PATERNALISM IN THE NORTH-EAST DERBYSHIRE COAL FIELD 1840-1894

A CASE STUDY OF THE CLAY CROSS COMPANY

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George Stephenson, the founder of Clay Cross Company in 1837. 'The example and influence exercised by a good man upon his fellows, as by George Stephenson at Clay Cross during his life, is never lost; but goes on fructifying into good, and long after his body is moulded into dust'. (Samuel Smiles 1857).

CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

Derbyshire is singularly lacking in a substantial study of any of its major nineteenth century coalmining communities and the effects of company control and dominance. The existing studies of the business, industrial and social history of the Derbyshire coalfield make reference to the nineteenth century community building activities of its leading enterprises, but contribute comparatively little to the understanding of the social dynamics of these mining communities. The importance and significance of company paternalism as a powerful and critical variable in the development of these communities is also deplete.

This thesis will examine the experience and mandate of the Clay Cross Company's brand of paternalism between 1840 and 1894. It will emphasise a competitive model of paternalism that was about repelling organised labour and maintaining ideological hegemony that sought to secure and mould a compliant and deferential workforce. The aims and motives of company paternalism and their manifestations are investigated through the competitive provision of housing, education, social welfare, religion and leisure activities. Alternative ideas and institutions emerged from within the community that fractured company dominance with regard to trade unions, friendly and benefit societies and leisure and cultural pursuits. The impact of external influences and State intervention gradually eroded company paternalism that led to its demise. The contradictions of a benign paternalism are fully revealed when the productive relations of the coalmine are examined. Company paternalism was always conditional and paid for by the workers and did not fracture the company's notion of a dominant laissez-faire. It was an ideological hegemony lubricated by the ethics of middle class morality and leadership.

This case study clearly identifies with the notion of a 'new paternalism' that emerged in the mid 1840's and was of central significance to the evolution of British Society. This study, therefore, will hopefully contribute to the void in the historiography of the nineteenth century social history of the Derbyshire miners, their families and communities and generate further inquiry into the social and economic dynamics of paternalism.

LIST OF TABLES

PHOTOGRAPHS, MAPS AND FACSIMILE DOCUMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

C. & D. Institute	Chesterfield and Derbyshire Institute of Engineers Transaction.
C.X.C.	Clay Cross Company.
C.X.C.M.B.	Clay Cross Company Minute Books.
C.X.C.H.	Clay Cross Chronicle.
D.C.	Derbyshire Courier.
D.M.A.	Derbyshire Miners Association.
D.T.	Derbyshire Times.
O.H.E.	One Hundred Years of Enterprise. Clay Cross Company Publication.
S.Y.M.A.	South Yorkshire Miners Association.
S.L.B.	School Log Book.

INTRODUCTION

According to D. Roberts' work on English paternalism, a view based upon landed rural society, failed to survive mid nineteenth century industrial urbanization[1]. Joyce argues that Roberts failed to understand the nature of the new urban communities and the central importance of work and the workplace that actively facilitated a 'new paternalism'. Joyce also emphasises that it was industrial society rather than rural society that was the chief seat of paternalism in nineteenth century England. From the 1840's he also considers paternalism to be of central significance in the evolution of British Society[2]. Joyce's formidable work is based upon research into the textile factories and communities of the north and his notion of a 'new paternalism' identifies directly with the developments of the major Derbyshire coal and iron companies.

Though a voluminous literature exists on nineteenth century coalminers and the coal industry, the historiography of most local, county and regional studies are dominated by trade union, industrial and business histories. The social history of many of these studies have been superficial and lacking in any serious investigation of the importance of the paternal dynamic. J.E. Williams' massive study 'The Derbyshire Miners' is no exception and deplete of the significance and importance of the 'new paternalism' that was paramount to the social and economic development of north-east Derbyshire[3]. The parallel works of Riden and Christain on the Butterley Company also contribute little to the impress of the paternal mandate[4].

S.D. Chapman's business study of Stanton, and more particularly the Staveley Company, includes a chapter on 'Community Building', and identifies with some

paternalist intervention, but contributes little to the importance of the competitiveness of social welfare provision[5]. Similarly, his most recent study of the Clay Cross Company (CXC), whilst devoting a chapter to 'George Stephenson's Model Community', is superficial and deplete of the competitive dynamic of the 'new paternalism' that was integral to the development of the company and social stability. Also the significance of paternal interventions in repelling trade unionism are also deficient and the imbrications of company paternalism are much understated[6]. J. Benson's treatment of paternalism in his nineteenth century social history of 'The British Coalminers' is also adjunctive and its significance not developed[7].

R. Church's, 'Victorian Pre-Eminence', brings together a formidable range of evidence relating to the understanding of social welfare of the coal industry between 1830 and 1913. Church discusses the idea of 'constructive paternalism' that was directed at moulding a compliant workforce and identifies the CXC with this model, which will be closely examined in this thesis. He also emphasises the idea of company welfare policies, consciously forming part of employers competitive strategy, but does not elaborate on any of these policies other than housing[8].

However, the only specific and comprehensive study of 'constructive paternalism' that exists for the East Midlands coalfield is R.J. Waller's 'The Dukeries Transformed'. This particular work closely examines the establishment and social development of several coalmining communities that were purpose built on the edge of Sherwood Forest between 1911 and 1922. The isolation of these communities allowed the coal companies to build, plan and develop carte-blanche - classic examples of 'constructive paternalism'. A central theme of Waller's study, that parallels with the objectives of

this work, was his examination of the nature of the colliery villages and the extent the employers influence extended beyond the life of the pit-gates and pervaded almost every aspect of community life. This theme of social control or ideological hegemony that sought to secure a more compliant workforce by subtly imposing the ethics of middle class morality, sobriety, thrift, regular habits and love for home and family, will also give much substance to this study. Though Waller does not directly advance a competitive model of paternalism neither does Joyce's or Church's work, so one aspect of this work will be an attempt to identify a competitive model of nineteen century paternalism in the Derbyshire coalfield.

The origins of this particular competitive model, pertinent to the coal and iron industry, commenced in Derbyshire about 1840 with the simultaneous completion of the N.M.R. and the establishment of the Clay Cross Company. This situation gave rise to a dynamic competitive industrial and business culture that transformed north-east Derbyshire into a hive of industrial activity that demanded considerable labour and professional expertise. As this industry expanded, competition intensified and fostered a competitive paternalism that was essentially about recruiting, retraining and controlling labour. It also acted as an agent for community stability and was used as a powerful antidote to repel organised labour that might intervene in the market. These paternalist innovations, however, were not the pure milk of benevolence, but developed within the matrix of strongly held laissez-faire notions of what the relationships of employers and workers should be.

The first chapter will briefly refer to the background of the CXC's major business protagonists that set the pace for competitive social welfare provision. It will also

examine the establishment and development of the CXC and the background to their social and economic philosophy. The workforce size, occupational and demographic evidence will be provided to demonstrate the transformation of a relatively isolated rural settlement into a dynamic industrial town dominated by the CXC.

The second chapter will examine the CXC's housing policy and the building of good quality housing essential to recruiting labour that had a sharp competitive edge. The use of housing as a tool in their industrial armoury will be discussed, together with its use to maintain social distinctions, reward loyalty and recruit professional expertise. The limitations of company housing and the need to rely on speculator developments that weakened the town's homogeneity and paternal grip will be emphasised. The company's promotion of the town's building society that fostered self-help and their timely intervention to establish a company building society as a potential trade union antidote will be examined. The CXC's contribution to the town's infrastructure and provision of coal allowance, crucial to sustaining production and reproduction of the labour force, will also be evaluated.

The third chapter will emphasise the importance of the company's sick and accident club (Field Club) in retaining labour and bolstering dependence, that was highly competitive and essential to the recruitment drive. Compulsory stoppages that diverted disposable cash from trade unions and the pub, the struggle for control of the field club, its strict rules, compliant doctors and charitable interventions were integral to paternal authority. Company welfare benefits were part of the employers industrial armoury and used to some effect to repel organised labour and will be discussed in the context of the Free Labour Dispute and the trade union renaissance

of the 1870's. The limitation of company welfare benefits and the encouragement of Friendly Societies and Death and Divide Clubs will be given attention. Also the company's active promotion of self-help and thrift that moulded a sober and reliable workforce will be discussed here and throughout this work.

The fourth chapter will briefly examine the context to educational, religious and recreational strategies for social control. Central to the pervasiveness of the paternal ideology was the company school. As with housing and welfare provision, education manifested a sharp competitive edge, particularly during the boom of the 50's. The schools role and importance in the community and for moulding a core of compliant and loyal workers was crucial for protecting investment and continuity of production. Also to be considered will be the schools use as a tool of industrial and social discipline and its intervention into the Free Labour Dispute. The company's laissez-faire and new sectarian position with regard to their school will be addressed together with the priority of educating girls to service the workforce. Also, the advent of free education and the impress of State and trade union intervention and working class political success culminatively undermined and eroded the CXC's brand of paternalism by the mid 90's - the terminal date for this study.

The fifth chapter will consider the CXC's investment in social control with emphasis on the promotion of religious institutions. The highlight of the community's calendar was the Whitwalk, and this public manifestation of company paternalism will be examined. The importance of religion in recruiting a permanent core of respectability and sobriety, essential to continuity of production and stability, will be emphasised.

Faced with the problems of hard drinking habits and consequent threat to production, the company attempted to seduce workers away from the public house. The chapter on rational recreation will examine these interventions and their limitation with specific reference to the Mechanics Institute, Horticultural Society, cricket, football and the volunteers.

The final chapter will analyse the obverse side of paternalism that explores the world of work and production that was the antithesis of any notion of a benign paternalism - it was harsh, unbenevolent, uncaring and antagonistic. This section will, therefore, look at the butty and contract systems, modes of filling coal, longweight, checkweighmen and absenteeism.

Throughout this work the paternalist interventions and retractions will be particularly evident during the periods of political and labour unrest during the 1840's, 1860's and early 1870's. As a large study already exists on the history of industrial conflict 'The Derbyshire Miners', it will not be necessary to reiterate the substance of those protracted affairs in this study[9].

However, as the 1866 Free Labour Dispute is constantly referred to, it would seem appropriate to give a short resumé of this conflict at this juncture. After the collapse of the Miners Association in Derbyshire in the 1840's, the boom of the 50's saw very little trade union activity until the beginning of the 1860's when the South Yorkshire Miners Association began to encroach into the County. By this time the Derbyshire miners had accumulated many unresolved grievances concerning wages and hours, longweight and weighing, the butty system, compulsory stoppages, confiscation of

coal, riddle filling and working conditions etc. Clearly, with such an antagonistic agenda the Derbyshire miners were most receptive to the calls of the S.Y.M.A. to get organised. By September 1866, the S.Y.M.A. had considerable success in recruiting members in north-east Derbyshire and particularly at Clay Cross and Staveley. As soon as the union looked like taking hold the management at both Staveley and Clay Cross took immediate and decisive action, terminating the employment of known union men and giving them notice to quit company cottages. Any intervention by organised labour to resolve the miners grievances was anathema to the coal owners and their managers and they vigorously and tenaciously resisted the establishment of trade unions. As a consequence the management at both Clay Cross and Staveley established an alternative called the 'Free Labour Society'. This society played a key role in undermining and defeating the S.Y.M.A. first at Staveley and then at the more heterogenous Clay Cross. William Howe, CXC Engineer, declared at a Free Labour meeting in December 1866 that 'England is a free country, and the Clay Cross Company would not be fettered by acts of Government or by unions'[10]. At Clay Cross it led to a clear demarcation between 'company men' and 'union men' than it did at Staveley.

In 1871, we learn from the 'Derbyshire Courier' that, 'With regard to colliers in Derbyshire, it may be said that there are no unions connected with them, a fact owing to the great strike that took place at Staveley (and Clay Cross) in 1866, and is now spoken of as the greatest contest between capital and labour in connection with mining operations that ever took place in the Midland Coalfield'[10].

This polarization, however, did not repulse the inevitable establishment of the Derbyshire Miners Association that was born at Clay Cross in 1880 - 'Great was the rejoicing when the men marched up to the Angel Hotel, Clay Cross, and the new union was fairly launched'[11].

The establishment of the D.M.A. was yet another crack in the paternal edifice that had all but crumbled by the mid-1890's.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO INTRODUCTION

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A BRIEF CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND TO THE CLAY CROSS COMPANY'S INDUSTRIAL, COMPETITIVE AND PATERNAL CHARACTER

The turnpike road network that spread its web throughout Derbyshire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, together with the canal systems, had a profound influence on the industrial and economic growth of the county. During this time an enormous geographical expansion of its markets had taken place and an increasing demand for coal was being created by a rapidly rising industrial system. Two of the most important beneficiaries of these major developments were the Butterley and Staveley Coal and Iron Companies, both strategically situated on the Erewash, Cromford and Chesterfield canals respectively[1].

Clay Cross, situated almost equidistance from the two companies, had been producing coal for some considerable time with a particulaly sharp rise in production during the eighteenth century. However, the opening of the Chesterfield canal to the north in 1776 and the Erewash and Cromford Canals to the South in 1787 and 1793 further land locked the area and led to a rapid decline in coalmining in the Clay Cross area[2]. The demand for coal was not revived until the development of the railways, the construction of which had a dramatic and enormous impact on the County.

Geologically, Clay Cross is well placed on the basset of the outcropping coal measures, situated on the Great North Midland Coalfield, which also contained on its eastern flank ore bearing strata stretching the whole length of Derbyshire. This coal

and ironstone, together with the vast limestone deposits to the immediate east of Clay Cross, was to form the basis of their integrated activities[3].

In May 1833, an Act was passed for the making of the Birmingham Company's Railway and about the same time the Midland Counties Railway Company were to make a connecting line from Rugby to Derby. It was now considered imperative that a company be incorporated to continue this line of communication from Derby to Leeds. In July 1836, the North Midland Railway Bill received Royal Assent and undoubtedly the place most affected by this new line in Derbyshire was Clay Cross. This rural village was transformed, virtually overnight, from a peaceful agricultural settlement into a rumbustious, dynamic and busy industrial town, dominated by one company. Its metamorphosis was conceived in 1837, with the driving of the Clay Cross Tunnel that runs directly under the centre of the town and the simultaneous establishment of the George Stephenson Colliery Company[4].

According to Samuel Smiles, at a time when everybody was sceptical about the possibilities of coal being carried from the Midland Counties and sold in the London market at a price to compete with the sea-borne coal of the Newcastle Vend, Stephenson was firmly convinced that the London Market could be supplied with north country carried by rail[5].

During exploratory surveys made in 1836, Stephenson was well aware of the advantages of exploiting the several seams of coal that outcropped at Clay Cross and which the N.M.R. line cut through. He soon communicated with his business friends of the 'Liverpool Party', who agreed to join him in establishing a colliery company[6].

The development of the N.M.R. line also had an immediate impact on the Butterley, Staveley, Wingerworth and Grassmoor Companies, who were all determined to take advantage of the new line that cut across to their enterprises. With the completion of the N.M.R. line all these companies were eager to compete with Stephenson's Company, and it was this competition that spurred and fostered company paternalism. This 'new' brand of paternalism that took on such force from the 1840's onwards was crucial to recruiting, retraining and controlling labour - it was also a crucial force in repelling organised labour[7].

In emphasising the competitive model of paternalism, it is imperative to have a glimpse at the origin of Stephenson's major competitors whose entrepreneurial energies, capital and professional management gave them a decided advantage in the early days.

The Butterley Company commenced as the Benjamin Outram Company in 1790 and was originally formed to establish an ironworks on the Butterley Hall estate. By 1815, it had acquired a total capital of £30,000 and by 1829 controlled furnaces; a foundry; a steam engine manufactory at Butterley; furnaces and a bar-iron works at Codnor; the Ormande, Portland and Heanor Collieries; the Crich limestone quarries and lime works at Crich and Codnor. At this date the company employed some 1,500 men. The expansion of the company continued and by 1858 the total capital was some 436,000. By 1862, it was raising 700,000 tons of coal annually from fourteen shafts and employing 8,000 men[8].

The Staveley Company commenced by Ward and Low in 1786, and taken over by Barrow in 1815, was not as large or as diversified as the Butterley Company and

initially concentrated its energies on iron production. In 1818, it launched itself into the coal trade after successfully negotiating two new leases with the Duke of Devonshire. Acutely aware of the potential of the opening of the N.M.R. line in 1840, it was no coincidence that this same year Barrow took over all the mines of coal and ironstone in the manor of Staveley. This deal with the Devonshires clearly laid the foundation of the Staveley Coal and Iron Company's future success. At this date Barrow was employing about 500 men, raising some 50,000 tons of coal and producing about 5,000 castings annually. To meet the challenge stimulated by the railway boom, he poached and recruited a new professional management team. He also sank a sequence of new coal mines during the 1840's and 50's that challenged Stephenson's new enterprise.

The output of his furnaces leaped to some 12,500 tons a year in 1846, rising to 15,000 tons of castings in 1860 and some 340,000 tons of coal. When the enterprise became a public company in 1864, coal production had reached 700,000 tons with 20,000 tons of castings and produced a labour force of some 4,200 men. Between 1840 and 1864 Barrow had invested some £590,000[9].

Those two large companies clearly set the pace with regard to the vertical integrated organisation combining successive stages of production in the coal and iron trades under single control. In this respect Stephenson's combined developments were neither innovative nor exceptional. Also Stephenson's initial investment of £110,000 was not particularly impressive compared with its competitors[10].

Standing in stark contrast to the vertical integrated giants was the Clay Cross Company's immediate neighbour, the Wingerworth Colliery Company. This small

colliery company, developed with local capital, was established alongside Stephenson's in 1837[11]. A.N.M.R. branch line linked its colliery with the main trunk line at Clay Cross Station[12]. This small company, employing between 100 to 150 men, had to compete with its giant neighbours with regard to recruiting and retraining labour. In doing so it attempted to provide the same level of social, educational, recreational and welfare provision, and further reinforces the competitive model of paternalism. Indeed, the High Cliff and Timberfield Collieries, situated in the Clay Cross Township, and standing in the immediate shadows of the Clay Cross Company, employing about 20 and 30 men respectively, also promoted a sick and accident fund[13].

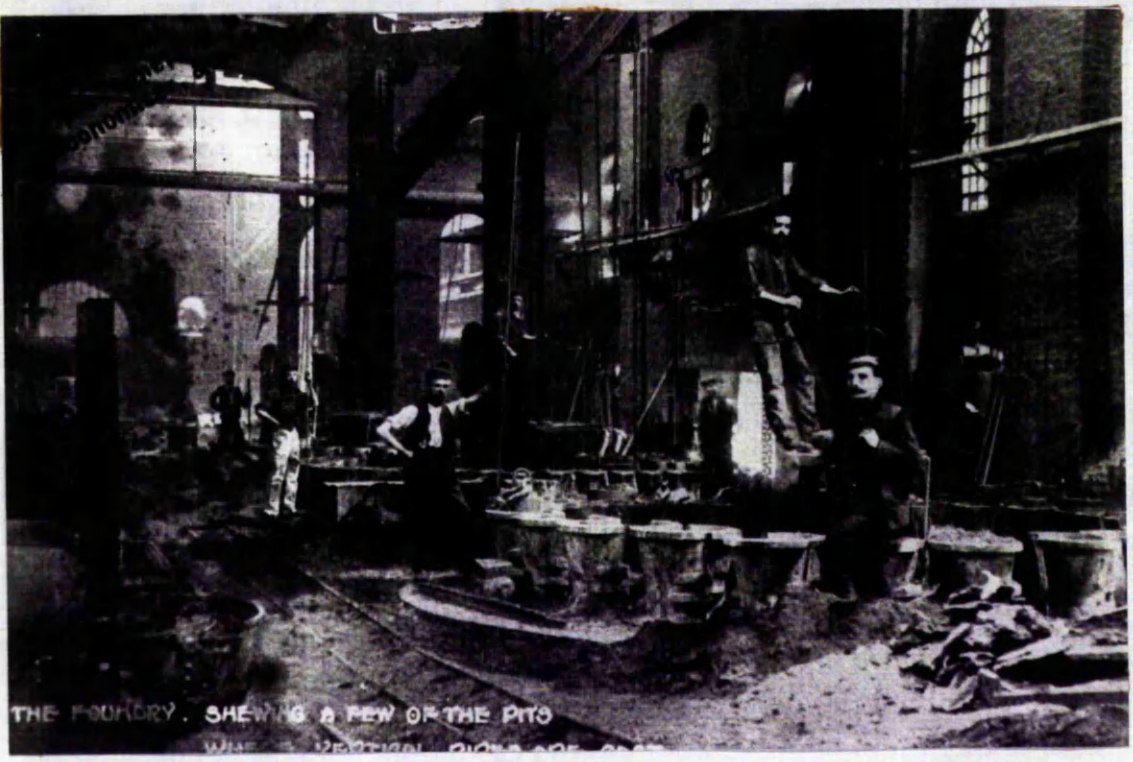
With the establishment of George Stephenson's Company in 1837, an impressive array of railway and banking talent made up the list of shareholders. Besides George and Robert Stephenson, the proprietors included George Carr Glynn, Joseph Saunders, Joshua Walmsley and George Hudson, the Railway King. Subsequent changes in the shareholding introduced other railway promoters and in 1845, William Caxton acquired a share from Walmsley and Samuel Morton Peto acquired the same from George Carr Glynn. William Jackson, who secured all the shares in 1871, became a partner in 1847 and E. L. Betts became a partner in 1854[14].

After the death of George Stephenson in 1848, his son Robert became the largest shareholder and "that Mr. Robert Stephenson be requested to accept the same position in reference to the Clay Cross Collieries and Iron Works which his late lamented father occupied and that £500 per annum be placed to his credit for such general and professional duties" - his father was paid £1000 per year[15]. Robert's railway interests

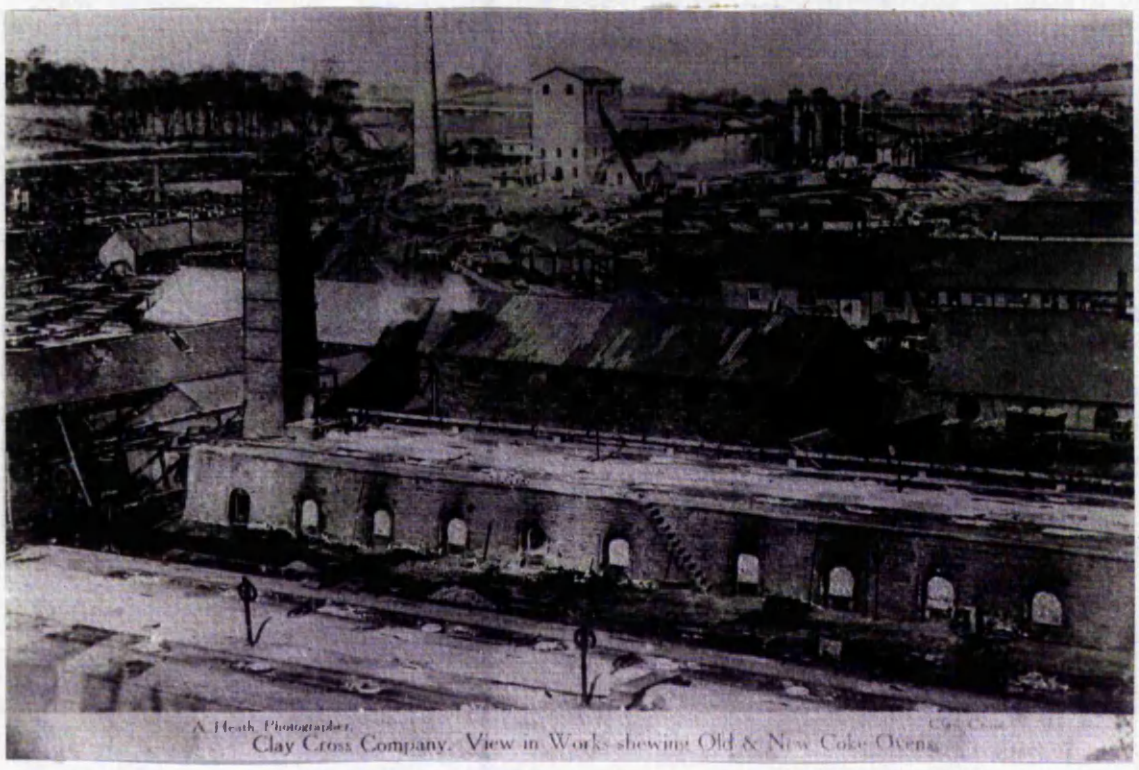
conflicted with his company interests and he severed his connection with the company after refusing to sanction a contract with the London and North Western Railway on the grounds that it was unremunerative to the railway company[16]. At this juncture there was a further change in the composition of the partnership and by 1851, Peto Jackson and Walmsley became the three controlling partners and the company changed its name to the Clay Cross Company (CXC)[17]. In 1854, when the prospects for the company began to improve, William Jackson secured a further four twelfths of the shares from Peto. By 1862, Jackson held eleven twelfths of the shares and in 1871 he acquired the entire interest after the death of Walmsley in November[18].

In the early days, Stephenson was in no rush to develop his enterprise at Clay Cross as its success depended entirely on the opening of the N.M.R. line. During the first couple of years the company was clearly experimenting and proving the coal seams and preparing to recruit a new and sober workforce after the navvies had moved on.

One of their first initiatives in 1839 was to build a series of coke ovens with the idea of selling it to the N.M.R. for its railway engines. The quality of coke, however, proved to be inferior to the Durham coke and when the York and Darlington line was opened, the Clay Cross coke was driven out of the market[19]. This particular scheme provided just a few jobs and in 1841 only thirteen people were recorded as coke-burners. During this year the monthly average of coal burnt into coke was just 432 tons. The 1851 census records only one coke-burner and a coke filler in 1861; no coke workers are recorded. However, with the increasing iron production on the works at Clay Cross seven coke workers were recorded in the 1871 census[20]. (See Table I).



Clay Cross Company's Iron Foundry showing the Pipe Pits built in 1864.



Clay Cross Company's coke ovens of which the first set was built in 1839.

In 1840, to enable the company to use the increasing amounts of small coal accumulated through the surface screening process, they constructed a substantial range of twenty lime kilns at Ambergate in 1840/41. "These stupendous works when finished will be of the most extensive character in England, or may we say the world"[21]. These kilns were supplied with lime from the nearby Crich quarries and was one of the company's most successful ventures. During the 124 years of their working life, it has been estimated that six million tons passed through the kilns. Ambergate was situated some ten miles from Clay Cross and its workers were all engaged by contractors in the early years and were outside the influence of the company's paternal grip[22].

In another attempt to find an outlet for the increasing supply of unsaleable slack they built two blast furnaces in 1846 to consume the coke converted from slack for the production of pig iron. These two furnaces were completed and blown in 1848 at a cost of some £38,000 and when the iron trade became more buoyant, they constructed another furnace in 1854[23]. This department only provided employment for a few workers and the 1851 census records eleven furnacemen, two furnace keepers (probably working a twelve hour day each), one iron casting dresser, one pattern maker with Joseph Gibson as furnace manager[24].

In 1864, they decided to diversify even further and built a foundry to produce a variety of castings, including gas, water and steam pipes. This particular department continued to expand, but had great difficulties competing with their major rivals at Staveley, Butterley and Sheepbridge Companies[25].

Another venture that absorbed some of the company's surplus coal and was quite profitable was their gas works established in 1852, followed by their Waterworks in 1855. These two initiatives were introduced during the boom of the 1850's when the recruitment drive for labour by the major Derbyshire companies was at its peak. These initiatives, besides being profitable, acted as an inducement to recruitment and clearly provided some comfort to its workers.

Also during this period in 1858, William Jackson promoted the idea of establishing a silk factory that would employ the young women of Clay Cross and district. Binns also encouraged the newly founded Co-op to join to their own scheme some plan to give employment to young women 'who were now living in idleness', and that the company would give some 'generous aid'. Three other attemps to establish a textile factory in the town were attempted in 1859, 1860 and 1864, respectively, but none were built. These attempts were made during a labour shortage and even here there was a competitive ring and it was reported in January 1864, that the Staveley Company had set up a company to employ women and 'will be affected shortly'[26a].

Other aspects of the company's activities that provided employment were its brickmaking, farms and landsale, but its real success story was coal marketed in the Metropolis[26].

About a year after the establishment of the company in August 1838, they sank their first two of pits and "This hamlet, so long in a state of quietude is likely to have its latent resources brought into public services. Under the management of Mr. Stephenson a colliery has been lately commenced near the tunnel"[27]. These pits, which comprised the CXC's first phase of coal mining development, were primarily

concerned about proving the coal seams and assessing its quality. All the early pits sunk between 1838/40 were sunk by the tunnel contractors who also worked them for the company on a variant of the 'big butty system'.

Confident about the quality of the coal and accessibility of the seams and the opening of the N.M.R., the company immediately commenced to build the Top and Bottom Long Rows and sink a series of new and deeper pits that were all well laid out with steam winding engines and cupalo ventilation[28]. The first of these new pits was the No. 1 pit sunk in December 1839 and was sunk adjacent to their new housing development[29]. By 1840, the company had eight shafts at work and J. M. Fellows in his report to the Childrens Employment Commission, congratulated the company on its ventilation system - "I found the plan of ventilation followed by George Stephenson Esq. and Company at Clay Cross, fully answered that gentleman's expectations, it was by sinking two shafts within a few yards of each other and placing a furnace at the bottom of one which created a current of air through the whole of the works in a superior manner to any I had seen before"[30]. Well ventilated pits were safer pits and crucial for protecting investment, and gave rise to a concern for technical requirement and the recruitment of professional and competent staff. Safer pits were also crucial to recruiting and retaining labour and proprietors and shareholders were not prepared to lease their highly capitalised pits to unlettered butties. In this respect it was the Staveley Company that led the way in Derbyshire and introduced large steam driven ventilation systems and appointed staff responsible for ventilation. This company was also the first company to suffer a large firedamp explosion, killing twelve people in 1858[31]. This occurred at the height of the recruitment drive and they soon took some preventative measures to stop men moving

on to other pits. Barrow was eager to keep ahead of his rivals in every respect and between 1841 and 1853 he sank four new pits with bigger shaft capacities than those sunk at Clay cross during this period[32].

Shortly after the No. 1 Pit was opened in April 1840, the CXC opened its first coal depot at Hollis Lane, Chesterfield. The following month it delivered fifty tons of coal to Derby and "The Derby and Kilburn Masters have reduced the price of their coal six pence per ton in consequence of the competition"[33]. The cheaper transport heralded the start of intensive competition and the CXC decided to sink its second phase of pits that was to prove crucial for its survival. This phase commenced with the sinking of their No. 2 Pit in 1850, followed by the No. 3 and No. 4 Pits in 1852 and 1857, respectively. All these pits were deeper, with bigger shaft capacities and were considerably more expensive to sink and develop than their first phase[34]. (See Table II).

Once again there was a parallel development at Staveley with the sinking of Springwell, New Hollingwood and Seymoor Collieries in 1853, 1857 and 1858, respectively[35]. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Staveley Company seized the opportunity to advertise their coal products and - "The largest coal has been sent from the colliery at Staveley in Derbyshire. It is 17½ feet long, 6 feet wide and 4 feet thick. It weighs 15 tons and was mined at a depth of 459 feet. No doubt peculiar variations were made in this instance expressly for the exhibition, but if we reflect on the difficulties to be overcome in bringing such a mass to the surface, we shall find in this singular specimen a proof of the power and perfection of mining

Clay Cross No. 2 pit sunk 1850, on the company's works.

A view of the Clay Cross Company from the No. 1 pit-tip. Note the tunnel turret to the left of the picture which emphasises proximity of works to trunk line.

machinery"[36]. Uncertain about its future (see below) the CXC sent no 'specimen' but contributed £9.1s in furtherance of the object of the exhibition.

Besides the Clay Cross and Staveley sinkings a new series of pits commenced at North Wingfield, Grassmoor, Chesterfield and Sheepbridge, which further intensified the competition to recruit and retain labour. By 1857, there were 240 colliers in Derbyshire employing upwards of 20,000 men and during the previous year some 4,500,000 tons of coal had been produced[37].

The north-east Derbyshire area is richest in first class industrial and house coal, and it was the latter that was to be the basis of the CXC's future success with the bulk of its sale entering the London market. The seams of coal mined by the CXC were the Blackshale (MAIN), Deepsoft (¾) and the Tupton seam which formed part of the Silkstone Bed and bassets out in north-east Derbyshire. The other important seam was the Barnsley Bed or Top Hard, but this seam was not exploited by the CXC until 1874 when they sank the No. 6 Morton Pit[38a]. Again the dynamic Staveley Company was ahead of the CXC and had sunk to the Top Hard with the Seymoor Colliery in 1859.

The CXC first made their entry into the London market in October 1840 and by the end of the year they had delivered some 2,000 tons to London - "Inland Coals We understand that in the course of a few weeks a quantity of coals from Clay Cross Derbyshire will be brought to the London Market. They are said to be equal to the best Wallsend and can be sold at the Wharf at Paddington at about 22/- per ton"[38b]. This coal was delivered partly by rail and partly by canal from Rugby onwards and by this date the CXC had purchased several canal boats from John Stephenson[47].

Between 1840 and 1844, the sale of coals to the Metropolis was a fraction of their output and things did not begin to improve until the latter year when the company had the distinction of being the first company to send 'inland' coals direct to London by rail via the London Birmingham line - "So far from credible was it considered to carry the black diamonds by this means that trucks were covered by tarpaulins to hide them from public gaze"[39].

The CXC's first big contract was secured in June 1849 when they agreed to send 45,000 tons of coal to London for a period of two years at ½d per mile with the Midland Railway Company and afterwards for 60,000 tons at a reduction of ⅛ penny per ton per mile. In December of that year they also contracted with the London North Western Railway for the carriage of not less than 45,000 tons from Rugby to London[40].

It would appear that the CXC had some difficulty in meeting these targets with their old plant. As the new pits were not yet fully developed they contracted with the Butterley Company in 1852, to deliver 45,000 tons of coal annually for three years[41]. Indeed, in 1851, before any of the new pits were in production, the new company chairman, Morton Peto, thought the prospects for the company were so bad that he asked to board to consider closing the collieries - "excepting so far as may be necessary for the iron works"[42]. This particular crisis was the turning point for the company and with the London sales continuing to increase and the No. 2 and No. 3 Pits in full production, the company were sending 71,000 tons in 1852 (+ 45,000 sent from Butterley) rising to 239,000 in 1860. This capacity was further sustained by the 800 tons per day drawn from their No. 4 Pit[43]. In 1861, we learn that the

"celebrated Clay Cross Coals have attained such a decided position in the London Market ... and until that market is satisfied no other can be supplied"[44]. During the following year out of a total of 4,977,251 tons supplied to London, Clay Cross had sent 385,632 tons, one tenth of all coal entering the London market. At the commencement of this year the CXC were reported to be able to produce 500,000 tons annually from these shafts - Staveley 800,000 tons from five shafts and Butterley could raise about the same amount from fourteen shafts[45]. The Butterley pits were much older, not too well laid out and had a much lesser shaft capacity than its northern competitors. The Butterley Company concentrated its energies and expertise on its iron industry and were reputed to be the makers of the biggest makers of iron girders in both Britain and Europe by the early 1870's[46].

To sustain the demands of the London Market and to improve their competitiveness, the CXC sank three new pits, No. 5 and No. 6 Pits at Morton in 1865 and 1874, and No. 7 Parkhouse pit at Danesmoor in 1866, all situated on the new Erewash extension line. The Staveley Company kept up with the pace and opened Campbell Colliery in July 1868 and the Ireland Colliery in 1876.

Though the Staveley and Butterley giants regularly sent coal to London, their trade was not so large as that of Clay Cross. As time moved on various new branch lines were developed in the county which gave increasing number of collieries access to the main routes that threatened the coal monopoly of the giants. Though Clay Cross continued to maintain the ascendancy peaking at 400,000 tons in 1872, there was the beginning of a marked fall off in trade from Clay Cross to London[47]. This was at a

The Railway network and colliery complexes of north-east Derbyshire c 1885. (Airey Railway Map).

time when trade at other collieries was on the increase. As a consequence of this competition the CXC began to pay more attention to its iron and foundry production. Coal, however, continued to play a vital role in their survival up to Nationalisation.

The opening of the N.M.R. line and the simultaneous establishment of the CXC completely transformed Clay Cross from a small agrarian community into a dynamic industrial town. The most decisive indication of the town's dramatic transformation can be deduced from the decennial census returns.

In 1831, 564 persons were residing in the Clay Lane Township and by 1841, the population had risen dramatically to 1,478 - a 260% increase (Table III)[48]. The bulk of this increase occurred during the last three years of the decade between 1839 and 1841, and was almost entirely due to the migratory influx of people who came to work for the company. In 1841, the 'Courier' sums up this metamorphosis very suitably - "The formation of the Midland Railway and the establishment of Messrs Stephenson's and Company's collieries have opened and developed the riches of the district, professional gentlemen, mechanics, colliers and labourers have flocked to it from all quarters and from being a scattered and obscure hamlet, it has assumed the appearance of a manufacturing town[49].

The decade between 1831 and 1841 (see Table III), reflects the establishment of the company and the building of the Tunnel Rows and Top and Bottom Lomg Rows. The following decade indicates the initial colliery development stage and the building of Gaffers Row, Elbow Row, Chapel Row, Pleasant Row, Office Row, Clay Lane Row, Cellar Row and Paradise Row, all built by the Company (see section 2.). Between 1851 and 1861, the second phase of colliery developments was complete and

reflects the speculators housing increments. The returns between 1861 and 1871 identify with the Erewash Line development, the sinking of No. 7 Parkhouse Pit and the subsequent erection of the company's 'Blocks' at Danesmoor. There were similar dramatic increases in population and house building at the company's two other satellite communities at Tupton (1858-1861) and Morton (1865-1874).

Not only does the demographic increases reflect the social and economic transformation, but the industrialisation is further substantiated by the occupational structure. In 1829, Stephen Glover records that 49 families were chiefly employed in agriculture, 24 in trades and handicrafts and 32 variously[50]. By 1841, there were about 350 people employed by the CXC and resident in Clay Cross. About 276 were coalminers with about 40 employed about the pit bank, together with several blacksmiths, engineers, winders etc. (see Table I). Clearly the dominant occupational group in Clay Cross throughout the period was the coalminers with the large majority employed by the CXC. The precise numbers employed by the company is difficult to calculate, but using the census returns and various directories, the following estimates have been calculated:-

Date	Workforce
1841	400
1846	600
1851	700
1854	800
1857	1,200
1861	1,300

Date	Workforce
1872	2,000
1881	2,300
1893	2,800
1900	3,000 [51]

The talented entrepreneurs who comprised the CXC proprietorship, unlike the Butterley and Staveley hereditary leadership, were absentee proprietors who, despite their talents, had very little to do with the running of their Clay Cross enterprise. This onerous task was vested in Charles Binns, who was appointed general manager in 1837, a post he occupied with great authority until his retirement in 1882.

Stephenson did, however, come to reside in the area in 1843, when he rented Tapton House near Chesterfield, where he spent his last few years in retirement[52]. Coinciding with his arrival in the area he decided to establish a school and church at Clay Cross. Together with the establishment of the company's sick and accident club in 1841, these were the beginnings of the company's social, educational, religious and welfare policies that promoted self-help, independence and moulded a compliant core of workers. These institutions, together with housing, were neither unique nor innovative, but essential to the recruitment of labour. Clearly the Butterley and Staveley companies set the pace for social welfare but the qualitative aspect of this provision obviously improved as the competition for labour intensified and trade unionism encroached.

Though the competitive aspects of these commutarian provisions will be emphasised, it would appear that George Stephenson did have a genuine desire to improve the lot

of his employees, but enveloped in the ideology of Victorian, middle class values. These values were also held by Morton Peto and William Jackson in particular, and were enshrined and consistently promoted and delivered by the resident management team headed by Charles Binns in terms of the development of Clay Cross and formed the bedrock of their paternal aspirations.

Charles Binns was appointed agent to the company in 1837, and carried the mantle of responsibility for some 45 years and was the most influential and powerful personality in the town until his demise in 1887. Indeed, every year after his arrival in the town in 1845, the majority of his workers and their families religiously trooped to his residence at Wakes Week and Whitsuntide to pay their due respects to their employer and patriarch.

Binns was the second son of Jonathan Binns, a Quaker, land surveyor and estate agent. Unlike his mentor he was drawn from a class distinctly above the working community he presided over. He was first educated at a private school in Lancashire and later at a Quaker school in Kendall[53].

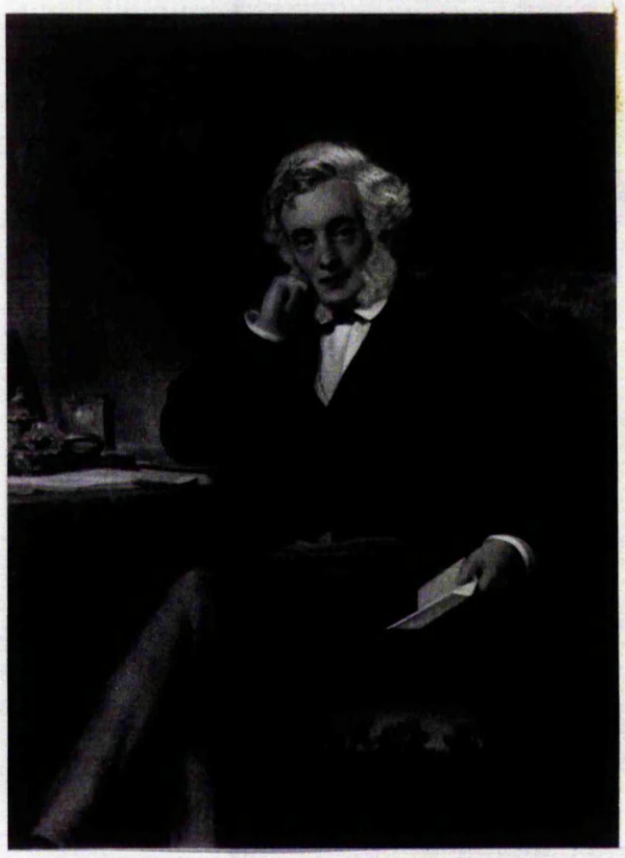
From the beginning he had carte blanche to raise the educational and moral standards of the community that were intended to mould a subservient and loyal workforce. He never ceased to espouse the virtues of self-help, thrift, duty and independence, which permeated most of his public eulogies and commutarian ideals.

In 1868, Binns made a presentation to John Walters, Company enginewright and Free Labour Society stalwart for his long service as treasurer to the "Stephenson's Favourite Lodge Friendly Society" and emphasised "They were there to present a

beautiful watch and a beautiful chain to a man who had been a servant of the company from his infancy, and had by perseverance and honesty of purpose raised himself to his present position. Those who had known him (Binns) long enough would be aware that during the past 30 years he had told the men of Clay Cross that self-help and self-power were the only means which would lead them to better themselves and their families, and gain a higher position in life. It was useless for a man thinking of raising himself unless he used his own exertions for that purpose"[54]. Walters was just one of a dozen or so loyal employees who diligently worked his way up through the ranks of the company hierarchy and served the interest of the company well in the community - a model for emulation.

Eager to promote and implement the notions and ideas of self-help in a material way, the CXC established a savings bank for its workers and acted as banker to many local societies. In the early days this could have been a device to control disposable income that might have found itself in the beershop or trade union coffers. They were centrally involved in establishing and running one of the country's earliest building societies that continues to flourish today. In the 70's they also attempted to set up a company building society which was to divert attention and cash away from the emerging miners union. They also encouraged and help run several friendly societies and inaugurated their own sick and accident club and later founded the Midland Counties Permanent Fund that served as an antidote to trade unionism.

It will be noted throughout this study that the CXC management hierarchy permeated and held key positions in almost all the town's institutions and clubs referred to



CHARLES BINNS (1813-1887) GENERAL MANAGER OF THE CLAY CROSS COMPANY AND THE TOWN'S PATRIARCH.

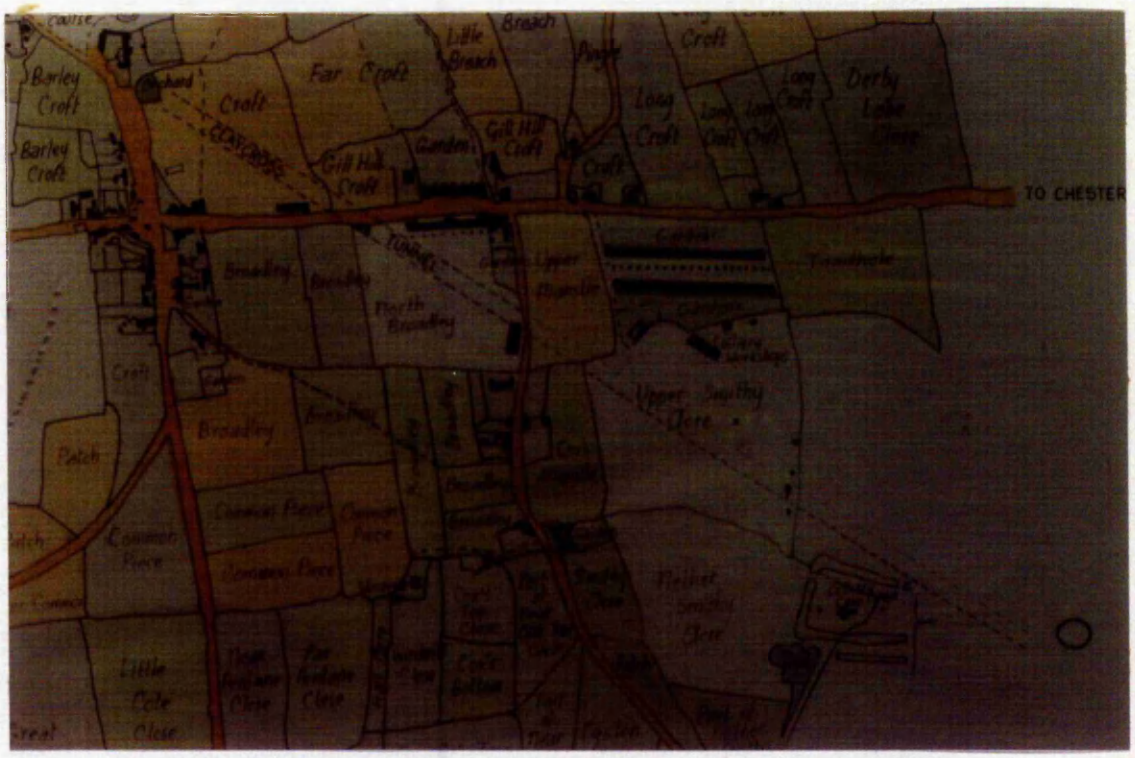
'Being dead he will yet speak to the diligent to encourage them to fresh activity, to the idle to make them blush for their indolence, to the noble and generous to urge them to still nobler and more generous deeds; to the churlish to make them ashamed of their illiberality. A just and merciful magistrate, a warm and true hearted friend; a kind man and conciliatory employer of labour, a liberal in politics tolerant of other mens' convictions, an easy master, faithful servant and benevolent man.'
D.C. 15 Jan. 1887.

above. Also it dominated the echelons of the Local Board of Health, Burial Board, School Board, Mechanics Institute, Horticultural Society, Choral Society, Volunteers, Fire Brigade. Gas and Water Companies, Ambulance Brigade, Co-op and the various religious groups etc. It also dominated the cricket, tennis, bowling and snooker clubs and their managers provided a succession of the town's magistrates. As the proprietors were all liberal in politics, most of their managers and foremen followed suit. In 1847, five out of the six of the CXC proprietors were elected to Parliament[55]. Binns was a founder member and chairman of the Clay Cross Liberal Party.

To Binns and his directors, the greatest affront to their self-help ideology was the rise of trade unionism which they proscribed from the outset and refused to employ union men. Throughout the period they attempted to stem the trade union tide by improving educational, welfare and social facilities which also acted as a competitive inducement to recruitment. Paradoxically, these paternal interventions could be terminated when organised labour threatened. In 1872, Binns told a deputation of miners seeking to form a union that if they proceeded, "he would at once withdraw all assistance the company gives to the schools, chapels, social institutions and so forth that flourish so much at Clay Cross ... Mr. Binns on his part would decline to recognise the mutual obligations between employer and employed for which Clay Cross, like Staveley, had hitherto been noted"[56]. Both Binns and Markham recognised and acknowledged the conditional nature of their respective company's paternalism.

During the boom of the 1850's and the shortage of labour, Binns demonstrated a hint of pragmatism towards industrial relations and for a moment was willing to tolerate trade unionism, in an attempt to attract labour, despite his vigorous opposition in the previous decade[57]. This moment of toleration was short-lived and when unionism raised its head again in the 60's, an epic struggle ensued. This manifested itself with the CXC establishing a company union called the Free Labour Society and was responsible, together with company support and the state apparatus, for crushing organised labour for a decade.

The bedrock of the CXC's philosophy, like that of their Derbyshire competitors, was a rigorous laissez-faire, free market, free labour ideology that was mirrored in their industrial and paternal policies. The CXC's brand of paternalism, like their competitors, was not conceived from the pure milk of benevolence, but was economically and politically driven and central to lubricating company hegemony and at little or no cost to the company.



Top. Clay Lane Township in 1841.
Bottom. Clay Cross situated in the Clay Lane Township.
NOTE The Top and Bottom Long Rows to the right and the Tunel Rows spanning the turnpike road (A61) near the top, centre.

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TO
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D.C. 12 May 1848. 2 January 1847.

24. See Appendix I.

25. O.H.E. p.36.

26.A D.T. 8 October 1858. D.C. 20 August 1859. D.T. 28 January 1860. D.T. 30 January 1864.

26.B For context of vertigal integrated activities see O.H.E. pp.36-51. R.F. Childs, Rocket No. 6, pp.2-3.
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39. D.T. 8 November 1873.
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54. D.C. 27 February 1868.

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COMPANY HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The N.M.R. opened up many opportunities for the land locked Derbyshire coalfield and dramatically transformed the eastern flank of the county into a hive of industrial activities. This rapid transformation required a considerable amount of labour which the area could not readily provide. (See Table IV). The main problem of recruiting labour to relatively isolated districts was that of providing adequate accommodation. This aspect was an integral part of company development costs and between 1839 and 1848 the CXC subscribed about 30% of its capital to its housing programme[1]. Community building and social welfare provision clearly had a sharp competitive edge with regard to recruiting and retraining labour. This was highlighted by James Campbell in 1868 - "Clay Cross, for example is the largest neighbouring colliery to us. We do not want our men to go to Clay Cross. How can we help that? Only by having them as comfortable as we can at our place, and on their part they do the same at Clay Cross"[2].

During the tunnel excavations at Clay Cross in 1838, the principal contractors complained about the lack of suitable accommodation which had caused several of their best 'hands' to leave and go elsewhere. The N.M.R. board were quick to respond and built 30 cottages (East and West Tunnel Rows) for "100 superior workmen for which rent will be paid"[3]. Obviously, the provision of adequate accommodation close to the place of work was essential for recruiting and retaining key workers. Rollinson, the Chesterfield architect, designed numerous cottages for the large colliery companies in North-East Derbyshire and emphasised the importance of their proximity to the pit-gates - "They should also be within easy distance of the

workmens employment; firstly it enables him without any excuse to maintain punctuality at his work; secondly he does not waste his strength by walking a great distance; and thirdly it gives him an opportunity of using his spade in the garden"[4].

The provision of purpose-built satellite colliery communities served as functional and physical entities of control. Also the economic advantages of a settled and loyal workforce was potentially more productive than one that was constantly changing.

During the first two years the company only employed a handful of workers and its first pits were sunk and worked by butties. Suitable and permanent accommodation during this uncertain period was not considered necessary until the N.M.R. line was open and potential markets identified. No permanent offices were built at Clay Cross until 1840, just two years after the CXC was established[5]. Binns, Campbell (engineer) and Wilkinson (cashier) were the only professional staff employed at this date.

Coinciding with the completion of the N.M.R. in June 1840, and aware of the developments at Staveley, Butterley, Wingerworth and Grassmoor the CXC decided to build its own cottages to accommodate an adequate and suitable supply of labour. In April it was advertising for craftsmen to build about 70 cottages and all materials, except glass and paint were provided by the company. In August 1847 the company provided all materials 'except tools'. The company engineer would appear to have organised this work and put it out to tender because it was much cheaper to a company struggling to survive. Stephenson had purchased thousands of bricks and much timber and brick kilns etc., that were surplus when the Clay Cross Tunnel was completed[6]. By December 1840, two rows of 44 cottages were complete and

East Tunnel Row (right), built by the N.M.R. in 1838 and purchased by the CXC in 1841.

Cellar Row (right) situated on the High Street, built c 1845. Mary Elizabeth Wilkinson, widow of CXC's cashier, lived here from 1842 to 1886.

were identified as the Top and Bottom Long Rows. Their design was similar to the N.M.R.'s Tunnel Rows - two up and two down with outside privies and extensive back gardens, and set the standard for their other developments at Clay Cross, Danesmoor, Tupton and Morton[7]. According to Rollinson "All pictorial effects must be dispensed with as unnecessary and misplaced, the object being to obtain models of utility and not ornament"[8]. The following year they purchased the Tunnel Rows which had become surplus to the N.M.R.s requirements for £2,684, about £90 each and included much land at the front and rear. This purchase increased the CXC's housing stock to 118 but after this purchase there was a lull in the CXC's building programme[9]. Their immediate rivals, however, the Wingerworth Colliery Company were also eager to recruit for their Tupton and North Wingfield pits. Between 1842/43 this company erected four rows of 'back to back' cottages that were much cheaper and inferior to the CXC's. At Staveley, the company there built 175 'blind-back' cottages which comprised about half the living space of the CXC's and had no back yards, gardens or privies[10].

The second phase of the CXC's housing programme commenced in 1845 immediately after they had a gained direct rail link with London. Between 1845/46 some £3,476 was spent on building more cottages and the next two years saw another £4,441 expended on workers accommodation[11]. These increments completed the company's housing programme in Clay Cross, with the exception of a few houses for their management team. The total number of workers cottages amounted to 208 (see Table V).

Elbow Row, Market Street, Clay Cross. Built Blind back by the CXC c 1842.

Note the small windows as recommended by Rollinson. These cottages were one up and one down.

Commenting on the improved housing conditions for Derbyshire in 1849, Tremenheere emphasised that 'the decency, comfort, neatness and cleanliness of the collieries houses, and all about them in this county, with the aspect and conditions of many of great colliery villages in Lancashire, the contrast is great'[12].

With the exception of Elbow Row, one up and one down and built blind-back, all the CXC houses built in the 1840's were far superior to their competitors and the later speculator developments. These developments, however, were substantial rather than imaginative and the Butterley Company had been building terraces with large gardens as early as 1797[13].

Perhaps the most important decade of industrial expansion in North-East Derbyshire during the nineteenth century was the 1850's. This period witnessed much migration into the county and heralded much competition for labour. A report on the coal and iron traders for Derbyshire and Yorkshire at the beginning of 1857 recorded that "The Collieries are fully employed and the only difficulty is to keep the men at work. There is a great scarcity of miners and every man disposed to work may find full employment"[14].

Good quality housing was important to attracting a sober, steady and respectable workforce and together with other material welfare, benefits encouraged company loyalty - but it was never free and had its price. The Staveley Company's response to the CXC developments was to build 247 substantial, stone cottages at Barrow Hill.[15]

Giving evidence to the Royal Commission in 1868, Markham, the newly appointed manager for Staveley, clearly emphasised the importance of providing good accommodation - "We have built a large number of cottages and have provided three bedrooms to each house and as we only charge 2/6d per week for rent to our cottages, which also includes a garden, a pigsty, we look beyond the simple interest of our investment in obtaining the most skilful and steady workmen"[16].

With their eye on the Staveley developments, the CXC built 40 new cottages of a 'superior kind' at New Tupton in 1854 to accommodate workers for their New Foundation Pit. It was suggested that these cottages would act as an antidote to strikes -

> "The cost of each house will be sufficient to guarantee that they will be of first rate order and embrace all the sanitary and other improvements which have recently come into use. The system of providing good habitation for the miners adopted by this wealthy company has been found to answer well in large colliery districts by cementing relationships which ought always to exist between the employer and the employed and in preventing unfortunate strikes which have been productive of disastrous results"[17].

With the continuing demands made by the London market and the completion of the Erewash Line in 1863, the CXC sunk two more collieries at Danesmoor (No. 7) and Morton (No. 5). During this time, at a public meeting, Binns was encouraging the audience to memorialise the CXC for the erection of baths and workhouses "which were much needed". With the completion of the No. 7 Parkhouse Pit, 56 new cottages were built at Danesmoor at a cost of £5,451 or £97 each[18]. The improved aspect of these cottages was that each block of eight houses had a communal wash-house and bakehouse, but no baths were incorporated. Similar blocks were also built

at Morton and Stonebroom comprising 20 and 64 houses, respectively. Competition for labour was again intensifying with the sinking of pits at neighbouring Holmewood and Pilsley - the CXC's No. 7 Pit was in this township[19].

Had the companies not built any houses they would not have been able to recruit and retain sufficient labour. In isolated colliery districts, particularly in the early stages of development, it was clear that the only capital available for such developments was provided by the company. Private capital, as opposed to company capital, lagged behind until the success of a new company appeared certain. A company house with free fuel, a garden, gas and water laid on etc., were inducements to recruitment. Company houses wherever they were built were not built out of a benevolent interest in the welfare of their workers, but out of necessity and in most cases, they made the cottages pay for themselves. Considerations of labour supply thus provided the major justification for house building in locations remote from towns.

Company housing was a powerful weapon in the employers industrial armoury and particularly so where the company had the monopoly of provision. Company cottages were only usually let on the condition that the tenant, and often his able-bodied sons and lodgers worked for the company. The miners home was effectively tied to his job and any misdemeanour in the eyes of the company could get the family evicted. During slack periods, however, and to maximise income they would accommodate other people who were willing to pay the rent and move them on when necessary.

In 1852, the CXC was advised about the proper procedure to evict a tenant and the minimum notice they could give, according to their rules, was seven days. However, the notice given to their employees to quit their employment was fourteen days either

side and clearly the shorter tenancy notice could put further pressure on a worker and his family. Similarly at Butterley and Staveley the notice given to workers to quit their employment was a month either side, but notice to quit their homes was a fortnight[20].

There appears to be little evidence that the CXC or their competitors sought redress through the courts for evictions other that during major disputes. For single evictions the legal process was probably unnecessary and the termination of employment and subsequent loss of income, together with the loss of allowance coal and other social and welfare benefits would suffice to move the tenant on. All the cottages owned by the CXC were numbered and was a sure check on who was occupying them and any undesirables could be easily identified and asked to leave.

When the Derbyshire colliers attempted to re-establish a trade union in 1866, the major colliery companies sacked any of their workers who joined and gave them notice to quit if they lived in a company house. At Clay Cross many of those who had received notices to leave work and their houses proudly and defiantly exhibited them in their windows[21]. For those refusing to quit, rents were doubled and instead of deducting rent from fortnightly pay, they were sued for the amount in court.

At Barrow Hill, where the Staveley Company had the monopoly of the workers houses, it made it difficult to find lodgings, which weakened the miners resolve to resist. This resulted in the vast majority of miners joining the company directed Free Labour Society. Also at Butterley the company owned 700 houses and for those evicted it was difficult to find lodgings and if they stayed with a friend he was also ejected. At Clay Cross, however, the company did not have such control and out of

some 730 properties listed in the 1861 census, the CXC only owned 208 and many miners could have sought refuge in the private sector[22].

Another legal device that put further pressure on workers contemplating a long dispute was that they were not allowed to move any goods and furniture from their home if they owed rent. It was usual for the landlords in these circumstances to sell off any goods and furniture and deduct the amount owing from the sale. James Haslam, D.M.A. secretary, requested on one occasion that the CXC do not employ any strangers when they had plenty of old hands 'who were not only unable to get work, but could not remove their goods because of rent arrears'. Willis Boot, No. 2 Pit Union secretary, was summoned by his landlord for fraudulently removing his goods when owing £8.15s rent. The following year in 1888, when the CXC men were demanding a 10% increase in the getting price of coal, the company demanded 'Arrears of rent to be stopped at three times plus current rent'. In 1890, company loyalty was rewarded and that 'back rents not to be stopped at extra rates in case of workmen who are old standards and not likely to go away'. Those union activists living in company houses were clearly proscribed[23].

Clearly, the hierarchial position of the CXC's employees, together with their social status, was reflected in their housing policy. Reluctant to build any houses at all in the first few years, their general manager, Charles Binns, resided in rented accommodation at Tupton Hall. With the London contract under their belt in November 1845, the CXC decided to build their manager a substantial house at Clay Cross - "There is in course of erection a large mansion intended for the residence of

The Clay Cross Company's offices built February 1840 and later converted into 'split' accommodation for their middle-management. The house to the left was Rose Cottage and the other Eldon House.

Charles Binns' residence at Clay Cross built 1845. The original part of the building is to the left.

the manager, the site of which is well chosen in a fine picturesque county adjacent to the works, it is a first rate building ornamented with rich stone work, combining comfort with decoration suitable for the residence of a gentleman". It cost £626 to build and comprised of a drawing room, dining room, library (300 books in 1887), kitchen, butler's pantry, four best bedrooms, two servants bedrooms and entrance hall[24].

Tupton Hall is situated about two miles north of Clay Cross, but was remote from the company offices, works and the new community. Binns' arrival in the town was both symbolic and crucial to the paternal order - but his residence was not too close to the workers cottages to fracture differentiation necessary to the deferential relationship. From the commencement he stamped his authority on the community and during Wakes Week and Whitsuntide, the majority of the population perambulated through the town and completed the walk outside his front door to thank their patriarch (see Table VIIIA)[25].

Binns first lieutenant, James Campbell, arrived in Clay Cross about 1840 to lay out the large collieries and supervise the building of coke ovens at Clay Cross and lime works at Ambergate. He took up residence in Hill House, "calculated for the residence of a small genteel family"[26]. Conveniently situated on the High Street immediately next to the West Tunnel Row and opposite East Tunnel Row, Chapel and Pleasant Rows, all company cottages, was of strategic importance and further sharpened the paternal grip and deferential relationship. Hill House was surrounded by a six foot high wall and signified the incumbents apartness, thus maintaining sufficient distance and exclusiveness to maintain discipline.

Clay Cross Company officials taken c 1872. Top row, Chas Bloor, Jos Dickenson, George Kemp, William Hay. Bottom row, William Parker, Thomas Wilkinson, William Howe, George Howe.

Gaffers Row, Market Street. Four up and Four down with spacious cellars and extensive rear gardens. The small enclosed front gardens marked them off from the colliers cottages and were not numbered and reflected the occupiers status within the company.

As the company expanded and diversified other substantial property was built or improved to accommodate their new management team, and strategically located close to their other collieries and ironworks.

The recruitment of a skilled and professional team to run and manage the new large integrated complexes was paramount to their success. This genre of professional and residential expertise from the 1840's clearly broke the mould of the hereditary, entrepreneurial leadership. Recruiting professional expertise was intensely competitive and expensive, and providing those key workers with suitable accommodation that reflected their growing status was imperative.

The most substantial row of houses built by the CXC was Egstow Terrace or Gaffers' Row, purposely built for their middle management in 1846 at a cost of £574 or £143 each. This particular row was far superior to any of the workers cottages with four rooms up and four rooms down and extensive cellars. They had large back gardens and small front gardens, enclosed by a small wall that marked them off from the colliery cottages. The 1851 census recorded the following residents in this small but exclusive row - Benjamin Turner, Agent; John Hudson, Company School Teacher; Thomas Martin, Deputy and John Parker, Colliery Agent. Also the succeeding decennial returns record a similar clientele[27].

With a sharp eye on the CXC's recruitment and housing policy during the boom and expansion of the 50's, the Staveley Company built eight superior villas at Barrow Hill[28]. Poaching tried and tested professionals by offering better pay and conditions was common practice and James Campbell, Engineer; Thomas Robinson, cashier; and Robert Howe, Colliery Manager, had all previously worked for the CXC. Robinson,

after sixteen years with the CXC was attracted to Staveley in 1856 and moved into one of the new villas at Barrow Hill. Also C. P. Ireland, Colliery Manager at Staveley for more than 50 years, was once employed by George Stephenson and Joshua Walmsley[29].

Rising to one of the senior positions at both Clay Cross and Staveley, was usually rewarded with the perks of a bigger and better company house - probably rent free. Joseph Steen commenced work with the CXC as an 'errand boy' and on his promotion to senior clerk moved into Park Terrace as an owner occupier, thus exemplifying his adherence to self-help. Then, on his elevation to company secretary, he moved to Springfield House which had been purposely built for William Howe, Senior Engineer in 1866 for £527. It had been previously occupied by Joseph Dickenson, Overground Superintendent[30]. Steen worked continuously for the company for 60 years and was still employed by them on his demise.

George Bramley on his promotion to Foundry Manager, also moved into Park Terrace and on his appointment to Foundry Manager, moved to the company's Eldon House, a large semi-detached house - previously used as the company's offices.

After the demise of Thomas Wilkinson, Company Cashier, he then moved to North-End House, a large detached house also built in 1866 for George Howe, Assistant Engineer. Bramley worked for the company for 70 years[31].

This hierarchial and social status followed them to the grave and they are buried together in the same rows in both the church yard and cemetery, but in the consecrated ground of the latter[32].

The social distinctions of company housing are also manifested in the rateable values of 1848 - the Top and Bottom Long Rows were rated at £2.11s and contrasted sharply with Gaffers' Row, Hill House and Eldon House valued at £5.12s, £17.3s and £7.1s 0d, respectively[33].

The manager houses, however, were just as tied as the workers and when employment ceased for whatever reason, they had to be vacated irrespective of loyalty allegiance and length of service. Binns accrued 47 years service as manager, but when he died in January 1887, his widow had vacated the house by March and all the household effects and furniture were sold off by auction. When Joseph Humble, General Manager of the Staveley works died in 1887, his widow immediately auctioned off the household contents. Also at Clay Cross when the company doctor and engineer died in 1881 and 1893, respectively, their widows auctioned off all the household contents[34].

The urgency to recruit and replace competent professional staff was profoundly exhibited by the Staveley Company in 1857 when their resident underviewer, Daniel Cooper, was killed at work. Cooper lived in a company house at 'Staveley Works' but just two days after his death and before the inquest was held the company were advertising for his replacement in the very same edition that his furniture was being advertised for auction[35].

The widows of colliers killed, usually at work, would be allowed to stay on in a company house if their sons were useful to the company or they took in lodgers employed by the company. In 1861, after 23 men and boys were killed in No. 2 Pit, the Clay Cross Accident Committee, inaugurated to give some support to the widows,

incorporated in their rules a marriage gift of £8 to encourage widows to remarry. By 1867, seven out of seventeen had remarried and received the marriage bonus[36].

The CXC's housing and community building programme between 1840 and 1854 was piecemeal and was never conceived as a unified and functional whole, but was an ad hoc appendage to the old village. In the first instance the community building programme was never planned or ideologically led as a 'unique social experiment', as characterised by Chapman, but was a material response to the competitive injunction of survival.

After 1850 the CXC never had the capacity to house the bulk of its workforce and in 1876 it reduced its housing stock when they sold West Tunnel Row[37]. During boom periods the cyclical demand for accommodation was increasingly met by a number of home grown, speculative developers. These local entrepreneurs seized the opportunity of diversifying their interests in a rapidly expanding community, but only after the CXC and its trade was firmly established. In July, 1854, Binns was instructed to 'erect 100 cottages in convenient places for working the pits', but this augmentation to their housing stock never happened. This mandate coincided with the realisation of their first profits and the company decided to channel the profits into building two new furnaces at a cost of £30,000 and the building of a new, large school at £2,500[38]. Houses required a large capital outlay and at different times it was in competition with other demands and so the company would welcome speculator and private intervention that would supply extra accommodation.

The company engineer's answer to a burgeoning population and subsequent overcrowding in the 70's was to build some large barracks with proper space allowed for inmates and under proper management[39].

Chapman's map of the CXC's model community for 1870 is conjectural and conveniently juxtapositioned with his text, and ignores the extensive speculator developments that include New Street, Shakespeare Yard, Shipman's Yard, Thanet Street, Cross Street, Grundy Road etc.[39A] By this date private and speculator developments had dwarfed company housing and the 1871 census reveals that the company owned 209 against 758 others. At the end of the period in 1891 it was 195 against 1,051. The physical reconstitution of the town clearly weakened the paternal grip.

Hard pressed for investment capital during this period, the home grown speculators were a welcome boon to the company.

In 1855, eighteen lots of land came up for sale 'situate in the centre of Clay Cross and form most eligible sites for building purposes' and contained some 16,809 square yards. Also at Tupton in 1857, 'an improving neighbourhood within a few hundred yards of the Clay Cross Company's new colliery, which will employ several hundred men, for whom houses are in much demand ... cottages may be erected at a very moderate cost and afford a desirable and secure investment[40]. When the company commenced developments at Morton Collieries, capitalists were invited to build cottages in the neighbourhood 'on very liberal terms, and as they can have their property leased on advantageous terms, we should imagine few will hesitate to build on such conditions'[41].

The names of these home grown speculators are clearly identified in the names of the various buildings, viz Elliott's Yard (farmer, miller and small colliery proprietor); Hodgkinson's Row (farmer and miller); Hay's Yard (miller, shopkeeper and colliery proprietor); Hoult's Yard (beerhouse keeper and enginewright); Dore's Yard (Druggist, grocer and beerhouse keeper); Froggatt's Row (farmer, beerhouse keeper); Bailey's Square (grocer); Whitworth's Row (beerhouse keeper and blacksmith); Bircumshaw's Yard (grocer and colliery proprietor). Also recorded amongst the assets of the Clay Cross Pioneer Industrial Society in 1879, were freehold land and houses valued at £1,680. These six houses were situated at Egstow and referred to as Co-op Row[42]. The majority of the private developments were either 'back to back' or built 'blind back' and always more overcrowded than the CXC's. Clearly inferior than the company's they had no back gardens or privies and the speculators objective was to obtain the maximum amount of room at the minimum of expense. Company houses that were built by the large colliery company were much sought after, not only because of their spaciousness, design and comfort and comparable rents, but because of the extensive gardens that could have been a carrot to attract the industrious.

The above list strongly suggests the success of the beer trade, not yet monopolised by the large breweries, and was clearly a lucrative business. When the Crown Inn lease came up for renewal in 1852, we are informed that "The above Inn, situated in one of the most thriving districts of England and where the present proprietor in the course of a few years has realised sufficient to enable her to repose in private life"[43].

At Staveley private developments were restricted because of the Devonshires' monopoly of land in the parish and township. Out of a total of 6,681 acres, the Duke

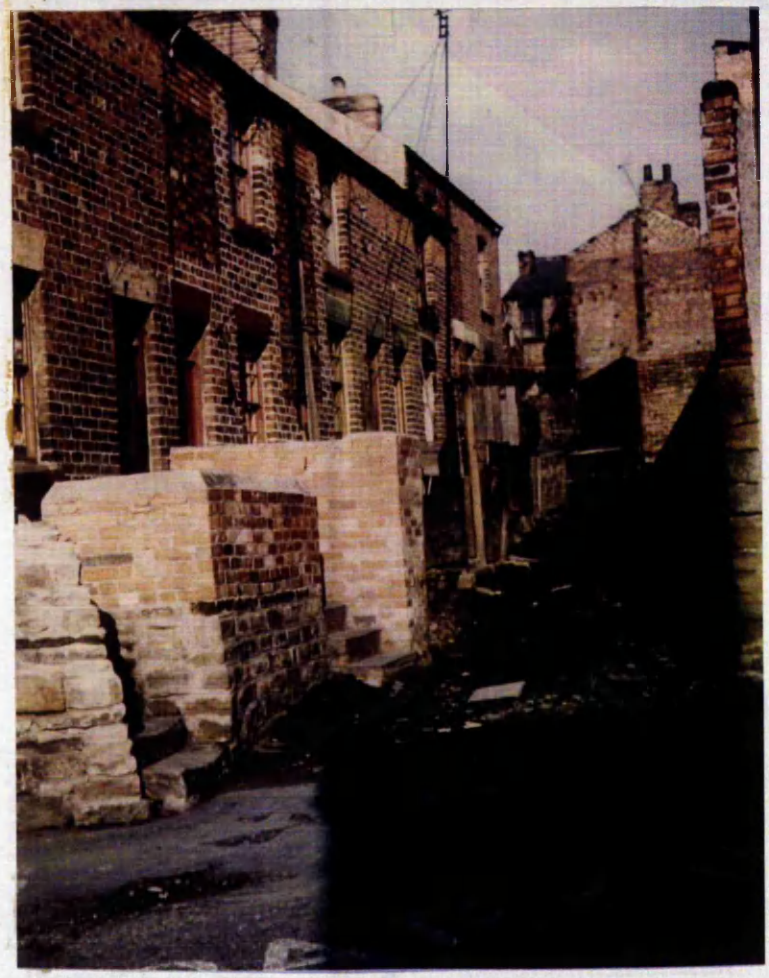
owned some 5,995 acres and the remaining 686 acres were divided amongst 54 different people[50]. There was no such monopoly in the township of Clay Lane, where 1,291 acres were owned by 87 different landowners. Whilst the private envelopments at Clay Cross could weaken the paternal grip, conversely at Barrow Hill the lack of speculator housing, where the company had the monopoly, could strengthen the grip. Mining families accommodated in 'private' houses were never under the same pressure to conform as those in company houses[44].

The CXC houses were far superior to the speculator developments and, therefore, the company could be selective when letting any of its cottages.

With the sinking of the CXC's Morton Colliery in 1863, the Reverend Thomas Lund emphasised that 'He did not want the riff raff of Lancashire but the well trained colliery of Clay Cross'[45].

During the 50's and 60's the Irish had earned some notoriety with their drinking and pugilistic encounters, and Markham refused them accommodation in Staveley. Though the CXC appeared to be more tolerant with the Irish, the majority of them were accommodated in the speculators' cottages either in Peter's Square (after St. Peter), Dove's Yard (Irish Yard), and in Eyre Street (Eire). All this accommodation witnessed the most severe overcrowding in the town.

In an attempt to protect their investment, company influence extended beyond the pit gates to the many extraneous factors that might promote or threaten profitability. Most colliery companies had rules designed to suppress drunkenness and other anti-social behaviour, and such rules extended into the home some of the discipline of the



Blind-back, speculator housing showing (above) Irish Yard and Peter's Square (below) where most of the Irish migrants were accommodated.

workplace. According to Hickey, these rules represented part of the process by which a largely new, first generation workforce was reorientated and subordinated psychologically as well as economically, to the demand of industrial labour and production[46].

As the adage goes 'cleanliness is next to godliness' and the concomitant to a healthy and more productive workforce. At the CXC's school, first prize giving in 1844 "The improvements in the manners and habits of the children, not less than their great cleanliness and neatness of apparel has been evident since the opening of the schools"[47].

The CXC's account book for the 1840's records several deliveries of lime for whitewashing their cottages. The school log book for July 1865 emphasises 'The attendance falling off as usual before the feast in consequence of an extra amount of cleaning, whitewashing and so on'. From this entry it would appear to have been done on a regular basis. With an outbreak of scarlet fever in 1878, the CXC caused all their houses to be thoroughly lime washed and 'no doubt that would check to a considerable extent the further spread of fever'. Previous to this Binns said 'Every year their colliers were supplied with plenty of lime to whitewash and a man to do it if they would not'.[48].

In 1853, the company offered substantial cash prizes for the best kept gardens and three prizes were offered for the general neatness and cleanliness of children. An examination of the cottage garden reports etc. between 1852 and 1908, records that the prizes for the neatness and cleanliness were only awarded on one occasion. However, the company's new school opened in 1854 and the staff clearly monitored

this aspect and pupils, pupil teachers and monitors were severely rebuked or sent home for uncleanliness and untidiness[49].

The growth and confidence of the 1850's saw the establishment of a number of building societies and Freehold Land Societies in the county. At Derby, in 1849, a Freehold Land Society was inaugurated followed by one at Ironville the following year. According to the legend of the Ironville Society, it was '... proof that the working class have it in their power by sobriety and steadiness of conduct to elevate themselves in the scale of society[50].

At Chesterfield in 1855, the Chesterfield Freehold Society took off and it was highlighted that the, '... rapid extension and increase of ironworks and collieries apparent at Clay Cross, Staveley and Whittington require many more houses to be built and subsequently enhance the value of land'[51].

Things were soon on the move at Clay Cross and in June 1859, the Clay Cross Building Society was inaugurated and was the 29th such society to register in the county. As elsewhere, the CXC had a central involvement with the Clay Cross Building Society. Besides acting as the society's bankers, it ran its business from the company's school. Its original trustees were all company officials including Charles Binns, John Jackson, William Howe and Thomas Wilkinson. The first meeting was reported to have been well attended and the CXC's workmen took up a considerable number of shares. The following year the Society had 165 depositors and 'last Saturday evening' £95 was deposited. Saturday was pay day and was undoubtedly a strategic move to divert money away from the public house[52] since Saturday pay day traditionally contributed to the observance of St. Monday.

By 1864, the society had facilitated the building of some 30 houses and had accrued some £3,000 deposits in savings. At this date the share register numbered 88½, £100 shares but it would appear that most subscribers were using the Society as a savings bank.

The annual reports of the society are somewhat erratic, so it is impossible to access its contribution to the housing stock. It is also difficult to determine how many colliers might have purchased their house through this society. The census returns, however, indicate only a few and the massive turnover of labour indicated by the successive decennial returns would support this.

The CXC's main product was household coal and frequently during the summer months sales plummeted and many workers were put on short-time or laid off. A report on the coal trade for the Clay Cross district in 1881 records the 'Pits that have for many months - and some for several years past, only worked half time, and in a few instances not half time, are now fully employed'. In June 1895, the CXC closed their No. 5 Morton Pit for six months and saved £500[54].

These cyclical fluctuations interspersed with lockouts, strikes, geological faults, inundations of water, methane explosions and mechanical breakdowns would deter most miners from contemplating a mortgage. The miners could never be sure what stoppages would be kept from his earnings and how much his butty would pay him at the fortnightly reckoning. No miner ever knew what his next pay-day would bring. Wages varied from week to week, month to month and from year to year. Indeed, the outstanding characteristic of the wages system was its uncertainty[55].

In an attempt to promote the self-help ideology, the company set an example for emulation and became one of the Building Society's first shareholders. From the commencement they held three full shares, worth £388 in 1875, but withdrew them at this date which may have been a move to support their struggling Permanent Relief Fund, that was another attempt to direct colliers away from organised labour[55].

The CXC commenced in a thinly populated district with an undeveloped infrastructure that could not meet the demands of a burgeoning population. During July 1840, there was a serious outbreak of fever at Clay Cross and, 'the inhabitants have by their culpable carelessness and uncleanliness brought it upon themselves'. The parsimonious Chesterfield Board of Guardians advocated, 'that at once subscriptions should be raised by the inhabitants for the purpose of whitewashing and effectually purifying the houses of the poor'[56]. The CXC responded immediately and during this period supplied lime for whitewashing the cottages. In April 1842, James Campbell, Company Engineer, was appointed overseer of the poor 'for the ensuing year' and almost from day one, the CXC hierarchy were involved in the local government of the town throughout the period.[57]

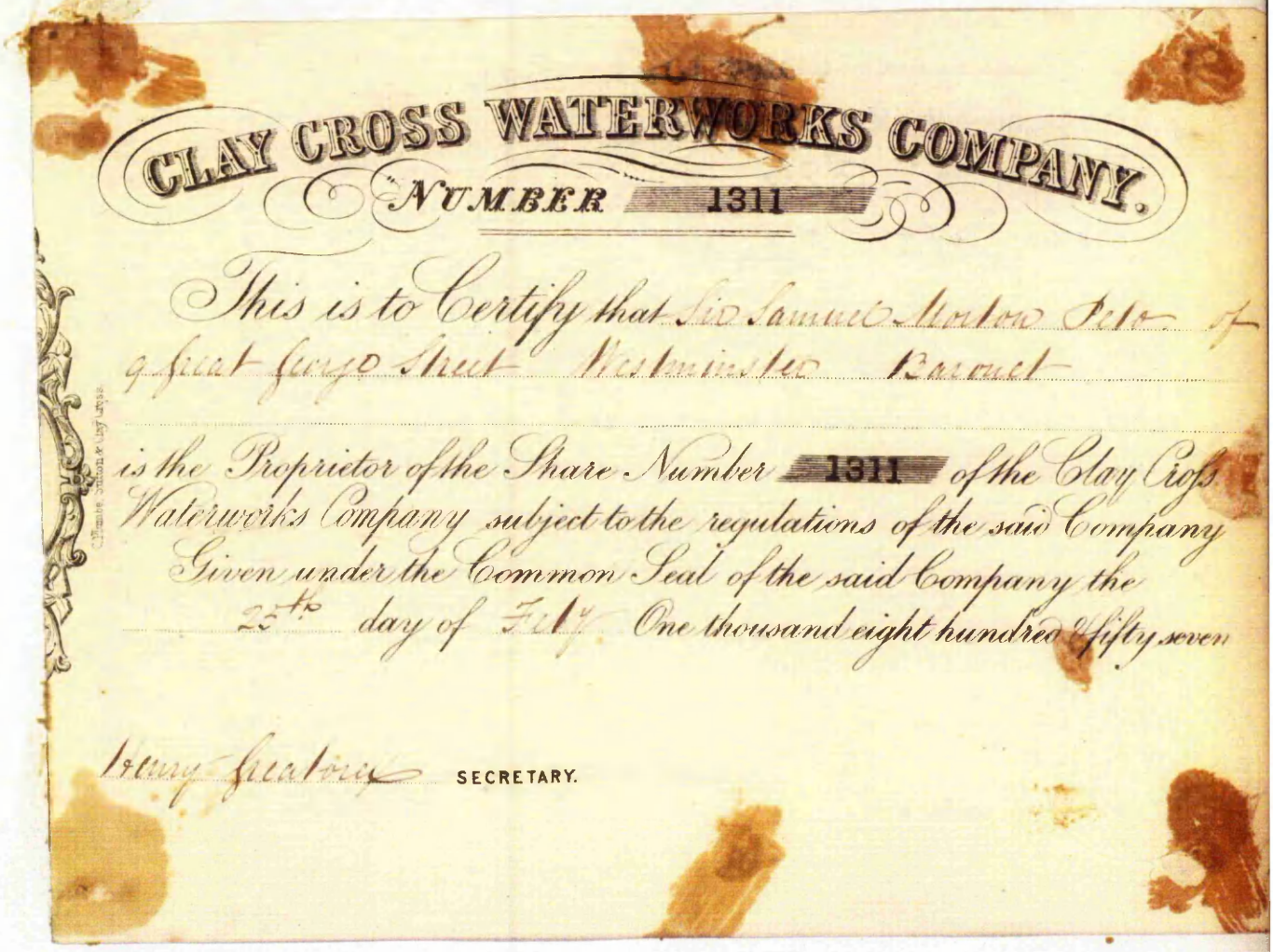
Reporting to the Royal Commission on Child Employment during the previous year, Dr. Mackarise, Company Doctor, said, 'the neighbourhood of Mr. Stephenson's works is much more unhealthy than it otherwise would be, owing to the want of proper drainage and not being supplied with water'. It would appear that the company soon took some remedial action. By the time the Commission published its report, a year later, there was an addendum to Mackarise's evidence which emphasised that the drainage had improved and the cottages were in an airy and

healthy situation. In an attempt to further improve the situation, in September 1843, the company fixed a pump in one of the shafts, 'to supply their cottages with water'[58].

In 1849, the Chesterfield Union's inspector of nuisances visited Clay Cross again and 'found scarcely any of the nuisances reported on his former visit'.

With the building programme complete and coal market relatively secure in 1852, the board of directors ordered, 'an estimate and report to be made as to the cost and best mode of supplying the works and cottages with gas and water'[59]. By the end of the year, the company were supplying all their cottages with gas. In recognition of this provision a public dinner was held for Charles Binns, who on every such occasion eulogised the benefits provided by the company for their workers, 'which is at once an ornament and a convenience and which may to some extent tend to the supression of vice and wickedness'. This service was never free and its costs were incorporated in the rents until 1893 when the gas charges were separated from rents[60]. Clearly, gas lit cottages would be an added attraction for labour, so much so, that the Staveley Company installed this service in 1857, when the Barrow Hill complex was complete[61].

At Coltness in Lancashire in 1850, free gas was supplied to the cottages in an attempt to induce people to stay at home and read or pass the time with their families instead of going to the public house. Also to ensure regular habits the gas was turned off promptly at ten o'clock. There is no hard evidence of this happening at Clay Cross but the street lights were turned off at midnight. This was related to the Local Board of Health's contract rather than company policy - the town got what it paid for. The monopoly of supply in their hands led to many complaints about exorbitant



CLAY CROSS WATERWORKS COMPANY.

NUMBER 1311

This is to Certify that Sir Samuel Morton Peto of
9 Great George Street Westminster Baronet

is the Proprietor of the Share Number 1311 of the Clay Cross
Waterworks Company subject to the regulations of the said Company
Given under the Common Seal of the said Company the
25th day of July One thousand eight hundred & fifty seven

Henry Scratton SECRETARY.

Clay Cross Waterworks Share Certificate for Sir Samuel Morton Peto for the year 1857. Peto was a leading proprietor of the CXC until his shares were acquired by William Jackson in 1854. Launched as a Public Company, but for all intents and purposes was a CXC Institution. 1856.

charges[62].With the gas installation on their works and with an abundance of raw material at hand, it cost just £597 to build. The provision of water was much more expensive and complex to provide and required an Act of Parliament. In October 1855, the Clay Cross Water Works Company, not the CXC, petitioned Parliament to raise some £5,000 in £2 shares and the following year the Water Bill received Royal Assent[63]. The amount of share capital was raised to £6,000 with each share remaining at £2. The CXC agreed to take 25% of the shares and the Act stipulated that the qualification for being a director would be the possession of at least 20 shares. Out of the seven board of directors, five were senior CXC officials. Binns was elected chairman and William Howe vice chairman. At the first A.G.M., William Howe assured the shareholders that, 'their whole thoughts were devoted to their work and best way of obtaining the full ten-percent'[64].

Besides the board being dominated by the CXC management, three of the remaining proprietors, Jackson, Walmsley and Peto held several hundred shares each, and between them and their managerial subordinates held the controlling interests - it was hardly ever a public company.

The CXC's senior book-keeper, Henry W. Greatorex, was secretary of the Water Company and facilitated its business from the company offices. Like John Walters he was a company protegee educated in the company school and was employed by them for 47 years and rose to the rank of company cashier[84].

The driving force behind the provision of these services was William Jackson, who had recently joined the company in 1848. Jackson was making considerable profits

from similar undertakings in Birkenhead and when asked what contributed to his great success in life he replied, 'I used my own wits and other people's capital'[66].

The benefits of supplying clean water were considerable but like gas it was never free and was only the start in promoting a clean and healthy environment.

Many complaints were justifiably levelled at the Water Company's monopoly, poor service and high prices until it was brought into public ownership in 1900 by the U.D.C. at a cost of £24,000.

As the town and population grew so did its problems and required a more effective response than the antiquated vestry system could offer and whose spending powers were restricted. In 1874, the Local Government Board's inspector looked into the prevalence of infectious diseases and the sanitary conditions of the Chesterfield District. The major complaint at Clay Cross was that the middens, which constituted the general means of disposing of the excrement and refuse, were open, offensive and injurious to health, and there was no sufficient means for removing the contents. Many of the yards were neglected and unpaved and the soil in many instances was sodden with liquid filth - 'Infectious diseases in some form or another is rarely absent from Clay Cross'[67].

This report stirred the town into action to establish a Local Board of Health and Binns was in the driving seat and chaired the inaugural meeting - 'They wanted such men to do right to the ratepayers and look after their health. Persons who provide the money were best able to spend it. Property owners were the right sort of Persons'[68].

Binns, Howe and George Kemp, all CXC officials, were elected and Binns was the Board's first chairman[88]. The above trio also made up the sub-committee that framed the bye-laws. Out of seven applications for the post of clerk to the Board, Joseph Stollard, the CXC's schoolmaster, was appointed at a salary of £25 per annum - ten months later his salary was increased to £35[69].

Though the company's Anglican Liberals were well represented on the L.B.H., Burial Board, School Board, so were the Anglican Tories from the yeomen, property and shopkeeper stock. In anticipation of the L.B.H.'s first triennial election in 1877, the latter group established the Ratepayer's Association, 'as it would act very often in saving expenses'[70].

An election address for that year which has survived reads 'To the ratepayers of Clay Cross on the choice of three members who want to get on the Local Board to represent the company. Why does the company always want a majority on the Board? So that they can spend the Ratepayer's money as they like and make contracts for street gas and road material at their price'[71].

The following year, the town was put in total darkness because the Local Board, 'acting on behalf of the ratepayers, have taken it in their heads that the Clay Cross Gas Company, which is none other than the Great Clay Cross Coal Company, on charging them exorbitant prices for the luxury of gas light'. Clearly the company's paternal overtures were not played out to the general community unless they were paid for[72].

In the absence of any local government contribution to the infrastructure, the gas and water undertakings by the CXC were substantial. In the early stages of the town's development, the service sector that fed and clothed the workforce was sparse (see table I). However, the CXC even responded here by establishing a shop in Office Row. The 1851 census returns record Thomas Mawby, Grocer Clerk to the Clay Cross Collieries. This particular shop in Office Row appears to have been purpose built and was the largest house in the row and situated directly opposite the company's office[73].

During the 50's the CXC decided to adopt weekly instead of fortnightly payments of wages in an attempt to abolish the credit system. This system was extensively practised in the town and resulted in extortionate prices being charged to their workmen. As a consequence the company threatened the shopkeepers that if they did not eradicate the system they would establish a large store and supply their workers with goods 'simply at a working profit'. This threat appeared to have the desired effect and the tradesmen at their annual meeting censured the credit system and, 'hopes were expressed that as far as Clay Cross was concerned it would be speedily abolished'[74]. The Clay Cross Co-op, Clay Cross Pioneer Industrial Society, was established in 1859, and Binns exhorted them to 'Go in Fearlessly' and 'Societies like yours will put all the fortnightly books into the fire, and make the county court office a sinecure'. The Staveley Industrial Society was established the following year and they emphasised 'all ready money, for goods at these stores'[75]. Clearly the promotion of services in relatively isolated communities were important for retaining labour.

This move to weekly payments coincided with the opening of the company's new schools when Binns announced that the contractors would pay their men at the school and not in the public house. Clearly, weekly payments would be yet another inducement to recruitment and a substantial improvement on the monthly pay out at Staveley[76].

Spacious gardens, a plentiful supply of clean water and gas lighting were most welcome but crucial to the comfort and domestic economy was the coal allowance. This was the bedrock for sustaining production and reproduction of the labour force.

Rollinson, architect, recognised the importance of the fireplace and emphasised, '... they should be made very strong, and of the best materials on account of their being subject to large fires and rough usage. The fixture of the living room fire place should comprise oven range and 14 inch boiler, or any other proportionate size to fill an opening from 3ft.-6 inches to 3ft.-10 inches in width'[77]. Commenting on the Clay Cross miners in 1908, a local journalist reported that some fires have been known to be alight from one year's end to the next[78].

The coal allowance delivered about every ten weeks was a powerful weapon in the company's industrial armoury. In July 1866, after an inspection of a 'stall', one of the CXC managers threatened that, 'coals would be stopped unless got on end ...'. This threat clearly referred to the curtailment of allowance coal which could be used as a weapon to coerce an increase in production[79].

With the resurgence of trade unionism in 1872, Binns saw no reason why, 'they should not be placed on a level with other districts and pay a reasonable school pence

The coal allowance was the bedrock for sustaining production and reproduction of the labour force and at little cost to the company.

for their children and pay something for their coals they burn, the cost of which in getting and trading to their houses the company have to pay and which amounts to about £2,000 per annum[80]. It is argued that the 'longweight' of between 22 to 30 cwts to the ton was introduced to offset coal allowance and loss of coal during the process of riddle and fork filling[81].

It was the usual practice for colliers to tender notices individually, a device for dividing workers, when a particular grievance with management could not be negotiated but on doing so the company would immediately terminate coal tickets. In February 1880, a reference in a company note book reads, 'most of the colliers sent in their notices today. Coal tickets due this week to be stopped except for those men who have their tickets due previous to this week be supplied. Coal tickets not to be given to men who go on the club after notices are given in but may be given to all men (including banksmen) who have not given in their notice'[82]. During the '93 lockout, 'no tickets to be issued to men under notice to quit', but workmen were allowed to buy coal at the usual price until notice expires[83]. After the lockout, Jackson informed a deputation of workers that all workmen living in company houses would have to pay for their coal leading which had, 'hitherto been paid for by the company'[84].

To what extent colliers were penalised by stopping their coal allowance in respect of absenteeism is not clear, but it could act as a powerful deterrent in the company's industrial armoury.

Coal stocks were vulnerable and, therefore, well guarded by colliery watchmen and later uniformed company bobbies[85]. As early as 1840, a William Brown was

imprisoned for one month for stealing half cwt of coal from Barrow's pit at Staveley[86]. At Clay Cross in 1867 two women were brought up in custody charged with stealing one cwt of coal but were discharged on paying 5/6 costs. Charles Binns intervened and gave each of the 'prisoners' 5/- towards the costs - the timing was significant being immediately after the free labour dispute[87]. Colliery owners were determined to put a stop to this pilfering and as their cohorts dominated the 'bench' the severity of the fine depended on corresponding company pressure. In February 1867, a woman was committed to seven days hard labour for stealing coal valued at just 2d[88].

This personal intervention by Binns together with many other well timed hand-outs highlighted the paternal practice that played its part in sustaining the deferential relationship. These acts of personal and company munificence declined with the demise of Binns, but Jackson continued to proffer company money that might divert workers away from trade unionism.

NOTES AND REFERENCES
TO
CHAPTER II

1. Clay Cross Company Accounts Books 1839-1848.

2. Royal Commission to Enquire into Trade Unions and other Associations 1867-1869. Evidence given by James Campbell, Staveley Colliers Manager, p.250, No. 85, 13.5.88.

3. C. Williams. Clay Cross Tunnel, op. cit, pp.49-53. North Midland Railway Minutes, 22 August 1837 and 7 November 1837, giving permission to F. Swanwick, engineer at Clay Cross, to build Tunnel Rows. For several other similar statements see Church, op cit pp.278-279.

4. Transactions of the Chesterfield and Derbyshire Institute of Mining, Civil and Mechanical Engineers. (C. & D. Institute) Vol II 1873-74. John Burnett, Social History of Housing, David and Charles, 1978, p.4.
R. Church. Victorian pre-eminence, op cit, p.601.

5. C.X.C.M.B. February 1840, Glazing office windows 1/8d.

6. D.C. 27 April 1840, 23 May 1840, 30 March 1840, 4 November 1839. C.X.C.M.B. 'To glazing 88 cottages at £1.8/6 in each row.

7. D.C. 14 November 1840, A Poor Law Report records 76 new houses complete at Clay Cross. The 1841, Census refers to these houses as North Street. D.C. 23 October 1841, records 53 Stephenson's Buildings at Clay Cross. These 88 cottages each contained a living room 12' x 11', scullery with sink 9' x 8'6" and two bedrooms 12' x 11' and 9' x 8'6". For comparison with Barrow Hill, see Chapman p.154.

8. C. & D. Institute Vol II, 1873-74, p.143.

9. C.X.C.M. June 1841. Stephenson wrote to N.M.R. seeking a reduction in price to 'put them in a habitable condition after their ill use by the tunnel workers'.

10. S.D. Chapman, Stanton & Staveley, p.152. Chapter 6 pp.148-163, gives context to the Staveley Company's community building.

11. C.X.C.M.B. The CXC's expenditure on cottages between 1840 and 1848 was about £30,000.

12. D.C. 8 September 1849. Hugh Seymour Tremenhere was the first Mines Inspector.

13. P. Riden, Butterley Company, op cit, pp.91-103.

14. D.C. 7 February 1857, Report on the 'Iron and Coal Trade of Yorkshire'. D.C. 5 November 1853, Scarcity of labour at Dronfield and Bolsover Statutes, 'and very exorbitant are asked ... The girls asked very high wages and the boys were double in their requirements to last year.

    D.T. 8 August 1857, The Dunston and Barlow Coal and Iron Company complained, 'They one great difficulty appears to be to find houses sufficient for their workpeople to reside in. It is intended to build a 100 as soon as possible'.

15. Chapman op cit, p.153. The Barrow Hill development was built between 1852-55. These houses were clearly much more superior to any built in north-east Derbyshire until Emerson Bainbridge built the Bolsover and Cresswell model villages at the end of the period.

16. Royal Commission on Trade Unions 1868, p.17, Qu. 11739.

17. D.C. 1 July 1854.

18. C.X.C.M. June 1866 to December 1868. The company secured a £5,300 loan from Sheffield Permanent Building Society and was paid up in June 1880.

19. Census Returns 1871 and O.S. map 1st edition 1873/79. D.C. 23 February 1870, 64 cottages to be built by Mr. Heath for the CXC at Morton. D.C. 25 January 1868. The Wingerworth Colliery Company sank two new pits at Holmewood. D.C. 28 December 1867, John Sampson, Pilsley Colliery Company, built 40 new houses. With these developments the CXC began to lose its monopoly.

20. Conditions for letting the houses belonging to the Butterley Company, referring to William Hawkins, No. 164, 29 June 1865 (loose copy CRO).

21. J.E. Williams, op cit, p.107. For context of this dispute see Chapter III pp.88-121.

22. D.C. 17 November 1866, refers to Butterley Company Clay Cross Census Returns 1861.
Reports of the Non-Union Meetings held by Workpeople Employed by the Staveley and Iron Company in Vindication of the Freedom and Liberty of Labour. The documents also included all the names of some 1,500 non-union men.

23. D.C. 2 July 1887. 30 April 1887. CXC, notebook, 10 October 1888 and 2 February 1890.

24. D.C. 22 November 1845. C.X.C.M. record expenditure on Binns' house for December £284 and June £341, 1845.

25. CXC School Log Book (S.L.B.) 1862 + 1882, records meticulous detail of Whitwalk preparations. For full reports see D.C. and D.T. throughout the same period.

26. D.C. February 1837, showing advert for the sale of Hill House was purchased by the N.M.R. for their resident engineer. It was purchased by the CXC in 1841, together with the Tunnel Rows.

27. Clay Cross decennial returns 1851-1891.

28. S.D. Chapman, Stanton & Staveley, p.153.

29. D.C. January 1856, 1 December 1855, Thomas Robinson testimonial before moving to Staveley. D.T. 2 May 1883, obituary C.P. Ireland. Notes on James Campbell (1804-1884) sent to C. Williams.

30. D.T. 12 January 1940, obituary Joseph Steen. Census returns 1871-1891.

31. D.C. 19 March 1921, 60 years service, George Bramley, North End House. 26 March 1921, funeral. D.C. 16 April 1892, obituary George Howe. D.C. 20 March 1905, funeral Joseph Dickenson.

32. D.T. February 1866, obituary John Hudson. He was the company's first schoolmaster and a devout New Connexion Methodist, but is buried with company hierarchy in the church yard, though his own chapel had a burial ground

33. Rating document 1845 to 1848 giving details of owners, occupiers, ratable values etc. This document is held by the late F. Dwelley's widow and a copy held by C. Williams.

34. D.C. March 1887 (Binns). December 1881 (Dr. Wilson). D.T. 7 January 1893 (G. Howe). 17 March 1888 (Humble).

35. D.T. 21 November 1857 (Cooper).

36. D.C. 9 March 1867, Clay Cross Explosion balance sheet.

37. C.X.C.M. 1867. The company sold eleven cottages to Abraham Linacre for £1,813.15s.

38. C.X.C.M. 6 July 1854.

39.A S.D. Chapman. The Clay Cross Company, op cit, p.45.

39. C. & D. Institute Vol II 1873/74 p.198.

40. D.C. 1855, 19 December 1857.

41. D.C. 27 February 1864. At its three satellite communities the company only built sufficient houses for its core workforce. The speculators developed the rest.

42. D.C. 22 March 1879, 18th yearly report Clay Cross Co-op Society. By this date the Co-op had penetrated all the CXC's satellite communities. J. Benson, British Coalminers, Longman (1989) p.109.
D.C. 4 January 1920, Clowne Co-op, Derbyshire had 91 home owners under their scheme at the end of the period.

43. D.C. 27 March 1852, Advert for Sale of Crown Inn. Benson op cit, pp.81-111. The Clay Cross development would support Benson's criticism of the ad nausum stereotypical, traditional model of mining communities.

44. Staveley and Clay Cross Tithe maps and awards.

45. D.C. 21 October 1863, Reverend Lund wanted, 'them to learn a few plain things to study the laws of health, not to chuck the soap suds out of the front door and allow them to remain there until they sunk, but the ventilate their homes and promote the health of themselves and their families'.

46. Hickey, R., Workers in Imperial Germany. Miners of the Ruhr, Clarendon Press, 1985 p.32.

47. D.C. January 1844.

48. S.L.B. 20 July 1865. C.X.C.M. 'to 5t 4cwt lime delivered at Clay Cross viz 4t 15cwt for cottage gardens and 9cwt for white washing cottages at 7/6d per ton £1.19s'. D.C. August 1878. 22 August 1863.

49. D.C. January 1857. An article entitled, 'Consideration for the inhabitants of North Derbyshire', emphasised that 'Premiums should be given to those occupying cottages properly, who maintain their houses and children in the cleanest and neatest condition and whose cottages are furnished in the best manner'.
Clay Cross Horticultural Society Annual Reports 1852-1908 D.T. and D.C. Also D.C. October 15 1853.

50. D.C. 29 March 1851, with reference to Derby Freehold Society 1849. Also meeting to establish a similar society in Chesterfield.
Motram and Coote op cit pp.61-62.

51. D.C. 9 June 1855.

52. D.C. June 1859 registration with County Court. D.C. 26 February 1859, first recorded meeting.

53. C.X.C.M., various references 1859-1875.

54. D.C. 18 September 1881. C.X.C.M. June 1895.

55. J. Benson op cit, pp.64-66. R. Church op cit, p.556.

56. D.C. July 1840. C.X.C.M. p.100, 1841, p.766 1842.

57. Ibid 2 April 1842.

58. Ibid 16 April 1852. Children's Employment Commission pp.345-6, No. 383.

59. D.C. October 1852, 24 November 1855, Vestry meeting. C.X.C.M., 21 February 1852, December 1853, D.C. 20 January 1849, Chesterfield Union Inspectors visit. 13 August 1853, dinner in honour of Binns re provision of gas.

60. CXC notebook 6 October 1893. D.C. 25 November 1893.

61. D.C. 11 April 1857, Inauguration of Staveley Gas Works. D.C. 25 April 1857.

62. J. Benson op cit, p.95.

63. D. C. 17 November 1855, October 1855. Clay Cross Waterworks Bill received Royal Assent 7 July 1856.

64. D.C. 18 October 1856.

65. D.C. 12 July 1915, obituary H.W. Greatorex. 1 April 1893, awarded silver cruet for serving as secretary to St. John's Ambulance Group. Again this emphasises the hierarchy's penetration into the community.

66. S.D. Chapman, CXC, pp.38-39.

67. D.T. June 1874.

68. D.C. 27 March 1875.

69. D.C. 16 October 1875.

70. D.C. 3 March 1877.

71. This election address is the property of T. Lomas, Clay Cross.

72. D.C. 5 October 1878. Deputations re price of gas, ibid 11 September 1869 and September 1878.

73. Clay Cross Census 1851. D.C. 12 December 1857, reference Wingerworth Colliery Company's Shop at North Wingfield.

74. D.C. 24 November 1855. 17 November 1855.

75. Ibid May 1860, Staveley Industrial Society situated at Lowgates, established January 1860.

76. D.C. 18 August 1855. Opening of Public Hall and Schools.

77. C. & D. Institute Vol II, 1873-74, p.145.

78. Clay Cross Chronicle (C.X.CH.) 4 January 1908.

79. S.D. Chapman, CXC, p.19.

80. D.T. October 1872.

81. D.C. 22 December 1866, Markham refers to system of longweight.

82. CXC Notebook, 26 February 1890 and 3 July 1893.

83. CXC 26 February 1893.

84. D.C. 21 November 1893.

85. D.C. 25 June 1870, reference to Staveley Works Police Constable. 1 January 1870, Police Constable Froggatt, the company watchman with reference to George Howe issuing a directive.

86. D.C. 4 January 1840.

87. D.C. 6 April 1867.

88. D.T. 2 March 1867.

THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND SELF HELP

The provision of company housing in isolated districts was crucial to the recruitment of labour and the provision of social and welfare benefits was paramount in helping to retain and control that labour. In 1802, the Butterley Company had established a sick and accident club that would support sick and injured workers who might otherwise be returned to their parish of origin as a consequence of Poor Law legislation[1]. As late as 1842, a married couple who had become chargeable to the Clay Lane Township, in which the CXC was partly situated, was removed to Winbourne in Nottinghamshire, their legal place of settlement[2].

These company sick funds, like friendly societies were much extolled by the Poor Law Guardians and helped to keep the poor rates down and also company contributions to that rate. Also in December 1866, Binns emphasised the importance of the company field club in keeping the poor rates down.

These sick and accident clubs in Derbyshire were usually known as Field Clubs and membership of a company club was a condition of employment. Together with housing they bolstered worker dependence on the company. They also offered an alternative to unregistered clubs which operated outside the confines of the Friendly Society Acts and whose funds might be used for industrial action[3]. Funds held by an employer could stop this money being used to sustain a strike as it did during the Free Labour dispute and 1893 Lockout.

The establishment of these clubs was not a simple magnanimous gesture by the company but an aspect of paternalism on the cheap and paid for by the men. A

number of colliery companies, including the CXC, frequently added any fines to the club funds that they exacted on the men[4]. The large companies acted as bankers, treasurers and administered the club funds which were usually rechargeable to the club. By virtue of a small contingent contribution the various companies acquired absolute control of their respective clubs[5]. A major concern of the nineteenth century industrial paternalists was the channelling of their employees disposable cash into the numerous self help schemes. Compulsory stoppages for welfare and education were part of that strategy. The self help ideology was a central tenet of paternalism.

Newly recruited labour could find it difficult joining a local Friendly Society of their own choice, particularly one catering for a different occupational group, whose conservatism and scrutiny might prohibit entry. Also entrance fees and weekly subscriptions might be prohibitive. At Clay Cross in 1839, two years before the CXC's field club was established, the George Stephenson's Favourite Lodge was inaugurated. With an entrance fee of one guinea, subscriptions at 9d per fortnight and with a six months waiting period before being entitled to any benefits would clearly restrict entry[6]. Such rules could also be detrimental to retaining labour because of the impositions of the Poor Law that could remove a sick or injured worker to his parish of origin. Also the ethics and morality of the Anglican Church that dominated friendly society rules would mitigate against the Catholic Irish which made a prodigious contribution to the north-east Derbyshire labour force.

In April 1841, the CXC recognised the importance of establishing a field club that would give some little support and relief to injured and sick workers at no cost to the company[7]. One complainant in later years argued that the clubs were really set up

to obtain rent when a man was off work sick or injured. A CXC memo book for January 1871 records 'Billy White's club money to continue but to pay 2/9 fortnightly out of it for rent'[8].

Rule VII of the CXC's club record,

> 'Every married collier or pit man is required to give 6d a fortnight; every single man 3d; to a fund raised every pay day for the purpose of procuring medical attendance whenever required for the men and their families'[9].

Though there is no actual reference to sick or accident benefits the 'Derbyshire Courier' refers to mutual aid in case of sickness or accident. For paying the same premiums as the CXC men, both the Butterley and Oakes (Riddings) workmen received club money[11]. The competitive aspect of welfare provision emerging during this period would also ensure that comparable benefits were paid for the same contribution.

In 1842, Butterley Company employees earning 8/- or more per week were required to contribute 1/- per month every pay day and when off work through injury or illness received 6/- per week. This was more attractive than the 5/- paid by the CXC. At Staveley, they did not operate a sick club at this date but administered a medical fund for the payment of doctors fees only. This cost the workers 1½d for every 20/- earned and was deducted from the wages at pay day. W.P. Morewood of Swanwick immediately south of Clay Cross, in an attempt to retain labour, paid his pensioners 2/- per week and gave them allowance coals[10].

The relatively small Wingerworth Colliery operating in the same parish as the CXC, established a club c1841, and their premium and benefits were identical to the company's. Clearly the promotion of welfare benefits by the mid 1850's was integral to enhancing the paternalist image to attract labour[11].

The CXC club was a marked improvement to the Staveley medical fund and almost parallel to that of the Butterley Company. Other than housing it preceded all their other welfare initiatives, as it did elsewhere, and highlights the company's concern for retaining labour. At this date it was not particularly seen as an antidote to trade unionism but contributed to sharpening their competitive edge and promoting the self help ideology.

Eager to keep up with their rivals the Staveley Company inaugurated their own field club in 1854, which incorporated the old and inadequate medical fund. It also coincided with their new sinkings and complemented their Barrow Hill housing developments. Barrow proposed that every man should pay 1/- per month for every 12/- upwards that they earned and in return receive 7/- per week benefit for a period of twelve weeks. Those earning less than 12/- per week paid half the premium and received half the benefit. Medical attendance was free and at the time of death £5 was paid to the mourning family[12]. This intervention, coinciding with their new Barrow Hill development, could also have been a means of securing rent during times of injury or sickness.

In line with these improvements at Barrow Hill, the CXC, not to be outdone, established a colliery hospital in c1852 situated in Market Street, and was the first colliery company in Derbyshire to do so - '... a small house furnished at their private

cost with fractures and other beds and apparatus for cases of severe accident which may arise to their workmen'. They also provided for a resident nurse but this service was paid for by the field club and not by 'private costs'[13].

The weekly benefits paid out by the three major companies for about the same premiums during the 50's viz CXC 5/-, Butterley 6/- and Staveley 7/- further hints at the competitive aspect of welfare provision that might also guarantee company rents.

Barrow emphasised that if the men co-operated with him in this undertaking and attended properly to their work he would contribute liberally to their fund - 'He should always feel proud to find his men as well off if not better than their neighbours'[14]. During a period of demand and good wages at the end of 1860, Barrow offered the newly established Ebenezar Benefit Society £100 per annum if they could succeed in recruiting 1,000 members on conditions that he scrutinized their rules. Paternal benefits were always conditional[15].

By the mid 1860's, the CXC fortnightly subscriptions had increased by 100% for married men to 1/-; 150% for single men to 8d and boys who had been previously exempt subscribed 5d. These increases had been introduced to pay for the running costs of the new school, new colliery hospital, resident dispenser, nurse, increased doctors fees and administration costs. It was also about meeting the government's criteria for claiming the capitation grant[16].

In the early days of the CXC field club it had some semblance of democracy and the membership elected their own doctor - as was usual with Friendly Societies. Out of

a choice of five candidates, in July 1844, the CXC colliers elected Mr. Brown, surgeon, who, together with Dr. Mackarise, were elected annual until 1860[17]. After Mackarise's death in that year we learn that 'There are two candidates for the office of medical officer for the Clay Cross Works, namely Messrs. Siddall and Turner, surgeons. The friends of each party are actively canvassing and the contest is likely to prove a sharp one'[18]. Whether or not an election took place is not clear, but Dr. Wilson, Charles Binns' son-in-law, was appointed company surgeon. Just after his marriage to Adeline Binns, the company built a new hospital and dispensary immediately and conveniently next door to the newly weds. The Staveley Company matched this by converting one of their superior Barrow Hill houses into a surgery with the surgeon also residing next door[19].

A principal grievance at Staveley in 1867 also concerned the appointment of the club surgeon when, 'a certain trio' had overruled four thousand men,' who in committee meeting assembled have decided to elect a well qualified surgeon at their own choice'[20]. After the '66 Dispute community initiatives for self-help were treated with the utmost suspicion, particularly unregistered clubs.

Company doctors posts were lucrative and much sought after, particularly with a choice of company house thrown in. These key appointments played an important role in the production process not just simply by checking the health of the workers, but by enforcing regular attendance. The doctors refusal to issue or countersign a club ticket could result in the worker being sued for breach of contract and who could

The CXC's purpose built-hospital and dispensary erected in 1864, at a cost of £1,200, 'and the company never receive a farthing in interest'. D.T. 21 October 1872.

end up with a custodial sentence. In September 1860, the CXC took six colliers to court for absenteeism, the worst offender was committed to six weeks hard labour and one man was discharged when he produced a medical certificate[21].

The appointment of a compliant doctor became increasingly important with the introduction of the Employers Liability Act (1880) and the Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) and they would be expected to support company interests. Soon after the introduction of the Compensation Act, the Glapwell Colliery doctor represented a colliers death as due to natural causes. The result of a post mortem, however, revealed that it was an accident at work that had killed him and his widow was awarded £175 compensation[22]. These particular State interventions were an anathema to the colliery companies and some of the last nails to be driven into the paternal coffin.

The CXC had an elaborate system of checks before club notes were given and club money was paid. In the first instance, a certificate had to be obtained from the agent or the person the sick or injured worker was under. Secondly, no tickets could be signed by the surgeon until after six days had elapsed from the first visit of the patient. This could result in no club money if the surgeon considered you fit for work on the sixth day. The sick visitor in the meantime was making home visits and submitting weekly reports to the surgeon and the committee. If he considered you fit for work he could refuse to countersign subsequent club tickets and nullify any claim on the fund. In 1893, a Tupton miner employed at the No. 9 Avenue Pit, was fined for assaulting the manager when he refused to give a club ticket[23].

Sick visitors were usually company nominees and policing the sick and injured or potential 'idlers' in a close knit community was no easy task. The census returns for Staveley show that their club, particularly after 1868 reorganisation, employed a full-time sick visitor residing in the Barrow Hill community[24]. At Staveley the names of all those people receiving accident pay (not sick pay) were published and posted on the company notice boards. Workers were requested to examine the lists and report anyone who they thought was receiving relief improperly. On one occasion the list was published in the 'Derbyshire Courier' giving names, place of work, nature of accident and amount paid[25].

At Clay Cross the returns record no sick visitor but Sgt. Noton, the resident dispenser, residing at the company hospital (1878-1889) was employed full-time and probably doubled up as sick visitor[26]. Policing the sick and injured in a close knit community required men of strong character and it was probably company policy to recruit an 'outsider'. In later years, however, this post was much sought after and when the club was reconstituted in 1909, both the doctor and sick visitor were again elected by the members. When Robert Cook, sick visitor, died in 1925, the vacancy attracted 54 applicants[27].

Colliery club funds unlike registered friendly societies were not transferable and when a worker decided to leave his employment after many years service and without having drawn on the funds they could not claim a penny. This could have been a device to purposely restrict labour mobility and increase dependence. The CXC rules record that:

> 'Any member ceasing to be employed by the company shall forfeit all benefits from the club except in certain cases and subject to the discretion of the committee'[28].

Conversely, it could have encouraged thrifty workers to take out other insurance and according to Benson many had done so by the end of the period[29].

Before a worker was eligible to claim sick or injury benefit he must have been a fully paid up member of the club for a period of time specified by the rules. At Clay Cross in 1878, the company demanded at least two months and by 1909 it had increased to three months. At Staveley in 1866, it was also three months and at Bolsover in 1893, it was one month. The eligibility rule of the Cresswell Collieries Model Village in 1912 was an astonishing six months and was undoubtedly about increasing dependence and restricting mobility during a time of labour shortage[30]. The eligibility rule for all club tickets was always longer than the tenancy or contract notices and could increase dependency, deference or indebtedness to anyone injured in the early days of employment.

At Staveley after 1868, permanent injury and fatal accident benefits were related to a scale based upon length of service[31]. The Butterley Company would also take into account sobriety, good behaviour and other special circumstances in fixing the weekly amount and duration of the allowance to aged and infirm members[32]. Loyalty fostered deference crucial to production and the paternal order.

No nineteenth century club rules for the CXC are extant, but an intact set exists for 1909. Some extracts from the rules will demonstrate their stringency,

> 'Any member on the fund shall not be allowed to go a greater distance than three miles from his home, except when going to the surgery, nor to any feast, fair, or races, or other amusements. Nor shall be out later than 7 o'clock in the evening between the 25th of September and 25th March, or after 9 o'clock in the evening between 25th March and 25th September, without the consent of the surgeon and delegate. Every violation of this rule to be followed by the stoppage of one weeks pay'. 'If any member by drunkenness or debauchery, fighting, dogfighting, poaching or any other disorderly way of living, brings upon himself any wound, disorder, lameness or other infirmity, which render him incapable of following his employment, he shall not be entitled to any benefits from the club'. 'Any member of the funds who is intoxicated, or stating himself to be sick when he is able to work, or actually found at work, or doing anything that may retard his recovery, shall forfeit for such offence one weeks club pay after being warned he shall commit a like offence, he shall lose all claim for the remaining period of his sickness or accident'[33].

The new constitution still kept the senior management in control of the club.

These club strictures clearly identify with the authority and discipline characteristic of the paternal order whose tone was more than audible at the workplace, home and chapel. At the beginning of the period George Stephenson's 'Regulation for His Workingmen' echo the same disciplinary and authoritarian strictures[34]. At the same time, Dr. Wilson was appointed to the CXC club in 1860, the National Labour Alliance (N.L.A.) began recruiting members at Clay Cross and Staveley. The central objective of the Alliance was to terminate all stoppages set against wages by forming a mass union of all trades in the Midlands, Lancashire and Yorkshire. Amongst the principal grievances listed was the 'club dodge' - collecting money from colliers without returning a balance sheet[35]. At Staveley the company was singled out for creaming off 3,000 shillings per month from the workmen[36]. It was resolved at Clay Cross to support the forming of mass union for the abolition of the payment of wages without stoppages. Difficulty was experienced in obtaining a seconder to the

resolution as, 'the agents of the masters are present marking those out who were most active in the proceedings'. Eventually, the N.L.A. secretary seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously, but it highlighted the company's omnipresence. Binns was seen trying to persuade the men to leave the meeting and was offering them free admission to a lecture given by Henry Vincent - ironically, Vincent was an active chartist who visited Clay Cross in the 1840's[37]. The men adjourned to the Furnace Inn and fourteen workers formed a lodge in connection with the N.L.A.

During the turbulent period of the Free Labour Dispute the Derbyshire colliers once again singled out the management of the field clubs as one of their many grievances. It was during this struggle that the CXC decided, somewhat belatedly to publish a fifteen year statement of field club accounts. This was an opportune move by Binns aimed at diverting attention from the union. Binns emphasised that he had worked the club in the same manner as some great monarch who work their government in a paternal way - 'I have not worked it like a relieving officer who gives a man a loaf and so much money, but I have taken it on myself many times when I have seen a man with a large family and the doctor has recommended that he should go to the sea-side, I have saved many a mans life by being liberal when required to'[38]. That paternalism was hierarchial there is no doubt and entrenched at the top was Binns, but after the '66 dispute the system could not survive without some redefinition of mutual rights.

During this dispute, there were frequent encounters between the company doctor and Dr. F. G. Denton, concerning the men's right to claim sick pay, and the problem of members being in a worse position than those who applied for medical aid from the

parish doctor. Some people were also too young to come under the jurisdiction of the company doctor without any extra remuneration. Also widows whose sons were working for the company together with those widows who husbands had worked for the company for many years were never attended to. The exposure by Denton clearly angered the company, who frequently had him evicted from meetings. Much pressure was put on Denton and, 'Even my mother-in-law was requested by a high authority to use their influence with me to leave Clay Cross - as Mr. Binns wished it'[40]. In January 1867, as the Free Labour dispute was peaking at Clay Cross, Denton was elected surgeon to the Court Prosperity Lodge by 21 votes to 13 in preference to R. T. Godhall, Wilson's assistant[41]. Also in December after the defeat of the union, he was elected surgeon and chairman to the Miners Pride Lodge at Tupton.

With a massive return to work at the beginning of January, both the CXC and the Staveley Company needed to consolidate their Free Labour success and reinstate their authority. Once again this was facilitated by extending and improving their social and welfare provision.

In January, the CXC attempted to establish a Free Labour Benefit Society, '... free from the trammels of unionism to be enrolled under the Tidd Pratt'[42]. It would appear that the company had taken heed of some of the criticisms levelled at it by the workers. This particular initiative was to be kept separate from the old field club and intended to provide £20 per year for widows and £30 for those permanently injured at work. If the society flourished it was proposed to add a branch enabling young men to make provision for when he got married. Little interest was shown in this at Clay Cross so in August, the CXC invited the Tidd Pratt M.P. (Registrar General of

Friendly Societies) to promote the venture at a public meeting. William Jackson M.P. was present and promised the new club a £250 per annum inducement for three years, 'if they were not too proud to accept it'[43].

The CXC, however, were well outdone by the Staveley Company who only the week previous inaugurated a new accident scheme,

> 'The directors of the Staveley Company manifested their gratification of the progress of the Non-Union movement by establishing an accident fund of their own independent of the union'[44].

Markham offered £2,000 over four years with 25 % on the men's contributions added after that period. This particular club was much improved with distinct accident and sick sections. The accident section provided the major improvements with three categories - temporary and permanent injuries and death from accident at work. In case of temporary accident members received 5/- per week in addition to sick benefit, but benefits were much lessened if a worker was just off sick. The ideology of the work ethic clearly manifested itself in the payment of welfare benefits. These improved benefits cost 2d and 1d per week extra and were stopped at source.

Once again at the end of 1867, we encounter a competitive ring from the south of the county,

> 'On their part the masters have assisted in forming free labour associations similar to those at Clay Cross and Staveley ensuring individual liberty so far as work is concerned and providing for sickness, old age and respectable burials'[45].

The flurry of social welfare intervention throughout the county during this volatile period was more about repelling trade unionism than retaining labour.

The CXC's move to establish the Free Labour Benefit Society collapsed. In an attempt to give the old system some respectability, Binns invited the Mechanics' Institute to take it over. This particular move would not have impressed the club membership, least still the union exiles, as the Institute was dominated by the Company hierarchy. At this same meeting Binns was re-elected president William Howe, Vice-President; and James Stollard, Company Schoolmaster was re-elected Secretary and Treasurer[46]. However, during this uncertain period in June 1868, the CXC's artisans decided to establish a 'Mechanics' Sick and Burial Club' and deposited their funds in the company bank[47].

The status quo prevailed and it was not until the boom of the 70's that the field club once again became a major grievance. Amongst other things the CXC colliers demand was the right to establish their own sick club in connection with the South Yorkshire Miners' Association. It would appear that the union had taken a leaf out of the employers book and the provision of benefits was an inducement to recruitment. At the peak of the S.Y.M.A. membership in 1874, about two thirds of the CXC men and about one third of the Staveley men had joined the union and were entitled to the benefits of its sick fund[48]. The S.Y.M.A benefits were also transferable provided that union subscriptions were paid.

At Clay Cross and Staveley, however, both field clubs remained intact and a condition of employment. During a period of relatively high wages, the colliers would be able to contribute to both funds. At this time in Clay Cross the number of Friendly Societies operating at the same time peaked to seventeen (see Table VIB). At Staveley there were only about five friendly societies and this clearly reflects the

strength of the Company club, its wider range of benefits, the continuing free labour influence and Barrow Hill's homogeneity and isolation.

In March 1877, the S.Y.M.A. scheme folded up followed by the demise of the union. This coincided with the emergence of a county union in Derbyshire. Together with the limitations of the CXC's club, it inspired the Company to come up with another idea to outflank the union and provide comparable benefits to those at Staveley.

Sometime in July 1878, the Midlands Counties Permanent Relief Society (M.C.P.R.S.) was inaugurated at the CXC's Morton Collieries and 'the grand principle of the society is self-help'[49]. This appears to have been initiated by J. P. Jackson, who had recently succeeded Binns as General Manager, and led the second generation management team. This new relief society hoped to incorporate the Midland Counties mining districts, but it was frequently criticised as being a fund set up for one pit -

> 'This society with certainly a high surrounding name was I understand established at first principally for the benefit of one colliery'. Also the CXC defrayed the actuaries expenses for setting up the club, 'a somewhat heavy burden on the first balance sheet'[50].

Coinciding with the inauguration of the Relief Fund, the Company thought it desirable to establish St. John's Ambulance classes. Jackson considered that every man in a responsible position at a colliery should have some knowledge of first aid. By December 1878, thirty-two members were examined in the Public Hall by Surgeon Major Shephard, who had been sent down by the 'Order of St. John' - 'he had experienced great pleasure in coming down to conduct the examination especially as the Clay Cross centre was one of the earliest in the country'[51]. H. W. Greatorex,

Water Company Clerk and Company Cashier, was Secretary to the St. John's Ambulance Association at Clay Cross. Like most of the town's institutions, it was dominated by the Company's flunkies and their wives and daughters. The introduction of this institution to complement the Relief Fund was no accident, but probably part of a well thought out strategy related to the impending Employers Liability Act[52].

The majority of the CXC men suspected the intentions of the relief fund and refused to join, and frequently lobbied against it and considered it to be a Masters' fund[53]. In 1878, Stollard, Company Teacher, and joint author of the Free Labour rules at Clay Cross, mounted a timely attack on local friendly societies. This was clearly aimed at recruiting members to the M.C.P.R.S. -

> 'I would ask whether it is not the duty of the employers of labour and others who have the opportunity to use their influence, to prevent the industrial classes from being entrapped by societies which are a benefit to the officials only'[54].

Ironically, he emphasised that every friendly society ought to be compelled to furnish every member with a copy of their balance sheet - the company's field club was neither registered nor did it publish any balance sheets.

Despite the barrage of criticism and lack of popular support from employees and employers alike, the M.C.P.R.S. represented the Midland Counties at the second annual conference of Permanent Relief Societies at Manchester in 1880. At this date its entire membership of 580 was recruited from the Morton Collieries. This visit and participation in the national conference was clearly a move to broaden its appeal and legitimise a claim for financial support from the Hartley Surplus[55]. After the

Hartley Pit disaster in 1862, it was decided to distribute the surplus funds collected from the public to pump prime new Regional Permanent Relief Funds that were established in England. The delegates to the Manchester Conference were Rev. Jos. Hall of Shirland, a staunch company supporter; T. D. Croudace, Underviewer and Treasurer to the relief society and Benjamin Owen of Stonebroom, ex butty and archetypal trade unionist liberal and secretary to the fund. At a recruitment drive in October 1887, Owen emphasised the virtues of self-help and thrift and 'maintained that their duty was to encourage amongst the working classes, to make every man more independent than always seeking charity when the accidents occur'[56].

During the first two years progress was slow and only the Morton colliers were subscribing. The other CXC pits saw the company seizing the opportunity of relinquishing their responsibilities under the impending Employers Liability Act. T. Vallinder, a deputy at the No. 4 Pit and advocate of the relief fund, called a meeting in an attempt to increase membership, but the meeting broke up in disorder. S. Smith, local union leader and part-time newsagent, denounced the relief fund in the bitterest of terms, 'asking those present if they intended to support a fund which would pay for their own murder'[57]. Vallinder reconvened his meeting at a later date, and attempted to seduce the colliers into joining by exempting them from a customary entrance fee of 1/6d. There was clearly some urgency behind this and the offer only stood until the 3rd October 1880[58]. James Haslam, of Clay Cross and secretary to the newly established D.M.A., characterised Vallinder's resolution as a despotic attempt to coerce the men and argued that the meeting was got together by fraud[59]. On top of existing field club demands, the new relief fund demanded an extra 3d per week. The level of compulsory stoppages could lessen the colliers' ability to

contribute to the union funds and once again the CXC's colliers were demanding an end to all compulsory stoppages.

In 1884, the Morton pits were on short time and the total stoppages, including rent, amounted to 5/6 - 'This had placed the men in great difficulty and the men have been compelled to seek work elsewhere'[60]. Undoubtedly, in such circumstances the union contributions might be the first to go.

All the leading colliery proprietors were unanimous in their opposition to the Employers Liability Act of 1880. The Morton colliers were persuaded by their employers to petition Parliament against its implementation and argued that it, 'would be the ultimate destruction of the miners' permanent relief funds which are so largely dependent on the donations of the colliery proprietors, most of them give 50% on the contributions paid by the men'[61]. This was an exaggeration and the CXC never contributed more than 10% on the mens subscriptions. In November 1881, its minutes reveal, 'Miners Permanent Relief Fund to be supported but the 10% of mens subscriptions not to be guaranteed this year'[62]. Perhaps this was another timely threat against this newly established D.M.A. By 1888, however, the CXC was the only firm paying 10% on their men's contributions.

In an attempt to boost membership, Binns from the comfort of his retirement, offered the relief fund £2,000, the Midland Counties share of the Hartley Surplus. This offer was obviously a carrot and though Binns was a trustee he had no authority to dispense with any of the funds[63].

The Morton Colliery initiative never got the support of the leading colliery proprietors. In June 1883, they established an alternative fund 'The Midland District Miners Fatal Accident Society', but refused to establish their society on the lines of Clay Cross 'not having full confidence in the principles which it was founded'[64]. It was an instant success and enrolled 4,599 members after the first meeting and within four months had some 8,376 members[65]. This fund received £1,952 from the Hartley Surplus and the Morton initiative never received a penny. By 1912, the Miners' Permanent Relief Fund could not meet its liabilities and was promptly wound up with about 5,000 members. At this date the Fatal Accident Society had 43,000 members.

The main reason for the Fatal Accident Society's success was that it only cost 1d per week for men and ½d per week for boys and only catered for fatal accidents. The Relief Fund attempted to cater for all contingencies such as sickness, injury, fatal accidents and the old and infirm. There was a 1/6d entrance fee and 3d contribution per week which was stopped at source.

At Staveley, Markham supported neither of these two funds and by 1888, only two of their colliers were enrolled in the Relief Fund out of a total of 3,013. At Barrow Hill in January 1893, before the 'Lock Out', only 31 miners had joined the M.C.M.P.R.F.[66]. Markham was vehemently opposed to the Employer's Liability Bill and insisted if it became law it would put their funds in jeopardy -

> 'The paternal system of modern legislation which attempts to provide for grown up people as if they were children, is creating obstacles in manufacturing industry which render it more and more impossible to provide labour for the population. If the law of common employment is altered as proposed, it would involve perpetual animosity and disputes with workmen'[67].

Laissez-faire not only stimulated paternal innovation but if the State trespassed too far there would be a corresponding defence of that practice.

Despite a vigorous campaign by the miners, the Bill of 1880 only succeeded in amending the law to the extent that employers only became liable for accidents due to negligence of managers and foremen etc. Though there was no explicit provision for contracting out of the Act many employers began to induce their workers to do so. The usual form of contracting out was either through a relief society or field club which workmen were compelled to subscribe and to which employers contributed. J. E. Williams states that the CXC decided to use the Relief Fund as a vehicle for contracting out and the growth of the CXC's membership would support this[68]. In August 1880, the Morton Collieries made up about 80% of the Relief Fund's 600 membership. By November this had risen to 1,006 and the majority of the increase was recruited from the Parkhouse Pit. Out of the 250 employed at this pit (excluding surface workers) in November 1882, 233 were paid up members of the Relief Fund[69]. The point here is that no more than 50% of the CXC workers joined the Relief Fund and as it was not a condition of employment the compulsory field club would be the main vehicle to get workers to contract out and ensure a maximum return on rents.

Under the rigid control of the colliery companies no field club balance sheets were issued publically or posted at the pit head. At Staveley, however, from 1869 upwards the company religiously published their annual balance sheets in the 'Derbyshire Times'. This undoubtedly served as a post '66 public relations exercise but the company remained firmly in control of the club, 'Now what chance has poor working

men to manage the club when they have their own big gaffers facing them and Mr. Markham to put in his casting vote'[70].

The situation was just as rigid at Clay Cross. In October 1886, there was some disquiet concerning how the club might settle its debts of £204. When two of the club members pushed the idea of reducing the surgeons fees to balance the books, Jackson gave them notice to quit their employment. James Haslam, D.M.A. leader,immediately issued a circular and called a mass meeting,

> 'The object of this is to remove controversy above personal welfare, and to settle if possible once and for all, the functions of the committee, the nature and constitution of the club and the right (or otherwise) of the members to a clear financial statement periodically and thus obviate the possibility of workmen members of the committee risking injury to themselves while simply acting in the interest of all. One thing is clear that the club should be managed without anyone being sacrificed for acting on the committee'[71].

Jackson responded immediately and 'out of deference to their opinions, he should withdraw the notices'. Haslam explained that they had learnt a commercial lesson from the company and as the men considered that the doctors got too much money, 'the club position should be put into the market ... so that others might offer themselves at a lower figure if they liked'. The meeting decided to reduce the surgeons fees by 2/6 per head per annum and, 'we hereby resolve that nothing shall be wanting on our part (union) to sustain our representatives to the fullest extent in the discharge of their duties'[72].

This show of union strength and the climb down by Jackson was a boost to the fledgling D.M.A. and exposed Jackson's arrogant and abrasive style of management. At the beginning of the slump in 1893, the CXC refused to join a combination of

coalowners against the men, 'until an attempt has been made by the masters to meet the men and arrive at a reduction by mutual agreement'[73]. During the ensuing lock Out, and after much deprivation, the union leadership convinced the CXC to release surplus field-club funds, 'in order to tide over the Lock Out'.

Clearly a more conciliatory approach to industrial relations can be discerned and had little to do with the paternal ideology but the reality of the strength of organised labour. At Staveley, the field club was unassailable and the club funds remained intact and the balance stood at £3,389[76].

The CXC field club never paid more that 5/- per week to its sick or injured workers throughout the nineteenth century. Even as late as 1909, the CXC club benefits were just 6/9d less 7/½d contributions for a period of 26 weeks and then reduced to 3/7d for a further 26 weeks. Even if club pay was doled out in full it was a derisory amount on which to rear a family and was only about the amount a hewer could earn in a single shift. To fall sick or sustain an injury could mean a drastic reduction in income[74]. The miners' philosophy, however, was not as epicurean as J. E. Williams would have us believe and many saved elsewhere for a rainy day[75]. This self-help individualism encouraged by the company, helped to retain a core of workers during slack periods at little cost to the company.

From 1841, the CXC club never made provision before 1909 for the permanently injured or the widows or dependants. Neither did the club provide any burial payments. In June 1849, a CXC collier was burnt to death by a firedamp explosion and left a widow and four children but, '... he was in the Odd Fellows Club at Staveley which is fortunate for the poor man's family'[76]. The CXC did not attempt

to meet these contingencies until organised labour threatened. The company, however, were opportune with the manipulation of their charitable activity as another tool in their paternal armoury.

During the recruitment drive in 1857, the CXC, 'with their usual liberality provided every necessity for the deceased during his lingering and painful illness, and they have also defrayed the expenses of his internment'[77]. In 1852, they allowed £50 to Mr. Cassidy, a company official, 'who became nearly blind in the services of the company'. Also in 1893, they agreed to pay a gratuity of £15 to William Dunn's widow, 'he being an underviewer killed whilst on duty but no precedent to thereby be established'[78]. Prior to this in 1887, the company instructed Mr. Farlain that when he engages workmen he must, 'express upon them that if they get hurt they will receive no assistance whatsoever'[79]. This may have been a timely reminder to the men to join the Relief Fund. However, the company's charitable activity was at its most generous when a pit disaster struck.

Thrift and self-help, two complementary virtues central to paternalist and middle class laissez-faire ideology, were manifest in the growth of friendly societies. These societies provided mutual support in times of sickness, injury and death, and complimented the company field clubs up to the establishment of the two Midland Counties Relief Funds. Also many CXC colliers and their wives organised and subscribed to death and dividing societies, money clubs, Christmas clubs etc and towards the end of the period to private insurance schemes such as the Prudential. Both these local and national schemes played a part in diminishing the paternal grip

and dependency. After the Parkhouse Pit Disaster 1882, the Prudential dispatched their agents with £50 to afford temporary measures for 'all just claims'[80].

Prior to the town's metamorphosis, there were just three friendly societies established in the town originating in 1794, 1834 and 1835 respectively, but only one of these survived industrialisation[81]. In 1839, prior to the establishment of the company field club, the George Stephenson's Favourite Lodge was inaugurated at the Angel Inn[82]. By 1844, the town had five different lodgers and, 'we understand that a marked improvement in the morals and manners of the inhabitants of Clay Cross has been perceptible during the last two years; a result justly attributable to the praiseworthy exertions of Messrs Stephenson and Company and to the introduction of Oddfellowship - several lodges having been recently opened in the village'[83].

The driving force behind the setting up of these lodges was not particularly the CXC but commercial interests which became intensely competitive. To accommodate customers and potential members, the landlord at the Angel Inn erected a purpose built club room. Not to be outdone, the adjacent George and Dragon opened up a new room in 1844, 'purposely to accommodate the Lodge'. Also in 1846 at North Wingfield, the Heroes' Lodge celebrated their anniversary in 'the new room built for them'[84].

Other lodges named after the CXC's proprietors were the Walmsley and Peto Lodge and Sir William Jackson's Favourite Lodge - 'By the desire of the members who are all Clay Cross Company workmen the court has been christened after their noble master Sir William Jackson'[85]. The John Hudson Lodge of Good Templars was named after the company's first school master and Methodist New Connexion Leader.

Binns, unlike Campbell, his contemporary at Staveley, did not have a lodge named after him and kept his distance as a dutiful servant.

Binns was a staunch supporter of friendly societies and frequently proffered his assistance in adjusting their accounts[86]. Prior to his death he wrote his last letter to the Miners Pride Lodge and continued to express his concern about the conduct and accountability of such clubs -

> 'regret much I cannot accept your invitation to dinner these pleasures are now denied me but I wish you a happy day all the same. These clubs if properly conducted are the salvation of the working man but if badly conducted they are ruinous to the widows and orphans connected with them. I hope your club is sound and your accounts are properly audited. I hope you will all enjoy the dinner and fete day - Chas Binns'[87].

At Clay Cross, Staveley and Butterley company officials held many of the key positions in these societies. In 1868, the CXC surgeon was re-elected treasurer, secretary and surgeon to the Royal Oak Lodge at Tupton[88]. The obituary of Abraham Johnson, general clerk at the CXC, lists amongst his multifarious duties secretary to Danesmoor Female Friendly Society, hon-secretary to the Victorian Nursing Association, junior auditor of the Equalised Independent Druids; chairman of Clay Cross Friendly Society Council and a member of Clay Cross Shakespeare Lodge[89].

Besides the CXC's support, influence and association with the town's friendly societies they also acted as banker to fifteen different local societies in 1874 (see Table VIA). From at least 1844, Stephenson's Favourite Lodge appeared to have preferential treatment and was allowed 1% extra on their deposits. In 1868, Binns contributed 25/- to this lodge on the occasion of their anniversary, 'to be spent by

members on this occasion'. The Stephenson Lodge was the last lodge to bank with the company in 1878. The exodus of most of the friendly societies from the company bank in 1876, with the exception of the Stephenson Lodge and North Wingfield Sick Club, is reflected in the increased membership of the S.Y.M.A[91]. At this time it offered a more comprehensive benefit scheme than the CXC club and was more accessible than some friendly societies.

The limitations and inadequacies of the field club were no more apparent when a pit disaster hit the local community and left the widows and dependants destitute. In June 1861, the CXC's No. 2 pit was flooded which resulted in the death of 23 men and boys. The calamity was the most serious to have happened in the Midland district and the Mayor of Chesterfield immediately launched a relief fund[92]. By December it had raised some £2,093 to relieve 14 widows and 32 orphans. Most of the local worthies and all leading colliery proprietors contributed to the fund with the CXC topping the list with £500. Though this was a public fund the CXC's presence even impinged here and Binns was appointed one of the trustees.

Immediately after the accident the editor of the 'Courier' was reminding the miners of the hazardous nature of their work, 'A collier should always endeavour to be prepared for the dark day of misfortune. The joining of benefit, Oddfellows and other clubs are a step in that direction'[93].

At Clay Cross, it was the women that took the initiative and soon after the accident the Clay Cross Female Benefit Society was established at the George and Dragon[94]. After another serious accident in 1865 when eight people were killed by a firedamp explosion at the CXC's No. 4 pit, no public relief fund was set up. Jackson ordered

that, 'every attention be paid to the dead and that the relations should be temporarily provided for'[95]. Public funds to help mitigate hardship for dependants were only set up when at least ten people were killed - the usual definition of a 'disaster'. As only eight were killed in the 1865 accident no long term relief was forthcoming. As a consequence the mining communities at Clay Cross and Tupton recognised the inadequacies of the field club and public relief and immediately established three new friendly societies within a month of each other viz the Miners Pride Lodge and Imperial Order of Oddfellows at Tupton and the Black Diamond Lodge at Clay Cross - the No. 4 pit was situated in the township of Tupton[96].

When the Parkhouse Pit explosion occurred at Danesmoor in November 1882, it left 31 widows and 88 children. It was estimated that a sum of £8,000 would be required to find the widows 5/- per week during their life and widowhood with each dependant children receiving 2/- per week. When the fund closed it totalled £9,323 and the Hartley Surplus contributed £300. Again all the leading colliery proprietors made a donation with the CXC contributing £1,000[97]. Public funds established after a mining catastrophe usually reached their financial target but were parsimonious to widows and dependents for whom the funds were set up in the first place.

This calamity put the Relief Fund into a precarious position and after £235 was paid to the 24 widows the Society could not meet its liabilities. At this date both the Relief Fund and the Clay Cross Colliery Explosion Fund were dominated by the same CXC officials. In support of the 'Morton Initiative' the local explosion fund committee decided to donate £77.12/9d to the Relief Fund every quarter and further

deepened the suspicion that it was a CXC pit fund. A few months later in April 1883, the alternative Fatal Accident Society was inaugurated[98].

The rules of the explosion fund were strict and reflect the dominant ethics and values of the period. Widows would only receive their allowance if they kept widowed status and conducted themselves with propriety. The allowance was given to children on the condition that they attended school regularly to the satisfaction of the committee. If they were caught 'soliciting alms' they could be struck off the funds. A widow who decided to re-marry would receive a year's allowance of £13 provided such marriage met with the approval of the committee. Any widow requiring a sewing machine, washing machine or mangle to assist her in maintaining herself and family could obtain one from the committee. The amount expended for the purchase, however, was to be repaid out of her weekly allowance and agreed upon before purchase[99].

Disasters raised much public sympathy and money for the dependants or those killed. There was little or no relief from public funds for those dependants whose breadwinner was killed or maimed in a single accident. The CXC field club offered nothing for those permanently injured or killed until 1909 and exposes the limitations of paternalist social welfare. This contingency was left to the two Midland Relief Societies and various friendly societies.

Benefits from field clubs, friendly societies and Relief Funds depended on regular subscription and being in benefit. The cyclical nature of the coal industry led to short time working and subscriptions would sometimes be difficult to keep up. In these circumstances voluntary payments to friendly societies and trade unions would be the

first to be neglected and emphasises the power of compulsory stoppages at source. In June 1895, 300 men were laid off at the CXC's Morton pit and 'In consequence of the shortness of money many miners are unable to continue their contributions in the Miners Union'[100]. Indeed, the relative success of the Midland Relief Societies, particularly the Fatal Accident Society, depended on subscriptions being stopped at source. Friendly societies and trade union subscriptions were usually collected every pay night which was usually every fortnight. It was probably this collecting facility above all that led to the demise of many friendly societies in the Midland Counties from the 1880's, and to some extent impeded trade union growth.

As the CXC field club did not pay any burial premiums during this period being out of benefit with other clubs would cause much concern in the event of a death. To overcome the stigma of a pauper burial community, alternatives were established in the form of death and divide clubs. Many of these clubs in North-East Derbyshire were initiated and controlled by women and have a long but obscure history. The essence of these small clubs was that they were cheap, provided a decent burial and any surplus collected was divided amongst paid up members at the year end. Some clubs divided at Whitsuntide to pay for shoes for the Whit-walk, others in August for Wakes Week and some at Easter and Christmas. If there was a run on the funds the membership would be levied accordingly. Most of these clubs were unregistered and were run from pubs and chapels. Even here the CXC permeated and the Clay Cross District Female Friendly Society was set up by their bank foreman, T. W. Palfreyman - with the assistance of some half-a-dozen women[107]. Tom Palfreyman was employed by the CXC for some 64 years, a local preacher and community stalwart with a pedigree similar to Abraham Johnson.

RULES

1. The club shall be held on Fridays fortnightly from 6-30 p.m. to 8-30 p.m. Entrance fee, 5p per member. Contribution, 10p each club night.
2. Any person wishing to become a member must first give in their name to the Secretary and shall be in benefit after 6 contributions have been paid.
3. Age for joining, 16 years and not over 58 years.
4. Any member being three contributions in arrears and the same is not paid on the fourth night shall be out of benefit.
5. If contributions paid to the Society are not enough to meet its demands, each member shall pay equal levy for that purpose.
6. On the last club night in the financial year, all members must pay to the Society all contributions or other amounts due, according to the rules thereof. Any member failing to comply with this rule shall have no claim upon the surplus cash to be divided.
7. The benefits of this Society shall be as follows: Still-born, 25p; up to six months, £1.25; over six months and under six years, £2.50; over six years and under twelve years, £3.50; over twelve years and as long as a child remains single, £5. No benefits will be paid under this or other rules unless such member is in benefit according to the rules of this society.
8. If a member's husband die, she shall receive £5 from this Society or if a member die, the husband or other person having charge and management of the funeral shall receive £5 providing the provisions of the previous rules have been complied with.
9. All monies and levies to be paid by the last club night or else fined 2½p.

GARDENER'S INN
Clay Cross

Female Death and Dividing Club

CONTRIBUTION CARD

Secretary : Mrs. E. Franks

Treasurer: Mrs. Wheatcroft

Name CLARKE

No. 86

James W Petts & Son Ltd Clay Cross

These clubs proliferated in the Clay Cross pubs throughout the nineteenth century and there were still several functioning in the 1980's. This is a 1980 card, and shows that it simply went decimal and retained the level of subscription and rules.

This lodge was established at Stonebroom in 1870.

Besides the promotion of self-help and compulsory welfare schemes, the CXC were also eager to divert other disposable cash. To encourage thrift they established their Workingmen's Savings Club in 1846. The following year this was emulated by the Staveley Company and further hints at the competitive aspect of service provision[102]. In 1851, the CXC scheme incorporated a Female Savings Club which appears to have continued up to about 1876[103]. At this date, in May, two private banks were set up in Clay Cross and perhaps played their part in breaking up the CXC's monopoly. Also in January 1866, when the coal trade was brisk, the post office opened an office for the benefit of the thrifty where government annuations could be purchased[104]. Clearly the growing increase in choice in services, welfare and recreation gradually weakened the paternal grip and lessened dependence.

Another self-help institution supported ideologically rather than materially by the CXC was the Clay Cross Pioneer Industrial Society. According to Benson, the Co-op often marked the village's arrival as an established community. Both the Clay Cross and Staveley Industrial Societies were established in 1860. As elsewhere, the CXC gaffers and flunkies permeated and led the society with J. Walters, enginewright and free labour stalwart; T. G. Griffin, building foreman; and T. W. Palfreyman, bank foreman; and Thomas Noton, dispenser at the company hospital, all serving as presidents of the society[105].

At their sixth anniversary Binns wished them every success and told them to 'Go on fearlessly - Societies like yours will put all the fortnightly books on the fire and make the county court office a sinecure'[106-7]. What Binns was referring to here was the credit system that the company so admonished the shopkeepers for in 1855. Perhaps

the Clay Cross Society took the hint and from the beginning ran their system on the ready money principle.

Coinciding with the development of the Staveley Free Labour Co-op the Clay Cross Co-op collaborated with the CXC in building an indoor market hall at a cost of £400. George Howe, company engineer, was the architect for the project and the iron roof was made by the company[108]. The company also acted as bankers to the Clay Cross Co-op until about 1876.

The Market Hall, 170 ft. x 40 ft., did not just facilitate market business but later served as a meeting place for the miners - the company owned public hall prohibited such use unless it was for the Free Labour Movement, of course. Normansell and Rymer frequently orated there, also Joseph Arch and Edward Carpenter[109]. At the peak of the Lock Out in 1893 James Haslam and William Harvey were addressing over 2,000 colliers in the Market Hall. This new and alternative spatial facility also enhanced and extended the town's cultural dimension - this 6,800 sq. ft. of community space was excluded from Chapman's 1870 map of Clay Cross, together with about ten public house club rooms[110].

The Clay Cross Co-op continued to expand and incorporated branches at the CXC's other satellite communities at Tupton and Danesmoor. In 1870, the Morton and Stonebroom Society was established and the CXC's foremen and flunkies dominated the management committee[111].

A Clay Cross Co-op Share Check c 1890.

Co-op indoor Market Hall, Market Street, Clay Cross, built 1868.

The promotion of welfare policies were integral to attracting and retaining labour - so much so that they became the norm and competitive in offering the best benefits. Sick clubs were made to pay for themselves and compulsory stoppages helped to divert disposable cash away from public houses and organised labour. The non-transferability of subscriptions could restrict labour and the company might secure rent in times of sickness or injury. Social welfare policies were also introduced in the 60's and 70's to counter the resurgence of trade unionism. A company bank was established to encourage thrift and a host of Friendly Societies were promoted, together with a flourishing Co-operative Society. Clearly the promotion of self-help and thrift, the two dominant values of the period, helped to mould a core of steady and sober workers that the company hoped to retain.

NOTES AND REFERENCES
TO
CHAPTER III

1. Derbyshire County Record Office D.C.R.O.). 503B69, Butterley Company Field Club Rules.

2. D.C.R.O., Quarter Session Order Book, June 1842. Also April sessions record the removal of Hanah Gill and her four children. Removed from North Wingfield to Clay Lane, both in same parish, but a different quarter, and highlights the strictness of legal settlement.

3. John Farey, General View of the Agriculture and Minerals of Derbyshire, London 1817 Vol 3 pp.564-578.

4. D.T. 1 December 1866, Field Club Accounts, Summary of receipts and expenditure for 15 years ending December 1865.

5. S. Pollard, Genesis of Modern Management, A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain, Harmondsworth 1968, p.202.

6. D.C. 31 October 1840.

7. D.C. April 1841. In November 1837, the excavators established a silk society, but it broke up after the funds were stolen.

8. CXC notebook 23 January 1871. D.T. 24 November 1866. At Staveley a miner complained that, 'for the master to get rent from a poor man when he was ill and not able to work, for instead of getting 5/- a week from the works club, the master stops half-a-crown out of it for rent'.
Also D.T. 20 February 1869.

9. Children's Employment Commission 1842, p.345. Regulations for Workmen Employed Rule VII.

10. Ibid, No. 330, W.P. Morewood paid his men 6/- per week in case of accident, 3/- for illness and men 'past' work 2/- per week. The premium was 1/- per month (reflecting monthly pay) and he allowed pensioners allowance

coal. Ibid, No. 416. The Staveley men who were off work through injury or illness rallied on benefits from Friendly Societies. D.C. September 1847.

11. D.C. 14 August 1852.

12. D.C. 1 July 1854.

13. D.T. 31 January 1855. 1861 Census.

14. D.T. 1 July 1854.

15. D.T. 29 December 1860.

16. D.C. 1 December 1866. Field Club Accounts op cit.

17. D.C. July 1844.

18. D.T. 17 March 1860.

19. Staveley Census 1871.

20. D.C. December 1867.

21. D.C. September 1860.

22. D.T. 19 November 1898.

23. Belper and Alfreton Journal, 24 February 1893.

24. Staveley Census 1871.

25. D.C. 10 October 1868.

26. D.C. 13 May 1889. 7 July 1888.

27. CXC club rules 1909.

29. Benson op cit pp.212-13.

30. D.C. March 1912.

31. D.C. 10 October 1868.

32. Butterley Company Field Club Rules op cit.

33. CXC 1909, Rules 21-23.

34. Children's Employment Commission, p.345, op cit.

35. D.C. 19 May 1860. D.T. 28 April 1860.

36. D.T. 12 May 1860. S.D. Chapman Stanton & Staveley, p.155.

37. D.C. 26 June 1858. 1 February 1865. D.T. 28 April 1860. Also Brampton 5 March 1858 and Staveley 1 May 1868.

38. D.C. December 1866.

39. D.C. December 1866, 2 January 1864, 21 November 1863.

40. D.C. January 1867.

41. D.C. 28 September 1867.

42. D.T. 19 January 1867.

43. D.T. 3 February 18867. 17 August 1867.

44. D.C. August 1867. S. D. Chapman op cit p.158. D.C. September 1867. Trade Union Commission 1868. p.8, No. 11, 519 to

45. D.C. 5 October 1867.

46. D.C. September 1868. Annual Soiree.

47. Clay Cross Company Minute Book, June 1868. At this date the funds stood at £18.5/0d.

48. J.E.Williams, Derbyshire Miner, p.168.

49. D.C. 15 November 1884. July 1878. J.E. Williams ibid, pp.457-458.

50. D.C. 18 November 1883. 10 November 1883.

51. D.C. 20 July 1878. Formation of Ambulance Classes at Clay Cross. D.C. 9 November 1878, prize distribution.

52. D.C. December 1884. The wives of the company hierarchy receive first aid certificates - Stollard, Howe, Dickenson and Chauner etc.

53. 13 February 1883.

54. D.C. 2 August 1879.

55. D.C. 7 February 1880.

56. D.C. 8 October 1887.

57. D.T. 24 September 1880.

58. D.C. 9 October 1880.

59. D.C. Ibid.

60. D.C. 15 March 1884.

61. D.C. 19 June 1886.

62. C.X.C.M. November 1881.

63. D.C. 9 October 1880.

64. D.C. 10 February 1883.

65. D.C. 27 January 1883, June 1883.

66. D.C. 7 January 1893.

67. D.T. 12 July 1880. J.E. Williams op cit p.459.

68. J.E. Williams p.460.

69. D.T. November 1882.

70. D.T. 20 February 1869.

71. D.C. 30 October 1886.

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73. CXC Rule Book 1909.

74. Ibid.

75. J.E. Williams, op cit, p.58. Benson op cit p.180.

76. D.C. June 1849.

77. D.C. January 1857.

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79. CXC Notebook February 1887.

80. D.C. 11 November 1882.

81. Derbyshire Quarter Session Order Book 1780-1845.

82. D.C. 31 October 1840.

83. D.C. 15 May 1857, 17 August 1846.

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87. C. Williams Collection. This letter was found amongst the Miners' Pride Lodge Minute Books, and currently in the author's possession.

88. D. T. January 1868.

89. Clay Cross Chronicle, 10 May 1907. D.C. January 29 1873, 18 July 1868, D. T. 5 March 1864. D.C. 8 October 1892.

90. D.C. 15 May 1868.

91. CXC Bank Account Book 1876. J.E. Williams op cit pp.126-170.

92. D.C. and D.T. June and December 1861.

93. D.C. 4 June 1862.

94. D.C. June 1861.

95. D.C. 6 May 1865.

96. D.C. and D.T. June to December 1865.

97. D.C. and D. T. November to December 1882.

98. D.C. 14 April 1883.

99. Clay Cross Colliery Explosion Relief Fund Rules - C.R.O.

100. D.C. 1 June 1895.

101. C.X.C.M.

102. D.C. March 1846.

103. CXC Saving Bank 1876.

104. D.C. 27 January 1866.

105. D.C. 24 February 1894, 18 July 1868. D.C. 13 July 1889, Funeral Thomas Win Noton.

106. D.C. 17 February 1866, 24 November 1855.

107. D.C. 1863. At Staveley the credit system was reported to be very successful in 1865, but changed to the ready money principle in 1868 when the Free Labour Co-op was established by Markham.

108. D.C. 10 July 1869.

109. D.T. 19 March 1897.

110. O.S. map 1st edition. S.D. Chapman, CXC, p.45.

110. D.T. 2 April 1870.

COMPANY SCHOOL AND MECHANICS INSTITUTE

'...Woe to the unlucky urchin who systematically disregards the warning voice of that clock and bell' (Binns 1854)

Company housing, social welfare and the promotion of self-help were imperatives that helped to attract and retain a core of stable and reliable workers. Four other company institutions complementing these imperatives were the company school, Mechanics Institute, Horticultural Society and the Whitwalk. The various religious institutions supported and permeated by the CXC also played an integral role in moulding this core of workers.

The promotion of these paternalist institutions must be understood in the context of the industrial and political turmoil of the 1840's. This led to vigorous state intervention and employer resistance that included a military presence and the recruitment of several hundred constables in the county.

In 1840, there were plans to reorganise the Militia and new barracks were build at Sheffield. The Irish Dragoon Guards exercised through Bakewell and troops paraded at Chesterfield[1]. There were socialist lecturers at Derby by 'deluded followers of Robert Owen' and 'Persons no doubt hired and paid for their trouble, are actively perambulating the country for the purpose of spreading the detestable doctrines of socialism'[2].

In 1841, the miners at Clay Cross struck work for an increase in wages and the CXC responded by taking seven of their leaders to court under the Master and Servant Act. They were tried by William Milnes and P. Morewood, acquaintances of Binns and

Campbell and committed to Derby jail for 14 days each, for having left their employment without proper notice. This had the desired effect and most collieries returned to work the next day[3].

During August, the following year, Arthur O'Neil, a Chartist emissary was busy amongst the colliers at Clay Cross and Tupton. He was seeking the Clay Cross colliers' support to obtain 4/- per day, no half or quarter days and two quarts of beer per day. Binns and Campbell confronted the 'demagogue' who confessed that the workmen at Clay Cross and Tupton were as well paid as any in the Kingdom*. The colliers were reported to have returned to work and the 'baffled incendiary left the place altogether'. The following week, however, about 120 colliers turned out for an increase in wages and Binns immediately responded by taking all the ponies out of the pits and removing the ropes. The next day Milnes J.P. attended the Angel Inn, Clay Cross, and swore in upwards 100 special constables but 'several of these new police officers continued there all day, got drunk, quarrelled and fought amongst themselves'. These colliers were successful in getting public support and Binns responded by publishing extracts from their pay sheets showing that each man could earn 3/8 per day 'during the worst season of the year'[4].

During this period the Chesterfield Petty Sessions were suspended in consequence of all the county magistrates being summoned to Derby to confer with the Lord Lieutenant about the disturbed state of the county. At Glossop several people were wounded, 133 special constables were sworn in at Ault Hucknall and 18 sworn in at Brimington. After the Clay Cross colliers had passed through Chesterfield 311 inhabitants took the oath of special constable. By the end of September, it was

reported that all the Clay Cross men had returned to work and that their 'Chartist turnout may now be considered as entirely at an end in this district'[5]. The Radbourne Troop of Yeomanry, the Derby and Chasseden Hussars and recruiting parties were all dismissed with the thanks of the magistrates.

Two years later the Miners' Association was active in the county and many miners had withdrawn their labour. The principal issues at Clay Cross were prices, none payment of slack and the confiscation of potato ground. At this date the coal trade was depressed and the CXC men agreed to return to work for a slight rise in large coal if they left the union. Binns was determined not to countenance trade unionists and published that 'Every man who has resumed work at Clay Cross has abandoned the union entirely and has signed a declaration to that effect; and moreover, that Messrs Stephenson and Co. have no intention of employing any man who is a member of any such union'[6]. At the end of the '66 dispute a number of colliers were also asked to sign a similar document of which they did not approve, 'the consequence is that they are obliged to leave the neighbourhood'[7].

Clearly the collaboration of the State, employers and press in smashing radical, political activity and organised labour identifies with Foster's recognition of a systematic and critical change in the nature of industrial capitalism. It also identifies with and further emphasises Joyce's New Paternalism. According to Colls, the miners strike of 1844, in its resolve and consciousness, frightened the coal-owners into more serious strategies of social control and the inauguration and support of the above institutions were the result. Colls also argues that these were the climax in a

struggle for cultural hegemony that tamed and moulded the next generation of workers[8].

> When opening their new school in 1854, Peto eulogised that 'A cordial union of all classes would save the throne, place property on a sound basis, secure liberty and freedom of speech and make England a great and happy place'[9].

In March 1840, George Stephenson announced his intention to build a church and a school at Clay Cross and 'Had all who employ numbers of the poor acted in this way the wild spirit of Chartism would never have threatened the destruction to the peace of society'[10]. The following year Binns reiterated the company's intention but he was more to the point - 'The company feel deeply for the rising generation at Clay Cross, and it is their wish that they shall be properly educated and made to understand their relative duties in life'[11].

The CXC's interest in promoting education cannot be doubted and Stephenson's biographer, Samuel Smiles, wrote, 'One of the subjects that gave him most pleasure during the later years of his life was the encouragement of educational institutes for the working classes in which he took the deepest interest. He had many discussions on the subject with his intimate friend Mr. Binns ... How were these work people to be morally and intellectually improved and their children efficiently educated'. He also went on to say, '... we think the institutions at Clay Cross may be cited as a model for general initiation by large employers in all districts'. Smiles' sentiments were one thing but the ideology behind the educational aspirations were about moulding successive generations into loyal and compliant factors of production that would help protect their investment[12].

The CXC's school was not established until 1843, and was a converted stable that have previously been purchased from the N.M.R. and was referred to as the 'Stable School'[13]. In January 1844, 'The improvement in the manners and habits of the children, not less than their great cleanliness and neatness of apparel has been evident, since the opening of the school'[14].

Like housing and social welfare the provision of schools had a sharp competitive edge and can be particularly discerned during the intensive recruitment drive of the 50's. The first half of this decade witnessed a new generation of impressive schools being built which were on a much grander scale and whose towers and spires dominated the physical and mental landscape.

The pace was set by the giant Butterley Company who built two substantial schools in 1851 and 1856. In north-east Derbyshire things were soon on the move and the small Wingerworth Company were eager to replace their temporary school. In July 1854, they were inviting tenders for the erection of a new school and masters house at North Wingfield[15]. The following week the Staveley Company were advertising for builders to erect a school to accommodate 400 boys and girls together with a reading room[16]. Not to be outdone the CXC responded the following week and announced the building of a new school at Clay Cross - 'That such schools when erected shall be under the sole control of the company'. Another advertisement on the same day emphasised that the foundation stone would be laid just ten days later. This event was celebrated on the 15th August, when Samuel Morton Peto laid the foundation stone, 'to be called the Clay Cross Schools for the Religious, Moral and Intellectual welfare of the children of those persons employed by them ...'[17].

According to Bagshaw (1846) and Kelly (1848) the CXC's Stable School was conducted on the British System practised and recommended by the non-conformists. At this date the CXC's proprietors and local management were a mixed bunch of churchmen and non-conformists. The decision to establish a British School as opposed to a National School was probably a conscious one to boost recruitment and would have a greater appeal to many of the new collier migrants who adhered themselves to non-conformism. At this date there was no Anglican Church in Clay Cross but only a small New Connexion Chapel built c1822. The Stable School doubled up as a Chapel, Sunday School, Mechanics Institute and Day School[18].

The company's first schoolmaster, John Hudson, a dedicated New Connexion Lay Preacher and Temperance advocate, was like all school personnel, especially recruited by Binns[19]. Though the Stable School appeared to lean towards a non-conformist bias, the proprietors were determined that their new schools would be non-sectarian and non-secular and, 'the reason why they did not accept aid or grants from any of these societies (British and National) was that they wished to have the schools so arranged as to meet the religious requirements and religious feelings of the people'[20]. Peto, the company chairman, an Evangelical Baptist, argued that the school, '... may be so carried on that no churchman or dissenter will hesitate to send his children there to be educated'[21].

According to Binns a mistaken notion had got abroad that the schools were not entirely secular schools and no religious feeling would be installed into the minds of the children but, 'There is a wide margin between a purely secular school and a sectarian one. This school is neither one or the other'[22]. All doctrinal points he

emphasised would be left untouched and be the responsibility of parents and ministers of religion.

In 1853, when the idea of the new school was being muted, the rector at North Wingfield expressed his anxieties to the National Society that, 'The great bulk of the population are colliers and that the company who employ them are of radical principles in Politics and with respect to religion either nominally Churchmen or dissenters and that there have been unpleasant differences between the rector of the mother parish and the parishioners generally, and that several dissenting places of worship were built before the church was erected here'[23]. At this date, the incumbent, Joseph Oldham, at Clay Cross applied to the CXC for a grant to help build their National Parochial Schools but was turned down. The company, however, did not succeed in monopolising the town's education and the church built their Parochial School in 1854, aided by the money from the sale of a rent charge from the Deerleap Charity School (1793).

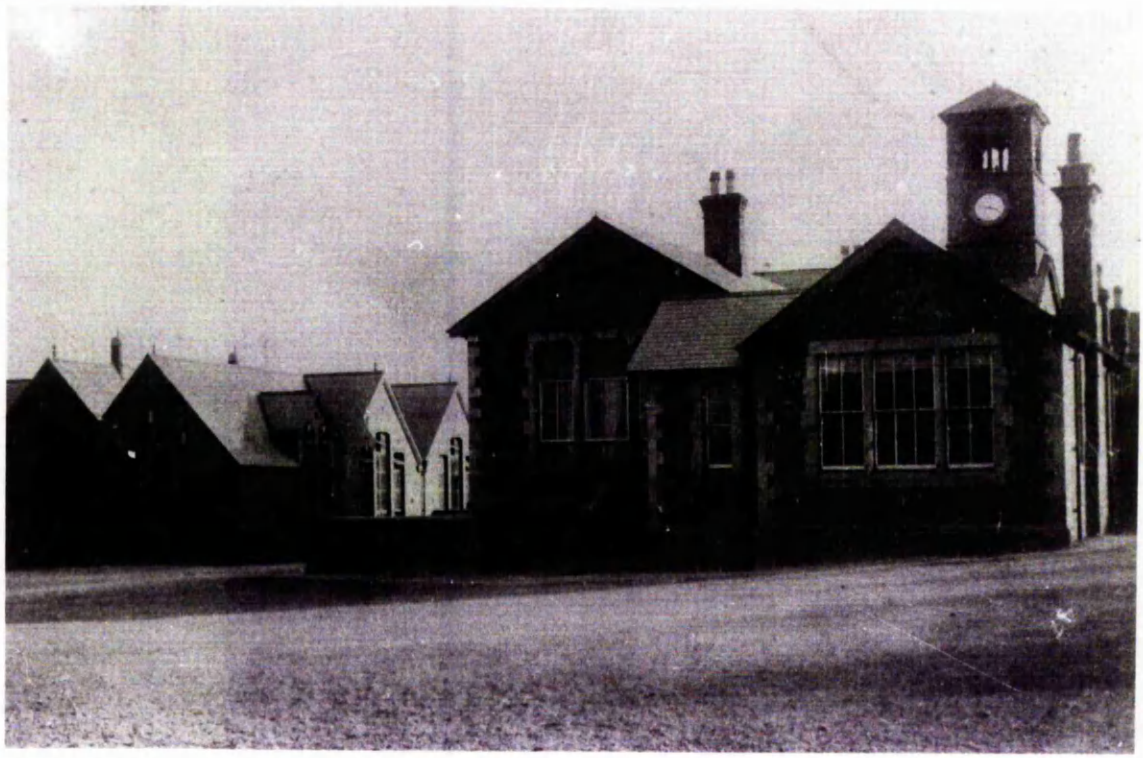
Coinciding with this development, Binns announced that, 'We may safely leave to ministers of religion those things which it does not become managers of works to interfere with, and as I have adopted this view, I am at liberty to meet and assist Mr. Oldham or any other clergy who comes here to do good, and leave the truth to stand on its own foundation'[24].

The CXC's reluctance to support the National School together with the implementation of their non-sectarian policy in their new schools clearly angered the established Church. Following Binns' demises Oldham announced from the pulpit,

'Your Vicar differed from our common friend on sundry points and in the early days the two were often in collision'[25].

This non-sectarian policy emphasised with some force in the mid 50's not only strengthened their paternal grip but suggests a relationship to recruitment. It was perhaps an attempt to justify compulsory stoppages to Churchmen, Catholics and Dissenters who all paid the schoolpence - '... every man and boy who works for the company to pay one penny per week and this penny to be collected at the office and added to club payments'[26]. Incorporating the schoolpence into the field club funds was done to facilitate its collection and enabled other field club monies to be used for school purposes if there was a shortfall.

Binns considered that only a few workers who lived a few miles away would miss out on the scheme - but they still had to pay the school pence. Even with the advent of Board Schools the CXC's employees who lived outside Clay Cross but attended a Board School continued to have the schoolpence stopped. In return brass tokens representing the amount of school fees were given to hand in at the respective Board School. These were then taken to the company offices each month to claim a reimbursement. The Chesterfield Board School, secretary, Kerslake, who instituted the scheme emphasised '... I do not think, without school checks, five shillings would have been paid by the parents who all plead poverty, but who, in spite of that, would willingly spend four times the amount of school wage on beer. The money therefore would have been lost'[27]. Once again the power of compulsory stoppages as a tool of social control is evident.



Clay Cross Company's schools opened in 1855.

Clay Cross Company school check symbolising the power of compulsory stoppages as a tool of social control.

Stollard was well sure about the worth of compulsory stoppages as opposed to voluntary fee paying. In January 1869, several boys were admitted whose education had been 'entirely neglected'. They were, according to the report, not natives of Clay Cross, but came from places where the schools are the ordinary National ones, 'the payment of school fees has caused the neglect'.[28]

The few Irish Catholics that attended the company school withdrew because of 'priestly influences'. A hint of the company's pragmatism was highlighted when an irate Irish parent visited the school - 'as the priest was angry when the boy recited a passage of scripture differing verbally from that given in the translation and wanted to withdraw his children from school'. Stollard conceded to this request and allowed the passage to be learnt unaltered.[29].

At Clay Cross, schoolpence were not made compulsory until September 1855, and Binns once again reminded his workers about the importance of self-help and independence - 'It is a bad plan in almost all cases to teach children free of cost to their parents, no person possessing an independent mind likes it, nor do the children themselves like to be charity children, so that however generously the company might be deposed they would be pursuing a very bad policy indeed by erecting a charity school, and I feel sure that you will agree with me, you would rather pay a fair price for your childrens education than have it free'[30]. Binns estimated that the income from the schoolpence would yield £200 and, 'the remainder will have to be got where it can'.

Like his contemporaries, Binns was a strident laissez-faire ideologue imbued by paternalism and he emphasised that the company did not want to burden the

population with regulations made one hundred and fifty miles away and in which neither the company not the workmen had any control or felt sympathy. After the Government Inspectors visit in 1866, in the midst of the free labour dispute, Binns reflected, 'He only comes because I invite him. He does not come as a government officer because these are not government schools ... but he comes and we get the usual government grant'[31]. In 1862, the CXC school was awarded a government grant of £136.5/-, the second highest in the county preceded only by Staveley Works which obtained £140.2/8d[32].

Binns frequently eulogised about the company's munificence and in respect to community building it was selective but, in some instances, generous. The new schools cost the company about £3,000 and the company provided the heating and lighting free. The other running costs and salaries were paid for by field club subscriptions, private fees, government grants and fines levied on workers.

Another source of income was through the employment of pupil teachers provided they were registered with the Privy Council. In May 1856, eager to recruit a number of competent male and female pupil teachers - Applicants must be prepared to pass the candidates examination'[32]. Pupil teachers passing their examinations would increase government grants and, 'E. A. Mather has barely escaped failing in her examinations. Her failure this year would have entailed a deduction of £20 (Act 32 (c) 1)'. This put increasing pressure on the pupil teachers to perform well and set an example and a hefty fine would be exacted on them for poor work, lateness etc. Example and emulation were clearly important in moulding the next generation of workers.

To maximise their income from payment by results they would instruct their overmen to send recent school leavers for government examinations, 'Sent notes to overmen requesting the attendance of boys who have recently left school to go to work - The loss of the few boys in the upper standard who were regular attendants has had a prejudicial effect on the school'[33].

To further increase school income, the company would admit private students if there was room but preference would always be given to employees children.

The key to the success of the schools was the appointment of a well qualified disciplinarian who played a crucial role in supporting company ideology not only within the school but in the wider community.

Prior to the new school being completed, the CXC were advertising for a qualified schoolmaster, 'He must be a trained master and experienced teacher, also well skilled in English language, arithmetic and writing and be a good musician'. Hudson, the incumbent schoolmaster being unqualified, would not attract a government grant so company loyalty and laissez-faire were partially fractured for revenue funding. Hudson was kept on as a senior clerk until his demise. The salary for the new job was guaranteed at £100 per annum and attracted 130 candidates.

The company's best known and longest serving schoolmaster was James Stollard, who came to Clay Cross from Ipstone in Staffordshire in April 1863 - 'Took charge of the school Mr. Charles Hedgelong having resigned with the intention of emigrating to Australia'[34]. Stollard was a company ideologue to the hilt, a disciplinarian of indefatigable energy who served the company and their interests for some thirty years

as schoolmaster. Amongst his multifarious duties, usually paid, he was secretary to the Horticultural Society, Mechanics Institute and Public Hall Committee, clerk to the local Board of Health and Burial Board, County Councillor (technical education committee), secretary to the Ratepayers Association and clerk to the Clay Lane Board School. He was a leading light in establishing the so called Free Labour Society, vehemently anti-trade union and used his verbal, literal and organising skills to undermine them. Like the rest of the company's management team he was a staunch and active Liberal and a vigorous self help advocate.

The rules at the various company schools were exacting and Binns emphasised that they, 'will be very strict as regards cleanliness, neatness in dress and punctuality and regularity in attending school, and I trust parents will exercise every possible care in this respect, and never allow their children to remain at home unless it is absolutely needful'[35].

Stollard was insistent that the purpose of education was to inculcate individualism and self-reliance, 'To get children to attend school day by day was to get them into regular habits. They would when they grew older, expect to go to work regularly. They learnt punctuality, independence of character and manliness, which would make them feel a pride in looking after themselves rather than go to the great house at Chesterfield (workhouse)'[36].

Nevertheless truancy was widespread at Clay Cross and there are numerous references to it in the school log books - 'Truant playing to an unusual degree. Must make some means of checking it'[37]. Absenteeism affected revenue funding and the government's capitation grant was dependant on at least 176 days attendance per child

each year. This particular grant varied from 3/- to 5/- for girls and from 4/- to 6/- for boys and was conditional on the school expending 14/- per child each year. This government stricture was probably the main reason that led to a 100% increase in the field club subscriptions. It would put increasing pressure on the company to ensure maximum attendance and partly explains Stollard's scrupulous checks on the school registers. An estimate of the amount of truancy for the first quarters of 1863/64, before fine weather and gardening absenteeism, was calculated at 40% and 30% respectively[38]. This attitude of diffidence towards education linked to early leaving led to the majority of the children having an appalling lack of knowledge when they left school. This is best illustrated by entries in the school log book for the 3rd and 20th December 1866. In that year 58 boys had left school with no prospects in attending again. Of these 10 were at home and the remaining 48 at work. Of these 48, 14 had reached the 4th standard (a good education); 7 the 3rd (a fair education); 2 had not passed 2nd standard and 6 could neither read nor write (had a worthless education, i.e. one that is sure to be forgotten)[39]. A variety of punishments and sanctions were inflicted on truants and their parents including beatings, expulsions and financial penalties. 'Flogged eight or ten boys for truant playing during the hot weather, they play truant in groups'[40]. One father went to school and asked for his son to be punished for late attendance and another requested his son be punished for absenteeism[41].

Another adverse effect on attendance was gardening, and many boys assisted their parents during the spring and early summer preparations, and 'more boys than usual absent the fine weather keeps them gardening'[42]. Other reasons cited for truancy were circuses, wild animal shows, cricket matches, volunteer drills, Chesterfield and

Clay Cross Horse Races, miners demonstrations, hay making, gleaning, potato picking, whitewashing, serious colliery accidents etc.

In July 1877, a month when truant playing was usually peaking, the CXC sanctioned a new regulation specifically aimed at curbing truancy - 'Mr. Binns issued to the children of the Clay Cross Company's working people last week requiring them to pay the ordinary school fee for every week they are absent also for every week during which they are absent more than two half days'[43]. This particular directive was aimed at the parents to ensure that their children attended school regularly or face a possible 100% increase in school fees. This directive clearly had the desired effect and by September - 'The regulations to the payment of fees by absentees has improved the attendance'[44]. To expedite this injunction, however, clearly required close monitoring and co-operation between the pay office and school as did other regulations pertaining to discipline. 'Sent to Mr. Binns the name of two boys who had broken windows he fined each of them half-a-crown'[45].

One of the punishments for truancy was expulsion and Palmer argues that it, 'rather seems to defeat its own object' but this was probably the severest of sanctions because expulsion could mean no job with the company and would act as a powerful deterrent to others[46].

Occasionally the company doctor would be used to ensure regular attendance and during a fever epidemic in 1878, he 'visited all cases that were doubtful to prevent children from attending from infected houses and also prevent children being kept at home needlessly[47].

The injunction to attend school regularly was not without its problems and the desire to remove children from an early age so as to derive benefit of their earning power was common to all works schools[48]. In 1861, Binns was sorry to hear that the boys had not made much progress and he was unable to account for their backwardness except they were taken away from school at an early age - 'Many fathers could not afford to keep their boys at school after the age of ten, but many could and he would advise them to keep them at school until they were twelve years of age, because progress made in learning by boys between the age of ten and twelve was enormous'[49]. At this date only fifteen boys over the age of ten remained at school. Five years later he complained that out of 800 children attending school only 50 were over ten years of age.

As the CXC pits were predominantly domestic coal pits, many miners were laid off during periods of warm weather. The school log book in April 1870 records 'An unusual number of boys leaving school to go to work. Every year about this time the same thing occurs in the summer the men work short time and then the lads are taken away from school and sent to work to make up for the parents short earning'[50].

During slack periods. R.G. Coke exhorted employers to negotiate with a portion of their workers to allow them 'to assist the tenant farmer in the pleasant and useful occupation of the hay season and corn harvest' and for them to return in winter when trade had improved[51].

All the large Coal and Iron Companies in Derbyshire attempted to combat early school leaving by insisting that any child under ten years of age must be able to read and write before they would be taken on to work. This did not deter some parents

in attempting to start their children at work without having acquired any basic education whatsoever. The school log book reveals several instances of this practice - 'Find that one contractor under contract to the company is employing boys from 9 to 12 years of age who can neither read not write'[52]. Also 'Admitted two boys James Jarvis aged 10 years 1 month and William Carter aged eight years they have been at work and have been sent away because they cannot write they do not know their letters their ignorance is deplorable'[53].

If a lad wanted to start work with the company after his tenth birthday he had to produce a leaving certificate signed by the schoolmaster[54].

From the first, in order to encourage good attendance, diligence and hard work, the company distributed prizes annually to the most attentive and industrial students[55]. Good behaviour, a prize or two and a recommend from Stollard was a sure way to employment with the company and the prospects of a good job.

In 1857, H.S. Tremenheere, H.M.I. of Mining Schools in England and Wales and a paternalist ideologue, suggested to the Midland Counties Iron and Coalmasters that they should form an association for awarding prizes in elementary education. The object of the Association was, 'to induce parents to keep their children at school longer and more regularly than is at present the custom, and to hold out to them an additional motive of diligence and good conduct'. Between 1858 and 1859, Binns and Tremenheere spent two years working out a scheme for education[57].

In north-east Derbyshire most of the leading colliery companies, including the CXC, subscribed to this Association. The rules were strict and candidates must have

PRIZE £1-0-0

PRESENTED TO

Walter Milnes

Clay Cross Company's School

FOR PROFICIENCY IN

WRITING. SPELLING. ARITHMETIC. GEOGRAPHY. & GRAMMAR.

AT

AN EXAMINATION FOR AWARDING ANNUAL PRIZES TO THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN THE COAL AND MINING DISTRICTS OF DERBYSHIRE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, AND LEICESTERSHIRE.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, GOOD CONDUCT, & SCHOOL ATTENDANCE HAVING BEEN CERTIFIED AS SATISFACTORY.

Examiner [illegible]

Held May 10th 18[illegible]

Worsford Wright

President of the Association

attended school for at least two years and required to produce an attendance certificate showing that they had at least 176 attendances during the year preceding the examination. At the CXC's schools, 250 attendances were required to qualify for any prizes given by the company. Entitlement to the company's Christmas treat, however, demanded 350 or more attendances during the school year. The 'core of sobriety' was sought out at a very early age. Certificates were also required for good character and satisfactory progress in religious studies signed by their teachers and counter-signed by their clergy and minister[58].

Money prizes were given and to encourage thrift, it was invested in a savings bank in the name of the successful candidates. After the expiration of two full years from it being awarded the bank book containing the statement of the original sum and interest was handed over to the candidate, but only on the condition that a good character reference could be produced.

The Association, like its membership, imbued all the dominant ideological values of the period promoting handwork, thrift, competition and individualism. Certificates were also awarded to successful candidates and were considered to be valuable testimonials to 'any employer'. Indeed, all the leading employers in the Midland Counties signified their intention to give preference of employment to those children who gained a certificate signed by the H.M.I. One of these certificates for Walter Milnes of the CXC's school in 1874, has survived. (See p. 137). Two years later he merited the first position on the higher paper by obtaining 218 marks out of a possible 220 and was awarded £3. On leaving school he was employed by the CXC

as a colliery clerk. This family contributed much to the 'reliable core' of workers and provided the company several mechanics, clerks and engineers etc.

George Bramley, another of the corps d'elite, rose through the company ranks from clerk to the foundry manager, and was one of three candidates from Clay Cross who obtained a prize in the Association's first examination[59]. Candidates entered for examination were put under much pressure to perform well. Their success reflected the school's standing and league results were published, and identifies with the competitive aspect of paternalism.

Crucial to maintaining a stable, reliable and productive workforce meant that it was adequately serviced and at no cost to the company. The company was well aware of this imperative and in 1853, Binns proclaimed, 'It was his lot to live in a neighbourhood where he was sorry to say, the minds of the females were in a very low state indeed, and he was satisfied before much good could be accomplished there must be something done to imbue wives of working men, working hard by day with the importance of rendering their homes comfortable, and detaining them instead of sending them forth to other places where alluring comforts were provided for them'[60]. Coinciding with this statement the CXC re-established its Horticultural Society and amongst its objectives was to encourage habits of industry and domestic taste and the cultivation of ornamental gardens[61]. Clearly these objectives were well placed. Also incorporated into the Horticultural Society's prize list were the best dressed and cleanest children, together with the cleanest and best furnished house, and emphasises the company's concern to provide a comfortable and welcoming home environment that might combat the public house.

The concern to improve the home environment took on a stronger emphasis with the opening of the new schools in 1855. Binns declared that he would have the girls schools made as efficient and valuable as possible - 'I believe if girls were better educated they would be much more employed as domestic servants where they would constantly improve themselves for the better fulfilment of their probable future duties as managers of households and as it is most colliers daughters are idling at home'[62]. As we have noted, the company's endeavours to find the women work in a predominantly single occupational community came to nothing. Binns eulogy on idleness was quite misplaced and the tasks of social production was the responsibility of women, of wives, mothers, sisters and daughters who service the men by washing, cleaning, nursing, cooking and facilitating a host of ancillary tasks. They also cared for and reared the children and together with the company and their values ideas and institutions socialized them in the ways of mining. Women, therefore, ensured through a variety of activities that coal owners would have an adequate supply of male labour. These functions were performed at no cost to the employer, other than coal allowance which was central to the domestic economy for heating, cooking, washing etc. Domestic labour of women had no price on it and was not paid for[63].

At the company's school, besides the $3^{R's}$ the girls were compelled to do knitting and sewing. In 1863, Binns also suggested the establishment of cookery department in the girls schools - 'he thought that selling the food at low rates, the institution would be self supporting'[64]. This seemingly innocuous statement, however, had a more serious note and competitive ring about it and coincided with a further demand for labour. Seven months previous the Staveley Company announced the building of a Workmen's Hall that was to be completed in October 1863. This particular hall was

to include a large dining hall 40 x 26 feet with a lecture room and library above. The central idea behind this institution was to improve the service to its workers by providing cheap, hot meals and offer an alternative to the pub. It was based upon the Glasgow Cooking Depot inaugurated by Mr. Corbett in 1860. This scheme completed in April 1864, was an instant success and no doubt Binns contemplated emulating this model. Binns was actually present at the opening ceremony and concluded that where such innocent amusements were appreciated by people, 'There was no need to fear delegates coming from Barnsley or anywhere else'[65]. This Staveley institute serviced hundreds of single men who commuted daily from Chesterfield and the 'Paddy Mail' timetable was organised around this service[66]. A well serviced, well nourished labour force was potentially more productive than one that was not.

The provision of company education was also a weapon in their industrial armoury. In October 1866, as the Free Labour dispute got underway, Binns took some direct action against the strikers and, 'sent a list of children or rather parents, who have ceased to work for the company and whose children therefore should be sent from school'[67]. On may other occasions Binns demanded statements showing the number of children in a family and the name of their fathers and where they worked - 'Sent two boys home whose parents do not work for the company'[68].

During the 1866 dispute, the company's school was used as the Free Labour Society's headquarters and centre of operations. The dutiful Stollard was the Society's secretary and together with Mr. Evans, H. M. I. for Coal Mines, concocted and elaborated the rules for the Society[69]. Stollard also instructed the older pupils to

make copies of these rules for distribution. The pupils also checked the calculations for the tables pertaining to the Free Labour Benefit Society which never got off the ground[70].

Once again the flurry of company munificence and improvement promoted during and after the '66 dispute impinged upon all company institutions without exception. At the peak of the dispute in December the company decided to give extra prizes in addition to the annual prizes, and 'The prizes would also assist them in gaining good situations as they would show that their possessors had been good and attentive at school'[71]. Binns personally distributed these prizes and the parents and the company hierarchy were expected to be present at the award ceremony. It was these face to face situations that reinforced the paternal and deferential relationships. It was also an opportunity to identify and reward the next generation of workers they hoped to retain and the value of the work ethic, and loyalty was much applauded on such occasions. The potency of company schools in this nurturing process was of first importance and largely paid for by the workers. Most of the prize money was, however, expropriated from the field club and government grants. Company munificence much eulogised by the local press was usually paid for out of their workers back pockets.

In August 1867, to strengthen their paternalist oversight against trade union encroachment, Binns invited the architect to the school 'to confer with him the best way of enlarging the schools'[72]. Two months later the company opened up a new school at Stonebroom[73]. They also commenced another school at Danesmoor in November 1869, and leased the New Connexion, Bethel Chapel for this purpose.

The company clearly valued its educational institutions and its initial capital investment paid substantial dividends in moulding a future compliant core of workers. The revenue funding for the schools cost them very little and was paid for by the workers whose children were locked out when organised labour threatened. Markham at Staveley never disguised this relationship and told the Royal Commission in 1868 - 'If a union were to be established at our works of course all such relationships between ourselves and the men would entirely cease; we should break up our schools and let the men do as they like ... and that the social relationships which have existed so long would be broken'[74].

Similarly in 1872, when the union threatened again, Binns told a deputation of workers that if a union was to be established to dictate the terms of their contracts he would at once withdraw all the assistance the company gives to the school, chapels, social institutions and so forth that flourish so much at Clay Cross under the paternal rule of Sir William Jackson[75]. A month later Binns had climbed down as a consequence of the emergence of the S.Y.M.A. During this volatile period, R.G. Coke, Wingerworth company engineer, applauded the CXC's educational and welfare provisions but emphasised that they had met with little success in raising the standards of the Clay Cross pitmen. Coke was clearly referring to these initiatives failing to repel organised labour and,'that the dispute at Clay Cross had been conducted with more acrimony than at places not having these advantages'[76]. Though paternalism could never be taken for granted it had its limitations and boundaries and depending on the economic climate knew how far to trespass Paternalism and its emanating socio-economic relationships might be understood as an industrial and parochial hegemony with both sides increasingly accommodating some mutual respect. This

notion of a mutual contract - welfare in return for union free labour - was common to many landed and capitalist colliery proprietors[77].

With the advent of Clay Lane School Board in 1873, the CXC had the opportunity of handing their schools over to the Board. This was completely resisted and later Binns explained that - 'The school had not been placed in the hands of the Board, but still belonged to the company and would until they knew that the School Board was placed on a solid foundation. There were many reasons why they should be retained by the Clay Cross Company, but he for one would be happy to see the day when they could with entire confidence be handed over to the Board'[78]. Though no reasons were given the religious question, power, welfare economies, laissez faire and control were no doubt high on the agenda. The school pence may have subsidised the field club that also guaranteed some rents.

The majority of candidates for the first Board election, though churchmen, stood on a non-sectarian ticket. Binns declared he would '... carry on elementary education of young persons in the district in the same liberal and unsectarian spirit in which Clay Cross Schools have been so successfully worked during a period of 25 years'[79]. All seven successful candidates were churchmen and the majority liberal in politics. Binns topped the poll with 1,939 votes and the Reverend Joseph Oldham, vicar at Clay Cross, received just twelve votes and must say something about his popularity. Binns was elected chairman and had considerable influence on the Board's policies. At the triennial election in November 1882, James Haslam, secretary to the D.M.A. and a Clay Cross indigenous polled more votes than Binns. This reflected the growing confidence in the fledgling union and the personal support for Haslam, a man

of immense integrity and stature[80]. The election also coincided with Binns' retirement from the company.

The reluctance of the company to hand over the schools to the Board lasted for some 20 years when they succumbed to State intervention with the advent of free education in 1892. They sold them to the School Board for £5,500. The loss of this jewel in their paternal crown manifested the inevitable decline of company paternalism. It also coincided with the shift in the company's politics from Liberal to Tory, and the beginning of the erosion of company power on public bodies. It also heralded the arrival of working class, liberal politics in the town[81].

Mechanics Institute and Public Hall

In 1840, it was reported that within the last ten years, the public houses in Clay Cross had increased from four to seventeen[82]. Faced with the problems of hard drinking habits and irregular work and the consequent threat to production, the company attempted to encourage their workers away from the temptations of John Barleycorn. They were also prepared to eradicate their traditional amusements and no workers were allowed to keep fighting dogs or fighting cocks in any of the cottages belonging to the company[83]. Pugilists would be dismissed and any workers known to have witnessed such an event would be disciplined.

Besides promoting and supporting several chapels in an attempt to find sober leisure pursuits, the CXC in 1845 established a Mechanics' Institute. The institute, initially

James Haslam born in Clay Cross in 1842. He received a rudimentary education at the CXC's old Stable School at Clay Cross. He was a Primitive Methodist in adult life and became secretary of the Clay Cross Lodge of South Yorkshire Miners' Association in 1875. Haslam advocated the necessity of an independent county union and became its secretary in 1880. (Source William Hallam, Miners Leader, London, 1894 p.37).

housed in the Stable School, incorporated a Cottage Garden Society with the added attraction of a reading room and library, and matched the Butterley Company's initiative of 1843. Binns emphasised that such a society would improve the morals of its members[84]. According to Bagshawe in 1846, there were 75 members with a library of 200 volumes. The following year, Binns complained that the workers had not supported his efforts in establishing a Mechanics' Institute, 'He had laboured very hard to carry on this institution and to effect their mental elevation, but they did not appreciate his endeavours and he was obliged to give it up'[85].

In June 1854, a Mechanics' Institute was inaugurated at Staveley. but not to be outdone the the CXC revived their old institute during the same month. Both colliery complexes were sinking new and deeper pits that required more expensive and sophisticated winding engines, demanding more skilled workers, and the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes may have been an inducement to attract such workers.

With the opening of the new schools in 1855, and a more permanent professional staff recruited, the Mechanics Institute moved from the Stable School to more comfortable surroundings in the new Public Hall. It kept its apartness by its middle class and hierarchial dominance and was not supported by field club funds. Few workers could afford the subscriptions and the entrance fees to the lectures and soirees promoted by the Mechanics Institute were prohibitive. The going rate in 1857, for a front seat and back seat at a soiree was 1/- and 6d respectively. Similarly, membership to the company's Choral Society and Cricket Club was also elitist and the price, dress and social etiquette kept the majority of the workers away. The Mechanics' Institute was

a social venue that facilitated career enhancement and social mobility for that core of loyal sobriety that the company hoped to retain.

Binns recognised that a twelve hour day was not conducive to learning and considered, 'amusement as well as learning should be combined together, that they should endeavour to create playfulness in the minds of the people to enliven them and gradually lead them to that knowledge which produces good effects'[86]. To facilitate this objective, access to the reading room was open to all employees provided they were of clean attire and gambling and swearing was strictly prohibited[87]. The company provided drafts, chess, newspapers and other 'innocent amusements' and the Public Hall was, '... never withheld when required by the inhabitants for any rational amusements'[88].

Besides the Mechanics Institute and Public Hall access, the company also initiated evening classes. These particular classes were predominantly for remedial work in the early days and required an extra payment, but were poorly patronised. During the '66 dispute they were branded a 'complete failure' and the 'miners agitation' was considered to be the primary reason.

In 1869, to keep pace with each other, both the CXC and the Staveley Company established technical education classes in conjunction with the Department of Arts and Science. These classes were not free and cost two pence per week. After the first examination results were published in 1870 we learn that 'the majority are of the artisan class'[89]. The impress of the CXC's adult education initiatives and programme shows that it had only a nominal impact and only touched a small number of colliers.

It has already been noted that after the '66 dispute, the company attempted to incorporate the field club into the Mechanics Institute. This was an attempt to camouflage company responsibility for management of the field club and increase working class membership to the Institute. In 1867, Binns expressed his disappointment in the small membership and that the funds were not sufficient to increase the library stock[90]. As a consequence the company decided to drop the title of Mechanics Institute and amalgamate it with the Public Hall activities and renamed it the Clay Cross Public Hall Institute. Coinciding with this change at Clay Cross, in August 1867, the Staveley Company established a new 'Works Mechanics' Institute' in the Dining Hall at Barrow Hill, and was reported to be a response to the effects of 'Non Unionism'. Also the Wingerworth Company opened up a reading room in January 1868, after their 1866 initiative failed 'through indifference of the men'. Even here a competitive ring can be heard and an anti-trade union alternative discerned. They were also an attempt to keep people from the pub, 'now the men have more leisure time of an evening especially, there are many attractive features to be added in the shape of chess, billiards etc'.[91].

By 1875, this CXC amalgam was also struggling, 'from some cause or other there has not been that amount of enthusiasm necessary to bring it to bear on the welfare and cultivation of the inhabitants of Clay Cross and neighbourhood for the last few years. Whether it arises in part from prosperity of workmen or whether it arises from the love of home, I cannot say but undoubtedly there has been a falling off'[92]. Clearly the prosperity of the 70's linked with a shorter working week, more disposable cash and many alternative leisure pursuits provided greater choice - a choice, ironically, that weakened the paternal influence.

During this period there was a proliferation of Workingmen's Clubs in north-east Derbyshire. This particular type of clubs was run and organised entirely by the workers and contributed much to the demise of Mechanics' Institutes. In 1874, with an eye on the Morton Colliery developments, the neighbouring Tibshelf Colliery Company decided to build a purpose built colliery club with the emphasis on rational recreation and wholesome refreshments. The inauguration of this club was held on the same day as the village's trade union anniversary, and was considered by many to have been a deliberate 'appositional attraction'[93]. When the Whittington Workingmens Club was opened in 1875, it was announced 'It was not a Mechanics Institute where people came to be bored by lectures'[94]. In 1877, a Workingmens Club was proposed for Clay Cross but does not appear to have materialised. The CXC, however, resigned to the unpopularity of Mechanics Institutes, authorised £1,500 to be spent on building a club at Morton in February 1877, but 'when finished to remain the property of the company'[95]. According to Church, the provision of amenities, such as billiards, skittles etc., suggests a retreat from the sterner morality characteristic of early and mid-Victortian employers' welfare. It also coincided with more self-determination of rational leisure pursuits by the workers and the decline of company provision by the end of the period. Paradoxically, Emerson Bainbridge's Bolsover and Cresswell communities from the 1890's were established on the basis of a strict code of behaviour[96]. Morton and Stonebroom were somewhat isolated communities with little social and recreational facilities and the CXC's intervention would offer an alternative to the pub. In July 1884, Jackson also donated some land towards a self help project to build baths and swimming baths. The charge per session was ½d for company employees and 2d for others, (see Table XIII)[97].

Another institution emerging during this period was the Cocoa and Coffee taverns. In 1879, J. P. Jackson of the CXC opened the town's first such tavern accompanied by the clergy and others who supported the temperance movement and, 'such a place as the one they were opening would fill a want felt in Clay Cross and he hoped it would be well patronised'[98]. By this time the Public Institute had become the preserve of the middle class and at a soiree in 1881, 'There was a large and influential gathering comprising of the elite of the district'[99].

The demise of the Public Hall Institute finally came with the sale of the company schools that incorporated the Public Hall. The loss of this facility was to the detriment of several community groups and in 1894, the 'Local Board refused to let the Sunday School use the lecture hall free because of the precedent they might set'[100]. One of the advantages of paternalist institutions was that they were less bureaucratic and not so shackled by local or central government protocol. Accountable to themselves and not incorporated until 1914, they were more immediate and responsive - even when they were incorporated all the shareholders were from the Jackson family.

NOTES AND REFERENCES
TO
CHAPTER IV

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4. D.C. August 1842.

5. D.C. 24 September 1842.

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7. D.C. 2 March 1867.

8. R. Colls, Past and Present, Nov. 1976, 'Oh Happy English Children!' Coal, Class and Education in the North East, No. 73, pp. 75-99. Royal Commission on Trades Unions, 1868, p.244, No. 78, pp.13,397-13,427. James Campbell, CXC engineer's evidence concerning 1844 dispute.

9. D.T. 19 August 1854.

10. D.C. 28 March 1840.

11. D.C. 14 August 1841. J.E. Williams op cit p.73.

12. S.D. Chapman, CXC p.14. S. Smiles, The Story of the Life of George Stephenson, 4th Edition 1857. pp.476-477.

13. D.C. January 1844. Bagshaw, History Gazette and Directory of Derbyshire, 1846, p.682.

14.A D.C. January 1844.

14.B Church, op cit, p.292, with reference to A. Heeson.

15. R. Christian, Butterley Brick, Henry Melland, London, 1991, p.29. D.C. 15 July 1854. Mottram and Coote, History of the Butterley Company, p.78. They had built four schools by 1841. C.X.C.M., 12 July 1854. 'That Mr. Binns proceed immediately to obtain drawings of the school as designed by Mr. Stevens and submit the same to Mr. Betts previous to their erection. That such schools when erected shall be under the sole discretion of the Clay Cross Company'.

16. D.C. 18 January 1840. At this date Barrow was supporting a school at Brimington from where he recruited much labour. D.C. 22 July 1854, Staveley Schools. D.C. 1854, Barrow also donated £50 towards the erection of a school at Calow.

17. D.C. 29 July 1854. CXC school.

18. D.C. December 1854. The Wingerworth School was organised on plans recommended by the National school and cost £1,000 accommodating 200 children.
D.C. 12 April 1856. The Butterley Company built another National school at a cost of £2,300 accommodating 300 children. A further hint at the competitiveness can be gleaned from Francis Wright, a Butterley Company proprietor, 'With regard to completeness, convenience and stability they can hardly be surpassed with fireplace and ovens to warm the children's dinners'.

19. D.T. February 1866. John Hudson's obituary.

20. D.C. August 1855.

21. D.C. 19 August 1854. Morton Peto laying foundation stone of the new schools.

22. Ibid.

23. Marion Johnson, Derbyshire Village Schools, David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1970, p.33. Barnes Collection, Chesterfield Local Studies. Bar 822-830.

24. D.C. 1853.

25. D.C. 22 January 1887.

26. D.C. 18 August 1855.

27. J.E. Williams, op cit, p.468.

28. Clay Cross Company School Log Book (S.L.B.) January 1869.

29. S.L.B. 18 November and 20 November 1866. 1 February 1869.

30. D.C. 18 August 1855.

31. D.C. 18 August 1855. December 1866.

32. D.T. 19 April 1862.

33. S.L.B. 19 January 1869. February 17 1867. 18 November 1879.

34. S.L.B. 13 April 1863.

35. D.C. 18 August 1855.

36. D.C. 1 February 1879.

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58. D.C. 3 January 1857.

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61. Horticultural Society Programme, 1862 (see p.180).

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64. S.L.B. 28 Nobember 1863.

65. D.C. 9 May 1863.

66. D.C. 11 January 1868. 2 April 1864. Between July and December 1867, some 17,623 meals were served, consisting of meat, potatoes, basin of soup and a pudding at a cost of 5d.

67. S.L.B. 21 October 1866.

68. Ibid. 18 November 1870, 22 January 1866.

69. Ibid. 25 January 1867.

70. Ibid. 28 January, 14 February, 24 June 1866.

71. D.c. December 1867. D.T. 19 December 1868.

72. S.L.B. 17 August 1867.

73. D.C. November 1867. S.L.B. 1 November 1869 (CXC Danesmoor).

74. Royal Commission Trade Union, op cit.

75. D.T. 28 September 1872.

76. C. & D. Institute Vol V. 1876-77, p.148.

77. R. Church, Victorian Pre-eminence, p.290.

78. D.T. 16 December 1876.

79. D.C. 22 November 1873.

80. D.T. November 1882.

81. D.T. 13 February 1892. Jackson gave notice to School Board that the CXC would give up their schools and be prepared to negotiate a sale with the Board. S.L.B. 1893 Mechanics' Institute.

82. D.C. 18 July 1840.

83. CXC Rules V & VI, see appendix.

84. D.C. 26 July 1845. Bagshaw op cit p.146. George Stephenson was elected president, Mr. Giles - cashier and Mr. Brown, Surgeon - vice-president and Chas Brown - treasurer. Messrs Hudson and Renshaw - secretaries. Twelve

respectable gentlemen to form the committee. The company gave a £10 donation and 40 enrolled.

85. D.C. 22 October 1866. Bagshaw 1846, p.682.

86. D.C. 2 April 1853.

87. D.C. 18 August 1855.

88. D.C. 13 January 1857.

89. D.C. 2 May 1870. 24 June 1871.

90. D.C. 19 October 1867.

91. D.C. 31 August 1867. 11 January 1868.

92. D.C. 6 March 1875.

93. D.C. 29 August 1874.

94. D.C. 1 May 1875.

95. C.X.C.M. February 1877.

96. B. Haig, A Centenary History of Bolsover Colliery Company, 1889-1989, British Coal 1989. R. Church, op cit, p.285.

97. Kerry Manuscripts M.S. 34679 pp.289-292. Chesterfield Local Studies.

98. D.C. 19 April 1879.

99. D.C. 5 November 1881.

100. D.C. 10 March 1894.

The Mechanics Institute, Choral Society and Evening classes attracted relatively few colliers. Horticulture, football and cricket were more successful interventions to promote a steady and sober workforce.

Though a good majority of the CXC's workforce did opt for the pub and beerhouse, many were imbued with the ethic of sobriety imbricated by paternalist and religious strictures. This particular core of sobriety helped to form the back-bone of the company's more stable and regular workforce.

The success of industrial society was related to the continuity of production that demanded State intervention into the licensing laws. These licensing laws that attempted to regulate the consumption and production of drink were stringent. The renewal of a licence would be refused for the slightest infringement or reference to a bad character. At the Chesterfield Brewster Sessions in 1861, ten out of twenty applications for a licence were refused and selling beer after the prescribed hours was the main complaint[1].

Binns and Jackson, both local magistrates at the Clay Cross Police Court and Petty Sessions, frequently meted out heavy fines and imprisonment for drunkenness. At the Police Court in 1869, Binns fined one of his own workmen 5/- and 9/10 costs for being drunk and disorderly or fourteen days hard labour in default - 'Mr. Binns intimated to the prisoner that if he came before him on such a charge again he would be discharged from the company's service'[2]. The 'bench' was clearly an extension of their industrial armoury and used with some effect and no doubt had a hidden

agenda of sackings. In later years the coal proprietor magistrates were not as obtrusive and usually stood down when one of their employees came before them, but the appropriate penalty was meted out by their fellow magistrate. Examples were made of those in the company hierarchy that defaulted. In 1860, a CXC deputy overlooker was given one month's hard labour for being absent through drunkenness[3]. Similar offences by colliers usually received a maximum of fourteen days but ring leaders could expect twenty-eight days[3].

However, the CXC's most substantial investment in social control that permeated family and community life was religion. According to Benson it was the chapel that did the most to diminish the draw of the pub and the Clay Cross example identifies with this position[4].

At the time the CXC was established there was only a small New Connexion, Methodist Chapel in the township. As the company recruited more labour they realised the need for more religious accommodation that would identify and attract the new migrant population.

By 1840, Stephenson, though not attached to any particular denomination, was offering to build a church and a school attached. About this time his martinets at Clay Cross were publicly debating the merits of temperance and teetotalism. In July 1840, it reported that the number of public houses in Clay Cross 'has increased within the last few years from four to seventeen'. John Parker, senior underviewer, teetotal advocate and Primitive Methodist, denounced the moderate use of stimulating drinks and was supported by James Campbell, senior engineer and Wesleyan sympathiser. Charles Wilkinson, cashier, spoke in favour of temperance but was opposed to total

abstinence - 'Mr. W's speech drew forth a great applause and seemed to carry conviction to the minds of many of the audience[5]. It has been suggested that the Methodist adoption of total abstinence from about the 1830's may have weakened their influence by widening the gulf between themselves and the mass of miners[6].

From day one the CXC made their position quite clear promulgating regulations that 'Any man found introducing intoxicating liquors on the works at any time will be liable to instant dismissal'[7]. At the height of the early 1870's boom, however, the company took desperate measures to obtain labour including the offer of drink; 'the only remedy for this state of things'[7A]

In 1843, the company established a Sunday School that met in their Stable School under the leadership of John Hudson, company school teacher and New Connexion Methodist. This accommodation was clearly limited and when the company was more firmly established between 1848 and 1849, they gave land and money to build three chapels and a church at Clay Cross. Together they provided 1,336 sittings and room for 100 standing for a population of about 2,300. This generous kick start was also primed by the ideology of self-help and Binns urged them, '... to exert themselves to get their chapels without having any debt upon it'[8].

Laying the foundation stone of the Primitive Methodists, which the company engineer designed, he emphasised that, '... he was only doing what he considered to be his duty as they had laboured with untiring zeal to benefit the working people of Clay Cross. he would with equal pleasure help any other denomination of Christians who had come to Clay Cross and labour to improve the moral character of its inhabitants. He belonged to no sect but was the friend of all, and was equally willing to assist

Catholics, Protestants and he hoped to see the time when the light of education would destroy all petty jealousy amongst the various sects when all would unite to elevate mankind'[9]. This embracement of all sects was probably a declaration to attract much needed labour and was later reflected in their non-sectarian educational policy.

Binns, however, was a regular Anglican and the established church, built in 1849/50 received the lions share of the company's religious munificence. Besides the generous plot of land donated, the company contributed £600 towards the building costs. In 1852, they also gave £50 towards the incumbents stipend, 'during the pleasure of the company'[10]. This stipend was withdrawn together with the £25 annual contribution to the Church School in January 1894, and further highlights the paternal demise during this decade[11].

At the peak of the Free Labour dispute in December we learn that, 'The ale traffic at Clay Cross is doing more injury to the miner than his working 11 to 12 hours per day - only think there are 23 public houses in the midst of Clay Cross, besides the outskirts where the men often go on Sunday when they ought to be at some place of worship. So there is no wonder at the publicans joining the union, for if they did not perhaps the union men would not go to their houses'[12]. A meeting at the Angel Inn also took all the names of 'tradespeople and others' who supported the union. During this dispute, Binns expressed his concern about the role being played by the Primitive Methodists and 'He had discovered some time ago that the union was supported and largely influenced by the Primitive Methodists. He had for some time taken very considerable interest in the success of the Primitive Methodists, because he believed them to be the pioneers of social well being at Clay Cross for some time, but when

they did as he thought they were now doing, mixing commerce with the spirit of their religion, he thought it was quite time they should recognise their position they had taken, and ascertain whether they would eventually promote the welfare of the society to which they belong. He would not think that it would be and, therefore, he gave them what he believed would be a good hint that trade unionism and religion had no connection one with the other'[13].

The flurry of paternalist intervention after the '66 dispute cannot be emphasised with sufficient force and on the religious front the company generously supported the building of four new chapels in their employment district. The first of these new chapels was built at Stonebroom in 1867/68 with the CXC donating £50. About the same time the company gave the Baptists at Clay Cross a plot of land to build their chapel on. Binns, 'hoped the time would arrive when they would have to come to him again to ask for more ground to enlarge the modest and beautiful chapel they had engaged in building because it was not large enough'[14].

With the development of their satellite community at Danesmoor that was built to service their Parkhouse Pit, the company gave a plot of land each to the Primitive and New Connexion Methodists. According to Binns in 1869, he emphasised that, 'We assisted the Methodists because they have been - and I assure you there is no disguise about it - they have been the pioneers of religion amongst the colliery population'[15] (See Table VII).

The prosperous 70's and the incursion of trade unionism witnessed a new Primitive School-room and a People's Gospel Hall, built in Clay Cross but there was no company contribution. Indeed, when the resplendent Free Methodist Church was

built in the mid 80's and the D.M.A. had taken root there was not even a company presence at the opening. This coincided with the CXC's decision to cease organising and funding the Whitsuntide treat.

The highlight of the community's calendar from 1841 was the Wakes Wake held in August. On this occasion the Day and Sabbath Schools, together with their teachers and mothers perambulated the town and visited their patriarchs residence to pay homage and swear fealty. According to Joyce, 'In Public procession the solidarity of the company was reinforced and the pride and identification was affirmed before the whole town'[16]. After the procession the scholars were regaled with a bun (see Table VIIIA) and the participants were entertained to tea at the expense of the company.

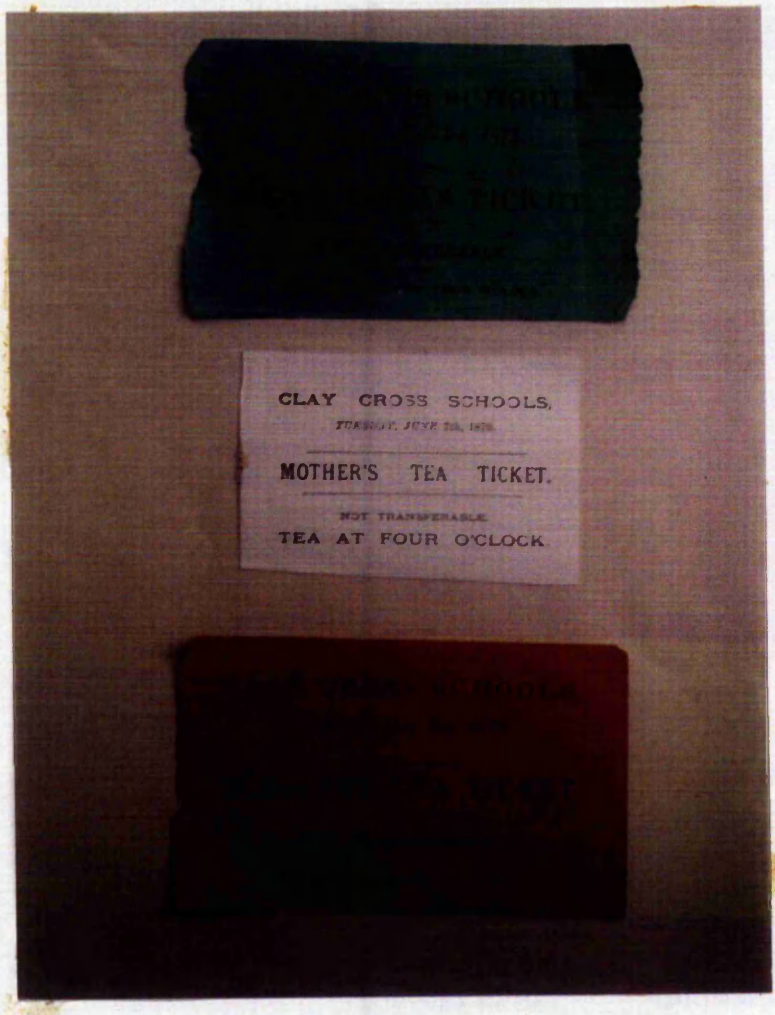
In 1858, this public procession took place in May when they perambulated with the town's friendly societies. In 1861, it integrated the Whitwalk, instituted by the Sunday School Union, into the company's paternalist schemata. This public procession was organised like a military operation under the command of the company's schoolmaster. He planned the route and meticulously checked and distributed the 'tea-tickets' (see p.167) - 'Occupied all afternoon and till 7 o'clock in the evening issuing tickets for the annual School Feast'[17]. Tea-tickets had a disciplinary and social control aspect about them and only given on condition of regular attendance and good behaviour.

Binn's edict in 1872, to withdraw all material and pecuniary support to schools, chapels and social institutions was well noted by the dutiful schoolmaster. In February 1874, Stollard called upon Binns to see if the company would sanction the

forthcoming Whitsuntide School Feast. By this date Binns had compromised his anti-trade position and 'consented to it being held as usual'[18].

In 1875, an estimated 200 children joined the procession who did not belong to any of the schools and Stollard insisted 'The superintendents of each school to see that none but the scholars and teachers belonging to his school passes through the gate. They will be counted as they pass and when the numbers belonging to a school has passed the remainder will be stopped'[19]. Irregular attenders would frequent school prior to the event in an attempt to obtain a tea-ticket and, 'having had tea at the feast are now absenting themselves'[20].

This public manifestation of company paternalism and identity continued unbroken for some 38 years until 1882 - 'called on Mr. Jackson in reference to the Whitsuntide tea party, decision deferred for a few days'[21]. Jackson's decision is not recorded in the school log book but the company severed their financial and organisational support of the event at this date. A few weeks later in the June 'Courier' reported, 'The public of Clay Cross for the first time paying the cost of the buns'[22]. At this date the cost of the treat was £40.13s 6d and was providing some 2,500 teas. (See Table VIIIB). Also the CXC's Permanent Relief Fund initiative was struggling to survive and the company's promises of 10% of their workers contributions may have been diverted from the Whitwalk resources. Jackson replaced Binns as General Manager, in October 1881 and was clearly less paternalistic and had not yet reconciled his vehement anti trade union views. Clearly the relief fund was an antidote to trade unionism and the possible diversion of funds emphasises the priorities of company benevolence - paternalism had its price and was strictly conditional.



Whitwalk tea tickets issued by the Clay Cross Company.

The Whitwalk procession at Clay Cross still terminates its perambulation at Clay Cross Hall.

Despite Jackson's decision to cease funding the Whitwalk, the procession to Binns' residence continued until his demise in 1887 and emphasises the personal impact of paternalism. On this occasion the Sunday School banners and flags were draped with black crepe in respect to Binns, 'the founder of the anniversary as well as the Day and Sabbath Schools in the town'[23]. Binns' demise clearly left a void and the procession following his death excluded a visit to Clay Cross Hall now occupied by the Jackson family. Whether this was a community rebuke is not yet clear, but the Whitwalk procession terminated on Bestwood Park lent by Stephen Bircumshaw, a leading property owner in the town. The buns were supplied by Thomas Holdsworth of Alma House, Clay Cross, senior proprietor of the Pilsley Colliery Company and Clay Cross resident. In 1888, the procession only perambulated the town but by 1892, it visited Alma House to collect their 'buns' and thank their new patron and was just another facet pointing to the CXC's paternal demise[24]. Another charitable activity that suffered a similar fate was the Christmas Treat to their old and infirm ex-employees. It would appear that this munificent gesture commenced after the '66 dispute and ceased on Binns' retirement but taken over by the Holdsworths.

The CXC's support to religious institutions up to 1882, with the exception of the Latter Day Saints and Catholics, was generous but it is difficult to estimate the number of miners and their families who belonged to the various sects. The 1851 religious census for Clay Cross records 1,336 sittings for a population of 2,278 providing accommodation for 58% of the population. No attendance figures were given for the newly consecrated church at Clay Cross but the three non conformist chapels show that 12.5% of the population attended morning service, 9.7% attended afternoon and 14% evening service[25]. According to Benson the national returns

CLAY CROSS

SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE

Whitsuntide Festival,

On Tuesday June 3rd, 1884.

Place of Meeting:- PUBLIC HALL YARD.

All Schools and Bands to be on the Ground at 9.45 a.m.
Singing to commence at 10 a.m. to be conducted by Mr. G. Millward.

PROGRAMME.

Hymn I. Raise the song of triumph!
Hymn II. The morning hours are few & fleet,
Hymn III Beautiful river,
Hymn IV. Press, on &c.

The Clay Cross Brass Band will play on each occasion of Singing.

Hymn Sheets & Tune Books will be sold, also, a Collection will be made on the ground. (Collection after the 2nd Hymn.)

THE PROCESSION

will be Headed by the

CLAYCROSS BRASS BAND,

under the Leadership of Mr. W. Sears. Route as usual.

The DRUM & FIFE BAND

will Head the Wesleyan School in Procession.

DANESMOOR BAND

will Head the Danesmoor School in Procession.

The Bands will play on the High Flat from 5 till 8 o'clock.

President:—	Treas:—	Sec:—
G. Silkstone.	W. Smith.	S. Smith.

H. WALKER, PRINTER, CLAY CROSS.

record between 20 and 30% of miners and their families worshipped on Census Sunday[26]. A survey by the Butterley Company of its employees in 1856 confirmed that about 15 to 20% of mining families were chapel goers[27]. If the Anglican attendants were added to the 1851 returns at Clay Cross they would compare with the Butterley returns.

Another guide to the town's religious activity can be discerned from the school log books which record details of the attendants at the Whitwalk. This detail lists the number of scholars and teachers attending the non conformist chapels entitled to a tea-ticket. The reluctance of the Anglican Church to participate in this procession led to Binns including them to walk under the CXC's non sectarian Day School banner. In 1861, 1,100 are recorded as participating in the procession rising to 1,734 in 1867. With the opening of the Danesmoor and Morton colliers the number of attendants rose to 2,474 in 1868 peaking at 2,968 in 1972. (See Table VIIIA). In 1875 the procession at Clay Cross was described as a very large one and 'took twenty-five minutes to pass a certain point' and included 470 mothers and 200 gate crashers.

This annual feast was no doubt a bone of contention between Oldham and Binns and in 1864 the church regaled 205 scholars. The only other reference to the church providing tea etc was in 1900 when they entertained 300 scholars and teachers[28].

Addressing the Sunday School Union in 1880 Binns said, '... as much good as Sunday School Teachers were doing there was one thing they did not do and that was the reclaiming of the youths who had left Sunday School between the ages of 14 and 18 years. If that could be done it would not only be a great advantage to the country but the world'[29].

It was not the special occasion, however, that cemented the faithful together but the day to day events that provided a focus for their social and cultural life viz Sunday School Union, Young Men's Improvement Society (whose chief study was the Bible), Parochial Church Association, Temperance Meetings, choir practice, concerts, penny readings, and the Band of Hope. A host of rational recreation activities and a whole range of fund raising activities all finishing with a prayer and a hymn. With their class meetings, discussions, committees and organisational structures, the chapels became schools for self help and advocates of independence. These groups were the prime recruiting grounds for the core of reliable workers and for trade union graduates who institutionalised their members concerns, anxieties and conflicts and, ironically, helped to mould that core of respectable workers.

The influence of religion, particularly Methodism, upon the miners during the nineteenth century was great. Methodism won many adherents amongst the poorer classes and helped them to read and write' it gave them spiritual values and had a pacific effect on the mining fraternity that was much welcomed by the employer. Most of Derbyshire's early trade union leaders were Methodists who constantly urged their members in times of crisis, to be orderly and not resort to violence. Even the strike weapon was used with great reluctance and only in times of extreme difficulties and provocation. Hymns and prayers were featured in extra mural activities such as trade union, co-op, friendly societies and employers treat.

F. J. Metcalfe, Anglican curate at Clay Cross for some fifteen years, showed little sympathy with dissenters -

> 'Their leaders are to be found in Co-operative Societies, or Hospital Committees, among Chapel Trustees and Deacons, in Teetotal Societies, members of Parish Council, School Boards and a variety of other places. No one can do anything but themselves. If they could rule, earth would be a paradise, and because they cannot, injustice and misery are the consequence ... These people you meet wherever you go, but in these colliery districts, they stand out more prominently than anywhere else as they are men who have studied well the science of knowing what to say to catch the average collier's ear. The moment the collier begins to think for himself their power is gone for ever'[30].

Tory Metcalfe's criticisms were one thing but most of the town's working class leadership were sober, intelligent, self help adherents of liberal politics. The impact of their predominantly non-conformist religious following cannot be overstated and was central to sustaining their credibility with employers and community alike.

The company clearly recruited a number of foremen, deputies and butties etc from this more permanent core of sobriety and respectability. Being prominent in the non-conformist hierarchy together with loyalty and ability clearly enhanced promotion prospects. From the mid 60's upwards, however, the middle and senior management were staunch Anglican followers and this hierarchial religious distinction manifested the class, but not yet the political divide.

Benjamin Owen, a butty at the CXC's Morton Pit and Primitive Methodist leader, was a pioneer and propagandist for the company's Permanent Relief Fund and was later appointed its full-time secretary. He was also an active member of the D.M.A.[31]

George Silkstone's obituary records that he was a day deputy for many years at the CXC's No. 2 Pit and enjoyed the commendable distinctions of 42 years membership with the Baptists Church at Clay Cross[32].

Robert Cook, full-time sick visitor to the CXC's field club was a stalwart community worker and New Connexion Methodist leader, who 'won the esteem of all classes to improve the conditions of the working people of whom he was proud to be one'. Robert Cook clearly identifies with Metcalfe's dissenters itinerary - he was elected to the U.D.C. in 1894, and was secretary of the town's workingmen's club; member of the Fever Hospital Committee; member of Chesterfield Board of Guardians; member of the Co-op committee and staunch D.M.A. and Liberal supporter[33].

On the trade union front two other community stalwarts employed by the CXC with a similar pedigree to Cook's were James Haslam and Samuel Wright Rowarth. Haslam was full-time secretary to the D.M.A. and Primitive Methodist leader. Rowarth was the founding father of the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Enginemen and Firemens Union, established at Clay Cross in February 1892. He was a moderate of the first order and New Connexion leader and anti socialist[34].

One of the key workers at a colliery was the winding-engineman and this position demands steady, sober and reliable workmen. The company were eager to select and train such workers and the majority of their winders were regular chapel goers. The Rowarths, New Connexion, Wheelers, Baptists, Houseley's Baptists and Marriotts, New Connexion all provided a good number of firemen and enginemen. Hosea Marriott, was employed by the CXC for 62 years and for 49 years and nine months he was winder at their No. 4 Pit. He also held the distinction of being the first president of their union and was awarded a gold medal for his service[35].

There can be no doubt that the CXC's investment, particularly in Nonconformism, was most rewarding and played a crucial role in educating that 'core of sobriety' they wished to retain. Methodism was also of first importance in educating the working class leadership in mediating social harmony and less militant industrial relations that institutionalised the D.M.A.

NOTES AND REFERENCES
TO
CHAPTER V

1. D.C. September 1861. Chesterfield Brewster Sessions.

2. D.C. January 30 1869. D.C. 8 May 1852, Richard Barrow 'has given orders that any men in his employ who may be guilty of the irregularities shall be dismissed instantly'.

3. D.C. 14 July 1860.

4. J. Benson, British Coal Miners. In the Nineteenth Century, Longman 1989 p.165.

5. D.C. 24 January 1842. 18 July 1840.

6. J. Benson op cit p.168.

7. CXC Rules V & VI.

7.A Church R. op cit, p.276.

8. D.C. 1 October 1847.

9. Ibid.

10. C.X.C.M. September 1852.

11. C.X.C.M. January 1894.

12. D.C. December 1866.

13. D.T. 24 November 1866.

14. D.C. 7 September 1867, 15 February 1868.

15. D.C. 13 February 1869. 5 October 1872, United Methodist Free Chapel at Barrow Hill, James Campbell laid foundation stone. D.C. 4 May 1872, Sermon in Market Hall, Clay Cross, to raise funds for Free Gospel Hall.

16. P. Joyce, Work, Society and Politics, Methuen, 1980, p.186.

17. S.L.B. 13 May 1864.

18. S.L.B. 23 February 1874.

19. S.L.B. June 1875.

20. S.L.B. 30 May 1866.

21. S.L.B. 24 April 1882.

22. D.C. 3 June 1882, May 19 1883.

23. D.C. 4 June 1887.

24. D.C. 26 May 1888, 1 January 1887, Houldsworth giving 'customary tea' at Christmas.

25. Religious Census 1851. C.R.O.

26. J. Benson op cit p.166.

28. Clay Cross Chronicle (C.X.CH.), 6 June 1900.

29. D.C. 25 August 1880.

30. F.J. Metcalfe, Colliers and I. Manchester, 1903, pp.23-25.

31. D.C. 29 November 1919. Obituary Benjamin Owen.

32. D.C. 24 February 1914. Obituary George Silkstone.

33. D.T. August 25 1914. Robert Cook, Townsmen Honoured. D.C. 17 October 1925. Obituary.

34. D.T. 23 February 1924, obituary Samuel Wright Rowarth. D.C. 20 January 1912, Public Servant Honoured.
C.X.CH. 6 January 1906. At the time of James Haslam's appointment as secretary of the D.M.A. he was a Primitive Methodist, but when he won the nomination for the M.P., the New Connexion Methodist 'recall with pride that he was a scholar of the Methodist New Connexion'.

35. D.T. 20 May 1916, obituary Joseph Wheeler. He was employed as a winder for 58 years. 1891 census records four of the Marriott family employed either as winders or firemen.
D.C. 8 November 1913, nearly 50 years as winder with reference to Hosea Marriott. C.X.CH. 4 August 1905, Hosea Marriott presented with gold medal for services to Engine and Firemen Union.

PROMOTION AND CONTRIBUTION TO RATIONAL RECREATION

'If a man had a good garden and a pig in the cote, he had half his store for winter'[1]

Perhaps the CXC's most successful and lasting intervention into rational recreation was the promotion of their Cottage Garden Society. This was not part of a preconceived plan related to the notion of a model community, but was a response to the industrial unrest of the '40's. From as early as 1841, the company were supplying lime to help improve their employees potato ground[2]. They were quick to withdraw this benefit when trade unionism encroached and this loss was one of the colliers complaints during the 1844 dispute. The 'Courier' reported 'The fact appears to be that two days before the men joined the union a notice was put up to the effect that men who were anxious to obtain potato ground must apply at the offices. The men, however, joined the union and then as it was probable there would be no one to cultivate the land, it was sown with corn'[3]. Despite Stephenson's aspirations for his workers, paternalism had its price and could not be taken for granted.

The confiscation of the potato ground would help curtail a valuable food supply that would be much welcome during a prolonged dispute.

Soon after the dispute, the company inaugurated a Cottage Garden Society in 1845 which was an extension of the Mechanics Institute. The objectives of this society were '... to encourage a spirit of improvement in the habits of the working class by encouraging them to take pleasure in their homes and gardens in which to employ their time after working hours, instead of forming habits of intemperance'[4]. The company were determined to pursue these objectives and at the end of their house

building programme in 1848 all their houses had extensive gardens attached. It was these gardens above all that distinguished CXC housing from the private speculator developments, who from the mid 50's made no provision of cottage gardens[5].

In the first instance this horticultural, social control initiative, together with the Mechanics Institute, only lasted a few years. They were both revived again in 1852, during the peak of the recruitment drive and to encourage participation the company awarded generous cash prizes for the best cultivated gardens. In this respect the CXC led the way paying out 10/-, 7/6 and 5/- respectively for the best three gardens inspected in July, August, September and October. These four competitions, together with the Spring preparations, provided continuity, interest and discipline, as an alternative to the pub. 'Those leisure hours of the working man which were formerly spent at the public house, ruining the health, impoverishing his family and debasing his mind are now spent in innocent sports and amusements, in cultivating his mind by the acquisition of knowledge or in that increasingly interesting pursuit - the cultivation of his cottage garden. The Clay Cross Cottage Garden Society, we have pleasure in stating, has been as successful as its most sanguine promoters could have anticipated'[6].

Besides the best garden competitions, premiums were awarded for the best decorated cottage windows, vegetables, flowers and fruits etc., that were exhibited at the annual show in August. It was the vegetable sections that attracted most entries and having a private supply of fresh vegetables was a welcome supplement to the colliers table during the lock outs, strikes and short-time, especially during the summer months. The provision of cottage gardens could either subsidise or enhance earnings depending

CLAY CROSS.

FLORAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY,

1862.

The Fifth Annual Exhibition of

PLANTS, FLOWERS, FRUITS, VEGETABLES, AND FARM PRODUCE,

WILL BE HELD AT CLAY CROSS,

ON TUESDAY, THE 12TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1862.

PRESIDENT:—GLADWIN TURBUTT, ESQ.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

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W. DRABBLE, ESQ.
REV. J. OLDHAM.

REV. T. LUND.
A. BARNES, ESQ.
J. CHAMBERS, ESQ.
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J. G. COTTINGHAM, ESQ.
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Mr. W. Thorpe, Stretton Hall.
Mr. G. Askew, Clay Cross.
Mr. W. Ewing, Tupton Moor.
Mr. W. Slack, Chesterfield.
Mr. J. Fowell, Oakerthorpe.
Mr. J. Wilson, Alfreton.

C. BINNS, ESQ., TREASURER. MR. C. HEDGELONG, SECRETARY.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

THIS Society is established with a view to promote the cultivation of Gardens, useful and ornamental, to encourage habits of industry and domestic taste, and to foster a love of home among the Working Classes.

The Clay Cross Cottage Garden Society, established about the year 1847, for the benefit of the workmen in the employ of the Clay Cross Company, having been successful in furthering these ends, it is sought to extend its usefulness to the surrounding neighbourhood.

As an inducement to Agriculturists and Tenant-Farmers to take an interest in the Society, in addition to Garden Premiums, Prizes are awarded for the best specimens of Grain, Turnips, Mangold Wurtzel, and other Farm Produce, with Special Prizes for the best cultivated Farms.

RULES.

1.—That the affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee, five of whom shall form a quorum.

2.—The Society consists of five classes of Members: 1st, Subscribers of One Pound and upwards. 2nd, Nurserymen and Market Gardeners subscribing One Pound. 3rd, Amateurs, of Eight Shillings. 4th, Farmers, of Five Shillings. 5th, Cottagers, of Three Shillings per annum.

3.—Every Subscriber is entitled to Two Tickets of admittance for the day of exhibition.

4.—All Subscriptions to be paid in Advance, and not later than the First day of July. Every member will be expected to continue his Subscriptions until he gives notice of his resignation.

5.—No Exhibitor to be considered a Cottager, whose rental for House and Land exceeds Ten Pounds a year, or whose Garden exceeds two roods.

6.—All questions of dispute to be decided by the Committee.

7.—Judges will be appointed by the Committee to award the Prizes, with liberty to taste any fruit that they may deem necessary (pines and melons excepted). Their decision to be final.

8.—Exhibitors must provide their own stands or plates. In arranging cut Flowers for Exhibition, care should be taken to avoid shewing any part of the stand, unless of an ornamental character.

9.—Names, fairly written, must be attached by Exhibitors to all Florists' Flowers.

10.—The place of Exhibition will be open at SEVEN o'Clock in the MORNING for the reception of Plants, Flowers, &c., and none to be admitted after Ten, excepting parties residing at a distance, to whom an extra hour will be allowed.

11.—Vegetables must be well washed.

12.—The Judges shall be empowered to recommend to the Committee any Collection, Specimen, or Seedling, which they may deem deserving of a Prize, (from 2s. 6d. to 10s.) though not included in the Schedule.

13.—No Specimen shall receive a Prize, should it be alone in its class, unless it possess substantial merit.

14.—Specimens exhibited are to remain untouched until 7 P.M., when they will be delivered to the Exhibitors. All Specimens unclaimed at the end of the Show will be considered the property of the Society.

15.—No person unless requested by the Judges, will be allowed to enter the place of Exhibition during the time the Judges are making their awards.

16.—Cottagers who may wish to Compete for the Garden Prizes must give notice thereof to the Secretary or one of the Committee, a Fortnight before the Exhibition, in order to ensure their Gardens being examined by the Judges.

17.—All Specimens exhibited must be *bona fide* the property of the exhibitor or of his employer, and have been in his possession at least two months. An infraction of this rule will forfeit *all* rewards.

18.—Prize money will be paid in the Public Hall on the day of Exhibition, between the hours of Four and Six.

19.—A Book is kept for the purpose of entering any communication that a successful Exhibitor may think proper to furnish, relative to his mode of cultivation; and such Book is open for the inspection of Members at any time.

20.—Any person desirous of exposing Plants for Sale, (whether intended for competition or not), will be allowed to do so, on the understanding that such Plants shall, before entry, be legibly marked with the words "For Sale," and also the PRICE in PLAIN FIGURES.

N.B.—It is desirable that all articles exhibited for competition should have their names attached to them.

on the trade cycle or seasonal demand. In this respect company houses were much sought after and extensive gardens could be used as a 'carrot' during recruitment drives and might attract the industrious. By the mid 50's the majority of colliers, in private houses without any garden space, did not have the opportunity to participate until the advent of allotments in 1890. This situation also highlights one of the limitations of the CXC's brand of paternalism only extending to their collier-tenants and a few others with gardens.

In the early years of the show few workers contributed to the fruit section and sometimes there were no exhibits in this section at all. To some extent this was explained in 1855, '...the fruit specimens were limited owing in part to the migratory habits of many colliers which induce them to cultivate only such plants and vegetables as may yield all their increases in a short space of time to the neglect of those whose increase is yielded year by year'[7]. The more stable members of the community, including the company hierarchy, contributed more frequently to the fruit section. In 1858, the fifth class for gentlemen's gardeners '... was remarkable for its display of fruit'. In later years to bolster up the show all the leading gentry and squirearchy were sending exotic fruit exhibits[8].

At the beginning of the 60's to encourage a wider interest in horticulture, the vegetable competition was excluded from the CXC's working men's only section and replaced by fruits, flowers and herbs.

To encourage a spirit of emulation, so important to the paternal order and social control, the company hierarchy fully participated in the horticultural competitions. It also appears that it was almost a condition of employment for them to be on the

society's committee and that the secretary's job was always reserved for the company's schoolmaster. After the October show we learn that 'all were clean and respectable in their appearance, and the interest they manifested in looking for the names of the successful competitors clearly proved that a spirit of emulation had been created by the establishment of the society'[9].

The company hierarchy competed in the tradesmen and gentlemen's class and this competitive segregation was about maintaining the social and hierarchial order. In the early days the company management dominated the gentlemen's and tradesmen section. In 1852, Binns collected first prize for seven out of eight different categories and most of the other prizes were collected by his lieutenants[10]. In September 1853, the 'Courier' found it unnecessary to particularise the various categories in this class other than to report that the best were exhibited by Binns, Robinson, Howe and Crofts[11]. This level of participation clearly had a knock-on effect and a good number of deputies, overmen and other key workers can be identified in the prize lists. Also a further examination of the successive prize lists identifies with that core of sobriety that the company successfully moulded and retained. Included in these lists are Robert Cook's and Samuel Wright Rowarth's parents, together with a number of free labour men and Methodist leaders.

There is no hard evidence to indicate that gardening was compulsory or was part of the tenancy agreement. No doubt the emulative and social pressures had their effect and workers might be quietly coerced by the company cadres. Participating in the horticultural competitions may also have enhanced career prospects and the annual garden inspections identified the industrious.

Commenting on the show in 1859, 'It had been observed that he who had the neatest garden had possessed the cleanest cottage'[12].

Indeed, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Wilkinson, widow of the company's cashier, moved into Cellar Row with her five children after the death of her husband in 1842 and remained there until after her death in 1886. Mrs. Wilkinson was indeed an example for emulation and features regularly on the horticultural society's prize list for best cultivated garden, together with other prizes for garden produce and best dressed window. This commitment may also have been a strategy to keep a roof over her family's head that helped to retain her son in a good job, that assured the coal allowance and provided fresh vegetables during the season. Her only son, Charles Lomas Wilkinson, was employed as a clerk with the company and was secretary to the Albion Cricket Club, vice-president of football club and a member of the Horticultural Committee. At one time he was playing captain of the football and cricket clubs[13].

Binns attempted to extend the interests of the society in 1856, but the dominance of the company management on the prize list deterred some exhibitors. A number of tradespeople declined to contribute anything to the prize money - 'as the Clay Cross Company had to furnish the funds, in return confide the privilege of competition to their own workmen and thus narrowed the circle of the benefits'[14].

In 1858, a Dahlia Society was established at the Gardeners Inn, Clay Cross and in the first instance it was dominated by tradesmen and could have been set up as an alternative to the company dominance of the tradesmen and gentlemen section[15].

In another attempt to extend the society's interest and the company's paternal embrace, a district society was established in 1857. It now offered five different classes and changed its name to the Clay Cross Floral and Horticultural Society[16]. This particular initiative appeared to be more representative of the immediate community and surrounding district with thirty-six members on the general committee, excluding twelve vice presidents. The CXC had eight of their management team on the committee with Binns acting as treasurer and Charles Hedgelong, company schoolmaster, as secretary. Despite the larger district representation, the company continued to dominate and only five were required to make a forum. The idea for the change was expressed that 'They did it for the amusement and instruction of the neighbourhood, thinking it desirable that the country people and the poorer classes might profitably meet together from time to time in social intercourse'[17]. After the show, however, the local elite, together with the district clergy, magistrates, doctors, coroners and mines inspectorate etc., enjoyed tea and entertainment in the Public Hall and the rest went home or to the pub.

The annual show became one of the largest and most prestigious one day shows in the Midlands (See Table IX). By 1858, it had outgrown the Public Hall and was moved to Binns' spacious grounds and gardens at Clay Cross Hall, where it remained until its demise in the 1930's. There was even a competitive element here and Richard Barrow spent considerable money on extensive alterations and improvements to his garden, grounds and conservatory at Barrow Hill. In 1856, he opened these up for the inspection of his workmen, their wives and families and 'this once secluded spot has been visited by thousands of all classes'. Similarly, the Butterley Company were now using Codnor Park for its Horticultural Show[18].

The Clay Cross Show was held during Wakes Walk on every second Tuesday in August and a multiplicity of attractions were added to enhance the show[19]. There was, however, an attempt by the Parish Vestry to change the date of the show '... in order to avoid the necessity of having two holidays at the works within so short a period'. This attempt to change the feast 'has not given much satisfaction and many of the inhabitants are determined to celebrate the festival at the old time'[20]. By this date most of the company's senior and middle management were ardent Church attenders and this in particular coincided with a need to increase production, and was probably instigated by the company men.

In 1864, the show was considered the 'jour de fête' for the county and by 1867 it was attracting 10,000 visitors, rising to 13,000 in 1872. Some 300 prizes were awarded in 1857, rising to 700 in 1887[21]. The show was now considered to be more than a mere show of flowers and vegetables - 'something more than a mere pleasant union of friends acquaintances, it is a pledge - a deep and reliable pledge of the unanimity and openness of feeling between the Clay Cross Company proprietors and their men'[22]. The press exalted the show ad nauseum but in 1864, 'The success of the flower show at Clay Cross is much praised and the committee boasts what they can do, but they do not tell the public that they expect every workingman to pay 3/- onwards to it. I know a manager who threatened that if a party did not subscribe he would have the sack. If other flower shows did the same they might succeed'[22]. In 1863, Binns emphasised to the committee to implore everyone they saw, 'Pay, pay something for the Clay Cross Horticultural Society'[24]. The power of the workplace

was clearly important to maintaining authority and exacting compliance through economic threats and punitive fines.

The success of the show was put down to competition and 'The keen zest for competition lends vigour to willing arms and inspires the flagging. But we fear much of the good effects would lapse, were it not that competition is tenfold deepened by the establishment of the annual show'[24].

Metcalfe, the curate at Clay Cross, for some 15 years argued facetiously that 'The collier almost always has a hobby, a dog, a pigeon, some kind of flower, as gillyflowers or dahlias, a bike, a collier's hobby must be something that will bring about competition. You never find colliers with a dead hobby, he must be able to say 'I bet thee I can win thee' to his companions'[26]. Competition and individualism were the driving forces of self help that were fostered by the paternal ideology and manifested in the cultural and productive relations of the period.

At the peak of the Free Labour dispute in November 1866, the CXC decided to further extend their munificence and awarded prizes for the gardens left in the best condition for winter. This timely intervention was clearly aimed at those colliers who had not been evicted from company houses. This particular competition only embraced company cottages and was carefully divided up into ten districts with each row identified by name. Each row was awarded three cash prizes and to encourage participation there was no entrance fee. The only requirement was for each candidate to send in their name and address to the company and could have been a covert census for identifying loyal workers prior to the establishment of the Free Labour

Society in Clay Cross[27]. It was also a direct attempt to divide garden enthusiasts from trade unionism.

Also as part of their anti-trade union campaign, the Staveley Company in 1868, established its own Floral and Horticultural Society, and was strictly confined to their own workmen residing in Staveley and Brimington. This also had a competitive ring about it to encourage those workers back who had left during the recent struggle and hoped to match the CXC's earlier initiative.

With the success of the S.Y.M.A. in the early 70's and coinciding with Binns edict to withdraw the company's support to social institutions, the last prizes to be awarded for winter garden cultivation was November 1872, and once again emphasises the price of paternalism.

Invariably the CXC's colliers suffered much short time during the summer months and cottage gardens were a boon. The position of those colliers requiring gardens was eventually mitigated by the advent of the Allotments Act of 1886. At Clay Cross in July 1888, a committee was established to discuss the Allotment Question - 'That this meeting believing that allotments for the public are necessary in this locality, hereby resolves that we do all we can to secure allotments by mutual agreement or otherwise within the meaning of the Allotment Act, within reasonable distance and at our agricultural rents, and further we do all we can to support the efforts of the Allotments and Smallholdings Association in their efforts to establish the people upon the land once again'[29].

The significance and importance of allotments was particularly emphasised during the Great lock Out of 1893 when some tons of vegetables were brought off the gardens and helped to sustain the dispute. In this respect the company were not too co-operative in leasing land for allotments of which they might have little control. In 1895, an offer from them was turned down as being extortionate at 'double the price of land'. Apparently the majority of men desiring allotments were the company's own employees - 'but those who were asking this exorbitant rent were the employers, men who should cultivate kindly feelings and find them something to do in times of hardship, so that they could grow vegetables when working short time'. It was not credible to the company'. This response by the CXC, who had previously set so much store in promoting cottage gardens was disappointing to the society, but it was yet another pointer to the decline of their paternalism that gained increasing memento during this decade[30].

Concomitant with cottage gardens and allotments was pig rearing that contributed much to the supply of cheap meat. The Clay Cross Pig Society was established in 1865 and the objects of the promoters were 'to give a greater impetus to the breeding and rearing of pigs by colliers and cottagers generally'[31].

Once again the company made another timely intervention during the Free Labour dispute and contributed £3 to the society's prize money exclusive of the £1 donation given by Binns. The first section of the exhibition was open to all working men residing in Clay Cross or employed by the Clay Cross Company. In October 1866, there was very little competition in this particular section and 'This is more surprising when it is known that great numbers of cottagers have their pigs'[32]. Perhaps the

reluctance of the colliers to enter was a consequence of the company's identity with and financial support to the society - or their porcine charges had been consumed because of the privations caused by the dispute. There appears to be no other company contribution to the Pig Society after this date and it helps to explain the insidious nature of company paternalism. In 1875, however, they did lease a piece of land in Market Street to the Clay Cross Pioneer Industrial Society to establish a Pig Market, Show Ground and General Market. The terms of the lease insisted that all markets were to be conducted in an orderly and quiet manner and, 'will not allow any noxious or offensive trades to be carried on upon the said premises or any Theatres, Shows, Meetings, Sports, Games or Contests to be exhibited or take place thereon, which, in the opinion of the said Sir William Jackson, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, may be of an immoral character'. John Walters, CXC enginewright, was a co-op director and on one occasion the Co-op prohibited a union meeting in the Pig Market, 'The secretary thinking that such a meeting would lead to a violation of the peace, refused to sanction it'[33].

The prosperous 70's saw the establishment of Clay Cross Temperance Pig Society with 125 paid up members and in 1875, the Clay Cross Pig Club had 150 members and 200 pigs registered[34]. Also at this date the Stonebroom Pig Club was established by a number of workingmen. In 1883, the Excelsior Pig Club was inaugurated and later Father Meenaghn said he could remember the time when there was 100 pigs in the Long Rows, 'but they have been done away with owing to restrictions'[35].

The importance of pig keeping in mining communities was another important self help supplement to the domestic economy. In times of a prolonged dispute, however, they

might have a detrimental and counter effect to the company's perceived interest of promoting self help.

CRICKET AND FOOTBALL

In March 1853, the Mechanics Institute re-established the Albion Cricket Club after it had run into some difficulty and was a timely intervention during this competitive period. Both the team and the committee were dominated by the company hierarchy, with Binns, president; Robinson (cashier), treasurer and C.L. Wilkinson (clerk), secretary. There were two classes of membership viz ordinary and honorary and costing 5/- per year. These relatively high subscriptions could be paid in two instalments and put them out of the reach of many workers and only members would be admitted. The rules also inflicted financial penalties for non-attendance and 'any ordinary member neglecting to attend after due notice, shall be subject to a forfeit of 3d, unless a reasonable excuse can be found'. Another obstacle to plebian membership was rule 8, 'any person desirous of becoming a member shall be proposed and seconded and voted in by ballot, and if approved by two-thirds, the membership present shall be declared duly elected'[35]. Colliers might also have found it difficult adhering to rule 10, 'any member making use of abusive and improper language, either at a meeting, or on the cricket field shall be subject to a forfeit of 6d, to be imposed by the chairman or the umpire on the ground'[36]. Also cricket attire was expensive and its purchase prohibitive for many workers.

The list of subscribers reveals the exclusiveness of the club which also had a fair sprinkling of tradesmen[37]. At this particular time cricket was emerging as the dominate sport in north-east Derbyshire and the traditional sports were being eradicated - 'The sports of the cockpit and the bullring have given place to cricket and kindred games, and the pestilential vapours of intemperance and its concomitant

vices are gradually being chased away by the influence of our educational, moral and religious institution'[38]. At Clay Cross, Binns outlawed the keeping of fighting dogs and fighting cocks in any of the Company's cottages.[39]

Pay day at the company was usually every fortnight and took place on a Saturday. The Albion Club fully appreciated this arrangement and 'fixed evenings for playing during one week to be Tuesday and Friday, and during the Off-Pay-Week, Tuesday and Saturday'. Clearly the cricketing elite did not want its game interrupted and Saturday pay-day was one big binge. Also strategically planned around pay-day was the fortnightly ball which was held on Monday and 'this assembly is the means of keeping great numbers from the tavern'. At all such social gatherings 'whenever convenient, Mr. Binns, Mr. Howe and other heads of department meet for the mutual enjoyment and reciprocity of feeling engendered so much to create strong ties of friendship and attachment amongst all classes of workmen, which has proved of incalculable benefit not only to themselves but to the general conduct and prosperity of the workers'[40]. The facilitation of the face to face relationships was of first importance to the dynamics of paternalism and company hegemony that fostered deference both at work and in the community. Joyce emphasises that the era of limited liability for the factory north struck the death knell of paternalism. This, however, was insignificant at both Clay Cross and Staveley and it was the resident managers at public soirees and other such gatherings that delivered and not the absent proprietors or shareholders. These gatherings, however, did not have the impact or continuity of Joyce's factories.

However, apartness was maintained and the CXC cricket club was reluctant to admit a plebian membership in the early days and it was the landlords that first intervened here. At Staveley, as part of their post Free Labour provisions, the company built 'one of the finest grounds in the country'[41]. In April 1869, the Wingerworth Company established a cricket club and to encourage workers' participation they lowered subscriptions and 'already numbers have joined who were formerly debarred the privileges of enjoying the game'[42].

The CXC did not intervene here until 1872, when the S.Y.M.A. commenced recruiting in the county and with particular success at Clay Cross. Amidst this incursion, Jackson promised the young men of Clay Cross a new cricket ground 'not least inferior to any in the district - It is hoped that the young men in the district will show that they know how to appreciate such kindness as is about to be manifested on them'[43].

By the mid 70's most of the north-east Derbyshire colliery companies were supporting a cricket team and encouraging workers' participation. Competition was intense and this weekly, seasonal spectacle was now recruiting professional players to promote a diversionary interest amongst the workers. In 1874, the Clay Cross team was playing two professionals. In 1875, it was reported that the Staveley Works Cricket Club, 'still maintains its preeminence amongst the local clubs which is scarcely to be wondered at since it numbers no fewer than seven professionals, amongst its first eleven'[44]. The recruitment of professionals sharpened competition, increased spectator interest and a winning team enhanced company image that might attract labour. The Bolsover Company were well aware of the importance of rational

popular recreation in attracting labour to their Bolsover and Cresswell communities. Guy Jackson, one of the CXC proprietors and 'gentleman' cricketer, was nurtured by the Park Club and played for the County. He also instituted the 'Jackson Cup' which is an inter-departmental competition still played for annually[45].

In north-east Derbyshire a gaffer's man was referred to as a flunky and identified miners who played for the company's cricket team, brass band, bowling club etc. Harvey, the D.M.A.'s first full-time treasurer was considered to be a flunky and played for the CXC's Morton Colliery Cricket team - 'he dare not miss a match without causing grave offence and utterly disrupting the affair'[46]. An innocuous game of cricket could have been a venue for collaboration between union leadership and management 'battling on the same wicket'. Harvey and Haslam were renowned for their moderation and conciliatory industrial relations.

Coinciding with the development of the new cricket clubs at the beginning of the 70's, football was also in vogue and most colliery villages were supporting a football team. From 1873, the CXC promoted the Park Football club, later referred to as the Town Football Club and was yet another timely intervention in rational recreation[44]. Binns was president of the club with a formidable line up of senior management, vice-presidents and middle management dominating the working committee[47].

Football was also used as a disciplinary tool at school and used to reward diligent students, 'Gave the first class a holiday from 2-15 to alow them to have a game at Football, a reward for their extra diligence in coming at 8.00 a.m. for the Derby Prize Scheme'[48].

By the early 90's the town had four teams and the town club was the most prestigious and popular.

During the 'Great Lock Out' of 1893, the Clay Cross miners were quite peaceful and the company's investment here was well worthwhile and home matches were attracting up to 1,000 spectators during this period of enforced leisure[49]. A mid-week match between Clay Cross Tradesmen and Stretton Strollers attracted about 600 spectators, '... it appearing the strikers' favourite pastime ...'[50-51]. After the dispute the support of the company dominated town club was in decline and collapsed in 1896.

All the CXC's rational recreation initiatives, after their timely and contingent contributions, were run on a self help basis and the company was reluctant to rescue schemes that ran into difficulty unless they were beneficial to the company's interests. In 1889, the Morton Cricket Club were raising money to clear off a debt incurred during a strike two years previous - W.B.M. Jackson opened the proceedings and 'he hoped that the matches at home would be better patronised by the public'[52].

At the end of the period the value of sport was emphasised during the renaissance of company paternalism in the new model villages at Bolsover and Cresswell. A. Davis, the Bolsover Colliery Manager, considered, 'that the growth of sports organisations in connection with men's works would tend to allay industrial unrest. He had been connected with football, cricket, billiards and bowls, and had always found that the finest men were the best sportsmen'[53]. Similarly, L. Henton, the Cresswell Colliery Manager, 'desired to see in industry that concerted action which made for success on the cricket field'[54].

THE VOLUNTEERS

The CXC were truly patriotic and ensured whenever possible that Queen, Country, Church and Company were acknowledged. In 1854, they led the way in celebrating the peace after the Crimean War and contributed generously to the Patriotic Fund. In 1861, Binns and his cohorts were instrumental in promoting the Clay Cross Volunteer Corps. On the Corps' inauguration, it was the local conservative, Anglican gentry that permeated the officer ranks and commanded the movement[55]. The industrial parvenu, however, soon took control and J.P. Jackson was gazetted captain in 1867 and other members of the family continued to serve the core throughout its history[56].

From its commencement it was the CXC's senior management that dominated the N.C.O. ranks. The rank and file appear to be made up of deputies, tradesmen, publicans, artisans and few talented collier musicians (see Table XII). Teachers at the company's school and a few pupil teachers were allowed time off with pay for drills, shooting competitions and summer camps. Pupil teachers, however, had to take on extra school duties to make up the school time that was lost or could forfeit up to 10/- of any extra pay due, and the same to be divided among the other pupil teachers[57].

Candidates for admission had to be proposed by three gentlemen, two at least being members of the Corps and the commanding officer had veto powers. Annual subscriptions could also be prohibitive to plebian membership at 5/-, 7/6 and 10/-, depending on whether a member purchased their own uniform or part uniform. Fines imposed during rifle practice and for non-attendance at parades were also severe.

Another disadvantage to workers was the expense of ammunition used for practice and competitions which had to be defrayed by 'Those expending it' - patriotic disposable cash[58].

With the advent of the volunteers, the military ethic pervaded the school curriculum and every Friday afternoon the boys were drilled. This was also used as a form of punishment and 'Kept the first class and the pupil teachers for half-an-hour drill after school in the evening'[59A]. The school drum and fife band was also a product of military emulation and membership depended on good behaviour and regular attendances. As part of the post '66 recreational interventions, the CXC re-established its drum and fife band and not to be outdone, the Staveley Company followed suit in January 1867[59B].

Though few miners were recruited into the Corps, in the first instance, its contribution to community life cannot be doubted. Its military funerals, church parades, band contests, and attendance at the flower show, provided much colourful activity. At the end of the Free Labour dispute and to promote a sense of normality and community solidarity, the 'spirited inhabitants of Clay Cross' decided to have a Brass Band Contest. This was held in Binns' garden and was quite a spectacle attracting prominent bands from Matlock, Wednesbury, Dewsbury, Todmorden, Leeds, Nottingham, Sneinton, Hull, Bradford and Farnley. Coinciding with this event, the Staveley Works cricket team decided to challenge the 'All England Eleven' and, 'This will be the first time that the All England Eleven have been engaged at Staveley'[60]. Clearly the paternalists and community enjoined to promote more

recreational and cultural provision after the conflict and disruption of the Free Labour dispute and echoed the paternalist interventions of the '40's.

The Clay Cross Volunteer Band played at the opening of the Co-op Market Hall in 1868. In 1874, they led the parade to inaugurate the new trade union banner of the S.Y.M.A. At this date J.P. Jackson, militant anti-trade unionist, was commanding officer of the Corps and would not want to strike a note of discord when the demand for coal was peaking and the union ascendant.

The martinets at the Staveley Works were instrumental at this date in establishing their Volunteer Corps as a timely antidote to the S.Y.M.A.. - 'The movement was to raise them in the eyes of their fellow workmen and in their own eyes. To see a parcel of young men leading a greyhound or a rabbit dog why it disgraced them. They ought to have a higher motive'. Even here there was a hint of competitiveness and 'they heard that every man in Clay Cross Corps were efficient - and when they started there he should not like to be second to Clay Cross'[61].

The promotion of the competitive culture in rational recreation not only reflected the market and self help ideologies, but was important to the paternal ideology and clearly manifested in all the CXC's community and work initiatives.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER VI

1. D.C. 20 August 1859, Comment from Mr. Slater, judge at the flower show.

2. See Chapter 2 footnote No. 48.

3. D.S. April 1844. For context of dispute see J.E. Williams Chapter III pp.88-97.

4. Clay Cross Company's House Magazine 'The Rocket' No. 36 Summer 1987. D.C. July 1852, 29 July 1854, 28 August 1858. Clay Cross Horticultural Society Programme 1862, Objects of Society. J. Benson op cit pp.156-157. D.C. 4 October 1840, reference to Codnor Park and Ironville Floricultural - 'It is intended next season to make this a horticultural society as well as a floricultural society'.

5. Co-op Row, built by the Clay Cross Pioneer Industrial Society during the boom of the early 1870's did incorporate extensive gardens.

6. Horticultural Society programme op cit. D.C. July, August, October 1852.

7. D.C. 13 October 1855.

8. D.C. August 1858. In later years Chatsworth House, Hardwick Hall, Ringwood Hall, Wingerworth Hall, Tupton Hall etc., were all sending exotic fruits etc., together with their respective gardeners as judges.

9. D.C. 13 October 1855. C.X.CH. 22 September 1905. Stollards obituary. In 1903, he was awarded the Veitch Memorial Medal for horticulture.

10. D.C. October 1852.

11. D.C. 17 August 1853. Crofts was a local draper.

12. D.C. 20 August 1859.

13. D.C. 3 February 1842, obituary Charles Henry Wilkinson. D.C. 12 August 1852, Mary Elizabeth Wilkinson wins second prize for best cultivated garden. D.C. 2 September 1855, 'Mrs. Binns as on former occasions sent a large nosegay'.

14. D.C. July 1856.

15. D.C. June 1858, 22 September 1860.

16. D.C. September 1857.

17. Ibid.

18. D.C. 8 November 1856, Ringwood Hall opened up. D.C. 10 July 1869, 20th Annual Show of Erewash Valley Horticultural Society in Codnor Park.

19. D.C. 14 August 1858. At this show Glee Singers, a Quadrille Band, Hot Air Balloons and a Grand Firework Display provided extra entertainment.

20. D.C. 6 August 1864.

21. D.C. 28 May 1864, 13 August 1867, 17 August 1877.

22. D.C. 16 August 1862.

23. D.C. 27 August 1862.

24. D.C. August 1868.

26. F.J. Metcalfe op cit p.19.

27. D.C. November 1866.

28. D.C. 1 August 1868, 31 July 1869.

29. D.C. 25 February 1888. 2 July 1888.

30. D.C. 28 September 1895. With the establishment of Parish and Urban District Councils in 1894, these bodies took up the Allotment Cause, C.X.CH. 30 September 1910. D.C. 2 November 1895.

31. D.T. October 1866.

32. D.T. 10 October 1866. September 1866.

33. 'Rocket' op cit No. 20, p.1974. D.C. 6 December 1866. April 27 1878.

34. D.C. 2 May 1874. 23 January 1875. 20 February 1875.

35. C.X.CH. 17 January 1903. 10 November 1910.

36. 'Rocket' Summer 1987, No. 36, pp.14-15. A full set of these rules are deposited in the CXC archives.

37. Ibid. Albion Cricket Club subscription list clearly shows CXC domination - Chas Binns, Wm Howe, Thomas Robinson, C.L. Wilkinson, Thos Wilkinson, G. Parker, Win Hibbert, Wm Wilkinson, Jas Wilbraham, Jas Turner and Ben Turner, all CXC employees. Thos Dove, J. Ravenscroft, Jas Croft, John Hopkinson, Wm Sears and Jas Wilbraham (Snr) all leading tradesmen.

38. D.C. 30 July 1853.

39. CXC Rules, op cit, VI. (See Table XI).

40. D.C. 30 March 1851.

41. D.C. 20 November 1869.

42. D.C. 10 and 24 April 1869.

43. D.C. 17 February 1872.

44. D.C. April 1875.

45. 12 January 1940, obituary Joseph Steen.

46. J.E. Williams, op cit, p.219, Chapter VI, pp.215-220 re: background Haslam and Harvey.

47. D.C. 24 January 1874, 4 September 1880. As with the cricket club, the committee and team were dominated by the CXC hierarchy. President, Chas Binns, VIPs F. Arkwright J.P., W.G. Turbutt J.P., J.P. Jackson J.P., T. Croudace, G. Howe, Captain Wilkinson, J.H. Unwin. Committee, Parker, Dickenson, Hodgkinson, Kemp, Murray, Steen, King, Fletcher, G.H. Wilkinson, C. Wilkinson, Millington, Dove, C. Wilson and G. Milnes (28 July 1888).

48. S.L.B. 19 March 1873.

49. D.C. 21 October 1893. Clay Town V Sheepbridge.

50. D.T. 30 September 1893.

51. C.X.CH. 1906 - The Club was not revived again until 1906 when it was a distinct works team and was an incentive to attract sobar workers. At this date the Bolsover model villages were on a recruitment drive. A note from Mr. Clark currently researching north-east Derbyshire football.

52. D.C. 2 February 1889.

53. D.C. 21 August 1920.

54. D.C. 19 February 1921.

55. D.T. 18 March 1893, A History of Clay Cross Volunteers.

56. Ibid. D.T. 13 May 1867.

57. S.L.B. 18 July 1873.

58. 17 Derbyshire volunteers (Clay Cross). Rule 7, 4 & 13. From private collection of Gladwin Turbutt.

59.A S.L.B. 6 September 1871.

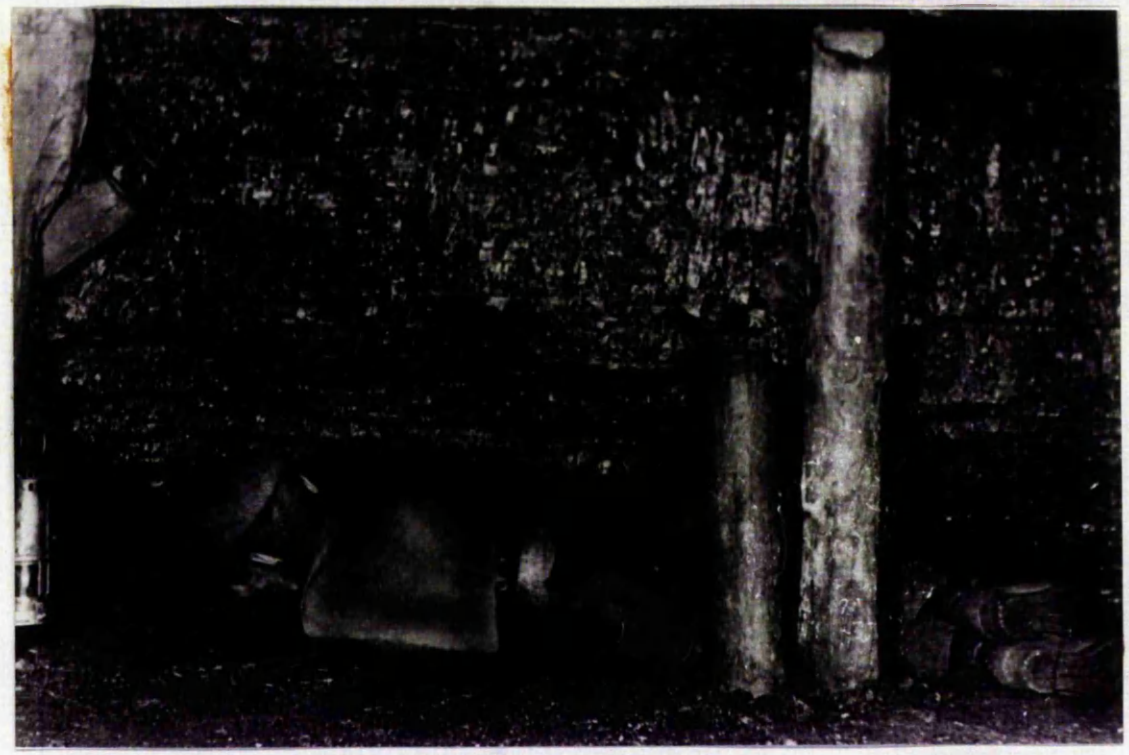
59.B S.L.B., 20 March 1866, D.C. January 18 1868, 1 January 1867.

60. D.C. 24 June 1867. 30 March 1867.

61. D.c. 11 July 1874.

THE OBVERSE SIDE OF PATERNALISM

On the surface the paternalist community building initiatives appear innocuous enough, but when the world of work and productive relations are examined the caring and munificent notions of paternalism are somewhat fractured. When the CXC was struggling to survive in the early years they had few workers, little management structure and no community building direction. In 1841, George Stephenson recorded his 'most decided objection to the system of butties so much adopted in this country'. However, in 1838, we learn that variants of the big butty system were intact at Clay Cross and the company's management and employer functions were limited. In 1838, Thomas Hardy, one of the tunnel contractors, was paid £407 in wages for getting coal. He was also responsible for sinking a number of small coal and ironstone pits and the deep No. 1 pit[1]. The work at their limestone quarries, coke ovens and ironstone pits were also leased out. These variants of the big butty system operating at a time of uncertainty were clearly necessary for survival and reflect an early mode of capitalist organisation. The big butty system worked on an arrangement where a pit was left to one (or several) superior workmen who contracted a price per ton, hired, fired and paid the workers and effectively managed the entire works. At Staveley Barrow's clerk put this rather succinctly when he said, 'Mr. Barrow lets all his works by the job and does not consider himself answerable for anything'[2]. Clearly the big butty system was not conducive to the paternalist way of running things. After about three years of increasing investment, experiment and completion of the N.M.R. line, the CXC were confident enough to commence their community building programme and terminated their big butty system at all their coal pits. The CXC proprietors like their competitors now had too much capital at risk to leave the



The face to face relationship that was crucial to the effectiveness of paternalism had no place in the subterranean catacombs of a coalmine.

Organised labour, the capitalists' anathema.

complete management of their works to the unlettered butty - it was this system that Stephenson was referring to in his evidence to the commission in 1841. The retention of the big butty system and its concomitant the tommy shop were clearly detrimental to recruitment and fostering good industrial relations essential to cultivating a climate of stability.

The termination of this system also had a competitive and emulative ring about it. Barrow in 1844, with a keen eye on the CXC developments, announced 'Arrangements are being made for those men now at work, and for the fresh hands who are daily coming to work without going through the hands of the (big) butty'[5]. Eager for a return on their capital outlay both at Clay Cross and Staveley, there was a need to increase production to meet the growing demand of their respective markets. This demand was, in part, facilitated by the introduction of the true longwall system, whose organisation also contributed to the demise of the big butty system. Ironically, however, it was replaced by its pernicious brother the little butty system. This system is also referred to as the stall system where the head stallman (little butty) takes on the responsibility for the contract, collected the wages and paid the men, but had no control of the general management. Stephenson clearly identified with this system and insisted that, 'Our men work in small companies of three and four, and are paid every fortnight in cash at the office, we have no second men, all arrangements with the men emanate from the office to the men themselves not through the butties' - referring to the big butties. Chapman refers to this statement as a sign of enlightened management, but does not explain what working practice replaced it[3]. Indeed, the little butty system was complex, depending on the make up of the team, but whatever its composition it was much despised and a source of

continuous complaint through the period. Elucidating on the merits of the system to the Trade Union Commission in 1868, Markham reported, 'the company on their pay day, pay directly the headman who takes the stall'. He did not know what the head-stallman paid the other men but, 'in all probability the most intelligent man who took the contract would get more wages as a matter of course. A man goes in an inferior workman with a skilled workman and as he becomes more skilful he gets promoted and becomes a contractor'[4]. It was these head-stallmen that were crucial to production and contributed much to that core of reliable workers that the company hoped to retain. They also caused much resentment on pay day. Markham was adamant that all work should be done by contract or piece work - 'I think that it will be universal, and the only mode of getting rid of trade unions will be adopting a universal system of piece work'[5]. In evidence to the Commissioner's in 1850, a Butterley Company employee claimed that the little butty system was a means of securing promotion and removing frustration amongst the ambitious[6].

After August 1842, it became an offence to pay wages in or near a public house. In 1855, when eulogising the merits of their new school, Binns found it necessary to remind contractors to pay their men in the Public Hall and not in the public house - 'It was intended that all persons who might be contractors under the company should pay their wages there not at a public house, so that no man would be forced to go to a public house against his inclination'[7]. The Clay Cross Building Society and Works Saving Club also collected at the Public Hall on pay day. This company interdict appears to have little effect and some CXC butties were still paying out wages in the pub in 1881. This was evident when Binns heard an assault case at the Clay Cross Petty Sessions - 'It appeared that the parties worked together and ... were reckoning

at the Black Horse Inn, Eyre Street, when the altercation took place, the defendant considering that he had not received his share, and struck the complainant'. Binns fined the plaintiff but had nothing to say about the illegality of the place of payment. Together with Alfred Barns (Grassmoor Colliery Proprietor) Binns presided over a court case concerning absenteeism from a small colliery in Clay Cross. Though the proprietor had no rules and paid out wages in the Royal Oak pub, the defendant was ordered to pay damages and return to work, but nothing was said about the place of payment and the illegality of having no rules[8].

Once a contract had been agreed between the company and the little butty, the company did not interfere with the allocation of the work or the distribution of the earnings. As a consequence some individuals sought redress through the courts against the avarice of contractors. Even here the courts were reluctant to intervene and the CXC was completely silent when a butty short changed one of his colliers - 'The bench thought it was a bad thing for the complainant to bring men before them on charges like that. The case would be dismissed, and the matter would have to be settled amongst themselves'[9]. During the '66 dispute two CXC butties absconded with the contract money without paying their men. Determined to pursue these men they were eventually apprehended in Burton-on-Trent. The court in their absence committed them to six weeks' hard labour and to return to work after the expiration of their imprisonment to serve their notice. The CXC's interest here was not about the men's lost earnings but disciplining the workforce not to leave work without giving proper notice. Also in December 1893, a CXC collier was charged with fraudulently crediting a tub of coal to his stall by changing the motte number. The bench emphasised that, 'It was a matter of importance that the men should deal fairly

with each other and it was no concern to the company'[10]. The contract system clearly exposes the nakedness of company paternalism and highlights the laissez-faire inflexion in the productive relations between capital and labour. This non-intervention by the CXC also suggests a contradiction of the paternal mandate and the above two mentioned misdemeanours occur after Binns' demise and the growing strength and confidence of the D.M.A. They also coincided with J.P. Jackson's less paternalistic and aggressive management style.

Usually it was the company agent or overmen that identified the leading stallmen and negotiated the contract. These contractors were usually chosen because of their experience, reliability, sobriety and loyalty, and included many Methodist and trade union leaders. James Haslam, before being elected full-time secretary to the D.M.A., was a stallman and Gaffer Dunn said 'Mr. Haslam was his cleanest stallman in the pit and that he could eat his dinner off the floor in his stall'[11]. Also B.W. Owen of Morton Colliery, another D.M.A. official and local preacher who later became full-time secretary to the Midland Counties Permanent Relief Fund, was a contractor[12]. The skilled colliers on the point of production have frequently been referred to as the aristocrats of the labour force. This homogenous group of the colliery workforce and their size and productive relationship made them a powerful group of workers[13].

The essence of the contract system was clearly the getting price of coal per ton related to the hours of work, and were often the focal point of conflict between capital and labour.

During the recruitment drive of the '50's the colliers at Staveley contracted to do at least an eight hour shift provided that the full quantity could be drawn out of the pits

in the given time. With the demand for coal increasing in the '60's contract hours increased to twelve hours at both Clay Cross and Staveley though colliers being on piece rates worked less provided production targets were met. In a bid to outflank the union in 1867 and only after it was finally extinguished, both the CXC and Staveley promised a reduction in the working day of 10 hour and 10½ respectively. The major beneficiaries here were the day workers and young lads. Again in a bid to outflank the S.Y.M.A. in 1872, working hours were reduced to 9 and 10 hours respectively. At Clay Cross the blacksmiths, carpenter and ironworkers were also allowed 9 hours, 'on terms agreeable to the employer'. With the firming up of the union in January the following year the CXC conceded another hour for contract workers and Grassmoor, Pilsley and Shirland followed suit. In January 1873, Barnes of Grassmor Collieries promised to implement an eight hour day 'if the Clay Cross Company did'. At the Pilsley Collieries in 1885, it was reported that the men 'do not work under contract rules but are ruled by the action of the Clay Cross men'. Also during a strike at the North Wingfield Alma Pit in April 1884, the rate of wages paid was ruled by what is paid at Clay Cross Company's Collieries[14A]. Also in 1872, both Staveley and the CXC reintroduced weekly payments to the colliers. At Clay Cross, the blacksmiths, carpenter, machinemen etc., were still paid fortnightly and this led to bitter complaints - 'It is because we don't handle the black diamond (that precious jewel) or is it because it would involve a little extra for the pay clerks?'[14B] Marketing and selling domestic coal was intensively competitive and depended on size, burning quality, low ash content and price. It was imperative that it was sold in large lumps and able to endure long journeys and as the CXC coal largely depended on the London Market it was essential. Indeed, in October 1844, to

celebrate their entry into the London Market and to advertise their product - 'A mass of coal 13 feet long, 3 feet 9 inches broad by 2 feet thick was taken out of the Blackshale pit at Clay Cross. Had time allowed a mass twice that size might have been obtained from the same pit. It was dispatched entire by train'[15]. There was only a limited demand for small coal (slack) and as the cost of handling it was expensive it was thrown into the goaf with other waste. Company rules would not allow any waste to be sent out of the stalls - 'unless it was completely necessary as it interferes with the getting of coal'. Any breach of this rule would result in a 10/- fine. Also a similar penalty was imposed for neglecting to keep the stall clean, 'for a distance of six yards from the face'[16].

The demand for large coal affected the process and method of wining coal that left the slack underground. At Clay Cross and elsewhere open-ended tubs were initially used to facilitate hand loading without the help of extra corporeal tools and which left a maximum of slack underground. With the increased demand for cobbles, riddles and forks were introduced. At Clay Cross some officials were referred to as slack bobbies who would 'spy' on the men and anyone found filling with a shovel would be sacked[17]. The CXC kept a meticulous account of the amount of coal sold and lost per acre. Between 1863/68 the yield per acre for Blackshale was calculated at 4,521 tons and the loss was estimated at 905 tons due to riddling and fork filling.
(See Table X). Also a meticulous record was kept for coal used on bank fires, smiths fires, steam engines and allowance coal which usually was the inferior small coal.

Any change in the mode of filling coal was usually at the expense of the colliers. In 1878, at Unstone, the colliery company decided to return to hand loading because of

the amount of slack coming out of the pit. 'The manager now proposes that the coal or 'round' shall be put into waggons by hand instead of by shovel, urging in justification of this alteration, that fully ten per cent of slack is put into waggons with coal which ought not to be'[18]. Conversely, at Shirland Colliery in 1894, the men refused to return to shovel filling when the management revoked the use of the riddles - 'The new departure is to fill with the shovel, and be reduced to 6d per ton. The present price for getting coal is 2/1d with 40% and 7d for slack and ripping included'[19]. At Norwood Colliery in 1897, the management wanted to alter the mode of filling coal by abolishing the riddle and introducing forks. It was the management's contention that one man could do as much work as two could with riddles, but they would have to relinquish 2½d per ton off the getting price of coal[20].

Concomitant with riddling coal was the pernicious practice of confiscating a full tub of coal to the advantage of the owners if as little as 5lb of 'dirt' was found in any tub. The practice was widespread and the miners had no avenue for redress until the advent of the checkweighman - alternatively referred to as the confiscationman, who would negotiate with the company weighman as to the acceptability of a particular tub of coal.

In September 1866, with the incursion of the S.Y.M.A., the Staveley men were complaining about 'too many tubs taken off the stallmen for dirt' when they come to the bank. The company responded immediately by offering the men to appoint their own man 'upon whom they could rely, whose duty it should be to decide when tubs

The demand for large coal left the slack underground. Open-ended tubs facilitated hand loading. Note the fork to the left and the shovel that was used to throw the slack into the goaf.

should be taken off and the company would willingly pay such a man 24/- per week'[21]. During the peak of the dispute in December, when many CXC men were already on strike, all the men and boys at one CXC pit struck work 'respecting what was thrown on the waste heap as it came from the pit, the men being of the opinion it was valuable coal'. Four of the leaders were taken to court for breach of contract because they were absent from work. The men were discharged when their solicitor recommended a fine and a return to work.[22] Soon after the company were offering the men a checkweighman if they wanted one which was part of a management package to undermine the union.

In April 1887, the CXC locked out all their Morton men for twelve weeks and threatened to close their No. 5 and No. 6 pits if their terms were not accepted. This dispute arose when the company proposed to stop payments for ripping and the introduction of the Billy Fairplay machine. This was a semi-automatic machine which separated the coal from the slack and indicated the weight of each, so that men could be paid at different rates for the different qualities. Jackson, general manager, proposed to pay 1/6d a ton for slack which was a reduction of about 33% on all coal rejected by the machine, without paying anymore for the coal that stood the test. Haslam argues that 'The coal is already filled by riddle, and we hope that every miner in Derbyshire will support the Morton men to resist to undesirable scourge as 'Billy' being introduced amongst us'[23]. An anonymous pro-company worker, 'one who knows' submitted that if the men used the riddles properly they would have no cause for complaint as the machine does what is complained about, and. 'it is just as much to the interest of miners and masters that the coal should be clean, as otherwise it cannot be sold, and without sale there is no trade'. The Morton men were

blacklisted and forced into submission when they could not find employment in neighbouring pits. They accepted 2/- a ton for hard coal and 1/4d for slack, which amounted to a reduction in wages of about 5%[24].

After 1872, and the appointment of checkweighmen, it was the custom of the CXC to collect 'dirt' out of a number of tubs until there was a sufficient amount to complain about. This amount was then deducted from the mens tonnage and led to the intervention of the D.M.A. - 'It was that collective system that he (Haslam) complained about and that each tub should be judged on its own merits'[25].

Besides the problems of loading and confiscation of coal, the actual weight and weighing of coal was also contentious because of 'Longweight', irregular machines and unscrupulous company weighmen.

At Clay Cross, the company demanded 25 cwts to the ton and at Staveley it was 28 cwts and even higher at other pits. Also many colliers reckoned between 120 to 130 lbs to the hundred weight and on machines tilted in company interests[26]. When the S.Y.M.A. began to organise in Derbyshire in September 1860, the two items at the top of their agenda were longweight and a working day of eight hours - 'That this meeting think that 20 cwts to the ton is the proper and honourable weight and we unanimously resolve to get no more that 20 cwts to the ton'[27].

Markham considered it to be a quantity which they were paid for and that if they were paid by the 'Merchants Weight' wages would be reduced by 25% as the difference in weight was precisely one fourth. 'The understanding with the colliers was that the draft scale should cover all deficiencies inclusive of the colliers coals that

are given to them without charge, the dirt and refuse picked out in cleaning the coal, and the fuel to feed the engines in working the pit. All the company required was to have as many tons of coal to sell as they paid for, and whatever the wages might be, the principle would always be adopted'[28]. Similarly at Clay Cross we learn that '... 20 cwts do make a ton, but think 2/6 for 25 cwts is equal to 2/- for 20 cwts'[29]. The CXC accounts show that every cobbel was accounted for and covered all deficiencies including allowance coal which was not exactly the pure milk of benevolence, but like housing, education, social welfare etc. was paid for by the sweat of their labour.

The Coal Miners Act of 1860 made a provision to enable the men to appoint their own checkweighmen, but at the mens own expense. Coinciding with the provision of this Act, trade was brisk in north-east Derbyshire and the demand for labour still high. The Staveley Company responded by allowing checkweighmen on their premises but when trade slacked off this facility ceased, 'Staveley Company never offered any opposition to having checkweighmen until they begun to transact business detrimental to their interest, thereby rendering themselves unfit for a position where impartial judgement must be given'[30]. After the '66 dispute at Staveley the colliers took a deputation to Chesterfield to request that the Inspector of Weights and Measures visit the company and test the weighing machines[31].

With the Miners Regulation Act of 1872, on the statute book the CXC conceded to the appointment of checkweighmen before the Act became fully operative on 1st January 1873. This Act also resolved the problems of the longweight and in August of that year when issuing new contracts 'the Clay Cross Company for the first time

A tub of coal being brought for inspection and weighing to the checkweighman (centre) and the company weighman (right). Note the clean large coal.

No. 105.] **ON THE BELT.**

One of the travelling tables (belts) along which the "C.X.C. Gold Medal" Coal is passed during its preparation for the London Market.

paid their men at 20 cwt to the ton'[32]. The Coal Miners Act of 1887 provided for the inspection twice yearly of all weights and measures in use at collieries and helped to eliminate many of the grievances arising from the weighing of coal[33]. These interventions were clearly nothing to do with any munificent gestures but direct State intervention fractured laissez-faire and undermined management authority. The advent of checkweighmen was also an inevitable recognition of the growing strength of status of organised labour. Checkweighmen were elected by their relevant lodges and usually vetted by the employers, but they were under no obligation to accept a union nomination. Generally speaking checkweighmen, enginemen and stallholders were much respected and formed part of that core of respectability and sobriety and played an active part in the union, methodism and local politics[34]. Indeed, it was probably these key workers that earn the appellation of aristocrats of the labour force, and they were of first importance to the production process.

Longweight, confiscation the rigours of hand loading and riddle filling etc were one thing, but geological conditions could also have an adverse affect on pay. Seams varied from face to face and stall to stall and faults and interruptions caused some work places to be abnormal and had a severe effect on earnings. In 1894, at the CXC's No. 2 pit, a fault occurred which the miners referred to as a 'bunkey' and this led to the disappearance of the coal. While the colliers were working the find the coal they had to rely on grants and 'make ups' from the management, which in some cases amounted to only a few shillings a week. John Renshaw, their lodge secretary, insisted on a days wage or the minimum rate for the period of going through the fault. The CXC declined and Renshaw was locked out for his insistence. He received

victimisation pay from the D.M.A. and soon left the district. In later years they refused to accept him as checkweighman[35].

The company were strict with winding times that maximised production and facilitated the supply of timber and rails etc. Men would not be allowed out of the put unless they had express permission from the duty viewer. When the S.Y.M.A. were agitating in September 1872, Binns gave a concession not to keep the men waiting in the put bottom and the rule was made 'to stop those men who were not willing to work'. At the same Binns decided to stop the deductions made for 'stacking out' coal but reintroduced this practice when trade was bad and bargaining power weak[36]. At the end of the period 322 Parkhouse men gave in their notices when the company prohibited the men riding to their place of work on the 'plane mail'. This intervened in the production process by hindering the delivery of timber supplies etc. However, with the overwhelming majority tendering their notices the company conceded[37].

Crucial to the contract system was the proper notice to be given to leave work, even for one day, and was enshrined in the company's rules (see Table XI). In the early days it was usual to read the rules out to a worker and the contract was considered binding if it suited the company. In later years rules and contracts were signed and breach of contracts, particularly absenteeism, could be enforced by the courts. Company rules demanded that 'Any man being desirous of quitting the colliery is required to give two weeks notice of his intentions at the office before leaving'[38]. This rule also applied to the company who gave the same notice previous to discharging any worker or altering contract rules and was used with some force to impose wage reductions. During down turns in trade the colliery owners would

ignore their side of the contract and 'to help the hands if they could better themselves they were at liberty to do so and that a fortnight's notice would not be required'[39]. The company, however, reserved the right to discharge any man at a moment's notice for improper conduct which could be used to discharge any undesirables, particularly active union men. As we have already noted the shorter tenancy agreement would also act as another lever in terminating employment.

Commenting on the 'Miners Cessation of labour in the Midland District' in 1876 during a down turn in trade R.G. Coke advocated the discharge of all surplus labour "selecting those only to remain, who will accept employment on the conditions hereinafter stated" and "To this must be added the discharge of all well known idle and drunkenmen; employment should be given only to those of good character; and whatever may be said to the contrary such are to be found in collier ranks"[40].

During the intense competition of the mid '50's the CXC notice to quit work was increased from two weeks to a month and paralleled the Staveley and Wingerworth Companies and again was a device to retain labour[41]. Again when trade dropped off they reverted to two weeks notice, but when the epic struggle to establish a trade union commenced in 1866 and at a time when they required labour, notices in writing for a month were required but again reverted to two weeks in April 1873 when the union was ascendant[42]. The company also insisted that all notices should be tendered individually and brought to the company's office, a practice that could be intimidating and divisive. With the firming up of the union in 1872, it was not the custom for the colliers to hand in their notices collectively through the checkweighman of their respective pits for conveyance to the office. In 1883, the more aggressive Jackson

intimated that a separate notice was required from each worker to be personally delivered. This interdict was unanimously rejected and the checkweighman was asked to continue and 'that each collier who signed the same abide by the result'[43].

Though individual notices were demanded by the company, a notice posted at the pit head would usually suffice in giving the men their notice of a change in contract. In 1887, the CXC were challenged as to the legality of pit-head notices posted at Morton Colliery. Judge Woodford ruled in the CXC's favour as in this particular case individual notices had also been given[44]. When the company could not find any excuse to sack a workman they would issue a formal notice. John Smith, president of the D.M.A. and Joseph Hardy, late secretary of the Clay Cross No. 1 Lodge, were discharged by notice. No reason was given officially and all appeals for an interview were disregarded. Both Smith and Hardy were of exemplary character each with about fifteen years service and without a single complaint against them from the company. The CXC's excuse was that they had the right to employ whom they liked. Haslam was of the opinion that Jackson was a tool of the coal owners in the county and was being used to test the men's solidarity. In response, the Clay Cross Lodge passed several resolutions in support of their comrades - 'who we believe are being sacrificed, not for any offences in connection with their employment, but because of their having been active and useful workers among their followers in endeavouring to improve the position of the mining population of the county'[45]. Trade union intervention in the market that opposed the laissez-faire way of managing was anathema to the nineteenth century paternalist, and their employee union advocates no matter how loyal were resented - 'a man on strike was a tyrant and knew nothing

of political economy'[46]. According to Markham, a union was a conspiracy to destroy the freedom and liberty of labour[47].

The recruitment and the retraining of labour clearly had their problems but the other recurring problem was keeping the employees at regular hours of work and consistent attendance. Company rules could discipline bad time keeping and 'Any inattention to the hours of attendance rendered a man liable to a penalty, or to the forfeiture of a portion of his wages'[48]. Absenteeism, however, particularly during periods of good wages was a more serious problem. It was endemic throughout the period and employers frequently sought redress in the courts. With the gradual demise of the big butty the CXC were quick to make examples of those workers who broke their contract. In 1840 Edward Alsop was committed to the house of correction at Derby for 14 days hard labour 'for absenting himself from the employment of Messrs. G. Stephenson contrary to his engagement'[49].

During boom periods, drink was considered to be the principle cause of absenteeism that led to the worship of Saint Monday. The Chesterfield Bench in August 1856, expressed its determination to put a stop to absenteeism and was prepared to make an example of such offenders and increased the penalty from two weeks imprisonment 'as in former convictions', to three weeks imprisonment with hard labour[50]. Also at Clay Cross in 1864, the company were 'determined to make an example in all cases'[51]. In 1860, the demand for coal in some instances was exceeding supply and 'The practice of leaving work by the colliers on Monday has obtained such a firm hold on the men, that the coalmasters find it difficult to break through it, and the result is that in several instances committals to prison have been made whilst other

coalmasters have advanced wages of all men who shall have worked full-time through the week'[52]. In April 1860, four CXC colliers were brought to court upon warrant charged with being absent from work and 'It appeared that drink was the principle cause of the absenting'[53]. On this occasion the charges were not pressed and they were ordered to return to work on paying 13/6d costs and the company did not sue for damages. A few days later a similar case was tried and the accused was committed to the House of Correction for one month. Two months later, two 'Runaway Colliers' were brought back from Worcestershire having 'got considerably in arrears to the company'. They were ordered to pay costs and return to work or face three months hard labour[54]. In 1863, Barrow was offering his hewers a rise on condition that they did not neglect to attend work on Mondays and Tuesdays[55] Similarly in February 1873, the CXC also granted a conditional increase but late withdrew this imposition 'and the company hope the men will attend regularly to their work'. These two examples clearly show the economic use of paternalism[56].

In what appears to be an unprecedented move on Monday 1870, a stallman and not the CXC actually took a collier to court for absenteeism. This may have been a collaborative move to shift the onus from management at a time when trade unionism threatened[57].

In 1870, a CXC collier was absent from work for a month after being assaulted by a deputy who was subsequently fined by the Bench. This particular collier was also fined and ordered to return to work, but refused and was sent to gaol for one month[58].

Physical coercion to enforce discipline was endemic at most collieries throughout the period and afterwards. At the peak of the '66 dispute George Parker, agent to the CXC, was charged with assaulting and beating a pit lad, but the case was settled out of court[59]. In March 1867, George Dunn, underviewer, was also brought before the bench for assault but the case was dismissed and he was cautioned for his conduct[60]. When the union was beginning to take root in 1870, William Dunn, underviewer was fined 2/6 and 18/8 costs for assaulting a young lad in the pit - 'said that the boy was a very bad one and that he had left off work 40 minutes before time'. Another CXC official was also fined 1/- and £1 costs for using threatening behaviour and the bench emphasised that 'this was not the way to support authority in a pit'[61]. During the '66 dispute, however, some young pit lads at Clay Cross were not prepared to take this bullying and retaliated against a pit corporal and told the overman, 'they would do it again, for they were determined to stop the thrashing of boys in the pit'[62].

Absenteeism continued apace throughout the period and in 1890, the CXC took 23 colliers from their Avenue Pit to court for absenteeism demanding 5/- per day compensation. At this date 200 colliers were employed at this pit and during the very same week that the above defendants were absent a total of 55 were absent. According to the company solicitor as many as 90 colliers were absent some days and he was obliged to make periodic visits to the courts every three months, 'in order to show that they cannot play one day and work another with impunity'. In January 1893, as many as 100 colliers were reported to be absent from this pit on three to four days per week[67]. This particular pit was situated outside of the CXC's immediate paternal and commutarian influence and recruited its labour from nearby Chesterfield.

Absenteeism was more pronounced during economic upswings than recessions since the men realised that they were in a strong bargaining position and ran less risk of unemployment. Absenteeism, however, was the action of individuals and did not necessarily imply solidarity with other workers and differed significantly from strikes and organisations which depended for success on a collective approach and loyalty.

Indeed, the trade union leadership reflected a more disciplined and sober personnel that had some stability and would never encourage absenteeism but struggled collectively for a shorter working day and week and longer holidays.

The CXC went to extraordinary lengths and expense to enforce discipline and assert their authority. During a recruitment drive in July 1866, prior to the Free Labour dispute, there was a serious shortage of labour exacerbated by the opening up of two new pits at Danesmoor and Morton. In July, there was just 712 men on the books rising to 739 in August and at full capacity the company would require 1,500 to 2,000 men. To improve the situation the CXC engaged over 100 colliers in Warwickshire and induced them by the offer of a house and free rail travel. After about a week half of them left 'Many out of the 100 men accounted (for) are put on and when they get the (company's) rules, not liking them go off without attempting to work'[64]. The company were quick to use this situation at the peak of the Free Labour dispute in December and decided to pursue one of the Warwick absentees six months after he had absconded. This particular absentee was brought back and ordered to pay expenses and return to work for the CXC under the threat of a prison sentence. Also during the same month Inspector Fearn of Clay Cross arrested another collier in Ibstock, Leicestershire for stealing £6..18 from the CXC[65]. There can be no doubt

that the company's rules and disciplinary code helped to frustrate the growth of the labour force during this period. The company was also determined to show its resolve against breach of contract during this volatile struggle. 'It would take me (Binns) very little trouble to crush the union at Clay Cross with a very strong and iron hand, but I have no intention of doing so, I would rather see this question work itself to its own issue, in order that the people of Clay Cross should be thoroughly convinced of its folly - that this should be so thoroughly stamped on their hands and hearts'[66].

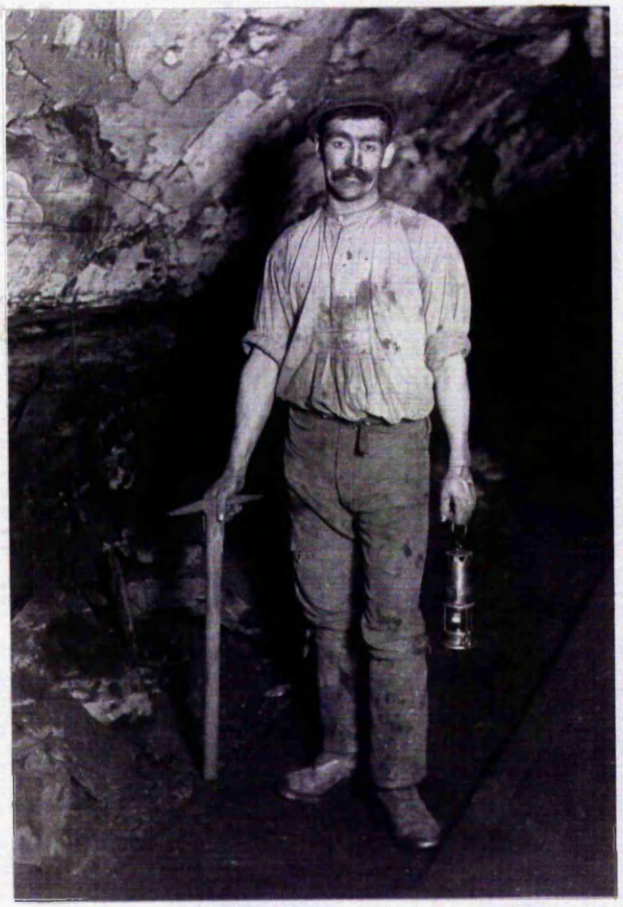
Prior to this, in 1862, the CXC brought upon warrant a collier who had been off work some six months with a broken leg. Consequently this had got him in debt with the company who demanded a staggering 11/- per week to clear off the debt. As he did not have full work with the company he could not maintain his family and left the CXC for the Wingerworth Iron Works. A discompassionate bench informed him that he was liable to three month's imprisonment but as the company agent did not want to press the case he was ordered to return to work at Clay Cross and pay costs of 11/-[67].

When the obverse side of company paternalism is rolled back and the productive relations revealed it manifests a strict, harsh and unbenevolent regime that gave nothing away, including allowance coal. The miners' many grievances could not be resolved with the community interventions of a benign paternalism - a Whitwalk tea here and a flower show prize there - but by the collective action of the colliers. In a highly competitive, labour intensive industry, production costs were always high and intensively competitive, and the company was eager to reduce these costs.

During the Free Labour Dispute in 1867, William Howe, engineer, argues for the introduction of machinery that would dispense with the holing process. Again in 1873, with the S.Y.M.A. and wage demands pressing, he was emphasising the use of machines to undercut coal -

> '... there then in the time of strikes is one circumstance pointing clearly to the advantage of substituting for the reckless half knowledge of the collier, which he so often makes an instrument of coercion, machines which will enable any labourer to do the work better and more rapidly, with less damage to himself and at less cost to his employers'.

Despite the community building camouflage, the relationships between organised workers and employers were usually antagonistic and those of the cash nexus[68].



George Aubone, Collier, No. 2 Pit

NOTES AND REFERENCES
TO
CHAPTER VII

1. CXC Account Book 1838, p.1. Children's Employment Commission 1842, p.345. C. Williams Clay Cross Tunnel op cit pp.24-34. Stephenson also objected to truck payment, but during the Tunnel operation this system was rife.

2. S.D. Chapman, Stanton & Staveley op cit, p.25. D.C. 4 May 1844.

3. Children's Employment Commission op cit.

4. S.D. Chapman, op cit p.5. Chapman, p.159, also argues that Markham reintroduced the butty system that Barrow had supposedly dispensed with, but the point is it was never abolished and he appears to confuse the 'big' and 'little' butty systems.

5. Ibid.

6. R. Church, Victorian Pre-eminence, op cit, p.296.

7. D.C. 18 August 1855. Opening of Public Hall and schools.

8. D.C. 10 May 1873, 9 April 1881.

9. D.C. 4 June 1887.

10. D.C. 16 December 1893.

11. D.C. 5 January 1906. D.C. May 1870, a 'little butty' actually took a collier to court for breach of contract and not the company.

12. D.C. 29 November 1919. Obituary Benjamin Owen.

13. J. Benson, op cit, Chapter II for heterogeneity of collier workforce.

14.A D.C. 23 December 1871. 6 January 1872. 12 October 1873. 19 April 1884.

14.B D.C. 11 January 1873 Grassmoor colliery. 11 April 1855, Pilsley Colliery.

15. D.C. October 1844. In 1908 the CXC were awarded two gold medals for their coal products - hence CXC Gold Medal Coal.

16. D.C. January 1862.

17. Joe Hale, ex-company collier was sacked for filling with a shovel, this statement was corroborated by Albert Williams c 1970.

18. D.C. 28 September 1878,

19. D.C. 15 May 1894.

20. D.C. 15 May 1897. The D.M.A. vigorously campaigned for the abolition of riddle and fork filling, but as a general principle did not achieve this until the boom of 1919 when, 'The fork system was forcibly abolished, when the Miners Federation was dictator'. D.C. January 1919. D.T. August 1921. J.E. Williams, op cit, p.665.

21. D.C. September 15 1866.

22. D.C. 1 December 1866.

23. J.E. Williams, op cit, p.284.

24. Ibid.

25. D.T. 26 February 1897.

26. D.T. 15 December 1866. J.E. Williams, pp.100-102.

27. D.C. 8 September 1866.

28. D.C. 22 December 1866.

29. D.T. 1 December 1866.

30. D.C. 3 November 1866.

31. D.C. 8 October 1869.

32. D.C. 9 August 1873.

33. J. E. Williams, op cit, p.285.

34. D.C. 18 February 1911. James Randle, New Connexion Methodist, Parish Councillor, Member of Jackson Lodge, was elected deputy checkweighman after three ballots. D.C. 25 March 1910. John Smith, Danesmoor was a founding member of the D.M.A. and confiscationman at No. 7 Parkhouse Pit and New Connexion Methodist. D.C. 9 August 1910, Matthew Burns elected confiscationman to No. 2 Pit. D.C. 11 May 1912 Willis Boot first secretary to D.M.A. (not Haslam) was also confiscation man.

35. An article in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Jackson, Clay Cross, daughter of John Renshaw.

36. D.C. 28 September 1872.

37. D.C. C.X.CH. 10 May 1907.

38. CXC Rules 1909.

39. D.C. 30 May 1846. Lockoford Colliery belonging to Robert Stephenson.

40. C. & D. Institute Vol IV, 1876-77.

41. D.C. 10 March, 3 September 1853.

42. D.C. 4 July 1874. April 1873.

43. D.C. November 1882.

44. D.C. 16 July 1887.

45. D.C. 16 February 1884.

46. D.T. 26 January 1867, Free Labour Meeting at Clay Cross.

47. D.C. 8 August 1867. Markham addressing Staveley Colliers.

48. CXC Rules 1842. Royal Commission Trade Union 1868, p.345.

49. D.C. 8 February 1840.

50. D.C. 16 August 1856.

51. D.T. 27 August 1864.

52. D.C. 21 April 1860.

53. Ibid.

54. D.C. 11 August 1860.

55. S.D. Chapman, op cit, p.149.

56. D.T. April 1873.

57. D.C. May 1870.

58. D.C. 9 April 1870.

59. D.C. 9 April 1870.

60. D.C. 9 March 1867.

61. D.C. 2 April 1870.

62. D.C. 13 October 1866. 11 May 1912 Willis Boot, 'when as a boy I worked Lings (North Wingfield) I used to get some dog chain if a stick was not good enough'.

63. D.C. 11 February 1893.

64. S.D. Chapman, CXC, op cit, p.19.

65. C.D. 1 December 1866.

66. D.C. 21 January 1867.

67. D.C. 18 January 1862.

68. D.T. 19 January 1867. C. & D. Institute Vol I, 1871-73, pp.104-5. History Workshop Journal. The Workshop of the World, Vol 3, Spring 1977, p.21

CONCLUSION

The Clay Cross Company's brand of paternalism clearly identifies with Joyce's notion and emphasis of a 'new paternalism' that emerged after the turmoil of the 1840's. The first point, however, to emphasise about the CXC's paternalism is that it was not 'a unique social experiment' but a community building imperative that was centrally about recruiting, retraining and controlling labour[1]. It was fostered and promoted not by traditionalism, company munificence or personal benevolence, but out of economic necessity for survival and was highly competitive. This intense competition was driven by the insatiable demand for labour that was the consequence of an unprecedented industrial growth stimulated by the opening up of the N.M.R. in 1840.

The pace was decidedly set by the Butterley Company who, by 1843, had established most of the necessary institutions of a constructive paternalism - a sick and accident club (1802), schools (1841), Mechanics Institute (1843) and a Horticultural Society (1841). Also by 1840, they had almost completed their so called model village at Ironville. All these company interventions and initiatives, with the exception of chapels, clearly predate the CXC's community building agenda. Similarly, Morewood at Swanwick, Barrow at Staveley and Oakes at Riddings were promoting aspects of constructive recruitment policies before 1840.

The inauguration of the CXC in 1837, and the opening of the N.M.R. immediately threatened the monopoly of the vertical integrated giants at Butterley and Staveley. This situation inspired a new industrial and business culture that intensified the competition to recruit and retain relatively scarce professional expertise and attract a steady and sober workforce. This also compelled a new qualitative dimension for

the provision of housing, educational and social welfare policies. In this respect it was the newly established Clay Cross Company, commencing on an under developed part of the north-east Derbyshire Coalfield that took the lead, sharpened the competitive edge and intensified the pace.

From the 1840's, the CXC's policy of recruitment provided a range of improved housing, educational, religious and social amenities that identify with Church's notion of a constructive paternalism. However, this community development policy at Clay Cross has been much idealised by present day historians and contemporaries alike. In 1857, it drew much praise from Samuel Smiles, George Stephenson's biographer, who described it as a model for emulation. When the paternal veneer is rolled back, however, it reveals a conditional, cost effective, highly competitive and aggressive paternalism paid for by the workers. It was also a paternalism enveloped and lubricated by a dominant laissez-faire philosophy that nurtured rather than repelled the 'new paternalism' and promoted its competitiveness[2].

Much vaunted as a nineteenth century 'Model Community', it was never conceived as a unified and functional whole but was an ad-hoc and piecemeal appendage to the old village, tempered by the competitive dynamic, rather than a feat of wholesale engineering.

Constructive paternalism has been frequently interpreted as a means of securing social control or ideological hegemony to secure a more compliant workforce and the CXC's model, like their competitors, clearly identifies with this interpretation[3]. The major elements for control, however, were isolation, homogeneity and a strong and determined leadership, and together with the impress of paternal institutions helped

to nurture a deferential relationship, and mould a compliant workforce that attempted to repel organised labour. In this respect it can be argued that the more isolated, homogenous, aggressive management at Barrow Hill was relatively more successful in attaining social stability and repelling trade unionism than the less isolated, heterogenous and less aggressive management at Clay Cross. Further, in contrasting the level of social stability attained at Clay Cross with the urban complexity of Chesterfield in 1863, the district coroner reported that "... in towns like Chesterfield which have acquired an independence of themselves and have not a governing power like Clay Cross, it was extremely difficult to get that cohesiveness and concentrativeness which they had at Clay Cross and Staveley and other places. Moreover, a great part of the town lived socially independent of one another and did not meet in any way; and again the people who had the largest property had not the influence and control of the town which was obtained at Clay Cross. Those were the reasons which not only at Chesterfield but at many other towns prevented that unity of purpose which they had there"[4]. Clearly the examples and diversity of Barrow Hill, Clay Cross and Chesterfield demonstrate that the more isolated and homogenous a community is the greater the possibilities for social stability and labour control.

Constructive competitive paternalism was not only essential to labour recruitment policies and providing some measure of social stability, but was designed as a powerful trade union antidote and was used with some effect during the epic Free Labour Dispute. The conditional nature of the CXC's paternalism can be clearly discerned during the resurgence of the S.Y.M.A. in 1872 and again with the establishment of the nascent D.M.A. in 1880.

When organised labour threatened to intervene in the market the CXC did not hesitate to threaten the complete withdrawal of social welfare benefits, educational provision and threaten the eviction of trade union activists. Personal benevolence was also conditional, selective, patronising and used tactically in the interests of the company.

The two complementary virtues of thrift and self help were manifest in the paternalist ideology and the company were eager to promote a building society, savings bank, co-op society, Permanent Relief Fund and a plethora of friendly societies that would divert disposable cash away from the pub and trade union coffers. Compulsory stoppages to the field club that were not transferable together with fines and the filtration of government grants, paid for the company's paternal enterprise. Contingent contributions to the field club were the means of controlling the club and diverting its accumulated funds from organised labour - it also ensured rent during injury, sickness and short-time.

The profound difference between Joyce's new paternalism in his northern factories and colliery paternalism lay in the world of work itself. In the textile factories the 'aristocratic' spinners and his family all working in the factory helped to facilitate a paternalism that permeated the home and the neighbourhood, and contributed much to industrial harmony and social stability. The subterranean passages of the coalmine could not match the proximity of the factory and 'the special potency of the personal relationship of master and man' that promoted social stability and deference could not be replicated[5]. The colliery paternalists relied on their schools, chapels and a variety of company inspired social gatherings throughout the year. Also their ideologues permeated most of the town's institutions to promote and inculcate their ideological

hegemony to secure a more compliant workforce by imposing, by more or less subtle methods, the ethics of middle class morality, sobriety and regular habits upon its workers.

An analysis of the decadal census returns for heads of families accommodated in company houses show more than an 80 per cent turnover of labour in between the returns. The impact of the blandishments of company paternalism and hence its relative success in retaining labour, may have only been targeted at the 'core of sobriety' that was crucial to the continuity of production. Conversely it may be that only the 'core of sobriety' was receptive to its blandishments. Being a domestic coal producer it never required a full labour force throughout any one year and could seasonally unload social and industrial miscreants - paternalism had its price.

At Clay Cross the ideological hegemony was probably at its keenest and most effective by the mid 1850's, but with the physical reconstitution of the town from this time by private and speculator developments company domination was fractured. From this date and particularly after the Free labour conflict, despite a flurry of improved welfare and recreational intervention, the CXC's paternalism was in terminal decline. The Free Labour Society at Clay Cross was never as successful or as complete as the movement at the more isolated and homogenous Barrow Hill. The incursion and success of the S.Y.M.A during the boom of the early 70's paved the way for an independent county union in 1880, that offered an alternative to a conditional paternalism.

Increasing State intervention with the Coal Mines Act of 1872, the Employers Liability Act (1880) and the Compensation Act (1897), all played their part in eroding

the paternal grip and fractured the laissez-faire way of running their enterprises. With the advent of free education in 1892 and the loss of their paternal jewel with the sale of their school and Public Hall Institute, it manifested the inevitable demise of the CXC's brand of paternalism. Coinciding with these changes, particularly after the retirement of Binns in 1882, was a shift in management style that was less paternalistic and more aggressive. Working class leadership began to oust the company ideologues from the town's institutions and weaken the company's domination of the town. After a showdown in the 80's the company field club was democratised and its constitution favoured a balance in the interest of the workers - democracy was never a characteristic of paternalism.

Perhaps the final death knell to the remnants of the CXC's constructive paternalism was the Great Lock Out of 1893, when the colliery companies demanded a 25 per cent reduction in pay. This dispute lasted for some six months causing much hardship and deprivation, and conclusively exposed the ugly face of a benign and flagging paternalism[6].

Paradoxically, just as the CXC's paternalism was in decline, the competitive dynamic that stimulated and drove its constructive recruitment policy re-emerged with the opening up of the concealed coalfield to the east of Clay Cross and Chesterfield. The sinking of Bolsover and Cresswell collieries by the Bolsover Colliery Company in 1891 and 1896 demanded much capital investment that needed to be protected, and it was imperative to recruit and retain a loyal and compliant workforce. The company responded by building two model villages adjacent to the two pits that were the most notable experiments in miners housing during the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, and a monumental improvement on housing in most colliery villages in Derbyshire - perhaps with the exception of Barrow Hill. Emerson Bainbridge, managing director, emphasised that 'they would be able to select good tenants for the houses with a view of attaching themselves to the colliery villages, that they and their sons would spend their lives as workmen at the Bolsover colliery'[7]. According to Bainbridge the main objectives of the model village scheme were profitability, unity of interest between capital and labour and securing the services of industrious workmen.

According to Church, the continuity of pit village formation to be found in the East Midlands and elsewhere 'may be regarded as evidence of the persistence of long established assumptions concerning the character of labour in isolation, the methods of promoting good relations and recruiting reliable workers'[8]. Constructive paternalism continued to emphasise the need to socialise a migrant or inexperienced workforce that was not just appropriate to the early nineteenth century. The point is that the qualitative provision of housing, social welfare and recreational provision continued to have a sharp competitive edge that would attract compliant labour and protect investment. Bainbridge's model villages were conceived and planned as functional wholes and were not piecemeal developments like Clay Cross. The emphasis of qualitative community building and social control in isolation may also have something to say about the Bolsover colliers support of Spencerism after the 1926 strike.

Waller's comprehensive study of the Dukeries in the twentieth century also emphasises the continuity of pit village formation in isolated districts. These

Dukeries colliery companies had 'carte blanche' to build and develop their model communities as they wished and they imposed and ensured the economic, social, cultural and political domination of their respective communities. The remoteness of these pit villages identifies more with the homogenous Barrow Hill, Bolsover and Cresswell villages than the heterogenous Clay Cross and Chesterfield. Clearly the more isolated a community the more susceptible it was to the blandishments of ideological hegemony.

This case study of the Clay Cross Company's brand of paternalism has emphasised the importance of a competitive model for recruiting and retaining labour and its use as a powerful weapon in the employer's industrial armoury in repelling organised labour. Hopefully it will make a useful contribution to the social history of the Derbyshire miners and their communities and complement S.D.Chapman's business study of the Clay Cross Company.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. S.D. Chapman. The CXC 1837-1987 p.1.

2. P. Joyce. Work, Society and Politics p.138.

3. R. Church. Victorian Pre-Eminence pp.288-9.

4. D.C. October 31 1863.

5. P. Joyce ibid p.135.

6. J.E. Williams. Derbyshire Miners pp.315-341.

7. D.C. February 1894 op cit. D.C. January 7 1893. D.C. May 14 1892. R. Church op cit p.288.

8. R. Church ibid, p.288.

TABLE I

MAIN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR CLAY CROSS (MALE)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881
Coalminers	276	430	922	1,158	1,215
Iron Foundry etc		15	35	59	77
Coke Workers	13	2	0	7	5
Labourers Servants	49	109	35	68	130
Agricultural Labourers	40	21	35	39	39
Farmers	41	41	36	27	27
Framework Knitters/Smiths	5	7	13	5	1
Blacksmiths	16	9	20	15	12
Bricklayers/Masons	5	4	13	11	19
Plumbers/Glazier etc	1	1	1	6	6
Brickmakers	5	4	14	14	4
Engineers/Surveyors	7	6	9	9	13
Engine Drivers Workers	2	9	25	17	33
Shoemakers	10	14	36	33	26
Butchers	1	6	12	11	25
Grocer/Provisions	4	13	34	44	69
Railway Lab/Excavators			141		
Carpenters/Joiners	10	14	23	26	42
Drapers	1	2	6	11	9
Victuallers/Beerhouse	5	8	11	19	18
Sawyers	5	6	7	4	6
Tailors	6	6	13	9	13
Schoolteachers etc	1	3	1	5	4
Surgeons/GP's		1	3	3	3
Clerks		16	14	20	22
Weaver	4	2	1	0	0
Ironstone Workers		30	23	0	2

* The 141 Railway Labourers and Excavators in 1861 are due to the excavations of the Erewash Line that resulted in the sinking of the CXC's No 7, Parkhouse Colliery at Danesmoor in the Clay Lane Township in 1867.

TABLE II

FIRST PHASE OF CXC'S COLLIERY DEVELOPMENT

PIT	POSITION	SUNK
GINPIT	CLAY CROSS WORKS	1838
TUPTON	CLAY CROSS WORKS	1838
No 1 (TURNPIKE COLLIERY)	CLAY CROSS TOWN	1839
No 2	CLAY CROSS WORKS	1840
No 4		1840
No 5		1840
LOCKFORD	TAPTON CHESTERFIELD	1841

SECOND PHASE OF CXC'S DEVELOPMENT

PIT	POSITION	DATE SUNK	CLOSED	DEPTH
No 2	CLAY CROSS WORKS	1850	1934	136yds
No 3	CLAY CROSS WORKS	1852	1910	69yds
No 4	CLAY CROSS STATION	1857	1929	202yds
No 5	MORTON	1865	1964	305yds
No 6	MORTON	1874	1964	186yds
No 7	DANESMOOR	1866	1962	195yds
No 8	CLAY CROSS FLAXPIECE	1868	1962	120yds
No 9	WINGERWORTH	1881	1932	235yds
No 11	WINGERWORTH	1857	1932	200yds

No. 10 pit was to be sunk at Morton but because of complications with the Midland Railway and extension line and decline in trade it never materialised

Between 1838 - 1840, £4,824 was expended ON THE FIRST PHASE. In contrast No.7 Parkhouse pit cost £20,704 to sink.

TABLE III

The Decennial returns in the CXC's Employment District

Clay Cross

Date	Male	Female	Total	Houses
1801	193	160	353	65
1811	211	211	422	97
1821	230	235	465	105
1831	262	302	564	111
1841	828	650	1,478	305
1851	1,234	1,044	2,278	487
1861	2,284	1,812	4,096	730
1871	2,746	2,394	5,140	967
1881	3,402	2,945	6,347	1,246
1891	3,794	3,349	7,143	1,290
1901	4,105	3,596	7,701	1,466
1911	4,418	3,947	8,365	1,756

	N. Wingfield	Tupton	Stretton	Pilsley	Woodthorpe	Morton	Shirland
1801	240	218	440	263	201	109	1,008
1811	253	216	390	254	207	136	1,197
1821	290	202	489	284	211	149	1,205
1831	256	201	439	304	231	138	1,212
1841	250	317	532	325	292	187	1,381
1851	668	270	465	403	267	257	1,268
1861	785	1,004	524	428	302	594	1,426
1871	1,155	1,062	588	1,076	364	534	2,280
1881	2,044	1,374	630	1,821	817	879	3,145
1891	2,395	1,551	608	2,328	876	980	3,694

TABLE IV

COUNTIES OF ORIGIN OF HEADS AND LODGERS

	1851	1861	1871	1881
Staffordshire	11	30	75	
Ireland	35	112	57	
Leicestershire	42	87	83	
Yorkshire	20	25	19	
Nottinghamshire	85	125	143	
Northhamptonshire	3	11	24	
Cheshire	1	2	11	
Oxfordshire	0	0	5	
Norfolk	1	6	12	
Shropshire	0	6	4	
Warwickshire	2	7	29	
Buckinghamshire	0	5	2	
Bedfordshire	2	1	3	
Birmingham			1	
Lincolnshire	2	30	28	
Gloucestershire		6	2	
Monmouth	0	0	1	
Wiltshire	0	2	2	
Scotland	0	2	5	
Huntingdonshire	0	2	1	
Northumberland	2	6	11	
Lancashire	11	25	19	
Cumberland	0	1	2	
Surrey	0	1	2	
Middlesex	4	3	3	
Somerset	0	5	0	
Worcestershire	0	6	5	
Wales	3	6	2	
Berkshire	0	1	2	continued ...

TABLE IV

	1851	1861	1871	1881
Essex	3	1	0	
Suffolk	1	3	6	
Durham	4	8	9	
Cornwall				
Jersey	2	1	1	
Rutland	0	1	4	
Devon	0	2	1	
Cambridge	0	3	1	
Germany	0	1	1	
Westmorland	0	1	1	
Hampshire	0	1	1	
Herefordshire	0	0	2	
Sussex	0	0	2	

TABLE V

COMPANY HOUSING STOCK IN 1848

	House Number	Quantity	Estimated Extent	Gross Estimated	Rateable Value	Rate 10d In the Pound
EAST TUNNEL ROW	1-16	16	0A OR 35P	£4-12-0	£3-7-0	£0-2-9½
WEST TUNNEL ROW	17-30	14	0 0 18	£4-10-0	£3-5-0	£0-2-8½
TOP LONG ROW	31-74	44	between 9 & 10	£3-10-0	£2-11-0	£0-2-1½
BOTTOM LONG ROW	75-118	44	0 0 8	£3-10-0	£2-11-0	£0-2-1½
CELLAR ROW	119-140	22	12 & 18P	£3-16-0	£2-15-0	£0-2-3½
CHAPEL ROW	141-149	9	0 0 29	£3-18-0	£2-17-0	£0-2-4½
CLAY LANE ROW	150-163	14	0 0 12	£3-10-0	£2-11-0	£0-2-1½
OFFICE ROW	164-179	16		£3-10-0	£2-10-0	£0-2-1
PLEASANT ROW	180-189	10	0 0 20	£3-17-0	£2-16-0	£0-2-4
ELBOW ROW	190-199	10	0 0 13	£2-17-0	£2-1-0	£0-1-8½
PARADISE ROW	200-209	10				
OFFICE HOUSE (ELDON HOUSE) THOMAS ROBINSON ACCOUNTANT			0 1 7	£9-13-0	£7-1-0	£0-5-10½
GAFFERS ROW		4	0 0 30	£7-13-0	£5-12-0	£0-4-8
ENGINEERS HOUSE (HILL HOUSE)			0 1 9	£23-10-0	£17-3-0	£0-14-3½
THOMAS THELWALL (HOUSE, BAKEHOUSE, GARDEN)			0 0 18	£9-8-0	£6-17-0	£0-5-8½
BEJAMIN TAYLOR (HOUSE, BUILDING & LAND)			11 0 5	£23-15-0	£18-16-0	£0-15-8
FRANCIS TIPPING			2 2 18	£2-18-0	£2-9-0	£0-2-10½
GEORGE STEPHENSON COLLIERY				£205-19-0	£150-6-0	£6-5-3
GEORGE STEPHENSON COLLIERY OFFICES, WORKSHOPS, WEIGHING MACHINE, STEAM ENGINES, BUILDING LAND			68 0 3	£869-6-0	£637-11-0	

TABLE VI A

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ETC. DEPOSITING WITH THE CLAY CROSS COMPANY'S SAVING BANK IN 1874

Black Diamond Lodge

Band of Hope Lodge

Court Prosperity Lodge

Cowley Lodge

Danesmoor Sick and Accident Fund

Foresters Friendly Society

Good Samaritan, Hepthorne Lane Lodge

Heart of Oak

Miners Pride

Pride of Pilsley Benefit Society

Sir William Jacksons Favourite Lodge

Stonebroom Sick Society

Walmsley and Peto Lodge

Windsor Lodge

Rehabite Lodge

Clay Cross Benefit Building Society

Workmens Saving Fund

Penny Bank

Sheffield Permanent Building Society

Clay Cross Horticultural Society

Clay Cross Cow Club

Clay Cross Co-operative Society

TABLE VI B

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES LOCATED IN THE CXC'S EMPLOYMENT AREAS

Clay Cross	No. 84	1794
North Wingfield	White Heart Sick Club	1810
Clay Cross	Hand Heart, Ancient Order of Druids (222)	1834
Clay Cross	Angel Inn Lodge	1835
Clay Cross	George Stephenson's Lodge M.U.	1839
North Wingfield	Heroes Lodge Grand United (827)	1845
North Wingfield	Lord Nelson Lodge	1847
Clay Cross	Court Prosperity (2974)	1858
Clay Cross	Clay Cross Female Benefit Society	1861
Tupton	Royal Heart of Oak Ilkeston United (25)	1864
Tupton	Miners Pride Lodge Notts Imperial (687)	1865
Clay Cross	Black Diamond Lodge Notts Imperial (688)	1865
Tupton	Tupton Imperial Order of Females (1)	1865
Pilsley	Pilsley Sick Benefit Society	1865
North Wingfield	Band of Hope Lodge I.U.O.O.	1867
Pilsley	Prince of Wales Lodge	1868
Stonebroom	Good Samaritan Lodge	1870
North Wingfield	Hepthorn Lane Lodge	1870
Stonebroom	Sir William Jackson Lodge A.O.F.	1870
Danesmoor	Danesmoor Benefit Club	1870
Clay Cross	John Hudson Lodge Salford Unity I.O.G.T.	1871
Pilsley	Pride of Pilsley Lodge	1871
Tupton	Loyal Windsor Lodge I.U.O.O. (24)	1874
Clay Cross	King William IV Lodge	1875
North Wingfield	Miners Refuge Lodge B.U.O.	1876
North Wingfield	St. Lawrence Lodge	1879
Clay Cross	Nil Desperandum	1880
Tupton	Windsor Lodge N.A.I.U. (367)	1887
Danesmoor	United Brothers Leicester Unity	1887
Danesmoor	Pride of Danesmoor Notts Imperial	
Clay Cross	Court Benevolence A.O.F.	
Clay Cross	Shakespeare Lodge	
Clay Cross	Duke of Devonshire Lodge	
Tupton	New Tupton United Benefit Society	
Tupton	Court Flower of the Moor A.O.F.	
Shirland	Wellington Defence B.U.O.	
North Wingfield	Cromwell's Pride	
Shirland	Temple of Truth Lodge B.U.O.	
North Wingfield	Friendly and Civic Society	

TABLE VII

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN THE CLAY CROSS EMPLOYMENT DISTRICTS

CLAY CROSS

Methodist New Connexion	1824 rebuilt 1848
Methodist New Connexion	1869 new school room
Primitive Methodists	1849
Primitive Methodists	1874 new school room
Peoples Gospel Hall	1874
Latter Day Saints	c1875 Angel Inn Club Room 1905
Wesleyan Chapel	1848
Church of England	1849/51
Catholic	1862
Baptist	1868
Baptist	1879 new school room
Free Methodist Chapel (Grundy's)	1857
New Free Methodist	1887

DANESMOOR

Methodist New Connexion	1869
Primitive Methodist	1869
Church of England	1883

STONEBROOM

Baptist	1878
United Methodist Free Church	1867
Primitives	1868

TUPTON

Old Tupton New Connexion	1843
New Tupton New Connexion	1867
New Tupton Primitive Methodists	1868
New Tupton Free Church	1869
Hepthorne Lane Primitives	1870

TABLE VIII A
THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGALED AT THE WHITWALK BY THE CXC AT CLAY CROSS, TUPTON, DANESMOOR & STONEBROOM

1861	1,100
1862	
1863	
1864	1,450
1865	1,276
1866	1,308
1867	1,734
1868	2,474
1869	2,400
1870	2,730
1871	2,919
1872	2,968
1873	2,961
1874	2,833
1875	2,965
1876	2,664
1877	2,653
1878	2,723
1879	2,260
1880	2,564
1881	2,516
1882	The Company cease funding

* 1864 - 1882 School log books; 1861 Derbyshire Courier May 25 1861

TABLE VIII B

COST OF THE WHITSUNTIDE TREAT PAID FOR BY THE CLAY CROSS COMPANY

	£	s	d	
1866	30	15	5	30.77
1867	33	7	10	33.39
1868				
1869	46	8	6½	46.47
1870	47	4	2½	47.21
1871	49	8	10	49.44
1872	47	16	7	47.83
1873	52	10	2	52.51
1874	49	15	0½	49.75
1875	49	13	8½	49.68
1876	45	6	8½	45.38
1877	44	11	6	44.57
1878	44	3	8	44.18
1879	40	13	7	40.68
1880	46	10	7	46.53
1881	40	13	6	40.67

TABLE IX

ESTABLISHMENT OF HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES IN DERBYSHIRE

Ripley	1840	
Erewash/Codnor	1841	
Clay Cross	1845/52	
Dronfield	1846	
Eckington	1848	
Heath/Ault Hucknall	1849/1897	
Glossop	1849	
Hasland	1853/1896	
Chesterfield	c1835/1853/1893	
Brampton/Walton	1856	
Bolsover Town	1859	
Ashford	1860	
Whitwell	1860	
Swanwick	1861	
Milford	1862	
Norton	1862	
Riddings	1863	
Ripley Co-op	1864	
Cutthorpe	1865	
Bakewell	1865	
Whittington	1865	
Sheepbridge	1866	
Tideswell	1867	
Staveley	1868	
Bradwell	1868	
Shirland	1869	
Alfreton	1871	
Matlock Bath	1872	
Lee/Holloway	1872	
Pleasley	1872	
Heanor	1873	
Mosboro	1873	
Cresswell	1875	included Colliery gardens by 1900
Tibshelf	1876	
Killamarsh	1879	
Crich	1879	
Pinxton	1881	
Pilsley	1881	
Stonebroom/Morton	1882	
Ripley	1884	
Hasland & Chesterfield	1886	
Gridelford Bridge	1886	
Ilkeston	1886	
Cukney	1888	
Grassmoor	1887	
Ambergate	1890	
North Wingfield	1894	
Blackwell	1894	
Shirebrook	1894	

The majority of the Horticultural Societies were first developed in the coal mining belt of East Derbyshire and earlier than the agricultural west. The importance of gardens and later allotments should not be underestimated when considering domestic economy and the standard of living controversy of the Nineteenth century

TABLE X

CLAY CROSS COLLIERY - YIELD OF COAL PER ACRE FOR FIVE YEARS 1863 - 1868

SEAM	ACREAGE WORKED	TOTAL YIELD	YIELD PER ACRE	AVERAGE THICKNESS	YIELD PER FOOT PER ACRE	SHOULD YIELD	LOSS PER ACRE
Blackshale Sep 1863 to Sep 1868	137	Coal 619,402 Slack 2,407 621,869	4,521 18 4,539	3'7"	1,226	5,444	905
Blackshale Morton March 1866 to March 1869	50	Coal 198,424 Slack 6,291 204,715	3,968 126 4,094	3'3"	1,260	4,987	893
Tupton Clay Cross Sep 1863 to Sep 1869	91	Coal 228,067 Cobb 369,361 Slack 55,329 652,757	2,506 4,059 608 7,173	5'	1,434	7,596	423

"Note the loss in working is caused by riddling and loading with
Forks in the mine 1 inch gauge the slack made is thrown into the goaf"

TABLE XI

REGULATIONS FOR WORKMEN EMPLOYED 1841

I. Any man being desirous of quitting the colliery is required to give two weeks' notice of his intention at the office previous to his leaving. The owners of the colliery also giving the same notice to every man previous to his being discharged by them, retaining to themselves the power of discharging any man at a moment's notice for improper conduct.

II. If any man should neglect his work without permission from the owners, or without being able to give sufficient reason for such neglect, he will be liable to a penalty imposed by the owners for every such office, the amount of such penalty being left to their discretion.

III. If any engine-man, banksman, or other man placed in a situation of trust, be found intoxicated at his work, or during the ordinary time when his attendance is required he will be liable to instant dismissal, or the imposition of a heavy penalty, at the discretion of the owners.

IV. Any inattention to the hours of attendance renders a man liable to a penalty, or the forfeiture of a portion of his wages.

V. Any man found introducing intoxicating liquors at the works at any time will be liable to instant dismissal.

VI. No collier or workman is allowed to keep any fighting dogs, or fighting cocks, in the cottages belonging to the owners, or to introduce them on the works.

VII. Every married collier or pitman is required to give 6d. a-fortnight, and every single man 3d. to a fund raised every pay-day for the purpose of procuring medical assistance whenever required for the men or their families.

Any workman openly defying the above regulations is rendered liable to such punishment as the law may inflict.

(Signed) CHAS. BINNS, Agent.

N.B. - The first-mentioned regulation does not apply to day labourers.

TABLE XII
OCCUPATION OF SOME CLAY CROSS VOLUNTEERS

1861

G. Turbutt	Captain	Squire Turbutt Estate
W. Milnes JP	Lieutenant	Landowner
Wm. Howe	Colour Sgt.	CXC Engineer
G. Brown	Sgt.	CXC Underviewer
B. Turner	Sgt.	CXC Underviewer
J.P. Udall	Sgt.	Draper
S. Houldsworth	Corporal	Colliery Proprietors son
W. Houldsworth	Col. Sgt.	Colliery Proprietor
Geo Askew	Corporal	Draper
Rev. Oldham	Chaplain	C of E
Dr. Wilson	Corps Surgeon	CXC Doctor
Robert Howe	Corporal	CXC Assistant Engineer

1867-1900

J.P. Jackson	Captain	CXC Proprietor
T. Wilkinson	Lieutenant	CXC Cashier
G. Kemp	Sgt.	CXC Surveyor
B. Hill	Sgt.	?
Matthew Mycroft	Sgt.	Landlord New Inn
S. Rooth	Ensign	Farmer
G. Dunn	Private	CXC Deputy
Jos. Foster	Private	Landlord
Phillip Vardy	Private	CXC Deputy
J. Whitworth	Private	Landlord 3 Horseshoes
W. Wilkinson	Private	CXC Blacksmith
Jos. Martin	Bandsman	Newsagent
Harry Clayton	Sgt.	CXC Undermanager
Thomas Hastings	Private	Blacksmith Striker
John Roe	Band	CXC Official
George Butterworth	Band	CXC Shop Foreman
Elias Smith	Private	Shakespeare Inn
James Elliott	?	CXC Gas Manager
G. Bramley	Private/Lt.	CXC Clerk/Foundry Manager
T. Walters	Private	CXC Deputy
Joseph Matkin	Sgt.	Deputy Alma Colliery
A. Cherry	Corporal	Butcher
William Sear	Bandmaster	Shoemaker/Landlord
Marshall Bryan	Sgt.	Rate Collector/Overseer
S. W. Rowarth	Bandsman	CXC Engineman
J. Henry Unwin	QMS	Clerk School Board
Charles Wilkinson	Private	Blacksmith
Abraham Street	Bandsman	Miner
W. Wilbraham	Cor./Sgt.	Landlord
William Howe Jnr.	Lt.	CXC Engineer
Charles Brimlow	Sgt.	CXC Book-keeper
Charles Edward Wright	Corporal	Master Plumber

TABLE XIII

Morton & Stonebroom Swimming Bath

REGULATIONS

1. The Bath will open from April 1st to October 1st from 7 o'clock until 12 in the mornings, and from 3 in the afternoons until sunset. Persons desirous of bathing at other times must make application to William Randle, Colliery Lane, Morton.

2. The Bath will be closed on Sundays and Good Fridays.

3. The charge for the employees of the Morton Colliery will be one half-penny each bath; for all other persons, twopence. Season Tickets for Miners 2s. 6d., for all other persons 5s. These season tickets will not be available on Tuesdays, when the charge will be 6d each person.

4. Every bather should wear bathing drawers.

5. The use of soap will not be allowed in the Swimming Bath after the Washing bath is completed.

6. All profane or immoral language, and all indecent behaviour is strictly prohibited. Any person infringing this rule, will forfeit the privilege of the bath.

7. Children under 4 feet will not be admitted, unless under the charge of a responsible person.

8. Any person polluting, or in any way wilfully defiling the water, will forfeit the use of the bath.

9. Any persons found injuring the premises of the bath, will be prosecuted according to law.

10. The Managers reserve the right to refuse admittance to objectionable characters.

JOHN P. JACKSON.
CHAS. KERRY.

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