices were in fact the first sub-post office to be provided in Derby, although in actuality it was just inside Litchurch until the borough boundary was extended a decade later.

In August 1872 it was agreed by the General Post Office that a Telegraph Office for the public, and Midland Hotel guests use, should be provided at Edward Clulow's sub-post office, in view of its convenient position opposite the Hotel and nearness to the Station. For this extra duty Clulow was paid an additional allowance of £10 a year. From its convenient position Edward Clulow's post office soon came to supply all the Midland Railway Company's postal needs for its head office in Derby.

By 1876 Clulow further widened his business in Midland Road by including additional goods as the "Derbyshire Spa and Marble Repository". George Pratt in his *Midland Railway reminiscences* described Clulow thus: "*Edward Clulow had a fine shop with stationery goods in one window and china ornaments in the other. He was a very irascible man, and the verbal encounter he had with his customer (who) often went ready for the fray helped to give the by-gone to dull care*".

In October 1887 Edward Clulow retired and sold the Midland Road shop. At the same time he resigned as a Post Office receiver and the sub-post office in the shop was closed. As a temporary arrangement the postal provisions were transferred to the Parcel Post Office on Carrington Street, south of Midland Road, until a substantial new post office was built shortly after by the GPO, fronting the Midland Road.

Edward Clulow was 75 when he retired. He died 19 months later on 8 June 1889 at his home 'Treoworth' 132 Whitaker Road, Derby, the house built for him in around 1861 on the then new Littleover Hill Estate.

Edward Clulow junior continued to run the Victoria Street shop under the amended title EDWARD CLULOW JUN^R, still offering the same extensive range of services, but with the further additions of 'Librarian' (he offered a subscription library) and 'agent for Thomas Cook & Son'. Following his father's death Edward junr. went to live in the Whitaker Road house.

Sometime between 1904 and 1910 Edward junior closed the Victoria Street shop (Burton's Menswear currently spreads over the site) and expanded into much larger premises at no 2 Iron Gate. This splendid 4 storey shop had been built in 1869-71 for J & G Haywood - ironmongers and ironfounders. With an outstanding elegant frontage of cast iron, it had been designed by the distinguished architect Owen Jones and fabricated in Haywoods' own Phoenix foundry in Exeter Street.

Edward Clulow junior's business continued in this shop until 1922 when he had to move out as the premises regrettably were to be demolished with other shops to make way for Barlow & Taylor's new department store (now converted to the Derbyshire Building Society's city branch). Clulow moved to a smaller shop at no 18

Iron Gate on the corner of St Mary's Gate, where booksellers remain today under the continuing name of Clulows - although Edward junior, the last Clulow in the business retired in the late 1920s.

In conclusion. it is also of interest that Edward Clulow junior was a founding subscribing Member of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society back in 1878.

CAUGHT IN THE ACT

Extract from the Court Rolls, Duffield - 20 Oct: 44 Eliz: (1602)

Magna Jur:	}	Nichus Raynor	}	Jur	{	Hen' Tomasson
Liber Tenen		Nichus Oldham				Johes Burrowes
ibm		Wills Parker				Robtus Mellors Sen'
[Grand Jury]	Johes Blydworth sen'	Johes Carder				
[Free Tenants there]	Ffrancisc Hodgkinson	Johes Wheatcroft				
	Johes Cartwright	Ricus Hanson				
	Robtus Burrowes	Radus Smyth				
	Wille Smyth	Wills Alsopp				

Mdm This Jury for theyr insufficient Verdict is ffyned ev'y one x^s for that they having evidence by oath of three psons sworne in the Leete viz:- Wyddowe Eginton - Ux^r: Gybson & another woman that Will^m Grene of Holbroke kept unlawful gamyng viz carding in his house, & that there was much affrayeng & disord^{er} & that the said Greenes wief was a co^mon scould & a deceitfull player att the Cards & an allurer of folkes to play there - And left div^{er}s other offencs to them knowen unp^rsented.

The said Jury do set a payne that Edward Beynbrigge & Jeremye Myngas shall remoove theyr pryvyes so as they may not be a nuzance to Passengers in hir Ma^{ty} highe waie wth evyll Sent or smell nor that the ordure or excrements may run into the Quenes Streame to the polluting of the water betwene this & the feast of S' Martyn the Bishopp next - on payn for eyther of them making default to forfayt x^s -

Source: *Kerry Manuscripts*, Vol XIV, p71. Derby Local Studies Library MS 4678

GEORGE NEWALL'S ESTATE MAP OF CULLAND (1709)

- a Staffordshire stray

(by Richard H. Osborne,

The estate of George Newall, or Newell, according to Glover,¹ is shown on a detailed coloured map, surveyed by a Thomas Hand and dated 1709. It is included in the (miscellaneous) maps in the Sutherland Papers held at the Staffordshire County Record Office, Stafford.² The map (scale not shown but apparently about 18" to 1 mile) shows each field, with its name and area, given in acres, roods and perches/poles.

Most of the estate was at Culland and extended in an irregularly-shaped and nearly continuous broad band from (it may be surmised) Brailsford Brook on the west almost as far as Burrows Lane on the east. It consisted of 46 fields. The presumed Culland Hall is pictorially indicated by a three-storeyed, three-gabled house. Three other, smaller houses are also shown in the vicinity, one being on "Mr Osbourn Croft" (about 2 acres), a tiny holding embedded within the Newall estate. This house-site and one other do not seem to have survived, but the third corresponds to the present farmstead of Cullandmanor Farm.

The total area stated for Culland on the map is about 273 acres (and the individual field areas do add up to this). The field shapes and their stated areas compare remarkably well with the Brailsford parish tithe survey map of 1837 (apparent scale about 27" to 1 mile), although some field names changed completely during the intervening century and a quarter and some fields were either partitioned or amalgamated. Nevertheless reconciliation with the tithe survey map is not too difficult.

It appears that 10 fields in the south of this west-east bloc, although attributed to Culland, and thus to Brailsford parish, in fact lay in the parish of Sutton on the Hill³ according to the tithe survey map. Moreover, the eastern part of the bloc lay in Burrows, the sister hamlet of Culland and also in Brailsford parish. Here Newall's fields are shown bordering on "Mr Osbourn land". In fact some Osborne land constituted an hour-glass shaped area isolating Newall's six easternmost fields from the rest.

The upper part of the map consists of insets showing other parts of the estate (scales not estimated). These "out Estates", as they are called, lay in Darley Moor (presumably on the Snelston-Yeaveley border, about 73 acres), Hollington (the parish immediately to the west of Culland, across Brailsford Brook, 35½ acres), Yeaveley (14½ acres) and Thrumley (23½ acres), the latter being the name given to a detached bloc of fields in Burrows (with a now vanished dwelling or other structure shown in the middle). These "out-Estates" totalled about 147 acres, so that Newall's whole estate (acquired in 1709⁴ through heiresses of the Draper family, according to Glover) totalled about 420 acres. This tallies with Glover's total of 421, except that he gives the impression that all of this was attributable to Culland. As we have seen, the "out-Estates" accounted for 147 acres of this total and even the balance of 273 said to be in Culland on the map lay partly in Burrows and partly across the parish boundary in Sutton on the Hill.

It may be noted that "Thrumley" was later owned by Charles Osborne, according to his will of 1731. Presumably he had bought this detached part of the estate from George Newall. Charles was a younger brother of the "Mr Osbourn" named on the map (William Osborne of Burrows Hall farm, 1648-1720). The name "Thrumpley", with a "p", is used on the tithe survey map, and by then the ownership had changed again.

Notes and References

1. S. Glover (ed. T. Noble), *The History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, Vol 2, Part 2, 1833, p139.
2. Staffordshire Record Office, D593/H/7/2.
3. Township of Osleston and Thurvaston
4. Thus the date of the map coincides with that of Newall's acquisition of the estate.