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**THE SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE:  
FRIENDLY SOCIETIES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE  
1724-1913**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the  
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to knowledge about friendly societies by exploring their experiences throughout one county from the eighteenth century to 1913. Drawing on a wide range of material, many different kinds of societies which existed during this time are identified.

From a database of 1,271 societies, the chronological, typological and geographical patterns of development are explored; the membership, activities, and management of societies is discussed on the basis of data drawn from other sources. As a result, many commonly held beliefs about societies are challenged. Particular attention is drawn to the early establishment of rural as well as urban societies, the extensiveness of membership throughout the nineteenth century, the persistence of the independent society even after the rise of the affiliated orders, the extent of female membership and the fact that membership was not restricted to the artisan elite even in the eighteenth century.

The place of friendly societies in the lives of the working people is explored through discussion of the meaning of independence in the friendly society context and the class implications of membership. It is argued that the achievement of independence and control of society management were important concerns for members. It is also argued that these concerns were not a reflection either of middle-class aspirations or working-class identification; instead they represented the pragmatic outcome of the workers' assessment of their situation. Finally it is argued that the pragmatism of the members' relationship to their societies and the societies' desire for independence of each other and of the state both contributed to the failure of the friendly societies to develop into a united movement to further the interests of working people in spite of being the earliest of the workers' self-help organisations, with the largest following, throughout the nineteenth century.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

This study began in 1985 with the discovery of a set of records belonging to a Nottinghamshire friendly society.(1) During the exploration of these records and associated literature, the author learnt that there were various ways in which people coped in the past when illness, unemployment or old age prevented them from earning a living. Well known solutions were to seek help from family or friends, charity or from the parish which had a responsibility, under Poor Law legislation, to care for its poor and destitute. An alternative was to join a mutual assistance society, known more colloquially as "a club". There were many different kinds of "clubs", or friendly societies as they were properly called. At various times, friendly society legislation encompassed trade unions, savings banks, building societies, medical societies, cattle clubs, loan clubs, coal clubs, shop clubs, working men's clubs and even literary institutes, but this study is concerned only with those known generally as friendly societies, or sick clubs. These normally provided an income during periods of illness and a funeral benefit; some also provided medical help, unemployment pay and other benefits. Three features distinguished friendly societies from charity or parish provisions. Firstly, they were usually run by the members for themselves; secondly they were financed solely or primarily from members' subscriptions, receiving no help from the parish or the state; thirdly, payments made to members were not given out of charity but as a right in return for regular subscriptions.

An exploration of the historical literature at that time showed that friendly societies had rarely received more than a passing mention in general histories in spite of the fact that they seem to have contributed much to British society. Friendly societies had been the first of the workers' self-help organisations in Britain, pre-dating both the trade union and the co-operative movements and had been influential in several spheres. They had played an important role in forging the administrative and legal framework which was to govern the relationship between the state, the trades unions and co-operative movements later in the century. Furthermore, their experience as providers of insurance in the event of sickness, old age and death contributed substantially to the development of actuarial principles used in insurance services as well as to the debate which led to the establishment of the state national insurance scheme in the twentieth century. Indeed, Gladstone once observed:

Friendly societies have become so important and telling a feature in the constitution of English society in its broadest and fundamental part that any account of this

nation ... would deserve no attention as a really comprehensive account if it excluded the element of such societies.(2)

In spite of their apparent significance in nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain, few historians had found them interesting as a subject of research.(3) It seemed, as one author noted, that historians had effectively taken them for granted.(4) Yet in view of their apparent importance in the nineteenth century and their significance in subsequent developments, the limited research has failed to close an important gap in understanding nineteenth century society.

The author's interest in this subject was aroused not only because limited research evidence had been undertaken at that time but also because the assumptions commonly made about societies seemed to be at variance with the evidence provided by the set of original records discovered. A study of the general historical literature showed that most historians generally assumed that the development of friendly societies was related to urbanisation and industrialisation from the mid-eighteenth century.(5) It was also said that in the early years they were patronised by the better-paid artisans in urban areas and not until the late years of the nineteenth century were the poorest workers, notably those in rural areas, able to afford to join societies.(6) Many also assumed that societies were effectively trade unions which took on the guise of friendly societies to avoid the constraints of the Combinations Acts of 1799 and 1800.(7) Another common view was that although friendly societies had existed from the seventeenth century, their development was encouraged by legislation which first legitimatised their existence in the 1790s.(8) Furthermore that the period of greatest expansion was in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth centuries as a reaction to Poor Law legislation in 1834 which enacted the abolition of outdoor parish relief, thus forcing the poor to develop alternative provision for hard times.(9) Another view was that the friendly society movement grew rapidly only after the affiliated orders developed strongly from the second quarter of the nineteenth century and took the place of unreliable old sick clubs incorporating many of them in the process.(10) Another set of assumptions concerned the role of friendly societies in the relationship between the classes; societies were often said to provide a mechanism through which the middle-classes controlled and passed on their values of self-help and thrift to the working classes.(11)

In spite of the commonness with which these views were stated in general historical literature, the evidence provided by the one set of records examined gave them no support. The Woodborough Male Friendly Society was an independent society which had been established in 1826 in a village in Nottinghamshire.(12) Its framework-knitter and labourer members could not be described as belonging to the artisan elite of the working classes. It did not decline or join an affiliated order during the middle years of the nineteenth century. In fact the contrary was true; the one attempt by an affiliated order

to establish a lodge in the village failed while the independent society survived for over 125 years closing only in 1954.(13) There was no indication that the society was connected in any way with trade unions or other organisations; nor was it controlled by the village gentry or clergy. In short, the records of the Woodborough club suggested that it was a practical, non-ideological, well-supported, independently minded club. It was run with enthusiasm and competence by the village men with no interference from, or contact with, any other organisations and was outside the control of the local gentry or clergy.(14)

The divergence of these early observations from the assumptions commonly made in general historical literature inevitably posed questions, on the one hand, about the typicality of the experience of the Woodborough club and, on the other, about the validity of the generally accepted views about friendly societies. The first step in this research was, therefore, to discover more about friendly societies in Nottinghamshire as well as to explore the experience of societies nationally. As, in common with most other counties, no co-ordinated information was available about friendly societies on a county-wide basis in Nottinghamshire, it became the first task of this study to collect and collate evidence about societies throughout the county as a basis on which to establish the extent of friendly societies and their pattern of development. At the same time searches were made for more original source material so that further detailed studies could be made of individual societies, their activities and their members; evidence relating more generally to friendly societies throughout England and Wales was also explored.

## **The development of friendly societies in Britain**

The historical development of friendly societies in England up to 1875 has been described by Gosden and will be outlined only briefly here.(15) Fraternal organisations in which people pooled their financial or personal resources in the spirit of mutual aid in times of uncertainty and distress have probably always existed but the type of friendly society which is the subject of this work had its origins in the seventeenth century and began to spread widely in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is impossible to know how many friendly societies existed in Britain in the eighteenth century or how they were distributed. It is clear, however, that they existed in large numbers long before the first friendly society legislation, Rose's Act of 1793, gave the societies legal status.(16) The Webbs noted that local friendly societies had sprung up all over England during the eighteenth century and towards its close their number increased rapidly until in some areas "every village ale-house became a centre for one or more of these humble and spontaneous organisations."(17)

The earliest attempt to establish the number of friendly societies and their membership on a nationwide basis was undertaken in 1794/5 by Eden who found friendly societies in almost every part of England and Wales.(18) In a further study published in 1801 he

estimated that there were about 7,200 societies with 648,000 members.(19) The first official attempt to establish the number of friendly societies was made in returns submitted by the Overseers of the Poor for the year 1803 which showed that there were 9,672 societies with 704,350 members in England and Wales.(20) Further information on friendly society membership for the years 1813-1815 showed that by 1815 there were 925,439 society members in England and Wales.(21) Although the accuracy of these early statistics has been questioned, as they were collected locally by the Overseers of the Poor, they provide a guide to the number of friendly societies and their membership which has never been surpassed in terms of probable accuracy.(22) In 1815 members of societies represented nearly 8.5% of the total population of England and Wales. The incidence of membership, however, varied greatly between counties; in Sussex, for example, only 2.5% of the population were members and in Berkshire, Herefordshire and Westmorland only 3%; by contrast in Lancashire as many as 17% were members, in Staffordshire 14% and in Monmouth 13%.(23)

During the nineteenth century the number of friendly societies appears to have increased markedly but the Registrar of Friendly Societies, an office which existed from 1846, found it extremely difficult to make an accurate assessment of the number of societies and their members. This was mainly because registration was not compulsory and many societies remained unregistered. As the Registrar's responsibility was limited to registered societies, his annual statistics were drawn exclusively from registered societies, in fact only from those societies which fulfilled their obligation to submit annual returns (an action which many societies neglected). His statistics were, therefore, never an accurate reflection of the total number of societies and members or even just of registered societies. In 1872, for example, 21,819 forms were sent to registered societies but only 12,267 were returned with the result that the Registrar's report for that year was based on returns from fewer than half the known registered societies.(24) Possibly a more accurate estimate of membership was made in 1874 by the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies which suggested that the 32,000 registered societies had about four million members but even this estimate has been subject to criticism.(25)

The total membership of friendly societies in Britain continued to rise throughout the nineteenth century and by 1901 reached over eleven millions.(26) During this time new types of society emerged and the pattern of membership changed. The earliest societies were independent groups with a localised membership usually based on public houses but in the nineteenth century, particularly after 1815, the affiliated orders expanded throughout Britain. These affiliated orders, such as the Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids and Rechabites, were effectively umbrella organisations within which local groups operated as branches guided by the central organisation but with a high degree of local autonomy. They dominated the friendly society movement for most of the 1800s but in the last quarter of the century, new national collecting societies, such as the Royal Liver and the

Liverpool Victoria Legal, grew rapidly at the expense of the existing orders and local societies until more people belonged to collecting societies than to the orders or to the ordinary societies. By 1911 there were 14,507,963 members of friendly societies of whom 3,906,954 belonged to ordinary societies, 2,803,429 belonged to societies with branches (i.e. the orders) and 7,168,092 belonged to national collecting societies.(27)

The National Health Insurance Act of 1911 acted simultaneously as the death knell for many societies and as a false dawn for others.(28) Some friendly societies became "approved societies" under this act and expanded as they became agents for the state scheme and "state members" were added to the existing voluntary members. Societies which decided not to join the new scheme generally declined and many closed completely at this time. By the 1940s membership had probably reached its peak at almost forty millions most of whom were "state", rather than voluntary, members.(29) However, by the end of the decade the combined effect of the Acts of 1946, the National Health Service Act with its provision of free medical care on a universal basis and the National Insurance Act with its new state-run scheme of social insurance, established a new order which excluded friendly societies.(30) As a result, the *raison d'être* of the old friendly societies no longer existed, the remaining small independent societies declined and the large affiliated orders had to search for a new role.

The rise and fall of friendly societies between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries had taken place in a society which had experienced changing attitudes towards poverty, the working people and in the relationship between the individual and the state. The late years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth were times of prosperity for those able to benefit from the conditions caused by the unprecedented population growth during this period as well as the lengthy war with France. But while farmers and certain manufacturers profitted from high demand and prices for their products, the mass of the population suffered from difficult conditions and high prices, especially for food. These hard times were soon to be shared by a much larger sector of society in the deep depression following the ending of the French wars. The experience of a few years of prosperity in the 1820s and 1830s was then followed by further depths of depression in the "Hungry Forties" before the national economy began its recovery after mid-century.

The experience of widespread poverty and increasing resort to parish funds during and in the years immediately after the wars with the French gave cause for concern amongst rate-payers about the growth of a dependency culture. As a result, in the late years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, there were many initiatives to encourage or force people to become more self-sufficient.(31) But by mid-century there had been a shift in philosophy. The spirit of paternalism which had guided, encouraged and sometimes forced the working people towards providing for their own needs had



given way to the spirit of laissez-faire under which the working people were free to make their own way without governmental or parish interference or assistance. They were, however, expected to embrace the ideals of work, thrift, respectability and, above all, self-help which were central to the mid-Victorian value system - a system which was later embodied in the writings of Samuel Smiles who saw self-help as the root of all genuine growth in both individual and society.(32)

The first half of the nineteenth century was also a time of political challenge for working people who had joined the Reform movement but had not been enfranchised under the 1832 Reform Act.(33) Their political efforts continued in a modified form in the Chartist movement but there were also new opportunities for men and women to organise themselves in a variety of ways through trade unions, co-operatives and other self-help movements. Such combinations of workers had at first been regarded with suspicion by the ruling groups when they first began to emerge in the late years of the eighteenth century. Memories of the French and the American Revolutions were still strong and any combination of workers was feared. Friendly societies, alone of the workers' groups, were permitted freedom to congregate during the time the Combination Acts were in force in the early years of the century but eventually the freedom to form associations was restored as fears of revolution receded.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, concern about population growth and poverty had combined with the economic theories of Malthus to create an attitude of anxiety about the demands of the ever-increasing numbers of the poor in need of parish help.(34) But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the spirit and mood of Britain began to change. Increasing prosperity for most of the population led to concern about those who remained poor. Knowledge about the nature and causes of poverty were increasing under the influence of those who had explored the lives of the poor in various ways over the second half of the century. Mayhew, Mearns, Booth and Rowntree were among those whose works contributed to this concern in their different ways.(35) There was growing recognition that it was impossible for the poor, the sick, the young and the old to stand completely on their own feet in the way envisaged by the mid-Victorian self-help philosophy. It has been argued that these changed attitudes emerged partly as a natural outcome of an increasing understanding of poverty and the development of movements for working amongst the poor such as the Salvation Army and the Settlements but also as a result of the potential political power of the working classes newly enfranchised from 1885, the violence of the discontent which erupted in the 1880s and government's fear that if something were not done soon for the poor, they might use their newly acquired political influence to overthrow the political system.(36) Such changes contributed to a growing belief that the state could and should play a part in making communal provision for social welfare, if only to avoid the overthrow of the current regime, and eventually to a new set of beliefs which valued the idea that the community as a whole should share

responsibility for the poor, the sick, the old and the young. The provision of old age pensions in 1909, national health insurance in 1912 and the whole fabric of the welfare state after the second world war were inheritances of these changing values.

Now, in the late years of the twentieth century, the question of the value of self-help and individual initiative on the one hand and communal, state-aided provision on the other is on the political and social agenda once more. After more than a decade during which government policies have aimed to replace the values of communality and shared provision of the welfare state with a spirit of individualism, personal enterprise and self-help, it seems a particularly appropriate time to reconsider the experience of friendly societies as the voluntary organisations at the centre of the spirit of self-help in the nineteenth century.

### **Previous research**

The only study of friendly societies on a national basis to date discussed the development of societies in England up to 1875.(37) In this work, Gosden described the historical background to societies, then concentrated on the development of the largest of the affiliated orders, the Independent Order of Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) and the Ancient Order of Foresters, between 1815 and 1875 in England. Apart from a later book by the same author updating some aspects of this work there have been no subsequent works tackling this subject on a national level.(38)

There are, as yet, few regional studies of societies although in recent years their number has been growing. Scourfield collated data about societies in part of South Wales and discussed the contribution of friendly society leaders to Welsh cultural life.(39) Jones has studied the membership of all registered friendly societies in Glamorgan and discussed the reliability of societies in providing assistance to their members.(40) Neave has discussed the practices and the spread of societies in East Yorkshire.(41) Other studies have considered aspects of friendly societies in a less extensive time scale and area, sometimes in the context of wider studies. Crossick and Prothero, for example, have separately studied the role of friendly society membership amongst the artisan class in parts of London.(42) Foster has discussed friendly society membership in Oldham, Northampton and South Shields.(43) Edwards has explored friendly societies in late nineteenth century Cambridge.(44)

Rural historians have been particularly neglectful of societies. The Hammonds classic work on the village labourer made no mention of friendly societies.(45) Mingay refers to clubs only to note the unreliability of old sick clubs.(46) Horn has discussed them only briefly in her many published works; even in the one article in which she devoted several pages to friendly societies, as one of the two kinds of labour organisations in rural areas,

she failed to recognise their extensiveness and did little more than recognise their existence and present a few well worn phases about them.(47) Snell made no reference to them in his book on agrarian England 1660-1900.(48) These omissions from serious consideration in studies of rural life was probably because the main growth of friendly societies took place from the late eighteenth century in the developing industrial heartlands of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Assumptions were therefore made that societies were associated with industrialisation and were to be found almost exclusively in urban areas until the late years of the nineteenth century. Yet these views are at odds with the Registrar of Friendly Societies' reports which noted the existence of societies in rural areas from the eighteenth century. As early as 1856 the Registrar commented that almost every village and hamlet in England and Wales had its friendly society while the towns and cities had them by hundreds.(49) If friendly societies have long been so common in both rural and urban areas, it is difficult to understand how they could have been so neglected by historians, urban and rural. Armstrong, alone amongst the rural historians, has recognised their extensiveness in rural areas in the eighteenth century, has looked beyond the accepted generalisations about societies and rule book evidence and has taken them seriously enough to weave their general experience in rural areas through the nineteenth century into his social and economic history of the farm-worker.(50)

Some publications have described the activities of particular societies in rural areas. Fuller, for example, has described the organisation and practices of some West Country societies based on the evidence of rule books.(51) Morgan has used similar evidence to describe the activities of some Herefordshire societies.(52) Russell used newspapers to identify societies and their activities in part of Lincolnshire.(53) Besides these studies dealing specifically with friendly societies, descriptions of clubs have sometimes been included in parish histories.(54) However such works rarely discuss the role of societies in the community or consider their experiences in a broader context.

One reason friendly societies have been neglected until recent years was the assumption that few original records had survived. Fuller made this point and relied primarily on rule books for her work while Gosden used the printed records of the affiliated orders, reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies and rule books for his sources.(55) Crossick also drew attention to the difficulties of finding source materials.(56) These views were challenged by Neave who traced many original source materials in his area.(57) Citing Hobsbawm's view of the potential value of friendly society sources he used original records to investigate some of the questions Hobsbawm had posed and looked at such issues as when societies began, how many there were, where they were located, who the members and the leaders were and what activities they were involved with.(58)

Neave's study concerned a rural area of the East Riding of Yorkshire. It concentrated on the experience of the affiliated orders since it was in the hands of the secretaries and

former secretaries of such lodges and courts that he found original source materials which formed the basis of his work. He drew attention to the fact that friendly societies were not restricted to the urban artisan as Gosden and other historians had assumed. He noted that the more humble labourer was equally likely to be a member perhaps in societies under the leadership of village craftsmen. He also discussed the influence of nonconformity on the spread of friendly societies in East Yorkshire and the relationship between rural societies and local politics in the later years of the nineteenth century. Finally he considered the idea that societies were part of the system of social control and came to the conclusion that far from being a means through which the local gentry and clergy controlled parishioners, the societies were a means of contact between the members and the local gentry and clergy but contact was on the society's terms. He argued that, as a result, the societies had a democratising effect later in the century as local politicians recognised that they provided the main point of contact between local politicians and the villagers, and thereby provided also the possibility of mass support through its membership.(59)

The theoretical context of this study lies within certain debates on the development of working class culture in the nineteenth century. Most debate about the place of friendly societies in working-class culture has taken place in the context of a discussion of the labour aristocracy and the growth of a supposed division between a labour elite of skilled, regularly employed, well-paid craftsmen and other workers in the second half of the nineteenth century which had its origins in an article by Hobsbawm in 1954.(60) Since that time considerable attention has been given to various aspects of the supposed division. Studies have asked whether the division is a valid one: Thompson and Musson have argued that artisan elites existed before mid-century and so dispute any change at that time.(61) The relative influence of social and economic determination of any division has also been debated: Gray has argued that in Edinburgh a labour aristocracy existed with its own culture and identity which cut across traditional craft lines and expressed itself in institutions such as friendly societies and trade unions while Crossick has emphasised culture, community, values and life-styles rather than economic determinants in the formation of a labour elite in which membership of local institutions drew certain classes of working men together while simultaneously setting them apart from other workers.(62)

Friendly societies have been included in this debate as one of the institutions said to be patronised by the labour elite, others being libraries, churches, co-operatives, trade unions, self-improvement groups. It has been argued that membership of such organisations cemented relationships within this class and accentuated the divisions between the labour elite and the rest of the working classes.(63) The tendency of the labour elite to distance themselves from the mass of unskilled workers has sometimes been seen as presenting an opportunity for the middle-classes to control and influence the artisan elites by encouraging them to aspire to middle class values of self-improvement and respectability through middle-class approved means such as education and self-help rather than through

political action.(64) As a result, Gosden has argued, friendly societies received middle-class support and members adopted middle-class values which prevented them from being seen as a positive expression of working-class aspirations and values.(65)

Others, however, who have emphasised the working man's spirit of independence, his lack of servility and his rejection of middle-class interpretations, have disputed this view and argue that friendly societies were the product of values which were an integral part of working class traditions and culture. Thompson, for example, took the view that the friendly societies had played a positive role in the formation of working class culture.(66) Crossick, supporting Thompson's views, was critical of Gosden's conclusions arguing that in ignoring data about actual membership of friendly societies he under-estimated the importance of the movement to the working class as a whole.(67) Tholfsen also concluded that the mid-Victorian worker did not adopt middle-class values; instead he preserved his radicalism and independence while being totally integrated into a culture dominated by the middle-classes. He suggested that of all working class institutions, friendly societies were the most in harmony with the spirit of mid-Victorianism but they pursued consensus values within a framework of working class sub-culture that prized genuine independence and self-respect. Thus he suggested that friendly society activity was not an expression of adherence to middle-class values but of values of independence and self-respect held by the working-classes as part of their own culture.(68)

This theme of independence is one which recurs in the study of nineteenth century society and is integral to the discussion of respectability and class values at that time. One of the themes of this study will be to explore the meaning of independence in the friendly society context. Did membership of a friendly society reflect a desire for independence? If so, did this suggest adoption of the dominant middle-class code of the nineteenth century which emphasised financial independence through self-help and thrift? Or was it derived from values inherent in the cultural traditions of working people and reflect the working man's assertion that he had no need of help, support or condescension from the middle or upper classes?

The question of why the friendly society movement never developed a political dimension is also discussed in this study. The broader question of why a British working class political movement did not become established in the mid-nineteenth century, particularly since the Reform and Chartist movements in the 1830s and 1840s had involved many working people, has been much discussed.(69) It has been argued that declining interest in Chartism after 1848 coincided with new opportunities for both personal and social progress presented by the improving economy after 1850 and by the developing adult education facilities such as reading rooms and mechanics institutes. As a result, it became unnecessary for the British working classes to seek change through class conflict and revolution as personal and social progress were now possible through other means. Thus,

instead of pressing for change and political reform, Stedman Jones has argued, class consciousness and concern amongst the aspiring workers was transformed into class collaboration.(70) Others have disputed the claim that there was a general improvement in the economic conditions of the working people after mid-century, arguing that there is considerable evidence to suggest that poverty continued to plague the lives of the majority of workers throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.(71) In this discussion no attention has yet been given to the potential role of friendly societies and one of the questions to be asked in this study is why friendly societies, with their earlier origins and more extensive membership than other working men's organisations throughout the nineteenth century did not play a part, or even form the basis, of such a political movement.(72)

### **Aims and approach to research**

Most studies of friendly societies have taken place in urban contexts yet as societies also existed extensively in rural areas, any discussion which ignores the rural dimension may well fail to recognise important aspects of the experience of societies. Similarly research has hitherto concentrated largely on the experience of the affiliated orders from the second quarter of the nineteenth century and has given little attention to the extensive experience of independent societies both before and after that time. This work, therefore, contributes to redressing the balance by making a county-wide investigation which, uniquely in the study of friendly societies, encompasses both rural and urban areas, unregistered as well as registered societies, independent societies as well as branches of the affiliated orders, over a long time span from the eighteenth century to the First World War. In this way it has been possible to offer a broader perspective on the experience of friendly societies.

Nottinghamshire was chosen as the subject of this study purely on grounds of practicality. As the research was to be carried out on a part-time basis by a self-funded student with demands of family and jobs to consider, it was impractical to consider extensive research outside her home county. The very lack of any existing research on the subject in Nottinghamshire made the choice of the county worth while but it was also apparent that a study of Nottinghamshire, with its combination of agricultural and industrial heritages in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and in particular its industrial villages, would make a useful contribution to the study of friendly societies which have until now been either urban-based or rural-based.

As there had been little research on friendly societies in Nottinghamshire, the general aim of this study was to fill this gap in knowledge by making a detailed study of the development of the friendly society movement throughout the county from the eighteenth century to the First World War. To this end the first task was to collect evidence of the existence of societies throughout the county and establish the pattern of development by



time, place and type of society. Data was collected from many sources in addition to the easily accessible deposits in the Public Record Office, local archives and archives of the affiliated orders. Local history societies were consulted, diaries, autobiographies and parish histories studied, newspapers sampled and indexes in all repositories throughout the county checked. Newspapers, in particular, proved to be a very rich source of information but time limitations and strains on eyesight when using microfilms restricted the search to a sample of the many newspapers which existed in Nottinghamshire throughout the period under study. Although the author makes no claims to have covered all existing material comprehensively, this approach has made it possible to collate a much broader network of evidence than in any previous study and has provided evidence of the existence of at least 1271 societies in the county between 1724 and 1913. This list has been published separately.(73)

The second stage of research was to explore the range of assumptions made about societies from the Nottinghamshire evidence. Chapter 3 presents a chronological, typographical and geographical analysis of the development of societies in the county. Reasons for this pattern of development are sought and the findings are discussed in the context of generalisations made about societies and evidence from other studies. The theme of questioning generalisations and existing knowledge about societies continues in the next three chapters which use a wide range of sources to explore and discuss the activities of societies, their members and their relationships with their community. In chapter 4 membership, activities and management of societies is explored. Chapter 5 concentrates on the experience of female societies and their place in the friendly society movement. The relationship between societies and the local establishment is the subject of chapter 6 which explores the different opinions about societies held by members of the establishment (the clergy, gentry and others of influence) and gives particular attention to the different opinions held about appropriate styles of club management.

A third strand in this study was a series of debates about the place of friendly societies in the lives and culture of the working people. This is the subject of chapter 7 in which consideration is given to the different meanings attached to independence in the context of friendly societies and the extent to which societies succeeded in achieving independence. The class implications of friendly society membership are also discussed. It is argued that a concern for independence underlies friendly society membership generally. This concern does not, however, reflect the members' class identification with either the working or the middle class; instead it represents a pragmatic response to his situation and a deep-seated desire not to be under the control of, or beholden to, others.

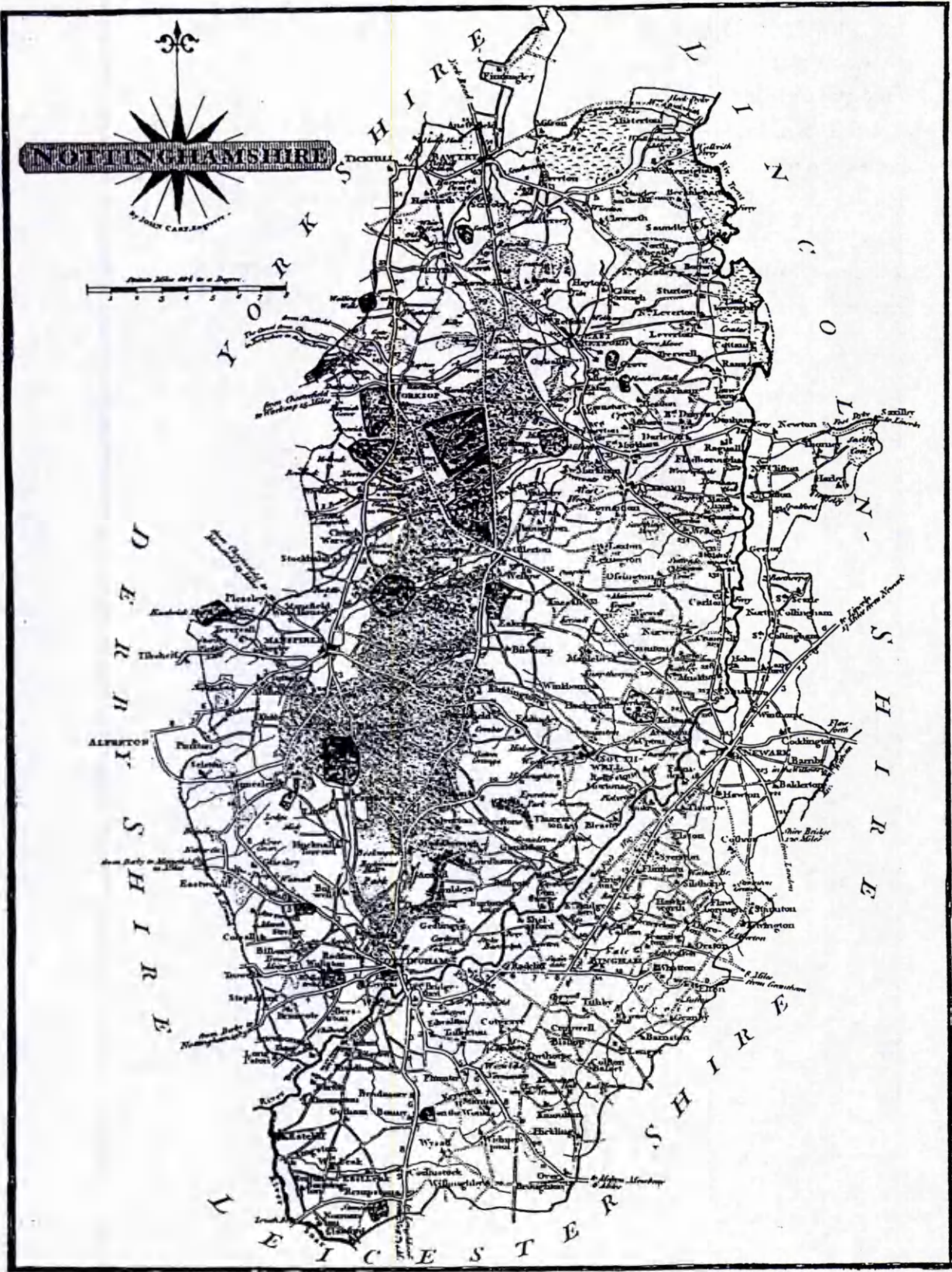
The concluding chapter draws together the implications of the findings of the study. It is argued that the broader perspective taken in this work has produced a range of evidence which has made it possible to challenge many of the assumptions previously made about

friendly societies. It has also made it possible to dispute as too simplistic the arguments that friendly society membership implied a particular stance regarding the adoption of middle-class values or adherence to working class patterns. Instead, attention is drawn to the variety of experience encompassed by friendly societies throughout the history of the movement and varying attitudes taken by members to the societies in different times and places and the essential pragmatism of the relationship of members to societies. Finally the failure of the friendly society movement, the earliest of the large-scale, self-help organisations, to develop a political dimension and become a forum for the general expression of the interests and concerns of the working people is discussed. It is argued that the desire for independence, which permeated all levels of the friendly society movement, and the essentially pragmatic nature of the members' interest in societies, were both factors which contributed to the movement's failure to develop into a coordinated organisation which could promote the interests of the working people.



Fig. 2.1

Nottinghamshire 1787 (Carey)



## Chapter 2

### Nottinghamshire and its people

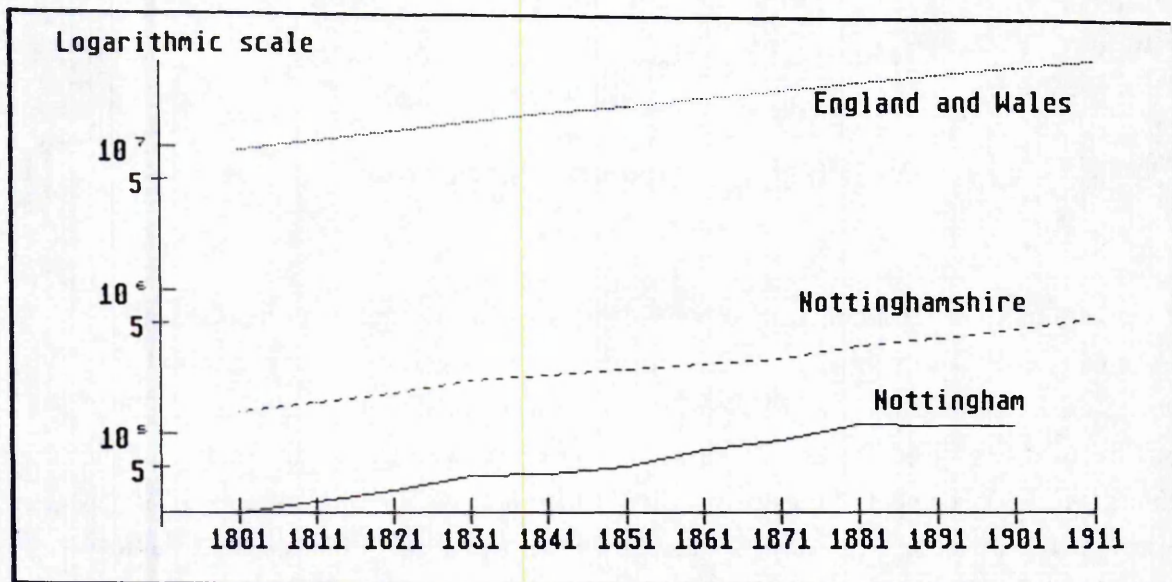
At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Nottinghamshire was still predominantly a rural county. In 1801 over half its 140,000 people were living in communities with fewer than 1,200 inhabitants and only seven parishes had a population exceeding 2,500.(1) Over the next fifty years the county's population increased so that by the middle of the century over sixty percent of the population lived in parishes of more than 2,500 and ten parishes had populations exceeding 5,000.(2) By the beginning of the twentieth century the tendency for development to be concentrated in the south and west of the county had increased so that the population of over half a million was very unevenly distributed over the county's eight hundred square miles; two-thirds of the population was concentrated in the Nottingham conurbation and in the mining areas on the western border with Derbyshire; the remaining third was scattered over the rest of the county in numerous villages where only Ordsall, Newark and Worksop had populations of more than 5,000.(3)

Located in the south-west corner of the county, Nottingham has a problem today, as it must also have done in the past, in securing the loyalty of those of the county's population who are distant from their county town. This is enhanced by the fact that Nottinghamshire does not have a natural physical, geographical or economic unity. Its northerly parishes, separated from Nottingham by Sherwood Forest, are akin physically to South Yorkshire and the people identify with the nearer South Yorkshire towns of Doncaster and Sheffield rather than with their own distant county town. Similarly the eastern part of the county where agricultural lands link with the flat landscape of Lincolnshire has a more natural leaning towards, and proximity to, that predominantly agricultural county particularly on the northern part of the border where lines of communication lead more easily to the small town of Gainsborough in Lincolnshire than to other centres of population in Nottinghamshire. Along the southern part of the border with Lincolnshire, allegiance to the county is maintained only by the existence of the market town of Newark. In the western part of the county the mining towns and villages share a common interest with similar larger centres across the county border in Derbyshire where the bulk of the coalfield lies. In the south, the Vale of Belvoir, which is shared with Leicestershire, faces more firmly towards the south than to the north which may reflect the fact that the River Trent which divides Nottingham from the county's most southerly parishes has long been regarded as the river which divides the north from the south of England.



Fig. 2.3

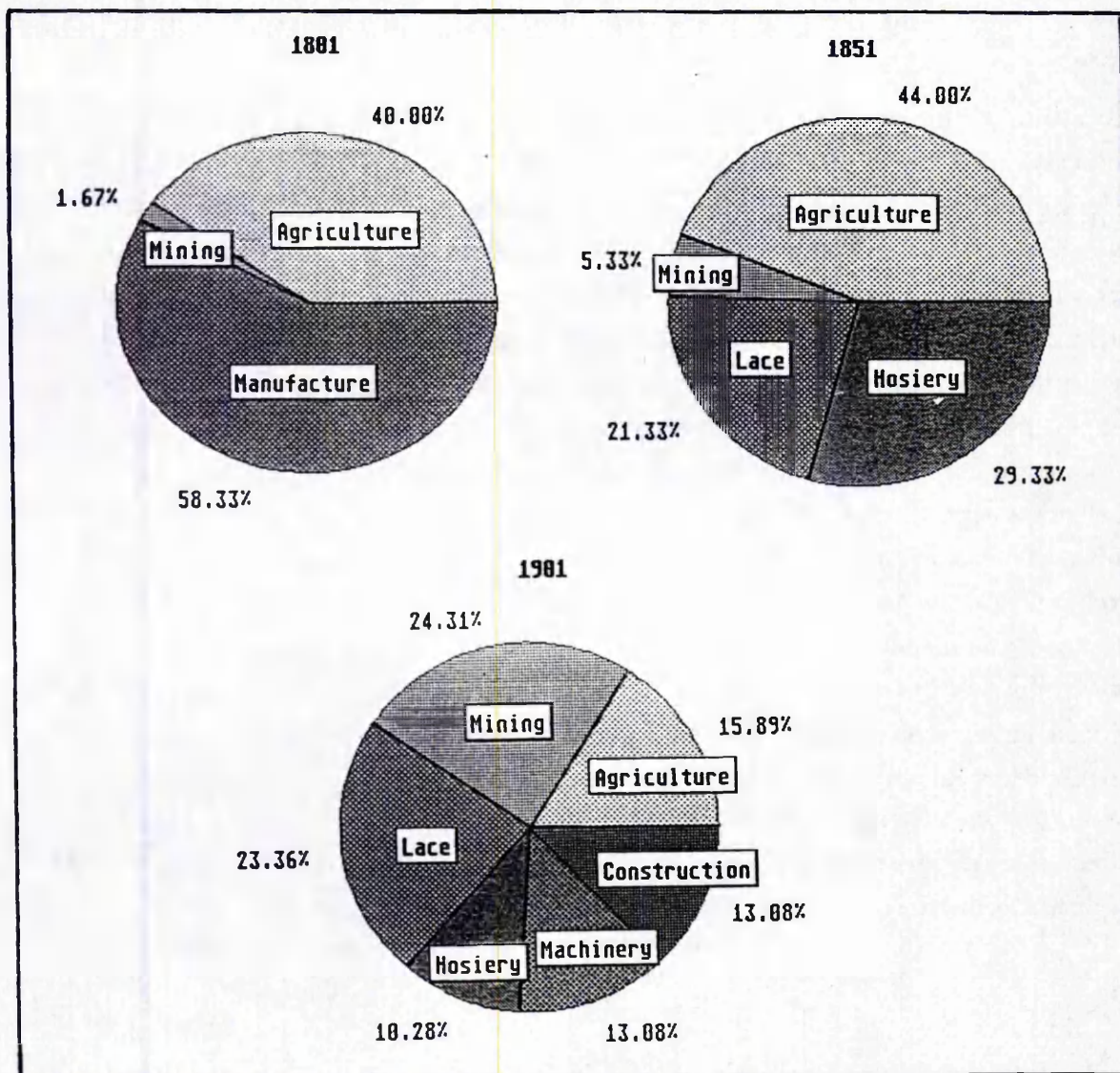
Growth of population in England and Wales,  
Nottinghamshire and Nottingham



Sources: Censuses of England and Wales, Nottinghamshire and Nottingham  
1801-1911

Fig. 2.4

Main occupations in Nottinghamshire 1801 1851 1901



Carey's map of 1787 (see Fig.2.1) emphasises the limitations of the lines of communication through the county at the end of the eighteenth century. The role of the River Trent in dictating routes is clear. The Fosse Way, the Roman Road from Leicester, changed direction as it headed northwards diverting its route towards Newark rather than Nottingham, showing the difficulties of crossing the area of marshland which once formed a natural barrier to the south of the town. In the eighteenth century there were only three points at which the Trent could be crossed by bridge (Burton in Staffordshire; Nottingham and Newark in Nottinghamshire) although there were ferries at many other points. As a result routes from the north and west through the county converged either at Nottingham or at Newark where the Great North Road took travellers from London to York via Sherwood Forest.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the social, economic, political and religious context of the county of Nottinghamshire within which friendly societies developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### **Economic structure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries**

Agriculture, textiles and, later, mining were the bases of the Nottinghamshire economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As table 2.1 and fig. 2.4 show, by 1801 manufacturing was already a greater employer of labour than agriculture with 35,000 of the county's 140,000 people employed in trade, manufacturing or handcrafts compared with 24,000 in agriculture while mining provided work for only about 1,000 people.(4) By 1851 the number employed in the textile trades had expanded greatly so that the hosiery and lace trades alone employed about 38,000 compared with 33,000 in agriculture and 4,000 in mining.(5) In the next half-century, the mining industry developed considerably so that by 1901 it employed 26,000; the textile industry was still the major employer involving 43,000, the majority of whom worked in hosiery or lace but lace-making was by this time the most significant industry employing more than twice as many workers as in hosiery; the numbers engaged in agriculture had declined to only 17,000; at the same time other industries had grown in importance, the largest of which was the construction industry and the manufacture of various kinds of machinery which had become bigger providers of employment than the hosiery industry or agriculture.(6) These trends continued into the twentieth century, the growth of mining being particularly significant so that, as table 2.1 shows, by 1911 mining was the major employer of male labour in the county.(7)

Table 2.1

**Comparison of size of labour force in the main industries in  
Nottinghamshire 1801 1851 1901 1911 by gender**

Year	Agriculture		Manufacturing				Mining	
1801	23,904		34,513				1,000 - 1,500	
	Male	Female	Hosiery		Lace		Male	Female
			Male	Female	Male	Female		
1851	*27,336	*5,232	13,649	8,589	5,893	9,725	3,671	33
1901	16,367	484	4,607	6,855	8,542	16,189	25,690	-
1911	17,106	950	4,190	7,792	8,487	18,109	40,195	1

## Sources:

*Enumeration 1801 - Abstract of the Answers and Returns for the county of Nottingham* p.272-279

*Census of England and Wales 1851 Population Tables II Volume II - North Midlands Counties* - Table 31: Occupations of the people - Nottinghamshire.

*Census of England and Wales 1901 (1902) County of Nottinghamshire - Area Houses and Population* - Table 32: Occupations of Male and Female age 10 and upwards in the administrative county of Nottinghamshire (together with the city and County Borough of Nottingham)

*Census of England and Wales 1911 (1914) County of Nottinghamshire - Area Families and Separate occupiers and Population* - Table 22: Occupations of Males and Females age 10 and upwards

Farey, J. *General View of the Agriculture and Minerals of Derbyshire*. London, 1811, p.41.

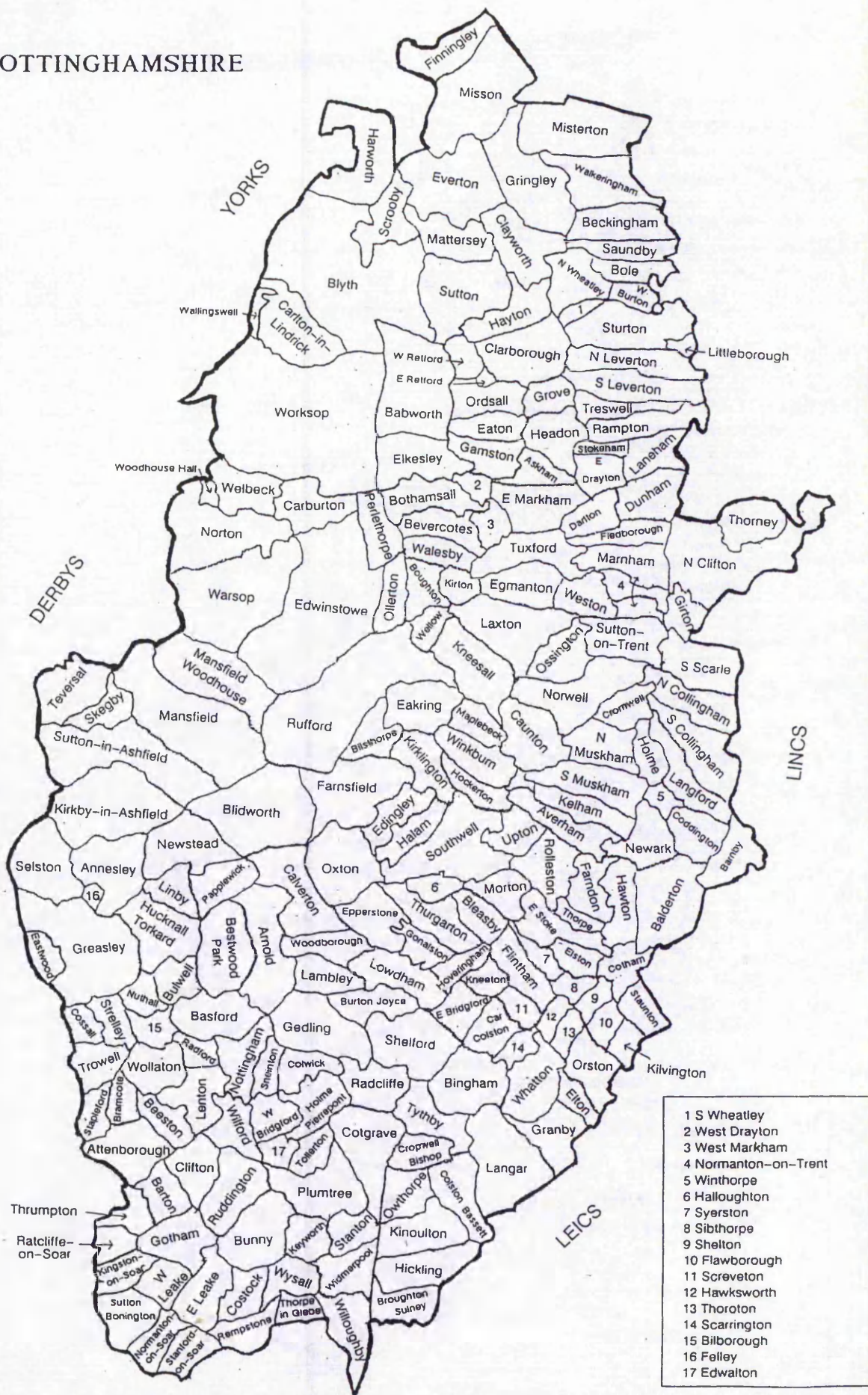
## Notes:

1. \* These figures include farmers' wives, sons, daughters, nephews, neices etc. as agricultural workers.
2. It is not possible to make direct and accurate comparison from the census data for Nottinghamshire because statistics for the county cover different areas for each of these years. Figures for 1801 refer to the Ancient County; those for 1851 refer to the Registration county which excludes a number of parishes on the southern border with Leicestershire and the south eastern border with Derbyshire. Figures for 1901 and 1911 refer to the Administrative county plus the city and county borough of Nottingham which in total is little different from the ancient county. The main effect of these differences on the above table is that the number of lace and hosiery workers who are concentrated in the south eastern area at this time is understated for 1851.



Fig. 2.2

# NOTTINGHAMSHIRE



## **Agriculture (8)**

Until the end of the eighteenth century agriculture was the county's main occupation. The physical diversity of the county with its three types of soil (clay, sand and gravel, limestone and coal) resulted in different kinds of agricultural activity throughout the county. In the eighteenth century this varied from convertible husbandry in the Sherwood Forest area, dairy and mixed farms in the Trent valley, grain production in the centre of the county and pasture for sheep and cattle in the south on the Leicestershire border. By the mid-nineteenth century mixed farming had been widely adopted throughout the county.

The agricultural depression between 1730 and 1750 resulted in migration from rural to urban areas but the rapid population growth in the second half of the eighteenth century turned the fortunes of agricultural areas. In Nottinghamshire, at that time, industry was developing on several fronts. The coal industry was developing on the Derbyshire border, water-powered cotton spinning mills were appearing on rivers and streams near Mansfield and Nottingham and stocking making was becoming an important domestic industry in towns and villages in the southern part of the county. These developments had the effect of stopping population decline and turning some of the agricultural areas into industrial villages. The population of agricultural villages rose by one half between 1740 and 1800 and that of industrial villages doubled while in the large new industrial towns such as Nottingham the population trebled. These population increases resulted in a greater demand for agricultural produce, prices rose and demands for enclosure increased.

Enclosure had been generally early in the county; some had taken place in the 16th century and about one third of all open fields were already enclosed by the middle of the eighteenth century. Increasing demands for agricultural efficiency in the second half of the 18th century enhanced the rate of enclosure so that by 1800 most of the prime pastoral land and two-thirds of the arable land had been enclosed. In his report on the state of agriculture in Nottinghamshire in 1798, Robert Lowe praised the high standards of farming:

Many of the principal farmers carry on agriculture with a great spirit adopting the best practices of other counties, nor can it be said that the lessees are backward in following good examples ... there is certainly room to make very fair profits on the farms in this county.(9)

The combination of early enclosures and enthusiastic farmers created a firm base for the continued expansion and improvement of agriculture in the county in the nineteenth century. That farming continued to prosper was due in great part, in Nottinghamshire as elsewhere in the country, to the progressive landowners of the time.(10) The Dukes of Portland & Newcastle, Earl Manvers and Lord Savile all kept up investment and development on their estates on the sandy loam in the Sherwood Forest area; the 4th Duke of Portland in particular was a noted improver of his estates arguably contributing as

much to agriculture in Nottinghamshire as the more famous Earl of Leicester did for Norfolk. His most important scheme was the development of extensive irrigation in the Maun Valley in 1838. While these particular landlords made extensive and expensive improvements to their land, they made only modest increases in rents to their tenant farmers and in time of depression even reduced rentals.(11)

The great estate owners were not the only progressive agriculturalists in the county. Other farmers were also active in developing and promoting new methods. The Parkinsons, for example, were a noted family who farmed a total of 2,000 acres at Eakring, Southwell and Thurgarton with great success with a combination of new drainage, introduction of new rotations of crops and stockbreeding.(12) South of Nottingham in the Ruddington area, Charles Paget was a noted progressive land-owner who combined an interest in improving his land with education by making it possible for children working on his estates to spend half their week in education in the 1840s.(13) There were many other equally enthusiastic farmers and stockbreeders in the county and the establishment of the Royal Agricultural Society of England in 1838, in which many Nottinghamshire farmers were involved, was a new opportunity to exchange experiences and learn about good practice in farming throughout the country.(14)

One continuing feature of the county's agriculture was the small size of most of its farms. In 1798 Lowe reported that most farms in the county were small and evidence from census figures show that this pattern continued.(15) It is not clear how the 24,000 people who were engaged in agriculture in 1801 were proportioned as farmers or labourers but by 1851 6,000 were described as farmer/grazier or farmer's son/brother and 23,000 as labourers or other employees; by 1901 the number of labourers had dropped to about 10,000 while almost 5,000 farmers/sons/brothers remained.(16) The implication of this pattern of small farms for employment was that most farms were likely to have a very small number of employees beyond the family. As such farmers would typically work alongside their employees, their relationship was not likely to suffer from the effects of social distance between the farmer and his employees.

One result of this pattern of agricultural development with its progressive practices, mixed farming and links with industrial development in the county was that the agricultural worker was fairly affluent compared with those in some other parts of the country. The Nottinghamshire agricultural labourer had the advantages of working in a situation of continual improvements in farming in a county where enclosure had resulted in an additional demand for labour rather than the dispossession of large numbers of agricultural workers. Furthermore the practice of mixed farming ensured that employment would be continuous throughout the year and income less dependent on such influences as the weather, disease and fluctuations in grain prices.

In his 1798 report Lowe noted the condition of the agricultural worker:



there are few counties in England where they will be found better lodged, cloathed and fed or better provided with fuel. Most cottages have a garden and potatoe garth, and few of them are without a web of cloth of their own spinning; many of them, particularly in the Clay district have a few acres of land annexed to their cottage which enables the cottager to keep a cow or two and pigs.(17)

Having access to a garden or other land was important to the life of the agricultural labourer. Some workers earned only 8/- per week in the 1830s yet it was possible for some to live adequately on such wages and even amass considerable savings, when they had the additional support of cottage garden land. The Poor Law Commissioners learned that 40 labourers in the village of Thurgarton between them had savings of over £1000 in the Southwell Savings Bank. One of them, George Blagg, earned only 8/- - 10/- per week and had six living children and yet had over £100 on deposit at the bank as well as having further money on loan to others.(18)

The relative affluence of the Nottinghamshire agricultural worker in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century did not necessarily protect him from fluctuations in the fortunes of agriculture. Between 1811 and 1814 wages averaged about 12/- per week but in the national depression between 1814 and 1818 wages sank by 17% whereas prices rose during this period.(19) The depths of poverty of the labourers in the southern counties of England at this time, where wages could be as little as 6/- a week for a married man, and even less for a single man, seem not to have been experienced in Nottinghamshire even in the worst of times. Whereas in the country as a whole it was 1860s before wages rose again in the agricultural industry to pre-depression levels, in Nottinghamshire wages began to creep up from 9/- - 10/- in the 1820s, to 12/6 in the 1830s and to 13/- - 15/- in the 1850s in the face of competition for labour from the hosiery and lace trade and increasingly from coalmining.(20)

In common with other parts of Britain, Nottinghamshire experienced an agricultural labour shortage in the late years of the century partly as a result of the new education system which kept children at school at an age when they might, previously, have been working on farms and partly due to competition with local industries, notably mining, for workers and partly as a result of demand for young labourers from the developing colonies. The labour shortage and the depression combined to ensure that there was a decline in land under cultivation between 1870 and the First World War.(21) One advantage of the shortage of labour was that wages continued to improve and by the end of the century averaged 19s.2d per week although at this time, as throughout the period under study, there were considerable variations throughout the county reflecting the varying degrees of competition from other industries in different parts of the county.(22)

### **Textiles (23)**

Alongside agriculture the textile industries came to play a central part in

Nottinghamshire's economy from the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries. During the seventeenth century the centre of the framework knitting industry was in London with production mainly concentrated on silk goods but as the country's new industrial population grew so did demand for cheaper woollen and worsted knitting. The industry moved from its predominantly London base to the Midlands where rents and labour were cheaper and by the middle of the eighteenth century the Midlands had become the centre of the hosiery industry. Framework knitting became the second most important industry in the county remaining so until the middle years of the following century.

Framework-knitting was predominately a cottage industry with goods produced on frames housed in the worker's own home or in small workshops located in towns and villages. Most of the industry was concentrated in the southern part of the county around Nottingham typically in open parishes where land for settlement was available and where there was less hindrance from strict operation of laws of settlement.(24) Not until the second half of the nineteenth century did the industry become factory based.

In the early years of the eighteenth century Nottingham stockingers were very affluent. They could earn 10/6 for a four-day week while those working on embroidered stockings could earn as much as 5/- per day. From about 1738 the trade began to decline and by 1765 the trade was said to have "gone to decay"; wages were declining and in 1778 the framework-knitters petitioned parliament to regulate wages and conditions in the trade. The petition, however, met with little response. Much of the output from the Nottinghamshire industry was exported mainly to Europe and America but this side of the trade was severely affected during the American War of Independence 1775-1783. Prosperity returned as a result of a trade treaty with France and increasing mechanisation of the trade and the period 1787 to 1807 is regarded as a golden age in the industry when high wages and good employment opportunities returned. Conditions then deteriorated as a result of high taxation, poor harvests, decreasing demand due to poverty and the closure of the American markets in 1811 and the industry slid into deep depression. Demand had declined during the long war with France and even its end brought little relief to the industry as the fashion for fancy long hosiery had given way to plain stockings which required less skill and resulted in less employment for stockingers. The depression in the industry was deepened further by the increasing use of wide frame machines to make large straight pieces of fabric which were then cut-up to make cheap stockings thus detracting from the skill of the fully-fashioned stocking maker.(25)

In spite of Luddite riots in 1811 and 1816 against the new large frames, conditions did not improve. Petitions to parliament against "cut-ups" and for better prices for goods in 1818 had no effect and the industry remained in the doldrums for the next forty years. During the depression which began towards the end of the French Wars, the framework knitter's earnings declined from about 18/- per week during the golden years to 12/- in 1812 and to

6/- to 8/- in 1819.(26) The trade rallied a little in the 1820s but a deeper depression was yet to come. The lowest point was reached in the 1840s when a cyclical trough combined with the effects of increasing capacity in the industry without an increase in demand and earnings slumped to as little as 4/6 per week for an eighteen hour day.(27)

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all framework-knitters suffered from the declining industry. Opportunities in framework knitting ranged from the poorest paid in the cut-up cotton hose trade to the very highly paid, skilled manufacturers of fine embroidered silk stockings. During the golden age of hosiery manufacturing it was possible for the skilled silk worker in Nottingham to earn between two and five times the wages earned by the village knitters and, even in the 1840s, those ~~at~~ the top end of the trade suffered very little.(28) Similarly in the lace trade in the 1860s leading hands earned three times the wages of other workers and this exclusiveness persisted into the twentieth century.(29)

These economic conditions did not deter more workers from entering the trade. Frames could be hired so easily that unemployed men drifted into the industry. At the same time the framework knitters' own children also grew into the trade as they were involved in helping with the work at home from a very early age. For such reasons the number of frames in the Midlands increased from about 17,000 in 1780 to over 40,000 in 1844.(30) As a result of the existence of a pool of labour available to do the less skilled work now required, there was no real incentive to improve conditions or to invest capital in the industry and the underlying causes of the sweated conditions in the trade remained unchanged. The industry remained in this state from the early years of the century until the second half of the century. Not until 1851 was the first power operated factory established in Nottingham by Hine and Mundella and twenty years later, after the invention of William Cotton's flat frame which made it possible to manufacture several items of hose at a time, there were 45 such factories in the county.(31) By 1914 the transition from domestic to factory production had been completed.

Although the domestic industry of hosiery making was the most extensive of the Nottinghamshire textile industries, it was not the only industry in this field. Cotton-spinning was also part of Nottinghamshire's economy. Two of the fathers of the industrial revolution, Hargreaves and Arkwright, both erected their earliest factories in Nottingham. Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning jenny set up a mill in Nottingham in 1767, and was soon followed by Arkwright who erected his first spinning frame in a horse-powered mill in the town in 1769.(32) Later Robinson's cotton mill on the River Leen at Papplewick was the first to be powered by steam in 1785.(33) Powered mills of this kind proved too expensive to operate and later mills to be established used water power. By the end of the century 95 cotton mills had been established in the Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire area, those in Nottinghamshire being mainly on the rivers

and streams near Mansfield and Nottingham.(34) However, the conditions for cotton spinning in Nottinghamshire failed to match those in other parts of the country and the cotton industry declined in Nottinghamshire and retreated to Lancashire.(35)

While cotton spinning retreated from Nottinghamshire, lace making developed, not from hand-made lace of which there was no tradition in Nottinghamshire, but from the hosiery machine. Lace had been made since the 1760s but only when Heathcote invented the bobbin net machine in 1808 and Leavers produced a machine capable of making intricate patterns in 1813 did the industry develop rapidly. As with hosiery, power-driven machinery came late to the lace industry and lace-making remained largely a cottage and workshop industry until the 1850s. In 1833 there were only four power-driven factories in the Nottingham area and only in the 1850s was there any substantial change when clearance of the area around St Mary's church in Nottingham began and developed into an area of lace warehouses which became known as the Lace Market.(36)

Like the hosiery industry, the lace industry suffered booms and depressions. "Twist net fever", which followed the expiration of Heathcoat's patent in 1823, caused many to flock to Nottingham from eighty miles around to take advantage of the new opportunities when skilled men could earning between £5 and £10 per week. This boom broke suddenly in 1825 with the general depression in the country after which time the industry continued but paid greatly reduced wages which reached their low point in 1834 at about 8/- per week.(37) For the rest of the century the lace industry continued with repeated booms and depressions as fashion, technological developments and trade cycles had their effect. A new fashion for lace created new golden years from 1879-85 where the new opportunities extended employment and provide very high wages for the twist hands who were reputed to be earning £6-£8 a week and driving to work in hansoms smoking cigars.(38) But this boom, like the earlier twist net fever, did not last long and succumbed to the whims of fashion in due course.

One important aspect of the occupational structure of the textile industry is the extent to which women have been part of the labour force. Almost half the labour force in the hosiery and lace trade in 1851 were women and by 1901 this proportion had increased to two-thirds.(39) Lace, in particular, provided considerable opportunities for women particularly as homeworkers and by 1901 two-thirds of the workers in the trade were women. There could be great variations in family income between locations in the county where it was possible for women and children to earn a fairly regular income from hosiery or lace work and other locations where only seasonal agricultural work was available. In the 1830s, for example, it was reported that in Bingham where lace and hosiery work as well as agricultural work was available to women and children it was possible for a wife and four children to add as much as £21 to the family's annual income; in nearby Flintham, where only agricultural work was available, their work would add as little as

£5.(40) The consequence of this pattern of employment was that the total family income was the determinant of a family's standard of living rather than the earning capacity of adult males.

### **Mining (41)**

Coal has been mined in Nottinghamshire since the thirteenth century but mining activities were not extensive until the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century pits were worked when coal was most easily accessible in the Greasley, Eastwood, Trowell, Wollaton areas and at Teversal on the border with Derbyshire. Although mining has a long history in Nottinghamshire, it was a fairly small employer of labour in the county in early years: in 1808 Farey estimated that the twenty coalmines in the Nottingham area employed only 1,000-1,500 people.(42)

In the 1820s deep pits were sunk in the Selston area and from the 1830s mining expanded on the exposed parts of the coalfield which stand on Nottinghamshire's border with Derbyshire; by 1851 the mining workforce had expanded to almost 4,000. In the 1850s more collieries were opened in the Langley Mill, Eastwood and Ilkeston areas. New mining technology made it possible to work deeper seams and new deeper pits were opened in the 1860s and 1870s at Hucknall, Annesley, Bulwell, Bestwood and Newstead. The greatest expansion took place between 1880 and 1910 with the mining of top hard steam coal when no fewer than 25 pits were opened mainly in the areas between Nottingham and Mansfield. This period also saw enormous growth in the size of the labour force in the pits. Until the 1890s most collieries were small with not more than 150 workers but by 1908 the labour force was more likely to be 1000.(43) By 1900 there were collieries along the western side of the county from Warsop to Trowell and as far east as Bestwood, Newstead and Gedling employing 26,000 miners. Expansion continued in the twentieth century so that by 1913 there were 40,000 coalminers in the county.(44)

Until the eighteenth century most collieries were owned by the county landowners. Some, such as the Willoughby family of Wollaton Hall, mined their own coal whereas others, such as the Byrons of Newstead Abbey, were content to lease the coal seams for others to exploit. Gradually the pattern changed and by the nineteenth century, mining was typically in the hands of the entrepreneur as rentier of the mine rather than the large landowner. Even Lord Middleton (of the Willoughby family) leased his Cossall field to Barber, Walker and company and by mid-century had given up his other mines in favour of royalties. A list of coalmines in Nottinghamshire in 1869 shows that all 26 of the mines existing at that time were owned by the new mining companies rather by established county landowners.(45)

Wages compared well with agricultural and other workers in the county. In 1790s wages were 1/6 to 2/3 per day and by 1805 3/6 per day. The Butterley company survey of 1856

found that their weekly wages of 15/- to 20/- exceeded those of agricultural labourers who earned at that time 13/- to 14/-. By 1914, wages had risen to £1.18.6 - £2.14.0 a week.(46)

Like other industries, mining experienced cyclical fluctuations but on the whole it was an expanding industry throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. By the end of the century, the location of the mining industry had shifted from the exposed field in the west to the concealed coalfields farther east and coal mining was the county's largest employer of male labour.

### **Power, politics and religion (47)**

In his study of Nottinghamshire in the eighteenth century, Chambers showed how the landed gentry became the source of power in the county in the years following the dissolution of the monasteries and the sale or allocation of their lands.(48) As the power of the Crown and the church declined throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the large estates grew larger. At the same time, the small landowner declined. Many seem to have sold out to larger proprietors during this time partly under the impact of land taxes which they were unable to afford. Thus the larger landowner increased the size of his estates and his political, economic and social influence grew further. In the area which had become known as the Dukeries in the central part of Nottinghamshire land was enclosed and estates were consolidated by the Byrons at Newstead Abbey, the Dukes of Portland at Welbeck Priory, the Dukes of Newcastle at Clumber, the Saviles at Rufford Abbey and the Duke of Kingston at Thoresby. In the fertile areas of the Vales of Trent and Belvoir in the south of the county, the families of the Earl of Chesterfield, Duke of Rutland, Earl Manvers, the Parkyns family and the Cliftons were able to improve their economic position by introducing improved agricultural methods to enable them to take advantage of developing markets in the nearby growing towns. The influence of the owners of the great estates continued throughout the nineteenth century. By 1873, about 40% of the county's 500,000 acres was in the hands of thirteen estate owners each holding more than 5,000 acres. The Duke of Portland of Welbeck Abbey, the Duke of Newcastle of Clumber and Earl Manvers of Thoresby held more than 25,000 acres of Nottinghamshire each; the Saviles of Rufford, Lord Middleton of Wollaton and Earl Howe held between 10,000 and 25,000 acres; and there were seven others who held estates in the county of between 5,000 and 10,000 acres.(49)

The wealth of the Nottinghamshire landed gentry did not, however, depend solely on agriculture. In common with landowners in other part of the country, many of the Nottinghamshire landowners were able to increase their worth substantially by investing in mining or leasing their lands for the extraction of coal, iron, copper and lead.(50) At the same time as the landowners were consolidating their holdings and improving their



economic lot, their local social and administrative role was being expanded as they had to take on new roles such as tax collectors, justices, administrators of the poor law so that by the eighteenth century the large landowners were the centre of power in their area in all possible ways. But, Chambers argues, they did not abuse their power. Instead they generally used their paternalistic influence to work with the people in joint endeavours and to reward and encourage the better tenants for their efforts and achievements. So, whereas the local squire operated the forces of law and order, he also provided the living of those in his area and at the same time provided charity as necessary and even educational provisions in many areas. In this way the spirit of mutual obligations and rights and a sense of *noblesse oblige* prevailed in a system described by Chambers as the squirearchy.(51)

Meanwhile other changes were taking place, notably the development of the framework knitting industry which had become established in towns and in many villages in the southern half of the county. The significance of this development for the power structure of the county was that a new elite whose wealth was founded on hosiery and, later, lace emerged in the county town. While the county landowners retained control of the country areas, the new elite came to control the businesses and political life of the town through their domination of the corporation.

The antagonism felt by the county families towards the town hosiers is exemplified by the Rev J T Becher who disliked all hosiers believing them to be without background and education.(52) Even more damning was that fact that many of the new business elite in Nottingham were opposed to the Tory government and also belonged to the dissenting churches, most spectacularly at the High Pavement unitarian chapel which, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was the centre of power and influence in the borough as the base from which most mayors and aldermen were drawn. Like their hosier masters, many framework-knitters were dissenters and in the industrial villages nonconformist churches grew in strength. Thus the new workforce and their masters differed from the old regime in terms of religious as well as political affiliation.

Nonconformity had long been a Nottinghamshire characteristic. Roman Catholic adherents were few in the county but religious dissent from the post-reformation Anglican church found strength there. The Puritan group which became known as the Pilgrim Fathers were originally based at Scrooby in the north of the county; while George Fox who founded the Quakers was a Mansfield shoemaker. In the 1670s dissenters accounted for 4.2% of the population but they tended to be concentrated in a few areas such as Nottingham, Calverton, where 29% of the population belonged to a dissenting sect, Cotgrave (20%), Flintham (19%), North Collingham (17%), Everton (15%) and Willoughby (15%).(53) Under the 1669 Conventicles Act, over 2,000 nonconformists were registered in Nottingham alone and throughout the county there were 37 nonconformist meeting places

and by 1698 there were 51.(54) After this time the number of dissenting chapels began to decline until there were only 18 of any size left by 1717. However the old dissent was soon overtaken by a new movement when Methodism was introduced in 1740. By the 1790s there were already many Methodist chapels notably in industrial villages such as Gotham, Normanton-on-the-Wolds, Calverton and Oxtun.(55) A survey of religious observance carried out in Nottingham in 1833 showed that while the Anglican congregation stood at 5,800 the dissenting congregation was 12,000 strong.(56) By the mid-nineteenth century, as the 1851 religious census showed, the new dissent was an important feature of Nottinghamshire life. The census found that whereas only about 44% of the county's population attended a place of worship on census day, 5% more dissenters than Anglicans did so; furthermore dissent was particularly strong in Nottinghamshire's industrial villages.(57)

The struggle for control of Nottingham continued in the nineteenth century and found particular expression after 1812 when, for the first time, two Whig members of parliament were elected. This was an act which, from the point of view of the Tories, placed the town under the total control of the Whig corporation, and from the point of view of the Whigs represented securing the independence of the town from Tory aristocratic control. Following the 1812 election, Tory schemes to create "mushroom" freeholds in the names of tenants of the local aristocracy to produce more Tory voters were countered by Whig schemes for creating large numbers of non-residential Whig-voting burgesses. Antagonism between the two sides was to reach its crescendo in the Reform movement of the early 1830s with the burning of Nottingham Castle, the Duke of Newcastle's residence (long since unused by him), by Reform rioters in 1831.

The Whig corporation claimed to represent the interests of the workers but they made little effort to improve their conditions; furthermore evidence does not suggest that the framework-knitters, who were the largest single group of voters in the town, necessarily voted for Whig candidates.(58) By 1834, the gulf between the aspirations of the people and their Whig representatives was apparent. The disappointment of the Reform Act followed by the introduction of the unpopular poor law reforms with enthusiasm by Nottingham's overseer of the poor resulted in the alienation of the people from the Whig corporation and continuing opposition to the new poor law from radicals including chartists in the town.(59)

Between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, the town of Nottingham and its people had changed beyond all recognition. The beautiful, fashionable garden town of Deering's time, with its fine buildings overlooked by the Duke of Newcastle's magnificent gentleman's residence built at the end of the previous century on the lofty site previously occupied by the Norman castle, had become one of the worst slums in England. The Market Square lauded as one of the most magnificent in England in the



eighteenth century had become known as the site of squalor, frequent riots and disorder by the mid-nineteenth. Nottingham had gained a reputation for radicalism which found expression in opposition to the wars with the French in the 1790s, Luddism between 1811 and 1816 and continued as support for the new Consolidated Trades Union, for Reform and for Chartism in the 1830s and 1840s. Its people had become noted not for their gentleness and sweetness as Wesley had observed in 1777 but for their inclination to take to the streets and riot on every possible occasion. Wesley would, no doubt, have been horrified to learn that many attributed the cause of the changed behaviour of the people of the town to the influence of nonconformity.

In the later years of the century, the town of Nottingham became less significant in the county's economy as the hosiery and lace industries declined. When the lace industry became depressed in the 1870s and 1880s, some of the factories were moved to areas where labour was cheaper; some went abroad, others to nearby villages, notably Long Eaton and Stapleford.<sup>(60)</sup> Such change was taking place at the same time as the mining industry was developing and spreading eastwards from the border with Derbyshire while the agricultural depression resulted in a drift from rural areas. The influence of all these factors was that there was a shift in population in Nottinghamshire from the rural agricultural areas in the east of the county towards the mining/industrial west.

The significance of these changes in the economic base and the power structure in the county was that a new kind of workforce emerged with new kinds of aspirations by the nineteenth century. The framework knitters were effectively self-employed skilled workers, to whom was open the possibility of becoming a frame-owner and master to others. It was every stockinger's ambition to become a master framework knitter and it was a real possibility for a stockinger to become a merchant hosier and for a lacemaker to become a lace manufacturer. These were very different expectations from those of the agricultural labourer who could rarely, if ever, aspire to own a plot of land in a countryside which had become increasingly dominated by large estate owners. The new workforce, however, was not dependent on the county landowner for employment or for charity. Instead, the framework-knitters' and the lace-workers' prime relationship was with the hosiery and lace manufacturers of the town who provided their working frames and their work and whom, with luck, they might emulate. Such attitudes extended beyond the boundaries of the town where political battle for control had been fought, into the industrial villages where hosiery rather than agriculture was often the main source of employment.

Trade unions were not widespread or effective in Nottinghamshire until the second half of the nineteenth century. Although hosiery and lace trade associations had existed in some form since the eighteenth century, they were not strong. In the hosiery industry, the stocking-makers' association was formed in 1776 to promote a bill to regulate wages but

it collapsed when the bill failed. During prosperous times in the industry between 1790-1810 many meetings of framework-knitters were noted in the local press but not until the depression of 1812 was the Union Society of Framework-knitters founded by Gravenor Henson. This soon failed following the prosecution of three of its members under the Combination Acts and in the following decades of depression, union activity declined. It was 1850 before an effective hosiery union appeared again.(61) Similarly in the lace trade ad hoc liaisons were formed to press for higher wages from time to time but it was 1850 before lace makers' had their first permanent union, the Lace Makers Society.(62) In the mining industry, a first Nottinghamshire union was formed in the early 1840s but this declined in the later part of the decade and not until 1863 that the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Miners Association was formed.(63)

Organising trade unions in Nottinghamshire's industries was never very easy. The industries were subject to frequent depression; the hosiery workers, working alone or in small groups, were effectively self-employed; many of those working in the lace industry were female; and there were wide variations in income and status within the trades. Some of the very skilled operatives in hose and lace, for example, earned three or more times the wages of the poorest operatives so there was little incentive for the richer workers to combine with the poorer.(64) It proved similarly difficult to organise a united labour movement in Nottingham. Although such efforts had been made since 1861, not until 1884 was the United Trades Council of Nottingham formed and only after the continuing depression of the 1890s, by which time new machinery threatened the economic status of the highly skilled craftsman did the Nottingham Union movement return to the type of political activities which characterised Nottingham in the days of the reform movement and chartism.(65)

## **Conclusions**

The main effect of Nottinghamshire's pattern of economic development was that although the majority of families in the county had been involved in manufacturing at least since 1800, much of this industrial activity took place in villages and Nottinghamshire remained essentially a county with a rural orientation. The nature of the early industries in cotton spinning and framework knitting made this possible; cotton spinning needed a location near water as a power source and framework-knitting needed only reasonable access to the putting out centres. Similarly the later development of mining dictated its own location ignoring existing centres of population and mining communities developed in rural rather than in urban areas.

As a result, the town of Nottingham, although growing rapidly in the nineteenth century, grew considerably less rapidly than many other northern industrial towns. This was only partly because the new industries developed in villages as well as in the towns; another

reason was that the physical development of the borough was restricted by the town burgesses who opposed enclosure for more than fifty years before it was effectively imposed on the grossly overcrowded borough. Although it was twenty years before most of the building land was made available under the Enclosure Act of 1845, it was eventually possible for the town to expand at a time when more land was needed for factory-building in the 1860s economic revival.<sup>(66)</sup> Another reason for the delayed arrival of the factory-system for industrial production in Nottingham was the slow development of mechanisation in the knitting industry which resulted less from the Luddite troubles of the early decades of the century than from the excess of cheap labour available to the industry. Such factors ensured that industrialisation enhanced opportunities within Nottinghamshire's villages rather than concentrating work and population in the county's towns.

The growth of the hosiery industry in the eighteenth century provided early alternatives to work on the land. The good living to be made from hosiery in the eighteenth century enabled those involved in the industry to adopt an independent stance which did not depend on adherence to an existing social, economic or political regime. Even for those who continued to work on the land the existence of alternative employment opportunities in hosiery and lace from the eighteenth century was advantageous because it ensured good wages compared with areas where only agricultural work was available. Later in the century, when the hosiery industry had declined, mining took its place as an alternative employment opportunity in the county and as a factor which helped maintain wages higher than the national average for the county's agricultural workers.

There were other reasons why the Nottinghamshire agricultural labourer might have been less in awe of his masters than in some other counties. The small size of farms and consequent likely close relationship with his employer has already been noted. The influence of the great estate owners over the population was declining as the county's occupational pattern changed and employment opportunities in agriculture did not increase to the same extent as those in manufacturing and later in mining. This was enhanced by the fact that the work opportunities of the nineteenth century were concentrated in industries in the south west of the county distant from the country seats of those owning the great estates. Furthermore, the greater attendance at nonconformist churches than at the established church by the middle of the nineteenth century evident in the county was particularly marked in the industrial villages around Nottingham. Combining these factors with the antagonism between the controlling Whig elite of the borough of Nottingham with its unitarian base and the arch-Tory anglican Duke of Newcastle, reasons are apparent why Nottinghamshire people of the nineteenth century might look elsewhere than to the county great estate owners and the anglican clergy for their models, sources of inspiration and charity as well as for their employment. This atmosphere might also make it possible for the agricultural labourer, in some parts of the county, to take a more

independent stance towards his job, his employer and his whole style of life than was possible in purely agricultural areas where there were no work alternatives. The fact that much of the hosiery industry was based in the villages meant that the opportunity to take such an independent position was also open to those who remained in the villages in some parts of the county as well as to those who were prepared to uproot themselves and move to the growing towns.

The following chapters will investigate the development of Nottinghamshire's friendly societies within a county where industries existed in rural areas as well as in towns; where the skilled artisans of the hosiery and the lace industries were sometimes very affluent and sometimes very poor; where the agricultural labourer was generally fairly well paid compared those in other parts of the country; where the structure of industries and their frequent depressions militated against the development of strong unions until the second half of the nineteenth century; where the strength of religious nonconformity indicated a spirit of independence from anglican domination, and where Whig domination of the city of Nottingham suggested a similar spirit of independence from the Tory, land-owning aristocrats who had dominated Nottinghamshire in the eighteenth century. In brief, Nottinghamshire was a county with an economic, political, social and religious structure where people with an independent spirit were able to flourish.

## Chapter 3

### **The development of friendly societies in Nottinghamshire**

Friendly societies in Nottinghamshire have been the subject of very little research. Marshall discussed the statistics of membership throughout the county for the years 1803 and 1813-5; Barnett used evidence drawn from rule books of some Nottinghamshire friendly societies to discuss ideas on social welfare; and the author discussed the experience of one rural society based on original source material.(1) There have also been several descriptive articles: one related to an Aslocton Society's account book, another to the Oxtun Female Friendly Society's rule-book and several parish histories have included items such as descriptions of Club Feast day, membership lists or copies of rules relating to their local friendly societies.(2)

As no information was available about friendly societies on a county-wide basis, the first task of the research was to locate and coordinate such data. As a result of these searches a list of 1271 societies which existed in the county between 1724 and 1913 was compiled. This list has been published separately together with a methodological note on sources of data.(3) The main problem in tracing societies was that although it has been possible to register in some form since 1793, it has never been compulsory to do so. As a result many societies did not register and remain unrecorded except perhaps briefly in a parish history or a local newspaper. Newspapers were the most profitable source for tracing unregistered societies but, in view of the number of newspapers existing in the county, the long time scale involved and the difficulties of reading microfilm copies of newspapers, it was possible to undertake only a limited newspaper search. For such reasons, any list of friendly societies, however carefully compiled, is unlikely to be comprehensive and in particular is likely to considerably under-represent unregistered societies.

Another difficulty in collecting data concerned the questionable accuracy of some sources. Information from newspapers has well known limitations but equally the records of official agencies are not without problems. In 1886, Wilkinson criticised the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies' annual reports for their inaccuracies. He noted that societies had been wrongly named; placed in the wrong village, town or county; figures for one society were transposed with those of another; courts or lodges of affiliated orders were listed as independent societies or vice versa; non-existent societies were listed.(4) Although aware of these limitations it was considered essential to begin the research by constructing a list of societies together, wherever possible, with their meeting places and dates of origin and closure as a means of establishing the size, extent and pattern of

**Table 3.1**

**Registered and unregistered friendly societies in Nottinghamshire  
1724-1913**

	Societies established in Notts	Societies reg. at Q.Sess. or with RFS	Percentage registered societies
up to 1803	258	157	61%
1804-1829	141	86	61%
1830-1849	327) 607	37) 417	11%) 69%
1850-1874	281)	380)	136%)
1876-1913	264	240	91%
Total	1271	900	71%

**Sources:**

*Abstracts ...1803-4*

O'Neill J. *List of Friendly Societies in Nottinghamshire 1724-1913*

development of the friendly society movement in the county.

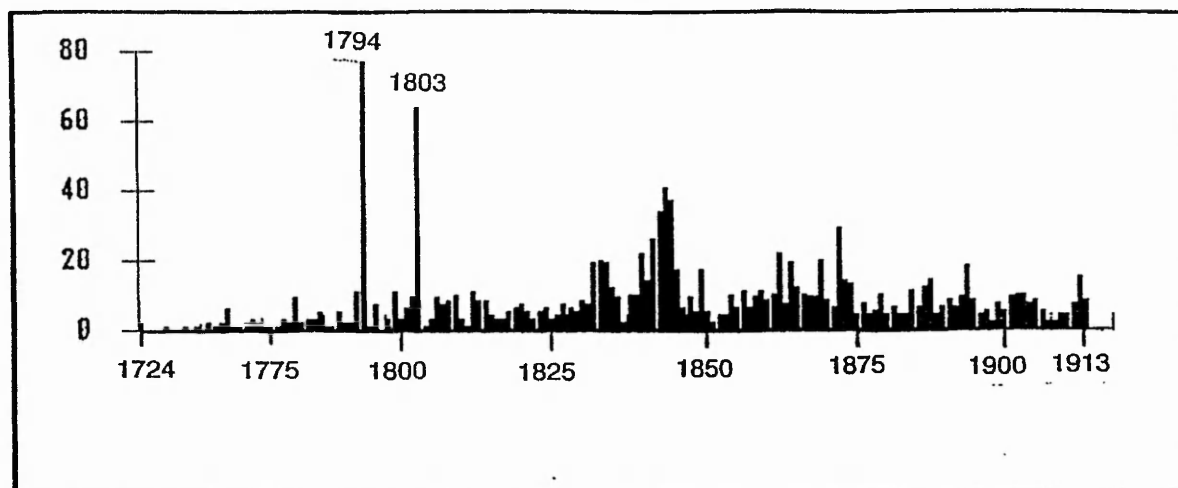
The main problem in attempting to establish patterns of friendly society development is that of clarifying ways of measuring that development. Most researches have assessed the growth of the friendly society movement using dates at which societies first registered or enrolled their rules with the Quarter Sessions or with the Registrar of Friendly Societies.(5) But such an approach is questionable for several reasons. Firstly, the date at which a society is registered has no necessary connection with its date of establishment; furthermore the formation of a new society does not necessarily add to the total number of societies. In practice some societies registered their rules but failed completely or closed within a very short time of opening. Other societies took over existing clubs so did not add to the total number of societies in existence.

Secondly, this approach fails to take unregistered societies into consideration. It has never been compulsory for societies to register and information about unregistered societies and their members has always been difficult to obtain since official statistics from the Registrar of Friendly Societies relate to registered societies only. However, as a result of collecting information about societies throughout the county in this study by using other means such as newspapers, local archives and parish histories, it has been possible to identify some of the unregistered societies which have existed in the county, although no claims are made that the list compiled is complete.

The issue of the number of unregistered societies in the county is considered in table 3.1. In 1801 Eden estimated that one quarter of all societies in Britain were unregistered.(6) By comparison, the table shows that in 1803 in Nottinghamshire at least 39% of societies were unregistered. By the early years of the twentieth century, probably less than 10% of newly established societies were not registering. The apparent reluctance to register in the second quarter of the century and the boom in registration in the next is explained by the fact that although between 1810 and 1850 the affiliated orders were growing in strength, their branches were not permitted to register under the Friendly Society Acts as their practice of ritual and oath-swearing was not acceptable. As a result they remained unregistered and unprotected by the law until new legislation under an Act of 1850 made it possible to register as a branch of an order.(7) In general it seems that towards the end of the nineteenth century there was a greater tendency for newly established societies to be registered. Nevertheless, as late as 1890 the Chief Registrar reported that he was aware of the very large number of societies which were still unregistered.(8) It is very likely, therefore, that unregistered societies are particularly likely to be under-represented in any list of friendly societies.

Thirdly, there is an issue about the value which can be attached simply to the number of societies as there is no necessary connection between the number of societies and the number of members. Membership of an individual club may be limited to a handful or be

**Fig. 3.1 Friendly societies in Nottinghamshire by date of establishment  
1724-1913**



Source: O'Neill J. *List of friendly societies in Nottinghamshire 1724-1913*

The large number of societies which appear to be established in 1794 and 1803 reflect the number which registered in the Quarter Sessions in 1794 or which were included in the list of societies in existence in 1803 and for which no other date of establishment is available. For the purposes of this graph it has been assumed that such societies were established in 1794 or 1803 respectively although it is likely that most existed before this time.

**Table 3.2**  
**Membership of friendly societies in Nottinghamshire**  
**with national comparison 1803 - 1910**

Date	FS members in Notts	Population of Notts.	FS members as % pop.	FS members in England and Wales	Population of England and Wales	FS as % pop.	Notes
1803	15,202	140,350	10.8	704,350	8,892,536	7.9	(1)
1815	19,421	174,918	11.1	925,409	11,082,226	8.3	(2)
1876	27,402	355,771	7.7	3,404,187	24,343,352	14.0	(3)
1910	43,656	604,098	7.2	6,230,246	36,075,269	17.3	(4)

**Notes on sources:**

1. *Abstracts 1803-4*. These figures can be regarded as reasonably accurate since they were collected by the parish Overseers of the Poor.
2. *Abstracts 1818*. These figures can be regarded as reasonably accurate for the same reasons as (1)
3. Annual returns sent to the Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1876. In the case of Nottinghamshire only 170 of the 414 societies then registered in the county sent returns and this figure is based on these 170 only.
4. Extracted from the report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1910. Almost all the registered societies in Nottinghamshire had sent returns at this date but these figures do not include unregistered societies. The figures for Nottinghamshire do not include members of funeral funds (800), widows and orphans funds (763), annuity funds (176), accident compensation (1,369), districts (15,871), medical associations (8,320) connected with the affiliated orders as their inclusion would have resulted in duplicating membership since those who had membership of these funds would already be included in the statistics of members of individual lodges. Also excluded are members of juvenile societies which have not been considered in this study (1,642). In total - 28,921 members. The figure for England and Wales include all such memberships so the figures for 1910 for Nottinghamshire are not comparable with those of England and Wales, although they are comparable with Nottinghamshire figures for earlier years. The figure for England and Wales for 1910 includes only ordinary friendly societies and societies with branches but excludes collecting societies which had a nation-wide membership but had one central location; there were no collecting societies based in Nottinghamshire at this date.



numbered in hundreds; even within a single club the number of members could fluctuate enormously. Clifton Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows, for example, opened in 1862 and attracted a membership of 126; membership then declined to 28 by December 1864 before rising slowly to 60 by 1871, "showing how fickle are the friends of the moment" commented a reporter.(9) Any attempt to establish the pattern of the development of friendly societies must therefore take into consideration these distinctions between date of establishment and date of registration, registered and unregistered societies, the number of clubs and the number of members.

After entering details of all societies identified into a computer database, chronological, typographical and geographical analyses of societies were made. The **chronological** analysis provided the basis for discussing and evaluating arguments which have connected the development of the friendly society movement with legislation (especially the Friendly Societies Act of 1793 and the Poor Law Act of 1834) and economic fluctuations. The **typographical** analysis formed the basis of a discussion of the relative importance of the independent societies and the affiliated orders. The **geographical** analysis made it possible to discuss arguments which have connected friendly societies with the development of industrialisation and with certain occupational and religious groups. These analyses form the focus of this chapter.

## Chronology

Fig. 3.1 shows the chronology of the 1,271 societies which the author has identified as established in Nottinghamshire between 1724 and 1913. A detailed list showing the number of friendly societies established in each year is given in Appendix A. Table 3.2 shows the total membership of friendly societies at various points in time between 1803 - 1910. The lack of suitable records made the task of trying to assess levels of membership even more difficult than assessing the number of societies. There are, however, some records which give a reasonably accurate guide to membership at different points of time which were used in compiling the table which shows membership at 1803, 1815, 1876 and 1910.

Ignoring the distortions in the data for 1794 and 1803, which are explained in the note accompanying the table, evidence presented in fig. 3.1 suggests that societies began to appear in the eighteenth century, were established in small numbers until the 1830s and 1840s. Then, after a decline in the number of societies established in the early 1850s, and a boom in the 1860s/1870s societies continued to be established throughout the period under study. However, as discussed earlier, the number of branches or new establishments is a very limited guide to the size of membership.

The dubiety of using the number of clubs as a measure of membership levels is illustrated

**Table 3.3**

**Comparison of the membership of the three largest affiliated orders in Nottinghamshire 1835 - 1915**

Nottingham Oddfellows			Manchester Unity		Ancient Order of Foresters	
Date	Lodges	Members	Lodges	Members	Lodges	Members
1835	19 (1832)		35	1635		
1845		5017 (1846)	66	4754	22	748
1850	115 (1849)				15	495
1855					16	689
1860			60	5778	25	1369
1865					28	2053
1870	118 (1871)				31	2842
1875				6778	35	4295
1880			52 (1878)	6470	40	5368
1885		6877 (1886)			40	7158
1890			54 (1891)	7144	44	7797
1895				7956	42	9251
1900	96				45	9616
1910	86	6638	57	8510	42	8828
1915		14382 (1914)	67 (1914)	10183	48	14777

**Sources:**

*Ancient Order of Foresters Annual Directories 1845-1915*  
*Independent Order of Oddfellows - Manchester Unity Annual Directories 1835-1914*  
*Nottingham Ancient and Imperial Order of Oddfellows Journal 1832, List of Lodges 1849, Quarterly Reports 1900, 1914, Indicator 1846*  
*Report of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies 1874*  
*Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies 1886, 1910*

in table 3.3. In the 1840s Nottingham Oddfellow lodges had an average of 44 members, compared with the Manchester Oddfellows' 72 and the Foresters' 34. Later in the century, possibly under the influence of the recommendations and actuarial guidance of the Registrar, there was a tendency towards larger societies in the interests of financial viability. By 1880s the average size of the Foresters lodges had risen to 134, the Manchester Oddfellows to about 124 and the Nottingham Oddfellows probably to fewer than 70.

On the other hand, if society membership rather than number of societies is considered as an indicator of development, the evidence in table 3.2 suggests that although the total number of friendly society members in the county increased throughout the century, the proportion of the population belonging to such societies was lower at the beginning of the twentieth century than a hundred years previously. This is contrary to the commonly accepted view that the friendly society movement saw its greatest development in the nineteenth century, especially after 1850 and to the impression given in fig. 3.1 of the continuing establishment of new societies. It does, however, support findings by Jones and by Foster, who have also drawn attention to large scale membership of societies throughout the nineteenth century.(10) What happened to membership in the middle years of the century is unclear as records are not available for most of the county's societies for that period. The records and publications of the affiliated orders claim ever increasing membership especially in the second half of the century but evidence from Nottinghamshire does not entirely bear this out. Table 3.3 shows steady growth amongst Foresters, but uncertain levels of growth amongst the ranks of both the Nottingham and the Manchester Oddfellows. Furthermore some newspaper reports suggest decline rather than growth in mid-century. In 1860 the *Nottingham Journal* reported the friendly societies' Whitsun activities at Retford, then added:

Whitsun holidays are rapidly dying away at Retford. 40 years ago this was the principal holiday of the year, hundreds of visitors used to crowd into the town from the country but now the town is almost as quiet as any other day.(11)

In 1865, the *Nottingham Review* reported similarly from Bingham:

The sick clubs and friendly societies no longer possess the attractions of former years ... the number of visitors [to the Whit feasts], therefore, yearly diminishes.(12)

These reports may reflect a change in friendly society feast day practices but it is also possible that whereas the friendly society movement may have been developing in some parts of the country as the affiliated orders extended, in some parts of Nottinghamshire enthusiasm for clubs may have already passed its peak. Although in terms of absolute numbers of members, friendly societies were still growing, the proportion of people who were members and their interest in active involvement may have been in decline.

**Table 3.4**

**Friendly Societies enrolling their rules at the Quarter Sessions  
1793-1802**

Year	Nottingham Borough Sessions	County Sessions
1793	-	2
1794	38	93
1795	-	-
1796	-	7
1797	-	-
1798	-	-
1799	2	2
1800	-	4
1801	2	2
1802	-	6

**Sources:**

*Records of the Borough of Nottingham Vols VII, VIII, IX*

*Nottinghamshire: Extracts from the County Records of the 18th century 1947*

Rule Books of Societies enrolled at the Quarter Sessions in Nottingham

NAO: CA 3991-4035

It has been argued that legislation influenced the development of friendly societies. Legislation at two points in time are said to have been particularly influential in this respect. Firstly, 1793 when Rose's Act gave societies legal status for the first time and secondly, 1834 when the Poor Law Reform Act severely restricted the provision of outdoor relief to paupers. The assumption that Rose's 1793 Act encouraged the establishment of societies appears to be supported by the flood of societies registering their rules at the Quarter Sessions in 1793/4 but a closer examination of evidence from the Rule Books shows that many of the societies registering at that time were not new clubs created in response to the Act but had existed previously, some for as long as seventy years, and were presumably registering to take advantage of the new legal rights conferred by the Act. The fact that registrations were numerous in 1794 but few in the next decade as table 3.4 shows further supports this interpretation.

It should not be assumed that societies were necessarily enthusiastic about registering either with the courts in the early years of legislation or with the Registrar in later years. Many societies in existence before the first Friendly Society Act of 1793 remained unregistered for many years. The Charitable and Brotherly Society of Warsop was established in 1765 but did not enrol until 1812; similarly the Wheatsheaf society which began at Worksop in the same year did not register until 1866.(13) Nor did the passing of the Act mean that societies founded after 1793 inevitably registered their rules on establishment. While delays of a few years were common, in some cases the delay in registering could be considerably longer. The High Pavement Provident Friendly Society which was formed in 1807 did not register until 1880 and a society formed at Aslocton in 1824 eventually registered in 1907.(14) Even some of the large affiliated orders remained unregistered for many years. For example, the United Ancient Order of Druids founded in 1781 had over 300 lodges and 25,000 members when it applied for registration for the first time in 1877; and the Ilkeston and Erewash Valley Order of Oddfellows which had been formed after a secession from the Albion Order of Oddfellows-Nottingham Unity had 24 lodges with 2,000 members in 1874 none of which were registered because of the Order's suspicion about any kind of government interference.(15)

The reluctance of some societies to register reflected the uncertain relationship between the state and friendly societies and raises the question of how effective legislation was as a means of encouraging the establishment of friendly societies. There had been attempts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to compel working men to join clubs run by the parish. Defoe had observed and advocated box clubs in the seventeenth century and Baron Maseres had proposed a compulsory annuity scheme to provide for old age as early as 1773; Gibson proposed parochial societies in 1782 and in 1786 Acland produced a booklet espousing the same cause.(16) The same year Pitt presented a scheme to provide compulsory parochial clubs which would be aided by the Poor Rates but it failed to gain acceptance.(17) In 1814 another scheme was promoted by de Salis with similar

intent.(18) But by this time the spirit of laissez-faire was already influential and compulsion was not favoured; the first piece of friendly society legislation, Rose's Act of 1793, had given societies legal status and set the tone of encouragement rather than compulsion in the relationship between the state and the societies.

The government's keenness to encourage societies to register with the Quarter Sessions is evident in the well advertised arrangements made to enable societies to register their rules at the Quarter sessions in Nottingham, Newark and Retford where extra sessions were to be held "for the convenience of the different friendly societies".(19) Whether this keenness reflected an enthusiasm to help societies develop or a greater concern to keep a controlling eye on their activities is uncertain for the 1780s and 1790s were decades which saw the growth of voluntary societies of all kinds in towns throughout the country.(20) In Nottingham, the 1790s was a time of considerable trade and political activity amongst the working people and, as many notices in the local press indicate, many trade and political groups were being formed at this time.(21) A new Act passed in 1795, which tried to persuade societies to register by declaring that societies in existence before the Act must register by 1796 or else be denied recognition permanently, suggested that the government was disappointed in the response to the Act.(22) However this attempt to persuade more societies to register appears to have been unsuccessful as in 1809 this restriction was lifted.(23)

Such attempts at enforcement were not supported by everyone. Eden was one of the few writers on poverty at the end of the eighteenth century who objected to compulsory schemes. He argued that clubs had been established by the working man for his own needs and that state help or interference was neither required nor desirable. He believed that if the state attempted to regulate societies

the inclination of the labouring classes to enter them would be greatly damped if not entirely repressed ... Why use force when mutual convenience will probably make that palatable which legislative direction may render nauseous?(24)

His objections were based on the evidence that attempts to control societies by registration were considered objectionable by many. In Yarmouth 17 of the 20 societies which had existed before the 1793 Act decided to break up in 1797 and divide their funds.(25) Similarly such was the suspicion of governmental interference felt by many societies in London that, rather than encouraging their development, the Act resulted in the dissolution of many.(26)

No evidence of such negativism towards the Act has been found in Nottinghamshire; in fact the opposite seemed to be true. In 1793 the *Nottingham Journal* reported a joint procession of Nottingham friendly societies on Whit Monday:

On Monday last, the friendly societies ... amounting to near 400 assembled in the Market Place in this town, where the procession was formed, in order to proceed to

St Peter's Church. Soon after 10 o'clock they began to move in a regular manner, each club preceded by the father and stewards of their several societies with wands in their hands. They were provided with a handsome blue and white flag whereon was inscribed "The Club Mill for public good"; which was followed by the band belonging to the light dragoons now stationed in this town playing "God Save the King" to the church; and altogether they made a pleasing appearance and were conducted with greatest order and regularity...(27).

Although the newspaper does not give the reason for this procession it seems likely that it was more than a joint celebration of the local traditional Whit Club feasts. The previous year the same newspaper had reported the procession of 14 clubs to St Mary's church on Whit Monday and in 1791 the feast of the sick club at Sutton-on-Trent had been recorded but no demonstration on the scale of 1793 had been seen previously.(28) It seems likely that the intention of the large demonstration was to bring societies out into the open, to demonstrate support for Rose's Bill and the respectability of societies. The following year the procession was even larger with 56 clubs taking part.(29)

Later legislation may have had the unintended effect of restricting the development of societies. Under the 1819 Act, an attempt was made to improve the financial soundness of clubs by requiring tables of contributions and benefits to be submitted to the Justices together with the Rules; Justices were also empowered to refuse to enrol the rules of a new society if they thought that the establishment of another society in that locality would undermine the viability of clubs already in the area.(30) Another Act of 1829 spread alarm amongst societies just as the 1793 Act had done.(31) Under this new Act it became easier for societies to seek approval for their rules, thereafter they had to be submitted to a barrister appointed for this purpose rather than to the Quarter Sessions; but it also became necessary to make quinquennial returns to the Clerk of the Peace or else be denied status under the Act. This Act reflected the government's new approach to societies which involved replacing earlier efforts to enforce regulation with efforts to help societies develop voluntarily with the government taking on the role of advisor about actuarial matters and ways of managing societies efficiently. Unfortunately for the government's intentions, the idea spread that it intended to take control of the funds and shows that instead of being encouraged by this particular piece of legislation, as in 1794 many societies disbanded at this time. Nine of the eleven societies in Liskeard broke up as members feared that management was about to be taken out of their hands. A Justice of the Peace from Norton near Stockton commented that the Act of 1819 started meddling with friendly societies and they were given the coup de grace by the 1829 Act which he described as "the saddest blunder in legislation that was ever made"; all but two of three societies in his area had dissolved themselves as a result of the Act. There were similar complaints from other areas.(32) There is, however, little evidence that this happened in Nottinghamshire. Clubs continued to be established after 1829 but evidence from the account books of a club at Blidworth shows that, after taking legal advice, its funds were



divided amongst members in 1830 and 1832.(33) The reason for this division is not stated but it may have been related to fears over government control of their funds which were evident elsewhere. Although many societies shared these fears in the early decades of the nineteenth century, by the late years of the century fears about governmental interference had subsided and the advantages of registration were recognised.

Uncertainty about the effects of legislation on the development of societies also surrounds arguments that the Poor Law Reforms of 1834 provided the impetus for the development of societies as the poor would thereafter have to find ways of providing for themselves rather than relying on the parish for help in times of need. As the county in which experimentation with the workhouse test as a deterrent to pauperism took place and which was the model for Poor Law Reform throughout the country after 1834, one might have expected to find evidence of increased friendly society membership in the 1820s-1840s, if changes in the way the Poor Law was administered really had such an effect. The evidence that large numbers of new societies were established in the 1830s and 1840s seems at first sight to support this expectation. Although the Boards of Guardians of the Poor Law Unions were encouraged to promote friendly societies, it cannot be assumed that the apparent increase in the number of societies necessarily represented either the success of such promotions or a reaction by the poor to the harshness of the Poor Law reforms as some have assumed.(35) The simplification of the process of registering under the Friendly Societies Act of 1834 was another change which may also have affected friendly society registration.(36) Thereafter it was no longer necessary for rules and tables of contributions and benefits be submitted to the Justices for their approval; instead it was only necessary for copies of rules to be certified by the Barrister appointed by the National Debt Commission. Another reason that many new societies may seem to have been established in the county at that time was the extension of the affiliated orders, the Nottingham and the Manchester Oddfellows, both of which opened many new lodges in the 1830s and 1840s. As it was often their practice to take over old sick clubs, the opening of new lodges did not necessarily imply a commensurate increase in the number of societies in existence or in the number of members.

Although, as fig. 3.4 shows, during the 1830s and 1840s friendly societies extended to new parts of the county, it cannot be assumed that this was necessarily related to fears about the new Poor Law. A detailed analysis of societies by year of commencement shown in Appendix A does not suggest that societies were established as a reaction to the new Poor Law. In 1836, the year in which the Poor Law Unions were established in Nottinghamshire, few societies were founded in the county; only 9 were founded in 1836 and only 2 in 1837. Even in the Bingham and Southwell areas where the Poor Law reform pioneers had introduced a workhouse test in 1818 and 1823 respectively, there is



no evidence that this increased interest in friendly societies at this time. In Bingham one society was established between 1808 and 1831; this was the Harmonic Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows, established in 1815, but it soon closed and it was 1831 before it reopened.(37) In Southwell one society was established in 1823 and two in 1830 but two of these were established by local clergy/gentry and so cannot be said to reflect an new interest by the people themselves.(38) In the 49 parishes and townships included in the Thurgarton Incorporation which was established in 1824, only one society was established in the following decade.(39) There is, unfortunately, no data which might provide evidence for changes in numbers of members during this period.

Although the effect of legislation on the establishment of societies around 1793/4 and 1834 is questionable, its effect in 1911/2 is clear. When the National Insurance Act of 1911 came into operation many Nottinghamshire societies closed. Under the new insurance arrangements societies could become approved societies and participate in the new state-run insurance system. If a club became an approved society, it was able to admit state members in addition to voluntary members as well as taking state insurance subscriptions from existing voluntary members. Many of the smaller societies considered the proposals and decided against involvement as they felt that the administrative burden could be excessive. The "botheration" returns demanded by the Registrar had already been more than many small societies wished to cope with.(40) The Woodborough Male Friendly Society, for example, felt that the administrative burden would be excessive so did not join the scheme; instead it continued as an independent society.(41) The Aslocton lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows also discussed the matter and decided not to become an approved society; instead it recommended that members should become members of the Rural Workers Insurance Society.(42) Both these societies continued, Aslocton Society until 1944 and the Woodborough Society until 1954, but the introduction of a state system of health insurance under the 1911 Act had effectively brought societies to an end. Membership of both clubs declined and in the case of the Aslocton society the annual dinner was abandoned in 1912, the club land was sold a year later and the sale of the club pall, scarfs and brass pole head in 1925 marked the end of the old style club.(43) Other independent societies such as the High Pavement Chapel Female friendly society did become an approved society and attracted many new members.(44) On the other hand, their male counterpart, the High Pavement Provident Friendly Society, took some considerable time to make up its mind and by the time they became an approved society in 1912 potential new members had already joined other schemes and the society's secretary reported few new recruits.(45)

The affiliated orders with their greater experience of large scale administration were better equipped to cope with the new arrangements and new groups were attracted to the orders at this time. Many of these were long-standing independent clubs who closed as independent societies but continued, re-registering as a branch of one of the orders. The

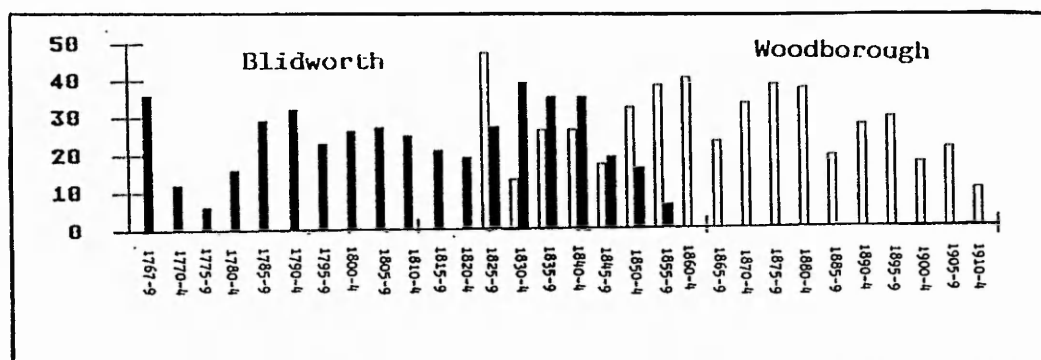
Ruddington Philanthropic, which had existed as an independent society since 1844 and the Gotham Old Friendly Society which began in 1781, were two of the clubs which joined the Nottingham Oddfellows<sup>in</sup> 1912.(46) Female societies received a particular boost at this time; eight of the fourteen new branches of the three main affiliated orders opened in Nottingham in 1911 and 1912 were female groups.(47)

It has been argued in other studies that membership of friendly societies was affected, not only by legislative changes but also by economic conditions, flourishing in times of prosperity and declining in times of depression. It seems common sense that members would be able to afford regular subscriptions in good times but would lapse in hard times as demands on limited finances increased. Neave noted the closure of many Yorkshire clubs in the harsh winter of 1841/2; Armstrong noted the growth of the South Buckinghamshire Friendly Society in 1838-40 as evidence of an improved employment situation; Gosden cited the relationship between the variation in the number of branches of the two largest affiliated orders, the Foresters and the Manchester Oddfellows, in the nineteenth century and the percentage unemployed in principal trades.(48)

The evidence presented in fig. 3.1 seems to lend some support to these arguments as many societies were established between 1780s and 1809, boom years in the framework knitting industry, and numbers of new societies declined during the depressed years of the following decade. Similarly the increased number of new societies in the 1860s and 1870s, a time of industrial expansion and prosperity, seems also to give support to the argument that as the pace of industrial development increased and prosperity began to reach the pockets of a wider range of workers, more were able to afford to join societies making the third quarter of the century the golden age of friendly societies. However, if the increasing numbers of new societies is believed to reflect boom years then the decade in which the most societies was established, should be the most prosperous time. Although in Yorkshire, Neave noted that many societies closed during hard times in 1841/2, in Nottinghamshire the five years between 1842 and 1846 saw the most severe depression ever known in the county, but establishment of societies was at its peak with an average of 31 societies opening each year. It would be extremely unlikely that those suffering extreme poverty would find it possible to afford to join a society at this time, so one explanation for this apparent upsurge in interest might be that the better-off workers, seeing the destitution around them were spurred into joining societies to secure their own future. There would be a particular incentive to join one of the large orders which, like trades unions, provided help in the form of "travelling cheques" to enable members to go tramping in search of work in times of unemployment. If this were so, contrary to assumptions that in times of poverty societies declined, the opposite may well be true. However, the most likely explanation for the establishment of new societies at that time is that the 1830s/1840s was a period when two of the large orders, the Manchester Unity and the Nottingham Oddfellows, were establishing themselves in the county and opening

**Fig. 3.2**

**Members joining societies at Blidworth (1767-1859)  
and Woodborough (1826-1914)**



Sources: Membership lists of the Blue Ball club, Blidworth and the Woodborough Male Friendly Society

**Table 3.5**

**Members joining and leaving the Blue Ball Club, Blidworth 1767-1839**

Date	No. members at beginning of period	Members as % parish population	Members joined	Funerals	Left club otherwise as % total
1767-79	—		54	1	6 (11%)
1780-9	47		45	3	14 (15%)
1790-9	75		49	6	10 (15%)
1800-9	100	23%	56	6	27 (17%)
1810-9	123	22%	49	7	66 (38%)
1820-9	99	13%	46	16	29 (20%)
1830-9	100	11%	74	21	39 (22%)

Source:  
Membership list and accounts of Blue Ball Club

many new lodges. Some of the new lodges were based on old sick clubs and it is possible that during this particular period poverty had taken its toll on the existing clubs making them vulnerable to take-over by the orders. As a result the establishment of large numbers of new societies in this period may not necessarily reflect a real rise in the total number of societies or in total membership.

Another contribution to the discussion on the influence of economic conditions on society membership could come from the membership statistics of individual clubs but few records have been located which provide detailed evidence over a long enough period. However in the case of two independent societies, it has been possible to explore membership patterns, between 1767 and 1859 in Blidworth and between 1826 and 1914 in Woodborough. Both Blidworth and Woodborough are villages which combined framework-knitting and agriculture as their main occupations and so would be affected by fluctuations in both industries. The pattern of joining the society shown in fig 3.2 indicates that during the boom years of framework-knitting from 1785 to 1809 many new members joined the Blidworth society but numbers joining declined in the depression between 1810 and 1824 in spite of increasing population in the village. Both village societies attracted many new members in the early 1840s but numbers declined in the late 1840s. In the case of Blidworth, the statistics of members joining cease to be of much significance from the 1830s when new clubs opened in the village and the total number of members joining clubs in the village is no longer ascertainable. In the case of Woodborough, there was only one society except for a brief period from 1845-9 when there was competition from a lodge of Nottingham Oddfellows which failed to make progress in the village and removed to a neighbouring village where it had greater success. As a result, it is possible that a decline in the number of those joining in this particular period in both parishes may be explained as much by local circumstances as by general economic conditions. For the rest of the century, framework knitting was declining in industrial villages such as Woodborough and agriculture came to play a greater part in the village economy. However, the numbers joining the society remained high whether in time of boom in agriculture between 1850-69 or in depression from the 1870s. Thus, the evidence seems to suggest that economic decline did not prevent people from joining societies.

Other evidence, however, from the records of the Blidworth society showed that in times of depression there was a significant increase in the proportion whose membership lapsed. Table 3.5 shows that the proportion whose membership lapsed was considerably higher in the depression years of 1810-9 than in the previous boom years and for the first time the number of members lapsing was higher than the numbers joining. This was a period of extreme poverty throughout the country; agricultural wages in Nottinghamshire fell by 17% at a time when prices were rising.<sup>(49)</sup> That Blidworth shared in this poverty is evidenced by the accounts of the Overseer of the Poor which showed that in 1797 the

**Table 3.6**

**Types of society established in Nottinghamshire 1724 - 1913**

Date	Ind	NAI	MU	AOF	Other orders	Others	Total
1724-1811	299	-	-	-	1	-	300
1812-19	35	10	1	-	2	-	48
1820-29	38	2	10	-	1	-	51
1830-39	43	22	37	-	14	-	116
1840-49	26	85	31	31	38	-	211
1850-59	34	2	2	12	24	-	74
1860-69	45	29	4	8	30	1	117
1870-79	25	14	3	7	61	-	110
1880-89	17	12	8	8	28	2	75
1890-99	18	5	4	5	40	1	73
1900-13	23	10	12	5	27	19	96
Totals	603	191	112	76	266	23	1271

**Note:**

This table has been compiled using the first date at which any individual society was known to exist. Where a society subsequently changed its status by joining an order, moving from one order to another or becoming independent, this change has not been taken into account. Each society is therefore listed only once with the result that this table reflects the total number of societies identified in the County.

**Abbreviations:**

- Ind - Independent societies
- NAI - Nottingham Ancient Imperial United Order of Oddfellows
- MU - Independent Order of Oddfellows - Manchester Unity
- AOF - Ancient Order of Foresters
- Other orders - Other orders and branches of larger organisations
- Others - Collecting, deposit or centralised societies

Overseers' disbursements amounted to less than £100, by 1802 at almost £300 they were worrying parish officials and by 1818 reached their peak at £861.(50) The contrast between the proportion whose membership lapsed in the boom years of 1785 and 1805 and the much higher proportion who lapsed in depression years suggests that members probably found it impossible keep up their contributions during times of economic depression and poverty, therefore, was the main cause of lapsed membership.

## Typology

The earliest friendly societies were small, completely independent organisations usually based at a public house or sometimes at a church or chapel school-room. In the nineteenth century, the affiliated orders came to prominence; these were umbrella organisations whose branches conducted their own affairs under the aegis of the central body. The late nineteenth century saw the growth of centralised, collecting and deposit societies which operated on a national scale. This section will discuss the development of these different forms of organisation within Nottinghamshire. Table 3.6 shows the numbers of each type of society established in the county between 1724 and 1913.

The earliest societies, which predominated in Nottinghamshire until the 1830s, were completely independent organisations operating separately from others and in which members established their own rules, managed their own funds and were in complete control of every aspect of the society. Most of the early clubs were based on public houses but others were based on churches, on a particular trade or group of trades or some other common criterion. Public house based clubs were the most common since this was the only meeting place in many areas and often the landlord of the house was involved in the club and was sometimes the prime mover in its establishment for he had much to gain from regular club meetings at his public house.

Objections to clubs meeting in public houses and possibly also to the ritual and secret oath swearing associated with some clubs caused some churches and chapels to establish their own societies. The earliest church based society in Nottingham was opened by the Baptists in 1789.(51) Other churches later opened clubs in Nottingham also, the Wesleyan Methodists in 1798, the Unitarians in 1807, the Anglican church in 1822.(52) Later in the century there were also Catholic societies, the Nottingham Friendly Society of St Patrick, registered in 1866, being the first.(53) Churches in other parts of the county also provided for their members; in total, 65 church based societies have been located in the county.(54)

Alongside these self-help provisions, the churches, not wanting to neglect the poorest who could not afford to join a friendly society, often also had provision for giving charity to members of their congregation and to others in the community. Hence a church might



have, as did Nottingham's Halifax Place Methodist Church, a friendly or provident society to which members subscribed and which was run as a self-supporting mutual society as well as a philanthropic or benevolent society which operated as a charity.(55)

Churches continued to operate and establish new societies throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. Sick and annual societies were established, for example, by Methodists at Archer Street in 1896 and at the Nottingham Mission (Albert Hall) in 1910.(56) In January 1912, as a response to the new Insurance Act, sixteen church based societies existing in Nottingham at that time attended a meeting organised by the Nottingham United Friendly Society at Halifax Place to discuss forming a group of societies to administer the act.(57) It does not appear that such a group came to fruition for some of the church groups, such as the male and the female societies at High Pavement Chapel, applied for approved society status under the Act independently, and one at least, the Ruddington Wesleyan Philanthropic Society, became a branch of the Nottingham Oddfellows at that time.(58)

Societies based on a particular trade or group of trades were said to be common in the nineteenth century as groups of workers took advantage of the legal protection available to friendly societies at the time before 1824 when combinations of workers were illegal under the Combination Act. The Select Committee on Combination Laws reported in 1824 that "societies legally enrolled as benefit societies, have been frequently made the cloake under which funds have been raised for the support of Combinations and strikes."(59) However, in Nottinghamshire only 34 societies based on a trade or trades have been identified, a finding which reflects other experience in Monmouthshire and Sheffield.(60) The trade-based societies identified cover a wide variety of professions and trades including chimney sweeps, bricklayers, brewers and maltsters, labourers, pawnbroker's assistants, clerks, solicitors, clergy and itinerant preachers. Some of these occupations seem unlikely groups to be involved in demands for better conditions and wages and suggest instead interest in the insurance functions of societies. It is however possible that greater numbers of trade societies with friendly society functions existed but have not been located because, as the Registrar of Friendly Societies commented in 1857, although most trades had their Unions and their burial funds which made them friendly societies, none had yet registered or enrolled their rules.(61) This may well have been a practice which continued throughout the century.

Some occupational groups were based on a specific workplace and some were organised, and possibly at least partly supported, by the employer. One such was the framework-knitters' society founded at Messrs Hayne, hosier, in Nottingham in 1785; another was the Worksop sick club which existed in 1861 and consisted entirely of men employed by Joseph Garside, timber merchant; another was the Thoresby Provident Club formed by Lord Manvers for his estate workers in 1884.(62) Workplace based societies were not

favoured by the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies partly because of their sometimes compulsory nature and partly because of the disadvantages for workers who changed jobs and thereby lost their sick club rights.(63) Some employers compelled workers to join the company clubs and some made it a condition that their workers give up membership of other clubs. In Nottinghamshire the Alderman Ford Sick and Burial Society was one club which attempted to make membership compulsory; its 1881 Rulebook included a rule that all men employed at the Sanitary Wharf, London Road were obliged to join unless they were already members of at least one other sick society.(64)

Pit clubs were the subject of particular criticism by the Commission.(65) During the first half of the nineteenth century it was common for colliery owners to run sick and accident clubs on a compulsory basis for their employees but few were located in Nottinghamshire pits at that time. The Commissioners inquiring into the employment of children in mines in 1842, took evidence at several Nottinghamshire pits on the border with Derbyshire but at most places it was said that there were no clubs. Only at the pits owned by the Butterley Company in the Kirkby area was it noted that "All belong to the Butterley Club".(66) The company insisted that all employees earning over 8/- per week must belong to the club and subscribe 1/- per month. In return they received 6/- per week sick pay when ill or injured and free medical treatment in case of serious accident.(67) Later in the century permanent relief funds were established to protect miners and their dependents against financial loss caused by colliery accidents. The earliest was started in Northumberland and Durham in 1862 and twenty years later there were seven such funds covering every major coalfield in England and Wales to which 40% of the country's miners belonged.(67a)

Besides the clubs based at public houses, churches and on trades there were also societies based on other common criteria. In Nottingham, amongst others, there existed a Caledonian Society for expatriate Scots and their sons and the Hibernian Society for natives of Ireland.(68)

Most societies were permanent institutions whose funds accumulated from one year to the next but there were also dividing societies which operated on an annual basis providing sick and funeral benefits during the year and then dividing the surplus at the end of the year. These were disliked by Tidd Pratt, the influential Registrar of Friendly Societies, and were refused registration under his regime. They were legitimised under the 1875 Act with the result that many new dividing societies were established in the late years of the century. They were popular amongst poorer people especially amongst women who found the societies a good way to save for Christmas, the time many societies divided their funds. There were 16 such societies in Nottinghamshire by 1905.(69)

The affiliated orders which grew in the nineteenth century consisted of separate societies each of which managed its own affairs and ran its own sick funds but were guided or controlled by a central organisation and contributed to a joint District Fund for the provision of death benefits. There were many different orders which rose, divided and fell throughout the country from the eighteenth century representing many different

interests. Branches of 50 different orders existed in Nottinghamshire at some time of which the Nottingham Ancient Imperial Union Order of Oddfellows, the Independent Order of Oddfellows(Manchester Unity) and the Ancient Order of Foresters attracted the largest following.(70) (In the remaining text these Orders will be referred to as Nottingham Oddfellows, Manchester Oddfellows and Foresters respectively).

In 1781 a branch of the first affiliated order in the County, the United Ancient Order of Druids, was established in Nottingham but its impact was limited and it was fifty years before any of the affiliated orders began to develop in strength.(71) The Nottingham Oddfellows, which resulted from a secession of three sick clubs from the Grand United Order of Oddfellows based in Sheffield, was established in 1812. Progress was slow at first but by 1832 38 lodges were meeting of which 19 were in Nottinghamshire and the rest in other parts of the country, the most distant being in Sunderland and in London. In the 1830s and 1840s growth was so rapid that by 1849 there were 456 lodges of which 115 were in Nottinghamshire and the rest scattered widely throughout England, one in Scotland and four at St Pierre les Calais in France which presumably catered for the Nottingham lace workers who went there to work in the 1840s.(72)

The Manchester Unity, whose national history has been described by Gosden, opened its first Nottinghamshire lodge sometime after 1810 but within a few years it had closed. There was a similar failure with another lodge which opened in Basford in 1821 but a lodge which began in Mansfield in 1820 was a success. Eight further lodges were opened in the county in the 1820s mostly in or around the town of Nottingham, the only exceptions being the early lodge in the town of Mansfield and another at Eastwood. Like the Nottingham Oddfellows, the Manchester Unity's greatest expansion of lodges took place in the 1830s and 1840s when 69 lodges opened and by 1845 there were 66 lodges and 4,754 members in the county which compared favourably with the earlier established Nottingham Oddfellows' total membership of 5,017 in 1846.(73)

The Foresters, whose national history was also described by Gosden, opened their first court in the county in 1840. Unlike the Nottingham Oddfellows and the Manchester Unity whose earliest lodges had been in the town areas in the south and west of the county, the earliest Foresters' courts were in villages in the far north of the county at Laneham and Sturton-le-Steeple having been established as courts of the Hull district of Yorkshire and at Beckingham as a court of the Gainsborough district of Lincolnshire. Most of the 21 courts granted dispensations between 1840 and 1847 were either in the north of the county or near the town of Newark in the east of the county. The only exceptions were the Court of Robin Hood's retreat which began at Bagthorpe in 1841 and the Court of Sherwood Forest at Worksop in 1843. It was 1844 before there was a Court in any of the towns in the county when Courts were opened in Nottingham and Retford but it was 1848 before Mansfield had one. One reason for this may have been that the

other orders were already firmly established in these areas and the Foresters might only have found it possible to establish new societies in country areas which the other orders had not yet reached.(74)

The experience of the Foresters in establishing societies was similar to that of the Nottingham and the Manchester Orders in that progress was slow in the early years. Of the 31 courts granted dispensations between 1840-50 only 15 were still in existence in 1850. The total membership in the County had been 748 in 1845 but had dropped to 495 by 1850 as ten courts had failed in that time. However there was an increase in membership of the Foresters after 1856. This was attributed by E Stanley, one of the Assistant Commissioners to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, to the spread of Forestry amongst rural labourers.(75) This is not, however, an explanation which fits the Nottinghamshire situation since all the nine Courts established in the county between 1857 and 1859 were in or around the town of Nottingham rather than in agricultural areas. However from that time membership increased steadily until the end of the century.(76)

It was not easy for any of these orders to established themselves in the county. Competition between the orders was intense and many early lodges did not succeed. In terms of the number of lodges, the Nottingham Oddfellows appears to have been the most successful order, as table 3.3 shows, for by 1871 it had 118 lodges whereas by 1880 the Manchester Oddfellows had only 52 lodges and the Foresters only 40. However in terms of membership, the Nottingham and the Manchester Oddfellows had much the same size of following in the 1840s, about 5,000, and in the 1890s, about 7,000. By that time, however, the Foresters had begun to outstrip the other orders having increased its membership to almost 8,000 in its 40 courts.

Branches of 47 other affiliated orders have been traced in the county. The origins and connections of some of the orders are obscure; some were completely new organisations, while others had seceded from other orders. Some were based on sectarian groups such as the United Order of Catholic Brothers and the Order of Ancient Maccabees(Jewish), others emerged as a response to a particular need such as the Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity which was formed in 1835 as a temperance order specifically to provide an alternative to clubs meeting in public houses. The orders continued to grow in size during the last quarter of the century. Some, like the Rechabites, expanded greatly in the later years of the century but generally the rate of growth slackened probably as a result of competition from the new kinds of societies which began in the later years of the nineteenth century - the collecting societies, centralised societies and deposit societies.

Centralised societies such as the Hearts of Oak, the Royal Standard and the United Patriots began in the later years of the century. They generally met the needs of those who wanted to join a friendly society solely for insurance purposes and had no interest in social activities; they catered for the more affluent worker as did the deposit societies

which took the form of a savings bank rather than a mutual clubs since the subscriptions of the members were not pooled but remained the individual subscriber's own personal money. By contrast the dividing societies and the collecting societies catered for the poorer. Collecting societies were large commercial companies which offered insurance policies to cover the cost of burials. The largest of these were the Royal Liver and the Liverpool Victoria Legal. In theory, members had control over their management through balloting, but in practice the management was in the hands of management committees. The collecting societies were much criticised by the Registrar of friendly societies for their heavy management costs (about 40% of contributions collected) and for exploiting the very poorest in the society who were typically its members.(77)

Few branches of these new types of society were established in Nottinghamshire. Only four deposit societies were registered - Mansfield Woodhouse Friendly Society 1861, Mansfield Industrial Friendly Society 1880, Eakring Provident Club 1883, National Deposit Society 1897.(78) There were branches of the centralised societies - the Royal Hearts of Oak and the London and Provincial Dividing Society.(79) Two small collecting societies were noted in the county - Mutual Accident Annuity and Life Collecting Society began in 1896 but was closed by 1900 and the Premier Assurance Collecting Society began in 1907.(80)

On a national basis, by the beginning of the twentieth century the central focus of friendly society membership had shifted. By 1901 there were over 7 million members of the collecting societies compared with 5.5 million members of other types of society.(81) It is not known how many Nottinghamshire people belonged to collecting societies as society statistics were organised on a county basis according to the county in which the headquarters of the organisations was situated rather than where members lived. None of the headquarters of the large collecting societies were based in Nottinghamshire so Nottinghamshire people who belonged to such societies based elsewhere are not included in the Nottinghamshire membership figures. It is likely that in Nottinghamshire, as elsewhere, many turned to the new large collecting societies in the late years of the nineteenth century. The omission of such members from Nottinghamshire statistics would explain the small percentage of the population of the county who were members of friendly societies in 1910, shown in table 3.2, which seems to be out of line with national trends. It is likely that a considerably higher proportion of Nottinghamshire residents actually belonged to societies, but by this time a very large number belonged to collecting societies based elsewhere.

The new collecting societies would be most likely to attract younger people who had no interest in the personal and social obligations of attendance at local club meetings in societies overburdened with elderly members. As a result the old clubs, whether branches of orders or independent and especially those in agricultural areas which were already

suffering from population decline especially from the 1870s, did not benefit from new younger membership and declined still further.

Although independent local friendly societies have existed since the seventeenth century, at least, the opinion that the rise of the affiliated orders in the nineteenth century marked the beginning of large scale friendly society membership and the end of the old unreliable sick clubs was common in the last century and repeated since that time by historians.(82) As early as 1847 a government report noted that many of the small bodies were decaying or being neglected, the affiliated bodies were growing rapidly in strength and extending their branches into every part of the country.(83)

Later the annual reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies turn to the large orders as models of good practice compared with the small old sick clubs. Some of the language used in the Royal Commission Report of 1874, for example, suggests the contempt with which early independent societies were held and the overwhelming influence of the opinion of the orders on the Commission's reports:

We have not felt ourselves called upon to make any special inquiries into societies established under Acts prior to 1855... they appear to us to be objects of curiosity rather than for practical investigation...

The affiliated society is the club's highest organisation invented by working men to suit their own wants and at the present day greatly surpassing all others in popularity deserve the first place which is assigned to them. Everywhere I have been I have heard the same story from the members of the older or local clubs "We cannot stand against the great orders." Wherever they penetrate, and they are penetrating year by year into more remote corners of the field, the majority of existing clubs at once cease to enter young members and within half a generation die out or break up. In some towns they have made a clean sweep of local societies, in all they are predominant.(84)

A decade later, and forty years after the Select Committee of 1847 had reported the demise of the local clubs, the old clubs were still reported to be in decline:

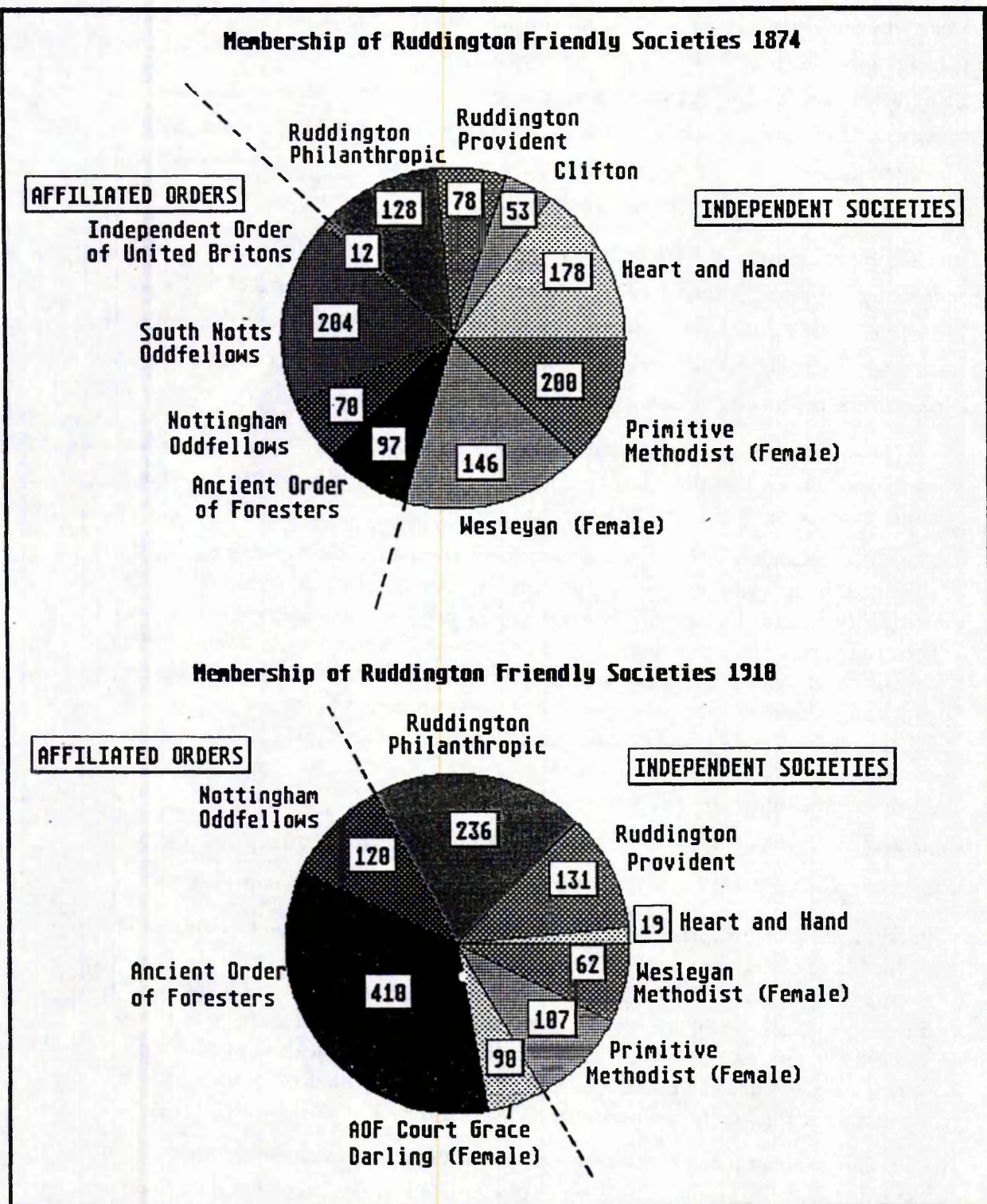
Purely local societies, whether of town or country, need not detain us long. The public house clubs, once as plentiful as blackberries, are passing away; their day is over, and their place is being occupied by something better. Speaking generally, the vast majority, being unfinancial could not bear the strain of increasing years; while those that remain and are in a fair condition have lost their popularity ... Young men will not join them. The workman is no longer stationary and he needs a club that will go with him wherever he moves...(85)

These opinions about the rise of the orders and the demise of the independent sick clubs are not entirely supported by the evidence. The Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, while noting the decline of the old sick clubs, also recorded that such societies still contained between a third and a quarter of all members in 1874.(86) This was also true for Nottinghamshire thirty years later, for in 1905 a quarter of Nottinghamshire's 46,000



Fig. 3.3

Members of Ruddington friendly societies 1874 and 1910



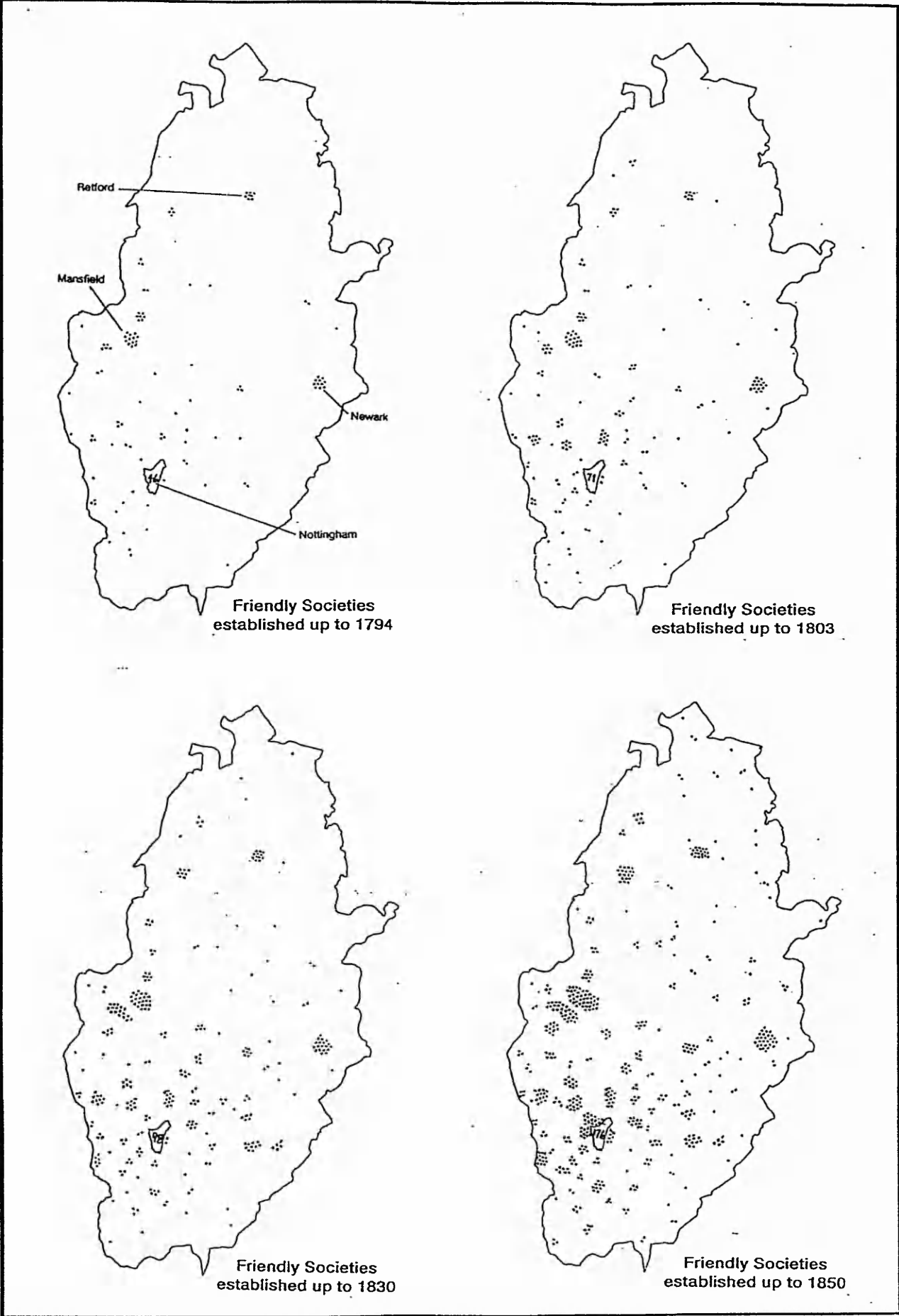
Sources: RRCFS P.P.1874, XXIII Part II : RCRFS 1910, P.P.1911, LXXVI

members of registered friendly society members still belonged to independent societies rather than to branches of the orders.(87) While it is true that independent societies were in decline, it is also evident that many independent societies survived competition from the orders and new societies continued to be established throughout the nineteenth century in spite of the strength of the orders.

Although it is not possible to establish exactly how long each of the independent societies survived, the list compiled in this study indicates that of the 176 societies established before 1800, 42 were believed to be still in existence in 1875.(88) Undoubtedly many had collapsed. H. of Sutton-in-Ashfield wrote to the *Nottingham Review* in 1828 saying that many of the sick clubs that had been established 60 years ago were in a bad financial state.(89) Similarly evidence by Charles Severn of Kimberley to the 1845 Framework Knitting Commission noted that clubs had existed in the past but nothing of this sort existed now; some of the sick clubs, he added, had not enough money to pay benefits.(90) There are, however, many examples in Nottinghamshire of independent societies which have lasted over very long periods. A Blidworth Society lasted from 1767 to the 1920s: a Sneinton Society began in 1787 and was still open in 1923; the Woodborough Male Friendly Society began in 1826 and closed in 1954; while the Chilwell Old Men's Sick Club existed independently for almost two hundred years from 1772 to 1961.(91) In some areas the independent societies persisted to a much greater extent than the reports of the orders and of the Registrar of Friendly Societies would suggest. In Ruddington, for example, as fig 3.3 shows, by 1874 67% of friendly society members belonged to independent societies, and even as late as 1910, although the Foresters had grown considerably in strength since 1874, independent clubs still accounted for 47% of club members. While it cannot be assumed that the experience of this strongly nonconformist village dominated by framework-knitting was typical of the rest of the county, further evidence from the Royal Commission on Labour in 1893 showed that twenty years later the Southwell Union, a very different predominantly agricultural area, showed similar continuing favour towards independent local societies. It was reported:

The great benefit societies such as the Oddfellows and the Foresters have less hold in the Southwell Union than of any district which I have hitherto visited...I was informed that most of the men belonged to some local club.(92) Other evidence casts doubts on the assumption that the advantages of membership of the affiliated orders were well recognised and old sick clubs flocked to join the new orders. The fact that many early independent sick clubs joined the large affiliated orders is not disputed although actual evidence of this happening in Nottinghamshire has only been found in the case of seven societies. However, the orders have failed to report the fact that branches also sometimes left the orders and established themselves as independent societies. The extent of such secession is not known but twenty instances have been

Fig. 3.4 Societies established in Nottinghamshire by 1794, 1803, 1830, 1850



Source: O'Neill, J. *List of Friendly Societies in Nottinghamshire 1724 - 1913*

found of clubs leaving the three main orders in Nottinghamshire between 1860 and 1900 and establishing themselves as independent societies; of these eleven seceded from the Nottingham Oddfellows, five from the Manchester Oddfellows and four from the Foresters.(93) Fifteen of the secessions took place in the 1870s and were probably related to the Act of 1875 which made it possible for lodges and courts of the orders to cancel their registration as separate societies connected to the order and re-register as branches. This change was made in interests of strengthening the central bodies' control over their branches but some branches objected to it. As a result, panic spread through some societies as they thought that by registering as branches under the Act, they would lose control over their funds. Theoretically this was possible but in such a case it would be possible for the club to exercise its right to secede from the club. However, the legal situation changed and this fear became a reality after a Court case in 1886 which terminated the right of a lodge to secede without permission of the central body.(94) As a result the independence of the individual branch became very questionable. The removal of a club's right to decide whether to remain a branch of an order as a result of this case may well have been an important deprivation for some clubs which had cherished their freedom to control their own fate.

Literature from the affiliated orders tends to suggest that members were very conscious of the idea of brotherhood and were loyal to their club and to the order. However, evidence suggests that this is not necessarily true. Individuals changed their club membership, and clubs sometimes also changed their affiliations to the orders. As a result of collecting data about societies over a long time scale it has been possible in some cases to trace the movements of groups as they changed their affiliations. A society based at Radcliffe-on-Trent, for example, appears to have begun as an independent society in 1821, joined the Nottingham Oddfellows as Kingston Lodge 203 in 1844; became an independent friendly society once more in the 1870s and joined the Manchester Oddfellows as Kingston Lodge 9046 in 1912.(95) Similarly a society based at Southwell seems to have begun as Lodge Sutton 33 of the Nottingham Oddfellows in 1830, by 1876 was an independent society known as Sutton Oddfellows and in 1912 joined the Foresters as Court 9439 The Sutton.(96) Loyalty to a particular order does not seem to have been of primary concern to some societies; perhaps freedom to maximise advantages and assert independence was more important.

### **Geographical distribution**

The earliest friendly societies in Nottinghamshire were established in 1724 but towns did not have a monopoly of friendly societies even in the eighteenth century. As fig. 3.4 shows, by 1794 there were concentrations of societies in and around the towns of Nottingham, Mansfield, Newark and Retford but there were also societies in rural areas.

Table 3.7

# Friendly society membership in Nottinghamshire in 1803, 1813 and 1910 by district

Area	1801 pop.	F.s. 1803	F.s. members 1803	Members as % pop.	1811 pop.	F.s. members 1813	Members as % pop.	1911 pop.	F.s. 1910	F.S. members *1910	Members as % pop.
Broxtowe	35,355	91	6,321	17.9%	42,725	7,405	17.3%	174,093	162	20,085	11.5%
Thurgarton	13,055	29	1,840	14.1%	15,249	2,308	15.1%	32,306	24	2,775	8.6%
Bassettlaw-Hatfield	13,538	18	1,528	11.3%	15,344	1,770	11.6%	37,818	18	2,668	7.1%
Rushcliffe	8,429	9	914	10.9%	9,337	1,613	17.7%	23,838	22	2,309	9.7%
Bassettlaw-Clay	15,295	10	713	4.7%	16,319	780	4.8%	33,324	22	1,819	5.5%
Bingham	8,524	5	387	4.5%	9,710	1,112	11.5%	12,184	13	1,210	9.9%
Newark Rural	10,563	5	294	2.8%	11,521	698	6.1%	14,109	8	506	3.6%
Newark (Borough)	6,730	14	832	12.4%	7,236	1,038	12.8%	16,522	12	2,138	12.9%
Nottingham (Borough)	28,861	65	2,252	7.8%	34,253	2,815	8.2%	259,904	107	10,146	3.9%
Total	140,350	246	15,081	10.7%	161,694	19,579	12.1%	604,098	388	43,656	7.2%

## Sources:

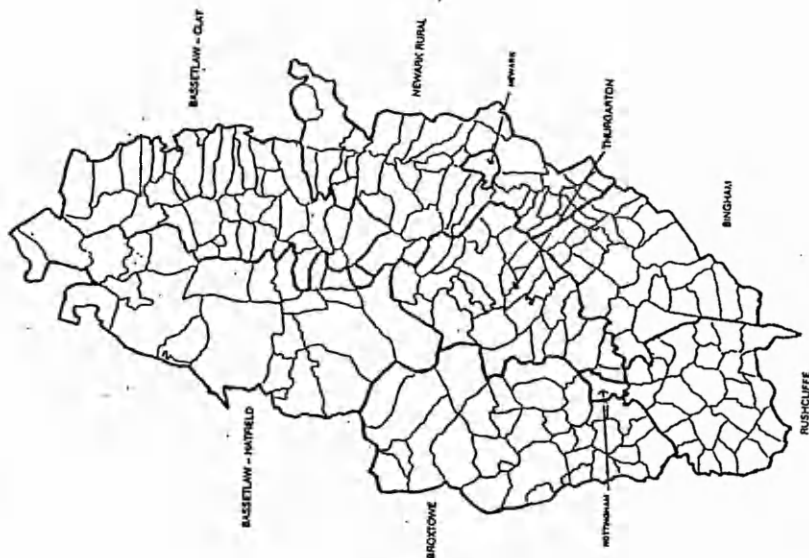
- (1) *Census 1801 1811 1911*
- (2) *Abstracts... 1803/4 1818*
- (3) *RCRFS 1910*
- (4) *Victoria County History - Nottinghamshire Vol.II*

## Notes:

For the purpose of this analysis the county was divided into seven areas plus two boroughs based broadly on the old hundred divisions but adjusted slightly to reflect the natural lines of contact and meaningful divisions in each area.

Full details of parishes included in each area are given in appendix C.

\* These figures refer to registered societies only.





Between 1803 and 1830 societies gradually spread further into the county and by 1850 had extended to almost all parts of the county.

Table 3.7 shows the geographical distribution of members at three points of time for which fairly reliable statistics are available, 1803, 1813 and 1910. As early as 1803 10.7% of the population of Nottinghamshire belonged to friendly societies. Membership was unevenly spread across the county being stronger in the industrial west than in the agricultural east. Ten years later 12.1% of Nottinghamshire's population were society members, significant increases having taken place in Rushcliffe's framework-knitting villages such as Ruddington, Gotham and Bradmore, in the Bingham area especially in its two large centres of population at Radcliffe and Bingham and in the rural areas around Bingham and Newark. By 1910 friendly society membership had increased enormously; the county's 388 societies had 43,656 members but the proportion of the county's population who belonged to societies based in the county had declined to only 7.2%.(97) By this time the strength of friendly society membership had moved heavily towards the west of the county. This was the effect of the pattern of industrial development in Nottinghamshire in the late nineteenth century when there was a population shift from the east to the west of the county and from villages to town. The lace and knitting industries which had provided the main employment for both men and women in the industrial villages in the south and the east of the county retracted from the villages and became increasing town and factory based; at the same time, agriculture was entering depression so that the villages of the eastern part of the county, which had depended on agriculture and on cottage or workshop based knitting, declined. Meanwhile, in the western part of the county the mining industry was developing and mining villages were becoming large centres of population.

The argument that societies were an urban phenomenon until the later years of the nineteenth century is not supported by the Nottinghamshire evidence. As table 3.7 shows the town of Nottingham had a relatively low rate of friendly society membership compared with Newark, the only other substantial town in the county in the first half of the century, and in both towns a lower percentage of the population were society members than in the industrial villages of the Broxtowe area at that time. On the other hand, as table 3.8 shows, societies were more likely to exist in larger centres of population and the probability that a parish would have a friendly society increased with size.(98) By 1803 friendly societies existed in most places with a population of more than 600 and in all but two of the places with a population of over 800. The explanation for the lack of friendly societies in Clarborough and Misterton is probably that nearby parishes had societies; Clarborough was near to East Retford where there were 6 societies at that time and Misterton was not far from Gainsborough, over the county border in Lincolnshire, where there were 3 societies.(99) By 1851 all places with a population of more than 800 had a society and the probability that a parish with a population of less than 400 would have a



**Table 3.8**  
**Parish size and friendly societies**

(1)	(2) Existing in 1803			(3) Established by 1851			(4) Existing in 1910		
Population of parish	No. of parishes	No. with f.s.	% with f.s.	No. of parishes	No. with f.s.	% with f.s.	No. of parishes	No. with f.s.	% with f.s.
under 200	59	2	5	53	9	19	63	-	-
200-399	73	13	18	48	20	42	56	13	23
400-599	36	14	39	32	23	73	21	8	5
600-799	15	12	80	21	18	85	19	8	42
800-999	8	8	100	14	14	100	9	7	78
1000+	22	20	91	45	45	100	39	37	95
Totals	213	69	33	213	129	61	*207	73	35

**Sources:**

- (1) List of parishes and extra-parochial places and size of population from Table of Population 1801-1901 *Victorian County History: Nottinghamshire* Vol II (p.309)
- (2) *1803/4 Abstracts...* which list the number of friendly societies and their members in each parish as returned by the local Overseer of the Poor in 1803.
- (3) Derived from the List of Societies compiled by the author. It was not possible to know exactly how many societies existed at this date hence the table included all those established at some time before 1851 whether or not they survived.

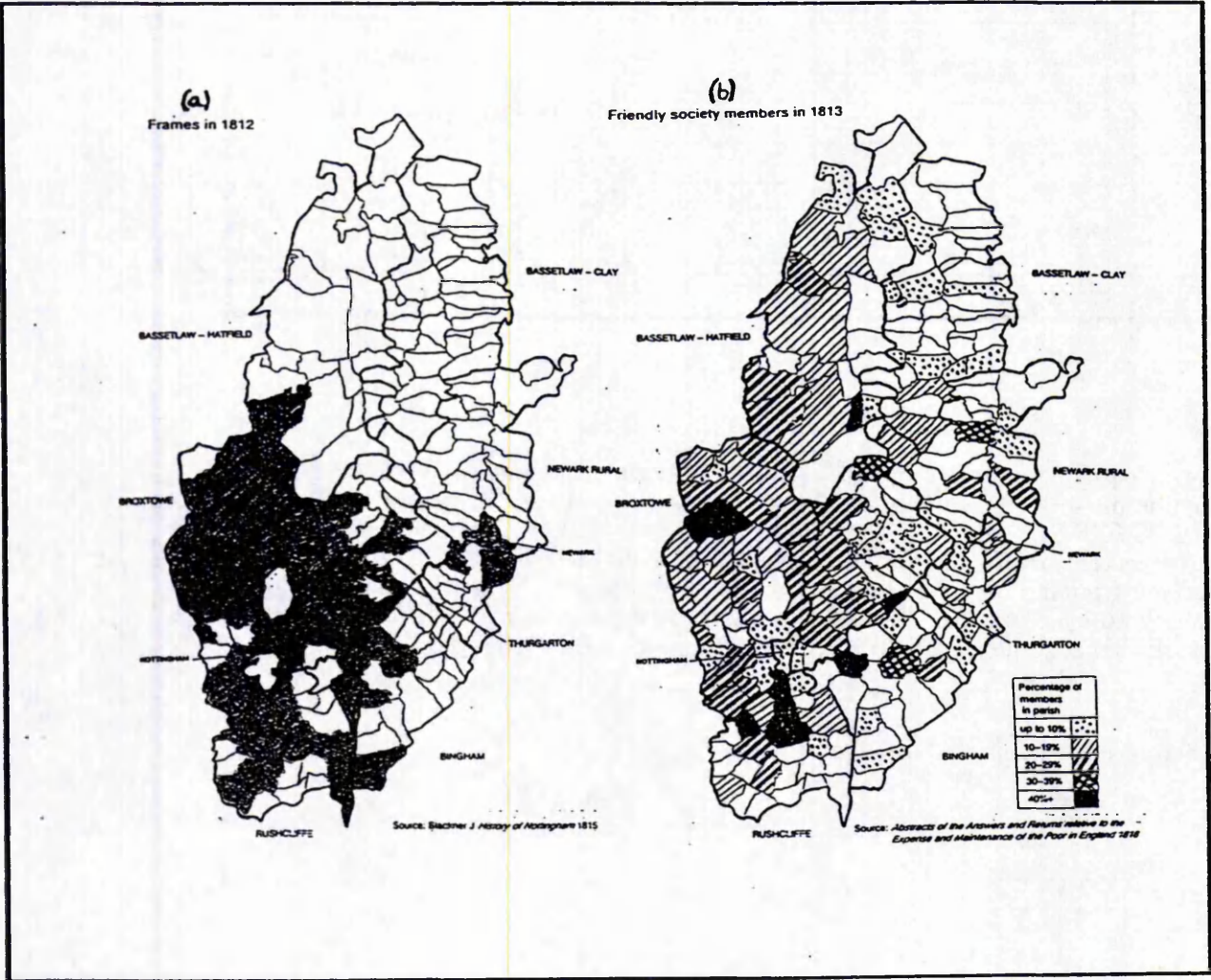
**Notes:**

- \* Six parishes integrated into Nottingham Borough

Fig. 3.5

(a) Location of knitting frames in 1812

(b) Location of friendly society members in 1813



society had more than doubled in the years between 1803 and 1851.(100)

In the second half of the century the trend of spreading to smaller parishes was reversed and by 1910 only 21% of places with population of less than 1,000 had a society compared with 50% in 1851. This finding contrasts with the argument that the friendly societies spread to rural areas late in the nineteenth century. In Nottinghamshire, the extension to rural areas had already taken place by 1850 and thereafter retreated from the villages to the towns, as did the population.(101)

The evidence does, however, seem to offer support to arguments connecting the growth of friendly societies with framework-knitting.(102) Membership was strongest in the industrial villages in Broxtowe, Thurgarton, Bassetlaw-Hatfield and Rushcliffe where framework-knitting was a dominant industry in the early nineteenth century. It is not, however, true that where societies were formed in rural areas they were necessarily associated with framework-knitting. Societies also existed in some other parishes such as Farnsfield, Collingham and Hickling, where agriculture was virtually the only source of employment.

The possible relationship between friendly societies and framework-knitters in a parish was explored further by comparing the number of friendly society members residing in each parish in 1813 as recorded in *Abstracts 1818* and the location of knitting frames in 1812 as recorded in John Blackner's *History of Nottingham*. As the maps in fig. 3.5 suggest, in most of the parishes where there were framework knitters at that time there were also friendly societies. Furthermore, the more detailed analysis of the strength of friendly society membership contained in map (b) also shows that membership was strong in framework knitting areas to the south and west of the county and exceptionally strong (over 40% of the 1811 population) in certain parishes, Kirkby in Ashfield, Barton in Fabis, Bradmore, Ruddington, Radcliffe, Wilford and Hoveringham. However it is also true that societies existed in parts of the county where framework-knitting was not practised notably over the northern half of the county and in the east. Furthermore there were also pockets of strong friendly society commitment in non-framework-knitting areas notably in Ollerton where over 40% of the population were friendly society members and Eakring and Sutton-on-Trent where membership reached more than 30%. Thus, although stockingers and societies were often found together, this does not completely explain the pattern of friendly societies in the county. In some non-framework-knitting communities, societies existed from early years of the nineteenth century and membership was sometimes very strong.

Many studies have shown that nonconformity was strong in market towns, industrial villages and open villages.(103) As friendly societies tended to appear in the same kinds of locations, explorations of possible links between nonconformist groups and friendly societies have been inevitable. In East Yorkshire Neave explored the relationship between

the extension of primitive methodism in rural East Yorkshire with the development of societies in the 1830s and 1840s.(104) As Nottinghamshire has a long history of strong nonconformist allegiances, and Watts had drawn attention to the strength of methodism in mid-nineteenth century in the open villages to the south of the Trent where this current study had shown that friendly societies were also extensive, the possible involvement of nonconformists in the establishment of friendly societies was also explored in this study.(105) A list of parishes where friendly societies existed in 1803 was compared with a list of places where nonconformist groups, compiled from a variety of sources, which were known to have been established by that time.(106) Appendix C includes details of parishes where Wesleyan Methodist and Baptist groups, the largest of the nonconformist groups, existed in 1803. Of the 70 places with Wesleyan or Baptist groups at that time, 37 had friendly societies; but there were also 70 places which had friendly societies of which 39 had nonconformist groups. This suggests that whereas there were many parishes in which both friendly societies and nonconformist groups existed, there were as many where they did not co-exist. Therefore no grounds exist for claiming a necessary link between nonconformity and the establishment of societies by 1803. A more detailed analysis of the different nonconformist groups did not elucidate the situation further.

In view of Neave's work on Primitive methodists and friendly societies in East Yorkshire, connections between the rise of methodism, both Wesleyan and Primitive, and the spread of friendly societies between 1803 and 1851 in Nottinghamshire were explored using the collated evidence. But during this time both friendly societies and methodism of various kinds had spread widely throughout the county and without extensive detailed local studies, it was not possible to take the exploration further.

Many nonconformist groups established friendly societies within their own church as alternatives to public house based clubs.(107) The Baptists were the earliest in the field with a society in Nottingham in 1789; interestingly they established their friendly society at Basford in 1806 before their chapel.(108) Other nonconformist churches followed their lead and in the 1830s most chapels in Nottingham had their own society.(109) Thus friendly societies were often found in locations where nonconformists were strong and were also often found directly in association with nonconformist churches but no evidence has been found to support suggestions that nonconformist groups were the instigators of early societies outside the churches.

It is possible, however, that although institutionally there may have been no particular connection between societies and the nonconformist churches, many of the individuals involved in societies were also nonconformists. The opportunity to organise activities without the oversight of the parish officials, clergy or local gentry was likely to be an attraction to those who had already been accustomed to taking part in the running of

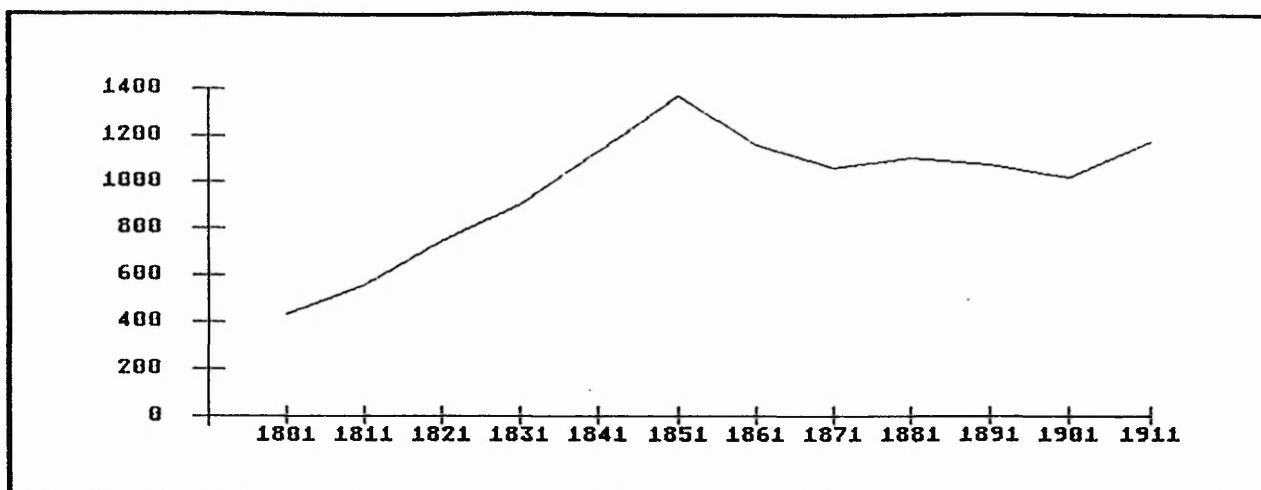
nonconformist churches. Much has been made of links between Methodism and unions. Moore has discussed the effect of Methodism in a Durham mining community in the later nineteenth century and it is well known that some of the Tolpuddle Martyrs were Methodists, as was Joseph Arch, the founder of the Agricultural Workers' Union.(110) Similarly in Nottingham, Gravenor Henson, the founder of the first framework-knitters union may well have been a Wesleyan for certainly the union organisation which he created was said to have been modelled on the "Methodist System of Wesley".(111) Such influences may also have been present amongst those who were involved in friendly societies, for similar reasons. But, in spite of considerable exploration, little evidence has been found of direct links between nonconformist church leaders, or even members, and members of friendly societies. The only piece of direct evidence was found at Blidworth, where three of the signatories to the Wesleyan chapel deed in Blidworth of 1787 were also members of the village's earliest friendly society.(112) On the other hand, Christopher Thomson, who was to be an influential Nottingham Oddfellow in the 1840s, noted in his autobiography his education at methodist hands but interestingly also noted that although he adopted the philosophy of methodism, he rejected the restrictions of the institutions.(113) Perhaps the most that can be argued on this limited evidence is to follow Hobsbawm's lead when he found a similar lack of clear connection between protest and nonconformity in the Swing riots: "What we can say is this. A nonconformist congregation in a village is a clear indication of some group which wishes to assert its independence of squire and parson."(114) Similarly the existence of a friendly society in a parish is an indication that some people wish to establish some kind of independence either in conjunction with nonconformists in the parish or alongside them with the same spirit of self-help.

One of the continuing mysteries for any student of social life, past or present, is how communities with apparently similar characteristics and opportunities develop very different characters with different patterns of behaviour, institutions and organisations. Hobsbawm and Rudé tried to explain why some villages rioted during the Swing riots and others did not; Everitt puzzled similarly over the varying pattern of rural dissent; Neave tried to establish why some parishes had friendly societies and others did not.(115) In this study, it was apparent that parishes varied not only in whether they had a society or not, but also in the particular patterns of societies in the parish. In some parishes there were many societies, some very short lived, some long-lasting; other parishes had only one society which attracted the loyalty of parishioners over a long period; in yet other parishes, societies came and went with great rapidity. By way of exploring these different patterns, the three parishes of Blidworth, Ruddington and Woodborough were chosen for detailed study.

Blidworth, Ruddington and Woodborough had much in common as all were originally agricultural parishes which had become, in varying degrees, framework-knitting villages.

Fig. 3.6

### Blidworth: Population 1801-1911



### Blidworth: List of friendly societies

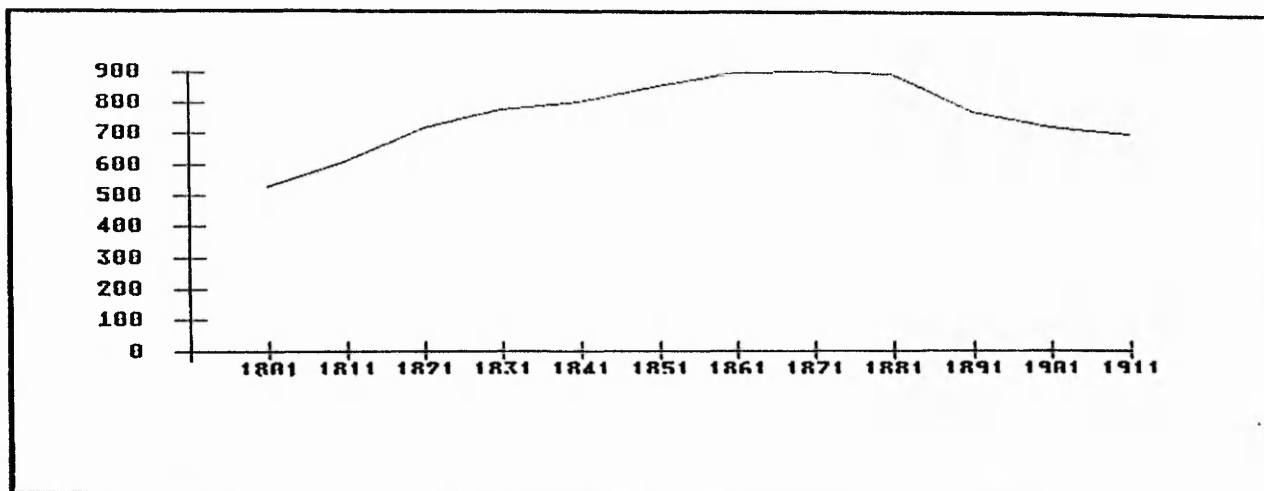
#### Friendly Societies in Blidworth

1. Blue Ball Club. Established 1767 at the Blue Ball. Existed 1891. Registration was cancelled by the Registrar of Friendly Societies on 24.3.1897 but oral evidence suggests that the club might have continued until the 1920s.
2. Friendly Society. Existed 1803 - no further details
3. Friendly Society of Women. Rules registered 13.1.1817. Met at White Lion. No longer registered 1875.
4. Red Lion Friendly Society. Established 1832. Met at the Red Lion moved to White Lion 1906 but kept its name as Red Lion FS. Dissolved 1915.
5. Loyal Fountain Dale Lodge - Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity. Established 1832? Met at the Bird in Hand. Dissolved 1884.
6. Heart of Oak Lodge No 146 of Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order of Oddfellows. Established 1833. Became lodge of NAI 1843. Existed 1879.
7. Sherwood Forest Branch No 48 of the Pure Order of United Brothers. Registered 1888 at Little John, Fishpool



Fig. 3.7

Woodborough: Population 1801-1911

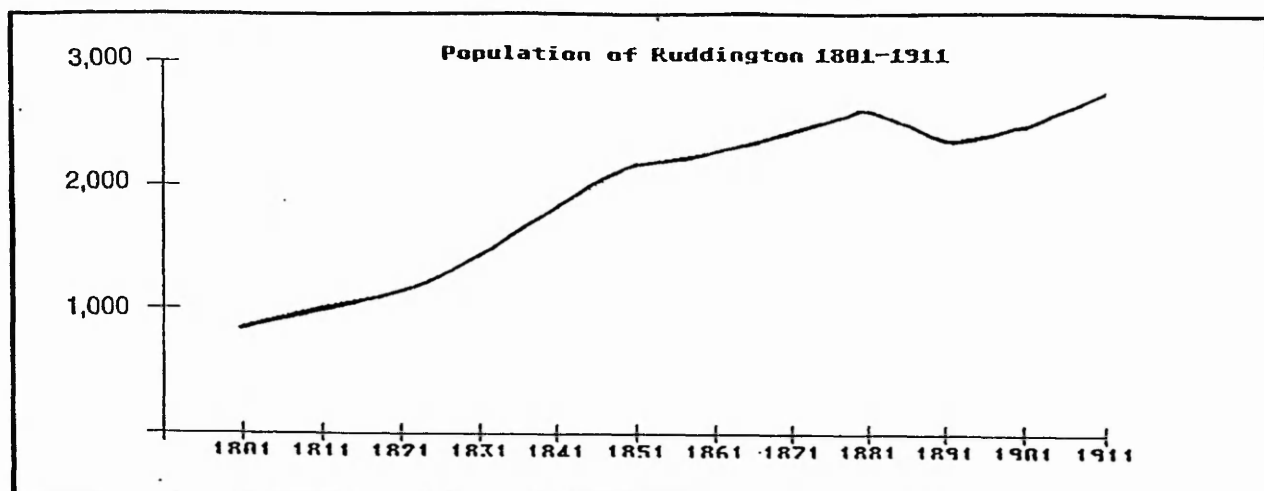


Woodborough: List of friendly societies

1. Friendly Society  
Existed 1794 and 1803 - 1815; no further information
2. Woodborough Male Friendly Society  
Established 1826, closed 1953. Met at Four Bells.
3. Thorneywood Lodge No 119 of Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order of Oddfellows  
Established 1843 from former sick club - was this the f.s. listed above? Moved meeting place to Calverton pre-1849

Fig. 3.8

# Ruddington: Population 1801-1911



## Ruddington: List of friendly societies

1. Heart and Hand Friendly Society  
Began 1779; met at the Red Heart; dissolved 1911
2. Clifton Friendly Society  
Began 1801 at Coach and Horse in Clifton but moved to Red Heart in Ruddington sometime 1823 - 1836; closed 1891.
3. Friendly Society for Sick and Lying-In Women  
Began under the patronage of Lady Parkyns in 1808; date of closure unknown - existed 1827 but no longer existed by 1874.
4. Benevolent Union and Friendly Society  
Began 1822; met at school room; date of closure unknown but no longer existed in 1874.
5. Wesleyan Female Society  
Began 1830; met at Wesleyan Methodist School Room; dissolved 1912
6. Primitive Methodist Female Society  
Began 1833; met at Primitive Methodist Chapel; dissolved 1913
7. Crown Lodge No. 761 of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity  
Began 1833 at the Three Crowns Inn. Left the Order 1847 to form the South Nottinghamshire Lodge of Oddfellows. Existed in 1874 but nothing is known of the society after this date.
8. Ruddington Provident Society  
Began 1835; provided funeral benefits only; closed 1971.
9. Good Intent Lodge No. 129 of the Nottingham Ancient Imperial United Order of Oddfellows  
Began 1843; still existed 1912
10. Ruddington Philanthropic Society  
Began 1844; met at the Wesleyan Methodist Schoolroom; in 1913 it joined the Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order of Oddfellows but reverted to independent state c.1917; dissolved 1961.
11. Court Royal No. 2893 of the Ancient Order of Foresters  
Began 1857; still in existence
12. City of Refuge Lodge of the Independent Order of United Brothers, Loughborough Unity  
Began 1865; existed 1878; closed by 1882
13. Court Grace Darling 8313 (Female Court) of the Ancient Order of Foresters  
Began 1894; met at Baptist Chapel; existed 1915

All had strong friendly society traditions, yet, the pattern of friendly societies developed differently in each of them as figs. 3.6 3.7 and 3.8 show. Woodborough had three societies but, except for a short period in the 1840s, it seems that only one society was active in the village at any one time. Blidworth had seven societies, four independent clubs and three branches of orders. Here two independent societies probably survived into the twentieth century whereas the branches of the orders were not as successful: one which began in 1888 may have failed to get started, one was dissolved in 1884 so possibly only one survived into the twentieth century. Ruddington, a much larger parish than Blidworth or Woodborough had seen the formation of thirteen clubs of which eight were independent clubs (three church based) and five were branches of orders. Here eight of the societies, independent, church based and branches of the orders, survived until the twentieth century.

Tentative explanations for the different pattern of societies which developed in these parishes can be found in local attitudes and experience. Evidence from Woodborough, a village with a strong nonconformist presence, Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists and Primitive Methodists, suggests that the villagers made conscious efforts not to let religious differences divide them. The club, for example, made a point of attending church or chapel in alternate years for the annual club feast service to make its religious non-partisanship clear.(116) Other examples include the band which was re-formed in the 1880s under the name of the Woodborough United Brass Band to indicate its non-partisan basis and it is believed that the same spirit operated in other village institutions.(117) In Woodborough the Men's Club Feast was regarded as a celebration for the whole village rather than just for the club which suggested a strong sense of unity in the village.(118)

By contrast, the various clubs in Blidworth may well have been a divisive influence. In some other parishes with several clubs, the clubs marched together on Feast Day but in Blidworth oral evidence suggests that the clubs made a point of marching separately; they closely protected their independence of each other maintaining their allegiance not to the village as a whole but to their particular club house, each of which was located in a different public house.(119)

In Ruddington the situation is less clear but the existence of a range of different types of clubs, branches of four orders, societies belonging to the two methodist churches as well as independent clubs meeting in public houses and female clubs, suggest more possibilities for division along lines of religion, order, gender and temperance affiliations making unity amongst the clubs extremely unlikely.

If residents lived under the control and patronage of a resident lord or squire, they might argue, as did one of the villagers who lived on Girsby Manor estate in Yorkshire under the patronage of Sir John and Lady Fox:

We thought a lot of Sir John and Lady Fox, and they did of us: we were their people. We didn't need no sick club to look after us, not with having Sir John.(120)

It is possible, therefore, that a tradition of self-help was most likely to emerge where there was no resident Lord of the Manor or anglican church minister who was the natural sources of charity and assistance. This was certainly true of Blidworth where there was never a resident Lord of the Manor as manorial rights were held by the Archbishop of York until the mid-nineteenth century when they passed to another non-resident, Sherbrook of Oxtun. Neither was there a resident incumbent until 1860 as the parish was in the jurisdiction of the Vicar of Oxtun, a parish more than 3 miles distant, and was often served by a curate. Similarly Ruddington had never experienced a resident lord of the manor nor the control of a parish church until the nineteenth century. The Parkyns family had been Lords of the Manor of Ruddington for centuries but had never resided in the parish instead living a little distance away in Bunny. The church at Flawford had served the villages of Ruddington, Keyworth, Edwalton and Plumtree since ancient times but the village had been deserted and as a result of the distance and inconvenience of getting from the villages to the parish church, the villages served gradually established their own churches. A chapel of ease was established in Ruddington which eventually became the parish church when the church at Flawford was demolished in 1799. Woodborough, by contrast, did have resident clergy and families at the Manor but was nevertheless an open parish.

Nonconformity was strong in all three places, in Woodborough, in spite of resident clergy and manorial lords. However, only in Ruddington did the nonconformist churches established their own friendly societies.(121) Furthermore, in Ruddington both Primitive Methodists and Wesleyan Methodists provided clubs for women but the chapels in Blidworth and Woodborough did not follow this practice.(122) The only female club in Blidworth met at a public house although the Methodists had a school room from an early date which might have been used if required.(123). By contrast in Woodborough no trace has been found of any female club although they did exist in the nearby similar framework-knitting villages of Calverton (from 1799), Lambley (from 1799) and Oxtun (at least from 1812).(124)

The difficulties of trying to find features which would help to explain similarities and differences of practice are exemplified by the efforts of the author to find evidence relating to the three villages. Although all available documentation relating to the parishes in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was explored, no evidence emerged to suggest any relationship between any of the friendly societies and any other parish institutions, nor between any of the main personalities in any of the societies and other institutions. As

organisations, each of the friendly societies appeared to stand alone and the reasons for the different patterns of societies which developed in each parish remained unresolved.

Perhaps one can search too hard for explanations for patterns of development. The evidence that different patterns of friendly societies develop in parishes with similar characteristics suggests that the reason for the development or otherwise of an organisation in a particular place at a particular time may be idiosyncratic. Sometimes the simple practicality of the availability of a suitable meeting place may well be the main factor determining whether a friendly society exist in a parish or not. For example, the Clifton friendly society met at the only public house in Clifton but sometime in the 1820s or 1830s, the lord of the Manor, demolished the public house with the consequence that the Clifton club changed its meeting place to the next village, Ruddington.(125)

Everitt has argued that the formation of dissenting groups may be prevented or encouraged by the presence of a single dominating individual or family.(126) The same may be said about friendly societies. Sometimes societies exist because of the enthusiasm of one small group or of one individual. That person may be the local incumbent, the Lord of the Manor, an influential farmer, a member or members of nonconformist groups or simply an individual with enough interest, enthusiasm and time to get a society working.(127) In the 1830s and 1840s the village of Edwinstowe became a model of working-class moral improvement with its friendly societies, its library, its adult education classes and its association of self-help under the influence of one resident, Christopher Thomson, and his like-minded friends.(128) Even the large affiliated orders spread, not through centrally-planned campaigns but through individual contacts and initiative, as this description of how Forestry came to the village of Bagthorpe in Nottinghamshire suggests:

It is often interesting to notice the immediate causes of the various branches of our institution finding their way into remote localities and in this instance it is easily traced. Some time ago Brother T Rawling an esteemed member of our order removed from Rothwell in Leeds to Bagthorpe in Nottinghamshire to hold a responsible situation connected with some extensive collieries there. For various reasons he delayed bringing the subject before his friends in any tangible form. When he did so however the project received the most cordial approbation and a respectable and numerous application list was soon signed. This was forwarded to the Leeds District...[which] proceeded on the 12th September to open the court...(129)

The differences between individual parish traditions often defy explanation. They evolve from particular time and place-related historical experiences. They may concern class, life-style, religion, temperance and sometimes even ethnicity where, perhaps, gipsy stock has entered into village considerations. The origins of these traditions may have been forgotten but the beliefs they engender may continue to be present in attitudes even if not enacted in activities daily. Whatever people believe to be their tradition is likely to be

perpetuated. In such ways although there are some general tendencies in the pattern of friendly societies relating to a parish's size, economic structure and religious affiliations, other influences, such as historical experiences, community divisions, family conflicts and individual personalities may well influence whether societies exist in a particular parish. They may also influence the particular pattern of friendly societies in that place and the spirit of co-operation and conflict with which they are conducted and the way in which they relate to the rest of the community in a parish.

## **Conclusions**

The fact that friendly societies have generally been taken for granted by historians has led to generalisations and assumptions not based on researched evidence. The collation of statistical evidence about societies and members in this study has illustrated the difficulties of finding such data and even greater problems of interpretation. Although the interpretations possible do not always point the way clearly towards explanations, they nevertheless make a contribution to the debate by raising questions about some of the easy interpretations and assumptions made previously.

In broad terms this analysis of the pattern of development of friendly societies in the county has drawn attention to several features which have previously been overlooked or dismissed as unimportant. First, the Nottinghamshire evidence has drawn attention to the early origins of some of the societies even in rural areas whereas earlier studies have assumed that societies began in urban areas and found their way into rural areas only in the late years of the nineteenth century.(130) Secondly, it has supported Jones and Foster in drawing attention to the large numbers of societies and extensive membership throughout the nineteenth century whereas other studies have emphasised the middle years of the nineteenth century as the main era of friendly society development.(131) Thirdly, it has drawn attention to the large numbers of unregistered societies whose existence has been ignored by those who have used as evidence only the official records of the Registrar.(132) Fourthly, the rediscovery of the independent societies and their persistence throughout the nineteenth century, has broken the monopoly of attention given to the affiliated orders by government reports in the last century and by historians, relying primarily on these reports as evidence, subsequently.(133) Although it is important not to overstate the case for independent societies, in the past they have been dismissed as of no importance in the friendly society movement under the influence of the nineteenth century propaganda of the affiliated orders.

In more specific terms, the evidence has offered challenges to many assumptions. First, the view that the development of friendly societies was related to the growth of industrialisation in the second half of the eighteenth century as a result of which people, in new urban situations, were cut off from their traditional sources of help in times of need is



not easily supported by the Nottinghamshire evidence.(134) Much of the industrialisation in the county took place on a domestic scale in the framework-knitting industry in villages rather than in larger centres of population. Although such villages grew, they were still fundamentally rooted in the rural way of life; indeed in some areas it was common for families to combine framework-knitting with agricultural work on allotment or cottage gardens thus avoiding being totally at the mercy of fluctuations in the knitting trade. Although societies were strong in such areas, they were not exclusive to framework-knitting areas and even from very early times, they could be found in purely agricultural communities. Although industrialisation was not an essential pre-requisite for the development of societies, the evidence supports the view advanced by Marshall that there was some link between framework-knitters and friendly societies.(135) There were generally higher rates of membership in framework-knitting areas, whether town or country, than in agricultural areas; furthermore membership in framework-knitting areas declined as the industry declined in the late years of the nineteenth century. The effect of the pattern of population change in Nottinghamshire in the second half of the nineteenth century was that friendly societies, like the population, became increasingly concentrated in towns and retreated from the villages. This pattern is opposite to that suggested by those who have argued that societies gradually spread from towns to rural areas in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.(136)

Secondly, the argument that government legislation encouraged the development of societies from the 1790s is not supported by the evidence.(137) Instead support is given to Reid's work in Sheffield which showed that friendly societies existed in numbers, unassisted by legislation, before the first Friendly Society Act of 1793.(138) Furthermore there is no evidence that any of the acts had the effect of encouraging their establishment; indeed, it has been argued, they may even have had the opposite effect.(139) Similarly the assumption that the Poor Law reforms of 1834 forced people to consider looking to friendly societies as a means of providing help in hard times found no specific support in evidence from the county.(140)

Thirdly, the argument that economic fluctuations had an effect on membership of societies, in times of prosperity societies flourished but in times of depression members were unable to keep up payments and membership declined, received some support from the Nottinghamshire evidence.(141) Times of depression seemed to be no bar to the number of societies being established or the numbers joining - in fact more societies seem to be established in times of depression. However there was evidence that members dropped out in larger numbers than usual at such times. This finding raised the possibility that people might be more inclined to join societies when depression loomed for the benefits of "travelling checks" given to the members of the affiliated orders.(142)

Fourthly, the supremacy of place given to the affiliated orders in the literature on friendly

societies has been challenged. The assumption that the rise of the affiliated orders from the 1820s marked the beginning of large scale membership is not supported by the Nottinghamshire evidence as the number of societies and the extent of membership at the beginning of the nineteenth century, before the advent of the affiliated orders, is striking; this was also a pattern observed by Jones in Glamorgan and Foster in Oldham.(143) Although the absolute number of members increased throughout the century, the evidence that a greater proportion of the population were members at the beginning of the century than at the end, brings the argument into question. While it is undoubtedly true that the orders expanded and opened many new lodges in the 1830s and 1840s in Nottinghamshire as elsewhere and were eventually predominant in the county, it is also apparent that independent societies had a substantial following long before that time and continued alongside the branches of the orders.

This analysis has also drawn attention to the many different kinds of independent society based on public houses, churches, trades or other common grounds, each with its own rationale and ideology.(144) The persistence of the independent society against the might and propaganda of the grand orders suggests that there was an interest in local control of organisations rather than being subject to the control of larger, more hierarchical organisations. On the other hand the growth of collecting societies towards the end of the nineteenth century amongst Nottinghamshire people may suggest that by that time, attitudes may have changed and people had come to prefer impersonal membership of a distant organisation regardless of the loss of control over the organisation. These are issues to be discussed later in chapter 7.

Fifthly, the conclusions which could be drawn from the exploration of possible links between the development of friendly societies, framework-knitters and nonconformity were uncertain. The presence of nonconformists did not explain the existence of eighteenth century societies, many of which pre-dated such groups in their locality. Neither did the evidence relating to 1803 suggest that the existence of friendly societies in a locality implied a strong presence of nonconformists or vice versa; nor was there any particular reason to associate the introduction of friendly societies into rural areas with the spread of Primitive Methodism in the 1830s and 1840s and so support Neave's East Yorkshire findings.(145) Consequently, although the nonconformist churches' interest in self-help provision is well known, any suggestion that nonconformist ideology and organisations were an essential ingredient in the early development of friendly societies cannot be upheld in the Nottinghamshire experience.

Finally, the outcome of the search for an explanation for the development of different patterns friendly societies in several villages was uncertain.(146) Perhaps one can search too hard for patterns or for explanations of development. The reason for the development or otherwise of an organisation in a particular place at a particular time may be

idiosyncratic. A society may exist because of the enthusiasm of one small group or of one individual. Its origins may owe little to external factors such as government encouragement or relationships with other organisations. Where people have been accustomed to relying on their own resources, as in a parish which has no local gentry or clergy who traditionally provide charity, or where the working people are accustomed to taking offices of responsibility such as in the nonconformist church, it is more likely that they will form their own self-help organisations. But ultimately, the predisposition of the people to join such an organisation, and the presence of an individual or group of individuals to initiate and sustain it, will determine whether a society survives in any location. In the case of voluntary societies, where members are free to opt out if everything is not to their liking, ventures often succeed or fail, not because of their integral value or lack of it, but because of the personality, influence, approach, connections or charisma of the leader or leading group. The ability of the leader or leading group to encourage others to join, maintain their interest, soothe divisions and overcome barriers in the community is as important to the survival and growth of a society as the initial enthusiasm is to its establishment. No matter how worthy, able and committed a leader or leading group might be, unless members believe that it is meeting their needs, ultimately it will not survive.

The uncertain outcome of these attempts to offer an explanation for the pattern of friendly society development has much in common with the experience of Hobsbawm and Rudé in their study of the Swing riots. They made an extensive collection of evidence relating to factors which they felt might influence the pattern of rioting but ultimately were unable to find conclusive evidence to suggest why some villages rioted and other apparently similar villages did not and why there was more rioting in some areas and counties than in others.(147) Nevertheless, they argued, it is necessary to work through this kind of detailed information:

The work of collating all this material is laborious and its result far from certain. Nevertheless it is essential for without it we are likely to be misled.(148)

Much the same can be said about this analysis of the pattern of development. Data was collected on a county-wide basis about societies and their members, patterns of population growth, land ownership, enclosure and nonconformity. In-depth explorations were made of three parishes with a view to finding connections between members of friendly societies and of other parish institutions. Parliamentary papers, newspapers and local histories have been combed to glean information about societies over a long period of time. The work of collating all this material was certainly laborious and its result, as it was for Hobsbawm and Rudé, far from certain but it was nevertheless essential for without it, in the past, some of the assumptions made about friendly societies have certainly been misleading, at least as far as the Nottinghamshire experience is concerned.

## Chapter 4

### **Members, activities and management**

The actual membership, activities and management of friendly societies has been little researched. Discussions about society activities and management have depended almost entirely on evidence drawn from rule books in the assumption that these reflected the activities and the organisation; discussions about members have been based almost entirely on evidence from reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies and of the main affiliated orders.<sup>(1)</sup> By contrast, Neave used the records kept by local branches of affiliated orders in a small area in Yorkshire to explore membership in more detail, while Russell used newspapers to glean information about the activities of all friendly societies in a small area of Lincolnshire.<sup>(2)</sup> In this study all these methods were combined to gather evidence on a county-wide basis. The wider range of evidence used in this study gave cause to question some of the common assumptions about members, the activities in which societies were involved and the way societies were managed. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these aspects of friendly society practice.

### **Members**

Until recently, the generally accepted view of membership has been that the better paid workers, the skilled artisans, were the instigators and the backbone of friendly societies until the second half of the nineteenth century when a broader range of worker could afford to belong and that the rural worker, being poorest of all, was only able to afford to join societies in the last quarter of the century.<sup>(3)</sup> Another view, that a wider range of workers belonged to societies from earlier times has been advanced by Neave, whose study of rural East Yorkshire drew attention to the participation of agricultural labourers in friendly societies in rural areas from the 1830s. Armstrong also noted a tendency for friendly societies to become common in rural areas in the 1820s and the large numbers of agricultural labourers joining the South Buckinghamshire friendly society in the late 1830s.<sup>(4)</sup> The evidence which emerged in the early stages of this study supported the views of Neave and Armstrong and extended the argument into the late years of the eighteenth century showing that, even at that time, societies existed in areas in Nottinghamshire entirely dependent on agriculture as well as in areas where the craft of framework-knitting was practised. This suggested that even in eighteenth century societies, membership could not have consisted primarily of urban artisans; they must have included agricultural labourers amongst their members. It therefore became one of

**Table 4.1**

**Occupations of friendly society members in Nottinghamshire  
1855 - 1875**

	<b>Societies</b>	<b>Members</b>	<b>LL WE</b>	<b>LL WOE</b>	<b>HL WE</b>	<b>HL WOE</b>	<b>NS</b>	<b>Miners</b>	<b>Women</b>
1855-60	38	4946	5%	54%	23%	12%	3%	3%	1%
1860-65	43	5487	7%	50%	24%	14%	2%	3%	-
1865-70	43	5574	7%	50%	21%	13%	1%	5%	3%
1870-75	55	7838	5%	41%	26%	13%	1%	10%	4%

**Source:**

Abstract of quinquennial returns of sickness and mortality experienced by friendly societies for the years between 1855 and 1875. RRFS 1879 P.P.1880, LXVIII, p.1000 et seq.

**Notes:**

- LLWE - light labour with exposure
- LLWOE - light labour without exposure - includes shop and office work, tailors, shoemakers but also framework knitters who would be the largest category in Notts.
- HLWE - heavy labour with exposure - includes all labourers.
- HLWOE - heavy labour without exposure - includes craft-workers such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights.
- NS - not stated

the tasks of this research to explore in more detail the issue of who were the members of Nottinghamshire societies.

One useful source of evidence about membership was the Registrar of Friendly Societies' quinquennial returns of sickness and mortality for 1855-1875 from which table 4.1 has been compiled. The evidence does not immediately suggest any contradiction of the view that friendly society members were drawn from the artisan elite since the largest category (light labour without exposure) includes all light craft workers; in Nottinghamshire this category consisted predominantly of framework-knitters of varying degrees of skill. But, the evidence also shows that the number of labourers involved was not insignificant. The data suggests that over this period, the proportion of society members who were framework-knitters declined while the proportion who were miners increased. This reflects changes in the occupational structure rather than changes in interest in societies shown by miners or framework-knitters as during this period framework-knitting was in decline whereas mining was developing in the county. By contrast the involvement of labourers increased because although the proportion of labourer members remained fairly constant, the proportion of labourers in the labour force declined after 1851.(5)

The main limitation of this source of evidence was that it drew on a limited period and a very restricted group of registered societies which had submitted quinquennial returns. This resulted in a heavy bias towards the branches of the larger better organised affiliated orders, who tended to complete the required annual returns, and a neglect of the minor orders or independent societies, who were more likely to neglect theirs. To explore membership further, attempts were made to locate other source materials over several years. This met with limited success but it was possible to use much of the material located to extract or compile several lists of members in different clubs, in different areas, at different points in time. Parish registers, censuses, wills and parish documents were then used to identify the members' occupations. (Detailed occupational analyses of these lists of members are included in Appendix E pp.A22-26.)

It proved difficult to identify individuals appearing in sources relating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as shown in tables E1 and E2 (in Appendix E). The limited analysis possible suggested that societies at that time might include representatives from all levels of society. In rural societies, there were agricultural labourers, framework-knitters, craftsmen, people involved in trade and services as well as farmers. In the case of one society at Blidworth, the landowners, gentry and clergy were also included in membership lists although it was evident that they were honorary rather than benefit members.

For the 1830s and 1840s it was possible to compare the occupational structure of friendly society membership with the occupational structure of the parish in which the club met in the case of eight societies. (See Table E3 in Appendix E). The resulting evidence



**Table 4.2**  
**Friendly society membership in Caunton 1846**

Occupation	Total adult male parishioners	Do not belong to any society	Nottingham Unity	Manchester Unity	f.s. members as % adult males in occupational group
Labourers	96	58	23	15	40%
Crafts	25	15	7	3	40%
Trade/Service	22	14	4	4	36%
Farmers	13	8	2	3	38%
Prof/Gentry	5	4	–	1	20%
Not stated	10	8	1	1	20%
Total	171	107	37	27	37%

Source:

*An alphabetical list of the parishioners of Caunton in the County of Nottingham by Richard Brett 1846.*

suggested that during this time village clubs continued to involve various levels of village residents and the structure of society membership broadly reflected the parish structure in most cases. The occupations of a large proportion of the members in Woodborough and Blidworth could not be identified through the 1841 census, but in the case of Blidworth it was possible to use the census for 1841 and a list of members to ascertain that about one-third of the males aged 15 or over in Blidworth at the time of the 1841 census had joined the club at some time. Similarly comparing the members list with rate payers listed in the 1842 Poor Rate book it was apparent that members were drawn from all ranks of village society, those owning substantial property as well as the humblest tenants.(6)

A specially valuable source of information was a unique record drawn up in 1846 listing all parishioners in Caunton giving certain details of all members of each family in the parish including occupation, church affiliation and attendance and whether the individual was a member of one of the two friendly societies in the parish.(7) From this record it was possible to construct a table showing the pattern of membership in the village at that time. As table 4.2 shows, there was a striking consistency of membership over the different occupational groups at this time. Approximately 40% of adult males were involved in one of the societies and this proportion varied little with occupational group. The record also noted religious affiliation and attendance at church or chapel but an analysis found no connection between friendly society membership and church or chapel affiliation.

In table E4 (in Appendix E), a similar comparison of the occupations structure of members in the 1880s with that of the parish in the 1881 census was made in the case of five societies. It proved considerably more difficult to identify members in the 1880s through the 1881 census which suggests either that a large proportion of members came from other parishes or had moved from the parish yet had retained membership. Only in the case of the Ruddington Philanthropic Society was it possible to identify most of the members' occupations as they were listed in the society records; here membership was slightly biased towards the poorest in the community, the framework-knitters and the labourers; services, trades, employers such as hosiers and farmers and higher levels of village society were less well represented.

An interesting feature of these analyses is the relative strength of framework-knitters and agricultural labourers in societies. Framework-knitters are assumed to have been the prime movers in friendly societies in Nottinghamshire and it is apparent that in hosiery-making areas such as Blidworth, Calverton, Mansfield Woodhouse, Ruddington and Woodborough the participation of stockingers was very strong. However, their presence was not a prerequisite for the establishment of a society for in areas where there was no framework-knitting, such as Caunton, Walesby and Warsop, societies existed with agricultural workers as the predominant members in the late eighteenth or early years of

the nineteenth centuries. In parishes where framework-knitting existed alongside agricultural work a larger proportion of stockingers than labourers belonged to the club. In Blidworth, for example, in the 1830s/40s, agricultural and other labourers represented 47% of the adult males in the village but only 27% (n=43) joined the club in this period; while framework knitters represented only 16% of the adult males in the village but 41% (n=22) joined the club. Similarly in Woodborough, whereas 36% (n=41) framework-knitters joined the club between 1830-49 only 10% (n=8) agricultural labourers did; and in Ruddington 11% (n=29) of the framework-knitters joined the Philanthropic Society 1844-9 compared with 7% (n=10) labourers. By contrast, in some purely agricultural villages a much higher proportion of labourers belonged to societies than in village s where there were also framework-knitters. In Laxton 53% (n=56) of the agricultural labourers were club members in 1841-5; in Cauntton 35% (n=38) in 1846; in Edwinstowe 40% (n=64) joined 1833-43; and in Aslocton 29% (n=49) joined 1843-9.

These differences cannot be accounted for by variations in entry fees, subscription and benefits since, as far as can be established from available rule books, these varied little between clubs. One explanation might be the different status of the agricultural workers and the framework-knitters; it is possible that labourers were reluctant to join a society dominated by the more prestigious, but not necessarily more affluent, stockingers. Another explanation could be found in differences in permanence of residence within the parish. The annual or biannual hiring system for agricultural labour resulted in considerable mobility of labour. As evidence from the agricultural villages of Thurgarton and Laxton in Nottinghamshire has shown, the agricultural population was very mobile in the nineteenth century. According to the Thurgarton evidence, about half the parish population moved on to another parish by the next census year between 1841 and 1881; mobility in Laxton between 1851 and 1861 was at a similar rate.<sup>(8)</sup> Mobility may have been a hindrance to society membership as some societies permitted membership only to those who lived within a certain number of miles of the club meeting room; sometimes this was as little as one mile but more usually four or five miles. Even if membership at a distance was permitted, the practicalities of paying club subscriptions fortnightly or monthly may well have been difficult. Although framework-knitting families were often very mobile, it is likely that mobility was much higher amongst agricultural workers subject to the hiring system.

In view of the limitations of the available source material, only tentative conclusions are possible from this analysis. Generally the evidence suggests support for the argument that a broader range of people were involved in friendly societies in the early years of the friendly society movement than suggested by those who have emphasised the connection between friendly societies and the labour elite. It also shows that whereas the craftsmen took part in societies, they did not seem to be more highly represented than other groups. One exception to this was in the case of the club at Laxton in the 1840s, where members

included a large number of sons working with their craftsmen fathers. It is possible, however, that such craftsmen were more likely to be club officers, as argued by Neave in his analysis of society officers, but this issue has not been considered here.

The evidence does, however, suggest that the percentage of agricultural workers joining societies increased in the later years of the century. This was true both for the quinquennial returns in table 4.1 and in the experience of the society at Woodborough, where only 10% (n=8) of agricultural labourers in the parish joined the society 1830-49, but 46% (n=37) of labourers in the village were members by 1888. It is possible that improvements in real wages had enabled more to afford to belong to societies but it is also possible that the agricultural labour force had, by that time, become more static in the sense that perhaps the younger workers had migrated to other occupations or gone overseas to new opportunities in the colonies during the years of the agricultural depression and the remaining labourers, feeling a greater commitment to their place of residence, felt that society membership was now worth while.

The method adopted here of exploring friendly society membership primarily on the basis of its relationship to the occupational structure of a particular parish can be criticised both on the grounds of using a parish as a unit of analysis and on the grounds of concentrating on occupation as a major criterion. Members of a society were often drawn from other surrounding parishes, and many members retained their membership when they moved away. Furthermore, the society's meeting place was not necessarily static; sometimes societies changed their meeting place to another parish. Analysis on the basis of occupation is also problematic because the limitations of using censuses as a means of establishing the occupation of an individual are well known. In rural areas, this is particularly problematic as it was very common for villagers to have multiple occupations which might co-exist, or vary according to the time of year. Nevertheless, these limitations do not completely invalidate the above attempts to clarify some aspects of the occupational status of friendly society members.

Occupation may not have been the main criterion in society membership for it was very apparent from many membership lists that family and friendship connections were an important factor in joining a society. This is not surprising as membership of all societies was on the basis of election by members, or the committee, and it was necessary for an applicant to be proposed and seconded by existing members. The entrance of a member of one occupation or one family was frequently followed by the entrance of other members of that family or occupation as members encouraged their work-mates and their relatives to join their club. As a consequence of this pattern of joining societies, whether a person joined a society, and which society he joined, depended more on family and other connections than on occupation. This is most clearly illustrated in the detailed analysis of the people of Caunton where there was a tendency for whole families either to be members or not. For example, the members of the shoemaking family of Antcliff were

not generally club members whereas the Chappels, another family of shoemakers, were. Similarly the labouring family, Plummer, were all members while the Willis' and the Etoes, also labourers, were not.(9) Membership lists for other clubs show clear family influence through the recurrence of those with the same surname and the entry at the earliest possible age of relatives of existing club members. Family connections with a parish or a club were particularly important when members moved away. Those with family commitments to the parish tended to retain their membership of local clubs when they moved away. The membership list of Aslocton, for example, showed members as far distant as Lincoln and Nottingham and the list of members at the closure of the Woodborough Society in 1954 showed members as far away as Macclesfield and Sheffield.(10)

The occupational structure of club membership was often influenced in ways other than the inclination of members of different occupational groups to join societies and their ability to pay subscriptions on a regular basis. Although most societies consisted of members from a variety of occupations, it was common for societies to refuse to admit those in occupations regarded as hazardous and likely to expose workers to illness, accident or death at an early age; for this reason, miners and militia volunteers were commonly excluded from membership. There were also clubs which excluded occupational groups on other less explicable grounds. For example, the Amicable society at the *Spread Eagle* in Nottingham excluded watchmen, boatmen and leadhousemen; the Cabman's Sick and Burial Society excluded policemen, bailiffs and bailiffs' followers; the Amicable Society at the *Dog and Gun* excluded chairmen, watchmen, dyers, bricklayers, stone-cutters, joiners, carpenters, smiths, labourers and brewers; the Union Society which met at the National Schoolroom, High Cross Street, Nottingham admitted no brewers, bricklayers, carpenters, fellmongers, founders, leadworkers, glaziers, hatters, joiners, labourers, gasworkers, millwrights, painters, plumbers, stone-masons, tanners, wheelwrights, sawyers or butchers.(11) Such exclusions suggest that some clubs incorporated their prejudices about other workers or anxiety to restrict their brotherhood to their idea of a "respectable" level of society.

Another way for a club to ensure that it attracted the "right" kind of person was through the cost of membership.(12) Although regular subscriptions varied, it was perhaps entrance fee arrangements which most restricted club membership. Some clubs, such as the New Friendly Society in Southwell charged an entrance fee of 10/6 in 1816 of which 5/- had to be paid on the first club night and 5/6 on the second night; the Schoolmaster's Friendly Society was similarly difficult to enter as it was necessary to pay 12 monthly payments in advance as an admission fee.(13) Other clubs allowed the entrance fee to be paid in small instalments such as the Arnold society whose entry fee was 1 guinea which could be paid at the rate of 1/- per club night; some had no entrance fee at all.(14) Where clubs were seriously competing for membership with other clubs, entrance fees,

subscriptions and benefits would be altered in response to competition from other clubs. For example, the club at the *Red Lion* in Blidworth which opened in 1832 in competition with the existing club at the *Blue Ball* offered free entrance to those up to the age of 29 and a sliding scale for those aged 30-36 compared with the *Blue Ball Club's* fees of 5/3 for those up to 25 and £1/1/- for those aged 27-33.(15) The Nottingham Oddfellows lodge which opened the following year charged a higher monthly subscription, 16d instead of 10d, but offered benefits after only 6 months instead of after one year like the other clubs.(16) Such alterations, in the fiercely fought market conditions of the day, gave rise to complaints of unfair competition from unrealistic levels of contribution and benefits which concerned other clubs as well as the certifying Barrister and later the Registrar of friendly societies who continually struggled to ensure that societies behaved responsibly in terms of balancing benefits offered with subscriptions.

Membership of friendly societies was therefore, not simply a matter of being able to pay subscriptions. It could also be argued that the financially insecure were more likely to join a friendly society than the better-paid craftsmen who were sure of a good income every week. As Smiles noted, it was often the poor who managed to save their pennies at the Penny Banks while the well-paid craftsmen, having drunk their income at the weekend and on Saint Monday, had to pawn their clothes in order to survive until the next weekend.(17) Evidence from autobiographies similarly suggests different approaches to society membership amongst different levels of worker. J Wardle, who was later to become a mining agent and methodist preacher, noted how important his membership of the Foresters was to him in the 1860s when he was a quarry worker as did Henry Snell, who was the son of an agricultural labourer and was later to become a Labour MP and Peer, when writing of his life in the agricultural village of Sutton-on-Trent.(18) Both referred to the vital importance of friendly society membership in the lives of the poorer members of their communities. Henry Snell noted that the club was the chief welfare organisation in the village "helping to keep the grim old wolf of want from many a poor man's door".(19) By contrast James Hopkinson, who was the son of a grocer from Cropwell Butler and himself became a cabinet maker, makes no mention of friendly societies in his mid-Victorian memoirs. Perhaps the Hopkinson family considered that they had no need for such "poor men's" institutions for James' father described himself as "gentleman" on James' wedding certificate as did James himself when writing his will.(20)

Thus whether a person joined a society, and which society he joined, might involve a variety of considerations which extended beyond membership of a particular occupational group. The level of the entrance fees and subscriptions, the convenience of the club's locality and the practicality of getting to obligatory meetings, having contacts with existing members, belonging to an occupational group that was not excluded from membership, local and family traditions, personal perceptions of their need for a financial safety-net as



well as whether the benefits of the club made it worth joining were all relevant considerations for the would-be member. Not the least of these considerations was the quality of the club's social life. The monthly or fortnightly meeting where members came to pay their subscriptions and to enjoy the company of fellow-members at the club room may well have been the only social activity in which members took part and the importance of Club Feast in a village's social calendar as the most important of village festivities has been well noted. As Williams in his Wiltshire village observed, club feast was "quite the event of the year. Christmas and Easter were nothing to it." (21) While in Hickling, Nottinghamshire, a resident recalled that the feast was such an important occasion that not only did the children have new clothes but also, there were always "... new potatoes, even if only as small as marbles." (22) Edward Stanhope reporting to the Commission on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture in 1867, noted that some agricultural labourers joined a club because it was the nearest or had the best feast or the most pleasant meetings but were not really interested in the security the club gave. (23) Similar evidence given to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies in 1874 recorded that many considered the feast to be the chief social benefit of societies. (24) On the other hand it does not seem likely that people would have joined clubs and paid subscriptions solely or even primarily to have the opportunity to take part in the social life; people must have joined primarily for the benefits societies offered, for no other reason would explain why such a large percentage of the county's population belonged to societies throughout the nineteenth century.

### **Club benefits and activities**

The main benefits to members were sick pay and a funeral allowance. Many clubs also paid an old age allowance, provided medical assistance and, sometimes, help for the unemployed. The level of sick and funeral benefits varied between clubs. Typically a club provided sick pay of 6/- to 8/- after a year's membership and a funeral benefit of £3 - £5 for the member and half this rate for a spouse: there was sometimes also a funeral benefit of £1 to £1/10/0 for a child. Sick pay came directly from the club sick fund but funerals were often financed at least partly by levies on members at the rate of 6d. - 1/- per member or 3d. - 6d. for a spouse. The level of benefits changed very little until the late years of the nineteenth century.

An old age allowance was sometimes paid. Club rules did not often make provision for such an allowance but it was the practice in many clubs to allow 2/- or 3/- a week to its elderly members as an extension to sick benefits.

Medical care was also provided by many societies. The club would typically appoint a surgeon for one year paying him a salary according to the number of members; he would perform various functions including examining those applying for entry to the club to

ensure their good health, providing confirmation of the illness of members claiming sick benefit and care for sick members. The relationship between the doctors and the club members was not always good.(25) Club minute books frequently contain complaints about the failure of the club doctor to attend to his patients. For example, a number of members of the High Pavement Provident Society complained about the off-hand manner adopted by Dr Sutton, their elected doctor towards them as club members.(26) Similarly Dr Wootton, who was the surgeon for the Bingham Poor Law Union as well as for friendly societies at Orston and Cropwell Butler, was the subject of complaint both from the Cropwell Butler club and from the Poor Law Union and Dr Abbott was subject of complaint from members of the Newstead Colliery Sick and Accident Friendly Society between 1895 and 1900.(27) As a result of such dissatisfactions with the part-time aspect of the doctor's availability and the members' suspicion that doctors were treating them in a second class manner, Medical Care Associations were established in the later years of the nineteenth century. The Nottingham Friendly Society Medical Institution was one such association; it was established by leading members of the Nottingham Oddfellows in 1875 and employed medical officers on a full-time basis. This was a common practice in the late years of the century and by 1884 there were 42 such associations in Britain.(28)

In the eighteenth century Eden referred to "failure of employment" as one of the needs for which some clubs provided help but in common with Barnett's experience, it proved difficult to find examples of help provided for the unemployed.(29) Such help has been found in Nottinghamshire only in the case of the large Orders who provided "travelling checks" in the same way as the guilds or trade unions for whom tramping in search of work was a traditional practice. As far as the Nottingham Oddfellows were concerned, it was evidently not a practice which was regarded as an essential part of the benefits to society members as travelling checks were withdrawn in the late 1860s after heavy demands on the service and the suspicion that some members were abusing the system.(30)

The advantages of club membership were not restricted to these benefits. Clubs were sometimes involved in a range of other activities to which reference was not necessarily made in rule books. Evidence from minute books, account books and newspapers has shown that a range of other activities have been provided by clubs in the county at various times. Clubs have owned and operated mills, purchased and redistributed food on a co-operative basis, bought and rented out land to members and others, run small industries and provided educational opportunities.

Concern about food adulteration and high bread prices during the 1780s/1790s led clubs to purchase their own mills or combine with other clubs to do so. This enabled members to do their own milling thereby avoiding adulteration and the worst excesses of exploitation. Five club-owned mills have been identified in Nottinghamshire. Sixteen

clubs in Nottingham decided to build or purchase a mill to be run along the lines of one already at work in Mansfield; by 1793 this was in existence and shared by twelve clubs.(31) One mill at Newark was owned by eight clubs in the 1790s, two owned by a club at Hucknall one of which was purchased in 1795 and one at Mansfield.(32) This practice was not unique to Nottinghamshire or to friendly societies. Co-operative corn-milling has been identified at this time in various parts of the country.(33) Tann has also drawn attention to co-operative shops associated with corn-milling in the 1790s.(34) In Nottinghamshire three such shops, or some other form of food distribution in which food was bought in bulk and resold to members in smaller quantities, have also been identified in association with clubs. The accounts of the Blue Ball club at Blidworth show that such activities were part of club life from 1771 to 1798. They show that cheese was bought at Nottingham Goose Fair and at Mansfield in 1771 and sold to members. Other items bought in 1795 included ingredients for bread-making. It seems that profits from the shop were paid into club funds as the accounts for 1795 include the item - "Into the box from the shop ... £36 10 0". It is not, however, clear if these profits were used to help finance the sick and funeral benefits or whether there was a separate Box for the shop operation.(35) Similar evidence from account books belonging to a club meeting at the *Wrestlers Arms* in Sneinton shows that in 1800 6cwt 18lbs of cheese was bought at Goose Fair then resold in smaller quantities to members.(36) A "flour committee" is mentioned in the accounts of an Arnold society in the 1830s which suggests another society's involvement in milling, bread-making or sale of basic necessities to members.(37) It is unclear what happened to these early enterprises but, as Tann noted, some of them eventually developed in the co-operative movement later in the century. It is possible, therefore, that the early establishment of the food and basic commodity co-operatives established at Hucknall and Arnold - as the Hucknall Torkard Friendly Co-operative and Trading Association in 1829 and the Arnold Community Store in 1841 - were an inheritance of the early club mills.(38)

Many clubs also bought land with their surplus funds. Sometimes this was a method of investing accumulated funds to enable clubs to profit from renting out land, sometimes it was a means of providing allotments for the personal use of members. This was a particularly valuable asset for the framework-knitters of the area whose trade was subject to frequent depressions since the allotments provided an alternative way of making a living during hard times. The extent to which such investment was made in the early years of societies' existence is not clear. There is evidence that Arnold societies bought land in 1832 to rent out to members as allotments as did the Woodborough Society in 1841.(39) In 1843 the *Nottingham Review* noted that many sick clubs had been withdrawing their funds from savings banks to invest in land.(40)

The practice of investing club money in land, apart from land on which a club meeting house was to be built, was made illegal under the 1855 Friendly Societies Act.(41)

Whether this was due to a genuine concern over the possibility of investing unwisely and losing club money or whether it was motivated by fear that the club members might achieve too much independence through land-ownership is unclear. Whatever the reason, societies do not appear to have taken much notice of the law if it did not suit them. The Woodborough Male Friendly Society, for example, which had bought land in 1841, bought more in 1856.(42)

Evidence from the 1873 Return of Owners of Land showed that in Nottinghamshire 48 clubs owned almost 300 acres of land.(43) The practice of land-ownership by clubs varied throughout the country, according to this return. Land-ownership was common amongst clubs in Leicestershire where 53 clubs owned 334 acres; by contrast, in neighbouring Derbyshire 12 clubs owned a total of 82 acres and in Lincolnshire 11 clubs owned 47 acres.(44) Capitulating under the weight of evidence that the law was being ignored, the Friendly Societies Act of 1875 reinstated the right of societies to own land.(45) As a result, some clubs took advantage of this change to buy more land as did the Arnold Swarm club in 1878 and a club at Burton Joyce in 1885 and 1889.(46) The practice of land-ownership varied depending on local circumstance, availability and suitability of land, local interest and presumably club policy. In Blidworth, each of the 5 clubs in existence in 1873 owned land and club land in the village amounted to over 40 acres (including the female society which owned 2 acres). Similarly clubs in the group of framework-knitting villages to the east of Nottingham (Burton Joyce, Bulcote, Lowdham, Hoveringham, Epperstone, Woodborough, Lambley, Calverton) owned a total of approximately 120 acres between them. The larger framework-knitting centres of Arnold, to the north of Nottingham and Ruddington to the south make an interesting contrast. There were 30 acres of club land in Arnold but in Ruddington, there was none.(47) This was a matter of comment in the Framework Knitters Report of 1845 and the Select Committee on Allotments in 1843. Whereas in Arnold, clubs had bought land in 1831, in Ruddington and Barton there was an interest in land as allotments, but none was available.(48)

Clubs were not the only organisations owning land as allotments in Nottinghamshire. There had been a great interest in allotments as a means of helping the poor make ends meet since the late years of the eighteenth century. Between 1795 and 1835 184 pamphlets had been produced proposing allotment schemes. Permissive legislation of 1819 and 1831 allowed parishes to provide allotments for the poor and by 1833, 42% of all parishes in England and Wales did so, although the amount some of the parishes set aside as allotments was very small.(49) Nottinghamshire had a history of enthusiasm for allotments which was related to the regular and deep depressions suffered by the framework-knitters and the active concern of many to help workers provide for themselves in such times.(50) An allotment scheme existed in Wollaton in 1790; Robert Lowe noted in 1798 that most cottages in the county had good gardens and potato


grounds attached.(51) Rev J T Becher, an enthusiast for allotments, was just one of the county notables who gave land for allotments in Southwell sometime before the 1830s; and in his own parish of Thurgarton, parishioners had long had very large cottage gardens and allotments.(52) In Caunton allotments made available from parish land and managed by churchwardens had proved successful and had the effect of keeping rates down in country areas in difficult times.(53) Nearer to Nottingham various local landowners responded to calls by the Cottage Garden Association in the "Hungry Forties" to make land available to destitute framework-knitters. The Earl of Chesterfield gave 20 acres in Nottingham, the Duke of Portland let 75 acres in Old Basford, the Vicar of Lambley gave 17½ acres, the Rev Vaughan gave 30 acres at Gotham in 1845, Mr Werge gave land in Woodborough in 1848.(54) An offshoot of land-ownership was that one club, at least, as able to open a small industry working gravel pits on its land. The club at the *Greyhound* in Beeston reported that in 1870-1 they made a profit of over £120 on their gravel workings which enabled them to keep a low rate of contributions and give liberal sick pay.(55)

The extent and time-scale on which these facilities existed is unknown in most cases. It is known, however, that the system of medical care developed by the friendly societies formed the pattern on which later the National Health Insurance Scheme was based after 1911 and expanded in 1948. In Nottingham the Friendly Societies' Medical Institution was eventually dissolved in 1951.(56) The shop, the early co-operative at Blidworth which dated at least from 1771, still existed between 1840 and 1880 according to a local informant who remembered his mother commenting that another village store-keeper used to complain that his trade was made impossible because of the existence of the club shop to which residents went for all their basic provisions and only came to him for small extra items.(57) The Mansfield club mill partnership was dissolved in 1820 but the Hucknall Mill survived.(58) The Hucknall Mill Sick Society had 284 members in 1893 together with a house worth £950 and mills worth £550 but in 1895 the secretary of the society wrote to the Registrar of Friendly Societies explaining that the club no longer submits returns as the society had become a trading society. It owned two mills at that time from which the profits made from went towards sick pay. One mill at Hucknall was still operating in 1909 and survived as a Club Mill until its demolition in 1930; the sick club itself was still in existence during the second World War.(59)

The range of activities in which friendly societies were involved suggests that some of the early sick clubs were far from being badly run clubs permanently on the edge of insolvency and in which drinking was the main activity, as some critics and the competing affiliated orders of the mid-nineteenth-century were to argue. Some of these early clubs consisted of very hard-working people whose efforts at self-help were wide-ranging, imaginative and competently undertaken without any help, support or interference from the state, the parish or their "betters". It is difficult to say how common such activities

Fig. 4.1

## Crimean War: Peace Celebrations



# TOWN OF NOTTINGHAM

## CELEBRATION OF PEACE!

### TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1856.

#### ROUTE OF THE PROCESSION.

The Procession will form on the Long Row, proceed up Pelham Street, down Stoney Street, the High, Middle, and Low Pavements, Castle Gate, the Hollows, Postern Street, Regent Street, Rope-Walk Street, returning down the Derby Road to the Market Place.

The Schools, Lodges, and other Bodies will assemble in the Market Place at Half-past Nine o'clock, to comprise the following

## ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

ADVANCED GUARD OF PENSIONERS.  
STANDARD—THIRD PLACE.

NOTTINGHAM BRASS BAND.  
FLAG OF THE IMPERIAL ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

THE NOTTINGHAM IMPERIAL ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

NOTTINGHAM JUVENILE DRUM AND FIFE BAND.

SCHOOL CHILDREN, IN NUMBER ABOUT 4,000.  
IN BAND AND BANNERS.

SCHOOL CHILDREN, IN NUMBER ABOUT 2,000.

GUARD OF PENSIONERS,  
IN STANDARD.

IN MILITARY BAND.

FLAG OF THE MANCHESTER UNITY OF ODD FELLOWS.

THE MANCHESTER UNITED ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RUTLAND'S BAND.

THE RECRUITING STAFF.

CRIMEAN HEROES.  
DISABLED

### CRIMEAN HEROES IN TRIUMPHAL CAR

DRAWN BY FOUR HORSES.

BANNERS OF THE ALLIED ARMIES.

SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE YEOMANRY BAND.

PENSIONERS' DRUMS AND FIFES.

CORPS OF ENROLLED PENSIONERS.

BLUE COAT SCHOOL.

THE ROYAL STANDARD.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR & MAGISTRATES.

TOWN COUNCIL.

THE PEACE CELEBRATION COMMITTEE.

IN LINE OF FLAG.

IN THE ANCIENT ORDER OF ROYAL FORESTERS.

IN THE ANCIENT UNITED ORDER OF DRUIDS.

ODD FELLOWS, LONDON UNITY.

THE LOYAL INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

THE NOTTINGHAM SOCIETY OF BRUSH MAKERS.

INHABITANTS.

ON THE RETURN OF THE PROCESSION TO THE MARKET PLACE.

THE ASSEMBLED SCHOOL CHILDREN WILL SING THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

AND  
THE PENSIONERS WILL FIRE A 'FEU DE JOIE.'

WHICH WILL TERMINATE THE HOSTILE PROCEEDINGS.

The ARBORETUM will be Open FREE OF CHARGE.

BANDS WILL BE IN ATTENDANCE

The Enrolled Pensioners, Crimean Soldiers, and Recruiting Staff will Dine together at Three o'clock, in the large Marquee, in the Arboretum, decorated for the occasion.

BANDS WILL ALSO PLAY IN THE MARKET PLACE, AFTERNOON & EVENING.

The Celebration will terminate with a

## BRILLIANT DISPLAY OF FIREWORKS,

In the MARKET PLACE to commence at Half-past Eight o'clock.

ST Every arrangement to make for preserving order in the Procession, and the COMMITTEE constantly rely on the civility of the Public (the whole of these proceedings are proposed) to assist in a satisfactory and order throughout the day, so that it may prove a CELEBRATION worthy of the occasion. All spectators on the line of the Procession are requested to remain stationary until it passes.

RICHARD HIRKIN, MAYOR.  
WILLIAM HANNAY, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

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T. STEPHENS, PRINTER, BY APPOINTMENT TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST EXCELLENT THEATRE.



were without the evidence of more source materials since generally the rule books, the most commonly found source, do not necessarily refer to the supplementary activities. It would be reasonable to assume that such clubs were in the minority, otherwise more discussion or praise might have been evident in newspapers.

### **Social aspects of club life**

The importance of the social life of the clubs should not be under-estimated. It has already been noted that in the opinion of one Royal Commissioner, the quality of a club's social life may have been an important factor in members' decisions about joining clubs.(60) In rural areas club feast was often regarded as the most important event in a village social calendar. Each club specified its feast day in its rule-book. This varied in different parts of the country in accordance with the demands of local agricultural conditions; in Nottinghamshire club feast was generally celebrated in Whit week, a traditional time for popular festivals under the name of "Whitsun Ales" long before friendly societies adopted this time.(61) On Whit Monday or Tuesday, club members would gather in their club room, then process to church or chapel for a service before perambulating the parish behind a brass band.

Club feast days were often noted for the drunkenness of the club members. In 1806, the *Nottingham Journal* reported:

In singing the psalm before the sermon (not to mention other improprieties) the greater industry seems to have been exerted to destroy all effect of harmony and to introduce all sorts of noises that could render it a complete scoff and mockery. After divine worship, instead of leaving the church singing as usual "God Save the King" they played the tune of "Oh dear what can the matter be". Surely a most profane liberty on consecrated ground.(62)

Sixty years later behaviour was sometimes little better for the *Nottingham Journal* reported another example of drunken club feast day behaviour when a member, impatient at not being served quickly enough at the feast, climbed onto the table and made his way out of the room by walking through all the food and dishes on the table.(63)

Besides celebrating their own club feast days, clubs also played their part in the social life of the community by taking part in special local events in both town and country. In Blidworth members of five friendly societies took part in full regalia in the opening ceremonies of Blidworth school in 1847.(64) In Nottingham friendly societies participated in celebrations to mark success against the French general Pichegru in 1794; 14 clubs together celebrated the same occasion in Mansfield, as did 100 members of the club at Ollerton and 1000 members of societies in Nottingham.(65) Similar involvements of friendly societies in public celebrations took place in Sheffield and elsewhere in the 1790s.(66) Societies also joined in the Peace celebrations at the end of the Crimean War

Fig. 4.2

Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887:  
Joint Friendly Society demonstration, Market Square, Nottingham



in 1856 (see Fig.4.1), for the Royal Wedding in 1863 and for the opening of Wilford collieries and Wilford Bridge in 1870.(67) Undoubtedly the most lavish demonstration ever seen in Nottingham was the joint friendly societies' demonstration on the occasion of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887 (see Fig. 4.2). The Nottingham Oddfellows, the Manchester Oddfellows, the Foresters, the Rechabites and the Albion Order of Oddfellows joined with the Corks and the Buffaloes to form a grand procession through Nottingham and to provide a day of entertainment in Wollaton Park for 70,000 people and a tea for almost 1,000 poor children.(68)

Club feast day had received extensive coverage in local newspapers from the 1790s but by the 1860s its popularity was said to have declined. By that time club feasts were reported in nostalgic terms as if they were part of an ancient but declining, traditional practice.(69) The decline of club social activities had been exacerbated by the Registrar's attack on the social aspects of club life in refusing to allow clubs to pay for feasting out of funds or to make attendance at such activities compulsory. The development of commercial entertainment meant that club nights and feast days were no longer the main source of entertainment for working men in towns. New opportunities to travel by rail made it possible for some to seek various kinds of social activity over a wider area. By the 1880s Nottingham friendly societies had lost their place as the centre of attention at Whitsuntide to entertainments in Nottingham Arboretum, visits to the Castle museum, the Theatres, the Palace of Varieties and trips to Cleethorpes and other seaside resorts.(70) Similarly in the villages, clubs lost their former importance in the village calendar of events. At Epperstone, according to village resident William Huskinson, club social life declined in the 1880s:

The whole was a gala in the old days. Young girls out in their new dresses and quite a crowd in the street... Everything went on as usual till about 1880 or so and since then a rapid decline has set in. Today, Whit Monday 1891, the club going to church made a miserable show, and except half a dozen children, myself and old Mrs Barker, none attended at the church steps to see it go it...(71)

In neighbouring Woodborough, club membership was at its peak in the 1880s and 1890s but declined thereafter along with the decreasing parish population although club feast remained a strong feature of village social life between the two world wars.(72) More typically, however, few of the clubs which had survived the introduction of the national health scheme in 1912 celebrated their feasts beyond the interruption of the First World War.

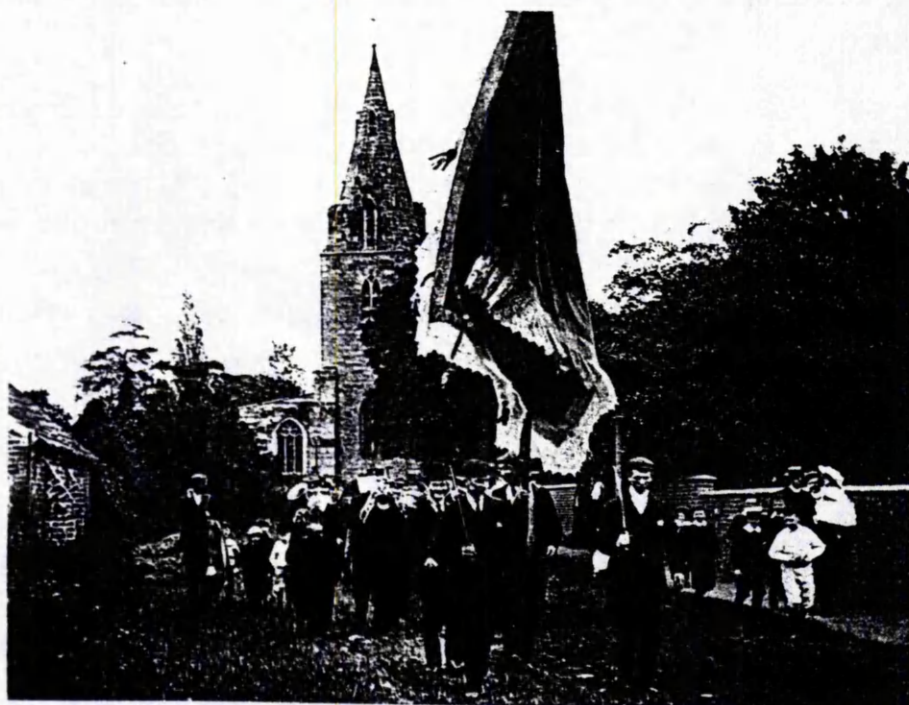
### **Trade unions, politics and education**

One of common assumptions made about friendly societies is that they were effectively trade unions and as such were involved in both trade and political activities, in so far as



Fig. 4.3

**Club Feast Day: Burton Joyce 1905 and 1907:  
Albion Glory Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows**



these were related to trade matters. But in Nottinghamshire little evidence has been found to support such assumptions or to find links between societies and trade unions. Only a very small proportion of the friendly societies identified in the county, 34 out of 1271, had an occupational base. These are listed in Appendix B(2). It would be very difficult to establish any links between early societies and trade unions in Nottingham as, according to Thomis, there were no formal or permanent unions in Nottingham before 1800; instead, ad hoc liaisons were formed from time to time to press for higher wages.(73) Yet it is interesting that all four of the occupation based friendly societies which have been identified as existing before 1800 (Joiners and Cabinet makers from 1781, Cordwainers from 1785, Framework-knitters from 1785, Tailors from 1794) were in trades which were involved in pressing for wage increases at an early date; Thomis cites such activities from cordwainers in 1787, framework-knitters in 1794, journeymen cabinet makers in 1796, and tailors in 1807.(74) It seems very likely, then, that these trade based friendly societies were involved in trade affairs although, not surprisingly in view of the Combination Acts, no indication of such activities is acknowledged in the individual club rule books enrolled with the Quarter Sessions.

One example of trade related activity was found in the form of a draft memorandum in an account book of the Swarm Friendly Society of Arnold:

    whe the undersigned have resolved that whe are degraded thro' the loe price of our labour belowe the loest working class in the country whe therefore recommend our fellow framework-knitters to joine in a subscription to impley some able counsel to present our case in parliament.(75)

Although the note is of uncertain date it seems very likely that it refers to the efforts being made throughout Nottingham in 1812 to raise funds towards the expenses involved in the getting a Framework Knitters Bill to parliament in that year. Although undoubtedly many members of the Swarm society were framework-knitters, this note does not necessarily imply that the society was primarily interested in wages. The plight of the framework knitters was a cause of great local importance, supported not only by framework-knitters, other workers and friendly societies, but also by employers, gentry, clergy and other influential people throughout the county.(76) One society, the Framework-Knitters Friendly Society, was, however, established in Nottingham in 1819 specifically for the purpose of relieving unemployment in the trade and securing set rates of pay. Although evidence from newspapers shows that this society also had the active support of many large hosiers, churchmen and others of influence it did not survive long and in 1823 the funds were diverted into a strike fund.(77)

Although it is possible that some friendly societies were engaged in trade union activities, the majority had no such connections and some were at pains to make it known that they were not, and should not be confused with, combinations of workers in a particular trade.

Some rule books specified that members should not identify their trade through their dress at meetings.(78) In 1834 the Nottingham Oddfellows made a particular effort to distance themselves from Trades Unions at a time when many branches of the new Grand Consolidated Trades Union were being established in the Nottingham area. At a meeting in January of that year the Grand Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows made a point of letting it be known that it had no connections with the new unions. They noted that it might be true that unions had borrowed some of their formalities from the different orders of Oddfellows but that ought not to confuse together societies whose objectives were completely different.(79)

It was not entirely true that the objectives of the friendly societies such as the Nottingham Oddfellows were completely different for many trade associations provided sickness and funeral benefits as did friendly societies. When it became possible for trade unions to register as friendly societies under the 1871 Trade Union Act, a number did so. By 1905 seventeen trade unions based in Nottinghamshire were registered under this act of which the earliest, the Operative Brick Makers, had been formed in 1866. Membership of most of the societies was fairly small; only three had over 500 members by 1905 - the Nottingham Builders Labourer Trade Society founded 1871 (778 members), the Amalgamated Society of Operative Lace Makers founded 1874 (3067 members) and the Nottinghamshire Miners Association founded 1880 (23,771 members).(80)

Although little evidence has been found to link societies with trade-related activities, there is no doubt that a number of clubs were involved in local politics in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The Nottingham Oddfellows, in particular, were closely identified with the local Whig politics of independence from Tory rule and Reform. It is no coincidence that the Grand Lodge Banner of 1818 bore the legend *The Triumph of Independence* for in that year George Parkyns, Lord Ranccliffe, who had become Nottingham's Independent Member of Parliament in 1812 with the help and support of the town framework-knitters, who comprised about half Nottingham's voters under the town's very open franchise, was invited to become Grandmaster of the order, a position he held until his death in 1850. Ranccliffe proved to be an ineffectual Member of Parliament but his 1812 election victory continued to be celebrated annually by the Nottingham Oddfellow lodges. "Independence" and "Lord Ranccliffe" were common toasts drunk at Nottingham Oddfellow dinners long after Ranccliffe had given up his parliamentary seat in 1830.(81)

The burning issue in Nottingham in the early decades of the nineteenth century was Reform and some Nottingham Oddfellow clubs were involved, alongside local trade unions, in the Reform movement which culminated in the 1832 Reform Act. The festival held in Nottingham to celebrate the passing of the Act was organised by Thomas Wakefield, who was the Grand Treasurer of the Nottingham Oddfellows as well as



**REFORM CELEBRATION.**—The long talked-of celebration of the passing of the Reform Bills took place in this town on Monday last. The morning was propitious; and at an early hour "the busy note of preparation" sounded through the streets—cannons were fired, and the bells of the churches were rung. At ten o'clock the procession, headed by Mr. Eyre, on horseback; wearing a large tri-coloured scarf, moved from the Market Place, and passed along Clumber Street, Milton Street, Charlotte Street, Glasshouse Street, Broad Street, Goose Gate, Hockley, Sneinton Street, Carter Gate, Fisher Gate, Bridge Street, and the London Road, in the following order:—

Two of the Committee on horseback.  
 116 gentlemen on horseback.  
 Inhabitants not belonging to Societies.  
 Bee-hive Friendly Society.  
 The Smiths' Society.  
 Wheat Sheaf (Sneinton) Friendly Society.  
 Two of the Committee on horseback.  
 Earl Grey Friendly Society.  
 Bull's Head ditto.  
 Black Horse Amicable ditto.  
 Fox (Glass-house Lane) ditto.  
 Two of the Committee on horseback.  
 Stocking frame worked by a boy.  
 Printing press at work.  
 Manchester Independent Order of Odd Fellows (three Lodges.)  
 Ancient Druids.  
 Carriage for the Members.  
 Imperial Order of Odd Fellows.  
 Nottingham Independent Union of Odd Fellows.  
 Two of the Committee on horseback.  
 Tailors' Friendly Society.  
 Inhabitants not belonging to Societies.  
 Political Unions of Nottingham, Lenton, Sutton in Ashfield, &c.  
 Ilkeston band.  
 A car, containing models of ships, a globe, and small cannons, which were fired at intervals by the boys who rode in the car, preceded by about 4,000 of the juvenile population, every third or fourth boy carrying a small flag, the colours of which were extremely brilliant, and the little fellows seemed highly delighted.  
 Three of the Committee on horseback.  
 Eight bands of music enlivened the procession by playing a variety of airs, marches, &c. There was an unusually numerous display of flags, banners, &c. some of which, particularly those belonging to the Odd Fellows, the Druids, the Tailors and the Smiths' Societies, were much admired; but the satisfaction which might have been occasioned by some, was marred by the exhibition of several tri-coloured flags, and banners with mottoes of a most objectionable character.—On reaching the Trent

involved with various other friendly societies. The grand procession which paraded Nottingham in June of that year consisted mainly of friendly societies.(see fig.4.4) Reform festivals were also held at Radford and Arnold and reports appearing in the Nottingham Oddfellows magazine make clear that its lodges in these areas participated while, at Bunny and Bradmore, Lord Rancliffe also celebrated with parties for his tenants.(82)

After the Reform Act of 1832 some of the Nottingham Oddfellow lodges continued to be involved in local political affairs by giving support to parliamentary candidates. Brother Fletcher Norton of the Harmonic Lodge of Bingham was received at the anniversary of the Robin Hood Lodge at Farnsfield in May 1832; while in September Colonel Cooper-Gardiner, candidate for North Nottinghamshire was received at the Minerva Lodge Mansfield. Cooper-Gardiner was also present at the Rural Lodge, Nottingham on 17 November where they celebrated not only the club anniversary but also the 20th anniversary of the election of the Grand Master, Lord Rancliffe, as independent Member of Parliament for Nottingham.(83)

The Reform Act of 1832 reduced the previously fairly open franchise in Nottingham. Disappointed with the effect of the Act and disillusioned with the Whig corporation, reformist activities continued in various guises. Friendly societies were amongst the groups who were invited in 1833 to send two delegates to meetings to co-operate in finding a candidate to run against the official Whig Members of Parliament.(84) In time enthusiasm waned and these meetings lapsed but reform activists continued to work in Nottingham; unofficial organisations based in newsrooms and public houses were active in Nottingham and on 16 November 1834, radicals delegated by their various clubs held a meeting demanding reform.(85)

It would not be surprising if members of unions, political activists and friendly society members were acquainted and involved in activities of mutual interest particularly since many shared the same public house meeting grounds. The Chartist movement of the late 1830s and 1840s may well have involved friendly society members. However, the only evidence found which suggests that a society per se, rather than members as individuals, was involved in the movement is a report which showed that the Hyson Green Friendly Society took part in the Chartist procession on 5 November 1838.(86) This is in contrast to the experience in Newport where the Oddfellow lodges were an important source of finance for the Chartists and it is said that their ceremonial swords were used in the Newport Rising in 1839.(87)

Later in the 1860s there was more discussion about the role societies should play in political demonstrations of the day but by this time the orders were well entrenched in their view that societies should "hold themselves scrupulously aloof ... from political religious and social theories and movements."(88)

In fact, under the rules of some societies political discussion and even reading newspapers in the club room had long been forbidden on pain of a fine or expulsion.(89) Whether all clubs felt the same way is unclear: certainly one lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows took sides in the 1865 election when Lord Clifton who was one of the parties to an election was invited to attend one of the lodges in Nottingham during the election campaign.(90)

In spite of evidence of some continuing friendly society interest in reform movements by the 1840s the preoccupation of the upper echelons of both the Nottingham Oddfellows and the Manchester Unity in Nottingham had turned away from politics and towards education. Both provided classes, lectures and libraries for their members.(91) Two influential Nottingham Oddfellows, Joseph Shaw, the Order's founder, its Grandmaster and its leading figure for over 50 years and Christopher Thomson, who was a member of its Grand Lodge, were ardent advocates of the value of education for the working man; both worked towards providing educational facilities within and outside the Oddfellows movement. Joseph Shaw's interest in education had involved him with the establishment in Nottingham of the Artisan's library in 1823, the School of Design in 1834 and the Mechanics Institute in 1837.(92) Christopher Thomson started an artisan's library and mutual improvement society in the village of Edwinstowe where he lived in 1836. He also ran adult education classes in the village offering classes in reading, writing, arithmetic, music, drawing and conversation (i.e. discussion groups), as well as lectures.(93) Together Shaw and Thomson promoted education within the Nottingham Oddfellows through *The Indicator*, the Order's Journal of which Shaw was editor and in which both wrote frequently about the value of education. From their writings it was clear that the kind of education envisaged was one which enhanced rather than challenged the social order. For both education was equated with *moral* advancement.

The provision of libraries was an important plank in adult education provision of the time. The Mechanics movement which had started in London in 1824 eventually reached Nottingham in 1837 when the institute was opened. Meanwhile eight operatives libraries were established in the town between 1835 and 1842, most of which were based in public houses and the largest of which was based in the Ranccliffe Arms, a house noted for its radical connections. Both Thomson and Shaw, had written articles in *The Indicator* advocating the establishment of libraries by Oddfellows for some time and eventually the Nottingham Oddfellows opened their own library and adult school in 1846 doubtless as a result of the competition provided by the opening of similar facilities by the Manchester Unity Oddfellows in the town the previous year.(94)

The education provided by the Nottingham Oddfellows took the form of lectures in science and general knowledge and seem much in tune with Shaw's views of education as moral advancement. The kind of education and its link to personal and social progress is evidenced by the 1869 catalogue of the Nottingham Oddfellows library which shows that

the library was well equipped with books of an "improving" kind rather than books hinting at social or political change.(95) By contrast, in the village of Edwinstowe, Thomson's classes were in the form of basic education in reading and writing as well as academic subjects such as history and geography but he did note that the most popular of the classes was "conversation", or discussion.(96) Although the leaders of the Nottingham Oddfellows were enthusiastic about education as the new opportunity for the working man to improve his position in life, as they had been earlier about Reform, whether ordinary members had such interest must be questioned. A letter in the first edition of *The Indicator* in 1832 from a member questioned the introduction of lectures on lodge nights on scientific, literary, religious and political subjects arguing that they would interfere with the main object of enjoying a little relaxation from the cares of life.(97)

In turning to education instead of politics as the main avenue for their members' advancement, the new direction of the Nottingham Oddfellows at this time reflects the change from conflict to consensus activities which historians have observed amongst working people after 1850. Where contemporarily Engels observed and despaired of the growing embourgeoisement of the British proletariat, a more recent historian, Stedman Jones, noted the transformation of class consciousness into class collaboration as working-class radicals turned their energies away from the disappointments of Reform and Chartism and towards the co-operative movement, trade unions, developing educational opportunities and membership of savings banks and mutual improvement societies.(97a) Participation in education, rather than political activities, was part of this new route which had come to be regarded as the **respectable** way towards personal and social progress.

## **Members and management**

An important feature which distinguished friendly societies from parish or charitable provisions was that the clubs were mutual benefit societies usually run by members for themselves. Rule books embodied the expectation that members would participate fully in the activities of the society by attending meetings, feast days and funerals and by being prepared to serve as a club officer if elected or pay a fine in default. Participation in management and total involvement in society affairs was thus expected, even demanded, of members. If the experience of the Blidworth Blue Ball club was typical, in the club's early years members took their turn as officers but as time passed there was a growing tendency for the same people to be re-elected as officers each year. In the first ten years of the society (1769-1779), 54 joined the club of whom 33 served as officers but none served as master or steward more than once. As time passed the same names reappear as officers; John Barrowcliffe was Master in 1791, 1792, 1796, Thomas Hanesworth from 1801-6 and George Clarke in 1835, 1845-55.(98) The development of such a pattern of regular office holding is common in voluntary societies, but in the case of friendly societies in the nineteenth century there was a particular reason for the management of clubs to become concentrated in few hands. New demands for literacy and numeracy skills were placed on club officers who needed to be able to manage such matters as the provision of medical benefits, annuities, purchase and management of club land,

investment of money in savings accounts, houses and mortgages. That societies had grown from small clubs which made relatively simple demands on its officers into larger more complex organisations needing a more professional style of management was recognised by George Harwood of the Nottingham Wesleyan Methodist church when he wrote, clearly exasperated, in his diary in 1866:

Our sick society is becoming large and respectable and it must be better managed than it has been. We shall never be quite right until we get a more efficient secretary.(99)

It was not surprising then, according to Gosden, that there was a tendency to draw officers from a select group of members in spite of the apparent openness, indicated in rule books, of offices to all members.(100) The posts of secretary and treasurer began to be paid appointed jobs, rather than elected roles and branches of the affiliated orders were increasingly dominated by professionals and self-made men.

Whether all members sought participation in management is doubtful. Many society books include details of fines paid for refusing to accept the post for which the person had been elected. George Hodgkinson Harwood clearly disliked being a club officer; in his journal he made several references to his attitude towards being a steward of the Halifax Place Chapel Sick Club for six months in 1860/1. At the end of the period of his office he wrote, with relief:

At eight o'clock went down to the No 3 Vestry under Halifax Place Chapel to half-yearly meeting of our United Friendly Society. This is the last night of my stewardship and glad am I that I am again out of office.(101)

Although it was likely that many members, like George Harwood, did not want to become officers and were happy to leave the organisation and the running of the club in the hands of a willing few, the development of a ruling group of officers in any society almost inevitably led to distance between officers and ordinary members. Such divergence was apparent in the experience of the Nottingham High Pavement Chapel Provident Friendly Society when comment was made in the *High Pavement Chronicle* in 1874 on the changed attitudes of members towards their society since its institution in 1807:

the society is no longer regarded by those who contribute as a benevolent society; they look upon it as a provident society and as a society from which they expect the returns they were promised from the payments they made.(102)

While the officer who made these comments clearly believed there had been a change in attitudes, the minute books which cover the years 1828 to 1949 show that at least since the 1820s there had been incidents which suggested that members did not regard the society in any sense as a charity or benevolent society and had very clear views about the rights to which they felt they were entitled in return for their regular contributions. In 1828, for example, James Parker claimed an allowance as he had ceased to live in Nottingham and

Fig. 4.5

Letter from William Selby to High Pavement Provident Friendly Society  
1893

27 August 1893

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much for your kind expressions of sympathy and your prompt action in calling the committee together. If I have failed to comply with the strict letter of the rules it has been in ignorance. You may be assured I should not have been so foolish as to go on paying my money if I had thought I was simply helping to swell your large accumulated funds having absolutely no claim to benefit from them. Of course you know I have never had one penny and never thought to have except the old age money if I needed it when eligible, and the funeral benefit. I have never made myself familiar with your rules and some time since and again lately I tried to find them but could not. I only knew that in the only other sick society I am connected with exclusion from benefit does not include funeral benefit. This is an indisputable claim as long as a member's name is retained on the list. I (perhaps foolishly) assumed that your rules were no less equitable and reasonable.

I cannot have paid less than forty pounds one way or other into the society during the 23 years I have been a member and it would not be a "Friendly" act to say now I make my first claim for help in this my darkest hour "you have paid one pound short, it ought to have been forty-one and it is only forty, you cannot have anything until you have paid up and waited the probationary time - get your wife into the ground as best you can, find a friend to help you - we cannot though we've got your money because you have not complied with our rules - we are sorry for you but we have much more concern for our rules."

I have faith in the good will and sense of justice which I am sure will guide the minds of the committee to a righteous decision.

Yours faithfully,

William Selby

Source: High Pavement Provident Friendly Society Minute Book



was not likely to return and was therefore no longer able to be a member of the club since membership was restricted to those belonging to the chapel. Clearly he felt entitled to some recompense for his years of contributions but the committee did not agree and dismissed his application. Similarly in 1868 when Jarvis Mann was leaving England for America he asked whether any monies could be given him since he would be leaving the society or, failing that, whether his burial money could be advanced to him since he was in fact very sick at the time. The question was discussed at a special meeting of the committee and it was decided that no monies could be paid for the former request and the burial money request could not be entertained at all.(103) Both Mann and Parker clearly felt that having been members for some years they were entitled to some benefits; indeed it was the practice in some other clubs to refund money to those who moved from the area and were therefore no longer eligible for membership and emigrants to other countries were sometimes treated especially favourably.(104) However, the High Pavement Society committee did not take this view, quite legitimately, since there was no provision for such eventualities in the rules.

The most striking example of disagreement between a member and officials of the High Pavement Society over benefits can be seen in the discussions about a request William Selby made for a funeral benefit for his wife in 1893. At a special committee meeting held in 1893 to discuss this request, it was decided to reject the claim on the grounds that Selby had stopped paying subscriptions 14 months previously at the age of 60. A letter was sent to Selby conveying the committee's decision that if he paid the 14 months subscriptions owing his request would be re-considered. His reply, shown in fig.4.5, shows the disappointment, anger and bitterness of someone who felt that he was being cheated out of his legitimate entitlements in a high-handed manner after 23 years of membership. At another special committee meeting called to discuss this matter, the earlier decision was reaffirmed and Selby was informed, by letter, accordingly. In the context of other issues discussed at the Committee meetings, where the main business appeared to be making decisions about where to invest money and considering applications for loans to buy houses as investments from people recommended by influential members, the treatment of William Selby seems distant, uncaring and quite inappropriate for a small affluent society with less than 80 members.

Disputes within clubs which failed to live up to members' expectations and pay pensions were not unique to the High Pavement Society, or new. Another dispute over the decision of a club not to pay a pension to aged members fifty years earlier cause great local indignation in Mansfield. In 1845 the society at the Greyhound Mansfield withdrew benefit for its aged members. A correspondent wrote to the Nottingham Review:

If all clubs took the same plan with poor old members as the Greyhound people here have done, the sooner they are all broken up the better. It is no use entering

into a club if, when old age and infirmity overtake us, the weekly pay is to be taken away, it is removing the crutches when most wanted.(105)

The provision of elaborate club rooms presented another opportunity for differences of opinion between club officers and their members. It was common for an established club to have its own room attached to a public house rather than use the public rooms for their meetings. Some landlords found it to their advantage to provide a club room to attract and maintain clubs on their premises. Joseph Woolley described such a room provided by the landlord of one public house in 1801:

Thomas Langford altered the parlour called the nether parlor for the purpos of making a club room of it. They put a new window into it besides the old one that was in it before and took the press beds down and the presses down and put a new fireplace into it and had a new door and door sted or the old one polished of and put up a press bed in the fire corner and adorned it with picters. In short made a very deasant room of it.(106)

By comparison with this simple room provided for a small local independent club, provision made by some of the orders was extremely elaborate and expensively decorated. The new lodge room for the Ancient Druids opened on Market Street in Nottingham in 1833 was described as follows:

The room is a commodious and excellent erection and well fitted up with every convenience for the accommodation of a large party; the upper end is ornamented with admirable busts of George the 4th and the Duke of York, between which are the Royal Arms, exquisitely wrought in iron (and afterwards beautifully gilded) by Mr Wilson of Newark. The walls are also decorated with busts of P G Ward and Hopkinson mounted on brackets of a truly classical design and first rate workmanship by Mons. Bally, who has generously presented them to the lodge.(107)

Such club rooms provided an opportunity for show, display and a way of honouring of patrons but benefitted ordinary members little. The Registrars of Friendly Societies continually tried to prevent clubs spending benefit funds in such ways and in doing so may have spoken for many ordinary members. One Nottinghamshire society member, Christopher Thomson did speak up against such extravagance in his own order. Christopher Thomson had come to live and make his living as a house painter in Edwinstowe where he joined the Edwin Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows in 1834; he was also a member of the Athenaeum Lodge of the United Ancient Order of Druids which met in nearby Ollerton. Although he was an ardent advocate of friendly societies and deeply involved in the work of the Nottingham Oddfellows in particular, by the late 1840s he had become very critical of the amount of money spent on ritual, regalia and ostentation rather than on providing benefits for members.

In an article in *Nottingham Review* in 1848 he criticised such waste of money:

The question for today is, in my opinion, are the Oddfellows, as a body, men who would rather sit a few hours in collars and cloaks, or people who prefer assurance in sickness, and half a loaf guaranteed to their widows and orphans... We boast that we have so many thousands invested for this and the other benevolent purpose: all very well; but oh how silent we are over the thousands of pounds that we waste over our regalias... Reflection will, I think, show us that we can do this in our Sunday's coat, or second best... (108)

Thomson's publicly made complaints did not endear him to the leaders of the order who eventually squeezed him out of the organisation although he had played a major and very enthusiastic part in the 1840s and had been much lauded by the leaders. He was noted as an enthusiastic and talented speaker and writer and had travelled the country encouraging the development of new lodges as far afield as London and Scotland. His autobiography was published in 1847 under the auspices of the order and a lodge in London was named after him in the same year.(109) Enthusiasm for Thomson seems to have come to an end by 1849. He explained what happened when he tried to draw the attention of the Grand Lodge to the lack of sound actuarial principles used when drawing up levels of benefits and contributions and the lack of security when placing funds in the hands of an individual. This was at a time when the Grand Treasurer of the order had embezzled funds entrusted to him.

If ever the necessity arises for you to have to tell large bodies of ignorant men that they are working upon false principles, you must expect to make more enemies than friends... No sooner was I aware of our unsound and defenceless position than I set about a remedy... but they pooh-poohed it off. I was told to wait and all would come right in time...I determined to break the ice by putting a paragraph in the columns of the Nottingham Review...they rewarded its author with long tirades of personal abuse in letters to the press and in correspondence with the various lodges. I was accused of arrogance, of selfishness, of everything save a desire to better the condition of our societies and our fellow-men...(110)

Matters between Thomson and the Grand Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows came to a head in 1850. Thomson had been concerned about centralised control and the lack of democracy within the order, a theme which he pursued when he began to produce a series of *Tracts for Odd Fellows and Social Reformers* for members of the Nottingham Oddfellows in 1849.(111) His concern about central control and the lack of voice allowed to members was shared by many lodges especially those outside Nottinghamshire. Members of the Northampton district supported by the Sheffield District had been pressing for the Grand Lodge to be a delegate assembly for some time and raised the matter again at a meeting in July 1850. The Grand Lodge objected on grounds of cost, they argued, but in the minds of the objectors it was clear that they also objected for fear that they might lose control of the order. Christopher Thomson was one of the moving forces behind this dissension and some very harsh words were said about him at this time:

A greater advocate of the Grand Lodge could not be found than Christopher Thomson so long as a chance remained of him being nicely housed in a good berth; but when he found that neither the Secretaryship of the Widows and Orphans Society, General Funeral Fund or the Editorship of the Indicator was within his grasp he turned round upon them and they were everything bad that his fertile mind could suggest... he was the cause of agitation...but where was he on "the date of battle"?...(112)

Overall his complaints reflected the view that the leaders had detached themselves from the members and were operating as a self-appointed, self-congratulatory oligarchy and giving more attention to show and self-importance than to the real purposes of the clubs and the benefits of the members. But to what extent Thomson reflected the views of the ordinary member is not clear. Unfortunately Oddfellows journals or quarterly magazines no longer exist for the period 1850 so it is not possible to establish what happened in this period but since officials of the Grand Lodge controlled these publications it is unlikely that they would include any letters or opinion which conflicted with theirs. No evidence of support or opposition has been found in local newspapers of the time.

Another cause for irritation amongst some members may well have been the plan to build a lavish Oddfellows Hall which would provide, not only a headquarters for the order but also a theatre seating over 2,000 people, meeting rooms and other facilities for public use. The Nottingham Imperial Hall Company Ltd was launched early in 1861 with the aim of raising £10,000 in £1 shares and to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the order in style with a grand opening ceremony the following year. Launched in a year of depression when the exceeding cold winter had left many people on the verge of starvation in the Nottingham area, advertisements for the scheme seem offensive in the *Nottingham Journal* alongside reports of the distressed condition of many of the poor, the establishment of soup kitchens and appeals for subscriptions to distress funds. Although no comment appears in the Nottingham papers, the insensitivity of the launch of this grandiose scheme at such a time was probably not lost on the public or on Nottingham Oddfellows themselves for the subscription was not a success and the plan was abandoned. A further effort was made in 1908 when a site was bought but never developed as funds were not forthcoming. More modest schemes by other organisations were successful. In 1859 the Trinity Free Church Working Men's Hall had been opened complete with lecture rooms, library, reading room and a penny bank, all for a total cost of £2900 including the site; and the Foresters built their own premises in 1874 but it was 1925 before the Nottingham Oddfellows raised funds to build their own premises on a considerably less ambitious scale than originally envisaged.(113)

The distance developing between leaders and members is evidenced by the fact that members began to take complaints about club officials and practices outside the clubs. Until societies were recognized as having a legal existence it had not been possible for members to sue clubs or for clubs to sue members as all were regarded as equals in a

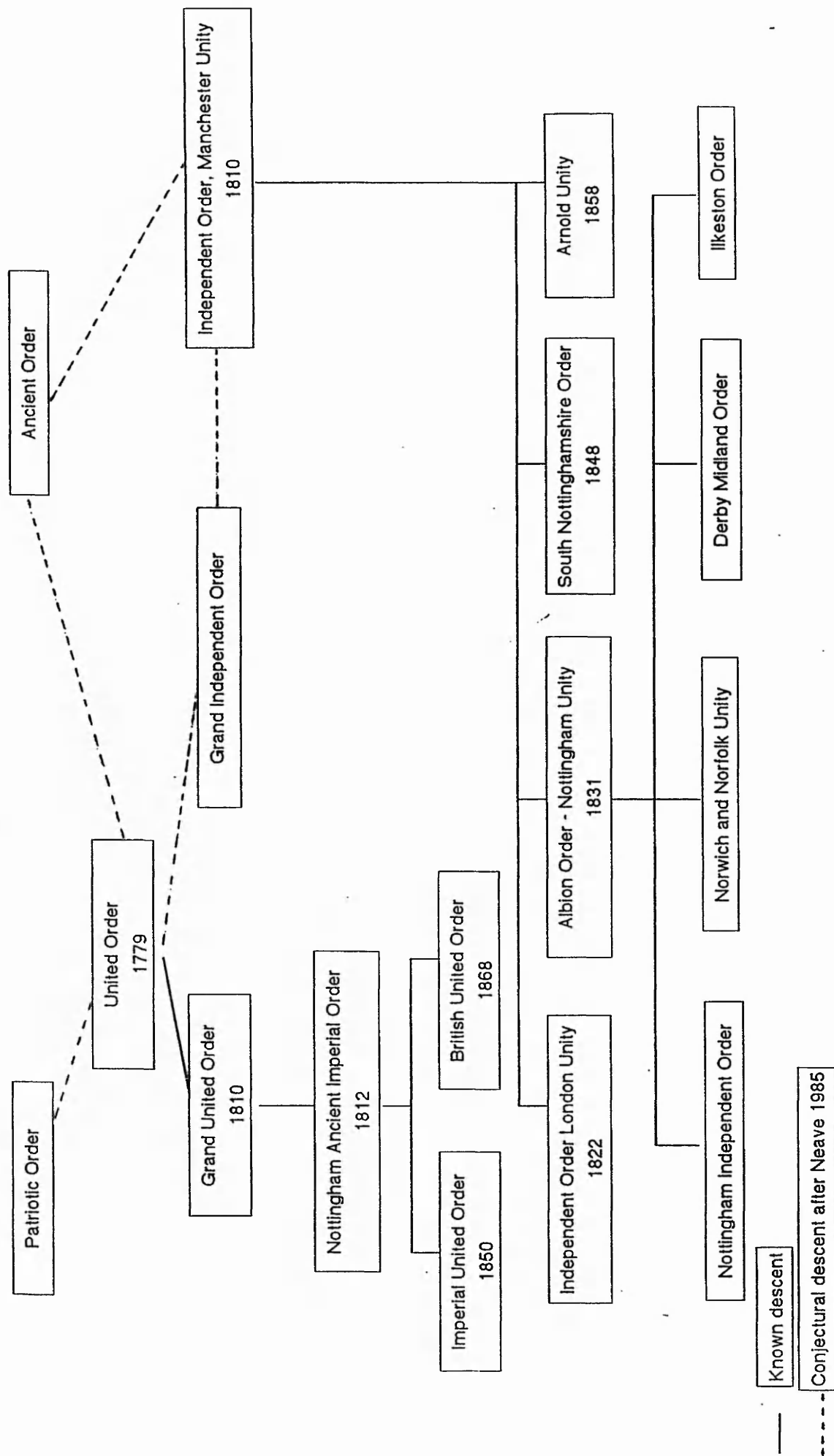
partnership. Once registered as a society, members had rights and obligations which could be enforced through the courts or be subject of complaint to the Registrar of Friendly Societies who acted as adjudicator. All clubs had complaint procedures but in the case of dissatisfaction an individual member could take the matter to the Registrar of Friendly Societies or even to the Courts. The Registrar's reports contain many examples of complaints received from members such as the club insisting that members purchase of a certain amount of ale at the monthly meetings, charging room rent on top of subscriptions and making attendance at feasts compulsory. On the other hand, he also received letters from club officers asking advice on the expulsion of members who had behaved contrary to the rules.(114) Exclusions from societies for supposed misdemeanours or for late payment of subscriptions were a common cause of dispute. Such a case was heard in 1877 in Nottingham concerning James Cripwell who claimed that he had been illegally and unjustly expelled from the Ruddington Provident Society. He had been a member of the society for 33 years and had paid his subscription regularly. He had been asked to act as a steward but he declined for which offence he was fined. However the secretary refused to accept payment of subscriptions without the fine and subsequently Cripwell was expelled for non-payment. The magistrates dismissed the case but recommended that the committee should deal fairly and honourably with Mr Cripwell expressing the opinion that the committee had been wrong in refusing to receive his payments.(115) Even trustees who found themselves at loggerheads with officers from time to time found it necessary to appeal to the courts as did Joseph Cutts and John Wilson, trustees of the Lincoln Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows at West Retford who were found by Retford County Court in 1868 to have been illegally removed from office and expelled from the society. In this case the society was ordered to reinstate them.(116)

Although members had been free to take issues to court throughout the century, in 1878 a decision in the case of Staniforth v. Bowley made this impossible in future. Staniforth had been expelled from his club on the grounds that he had done work whilst in receipt of sick pay. The society argued that the rules of the society provided for the settlement of disputes, that they had heard the case and that the plaintiff had been properly expelled. In the County Court the plaint was upheld and Staniforth's reinstatement was ordered; but at the superior court the judge decided that the county court had no jurisdiction to hear the plaint and ordered a prohibition on all further proceedings in the case.(117) From this decision it followed that just as the 1875 Act had strengthened the hand of the orders over their branches by making it possible for them to register as branches of society, so the court strengthened their control further when deciding that the county court had no jurisdiction under the Act and that henceforth all disputes must be settled internally.

Societies had never been pleased when members took cases against them to the Court. One society even included a "gagging" rule - "if any member complain to a magistrate

## Descent of Orders of Oddfellow

Orders in Nottinghamshire only





respecting the proceedings of the society he shall be excluded."(118) Societies deeply resented interference either by the Registrar or the Courts in their internal affairs regarding this as an attack on their independence. Therefore this decision was greatly welcomed by societies in the interests of their independence of government or court interference. On the other hand an opportunity to put his point of view before an independent outside body was a very welcome means of enabling an aggrieved member to make a stand against the ways in which some clubs were run. Hence the court decision which strengthened the club's control over its members had the effect of undermining the individual member's control over his own affairs.

The disputes which sometimes took place between individual members and their clubs were paralleled by disputes between individual branches and the parent body in the orders. Individual courts or lodges had a high degree of autonomy in their operation, running their own club with its own rules, its own sick fund for its own members with its own level of benefits and subscription to meet local needs and sharing only a funeral fund with the District or the order as a whole. Furthermore until the Act of 1875 lodges belonging to the orders had to register as separate societies rather than as branches of the orders. Thus the structure of the orders was fairly loose and the authority of the order over its branches weak. Attempts to increase control over lodges never met with favour amongst those who valued their independent decision-making and where a club felt that its independence was threatened by decisions made by the Executive of the order as a whole, it was not uncommon for a club to secede from an order. In 1860, Court Generous Briton of the Ancient Order of Foresters in Newark, discussed withdrawing from their district "and be quite free from them on all points of business to be conducted by this court and the High Court in the future."(119)

Secessions from the orders were fairly common. The Ancient Order of Foresters was the result of a secession from the Royal Foresters in 1790, the Order of Druids seceded from the United Ancient Order of Druids in 1858, the Independent Order of Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) might have been a secession from the Ancient Order of Oddfellows or the Grand Independent Order in 1810 and the Nottingham Oddfellows was a secession from the Grand United Order of Oddfellows in 1812. In their turn, each of these new orders suffered from secessions and new orders were created. By way of example, Fig.4.6 shows the descent of Oddfellows in Nottinghamshire, indicating how secession from the Nottingham Oddfellows created the Imperial United Order and the British United Order of Oddfellows in 1850 and 1868 respectively; while the Manchester Unity gave birth to many subgroups including the Independent Order (London Unity) in 1822; the Albion Order in 1831, the South Nottinghamshire Order in 1848 and the Arnold Unity in 1858. In its turn the Albion Order was the parent of other Orders, the Nottingham Independent Order, the Norwich and Norfolk Unity, Derby Midland Unity and the

Ilkeston order, some of which grew considerably larger than their parent body.

The Nottingham Oddfellows came into existence because a number of clubs based in Nottingham objected to the management charges levied by the Sheffield-based Grand United Order; in turn the Imperial United Order and the British United Order were founded as a result of secessions from the Nottingham Oddfellows in 1850 and 1868 respectively because they objected to the lack of democracy practised by the self-perpetuating oligarchic Grand Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows which had given itself the sole power of opening, suspending and closing lodges, passing rules and settling disputes. Similarly Ruddington's Crown lodge of the Manchester Unity broke away to form the South Nottinghamshire Lodge of Oddfellows in 1848 because it objected to management levies imposed by the order's hierarchy. Each group seemed to strive for freedom to operate in their own area in their own way without hindrance or cost imposed by outsiders. Yet each new group seemed to get into the same difficulty when it, in turn, became the parent organisation. This pattern of division and sub-division was not unique to the friendly society movement but was similar to the experiences of those other manifestations of an independent spirit, the nonconformist churches and the trade unions.

In a special report in 1890, the Registrar of Friendly Societies noted that the Nottingham Oddfellows' failure to expand in the same way as the Foresters and the Manchester Unity had been the result of the continual struggle for supremacy between the Grand Lodge and the rest of the order. He noted that he had himself been beset by complaints about the tyranny of the Grand Lodge. He commented that the worst situation was in 1876 when the Sheffield Chapter had passed resolutions in favour of a representative management and as a result was suspended by the Grand Lodge. The Chapter took the matter to the County Court who insisted on the District's reinstatement.<sup>(120)</sup> It was 1881 before the idea of an elected, representative, decision-making body was conceded by the Nottingham Oddfellows but in 1890 the Registrar of friendly societies reported that the struggle for supremacy between the Grand Lodge and the order continued and it was not until 1894 that the order was reorganised so that every Lodge was given a voice in the government of the order and the government of the order was transferred from the Grand Lodge to an elected Central Executive committee.

All the orders had struggled to maintain some kind of control over their member societies and there was continuing dispute about the kind of control they should have. Individual societies favoured their independence but the orders felt impotent if they had branches over which they did not have complete control. The 1875 Act acted on the views expressed in the 1874 Report that the societies ought to be more closely controlled by their orders and sought to favour the orders by strengthening their control over branches. This move was not welcomed by all and a number of societies opted out of orders and established themselves as independent societies at that time. However the pattern of

strengthening the control exercised by the orders over their branches continued as a result of the case of Schofield v. Vaux in 1886 after which lodges were prevented from seceding from an order without permission. Effectively this was the end of the independence of the component Lodges and Courts of the orders.(121)

## Conclusions

The evidence presented in this chapter has shown that membership of friendly societies was not restricted to the artisan elite. In this respect the work supports the views of Neave, who had noted agricultural labourers as members of societies in the 1830s, Jones who had noted a cross-section of the community as members throughout the nineteenth century and Armstrong who commented on agricultural labourers as members in the 1830s but also extends the argument back into the late years of the eighteenth century.(122) It has, in the past, been assumed that the more affluent artisans were likely to be members of friendly societies rather than labourers because of their superior financial situation but evidence presented here suggests that being able to afford membership of a society was not necessarily the most important factor determining whether a person joined a society or not. It has been suggested that family connections, friends, work colleagues, views on temperance and views on the value of societies may sometimes have been more important than occupation status per se. It is also possible that those who were financially secure had more confidence in their ability to weather difficult times and so were less likely to join societies than those who felt financially insecure.

Societies varied in the kind of people attracted to, or permitted to join, them. Some societies erected occupation, financial and implicitly, social, barriers to entrance. In general terms it seemed more likely that a cross-section of the population would be more likely to belong to the local society in rural areas while in towns there was a greater opportunity and tendency for division to exist on the lines of occupation and social class.

Society activities were often very wide-ranging going far beyond the provision of sick and funeral benefits mentioned as the purpose of the club in the rule book. Although it is likely that the sick and funeral benefits were the only purposes of most societies, others offered practical ventures such as corn-milling, renting out allotments, running food co-operatives and educational provisions. These activities may well have been an important focus for membership and it is possible that the kind of activities in which different societies were involved may have had implications for the kind of people attracted at different points in time. However, friendly societies did not continue to develop these functions in the nineteenth century. Instead, as the century progressed, a range of new organisations were established which developed their own specialisms in aspects of the work some societies had begun in the form of co-operatives, cottage garden and

allotments societies, mutual improvement societies or adult education classes. In addition other means of self-help such as trade unions, savings banks, buildings societies, loan clubs, working men's institutes and reading rooms all developed separately to provide for a variety of needs and interests of working people. As a result of these developments, the early possibility that friendly societies might become the hub of working people's involvement in a range of practical and political activities on a communal basis declined.

Another reason why the friendly society movement may have failed to develop into an organisation with a broader role of enhancing the opportunities of the working people may lie in the changing relationship between members and their club leaders. In the local independent societies of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, members were in close touch with each other though their common locality and through compulsory attendance at meetings, social activities and funerals which enabled the sense of mutual benefit and communality to be maintained; leadership may well have been rotated amongst the early societies, as it did at Blidworth, so that a genuine sense of mutual service and participation was retained. The small size of early clubs also made personal contact between leaders and members possible in a way which would be impossible in larger organisations. As the hierarchically structured orders became dominant in the friendly society movement, a social gulf developed between members and leaders which was reflected in views about the purpose of societies. The interests of some officers, which became centred on grand public demonstrations of respectability, using elaborate regalia and making expensive presentations to figures of importance, could be seen as indicative of the increasing gap between those who saw the main purpose of societies as the provision for the financial needs of their members in times of illness and death and those who sought to make friendly societies a vehicle through which social respectability and acceptability might be achieved.

The combined effect of these developments was that there was less incentive for people to regard friendly societies as an important element in their practical needs, their social life and their personal and political aspirations. Opportunities for personal improvement and advancement through educational facilities such as classes, libraries and mutual improvement societies were better available outside the orders; opportunities for trade unions interests were available through the developing network of unions; opportunities for practical interests were available through the co-operative movement; opportunities for political involvements increased with the extension of the franchise and, in rural areas, the creation of parish councils; opportunities for social activities developed on a variety of fronts. At the same time, the tendency for societies to become bureaucratised and for officers to become distant, physically and socially, from members was likely to increase members' sense of non-involvement.

In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the early ideal of brotherhood and

mutuality on which societies were based seemed to give way to a more instrumental, individualistic relationship between member and club. Total commitment and involvement in the activities and management of the club which had been expected in early days seemed to decline as members' interests in the club tended to become more pragmatic and limited to the practical benefits for which contributions had been paid.

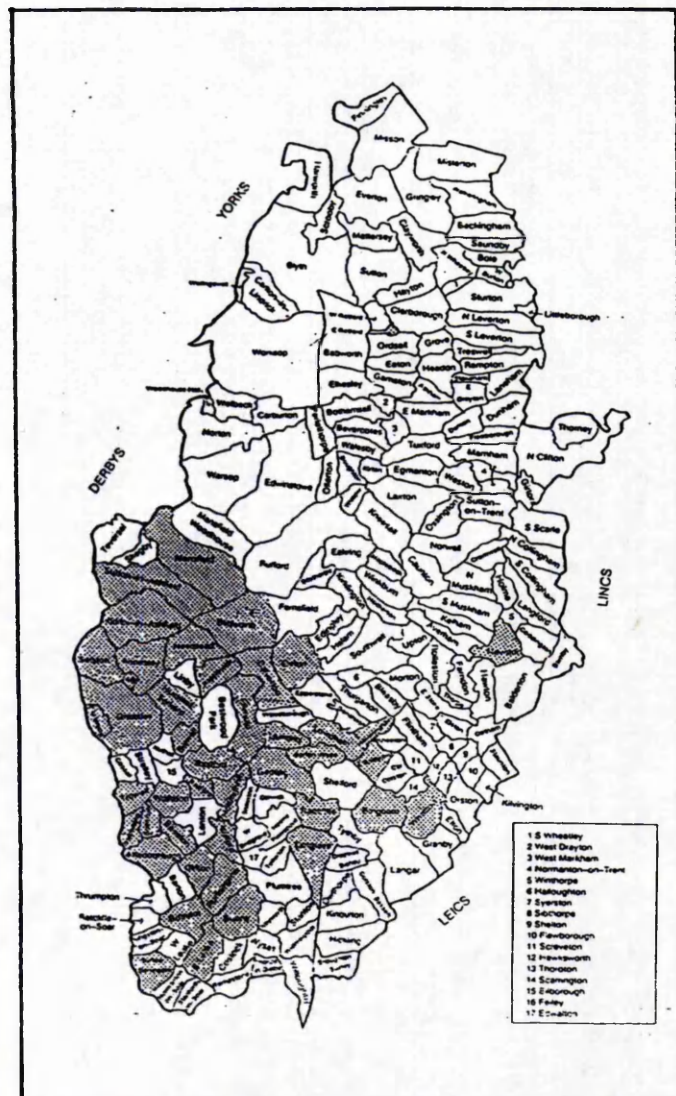


Fig. 5.2

Female societies: location 1792 - 1913

Table 5.1

Female societies by date of establishment	
By 1803	25
1804-9	16
1810-9	13
1820-9	5
1830-9	12
1840-9	15
1850-9	1
1860-9	5
1870-9	4
1880-9	5
1890-9	5
1900-9	5
1910-3	9
Total	120



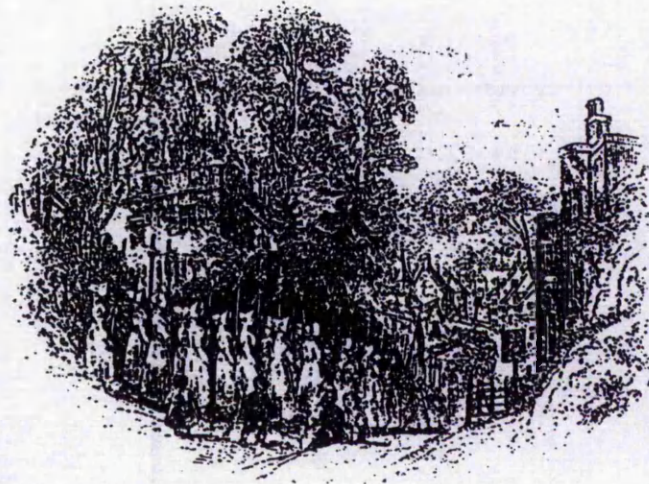
Source: O'Neill, J. *List of Friendly Societies in Nottinghamshire 1724 - 1913*



## Female Friendly Societies

**Fig. 5.1**

**Female friendly society procession 1830s**



Female friendly societies have probably existed for as long as men's clubs; Eden found many in eighteenth century Britain and Neave noted the existence of an early society at Howden in the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1763.(1) But they have been the subject of even less research than male societies. Neave included a brief discussion of female societies in an appendix to his thesis, but Jones is the only historian to have considered female societies separately in her exploration of their rise and fall in Wales.(2) Unfortunately no source material relating to Nottinghamshire female societies has been located apart from rule books and the official deposits and reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies. While recognising the limitations of the available material, the aim of this chapter is to discuss the experience of female societies in Nottinghamshire and in particular to draw attention to the different experience of male and female societies.

A total of 120 female societies has been identified in Nottinghamshire.(3) The earliest existed at Hucknall Torkard in 1792 and by 1803 there were 25 female societies with a total of about 1,664 members.(4) After 1803, no reliable detailed evidence is available which distinguishes statistics for male and female societies until the Registrar's returns of registered societies for 1876 which included 23 female societies in Nottinghamshire.(5)

**Table 5.2**

**Male and female friendly society members in Nottinghamshire  
1803, 1876 and 1910 compared**

Year	Male membership		Female membership	
	Total	As % total population at nearest census	Total	As % total population at nearest census
1803	13,538	9.6%	1,664	1.2%
1876	25,826	7.3%	1,576	0.5%
1910	42,519	7.0%	1,137	0.2%

**Sources:**

Population Censuses for Nottinghamshire 1801, 1871, 1911  
Abstracts...1803/4  
RCRFS 1876, 1910

**Table 5.3**

**Male and female friendly society members in Ruddington  
1803, 1876 and 1910 compared**

Year	Male membership		Female membership	
	Total	As % total population at nearest census	Total	As % total population at nearest census
1803	152	18%	-	-
1876	794	64%	372	31%
1910	875	67%	302	21%

**Sources:**

Abstracts... 1803/4  
RRCFS 1874  
RCRFS 1876  
RCRFS 1910  
Population Censuses for Ruddington 1801, 1871, 1911

**Note:**

In the case of the Ruddington Provident society which had male and female members, it has been assumed that 2/3 were men and 1/3 women.

No evidence has been found during the course of the present study to confirm the existence of five of these societies at that time but table D(2) in Appendix D shows that the 18 registered societies which existed in the county in 1876 had a total membership of about 1,576 members.(6) Later Registrar's lists, which include increasingly reliable data in respect of registered societies, show that by 1910 there were 20 registered societies in Nottinghamshire with a total of 1,137 members.(7)

It is difficult to obtain details of female friendly society membership on a national basis for comparative purposes as the records available do not always distinguish clearly between male societies, female societies and those which include members of both genders. However, in the last quarter of the century, the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies reported that there were 460 registered female societies in England and Wales; the 283 which made returns in 1872 showed a total membership of 27,107 but this total did not include membership figures for the 177 other societies which were believed to be in existence but had made no return.(8) A further important limitation of these figures is that the Registrar's records include details of registered societies only; consequently, all statistics drawn from this source are likely to under-represent membership particularly as female societies were more likely to remain unregistered than men's clubs.(9) This was certainly true in Nottinghamshire; in 1803 only 12 of the 25 female societies in existence were registered at any time.(10) More than 70 years later the situation seemed to be much the same for, according to Assistant Commissioner E. Stanley's report on two areas near Nottingham prepared for the Royal Commission, in a small area around Ruddington to the south of the Trent, seven female societies existed of which only three were registered, while to the west of the town around Beeston/Stapleford there were nine female societies, most of them unregistered. Female burial societies were also reported to be numerous and generally unregistered.(11) Evidence drawn from newspapers supports the Commissioners' views that female societies were more likely to be unregistered. For example, in June 1865 the *Nottingham Review* reported Whitsun celebrations at Bulwell where the female sick societies had tea at their various clubrooms. This suggests that several societies existed, whereas only one is included in the Registrar's lists of registered societies. Similarly, on the same day, celebrations are recorded at Hucknall involving two male and two female societies but only one of the male societies and neither of the two female societies were registered.(12) 41 of the 120 female societies located in this study were not registered at any time and there may well have been many other unregistered societies which have not yet been traced.

In spite of the limitations of the statistical evidence, it is apparent that the overall experience of female societies in Nottinghamshire in the nineteenth century was one of decline.(See Table 5.2) This was in complete contrast to the growth of male membership during this time. Even the village of Ruddington with its strong friendly society tradition and numerous clubs, both male and female, shows the same trends.(See Table 5.3)(13)



This decline is similar to the experience of female societies in Wales, as described by Jones. Both areas had a number of female societies in 1803 but the proportion of women who were involved was considerably smaller than men.(14) Furthermore the proportion of females who were members of societies was considerably smaller at the beginning of the twentieth century than one hundred years earlier.(15) The Nottinghamshire experience differed from the Welsh experience in terms of the peak years of female membership. Although detailed membership statistics are not available for this period in Nottinghamshire, the evidence presented in tables 5.1 and 5.2, showing the number of clubs established, suggests that the early years of the nineteenth century probably represented the greatest participation in Nottinghamshire whereas Jones reported that membership peaked in Wales in the 1850s.(16) This may reflect the employment opportunities in the two areas. In Nottinghamshire, the late years of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century were years of prosperity in the hosiery business and it is apparent that all but one of the seventeen locations in which female clubs were to be found in Nottinghamshire in 1803 were framework-knitting areas.(17) These were areas in which women could expect to have a fairly regular source of income of their own. As fig. 5.2 shows this pattern continued; where new female societies were established, they were always similarly located in hosiery or lace-making areas. No female societies have been located in exclusively agricultural areas where women were less likely to have regular paid employment. Decline in membership of female societies could be associated with the declining hosiery industry from 1810. By contrast in Wales most working women were engaged in service, agriculture or dress-making and relatively small numbers in industry. However restrictions on women workers as result of factory and mines legislation from 1840 may well have affected female friendly society membership as friendly societies were strongest where women were engaged in industrial work.(18)

Rule books show that female societies operated in the same way as male societies. The officers, a Head Woman, Stewards and other officers, were elected or appointed annually or biannually from amongst the women members but it was usual for men to act as secretaries and trustees. There was usually a feast day and funerals had a proscribed ritual, both of which members were expected to attend. There were sickness and funeral benefits but there were some differences in the way societies treated pregnant women. Some societies were concerned with ordinary sick benefits excluding pregnancy and child-birth from their provisions whereas others existed specifically to make provision for lying-in. Some societies paid a specific sum for the expenses of lying-in but did not pay sickness benefit in respect of pregnancy or child-birth. Sickness benefits at about 3/- - 5/- per week were about half the rate received by men in the area from their clubs and subscriptions were proportionately lower. Funeral benefits varied from £1/10/- to £5 and, like male societies, some female societies provided funeral benefits for the spouse of the member at half the member's rate as well as a smaller sum for the death of a child.

There was also, as in male societies, a moralistic tone to some of the rules which excluded from benefit illnesses resulting from unacceptable behaviour of various kinds, such as venereal disease or accident while acting recklessly. An additional moralistic practice amongst some women's clubs was to refuse benefit where a woman had an illegitimate child. The Hucknall-under-Huthwaite Female Friendly Society Rules of 1814 included a provision that "every lying-in woman who lyeth in of a child lawfully begotten and born in Wedlock shall receive one gallon of ale in the month"; presumably the mother of an illegitimate child would receive no benefit of this kind.(19) Whether she would receive any benefit at all is questionable as some societies, such as the Ruddington Lying-in Friendly Society, would expel any member who had an illegitimate child.(20) This was apparently a common practice of which the Registrar seemed to disapprove for in his report for 1861 he noted that he had received a submission of a rule amendment from one society which would demand the expulsion of an unmarried pregnant girl but had also received a letter of objection from a clergyman who commented that in his part of the county, most of the females are pregnant before marriage and that it would be a serious impediment to marriage if the wife was liable to be brought up and tried by a jury of old maids.(21)

Another indication of disapproval was found in the Rules of the Female Union Society of Oxtun which allowed the society to expel a member who married a soldier.(22) This probably reflected the poor esteem in which soldiers were held and the fears that if a wife became a regimental follower, she would expose herself to considerable risk as well as ceasing to be regarded as respectable.(23)

The value attached to woman's work in the home as well as her paid employment was recognised in the rules of some clubs in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Some made it clear that sick benefits were provided for all women who became unfit to undertake any form of work and not simply for those whose work earned an income. The Gotham Female Friendly Society, for example, recognised that a woman's tasks within the home were equally important in its rule that a member would be entitled to sickness benefit if

...she falls sick or lame and then becomes incapable of any sort of work such as washing, baking, brewing, milking, churning, fetching in water, sewing, seaming or any such other active labour...(24)

The corollary of this was, inevitably, that if a woman was "on the box" she was not able to do any such tasks in the home:

No member shall while on the books be allowed to do any laborious work viz. brewing, washing, making bread, making new garments etc.(25)

In some early societies, it is possible that women were accepted on equal terms with men.(26) It was certainly common practice for clubs run by the gentry or clergy to be

open to both genders. Both the Southwell and the Wilford Friendly Institutions, for example, were gentry-run clubs with both male and female members; similarly the Ruddington Provident Society which provided funeral benefits only was open to both men and women.(27) Generally, however, the evidence suggests that the normal pattern was for women to have their own friendly societies, independent of male societies, but alongside them. That women were accepted in this way as members of friendly societies reflected their status as partners in the economic activities of the family; the separateness of female friendly societies also represented a certain degree of independence of women from their menfolk.

This pattern of early nineteenth century friendly society involvement was reflected in the part women played alongside, but usually separate from, men in other aspects of life outside the home. Women in Nottinghamshire were involved in food riots in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; they supported Luddites in 1811/1816; they celebrated the electoral successes of the Whigs in 1812, in the reform movements of the early 1830s; they formed chapters of Unions in 1834 as the wave of enthusiasm for the Grand National Consolidated Union swept the town; they supported Chartism in the 1830s/40s.(28) There was also an early Friendly Society of Industrious Females registered at Stapleford in 1830 which was probably one of the 300 or so women's co-operatives which emerged between 1828 and 1830.(29)

Female friendly societies were accepted as respectable organisations in the late eighteenth century, and, it has been argued, their meetings in public houses had the effect of making the female presence in public houses acceptable.(30) However, social attitudes towards women and public houses had changed by the 1830s and female friendly societies began to be subject to criticism because of their practice of meeting, drinking and smoking in public houses. The public house which had been acceptable as a general meeting place for women as well as for men in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries became, under the influence of the new moral reform and temperance movements, an unacceptable venue for respectable women by the 1830s/40s. This opinion was echoed by Sir George Young later in the century when he commented that his main complaint about female societies was that they generally met in public houses and spent money on drink. He added that if an absolute prohibition on any sort of club was desirable it was that of women's clubs meeting in public house that had most to be said for it.(31) Apparently, this condemnation did not apply to men's clubs. As a consequence of such changing views, there was a tendency for female societies of all kinds to meet away from public houses often in schoolrooms attached to nonconformist chapels. Whereas in the early years of the nineteenth century most of the female clubs in the county met in public houses, by 1876 twelve of the registered clubs which existed met in school or church premises, while only five met at public houses and the venue of another is uncertain.



Such changing attitudes to women in public houses were a reflection of changes in views about the appropriate role for women in society. Whereas in early industrial society in the eighteenth century, the ideal wife was regarded as one who would work and contribute to the family economy, by the 1830s this view of an independent woman contributing to the economy of the family and playing her part in making insurance provisions for hard times no longer fitted into the dominant value system. The new ideal woman of the mid-nineteenth century was one who would remain in the home as child-bearer and wife totally dependent on her husband as breadwinner and protector leaving matters outside the home entirely to the man.(32) In such a climate of opinion, women's independent activities outside the home, may have become unrespectable and friendly society membership, especially if it involved drinking and smoking in public houses, may well have been regarded as part of this newly unrespectable world.

Changes in the structure of the friendly society movement in the nineteenth century reflected these new views of a world outside the home in which the women had no place. As the friendly society movement became increasingly dominated by men only affiliated orders, there was no place for women in the main stream of the developing movement. The Manchester Oddfellows made clear its opinion of female clubs when a set of General Rules (undated) included the following:

That any brother of the Independent Order who shall be found guilty of assisting any secret society of women or attending their meetings shall be suspended 12 months for the first offence; and for the second offence shall be expelled the Order for ever. Any lodge lending any part of their regalia to any secret society of women shall for the first offence be suspended for six months; and for the second offence be expelled the Order.(33)

Although the two largest orders, the Manchester Unity and the Foresters, were exclusively male until the late years of the nineteenth century, such antipathy towards female involvement was not shared by all the orders. One lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows, the Orderbeck Lodge of Epperstone, had both male and female members. This situation arose because the lodge was formed in 1843 from an existing sick club which already had both male and female members.(34) Arrangements were made for the females who belonged to the old sick club to retain their rights to benefits as before but not to be considered as full members of the lodge. While the men met regularly at the Cross Keys on club night, the females met in a private house to pay their subscriptions only.(35)

Although men and women generally had their separate clubs, they often came together for activities especially on feast day. William Howitt's *Rural England* included a description of feast day involving the male and female processions at Warsop.(36) Similarly a report from the Newstead Lodge of the Nottingham Oddfellows at Kirkby-in-Ashfield on Whit Monday 1844 noted that a female friendly society joined them in procession to the

church. After the service, each returned to their own lodge room for the feast and subsequent entertainment.(37)

Not everyone approved of such separation of provision for men and women. No contemporary evidence has been found in Nottinghamshire from which to deduce women's views on this matter but Christopher Thomson, who was influential in the Nottingham Oddfellows in the 1830s and 1840s, showed that he, at least, had views in accordance with the leading radicals of the day.(38) In his autobiography published in 1847 he made clear his view that the place of women was alongside men in social and communal affairs:

The 'Lords of the creation' with all their vaunted gallantry have too long regarded the 'softer sex' as mere toys. Has not the time fully arrived, when the socialising influence of women's presence in every society where mankind in general is to be moralised and raised in independence ought to be practically recognized...woman has long since proved her power to battle with want and penury in the cottage, can she not, likewise, give good counsel in the social assembly how such miseries can be best prevented...?

...Let both sexes assemble and unitedly aid in encouraging words of charity and self-dependence. It is all very well for those who never felt the keen tooth of poverty gnawing at their vitals - it may do, perhaps, for them to proclaim, that woman's business is to boil the dumplings and darn the stockings. Such pursuits, alike honourable and necessary, are but a part of a woman's social mission; she can conceive and execute measures of public interest as well as darn stockings.(39)

Christopher Thomson put into practice his beliefs in the community facilities which he began in the village of Edwinstowe. In 1838 he started a library and later ran adult education classes which were open to both men and women. Women were also admitted to the village co-operative, known as the Frugal Association of Self-Help, of which he was secretary.(40) In view of the fact that the Nottingham Oddfellows, unlike the other main orders in the county, had female lodges in the 1840s, it is likely that his views were shared by his co-members. The Nottingham Oddfellows had its earliest female lodges in the county in 1845 when the Rose of Newstead lodge was established at Kirkby.(41) The Nottingham Oddfellows had discussed the idea of having women members for some years before opening their first female lodge. In 1832 *The Indicator* printed a letter on this subject and a reply from the editor suggested that the order was opposed to women as members.(42) However in April 1843 *The Indicator* published another letter advocating female members and this time the editor replied that there was already a female society at Kegworth in Leicester connected with the order and that he would inquire into it.(43) In January 1845 a female order was established in connection with the Nottingham Oddfellows and 1845-6 saw the opening of six female lodges in the county, one each at Sutton-in-Ashfield and Selston and two each at East Leake and Kirkby.(44) In opening

female lodges the Nottingham Oddfellows were fifty years ahead of their main rivals. The Foresters did not open female courts until 1892, the first in Nottinghamshire being in the following year and the Manchester Oddfellows in 1893 but it was 1908 before Nottinghamshire had its first female Manchester Oddfellows lodge.(45) It might seem that the eventual opening of the orders to women reflected a new belief in the equal value of women and their equal rights to opportunities to make insurance provision for themselves but it is only necessary to consider the poor state of the finances of some of the orders and the rumbling discussions about the introduction of a state insurance scheme for men and women in the near future to be aware that there were probably other motives for their apparent change of heart.

Although females were effectively left out in the cold with the development of the affiliated orders, they were not completely bereft of provision. Nonconformist churches took a particular interest in providing clubs for them. Eleven such societies have been identified in Nottinghamshire.(46)

These changing attitudes to the role of women in society and their place in the friendly society movement which came to be dominated by the male-oriented affiliated orders may be part of the explanation for the decline of female societies throughout the nineteenth century when male societies were growing. Jones has also argued that changing employment patterns contributed to the decline of female participation in societies.(47) Since friendly societies were established in areas which offered substantial work opportunities for women, it would be reasonable to assume that a decline in club membership would be directly related to declining economic opportunities. Domestic industries in which women had been employed, such as lace, glove and straw hat-making, declined drastically nationally after 1851 as did certain kinds of employment in mining and agriculture. In Nottinghamshire, this trend affected women's employment in the framework knitting industry when the traditional home and small-workshop bases gave way to factory-bases in the late decades of the century, but although work opportunities for women in frame-work knitting declined, other opportunities opened in the lace trade. As a result, over 25,000 women were employed in the hosiery and lace trades combined at the end of the century compared with 18,000 in 1851.(48) Therefore, although working opportunities may have changed, they did not decline severely for women in Nottinghamshire nor change substantially as both were primarily home-based finishing work. Consequently the argument that declining friendly society membership reflected declining opportunities for paid work is not supported by the Nottinghamshire evidence.

Another explanation for the failure of female societies was expounded by George Young to the Royal Commission in 1874 who felt that women had shown themselves incapable of running their own clubs.(49) In keeping with the attitudes of the time towards women, the idea that a woman should have her own individual sickness insurance provision had

no place in Young's thinking and it was not surprising that he reported to the Royal Commission that the proper way to provide for women's needs was through her husband's club which should include a subscription for medical aid for the whole family.(50) How single women and widows should provide for themselves was not considered.

This was not the view taken by John Frome Wilkinson, vicar of Kilvington who took an interest in female societies. Although, like Young, he was critical of the way female societies in the nineteenth century had been managed - "Weighed in the balance and found wanting" was the verdict he passed on them - unlike Young he believed strongly that women should be encouraged and helped to have the same opportunities as men to provide for their own security.(51) As a member of the Manchester Oddfellows and an enthusiast for the benefits of society membership, he argued for female membership. As Secretary of the United Sisters Order, he worked to develop societies for women which would reach the same standards of efficiency and actuarial competence as he believed the male orders had achieved.

Declining female participation in the nineteenth century organisations was not unique to friendly societies. It was mirrored in other organisations such as political groups and unions in the years from 1830 to the 1870s.(52) This suggests that a more likely explanation for declining participation could be found in changes in the structure of society or its attitudes towards women, as described above, than in explanations specific to the friendly society movement. But this then raises the question of why female friendly society membership did not grow alongside the resurgence of women's involvement in trades unions, educational, co-operative and political movements from the 1870s.(53) The answer to this question may be that perhaps women did get involved in friendly society provision in larger numbers in the late years of the century but by this time the centralised and collecting societies were becoming the most popular form of health and burial provision. It is therefore possible that women joined such societies rather than local clubs. By this time, the incentive to join a club primarily for its social activities rather than for its benefits had been undermined by the development of new means of entertainments, opportunities for personal involvement in the management of societies had been undermined by the demands made on society managers and it is possible the same pragmatism which came to characterise the relationship between members and societies within male societies, in contrast with the total commitment demanded by early local societies, became also typical of the relationship between women and their societies.

When the new National Health Insurance Act of 1911 came into force, it was estimated that about 3,628,000 females would need insurance. At that time there were fewer than 50,000 women in friendly societies belonging to affiliated orders although many others belonged to clubs connected with various mills or with places of worship. Many of these

clubs did not provide permanent benefits but were dividing clubs, favoured by many women as a means of saving particularly since Christmas was a favourite time for dividing the funds. As with the male societies the new state insurance scheme led to the closure of many existing independent female societies. A club at Keyworth, one at Carlton, two at Ruddington and two at Basford closed around this time while other societies, like the High Pavement Women's Society, decided to take on the role of Approved Societies and expanded.(54) Realising the scope for the development of female societies under the new Act, the large orders competed to provide for this new market. In Nottinghamshire the Ancient Order of Foresters created one new female society at this time, as did the Nottingham Oddfellows while the Manchester Unity established seven.(55)

Although female friendly societies were not a very large part of friendly society provision in Nottinghamshire, they were more extensive than early work has suggested especially in the late years of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries. Reid's comment that they were "not generally significant" would have found little favour with the female members in the early years of the nineteenth century.(56) Even less would they have concurred with Sir George Young's view that female clubs were both unnecessary and undesirable.(57) Their experience is interesting, not so much for their influence and effectiveness, as for the difference between the experience of men and women and the parallels between membership of friendly societies and other female organisations in the nineteenth century.

## Chapter 6

### **The societies and the establishment**

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, establishment opinion about friendly societies was divided. Those who approved of societies emphasised the virtues of self-help for its moral worth and social value. They argued that the high cost of maintaining the poor through the parish rating system might be reduced if an effective and comprehensive system of friendly societies were available to the working man to enable him to provide for himself instead of turning to the parish in times of need.<sup>(1)</sup> Those who disapproved of societies suspected that they would provide opportunities for working people to combine for various purposes, which was politically unacceptable, and to drink excessively in public houses where clubs met, which was morally unacceptable. All these fears were apparent in a 1793 Board of Agriculture report:

... that benefit clubs, holden at public houses, increase the number of those houses and naturally lead to idleness and intemperance; that they afford commodious opportunities to foment sedition, and form illegal combinations, which they have sometimes actually done; and that as far as I have read and observed, there is not the smallest probability ... that they ever have or ever will diminish our poor rates but just the contrary ... (2)

Although anxieties about the potential for rebellion, revolution and combination concerned some, a greater matter of concern for others was the moral issue of drunkenness. Clubs were seen as encouraging members to drink as they almost invariably met at public houses where members were, under the rules of many societies, compelled to spend money on ale at each meeting. Club feast days were particularly singled out for criticism as they were often the occasion for disorderly behaviour and drunkenness as well as for the improper expenditure of the society's benefit funds in feasting. Objectors felt that such activities were immoral in that they impoverished the clubs, encouraged improvidence and drunkenness and served only to benefit the pocket of the landlord of the public house where the club met.<sup>(3)</sup>

Another element in this division of opinion concerned the kind of independence the working man should be encouraged, or permitted, to have. There was a general view amongst the establishment that the working man should be encouraged to achieve independence of the parish but many also felt that he should not be given so much independence that he would become too independent in thought and deed. One example of this view can be found in discussions recorded in the Select Committee on Allotments 1843 about how much land the working man should have as an allotment. It was argued



that he should have enough to enable him to survive independently (of the parish) but not so much that he could neglect his main duty to his employer.(4) In the context of friendly societies, there was similarly a difference of opinion over the degree and type of independence appropriate to the working man. This was expressed in terms of the type of management societies should have. Some argued that societies should <sup>be</sup>run by the members for themselves possibly with the support of the gentry, clergy and other substantial citizens; others argued that they should be organised and run by the members of the "higher orders" for the "lower orders".

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the various views about friendly societies held by the gentry, clergy and other leading citizens (who will be referred to as "the establishment") in Nottinghamshire and to ask, firstly, what effect such opinions had on the development of societies and, secondly, what such views represented in terms of local opinion about the kind of independence considered appropriate to the working people.

### **Establishment concerns about friendly societies**

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries much of Nottinghamshire was in the hands of the great estate owners notably in the area in the centre of the county known as the Dukeries. As there were many parishes which were owned predominantly by just one or two proprietors, it would not have been very difficult for landowners to prevent friendly societies from functioning in their area if they so wished.

There are many examples in the history of Nottinghamshire of the ways in which those owning or controlling land have prevented or limited activities on their holdings. Chambers noted that residence was restricted by the landowners in many parishes in the eighteenth century so that many labourers had to walk long distances from their parish of residence to the parishes in which they worked.(5) This was a common practice at the time as landowners sought to have the advantage of being able to employ labour but not the disadvantage of having responsibility for the poor resident within the parish.(6) The Duke of Rutland acted to prevent the spread of framework-knitting in the Vale of Belvoir in the eighteenth century.(7) The burgesses of Nottingham successfully prevented the enclosure of Nottingham until the mid-nineteenth century because of their vested interests in land and property values.(8) The Duke of Newcastle notoriously evicted tenants who did not vote for his parliamentary candidate from his Newark estate in the 1830s.(9) Mills noted that it was common for estate owners throughout Britain to make considerable efforts to exclude nonconformist from their area.(10) In Nottinghamshire, there are several examples of this kind of activity. Both the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Middleton made particularly determined efforts to prevent nonconformists establishing congregations in their villages.(11) The Duke of Portland refused land for the Methodists to build a chapel in Sibthorpe resulting in the use of a portable chapel for a long time.(12)

**Table 6.1**

**Land ownership and friendly societies in Nottinghamshire 1803**

Type of parish	No. of parishes	No. of parishes with f.s.	% parishes with f.s.
Land mostly in the ownership of one proprietor	49	7	14
Land mostly in the ownership of two proprietors	16	3	19
Land in the hands of many owners	149	63	42
Totals	214	73	34

Sources:

Nottinghamshire Land Tax Assessments 1803  
Abstracts 1803/4

Detailed data on which this table is based is included in Appendix C, columns b and d

The Lord of the Manor of Widmerpool pulled down cottages once occupied by dissenters to prevent them being reoccupied by those of similar religious persuasion.(13) On the other hand there are also many examples of landowners and others of influence encouraging developments in their area. The Willoughby family developed mining on their lands at Wollaton in the fifteenth century.(14) The Dukes of Portland and Newcastle drained and improved land on their Dukeries estates making more employment available on their estates in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries.(15) In the late years of the nineteenth century Charles Paget of Ruddington worked to encourage the railway line to be diverted to Ruddington to help the development of the village which was in danger of economic decline.(16)

The 1790s, when friendly societies were coming to the fore in the county, was also a time when trade associations were being formed in the Nottingham area; it was also a time of growing opposition to Tory domination of the town of Nottingham and the county and to the French Wars. At such a time, the establishment might be expected to be very concerned and suspicious about the formation of any group or combination of working people even though friendly societies had been excluded from the restrictions of the Combination Acts. Consequently the possibility that Nottinghamshire landowners' attitudes towards working people and their institutions might be reflected in the existence or otherwise of friendly societies in their areas of influence in this particular era was explored by comparing land ownership derived from Land Tax Assessments with societies existing in 1803.(17) As table 6.1 shows, there was a greater likelihood that friendly societies would exist in parishes where land ownership was divided. However, no firm conclusions can be drawn from this analysis since close parishes tended to have small populations which, as seen in table 3.8 were less likely to have a society; yet there were ten close parishes which had societies at this time varying in size of population from Grove which had 117 residents to Lenton which had 893.

A more detailed analysis was made of the holdings of individual land-owners to explore the possibility that some land-owners were more likely than others to have societies in their parishes. Three villages where the Willoughby family was the principal land-owner had societies; Trowell had a population of only 235 but had 2 societies, Cossall population 353, 2 societies; Wollaton population 838, 3 societies. By contrast none of the parishes owned primarily by the biggest of all the landowners, the Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Portland, had any societies. However too much should not be assumed from this evidence as the parishes owned primarily by the two Dukes were small and the population consisted primarily of agricultural labourers; whereas the parishes owned primarily by Lord Middleton may have sometimes been small but were in a part of the country where framework-knitting was the main industry and, as already discussed, in such areas friendly societies were more likely to exist. It is interesting, however, that Trowell which had a population of only 235 and two societies in 1803 was not, according to Blackner's

list of parishes with frames in 1812, a framework knitting parish. This might suggest approval of, or even encouragement for friendly societies by the Willoughby family at that time, particularly since members of the family were much involved, in later years, with the Nottingham Oddfellows. Overall the evidence suggests that the views of the landowners were probably more influential than whether the land was controlled by a sole proprietor.

It has been suggested that the imposition of an enclosure on a parish might have provided an impetus to the establishment of a friendly society.(18) Between 1760 and 1830 some 3,500 Enclosure Acts involving over five million acres were passed, and taking the negative views of Cobbett and later the Hammonds, it could be argued, that enclosures affected the independence of many small land-holders who lost their land and then became dependent on wages as their only means of support and land users who lost their access to grazing land.(19) According to Whitworth this was the situation in Blidworth where the terms of the village's first enclosure of 1769 in which 1,460 acres were enclosed included the obligation to fence land awarded within nine months with quickthorn hedge or the land was to be forfeited; furthermore the cost of the commission had to be shared according to the acreage awarded. Many could not afford to fence or their share of the expense so lost their land.(20) Uncertainly, bred in such times, might seem a likely incentive for the establishment of a friendly society but in fact the earliest friendly society in Blidworth (1767) predated the first Enclosure (1769), as it did in other villages nearby such as Farnsfield (first society 1771, enclosure 1777) and Ollerton (first society 1761, enclosure 1778). On the other hand there were other parishes where enclosure preceded the establishment of a first society - as at Ruddington (enclosure 1767, first society 1779) and Calverton (enclosure 1779, first society 1783). A county-wide comparison of dates of first enclosures with known dates of establishment of societies suggested no necessary connection but it is nevertheless possible, that in some parishes the effects of enclosure gave rise to the conditions and the incentive for the establishment of a self-help society.(21) Overall it can be argued that landownership might have had an influence on whether a society existed in a particular place in the early 1800s but the evidence is not conclusive.

Extensive exploration of papers relating to the large estate owners has failed to find any evidence to suggest that Nottinghamshire landowners disapproved of, or discouraged friendly societies. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence of the support and encouragement given to societies throughout the county. One influential landowner, Robert Lowe, writing a report on the state of agriculture in the county in 1798, expressed his opinion that societies were positive influences in the community.(22) Other evidence drawn from individual parishes shows that this was the common view held about societies. At Blidworth many of the local landowners and a succession of clergy became honorary members of the Blue Ball club even if not resident in the village.(23) Similarly at Ruddington there is much other evidence of support provided by the local gentry and

clergy to the societies. Joseph Woolley, framework-knitter noted several incidences of such support in his journals:

In 1801: Some time in June Mrs Attenborough of Ruddington died. Makes me note her death, she was a very kind woman to the poor and gave every year one guinea to the friendly society at Ruddington and gave house and land to John Marshall.

In 1804: Thomas Mann entered into ruddington club. John Bates, Robert Bates and William...are in the club... These were nominated by Master Launder - the Rev Abel Collin Launder, late Rector of Clifton left money in his will to pay for four men to enter the club and left the nominating to the Rector. William Fletcher entered and a young man of the name of Marreat entered into the same club he is framework knitter and works with John Henson in Pook Nook in Ruddington.(24)

At Caythorpe, similarly, the large village landowner, Bryan Flinders, paid a poor man's club subscription during hard times in 1816 and 1817.(25)

Later in the century, societies also benefitted from the interest and encouragement given by Lord Rancliffe of Bunny who was lord of Ruddington Manor and Charles Paget, one of the village landowners, both of whom were connected with the Nottingham Oddfellows; Lord Rancliffe was the Order's Grandmaster and Charles Paget a patron. Charles Paget was a patron and an adviser to a friendly society in Wilford.(26) Another example of gentry support for societies in Ruddington is that a club for sick and lying-in women was opened in 1808 under the patronage of Jane Parkyns, the widow of Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Lord Rancliffe's predecessor.(27)

Many clergy in the county also gave their support to friendly societies. The Rev Becher of Southwell, an ardent advocate of friendly societies, encouraged societies throughout the country. He had been a member of the Blue Ball Club at Blidworth during his period as curate in the village from 1795 to 1801 following the lead given by the previous curate Rev Seth Stevenson.(28) Rev Stevenson was a member of the club from 1783 to 1794 as well as being a member of the Amicable Society at Retford where he lived.(29) Rev Robert Lowe of Bingham was a member of an Oddfellow lodge in the 1830s.(30) Rev Samuel Oliver of Calverton was the Grand Chaplain to the Nottingham Oddfellows and was followed on his retirement by Rev C Willoughby of Wollaton who was related to Lord Middleton of Wollaton Hall.(31) In the late years of the nineteenth century Rev John Frome Wilkinson of Kilvington, a member of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, followed in Becher's footsteps by writing books advocating societies.(32) Neither was involvement in societies limited to Anglican clergyman. As already noted nonconformists were very active in establishing societies in connection with their churches and would often act as secretary and by 1831 almost every dissenting congregation in Nottingham had its friendly society.(33) Overall the evidence does not suggest that societies were discouraged or prevented by those of influence; on the contrary, there was considerable

active support for them throughout the county and throughout the period under study.

Fears that societies might have been a cloak for trade unionism do not seem to have been shared in Nottinghamshire. Little evidence has been found to support assumptions that there were links between trade unions and friendly societies in Nottinghamshire.(34) More importantly, assumptions of such links do not appear to have been made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Unlike the opinion expressed in a similar report on the state of agriculture in Essex five years earlier, Lowe's 1798 report on Nottinghamshire contained no hint that connections might exist between friendly societies and combinations of workers. It might be argued that in the rural areas with which he was concerned, workers' combinations were not an issue but similarly no such connection seems to have been made contemporarily in the town of Nottingham either. The Tory oriented *Nottingham Journal* included many references to the establishment of trade societies in the 1790s just as the many friendly societies registering under Rose's Act were displaying their colours and announcing their presence in demonstrations in town yet never hinted at a link between the two.(35) If it was believed that trade societies and friendly societies were linked, comment would surely have been made particularly since 1794, the year when most societies were registering their rules, was also the year when the hosiers brought a prosecution against framework-knitters for riot and conspiracy about wages and combinations.(36) Thus whereas one intention of the 1793 Act seems to have been to keep a watchful eye on the activities of societies, any suspicions held at government level that societies might provide opportunities "to foment sedition and form illegal combinations" do not seem to have been shared in Nottinghamshire.

Other evidence suggests that such activities were as unlikely to be in the minds of the members as in the perceptions of outsiders. One early source of evidence about the actual activities of Nottinghamshire societies from the point of view of a member can be found in the sets of journals covering some of the years 1801 - 1815 written by Joseph Woolley, servant and framework-knitter of Clifton, who was a member of a club at Ruddington as well as one of its officials for some time. The journals contain many references to clubs in his area but these refer exclusively to personalities involved and financial benefits available. For example:

4 July 1801. A proposal was made at Langford's of Clifton for forming a friendly society. There was Mr Sandsby there as clerk to the society and he received of the 7 members that met for this purpose 7 shillings. Joseph Bexton, Richard Tong, John Fletcher, Thomas Kirk, Thomas Langford Snr, Thomas Langford Jnr. They proposed meeting the 6 July. Mr Sandsby attended accordingly and William Price came to make another member but there was nobody else so no more business was done that night but talk.

June 1809. Samuel Hoe who is 24 years of his age was buried the 25 June. He was the first member that was buried by the friendly society that began at Mr Langford's in the year 97. Pall bearers - Thomas Price, William Tongue, William



Reckless, Joseph Woolley, Samuel Fletcher, William Harriman and his father had 30/- from the club towards his funeral.(37)

If Woolley's journals are an accurate reflection of club life of the time, the clubs seem to have been accepted as an ordinary, open and uncontroversial part of life. Woolley comments only on subscriptions, benefits and everyday practical events: there is no suggestion that the clubs were interested in anything other than meeting the benefit needs of the members. Although his journals cover some of the years of the harshest of times for the framework-knitting industry when Luddism was rife in the area, there is never any suggestion of any trade or political involvements. Similarly the journal of Rev Seth Stevenson of East Retford, a clergyman and an honorary member of the Amicable Society at Retford and the Blue Ball club in Blidworth, which covers the years 1762-5 contains references to the club with which he was connected and into which he paid subscriptions for his servant in terms of membership, subscriptions and meetings but there is never a suggestion of club activities with political or trade connotations.(38)

It is possible that only later was an assumption made of a link between friendly societies and trade unions. Evidence from the Select Committee on combinations in 1825 showed that some people assumed this link.(39) So did Rev Samuel Oliver, vicar of Calverton who was first approached to take an interest in the club in the village of Calverton in the 1830s he declined, believing that the club was connected with trade unionism, but later he found this not to be true and eventually joined the Nottingham Oddfellows himself and became the Grand Chaplain to the Order.(40)

Although little evidence has been found to link societies with trade-related activities, there is no doubt about the involvement of some clubs in local politics in the early decades of the nineteenth century.(41) Some of the local gentry benefitted from the political support of the friendly societies, as did Lord Rancliffe who became Nottingham's Independent Member of Parliament in 1812 with the help and support of the town framework-knitters. He subsequently became Grandmaster of the Nottingham Oddfellows and received the continuing support of friendly society members.(42) It is also clear that the friendly societies, and the Nottingham Oddfellows in particular, were very active in the Reform movement in the 1830s. Such political involvement was not welcomed by all the local gentry and clergy, even if they supported friendly societies. Rev Robert Lowe of Bingham made a point of resigning from a lodge of the Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order in 1832 because of its involvement with politics. He wrote to the lodge committee:

Gentlemen,

I became a member of your lodge upon the oft-times repeated assurance that you were associated solely for the purposes of benevolence and that you had no concern with politicks in any way whatever, either directly or indirectly. Circumstances have now arisen which evidently show that I have been misled, and I beg you not to consider me any longer a member of your Union. I understand

that you espouse my own political opinions, but I deem all Unions of every kind upon such subjects fraught with so much danger to the State, so much inconvenience to the public, and so much mischief to the members themselves, that I can never consent ardently as I am attached to my own principles of liberty, to further them by such means.

I am Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant

Robert Lowe (43)

Although Robert Lowe expressed such misgivings, the Nottinghamshire establishment generally seemed to be little concerned about possible connections between friendly societies, unions and local politics. By contrast, the apparent encouragement given by clubs to drinking and irresponsible behaviour especially on feast days and the tendency of some clubs to act improvidently with the funds was a serious concern to many.

Such concerns were best expressed in Nottinghamshire by the Rev John Thomas Becher who was an ardent advocate of friendly societies and a constant worker for their promotion. In *Observations on Friendly Societies* published in 1823 he contrasted the advantages of the friendly society based on his principles with the disadvantages of the public house based clubs. He claimed that often the landlord ran the club for his own benefit, that the presence of the club in a public house encouraged excessive drinking and that the celebration of annual feasts wasted an inordinate amount of money thus causing the degeneration of the members both financially and morally. To avoid this problem, meetings of the Southwell Friendly Institution which he established were held at the Justice Room; payments were made weekly at the house of the secretary who was also the assistant overseer of the poor; and no anniversary feast was held.(44)

Becher took particular pride in emphasizing these differences between his Institution and other clubs:

Let any unprejudiced Person compare this institution with the Friendly Clubs established upon the old system of management and conviviality. Without advertising the hours consumed in Attendance at the Publick House, let him only bear in recollection that a portion of the Funds seldom amounting to less than 4/9 a head and frequently to more is expended upon the Anniversary Feast and the Ale provided for the monthly meetings which sum would secure for every members under 25 years of age the full allowances of our first class, with an annuity after 65.(45)

Becher's views were shared by Absolem Barnett, Overseer of the Poor in the Nottingham Poor Law Union, and William Felkin, the historian of the framework-knitting industry. Barnett felt that societies provided only opportunities for debauchery and drunkenness:

In most instances the funds are inadequate to the promised payments, partly because a considerable portion is drunk in ale...The Club is an allurements to the ale-

house; love of company combined with love for liquor is occasion for a periodical debauch.(46)

Felkin, who made a study of the condition of the labouring classes in Nottingham in 1837, did not use such dramatic language but clearly also shared this general concern and agreed that the financial failure of many sick clubs may be connected with their practice of meeting in public houses as well as inept management.(47)

Such views were not shared by the mid-Victorian advocate of self-help, Samuel Smiles, who took issue with those who criticised the use of public houses as meeting places. He argued that the societies relied very much on the social element to encourage membership:

The public house is everybody's house. The members can there meet together, talk together and drink together. It is extremely probable that had they trusted solely to the sense of duty - the duty of insuring against sickness - and merely required the members to pay their monthly contribution to a collector very few of the societies of the kind would have remained in existence.(48)

This view was perhaps a minority one amongst members of the establishment. It was certainly true that most friendly societies met in public houses. Of the 213 societies enrolled between 1793 and 1829 in Nottinghamshire, 159 met in public houses.(49) Barnett noted similar proportion in Leicester, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire.(50) Concern over drinking had caused many churches to establish their own clubs away from public houses. This was the prime intention of the General Baptist Friendly Society established in Nottingham in 1789 for the rule book shows that feasting, drinking and dividing the funds was so strongly disapproved of that if a member even proposed anything of this kind he would be excluded permanently from the society.(51) Similarly the Methodist based Ruddington Philanthropic society included a rule that any member who even proposed moving the club to a public house or expending money in feasts, wands, flags, belts etc. would be excluded from the society.(52) Many other societies adopted similar rules prohibiting the expenditure of funds on drink but not all went as far as exclusion for the act of proposing a change in meeting place.

Much of the evidence about establishment attitudes towards friendly societies has been drawn from Nottinghamshire's newspapers but these newspapers were no mere reporters of the county scene; they had their own politics and causes to press. The two main Nottingham papers in the nineteenth century were political rivals. The *Nottingham Journal*, which had its origins in the mid-eighteenth century, took a moderately Tory stance while under the editorship of Stretton but after Stretton sold the newspaper in 1832, the new editor Hicklin took a stronger Tory line to "check the spread of ... democratical and irreligious doctrines" of the *Nottingham Review* which had begun in 1808 as the newspaper of the radicals and nonconformists in the town under its Methodist editor, Charles Sutton and, later, his son Richard. Other newspapers came and went but the only one of any effect in first half of nineteenth century apart from the *Journal* and the *Review*

was the *Nottingham Mercury* which began in 1825 and lasted until 1852 which was promoted primarily by Thomas Wakefield who was, amongst other things, the Whig Mayor, businessman and Grand Treasurer of the Nottingham Oddfellows. Politically the paper followed much the same line as the *Review*.(53)

Given the different political complexion of the two main newspapers, it would be reasonable to expect different attitudes to be shown towards friendly societies if there were any strong feeling about them, politically and socially, at the time. In fact, friendly societies were featured in both town newspapers and in other county papers from time to time and were almost invariably treated with favour and were regarded generally as desirable and useful institutions. Occasionally there were articles extolling the virtues of friendly societies and other self-help groups.(54) There was also considerable coverage of the ordinary events in the life of individual societies; both *Nottingham Journal* and *Nottingham Review* contain frequent references to the establishment of new clubs, anniversaries, dinners and meetings. Certain clubs notably the lodges of the Nottingham Oddfellows and the Druids clearly had excellent contacts with the *Nottingham Review* and received extensive coverage of their affairs while relatively little coverage was given to the Foresters, the Manchester Oddfellows or the small independent local club.

Although the local papers were enthusiastic about societies, they did not hesitate to comment, encourage and criticise when it felt appropriate. They criticised, for example, the drunken behaviour of some members on feast days. They criticised workers for not taking the opportunity to join societies when available. In 1848, for example, the *Nottingham Review* lamented that so few had joined the Union Society at the Independent Chapel, Mansfield since it offered great advantages compared with the sick clubs and other societies of similar kind established in public houses.(55) Even-handedly the newspapers also criticised the gentry for not making an effort to support clubs. The *Nottingham Journal*, for example, reported the opening of a new lodge of the Albion Order in 1833 and advocated that the gentry should support it; later in 1848 the *Nottingham Review* noted that the Vine Club at the Old Spot, Arnold was in a healthy state and it was a pity that such societies were not patronized by more of the wealthy class.(56)

Overall there is virtually no evidence to suggest that members of the county establishment were opposed to or fearful of friendly societies even during the decades of considerable activity amongst political and trade associations in Nottingham between 1780s and 1830s. Generally the views expressed were that societies were seen as beneficial to the whole community, that working people had a responsibility to join them and that influential citizens has a responsibility to give their financial support and moral encouragement.

## Two approaches to patronage: gentry control or worker self-help

Although the county establishment shared a general approval of friendly societies, there was no consensus about the role the gentry, clergy and other leading citizens should play in them. On the one hand were those who were keen to encourage societies as a means towards the financial independence of the "lower orders" but were equally anxious to control any such facilities. On the other hand were those who felt that the working people should be free to manage their own affairs without interference from outsiders, whether local gentry, clergy, parish or state. In brief, some felt the clubs should be run for the workers by the gentry/clergy/magistracy while others felt the clubs should be run by the workers for themselves but perhaps with the support and encouragement of the more substantial citizens.

The life and work of the Rev John Thomas Becher of Southwell provides an excellent illustration of the views of those who advocated gentry-run societies. Although he was heavily involved in church work having the living of several parishes as well as being the vicar-general of the Collegiate church at Southwell, he took a very active interest in local and county affairs as Justice of the Peace for the Southwell peculiar, a magistrate for the County of Nottingham and chairman of the Newark Quarter Sessions. Law and order, prison reform, friendly societies, savings banks and allotments were all issues of great interest to him and on which he published pamphlets.(57)

Becher's interest in friendly societies was an integral part of his special concern about the administration of the Poor Law. In *The Constitution of Friendly Societies* 1824 he made it clear that the aim of societies of the type founded and run by honorary members was not simply to help the poor in a charitable way but to help them achieve independence of the parish poor rates. He believed that the ordinary working man wanted, needed and ought to be independent and it was the duty of their betters, the magistracy, the gentry and the clergy, to help them achieve this:

We are bound to impress upon the minds of the working class the duties of forethought, frugality and industry and at the same time to testify the sincerity of our professions for their welfare by devising such means as may place independence within the reach of those who are willing to struggle for its attainment.(58)

In such a spirit the Southwell Friendly Institution had been established by Becher in 1823. It was open to men and women between the ages of 10 and 50 who lived within 10 miles of Southwell. Its purpose was to provide sick pay and also annuities at the age of 65 or 70. Becher had enlisted the support of over 100 local people of influence as honorary members who would subscribe an annual amount but not receive benefits and who included members of the Sherbrooke family, the local Member of Parliament Admiral Sotheron as well as members of the Becher family.(59) In association with the

Friendly Institution, Becher also established an Endowment Society in 1830 which provided annuities for members, both male and female.(60) Although Becher wanted to encourage the working man to be independent and to provide for his own needs, he did not trust ordinary working men to run their communal financial affairs honestly or competently. In his opinion only the gentry and the magistracy were capable of running societies with integrity and efficiently. For this reason his Friendly Institution was managed by honorary members without involving the ordinary benefit members in any management tasks. He was particularly scathing about those clubs run by members where "The Honorary Members are excluded from any share in the management, their advice disregarded and almost invariably rejected."(61) His view that substantial citizens rather than the workers themselves should manage societies does not appear to relate to any political concerns he might have about the dangers of letting the working man have too much power and influence even though he was heavily involved with repressive law and order measures especially during the period of the Luddite troubles. What seems to have concerned him most was the inept or even dishonest management of some of the clubs. Misappropriation of funds and embezzlements were common causing the collapse of many societies and the refusal of many societies to accept advice about levels of contribution and benefit was a continual frustration to those such as Becher who could see the importance of a sound actuarial base for society finances. Even considerably later in the century, these problems had not been resolved for the Royal Commission of 1874 reported that there was hardly a village in the south of England where one or more clubs had not failed within living memory; the main problem in such failures was the reluctance of clubs to take notice of actuarial advice and principles and a consequent imbalance between contributions and benefits.(62)

Becher regarded efficient book-keeping as fundamental to the success of any organisation involving money and evidence for his concern to help friendly societies and other organisation to be administratively and financially efficient can be seen in the attention he paid to setting out details of essential book-keeping in many of his publications. To provide practical help he included a section on book-keeping in *The Anti-Pauper System*; and to help Friendly Societies he published in 1824 *The Constitution of Friendly Societies upon legal and scientific principles with a system of book-keeping for such institutions*. He took his practical help further the next year with the publication of tables of benefits and subscriptions for friendly societies. Becher's tables were by no means the first produced for friendly societies; more than fifty years earlier Price had produced the first tables, but Becher was clearly successful in promoting the use of tables as his were used by several societies in Nottinghamshire and many other societies throughout the country.(63) In spite of Becher's success in promoting societies and tables in various parts of Britain, societies run on his principles were not popular or successful in Nottinghamshire. The Southwell Friendly Institution started by Becher in 1823 and much



WILFORD  
**FRIENDLY INSTITUTION**  
 For the BENEFIT of the WORKING CLASSES of the  
 Hundred of Rushcliffe, in the County of Nottingham.  
 (Enrolled on the 19th of October, 1829; opened Jan. 1, 1830.)

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF  
 The Right Honourable EARL HOWE.  
 Sir ROBERT CLIFTON, Bart.  
 SAMUEL SMITH, Esq. M.P. &c.  
 TREASURER,—Henry Smith, Esq.  
 HONORARY PHYSICIAN,—J. M. Davidson, Esq. M.D.  
 SURGEON,—Mr. T. Beveridge, Week-day Cross, Nottingham.  
 SECRETARY,—Mr. Charles Robinson, Wilford.

**THE OBJECT** of this Institution is to encourage, among the Working Classes, habits of industry, forethought, and self-support, by affording them the means of assuring a provision for infancy, old age, sickness, and death.

The **PRINCIPLES** upon which this Institution has been founded are these:—1, Security of the Funds, vested in the Bank of England.—2, Certainty of the Calculations.—3, Equity in proportioning the Monthly Contributions according to the age of each Member on admission.

The **ADVANTAGES** to its Members are these:—1, Funds, sufficient for the payment of all claims.—2, Old age Pay, without requiring from the Members any Contribution after the commencement of this Allowance.—3, Medical attendance and Medicine in sickness.—4, The continuance of the Sick Pay during the whole period of sickness.—5, Half-pay not withdrawn on account of any Earnings, unless they exceed such Half-pay in amount.—6, No waste of time, no Expense at Meetings, no compulsion to serve Offices, no Collection on the death of a Member.

To **DEPRAY** the **EXPENDITURE** necessarily attending this Establishment, a Fund has been raised by Donations and Annual Subscriptions from Honorary Members, who will undertake the Management of the Institution, but can never derive any benefit, directly or indirectly, from the Funds.

#### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1831.

RECEIPTS.	£.	s.	d.
By Balance from 1830.....	1	11	4
Honorary Subscriptions.....	23	11	9
Monthly Contributions.....	6	4	4½
Single Contributions.....	29	7	0
Interest from Bank of England.....	4	2	3
Ditto from Nottingham Savings' Bank.....	0	16	10
Cash withdrawn from ditto.....	50	0	0
	£115	13	3½

DISBURSEMENTS.	£.	s.	d.
To Advertisements.....	2	7	0
P. Bausor, for writing Rules, &c.....	3	17	0
Secretary and Surgeon (two Years).....	13	2	6
Petty Cash Account.....	1	5	10½
Sick Members.....	3	10	0
Invested in Bank of England.....	54	2	3
Ditto in Nottingham Savings' Bank.....	29	12	4
Balance carried to 1832.....	7	16	4
	£115	13	3½

STOCK IN HAND.	£.	s.	d.
In the Bank of England.....	154	8	8
In Nottingham Savings' Bank.....	17	6	0
In the Secretary's hands, carried to 1832.....	7	16	4
	£179	11	0

This Institution having been formed with considerable expense and pains, and being so well calculated to supersede the generally admitted evils of the old system of Sick Clubs, is confidently recommended to the attention of the Industrious and Provident, who it is to be hoped will not fail to secure to themselves the advantages offered, full information of which may be obtained by application to the Treasurer, or Mr. Robinson, Secretary, Wilford; or to CAPTAIN COTTON, Rudington.

Fig. 6.1 Accounts of the Wilford Friendly Institution 1832

Source: Nottingham Journal 21 January 1832

praised by him was not spectacularly successful in the long term. Although it attracted over one hundred honorary members in the first three months, only 61 ordinary members joined in this time. It was clearly a financial success as on dissolution in 1884 its funds amounted to £3250, but it was not a popular success since membership had declined to only 19 by that time.(64) It was easily outlasted in Southwell by at least one club, the Sutton Lodge of Oddfellows, which began in 1830 and is still in existence in some form today.(65)

Similarly another gentry-run society, the Wilford Friendly Institution, which was established on Becher lines in 1829 was not as successful as other societies in its parish. (See Fig. 6.1) The Royal Commission of 1874 reported that the club had 107 members of whom only 32 were adult males as the men of the village preferred the other friendly society, which was run by the members, to the Becher-style club.(66) Although it had 99 members in 1879 it applied for dissolution because of large deficiencies caused by an inadequate scale of contributions.(67) Thus Becher's belief that good management and actuarial soundness would be assured if the society was in the hands of responsible gentry and clergy proved ill-founded. Meanwhile the member-run Wilford Friendly Society which had started in 1787 still existed in 1882.(68) The most spectacularly unsuccessful gentry-run club in the county was the Retford and Bassetlaw Benefit Society whose extremely lengthy rules and sets of contribution tables dated 1836 suggest that much time and effort had been spent in ensuring the establishment of an excellently organised society and the fact that the rules were signed by leading citizens, Ward, Ducker and Lambert, set the seal of respectability. However a small note dated 1864 attached to the document tells a different story:

...can only say that such society has long since ceased to exist and in fact beyond the Certifying of the Rules hardly ever came into operation only one member having joined it and he soon withdrew... (69)

The idea that a club could and should be run by the working men for themselves was not a view that Becher could contemplate. It was, however, a view taken by many who had a more positive view of the abilities of the working man. In their opinion, members should manage their own clubs and the role of the gentry/clergy was to assist and enable but not to control or direct. This division of opinion about the appropriate method of managing friendly societies is best exemplified by events of 1851 when an attempt was made to establish a new County Society to be run and controlled by gentry and clergy. At the meeting in Nottingham to inaugurate the new society criticism was made of the "secret" orders such as the Manchester Unity and the Nottingham Oddfellows and in particular of their high management costs.(70) Later in the year argument raged in the form of open letters published in the *Nottingham Journal* primarily between Rev Fitzgerald, the Secretary of the County Society, and Rev Samuel Oliver, the Grand Chaplain of the Nottingham Oddfellows.(71) The main causes of debate were arguments over the costs

of administration of the different forms of club and the assumption by the County Society that the working man was neither capable of nor to be trusted to run his own club. The Nottingham Oddfellows took great exception to this attitude as they felt that in their forty years' experience the working man had more than proved his ability to organise his own affairs without interference from parson or squire.

In this dispute the attitude of various gentry and clergy in the county became clear. On the one side were the County Society supporters, the President Earl Manvers, and Vice-Presidents Duke of Newcastle, Earl Brownlow and Viscount Galway with the support of Viscount Newark, T Foljambe, T Hildyard, J Manners-Sutton MP and Ichabod Wright who were all Tories. On the other were the supporters of the Nottingham Oddfellows, Lord Rancliffe, Colonel Wildman, John Evelyn Denison and Thomas Wakefield who were all Whigs. Patronage for the new County society was sought from the most influential gentry in the county but some declined much to the delight of the Nottingham Oddfellows. It was reported that Colonel Wildman of Newstead Abbey told a deputation from the County Association that he belonged to the Imperial Union and he believed that the Order was effecting a greater amount good than the new society could possibly accomplish and that he therefore felt bound to decline their request. Similarly Mr Denison, the M.P. who was later to become the Speaker of the House, said that the county was full of societies and that he wished, before he took any part in establishing a new society, to see whether those which were in existence could not be improved and strengthened.(72)

Although the County Society managed to establish branches in some parts of the county in spite of opposition from the Nottingham Oddfellows, it did not have a great degree of success. Initially it attracted members but many dropped out. By 1860 the society had 163 members and 42 new members joined in the next five years but 72 left. Evidence to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies in 1874 noted that the Nottinghamshire County Society was reported to be the smallest of the county societies then in existence with only 103 members.(73) "We have been beaten out of the field by the Oddfellows and the friendly societies", wrote the honorary secretary of the Nottinghamshire Society.(74) Its membership remained small compared with the experience of equivalent societies in other counties and in 1882 the society was dissolved.(75)

Evidence to the Royal Commission suggested that this was a common experience in the country as a whole. Assistant Commissioner Stanhope argued that county societies did not make themselves sufficiently known and that many people were reluctant to join County Clubs because they were too expensive for the waged labourer.(76)

But another commissioner, Sir George Young, argued that many objected to county societies not so much because they were run by the gentry and because they were too expensive, but because they had no social side, notably no feast.(77) Becher and others

who ran clubs on his principles believed that people would flock to a well-managed, reliable club run by respectable people which paid good benefits and used actuarially sound tables of subscription and benefit, where the club room was used for collection of benefits only and where there was no waste of money on social activities and feasting. Clearly they had not understood the importance of the social role of societies.

Obelkevich argued that rural friendly societies were deferential to their local clergy and gentry in Lincolnshire but this was not a pattern of behaviour observed in Nottinghamshire.(78) Some societies had a fierce pride in maintaining their independence from all possible gentry and clergy control. A club at Pleasley, for example, was very proud to announce in 1846 that it had purchased 7 acres of land and a cottage for the club without the help of patrons as it made a point of having no honorary members.(79) Another club at Cropwell Butler declined the vicar's offer to become club secretary in 1890.(80) On the basis of such evidence, it seems more likely that the issue of control of the society was of more importance than most of the gentry and clergy would admit. Later in the century, the Rev John Frome Wilkinson, a member of the Manchester Unity Oddfellows himself and an ardent advocate of member run societies, argued that the main concern of the members was to have control of their own organisations. He wrote that the labourers preferred "self-control, feast, beer and fire" to the mere handing over of a portion of their wages to the care of the squire or parson.(81)

Concern about the influence honorary members or patrons might have in undermining the members' control over the club may have been justified from experience rather than being simply the product of suspicion. Evidence about the way in which a club might, according to the rule book, be completely under the control of benefit members but may in fact be dependent on, and controlled by, the honorary members or club sponsors can be found in the documents relating to the Thoresby Provident Club which was established by Earl Manvers in 1884 for his estate workers.(82) Although under its rules, the club was managed by an elected committee and trustees, Earl Manvers felt free to impose his decisions on the club on occasion without consulting the committee. This became apparent in 1903 when a decision made by the Earl, without consulting the elected officials or committee, to alter one of the rules greatly disturbed one of the members who found himself excluded from the club as a result of the rule change.

The events which led to this state of affairs dated back to the beginning of the club when the rules allowed anyone who worked on the estate to join the club but did not make working on the estate a condition of membership. There was no suggestion in the rules that those who left the estate should also leave the club but it is clear that this issue was raised in 1887 as at a committee meeting it was decided that two people who were no longer working on the estate should be allowed to remain members. This decision was reaffirmed the following year by the club's treasurer who reported that it was Lord



Manvers wish that any member who was not now in his Lordship's employ could continue a member of the club if he so wished. However, the issue was under discussion once more in 1903 and it was decided that Mr Wordsworth should draw up a rule on the subject so that the committee could submit it to the members for their approval or otherwise. Apparently this was never done, for subsequent committee minutes contain no reference to this item. Yet shortly after the committee meeting Mr Wordsworth sent a circular to club members informing them that a rule had been introduced, and was to be applied retrospectively, to the effect that no-one could remain a member of the club after leaving Lord Manvers service of his own accord and no-one could remain a member of the club after he is discharged from service unless he had worked continuously on the Estate for the previous ten years.

This new rule apparently affected up to 19 members as the number of club members dropped from 100 in December 1902 to 81 in December 1903. One of those excluded from the club on these grounds was John Gibson of Ollerton who wrote on 7 May 1903 to the club secretary setting out his objections:

I see by the circular that there is to be an alteration in the Thoresby Provident Club with those that as worked there less than ten successive years well I can say this...my object in writing to you is that I consider it doing a man a most cruel wrong to turn him out of the club when he has got past the age limit to join another club picturing a man that has spent all the bloom of his days on the Thoresby estate...27 years I worked on the Thoresby estate...and my father worked on the Thoresby estate 42 years...(83)

This letter had no effect; the balance in John Gibson's account was returned to him and the account closed.

In 1912 another notice was sent to members which makes it clear that Lord Manvers had taken another unilateral decision, without consulting the committee, this time to close the club.(84) It is not surprising that Lord Manvers felt free to make decisions unilaterally as the club had been started by him for his estate workers and was heavily supported by him. It is also not surprising that the members, as Lord Manvers' workers, did not feel free to object to any decisions made by their employer. John Gibson, who by that time did not work on the estate, is the only person who appears to have complained in writing. One can only speculate on how the rest of the members, especially the committee, felt when Lord Manvers ignored the democratic constitution of the society.

Although the kind of patronage under which the gentry and clergy controlled and managed societies was not popular, participation by such people as honorary members or patrons was very common and was welcomed by societies. Reid and Thompson similarly noted the involvement of honorary members but Crossick observed, as in Nottinghamshire, the rejection of patronage and outside interference which was combined with a search for the support of patrons.(85) The affiliated orders sought associations

with people of influence to enhance their social respectability and acceptability. The Metropolitan Order of Oddfellows, for example, announced proudly at the time of their establishment that "several well-connected gentlemen" had recently joined their new order.(86) The Nottingham Oddfellows were particularly successful in gaining the support of local people of influence. Lord Rancliffe of Bunny became Permanent Grand Master of the Order in 1818 and after his death in 1850 was succeeded by the Earl of Scarborough; other patrons included the Duke of Portland, Earl Manvers, Colonel Wildman of Newstead Abbey and Charles Paget of a noted Loughborough family who bought much land in the Ruddington area. Another important figure was Thomas Wakefield from a noted Nottingham family, a mayor of the town and the undisputed leader of the Whig town council for many years who was the Grand Treasurer of the Nottingham Oddfellows as well as involved with other benefit groups. The Nottingham Oddfellows' practice of naming lodges after their patrons suggesting connections with many other local families of influence include Padley, Lumley, Duke of Leeds, Clifton, Chaworth, Galway.

Of all the aristocrats in the county only the Dukes of Newcastle and Portland appear to have had no connection with the Nottingham Oddfellows. Although one of the Nottingham Oddfellow lodges is named the Duke of Newcastle, it is perhaps significant that this was not so-named until 1868 in the time of the 6th Duke who was not in the same mould as his unpleasant and antagonistic forebear, the 4th Duke, who held the Newcastle estates between 1795 and 1851. If the aim of the Order was to secure the patronage of the most important people in the county, the exclusion of the Dukes of Newcastle and Portland from their list of patrons is significant. The fact that the Duke of Portland paid subscriptions, through his steward, to clubs at Langwith, Whitwell, Bolsover and Warsop between 1811 and 1816 suggests that he, at least, was not antagonistic towards friendly societies in general.(87) The lack of involvement of the Dukes of Portland and Newcastle with the Nottingham Order most likely reflects the Order's political connections with the Nottingham based Whigs as represented by their main patrons Lord Rancliffe and Thomas Wakefield whose significance was such that their half-portraits shared the back of the banner designed and painted at great expense for the Grand Lodge in 1845 by Christopher Thomson.(88) In the next century, the pattern of seeking the patronage of influential or important local personalities continued and Jesse Boot was made an honorary member of one of lodges of Manchester Unity in 1911.(89)

Similarly independent local societies had support and patronage from local gentry. At Ruddington and Blidworth, for example, the large land-owners, farmers, clergy and gentry supported the clubs by becoming honorary members or generally giving their support. Similarly the Manchester Unity Lodge at Cropwell Butler, God Speed the Plough Lodge, were keen to involve local people of influence in their club. In 1852 they organised a deputation of members to solicit the gentry of the parish to patronise the lodge and in 1881 they made a point of inviting the five biggest farmers in the village and the



vicar to the annual dinner.(90) The advantages of patronage of this kind were local acceptability, a certain amount of financial support and no doubt the patrons' practice of providing game or meat for dinners and feast days was welcomed: certainly the Earl of Scarborough, Lord Ranelcliffe and John Musters are reported as providing game for the feast day of innumerable clubs.(91) There is, however, no evidence that honorary members ever attempted to exercise control or even become involved in the management of the clubs.

## Conclusions

All the evidence about the relationship between the local establishment and friendly societies has suggested that societies have always been accepted as institutions of positive value. Although in the 1790s some societies were involved in trade related activity and in the 1830s in local politics of reform, this did not affect the positive way in which societies were seen locally. They have never been perceived as troublesome or threatening either to trade or to law and order. On the contrary, apart from some concern over behaviour and drinking on feast days, they have generally been regarded as a respectable, stabilising force in the community. This confident relationship between the Nottinghamshire people and the establishment reflects Chambers' view of the paternalistic interest shown by the local squirearchy in the eighteenth century.(92) It was not undermined by the framework-knitters' involvement in the Luddite troubles in 1812-8, which although extensive in the county, did not receive strong condemnation from the majority of local people, or by the agricultural labourers' involvement in the Swing riots in the 1830s, which barely touched the county.(93)

There was, however, a division of opinion amongst the county establishment, over the issue of whether clubs should be managed for the members by the middle class/gentry or whether worker control should be encouraged. Such differences of opinion were to be expected amongst the Nottinghamshire's late eighteenth and early nineteenth century establishment, who varied from the extreme Tory, anti-Reformist, thoroughly disliked Duke of Newcastle to the independent, liberal, very popular, Whig Lord Ranelcliffe. These differences in opinion persisted in later years. Both approaches advocated the moral value of independence as a state to which the common people should aspire if they were to avoid becoming a burden on the parish but here the similarity ended. Those who favoured gentry control believed that the working man was not capable of managing his own affairs and that the "higher orders" had an obligation to organise and manage societies so that the working man could be guided towards independence presumably along routes approved by the establishment. Thus the aim was to make the working man independent in terms of finance but within a system in which he remained subjected to the control and direction of his "betters". Those who favoured control by the members felt that independence was a

state which was not to be imposed and controlled from above, but achieved from below by the working man's own efforts. They saw their function as that of encouraging members to run their own societies taking the view that integral to the growth of the working man's independence was the ability to manage his own affairs. From this point of view society management should be by the members for the members and the role of the honorary member or patron was to support and contribute but not to attempt to exercise any form of control.

Those who argued for gentry-run clubs failed to recognise the possibility that working men did not want to be provided for, to be patronised; that perhaps they preferred to provide for themselves and control their own affairs even if this meant that they did not benefit financially from donations from the gentry. The advantages of having supportive helpful, contributing patrons would have been obvious to the members, but equally obvious were the disadvantages of allowing the club to be controlled by gentry or clergy. Having an outsider or honorary member such as the local clergyman who could be relied upon to rally some financial support from the local gentry might well be acceptable to the members. Help with keeping the accounts and the necessary administrative tasks might also be welcomed by some clubs but to be excluded altogether from decision-making may well have been a different matter.

The same arguments over these two forms of management were still being rehearsed towards the end of the nineteenth century in spite of the evidence that even a hundred years earlier, workers had proved their ability to run such clubs as the Blidworth Blue Ball club with its co-operative, its rented land and its investments alongside the sick and benefit functions of the society, in spite of the extension of the political franchise to working men and in spite of considerable growth especially during the second half of the century in worker-run organisations notably co-operatives and trade unions. But in rejecting gentry-run clubs, the people of Nottinghamshire had made their opinions very clear.

## Chapter 7

### **Friendly societies in the lives of the working people**

An important consideration in most earlier discussions of friendly societies has been the class implication of friendly society membership. Integral to the discussions has been the importance attached in nineteenth century society to the concept of independence. Did membership of friendly societies imply acceptance of the middle-class interpretation of independence, that each individual should adopt a philosophy of self-help and take pride in his lack of dependence on the parish, state or charity, as some historians have suggested?(1) Or did membership of friendly societies represent a view of independence with roots firmly based in working-class experience, as others have suggested?(2)

Most of this debate has taken place in the context of the experience of the labour elite. Discussion has concentrated on the supposed growth of a division between a labour elite of skilled craftsmen and other workers in the second half of the nineteenth century. Friendly society membership has been included in this discussion as part of a set of institutional involvements which helped to cement social relationships across craft boundaries and contribute to the artisan elites' developing class awareness while simultaneously setting them apart from other workers. It has been argued that through membership of friendly societies the artisan elite demonstrated their commitment to self-help and independence and their superiority to, and difference from, semi-skilled and unskilled labourers. These arguments have been advanced as a result of studies of skilled workers who belonged to branches of the affiliated orders in urban areas in the middle or late years of the nineteenth century.(3) They rest on the assumptions that early friendly societies were the preserve of the urban artisan and that the friendly society movement only developed strongly after the rise of the affiliated orders in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. However, the evidence presented in this study has questioned these assumptions and drawn attention to the earlier existence of societies, their presence in rural as well as urban areas, the involvement of a range of workers rather than simply the artisan elite including women and the continuing existence of independent societies alongside the affiliated orders.

The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to broaden the framework in which the experience of friendly societies can be interpreted from the limited context of the urban artisan members of affiliated orders to encompass independent societies as well as branches of affiliated orders, rural as well as urban groups, members from a broad spectrum of occupational groups, and women as well as men. The argument that friendly

society membership represented a method of achieving independence in one area of life is examined through a discussion of the meaning of independence to members and others interested in the friendly society movement, and the extent to which varying types of independence were achieved is assessed. The implications of the relationship of this search for independence to working-class or middle-class ideology is then discussed.

## **The theme of independence**

A key concept which emerged continually in this exploration of friendly societies was that of independence. The banner of the Nottingham Oddfellows designed in 1818 bore the legend "The triumph of independence"; Rev J T Becher, in his many publications and contributions to parliamentary enquiries, advocated the virtues of independence; individual clubs protected their independence from other clubs while the friendly society movement as a whole sought to retain its independence of governmental control. This enthusiasm for independence was not unique to friendly societies; indeed independence was a concept widely advocated and aspired to throughout nineteenth century society. At a national and international level, the spirit of laissez-faire was one expression of independence which implied freedom to operate without any governmental restriction; at an individual level, the spirit of self-help similarly offered an interpretation of independence which implied freedom to provide for oneself without the interference of government or parish but also without their help. If the concept of independence was so important to friendly societies and their members, it is necessary to ask what independence meant in the context of friendly societies and to what extent did friendly societies succeed in the achievement of independence.

It has become clear in this exploration of friendly societies, their members and their relationships with the establishment that the term "independence" had different meanings for different people. Even within the friendly society movement it had many interpretations. For the individual, friendly society membership represented independence by removing the necessity of being dependent on charity and the parish in times of sickness, old age and at death. For women, it meant the possibility of avoiding total dependence on their husband or family at such times. For individual clubs, independence represented freedom to organise and manage themselves in their own way. Some clubs sought such freedom by remaining unregistered, thereby avoiding the Registrar's restrictions, while others sought their independence by remaining detached from all other clubs and organisations. Even branches of affiliated orders were anxious to maintain their individual club's independence within their order. Some clubs also sought to preserve their independent status and sought freedom from control by the local establishment by avoiding the patronage of local gentry. For the friendly society movement as a whole independence meant preserving freedom from governmental control and interference

whether represented by the demands of the Registrar of friendly societies or by legislation.

A different view of independence was taken by members of the establishment and the state, for whom independence meant non-dependence on the poor rates. No secret was made of the fact that from the earliest Act relating to friendly societies passed in 1793 the main aim of legislation was to reduce demands on the poor rate; encouragement given to the working population to be independent was motivated not by concern to help working people improve their abilities to manage their own affairs but by the financial advantages to be gained by the poor-rate payer. To this end, it was felt appropriate to encourage and to promote self-help and independence amongst working people in the interests of developing a culture which eschewed dependence on the parish or charity and emphasised financial independence as a moral virtue and a social duty. In Nottinghamshire, there was, however, a division of opinion amongst members of the establishment about the way in which such independence should be achieved. Some argued for working people to have control over their own clubs; others took the view that the working classes were not capable of running their own affairs. The latter felt that control over these means towards independence should be in the hands of "responsible" people, that is to say substantial citizens rather than ordinary working people, who would run such institutions for the working people.(4)

In the matter of control lay the essential difference between the ideas of "independence" held by society members and by some members of the establishment. The essence of independence for those involved in friendly societies in Nottinghamshire lay in control. At organisational level, internal control, without outside interference, was expected. At club level, the freedom for the individual club to conduct and control its own affairs without interference from others, was also expected. At individual level, control over one's own life within the sphere in which the society operated was expected. Interference from outsiders, and particularly from members of another social stratum, was not sought or welcomed either by the institution as a whole or by the individual members. This was particularly apparent in the rejection by Nottinghamshire people of gentry-run societies. Members did not want benefits at any cost, nor did they necessarily want the best financial benefits; they wanted benefits as a right and over which they had control.(5)

One of the clearest expositions of these views can be found in the biography of Joseph Ashby of Tysoe, Warwickshire when in 1873, as a 14 year old boy, he made his decision about which friendly society to join. On Club feast day just after his fourteenth birthday, the Vicar urged him to join the village club:

The club had been founded in 1857. Local clubs were always failing but the Tysoe Club had such large investments that no absconding treasurer could ruin it. So flourishing was it that smaller clubs at Oxhill and Whatcote were linking themselves with it. One could be proud of that...[but] the Club's got to be run by Trustees and they're always to be drawn from the honorary members, paying a

**Table 7.1**

**Comparison of % population in friendly societies with  
% population on poor relief - selected counties**

County	% population in friendly societies	% population on poor relief
Lancs	16	7
Derbys	14	8
Notts	11	7
Wilts	6	23
Hants	2	15
Oxford	5	20

**Source:**

Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Poor Laws 1831



guinea subscription. As good say a labourer's got no sense. Why can't the members manage their own money? As for the Trustees they had wider experience than labourers...the prosperity of the Club was due to it... [but they] didn't intend the labourers to have wider experience!... Call that Brotherhood? Foresters called it wanting to run the show...

Dukes and bishops and farmers wanted labourers fed but not independent... Joseph saw what his lesson was...He would join the Foresters when he was ready.(6)

How successful were societies in fulfilling these various expectations of independence? Success from the point of view of the establishment meant keeping down the poor rates and throughout the nineteenth century the opinion was continually expressed in government reports and elsewhere that societies were successful in this respect. The 1831 House of Lords Select Committee on the Poor Laws were shown statistics collected during 1813-15 to show an inverse relationship between the proportion of people belonging to friendly societies and the proportion in receipt of poor relief in various counties.(7)(See table 7.1) Although this was a very naïve interpretation of the national situation, which did not take into consideration the higher rates of pay and greater employment opportunities enjoyed in the midland and northern counties, it was nevertheless a view the committee chose to accept. In 1874 the report on the Royal Commission on friendly societies also noted the success of the friendly societies as a whole noting that they had saved the Poor Law Unions over £2 million.(8) Similarly in 1895 the Royal Commission on the aged poor received evidence from the Foresters and the Manchester Unity who both reported that few of their members ever applied for relief. The secretary of the Manchester Unity reported that out of their 526,000 members in England only 490 had applied for relief in the past five years; the Foresters reported a similar level of applications.(9) In a more local expression of the success of friendly societies, Joseph Shaw, who had founded the Nottingham Oddfellows in 1812 was made an honorary burgess in 1820 for having shown the town how to save £500 per year.(10) This was the value placed on the savings to the poor rates by the actions of the new order, which by that time had only been in existence for eight years.

The impact of the activities of friendly societies on poor rate expenditure at parish level is more difficult to assess. It is possible only to show how much friendly societies paid in relief and assume that in the absence of this aid, these claimants might have resorted to the parish for help. In the case of Blidworth, the existence of club accounts as well as poor law accounts, which are directly comparable for certain dates, gives some indication of the impact of the club on the poor law finances.(See table 7.2). Although the Club's yearly expenditure was concerned with sickness and funerals only whereas the overseer of the poor catered for a wider range of needs, it can be argued that any payment to friendly society members was likely to represent a saving to the parish. On the other hand the small size of friendly society expenditure compared with that of the parish poor officers puts the limited role of the society within a community into perspective. Until the 1830s

**Table 7.2**

**Expenditure by Overseer of Poor and Blue Ball Club at Blidworth  
1794, 1802, 1804, 1820**

Date	O of Poor's expenditure	B B Club expenditure	Club expenditure as % O of P expenditure	Club membership as % parish pop
1794	165.12.7	14.10.8	9%	25%
1802	296.8.7	52.16.6	18%	25%
1804	316.8.0	81. 4.6	27%	25%
1820	690.13.3	78. 9.1	11%	13%

**Sources:**

Blidworth Overseer of Poor Accounts NAO: PR 5718  
Blue Ball Club at Blidworth Account books

the Blue Ball club was probably the only male club in the village and membership in the early years of the century represented about 25% of the total population of the parish. Declining membership but increasing population between 1814 and 1820 left only 13% of the parish population as members of the club. That club expenditure as a percentage of the total parish expenditure varied roughly in proportion to the different levels of membership at 1804 and 1820 suggests that in general terms the club succeeded in providing for its own members and ensuring that they kept "off the parish" in these years.

The extent to which friendly societies were successful in enabling the individual to retain his independence of the parish is uncertain. If friendly societies benefits were such that it was not necessary for members to apply for relief, poor law records do not, of course, show this. The amount of sick pay regularly paid out to society members by various clubs, as evidenced by account books and annual returns to the Registrar, was considerable. There is also anecdotal evidence about the sense of security felt by members in the knowledge that in case of illness they would have an income, and that their club membership with its funeral benefits would save them from a pauper's burial.(11) It was also a matter of pride and respect for some members that in spite of a life-time of club membership, they had never asked for or received a penny of club money.(12) Such a sense of security provided members with a strong belief in their independence.

Whether this belief was well-founded could only be tested by applying for benefits. There is, however, evidence that when tested, some clubs failed to meet the needs of their members in a variety of ways and the expectation of independence was not fulfilled. The failure of societies to provide old age pensions when expected was a particular matter which led members to think that their clubs had failed them when they needed help most.(13) Other examples from the records of the Basford Union suggest that club pay was sometimes not given soon enough or for long enough. Several claimants for poor relief stated that they were in a club but had received no money yet; in 1840, for example, James Cocking framework-knitter of Bulwell was sick but had not received the 7/- pay he was entitled to from his club while others claimed to be members but not yet eligible for benefits.(14) In 1845 John Johnson framework-knitter of Beeston was one of the claimants who reported that he had exhausted his entitlement to benefit.(15) Finally there were members like Samuel Richards, a collier, who in 1840 had defaulted on subscriptions and was no longer entitled to benefits.(16) Clearly disappointment with the clubs took many forms and membership of a club did not guarantee that the individual would be protected from the need to apply for parish help.

As parishes, and later the Poor Law Unions, would benefit from the success of societies by reducing demand on poor rates, one might expect that poor law officers would be keen to support and work alongside societies. The Overseer of the Poor for Caythorpe saw the situation in this way as he paid club contributions for John Goodwin and Frances

Bramley in the 1820s.(17) However, evidence from the journals of affiliated orders, from reports to Commissions and from the reports of the Registrar shows that the relationship between the friendly societies and the poor law providers was strained throughout the nineteenth century. The poor law authorities tried to minimise their own expenditure by ensuring that societies provided total support for their members while the societies attempted to keep their independent control over decision about benefits given to members. Generally these battles for the clarification of legislation were fought out in the courts while at local level, in Nottinghamshire at least, there was an amicable relationship between the Poor Law authorities and the societies. Evidence from early Poor Law Union records shows that the practice of allowing club members to benefit from their club membership even when on parish relief existed from the 1830s in some Unions. Some examples from the Southwell Union show that club members seemed to have been well treated in terms of outdoor relief in the 1830s in spite of the anti-outrelief provisions of the 1834 Act and appear to have received more favourable treatment than non-club members:

31.10.1837 William Bennet of Southwell was allowed 6/- per week during illness:  
14.11.1837 he received club pay of 8/- per week and his relief was reduced to 4/- per week.

2.10.1838 Thomas Marshall 76 is in receipt of 3/6 p.w. from his club. Allowed 1/- p.w. (18)

Caplan came to a similar conclusion in his examination of the records of the Southwell Union in the 1840s. For example:

In 1843, Thomas Dawson of Southwell - a married man with two children - was receiving 8/- weekly from his club and was allowed a further 4/- per week during his illness

In 1842 William Hayes aged 79 of South Muskham and his wife aged 68 who had 3/- from the club asked for 2/- per week. This was allowed.(19)

A total income of 12/- per week for a married man with family and 5/- per week for a pensioner couple in the 1830s and 1840s was very generous and meant that during sickness club members would receive a total income similar to their income when working. On the other hand membership of a club did not necessarily ensure payment of parish relief in addition to club money. Two occasions were noted when club members were refused relief in situations where the total family income was high:

In March 1845 John Swinscoe Framework-knitter of Burton Joyce who had a wife and 9 children was ill and applied for relief as he was not able to work. His income was 7/- from club but the total income from the rest of the family amounted to 18/- giving a family total of 25/-. His request was refused.(20)

In June 1850 James Mellors Collier of Greasley was injured. He received 6/- p.w. from club, he had a wife and three children who together brought an income of 12/-

**Table 7.3**

**Total income of friendly society members in receipt of poor relief in  
Basford Union 1839 - 1850**

Family size	No of cases	Total income with relief Money	Bread
1	2	2/- - 4/6	4lb
2	6	3/- - 8/-	4lb - 8lb
3	5	5/- - 15/-	0lb - 4lb
4	5	2/6 - 7/3	0lb - 16lb
5	6	5/- - 15/-	0lb - 16lb
6	5	5/6 - 15/-	0lb - 16lb
8	4	7/- - 15/-	0lb - 16lb

Source:

Basford Union Relieving Officer's Report Books 1839-50

weekly. Thus the family had a total income of 18/- and no action was taken on their request.(21)

These examples, drawn from the Basford Union, may suggest that Basford Union's policy differed from Southwell's. A more extensive picture of Basford's practice emerged from the records of the Basford Union Relieving Officers Report Books 1839-1850.(22) In this Union, which covered many of the industrial framework-knitting villages surrounding Nottingham, there were more than 35 references to club members applying for relief. As the books give full details of family size and income as well as relief allowed it is possible to establish the total family income including relief on which the families were expected to live. Table 7.3 shows the range of total income families of applicants would receive including relief allowable; this was a range that was varied and no different from that received by non-members.

Two interesting features about the practice of poor law administration emerged from the Basford Overseer's records. One related to the different treatment of the sick and the unemployed and the other to the treatment of sick wives. Firstly the financial advantages of being ill and therefore on the club rather than just being unemployed were apparent in the case of John Oldham, framework-knitter of Beeston. During the quarter ending 25.12.1844 he was out of work, his wife was ill and he had four children. The family income consisted of 1/6 from his wife (presumably from her club) and 4/- earnings from the children. The total family income was therefore 5/6. He was allowed 16lb bread fortnightly. Then during the quarter ending 25.3.1845 John was ill and received 8/- from his club and with the children's 4/- the total family income was 12/-. On this occasion the family was allowed 2/6 and 24lb bread fortnightly.(23)

Secondly, the equal importance of the wife's income to the family was recognised for in two instances when the wife was ill, and unable to earn her usual income, relief was given even if her husband was in work. For example:

4.2.1840 John Harpham Framework-knitter of Basford with wife and 6 children applied for relief because his wife was ill from laying in. His income 9/-, hers from club 4/-, one of the children 2/-. Although the family income was 15/-, they were allowed 8lb bread.

3.3.1840 James Kidger 59 Framework-knitter of Nuthall applied for relief as his wife and daughter are both ill. He earns 3/6 week, wife has 4/- from club. He was allowed 3/6 and then a week later is allowed 2/6 then 2/- weekly following.(24)

In this way, in the 1830s and 1840s, the Southwell Union favoured friendly societies and by acting generously towards members were anxious not to undermine the incentive of membership. Although this does not seem to have always been the practice in the Basford Union at that time, by the 1870s there was a more general practice throughout the county



of taking into consideration only half the amount of money received from any club to which the claimant belonged.

In the 1870s, the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies found that although legislation had prescribed the action to be taken by poor law officers in specific circumstances, there was uncertainty about the proper course of action. As a result there were considerable differences in the approach taken by local poor law officers to members of friendly societies who applied for relief. Some Boards took into account the whole of the weekly sick pay received from the club; others took only half the amount into consideration; others regarded the club money as for the member only and the full amount of relief was granted to wife and children separately.(25) Replies from four of the Nottinghamshire Boards of Guardians (Bingham, Newark, Southwell, Worksop) quoted in the report showed that applications from those who were or had been members of benefit societies were considered, that they were relieved in the same way as other paupers in that half their pay from other sources was deducted from benefit given, that there was no difference in consideration given regardless of whether the club was managed by the members or otherwise or whether the club was registered or unregistered.(26) This effectively meant that, in the 1870s, club members were better off than non-club members when "on the parish" to the extent of half their club sick pay.

Although there seems to have been consistent practice throughout Nottinghamshire by the 1870s, different practices were pursued throughout the country and the issue was not resolved until the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act of 1903 which made it mandatory to ignore the first 5/- of friendly society benefits when calculating relief due to a claimant. A few years later when old age pensions were introduced it was agreed that friendly society benefits should not be taken into account when giving pensions. With these arrangements, after decades of uncertainty, it was possible at last for the friendly societies and the poor law to co-exist without a continual sore of mutual suspicion. Benefits were assured to both friendly society members and to poor law administrators in that some of the advantages of belonging to a club were retained while there were simultaneously savings to the poor rates.

Overall, then, the friendly society movement had not developed in the way in which early advocates, such as Becher, had hoped in replacing the parish rate system by a voluntary system. In this sense it had been ultimately unsuccessful in making it possible for members to become independent of the parish or state. Instead a new kind of relationship had developed which was a compromise between the state and the voluntary sector in which each played its part in contributing to the needs of the members of friendly societies. It could be argued therefore that societies had been unsuccessful in achieving their aim of enabling members to be independent of the parish. Another view would be that friendly societies had enabled members to grow in confidence so that they were now

prepared to ask for help from the parish as their right as a parishioner rather than as a disgrace as a pauper in the knowledge that their efforts towards self-help were respected. On the other hand, there is also evidence that working people were accustomed to weighing the advantages of each system and acting accordingly. In 1834 one of the Commissioners had argued that although friendly societies, allotments and savings banks had their virtues, they did not solve the problem of pauperism. He commented that people weigh up the pros and cons and decide whether local circumstances make it worth while for them to join societies and make efforts towards independence or whether they would benefit more from the parish.(27) Forty years on the same arguments were being rehearsed for in 1874 evidence to the Royal Commission on friendly societies claimed that recently people have been found it to their advantage "to throw themselves on to the poor rate". The pragmatic attitude towards the relative advantages of benefit clubs and the poor law taken by many working people at that time was summed up in Rev Portal's terse comment:

The poor law is the best benefit club because everything is taken out and nothing paid in.(28)

It could be argued, then, that while the spirit of independence may have motivated the origins of friendly societies and was embraced as a central philosophy, pragmatic considerations were the main forces governing decisions about joining a society. When survival in difficult times was the prime objective, few working people could afford the luxury of considering ideological arguments about the supposed demoralising effects of poor law provision and the supposed improving effect of providing for oneself through friendly society membership.

Overall it can be concluded that friendly societies helped to reduce demands on the poor rates and thus were regarded positively by those who were concerned about the cost of maintaining the poor. Similarly, as far as individuals were concerned, those who could afford to join societies and maintain their subscriptions probably felt that societies were successful in meeting their needs. However, many people also claimed help from the parish even when in receipt of club benefit which suggests that club benefits were inadequate for basic needs; in this sense, then, membership of friendly societies cannot be said to have been totally successful in providing a means of achieving financial independence of the parish.

## **The theme of class**

Previous discussions about the class implications of friendly society membership have focussed on the artisan elite as members of the affiliated orders in urban areas from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. But since this study has drawn attention to the

existence of friendly societies and their varied and extensive membership in the early years of the nineteenth century in both rural and urban areas of Nottinghamshire, it seems appropriate to concentrate this exploration of class implications of membership to this earlier period as a means of extending understanding of friendly society membership. This approach will also make it possible to contribute to a discussion of the extent to which interpretations derived from the later period can be applied to early years of the nineteenth century.

It is difficult to apply arguments derived from studies which have centred on the experience of the artisan elite as friendly society members to the Nottinghamshire context in the first half of the nineteenth century as the county's occupational structure was such that it would be difficult to identify a group of workers who could be described as an artisan elite. Although they were generally regarded as highly skilled and were affluent in the early part of the eighteenth century, they could not be described as an artisan elite in the nineteenth century in the terms defined elsewhere. By that time far from being numbered amongst the elite, it has been argued that the framework-knitters had become a class clearly distinguishable from all other sections of the working class by their economic, social and physical inferiority.<sup>(29)</sup> This may not have been entirely true for, as discussed earlier, the term "framework-knitter" covered a range of workers from the very poor, semi-skilled, cut-up cotton stockinger to the affluent, highly-skilled, embroidered silk garment maker.<sup>(30)</sup> Nevertheless, the majority of nineteenth century knitters working in a declining industry could not be described as an artisan elite. More importantly, framework-knitters were not employees but were effectively self-employed piece-workers. As such, their position had little in common with the artisan elite discussed elsewhere who were effectively superior employees who could be regarded as in a position to negotiate advantageous conditions for themselves at the expense of other workers or to be used by employers as a means of diffusing any potential unity between workers in an industry.

This pattern of working persisted generally until the second half of the nineteenth century when powered machinery began to make it possible for the work to become factory based. In some villages, where the small workshops survived, in spite of the development of factories based in towns, the pattern continued well into the twentieth century. This practice ensured that framework-knitters continued to enjoy a particular kind of freedom and independence in their working environment unknown to waged factory workers. The freedom to choose their own hours of work and to indulge in a "stockinger's Monday" at the local public house which was still evident in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the framework knitting village of Gunthorpe, for example, was a reflection of this kind of independence enjoyed by the stockingers.<sup>(31)</sup> It was also a statement of the workers' control over their own life-style and work practices. Their independence may have been illusory as they ultimately have depended on the big manufacturers in town and

the local bag hosier middle-men for their work, and were subject to all the insecurities of workers in marginal positions, but personal responsibility for the quality and quantity of their produce had the potential for giving them a sense of control and belief in their independence beyond that available to the employee, the waged worker working on the farm or in the factory.

Even in the most difficult times in the industry, the stockinger clung to his independence, for as one reported to the Framework Knitters Commission in 1845:

There is that feeling amongst us, low as we are, that if we could maintain our independency anyway, we would willingly do so.(32)

The structure of the framework-knitting industry made it possible for stockingers to change their status from that of a worker who rented a frame to a frameowner, then to a frame-owner who rented out frames to others while simultaneously continuing to work a frame himself.(33) An industry which effectively consisted of self-employed workers, many of whom were ever hopeful of becoming masters themselves one day did not lend itself to the development of strong class feelings in simple Marxist terms of a division between the owners of capital and sellers of labour as there was not a clear distinction between those who owned the capital and those who sold their labour. Given the particular structure of the industry, its susceptibility to national and international influences, its vulnerability to the whims of fashion and its tendency to frequent depression, stockingers and manufacturers might have been more likely to find a sense of common interest than a conflict of interests in their working situation.

There were other factors which might have detracted from the development of an identity of class consciousness amongst stockingers. Firstly, the method of frame-renting and the piece-rate system isolated the framework-knitter, even from those who worked alongside him, by making each individual personally responsible for, and his income dependent on, his own output. Secondly, the dispersal of the work through the "putting out" system from towns, or large centres such as Ruddington, to the industrial villages through bagmen created a middleman between hosiery manufacturers and the workers who often became the subject of the stockinger's criticisms of the system of working, and the conditions of work, rather than the capitalist manufacturer himself. The bag hosier was often suspected of rebating products, cutting prices, unnecessarily cheating workers out of a good price for their products. At the same time, as tradition demanded, the village workers were suspicious of the town workers who were believed to get better prices for their products and priority for work in times of recession. The existence of these two "enemies" who stood between the village knitter and the manufacturer to whom he worked may have diffused any conflict of interests between the manufacturer and the individual worker. It seems likely that for such reasons, and the fact that framework knitting was a declining industry for most of the nineteenth century, the common

experiences of the workers in the industry did not lead to a strong sense of class consciousness in the first half of the nineteenth century. The failures of all attempts to unionise the industry until 1850 are perhaps one indication of this lack.

The framework-knitters' apparent lack of class consciousness has much in common with the experience of the agricultural labourers described by Armstrong who argued that the farmworkers' failure to develop any lasting degree of class consciousness even in the early years of the twentieth century seems to be related to their tendency to identify with their employers' interests rather than with the interests of farmworkers as a class in opposition to their farmer employers. This identity of interests was fed by the dispersed nature of farming, the close relationship between farmer and his employees, and the Cobbett-like views taken by farmer and worker alike, that their livelihood was at the mercy not only of the elements but also of the greed and whims of the urban consumer who demanded cheap food and cared little about the process of agricultural production and the poor wages paid to the farm worker. Unfortunately, the experience of the Nottinghamshire agricultural labourer has been neglected in the history of the county in spite of constituting the largest of the male labour forces, larger than the combined hosiery and lace industries, throughout the nineteenth century.(34) Little evidence is therefore available on which to discuss the class orientation and experience of the agricultural worker in the county. However, there is no reason to suppose that his experience is any different from that described by Armstrong, who drew some of his evidence from the county. Nottinghamshire's pattern of small farms would ensure close contact between farmer and employee and a sharing of interests would be likely.(35)

The third labour force of importance in the county, the coal miners, is not considered in this discussion which concentrates on the earlier part of the nineteenth century as, although mining has existed in the county since the thirteenth century, it did not develop extensively and become a large employer of labour until the second half of the nineteenth century.(36)

Concern about the financial implications of illness and death was an experience shared by working people who undoubtedly recognised that insurance protection was only possible through a mutual society. But no evidence has emerged which suggests that for most people membership represented anything other than a way of making practical provision for such contingencies. Only in the journals of the affiliated orders is there any suggestion of a class-related philosophy where reference is continually made to the importance of ensuring that control of the order remain in the hands of the club members, who are always referred to as "the working class", rather than allowing control to fall into the hands of members of other classes. However, this concern seems hollow when the occupations of leaders of the Orders are examined. Increasingly through the nineteenth century, officers were drawn from an elite group of professionals and self-made business

men who could not be regarded as members of the working-class, although some may have had their origins in such families.(37)

Turning now to the alternative view, that membership of a friendly society represented identification with middle-class ideology and interpretations of independence, attempts to use the term "middle-class" is in the context of Nottinghamshire in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century met the same difficulties as efforts to identify an artisan elite. Generally throughout the county until at least the 1840s the significant social, political, economic and cultural division was not between the middle-classes and the working classes but between the governing classes and the governed. In the country areas the governing classes were the gentry and clergy; the small county towns were also owned and controlled by the landowning county gentry; only in Nottingham had the nouveau riche, the hosiery and lace manufacturers, linked to the High Pavement Unitarian church, wrested political power from one of the most powerful of the county landowners, the Duke of Newcastle. But even they did not stand in a new relationship to the mass of the people. They took remarkably little interest in the condition of the people in the town and the essential relationship in Nottingham was still between the governing classes and the governed.(38)

While the development of a middle-class which became increasingly influential in establishing the nation's ideological agenda in the nineteenth century may be valid in urban areas, this idea is not easily applied to nineteenth century rural society. Although small tenant farmers, smallholders, shop-keepers and innkeeper were socially distinct from the labourers, they cannot be seen as a middle-class which defined and controlled a dominant cultural ideology which was offered to or imposed on the lower orders. The tendency for village friendly societies to be supported by various levels of village society, as noted in Chapter 4, reflects a recognition of shared community links and ideas of mutual interdependence amongst all levels of society in rural areas. In such a social framework, relationships between villagers were more likely to reflect the mutual recognition and acceptance of each other's positions within the local social order without developing a sense of class consciousness. Therefore in developing a framework which would encompass both urban and rural experience, a model which includes artisans and middle-classes is less useful than a model which makes it possible to take into consideration the only significant rural division, a division between "them" and "us", the clergy/gentry and the rest of village society. For such reasons a broader categorisation which distinguishes two groups: those with power over others, the governing group, and those subject to the power of others, the governed, is adopted here. In the country areas, the governing group was the clergy/gentry and in town it was the landowning gentry or the industrial nouveau riche but the relationship to the ordinary worker was that of governor to governed.



The identification of two separate groups with a potential for conflicting interests seems to make it possible to develop a class-based interpretation of the position of friendly societies. However, just as it has been argued that workers do not seem to have taken a class position in their membership of societies, so it can be argued that generally the local governing group did not take a class position in their relationship to the societies. Possibly, as argued earlier, the two groups' perceptions of independence were different, but as both groups felt they were achieving, to some extent, the kind of independence they sought, both were able to share a common interest in societies.

This agreement about friendly societies was reflected in general terms in the relationships between the governors and the governed in the first half of the nineteenth century in Nottinghamshire in spite of the difficult times in which the county and the country experienced during these years. The patronage of the eighteenth century squirearchy, discussed by Chambers, was still evident in the actions of most Nottinghamshire landowners.<sup>(39)</sup> The Luddite troubles may have caused the Duke of Newcastle great anxiety, but the machine breakers found surprisingly little condemnation locally.<sup>(40)</sup> Lord Byron was not the only local person of influence to speak out about the plight of the poor stockinger; the newspapers reflected the considerable concern shown locally in notices about collections being made to help the destitute.<sup>(41)</sup> The Swing Riots of the 1830s which swept through southern England hardly touched Nottinghamshire.<sup>(42)</sup> This could be attributed, according to one contemporary, to the sympathetic view taken by local large estate owners who delayed the introduction of mechanised threshers.<sup>(43)</sup> Similarly in depressed times, large landowners had made work available to the unemployed in the form of road building and drainage improvement.<sup>(44)</sup> With such sympathetic governors, there was no cause for the working people of the county to feel that their relationship with their governors need reflect a conflict of interests. Possibly, the unpopular Duke of Newcastle was common enemy enough for all to share.

This unanimity of interest and purpose shared by the governing groups and the people described here seems to be at some odds with the evident difference of opinion between some of the gentry and the friendly society members over the question of who should control the clubs. Friendly society members throughout the county made their position very clear by rejecting clubs controlled by the gentry/clergy in favour of worker-controlled clubs. This rejection was in contrast to the experience in some other counties where members were prepared to join gentry-controlled societies. In Essex and Wiltshire, for example, the gentry-controlled County Societies were the largest society in the counties, attracting over nine thousand members in Essex and over 7,000 in Wiltshire.<sup>(46)</sup> It seems strange that the counties which were most affected by the Swing Riots in the 1830s should be the same as those whose involvement in gentry controlled clubs was the highest in the 1870s. Without making a detailed study of the experiences of clubs in the relevant counties, it is impossible to draw any conclusion about this observation, but one might

conjecture that the reasons for choosing to join a gentry-controlled club or a worker-controlled club are unrelated to relations between the governors and the governed. Instead, the difference in attitude towards such societies may reflect the different social and economic position of the workers. In Essex and Wiltshire, there was little alternative to employment on the land and as a consequence, wages were low. The agricultural labourer in 1850, for example, earned about 7/- per week in Wiltshire and 8/- per week in Essex.(47) In Nottinghamshire, by contrast, average wages were considerably higher, reflecting the alternative occupations available in framework-knitting, lace and later in mining. Even amongst agricultural labourers, average earnings were about 12/6 per week in the 1830s and 13/- to 15/- per week in the 1850s.(48) The affluence of the Nottinghamshire labourer was emphasised when evidence to the Poor Law Commission in 1834 revealed that many labourers had meat and bacon to eat and some even drank tea; fuel, in the form of coal, was easy to come by locally.(49) As a result, perhaps, of this relative affluence amongst agricultural labourers combined with the independent spirit in framework-knitting communities, friendly society members in Nottinghamshire could afford to assert their independence and to decline financial assistance from the governing classes in the interests of retaining control over their own clubs. In Wiltshire and Essex, by contrast, the financial advantages of belonging to a society subsidised by the gentry would have been apparent to the members.

## Conclusions

The greatest difficulty in exploring the views members held about their membership of friendly societies has been the paucity of evidence. Any conclusions which can be drawn about such attitudes, in common with the discussion in this chapter, can therefore only be regarded as conjectural, based as they are on less evidence than the author would have liked to find, but more than would have been possible if explorations had been limited to official publications and rule books as in many earlier studies. As always in historical research, the "official" view can be gleaned without too much difficulty but the voice of the ordinary person is rarely heard and the historian is left to gather together fragments from which to build an interpretation to measure against the official views while avoiding the temptation to seize on any molehill of evidence and make the proverbial mountain out of it. In the case of friendly societies the official view was to be found in rule books, published journals, reports and government inquiries but the voices of the rank-and-file members have spoken only in the sense that they joined societies in large numbers, turned out to support demonstrations, public celebrations and feast days, made it clear that they preferred worker-run clubs to gentry-clubs - all of which seemed to suggest that they were in full accord with the "official" view about clubs. On the other hand by searching for evidence in a variety of ways rather than relying entirely on official sources it had been

possible to find evidence which hints that members may have had other concerns. Articles published by the disaffected Nottingham Oddfellow, Christopher Thomson, for example, suggested that not all members approved of the expenditure of funds on elaborate uniforms and presentations instead of on the benefit purposes for which they were intended.(50) Although it is not possible to know how many members of the Nottingham Oddfellows agreed with Christopher Thomson's complaints, or whether he was a lone voice, evidence from committee minutes and from newspapers items shows occasional indications of discontent amongst members unreflected in the glossier propaganda material which emanated from the orders. Members occasionally argued with officers for the benefits to which they felt entitled, sometimes with the support of the Courts; there were complaints about the failures of societies to meet the needs of the elderly; and the difficulties which the Nottingham Oddfellows experienced in raising money to build an elaborate headquarters may have suggested the silent disapproval of the members rather than their poverty.(51)

Other works have made much of the class implications of friendly society membership, some arguing that society membership was evidence of adherence to middle-class values, others arguing that it represented involvement founded on working-class values. However the evidence of this study has not provided support for either view. Although the journals of some of the affiliated orders and government reports, gave the impression of adherence to middle-class values and aspirations through their displays of respectability, and concern to achieve social acceptability and prestige, it is important to remember that such journals were written by the officers. It is likely, given the development of the orders into organisations led by professional and self-made business men rather than ordinary working people, that such attitudes prevailed amongst such leaders but there is no evidence to suggest that such views were necessarily shared by rank-and-file members.

Similarly no evidence has emerged to support the idea that membership of societies was a reflection of working-class ideology. It is unquestionable that Nottinghamshire friendly society members rejected gentry control of societies throughout the nineteenth century; apart from published invectives against the establishment of the Nottinghamshire County Society in 1850 and the report of the Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies in 1874 about the unpopularity of such clubs, there is also statistical evidence of the small membership of such clubs and their relatively short lifespan.(52) But whether the motivation for avoidance of gentry clubs stems from class consciousness or from other considerations cannot be answered so easily.

The facts that people joined together in mutual societies and showed a preference for membership of clubs run by people of their own kind rather than people from another stratum of society do not necessarily have the kind of connotations ascribed to them by

Ashby who suggested that her father's choice of membership of the Foresters rather than the Vicar's club as an act of class consciousness.(53) If this were so, one would have to argue that the workers of Wiltshire and Essex who joined the county friendly societies were expressing their adherence to the governing classes' ideology, which would seem strange in counties where the agricultural workers expressed most strongly their alienation from the landowning level of society in the Swing riots of the 1830s. An alternative interpretation is that it was probably only the more affluent workers of the north of England who could afford the luxury of rejecting gentry-funding and its implicit gentry-control. As the Assistant to the Poor Law Commission noted in 1834, when discussing the question of the relative advantages of going on the parish or joining a friendly society, people were very pragmatic; they weighed up the pros and cons before deciding whether it was worth joining a friendly society or whether they would be better off on the parish.(54) Similarly, people were capable of weighing the relative advantages of accepting or rejecting gentry involvement in friendly society provision.

Overall it can be argued that there is no reason to believe that most friendly society members were primarily interested in anything other than the practical insurance benefits offered by societies. The evidence suggests that the common experiences which led people, both men and women, to become members of friendly societies, were the likelihood of illness and the inevitability of death. These have no connotations of class. They reflect only the practical concerns of the ordinary worker and a pragmatic assessment of the best way of meeting these practical needs. For most people club membership probably reflected no more than a simple, accessible way of providing for the inevitable.

Eden, who observed friendly societies in the late eighteenth century, found no reason to attempt to explain societies in terms other than the individual's natural interest in providing for himself and the realization that this could be best done through communal means:

These societies do not owe their origin to parliamentary interference nor to private benevolence nor even to the recommendations of men of acknowledged abilities or professed politicians...they originated amongst persons who foresaw how possible and even probable that they in their turn should ere long be overtaken by the general calamity of the times and wisely made provision for it. A stronger proof could not well be given to show that the great mass of the people prompted only by what they themselves saw and felt, were convinced of the inefficacy of all legislative regulation and therefore resolved at least in one instance to legislate for themselves...(55)

Similarly, a suggestion that uniting together for mutual assistance was a traditional part of the lives of the working people can be found in the preambles to the rules of many early friendly societies, of which the following is typical:

Whereas it has been an *ancient custom* in this kingdom of Great Britain for diverse

artists to meet together and unite themselves into societies to promote amity and true Christian piety and upon all just occasions to assist each other it is therefore agreed by us who have entered our names into a book for that purpose to form ourselves into one of the said societies...(56)

However, members wanted to control the means for achieving this. It has been argued here that there is no evidence that this desire for control was related to the workers' developing awareness of themselves as a class. Instead it can best be seen as an outcome of the traditional habit of independence long practised in Britain. That is to say, the tradition of providing for oneself and family without being subject to the charity, will and dictates of others.

This desire to retain control, rather than place themselves in the hands of others, was firmly rooted in the British working person's individualistic tradition of not wanting to be beholden to anyone, and especially one's social betters, for anything. Such a spirit of independence had been observed and commented upon long before considerations of consciousness of belonging to a working class superseded accepted ideas that people belonged to different levels of society. A particularly telling example can be found in the report of one of the assistants to the Poor Law Commission in 1834 who told how residents in one village had rejected the use of a public facility which was provided for their help:

Whoever has studied the habits and character of the labouring classes must have been struck with two strongly marked features; the one is their extraordinary helplessness, the other that still more extraordinary jealousy of help. No-one who has not lived amongst them can form an idea of the extent to which that jealousy is carried... I know of an instance where a public bakehouse was erected in a village and though it was proved to the poor inhabitants that they saved half by baking there, their answer was: "Very likely, but we like to do things for ourselves in our own way." (57)

Doing things in ones own way without interference from others has long been part of the British tradition as has the recognition of reciprocal obligations as part of what Prochaska has described as the "voluntary impulse".(58) In this sense, joining together in mutual aid is not necessarily a class-conscious response to shared experience, as Thompson might argue, but may be a response to the spirit of neighbourliness in a society where "Love thy neighbour" is a fundamental philosophy.(59)

## Chapter 8

### Conclusions

In the past, many generalisations and assumptions have been made by historians about friendly societies without the benefit of researched evidence. This study makes a contribution to understanding societies by presenting a considerable range of evidence about various aspects of the experience of societies and their members. On the basis of this evidence, questions are then raised about some of the interpretations and assumptions made previously and an interpretation of the place of friendly societies in the lives of the working people is made incorporating a broader perspective than earlier work which has generally concentrated on shorter time spans, limited localities and a limited range of societies.

This study has drawn attention to the early origins of some societies even in rural areas whereas it has generally been assumed previously that societies began in urban areas and found their way into rural areas only in the late years of the nineteenth century; to the large numbers of societies and their extensive membership throughout the nineteenth century whereas previously the middle years of the nineteenth century have been emphasised as the main era of friendly society growth; and to the variety of friendly societies including the large numbers of independent, unregistered societies and female societies which have featured very little in considerations about societies in the past.

The assumption that friendly societies were essentially a product of industrialisation which developed as workers, in their new urban situations, were cut off from their traditional sources of help in time of need is not supported by the evidence which shows the existence of early societies in rural, as well as urban, areas.(1) The view that the development of societies was influenced and encouraged by legislation notably by Rose's Act of 1793 has been challenged by evidence which showed that many of the societies which registered under the 1793 Act had been in existence long before that time; furthermore, it has been argued that, far from encouraging the development of societies, the effect of much legislation was to inhibit them.(2) Similarly questions have been raised about the view that other legislation, in the form of the Poor Law Act of 1834 which reduced "outdoor" provision, made it necessary for people to provide for themselves on a self-help basis which resulted a great expansion of friendly society membership in the 1830s and 1840s. While many new clubs were established at this time, the available evidence does not support the view that total friendly society membership necessarily increased greatly in Nottinghamshire; furthermore the relationship of this expansion to the



new Poor Law legislation has been questioned and the expansion of the affiliated orders in the county at this time has been cited as the more likely reason for such developments.(3)

Little evidence has emerged to substantiate beliefs about links between friendly societies and other organisations of working people. Although it is likely that a few societies were effectively trade unions, these were very much a minority; indeed it was striking how few societies were based on trades in Nottinghamshire. No evidence has been found to suggest institutional links between trades unions and the friendly societies.(4) Similarly the societies seems to have had no links with political movements with the exception of the Reform movement of the 1820s/1830s which was well supported by the Nottingham's Whig establishment which was much interwoven with the Nottingham Oddfellows.(5) Again, assumptions of links between friendly societies and nonconformist churches is not justified by the evidence. Although the nonconformist interest and involvement in self-help provision is well known, the suggestion that nonconformist ideology and organisations were major contributors to the early development of friendly societies found no support in the Nottinghamshire experience. The existence of eighteenth century societies could not be attributed to the presence of nonconformists as many of the clubs pre-dated such groups in their locality; nor was there any particular reason to associate the spread of friendly societies with the spread of methodism or any other particular sect.(6)

It has sometimes been assumed that relationship must have existed between friendly societies and other organisations such as nonconformist church groups, co-operatives, trade unions and other self-help groups because it is evident that some areas were notable for the extensiveness of such activities and organisations whereas other areas had none. This has sometimes been interpreted as the presence of an independently minded people who expressed this independence in support of nonconformist chapels and other member-run organisations. In Nottinghamshire such a reputation belonged to framework-knitters from the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the existence of early friendly societies in areas in which these conditions did not pertain suggests that, although in some localities there may have been links between friendly societies and certain trade, occupational, religious or political groups, such links cannot be regarded as inevitable or universal.

The dismissal of female societies as few, disorganised and short-lived has also been challenged in this study as 120 female societies have been identified, some of which existed for over a hundred years. It has been argued that the decline in women's involvement in societies in the nineteenth century may have owed much to changed social attitudes towards women and their role in society rather than to women's lack of interest in clubs and their inability to sustain them.(7)

The view that societies began amongst the artisan elite of the workforce in urban areas in the eighteenth century and eventually spread to the poorest workers, the agricultural

labourers in rural areas, by the late years of the nineteenth century has been challenged by evidence that many societies existed in rural locations as early as the middle years of the eighteenth century and that agricultural labourers were numbered among the members alongside the more affluent skilled workers even at that time.(8)

The supremacy of place given to the affiliated orders in the literature on friendly societies has been challenged by this study which has drawn attention to the persistence of independent societies contrary to assumptions that earlier sick clubs were subsumed by the rising affiliated orders or declined as a result of incompetence or competition during the nineteenth century. The evidence shows that independent friendly societies not only persisted, but many other new independent societies were established throughout the nineteenth century, in spite of the propaganda of the affiliated orders which suggested otherwise.(9)

It is important not to overstate these disagreements with existing assumptions about societies, for it cannot be denied that the affiliated orders dominated the friendly society movement in the nineteenth century and the majority of members of societies were drawn from the ranks of the most prosperous workers. But it is not possible to understand friendly societies in their full social context, without recognising the existence of independent, women's and unregistered clubs alongside the branches of the influential orders, to the existence of clubs in rural areas and to the range of people who were members. It is equally important to be aware of the longer term perspective of the friendly society movement into which they fitted. Had this study been concerned only with societies in the 1780s/90s, the societies would have been observed taking part in demonstrations alongside other embryo workers' movements and the conclusion that they represented an expression of solidarity among the emerging working classes would have been inescapable; had the study been concerned only with the 1830s, the involvement of some societies with the Reform movement would also have been apparent and conclusions would have been drawn about the political concerns of societies; had the study concentrated on the 1840s/60s, the concern of the Orders for displaying their respectability would have dominated consideration; and at the end of the century, the anxiety of the affiliated orders to protect their area of interest from government take-over, accompanied by cries of "independence from government control", was the pre-occupation of the time. The role of friendly societies in their society changed over time.

Having created a broader perspective from which to view the friendly society movement, its clubs and its members, arguments about the class connotations of friendly society membership have also been questioned. Earlier studies involving considerations of the place of friendly societies in the working class culture have concentrated on urban areas in the middle years of the nineteenth century, have emphasised the involvement of the artisan elite and have discussed society membership in terms of this group's relationship to the

rest of the working classes at that time.(10) By contrast this study has drawn attention to the variety of members and the likelihood that varying attitudes were taken by members towards their societies. For some, society membership represented financial security with access to benefits as a right when required; this enabled members to be independent and gain self-respect. For others, societies offered a way not only towards financial independence but also towards social advancement and social respectability. However, no evidence has emerged to suggest that friendly society members saw their club affiliations in terms of identification with a class. Instead, it has been argued that, for many, friendly society membership represented a desire to achieve control over one's own fate.(11) This was an attitude not based on class concerns but firmly rooted in an individualistic tradition of not wanting to be beholden to others, especially one's betters, for anything. It has also been argued that the members' relationship with his club became increasingly pragmatic during the course of the nineteenth century as personal involvement in societies, declined along with commitment to fraternity and mutuality.(12)

This declining commitment to fraternity and mutuality may offer an explanation to the question of why the friendly society movement, the first of the working people's self-help organisations with its extensive membership from the early years of the nineteenth century, did not develop into a movement to promote more generally the interests of the working people either in Nottinghamshire or nationally. In the late years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, the seedbed as well as the potential for such development seemed present; working people, both men and women were joining together in societies because they recognised that it was only possible for each individual to meet his own needs through communal means. Societies thus began with a spirit of fraternity and mutuality and with the potential to become organisations through which working people could learn to manage their own affairs democratically. Some were involved at an early date in a range of practical endeavours beyond the provision of sick pay and funeral benefits which might have been extended and in the 1830s, some of the societies also had political interests and were involved in the Reform movement. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the spirit of mutuality had declined.

It has been argued here that commitment to the values of fraternity and mutuality in club life were undermined partly by the changing relationship between the ordinary member and his officers, and partly by the lessening of the members' dependence on his club as new organisations such as trade unions, co-operatives and educational facilities, were established which diverted enthusiasm for specialist activities.(13) In early societies, as the experience of the Blidworth club has illustrated, members had the opportunity to be equally and democratically involved in the management of their clubs but later developments undermined this practice and as the work of societies made greater demands on numeracy and literacy abilities on officers, such offices became paid jobs in many societies. As a result, such posts came to be seen as a training ground for management

and a useful route towards the many new public offices which were established in the second half of the nineteenth century as registrars, members of parish, town and county councils or as white collar employees within these developing organisations. It has also been argued that disputes over benefits were likely to be another cause of difference of opinion between officers and ordinary members; where officers were seen as more interested in display and pursuing social or personal advantage than in serving the benefit interests of ordinary members, the gulf between officers and members would be enhanced.(14)

In any voluntary organisation which moves towards a more professional style, ordinary members are likely to feel dispossessed and the fraternal spirit is likely to decrease. In the case of the co-operative movement, it has been argued, the idea of mutuality became submerged in a wider concern for keeping the books straight.(15) In the case of friendly societies, the survival and perpetuation of the club, building up funds, displaying respectability and maintaining the existing power structure may well have come to dominate the aims of some societies. As result, the divisive spirit of "them" and "us", officers and members, would sometimes affect relationships within the clubs as the majority of the rank-and-file members came to see themselves less as fully democratically participating members who were potential officers as well as potential beneficiaries, and more as a subscription paying customer whose interests were centred on subscriptions and benefits rather than on club ideology.

It might then be argued that the essential pragmatism, which had always been part of the working person's relationship to his club, as towards the Poor Law and, as Bailey has argued, towards other benefits offered to the worker, was reinforced by the growing impersonality of the relationship between the member and his club.(16) The growth of the centralised and collecting societies in the late years of the nineteenth century may be another reflection of this new relationship; the anonymity of membership of a distant commercial organisation became preferred to personal, but potentially confrontational, involvement in the local club. As this became the most common type of friendly society membership by the early years of the twentieth century, it is not surprising that members who, in earlier years, might have abhorred the idea of state intervention were ready to accept the idea of state involvement in the provision of benefits formerly provided by friendly societies.

It has been suggest that the declining membership of female societies may have had other roots in the changed social expectations of women and social attitudes towards membership of female friendly societies.(17) Explanations for the failure of friendly societies to attract women again in the late years of the nineteenth century, when other women's organisations were enjoying a resurgence, may also lie in the changed attitudes towards societies which had come to be seen as purely practical undertakings which had

lost their context as a central focus of social life and a potential focus of involvement of other kinds. By the late years of the century, the national collecting societies with their local agents had developed and may well have been seen as appropriate to the changing expectations women held of societies, while other women's organisations were becoming available to meet other interests.

Just as the potential for unity within individual clubs was sometimes undermined by divisions between the aspirations of members and of officers, so the potential for unity within the friendly society movement as a whole was never fulfilled. The main factor which prevented the development of a united friendly society movement was that clubs had always been in competition with each other for members. The idea of brotherhood (or sisterhood) might have been encouraged within a club or an order but competition between clubs and between orders for members ensured that the fraternal spirit did not extend beyond club or order boundaries. There was competition between independent societies in each locality in early days; there was competition between the old sick clubs and the orders when the new affiliated orders began to expand; and there was competition between the orders. Competition took the form of promises of better benefits and lower contributions; it also took the form of denigrating the reputation of other clubs.(18) Defections of members from other clubs, and particularly, defection of complete clubs, were gladly reported. The Nottingham Oddfellows reported, for example, at various times that independent clubs had joined them, that several lodges of the Leicester Unity had left the order and entered the Imperial Union, and that 28 members were initiated at a newly established in Nottingham several of whom were past members of the Metropolitan Order, the Manchester Unity and the Foresters who had become "dissatisfied with the exposure and erroneous management of these communities".(19) At national level the publications of the large orders often included items drawing attention to the deficiencies or inferiority of their competitors while praising their own achievements. In 1860 the Manchester Unity claimed its superiority over the Foresters in terms of the number of clubs and members; the following year the Foresters compared themselves favourably with the Manchester Unity over the net increase in members over the previous five years and in 1877 the Foresters reported the history of the Manchester Unity drawing attention to periods of dissention within the order and carrying statistics of membership showing the favourable performance of the Foresters.(20)

There were also ideological divisions between the church based clubs and the public house based clubs. Some of the chapel clubs disapproved of what was seen as the ungodly behaviour of members of some of the orders. In 1838 the East Leake Baptists passed a resolution disapproving of membership of Oddfellows Clubs; this objection to Oddfellowship was also noted in Retford in 1842 when five members were requested not to parade the streets with the Oddfellows as it was considered inconsistent with Christian character. It is unclear why such objections were made: one explanation might be the

association made between Oddfellows and Masons with gluttony, drunkenness and improvidence which was noted in one letter to the *Repository* from a Nottingham Baptist in 1835; another explanation might lie in the secret ceremonies and oath-taking which formed part of the rituals of the orders as well as the Masons. Whatever the reason, the Baptists seem to have overcome their objections to Oddfellowship in later years as the Kirkby Woodhouse Baptists are known to have borrowed money from them, hired out rooms for their meeting and in 1903 even held an Oddfellows service at one of their chapels.(21)

Although there was commercial rivalry between clubs, there was also co-operation for the joint celebration of feast days and on special occasions. The willingness of societies to co-operate in celebrating public occasions and the practice in many areas for the various clubs to walk together on feast day has already been noted.(22) Similarly, the lodges of the orders often joined together in a demonstration which served the purpose of advertising their clubs and informing the community of their respectability and solvency as well as providing an opportunity to raise some funds for a charitable cause. In 1871, for example, the Nottingham Oddfellows, the Manchester Unity and the Foresters staged a joint demonstration at the time when the Foresters were holding their High Court in the town where the activities were enjoyed by 25,000 people in Colwick Park and in 1877 the Manchester Oddfellows and the Foresters joined forces with the Albion Order of Oddfellows, the Buffaloes and the Corks to take part in the Nottingham Oddfellows' annual demonstration.(23)

The orders were also prepared to co-operate when confronted by situations which threatened their interests. In 1875 the various orders in Nottingham joined together at a meeting at the Mechanics Hall to form a pressure group to object to sections of the 1875 Friendly Societies' Act.(24) There was also joint opposition to a section of the Divided parish and Poor Law Amendment act of 1876 and to the proposed Pensions and National Insurance schemes under discussion in the late years of the nineteenth century.(25) But none of these events resulted in a permanent unification of societies. Even the formation of the National Conference of Friendly Societies did not provide the necessary platform for co-operation between the societies as the Manchester Unity, the largest of the affiliated orders, left the new organisation soon after its formation.(26) It could be argued, then, that the spirit of independence which guided the establishment of friendly societies also prevented it from becoming a strong united organisation which might represent the voice of working people on a wide range of concerns.

Towards the end of the century, the weaknesses in friendly societies became apparent. Some blamed the weak friendly societies for the necessity of applying for poor relief. A parliamentary return of 1881 showed that there were over 11,000 adult male indoor paupers who had been friendly society members, many of whom belonged to societies



which had failed.(27) More importantly the ageing membership strained society finances. Old age was not properly catered for by the societies and the independence of members from the parish at their most vulnerable time was threatened. Under the 1819 Act it had been possible for societies to provide an annuity for old age but in spite of the fact that in one of his earliest reports the Registrar of friendly societies drew attention to the need for pensions to be considered as part of friendly society benefits, few societies took notice.(28) The problem had become acute by the end of the century as the tables which had been used by societies had not allowed for the unforeseeable increase in longevity which was the outcome of changed patterns of illness and health. Better personal and public health provision had contributed to longer life expectancy but the lingering, debilitating illnesses such as tuberculosis, cancer and arthritis enhanced the prospect of lengthening but unhealthy old age for which the contribution and benefit tables used by the societies had made insufficient allowance.(29)

Growing concern about the plight of the old, fed by independent reports by Booth and Rowntree as well as Royal Commissions, eventually led to state provision of old age pensions in 1909.(30) The Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies opposed the idea of state provision of pensions in his evidence to the Royal Commission on Labour in 1893 as did the friendly societies but, as evidence to the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor 1895 pointed out, friendly societies included only one third or one quarter of workers and nothing the societies could do would touch the mass of the population of the country.(31) Then in 1898 the Rothschild Committee, which had been appointed to study old age pensions, reveal the full extent of the financial difficulties in which the friendly society movement as a whole found itself at that time with many societies on the brink of insolvency.(32) As a result, after fighting the government over state provision of pensions for some decades, the friendly society movement eventually recognised its own failures in this respect. In 1902, one group of societies went as far as passing a resolution stating:

That it is *the duty of the state* to provided an old age pension of not less than 5/- per week to all thrifty and deserving pensioners of 65 years of age and upwards who are unable to work and in need of the same.(33)

Thus the friendly society movement as a whole, which had guarded jealously its independence of government interference and had ignored advice from the Registrar on pensions was eventually obliged to abandon this philosophy and accept state provision of old-age pensions in 1909. This marked the beginning of the friendly society movement's acceptance of its own limitations and of the state's responsibility for the provision of benefits which had formerly been thought to be the preserve of the voluntary sector. By 1912, after a few more years of opposition to government moves into the field of health insurance, the friendly societies were to find themselves co-operating with the government as "approved societies" in the new state national health insurance scheme.

In the nineteenth century, the voluntary sector in the form of friendly societies, may have been successful from the point of view of those who could afford to join and maintain their membership. It was also successful from the point of view of those who saw success as helping to keep down the expenses of caring for the poor. However, it was never able to provide comprehensively across the community and never succeeded in making it possible even for its members to achieve complete independence of parish help. In the twentieth century, the state began its attempts to see if it could do better.

Whether the conclusions drawn as a result of this study of Nottinghamshire are applicable to other areas can only be explored by further studies elsewhere. In all situations, the ideals people hold and their ability to put these ideals into practice are limited by the situation in which people find themselves. In view of the emphasis placed in this study on the influence of the social situation in Nottinghamshire, with its economic, political and religious tendencies towards independence, one might expect to find similar tendencies towards independence in the friendly society movements in areas which exhibit similar characteristics. By contrast, in counties such as Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset and East Anglia, the limitation of work opportunities to agricultural labouring and a more deferential relationship to the governing groups might be expected to yield a different response to friendly society membership. But whereas in Nottinghamshire, and possibly elsewhere in the midlands and the north of England, the preference may have been for clubs independent of the gentry, and in the south of England, the preference may seem to have been for gentry-run clubs, both of these responses nevertheless reflected the essential pragmatism of the working person's decisions about membership of societies. In the north, members could perhaps afford the luxury of clubs run by themselves without subsidy from the gentry while in the south members perhaps decided that they could not. Similarly whether members attitudes to club membership changed when the friendly society movement effectively became an agency for the state national health insurance system in the twentieth century can only be explored with studies extending beyond the introduction of the new system. Although this study has not attempted to explore this period, occasional intriguing pieces of information noted during the course of research have suggested changing attitudes. Most striking were the comments made at Blidworth in the 1930s. By that time, Blidworth had developed into a large pit village and miners were noted for their multiple membership of clubs, some run by the collieries, others independently. Far from representing an image of respectability for which friendly societies had been noted in the second half of the nineteenth century, clubs were by that time seen, according to one resident as for "the sick, the lame and the lazy." (34) Such a view was confirmed by the reported comments of a village doctor:

If a man belongs to one club, I can cure him. If a man belongs to two clubs, I might be able to cure him. But if a man belongs to three clubs, there's nothing I can do nothing for him. (35)

If the spirit of independence, in the sense of providing for oneself without the help of parish, state and charity had died, and been replaced by an expectation of dependence on club benefits, which, some might argue was the effect of the newly developing welfare state, the spirit of pragmatism certainly lived on.

## References

### Abbreviations

<i>DG</i>	<i>Daily Guardian</i>
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Nottingham Journal</i>
<i>NR</i>	<i>Nottingham Review</i>
<i>List</i>	O'Neill, J. <i>List of Friendly Societies in Nottinghamshire 1724-1913</i> . 1991.
<i>RRFS</i>	<i>Reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies</i>
<i>RCRFS</i>	<i>Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies</i>
<i>RRCFS</i>	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies</i>

### Chapter 1

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## Chapter 2

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18. Quoted in Gosden P. *The Friendly Societies...* op.cit. p.160 and Gosden, P. *Self-Help...* op.cit. p.5.
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20. Morris, R J. Voluntary Societies and the British Urban Elite 1780-1850. *Historical Journal*, 1983, Vol. 26. pp.95-118.
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22. 35 Geo. 3, c.111 (1795) Friendly Societies Act.
23. 49 Geo. 3, c.125 (1809) Friendly Societies Act.
24. Eden, F. *The State of the Poor*. 1797. Preface and pp.614-5.
25. *ibid*. p.525.
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27. NJ 25 May 1793.
28. NJ 2 June 1792; 13 June 1791.
29. NJ 14 June 1794.
30. 59 Geo.3, c.128 (1819) An Act for the further Protection and Encouragement of Friendly Societies.
31. 10 Geo. 4, c.56 (1829) An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to Friendly societies.
32. *Report from his Majesty's Poor Law Commissioners*. P.P.1834 XVII. Appendix A p.445 and XXXVII p.507.
33. Account Books of the Blidworth Blue Ball Club.
34. *3rd Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*. P.P. 1837, XXXI. para 90.
35. See Chapter 1, reference 9.
36. 4 and 5 William 4, c. 40 (1834) An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to Friendly societies.
37. Derived from *List*.
38. List of Lodges of Nottingham Oddfellows 1849; Rules of Southwell Friendly Institution 1823; Southwell Endowment Society documents PRO:FS1/571/Notts.230.
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43. *ibid*

44. *High Pavement Chronicle*. March 1912, Nov. 1912.
45. High Pavement Provident Friendly Society Minute Books. UNM:HiF5.
46. *Quarterly Reports*. Nottingham Oddfellows, 1914.
47. Derived from *List*.
48. Neave, D. *Friendly Societies...* op.cit. Chapter 4; Armstrong, A. *Farmworkers*. op.cit. p.81; Gosden P. *The Friendly Societies...* op.cit. pp.31,42, 47-8, Appendix F p.237-243. Also Marshall, J. *The nineteenth century labourer...* op.cit. p.73; Reid C. op.cit. pp.513-4.
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50. Accounts Overseer of Poor, Blidworth. NAO: PR5718. The national cost of the poor law was also at its peak in 1818 at over £8 million - *The Times* 23.3.1818.
51. Articles of friendly society established in the vestry of the General Baptist Meeting House 1794. NAO: BP11/1
52. NR 1.12.1848; Records of High Pavement Friendly Society UNM:HiF 1; Rules of the Church of England Friendly Society 1868 PRO:FS3/313/Notts.543.
53. Rules of St Patricks Fraternal Society. FS3/313/Notts.511.
54. See list of church based friendly societies in Appendix B(1) p.A4-A7.
55. George Hodgkinson Harwood's Journal 1860-7. NAO: M23,788. A certain amount of confusion can be caused by the titles given to friendly societies. Normally the titles Friendly Society, Benefit Society and Provident Society indicate institutions which provide benefits as a right whereas Philanthropic and Benevolent societies are effectively charities funded by subscribers who may be classed as members but are not benefit members. However these terms are sometimes used interchangeably so in practice it is sometimes difficult to establish the nature of any individual society without examination of a rule book.
56. Rules of Archer Street Sick and Annual Society. PRO:FS3/315/Notts.804 and FS16/1A.
57. High Pavement Friendly Society Minute Book 1906-1920. UNM:HiF5
58. *ibid*; *Nottingham Oddfellows Quarterly Reports* 1914.
59. *Select Committee on Combination Laws 6th Report*. P.P.1824, V. p.59; also *Select Committee on Laws Respecting Friendly Societies*. P.P.1825, IV. pp.7-8.
60. See list in Appendix B(2) p.A8 - A9. Baker, W. *Friendly Societies in Monmouthshire to 1850*. *Presenting Monmouthshire*, 1962, Vol.13 also commented that few trade societies existed in Monmouthshire; Reid, C. *Middle Class Values and Working Class Culture in Nineteenth century Sheffield*. op.cit p.514 also noted that of 56 local societies in Sheffield in 1840 only 5 were based on trades.
61. *RRFS 1856*, P.P.1857, XXXIX. p.6.
62. Rules of Framework-Knitters Friendly Society NAO: CA 39931; *NJ* 4 Jan.1861; Thoresby Provident Club Accounts etc UNM:Ma2X.15
63. *RRCFS 4th Report* op.cit. p.lxxi; Ludlow's evidence to *Royal Commission on Labour*. P.P.1893, XXXIX. Q.1758-61.
64. Rules of Alderman Ford Sick and Burial Society 1881.
65. Report of the Assistant Commissioner to *RRCFS 4th Report*. op.cit. Pt II, pp. 89, 172-4.
66. Evidence of Bradley Mart collier's clerk in *First Report of the Commission inquiring into the employment and conditions of children in mines and manufactories*. P.P.1842, XV. Appendix Pt. II p.309.
67. Benson, J. *British Coalminers in the Nineteenth Century*. Longman, 1989, p.179.
- 67a. *ibid* pp.187-9.



68. Rules of Nottingham Caledonian Society 1840 PRO:FS3/311/Notts.249; Rules of Hiberian Society 1801. NAO: CA 4025.
69. *RCRFS 1905*, P.P.1907, LXXVIII. Appendix N. pp.47-64.
70. For details see *List*. pp.6,7.
71. Wright, J. *Directory of Nottinghamshire 1893*.
72. O'Neill, J. *The History of the Nottingham Oddfellows in Nottinghamshire*. Unpublished manuscript.
73. O'Neill, J. *The History of the Manchester Oddfellows in Nottinghamshire*. Unpublished manuscript.
74. O'Neill, J. *The History of the Ancient Order of Foresters in Nottinghamshire*. Unpublished manuscript.
75. *RRCFS 4th Report*. op.cit. Report of Assistant Commissioner E Stanley. p.9
76. O'Neill, J. *The History of the Ancient Order of Foresters in Nottinghamshire*. op.cit.
77. *RRCFS 4th Report*, op.cit. p.xci et seq
78. Derived from *List*.
79. *ibid*
80. *ibid*
81. *RCRFS 1902*, P.P.1903, LXVI. p.25.
82. Gosden, P *The Friendly Societies...* op.cit. p.26 et seq; Reid, C op.cit. p.519.
83. *Report from Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Provident associations fraud prevention Bill*. P.P. 1847-8, XXVI. p.4.
84. *RRCFS 4th Report*. op.cit. Pt.I para 94 and 641.
85. Wilkinson, J F. *The Friendly Society Movement*. op.cit. p.174.
86. *RRCFS 4th report*. p.cliv.
87. *RCRFS, 1905*. op.cit. These figures exclude members of Funeral Funds, Widows and Orphans Funds and Districts which might duplicate membership figures. Statistics for Juvenile societies have also been ignored.
88. Derived from *List*.
89. NR 25 April 1828.
90. Evidence of Charles Severn. *Report of the commission inquiring into the conditions of the framework-knitters 1845*. op.cit. Appendix to Pt II, para.2276.
91. Derived from *List*.
92. *Royal Commission on Labour*. P.P.1893, XXXIX. Vol.1, Pt.1. p.114.
93. Derived from *List*.
94. Schofield v. Vaux 1886 reported in *RCRFS 1885*. P.P.1886, LVI. p.31 et seq. It was held that a lodge which had not registered as a branch under the Act of 1875 but had remained on the register as an independent society was nevertheless subject to the general rules of the Order to which it belonged and could not secede from that order if general rules did not permit.
95. *List*. p.56
96. *ibid* p.61.
97. But see page 46 above for discussion of membership of collecting societies.
98. Neave, D. op.cit. noted similar pattern in Yorkshire.
99. Abstracts 1803....op.cit.
100. Derived from *List* and 1851 Census of population for Nottinghamshire.
101. Armstrong A. *Farmworkers*. op.cit. noted the spread of societies to rural areas in 1820s.

102. Marshall, J D. Nottinghamshire Labourers in the early nineteenth century. *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 1960-1, Vol. 64.
103. Everitt A. *The Pattern of Rural Dissent in the Nineteenth Century*. Department of English Local History Occasional papers 2nd series No 4, Leicester University Press, 1974. pp.20-30; Gay J. *The Geography of Religion in England*. Duckworth, 1971, p.111; Gilbert, A D. *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914*. Longman, 1976, pp.67 and 98-109; Hey, D. The Pattern of Nonconformism in South Yorkshire 1660-1851. *Northern History*, 1973, Vol.8, pp.86-7; Thompson, D M. The Churches and Society in Nineteenth Century England: A Rural Perspective in Cumsing G. and Baker D. eds. *Popular Belief and Practice: Studies in Church History* No.8, Cambridge University Press, 1972. pp.261-70.
104. Neave, D. op.cit.
105. See Chapter 2 pp.24-5.; Watts, M. *Religion in Victorian Nottinghamshire*. op.cit. p.xix
106. Main sources used: Biggs, B J. *Methodism in Rural Society in North Nottinghamshire 1740-1851*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1961; Harwood, G H. *History of Wesleyan Methodism in Nottingham and its vicinity*. 1872; Myles, Rev W. *Chronological History of the Methodists: List of Chapels in Nottinghamshire in January 1813*; Harrison, F M W. *Life and Thought of the Baptists of Nottinghamshire with special reference to the period 1770-1914*. Unpublished M Phil dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1972; Stott, W T. *National Index of Parish Registers*. Vol. 6(2) North and East Midlands - Nottinghamshire, Society of Genealogists, 1988; Parish Constables returns of nonconformist places of worship 1829. NAO: QDR 2/1; Directories of Nottinghamshire especially White's Directory, 1832.
107. See pp.41-2 above.
108. Rules of the General Baptist Friendly Society 1797; Harrison, F.M.W. *The life and thought of the Baptists* op.cit. p.939.
109. NR 21.1.1831 and 9.7.1833; Swift, R. *Lively People: Methodism in Nottingham 1740-1979*. Department of Adult Education University of Nottingham, 1982. p.120.
110. Moore, R. *Pit-Men Preachers and Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1974; Horn, P. *Joseph Arch 1826-1919*. Roundwood Press, 1971. p.14.
111. PRO:HO 42/132 quoted in Hammond J L and B. *The Skilled Labourer*. 2nd edition, Longmans, 1920. p.230.
112. Whitworth, J C. *Blidworth* ...op.cit. p.25.
113. Thomson, Christopher. *Autobiography of an Artisan*. Chapman, 1847. pp.61-66.
114. Hobsbawm, E. and Rudé G. *Captain Swing*. Lawrence and Wishart, 1979. p.187.
115. Hobsbawm, E. and Rudé G. *Captain Swing*. op.cit.; Everitt A. *The Pattern of Rural Dissent in the Nineteenth Century*. op.cit.; Neave, D. *Friendly Societies...* op.cit. Chapter 6.
116. Rules of the Woodborough Male Friendly Society 1884.
117. O'Neill, J. Village Band. *Oral History*. 1987. Vol. 15(1). pp.50-3.
118. O'Neill, J. Self-Help...op.cit.
119. Oral evidence - Bill Richards.
120. Kightly, C. *Country Voices*. Thames and Hudson, 1984. p.172.
121. *List* ...p.58-9
122. *ibid*
123. Rules of Female friendly society at the White Lion, Blidworth. PRO:FS1/569/Notts.171
124. Rules of female friendly society at Oxton. PRO:FS1/568/Notts.155; Rules of

- female friendly society at Calverton. PRO:FS1/569/Notts.172; Rules of female society at Lambley. NAO:QDC 2.
125. Documents relating to Clifton club PRO:FS3/310/Notts.176.
  126. Everitt A. *The Pattern of Rural Dissent* ... op.cit. p.12.
  127. The possible influence of landowners in preventing the establishment of societies is discussed later in Chapter 6, p.102-4.
  128. Thomson, C. *Autobiography*... op.cit. pp.295-387.
  129. *AOF Miscellany*. 1842.
  130. See Chapter 1, reference 5 and pp.49-50 above.
  131. See reference 10 above.
  132. See p.31.
  133. See pp.47-9 above.
  134. See Chapter 1, reference 5.
  135. Marshall, J D. Nottinghamshire Labourers ...op.cit.
  136. See Chapter 1, reference 6.
  137. See Chapter 1, reference 8.
  138. Reid, C. *Middle Class*.. op.cit. observed that the earliest society was established in Sheffield in 1720 and that 20 were known to have existed before 1780.
  139. See pp.34-7 above.
  140. See Chapter 1, reference 9 and pp.37-8 above.
  141. See Chapter 2, reference 48 and pp.40-1 above.
  142. See pp.39-41 above.
  143. See Table 3.2 above; Jones, D. Did friendly societies matter...op.cit. pp.336-9; Foster, John. *Class Struggle*... op.cit. pp.216-7.
  144. Neave, D. *Friendly Societies*...op.cit.
  145. See pp.51-3 above.
  146. See pp.53-5 above.
  147. Hobsbawm, E. and Rudé G. *Captain Swing*. op.cit.
  148. *ibid* p.178.

## Chapter 4

1. Fuller, M. *West Country Friendly Societies* op.cit; Gosden, P. *The Friendly Societies* op.cit.; Jones, D. Did friendly societies matter?... op.cit.
2. Neave, D. *Friendly Societies*...op.cit; Russell, R. *Friendly Societies in the Caistor*... op.cit.
3. See Chapter 1, reference 6.
4. Neave, D. *Friendly Societies*... op.cit.; Armstrong, A. *Farmworkers*. Batsford. 1988. p.66 and 81.
5. See fig 2.4 in Chapter 2.
6. Population Census 1841 Blidworth; Poor Law Rate Book 1842 Blidworth. NAO:PR 64
7. Cauntton: An Alphabetical list of the parishioners by Richard Brett 1846. NAO: PR 6247
8. O'Neill, J. Coming and Going in Thurgarton. *Nottinghamshire Family History Society Journal*, July 1990; Beckett, J and Foulds T. Beyond the micro: Laxton,

- the computer and social change over time. *Local Historian*, 1985, Vol. 16(8).
9. Caunton: An Alphabetical list ... op.cit.
  10. List of members at closure of Woodborough Male Friendly society 1954; list of members of Aslocton society 1884-1927. NAO:DD35/4
  11. Rules of the Amicable Society at the Spread Eagle 1794. NAO:CA4001; Rules of the Cabman's Sick and Burial Society 1873. PRO: FS3/314/Notts.612; Rules of the Amicable Society at the Dog and Gun 1794 NAO:CA4021; Rules of Union Society 1833.
  12. Crossick, G. *The Artisan Elite...* op. cit. p.186-7 also noted the restriction of membership by means of wage levels - some clubs restricted membership to those earning 15/- to 18/- per week, the Brotherly Love society imposed a minimum of £1; Prothero, I. *Artisans...* op.cit. p.29 also noted that in the 18th century the Bristol Union of Carpenters admitted only those earning over 10/- per week.
  13. Rules of the New Friendly Society, Southwell 1816; Rules of the Schoolmasters Friendly Society 1828.
  14. Rules of Arnold Sick Club 1832.
  15. Rules of the friendly society at the Blue Ball, Blidworth 1794. PRO:FS3/308/Notts.50; Rules of the society at the Red Lion, Blidworth 1836. PRO:FS15/547/Notts.215.
  16. Rules of the Heart of Oak Lodge of the Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order of Oddfellows 1859 PRO:FS3/313/Notts.470.
  17. Smiles, S. *Thrift*. pp.49 and 127.
  18. Wardle, J. *The story of my life*. Epworth Press, 1924; Snell, Henry. *Men, movements and myself*. Dent and Son, 1936.
  19. *ibid*. p.19.
  20. Hopkinson, James. *Victorian Cabinet Maker*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
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  22. Anon. *Memories of a villager*. 1960. Unpublished manuscript at Nottingham Local Studies Library.
  23. Report by Assistant Commissioner Edward Stanhope to the *Commission on Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture*. P.P. 1868-9, XIII. para 201-207.
  24. Evidence given by Sotheron-Estcourt in *RRCFS 4th Report*. op.cit. paras. 661-2, 738.  
For the importance of club feast day see also Fuller M. *West Country Friendly Societies*. op.cit. p.88 et seq.
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  27. Account book of Launder's Lodge of Nottingham Oddfellows at Orston 1869-1906; Minute book of God Speed the Plough Lodge of Manchester Unity at Cropwell Butler 1846-92. NAO:DD898/1; Newstead Colliery Sick and Annual Fund Minute Book. NAO:NCB 8/6.
  28. *Friendly Societies Journal*. May 1884; *Nottingham Oddfellows Journal*. May 1890.
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  30. *Quarterly Review* (Nottingham Oddfellows) May 1862, 1869.
  31. *NJ* 16 Nov. 1782; *NJ* 18 May 1793.
  32. Eden, F. *State of the Poor*. op.cit. p.273 refers to club mill at Newark; Beardsmore, J H. *History of Hucknall Torkard*. Linney, 1901. pp. 149-50 refers to club mill at Hucknall; *NR* 3 March 1820 refers to mill at Mansfield.

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36. *Nottingham Weekly Guardian*. 29 Sept 1923.
37. Account book of the Swarm club Arnold NAO:DD959/4.
38. Rules of Arnold Community Store. PRO:FS1/571/Notts.235; Rules of Hucknall Torkard Co-operative and Trading Association 1829 PRO:FS1/571/Notts.245.
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42. Woodborough Male friendly society account books.
43. The County of Nottinghamshire . *Return of Owners of Land 1873* . op.cit.
44. *ibid*
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68. *NJ* 22 June 1887.
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  114. See for example *RRFS 1859*. P.P.1860, XXXIX; *RRFS 1861*, P.P.1862, XXIX. p.20-29.
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NAO: DD 35/1-4

Bagthorpe AOF Court 1498 Robin Hood's Retreat (ML) 1897-1973 PH

Basford MU Poor Man's Friend Lodge (MB) 1863-1885 PH

Blidworth Blue Ball Club (AB MB ML) 1769-1860 PH

Burton Joyce Albion Glory Lodge of Nottingham Independent Order of Oddfellows (AB ML) 1885-1952 PH

Cropwell Butler MU God Speed the Plough Lodge (AB ML) 1846- 1874: 1891-1899  
NAO:DD 898/1-2

Eastwood MU Rising Sun Lodge (AB) 1846-1852; (MB) 1893-1915 PH

Edwinstowe NAIUOOF Edwin Lodge (ML) 1833-43 NAO:DD 77/1

Granby NAIUOOF Granby Lodge No. 11 (ML)c.1850 NAO:DD 35/5

Ilkeston MU District Funeral Fund (ML) 1847-1931 PH

Laxton - Laxtonian Society (ML) 1841-5 NAO:QDC 4/4

Newstead Sick and Accident Fund (MB) 1876-1926 NAO:NCB 8/6-7

Newark New F.S. (ML) 1794 NAO:QDC 3/1

Newark - Court Generous Briton (MB) 1846-1866 NAO:DD 1194/1

Nottingham and District Licensed Victualler's Association and Provident Society (MR) 1839-90 NAO:DD 817/1-3

Nottingham High Pavement Provident Friendly Society (MB AR ML) 1828-1948  
UNM:HiF/1-36

Orston NAIUOOF Launderers Lodge (MB) 1869-1889 PH

Ruddington Provident Society (MB) 1878-1971 NAO:DD 511/1-7 and RM.

Ruddington AOF Court Royal 2893 (ML) 1857-1877 1887-1895 RM

Ruddington Philanthropic Society (ML) 1844-1948 RM

Stapleford Sick Club (AB) 1840 NAO:MR 2/44/1-2

Sutton-in-Ashfield Female Club (CB) 1870s NAO:DD 1286/2/1

Thoresby Provident Club (AB MB ML AL) 1884-1912 UNM:Ma2X.15

Woodborough Male Friendly Society (AB MB ML) 1827-1954 PH

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Blidworth Scrap Book 1895. NAO: PR 5734-5

Blidworth Vestry Minute Book 1782-1890 NAO:PR 5718

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Huskinson, William Lambe Papers - 19th century NAO:DD329/1

Kaye E H. History of the Nottingham District of the Manchester Oddfellows.  
Unpublished manuscript 1976. PH

Land Tax Assessments - Nottinghamshire NAO:QDE 1

Poor Law Union Guardians' Minute Books

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- Bingham 1836-40 NAO:PUD 1/1/1
- East Retford 1836-39 NAO:PUE 1/1/1
- Mansfield 1838-40 NAO:PUM 1/1/1
- Newark 1836-1843 NAO:PUN 1/1/1
- Southwell 1836-8 NAO:PUS 1/1/1

Relieving Officer's Books-Basford 1839-50 NAO:PUB 4/2/1,2,3

Ruddington: Paget Estate books. NAO:DD/HS40 (ML21 and 22)

Ruddington Vestry Minutes 1857-1895 NAO:PR 21,371

Stevenson, Rev. Seth Ellis of East Retford - Account and Memorandum Book  
1760-77. UNM: FR73

Willoughby, Rev. C J. Journal 1822-1875 NAO:PR 7763

Woolley, Joseph Journals 1801-15 NAO:DD311/1-6

Abbreviations:

Nottingham Archives Office (NAO)

Manuscripts Department, University of Nottingham Library (UNM)

Ruddington Museums (RM)

Private hands (PH)



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*Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Laws respecting Friendly Societies.* P.P. 1826-7, III.

*Return of the number of friendly societies filed by Clerks of the Peace of each county etc since 1 January 1793.* P.P. 1831-2, XXVI.

*Return of all friendly societies registered under 1851 Act etc.* P.P. 1852, XXVIII.

*Reports of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Friendly and Benefit Building Societies 1871-4*

*First Report, 1871, XXV.*

*Second Report, 1872, XXVI.*

*Third Report, 1873, XXII.*

*Fourth Report, 1874, XXIII.*

*Reports of Assistant Commissioners, 1874, XXIII.*

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*Annual Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies. 1876-1912.*

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*Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into considerations the several petitions which have been presented to this house in this session of Parliament by the persons employed in the Framework-knitting trade.* P.P.1812, II.

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*Report of Select Committee of House of Lords on the Poor Laws.* P.P.1818, V.

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*Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture.* P.P.1830, VI.

*Select Committee of House of Lords on the Poor Laws.* P.P.1831, VIII.

*Report of the Select Committee on the present state of agriculture and persons employed within the same.* P.P.1833, V.

*Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for inquiry into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws.* P.P. 1834, XXVII - XXXVII.

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# Appendix A

## Number of friendly societies in Nottinghamshire by date of establishment

Date	Ind	NAI	MU	AOF	Other orders	Others	Total
1724	2						2
1751	1						1
1756	1						1
1758	1						1
1760	2						2
1761	1						1
1765	2						2
1766	6						6
1767	1						1
1768	1						1
1770	2						2
1771	3						3
1772	2						2
1775	1						1
1777	1						1
1778	1						1
1779	3						3
1780	2						2
1781	8				1		9
1783	2						2
1784	3						3
1785	3						3
1787	5						5
1788	1						1
1789	1						1
1790	5						5
1791	2						2
1792	2						2
1793	11						11
*1794	77						77
1795	1						1
1796	7						7
1797	0						0
1798	3						3
1799	11						11
1800	3						3
1801	6						6
1802	9						9
*1803	64						64
1804	1						1
1805	3						3
1806	9						9
1807	7						7
1808	8						8
1809	10						10
1810	3						3
1811	1						1
1812	8	3					11
1813	7	1					8
1814	5	1			2		8
1815	2	2					4
1816	1	2					3
1817	2	1					3
1818	5						5
1819	5		1				6

1820	4	1	1		1	7
1821	4		1			5
1822	3					3
1823	4		1			5
1824	5		1			6
1825	2	1				3
1826	4					4
1827	5		2			7
1828	5		1			6
1829	2		3			5
1830	4	3	1			8
1831	2	4	1			7
1832	8	3	7		1	19
1833	4	3	5		8	20
1834	5	2	10		2	19
1835	7	1	3		1	12
1836	6	1	2			9
1837		1	1			2
1838	4	3	2		1	10
1839	3	1	5		1	10
1840	1	4	8	7	2	22
1841	4	4		5	1	14
1842	4	12	7	2	1	26
1843	4	18	5	7		34
1844	2	21	4	5	9	41
1845	5	10	3	2	17	37
1846	3	7	3	1	3	17
1847	1	3		1	1	6
1848	1	4		1	3	9
1849	1	2	1		1	5
1850	8		1		8	17
1851	5					5
1852	1				1	2
1853	3			1		4
1854	3				1	4
1855	1			1	8	10
1856	2			1	3	6
1857	4			6	1	11
1858	2	2		1	1	6
1859	5		1	2	1	9
1860	6			2	3	11
1861	2	2			3	8
1862	4	3			3	10
1863	6	10	4	1	1	22
1864	2	2		1	2	7
1865	8	4			7	19
1866	7			1	4	12
1867	1	6			3	10
1868	3	1		2	3	9
1869	6	1		1	1	9
1870	1	5		2	12	20
1871	1			1	6	8
1872		3			3	6
1873	7	3	1	2	16	29
1874	3	2			9	14
1875	6	1	1		5	13
1876	1			1	2	4
1877	3				4	7
1878	1		1		2	4
1879	2			1	2	5
1880	2		2	2	3	10
1881	1			1	2	4
1882	3	1	2			6



1883		1		1	1	1	4
1884				3	1		4
1885	5		4		2		11
1886		3			3		6
1887	3	5			4		12
1888	2	1		1	10		14
1889	1	1			2		4
1890	3		1		2		6
1891	2		2	1	3		8
1892	1				5		6
1893	2	2		1	4		9
1894	3	1	1	2	11		18
1895	2			1	5		8
1896	1	1			1	1	4
1897	1				4		5
1898	1				1		2
1899	2	1			4		7
1900	2				2	1	5
1901	1			1	6	1	9
1902	1			1	1	7	10
1903	1	1		1	3	4	10
1904	3				4		7
1905	1		2		4	1	8
1906	1				2	2	5
1907	1					1	2
1908			2				2
1909					4		4
1910	1	1		1	1		4
1911	3		1	1		2	7
1912	8		7				15
1913		8					8

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Totals	603	191	112	76	266	23	1271
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Notes:

Ind	- Independent societies
NAI	- Nottingham Ancient Imperial Union Order of Oddfellows
MU	- Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity
AOF	- Ancient Order of Foresters
Other orders	- Other affiliated orders
Others	- Other types of societies
	- collecting, deposit and centralised societies

\* The large number of societies at these dates reflects the numbers which registered at the Quarter Sessions in 1794 or which were included on the list of friendly societies in existence in 1803 (Abstracts 1803/4) and for which no other date of establishment is available. For the purposes of this table it has been assumed that such societies were established in 1794 or 1803 although it is likely that most existed earlier.

## Appendix B (1)

### Church and chapel based friendly societies 1789-1912

(in order of date of establishment)

#### NOTTINGHAM

General Baptist F.S. 1789-? (Baptist)

Sick Club and Benefit Society 1798-1939 (Methodist)  
Broad Street Chapel

#### STAPLEFORD

F.S. 1800-1905 (Independent)  
Providence Chapel

#### BULWELL

Stone Chapel Club 1802-1920+ (Independent)

#### MANSFIELD

Independent Union Society 1802-? (Independent)  
Independent meeting house

#### NOTTINGHAM

High Pavement Chapel Provident F.S. 1807-1948 (Unitarian)

#### MANSFIELD

F.S. 1809?-? (Methodist)

#### EAST RETFORD

Methodist Benefit Society 1812-? (Methodist)

#### HUCKNALL TORKARD

F.S. 1814-1953 (Methodist)

#### BASFORD

Basford Female F.S. 1819-1912 (Baptist)

#### CHILWELL

F.S. 1819-1920+ (Methodist)

#### NOTTINGHAM

High Pavement Chapel Women's Provident F.S. 1819-1920+ (Unitarian)

#### LAMBLEY

F.S. 1822-? (Methodist)

#### NOTTINGHAM

St James F.S. 1822-1903. (Anglican)  
Later known as Nottingham Church of England F.S.

#### WARSOP

Baptist Female F.S. 1823-? (Baptist)

#### NOTTINGHAM

General Baptist Provident Society 1827-? (Baptist)

F.S. 1826-1912+ (Methodist)  
Wesleyan Chapel, Parliament Street

Methodist Provident Society 1826-? East Street Chapel	(Methodist)
Nottingham 2nd Provident Society 1827-1865 St Ann's Chapel	(LDS)
RUDDINGTON Female F.S. 1830-1912	(Methodist)
MANSFIELD Female F.S. 1831-? Independent Chapel	(Independent)
STAPLEFORD     Stapleford Provident Society 1832-1885	(Methodist)
RUDDINGTON Female F.S. 1833-1913+	(Methodist)
STAPLEFORD Female F.S. 1834?-1885? Providence Chapel	(Independent)
NOTTINGHAM Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Sick Society 1836-1889 Halifax Place	(Methodist)
EAST BRIDGFORD East Bridgford Primitive Methodist F.S. 1840-1910+	(Methodist)
SOUTHWELL Baptist F.S. 1841-?	(Baptist)
ANNESLEY WOODHOUSE F.S. 1842-1912	(Methodist)
CROPWELL BISHOP F.S. 1842-1953?	(Methodist)
NOTTINGHAM Nottingham Female Sick Club 1842-1891 Halifax Place Methodist Chapel	(Methodist)
ANNESLEY WOODHOUSE Female F.S. 1843-1945	(Methodist)
HUCKNALL TORKARD Hucknall Torkard General Baptist F.S. 1843-1920+	(Baptist)
RUDDINGTON Ruddington Wesleyan Methodist Philanthropic Society 1844-1961	(Methodist)
MANSFIELD Union Society 1845-? Independent Meeting House	(Independent)
NOTTINGHAM Wesley Sick Club and Benefit Society 1847-1938 Broad Street	(Methodist)

WEST RETFORD		
Benefit Society 1851?-1863		(Baptist)
BEESTON		
Beeston Provident Funeral Fund 1853?-1862		(Methodist)
BASFORD		
F.S. 1857?-1943		(Baptist)
NOTTINGHAM		
St Mary's Provident Society 1858-1916		(Anglican)
CARLTON		
Good Samaritan Sick Society 1864?-1899		(Methodist)
SUTTON IN ASHFIELD		
General Baptist F.S. 1865-1920+		(Baptist)
HUCKNALL TORKARD		
General Baptist Female Society 1865?-?		(Baptist)
NOTTINGHAM		
Nottingham F.S. of St Patricks 1866?-1893		(Catholic)
SUTTON BONINGTON		
United Methodist Sick Society 1866?-1867?		(Methodist)
BEESTON		
Baptist Sick Club 1873?-?		(Baptist)
SOUTHWELL		
Wesleyan Club 1873?-?		(Methodist)
BASFORD		
New Basford United F.S. 1875-1912+		(Methodist)
NOTTINGHAM		
Pius IX - Catholic Benefit Society 1877?-1910?		(Catholic)
BASFORD		
Methodist Female Benefit Society 1882-1911		(Methodist)
NOTTINGHAM		
St Mary's Institute (CETS) Sick and Burial Society 1882?-1891		(Anglican)
Mansfield Road Baptist Provident Society 1887?-1909?		(Baptist)
Robert Raikes F.S. 1890?-1890?		(Methodist)
HUCKNALL HUTHWAITE		
Hucknall H. United Methodist Free Church F.S. 1894-1920+		(Methodist)
NOTTINGHAM		
Archer Street Friendly Sick and Annual Society 1896-1913		(Methodist)

**MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE**

Mansfield Woodhouse New Mutual Aid Society 1900-1910+  
At Primitive Methodist Schoolroom

(Methodist)

**BULWELL**

Bulwell Sick and Annual Society 1904-1920+

(Methodist)

**NOTTINGHAM**

Nottingham Mission Sick and Annual Society 1910-1910+

(Methodist)

Ark Street Wesleyan F.S. 1912?-1912+

(Methodist)

Carrington P Sick/Annual 1912?-1912+

Chase Mission F.S. 1912?-1912+

Derby Road F.S. 1912?-1912+

Friar Lane F.S. 1912?-1912+

ILP Sick and Annual F.S. 1912?-1912+

Tennyson Street F.S. 1912?-1912+

Woodborough Road F S. 1912?-1912+

## **Appendix B (2)**

### **List of friendly societies based on trades (by meeting place)**

#### **BASFORD**

Basford and District Miners Sick/Annual Society 1894-1901

#### **CARLTON**

Locomotive Steam Engine and Firemens F.S. 1885-1910+

#### **HUCKNALL TORKARD**

Hucknall Gladstone Sick and Accident Soc. 1911?-1911+

#### **NEWARK**

Builders Operative F.S. 1863-1875?

Licensed Victuallers Assoc. & Prov. Soc. 1865?-1875?

Newark Traders Funeral Society 1866?-1875?

Operative Painters Society 1867-1868

#### **NOTTINGHAM**

Joiners and Cabinet Makers Sick Society 1781-1875?

F.S. of Cordwainers 1785-1875?

Framework Knitters Society of Messrs Hayne 1785-1875?

F.S. of Tailors 1794?-1875?

Framework-knitters Society 1819-1820

Schoolmasters F.S. for Midland Counties 1828?-1875?

Smiths Society 1832?-1875

Nottingham and District Licensed Victuallers Association and  
Provident Society 1838-1930

Primitive Methodist Itinerant Preachers F.S. 1841-1890+

Operative Bricklayers Benefit Society 1854?-1862?

Trinity Working Men's F.S. 1856-1864

Nottingham Assistant Pawnbrokers F.S. 1857-1920+

Nottingham Branch of Operative Plumbers 1860?-1875?

Joiners Carpenters Cabinet-Makers Turners Carriers &  
Upholsterers F.S. 1861-1875?

F.S. of Labourers 1863-1891

Chimney Sweep Sick Society 1863?-1875?



Master Bakers Provident Society 1865-1875?

Excavators Friendly Accident and Burial Society 1868-1889?

Cabman's Sick and Burial Society 1873-1891

Nottingham & Nottinghamshire Operative Brewers & Maltsters F.S. 1873-1883?

Sick Club of the Albion Railway Wagon Works 1875-1878?

Alderman Ford Sick and Burial Society 1881?-1905?

Locomotive Steam Enginemen and Firemen's F.S. (Nottingham) 1892-1910+

Nottingham and Midlands Clerks Provident Assoc. 1894-1948

#### SKEGBY

Miners F.S.: 1860-1891

#### WORKSOP

Shireoaks Colliery Sick and Accident Society 1859-1913

Shireoaks Colliery Company Officials Benefit Soc. 1911?-1954

## Appendix C

### Geographical distribution of friendly societies - analytical data

#### (1) Bassetlaw - Hatfield

Parish	(a) 1801 pop	(b) 1803 no. f.s.	(c) 1803 f.s. membs	(d) 1803 land owner	(e) 1811 pop	(f) 1813 f.s. membs	(g) 1812 FWK	(h) 1803 WM	(i) 1803 Bapt	(j) 1911 pop	(j) 1910 f.s. membs
Babworth	297	-	-	O	310	-	-	-	-	752	-
Blyth (1)	1545	3	215	O	1759	214	-	-	+	1848	100
Bothamsall	235	-	-	C1	287	-	-	-	-	269	-
Boughton	190	-	-	O	217	6	-	-	+	269	41
Carlton/Lindrick	737	1	96	O	631	127	-	-	-	1013	-
Edwinstowe (2)	1419	3	253	O	1558	357	-	-	-	2391	31
Elkesley	291	-	-	O	306	-	-	-	-	313	48
Everton (3)	580	1	54	O	679	31	-	-	-	718	4
Finningley (& Aukley)	429	-	-	O	588	-	-	-	-	337	-
Harworth (& Haughton)	311	-	-	O	543	2	-	-	-	629	-
Mattersey	327	1	52	O	351	33	-	+	-	347	-
Misson	482	-	-	O	571	-	-	-	-	719	-
Norton (4)	1094	2	182	O	1273	315	-	-	-	1568	-
Scrooby	225	-	-	O	293	-	-	-	-	243	-
Sutton (& Lound)	551	-	-	O	584	-	-	-	-	731	-
Walesby	250	1	45	O	287	-	-	-	-	233	-
Warsop (& Sookholme)	944	3	279	O	1110	275	*	-	-	4453	57
Worksop	3263	3	352	O	3702	410	-	-	-	20387	2287
Rufford (X par)	265	-	-	C1	285	-	-	-	-	312	-
Wallingswell (X par)	29	-	-	C1	-	-	-	-	-	19	-
Welbeck	66	-	-	C1	64	-	-	-	-	104	-
Woodhouse Hall (X par)	8	-	-	C1	9	-	-	-	-	163	-
	13538	18	1528		15344	1770				37818	2668

- (1) with Barnby Moor, Hodstock, Ranskill, Styrrup, Torworth
- (2) with Budby, Carburton, Clipston, Ollerton, Perlethorpe
- (3) with Harwell and Scaftworth
- (4) with Cuckney, Holbeck, Langwith

#### Notes on sources:

- (a) 1801 pop.: Population in 1801. Source: 1801 Census of population in Notts.
- (b) 1803 no.f.s.: Number of friendly societies in 1803. Source: Abstracts...1803/4.
- (c) 1803 f.s.membs: Number of members in friendly societies in 1803. Source: ibid.
- (d) 1803 landowner: Land owner in 1803. Source: Land Tax assessments Notts 1803.  
O - Open parish many landowners  
C1 - Close parish with one main landowner  
C2 - Close parish with two main landowners
- (e) 1811 pop: Population in 1811. Source: 1811 Census of population in Notts.
- (f) 1813 f.s. membs: Number of f.s. members in 1813. Source: Abstracts...1818.
- (g) 1812 FWK: Frames worked here in 1812 indicated by \*. Source: Blackner, J. History of Nottingham
- (h) 1803 WM: Wesleyan Methodist groups present here in 1803 indicated by +.  
1803 Bapt: Baptist groups present here in 1803 indicated by +.
- (i) 1911 pop: Population in 1911. Source: 1911 Census of population in Notts.
- (j) 1910 f.s.membs: Number of members of registered friendly societies. Source: RCRFS 1910

## (2) Bassetlaw - Clay

Parish	1801 pop	1803 no. f.s. members	1803 f.s. members	1803 land owner	1811 pop	1813 f.s. members	1812 FWK	1803 WM	1803 Bapt	1911 pop	1910 f.s. members
Askham	220	-	-	O	231	-	-	-	-	250	-
Beckingham	425	-	-	O	438	-	-	-	-	532	-
Bevercotes	30	-	-	C1	26	-	-	-	-	39	-
Bole	160	-	-	C1	181	-	-	-	-	144	-
Clarborough	1202	-	-	O	1531	55	-	+	-	341	-
Clayworth (1)	543	-	-	O	516	3	-	+	-	591	-
Darlton	126	-	-	O	139	1	-	-	-	125	-
Drayton, East	226	-	-	O	226	-	-	-	-	174	-
Drayton, West	95	-	-	C1	113	1	-	-	-	86	-
Dunham (& Ragnall)	313	-	-	O	432	12	-	-	-	488	-
Eaton	219	-	-	O	200	-	-	-	-	157	-
Egmanton	267	-	-	O	312	-	-	-	+	227	-
Gamston	410	-	-	C1	341	-	-	-	+	244	-
Gringley/Hill	533	-	-	O	573	-	-	+	-	741	88
Grove	117	1	8	C1	100	-	-	-	-	148	-
Hayton	236	-	-	O	233	-	-	-	-	203	-
Headon (& Upton)	278	-	-	C1	232	-	-	-	-	186	-
Kirton	172	-	-	O	165	-	-	-	-	119	-
Laneham	302	-	-	O	337	-	-	-	-	303	-
Laxton	513	1	46	O	561	82	-	-	-	389	-
Levarton, North (2)	270	-	-	O	385	2	-	-	-	382	-
Levarton, South (3)	354	-	-	O	383	-	-	-	-	469	-
Littleborough	62	-	-	O	60	-	-	-	-	33	-
Markham, East	665	-	-	O	589	6	-	-	-	790	-
+Markham, West	176	-	-	O	181	-	-	-	-	165	-
Misterton (4)	1142	-	-	O	1339	-	-	+	+	2360	307
Ordsall	560	-	-	O	599	-	-	-	-	5690	-
Rampton	322	-	-	O	313	-	-	-	-	497	100
Retford, East	1948	6	546	O	2030	466	-	+	+	13385	1146
Retford, West	483	-	-	O	599	59	-	-	+	881	-
Saundby	100	-	-	C1	82	-	-	-	-	101	-
Stokeham	42	-	-	O	37	-	-	-	-	51	-
Sturton	509	-	-	O	526	-	-	-	-	497	31
Treswell	175	-	-	O	212	-	-	-	-	236	-
Tuxford	785	2	113	O	841	93	-	-	-	1154	71
Wakeringham	419	-	-	O	453	-	-	+	-	404	35
Wellow	344	-	-	O	378	-	-	-	-	251	41
West Burton	33	-	-	C1	19	-	-	-	-	49	-
Wheatley, North	371	-	-	O	373	-	-	+	-	404	-
Wheatley, South	41	-	-	C1	33	-	-	-	-	38	-
	15295	10	713		16319	780				33324	1819

- (1) with Wiseton + also known as Markham Clinton  
 (2) with Habbleshorpe  
 (3) with Cottam  
 (4) with West Stockwith

### (3) Broxtowe

Parish	1801 pop	1803 no. f.s.	1803 f.s. memb	1803 land owner	1811 pop	1813 f.s. memb	1812 FWK	1803 WM	1803 Bapt	1911 pop	1910 f.s. memb
Annesley	359	1	27	C2	341	45	*	-	-	1183	863
Arnold	2768	10	680	O	3042	885	*	+	+	11146	356
Attenborough (1)	813	3	242	O	870	239	*	+	-	1535	229
Basford	2124	3	204	O	2940	222	*	+	-	2334	-
Beeston	948	2	220	O	1342	401	*	+	-	11336	660
Bilborough	307	-	-	O	269	-	-	-	-	197	-
Blidworth	427	2	125	O	557	115	*	+	-	1184	53
Bramcote	354	1	30	O	378	105	*	-	-	683	-
Bulwell	1585	7	310	O	1994	290	*	+	-	1419	-
Cossall	353	2	121	C1	328	68	*	-	-	991	-
Eastwood	735	2	188	O	1120	201	*	+	-	4692	1525
Greasley (3)	2968	9	509	O	3673	659	*	-	-	10026	2632
Hucknall Torkard	1497	4	296	O	1793	397	*	+	-	15870	1501
Kirkby/Ashfield	1002	3	351	O	1123	532	*	+	+	15378	983
Lenton	893	3	104	C2	1197	87	-	+	-	33	-
Linby	515	-	-	C1	434	33	*	+	-	273	108
Mansfield	5988	15	952	O	6816	993	*	+	+	36888	2078
Mansfield Woodhouse	1112	5	287	O	1349	275?	*	-	-	11015	333
Nuthall	378	-	-	C2	326	-	-	+	-	-	-
Papplewick	709	1	82	O	647	89	*	-	-	320	-
Radford	2269	2	90	O	3447	25	*	+	-	719	-
Selston	833	1	133	O	1102	210	*	-	-	8982	920
Skegby	416	1	35	O	453	33	*	+	+	5057	314
Stapleford	748	3	189	O	954	195	*	+	-	7789	1208
Strelley	250	-	-	C1	298	-	-	-	-	197	-
Sutton/Ashfield (2)	3311	5	841	O	3994	990	*	+	+	26939	1485
Teversal	333	1	50	O	368	42	-	-	-	465	-
Trowell	235	2	67	C1	482	44	-	-	-	404	-
Wollaton	838	3	188	C1	769	230	*	-	-	550	179
Brewhouse Yard X par	111	-	-	C1	107	-	-	-	-	-	-
Felley X par	33	-	-	C2	70	-	-	-	-	32	-
Newstead X par	143	-	-	C1	142	-	-	-	-	961	146
	35355	91	6321		42725	7405				174093	20085

(1) with Chilwell and Toton

(2) with Hucknall under Huthwaite

(3) with Awsworth, Kimberley, Newthorpe, Brinsley, Greasley

? estimated members at this date - no figures in source table

#### (4) Bingham

Parish	1801 pop	1803 no. f.s.	1803 f.s. members	1803 land owner	1811 pop	1813 f.s. members	1812 FWK	1803 WM	1803 Bapt	1911 pop	1910 f.s. members
Bingham	1082	2	163	O	1326	500	*	+	+	1700	333
Broughton Sulney	230	-	-	O	278	-	*	+	+	323	-
Car Colston	152	-	-	O	167	-	-	-	-	223	-
Colston Bassett	220	-	-	O	257	-	-	-	+	323	-
Cotgrave	596	-	-	O	666	-	*	+	-	656	-
Cropwell Bishop	307	-	-	O	364	-	*	-	-	589	-
East Bridgford	526	-	-	O	662	60	-	+	-	797	166
Elton	90	-	-	O	97	-	-	-	-	58	-
Flintham	459	-	-	O	455	-	-	-	-	316	-
Granby	329	-	-	O	342	-	-	-	-	323	72
Hawksworth	154	-	-	O	152	-	-	-	-	156	-
Hickling	391	1	70	O	476	31	*	-	-	357	55
Holme Pierrpont	171	-	-	C1	191	-	-	-	-	207	-
Kinoulton	275	-	-	C1	307	-	-	+	+	267	58
Kneeton	88	-	-	C1	103	-	-	+	-	113	-
Langar (& Barnstone)	266	-	-	C2	271	-	-	-	-	453	-
Orston	351	-	-	O	356	10	-	-	-	361	76
Owthorpe	107	-	-	O	117	8	-	-	-	115	-
Radcliffe	761	2	154	O	924	372	-	+	-	2735	215
Scarrington	152	-	-	O	171	-	-	-	-	184	-
Screveton	225	-	-	O	247	-	-	-	-	163	-
Shelford (1)	486	-	-	C2	542	-	*	+	+	481	-
Thoroton	110	-	-	O	103	-	-	-	-	100	-
Tollerton	176	1	40	C1	142	17	-	-	-	-	-
Tythby (& C. Butler)	517	-	-	C1	549	-	-	+	-	575	157
Whatton (& Aslocton)	479	-	-	O	587	131	-	-	-	609	78
	8524	5	387		9710	1112				12184	1210

(1) with Saxondale

# (5) Thurgarton

Parish	1801 pop	1803 no. f.s.	1803 f.s. membs	1803 land owner	1811 pop	1813 f.s. membs	1812 FWK	1803 WM Bapt	1911 pop	1910 f.s. membs
Bilsthorpe	201	-	-	C2	212	-	-	-	168	-
Bleasby	215	-	-	O	269	-	-	-	278	-
Burton Joyce (1)	595	2	85	O	564	111	*	-	1024	-
Calverton	636	5	243	O	904	206	*	+	1101	179
Colwick	116	-	-	C2	102	-	-	-	1055	-
Eakring	441	1	74	O	500	195	-	-	331	110
Edingley	286	-	-	O	286	-	-	-	301	-
Epperstone	422	-	-	O	429	44	*	+	380	70
Farnsfield	564	4	125	O	697	180	*	+	967	88
Gedling (2)	1530	4	298	O	1903	384	*	+	17320	935
Gonalston	146	-	-	C1	127	4	-	-	113	-
Halam	284	-	-	O	271	6	-	+	294	-
Halloughton	90	-	-	O	93	-	-	-	57	-
Hockerton	100	-	-	C1	103	-	-	-	66	-
Hoveringham	324	1	180	O	339	170	*	-	359	-
Kirklington	140	-	-	C2	237	-	-	-	218	-
Lambley	467	1	75	O	583	92	*	-	834	99
Lowdham (3)	999	1	143	O	1127	250	*	+	1586	175
Oxton	697	2	198	O	778	210	*	+	405	146
Rolleston (4)	596	2	74	O	717	75	-	-	531	-
Snenton	558	2	94	C2	953	60	*	-	566	-
Southwell	2305	3	180	O	2674	183	*	+	3349	174
Thurgarton	334	-	-	C2	292	-	*	-	288	-
Upton	329	-	-	O	325	30	-	-	490	48
Winkburn	153	-	-	C1	153	-	-	-	93	-
Woodborough	527	1	71	O	611	108	*	-	698	185
	13055	29	1840		15249	2308			32306	2775

(1) with Bulcote

(2) with Carlton and Stoke Bardolph

(3) with Gunthorpe and Caythorpe

(4) with Fiskerton and Morton

# (6) Newark Rural

Parish	1801 pop	1803 no. f.s.	1803 f.s. membs	1803 land owner	1811 pop	1813 f.s. membs	1812 FWK	1803 WM	1803 Bapt	1911 pop	1910 f.s. membs
Averham(& Staythorpe)	230	-	-	C2	240	6	-	-	-	173	-
Balderton	636	1	60	O	659	80	*	-	-	2824	128
Barnby/Willows	195	-	-	O	204	-	-	-	-	250	-
Caunton	366	-	-	O	341	-	-	-	-	378	-
Clifton, North (1)	640	-	-	O	682	-	-	-	-	812	45
Coddington	326	-	-	O	366	-	-	-	-	480	-
Collingham, North	508	-	-	O	660	-	-	+	+	784	82
Collingham, South	539	1	48	O	566	130	-	-	-	627	-
Cotham	77	-	-	C1	73	-	-	-	-	130	-
Cromwell	203	-	-	C2	194	-	-	-	-	157	-
Elston	394	1	40	O	383	40	-	-	-	316	58
Farndon	387	-	-	O	451	5	*	-	-	738	-
Fledborough	71	-	-	O	82	-	-	-	-	100	-
Girton	125	-	-	O	129	2	-	-	-	122	-
Hawton	107	-	-	O	167	-	-	-	-	232	-
Holme	111	-	-	C1	109	-	-	-	-	94	-
Kelham	227	-	-	C2	219	-	-	-	-	333	-
Kilvington (2)	-	-	-	O	44	-	-	-	-	51	-
Kneesall (3)	487	-	-	C1	502	70	-	-	-	353	-
Langford	124	-	-	C1	118	-	-	-	-	159	-
Maplebeck	152	-	-	C2	175	-	-	-	-	75	-
Marnham(&Grassthorpe)	279	-	-	O	322	-	-	-	-	223	-
Muskham, North (4)	361	1	-	O	515	123	-	-	+	662	70
Muskham, South	284	-	-	C1	284	-	-	-	-	194	-
Normanton/Trent	286	-	-	O	288	-	-	-	-	286	-
Norwell (5)	776	-	-	O	802	-	-	-	+	561	-
Ossington	217	-	-	C1	255	-	-	-	-	196	-
Scarle, South (6)	335	-	-	O	382	8	-	-	+	303	-
Shelton	73	-	-	O	52	-	-	-	-	97	-
Sibthorpe	85	-	-	C	98	-	-	-	-	90	-
Staunton(&Flawboro')	217	-	-	O	199	2	-	-	-	173	-
Stoke, East	293	-	-	O	363	-	-	-	-	179	-
Sutton-on-Trent	614	1	146	O	731	232	-	-	+	927	123
Syerston	109	-	-	O	137	-	-	-	-	106	-
Thorney(7)	243	-	-	C1	201	-	-	-	-	318	-
Thorpe	44	-	-	C1	48	-	-	-	-	62	-
Weston	246	-	-	O	286	-	-	-	-	290	-
Winthorpe	196	-	-	O	194	-	-	-	-	254	-
	10563	5	296		11521	698				14109	506

- (1) with South Clifton, Harby and Spalford
- (2) with Alverton
- (3) with Ompton and Kersall
- (4) with Bathley
- (5) with Norwell Woodhouse and Carlton-on-Trent
- (6) with Besthorpe
- (7) with Broadholme and Wigsley



## (7) Rushcliffe

Parish	1801 pop	1803 no. f.s.	1803 f.s. members	1803 land owner	1811 pop	1813 f.s. members	1812 FWK	1803 WM	1803 Bapt	1911 pop	1910 f.s. members
Barton in Fabis	322	1	137	C1	347	207	*	-	-	271	68
Bradmore	325	1	144	C1	407	205	*	+	-	199	-
Bunny	359	-	-	C1	374	-	-	-	+	211	25
Clifton (& Glapton)	381	-	-	C1	399	74	*	-	-	350	-
Costock	244	-	-	O	307	-	-	-	-	301	-
Edwalton	126	-	-	C1	138	-	-	-	-	205	-
Gotham	475	1	60	O	549	110	*	+	-	1086	164
Keyworth	325	-	-	O	401	27	*	-	-	707	280
Kingston/Soar	152	-	-	C1	155	-	-	-	-	265	-
Leake, East	608	1	98	O	737	156	*	+	+	973	234
Leake, West	171	-	-	C1	183	-	*	-	-	139	-
Normanton/Soar	265	-	-	O	308	-	*	-	-	280	-
Plumtree (1)	373	-	-	C2	456	60	-	+	-	488	-
Ratcliffe/Soar	156	-	-	C1	169	-	*	-	-	127	-
Rempstone	324	-	-	O	384	-	-	-	+	257	-
Ruddington	868	1	152	O	1017	424	*	+	-	2771	1182
Stanford/Soar	119	-	-	C1	120	-	-	-	-	165	-
Stanton/Wolds	98	-	-	O	113	-	*	-	-	112	-
Sutton Bonington	790	1	109	O	862	133	*	+	+	956	260
Thorpe/Glebe	20	-	-	O	16	-	-	-	-	30	-
Thrumpton	121	-	-	O	119	-	*	-	+	133	-
Tollerton	176	1	40	C1	142	17	-	-	-	169	-
West Bridgford (2)	332	-	-	C1	326	16	-	+	-	12311	-
Widmerpool	206	-	-	C2	230	-	*	-	+	175	-
Wilford	478	2	174	O	494	224	*	-	-	633	-
Willoughby	355	-	-	O	305	-	*	+	+	433	96
Wysall	260	-	-	O	279	-	-	+	+	91	-
	8429	9	914		9337	1653				23838	2309

(1) with Gamston

(2) with Clipston and Normanton-on-the-Wolds

## (8) Boroughs

Parish	1801 pop f.s.	1803 no. f.s.	1803 f.s. members	1803 land owner	1811 pop	1813 f.s. members	1812 FWK	1803 WM	1803 Bapt	1911 pop	1910 f.s. members
Newark Borough	6730	14	832	O	7236	1038	*	+	+	16522	2138
Nottingham	28861	65	2252	O	34253	2815	*	+	+	259904	10146
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	140350	246	15081		161694	19304				604098	43656

## **Appendix D (1)**

### **List of female friendly societies in Nottinghamshire 1792-1913**

#### **ANNESLEY**

Daughters of Rechab Female Tent 3522, IOR, 1906-1910+

#### **ANNESLEY WOODHOUSE**

Annesley Woodhouse Female F.S. 1836-?

Female F.S. 1843-1945

Annesley Female F.S. 1851?-?

#### **ARNOLD**

Female F.S. 1803-?

Female F.S. 1803-?

Female F.S. 1809?-?

#### **ASLOCTON**

Female F.S. 1829?-?

#### **ATTENBOROUGH**

Launder Lodge, NIOS, 1845-?

#### **BALDERTON**

Princess Mary Female Lodge 8741, MU, 1912-1912+

#### **BASFORD**

Basford Female F.S. 1819-1912

Methodist Female Benefit Society 1882-1911

Basford Female Benefit Society 1890-1905?

#### **BEESTON**

F.S., NIOS, 1845-?

White Lion Female F.S. 1865?-?

Beeston 9026, MU, 1912-1936

#### **BINGHAM**

Female Society 1805-?

Female Society 1806-?

Female Society 1806-?

Female Society 1806-?

United Sisters Society 1832-?

#### **BLIDWORTH**

F.S. of Women 1817?-?

#### **BRADMORE**

Female F.S. 1874?-?

#### **BRAMCOTE**

Bramcote Female Society 1831-1892

#### **BULWELL**

Female F.S. 1799?-?

F.S. of Women 1843?-?

Florence Nightingale 9027, MU, 1912-1920

BUNNY  
Female F S 1874?-?

BURTON JOYCE  
Female F.S. 1803?-?

CALVERTON  
Female F.S. 1799-?  
Female F.S. 1803?-?  
Female F.S. 1813-?

CARLTON  
Female F.S. 1806-1838  
Female F.S. 1835-1911  
Court Queen Adelaide, AOF, 1893-1900?

CLIFTON  
Female Society 1845?-?

COTGRAVE  
Female F.S. 1820?-1833

EAST BRIDGFORD  
Female Society 1808-?  
Female Society 1809-?

EAST LEAKE  
Lily of the Valley Lodge 16, NAIUS, 1845-?  
Star of Bethlehem Lodge 15, NAIUS, 1845-1849

EAST RETFORD  
Neighbourly Womens Society 1794?-?

EASTWOOD  
Female F.S. 1803?-?

GOTHAM  
Female F.S. 1819-1895

GREASLEY  
F.S. of Women 1815?-?

GUNTHORPE  
Female Society 1807-?

HOVERINGHAM  
Female Society 1814?-?

HUCKNALL HUTHWAITE  
Female F.S. 1814?-?

HUCKNALL TORKARD  
Female F.S. 1792-?  
Female F.S. 1835?-?  
Female Society 1865?-?  
General Baptist Female Society 1865?-?  
Emblem of Purity Female Tent 3188, IOR, 1906-1910+

## KEYWORTH

Keyworth Female F.S.1838-1913

## KIRKBY IN ASHFIELD

Female F.S. 1799-1867?

Female F.S. 1808-1881

Female F.S. 1841-?

Rose of Newstead Lodge 12, NAIUS, 1845-?

Friendships Bower Lodge 18, NAIUS, 1845-?

## LAMBLEY

Female Society 1799-?

Female F.S. 1809?-?

## LOWDHAM

Female Society 1812?-?

## MANSFIELD

Female F.S. 1794?-?

Female F.S. 1808-?

F.S. of Females 1812-?

Female F.S. 1831-?

Duchess of Portland Lodge 1149F, NAI, 1903-1910+

Female Lodge, NOO, 1903-1905?

Mansfield Female Lodge 8241 MU 1911-1911+

## NEWARK

Female F.S. 1802?-?

Female F.S. 1802?-?

Female F.S. 1803?-?

Female F.S. 1809?-1891

Pocklington F.S. of Females 1882-1883

Court Sarah Ann Rouston 9358, AOF, 1911-1946?

Queen Mary Female Lodge 8354, MU, 1912-1912+

## NOTTINGHAM

Female F.S. (Seven Stars) 1793-?

FS 1803?-?

FS 1803?-?

FS 1803?-?

Female F.S. (Artichokes) 1804?-?

Nottingham Womens F.S. 1812-?

Female F.S. (Black Horse) 1813?-?

High Pavement Chapel Women's Provident F.S. 1819-1920+

Nottingham Female Sick Club 1842-1891

Court Cowen 10, USF, 1887-1910+

Court Victoria 8, USF, 1887-1891

Court Friendship Truth and Love 11, USF 1888-1910+

Court Emma Lees 8447, AOF, 1895-1967+

Lily of the Valley Tent 2759 IOR 1897?-1910+

Thomas Swain Lodge, MU, 1908-1958

Alexandra Family Lodge 8939, MU, 1912-1968

## OXTON

Female F.S. 1812?-?

## PAPPLEWICK

Female F.S. 1823?-?

PLUMTREE  
Female F S 1838-?

RADCLIFFE ON TRENT  
Female Society 1799-1841?

RADFORD  
Female Society 1803?-?

RUDDINGTON  
F.S. for Sick and Lying In Women 1809?-?  
Female F.S. 1830-1912  
Female F.S. 1833-1913+  
Court Grace Darling 8313, AOF, 1894-1967+

SELSTON  
Fruits of Industry Lodge 20, NAIUS, 1846-?  
Selston Independent Female F.S. 1875-1910+  
Loyal Shepherdess Female FS 1875?-1925

STAPLEFORD  
Stapleford Industrious Female F.S. 1830-1909  
Female F.S. 1834?-1885?  
Fruits of Perseverance Female F.S. 1846-1913  
Fruits of Perseverance Lodge 2, NIOS, 1847-?  
Stapleford Female 1165, NAIUS, 1913-1913+

SUTTON BONINGTON  
Female Society 1866-1867?

SUTTON IN ASHFIELD  
Female F.S. 1803?-?  
Good Intent Lodge, NAIUS, 1845-1848?  
Female F.S. 1862?-1897?

TROWELL  
Female Society 1824?-?

WARSOP  
Baptist Female F S 1823-?  
Lady Fitzherbert Female Lodge 9040, MU, 1912-1912+

WHATTON  
Female Society 1806-?

WILFORD  
Female F.S. 1803?-?

WOLLATON  
F.S. of Women 1799?-1895?

#### Abbreviations

IOR = Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity  
MU = Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity  
NAI = Nottingham Ancient Imperial Union Order of Oddfellows  
NAIUS = Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order of United Sisters

## Appendix D (2)

### Membership of Registered Female Societies in Nottinghamshire 1876 and 1910 compared

Society	1876	1910
Annesley Woodhouse FFS 1843-1945	unk	37
Annesley Woodhouse FFS 1851-1891?	unk	-
Basford F Benefit Society 1819-1912	137	33
Bramcote FFS 1831-1892	46	-
Carlton FFS 1835-1911	unk	59
Gotham FFS 1819-1895	unk	-
Hucknall Torkard FFS 1792-1891?	unk	-
Keyworth FFS 1838-1913	87	64
Kirkby-in-Ashfield FFS 1808-1881	47	-
Kirkby-in-Ashfield FFS 1841-1891?	unk	-
Nottingham Halifax Place FSS 1842-1891	16	-
Nottingham High Pavement Womens 1819-	unk	54
Ruddington FFS (Prim Meth) 1833-	225	107
Ruddington FFS (Wes Meth) 1830-1912	146	62
Selston Loyal Shepherdess FFS 1875-1925	51	68
Selston Independent FFS 1875-	unk	30
Stapleford Industrious FFS 1830-1909	281	-
Stapleford Fruits of Pers. 1846-1913	240	219
Basford Methodist FFS 1882-1911	-	40
Nottingham United Sisters 1 1887-	-	31
Nottingham United Sisters 2 1887-1891	-	-
Nottingham United Sisters 3 1888-	-	17
Nottingham AOF 1894-	-	90
Ruddington AOF 1895-	-	58
Hucknall Torkard IOR 1906-	-	44
Nottingham IOR 1897-	-	78
Mansfield NAI 1903-	-	24
Annesley IOR 1906-	-	22
Nottingham MU 1908-1958	-	-
	-----	-----
	1276	1137
plus estimate for missing figures	300	
	-----	
	1576	

Note: This table shows places where female societies are known to have existed in the county at these points of time; it does not include all societies which appear on the Registrar's list for 1876 for which no subsequent evidence of existence has emerged.

Sources: RCRFS 1876; RCRFS 1910

## Appendix E.

### Occupational analysis of friendly society members

During the early stages of this research attempts were made to locate original material particularly that naming individual members. A number of lists of members was extracted or compiled from original sources of various kinds. Parish registers, censuses, wills and other parish documents were then used to identify the occupations of members - a method which proved more successful at some times and in some places than in others. The following tables resulted from these analyses.

**Table E1**

#### **Members of late 18th and early 19th century societies 4 societies compared**

Occupation	Blidworth Joiners 1767-1799	Ruddington members 1794-1815	Calverton members at 1794	Amicable Nottingham at 1812
FWK	14	8	11	14
Labourer	10	2	1	1
Crafts	3	3	1	3
Trade/service	5	2	0	2
Farmer/hosier	6	0	0	0
Clergy/gentry /professional	3	0	0	0
Not known	113	44	39	7
Total	154	59	52	27

#### Lists used:

1. Blidworth Blue Ball FS - Members joining 1767 - 99 (154)
2. Ruddington Hand and Heart FS - 12 Elders at 1794 and  
47 members who belonged 1801-15
3. Calverton FS - All members at 1794 (52)
4. Nottingham Amicable Society - All members at 1812 (27)



**Table E2**

**Members in 1820s - 5 clubs compared**

Occupation	Caunton 1828	Mansfield Woodhouse 1827	Walesby 1826	Warsop 1829	Woodborough 1826-9
FWK	0	8	0	0	27
Labourer	5	0	6	16	4
Crafts	4	0	2	7	4
Trade/service	4	1	0	0	1
Farmer/hosier	1	0	1	1	0
Clergy/gentry /professional	0	0	0	0	0
Not known	3	19	13	5	11
Total	<u>17</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>47</u>

**Lists used:**

- |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Caunton FS             | - All members 1828 (17)   |
| 2. Mansfield Woodhouse FS | - All members 1827 (28)   |
| 3. Walesby FS             | - All members 1826 (22)   |
| 4. Warsop FS              | - All members 1829 (29)   |
| 5. Woodborough Male FS    | - All members 1826-9 (47) |

Table E3

**Members in the 1830s and 1840s:  
Comparison of occupational structure of members of eight societies  
with parish census 1841**

Occupation	Woodborough members joining 1830-49				Blidworth members joining 1830-49				Laxton members at 1841-5				Cauntton members at 1846			
	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %
FWK	41	113	54	41	22	54	17	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Labourer	8	80	11	29	43	161	34	47	56	106	64	48	38	109	59	65
Crafts	4	32	5	12	9	39	7	11	17	27	20	12	10	28	16	7
Trade/Service	-	7	0	3	5	14	4	4	4	14	5	6	8	14	13	8
Farmers & sons	-	17	0	6	2	34	2	10	10	44	11	20	5	12	8	7
Prof/clergy/ gentry	-	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	1
Not stated/ retired/ scholars	23	25	-	-	46	43	-	-	0	29	0	13	2	4	3	2
Totals	76	275	-	-	127	346	-	-	87	221	-	-	64	168	-	-

Occupation	Edwinstowe members joining 1833-43				Cropwell Butler members joining 1846-49				Aslocton members joining 1843-9				Ruddington members joining 1844-9			
	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %
FWK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	29	275	52	47
Labourer	64	159	48	52	11	125	58	53	49	170	66	59	10	137	18	23
Crafts	32	74	24	24	6	33	32	14	15	40	20	14	10	74	18	13
Trade/Service	16	30	12	10	2	18	11	8	9	26	12	9	4	45	7	8
Farmers/sons	14	18	10	6	0	30	0	13	0	32	0	11	3	14	5	2
Prof/clergy/ gentry	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	2	0	0
Not stated/ retired/ scholars	8	23	6	7	0	32	0	13	0	16	0	6	0	36	0	6
Totals	134	308	-	-	19	238	-	-	74	288	-	-	56	583	-	-

- A - Members or those joining at various dates  
 B - Number of Males aged 15+ in 1841 census  
 C - Joiners as % total joiners  
 D - Occupation group as % total occupations in 1841 Census

## Lists used:

- Aslocton - Widows and Orphans Protection Society of Dickenson Lodge NAIUOO members joining 1843-9
- Blidworth - Blue Ball Club members joining 1830-49
- Cauntton - List of parishioners drawn up in 1846
- Cropwell Butler - God Speed the Plough Lodge MU members joining 1846-9
- Edwinstowe - Edwin Lodge NAIUOO members joining 1833-43
- Laxton - Members of Laxtonian Society at 1841-5
- Ruddington - Ruddington Philanthropic Society members joining 1844-9
- Woodborough - Woodborough Male Friendly Society members joining 1830-49

Table E4

**Members in 1880s Comparison of occupational structure of  
members of five societies with parish census 1881**

Occupation	Aslocton members at 1884				Burton Joyce members at 1885			
	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %
FWK	-	-	-	-	33	81	23	32
Labourer	25	121	27	56	27	81	19	32
Crafts	8	27	9	13	3	9	2	4
Trade/Service	5	31	5	14	4	41	3	16
Farmers & sons	-	25	0	12	-	22	0	9
Prof/clergy/gentry	-	5	0	2	-	7	0	3
Not stated/retired/ scholars	53	7	58	3	74	15	52	6
Totals	91	216	-	42	141	256	-	55

Occupation	Woodborough members at 1888				Ruddington AOF members at 1887				Ruddington Phil members joining 1880-9			
	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %	A No.	B No.	C %	D %
FWK	78	120	37	38	81	341	36	45	40	341	53	45
Labourer	37	80	18	26	30	175	13	23	22	175	29	23
Crafts	9	31	4	10	5	65	2	9	7	65	9	9
Trade/Service	13	51	6	16	7	107	3	14	5	107	7	14
Farmers/sons	2	19	1	6	5	42	2	6	1	42	1	6
Prof/clergy/ gentry	0	3	0	1	0	6	0	1	0	6	0	1
Not stated/ retired/ scholars	71	9	34	3	95	14	43	2	1	14	1	2
Totals	210	313	-	67	223	750	-	30	76	750	-	10

- A - Members or joiners at various dates  
 B - Number of Males aged 15+ in 1881 census  
 C - Joiners as % total joiners  
 D - Occupation group as % total occupations in 1881 Census

## Lists used:

- Aslocton - Dickinson Lodge No 111 NAIUOO members at 1884  
 (NAO DD35/1 and 4)  
Burton Joyce - Albion Glory Lodge of Nottingham Independent Order of Oddfellows  
 members at 1885  
Ruddington - Court Royal, Ancient Order of Foresters members at 1887  
 (Ruddington Museum);  
 - Ruddington Philanthropic Society Members members joining 1880-9  
Woodborough - Woodborough Male Friendly Society members at 1888

## Comments on interpreting tables:

1. Interpretations possible from these tables are limited by two main features:
  - a. the lists of membership used here refer to only one society whereas in many cases, more than one society existed in the parish
  - b. members of societies are not drawn exclusively from the parish in which the society exists. Thus there is a basic problem in attempting to draw conclusions about membership on the basis of comparison of one society with the occupational structure of the one parish in which the friendly society meets without reference to other societies which might meet in the parish, or other parishes from which members might be drawn.
2. Lack of suitable records made it difficult to identify individuals in the early period. There were fewer difficulties in identifying members in 1830s/1840s using the 1841 census but it proved more difficult in the 1880s which suggested either that a larger proportion of members in each case came from other parishes or that a larger proportion of members had moved from the parish yet still retained membership. - Given the common names, the latter explanation was the most likely.

### Sources:

<u>Aslocton</u>	- Members of the Widows and Orphans Provident Society of the Dickinson Lodge No 111 NAIUOO 1843-9; Lodge members 1884-1927 (NAO DD35/1 and 4)
<u>Blidworth</u>	- Minute books incorporating members' lists of the Blue Ball Club 1769-1860 (Private Hands)
<u>Burton Joyce</u>	- Members lists of Albion Glory Lodge of Nottingham Independent Order of Oddfellows 1885-1952 (Private Hands)
<u>Calverton</u>	- Friendly society rule book 1794 (PRO FS3/308)
<u>Caunton</u>	- An alphabetical list of the parishioners of Caunton in the County of Nottingham with particulars chiefly bearing on their religious condition arranged by Richard Brett 1846 (NAO PR 6247)
	- RuleBook Caunton friendly society 1828 (PRO FS3/310)
<u>Cropwell Butler</u>	- Register of entrance to Widows and Orphans list of God Speed the Plough Lodge of MU 1846-74 and Register of God Speed the Plough Lodge of MU 1846-74 1891-9 (NAO DD 898/1 and 2)
<u>Laxton</u>	- Returns of sickness and mortality - members of Laxtonian society 1841-5 (NAO QDC 4/4)
<u>Mansfield Woodhouse</u>	- Rule book 1827 (PRO FS1/567)
<u>Nottingham</u>	- Amicable society rule book (NAO:CA 403)
<u>Ruddington</u>	- Joseph Woolley diaries 1801-1815 (NAO DD311/1-6); - Hearth and Hand friendly society rule book 1794 (PRO FS3/308); - Court Royal, Ancient Order of Foresters minute book 1861-87, Members lists 1887-1895 (Ruddington Museum); - Ruddington Philanthropic Society members lists 1844-1948 (Ruddington Museum)
<u>Walesby</u>	- Rule books of the Amicable Society 1806 & 1826 (PRO FS1/568)
<u>Warsop</u>	- Rules of Charitable and Brotherly Society 1829 (PRO FS1/568)
<u>Woodborough</u>	- Account books included members' lists of the Woodborough Male Friendly Society 1826-1954 (Private Hands)

## **Appendix F**

### **List of Friendly Societies in Nottinghamshire 1724 - 1913.**

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## 1. Introduction

Fraternal organisations in which people pooled their financial and personal resources in the spirit of mutual aid in times of uncertainty and distress have probably always existed. The type of organisations which were known as friendly societies and became widespread in the second half of the eighteenth century probably had their origins in the previous century.

This list of friendly societies consists only of those known as sick or burial clubs which were established with the aim of providing benefits for members at times of illness and death. The feature that distinguished friendly societies from other types of organisation such as charities or benevolent clubs - is that they provided benefits as a right in return for regular contributions rather than in a spirit of benevolence or charity. Thus an organisation such as the Ancient Order of Buffaloes, which is often thought to be a friendly society like the Oddfellows and the Foresters is excluded because, although giving help to fellow members and charity to others, this is given in a spirit of brotherhood, but not as a right in return for contributions.

This list also excludes juvenile societies and districts of the Affiliated Orders which sometimes existed at separately registered societies in addition to the local lodges. It also excludes a variety of other organisations which, from time to time, came within the scope of the Friendly Society Acts such as Annuity Societies, Building Societies, Co-operatives, Land Societies, Literary or other Educational Associations, Loan Clubs, Reading Rooms, Savings Banks, Trade Unions, Working Men's Clubs and other societies approved by the Registrar of Friendly Societies. Information concerning these organisations can be found in many of the same sources listed below - notably in the Registrar of Friendly Society's deposits at the Public Record Office and the Annual Reports of the Registrar of Friendly Societies.

Although it has been possible for friendly societies to register since 1793, registration has never been compulsory and it is well known that many unregistered societies have existed. In the later eighteenth century, clubs were often fearful of government interference in their affairs at a time when the state was deeply suspicious of any combination of working men and may well have rejected the idea of registration at this time for such reasons; but even a hundred years later when friendly societies were admired and respected even by the government, the Registrar of Friendly Societies reported that there were still as many unregistered societies as registered ones in some areas. As a result there is no central source of information which can provide a full and accurate picture of friendly societies. Quarter Session records from 1793 and those of the Registrar of Friendly Societies from 1856 can provide some indication of the extent of activity but only insofar as registered societies are concerned. In order to compile as full a picture as possible of the pattern of friendly society development in Nottinghamshire as many sources as possible were searched for evidence of the existence of societies throughout the county for the period up to 1913.

The organisation of this list is by place. Two other lists are available - one organised by date of establishment, the other by type of society - are also available and may be consulted by arrangement with the compiler.



## 2. Sources

This list of friendly societies was compiled from many different sources listed here. The compiler is, however, very conscious that there are other sources which have not yet been searched. Notes indicating known omissions are included in this list.

### a. **Public Record Office at Kew** - Deposits made by the Registrar of Friendly Societies (Series FS).

**FS 1** consists of rules and amendments registered or certified under the 1793-1855 Acts and removed from the register before 1875. FS1/567-573 relate to Nottinghamshire.

**FS 2** consists of an index of all societies registered or certified under the 1793-1855 Acts. FS2/8,13 relate to Nottinghamshire.

**FS 3** consists of rules and amendments relating to societies registered under the Acts 1876 - 1913 (including some previously registered or certified under earlier Acts) and removed from the register 1876-1912. FS3/308-318 relate to Nottinghamshire.

**FS 4** consists of indexes to FS3. FS4/41, 42 relate to Nottinghamshire.

**FS 5** consists of orders and branches removed from the Register before 1913. Files of each central body together with a specimen file of a district where applicable and a branch of each society are preserved. FS5/2 and 187 relate to Nottinghamshire.

**FS 10** is similar to FS 5 and consists of orders removed from the register between 1912 and 1929. FS10/2, 48, 49 relate to Nottinghamshire.

**FS 15** consists of rules, amendments, annual returns and various statutory documents of :

(1) Societies other than Orders and branches registered under the Acts before 1876 and removed from the register before 1 January 1951

(2) A sample of societies registered during 1855, 1895, 1905, 1913, 1926 which were removed from the Register before 1.1.1930. FS15/547, 550, 552-554, 557, 558, 560, 849, 1035-1040, 1147, 1189, 1266, 1284, 1299, 1300, 1343 relate to Nottinghamshire.

**FS 16** consists of selected annual returns of societies removed from the register after 30 December 1950.

### b. **Nottinghamshire County Archives Office**

**QDC and CA** consists of various Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Nottinghamshire and the Borough of Nottingham respectively.

**QDC 1** is a collection of 28 rule books of societies enrolled at various times at the County Quarter Sessions

**QDC 2** is a collection of lists of friendly societies whose rules have been enrolled at the County Quarter Sessions at various times between 1793 and 1855.

**QDC 3** is a collection of six items relating to individuals admitted into societies in Newark 1794-5

**QDC 4** is a miscellaneous collection of five items.

**CA 3991 - 4035** is a collection of rule books enrolled at the Quarter Sessions in the town of Nottingham

**CA 7590/26 and 43** refer to societies enrolled at the Quarter Sessions in the town of Nottingham between 1829 and 1836.

**Indexes to Societies** refer to a number of items in the **DD, M, MR, BP** and **PR** collections.

### c. **Local Studies Collections in County Libraries** at Nottingham, Newark, Retford and Mansfield and East Midlands Collection at Nottingham University. All indexes were searched. Of particular value were newspaper indexes and newspaper cutting collections.

**d. Museum and archive collections in:**

- (1) The county museums in Nottingham, Newark, Mansfield and Retford.
- (2) Gedling House Education Resource Centre.
- (3) The Hermitage, Ruddington.

**e. Archive collections for the three main affiliated orders in Nottinghamshire**

- (1) Nottingham Oddfellows at their headquarters in Nottingham.
- (2) Independent Order of Oddfellows - Manchester Unity at their headquarters in Manchester.
- (3) Ancient Order of Foresters at their headquarters in Southampton.

Records from the origins of these Orders until 1913 have been researched and included in the list. Information was also sought from the secretaries of courts of the AOF and lodges of the MU still in existence. Although a large number of other Orders had branches in Nottinghamshire no attempt has been made to trace their archives and include information from such sources.

Lists of branches of these orders have also been obtained from published sources:

Ancient Order of Foresters - Official Handbook of the Centenary High Court Nottingham 1934

and from an unpublished manuscript detailing the development of the Nottingham District of the Manchester Unity compiled and written by Mr Kaye - District Secretary of the IOO-MU.

**f. Parliamentary Papers**

Abstract of Answers and Returns pursuant to the Act in the 43rd year of HM King George intituled "An Act for procuring returns relevant to the expense and maintenance of the Poor" P.P.1803-4 XIII

The same P.P.1818 XIX

Friendly Societies registered in England and Wales P.P.1824 XVIII

No. of Friendly Societies registered since 1793 by year P.P.1831-2 XXVI

No. of Friendly Societies filed by the Clerks of the Peace P.P.1831-3 P.P.1834 XLI

Returns relating to Friendly Societies enrolled in England and Wales P.P.1837 LI

Returns relating to Friendly Societies enrolled in England and Wales P.P.1842 XXVI

Returns of Friendly Societies certified by Mr Pratt P.P.1846 XXV

List of Friendly Societies investing in National Debt P.P.1850 XXXIII

Friendly Societies certified or registered under 1851 Act P.P.1852 XXVIII

Reports of the Registrar and Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies 1856-1912.

**g. Local History Societies' Collections throughout the county.**

**h. Published works**

Records of the Borough of Nottingham Volumes 7,8,9 1947-56 (Forman) Nottingham

Nottinghamshire: Extracts from the County Records of the 18th Century 1947 (Forman) Nottingham

Returns of Owners of Land 1873 1875 (HMSO) London

Various local history works notably those concerned with the histories of individual parishes and with the history of religious groups within the county.

### 3. Explanatory notes

Example:

ARNOLD<sup>1</sup>

\*Arnold Friendly Societies<sup>2</sup>

Ind<sup>3</sup> Reg 999<sup>4</sup> 1779<sup>5</sup> 1794<sup>6</sup> 07 1910+<sup>8</sup> FS3/987<sup>9</sup>

Began as ind. society; joined NAI 1865<sup>10</sup>

1. **First meeting place** This refers to the town or village in which the society first met. Where the society moved to another place this is noted in the comment section but the society is not listed under the second or subsequent place in order to avoid duplication.
2. **Name of society** Where a society has no specific name but is just known as the Friendly Society meeting at a particular public house it is listed simply as Friendly Society. But in the case of Nottingham where there are very many societies the name of the public house at which it met has been added to distinguish between different Friendly Societies

\* indicates female society.

#### 3. Type of society

Key to abbreviations is listed separately below.

4. **Registration number** Where the actual number is known it is given;

1 - denotes that the society is registered but the number is not known.

0 - denotes that the society is not registered.

5. **Date of commencement** Where this is known it is stated;

? denotes that the commencement date is not known but that it has been inferred from other evidence, normally the date of registration.

#### 6. Date of registration

This is noted where known.

0 denotes that the society was not registered or that the date is not known.

#### 7. Date of de-registration

This is noted if applicable. It should be noted that a date of de-registration does not necessarily imply that a society ceased to exist at this date as some societies de-registered or had their registration cancelled but continued to exist.

#### 8. Date of closure

If known this is noted.

? indicates a date assumed from evidence.

1875?/1891?/1894?/1905?/1910? indicates that it is assumed that the society no longer existed at these dates as it did not appear on the 1875/1891/1894/1905/1910 lists of societies issued by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies.

+ following any date indicates that the society existed at the date shown but closure date is not known.

#### 9. Reference to source material

An entry here indicates where any source material is held.

FS references are at the Public Record Office.

CA DD BP PR QDC are at Notts County Archives Office in Nottingham.

Not. and Univ. are at Nottingham University.

L 36.9 LSL Doubleday Mellors are at the Local Studies Library in Nottingham.

PH indicates material in private hands

0 indicates no known material.

**10. Comments** giving additional information.

It should be noted that a friendly society was not static. It could change its meeting place, its affiliation or otherwise to an order, it could re-register and so change its registration number; it could change its name. Where information of this kind is known it has been noted in the comments section. As far as possible all such information has been checked to ensure that no society is recorded more than once regardless of such name changes.

e.g. Hucknall Huthwaite - Farmers Glory lodge of NAI began in 1841 - became the Loyal Good Intent Lodge of the Mansfield Order in 1872 and later became an independent society - the Huthwaite Good Intent Society. This is listed only as the Farmers Glory Lodge of the NAI.

**Key to abbreviations for type of society**

**Affiliated Orders**

AFG	British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners
ALB	Albion Order of Oddfellows
AOF	Ancient Order of Foresters
AOS	Ancient Order of Shepherds
AUI	Arnold Unity - Independent Order of Oddfellows
BRI	British United Order of Oddfellows
BUO	United Order of Oddfellows - Basford Unity
COUB	Catholic Order of United Brothers
DMU	Derby Midland United Order of Oddfellows
GT	Good Templars
GUO	Grand United Order of Oddfellows
IEV	Ilkeston and Erewash Valley United Order of Oddfellows
IOD	Independent Order of Druids
IOF	Independent Order of Oddfellows
IOOFLU	Improved Independent Order of Oddfellows - London Unity
IOR	Independent Order of Rechabites - Salford Unity
IOUB	Independent Order of United Brothers
IOUBGU	Independent Order of United Brothers - Loughborough Unity
IOUBLU	Independent Order of United Brothers - Leicester Unity
IOUBMU	Independent Order of United Brothers - Midland Unity
IOUBWU	Independent Order of United Brothers - Whitwick Unity
IUB	Independent United Brothers

LCC	Grand Independent Order of Loyal Caledonian Corks
LIOS	Loyal Independent Order of Shepherds
LIS	Loyal Independent Society of Oddfellows
LOI	Loyal Order of Independent Oddfellows
LSO	Leicestershire Seraphic Order of Oddfellows
MIO	Middleton Independent Order of Oddfellows
MOO	Metropolitan Order of Oddfellows, Nottingham District
MU	Independent Order of Oddfellows - Manchester Unity
NAI	Nottingham Ancient Imperial Union of Oddfellows
NAIUS	Nottingham Ancient Imperial Order of United Sisters
NALB	Nottingham Albion Independent Order of Oddfellows
NIOD	Nottingham Independent Order of Druids
NIOS	Nottingham Independent Order of Druidesses
NLI	Nottingham Loyal and Independent Order of Oddfellows
NOO	Nottingham Order of Oddfellows
OAM	Order of Ancient Maccabees
OD	Order of Druids
ORD	An Order - but not known which
POUB	Pure Order of United Britons
SED	Sheffield Equalised Independent Order of Druids
SOT	Sons of Temperance
TWC	Twentieth Century
UAOD	United Ancient Order of Druids
UB	United Britons
UOF	United Order of Free Gardeners
UOLIS	United Order of Loyal Independent Shepherds
UPN	United Patriots National Benefit Society
USF	Order of United Sisters - Suffolk Unity

#### Others

CHU	Societies based on a church
CS	Collecting Societies
Dep	Deposit Societies
Ind	Independent Societies
LPY	London and Provincial Yearly Dividing Society
OCC	Societies based on an occupation
RHO	Royal Hearts of Oak Yearly Dividing Friendly Society

## LIST OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

ANNESLEY							Ref 1
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 2
Ebenezer Tent 2095							
IOR	Reg 1	1891	0	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 3
Annesley Lodge 67							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1901	1905	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 4
* Daughters of Rechab Female Tent 3522							
IOR	Reg 1	1906	0	0	1910+	0	
ANNESLEY WOODHOUSE							Ref 5
* Annesley Woodhouse Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 412	1836	1860	0	1875?	FS1/573	
							Ref 6
F.S.							
Chu	Reg 241	1842	1845	1912	1912	FS3/311	
							Ref 7
* Female F.S.							
Chu	Reg 258	1843	1850	1945	1945	FS15/1189	
							Ref 8
Annesley Lodge 324							
NAI	Reg 589	1846	1856	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 9
Annesley F.S.							
Ind	Reg 274	1851?	1851	1904	1904	FS3/311	
							Ref 10
* Annesley Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 273	1851?	1851	1882	1891?	FS1/572	
							Ref 11
Court Pride of Eden 7992							
AOF	Reg 0	1891	0	0	1930?	0	
ARNOLD							Ref 12
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 33	1779	1794	0	1920+	FS3/308;DD959 1-6;L36.9;Not10.Q24	
Began as F.S. reg no. 33 but re-registered as Provident Society reg no.207 in 1813.							
							Ref 13
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 69	1784	1794	0	1905?	FS3/309	
							Ref 14
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 40	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 15
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 16
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 17
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 18
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 19
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	

							Ref 20
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 21
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 22
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 127	1809?	1809	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 23
Provident Lodge 6							
NAI	Reg 0	1815	0	0	1838	0	Ref 24
Nelson Lodge 26							
NAI	Reg 0	1831	0	0	1849?	0	Ref 25
Sherbrooke Lodge 721							
MU	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	
Seceded from IOO-MU to form Arnold Unlty 1858.							Ref 26
Vine Lodge 137							
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1905?	0	Ref 27
Pride of the Village Lodge							
AUI	Reg 0	1870?	0	0	1913+	0	
Joined NAI as lodge 1172 c.1913							Ref 28
Sherwood Lodge							
AUI	Reg 0	1870?	0	0	1913+	0	Ref 29
Joined NAI as lodge 1174 c.1913							
St Albans Lodge							
AUI	Reg 0	1870?	0	0	1913+	0	Ref 30
Joined NAI as lodge 1188 c.1913							
Thorneywood Lodge							
AUI	Reg 0	1870?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 31
Colonel Seeley Lodge 7066							
MU	Reg 1	1891	0	0	1988+	0	Ref 32
Balley Lodge 220							
RHO	Reg 1	1902?	1902	0	1905?	0	
ASLOCTON							Ref 33
Aslocton Protection F.S.							
Ind	Reg 877	1824?	1907	1944	1944	DD35 1-5; FS16a/1a	
Began as independent society; became Dickenson lodge NAI 1842;							
not NAI after 1875; registered as Aslocton Protection FS in 1907.							Ref 34
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1829?	0	0	1875?	0	
ATTENBOROUGH							Ref 35
* Launder Lodge							
NIOS	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 36
Ireton Lodge							
NIOD	Reg 0	1845?	0	0	1875?	0	
AWSWORTH							Ref 37
Middleton Lodge 6							
IEV	Reg 1	1849	1898	0	1910+	0	



BAGTHORPE								Ref 38
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 187	1813	1821	0	1875?	FS1/570		Ref 39
Court Robin Hood's Retreat 1498								
AOF	Reg 298	1841	1851	0	1988	PH		Ref 40
Royal Melbourne Rangers Lodge 744								
NAI	Reg 487	1865	1865	0	1910+	0		Ref 41
By 1891 had joined GUOOF								
Unlty Lodge								
IOF	Reg 713	1871	1885	0	1949	0		
BALDERTON								Ref 42
Friendly Union Society								
Ind	Reg 1	1798	1802	0	1942?	DDH54/17 & 26		Ref 43
Court Good Design 1194								
AOF	Reg 638	1841	1874	0	1910+	0		Ref 44
Wand Lodge 7905								
MU	Reg 1	1905	0	0	1910+	0		Ref 45
* Princess Mary Female Lodge 8741								
MU	Reg 1	1912	0	0	1912+	0		
BARNBY MOOR								Ref 46
Sandbeck Hunt Lodge 854								
NAI	Reg 569	1870?	1870	1941	1941	FS16/1a		
Became Sandbeck Hunt F.S. pre 1875								
BARTON								Ref 47
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 35	1794?	1794	0	1891?	FS3/308; L36.9		Ref 48
Brents Hill Lodge 114								
NAI	Reg 651	1843	1875	0	1910+	0		
BASFORD								Ref 49
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 67	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 50
* Basford Female F.S.								
Chu	Reg 380	1819	1858	1912	1912	FS3/312		Ref 51
Abercrombie Lodge								
MU	Reg 0	1821	0	0	1840	0		Ref 52
Opened 1821 and closed by 1833; re-opened 1832; amalgamated with Apollo Temple lodge 1840.								
Duke of Portland Lodge 869								
MU	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1838	0		Ref 53
Poor Man's Friend Lodge 925								
MU	Reg 306	1834	1852	0	1988	PH		Ref 54
Loyal Mechanic Lodge 2249								
MU	Reg 281	1840	1852	0	1916	0		Ref 55
Osberton Lodge 82								
NAI	Reg 479	1840?	1872	0	1910+	0		Ref 56
Pride of the Village Lodge 3290								
MU	Reg 322	1842	1854	1973	1973	0		

Provident Lodge 89							Ref 57
NAI	Reg 541	1842	1868	0	1910+	0	
Cave of Adullam							Ref 58
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0	
Good Intent Lodge							Ref 59
IOUBLU	Reg 423	1855	1861	1878	1878	0	
F.S.							Ref 60
Chu	Reg 357	1857?	1857	1943	1943	FS15/1147	
Village Rose Lodge 590							Ref 61
NAI	Reg 377	1858	1858	0	1894?	0	
Miners F.S.							Ref 62
Ind	Reg 404	1860?	1860	1863	1863	0	
Garibaldi Lodge							Ref 63
IOUB	Reg 450	1862?	1862	0	1931	0	
Joined POUB c.1865 became Garibaldi F S 1865-1885							
Albany Lodge							Ref 64
MU	Reg 481	1863	1863	0	1866	0	
Good Intent Lodge							Ref 65
POUB	Reg 492	1865?	1865	1877	1877	FS3/313	
Miners Lodge 54							Ref 66
POUB	Reg 504	1866	1866	0	1910+	0	
Good Intent Lodge							Ref 67
BUO	Reg 524	1867?	1867	0	1910+	FS1/573	
Duke of Newcastle Lodge 827							Ref 68
NAI	Reg 544	1868?	1868	0	1875?	0	
Court Duke of St Albans 5628							Ref 69
AOF	Reg 592	1871	1872	0	1910+	0	
Good Intent Lodge of United Britons							Ref 70
UB	Reg 640	1871	1874	0	1895?	FS3/314	
Byron Lodge							Ref 71
IOUBLU	Reg 664	1873	1874	0	1910+	0	
New Basford United F.S.							Ref 72
Ind	Reg 757	1875	1890	0	1920+	0	
Basford F.S.							Ref 73
Ind	Reg 656	1875?	1875	1886	1886?	0	
Later known as Live and Let Live F S.							
Good Samaritan Lodge of Independent United Brothers							Ref 74
IUB	Reg 681	1880	1880	1909	1909	FS3/314	
* Methodist Female Benefit Society							Ref 75
Chu	Reg 727	1882	1886	1911	1911	FS3/315	
No Surrender Lodge 1019							Ref 76
NAI	Reg 0	1882	0	0	1910+	0	
Shipstone Lodge 1070							Ref 77
NAI	Reg 1	1888	0	0	1894?	0	

							Ref 78
* Basford Female Benefit Society							
Ind	Reg 530	1890	1890	0	1905?	0	Ref 79
Joshua Holmes Lodge 877							
UAOD	Reg 1	1892	0	0	1910?	0	Ref 80
Shoulder of Mutton Lodge 42							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1893?	1893	0	1905?	0	Ref 81
Star Lodge 48							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1905?	0	Ref 82
New Basford Co-op Sick and Annual Society							
Ind	Reg 791	1895	1895	0	1920+	0	Ref 83
Old Basford United Sick and Annual Society							
Ind	Reg 823	1895	1895	1945	1945	FS16/1a	Ref 84
Basford and District Miners Sick and Annual Society							
OCC	Reg 824	1899	1899	1901	1901	FS3/317	Ref 85
William Jickell Lodge 874							
UAOD	Reg 0	1899	0	0	1912	0	Ref 86
Percy Street Sick and Annual Society							
Ind	Reg 840	1900	1901	1904	1904	FS3/317	Ref 87
Kings Coronation Lodge 265							
RHO	Reg 1	1902	1902	0	1905?	0	Ref 88
Southwark Street Sick and Annual Society							
Ind	Reg 854	1902	1902	1912	1912	FS3/317	Ref 89
Kings Coronation Lodge 54							
LPY	Reg 1	1905	1905	0	1910?	0	
BECKINGHAM							Ref 90
Court Duckle 963							
AOF	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1860	0	Ref 91
Court Willoughby 3242							
AOF	Reg 1	1860	1860	0	1910+	0	
Began at N. Wheatley; soon moved to Beckingham. Existed until 1895.							
A Court Willoughby registered 1902 and another 1912 (AOF Court 9456).							
BEESTON							Ref 92
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 37	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	Ref 93
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 141	1796	1806	0	1875?	0	Ref 94
Philanthropic Lodge 9							
NAI	Reg 291	1816	1852	0	1910+	0	Ref 95
Queen Beeston Oddfellows F.S.							
Ind	Reg 741	1844	1887	1912	1912	0	Ref 96
Possibly began as Queen's Lodge of ALB 1844							
* FS							
IOD	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 97
Beeston Provident Funeral Fund							
Chu	Reg 304	1853?	1853	1862	1862	0	

Court Waterloo 3638							Ref 98
AOF	Reg 0	1860?	0	0	1862?	0	
* White Lion Female F.S.							Ref 99
Ind	Reg 0	1865?	0	0	1875?	0	
Queens Lodge							Ref 100
IOUBLU	Reg 433	1870?	0	0	1875?	0	
Anchor Tent							Ref 101
IOR	Reg 633	1873	1873	0	1910+	0	
Began at Beeston; moved to Chilwell by 1905							Ref 102
Willing Friend Branch 51							
POUB	Reg 1	1873	1888	0	1910+	0	Ref 103
Baptist Sick Club							
Chu	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Owned land in 1873							Ref 104
* Beeston 9026							
MU	Reg 0	1912	0	0	1936	0	
BESTWOOD							Ref 105
Bestwood Lodge 54							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1895	1900	0	1910?	0	
BINGHAM							Ref 106
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 11	1790	1794	0	1875?	FS1/567	Ref 107
Fraternal Society							
Ind	Reg 12	1794?	1794	0	1864	FS1/567	Ref 108
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 174	1805	1809	0	1875?	FS1/569	Ref 109
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 113	1806	1806	0	1875?	DD/BW/107	Ref 110
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 227	1806	1834	0	1875?	0	Ref 111
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 131	1806	1809	0	1875?	FS1/567	Ref 112
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 180	1806	1809	0	1875?	FS1/569	Ref 113
Union Society							
Ind	Reg 133	1807	1808	0	1875?	FS1/567	Ref 114
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 114	1808?	1808	0	1875?	0	Ref 115
Harmonic Lodge 7							
NAI	Reg 301	1815	1852	1948	1948	FS16/1a	
Closed; re-opened 1831; independent post 1895 - c.1912; re-joined NAI as lodge 1170 c.1913							Ref 116
Earl of Chesterfield Lodge 669							
MU	Reg 309	1832	1853	0	1988+	0	Ref 117
* United Sisters Society							
Ind	Reg 213	1832	1832	0	1875?	FS1/569	

Nottingham County Friendly Society Branch							Ref 118
Ind	Reg 1	1851?	1851	0	1882	0	
Crown Lodge 526							Ref 119
NAI	Reg 0	1865	0	0	1891?	0	
Lion Lodge 703							Ref 120
NAI	Reg 1	1865	0	0	1910+	0	
BLEASBY							Ref 121
Court Farmers Glory							
AOF	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1845	0	
BLIDWORTH							Ref 122
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 50	1767	1794	0	1905?	FS3/308; PH	Ref 123
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 124
* F.S. of Women							Ref 125
Ind	Reg 171	1817?	1817	0	1875?	FS1/569	
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 215	1832	1836	1915	1915	FS15/547	Ref 126
Fountain Dale Lodge 608							
MU	Reg 631	1832	1874	1884	1884	FS3/314	Ref 127
Hearts of Oak Lodge 146							
NAI	Reg 470	1843	0	0	1895?	FS3/313	Ref 128
Sherwood Forest Branch 48							
POUB	Reg 1	1888?	1888	0	1894?	0	
BLYTH							Ref 129
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 130
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 131
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 132
Blyth Amicable							
Ind	Reg 196	1824?	1824	0	1875?	0	Ref 133
Faithful Friend Lodge 60							
NAI	Reg 339	1837?	1856	0	1905?	DDW99	Ref 134
Hope Lodge 425							
NAI	Reg 0	1848	0	0	1875?	0	
BOBBERS MILL							Ref 135
Duke of St Albans Lodge 753							
NAI	Reg 524	1867	0	0	1910+	0	
BOUGHTON							Ref 136
Solomon's Temple 926							
MU	Reg 0	1835	0	0	1845?	0	Ref 137
Robin Hoods Home 276							
NAI	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	

BRADMORE							Ref 138
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 98	1796?	1796	0	1875?	0	Ref 139
Pride of Rancilffe Lodge 200							
NAI	Reg 264	1844	1851	0	1910+	0	Ref 140
* Female F S							
Ind	Reg 0	1874?	0	0	1875?	0	
BRAMCOTE							Ref 141
Union Society							
Ind	Reg 193	1824	1824	0	1875?	FS1/570	Ref 142
* Bramcote Female Society							
Ind	Reg 342	1831	1856	1892	1892	FS3/312	
BRINSLEY							Ref 143
Loyal Covenant Lodge							
MU	Reg 324	1834	1854	0	1940	0	Ref 144
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 206	1842?	1842	0	1885	FS3/311	Ref 145
Court Little John's Retreat							
AOF	Reg 349	1853	1853	0	1988	0	
BULWELL							Ref 146
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 54	1787	1794	0	1875?	FS3/309	Ref 147
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 53	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	Ref 148
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 99	1796?	1796	0	1875?	0	Ref 149
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 102	1799?	1799	0	1875?	0	Ref 150
Stone Chapel Club							
Chu	Reg 219	1802	1835	0	1920+	0	Ref 151
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 111	1802?	1802	0	1880?	FS3/304	Ref 152
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 153
Diogenes Lodge 11							
NAI	Reg 0	1820?	0	0	1841?	0	Ref 154
Fountain of Friendship Lodge 42							
NAI	Reg 371	1838	1858	0	1910+	0	Ref 155
Apollo Temple Lodge 2324							
MU	Reg 585	1840	1871	0	1988+	0	Ref 156
* F.S. of Women							
Ind	Reg 238	1843?	1843	0	1895?	FS3/311	Ref 157
Padley Lodge 174							
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1905?	0	Ref 158
Temple of Friendship Lodge 3906							
MU	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1846	0	

Spring of Hope 280							Ref 159
NAI	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1905?	0	
Temple of Peace Lodge 4101							Ref 160
MU	Reg 327	1849	1854	0	1886	0	
Hearts of Oak Society							Ref 161
Ind	Reg 409	1860	1860	0	1863	FS1/573	
Fountain of Harmony Tent 130							Ref 162
IOR	Reg 647	1874	0	0	1910+	0	
Old School Lodge 7							Ref 163
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1874	1888	0	1910+	0	
Court Lily of the Vale 6556							Ref 164
AOF	Reg 1	1879	0	0	1910+	0	
Court Padley 7242							Ref 165
AOF	Reg 1	1884	0	0	1910+	0	
Star of Bulwell Lodge 15							Ref 166
LSO	Reg 1	1885	1885	0	1905?	0	
Pride of Bulwell 53							Ref 167
POUB	Reg 1	1886	1886	0	1887	0	
Registration cancelled in 1887. Joined NAI as Pride of Bulwell Lodge 1068 in 1888.							
Coventry Road F.S.							Ref 168
Ind	Reg 770	1889	0	0	1913	0	
Highbury Vale Lodge 11							Ref 169
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1889	0	0	1910+	0	
Hope to Prosper Lodge							Ref 170
BUO	Reg 1	1890	1890	0	1910+	0	
Coopers Lodge							Ref 171
UAOD	Reg 806	1892	1893	0	1910+	0	
Newstead Abbey Lodge							Ref 172
UAOD	Reg 822	1893	1893	0	1910+	0	
Bulwell Sick and Annual Society							Ref 173
Chu	Reg 865	1904	1904	0	1920+	0	
Bulwell Forest Division 1389							Ref 174
SOT	Reg 1	1909	1910	0	1910+	0	
* Florence Nightingale 9027							Ref 175
MU	Reg 0	1912	0	0	1920	0	
BUNNY							Ref 176
Bunny F.S.							
Ind	Reg 693	1825	1883	1909	1909	FS3/314	
* Female F S							Ref 177
Ind	Reg 0	1874?	0	0	1875?	0	
BURTON JOYCE							Ref 178
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 170	1798	1808	0	1875?	FS1/569; PH	



							Ref 179
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 180
Albion Glory Lodge							
IOF	Reg 0	1833	1867	1952	1952	PH	
CALVERTON							Ref 181
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 42	1783	1794	0	1905?	FS3/308	
							Ref 182
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 172	1799	1817	F	1875?	FS1/569	
							Ref 183
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 120	1802	1804	0	1905?	FS3/309	
							Ref 184
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 119	1803?	1804	0	1891?	0	
							Ref 185
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 201	1813	1827	0	1891?	FS1/570	
							Ref 186
Little John Lodge 39							
NAI	Reg 1	1832	1895	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 187
Foxwood Lodge 155							
NAI	Reg 1	1843	1895	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 188
Rock of Safety Tent 3191							
IOR	Reg 1	1903	1906	0	1910+	0	
CAR COLSTON							Ref 189
Rural Friendship Lodge 33							
ALB	Reg 0	1860?	0	0	1875?	0	
CARBURTON							Ref 190
Welbeck Lodge 190							
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	
Began at Carburton; removed to Cuckney by 1845.							
CARLTON							Ref 191
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 90	1781	1794	0	1894?	FS3/309	
							Ref 192
Amicable							
Ind	Reg 14	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 193
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 194
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 142	1806	1806	0	1838	FS1/568	
							Ref 195
Amicable							
Ind	Reg 115	1806?	1806	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 196
Willow Lodge No. 4							
NAI	Reg 0	1813	1832	0	1875?	PH	
Opened at Carlton; closed by 1830. Re-opened at Bulcole 1831.							
							Ref 197
Old Friendly Society							
Ind	Reg 183	1818	1821	0	1894?	FS3/310	

Lord Chesterfield Lodge							Ref 198
ALB	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	
Old Volunteer Sick Society							Ref 199
Ind	Reg 522	1833	1867	0	1947	FS15/1266; FS16/12	
* Carlton Female F.S.							Ref 200
Ind	Reg 674	1835	1880	0	1911	FS3/314	
Thorneywood Chase No. 407							Ref 201
NAI	Reg 1	1847	1885	0	1905?	0	
Court Caxton 4413							Ref 202
AOF	Reg 0	1864	0	0	1867	0	
Good Samaritan Sick Society							Ref 203
Chu	Reg 476	1864?	1864	1899	1899	FS3/313	
Court King William IV 5368							Ref 204
AOF	Reg 578	1869	1871	0	1964+	0	
Locomotive Steam Engine and Fireman's F.S. (Colwick)							Ref 205
OCC	Reg 1	1885	0	0	1910+	0	
Earl of Carnarvon Lodge 6994							Ref 206
MU	Reg 1	1890	1890	1949	1949	0	
* Court Queen Adelaide							Ref 207
AOF	Reg 1	1893	0	0	1900?	0	
Hope Of Carlton Tent 1604							Ref 208
IOR	Reg 1	1893	0	0	1910+	0	
Queen Alexandra Lodge 264							Ref 209
RHO	Reg 1	1902	0	0	1905?	0	
CARLTON IN LINDRICK							Ref 210
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
Carlton Equitable F.S.							Ref 211
Ind	Reg 240	1834?	1834	0	1920+	L36.9	
Friend in Need Lodge 92							Ref 212
NAI	Reg 594	1842	1872	0	1891?	0	
CARLTON ON TRENT							Ref 213
Albion Lodge 1906							
MU	Reg 588	1839	1872	1894	1894	0	
Possibly seceded from MU 1872							
CARRINGTON							Ref 214
Loyal Robin Hood Lodge 636							
MU	Reg 279	1832	1852	0	1968	0	
William IV Lodge 263							Ref 215
UAOD	Reg 0	1845?	0	0	1875?	0	
CAUNTON							Ref 216
Caunton F.S.							
Ind	Reg 204	1828	1828	0	1905?	FS3/311	
Friend in Need Lodge 2248							Ref 217
MU	Reg 580	1840	1871	1899	1899	FS3/313	
Began as lodge of MU Oddfellows in 1840s but in 1871 rules were enrolled as Caunton Friend in Need Society.							

Manor Lodge 296							Ref 218
NAI	Reg 542	1845	0	0	1898	FS3/313	
Began as Manor Lodge of NAI Oddfellows. This was probably the forerunner to Caunton Manor FS enrolled 1868 and dissolved 1898.							
CHILWELL							Ref 219
Chilwell Men's Old Sick Club							
Ind	Reg 65	1772	1794	0	1961	0	Ref 220
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 221
Sick or F.S.							
Chu	Reg 313	1819	1853	0	1920+	0	Ref 222
Began at Chilwell; moved to Beeston 1865							
Nelson Lodge 831							
MU	Reg 311	1834	1853	0	1988+	0	Ref 223
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1836	1836	0	1875?	0	
CLARBOROUGH							Ref 224
Retford and Bassellaw Benevolent Society							
Ind	Reg 216	1836	1836	0	1875?	0	
CLIFTON							Ref 225
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 176	1807	1808	0	1891	FS3/309, 310	Ref 226
Court 1101							
AOF	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1845?	0	Ref 227
Dispensation granted but no statistics ever appeared in Directories.							
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 1	1845?	1845	0	1875?	PR16943	Ref 228
Clifton Colliery Working Men's Society 1167							
NAI	Reg 1	1913	1913	0	1913+	0	
CLIPSTONE							Ref 229
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 63	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
CODDINGTON							Ref 230
Beacon Field Lodge 213							
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	
COLLINGHAM							Ref 231
Collingham F.S.							
Ind	Reg 3	1766	1794	1894	1894	FS3/308	Ref 232
Farmer's Glory Lodge 1298							
MU	Reg 1	1837	1853	0	1910+	DDH 54/18 & 19; DDH 54/26 & 27	
Began as lodge of MU 1837; registered as Mutual Help FS 1885. In 1912 AOF Court Mutual Help established - possibly same society.							
Court Victoria 1680							Ref 233
AOF	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1848	0	Ref 234
Independent Provident Society							
Ind	Reg 0	1869?	0	0	1875?	0	
Reference to this society in "The History of Collingham" 1869 - existed at that time.							

COLSTON BASSETT								Ref 235
Nottingham County F.S. Branch								
Ind	Reg 1	1850	1850	0	1882	0		
COSSALL								Ref 236
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 94	1796	1796	0	1875?	0		Ref 237
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 238
Digby Lodge 220								
NAI	Reg 314	1844	1853	0	1875?	FS1/572		
COSTOCK								Ref 239
Generous Briton Lodge 743								
NAI	Reg 523	1867?	1867	1906	1906	FS3/313		
COTGRAVE								Ref 240
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1820?	0	0	1833	0		Ref 241
* Female F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1820?	0	0	1833	0		Ref 242
Colgrave F.S.								
Ind	Reg 226	1833	1833	0	1867	FS1/571		Ref 243
Manvers Lodge 51								
NAI	Reg 1	1833?	0	0	1875?	0		
CROPWELL BISHOP								Ref 244
F.S.								
Chu	Reg 1	1842	1843	0	1953?	PH		Ref 245
Unity Lodge 182								
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0		
CROPWELL BUTLER								Ref 246
God Speed the Plough Lodge 4220								
MU	Reg 379	1846	1858	0	1969	DD898/1 & 2		
CUCKNEY								Ref 247
Cuckney Amicable Club								
Ind	Reg 61	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 248
Junior Society								
Ind	Reg 147	1809	1811	0	1875?	FS1/568		Ref 249
Sick and Burial Society								
Ind	Reg 426	1861	1861	1898	1898	FS3/313		
DUNHAM								Ref 250
Nottinghamshire County F.S. Branch								
Ind	Reg 1	1850	1850	0	1882	0		
EAKRING								Ref 251
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 104	1799	1800	0	1875?	0		Ref 252
Earl of Scarborough Lodge								
MU	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1876?	0		

							Ref 253
Rufford Abbey Lodge 361							
NAI	Reg 0	1846	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 254
Eakring Provident Club							
Ind	Reg 684	1883	1883	1913	1913	FS3/314	
EAST BRIDGFORD							Ref 255
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 134	1808	1816	0	1875?	FS1/567	Ref 256
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 167	1809	1815	0	1875?	FS1/569	Ref 257
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 166	1809	1815	0	1875?	FS1/567	Ref 258
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 159	1813	1813	0	1875?	FS1/568	Ref 259
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 205	1828?	1828	0	1875?	0	Ref 260
East Bridgford Primitive Methodist F.S.							
Chu	Reg 767	1840	0	0	1910+	0	Ref 261
Bridgford Hill Lodge 144							
NAI	Reg 1	1843	1879	0	1910+	0	
EAST LEAKE							Ref 262
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 263
Loyal Rushcliffe Lodge 635							
MU	Reg 296	1832	1852	0	1968	0	Ref 264
Widow's Hope Lodge 100							
NAI	Reg 554	1842	1869	1913	1913	FS15/554	
Became independent society between 1875-1891							Ref 265
* Lily of the Valley Lodge 16							
NAIUS	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 266
* Star of Bethlehem Lodge 15							
NAIUS	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1849	0	Ref 267
Benevolent Perseverance F.S.							
Ind	Reg 875	1906?	1906	0	1946	FS16/1a	
EAST MARKHAM							Ref 268
Markham Moor Lodge 83							
NAI	Reg 1	1840	1895	0	1910+	0	Ref 269
Sick and Dividing Society							
Ind	Reg 0	1907?	0	0	1910?	0	
EAST RETFORD							Ref 270
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 93	1760	1794	0	1891?	FS1/567	Ref 271
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 194	1778	1824	0	1891?	FS3/317	Ref 272
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 58	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	

							Ref 273
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 80	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 274
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 81	1794?	1794	0	1891?	0	
							Ref 275
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 84	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 276
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 85	1794?	1794	0	1886	0	
							Ref 277
* Neighbourly Womens Society							
Ind	Reg 83	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 278
Old Sun Club							
Ind	Reg 349	1806?	1806	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 279
Methodist Benefit Society							
Chu	Reg 0	1812	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 280
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 348	1813	1814	0	1891?	FS1/572	
							Ref 281
Loyal and Independent Lodge of Oddfellows							
Ind	Reg 0	1823	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 282
Relford and Bassellaw Benefit Society							
Ind	Reg 216	1836	1836	0	1836	FS1/570	
One one member ever joined this society.							Ref 283
Victory Lodge 1408							
MU	Reg 356	1838	1857	0	1980+	0	
							Ref 284
Loyal Orphans Protector							
MU	Reg 365	1839	1858	0	1910?	0	
							Ref 285
Court Howard 1675							
AOF	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1848?	0	
							Ref 286
St George of England Lodge							
LOI	Reg 349	1844	0	0	1891?	0	
							Ref 287
St George of England Lodge 189							
NAI	Reg 341	1844	1852	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 288
Galway Lodge 695							
NAI	Reg 501	1865	1866	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 289
Court Live and Let Live							
AOF	Reg 516	1866	1866	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 290
Court Hand in Hand 5475							
AOF	Reg 568	1870	1870	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 291
Foljambe Lodge 857							
NAI	Reg 564	1870	1870	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 292
Sick Club of the Albion Railway Wagon Works							
OCC	Reg 648	1875	1875	0	1878?	0	
							Ref 293
Sanctuary Live and Let live							
AOS	Reg 652	1875?	1875	0	1910+	0	

EAST STOKE							Ref 294
East Stoke F.S.							
Ind	Reg 351	1817	1847	1907	1907	FS3/312	
EASTWOOD							Ref 295
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 21	1751	1794	0	1875?	FS1/567	
* Female F.S.							Ref 296
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
Rising Sun Lodge 376							Ref 297
MU	Reg 389	1829	1859	0	1988+	0	
Eastwood Equitable F.S.							Ref 298
Ind	Reg 217	1835?	1835	0	1875?	FS1/570	
Greasley Castle 61							Ref 299
DMU	Reg 1	1870	1872	0	1910+	0	
Court Star on the Hill 6695							Ref 300
AOF	Reg 1	1880	1882	0	1960	0	
Bright Venus F.S. of Oddfellows							Ref 301
Ind	Reg 716	1885?	1885	0	1948	FS16/1a	
Duke of Newcastle Branch 55							Ref 302
POUB	Reg 1	1888?	1888	0	1910?	0	
Pride of Eastwood Lodge 1129							Ref 303
NAI	Reg 1129	1899	1899	0	1900?	0	
Eastwood Victor Lodge							Ref 304
RHO	Reg 161	1900?	1900	0	1905?	0	
EDINGLEY							Ref 305
FS							
Ind	Reg 0	1827	0	0	1875?	0	
EDWINSTOWE							Ref 306
Humane and Brotherly Society							
Ind	Reg 190	1799	1806	0	1894?	FS3/310	
Birkland and Bliagh Lodge.47							Ref 307
NAI	Reg 276	1833	1851	0	1910+	D77/1; PH	
F.S.							Ref 308
Ind	Reg 252	1851?	1851	0	1891?	FS1/572	
ELKESLEY							Ref 309
Newcastle Lodge 3847							
MU	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1848?	0	
Court Clinton 1919							Ref 310
AOF	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1849?	0	
Portland Lodge 4668							Ref 311
MU	Reg 1	1859	1859	0	1910+	DD261;DD259	
ELSTON							Ref 312
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 110	1802?	1802	0	1875?	0	
Loyal Bromley Lodge 722							Ref 313
MU	Reg 321	1833	1854	1912	1912	FS3/311	
Opened at Elston; later moved to N Muskham; seems to have closed by 1875?; re-opened 1904 as Bromley Lodge 7895; dissolved 1912.							



EPPERSTONE							Ref 314
Dover Beck F.S.							
Ind	Reg 819	1843	1898	1948	1948	FS16/1a	
Order Beck Lodge 142							Ref 315
NAI	Reg 1	1843	1870	0	1905?	L36.9	
EVERTON							Ref 316
Everton and Mattersey F.S.							
Ind	Reg 150	1812?	1812	0	1905?	FS3/309	
Faithful Brethren Lodge 63							Ref 317
NAI	Reg 0	1838?	0	0	1905?	0	
Lilium Tent 3889							Ref 318
IOR	Reg 1	1909	0	0	1910+	0	
FARNDON							Ref 319
Court Britannia 1290							
AOF	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1848?	0	
Bramby Lodge of Oddfellows							Ref 320
ORD	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Owned land in 1873							
FARNSFIELD							Ref 321
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 6	1771	1794	0	1875?	0	
New F.S.							Ref 322
Ind	Reg 112	1802?	1802	0	1875?	0	
F.S.							Ref 323
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
F.S.							Ref 324
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
F.S.							Ref 325
Ind	Reg 277	1830	1851	1911	1911	FS3/311	
Robin Hood Lodge 8							Ref 326
NAI	Reg 366	1831	1858	1946	1946	FS15/1284	
Was lodge of NAI but by 1905 was an independent FS.							Ref 327
Court Farnsfield Pride 2060							
AOF	Reg 268	1846	1852	0	1915+	FS3/311	
Seems to have closed around 1872 but reopened 1912 as Court Pride of Farnsfield 9474 AOF.							
FINNINGLEY							Ref 328
Good Intent Lodge 1144							
MU	Reg 383	1836	1858	1877	1877	0	
FISKERTON							Ref 329
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 106	1801?	1801	0	1875?	0	
Watermans Ark Lodge 139							Ref 330
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0	
Self-help Society							Ref 331
Ind	Reg 0	1891	0	0	1895?	0	

FLINTHAM								Ref 332
Thomas Hildyard Lodge 4073								
MU	Reg 0	1846	0	0	1865?	0		
GOTHAM								Ref 333
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 13	1781	1794	0	1875?	LSL Doubleday		Ref 334
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 57	1794?	1794	0	1891?	0		Ref 335
* Female F.S.								
Ind	Reg 185	1819	1822	1895	1895	FS3/310		Ref 336
Prince Albert Lodge 95								
NAI	Reg 1	1842	0	0	1905?	0		Ref 337
Gotham Pioneers Tent 3036								
IOR	Reg 1	1901	1902	0	1910+	0		Ref 338
Gotham Old F.S.								
Ind	Reg 863	1904?	1904	0	1920+	0		
Became lodge 1156 of NAI c.1913								
GRANBY								Ref 339
Granby Lodge 11								
NAI	Reg 0	1841	0	0	1964	DD35/5		
Began as branch of NAI; became independent society; in 1912 joined MU as Granby Lodge which amalgamated with another lodge 1964.								
GREASLEY								Ref 340
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 15	1781	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 341
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 140	1801	1806	0	1875?	FS1/568		Ref 342
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 343
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 344
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 345
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 346
* F.S. of Women								
Ind	Reg 164	1815?	1815	0	1875?	0		Ref 347
Ebenezer Lodge								
LIOS	Reg 437	1839	1861	0	1913	0		Ref 348
Greasley Castle Lodge								
LIS	Reg 590	1870	1872	0	1891?	0		Ref 349
Earl Cowpe Lodge								
LIS	Reg 582	1871?	1871	0	1885	FS1/573		
GRINGLEY								Ref 350
Gringley Imperial Funeral Society								
Ind	Reg 408	1834	1860	1885	1885	FS1/573		

Princess Royal Lodge 79							Ref 351
NAI	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1910+	0	
Farmers Glory Lodge							Ref 352
NAI	Reg 551	1869	1869	0	1910+	0	
Began as lodge of NAI - was dissolved in 1882; registered as independent society 1883; rejoined NAI as lodge 1159 c.1913							Ref 353
Beacon Tent 3845							
IOR	Reg 1	1909	1909	0	1910+	0	
GROVE							Ref 354
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
GUNTHORPE							Ref 355
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 165	1807	1815	0	1875	FS1/568	Ref 356
Friendship Lodge 172							
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 357
Trent Vale Sick Club							
Ind	Reg 336	1856?	1856	0	1920+	0	
HARBY							Ref 358
Court Poor Man's Hope 1040							
AOF	Reg 317	1841	1853	0	1910+	0	
HICKLING							Ref 359
Amicable and Frugal Society							
Ind	Reg 46	1785	1794	1912	1912	FS3/308	Ref 360
Court Lady Norton 1612							
AOF	Reg 354	1843	1857	1912	1912	FS3/312	
Was suspended from the AOF in 1878 but continued as independent society until 1912.							Ref 361
Oddfellows Club							
ORD	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Owned land in 1873							
HOLBECK							Ref 362
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 234	1839	1841	1901	1901	FS3/311	
HOLME PIERRPONT							Ref 363
Lamcole F.S.							
Ind	Reg 184	1821?	1821	1886	1886	FS1/569	
HOVERINGHAM							Ref 364
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 4	1790	1794	0	1875?	FS1/567	Ref 365
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 122	1808?	1808	0	1875?	0	Ref 366
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 154	1814?	1814	0	1875?	0	

# HUCKNALL HUTHWAITE

F.S.							Ref 367
Ind	Reg 158	1813	1813	0	1875?	FS1/568	
							Ref 368
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 161	1814?	1814	0	1875?	FS1/568	Ref 369
Farmers Glory Lodge							
NAI	Reg 591	1841	1872	1912	1912	FS1/573	
Began as NAI lodge in 1841; became Loyal Good Intent Lo. 3101 Mansfield Ind.District Order 1872;later Huthwaite Good Intent F.S.							Ref 370
River Mann Lodge							
UAOD	Reg 0	1848?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 371
Charles Seeley Lodge 849							
NAI	Reg 609	1873	1873	0	1910+	0	Ref 372
Carnarvon Branch 23							
POUB	Reg 0	1878	0	0	1910+	0	Ref 373
Lily of the Valley Lodge 6							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1888	1888	0	1905?	0	Ref 374
White Hart Lodge 22							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1888	1888	0	1910+	0	Ref 375
Bainbridge Excelsior Lodge 73							
DMU	Reg 1	1890	1890	0	1910+	0	Ref 376
Rising Star Lodge F.S.							
Ind	Reg 780	1893	1894	0	1920+	0	Ref 377
Court Pride of Hucknall Huthwaite 8274							
AOF	Reg 1	1894	1894	0	1910+	0	Ref 378
Hucknall H. United Methodist Free Church F.S.							
Chu	Reg 785	1894	1894	0	1920+	0	Ref 379
A B Markham's Pride F S							
Ind	Reg 857	1903	1904	0	1920+	0	Ref 380
Excelsior Tent 3449							
IOR	Reg 1	1905	0	0	1910+	0	

# HUCKNALL TORKARD

F.S.							Ref 381
Ind	Reg 75	1770	1794	1870	1940+	FS3/309	
Began as FS and later became a trading society known as Old Mill Club where profits went towards sick pay.							Ref 382
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 55	1788	1794	0	1905?	FS3/309	Ref 383
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 88	1792	1794	0	1891?	FS3/309	Ref 384
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 385
F.S.							
Chu	Reg 191	1814	1823	1953	1953	FS16/1a	Ref 386
Benevolent Lodge 8							
NAI	Reg 0	1816	0	0	1830?	0	Ref 387
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 220	1835?	1835	0	1875?	FS1/571	

							Ref 388
Hucknall Torkard General Baptist F.S.							
Chu	Reg 731	1843	1886	0	1920+	0	
							Ref 389
Byrons Rest Lodge 4021							
MU	Reg 283	1845	1852	0	1981	0	
							Ref 390
Portland Lodge							
IOD	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 391
Prince of Wales Lodge 22							
IEV	Reg 1	1864	1899	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 392
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 0	1865?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 393
* General Baptist Female Society							
Chu	Reg 0	1865?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 394
Court Portland Foresters 5800							
AOF	Reg 645	1873	1874	0	1967+	0	
							Ref 395
Lord Byron Lodge 75							
ALB	Reg 1	1873	1875	1912	1912	FS5/2	
							Ref 396
Dragon Lodge							
IOUBLU	Reg 654	1874	1875	1898	1898	FS3/314	
Began as Lodge of IOUBLU- became independent society 1875.							Ref 397
Perseverance Lodge 7							
LSO	Reg 1	1876	1876	0	1887	0	
							Ref 398
Hearts of Oak Lodge 11							
LSO	Reg 1	1877	1878	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 399
Perseverance Lodge 1546							
OD	Reg 1	1877	1883	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 400
Hucknall Torkard Good Intent FS							
Ind	Reg 748	1878	1888	1907	1907	FS3/315	
							Ref 401
Good Samaritan Tent 1289							
IOR	Reg 1	1879	1888	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 402
Pride of Hucknall F.S.							
Ind	Reg 721	1885	1885	1909	1909	FS3/315	
							Ref 403
Jolly Colliers Lodge 33							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1892	0	0	1910?	0	
							Ref 404
Loyal Robinson Lodge 51							
IOUBWU	Reg 1	1895?	1895	0	1910+	0	
Began as lodge of IOUBWU but joined IOUBMU before 1905.							Ref 405
Pride of Hucknall Lodge 172							
RHO	Reg 1	1902?	1902	0	1905?	0	
							Ref 406
* Emblem of Purity Female Tent 3188							
IOR	Reg 1	1906	0	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 407
Hucknall Torkard Branch 310							
UPN	Reg 1	1910	1910	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 408
Hucknall Gladstone Sick and Accident Soc.							
OCC	Reg 1	1911?	1911	0	1911+	0	
							Ref 409
Pride of Hucknall Lodge 279							
LPY	Reg 1	1911?	1911	0	1911+	0	

HYSON GREEN							Ref 410
Prince Albert Lodge							
MOO	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	
KEYWORTH							Ref 411
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 460	1825	1877	0	1913+	0	
Joined NAI as lodge 1164 c.1913.							Ref 412
* Keyworth Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 486	1838	1865	1913	1913	FS3/313	Ref 413
Flawforth Lodge 40							
NAI	Reg 395	1839	1859	0	1910+	0	
KIMBERLEY							Ref 414
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 160	1808	1814	0	1875?	0	Ref 415
Kimberley Provident Society							
Ind	Reg 385	1832	1859	0	1867	0	Ref 416
Rose of Sharon 9							
ALB	Reg 0	1846?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 417
Peace and Charly Lodge 1108							
GUO	Reg 500	1856	1865	0	1905?	FS3/313	Ref 418
Kimberley F.S.							
Ind	Reg 387	1859?	1859	0	1875?	FS3/313	Ref 419
Court Band of Hope 4311							
ACF	Reg 484	1863	1865	0	1967+	0	Ref 420
Melbourne Lodge							
NLI	Reg 0	1865?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 421
Duke of Portland Lodge 19							
IEV	Reg 639	1874	1874	0	1910+	0	Ref 422
Began as lodge of IEV later converted into a branch.							
United F.S.							
Ind	Reg 643	1874?	1874	1897	1897	FS3/314	Ref 423
Palm of Victory Tent 1501							
IOR	Reg 1	1884	1888	0	1910+	0	Ref 424
Speedwell Branch No 1							
NIOD	Reg 1	1889?	1889	0	1920	FS10/49	Ref 425
Hastings Medhurst Lodge 209							
RHO	Reg 1	1902?	1902	0	1905?	0	
KINOULTON							Ref 426
Kinoulton F.S.							
Ind	Reg 343	1827	1856	1912	1912	L36.9	Ref 427
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1853?	0	0	1875?	0	
KIRKBY FOLLEY							Ref 428
Hearts of Oak Lodge							
POUB	Reg 565	1870	1870	0	1891?	0	
Began at Kirkby Folley; later moved to Annesley Woodhouse							

Rose of Sherwood Lodge 804							Ref 429
NAI	Reg 572	1870	1870	0	1910+	0	
Court United Foresters 6696							Ref 430
AOF	Reg 1	1880	1882	0	1980	0	
KIRKBY IN ASHFIELD							Ref 431
Ancient and Friendly Society							
Ind	Reg 29	1768	1794	1865	1865	FS1/567	Ref 432
Blue F.S.							
Ind	Reg 56	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	Ref 433
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 228	1799	1837	0	1867?	FS3/310	Ref 434
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 233	1808	1841	1881	1881	FS3/311	Ref 435
Sherwood F.S							
Ind	Reg 179	1818	1818	1913	1913	0	Ref 436
Newstead Lodge 16							
NAI	Reg 284	1832	1832	0	1910+	0	Ref 437
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 246	1836	1841	0	1910+	0	Ref 438
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 229	1838?	1838	0	1910+	FS16/1a	
Began at Kirkby in Ashfield and later moved to Annesley Woodhouse.							Ref 439
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 239	1841	1844	0	1891?	FS1/571	Ref 440
* Rose of Newstead Lodge 12							
NAIUS	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 441
* Friendships Bower Lodge 18							
NAIUS	Reg 0	1846	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 442
Sherwood Forest Lodge No. 2							
LSO	Reg 577	1869	1871	0	1952	FS16/1a	
Began at Kirkby in Ashfield; moved to Annesley by 1876; after 1910 became Annesley Sherwood Foresters FS.							Ref 443
United Lodge							
POUB	Reg 597	1872?	1872	0	1878?	FS3/314	Ref 444
Robin Hood Division 366							
SOT	Reg 625	1873?	1873	0	1891?	0	Ref 445
Sherwood United F.S.							
Ind	Reg 666	1876	1877	0	1912	FS3/314	Ref 446
Reuben Davis Pride Lodge 835							
UAOD	Reg 1	1894	1894	0	1910+	0	Ref 447
Sherwood Lodge 59							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1897	1900	0	1910+	0	Ref 448
Ashfield F.S.							
Ind	Reg 906	1911?	1911	0	1915+	0	Ref 449
Ashfield Lodge							
MU	Reg 0	1912	0	0	1918+	0	



KNEESALL								Ref 450
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 124	1809?	1809	0	1891?	0		Ref 451
Court Good Intent 1553								
AOF	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1849?	0		
LAMBLEY								Ref 452
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 52	1794?	1794	0	1875?	DDM 41/31		Ref 453
* Female Society								
Ind	Reg 130	1799	1810	0	1875?	FS1/567		Ref 454
* Female F.S.								
Ind	Reg 126	1809?	1809	0	1875?	0		Ref 455
F.S.								
Chu	Reg 209	1822	1829	0	1875?	FS1/570		Ref 456
Lambley F.S.								
Ind	Reg 230	1839	1840	1950	1950	FS16/1a		
LANEHAM								Ref 457
Court Unily 965								
AOF	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1852	0		Ref 458
Prince Albert Lodge 2524								
MU	Reg 586	1840	1871	0	1881	FS3/314		
LAXTON								Ref 459
Laxtonian Society								
Ind	Reg 168	1800	1815	1873	1873	FS1/567;FS1/569;FS1/572;FS3/310;QDC4/4.		
Became Amicable and Economic Society 1832;also known as Economic Fund; reverted to Laxtonian Society 1858.								Ref 460
Lexington Lodge 260								
NAI	Reg 531	1845	1868	0	1896	FS3/313		
LENTON								Ref 461
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 70	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 462
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 463
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 464
Anacreantic Good Intent Lodge 322								
MU	Reg 288	1828	1852	1872	1872	FS1/571		Ref 465
Seceded from MU 1870; closed 1872								
Prince of Wales Lodge								
MOO	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 466
Willoughby Lodge 106								
NAI	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1879?	0		Ref 467
Pelham Lodge 564								
NAI	Reg 472	1863	1864	0	1910+	0		Ref 468
Lenton Good Intent Society								
Ind	Reg 555	1869?	1869	1897	1897	FS3/313		

							Ref 469
Progress Tent							
IOR	Reg 634	1874?	1874	1878	1878	0	
							Ref 470
Willoughby Lodge 7067							
MU	Reg 1	1891	1893	0	1905?	0	
							Ref 471
Donovan Lodge 35							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1905?	0	
LINBY							Ref 472
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 199	1805	1826	0	1875?	FS1/570	
							Ref 473
Good Intent							
MU	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1865?	0	
							Ref 474
Linby Good Intent 870							
NAI	Reg 579	1867?	1867	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 475
Rose of Sharon 6							
LSO	Reg 1	1876?	1876	0	1910+	0	
Began at Linby; moved to Hucknall Torkard pre 1894							
LOUND							Ref 476
Court Hearts of Oak 5172							
AOF	Reg 550	1868	1869	0	1910?	0	
LOWDHAM							Ref 477
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 44	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 478
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 149	1812?	1812	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 479
Male F.S.							
Ind	Reg 413	1826	1860	0	1920+	0	
							Ref 480
Trent Vale Lodge 793							
MU	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1846	0	
							Ref 481
Prince of Wales Lodge							
IOUBLU	Reg 447	1855	1862	0	1875?	0	
MANSFIELD							Ref 482
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 10	1793	1794	0	1905?	FS3/308	
							Ref 483
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 48	1794?	1794	1858	1858	0	
							Ref 484
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 23	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 485
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 22	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 486
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 26	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 487
Brotherly Society							
Ind	Reg 30	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 488
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 36	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	

							Ref 489
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 8	1794?	1794	0	1875?	FS1/567	
							Ref 490
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 20	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 491
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 492
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 493
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 24	1794?	1794	0	1875?	FS1/567	
							Ref 494
Hearls of Oak Amicable							
Ind	Reg 28	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 495
F.S. for Relief of Widows of Clergy in Notts							
Ind	Reg 100	1796?	1796	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 496
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 211	1799	1822	0	1875?	FS1/570	
							Ref 497
Independent Union Society							
Chu	Reg 186	1802	1822	0	1875?	FS1/570	
							Ref 498
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 178	1808	1818	0	1875?	FS1/569	
							Ref 499
Ten United Societies							
Ind	Reg 254	1808?	1808	0	1875?	FS1/572	
							Ref 500
F.S.							
Chu	Reg 125	1809?	1809	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 501
* F.S. of Females							
Ind	Reg 182	1812	1820	0	1875?	FS1/569	
							Ref 502
Minerva Lodge 10							
NAI	Reg 302	1817	1852	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 503
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 350	1820	1820	0	1891	FS1/572;FS3/312	
							Ref 504
Loyal Industry Lodge 66							
MU	Reg 497	1820	1866	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 505
* Female F.S.							
Chu	Reg 221	1831	1831	0	1875?	FS1/571	
							Ref 506
Phoenix Lodge 571							
MU	Reg 1	1832	1879	0	1894	0	
Began at Mansfield; moved to Sutton in Ashfield after 1847							
							Ref 507
Lodge 217							
UAOD	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 508
Sherwood Lodge 220							
UAOD	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 509
Rising Sun Club of Friendly Foresters							
Ind	Reg 355	1834	1851	1903	1903	FS3/312	
							Ref 510
Sherwood Lodge 52							
NAI	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1910+	0	

Loyal Sherwood Lodge 1689							Ref 511
MU	Reg 571	1839	1870	0	1980+	0	
Provident F.S.							Ref 512
Ind	Reg 278	1841	1851	0	1880	FS3/311	
Lodge							Ref 513
GUO	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	
Union Society							Ref 514
Chu	Reg 222	1845	1845	0	1875?	FS1/571	
Sherwood Foresters Lodge							Ref 515
Ind	Reg 0	1845?	0	0	1875?	0	
Annual Sick Society							Ref 516
Ind	Reg 0	1846?	0	0	1875?	0	
Provident Society							Ref 517
Ind	Reg 0	1846?	0	0	1875?	0	
Wildman Lodge 398							Ref 518
NAI	Reg 328	1847	1854	0	1910+	0	
Berry Hill lodge 427							Ref 519
NAI	Reg 1	1848	0	0	1867	FS1/573	
Court Pride of Sherwood 2267							Ref 520
AOF	Reg 0	1848	0	0	1850?	0	
Royal Foresters Lodge 436							Ref 521
NAI	Reg 1	1848	1891	0	1910+	0	
Funeral Society and Death Club							Ref 522
Ind	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Old Meeting Brotherly Society							Ref 523
Ind	Reg 394	1859?	1859	1865	1865	FS1/573	
Mansfield Temperance Benefit Society							Ref 524
Ind	Reg 625	1873?	1873	1876	1876	0	
Mansfield Industrial F.S.							Ref 525
Ind	Reg 678	1880	1880	0	1920+	0	
Mansfield Life Boat F.S.							Ref 526
Ind	Reg 682	1880	1881	0	1910+	0	
Royal Grove Lodge 260							Ref 527
UAOD	Reg 0	1880?	0	1903	1903	0	
Sherwood Forest Tent							Ref 528
IOR	Reg 1	1888	1890	0	1910+	0	
Stanton Hill F.S.							Ref 529
Ind	Reg 1	1888?	1888	0	1891?	0	
Portland and York Lodge 1076							Ref 530
NAI	Reg 1	1889	1890	0	1905?	0	
Arthur Howard Bonser Lodge 784							Ref 531
UAOD	Reg 1	1891	1893	0	1910+	0	
Mansfield Charla Lodge 34							Ref 532
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1892	0	0	1910+	0	

Pride of Mansfield Lodge 838							Ref 533
UAOD	Reg 1	1894	1895	0	1910+	0	
Court Howard 9045							Ref 534
AOF	Reg 1	1902	1902	0	1915+	0	
Crown Coronation Lodge 247							Ref 535
RHO	Reg 1	1903	1903	0	1905?	0	
* Duchess of Portland Lodge 1149F							Ref 536
NAI	Reg 0	1903	0	0	1910+	0	
* Female Lodge							Ref 537
NOO	Reg 0	1903	0	0	1905?	0	
Excelsior Lodge							Ref 538
SED	Reg 0	1905	0	0	1910+	0	
Hearts of Oak Benefit Society							Ref 539
Ind	Reg 0	1905	0	0	1910?	0	
Pride of Pleasley Hill Tent 3364							Ref 540
IOR	Reg 1	1905	0	0	1910+	0	
Green Dragon Lodge 126							Ref 541
LPY	Reg 1	1906	0	0	1910+	0	
* Mansfield Female Lodge 8241							Ref 542
MU	Reg 0	1911	0	0	1911+	0	
MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE							Ref 543
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 117	1758	1794	0	1875?	FS1/567	Ref 544
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 47	1766	1794	0	1905?	FS3/308	Ref 545
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 116	1766	1806	0	1875?	FS1/567; LSL Bonser	Ref 546
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 16	1766	1794	0	1850?	FS3/308	Ref 547
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 34	1780	1794	0	1894?	FS3/308	Ref 548
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 41	1794?	1794	0	1802?	0	Ref 549
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 45	1794?	1794	0	1802	0	Ref 550
Portland Lodge 24							
NAI	Reg 333	1831	1853	1916	1916	FS15/550	
Began as NAI lodge reg.no. 35; became Portland Lodge FS between 1876 and 1891.							Ref 551
Debdale Lodge 99							
UAOD	Reg 416	1835	1850	1909	1909	FS3/313	Ref 552
Mansfield Woodhouse F.S.							
Ind	Reg 439	1861	1862	1937	1937	0	Ref 553
Mansfield Woodhouse New Mutual Aid Soc.							
Chu	Reg 838	1900	1901	0	1910+	0	

							Ref 554
Birkland Tent 3060							
IOR	Reg 1	1901	1902	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 555
Court Royal 9027							
AOF	Reg 1	1901	1902	0	1910?	0	
							Ref 556
Sherwood Lodge 190							
RHO	Reg 1	1901?	1901	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 557
Sherwood Lodge 228							
LPY	Reg 1	1911	0	0	1911+	0	
MATTERSEY							Ref 558
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 150	1818?	1812	0	1875?	0	
MISSON							Ref 559
Royal Oak Lodge 2194							
MU	Reg 619	1840	1872	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 560
Clumber Lodge 90							
NAI	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1875?	0	
MISTERTON							Ref 561
Misterton Friendly Union Society							
Ind	Reg 208	1828?	1828	1890	1890	0	
							Ref 562
Misterton Beckett Lodge							
Ind	Reg 738	1887	1887	0	1920+	0	
							Ref 563
Century Tent 3041							
IOR	Reg 1	1901	1901	0	1910+	0	
MORTON							Ref 564
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 565
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
NETHER LANGWITH							Ref 566
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 72	1794?	1794	0	1882	0	
NEWARK							Ref 567
Roses F.S.							
Ind	Reg 2	1793?	1793	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 568
Amicable							
Ind	Reg 73	1794?	1794	0	1891?	0	
							Ref 569
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 87	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 570
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 38	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 571
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 68	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 572
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 92	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	

F.S.							Ref 573
Ind	Reg 77	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
F.S.							Ref 574
Ind	Reg 78	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
F.S.							Ref 575
Ind	Reg 79	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
F.S.							Ref 576
Ind	Reg 7	1794?	1794	0	1891?	0	
Herrings F.S.							Ref 577
Ind	Reg 82	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
Danlels F.S.							Ref 578
Ind	Reg 107	1801?	1801	0	1875?	0	
* Female F.S.							Ref 579
Ind	Reg 108	1802?	1802	0	1891?	0	
* Female F.S.							Ref 580
Ind	Reg 109	1802?	1802	0	1891?	0	
* Female F.S.							Ref 581
Ind	Reg 121	1803?	1803	0	1875?	0	
Cooley F.S.							Ref 582
Ind	Reg 123	1809	1809	0	1875?	0	
* Female F.S.							Ref 583
Ind	Reg 128	1809?	1809	0	1891?	0	
F.S.							Ref 584
Ind	Reg 144	1810?	1810	0	1875?	0	
William IV Lodge 35							Ref 585
NAI	Reg 556	1830	1866	0	1910+	DDH 54/5	
Opened 1830 but closed later. Re-opened 1843 with new reg. no. 163							Ref 586
Marquis of Granby Lodge 892							
MU	Reg 1	1834	1853	0	1860?	0	Ref 587
Good Samaritan Lodge 963							
MU	Reg 316	1835	1853	0	1980+	0	Ref 588
Newark F.S.							
Ind	Reg 218	1835?	1835	0	1875?	FS1/571	Ref 589
Noah's Ark 963							
MU	Reg 521	1836	1867	0	1909	0	Ref 590
Good Intent Lodge 443							
MU	Reg 1	1838	1862	0	1910+	0	Ref 591
Court Generous Briton 1009							
AOF	Reg 272	1840	1851	0	1988	DDH 1144/1	Ref 592
Court Melbourne 1482							
AOF	Reg 262	1841	1852	0	1946	0	Ref 593
Court Britannia 1509							
AOF	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1848?	0	Ref 594
Nottingham County F.S.							
Ind	Reg 275	1850	1850	1882	1882	0	



Newark Tradesmen's F.S.							Ref 595
Ind	Reg 270	1852?	1852	0	1912	0	
Began as Newark Tradesmen's FS; in 1858 became Loyal Hand in Hand Lodge 534 NAI.							
Court England and France 2707							Ref 596
AOF	Reg 337	1855	1855	0	1988	0	
Builders Operative F.S.							Ref 597
OCC	Reg 0	1863	0	0	1875?	0	
Licensed Victuallers Assoc. & Prov. Soc.							Ref 598
OCC	Reg 0	1865?	0	0	1875?	0	
Newark Traders Funeral Society							Ref 599
OCC	Reg 0	1866?	0	0	1875?	0	
Operative Painters Society							Ref 600
OCC	Reg 518	1867	1868	1868	1868	0	
Nelson Lodge 1323							Ref 601
OD	Reg 593	1870	1872	0	1910+	0	
Good Samaritan							Ref 602
GT	Reg 0	1873	0	0	1875?	0	
Active							Ref 603
GT	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Freedom							Ref 604
GT	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Lodge of Druids							Ref 605
OD	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Castle Tent 1500							Ref 606
IOR	Reg 1	1879	1890	0	1910+	0	
* Pocklington F.S. of Females							Ref 607
Ind	Reg 683	1882	1882	1883	1883	FS3/314	
Lady Ossington							Ref 608
GT	Reg 0	1883	0	0	1905?	0	
Loyal and True SubDivision 1041							Ref 609
SOT	Reg 1	1903	1908	0	1910+	0	
Devon Lodge 312							Ref 610
RHO	Reg 1	1903?	1903	0	1905?	0	
* Court Sarah Ann Rouston 9358							Ref 611
AOF	Reg 1	1911	0	0	1946?	0	
* Queen Mary Female Lodge 8354							Ref 612
MU	Reg 0	1912	0	0	1912+	0	
NEWSTEAD							Ref 613
Byron Lodge 6517							
MU	Reg 1	1882	0	0	1972	0	
Newstead Abbey Lodge 17							Ref 614
LSO	Reg 1	1885	1885	0	1910+	0	

NEWTHORPE								Ref 615
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 19	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 616
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 49	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 617
Ark of Safety Lodge 44								
QUO	Reg 563	1848	1870	0	1910+	0		Ref 618
Court Faith Hope and Charity 5223								
AOF	Reg 549	1868?	1868	0	1964+	0		
NORTH LEVERTON								Ref 619
Court Forget-Me-Not 1027								
AOF	Reg 636	1840	1874	0	1910+	0		
Began at North Leverton; moved to South Leverton 1874. By 1905 belonged to Gainsborough and Joint Counties F.S. (not AOF)								
NORTH MUSKHAM								Ref 620
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 103	1800?	1800	0	1875?	0		Ref 621
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 188	1821?	1821	0	1894?	FS3/310		Ref 622
Evening Star 898								
MU	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1865?	0		Ref 623
Court Farmers Friend 1436								
AOF	Reg 607	1841	1873	0	1910+	DDH111/13		
NORTON								Ref 624
Amicable Society								
Ind	Reg 138	1781	1807	0	1875?	FS1/568		
NOTTINGHAM								Ref 625
F.S. (Old Angel)								
Ind	Reg 1	1724	1794	0	1875?	CA3996		Ref 626
F.S.(Queens Head)								
Ind	Reg 1	1724	1794	0	1875?	CA4005; CA4026		Ref 627
F.S. (Noah's Ark)								
Ind	Reg 1	1756	1794	0	1875?	CA3991		Ref 628
F.S. (Black Boy)								
Ind	Reg 1	1760	1794	0	1875?	CA3994		Ref 629
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1770	0	0	1875?	0		
Began as Ind. Soc. joined NAI 1844 as Nelson Lodge 173								Ref 630
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 1	1772?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 631
Sherwood Brothers (Newshouse)								
Ind	Reg 1	1777	1794	0	1875?	CA4010		Ref 632
F.S. (The Maypole)								
Ind	Reg 1	1779	1799	0	1875?	CA4023		Ref 633
Amicable S (Peacock)								
Ind	Reg 1	1780	1794	0	1875?	CA3992; L36.9		

							Ref 634
F.S. (Peacock)							
Ind	Reg 1	1781	1794	0	1875?	CA4008	Ref 635
F.S.(Crown)							
Ind	Reg 1	1781	1794	0	1875?	CA4006	Ref 636
Joiners and Cabinet Makers Sick Society							
OCC	Reg 0	1781	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 637
Loyal Lodge of Nottingham Ancient Druids							
UAOD	Reg 0	1781	1858	0	1875?	FS1/572	Ref 638
F.S. (Punch Bowl)							
Ind	Reg 1	1783	1794	0	1875?	CA3999	Ref 639
F.S. of Cordwalners (Horse and Groom)							
OCC	Reg 1	1785	1794	0	1875?	CA3997	Ref 640
Framework Knitters Society of Messrs Hayne							
OCC	Reg 1	1785	1794	0	1875?	CA3993	Ref 641
F.S. (Jolly Angler)							
Ind	Reg 1	1787	1807	0	1875?	CA4028	Ref 642
F.S. (Masons Arms)							
Ind	Reg 1	1787	1794	0	1875?	CA4016	Ref 643
General Baptist F.S.							
Chu	Reg 1	1789	1794	0	1875?	BP11/1;BP31	Ref 644
F.S. (Spread Eagle)							
Ind	Reg 1	1790?	1794	0	1875?	CA4003	Ref 645
Amicable Society (Spread Eagle)							
Ind	Reg 1	1791	1794	0	1875?	CA4001	Ref 646
Royal Chelsea Military Society							
Ind	Reg 1	1792	1794	0	1875?	FS1/572;CA4000;CA4029;CA3590	Ref 647
F.S. (Bunkers Hill)							
Ind	Reg 1	1793	1794	0	1875?	CA4020	Ref 648
* Female F.S. (Seven Stars)							
Ind	Reg 1	1793	1801	0	1875?	CA4024	Ref 649
F.S. (The Bear and Dragon)							
Ind	Reg 0	1793?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 650
F.S. (The Bell)							
Ind	Reg 1	1793?	1794	0	1875?	CA4013	Ref 651
F.S. (The Globe)							
Ind	Reg 0	1793?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 652
F.S. (The Parrot)							
Ind	Reg 1	1793?	1794	0	1875?	CA4004	Ref 653
F.S. (The Talbot)							
Ind	Reg 0	1793?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 654
F.S. (The Windmill)							
Ind	Reg 0	1793?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 655
United Society and Permanent Club (3 Horse Shoes)							
Ind	Reg 1	1793?	1794	0	1875?	CA3998	Ref 656
F.S. (Bull)							
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	

F.S. (Coach and Horses)							Ref 657
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4015	
F.S. (Cricketers)							Ref 658
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4019	
F.S. (Dog and Gun)							Ref 659
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4021	
F.S. (Horse Shoes)							Ref 660
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
F.S. (Horse and Groom)							Ref 661
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
F.S. (Kings Arms)							Ref 662
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4007	
F.S. (Old Bear)							Ref 663
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4018	
F.S. (Peach Tree)							Ref 664
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875	CA4009	
F.S. (Red Lion)							Ref 665
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA3995	
F.S. (Reindeer)							Ref 666
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4002	
F.S. (Robin Hood)							Ref 667
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875	CA4014;CA4035	
F.S. (Royal Oak)							Ref 668
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4012	
F.S. (The Balloon)							Ref 669
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4011	
F.S. of Tailors (Mail Coach)							Ref 670
OCC	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	CA4017	
Took part in Reform celebrations 1832.							
Amicable Society (Turks Head)							Ref 671
Ind	Reg 1	1795	1812	0	1875?	CA4031	
Sick Club and Benefit Society							Ref 672
Chu	Reg 253	1798	1849	0	1939	0	
At Wesley Chapel Broad Street							
F.S. of Hibernians (Seven Stars)							Ref 673
Ind	Reg 1	1799	1801	0	1875?	CA4025	
F.S. (Royal Children)							Ref 674
Ind	Reg 1	1799?	1799	0	1875?	CA4022	
Loyal Nottingham Volunteers (Carpenters Arms)							Ref 675
Ind	Reg 1	1801	1804	0	1875?	CA4027	
Union Society							Ref 676
Ind	Reg 1	1801	1833	0	1875?	L36.9	
F.S.							Ref 677
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
F.S.							Ref 678
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	

							Ref 679
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 680
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 681
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 682
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 683
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 684
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 685
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 686
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 687
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 688
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 689
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 690
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 691
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 692
F.S. Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 693
* FS Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 694
* FS Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 695
* FS Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 696
* Female F.S. (Artichokes) Ind	Reg 1	1804?	1804	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 697
High Pavement Chapel Provident F.S. Chu	Reg 677	1807	1880	0	1948	Univ-HIF	
							Ref 698
F.S. (Lord Nelson) Ind	Reg 1	1810?	1810	0	1875?	CA4030	
							Ref 699
* Nottingham Womens F.S. Ind	Reg 1	1812	1857	0	1875?	L36.9	
							Ref 700
Rural Lodge 2 NAI	Reg 266	1812	1851	0	1910+	0	

Sherwood Lodge 3							Ref 701
NAI	Reg 0	1812	0	0	1830?	0	
Victory Lodge 1							Ref 702
NAI	Reg 637	1812	1874	0	1910+	0	
* Female F.S. (Black Horse)							Ref 703
Ind	Reg 1	1813?	1813	0	1875?	CA4032	
Apollo Lodge 5							Ref 704
NAI	Reg 595	1814	0	0	1910+	0	
Lodge 66							Ref 705
UAOD	Reg 0	1814	0	0	1875?	0	
Nottingham Lodge 13							Ref 706
UAOD	Reg 528	1814	1867	0	1910+	0	
F.S. (Horns Inn)							Ref 707
Ind	Reg 0	1818	0	0	1875?	CA4034	
Framework-knitters Society							Ref 708
OCC	Reg 0	1819	0	0	1820	0	
* High Pavement Chapel Women's Provident F.S.							Ref 709
Chu	Reg 680	1819	1881	0	1920+	0	
Deliance Lodge							Ref 710
MU	Reg 0	1819?	0	0	1819?	0	
Lodge 76							Ref 711
UAOD	Reg 0	1820	0	0	1875?	0	
St James F.S.							Ref 712
Chu	Reg 543	1822	1868	0	1903	FS3/313	
Later known as Nottingham C of E F.S.)							Ref 713
Mount Gilead 131							
MU	Reg 290	1823	1852	0	1922	L 36.9	Ref 714
Rock of Horeb Lodge 165							
MU	Reg 287	1824	1852	0	1880	0	Ref 715
Amalgamated with Sherwood Lodge c.1880							
General Baptist Provident Society							
Chu	Reg 0	1827	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 716
Loyal Sherwood Lodge 246							
MU	Reg 261	1827	1852	0	1915	0	Ref 717
Methodist Provident Society							
Chu	Reg 0	1827	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 718
Nottingham 2nd Provident Soc. (St Anne's Chapel)							
Chu	Reg 303	1827	1852?	1865	1865	0	Ref 719
Prince of Peace 240							
MU	Reg 269	1827	1852	0	1988+	0	Ref 720
Schoolmasters F.S. for Midland Counties							
OCC	Reg 1	1828?	1828	0	1875?	L36.9	Ref 721
Cave of Adullah 360							
MU	Reg 292	1829	0	0	1969	0	Ref 722
Loyal Rose of Sharon 359							
MU	Reg 0	1829	0	0	1960+	0	

Loyal King William Lodge 17							Ref 723
NAI	Reg 403	1831	1853	0	1910+	FS1/573	
Duke of Sussex Lodge 4							Ref 724
NALB	Reg 0	1832	0	0	1875?	0	
Wakelield Lodge 3							Ref 725
NAI	Reg 1	1832	1878	0	1910+	0	
Amicable (Black Horse)							Ref 726
Ind	Reg 0	1832?	0	0	1875?	0	
Beehive F.S.							Ref 727
Ind	Reg 0	1832?	0	0	1875?	0	
Earl Grey F.S.							Ref 728
Ind	Reg 0	1832?	0	0	1875?	0	
Smiths Society							Ref 729
OCC	Reg 0	1832?	0	0	1875	0	
Chesterfield Lodge 224							Ref 730
UAOD	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1910+	0	
Lodge 1							Ref 731
IOD	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	
Samaritan Lodge 3							Ref 732
ALB	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	
Travellers Rest Lodge 794							Ref 733
MU	Reg 286	1833	0	0	1960	0	
Byron Lodge 795							Ref 734
MU	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1880	0	
Amalgamated with Sherwood Lodge 1880.							
Nottingham Caledonian Society							Ref 735
Ind	Reg 249	1834	1840	1912	1912	FS3/311; L36.9	
Social Design Lodge							Ref 736
MU	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1916	0	
Nottingham Philanthropic Society							Ref 737
Ind	Reg 509	1835	1845	0	1875?	FS3/313	
Nottingham and District Visiting Provident Society							Ref 738
Ind	Reg 0	1835	0	0	1875?	0	
Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Sick Society							Ref 739
Chu	Reg 248	1836	1836	1889	1889	FS1/572	
At Halifax Place							
Byron Lodge 6							Ref 740
NAI	Reg 0	1838	0	0	1910+	0	
Nott'm and Distr. Licensed Victuallers Ass. & Prov. Soc.							Ref 741
OCC	Reg 520	1838	1867	0	1930	FS15/1038; DD817 1-3	
Registration cancelled 1930 - now a trade protection society.							
Equitable F.S.							Ref 742
Ind	Reg 0	1839	0	0	1875?	0	
Bud of Hope 2325							Ref 743
MU	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1950	0	



Rock of Horeb Tent 124							Ref 744
IOR	Reg 623	1840	1873	0	1910+	0	
Scarborough Lodge 77							Ref 745
NAI	Reg 432	1840	1861	0	1910+	0	
Hearts of Oak Lodge							Ref 746
NLI	Reg 0	1841	0	0	1875?	0	
Primitive Methodist Itinerant Preachers F.S.							Ref 747
OCC	Reg 0	1841	0	0	1890+	0	
Dove Lodge 94							Ref 748
NAI	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1910+	FS1/573	
Fountain of Harmony Lodge 3291							Ref 749
MU	Reg 293	1842	0	0	1946	0	
Milton Lodge 91							Ref 750
NAI	Reg 0	1842	1870	0	1905?	0	
* Nottingham Female Sick Club							Ref 751
Chu	Reg 255	1842	1842	1891	1891	FS1/572	
At Halifax Place Chapel							
Rose of England Lodge 93							Ref 752
NAI	Reg 318	1842	1853	0	1910+	0	
Temple of Harmony Lodge 107							Ref 753
NAI	Reg 410	1842	1860	0	1910+	0	
Defiance Lodge 123							Ref 754
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0	
Flora Lodge 108							Ref 755
NAI	Reg 587	1843	0	0	1910+	0	
Forest Lodge 3477							Ref 756
MU	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1971	0	
Industry Lodge 161							Ref 757
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0	
Molra Lodge 115							Ref 758
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0	
Star of Beauty/Brunswick 3496							Ref 759
MU	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1864	0	
Walnut Tree Lodge 112							Ref 760
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0	
British Princess Royal Lodge 12							Ref 761
NLI	Reg 331	1844	1855	0	1910+	0	
Became British Princess Royal Lodge of NAI 1846							
Court Industry 1744							Ref 762
AOF	Reg 323	1844	1854	0	1985	0	
Court Perseverance 1737							Ref 763
AOF	Reg 436	1844	0	0	1988	0	
Court Prosperity 1762							Ref 764
AOF	Reg 398	1844	0	0	1988	0	
Eclipse Lodge 265							Ref 765
NAI	Reg 329	1844	1855	0	1910+	0	

Evening Star Lodge 14							Ref 766
NAI	Reg 1	1844	1877	0	1910+	0	
Fidellity Lodge 197							Ref 767
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1849?	0	
Good Samaritan Lodge 732							Ref 768
GUO	Reg 224	1844	1846	0	1875?	FS1/571	
King William Lodge							Ref 769
ALB	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	
Pride of Nottingham Lodge 703							Ref 770
GUO	Reg 244	1844	1845	0	1875?	FS1/571	
Temple of Unity Lodge 197							Ref 771
NAI	Reg 465	1844	0	0	1910+	0	
Wheatsheaf Lodge 13							Ref 772
NAI	Reg 330	1844	0	0	1910+	0	
Widows and Orphans Lodge							Ref 773
ALB	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1855	0	
Lodge							Ref 774
NIOD	Reg 0	1844?	0	0	1875?	0	
Grand Lodge							Ref 775
MOO	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	
Hyson Green Lodge 224							Ref 776
UAOD	Reg 1	1845	1880	0	1905?	0	
Joiners Refuge Lodge 50							Ref 777
NAI	Reg 1	1845	1883	0	1910+	0	
Prince of Peace Lodge 303							Ref 778
NAI	Reg 315	1845	1853	0	1910+	0	
Tam o'Shanter Lodge							Ref 779
NIOD	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	
White Lion Lodge							Ref 780
ALB	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875	0	
Benevolent Society (Royal Arch Druid)							Ref 781
Ind	Reg 1	1845?	1845	0	1875?	L36.9	
Nelson 201 Club (Lord Nelson)							Ref 782
Ind	Reg 250	1845?	1845	0	1875?	0	
Artizans Refuge Lodge 267							Ref 783
NAI	Reg 438	1846	1861	0	1910	0	
Atlas Lodge 372							Ref 784
NAI	Reg 0	1846	0	0	1875?	0	
Bud of Sincerity 4101							Ref 785
MU	Reg 0	1846	0	0	1849	0	
Benevolent Society (Cross Keys)							Ref 786
Ind	Reg 0	1847	0	0	1875?	0	
Wanderers Home Lodge 187							Ref 787
NAI	Reg 418	1848	0	0	1910+	0	

Nottingham Benefit Society							Ref 788
Ind	Reg 0	1849	0	0	1851	0	
Oak Branch Lodge 56							Ref 789
NAI	Reg 0	1849	0	0	1879?	0	
Nottingham County Friendly Society							Ref 790
Ind	Reg 1	1850	1850	0	1882	FS1/572	
Sir Robert Peel 4361							Ref 791
MU	Reg 280	1850	0	0	1987	0	
Albion Lodge 1							Ref 792
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Amity Lodge 10							Ref 793
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Anchor Lodge 6							Ref 794
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Hope Lodge 7							Ref 795
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Labourers Friend 52							Ref 796
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Pilgrim's Rest 16							Ref 797
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Portland Lodge 4							Ref 798
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Providence Lodge 5							Ref 799
ALB	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875?	0	
Lily of the Valley Lodge 8							Ref 800
ALB	Reg 1	1852?	1852	0	1875?	L36.9	
Infant Provident Society							Ref 801
Ind	Reg 310	1853	1853	0	1912+	0	
Dukes Place Provident Society							Ref 802
Ind	Reg 0	1854?	0	0	1875?	M19450	
Operative Bricklayers Benefit Society							Ref 803
OCC	Reg 325	1854?	1854	0	1862?	FS1/572	
Foods Pride Lodge							Ref 804
IOUBLU	Reg 419	1855	1855	0	1875?	FS1/573	
Hope Lodge							Ref 805
IOUBLU	Reg 421	1855	1855	0	1875?	FS1/573	
Loyal Robin Hood Rifles Lodge							Ref 806
IOUBLU	Reg 434	1855	1855	0	1875?	FS3/313	
Joined NAI as Loyal Robin Hood Rifles lodge 570 1861. Joined with NAI Prince of Denmark Lodge 466 ? when.							
Male and Female Foresters F.S. (Foresters Inn)							Ref 807
Ind	Reg 411	1855	1855	0	1875?	0	
Perseverance Lodge							Ref 808
IOUBLU	Reg 420	1855	1855	0	1875?	FS1/573	
Began at Nottingham; moved to Sneinton pre 1861							

Prince of Wales Lodge							Ref 809
IOUBLU Reg 548	1855	1855	0	1875?	FS1/573		
Princess Alexandra Lodge							Ref 810
IOUBLU Reg 483	1855?	1864	0	1905?	FS3/313		
Alma Lodge 1							Ref 811
IOUBMU Reg 0	1856	0	0	1910?	0		
Court Eagle 2806							Ref 812
AOF Reg 361	1856	1856	0	1910+	0		
Nightingale Lodge 418							Ref 813
UAOD Reg 403	1856	1860	0	1910+	0		
Trinity Working Men's F.S.							Ref 814
OCC Reg 392	1856	1859	1864	1864	FS1/572; L36.9		
Court 2899							Ref 815
AOF Reg 0	1857	0	0	1859	0		
Court Albert 2926							Ref 816
AOF Reg 384	1857	1857	0	1988	0		
Court Shakespeare 2885							Ref 817
AOF Reg 363	1857	1857	0	1988	0		
Court Sir Colln Campbell							Ref 818
AOF Reg 0	1857	0	0	1988	0		
Nottingham Assistant Pawnbrokers F.S.							Ref 819
OCC Reg 842	1857	0	0	1920+	0		
Sanctuary Eagle 2806							Ref 820
AOS Reg 407	1857	1857	0	1910+	0		
St Marys Provident Society							Ref 821
Ind Reg 376	1858	1858	1912	1912	FS3/312		
Anchor of Unity Lodge 490							Ref 822
NAI Reg 1	1858?	1858	0	1891?	FS3/312		
Court Robin Hood 3144							Ref 823
AOF Reg 0	1859	0	0	1988	0		
Friend in Need Lodge							Ref 824
IOUBLU Reg 424	1859	0	0	1875?	FS1/573		
Friendly Operative Painters and Paper Hangers Soc.							Ref 825
Ind Reg 396	1859?	1859	1865	1865	0		
Alma Lodge							Ref 826
IOUBLU Reg 414	1860	1860	0	1891	0		
Nottingham Constitutional Club							Ref 827
Ind Reg 415	1860	1860	1871	1871	FS1/573		
Castle Rock Lodge 436							Ref 828
UAOD Reg 406	1860?	1860	0	1891?	0		
Male and Female F.S. (Green Man)							Ref 829
Ind Reg 400	1860?	1860	0	1875?	0		
Nottingham Branch of Operative Plumbers							Ref 830
OCC Reg 402	1860?	1860	0	1875?	0		
Corporation Lodge 573							Ref 831
NAI Reg 429	1861	1861	1861	1910+	0		

JoinersCarpentersCabinetMakersTurnersCarriers&Upholsterers							Ref 832
OCC	Reg 431	1861	1861	0	1875?	0	
Perseverance Lodge 430							Ref 833
UAOD	Reg 0	1861?	1861	0	1875?	0	
Prince of Peace Lodge							Ref 834
IOUBLU	Reg 428	1861?	1861	0	1863	FS1/573	
Clifton Lodge 539							Ref 835
NAI	Reg 463	1862	1862	0	1910+	0	
Nottingham Star Lodge 555							Ref 836
NAI	Reg 454	1862	1865	0	1910+	0	
Prince Albert Lodge 542							Ref 837
NAI	Reg 1	1862	1866	0	1887	FS3/313	
Provident and Sick F.S.							Ref 838
Ind	Reg 575	1862	1871	0	1920+	0	
Male and Female Benevolent Society (Star and Garter)							Ref 839
Ind	Reg 444	1862?	1862	0	1874	0	
Peace Lodge 420							Ref 840
UAOD	Reg 445	1862?	1862	0	1875?	FS1/573	
Colonel Hutchinson Lodge 565							Ref 841
NAI	Reg 469	1863	1863	0	1911	0	
F.S. of Labourers (William Wallace)							Ref 842
OCC	Reg 467	1863	1863	0	1891	FS3/313	
Honest Effort Lodge 568							Ref 843
NAI	Reg 0	1863	0	0	1879?	0	
Kirke White Lodge 571							Ref 844
NAI	Reg 1	1863	1877	0	1910+	0	
Princess Alexandra							Ref 845
MU	Reg 0	1863	0	0	1864	0	
Princess of Denmark Lodge 573							Ref 846
NAI	Reg 466	1863	1863	0	1910+	0	
Temperance Pioneer Lodge 574							Ref 847
NAI	Reg 468	1863	1863	0	1911	0	
Chimney Sweep Sick Society							Ref 848
OCC	Reg 0	1863?	0	0	1875?	0	
Clifton Benevolent and Friendly Society (Malt Cross)							Ref 849
Ind	Reg 461	1863?	1863	0	1875?	FS1/573	
Earl Howe Lodge 585							Ref 850
NAI	Reg 464	1863?	1863	0	1875?	FS3/313	
Inkerman Lodge 417							Ref 851
UAOD	Reg 512	1863?	1863	0	1891?	FS1/573	
Princess of Wales Lodge 578							Ref 852
NAI	Reg 462	1863?	1863	0	1910	0	
Universal F.S.							Ref 853
Ind	Reg 459	1863?	1863	0	1875?	FS1/573	
Armstrong Lodge 591							Ref 854
NAI	Reg 0	1864	0	0	1911	0	

Cresswell Lodge 628							Ref 855
NAI	Reg 527	1864	1867	0	1905?	0	
Nottingham and Notts Working Mens Burial Society							Ref 856
Ind	Reg 474	1864?	1864	0	1875?	0	
Master Bakers Provident Society							Ref 857
OCC	Reg 0	1865	0	0	1875?	0	
Clumber Lodge							Ref 858
POUB	Reg 506	1865?	1865	0	1875?	0	
Friend in Need Lodge							Ref 859
POUB	Reg 488	1865?	1865	0	1877?	FS3/313	
Nottingham F.S. of St Patricks							Ref 860
Chu	Reg 511	1866?	1866?	0	1893	FS3/313	
Notts and Derbys Provident Society							Ref 861
Ind	Reg 514	1866?	1866	1869	1869	0	
Open Hand Lodge 68							Ref 862
ALB	Reg 1	1867	1897	0	1911	0	
Pride of Nottingham 803							Ref 863
NAI	Reg 530	1867	1867	0	1910+	0	
Refuge of Peace Lodge							Ref 864
UAOD	Reg 519	1867	1867	0	1891	0	
Cromwell Lodge 802							Ref 865
NAI	Reg 529	1867?	1867	0	1875?	0	
John Andrews Lodge 546							Ref 866
NAI	Reg 1	1867?	1867	0	1891?	0	
Children's Funeral Fund							Ref 867
Ind	Reg 535	1868	1868	0	1875?	0	
Excavators Friendly Accident and Burial Society							Ref 868
OCC	Reg 538	1868	1868	0	1889?	FS3/313	
Pride of Youth							Ref 869
IOUBLU	Reg 534	1868?	1868	0	1875?	0	
Victoria Mutual Provident Life Society							Ref 870
Ind	Reg 533	1868?	1868	0	1875?	0	
Working Men's Provident Society							Ref 871
Ind	Reg 558	1869	1869	1897	1897	FS3/313	
Nottingham Original (Dog and Partridge)							Ref 872
Ind	Reg 0	1869?	0	0	1869?	DD4P 76/58/6	
Court Peabody 5460							Ref 873
AOF	Reg 576	1870	1870	0	1967+	0	
Forest Lodge							Ref 874
POUB	Reg 598	1870	1872	0	1891?	0	
Reform Lodge 863							Ref 875
NAI	Reg 573	1870	1870	0	1887?	FS3/313	
Albion Friendly Sick Society							Ref 876
Ind	Reg 559	1870?	1870	0	1888+	0	
Old General Lodge							Ref 877
IOUBLU	Reg 570	1870?	1870	0	1905?	0	

City and County Association							Ref 878
Ind	Reg 574	1871?	1871	0	1875?	0	
Moved to Peckham Surrey.							
Eagle Lodge							Ref 879
IOUBLU	Reg 584	1871?	1871	0	1891?	0	
Castle Rock Lodge 893							Ref 880
NAI	Reg 596	1872	1872	0	1910+	0	
Dyers Pride 987							Ref 881
NAI	Reg 0	1872	1879	0	1894?	0	
Reuben's Branch 30							Ref 882
POUB	Reg 0	1872	0	0	1910+	0	
Cabman's Sick and Burial Society							Ref 883
OCC	Reg 612	1873	1873	1891	1891	FS3/314	
Notthm & Notts Operative Brewers & Maltsters F.S.							Ref 884
OCC	Reg 620	1873	1873	1883	1883?	FS3/314	
Past Grand Lodge							Ref 885
MU	Reg 0	1873	0	0	1920+	0	
Havelock Lodge 901							Ref 886
NAI	Reg 624	1873?	1873	0	1890	0	
Magna Charter Lodge							Ref 887
IOUBLU	Reg 615	1873?	1873	0	1891?	0	
Saul Isaac Provident Society							Ref 888
Ind	Reg 628	1873?	1873	0	1891	0	
Golden Fleece Lodge 9							Ref 889
IOUBMU	Reg 0	1874	0	0	1910?	0	
Colwick Lodge							Ref 890
NAI	Reg 629	1874?	1874	0	1891?	0	
Hebron Tent							Ref 891
IOR	Reg 635	1874?	1874	0	1910+	0	
Nottingham Ebenezer Division							Ref 892
SOT	Reg 641	1874?	1874	0	1891?	0	
Sir Robert Clifton Lodge							Ref 893
IOUBLU	Reg 630	1874?	1874	1878	1878	FS3/314	
Poplar Tree Lodge 961							Ref 894
NAI	Reg 1	1875	1877	0	1885	0	
Rose of Sharon Tent							Ref 895
IOR	Reg 65	1875	1875	0	1910+	0	
Catholic Order of United Brothers F.S.							Ref 896
COUB	Reg 644	1875?	1875	0	1891?	0	
Good Intent F.S.							Ref 897
Ind	Reg 659	1875?	1875	0	1897	FS3/314	
Loyal Rose and Thistle Lodge 68							Ref 898
IOOFLU	Reg 320	1875?	0	0	1875?	0	
Eagle Branch							Ref 899
POUB	Reg 46	1877	1888	0	1910+	0	



Plus IX - Catholic Benefit Society							Ref 900
Chu	Reg 1	1877?	1877	0	1910?	0	
Hedley Chapman Lodge 237							Ref 901
BUO	Reg 1	1878	1878	0	1910+	0	
Cyprus F.S.							Ref 902
Ind	Reg 671	1879?	1879	1912	1912	FS3/314	
SG Johnson Lodge 6538							Ref 903
MU	Reg 0	1880	0	0	1969	L36.9	
Sanctuary Robin Hood 3144							Ref 904
AOS	Reg 1	1881	1881	0	1888	0	
Alderman Ford Sick and Burial Society							Ref 905
OCC	Reg 0	1881?	0	0	1905?	L36.9	
Clifton Lodge 6489							Ref 906
MU	Reg 0	1882	0	0	1940	0	
St Mary's Institute (CETS) Sick and Burial Society							Ref 907
Chu	Reg 0	1882?	0	0	1891	0	
Court Earl of Lincoln 7095							Ref 908
AOF	Reg 0	1883	0	0	1886	0	
Forest Lodge 1054							Ref 909
NAI	Reg 1	1883	1883	0	1905?	0	
Court Belvoir Castle 7178							Ref 910
AOF	Reg 0	1884	0	0	1886	0	
Nottingham United F.S.							Ref 911
Ind	Reg 714	1885	1885	1891	1891	FS3/315	
St Catherine's Lodge 6660							Ref 912
MU	Reg 0	1885	0	0	1915	0	
Cricketers Pride 7005							Ref 913
MU	Reg 1	1885?	1885	0	1891?	0	
Duke of Newcastle Lodge 27							Ref 914
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1886	1888	0	1910+	0	
Peveril Lodge 26							Ref 915
IOUBMU	Reg 0	1886	0	0	1910+	0	
John Roe Lodge 1050							Ref 916
NAI	Reg 1	1886?	1886	0	1910+	0	
William Carver Lodge 1047							Ref 917
NAI	Reg 1	1886?	1886	0	1910?	0	
William Goddard Lodge 1053							Ref 918
NAI	Reg 1	1886?	1886	0	1910+	0	
* Court Cowen 10							Ref 919
USF	Reg 0	1887	0	0	1910+	0	
* Court Victoria 8							Ref 920
USF	Reg 1	1887	1887	0	1891	0	
James Carver 1005							Ref 921
NAI	Reg 0	1887	0	0	1895?	0	

Peacock Lodge 1066							Ref 922
NAI	Reg 1	1887	1888	0	1910+	0	
Queens Jubilee Lodge 1060							Ref 923
NAI	Reg 1	1887	1888	0	1905?	0	
Samuel Morley Lodge 1067							Ref 924
NAI	Reg 1	1887	1888	0	1910+	0	
William Livingstone Lodge 1054							Ref 925
NAI	Reg 1	1887	1887	0	1905?	0	
Mansfield Road Baptist Provident Society							Ref 926
Chu	Reg 0	1887?	0	0	1909?	M8641	
Prince Leopold F.S. (Prince Leopold)							Ref 927
Ind	Reg 760	1887?	1888	0	1910+	0	
* Court Friendship Truth and Love 11							Ref 928
USF	Reg 1	1888	1888	0	1910+	0	
Sir Garnet Wolsely Lodge							Ref 929
POUB	Reg 1069	1888?	1888	0	1891?	0	
Robert Raikes F S							Ref 930
Chu	Reg 0	1890?	0	0	1890?	0	
Crown Lodge 12							Ref 931
IOUBMU	Reg 0	1891	0	0	1910+	0	
General Cathcart F.S.							Ref 932
Ind	Reg 764	1891	1891	1893	1893	FS3/315	
Locomotive Steam Enginemen and Firemen's F.S. (Nott'hm)							Ref 933
OCC	Reg 1	1892	0	0	1910+	0	
Adelaide Lodge 1103							Ref 934
NAI	Reg 1	1893	1894	0	1905?	0	
Adelphi Lodge 1106							Ref 935
NAI	Reg 1	1893	1894	0	1906	0	
Dunkirk Pride Lodge							Ref 936
BUO	Reg 1	1893?	1893	0	1905?	0	
Philanthropic Sick F.S. (Queen Caroline)							Ref 937
Ind	Reg 775	1893?	1893	1902	1902	FS3/315	
Loyal St Anns Well Lodge 7238							Ref 938
MU	Reg 0	1894	1896	0	1969	0	
Nottingham and Midlands Clerks Prov. Assoc.							Ref 939
OCC	Reg 784	1894	1902	0	1948	L36.9;FS16/1a	
George Kendall Lodge 827							Ref 940
UAOD	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1905?	0	
Midland Lodge 40							Ref 941
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1905?	0	
Order of Druids - Nottingham Equalized District							Ref 942
OD	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1905?	0	
* Court Emma Lees 8447							Ref 943
AOF	Reg 1	1895	1897	0	1967+	0	

Archer Street Friendly Sick and Annual Society							Ref 944
Chu	Reg 804	1896	1896	1913	1913	FS3/315	
Garden Rose Lodge 367							Ref 945
AFG	Reg 1	1896	1896	0	1910?	0	
Mutual Accident Annuity and Life Collecting Society							Ref 946
CS	Reg 814	1896	1898	1900	1900	FS3/315	
Princess Mary Lodge 1122							Ref 947
NAI	Reg 0	1896	0	0	1910+	0	
Gardeners Home Lodge 356							Ref 948
AFG	Reg 1	1897	1897	0	1905?	0	
National Deposit Friendly Society							Ref 949
Dep	Reg 0	1897	0	0	1910+	0	
Hop Bloom Sick and Annual Society							Ref 950
Ind	Reg 0	1897?	0	0	1905?	L36.9	
* Lilly of the Valley Tent 2759							Ref 951
IOR	Reg 1	1897?	1897	0	1910+	0	
Adelphi F.S.							Ref 952
Ind	Reg 816	1898?	1898	0	1905	FS3/315	
Good Samaritan Division							Ref 953
SOT	Reg 848	1899	0	0	1910+	0	
Hyson Green Sick Death and Annual							Ref 954
Ind	Reg 832	1899	1899	1904	1904	FS3/317	
General Gordon Lodge 379							Ref 955
BUO	Reg 1	1899?	1899	0	1905?	0	
Crocus Lodge 55							Ref 956
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1900?	1900	0	1905?	0	
Solicitors Benevolent Association							Ref 957
Ind	Reg 0	1901?	0	0	1905?	L36.9	
Nottingham Lodge 234							Ref 958
RHO	Reg 1	1902	1902	0	1905?	0	
Robin Hood Lodge 36							Ref 959
IEV	Reg 1	1902	1902	0	1910?	0	
Bentlnck Road Sick and Annual Society							Ref 960
Ind	Reg 861	1904	0	0	1920+	0	
Mount Ephraim Beacon 18							Ref 961
OAM	Reg 0	1904	1905	0	1910+	0	
Nottingham Castle Division							Ref 962
SOT	Reg 1148	1904	0	0	1910+	0	
Premier Assurance Collecting Society							Ref 963
CS	Reg 881	1907	0	0	1910+	0	
Charles Bennett Lodge 8100							Ref 964
MU	Reg 1	1908	1910	0	1923	0	
* Thomas Swain Lodge							Ref 965
MU	Reg 0	1908	0	0	1958	0	
Court Centenary 10084							Ref 966
AOF	Reg 0	1910	0	0	1910+	0	

							Ref 967
District Hope Lodge 267							
NAI	Reg 0	1910	0	0	1910+	0	Ref 968
Nottingham Mission Sick and Annual Society							
Chu	Reg 901	1910	0		At Albert Hall 1959	FS16/1a	Ref 969
* Alexandra Family Lodge 8939							
MU	Reg 0	1912	0	0	1968	0	Ref 970
Ark Street Wesleyan F S							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 971
Carrington P S A							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 972
Chase Mission F S							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 973
Derby Road F S							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 974
Friar Lane F S							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 975
ILP Sick and Annual F S							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 976
Tennyson Street F S							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 977
Woodborough Road F S							
Chu	Reg 0	1912?	0	0	1912+	0	Ref 978
Nottingham Union Sick F. S. 1168							
NAI	Reg 0	1913	1913	0	1913+	0	Ref 979
United Lace Workers 1160							
NAI	Reg 1	1913	1913	0	1913+	0	Ref 980
W N Hicking 1169							
NAI	Reg 0	1913	1913	0	1913+	0	Ref 981
William Hallam 1162							
NAI	Reg 1	1913	1913	0	1913+	0	Ref 987
NUTHALL							
Temple Lodge 637							
MU	Reg 308	1832	1853	0	1887	0	Ref 988
Moved to Kimberley 1870s							
Benevolent Society							
Ind	Reg 372	1859	1859	0	1875?	0	Ref 989
Began at Nuthall; moved to Kimberley 1870.							
Miners Lodge							
IOUBLU	Reg 422	1861?	1861	0	1875?	FS1/573	Ref 990
OLLERTON							
Charitable and Brotherly							
Ind	Reg 60	1761	1794	0	1859?	FS1/567	Ref 991
Athenaeum Lodge							
UAOD	Reg 0	1838	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 992
Nottinghamshire County F.S.							
Ind	Reg 1	1850	0	0	1882	0	

ORSTON							Ref 993
Launders Lodge 157							
NAI	Reg 455	1843	1861	0	1910+	0	Ref 994
Old Sick Club							
Ind	Reg 0	1865?	0	0	1875?	0	
OXTON							Ref 995
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 43	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	Ref 996
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 997
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 155	1812?	1812	0	1875?	FS1/568;DD67/1	Ref 998
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 203	1826	1826	0	1891?	FS3/311	Ref 999
King William IV Lodge							
MU	Reg 566	1830	1872	0	1969	0	
PAPPLEWICK							Ref 1000
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 89	1794?	1794	1868	1868	0	Ref 1001
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 189	1823?	1823	0	1875?	0	Ref 1002
Papplewick F.S.							
Ind	Reg 490	1865?	1865	9	1875?	FS16/1a	
PLUMTREE							Ref 1003
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 139	1807?	1807	0	1875?	0	Ref 1004
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1828	0	0	1875?	0	
Plumtree Sick Club still in existence 1968 but which is it?							Ref 1005
* Female F S							
Ind	Reg 0	1838	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1006
Griffin Lodge 3722							
MU	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	
Began as lodge of MU - seceded 1849 to join S. Notts Lodge of Oddfellows.							
RADCLIFFE ON TRENT							Ref 1007
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 64	1794?	1794	1901	1901	FS3/309	Ref 1008
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 173	1799	1817	0	1841?	FS1/569	Ref 1009
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 391	1821	1858	0	1938+	0	
Ind.soc.1821;Kingston Lodge 203 NAI 1844;Ind.Soc. Kingston FS 1870s;Lodge Kingston 9046 MU in 1912 - possibly same society.							Ref 1010
Old Oak Lodge 48							
NAI	Reg 0	1833?	0	0	1895?	0	

Prince of Wales Lodge 3597							Ref 1011
MU	Reg 391	1843	0	0	1938+	0	
Seceded in 1922 but did not register.							
Lamcote Lodge 185							Ref 1012
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	
RADFORD							Ref 1013
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
* Female Society							Ref 1014
Ind	Reg 175	1803?	1808	0	1875?	0	
Fountain Lodge 901							Ref 1015
MU	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1838	0	
Delphinium Lodge 103							Ref 1016
NAI	Reg 295	1842	1852	0	1910+	0	
Moved to Nottingham 1880s							
Good Samaritan 3234							Ref 1017
MU	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1852	0	
Victoria Lodge 3497							Ref 1018
MU	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1847	0	
Monarch Lodge 183							Ref 1019
NAI	Reg 540	1844	0	0	1910+	0	
Pride of the Village 187							Ref 1020
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1849?	0	
Rose of Randleliffe Lodge 238							Ref 1021
UAOD	Reg 0	1845?	0	0	1875?	0	
Court Pride of the Forest 2204							Ref 1022
AOF	Reg 0	1847?	0	0	1848?	0	
Middleton Independent Order of Oddfellows							Ref 1023
MIO	Reg 326	1854?	1854	0	1875?	FS1/572	
Alma Lodge 413							Ref 1024
UAOD	Reg 382	1858?	1858	0	1882?	FS3/312	
Court Middleton 3079							Ref 1025
AOF	Reg 388	1858?	1858	0	1967+	0	
Court Excelsior 4403							Ref 1026
AOF	Reg 547	1859	1864	0	1910?	0	
Albert Edward Lodge							Ref 1027
MU	Reg 482	1863	1864	0	1867	FS1/573	
Alma Lodge							Ref 1028
POUB	Reg 503	1865?	1865	0	1869	FS3/313	
Evening Star Lodge 20							Ref 1029
POUB	Reg 536	1868	1868	0	1910+	0	
Northern Star Lodge 43							Ref 1030
POUB	Reg 545	1868	1868	0	1910?	0	
Self Help Lodge 898							Ref 1031
NAI	Reg 621	1872	1873	0	1910+	0	

Old Radford United F.S.							Ref 1032
Ind	Reg 827	1873	1899	1949	1949	FS16/1a	
Court Sir Robert Clifton 5792							Ref 1033
AOF	Reg 627	1873?	1873	0	1880?	0	
Sir James Oldknow Lodge 6291							Ref 1034
MU	Reg 1	1878	1879	1962	1962	0	
Reuben Watson Lodge 6649							Ref 1035
MU	Reg 1	1885	1886	0	1955	0	
Marquis of Lorne Lodge 16							Ref 1036
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1887?	1887	0	1910+	0	
John Burton Lodge 1107							Ref 1037
NAI	Reg 1	1894	1894	0	1894	0	
Dover Castle Lodge 39							Ref 1038
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1905?	0	
Radford Benevolent Lodge 390							Ref 1039
BRI	Reg 1	1900	1902	0	1910+	0	
RAMPTON							Ref 1040
Lord of the Manor Lodge 369							
NAI	Reg 338	1846	1856	0	1910+	0	
RANSKILL							Ref 1041
Providence Lodge 3533							
MU	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0	
Moved to Scrooby 1846/7							Ref 1042
Ivy Tent 2528							
IOR	Reg 1	1895	1895	0	1910+	0	
RUDDINGTON							Ref 1043
Heart and Hand F.S.							
Ind	Reg 32	1779	1794	1911	1911	FS3/308	Ref 1044
Clifton F.S.							
Ind	Reg 176	1801	1808	0	1891	FS3/309, 310	Ref 1045
* F.S. for Sick and Lying In Women							Ref 1046
Ind	Reg 202	1809?	1809	0	1875?	FS1/570	
Benevolent Union and F.S.							Ref 1047
Ind	Reg 192	1822	1822	0	1875?	FS1/570	
* Female F.S.							Ref 1048
Chu	Reg 332	1830	1845	1912	1912	FS3/311	
Crown Lodge 761							
MU	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1049
Seceded from MU to form South Notts Lodge of Oddfellows 1847							
* Female F.S.							Ref 1050
Chu	Reg 493	1833	1865	0	1913+	FS3/313	
Ruddington Provident Society							Ref 1051
Ind	Reg 475	1835	1864	0	1971?	DD511/1-7; PH	
Good Intent Lodge 129							
NAI	Reg 442	1843	1852	0	1910+	0	
Registry suspended 1890; cancelled 1893.							

Ruddington Wesleyan Methodist Philanthropic Society							Ref 1052
Chu	Reg 242	1844	1845	1961	1961	L36.9; FS16/1a; PH.	
Joined NAI as lodge 1157 c.1913							
Court Royal 2893							Ref 1053
AOF	Reg 397	1857	1859	0	1988?	PH	
City of Refuge Lodge							Ref 1054
IOUBGU	Reg 1	1865?	1865	0	1891?	0	
* Court Grace Darling 8313							Ref 1055
AOF	Reg 1	1894	0	0	1967+	0	
SCREVEYTON							Ref 1056
Court Hillyard 1546							
AOF	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1848?	0	
Began at Screveton; moved to Flintham pre 1845							
SELSTON							Ref 1057
FS							
Ind	Reg 76	1794?	1794	0	1863	0	
Woodhook Lodge 293							Ref 1058
NAI	Reg 552	1845	1864	0	1910+	0	
* Fruits of Industry Lodge 20							Ref 1059
NAIUS	Reg 0	1846	0	0	1875?	0	
Pride Lodge							Ref 1060
NAI	Reg 419	1861?	1861	0	1875?	0	
Albert Victor Lodge							Ref 1061
UOLIS	Reg 480	1864	1864	0	1927	FS15/553	
Morning Star Lodge							Ref 1062
POUB	Reg 505	1865?	1865	1946	1946	FS15/1299; FS16/1a	
Became known as Selston Golden Sick F.S.							
* Selston Independent Female F.S.							Ref 1063
Ind	Reg 668	1875	1877	0	1910+	0	
* Royal Shepherdess Female FS							Ref 1064
Ind	Reg 653	1875?	1875	1925	1925	FS15/558	
Inkerman United F.S.							Ref 1065
Ind	Reg 667	1877	1877	0	1910+	0	
Court Sherwood Foresters 6363							Ref 1066
AOF	Reg 1	1881	1884	0	1910+	0	
Lord Roseberry Lodge 237							Ref 1067
RHO	Reg 1	1903?	1903	0	1905?	0	
SHERWOOD							Ref 1068
Cavendish Vale 364							
NAI	Reg 0	1846	0	0	1875?	0	
Good Samaritan Lodge							Ref 1069
POUB	Reg 1	1866	1866	0	1869	0	
Sherwood United F.S.							Ref 1070
Ind	Reg 1	1877?	1877	0	1891?	0	
Sherwood SubDivision 1439							Ref 1071
SOT	Reg 1	1909	0	0	1910+	0	



Nottingham Laundries 1160							Ref 1072
NAI	Reg 0	1913	1913	0	1913+	0	
SKEGBY							Ref 1073
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
Female Society							Ref 1074
Ind	Reg 132	1807	1809	0	1875?	FS1/567	
Temple of Justice Lodge 214							Ref 1075
NAI	Reg 386	1844	1859	0	1910+	0	
Lodge 238							Ref 1076
UAOD	Reg 0	1845?	0	0	1875?	0	
Miner's F.S.							Ref 1077
OCC	Reg 562	1860	1870	1891	1891	FS3/313	
Court Pride of the Forest							Ref 1078
AOF	Reg 1	1876	0	0	1967?	0	
Carnarvon Lodge 6646							Ref 1079
MU	Reg 1	1885	0	0	1980+	0	
SNEINTON							Ref 1080
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 66	1787	1794	0	1910+	0	
Began as independent society in 1786; joined the NAI as Sneinton Dale Lodge 136 1843.							
F.S.							Ref 1081
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
King William Lodge							Ref 1082
NALB	Reg 0	1833	0	0	1875?	0	
Hermitage Lodge							Ref 1083
UAOD	Reg 0	1834	0	0	1875?	0	
Queen Adelaide Lodge							Ref 1084
LOI	Reg 583	1834?	1871	1882	1882	0	
Denman Lodge 222							Ref 1085
NAI	Reg 485	1844	1865	0	1905?	0	
Began at Sneinton; later moved to Nottingham							
Male and Female Benevolent Society							Ref 1086
Ind	Reg 0	1850?	0	0	1875	0	
Benevolent Society							Ref 1087
Ind	Reg 455	1857	1859	0	1875?	FS1/573	
Court Duke of Wellington 2911							Ref 1088
AOF	Reg 370	1857	1858	0	1967?	0	
Hermitage F.S.							Ref 1089
Ind	Reg 368	1858	1858	0	1875?	FS1/572	
British Lion Lodge 428							Ref 1090
UAOD	Reg 452	1862?	1862	0	1875?	0	
Chaworth Lodge 586							Ref 1091
NAI	Reg 0	1863	0	0	1875?	0	

								Ref 1092
Hive Lodge								
NAI	Reg 1	1863	1865	0	1891?	0		Ref 1093
Benevolent Society								
Ind	Reg 499	1866	1866	1883	1883	FS1/573		Ref 1094
Benefit Society								
Ind	Reg 513	1866?	1866	0	1875?	0		Ref 1095
Sneinton Benevolent Society								
Ind	Reg 553	1869	1869	1899	1899	FS3/313		Ref 1096
Barleycorn Lodge 874								
NAI	Reg 1	1870	0	1883	1883	FS1/573		Ref 1097
Davidson 6387								
MU	Reg 1	1880	1881	0	1922	0		Ref 1098
Royal Oak Lodge								
UAOD	Reg 654	1881?	1881	0	1891?	0		Ref 1099
Primrose Lodge 18								
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1887?	1887	0	1910+	0		
SOUTHWELL								Ref 1100
New F.S.								
Ind	Reg 1	1771	1793	0	1875?	L36.9		Ref 1101
Amicable								
Ind	Reg 177	1791	1818	0	1875	FS1/569		Ref 1102
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 91	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 1103
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 152	1812?	1812	0	1894?	0		Ref 1104
Southwell Friendly Institution								
Ind	Reg 353	1823	1825	1884	1884	L36.9;FS3/312;FS1/572		Ref 1105
Southwell Endowment Society								
Ind	Reg 230	1830	1845	0	1885	FS1/571		Ref 1106
Sutton Lodge 33								
NAI	Reg 0	1830	0	0	1988	0		
Began as lodge of NAI; 1876 became Sutton Oddfellows; 1912 joined AOF as Court 9439 The Sutton.								Ref 1107
Baptist F S								
Chu	Reg 0	1841	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 1108
Court Benevolence 1754								
AOF	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1845?	0		Ref 1109
Lodge								
UAOD	Reg 0	1844?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 1110
Victoria Benefit Society								
Ind	Reg 256	1848?	1848	0	1863	FS1/572		Ref 1111
Wesleyan Club								
Chu	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0		
Owned land in 1873								Ref 1112
Portland Lodge 6082								
MU	Reg 658	1875	1875	1893	1893	0		

STAPLEFORD							Ref 1113
Union Society							
Ind	Reg 5	1781	1794	0	1875?	0	Ref 1114
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 231	1790	1834	0	1875?	FS1/571	Ref 1115
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 95	1790	1796	0	1885	FS1/567	Ref 1116
F.S.							
Chu	Reg 163	1800	1815	1905	1905	FS3/310	Ref 1117
Good Samaritan Lodge 34							
NAI	Reg 305	1830	1852	0	1920+	0	
Began as lodge of NAI; later c.1870 joined NIUOF; later (pre-1905) became Independent society.							Ref 1118
* Stapleford Industrious Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 581	1830	1871	1909	1909	FS3/313	Ref 1119
Pilgrim's Rest Lodge 445							
MU	Reg 539	1831	1862	0	1988+	PH	Ref 1120
Stapleford Provident Society							
Chu	Reg 393	1832	1832	1885	1885	FS1/573	Ref 1121
* Female F.S.							
Chu	Reg 231	1834?	1834	0	1885?	FS3/311	Ref 1122
* Fruits of Perseverance Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 448	1846	1862	0	1913	FS1/573	Ref 1123
* Fruits of Perseverance Lodge 2							
NIOS	Reg 0	1847	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1124
Milton Lodge							
NOO	Reg 0	1848?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1125
Stapleford St Helens Oddfellows F.S.							
Ind	Reg 826	1857	1899	1907	1907	FS3/317	Ref 1126
Forget-Me-Not Branch 32							
POUB	Reg 1	1877	0	0	1910+	0	Ref 1127
Court Brookhill 7706							
AOF	Reg 1	1888	1891	0	1964	0	Ref 1128
Stapleford Good Samaritans Oddfellows F.S.							
Ind	Reg 798	1894	1894	1949	1949	FS16/1a	Ref 1129
Friendly Sick and Diving Society 477							
LCC	Reg 1	1895	1895	0	1910+	0	Ref 1130
Fruits of Temperance Tent 3078							
IOR	Reg 1	1904	1904	0	1910+	0	Ref 1131
* Stapleford Female 1165							
NAI	Reg 1	1913	1913	0	1913+	0	
STOKE BARDOLPH							Ref 1132
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 97	1796	1796	0	1894?	0	Ref 1133
Chesterfield Lodge 318							
NAI	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1895?	0	

STURTON LE STEEPLE							Ref 1134
England's Glory 985							
AOF	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1848	0	Ref 1135
Saville Lodge 913							
NAI	Reg 1	1874	1874	0	1910+	0	
SUTTON BONINGTON							Ref 1136
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1137
St Michael's Lodge							
MU	Reg 1	1840	0	0	1910+	0	Ref 1138
Sutton Manor Lodge 228							
NAI	Reg 1	1844	1895	0	1910+	0	Ref 1139
* Female Society							
Ind	Reg 0	1866	0	0	1867?	0	Ref 1140
United Methodist Sick Society							
Chu	Reg 0	1866?	0	0	1867?	0	
SUTTON CUM LOUND							Ref 1141
Loyal Friendly Aid Lodge of Druids							
UAOD	Reg 510	1866?	1866	1888	1888	0	
SUTTON IN ASHFIELD							Ref 1142
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 145	1766	1810	0	1875?	FS1/568; LSL Bonser	Ref 1143
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 17	1766	1794	0	1882?	0	Ref 1144
Brotherly Society							
Ind	Reg 25	1771	1794	1897	1897	FS3/308	Ref 1145
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 18	1794	1794	0	1891?	0	Ref 1146
Amicable Society							
Ind	Reg 31	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	Ref 1147
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1148
* Female F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1149
Royal F.S.							
Ind	Reg 148	1808	1811	0	1881	FS3/309	Ref 1150
Independent F.S.							
Ind	Reg 129	1810?	1810	0	1875?	0	Ref 1151
Became Prosperity lodge 371 UAOD 5.4.1850							
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 1	1814?	1814	0	1875?	0	Ref 1152
Union Society							
Ind	Reg 169	1815?	1815	1872	1872	FS1/569	Ref 1153
Amicable and Economic Society							
Ind	Reg 135	1816?	1816	0	1875?	0	

							Ref 1154
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 195	1818	1820	0	1891?	FS1/570	
							Ref 1155
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 198	1824	1825	0	1891?	FS3/311	
							Ref 1156
Clarence Lodge 21							
NAI	Reg 0	1825?	0	0	1905?	0	
Opened at Sutton in Ashfield; closed then reopened at Pleasley Hill Mansfield 1831							
							Ref 1157
Harmonic Lodge							
MU	Reg 973	1835	1858	0	1918+	0	
							Ref 1158
Equitable Lodge 61							
NAI	Reg 335	1836	1856	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 1159
Star of Hope Lodge 165							
UAOD	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 1160
Star Lodge 81							
NAI	Reg 1	1841	1894	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 1161
Sun Lodge 85							
NAI	Reg 0	1841	0	0	1849	0	
							Ref 1162
Morning Star Lodge 2919							
MU	Reg 622	1842	0	0	1900	0	
							Ref 1163
Crescent Lodge 118							
NAI	Reg 440	1843	0	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 1164
* Good Intent Lodge							
NAIUS	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1848?	0	
							Ref 1165
Ashfield Lodge 453							
NAI	Reg 1	1849	1870	0	1905?	FS3/313	
							Ref 1166
General Baptist F.S.							
Chu	Reg 604	1865	0	0	1920+	0	
							Ref 1167
Stanton Lodge							
POUB	Reg 611	1871	1871	0	1891?	FS3/314	
Moved to Skegby ? date.							
							Ref 1168
Real Britons Branch 45							
POUB	Reg 1	1873	1888	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 1169
Devonshire Lodge							
POUB	Reg 610	1873?	1873	0	1875?	0	
							Ref 1170
Tudsbury Lodge							
NAI	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Owned land in 1873							
							Ref 1171
Court Pride of Ashfield 7222							
AOF	Reg 1	1884	1886	0	1960	0	
							Ref 1172
Gladstone Lodge 29							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1888	1888	0	1905?	0	
							Ref 1173
Industrial Lodge 10							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1888	1888	0	1910+	0	
							Ref 1174
Morning Star Lodge 28							
IOUBMU	Reg 1	1888	1888	0	1905?	0	

Stanton Hill F.S.							Ref 1175
Ind	Reg 742	1888?	1888	0	1905?	0	
Greaves Pride Lodge 813							Ref 1176
UAOD	Reg 1	1892	0	0	1910+	0	
England Glory Lodge 759							Ref 1177
UAOD	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1905?	0	
Loyal Edwin Wilson Barnes Lodge 831							Ref 1178
UAOD	Reg 1	1894?	1894	0	1910+	0	
Red White and Blue Lodge							Ref 1179
RHO	Reg 1	1902	1902	0	1905?	0	
Brookside Lodge 142							Ref 1180
LPY	Reg 1	1906	0	0	1910+	0	
SUTTON ON TRENT							Ref 1181
Amicable and Economic Society							
Ind	Reg 135	1784	1816	0	1875?	FS1/568	Ref 1182
F.S. of Sutton on Trent							
Ind	Reg 105	1784	1800	0	1894?	FS3/309	Ref 1183
Court Brotherly Love 1534							
AOF	Reg 600	1843	0	0	1915+	0	
SYERSTON							Ref 1184
Oddfellows Lodge							
ORD	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Owned land in 1873							
TEVERSAL							Ref 1185
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 74	1794?	1794	0	1894?	FS3/309	
THRUMPTON							Ref 1186
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 1	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	
THURGARTON							Ref 1187
Oddfellows Society							
ORD	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	
Existed here 1844							
TOLLERTON							Ref 1188
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0	
TRESWELL							Ref 1189
Oddfellows Lodge							
ORD	Reg 0	1873?	0	0	1875?	0	
Owned land in 1873							
TROWELL							Ref 1190
Union Society							
Ind	Reg 51	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0	Ref 1191
F.S.							
Ind	Reg 118	1805?	1805	0	1875?	0	

								Ref 1192
	* Female Society							
	Ind	Reg 197	1824?	1825	0	1875?	FS1/570	
TUXFORD								Ref 1193
	Amicable Society							
	Ind	Reg 146	1811?	1811	0	1875?	0	Ref 1194
	Clumber Lodge							
	POUB	Reg 507	1866?	1866	0	1875?	0	Ref 1195
	F.S.							
	Ind	Reg 551	1869?	1869	0	1883	0	Ref 1196
	Tuxford and District Yearly Dividing Society							
	Ind	Reg 890	1890	1890	0	1920+	0	Ref 1197
	Progress Tent 2781							
	IOR	Reg 1	1898	0	0	1910+	0	Ref 1198
	Pride of Tuxford 319							
	RHO	Reg 1	1903?	1903	0	1905?	0	Ref 1199
	Portland Lodge 7904							
	MU	Reg 1	1905	0	0	1906	0	
UPPER BROUGHTON								Ref 1200
	Upper Broughton F.S.							
	Ind	Reg 458	1863?	1863	1905	1905	FS3/313	
UPTON								Ref 1201
	New Friendly Society							
	Ind	Reg 153	1813	1814	0	1875?	FS1/568	Ref 1202
	Court Harmony 1848							
	AOF	Reg 606	1845	1848	0	1967?	0	
	This Court seems to have closed 1875-80. Re-opened as Court Harmony 9187 in 1907							Ref 1203
	Hand and Heart Lodge							
	MU	Reg 0	1845?	0	0	1860?	0	
WALESBY								Ref 1204
	F.S.							
	Ind	Reg 143	1806?	1806	0	1875?	FS1/568	Ref 1205
	Sheep Shearers Lodge 54							
	NAI	Reg 257	1834	1850	1942	1942	FS15/1300	
	Became independent society between 1875-1891; rejoined NAI as lodge no. 1176 c.1913							
WALKERINGHAM								Ref 1206
	Court Foresters Rest 1026							
	AOF	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1845	0	Ref 1207
	Loyal Friendship 2294							
	MU	Reg 0	1840	0	0	1845?	0	Ref 1208
	Reliance Tent 3289							
	IOR	Reg 1	1904	1904	0	1910+	0	
WARSOP								Ref 1209
	Charitable and Brotherly							
	Ind	Reg 156	1765	1812	0	1875?	FS1/568	

							Ref 1210
	Charitable and Brotherly						
	Ind	Reg 71	1775	1794	0	1891?	FS3/309
							Ref 1211
*	Baptist Female F S						
	Chu	Reg 0	1823	0	0	1875?	0
							Ref 1212
	Rising Star Lodge 611						
	MU	Reg 579	1832	1857	0	1988+	0
							Ref 1213
	Parliament Oak Lodge						
	SED	Reg 0	1895	0	0	1905?	0
							Ref 1214
	Mafeking Lodge 92						
	TWC	Reg 0	1901	0	0	1905?	0
							Ref 1215
	Dukeries Tent 3229						
	IOR	Reg 1	1905?	1905	0	1910+	0
							Ref 1216
*	Lady Fitzherbert Female Lodge 9040						
	MU	Reg 0	1912	0	0	1912+	0
WATNALL							Ref 1217
	F.S.						
	Ind	Reg 27	1794?	1794	0	1882	0
							Ref 1218
	Fountain of Friendship Lodge 106						
	MU	Reg 589	1844	0	0	1980	0
WELLOW							Ref 1219
	Rufford Lodge 3372						
	MU	Reg 0	1842	0	0	1860?	0
							Ref 1220
	Loyal Wellow F.S.						
	Ind	Reg 477	1854	1864	1924	1924	0
WEST RETFORD							Ref 1221
	Lincoln Lodge 392						
	NAI	Reg 334	1847	1855	1877	1877	FS3/312
							Ref 1222
	Benefit Society						
	Chu	Reg 267	1851?	1851	1863	1863	FS1/572
							Ref 1223
	Hope of Retford Tent 1306						
	IOR	Reg 1	1880	1881	0	1910+	0
WEST STOCKWITH							Ref 1224
	Loyal Philanthropic 2027						
	MU	Reg 615	1839	1873	1924	1924	FS15/557
							Ref 1225
	Good Intent Tent						
	IOR	Reg 1	1894	1894	0	1910+	0
WHATTON							Ref 1226
*	Female Society						
	Ind	Reg 137	1806	1808	0	1875?	FS1/567
							Ref 1227
	Good Samaritan Fraternal Society						
	Ind	Reg 136	1807	1808	0	1875?	L36.9; FS1/568
							Ref 1228
	Union Society						
	Ind	Reg 151	1812	1812	0	1875?	0



WILFORD								Ref 1229
Willford F.S.								
Ind	Reg 39	1787	1794	0	1875?	FS1/567; Mellors		Ref 1230
* Female F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1803?	0	0	1875?	0		Ref 1231
Willford Friendly Institute								
Ind	Reg 212	1829	1829	0	1879	FS1/570		
WILLOUGHBY								Ref 1232
Fallow Field 351								
NAI	Reg 263	1846	1851	0	1910+	0		Ref 1233
Willoughby Golden Star F.S.								
Ind	Reg 614	1850	1873	1951	1951	FS16/1a		
Joined NAI as lodge no.1166 c.1913								
WOLLATON								Ref 1234
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 96	1796?	1796	0	1891?	0		Ref 1235
* F.S. of Women								
Ind	Reg 101	1799?	1799	0	1895?	0		Ref 1236
Friendly Society of Tradesmen and Others								
Ind	Reg 9	1821?	1821	0	1891?	0		Ref 1237
Middleton Lodge 102								
NAI	Reg 457	1842	1863	0	1910+	0		Ref 1238
Nottingham United F.S.								
Ind	Reg 1	1885?	1885	0	1891?	0		Ref 1239
Wollaton Colliery 1163								
NAI	Reg 1	1913	1913	0	1913+	0		
WOODBOROUGH								Ref 1240
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 86	1794?	1794	0	1891?	0		Ref 1241
Woodborough Male F.S.								
Ind	Reg 200	1826	1827	1953	1953	FS16/1a		Ref 1242
Thorneywood Lodge 119								
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1875?	0		
Moved to Calverton pre 1849								
WORKSOP								Ref 1243
Wheatsheaf F.S.								
Ind	Reg 498	1765	1866	1882	1882	0		
Was Wheatsheaf lodge of MU from 1845-7 at least but later reverted to independent society.								Ref 1244
Amicable Society								
Ind	Reg 62	1794?	1794	0	1891?	0		Ref 1245
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 0	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 1246
F.S. of Gentlemen and Traders								
Ind	Reg 59	1794?	1794	0	1875?	0		Ref 1247
F.S.								
Ind	Reg 162	1802	1814	1891	1891	0		

							Ref 1248
Charitable and Brotherly Society of Gentlemen & Traders							
Ind	Reg 157	1814?	1814	0	1891?	0	Ref 1249
Union Society							
Ind	Reg 181	1820?	1820	0	1875?	0	Ref 1250
Union Society No 2							
Ind	Reg 210	1826?	1826	0	1891?	0	Ref 1251
Workshop Provident Society							
Ind	Reg 1	1833	0	0	1875?	L36.9	Ref 1252
True Briton Lodge 59							
NAI	Reg 340	1835	1856	1886	1886	0	Ref 1253
Loyal Victoria Lodge 1916							
MU	Reg 359	1839	1857	0	1980+	0	Ref 1254
Weibeck Lodge 3301							
MU	Reg 363	1842	1857	0	1910+	0	Ref 1255
Abbey Lodge 131							
NAI	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1900	FS3/314	Ref 1256
Became Workshop Abbey Lodge F S 1879							
Court Sherwood Forest 1611							
AOF	Reg 0	1843	0	0	1848	0	Ref 1257
Priors Lodge 229							
NAI	Reg 0	1844	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1258
Providence Lodge 218							
NAI	Reg 346	1844	1856	1910	1910	0	Ref 1259
Duke of Leeds 304							
NAI	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1260
Economic Lodge 4081							
MU	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1847	0	Ref 1261
Lumley 313							
NAI	Reg 0	1845	0	0	1875?	0	Ref 1262
Shireoaks Colliery Sick and Accident Society							
OCC	Reg 441	1859	1862	0	1913	0	Ref 1263
Cresswell Holme Lodge 5121							
MU	Reg 294	1863	1867	0	1910+	0	Ref 1264
Star of Bethlehem 63							
IOR	Reg 1179	1870	1883	0	1910+	0	Ref 1265
Star of Providence Lodge 1109							
UOF	Reg 601	1871	1872	0	1910+	0	Ref 1266
Boundary Provident Lodge							
POUB	Reg 599	1872	1872	0	1910+	FS3/314	Ref 1267
Hollyhock Lodge 1235							
UOF	Reg 664	1875	1875	0	1910+	0	Ref 1268
Workshop Abbey Lodge F.S.							
Ind	Reg 673	1879	1879	1900	1900	FS3/314	Ref 1269
Workshop Convalescent and Home Comforts F.S.							
Ind	Reg 1053	1880?	0	0	1880?	FS16/1a	

Zion Tent 2851							Ref 1270
IOR	Reg 1	1899	0	0	1910+	0	
Workshop Subordinate Division							Ref 1271
SOT	Reg 0	1901	0	0	1910+	0	
Court Manor 9057							Ref 1272
AOF	Reg 1	1903	0	0	1905?	0	
Shireoaks Colliery Co. Officials Ben. Soc.							Ref 1273
OCC	Reg 1022	1911?	0	0	1954	FS16/1a	

List of Friendly Societies (Additional list no. 1)

CALVERTON

Female F.S.

Ind Reg 0 1803? 0 0 1875? 0 Ref: 1274

SUTTON IN ASHFIELD

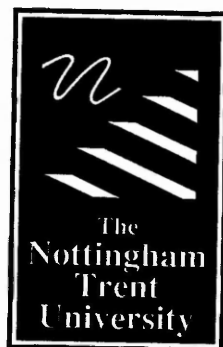
Female F.S.

Ind Reg 0 1862? 0 0 1897+ DD 1286/2/1 Ref: 1275

OLLERTON

Thoresby Provident Club

Ind Reg 0 1884 0 0 1912 UNM Ma2X.15 Ref: 1276



## **Libraries & Learning Resources**

The Boots Library: 0115 848 6343  
Clifton Campus Library: 0115 848 6612  
Brackenhurst Library: 01636 817049