



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Maxwell Craven, 'Derby's eighteenth-century
Guildhall', *The Georgian Group Journal*,
Vol. XII, 2002, pp. 101–113

DERBY'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GUILDHALL

MAXWELL CRAVEN

I

In a charter of the Abbey of Darley, dating from the early years of the thirteenth century, there occurs the first mention of a body of citizens of Derby, the *portmanmoot*, which without doubt controlled the destiny of the Borough's burgesses.¹ The existence of this privilege is also implied in the text of the Borough's second charter, granted by King John in 1204.² Little is known of the place where they met until 1712, when William Woolley described the Guildhall that stood isolated in the Market Place (Fig. 1).

There stands the Guildhall of the Town in the south west corner, where the Corporation meets, under which is the town Gaol, but it is at the present a very tattered, ill-contrived, ill-favoured building.³

William Hutton, who could remember it from his childhood, added:

... it seemed to have stood for more than 200 years: it was wood and plaister; the roof was tiled, in the form of a large old-fashioned span; it had two stories; the lower was called the Town-prison, and was divided into cells, as all prisons ought, that two rogues may not communicate their vices; the upper was a large room for Corporation use, to which the company ascended by a steep flight of wooden stairs projecting into the market-place, covered also with a roof of tiles.⁴

It sounds rather like that which still survives, despite a mid-nineteenth century restoration, at Aldeburgh, Suffolk.

Nonetheless, by 1791, when Hutton was writing, this quaint building had been out of use as a place in

which municipal business was conducted for upwards of a century, despite Woolley's remarks, for in 1610 a new Moot Hall was erected on the east side of Iron Gate fronted by a courtyard. It had a five-gabled façade, three storeys and attics over a basement, and was built of brick with stone dressings, including mullion and transom cross windows, copings and quoins.⁵ It became redundant as a Borough facility on the commissioning of the eighteenth-century Guildhall, and its courtyard was sold as building plots, allowing it to moulder behind, divided up as workshops, before coming into the hands of the Derbyshire Building Society in the 1930s. They added a flat roof, installed Crittall windows and turned it into an office block. It is now lost and forgotten in a concrete wasteland at the rear of Sir Hugh Casson's 1971 Assembly Rooms (Fig. 2).

By the early eighteenth century, it was clear that neither the old Guildhall, nor the later Moot Hall were adequate for the needs of the municipal oligarchy, either because the accommodation itself was unsatisfactory or because the erection in 1723 of a fine new Exchange at the east end of the Market Square in neighbouring Nottingham spurred them into emulation.⁶

It may be, however, that it had been decided a decade or more before that date to build a new Guildhall, for Alderman Francis Cokayne, Mayor of Derby in 1711–12, is known to have been contemplating the promotion of one.⁷ This indeed may be the explanation behind the unidentified drawing of a building of this type formerly at Compton Verney, Warwickshire.⁸ Andor Gomme has

DERBY'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GUILDHALL

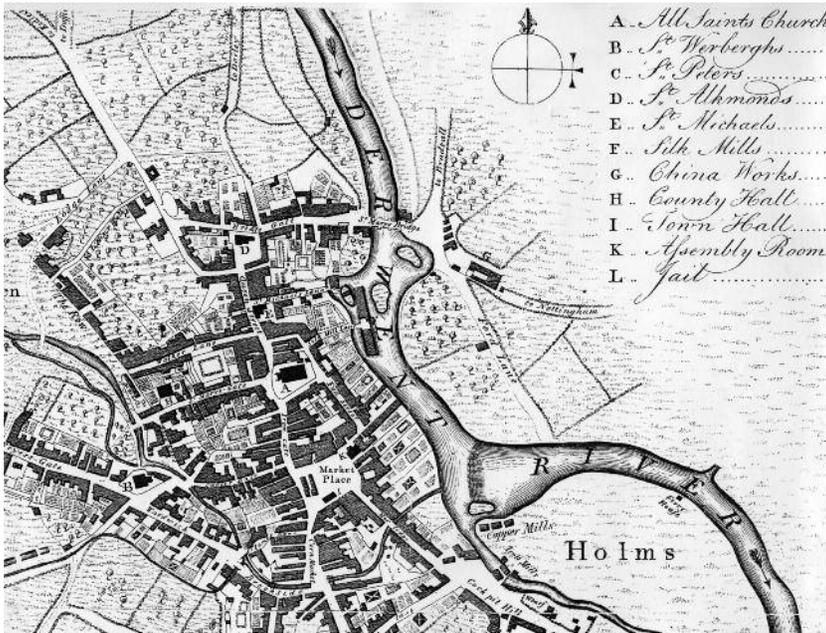


Fig. 1. Map of Derby in 1802 (from J. Britton & E.W. Brayley, *Beauties of England & Wales*, III, London, 1802); it shows the Market Place and the 1731 Guildhall, marked “I” on the key. Maxwell Craven.

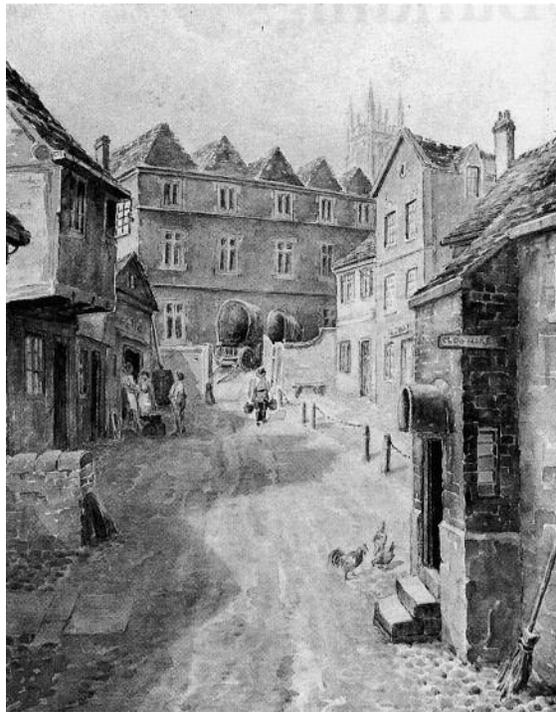


Fig. 2. View of 1610 Moot Hall (from watercolour by A.J. Keene of Derby, *The Moot Hall from the Yard of the Virgin's Inn*, c.1900). Derby City Museums & Art Gallery (Goodey Catalogue, 206).

attributed this drawing to Francis Smith of Warwick, and suggested that it may be a rejected draft for a new Guildhall for Derby. It is a suggestion that will be worth returning to in the light of what is known about the Guildhall actually erected in 1731.

II

The ancient Guildhall was situated towards the centre of the Market Place,⁹ and the Corporation hoped to build its replacement in the centre of the side nearest the older site, the south side. This would, as Hutton aptly put it, "...have enlarged the market-place and satisfied the eye".¹⁰ However, the owners of the buildings which the Corporation would have had to acquire asked an extravagant price, believing themselves to be in an unassailable position. They refused the perfectly reasonable counter offer, only to find that the burgesses called their bluff and begun to set out footings on the original site. They thereupon tardily agreed the price, but inevitably it was too late. Yet by building where they had not originally wished, the Corporation effectively signed the death warrant of the new building in the longer term. For when the property they had originally sought to acquire ultimately became available in 1827, it was duly purchased and a replacement Guildhall with a market area behind was thereupon designed and built, leaving the market place, as envisaged, clear (Figs. 3 and 4).¹¹

The first reference in the account book to the building project was on 26 January 1731:¹²

Paid Mr. Richard Jackson for his severall Drafts of the Town-Hall and for his comeing to Derby twice..... £5 - 5s - od.

The next two entries are also directly relevant to the authorship of the building:

25th February: Paid Mr. Humphrey Booth by order of the Hall, for goeing to Warrwick with a letter to Mr. Smith.....£0 - 10s - 6d

12th March: Paid Mr. Richard Jackson for his comeing to Derby with advice on the workmen's Estimates..... £1 - 11s - 6d

From this it seems clear that Richard Jackson designed the building and was advising on the costs, leaving the Corporation to contract with the craftsmen directly. These entries, however, raise two questions: who was Richard Jackson and what was the letter to Mr. Smith – presumably Francis Smith?

Jackson occurs in Andor Gomme's magisterial work on Smith, in connection with Walton Hall, Walton-on-Trent, and Calke Abbey, both in Derbyshire, and Elford Hall in Staffordshire, although in one place he is described as "of Bakewell".¹³ Colvin has no doubt in locating Jackson's birthplace as Armitage in Staffordshire,¹⁴ where his homonymous father married Lydia Braddock on 25 November 1702. Richard, junior, was the eldest child, and was baptised at Armitage Parish Church on 29 September 1703. He was married there on 21 February 1734 to Elizabeth Marshall and had a son, a third Richard, baptised at Armitage on 23 June 1740.¹⁵ He died in 1751.

With regard to Smith's role, Andor Gomme suggests supervision, and that Smith was perhaps asked to measure Jackson's work. However, there is no payment to Smith himself in the account book, and Gomme's other suggestion, that the Corporation of Derby wrote to him rejecting a draft, seems more likely. This brings us back, of course, to the drawing formerly at Compton Verney (Fig. 5). Could it be that this is the rejected draft?

The design shows a nine-bay building with a three-bay centrepiece rising up by an attic storey, and incorporating a triple entrance arch embellished by rustication at ground floor level. Had the design been intended to stand alone in the Market Place on the site ultimately occupied by Jackson's building, this

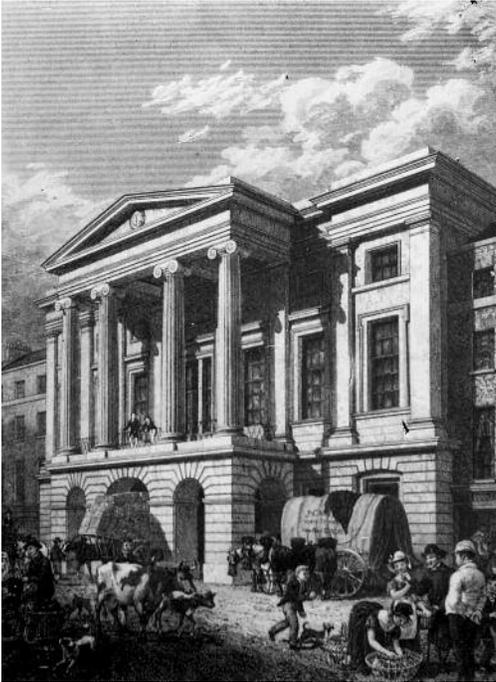


Fig. 3. Perspective view of the 1828 Guildhall (lithograph after Matthew Habershon). *Derby City Museums & Art Gallery (Goodey Catalogue, no.188).*

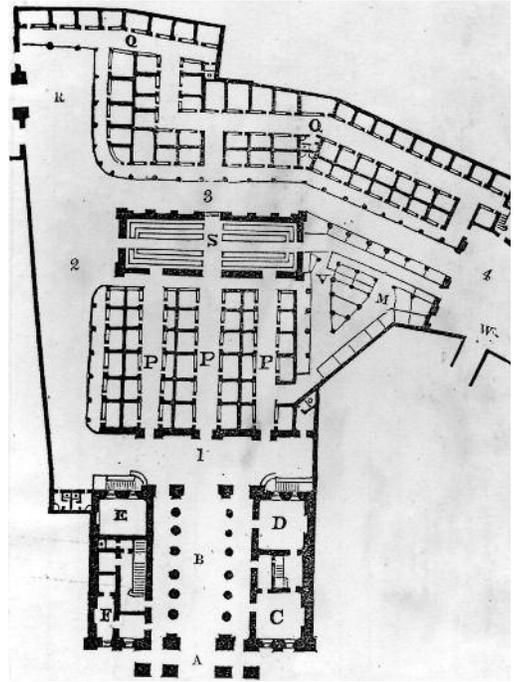


Fig. 4. Plan of 1828 Guildhall and market (from S. Glover, *History and Gazetteer of Derbyshire, II, 1833, 432*). *Maxwell Craven.*

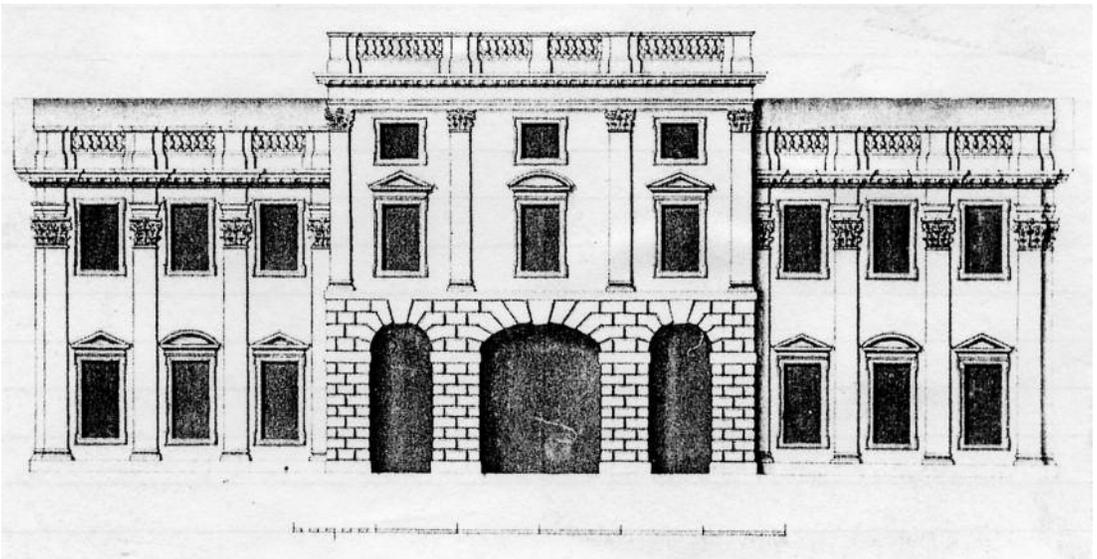


Fig. 5. Elevation drawing, attributed to Francis Smith, of an unidentified public building, formerly at Compton Verney. *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

arrangement would have made no sense. However, as we have seen, Hutton tells us that until the last moment the building was intended to go on the south side of the Market Place. In such a position a central entrance for vehicles, individuals both mounted (the side arches are as high as the central one) and on foot, would make sense; for the intention could well have been to create an open market area behind, and to provide stabling too. Indeed this is precisely what happened when Habershon's building was put up ninety-eight years later, and the area behind its successor is still occupied by the market hall, erected in 1864–6 to designs by Robert Thorburn and George Thompson, successive Borough Surveyors.¹⁶

Thus the Smith design could indeed have been intended for Derby, but, proving unsuitable to stand alone, was rejected in favour of a design by Jackson who was either recommended by an over-committed Smith or chosen for some other reason.¹⁵ The Smith drawing, of course, came from Compton Verney, to which its subject is related in having a façade with pedimented returns. Compton Verney was built in 1714, however, and their closeness in treatment might suggest that the drawing dates from that period too.

Francis Cokayne, the Mayor in 1711–12, was uncle to the wife of the ironsmith Robert Bakewell, who settled in Derby in 1709, and, although born in Uttoxeter, was of a Derby family.¹⁷ Alderman Cokayne might well have recommended his nephew-in-law's acquaintance, Smith of Warwick. On balance, it is tempting to assign the Compton Verney design, if it has any relevance to Derby at all, to c1712, and postulate that it was only finally rejected, some two decades later, because of the change of site, by the letter which Humphrey Booth carried to Warwick in early 1732.

III

The building which Jackson designed, although smaller than that depicted in the Compton Verney elevation, was one of considerable elegance, and must have added much to the Market Place at Derby, even then ringed with well-proportioned buildings, mostly dating from after the Restoration. There are only three surviving illustrations of it. The earliest is an engraving of the main (north) façade made by J. Hancock after a drawing by George Moneypenny for inclusion in Hutton's *History of Derby* of 1791 (Fig. 6).¹⁸ It is followed by a stone lithograph of 1826 in Simpson's *History of Derby*,¹⁹ and by a drawing of exceptional quality by George Pickering (1779–1858), dated 1828 (Figs. 7 and 8).²⁰ All differ in detail, and Moneypenny's is the least satisfactory. It gives the building insufficient height, renders the fenestration rectangular and ill-proportioned, and fails to set two of the parapet urns above the pilasters to which they relate. For a man who worked for almost two decades as a carver for Joseph Pickford of Derby, such solecisms appear strange, unless the engraver strayed fairly comprehensively from Moneypenny's original drawing. However, almost all his illustrations for Hutton's history are marred by similar failings, so that one is inclined to blame him rather than Hancock.

The anonymous version of 1826 is merely poorly drawn, although it agrees in nearly all respects with Pickering's version. The latter appears from two separate angles as part of a double-sheet drawn panorama of Derby Market Place, seen from the centre of the east side (which shows the east return of the Guildhall) and from the north (showing the main front of the building). Both drawings are extremely competent, very detailed and it is clear from the evidence of those buildings depicted which still survive, that Pickering's record is to be relied upon.

The building was of brick and stone over a basement, two storeys high, the upper one, which was loftier, containing the main chamber and courtrooms. It faced north and was seven bays wide



Fig. 6. Elevation of Derby Guildhall, engraved after George Moneypenny (from Hutton's *History of Derby*, 1791). Maxwell Craven.

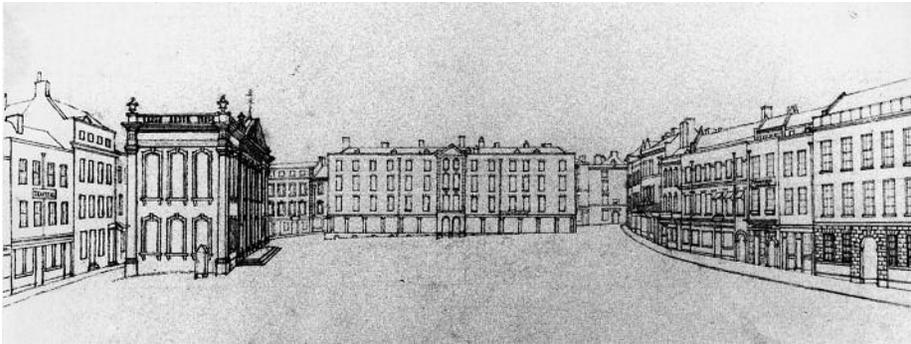


Fig. 7. Drawing by George Pickering of Derby Market Place from the east, with return elevation of Guildhall at left, 1828. *Derby City Museums & Art Gallery*.



Fig. 8. Drawing by George Pickering of Derby Market Place from the north, with the Guildhall to the right of centre, 1828. *Derby City Museums & Art Gallery*.

by three bays deep, with a central three-bay pediment supported by four Doric pilasters, the same giant order decorating the angles. It had an entablature and frieze right round, although there are only triglyphs below the pediment and over the angles. Francis Smith would doubtless have omitted this in favour of dossierets except under the pediment. Above the cornice was a parapet, balustraded over the bays, which supported urns on tablets over the angle pilasters and over those at the extremities of the pediment. The fenestration was set in moulded stone surrounds, shouldered and cambered at the top with single key-blocks, and supported by plain brackets beneath the sills. At ground floor level the central three bays consisted of open arches with imposts and key-blocks, which appear to have led into a shallow lobby with a central entrance behind. The apex of the pediment was set off by a tall iron weathercock and there was a clock dial below.

IV

Income to cover the cost of the structure was obtained by raising a subscription from the burgesses, aldermen, county gentry and nobility, and a total of £1,989 5s 0d was raised, starting in February 1730 and ending a year later. Most of the subscribers had previously stumped up towards the cost of building the new All Saints' church, designed by Gibbs. Levering sums like £500 out of men of the ilk of Charles Stanhope of Elvaston more than once in a decade may be regarded as something of a tribute to the persuasive powers of the Corporation's Hereditary High Steward, the Duke of Devonshire, who himself had started the appeal off with £200. The local (Whig) MP, Thomas Bayley, supplied the least, coming in at a paltry £5.²¹

A payment was made on 24 March 1731 to William Trimmer "for pulling down ye old houses and carriage of materials", although it is not entirely clear whether this entry relates to the new Guildhall

or not, for the previous building on the site was the (by then de-commissioned) Tudor Guildhall rather than "old houses". However, it is possible that materials were being salvaged for re-use in the new building, just as Joseph Pickford utilised salvaged timbers for re-use in the roof of the Derby Assembly Rooms thirty two years later.²² One year later, on 11 April 1732, Nathaniel Peal was paid £7 10s 8d "for taking down ye old Cross etc." This was because the medieval stone cross stood in the area immediately adjacent to the new building which it was intended to re-pave.

The foundations were laid shortly before 17 April 1731, when the workmen were given "by advice" a guinea each. The total expenditure to 23 December 1732 was £1,941 12s 2½d, and the first two payments (7 and 15 May 1731) were £30 on account to "William Hall and Nathaniel Peal master masons and bricklayers" and 3s 4½d to "Mr. How for postage of a letter with the draft of Mr. Hall". It is to be presumed that this draft refers to a drawing, or an amended one, and that Hall was sending it to Jackson for approval. Furthermore, on 7 July, William Trimmer, a former joiner turned architect and building contractor, was paid half-a-crown "when the Committee signed the workmen's estimates and agreements", which suggests that he was overseeing the contract for the Mayor and Burgesses, even though Hall was (apparently) revising elevations, plans or details.

William Hall was paid a total of £900 11s 0d jointly with Nathaniel Peal. Hall was a marble cutter and stone mason, born around 1705, who married Rebecca Webster at St. Alkmund, Derby on 19 November 1724 and had, amongst other issue, Joseph Hall (1735–1766), who worked at Kedleston and was progenitor of a distinguished line of spar turners at Derby and elsewhere in the county. William, recorded as a freeman of the Borough on 17 April 1736, was the son of another William (1683–1732) and grandson of a William Hall of All Saints' parish, bricklayer. Our William had been paid a total of £169

13s 4d for carving at All Saints' over the period 1725–1731.²³

Peal was a bricklayer and freeman of Derby, son of a John who was an incomer to the Borough, and was buried in St. Peter's Church on 11 February 1738. Nathaniel had a brother John, stonecutter, which may suggest the occupation of the father. Nathaniel worked extensively for the Corporation of Derby prior to 1731, undertaking minor repairs to buildings and bridges. He was buried at All Saints' church on 22 May 1742, having had by his wife, Frances, a son John, born in 1721.²⁴

William Trimmer (1694–1739) was an important figure in Derby, and was paid £596 9s 10½d for joinery and contracting work, as noted above. He was the younger son of Thomas Trimmer of St. Werburgh's parish, carpenter, who had acquired a former smith's "workshop, parlour and garden" in Nuns' Green (now Friar Gate) from Samuel Dalton of The Friary in June 1700. He acted as "executant contractor" (as we would today no doubt term it) for Francis Smith at All Saints' church from 1723, also measuring the work there. He is also recorded as having drawn the old church before demolition, receiving payments of £50 (1724) and £100 (1730) in respect of the church; he designed and built All Saints' parish workhouse (1729–30), and St. Alkmund's vicarage (1732). He married Anne Paget at All Saints' and had three sons and two daughters. His brother Thomas was a highly competent joiner who made the gallery at All Saints' in 1730.²⁵

The accounts also name three Denstones, Abraham, John and Thomas, all plasterers. The former was paid a total of £94 16s 8d and the latter £95 14s 11d; John seems to have been employed by the others, and merely signs a receipt. Abraham was born, probably at Burton-upon-Trent, around 1687, for his grandfather William was from there; he married Elizabeth Mosley of Derby at Duffield on 30 December 1708. He was in reality a *stuccadore* of some ability, and this is no doubt what he was paid for at the Guildhall. He had a yard in St. Mary's

Gate. He was father of Abraham junior (1723–1779), the *stuccadore* who worked with Joseph Pickford 1763–1779, and of James, mason, bricklayer, builder and later architect, who succeeded Samuel Wyatt as clerk of works at Kedleston, only to be dismissed by Lord Scarsdale "for aireing his Whiggish views." The firm which the sons founded lasted through two further family ownerships before being closed in 1982.²⁶ John Denstone (1700–1752) was, like his brothers, never a Derby freeman and unlikely to have been more than an employee of his brothers; he married Rachel Hancock in 1722 and there was no known issue. Thomas Denstone seems to have done the non-decorative plasterwork. He was born in Derby in 1691 and married Sarah Linet of Derby, dying in 1764, leaving two sons and a daughter. One of the former was Joseph Denstone (1726–1789) plasterer, who married Mary, daughter of John Trubshaw, mason of Derby, almost certainly the man who was uncle of Mrs George Whitehurst of Repton, and thus kin to the Trubshaws of Great Heywood, Staffs. .²⁷ Robert Simpson was paid with Thomas Denstone; he was quite young and clearly an assistant. He belonged to a long dynasty of plasterers in the town: his father Robert senior, and grandfather William (died 1730), preceding him in this trade.²⁸

John Starkey was paid a total of £90, and was a plumber and glazier, working with John Evatt, himself paid £87 15s 5d. The former was elected a freeman in 1741; his father (died 1716) and grandfather were both called John and were plumbers; his mother was called Bennet. He died in 1755, leaving a son, a fourth John.²⁹ There were also two John Evatts, father and son, both freemen and both plumbers and glaziers. The elder was buried at All Saints', where he had served continuously as churchwarden in 1732–5, in March 1745; he had also been one of the chamberlains of the Borough in 1732. By his wife, Ellen, who died in 1738, he had five sons, of whom at least two were to become plumbers and one a baker, and two daughters. John junior (and it is unclear which of them was being paid for Guildhall



Fig. 9. Robert Bakewell's wrought-iron weather vane on the stables at Tissington Hall, Derbs. . Whitehurst's innovative flat-bed turret clock of the same date (1738) is housed within the pediment of the building, below.
Edward Saunders (January 1996).



Fig. 10. Urn reputedly from the parapet of the 1731 Guildhall, abandoned in the grounds of Parkfield, Duffield Road, Derby, in February 1993. Parkfield was built and the gardens laid out the same year that the Guildhall was pulled down. *Maxwell Craven.*

work, but presumably the elder) was born in 1710, followed his father as churchwarden of All Saints' in 1748–9 and died in 1780, leaving a son and daughter; the nomenclature of another son, John Starkey Evatt suggests a familial tie between the colleagues.³⁰ A third man, Robert Hardy or Harding, is also mentioned in the accounts, probably an assistant.

Job Taylor (1710–46), paid £22 4s 8½d, was son of a John Taylor, and a whitesmith; he became a freeman in 1741. In 1734 he charged the Corporation 2/- “for Work done on two doors at the Town Hall at the time of the last election”, which sounds as though a minor tumult may have occurred.³¹ He was not the only whitesmith at work there, however, as Joseph Elliott (died 1747) was paid £12 1s 0d. He was a burgess of Derby, but no details of his background or

family have emerged.³² It certainly seems possible that one at least was actually working in iron, for no blacksmith appears in the accounts, certainly not Bakewell, who may well have been away from town on a succession of jobs, although he is said to have later made the weather-cock.³³ If Taylor subsequently repaired the doors, he may have been responsible for the brass door hinges and furniture, whilst Elliot made any ironwork, like sword and mace rests. Thomas Sheppard, another whitesmith, was paid £10 17s 11d. He became a freeman before 1741, and appraised the chimes in All Saints' church in May 1743.³⁴ It is to be assumed that he was yet another specialist, called in to make a specific contribution.

Mr. Roe was paid £4 8s 3d for “bricks etc.”, and an un-named pavior was sub-contracted by Peal to

lay the paving around the outside of the building for £4 10s *od.* Mr. Roe was doubtless Richard Rowe, a freeman, son of a John Rowe who was not a native of the Borough. Richard had been elected a freeman and one of the brethren of the Corporation before 1729, becoming a capital burgess in 1742. He was, naturally, a brick manufacturer with a house, brick-pit and yard on Nuns' Green, which he had on a lease from the Borough since at least 1725, and probably before that, for his father, Ralph, was also a brickmaker, and may have taken a lease for three lives. Rowe was also Overseer of the Poor for his parish of St. Werburgh in 1731.³⁵

It is known that there was no clock in the pediment at first, but that one was made by John Whitehurst FRS (1713–88), on his coming to Derby in 1736, and presented by him to the Corporation in order to convince its members that he was a suitable person to receive a grant of freedom of the Borough, despite his lack of qualifications under the town's charter of 1682.³⁶ He was, as a result, duly made a freeman in September 1737 and was able to trade from his premises in the normal way instead of resorting to a barrow or stall on market or fair days.³⁷ There is no other record of the transaction in the accounts, nor to the provision of the weather vane. However, Robert Bakewell made a similar one a year later for the stables at Tissington Hall (Fig. 9) for William FitzHerbert, then Borough Recorder, whilst Whitehurst, clearly attested as a friend of the celebrated gatesmith, was at the same time installing an innovative flat-bed turret clock in the pediment below. So the circumstantial evidence can be regarded as persuasive. The Guildhall weather cock may, indeed, have been actually a vane, attached by rods and bevels to a dial in the great chamber, as did a similar device of his own contriving, installed in Whitehurst's own house, as well as in a number of seats nearby.³⁸

V

The eighteenth-century Guildhall, of which no contemporary description survives, let alone an account of the interior, lasted until 1828. It is not clear how many of the fittings of the building were recovered to be re-used in its replacement, although the clock and weather vane certainly were. Some of the stone urns from the roof were obtained by Alderman Francis Jessopp and used to embellish the two acres of pleasure grounds behind his house in The Wardwick, now called the Jacobean House. When this house was reduced for a new road, Becket Street, to be pitched through part of the site, the new wall separating grounds from street was embellished with some of them.³⁹ Others went to Alderman Thomas Haden's garden in St. Michael's Church Yard.⁴⁰ Thereafter, they appear to have dropped out of sight until one was discovered in the grounds of a Regency villa in Duffield Road called Parkfield, which was about to be demolished in 1993; it survives as a "feature" in a new residential development on the site (Fig. 10). The clock and weather vane were utterly destroyed in the fire that destroyed Habershon's replacement Guildhall on Trafalgar Day, 1841.⁴¹

The Guildhall built to replace the Trafalgar Day casualty, incorporates part of the fabric of its predecessor, and was completed to designs by Derby-born Henry Duesbury of Duesbury & Lee of London in 1842. Happily it survives (Figs. 11 and 12).⁴²



Fig. 11. Woodcut after a perspective drawing by Henry Duesbury of the 1842 Derby Guildhall, as built (from Glover's *History and Gazetteer of Derby*, 1843). Maxwell Craven.

Fig. 12. Derby Market Place in 1883, showing the position of the present (1842) and previous (1828) Guildhalls, centre, lower. The 1731 building stood in front of this site, its south side aligned approximately on the centre of the road outside the present building. *Derby City Museums & Art Gallery (from the Derby 10ft:1 mile OS map of 1883).*



NOTES

- 1 R. R. Darlington, "The Cartulary of Darley Abbey", *Derbyshire Archaeological Society, Record Series*, I, 1945, 110–111, charter B6.
- 2 R. Simpson, *A Collection of Fragments Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Derby*, I, 1826, 28–31.
- 3 P. Riden and C. Glover (eds.), "William Woolley's History of Derbyshire, c.1712", *Derbyshire Record Society*, VI, 1981, 28.
- 4 W. Hutton, *A History of Derby*, Derby, 1st edn., 1791, 42.
- 5 I. H. Jeayes, *A Calendar of the Records of the County Borough of Derby*, London, 1904, 6.2; A. E. Goodey, *A Catalogue of the Paintings Given to the Museum at Derby by Alfred E. Goodey*, Derby, 1936, 21, no. 206.
- 6 J. Beckett, *A Centenary History of Nottingham*, Manchester, 1997, 191.
- 7 MS. *Journal of Alderman Joshua Smith of Derby*, apothecary, to 1745 (private collection).
- 8 A. H. Gomme, *Smith of Warwick*, Stamford, 2001, 263–64; the drawing is now in London, Victoria and Albert Museum, drawings E8.1937.
- 9 S. Glover, *A History and Gazetteer of Derby*, Derby, 1843, 46.
- 10 Glover, *op. cit.*, 43.
- 11 *Idem*; Derby, Local Studies Library, MS. deed 10184; on the replacement building (by Habershon) see S. Glover, *A History and Gazetteer of Derbyshire*, 2nd edn., Derby 1831–3, II, 431–33.
- 12 The Mayor of Derby's account book for 1731 was discovered when the Derby Local Studies Library was being moved from the main library building in The Wardwick to the former County Council offices in Iron Gate twenty years ago, lying on top of a pile of eighteenth century books in a box into which they had been placed for ease of transport. Those of us who were at that time working at Derby Museum, which until then shared the same building, were recruited to assist the move – professional contractors were unheard of for such things at the time, and in any case cost money – and it fell to my lot to transport the box containing the relevant document. Being inquisitive I looked at it during the short van trip and recognised its importance. Derby's muniments were immolated when a later Guildhall – that by Matthew Habershon, 1828 – burnt down on the night of Trafalgar Day, 1841 which means that any document surviving from before that time is of great value. The MS. book in question was inaugurated by Alderman Isaac Borrow of Castlefields, Mayor 1730–1, and is conventionally drawn up with income on the left hand leaf and outgoings set down opposite. The accounts for the Guildhall, however, are thoroughly intermixed with other, less interesting, fiscal dealings.
- 13 Gomme *op. cit.*, 454. The coupling of Jackson with the town of Bakewell may be a slip; the ironsmith must inevitably be at the front of one's mind when writing of Smith.
- 14 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1640–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 533.
- 15 *International Genealogical Index (Staffs)*. His birth no later than September 1703 would make him, *pace* Prof. Gomme, a trifle young to have taken on Elford Hall in 1722.
- 16 Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson, *The Buildings of England Derbyshire*, Harmondsworth, 1978, 174.
- 17 He was baptised at St. Mary, Uttoxeter, on 12 March 1682, son of Samson, smith, and Mary Sale of Derby, herself daughter of a smith. Samson's brother Matthew was a carrier plying from Uttoxeter to Derby, and appears to have been half-brother of Richard Bakewell of Derby (1630–1672) a carrier who issued a *½d* copper token in 1666. Robert married Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Cokayne; the latter's brother was the Mayor of 1711. Mary's brother, incidentally (another Francis), was Lord Mayor of London in 1751. [Derby Local Studies Library (hereafter DLSL); Derby Parish Registers, St. Peter's and All Saints' churches; LL Jewitt, "Traders' Tokens of Derbyshire, part 1", in *Reliquary*, IV, 1864, 241–42; Edward Saunders, "English Wrought Ironwork of the 18th Century", *Walpole Society*, forthcoming. I am extremely grateful to Edward Saunders for allowing me access to his research].
- 18 J.C. Cox and W.H. St. J. Hope, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church of All Saints', Derby*, London and Derby, 1881, facing 41; on Moneypenny himself, see Edward Saunders, *Joseph Pickford of Derby*, Stroud, 1993, 150–59.
- 19 Simpson, *op. cit.*, II, facing 515.
- 20 Derby, City Museum, antiquities section, negative, nos. L13216–7.
- 21 The relevant pages of the account book are unnumbered; the subscription list for All Saints' is printed in Cox & Hope, *op. cit.*, 77.
- 22 Saunders, *op. cit.*, 62.

- 23 DLSL, Parish Registers; DLSL, Derby Poll Books, 1710; May, 1734, 20; 1741, 12 and 21; Cox & Hope *op.cit.*, 80; M. A. J. B. Craven, *John Whitehurst, FRS, Clockmaker and Scientist*, Mayfield, 1996, 74–6; Gomme, *op.cit.*, 562.
- 24 DLSL, Derby Poll Book, 1741, 22; J. Steer, “A Derby Borough Rental for 1729”, *Derbyshire Miscellany*, XIV, pt. 2, 1995, 49–50 & pt. 3, 1996, 93.
- 25 Falmouth, MS. deeds in the collection of Mrs. E. R. Treen; parish registers; DLSL, MS. deeds 722–23; DLSL, Derby Poll Books, April 1734, May 1734, 23 & 1741, 13 and 16; Simpson *op.cit.*, II, 453; Cox & Hope, *op.cit.*, 23, 67, 79–81 and 194.
- 26 DLSL, MS. deed 13318 & parish records; Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office, wills, 9190/CT8 & CT17–18; Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660–1820*, London, 1981, 256; M. A. J. B. Craven, *Derby, An Illustrated History*, Derby, 1988, 133–34; Saunders, *op.cit.*, 66–7; Colvin, *op.cit.*, 300.
- 27 DLSL, Derby Parish Registers; Beard, *loc. cit.* [Trubshaw]: Craven, 1996, *op.cit.*, 156 n.71; Gomme, *op.cit.*, 562: “of unknown trade”. George Whitehurst, clockmaker, was a brother and former works manager of John Whitehurst FRS, on whom see Craven, *Whitehurst, cit.*, 156.
- 28 DLSL, Derby Parish Registers; *ibid.*, Derby Poll Books, 1710, 1741, 10 and 19.
- 29 DLSL, Derby Parish Registers; *ibid.*, Derby Poll book, 1741, 9; Steer, in *Derbyshire Miscellany, cit.*, XIV, pt. 3, 1996, 89; Gomme, *loc. cit.*, where he is mentioned as of “unknown trade”.
- 30 DLSL, Derby Parish Registers; *ibid.*, Derby Poll Book, 1741, 6; DLSL, MS. Burgess Rolls, and MS. deeds 5070, 1761 and 13488, 1731; Steer, *loc. cit.*; Cox & Hope, *op. cit.*, 38 and 54.
- 31 DLSL, Derby Poll Book 1741, 12; *ibid.*, Derby Borough Archives box X; Gomme, *op. cit.*, 563.
- 32 DLSL, Parish Registers, All Saints’; *ibid.*, Derby Poll Book, 1741, 6.
- 33 Derby, Derby Museum, antiquities section, MS. *Notes* of John Ward, FSA, c. 1890s.
- 34 DLSL, Derby, Poll Book 1741, 13; Cox & Hope, *op. cit.*, 121.
- 35 DLSL, Derby Poll Books, 1710 & May 1734, 22; *Derby Mercury*, 12 September 1744, 4 c.2; Steer, *op. cit.*, XIV pt. 2, 1995, 35 & pt. 3, 1996, 82. The brickyard itself was of long standing, lasting until 1792, latterly in the ownership of the widow of Joseph Pickford [Derby, private collection, MS. deeds to Friar Gate House]. Current reminders of it are adjacent in Brick St., with the early seventeenth-century, brick-built Brick & Tile Inn.
- 36 Whitehurst was from Congleton, and was neither a passed apprentice of a Derby freeman, nor the son or adopted son of one [Hutton *op. cit.*, 292; Craven, *Whitehurst, cit.*, 25–27].
- 37 DLSL, Burgess Rolls, bundle XXIII (b); Craven, *Whitehurst, cit.*
- 38 E. Bradbury & R. Keene, *All About Derby*, Derby, 1883, 36.
- 39 Photographic evidence.
- 40 Where they apparently survived until at least the 1930s (oral evidence); the site has been subsequently built over.
- 41 DLSL, *Derby Mercury*, 22 October 1841.
- 42 Glover, 1843, *op.cit.*, 48.