

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



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Front Cover: A map by Michael Drayton published in *Polyolbion or Chorographical Description of all the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forests and other Parts of the Renowned Isle of Great Britain*, 1612, enlarged in 1622. Engraver: William Hole.



Fig 1. Arms of the Worshipful Company of Framework Knitters as granted in 1933.

The frame is shown without the woodwork, William Lee as a clergyman in Cambridge academic costume of the 17th century and his wife is still hand knitting.

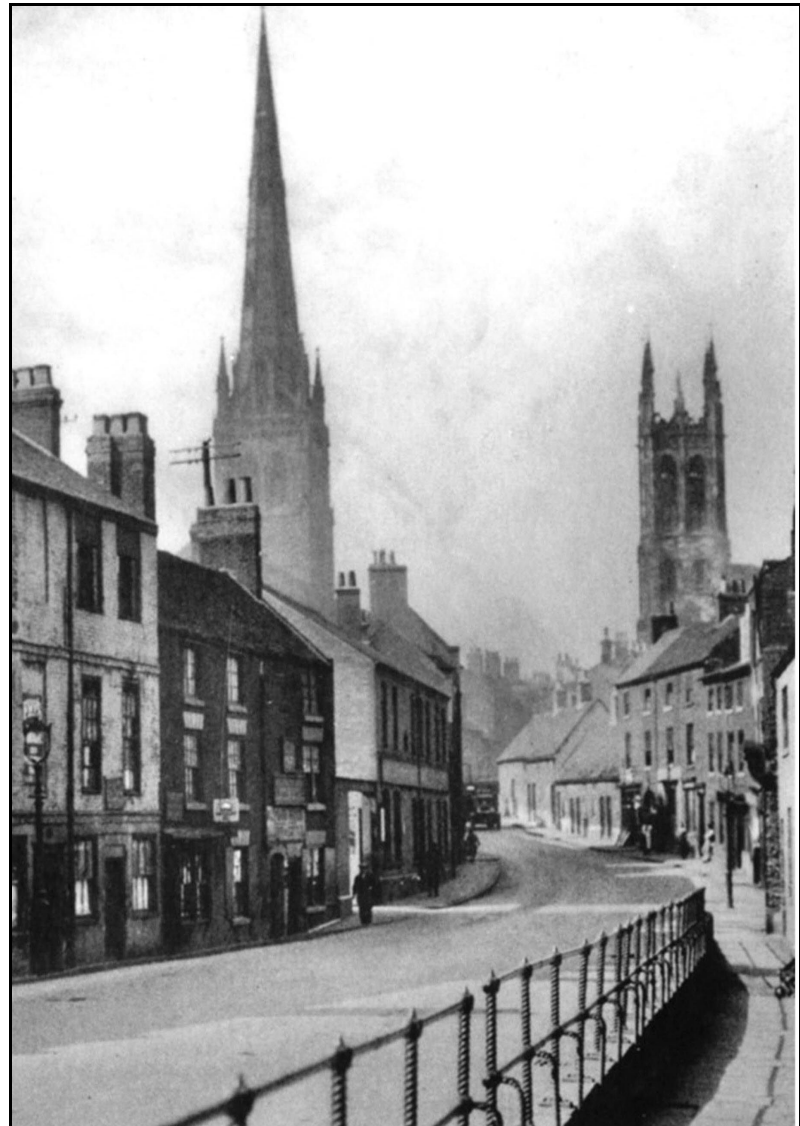
With the original motto '*Speed, Strength and Truth United*'.

A portrait, now lost, of William Lee was once displayed in the Stocking Frameworkers Guildhall in London.

(The Worshipful Company of Framework Knitters.)

Fig 2. Bridge Gate, Derby

Photographed in the 1930s by Margaret Goodey showing the spire of the 'new' St Alkmund's church of 1846 and a variety of by then decaying properties on one of Derby's oldest thoroughfares. The only structure remaining is St Mary's church.



‘AS POOR AS A STOCKINGER’ FRAMEWORK KNITTING IN DERBY 1705–1855

(by Alan Cockayne, alancockayneashbourne@gmail.com)

An article by Joan D’Arcy on framework knitting in the 2017 edition of the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*¹ inspired me to look up my family’s connections with stocking frames and the following is a brief account of their involvement set against the wider trade developments over a period of 150 years.

Following the death of his father, probably a Derby wool merchant, in 1705, 14 year old John Cockayne was apprenticed, on 2 April 1706, ‘*in the new trade*’ to Daniel Oldfield, Citizen of London and Framework Knitter, for a period of seven years.² Just four years into his apprenticeship in 1710, the first major dispute in the framework-knitting trade began in London between the masters and the journeymen and apprentices. The dispute, the first of many, started when a ‘*master*’ called Nicholson was found to have taken on more apprentices than custom allowed - believed to be 39.³ Fear that this would lead to an oversupply of labour and lower wages resulted in a dispute with the Knitters Guild and then to a riot in which over 100 frames were broken and ultimately resulted in Parliament passing the first laws specifically against ‘*frame breaking*’.⁴

Before the time of Queen Elizabeth I, stockings were usually knitted by hand from very coarse woollen thread or cut out of linen and then seamed from toe to welt; whilst warm, they were not very sightly as they did not mould themselves to the shape of the wearer. It was during her reign, in 1563, that William Lee was born in Woodborough Nottinghamshire. He attended Christ’s College, Cambridge and later graduated from St. Johns College⁵ where he had obtained a BA before taking clerical orders and returning to Nottinghamshire, taking up the post of Curate in the small village of Calverton. It was during his time there that he is said to have fallen in love with a young lady of the village, who failed to reciprocate his affections; when he visited her, she was accustomed to ‘*pay much more attention to the process of knitting stockings than to the addresses of her admirer*’.⁶ Whether from inspiration or frustration is not recorded but, for the next three years, he devoted himself to the prosecution of the invention, sacrificing everything to his new idea until, in 1589, the first ‘*machine*’ was completed.

Power & Politics

Lee took his invention to London and demonstrated the operation of the device to Queen Elizabeth, hoping to obtain a patent, but she refused, probably fearing the effects on the extensive hand-knitting trade that had developed in England during the fifteenth century when the woollen industry was expanding rapidly.⁷ Hand-knitted worsted stockings were worn by men, women, and children. It was estimated that by the year 1600 there were 200,000 pairs of hands knitting in the British Isles.⁸

The original frame had eight needles to the inch, which produced a very coarse fabric. Lee later improved the mechanism with 16 and then 20 needles to the inch⁹ and, by 1598, he was able to knit stockings from silk as well as wool. The wealthy had begun to purchase hand-knitted silk stockings, at first from Spain and Italy, but later from English suppliers. These were often elaborately embroidered, particularly in the section above the ankle. It is said that when Queen Elizabeth was presented with a pair of hand-knitted black silk stockings, supposedly made by ‘*Mistress Montague, her silk-woman*’, she resolved ‘*never to wear any other hose again*’.¹⁰ Despite Lee labouring for two years, from 1596 to 1598, at his ‘*machines*’ in Bunhill Fields, north of London, to produce a pair of silk hose that would be ‘*fit for a Queen*’,¹¹ she still refused him a patent, probably being advised that his invention could result in political and social unrest.

Changes in fashion created an increased demand for knitted hose. The long robes worn by men were beginning to be replaced by doublets and short breeches and the legs and the hose which covered them, therefore, were now on display. On 6 June 1600, Lee entered into a partnership agreement with a prominent and well-connected courtier, George Brooke, in the hope of securing a patent from the new King James - a man who was always keen to indulge in money-making ventures.¹² Unfortunately, however, Brooke (a Catholic) became involved in a complex plot to seize the King; he was subsequently arrested on a charge of treason and executed in 1603.¹³ William Lee was, again, disappointed.

The French Connection

Eventually, despairing of ever succeeding in England, Lee moved to France with his brother James, taking nine workmen and nine frames, where he found support from the Huguenot King Henry IV who granted him a patent. Lee began stocking manufacture in Rouen in Normandy and prospered until King Henry's assassination in 1610,¹⁴ after which his sponsor, the Duke of Sully, fell into disgrace. Lee had signed a contract to provide knitting machines for the manufacture of silk and wool stockings in France but the situation changed abruptly on the king's death and, despite moving to Paris to pursue his claims, the new regime would not honour his patent. This led to the collapse of his business and he died there in poverty in 1614.

It was 25 years since he had invented the stocking frame and, despite his persistence, success had eluded him. He would never know that, over 400 years later, his portrait would still appear next to his beloved machine and opposite the woman who started his quest, on the Coat of Arms of one of London's Livery Companies, '*The Worshipful Company of Framework Knitters*'¹⁵ (Fig. 1) and that the principle of operation that he had developed would still be in use worldwide to this day.

After Lee's death, his brother James returned to England with the workers and disposed of most of the frames in London before moving back to Nottinghamshire where one of Lee's original apprentices, John Aston,¹⁶ had continued development work on the frame and made a number of significant improvements so that a finer fabric could be produced. A business was eventually built up with the exiled Huguenot silk-spinners who had settled in Spitalfields, then just outside the city of London.

A Charter for Red Tape

The use of the frame spread only very slowly: there were fewer than 100 machines in use by the time of the Civil War. In June 1657, Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, granted the framework knitters their first charter, with the style '*The Master, Wardens, Assistants and Society of the Art or Mystery of Framework Knitters of the Kingdom of England*'. This, however, was restricted to silk and only applied to the London area¹⁷ although it was reconfirmed and its privileges extended by Charles II in August 1663. The new charter applied to all branches, not just silk, which were now required to register with the Company within three months of entering the trade if they lived within 20 miles of London or within six months if they lived beyond 20 miles. Failure to register incurred a fine of £5 for every week beyond that limit. Individuals could not enter the trade unless they had served a full seven-year apprenticeship with an authorised master. Masters were only allowed to take on a maximum of two apprentices at one time.¹⁸ Attempts were also made to control the quality of products and to keep out foreign competition by banning the export of frame-knitting machines. This led to some unrest as, whilst it protected the trade from further people entering the industry, it did not help hosiers looking to expand and find more workers. The Company was subsequently incorporated as a full '*Livery Company of the City of London*' on 9 June 1713.¹⁹

The burgeoning hosiery industry, therefore, became centred in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire, and the now time-served journeyman, John Cockayne, was back in Derby in time for his wedding at St. Alkmund's Church on 1 June 1718 to the 22 year old Mary Husse.²⁰ Working the stocking frame required considerable physical effort and was normally operated by a man; good light and keen eye-sight were also needed as the machine required frequent adjustments. It could only produce a flat piece of material, which was taken off the frame and seamed up to form a fully-fashioned stocking. Women typically did the seaming, usually the wife or daughters. Children or women wound the thread from hanks on to bobbins. Framework knitting, as it came to be called, was, therefore, an occupation in which all the family participated and one which could be carried out at home. It may have been a hard life but it seems to have been quite a healthy one: John went on to have 10 children and lived to the ripe old age of 84.²¹

Gilt Walls & Marble Halls

The movement of the knitting industry from London continued and, gradually complaints built up from members who resented the increasing expenditure on ceremonial items, including gold-livered servants, a state coach for the master, and a gilded barge, whilst some members increasingly struggled to make a living. The payment of fees to register apprentices became another issue of conflict. In 1728, the Nottingham magistrates refused to accept the Company's authority and provincial hosiers began to boycott the Company and ignore the apprenticeship control system, resulting in an increasing number of master hosiers moving to the Midlands to escape the Company's fees and tight control.²² A parliamentary committee of enquiry would eventually report to the House on 13 April 1753 that:

'the byelaws of the company of stocking makers are injurious and vexatious to the manufacturers and tend to the discouragement of industry and to the decay of said manufacturers... many of the byelaws are illegal... the powers granted are hurtful to the trade and tend to a monopoly. by carrying on vexatious prosecutions against any persons for exercising the art and mystery of framework knitting is hurtful to the manufacture and destructive to the trade of the Kingdom.'

The result was the eventual loss of control over the industry. Despite later attempts to enforce regulations and collect fines, the Company would never attain the control it sought and would eventually be obliged to sell off its London assets and content itself with a supporting social role by investing in alms houses in Leicestershire.²³

By 1782 nearly 90 per cent of the 20,000 stocking frames in use in Great Britain were located in the East Midlands. This percentage remained very much the same throughout the nineteenth century, although the number of machines increased as speculators started renting frames and then renting houses and workshops complete with frames. The population and prosperity of the country had been steadily increasing since the early sixteenth century, so there was a growing demand from the *'middling classes'* for fashioned hose made out of wool and later cotton, rather than silk. The frame was adapted to utilise a range of yarns being spun in the East Midlands: generally, Nottinghamshire specialised in cotton goods and later lace; Derbyshire in silk and then cotton; and Leicestershire in worsted.²⁴

A Family Affair

John Cockayne must have passed on his acquired skills because at least two of his sons, Nathaniel, born in Derby in 1722 and Samuel, born in 1724, spent their lives in the industry. By 1740 numerous framework knitting centres had been established across South East Derbyshire.²⁵ Nathaniel advertised in the *Derby Mercury* in October 1750 that he was *'taking on apprentices for framework knitting'* and at least two of his three sons and one of Samuel's would also follow him into the trade. One of John's grandchildren, Caleb, born in 1769, lived his whole life at 16 Nottingham Road where he was listed in *Glovers Directory* of 1842 as a *'Hosier and Dealer in British Lace'* and another, also called John, was making bearded needles for the frame-knitting machines in 1835.²⁶ Most of the family seemed to have lived in the Bridge Gate area of St Alkmund's parish (Fig. 2) and many of their lives seem to have centred on the Church: numerous births, deaths, and marriages are recorded there and, in the case of Samuel, his marriage licence confirms his occupation as *'Stockinger'* when he wed Dinah Wallis in 1746. He went on to have at least 11 children and was for many years, until his death in 1781, the well-respected Parish Clerk of St. Alkmund's.²⁶ The tradition of service to the church continued with Caleb who was a bell ringer there for over 60 years.²⁷

Developments & Diversions

During the eighteenth century, numerous adaptations were made to the stocking frame to increase its versatility. Lee's machine could knit only in stocking stitch, plain on the outside and purl on the inside, although machine-made stockings were often embroidered by hand afterwards. A ribbed fabric looked more decorative and had greater elasticity than plain stocking stitch. Frame knitters often laboriously reversed every other stitch by hand to achieve this effect so the patent in 1759 by Jedidiah Strutt of what became known as the *'Derby Rib'* was a major development for the industry.²⁸ To achieve this, an iron frame was attached to the front of an ordinary stocking frame that contained vertical bearded needles, operated in the same way as the horizontal ones, but which entered between them to reverse every other stitch and so create a ribbed fabric. The attachment was often used to knit a ribbed welt for the top of the stocking. The stockings it produced quickly became popular; cotton was cheaper than silk and more comfortable than wool and demand soon far exceeded supply.

By about 1785, with the demand for cotton stockings still rising, the frame was again adapted but it had become too expensive for individuals to buy; wealthy investors now bought the machines and hired them out to the knitters, frequently providing the materials and buying the finished product. Typically, frames were located in the framework knitters' own homes and later in purpose-built houses or attached workshops, built and rented out by the *'masters'*. Frame-smiths built and repaired frames and some also rented out their machines. In the countryside, yarn was distributed to the knitters by *'petty'* or *'bag'* hosiers who sent the finished items to merchants' warehouses in the big towns. Some bag hosiers owned frames as well. Wages varied widely according to the type of goods made, the season, and changes in fashion. Knitters often struggled to make ends meet as they had to pay for frame-rent, candles, coals, needles, and other *'shop costs'* out of their own wages.

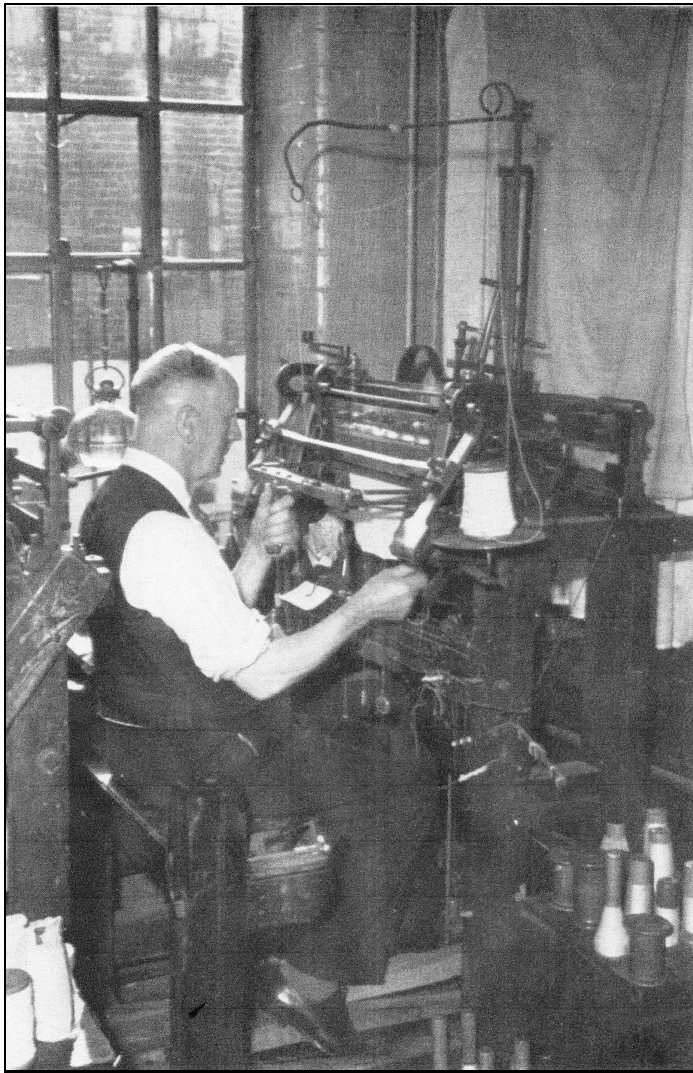


Fig 3. Derby's last working stocking frames?

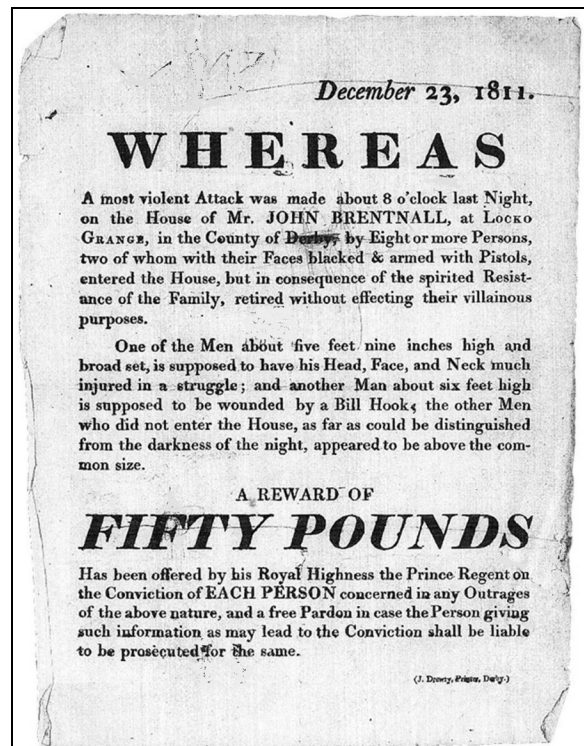
Pictured in the 1930s (from waistcoat, shirt and shoes) at F. Longden & Co's textile mills in Agard Street, Derby. The ability to produce bespoke surgical stockings probably meant that the machines continued in use after they would otherwise have been redundant.

The business was established at 32 Friargate, Derby before 1835 by Robert Longden. The photograph (in their possession in the 1950s) by R.F.M Wright appeared in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol 21, 1951, in an article by Clare W. Higgins, 'The Framework Knitters of Derbyshire', pp106-114.

Longden's mill was demolished in the 1980s and their archives (1885-1985) lodged with Nottingham University Library, Dept. of Manuscripts and Special Collections, Ref B1.D.

Fig 4. Reward Notice printed following the attack on Locko Grange and offering £50 for the conviction of 'each person' concerned with 'the Outrage' - and a free pardon for the informer!

(Cockayne Family Archives, private collection.)



These frame-rents were a constant grievance because they usually had to be paid even if no work was available. Sometimes, the knitters were paid in tokens for goods instead of money, known as the '*truck system*'.²⁹ The invention of a thread carrier at the end of the eighteenth century saved the knitter laying the thread across the needles by hand and, like '*Kay's Flying Shuttle*' on the weaving loom, enabled wider pieces of fabric to be produced. However, it was also possible to cut stockings from this fabric and seam them up the back, thus producing several stockings from one piece of knitting without the need to adjust the frame for the narrowing and widening necessary to fashion hose. These '*cut-ups*', as they were known, created great hostility among the knitters of fully-fashioned hose. Other frames were built to produce several stockings at once, known as '*three-at-once*' or '*four-at-once*' frames.³⁰

Masters & Men

Many families endured great poverty and the saying "*as poor as a stockinger*" became a common expression (Fig. 3 shows a stockinger at work). This financial distress led to civil unrest and, in 1779, angry framework knitters smashed 300 stocking frames and torched a house in Nottingham when Parliament refused to set a fair wage for their work. With a change in fashion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a decline in the framework-knitters' staple: '*fancy work*'. The smaller frames could only produce limited quantities of quality goods at a time, whereas the new, larger frames could produce wider lengths of material. The use of '*cut ups*' also continued to be a major grievance for the knitters, who saw the introduction of these larger machines as a threat to their skills, a reduction of standards, and the loss of traditional crafts.³¹

By the 1770s, Nathaniel's son, Edward Cockayne, was the third generation of the family to enter the trade. He married Anne Shepherd on 23 December 1771 at St. Alkmund's Church and lived and worked in Bridge Gate as a '*Framesmith*', one of four working in Derby around this time.³² However, the prosperity and opportunity that had been afforded by '*the new trade*' to his grandfather a hundred years earlier was now starting to be threatened in several ways.

By about 1800, the stocking frame had been developed to the limits of its versatility, being able to knit various types of fabric that could be made into a variety of garments. The stocking frame was the most complex machine in industrial use at the time, comprising up to 3,500 individual parts, requiring 50 days to manufacture and around 12 to assemble.³³ The way forward lay with the application of power, mass production, and the factory system, as in the spinning and weaving industries; however, the manufacture of knitted goods would be the last branch of the textile industry to hold out against industrialisation.

Derbyshire had led the route to mechanisation with George Sorocold's water-driven '*engine*' providing power for John Lombe at Derby. It also led the opposition, with the Mayor of Derby, Aldermen, and leading citizens of the town objecting as early as 1721 with a Petition to Parliament on 26 February that year against Lombe's invention:

*'... as it will not only be detrimental to the woollen industry but to the Borough as it would increase the poor rates and introduce the curse of pauperage – by this large factory employing children at nominal wages and filling the Borough with indigent person as paupers.'*³⁴

It was, however, unsuccessful and Richard Arkwright's development of the mills at Cromford and Strutt's at Belper and Milford would draw in ever more workers to the regulated and disciplined factory system that was the birth of the industrial revolution and the future direction of manufacturing.

The other major concern was inflation, which saw rising prices for food and falling wages for workers; a stone of flour in 1792 cost 1s.10d (9p) but, by 1800, it cost between 6s and 7s; (30p-35p); mutton per lb. cost 4d (2p) in 1792 but had risen to 7d (3p) by 1800; and butter was 5d (2p) at the beginning of the period and 1s (5p) by 1800. The only commodity that stayed almost the same was ale per pint at 2d-3d (1.5p) whereas the price paid for making cotton stockings had reduced from 17s (85p) per dozen pairs in 1792 to 8s (40p) in 1829. That equates to just 4p (1.5p) for each stocking produced.³⁵

On 17 June 1801, Edward Cockayne held the first of what were to be a series of auction sales of his Stocking Frames - '*available to view at his shop in Bridge Gate Derby*'. Whether he had sensed the unrest in the industry, which had seen him donate to a soup kitchen in Derby earlier in the year and sign a petition to the Mayor for a new workhouse to be built, or whether this was just an opportunity to sell off some of the older, smaller, and now semi-redundant machines and invest in the new bigger ones, is not clear. Whatever the immediate cause, a sale

was held at the Fox and Owl Inn, Bridge Gate, Derby, at which the auctioneer, Mr Crayne, sold off 10 common-gauge silk frames on behalf of Edward Cockayne.³⁶ A further larger auction sale was to follow at the Talbot Inn on 3 September 1804 with many more machines offered, this time by a number of different masters; again, these were probably the older and less efficient machines on which it had become very difficult to make a living.³⁷

No Truck with Poverty

Clearly, there were signs of changing times and a general feeling of unease. As well as his philanthropic gestures, Edward had also donated funds to raise and maintain the '*Derby Volunteer Force*',³⁸ a militia in which his son Jesse would hold a commission as a Lieutenant and would be charged with maintaining order in the days before a police force. The frame-breaking troubles in Nottingham, following the passing of the 1799 Combination Acts that had made it illegal for men to '*combine*' together into organised unions, was giving rise to increased '*Luddite*' activity across the country.³⁹ The movement was a violent reaction against what was perceived as an unfair, unjust, and worsening situation. Despite the knitters having petitioned the government and a report being compiled by a Select Committee, no action - other than the issuing of food tokens - was taken, and the grievances of the knitters continued to grow.⁴⁰

In 1803, Jesse Cockayne, although trained by his father in the art of frame building, was now firmly a member of the local gentry and married Anne Brentnall of Locko Grange, Spondon. The marriage on 18 October at St. Alkmund's Church was not to be a happy one and, for reasons never disclosed, lasted just two weeks! The couple parted and allegedly never met or spoke again, the dowry of £2,000 was returned, and Anne went back to live at her family home where, on 30 June 1804, she gave birth to a daughter, Anne.⁴¹

By 1811, there were estimated to be over 25,000 frames in use in England, most of them in the three counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and trouble, which had been simmering for years, flared again. One of the chief grievances continued to be the '*truck system*' whereby, instead of being paid a cash wage, the frame worker had to obtain his food and other commodities through a shop owned by the hosier or middleman. In some instances, the products were of poor quality or sold at inflated prices.⁴² Cheap stockings known as '*cut-ups*' flooded the market, made increasingly on '*wide frames*', many of which had been previously used for making pantaloons which had now fallen out of fashion.

Wages again fell and, as a result, there were Luddite attacks on stocking frames across the country. Arrests were made, several Luddites were transported, and a government fearful of matters getting out of hand made frame-breaking a capital offence. A list of 60 hosiery firms, including that of '*Edward Cockayne of Derby*', appeared in the *Nottingham Journal* on 19 January 1811, pledging not to reduce prices further; another 44 firms gave the same undertaking just a week later.

The increase in the use of mechanised machinery in other areas of weaving meant that knitters could not stop redundant workers coming into the trade and, therefore, the price of labour was kept low.⁴³ The Guild of Framework Knitters in London had lost control of recruitment and entry in to the trade many years previously and, therefore, the trade continued to become overpopulated with low-paid workers who increasingly struggled to make a living. The use of the wider frame meant that more material could be produced by an individual, which further reduced rates and made many frames superfluous.⁴⁴ An added complication, around 1812, was the wars being fought in Europe and North America, which restricted overseas sales and reduced demand even further. Unrest was increasingly seen across the region, with outbreaks of violence and machine-breaking becoming a regular occurrence. With no police force, the local militia was called on to provide protection and Jesse Cockayne, as an officer in the Derby Volunteer force, made regular sorties and patrols across the county.⁴⁵

Riot & Insurrection

On Sunday 22 December 1811, at around 8.00pm, a gang of 10 Luddites, armed with guns, and at least two disguised with blackened faces, broke into John Brentnall's home, Locko Grange at Spondon. His son Joseph grabbed the barrel of a gun that was pointed at him but was hit with the butt; his father came to his aid with a bill hook and the serving maid '*pitched into the tussle*' and fought the intruders off with a broom! The stout resistance saw the raiders chased into the farmyard where more fighting took place; Joseph and his father retreated back inside the house and barred the door, before realising the maid was still outside. Joseph quickly went out and hauled her in. Fortunately, Jesse's estranged wife and daughter and Joseph's mother and other servants were safe upstairs but the gang went on to Ockbrook Mill where they terrorised the occupants who

again fought back, but this time the gang succeeded in stealing money and weapons.⁴⁶

An outraged Prince Regent subsequently offered a £50 reward for the conviction of the perpetrators and a free pardon for the informant (Fig. 4). It was not long before Percival Cooke, John England and James Tomlinson were apprehended and appeared at the Derby Lent Assizes. All three were framework knitters with families, Cooke from Nottingham, England from Derby, and Tomlinson from Leicester; however, Cooke had grown up in nearby Dale Abbey and clearly knew the Brentnall household. The verdict was inevitable and, at 12.30pm on Friday 10 April 1812, Tomlinson and Cooke⁴⁷ were hanged before a large crowd 'on the new drop' that had been erected for the occasion in front of Derby Gaol.⁴⁸

This trial, which was widely reported, and the subsequent executions may have had the effect of reducing the incidence of Luddite activity in the county but the problems persisted. Gravenor Henson of Nottingham formed the 'Union of Framework Knitters' in 1812, initially covering Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. By 1814, the Union was spreading across the Midlands, demanding minimum rates, calling strikes, and increasingly winning pay increases for members. This attempt at a peaceful resolution was thwarted when three leading members were prosecuted under the 1799 'Combination Acts' and sentenced to a month's hard labour: the union rapidly collapsed.⁴⁹ It would be 1824 before the 'Acts' were repealed.

The situation continued to deteriorate and, in 1817, Jeremiah Brandreth, a stocking maker, led the 'Pentrich Revolution', an ill-fated attempt to 'end poverty forever' with an uprising that was put down almost before it began and ended with the leaders suffering a similar fate to their Luddite predecessors with a number of executions in Derby.⁵⁰ By 1821, some 15,000 framework knitters were reported as unemployed across the three Midland counties.⁵¹

Pride & Practicality

Concerns about the possibility of unrest resurfaced and fresh appeals on behalf of the workers were made. In March 1821 the 'Trustees of the Framework-Knitters in the Plain Silk Hose Derby Branch Friendly Relief Society' presented, with great satisfaction, its list of subscribing members, which included over 200 of the towns' and counties' leading citizens, with subscriptions ranging from 5s (25p) to a guinea (£1.05p) for Edward Cockayne and to £25 for the Duke of Devonshire. That the Society was intent on maintaining the status quo can be gathered from the closing note to the report:

'The Trustees embrace this opportunity of disavowing any direct or indirect encouragement to workmen in adopting any disorderly measures for obtaining an advance of wages from their regular employer'.⁵²

In 1825, Edward Cockayne died a wealthy man, leaving his fortune, much of it in property, to his only surviving children, Jesse and Anne. Their home at 45 Bridge Gate was recorded as 'a commodious gentleman's residence with stables, coach house and large garden'.⁵³ The interior was also furnished in some style.⁵⁴ They were both listed under 'Gentry' in Pigot's 1835 *Directory of Derby* and had clearly moved away from the family 'trade'.⁵⁵

Edward's children retained an affection for nearby St. Alkmund's Church: and when the dilapidated building needed replacing, Jesse was instrumental in helping to raise substantial funds, working closely with local architect, H.I. Stevens, and even overseeing some of the work. The crypt of the old church contained many Cockayne burials and he paid out of his own pocket to have the stonework sealing the tomb put in place following partial demolition and, before the new building work commenced, remaining on site overnight with a watchman to see all was in order.⁵⁶

In 1840, his sister, Anne, died unmarried and, in accordance with a prior agreement, left her half of the family fortune to her brother; four years later, Jesse died suddenly of a heart attack. He had never remarried or officially separated and, whilst he had made numerous 'wills', including one which left just £100 to 'Anne, commonly called my wife', none proved legally binding.⁵⁷ By now, his wife, Anne, had also died and it was his unacknowledged 'daughter', now 'Mrs Hellaby' and living at Palmer Moor near Doveridge, who would inherit his fortune.⁵⁸ Within days of his death, her husband, Joseph Hellaby, had taken control of the estate, placing an advertisement in the *Derby Mercury* instructing all debts owed to Jesse Cockayne to be paid to him directly and all claims to be put in writing 'for consideration' by his solicitors.⁵⁹ A two-day auction sale at the house in Bridge Gate followed, on the 19 and 20 June 1844, of 'valuable oil paintings, fine tapestries, clocks and furniture'. Once emptied, the old house was advertised in the *Derby Mercury* as 'available to let'.⁶⁰ Jesse was

laid to rest in the family crypt at St. Alkmund's Church, although it would be another two years before the building would be fully completed.

Conclusions

Anne Hellaby died childless in 1865, two years after her husband, leaving her fortune to various distant members of the Hellaby family.⁶¹ So, 150 years after a small boy was packed off to London to 'learn a new trade', his great-great-granddaughter effectively brought the Cockayne family involvement with the stocking frame to an end.

Framework knitting was clearly new to the Derby area in 1700; it may have spread from Nottinghamshire and was certainly driven by developments in London, before it became centred in the East Midlands and thrived in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. After 1870 the change to steam powered machines in large factories combined with the development of circular knitting machines enabled the industry to increase production and accelerated the decline of the hand knitter.⁶² By 1890, 95% of hosiery production was coming from power operated machines, although a few stocking frames were probably still in use in Derby up to the late 1930s, the era of the 'stockinger' had finally passed.⁶³

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THE CORPORATION OF DERBY AND THE CHAMBERLAINS ACCOUNT BOOKS WITH BILLS AND RECEIPTS IN THE LATTER PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Introduction

When the Town Clerk of Derby, Mr Trevelyan Lee, was moving offices in 1904, a large number of brown paper parcels were discovered. On investigation they were found to contain documents belonging to the Town Council which had been saved from the fire at the Town Hall in 1841, including Account Books, Court Rolls, Fair Books, Court Books, etc. Most were unsorted and in a neglected and poor condition. Mr C.E.B. Bowles wrote an article in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* about this unexpected find and hoped that an expert could be employed to sort and arrange these documents and that something could be written about them in the near future. Mr I.H. Jeayes, Assistant Keeper at the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum offered to 'arrange the old documents and books in the Muniment Room at the Town Council's office and to prepare a rough calendar for 25 guineas plus 5 guineas to cover travel and expenses' in January 1904. This offer was accepted by the Council and his *Calendar of Records for the Borough of Derby* was published in June 1904.¹ The existing documents and books are now in Derby Local Studies Library and Dudley Fowkes compiled a catalogue of the records of the Derby Borough Council held by the Library in 1997.² Over 100 years after the documents were found, in 2011, the Derby Research Group began to transcribe two volumes of the Chamberlains Accounts Ledgers dated 1757-1794 and 1794-1833. The transcription of the first ledger has now been completed and this article is the first of several which will discuss aspects of Derby's history revealed by these records.

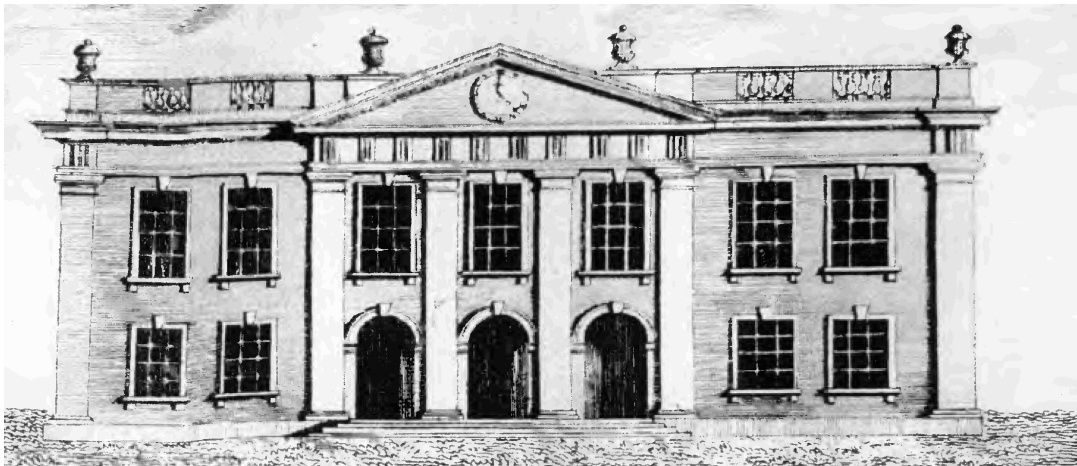


Fig 1. The North View of the Town Hall c1750.
(William Hutton, *The History of Derby*, 1817)

The Governance of the Corporation of Derby

The Corporation of Derby in the eighteenth century was set up under the terms of a Charter of Charles II dated 1682-83, for which the Corporation paid an annual rent to the Crown.³ The Charter allowed the Town to be governed by the Common Council, sometimes known as the Common Hall. The latter was also the place where regular council meetings were held.

The governing body consisted of a Mayor, chosen every year, nine Aldermen, fourteen Brethren or Brothers, and fourteen Capital Burgesses. These Burgesses were called Capital Burgesses to distinguish them from about 700 Common or Free Burgesses, mostly shopkeepers and tradesmen. These thirty eight people were the ruling body for the Town of Derby.⁴ Aldermen, Brethren and Capital Burgesses were chosen for life, unless removed by death, non-residence or bad behaviour.⁵ Four Aldermen were Justices of the Peace, of which the current and preceding Mayor were two. The duties of JP's included not only enforcement of law and order but conformity to

the established religion, regulation of trade, commerce and employment, maintenance of the poor and upkeep of roads and bridges.

The Mayor and Aldermen

The Charter allowed for the Mayor and Aldermen to wear robes '*at their pleasure*'. The Mayor might carry a '*white wand*' as a sign of authority and have a gold and silver mace, engraved with the town arms to be carried before him in processions.⁶ For example, at the annual Cheese Fair held on Nun's Green, the Mayor with the mace carried before him, the Recorder, the Town Clerk, the Aldermen and Councillors went in procession from the Market Place to declare the Fair open.⁷

Also, the Assizes were viewed as great events of social consequence by the people of Derby who were informed of the date and who was on trial by a printed Calendar of Prisoners and by word of mouth. The Judges and their entourage were met outside the town by a retinue of the town's most influential gentlemen which included the Sheriff, Javelin-men (who were Yeomen retained by the Sheriff to escort the Judge of Assize), the town's Mayor, Aldermen, Gentleman and Businessmen. They proceeded into the town past crowds of onlookers and went to All Saints for a church service to mark the opening of the Assizes.

Derby Mercury 21 March 1766

*Derby March 20 – Last Saturday in the Afternoon Edward Sacheverell Pole, Esq; our High Sheriff, set out from the King's-head, with a handsome Equipage, attended by a great Number of Gentlemen of this Town and neighbourhood, to meet the Hon. Sir Joseph Yates, who arrived here about Six in the Evening, and immediately after opened his Commission at the County Hall for holding the Assizes at this Place.*⁸

Derby Mercury 11-18 March 1774

*Derby March 17 – Monday last, Sir Henry Harpur, Bart. High Sheriff of this County, accompanied by a very numerous concourse of Gentlemen, Tradesmen, &c and attended by a great number of Javelin-men and Servants in handsome Liveries, set out from the George Inn, between Four and Five o'Clock in the Afternoon, to meet Sir William Blackstone, Knt one of the Judges of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, who arrived about Six to hold the Assizes here.*⁹

A new Mayor was chosen every year by a majority from the Aldermen and Capital Burgesses. The mayor-making ceremony took place on Michaelmas Day (29 September) in All Saints Church where a sermon was heard. Afterwards the new Mayor was proclaimed in the Market Place and all sat down to a dinner, probably at one of the local inns.¹⁰

Corporation Officials

The Lord High Steward was an appointment of honour, useful to the town, being a member of the aristocracy with connections to Court and a sort of representative in the House of Lords.¹¹

The Recorder was usually an eminent lawyer who was counsel for the Corporation. This post was more of an honour than a paid one. He was responsible for the legal customs of the local court and presided over the borough quarter sessions. The office of Recorder had to be approved by the King.

The Town Clerk and Steward

These two were appointed by the members of the Common Council and were paid positions. Their responsibilities included the day-to-day business of the Council. In addition the Town Clerk was also ex-officio Coroner and Clerk of the Peace.

The Town Cryer

The Town Cryer was appointed by the Common Council and had a duty to make proclamations on behalf of the Corporation. He also had to clean the Hall before meetings, provide wine on passing the Corporation Accounts, ring bells on special occasions and clean his pole-axe.¹²

1766
 Will'm Evans Esq Mayor
 Cryers Bill to the Corporation

<i>Making a Bonfire at the repeal of the Stamp Act, Stoop Hides and Assistants</i>	2s 6d
<i>4 Bottles of Wine</i>	8s 0d
<i>Making a Bonfire on the Kings Birth Day, Stoop Hides and Assistants</i>	2s 6d
<i>10 Bottles of Wine</i>	£1 0s 0d
<i>Ringing the Hall Bells on Mid Summer Day</i>	1s 0d
<i>Cleaning the Hall on Sundry Times</i>	5s 0d
<i>Cleaning the Poleax</i>	1s 0d
<i>Summoning a Jury for the Coroner when the Man was kill'd with the Coach</i>	1s 0d
	£2 1s 0d

Rec'd Apr 22nd 1767 the above Contents in full by me Edwd Broughton

Other Officials

The Sergeant at Mace, for a long time Sergeant William Vessey, was employed as the senior Sergeant to carry the mace before the Mayor in public processions. There were also three other Sergeants and six Constables. Their duties included maintaining petty law and order, raising the 'hue and cry', escorting prisoners to quarter sessions or assizes, inspecting alehouses and supervising the removal of itinerants and beggars. They were paid an annual salary. John Wheeldon, one of the Constables, was paid £2 10s for his half year salary at Christmas 1766.¹³ There were also Tollmen who collected tolls from markets and bridges and Pinders who were responsible for stray animals. According to Speed's map of 1610, the pinfold was situated on Nun's Green. These Corporation employees were given uniforms and there are bills in the Corporation Accounts for hats, cloaks, coats, etc.

Corporation Regalia

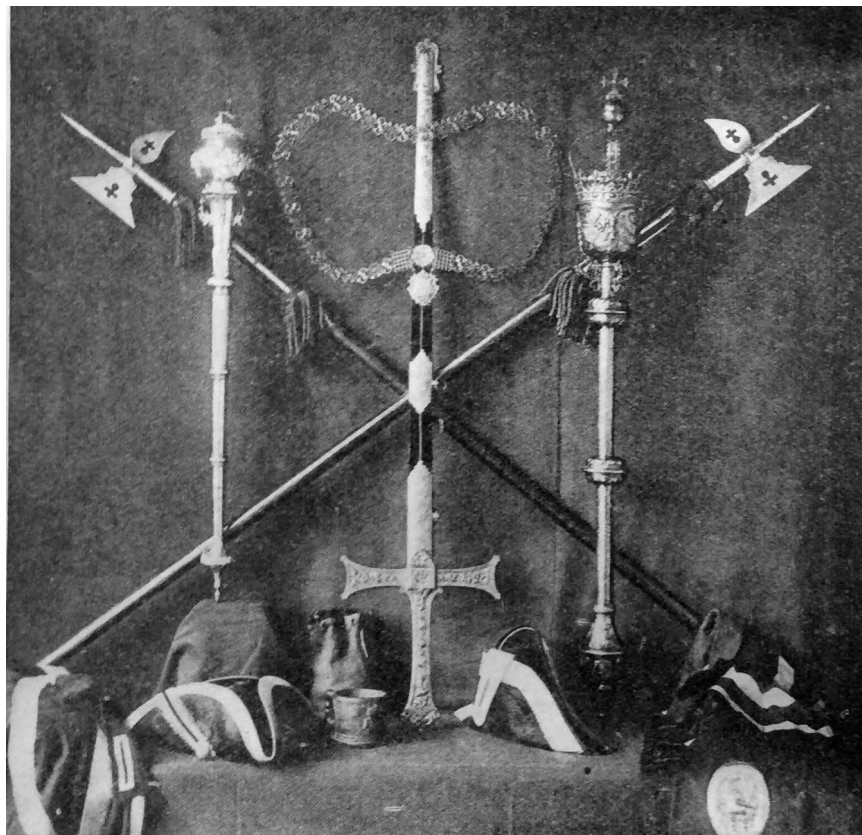


Fig 2. Corporation Regalia
 (Centenary of Local Government, County Borough of Derby, 1935)

Fig 2 shows the Corporation regalia which consists of the Mayor's gold chain of office, two maces, two halberds or pole-axes, a sword, a silver cup, hats belonging to the Corporation officials and the Corporation Seal. The seal bears the Coat of Arms of Derby, 'The Buck in the Park', a deer within a Pale (or Park fence).

The Mayor's chain consists of 28 links, each in the form of a capital 'S' alternating with interlaced knots, and below a gold badge. The Great Mace is made of silver gilt. It has no hallmark but is thought to date from 1638 when the two Bailiffs' Maces were said to have been made into one for the newly created Mayor. The smaller Mace of silver is usually called 'the Ladies' Mace'. It was presented in 1870 to Thomas William Evans, M.P., then Mayor of the Borough and High Sheriff of the County, and was then given by him as a gift to the Corporation. The Corporation once possessed two silver cups donated by John Walton, Archdeacon of Derby, who died in 1603 and is buried in Derby Cathedral. Sometime after 1835, these cups disappeared.¹⁴

The Town Hall (also known as the Guildhall)

The Town Hall (see Fig 1) was built in 1730 sited on the south side of the Market Place. It replaced the medieval guildhall and was an impressive brick and stone building designed by architect Richard Jackson. It was two storeys high with a parapet roof and had four wide steps leading up to a grand entrance. A new turret clock, the work of John Whitehurst, was installed in 1736. However, it stood out quite a way into the Market Place and thus restricted the number of market stalls that could be erected. It was demolished in 1828 and a new Town Hall, which burnt down in 1841, was built on land further south. Today's Guildhall stands on the same site.

Entries in the accounts referring to the Town Hall include paying John Whitehurst on several occasions for 'mending the Town Hall clock': paying a workman for 'painting the Town Hall windows' and paying another workman 2d for 'flinging snow off the Town Hall roof'.

The Chamberlains

The Chamberlains, of which there were four, were appointed every year from members of the Common Council and were responsible for the Town monies. They were allowed one key to the Corporation seal and records. Some members of the Common Council who were also Chamberlains appear frequently. For example, in 1757-1758 the Chamberlains were Aldermen Samuel Crompton, Joshua Smith, William Evans and Mr Thomas Eaton. In 1760 it was recorded that Messrs Fox, Flint, Eaton and Smith were Chamberlains.

The Chamberlains Accounts

The Chamberlains accounts for the Corporation of Derby in the mid-eighteenth century list income and expenditure for the town of Derby. There are payments for work done by, for example, builders, whitesmiths, drapers (for clothing for the Corporation officials), wages to labourers for maintenance of the town's common fields and payments to poor people from the charity moneys administered by the Corporation. Other entries record incoming payments such as rents for farms and Land Tax.

The Chamberlains Account Ledger 1756-1793

The first Chamberlains Account Ledger from 1756 to 1793, which has been transcribed, had been brought from London with its own box to keep it in.

August 1757

Paid in London to Mr Willm Shenton as by Bill & Rect for this Book to keep the Corporation Accounts in. £2 10s

For a Box to put Book to keep Corporation Accounts in. 1s.6d

Paid the Carriage of the Book to keep the Corporation Accounts in from London to Derby. 2s.¹⁵

The Accounts were audited every year and were obviously also scrutinised in London for we find an entry in the Accounts;

May 1775

Expenses attending my Journey to London when I took Corporation Acct.

Post chaise to Northampton £3 6s 8d

Stage coach from Northampton to London and expenses 19s 11d.¹⁶

The Ledger commences on 11 December 1756 and finishes in April 1793. It measures: width 15 inches, length 21¼ inches and depth 3½ inches. By June 2018 it was noted that it was becoming very fragile. The front and back covers consist of very worn vellum and hard card - both have the remains of the metal clips that kept the book closed. Although the spine of the book is missing, the stitching of the leaves remains intact.

The pages of the account book are not numbered but for some reason, in 1760-61, the page is numbered as 37. For the remainder of the book the year is noted at the top of each page and the month and date appear in the left-hand column.

Throughout the book there is water damage to each side of the spine and some to the lower part of each page. There is also some foxing throughout. The first two pages are loose and some pages are torn at the beginning. The writing on some pages is beginning to fade badly. After April 1793 there are 10 blank pages then some more payments are recorded for 1766-1787, 8 of these pages are loose.

The Bills and Receipts.

Besides the Chamberlains Account Ledgers for 1757-1794 and 1794-1833, the Derby Borough Records collection in Derby Local Studies Library also includes bills and receipts dating from 1649-50 through to 1834 which cover the period of the ledgers.^{17,18}

Not all the bills and receipts may be accessible due to the condition they are in, mostly due to the deterioration of the paper, their age and how they were stored originally. It is only recently we have come to understand how archive material should be preserved. Some of these bills and receipts were kept in rolls with a thread of string through the top of them. Some have been carefully preserved by the conservators, a job which is costly and time consuming. Others have been placed in special film envelopes enabling them to be handled safely. However, many others have still to be treated.

The bills and receipts give a picture of what was happening in the town during these years. Some are written on very small '*scraps*' of paper while others may run to 3, 4, and 5 pages. The latter tend to be from tradesmen who have been doing restorative and building work. Some one page bills are from John Drewry, the owner of the *Derby Mercury*, for adverts placed by the Borough. Others are from the Constables giving costs for dealing with vagrants and their other duties. The names of the workers and the amounts they were paid are recorded on some bills.

The subjects covered by the bills are fascinating, unfortunately not all can appear in this article. Just a few will be discussed below, covering the years 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767 and 1775.

To enable the payment for work completed by businesses and workmen, the Chamberlains were presented with bills which may or may not itemise all the elements to be paid for and the others just state the amount owed. The bills are directed to either the named Chamberlain or the Mayor of the time, and cover a wide variety of items. On payment by the Chamberlains the person received a receipt. Many of these are written with a variety of shortened words, for example receipt often appears as '*rect*', received as '*rec'd*' and account as '*ac*' or '*acct*'.

The entries on the pages of the Chamberlains Accounts do not always give the full picture of the items being billed for because most entries are only one line. The left hand page of the Account books is normally for the money being paid into the Borough Account. The amounts paid out are recorded on the right hand pages of the ledger. However, some have been noted on the left hand side as in the case of Blythe Simpson and Mr Sydenham being paid £17 13s 6d for '*conveying and transporting three felons*' dated April 1765.

There are receipts which acknowledge the payment of charitable donations usually paid to the church warden, who was also paid for delivering the money. Some like Crowshaw's was referred to as dole. The Richard Brown²⁹ who received the money below is recorded as Clerk of All Saints in the 1775 Poll Book¹⁸.

The entry in the accounts is:

*March 29 1769
Paid Mr Brown for payment of Mr Crowshaw's Dole
½ year due Lady Day 1769 £2. 19
Lady day being 25th March*

The receipt:

Mar 25th 69
The payment of Mr Crowshaw's Dole half a year at
1s 9d per week 2. 5s 6d
half a years sallary 0. 13s 6d
2. 19. 0d

March 29
Rec'd the above in full by me Rich'd Brown

As is seen from the receipt Mr Brown received a salary of thirteen shillings for distributing the dole, which is not mentioned in the account ledger.

Another receipt shows three men being paid for work done. George Cresswell, John Hind and William Hitchcock are believed to have been labourers who worked regularly for the Borough. They were often paid for work similar to that below, in this case the entry in the accounts is very similar to the receipt,¹⁸

The account entry:

4 August 1767
Paid William Hitchcock, George Cresswell and John Hind
for Mowing of Thistles and Docks in the New Pasture
by Rec't 16s.0d

The receipt:

Rec'd Augt 8th of Benj Grainger on the Corporation
Acct for Mowing of Thistles and Docks in the New Pasture for
Self, Geo. Cressw. & John Hind Sixteen Shillings
£0. 16. 0
Wm W H Hitch His Mark

Bills from the owner of the *Derby Mercury* often have many entries for adverts, etc. but in the ledgers it usually says '*paid Mr Drewry his bill*'. A copy of a bill presented in June 1767, dated from November 1765 to October 1766 contains 11 items charged to the Corporation. They paid for 500 hand bills '*about corn*', 100 Alehouse Recognisances, adverts for the Cheese Fairs, and Assize of Bread but perhaps more interesting was an advert for an escaped prisoner, Edward Brooks. The advert gave details of his escape and his description. There was also a reward for his capture. Brooks had been sentenced to be transported but there was no record to say he was recaptured.²⁰ As time goes by the bills from Mr Drewry and his successors contain many more entries as there was a need for more town business to be advertised.

There are an abundance of entries for the making of uniforms and hats for the Borough servants including the Toll-men, Serjeants and Town Cryer. Also included were clothes made for a boy who was looked after by the Borough after they had sentenced his mother to be transported to America for stealing a '*flaxen sheet*' from the George Inn in 1764.¹⁸

The Account entry:

1st May 1767
Pd John Harrison for making Serjeants Coats
£1. 11s 6d

The Bill:

30 April 1767
Making 2 Tollmens Cotes 10s.0d
Making a gown for Ser't Vessey 10s 6d
Making a Cloak for Ser't Calton 7s 6d
Making a boys Cote & Wascote 3s 6d
£1 11s 6d

The uniforms and hats for the officials were finished off with lace and in 1766 the accounts state that Mr Matt How was paid for hats for the Serjeants and Cryer. The bill is dated March 1766 and March 1767 and was settled by the Chamberlains in July 1767. However, there is no explanation for the payment given to John Hunt.

As can be seen from the two bills below, some tradesmen presented bills which covered a number of years, on presentation the bills appear to have been paid promptly. According to the Chamberlains Account Ledger the bill for the coals was paid to Edward Broughton. He was the Town Cryer for 40 years and died in 1790 aged 85.¹⁸

The Bill:

<i>The Corporation Bo't of Matt'w & Jno How</i>	
1766	
<i>15 March 3 hats for Serjt & Cryer</i>	<i>£1 5s 6d</i>
<i>Lacing</i>	<i>1s 6d</i>
1767	
<i>17 March 3 hats for Do</i>	<i>£1 5s 6d</i>
<i>Lacing</i>	<i>1s 6d</i>
<i>pd John Hunt & order at a common</i>	
<i>Hall when Mr Rivett was Mayor</i>	<i>7s 6d</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>£3 1s 6d</i>
<i>Rec'd July 31st 1767 the above</i>	
<i>in full of all demands</i>	
<i>Matt How</i>	

The Bill:

<i>Coals for the use of the Corporation for 3 years last unpaid for</i>	
<i>1764 One load 50 hundred at 5d per hundred</i>	<i>£1 0s 10d</i>
<i>1765 One load of Coals 50 hundred Do.</i>	<i>£1 0s 10d</i>
<i>1766 One load of Coals 51 hundred at 5½d</i>	<i>£1 3s 4½d</i>
<i>For weighing Bails 10 each Load</i>	<i>2s 6d</i>
<i>For getting in of the same 8d each Load</i>	<i>2s 0d</i>
	<i>£3 9s 6½d</i>

The Account entry: .

23rd April 1767
paid Edward Broughton by bill for Coles for 3 years for
the Corporation £3. 9s 6½d.

Over the years of the Accounts there are entries for work being done in the Borough, chiefly maintenance of the roads, bridges and paved areas. In 1767 James Harris was paid for paving. The receipt shows that the work took place in the Corn Market and took nine days. It also shows that James was unable to sign his name.¹⁸

The Receipt:

Recd July 25th 1767 of Benj. Granger on the Corporation acct
Nineteen Shillings & Sixpence for nine days of paving the Corn Market.
£0 19s 6d
H

James has made a mark and 'H' to prove he received the money. Often bills at this time were signed with marks because many labourers were unable to read and write.

The Account entry:

21 July 1767
Paid James Harris for 9 days paving by Rect. 19s 6d

The two gaols in the borough needed various types of work to help maintain them, mostly to keep the prisoners secure. Here Thomas Holden is paid for putting in new window bars at the Debtors apartments at the Town

Gaol. He gives the cost of the bars and his charge for the work.¹⁸

The Receipt

<i>Mr Benj Granger to Thos Holden</i>	
<i>Aug 3th For 9 square Bers to the Goal windows of</i>	
<i>the Debtors apartments waid 57 lbs</i>	
	<i>£0 19s 0d</i>
<i>For putting them up</i>	<i>£0 1s 0d</i>
	<i>£1 0s 0d</i>
<i>May the 7th 1767</i>	
<i>Recd the contents of this Bill in full per me Thos Holden</i>	

The Corporation provided bread for all prisoners in the gaols, and the bills for the bread are at times very informative as some list the names of the prisoners and how many days they have been receiving bread. One bill dated from October 1767 to September 1768 shows that 19 prisoners were provided for. They are all named and the number of days they received bread is recorded. Two of the named prisoners, Moses Sharpley and Joseph Mycock appeared to be long standing occupants of the gaol having 146 and 164 days recorded respectively. Both these men were sentenced to be transported to America. The bills presented to the Corporation for paying a transportation merchant by the Keeper of the Gaol, Blyth Simpson, are the only records of their being transported. The merchant took them to London, Sharpley in April 1768 and Mycock in August 1768. The cost for each was £5 17s.¹⁸ The Chamberlains accounts show other payments for the upkeep of the gaol including straw for the prisoners' beds and the cleaning of the 'necessary'.

This is only a snapshot of the bills and receipts but hopefully it gives an idea of how important the collection is to understanding some of the costs involved in the running of the Borough at this time, and this wealth of information may be of help both to both local and family historians.

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19. Richard Brown was the owner of the Marble Works, at that time adjacent to the Silk Mill, J. Steer, 'The site of the Hospital of St Helen's in the 19th century: Part 1. The Spar Manufactory', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 16, Part 6, Autumn 2002, p154.
20. *Derby Mercury*, 21 February 1766.

The Evolution of the Derby Borough Records Chamberlains Accounts Research

The Derby Research Group, (formed over 20 years ago and authors of *Sadlergate, A 1000 Year History of a Derby Street* in 2010) decided seven years ago to explore the possibility of transcribing the Derby Borough Chamberlains Account Ledgers of the 18th and early 19th centuries which are held at the Derby Local Studies Library. There are two large ledgers, 1757-1794 and 1794-1833, which show the incoming revenue to enable the town to function and the cost of running this organisation. The account books register both the revenue and expenditure of the town. The accounts were audited and this is also recorded.

Patrick Ellis (a group member) offered to photograph the pages of both books, number them and transfer the pictures onto discs for the group. The Derby Local Studies Library kindly gave permission for this to take place as ultimately the transcription will be deposited at the Library.

Supplied with the discs some members started transcribing the pages. The first Account book has now been transcribed, after many hours of work, into excel files.

At monthly meetings the group '*swapped stories of their findings*' and it was decided to produce a series of articles which describe the town's governance and what was happening in the town, for example:

- Who governed the town and their roles
- How the charities which appear in the Accounts were funded.
- The Bridges over the Markeaton Brook
- The effect of John Heath's bankruptcy.
- The use of the town's pastures.
- Cost of the Assizes and transporting criminals to London on route to America.
- Derby Borough Lands.

Other information resources have been used to enhance these articles which will be published in *Derbyshire Miscellany* and deposited in the Derby Local Studies Library as an 'e' book when completed.

An index of names and subjects found is still '*work in progress*' and at some stage will join the rest of the work.

Active members of the Derby Research Group are Anne Bull, Margaret Campbell Wilson, Joan D'Arcy, Patrick Ellis, Anne Haywood, Kath Marvill and Linda Owen.

We are also grateful to Kath Clements for all her contributions, especially on the index.

We also need to remember Roy Dunicliff and Rosemary Lucas, members of the group, who both sadly died during 2018. Their friendship, help, knowledge and research over the years will be greatly missed.

Derbyshire Archaeological Society Publications

The *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* is published annually and is free to members. *Derbyshire Miscellany* is published twice yearly and provides a slightly less formal forum for local history articles..

Subscriptions:	One or more members of a household at the same address (includes <i>Journal</i>)	£18.00
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	Student membership - persons under 25 years in full time education (includes <i>Journal</i>)	£13.00

Application forms are available from: The Membership Secretary, Mr K. Reedman, 107 Curzon St, Long Eaton, Derbyshire NG10 4FH. Tel: 01159 732150

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DIARY OF A SHIPLEY FARMER 1867: Part 6: November 15 - 31 December

(by Malcolm Burrows)

Introduction

In the late 1960s and early 1970s I was tracing and interviewing former servants and gardeners who had been employed at Shipley Hall. On a number of occasions I was referred to people who had worked on the estate. One such occasion involved a visit to Sutton on Sea where I met John Fletcher who, together with several generations of his family, had been a tenant farmer on the Shipley estate. He it was who loaned me the original diary of his grandfather (another John Fletcher). NB: The original spelling and punctuation has been retained.

THE DIARY

Friday 15th

Been to Loughborough statutes Hired a servant man named Charles Underwood Woodhouse eaves Leicestershire Agrees to come Thursday after Martlemas day
Wages to be £12 12s 0d till Martlemas day 1868

Saturday 16th

Rhuben thrashing some Barley in barn by hand
Taken cows up nights 10 in shed 4 stirks in Yard giving them a few common Turnips in a morning and Oats straw put the 5 calves in back yard
Taken 22 hogs up to Meynill closes through the wood.

Monday 18th

Began Ploughing Open Hole across with 3 Horses single.

Tuesday 19th

Rhuben trashing round Duty close Fine weather for the time of Year
Bessy and I with all the Family have been down to Mapperley wakes to spend a few hours with Father he being very pleased to see us.

Wednesday 20th

Ploughing on Open across
Rhuben toping fence next Shorthoses fields.

Thursday 21st

Been to Hainor Fair and statutes Hired a Girl name Mary Peach Codnor agrees to come Wednesday Wages to be £8 0s and 10d more if a good Girl Mary Peach her mark lived with Mrs Chamberlin Newlands Farm Green Hill Lane near Alfreton.

Friday 22nd

Cleaning some Dirt out of the entrance into Mill Hill pond going to put some Ashes to make it better for cattle drinking.
David Barton pruning Gooseberrys and Trees in Garden.

Saturday 23rd

Paid my servants Wages they are all gone
Cook cutting some wood out of Fruit trees in Orchard.

Sunday 24th

Caught 3 men in the stack yard 2 o'clock this morning
The 3 mens names John Harrison Wm. Fletcher and Isaac Woodhouse.

Monday 25th

Been to Ripley to try to get summons for the 3 men that we caught in stack yard but the Magistrate could not grant them unless I could swear that they had done me some damage or found anything in there possession of my property having come through Mr. Mundy's fence must see Mr. Mundy about the affair.

Tuesday 26th

Went up to Shipley Hall to see Mr. Meynill Mundy about the Sparrow catchers
I have to see the Magistrates clerk Mr. Hutchinson on Thursday at Ilkeston
Rode my mare over to Stanton to see Mr. and Mrs C told me that Mrs Chevasse had got a son.

Wednesday 27th

Taken Nag mare up and Poney
Jacob Barton 2 days in Garden 5d.
Charles Hanson singed the Mare and Poney.

Thursday 28th

Beent to Ilkeston to see the Magistrates respecting the men we caught in the stack yard did not Summons them
put them in the News paper Meynill Mundy not there today.
Rhuben taken some Barley to mill to grind for Pigs.

Friday 29th

The two new Servant Boys are come set them cleaning apple boughs out of Orchard to stick heap chopping and
getting fodder in for Horses.

Saturday 30th

I and Mrs have been to Nottingham a very whet day hired a servant Girl Sarah Addison agrees to come to place
Thursday Dec 5th Wages to be £8 10s and 5d more if a good Girl
Taken the Horses up tonight being whet.

Monday 2nd December

Team drawing Coals from Soft coal pit to Shipley Hall 5 loads for the day I Boan loading
Began of fetching Grains today from Mark Beardsley I Brewing
Money club night baught my chance 3/6

Tuesday 3rd

Rhuben thrashing in Barn
I and the lads have fetched a load of Coals from Nutbrook Pit Hill a sharp frost with a little snow.

Wednesday 4th

Carting soil from a Ditch at Nutbrook Mr Taylor having cleaned it out spreading it on the ground frosty sharp
weather.
Wrote a letter to Thomas Moore about Nutbrook Manure a shabby affair.

Thursday 5th

Fetchd Thomas Sheppersons Thrashing Machine from Borebanks West Hallam
Fathers team helping us had to have the Horses shod for the frost.
Meeting of the Ilkeston club about the Christmas cattle show I am appointed with R Skerington to canvas
Cotmanhay and Shipley
Sold Dimplin to S Lowe Ilkeston for £11 15s to go Monday.

Friday 6th

Thrashed a stack of Wheat today has 12 men two from our folks at Mapperley gone on very well tis a bit of good
Wheat and straw good also
Thrashed a load of Barley out of Barn.

Saturday 7th

Been to Nottingham sold John Smith Albert Strut 15 quarters of Wheat at 68d per quarter
Baught Joey a pair of Boots and Mother a pair
Stable Whip Diary for 1868 and note paper

Monday 9th

Have had W. Wright putting down a standing in the bottom stable for to tie a Milk cow
Tied 2 White Heifers top of shed
Winnowed a batch and sent to mill and 1 sack of Barley for Pig stuff.

Tuesday 10th

Bessy and I have been to Mr. P.Potters sale baught some pictures
Assisted Father to remove the Thrashing Machine from Mr. Bentley
Thomas and Jane at Mapperley.

Wednesday 11th

2 men helping Father to thrash today
Delivered Dumplin cow to S Lowe Ilkistone
Baught a Game cock a good stag

S Lowe brought me 1 cwt of Oil cake at 12d per cwt £6 0s.

Thursday 12th

Winnowed down 15 quarters of Wheat in Holcomb & Co sacks taken to Ilkiston station put it on rail booked it John Smith Albert St. Nottingham Paid S.Lowe bill for Cake £11 5s 10½d Settled for cow.

Bought a Donkey foal Mr. Jones for a sack of Potatoes to be delivered in February 1868.

Gathering Subscriptions towards establishing a Cattle Fair and Christmas show at Ilkeston to be held on 15th Dec Entered myself a Bull 1 year 7 months old 2 Heifers under 3 years age

Fat pig 1 year 3 months had a littler of Pigs spayed in July when the pigs were.

Friday 13th

Streightening up in Yard put the Pulper in gear fetched a crib out of Mill hill Boy taken a Horse and cart to mill for pig stuff and taken a batch 14st 4lbs for fine flour.

Drove to Stanton take Bessy and 3 children Uncle C and W.D.Haywood gave me 5d each towards the Ilkeston show.

Sold a sack of Potatoes to Moses Mason to be delivered in Feb 1868 Paid.

Brewing of Grains from Mark Beardsley today.

Saturday 14th

Been to Shipley Hall A.M.Mundy gave me £2 2s 0d towards the Ilkeston cattle show to be held on the 19th Dec H.West 5d.

Mr. Isaac Attenborou 1 couple of guinea fowls 5s 0d 2 couple of Fowls 8s 0d Paid 13s 0d.

Asked the Squire to put a new roof on the Cart Hovel and give me a few new Gates before I try for the Silver cup for the best managed Farm promised he would

Sold them some straw for the Hall stables to go next week.

Sunday 15th

Mapperley cow cast calf this morning big as a terrier dog

Monday 16th

Team finished Ploughing the Open hole began of lane side Bradby Meadow close for fallows

Attended a Meeting of the Ilkeston show committee at J Attenboroughs think we shall have a very good show.

Tuesday 17th

Taken a load of straw up to Shipley Hall stables on the Lurry weighed on the Machine Gross 1 ton 13 cwt 3 qr Tare 17 cwt 2 qr [Net] 16 cwts 1 qr at 3d £2 8s 0d.

Wednesday 18th

Uncle Cresswell came this Afternoon for Tea

I have been to Ilkeston to inspect the setting up Fleaks for the show only stopt 1 hour.

Thursday 19th

Ilkeston Fair and Cattle show Taken 2 Prizes First for the best Fat Pig Second for the Bull Stanton Prizes £1 0s 0d.

Collected £5 4s 6d

Bought 10 Fleaks 2s 6d each £1 5s 0d 10 Fleaks 2s 3d each £1 2s 6d £2 7s 6d Paid J Paling.

Cresswell killed us the Fat Pig a beauty.

Found a Hogg Dead Boiled for pigs.

Friday 20th

Weighed ¼ Fat pig 32 stone 2 lbs been to Ilkeston for 20 fleaks put them under the Hovel in croft

Brewing of Grains M.B.

Taken 32 15s to Meynill Mundy the Prizes awarded to there stock exhibited at the Ilkeston Cattle Show

Drove to Stanley Lodge John taken them a couple of Guinea fowls called at Fathers Head House Mapperley.

Saturday 21st

Been to Nottingham Recd Money J Smith Albert St. Nottingham for 15 qrs Wheat at 68d per qr £31 0s 0d

Bought my wife a Gold watch and chain from Pratts Poultery paid 13s 8d. Hope she may live many years to enjoy and wear it has a Birth day gift from her Husband

baught her a pair of Kid boots 7s 6d from Smiths Tea and other Mark.

Monday 23rd

Been to Ilkeston had the spouts repaired

Mr Hopeweel came to my house this evening not much altered about a usual

Ploughing Bradley close for Summers fallow
Sent W Smith Albert St. Nottingham Hamper of Apples

Tuesday 24th

Sold J Attenboro 2 Barren Cows Strawberry and Dair maid for £22 10s to go on Thursday
Been to Stanton John and Anne with me John Staying a few days.
Paid W. Wright for putting down a standing bottom stable 2s 6d.

Wednesday 25th

Been to Church in the Morning in the Afternoon drove Mrs. J. to Hainor taken Nelsons a pork pie for there kindness to John came round be the Collurey called at Wests and Miss Warners. Fine Sun shiney day.

Thursday 26th

Been to Ilkeston Market dined at J Attenborough Sir John Warren taken my saddle to R. Shaws to be new lined new garths and other repairs
Got Christmas merry at night soon a large pork pie speculator and Large Keeper weight 1 stone odd.

Friday 27th

Mr. C. came this morning braught Joseph Fletcher from Crewe with him taken john back to Stanton. Have some men come today repairing roof of bottom kitchen
Have had a White Heifer cast calf this morning quite a disappointment
Paid H Blaunt a bill for Blacksmithing
Winnowed a few Beans
Cut and divided the Pork-pie with Mrs Hofton Lodge
Brewing of Grains M. B.

Saturday 28th

Been to Nottingham Joseph and John with me dined at White Swan with Mr. C.
paid some bills baught me a Gold Albert Guard £3 0s 0d.
Watch put in order called ay Brashers measured John for a suit of Clothes
Baught a Galvanised Iron Skep 2s 6d Brewing from Clays is 4d.

Monday 30th

Taken a Waggon load of Straw battins to Boaz and Co. Gross wt 2 tons 0 cwt 0 qrs
Dray 17 cwt 0 qrs 1 ton 3 cwt 0 qrs [net]
Ton 1 3 cwt at £3 0s 0d per ton £3 9s 0d. Paid

Tuesday 31st

Fetchd two loads of Coal from Nutbrook pit Hill straightening the Barn out ready for thrashing a man come to tune Piano forte from Nottingham
Had a few friends for Tea and Supper Mr. and Mrs. Ash Mrs. West and Family Joseph Fletcher Haslington Hall and other little folks spent a very agreeable evening.
The Year ends with frost and sharp bracing wind
C.Hampson singed the Mare today Saddle stuffed and new garths.

Note: John Fletcher (b1827) farmed at Abbotsford Cottage, Shipley Road, Shipley Common between 1851 and 1881. In 1871 he lived there with his wife Betsy, their 3 sons, 1 daughter and three servants. The latter, 2 male and one female were aged 13 to 17. In 1851 he was farming 78 acres but by 1861 this had increased to 108 acres. He does not appear on the 1891 census but his son, Joseph, was farming at Johnson House, Shipley Common.

References: 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 census.

Ilkeston Cattle Show and Fair was held on 19 December 1867. The newspaper reports states that the cattle and horses were of good quality and the sheep and pigs were very good. The show and fair had been taking place for about 40 years and this year's fair was considered to be the most successful. The great attraction of the day was a large bullock thought to weigh about 110 stone which belonged to W.R. Cox, Esq, of Spondon and was sold to Tarlton and Small, Butchers, of Ilkeston for £50 10s.

According to the newspaper report, John Fletcher was awarded a 2nd prize for the Best Bull and 1st prize for the Best Fat Cow. (In his diary, John says he won 1st prize for Best Fat Pig.)

References: *Nottingham Journal*, 25 December 1867, *Derbyshire Advertiser and Journal* 27 December 1867.

(Jane Steer)