

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

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The Local History Bulletin
of the
Derbyshire Archaeological Society

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paper bound by John Woodman and Co. London

Volume 17

Autumn 2005

Part 4

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ISSN 0417 0687

‘I HAD NEVER SEEN BETTER SHOPS IN A COUNTRY TOWN’ - FASHIONABLE RETAILING IN HANOVERIAN DERBY

(by Ian Mitchell,

When Celia Fiennes visited Derby in 1698 she commented that ‘*They had only shops of all sorts of things*’.¹ In her opinion, the selling of many things in one shop was the norm in provincial towns - she noted that, unusually, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne shops were of ‘*distinct trades*’.² By the 1820s, all had changed. Sir Richard Phillips wrote in glowing terms about Derby: ‘*The picture was very cheering - I had never seen better shops in a country town - the streets were delightfully macadamised. I found also good booksellers’ shops*’.³ Derby in the early eighteenth century had a population of just over 4,000. Even so, it was the largest and most important town in Derbyshire and well situated to serve the needs of many gentry families. It was a town that was going places. An early eighteenth-century writer described it as ‘*A very large, populous and rich and well-frequented town*’.⁴ As is well known, the eighteenth century saw considerable industrial development in the town: textiles (including Lombe’s famous silk mill), ceramics (including William Duesbury’s ‘crown’ Derby) and clock making (with the Whitehurst family especially prominent) were particularly important. Derby’s cultural life included the usual assemblies, theatre, music and coffee houses. But it was also at the cutting edge of English intellectual life, with men like John Whitehurst, Erasmus Darwin and William Strutt actively involved in its society. The town grew rapidly in the early nineteenth century, but was always more than an industrial centre.⁵ In Sir Richard Phillips words, ‘*Derby is a medium town, between a manufacturing and a genteel one. This, in variety, is an advantage, for while the manufacturers are improved in manners, gentility is more substantial. It is neither wholly vulgar, like some places, nor poor and proud, like others*’.⁶

This article looks at some aspects of the growth of fashionable retailing in Hanoverian Derby. It is now generally agreed that shops of all types were common in towns and even villages in the eighteenth century, if not earlier. It is also well established that, at least in the larger shops, retailing methods were recognisably ‘modern’.⁷ Luxury and semi-luxury goods were increasingly available to wider sections of society. Some of these were imported, but many were made in the workshops of Birmingham, Sheffield and other industrial centres.⁸ Shops selling luxury and fashion goods were familiar in provincial towns and represent one aspect of the flourishing of English urban culture from the late seventeenth century onwards.⁹ Yet despite the burgeoning

¹ *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, edited with an introduction by Christopher Morris, 1947, pp169-70.

² *Journeys*, pp210-11.

³ Sir Richard Phillips, *A Personal Tour through the United Kingdom; describing Living Objects and Contemporaneous Interests*. Number II, Derbyshire-Nottinghamshire, 1829, pp111-112.

⁴ William Woolley quoted in Maxwell Craven, *Derby: An Illustrated History*, 1988, p113.

⁵ On Derby see in particular, Maxwell Craven, *Derby: An Illustrated History*, 1988; Maxwell Craven, *John Whitehurst of Derby. Clockmaker and Scientist 1713-88*, 1996; John E. Heath, ‘The Borough of Derby between 1780 and 1830’, *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 8, Part 6, 1979, pp181-197; R. S. Fitton and A. P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights 1758-1830*, 1958 and Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men: The Friends who made the Future*, 2002.

⁶ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, p155.

⁷ Recent works on retailing include Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England*, 1989; Nicholas Alexander and Gary Akehurst (eds), *The Emergence of Modern Retailing*, 1999; Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesman. A Study of Retailing, 1550-1820*, 2000 and John Benson and Laura Ugolini (eds), *A Nation of Shopkeepers. Five Centuries of British Retailing*, 2003.

⁸ On luxury and similar goods, see, for example, Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds), *Consumers and luxury. Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*, 1999; Maxine Berg, ‘From imitation to invention: creating commodities in eighteenth-century Britain’, *Economic History Review*, Vol 15, Part 1, 2002, pp1-30; Maxine Berg, ‘In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century’, *Past and Present*, 182, Feb 2004, pp 85-142; Linda Levy Peck, ‘Luxury and War: Reconsidering Luxury Consumption in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Albion*, Vol 34, Part 1, 2002, pp1-23.

⁹ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance. Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1760*, 1989 is the classic study. Articles on specific towns include John Beckett and Catherine Smith, ‘Urban renaissance and consumer revolution in Nottingham, 1688-1750’, *Urban History*, Vol 27, Part 1, 2000, pp31-50; John Chartres, ‘Leeds: Regional Distribution Centre of Luxuries in the late Eighteenth Century’, *Northern History*, Vol xxxvii, December 2000, pp115-32; Angus McInnes, ‘The Emergence of a Leisure Town: Shrewsbury 1660-1760’, *Past and Present*, 120, 1986, pp53-87; Jon Stobart, ‘Shopping streets as

of interest in consumer society in recent years, substantial gaps remain in our knowledge. Much more attention has, for example, been paid to London and to a handful of well-documented regional centres or leisure towns like Chester, York or Bath than to towns like Derby. In seeking to redress the balance a little, this article focuses on the high-class, fashionable end of retailing, where innovation was most likely to happen. Thus it looks at grocers, tea dealers and confectioners among the food and drink trades; mercers and drapers in the clothing sector; dealers in glass, china, home furnishings, clocks, watches, jewellery and trinkets; and the book trades.

There is no doubt that the number of such shops grew substantially between around 1700 and 1830. But it is very difficult to offer precise figures. The earliest trade directories date from the 1780s, but are less than comprehensive: several milliners, for example, who regularly advertised that they had the latest London fashions, are not listed in the directories.¹⁰ Table 1 provides some numbers. Those for 1748 and 1775 are derived from occupations listed in poll books and can only give the most general impression of the numbers involved in these trades and may be biased towards traditional crafts rather than retailers proper. The Universal British Directory of the 1790s is the most comprehensive of the early directories and probably gives a fairly good overall picture. The earliest Pigot directories are not as good, but the 1834 directory is probably comparable to the Universal British. But even with all these caveats, it is clear that numbers involved at the luxury end of retailing (and craft-retailing) were increasing steadily, and then particularly sharply as Derby grew in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Table 1: Derby Luxury Trades¹¹

	1748	1775	1790s	1818	1834
Grocer/tea dealer	12	11	29	26	42
Confectioner	0	0	4	2	8
Draper/mercier	8	12	12	20	27
Cabinet maker/upholsterer	1	1	3	6	21
Glass/china dealer	0	1	1	4	6
Gold/silversmith/jeweller	0	7	3	5	4
Clock/watch maker	2	1	6	5	10
Toy shop	1	1	1	0	3
Book trades	3	5	3	7	16
Music sellers	0	0	0	1	0
Total	27	39	62	76	137

Figure 1 makes the even more hazardous attempt to convert these figures into shops per 1000 people. The results probably say as much about the quality of the data as about actual numbers. In particular, the peak in the 1790s is likely to reflect just how comprehensive the Universal British Directory is when compared to other early directories. But the slight increase between the earlier years and the 1830s probably has some underlying basis. What is striking, however, is that there was no substantial improvement in luxury shop provision per head in this period: such improvements as there were probably took the form of larger and better-supplied shops.

social space: leisure, consumerism and improvement in an eighteenth-century town', *Urban History*, Vol 25, Part 1, 1998, pp3-21.

¹⁰ Examples include F. Irving, Eunice and Elizabeth Shaw, S. Enson and E. Cope in 1807. Female shopkeepers are perhaps particularly under-represented in the early directories.

¹¹ Figures derived from *An Alphabetical List of the Names of all the Freemen of the City of Chester who Polled at the General Election...* [in] 1747, Chester, nod. and *A Copy of a Poll of the Burgesses of the Borough of Derby...* December 1748, Derby, [S. Drewry], 1748; from P. Barefoot & J. Wiles, *Universal British Directory*, London, nod. [1792-96] for 1790s; [J. Pigot], *The Commercial Directory for 1816-17*, Manchester, 1816; also for 1818-20, Manchester, 1818.

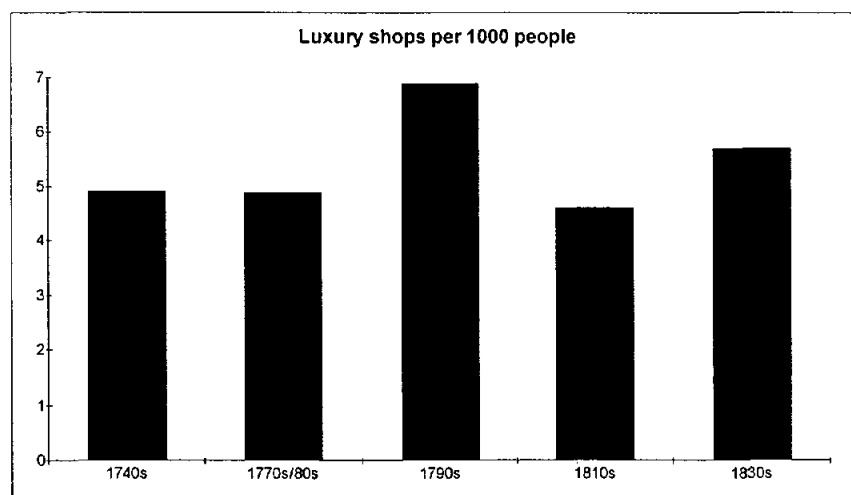


Figure 1: Luxury shops in Derby per 1000 people

One other piece of quantitative information sheds some light on Derby's shops in this period. This is the short-lived Shop Tax of the 1780s. The tax was payable on the value of property used as shops, with more valuable property paying at a higher rate than less valuable. Low value shops were exempt. Tax data cannot therefore be used to estimate the number of shops in any of the larger towns, but it does give an indication of relative importance. Table 2 gives summary figures for 1788 for Derby and those towns assessed at over £1.

Table 2: Derbyshire Shop Tax 1788¹²

Derby	Tax assessed in £ s d
All Derby	£92 19s 9d
Of which All Saints Ward	£67 10s 6d
St Peter's Ward	£13 16s 3d
Buxton	£12 6s 6d
Ashbourne	£9 12s 4d
Chesterfield	£7 5s 0d
Wirksworth	£5 12s 0d
Alfreton	£1 11s 2d
All Derbyshire	£135 5s 9d
Derby as % of Derbyshire	68%

The dominance of Derby in Derbyshire is very apparent. One ward in the centre of Derby accounted for more than half the county total. The three wards in the centre of Derby paying least tax accounted for only 12% of the town's total. These figures almost certainly reflect both the number of shops clustered in the heart of the county town, and their value. It is not unreasonable to think of Derby as having a recognisable shopping district, with a number of substantial and fashionable shops, by the 1780s.

This district was located around the Market Place and the Parish Church of All Saints. A clustering of shops around the market had long been normal in many medium-sized towns.¹³ This was often the first area to be developed as shops became more numerous in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus in 1708 Abraham Crompton, a member of the Mercers' Company, built a long pedimented façade facing east across the Market Place with shops on the ground floor set back under an overhang. The south side extended into Rotten Row with three or four larger shops. Crompton may have been a little ahead of his time for he apparently had

¹² Figures derived from shop tax schedules in PRO, Exchequer, Land and Assessed Taxes, E182/166.

¹³ Kathryn A. Morrison, *English Shops and Shopping*, 2003, chapter 1.

problems letting them.¹⁴ The best shops in Derby in the mid-eighteenth century were still located near the Market Place, in Corn Market, Iron Gate and surrounding streets. Advertisements occasionally provide clues about desirable locations, with Iron Gate seeming to be specially favoured. For example, in 1794 S. Cook, a confectioner announced his removal to Iron Gate¹⁵ and C. Cowlshaw, a grocer and tea-dealer, announced that he had taken a shop opposite All Saints' church in Iron Gate.¹⁶ In 1807, James Joseph Shipley, a clock and watchmaker at Sadler Gate Bridge, opened a second shop in Iron Gate.¹⁷ Drapers were still concentrated in this area in the 1840s: 15 out of the 21 listed in Glover's Directory were in Iron Gate, Market Place, Market Head, Rotten Row or Corn Market.¹⁸ Silversmiths and jewellers were all located in this area or Sadler Gate as were toy dealers. Grocers and booksellers, however, were more widely scattered - only 11 of the 49 grocers listed were in these five locations.

While it is relatively easy to say something about numbers and location of fashionable retailers, it is much more difficult, in the absence of detailed business records, to analyse the nature and extent of their trade. So this section uses more indirect evidence - particularly newspaper advertisements and household accounts - to offer some indication of how more 'modern' retailing methods were gradually taking hold in the Hanoverian period. There were clearly some specialist shopkeepers in Derby in the early eighteenth century. For example, among those advertising in the Derby Mercury in 1735 were Robert Grayson, linen draper and mercer in Corn Market, Nathaniel Bingham, mercer in Iron Gate and Jeremiah Roe, bookseller.¹⁹ But at the same time, more traditional ways of retailing remained important. These included periodic sales - at fair time and other times - for goods like linen drapery, haberdashery, clocks, and watches. Advertisements from visiting traders were not uncommon. One such was John Walker, upholsterer, who announced in 1740 that he would be at the Wheat Sheaf in Derby as usual during the Cheese Fair with a wide range of upholstery goods. These included, 'Curtains for Beds of all Sorts, from 14s to 16s, 18, 20 or 26, per Suit; and Others with HeadCloaths, Testers and Double Valance, made Large and Fashionable, from £2 to £2 10s, 3, 4, 5 or £5 10s per Bed'. Among his other goods were quilts, blankets, rugs and French and Turkey floor carpets. Walker claimed to be selling at low prices for ready money, though some 'small abatement' was possible. He also planned to be at Nottingham Fair.²⁰ John Nodes, a Nottingham jeweller and goldsmith, was selling chinaware, jewellery, toys and plate for a week in March 1745 at Virgin's Inn in the Market Place, Derby.²¹ And Jeremiah Roe, the Derby bookseller mentioned above, also traded monthly at Ashbourne on the last Saturday, Ashby-de-la-Zouche on the second Saturday and Wirksworth on the last Tuesday - in each case on market day.²²

Continuing restrictions on who could and could not trade from a fixed shop may have contributed to the survival of these more periodic forms of selling. In the early eighteenth century the Derby Mercers' Company was still taking action against those who threatened to break their trade monopoly. For example, in 1709 John Booth, described as a tailor, was to be disenfranchised from the liberties of a burgess for employing one John Gould, a 'foreigner', in the trade of a mercer in order to make him a burgess. As a result of his disenfranchisement, Booth would no longer have the right to trade as a mercer or anything else, or keep open shop, except at the time of the fairs or markets. He was to shut up his shop windows and not open them any more.²³ As late as 1740 the Company ordered action to be taken against Joseph Bakewell for exercising the trade of grocer without being a burgess or having been apprenticed for seven years.²⁴ Actions were still being brought a decade later at the Derby Quarter Sessions against people trading as mercers and grocers without serving the required apprenticeship - but the applicability of sixteenth century trade regulations to eighteenth century retail practice was increasingly being challenged.²⁵

Fashionable and specialist shops were becoming relatively common by the second half of the eighteenth century. Some typical examples from newspaper advertisements include Rebecca Orme who traded from the upper end of Sadler Gate and had:

¹⁴ Craven, *Derby*, p66.

¹⁵ *Derby Mercury*, 29 May 1794.

¹⁶ *Derby Mercury*, 13 November 1794.

¹⁷ *Derby Mercury*, 1 January 1807.

¹⁸ Stephen Glover, *The History and Directory of the Borough of Derby*, 1843, p117.

¹⁹ *Derby Mercury*, 9 January 1734/5, 31 July 1735, 25 September 1735.

²⁰ *Derby Mercury*, 11 September 1740.

²¹ *Derby Mercury*, 1-8 March 1745.

²² *Derby Mercury*, 25 September 1735.

²³ Derby Local Studies Library, Mercers Company, Parcel 200, Items 16-29.

²⁴ Derby Local Studies Library, Mercers Company Minute Book, 13 November 1740.

²⁵ Derbyshire Record Office (hereafter DRO), Derby Quarter Sessions, D3551/1/4/34/1-4.

A large fresh Stock, of extraordinary neat and good Stuff Shoes at 4s per pair. Great Choice of neat Figur'd Silks and Satins for Cloaks; great Choice of ready-made Cloaks of all Sorts; also great Choice of neat Quilted Coats, black and colour'd; with all sorts of Millinery Goods. Likewise Ladies Riding Hats from 8s to 18s. All Sorts of Feathers, and Gold and Silver Trimming for Hats.²⁶

In the same year, Henry Sheldon advertised that he had opened a shop next door to Mr Brentnall's wine vaults and was selling English and foreign china, glass, and Birmingham and Sheffield goods - ie various sorts of cutlery and metal ware.²⁷ A typical grocer and tea-dealer's advertisement from 1785 is this by Henry Gibson and Benjamin Taylor (who seem just to have left the employment of John Hardcastle, grocer):

beg leave to inform the public, that they have opened a shop in the Irongate, at the Tea Chest and Sugar Loaf, where they have laid in a choice assortment of new imported teas from the East India Company's last September sale, with the best Turkey and West Indian Coffees, fresh roasted; plain and patent Chocolates; Sugars in lumps, loaves and powders; and every other article in the Grocery business which they are selling at the most reasonable rates.²⁸

Household accounts from local landed families provide further illustrations of the range of goods available from Derby's fashionable retailers. The Chandos-Pole family, for example, shopped regularly in Derby. In the 1790s they were buying textiles from Thomas Wright, hosier; various drugs, potions and chemicals from Francis Meynell, apothecary; all sorts of spices, sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco and starch from William Ward, grocer; and a gold repeating watch from William Parker, costing £52 10s 0d. The trade directories describe Parker as a gold and silversmith and he may or may not be the same William Parker who, calling himself a toyman, supplied the Chandos-Pole family with a plate warmer, a breakfast egg tray, a silver pencil case, some fortune telling cards, two umbrellas, a dozen silver spoons and a silver plated ladle among other items in a bill amounting to £67 10s 2d.²⁹ This was not so much a '*shop of all sorts of things*' as a good example of the sort of shop made possible by growing demand from the gentry and middle classes for a wide range of fashionable items for their homes.

Fashionable Derby shopkeepers supplying the Chandos-Poles in 1804 included Thomas Breary, hatter and hosier; Cox and Weatherhead, ironmongers; John Drewry, printer; Thomas Mawkes, clock and watchmaker; Francis Roome, bookseller; Richard Smith, Italian Warehouseman; and John Whitehurst.³⁰ Almost all their purchases seem to have been made in Derby, with occasional use of a London cabinetmaker or Bath milliner. Smith's Italian Warehouse must have been something of a novelty in Derby.³¹ It was located at St Peter's Bridge and supplied such items as olives, turmeric, lemon pickle, anchovies, walnut ketchup, mushroom ketchup and tongue.³² Later bills from the Warehouse were for oranges, lemons, capers, parmesan cheese, figs, ginger, raisins, almonds and blackcurrant lozenges. Its stock overlapped to some extent with that of a traditional grocer - though apparently without tea, coffee and sugar - but also included fresh items that might traditionally have been bought at a market stall. From 1813 onwards, Jane Smith was named as the proprietor - itself an interesting example of a woman running a retail business outside the traditional area of millinery and associated trades.³³ Other Chandos-Pole accounts from this period reveal that they were purchasing cloth and clothing, including gowns, gloves, bonnets, stockings and a military great coat from Robert Grayson, linen draper and Thomas Wright, mercer; furniture from John Cooper; and silverware from Mosley and Tunnicliffe.³⁴ William Parker continued to supply a range of fancy goods, including a tea urn, a toy windmill, a wax doll, a drum, a fiddle, a Jew's harp and a trumpet in 1803; and more children's toys, a brooch, an historical game, a globe and fishing tackle in 1805-07.³⁵ The Chandos-Pole children were well catered for by their local toyshop! Other

²⁶ *Derby Mercury*, 11 October 1765.

²⁷ *Derby Mercury*, 12 July 1765.

²⁸ *Derby Mercury*, 1 December 1785.

²⁹ DRO, Chandos-Pole Bills, 1788-91, D5557/10/38/3.

³⁰ *Ibid*, Vouchers 1804, D5557/10/1-21.

³¹ *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol. 17, Part 1, Spring 2004, p7, reproduces an advertisement for this establishment from the *Derby Mercury*, 21 October 1802.

³² DRO, Chandos-Pole Vouchers, 1804, D5557/10/1-21.

³³ DRO, Chandos-Pole Account with Richard Smith, 1808-11, D5557/37/1 and with Jane Smith, 1813, D5557/37/2.

³⁴ D5557/10/26, 10/31, 10/33 and 10/35.

³⁵ D5557/10/24.

families, including the Fitzherberts of Tissington for whom vouchers survive from the 1820s to 1850s,³⁶ must have been making similar use of Derby's growing range of good quality shops.

Sir Richard Phillips noted in 1829 that '*There are in Derby some active booksellers' shops, as of Wilkins and Son, Bemrose and Co, Drewry and Son, Messrs Pine, and some younger and active candidates*'.³⁷ Derby seems to have a long tradition of booksellers' shops. The key names in the mid eighteenth century were Jeremiah Roe and Samuel Fox. Both were regularly advertising recently published books in the Derby Mercury, but both would also have had an extensive secondhand trade. Published catalogues provide evidence of the range of their stock. For example, in March 1740 Roe advertised that he had just published a free catalogue of books in divinity, history and physick - these would be mainly secondhand books, probably purchased from sales of libraries.³⁸ In November of the same year, Roe advertised some recently published religious books, the novel *Pamela*, a range of patent medicines, and that he had '*a considerable number of secondhand Classicks, such as are mostly used in Schools, which will be sold very cheap*'.³⁹ And in 1741 Roe published a sixteen-page catalogue of new and secondhand books, mainly in the fields of divinity, history and literature that would be on sale in his shop from 25th July.⁴⁰ Most of the books were priced - some at as little as 3d or 4d each and few exceeding 10 shillings. New books were listed but not priced - but they would be sold cheaply for the first ten days of the sale. Twenty years later Roe was advertising,

'A Catalogue of a valuable Collection of Books, including a Library of a Clergyman latterly deceased... which (for the sake of Ready Money) will be sold at the very low Price mentioned in the Catalogue, on Monday the 28th of this Instant July and continue upon Sale till Christmas'.⁴¹

Catalogues were available from Roe himself, from a Mrs Sarah Roe in Ashbourne and from the booksellers of the neighbouring towns. The sale may not have gone very well - in November of the same year Roe announced that above 1000 volumes were unsold and that he had added several hundred more volumes from the library of the late Mr Wadsworth of Sheffield.⁴² Like Roe, Samuel Fox regularly advertised new books that were available in his shop. Fox also dealt in stationery and paper hangings and, like many booksellers, in patent medicines.⁴³ German Pole was one of Fox's customers in the 1750s. In 1751 he bought, among other items, Orrery's *Pliny* in two volumes, Handel's *Overtures for Harpsichord* (for Miss Pole), Gibson on horses, Ward's *Sermons*, and some Psalm books for Miss Pole. In exchange, he sold Fox a copy of Lindsey's *History of England*.⁴⁴ The Pole family were buying books from Row and Almond in the 1770s, including almanacs and various religious books,⁴⁵ and from Francis Roome in the 1790s. Among items purchased from Roome were Godwin's *Life of Chaucer* in two volumes for £3 13s 6d plus 2s 2d carriage; Seward's *Life of Dr Darwin* for 7s 6d plus carriage; Burdett's *Sermons* in five volumes for 8s 0d; and maps of Europe, Wales, England and Scotland for a total of £1 10s. Roome also provided bookbinding and piano tuning services at Radbourne.⁴⁶

Other Derby booksellers included a Mrs Fitchett of St Werburgh's Church Yard in Derby who, in 1819, published a five page catalogue of her late husband's stock that she was selling off cheaply - the list was mainly of new books but included a handful of secondhand books said to be in good condition and including Hutton's *Philosophical and Mathematical Dictionary* in 2 volumes, priced at £3 3s, but said to be £6 6s new.⁴⁷ By the early 19th century there were also booksellers who offered new books at prices well under the published price - for example T H Walls of Derby who claimed to sell some items at under half the proper price.⁴⁸ But the leading

³⁶ DRO, Fitzherbert of Tissington, Derby Bills and Receipts, 1819-58, D239 M/F2889-3557.

³⁷ Phillips, *Personal Tour*, p125.

³⁸ *Derby Mercury* 20 March 1740.

³⁹ *Derby Mercury* 27 November 1740.

⁴⁰ *A Catalogue of Books, in Divinity, History etc Which will be sold very cheap... by Jeer Roe Bookseller, at his Shop in Derby*, Derby [Sam Drewry], 1741.

⁴¹ *Derby Mercury* 18-25 July 1760.

⁴² *Derby Mercury* 10-17 October 1760.

⁴³ *Derby Mercury*, 14 February 1739/40.

⁴⁴ DRO, Pole Bills 1751, D5557/10/38/1.

⁴⁵ D5557/10/38/2.

⁴⁶ D5557/10/1-21.

⁴⁷ Bodleian Library Vet. A6.e2107, *A Catalogue of valuable new books, now selling off under prime cost, by Mrs Fitchett*, Derby, 1819.

⁴⁸ *Derby Mercury*, 16 March 1825.

Derby bookseller in the early nineteenth century was William Bemrose who served his apprenticeship with H. Mozley in Gainsborough and moved with him to Derby in 1815. He set up in partnership with Thomas Richardson in the Market Place in 1817, and then went to run the firm's Wirksworth bookshop in the 1820s. He sold the Wirksworth business in 1827 and came back to Derby where business soon prospered. In 1839 Bemrose took over Drewry's shop in Iron Gate and in the 1840s built up a significant business in printing railway timetables. By 1849 the firm had 35 employees and a branch in Matlock Bath was opened in 1851.⁴⁹

Retailers of this sort used various methods to keep themselves in the public eye - and to keep ahead of the competition. Newspaper advertisements were important for some, though the more established traders may have shunned this medium as somewhat vulgar. Further examples of those advertising in the *Derby Mercury* include the Derby perfumer and toyman, Thomas Barker, who in 1773 advertised his '*new assortment of perfumery goods from Messrs Smith, Warren and Bayley, perfumers in London*' as well as buckles, earrings, stay hooks and essence of lavender.⁵⁰ In 1807 R. Moseley advertised his stock of fancy goods at his Corn Market shop⁵¹ and later in the year George Barnett of Full Street announced his return from London with an assortment of fashionable upholstery.⁵² Examples like this could be multiplied many times. As well as newspaper advertisements, retailers used trade cards and printed and illustrated billheads to call attention to themselves. Figure 2 shows an early example from a Derby mercer and Figure 3 overleaf an elegant early nineteenth century example.

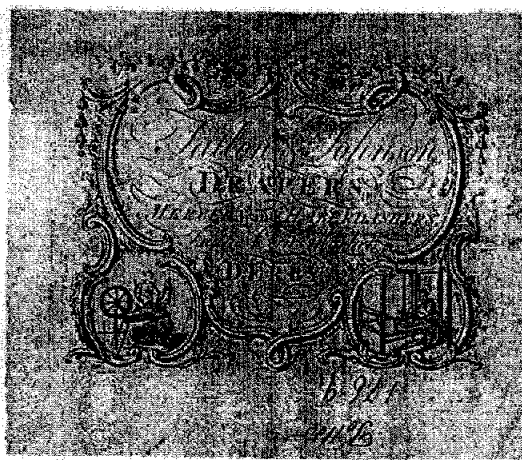


Figure 2: Tatlow and Johnson trade card 1769⁵³

A particular feature of many advertisements was their use each Spring to call attention to new and fashionable stock. This was usually said to have been '*received from London*' or the retailer had just returned with it from London. Thus in 1785, George Cay, a tailor and habit-maker, wished '*to inform his friends and the public that he has received all the newest fashions for this season from London; particularly for ladies habits and great coats; also for gentlemen's clothes of all sorts.*'⁵⁴ Among those advertising the latest fashions in 1807 were T. Grayson, mercer and draper, F. Irving, milliner, fancy dress and corset maker, Eunice and Elizabeth Shaw, milliners and fancy dress makers, S. Enson, straw hats and bonnets, and E. Cope, milliner.⁵⁵ A slight exception from the usual patten was D.W. Horrocks, linen and woollen draper, at the Market Head, who announced in 1807 that he was, '*returned from Manchester with a choice assortment of printed calicoes, cambrics, muslins, dimities and all other articles.*'⁵⁶ It must have been easier to obtain fashionable goods from Manchester - but it is perhaps doubtful whether they had quite the same appeal as London goods.

⁴⁹ Dennis Hackett, *The History of the Future*, 1976, pp17-26.

⁵⁰ *Derby Mercury*, 4 June 1773.

⁵¹ *Derby Mercury*, 19 March 1807.


⁵² *Derby Mercury*, 18 June 1807.

⁵³ Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Trade Cards 12 (118). Reproduced by permission of the Library.

⁵⁴ *Derby Mercury*, 29 April-5 May 1785.

⁵⁵ *Derby Mercury*, 7 May 1807.

⁵⁶ *Derby Mercury*, 10 September 1807.



Mr Pole
Derby, 7 May 1801
King's Street
Wm Davenport & Osborne
MERCERS, WOOLLEN DRAPERS &c

4 pieces Sape	5s	£ 1. 10
2 yds Bobbin	6	1
1 yd Sape	20	1. 10
5 yds fine	9	3. 9
2 yds 6/8 fine Cambrian Merino	54	12. 0
15 yds flannel	22	1. 7. 6
18 yds Corda Surity	18	12
16 yds flannel	12	16
18 yds printed Calico	20	2. 6. 10
		<u>£ 6. 2. 11</u>
		<i>Paid</i>

Figure 3: Davenport and Osborne billhead 1801⁵⁷

Shopkeepers like this were also often the ones who led the way in terms of more 'modern' retail practice - for example, fixed prices and sale for ready money only. While the most fashionable shopkeepers continued to extend lengthy credit to aristocratic and gentry customers, others seem to have been targeting a slightly different market and emphasising the cheapness as well as the fashionable qualities of their goods. Low prices are mentioned in some Derby advertisements, including that by Horrocks referred to above. The shoemakers of the borough announced in 1794 that they would sell 'every article... on the very lowest terms and for ready money only'.⁵⁸ And in 1815 Moseley and Tunnicliff, jewellers and silversmiths were selling 'every article in silver at per ounce as low as can be procured at any shop in London'.⁵⁹

While not all of the retailers referred to in this article were among the elite, it is clear that there were many more much further down the hierarchy who have left little or no trace. These would include provisions dealers, secondhand clothes sellers, and a great range of craftsmen-retailers selling from the front of their workshop. Traders like this may not appear in the earlier directories, did not make use of newspaper advertisements and did not supply the great families. They occasionally appear in court records, usually in relation to a theft or suspected theft. These small shopkeepers and craftsman-retailers would clearly not form part of the urban elite. But what of those who had substantial business dealings with the landed gentry and their families. How did they fare in terms of wealth and social status? They were clearly not counted among the elite in mid eighteenth century Derby: the rules of the gentry assembly from the 1740s specified that no shopkeeper be admitted, 'except Mr Franceys' (the town's leading apothecary).⁶⁰ But some shopkeepers could become very wealthy, perhaps especially the mercers and drapers.

⁵⁷ DRO, Fitzherbert Derby Bills, D239M/F/2989. Reproduced by permission from the original document in Derbyshire Record Office.

⁵⁸ *Derby Mercury*, 3 July 1794.

⁵⁹ *Derby Mercury*, 3 August 1815.

⁶⁰ Gladwyn Turbutt, *A History of Derbyshire*, 4 Vols., 1999, p1352.

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century the Unitarian Church seems to have a focal point for some of the more influential townspeople. Many of the town's grocers were active members, as were the booksellers Jeremiah Roe and Samuel Fox.⁶¹ Later in the century the Derby Philosophical Society and then in the nineteenth century the Derby Literary and Philosophical Society included leading townspeople as members. These included Erasmus Darwin, William Duesbury and members of the Strutt family.⁶² The latter family, with manufacturing interests around the town, was particularly influential in Derby life. The town's printers and booksellers were perhaps on the edge of this elite group. For example, Drewry's Book Society, a form of subscription library for the elite of Derby and its locality, included a number of the Strutts among its members, as well as local clergymen.⁶³ John Drewry was another of those active in Friargate Unitarian Church in the 1770s to 1790s.⁶⁴ The grocer William Snowden was actively involved in establishing the Derby Infirmary,⁶⁵ and the Grayson family, linen drapers for much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were also important in Derby's commercial life, counting the Strutt and Chandos-Pole family among their customers.

Sir Richard Phillips' comment about the quality of shops in Derby in the 1820s may not just have been flattery. By then the town had a significant central shopping area with high-class shops, where most foodstuffs, textiles, clothing, household goods, luxuries and reading matter could be bought. These shops were patronised by local landed families and other fashion-conscious shoppers. Modern retailing methods, including advertising, display and selling for ready money and fixed prices, were well established. Moreover some Derby inhabitants were conscious of the improved state of their town by the 1820s and the existence of fine streets - one correspondent to the Derby Mercury complained bitterly of the nuisance created by holding a cattle fair in Friar Gate.⁶⁶ Yet, in contrast to some leisure towns, or indeed a city like Chester, Derby was not primarily a shopping town. By the end of the Hanoverian period Derby was a growing manufacturing town well supplied with and proud of its shops but not wholly dependent on them.

Wholesale and Retail SHOE WAREHOUSE

IN THE FULL STREET, DERBY,
Late in the occupation of Mr Blamire, Hosier

EDWARD DUESBURY informs his Friends and the Public in general, that he has just laid out in an assortment of fashionable and serviceable Ladies, Gentlemens' and Childrens' COLOUR'D and PLAIN SHOES, which he is selling for ready money only, on the very low prices following, viz.

Gentlemens' Dress Shoes at	6s 6d per pair
Ladies Coloured ditto from	5s 3d to 5s 6d.
Ladies Spanish &c. from	4s 3d to 4s 6d.
Childrens' and other Shoes in proportion.	
N.B. Mens' Strong Shoes from 6s to 7s 6d per pair	

Boots and Shoes repaired in the neatest manner and on the most reasonable terms and with the greatest dispatch.

Derby Mercury, 27 March 1804

⁶¹ DRO, Friargate Unitarian Church Minute Book, 1697-1819, D1312D/A1.

⁶² Derby Local Studies Library, Derby Philosophical Society, Acc 9229/9230, M/f 16; DRO, Derby Literary and Philosophical Society Journal, 1808-16, D5047/1.

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⁶⁴ DRO, Friargate Unitarian Church Minute Book, 1697-1819, D1312D/A1.

⁶⁵ Heath, *'Borough of Derby'*, p193.

⁶⁶ *Derby Mercury*, 13 June 1827.

JOHN LEEDHAM: A CASE TOO FAR

(by Alan F. Jones, 3,

A twenty-year-old man named John Leedham from Ashbourne was charged in 1833 with the crime of bestiality. For his crime he was tried and sentenced to be hung at Derby. In response to this harsh sentence a petition was immediately signed by two hundred people and sent to the trial judge, Sir Bernard Bosanquet. What makes this petition especially interesting is the social make-up of those who signed it. As Gatrell points out, by the 1820s many of those who petitioned were looking for fair play in justice, and *'the petitions gave notice of changing times'*. Moreover *'if great men of the locality let them pass, minor felons would hang'*.¹ All those who signed this petition were not local artisans, labourers and farmers, but those of a higher social rank and local gentry. This list was a list of who's who in the local society. It contained a local MP, Edward Strutt, four Aldermen, several surgeons and solicitors. Along with this petition Lord Vernon wrote to both the Home Secretary, Melbourne, and the trial judge explaining his concern over the case. Vernon's concern over the sentence was based upon minimising any advertising of the very nature of the crime. Vernon, explaining what prompted him, had this to say:

*'I yesterday was at Derby, and found that the respectable and thinking part of the inhabitants are decidedly of opinion that in a moral point of view, the execution of this man is very objectionable upon the ground of making known a crime which otherwise would scarcely so enter into the thoughts of anyone.'*²

The press, like everyone else raised the question of the moral issue of this crime, but they also believed the sentence was disproportionate. Reviewing proceedings one newspaper's view was:

*'a very general feeling of repugnance pervades the public mind, against visiting the crime of the guilty youth with the extreme penalty of the law; and we believe if he were transported for life instead of being executed, such an act of mercy would be viewed with universal satisfaction!'*³

The reason why this case raised so much sympathy lay in the youth's mental capabilities, or more specifically his lack of them. In the words of the Derby and Chesterfield Reporter he was *'almost wholly destitute of the advantage of education, to be of extremely feeble intellect, scarcely above the condition of an idiot'*.⁴

Following on from the failure of the first petition a second quickly followed, this time containing the grand total of 4000 signatures. In a further bid for clemency this petition went directly to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.⁵ It has been written of Melbourne *'that the traditional bugbear of Home Secretaries, the death penalty, did not trouble him deeply though he was always conscientious in considering the case for a reprieve; sometimes spending four or five hours discussing every detail with the Chief Justice'*. In Leedham's case *'Greville described his embarrassment when called upon to defend the execution of a half-wit peasant charged with bestiality'*.⁶ Melbourne's *'embarrassment'* did not prove to be great enough as the attempts to commute the sentence failed and scrawled on the petition in tiny, spider like hand writing is *'the Law must take its course'*.⁷ Unfortunately for Leedham, his petition again failed to gain a favourable response from the Secretary of State, and he was hanged on 12 April 1833. Reports claimed that over six thousand people were present at the hanging.

Leedham's death did not see the end of the matter; repercussions over the verdict of this trial continued for several years. The hanging brought the following caustic response from a local newspaper:

*'dislike to what is considered an unnecessary waste of human life, has been greatly increased in this instance from a knowledge of the fact, that at the late Assizes at Northampton, the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Denman, transported for life a young man, capitally convicted, on satisfactory evidence, of an offence of the same disgusting nature, as that for which Mr. Justice Bosanquet has thought proper, on the same circuit at Derby, to execute a sentence of death pronounced by him, on John Leedham!!!'*⁸

One clue why such a severe sentence was passed appears in the Quarter Session Records. In the meeting following Leedham's hanging, the judge made the following comment:

'this unfortunate young man possessed very little intellect; he was grossly ignorant, and without any idea of religious or moral duties. Tho' as he confessed he had been in the habit of committing offences of the disgusting nature of that for which he suffered from the age of fifteen and in various places in which he had lived in service'.⁹

In Leedham's case *'the habit'* could certainly be a reason, but not the only reason. Inflicting such a severe punishment appears attributable to a combination of facts. As I will show, after the outcry surrounding this case crimes of bestiality in Derbyshire would never again receive such draconian sentences.

Thirty years earlier and Leedham's supporters would have had no trouble in reprieving him; however the introduction of the Criminal Lunatics Act of 1800 ushered in a special verdict of insanity. This Act, *'removed from the juries the alternative, commonly taken in the eighteenth century, of simply acquitting an offender whom the jury was satisfied was insane at the time of the trial'*. From now on:

'the only permissible verdict in such cases was one making it clear that the acquittal was on the ground of insanity, and in such verdicts the court was required to order the accused 'to be kept in strict custody, in such place and in such manner as to the court shall seem fit, until His Majesty's pleasure be known'.¹⁰

Neither Bosanquet nor the Home Office accepted the appeal on the grounds of insanity. Views on criminals were rapidly changing with moral issues coming more to the fore, there was an expectation that self-discipline should be encouraged, and personal excesses discouraged. Now *'the law increasingly aimed at fostering public character building, not only indirectly - by the spread of legal uniformity and certainty - but also more indirectly through specific expressions of this implicit moral agenda'*.¹¹ Trial judges became scornful of sentimentality and distinguished law from morality. The latter unfortunately proved to be the case for Leedham.

Although this petition failed in its immediate goal, there is evidence showing how this case had a strong bearing on later cases of a similar kind. The memory of the Leedham case lingered hard and long. Although Bosanquet, the Home Office and the jury adopted the high moral ground on this case, other judges and juries were not so moralistic and adopted a more enlightened view. In 1840 two agricultural workers witnessed Thos. Williams of Sponden committing a similar offence. During his trial the judge heavily questioned the two witnesses regarding their testimony, both men were certain on what they had witnessed. It is highly unlikely that the witnesses' testimony was influenced by any knowledge of Williams. Indeed *'the prisoner was to them a perfect stranger, and indeed a stranger in this part of the country'*. After direction of a verdict by the judge, the jury deliberated its verdict, which resulted in:

*'the jury, after considerable delay, gave a verdict of Not Guilty - (The evidence in this case, appeared to us conclusive; and tends to show the great reluctance of juries to convict, when their verdict would take away the life of a fellow creature)'.*¹²

Arguably after the experience of the Leedham case a jury had a *'distaste for hanging'*.¹³ This time rather than relying upon the whims of a judge or the Home Office to show clemency the jury was quite willing to take justice into its own hands.

On the next recorded case of bestiality the Judge himself acquitted the prisoner of the capital charge. Instead he tried him for the attempt, for which the prisoner John Hardon received a sentence of twelve months hard labour, with one week in every alternative month confined to solitary.¹⁴ Sentencing for this particular crime seemed to decrease with each further case. When the next case came in front of a judge, George Taylor received a twelve months sentence with hard labour.¹⁵ Nationally this particular offence proved to be emotive and views at trials varied enormously. At Cheltenham two years before the Leedham case, a twenty-two year old man Thomas Wood received a two year gaol sentence.¹⁶ However four years later and two years after Leedham's fate was sealed William Booth at Chester received the death sentence.¹⁷

The final irony of this case came when it turned out Leedham would be the last person hung in Derbyshire for an offence other than murder. For other perpetrators convicted of bestiality the death sentence remained on the

statute book until 1861, when capital charges were reduced to four crimes. These four crimes were murder, treason, arson in royal dockyards and piracy with violence, the crime of bestiality would now come under the Offences against the Person Act 1861 (24 & 25 pct. c.100) s.61. Under this Act the sentence for those 'w of buggery, committed either with mankind or with any animal, shall be liable [...] to be kept in penal servitude for life'.¹⁸

One very striking feature of the Leedham case is that a protest was launched and not just by rural labourers, on this occasion there were members of the middle classes. This a case where times were indeed changing, as Gatrell suggests:

'but more and more people of middle means were participating in this appellant procedure, as well as in the prosecutory part of the legal process, and they became the majority voice in the petition archive. Doctors, agents, businessmen, tradesmen, clergymen, farmers, and attorneys petitioned with growing confidence and familiarity with the process in which they were engaged. They altered the terms of mercy appeals significantly. The plea for mercy fused into a quest, overtly, for justice'.¹⁹

Facing a changing a legal code biased towards a more moralistic approach, and an appeal system that proved ineffective, people were willing to ignore facts and base their judgements on sympathy.

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MALPAS ROAD ON MATLOCK BANK

(by Miriam Wood,

This account of the history of one short road in Matlock originated in a memento of the street party with which the residents of Malpas Road celebrated the Millennium on the night of 31 December 1999-1 January 2000. A brief history of the road was written for the occasion, word-processed with a decorative heading and footing and, suitably framed, a copy given to each household.

Malpas Road is a cul de sac of only 19 houses, the building of which took more than 80 years - although if a substantial addition to one house in 2005 is counted, it has taken more than a century to complete. Despite its short length and small number of houses its history has proved unexpectedly interesting, particularly when placed in the context of the development of Matlock Bank. The road branches off Woolley Road which lies on the Western side of the Bank, that is the hillside rising above the Northern bank of the Derwent and not simply, as often used now, the name of the main road climbing the hillside. (In the 19th century, that was known as Dob Lane and before then, though for how long is not known, as Fisher Croft Lane). The Western closed end of Malpas Road lies very close to The Dimple, the junction of local roads with Hurds Hollow and Dimple Road, until the building of the A6 the old road to Bakewell.

The Matlock Tithe Map of 1848-1849 shows that there was a considerable scattering of houses and cottages on the Bank with a particular concentration above what are now the lower part of Wellington Street, Jackson Road and Smedley Street. Elsewhere, there were groups of houses along roads or gathered at road junctions, for instance at the junction of Smedley Street with Bank Road and at The Dimple. Where Malpas Road would be were only fields. There was much development on the Bank in the later 19th and early 20th century, but though it was nearly as haphazard as in earlier centuries, there were a number of differences. The hydros were a new feature from the mid-19th century and were often on a larger scale than earlier building and alongside them were public buildings - churches and chapels and schools - which were as new to the Bank as the hydros. Individual houses were of course still built for their owners' use, but others might come in pairs or short rows as investments and new roads were laid out rather than simply developing out of constant use. One such new road was Malpas Road.

The road was probably first planned in 1899. It was built, with one exception, on land once owned by the Wolleys (normally spelt with one 'o' by the family) of Allenhill, who had lived alongside Allen Lane, now Woolley Road, since the late 16th century. Descendants of the Wolley family undoubtedly owned the fields on which the road was to be built when Matlock tithe map was made in 1848-1849, and probably, although there is no evidence, the Wolleys had held it for many years before then. After the death in 1827 of Adam Wolley, well-known as a Derbyshire antiquary and the last male of the family, the property eventually descended to his grandson, the Reverend Charles Wolley-Dod of Edge Hall in Malpas, Cheshire, from which presumably Malpas Road was named (and Edge Road nearby).

The Ordnance Survey maps surveyed in 1879 and 1897 show a field boundary roughly where the road would be, lying between fields called in the earlier Tithe Map Schedule Hodge Croft (North of the road) and Rye Croft and Lane Close (South). The map revised in 1919 shows the whole of the North side built up (except for number 28 at the far West end) though no houses on the South side. An undated photograph of Matlock Bank, certainly pre-1932, shows the row of houses on the North side stretching across the hillside, with houses above the row but few below and mostly open land down to Allen Hill house.

The road was in fact developed fairly soon after the publication of the 1897 Ordnance Survey map. The first houses for which the local authority gave building permission were those now numbered 2 and 4. A Mr Margerrison applied for permission to build two houses North West of Woolley Road on 1 September 1899 and the application was approved on 17 September. In the following month William Margerrison conveyed to Mary Margerrison the land on which numbers 2 and 4 were later to be built, described as a piece of land at or near 'Wolley' Road and shown in a plan with land belonging to Margerrison on the East and to the Reverend Charles Wolley-Dod on the North and West and a proposed new road on the South. On 5 March 1900, the Reverend Charles Wolley-Dod was given permission to build the new street that was to become Malpas Road, although when permission was given it was still unnamed.

It appears that Wolley-Dod then sold the remainder of the strip of land immediately North of the planned new road to the Knowles family, as it was a Miss Knowles who acquired approval to build two houses in Malpas Road in November 1901 and George Knowles who made four separate applications to build there from August 1902 to August 1903. These were first for a pair of semi-detached houses, then for two houses, then for four and finally for one house. The application for four houses was granted subject to his completion of the sewer and the road in front of the house. Nothing was mentioned about the sewer or the road with respect to his last application (for one house in August 1903) so presumably they had been satisfactorily completed.

No doubt, these houses were built in succession as building permission was sought and granted, starting from the two houses planned by the Margerrisons (now numbers 2 and 4) and progressing towards the last of the Knowles' houses (now number 26). The houses were not numbered until much later, but probably Miss Knowles' two houses were the present numbers 6 and 8, Mr Knowles' two semi-detached houses 10 and 12, his next two houses numbers 14 and 16, the group of four those numbered 18, 20, 22 and 24 and the last house for which he gained permission that now numbered 26, the only detached house on the North side of the road until number 28, not built until 1960. The succession of applications to build and the evidence of the piecemeal construction of the road and sewer suggest that the houses and road were built more or less in tandem rather than that the road was completed first, making one would have thought for a rather uncomfortable period for the occupiers of the first houses to be built. It is curious that although all the houses on the North side of the road, except for 26 and 28, are semi-detached this is not usually evident from the building applications.

Incidentally, the plot of land on the North corner of the road at the junction with Woolley Road, was developed as a house in the latter road, presumably the house on 'Wolley' Road concerned in Margerrison's application for building permission dated 21 October 1899 and granted the following 6 November.

The last house on the North side of the road, numbered 28, was built in 1960. Unlike the others, it was built on a plot where there had long been a house, certainly as far back as 1848. In the Tithe map (1848-1849) and in the OS map revised in 1919, the house on the plot has roughly the same shape, suggesting that it was the same building and had not been rebuilt between those dates. It belonged to Anthony Wildgoose in 1848-1849, when the property was described as a house, outbuildings, court and 3 gardens, and to W H Potter in about 1912. The Land Use Survey map revised to 1954 still shows the old house. It was not, however, on the same part of the plot as the new one, which is to the North of the old house and differently aligned. The former house stood at an angle to the street and would probably have been visible to anyone walking towards it from the Woolley Road end of Malpas Road. When the present house was extended in 2004-2005 some alterations to the garden in front were made and, during these, what appeared to be remains of buildings were found.

From the maps mentioned before, it is evident that the old house was part of the little group of buildings which developed around the junction of what is now Dimple Road and Hurd's Hollow (the old road to Bakewell as mentioned earlier). In the Land Valuation schedule of about 1912, its address was the Dimple, but when the new house was built it was realigned and its access was to Malpas Road, although an old path from the Dimple to the former house remained open for a few years. The Tithe and OS maps show this path giving access from the Dimple to the South side of the former house, although not extending quite as far as the boundary of the fields where Malpas Road would be built. Later, it opened on to Malpas Road, providing a link to the Dimple. It was still possible to use this path within the memory of this writer (in the 1970s), but it has now disappeared.

The development of the Southern side of Malpas Road seems to have begun only in the 1930s, so until then the occupants of the houses along the other side of the road had an uninterrupted view across fields to the town centre and the hills across the valley. By the early 1930s the existing houses were numbered 1-13 not 2-26 as now (number 28 or 14 as it would have been then had not yet been built). Many also had names, still to be seen engraved on a number of front garden walls, although in other cases there is no sign of the former house names.

The first house on the South side was probably built by Mr E. H. Holmes in 1932 and then known as Timberscombe. It is now number 1 Malpas Road. By the end of 1934, another house called Bramshott had been built, but its history is difficult to disentangle. It may have been intended as one large house but was later divided, or always planned as two semi-detached houses. Whether the name Bramshott applied to the whole building or only to one of the two dwellings is also unclear. It now appears to be numbers 3 and 5 Malpas Road.

Sometime in the early 1960s, certainly by the end of 1964, the present numbering of the road, even numbers on the North, odd numbers on the South, had been adopted. Only 7 and 9 remained to be built. Number 7 was built by Mr George Espig, a writer (correspondent) for his firm in Germany, who before the 2nd World War had been

sent to England by his employers to improve his English and decided to stay. He was associated with Tor Hosiery, (he may have been the manager) whose buildings still stand South West of Malpas Road although no longer a factory. Number 7 was built by Mr Espig between October 1972 and October 1973.

Number 9 was the last to be completed, in 1984. The land on which it was built was conveyed by J.C. Wolley Dod to Tor Hosiery Mills Ltd in 1961 and then by Tor Hosiery to Courtaulds Ltd in 1971. Perhaps the history of the land on which number 7 was built had a similar history until 1971, but was then sold to Mr Espig rather than to Courtaulds. Ten years later, Courtaulds sold the land to William Walkerdine of Derby, builders, who were assembling a package of land South of Malpas Road which they proposed to develop as Rye Croft (the name of the field of which much of the land was part). The local authority objected to the name because there was another Rye Croft in the area which might cause problems with postal deliveries, so the development became, as it remains, Allen Hill. At first, what was to be 9 Malpas Road was plot 22 Rye Croft/Allen Hill, but when it was realised that access to it from the development would prove difficult, the site was temporarily left empty whilst the rest of Allen Hill was completed and then, in 1984, built as 9 Malpas Road.

The pause in building in Malpas Road after the initial development may reflect Matlock's economic downturn in the first half of the 20th century. The halting growth thereafter was part of the in-filling of Matlock Bank, which still had gaps between buildings into which more houses could be fitted even near the end of the 20th century (the Allen Hill development is a case in point). There is still a site beyond number 9 where, theoretically, another house could stand, but even if a house should ever occupy it, it is unlikely it would be number 11 Malpas Road. The entry to the land concerned is from Allen Hill and access to it from Malpas Road would be very restricted. It is, in any case, now a car park for the non-residential area to the West (formerly Tor Hosiery). To all intents and purposes, Malpas Road is now complete, with its 14 houses on the North side and just 5 on the South.

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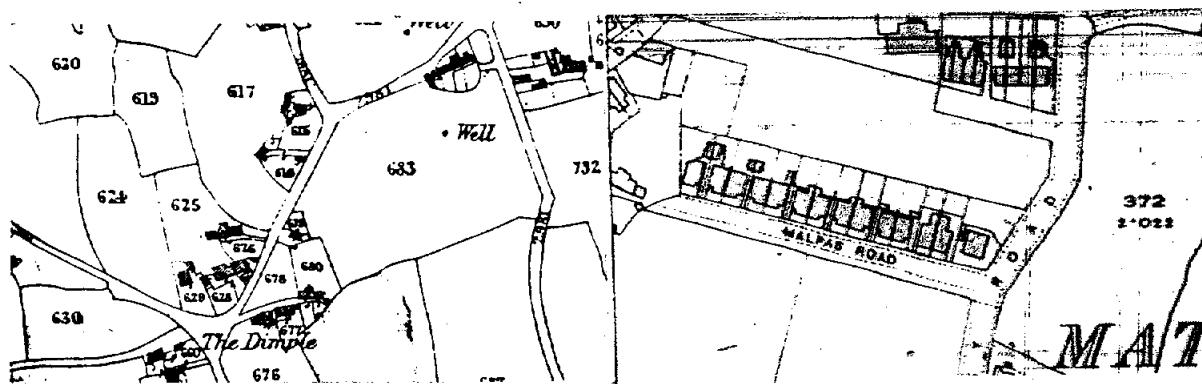
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Personal memories of residents relating to numbers 7, 9 and 28 Malpas Road.



The site of Malpas Road in 1848 (the southern boundary of parcel 683) and Malpas Road in 1919 with houses built only on the northern side.

THE DIARY OF JOSEPH HUTSBY PART 2: JANUARY-MAY 1844

(Continued from Vol 17, Part 2, Autumn 2004)

Joseph was a miner and preacher. His diaries cover the period 1843 to 1846 when he was a colliery official at Loscoe, probably at Loscoe Colliery close to the village centre. (Extracted from introduction to Part 1.)

Monday January 1st 1844

Turned at both pits, self in hard, at Colly till 2 o'clock.

Tuesday January 2nd

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 11 o'clock. Went to Kirkby bought an Ass off John Green. Gave £1 15s 0d.

Wednesday January 3rd

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 9. Went to Derby to fetch some money, the balance of Mill of Mr Thompson. Did not get it.

Thursday January 4th

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 2. Went again at night. Stopt all night, set 2 doors and dinted the Gate Road.

Friday January 5th

Turned at hard all day, ½ day at soft. Self at Colly till one.

Saturday January 6th

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 5. Paid the men as usual, which was.

Monday January 8th

Turned at both pits, self in hard. Found the wood failing, had some oak cut, went and put it in. Self there all night.

Tuesday January 9th

Turned at hard, laystill at soft. Self at Colly till 4.

Wednesday January 10th

Turned at both pits, self in both. Found sonme wood failing, had some oak cut and put in at night.

Thursday January 11th

Turned at both pits self went to Tapton, saw Samuel Parker, took tea with them.

Friday January 12th

Turned at both pits ½ day. The rope broke at hard, broke 3 trucks. Self in hard at the time.

Saturday January 13th

Turned at both pits, self in soft.

Monday January 15th

Turned at both pits, ½ day at hard, self in soft.

Tuesday January 16th

Laystill at hard, water up. Suppose that Edwin Gillat was asleep. Discharged. Turned alday at soft, self in soft. Started a Benk on the by. Improved the coals very much.

Wednesday January 17th

Turned at both pits. Fetched a load of ash from Glue Lane. The hard coal rope broke, dropt 4 trucks. Self in soft.

Thursday January 18th

Turned at both pits, self in hard.

Friday January 19th

Turned ½ day at each pit, self in hard. Went to Derby. Received of Mr S. Thompson £3 0s 0d.

Saturday January 20th

Turned ½ day at each pit. Self at Colly till 5. Paid the men as usual which was.

Monday January 22nd

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 4. Mr Whittingstall came to Nottingham.

Tuesday January 23rd

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 6. Mr Whittingstall and Mr C. Luin came today about 12. Did not enter into business at all today.

Wednesday January 24th

Turned at both pits ½ day. Mr Luin and George Goodwin looked the account over. Dissatisfied with all his accounts, wanted not pay him. Thought he charged too much. Left it to Mr Hoodhouse of Overseal. Mr Whittingstall gave Joseph Hickling and self a sovryn each.

Thursday January 25th

Turned at both pits ½ day, self and Mr Whittingstall walked on together to Mr Else's of Heanor Gate as he was on his way home. Said I must discharge John Abort and send my son to his place. Seemed very well satisfied with the colly and its connections. Mr Griffin said he would not like to rise my wages but he should make me a present of ten pounds at the year's end.

Friday January 26th

Turned at hard, laystill at soft. Halers stick out wanted rising to hale them on the end: did not raise them. Joseph Hickling gave the Goodwins a note that Mr wrote for the Dial, would not let it go.

Saturday January 27th

Turned at both pits ½ day. Self at colly till 8 at night, cleaning engine boiler. Men had one pound worth of ale given by Mr Whittingstall. Did not agree 2 bottles. Paid the men as usual.

Monday January 29th

Turned at ½ each pit. Self at Colly till 4. Mr H. Milward and John Wooley came and fetched 6 cwt of oil casks from the Colly at 9s per hundred. Self delivered them.

Tuesday January 30th

Laystill at both pits. Firey.

Wednesday January 31st

Laystill at both pits. Could not gange, snowed hard.

Thursday February 1st

Turned at hard ½ day. Alday at soft. Self in soft.

Friday February 2nd

Laystill at both pits, snow on the ground. Could not gange. Self went to Derby to meet Mr Griffin. The vans did not go, had been at Leicester.

Saturday February 3rd

Turned at ½ day soft. Laystill at hard. Self at Colly till 2. Paid the men as usual which was £21 5s 6d.

Monday February 5th

Turned at hard ½ day. Alday at soft. Self at Colly till 5 in soft.

Tuesday February 6th

Laystill at hard, turned ½ day at soft. Self in soft. Mr Griffin ordered a new rope for hard of spyvey and copper, 70 yards long and 5 inch wide. Moses Fullard came to borrow a Chirnsdrile and a scraper – self lent him one of each. Self bought 8 pound of Garland nails 2½d per pound, 1s 8d.

Wednesday February 7th

Turned at both pits ½ day. Self at Colly till 2.

Thursday February 8th

Laystill at hard, turned at soft ½ day. Self in soft, at Colly till 2.

Friday February 9th

turned at each pit ½ day, self in soft.

Saturday February 10th

Laystill in hard, turned soft ½ day. Paid the men as usual.

Monday February 12th

Turned at both pits, ½ day. Self in soft till 6 at night. Set the New end gat out.

Tuesday February 13th

Turned at each pit ½ day, self in soft.

Wednesday February 14th

turned dirt at hard. Riping gate to put the horse up. Turned at soft, ½ day at soft.

Thursday February 15th

Turned ½ day at hard, alday at soft. Self in soft till 2.

Friday February 16th

Turned at both pits ½ day. Self in soft till 8. Went to Crumford and Crich and Stephenson's works to inquire the price of Limestone, found

Whitecrofts' Stone 1s per ton

Stephenson's 1s 6d per ton

Bournor's 1s 6d per ton

Saturday February 17th

Laystill at hard, turned at soft ½ day. Self at Colly till 4. Paid the men as usual.

Monday February 19th

Turned at hard, at soft alday. self at Colly till 3. Paid my club.

Tuesday February 20th

Turned at soft day ½. Self at Colly till 12. Went to Millhay. Looked the New Whimsey over. Had some talk with Wardle. Ask me to go look at them when down.

Wednesday February 21st

Laystill at hard, turned alday at soft. Self in soft till 6.

Thursday February 22nd

Turned at hard ½ day. Allday at soft. Self at Colly till 6 ½. In soft till 6.

Friday February 23rd

Turned at each pit ½ day. Self at Colly till 6. Had some talk with Mr Griffin about conducting the shafts. Said he should buy iron rods at prime cost.

Saturday February 24th

Laystill at hard, turned at soft alday. Self at Colly till 4. Paid the men as usual. Thomas Strut came today, wanted the boating, said he would lever the stone on the wharf at 2s 9d per ton if Mr Griffin would let him have the Boating without paying rent for it.

Monday February 26th

Turned at hard ½ day. Allday in soft. Self in soft.

Tuesday February 27th

turned alday at soft, 6 waggons at hard. The engin boiler bursted, turned the horses up. Started the engin at II o'clock at night.

Wednesday February 28th

Laystill at hard, turned alday at soft. Self in soft.

Thursday February 29th

Laystill at both pits in consequence of a boy falling in the soft coal pit, namely Samuel Weston aged 14 years from Taffhill. Mist his foot hould in trying to get a chain to go down in the morning. The inquest was held at William Row's at the Nag's Head in Taghill today. Brought in accidental. Self on jury for the first time. Mr Wetsone the Crowner of Derby.

Friday March 1st

Turned at soft alday, at hard today. Self went to wharfe to get the boat scooped and ready for Thomas Strut to take her away today at 4 o'clock. He agreed with Mr Griffin to lever the limestone on the wharfe at 2s 9d per ton. Self brought the boat lines 3, sturn strap scoops 2, nose tin one, windliss 2, cloth 2, Hay net 1, and 1 1 belonged to John hutsby, and one windless bought when with the boat.

Saturday March 2nd

Turned at soft alday, ½ day at hard. Self paid the men as usual.

Sunday March 3rd

Self and John went to Samuel Weston funeral.

Monday March 4th

Turned alday at soft, ½ day at hard. John Brown and Lad got lamed today, got under an empty truck. Mr Edward Fletcher from Pye Bridge came and took William Dakin for leaving his work without notice. Left 2 picks. Self put them in the cabin.

Tuesday March 5th

Turned at soft alday, ½ day at hard. Self at Colly till one. Tooke 2 horses and cart to Langley Mill and Brought a new flat rope from Derry's Wharfe. Paid one shilling houseage.

Wednesday March 6th

Laystill at hard, turned at soft alday. Put a new rope on at hard coal 156 cwt. Self gave 2s 6d in all its length was 170 yards.

Thursday March 7th

Turned at soft alday, at hard ½ day.

Friday March 8th

Turned at soft alday. At hard ½ day. Self at Colly till 4.

Saturday March 9th

Turned at soft alday, at hard ½ day. Self in soft till 11. Paid the men as usual. At Colly till 7 at night.

Monday March 11th

Turned at soft all day, at hard ½ day. Self in hard at Colly till 4.

Tuesday March 12th

Turned at hard ½ day, and at soft all day. Self in hard at Colly till 4.

Wednesday March 13th

Turned at hard ½ day, at soft alday. Self in hard till one, at Colly till 4.

Thursday March 14th

Turned at hard ½ day, at soft alday. Self in soft at Colly till 4.

Friday March 15th

Laystill at soft, turned ½ day at hard. Self at Colly till one. Received a circular from Birmingham Cort of Bankruptcy to say that I might receive 2d in the pound out of the estate of Goodwin and Griffin when Mr Griffin said I should be paid eather direct or in direct.

Saturday March 16th

Turned at both pits ½ day. Self at Colly till 6. Union very powerful.

Monday March 18th

Laystill at hard, turned at soft alday. Self at Colly till one. It is said that about 2 thousand colliers past through Loscoe going Ilkiston Union 4 Bands meet.

Tuesday March 19th

Turned at hard ½ day, at soft alday. Self at Colly till 2.

Wednesday March 20th

Turned at hard ½ day, alday at soft. Self in hard till one.

Thursday March 21st

Turned at soft alday. Laystill at hard. Self in soft at Colly till 3.

Friday March 22nd

Laystill at soft, turned hard ½ day.

Saturday March 23rd

Turned at each. Self paid the men as usual.

Monday March 25th

Turned ½ day at hard. Laystill at soft. The halers whanted not work. Self went to Mr Radford of Smalley. Ten of them meet me there. Mr Radford whanted have committed them. Self begged them off and the men promised to work their notice out like men. Self lent them 5s to spend.

Tuesday March 26th

Turned at soft alday, at hard ½ day. Self at Colly till 3.

Wednesday March 27th

Turned at soft alday, at hard ½ day. Self at Colly till 4.

Thursday March 28th

Turned at soft alday, at hard ½ day. Self at Colly till 3.

Friday March 29th

Turned at hard ½ day. Laystill at soft. Halers lay out. Self went to Alfreton to see Mr Glossop. Gave him that letter that I received from Birmingham to get the Devend out of Goodwin and Griffin Bankruptcy. Walked, very tired.

Saturday March 30th

Shaft came in at hard. Paid the men as usual. Gave the hard coal men a quart of ale for working every day. Put a corb in.

Monday April 1st

Turned alday at soft, at hard ½ day. Self and Mr Griffin went to Stanton to look at the iron conducter working.

Tuesday April 2nd

Turned alday at soft, at hard ½ day. Self in both pits at Colly till 5.

Wednesday April 3rd

Turned at soft all day, at hard ½ day. Self at Colly till 3.

Thursday April 4th

Turned at soft alday, at hard ½ day. Self at Colly till 5. Gave the men a quart of ale apiece today for working the soft coal. Halers gave me a statement of the prizes they wanted, that is: At soft coal pit we want 4s for 3 stints, And one yard reckoning 2 yards 1 inch to each stint. For any odd work we ask 3s for 6 hours. For corfing 3s 6d per day, reckoning 12 hours to the day. The boys' work to be advanced accordingly. The above is the union statement, and we work no more and we take no less.

Friday April 5th

Laystill at both pits. Self went to Clay Cross when a large meeting of the union was held on Selston Common, about 7000 people. The hard coal halers gave me a statement of the prizes they wanted that is: "This is to certify that we the undersigned workmen of the Hard Coal Delph Loscoe in the County of Derby in the employ of Whittingstall Esq., has come to this determination with respect to our wages, that the halers wants 18d for two yards and a rod to measure with. And if any goes out to odd work they expect 3s for 6 hours. And if a haler is called out to carfe he shall expect to have 2s a day, and 3s 6d for a whole day. Exclusive of the above they will want 1s 8d per yard for the nether end, cutting and packing, likewise for the upper end cutting and packing, the wooding Ockly packing and the Hammering and the loading and all the carf accordingly to the above statement.

Saturday April 6th

Laystill at soft, men sticking out. Turned at hard ½ day on one side. Self paid the men as usual. Gave all the men a quart of ale that worked that day.

Monday April 8th

Laystill at hard, men stupid. Turned at soft alday. Whimsey broke today, hindered one hour. Fired the first kiln of lime today.

Tuesday April 9th

Turned ½ day at hard. Self at Colly till 5. News came to Loscoe that Shipley men was gone to work, declined the union. Also Sidney Moss came and said that the Watnall colliers had withdrawn from the union and gone to work.

Wednesday April 10th

Turned alday at soft, ½ day at hard. Self at Colly till 6. Put a new road on Bottom Lift Arazontal. Joseph Hicking at Leicester. Mr Griffin at Barnston.

Thursday April 11th

Turned ½ day at hard, alday at soft. Self went to Millhay saw Moses Pullard who said they was out and the Master whould not rise wages.

Friday April 12th

Turned at hard ½ day. Laystill at soft. The men in the union struck, wanted their wages raised all atlibberty. Self paid them and discharged Joseph Pickard, Joseph Wilkiston and George Nighton. Not to be employed again on our colly.

Saturday April 13th

Laystill at hard, turned slack at soft for engine. Men still out at both pits. Self paid the remainder of the men.

Monday April 15th

Laystill at hard, turned slack at soft. Men still out. Self sent for the overlookers they signed the Declaration not to be in the union. Would not let the men work without signing the Declaration.

Tuesday April 16th

Laystill at both pits. Men still out. Neal Fullard, John Allen and John Hutsby in hard coal haling.

Wednesday April 17th

Laystill at both pits. Haling in hard.

Thursday April 18th

Turned on one side at hard – 5 waggons. Laystill at soft. Men still out.

Friday April 19th

Turned at hard. 6 waggons. Laystill at soft.

Saturday April 20th

Laystill at both pits. Haling in hard. Self bought a Nauper off Thomas Hasaldine. Gave 3s for it.

Monday April 22nd

Laystill at both pits, haling in hard.

Tuesday April 23rd

Laystill in both pits, haling in hard.

Wednesday April 24th

Turned at hard, 6 waggons. Laystill at soft.

Thursday April 25th

Turned at hard, 8 waggons. Laystill at soft.

Friday April 26th

Laystill at hard. We turned slack at soft.

Saturday April 27th

Laystill at hard, turned slack at soft. Men still out.

Monday April 29th

turned slack at soft. Laystill at hard, haling. J. Slater and Neal Fullard haled 7 stints each in 5 hours. This morning self took the over lenth and had a rod made of iron one yard and half an inch long so that the stints must be 2 yards and one inch each.

Tuesday April 30th

Laystill at both pits. Self and John haled 9 stints.

Wednesday May 1st

Turned at hard, 25 ton.

Thursday May 2nd

Laystill at each pit. Self went to a meeting of the union at Swanwick when Duro T. Clark and Mycroft spoak, very rubishey. Self heard a man say he whanted knock the coals on a blacklegg and kill him if it was possible: did not know the man. Mr Griffin went to Belton, Leicestershire, and a large meeting of the miners' union was held there.

Friday May 3rd

Turned at hard, 8 waggons. Self in hard till 6. Sidney Moss went to Claycross, came back, sent Marther to say that if we intended to see Sarah alive we must go tonight. John and Mother went at quarter to 8.

Saturday May 4th

Laystill at both pits, self at hard till 3. Paid the men as usual, then three men came to sign our Declaration and go

to work, which was William Harvey, Mapple, William Dakin, Mapple, John Martin, Shipley, Aaron Slater, Heanor.

Monday May 6th

Turned at hard alday. Laystill at soft. Five more men came to sign William Hutsby, Joseph Oldknby, Thomas Bradshaw, Eli Fletcher, Denby, Samuel Fletcher, Joseph Paufray.

Tuesday May 7th

Turned at hard alday. Self in hard when John Inger, William Fletcher, Thomas Brown, Loscoe, came and signed the Declaration; after that by self Elias Brown, Denby, Robert Saxton, Mapperley, John Willcockson, Brinsley, William Leavers and Thomas Leavers, Heanor, Isaac and Samuel Fletcher, Heanor, Joseph and Henry Fletcher, Langley, Thomas Lilley, Langley, James Davies, Tayghill. Joseph Pickard and William Beresford came, and self refused them.

Wednesday May 8th

Laystill at hard, turned soft ½ day. Self allowed Oliver Wardle to sign. Self received a letter from Claycross to that Sarah Buckley was very ill and wanted to see me. I went, found her alive and that was all; very happy and praised the Lord very much.

Thursday May 9th

Turned at each pit, self in both. Allowed Isaac Rigley of Millhay sign and come to the soft coal, also Fletcher Allen of Heanor to soft and Isiah Rigley to hard. Also self received a note from Job Whysall to say that I might employ Bengiman Stirland and his boy. Heard nothing from Claycross today. Stoneyford engin boiler left its seat and rose in the air and ript in three pieces about the height of 6 feet and took the side of the engin down, and also the engin chimney off at about that height. Cut off the flues level with the fire bars, scatering the bricks in all directions. No body hurt.

Friday May 10th

turned at each pit. Self at Colly till 3.

Saturday May 11th

Turned at each pit ½ day. Self paid the men as usual. My wife came from Claycross tonight at 11 o'clock: sister better a little.

Monday May 13th

Turned at each pit, self in soft. At Colly till 4.

Tuesday May 14th

Turned ½ day at each pit, self in hard. My wife went to Claycross this morning, Joseph Thorpe went to Swanwick with her with horse and cart.

Wednesday May 15th

Turned ½ day at each pit, self in hard: at Colly till 3.

Thursday May 16th

Turned at both pits alday. Self in hard, at Colly till 4.

Friday May 17th

Turned at both pits, ½ day at hard; alday at soft. Self in hard.

Saturday May 18th

Turned at both pits ½ day. Self repaired the hard coal shaft. Self paid the men as usual. Joseph Aldred and Company board for coal in Mr Tapler's property in a close called Homé Close. The coal was got. Started to boar in another part of the same close.

Monday May 20th

Turned alday at both pits. Self went to Claycross, found Sarah no Better. My wife came home with me and brought the child with her.

Tuesday May 21st

Turned at soft alday. Fall at the bottom of hard. Self bought oak off Mr J. Woodley, put it in.

Wednesday May 22nd

Turned at soft. Neal Fullard came to let me know that the engin boiler was busted at twelve o'clock. Self ordered him to go and get the horses up. Repeared it and started it at 11 o'clock.

Thursday May 23rd

Turned at both pits. Self in hard.

Friday May 24th

Turned at both pits. Self at Colly till 6.

Saturday May 25th

Turned at hard alday, at soft ½ day. Self Wife and John went and looked the late Joseph Fletcher's house over. Paid the men as usual.

Monday May 27th

Turned ½ day at hard. Laystill soft. Self went to my club. Saw Mr Millward of Loscoe. He wanted me to take that house at the Tarn Close, said he would summer me a cow. Self told him I would take it if he would let me that close that the house stands in, and the orchard. Left it for future consideration.

Tuesday May 28th

Laystill at both pits. Self at Colly till 10.

Wednesday May 29th

Turned at soft alday, at hard ½ day. Self at Colly till 3.

Thursday May 30th

Turned at hard alday. Laystill at soft. Self at Colly till 4.

Friday May 31st

Turned at hard alday. Laystill at soft. Self, wife and John went to Derby fair. Self took the Dial to Mr Davies to be repaired. Self received a letter from A. Buckley to say that Sarah his wife died last night at 10 minutes past ten, with directions for the funeral. That is 29th of May, when she departed.

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