Social and Cultural Constructions of Communities in South Yorkshire Colliery Settlements: The Mining Households of the Darfield and Wombwell District, c.1851 - 1900

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Chapter Six

Religious Observance and Belief in the Darfield and Wombwell District, c.1850 - 1900

At the outset, the problems of attempting to quantify any aspect of religious activity need to be highlighted. The concept of 'religion' itself is, by its very nature, somewhat nebulous. To facilitate an assessment of religious commitment two American sociologists, Glock and Stark, have identified five 'dimensions' of religious sub-activity: religious experience; religious belief; religious practice; religious knowledge; and any secular activities, values or norms which are shaped by one or more of these specifically religious elements. "Being religious on one dimension," they warn, "does not necessarily imply being religious on another."[1] Such words of caution are of particular relevance to the historian intent on examining the role of religion in the lives of those who are unable now to recount their own personal experiences. Supposedly 'hard' evidence, such as membership lists obtained from nineteenth century church and chapel records clearly is not enough in isolation to determine the level of religious activity. For example, high rates of religious practice in an area might have been enforced upon a population by a dominant figure, perhaps a landlord or an employer, and could easily have masked low levels of religious belief.

Consequently, in order to obtain a more rounded picture of religious activity, specifically that prevalent within the townships of Darfield and Wombwell in the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of different types of source material need to be consulted. However, evidence pertaining to only two of the five dimensions of religious activity, which Glock and Stark identify, can be considered without needing to question seriously its authority: religious practice can be assessed through an examination of such sources as membership lists and attendance figures, although, as will be shown later, such figures themselves can often be wrongly construed; and secular activities containing specific religious elements can occasionally be found reported in the local newspapers. Evidence relating to the remaining three dimensions - religious experience, religious belief and religious knowledge - is, owing to their more subjective natures, more difficult both to obtain and interpret. An individual's religious experience can be gauged only through interaction, and even then its articulation may be difficult. Available contemporary comments made regarding religious belief and knowledge amongst an area's inhabitants, recorded invariably by members of the clergy, are similarly problematic since any such comments arise from preconceived notions of what the levels of belief and knowledge *should* be amongst the inhabitants.

The aim of the chapter is, with the evidence available, to undertake an essentially twofold approach to the examination of religion in the district. Initially, through a study of the denominations present for which evidence survives, emphasis will be placed on the quantitative: the numbers attending church and chapel; and comparisons between the denominations in the Darfield and Wombwell area. Awareness, however, of the problems of relying purely on this data, caused both by the inherent ambiguities of the numbers collected and the difficulty of simply measuring religious influence by church or chapel attendance, will lead, in the second part of the study, to the application of a more qualitative approach: an assessment of the extent of religious belief in the district will be attempted through studying more impressionistic contemporary evidence and through considering particularly the lives of the large numbers of miners and their families and the significance of religious belief within them.

A. Religious Observation

In an attempt to contextualize the impact of religion upon the local inhabitants, a survey is initially undertaken of the state of religion, which inevitably is based principally upon figures plotting almost exclusively religious *observation*, nationally throughout the study period. Against this national picture an impression of the

local portrait of religious activity is sought and differences between the two are considered. Each of the religious denominations with a significant presence and extant records within the Darfield and Wombwell district will be examined in turn and their progress mapped over time before comparisons are drawn between them.

Throughout the chapter, particular attention is paid to the religious practices of the large group of mining families in the district. These local findings are related to observations made by other historians and historical sociologists in specific case studies which examine the role of religion in a number of predominantly mining settlements.

The obvious starting point for the consideration of religious activity in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century is the Religious Census of 1851. Total attendances at places of worship on census Sunday, March 29 1851, comprised 60 per cent of the total population of England and Wales. Employing another calculation,of those able to attend church, only about half did so.[2] Clearly, the census figures have been open to a variety of interpretations. However, contemporary observers were almost universally condemnatory about the findings. In his report on the religious census its chief author, Horace Mann, noted that "a sadly formidable proportion of the English people are habitual neglecters of the public ordinances of religion."[3]

Pessimistic interpretations of the findings of the religious census are, to an extent, strengthened when the fundamental problems of the information collected are considered. The difficulties arising from the religious census are many and varied, most of which have occupied the attention of historians interested in Victorian religious affairs. Indeed, such has been the clamour to criticise the religious census's findings that a prominent historian has been prompted to comment that "there may have been more discussion of the source *as a source* than there have been systematic attempts to analyse it in any comprehensive manner."[4] Foremost amongst the difficulties connected with the census is the problem of establishing the number of individual attendants at religious services. A significant number of people undoubtedly attended more than one service on the day of the census and so consequently the aggregate figures obtained from the religious census nationally considerably overstated the number of individual attendants .Various means have been adopted by commentators to overcome this significant problem. A common approach has been to base any analysis upon the maximum figures recorded at each place of worship on the census day, although this method still tends to overstate the number of individual attendants since a significant number of morning Anglican church-goers were often attendants at Dissenting places of worship in the evening.

More optimistic readings of the 1851 religious census results make much of the factors that offset this double-counting. Prominent amongst these are the fact that a significant number of clergymen refused to make returns to the census enumerators objecting that the state had no right to involve itself in such matters. Numbers attending places of worship on that March Sunday were also reduced, it has been claimed, owing to inclement weather and a widespread incidence of influenza.[5]

Some contemporary pessimistic commentators upon the religious census stated that the low levels of religious observance were principally due to the increasing numbers of the largely non-churchgoing working class section of the population, and also to the increasingly urbanised nature of British society.[6] The large, increasingly densely populated towns, it has been claimed, overstretched the resources of many urban parishes with a consequent reduction in the influence and authority of the Church of England and its clergymen over the resident population, a situation exacerbated by the fact that, from many such centres of population, authority figures in temporal and spiritual matters were rapidly moving to more congenial places of residence.[7] Horace Mann himself noted that "in cities and large towns, it is observable how absolutely insignificant a portion of the congregations is composed of artisans."[8]

It is probable, however, that the Church of England's position in the more urban parts of the country by 1851 was an improvement on that it had held some twenty years earlier. Aware of the church's lack of influence in many urban areas, the Anglican hierarchy from 1835 onwards sanctioned a large programme of church construction and improvement, together with the subdivision of a number of overstretched parishes, all of which took place under the auspices of the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission. The undertaking of this policy, and its relative success, reflected the powerful influence of the evangelical wing of the Anglican church. Indeed, the evangelical nature of the Church of England's work in urban areas prompted one Wesleyan minister in 1866 to hold up approvingly as a model to members of his own denomination the methods used by the Anglicans. He pointed out that "lay agents in large numbers" were being used in parishes and that new areas were being opened up through the hiring of rooms and the construction of temporary buildings.[9]

As the nineteenth century progressed, many of the weaknesses of the Anglican Church were addressed, partly in consequence of the church authority's desire to improve the impact of the Established Church in areas of growing population, but also in an attempt to resist the attacks made upon its position by Nonconformity. Principal amongst the strategies adopted by the Anglican Church was the attempted eradication of non-residence of clergy. As James

Obelkevich notes, "After decades, even centuries, of neglect, parishes were being 'worked' by a new band of energetic, resident parsons ... Well paid and well housed, they took command of their parishes and set out to revitalise them: regardless of churchmanship, they did more pastoral work, they held more services...by their efforts the Church survived its crisis and began to face its Methodist rivals on something like even terms."[10]

Much of the pressure upon individual clergy to reform was imposed by a "tough new breed of bishops", that "warned parsons away from the hunting field and the magistrates' bench".[11] The authority of the bishops within the Established Church increased considerably during the nineteenth century as a consequence of changes in the structure of patronage within the Anglican Church. Until the early nineteenth century, many of the Church's livings were in the hands of individual members of the landed elite. As M.J.D.Roberts has explained, this link had "major implications for the clergy's perception of itself as a profession ... A man could buy himself or his relative a living in the Church of England and ensure its transmission to following generations of his family more securely than he could hope to do in any other profession." However, as British society became more industrialised and urbanised, many members of the clergy, claims Roberts, "ceased to place unquestioning reliance on the link which bound them to the gentry and became instead increasingly conscious of

their professional identity."[12] The rising professionalisation of the clergy became more possible owing to the actions of a number of bishops, who followed the example of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford,(1845-69),and gained greater control of church appointments through the simple expedient of obtaining themselves more livings. In the middle 40 years of the nineteenth century, the number of livings in the hands of the bishops more than doubled.

Professionalisation of the clergy was not confined exclusively to the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church. Much heated internal debate occurred within the Church of England throughout the period of this study. The Oxford Movement, whose most prominent member was Newman, was a group of churchmen with overt sympathies to Catholic traditions and whose adherents poured scorn upon the evangelicals, "attacking them for their Protestant excesses, for subordinating church to state, and not least for their vulgarity and irreverence."[13] As a consequence of the influence of the Oxford Movement, protracted debate took place regarding the way in which Anglican public worship was to be practised. The introduction of incense and vestments into some church services prompted some evangelicals to complain bitterly of the 'ritualist plague'.[14] Nevertheless, despite the disapproval of prominent sections of the Church of England, Anglo-Catholic ministers were successful in attracting many members of the

working class to worship, especially women, by means of their colourful ritual and their selfless pastoral work. Anglo-Catholics, too, left a permanent mark upon the way in which worship was practised in the Church of England generally, for their insistence that communion should be the central act of worship came to be accepted in most quarters of the Church, as also did much more prominence be given to church music.

The debates within the Church of England undoubtedly took place, particularly after the findings of the Religious Census had been publicised, with its members mindful of the massive influence within the country of Nonconformity. Much to the consternation of many members of the Anglican church, the majority of attendances at places of worship on the Census Sunday 1851 were recorded in Nonconformist churches and chapels.

The strength of Nonconformity, however, varied widely in England and Wales. Its stronghold, in the main, lay in the northern counties of England, Cornwall and Wales. In the West Riding, for instance, taking figures from the highest attendances at each church and chapel, 374,820 Nonconformists and 216,082 Anglicans met for divine worship on the day of the census.[15] As David Hey has commented, "The situation was very different from what it had been in the late seventeenth century when dissenters formed only 4% of the nation."[16]

The rapid rise of Nonconformity dated principally from the latter part of the eighteenth century and the evangelical zeal of John Wesley. The largest Nonconformist body revealed in the 1851 religious census was the Wesleyan Methodists whose members, as D.W.Bebbington has outlined, "were the direct heirs of John Wesley, governed by a Conference of preachers that had met each year since his time. "[17] Following the death of John Wesley the Methodist movement was subject to numerous secessions: a large number of the 98 religious denominations recorded in the register of marriages in England and Wales at the end of 1866 were varying forms of Methodism.[18] Amongst the more prominent Methodist bodies, other than the Wesleyans, were the Primitive Methodists and the politically radical Methodist New Connexion, or 'Tom Paine Methodists'. The Primitive Methodists had split off from the Wesleyans in the first decade of the nineteenth century because, as Bebbington explains, "they wished to use revival techniques which Wesleyan Conference judged extravagant but which they supposed to be the mark of the earliest, or 'primitive' Methodists. The Methodist New Connexion, the United Methodist Free Churches, and the Bible Christians ... all prided themselves on giving more responsibility than did the Wesleyans to laymen and the localities ... Each Methodist denomination had its own distinctive constitutional arrangements ... [b]ut all Methodists shared

the heritage of John Wesley's passion for saving souls and Charles Wesley's hymns."[19]

Most of the other Nonconformist denominations outside Methodism were somewhat older, having parted from the Church of England in the seventeenth century to form what was regarded by the nineteenth century as 'Old Dissent'. The largest Old Dissenting body was the Congregationalist Church, whose members were often known as Independents. Unlike some other Old Dissenting sects, such as Quakers and Baptists, the Congregationalists embraced evangelism. Members of this denomination believed that each congregation had the right and duty to autonomy in its own affairs. Baptists, the other prominent denomination included in the category of 'Old Dissent', were very similar to the Congregationalists holding the same views on church government but differed in arguing that baptism should be confined only to conscious Christian believers.[20]

In a seminal work on the distribution patterns of Nonconformity, Alan Everitt identifies several types of settlement in which Dissent could be expected to thrive. Basing his investigation upon a study of parishes in four differing areas, Lindsey, Lincolnshire; Leicestershire; Northamptonshire; and Kent, Everitt first emphasises the strength of Dissent in the rural areas revealed in the 1851 religious census. He has found that "nearly two-thirds of 841 chapels in Northamptonshire and Lindsey [in 1851] were in country parishes, and in Leicestershire the proportion

was nearly 70%."[21] He then identifies the types of parish and rural economy in which New Dissent tended to prosper. All of his parish categories were linked by one common factor: the absence of a single authority figure, which allowed inhabitants a degree of freedom in their activities. Parishes in which Everitt found New Dissent to thrive included: freeholders parishes containing many small and independent owners; settlements situated on the boundary between two parishes; decayed market towns, in which landownership tended to be subdivided; and industrial villages where again property ownership was widely based. Other forms of community in which Everitt has found populations 'prone' to New Dissent included:

"a number of parishes where most of the property was in a single landlord's hands and neither local industries nor scattered forms of settlement seem to explain the presence of Dissent. In most of these places it is noteworthy that the landlord concerned did not live in the parish itself but was either an absentee or else resident in a neighbouring village. As a consequence, despite the concentration of land in a single hand there was a certain amount of freedom for local village folk from the immediate eye of their landlord."[22]

With the onset of a large amount of industrialisation, particularly from the late eighteenth century, the development of many settlements fitting into a number of these categories was effected and thus facilitated the spread of Nonconformity. Perhaps the most conspicuous settlement type which became common at this time was the

industrial village, based for example upon the need to house men involved in local extractive industries, such as the mining of coal, iron and tin, or quarrying.

By 1851, the rapid rates of growth experienced by the larger Nonconformist denominations particularly from the latter years of the eighteenth century onwards had begun to slow somewhat. A.D.Gilbert has identified three separate tendencies to explain this relative slow-down in Nonconformist growth:

"firstly, competition became sterner with the resurgence of the Church of England from the 1830s onwards; secondly, English society itself was changing in ways specifically unfavourable to Evangelical Nonconformity; thirdly, Nonconformist religious culture was evolving new priorities and goals which directly affected its capacity for growth."[23]

The social change which most stunted the growth of Nonconformity, Gilbert claims, was the disappearance of the "traditional artisan -the craftsman outworker as distinct from the factory operative- [which] meant the dissolution of a vital element in the social situation exploited by Nonconformity during its initial phase of rapid expansion."[24] Whereas, according to Gilbert, the "Capitalist outworkers had been close enough socially to the old 'dependency system' for Anglicanism to have retained an unwelcome association with prescriptive social control;...for factory workers, the emancipation generally was too complete for this factor to operate."[25]

Gilbert's explanation for the slow-down in the rate of Nonconformist growth, it seems, depends upon a negative reading of the role of Nonconformity. Dissent, he asserts,

was merely reactive, a statement of an artisan's independence which only needed to be made in the presence of members of those above them in society. Whilst Everitt advances the view that Dissent thrived in settlements in which powerful authority figures were in the main absent, Gilbert seems to suggest that *without* the presence of such men of influence, to a great extent, the original *raison d'etre* of Nonconformity disappeared.

That Nonconformity continued to exist, Gilbert explains, was due to its development of new priorities and goals. The most significant change took place in the role of the ministers. Originally, in New Dissent, the differences between laymen and ministers were minimal. However, over time, the fact that the ministers were full-time officials became:

"a basis on which a specifically religious-cultural differentiation of roles could emerge ... In a religious association full-time ministerial duties which involve, almost by definition, the greatest participation and responsibility, provide a basis for a coherent and enduring oligarchy; and there is an inevitable tendency for such oligarchies gradually to assume distinctive symbols of status and to monopolise functions once exercised on a more democratic basis."[26]

The increasingly professional status of the ministry resulted in a change in the aims of Nonconformity generally, prompted also by the rapid rise in membership up to about 1840. Rather than continuing to mobilise the wider society, most Dissenting denominations followed the lead of

Wesleyan Methodism and turned instead to consolidating their existing organisations. As Gilbert has commented:

"Endogenous growth inevitably became more and more important as the passage of time produced an increasing body of potential members who had been born into Methodist or New Dissenting communities. And as the proportion of members who were the children of older members rose, each collectivity accumulated an internal constituency for whom socialisation, not adult conversion, had been the basis of the associational commitment. For such people, the preservation of the association and the consolidation of the organisational structures, as distinct from the realisation of its original goals, easily became an end in itself."[27]

The increasing dependence upon endogenous recruitment by the New Dissenting denominations, which Gilbert identifies, was also, he observes, a consequence of the difficulty encountered in attempting to recruit new members from the working class owing to the phenomenon known as 'lift'. This, according to Gilbert, "describes the social and cultural estrangement of members of a religious group from the social environment from which they were recruited."[28] Through the adoption of ascetic Protestantism, as Wesley himself had observed, individuals tended to benefit from economic and social improvements, which inevitably created a social distance between the Dissenting members and individuals from the society in which they had originally belonged, thus making it difficult for further recruitment to take place from that constituency. Consequently, "unless

it can draw on a socially more prestigious constituency appropriate to the new social circumstances of its members, the [religious] body becomes introverted, and its growth becomes increasingly dependent on the children of existing members."[29]

The *'embourgeoisement'* of Nonconformism which Gilbert has noted was a phenomenon however which has not gone unchallenged. By an examination of extant Nonconformist marriage and baptism registers, together with a number of special surveys, Clive Field, using the Registrar-General's 1951 social structure schema, concludes that "Victorian Wesleyanism was not the consistently bourgeois force which it is conveniently depicted to be. Before 1850, the majority of worshippers generally stemmed from R.G. order III [routine non-manual occupations and skilled labourers], and the contributions of IV-V [semi-skilled and unskilled labourers] were greater than that of I-II [major employers and intermediate non-manual workers]. Thereafter, III steadily lost its supremacy in the connexion, yet it still kept well ahead of the enlarged lower-middle-class contingent."[30] Gilbert's *'embourgeoisement'* thesis has also been brought into question by the findings of a number of local studies. Eric Hopkins, for example, has examined the extent of religious Dissent in the case of two mid-nineteenth century industrial villages in the Black Country, Lye and Wollescote, whose inhabitants were chiefly engaged in nailmaking and mining. From an examination of

the census enumeration books and the religious census, Hopkins calculates that "nearly one in two working people who could go to church or chapel actually did so, and this in an overwhelmingly working-class district, part of which was notorious for its rough and uncouth ways."[31] In his conclusion, Hopkins, in a direct challenge to Gilbert's thesis, declares that: "Any suggestion that these supporters formed some kind of elite or semi-elite of the working classes aspiring to a middle-class life-style is quite misplaced."[32]

Against this somewhat confusing national picture, of a reformed, revitalised, albeit rather schism-ridden Anglican church and an immense number of Dissenting denominations, whose membership collectively was still growing in the study period, but at a reduced rate than that which had marked their joint growth in the previous half-century, the position of organised religion in the Darfield and Wombwell area in the latter half of the nineteenth century is now to be considered. In the case of both the Anglican Church and the various Nonconformists denominations present in the area, the local characteristics are to be related to the national picture. An examination of the individual denominations' presence in the district is followed by an attempt both to discern each grouping's relationship to the others and to assess the importance of organised religion in the process of forming individuals' notions of 'community'.

1. The Anglicans

Throughout the period of the study the parish of Darfield was divided into two medieties, resulting in the inhabitants being served contemporaneously by a vicar, a rector and varying numbers of curates. Since the dissolution of the monasteries, the parish's second mediety was in the patronage of Trinity College, Cambridge. Darfield's first mediety, from 1782 until 1892 was in the hands of one family, the Cookes. George Cooke bought the advowson of Darfield when he was the incumbent of Arksey and became Darfield's rector in 1782. He was succeeded in this post by his son, Henry Cooke, who served as rector from 1796 until 1835;his grandson, Henry Bowen Cooke (rector, 1835-79); and his great grandson, Henry Pennant Cooke (rector, 1879-92). Until 1863, the settlement of Wombwell was a part of Darfield parish, but after this date it became a parish in its own right.

Clearly, in the case of Darfield's first mediety, the entrenched position of the Cooke dynasty, facilitated by its ownership of the living, by the second half of the nineteenth century was not regarded as being in line with the best practices of the Church of England. Indeed, for many years Henry Bowen Cooke represented the type of clergyman Anglican reformers were attempting to oust. In 1842, the Archbishop of York had been alerted to the debts of Cooke, which amounted to some £15,000 and were the subject of a long-running legal case.[33] Cooke's absence

from the parish virtually coincided with the length of the life of the protracted legal case: having succeeded his father as rector in 1835, Henry Bowen Cooke was non-resident from 1844 until 1864. His absence was described critically in a local newspaper report of 1859, which noted the introduction of a Parliamentary Bill by Lord St.Leonards to regulate such ecclesiastical scandals as non-residency:

"The rector of Darfield has now been non-resident and entirely absent from the parish for the space of sixteen years, and that not from any immorality, incapacity to perform his duties, or unsoundness of doctrine, but solely on pecuniary grounds. On that account alone has the rector the sympathy of his flock, but for which the parishioners should not suffer. The rectory is ... worth [about] £1500 p.a. ... The duties are performed by a curate who is 'rewarded' with £90 p.a., for which sum he has to pray, preach, marry, christen and bury from January 1 to December 31. The parishioners anxiously watch the anticipated parliamentary legislation on this, to them, important subject."[34]

For much of the period of the rector's absence, Darfield's second mediety was held, under the patronage of Trinity College, by the Reverend Beedom Charlesworth, who served as vicar of Darfield from 1830 until 1862. According to a local obituary writer, Charlesworth:

"discharged the duties of a large and laborious parish with energy and zeal. Through his efforts, the mother church was completely restored; two parishes with their churches, parsonages and schools were created and by a considerable pecuniary sacrifice, he raised the income of the benefice

for the benefit of his successors. He erected an additional parish school and provided a permanent house and salary for the master ... He possessed considerable powers of organisation."[35]

Charlesworth's active presence in the parish conformed with the religious ideas of his institutional patron, Trinity College, Cambridge, which remained a stronghold of Evangelicalism throughout the nineteenth century.[36] The apparent success of Charlesworth's ministry in the parish was, to an extent, verified by the large attendances at important events in the church's calendar. Foremost amongst Charlesworth's successes was the annual Sunday school feast, an event which, since his arrival in the parish in 1830, had become an integral part of the religious year. In June 1859, the Barnsley Times reported the "twenty-ninth annual meeting of scholars and teachers of the several Sunday schools of the parish of Darfield took place ... They were joined by parents and others and the number who partook could not have been under six hundred." The report concluded that:

"Such gatherings and reunions between ministers and people, such efforts to afford pleasure and gratification to hundreds of the young, longing expectant hearts ... all induced by Christian love cannot but have a salutary influence upon the rising generation, whose welfare, physical, moral and eternal, they were intended to promote. Great praise is due to all who took part in the proceedings ... especially to the kind vicar, Rev.B.Charlesworth and his lady, whose unceasing efforts and Christian liberality

upon these and all other occasions are so abundantly evident."[37]

Even after his departure from the parish and whilst in declining health in Bristol, Charlesworth clearly retained his concern for his former parishioners and his evangelical zeal, for several letters were written by him seeking to ensure that the church school continued to thrive under the continued leadership of one of his own appointees.[38] According to his obituary, Charlesworth's "language was always plain, unadorned and without any attempt at rhetoric", all qualities that were doubtless necessary in an evangelical clergyman. Evidently, as vicar of Darfield, Charlesworth's approach to his vocation was in stark contrast to that of his colleague, the rector, who for most of the period of Charlesworth's ministry remained an absentee.

Charlesworth's immediate successors to the post of vicar of Darfield all, it seemed, encountered some degree of difficulty in undertaking their pastoral and spiritual responsibilities in conjunction with the now-resident rector. Problems with the allocation of duties amongst the two incumbents of the parish were referred to on a number of occasions in the visitation returns of the period, which were comments made by Anglican clergymen about the spiritual state of their parishes for the inspection of the archbishop. In the visitation returns of 1868, the vicar of Darfield, William Rouse complained that:"One of the chief

drawbacks to the good management of the parish is the conjoint authority in all matters of the Rector and the Vicar, the best remedy for which is the separation of the medieties..."[39] In the returns of 1884, the vicar of Darfield, Frederick Sleap, who had been in the post since 1873, was similarly critical of "the great anomaly of a vicar and rector in the same parish."[40] This somewhat unorthodox situation was to continue, however, until 1906, when the two medieties were consolidated.

The extent of Anglican worship in the area under consideration, as has already been made clear in the discussion relating to the religious census, is rather difficult to determine precisely. The returns of the 1851 census record attendances at Darfield parish church of 265 at morning service and 180 at afternoon service. Attendances at Wombwell St.Mary's were recorded as averaging "about 100" at afternoon and evening services.[41] Further attendance figures have been gleaned from the figures submitted to the Archbishop of York in a number of visitation returns. Using these figures, Table 6.1 below gives an indication of the proportion of inhabitants in Darfield, Wombwell and surrounding settlements who attended an Anglican place of worship. The 1851 figures have been calculated by adding 50 per cent of the second attendance of the day to that of the first, in an attempt to take account of double-attenders. Such a calculation can only be a rough estimate of the total number of attenders. However,

this calculation reflects the advice given by the author of the 1851 religious census, Horace Mann, who suggested that the total attenders could be ascertained by summing the total morning congregation figures with one-half of the afternoon figures and, where a third service occurred, one-third of the evening attenders. The population figures employed in calculating the percentage of church attendance in Darfield village also include those resident in Billingley, Little Houghton and Great Houghton; the figures for Worsbrough chapelry include the aggregate church attendances and populations of both Worsbrough and Worsbrough Dale.

Table 6.1.

An Index of Anglican Church Attendance[42]

Place	1851	1868	1877	1884
Ardsley	9%	6%	--	4%
	(134 attendants)	(100)	--	(130)
Brampton	--	9%	6%	8%
	--	(150)	(120)	(280)
Darfield	29%	17%	14%	7%
	(355)	(230)	(300)	(250)
Hoyland Nether	--	--	3%	3%
	--	--	(200)	(250)
Wombwell	9%	5%	--	4%
	(150)	(200)	--	(296)
Worsbro'Dale	16%	--	--	--
	(570)	--	--	--
Worsbro'chapelry	--	--	13%	9%
	--	--	(800)	(800)

Evidently, throughout the period of the study, Anglican church attendance in Darfield, Wombwell and surrounding

settlements was low, much less indeed than the national figures revealed in the 1851 religious census. Far from improving, in each of the settlements examined, the proportional incidence of Anglican church-going without exception declined over the four decades considered.

An examination of the visitation returns for the area sheds illuminating light upon the clergy's opinions regarding this large-scale absence. In two of the parishes with the lowest proportion of attendants - Wombwell and Hoyland Nether - much blame was attached by the incumbents to the poor state of the church accommodation. Rev.John Cordeaux, minister at Hoyland Nether since 1850, repeatedly complained of the remoteness of
his church from its potential congregation. "There is a good Church feeling in the place," commented the Rev. John Cordeaux in 1868, "but the people complain of the want of accommodation in the Church and its distance from their dwellings."[43] Nine years later, these were again the principal complaints of the vicar of Hoyland Nether. Rev.Henry Sale stated that: "the single Church, which is totally inadequate, seating only about 320, is situated on a hill at one-third of a mile from the nearest group of houses."[44] More outspoken in criticism of his church building was the vicar of Wombwell, Alfred Flaxman, who wrote in 1877 that: "I should think there is not a more disgraceful church in the kingdom. I hope to do something for a new one..."[45] The hint of optimism Flaxman displayed

in 1877 was replaced by almost total exasperation in 1884, when he declared: "I am quite convinced that further progress is impossible so long as I am unable to get a new parish church, or some alteration in the old one; and I have in consequence for a long time been trying to get another post but hitherto without success." To a question asking of impediments to his ministry, Flaxman replied somewhat brusquely: "The want of a new Parish Church or at least seats on which it is possible to sit without torture -but a book might be written on this subject."[46]

Whilst without doubt the accommodation offered by Wombwell's parish church was poor, the Barnsley Chronicle claimed it was "only notable for its grotesque ugliness"[47], the apparent lack of interest felt by the people of Wombwell in the Anglican church was based on rather more than an indifference towards the church building: in 1867, a meeting had been called to discuss plans for a new parish church, yet, according to a local newspaper report, "There was not a very large attendance."[48]

Other factors then need to be considered in seeking an explanation for the low levels of church attendance in the area. Several clergymen tended to advance somewhat teleological reasons for the absence of worshippers: deep-rooted religious indifference was given time and again as the reason for low levels of church attendance by Anglican ministers.[49] Some clergymen lamented the absence within their parishes of men of influence: Ardsley's incumbent in

1884 pointed to the fact that "Families of the better classes who were all church people and supplied Sunday school teachers, communicants, tract distributers and school managers have years ago left the parish..."[50] In Wombwell too the lack of powerful church-goers was considered worthy of comment. In 1884, Rev. Alfred Flaxman noted that, "There are no gentry in our Congregations and most of the [colliery] proprietors are non-resident and with one or two exceptions never help us."[51] Significantly, of the parishes here considered, the one with consistently the highest proportionate level of attendance, Darfield, had within its congregation a number of influential local figures. Between 1857 and 1861, for instance, amongst Darfield's churchwardens, were listed three farmers of over 140 acres, a linen manufacturer, William Haxworth, and a prominent local employer, Joseph Latham, a stone quarry owner.[52] Evidently, at a time of rapid population growth within the parish of Darfield, the link between the Anglican church and the old-established community persisted.

Just as the absence of prominent local churchgoing individuals was regarded as being a cause of low Anglican attendance figures, so too was the presence of large numbers of working class people, particularly it seems those employed in coalmining. Commenting on patterns of worship within the parish of Darfield, the vicar, William Rouse, in 1868 noted that a "fair proportion" of Houghton's

largely agricultural population went to church, but not in Darfield, "where there are... a great number of miners who attend no place of worship."[53] The lack of religious observance amongst mining folk was noted too by Wombwell's rector in the same year, who explained that the miners "as a rule are very uneducated".[54]

In an attempt to improve the education, and hence,it was hoped, the religiosity, of the working classes in general, and mining families in particular, much effort was channelled into the provision of adult evening classes. These however met with mixed success. Henry Clayforth, Wombwell's first rector, launched himself enthusiastically into the organising of such classes. "I have myself taught a night school two evenings each week," he wrote in 1868, "with such success that I am now making arrangements for an increase of the educational staff of the day school at Wombwell that we may have a thoroughly organised Night School next winter."[55] Nine years later,the eagerness of working people to take advantage of such an educational facility at nearby Darfield was significantly less conspicuous. Indeed, the rector, Henry Bowen Cooke, wrote that "An evening school has been tried but attendance was so unsatisfactory that it has been closed."[56] The vicar of Ardsley, in the same year, wrote that he had found it impossible to recruit sufficient numbers for a night school. His explanation for this, however, did not dwell on the spiritual failings of his potential flock, but was the

consequence, he noted, of economic factors, "there being so much night work in the mines and glass manufactories."[57] By 1877, too, the provision of night schools by the rector of Wombwell had ceased.

It seems then, in the main, that the attempts by the Anglican church to provide some means of adult education during the period were unsuccessful, owing in part to the long hours of employment of the resident population, but also because of the lack of resources at the disposal of the Anglican clergy. Even the most zealous evangelical ministers tended ultimately to wilt under the pressure placed upon them: Rev. Alfred Flaxman, a product of the evangelical Trinity College, Cambridge, which not only educated him[58], but also in part provided his living at Wombwell[59], had his initial enthusiasm sapped through the absence of a curate on his arrival and, owing to the lack of suitable accommodation, he had "eight or twelve miles to walk every Sunday."[60] Evidently, whilst at the national level the reorganisation of the Anglican church was cause for favourable remarks from some commentators, in a number of areas the resources of the Church still seemed to be unevenly distributed.

Whilst the lack of resources to an extent hampered the Church of England in the area in its attempts to educate adults, nevertheless provision was made for the education of children. The visitation returns examined refer to a number of day schools in which the church had some

influence. However, its power in some day schools was somewhat difficult to gauge since a number appear to have been endowed schools, whilst even before Forster's Education Act of 1870 which brought about the election of school board members and thus to a degree reduced the influence of the church, some day schools were already in receipt of Government grants. The Church of England's influence in its own Sunday schools, however, was never in doubt. Therefore, it is upon this aspect of the church's child-educational involvement that attention will be focussed.

Table 6.2 displays the propensity of resident children to attend an Anglican Sunday school. The figures for Sunday school attendance in 1859 have been gleaned from a report in the Barnsley Times of that year; the data for 1868 and 1877 have been extracted from visitation returns for those years. The percentage figures express the total proportion of resident children of school-going age who attended Anglican Sunday schools. When these figures are compared with those for church attendance, which are represented in Table 6.1, an interesting pattern emerges. Consistently, the incidence of Sunday-school attendance was, according to these admittedly somewhat rudimentary figures, between 50 per cent and 100 per cent above those for church attendance in the same place. In 1868 for example, fourteen per cent of Darfield's population attended the Anglican church, according to the visitation

returns of that year, compared to attendance figures at the associated Sunday school representing 24 per cent of the settlement's children.

Table 6.2.

An Index of Anglican Sunday School Attendance[61]

Place	1859	1868	1877
Ardsley	--	17%	--
	(--scholars)	(90)	(--)
Billingley	53%	--	--
	(192)	(--)	(--)
Brampton	--	--	10%
	(--)	(--)	(110)
Darfield	58%*	24%	9%
	(156)	(97)	(60)
Houghton	--	48%	35%
	(--)	(40)	(50)
Wombwell	20%+	10%	5%
	(176)	(120)	(108)

*-Darfield figures for 1859 include those for Houghton.
+-Wombwell figures for 1859 include those for Hemingfield.

Evidence explaining this phenomenon is difficult to identify. One possible explanation is the fact that this pattern of relatively higher proportional attendance at Sunday school rather than church is consistent throughout the nineteenth century, suggesting that a vestigial belief in Christianity persisted in many non-churchgoers who had

themselves attended Sunday school which prompted them to send their own children.

The prevalence of religious belief is examined in more detail later in the chapter. Another possible reason for relatively high Sunday school attendance levels is the secular advantage gained from the ability to read, a skill which in some cases was picked up solely through Sunday school attendance. That a child should be sent to Sunday school principally for this purpose in the district and period under study seems initially unlikely since day schools were common[62], and regular child employment, enforcing absence from such establishments, was rare. The comments of incumbents, particularly in the visitation returns of 1868, suggest however that the Sunday schools in the district differed little in their constituencies from day-schools. In reply to the question "Are you able to retain your young people in Sunday school after they have ceased to attend Daily School?", the answer invariably given was "no".[63] It seems therefore that some form of obligation was felt to send children to Sunday school if they also attended day-school. Thus, the level of Anglican Sunday school attendance could have been more a signifier of parents' interest in education than in religion.

The absolute decline in numbers attending Anglican Sunday schools recorded in Table 6.2 between 1868 and 1877 could therefore have been a consequence of the emergence of the Board School, following the Forster Education Act of 1870,

which weakened the influence of the Church of England in the provision of daily child-education, thus reducing the obligation of non-church-going parents to send their children to Sunday school. However, as Table 6.2 illustrates, the decline in numbers of Sunday school pupils predated the introduction of the Forster Act. Between 1859 and 1868, for instance, the proportion of children attending Anglican Sunday school in Darfield dropped drastically from 58 per cent to 24 per cent. Over the same period, comparable figures for Wombwell were twenty per cent and ten per cent.

The decline in the propensity of Sunday school attendance, like that of Anglican churchgoing more generally might well have been, to a degree, a consequence of the lack of church resources in the area. From a study of the visitation returns under-resourcing was a problem with which many Church of England clergymen had to grapple at a time when the population of the district was growing rapidly. Another possible factor affecting Anglican church and Sunday school attendance was the influence of Dissent in the area.

Before examining the extant Nonconformist records of the area in an attempt to assess the varying denominations' influence in the Wombwell and Darfield district, it is informative to consider the Anglican clergy's response to the presence of Dissent over the period under investigation. In the visitation returns examined, the

Archbishop of York had invited incumbents to comment on the extent of Dissent in their parishes. In the main, in the period 1865 - 84, the most striking feature of the clergymen's responses, where there were any, was their professed ignorance of Dissent's strength in their parishes. Apart from listing Dissenting places of worship, many incumbents claimed that they could "form no estimate of their numbers."[64]

Several visitation returns, however, did contain a little more substantive evidence about the presence of Nonconformity. Worsbrough Dale's incumbent, William Banham, who took pride in having built up the numbers of his congregation in a decade virtually from nothing to over 500 regular attendants in 1868[65], wrote that "I visited 461 families housed in my parish and on enquiring I found 173 families were confirmed Church people and 89 families were Dissenters..."[66] Only small numbers of Dissenters were also reported in Wombwell in 1868, when Henry Clayforth, the incumbent, noted that "the chapels of Wombwell are badly attended I am told."[67] It seems though that Wombwell's rector could have been ill-informed on this matter and clearly too he was not a great reader of the local newspaper for, as is shown later, Dissent appeared to play a conspicuously active part in the life of Wombwell at this time.[68] Although a more detailed investigation into the low numbers of Dissenters found by William Banham has not been attempted in this chapter, it may be that many of the

Dissenters he questioned preferred to proclaim no religious denomination in an attempt to remove him from their doorsteps as soon as possible. This seems likely since Worsbrough Dale was a classic 'industrial village' as defined by Alan Everitt and thus seemed fertile territory upon which Dissent could flourish. Indeed the work of David Hey suggests it did.[69]

Support for this thesis, contradictory to the findings of the Reverends Henry Clayforth and William Banham, can be gained from comments made by the incumbents of Darfield and Hoyland Nether. The low church attendance at Darfield in 1868 was ascribed by the vicar, William Rouse, to the presence of "a great number of Dissenters."[70] Nine years later, the rector, Henry Bowen Cooke estimated that: "There are probably nearly 1000 Dissenters in the Parish, as they have five places of worship."[71] Expressed another way, it seems that the Rector of Darfield estimated that nearly one third of all his parishioners were active Dissenters.[72] At the same date, in Nether Hoyland, where the vicar, Henry Sale, wrote rather desperately, "No curates as yet; two are sought". Nonconformity was also found to be well established. "No accurate estimate can be given of the number of Dissenters," wrote Sale,"[but] it is very large."[73]

2. The Nonconformists

The approach adopted to the study of Dissent within the

area under investigation is broadly similar to that which has already been undertaken in the examination of the Anglican church in the district. Initially, for each of the denominations studied, emphasis is placed upon its structure and organisation in the Darfield and Wombwell area and the changes that were effected over time. These changes are identified against the context of the national picture. From the available records, the fluctuating size of membership isidentified and attempts made to explain this. Particular emphasis in this regard is placed upon the social constitution of the church and chapel membership. In succeeding sections, attention is focussed upon the relationships between the predominant denominations in the district and an attempt is made to assess the extent of religious belief amongst the area's population, particularly its mining component, a task which, it has already been identified, is by no means facilitated by the extant source material.

For the Rector of Darfield to estimate that in 1877 almost as many as one-third of his parishioners were Nonconformists illustrated in itself the vast growth of Dissent which was perceived to have taken place within the district, parallelling Nonconformity's enormous growth nationally in the hundred years following the later decades of the eighteenth century. In 1788, Dissenters' meetings in Darfield were confined to the house of Robert Foster; in Wombwell, similar groups met from 1796 at the home of

William Halley.[74] By 1868, as many as thirteen chapels were used by Nonconformist denominations in the parishes of Darfield and Wombwell.[75] From the local newspapers studied and the extant Nonconformist records of the area, the most prominent denominations in the Darfield and Wombwell district during the period under study were the Primitive Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodists and, more latterly, the Congregationalists.[76] It is these three Dissenting bodies that form the focus of attention in this section of the work. The apparent absence of Catholicism within the Wombwell and Darfield district is perhaps worthy of note before proceeding further. Unlike many burgeoning industrialising areas in Victorian Britain, this district did not attract large numbers of Irish immigrants, bringing with them their Catholic faith.

a. Primitive Methodists

The first of the three Dissenting denominations to be examined in detail in the Wombwell and Darfield district during the period c.1850-1885 is Primitive Methodism. Whilst the inflexible parochial structure of the Anglican church presented its ministers with many problems in burgeoning areas such as Wombwell and Darfield, as has already been shown through incumbents' repeated calls for additional clergymen and improved church accommodation, the less complex denominational structure of the Dissenting bodies it would seem offered their members much more

opportunity to expand more promptly to local religious demand than that possible by the excessively centralised Established Church. Of all the Methodist denominations, Primitive Methodism was the most decentralist: more power relating to the management of chapels and circuits was placed in the hands of individual lay members than in any other large Methodist body. Members of each circuit, comprising several Primitive Methodist places of worship, appointed a paid superintendent minister whose tenure was invariably in the first instance for one year, but usually extended for a further two if the membership were satisfied with his performance. The role of the superintendent was to an extent that of a *primus inter pares*. Preaching on the circuit was undertaken not only by the superintendent but also by laymen, whose quarterly preaching appointments were drawn up on the plan. Much lay involvement also occurred in the management of individual Primitive Methodist places of worship: chapel stewards and trustees were involved in the smooth-running of each establishment whilst class leaders and Sunday school teachers were engaged in the fundamental work of religious education and evangelism. Much of this denominational structure was common to many Dissenting denominations. However, Primitive Methodism differed, at least originally, from other Methodist bodies such as the Wesleyans by diluting the power of full-time preachers, or 'itinerants' at the annual conference. As R. Leese has noted, "In [Primitive

Methodist] Annual Conference, the itinerants were outnumbered two to one by laymen and even then their representation derived from the practical importance of their work rather than from any right inherent in their office."[77] The position of Primitive Methodist superintendent preachers was, therefore, far from unassailable. As will be seen, in some instances the circuit membership had few qualms in ousting preachers in their employ. Full-time Primitive Methodist preachers thus had to be much more accountable to their congregations than did their counterparts, the Anglican clergy.

The flexibility of the Primitive Methodist organisational structure facilitated attempts to extend the denomination's influence: where a circuit was already in existence, attempts to begin preaching at new centres of population did not require either paid preachers or necessarily a purpose-built place of worship, for services, in the first instance at least, were held outside or in hired rooms. This adaptability to changing conditions, effected for example through vast rates of population growth, marked out the Primitive Methodists and indeed other Dissenting denominations from the cumbersome parochially-orientated forms of Anglican church structure.

The process of Primitive Methodist expansion in the Darfield and Wombwell districts illustrated the denomination's organisational flexibility well, at least in the early years of the current period of study. Initially,

Wombwell and Darfield constituted part of the Barnsley Primitive Methodist circuit that extended to Royston and Darton in the north; Silkstone to the west; Hoyland Nether to the south; and Wath-upon-Dearne to the east. The surviving Primitive Methodist records of the circuit make it clear that attempts were continually made to colonise settlements within the circuit's area for the cause of Primitive Methodism. Minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of the circuit's chapel officials reveal the attempts made to open up new opportunities for the denomination: Low Valley came on the circuit plan as a 'mission' in June 1859; two years later, a mission was planned at Ardsley.[78] A vein of pragmatism, however, was evident in the area's Primitive Methodist body. Where resources were not considered by the members of the Quarterly Meetings to be optimally distributed, changes were quickly made. Thus, having come on the plan in June 1859, it was decided that the poor response at Low Valley did not warrant the services of a travelling preacher during the following quarter, although by December 1861 Primitive Methodist meetings had been restored to the settlement. At Ardsley, meetings , having begun in June 1861, were stopped barely six months later.[79] Similarly, a Quarterly Meeting resolved that: "Woolley Colliery and Carlton Terrace come off the plan as no purpose is served in keeping them on."[80]

Despite setbacks such as those illustrated above, the cause of Primitive Methodism expanded in the district to

such an extent that the circuit was broken down into more manageable units. The instituting of a new circuit was evidently a rather larger undertaking than the opening up of a new place of worship since, perhaps most importantly from a financial point of view, it necessitated the employment of at least one additional full-time superintendent. Evidently therefore, such a move was only contemplated when growth had been strong in both membership and financial resources. The first such split of the Barnsley Primitive Methodist circuit was approved by the circuit's Quarterly Meeting in June 1862, when it was resolved "that Hoyland become head of a branch which shall be composed of Hoyland, Blacker Hill, Lundhill, Wath, Broomhill, Hoyland Common, Jump, Upper Hoyland, Milton, Wombwell Main, Pilley, Birdwell and Harley."[81] Effectively therefore, the original Barnsley circuit was sliced in two, forming a northern half -the new Barnsley circuit- and a southern half -the new Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit. The growth of the denomination was such, however, that within twenty years a further reorganisation of the Barnsley circuit was effected with the establishment of a separate circuit serving the settlements immediately to the east of Barnsley. In March 1881, members at the Quarterly Meeting resolved "that the following places compose the second circuit, viz. Buckley Street [Barnsley], Roystone, Brierley, Worsbrough Dale, Cudworth, Low Valley, Ryhill and Carlton."[82]

Whilst the separation of the original Barnsley Primitive Methodist circuit into three distinct such organisational structures is suggestive of substantial denominational growth within the period of the study, nevertheless the vast increase in the district's population must also be borne in mind. For the success of Primitive Methodism in the area to be assumed, the denomination's proportional share of the population needed to show evidence of increase. However, the task of establishing figures for Primitive Methodist membership is somewhat problematic, hindered both by the absence of data in the extant records and also by the difficulties caused by attempting to define membership.

Membership figures for the Barnsley circuit, both before and after the formation of the Hoyland and Wombwell circuit are difficult to obtain from the surviving records. One sequence of figures available refers to class membership lists in the period 1854 - 62, immediately prior to the division of the original Barnsley circuit. Class membership figures probably do not equate with the number of those attending regular Primitive Methodist meetings and so are of little use in absolute terms in measuring the numbers of Primitive Methodists in the district. However, the rate of growth of such classes might offer an indication of the health of the denomination in the area. An analysis of these figures would suggest that in the brief period for which figures are available, Primitive

Methodism may have grown in strength steadily but unspectacularly: average quarterly class totals numbered 90 in 1855 rising slowly to 143 by 1862.[83]

An examination of the various extant minute books relating to the Barnsley Primitive Methodist circuit reveals that after the splitting of the circuit in 1862, the Barnsley station appeared to be subject to somewhat alarming swings in membership numbers and financial health. Throughout, the condition of the circuit was sufficiently robust to overcome the failure of individual chapels although difficulties were encountered when several chapels simultaneously fell upon hard times. The chapel constructed by the Primitive Methodists at Darfield Main can perhaps be regarded as fairly representative of those built in the Barnsley station. This place of worship was erected immediately following the division of the circuit, and opened in July 1863, a time of evident prosperity and confidence amongst Primitive Methodists.[84] However, within three years it had become clear that the Darfield Main chapel membership was not able to manage its debt. A succession of meetings followed and a decision was made to ask the Darfield Main Colliery Company to take the chapel off the members' hands.[85] An agreement was subsequently reached between the company and the chapel membership whereby the chapel was rented back to the Primitive Methodists for the sum of £8 *per annum*. A note regretfully stated in the back of a Quarterly Minute book that: "The

chapel has fallen into the hands of the proprietors of the colliery. They have engaged to let us have it for £8 p.a."[86]

The over-confidence which lay no doubt at the bottom of the problems encountered in the case of the Darfield Main Primitive Methodist chapel also caused difficulties at the circuit level. At the Quarterly Meeting of September 1870, the Barnsley circuit's officials decided that a second paid preacher was required. To this end, it was recorded in the meeting's minutes that:"we grapple with the difficulty of furnishing a second preacher's house at once...[and] that all the leaders be furnished with books to solicit donations from their members and friends towards furnishing a second preacher's house."[87] A year later, however, the over-ambitious nature of this exercise had become painfully clear. A second preacher had been appointed following the September 1870 meeting's recommendations, but by September 1871 it had become evident that the finances of the circuit could no longer support him and his wife. Thus, at the Quarterly Meeting of September 1871, it was resolved "that as the financial state of the circuit is the entire cause of Mr Osbourne's removal from this circuit to Leeds, we tender our sympathy to Mr and Mrs Osbourne in the inconvenience caused to them by the removal...[and] that the furniture in the second preacher's house be sold by Auction."[88]

The records relating to the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit give rather more details about chapel attendance figures than do their Barnsley counterparts. The overall picture derived from this information regarding the denomination's development is broadly similar to that suggested in the Barnsley circuit's records - a gradual secular increase in membership punctuated by a number of quite sharp peaks and troughs. According to the annual reports drawn up by the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist officials, the variation in membership figures from year to year was due in large part to the changing economic climate and the nature of industrial relations prevailing in the district. In the 1865 report of the Connexion, for instance, the secretary noted, "We are very sorry that we have to report a Decrease of the year of 34 [from 279 members previously]. The causes we believe are the lockout among the colliers and a Strike among the men at the iron works at Elsecar and Melton which have quite unsettled our societies."[89] The Connexion's dependence upon the miners within its membership was again made evident in the station's 1881 report when it was noted somewhat cumbersomely that the circuit was "prosperous numerically and spiritually, but not financially. The strike among the miners is the cause of non-financial prosperity."[90]

Apart from the influence of industrial and economic forces upon the state of Primitive Methodism, one other factor proved to be of much consequence in determining the success

of the denomination: the quality of the circuit's full-time preacher. The impact of the preacher upon the health of the circuit was made most evident during the tenure of Albert Hebblethwaite in the Hoyland and Wombwell circuit. Hebblethwaite oversaw a net decline in the circuit's membership of 54 in the year 1877-78, when membership fell from 350 to 296. This substantial decline occurred during a local economic boom.[91] The 1878 report of the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit, in attempting to explain the large shortfall, mentioned somewhat coyly "the unhappy strife which prevailed in the circuit."[92] Rather less taciturn, however, were the correspondents of The Barnsley Chronicle. According to a colourful description of a Quarterly Meeting of the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit, the activities of Albert Hebblethwaite came under severe criticism by several members of the circuit. The members agreed not to invite the preacher to remain superintendent of the station beyond his initial twelve month period, despite Hebblethwaite's offer to reduce his salary by £12. According to the newspaper report of the meeting, "A member present thought that they had had enough ... Another member complained that Mr H., by his sayings and doings, injured the cause of the body in the district and shut every chapel door against them." Following Mr Hebblethwaite's offer of a salary reduction, "someone responded that they would not have him for now't, even if he brought his meat."[93] Despite the

claims of inaccuracy which this report attracted, most notably from Hebblethwaite himself, who threatened to take legal action against the paper but apparently did not do so, the preacher moved from the district and within two years the circuit's membership totals had climbed up to previous levels.[94]

Not only did the records of the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit give information relating to the membership figures for the station as a whole, but also the total number of hearers at the chief services of the individual chapels within the circuit were recorded. These figures allow the strength of Primitive Methodism to be gauged in the various settlements located within the circuit. Using information detailing the total number of hearers for the chief services, the total number of seats in the place of worship and the population of the neighbourhood, the varying strength of Primitive Methodism in the Hoyland and Wombwell circuit has been assessed for the years 1873, 1878 and 1882. For the sake of comparison, a numerical figure has been attached to the strength of Primitive Methodism in a number of settlements within the circuit, which has been calculated by forming the product of the proportion of seats filled in each settlement and the proportion of the population that could be accommodated within the Primitive Methodist place of worship. The perceived strength of the denomination was obtained by calculating what proportion of the seats provided for the

membership was filled by attenders; and the actual strength of the connexion was calculated by ascertaining what proportion of the settlement's population could be accommodated in the place of worship. This information expressed in numerical terms enabled comparisons to be made relating to the strength of the denomination within the circuit. The figures are revealed in Table 6.3.

An examination of the figures derived for 1873 suggest that the presence of Primitive Methodism was strongest in the settlements of Broomhill, Blacker Hill and Hoyland Common. Blacker Hill and Hoyland Common fit neatly into the typologies Everitt has suggested in his attempts to determine where Dissent would prosper. Both settlements were industrial villages and former commons with a significant proportion of resident miners. As the name 'common' suggests, landholding was widely distributed, there being no dominant resident land owner, a precondition, Everitt has claimed, for the existence of a strong Dissenting presence. Significantly, where an influential local landowner was present , as in Elsecar, the index of Primitive Methodist strength throughout the years here examined was uniformly low. The consistent strength of Primitive Methodism in the small isolated settlement of Broomhill throughout the period, in contrast, was less to do with the landholding patterns in the hamlet than the fact that the Primitive Methodist chapel was the only one in the settlement.

Table 6.3

Index of Primitive Methodist strength within a number of settlements situated in the Hoyland and Wombwell circuit

	1. Total no. of seats	2. Total no. hearers	3. 2. / 1.	4. pop. of nghbhood	5. 1. / 4	6. 3 x 5
			1873			
Hoyland	380	200	0.526	2500	0.152	0.0800
Blacker Hill	150	150	1.000	600	0.250	0.2500
Wath	200	120	0.600	2000	0.100	0.0600
Broomhill	150	100	0.667	400	0.375	0.2513
Stubn-Elsecr	200	100	0.500	2600	0.077	0.0385
Hoyland C.	200	100	0.500	500	0.400	0.2000
Wombwell	300	40	0.133	2300	0.130	0.0173
			1878			
Hoyland	380	250	0.657	4500	0.084	0.0555
Blacker Hill	320	180	0.563	600	0.533	0.3004
Wath	200	160	0.800	3000	0.067	0.0533
Broomhill	150	120	0.800	500	0.300	0.2400
Stubn-Elsecr	200	70	0.350	2500	0.080	0.0280
Hoyland C.	200	140	0.700	2000	0.100	0.0700
Wombwell	300	70	0.233	6000	0.050	0.0117
			1882			
Hoyland	650	350	0.538	6000	0.108	0.0583
Blacker Hill	320	200	0.625	600	0.533	0.3333
Wath	200	180	0.900	3000	0.067	0.0600
Broomhill	150	140	0.933	500	0.300	0.2800
Stubn-Elsecr	200	100	0.500	2500	0.080	0.0400
Hoyland C	200	180	0.900	2000	0.100	0.0900
Wombwell	300	200	0.667	6000	0.050	0.0333

Source: Sheffield Archives, N.R.579/1

In Broomhill it seems likely therefore that many of the chapel's attendants were not necessarily *Primitive* Methodists, but preferred to worship within their own settlement rather than having to make the circuitous trip,

particularly if wet in this low-lying area, to either Darfield or Wombwell to attend a religious service.

The most striking aspect of the figures relating to Primitive Methodist vigour is undoubtedly its relative absence in the larger settlements in the circuit. This finding is consistent with that of Keith Snell, who, in a statistically-orientated examination of Nonconformist records in the North Midlands, has found that Primitive Methodism was not "a movement to be associated in general with urban areas."[95] Consistently, Primitive Methodism was weakest within the circuit in the township of Wombwell. That the population of Wombwell's adherence to the denomination was lower than that of similarly-sized Hoyland may have been caused by the fact that the circuit's base was Hoyland where, inevitably, Primitive Methodism's presence was more conspicuous. Initially, it may seem that the rapid growth of these settlements was reason enough for Primitive Methodism's inability to provide sufficient support for potential members. However, as the figures make clear, in the decade 1871 - 81, when the township's population increased from 2300 to 6000, there was no need for the Primitive Methodists to worry about insufficient chapel accommodation: in 1873, only 40 of the 300 available seats were filled at the chief services whilst nine years later, the same accommodation was only two-thirds full.

In the main, therefore, any expansion in Primitive Methodism that did take place, and which caused in some

cases financial difficulties, was confined to the smaller, 'open', industrial communities rather than to the burgeoning urban settlements such as Wombwell. Cursory calculations from the figures listed in Table 6.3 make it clear that the proportion of the population attending Primitive Methodist places of worship was declining over the period examined, falling from a mere 7.4 per cent of the total number of inhabitants in 1873 to 6.5 per cent nine years later.[96]

Having established the extent of Primitive Methodist influence in the district in general, an assessment is now made of the membership's social position. According to several local studies, the strength of Primitive Methodism was invariably greatest amongst the lowest classes of society. In his study of the nineteenth century Black Country, Leese has found that: "Scattered evidence ... confirms the view that Primitive Methodism's main strength came from the lower classes in the community and that it lacked the support of wealthy trade and businessmen."[97] Similarly, in his work on Dissent in the North Midlands, Snell observes that "the overwhelming preponderance of Primitive Methodists were clearly manual workers or wage-dependent artisans with varied degrees of skill."[98] The findings of this study are consistent with the conclusions of Snell and Leese. The evidence from which most information has been obtained relating to the social structure of Primitive Methodists is, again, the extant

Quarterly Meeting minute books, whence the names of officials have been obtained. In a number of cases, the occupations of several officials were listed in the meeting minutes; more often, this information has had to be obtained, where possible, through consulting baptism records, wherein the place of residence and occasionally occupation of the father is recorded, and census enumerators' books. Clearly, officials of the Primitive Methodist connexion were more likely to come from a higher social position than the less senior, and consequently more inconspicuous, members of the denomination.

The occupations of the eleven trustees of the Barnsley Road Primitive Methodist Chapel in Wombwell, named in 1867 have been identified from the Chapel's deeds. Every one of these eleven men were employed as coalminers.[99] Deeds of the Darfield Primitive Methodist chapel reveal that in 1868 the trustees comprised: two miners; a brickmaker; a potter's clay temperer and a blacksmith. Three other trustees were listed of a somewhat higher social status: a timberyard foreman; a tailor and an insurance agent.[100]

As late as 1896, the heavy lower-class orientation of the denomination was still evident: the new trustees of the Blacker Hill Primitive Methodist chapel comprised one labourer and seven miners. Only two of the trustees were employed in occupations of any social distinction, namely a

butcher and a colliery deputy.[101] That the social composition of the Primitive Methodist denomination in the district was so similar to that discovered in the Black Country and the North Midlands should perhaps not be surprising when one considers the heavy incidence of migration from these areas into the Darfield and Wombwell district: of the seven Barnsley Road,Wombwell Primitive Methodist trustees for whom census data could be found, four of them had household links with Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire or Staffordshire.

b. Wesleyan Methodists

Considerably less documentary evidence exists relating to the presence of Wesleyan Methodism in the Wombwell and Darfield district than does so for the Primitive connexion. One particularly conspicuous difference between the two denominations, however, that was evident in the district at an organisational level was the delineation of the circuit. Whilst the decentralist tendencies of the Primitive Methodists prompted the splintering of the original single Barnsley circuit into three by 1894, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Barnsley Wesleyan circuit comprised the same area as it had done some 50 years previously. Included in the Barnsley Wesleyan circuit in 1906, just as in 1853, notwithstanding the large increase in the district's population, were such distant settlements

as Darfield, Dodworth, Barugh and Hemsworth.[102] As a consequence, the cause of Wesleyan Methodism appeared to be less territorially-bound than Primitive Methodism. One-third of Darfield Wesleyan Methodist trustees held similar positions in at least three other settlements on the circuit; only two of the fifteen trustees of the chapel at Darfield in 1849 were listed as residents of the village.[103] Conversely, a much more insular attitude appeared to pervade Primitive Methodist organisation. For example, faced with the loss of a leading member of the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit, through his imminent removal to Barnsley, the members of its Quarterly Meeting resolved to "write to the Barnsley Circuit for the return of Brother and Sister Dew's credentials, and inform them that he wishes to retain his membership with us at Wombwell, and if they wish to have his services they must have them only as those of an Auxiliary."[104] In contrast to the Primitive Methodists, therefore, the Wesleyans were able to make better use of their scarce resources, the denomination's 'activists', over a wider area.

Reflecting its earlier origins nationally, Wesleyan Methodism was evident in the Wombwell and Darfield area before the Primitive connexion became established. Darfield village first featured on the Barnsley Wesleyan Methodist circuit plan in 1828.[105] Darfield's first Wesleyan chapel

opened in September 1835.[106] By 1874, a further Wesleyan chapel had been opened in Darfield, at Low Valley.[107] Wombwell's first Wesleyan Methodist chapel was erected in 1845, although as the Barnsley Chronicle reported, the denomination had a presence in the settlement prior to this date.[108] According to the 1851 Religious Census, the Wesleyan Methodist chapel at Darfield was visited by 71 attendants on Census Sunday; that at Wombwell received a total of 50 attendances during the day. Neither settlement recorded any Primitive Methodist attendance, though Wombwell's principal Nonconformist attendance was enumerated not at the Wesleyan Methodist chapel, but at that of the Wesleyan Reformers, where a total of 100 attendances were recorded.[109]

No records have been found containing information relating to attendance at Wombwell's Wesleyan Methodist chapel. However, occasional newspaper reports regarding the denomination's activities offer some glimpses of the connexion's health in the settlement. According to a report in the Barnsley Chronicle, in July 1867, the denomination was well supported: some 1300 people attended services held in a barn addressed by a visiting Wesleyan preacher from Nottinghamshire and the meetings were enlivened by the presence of "a choir ... got up and led by Mr.R.Hammerton of Low Valley and the singing gave great satisfaction."[110] A somewhat defensive speech, made by a

local Wesleyan official at the meeting suggested however, that the health of the denomination was by no means assured. A Mr.Jacques, commenting on the state of the society's Sunday schools, prefaced his remarks with the defiant claim that:"Some have been pleased to say that Methodism is dying out at Wombwell, but I say that it yet lives!"[111] Reverend R.Bell of Barnsley, addressing the same meeting, saw fit to liken the task of the Wombwell Wesleyans to that of St.Augustine, whom he held up as "illustrative of the value of prayer and faith." The spiritual persistence, it seems, of the Wombwell Wesleyan faithful bore fruit, since in 1873 it was felt necessary to begin work on a larger chapel. As the Barnsley Chronicle reported:

"Wesleyan Methodism in Wombwell is about to do honour to itself and to confer a benefit on the district by the erection of a very neat and commodious place of worship which will seat more than three times the number provided by the present building ... Since its erection, the population of Wombwell has grown from less than 2000 persons to over 5000 and as is generally the case, Methodism has also progressed and outgrown the old or rather the present place of worship.[112]

Evidently, Wesleyan Methodism at this time was in a considerably more prosperous state in Wombwell than that of the Primitive connexion: far from requiring additional accommodation, the settlement's Primitive Methodist chapel which could seat 300 people was attracting, according to a

'synoptical account', only 40 hearers to 'principal services'.[113]

The construction of a Wesleyan Methodist chapel at Low Valley a year later,in 1874, makes it clear that the denomination was flourishing in the district at this time. Such was the health of Darfield Wesleyanism that in 1886, the foundation stone of a new chapel was laid, just over 50 years after Darfield's first Wesleyan chapel opened its doors for the first time. The magnitude of such an undertaking was perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the debt on the first chapel had only been extinguished in 1879, over 40 years after its erection.[114] Clearly, the construction of a new Wesleyan place of worship was not to be contemplated without the prevalence of considerable optimism.

Although little information regarding the number of Darfield's Wesleyan Methodists survives, an indication of the denomination's pattern of growth can perhaps be obtained from the class membership lists that exist both for Darfield and Darfield Main during the period 1861 - 90. Taken cumulatively, as is revealed in Appendix E, these figures show a general increase over the period in class membership. As with the figures for Primitive Methodism, however, a considerable cyclical variation appears to occur. Because of the small absolute number of Wesleyans recorded in these totals, however, any

pattern emerging from them needs to be considered with a high degree of circumspection. Comments that can be tentatively advanced include the observation that, as with the figures examined relating to Primitive Methodist attendance, peaks and troughs in membership appear to coincide to an extent with the economic cycle: membership appeared to be rising during the mid-1870s when the coal industry flourished: and fell off with the decline in the industry's performance, perhaps best illustrated in 1877, when the dramatic fall in class membership at Darfield Main coincided with a period of falling wages and consequent industrial strife at the eponymous colliery.[115] Economic slumps clearly did not alter the spirituality of residents, but prompted some to leave the area to seek more remunerative employment elsewhere. Significantly, too, membership in both Darfield and Darfield Main increased considerably immediately prior to the opening of new Wesleyan chapels, in 1886 and 1874 respectively. It is difficult to discern whether the new chapel was constructed in response to the large increase in membership, or whether the growth was prompted by the prospect of attending a new place of worship: that in each case the growth in the one settlement was simultaneous with a decline in the other from previous levels suggests that the latter explanation was the more likely.

The Wesleyan Methodists, like their Primitive counterparts, were subject to quite marked peaks and troughs in membership locally, but unlike the Primitive connexion the Wesleyans appeared to be able to avoid circuit financial embarrassments. Undoubtedly, this was at least in part due to the fact that in the main Wesleyan Methodist officials were better-off than their Primitive counterparts. Whilst, as has been shown above, a large proportion of Primitive Methodist officials were miners, the social status of Wesleyan Methodist trustees appears to have been somewhat higher. Marrying the extant Wesleyan Methodist records with census enumeration returns for the district it has been possible to discover, in some instances at least, the occupations of some prominent Darfield chapel members. Of the fifteen Darfield Wesleyan chapel trustees listed in 1849, some of whom were resident elsewhere in the Barnsley circuit, six have been positively identified from the 1851 census records for Darfield. Only one of the six men was not recorded as an employer of labour. The trustees included Joseph Latham, a quarry owner, employing three men; Samuel Bennett, a stone-merchant, employing 15 men and three boys; two farmers, a master carpenter and a blacksmith.[116] Some ten years later, the social composition of the chapel's trustees was much the same, although arguably Joseph Latham's position in local society had become more exalted: according to the 1861 census, he owned not only a quarry, but also farmed 50

acres of land, employing twelve men and two boys. The social status of Darfield Main Wesleyan chapel's trustees was also impressive: the first reference to the trustees of the chapel, which opened in 1874, listed among the seventeen men were: three manufacturers; an architect; a solicitor; and five shopkeepers. In complete contrast to the identified Primitive Methodist trustees, not one Wesleyan trustee could be found recorded as a miner.[117] With officials of such business acumen, the finances of Wesleyan Methodism were evidently in good hands.

Clearly, the evidence obtained in the Darfield district supports the findings of other local surveys that Wesleyan Methodism appeared to have a less proletarian constituency than that of the Primitives.[118] However, in the case of Darfield Main Wesleyan Methodist chapel particularly, such a conclusion appears somewhat incongruous. Whilst undoubtedly this chapel's trustees comprised in the main men of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois status, for a Wesleyan chapel to succeed at Darfield Main *in addition* to one in Darfield village itself, the chapel's membership would need to have been drawn heavily from residents in the immediate locality. Low Valley and Snape Hill, the settlements from which the membership of Darfield Main's Wesleyan Chapel was inevitably going to come, comprised in 1881 respectively 95 and 109 households, of which 71 and 95 were headed by men employed in the coal industry.[119] Despite the middle class

orientation of the chapel's officials, therefore, it seems likely that a sizeable proportion of its membership was derived from the lower echelons of society. Unfortunately, owing to the paucity of the surviving Wesleyan Methodist records in the locality , this supposition cannot be further tested.

The disproportionate number of non-miners in the Methodist leadership has been noted by Robert Moore in his study of Methodism in the Deerness Valley. The possible explanations Moore advances for this phenomenon are equally applicable to the situation in Darfield. Moore suggests that: men who were independent in their work situation carried this independence into their religious life and became leaders; officials and white-collar workers were chosen as leaders by the chapels; and men who held positions of trust in chapels were also trusted with official responsibility and capital.[120] However, Moore's findings relating to Methodism and miners' involvement amongst its leadership in the North East do not seem to be mirrored by the observations of Carolyn Baylies who has examined the records of the Yorkshire Miners' Association. Baylies identifies amongst the miners a link between Nonconformist activism and political involvement. She observes that:

"Ned Cowey, the Yorkshire Mining Association's first president, William Parrott, its first agent and Samuel Jacks, an important local official ... were all Primitive

Methodist lay preachers. Parrott ... served as a preacher for some sixteen years."[121]

One tentative conclusion that can perhaps be drawn from the somewhat conflicting evidence relating to Methodism, miners and religious activism is that working class Methodists, content to practise their faith passively, chose to do so under the aegis of the Wesleyans: those who wished to be actively involved in the decision-making processes involved at the chapel-level tended to do so in Primitive Methodist places of worship.

c. Congregationalists

Undoubtedly,of all the religious denominations here studied, the connexion enjoying the most autonomy was the solitary representative of Old Dissent: Congregationalism. As the denomination's name suggests, all power was invested in each chapel's own congregation. Unlike Methodism, each chapel was independent and not part of a larger circuit. Equally, no decisions were made on the congregation's behalf by a national conference.

Although Congregationalism predated Methodism, as the term Old Dissent implies, in the area under study its arrival was only comparatively recent. According to the 1851 Religious Census, no Congregationalist attendance was recorded in the area. It seems that the cause of Congregationalism first became active in the area in about the year 1856, for in 1860, an article appeared in the Barnsley Chronicle describing a Congregationalist gathering at Wombwell Main, in which it was stated that:

"For some four or five years past, public services have been regularly conducted on the Sabbath by students of Rotherham [Congregationalist] College in a large room comfortably fitted up, adapted and generously devoted to this purpose by the proprietors of Wombwell Main Colliery,

which have been attended with very gratifying and pleasing results."[122]

Indeed, such proved to be the success of these meetings that arrangements were made to construct a chapel for the denomination. In 1863, a conveyance was drawn up between George Marsh, a Wombwell landowner, and thirteen appointed Congregationalist trustees.[123] Having bought the land, however, seven years were to pass before the Congregational chapel was to open.[124] Nevertheless, despite the delays in its construction, the ambitions of the denomination were evident in the building itself, as contemporary observers noted. As the Barnsley Chronicle recorded, on the opening of the chapel: "The building ... [has] a most commanding situation. Externally, it forms the most conspicuous object in the view of the village, seen to particular effect from the railway."[125] Evidently, a conscious decision had been made to make the building as impressive as possible. To this end, a fashionable firm of architects, 'W.G.Habershon & Pite', of Bloomsbury Square, London, that specialised in Congregational church design, had been awarded the contract.[126] The result, however, did not meet with the unreserved approval of the Barnsley Chronicle. It reported that:

"The edifice is lofty, but there is about it a want of the peculiarly distinctive features of ecclesiastical structure. The style is early decorated Gothic, but the gables at each end being terminated with chimnies [sic], it

looks much more like a lecture hall than a chapel or church."[127]

The combination of grandeur and functionalism achieved by the design was doubtless the intended aim, marking the chapel out from the other ecclesiastical structures within the township of Wombwell and offering a seating capacity within the chapel itself of 520 adults. Seemingly aware of the off-putting effects of the more sanctimonious aspects of religion, the Congregational pastor, like his chapel's architects, went to great lengths to ensure that the denomination appealed to the working classes of the district, particularly the miners. At an early meeting at the chapel, its pastor, Mr.Parton, explained that his purpose, "was to do what he had been trying to do for the last 16 years, namely to glorify God by labouring in His service." In a conscious effort to be as accommodating as possible, Mr.Parton made it clear that: "as many of them were aware, he did not mind taking a collier by the hand before he got washed. (Cheers). Therefore, if any of them met him coming from work, they were not to be afraid to speak."[128]

That the Congregational chapel at Wombwell proved attractive to the mining folk of the area can be shown simply by examining the list of the chapel's trustees: of the thirteen men serving as the original trustees, six were miners and a further four were involved in the mining

industry, one employed as an engine-tenter; one as a labourer at a colliery; one as a colliery agent; and another as a colliery manager.[129] Clearly, the chapel's origins in the rooms of the Wombwell Main Colliery Company were not forgotten. Indeed, of the ten Congregational Chapel trustees resident in Wombwell, according to the 1861 census enumeration returns, *all* of them resided in the company settlement of Wombwell Main. It seems then that not only was Congregationalism in the area an attraction to mining folk but that it was so particularly for the employees of one colliery, Wombwell Main. Of the 84 members listed in the Congregationalists records between Wombwell's chapel opening in 1867 and 1875, 32 were listed as residents of Wombwell Main, suggesting that although the more prominent members of the Congregationalist chapel lived in the settlement, membership of the denomination extended beyond the boundaries of the eponymous company's immediate influence: a further 30 members lived in Wombwell itself; and thirteen members were residents of Darfield or Low Valley.[130] Mr Parton, the Congregationalists' first pastor, proved successful in attracting the miners of the district to worship with him: no fewer than 23 of the 42 males listed as members of the denomination could be positively identified as employees of the mining industry. Whilst, as has been made clear elsewhere, the membership of a chapel is somewhat different from the place of worship's attendants, it seems clear from the evidence available that

the social composition of the district's Congregationalists was similar to that of its Primitive Methodists: a larger proportion of these denominations' worshippers comprised members of the lower echelons of society than did those attending Anglican or Wesleyan Methodist places of worship.

Having established the essentially working class nature of the Congregationalist connexion in Wombwell, the apparent wealth of the denomination needs to be explained. Whilst the humble Primitive Methodist chapel at Darfield Main had "fallen into the hands of the colliery owners" because of the inability of its membership to handle the debt on the building, the cost incurred by the construction of the Congregational chapel, estimated at £2000 in the Barnsley Chronicle, was paid off in full within ten years.[131] Much of the denomination's financial assistance in the district came, unsurprisingly in view of the origins of the connexion in the district, from the Wombwell Main Colliery Company. One of the proprietors in particular, C.W.Bartholomew, a resident of Doncaster, and the most conspicuous of the colliery's owners in the district, proved extremely supportive of the chapel. The most senior member of the congregation, both in terms of his position *vis a vis* chapel affairs and within the Wombwell Main colliery, was the under-viewer, William Utley, who at the opening of the chapel declared:

"They had been assisted by the company in many ways and Mr.Bartholomew said "Now William, when you get into any

difficulties, let me know" (Cheers). That gave them very great relief and they had never found Mr.Bartholomew fail."[132]

Several months after William Utley had spoken these words, further financial assistance towards the erection of the chapel was forthcoming from the company, authorised by Bartholomew, to the sum of "another £100"[133]

Financial assistance from leading figures was not unusual amongst the chapels and churches of the district. As has been already illustrated, the Primitive Methodist chapel at Darfield Main was rescued from financial ignominy by the local colliery company. Several local figures gave equitably amongst local Nonconformist denominations: F.W.T.Vernon Wentworth, for instance, donated both cash and land for both Primitive and Wesleyan Methodist chapels in the district.[134] Many of the local colliery companies too gave financial aid to some of the district's places of worship, contrary to the remarks of Wombwell's incumbent in 1868, who noted "the want of interest on the part of the colliery proprietors..."[135] No interest may have been paid to the Established Church in the area by local colliery companies, but certainly financial interest was expressed by proprietors in the Church's Nonconformist counterparts. Many donations were made by the colliery companies to a denomination upon its decision to construct a new chapel. Financial aid given at this time guaranteed maximum publicity to the donor and gave some form of official

approval to the activities of the denomination involved. New Wesleyan chapels received much financial support from a number of colliery companies: Hemingfield's chapel, for instance, received subscriptions from the Lundhill, Cortonwood and Wombwell Main Coal Companies of £30, £15 and £10 respectively[136]; the Lundhill and Wombwell Main Coal Companies also gave £25 each towards the cost of the new Barnsley Wesleyan Chapel, opened in 1873.[137] The Barnsley Road Primitive Methodist Chapel in Wombwell also benefited from the charity of local colliery companies: Lundhill Coal Company gave donations of £30 in 1869 and of £10 three years later; Wombwell Main Coal Company gave £40 in 1870; and Darfield Main Coal Company donated £5 in 1880.[138] Before the financial assistance of the neighbouring colliery rescued the Primitive Methodist chapel at Darfield Main, this too had received support from another colliery company: in 1863, the colliery proprietors of Hoyle Mill had given books to the chapel's school.[139]

However, whilst most Nonconformist denominations in the area received donations from a number of different colliery companies, the Congregational chapel at Wombwell, it seems, both from a study of the extant records and the local newspaper reports, only obtained financial aid from one, Wombwell Main Coal Company. This, it is to be argued here, was principally because the existence of the Congregationalist chapel in Wombwell was likely to have

been almost wholly due to the wishes of the colliery's proprietors. The Wombwell Main Coal Company had consciously adopted a paternalistic policy towards its employees, providing accommodation for its workforce next to the colliery and a number of cultural activities for the settlement's residents.[140] In an article describing the activities of the Wombwell Main Mutual Improvement Society, the Barnsley Times concluded effusively:

"Much praise is due to the proprietors in the Wombwell Main Coal Company for the great interest they take in the spiritual and mental improvement of their servants, and for the facilities they are always ready to furnish for the furtherance of these desirable objects."[141]

By contributing substantially to the construction of a Congregationalist chapel, the company was merely continuing its attempts to improve spiritually its workforce. The choice of denomination for its place of worship was doubtless, however,in part determined by an assessment by the proprietors of their capacity to influence the activities of the chapel. If, instead of providing accommodation for a Congregationalist gathering in the first instance, the colliery company had encouraged the presence of one of the Methodist denominations, then the potential influence enjoyed by the proprietors would instantly have been mitigated by the powers of the denomination's national body, the Conference. Indeed,

attempts were made by Primitive Methodists to establish a base for themselves at Wombwell Main, but clearly no encouragement was given by the colliery owners: in December 1865, the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist Quarterly Meeting resolved "that Wombwell Main come off the Sabbath Plan as there is no where to preach in."[142] Congregationalism, allowing as it did almost complete autonomy in each chapel, offered the opportunity for the proprietors of maximum influence in chapel affairs. Although, from the extant records of the chapel little overt influence appeared to be wielded by the colliery proprietors, once the building's foundation stone had been laid by the principal owner, C.W.Bartholomew, in November 1865[143], significantly the most prominent member of the congregation, William Utley, in his position as colliery under-viewer, reported directly to the proprietors. Thus, it seems that of all the churches and chapels here considered in which there was a notable lower class presence, the least influence over their place of worship was experienced by miners and their families at the Congregationalist chapel in Wombwell.

Having examined, with the use of the available records, the most prominent religious denominations present in the Wombwell and Darfield area, and having also already made comparisons between them, an attempt will now be made to

investigate the state of interdenominational relationships. The degree of cordiality or otherwise shown between the denominations in a given area, it has been suggested, may be indicative of the relative strengths of each. As Keith Snell has observed, if Nonconformity grew strong in the local Anglican minister's back garden, then the "potential for continuing face-to-face conflict ... was immediate." Conversely, where Dissent was "growing in areas of weak Anglicanism, the chance of conflict was more remote and Wesleyan Methodism or the Primitives were more readily tolerated or ignored by the representatives of the established church."[144] Thus, it seems, an examination of the relationships between the varying denominations may be able to cast further light upon their varying strengths in the district.

Although, as has already been noted, Anglican incumbents in the district were aware of the existence of Dissent, little mention was made by the Anglican clergy of the denominations' success in the area. At no time in any of the Anglican clergy's comments in the visitation returns examined can any overt examples of bad feeling be discerned between the established church and the Dissenting bodies present. Indeed, in the visitation returns of 1877, the incumbent at Worsbrough, John Newman felt inclined to point out that: "There are no bitter Dissenters in the parish."[145] It seems that poor relations between the

Anglican church and Nonconformist bodies in the area would not have been in the interests of either the Church of England or any of the other denominations, since, as the vicar of Worsbrough Dale noted, "many of the Methodists occasionally come to church."[146] Little animosity appears to have been shown by the Anglican clergy towards the Nonconformist denominations since, as many incumbents commented, the problem of low church attendance was not confined to Anglicanism. The vicar of Brampton, in 1868, wrote to his archbishop, "I cannot say what is the number of Dissenters in the parish but I believe that both of the chapels are thinly attended. The great complaint is too much indifference in any form."[147] This was a complaint echoed by the rector of Wombwell in the same year: having noted the low levels of attendance at Wombwell chapels, Henry Clayforth commented that "The prevailing feature is indifference and godlessness."[148] Thus, the relations between the Established Church and Nonconformity in the district appear in the main to have been relatively cordial: the problems of low levels of attendance were common to all; and, to an extent, the church and chapel, in the eyes of some members of both bodies, were complementary organisations.

One would expect, however, that relations between the varying Dissenting denominations to have been a little less congenial: to an extent, where more than one denomination

was represented in a district, the various chapels were in competition for members. Indeed, throughout the extant Dissenting records of the district here examined, evidence exists of movements from chapels of one denomination to another. Clearly, all such defections were not going to be reported in detail in the records of the chapel from which members had left: those whose movements were reported invariably had held positions of authority within the connexion. Members of the quarterly meeting of the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit, for instance, resolved in 1878 that "Brother Brewster's name come off the plan as he has joined the Independents and we inform the District Committee that he has ceased to be a member and an official of our Connexion."[149] Members of the Congregationalist chapel were also recorded leaving for other denominations, although the numbers doing so were small.[150]

Despite the defections from one denomination to another, however, relations between the various Dissenting denominations during the period here under study appear to have been good. Reciprocal arrangements seem to have been made quite regularly between the Primitive Methodists and the Wesleyans. In 1870, for example, the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodists made arrangements to hold the Roystone chapel-anniversary at the Wesleyan chapel there.[151] The relationship was not, however, all one way:

in 1868, Darfield Main's Primitive Methodists allowed their chapel to be occupied by the Wesleyans for their school anniversary. A spirit of ecumenicalism was also fostered by Wombwell's Congregationalist chapel. According to a report in the Barnsley Chronicle, a lecture was given in the chapel in 1877 by a visiting Primitive Methodist speaker, who attracted "a large audience from all churches."[152]

The good relations enjoyed between the various religious denominations in the Darfield and Wombwell area were, therefore, to an extent, the result of the desire of the leaders of each denomination to increase in the area, to a degree irrespective of denominational allegiance, the incidence of conspicuous religious belief. The cordial nature of dealings between the Dissenting denominations in the district were also prompted by a degree of pragmatism. Several of the denominations represented in the area did not have an extensive presence nationwide. This fact was of significance in an area of high mobility. Many of those moving into the area for instance may not have had the opportunity before of attending a Primitive Methodist place of worship and so it was not in the interests of the connexion to alienate potential members from choosing to attend their place of worship through ill-judged attacks, for example, upon the Wesleyans. Similarly, existing members of the district's Primitive Methodist chapels, who moved outside the area into a locality where the

denomination was weaker, may not have been able to attend a Primitive chapel, and so may have had little choice but to attend a Wesleyan chapel. The latter situation was one in which a former member of the Darfield Primitive Methodist body had clearly found himself, according to a report in this society's surviving records: "We recommend Brother Liddington to the Malton circuit as a travelling preacher, but we inform them that he has only been a member with us at present ten months, the reason is that being an apprentice at Tuxford, Notts. where we had no interest, he joined the Wesleyans, but having returned to Barnsley, he again joined us."[153]

B. Belief

In this section, the incidence of religious belief, which it seems, caused so much concern amongst the denominations present in the Darfield and Wombwell district is examined. Until now in this chapter, the extant religious records have been examined as a means of assessing the extent to which religious *observation* occurred. In this section, the surviving records are considered, alongside contemporary accounts, in an attempt to make some form of qualitative observation upon until now what has been an essentially quantitative study. Returning to the 'dimensions' of religious sub-activity distinguished by Glock and Stark that were outlined in the introduction to this study, the

two categories 'religious knowledge' and 'religious belief' are now to become the principal concern. However, any attempt to assess the extent of religious belief amongst a group of people in a past time is ,as was elucidated in the introduction, necessarily beset by difficulties. As Robert Moore notes in his examination of Methodism in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century North-East:

"In studying the concrete historical manifestation of Methodism, we face a number of immediate problems ... we cannot directly examine the mind of the Methodist-in-the-pew by question and answer, nor can we know his subjective religious interpretations of everyday life. It is doubtful whether anyone would in fact have such interpretations in the form of a theological commentary on any event around him. The religious interpretations of the world are likely to be partial, not necessarily coherent, and to some extent inaccessible to the researcher."[154]

Clearly, such problems are further compounded by the passage of time. Initially, the level of religious knowledge in the Wombwell and Darfield district is examined, with particular attention being focussed upon the various denominations' Sunday schools. The extent to which these institutions were successful in the task of inculcating religious belief into their students is considered. Having questioned the role of the Sunday school, the wider issue of religious belief itself is then addressed.

Throughout the extant records of the Methodist bodies in the area during the period under study, the pupils at Sunday schools consistently exceed in number those who are listed as full members of the connexions. To this extent, the findings for Nonconformity closely approximate to those of the Established Church, which were considered earlier: in the Anglican parishes examined over the period, the proportion of children attending Sunday school was consistently higher than the proportion of adults attending services. In studying the case of Anglican school attendance, it had seemed likely that parents were inclined to send their offspring on Sunday if they also attended Anglican day-school.[155] That similar patterns of high Sunday school attendance *vis a vis* adult church/chapel attendance can be discerned both for the Established and Nonconformist bodies suggests instead, however, that some form of vestigial religious belief prompted parents to send their children for religious instruction. Robert Moore has defined these vestigial believers as "a penumbra of [religious] membership, which ... is drawn into activity at certain times and whose sympathy can be relied upon."[156] This phenomenon of a penumbra of members can also be seen in the case of baptisms at the Wombwell Congregationalist chapel. Just as religiously inactive parents sent their children to Sunday school, so did many similarly indifferent parents elect to have their children baptised: of 116 children baptised in

Wombwell Congregationalist chapel between 1869 and 1882, only 21 had at least one parent who was a member of the chapel.[157]

Little evidence exists in the surviving religious records of the area that sheds light on the activities of the scholars at their Sunday schools. Pupil-teacher ratios for the Sunday schools in the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit were uniformly low in the period 1864-1883: at no time were there any more than eight pupils per teacher.[158] Clearly, resources could therefore have allowed careful instruction of the circuit's pupils if this had been required. In 1875, four of the eight Sunday schools of this circuit were members of the local connexional school union: by 1880, all of the circuit's Sunday schools were linked in membership.[159] This union undoubtedly allowed teacher training sessions to become practicable and generally facilitated the transmission of good teaching techniques, as had clearly been the fact in the case of the Sunday School Union of the Barnsley Wesleyan Circuit. This union, according to a report in the Barnsley Chronicle, had been "formed for the mutual oversight and help for the Sunday schools of the Barnsley Wesleyan circuit." At one such Sunday school union meeting, members spent:

"a part of the afternoon...very profitably listening to a paper on 'The Influence of Hymns and Singing in the Sunday Schools'. A conversation followed in which a suggestion was made that a certain portion of the school time should be

set apart for singing and as far as practicable a hymn should be introduced into the Sunday service especially adapted to the children."[160]

From the report of the above Sunday school union meeting, it seems that, by the 1870s, attempts were made to make attendance at such schools of some enjoyment to the pupils. Indeed, by encouraging particular songs to be incorporated into the main service for the benefit of the children, the Wesleyan Methodists seem to have been trying to entice more frequently the parents of scholars into their chapels . The move from Sunday school didactics to singing, however, caused some concern. This was particularly well expressed in a letter published by the Barnsley Chronicle from 'Peripatetic':

"I have made [visits] to various Sunday school anniversaries in the neighbourhood ... The present practice of exhibiting children on a platform is open to far more serious objection than is generally admitted. Sometimes children are uniformly arrayed in white and at others they are bedizened in every conceivable kind of finery in which generally the most glaring colours prevail...Often it is very agonizing to see what a grotesque object the preacher looks sitting demurely in a black coat and a white cravat alone in a sea of splendour ... I am afraid that a great number of people do not come to hear the Gospel but to see the show and hear the musical performance. The Gospel is little heeded at these times; it is not what the people come for. [During the preaching at these times], the great number have been listless and indifferent; and as soon as the good man has done, the fiddles and flutes strike up

some rollicking tune to which the children sing and the congregation seem very much inclined to dance."[161]

It seems, therefore, that at the most public event in the Sunday school calendar, at which one would expect some insight into the activities of the institution, most emphasis was placed upon its secular aspects.

Whilst 'Peripatetic' suggested that the amount of ritual at such public Sunday school festivals had increased over time, nevertheless for many years prior to this correspondent's critical comments the newspaper reports of similar Sunday school festivities throughout the district emphasised much more the secular than the spiritual dimensions of these occasions. This is made clear in an 1859 report from the Barnsley Times of the Darfield Sunday school feast:

"At half-past-one, the Darfield school children formed in procession, singing hymns to the church, where prayers were said by Rev.Henry Clayforth and an address by Rev.D.C.Neary, incumbent of South Ossett. The service over, the children marched through the vicar's garden into the adjoining croft where ample justice was done to buns and tea. There were various amusements and games up until nearly nine o'clock. On the children commencing play, the teachers and others repaired to the schoolroom where there were substantial refreshments, males regaled with beef and porter, females with tea..."

The report concluded that "Such gatherings and reunions between ministers and the people, such efforts to afford pleasure and gratification to hundreds of the young,

longing expectant hearts on throwing such occasions, all induced by Christian love, cannot but have a salutary influence upon the rising generation."[162]

Undoubtedly, it was gatherings such as these and similar festivities arranged by the Nonconformist Sunday schools, such as the annual day-trip given by P.Middlemass, an official of the Great Northern Railway[163], which remained the most prominent memories in the minds of the district's Sunday school pupils.

It is possible that fond memories of activities such as these were more responsible for binding, however loosely, a person to a particular denomination in later life than the process of religious instruction in church or chapel itself. David Clark has found this to be the case in his study of a twentieth century North Yorkshire fishing village. He has observed that:

"for the majority of children, week by week involvement with the chapel ceases at the age of twelve or thirteen; henceforth attendance is usually restricted to important events of life and annual cycles. Despite its apparent arbitrariness, this form of chapel affiliation is likely to be life-long. Thus, on several occasions, following the death of a villager, my enquiries as to the whereabouts of the funeral would be met with a reply such as: "...he was an old Wesleyan. He used to go to the Sunday school, you know." In this way, even those men and women who had perhaps not attended 'their' chapel for many years other than for special events, retained their religious identity."[164]

It seems then that Sunday schools play a significant part in recruiting penumbral religious believers: such people rarely attended places of worship themselves, generally only doing so at significant moments in their life-cycles. It is this group of believers who, in the main, escape enumeration when attempts are made to gauge the level of religious membership. An attempt will be made shortly to assess the extent of this penumbra in the settlements here under study. However, before this is undertaken, a brief examination will be made of the two other broad types of denominational allegiance: zealous and pragmatic.

The zealous believers can be regarded as those comprising the communicant members of the Anglican church and the full members of the Nonconformist bodies. Clearly, these were the people most likely to play an active part in the affairs of their denomination. From the visitation returns, the number of communicants at Easter was taken for each of the parishes surveyed and related to the maximum Sunday congregation figure. Comparing the percentage of communicants from the cumulative totals calculated from the visitation returns of 1865, 1868, 1877 and 1884, a remarkable consistency becomes apparent: it seems that, on average, some 16.6 per cent - 20 per cent of the individuals in the congregations considered were communicants in these years. The religious commitment shown amongst the congregations of Darfield and Wombwell,

however, appears generally to be of a lower order than that prevalent amongst their neighbours: whilst in 1868 the communicants at Ardsley, Brampton, and Worsbrough Dale averaged 27 per cent of the congregations, those at Darfield and Wombwell totalled 8.8 per cent and 12.5 per cent respectively. Similarly, in 1884, when twenty per cent of the congregations considered were communicants, only twelve per cent of Darfield's congregation and 10.8 per cent of Wombwell's took communion.[165]

Unfortunately the surviving Nonconformist records are not sufficiently comprehensive to use to calculate the percentage of zealous believers amongst their congregations with which to compare the figures for the Anglican church in the district. Only the records of the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit provide data regarding both the number of members in each chapel and the corresponding chief attendance figures. These statistics, however, only exist for three years - 1871, 1878 and 1882 - and in the latter are of a somewhat fragmented nature. Comparing the cumulative percentages of congregational attendants who were also denominational members for the years in which the most comprehensive figures are available, namely 1871 and 1878, reveals a startling similarity. In 1871, of 800 attendants at the circuit's chief services, some 219 people were Primitive Methodist members, constituting 27.4 per cent of the congregation.

The comparable percentage figure seven years later was 28 per cent: of 1050 attendants at the main services, 294 were members of the connexion.[166] Tentatively, therefore, from the data examined relating to the Wombwell and Darfield districts, one could perhaps advance the view that one-quarter of attendants at a Nonconformist chapel were likely to be members, compared to one-fifth of Anglicans holding beliefs of a similarly zealous religious nature.

It was, therefore, the minority of Nonconformists who held the sometimes intransigent views revealed in the records of the various denominations. In the period June 1851 - June 1861, in the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit, whilst 184 members had been welcomed as trialists , a total of 137 members left, of whom 51 were described as having 'fallen'.[167] Complete doctrinal agreement appears to have been expected of all members who aspired to positions of authority within the circuit. This was particularly true of Primitive Methodists. In 1862, for example, Brother Shillito, an active Primitive Methodist in Darfield , who had hoped to take up a position as a local preacher, was "requested" by a Quarterly Meeting, "to allow his name to be placed on the plan as an Exhorter instead of a local preacher, solely on account of his non-acceptance of one or two points of Methodist doctrine."[168] Evidence suggests, however, that doctrinal conformism was less strict by 1862 than it had been twenty years earlier: in 1841, the

Barnsley Primitive Methodist circuit quarterly meeting found that Brother Elijah Tyas had, whilst preaching, "made statements at variance with the Holy Scriptures and with Primitive Methodism", for which he was to be suspended from the position of local preacher.[169] The importance attached to orthodox behaviour from office-holders was made abundantly clear in a fierce declaration made by the members of a Primitive Methodist quarterly meeting of the Barnsley circuit, which stated that "in the note to preachers on the plan, 'may expect to sink' will be struck out and that 'shall sink' be substituted."[170]

Membership of a Nonconformist denomination alone, without the responsibility of office-holding, necessitated strict adherence to the denomination's principles, particularly, it seems, those of a moral nature. Evidence suggests that before accepting anyone as a member, the Primitive Methodists particularly, took care to investigate the background of the putative trialist. In 1841, for instance, Brother Banks was directed by members of the Barnsley circuit to "see John Brewster and ask him whether he is married to the woman he is living with and if not that he tell him we cannot receive him."[171] Forty years later, similar precautions were still clearly undertaken: in 1881 a resolution was made "that the case of Brother Stephenson's credentials be deferred a few days and enquiries be made at Low Valley."[172] Vigilance continued

after a member's acceptance, as Brother Daykin discovered when his membership was suspended "in consequence of immorality before marriage."[173]

Different standards, however, appeared to be expected from different types of believer. As has been elucidated above, the most exacting regulations were to be adhered to by the zealous believers -the Anglican communicants and the Nonconformist members. Fewer regulations appeared to apply to the 'pragmatic believers' -those who attended a place of worship but seemed indifferent about its precise denomination. Since it has been calculated above that the 'zealots' comprised perhaps 25 per cent of Nonconformist attendance, upwards of 75 per cent of a chapel's congregation may have been made up of 'pragmatists'. The Anglican visitation returns examined make several references to this type of worshipper. In 1865, for example, the incumbent of Hoyland Nether, John Cordeaux, noted that, "There are several dissenting places of worship ... I believe that many [worshippers] go to the chapels as being nearer to their homes than the church."[174] Three years later, the rector of Wombwell observed that many people went to a Nonconformist place of worship "from a feeling of convenience of attending a chapel close by."[175] Attendance at the Primitive Methodist chapel in the hamlet of Broomhill, situated some three miles from Wombwell, appears to have been composed of a significant number of

'pragmatic' worshippers, who were disinclined to make the journey to Wombwell or Darfield to their preferred denominational place of worship. Similar situations prevailed nationwide, it seems. In a study of religion in nineteenth century rural Leicestershire, David M.Thompson has written that, "Where there was only one nonconformist chapel in a village, its denomination was almost irrelevant."[176] Thompson's claim is supported by an analysis of the baptism records of the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit: between 1861 and 1886, 119 children were baptised who were resident in Wombwell whilst 176 children from the hamlet of Broomhill were similarly baptised. The baptism figures for Broomhill over the period are particularly striking when population data for Wombwell and Broomhill are considered: according to population figures used for the respective neighbourhoods by the Primitive Methodists themselves, Broomhill boasted 300 inhabitants in 1888 compared to Wombwell's 6000.[177] From a basic calculation, it would seem that infants residing in Broomhill in the 1880s would have been up to 30 times more likely to have been baptised Primitive Methodists than if they had lived in Wombwell.[178] Where a choice of Nonconformist places of worship was not available, therefore, it seems that individuals attended the nearest chapel, notwithstanding subtle doctrinal differences: these only became significant if membership were sought.

Differences in levels of belief then seem to have had an influence upon the religious bodies' behavioural expectations. Whilst doctrinal differences did not prevent potential Anglicans attending Dissenting places of worship, believers hoping to attain positions of authority within a denomination were expected to conform rigidly to the orthodoxy. Similarly, members, the zealous believers, could 'sink', as has been shown, owing to some form of impropriety, yet even Primitive Methodists sanctioned the baptism of illegitimate children, suggesting that another, more tolerant code of rules was applied to the penumbral believer.[179]

By its very nature, evidence for the existence of this penumbral religious adherence is exceedingly difficult to ascertain. Before examining the 'hard' data which has been unearthed, however, an attempt will be made to suggest reasons for a widely-held, if little acted-upon, religious belief in the settlements here under study. Previous research has revealed a high level of belief in many settlements where residents are engaged in dangerous activities. As Robert Moore has written about the settlements on the North East coalfield, "Belief in luck and fate are common among men in hazardous occupations, and even those who 'don't really believe in it' might keep the observances 'just in case'."[180] As Moore has suggested in this statement, the beliefs held by people connected with

dangerous occupations may not be those of an orthodox religion. This echoes the findings of the social anthropologist Malinowski, who ,in a study of Trobriand fishing, notes that,"It is significant that in the lagoon fishing, where man can rely completely upon his knowledge and skill, magic does not exist, while in the open-sea fishing, full of dangers and uncertainties, there is extensive magic ritual to ensure safety and good results."[181]

Clearly, mining in this context is analogous to deep-sea fishing, bringing with it doubts about men's safety and worries about the quality and quantity of future coal yields. Magical associations with mining have also been facilitated by the job's continual link with powerful symbols such as 'blackness' and 'hell'. Such links indeed were not merely made by penumbral believers but were consciously articulated by zealous religious adherents, such as clergymen and preachers themselves. This point is made abundantly clear in a sermon delivered at Pitt Street Chapel, Barnsley in 1857, following the Lundhill colliery explosion in which 189 men were killed. As the Rev. R.M.Willcox warned forebodingly:

"...let inspectors, overlookers and subordinates of all sorts in situations of trust and responsibility be on the alert and exemplary in the discharge of their respective duties; let it be a very model pit, as this at Lund Hill was sought to be -still there is death in the place. The very stones lie in wait to destroy and prove their

designation by crushing, covering, burying the unsuspecting or expectant miner in the darkness of death, making the place his grave; or if dug out and taken away, it is only to be laid among other stones of the pit of darkness."[182]

The constant threat of disaster pervaded the district throughout the period. Besides the catastrophic disasters at Lundhill in 1857 and neighbouring Oaks Colliery in 1866, where 361 men lost their lives, there were many isolated accidents which resulted in perhaps one or two fatalities, as Table 6.4 below illustrates. These occurrences, no less than the major disasters, reminded residents of their own mortality.

Table 6.4

Number of fatal accidents in local collieries,1868-1874

	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874
Lundhill	1	-	2	1	4	1	1
Wombwell Main	2	2	3	3	1	-	2
Darfield Main	-	3	3	1	2	1	1

Source: Mining Inspector's Reports.

In addition to the actual fatal accidents in the district's collieries, which happened, as the Table 6.4 above indicates, on a regular basis, there were ,too, occasional false alarms, or exaggerated reports of below-

ground mishaps which brought worried wives and off-duty miners scurrying to the pit-heads. These incidents appear to have been particularly liable to occur following major disasters: in 1858, for example, an accident at Wombwell Main colliery in which one man was 'slightly burnt', resulted, according to the Barnsley Times, in a report "that an explosion of fire damp had taken place and rumour with its tongues soon augmented the occurrence into one of serious magnitude."[183] Following the Oaks disaster, a minor incident at Darfield Main was similarly exaggerated. Several men were forced to remain underground overnight owing to problems with the shaft-gear. However, initial reports, noted the Barnsley Chronicle, had suggested that a "serious accident" had occurred and that men were in the pit "numbered by hundreds", all of whom had to be fed "bread and cheese let down by cord".[184] A remarkably similar tale was related in the newspaper less than six months later regarding an incident at Lundhill colliery, when an accident in the shaft had necessitated the miners remaining in the colliery for an hour or two before emerging "safe and sound". Again, preliminary reports had suggested that a serious accident had occurred, resulting in "hundreds of men imprisoned at the bottom of the shaft, being fed with bread and cheese."[185] The credibility of these rumours was clearly enhanced by such references to bread and cheese. Doubtless, similar embellishments adorned the rumours briefly reported in the Barnsley Chronicle in

1877: the facts which were that a roof fall at Darfield Main had slightly injured two men, were transformed into rumours that "the entire occupants of the colliery were buried", prompting men, women and children to flock to the pit-hill.[186] Constant references to fatalities, both actual and rumoured, therefore inevitably always kept the possibility of imminent death in the minds of those involved with the mining industry.

Many, thus, concurred with the statement of Rev. R.M.Willcox, issued after the Lundhill explosion, that "preparation for the next world is the best preparation for this." Willcox continued:

"...it behoves everyone, and particularly all who spend much of their time near 'the stones of darkness' to lay up a good foundation against the time to come, that they may 'lay hold on eternal life' when this vain life which we spend here as a shadow reaches its end: lest, coming suddenly, the master finds us sleeping on in carnal security -asleep in sin- in impenitence- in guilt- on the verge of hell- into which all unprepared the soul hurriedly falls and sinks, to rise no more..."[187]

It was, undoubtedly, such thoughts which prompted many to confess a belief in God. Such people constituted Moore's 'penumbra of religious membership'. It seems likely, however, that those willing to accept the word of God as some form of 'insurance policy' in the event of sudden death, were also prepared to look elsewhere for protection.

The search inevitably led to the adoption of 'magical' or 'superstitious' beliefs as part of this compensatory strategy. In his seminal work, Religion and the Decline of Magic, Keith Thomas has observed "a host of semi-magical practices" generated by the mining industry, "ranging from the belief in the existence of subterranean spirits or 'knockers' to a taboo on such activities as whistling underground, or working on Good Friday."[188] Unfortunately, this study, like that undertaken by Robert Moore, has not been able to uncover any superstitions or beliefs relating specifically to the mining families of the area under investigation. As Moore has explained, "Such beliefs are unlikely to be recorded as they will not feature in sermons nor will they be recounted by respondents talking about religion."[189] Nevertheless, evidence collected by C.S.Burne from the later nineteenth century Black Country coalfield, an area in which many miners particularly in the Darfield district had previously lived, suggested strongly that superstitions related to the mining industry were prevalent.

Burne noted that "Their dangerous occupation, so liable to sudden alarms and accidents, disposes them, and still more their wives, to put great faith in omens, or as they say 'tokens'."[190] To dream of fire; to hear hobnailed boots taken up and dropped three times; and the sound of the 'Seven Whistlers' at the pit-head, or 'knockings' in the

mine were all perceived as tokens of danger by the miner and his family.[191] It is hard to accept that such superstitions, however tenuously believed, were not carried with migrants from the Black Country to the South Yorkshire coalfield.

In addition to the undoubted existence of these overtly magical and superstitious beliefs, it is clear that the activities of the various formal Christian denominations contained aspects of popular religion. James Obelkevich's study of nineteenth century religion in South Lindsey has, perhaps, done most to elucidate this point. Obelkevich asserts that:

"The weakness of Christianity at the popular level was the remoteness of its high God, the social elevation of its clergy [which] made it unsuited for the populace who distorted and 'edited' it before they could accept it. Its holidays, rites and sacraments, churches and clergy, all were subjected to popular interpretations in which vital Church doctrines were ignored or repudiated. Popular Christianity, therefore, differed drastically from clerical Christianity."[192]

Obelkevich's findings are not merely applicable to rural Lincolnshire. Throughout the period under study, the most significant events in the church and chapel lives of the Darfield and Wombwell districts invariably occurred not at important moments in the liturgical calendar but at times coinciding with popular pagan rituals. In addition to the chapel anniversaries, the most significant events in the

religious calendar, and those most widely reported, tended to be centred upon Whitsun, the onset of summer, or upon the harvest homecoming.[193]

Christian belief, as experienced by many who constituted the penumbra of church and chapel membership in the settlements here considered, formed merely one part of a larger canon of beliefs. As David Clark has observed in his study of a contemporary North Yorkshire fishing village, "The highly complex inter-connections between the official and the folk reflect their symbiotic relationship. For the villager, however, they are all 'religion."[194] From his work on South Lindsey, Obelkevich concludes similarly that:

"the villagers' universe was the result of syncretism - the universal religion of the peasant - which combined elements from the 'higher' religion and the 'lower' religion without regard for logical compatibility. It involved no inconsistency for a villager to attend parish church on Sunday morning and Methodist chapel in the evening - and with equal conviction to put up a horseshoe over the door to ask permission of the 'Old Gal' before chopping elder wood."[195]

Obelkevich claims that by the mid-1870s, in rural Lincolnshire, the emergence of class attitudes and the decline of communal ones sounded the death knell for much of this popular belief. He explains that:

"the personal figures in popular religion retained their plausibility as long as ordinary personal relations in village society were in the traditional mode, direct, face-to-face and 'many-stranded'. But with the advent of a fully

developed class society, the traditional relations between individuals were overshadowed by 'single-stranded' relations between classes. It was more than a coincidence that when persons as persons were no longer so salient in village life they gradually lost their salience in popular religion."[196]

The evidence for the settlements here under study, though, to an extent contradicts the findings of Obelkevich: if the settlements of South Lindsey by the mid-1870s were subject to the influences of emerging class-consciousness, then so, surely, were those of the South Yorkshire coalfield, yet here evidence remains from the 1870s suggesting the continued existence of 'syncretism' amongst the largely mining population. For Obelkevich's claim to hold true, that popular belief declined with the emergence of class relations, it needs to be shown that the popular religion upheld in the Darfield and Wombwell district was undertaken in a still "face-to-face","many-stranded" society. Having examined evidence pointing incontrovertibly to the existence of popular religion in the area during the 1870s, a brief attempt will be made, using the extant religious records of the district, to test the incidence of such densely-woven personal ties.

The prominence of Whitsuntide and the harvest homecoming in the church and chapel calendars reflected the undoubted assimilation of much pagan belief into the formal Christian denominations during the nineteenth century.[197] This,

though, was by no means a phenomenon confined to the area of this present study and so its presence as a signifier of the continued existence of popular belief in this district should not be overemphasised. However, an incident reported in the local press in 1877 indicates explicitly that popular belief retained a stronghold in the area and indeed existed side-by-side with formal religion.

In 1877, as has previously been mentioned, the state of Primitive Methodism in the Hoyland and Wombwell circuit had been weakened by the schismatic influence of its superintendent, Reverend Albert Hebblethwaite, who had expelled some leading members of the society, allegedly for "gross immorality", "profanity" and "for selling malt".[198] These charges were denied by members of the circuit and counter-charges were made "against the reverend gentleman for drinking wine at a funeral."[199] The result of this turbulence was a decision made by the circuit meeting not to retain the services of Hebblethwaite beyond his initial twelve month appointment. The manner of his departure prompted the following report in the Barnsley Chronicle:

"A correspondent sends us an account of an extraordinary demonstration which was witnessed by a large portion of the inhabitants of Hoyland Nether and district of all ages and sexes on Thursday evening last. The scene was laid within a short distance of a certain 'house', which was situated not above one hundred miles from the village post office, and the central figure around which the crowd congregated was an effigy purporting to represent some 'distinguished' and

'honoured' citizen. It was whispered with bated breath and of course must not be repeated aloud under the pains and perils of a writ that a certain 'great man' contemplated bidding 'adieu' to the district yesterday, and that the said great man, having proved himself to be a most ardent popularity hunter, this was adopted as probably the most appropriate farewell ovation...the cut of the [effigy's] coat was unmistakably 'clerical',...its countenance was a Boanergian one, and...a glance of its eye was sufficient to strike terror into an entire 'circuit'. This effigy was ultimately consigned to the flames as a holocaust to the fire god and the proceedings were wound up with a most harmonious tin-can concert...Our correspondent mysteriously adds that there has been during this week an extraordinary run upon onions...Why onions? Probably because they are very effectual in drawing out tears that will not otherwise flow."[200]

Quite clearly, Rev.A.Hebblethwaite, before his departure from the Hoyland and Wombwell circuit, had been subjected ignominiously to a display of 'rough music'. A representative of formal religion, therefore, had his departure marked by the triumphal appearance of a vehicle of popular belief. It seems likely that Primitive Methodists were among the crowd which made references to such pagan images as the 'evil eye' and a 'fire god', indicating clearly the enduring strength of these representations even amongst formal religious attendants.

Rough music, E.P.Thompson, claims, was socially conservative since it defended custom, underlined pre-existing consensus and made calls not to rational

conviction, but to prejudices.[201] Obelkevich stresses the communal self-policing role of the ritual, which he found by the late 1870s in South Lindsey was being replaced by a "combination of individual self-discipline and police authority imposed from above," which he felt was symptomatic of an emerging class society.[202] That rough music was taking place in the district here under study as late as 1877 suggests that the primacy of face-to-face relations had by no means yet been eclipsed by the class-bound society which Obelkevich identifies in rural Lincolnshire. Indeed, the very undertaking of the rough music at Hoyland was as a protest at the treatment given to long-standing, respected members of the circuit by an officious interloper: the aim of the activity was to restore the social *status quo ante*. Thus, besides highlighting the continuing importance of popular belief, even in the minds of those committed to formal, denominational religion, this example of rough music also clearly illustrated the importance of social relationships within the culture of the church or chapel.

An attempt has been made to ascertain the density of social ties amongst members of a number of chapels in the district here under study. Using only lists of chapel trustees and census enumerators' books, a number of findings, although by no means statistically significant, appear to confirm the primacy of social relations between

chapel members suggested by the appearance of rough music. The trustees list for Darfield Main Primitive Methodist chapel in 1868, for example, includes the names of Thomas Elliott and George Dakin. According to the 1861 census, Elliott was boarding with Dakin in that year.[203] Similarly, when the 1863 list of trustees for Wombwell Congregational Chapel is related to 1861 census data, close social ties can be observed between several men: William Ibberson and Samuel Woofandin were enumerated consecutively and were, therefore, probably neighbours; Isaac Brook, George Carr and John Carr were all born in Silkstone; and George Priestley, another of the thirteen trustees, lodged with George Carr.[204] It seems, therefore, that the face-to-face society which still to an extent existed in the Wombwell and Darfield area, even by the late 1870s, allowed the continuance of popular belief, alongside that of denominational religion, at a time when its existence was under threat in more rural areas.

The 'rough music' marking the departure of Rev. A. Hebblethwaite, the Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist superintendent, emphasised the immensely important personal aspect of religion: Hebblethwaite's attempts to enact his interpretation of Primitive Methodist regulations were fiercely resisted by a large number of the circuit's members principally because of the radical effect such

actions would have had upon its members' personal relationships. Instead of endangering the *status quo* it was evidently felt better to remove the threat to its continuance, the superintendent himself. Hebblethwaite's departure offered many individuals the opportunity to express their own feelings about his personality. From the extant religious records, it seems that close ties bound together fellow chapel members; trustees have been discovered enumerated consecutively in census records; several have shared common birthplaces ; and a number have been recorded lodging with fellow chapel officials. It is difficult to assess whether these links were forged as a consequence of common denominational membership or whether the common religion was the consequence of the evangelical skills of an existing friend: the incontrovertible assertion, however, must be the primacy of personal relationships among co-religionists. The importance attached to such relations was made particularly clear in the Dissenting bodies in the area, where the most significant events of their calendars were chapel and Sunday school anniversaries, both of which were essentially social rather than religious functions. Other notable chapel events appearing regularly in the surviving Nonconformist religious records of the district were activities such as tea-meetings and sales of works. These latter functions invariably were organised by women chapel-members and enabled them both to strengthen social ties

between each other and to have invested in them a status arising from their important fund-raising activities by other members of the connexion.

In summary, therefore, attendances at church and chapel services throughout the Darfield and Wombwell district during the period were low, even by the standards of the national 1851 religious census which had itself caused alarm amongst commentators. However, it seems that these attendance figures masked a considerable amount of vestigial religious belief and the extant religious records tended to ignore a substantial penumbra of membership. The religious belief that *did* exist was it seems, particularly amongst miners and their families, rather unsophisticated, containing elements of more informal popular belief, which persisted late into the nineteenth century, as the resort to rough music to mark a religious event in 1877 indicated.

Footnotes to Chapter Six

1. Glock and Stark, quoted in A.Gilbert, Religion and Society, 1976, p.24.
2. J.Obelkevich,'Religion', in F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The Cambridge Social History of Britain, Vol.3, 1990, p.337.
3. H.Mann, quoted in H.McLeod, Religion and the Working Class, 1984, p.57.
4. K.Snell, Church and Chapel in the North Midlands, 1991 p.9.
5. D.Hey,'The Pattern of Nonconformity in South Yorkshire', Northern History, 8, 1973, p.106.
6. The 1851 national population census figures revealed that, for the first time, the majority of England's population lived in urban centres of 2000 or more inhabitants.
7. The classic example is perhaps Manchester, where, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, its more prominent citizens withdrew from the centre of the city, first to areas such as Victoria Park and later moved still further from the centre to suburbs such as Fallowfield and Didsbury.
8. H.Mann, quoted in H.McLeod, op. cit., p.57.
9. A.Gilbert, op. cit., p.137.
10. J.Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, 1976, pp.176-177.
11. J.Obelkevich, in F.M.L.Thompson, ed., op. cit., p.329.
12. M.Roberts, 'Private Patronage and the Church of England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 32, 1981, pp.203-204.
13. J.Obelkevich, in F.M.L.Thompson, ed., op. cit., p.330.
14. Ibid., p.330.
15. D.Hey, op. cit., p.100
16. Ibid., p.100.
17. D.Bebbington, The Nonconformist Conscience, 1982, p.3.

18. A.Everitt, The Pattern of Rural Dissent, 1972, p.6.
19. D.Bebbington, op. cit., p.3.
20. Ibid.,p.4.
21. A.Everitt, op. cit., p.19.
22. Ibid., p.42.
23. A.Gilbert, op. cit., p.145.
24. Ibid., p.146.
25. Ibid., p.146.
26. Ibid., p.151.
27. Ibid., p.152.
28. Ibid., p.159.
29. Ibid., p.159.
30. C.Field, 'The Social Structure of Methodism', British Journal of Sociology, 28,2,1977, p.216.
31. E.Hopkins,'Religious Dissent in Black Country Industrial Villages', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 34, 1983, p.418.
32. Ibid., p.422.
33. Debts of Henry Bowen Cooke, 1842 R.IV D 12/1,(Borthwick Institute).
34. J.Wilkinson, Notes and Cuttings Relating to Darfield and Wombwell, p.34.
35. Ibid., p.39.
36. D.Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, 1989 p.139.
37. Barnsley Times, (hereafter B.T.), 18/6/59.
38. See letters written by Charlesworth to Earl Fitzwilliam and Charles Newman, trustees of the Ellis Charity, 503/54 and 55, (Sheffield Archives).
39. Visitation Returns, (hereafter V.R.), Darfield, 1868.
40. V.R., Darfield, 1884.
41. Religious Census, P.R.O./H.O. 129-505.
42. The method by which Horace Mann, author of the 1851 religious census, recommended the total number of attenders should be calculated is outlined in K. Snell, Church and Chapel in the North Midlands, p.12.

Attendance figures are maximum figures obtained from visitation returns. Percentage figures are calculated as follows: $\frac{\text{Total number of attendants}}{\text{settlement's population}} \times 100$

43. V.R., Hoyland Nether, 1868.
44. Ibid., 1877.
45. V.R., Wombwell, 1877.
46. Ibid., 1884.
47. Barnsley Chronicle, (hereafter B.C.), 5/5/77.
48. B.C., 8/6/67.
49. 'Indifference' was mentioned in the visitation returns of incumbents at: Ardsley 1865, 1868, and 1884; Wombwell 1877; and Worsbrough Dale 1877.
50. V.R., Ardsley, 1884.
51. V.R., Wombwell, 1884.
52. V.R., Darfield, 1857 and 1861; Darfield census records 1861.
53. V.R., Darfield, 1868.
54. V.R., Wombwell, 1868.
55. Ibid.
56. V.R., Darfield, 1877.
57. V.R., Ardsley, 1877.
58. Kelly's Directory, 1889, p.1203.
59. V.R., 1868.
60. V.R., Wombwell, 1877.
61. Sunday school attendances for 1859 were obtained from B.T., 13/6/59. Figures for 1868 and 1877 were derived from visitation returns of those years. Percentage figures were derived from the following calculation:

$$\frac{\text{Number of scholars}}{\text{total pop. aged 5-15}} \times 100$$

The number of children in the age range 5-15 years was obtained by finding the percentage of Darfield's population aged under 20 years in 1861, 1871, and 1881 and halving the figures obtained. Thus, where in 1871

48 per cent of the population were aged under twenty, it was assumed that 24 per cent of the population were aged between five and fifteen years.

62. The rectors of Darfield and Wombwell in 1868 identified 6 church-sponsored day schools, with a total of over 1000 pupils on their rolls.

63. Of the six parish returns examined for 1868, the incumbents of Ardsley, Brampton, Darfield and Wombwell replied negatively to the question. In Hoyland Nether, some who left the day school, it was noted, continued to attend the Sunday school. In Worsbrough Dale, Sunday school attendance continued until confirmation.

64. V.R.: Ardsley 1865 and 1868; Brampton 1865, 1868, and 1877; and Wombwell 1868. In all these visitation returns, the incumbents claimed that they had no idea about the prevalence of Dissent in their parishes.

65. V.R., Worsbrough Dale, 1868.

66. Ibid., 1865.

67. V.R., Wombwell, 1868. This statement, though, was true in the case of the Primitive Methodists.

68. The activities of the Dissenting organisations in Wombwell were recorded in the B.C. at this time. Wombwell Congregational chapel, for instance, had been recently opened at great expense in 1867. A large portion of the debts had already been paid off. Large meetings were regularly held there, such as one reported in B.C. 23/11/67, at which 400 people were in attendance.

69. D.Hey, 'Pattern of Nonconformity', Northern History, 8, 1973, p.111; D.Hey, 'Industrialized Villages', in G. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.354. In V.R.,Worsbrough Dale, 1877, the incumbent, William Banham estimated the number of Dissenters as "not more than 400." Church attendance totals were then 450.

70. V.R., Darfield, 1868.

71. Ibid., 1877.
72. Population figures for Darfield, Billingley, Great and Little Houghton totalled together 3364 persons.
73. V.R., Hoyland Nether,1877.
74. Summary List of Certificates of Dissenters' Meeting Houses, (Borthwick Institute), pp.24 and 51.
75. V.R., 1868. 4 chapels in Darfield and 9 in Wombwell.
76. According to B.C. 5/5/77, Wombwell had the following Dissenting chapels at that date: Congregationalist; Wesleyan Methodist; Primitive Methodist; and Wesleyan Reform. By 1889, according to White's Directory, there were additionally chapels in the settlement belonging to the Methodist New Connexion and the Free Methodists. The Methodist New Connexion was a prominent denomination in South Yorkshire, but it seems only to have taken root in the area under study from the 1880s. Further investigation of local newspapers is necessary to examine its impact on the settlement. There appear to be no extant denominational records.
77. R.Leese, The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society, 1972, p.231.
78. 6/2,(such numbers refer to documents detailed in bibliography), 20/6/59 -Low Valley came on mission; 17/6/61 -Ardsley came on Mission.
79. 6/2, 19/9/59 -Low Valley came off plan; 16/12/61 - Low Valley returned to plan; Ardsley came off.
80. 6/3, 10/9/81.
81. 6/2, 16/6/62.
82. 6/3, 7/3/81 -The Barnsley circuit division did not take place, it seems, until the period 1888-94, at which latter date its superintendent, Joseph Shepherd, was thanked for his six years service during which he showed "courage and disinterestedness" in "his efforts to secure a just and equitable division of the circuit." 6/3, 4/6/94.
83. Based upon calculations from 6/11, 1855-62.

84. 6/9, 1863.
85. 6/9, 1865.
86. 6/2.
87. 6/2, 12/9/70.
88. 6/9, 29/9/71.
89. N.R.579/1, 1865 Report.
90. Ibid., 1881 Report.
91. A report, for instance, in B.C. 5/5/77 was entitled 'The Progress of Wombwell'.
92. N.R.579/1, 1878 Report.
93. B.C.,10/3/77.
94. Primitive Methodist membership figures for the Hoyland and Wombwell circuit were as follows: 1877 -350; 1878 -296; 1879 -320; 1880 -356. N.R.579/1.
95. K. Snell, op.cit., p.23.
96. In 1873, 810 worshippers were listed in the settlements examined, which had a total population of 10,900. Comparable figures for 1882 were 1350 and 20,600 respectively. N.R.579/1.
97. R.Leese, op.cit., p.249.
98. K.Snell, op.cit., p.44.
99. West Riding Registry of Deeds, 1895, Vol.20, p.470. No.229.
100. West Riding Registry of Deeds, 1868, Vol.605, p.478, No.568.
101. N.R.580/3, Blacker Hill Primitive Methodist trustees, 1896.
102. These four settlements were listed as in the Barnsley Wesleyan Methodist circuit in 1853, B.287, and in 1906 Barnsley Circuit Wesleyan Magazine.
103. 2/22, Darfield trustees, 1849.
104. N.R.580/1, 26/2/69.
105. 2/22. Fortnightly services planned at Darfield,1828.
106. 2/22.
107. Ibid..
108. B.C., 8/3/73.

109.1851 Religious Census.
110.B.C., 6/7/67.
111.B.C., 6/7/67.
112.B.C., 8/3/73.
113.N.R.579/1, 1873.
114. 2/1, 1879.
115. See for example B.C. 31/3/77.
116. 2/22, 1849.
117. 2/14.
118. For example: K.Snell, op.cit.,p.44, and J.Obelkevich, South Lindsey, p.220.
119. See Low Valley and Darfield Main 1871 census records.
120. R.Moore, op.cit., p.74.
121. C.Baylies, The History of the Yorkshire Miners, 1993, p.32.
122. B.C., 12/5/60.
123. U.R.1/53, 1863.
124. B.C., 8/6/67.
125. B.C., 8/6/67.
126. K.Powell, The Fall of Zion, 1980,p.4.
127. B.C., 8/6/67.
128. B.C., 6/7/67.
129. U.R.1/53, 1863; and 1861 census for Wombwell Main.
130. Wombwell Congregationalist chapel list of members.
131. B.C. 8/6/67; U.R.1/1, October 1877.
132. B.C.,22/6/67.
133. B.C.,23/11/67.
134. F.W.T.Vernon Wentworth has been recorded as donating land for a Primitive Methodist chapel at Blacker Hill, 1869,(N.R.579/1) and for a Wesleyan Methodist chapel at Barnsley,(B.C.,8/3/73). He also gave sums of money such as £5 both to a Primitive Methodist chapel at Wombwell in June 1869,(N.R.653/1), and to Hemingfield Wesleyan chapel c.1887,(N.R.649b).
135. V.R., Wombwell 1868. Henry Clayforth, incumbent.
136. N.R.649b, c.1887.

137. B.C., 8/3/73.
138. N.R.653/1.
139. 6/2, 14/12/63.
140. B.C.,10/11/77. The report refers to the colliery's ownership of houses.
141. B.T.,1/1/59.
142. N.R.580/1, 11/12/65.
143. U.R.1/2.
144. K.Snell,op.cit., p.54.
145. V.R., Worsbrough, 1877.
146. V.R., Worsbrough Dale, 1868.
147. V.R., Brampton, 1868.
148. V.R., Wombwell, 1868.
149. 6/3, 9/9/78.
150. Two of 84 members listed in the Congregationalist chapel's records, 1867-75, left for the Wesleyan Reform chapel.
151. 6/2, 12/9/70.
152. 6/9, 19/7/68; B.C.,14/4/77.
153. 6/9, 13/5/64.
154. Moore, op.cit., p.94.
155. See pp.322-325.
156. R.Moore, op.cit., p.69.
157. Wombwell Congregationalist Chapel Baptism Records. The large percentage of parents who were non-members choosing to have their children baptised at this chapel may have been due in part to the influence of the Wombwell Main Coal Company employers. Conducting the ceremony upon children merely as a rite of passage would have been most likely to have been undertaken at an Anglican church.
158. N.R.579/1. The highest pupil-teacher ratio for the circuit was 7.62, in 1874; the lowest was 4.45, in 1866.
159. N.R.579/1.
160. B.C., 20/10/77.

161. B.C., 30/6/77.
162. B.T., 18/6/59.
163. e.g.B.T. 25/6/59.
164. D.Clark, Between Pulpit and Pew, 1982, p.76.
165. V.R., 1865: Of 580 people enumerated in the largest congregations at Ardsley, Worsbrough Dale, Brampton and Hoyland, 102,(17.6 per cent), were communicants. V.R., 1868: Of 980 people enumerated in the largest congregations at Ardsley, Brampton, Darfield, Wombwell and Worsbrough Dale, 180,(18.4.per cent), took communion. The figures for communicants in 1877 and 1884 were respectively: 218 of 1310,(16.6 per cent); and 350 of 1745, (twenty per cent).
In 1868, only 15 of Darfield's 170 members of the congregation took communion,(8.8 per cent). Figures for Wombwell in the same year were respectively 25,200 and 12.5 per cent. In 1884, figures for Darfield were 24 of 200,(12 per cent).
Comparable figures for Wombwell in the same year were twenty of 185, (10.8 per cent).
166. N.R.579/1, 1871 and 1878.
167. 6/11, for period 20/6/51-15/6/61.
168. 2/6, 31/3/62.
169. 6/8, 4/8/41.
170. 6/2, 14/6/58.
171. 6/8, 25/9/41.
172. 6/10, 7/10/81.
173. 6/10, 6/4/81.
174. V.R., Hoyland Nether, 1865.
175. V.R., Wombwell, 1868.
176. D.Thompson, 'The Churches and Society in Nineteenth Century England', in C.Cuming and D.Baker, eds, Popular Belief and Practice, 1972, p.274.
177. N.R.579/1, 1888.
178. N.R.640-41. Baptism totals in Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist circuit over the period 1861-86

included:

Wombwell: -119 baptisms. Population 6000 in 1880*.
-a baptism rate of approx. 0.02 baptisms per inhabitant over the period.

Broomhill:-176 baptisms. Population 500 in 1880*.
-a baptism rate of approx. 0.40 baptisms per inhabitant over the period.

*Source -N.R.579/1.

179. Of 338 children from Broomhill, Darfield, Lund Hill and Wombwell given Primitive Baptisms in the period 1861-86, 10 were illegitimate,(some three per cent). The rate of Primitive Methodist illegitimate baptisms appears only a little less than that conducted by the Church of England: of a sample of 554 baptisms at Darfield All Saints Church in the period 1851-83, 22, (four per cent), were 'fatherless'.
180. R.Moore, op.cit., p.94.
181. Malinowski, cited in D.Clark, op.cit.,p.145.
182. B.252. 'The Miners Sermon, Sermons Preached on Notable Events', 1/3/57.
183. B.T., 14/8/58.
184. B.C., 19/11/67.
185. B.C., 1/6/67.
186. B.C., 17/2/77.
187. B.252.
188. K.Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, 1971, p.796.
189. R.Moore, op.cit.,p.94.
190. C.Burne, 'Staffordshire Folk and their Lore', Folk-lore, VII, 1896, p.370.
191. Ibid.,pp.371-2.
192. J.Obelkevich, South Lindsey, p.301.
193. See for example newspaper reports of Sunday school outings and processions at Whitsun in the district, such as B.T. 29/5/58; B.T. 18/6/59; B.C. 21/6/60; and reports of harvest celebrations at Wombwell,

B.C. 22/9/77.

194. D.Clark, op.cit., p.166.

195. J.Obellkevich, South Lindsey,pp.306-7.

196. Ibid., p.311.

197. See, for example, A.Howkins, Reshaping Rural England, 1991, pp. 70 - 73 where the 'recreation' of the harvest festival is considered.

198. B.C. 17/3/77.

199. B.C. 24/3/77.

200. B.C. 1/7/77.

201. E.P.Thompson, 'Le Charivari Anglais', Annales, 27.2, 1972, pp.309-10.

202. J.Obelkevich, South Lindsey, p.100.

203. 6/9, 1868; and 1861 census for Darfield Main.

204. U.R.1/53, 1863; and 1861 census for Wombwell.

Chapter Seven

Public Life and Leisure: Popular Culture in the Darfield and Wombwell District, c.1850 - 1900.

A study of a society's leisure patterns, or, more specifically, an examination of a small population's pastimes, reveals a substantial amount of information not only about individual sports, hobbies and interests *per se*, but also about people's perceptions of themselves and their social relationships with others, both within and without their settlements of residence. An examination of leisure, defined in its broadest sense as all activities not undertaken in any way related to the demands of work and subsistence, over time should reveal a great deal about a society's development and the changing relationships and attitudes held within it.

The term 'leisure' employed in the present study has much in common with the somewhat broader term 'popular culture'. It shares with the latter a somewhat confusing aggregative quality, which tends to cloud any attempted historical representation. As E.P.Thompson has recently made clear:

"We should not forget that 'culture' is a clumpish term, which by gathering up ... many activities and attributes into one common bundle may actually confuse or disguise discriminations that should be made between them. We need to take this bundle apart, and examine the components with more care: rites, symbolic modes, the cultural attributes

of hegemony, the inter-generational transmission of custom and custom's evolution within historically specific forms of ... social relations."[1]

The aim of the present study is to "take the bundle apart", or 'deconstruct' a number of leisure pursuits identified in the Wombwell and Darfield district of the South Yorkshire coalfield during the second half of the nineteenth century in an attempt to discover their relevance and meaning to the specific society in which they occurred.

Before undertaking an exploration of these leisure pursuits it is necessary both to examine the national context in which they took place and the historiography which has built up around them.

Until recently, the historical literature relating to the study of leisure has been marked by a distinctly 'Whiggish' approach. With the advance of an industrialising and urbanising society during the nineteenth century, it has been claimed that the role of 'traditional' recreation, reliant upon the persistence of communal values and paternalist relations between the upper and lower classes, was being undermined by the construction of an increasingly faceless society in which relations were being determined almost wholly by economic factors, a situation that did not exclude the provision of leisure. This approach to the

study of leisure is perhaps best exemplified in Robert Malcolmson's Popular Recreations in English Society, in which he concludes that: "The decline of popular recreation, it is clear, was intimately associated with the gradual breakdown of what we now call 'traditional society'. With the rise of a market economy, and the accompanying development of new normative standards and material conditions for the conduct of social relations, the foundations of many traditional practices were relentlessly swept away, leaving a vacuum which would be only gradually reoccupied, and then of necessity by novel or radically revamped forms of diversion."[2]

References to 'traditional society' have been subject to heavy attack by several historians. Drawing on the work of Keith Wrightson, Gareth Stedman Jones points out that:

"many of the generally cited attributes of the eighteenth century village were not traditional, but new creations of the century following 1640 ... The legal historian T.F.T.Plucknett once showed that the medieval term, 'custom from time immemorial', need only mean twenty-one years. Clearly the historian should refrain from calling the history he does not know 'traditional society'."[3]

The relationship between custom and leisure pursuits has proved a most fruitful field of recent historical inquiry. Whilst the pioneering work on leisure in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain by Malcolmson suggests that the onset of industrialisation tolled the death knell for many 'traditional' leisure activities, more recent studies

emphasise the malleability of custom in the face of radical change.

In his seminal work on custom in later-modern rural England, Bob Bushaway advances a definition of custom, which suggests that customary activities need not be petrified in time but can be subject to change. Bushaway emphasises that custom was strongly associated with the rights of the poor and, thus, often conflicted with established concepts of the law. He explains that:

"A language of custom was understood by the community which indicated action which was tolerated, censured action which was not, and acted as a vehicle for enforcing the collective will. Transgressors of this code were made to feel the force of its sanctions, whilst its supporters were permitted to enjoy the reciprocal rewards."[4]

Since, therefore, as Bushaway explains, custom was constructed upon commensal values, when new circumstances, whether economic, social or political, prompted changes in these values, then customs themselves became subject to alteration.

The changes which occurred relating to leisure customs need not necessarily have related to the *content* of customs but instead could have been wrought through an alteration in their *contexts*. This, for example, was the case in many burgeoning West Riding settlements during the second half of the nineteenth century, when New Year's mumming persisted, whereby men and boys with blackened

faces and wearing bizarre disguises, importuned middle class homes for money and drink. As Robert Storch explains, in Bradford, although the outward form of the mumming ritual had hardly changed at all, by the 1860s it meant:

"something quite different both to those who mounted it and to the recipients of their attentions...By the 1860s Bradford had long since ceased to be a locality in which old folk rituals could express communal solidarity [or] the mutual obligations of one social element to another...No wonder such confrontations, when not directly prevented by the police, were suffused with mutual hostility and bad feeling."[5]

Recent collections of historical studies relating to leisure largely concentrate, however, upon the changing form of specific customary enactments of leisure time.[6] It is worthwhile examining the findings of one case-study, that of the Lancashire wakes in the nineteenth century, which, as will become clear later, shared similarities with the feasts of the South Yorkshire coalfield area.

Almost everywhere in the cotton district of nineteenth century South and East Lancashire, according to John Walton and Robert Poole, "the parish church anniversary, the summer 'rushbearing' or 'wakes' formed the climax of the recreational year."[7] In the early nineteenth century, at the heart of the event, was the ceremonial bearing of rushes to the parish church, where they were strewn upon the floor and used as a covering for the next year. The actual activity of transporting the rushes to the church

became laden with custom. As John Walton and Robert Poole elucidate, during the early nineteenth century:

"The rushcart itself was a distinctive and often elaborately decorated arrangement of rushes rising up to twelve feet above the cart on which it was built...[The rushcart was] a symbol of village solidarity. Its building was a collective enterprise...There might be as many as a dozen rushcarts at a single wakes. As rushcarters were expected to drink plenty of ale and as they had charge of such a symbol of communal identity, it was not surprising that the competition between the rushcarts occasionally found expression in a pitched battle."[8]

As the century progressed the custom was subject to considerable change. Initially, with the adoption of flagged floors within the Lancashire churches, the practical justification of the ceremonies was lost, although, for a time, the communal element of the custom ensured its survival. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, fund-raising for the rushcarters came to become the ceremony's principal *raison d'etre* as the construction of the rushcarts became increasingly expensive. As the towns spread and the marshlands were drained, rush-gathering became a more time-consuming and less attractive task for the townspeople. From 1850 onwards, Walton and Poole identify three ways in which rushcarting altered as a consequence of these pressures:

"One unpromising approach was to put less effort into manufacture and display ... Secondly, where a rushcart was not possible, people might compromise by displaying other

kinds of cart ... Thirdly, as costs rose and participation declined, the publican played an increasingly important role as patron ... Under the circumstances, publicans were often happy to step in to support an attraction which tended to strengthen the wakes, which were generally a profitable institution for them."[9]

Hitherto, attention has been paid unto scholars noting the way in which custom can alter over time in the sphere of leisure as a consequence of changing circumstances. Custom, it has been stressed, is not immutable. Recently, however, historians have turned their attention to the phenomenon of the invention of tradition. According to Eric Hobsbawm:

"'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past ... the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with [the historic past] is largely factious."[10]

In his work, Hobsbawm is careful to draw a distinction between custom and invented tradition. He explains that:

"The object and characteristic of 'traditions', including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented to which they refer imposes fixed...practices, such as repetition. 'Custom' ... has the double function of motor and fly-wheel. It does not preclude innovation and change..."[11]

Just as some historians have discovered customary leisure pursuits changing over time, so others have examined

examples of leisure activities that can be categorised as examples of invented traditions. The work of David Cannadine has been particularly important in this regard. His study of the Colchester Oyster Feast shows how a ceremony, first documented in the early nineteenth century, was transformed virtually beyond recognition from a private meal held exclusively for the town's corporation to, by the outbreak of the First World War, "a grand, public, consensual pageant, a civic spectacle and a civic celebration." In his introduction, Cannadine asserts that:

"the study of the Colchester Oyster Feast is, partly, an essay in the 'invention of tradition', which stresses the activities of the town's city fathers at the end of the nineteenth century, as they deliberately and self-consciously modelled an old and private feast for new and public purposes ... Moreover, just as the changed meaning of this spectacle can only be explained with reference to the evolving civic context, so ,too, it will appear that the Feast itself was in part used to *create* that context."[12]

Historians of leisure, however, have not been content merely to plot changes in pursuits effected through evolving customary practices, or through the invention of tradition. Much attention has also been paid to the reasons explaining these transformations. Central to the explanations of many historians of leisure has been the concept of 'rational recreation'. As the work of Malcolmson has suggested, the rise of an industrial and urbanised

society carried with it significant implications for the world of leisure. Employers increasingly required a relationship with their workers determined almost exclusively by the cash nexus, demanding the implementation of a time-work discipline which considerably threatened existing patterns of leisure-time. Workers had been used to enjoying a significant degree of autonomy, but, as Peter Bailey makes clear: "The corruptions of leisure threatened to undo the painstakingly fashioned bonds of a new work discipline in the labour force, and its blandishments seriously unsettled the internal disciplines of the middle-class world." The adoption of the concept of rational recreation by the middle classes was undertaken, he continues:

"to forge more effective behavioural constraints in leisure. Popular recreations were to be improved, not through repression, but through the operation of superior counter-attractions ... thus immunising [the working classes] against the contagion of the pub and the publican, and the animal regression of 'sensuality'."[13]

The very word 'recreation' itself, notes John Belchem, was significant, expressing as it did the intentions of the middle classes "to civilize, domesticate and edify the working man."[14]

Attempts at 'rationalising' leisure pursuits were undoubtedly to an extent successful in enforcing change upon some customary activities. Rural districts were

affected as much as the towns, since with the almost complete enclosure of agricultural lands the *embourgeoisement* of the farmer was, in many cases, as total as that of the industrial employer. As Bushaway asserts, "Suppression of the vulgar and offensive elements of custom was seen as improving and as necessary if sanctity of power and property was to be safeguarded."[15]

Thus, with the protection of property in mind, annual customs such as the Rogation week perambulations were undermined. Similarly, the application of the principles of rational recreation in many parts led to the complete transformation of several other key moments in the customary leisure calendar: Whitsun ales were converted into club walkings; and harvest home or sheep shearing celebrations, until the mid-nineteenth century noted for the prominence of alcohol, by the century's close had become much more sober affairs. As the Rev. S.Baring-Gould wrote in 1889:

"The harvest home is no more. We have instead harvest festivals, tea and cake at sixpence a head in the schoolroom, and a choral service and sermon in the church...There are no more shearing feasts; what remains are shorn of all their festive character. Instead, we have cottage garden produce shows."[16]

Whilst undoubtedly by the second half of the nineteenth century many of the aims which the rational recreationalists sought to effect had become, at least in

part, a reality, historians have become increasingly wary of attributing these results to a process of social control, not least because the concept itself has become discredited. Perhaps the historian most responsible for the circumspection now accorded to rational recreation as a form of social control has been Gareth Stedman Jones.

In his influential article, 'Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of "Leisure"', Stedman Jones questions the theoretical basis of the concept of social control as employed by historians of popular recreation. Stedman Jones asserts that the term 'social control' has often been used by historians of popular recreation employing a Marxist or neo-Marxist approach to the subject, whereby the forces of power at the disposal of the bourgeoisie were mobilised whenever it felt its position and its values were being attacked by the recreational pursuits of the working classes. By employing the idea of social control, therefore, Stedman Jones claims, such historians accepted the idea of a society experiencing three successive states: "a prior functioning, a period of breakdown, and a renewed state of functioning."[17] The acceptance of such a state of social functioning, however, as Stedman Jones points out, is a position inconsistent with any class-orientated analysis of society:

"For if we seriously wish to adopt a Marxist explanation, it is impossible to operate this mechanical separation of

periods of control and breakdown. A mode of production is irreducibly a contradictory unity of forces and relations of production ... Contradiction is not episodically, but continually, present; the antagonism between the producers of the surplus and the owners and controllers of the means of production extracting the surplus, is a structural and permanent feature."[18]

A less theoretical, but perhaps more persuasive, attack has been launched upon the notion of social control as manifested in the form of rational recreation by a number of historians of leisure who have been intent upon asserting the vigour of working class culture itself. As several scholars note, where working class participation was recorded in schemes initiated under the banner of rational recreation, this involvement often was undertaken on the subjects' own terms. For example, Peter Bailey comments:

"working-class membership of church football teams can be seen as a purely instrumental attachment, calculated to extract certain benefits, often unobtainable from the resources of working-class life. In this case, working-class behaviour which might have appeared as deferential mimesis from above, functioned as a kind of exploitation in reverse for its actors, who assumed respectability to meet the role demands of their class superiors."[19]

Another example of the provision of rational recreation which, to an extent, fell into enemy hands was Henry Solly's Club and Institute Union. Established in 1862, the clubs were intended as respectable alternatives to public

houses. However, working class recruitment only began to succeed when the original temperance regulations were abandoned.[20] Indeed, it was in the drink-infused atmosphere of the public house in which working class culture remained, even through the final quarter of the nineteenth century, at its most vibrant. The cultural centrality of the pub is emphasised in the work of J.M.Golby and A.W.Purdue, who explain that:

"at a time when working-class housing was small, cramped, cold and uncomfortable, the pub provided warmth, lavatories and company as well as drink...[It] acted as both a meeting place and a recreation centre. It was a place where many of the old traditional pastimes were maintained and it was a breeding ground for many new activities."[21]

This is not the view of all interpreters of nineteenth century popular recreation, however. In his study of the cultural life of London's working class in the final third of the nineteenth century, Gareth Stedman Jones describes a life centred around the pub, the race-course and the music-hall. Following the defeat of Chartism, Stedman Jones claims that capitalism had become an 'immovable horizon', prompting the working class into "a *de facto* recognition of the existing social order as the inevitable framework of action." The culture that subsequently developed, with its emphasis upon the pub and music-hall, Stedman Jones translates as "a culture of consolation."[22]

The view Stedman Jones advances in relation to later nineteenth century culture, although admittedly confined to an analysis of London life, does seem unduly pessimistic. A more active role is attributed to the working class in their leisure pursuits by Golby and Purdue, who claim that the 'indomitable spirit' of English popular culture was personified in the figure of Mr Punch. He, they explain, encapsulated the anarchic spirit of nineteenth century popular culture, "its appetite for beer and sensation, its tendency to mock authority...its celebration of war between the sexes and its refusal to be serious and rational."[23]

The dangers of describing the leisure pursuits of an homogeneous working class are highlighted by a number of historians. Robert Gray, for example, differentiates between the culture of the poorer elements of the working class and the 'labour aristocracy', a distinction which also pervades the autobiographical work of Robert Roberts.[24] The writing of the Italian thinker Antonio Gramsci has been influential in the work of historians such as Gray. Gramsci's writing emphasises the importance of the concept of hegemony: instead of accepting a mechanistic Marxist analysis of social relations, Gramsci advances the view in his work that, in order to advance in society on their own terms, some members of the lower ranks determine to do so by using the dominant values of their rulers.

E.P.Thompson, in his interpretation of the work of Gramsci suggests that, for working people, there are:

"two aspects of the same reality: on the one hand, the necessary conformity within the *status quo* if one is to survive, the need to get by in the world as it is in fact ordered, and to play the game according to the rules imposed by the employers, overseers of the poor etc.; on the other hand the 'common sense' derived from shared experience with fellow workers and with neighbours of exploitation, hardship and repression, which continually exposes the text of the paternalist theatre to ironic criticism..."[25]

In adopting a Gramscian approach to the study of nineteenth century working class life, Robert Gray's work suggests that, instead of rational recreation being interpreted as a form of social control, its adoption by elements of the working class should be considered as autonomic behaviour. Such individuals needed no persuasion by middle class reformers, whom many of them held in a degree of disregard, to adopt teetotalism and to discover the benefits of the Mechanics' Institutes: they wished to do so for their own sake.

Whilst increasingly amongst historians, the capability of the working class to create its own recreational nexus has been stressed, it is perhaps worth noting the cautionary remarks of Robert Storch, who tentatively suggests that: "one cannot escape the conclusion that nineteenth century popular culture and working class quotidian life unfolded

not so much in a context of repression at every turn as of a sometimes subtle proliferation of tightening constraints of all kinds." By the later nineteenth century, Storch affirms:

"all sorts of new and powerful constraints were in place to buttress what E.P.Thompson has called the 'deafening propaganda of the status quo': new poor laws, new laws and regulations of *all* types, schools and policemen as well as bosses and labour markets which could not help but remind people every day of their limits. Much popular cultural change during the nineteenth century was in the way of rolling with the punch. And necessarily so."[26]

The foregoing review of the historiography relating to leisure and recreation in nineteenth century Britain has sought both to display the multiplicity of approaches and opinions regarding the subject which are held by its leading exponents, and, more significantly, it has aimed to place the following local study in a broader, national context. The review has illustrated clearly that an examination of leisure and recreation is not only of significance *per se*, but promises to shed important light upon the nature of social relations and local solidarities present within the settlements under study.

The leisure and recreational pursuits considered are to be divided broadly into three types, although these do not pretend to be mutually exclusive. Firstly, the public,

communal celebrations of leisure time are examined, specifically the changing nature of the celebration of two calendar customs, Whitsun and the settlements' various feast days, and the character of an invented tradition, the horticultural show, which became a regular occurrence in the public calendar during the third quarter of the nineteenth century in the Darfield and Wombwell district.

Secondly, the significance of sport in the district is considered. Since sport played a considerable role in the celebration of the village feasts, inevitably the distinctions between the first section of the local study and the second will be somewhat arbitrarily drawn. However, a separate section examining this important aspect of leisure is undoubtedly justified since it will allow reflection upon significant changes in the types of sport played over the second half of the nineteenth century and in its organisation.

In the third section of the study an examination is undertaken of the hobbies of the inhabitants of the largely mining settlements of the Darfield and Wombwell district. Particular attention will be paid necessarily to the more public pastimes of the inhabitants, such as participation in brass bands. Inevitably, since by their very nature hobbies tend to be pursued privately, evidence regarding their incidence is somewhat limited.

Indeed, more generally, there are difficulties in assembling sources from which to construct a representation of past leisure pursuits. The most profitable source of information is found undoubtedly within the pages of local newspapers. However, empirical problems abound with the local press as a source particularly in respect to reports of leisure activities. In the case of meetings and official speeches, local newspapers often carried verbatim accounts of the business conducted, thus ensuring a high degree of accuracy. Such levels of precision, however, could not be achieved in a description of a leisure activity. Here instead the individual experiences of the reporter alone were recorded. Consequently, whether overtly or otherwise, the accounts of popular recreation contained within the pages of the press are inevitably of a largely middle class and almost exclusively male provenance. Objective reporting of leisure pursuits are, then, difficult to obtain.

A further problem with depending upon local newspapers as a source of information relating to popular recreation is their selectivity. By no means all public celebrations, for example, were reported in the press: those which were had been selected based upon the preconceptions of the newspaper's editor, and were often reported because of their unusual nature. Evidently, too, leisure activities which occurred with spontaneity, by their nature, escaped

the reporter's notebook and so were likely to be passed over without comment.

The pen of the antiquary is also likely to mislead historians in their pursuit of information relating to customary leisure pursuits. This is made clear by Bob Bushaway in his analysis of a Whit doling custom at St Briavel's in Gloucestershire. He has discovered that the custom was described six times between 1807 and 1890 at regular intervals. When the reports were compared, however, Bushaway has found that the same account was being repeated virtually *verbatim*. As he concludes, "The antiquary's habit of building upon earlier accounts of customary activity has become, in this instance, nothing more than slavish repetition without further corroboration."[27] Indeed, when the 1893 - 94 testimony of the vicar of St Briavel's was found relating to the Whit custom, Bushaway notes that there were quite marked differences between the event and that which had preceded it some ninety years ago. Thus, despite the impression given by the repeated publication of an antiquary's account that the custom had become petrified in time, such was not the case.

Despite the evident difficulties of the extant source material, the impressionistic and selective nature of newspaper accounts, the atypicality of surviving personal diaries, and the tangential character of official documents such as school board minutes, the strands of evidence

relating to the local leisure pursuits of the nineteenth century Darfield and Wombwell district can be woven together to give some portrayal of this important and constantly changing aspect of the area's social life.

1. Public, communal leisure activities.

Included in this section is the consideration of the changing natures of the celebration of Whitsun, the feast holidays and the horticultural shows of the Darfield and Wombwell district during the second half of the nineteenth century. Although the category heading has to be acknowledged as ungainly, it succeeds in distinguishing between this and the following section. Sport is also, in the main, a 'public' leisure activity but, since there is a basic division between participants and players, it cannot be defined as 'communal' to the same degree as can the activities being considered in the present section.

Initially, the two 'calendar customs' of Whitsun and the feast holidays are examined. In any society, such calendar customs constitute events of immense significance. As Bushaway explains:

"The local customary calendar provided a frame of reference in which was expressed a perception of the social structure of the community and also of its physical delineations ... The calendar of customs was finely intermeshed with the specific structure of the local economy and society..."[28]

To a significant extent, therefore, the cycle of calendar customs was important in constructing individuals' perceptions of the society in which they lived and structuring their immediate life aims. This second point comes across clearly in Bernice Martin's review of early twentieth century working class annual leisure rituals:

"The planning which goes into the preparation for these liminal festivities punctuates and thus gives order and meaning to the yearly round. It forms a kind of liturgical progression which feeds the sense of order by dividing time into defined and ritually bounded segments, each with a culminating goal."[29]

Martin also identifies a paradoxical situation in which calendar customs provide individuals with: "a taste of transcendence and an experience of belonging at the same time."[30]

The meanings associated by individuals with the calendar customs here considered are examined in each case. In order to do this effectively a number of key components of each occasion are investigated and their changes over the period are traced. The times at which these specific customs were enacted, though anchored in the calendar, were subject to some degree of change in part as a consequence of an on-going contest over the concept of time-work discipline between employers and their workforces. Clearly, the shifting of key aspects of each custom in time could be of much consequence. The location of various aspects of the

customs here examined was also of significance: where an event was staged was expressive of the importance attached to it by various sections of local society. The most consensual occasions would be accommodated, with little danger of contest, in the most prestigious parts of the settlements, usually their centres, whilst the events greeted with less acquiescence would be found on the periphery of the settlement. The participants and organisers of the various events, where a distinction between the two groups can be drawn, will be examined with particular attention being paid to the relationships between employers and their workpeople and civic officials and citizens which become apparent in the reporting of such communal leisure activities. Finally, the meanings ascribed to each occasion in the newspaper editorials will be compared with the reports of the experiences of the inhabitants themselves in an attempt to assess whether the newspapers' interpretations of the events occurring were attempting to place, rightly or wrongly, a rational recreation tag upon the customs examined.

a. Whitsun

Of the three communal activities to be examined, Whitsun is the only national calendar custom. In the case of Whitsun alone, therefore, can simultaneous comparisons be drawn between the activities undertaken in the name of its

celebration in the Wombwell and Darfield district and those conducted elsewhere.

Undoubtedly, of the three communal activities studied, Whitsun enjoyed the most consensual support. More than 60 per cent of the local newspaper reports of the Whitsuntide festivities which were consulted between 1859 and 1903 relating to Darfield and Wombwell noted that celebrations continued until Tuesday.[31] The Mexborough and Swinton Times reported during Whitsun 1889 that at Wombwell "the whole of the collieries in the neighbourhood ceased work on Saturday and did not commence working until Wednesday morning and in some cases Thursday."[32]

Whilst Whitsun holidays in the Barnsley district appeared to be in large part uncontested by employers, it seems that there was some dispute as to what events should mark the custom on different days. Whit Tuesday in the Barnsley area had been the principal day of festivities: "Whit Monday and Tuesday," the Barnsley Chronicle declared in 1866, "especially the latter are the great holidays of the year."[33] However, the same newspaper played an active part several years later in attempting to move the major day of the holiday from Tuesday to Monday, partly in order to conform with the introduction of Whit Monday as a Bank Holiday under the 1871 Bank Holiday Act. In 1875, the newspaper reminded its readers that "Three years ago we hinted that, as under a then recent Act of Parliament, the

banks are closed on Whit Monday, it would be much more convenient were that observed as the general Barnsley holiday in place of Tuesday."[34] As a further justification for its request, the Barnsley Chronicle suggested that, by planning the principal celebrations for the Monday, the "processions, wagon rides and such like", if bad weather intervened, could be postponed until the Tuesday whereas, "as it is there is no alternative after the Tuesday has passed."

Descriptions of Whitsun activities in Darfield suggest that Monday was the principal occasion for the season's processions. The 1859 report of the Whit Monday School Feast stated that it was "the twenty-ninth annual meeting of scholars and teachers of the several Sunday schools of the parish of Darfield"[35]. However, the pre-eminence of Whit Tuesday persisted in Wombwell. As late as 1881, the Barnsley Chronicle reported, under the general heading 'Whitsuntide Festivities', that, "On Tuesday, the streets of Wombwell were thronged with people anxious to view the procession which forms the prominent feature..."[36] It was only in 1886 that the township's major Whit procession began to take place on the Monday, some fifteen years following the Bank Holiday Act.[37] That Wombwell's inhabitants continued so long to celebrate Whitsun on the Tuesday rather than the Monday can perhaps be interpreted as an act of independence, an assertion of the settlement's

separateness from Darfield village in whose parish it had remained until 1864.

The consensual nature of the processions which characterised the Whitsun holiday ensured that use could be made of the most prestigious parts of the settlements. Wombwell's Whit Monday Sunday School Union Annual Festival, which immediately became the focal point of the settlement's Whit festivities after its inaugural holding in 1886, culminated in a rally at the commercial hub of Wombwell, the Market Place.[38]

Accounts of Whit festivities in Darfield make it clear that here also prestigious space was occupied by celebrants. The vicar's garden was used, it was reported, on a number of occasions for the entertainment of Anglican Sunday school pupils after their Whit procession; and Middlewood Hall and Park, during the residency of Francis Taylor, the lord of the manor and Barnsley linen manufacturer, played host to significant numbers of Sunday school scholars visiting at Whitsun from Barnsley[39].

The Nonconformist celebrations in Darfield village, however, lacking the influential patronage of the lord of the manor and the Established church, had to settle for festivities being held on the land of sympathetic farmers: between 1887 and 1903, for example, the Wesleyan Methodists regularly staged their annual Whit tea and sports at Tyers

Hill, one and a half miles north west of Darfield's centre, on the land of a farmer, Thomas Booth.[40]

The Whitsuntide celebrations of Darfield and Wombwell therefore appeared to vary quite considerably. Whilst the use of space for the festivities in Wombwell was, prominently, public, that used in Darfield appeared, in the main, to be private.[41] This reflected the more divisive means of celebrating Whitsun in Darfield than that adopted by the more communal celebrants in Wombwell. In Darfield, individual groups tended to celebrate Whitsun separately. Thus, newspaper reports described separate Wesleyan Methodist and Primitive Methodist celebrations in addition to those arranged by the Anglican church.[42] The entertainment provided by the lord of the manor at Darfield significantly did not extend to his own co-villagers, but catered at Whitsun only for children from outside the parish. In contrast, the Whitsuntide reports of celebrations in Wombwell emphasised the united face worn by the township at this time. With the introduction of the Sunday School Union Annual Festival, involving all of the settlement's Nonconformist Sunday schools, large numbers processed through the town's streets on Whit Monday, varying in size, in the reports examined in the period between 1888 and 1903, from 1000 to 3000 children.[43] Before the advent of the Sunday School Union Whit procession, however, Wombwell's Band of Hope staged a gala on Whit

Tuesday 1881, heralded by a march through the town's streets, which reportedly attracted between two and three thousand people.[44] It seems clear, then, that the celebrations associated with Whitsuntide at Wombwell were much more communal in nature than those of Darfield.

Attention must now be paid to the content of the festivities themselves. "Whitsuntide," claimed a report in the Barnsley Chronicle of 1888 "was above all others the children's holiday."[45] This clearly was the case. In an examination of twenty-one newspaper reports of Whitsuntide festivities held in Darfield and Wombwell between 1859 and 1903, every one of the descriptions referred to arrangements made on behalf of the settlements' children. In twenty of the reports, the festivities focussed upon the activities of the Sunday schools. Sixteen of the accounts of Whitsuntide events in Darfield and Wombwell contained descriptions of processions and thirteen accounts included reports of music making, either in the form of hymn-singing, brass band playing, or both.

The child-orientated nature of Whitsuntide celebrations was not confined to this district. Richard Hoggart, in recalling working class life in early twentieth century Leeds, describes the principal customs of Whitsun revolving around children. It was one of the "routines of working class life", he asserts, "the 'best clothes' for children newly bought at Whitsun and the round tour on Whit Sunday

morning to show these clothes to relatives and receive a present of money..."[46] West of the Pennines, too, Whitsun was regarded as a primarily children's festival, at which, as Bernice Martin describes in her study of early twentieth century Lancashire working class culture, "Sunday clothes were replaced once a year for Whit Sunday, when everyone paraded in a complete new outfit and went to all the relatives to have a new penny (or more) put into the pocket 'to help it wear well'."[47]

In the Barnsley district, as contemporary newspaper reports illustrate, a key component of the Whitsuntide Sunday school processions was the wearing of new clothes. In 1895, for instance, the Barnsley Chronicle noted that: "thousands of young people [were] able to enjoy themselves without let or hindrance. The new clothes of which much is made at Whitsuntide could be worn without fear of being spoiled by rain."[48] Similarly, the Barnsley Independent reported in 1903, at the beginning of Wombwell's Whit Sunday school procession, that: "The little ladies in white, some in colour, each discussing the merits and demerits of their costumes, and the boys in their straws and flannels speed along with a ring of excitement and merriment in their voices."[49]

Such was the emphasis placed upon children at Whitsuntide that, in times of hardship, whilst all other celebrations at Whitsun could be forgone, it seems that the children's

treats could not. During a lengthy pit stoppage affecting the whole Barnsley area over Whitsuntide in 1885, the Barnsley Chronicle commented that:

"The effects of the protracted miners' dispute ... made themselves felt more particularly as regards those pleasures which involve the spending of money. Provision is always made for Sunday School children who, in the matter of Whitsuntide feasts, have not suffered a great deal, if at all, but many of their seniors who would, under other circumstances have been off to the seaside or elsewhere, were compelled to make virtue out of necessity by staying at home."[50]

Central amongst the customs associated with Whitsun was feasting: of 21 reports examined of Whitsun festivities in Wombwell and Darfield between 1859 and 1903, food was mentioned on fifteen occasions. Buns, spice cake, oranges and nuts were amongst the provisions specifically mentioned, most of which were distributed amongst the children following their processions. Alcohol, which had previously been a staple fare of Whitsun celebrations, in the form of 'Whit ales', appears throughout the reports examined to be conspicuously absent.

The rationalising of the customs associated with Whitsun prompted an editorial in the Barnsley Chronicle to observe that:

"But though the May-pole is no longer raised ... though the grotesque costumes of the Morris dancers are but rarely seen in our streets; and though the churchwardens do not now provide the Whitsun ale on Whit Sunday afternoon, yet

Whitsuntide has not lost its attractions, and with young and old is redolent with sunny memories...We have virtually taken leave of the customs of the good old times [and] ... we at least with our modernised, utilitarian ideas can honestly say 'May we never look upon their like again'."[51]

The reports of the Whit celebrations in the latter part of the nineteenth century in the settlements of Darfield and Wombwell appear to bear out these observations. The 'improving' nature of many of the activities planned for Whitsun in Darfield and Wombwell is manifestly captured in a newspaper reporter's comments upon Darfield's Whit School Feast, held in 1859:

"Such gatherings and reunions between minister and people, such efforts to afford pleasure and gratification to hundreds of the young, longing expectant hearts as throng on such occasions all induced by Christian love, cannot but have a salutary influence upon the rising generation, whose welfare, physical, moral and eternal, they were intended to promote."[52]

The proselytising approach adopted by reporters in their representation of rational recreation must, however, be treated cautiously. It seems likely that the 'rational' elements of Whitsun celebrations were somewhat overemphasised in the local press, as was the 'tradition' of improving Whit customs. In 1887, for example, in its report of Wombwell's Whitsuntide festivities, under the heading 'Wombwell Sunday School Demonstration', the Barnsley Chronicle noted that: "on Monday, the annual demonstration of Wombwell Nonconformist schools took place.

Proceedings, as usual,took the form of an assembly at the Market Place for singing and procession. Rev. George Hadfield gave an address.."[53] However, the customary nature of this occasion, emphasised in the Barnsley Chronicle's report, seems to rest uncomfortably alongside the description of the previous year's Wombwell Whitsuntide arrangements in the Mexborough and Swinton Times, which stated clearly that: "On Monday last, the various Sunday schools in Wombwell held their first Whit gathering. Scholars met at the Market Place...[where] there was a short address by Rev. G.Hadfield..."[54] The report added that hymns were sung and a procession formed. The Barnsley Chronicle's 1887 account of Wombwell's Whit Sunday School festivities and its inaccurate claims for the event's long-standing suggest that a process of inventing tradition was at work. The reasons behind this attempt at invention of tradition, what Hobsbawm describes as a means "to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition"[55] will now be explored briefly.

Evidence does exist which suggests that the Whitsuntide leisure intentions of the inhabitants of Wombwell and Darfield were not as wholesome as the majority of reports described. Motivation for participating in leisure activities derived either from an intrinsic satisfaction in the action undertaken or from the possibility of material gain. This is clearly shown at the 1881 Wombwell Whit Band

of Hope Gala, where the individual members of the various Bands of Hope had made a "very large" display of decorations, "many of them being very artistic and others showing real originality and skill. Prizes were awarded for the Bands of Hope which made the best appearance in the procession. The first prize of £1 was awarded to Wombwell Main." This enthusiasm, fired undoubtedly by both satisfaction in participation and the prospect of material gain, was lacking in another competition, organised at the same event and arguably of more 'worth'. As the Barnsley Chronicle commented: "Competitions for needlework, drawing and penmanship attracted very few entries. It is to be hoped another year that the committee will offer better prizes for these things and that teachers and parents will strive to influence their children to think more of such useful competitions."[56] In this case general inertia had been the result of children concluding that the carrots on offer were not sufficiently substantial to justify the punitive stick. This response could be interpreted as an application of what the Barnsley Chronicle described as "modernised, utilitarian ideas."[57] Rational recreation, therefore, was not undertaken with uncritical enthusiasm by those for whom it was supplied. By stressing its 'tradition', it could be argued, the purveyors of rational recreation were attempting to justify its continued existence and to encourage its continuing patronage.

Those responsible for the provision of rational entertainment at Whitsuntide comprised many of Darfield and Wombwell's religious dignitaries, as the descriptions of the settlements' Sunday school processions have illustrated. More tacit responsibility rested with the lay authorities of the district, particularly the members of the Wombwell Local Board, who were responsible for the management of the Market Place where the Sunday school processions invariably congregated.[58] Sports were recorded as being provided regularly by Darfield Cricket Club at Whitsuntide.[59] Those involved in the provision of the cricket club sports included the most influential men in the neighbourhood. Players for the club, founded in 1857 as Wombwell and Darfield Cricket Club, had included three substantial landowners, Harry Garland, John Bushby and Joseph Machin.[60] By 1893, the club enjoyed the patronage of one of the most powerful landowning families in the district, the Taylors, who were residents of two of the largest homes in the district, Middlewood Hall and New Hall. On the occasion of the marriage of F.H.Taylor's second son, Darfield Cricket Club members were included amongst the guests of the family and were treated to a meal.[61] The cricket club's sports included events which appeared to follow the best examples of rational recreational pursuits, with well ordered contests taking

place to the accompaniment of music provided by local brass bands.

However, one area in which Darfield Cricket Club sports did differ markedly from the orthodoxy of rational recreation was in their provision of alcohol: in 1884, one of the prizes on offer was "a cask containing nine gallons of beer"[62]; whilst in 1895, the club's "annual Whitsuntide sports" had "first-class refreshments supplied in a marquee erected on the ground of Mr Henry Gamwell of the Cross Keys Inn."[63] In addition to the 'rational' pursuits of cricket, football and athletics, the Darfield Cricket Club Sports also tended to include activities which the purist would have scorned: in 1884, the sports were enlivened by a tug-of-war, which "created much excitement and a good deal of merriment"[64]; and in 1895 an obstacle race, a three-legged race and a waltzing contest were included on the programme.[65] It seems that the event was organised with few high ideals in mind other than to provide enjoyment for the participants and spectators and to help raise funds for the cricket club.

Apart from excursions organised for their pupils by the various Sunday Schools, which often were only to places within the locality, such as Barnsley's Locke Park, Whitsuntide appeared to be marked by a lack of organised group excursions. Throughout the reports examined, references were made to trains departing from Wombwell to

places such as Goole, Hull, Grimsby and Cleethorpes, but these, it appears, were filled with family groups which, in the main, had booked individually.[66] The role of the large local mining companies in the provision of Whitsuntide entertainment for their employees and families remained minimal throughout the period of study. Closing their workings during Whit week until Wednesday constituted all that most of the district's coal companies contributed to the Whitsuntide celebrations. This allowed their employees to use the free time, much of which had become enshrined in law with the passing of the Bank Holiday Act after 1871, as they saw fit.

b. The Feasts

Any examination of the customary calendar must include a consideration of communities' feasts. The settlement's feast day was undoubtedly one of the most significant days of celebration in the inhabitants' customary calendar, which was, as Bushaway re-emphasises, based largely upon the parish:

"The calendar of customs finely intermeshed with the specific structure of the local economy and society ... The practice of the antiquary and folklorist of collecting material from widely scattered locations has destroyed its local basis by implying a wider, more national, or at least, regional calendar than was the case."[67]

Each settlement's feast day was supposedly determined by the saint's day of its parish church. However, in practice, as a report in the Barnsley Chronicle made clear in 1882, this was often not so. The newspaper's reporter asserted that:

"We are inclined to believe that many of our local feasts were never in any sense of the word feasts of dedication. Certainly the majority of them are not held on or near the day of the saint to which the church is dedicated ... Five of the churches in the [Staincross] Wapentake are dedicated to All Saints, viz. those of Cawthorne, Darfield, Darton, High Hoyland and Silkstone, yet in the case of only one parish - Darfield - is the feast held on the Sunday following All Saints' Day. Six townships lie within the parish of Darfield, but all hold their feasts at different times, and recently two new feasts have been established, those at Low Valley and Hoyle Mill, also in the parish ... So with other townships, and even places that are not townships: they all have feasts, but very many of them have not, and never had, either churches or chapels of ease."[68]

Most of the feasts within Staincross Wapentake, the report continued, were held between May and November, the majority being accommodated in June, July and August, when, the newspaper speculated, "out of door recreations could be indulged in." Despite not being staged at times coincident with the parish church's saint's day, a settlement's feast was, informally at least, fixed in the calendar, so as to avoid clashing with those of its neighbouring settlements. Thus, Wombwell's feast celebrations generally began on the Sunday nearest 19 September, whilst neighbouring Low

Valley's feast occurred in the second week of July. Darfield's feast was the last one held in the district and was known as the 'Fly Pie Feast'.[69] Although the various feasts were fixed in time in popular judgment, their position in the perceived holiday calendar of those in authority was, unlike Whitsuntide, far from assured. The contest over the position in time of the Wombwell Feast will now be considered.

Official opinion regarding the Wombwell Feast appeared to vary widely over time. A survey of Wombwell's School Board minutes revealed that often the Feast Week was celebrated as part of a school holiday. Thus, in 1876, the proposal that "The schools have three weeks holiday ending at the close of Feast week" was carried unanimously.[70] However, in 1884, the Board refused permission for a holiday to be taken "on account of the school feasts".[71] Yet, in 1892, the Wombwell School Board minutes recorded that: "Mr Gargin proposed that the schools break up on Friday at noon for the feast holiday, seconded by Mr Bocock and carried unanimously."[72]

Unease was expressed in the local press regarding the Wombwell Feast in 1877 when the Barnsley Chronicle published a report stating that:

"It has always struck the writer as somewhat strange that people should be induced to congregate at a feast no matter where it is being celebrated on its opening day which generally ... is a Sunday; why they should hurry to the

place and listlessly stroll about, the majority obviously with no intention ... [T]he only reason why such a custom is not allowed to die out must be because it is an ancient one - and Yorkshire is Conservative in this respect it must be said - and forsooth it is one way and not a very good way from a religious point of view of spending the Sabbath day. Wombwell was no exception to this rule on Sunday last."[73]

By the late 1870s, therefore, it seems that the Wombwell Feast was beginning to attract the critical attention of rational recreationalists. This continued into the 1880s, becoming more threatening to the survival of the Feast, and particularly to its position in the local calendar.

By 1888, influential figures within Wombwell had begun to make plans to alter the date of the Feast. Dr J.N.Millar, the Medical Officer of Health for the Wombwell Board made no secret of his dislike of the Feast, stating that: "as far as he was concerned he was in favour of abolishing parish feasts altogether, for they were no good to the working man..."[74] More diplomatic members of the Wombwell Board, though, such as its clerk, John Robinson, felt that the disruptive nature of the Feast relating to the rhythms of work could be mitigated by altering its date. A township meeting was called to discuss changing Wombwell's feast date, at which John Robinson and the Rev. George Hadfield officiated. At the meeting, according to a report in the Mexborough and Swinton Times, several reasons were advanced

for changing the Feast's date from mid-September to the first week in August:

"the coldness of the season at the present time...Doncaster races, which caused the collieries to have to stand which was often a week before the feast, and then the various schools in the parish could have their holidays at the time and not have to holiday so near the examination, which would enable the teachers to have the scholars better prepared for the examination..."[75]

A resolution was passed at the meeting altering the Feast's date to the first week in August and a committee was chosen to effect this change. Significantly, amongst the committee of five chosen, of only two non-Board members, one, J.Elliott, was manager of a neighbouring colliery, Houghton Main.[76]

The attempt at changing the date of the Wombwell Feast met with the enthusiastic support of other colliery companies. In 1889, Mitchell Main colliery officials entered an agreement with their employees whereby, as the Mexborough and Swinton Times reported, "on condition they worked both Monday and Tuesday in feast week, the men and boys to the number of 660, were given free tickets to Manchester." Clearly, this arrangement was successful, since the colliery's men were "conveyed there in two trains on Saturday."[77] However, the fact that such incentives were necessary to ensure that the old Feast date was ignored suggested that the new date for the festivity was not

overwhelmingly popular. This was borne out by several reports in the Mexborough and Swinton Times, which noted that:

"The 'old' Wombwell Feast, as it is called, was celebrated on Monday...The change [from September to August]...has never been well received by the general inhabitants and, comparatively speaking, the feast in August was a failure. This week there is no sign of abatement in the holiday aspect of the town , and although the collieries were working and other places of business did not give a holiday to their employes there is an evident intention not to let the old feast lapse."[78]

The Mexborough and Swinton Times declared that, for the reformers: "centuries of custom proved too hard for them."[79]

The struggle to persuade Wombwellites to adopt the new date for their feast continued for several years, but, as the Mexborough and Swinton Times reported in 1890; "the only thing that seems to have resulted from the change is that instead of one there are now two general holidays in the year associated with the patron saint of the old and disreputable looking parish of Wombwell."[80] The final report of the 'new' Wombwell Feast appeared in 1891, which noted that it "passed over in a very quiet manner."[81] In contrast, the settlement's 'old' feast, a month later, was "extensively patronised".[82]

Attempts by reformers to alter the dates at which such localised annual holidays occurred were not confined to the

South Yorkshire colliery districts. In their account of nineteenth century Lancashire Wakes, Walton and Poole observe at work a very similar attempt by employers and local authorities to alter the date at which Oldham's annual feast occurred. In 1878, note Walton and Poole, Oldham's School Board campaigned to:

" consolidate the area's wakes into a single week in order to prevent repeated absenteeism by pupils and employees observing several different holidays. They won the support of the Town Council, reformers and some employers to establish new wakes in early August, but it proved impossible to stop people observing the old one. Rather than support two annual holiday fairs for the town, the experiment was abandoned in 1882."[83]

Having examined the contest fought between the reformers and the feast-goers over time, attention will now be focussed upon the question of space. Unlike the case of the Whitsuntide celebrations, which were undertaken with the official sanction of Wombwell's officials in the township's Market Place, the siting of the Feast celebrations was rather more controversial. Before efforts were made to alter the timing of the Feast, the Wombwell Board, from its inception, had striven to obtain some influence over the events by asserting its control over the location of activities in the town's streets. In its report of the 1870 Wombwell Feast, the Barnsley Chronicle commented that: "On Monday, the village street or highway was filled with stalls, photographic booths etc., Mr Robinson, the

surveyor, taking care to place them on the side of the road opposite the footpath."[84] In 1876, it seems that a regimented organisation of stalls in the Market Place was attempted by the Local Board in an effort to assert their control over proceedings. As the Barnsley Chronicle made clear: "The stalls in the market were well arranged and prevented any great crowding in the streets; and this was due to Mr Thomas Johnson, who, under the direction of John Robinson, attended to the placing of the various wares for public competition."[85]

However, a large proportion of the land on which the Feast activities occurred was held in private hands, over which the Local Board had relatively little control. In many newspaper reports of Wombwell's feasts, the significance of the public house in the provision of entertainment is made clear. Of the twenty-six years between 1863 and 1905, for which newspaper reports of the Wombwell Feast have been able to be consulted, fourteen of them contain reference to activities organised during the Feast Week by public houses. Significantly perhaps the most intensive period in which these public house-sponsored activities were mentioned was in the decade immediately preceding the year in which moves were made to alter the date of the Feast: in seven out of eight accounts examined of Wombwell Feast between 1878 and 1888, public houses played a substantial role in the provision of organised entertainment. The

public houses, particularly the Horse Shoe Inn, provided grounds for stallholders. The scene in the grounds of the Horse Shoe Inn, noted a vivid newspaper report in 1887,

"was the centre of the greatest enthusiasm and bustle...the air was filled with the odour of frying fish and potatoes. Farther down the enclosure, 'love in a tub', electrifying machines, stalls of cheap jewellery, spice, nuts, brandy-snaps and the rest, exhibitions of fencing and 'the noble art of self defence', the educated pony , vaulters, tumblers, fat women, merry-go-rounds, swings, fortune-telling, birds, skittles, bowling alleys and football traps all had their place, and, busy during the day, at night, when lit up and crowded, [the Horse Shoe Inn enclosure] formed a very Babel of amusement of its kind."[86]

It was against such a background of privately organised, widely patronised Feast activities that the influential men of Wombwell, in the shape of the Board members and representatives of the local colliery companies, strove to act, partly, as has been shown, by attempting to emasculate the Feast by moving the date of its celebration.

However, a more successful means by which the reformers sought to alter the Wombwell Feast celebrations, was undoubtedly achieved through the introduction of a charity-raising aspect. In 1887, the Barnsley Chronicle reported the Wombwell Feast and gave a substantial amount of emphasis to the occasion's 'Sunday Musical Festival', at which money was being raised for the Barnsley Beckett Hospital and Dispensary. The Musical Festival comprised a

march through the streets of the town accompanied by Wombwell and Jump Brass Bands. According to the report, the procession was headed by Mr W.S.Turver, president, and Mr T.Washington, secretary, of the Wombwell Hospital Sunday Committee, who were followed by the Rev. A.E.Flaxman, vicar, and the Rev. G.Hadfield. Immediately behind the clergymen processed representatives of the Barnsley Hospital Sunday Committee and members of the Wombwell Local and School Boards. This display of civic authority was undoubtedly of significance at the beginning of Feast Week. The sermon of the Rev. G.Hadfield struck a pertinent note, too, at the outset of a week filled with spirited street-life. Speaking of the disease of the sinful heart, which no hospital could cure, Hadfield spoke of:

"one or two symptoms of that disease which he heard almost every day, that was the bad language which they heard in the streets...he appealed to those who were in authority - to fathers and mothers - for the sake of the young and the rising generation to endeavour to cultivate a purer manner of speech..."[87]

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, according to the local newspaper reports, the Hospital Sunday had become an integral part of Wombwell's Feast Week. Indeed, many of the reports emphasised the Hospital Sunday almost to the exclusion of the 'traditional' components of the Feast Week. In 1895, for example, the Mexborough and Swinton Times omitted to mention the Wombwell Feast at all, instead

devoting its attention entirely to 'The Hospital Sunday Festival at Wombwell'.[88] The township's Hospital Sunday was, however, undoubtedly the product of Wombwell's bourgeoisie, and its success amongst the population in general rested to a great extent upon its position as the signal that Feast Week had begun. Significantly, whilst the contest over the Feast's timing was at its height, and the township's influential figures sought to re-invent the Feast, one of the events which moved to the 'new' Feast date was the Hospital Sunday. By the Hospital Sunday's return to the date of the 'old' Feast in 1892, on the occasion of its seventh annual occurrence, Wombwell's Board members and large employers were, effectively, admitting that the attempt to alter the date of Wombwell Feast had failed.

In many of the newspaper reports explaining the continued celebration of the 'old' Feast, the power of custom was often invoked. This, however, in itself does not serve as sufficient cause for the Feast's continued existence in September. It was the strength of popular opinion within the township which ensured that the Feast survived at that time of the year, fortified by the habits of former residents of the township whose visits to friends and relatives during the Feast week formed the highlight of the festival for many people. Of the 26 years in which accounts of the Wombwell Feast were considered between 1863 and

1905, in sixteen accounts explicit references were made to the arrival in the settlement of visiting friends. It was this feature of the Feast celebration which the Mexborough and Swinton Times felt was primarily responsible for the failure of the festivity's transplantation to August:

"For one thing Wombwellites of former years who have sojourned to other parts of the country generally make the feast the time when they pay the old place a visit and at this time all hospitality is freely administered by townspeople to their friends and relatives. So it is that after a struggle the 'old' Feast has vanquished the 'new'..."[89]

The centrality of Wombwell's 'old' Feast week in the customary calendar of the township's inhabitants was supported by an examination of the parish's marriage records. These showed that, between 1864 and 1897, the most popular month in which marriages occurred was December, particularly the week of Christmas. However, the second most popular month in which marriages occurred was September.[90] More specifically still, 52 per cent of the marriages examined in September fell between September 17 and September 23, the period in which the Feast occurred.[91] It seems that many couples chose to celebrate this significant rite of passage at a key moment of their settlement's own festive calendar, a time when allegiance to place and to family could be appropriately expressed.

No such link between the Feast date and the incidence of marriages could be drawn in the case of Darfield's marriage records. Of the marriage records sampled from Darfield parish registers between 1851 and 1885, November, the month in which the Darfield Feast occurred, accommodated only seven per cent of the parish's weddings.[92] These findings, however, could be somewhat misleading since the area from which bridal couples were attracted to Darfield parish church was considerably more extensive than the settlement itself. When the sample is reduced to couples, of whom at least one is recorded as being a resident of Darfield or Wombwell, nevertheless the proportion of weddings occurring in the month of the settlement's Feast is still small: indeed, the percentage, five per cent, is smaller than that for the parish as a whole.[93] This figure suggests that either there was no linkage between marriages and the occasion of the Darfield Feast, or the Feast itself was considered of little importance by the settlement's inhabitants.

Newspaper reports of Darfield Feast are scarce. In the period under study only three have been found, two of which are sufficiently vague to suggest that little effort was expended in constructing the accounts. The account of the 1861 Darfield Feast in the Barnsley Chronicle stated it was "held on Sunday and Monday last, when the inhabitants, as usual, received their friends with cordial hospitality."[94]

Similarly, the general nature of the 1889 report of the Darfield Feast in the Mexborough and Swinton Times suggested that, at best, the news had been received by the paper indirectly. Darfield, the report stated, "has been during this week one continual throng on the occasion of the feast celebration."[95] The third report, that of the 1880 Darfield Feast, however, appears to give a rather more accurate, and considerably less complimentary, impression of the event: "beyond a number of ginger-bread and nut stalls, swinging machines and shooting galleries there were no sights or amusements in the village to be seen."[96]

The differing levels of enthusiasm with which the feasts at Darfield and Wombwell were received were clearly considerable. Undoubtedly the date of the Darfield Feast militated against much outdoor festivity. However, what appears to be the principal reason behind the lacklustre village feast was the lack of enthusiasm of Darfield's largest landowners and most influential inhabitants. The Barnsley Times of 1880 suggested that, in Darfield: "If some enterprising sportsman or gentleman or, say, the village cricket club would get up a series of sports in the shape of football matches, races, jumping etc., it would put life into an almost lifeless feast and attract a large number of visitors."[97] The more spirited local inhabitants, it seems, became involved in instituting a feast at Low Valley.

According to a report of the Low Valley Feast in 1875, the Barnsley Chronicle noted that:

"The inhabitants of this popular and thriving district have just celebrated their second annual feast with great spirit, having gone in for nearly a whole week of festivities. We may note here that Low Valley, being in the parish of Darfield it was the custom until last year to hold the feast at the same time as Darfield feast, which does not fall until the first week in November. Low Valley, however, is animated by a little bit of public spirit; in short it has a will of its own, and will not be beholden to the opinions of others. Last year it decided to try the experiment of feasting in the month of July, and it met with such an amount of success as to encourage it to repeat the experiment this year. The result has been a complete success."[98]

The holding of its own feast at a date different from that of Darfield, undoubtedly was an assertion of Low Valley's independence. By 1874, therefore, the inhabitants of Low Valley, a large proportion of whom were migrants, felt themselves to be sufficiently part of a community to express their communal allegiance with their place of settlement.

The 1875 report of the Low Valley Feast referred to a 'committee of management'. Unfortunately, no record can be found indicating the committee's membership. However, the role of the local publicans, as was the case in the organisation of the Wombwell Feast, appeared crucial. In twelve reports considered relating to the Low Valley Feast,

nine accounts mentioned the role of public houses in the festivities: eight reports specifically referred to the George Hotel, where a large expanse of land accommodated the majority of the functions associated with the Feast. By 1879, the sixth staging of the Low Valley Feast, the event was evidently well-established since, at the George Hotel Recreation Ground, according to the Barnsley Chronicle, "A very large number of people assembled - much larger, apparently, than at most such gatherings, for, according to the promoters, there were no fewer than 6,000 spectators on the ground."[99]

The Low Valley Feast vividly displays the flexibility of custom: once it was clear the community wished to accommodate a feast of its own in the festive calendar, it very quickly became established therein. Reports of the Feast rarely referred to its recent origins, noting only that the 'annual feast' had been held. Even in years of hardship, as in the case of feasts of longer-standing, the Low Valley Feast proceeded. The Barnsley Chronicle, in its report of the 1881 Low Valley Feast observed that: "The signs of the bad times are plainly visible at Low Valley." Despite this, however, "On Monday, all the usual attractions of such occasions were in full show ... The gathering of people was very large."[100] With the Feast's survival in a year of economic depression, its success appeared to be assured, for clearly planning had to be

undertaken to 'save for this sunny day', which meant that its place in the calendar was secure.

With its embedding in the customary calendar, the Low Valley Feast, like that at Wombwell, began to attract the attention of reformers. In 1883, a report in the Barnsley Chronicle mentioned that the Low Valley Feast festivities: "have not been carried out with so much spirit as on some former years, doubtless on account of there having recently been trips to Liverpool and other places."[101] The purely hedonistic pursuits associated with the Low Valley Feast also began to be diluted, from the 1880s, with the introduction of the Hospital Sunday.

The Hospital Sunday occurred on the Sunday of Low Valley's Feast Week, and was first found to be reported in 1881. The occasion was always described in the press as the 'Darfield Hospital Sunday', which suggests a partial *de facto* admission on the part of Darfield's residents that their own feast had been eclipsed by that of their neighbour's. In each reported instance, the Hospital Sunday activities included a march from the George Hotel Recreation Ground in Low Valley to the parish church in Darfield village itself, where a sermon was preached by the rector, and money collected on behalf of the Beckett Hospital, Barnsley.[102] Unlike the civic ceremonial which accompanied the Hospital Sunday activities at Wombwell, however, those at Darfield and Low Valley were much less exclusive. Behind the various

brass bands, which heralded the occasion, marched not only representatives of the district's friendly societies but also miners, carrying with them their banners. According to a report in the Mexborough and Swinton Times, in the 1890 Darfield Hospital Sunday procession, Houghton Main miners marched, "bearing their banner which was a credit to them and a splendid piece of workmanship, the figures of the flag bearing emblems of industry, union etc."[103] It seems that, whilst accommodating the desires of the reformers, who wished for the inclusion of a perceived 'rational' component to the Low Valley Feast celebrations, this was achieved simultaneously with an expression of pride in the principal employment of the settlement. A discernible difference , therefore, marked the Hospital Sunday demonstrations associated with the Wombwell and Low Valley feasts: whilst the former was used as a means of expressing the authority of the civic powers of the township, with the parade of its Local and School Board representatives, the latter encouraged the participation of many of its resident families.

One aspect of the Feast celebrations which was common to both Low Valley and Wombwell was the emphasis upon the position of sport during the festivities. This undoubtedly reflected the significance of the activity in the lives of the district's male inhabitants. Sport's appropriateness to the carnival occasion is considered in the work of Douglas A. Reid, who concludes that its excitement is derived

from:"the possibility of over-turning of the odds, and established reputations, of the reversal of 'normality'; hence the uncertainty of sporting competitions was eminently appropriate at a carnival."[104] Perhaps of more pertinence, however was the fact that invariably the most popular sporting occasions during Feast Week were representative contests between teams of local men and those from neighbouring, rival, settlements. By clashing during Feast Week, the local teams helped crystallise amongst their co-inhabitants, at least for the duration of the celebration, a pride in their settlement and an almost tangible sense of belonging. The settlements' feast weeks were, above all, celebrations of community.

c. Darfield and Wombwell Horticultural Shows

Whilst the Darfield Feast suffered from lack of influential support, according to a contemporary newspaper report at least, such an accusation could not be levelled at the settlement's annual horticultural show.[105] This event, the Darfield Horticultural and Cottage Gardeners' Society Annual Show, was embraced wholeheartedly by the gentlemen of the district. The perceived centrality of the event in the customary calendar of Darfield's influential residents was expressed spatially: by far the most common site for the show in the third-quarter of the nineteenth century, its heyday, was the privately owned Poplars Field which lay at the very heart of the village, next to the exclusive 'private residence', The Poplars, which was home

to a succession of landowners and successful local business families.[106]

The inaugural holding of the show occurred in 1855 and it quickly established itself in the social calendar of the district's more influential figures. Most conspicuous of the show's benefactors, until his death in 1870, was Thomas Taylor of Middlewood Hall. The newspaper reports of the event were peppered with accounts of gentry involvement. In 1861, the Barnsley Chronicle noted that, at the seventh Darfield Floral and Horticultural Show: "The attendance of surrounding gentry was very good and to their credit they are mostly liberal supporters of the society. T.Taylor, Esq. is one of its best supporters..."[107] Among the causes of the event's popularity, according to a newspaper account in 1868, was: "its influential list of local patrons, at the head of which stands the name of Viscount Halifax..."[108] The following year, in its account of Darfield's horticultural show, the Barnsley Times noted that: "There was a large attendance, including many of the leading families in the neighbourhood."[109]

The event's popularity, however, was not restricted to the gentry of the district. The regulations of the society, from 1859, enabled anyone who lived within six miles of Darfield to become an exhibitor, and , as an advertisement for the event in 1860 stated, the horticultural society's committee members hoped "to keep up the character they have already attained for giving good prizes as incentives to

industry and zeal on the part of cottagers and other exhibitors."[110] It seems that one of the aims of the horticultural society was to instil rational recreational ideas into the minds of local inhabitants. Such an objective however was far from unique to the Darfield Horticultural Society. As Stephen Constantine observes:

"Local horticultural societies often awarded prizes in a separate class to the efforts of cottagers. Societies were also formed specifically to encourage popular gardening. Quite explicit was the purpose of the Society for Promoting Window Gardening Amongst the Working Classes in Westminster which arranged flower shows in the 1860s and 1870s. Similarly a curate from, appropriately, Bloomsbury organised an annual exhibition of flowers grown by working class gardeners in his parish: in 1866 the Earl of Shaftesbury distributed prizes and declared the shows 'were a most important contribution to the moral welfare and educational advancement of the poorer classes.'"[111]

Reports of the Darfield show make it clear that the event was considered to be much more than a display of agricultural produce by the inhabitants of the settlement. According to the Barnsley Times, on the occasion of the Darfield horticultural show: "As usual, the inhabitants of Darfield had prepared themselves for a general holiday and the committee made every arrangement to give all due *eclat* to the proceedings."[112] The sixth annual exhibition of the Darfield Floral, Horticultural and Cottage Gardeners' Society in 1860 was marked by "a large attendance of visitors and the village had a most gay and animated

appearance ... The bells of the village church ... rang out their merry peals during the day."[113]

Darfield's horticultural show, to an extent, filled the void left by a lacklustre feast in the customary calendar. It was, however, very much the creation of Darfield's middle class inhabitants and appeared to be used shamelessly by them as a vehicle for the articulation of rational recreation. The event also neatly conveyed some of the paradoxes which existed in the concept of rational recreation. Whilst the middle classes were keen for their 'inferiors' to improve their leisure pursuits, the bourgeoisie members were mindful of the fact that, by encouraging the lower classes to adopt recreational pursuits similar to their own, the distinction between the two groups of society was being undermined. This problem appeared to be sidestepped in the case of the Darfield horticultural show by the introduction of a tiered pricing policy. According to an advertisement for the event in 1858, subscribers were to be admitted at one o'clock and non-subscribers were to be permitted to enter at one shilling each from two o'clock and for sixpence each from 3.30p.m..[114] Thus, although this leisure pursuit was common to all sections of society, social differentiation could be maintained through the compartmentalisation of time.

From the early years of the Darfield horticultural show, the attendance of brass bands was usual at the event. Indeed, the bands invited to the event were, often, in

themselves, effective crowd-pullers. This was certainly the case in 1861, when the Saltaire Band attended, fresh from having won the 'All England Brass Band Contest'. According to an appetite-whetting preview of the Darfield horticultural show, the Barnsley Chronicle announced that the Saltaire band: "will perform the same piece of music with which they won the prize, and they will bring with them their two monstre, (sic), electro-plated prize brass instruments."[115] Present at the show in 1866 was the Leeds Artillery Model Brass Band, which was described by the Barnsley Chronicle as "perhaps the finest brass band in the North of England." The Barnsley Chronicle declared that: "The committee of the society had done their best in the way of holding out additional attractions to those which intrinsically belong to an exhibition, and not only had they provided music, but music of a superior class."[116] In order to ensure the success of the 1866 horticultural show, the committee had relied upon not only the musical *cognoscenti* but also, through the arrangement of a cricket match, the sporting *aficionados*. Throughout, however, the recreational pursuits provided at the show remained determinedly of an improving nature.

This, too, was the case with the content of Wombwell's horticultural show, which was first staged in 1881, on grounds neighbouring the parish church. In an illuminating report, the Barnsley Chronicle, in 1881, explained that the Wombwell Horticultural Society had sought to hold a show

previously but, since the only site then available had been a croft at the back of the Ship Inn and owing to proclamations from interested people that: "They did not wish to benefit either The Ship or The Pump", this had not been possible. The committee's aims, the report continued, were:

"first to encourage the growth of fruits, flowers and vegetables, and secondly to bring money and trade to the place...In third place, they hoped to provide proper recreation and amusement. No doubt there was recreation in cricket and football etc., but the ladies could not enter into those games and...the recreation afforded after the show was such as could be enjoyed by all."[117]

The rational recreation espoused by the Wombwell Horticultural Society appeared to be similar to that sought by the Darfield Floral, Horticultural and Cottage Gardeners' Society. However, whilst the motives of the Darfield society, composed as it was largely of the district's gentry, could be interpreted as a means of effecting social control, the same could not be said of the Wombwell society. Its social structure was quite different from the Darfield society. The Wombwell Horticultural Society had a committee comprising amateur gardeners. The committee, although headed by John Robinson, the ubiquitous Wombwell Local Board member, was made up principally of shopkeepers and colliery employees, many of whom, it appears, lived at Wombwell Main.[118] In 1881, the Barnsley Chronicle was able to report that the Wombwell

Horticultural Show was making "considerable progress. Although it cannot boast the usual list of distinguished patrons and its largest subscriptions do not exceed one guinea, the treasurer had in hand before the show £137.18s.10d."[119] Unlike the Darfield horticultural society, that of Wombwell sought wholesome recreation directly through the efforts of its active working class members, rather than on their behalf by a paternalistic, largely landowning committee of 'social betters'.

Neat distinctions between the Wombwell and Darfield horticultural societies are, however, problematic. By 1887, the Wombwell society, according to a newspaper report of its annual show, had a distinguished list of vice-presidents, including Joseph Mitchell of Bolton Hall, Harry Garland of Netherwood Hall and James Gooddy of The Poplars, Darfield.[120] Having previously highlighted the society's championing of the 'amateur gardener', the presence of such distinguished individuals appeared somewhat contradictory, although, it seems unlikely that these vice-presidents held anything other than honorary positions within the society. The 1887 report made a distinction between the vice-presidents and "a working committee of forty members".

Similarly, a restructuring of the Darfield horticultural society appears to have occurred. The society seems to have undergone an unsettled period during the 1880s, re-emerging in the following decade in a somewhat different form. The 1882 report of the society's show referred to the 28th

annual holding of the event, whilst the report of the 1895 show recorded it as only the third exhibition of the society.[121] The landed figurehead of the society appeared to remain: C.H.Taylor was listed as president of the society both in 1895 and 1902.[122] However, effective control of what became known variously as the Darfield Floral Show Society and the Darfield Flower Society passed into the hands of less 'distinguished' members of the community.[123] In 1901, for instance, the Barnsley Chronicle carried a brief obituary of George Goodall, of Snape Hill, who had been employed as a surface-worker at Darfield Main Colliery. According to the obituary notice, Mr Goodall had been: "an enthusiast in horticulture and cottage gardening and for a number of years [had been] chairman of the Darfield Floral Show Society, taking a deep interest in its work."[124]

In conclusion, then, it seems that, in the case of the Darfield horticultural society, initially some form of invention of tradition had been undertaken by the settlement's landed families. The Darfield Floral, Horticultural and Cottage Gardeners' Society Show quickly became an established part of the settlement's 'customary' calendar, and, with the approval of the middle classes, the event soon became the occasion for an annual holiday, officially sanctioned by the ringing of the church bells. Darfield's horticultural show encompassed many aspects of rational recreation, not least the encouragement of

gardening itself, but also music-making and the pursuit of wholesome sports, such as cricket. Initially, it seems, these activities were supplied by the settlement's middle classes for the consumption of their social inferiors. By the end of the century, however, it appears that control of the society had ceded to members of the working classes themselves, and the involvement of gentry had become largely nominal. In contrast, the experience of Wombwell's horticultural society suggested that it had been formed, in the main, by self-improving working class men, intent on supplying for themselves and their families rational recreational pursuits. The differing means by which these two horticultural societies were founded reflected the influence of resident landed families in the one place and their absence in the other.

2. Sport.

A key component of at least two of the three annual occasions examined to date - Whitsun and the feast celebrations - was the presence of sport. Even at the horticultural shows, sport, often cricket, formed part of the festival. Sport played a central part in the life of the settlements here studied. In this section, sport's significance to the communities is assessed through an examination of the nature of popular individual sports played in the district and, more generally, through tracing how and why the organisation of the sports in the area

changed over time. The study of sport's history is valid in its own right, at a local level particularly since much of its associated historiography relates only to the development of individual sports nationally. However, sport itself also offers an illuminating insight into the culture of a society and thus is of great significance in any attempted reconstruction of the past life of a community. Echoing the comments of the anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, the social historian Richard Holt, in a seminal study of sport, notes that:

"sports are a kind of 'deep play' in which the innermost values of a culture may be expressed. Sport is not just the gratuitous expenditure of energy determined by the immediate physical environment: sports have a heroic and mythical dimension; they are, in a sense, 'a story we tell ourselves'..."[125]

This story's meaning can be extended considerably beyond the actual game itself by considering, as will be attempted below, the location of the sport in the community; its management; and the social composition of the participants and the audience.

The location of sporting pursuits enjoyed by the district's gentry was never contested throughout the period. Middlewood Hall, for instance, when it was the residence of Thomas Taylor, played host to rook-shooting for a party of neighbouring farmers in 1862 [126]; and in 1901, the Barnsley Chronicle reported the Middlewood Polo Club's 'Annual Race Meeting', held at the club's enclosure

in Darfield, at which, in the presence of the club's president, Mr C.H.Taylor, resident of Middlewood Hall, there was a horse race between Captain H.F.Wickham's Shooting Star and Mr J.E.Mitchell's Moss Rosa.[127] In contrast to these events, similar activities undertaken by individuals from a different section of society in different places met with considerable disapproval from those in authority: in 1867, for instance, a Low Valley miner, caught in Great Houghton with a greyhound lurcher and in possession of game was subsequently fined five shillings[127]; and, in 1901, two men caught gambling in a Wombwell public house were both later fined ten shillings each.[128]

In part, no doubt, as a consequence of the spread of the idea of 'rational recreation', many of what were considered by the bourgeoisie as the unsavoury sporting pastimes of the working classes were driven from public places principally by the police force. The zealousness of police officers occasionally, it seems, exceeded the boundaries of acceptability. Under a headline, 'Sunday Pastimes at Wombwell', the Barnsley Chronicle reported that six miners were charged with obstructing a footpath, where they had been found gambling by a Police Constable. According to the account, the defendants: "as soon as they saw him ... ran away and on going up to the spot where they had been playing, [the policeman] picked up 1s.5d. in coppers. Mr Clough, in defence, said that the officer ought not to have sneaked up behind a hedge but have gone openly forward if

he had any charge to make...The defendants were discharged on payment of costs."[130]

Twenty-four years later, similar offenders, their crime also apparently exacerbated by having been committed on a Sunday, were punished in Wombwell. Under the headline 'Wombwell - A Trio of Sunday Gamblers', the Barnsley Chronicle noted that: "Three pit labourers at Wombwell were charged with 'marrowing' in Park Street ... After watching them for ten minutes and seeing money change hands, [Police Sergeant Williams] seized them..."[131]

As in other areas during the second half of the nineteenth century, in the Darfield and Wombwell district, as a consequence of sports being forced off public streets, public houses often opened their grounds to sports instead. In his work on recreation in the North East coalfield, during the nineteenth century, Alan Metcalfe has found that , before the fourth quarter of the century, "most references to mining sport were associated with an inn...The inn served three functions in the growth of sport: it provided facilities for sporting activity; it acted as a meeting place to make matches and organize clubs; and it provided prize money for various events."[132]

Public houses certainly played a significant part in the provision of sports, in Wombwell, and Darfield or, more specifically, Low Valley. The significance of the public house in providing each settlement with a place to hold sports was, perhaps, most conspicuous during feast weeks.

One public house in particular at Low Valley was associated with sporting events, The George Hotel. Indeed, it was largely the efforts of the George's landlords that ensured the success of the inaugural Low Valley Feasts, in which sport played a most significant part.[133] At Wombwell, during Feast Week, the Ship Inn was the site of many of the settlement's sporting events.[134]

However, just as with the findings of Metcalfe in the case of the sporting involvement of public houses in the North East, so with that in the Darfield and Wombwell district: by the end of the nineteenth century, the publicans' sponsorship of sporting activities appeared to be on the wane. Replacing the innkeepers as providers of sports during feast weeks were a variety of different sporting organisations, all with access to land. In 1876, for example, at Wombwell Feast, the sports organised by the landlord of the Ship Inn, A.Harper, were for the first time in competition with those promoted by the Old Wombwell Cricket Club.[135] Significantly, the following year, the Ship Inn was not reported as staging sports during Wombwell Feast Week: instead, the Old Wombwell Cricket Club's sports now faced competition from the contests organised by their rivals, the Wombwell Grand United Cricket Club.[136]

Whilst cricket clubs became regular organisers of games associated with Wombwell's Feast, a number of other 'respectable' organisations became active in their promotion. In 1882, the report of the activities associated

with the Wombwell Feast in the Barnsley Chronicle recorded that sports were organised solely by the committee of the Wombwell Working Men's Institute: "The officials were: Judges, Dr J.N.Millar and Mr W.Kingston; Stewards, Messrs Robinson and Gower; and secretaries, Messrs J.Meays, and T.Taylor."[137] Far from being representatives of Wombwell's working men, these sporting officials comprised influential members of the town's hierarchy, including the medical officer and clerk to the Wombwell Board, the treasurer and secretary of the Wombwell Conservative Club and a bank manager.[138] In 1885, Wombwell Feast's sports were again arranged under the auspices of exponents of rational recreation when, as the Barnsley Chronicle noted: "[t]he first annual sports and gala [was] instituted by the gentlemen and tradesmen of Wombwell."[139] A similar alteration in the organisational structure of feast sports was undertaken at Low Valley, where later newspaper reports noted sporting events being arranged by societies such as Darfield Main Cricket Club, in 1884, and the Free Gardeners' Friendly Society in 1895, rather than the publicans who had been prominent in the Feast's early years.[140] Having examined how the organisation of these sporting events changed over time, it is now necessary to consider if, in any way, the sporting programme altered significantly as a consequence.

Throughout the final third of the nineteenth century, the most prominent sporting events of the Feast Weeks

invariably were cricket matches played between local rivals. The importance of cricket will be considered in more detail below. The only other team sport which appeared regularly on the programme of feast sporting events was football, particularly from the 1880s onwards. Most of the chief contests at the Feast Sports were individual athletic events. Flat races; throwing and bowling at wickets; potty-gathering contests; and go-as-you-please races were popular events at the feast sports. All of these competitions demanded from their participants high levels of athleticism and skill. Potty gathering involved the laying out of some thirty potties, small clay balls about the size of marbles, usually one yard apart. The contestants then had to pick up one potty at a time and return it to the start line until all the potties were so returned, thus running over 900 yards in the process.[141] The 'go-as-you-please' competition involved participants running around a track as many times as possible in a given time, usually 30 minutes.

Although all of the activities mentioned above occurred in a large number of the Feast Sports examined, a notable change appeared to occur, particularly in relation to the Wombwell Feast Sports as the nineteenth century closed. The reports of Wombwell's Feast Sports in the 1860s mention such activities as sack races, wheelbarrow races, and 'other old English sports'.[142] Prizes took the form of tobacco for flat races, dress pieces for women's races and new bridles for donkey races.[143] By 1882, the Barnsley

Chronicle could report that, at the Wombwell Feast Sports: "The prizes offered were of a very useful description, and of a much better character than are given at some of the village feasts. They consisted of timepieces, lustres, writing desks, cricketing appliances etc."[144] By the century's close, however, most of the sports' prizes consisted of money, large amounts of which were awarded particularly to the winners of the Feasts' flat races: a £5 prize was given to the winner of a 130 yard race which attracted 75 entrants in 1895; and a similar race in 1898 was held, in which sixteen heats were required before the final could be contested for a prize of £20.[145]

The changes in the organisational structure of the Feast Sports, the trend away from publicans arranging them to their promotion by sports clubs, appeared, therefore, to coincide with an altering public expectation of the sports. Whereas, it seems, the early Feast Sports were held in a spirit of pure fun-seeking, in which the rustic elements of the festival were remembered, as the century advanced, so the pursuit of sporting achievement became more serious. Firstly, 'rational' prizes were offered by recreational reformers and then, as professionalism in sport became common, cash prizes were competed for in an environment in which there was little room for 'rustic' sports, such as wheelbarrow races, three-legged races and ascents of greasy poles.

The premier team sport in the district was, undoubtedly, cricket. Between 1857 and 1901, references were made in the local press to the names of eighteen different cricket teams in the immediate vicinity of Darfield and Wombwell.[146] In most instances, the clubs' names were principally locative. The cricket teams were, undoubtedly, the focus of much local pride, which was often tested in highly charged contests with neighbouring clubs. Indeed, such was the fear of losing to local rivals that, on occasion, it seems, teams would rather withdraw from competing than be beaten. The insecurity Darfield villagers felt with the growth of the large settlement of mining families immediately on their doorsteps in Low Valley and Snape Hill might well have been a cause for the behaviour of their cricketers when confronted with a team from Darfield Main , which prompted an angered spectator, 'An Old Cricketer', to write to the Barnsley Chronicle:

"Hearing that a match of the old English game of cricket was to be played on the ground of the Darfield club...I found my way to the ground...having heard this match talked about nearly all the winter by the Darfield cricketers as one they had well in hand on the opening match for season 1871. But judge of my surprise as soon as the Darfield players got a look around them at the players of Darfield Main, a few of whom I noticed turned very pale, as though they had looked upon something not very earthly to view, and after a short consultation among themselves they told the men...as they thought they should lose this, their first match of the season, they would not play as they were determined to win their first match..."[147]

Cricket's popularity appeared to transcend the social class boundaries. Large crowds attended matches involving local clubs, many of which enjoyed the patronage of local landowners and colliery companies. In addition to the influential men whose involvement in the affairs of Darfield Cricket Club has already occasioned comment, Wombwell Cricket Club, too, enjoyed the support of a local landed family. At the inaugural meeting of the club, the Barnsley Chronicle noted that:

"a procession formed, headed by the Wombwell Brass Band, which proceeded to Wombwell Hall, the residence of J.Taylor Esq., where they partook of refreshments and afterwards marched to the field kindly lent by him, when members enjoyed themselves in a lively game, witnessed by a large number of spectators."[148]

Of the eighteen cricket clubs identified in Wombwell and Darfield between 1857 and 1901, four took their names from local collieries, Darfield Main, Lundhill, Mitchell Main and Wombwell Main. The assistance the colliery companies gave their eponymous cricket clubs varied. Wombwell Main Colliery Company, for example, lent a field to its cricket team.[149] Clearly, it was in the colliery companies' interests for their employees to associate themselves with the works teams and so strengthen their allegiance to their employers. By 1901, Mitchell Main Cricket Club, whose ground adjoined the colliery, was so successful that it could field three different teams in local leagues. The standard was high, as can be illustrated through the

achievements of Irving Washington, son of the general manager of Mitchell Main Colliery, William Washington. Irving Washington attracted the attention of the Yorkshire Cricket Club, with which he became a professional player, scoring over one thousand runs for them in 1902.[150] Mitchell Main's cricketing success was regarded enviously by others in the district. According to a report in the Barnsley Chronicle in 1901, at a time when Mitchell Main Cricket Club was at the top of the Barnsley and District League Division One, rumours were circulating in the area that the club was attempting to fix matches. The newspaper, in defence of the club, commented that: "We admit we find some difficulty in accepting these stories as gospel because we believe that the men at the head of affairs at Mitchell Main are not men to throw sport to the winds."[151]

With the increasing professionalisation of league cricket by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, clearly the sport was becoming very serious in nature, although the involvement of outsiders in local teams did not appear to reduce the intense rivalries.[152] Professionalism, indeed, offered the opportunity for young men in the settlements of the South Yorkshire Coalfield to escape the clutches of the mine: those who were able to do so, such as Irving Washington, and, later, the Kilner brothers, all of whom played for Yorkshire and had been raised in Wombwell, were followed,

no doubt, with a mixture of pride and envy by local inhabitants.[153]

Another sport associated particularly with the mining settlements of South Yorkshire, but, unlike cricket, not widely played elsewhere, was knur and spell. Like cricket, this sport could offer its best players a comfortable means of making money. The Wombwell player, Arthur Dixon, for example, won a prize of £50 as a consequence of playing one match in 1890, a sum approximately comparable to a year's wages of a colliery trammer.[154] The game itself has been referred to as a 'poor man's golf'. The basic principle of the game was to strike a small hard ball, the 'knur', which was thrown up or suspended in a loop of cord, often called the 'spell', with a bat. The aim was to drive the ball as far as possible. Two basic means of scoring could be employed, depending upon the number of participants taking part in a game. 'Striking' usually involved several competitors and the single longest hit of a series of 'cuts' won the game. The second variant, 'laiking', was used when only two players were competing. Every stroke was of significance and the winner was the one with the highest aggregate score. Shots were measured in scores of yards only. Thus, for example, if a shot measured anywhere between 160 and 180 yards, it was recorded as an 'eight score'.[155]

Knur and spell attracted a great deal of interest amongst working men, in part because it lent itself to gambling.

Significantly, whilst references to the sport have been found in relation to Feast Weeks, from the 1880s onwards, when the Feast Sports came under the influence of the rational recreationalists, the activity was conspicuous by its absence.[156] A correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, in 1873, reported on the activities of 'The Yorkshire Collier at Home'. Referring to knur and spell, the reporter claimed that:

"at Leeds and Barnsley recreation grounds, I have seen an immense multitude of miners watching as intently and cheering as enthusiastically the changing fortune of the game as any fashionable concourse that ever gathered at Lords or Kennington Oval to applaud the prowess of distinguished cricketers. On Monday the recreation grounds are generally full; on special occasions they are crowded. Foot racing, and occasionally wrestling, divide with knurr and spell the honours of the day ... These are the amusements of the people, and they would be innocent and beyond exception if they were not followed by time taken in the working week, and associated too much with indulgence in drink."[157]

The note of disapproval sounded in this report reflected the attitudes of rational reformers. Accounts of knur and spell matches in the local newspapers from the 1880s referred only to matches involving the top players, who played in a small number of venues, including Barnsley's Queen's Grounds, where a crowd of 3000 assembled to watch a knur and spell match on Whit Tuesday in 1885.[158]

The lack of reports of smaller contests in the local press, however, should not be interpreted as a sign that

they no longer took place. Instead, it seems likely that, owing to the perceived sensibilities of readers by editors, increasingly it was decided not to report such sporting functions. Like any sport, for top players to flourish, a steady influx of fresh talent was required to maintain standards. The only way in which this talent could prosper was through learning the game at grassroots level.

The game's success, it seems, was in great part determined by the health of the local economy. This was made clear in a newspaper description of knur and spell, published in 1927, in which it was reported that: "In pre-war days large sums of money changed hands as the result of matches and much excitement was displayed by the rival camps. For several years, however, the mining community has had little spare cash and ... knur and spell matches have lost a little of their popularity."[159] Conversely, as an account in the Barnsley Chronicle made clear in January 1891: "The past year witnessed a good deal of activity in connection with the game, wages being good."[160] This last report suggested the extent to which the game was played outside the 'chief matches'. In its account of a match involving the veteran player 'Old' Harry Hitchen of Barnsley, the newspaper noted that he had "only once been engaged in a contest during the past twelve months, although few matches have been played without his being present."[161]

Rabbit coursing, like knur and spell, was popular amongst miners. It was inextricably linked with betting, and met

with considerable disapproval from rational recreationalists. The sport was very much associated with public houses, in the grounds of which organised dog racing often took place. As with knur and spell, it seems that rabbit coursing had played an integral part in Wombwell's feast sports until the influence of reformers ousted the activity from the official calendar. In its report of the 1871 feast sports in Wombwell, the Barnsley Chronicle mentioned rabbit coursing as an integral part of the activities.[162] By 1875, however, although a rabbit coursing event was staged to coincide with the Wombwell Feast week, the sport was not included in the occasion's official programme. In its account of Wombwell's feast, the Barnsley Chronicle paid tribute to the organisers of the feast sports before stating, almost as an appendix, that: "In addition to the above sports there was a rabbit leger for dogs."[163] The event in question, however, was clearly of significance in the locality, since no less than 22 dogs competed for stakes of £3 10s. 0d. Similarly, the following year, in 1876, the Barnsley Chronicle reported that a rabbit coursing leger was held during the feast week. On this occasion, the newspaper described the event under a separate heading completely from the main account of Wombwell's feast. The event, promoted by a local publican, was a success in which sixty-six dogs competed over two days for a prize of £5.[164]

Rabbit coursing was capable of attracting large crowds and was evidently a profitable promotional aid for publicans. In 1867, for example, a rabbit 'leger' was held at Wombwell, when: "three to four hundred of the lovers of coursing assembled at the village ... to witness a rabbit coursing leger for dogs of all sizes, promoted by Mr Charles Pease, landlord of the Miners' Arms, Low Valley."[165] One month later, a rabbit coursing leger promoted by the landlord of the Lundhill Tavern "called forth fully one thousand spectators" and attracted "a good deal of betting."[166]

It seems likely that the incidence of rabbit coursing legers, like knur and spell contests, was linked closely with the health of the local economy. Not only were rabbit coursing events the site of much betting, which was only possible on a substantial scale when disposable incomes were relatively high, but also, for the competitors, a large entry fee was charged by the promoters for the event.[167] Despite the expense involved in entering dogs into rabbit coursing legers, nevertheless, in years of prosperity particularly, it seems members of Wombwell's male population were active dog-breeders and racers. It appeared not to be unusual for an enthusiast to own and train more than one dog: an examination of the list of owners of the dogs entered in the 1875 Wombwell Feast leger revealed that four owners had two dogs each competing in the event.[168] One of these four owners, J.Knowles,

tentatively identified as a miner employed at Wombwell Main Colliery,[169] clearly was a dog trainer of repute, for, in 1876, one of his dogs, Star of Wombwell, competed with J.Clarke's Star of Barnsley at Sheffield's Queen Grounds for a prize of £15. This competition, according to a newspaper report, attracted a "good muster".[170]

Undoubtedly rabbit coursing legers should be considered as a type of sport, accompanied as they were by large crowds actively interested in the competition on offer and invariably with money riding on the result. However, the activities of the dog trainer are somewhat more ambiguous. A trainer needed to have a great deal of patience and time available to tutor his charges. To be a proficient trainer the owner needed specialist knowledge relating to the dietary requirements of his dogs, an insight into their behavioural patterns, and, if he were to be able to sustain his success, some idea of how to breed a champion strain was required. A dog trainer's constant striving to optimise the conditions under which he pursued his activity was little different from the aims of the pigeon fancier and the serious gardener. All of these activities could be embraced within the category of hobbies, which forms the final section of this study.

3. Hobbies

In his recent study of work and hobbies in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Britain, Ross McKibbin

acknowledges that the distinction between sports and hobbies is difficult to draw. Any definition of a hobby, he considers, should comprise the following elements: firstly, the hobby is an activity freely chosen; secondly, it is neither random, nor disorganised but requires regularity and physical and/or intellectual discipline; thirdly, it demands knowledge and sustained interest; and finally, it is usually accompanied by the creation and discharge of some kind of mental or physical tension.[171]

It has already been suggested that, for the dog trainer, his pursuit could be regarded more as a hobby than a sport. This is perhaps even more true of the pigeon fancier, whose activities invariably were undertaken in private largely out of the gaze of the public eye. As a hobby, pigeon fancying was relatively new to the Wombwell and Darfield district: reports in 1859 and 1862 refer to pigeon shooting events, staged at local public houses, an activity which clearly would have resulted in vociferous opposition if pigeon fancying were at that time widespread in the district.[172] By the later decades of the nineteenth century, however, interest of a somewhat different kind was being displayed in the birds. At the Wombwell Horticultural Society's exhibition in 1887, for example, pigeons were being exhibited for the first time.[173] By 1897, the Wombwell and District Homing Society was holding annual suppers. On this particular occasion, the aims of the society were spelt out to the 29 members present by the

chairman, Councillor Hesketh, who remarked that: "the Wombwell Homing Society did not exist merely for the sake of flying for prizes but rather to obtain a greater degree of 'efficiency' among their birds."[174]

To ascertain what motivated an individual to adopt a hobby, in this case pigeon fancying, is particularly difficult. The idea that hobbies became a significant part of the lives of working class males from about the 1870s as an attempt to compensate them for the lack of satisfaction obtained from their increasingly deskilled workplace has been advanced by some observers. This is an approach which has been adopted in a French examination of miners and pigeon fancying. According to a summary of this work:

"The authors of the study interpret the relationship between mining and pigeon racing in terms of *compensation* for the experience of coercive, fragmented and repetitive work in the mine ... The poverty of the miner's work itself is offset by the many skills necessary to the successful pigeon racer: architect and carpenter, breeder, accountant, vet and psychologist..."[175]

More recent studies, too, suggest that the sphere of hobbies is one in which a work ethic can be applied that enriches the lives of its exponents.[176]

Ross McKibbin's study, however, successfully challenges these assumptions about the motivations which underlie the pursuit of hobbies. Initially, he makes the point that pre-industrial craft pride persisted into factory life. "Craft skill and satisfaction in it," he asserts, "did much to

mitigate the effects of the increasing simplification of industrial routines."[177] McKibbin goes on to show that, if hobbies were adopted to compensate for the deskilling effects of industrialisation, then it follows that the most rewarding hobbies would be pursued by the least skilled manual workers. A survey of social inquiries conducted in Liverpool and London, by Caradog Jones, and Young and Wilmott respectively, prompts McKibbin to claim that: "Men with the most complicated or 'leisure-enriching' hobbies appear more likely to be those whose work itself was 'enriched'."[178]

The findings of the present study tend to support McKibbin's dissatisfaction with the 'compensation' theory regarding hobbies. The adoption of pigeon fancying during the 1880s in the the Darfield and Wombwell area did not coincide with any significant deskilling in the mining industry locally. The reasons for an individual's decision to take on a hobby need to be sought elsewhere.

Pigeon fancying as a hobby could be pursued in a number of different ways. It could be an activity in which the enthusiast withdrew himself from society, during his leisure hours, into the social isolation of his loft, or it could be a high profile activity, in which, through being an active member of a local club, he could be engaged in considerable social intercourse and, if successful, could attain a degree of local fame and fortune. Clearly, different people could be attracted to the same hobby for a

wide variety of reasons. Two necessary components, however, were required to enable an individual to undertake such leisure pursuits: time and money. Of these two elements, it was the availability of time which was the more important, although, evidently, the two components were linked: if money were short, leisure time was at a premium as an individual attempted to use time by finding ways of acquiring additional cash; conversely, when wages were high, an individual might prefer to exchange a day's wages for additional leisure time. It is significant that, with the reduction in working hours as the nineteenth century progressed, the pursuit of hobbies appeared to become more widespread.

The views of the miners of the South Yorkshire coalfield on their hours of work during an economic boom were put before the Select Committee on the Scarcity and Dearness of Coal in 1873 by John Normansell of the South Yorkshire Miners' Association. He stated that most hewers in his district at that time worked eight hours daily for, on average, five days a week, although he admitted that a few only worked for three days weekly. In responding to the claim that "colliers do not work as hard as they used to", Normansell replied that: "They do not work as hard as they used to, but they work, in my opinion, quite hard enough. They worked more like fiends, in my opinion, in former days and they intend taking it a little easier..." When asked if he thought "as the result of progress and education and

intelligence it will be in future the rule of the colliers to work less", Normansell replied: "Yes. The more you educate and elevate a man the less physical labour you get out of him: and very proper too, I think: a higher intelligence will make labour more effective."[179]

As the length of working hours decreased in times of prosperity, so did the opportunities for pursuing hobbies rise. Normansell's argument that increased opportunities outside the workplace for individuals to improve themselves actually enhanced their productivity at work appeared to be a belief also held by a number of employers and other influential inhabitants. Gardening pursuits amongst miners were widely encouraged, for example, through the provision of allotments in large areas of land beside collieries. A 1906 Ordnance Survey map of Darfield reveals that two large enclosed fields adjoining Darfield Main colliery and totalling more than fourteen acres were designated allotment gardens. In all, the map reveals, in an area bounded by Darfield village and Darfield Main colliery in the north, and the northern limits of Wombwell and Broomhill in the south, approximately two square miles in extent, twelve parcels of land, totalling over forty acres were used as allotments.[180]

The interest held in gardening amongst mining employees was well illustrated at several Wombwell School Board meetings in 1897, when one of its members, Albert Tabor, a colliery deputy from Wombwell[181], proposed a motion,

seconded by Wombwell's rector, R.B.Blakeney, that a series of evening gardening lectures should be held for the benefit of local people. A lecturer from Yorkshire College, Leeds, was engaged to deliver the talks, which on the passing of a resolution proposed by Tabor, were to be on the subjects of: "No. 1. The soil of the garden; No. 2. The plants of the garden; No. 3. Root crops; No. 4. Green crops; No. 5. Flowers."[182]

The minutes of the Wombwell School Board's meetings reveal interesting information about the subjects of evening classes which, particularly during the autumn and winter months, proved popular with the population. Although the classes were arranged by the Board members, the prospect that the disciplines taught were not in demand was slight. By 1895, at least four of the ten members of Wombwell School Board were colliery employees.[183] Much attention was also paid to the numbers that attended the evening classes and requests for the initiation of new courses were considered regularly. It seems, therefore, that the classes provided filled a genuine need expressed by the local population, and so give an accurate reflection of the interests of the self-improvers in Wombwell and the settlements immediately surrounding it.

The first reference to evening schools in the Wombwell School Board minutes occurred in 1884, when it was agreed that evening classes should be instituted connected with day schools.[184] In 1892, an amalgamation took place between

the Wombwell School Board and the Barnsley British Co-operative Society Educational Committee, which had been running science classes independently for adults in the Wombwell Board's schools.[185] The resulting organisation, initially at least, was named the Science and Art Committee.

The courses offered as evening classes comprised a number which clearly had a direct application to students' occupations. These included mining and mechanics classes and, with a more commercial orientation, shorthand classes. Several classes, however, were clearly aimed at individuals who wished to enhance skills used outside their workplaces. A number of these appear to have had a practical application and were aimed principally at women. These included both dressmaking and cookery. Such classes aimed to be fairly ambitious in scope: in 1896, for example, it was agreed that "millinery be substituted for dressmaking."[186] One of the most popular classes, art, appeared to have little practical application at all and seems to have been attended purely as an improving leisure pursuit. The provision of quality recreational activities was clearly also the aim when consideration was given to the instituting of clay modelling and paper folding classes in 1895.[187]

The board schools offered a number of different societies and groups places in which to meet. One of the most regular users of the schools were local bands and other music

groups. Music-making was a particularly popular pastime in the South Yorkshire colliery district. Indeed, this activity prompted comment from the investigative reporter from the Manchester Guardian when he visited the area in 1873:

"Here I saw pianos and harmoniums in the colliers' homes, and many of them were very good instruments. A cheerful little woman, the young wife of a young collier, removed a green baize cloth and showed me with honest pride a very handsome 'cottage' which she said her husband had bought for £40. 'Can you play? I asked the girl-matron, and she said she could not, nor could her husband; but, she added, 'he bought it when we were married, and he is taking lessons.'"[188]

It seems that, to an extent the presence of a piano was some type of status symbol bought in times of prosperity. It is significant that John Normansell highlighted the prosperity of the South Yorkshire miner to the Select Committee on the Scarcity and Dearness of Coal in 1873 by stating that: "...I am very glad to be able to say to the Committee that we have got more harmoniums and more pianos...than ever we had before."[189] Nevertheless, the Manchester Guardian's correspondent was at pains to point out that the intention of most buyers was to learn how to play their chosen instruments:

"In Barnsley, I called on a music seller...who told me he does a large trade in pianos and harmoniums. 'There was always a demand for harmoniums,' he said; 'but the purchase of pianos is a new thing, and has followed the recent advance in wages...I have sold [pianos] at £25 and can

conscientiously say that many respectable colliers have pianos in their houses and others, I believe, are saving money in order to buy a good instrument.' I learned also, from the same gentleman, that collier boys are great buyers of concertinas and flutinas. On a Saturday night sometimes his shop has been filled with lads and young men examining and buying musical instruments, books of instruction, sheet music and songs."[190]

Whilst undoubtedly, particularly in times of prosperity, music making on the piano or harmonium in the home was relatively common, of more enduring popularity in the nineteenth century South Yorkshire coalfield was membership of string and, most often, brass bands. Membership of such bands required hours of individual practice in addition to the collective rehearsals which often occurred in rooms attached to schools, chapels or churches.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, references in the local newspapers have been found relating to seven bands based in Wombwell and its immediate environs, three of which were explicitly *brass* bands and one was a *string* band.[191] Unlike many of the brass bands located in the textile districts of the West Riding, the bands identified in the Wombwell area do not seem to have been directly associated with individual companies. On a number of occasions the Wombwell Brass Band, for instance, headed a procession of miners associated with local collieries, but in the main, the band tended to identify itself more broadly with Wombwell and the surrounding area.

Wombwell Brass Band appeared regularly at events relating to the celebration of Whitsun and feasts at Wombwell, Darfield and Low Valley. It seems that, rather than paying for the purchase of instruments, uniforms and the hiring of rehearsal rooms, many miners' union lodges preferred to hire bands for special occasions. This was the case at the annual Miners' Demonstration, which was held in 1890 at Barnsley. According to the Mexborough and Swinton Times, at the festival there were:

"from fifty to sixty bands...there was music everywhere in the streets, in the inns, open spaces and enclosed yards. All day long there was music and some of it was remarkably good music too, for they had not been afraid of spending money, these miners. In some instances, a band would cost the lodges engaging it £20 to £25 per day. This, however, was uncommon, but probably nearer £600 than £500 would be spent on music on the day..."[192]

The expense of buying uniforms and instruments for musicians meant that raising money for the band was an important exercise in its own right. In addition to public performances, for which a fee was paid, bands would often have to be dependent upon the good will of local residents for funds. As its name suggests, for example, Wombwell Subscription Brass Band was dependent upon voluntary contributions for its survival. One means of raising money, which the Wombwell Brass and Reed Band found successful in 1890, was to organise a band concert. This Wombwell band, having just purchased new instruments for its members, was

over £40 in debt. The 'bold step', for which the band received hearty congratulations from the Mexborough and Swinton Times was so successful that the paper was prompted to remark that the whole of Wombwell "was quite *en fete*".[193]

Involvement in the brass band movement was clearly rewarding to members in an area in which great interest was shown in their performances. As was revealed earlier, securing the presence of a prize-winning band at an event ensured its success in the district. Great dedication was, therefore, required of band members if they were to keep their place in the band. It seems likely, as Dave Russell in his work on the nineteenth century brass band movement suggests, that so absorbing was the activity that it left very little time for interests in other social, or political, pursuits.[194] The case of one band illustrates well the single-minded devotion of bandsmen above all else to their music. Wombwell Temperance Brass Band changed its name to the Houghton Main Colliery Brass Band, presumably as a consequence of receiving sponsorship by that company. Clearly though, the band's membership was not drawn exclusively from the eponymous colliery. A building control plan of 1906 also casts doubt upon the band's previous corporate commitment to teetotalism, since approval was granted for the band to erect a rehearsal room in a field belonging to the proprietor of a public house, The Cross Keys, at Snape Hill.[195] The allegiance of the men

to the cause of temperance and their links with Houghton Main Colliery were clearly secondary to their desire to play in a band.

Musical interest amongst the population of Darfield and Wombwell was, by no means, confined to bands, however. The activities of a number of choral societies in the district allowed women to take their places alongside men, which was a rare occurrence in Victorian recreational pursuits. The choral societies which operated in the district, though by no means excluding working class involvement, appeared to be much more dependent upon the participation of members of the local bourgeoisie than were the area's brass bands. The music which the societies attempted invariably was sacred in character. Indeed, it seems that by far the most popular musical piece performed was Handel's 'Messiah'. In 1867, it was this oratorio which was performed by the embryonic South Yorkshire Choral Society before a "large and fashionable" audience in Wombwell. The aim of establishing a South Yorkshire Choral Society, the Barnsley Chronicle explained, "has been talked of for some time amongst the amateur musicians of Wombwell, Darfield and the district who are desirous of giving facilities for the better cultivation of music."[196]

From a report of the Wombwell and District Choral Society's rendition of the 'Messiah' in 1881, it seems that the ambitious plan to form a larger group had failed. Indeed, the fact that, of the society's principal singers,

two lived in Barnsley, one in Wentworth and the other in Leeds, suggested that all was not well with the Wombwell society.[197] This was clearly the case, since the Barnsley Chronicle's report of the Wombwell and Darfield Choral Society production of the 'Messiah' began by stating that: "After a lapse of about three years ... [the] Society once more woke up to health and vigour ... It seems that about three years ago, after the society had done some useful work, interest in it began to flag, attendances at practices fell off ... and there was a great scarcity of sopranos for the chorus."[198]

Following its reorganisation, it seems that the Wombwell and Darfield Choral Society encouraged the participation of a broader cross section of the community with the appointment of Jabez Johnson, a Lundhill colliery weighman, as its conductor.[199] That this strategy evidently proved successful illustrated the wide appeal of 'sacred music', which extended outside religious circles. In 1890, for example, at Wombwell's Pargon Theatre, under the auspices of the Wombwell Main branch of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, a concert was given with a programme containing the Hallelujah chorus and the Nil Desperandum overture. According to a contemporary newspaper report: "The place was crowded, a large number being unable to gain admission."[200]

Whilst, undoubtedly, band music formed a central part of the lives of residents of Wombwell and Darfield, despite the sporadic successes of the various choral societies, it

seems that the popularity of 'sacred music' amongst the population at large was built upon shakier foundations. In 1888, the Leeds Borough organist, William Spark, declared that the 'Messiah' "had done more to educate musical taste, unclasp the hands of charity, and unfold the mind of God to man than any other composition save the Bible itself."[201] From the reports of choral society performances in the Wombwell and Darfield districts, it seems that almost every programme contained substantial pieces of Handel's *magnum opus*. The performance of the 'Messiah', it appears, became almost a tradition itself in the recreational calendar of many individuals from all social classes. To this extent, perhaps, choral singing was an exceptional hobby. In the main, the hobbies undertaken by the people of the Darfield and Wombwell district betrayed little overt middle class involvement. The hobbies and pastimes pursued by members of the working population were initiated and organised principally by themselves.

The chapter has striven to show both how important leisure activities were to the nineteenth century inhabitants of the settlements in the South Yorkshire coalmining district and also to explore how the recreation and customs associated with leisure time can be used to examine the structure of the local society.

The contrasts drawn between the celebrations of ostensibly similar events in Darfield, Low Valley and Wombwell have

highlighted quite marked distinctions in the settlements' social structures. The disparate nature of the celebrations associated with Whitsun at Darfield, for example, differed markedly from those undertaken at Wombwell, where a united gathering of the township's children occurred. The much greater communal spirit displayed in the celebrations associated both with Whitsun and feasting at Wombwell and Low Valley compared with that shown in Darfield itself appears to reflect accurately Darfield's more fractured social structure. This was shown clearly during the protracted miners' lock-out of 1893 when in both Low Valley and Wombwell the relief of distress was tackled communally, whilst in Darfield, by no means all of the village's citizens proved supportive. Subscriptions were received from "the gentlemen and townspeople of Low Valley";[202] "general support" was enjoyed by the unfortunate families of Wombwell;[203] whilst the reports of support to those in need in Darfield village referred only to "Honour to whom honour is due."[204] Darfield's principal landed family, the Taylors, were conspicuously absent in the list of "certain people" who were thanked for their contributions.

It seems that the cultural influences exerted by Darfield's landed families prompted many of the village's inhabitants to join with their neighbours at Low Valley in the celebration of their Feast, leaving the gentry of Darfield to celebrate the original Feast date alone , as they did so in 1889, at the village's Conservative Club,

the eight trustees of which included three members of the Taylor family, and three other 'gentlemen', including the Taylors' agent.[205] In November 1889, on 'Feast Monday', the Darfield Conservative Club was reported to have held 'A Grand Ball'.[206] The behaviour of Darfield's gentry with respect to the celebration of the village's Feast needs to be considered alongside the tiered pricing policy that characterised the annual horticultural show organised by the local landed families and which enabled the more well-heeled local residents to examine the show before the majority of the population was allowed entry. Evidently, in Darfield village, the more 'respectable' members of the population were attempting to construct cultural barriers between themselves and the majority of the settlement's residents.

The behaviour of the 'respectable' members of Darfield village regarding the settlement's communal celebrations differed markedly from the approach adopted by their counterparts in Wombwell. This was, to a large degree, a consequence of their differing aims: whilst the hierarchy of Darfield was content to remain aloof from the majority of the settlement's population, the most influential inhabitants of Wombwell unavoidably were in daily contact with the remainder of the population and, thus, through their involvement particularly with the Feast celebrations, sought to 'improve' the citizenry of the township.

Undoubtedly, attempts were made to impose rational recreation upon the settlement's population from above. To an extent, this proved a successful strategy with the development of a charity-raising component of the Feast celebrations, which became an integral part of the annual event. However, the imposition of this rational recreation could not occur simply through the wielding of the might of social control. For changes in the constitution of popular leisure, the approval of its consumers was required. Where this assent was not forthcoming, the reforms attempted by influential members of society proved to be unsuccessful. This was shown most dramatically in the failure of Wombwell's Board to shift the date of the settlement's feast celebrations.

The adoption of rational recreational pursuits, then, was in large part the consequence of their demand by large sections of society. Much attention has recently been paid to the development of a 'respectable' working class, and evidently, from this study it is clear that 'improving' pastimes such as involvement in brass bands, gardening, continuing education, (often of a non-vocational nature), and pigeon-fancying, did indeed prosper during the later years of the nineteenth century. The development of these pastimes, however, was not exclusively the consequence of a sudden mass desire for self-improvement. As working hours were reduced and living standards rose during the later

nineteenth century, so the opportunities for recreation expanded.

Indeed, the rough/respectable dichotomy is somewhat simplistic and, thus, rather unhelpful in a consideration of nineteenth century society, particularly since the definitions employed were often lifted from the analyses of contemporary reformers who were invariably preoccupied with the issue of drink, or more specifically, drunkenness. This study reveals that a line drawn between the rough and respectable members of society does not inevitably coincide with the division between drinkers and non-drinkers. An examination of nineteenth century newspaper reports of Wombwell and Darfield public houses makes it clear that, just as today, there were public houses of varying degrees of respectability. Darfield's Cross Keys, for instance, was, in 1861, described as "a rural hostelrie" and played host to a meeting of the district's leading agriculturalists.[207] The same public house was patronised by the Taylor family on the occasion of the marriage of F.H.Taylor, where members of Darfield Cricket Club were entertained.[208] By 1902, this inn's publican, Harry Gamwell was a respected member of Darfield District Council and treasurer of the village's flower society.[209]

Despite the respectable nature of many of the district's hostelries, the staging of many sports events and their organisation tended to move away from the public houses and became promoted by sporting clubs set up specifically to

meet the demands of individual sports. In most cases, it seems that the sports clubs were run by working men themselves. The involvement of either principal landowners or employers in the direct management of the clubs by the end of the nineteenth century, appeared to be minimal, even in circumstances in which a club carried the name of a distinct colliery. In 1894, for example, Wombwell Main Cricket Club was forced to stage a concert in an attempt to raise money for a new ground following the purchase of its previous ground by the Midland Railway Company for development. The assistance given to the cricket club by the colliery company extended only to loaning its schoolroom.[210]

The absence of colliery companies' involvement in the provision of sporting and leisure pursuits for their workforces is a conspicuous and somewhat surprising finding in this study. This is not to suggest that the collieries were not the focus of sporting activity. Far from it indeed, as the example of Mitchell Main with its three league cricket teams by the end of the nineteenth century makes clear. What is evident, from an examination of the recreation based around the mines, however, is the fact that the initiative for these activities came from the employees themselves. Sports, as with hobbies based in the home, allowed the men an autonomy which could not be enjoyed in the workplace. It seems, therefore, that the involvement of colliery owners in the arrangements of

leisure pursuits was not wanted by their employees. The sports field allowed a meritocratic system to prevail, rather than the hierarchical organisational structure of the workplace, which became of increasing significance with the onset of serious local league-orientated sporting activities. Under such a system, there was no place for the indulgence of paternalistic whims. Colliery company representatives instead, it seems, contented themselves with involvement in the provision of leisure facilities for the wider community. The trustees of Wombwell Town Lands, revealed in a conveyance of 1897, included two colliery managers, William Gray of Wombwell Main and William Washington of Mitchell Main, a certified manager of mines, George Spooner, and a colliery proprietor, T.W.H.Mitchell.[211]

The centrality of sports to the lives of the men, particularly, of the settlements of the nineteenth century South Yorkshire coalfield has been made clear. This is apparent not just in the levels of participation and spectating but in the prominence given to sporting activities during the most significant local calendar customs, especially at the feasts and Whit celebrations. In the festivities associated with these events, one of the most important aspects undoubtedly was the expression of communal belonging that occurred. The sporting activities, both during these communal events and at other times, were of great significance in this regard. Many of the

inhabitants of the Wombwell and Darfield areas were migrants, as the examination of the district's census records has made clear. Through an involvement in sports activities, either directly in participating, or vicariously, through supporting, inhabitants were able to express allegiance to their settlements and display their common links with fellow residents. This was made possible particularly when matches were played against teams from neighbouring settlements, as often occurred for example during the Feast Week, when communal solidarities were enhanced. The examination of leisure activities is instructive in distinguishing between classes in the reconstruction of a past local society. However, evidently, a study of a district's leisure pursuits also emphasises the way in which members of a community occasionally stood together, their differences temporarily suspended, in a moment of total accord.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven

1. E.P.Thompson, Customs in Common, 1991, p.13.
2. R.Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700 - 1850, 1973, p.170.
3. G.Stedman Jones, 'Class Expression Versus Social Control ? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure', in G.Stedman Jones, Languages of Class, 1983, p.85.
4. B.Bushaway, By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England, 1700 - 1880, 1982, p.11.
5. R.Storch, 'Introduction: Persistence and Change in Nineteenth Century Popular Culture', in R.Storch, ed., Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England, 1982, p.2.
6. See for example R.Storch, ed., op. cit., and J.Walton and J.Walvin, eds, Leisure in Britain, 1780 - 1939, 1983.
7. J.Walton and R.Poole, 'The Lancashire Wakes in the Nineteenth Century', in R.Storch, ed., op. cit., p.101.
8. Ibid, p.107.
9. Ibid, pp.110 - 111.
10. E.Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in E.Hobsbawm and T.Ranger, eds, The Invention of Tradition, 1983, p.2.
11. Ibid, p.2.
12. D.Cannadine, 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast', Past and Present, 94, 1982, pp.108 - 109.
13. P.Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England, 1978, p.177.
14. J.Belchem, Industrialization and the Working Class, 1990, p.55.
15. B.Bushaway, op. cit., p.242.
16. Ibid, p.272.

17. G.Stedman Jones, op. cit., p.80.
18. Ibid, p.80.
19. P.Bailey, op. cit., pp.184 - 185.
20. J.Belchem, op. cit., p.172.
21. J.Golby and A.Purdue, The Civilization of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750 - 1900, 1984, p.119.
22. G.Stedman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870 - 1900: Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class', in G.Stedman Jones, Languages of Class, p.237.
23. J.Golby and A.Purdue, op. cit., p.14.
24. See, for example, R.Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh and The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth Century Britain, 1981, and also R.Roberts, The Classic Slum. 1971.
25. E.P.Thompson, op. cit., p.11.
26. R.Storch, op. cit., pp.13 - 14.
27. B.Bushaway, op. cit., p.17.
28. Ibid, pp.34 - 35.
29. B.Martin, A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change, 1981, p.73.
30. Ibid, p.49.
31. Of 29 consulted reports between 1859 and 1903 of Whit celebrations, eighteen mentioned events taking place on Whit Tuesday.
32. M(exborough) & S(winton) T(imes), 14/6/89.
33. B(arnsley) C(hronicle), 26/5/66.
34. B.C., 22/5/75.
35. B(arnsley) T(imes), 18/6/59.
36. B.C., 11/6/81.
37. M.& S.T., 18/8/86.
38. Six out of ten reports surveyed of Wombwell Whit festivities between 1886 and 1903 made specific reference to the Market Place.
39. Visits of Barnsley Sunday school children to Middlewood Hall were recorded in 1873, (B.C.7/6/73), and 1888,

(M.& S.T.,25/5/88) when 400 children were entertained.

40. In five years of Whitsun reports examined for Darfield between 1887 and 1903, a Wesleyan Sunday school treat was recorded on four occasions.
41. Of the reports consulted relating to the Wombwell Whit Sunday school festivals, on all but two occasions between 1886 and 1903 did the event take place at the Market Place. In one of the two exceptional years, 1895, the event took place in a field belonging to John Robinson, clerk to the Wombwell Local Board.
42. See, for example, reports of Darfield's Whitsun celebrations in 1887, (B.C.,4/6/87), 1894, (M.& S.T., 18/5/94), and 1895, (M.& S.T.,17/6/95).
43. In 1889, 1000 children attended,(M.& S.T.,14/6/89), and, in 1894, 3000 children were reported present, (M.& S.T.18/5/94).
44. B.C., 11/6/81.
45. B.C., 26/5/88.
46. R.Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy, 1957, p.31.
47. B.Martin, op. cit., p.63. Similar activities marked the celebration of Whitsun in South Yorkshire until World War II, according to the oral testimonies gathered by R.Greig, in his M.Phil thesis, Seasonal House Visiting in South Yorkshire, 1988, p.55.
48. B.C., 8/6/95.
49. B(arnsley) I(ndependent), 6/6/03.
50. B.C., 30/5/85.
51. B.C., 26/5/66.
52. B.T., 18/6/59.
53. B.C., 4/6/87.
54. M.& S.T., 18/6/86.
55. E.Hobsbawm, op. cit., p.1.
56. B.C., 11/6/81.
57. B.C., 26/5/66.
58. A report of The Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls Inquiry, at Wombwell described how the Local

Board had constructed the Market Place by in-filling an old quarry, (M.& S.T.,4/1/89).

59. Darfield Cricket Club's Sports were recorded three times in seven Whitsun reports relating to Darfield surveyed between 1884 and 1903.
60. These three men were recorded in the Wombwell and Darfield team in B.T., 22/8/57. Garland and Machin were listed as prominent landowners by White & Co's Directory of Sheffield, 1871 - 1872 in the Darfield and Wombwell area. J.Bushby was enumerated as a 'landed proprietor' in the 1861 enumeration returns for Snape Hill.
61. B.C., 21/10/93.
62. B.C., 7/6/84.
63. M.& S.T., 7/6/95.
64. B.C., 7/6/84.
65. M.& S.T., 7/6/95.
66. M.& S.T., 14/6/89.
67. B.Bushaway, op.cit., p.34.
68. B.C., 19/8/82.
69. B.T., 13/11/80.
70. Wombwell School Board Minutes, 4/8/76, SB6/1.
71. Wombwell School Board Minutes, 12/7/84, SB6/3.
72. Wombwell School Board Minutes, 12/9/72, SB6/4.
73. B.C., 22/9/77.
74. M.& S.T., 14/9/88.
75. M.& S.T., 14/9/88.
76. See report of Houghton Main colliery explosion, B.C., 1/1/87.
77. M.& S.T., 27/9/89.
78. M.& S.T., 27/9/89.
79. M.& S.T., 11/10/89.
80. M.& S.T., 26/9/90.
81. B.C., 8/8/91.
82. B.C., 26/9/91.
83. J.Walton and R.Poole, op. cit., p.118.

84. B.C., 24/9/70.
85. B.C., 23/9/76.
86. B.C., 24/9/87.
87. B.C., 24/9/87.
88. M.& S.T., 27/9/85.
89. M.& S.T., 26/9/90.
90. A 50% sample was taken of marriages at Wombwell St Mary's parish church. Of 514 marriages examined between 1864 and 1897, 91 were recorded in December and 64 in September.
91. Of the 64 weddings recorded in September, 33 occurred between September 17 and September 23.
92. A 25% sample was taken of Darfield's marriage records. Of 486 marriages considered between 1851 and 1885, only 34 occurred in the month of November.
93. Employing the same sample and extracting couples of whom at least one partner was born in Darfield, Low Valley, Snape Hill or Wombwell, it was found that only three of 139 marriages occurred in the month of November.
94. B.C., 9/11/61.
95. M.& S.T., 8/11/89.
96. B.T., 13/11/80.
97. B.T., 13/11/80.
98. B.C., 17/7/75.
99. B.C., 19/7/79.
100. B.C., 16/7/81. See also the report of Wombwell's feast during an economic slump, (B.C.,27/7/79), when the account noted that there were "Certainly few signs of a shortness of cash visible."
101. B.C., 14/7/83. Although no mention is made in the report of the organisers of the trips, it seems likely that, as with the proprietors of Houghton Main colliery, in the case of the Wombwell Feast, colliery owners were attempt ing to undermine their employees' holiday.

102. See reports in: B.C., 16/7/81; M.& S.T., 18/7/90; and B.C., 18/7/91.
103. M.& S.T., 18/7/90.
104. D.Reid, 'Interpreting the Festival Calendar: Wakes and Fairs as Carnivals', in R.Storch,ed., op. cit., p.126.
105. B.T., 13/11/80.
106. Of the fifteen newspaper reports considered relating to the Darfield Horticultural Show between 1857 and 1879 ten mentioned Poplars Field as the show site. One, in 1866, mentioned Highfield House Estate as the showground. In the remaining reports, no show site was identified. The Poplars' owners included a principal Wombwell landowner, R.Raywood, who was listed as such in F.White, General and Commercial Directory and Topography of the Borough of Sheffield, 1862; Herbert H.Taylor, who was described in White & Co's Directory of Sheffield, 1871 - 72, as a Barnsley linen manufacturer; J.Gooddy, who was a large landowner; and Daniel Hammerton who, in Robinson's Barnsley Directory, 1902, was described as "assistant overseer, surveyor, collector and sanitary inspector to Darfield U.D.C., in addition to being a proprietor of a building company.
107. B.C., 7/9/61.
108. B.C., 5/9/68.
109. B.T., 4/9/69.
110. B.T., 25/8/60.
111. S. Constantine, 'Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries', Journal of Social History, XIV, 1981.
112. B.T., 10/9/59.
113. B.T., 8/9/60.
114. B.T., 4/9/58.
115. B.C., 25/5/61.
116. B.C., 8/9/66.

117. B.C., 18/6/81.
118. The Treasurer of the Wombwell Horticultural Society, according to an account of 1881, (B.C.,18/6/81), was George Hinchcliffe of Wombwell Main. The 1881 census enumerator's books listed him as a colliery clerk and shopkeeper. Other members of the committee, according to the report, included Messrs Hartley, Dakin, Washington and Hargate. All of these surnames were represented amongst coalmining families at Wombwell Main at the time of the 1881 census.
119. B.C., 19/8/82.
120. B.C., 3/9/87.
121. B.C., 9/9/82 and B.C., 7/9/95.
122. B.C., 7/9/95 and Robinson's Barnsley Directory,1902.
123. B.C., 2/11/01 and Robinson's Barnsley Directory,1902.
124. B.C.,2/11/01.
125. R.Holt, Sport and the British, 1990, p.3. Holt cites C. Geertz, 'Deep Play', in Daedalus, Winter 1972, p.26.
126. B.C., 12/4/82.
127. B.C., 10/8/01.
128. B.C., 19/10/67.
129. B.C., 26/1/01.
130. B.C., 13/4/67.
131. B.C., 4/4/91.
132. A.Metcalfe, 'Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800 - 1889', Victorian Studies, 25, 1982, pp.476 - 77.
133. See for example B.C., 17/7/75 and B.C., 19/7/79, when a Mr Walton, proprietor of the George Hotel was listed as a sponsor of the Athletic Sports.
134. Between 1864 and 1879, of twelve reports examined relating to the Wombwell Feast, the Ship Inn was listed as accommodating sports activities on five occasions.
135. B.C., 23/9/76.

136. B.C., 22/9/77.
137. B.C., 25/9/82.
138. According to Kelly's Directory,1889, DrJ.W.Millar was the Medical Officer of the Wombwell Board; John Robinson was its clerk, in addition to being treasurer of the Wombwell Conservative Club. Walter Kingston was the secretary of the Wombwell Conservative Club, as well as being manager of the Yorkshire Penny Bank.
139. B.C., 26/9/85.
140. B.C., 19/7/84 and B.C., 13/7/95. It should be noted, however, that the 1895 sports, although promoted by the Friendly Society, were staged in the George Hotel Grounds.
141. See reports in B.C., 26/9/85, B.C., 28/9/89 and M.& S.T., 26/9/90. For a detailed description of potties, see the leaflet prepared by Spen Valley Local History Survey, Knur and Spell: Pennine Pastimes, 1984.
142. B.C., 29/9/66 and B.C. 26/9/88.
143. B.T., 25/9/69.
144. B.C., 25/9/82.
145. M.& S.T., 27/9/95 and B.C., 24/9/98.
146. The names of the cricket teams discovered are as follows: Wombwell Main C.C.; Wombwell Old Club; Lundhill C.C.; Wombwell Working Men's Institute C.C.; Wombwell Piano Club; Wombwell Red Rose C.C.; Wombwell White Rose C.C.; Wombwell Clown C.C.; Wombwell C.C.; Wombwell Glittering Star C.C.; Wombwell Town C.C.; Wombwell Lily of the Valley C.C.; Low Valley C.C.; Mitchell Main C.C.; Darfield Main C.C.; Darfield C.C.; Darfield White Rose C.C.; and Snape Hill C.C.. It is likely that in several instances, different names referred to the same club.
147. B.C., 27/5/71.
148. B.C., 24/6/71.
149. B.T., 25/9/80.

150. Irving Washington was uncle of Wombwell's most famous cricketer, Roy Kilner, who played for England during the 1920s before his premature death in 1928. More than 100,000 people crowded the streets of the town on the day of his funeral, showing the strength of cricketing support in the neighbourhood. See M.Pope, The Laughing Cricketer of Wombwell, 1990.
151. B.C., 7/9/01.
152. B.C., 22/9/88. A match between Wombwell Town C.C. and Mexborough included the participation of five professional players.
153. Reports of the feats of professional players native to the area were carried in the local press. For example, in 1901 it was reported, (B.C.,18/5/01), that: "J.Brown of Darfield has not been very successful with his new club - Bacup - prior to Saturday, but playing against Ramsbottom, he took 7 wickets for 35."
154. B.C., 10/1/91. At a union meeting reported in M.& S.T., 28/11/90, relating to a dispute at Wombwell Main colliery it was noted that 'plenty' were paid a datal rate of 4s. for trammers and 5s.6d. for miners.
155. For more information about the game, see the leaflet produced by the Spen Valley Local History Survey, op. cit..
156. 'Knurr and Spell' is referred to as one of the sports played at the 1871 Wombwell Feast, (B.C.,23/9/71), but at no time thereafter was it mentioned in any of the feast accounts examined for Wombwell, Darfield or Low Valley.
157. Manchester Guardian report reprinted in B.C., 7/6/73.
158. B.C., 30/5/85.
159. 'Game of Knur and Spell Peculiar to Northern Miners', by Tyke, (9/8/27), in J.Crawshaw, Knur and Spell: cuttings, n.d..
160. B.C. 10/1/91.
161. B.C., 10/1/91.

162. B.C., 27/9/63.
163. B.C., 25/9/75.
164. B.C., 23/9/76.
165. B.C., 16/3/67.
166. B.C., 20/4/67.
167. In 1867, for example, at a Wombwell ledger, entrance fees were 2s. for small dogs and 3s. for large dogs, when £3 was given as a prize, (B.C.,16/3/67).
168. B.C., 25/9/75.
169. John Knowles, aged 34 and employed as a coalminer was enumerated at Wombwell Main in 1881.(R.G. 11/4607 ff.20 - 59).
170. B.C., 11/11/76.
171. R.McKibbin, 'Work and Hobbies in Britain, 1880 - 1950', in J.Winter, ed., The Working Class in Modern Britain, 1983, p.129.
172. See B.T., 15/1/59 and B.C., 12/4/62. Significantly, by 1881, it was reported that the R.S.P.C.A. took action against the shooting of pigeons at Wombwell, (B.C.,8/1/81).
173. B.C., 3/9/87.
174. B.C., 6/11/97.
175. J.Mott, 'Miners, Weavers and Pigeon Racing', in M.Smith et al.,eds, Leisure and Society in Britain, 1973, pp.89 - 90.
176. H.Moorhouse, 'Work Ethic and the Hot Rod', in P.Joyce, ed., The Historical Meanings of Work, 1987.
177. R.McKibbin, op. cit., p.136.
178. Ibid, p.143.
179. Parliamentary Papers.Report of the Select Committee on the Scarcity and Dearness of Coal,(Henceforward referred to as P.P. Dearness of Coal, 1873), 1873, X, p.292, 7399 - 7410.
180. 1906 Ordnance Survey map.
181. B.C., 23/3/01.
182. Wombwell School Board Minutes, S.B.6/6, 20/12/97.

183. Wombwell School Board Minutes, S.B.6/5, 8/4/95 and B.C., 23/3/01, in which a list of candidates standing for the School Board was published.
184. S.B.6/3, 29/12/84.
185. S.B.6/4, 26/9/92 and 14/10/92.
186. S.B.6/5, 7/10/96.
187. S.B.6/5, 29/10/95.
188. 'Roving Correspondent' of Manchester Guardian, reprinted in B.C., 17/5/73.
189. P.P., Dearness of Coal, 1873, X, p.291, 7384.
190. 'Roving Correspondent' of Manchester Guardian, reprinted in B.C., 17/5/73.
191. The bands of the Wombwell area mentioned in the local newspapers included: Wombwell Brass Band, Wombwell Subscription Brass Band, Wombwell Main Band, Wombwell Salvation Army Band, Wombwell Sons of Temperance Band, Ibbotson's String Band and Wombwell Concertina Band.
192. M.& S.T., 20/6/90.
193. M.& S.T., 29/8/90.
194. See D.Russell, Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914, 1987, and D. Russell, 'Popular Musical Culture', in J. Walton and J. Walvin, eds, op. cit., especially p.111.
195. Darfield Building Control Plans, 2nd Series, No.146, 9/2/06. The application was received from "Houghton Main Colliery Brass Band, (formerly Wombwell Temperance Brass Band)."
196. B.C., 16/11/67.
197. B.C., 1/1/81.
198. B.C., 5/3/87.
199. B.C., 5/3/87.
200. M.& S.T., 20/6/90.
201. W.Spark, Musical Memories, 1888, p.463, quoted by D.Russell, in J.Walton and J.Walvin, op.cit., p.103.
202. B.C., 11/11/93.
203. B.C., 2/12/93.

204. B.C., 2/12/93.

205. According to an indenture at the West Riding Registry of Deeds, the trustees of Darfield and District Conservative Club in 1887 were as follows: Francis Howard Taylor, Charles Howard Taylor, and Francis Walton Taylor, (all of Middlewood Hall); John Dymond of Burntwood Hall; Thomas Wilkinson of Woodhall, corn factor; Arthur Longley of Darfield, gentleman; John Bushby of Darfield, gentleman, (F.H.Taylor's agent, according to B.C.,10/8/93); and Richard Heppenstall of Great Houghton, butcher and farmer. **Source:** West Riding Registry of Deeds, Indenture, 13.816.479, (9/5/87).

206. M.& S.T., 8/11/89.

207. B.C., 5/1/61.

208. B.C., 21/10/93.

209. Robinson's Barnsley Directory,1902.

210. M.& S.T., 9/11/94.

211. West Riding Registry of Deeds, Conveyance, 30.490.349, (28/7/97). The other trustees included two clergymen, a clothier, an architect, a farmer and two landowners.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

Throughout the thesis 'community' has been a constantly recurring theme. Within this final section of the work the extent to which community belonging was experienced in the second half of the nineteenth century in the settlements of Darfield and Wombwell is to be explored, and, initially, a consideration is to be made of the worth of generalising about coalmining communities.

The common features of coalmining communities have preoccupied a number of sociologists who have sought to construct an ideal definition of what constitutes a coalmining community. Foremost amongst such scholars has been M. Bulmer who has advanced eight characteristics to be found in the 'traditional' mining community. Bulmer's ideal type of traditional mining community comprises the following features:

"1. Physical and geographical isolation - little contact with the outside world.
2. Economic predominance of mining - the paid work available in the mining organisation forms almost the whole of the local labour market. The town or village is virtually a 'company town'.
3. The nature of work - dangerous, unhealthy, but a source of pride and cohesion among workers, despite the status differences among miners.
4. Social consequences of occupational homogeneity and isolation - virtually a one-class community with

little social or geographical mobility.

5. Leisure activities - 'gregarious patterns of communal sociability' outside the home, usually with workmates.
6. The family - sharp division between men's world and women's world. Home is the woman's domain. Each household is involved in a supportive kinship network, and there is much continuity between generations.
7. Economic and political conflict - interests of owners and miners are fundamentally opposed over the division of the 'spoils', and the politics of distribution and control. Each side forms associations / unions to pursue its ends, but power tends to be in the hands of the owners, especially in a 'company town'.
8. The whole - close knit and interlocking collectivities based in a shared history, and a meaningful social interaction confined largely to the locality."[1]

Although Bulmer's typology refers to contemporary mining communities the characteristics he identifies have been used by some historians in their assertions relating to the communities in which mining families lived. In the conclusion to his case study of North East mining settlements, Robert Colls notes that:

"The classic mining community of the late nineteenth century took its structure - indeed took its 'community' - from the associations and conflicts of work, culture, and protest ... The pit village was an overwhelmingly proletarian place based upon a glaring division of Labour and Capital. It had long been such."[2]

This interpretation of coalmining communities as being primarily marked by protest between capital and labour in which membership of the communities themselves were determined by an involvement in this industrial strife

shares much in common with the institutional, trade union sponsored histories of Britain's mining districts. However, recent work has challenged this historical orthodoxy and in turn has questioned the validity of Bulmer's 'ideal type' of traditional mining community. Martin Daunton expresses incisively the reservations with this inherently conflictual approach to the study of mining communities:

"There has been a general overemphasis in British labour history upon the institutions of the organised workers and in particular in circumstances of conflict. This has been true of no group more than the miners. The spate of histories commissioned by the miners in various coalfields has been overwhelmingly concerned with the creation of the bureaucratic machinery, the struggle between moderates and militants for control, the analysis of strikes and the changing public loyalties of the miners. The result has been to neglect some of the most significant aspects of the life of the mining communities for an institutional and episodic approach ... if work was central to the miner's life so was his home."[3]

More recent studies have been at pains to highlight the heterogeneous nature of mining communities. This comes across clearly in the work of Carolyn Baylies. In an abbreviated examination of coalmining communities in Yorkshire she emphasises the variety of such communities:

"It must be said that in the later years of the nineteenth century there was no typical community in the Yorkshire coalfield. There were some isolated, homogeneous villages where virtually every household contained someone connected with the mines. And there were a large number of communities where mining was the dominant occupation among

the male workforce. But there were many others where miners were integrated within a more diversified occupational structure and their families absorbed into heterogeneous working class neighbourhoods."[4]

Whilst the remarks of Baylies are made *en passant* in a study which concentrates almost exclusively upon the institutional history of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, another recent work which has emphasised the heterogeneity of mining communities is that of David Gilbert. His work is a comparative study tracing the development of two communities in different coalfields, Ynysybwl, in the South Wales coalfield and Hucknall, in Nottinghamshire, which focusses particularly upon the early twentieth century.[5] Gilbert stresses the diverse nature of coalmining communities. Within this diversity he identifies four predominant types, although he admits that some settlements could fall into more than one of these coalmining community categories. The first of Gilbert's four categories shares much in common with Bulmer's 'ideal type'. This category is characterised by: "social homogeneity, social closure, and isolation. Miners and their families form the overwhelming majority of the population ... The main institutions of the community are controlled by the miners themselves."[6] The second category is also marked by its homogeneity and isolation, but "the company has a much more important role in local life. Some of the most important relations of authority in local society connect the coalowner, his

management, and the work-force and their families."[7] Gilbert's third model comprises more occupationally diverse settlements. Here, he explains, "Social networks are more diffuse both socially and geographically and authority relationships are less likely to be reinforced by other social relationships. Above all a sense of separate communal identity is lacking."[8] Gilbert acknowledges the existence of a fourth category of mining community which has much in common with the first model:

"there were mining towns that were equally homogeneous and dominated by mining, but which were considerably larger (population units of 10,000 and over) ... This type of town shares some of the characteristics of smaller mining villages, but without the same density and multiplexity of social relations."[9]

The typologies which Gilbert outlines seem to have some validity when applied to the settlements under study in the present thesis: indeed, arguably every one of Gilbert's categories can be found in the Darfield and Wombwell district. The settlements of Low Valley and Snape Hill, with their high proportion of colliery employees, absence of resident colliery owners and management, and increasing independence from the neighbouring settlements of Darfield village and Wombwell, could be considered examples of Gilbert's first category. Wombwell Main, with its more conspicuous management presence, its high degree of familial employment and the colliery owners' active involvement in the provision of cultural facilities, such

as the Congregationalist chapel, could be considered an example of Gilbert's second category. Gilbert's third model is loosely represented by Darfield village itself, in which, by the end of the nineteenth century, a small number of coalminers lived in a settlement where generally agricultural and retailing jobs dominated. By the turn of the twentieth century, Gilbert's fourth model was also represented in the district under consideration in the present study: Wombwell township's population was 13252 in 1901 when 68.7 per cent of its male workers were employed in the coalmining industry.[10]

However, the findings of the present thesis seriously question the utility of these model coalmining communities when the *individual's* experience of community belonging is considered. Communities, as the introductory chapter sought to demonstrate, are made up of a dense web of social relations, connecting individual members to each other. To exist in any active sense, communities depend upon their members being aware of common links connecting themselves with other individuals. Whilst networks can be drawn representing the links between individuals constituting communities, individuals' *experiences* of transmitting and receiving these links of commonality cannot be quantified. It has been argued within this thesis that the extent of individuals' communal networks and the nature of the experience of engagement with these networks is determined by factors such as age, gender, marital status and

occupation. Thus, even if Gilbert's four ideal types of coalmining community are accepted as being representative of all British mining settlements they do not reflect individuals' experiences of living within them.

The utility of such categorisation of mining settlements is further brought into doubt when consideration is made of the regional nature of the mining industry, which was emphasised in Chapter Two of the thesis. A comparison of two communities both adjudged to be members of the same category type but situated in different coalfields is of limited use, especially if the comparison is made synchronically. The experiences of Britain's coalfields varied greatly: as one waxed, another waned for a multitude of reasons. Factors relating to issues such as geology; the time at which the coalfield was first exploited; transport improvements; and technological developments in the mining industry all had crucial parts to play in determining the economic dynamism of each coalfield. The economic background in which mining occurred had a critical influence upon the nature of the communities in which lived those who were employed in the industry and their families. Where mines were opening or expanding rapidly, as was the case in the part of the South Yorkshire coalfield under study in the present thesis during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the experience of living within these mining settlements was very different from that of being an inhabitant of one of the settlements in the West Midlands

coalfield where geological problems and exhaustion were prompting many long-established mines to close. The existence of such regional economic divergence within an industry which nationally continued to expand throughout the century must be borne in mind when generalisations about coalmining communities are attempted. Furthermore, just as comparisons and contrasts between similarly categorised coalmining communities situated in different coalfields needs to be undertaken with caution, so too do such comparisons and contrasts between communities within the same coalfield. The exploitation of the Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire coalfields, for example, took place in an easterly direction: the more easterly the extraction the deeper was the seam from which the coal was hewn. As a consequence, the nature of the mining work and the relative newness of the settlements which grew up on the easterly edge of these coalfields marked them out from the older settlements in the westerly areas of the coalfields where the shallow seams had yielded coal before the technological breakthroughs necessary for the extraction of the deeper coal to the east had been made.[11] In such circumstances the factors outlined by Gilbert in devising his categories were by no means determining ones in characterising the communities in existence in these coalfields.

Inextricably connected with the economic fortunes of the various coalfields was the movement of potential mining

workers. In turn, the migration patterns into coalmining settlements had, as was demonstrated in Chapter Three, a significant effect upon the development and the nature of these communities. The clustering of such workers and their families meant that migrants tended to have a distinctive presence within the settlements into which they moved and, in turn, as a consequence of the predominance of different groups of migrants within neighbouring settlements, the migrants themselves had a highly influential role in the construction and reconstruction of distinctive coalmining communities. Many migrants were bound to each other by a dense web of social ties which was constructed through kinship links, and friendships forged in common former workplaces and places of settlement.

The benefits of employing community rather than class as the primary lens through which to explore the past lives of mining settlements' inhabitants have been demonstrated perhaps best in the consideration of relationships in the mining workplace. By using the notion of community and exploring the social links between workers the rigid strait jacket of Marxist orthodoxy has been removed and marked social distinctions within the mining workplace have been uncovered. In Chapter Four rigid divisions have been found to exist not just between the mining employee and the management and owners of the colliery, but also amongst the workers themselves which tended, in turn, to be replicated outside the workplace. The distinctions between surface-

and underground-workers have been highlighted in many coalmining studies but stress has been laid upon the cyclical nature of mining work: youngsters began work on the surface and returned there from underground working when they had become old or infirm. This at least is the orthodoxy. A study of mining records, parish registers and census enumerators' books for the Darfield and Wombwell district reveals a somewhat different picture: there is little evidence which suggests from the colliery company records that individuals switched from underground to surface work or *vice versa*; working family groups tended to be either all employed as surface workers or all engaged in underground tasks; and parish registers suggest that, throughout the period, there were few examples of inter-marriage between the families of surface- and underground-workers. Just as there existed a marked difference in social and economic status between surface and underground colliery employees, so there were also present, though to a lesser degree, status differences between employees working at the same colliery but in different seams.

The community of the mine was, therefore, a complicated one. An individual's perception of the community of the workplace could be comprised merely of the small team in which he spent his working day; at a somewhat more extended level it might consist of all those who worked within the same seam and so were subject to similar working conditions and the same price list. Widening the workplace community

still further, as has been shown, a marked distinction prevailed between surface- and underground workers. More rarely, when the employees were in dispute with the colliery management or when an accident had occurred within the pit, a broader community of fellow mineworkers could be discerned. Two further communities in which Darfield- and Wombwell-based coalworkers sporadically played a part were those of the Yorkshire coalfield and as workers in a national coalmining industry. Involvement in these last two broad interpretations of the coalmining workplace community invariably took place under the auspices of trade union activity. Whilst not wishing to denigrate the valuable work undertaken by the union movement in defending and improving the pay and working conditions of their membership, the somewhat peripheral role of the union in the majority of miners' lives does need to be emphasised. Throughout the period of this study union membership fluctuated in line with the industry's economic performance: when demand for coal was strong and prices were rising, incidence of union membership was correspondingly high.[12] It must also be emphasised that only a minority of the membership of the union played a prominent part in its activities.

Having considered the way in which community was perceived by individuals and how it impacted upon them at the mining workplace, Chapter Five focussed upon women's experiences of life in mining settlements, excluded as they were from the underground workplace after 1842. Within the

settlements considered, conditions of life experienced by men and women were very different, as was to be expected. However, the study has sought to suggest that the traditional view of the somewhat passive miner's wife, confined to the domestic sphere, needs to be challenged.[13] By a careful examination of extant source materials such as the census enumerators' books and marriage records, the active role played by women in bringing income into the household economy, particularly at critical moments in the family's life cycle, is made evident. Also contrary to the orthodox view of women in mining settlements being confined to the domestic sphere is the evidence unearthed in the present study which emphasises the active role played by women in the public life of their places of residence. This involved women in the conspicuous support of their menfolk during industrial disputes, often 'rough musicking' strike-breakers. Similarly, where individuals broke the behavioural conventions of the settlement in which they lived, evidence exists which suggests that they also would be subject to displays of rough music orchestrated by women. Through their upholding of commonly accepted modes of behaviour by means of implementing customary policing measures such as rough music, women clearly played a significant part in constructing and maintaining the moral economy and society in which they lived.

The fact that such communal expressions of approbation occurred, whereby individual members of settlements

articulated their commonly held moral values and were united in their condemnation of 'outsiders' makes clear that within the settlements under consideration there was a discernible feeling of community belonging. Chapters Six and Seven examined in more detail what constituted this communal belonging and how it was expressed by concentrating upon the cultural spheres of religion and leisure.

What was clear from an examination of religion within the mining settlements in the Darfield and Wombwell district was the extent of belief prevalent within the area. Whilst attendance figures at the Anglican and Nonconformist places of worship remained relatively low throughout the period of the study, nevertheless evidence exists suggesting that the extent of vestigial belief was high, which confirms the findings of Robert Moore in his examination of religion in the North East coalfield districts in the nineteenth century.[14] The existence into the final quarter of the nineteenth century of a conspicuous level of informal, popular belief within the South Yorkshire coalfield district appears to contest the findings of James Obelkevich's work relating to religious belief in the rural district of South Lindsey.[15] Obelkevich asserts that by the final years of the nineteenth century the combination of magic and formal religion in which local inhabitants believed had declined to be replaced by a more 'rational', formalised religious faith. This, he claims, was a

consequence of the passing of customary communal ways which were replaced by the existence of a much more rational, class-based society. Yet within the overtly capitalist economy of South Yorkshire, even by the end of the nineteenth century a popular belief comprising in part formalised religious faith and ritualised superstition prevailed. That this was so can be ascribed to the dangerous nature of the principal form of work available in the district, mining. The prevalence of this vestigial religious belief in large numbers of the inhabitants of this district meant that some form of communal culture was experienced by its residents. However, superimposed upon this popular belief in many people's minds was a layer, of varying thickness, of denominational faith. This in turn had an effect upon the way in which individuals experienced community membership.

As Chapter Six demonstrated, membership of individual denominations was further divided by levels of activity within the sect, which resulted in a range of differing standards of behaviour to which denominational members were expected to adhere. However, one aspect of ascribing to a particular denomination which was the same for both active, sporadic and vestigial members was the geographical boundary which determined membership of the denominational administrative unit. To the large number of individuals who felt at least some affiliation to a particular denomination, even if it was only for the purposes of

observing rites of passage in the appropriate place of worship, the religious administrative unit had a degree of influence in determining the geographical boundaries of an individual's sense of community.[16] Thus, for Anglican worshippers the parish featured large in their construction of boundaries of inclusion which formed their perceived communities. During the period of this study, parochial boundaries were altered: the parish of Wombwell was carved out of the extensive parish of Darfield in 1863, which undoubtedly led to a more defined sense of community being felt amongst the active Anglican worshippers of Wombwell than had been experienced previously. Other denominational administrative units in the district were disaggregated during the second half of the nineteenth century, including the Primitive Methodist circuit in which the Wombwell and Darfield district was included.[17] It seems likely that, especially amongst active members of the religious denominations affected by these boundary changes, a subtle shift in the geographical perception of community belonging occurred. A consideration of the different religious denominations reveals therefore how different communities can co-exist simultaneously upon the same topography.

A more concrete means by which the boundaries of individuals' perceived communities can be gauged is through a consideration of leisure activities, as was demonstrated in Chapter Seven. By studying especially the public leisure pursuits within the settlements, especially the events

embedded in the customary calendar either of a long-established or new nature, much was learnt both about social relations *within* and *between* settlements' inhabitants.

The examination of the feast celebrations *within* the settlements of Darfield village, Low Valley and Wombwell, for example, revealed much about the social structure operating within each settlement. Darfield village's feast was used as a time for formalised, 'high' cultural activities such as balls arranged by and for the landed classes of the district. Little attempt was made to accommodate within the celebrations the mining families who had moved into the village and its surrounding area, which made clear the reluctance within the settlement to welcome such newcomers. The lacklustre nature of the Darfield village Feast, as experienced by the lower classes within the settlement, was a direct result of the reluctance of the village's landed classes to condone such populist celebrations. Partly in response to the exclusive nature of the Darfield village Feast, from 1874 the neighbouring settlement of Low Valley began to hold its own annual feast celebrations which were of a much more populist nature than those organised within Darfield village, which reflected the much less formalised social structure that prevailed within the settlement. Wombwell's feast celebrations tended to occupy the middle ground between the feasts at Low Valley and Darfield. Although undoubtedly the Wombwell

Feast was a time of popular celebration, increasingly attempts were made by the last quarter of the nineteenth century to regulate the activity, firstly through an unsuccessful bid to alter the date at which the Feast was celebrated so as to accommodate the demands of the mining employers, and then, more successfully, an explicitly rational recreational dimension was added to the ceremonial in the form of the Hospital Sunday, which enabled the week of feast celebrations to begin with a procession through the town conspicuously headed by the town's dignitaries in an attempt to remind the citizens of the continuing relevance of the town's social hierarchy.

An examination of the feast celebrations also revealed much about the relationships *between* neighbouring settlements. Feast celebrations enabled residents to articulate their belonging to a community, which entailed not merely a demonstration and celebration of solidarity between co-residents but also a conspicuous attempt to delineate between the 'we-ness' of fellow inhabitants and the 'otherness' of outsiders, especially individuals living in neighbouring settlements. The rivalry felt between neighbouring settlements was at its most intense during feast celebrations when many sporting fixtures were played between the town's nearest neighbours, and claims were made by inhabitants about the superiority of their feast compared to that of their neighbours. Public leisure ceremonials such as the feast and, to a somewhat lesser

extent occasions such as horticultural shows and Whitsuntide festivities, comprised an important part of the lexicon from which individuals constructed their own vocabulary of community.

However, whilst the signals of this communal belonging were shared by a settlement's residents the meanings attributed to these signs were likely to be multifarious, depending upon individuals' own life experiences: a township's feast celebrations meant something very different, for example, for a young single miner from their significance for a married middle-aged mother. It is this somewhat paradoxical particularity of communal feeling that is finally to be considered.

Undoubtedly the mining settlements of Low Valley, Snape Hill, Wombwell Main and Wombwell township itself were marked by a number of common cultural traits which, to an extent, enabled residents to be considered members of similar communities. The communal policing of settlements through the use of rough music enabled what was considered unacceptable behaviour to be both defined and conspicuously condemned. The parameters of acceptable behaviour were determined by the distillation of community members' own life experiences which inevitably were heavily influenced by the mining workplace: the continuing prevalence of popular belief in these settlements was clearly an example of just such a common cultural trait.

However, whilst undoubtedly these similarities did exist within the settlements, there were factors which built upon this layer of cultural commonality and that succeeded in marking out the settlements from each other. A major influence determining this communal distinctiveness was the pattern and nature of migration into each settlement. Although most of the migration into these settlements tended to occur over a short time period, the influence this in-migration had upon the settlement in question continued to play a significant part in the process of initially forging and then maintaining its identity. Whilst for example the proportion of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire migrants living in Wombwell Main had fallen from 21 per cent of the settlement's population in 1861[18] to under five per cent in 1891[19], nevertheless in 1891 12.8 per cent, or one in eight, of Wombwell Main's inhabitants aged 40 years or over had been born in these two counties.[20] That these mature Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire born migrants played a significant part in establishing the nature of the community at Wombwell Main is further suggested by their high level of residential persistence: 94 per cent of those who were resident in 1891 had also inhabited the settlement in 1881[21], and 50 per cent had also lived in Wombwell Main in 1871.[22] The influence of such clusters of long-distant migrants who were residentially persistent must not be underestimated

when consideration is given to the development of community solidarities within settlements.

But, as has been emphasised throughout the thesis, there are a number of different ways in which individuals can experience community belonging as defined by activating social links between themselves and others. Much evidence points to the significance of the family as a medium through which communal belonging was determined. The family operated as an economic unit; migration tended to occur in familial groups; and, from the census enumerators' books examined, it seems that nuclear families were willing to accommodate migrant members of their extended kinship group. Evidently, the family group operating as a community did so embracing a smaller number of individuals than the settlement as a whole but, in geographical terms, the social network which resulted from the continuation of close kinship links was a much more extensive one.

Conversely, individuals were also engaged, to varying extents, in a social network comprising those in close propinquity: evidence has been uncovered which suggests that examples of what Robert Roberts describes as 'neighbouring' were common.[23] This comprised close neighbours constructing entangled webs of mutual dependence over a geographical area often restricted to a street which were the antithesis of the often territorially extensive bonds of kinship.

Superimposed upon these two paradoxical but simultaneously experienced networks of communal belonging were other matrices of social interconnectedness constructed for example in the workplace and in the place of worship. The extent to which links in this web of interconnectedness were activated depended to a great extent upon a person's status, their age, gender and familial position, and also upon the circumstance: the community of the chapel was perceived very differently depending upon whether one was at Sunday worship or attending a circuit meeting; and similarly the community of the workplace could at different times comprise a small group of colleagues working at the coalface or the pitbank; the mass of the mine's workforce parading behind the colliery band; or the wider community of employees in the coal industry nationwide, as was felt at moments of widespread industrial action such as in 1893 which was prompted by coalowners' determination to reduce significantly wage rates in the industry.[24]

Communal identities, therefore, were not created merely in the crucible of the immediate locality. Indeed, in addition to the areas of communal perception already highlighted, consideration, if space permitted, could also be given to the notions of 'Yorkshireness' and 'Englishness' to which large numbers within the settlements of Darfield and Wombwell parishes felt affiliation during the second half of the nineteenth century. The pride which inhabitants of settlements had in supplying cricketers to the Yorkshire

team, such as members of the Washington and Kilner families of Wombwell, for example, was emblematic of the widespread allegiance felt to the county.[25] The Yorkshireness personified by players of the Yorkshire Cricket Club was, perhaps somewhat curiously, an embracing notion: even if not Yorkshire born themselves, migrants could have a stake in the county's continuing prosperity, as embodied in the cricket team, by raising boys born in the county who could be considered for inclusion within the club's playing ranks. A more exclusive means of expressing affiliation to Yorkshire could be found in the burgeoning dialect literature which was produced in the second half of the nineteenth century and widely circulated throughout the county. Whilst no direct evidence exists of its popularity within Darfield and Wombwell *per se* the success of the Barnsley based The Barnsla Foaks' Annual an Pogmoor Olmenac suggests that this literary *genre* was read and appreciated in the district. With its literal evocation of the vibrant local dialect and its use of the iconographical white rose and 'tyke' imagery, such literature celebrated, reinforced and perhaps to an extent invented or re-invented individuals' perceptions of their own 'Yorkshireness'.[26] The idea of 'Yorkshireness' and the tradition and custom surrounding the concept during the second half of the nineteenth century when significant levels of migration were occurring into the county, particularly the

increasingly industrial West Riding, are worthy of further study.

Just as the county of Yorkshire itself was the focus of some individuals' perceived communal identity, so too was the notion of national belonging central to some people's idea of community. The significance of the nation in the development of the mining settlements in Darfield and Wombwell has been stressed repeatedly in the thesis: the opening up of the coalfield was only feasible with both the availability of a large and accessible national market, made possible by the development of the railway network; and the recruitment of large amounts of labour, which was facilitated by migration from outside the region of experienced miners. But within the district the nation operated as more than just an economic construct: national, and indeed imperial, politics and culture impacted upon the inhabitants of the settlements of Darfield and Wombwell, though often their effect was mediated through local identity. For example, men were recruited from the district to fight in imperial wars, though often the call to arms was based upon local rivalries rather than upon the validity of the conflict's cause. In 1901, the Barnsley Chronicle reported the 'Departure of Local Volunteers for South Africa - Stirring Scenes at Wombwell and Wath'. The article noted that:

"At Wombwell, the military spirit is rampant: in fact were the Wath detachment properly named it would certainly not

be christened after the queen of villages. The enthusiasm in the two places cannot be compared. The fact that Wombwell men are willing after a hard day's toil to walk over to Wath in order to undergo drill is most eloquent testimony to the loyalty of the place ..."[27]

Allegiance to nation was perhaps most unambiguously felt, and most conspicuously reported, at times of royal ritual, though even upon these occasions local rivalries could be expressed. Nevertheless, Queen Victoria's golden and diamond jubilees and her funeral were all conscientiously observed in the mining settlements, as throughout the country as a whole.[28] Arguably at such moments perceptions of community belonging extended well beyond the geographical boundaries of the settlement.

This thesis, by focussing upon a small number of settlements, has sought to challenge a number of widely accepted historical views. The application of a class-based analysis, for example, has been shown to be of limited use when examining mining settlements in which multifarious and meaningful distinctions pervade the workforce. Similarly, a close examination of a series of locally generated synchronic records has revealed how scattered fragments of information can be pieced together, by reading these sources 'against the grain', to uncover information relating to the economically active role played by women in mining settlements after the 1842 Mines Act, which contradicts the historical orthodoxy.[29]

The study has also reinforced Royden Harrison's observation relating to the heterogeneity of mining settlements.[30] Interlinking variables which influenced the character of individual mining settlements and how life was experienced within them included: the proportion of resident migrants, their place of origin, their familial status and their tendency upon arrival to be residentially persistent; the nature of mining work, specifically underground working conditions, the recruitment method employed and the structure of management and ownership; and the age of the settlement. Such factors caused the creation of quite different neighbouring settlements whose inhabitants were keen, on occasion, to articulate their township's distinctiveness through the vehicles of custom and ritual.

The study has also striven to emphasise the composite nature of community as experienced by individuals: the local community bounded by geographical parameters was but one of a multiplicity of communities in which individuals engaged ranging from the micro-community of intimate kinship ties to the macro-community of the nation. The number of these communities in which individuals participated and the the extent of their involvement within them was determined in large part by factors such as age, gender, position in the workplace and marital status. The precedence given to membership of these communities was subject to variation through time: customary rhythms such

as the religious calendar and the onset of feast celebrations played a significant part in determining the nature of this composite, fluid community belonging; but so too did unexpected, critical moments such as the flaring up of industrial disputes which necessarily foregrounded the community of the workplace.

The thesis has sought in part to examine the relationship between national economic, social and cultural developments with local movements. In doing so it has striven to avoid the twin pitfalls of local history: the construction of an antiquarian study; and the adoption of a national history localised approach to the focus of the inquiry. Above all, the thesis has attempted to emphasise that scholars interested in the past should neglect at their peril the particularised nature of individuals' lived experiences.

Footnotes to Chapter Eight

1. M. Bulmer, 'Sociological Models of the Mining Community', Sociological Review, 23, 1975, pp.84 - 88, summarised in D. Warwick and G. Littlejohn, Coal, Capital and Culture, 1992, p.30.
2. R. Colls, Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield, 1987, pp. 305 - 306.
3. M. Daunton, 'Miners' Houses: South Wales and the Great Northern Coalfield, 1880 - 1914', International Review of Social History, XXV, 1980, pp. 143 - 144.
4. C. Baylies, The History of the Yorkshire Miners, 1881 - 1918, 1993, p. 15.
5. D. Gilbert, Class, Community and Collective Action: Social Change in two British Coalfields, 1850 - 1926. 1992.
6. Ibid., pp. 44 - 45.
7. Ibid., p. 45.
8. Ibid., p. 45.
9. Ibid., pp. 45 -46.
10. 1901 census figures quoted in C. Baylies, op. cit., p.21.
11. See G.D.B Gray, 'The South Yorkshire Coalfield', in R. Neville and J. Benson, eds, Studies in the Yorkshire Coal Industry, 1976, and R. Waller, The Dukeries Transformed: The Social and Political Development of a Twentieth Century Coalfield, 1983, p. 291.
12. In 1866, membership of the South Yorkshire Miners' Association and West Yorkshire Miners' Association stood at 9425, 28.7 per cent of the mining workforce of 1861. (These figures have been derived from F. Machin, The Yorkshire Miners, 1958, pp. 149 and 349; R. Church, History of the British Coal Industry, Vol. 3, 1986, p.189.) By 1874, during the mining boom, 56.5 per cent of the Yorkshire mining workforce of 62500 were union-

ised. (Figures from F. Machin, op. cit., pp. 189 and 392; and B. Mitchell, The Economic Development of the British Coal Industry, 1984, p. 107.)
In the depressed year of 1882, union membership constituted only 17.9 per cent of Yorkshire's mining workforce of 61548. (C. Baylies, op. cit., pp. 434 - 435.)

13. See for example R. Church, op. cit., p. 632.
14. R. Moore, Pitmen, Preachers and Politics, 1974.
15. J. Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825 - 1875, 1976.
16. This point comes across clearly when one considers the large proportion of examples of *blason populaire* which include references to churches. See for example J. Widdowson, 'Language, Tradition and Regional Identity: Blason Populaire and Social Control', in A. Green and J. Widdowson, eds, Language, Culture and Tradition, 1981, p. 37.
17. Two splits affecting the Darfield and Wombwell districts occurred in the Primitive Methodist circuits: once in 1862 and again in 1881. See Nonconformist Records at Barnsley Archives, 6/2, 16/6/62 and 6/3, 7/3/81.
18. Census records. Wombwell Main, 1861, Darfield e.d. 5, 65 of 313 residents were born in either Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire.
19. Census records. Wombwell Main, 1891, Darfield e.d. 9, 27 of 572 residents were born in either Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire.
20. Census records. Wombwell Main, 1891, Darfield e.d. 9, sixteen of 125 residents aged 40 years or over were born in either Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire.
21. Census records. Wombwell Main, 1891, Darfield e.d. 9 and Wombwell Main, 1881, Darfield e.d. 6. Fifteen of the sixteen Nottinghamshire- and Derbyshire-born residents aged 40 years or more in 1891 had also lived in the settlement in 1881.

22. Census records. Wombwell Main, 1891, Darfield e.d. 9 and Wombwell Main, 1871, Darfield e.d. 5. Eight of the sixteen Nottinghamshire- and Derbyshire-born residents aged 40 years or more in 1891 had also lived in the settlement in 1871.
23. R. Roberts, The Classic Slum, 1971, p. 47.
24. For a detailed account of the industrial action in the Yorkshire coalfield during 1893, see C. Baylies, op. cit., Ch. 4.
25. See M. Pope, The Laughing Cricketer of Wombwell, 1990.
26. The vibrant *genre* of dialect literature has been examined in P. Joyce, Visions of the People, 1991, Chs. 11 and 12, which focusses particularly upon Lancashire examples but refers also to the success of the literature in Yorkshire.
27. B.C., 23/3/01.
28. See for example the descriptions of the Golden Jubilee celebrations in Darfield and Low Valley, (B.C., 25/6/87) and the mourning ceremonials upon the Queen's death in Darfield and Wombwell, (B.C., 9/2/01).
29. R. Church, op. cit., p. 632
30. R. Harrison, ed., Independent Collier, 1978, p. 12.

Appendix A.

Population Figures of Various South Yorkshire Settlements, 1851 - 1901[1]

Settlement	Year					
	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ardsley	1528	1772	2143	3333	4494	5934
Brampton	1741	1938	1978	3704	4597	5053
Darfield[2]	591	746	1673	2616	3416	4194
Gt. Houghton	333	309	250	360	620	1220
Hoyland Nether	2912	5352	6298	9822	11006	12464
Little Houghton	99	93	96	190	288	347
Wath on Dearne	1495	1690	2023	3012	3894	4847
Wombwell[3]	1627	3738	5009	8451	10942	13252
Worsbrough	4277	5381	6030	8443	9905	10336

1. Source: Census returns cited in W. Page, ed., The Victoria History of the County of York, Volume Three, 1913, pp. 542 - 544.
2. The population figures for Darfield include those for Low Valley and Snape Hill.
3. The population figures for Wombwell include those for Wombwell Main.

Appendix B.

Approximate Numbers Employed in Coalmines Situated in the Darfield and Wombwell District

Colliery	Date	Approx. Numbers Employed
Cortonwood		
(opened 1876)	1885	1000[1]
	1904	800[2]
	1905	347[3]
Darfield Main		
(opened 1861)	1872	400[4]
	1893	774[5]
	1901	900[6]
	1905	672[7]
Houghton Main		
(opened 1878)	1889	800[8]
	1905	1513[9]
Lundhill		
(opened 1855	1857	220[10]
closed 1895)	1874	550[11]
	1895	80[12]
Mitchell Main		
(opened 1878)	1889	660[13]
	1905	1118[14]
Wombwell Main		
(opened 1855)	1874	720[15]
	1895	1100[16]
	1905	1338[17]

Sources:

1. Colliery Guardian, 21/8/85; 2. Barnsley Chronicle, 31/12/84; 3. His Majesty's Inspectors of Mines, List of Mines in the United Kingdom, 1905, p.198. (This reduced figure was due to an extensive fire that occurred in December 1904. Work at the colliery gradually restarted from October 1905); 4. B.C., 19/10/72; 5. B.C., 15/7/93; 6. B.C., 29/6/01; 7. List of Mines in the U.K., 1905, p.205; 8. Mexborough and Swinton Times, 19/7/89; 9. List of the Mines in the U.K., 1905, p.205; 10. Parliamentary Papers, 1857 - 58 [2433], XXXII, p.160; 11. B.C., 11/7/74; 12. M. and S.T., 20/9/95; 13. M. and S.T., 19/7/89; 14. List of Mines in the U.K., 1905, p.211; 15. B.C., 11/7/74; 16. M. and S.T., 18/1/95; 17. List of Mines in the U.K., 1905, p.221.

Appendix C

Ownership of Collieries in the Darfield and Wombwell District, c. 1860 - 1900

Cortonwood Colliery

According to Memoranda and Articles of Association, dating from 1877, the partners involved in sinking Cortonwood were as follows:[1]
Henry Davis Pochin, Manufacturing Chemist, Denbighshire;
Benjamin Whitworth, Merchant, Holland Park, London;
John Devonshire Ellis, Steel Manufacturer, Sheffield;
James Holden, Merchant, Wilmslow, Cheshire; and
William Pochin, Manufacturing Chemist, Manchester.

Darfield Main Colliery

The partners involved in the sinking of this colliery, who were all resident in Pontefract, were:[2]
William Booth; James Moxon; George Pearson; James Robinson; Thomas Routledge; and John Woodhouse.

1872 - Moxon Brothers and Company, Pontefract.[3]

1874 - G. Pearson and Company.[4]

1894 - Darfield Main was bought by Mitchell Main Colliery Company.

Lundhill Colliery

The partners involved in the sinking of this colliery were as follows:[5]
W. Taylor, Redbrook, Barnsley, colliery owner;
Thomas Spencer Garland, Brampton Brierlow, barrister;
Edward Simpson, Wakefield, soap maker; and
William Stewart, Wakefield, gentleman.

1874 - The partners comprised:[6]
William Crossley, Maltby, surgeon;
Edward Simpson, Wakefield, soap manufacturer;
Charles Simpson, Ackworth, soap manufacturer;
and William Stewart, Wakefield, solicitor.

1893 - Lundhill Colliery was bought by Wombwell Main Colliery Company.

Mitchell Main Colliery

The principal owners of this colliery at the time of its sinking were:[7]

H. Josse, Grimsby, coal shipper; M. Worms, Paris, coal shipper; and Joseph Mitchell, Worsbrough, colliery owner.

1901 - T.W.H. Mitchell, Managing Director.[8]

Wombwell Main

At the time of its sinking, Wombwell Main was owned by:[9]

Samuel Roberts, Sheffield, gentleman;
Robert Baxter, Doncaster, solicitor;
Charles Bartholomew, Doncaster, civil engineer;
and Edward Baxter, Doncaster, solicitor.

1874 - C. Bartholomew and Company.[10]

1901 - S. Roberts of Sheffield, chairman.[11]

Sources:

1. N.C.B.960, 1/1, 1877; 2. West Riding Registry of Deeds, April 1864, YM.320.352; 3. Barnsley Chronicle, 19/10/72; 4. B.C., 11/7/74; 5. Barnsley Times, 28/2/57; 6. Baxter Papers, 62342, 1/4/74; 7. Mexborough and Swinton Times, 26/4/95, Colliery Guardian, 17/9/75 and 14/7/76; 8. N.C.B.1773, 1901; 9. Sheffield Archives, Baxter Papers, 610270, 3/2/60;10. B.C., 11/7/74; 11. B.C., 12/1/01.

Appendix D

Hoyland and Wombwell Primitive Methodist Circuit

Membership Figures

1864	254
1865	245
1866	247
1867	275
1868	275
1869	300
1870	300
1871	282
1872	282
1873	234
1874	244
1875	299
1876	330
1877	350
1878	296
1879	320
1880	356
1881	376
1882	386
1883	380
1884	395

Source: N.R.579/1.

Appendix E

Wesleyan Methodist Class Membership Totals for Darfield and Darfield Main, 1861 - 1890

Year	Darfield	Darfield Main	Cumulative Total
1861	22		
1862	25		
1863	30		
1864	46		
1865	63		
1866	42		
1867	44		
1868	20	39	59
1869	19	49	68
1870	50	20	70
1871	29	12	41
1872	24	13	37
1873	26	16	42
1874	28	39	67
1875	55	40	95
1876	45	29	74
1877	50	16	66
1878	--	--	--
1879	41	20	61
1880	39	20	59
1881	34	17	51
1882	38	13	51
1883	37	14	51
1884	41	7	48
1885	39	14	53
1886	53	15	68
1887	68	14	82
1888	70	13	83
1889	83	13	96
1890	83	12	95

Source: Barnsley Archives 2/14 and 2/15

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6/4. Minutes of Quarterly Meetings, 1886-94.

6/8. Minutes of Circuit Committee Meetings, 1841.

6/9. Minutes of Circuit Committee Meetings, 1862-73.

6/10. Minutes of Circuit Committee Meetings, 1880-94.

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6/12. Register of Names of Trustees, 1872.

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2/14. Circuit Schedule Books, 1861-77.

2/15. Circuit Schedule Books, 1879-91.

2/20. Circuit Chapel Book, 1837-52.

2/22. Circuit Plan Volumes, 1803-51.

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2/24. Circuit Plan Volumes, 1874-1901.

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Hoyland Nether, 1865;1868;1871;1877;1884;1890;1900.

Wombwell, 1868;1871;1877;1884;1890;1900.

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1851			
Darfield e.d.2	200/K1/7	H.O. 107/2333	11 - 29
" e.d.3a.	" " "	" " "	30 - 49
" e.d.3b.	" " "	" " "	50 - 81

1861

Darfield	e.d.1	246/K1/5	R.G. 9/3450	1 - 19
"	e.d.3	" " "	" " "	32 - 51
"	e.d.4	" " "	" " "	52 - 71
"	e.d.5	" " "	" " "	72 - 91

1871

Darfield	e.d.1	287/K1/6	R.G. 10/4649	1 - 36
"	e.d.4	" " "	" " "	94 -114
"	e.d.5	" " "	" " "	115 -134

1881

Darfield	e.d.1	450/K1/5	R.G. 11/4606	1 - 41
"	e.d.2	" " "	" " "	42 - 64
"	e.d.5	" " "	" " "	140 -164
"	e.d.6	" " "	R.G. 11/4607	20 - 59

1891

Darfield	e.d.1		
"	e.d.2		R.G. 12/3777
"	e.d.3		
"	e.d.9		R.G. 12/3778

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