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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>An Award for Roger Dalton and Derbyshire Miscellany</i>	26
<i>The social structure of Nonconformist Evangelicalism: a study of the Methodist circuit of Belper</i> by Clive Leivers	27
<i>Railway milk from Etwall station, South Derbyshire during the autumn of 1883</i> by Roger Dalton	38
<i>The diary of Joseph Hutsby: Part I, 1843</i>	47
Note: <i>The Archaeological Journal: December 1844</i> contributed by Malcolm Burrows	50
<i>Belland lives on near Old Brampton</i> Editor's Note	50
Note: <i>The rise and progress of the spar manufactures of Derbyshire</i> by Jane Steer	51
Note: condensed from <i>Walks in the Neighbourhood of Sheffield, 1830</i> contributed by Malcolm Burrows	52

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Jane Steer

EDITOR

Dudley Fowkes

TREASURER

T.J. Larimore

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AN AWARD FOR ROGER DALTON AND DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR LOCAL HISTORY

THE LOCAL HISTORY AWARD FOR SERVICES TO LOCAL HISTORY 2004

The Derbyshire Archaeological Society congratulates Dr Roger Dalton

(formerly Head of Geography Division, University of Derby;

Chairman, Etwall and Burnaston Local History Society)

on receiving

The Local History Award for 2004

Dr Dalton wrote:

Derbyshire Miscellany, Vol 16, Part 5, Spring 2003 included my article entitled: 'The Derbyshire Farm Labourer in the 1860s'. In the article I reviewed the Derbyshire findings of the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture established by Parliament in 1867. I also sought to provide a context in terms of the state of agriculture in the county at this time as derived from a range of sources.

It was with pleasure and no small measure of surprise that I learnt from the British Association for Local History in May of this year that I was to receive the Local History Award 2004 on the basis of my article in *Derbyshire Miscellany*. Unfortunately I was otherwise committed on 5th June and was unable to attend a presentation at the Imperial War Museum.

The article is to be reprinted in the British Association for Local History's publication: *The Local Historian*.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF NONCONFORMIST EVANGELICALISM: A STUDY OF THE METHODIST CIRCUITS OF BELPER, DERBYSHIRE

(by Clive Leivers,

Introduction

In relating the history of Primitive Methodism, H.B. Kendall wrote "*we were the Church for the neglected and forgotten*" – that section of the population for whom, he claimed, the established church did little. He cited the agricultural labourer and miner as exemplifying the type of manual worker who was attracted to Primitive Methodism.¹ Recent scholarship has suggested that, by the early nineteenth century, Wesleyan Methodism had become "*increasingly bourgeois, both in outlook and composition*", resulting in a loss of influence over the proletariat, with the Primitives and other radical sects filling this gap.² E.P. Thompson argued that Jabez Bunting and Hugh Bourne, the respective leaders of the two Methodist Connexions, inhabited different worlds, and that by 1807 when Bourne and Clowes were holding their first camp meetings, the Wesleys were showing little interest in the communities in which the Primitive preachers were making their converts.³

The main focus of this study will be to examine the validity of this general hypothesis – that the Wesleyan Methodists were more bourgeois in composition than their Primitive counterparts – in one particular area. The location selected is that of the town of Belper and the areas covered by the circuits of the two denominations which were centred on the town. In seeking an answer to that primary question, other subsidiary points will be considered: first, did the establishment and growth of Methodism in the area have an impact on the social composition of the two denominations: second, were there factors in the occupational and social structure of Belper and its hinterland that would affect any analysis of Methodism in the area and lastly, was there any evidence of a changing situation as the nineteenth century developed, particularly that "*process of embourgeoisement*" which David Bebbington identifies as accelerating in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴

Belper and Methodism

In a period of around forty years from 1777, Belper was transformed from a village of around five hundred people – "*a colony of nailers and framework knitters*" into the second largest town in the county. This resulted from the establishment of the complex of cotton mills in the town and the neighbouring hamlet of Milford by the Strutt family. By 1801 the population of the town was 4500: twenty years later this figure had increased to 7235 and in 1841 the population stood at 9885. In 1833 the Strutts' business was employing around 2800 people in Belper and Milford.⁵ In 1851 the occupational structure of the registration district of Belper (which was largely co-terminous with the Methodist circuits) was dominated by the textile industry which employed virtually a third of the total labour force of around 21,500. But over 4000 people were still employed in agriculture, and mining and quarrying provided employment for nearly 2500. Nail manufacture employed 839 people.⁶

In his contribution to the 1851 religious census, the Rev. Bannister, incumbent of the recently created parish of Bridge Hill Belper, described the town's inhabitants as mainly "*operatives, engaged in Cotton-spinning, Nail-making or the Stocking-frame*". Only a very small proportion were "*of the middle class of Society*".⁷

Belper lay within the parish of Duffield, described by the Rev. Bannister as encompassing "*a population of about 21,000 souls scattered over a space of 17,390 acres*." He went on to explain that it was not until 1824 that an Anglican church was erected in Belper with encouragement and financial help from the Strutts, who themselves were Unitarians. In the six years preceding 1851, the new parish of Bridge Hill had been created, Anglican churches built in the villages of Hazelwood and Milford, and the mother church at Duffield had been restored.⁸

It is generally accepted that Nonconformity flourished "*where the established churches were weak: in new communities without their own parish church*" and that chapels provided important focuses for "*newly developing districts, with large immigrant populations*".⁹ Belper fitted this description to a tee, with a rapidly expanding industrial population in a chapelry situated in a very large Anglican parish. The average parish size in the Lichfield diocese was 4275 acres and Gilbert argues that "*a large parish was unworkable unless its inhabitants happened to be concentrated in a single locality near the parish church*".¹⁰ Additionally, the leading employers gave practical and financial encouragement to religious provision in the town. "*Religion always found*

a place in the expansive scenario created by the Strutts” who “recognised the beneficial effects of Methodism among their workforce”. Another leading employer, William Bourne, the founder of Denby Pottery was the main benefactor at the building of the Wesleyan Pottery chapel in the town.¹¹ Thus Belper seemed an ideal recruiting ground for Methodism and the growth of the movement in the area will now be considered.

Methodism probably reached Belper in the 1770s: Wesley’s journal records a visit to the town in 1786. A new circuit based on Belper was created in 1803 with a total membership of 504. Of this number, 176 were members of the Belper chapel and there were a further nineteen preaching places in the circuit. What is now known as the Central Methodist church was built in the town in 1807 and has remained in continuous use as a place of worship since that date.¹²

A Primitive circuit was established in Derbyshire seven years after the Mow Cop meeting in 1807 and the Belper chapel at Field Head was erected in 1817. It was in Belper that the Primitives were first given their nickname of Ranters. The chapel was enlarged five years later at which time the Belper circuit seems to have been established. The quarterly minutes of 1824 list 24 preaching places, including one over the Nottinghamshire border.¹³

Fletcher describes Belper as “in a state of high evangelistic fervour” from 1819 to 1850 and the respective membership figures give some credence to his statement.¹⁴

Table 1: Membership of the Belper Methodist circuits

	Wesleyan	Primitive
1803	508	
1820-35	1000-1200	
1832		652
1840	1820	664
1843	1606	657
1847	1554	
1848	883	
1850		1094

NB: Primitive Methodist figure for 1850 includes 283 in the newly-created Ripley circuit.

The Wesleyans reached their high-water mark around 1840 and thereafter the formation of new circuits and the creation of the United Free Reform church led to a decline in numbers at Belper. But the growth in membership between 1803 and 1840 (358%) is virtually identical to the national picture of Wesleyan expansion presented by Gilbert (a 350% increase in the period 1801-41). The growth in Primitive membership in Belper over the twenty years or so quoted does not match the virtual trebling in national membership over the same period, although showing significant growth.¹⁵

Having sketched the background of Methodism in Belper and its neighbourhood, the social composition of the two denominations will now be examined. Barrass suggests that whilst the Wesleyans “attracted the businessmen of the area ... drapers, potters, cordwainers, knitters and nailmasters”, Primitive Methodism “appealed to ... the unschooled, farm labourers, ditch diggers and building workers”.¹⁶ He provides no specific evidence for the statement and the availability and reliability on any such evidence will now be considered.

Sources and methods

Other researchers have generally used Nonconformist baptism registers as the source of information about

occupations of the relevant denominations and this study is likewise based on these records. Gilbert, whilst acknowledging certain problems in their use, argues that “no other source ... indicates more conclusively the nature of the constituency from which Nonconformist communities drew their members”.¹⁷ Field, whilst using the same sources, identifies four problems with the use of baptismal data: the unmarried, the childless and those whose “child-rearing days were finished” do not appear in the records; the fact that parents had their child baptised in a Methodist chapel did not necessarily indicate “vital association”; some Methodists may have preferred an Anglican baptism for their children; and “class fertility differentials” may distort the findings unless repetitious registrations are excluded.¹⁸ However, Snell agrees that during the nineteenth century fertility differentials between the Methodist denominations probably did not differ appreciably. He further argues that whilst the recording of baptism might signify differing levels of commitment as between the event in an Anglican church and in a Methodist chapel, there is no reason to suggest differences between the Methodist denominations.¹⁹

So, like the other studies, this exercise has taken a simple head count of fathers’ occupations from the baptism registers apart from excluding multiple registrations – that is where several siblings were baptised on the same day. The Wesleyan registers for Belper survive from 1796 to 1837, but occupations are not recorded until around 1812. In 1818 and 1819 the recording of occupations is intermittent, but aside from those years, only the occasional entry does not show the father’s occupation. The recording of occupations in the Primitive registers commences in 1822 when the circuit was established, with the registers surviving until 1863, though numbers are small in the final years.²⁰ There are some omissions in 1833-4, but otherwise occupations are shown consistently. From this raw information the prime analysis has been conducted for the period from 1822 to 1837 when occupational data exists for both denominations. Data has been tabulated for the circuits as a whole and for the town of Belper itself, the latter to facilitate a comparison of the Methodist occupational structure to that of the total population as derived from the 1841 census. Other periods have been analysed for the separate denominations – the earliest period (1812-1821) for the Wesleyans and the final decade of the Primitive registers to establish whether there was any change over time.

After the listing of individual occupations, it is necessary to place them into particular categories, both to provide some indication of class structure and to enable comparison with the findings of other research. The groupings used by Alan Gilbert in his national study have been used in one instance: the second categorisation follows Keith Snell whose study of nineteenth century religion in the North Midlands included a comparison of Primitive and Methodist membership in three counties including Derbyshire, though not the Belper circuits. Snell does not explain the basis of his classification system though it seems similar to that of Clive Field who based his classification on a “modified version of the Registrar General’s 1951 schema”.²¹

The three classifications are summarised in Table 2.²²

Table 2 Classification systems for the analysis of occupations

Gilbert	Field	Snell
Merchants/manufacturers	Major employers/merchants	Middle/professional
Shopkeepers	Minor employers/ clerical	Lower-middle
Farmers	Artisans/skilled/manual	Skilled
Artisans	Semi-skilled	Semi-skilled
Labourers	Labourers/unskilled	Unskilled
Colliers, miners etc.		
Other		

The problems associated with allocating occupations to these classifications and drawing comparisons with these previous studies will be discussed in the next section of this paper.

Findings

The results of the classification of occupations for the two Belper circuits according to Gilbert's categories are set out in Table 3 below. Gilbert acknowledged that his artisan group was a very broad one, embracing "a wide range of prestige, wealth and skill ... men who were independent craftsmen, perhaps employers ... as well as men who were employees".²³ However, he pointed out that the descriptions of occupation in the baptism registers were seldom specific enough to enable distinctions to be drawn within the artisan category. This was also the case with the Belper registers. For example, William Bourne, the owner of Denby Pottery was merely described as "potter" as were his workmen. (Bourne has been properly included in the "merchant/manufacturer" category in the appropriate tables). A similar difficulty arose with shopkeepers. There was no indication whether the drapers, grocers and so on were owners or assistants: all such entries have been counted as shopkeepers. Gilbert argues however that there was a significant difference in social standing between the artisan, whatever his relative skills, and the unskilled labourer. His overall conclusion therefore was that his analysis demonstrated that "the bulk of Nonconformity's constituency ... lay between the trading and professional classes ... and the unskilled occupational groups" with no major variation between denominations. The real social differentiation between the denominations was to be found in the "extremities of the social spectrum".²⁴

These overall conclusions are mirrored in the Belper figures. The artisan class accounted for roughly half of the registrations for both Wesleyan and Primitive circuits. The percentage figure for the Primitive was almost identical to Gilbert's figure: that for the Wesleyans was ten percentage points below Gilbert's findings. The significant differences in the comparison of the Belper picture to the wider analysis undertaken by Gilbert are found in the labouring and mining categories. The percentage of labourers in both denominations was nearly double that recorded by Gilbert: the Belper Wesleyans attracted a much higher proportion of miners than the general picture: the variation in the Primitive findings was not so marked but Belper was 4% higher than the overall comparative figures.

Table 3: The occupational structure of Belper Methodism 1822-1837

	Wesleyans		Primitive Methodists	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Merchants/manufacturers	16	1.37 (1.7)	2	0.27 (0.5)
Shopkeepers	35	2.99 (5.8)	6	0.82 (3.9)
Farmers	30	2.56 (5.5)	16	2.18 (5.6)
Artisans	613	52.34 (62.7)	356	48.57 (47.7)
Labourers	219	18.70 (9.5)	210	28.65 (16.1)
Colliers, miners etc.	212	18.10 (7.6)	123	16.78 (12.5)
Others	46	3.94 (7.2)	20	2.73 (13.7)

Notes

Primitive Methodist data covers the period 1822-1835

Gilbert's findings are shown in brackets and relate to the period 1800-1837

The explanation for these differences can probably be found in the social and economic structure of Belper and its environs. Strutts' cotton workers are placed in the artisan class, but the factories also employed a good many labourers, who were also to be found in the quarrying and mining industries as well as in agriculture. The occupational analysis for the registration district mentioned earlier shows that quarrying and mining – for coal, iron and lead – represented over ten per cent of the employed population in the area: this was about double the national average.²⁵ The Rev. Bannister's lament over the lack of middle class society has its reflection in the small number of merchants, shopkeepers and "others" (who were mainly clerks, bookkeepers and dissenting

ministers). The social composition of the geographical area covered by the Belper circuits was primarily working class and this fact is inevitably reflected in the occupational analysis. Further evidence for this comes from a comparison of the social structure of Methodism in Belper itself and the overall occupational structure of the town as revealed in the 1841 census (Table 4). The overwhelming dominance of the artisan class amongst the Methodist registrations – over three quarters in both denominations – is strikingly evident. The unskilled labourers form the next numerous group, though the percentages drop in both cases by around 10% when compared to the figures for the circuits as a whole. The other clear distinction is the very low figures for miners, indicating that the bulk of the circuits' adherents from this group of workers came from the outlying centres rather than the town. On the whole, the Wesleyans appear to have taken rather more of their support from the town (32%), than the Primitives who had a quarter of their adherents in the town.

Comparisons with the census data are illuminating. Overall the social structure revealed confirms the accuracy of the Rev. Bannister's analysis. Artisans, labourers and miners comprise virtually 90% of the town's population. The success of both denominations among the artisans is confirmed: among this group the Primitives were particularly successful in attracting the nailers. These workers comprised a third of the town's artisans but they represented 45% of the Primitive community (they were just over a quarter of the Wesleyans). Among the labouring class, the Primitives came near to equalling the overall proportion of inhabitants in this category but the Wesleyans had less success. Numbers in the other categories are limited and the interpretation therefore more tentative. But it does appear that the Primitives had little appeal among the town's shopkeepers, farmers and merchants. The comparatively high figure for Wesleyan merchants is probably a result of repeated baptisms, rather than an indication that three quarters of the class were supporters of the denomination.

Table 4: Occupational structure of Methodists in Belper town 1822-1837

	Wesleyans		Primitive Methodists		1841 census ²⁶	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Merchants/manufacturers	8	2.1	1	0.5	12	0.03
Shopkeepers	12	3.2	1	0.5	185	5.8
Farmers	3	0.8	0	0	40	1.25
Artisans	289	76.9	144	76.6	2,107	66.2
Labourers	41	10.9	33	17.6	683	21.4
Colliers, miners etc.	3	0.8	2	1.1	60	1.9
Others	20	5.3	7	3.7	103	3.2

Note: Occupations derived from the census are those of all employed males listed. That population is not therefore directly comparable to the samples from the baptismal registers.

Gilbert suggests that the type of Nonconformist artisan depended more on the character of the locality than on the particular denomination: in textile communities weavers and spinners would make up the bulk of the congregations, and in areas of nail manufacture such as the Black Country then nailers would constitute a significant part of the chapel supporters.²⁷ With Belper embracing both textile and nail manufacture, it is instructive to look more closely at the composition of the artisan element of Methodist support. It has already been noted that nailers constituted a significant proportion of the artisan registrations, particularly in Belper itself. An examination of textile workers shows little difference between the two denominations, with around 40% of all artisan registrations in this group. However the Methodists had as strong a base in the old-established, home-based framework knitting industry as among the factory workers: Valenze suggests that the knitters were at the core of the early Wesleyan society. Framework knitters comprised almost a quarter of artisan registrations in the Primitive circuit and around a fifth in the Wesleyan circuit. Factory-based textile workers were less

significant among the Primitives (16%) but were found in greater numbers among the Wesleyans (22%): this is counter to Valenze's claim that the Primitives were more successful in "*mobilising migrant and local factory workers*".²⁸ The example of an employer might have been influential in determining the denominational preference of the factory worker. This can clearly be found in the case of William Bourne whose support for the Wesleyans has already been noted: 30 of the 32 potters found in the registers appeared in the Wesleyan records.

These findings do give some support to Gilbert's statement which concerned all Nonconformist denominations, but also suggest that denominational distinctions did have some influence. In Belper the Primitives had a particular attraction for the nailing community, described as fiercely independent, rough and uncivilised.²⁹ While Gilbert includes the nailers among his artisans, Hopkins has argued that the Black Country group were essentially unskilled and "*among the lowest strata of the working classes*".³⁰ If they were to be included in the labouring category in Table 3, then the balance between the artisan and labouring groups for the Belper Primitive circuit would be reversed. The labouring class would comprise 41% of the total, the artisans 35%. The artisans would still form the majority of the Wesleyans with 43% but the labouring component would rise to 28%.

The comparison of the Wesleyan and Primitive figures in Tables 3 and 4 do provide support for Gilbert's contention that denominational differences were primarily to be found at the ends of the social spectrum. Whilst numbers are too small to have any real statistical reliability, the tables do suggest that the middle class of Belper society – the merchants and shopkeepers – gravitated to the Wesleyan variety of Methodism rather than joining the Primitives. Moreover, although both denominations had a large number of labourers in their ranks, this class of worker made up a greater proportion of the Primitive community: this difference is accentuated if Hopkins' argument about the social position of nailers is accepted. Among artisan ranks, it would appear that the Primitives attracted a rather greater level of support from the long-established cottage industries of nailing and framework knitting, perhaps because, as Valenze argues, "*cottage religion ... recreated the world of cottage industry*".³¹ On the evidence so far it can therefore be suggested that, to some degree, the Belper analysis does lend support to the view that the Primitive Connexion was more proletarian in nature than their Wesleyan brethren. We will now proceed to relate the Belper evidence to the findings of Field and Snell.

Keith Snell examined the baptism registers of several Primitive and Wesleyan circuits in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Derbyshire, extracting occupational details mostly over the period 1810 to 1850. He had found that, in general, the two denominations had a similar geographical coverage and aimed to examine circuit registers covering the same districts for each denomination. Thus, as in the case of this study of Belper, any differences in social composition would not arise from variations in the economic basis of the areas selected.³² He grouped the occupational data into five categories (see Table 2) but acknowledged difficulties in identifying the appropriate category in some cases because of the lack of specificity in the occupational description in the registers. He does not provide a detailed explanation of his categorisation but from the examples he provides, supplemented on occasions by guidance from other researchers who have used similar schemes, it has been possible to analyse the Belper data along similar lines. The end result is set out in Table 5.³³

Table 5: Social composition of the Belper circuits (after Snell)

	Primitive Methodists		Wesleyans	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Middle/Professional	18	2.5 (3.6)	46	3.9 (10.1)
Lower-middle	24	3.3 (5.4)	67	5.7 (17.6)
Skilled	351	47.9 (27.9)	624	53.4 (41.0)
Semi-skilled	19	2.6 (8.0)	19	1.6 (6.8)
Unskilled	321	43.7 (55.1)	415	35.4 (24.4)

NB: Snell's findings are shown in brackets.

Some of the significant differences from Gilbert's categories are that farmers are placed in the Middle and Professional group, shopkeepers are found among the Lower-middle class and miners are relegated to the ranks of the unskilled (though Snell does acknowledge the "abundant skills" of some of this last group).³⁴ The differences between the Belper figures and Snell's findings probably derive from the wider geographical coverage of his review and the essentially working class nature of the Belper area. Snell remarks on the predominance of agricultural labourers in his sample, with this group of workers representing half of the Lincolnshire Primitives; similarly, his Lincolnshire farmers are likely to have accounted for some of the difference in his first category, particularly among the Wesleyan communities. The variations in the results for the skilled and semi-skilled perhaps stem from the difficulties of attribution mentioned earlier with the present writer taking a somewhat different line in doubtful cases. Perhaps more informative than a general comparison with Snell's results is to contrast the position for particular groups of workers. The proportion of framework knitters in both samples is remarkably similar for both denominations with around 11% among the Primitives and 10% among Wesleyans. The industry was particularly strong in both Derbyshire and Leicestershire so the similarity in results is not surprising. In reviewing dissent in the Leicestershire industrial villages, Everitt found that there were two chapels in each of the villages where framework knitting was established but that the Wesleyans were far more numerous than the Primitives.³⁵ There is not much difference in the results for labourers with the Primitive percentages emerging at 27 for Belper and 28.8 for the Snell sample: the respective figures for the Wesleyans in both cases are around ten percentage points lower. Snell found a major difference in membership of miners with 17.5% among Primitives but only 2.1% among Wesleyans whilst in Belper there was little difference between the denominations.

Snell claims that his findings show "*conspicuous social differences between the two denominations*" with "*an overwhelming preponderance*" among Primitive Methodists of manual workers and artisans. 91% of all occupations in the registers of that denomination were from his three lower categories as compared to some 72% in the case of the Wesleyans, who unlike the Primitives, "*were not dominated by the unskilled manual workers*".³⁶ The variation between these categories in the Belper registers was not nearly so marked at 94% for the Primitives and 90% for the Wesleyans – an "*overwhelming preponderance*" in both instances. In summarising the Belper results the earlier conclusions are confirmed namely, the Wesleyans again have a slight preponderance among the middle classes whilst the Primitives have a proportionally larger group of the unskilled among their members but the distinctions are marginal rather than conspicuous.

The final external comparison will be with the findings of Clive Field who produced a wide-ranging review of previous studies concerned with the social structure of Methodism. His occupational classification is shown in Table 2. Whilst similar to that of Snell, there are some significant differences relative to this study such as placing miners in the semi-skilled rather than the unskilled category. In view of these distinctions, any further reclassification of the Belper data to fit Field's schema would probably add confusion rather than clarification. The most productive use of Field's review therefore seems to be to extract data which has particular relevance to the present study.

Overall, Field concludes that in the early nineteenth century "*Primitive Methodism achieved its greatest success within ranks III-V*", a finding which matches both Snell's results and the picture in Belper. He quotes the result of research into the circuit at Ilkeston in Derbyshire, which would bound the Belper circuit to the east, which showed "*98% of fathers ... engaged in manual pursuits, 51% of them as miners and 19% as framework knitters*".³⁷ The overall picture in Ilkeston was therefore marginally more proletarian than in Belper (at 94%) but the proportion of miners was much higher. But Ilkeston was more central to the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire coalfield than was Belper, so the difference is not surprising. The Ilkeston results also confirm the strength of Methodism among framework knitters which has been a feature of all the findings considered in this paper. A somewhat similar picture emerged from a study of two Nottinghamshire districts, Hucknall and Ruddington, though this covered a longer period than this Belper research. 91% of Primitive baptisms over the period 1819-1900 indicated working class occupations – miners, framework knitters and agricultural labourers.³⁸ The only specific denominational comparison cited by Field comes from north Nottinghamshire. Here 87% of Primitive baptisms recorded occupations in the three lower categories; the Wesleyan figure was significantly lower at 68%.³⁹ This result gives greater support to Snell's claim of conspicuous differences than do the findings of this present study and arguably gives weight to the suggestion that the overall socio-economic structure of the area studied needs to be determined in order to explain the extent of inter-denominational differences.

Field's overall conclusions were that "*Wesleyanism was not the consistently bourgeois force*" often claimed. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the majority of its support came from the skilled workman, with the two lowest classes making a greater contribution than the middle classes. Similarly, whilst the bulk of Primitive

support came from the “*manual sector*”, such supporters were more likely to be semi-skilled or craftsmen than labourers.⁴⁰ Thus Field gives support to Gilbert’s claim that the artisan was the bedrock of both denominations, a position which is found in the Belper results for the period under study.

But did the situation change over time? The final section of this paper compares the occupational structure of the two denominations for other periods. The survival of the records determines what can be done. The Wesleyan registers enable an analysis for that denomination from 1812 to 1821, a period prior to the creation of the Primitive circuit. This analysis might indicate whether the existing Wesleyan constituency was affected by the arrival of the Primitives. The continuation of the Primitive registers into the third quarter of the nineteenth century provides the opportunity to check whether the movement was affected by the process of embourgeoisement. The registers have therefore been analysed for the final decade of their existence – 1853-1863.

Table 6 Social comparison by denomination in different periods

	Wesleyans				Primitive Methodists			
	1812-21		1822-37		1822-37		1853-63	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Merchants/manufacturers	4	0.6	16	1.4	2	0.3	5	1.4
Shopkeepers	22	3.2	35	3	6	0.8	7	2
Farmers	16	2.3	30	2.6	16	2.2	22	6.3
Artisans	428	62.3	613	52.3	356	48.6	157	44.6
Labourers	106	15.4	219	18.7	210	28.6	104	29.5
Colliers/miners	97	14.1	212	18.1	123	16.8	50	14.2
Other	14	2.1	46	3.9	20	2.7	7	2

The only marked change in the Wesleyan figures is the 10% decline in the artisan sector over the two periods which perhaps indicates that the Primitives made a significant impact on this class of worker. (The proportion of nailers among the artisans fell by the same extent, a further indication that this group of workers was particularly attracted by Primitive preaching). The other changes are minor and it would be speculative to claim that they represent any real shift in the pattern of support.

We need to seek for any evidence of embourgeoisement later in the century. Bebbington cites almost a three fold increase in the proportion of males employed in clerical and analogous positions in the sixty years from 1851 and argues that even the proletarian Primitives were affected by this shift.⁴¹ His example comes from a later period than the Belper evidence but his figure of 4% for lower middle class Primitive support at Ashton-under-Lyme between 1850 and 1870 is not dissimilar to the Belper findings for shopkeepers, merchants and ‘others’ from 1853 to 1863. These results, together with the rather greater proportion of farmers in this period, do tentatively suggest a slight move up the social scale for an element of Primitive support but still almost 90% of the baptisms were in families with a working class father. However, the overall figure for artisans masks a significant change as regards the two groups who had previously provided the majority of Primitive supporters in this class – the nailers and framework knitters. In the earlier period they represented 27% and 23% respectively of the total number of artisans registered in the Primitive circuit: in the final decade these figures had dropped to 16% and 6%. This reduction almost certainly reflects the decline of these traditional cottage industries rather than any change in religious persuasion. Mechanisation of nail manufacture meant that the handworkers could no longer compete and “by 1900 ... the nailers shops had one by one closed their doors”.⁴² Snell remarks that, even in the 1840s, framework knitting was associated with the “*worst possible conditions of*

poverty in the Midlands". By the turn of the century "*hand-frame knitting was fighting a losing battle for survival*" in the face of factory-based production.⁴³

The data in Table 6 gives a slight hint of change in the social structure of the Primitive community in Belper, although the later period for which the registers survive is probably too early to expect any real indication of embourgeoisement. The verdict has to be "not proven" on this evidence.

Conclusions

The overall impression derived from this analysis of the social composition of Belper Methodists is that both denominations received the bulk of their support among the working class. Within this constituency, the artisans were the most numerous, with, as Gilbert asserted, little difference between the denominations. The group embraced both the independent craftsmen such as nailers and the textile factory worker. Thus Evangelical Methodism both "*undergirded factory discipline for some ... (and) ... contributed to the independence of spirit for others*".⁴⁴ The variation occurred in the lowest rank of the working class – the unskilled labourers – where the Primitives had a markedly higher proportion of adherents.

These overall findings are not unexpected when one considers the general socio-economic structure of Belper and its neighbourhood which was predominantly industrial, with textile manufacture, mining and nail manufacture being the chief industries. The area was working class; it follows that the majority of support for Methodism would come from that class. The relationship between the character of the locality and the social structure of Methodism would seem to be a crucial factor in considering variations in the findings of similar research.

In considering the answer to the prime question posed in this study, it has to be said that there is little evidence for a significant bourgeois element in Wesleyan Methodism in the area. The study therefore provides support for Field's contention that Wesleyanism was not consistently bourgeois in composition, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. What can be said is that the Belper Primitives were more proletarian than the Wesleyans, a result which confirms Kendall's description quoted at the beginning of this paper.

The growth of Methodism in the area can be seen as a product of the typical seedbed in which Nonconformity flourished. At the turn of the nineteenth century Belper was a rapidly expanding industrial centre within an extremely large Anglican parish with the parish church four miles distant. When the encouragement of the leading employers is also taken into account then the rapid increase in Methodist numbers is unsurprising. The particular attraction of the "cottage religion" of the Primitives can perhaps be attributed, as Valenze suggests, to the existence in the area of the old-established cottage industries of nailing and framework knitting and a hankering among the factory workers for the traditional values they had left behind.

The periods for which the sources survive has precluded any deep examination of the question of change over time. Valenze points to the coming of the railway to the town in 1840 as bringing as significant a change as did the arrival of the Strutts and suggests that the Primitives "*found themselves increasingly out of tune with mid-Victorian Belper*".⁴⁵ Whilst there are slight indications that the Primitives attracted greater numbers from the middle classes after 1850, the overwhelming majority of their support came from the working class. What the sources for this study do not of course show is whether, in response to the changing nature of the area, the nature of Primitivism itself began to adapt. Methodism in Belper undoubtedly played a significant part in the religious and social life of the community, not only for the newly arrived factory employee but also for the old-established cottage worker. Whilst there were some distinctions in the social composition of the two denominations, these were marginal rather than profound. What is abundantly clear is that Methodism was, in Belper, the religion of the working classes.

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Tuesday Mans

RAILWAY.
RECEIVED AND DELIVERED.
WHEN SENT OUT. Nov 13

Date when each Wagon was sent out.	By what Train.	To what Station sent.	Empty or Loaded.	Number of Days Attached.	REMARKS.
Wall		Middleton	2	11 1/2	King's +
Cooper		"	2	11 1/2	
Edgemoor		"	2	11 1/2	
Wardlaw		Hall	2	16	
Rose		Apennine	3	34	
Raton		Byt	1	6 1/2	
Jayman		Raton	2	16 1/2	
Camp		Famley	1	6 1/2	
Hird		Mathews	2	11 1/2	" 11 1/2"
Dean		Han	2	16 1/2	" 16 1/2"
Haney		"	2	16	
Brunt		Byt	1	8	
Camp		Middleton	1	8	
Shore		"	1	8	
		Van			

Tuesday Evening

RAILWAY.
RECEIVED AND DELIVERED.
WHEN SENT OUT.

Tuesday Evening

GREAT NORTHERN

DAILY RECORD OF WAGONS RECEIVED.

Nov 13

Wagons & Coas Limited, Friborn, London Wall, London.

Date when each Wagon was received.	Initials of person to whom delivered.	Separate No. of each Wagon.	From whence received.	Whether Loaded or Empty.	Date when Unloaded.	Date when each Wagon was sent out.	By what Train.	To what Station sent.	Empty or Loaded.	Number of Days Attached.	REMARKS.
Leicester	Williams	1	Butt	8	King's +		Butt	Hare	Loaded	11 1/2	Butt
Wall	"	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Cooper	"	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Edgemoor	"	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Wardlaw	Mathias	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Rose	Robertson	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Raton	Copper	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Jayman	Hale	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Camp	Sainsy	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Hird	Walker	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Dean	S. Mathias	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Haney	Casper	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Brunt	Prin	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Camp	S. Woodcock	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
Shore	Copelake	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
	Phill	1	"	16	"		"	"	Loaded	11 1/2	"
										Total	1770
										39	
										1 1/4	
										53	

Figure 1. Mik Dispatch Record, Etwall Station, November 13th 1883.

RAILWAY MILK FROM ETWALL STATION, SOUTH DERBYSHIRE DURING THE AUTUMN OF 1883

(by Roger T. Dalton, University of Derby, Kedleston Road, Derby)

The discovery of a Great Northern Railway daily dispatch book¹ detailing milk movements from Etwall Station in south Derbyshire during the autumn of 1883 enables insights to be gained into the railway milk trade at this time. The entries in the book exemplified by those for November 13th 1883 (see Figure 1) show that a standard Great Northern wagon log designed to cover all goods movements had been adapted for milk trade purposes. In total the record covers the period from Tuesday 2nd October to Friday December 14th 1883 but the pages for the six days 21st November to 26th November have been torn out and the record is clearly incomplete on five other days. Normally the entries comprise the name of the farmer, the amount of milk sent in cans and gallons, the name of the recipient, the destination station, the number of the wagon onto which the cans were loaded and totals for all cans and gallons. However there are inconsistencies in the detail of the record which raise uncertainties when attempting interpretation. Taking these into account this paper seeks an analysis of the dispatch book in the context of the development of dairying in Etwall and nearby southern Derbyshire during the early 1880s.

The Railway Milk Trade in the 1880s

By the 1880s specialist dairying was a long established feature of farming across much of southern Derbyshire and adjacent central Staffordshire.² Traditionally the main product for sale had been cheese made on the farm but its future had been compromised some twenty years earlier by variable quality as compared with the factory made American cheese being imported into Britain at lower prices. Concurrently the growth in the demand for liquid milk in urban areas, most notably London, had created new and lasting opportunities for dairy farmers in that they were immune from the foreign competition which impacted adversely on many sectors of British agriculture until the late 1930s. In Derbyshire liquid milk production was energised by the opening of the Midland Railway's London terminus at St Pancras in 1868 following successful experimental carriage initiated by George Barham, the founder of Express Dairies. He had been concerned to make good the shortfall in production from dairies within London caused by the cattle plague epidemic of 1865/6³ when many cows died. The Midland facilitated the movement of milk from its core area of operation by charging favourable carriage rates of one penny a gallon so that farmers up to 150 miles from the capital could sell milk at profit. Similar arrangements were subsequently adopted by other milk carriers including the Great Northern. Farmers entered contracts with urban based retailers and wholesalers but they also sent 'accommodation milk' which was sold as needed from the platforms at London termini. The rapid growth of the milk trade is demonstrated by an estimate for the early 1880s that the Midland Railway was carrying 5 million gallons of Derbyshire milk to London or about 17% of the capital's supply.⁴ The completion of the Great Northern Derbyshire and Staffordshire extension in 1878 thus coincided with buoyant trading conditions and opened up new territory for liquid milk selling. The extent of the latter was determined by the ability of farmers to access country stations on the new line as full cans had to be transported from farm to station at least once a day and empties collected. It appears to have been generally accepted that a journey time of about one hour was about the maximum that could be managed. Depending on circumstances farms at distances greater than three to five miles were thus effectively excluded from the trade which was confined to irregularly shaped access corridors defined by the location of stations and the shape of the network of roads which might serve them.

A further fundamental consideration for farmers was the prospect of greater financial return from milk selling. Evidence given to the Royal Commission of 1882⁵ indicates the sharp fall in cheese prices from the late 1870s which led some farmers in remote areas to give up dairying altogether while those within reach of railway stations switched to selling liquid milk. Analysis of Derbyshire prices indicates that the advantage of milk selling was at least two pennies per barn gallon. In part this was dependent on sustaining production into the winter half of the year when milk prices were at their highest. Farmers adjusted calving regimes and purchased quantities of supplementary winter feeds notably the spent brewers grains which were readily available to south Derbyshire farmers from Burton on Trent. However the early 1880s were an optimal period for the milk trade as prices reached their maximum around 1885 and then fell away marginally as the rapid increase in supply tended to outstrip the growth in demand.⁶

Farmer	Parish	Evening Only	No of Cans	Evening & Morning	No of Cans	Destination	Consignee
Brassington	Thurvaston	*	2or3			KX	Capner
Bridges		*	4or5			FP	Hare
Brown	Etwall			*	1+1	FP	Hare
Bull, Wm	Egginton	*	3			KX	Price&Harris
Camp, G	Etwall			*	1+1	KX	Matthias
Camp, G	Etwall			*	1+1	FP&Nottm	Wilson/E.Hal
Cooper, Alfred	Etwall			*	2+2	KX	Williams
Copestake, Geo	Barton Blount	*	2			KX	Price&Harris
Dean, Henry	Hilton			*	1+1	FP	Hare
Dean, John	Burnaston			*	1+1	FP	Hare
Docksey	Burnaston			*	3+3	KX	Robertson
Eaton, Chas	Etwall			*	1+1	KX	Dairy Supply
Edge, Ben	Ashe			*	1+1	KX	Williams
Hodkinson		*	1			Middlesborough	Hardy
Hurd, Wm	Burnaston			*	2+1or2	FP	Hare
Jerram, Thos	Bearwardcote			*	2+2	KX	Watson
Osborne	Thurvaston	*	2			FP	Meredith
Pegg, Wm	Etwall			*	1or2+1or2	FP	Hare
Rainis				*	1+1	KX	Watson
Rose, Eliz	Ashe			*	3+3	KX	Capner
Shaw	Osleston	*	3			KX	Walker&Flint
Slaney	Marston on Dove			*	2+2	FP	Hare
Summerfield		*	2			KX	Price&Harris
Topham, Chas		*	2			KX	Williams
Topham, Thos	Longford	*	1or2			KX	Williams
Wall, John	Etwall			*	2+2	KX	Williams
Woodisse, Ralph	Ashe			*	2+2	KX	Hall
Woodward	Sutton on the Hill	*				KX	Hare
Woodward, S	Thurvaston	*	5			FP	Price&Harris

Table 1. Dispatch Record by Farmers. Underlined names - farmers who changed to evening only dispatch during November.

Transporting milk was not without its problems as hygiene considerations needed to be addressed from the moment of milking to the point of sale.⁷ Although the railways adopted the standard conical can to facilitate handling and attached specially ventilated vans to passenger trains, souring en route was a risk in warm weather which would lead to milk being returned to farmers as unsaleable. However many farmers in Derbyshire and adjacent Staffordshire could also sell milk to the small cheese factories which had been established from the 1870s onwards, under the aegis of Lord Vernon and the Derbyshire Agricultural Society, in an attempt to counter American competition.⁸ The first two of some 30 factories were opened in Derby and Longford in 1870 while in 1874 and 1875 others were established at Etwall and Sutton on the Hill.⁹ Consequently the opening of the Great Northern Railway in 1878 gave farmers in locations within reach of Etwall Station greater choice as to milk disposal. Despite the greater profit potential of milk selling cheese factories offered less rigid contracts by taking all the milk produced and with no risk of milk being returned as sour. However by 1883 the price differential in favour of milk had created difficult economic circumstances even for the cheese factories. Although the Sutton Factory had a reputation for good quality cheese the price decline from 80 shillings a hundredweight in the late 1870s to less than 60 shillings in the early 1880s meant that the enterprise was barely profitable and was to continue as such until closure around 1930. The problematic nature of cheese making at Sutton in 1883 is indicated by the diversion of milk to London by rail as accommodation milk. The situation at the Etwall factory at this time is less clear. It had been sold by its originator, the Derby banker Charles Newton, to the Bretall family from Leicestershire who used it to make Stilton cheese in the late 1870s.¹⁰ Standards were high and cheeses from Etwall won prizes in competitions in London and Birmingham but there is no evidence as to whether this continued into the 1880s.¹¹ Despite the greater returns from the railway milk trade contemporary directories¹² indicate that less than half of all the farmers listed for the parishes in the Etwall Station supply area were involved. Given that dairying was significant on all but a few farms it is implicit that cheese making or cheese factory supply was still preferred by a significant number notwithstanding the financial benefits of the railway milk trade.

The Dispatch Book

Figure 1, which covers the morning and evening milk sent on Tuesday 13th November 1883, has been selected to illustrate the character of the record and its inherent limitations. The level of detail is sufficient to determine the extent and shape of the Etwall Station supply area, the quantities of milk involved and the destinations to which it was sent. The names of the farmers are listed in the left hand column most often in the same non alphabetical sequences for morning and evening. The morning list comprised those nearest to the station and able to make two journeys daily while in the evening all farmers were potentially included. The second column names the consignees located mainly at Kings Cross and the Finsbury Park goods depot. In both instances the names have been written in ink and with reasonable neatness suggesting that they had been entered by a clerk prior to dispatch. However there were occasions when such preparation had not taken place and the record was seemingly hurriedly completed in pencil in the manner of Osborne's name on the morning list for November 13th. The amounts sent, e.g. 2 15 meaning 2 cans containing 15 gallons, were entered in pencil evidently by a dispatching porter presumably as cans were dropped off by farmers or were loaded onto a train. The number of the van is also given followed by a total of cans 39 for Kings Cross and 14 for Finsbury Park making 53 in all.

Etwall Station Supply Area

The definition of a supply area is dependent on the accurate identification of the locations of the contributing farmers. Searches of contemporary directories and census returns¹³ succeeded in locating all but four of the listed names with a reasonable measure of confidence and these are listed in Table 1 and mapped on Figure 2. The sparing use of initials was a difficulty especially as four surnames were duplicated. G. Camp and Camp were from Etwall but they cannot be distinguished as one was George Camp of Blenheim Farm and the other Gilbert Camp of Hepnalls Farms. Four names Bridges, Hodkinson, Rainis and Summerfield were not found in any listing of farmers. Hodkinson appears towards the end of the record period uniquely sending milk to Middlesbrough. Bridges consistently took four or five cans for the evening train and Summerfield and Rainis also featured regularly. Possibly they were acting as carriers for farmers or their tenancies were of such short term that they failed to feature in directories. Figure 2 shows that, while there was a concentration of contributing farms in Etwall and adjacent parishes, the supply area was elongated to the north and west into the southern parts of Longford, Osleston and Thurstaston parishes where journey distances would have been 5 miles. The shape of the supply area seemingly reflects access opportunities to other stations. For farmers to the east Mickleover Station would have been the nearest dispatch point while to the south and west stations at Willington, Egginton Junction and Hatton would have been more accessible.

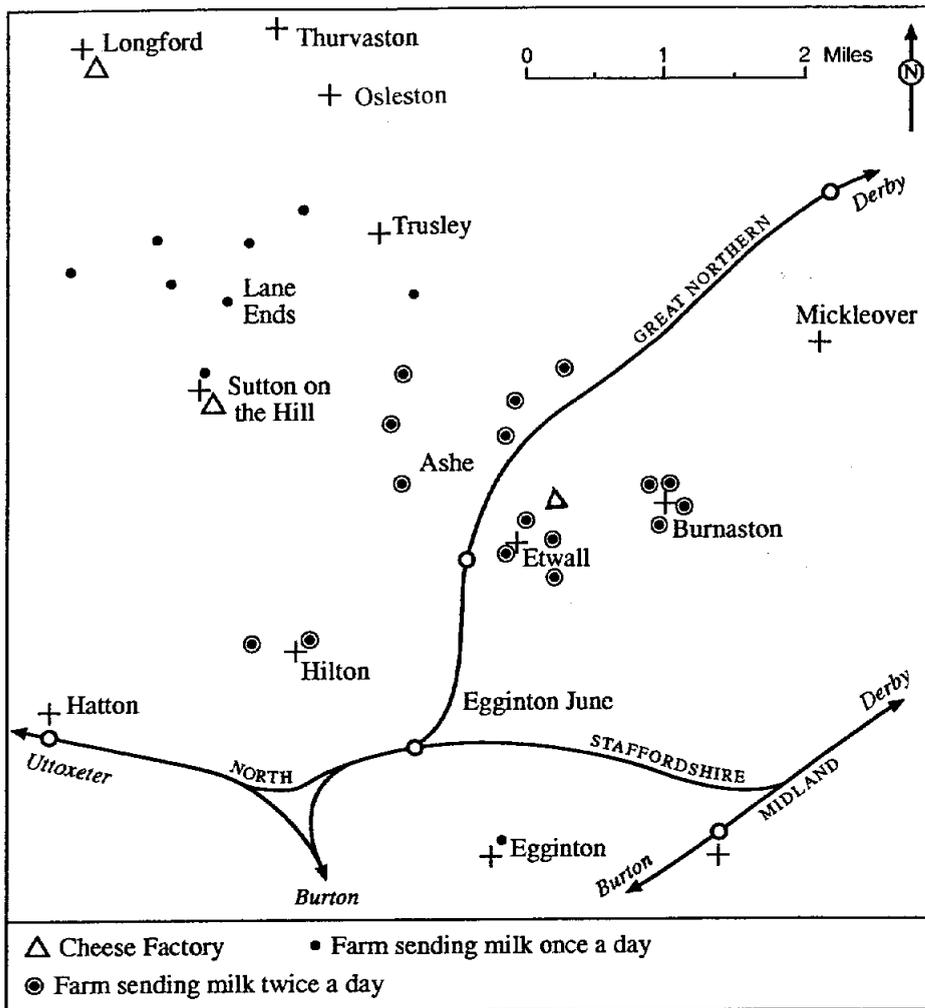


Figure 2. Locations of Farms Dispatching Milk via Etwall Station.

Two groups of farmers have been identified in terms of location and the frequency of milk dispatch. The first group totalling sixteen were located in the parishes of Ash, Bearwardcote, Burnaston, Egginton, Etwall and Hilton Their journeys to Etwall Station did not exceed two miles and they were thus able to send milk evening and morning although some moved to evening dispatch from mid November sending a double milking. The second group of nine farmers mostly located between Ash and Longford sent milk in the evenings only. The most distant of these farmers used the complex of lanes converging on the vicinity of Sutton on the Hill and Lane Ends when carting milk to Etwall Station by Ash. Although rutting of the then unmetalled surfaces would have been problematic in terms of speed and the effects of shaking on the quality of the milk can only be guessed at, farmers using this route had the benefit of long downhill grades. They also experienced the irritation of the three quarter mile loop through Etwall village when they reached the railway bridge on the lane between Sutton and Etwall. In 1880 a track had been made by the railway from this bridge to Etwall Station to shorten the route for foot passengers and this could conceivably have been wide enough to take small carts.

Milk Quantity

The dispatch book records the quantities of milk sent in cans and gallons against the name of each farmer. Consequently there is scope to identify the regularity of involvement in the milk trade, any changes in the amount sent by individual farmers over time, the overall level of milk traffic from Etwall and whether the amount sent diminished as autumn gave way to winter. It is in the determination of these aspects that difficulties of interpretation arise. Most often cans were sent at their full capacity of 8 barn gallons¹⁴ but amounts per can were variable ranging upwards from 4½ gallons so that the average content of all cans sent over the period of the record just exceeded 7 barn gallons. Occasional notes indicate that the station staff were aware of possible discrepancies. The note of '*full measure*' against Brassington's delivery on December 11th of 3 cans, 24 gallons hints that the cans were over capacity while on the following day '*short measure*' for the same amount suggests that the cans were clearly less than full. Other suspect quantities were identified on the evening of December 11th when Eaton sent one can of 5 gallons described as '*short measure*' while on December 12th his can of five and a half gallons was marked as '*very bad measure*'. Despite variations in the amount of milk they contained farmers were fairly consistent in the numbers of cans they sent each day as illustrated in Table 1. The largest suppliers Docksey of Burnaston and Rose of Ash sent six cans daily but the majority produced only two cans. The latter would have represented the product of small herds of milkers. In broad terms and assuming an annual yield per cow of 600 imperial gallons two cans containing 28 imperial gallons would represent the product of about 15 cows.

The major problem in using the record to calculate daily dispatch totals and identify trends over is the interpretation of apparent omissions. Figure 1 shows that in the morning Camp and Slaney are named but no amount has been entered against them either in cans or gallons while in the evening the same applies to Cooper, C. Topham, Jerram, Brown, Hodkinson and G. Camp. Assuming the lists to have been written up ahead of dispatch explanations could be that these farmers were expected but did not arrive or that the dispatching staff simply failed to complete the entries. However the pencilling in of Osborne, one can of 8 gallons, into the morning list suggests that the station staff showed some care with the record entries. Further perspective on this problem is obtainable from the longer term records of the farmers involved. In mid November Brown of Etwall and Jerram of Bearwardcote moved to once a day evening dispatch, the implication being that the clerk had not modified the appropriate list of expected farmers to take account of these changes. A similar possibility applies to Topham who had sent milk irregularly throughout October and stopped sending milk by December.

Slaney of Marston on Dove also appears to have changed his pattern of operation. On the evening of November 13th he sent 3 cans containing 23 gallons, seemingly a double milking, as previously he had consistently sent 12 to 14 gallons both morning and evening to average 26 gallons daily. Not all omissions can be so explained however. The absence of an entry against Hodkinson is unusual as he was otherwise consistently credited with one can of 8 gallons. The situation with respect to G. Camp of Etwall supplying to Nottingham is also uncertain. Both Camps had the greatest number of omissions through the period of the record and the quantities of milk they are credited with dispatching show considerable variability between 2 and sometimes 5 cans daily.

There are therefore reasonable grounds for regarding the entries of quantity as a credible statement of what happened on any morning or evening but there is clearly a need to treat the record with an edge of caution, the likelihood being that daily totals of cans and gallons understate to some small degree. Table 2 summarises the variability of milk dispatch on a daily basis and through time. The average number of cans sent shows steady decline through the three months of the record from 77 per day in October to 65 in December. This appears to be entirely accounted for by the morning trade, the evening element being steady throughout. It can be speculated

No of Days of Complete Record	October			November			December		
	Total	30 Morning	Evening	Total	24 Morning	Evening	Total	14 Morning	Evening
Average Cans Sent Daily	77	26	51	71	20	51	65	15	50
Variation in Cans Sent Daily	69-92	17-34	42-60	56-81	14-26	40-62	53-75	10-21	43-61
Average Cans Sent to Kings Cross	52	17	35	51	13	38	44	9	35
Average Cans Sent to Finsbury Park	25	9	16	18	5	13	19	4	15
Cans to Middlesborough				1	1		1	1	
Cans to Nottingham				1	1		1	1	

Table 2. Variations in Milk Dispatch by Month.

that the onset of winter potentially combining deteriorating road conditions with darkness, fog, frost or heavy rain might have been a factor in non arrival. That farmers arrived late is indicated by the note '*running when received*' against Camp of Etwall on the morning of December 6th. It has been noted that some farmers gave up morning dispatch and moved to evenings only which in itself would have helped to sustain the evening totals. The overall decline can be accounted for by a minority of farmers either sending one less can daily or giving up the trade. Even so throughout the record there is variation in the numbers of cans sent between days and it is implicit that farmers' contractual arrangements with consignees were not rigid in terms of specified amounts, although this may have been a feature of the winter months as opposed to the summer period of maximum production.

Milk Destination

Table 1 shows that London was totally dominant as the destination for the milk dispatched from Etwall with 18 farmers under contract to send milk to wholesalers/retailers collecting at Kings Cross (KX) and a further 9 at the goods depot at Finsbury Park (FP). Farmers were consistent in sending to one consignee throughout the period of the record. One of the *Etwall Camps* regularly sent one can to Nottingham while Hodkinson of unknown location sent one can to Middlesborough. It is unclear as to whether cans were loaded onto special milk trains or wagons attached to passenger trains. The latter was the most common practice at this time although Higginson¹⁵ indicates that express night milk trains calling at Etwall were scheduled after the opening of the dairy at Egginton in 1887 which itself acted as a major milk collection point. Assuming that milk vans were attached to passenger trains then Bradshaw's Railway Guide for 1887¹⁶ indicates weekday passenger services apparently suitable for this pattern of operation. The 7.05 a.m. from Burton called at Etwall at 7.25 a.m. and arrived at London Kings Cross at 11.45 a.m. after transfer at Grantham. In the evening an 8.21 p.m. departure from Etwall reached Kings Cross at 2.10 a.m. The 1883 record shows that milk was dispatched from Etwall only in the evening on Sundays. Even so a suitable train for London left Etwall at 7.37 a.m. so that the absence of morning operations may well have reflected Sunday observance considerations. The evening departure for London was at 8.34 p.m. The Nottingham drop off would take place en route to London while milk for Middlesborough would be directed north from Grantham with a possible arrival at 10.37 a.m. The timing of the morning journeys hints at problems of souring on warm days in summer.

Conclusion

The discussion developed above is but a brief illustration of aspects of the milk trade in one locality at the time of year when milk yields were likely to be falling off but when prices to farmers were at their highest. It is evident that in the five years since the opening of the Great Northern line in 1878 a definable milk supply area had developed in relation to Etwall Station which is divisible on the basis of the feasibility of farmers carting milk once or twice a day. Most farmers appear to have been reasonably consistent in the amount of milk they sent and had regular contractual arrangements with their consignees. In the autumn/winter period of overall reduced supply it is likely that all milk received in London would have been saleable so that the dispatch of accommodation milk would also have been viable. Farmers within practical reach of Etwall Station, like all others who entered the railway milk trade, became part of a much sharper and complex business world as compared with marketing cheese locally or sending milk to a small cheese factory. They were the small producing elements of a marketing chain leading to urban wholesalers and retailers and dependent on the good offices of a large railway company. For them Etwall Station was an essential collecting point on the supply stream of milk sent outwards from south Derbyshire and also central Staffordshire on the Great Northern.

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2. Roger T. Dalton, *The Railway Milk Trade in the North Midlands c1869-1914*, *Midland History* XXVIII, 2003, pp100-119.
3. B. Morgan, *Express Journey 1864-1964 - A Centenary History of the Express Dairy Company Ltd*, 1964, p16.
4. G.A. Tomson, *Dairying in South West Derbyshire in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Loughborough University of Technology M.Phil Thesis, 1986, discusses the economics of the milk trade in detail.
5. S.B.L. Druce, *Derbyshire Report to the Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of the Agricultural Interests*, *British Parliamentary Papers* XVIII 1882 and Minutes of Evidence submitted to the Commission make frequent reference to the decline in cheese prices.
6. There were 240 old pennies to the pound.

7. Farmers had to scald cans on return and cool milk before dispatch. Adulteration was common in the form of bulking with water and using flour to increase the appearance of creaminess. Various chemicals were added to delay souring. Cows milk came to be linked with gastric problems in infants and the spread of tuberculosis. Distrust of railway milk led to the popularity of canned condensed milk. This was manufactured at the Nestles plants opened at Hatton and Ashbourne early in the twentieth century.
8. J.C. Morton, 'On Cheese Making in Home Dairies and in Factories', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* XI, 1875, pp261-300 reviews the origins and progress of the development of cheese factories.
9. J. Arthur, *Say Cheese, Stories of the Cheese and Milk Trade in Derbyshire 1870-1970*, 1994, discusses the Sutton on the Hill factory in some detail.
10. The Bretall family eventually moved their business to Hartington.
11. G. Gibbons, Report on Cheese Making in Derbyshire, *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, XVII, 1881, pp540-2.
12. *Kellys Directory of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire*, 1881; *Slater's Directory of Derbyshire*, 1884.
13. *ibid Kellys Directory* and *Slater's Directory*. Census of Population 1881.
14. Normally the content of cans is expressed in barn gallons but exceptionally and for no apparent reason amounts in the record are specified in imperial gallons. One barn gallon equated 17 pints. For example on the morning of the 3rd October Rainis sent one can containing 16 imperial gallons, but that evening he sent one full can of 8 barn gallons. The milk dispatched by one of the Etwall Camps was often measured in imperial gallons so that on December 11th he sent two cans containing 33 gallons; both of which would have been virtually full.
15. M. Higginson, *The Friargate Line*, 1989, p45.
16. *Bradshaw's August 1887 Railway Guide*, David and Charles Reprints, 1968, pp162-4.

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THE DIARY OF JOSEPH HUTSBY

PART 1: 1843

Introduction

Joseph Hutsby was born in 1800, the youngest child of Henry and Mary Hutsby of Greasley, Nottinghamshire. The family had moved into the area from Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire.

Joseph was a miner and preacher and he married Charlotte Moss in 1823. His diaries - which are in the possession of the family - cover the period 1843 to 1846 when he was a colliery official at Loscoe, probably at Loscoe Colliery close to the village centre.

The transcription and personal information on Joseph were supplied by Gillian Hall of 44, Lake Avenue, Loscoe. Original spellings, capitalisation and punctuation have been retained in the transcription.

THE DIARY

Wednesday Nov 22nd 1843

turned at Both Pits.
self at Colly till ten. went home and to Bed.

Thursday Nov. 23rd

turned at Both Pits. self at Colly till 7. went Nottingham to the Doctor who said I should be a good wile before I am well.

Friday Nov. 24th

turned at Both Pits ½ day. self at Colly till 4. self went to wharfe to see Stephen Thompson to Let him know that Mr Griffin Did not wish him to have only one Load in hand at once.

Saturday Nov. 25th 1843

turned at Both Pits ½ day. self at Colly till 3. Paid the men as usual.

Monday Nov. 27th

Lays till at hard, turned at Soft alday. self at Colly till 2. John started this morning with a Load of coals, part of hard and part of soft to Crapill for Mr John James of Barnsdone.
the first time as Captin By order of Mr Griffin. self went and mesured some scotch fir at Stanley's shop 27 foot at 9d per foot.
Paid my Club on the 27th.

Tuesday Nov. 28th 1843

turned at Both pits. self in hard when the rope broke at 9 in the morning. Did not get up till 3 afternoon. Had to send JThorpe to Smalley for our Gin Rope lent by George Goodwin. Turned till 7 at night.

Wednesday Nov. 29th

Turned at both pits. Self at Colly till 3. Down in hard sat a new gat road out of the Deep Gatend to cross the Catch Benk. Self in soft today.

Thursday Nov. 30th 1843

Turned at both pits. Self went to Mansfield to pay Nicholas swift for a load of oak, 91 feet at 1s 2d per foot £5 6s 2d.
Went to Newstead saw Mr. Keeton. Agreed with him for some larch.

Friday December 1st

Turned at both pits self at Colliy till ten. Went to Derby. Received £11 10s 0d of Stephen Thompson for a load of coals and Gob.

Our Queen Victoria past by Derby with His Royal Highness Prince Albert. Self saw the Duke of Wellington go in train by Derby to Chatsworth.

Called at Mr Davies' shop to see if Dial was done. it was not.

Paid Joseph Hicking £11 10s 0d.

Saturday Dec. 2nd 1843

Turned at both pits. Self at Collry till 7 at night. Paid the men as usual.

Monday Dec. 4th 1843

turned at both pits.

Self at Colly in the morning. At 4 followed the Dray to Newstead Habby, loaded about 120 feet of larch for £2 2s 0d, Mr Griffin came. We loaded. Mr Griffin and self got to Mr Widison in Papplewick when D. Farnsworth came to let us know the dray was broke down, bad driving. Self went to Mr Samuel Tailor of Papplewick Knots. For owed a draye, it was in the bay, all to picese. C. Right loaded it. Left ours to try.

Tuesday Dec. 5th 1843

Turned at both pits. Self in hard. Found a fall in Catch Benk.

Wensday Dec. 6th

Turned at both pits. Self at Colly at 5 in the morning. followed the draye to Newstead for a load of larch. Brought about 100 feet £2 2s 0d. Samuel Garrat lost a collar belonging to Mr Hicking's Horse. Self borrowed one off Mr Samuel Tailor of Newstead, was to leave it at Bower Mill.

Thursday Dec. 7th 1843

Turned at both pits. Self in hard at Colly till 3.

Friday Dec. 8th 1843

Turned in soft alday. on one side at hard. Self in hard. Fall in Catch Benk stopt the air firing on deep side.

Saturday Dec. 9th

Turned at both pits, Self at Colly till 4. Self in hard. Paiyed the men as usual.

Monday Dec. 11th 1843

Turned at both pits. Selfin hard alday colly till 4.

Tuesday Dec. 12th

Turned at hard alday, ½ at soft. Mr Aslamm of Oakenthorpe came and offered some timber. Self in hard, at Colly till 5.

Wensday Dec 13th

Turned at pits, self in hard till 2. Called for me up, Mr Wilson of Alfreton wanted to sell timber. At Colly till 3.

Thursday Dec 14th 1843

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 11. Went to Marehay to inquire about some old metle. Mr Pettit said he had sold them to Willie's Bailey and if he did not tak it all he would send a man over to let us know and we should have it at Mr Bailey's price.

Self took tea with Mr Pellaton.

Friday Dec. 15th 1843

Laystill at both pits, water up in hard. Self went to Wain Groves for a load of larch and scotch timber. Went to Derby, brought £12 1s 3d from Stephen Thompson.

Brought the Dial from Mr Davies. Gave £2 10s 0d. Gave £2 10s 0d.

Paid Joseph Hicling the balance.

Saturday Dec. 10

Turned at both pits, self at Colliy till 6. Paid the men as usual.

Monday Dec. 18th 1843

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

Tuesday Dec. 19th

Turned at both pits. self at Colly till 8 at night, repairing the shaft at hard. Mr Griffin brought a horse of Mr James.

Wednesday Dec. 20th

Turned at both pits. Self in soft.

Thursday Dec. 21st 1843

Turned at both pits, Self in hard at Colly II. Went to Shipley bought an Ass, gave one pound for him. Asked Mr Eley whether they had any old mettle to sell, who said they sent their old mettle to Mr Thorniwells of Burton in exchange for castings.

Friday Dec. 22nd

Turned at hard alday, ½ at soft. Self went to Derby to fetch the money for a cargo of coals of Mr S.Thompson which was £12 3s 9d. Paid it to Mr Griffin.

Saturday Dec. 23rd 1843

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 9 at night. Paid the men as usual:

	Amount	
Hard coal	£26 6s 3½d	
Soft coal	£10 4s 2d	
	£36 10s 5½	228 tons

Tuesday Dec. 26th

Laystill at both pits. men drinking. Self in hard, mended shaft at hard. Cleaning new gate on deep side.

Wednesday Dec. 27th 1843

Turned at both pits, at soft ½ day. Self at Colly till 2. Went and took supper with Mr Griffin, left at 11 o'clock.

Thursday Dec. 28th

Turned at both pits, self at Colly till 12. Went to Heage, saw tant Key. Agreed to send some old mettle on the 29th. Did not send it.

Friday Dec. 29th 1843

Turned at hard, laystill at soft. Self at Colly till 5.

Saturday Dec. 30th

Turned at hard ½ day, at soft alday, self at Colly till 6. Paid the men as usual which was £30 1s 2½d

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL: DECEMBER 1844 PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 13

(Contributed by Malcolm Burrows,

Dr Bromet read a note from Mr H.J. Stevens [Henry Isaac Stevens, architect for the rebuilding of the church], of Derby, offering to send drawings of some singular fragments of apparently early Norman work in the church-yard of St Alkmund.

Dr Bromet stated that, through the civility of Mr Stevens's clerk of the works he did examine the fragments alluded to. They are of that coarse reddish gritstone which, it would seem, was employed even for sculptural purposes in Derbyshire and Yorkshire previously to the use of limestone. Many have been door and window-jambs, and are embellished with the various interlacings and chimerical animals sometimes found on the more ancient churchyard crosses. Two of them have on one side a series of semicircularly-arched panels, divided by short flat columns, with large flat capitals, such as we often see on ancient fonts, and as these were found in the south-east corner of the chancel, they are possibly parts of the tomb or shrine of St Alkmund, who was killed AD 819.

Dr Bromet suggested, in furtherance of the objects of the Association, that the secretary be requested to communicate with the minister and churchwardens of St Alkmunds, and the secretary of the Derby Mechanics' Institution, recommending, in the name of the Society, that all the more ancient sculptured fragments found on pulling down the late church of St Alkmund, be deposited either in the said Institution's museum, the town hall, or such other place easily accessible to the inhabitants of Derby as to the minister and churchwardens may seem fit.

EDITOR'S NOTE

BELLAND LIVES ON NEAR OLD BRAMPTON

Sir Resby Sitwell has recently drawn to my attention the continued presence of "belland" - land contaminated by former lead-mining activity - on some 8½ acres of land near Old Brampton which forms the most westerly outlier of his Derbyshire estate. In turn, it formed part of his Moorhaigh - now rendered Moorhay - estate most of which has been sold off. The estate was very much at the junction of the carboniferous limestone, millstone grit and coal measures - very similar to the situation at Crich - and so very much at the eastern extremity of the lead field.

Sir Osbert Sitwell referred to the problem in his autobiography *Left Hand, Right Hand* stating that "*To show the influence of past times upon the present, when my father [Sir George Sitwell] in 1915 cut down a wood which belonged to him, in order to turn it into arable, it was found to be bellund [sic], the reason for this being that the Romans had established a place for the smelting of lead there, bringing the metal from a mine near Chatsworth*".

This reference has in turn come to the attention of modern scientists with comments on the phenomenon by Gavin and John Duley in the periodical *Environmental Science and Technology*. Of particular interest to them is the fact that the land was able to support trees for many years but when the land was cleared for arable crops this was not a success. The current agent for the Sitwell estates confirms that recent tenants have continued to lose cattle through lead poisoning and consequently the land commands only a modest rent with profitable farming activity excluded. So at Moorhay, "belland" lives on.

A NOTE ON 'THE RISE & PROGRESS OF THE SPAR MANUFACTURES OF DERBYSHIRE'

(by Jane Steer,

Shortly after I finished the article on the Spar Manufactory in King Street, Derby, published in *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 16, Part 6, Autumn 2003, I came across *White Watson 1760-1835, Source Volumes* [Derby Local Studies Library, KA 921 WAT] which contain references to all the known extant written material belonging to White Watson. Many of the records have been transcribed by E.R. Meeke who published them in 1999 in three volumes: 'The Diaries', 'The Cash Book' and 'The Common Place Book and other sources'.

White Watson, FLS, (1760–1835), lived in Bakewell at the Bath House where he was the 'bath superintendent' at the Duke of Rutland's chalybeate baths. More importantly he was famous as a geologist, fossil dealer and lecturer who supplied specimens to Erasmus Darwin, Josiah Wedgwood, the Strutts, Alexandre Brogniart in Paris and Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, who had an estate at Overton. Watson was a corresponding member of the London Mineralogical Society and the author of *A Delineation of the Strata of Derbyshire* (1811). He also made chimney pieces, monuments and stratigraphical sections of Derbyshire inlaid with actual rock and mineral samples and was the nephew of Henry Watson (1714-86) who founded the Marble Works at Ashford-on-the-Water in 1748 (owned by Richard Brown III of Derby in the 19th century).

Frequently in debt, some of Watson's possessions were sold during his lifetime, the rest being auctioned fourteen months after his death to pay off his creditors. As a result of later sales by the original purchasers they are now found in several different archive collections, mostly in Derbyshire and South Yorkshire. The document below is in the Chatsworth House Archive and is thought to form part of a collection of notes Watson was making for a history of Bakewell. They were first owned by William Bateman and bought by the Duke of Devonshire in 1893.

This document is of particular interest because of the most unexpected tale of how Richard Brown (probably Richard Brown II, 1736-1816), began his spar manufacturing business.¹ Whether the story is true or is Watson family folklore reflecting business rivalry between the Browns and the Watsons is another matter.

THE RISE & PROGRESS OF THE SPAR MANUFACTURES OF DERBYSHIRE

"In the Year 1743 as Lord Duncannon and Henry Watson of Bakewell, statuary, were riding in Eyam Dale, his Lordship's horse stumbled upon a piece of water icle which lay in the road, which appearing a different nature of stone from what they had generally seen on the road, his Lordship asked Mr Watson if he thought it possible to procure a quantity of it and to make it into ornaments, to which he replied he wished much to try it; upon which, his Lordship in a short time sent Mr Watson a drawing of an urn he had bought from abroad: when Mr W got a quantity of water-icle and began making the vase in his house. (the Bath House, Bakewell).

Robert Bradbury was the man he chiefly employed in the business and many ingenious mechanics were employed to make a machine to turn them in, when the Lathe was invented and a sharp pointed tool found the best, having a square plug of wood put into each end of the piece to be turned.

In September 1743, the first vase was completed which was, sent to Lord Duncannon - as by the annexed drawing [This is missing but see the book of drawings at the Derbyshire Record Office].

The business made rapid progress and improvements for several years; till the year 1765 when the Amethystine Fluorspar, or Blue John, was discovered at Castleton (some of which was sent in 1750 [?] by Mr Watson to the Marquis of Rockingham's to be laid in the gravel walks, which Mr W charged 2/- a cwt. at Bakewell.

Robert Hall of Castleton was the first man who procured a quantity of Blue John and his neighbours styled him Blue John, who sold it to Messrs. Platts & Co at Ashford Marble Works a three pounds per ton, delivered at Ashford.

Messrs. Platts and Co carried on a manufactory of the Spar for one year. Then Lady Mazareen's agent Mr Norman had the getting of it by auction for a twelve month, viz from Dec. 2nd 1765 to Dec. 2nd 1766 at forty shillings the first year, who have had a lease of it for 100 years. The next year at forty pounds. The third year Mr Platts took it at ninety pounds. Then Lady M, whose property the spar was, took into her own hands and sold it by the ton, which continues to this day

When Mr Watson had brought the business to great perfection his man Jonathan Morton in whom he placed great confidence and who was the principal man in working it, stole some of the stone and, erecting a lathe at his house in Great Longstone, carried on the business unknown to his master, - feigning himself ill and neglecting his Master's business. He was connected with Richard Brown Clerk at All Saints Derby, stone mason who purchased the goods of him. One day he took some to Mr Port's Ilam Hall who was a great friend of Mr Watson's, and who, suspected them, detained the goods for a few days, fixing a day for Brown. to call again; - in the meantime Mr Port invited Mr Watson to come on that day to Ilam, which he did, and then met Brown. - the goods were produced, Mr Watson declared that they were made by his man which Brown acknowledged saying "He had bought them of Jonathan Morton and paid him for them". Thus Brown began the business - which he still continues in."

1. E.R. Meeke, *White Watson 1760-1835 Source Volumes*, 1999. Vol III: The Common Place Book and other sources, p 343-4.

CONDENSED FROM 'WALKS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHEFFIELD' 1830 (AUTHOR UNKNOWN)

(Contributed by Malcolm Burrows,

Whittington

The days of the glory of Whittington are departed, its old collieries are closed, the glass-house furnace is cold, its colonies of hard-working and free-drinking Germans are gone, and the many old high-windowed stone houses, the seats of the gentry once, and the substantial homesteads of farmers, fifty years afterwards, are gone also.

Barlborough

The first things which strike the observant pedestrian are the respectability of the various dwellings and farms of which it is composed. Most of the houses are roughcast with a mixture of lime. A considerable breadth of land on the North side of the churchyard, betrays the excavations of the founders of the village; some large portions of stone buildings of the late seventeenth century are still standing. At a little distance, a number of sycamores throw a stately shadow upon a sort of croft, which was once, probably, part of the grand entrance to the hall. The old men remember that their fathers said that the stables covered an acre of land and the oven was standing, big enough to bake bread for one hundred men. It is probable that the abandonment of the hall happened during the unhappy civil war and that its stone work became the undefended spoil of the country mason and the farmer. Thirty years ago the lawyers completed the conveyance which time had so long been drawing out and the old family of the Poles, part of whose patrimony the ancient hall had formed, sold or exchanged the possession and it became an appendage to the Barlborough hall of the present day.

Within two miles of Barlborough, leaving the village of Clowne on the left and after pursuing a bridle path for some time, in a snug spot at the base of a green hill, issues a mineral spring which has outlived its notoriety. It is called by the country folk "Shuttlewood's spa" and is amidst fields which bear no tracks but the plough. Below the spring, which bubbles up from the foot of a little hill, a bath has been formed in time long past. It is five paces long and between three to four wide, with stone steps to descend to its paved bottom.

A Dr Gisborne, who became physician to the King, said that its waters were beyond compare. A clergyman of the name of Baseltine planted trees around it and made a walk of it two miles in length. A guide to the spa may be obtained by application to James Brown, the landlord of the Rodes' Arms.