COMMUNITY AND A SUBURBAN VILLAGE

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INTRODUCTION

It has been a popular tendency for many decades now to lament the passing of the once socially close-knit and highly personalized, occupationally homogeneous, comparatively self-contained and independent residential settlement once known to English people. Initially this cri de coeur was focused on the gradual disappearance of the rural village under the impact of the industrial revolution of the late 18th and 19th Centuries which brought 'the thunder of an ocean of change, a change tragic indeed, since nothing has taken and nothing can take the place of what has gone.'[1] More recently, as old cities have been steadily torn down and rebuilt and 'new towns' have become commonplace features of the English landscape, it has been the disintegration of the urban Bethnal Greens and Barton Hills that has in its turn produced nostalgia and regret.

It is not surprising that many people, including a number of experienced sociologists,[2] have taken the disappearance of these close-knit residential settlements, be they rural or urban, as synonymous with what Stein calls 'the eclipse of community.'[3] It has come to be assumed in both popular and professional thinking that a

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1. Massingham, H.J. *Introduction.* in Thompson, F. *Lark Rise to Candleford.* Oxford, 1944. p. x
2. For further discussion, see Chapter I.
3. Stein, M.R. *The Eclipse of Community.* Princeton, 1960.

sense of community, apparently so obvious in the past, is fast slipping away and that every effort must be made to arrest this insidious disintegration of social life. Often without much questioning sociologists and town planners, amongst others, have spent many long hours seeking to discover ways of restoring or at least retaining that community spirit believed to have been a priceless possession of old settlements in town and country.

The purpose of this thesis is to test two hypotheses concerned with the intensity, expression and territorial focus of community.

Hypothesis I

This is the less exceptional of the two. It is that over recent years notable changes have taken place in the expression and territorial focus of community.

Hypothesis II

This forms the major hypothesis. It is that, despite important changes in the expression and territorial focus of community, a sense of community has not been lost and, in some cases, its intensity has increased.

The thesis is divided into three main parts, as set out below :-

1. <u>A theoretical introduction to the study of community with</u>
   <u>definitions and empirical operationalization of those</u>
   <u>concepts to be used in the case-study</u>

An examination and critique of different approaches to the
study of community (Chapter I) sets the stage for the subsequent
description of the approach adopted in the thesis. This approach
('the essential approach' to community study) necessitates a def-
inition of the social system (Chapter II), and of the physical
environment in which it is set (Chapter III). It also necessitates
a definition of the concept of community itself (Chapter IV). This
concept is empirically operationalized and indices whereby its in-
tensity can be assessed are described (Chapter V).

2. <u>The case-study</u>

The particular methods of research employed in the case-study
are described (Chapter VI). The validity of the two hypotheses set
out above is tested by examining the life of the residents of a given
social aggregate (Woodhouse, Yorkshire), taken as a microcosm of the
social system as a whole, at two points in time (1912 and 1966), to
see whether the expression, territorial focus and especially the in-
tensity of community have changed for them during this period (Chapter
VII and Chapter VIII).

3. <u>Observations and implications</u>

The relevance of the case-study to the wider field of community studies is discussed (Chapter IX).   Finally, questions raised by the concepts employed in the case-study and by the empirical investigation itself are dealt with (Chapter X).

CHAPTER I

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY

Introduction

The object of this Chapter is to examine critically various important approaches made to the study of community with the object of clearly defining the concept of community and of deciding the most useful theoretical framework within which to test the two hypotheses set out in the main Introduction.

The amount of sociological literature classified as 'community studies' is vast. This century particularly has witnessed an immense interest in the changing patterns of communal life due, for example, to industrialization and urbanization. Yet, within the field as a whole, there has been little attempt at co-ordinated enquiry and until quite recently no effort to sort through and relate the multitude of studies now to hand. That comparisons and a search for common themes are at last being undertaken[1] is a reflection of a general sense of dissatisfaction with the inconclusive results of a great deal of labour in the past and a desire to see future studies set within a more explicit theoretical context and linked more closely to one another.

1. Egs. Stein, M.R. The Eclipse of Community. Princeton, 1960.
   Theodorson, G.A. (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology.
      Evanston, 1961.
   Reissman, L. The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964.
   Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I.
      London, 1965.
   Frankenberg, R. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth, 1966.

Lindeman, in the 'Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences' published in 1931, summarizes the two most common approaches to the sociological study of community which had until that time dominated the scene. He there describes how 'historically considered, the interpretation of the term community has evolved from a simple to a complex conception. As originally used in the literature of the social sciences community designated a geographical area with definite legal boundaries, occupied by residents engaged in interrelated economic activities and constituting a politically self-governing unit.'[1] This earlier conception with an emphasis on 'explicit elements' Lindeman calls the 'structural' approach. The concentration is on the outward form of community, especially on those features that are established and easily discernible such as the physical shape and social organization of the area. A community, in this sense, 'is any consciously organized aggregation of individuals residing in a specific locality, endowed with limited political autonomy, supporting such primary institutions as schools and churches and among whom certain degrees of interdependency are recognized. This definition will include hamlets, villages, towns and cities.'[2]

But, Lindeman goes on to point out, under the pressure of changing circumstances and the influence of newer disciplines, such as social

1. Seligman, E.R.A. (ed.) Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Volume 4. New York, 1931, p.102.
2. Ibid. p. 103.

psychology, another conception of community arose based on the idea of 'process.'   This more recent understanding of community, with the emphasis now on 'implicit elements,' Lindeman describes as 'functional.'   Here attention is directed mainly to the study of community in relation to 'the more positive aspects of social interaction ..... in which the associational processes appear to produce plus values, in so far as human nature is concerned.'[1]   A community in this sense 'is any process of social interaction which gives rise to a more intensive or more extensive attitude and practice of interdependence, co-operation, collaboration and unification.'[2]

This article by Lindeman provides a useful springboard for the subsequent examination of the multitude of community studies.   His use of the word 'functional' is, however, somewhat ambiguous.   As Becker states, '"Structure" and "function" are of course not absolute terms. What for one analytic purpose is "structure" is "function" for another purpose.'[3]   This is not the place to embark on a discussion of the many and varied uses of the term 'function' in sociological literature but, if it be that 'a social system ..... is a real system in which the parts perform functions essential for the persistence ..... of the whole and therefore are interdependent and more or less completely integrated,'[4]

1. Ibid. p.103.
2. Ibid. p.103.
3. Becker, H. Sacred and Secular Societies. Social Forces. Vol. 28, No.4. (pp.361-376). May 1950. P.362 (footnote).
4. Timasheff, N.S. Sociological Theory. (Revised edition). New York, 1955, p.222.

the structure of a social grouping would appear to be as functional in meeting the basic communal needs of the system and its members as is 'the process of social interaction.' It would, therefore, clarify matters if in the rest of this thesis the two ways of approaching the study of community described above are known as the structural (as Lindeman) and the social action (Lindeman's 'functional') approaches.

These two emphases (on structure or social action) have continued to re-appear in more recent times. They are by no means mutually exclusive but they remain analytically distinct enough to facilitate a review of the many enquiries carried out in this field and consequently they are used below as a valuable means of classification. Slightly modifying Lindeman's definitions, especially in the light of the work of Davis[1], these two vantage points can be described as follows:-

The structural approach - This concentrates particularly on social norms (folkways, mores, laws and their institutionalized forms) and, describing and analyzing norms in specific situations, views community as a system of social relationships shared and social positions occupied by members of the group concerned. This approach takes special account of the geographical context and physical environment in which the group operates. It is a method of analysis which tends to be rather static in nature and its end product can be compared to a snap-shot rather than a cine-film.

1. Davis, K. Human Society. New York, 1949, pp. 167-168.

The social action approach - This concentrates especially on common interests and sees community as the expression of these through social activity. It deals particularly with the processes of interaction, such as co-operation, competition or conflict, which occur within the social system. It is not so concerned about the territorial context of community. Social action studies are often couched in dynamic language.

The division of community studies into those of a structural or social action nature remains insufficient to deal with the large body of sociological material concerned with community. To assist description and analysis further, therefore, the works mentioned below are, following Reissman,[1] grouped under three main headings; 'the empirical,' where much of the material is of a descriptive and pragmatic kind, 'the ecological,' which focus attention on social and spatial patterns and 'the theoretical,' where a definite theoretical framework and the shaping of the empirical data to it are most in evidence.

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1. Reissman, L. The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964.

1. The Empiricists

The empiricists are on the whole those who have paid least attention to social theory. To illustrate their work, mainly British studies will be used, a good proportion of which are empirically oriented. Dennis provides a very useful outline of British research which clearly reveals the pragmatic nature of the majority of the enquiries.[1] Until 1939, community studies in this country were preoccupied with the growth of industrial cities and new towns, the extent and severity of poverty, the problem of unemployment and other related concerns (religious life as well receiving a good deal of attention). Since the period of the last war, however, research has ranged much more widely over all aspects of rural and urban life, the focus of attention being descriptions of specific localities or the elucidation of particular social problems. No common or co-ordinating theoretical framework has so far appeared.

A. The structural approach

The work of the empiricists coming under this heading can roughly be divided into four categories: (i) those community studies principally concerned with the group's physical surroundings, (ii) those which mainly bear upon the relation of social structure to physical environment, (iii) those which are chiefly involved with the classification of social

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1. Dennis, N. Community and Sociology in Kuenstler, P. (ed,) Community Organisation. London, 1961. pp. 119-133.

data and (iv) those which centre attention on the pattern of social relationships.

(i) Concentration on physical surroundings

This category of empirical study is in many ways more the province of the economic historian or town planner but sociological factors inevitably play a fairly prominent part.   It embraces the type of community study concerned with the growth of slums and suburbs, the building of houses and hospitals and the arrival of trains and trams rather than with the social organization or activities of the area.   A typical example of this kind of survey is Dyos' 'Victorian Suburb'[1] in which he describes the physical development of Camberwell over the past century.   The writing is very largely descriptive and there is no attempt to set it within any theoretical framework, even of an ecological nature.

This category also covers those studies related to the ways in which localities have been or should be physically planned.   In this instance, the lay-out of roads, houses, schools, shops, churches and other amenities provides the point of departure for discussion.   The outstanding example of this type of structural approach is that associated with the now well-known idea of the 'neighbourhood unit.'

The classic formulation of this concept is that of Clarence Perry who, in the early years of this century, was already well on the way to

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1. Dyos, H.J. <u>Victorian Suburb</u>. Leicester, 1961.

designing an 'ideal type' neighbourhood. He later defined the latter in terms of, '(i) Size, in relation to the population required to maintain one primary school. (ii) Boundaries, which should define, separate and articulate the neighbourhood within the body of the town. (iii) Open spaces, to provide for recreational needs. (iv) Institution sites, to provide for educational and social needs having service areas which are, as far as possible, coincident. (v) Local shops, preferably on the perimeter of the unit. (vi) An internal street system, related to traffic load, and segregated from the external, peripheral through-traffic routes.'[1] As Herbert points out, Perry was by no means the only person to be thinking along these lines at this time but it was he who most clearly and succinctly defined the most important features of the subject under discussion. His main interest was 'the physical layout of residential areas so as to provide the residents with a rational environment for living',[2] and 'his primary objective was to fashion a working unit, as a prototype or standard.'[3]

Perry's original plan had been to make wider use of school facilities especially in relation to their potential as community centres, but, as his interest in the larger problems of community life grew, he saw the

1. Herbert, G. The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory. Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963, p.167.
2. Mann, P.H. An Approach to Urban Sociology. London, 1965, p.172.
3. Herbert, G. The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory. Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963, p.185.

issue more and more in terms of establishing or re-establishing relationships of a primary nature amongst residents. Thus 'what makes the unit unique is the kind of society it sets out to generate, namely the neighbourly primary group, and the physical form it recommends, namely the defined territorial entity.'[1]

Since Perry's seminal work, a multitude of variations on the neighbourhood unit theme have emerged. The most consistent feature has been the attempt to create intimate and worthwhile social relationships in the locality of residence through careful planning of the physical environment. In some ways this has affinities with ecological theory (to be discussed later) worked out in practical terms. Herbert comments, 'Not only is there external evidence ..... of an ecological thread in the concept of the neighbourhood unit, but there is the internal evidence inherent in the nature of the concept itself ..... It takes the basic interest of the relationship of man to his environment, which is central to the ecological approach, and extends it into a technical theory for the designing of that environment.'[2] But, one must add, for many proponents of the neighbourhood unit principle, theory remains latent rather than manifest.

British interest in the idea of the neighbourhood unit seems to have been very limited until reconstruction was being debated during the latter

1. Herbert, G. The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory. Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963, p.191.
2. Ibid. p.181.

years of the second World War.   It then came into its own through

publications issued by the government and by the National Council of

Social Service Community Centres and Associations Survey Group.[1]   The

latter viewed the neighbourhood as the unit, par excellence, within which

community through common interests might be established (an aim as much

linked with the social action as with the structural approach). Common

activities were to be encouraged by means of community associations as

the hub of local life and through an even balance of social classes

resident in the area to ensure good leadership.   The idea of promoting

community through the medium of the planned neighbourhood unit was

eagerly, and all too often uncritically, adopted in many quarters and,

although many telling criticisms have now been levelled at it, still

remains the norm for a great deal of urban development.   Reissman writes,

'The neighbourhood seems to be the sine qua non of every planner's dream.

It is a primary element in his ideology, and in the neighbourhood, he

believes, is the basis of social control to effect wanted changes.'[2]

Throughout, the protagonists of the neighbourhood unit principle, as

indeed many other structural empiricists, seem to accept without question

'that the community is geographically based, that is, that it is

identified with the area in which its residences are located and,

consequently, it is important to maintain the identity of the community,

1. Mann, P.H.   An Approach to Urban Sociology. London, 1965, p.173.
2. Reissman, L.   The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964, p.56.

by making it introspective, locally self-contained, and especially by
the clear expression of its boundaries; and that the city is a
federation of neighbourhood units together with specialized units such as
industrial areas and the town centre.'[1]   This basic assumption is later
the subject of critical examination.

(ii)   Focus on the relation of social structure to the physical environment

Over the last few years there has been an increasing effort in this
country to relate social structure to physical environment, land and
property values, transport facilities and other features of this kind.
One such study is that of Aberdaron by Hughes in 'Welsh Rural
Communities' where the author describes the social geography of a small
area in the Lleyn Peninsula.   The concern is 'primarily with aspects of
material culture, the imprint of the society on the land.'[2]   Williams in
his study of 'A West Country Village: Ashworthy,' sub-titled, 'Family,
Kinship and Land,' reverses the emphasis of Hughes being especially
interested in the imprint of land on social relationships.   He
acknowledges that he views Ashworthy as 'a dynamic ecological system' and
pleads for far greater attention to be paid by students of community to
'the spatial and environmental aspects'[3] of social structure.   A still
more recent example of this type of enquiry is that of Pahl, undertaken

1.   Herbert, G. The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory.
       Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963, p.192.
2.   Jenkins, D., Jones, E., Hughes, T.J. and Owen, T.M. Welsh Rural
       Communities. Cardiff, 1960, p.x.
3.   Williams, W.M. A West Country Village: Ashworthy. London, 1963, p.xix

within the Department of Geography at the London School of Economics.
Pahl's thesis describes the metropolitan fringe in Hertfordshire and the
influence of London on the social structure of areas well clear of the
so-called 'green belt.'   The central theme is the growing importance of
'the fringe in terms of itself and not solely in relation to the central
city.'[1]   The author believes that the effect of the annihilation of space
through fast transport, telephone, radio and television and the
consequent 'selective migration into rural areas' has been 'to polarise
communities socially so that all but the higher local social status
groups collapse to unite against the new middle class.   Hence it is
class rather than length of residence which divides communities.'[2]
Pahl's work is an important contribution to a development in community
studies only just getting into its stride in Britain.   Emrys Jones in
his Foreward to the book writes, 'Perhaps the particular value of this
study ..... is the way it ignores the distinction between geography and
sociology: rather it sees a problem which needs to be analysed, and the
outcome is a contribution both to social geography and to sociology.'[3]

(iii) The classification of social data

A third category of empirical and structural approach to the study
of community is that which attempts to classify and catalogue the social

1. Pahl, R.E. Urbs in Rure. London, 1964. p.14.
2. Ibid. p.77.
3. Ibid. p.3.

features of the area under consideration. The American literature in
this connection is critically reviewed by Reissman[1] and some of his
comments are noted later. A number of British studies also come under
this heading but, on the whole, have been even less related to a
theoretical framework than their American counterparts. The most
ambitious recent investigation of this kind is that of Moser and Scott
who undertake an analysis of 57 (a few more were added later) social
and economic variables (including population size and structure,
population change, households and housing, economic characteristics,
social class, voting, health and education) related to 157 towns in
England and Wales with a population of 50,000 or over at the time of the
1951 Census.[2] There is, however, no attempt to do more than 'unravel
the relationships between a large number of urban characteristics'[3] and
to group towns according to similar or contrasting elements. Their work
can really only be regarded, therefore, 'as a valuable background for
empirical studies in Britain.'[4]

(iv) Description and analysis of the pattern of social relationships

The final category of structurally oriented empirical surveys
covers by far the largest number of British community studies. An
approach which favours description and analysis in terms of the
institutional framework, the pattern of roles, the status system, the

1. Reissman, L. The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964. pp.69-92.
2. Moser, C.A. and Scott, W. British Towns. Edinburgh and London, 1961.
3. Ibid. p.162.
4. Ibid. p.viii.

class structure and other normative categories, has for some reason proved the most popular amongst British writers.   Three types of locality receive special attention; the well-established, the transitional and the recently settled.

Rural areas obviously lend themselves to an examination of well-established patterns of communal life.   Williams' book on the Cumberland Civil Parish of Gosforth is a typical study, in structural style, of a well-established settlement.   The Chapter headings underline the structural emphasis of his approach: 'The Economy ..... The Family ..... Some Aspects of the Life Cycle ..... Kinship ..... The Social Classes ..... Formal and Informal Associations (a chapter which is more concerned with an analysis of membership and leadership of associations in terms of Williams' seven social classes than with social action as such) ..... Neighbours ..... Community ..... Gosforth and the Outside World ..... Religion.'[1]   An interesting and thorough example of an examination of social relationships in an established area, in this case of a semi-rural kind, is that by Stacey in her study of Banbury.[2] Stacey's purpose was to investigate the social structure of Banbury, some five years after the end of the Second World War, with special reference to the situation caused by the influx of many newcomers into the town after a large local aluminium factory began production in 1933.

1.   Williams, W.M.   Gosforth. London, 1956.
2.   Stacey, M.   Tradition and Change.   Oxford, 1960.

Stacey's key analytical concept is that of social class, but the enquiry also threw up two other equally important categories of resident, the 'traditional' and 'non-traditional.' Stacey finds traditionalism somewhat easier to define simply because it typifies 'a group with considerable local loyalty and, moreover, solidarity .....
a group bound together by common history and tradition, with a recognized social structure and having certain common values.'[1] Non-traditionalism is a more elusive concept mainly because it gives rise to no single or solidary grouping; 'It is typical of non-traditionalism in Banbury that it is not a unity: the only factor which non-traditionalists have in common is non-conformity in some respect to the traditions of Banbury.'[2] The concepts of 'traditionalism' and 'non-traditionalism' introduce an important new dimension into the study of social structure. Finally, reference must be made to a much more recent survey of 'Communities in Britain'[3] by Frankenberg which is largely devoted to a summary of findings in the 'non-urban' field and pays particular attention to the concepts of role, status and class.

A second field of enquiry concerned mainly with the pattern of social relationships is that dealing with areas in a state of transition. One of the most common themes here is the destruction of old central urban neighbourhoods and the resettlement of residents on outlying

1. Stacey, M. Tradition and Change. Oxford, 1960. pp.167-168.
2. Ibid. p.158.
3. Frankenberg, R. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth, 1966.

estates.   Mogey in his book 'Family and Neighbourhood'[1] is in large

part concerned with the way in which the pattern of 'face-to-face

relations' in St. Ebbe's, an old central area of Oxford, differ from

those on the new estate at Barton.   With certain qualifications, Mogey

concludes that 'the central change may be interpreted as the emergence

on the housing estate of a family-centred society in place of the

neighbourhood-centred society of St. Ebbe's.'[2]   Young and Willmott's

now famous study of 'Family and Kinship in East London'[3] is yet another

structurally oriented community study.   The authors examine in some

detail social relationships existing amongst natives of Bethnal Green

and the effect on these ties of removal to the London County Council's

Estate at Greenleigh.   Though using a much broader canvas, Brennan,

Cooney and Pollins also deal with an area in transition, this time

South-West Wales.[4]   Their main interest lies in changes affecting the

social organization of the latter, especially the gradual breakdown of

what they term the 'local system.'[5]   This consists of a number of

associations, particularly those linked with the Labour Party and the

chapels, whose leadership and membership overlap considerably and hold

tenaciously to the localized, well-established and relatively stable

pattern of social life known for many years.   Brennan and his colleagues

1. Mogey, J.M. Family and Neighbourhood. Oxford, 1956.
2. Ibid. p.152.
3. Young, M. and Willmott, P. Family and Kinship in East London.
    (Revised edition). Harmondsworth, 1962.
4. Brennan, T., Cooney, E.W. and Pollins, H. Social Change in
    South-West Wales. London, 1954.
5. Ibid. p.92.

see the old residents of South-West Wales, deeply involved in this local system, as struggling to maintain their traditional way of life against, on the one hand, that represented by the 'unoriented working class,'[1] who have little interest in the Trades Unions or chapels and whose associational participation is limited to loosely-knit and less formal groupings, such as workingmen's clubs, and, on the other hand, that way of life typified by the 'anglisized middle class'[2] moving into the region with the influx of new industry.

A third group of structural studies within this category deals with areas which have been settled comparatively recently. One such is Willmott's book on Dagenham, Essex, in which he sets out to answer the question, 'What social patterns evolve on housing estates when place and people have had time to settle down; how do they then compare with the "traditional" communities?'[3] He is especially interested in the role of relatives, the relation between generations, sociability amongst friends and neighbours and the effects of affluence on status and social class. He concludes with some practical recommendations concerning the planning of 'one-class' estates. Elias and Scotson, in 'The Established and the Outsiders', describe how their enquiry originally began as an investigation into the high delinquency rate of a neighbourhood of 'Winston Parva,' a suburban development on the outskirts of an industrial

1. Brennan, T., Cooney, E.W. and Pollins, H. Social Change in South-West Wales. London, 1954. p.182 ff.
2. Ibid. pp.182-187.
3. Willmott, P. The Evolution of a Community. London, 1963. p.ix.

town in the Midlands, but later developed into an examination of 'the wider problems of the relationships between different neighbourhoods within a community.'[1] In this case particular attention is paid to 'the power and status relationships'[2] existing within an old well-established working class area more recently experiencing the addition of middle class and rougher working class neighbourhoods. Morris and Mogey have also produced a survey which describes an area only just resettled.[3] In this case residents from Field Farm, a 'rural slum' in Oxfordshire, were rehoused in Berinsfield, a 'model village' built by Bullingdon Rural District Council on the same site. The focus of interest is the old Field Farm residents after removal and 'the social consequences of rehousing.'[4] This study is discussed again in Chapter IV as it employs a theoretical framework for the research quite different from any survey previously mentioned. Nevertheless social relationships between those living on the newly settled Berinsfield estate remain the basic material for description and analysis.

(v) Criticism of the structural approach

One of the recurrent themes of the structural approach is the great importance of the territory or environment on which community is centred. This is indeed a vital matter; no human group can exist or operate independently of the physical situation in which it finds itself. But interest in this structural feature of social life has unfortunately

1. Elias, N. and Scotson, J.L. The Established and the Outsiders. London, 1965. p.ix.
2. Ibid. p.x.
3. Morris, R.N. and Mogey, J. The Sociology of Housing. London, 1965.
4. Ibid. p.xiii.

often led to the misleading assumption that certain physical units
are _per se_ synonymous with community.   Brennan and his colleagues in
their study of South-West Wales state that they propose 'to define a
community as a self-conscious geographical unit, that is to say, an
area of continuous building, with a name used by its inhabitants and
recognized by those who live outside the community but within the
Swansea Area.'[1]   They then go on to identify 55 'communities' in this
region categorized as village, town or metropolis according to
population.   They also believe that the region as a whole 'constitutes
a community with a distinctive unity of its own.'[2]   Although community
is here supposed to embrace the elements of 'self-consciousness' and
'unity' (there is no systematic consideration of indices relating to
these characteristics), definition remains closely tied to the size and
population of the geographical entities dealt with.   Such a conception
of community not only restricts the use of the term to the territorial
base but makes no suggestions as to whether the latter must be large or
small, densely or sparsely populated, one of high or low mobility,
possessing rapid or slow means of communication and so forth.   In other
words, this definition gives little indication of the nature of social
life necessary to permit the designation of particular geographical units
as communities.   Homans' comment on Hilltown could well apply here:
'Because Hilltown still has a name, geographical boundaries, and people

1.   Brennan, T., Cooney, E.W. and Pollins, H.   Social Change in
     South-West Wales.   London, 1954. p.42.
2.   Ibid. p.1

who live within the boundaries, we assume that it is still a community
and therefore judge that it is rotten.   It would be wiser to see that
it is no longer, except in the most trivial sense, a community at all.'[1]

Recent thinking has focused on community as a phenomenon being
less and less associated with this or that specific physical area of
particular size, shape or population.   Nicholson, quoting the
Palermo Report of 1958, writes, ' "In European society there are
already signs that community is becoming a concept which is no longer
confined to a particular locality, or which, indeed, is not primarily
to be identified in terms of locality." '[2]   The search for the ideal
geographical unit has so far proved fruitless and in consequence it is
being questioned whether the search itself was warranted in the first
place.   Nevertheless, as Williams and Pahl show, the physical
environment always has an important influence _on_ communal life.

Allied to the interest of the structural empiricists in the physical
setting of social life, is their belief that by careful arrangement of
material surroundings community can be planned.   The neighbourhood unit
principle, as discussed above, is without doubt the most notable
example of this school of thought.   White argues that 'all the evidence
suggests that there are certain fairly well-defined limits of size,
population, and density within which neighbourliness is easily fostered,

1. Homans, G.C.   The Human Group. London, 1951. p.367
2. Nicholson, J.H. New Communities in Britain.   London, 1961. p.165

and outside which the community tends to disintegrate.'[1] It is very evident that in an urban society where physical surroundings must in large part be man-made there is every reason for a careful examination of the way in which these can be so planned as to bring satisfaction to residents.   The neighbourhood as a unit of social life has had a long and successful career and Cooley writes that 'of the neighbourhood group it may be said, in general, that from the time men formed permanent settlements upon the land, down, at least, to the rise of modern industrial cities, it has played a main part in the primary, heart-to-heart life of the people.'[2]   Even in recent days the neighbourhood unit principle remains attractive to many planners because of its apparent simplicity and there is evidence to support the belief that for some selective categories of people, especially the non-mobile such as children, mothers with young families and old people, the neighbourhood is still the focal point of community life.

But many problems remain.   'In terms of a concept which sees society as intricate and involved, the idea of the neighbourhood unit must be regarded as an over-simplification, to say the least.'[3]   The multiplication of identical physical units gives little depth or variety to the communal relationships of a great number of people whose lives are

1. White, L.E. Community or Chaos. London, 1950. p.41.
2. Cooley, C.H. Social Organization. New York, 1921 (First published 1909), p.25.
3. Herbert, G. The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory. Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213), July 1963. p.195.

only partially linked to the place of residence.   Too little attention
has also been given to the matter of the size of the neighbourhood with
respect to the type of communal relationships hoped for amongst residents.
If the unit, as Perry conceived it, is taken to have a population of
around 5,000, this is obviously too large, especially in an age of high
mobility, for the establishment of many primary contacts and too small
to foster the feeling of corporate identity induced by self-sufficiency.

The neighbourhood principle also seems to ignore the question of
social change and is in essence too rigid for dealing with 'the living,
growing, developing, ever-changing city.'[1]   It is here that the
structural empirical approach meets a major criticism; the inability to
see community as process as well as structure.   As Herbert states,
'Obviously, to find an appropriate form for an ever-changing and complex
process is a problem on a different level to that which seeks a form for
a city as a defined and static thing.'[2]   One cannot help but conclude
with Mann that 'the protagonists of the neighbourhood unit plan have an
amazing faith in the influence of physical environment on the individual,
and along with this an extremely vague understanding of the social
factors in group life as contrasted with ecological ones.'[3]

In his essay on 'Blueprint for Living Together,' Kuper writes,

1.   Ibid. p.188.
2.   Ibid. p.198.
3.   Mann, P.H. Community and Neighbourhood with Reference to Social
     Status. (Ph.D. Thesis, Unpublished) University of Nottingham, 1955.
     p. 133.

'There is obviously no simple mechanical determination of social life by the physical environment. The social consequences of the plan depend finally on the residents. If the goal of neighbourhood planning is a more active social life, then we have to rely primarily on the contribution of the people themselves.'[1] As mentioned, the neighbourhood unit principle has been closely associated with other attempts to promote community by encouraging 'the contribution of the people themselves.' The effort has been made, on the one hand, to provide good leadership through the planning of 'balanced communities' and, on the other, to encourage communal life by the construction of community centres. Mann points out a number of snags which have undermined these aspirations. Demographically speaking, a neighbourhood which is 'mixed' in relation to national proportions, will have a working class population far outweighing, even overwhelming, the middle class element and the over-worked minority would no doubt move at the first opportunity.[2] In addition, if, as certain advocates of the balanced neighbourhood idea admit, there is a 'natural urge towards class or social segregation .....' then physical planning alone is unlikely to have very much effect unless the location of dwellings becomes part of an authoritarian pattern of government.'[3] As regards the establishment of community centres, 'there

1. Kuper, L. et al. Living in Towns. London, 1953, p.177.
2. Mann, P.H. An Approach to Urban Sociology. London, 1965. p.179.
3. Ibid. p.181.

are no concrete suggestions as to what the catalytic common interests
and purposes are to be that will bring all the people of the
neighbourhood together.'   The conclusion reached by Morris and Mogey
that the main attractions of the Berinsfield centre 'were undoubtedly
the jumble sales and the bingo drives' can hardly be said to be of great
inspiration to those concerned with the establishment of community at
any real depth, though this is not to underrate the value of such
activities for certain sections of the population.[1]   A major criticism
of this further attempt to organize community is that again it is too
anchored to the prior belief that one type of geographical unit, in this
case, the neighbourhood, is in itself ideal for the task in hand. ·   This
fallacy has already been dealt with above.

The structural approach to the study of community which is chiefly
involved with the classification of social data is of even less
significance for the purposes of this thesis.   This type of enquiry does
emphasize, however, the importance of discovering objective, measurable
and reliable indices of the nature of communal life.   This task will
have to be faced later when the matter of empirical operationalization
is considered.   But very often it is hard to assess the extent to which
the variables selected by the classifiers are in fact essential features
of urban or communal; the choice seems to be subservient to the data

1.   Morris, R.N. and Mogey, J.   The Sociology of Housing.
     London, 1965, pp. 70-73.

actually available.   Moser and Scott, for example, are largely

restricted to the contents of the 1951 Census and acknowledge that no

adequate material was to hand for earnings, employment, land use,

entertainment and leisure activities, crime and so forth.[1]   The value of

their method of enquiry would also be greatly enhanced by the repetition

of such an analysis at regular intervals.   There is, however, no

guarantee that each census will collect data in exactly the same form

related to exactly the same geographical units or that the indices

themselves as pointers to the existence of different types of urban

communities might not alter in significance.   Moser and Scott themselves

voice the confident hope that their research will be repeated, this time

based on the 1961 Census, but in 1969 this wish still remains unfulfilled.

The classifiers appear therefore, to be unable to contribute very much

towards an examination of the nature and degree of community in itself.

As Reissman says, 'Working on the index before the theory is very much

like putting the cart before the horse, with the added confusion of not

knowing where the beast really is.'[2]

In those enquiries concerned with the description and analysis of

social relationships, the structural empiricists offer one of their most

valuable contributions to the study of community.   The basic emphasis

of such authors is the important assertion that every viable human group,

1. Moser, C.A. and Scott, W. British Towns. Edinburgh and London,
    1961. p.vii.
2. Reissman, L. The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964. p.92.

not least a community, must possess some social framework within which the actors can be allocated their parts, for the necessary ordering of their own behaviour and of the activities of the cast as a whole. All community studies must take into account, stress these writers, the importance of social norms, manifest in custom, law, institutional patterns and the whole network of role, status and class. This emphasis is obviously vital and studies which underrate the function of the pattern of social relationships in the social system neglect that without which groups could not survive nor community exist.

However, the difficulty with a large number of structural analyses is that they overstress just this aspect of group life. The approach is lop-sided and community is assumed to be almost exclusively bound up with the institutional framework, the pattern of roles and the status and class systems. Both Stacey's study of Banbury and Willmott's of Dagenham, for example, are open to this criticism; social structure dominates the scene. Furthermore, structural analyses are too often preoccupied with the outward shape and form of communal life; too little interested in the attitudes of people towards the groups with which they are associated and to their role and status in the latter. Some writers forget that 'what is perhaps one of the most important factors in the analysis of urbanism is the distinction that must be made between the overall social structure and the social structure as seen and felt by the individual.'[1] Any study of community, therefore, must take into

1. Mann, P.H. _An Approach to Urban Sociology._ London, 1965, p.113.

account not only the usual pattern of social behaviour as it appears outwardly, but the attitudes of people towards the normative order as a whole.

A final criticism of those empiricists emphasizing social structure is that, as in the case of Williams' work on Gosforth or Morris and Mogey in their study of Berinsfield, too much stress is put on the static and too little on the dynamic aspects of community life. The presupposition is that the group is, or ought to be, very well integrated and stable. Changes of course must come but the disturbance of the equilibrium is regarded as undesirable or unfortunate, an attitude especially prominent in studies where the break-up of well-established patterns of communal life seem to be in the offing. There is here little scope for the view of social life as process, as a pattern of perpetual change and in continuous transition, and less interest still in the communal functions, especially the positive functions, of social competition and conflict. Although the causes and consequences of communal change are sometimes explored through an examination of the transformation which is taking place in the social structure of the group, the lack of attention given to social action produces a very inadequate picture of the social processes at work in community life. The study of _both_ social structure _and_ social action must be undertaken if the expression and intensity of community sentiment is to be adequately analysed and assessed.

B. The social action approach

The social action approach to the study of community can be divided into three categories: (i) those studies mainly involved in describing the various activities of residents of this or that locality, (ii) those which examine certain problems within community life and (iii) those which both diagnose difficulties and initiate remedies.

(i) Descriptive studies

Two kinds of social action studies of a descriptive character can be distinguished. On the one hand, there are those which take a comprehensive view of the life of the group, describing this not so much in terms of social relationships as in terms of the things people do. The emphasis is on communal action rather than social structure. On the other hand, there are those enquiries which focus attention on specific incidents and, through a detailed consideration of these, come to general conclusions about the nature of the group and its life as a whole.

In connection with the comprehensive type of descriptive study, it is necessary to mention here the famous survey of Middletown (Muncie, Indiana) by the Lynds, especially their first volume. The Chapter headings of the latter indicate the emphasis on activity rather than structure: 'Getting a Living ..... Making a Home ..... Training the Young ..... Using Leisure ..... Engaging in Religious Practices ..... Engaging in Community Activities.'[1] The aim is systematic description

1. Lynd, R.S. and Lynd, H.M. Middletown. London, 1929.

through an extremely detailed report of daily life in Muncie during the mid 1920s. It is true that the Lynds organize their work from the beginning in terms of two broad social classes, the working class and the business class, but this framework never destroys the dynamic nature of the descriptive material. The Lynds' second volume, however, is far more of a structural study, being concerned with the class system in relation to economic and power relations.[1] Madge makes the comment that in 'Middletown in Transition,' whilst Robert Lynd 'retained something of the structure of the earlier Middletown, this time he substituted for his dead-pan "getting at the facts" a hard-hitting exposure of the sources of power in what he still regarded as a typical American city.'[2]

To revert to the British field, a somewhat less ambitious descriptive study is that by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter in which they portray the life of Ashton, a small mining town in the West Riding of Yorkshire.[3] Although social relationships are also the concern of the authors, the account is couched in social action style, what the men and women and children actually do day by day being very prominent in the descriptive material. The impression given is that of a busy, active town; 'Drinking, betting, swearing and Saturday night hops'[4] being amongst those activities reported on which would hardly feature in a more

1. Lynd, R.S. and Lynd, H.M. Middletown in Transition. London, 1937.
2. Madge, J. The Origins of Scientific Sociology. London, 1962. p.131.
3. Dennis, N., Henriques, F. and Slaughter, C. Coal is Our Life.
4. Frankenberg, R. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth, 1966. p.139.

structurally dominated study. The book has as much the atmosphere of a novel as of a scientific treatise, perhaps one of the more noteworthy marks of this category of social action study.

The second kind of descriptive study attempts to go deeper though on a more limited front. The aim is to select 'dramatic occurrences' (events, ceremonials or customs) and by a detailed description and analysis of these to learn more about the function of communal activities, the pattern of social relationships and the bearing of 'national norms and mores'[1] on local life. In British empirical community studies, this method of enquiry is in its infancy. As Frankenberg, the main advocate of this approach, states, 'In some spheres the _form_ of British society is well documented. The relationship of social class and status to family life, politics and style of life is well known in general terms. There are however few detailed studies of individual events.'[2] One of the few examples of a full examination of the dramatic _event_ occurs in Frankenberg's own book 'Village on the Border'[3] in which he describes at length the circumstances which led to football being replaced by the local carnival as the external symbol of village unity.

Alongside the dramatic event, Frankenberg places the drama of ceremonial and the drama of custom. These dramatic occurrences he believes can also reveal the true character of communal life. Examples

1. Frankenberg, R. _British Community Studies: Problems of Synthesis in_ Banton, M. (ed.) _The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies._ (pp.123-154). London, 1966. p.148.
2. _Ibid._ p.145.
3. Frankenberg, R. _Village on the Border._ London, 1957.

of this kind of reporting are again few and far between in British

studies and Frankenberg mentions only five descriptions of ceremonial

events: 'An account has been presented of funerals in the Hebrides, and

a detailed analysis of a funeral in South Wales.   Less satisfactory

but still welcome are descriptions of a marriage in Bethnal Green, a club

night out in Ashton, and a council meeting in Glossop.'[1] Frankenberg

includes within this category of dramatic occurrences '(a) Ceremonials

surrounding individual and family life crises - such as christenings,

weddings and funerals and (b) reactions to individual tragedies such as

"whiprounds" after fire, flood, and accident. (c) Perennial occurrences

such as Christmas, Easter, bank holidays, holidays in general, elections

and meetings. (d) Occasional celebrations such as Coronations, victory

parades, etc.'[2] Frankenberg gives no examples of the study of custom as

drama but suggests that the various ways of celebrating the festival of

Christmas might be so used.   But whether the approach be by means of a

description of the dramatic event, ceremony or custom, the initial focus

of attention is always the social action of the performers.

(ii) Problem-centred studies

British community studies have probably been stimulated more by a

desire to 'solve problems' than by any other motive.   It is, therefore,

1. Frankenberg, R. British Community Studies: Problems of Synthesis in
    Banton, M. (ed.) The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies.
    (pp.123-154). London, 1966. p.145.
2. Ibid. p.146.

not surprising that many structural as well as social action enquiries
share this underlying feature in common, a reflection of the pragmatic
nature of British sociology as a whole.   But although a number of
structurally orientated enquiries deal with social problems, the study of
social action provides perhaps an even more important means of approach.

One recurring theme within this category has been the 'problem' of
the decline and decay of rural areas.   Taken as a whole, Frankenberg's
survey of life in Glynceiriog(he names the village 'Pentrediwaith'
meaning 'village of no work') is of this kind and 'tells the story of a
struggle to survive as a community against the pressure of the outside
world, and against the enticements of amusements open to individuals
alone.'[1]   The concern of the author is disclosed in the final paragraph:
'Improvements in public transport, television, radio and the cinema have
already diminished the interest of the young people in the village and
its affairs.   Emigration in search of better economic and leisure
opportunities is taking its toll.   These developments decrease the
number of cross-cutting ties which bind Pentre people into a community.
As many of the older villagers fear, the time may come, if these
developments continue, when the village ceases to be a village community
and becomes merely a collection of dwellings, housing some of the
industrial workers of Great Britain.'[2]   Although Frankenberg makes use

1. Frankenberg, R. Village on the Border. London, 1957. p.7.
2. Ibid. p.157.

of a structural framework (the actors are classified according to sex, religious affiliation and length of residence within the village), he is especially interested in how village activities throw light on the 'problems' just mentioned.

The problems caused by removal and rehousing alluded to in the discussion of the work of the structural empiricists have also been tackled from the standpoint of social action. One study of the latter kind, concerned with a comparison of life in old and new urban areas, is Jenning's 'Societies in the Making.'[1] This is a description of the demolition of the old neighbourhood of Barton Hill, Bristol, and the resettlement of residents both on the large estate at 'Mossdene' as well as in new dwellings within Barton Hill itself. Jennings' study in large part takes the form of a narrative of events whilst at the same time being an attempt to search for 'some practical solutions to the problems arising out of redevelopment of old urban areas.'[2] But she also set herself the closely related task of looking for 'the deeper and more permanent factors which affect the social bond in all types of area.'[3] Her findings in connection with the latter object are of especial importance for this thesis and will be discussed in Chapter IV.

1. Jennings, H. Societies in the Making. London, 1962.
2. Ibid. p.13.
3. Ibid. p.13.

Although that aspect of rehousing linked with difficulties

encountered by residents as they arrive and settle down in new areas

has been a fairly well-documented interest of structural studies

(possibly because social relationships between old inhabitants and

newcomers or between newcomers themselves have been an obvious subject

for investigation), the problems involved have also been the concern of

social action studies.   Reference has already been made to the way in

which structural empiricists have occupied themselves with the

organization of new neighbourhoods - physical planning, balanced social

classes to provide good leadership and so forth.   The social action

approach, however, pays far greater attention to the activities of new

residents, especially in connection with residents and community

associations, i.e., to the possibility of establishing community through

social interaction.

One pioneer study of this kind is that of Ruth Durant who deals with

the problems which faced the new estate at Watling during the late 1920s

and 1930s.[1]   'Two questions prompted the Watling survey.   One, has the

New Housing Estate grown into a community?   The other, what role has the

community centre played in local social life?'[2]   Durant states that her

conclusions 'were based in the main on how people lived and on what they

did rather than on what they said,'[3] (this being the opposite method of

1. Durant, R. Watling. London, 1939.
2. Ibid. p.ix.
3. Ibid. p.ix.

enquiry from the structural approach of Morris and Mogey at Berinsfield who relied almost entirely on the interview schedule and based their analysis on peoples verbally expressed attitudes to one another). Durant traces in some detail the rise and fall of Watling's residents' and community associations, but their activities do not seem to have fulfilled the desired functions for 'whilst Watling grew more and more into an ordinary town, it looked less and less like a traditional community of people.'[1] 'Its societies do not correct, but merely reflect atomisation. In the long run Watling is not much more than a huge hotel without a roof; the constant turnover of population is the greatest single handicap to its developing into a community.'[2] Durant (in the social action tradition) believes that if only the residents would come together to solve their many common problems 'the Estate would be transformed into a community.'[3]

(iii) Action research

A final category covers those enquiries which attempt both to diagnose social ailments and to prescribe and administer a remedy. The problem-centred studies in the previous category, which advocate salvation through interaction, especially in relation to community associations, might have been included here but for the fact that few of the authors set out from the beginning with the intention of

1. Durant, R. Watling. London, 1939. p.117.
2. Ibid. p.119.
3. Ibid. p.19.

initiating remedies themselves in the locality studied.   In the field

of community studies Festinger and Kelley, two Americans, were first

on the scene with respect to what has come to be known as 'action

research.'   In 1947, at 'Baytown,' New England, Madge describes how

'the authors set out to make a direct and experimental intervention in

the life of a selected community to ascertain whether the attitudes of

its members could be modified toward a better perception of their own

status so that they might interact more comfortably with the town in
                                       1
which the community was located.'   The 'selected community' was 'Regent

Hill,' an area of a hundred dwellings on the North side of Baytown,

built in war-time for shipyard workers.   In 1947, there still existed

amongst the leaders of Baytown a slight feeling that the Regent Hill

residents were interlopers whilst a degree of 'self-hatred' was

discernible amongst the Regent Hill folk themselves springing from the

conviction (unfounded) that their own social status was lower than that

of the townspeople.   The means by which the authors hoped to achieve

their aim was through the improvement of contacts within Regent Hill

itself in order to heighten self respect and make interaction with the

town more fruitful.   A community worker was introduced and social

activities for residents initiated.   The project ran into many

difficulties and positive results were only achieved amongst those local

people who from the outset had been favourable towards outside

1. Madge, J. The Origins of Scientific Sociology. London, 1962, p.489.

intervention.   Nevertheless, despite the many limitations of the
experiment, some evidence was produced to underline 'the crucial role
of social action in facilitating upward mobility.'[1]

Within this category, two British studies are of interest.   One of
these is a survey and experiment carried out in 'Southbridge,'
Birmingham, between 1957 and 1960, to assess and try to reduce 'the
extent of unmet need.'[2]   As a result of over 250 interviews in the area
a list of these 'needs' was drawn up and action recommended (in this
case to the local churches) to assist the statutory social services in
the alleviation of distress and 'to bring an experience of community to
the localities concerned.'[3]   The scheme of neighbourly help resulting
from this enquiry was the prototype for several similar ventures now
operating in other parts of this country.[4]

The term 'action research'[5] was itself coined by a team of research
workers who spent five years (1953-1958) investigating and taking part
'in the life of a developing community in Bristol, in an attempt to
establish practical means of tackling those stresses and strains which
arise in such a community in the form of delinquency and other
disturbances.'[6]   The three ways in which attempts were made to initiate

1. Madge, J.   The Origins of Scientific Sociology. London, 1962.p.508.
2. Responsibility in the Welfare State? Birmingham, 1961. p.7.
3. Ibid. p.77.
4. The Caring Community. London, 1966.
5. Spencer, J.   Stress and Release in an Urban Estate. London, 1964.p.6.
6. Ibid. p.3.

change were those of material improvement, through better physical amenities, of educational improvement ('education through involvement'[1] as it was termed) and through the improvement of social relationships. Once again a number of social activities were initiated and their progress studied. The book concludes with a number of recommendations (eg. the appointment of a full-time 'community organizer') in the hope that the work begun in large part by the team might be continued after their departure. No final assessment is made of the experiment, other commentaries on the project still remaining to be published.

(iv) Criticism of the social action approach

Criticism of the social action approach begins with those studies designated earlier as 'descriptive.' Such reporting is usually detailed, precise and lively. Madge describes the contents of 'Middletown' as 'vivid, fresh, trustworthy, informative, thoughtful'[2] and the novel-like character of other works has already been referred to. But books of this kind can all too easily become the victims of passing years. There is little attempt to relate the wealth of factual material to any overall theoretical model with the consequence that this 'raw empiricism'[3] becomes local history rather than sociology, dated and restricted rather than lasting and of general significance. As will be seen when we come to deal with the theoreticians, this weakness presents

1. Spencer, J. Stress and Release in an Urban Estate. London, 1964. p.35.
2. Madge, J. The Origins of Scientific Sociology. London, 1962. p.146.
3. Ibid. p.130.

many problems for those seeking to collate and compare empirical community studies.

The study of communal life through the dramatic event, ceremonial or custom opens up a fresh and interesting means of enquiry and may well provide a more penetrating understanding of what is actually happening within the group, especially in regard to group attitudes and motives, than more traditional methods allow. There could, however, be a tendency to lay too much store by the actions witnessed or views expressed when group members are obviously tense (dramatic event) or acting in accordance with communal traditions (dramatic ceremonial or custom). The question posed is the accuracy with which these occasions represent the 'real' sentiments of the group. Social drama might, for example, be just a means of what Sumner calls 'conventionalization.' The latter 'creates a set of conditions under which a thing may be tolerated which would otherwise be disapproved and tabooed ..... This intervention of conventionalization to remove cases from the usual domain of the mores into a special field, where they can be protected and tolerated by codes and standards modified in their favour, is of very great importance. It accounts for many inconsistencies in the mores.'[1] The study of dramatic occurrences could thus lead to a wholly misleading understanding of current and 'genuine' norms.

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1. Sumner, W.G. _Folkways_. New York, 1959. (First published 1906). pp. 68 & 69.

Another difficulty, not really dealt with by Frankenberg, is that concerning the selection of the social dramas to be studied; which is the observer to choose as most worthy of investigation and most revealing in character? (Davies and Rees, for example, criticize Frankenberg, in his study of Glynceiriog, for being too concerned with football, the village carnival and local government when in fact the chapel and its functions would be of at least equal importance to Welshmen.)[1]   On the more practical level, one might enquire how incidents and activities of an often spontaneous kind and of very short duration can be recorded accurately enough to be of wider value?   If, as is sometimes the impression, the study of social drama is to be taken as a short-cut to understanding communal life as a whole, then its advocates are always in danger of giving more weight to selected occurrences than they merit. The only way to be able to place the latter in 'a full dramaturgic perspective,'[2] as urged by Stein, is through a thorough acquaintance with the often very 'undramatic' activities and experiences within the daily life of the group.   All these factors taken together make it rather hard to accept that 'the analysis of a cycle of dramatic incidents within their historical and geographical setting seems ..... to be the way forward for British community studies.'[3]   But the examination of social

1. Jenkins, D., Jones, E., Hughes, T.J. and Owen, T.M. Welsh Rural Communities. Cardiff, 1960. p.xi.
2. Stein, M.R. The Eclipse of Community. Princeton, 1960. p.327.
3. Frankenberg, R. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth, 1966. p.293.

drama, and indeed social problems, to which attention is given below, does challenge the rather facile assumption of certain structural studies that the viable group must be in a state of almost continuous equilibrium.

Problem-centred surveys remind one that communal life does continue, and sometimes quite happily, even when difficulties and conflicts arise. This belief that perfect harmony and stability do not always, or possibly ever, exist gives to social action studies in this category another dimension. The group is viewed as perpetually interacting over time, in constant motion rather than stationary and static. It is rather like observing a car on the road, weaving in and out of traffic, slowing down and accelerating, turning off the major highway and coming back onto it, instead of the same vehicle in the garage for servicing, as is the tendency of structural studies.

Nevertheless, despite its dynamic character, problem-centred research has its limitations. The activities studied are necessarily related to the problem under consideration and their wider function in connection with the maintenance of community life as a whole often neglected. The observer is always in danger of reading 'problems' into the situation where for residents of the locality these do not exist as such. For example, the passage from Frankenberg concluding his study of Glynceiriog,[1] which was quoted above, implies that the loss of community

1. Frankenberg, R. Village on the Border. London, 1957. p.157.

is deplored by the villagers. But for the younger members of that locality, whose views are hardly taken into consideration, the problem must surely have been the very reverse; the lack of freedom and opportunity provided by village life. Similarly, in respect to those enquiries concerned with the 'sad' loss of community in new residential areas, one might ask the question, 'For which section of the population is this a real problem?'[1] Only a few writers, such as Cox, have made any attempt to tackle such phenomenon as mobility and anonymity in a positive way. Finally, one has to press the question whether the problem-centred community study distorts the picture by concentrating attention on social problems which are more real to the observer than the observed. It is becoming a common experience to find that so-called 'needs,' mentioned in response to questions from outsiders, have a habit of evaporating when the means to meet them is provided. A good deal of caution would seem to be required in describing social problems or determining social needs.

'Action research' has also brought a new dimension into the study of community.[2] It has been called social 'psychotherapy' rather than sociology as such. A more appropriate term would probably be 'group dynamics' on a communal level, as Madge describes it. The latter

1. Cox, H. _The Secular City_. London, 1965. pp.38-59.
2. Spencer, J. _Stress and Release in an Urban Estate_. London, 1964. p.319.

continues, 'One is left with the feeling that group dynamics has a most
exciting contribution to make to the analysis and control of society,
but that this contribution could be made still greater by a fuller
awareness of sociological dimensions.'[1] As always, many difficulties
remain to be dealt with.   One of these is the matter of whether or not
the motive for intervention should be made public; here Festinger and
Kelley ran into trouble by being 'found out' when their project was well
underway.   Another relates to the cures prescribed.   Are these going
to be as acceptable to the 'patient' as the action researchers would
hope?   Can the 'treatment' be made continuous or will it collapse when
the team withdraws?   More experiments need to be made before there can
be any hope of providing answers.   Nevertheless the attempt at deep
involvement in the life of the group, necessitated by this method of
enquiry, can add depth to the insights gained and analysis made.

One final and important point in relation to both the social action
and structural approaches remains to be added.   Preoccupation with
interaction (as with structure) leaves open the whole question of whether
community as such exists and, if so, at what level.   It is true that
here and there a section appears which attempts to say something about
the nature of the group's communal life (as is the case with the Lynds'
Chapter in 'Middletown' on 'Things Making and Unmaking Group Solidarity')[2],

1. Madge, J.   The Origins of Scientific Sociology. London, 1962.
2. Lynd, R.S. and Lynd, H.M. Middletown. London, 1929. p.513.

but all too frequently the essential ingredients of community are unspecified. Consequently, whilst the social structure and/or social activities of the area are described in some detail, the communal function of these remains superficially or haphazardly analysed. Further, there is little attempt to specify which of these social structures or activities contribute most to the development and maintenance of the group as a community. It could of course be argued that many empirical enquiries are not particularly concerned with the nature or expression of community itself, but, whilst these surveys still retain the title 'community studies,' one cannot help feeling that some indication of what the concept means should be included.

Unfortunately it can be said of the empirical writers as a whole that, because there is so little attention paid to a definition of the term 'community,' the concept as employed by them remains one of the most ambiguous in sociological study; it is taken as synonymous with a bewildering array of geographical entities or associational groupings. The former were discussed in the comments made on the structural approach. With respect to the latter, two structural studies can be mentioned. Williams, in his book on Gosforth,[1] has a Chapter on 'Community' which obviously pitches the concept at village level, whilst Willmott calls his survey of Dagenham[2] (with a population of 90,000, described by the author

1. Williams, W.M. Gosforth. London, 1956.
2. Willmott, P. The Evolution of a Community. London, 1963.

as 'the biggest housing estate in the world') 'The Evolution of a [1]

Community'; not a line appearing on any definition of the term

'community.' The social action writers fare little better. Amongst

social action studies, Frankenberg in his book on Glynceiriog has a [2]

Chapter entitled 'The Village Community,' with no indication of what the

term 'community' adds to the word 'village.' Ruth Durant has a Section

in her book on Watling called 'The Community,' where it is the whole [3]

township that is being described. And so one might go on. A mere

handful of '<u>community</u> studies' make any effort to outline distinctly the

basic features of this ubiquitous concept. This is not a criticism of

the great value of many such studies in other respects. It is merely to

point out that for the purposes of this thesis one must delve somewhat

deeper and be rather more systematic than is so far the case with a good

deal of empirical research in this field.

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1. Willmott, P. <u>The Evolution of a Community</u>. London, 1963. p.4.
2. Frankenberg, R. <u>Village on the Border</u>. London, 1957.
3. Durant, R. <u>Watling</u>. London, 1939.

2. The Ecologists

Although the empiricists give certain very useful hints to facilitate the study of community, their work shows a lack of any comprehensive or co-ordinated theoretical framework.   It is only as one moves onto a second major group of 'community studies,' associated with human ecology, that a distinctive theoretical approach emerges. As theory will be even more prominent, whilst empirical endeavour grows less marked, in the final section of this Chapter, it can be said, with Reissman, that 'the ecologists bridge the categories of empiricist and theoretician.'[1]

This section on human ecology will (i) describe the most distinctive theoretical concepts associated with the field (those outlined by the acknowledged founder of this method of enquiry, Robert E. Park) and will comment on these.   It will (ii) examine certain more recent attempts to re-orientate and re-define the subject.   Finally, it will include a criticism of the ecological approach to community study.

(i)   Distinctive theoretical concepts

The word 'ecology' was first coined by a German biologist, Ernst Hackel, about a century ago for a new branch of biological science concerned with the interdependence of plants and animals, and their natural habitat.   The application of ecological insights to human

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1. Reissman, L.   The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964. p.94.

relationships was first demonstrated in 1915 when Charles Galpin wrote
his book 'Social Anatomy of an Agrarian Community' and in 1916 when Park
produced his now famous essay on 'The City.'[1]   The term 'human ecology'
was not in evidence, however, until 1921 when Park and Burgess published
their textbook called 'An Introduction to the Science of Sociology.'
From that period onwards community studies employing ecological concepts
and ideas have multiplied rapidly, especially under the inspiration of
Park, Burgess, McKenzie and their colleagues at Chicago University.

This gathering momentum was not matched by the adoption of a clear
and precise definition of either the concepts used or the field studied
by ecologists.   In fact today, it is necessary to go back some thirty
years to obtain any systematic outline of ecological theory, ie., to the
works of Park who took over this method of description and analogy from
the biologists, then merely a suggestive analogy, and worked it into a
theory concerned with the nature of human existence.   The full breadth
of his vision is demonstrated in a series of edited writings, spanning
the years from 1916 to 1939, under the title 'Human Communities,'[2] from
which much of the material here cited is drawn.

Rather than outline in one's own words the basic structure of Park's
ecological model, it is better to let him speak for himself: 'The fact
seems to be ..... that human society, as distinguished from plant and

1.   Timasheff, N.S.   Sociological Theory. (Revised edition).
     New York, 1955.   p.213.
2.   Park, R.E.   Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952.

animal society, is organized on two levels, the biotic and the cultural.
There is a symbiotic society based on competition and a cultural society
based on communication and consensus.   As a matter of fact the two
societies are merely different aspects of one society, which, in the
vicissitudes and changes to which they are subject remain, nevertheless,
in some sort of mutual dependence each upon the other.   The cultural
superstructure rests on the basis of the symbiotic substructure, and the
emergent energies that manifest themselves on the biotic level in
movements and actions reveal themselves on the higher social level in
more subtle and sublimated forms.'[1]

This somewhat brief statement can be illustrated by a diagram
and a chart.

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1. Park, R. E.   <u>Human Communities</u>. Glencoe, 1952. p.157.

The ECOLOGICAL MODEL

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┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│                                 │
│         Superstructure          │
│                                 │
│        CULTURAL LEVEL           │
│                                 │
│          (SOCIETY)              │
│                                 │
│                                 │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
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┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                          │
│             BIOTIC LEVEL                 │
│                                          │
│             (COMMUNITY)                  │
│                                          │
│                                          │
│             Substructure                 │
│                                          │
└──────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Direction of 'energies' ↑
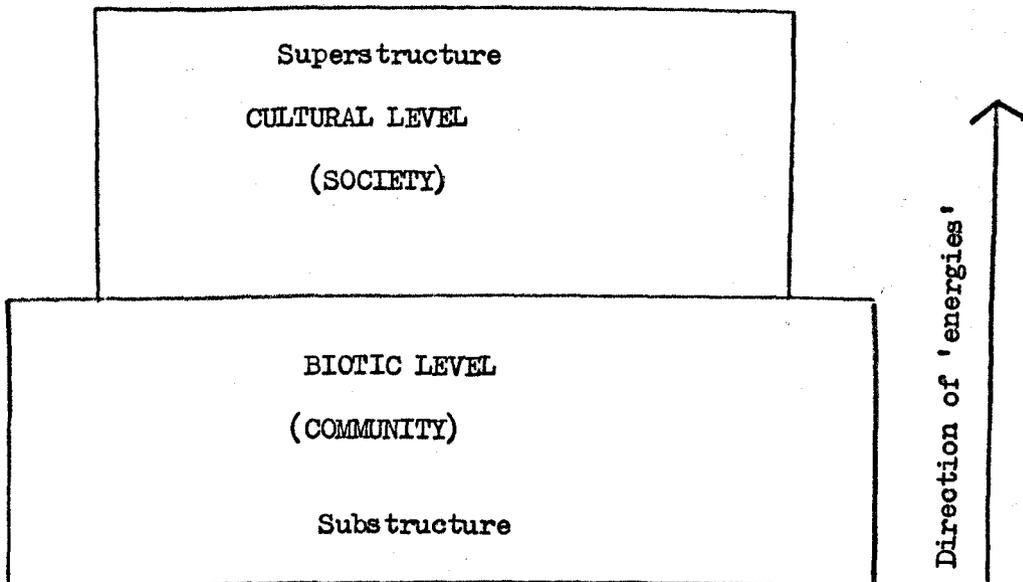
Distinctive features of the biotic and cultural levels of human existence

	BIOTIC (Community)	CULTURAL (Society)
Process:-	'Competitive co-operation'[1]	'Communication and consensus'[2]
Nature of relationships	Symbiotic - 'the living together of distinct and dissimilar species, especially when the relationship is mutually beneficial.'[2]	Social - a culturally ordered and controlled interdependence.

'The ties that unite its individual units are those of a free and natural economy, based on a natural division of labour.'[3]

'A more intimate form of association based on communication, consensus and custom.'[4]

1. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.147.
2. Ibid. p.242.
3. Ibid. p.158.
4. Ibid. p.259.

Manner of
control:-   The struggle for survival -   Tradition and the moral order -
         'anarchic and free' 1   'custom, convention, and law' 3
         'physical and external' 2   'internal and moral' 4

Objects
of study:- Environmental features -   Social relationships
        eg. spatial patterns of   as conditioned and controlled
         human groupings.   by cultural factors.

        Structure and organization -
         eg. the division of labour.

The biotic level of existence, as outlined above, is 'natural' or 'sub-social.' It is an area of 'non-rational' and 'free' activity. On the other hand, the cultural is fully social in character and its activities are rationally organized and traditionally ordered.

Park views these two fields of human existence as separate entities; there is no hint of their being just 'ideal types.' The biotic sphere is that from which the cultural springs and, although the former is in certain respects controlled and directed by the latter, provides the most vital clues to an understanding of the basic nature and pattern of social life. It is the biotic level, therefore, that is the most important field of investigation for human ecologists; cultural factors are to take a secondary place, possibly to be excluded altogether. Park describes the reasons for commencing research at the communal rather than societal level as follows:-

1. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.157.
2. Ibid. p.228.
3. Ibid. p.227.
4. Ibid. p.228.

'The community, if not always identical with society, is, at the very least, the habitat in which alone societies grow up. It provides the economic organization and the necessary conditions in which societies are rooted; upon which, as upon a physical base, they can be established. This is one reason why sociological research may very properly begin with the community. A more practical reason is the fact that the community is a visible object. One can point it out, define its territorial limits, and plot its constituent elements, its population, and its institutions on maps. Its characteristics are more susceptible to statistical treatment than society, in the sense of Comte.'[1]

Park and his followers suggest a number of other ecological features and concepts to assist with the study of communal patterns and relationships. Some of the most interesting of these are outlined by McKenzie in an essay written in 1926.[2] McKenzie's brand of ecology has more of an economic than biological flavour and, unlike Park, he does not, for the purposes of analysis, adhere to the strict exclusion of cultural phenomena.

Burgess takes a number of ecological concepts and integrates them into his now well-known zonal theory concerning the shape and growth of the city.[3] He defines five successive areas of urban extension; the

1. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.182.
2. McKenzie, R.D. The Scope of Human Ecology in Theodorson, G.A. (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston, 1961, pp. 31-36.
3. Burgess, E.W. The Growth of the City in Theodorson, G.A. (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston, 1961, pp.37-44.

central business district, the zone in transition (being invaded by business and light manufacturing concerns), the zone of workingmen's homes, the high-class residential zone and the commuters' zone. He then proceeds to describe urban expansion in terms of 'extension, succession and concentration.' Burgess bases his scheme of growth on the conviction that ecological (natural and unplanned) forces are at work shaping the organization of urban life. Park too believed this and writes, 'The city ..... is not a formal administrative entity. It is rather a product of natural forces, extending its own boundaries more or less independently of the limits imposed upon it for political and administrative purposes.'[1] Zorbaugh also underlines this interpretation of the processes associated with the growth of the city when he says, 'The city is curiously resistant to the fiats of man. Like the Robot, created by man, it goes its own way indifferent to the will of its creator. Reformers have stormed, the avaricious have speculated, and thoughtful men have planned. But again and again their programmes have met with obstacles. Human nature offers some opposition, traditions and institutions offer more; and - of especial significance - the very physical configuration of the city is unyielding to change. It becomes apparent that the city has a natural organization that must be taken into account.'[2]

1. Park. R.E. <u>Human Communities</u>. Glencoe, 1952. p.167.
2. Burgess, E.W. (ed.) <u>The Urban Community</u>. Chicago, 1926. p.219.

The ecologists set to work with their attention focused on the relation between human groups and their environment. They generally agreed that their studies embraced 'two aspects of group structure, both of which depend strongly on sustenance relations between man and physical environment, namely, spatial structure and the division of labour.'[1] But beyond this cases of agreement, conceptual definitions and empirical research fanned out into a multitude of approaches, some of which could hardly be called ecological at all.

(ii)   Two recent restatements

Because of the ramifications of terminology and in the face of telling criticism of theory and research, attempts have been made in more recent times to re-define and clarify the field of ecological study.

One of these is by Quinn who rejects the classical theories associated with the division of society as a whole into biotic and cultural realms. Quinn substitutes for these concepts those of the 'subsocial' and 'social' levels of interaction accepting that the former, which he takes to be the major focus of human ecology, can only be fully understood when its cultural context is taken into account. His own model is built on the two basic concepts of ecological 'interaction' and ecological 'structure.' He defines the former as 'that subsocial type of mutual modification whereby living organisms mutually influence one

1.   Quinn, J.A.   Ecology in Gould, J. and Kolb, W.L. (ed.)   A Dictionary of the Social Sciences.   London, 1964, p.215.

another through increasing or decreasing the limited supply of some
environmental factor upon which the other depends.'[1]   'Ecological
structure consists of that distinctive, impersonal, subsocial aspect of
community or regional organization which arises and changes through the
operation of ecological interaction ..... This ecological structure of
community life presents two distinctive but interrelated aspects - (1)
that of spatial organization, and (2) that of the functional division-
of-labour nexus through which men obtain their living.'[2]   Quinn ac-
knowledges that these aspects cannot be taken as constituting the total
social structure.   He sums up his position by defining human ecology
as 'a specialized field of sociological analysis which investigates (1)
those impersonal subsocial aspects of communal structure - both spatial
and functional - which arise and change as the result of interaction
between men through the medium of limited supplies of the environment,
and (2) the nature and forms of the processes by which this subsocial
structure arises and changes.'[3]

Another important re-statement of the ecologist's case has been
produced by Hawley who regards all human relationships as social.   His
intention is to broaden the field of ecological enquiry and he insists
'that human behaviour and culture are but complex extensions of man's
organic or biotic character, different not in kind but only in degree.'[4]

1. Quinn, J.A. *The Nature of Human Ecology: Re-examination and Redef-
    inition* in Theodorson, G.A. (ed.) *Studies in Human Ecology*
    Evanston, 1961, p.139.
2. Ibid. p.140.
3. Ibid. p.140.
4. Reissman, L. *The Urban Process.* Glencoe, 1964. p.115.

In fact, 'Culture is nothing more than a way of referring to the
prevailing techniques by which a population maintains itself in its
habitat. The component parts of human culture are therefore identical
in principle with the appetency of the bee for honey, the nest-building
activities of birds, and the hunting habits of the carnivors.'[1] From
this vantage point Hawley delineates the area of ecological study as
'the analysis, description, and explanation of community structure.'[2]
Community structure is shaped by the way a population organizes itself
for survival in a particular habitat, one of the basic features of such
organization being the division of labour, ie., differentiation and
specialization. Hawley's approach to human ecology is very much in-
fluenced by economics, which he believes can readily provide indices
of social phenomena of especial interest to the ecologist.

(iii)   Criticism of the ecological approach

The task which now presents itself is an assessment of the work of
the ecologists in relation to the purposes of this thesis. In the
preceding paragraphs, the descriptive outline has purposely been re-
stricted to the more theoretical aspects of ecological writings as it
is in the model and concepts used that the main interest here lies.
As pointed out above, no attempt at systematic model building has really

1. Hawley, A.H. Ecology and Human Ecology in Theodorson, G.A. (ed.)
   Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston, 1961. p.150.
2. Hawley, A.H. Discussion of Hollingshead's 'Community Research:
   Development and Present Condition.' in Theodorson, G.A. (ed.)
   Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston, 1961. p.153.

been made, except by Park, and unfortunately the latter is not always

consistent in the terminology he employs. For example, at the expense

of clarity, he uses the word 'community' and 'society' interchangeably

when talking about the biotic and cultural levels of human existence.

Wirth pertinently comments that 'whereas the indiscriminate use of these

terms leads to confusion, it becomes necessary, if we are to have fairly

stable frames of reference, to state explicitly the meaning we assign to

the words we use.'[1] If, however, one keeps to the meaning of Park's

concepts as generally employed (see the diagram and chart above), the

fundamental weakness of his model is the artificial dichotomy which

appears to exist between community and society. Despite occasional

disclaimers, Park leaves the impression that the two parts of his model

are analytically and empirically distinct. If this be so he faces the

inevitable challenge of distinguishing in practice his theoretically

defined fields of study. This he and his followers have so far failed

to do. They have been unable to convince critics that the biotic sphere

exists independently of the cultural or that the biotic realm gives an

accurate explanation of those activities and social relationships which

exist at the cultural. Alihan who has carried out perhaps the most

thorough examination of the work of the ecologists states that, 'When

we come to the factual ecological studies, there seems to be no

distinction between the "natural" aspects of the economic organization,

1. Wirth, L. On Cities and Social Life. (ed. Reiss, A.J. Jnr.)
    Chicago, 1964. p.166.

which result from competition, and the cultural, or those which are
the product of accommodation and conflict - nor, for that matter,
between any unconsciously effected phenomena and those brought about
consciously.'[1]

The attempt by Quinn to reinstate Park's model by defining the
major sectors of human existence as the subsocial and the social has met
with a similar evaluation by critics. Although Quinn vigorously denies
that he is implying any dichotomy between non-cultural and cultural
factors, others, like Hollingshead, still believe that his approach 'is
in the "classical" ecological tradition and appears to ignore or mini-
mize the cultural factor in the organization and structure of human
communities.'[2] Hawley, himself an exponent of 'neo-ecology,' similarly
comments that 'the distinction between the "sub-social" and the "social"
..... appears to be based more on normative than empirical criteria .....
Whether the "sub-social" and the "social" are observably distinguishable
categories remains to be demonstrated.'[3]

Park on one occasion recognizes the problem when he writes,
'Ecology is concerned with communities rather than societies though it
is not easy to distinguish between them.'[4]   Yet these two major concepts

1. Alihan, M.A. 'Community' and Ecological Studies in Theodorson, G.A.
   (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston, 1961. p.95.
2. Hollingshead, A.H. A Re-examination of Ecological Theory in
   Theodorson, G.A. (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston, 1961. p.110.
3. Hawley, A.H. Discussion of Hollingshead's 'Community Research:
   Development and Present Condition.' in Theodorson, G.A. (ed.)
   Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston, 1961. pp.153 and 154.
4. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.251.

(community and society) were taken into the vocabulary of the ecologist without any indication that they were operationally adequate. 'Unfortunately,' writes Wirth, 'these two ideal typical aspects of human social life have frequently been confused with concrete realities. Thus there has been a failure to see that all communities are also societies and that all human societies bear at least some of the characteristics of communities.'[1] Neither Quinn's attempt to reinstate the subsocial as a distinct and vital sphere of human existence and therefore of sociological research, nor Hawley's attempt to subordinate cultural to physical and economic factors really carries much weight. The empirical evidence to substantiate the separate existence or predominant importance (or even the determinative nature, as sometimes implied) of the biotic sphere in social life remains to be produced. Wirth sums up the situation as follows: 'In view of our present-day knowledge concerning social causation, we might well be predisposed to follow the general principle that physical factors, while by no means negligible in their influence upon social life and psychological phenomena, are at best conditioning factors offering the possibilities and setting the limits for social and psychological existence and development. In other words, they set the stage for man, the actor.'[2]

Despite these weaknesses, the classical model adopted by the early ecologists has something to offer to a deeper understanding of the nature

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1. Wirth, L. On Cities and Social Life. (ed. Reiss, A.J. Jnr.) Chicago, 1964. p.181.
2. Ibid. p.186.

of social life.   If, instead of separating the biotic and cultural sectors, the basic elements of _both_ are brought together into an integrated rather than dichotomous model (though it is realized that this really destroys the distinctive ecological emphasis, at least in relation to theory), we are on the way towards a description of the social system as later defined in this thesis.   As Wirth puts it, the concepts 'community' and 'society' (as understood by Park) are not 'mutually conflicting entities but two mutually complementing aspects of every form of group life.'[1]

It is interesting to note that, in some senses, Park's emphasis on the biotic sphere is akin to the approach of the empiricists discussed earlier who stress structure.   Park's 'community' has a spatial and geographical connotation and is associated with habitat and with residents living within 'a more or less completely closed system.'[2]   Study of the communal level of existence is concerned with the structure of the group, especially in relation to the way a population organizes itself within a distinct territorial area for the provision and maintenance of its economic welfare.   But, unlike a number of structural empiricists, the ecologists are more prepared to reckon with the wide influence and effect of economic (or ecological) factors and are thus in a better position to recognize that the area of urban life studied must be seen in the context of the organization of the whole region or the entire city of which it is

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1. Wirth, L. On Cities and Social Life. (ed. Reiss, A.J. Jnr.) Chicago, 1964. p.167.
2. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.147.

only one segment.   In similar style, Quinn defines human ecology as
the investigation of the 'impersonal subsocial aspects of communal
structure - both spatial and functional.'[1]   It is true that he qualifies
this statement by restricting ecological research to those structures
'which arise and change as the result of interaction' but interaction
in his sense remains confined to the effect of competition for 'limited
supplies of the environment.'   Likewise Hawley aligns himself with the
structural empiricists when he writes, 'Human ecology ..... is concerned
mainly with the structural features of functional organization and with
how these change in response to changes in external conditions.'[2]

   Park's 'society,' on the other hand, bears certain resemblances to
the field of study with which the social action empiricists are concerned.
The emphasis is on social interaction.   Park stresses this feature of
the cultural sphere when he writes, 'Societies are formed for action and
in action.   They grow up in the efforts of individuals to act
collectively.   The structures which societies exhibit are on the whole
the incidental effects of collective action.'[3]

   The parallel between Park's 'community' and the field studied by
the structural empiricists, and between his 'society' and the concern of
the social action empiricists, does not extend much beyond the sim-
ilarities already mentioned.   But the comparison is sufficiently

1.   Quinn, J.A.   The Nature of Human Ecology: Re-examination and
     Redefinition in Theodorson, G.A. (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology
     Evanston, 1961. p.140.
2.   Hawley, A.H.   Human Ecology. New York, 1950. p.180.
3.   Park, R.E.   Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.181.

close for a number of the comments made earlier, concerning the
potentialities and limitations of the two empirical approaches to the
study of community, to apply to classical ecological theory also.   No
attempt will be made to repeat the assessment made in the previous
section.   Suffice it to say that the ecologists, like the empiricists,
fail in the end to discern or describe in any clear and systematic way
those really fundamental features which give to the concept of community
distinctive, lasting and universal significance and which can be
successfully operationalized.

In certain less theoretical respects, however, the contribution of
the ecologists to community study is most valuable.   They have, for
instance, been instrumental in producing and employing a wide variety
of more specific and limited concepts of practical worth.   A number
of these have been mentioned above.   Some, such as the terms 'natural
area'[1] and 'competition,' have required considerable redefinition but
others have stood the test of time and have become useful tools for the
analysis of urban life.   The ecologists were, for example, one of
the first groups of social scientists to appreciate the importance of
the time factor in modern society and their concept of 'ecological
distance'[2] is valuable in this respect.   The ecologists were also to the

1. See eg. Zorbaugh, H.W. The Natural Areas of the City in Burgess,
    E.W. (ed.) The Urban Community, Chicago, 1926. pp.219-229.
2. See eg. McKenzie, R.D. The Scope of Human Ecology in Theodorson,
    G.A. (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology, Evanston, 1961. p.31.

fore in coming to grips with urban life as a continuing process and in attempting to distinguish features and patterns of social change.

In addition ecology, as a school of sociological thought, has produced a wealth of information about the nature of environmental factors in urban life. Since the work of the Chicago team gained international repute, no student of community life dare underestimate the importance of physical environment and the economy on social relationships. The ecologists have once and for all given these features of human existence an undeniable prominence. In connection with this aspect of life in particular, they have developed statistical and graphical techniques for the study of the city which have proved of lasting worth. That these are by no means dependent on the validity of ecological theory as a whole has been clearly demonstrated. The zonal theory of urban growth as outlined by Burgess has, for example, been criticized on many counts, not least that advancing technology gives the lie to the assertion that the city is merely the product of natural forces. Nevertheless, Mann has very recently been able to employ the idea of concentric zones to describe the physical lay-out of Huddersfield, Nottingham and Sheffield and to produce a most interesting plan of the way in which environmental features help to determine the shape of British towns.[1]

Most ecologists have fortunately refused to be bound by the

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1. Mann, P.H. An Approach to Urban Sociology. London, 1965. pp. 72-96.

implications of their theoretical endeavours.   They have explored and
written at great length about the level of human existence which Park
called 'society.'   The results of this lack of consistency have been
fruitful and students of community life remain in the ecologists' debt
not only for their studies of the physical environment and its influence
on man's life but also for a great deal of research carried out in the
ethnic field and in relation to urban social problems.[1]

The ecologists have been the focus of attention here not so much
because of their emphasis on the importance of the urban environment
nor of their empirical endeavours, as because of the theoretical
framework, initially designed by Park, within which they have attempted
to work.   Though, as noted above, the bringing together of the basic
features of both the biotic and societal spheres does give some
indication of the nature of the social system as a whole, the
ecological model gives little assistance in any effort to distinguish
the intrinsic characteristics of community as such.   The search for
the latter is now continued in an examination of the work of a group
of sociologists whose approach to community study is very much more
theoretically developed.

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1.   Burgess, E.W. and Bogue, D.J. (eds.)   Contribution to Urban
     Sociology.   Chicago, 1964.

3.   The Theoreticians

The final section of this chapter is concerned with those students of community life who employ what Reissman calls 'theories of contrast.'[1]   Their main object is to give to the large amount of empirical data some sort of form and order by grouping together distinctive features of different types of communal life.   Such types are then compared or contrasted to highlight their particular characteristics.

As a whole, the theoreticians adopt two methods of approach to their material; analysis based on a dichotomous model and analysis based on the continuum.   The former stresses the distinctive nature of contrasted types of society, the latter the variety of types that appear along a continuous scale.   Inevitably those writers dealing with dichotomies have to assume some link between their polar types in order to make the contrast ultimately meaningful.   Similarly, those emphasising the continuum have to assume the existence of contrasting types at either end.   It is thus not surprising to find a few theoreticians, such as Robert Redfield (folk-urban) and Howard Becker (sacred-secular), combining a description of polar types and an intervening continuum in the same model.

It ought to be noted that the theoreticians in referring to phenomena of a very similar nature use a wide variety of concepts.

1. Reissman, L.   The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964. p.123.

McKinney gives a list of twelve authors employing theories of contrast in their work who, though dealing with social aggregates containing many features in common, use twenty-two different terms.[1]   Another example of this confusing situation is provided by Emile Durkheim who applies the concepts 'organic solidarity' and 'mechanical solidarity' in a way opposite to normal practice, the mechanical in this case referring to the more 'primitive' end of the scale.   It is, therefore, imperative to pay attention to the features that distinguish the types of community described and not to the conceptual titles.

To outline a large number of theories of contrast would be both impossible and pointless for many embrace models with little or no bearing on the main theme of this thesis.   Therefore, only the work of two such writers, Ferdinand Tönnies and Robert Redfield, is described in any detail.   Tönnies is chosen because the conceptual framework outlined by him has, in many ways, become the prototype for later theories of this kind.   He employs a dichotomous approach which seeks to contrast a Gesellschaft with a Gemeinschaft type of society; the latter concept, in translation at least, being related to the central subject of this thesis.[2]   Redfield is chosen because he is one of the few writers who bases his model on first-hand empirical research.   He

1. McKinney, J.C. The Application of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as Related to Other Typologies in Tönnies, F. Community and Society (Translated and supplemented by Loomis, C.P.) Michigan, 1957 (First published 1887). pp.12-29.
2. Tönnies, F. Community and Association. (Translated and supplemented by Loomis, C.P.) London, 1955 (First published 1887). p.xiv.

sets up a continuum between the folk and urban poles, the former being synonymous with what other theoreticians would regard as the communal end of the scale, a link being thus made with the theme of this thesis.

This section will be divided into three main parts. First of all (i) an outline of the models used by Tönnies and Redfield will be given. Then, including examples from the work of other writers in this field, an assessment will be made of the theoreticians' approach to the study of community in relation to (ii) conceptual considerations and (iii) empirical operationalization.

(i)   Ferdinand Tönnies and Robert Redfield

Ferdinand Tönnies was born in 1855 on the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein. He was brought up in a countryside of farms and small towns and came to know intimately the nature of community life in that area. He witnessed the impact of capitalism on his native territory and the turning of Eiderstadt into an administrative district. He also saw the first big labour strikes in that region. Tönnies was thus in a good position to work out a model representing the contrasting elements in the types of social relationships which he himself had experienced.

Tönnies' starting point is social psychology rather than sociology proper. He begins by singling out two forms of human will which he believes to be the basic ingredients of the one or the other type of

wider corporate relationships; natural will (typical of Gemeinschaft) and rational will (typical of Gesellschaft).   As Loomis puts it, 'The keystones of Tönnies' system are the concepts or ideal types, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, which are based primarily upon natural will and rational will.'[1]   Tönnies then proceeds to construct an extremely complex system of characteristics typical of his two major categories of human relationships.   The wide range of topics covered by this system can be seen from the selection of features listed below.[2]

Main headings
        Natural will   (Psychical ✗)   Rational will
        Gemeinschaft   (Social ✗)   Gesellschaft

Sub-headings
   (i) Forms of social will (social control)
        Concord   (Order ✗)   Convention
   Folkways and mores   (Law ✗)   Legislation
        Religion   (Morality ✗)   Public Opinion

(ii) Occupations
Home or household economy (Economic)   Trade
   Agriculture   (Technological)   Industry
   Art   (Cultural - in the sense   Science
                    of the basis of thinking
                    and conceptualizing)[3]

   ✗   as described by Loomis

Tönnies implies that the whole gamut of social relationships can be subsumed under his main headings and believes that an important step is

1. Tönnies, F. Community and Association. (Translated and supplemented by Loomis, C.P.) London, 1955 (First published 1887). p.xiv.
2. Ibid. pp.270-271 and 278-279.
3. Ibid. pp.278-279.

thus taken to an objective assessment of 'the spirit of the age.'

If Tönnies was the leading exponent of the dichotomous theory of types for the analysis of social relationships, Robert Redfield (1897-1958) was an important advocate of the continuum. Redfield, an anthropologist associated for much of his academic life with the University of Chicago, received his introduction to the main stream of sociological ideas from Park. His work, however, remains significant in its own right.

One of Redfield's most influential books is that concerned with 'The Folk Culture of Yucatan,' a Mexican peninsula where he undertook research from 1927 until about 1936.[1] His work was centred on four places: a tribal settlement (Tusik), a peasant village (Chan Kom), a town (Dzitas) and a city (Merida). Redfield believes these to be typical of four steps or stages along the social gradient from the folk (isolated and homogeneous) to the urban (mobile and heterogeneous) type of society. He specifies ten indices of these four types of group, which describe and measure the degree of urbanization, as follows: 'The peasant village as compared with the tribal village, the town as compared with the peasant village, or the city as compared with the town is (i) less isolated; (ii) more heterogeneous; (iii) characterized by a more complex division of labour; (iv) has a more completely

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1. Redfield, R. The Folk Culture of Yucatan. Chicago, 1941.

developed money economy; (v) has professional specialists who are more secular and less sacred; (vi) has kinship and godparental institutions that are less well organized and less effective in social control; (vii) is correspondingly more dependent on impersonally acting institutions of control; (viii) is less religious, with respect both to beliefs and practices of Catholic origin as well as those of Indian origin; (ix) exhibits less tendency to regard sickness as resulting from a breach of moral or merely customary rule, (x) allows a greater freedom of action and choice to the individual.'[1] In refining his theory further, Redfield writes, 'It has been discovered that the less isolated and more heterogeneous societies of the series of four in Yucatan are the ones which are more characterized by disorganization of culture, by secularization, and by individualization. The conclusions are generalizations on many particular facts. The assertions are "on the whole" true.'[2] With some caution he thus puts forward his folk-urban continuum not only as a theory of contrast but also as one of evolutionary change. 'The implication clearly is that the little community is giving way to the larger, urban, secular society. There is no doubt that Redfield was neither sanguine nor pleased about the changes. He preferred the small, primitive, isolated community which was the primary subject of the anthropologist.'[3]

1. Redfield, R. The Folk Culture of Yucatan. Chicago, 1941. p.338.
2. Ibid. p.342.
3. Reissman, L. The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964. p.131.

(ii)   Criticism of the theoretical approach: conceptual considerations

(a)   Typical characteristics

The first major problem that faces all theoreticians concerns the features selected to distinguish the various types of social aggregate. The task presented is that of conceptual operationalization, ie., the singling out of features of universal application (such as Redfield's ten folk-urban characteristics) typical of the social units concerned.

There has, however, been little agreement about which social characteristics should be included or excluded even when types appear very similar in nature.   Hillery analyses ninety-four definitions of community only to find that less than one-quarter of them produce anything like a common formula and that at least sixteen mutually exclusive elements are evident overall.[1]   Dewey carries out a similar analysis of definitions of urbanization and, in eighteen books or articles, finds forty miscellaneous features listed.[2]   The term 'heterogeneity' which appears most often is still only mentioned by eleven of the writers.

Akin to this difficulty is the tendency of some theoreticians to include within a single type a whole constellation of characteristics; a feature of Tönnies' work and, to a lesser extent, of Redfield's too. But whereas the latter at least attempts to relate his conceptual scheme

1. Hillery, G.A. _Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement._ Rural Sociology. Vol.20, No.2. (pp.111-123). June 1955.
2. Dewey, R. _The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant._ Amer. J.Sociol. Vol.66, No.1. (pp.60-66). July 1960.

to his empirical research, a good number of writers provide inadequate

evidence to support the criteria on which the inclusion or exclusion

of their many typical characteristics is based.

Another problem arises in connection with which of the components

of each type are to be taken as most determinative, ie., which stand as

independent and which dependent variables.   Redfield acknowledges that

'the problem is seen as one of the relation among variables.'[1]   He

himself takes isolation and homogeneity as independent variables,

organization or disorganization, individualization and secularization

as dependent variables.   For Durkheim, studying different types of

social solidarity, it is the division of labour which takes pride of

place.[2]   Mann commenting on the pioneer work of Sorokin and Zimmerman

on rural-urban differences states that these writers 'consider the

principal criterion of difference between rural and urban society to

be occupational. From this basic difference a further series of

differences can be developed, most of which are related in some way to

the basic one.'[3]   These diverse judgments appear to be of a somewhat a

priori kind and more empirical evidence to justify the determination of

the most important variables would aid clarification and assessment.

1. Redfield, R. The Folk Culture of Yucatan. Chicago, 1941.p.344.
2. Durkheim, E. The Division of Labour in Society. (Translated by
    Simpson, G.) Glencoe, 1933 (First published 1893).
3. Mann, P.H. An Approach to Urban Sociology. London, 1965. p.7

A final criticism concerning typical features is that the choice made is, often without being realized or acknowledged, historically or culturally conditioned. All concepts, of course, are tied in lesser or greater extent to a particular time or place but, as Mann points out in connection with the rural-urban model, there is a tendency to compare rural and urban characteristics without any indication of the historical context which the author has in mind.[1] In relation to cultural conditioning, Stewart argues that certain elements (eg. density of population), taken for granted as typical of rural-urban differences in the Western World, cannot be transposed without further thought to other parts of the globe (eg. the Far East).[2] He concludes that 'the infinite variety of culture does not lend itself to easy classification in clear-cut types.'[3]

(b) The ideal or 'constructed' type

The theoreticians have run into trouble with regard to their types considered as distinct entities. There is in some cases an inclination to draw the picture in terms which are too concrete and specific. Mann describes this as the pitfall 'of dealing in stereotypes rather than generalizations.'[4]

1. Mann, P.H. _An Approach to Urban Sociology._ London, 1965. p.4.
2. Stewart, C.T. Jnr. _The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses._ Amer. J.Sociol. Vol.64, No.2. (pp.152-158). Sept. 1958.
3. Ibid. p.156.
4. Mann, P.H. _An Approach to Urban Sociology._ London, 1965. pp.4-5.

Tönnies, for example, appears on occasions to associate both his Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft types with a number of concrete kinds of social organization. He states, 'The study of the house (home) is the study of the Gemeinschaft as the study of the organic cell is the study of life itself,'[1] and again, 'The city is typical of Gesellschaft in general.'[2] He is here and elsewhere in danger of dealing more with empirical examples than with the more universal features required for the construction of truly ideal types. 'For Tönnies,' comments Parsons, 'Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are ideal types of concrete relationships. His scheme is in this sense a classification.'[3] The problem is pinpointed by Heberle when he says; 'If one should, eg., define the family as a Gemeinschaft, the road to sociological understanding would thereby be barred; it is the peculiar task of the sociologist to find out how far the family in a concrete situation (eg. the wage earner's family in a great city) approaches more nearly to the type of Gesellschaft than a family in another situation (eg. on a farm).'[4] Heberle himself thinks that, for Tönnies, 'Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are pure concepts of ideal types which, as such, do not exist in the empirical world. They can therefore, find no employment as classificatory concepts (nb. the opposite view to Parsons). Rather they are to be regarded as traits

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1. Tönnies, F. Community and Association. (Translated and supplemented by Loomis, C.P.) London, 1955 (First published 1887).p.60.
2. Ibid. p.266.
3. Parsons, T. The Structure of Social Action. Glencoe, 1949. p.693.
4. Heberle, R. The Sociology of Ferdinand Tönnies. Amer. Sociol. Rev. Vol.2, No.1. (pp.9-25). Feb. 1937. p.15.

[1]

which, in empirical social entities, are found in varying proportions.'
Yet the impression remains that here and there Tönnies has a misleading
tendency to reify his ideal types.

One consequence of all this is that certain kinds of social
relationships come to be regarded as totally distinct and mutually
exclusive, ie., it is either Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft and can never
be both/and.   Sentences from Tönnies, such as the following, seem to
substantiate this criticism: 'Family life is the general basis of life
in the Gemeinschaft.   It subsists in village and town life ..... In the
city as well as in the capital, and especially in the metropolis, family
life is decaying.[2]'   Again, 'As the town lives on within the city,
elements of the life in Gemeinschaft, as the only real form of life,
persist within the Gesellschaft, although lingering and decaying.[3]' And,
'The entire culture has been transformed into a civilization of state
and Gesellschaft, and this transformation means the doom of culture itself
if none of its scattered seeds remain alive and again bring forth the
essence and idea of Gemeinschaft, thus secretly fostering a new culture
amidst the decaying one.[4]'   Ruth Durant in her book on Watling restates
the point made here in her own words; 'My definition of community, "a
territorial group of people with a common mode of living, striving for
common objectives," is largely influenced by Ferdinand Tönnies' famous

1. Heberle, R. The Sociology of Ferdinand Tönnies. Amer. Sociol. Rev.
   Vol.2, No.1. (pp.9-25). Feb. 1937.p.15.
2. Tönnies, F. Community and Association. (Translated and supplemented
   by Loomis, C.P.) London, 1955 (First published 1887).pp.267 and 268.
3. Ibid. p.265.
4. Ibid. p.270.

analysis in 'Community and Society,' but complete identity was not

possible, for the conditions that make for community in Tönnies' sense

are dead and they cannot be revived.'[1]

Here again Tönnies, supported by certain of his commentators,

denies that his intention is to establish mutually exclusive types.

Thus in an article written in 1931, representing his latest consideration

of the matter, he writes, 'Both names (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft)

are in the present context stripped of their connotation as designating

social entities or groups, or even collective or artificial persons;

the essence of both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is found interwoven

in all kinds of association.'[2] Loomis expresses the opinion that

'Tönnies' types are not merely types but ideal types or mental constructs

which do not actually exist empirically in pure form, and no society could

exist if one form or type existed to the exclusion of the other.'[3]

Nevertheless, Tönnies appears to come extremely close to giving his types

the appearance of mutual exclusiveness. In the purely theoretical

sense this is perhaps a feasible position to adopt but, taken together

with Tönnies' tendency to associate both his types with a number of

concrete kinds of social organization as mentioned above, the inference

(as drawn by Durant, for example) that in the empirical situation

Gesellschaft excludes Gemeinschaft, does not help in a clearer

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1. Durant, R. Watling. London, 1939. p.ix.
2. Tönnies, F. Community and Association. (Translated and supplemented by Loomis, C.P.) London, 1955 (First published 1887). p.18.
3. Ibid. p.xix.

understanding of the nature and expression of community.

It is argued by some critics that the division of social relationships into two major types only is a purely arbitrary categorization and very much of an over-simplification.   In 1926, Redfield carried out a study of Tepoztlan, a village sixty miles south of Mexico city, describing the degree of isolation, homogeneity, social integration and so forth.[1]   In 1943, Oscar Lewis made a survey of the life of the same place reaching quite different conclusions which, he believes, are not simply due to the passage of time.[2]   Redfield, commenting on this situation, says, 'The principal conclusion that I draw from this experience is that we are all better off with two descriptions of Tepoztlan than we would be with only one of them.'[3]   But one might then ask, 'Why only two viewpoints?   Why not three or four or more?'   Or, to translate this into Redfield's own terminology, why merely 'a combination of opposites'?[4]   Stewart puts the point as follows: 'The folk-primitive culture and the urban-secular culture are qualitatively different; they are not extremes along a quantitative dimension, nor are they the only distinct species of society.'[5]   Stewart then mentions another 'species' which he believes to be quite distinct from Redfield's types, the feudal kind of community.   Parsons, speaking

1.   Redfield, R.   Tepoztlan - A Mexican Village. Chicago, 1930.
2.   Lewis, O.   Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied. Urbana, 1951.
3.   Redfield, R.   The Little Community. Chicago, 1955. p.136.
4.   Ibid. pp.132-148.
5.   Stewart, C.T. Jnr. The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses. Amer. J. Sociol. Vol.64, No.2. (pp.152-158). Sept. 1958. p.156.

of Tönnies' work, concludes that it is not possible unreservedly to accept his concepts 'as the basis for a general classification of social relationships or, indeed, ... to start from any dichotomy of only two types. The basic types cannot be reduced to two.'[1]

The theoreticians' search for an analytic framework, be it in this case the dichotomy or continuum, which is both comprehensive and enduring is complicated by yet another factor, the rapidity with which social life is changing. Definitions of the folk or rural end of the scale are gradually becoming, in many parts of the world, less and less relevant and useful to a modern technological society encountering the extensive spread of urbanization. Mann, having tested the rural-urban variables as expounded by Sorokin and Zimmerman, states that 'there are several instances where the analyses show little rural-urban difference, and it may be considered that, in Britain today, a certain standardization has replaced what may have been past differences ..... The differentiation between north and south was often more real than the differentiation between rural and urban.'[2] At the urban end of the scale the theoretician has problems too. Not only is he trying to discover features typical of urban life as it is now (Dewey, as noted above, has shown the confusion that exists here) but he is also trying to cope with the rapidly changing character of urbanization. Redfield,

1. Parons, T. *The Structure of Social Action.* Glencoe, 1949. p.694.
2. Mann, P.H. *An Approach to Urban Sociology.* London, 1965.pp. 66 & 67.

it will be recalled, based his typology of urban life on Merida, the

capital of Yucatan, but this place in fact had a population of only

96,600, by present day standards little more than a large town.

Redfield's own point of view is that 'the conception of a folk society,

in detail of interrelated parts, is not matched in the literature by

a corresponding and complementary description of an opposite type .....

To identify the city with the opposite of the folk society is convenient

by a simple negativing of the propositions that identify the folk

society.'[1] Yet it is highly doubtful whether 'a simple negativing' can

suffice any longer for a complex and varied urban way of life which may

soon demand an entirely new typological series of its own.

(c) The continuum

The theoreticians adopt two main approaches to the designing of the

continuum. The most common approach is that which describes a number

of intermediate kinds of social aggregate lying between polar types.

Such is the method of analysis adopted by Redfield. The other approach

isolates a number of important features or processes and then seeks to

'place' social aggregates on an appropriate scale according to the

extent to which these characteristics are present or absent, developed

or undeveloped. This is the procedure adopted by Dewey when he bases

his rural-urban continuum on the degree to which five basic 'qualities'

1. Redfield, R. The Little Community. Chicago, 1955. p.145.

are present: (i) anonymity, (ii) division of labour, (iii) heterogeneity, induced and maintained by (i) and (ii), (iv) impersonal and formally prescribed relationships, (v) symbols of status which are independent of personal acquaintance.[1]   For Stein the fundamental processes of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization are the focus of attention.[2]   It is the extent to which these are little or well advanced that determines where social aggregates are to be placed on the continuum (though in Stein's case the latter is not in any way systematically defined).

The former of these main approaches faces the task of ensuring that a close link is discernible between the features making up the different types along the continuum.   Stewart, as noted, does not think that Redfield's types are in fact set 'along a quantitative dimension'[3] but that they are different in kind, ie., made up of unrelated variables. Martindale is more outspoken still and believes that the attempt, in any mathematical sense, to link 'such complex, multidimensional phenomena as societies is pseudo-science.'[4]   In this connection those theoreticians employing various universal features or processes to form the basis of a continuum (such as Dewey) are probably on firmer ground.

1. Dewey, R. The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant. Amer. J.Sociol. Vol.66, No.1. (pp.60-66). July 1960. p.65.
2. Stein, M.R. The Eclipse of Community. Princeton, 1960. p.5ff.
3. Stewart, C.T. Jnr. The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses. Amer. J.Sociol. Vol.64, No.2. (pp.152-158). Sept. 1958. p.156.
4. Martindale, D. The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory. London, 1961. p.93.

Both of these approaches to the designing of a continuum face the
conceptual problem of distinguishing and defining a logical sequence of
stages along the scale employed, a task called by Duncan the establishment
of 'continuous gradations.'[1]   The stages along the scale must also
represent the evenly (not erratically) increasing or decreasing extent
to which typical characteristics (rural or urban, sacred or secular, etc.)
are present; called by Duncan the task of establishing 'consistent
variations.'[2]   This is an extremely delicate undertaking, especially
when dealing with types along the scale which contain a constellation
of variables, and Duncan does not feel that hope of success is very
great: 'The writer's general position is that careful inductive
classifications of communities are of greater scientific value than
hypothetical constructs like the "rural-urban continuum."   The latter
perhaps has some heuristic value in suggesting one kind of intercommunity
variation.   But it is highly doubtful that the unidimensional continuum,
in any rigorous, mathematical sense, is a sufficiently realistic model
for research on intercommunity variation.   Realistic classifications
will almost necessarily be multidimensional ones.   Moreover, the pre-
cision of measurement along the various dimensions will doubtless be
much less than is suggested by the idea of a continuum in mathematics.

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1. Duncan, O.D. Community Size and the Rural-Urban Continuum in
    Hatt, P.I. and Reiss, A.J. Jnr. (eds.) Cities and Society
    (Second edition). Glencoe, 1957. p.36.
2. Ibid. p.36.

If this is true, then does not the social scientist reveal more
pretentiousness than insight in insisting on a term like "continuum"?'[1]
Yet the difficulty of designing a continuum of mathematical precision must
not be allowed to divert attention from the continuum's analytic value as
a theoretical tool in sociological research.

(iii)   Criticism of the theoretical approach:
Empirical operationalization

(a)   Indices

Many of the complications presented to the theoreticians in
conceptual operationalization inevitably carry over into the empirical
sphere.   As Tonnies attempts no empirical enquiry employing his dich-
otomous model as the framework for research, an assessment of the val-
idity of indices is not possible in his case.   Redfield, however, does
attempt to work with both a theoretical model and empirical indices
although, for him, the former was really derived, during the course of his
research, from the latter.   Even so he is criticized for imprecision in
the definition of the indices he employs, Miner attributing the lack of
agreement between Redfield and Lewis over life in Tepoztlan to the
inadequate specification of those empirical features representative of

1.   Duncan, O.D.   Community Size and the Rural-Urban Continuum in
     Hatt, P.K. and Reiss, A.J. Jnr. (eds.) Cities and Society
     (Second edition). Glencoe, 1957. p.45.

cultural disorganization.[1]

Other theoreticians offer little evidence to support and justify the selection of empirical indices. Durkheim, for example, in adopting law as the 'external index' of social solidarity states, 'We can ..... be certain of finding reflected in law all the essential varieties of social solidarity ..... If ..... there are types of social solidarity which custom alone manifests, they are assuredly secondary; law produces those which are essential and they are the only ones we need to know.'[2] Yet others question that the study of law alone is sufficient to grasp fully the nature and state of social solidarity within a group. Even Riessman, who is more aware than most of the problems involved, adopts some indices of an extremely dubious kind to demonstrate the existence of urbanization; one variable, the degree of nationalism, being assessed by the strange criterion of the percentage of literate persons in a country's population amongst those of fifteen and over.[3]

(b)   The grading of social aggregates

If the choice of particular empirical indices presents difficulties, the grading of social aggregates as entities is an even more testing job.

1. Miner, H.   The Folk-Urban Continuum in Hatt, P.K. and Reiss, A.J. Jnr. (eds.) Cities and Society (Second edition). Glencoe, 1957. pp.136-7.
2. Durkheim, E.   The Division of Labour in Society (Translated by Simpson, G.) Glencoe, 1933 (First published 1893). pp.65 and 66.
3. Reissman, L.   The Urban Process. Glencoe, 1964. p.203.

One aim of the theoretician is to be able to say of any social unit studied that it resembles this polar type more than that, or falls here rather than there on the continuum.   But even if the latter has been 'continuously' and 'consistently' graded from the conceptual point of view, there remains the assignment of making some <u>overall</u> judgment concerning where to 'place' the group being surveyed.   The problem faced earlier, of deciding which of the many characteristics associated with each type are most or least important, here crystallizes out.

Mann[1] suggests a chart in which the factors typical of the ideal type of community are placed along the vertical axis, and then 'scored off' on a 0 to 100 scale along the horizontal axis, as indicated below:-

	Community A				Community B		
Factors	0	Score	100	Factors	0	Score	100
A			×	A	×		
B	×			B	×		
C		×		C		×	
D	×			D		×	
E	×			E	×		

1.   Mann, P.H.   <u>An Approach to Urban Sociology</u>. London, 1965. p.189.

This, however, demands an exceedingly high degree of precision in empirical measurement of typical features present and offers little guidance about overall judgment of social aggregates as entities if certain characteristics score very low and others very high on the scale.

Dewey tries to simplify matters by reducing the number of major variables on which his rural-urban continuum (vertical axis) is built to five, but his cultural continuum (horizontal axis) still contains four other variables (non-literate - literate, primitive-civilized, subjective-objective, sacred-secular) and thus produces further complications.[1]   Duncan seeks to assist the grading of social aggregates by taking 'community size' alone to represent one axis and certain specific variables in turn to designate the other.[2]   But no really satisfactory method of grading social aggregates as wholes has yet been produced and it is here that the use of the dichotomy and/or continuum as a means of classifying and comparing different groupings meet their severest test.

1. Dewey, R.   The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant.   Amer. J. Sociol. Vol.66, No.1. (pp.60-66). July 1960. p.64.
2. Duncan, O.D.   Community Size and the Rural-Urban Continuum in Hatt, P.K. and Reiss, A.J. Jnr. (eds.)   Cities and Society (Second edition).   Glencoe, 1957. pp.35-45.

4.   Community studies: their implications

This Chapter has reviewed various approaches to the study of

community.   A final word must now be added about the lessons learnt

from the latter, bearing in mind the attempt to be made later to test

the two hypotheses set out in the Introduction to this thesis.

The studies mentioned above are concerned with those parts or

aspects of the social system presumed to possess the properties of 'a

community.'   They do indeed touch on numerous features of the social

system of great communal importance.   For example, the empiricists

stress two major facets of the system (social action and social structure)

fundamental to any study of community whilst the ecologists clearly

demonstrate how the system is influenced by the physical environment

within which it is set.   A more balanced view would have been achieved

if these studies had dealt with all those aspects of the system having

communal value rather than concentrated attention on social structure or

social action or ecological factors.   The social action studies are

particularly in danger of distorting the communal picture where they

lay great stress on 'dramatic occurrences' or 'social problems.'

A far more basic criticism of these studies is that a good deal of

time is spent describing and analysing the 'communal' aspects of the

social system without any prior attempt to work out and present a clear

definition of the term 'community.'   Many of the enquiries seem to have

been conducted without real understanding of what criteria determine the existence and intensity of community in a social aggregate and are thus deprived of relevant criteria for deciding the best means of approaching study of the social system. All too often investigators appear to opt quite arbitrarily for one or other of the approaches outlined in the foregoing Chapter without giving any explicit reasons for so doing. It is true that the theoreticians at least seek to work within a more orderly framework in their attempts to classify and compare a wide range of 'communities' but they also fail to offer any clear definition of what a community is or what are its essential hall-marks.

Because of this failure to deal with the concept of community as such, all the approaches above tend to become too tied down to the particular and the concrete. First, many structural empiricists and ecologists view community as synonymous with <u>a specific kind of place</u> such as a rural village or urban neighbourhood unit. Secondly, there is a marked tendency, especially amongst the theoreticians bent on establishing some form of continuum, to interpret community as identical with the primitive or simple type of settlement (the 'folk' end of the scale) which is closely associated with <u>a certain period of history</u>. Finally, there is the temptation, characteristic of the structural empiricists and the theoreticians, to tie the concept of community to <u>a social grouping with a particular social structure</u>, as in the case of the close-knit associational life of Bethnal Green or the

Gemeinschaft ideal type. The consequence of all this is that the concept of community becomes culturally and historically conditioned and there appear as many definitions as there are community studies.

The approach adopted in this thesis is based on an explicit definition of community and is called 'the essential approach' because it seeks to tackle empirical investigation with a clear understanding of the essential nature and basic features of community. The latter is seen, with MacIver as a vitally important _sentiment_, an essential[1] ingredient of _all_ social groupings at any time, anywhere, and thus expressed through many and various social activities and structural forms. As MacIver emphasizes, 'Life is essentially and always communal life. Every living thing is born into community and owes its life to community.'[2] Simpson writes in similar vein; 'Without the presence of community men could not will associational relations.'[3] This is not to assert that every human group possesses the same communal strength; the latter will rise and fall as a result of many factors. It is rather to state that a social system, or part thereof, can be designated as more or less of a community according to the intensity of community sentiment discovered within it. If community sentiment is not present at all there can be no social system. The study of community is thus not a question of its presence or absence but of its strength or weakness.

1. MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. _Society_. London, 1950. pp.291-296.
2. MacIver, R.M. _Community_. London, 1924. p.209.
3. Simpson, G. _Conflict and Community_. New York, 1937. p.11.

The social system provides extremely useful indicators of the strength of community sentiment. As will be shown later, both social activity and social structure yield valuable communal indices, though these must be made explicit before empirical investigation begins. The physical environment in its turn can influence the social system and thus, indirectly, affect the level of community sentiment. But though these aspects of the system are inextricably bound up with community they must be kept conceptually distinct from it. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that they are not synonymous with community. What they provide is a means whereby community sentiment is expressed socially and focussed territorially, they are not the sentiment itself.

The object of this thesis is to test the hypothesis that over recent years notable changes have taken place in the expression and territorial focus of community and the hypothesis that, despite these changes, a sense of community has not been lost and, in some cases, its intensity has been increased. Before proceeding to this task, three important matters, arising from the discussion above, must be dealt with as follows :-

First, it is necessary to define what is meant by the social system and its physical environment. The studies dealt with in the above Chapter have touched on all the main features of the system having communal importance and if these are carefully drawn together a balanced picture can be obtained.

Secondly, it is necessary to define community itself. The work of the theoreticians suggests that the construction of an ideal type concept of community might be useful but that, if this is done, the essential components should be derived from empirical studies, as few in number as possible and have properties associated with more than one particular culture or period of history.

Thirdly, consideration must be given as to how the intensity of community sentiment in any specific social system, or part thereof, can best be assessed. This will involve finding indices of community sentiment, the importance of which is underlined by the empirical classifiers and ecologists, and designing, as shown by the theoreticians, some form of scale whereby its level can be measured. Here those problems mentioned in connection with the grading of social aggregates and the construction of a continuum come to the fore.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM: SOCIAL ACTION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. The nature of the system

When talking about social systems, sociologists have usually had in mind a total society defined by Parsons as 'the whole complex of the relations of man to his fellows.'[1] Thus people commonly refer to Western Society, American Society, British Society and so on meaning a particular social system organized on what can be called the 'macrocosmic' level. Yet, because the study of such massive units is an empirical task of overwhelming magnitude, research is often concentrated on smaller aggregates in the belief that these mirror the composition of the social system as a whole and throw light on the nature of the larger entity. Homans in his book, 'The Human Group,' takes this line when he writes, 'The activities, interactions, and sentiments of the group members, together with the mutual relations of these elements with one another during the time the group is active, constitute what we shall call the social system.'[2] He then proceeds to investigate, as social systems on what can be termed the 'microcosmic' level, a number of small but well defined social units such as a street-corner gang in a slum district of an eastern American city, the family in Tikopia (an island of Polynesia), a small New

1. Seligman, E. R. A. (ed.) Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Volume 14. New York, 1931. p.225.
2. Homans, G. C. The Human Group. London, 1951. p.87.

England town in a state of social disintegration and so forth.[1]

Timasheff, commenting on sociological theory in the middle of the 20th

Century, sees study on the microcosmic level as growing in importance

as many sociologists are adopting the view that 'the social group is a

system.'[2] In this thesis, therefore, relatively small groups of a

viable and socially distinct nature, as well as larger units, are

regarded as possessing the properties of a social system.

Because the studies mentioned in the preceding Chapter have in the

main been dealing with such groups, those aspects of the social system

having communal importance have already been touched on.   These are

social structure, social action, community sentiment (which receives

least explicit attention) and the physical environment.   The diagram

below gives some idea of how these components of the system are related.

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1. Homans, G.C. The Human Group. London, 1951.
2. Timasheff, N.S. Sociological Theory. (Revised edition).
   New York, 1955. p.204.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM
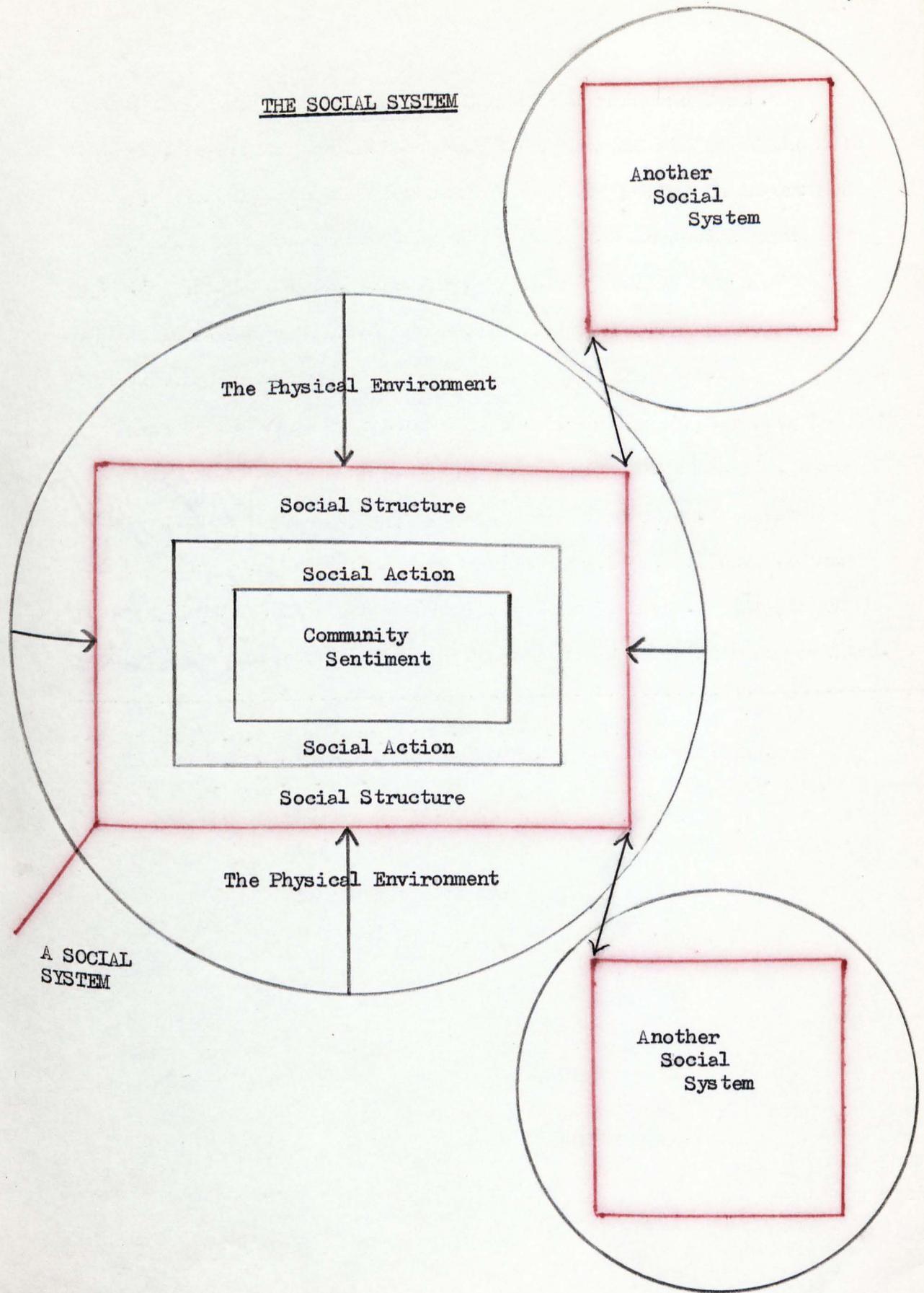
Another
Social
System

The Physical Environment

Social Structure

Social Action

Community
Sentiment

Social Action

Social Structure

The Physical Environment

A SOCIAL
SYSTEM

Another
Social
System

It is important at the outset to note the relation of the
social system to the physical environment within which it is set.
The latter can influence the former in a wide variety of ways (such
as in the nature of work available, the siting of houses, the ease of
travel and so forth), yet it must not be taken as *in itself* part of
the social system. Parsons explains the reason as follows: 'A social
system in the *analytical* sense has *no* immediate and direct input-output
interchange with the physical environment; all such interchange, which
is of crucial importance empirically, is mediated through the
"behavioural organism".'[1] The physical environment must, therefore, be
kept conceptually distinct from the social system as such. For the
purposes of this thesis, it is only of importance where it affects
social action, social structure and community sentiment, which alone
are components of the *social* system.

Community sentiment is placed at the heart of the diagram above
because of its fundamental importance, noted at the end of the last
Chapter, in maintaining the associational life of the whole. Other
sentiments, not directly linked with a sense of community, are of
course also experienced by members of the system and are expressed
through social action and social structure. But because this thesis
is concerned with the extent to which a social system may be regarded
as more or less of a community, it is *community* sentiment that is made
the focal point of the picture.

1. Parsons, T., Shils, E., Naegele, K.D. and Pitt, J.R. (eds.)
   Theories of Society. Volume I. Glencoe, 1961. p.37 (footnote).

2.   The programme of conceptual analysis

A word must be put in here concerning why the following
description of the components of the social system, dealt with above,
begins where it does (with social action).   The order of analysis is
in large part determined by that to be pursued in the empirical
investigation.   The latter might have begun by carefully defining
the physical environment within which the group studied was set.   Such
is the procedure suggested by Homans when he writes, 'A scheme of
analysis that breaks down the phenomena being studied into organized
wholes, or systems, and environments in which the systems exist has
turned up again and again, and has again and again been found useful,
in sciences as far apart as physics and biology.   Sometimes the
organized wholes can be easily identified;   their boundaries are clear;
they have skins.   But even when the wholes are not so definitely
marked off from the environment, much intellectual illumination is
gained by stating what shall be taken as the boundary of the system -
by drawing an imaginary line around it - and then studying the mutual
relationships between the system and its milieu.'[1]   It is worth noting
that Homans nevertheless deals only with relatively small and isolated
social aggregates where the 'natural' boundaries are distinct.   Community,
however, as understood in this thesis, can rarely be studied adequately

1.   Homans, G.C.   The Human Group. London, 1951. p.86.

by initially drawing in so-called 'natural' limits and by then confining investigation entirely to what occurs within these. To restrict the phenomenon of community to a geographical unit, arbitrarily selected at the outset on a study, is to beg the question concerning how, for members of any particular social aggregate, community sentiment is expressed and where it is territorially focused.

It might seem, therefore, that the obvious thing to do is to commence with the study of community sentiment itself and if possible dispense with other aspects of the social system. This is impossible, however, as community is so intricately bound up with and expressed through the activities, structure and physical environment of the social system and cannot be empirically studied in isolation from these. Such an approach would also give little indication as to where empirical enquiry should begin or end, community being a phenomenon which, as noted before, characterizes every viable social system or part thereof.

Only social structure and social action thus remain as points of departure for studying and analysing the system. Numerous empiricists have opted for the former (concentrating, for example, on the family, the school, leisure associations, etc.) as the better springboard for investigation because distinct social 'boundaries' are thereby provided. But since institutions or associations believed to have communal importance are in this case often selected prior to empirical

investigation, studies with a highly structural emphasis again seem to beg the question concerning which social groupings give to members of the system most or least sense of community.

It is, therefore, believed that empirical study of a social system, when viewed as a community, should commence with the actions and interaction of its members.   It is these alone that can adequately define 'limits' to be set to social structure, the physical environment and to the sense of community experienced.   As Homans states, 'A group is defined by the interactions of its members.'[1]   Because social action is the best starting point in the empirical context, it will come first in the conceptual analysis of the social system.

A.   Social action

Social action requires actors.   The latter will be those who are members of and participants in the particular social system or part thereof being studied.   The description of actors is much more a concern of the empirical investigation itself.   Suffice it to say here that relevant matters dealt with later include the number of people in the group, their sex, their age, their occupation and so forth.

The importance of social action has already been stressed during the discussion of the work of the empiricists in the preceding Chapter. Social action as a whole remains complex and often confusing unless

1.   Homans, G.C.   The Human Group. London, 1951. p.84.

categories can be found for sorting out and grouping the multitude of activities encountered within any social system. The category chosen here as of overriding importance is that of 'interests,' taken to be the outward or objective expression of inward or subjective sentiments and attitudes. The term 'interests' is preferred to that of 'end' or 'purpose' as these tend to portray social action in a very rational form and with objectives of a distinct and definite kind, which is by no means always the case. As MacIver writes, 'The terms purpose and end refer too exclusively to rational objects of the will, to determinants of conduct whose meaning stands revealed in the light of self-consciousness ..... (but) ..... interests vary infinitely in the degree of their clearness or rationality.'[1] Interests as understood here are, to use the concepts employed by Tönnies, the expression of both rational and natural will.

As it stands, however, the term 'interests' is too general to help in classifying the very wide variety of activities occurring in the social system. Thus, following MacIver, two major sub-categories will be used, 'like interests' and 'common interests.' These he describes as follows: 'When each of a number of beings pursues an interest like or identical in type to that which every other pursues, say a livelihood, or reputation, or wealth, or any other interest which is for each

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1. MacIver, R.M. Community. London, 1924. p.101.

discrete and personal, we may call the interests they severally pursue
like interests ..... When, on the other hand, a number of people all
pursue one single comprehensive interest of them all, say the welfare
or reputation of town or country or family, or again the success of some
business in which they are all concerned, we may call that interest a
common interest.'[1] Elsewhere MacIver and Page comment that 'the like
is what we have distributively, privately, each to himself. The common
is what we have collectively, what we share without dividing up.'[2] Like
interests 'do not necessarily involve any community, and social
relationships, between the beings who will them, however like the
interests are,'[3] and one must beware of automatically ascribing communal
functions to every kind of interest.   Common interests are, however, of
great communal importance since they reinforce and strengthen the group.
MacIver and Page write, 'The interest, by being shared, acquires a new
significance, a new emphasis, a new valuation.   It has a breadth of
support which it formerly lacked.   The interest is thus maintained for
the group more nearly at one level of intensity than would be possible
for the isolated individual.   That it is generally a higher level is
seen in the fact that people are ready to pursue interests in association
which they would find too arduous or too uninspiring to pursue in
isolation.'[4]

1. MacIver, R.M. Community. London, 1924. p.103.
2. MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. Society. London, 1950. p.32.
3. MacIver, R.M. Community. London, 1924. p.103.
4. MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. Society. London, 1950. p.225.

Social action has been defined above in terms of two kinds of interests (like and common) only, since it is felt that little is gained by further subdivision. MacIver in fact attempts the latter in his book 'Community,'[1] but this scheme of interests is not developed in his later writing on the subject, as represented by 'Society.'[2] Social action, however, is made up of more than types of interests pursued; it is a dynamic aspect of the social system. It is now necessary to deal with the processes of interaction. To this end three concepts are employed; conflict, competition and co-operation.

It might be argued that in the study of community, conflict and competition at any rate can have only a negative connotation. That this is far from the truth is asserted by Simmel who views conflict and competition as often very creative processes. He writes: 'Just as the universe needs "love and hate," that is, attractive and repulsive forces in order to have any form at all, so society, too, in order to attain a determinative shape, needs some quantitative ratio of harmony and disharmony, of association and competition, of favourable and unfavourable tendencies.'[3] Turning to 'the socializing and civilizing function of competition,' he adds; 'Given the breadth and individualization of society, many kinds of interest, which eventually

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1. MacIver, R.M. Community. London, 1924, p.108.
2. MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. Society. London, 1950.
3. Simmel, G. Conflict. (Translated by Wolff, K.H.) Glencoe, 1955 (First published 1908) p.15.

hold the group together throughout its members, seem to come alive
and stay alive only when the urgency and requirements of the
competitive struggle force them upon the individual.'[1]

Conflict and competition are processes of social interaction in
which men contend against each other for the attainment of similar and
scarce objects; material reward, power, status, the love of man or
woman, etc. The basic difference would appear to come with regard
to the means employed to attain such ends. Conflict is thus defined
here as that kind of rivalry which leads men deliberately to ignore
or to set aside the normative means for achieving the object in question.
Competition is defined as that kind of rivalry in relation to which the
contesting parties make no attempt to ignore or contravene the normative
means for achieving the object concerned. The distinction between
conflict and competition lies in the degree to which men do or do not
abide by the normative means for the attaining of identical or mutually
exclusive ends. Co-operation is here taken to refer to interaction
typified by the combining of effort or the pooling of resources for the
pursuit of harmonious like or common interests.

Simpson makes a contribution of some value when he distinguishes
between 'non-communal' and 'communal' conflict. Non-communal conflict
is that which challenges the very existence of the system because it
means 'conflict between final values, between ultimates.'[2] Active

1. Simmel, G. Conflict. (Translated by Wolff, K.H.) Glencoe, 1955
   (First published 1908). p.63.
2. Simpson, G. Conflict and Community. New York, 1937, p.42.

disagreement which involves widespread dispute over ultimate interests and basic norms can do nothing but threaten the existence of the system as it endangers the basis of all associational relationships.   As Simpson states, 'Associations can arise and compete and conflict without dispersive effects only where community is existent among such associations.   Otherwise chaos ..... results.'[1]   Such chaos, the eventual outcome of non-communal conflict, is particularly evident within societies in times of civil war, rebellion, revolution and so on. But non-communal conflict is a comparatively rare phenomenon and of much more importance in this thesis is what Simpson calls communal conflict, ie., that which occurs when the ultimate interests and basic norms which integrate and support the social system are still held in common.   Such conflict, though challenging certain norms, does not upset the system as a whole and in fact can be vital in propelling society from one social stage to another.

Finally, it should be noted that conflict, competition and co-operation are rarely, if ever, found in their 'pure' forms.   Simmel shows how co-operation always has within it the seeds of competition or conflict, and vice versa.   In relation to conflict and peace he comments, 'Both in the succession and simultaneity of social life, the two are so interwoven that in every state of peace the conditions of

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1.   Simpson, G.   Conflict and Community.   New York, 1937. p.35.

future conflict, and in every conflict the conditions of future peace,
are formed.'[1]   Each of these processes is thus constantly giving birth
to the other two and in this way social life takes on a dynamic and
ever changing pattern.

A diagramatic summary of the concepts used in this analysis of
social action is set out below.

SOCIAL ACTION

Types of Interests

Like   Common

Processes of Interaction

Competition   Conflict   Co-operation

Communal   Non-communal

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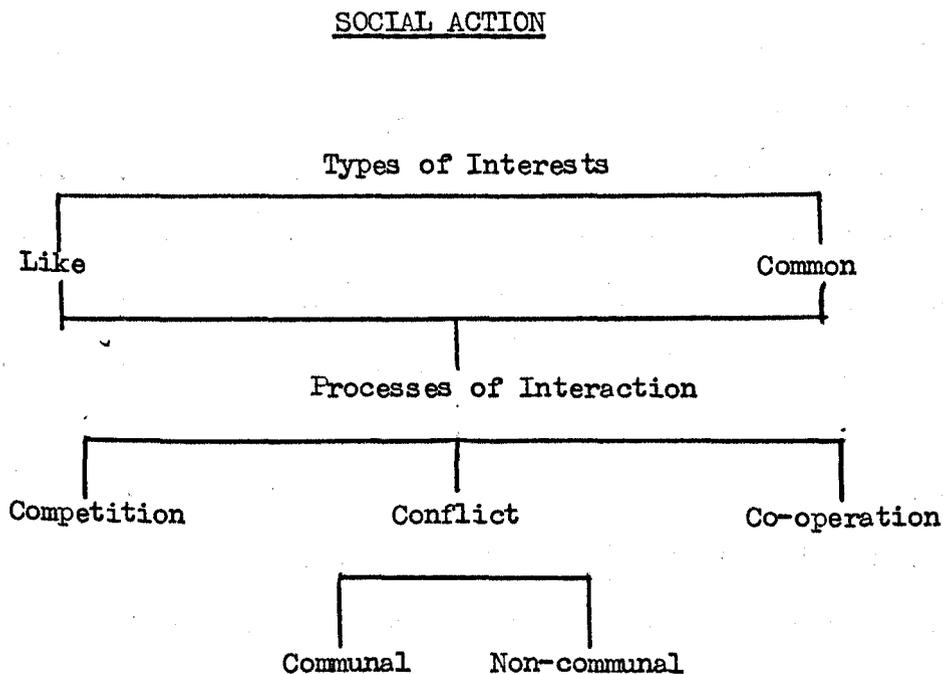
1. Simmel, G. Conflict. (Translated by Wolff, K.H.) Glencoe, 1955
   (First published 1908) p.109.

B.   Social structure

The next stage in this conceptual analysis of the social system
is to describe the way in which actors and activities are organized
and controlled.   In his summary of certain of Parsons' writings on
the social system, Sprott states that 'interaction generates norms.'[1]
It is 'social norms' that occupy the key place in the subsequent
discussion of those formal and informal regulations and rules which
order and control human relationships.   Norms are fundamental for the
continuance of the life of any group and Davis argues that 'if there
were no normative order there could be no human society; for the innate
equipment of the human organism is not sufficiently comprehensive or
integrated to give automatic responses that are functionally adequate
for society.'[2]

A full-scale classification of norms is a matter too complex to
be dealt with in this thesis.   A great number of categories and
sub-categories have been introduced over the years but Davis usefully
distinguishes five: folkways, mores, customary law, enacted law and
institutions.   'Most of the patterns applied in everyday behaviour
consist of folkways.   These are relatively durable, standardized
practices regarded as obligatory in the proper situation but not

1.   Sprott, W.J.H. Principia Sociologia. Brit. J. Sociol.
      Vol. 3, No.3. (pp.203-221). Sept. 1952. p.205
2.   Davis, K. Human Society. New York, 1949. p.53.

absolutely obligatory, enforced by informal social controls (gossip, ridicule, ostracism) rather than by formal complaint or coercion, and originating in an unplanned and obscure manner rather than by deliberate inauguration ..... Whereas each folkway is not considered tremendously important and is not supported by an extremely strong sanction, each mos is believed to be essential for social welfare and is consequently more strongly sanctioned ..... Folkways and mores are similar, however, in being of remote and obscure origin, unplanned, unquestioned, and relatively unchanging. They are also similar in that the sanctions are informal and communal in nature, depending on the spontaneous reactions of the group rather than on the reactions of officials acting in some special capacity. The mores represent the hardest core of the normative system ..... The mores are morally right, their violation morally wrong ..... When the mores ..... come to have some special organization for their enforcement, we may call them laws. Seldom are all the mores thus enforced, but only the more important ones. Since, however, there is no legislative body for the enactment of new rules not previously part of the cultural heritage, the law in this case should be called "customary law".[1] Enacted law embraces those folkways, mores and customary laws, together with original rulings, which are deliberately and formally declared as binding on the members of the system by a person or persons entrusted with this legal function.

1. Davis, K. Human Society. New York, 1949. pp.57-65.

Although social norms are related and linked in various ways, it is extremely difficult to trace the normative pattern merely by taking account of verbal statements or even written rules. It is now generally agreed 'that the place to look for consistency, for the order in the norms, is not in the verbal statements but in the application to behaviour. We may, for example, view the consistency of the norms from the point of view of the system of positions which each person holds and the relation of these positions to those which other persons in society hold. (This will be mentioned in a moment.) Or we may look at the normative order from the point of view of the elements of action .....[1] with a view to understanding how the norms embody themselves in action.' This would be done through an examination of how like and common interests are ordered and controlled. But 'for the present it is sufficient to lay down the principle that in norms as applied in the factual world there is a certain amount of mutual dependence and order, and that on the purely normative level the concept of institutions serves better than any other to convey the notion of segments or parts of the normative order. An institution can be defined as a set of interwoven folkways, mores, and laws built around one or more functions. It is a part of the social structure, set off by the closeness of its organization and by the distinctness of its functions. It is therefore inclusive rather than exclusive of the concepts previously defined; for without folkways

1. Davis, K. Human Society. New York, 1949. p.71.

and mores there could be no institutions ..... It can be said that economic, political, religious, and recreational institutions each represent a distinguishable set of interrelated folkways, mores and laws coherently organized and capable of performing distinct functions ..... The quickest way to envisage the total social order of a society is to understand its major institutions and the relation between these institutions.'[1]

It was noted in the preceding paragraph that the normative order may be examined 'from the point of view of the system of positions which each person holds and the relation of these positions to those which other persons in society hold.' In this connection three major concepts are of importance; role, status and class. 'When a number of interrelated behaviour patterns are clustered around a social function,' writes Fichter, 'we call this combination a social role.'[2] 'The social role ..... tells us <u>what the person does</u>. It is a functional and dynamic concept concerning the social performance of the individual and not the evaluation other people place upon him.'[3] The latter is a person's social status and 'is the position, or rank, which the person's contemporaries accord to him within society.'[4] Conceptually there is a clear distinction between role and status; in the empirical situation they go very much hand in hand. Social class is related to social status and can be conceptually defined as a major grouping of statuses

1. Davis, K. <u>Human Society</u>. New York, 1949. pp. 71-72.
2. Fichter, J.H. <u>Sociology</u>. Chicago, 1957. p. 201.
3. <u>Ibid</u>. p. 203.
4. <u>Ibid</u>. p. 41.

within an all-embracing and widely accepted hierarchical series.

Empirically its definition is much more complex and will receive

further consideration during the course of the case-study.

The following diagram outlines the main structural aspects of the

social system employed in this thesis.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social Norms

Folkways	Mores	Customary Laws	Enacted Laws

Institutions (and Associations)

Roles	Statuses	Classes
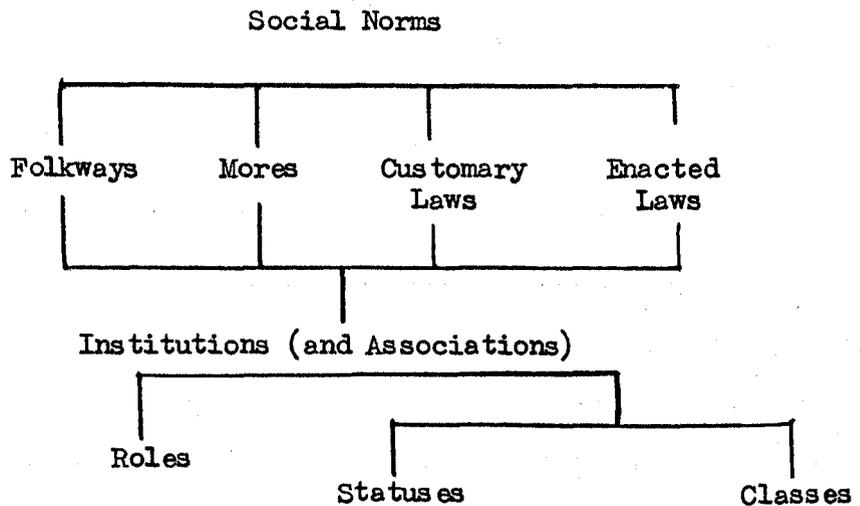
CHAPTER III

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

Introduction

Before proceeding to a definition and full analysis of the
concept of community itself, it is necessary to deal with the physical
environment within which the social system is set.   The purpose of
this Chapter is twofold: (1) to break down the physical environment
into a series of geographical units which can be used during the course
of empirical research and, (2) to look briefly at one or two important
ways in which the physical environment can influence the social system
and thus the expression and level of community sentiment.

1.   A definition of geographical units

Some of the most thorough attempts to divide the physical
environment into a series of distinct geographical units are made by
those structural empiricists closely associated with the field of town
planning.   The emphasis here is on residential areas, an article by
Herbert demonstrating the numerous permutations based on, or derived
from, Clarence Perry's three original categories of home, neighbourhood
and city.[1]   Two examples are, Stein's series of, small neighbourhoods;
groups of neighbourhoods or districts; city; region,[2] and the scheme

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1. Herbert, G.   The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory.
   Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963. p.173ff.
2. Ibid. p.173.

put forward by the Witwatersand University Architectural School,
South Africa, which consists of, housing unit; neighbourhood unit;
community unit; town; metropolitan area.[1]   Unfortunately many of these
attempts to break down the physical environment are related exclusively
to areas of residence and have limited relevance to the great variety
of social activities going on elsewhere throughout any system.

One or two sociologists try to introduce a social dimension into
their selection of geographical units.   'Henry Churchill's
sociologically-oriented theory differentiates between two units, the
"social neighbourhood", and the "school unit", and establishes the
series: family, social neighbourhood, school unit, city.   The social
neighbourhood is defined as a small area of a fairly intimate nature
which fosters a neighbourhood feeling.'[2]   Another approach of this
nature is made by Starr in her report on the region of Los Tuxtlas
in Southern Veracruz, Mexico.[3]   She attempts to combine the physical
and social structure of the area into what are called 'levels of
communal relations' termed 'the household group; the dooryard group;
the neighbourhood; the village; the <u>municipio</u> or county; and the
region.'[4]   Starr states that 'these levels are differentiated by the

1.   Herbert, G. <u>The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory</u>.
     Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963. pp.174-176.
2.   <u>Ibid</u>. p.176.
3.   Starr, B.W. <u>Levels of Communal Relations</u>. Amer. J. Sociol.
     Vol. 60, No.2. (pp.125-135). Sept. 1954.
4.   <u>Ibid</u>. p.125.

degree of intensity of the common life. The levels may be distinguished,
one from another, on the basis of the following criteria: (a) the
peculiarly characteristic social structure; (b) the definition of
membership; and (c) the typical kinds, number, and frequency of social
relations.'[1] Starr is, however, cautious in seeking universal
applicability of her categories, noting that 'these levels of communal
relations are peculiar to rural society.'[2] There is, in the case of such
as Churchill and Starr, some attempt at least to relate geographical
units to a fuller view of social activity and relationships (other than
those confined to the locality of residence) and to deal in units defined
by more than population size. The danger is that certain of these
categories (such as Churchill's 'social neighbourhood') can easily have
attributed to them a communal importance which has not been adequately
verified.

If the geographical units employed in this thesis are to provide a
comprehensive physical context for the affairs of the social system as
a whole, they must obviously be related to more than place of residence
or catchment areas for Primary Schools. The view adopted throughout
this thesis must, therefore, again be emphasized; that the total range of
social activity of all members of the system or part thereof must alone
determine any boundaries drawn. Each geographical unit below is

1. Starr, B.W. Levels of Communal Relations. Amer. J. Sociol.
   Vol. 60, No.2. (pp.125-135). Sept. 1954. p.125.
2. Ibid. p.130.

defined on this basis. No attempt is made at this stage to judge the communal importance of these units; attention is concentrated entirely on the place within which social activity of one sort or another occurs.

The diagram below indicates the relation of the geographical units. These are called, (A) the home, (B) the precinct, (C) the short-range thoroughfare, (D) the local district, (E) the long-range thoroughfare, and (F) the extended district.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT
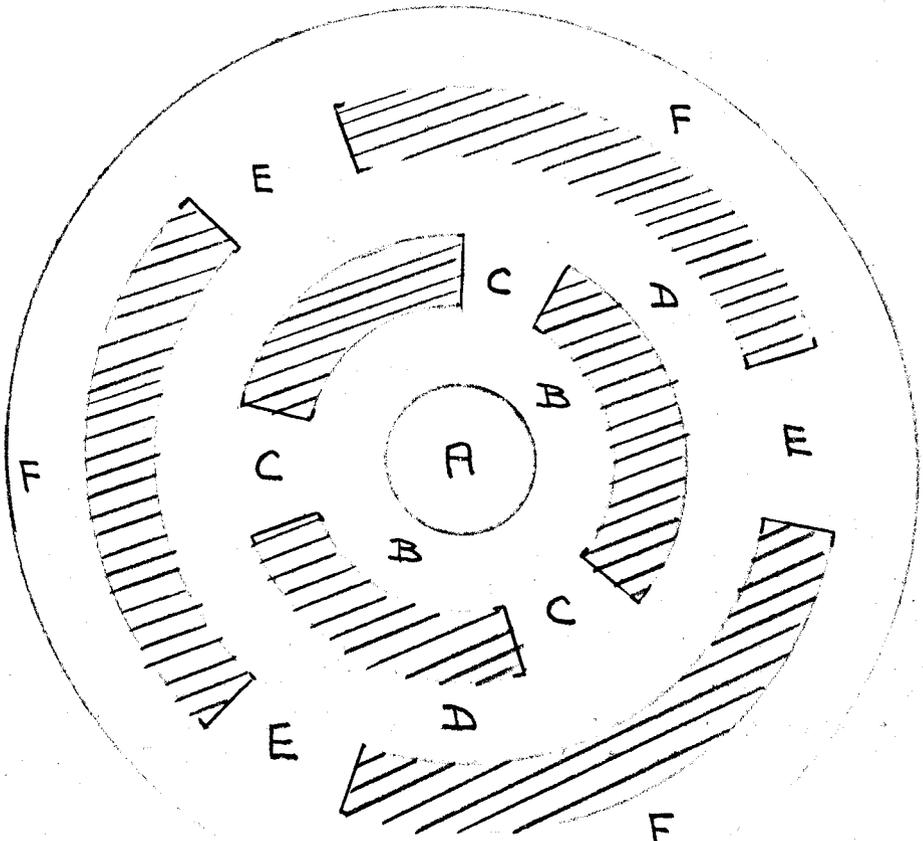
A. <u>The home</u>

The word 'home' is used to denote the place which usually embraces the most basic human activities (eating, sleeping, child-rearing, etc.) in the main associated with the immediate family. It is taken as including private adjoining areas such as a garden.

B. <u>The precinct</u>

The precinct is defined as that group of homes, and their linking paths, passages, landings, etc., the physical proximity of which involves residents (commonly known as 'neighbours') in some degree of interaction. The extent of the precinct is largely determined by the type of locality. In rural areas it could be akin to Starr's 'dooryard group,' in an urban residential area of detached homes it might be more limited to one or two houses either side or across the road, in an old terraced row it could include a complete yard or block or even half the street, and in the case of modern flats the precinct might embrace an entire floor.

C. <u>The short-range thoroughfare</u>

The term 'thoroughfare' is introduced to bridge the often neglected physical gap between the small-scale area of domestic activity (home and precinct) and those larger geographical units wherein other activities take place. The short-range thoroughfare

provides residents of any precinct with their most convenient physical avenue to the wider world. It can contain such social amenities as shops, public houses, churches and so on, which may or may not intensify the level of interaction amongst thoroughfare users.

D. The local district

The local district is that area wherein the large majority of residents use one main centre for obtaining everyday provisions and services. The latter might include; supplies of groceries, meat and milk, the despatch and delivery of mail, general medical attention, educational facilities for children and so forth. To these can be added less basic services provided by public houses, clubs, churches, etc. which tend to relate their activities to such local geographical units.

E. The long-range thoroughfare

The long-range thoroughfare forms the most convenient physical route between the local district and the extended district.

F. The extended district

The extended district is that area, the large majority of whose residents look to one main centre for the satisfaction of all those needs not met within the local district. Such needs might include employment, education, hospital services, popular entertainment and commodities not stocked locally. The extended district could be a

city made up of densely populated local districts, a wide-flung rural area centred on a major market town and so forth.

It would be quite possible to pursue these ever widening circles of social activity as far out as the nation and indeed the world itself. But because the empirical case-study deals with only a small part of English Society, the picture will not be made more complicated by the addition of further physical units.   It must, however, be borne in mind that the activities of those resident in any area can reach out well beyond even the extended district, as is the case with certain means of earning a living, leisure pursuits and holiday travel.   These things, will be described as taking place 'beyond the extended district.'   The possibility of community sentiment being associated with social aggregates existing further afield than the largest geographical unit listed above is thus kept open.

2.   The influence of the physical environment on the social system

The physical environment can be broadly divided into two categories; 'natural' and 'man-made.'   Both can influence social action and social structure to a considerable extent.   The natural environment does this through such features as climate, mineral resources, soil, topography, water supply and so on.   Mann notes that the direction of the

prevailing wind, and thus the direction in which smoke is carried

in an industrial city, may lead to the concentration of certain social

classes in certain areas.[1] The man-made environment, such as factories,

business areas, shops, schools and recreational facilities, also

influences social activity and structure in one way or another. The

layout of roads and railways and other thoroughfares affects the

direction and nucleation of social traffic and interaction. On the

other hand, though the physical environment may greatly influence the

type and shape of the social system as a whole, it does not follow that

a strong or weak sense of community is necessarily linked to any

particular kind or form of physical surroundings.

Some aspects of the physical environment are, however, rather more

directly related to community sentiment. Such is the case with

buildings of historical fame, well known local landmarks (often

possessing nicknames), traditional meeting places and so on, which have

become symbols of a common life past and present. The great importance

of 'symbolic place,' as these features that give 'a feeling of meaning

and permanence'[2] to social life are called, is only just being

recognized in many quarters. Herbert quotes the Smithsons as follows:

'Just as our mental processes need fixed points (fixed in the sense of

1. Mann, P.H. _An Approach to Urban Sociology_. London, 1965. p.83.
2. Herbert, G. _The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory_.
   Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963. p.206.

change over a relatively long period) to enable them to classify

and value transient information, and thus remain sane and lucid,

so too, the city needs "fixes" - identifying points with a long

cycle of change, by means of which things changing on a shorter

cycle can be valued and identified.'[1]   The existence of symbolic

places is usually indicative of a more than moderate sense of

community amongst local people.

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1. Herbert, G.   The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic
    Theory. Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213)
    July 1963. p.202.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM: COMMUNITY SENTIMENT

Introduction

  This Chapter is concerned with a discussion of the concept of
community and falls into the following parts: (1) the nature of
community, (2) community as an ideal type, (3) the essential elements
of community, (4) solidarity and significance in community studies,
and (5) the relation between solidarity and significance.

1. The nature of community

  The previous Chapters have here and there made reference to the
nature of community as expounded in this thesis. It is now necessary
to draw together these earlier comments whilst, at the same time,
proceeding to a more thorough examination and discussion of the concept
of community.

  At the end of Chapter I, it was stressed that community was a
phenomenon of fundamental importance to the social system; without its
presence society collapses. It was stated that community must not be
defined according to a particular cultural tradition or period of
history, nor be taken as synonymous with the social action or structural
aspect of the system. It was acknowledged that in the empirical
situation, its intensity is influenced by the physical environment,
and that it is intricately bound up with and expressed through social

action and social structure, yet it still stands as an important
phenomenon in its own right.   What then is the nature of this
phenomenon?

'It should now be obvious,' writes Simpson, 'that community is no
circumscribed sphere of social life, but rather the very life-blood of
social life.   Community is not simply economic, nor simply political,
nor simply territorial, nor simply visceral.   Nor is it all these
special elements added together.   Ultimately, it is a complex of
conditioned emotions which the individual feels towards the surrounding
world and his fellows ..... It is to human beings and their feelings,
sentiments, reactions, that all look for the fundamental roots of
community.'[1]   'Community is ..... sentiment,'[2] state MacIver and Page,
and so it is regarded here.   There are of course other words besides
'sentiment' that might be employed to sum up the nature of community,
but most lay too much stress on the activity of the mind (such as
'attitude') or on the emotions (such as 'feeling').   As with the matter
of 'interests' discussed in relation to social action, community must be
seen as a blend of both the rational and the 'natural.'   The term
'sentiment' seems to be the best available; wherever this is experienced
by members of any social aggregate 'a sense of community' will be said
to exist.

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1. Simpson, G. Conflict and Community. New York, 1937. pp. 97 & 71.
2. MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. Society. London, 1950. p.291.

Yet it is not quite accurate to describe the phenomenon of community as a sentiment. The quotation above from Simpson rightly suggests that a complex of sentiments contribute towards the emergence of a sense of community. In this context it is worth noting the wide variety of important sentiments dealt with by Homans in his study of those factors upholding or undermining the life of human groups.[1] Nevertheless, from the point of view of community sentiment, all the other relevant sentiments seem to converge into, and to be subordinate to, two absolutely basic ones which will be discussed later in this Chapter.

It might be argued that in treating community as a sentiment, a psychological rather than a sociological point of view is being adopted. This is partly true in that community sentiment is, in one sense, amongst the various 'internal states of the human body.'[2] This criticism, however, would seem to reveal an artificial simplification of the empirical situation. The psychological and sociological aspects of the study of human behaviour are in fact for ever complementing each other and, in the field of community studies, it is quite essential to bring the two as close together as possible. Merton argues, in his study of anomie (a phenomenon, though at the other end of the scale, akin to community) that there is urgent need for anomie to be examined both 'as

1. Homans, G. C. The Human Group. London, 1951.
2. Ibid. pp.37-38.

subjectively experienced' and 'as an objective condition of group life.'[1]

Both facets of the whole must be kept in mind if the investigation is

to prove adequate.   In the context of this thesis, it is likewise

believed that no adequate assessment of the 'objective' condition of

group life can be made without an examination of the 'subjective'

(communal) sentiments of members of that group.   There are dangers, as

Klein notes in her comments on the work of Mogey and Stacey,[2] of

confusing the psychological and sociological levels of analysis but,

provided these are kept in mind, such an approach to the study of

community can be both valid and valuable.   It would seem, therefore,

quite justifiable, when treating the social system as a community, to

set (as in the diagram on page 92) community sentiment, the

psychologically oriented aspect of the system, at the heart of that

system, surrounded by social action and social structure, the

sociologically oriented aspects of the system.

It must in any case be stressed that the word 'psychological'

in the preceding paragraph is used rather loosely.   This thesis is not

in any way concerned with community sentiment as a psychological

phenomenon in the strict sense, ie., how and why it develops within the

life and experience of selected individuals. The emphasis here is on

community sentiment as a group phenomenon and how it is expressed through

1. Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. (Revised
     edition). Glencoe, 1957. p.165.
2. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965
     p. 238ff. and p.306ff.

121.

and revealed in social action and social structure, and influenced
by the physical environment.

2.   Community as an ideal type

The use of the ideal type in community studies has already been
dealt with at some length in Chapter I.   It has two particularly
important functions.   One is to pin-point in a systematic fashion those
attributes most characteristic of the phenomenon in question; the other
is to provide a 'yardstick' whereby one empirical case can be compared
with another.   The aim in this thesis is to present the phenomenon of
community as a very simple ideal type which can be used not only in
relation to the empirical case-study undertaken here but in other
subsequent community studies also.

Though any ideal type is a somewhat artificial construct, it is
not an imaginary one, but is made up of features gleaned from a careful
empirical survey of the phenomenon it typifies.   An ideal type community
must thus be 'objectively possible,' as Martindale states, in the sense[1]
that the component parts are somewhere discoverable in practice and are
not mutually exclusive, though it is highly unlikely that an empirical
case containing every attribute in its 'pure' form will in fact be
found.   Because the phenomenon of community is believed to be an
ubiquitous one, the type itself must contain features that are universal

1.   Martindale, D.   The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory.
      London, 1961. p.383.

(in that they are applicable to all kinds of social systems), lasting
(in that they are not historically dated) and comprehensive (in that
they are not culturally conditioned). The position adopted here is
similar to Mann's when he writes that 'in setting up an ideal type
concept of community we envisage the concept in terms of a number of
stated factors, all of which are present to the maximum possible
degree.'[1] Attention is later given to the way in which the intensity
or strength of the typical elements present in the empirical situation
can be assessed. In this Chapter the concern is rather with the
highest or, as Mann's scale portrays it,[2] the 100 per cent level of
community. The task at hand, therefore, is to discover, by an
examination of empirical data, those factors everywhere and always
essential to the existence of community which, when present at the
maximum possible level, represent an ideal type of communal life.

3. The essential elements of community

The basic sentiments going to make up an ideal type community are
two in number; a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance. These
are the 'essential' communal elements of any social system.

A sense of solidarity is a sentiment very much akin to what
MacIver and Page call 'we - feeling' which is 'the feeling that leads
men to identify themselves with others so that when they say "we" there

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1. Mann, P.H. _An Approach to Urban Sociology_. London, 1965. p.187.
2. _Ibid._ p.189.

is no thought of distinction and when they say "ours" there is no
thought of division.'[1]   Solidarity is by far the most commonly
accepted ingredient of community and it is this sentiment which writers
have in mind when they refer to social unity, togetherness, social
cohesion, a sense of belonging and so forth.   It is the consequence of
all those sentiments which draw people together (sympathy, courtesy,
gratitude, trust, love, etc.), the river into which many tributaries
flow.   Solidarity is a sentiment highly prized, especially in this
country, and is commended not only in many community studies but, for
example, in that series of post-war films typified by 'Whisky Galore,'
'The Titfield Thunderbolt,' 'Passport to Pimlico' and 'The Galloping
Major.'[2]

Unfortunately preoccupation with solidarity has led to the neglect
of the second essential communal element, a sense of significance.   The
latter is very similar to what MacIver and Page term 'role - feeling,'
ie., 'the sense of place or station' experienced by group members 'so
that each person feels he has a role to play, his own function to fulfil
in the reciprocal exchanges of the social scene.'[3]   That significance
must stand side by side with solidarity is emphasized by Klein when she
writes, 'Not infrequently in practice people want a show of appreciation

1. MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H.   Society.   London, 1950.   p.293.
2. Gluckman, M.   Introduction in Frankenberg, R.   Village on the
    Border.   London, 1957.   p.7.
3. MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H.   Society.   London, 1950. p.293.

more than they want affection.'[1]   Again significance is made up of a

complex of subordinate sentiments (social superiority, pride, a sense

of achievement, a sense of fulfilment, etc.) all contributing to the

larger whole.

A search for further essential communal elements reveals only one

other possibility, a sense of security.   MacIver and Page in fact

include this in their trio and call it 'dependency - feeling.'   They

write, 'Closely associated with role-feeling is the individual's sense

of dependence upon the community as a necessary condition of his own

life.   This involves both a physical dependence, since his material

wants are satisfied within it, and a psychological dependence, since

community is the greater "home" that sustains him, embodying all that

is familiar at least, if not all that is congenial to his life.'[2]

Several comments need to be made here.   On the one hand, it is by no

means clear that physical dependence always leads to a sense of

solidarity; for example, prisoners of war rarely feel attached to enemy

authorities that provide them with food and shelter.   As mentioned more

fully in the Chapter on 'Empirical Operationalization,' obligatory

interaction does little to increase any sense of belonging.   On the

other hand, a sense of solidarity can be very strong even when, or indeed

just because, a group is materially and physically in dire straits.   No

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1.   Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956. p.118 (footnote).
2.   MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. Society. London, 1950. p.293.

more startling example of this can be quoted than the amazing
solidarity shown by the people of Biafra in recent years when, because
of civil war with Nigeria, millions of them were starving.   Such was
their communal strength that vital relief supplies were refused from
'unfriendly' nations.   It would not appear that a sense of physical
security is essential to the existence of a strong sense of community.
If _social_ security, or 'psychological dependence,' as MacIver and Page
call it, is considered, this would seem to be so closely associated
with a sense of solidarity that a separate category is uncalled for.
This is shown by Goldman in a comment on the basic needs of children
when he states, 'Emotionally, a child needs to be secure, and the roots
of this need lie in the experience of love.   A child therefore needs
to feel he belongs, first of all, to an intimate family, then to a
community which cares for him.'[1]   A sense of security is thus born
out of a sense of solidarity rather than vice versa.

The ideal type community used in this thesis will, therefore, be
confined to solidarity and significance as the two essential elements.
These have been derived from the reading of numerous community studies
(many mentioned in Chapter I);   a glance at one or two of the more
pertinent of these will demonstrate the basic role played by the
essential elements selected.

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1.   Goldman, R.   _Readiness for Religion._   London, 1965.   p.67.

4.   Solidarity and significance in community studies

Morris and Mogey have written one of the few studies by structural empiricists which attempts to outline, in anything like coherent form, certain essential elements of community.   Their aim is to 'take four aspects of social life in Berinsfield as a whole, to see how far community - type relationships developed.'[1]   These 'four aspects' are examined under the four Chapter headings: 'Community as Common Bonds ..... Community as Interlocking Memberships in the Community Centre ..... Community as a Web of Reference Groups: Assimilating the Strangers ..... Community as a Feeling of Friendliness.'[2]   Evidence of what has been described above as a sense of solidarity is sought through an examination of the establishment of 'common bonds' as residents settle in the area, as they begin to share 'common roles,' such as those of householder, tenant, neighbour, parent or just plain resident (actually these are 'like' roles in the sense of the term as used by MacIver and Page), and as they participate in the activities of the local community association. A sentiment akin to a sense of significance is assessed by a look at the changing emphasis on the roles just mentioned and at the emergence of a social structure made up of the ordinary residents, 'local leaders' (active on the estate) and 'local representatives' (linking residents with the wider society outside).   Both solidarity and significance are

1. Morris,   R.N. and Mogey, J.   The Sociology of Housing. London, 1965.
    p. xix.
2. Ibid. pp.39-106.

reflected in the authors' analysis of community as common membership
of reference groups; in this case 'the locals' (those rehoused on
the spot) and 'the strangers' (those rehoused from outside Berinsfield),
and in the examination of 'community as a feeling of friendliness.'

On the whole, however, Morris and Mogey's approach to the study
of community is a rather hit-or-miss affair, and the attempt outlined
in the preceding paragraph to link their material with the two essential
components of community, solidarity and significance, must be taken as
very tentative. As the four Chapter headings mentioned above indicate,
Morris and Mogey make four shots at dealing with the concept of community,
yet they rarely get down to the matter of precise conceptual definition
or empirical operationalization. This is notable in the case of two
synonyms for community they use, 'friendliness' and 'common bonds.'
At no time is the former (or its opposite 'loneliness') clearly defined
or empirical indices to assess its intensity discussed. As for
'common bonds,' their existence is determined in relation to <u>perceived</u>
shared interests, ie., according to data 'obtained from questions about
the needs and problems of the new village, and the ways in which
residents could and should co-operate with each other in meeting them.'[1]
This takes little account of how people <u>actually</u> interact, a key index
of solidarity as will be seen later. The authors seem more interested

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1. Morris, R.N. and Mogey, J. <u>The Sociology of Housing</u>. London, 1965.
    p.41.

in the existence of a potential rather than actual sense of community.

In practice Morris and Mogey see community very much in terms of localized face-to-face contact.   They state; 'The development of common bonds on new estates generally runs parallel to the development of primary social relationships ..... Community, then, describes the case where primary social relationships are coupled closely with a small physical group.'[1]   The danger of restricting community to a limited geographical unit noted in Chapter I must here be re-emphasized.   The neighbourhood group may have seemed the epitome of community in Cooley's[2] time, but it cannot be assumed to hold that position today.   Throughout their research one cannot help but feel that Morris and Mogey's interpretation of community is very much dominated by the activities and attitudes of the housewife as against, say, the young person or man. Even the criterion of face-to-face contact cannot be regarded as a guarantee of community, especially if a sense of significance as well as that of solidarity is considered.   For example, Klein states, 'Whereas some migrants suffer badly from loneliness, there is evidence that others, or perhaps the same people in a different mood, are grateful for at least some reduction in the level of interaction ..... From Kuper's account (of life in Braydon Road, Coventry) one finds that people may actually be discomfited, not by the secluded life, but by the

1. Morris, R.N. and Mogey, J. The Sociology of Housing. London, 1965. pp. 57 and 99.
2. Cooley, C.H. Social Organization. New York, 1921 (First published 1909). p.25.

lack of seclusion.'[1]   Finally, the value of the study of the

Berinsfield Estate is limited by the infancy of the settlement and by

the very short duration of time, about 12 months, over which the

strengthening or weakening of common bonds was observed.   The importance

of the time-factor in community studies is discussed further in the

Chapter on Empirical Operationalization.

Of the social action empiricists, Jennings comes nearest to

recognizing clearly what constitute the essential elements of community,

maybe because she herself worked for so long amongst the people about

whom she writes.   At the outset of her book she states that 'the

important question for the sociologist is not only that of individual

happiness, but even more that of the effects of change on the

maintenance of the social bond on which the very existence and quality

of society itself depends.   What in the past has made individuals and

groups feel that they "belonged" and had a part to play?   In what has

this bond been rooted and how can it find new means of expression?'[2]

Jennings here at once puts her finger on the two essential elements

crucial for community life.   These features are emphasized throughout

her book, unfortunately not always in the same terms, but it will

perhaps be best to illustrate her understanding of the nature of

community from the excellent 'Summary.'

1. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965.
    p.228.
2. Jennings, H. Societies in the Making. London, 1962. pp.6-7.

In connection with solidarity she writes that 'at the turn of
the twentieth century the inhabitants of the old (Barton Hill, Bristol)
area were bound together in a local society which was unified by the
twin factors of place and class.'[1]   A self-contained and common place
of residence was the context of a sense of solidarity achieved through
localized social activity, extended kinship ties and strong links
between neighbours.   Meanwhile 'the "working class" was a defined and
recognized entity with the solidarity induced by common interests and
aims.'[2]

A sense of significance was present because people felt that they
counted and mattered.   They were given the opportunity to choose the
site and type of house they liked, even if accommodation was rented,
they could achieve recognized status as skilled workers and they could
experience a sense of significance in many informal ways.   On the
latter, Jennings notes that 'the racey storyteller in the "local", the
darts or football player, the key worker in the mission or social club,
the successful pigeon club member or allotment-holder were all known
outside their specialized field of association.   Within the streets,
the careful housewife who had special skills in cookery or as a
dressmaker for her children, the good husband with special abilities in
house decoration and repairs, and the organizers of street festivities

1.   Jennings, H. Societies in the Making. London, 1962. p.208.
2.   Ibid. p.209.

or entertainments were accorded generous recognition. Prestige was
attached to persons as such, and often through them to their families
also, rather than solely to income and occupation, which formed only
one element in the composite picture.'[1]

In conclusion, Jennings writes, from all the factors moulding the
old area of Barton Hill, there 'emerged a society in which individuals
counted (significance) and the social bond was strong (solidarity) and
found expression in the wider society. Such a comparison (with the
way that communal life developed in the old area) offers hope for the
future. Yet some new factors seem to demand explicit recognition and
purposive action if the old ideals of individual significance, social
unity (solidarity) and effective democracy (significance) are to be
given new and appropriate forms of expression. Firstly, the
traditional ties with defined localities may be increasingly threatened
by the conquest of space and by the fragmentation of interests and bonds
(lack of solidarity) resulting partly from new types of economic
organization. Secondly, there is a danger that the individual may come
to count for less (lack of significance) if the tendency to large-scale
organization and administration continues. Thirdly, the growth of
powerful and specialized and professionalized corporate bodies within
the state may tend to make the man in the street less able to play an
effective part (lack of significance) in the shaping of society. It may

1. Jennings, H· Societies in the Making. London, 1962. p.210.

be that another age of discovery demands a rethinking of the aims, machinery and functions of corporate society in relation to the individual and to organized groups.'[1]

Jennings' approach is a little spoilt by the fact that she constantly assesses the communal life of the new estate at 'Mossdene' in relation to the pattern of living in old Barton Hill, reflecting the way in which Redfield tends to talk of the urban in terms of the folk.   She thus fails to trace the changing expression of community as accurately as she might but, none the less, her study as a whole offers very valuable evidence of the vital importance of the two essential ingredients of community.

The attempt of the classical ecologists to focus attention on the physical and structural organization of life is not very closely related, in their theoretical endeavours at least, to what are regarded here as the communal elements of the system.   Park, however, does touch on the importance of solidarity and significance when writing about the level of human living he designates 'societal,' and states that society 'always includes something more than competitive co-operation and its resulting economic interdependence.   The existence of a society presupposes a certain amount of solidarity, consensus, and common purpose.'[2]   In relation to significance he says:

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1. Jennings, H. Societies in the Making. London, 1962. pp.224-225 (words in brackets inserted).
2. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.181.

'This world of communication and of "distances," in which we all seek to maintain some sort of privacy, personal dignity, and poise, is a dynamic world, and has an order and a character quite its own. In this social and moral order the conception which each of us has of himself is limited by the conception which every other individual, in the same limited world of communication, has of himself, and of every other individual. The consequence is - and this is true of any society - every individual finds himself in a struggle for status: a struggle to preserve his personal prestige, his point of view, and his self-respect. He is able to maintain them, however, only to the extent that he can gain for himself the recognition of everyone else whose estimate seems important; that is to say the estimate of every-one else who is in his set or in his society. From this struggle for status no philosophy of life has yet discovered a refuge. The indiv-idual who is not concerned about his status in some society is a hermit, even when his seclusion is a city crowd. The individual whose con-ception of himself is not at all determined by the conceptions that other persons have of him is probably insane.'[1]

On the whole the theoreticians have been more concerned with solid-arity than with significance; probably the consequence of a certain preoccupation with the Gemeinschaft or folk end of the social scale. Tönnies, for example, states: 'Reciprocal, binding sentiment as a

1. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. pp.176-177.

peculiar will of a Gemeinschaft we shall call understanding

(consensus). It represents the special social force and sympathy

which keeps human beings together as members of a totality.'[1] Yet, at

the other end of the scale, he sees only a self-seeking and atomistic

kind of individualism: 'In Gesellschaft,' he writes, 'every person

strives for that which is to his own advantage and affirms the actions

of others only is so far as and as long as they can further his

interest.'[2] This view neglects the constructive and communal role

played by man's need of a sense of significance.

The theoretician who comes as near as anyone to appreciating the

need of both solidarity amongst and significance for members of the

social aggregate is Simpson, the translator of Durkheim's book 'The

Division of Labour in Society',[3] amongst other works, and one who in

his own writing has drawn on many of the important insights of the

great French sociologist. Simpson underlines the communal necessity

of the two major sentiments in a reference to the qualities of the

primary group. He states that the problem facing mankind is that

'of communalizing those who are to conflict. That is a large problem.

It is the problem of carrying over the ideals of the primary or

face-to-face group which is the most easily communalized, to the larger

1. Tönnies, F. Community and Association. (Translated and supplemented by Loomis, C.P.) London, 1955 (First published 1887). p.53.
2. Ibid. p.88.
3. Durkheim, E. The Division of Labour in Society, (Translated by Simpson, G.) Glencoe, 1933 (First published 1893).

groups, and ultimately to nations and international action. The
ideals of the primary group are shaped by symbiotic behaviour, the
feeling of interdependence (solidarity), and the need for fulfilment
(significance; though it is doubtful whether Cooley really stressed
this aspect in relation to primary groups). There has latterly been
much discussion of the need for a return to primary groups. But what
is needed is a return to the ideals of the primary group in such a
shape and so adjusted as to be capable of application to cosmopolitan
conditions. Otherwise, a sort of return to the communal womb is being
urged, a nostalgia for the infantile.'[1] Simpson is here prepared to
accept that the _ideals_ of the primary group are important for community
whilst recognizing the need for their expression on a very different
level and scale from the past. Simpson stresses the element of
solidarity again when he states that 'in community men's deepest
desires for love, fellowship, understanding, sympathy, solidarity, are
realized.'[2]

In connection with significance, Simpson argues that 'what men are
now failing to realize is that the individual must be made significant
in a new type of community.'[3] 'An individual,' he continues, 'becomes
communally important either negatively or positively; negatively, when
his actions are restricted in order that certain customs, conventions,

1. Simpson, G. _Conflict and Community._ New York, 1937. p.39
   (words in brackets inserted).
2. _Ibid._ p.33.
3. _Ibid._ p.88.

and laws may remain intact; positively when his labours are necessary to the further vitality of other men. Thus, within the family, the individual is almost always significant; within an association the individual is significant in so far as his labours are important to his fellow-members or the force of numbers is itself important for the prosecution of associational purposes. Within community, the individual is positively significant if the foundation upon which community rests can remain firm through the interaction of individuals as responsible beings.'[1]

5. The relation between solidarity and significance

The two essential components of community, solidarity and significance, are closely linked. No person can feel a sense of belonging to a group without thereby gaining some sense of significance. To the outsider it may seem that in certain situations (as in a monastic order, an army regiment, a totalitarian state and so on) individuality is completely lost in the whole but, from the participant's point of view, this is by no means always the case. The point is underlined by Klein when she quotes Zweig's discussion of the worker's relation to his union: 'The mass-organization gives the worker his individuality, his freedom, his self-esteem, his self-confidence. A middle-class man has no such experience and cannot understand it; it seems to him rather like a contradiction in terms.

1. Simpson, G. _Conflict and Community_. New York, 1937. p.101.

A worker does not lose his individuality in his trade-union; it is quite the other way round.   By identifying himself with the union he gains status and strength in his own eyes and in everyone else's.'[1]

In a similar fashion no person can experience a sense of significance without feeling some sense of solidarity with those who make this possible.   Klein writes, 'The individual's assurance of his worth depends on group-membership.'[2]   Whatever role is played some sense of attachment to the rest of the cast is virtually inevitable.

This close relationship between solidarity and significance merely emphasizes the fact that community, though made up of a complex of sentiments, is a phenomenon which, however analysed, must in the end be treated as an entity.

None the less, though numerous groups exist within which people experience both a strong sense of solidarity and significance, it is not true that these two essential communal elements are always present in the same degree.   There are many situations where the group that provides members with a strong sense of solidarity does not give them a sense of significance of the same intensity, and vice versa.   For example, some men may discover a very strong sense of solidarity within the immediate family whilst not finding that the latter gives them the chance to attain a fully satisfying sense of significance.   Some men

1. Klein, J. <u>Samples from English Cultures</u>. Volume I. London, 1965. p.206.
2. Klein, J. <u>Working with Groups</u>. London, 1963. p.57.

may derive a very strong sense of significance from their work whilst experiencing no very strong sense of attachment to colleagues there. It is, therefore, most important in any study of community that solidarity and significance should be treated as sentiments in their own right and not just assumed to vary in direct proportion to each other.

CHAPTER V

EMPIRICAL OPERATIONALIZATION

Introduction

'The word "community" is valueless as a sociological concept,'
states Mann, 'unless it is defined in terms of observable behaviour.'[1]
The object here, therefore, is to operationalize the concept of
community as described in the preceding Chapter.   Operationalism is a
term mainly associated with a group of sociologists known as neo-
positivists,[2]   one of their main aims being to make sociology a fully
scientific discipline.   Of their number, Lundberg is particularly
noted for his emphasis on operational definitions which are, he writes,
'merely definitions which consist as far as possible of words <u>clearly</u>
<u>designating performable and observable operations subject to</u>
<u>corroboration.</u>'[3]   He adds, however, that 'highly operational definitions
are goals to which we strive, rather than tools to be hoped for or
conjured up ready-made at the outset of an enquiry.'[4]   Mann points out
that 'it cannot be pretended that the term "community" has as yet been
so carefully defined in operational terms that "the goal" has been
reached; as yet sociology has a long way to go before such a claim could
be made.'[5]   Nevertheless the attempt is made in this Chapter to move a
little further along this very important road.

1. Mann, P.H. <u>An Approach to Urban Sociology</u>. London, 1965. p.184.
2. See eg. Timasheff, N.S. <u>Sociological Theory</u>. (Revised edition).
    New York, 1955. pp. 191-211.
3. Lundberg, G.A. <u>Social Research</u>. (Second edition). London, 1942.p.89.
4. <u>Ibid</u>. p.90.
5. Mann, P.H. <u>An Approach to Urban Sociology</u>. London, 1965. p.184.

1.   Expressive behaviour

Community sentiment cannot be seen.   This does not mean, however,
that the task of discovering its presence and assessing its intensity
is impossible for, as Klein states, 'the feeling of the group is
manifested by expressive behaviour.'[1]   She continues; 'There are
sentiments in the group.   We cannot see them ..... What we can see is
the expression of friendliness and hostility; underlying these
expressions we assume their existence;   underlying their existence we
assume a frame of reference composed of values - a system of standards
which determines the sentiments of people towards one another.
Expressive behaviour is taken to be the manifestation of underlying
sentiment, both at the level of sentiment toward persons, and at the
deeper level of sentiment toward values, which is part of that total
frame of reference which leads a man to prefer one man or one action to
another in a given set of circumstances.'[2]   In seeking to ascertain
the sense of community experienced by people it is, therefore, on their
'expressive behaviour' that attention will be concentrated.

2.   The approach to empirical operationalization

In Chapter II it was stated that the study of social action is the
best springboard from which to launch an examination of the social
system and an enquiry into the nature and expression of community.   In

1.   Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956. p.119.
2.   Ibid. p.110.

the search for communally expressive behaviour, it is thus with social action that description and analysis starts, followed by a consideration of social structure and then the physical environment within which the system is set.

The social aggregate chosen for empirical study is a relatively small part of society as a whole.   Nevertheless it is socially distinct and complete enough to possess all the properties of the social system outlined previously.   All the activities and relationships of the people concerned are examined and no part of their lives which might engender a sense of community overlooked.   In order to clarify description, major interests of the population are divided up into what are called 'spheres of activity,' eg., family life, education, work, religion, etc.

In considering each major sphere of activity, the first task will be to describe the groups of actors participating.   For example, if the sphere of education were under examination, these would be pupils, teachers and sometimes parents.   The information about these groups will relate to the number of participants, their sex, age and other relevant details about their social background.   An eye will also be kept on those people who do not participate in any particular activity to see if the reasons for this have communal importance.

The main task of this Chapter, and indeed of the case-study itself, is to discover those features of social action and social structure

which indicate the intensity of community sentiment present.   It

must, however, be pointed out that not all activities and relationships

are necessarily of communal note.   Many meetings and many relationships

(as for example, between bus conductor and passenger, paper boy and

customer, usherette and cinemagoer, etc.) can be so infrequent, casual

or utilitarian that very little sense of community is engendered.   It

is important, therefore, to stress again the need for social action

and social structure to be empirically operationalized, in relation to

the concept of community, before investigation gets underway.

3.   Indices of community

'The clarification of concepts ordinarily enters into empirical

research in the shape of establishing indices of the variables under

consideration,' states Merton.   'In non-research speculations, it is

possible to talk loosely about "morale" or "social cohesion" without

any clear conceptions of what is entailed by these terms, but they

must be clarified if the researcher is to go about his business of

systematically observing instances of low and high morale, of social

cohesion or social cleavage.   If he is not to be blocked at the outset,

he must devise indices which are observable, fairly precise and

meticulously clear.' [1]   Such indices to be used in the later empirical

case-study must now be described.   For this purpose attention is

1.   Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. (Revised
     edition). Glencoe, 1957, p.115.

focused mainly on the work of Klein. [1, 2, 3.]

A. Solidarity

'Liking and interaction and homogeneity of norms all vary together,' [4] states Klein. Relating this commonly observed regularity in the relationships between members of small groups first to the social action part of the social system, communal indices begin to emerge. Klein writes, 'The more interaction, the more positive is the sentiment towards others in the group and towards those who interact frequently in particular.' [5] The degree of interaction is thus an extremely useful index of the degree of solidarity existing amongst members of any given social aggregate. In the case-study attention will be directed to the frequency of interaction (how often?), the duration of interaction (how long on each occasion?), its continuity (over what period of time?) and its vigour (how energetic?).

There are, however, one or two exceptions to this rule which must be dealt with. Possibly the most fundamental is the qualification that interaction which is _felt_ to be obligatory very rarely strengthens common bonds. Klein writes, 'Interaction normally varies with liking only if the interaction is freely chosen and can be broken off when desired.' [6] For Klein, enforced interaction is not merely that which is

1. Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956.
2. Klein, J. Working with Groups. London, 1963.
3. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965.
4. Ibid. p.263.
5. Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956. p.106.
6. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965. p.155.

thrust on people against their will, as when people are taken from amongst friends in the slums and placed amongst strangers on new estates, it is also that which is recognized as being economically obligatory, such as the need to earn a living.   'Task-related interaction,'[1] as she terms the latter, is in itself of very little communal   note;   it is only that which 'does not immediately concern the task, that is not concerned with the transmission of relevant information or with proposals as to what shall be done about the task'[2] which increases liking and solidarity.   On the other hand Klein acknowledges that not all behaviour that to the outsider appears compulsory is to the participant _felt_ so to be.   Of the family she comments, 'Though children do not choose to interact with their parents – since children do not ask to be born – they do not normally feel interaction with their parents to be involuntary, ie., forced upon them.'[3] This situation underlines the necessity of assessing the intensity of community sentiment according to the feelings of the group members themselves; whether interaction is regarded as obligatory or not being an important case in point.

Another exception to the rule (solidarity and interaction vary together) is 'where interaction does not give information about

1. Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956. p.156.
2. Ibid. p.111.
3. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965.
    p.181.

personalities ..... (or about) the sentiments of other members.'[1]
This occurs, for example, in a work situation where men fail to talk
much about themselves or their families. It can also occur elsewhere,
especially if an activity draws people into contact because of like
rather than common interests as in the case of certain leisure pursuits;
competing in an angling match, backing horses, going to the theatre,
watching television and so forth. It is, therefore, necessary to
examine whether frequent interaction sees participants exchanging
information about themselves over and above that related to the task in
hand, to the interest being pursued or to 'matters in general.'

Turning now to the structural side of the social system, one can
discover in small groups research a link between solidarity and
homogeneity of norms. Thinking particularly of life on new estates
Klein comments, 'The greater the difference in norms, the greater the
concern over norms, ... the less good relations between neighbours
are likely to be, the greater the concern about privacy, and the less
liked the area.'[2] The reasons for this are not far to seek and
are related in part to frequency of interaction. Klein states,
'Interaction and similarity of behaviour and of norms (normally
vary together), for the greater the social interaction, the
greater the social pressure not to change from what is accepted
in the group as proper.'[3] As a rider, Klein adds,

1. Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956. p.106.
2. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965. p.254.
3. Ibid. p.245.

'Friendship is more frequently based on similarity of ideals than on
similarity of personality.'[1]

In empirical research, therefore, the extent to which beliefs,
ideals and values, expressed through folkways, mores and laws, are held
and upheld by the group as a whole is of great importance in seeking to
assess the strength of solidarity.   Homogeneity of norms must also be
looked for in relation to the organization of and the social control
exercised within associations and institutions.   Where action-centred
and actor-centred norms are homogeneous then social solidarity should
be present.

However, there arise occasions when norms, partly because they
are ever in a state of flux, are not acceptable to every member of the
group.   Some people may be finding normative behaviour limiting and
frustrating and, in Merton's terms, feel themselves out of harmony
with 'cultural goals' and/or the 'institutionalized means'[2] of reaching
them.   Here more attention needs to be given to so-called 'deviant
behaviour' (a very necessary social process) than sociologists, such
as Durkheim in his concern with law as an index of social solidarity,
have so far allowed.   When deviance 'is confined to relatively small
and relatively powerless elements in a community it provides a potential
for the formation of sub-groups, alienated from the rest of the
community but unified within themselves.'[3]   On the other hand, where a

1. Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956. p.106.
2. Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. (Revised edition).
   Glencoe, 1957. p.140.
3. Ibid. p.191.

large number of people is involved, deviance may in the long run

triumph over the old orthodoxy and become the new normative pattern

for the group.   This is precisely how so often the beliefs, ideals

and values of the up-and-coming generation permeate and gradually

replace the standards of the old.   In assessing the intensity of

solidarity, therefore,   attention will have to be directed to both

those groups in step and those out of step with   the social norms of

the day.

B.   Significance

'Self-expression,' states Klein, 'and the sympathetic response

of others give the individual an assurance of his own worth.'[1]   In

seeking for indices of significance it would appear that the matter

needs to be viewed from two complementary angles; the opportunities

and rewards provided and approved by the group as legitimate channels

of self-expression and the satisfaction of the member with these.   If

either opportunity and rewards or satisfaction with them are restricted

or insufficient then the sense of significance felt by members of the

group will be weak.   By and large the indices of significance are seen

more clearly within the structural part of the social system, though

of course they are also linked to social action.

From the point of view of the group as a whole, a clearly defined,

1.   Klein, J.   Working with Groups. London, 1963. p.53.

stable and commonly accepted pattern of roles and statuses is a prerequisite if members are to feel a strong sense of significance. Speaking in a negative fashion, Homans puts the matter as follows; 'As the norms of a group decline in the degree to which they are clear to, and held in common by, all members of the group, so the ranking of members of the group will become less definite.'[1] As ranking becomes less definite so it becomes ever more difficult for people 'to know where they stand' and to attain a sense of significance. A clear and stable status system (be status ascribed or achieved) is indicated not only by the definite nature of opportunities provided but also by agreement over and approval of rewards given. The latter are of many varieties ranging from the pecuniary and the symbolic (long-service medals, certificates of commendation, etc.) to the simple gesture given in deference to one of higher standing.

From the point of view of the individual, it is clear that if the group 'does not give the member the appreciation to which he feels entitled or does not give him sufficient scope or recognition for his talents,'[2] he will either leave it or, if prevented from doing so, remain frustrated and lacking a sense of fulfilment. The individual's attitude towards opportunities and rewards offered by the group is thus of fundamental importance in determining the extent to which both role and status will contribute towards his sense of significance.

1. Homans, G.C. The Human Group. London, 1951. p.365.
2. Klein, J. The Study of Groups. London, 1956. p.117.

With regard to role, Frankenberg, following Goffman, makes a useful
contribution.   He writes;   'If it is argued that anyone in a given
situation is committed by that situation to playing a particular
role, it does not follow that everyone does it with equal enthusiasm.'[1]
Consequently he distinguishes between 'role-commitment and role-
attachment,'[2] the former being a role accepted as something of a duty
or obligation, the latter being a role played out with genuine
interest and enthusiasm.   It is role-attachment that engenders the
greatest sense of significance.

The main communal indices can be summarized as follows:-

Indicating a sense of solidarity	Indicating a sense of significance
Degree of interaction	A clearly defined and widely accepted pattern of roles and statuses
Homogeneity of norms
	Role-attachment Status satisfaction

Because those sentiments which go to make up a sense of community
are quite closely associated, it is natural that the indices mentioned

1.   Frankenberg, R.   Communities in Britain.   Harmondsworth, 1966. p.290.
2.   Ibid. p.242.

above tend to be found together (eg. role-attachment is usually linked to frequent interaction with those concerned). None the less, as indicated at the end of the last Chapter, there are numerous occasions when solidarity and significance are not present in the same degree. It is, therefore, necessary to examine indices connected with both essential elements of community sentiment if final assessment of the latter's intensity is to prove adequate.

4. Standing where they stand

It is extremely important that in all cases the intensity of community sentiment should be assessed in relation to those standards that the group members themselves regard as normal. The researcher must not be mislead because the group does not seem to him to be one in which he could find much sense of solidarity or sense of significance; it is how the participants view the situation that counts. This point is stressed by Becker in a slightly different context. Outlining a sequence of types of social aggregate based on the attitudes of people to innovation and change, he states that 'a sacred society is one that elicits from or imparts to its members, by means of sociation, an unwillingness and/or an inability to respond to the culturally new as the new is defined by those members in terms of the society's existing culture.'[1] Just as the precise definition of what is 'new' must be determined by the society under investigation

1. Becker, H. Sacred and Secular Societies. Social Forces. Vol. 28, No.4. (pp.361-376). May 1950. p.363.

so it is with solidarity and significance.   The great danger of

imagining community to be exclusively bound up with a certain kind

of place, a single period of history and, above all, a particular

type of social structure (mentioned at the end of Chapter I) must

be reiterated.

It is also important in studying community sentiment to balance

the more general kind of indices (such as frequent interaction and

homogeneity of norms) with what individuals themselves actually report.

The observer, especially the participant observer, often learns about

the existence and intensity of solidarity and significance simply

through what participants say directly to him.   In some respects,

particularly when the sentiment is spontaneously expressed and the

speaker is unaware that his views are being noted for further

reference, this can be as valuable an indication of a sense of

solidarity or significance as any of the indices mentioned before.

Gans puts the case for carefully balancing the behaviour and the words

of people when he writes, 'If Levittowners report that they find their

community satisfying, as they do, their opinion ought to be respected.

Although the suburban critics insist that these satisfactions are

spurious and self-deceptive, they offer no valid evidence, so that

their charge only indicates their differing standards for the good

life ..... But it would be foolhardy to base an evaluation solely on

what people say, for if sociology has discovered anything, it is that

often people do not know all they are doing or what is happening

to them.   The observer always sees more than anyone else, if only

because that is his job, but if he evaluates what he alone sees, he

must still do so by the standards of the people whom he is observing.'[1]

5.   Degrees of community sentiment

It has been stressed throughout this thesis that community is a

qualitative phenomenon, ie., its intensity varies.   The indices noted

give a means of assessing this intensity.   In order to show the level

of community sentiment discovered during empirical research it is,

therefore, helpful to have some range of intensities to choose from.

For this purpose the very simple scale outlined below will be employed:-

Community Sentiment

Solidarity	Very strong	Strong	Moderate	Weak	(Nil)
Significance	Very strong	Strong	Moderate	Weak	

It is not assumed that the 'nil' end of the scale represents the

disappearance of all sentiments.   Many of the community studies quoted

earlier in this thesis do in fact show the rise of a sense of social

isolation and of insignificance as the sense of solidarity and

significance decline; in other words, powerful negative sentiments

take over where positive sentiments are weak.   It might thus be

possible to turn this scale into a continuum by constructing at the

lower end a non-communal ideal type (though by definition if such a

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1.   Gans, H.J.   The Levittowners.   London, 1967. p.xxvi.

state empirically permeated an _entire_ 'society,' the latter would

be in a condition of social chaos and disintegration). The aim

would then be to assess to which of the two poles (communal or

non-communal) the sentiments of the members of a given social aggregate

were nearer. However, as the concern in this thesis is with

the existence and intensity of (positive) communal sentiments, and

as any attempt to construct and use a continuum, with all the

attendant difficulties noted in Chapter I, 3, is likely to

confuse the issue, this matter will not be pursued further here.

Because the method of research used in the case-study

(participant observation; discussed in the next Chapter) does not

easily lend itself to validation of a statistical nature, the

assessment of the level of solidarity and significance (and of

community sentiment as a whole) is made by the author himself,

his judgment being based on the communal indices already described

and on opinions expressed by the residents of the area concerned.

The validity of the assessments made are discussed in Chapter X

at the end of the thesis.

6. The time factor

The subsequent case-study deals with a small but fairly

well-defined and socially complete section of English Society. It
was stated earlier in this Chapter that, in order to obtain an
adequate assessment of the level of community sentiment therein, all
aspects of social action and social structure would be examined. But
empirical investigation needs to be not only socially comprehensive
but also 'temporally balanced.' The intensity of community sentiment
can only be reliably judged in relation to a group studied over a
fair period of time; solidarity and significance are not sentiments
that can usefully be gauged by means of a short, rapid 'spot-check.'

It would, for example, be misleading if the degree of community
were estimated from an examination of a social aggregate at a time
of short-lived crisis. On the broader level, this might be
represented by the sudden appearance of natural disaster (tempest,
flood, etc.) or by a limited period of social upheaval (war, economic
depression, etc.) On the narrower front, the 'great events' of
family life (birth, marriage, death, etc.) might fall into the same
category. As already fully discussed in Chapter I, such dramatic
occurrences can assist the observer in penetrating the intensity to
which community sentiment _can_ rise, but a complete and balanced
assessment of the extent to which a sense of community is present can
only be made when critical and dramatic happenings are seen against
the background of the undramatic and everyday events and relationships
of life. The best perspective for empirical research is thus the
study of a social aggregate continuously over a year or two; sentiments

that do not have such lasting value can hardly be said to be communally very important.

In a rather different way the time factor is relevant when community studies embracing recent settlements are undertaken. Jennings, in her description of Barton Hill, Bristol, talks of a kind of cyclical process which all new areas go through as they develop socially. In the case of Barton Hill, many of the features now associated with new estates were evident in its early days, but eventually 'out of all this emerged a society in which individuals counted and the social bond was strong and found expression in the wider society.'[1] It would thus seem unwise to attempt to make final pronouncements about the level of community sentiment in very recently settled districts which are in the initial stages of development. The 'phase hypothesis' outlined by Morris and Mogey, whereby interaction in new areas varies from the intense, in early days, to the very much more restricted in later stages,[2] only serves to warn the sociologist against plunging into survey work before the activities and relationships of residents have had at least some chance of settling down to what, for a considerable time, will be their normal pattern (though present day mobility may never permit the latter to become as firmly established as, say, in the case of old Barton Hill or Bethnal Green.)[3]

1. Jennings, H. Societies in the Making. London, 1962. p.224.
2. Morris, R.N. and Mogey, J. The Sociology of Housing. London, 1965. pp. 41 - 44
3. Young, M. and Willmott, P. Family and Kinship in East London. (Revised edition). Harmondsworth, 1962. eg. p. 187

CHAPTER VI

THE CASE-STUDY : METHODS OF RESEARCH

1.   Place and time

The social aggregate chosen for empirical study is the
settlement of Woodhouse, lying about four miles east-south-east
of the city of Sheffield.   Woodhouse is selected first and foremost
because the author spent five years there as the Methodist Minister
and, as is described more fully below, found this an excellent
opportunity to take up the role of participant observer.   Other
factors, however, combined to make Woodhouse an exceptionally good
area for sociological investigation.   In the first place Woodhouse
is in many ways an anachronism; a suburb, of the modern industrial
city of Sheffield, which still retains its old world character, with
many ancient buildings and a large number of residents who, belonging
to families who have lived in the area for generations, are still
very strongly attached to the attitudes and ways of bygone days.   It
is thus an ideal settlement within which to investigate the communal
life of the past.   Secondly, Woodhouse is a very distinct geographical
unit, its physical limits being plain for all to see.   This fact
facilitates the obtaining of data about the local district, through
the various sources noted below, as people know precisely what place
they are thinking about when they write or speak of 'Woodhouse.'

Thirdly, the population of Woodhouse has remained at about the same size (some 10,000 people) since the beginning of this Century; a fact which has always made it a settlement large enough to produce a distinctive social life of its own. At the same time consistency of size facilitates the comparison of one period with another.

The first year selected for description and analysis is 1912 and this for several reasons. A period from the past was required which would give, consistent with the points made above in the previous Chapter, a 'temporally balanced' study. It was, therefore, felt wise to select a time prior to the great upheavals caused by the First World War and yet one still reflecting the hey-day of Victorian Woodhouse, which came about the turn of the Century. The earliest extant copies of 'The Woodhouse, Eckington and Staveley Express,' which include weekly reporting of Woodhouse events, are available for 1908 and 1912. The latter date was picked as the key year for study so that the 1908 edition of the Paper could be used to check the 'normality' of events occurring in and around 1912. Furthermore, 1912 was, in the mid 1960s, when the research was undertaken, within living memory of a good number of old residents (a person in their 20s in 1912 being in their 70s in 1966) and a great deal of eye-witness material could be obtained. Accuracy was facilitated by cross-checking the spoken and printed word.

1966 is chosen as the key year for the study of Woodhouse in modern times as the author had by then spent three years becoming

acquainted with residents and their way of life.   Although the most
recent council house estate was only begun in October 1963, it was
completed and fully inhabited by June 1965.   1966 was thus a year of
reasonable stability when old and new residents had been in contact
for some time and the pattern of their respective ways of life fairly
clearly established.   Although 1912 and 1966 are taken as key years,
for particularly detailed study, it must be added that in order to
obtain a better perspective on the sense of community then existing,
relevant material from one or two years either side of these dates is
also used.

2.   Methods of research

The methods of research varied according to whether the
investigation concerned past or present.

A.   Woodhouse past

For the study of past events, the data is gathered from two main sources.   The first of these is the very detailed reporting of local district affairs recorded week by week in the columns of 'The Woodhouse, Eckington and Staveley Express.'   This is, secondly, backed up by material obtained from a wide-ranging series of interviews with old residents.   Informal interviewing occurred almost daily for five years when the author, in the normal course of his pastoral rounds as Methodist Minister, was able to ask many pertinent questions about the past.   Formal interviewing was undertaken in 1966 and 1967 with some two dozen old residents representing both sexes and all social groupings of the 1912 era.   Arrangements were made to meet the person concerned at a specific time, usually in his own home, and notes were made on the spot during the interviews.   Since the author usually knew the person interviewed very well by this time, there was a minimum of embarrassment on both sides; residents usually treating this as an interesting opportunity to relive the past.   After one or two interviews it was possible to ascertain, by comparing the information obtained with Press reports and other data, just how good a memory the person had and to discover his ability to keep to the point and to express himself lucidly.   Those who came up to a high standard here were interviewed at greater length than the others. Quite outstanding in this regard was one old resident, Albert Chapman.

Born in 1892, he had lived his entire life in Woodhouse and played an extremely active part in local district affairs having a very wide experience of almost every sphere of the doings of residents. Added to this was an amazingly accurate memory, an ability to speak with critical objectivity of the past and a readiness to spare his time answering a thousand and one questions clearly and succinctly. The author concentrated particularly on this key witness and, in the end, spent some 50 or 60 hours with him talking about the Woodhouse of the first decade of the Century. Against the criticism that this might have given a one-sided picture, the author can only state that Albert Chapman's reporting proved thoroughly consistent with data obtained from quite different sources. At the same time the relationship built up between interviewer and interviewed gave a depth to the comments that could never have been obtained in any other way.

In addition to the two main sources of information, the Press and interviews, the life of Woodhouse past was also investigated by means of a questionnaire (see Appendix I) sent to 32 people who had once lived in the local district and, for one reason or another, had by 1966 moved away. The sample was selected simply on the basis of their having occupied positions of responsibility such as doctor, clergy, teacher, councillor, etc., in the area and/or of their reputedly great knowledge of the past. The advantage of this mail enquiry was that ex-residents, who had once been deeply involved in Woodhouse

affairs, were able to write about their one-time home in the light
of many years experience of other parts of the country.   24 people
replied, some briefly, some at length.   Here again one person emerged
as a key witness; Gladys Brown, born in Woodhouse in 1902 and residing
there until 1920, and also for a short period from 1926 until 1932.
In fluent literary style she covered many pages recalling vivid memories
of her childhood in a large mining family.   (The emergence of and
concentration on these sort of key witnesses, expressing themselves by
means of the written, but especially of the spoken, word, seems to the
author to open up a new and very valuable sociological method of
investigating the past,   much more manageable than that of dealing
with the full-scale life history.)

In connection with the study of Woodhouse past, data was also
obtained from the usual documentary sources; short histories of the
area, minute books, local church magazines, baptismal and marriage
registers, etc. (all noted in the Bibliography).   A useful visual
source of information was provided by the extant photographs of local
district life (taken by a Woodhouse photographer of the first years
of the Century, Jabez Good), a selection of which illustrate this
thesis.

B.   Woodhouse present

(i)   Interviews

The life of the residents of Woodhouse present was investigated in a somewhat similar manner to that used for the past.   Formal interviewing was undertaken with some two dozen people active in 1966 in every sphere of local district life.   Interviewing ranged from a few to a great number of hours and again a key witness emerged in Graham Panton.   The latter, a married man with two young children, had probably entered more Woodhouse homes than any other resident in 1966; first, from 1954 to 1961, in his capacity as a telephone engineer, covering the area;   secondly, from 1961 onwards as a service agent and salesman for Hoover products and; thirdly, from 1966 onwards, as the Secretary of the Badger Community Association.   Graham Panton had himself lived on the new Badger Estate since 1964 and his knowledge of Woodhouse present, especially of the large number of council house tenants, was exceptionally comprehensive.   His keen sense of observation and ability to make critical but balanced judgments was an invaluable foil to the author's own experience of the local district. Besides formal interviewing the normal documentary sources were used (see the Bibliography), the Press, however, proving a much less helpful source of information than for 1912.

(ii) Participant observation

The main source of data for the modern period (though it also indirectly yielded a good deal of information about the past) was participant observation. Nels Anderson 'was perhaps the first deliberate participant observer' [1] and in 1923 he produced his famous book about the hobo, [2] based on his experiences during the time spent living amongst them. Since then participant observation has had a very creditable history particularly in the field of social anthropology, but also of sociology. Outstanding in the latter respect were the Lynds' studies of 'Middletown' in the 1920s and 1930s. [3] George Homans writes of 'direct observation' what can here be equally applied to participant observation: 'Our work presupposes the direct observation of human behaviour. It does not for the most part deal with what men write in answer to a questionnaire or what they say when a research assistant has his foot in the door. It deals with what men say and do on the ordinary occasions of ordinary life. This kind of fact is surprisingly hard to collect; it demands an observer who is not himself so much a part of the situation that he cannot view it with a fresh eye, and one who does not, by the mere fact of his presence, change what would otherwise be said and done. Anthropologists

1. Madge, J. The Origins of Scientific Sociology. London, 1962. p.119.
2. Anderson, N. The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man. Chicago, 1923.
3. Lynd, R.S. and Lynd, H.M. Middletown. London, 1929.
    and
    Lynd, R.S. and Lynd, H.M. Middletown in Transition. London, 1937.

who live with the tribes they study and who back up their lengthy questionings of native informants with firsthand observations of daily life collect this kind of material, and so do a few sociologists who study groups and communities in our own society. Our work relies on theirs. Some social scientists find this kind of material hard and unsatisfying to work with: it can seldom be converted into statistics and always leaves unanswered many interesting questions - and they shy away from it. Nevertheless it is the stuff of everyday existence, and we start with it here.'[1]

None the less certain major criticisms of participant observation must be noted and met. It is maintained that the role of the participant observer is inevitably an artificial one and thus inhibits or alters the normal pattern of the group's life. Argyle believes, however, that 'the disturbance would be expected to be minimal if the observer (a) appears to be an ordinary member of the society or group, and (b) keeps passively in the background and does not show an ostentatious interest in what is going on.'[2] The author was in fact 'an ordinary member of the society or group' insofar as he was appointed to a publically acknowledged position in Woodhouse life (that of Methodist Minister) through the usual channels. During his five years residence in the area virtually all residents knew him only as

1. Homans, G.C. The Human Group. London, 1951. p.25.
2. Argyle, M. The Scientific Study of Social Behaviour.
    London, 1957. p.35.

the Methodist Minister and thus he was fully able to fill the role

of 'total participant' which Gans regards as 'the most honest one

..... (and) the most productive one for understanding a social

situation.'[1]   During the year selected for research in detail and

depth (1966), the author did at times disclose his more than passing

interest in Woodhouse affairs and adopt the role of 'researcher-

participant,'[2] for example in order to obtain the formal interviews

required, but by this time he was generally so well known as Methodist

Minister that almost all residents took this to be more of a personal

hobby than 'an ostentatious interest.'   The knowledge that every

pastoral visit, meeting and event the author attended were being

participated in _and_ observed never dawned on residents and had no

influence on their conversation and behaviour.   At the same time it

should be stressed that the author never felt his research role to

restrict or weaken his genuine concern for those under his pastoral

charge.

Because the author's role was so 'natural' there was little need

for him to remain, as Argyle recommends, 'passively in the background.'

In fact he was in the privileged position of being able to initiate

as well as share in ventures quite in keeping with his ministerial

role yet which he himself knew full well to be, amongst other things,

1.   Gans, H.J.   The Levittowners.   London, 1967.   p.440.
2.   Ibid.   p.440.

'field experiments.'[1]   Through the latter he was able to gain

extremely valuable insights into the intensity and expression of

community sentiment amongst the residents of the local district.

These experimental ventures included (in chronological order):

An attempt to unite two large Methodist congregations within

one church building.

'Operation Meeting Point,' a ten-day 'mission' to the area

during which visiting students of all denominations undertook, amongst

other work, systematic research into the social life of the local

district.

The launching of the first Woodhouse Arts Festival in an attempt

to see if the old and new residents could combine in putting on a

fortnight of social and cultural activities.

A campaign on behalf of the old residents threatened by the

Corporation's Compulsory Purchase Order with less than a fair deal.

Active participation in the founding of the Badger Community

Association and in its successful endeavours to prevent a public

house being built at the centre of the Badger Estate.

The establishment of the Woodhouse Community Council, an

organization aimed at drawing together all those people working in

the personal and social services of the area to facilitate consultation

and action on behalf of residents.

1. Burgess, E.W. and Bogue, D.J. (eds.) Contributions to Urban
    Sociology. Chicago, 1964. p.262.

(All these ventures are documented later in the main body of
the 1966 analysis.)

These and other endeavours, deliberately initiated by the author
or by those with whom he was in very close touch, gave many clues to
the communal pattern of Woodhouse life.   It also meant that the
author was able to investigate a population in action and was thus
adopting 'the process approach'[1] strongly advocated by Frankenberg.

Moser states that 'the ideal of being able to enter into the life
of a community at several different levels, so as to get a complete
picture, is rarely attained.'[2]   As the Minister of by far the largest
Christian denomination in Woodhouse (in 1966 the two Methodist Churches
had a total membership of 263 and several hundred more people were
actively associated with them) the author had direct contact with some
family, and often many, living in virtually every road in the area.
His especially close association with the old residents gave him access
to a great deal of information about the past.   Yet it must be
acknowledged that the author's ecclesiastical role had certain inherent
limitations which could easily have restricted participant observation
mainly to one sphere, the religious, of the life of the local district
residents.   This danger was off-set, however, by the fact that the
author was able to play several non-ecclesiastical roles too (such as

1. Frankenberg, R. British Community Studies: Problems of Synthesis
    in Banton, M. (ed.) The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies.
    (pp. 123-154). London, 1966.
2. Moser, C.A. Survey Methods in Social Investigation.   London, 1958.
    p.169.

'social worker,' 'community development worker,' local historian, parent, neighbour, etc.) which brought him into direct touch with many non-churchgoers.   In addition, by using his own status with care and discretion, the author was able to gain free entry, often being warmly welcomed, into certain spheres of activity, notably the public houses, working-men's clubs and numerous non-churchgoing homes, and talk at length to people there about their interests and concerns.   Two other important sources of information outside the religious sphere were also used; one, the author's wife who was in contact with many younger women in her normal capacity as wife and mother; the other, a house group meeting on the Badger Estate led by the author and made up of a dozen or more non-churchgoing residents who gathered each month to talk over topics of general and local concern.

There was still a danger that, because the participant observer was 'the minister,' people might be unnaturally polite (or rude!), and sometimes plain dishonest about their own attitudes and feelings.   On occasions this happened, but the author's length of residence in the area enabled him to break down many inhibitions amongst both churchgoers and non-churchgoers.   He had too the privilege of sharing the 'dramatic incidents' of life (birth, marriage, illness, death, etc.) when 'defences' were down and sentiments often openly expressed. As a guide to future participant observers, it is worth noting in this connection, that an interesting change occurred in the author's

relation with residents about his fourth year in the area (1965 to 1966), perhaps arising from the fact that by this time he had shared some 'dramatic incident' with virtually all his church members and many non-churchgoers too. Consequently his conversations with inhabitants entered a much more personal phase at this juncture, which continued for the rest of his time to yield facts and indicate sentiments previously only hinted at.

Frankenberg and others note that because the changing pattern of social life over the years has led to a decline in 'direct face-to-face interaction,'[1] and a rise in the number and extent of secondary contacts, the participant observer has become less and less capable of covering all the activities and relationships of each member of the social aggregate and of becoming well acquainted with the 'different audience for each of the roles he plays.'[2] This is an important criticism of the participant observation method. With regard to Woodhouse past, there was little difficulty as residents could talk about and relive the total life of inhabitants of all ages and both sexes simply because it was very largely contained within the boundaries of the local district; everyone knew everyone else's business. For 1966 the problem was more acute. The author lived and worked in Woodhouse and watched half the population depart each morning for the city, to school or to work. The only way to counteract this loss of contact

1. Frankenberg, R. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth, 1966. p.250.
2. Ibid. p.244.

was, on the one hand, to be fully aware of, and make allowances

for, the fact that he was spending a great deal of time with

residents tied to the local district (young children, mothers and old

people) and, on the other, to make the most of every opportunity of

meeting and speaking to young people, men and working wives in the

evenings or at week-ends. The author was, however, assisted to

some extent by the shift-work system which kept a good number of men

at home during the day. It is worth noting at this point that if

the modern way of life with its intricate division of labour and wide

variety and dispersion of relationships somewhat limits the

comprehensiveness of coverage obtained by participant observation,

it is as much a problem for many other methods of research. The

number of urban community studies based on information obtained only

or mainly from the woman of the house is high. That this practical

difficulty can sometimes distort a study of community is borne out by

such a totally misleading judgment as made by Elias and Scotson when

they state, 'It is difficult to imagine communities without women and

children, though one can imagine communities almost without men.'[1] It

is hoped that at least this error has been avoided.

Argyle states that the participant observer 'cannot take notes.'[2]

In general this is true but the author found many opportunities, for

1. Elias, N. and Scotson, J.L. The Established and the Outsiders.
   London, 1965. pp.146-147.
2. Argyle, M. The Scientific Study of Social Behaviour. London, 1957.
   p.35.

example at meetings, to jot notes down discreetly on a small piece of paper without this influencing the remarks made. Following visits to homes, he recorded all the important comments made immediately after leaving the house or later the same day in a diary. After a while he became practised in sorting out the most relevant statements made in informal conversation and in remembering them accurately until the opportunity came to write them down.

3. Other problems

One or two other problems arose during the course of empirical investigation. With regard to the study of past events there was a tendency for old residents to 'telescope' their experience of bygone days giving a false impression of the pace and vigour of the normal cycle of activities. This problem is not a new one and is noted, for example, by West in his autobiographical account of boyhood days spent between the wars in nearby Eckington; 'Because, for so many years, the routines of the village and my parents' home held so firm, I am guilty here and there of time-sliding: without realizing at the time, I have begun a sentence by noting a household routine as I knew it at five or six years, only to finish it with a memory of the same thing from the age of ten or even fourteen.'[1] Great care thus had to be taken to check the frequency of past events, especially those remembered most vividly, and to correct the temptation to 'time-slide.'

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1. West, P. I, said the Sparrow. London, 1963. p.vii.

Old residents were also inclined to exaggerate numbers by concentrating on the 'great occasions' of the past when 'the hall was packed to the doors,' or 'there were chairs down the aisles.' But many witnesses were discriminating in their evidence when questioned about more normal times, whilst Press reports and extant photographs gave opportunity for additional checks to be made.   The accommodation capacity of old buildings (public houses, church halls, etc.) still standing gave a further guide to numbers attending meetings in the past.

4.   Symbolic persons

The concept of 'symbolic place,' those buildings, landmarks, meeting places, etc., which become over the years symbols of a common life, was discussed in Chapter III, on the physical environment of the social system.   As the case-study progressed another similar and very important concept emerged, that of the 'symbolic person.'   The latter is the resident who symbolizes the values and ethos of the group concerned, provides clear and unchallenged leadership within it, whilst often representing the group to 'the world outside.'   In Woodhouse past, symbolic people, like symbolic places, gave 'a feeling of meaning and permanence' to local district life.   They were usually residents who achieved prominence not only because of their own powers of leadership, but as a consequence of living in the area and holding

1.   Herbert, G.   The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory.
     Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No.2. (pp.165-213) July 1963. p.206.

positions of note for very many years.   Such people were in many
ways similar to Weber's 'traditional' type of leader.[1]   These
'social landmarks' symbolized a common way of life related to
numerous spheres of activity (notably the religious), and helped to
enhance the solidarity of the group concerned.

By 1966, this type of symbolic person was much less in
evidence, though a symbolic figure, clearly embodying and representing
certain groups, was still distinguishable.   This sort of person
usually attained prominence through personal ability and 'drive'
(he was more an innovator than preserver), often allied to
publically recognized qualifications, after only a relatively short
period of residence in the local district.   His influence was
limited to the group he served and his status therein did not, as
with the traditional symbolic figure, carry over into other aspects
of Woodhouse life.   His orientation was 'cosmopolitan' rather than
'local' (see Chapter IX).   None the less, he too gave a social
focal point to the group concerned and helped to strengthen the
sense of solidarity.

5.   Lay-out of material

The case-study is divided into two large Chapters dealing with
Woodhouse 1912 (Chapter VII) and Woodhouse 1966 (Chapter VIII).   For
each of these periods the affairs of the residents will be split up into
Sections dealing with major spheres of activity which, partly following
the Lynds' 'Middletown' study, are as follows:

---

1.   Weber, M.   The Theory of Social and Economic Organization.
(Trans. Henderson, A. M. and Parsons, T)   London, 1947.   p. 341

Work
Government
Health and Welfare
Family and Neighbours
Education
Religion
Leisure
Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life

Any such division is somewhat arbitrary but at least helps to

facilitate the ordering of material.   The more formally structured

activities are placed first to provide a clear framework for the study

as a whole.   Where activities might fit into two or more spheres (eg.,

the church football team might be associated with either 'Religion'

or 'Leisure'), they are placed according to the main sponsoring

organization (ie., the church football team comes under 'Religion').

Where communally important, the reasons why certain residents do not

participate in this or that activity are examined.   Some aspects of

the social activity and social structure of Woodhouse life were not

limited to any particular sphere and are gathered together in the

Section entitled 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life.'

Within each Section, the material is arranged as follows:

Introduction
Participants
Social Action   -   Solidarity
                    Significance
Social Structure- Solidarity
                    Significance
(Non-participants)
Summary

The lay-out of each Section follows that advocated earlier in the

discussion of the social system. If any of the sub-sections on solidarity or significance are omitted, it is because there is insufficient material of communal importance to warrant their inclusion.

Description of the major geographical units used in the case-study has already been undertaken in Chapter III. Any points related to the intensity of community sentiment arising from the impact of the physical environment on social activity or social structure are integrated into the appropriate Sections or dealt with when discussing 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life.'

The 'Participants' are usually grouped according to certain broad age categories (children, young people, adults, old people) and according to sex. The case-study revealed that not every category was applicable to every sphere of activity or to both periods (1912 and 1966). Age and sex, however, were only a useful springboard; it was left for the research itself to locate those groups of people who experienced a sense of solidarity and significance at the same intensity and through similar activities and relationships.

Wherever the spoken or written comments of Woodhouse residents are incorporated, these are placed in quotation marks, but the names of people are not included in order to maintain the courtesy of anonymity. In the 1912 study, comments made are put in the present tense (he speaks of, she states, etc.) to show that people living in the 1966 period are the speakers or writers. In the 1966 study, comments are put in the

past tense (he remarked, she said, etc.) to underline that the words
were spoken at that time by residents living through it.

RECAPITULATION

Before plunging into the case-study itself, it is worth pausing for a moment to restate the purpose of this thesis in general and the empirical investigation in particular.

All the material so far presented, and all the evidence gathered below, is intended first and foremost to facilitate the testing of the two hypotheses set out in the Introduction to the thesis. That is to say, by comparing the life and affairs of the residents of Woodhouse (a microcosm of the social system as a whole) in the year 1912 and in the year 1966, it is hoped to discover:

1. <u>Whether or not notable changes have taken place in the expression and territorial focus of community.</u>

The expression of community is discussed in terms of those concepts associated with the social action and structural aspects of the social system (Chapter II).

The territorial focus, or geographical context, of community is described in terms of those geographical units listed in earlier comments on the physical environment (Chapter III).

2. <u>Whether or not a sense of community has been lost.</u>

The sense of community experienced by Woodhouse people in 1912 and 1966 is discussed in terms of solidarity and significance (Chapter

IV) and its intensity assessed according to the communal indices set out during empirical operationalization (Chapter V).

The practical methods employed in collecting and ordering the data have been described in Chapter VI.

The concepts and communal indices so far discussed will receive no further explanation or elaboration in the main body of the empirical material, as this would lead to lengthy and tedious repetition.

THE CASE — STUDY

WOODHOUSE

MAP 1   WOODHOUSE AND THE SURROUNDING DISTRICT

Key to the collieries

1.   West Birley

2.   East Birley

3.   Handsworth

4.   Orgreave

5.   Treeton

6.   Beighton

7.   Brookhouse

8.   Waleswood

(For dates related to the opening, and sometimes

closure, of these collieries, see the Sections

on 'Work' for 1912 - p. 197 - and 1966 - p. 434.)

MAP I

○ COLLIERIES

N

SHEFFIELD

TO ROTHERHAM

● 5

TREETON

3 ●

4 ●

THE MANOR

HANDSWORTH

RICHMOND

SHIRTCLIFFE BROOK

WOODHOUSE MILL

WOODHOUSE

SWALLOW-NEST

ASTON

TO WORKSOP (A 75)

INTAKE

NORMANTON SPRINGS

1 ●

2 ●

SHIRE BROOK

● 6

● 7

● 8

GLEADLESS

BIRLEY SPA

HACKENTHORPE

BEIGHTON

WALES

RIVER ROTHER

TO MANSFIELD

MOSBROUGH (A 618)

KILLAMARSH

DRONFIELD

ECKINGTON
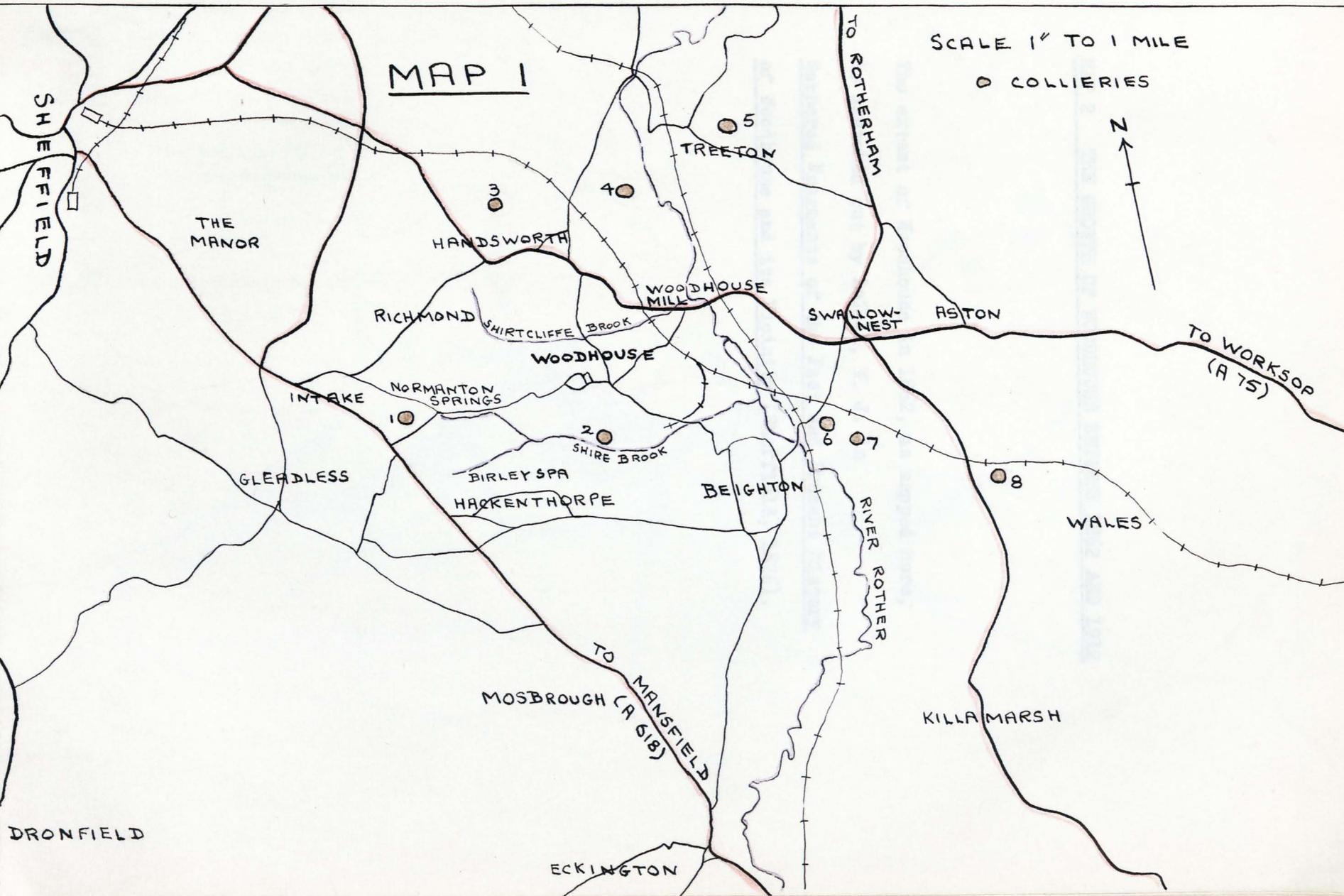
MAP 2   THE GROWTH OF WOODHOUSE BETWEEN 1862 AND 1912

The extent of Woodhouse in 1862, as mapped here,

is sketched out by LeTall, W. J. in

Gathered Fragments of the Past and Present History

of Woodhouse and its Vicinity (Sheffield, 1876).

WOODHOUSE MILL

RAILWAY

SHIRTCLIFFE BROOK

N

SCALE 6" TO 1 MILE

MAP 2

WOODHOUSE 1862

WOODHOUSE

SHIRE BROOK

YORKSHIRE
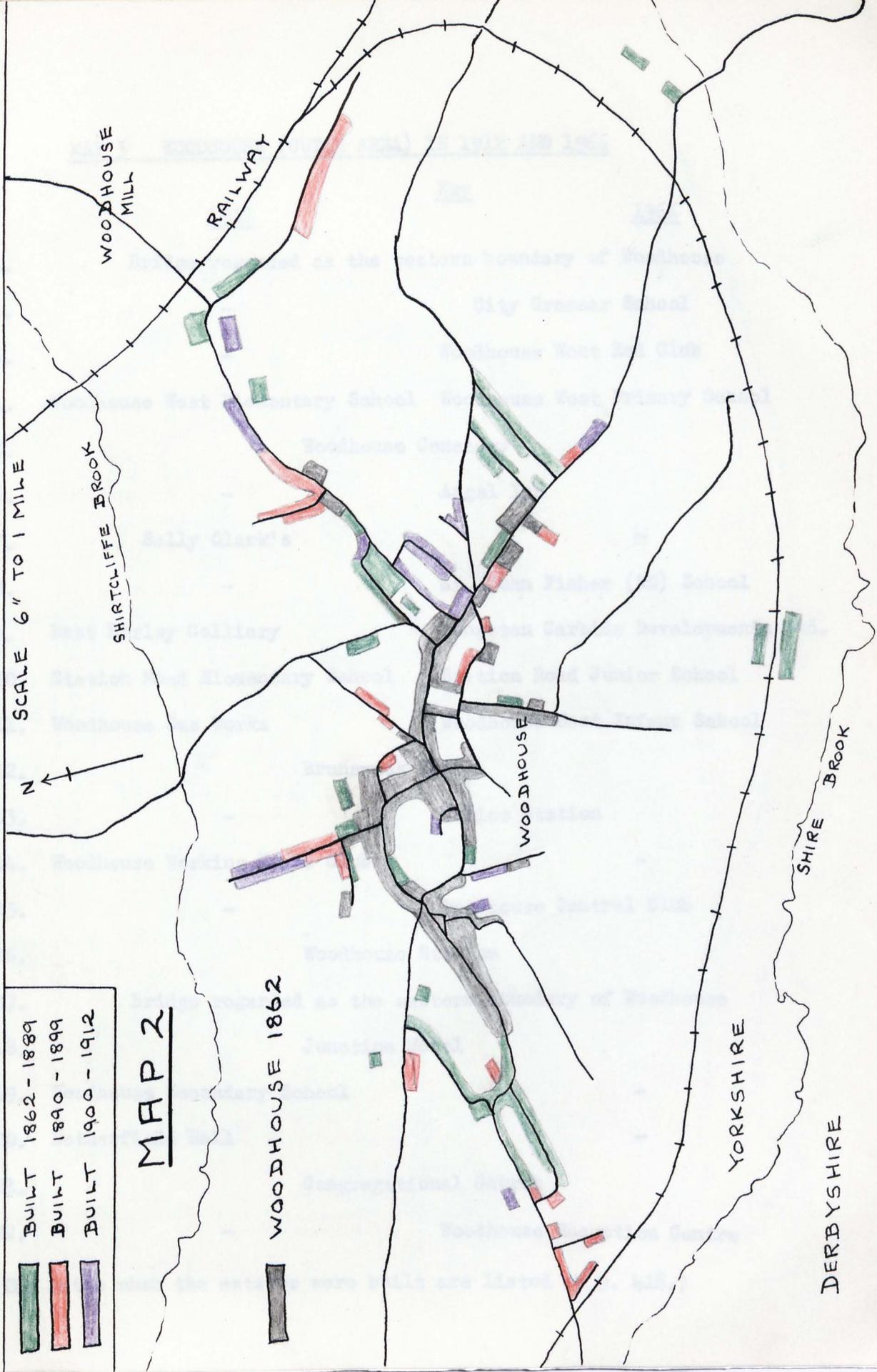
DERBYSHIRE

BUILT 1862 – 1889
BUILT 1890 – 1899
BUILT 1900 – 1912

MAP 3   WOODHOUSE (OUTER AREA) IN 1912 AND 1966

Key

	1912	1966
1.	Bridge regarded as the western boundary of Woodhouse	
2.	-	City Grammar School
3.	-	Woodhouse West End Club
4.	Woodhouse West Elementary School	Woodhouse West Primary School
5.	Woodhouse Cemetery	
6.	-	Angel Inn
7.	Sally Clark's	-
8.	-	St. John Fisher (RC) School
9.	East Birley Colliery	Tungsten Carbide Developments Ltd.
10.	Station Road Elementary School	Station Road Junior School
11.	Woodhouse Gas Works	Woodhouse East Infant School
12.	Brunswick Hotel	
13.	-	Police Station
14.	Woodhouse Working Men's Club	-
15.	-	Woodhouse Central Club
16.	Woodhouse Station	
17.	Bridge regarded as the eastern boundary of Woodhouse	
18.	Junction Hotel	
19.	Woodhouse Secondary School	-
20.	Netherfield Hall	-
21.	Congregational Church	
22.	-	Woodhouse Reception Centre

(The dates when the estates were built are listed on p. 418.)

MAP 3

SCALE
6" TO 1 MILE. N

USED IN 1912 AND 1966
USED IN 1912 ONLY
USED IN 1966 ONLY
ROADS ADDED AFTER 1912

WORKSOP

SHEFFIELD

WOODHOUSE MILL

FURNACE LANE

RAILWAY

JUNCTION ROAD

STATION APPROACH

SHIRTCLIFFE BROOK

STATION ROAD

BADGER ESTATE

BEAVER HILL ROAD

TITHE BARN ESTATE

SHIRTCLIFFE WOODS

FOOTPATH TO HANDSWORTH

MAUNCER ESTATE

NEW CROSS ESTATE

STRADBROKE ROAD

WOLVERLEY AND SOUTHSEA ESTATE

NORMANTON SPRINGS

THE CROSS

SHEFFIELD ROAD

WOODHOUSE

BEIGHTON ROAD

JOHN CALVERT ROAD

BALMORAL ROAD

FOOT PATH TO HACKENTHORPE

THE BIRLEY BRANCH

YORKSHIRE

SHIRE BROOK

DERBYSHIRE

SHIRE BROOK
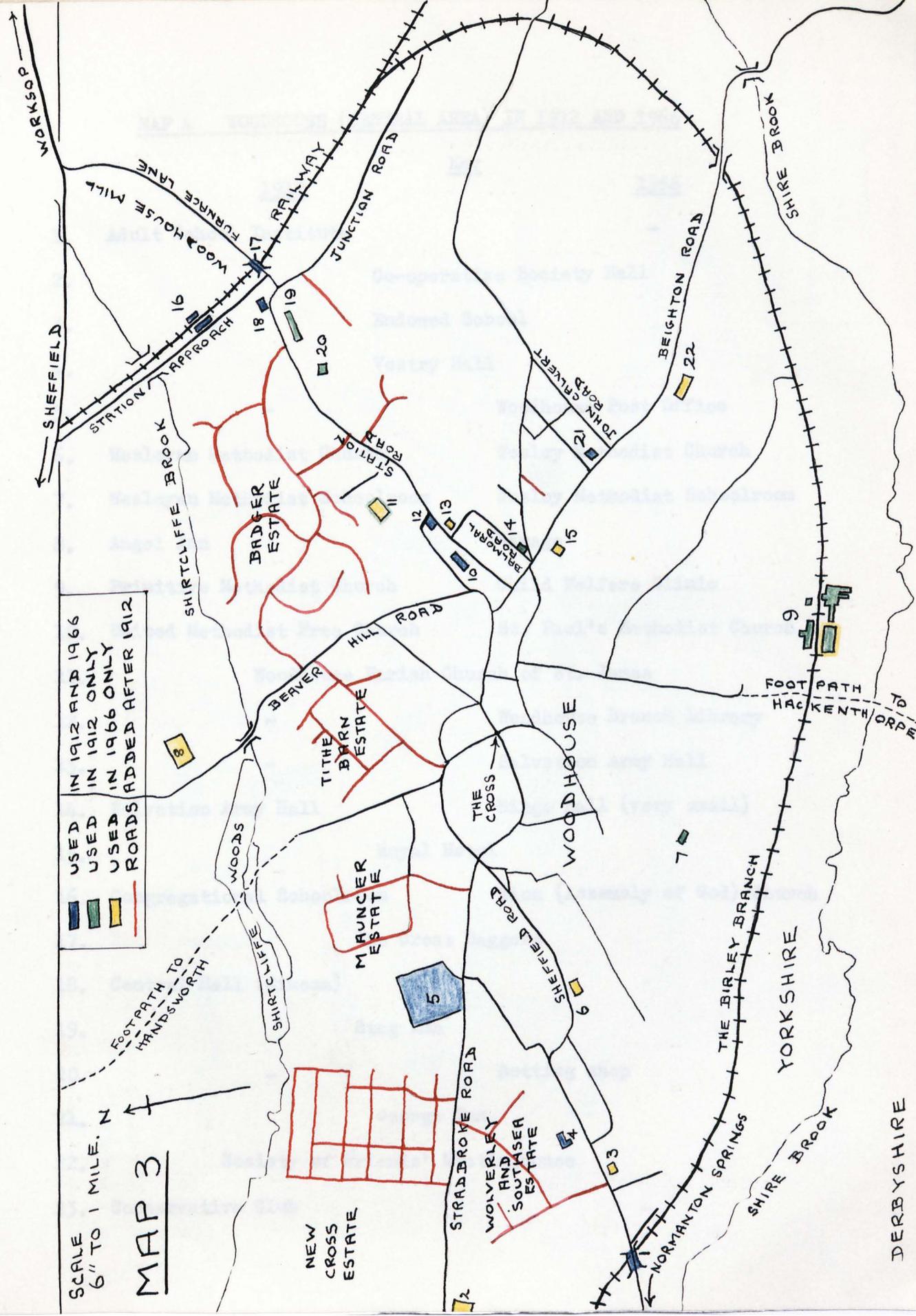
MAP 4   WOODHOUSE (CENTRAL AREA) IN 1912 AND 1966

Key

	1912	1966
1.	Adult School Institute	–
2.	Co-operative Society Hall	
3.	Endowed School	
4.	Vestry Hall	
5.	–	Woodhouse Post Office
6.	Wesleyan Methodist Church	Wesley Methodist Church
7.	Wesleyan Methodist Schoolroom	Wesley Methodist Schoolroom
8.	Angel Inn	Garage
9.	Primitive Methodist Church	Child Welfare Clinic
10.	United Methodist Free Church	St. Paul's Methodist Church
11.	Woodhouse Parish Church of St. James	
12.	–	Woodhouse Branch Library
13.	–	Salvation Army Hall
14.	Salvation Army Hall	Bingo hall (very small)
15.	Royal Hotel	
16.	Congregational Schoolroom	Zion (Assembly of God) Church
17.	The Cross Daggers	
18.	Central Hall (Cinema)	–
19.	Stag Inn	
20.	–	Betting shop
21.	George Inn	
22.	Society of Friends' Meetinghouse	
23.	Conservative Club	–

MAP 4

N

BEAVER HILL ROAD

REVILL LANE

TILFORD ROAD

MARKET STREET

HAWKSWORTH'S CROFT

MEETINGHOUSE LANE

STATION ROAD

SPA LANE

HOYLAND LANE

MARKET LANE

MARKET SQUARE

THE CROSS

CHURCH LANE

TITHE BARN LANE

TITHE BARN WAY

CROSS STREET

MALTHOUSE LANE

BACK LANE

BIRKS AVE.

TANNERY STREET

SKELTON LANE

VICAR LANE

CHAPEL STREET

MAUNCER LANE

MAUNCER CRESCENT

STRADBROKE ROAD

SHEFFIELD ROAD

WATERSLACKS LANE

SALLY CLARK'S

1.   ....
2.   WORK
4.   GOVERNMENT
      PRIEST AND VICARAGE
5.   SHOP AND WORKSHOP
7.   RELIGION
8.   LEISURE
9.   OTHER .... VILLAGE LIFE
10.   RELIGION
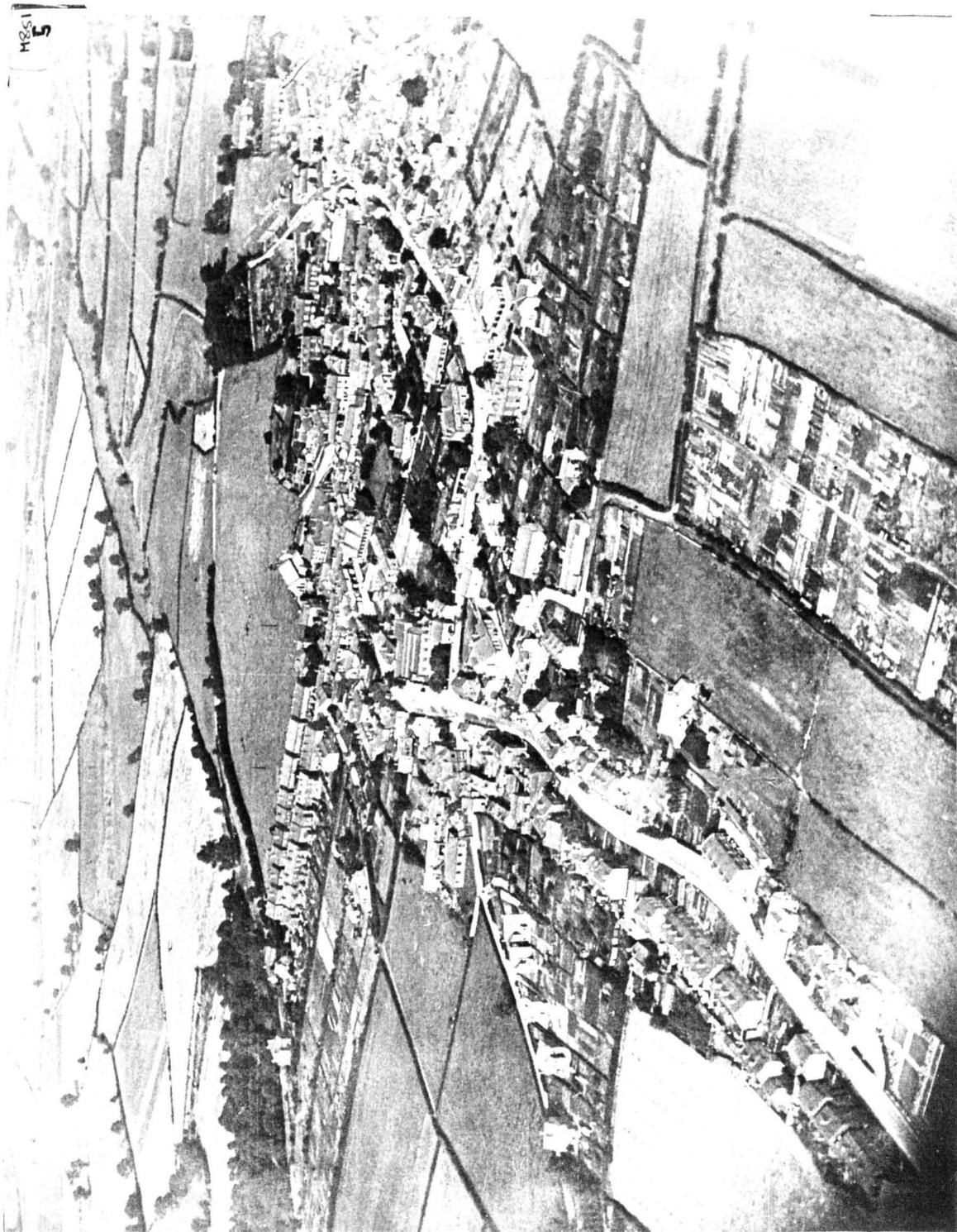
SCALE 25" TO 1 MILE

USED IN 1912 AND 1966

USED IN 1912 ONLY

USED IN 1966 ONLY

ROADS ADDED AFTER 1912

CHAPTER VII

WOODHOUSE 1912

SECTIONS

Woodhouse from the air in 1932.   Its appearance is almost identical to that which would have been seen in 1912.   Note the rural surroundings and the compact nature of the central area.
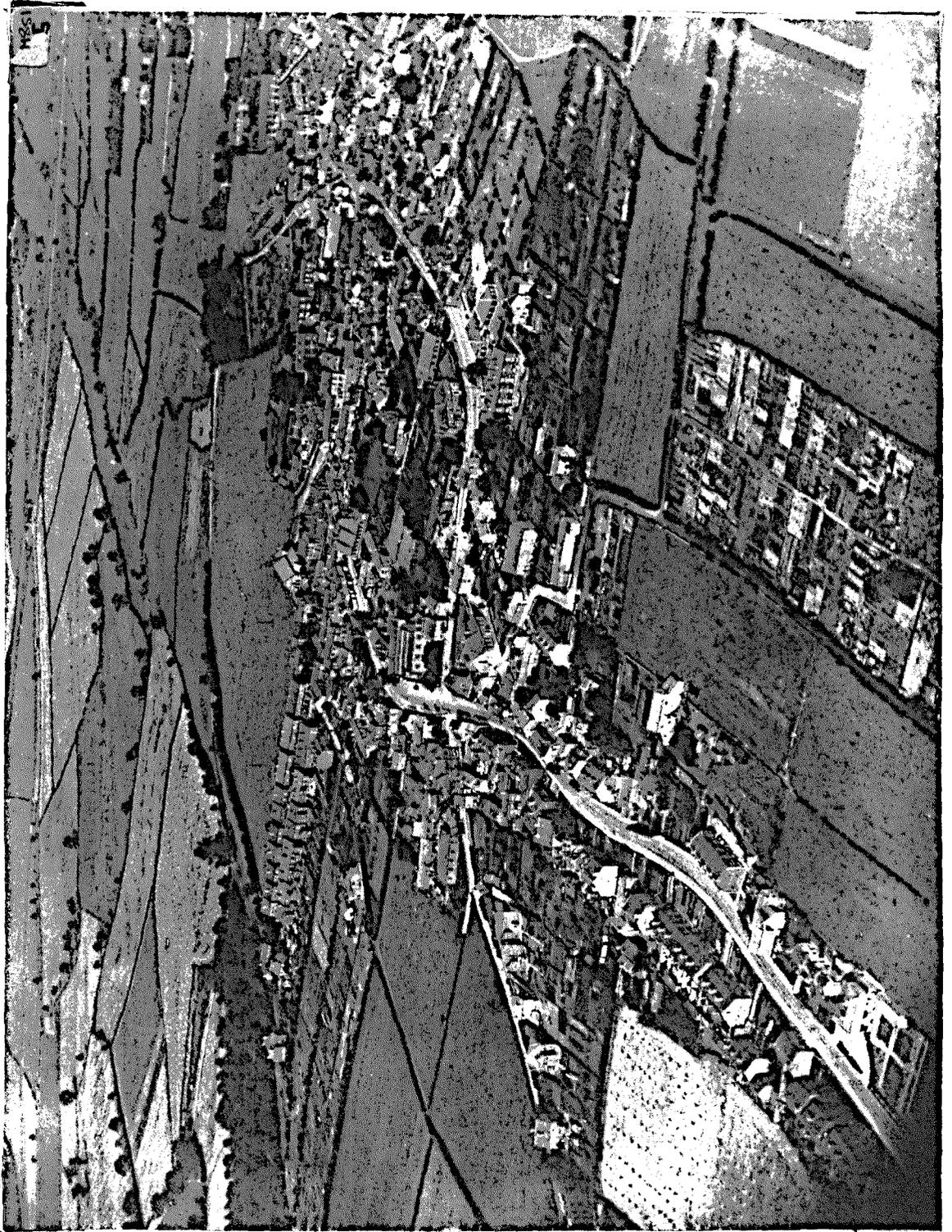
Woodhouse from the air in 1932.   Its appearance is almost identical
to that which would have been seen in 1912.   Note the rural
surroundings and the compact nature of the central area.

CHAPTER VII

1. WOODHOUSE

1912

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Location

Woodhouse lies some four miles east-south-east of Sheffield on a prominent ridge, over 300 feet above sea level in many places, running between the Shirtcliffe Brook to the North and the Shire Brook to the South. Prior to the First World War, Woodhouse was separated from all the surrounding villages by a broad valley and mile-wide belt of fields. The main roads from Sheffield to Worksop and from Sheffield to Mansfield by-passed Woodhouse completely on the North and South sides respectively.

The local and extended districts

Two adjoining and comparatively small settlements, Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs, are often regarded as part and parcel of Woodhouse proper. These two settlements, however, lay in the valley well below Woodhouse, Woodhouse Mill being separated from the latter by the main Great Central Railway line and Normanton Springs by the Birley Branch of the same line. 'The two bridges,' as they are locally known, which crossed these lines were, before the First World War, regarded as the eastern and western limits of Woodhouse and will be so taken for the purposes of this thesis; the northern and southern boundaries being the aforementioned two brooks. The area within these limits will be referred

to in all later sections as 'the local district.'   As far as possible,
attention will be confined to the activities and relationships of the
residents living in this particular local district, though numerous
statistical returns, such as the electoral rolls, include the figures for
Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs with those for Woodhouse itself.

The extended district was defined in Chapter III as 'that area, the
large majority of whose residents look to one main centre for the satis-
faction of all those needs not met within the local district.' The self-
contained nature of Woodhouse noted below meant that some residents hardly
went out of the latter, but if Woodhouse did have links with any one place
more than others it was with Sheffield.   The extended district in the
Sections that follow will thus refer to that area the residents of which
looked mainly to Sheffield for the satisfaction of requirements not met
in their own locality.

Historical development

It is quite impossible to understand the communal situation of
Woodhouse during this period without an appreciation of its history.
Woodhouse had economically, physically and socially developed over many
centuries.   As a settlement it was in existence at least as early as
1300,[1] and, by the 17th Century, it was a relatively thriving rural
village.   In 1912, numerous buildings dating back to the latter period
were still standing and well used, notably in the area immediately

1. Roberts, J.   Woodhouse (Unpublished), 1966. p.13.

surrounding the Village Cross, their presence giving a sense of stability and security to the passing generations.   Since the 17th Century, Woodhouse had steadily grown, unplanned and haphazardly, with few uniform rows or blocks of houses, but the very untidiness of the lay-out and architectural design of the local district gave it a quite distinctive character of its own.   Despite important changes in the size of the population mentioned below, there still remained resident in Woodhouse, during the first decade of this Century, a large number of influential and well-known families whose roots in the local district went back many generations, their names appearing, amongst other places, in the earliest extant electoral roll (1840).[1]   A sense of continuity with the past, also maintained by means of the many old place names, customs and folk tales, was therefore strong and the residents of 1912, even the relative newcomers, felt themselves to be heirs of an ancient and unique heritage, of which they were extremely proud and which formed a common bond of considerable communal importance.

In its early years, Woodhouse was predominantly a farming settlement, but in the second half of the 17th Century, when some quite substantial houses were built in the local district, trades, such as tanning, began to develop and the population to increase steadily.   At the outset of the 19th Century, however, Woodhouse must still have been of modest size as the figures below for the Ancient Parish of Handsworth, of which Woodhouse was part, show.

1.   For example, see the family trees noted in LeTall, W.J.
     Gathered Fragments of the Past and Present History of Woodhouse and
     its Vicinity.   Sheffield, 1876.

POPULATION FIGURES (1)

Ancient Parish of Handsworth Woodhouse (including Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs)

1811	1424	(2)	–	
1833	2338		–	
1841	2862		–	
1851	3264		–	
1861	3946		1525	
1871	5783		2550	
1881	7645		3780	
1891	10295		5824	
1901	13404	(3)	7830	(4)
1911	14199		7638	(4)

(Where blanks appear, no figures are available)

As far as Woodhouse was concerned, the 'population explosion' occurred between 1850 and 1900, and was heralded, in 1849, by the first train passing through the local district on what was later known as the Great Central Railway line.   This event meant that an effective means of long-distance transportation now linked Woodhouse with the outside world and greatly facilitated the rapid growth of the coal mining industry in the area.   Over the next 60 years half a dozen important pits were opened

1. The figures, except where noted, from the Sheffield Directories for the years concerned.
2. Hunter, J.   Hallamshire.   (Second edition, ed. Gatty, A.) Sheffield, 1869. p.482.
3. Just prior to 1901, Sheffield took in 78 acres of the Ancient Parish of Handsworth.   This figure is that of the Census for 1901, after the transfer of land to Sheffield had been made.   The transfer did not affect any part of Woodhouse.
4. General Census figures for the years concerned.

within a two mile radius of Woodhouse, and, by 1912, the large majority
of male residents earned their living as miners (see the Section on
'Work').

As the figures above show, the population of Woodhouse continued to
grow steadily until about the turn of the Century.   Then expansion
ceased for a decade or more.   In 1908, the Woodhouse Express contained
the following comment on the situation: 'What a difference in the parish
(of Woodhouse) at the present time and some eight or ten years ago.   At
that time not an empty house could be seen;   the district was flourishing;
and the rates were augmented.'[1]   The latter were in 1908 yielding very
poor returns 'chiefly through empty houses.'   In 1912, the Parish Church
magazine spoke of 'the many families who are constantly leaving the
parish to find employment in other fields of labour.'[2]   It would seem
that some 100 people per annum were at this time leaving the local
district though, it must be noted, the large number of 'empty houses'
was also due to the continuance of building for many years after the main
influx of new residents had come to an end.

The population of Woodhouse (including Woodhouse Mill and Normanton
Springs) was, according to the 1911 Census, 7638.   Lack of relevant data
prevents any very precise estimate being made of the size of each age
group, though the number of baptisms per year (a large majority of

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1.   The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   9/5/08.
2.   Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine.   Nov. 1912.

Woodhouse children being baptized), the attendance figures for the

Elementary Schools, and the Sunday School returns, printed annually on

the programme for the Whitsuntide celebrations, do give some indication

of the number of children and young people resident in Woodhouse.   The

approximate proportion of the population falling into each major age

group would thus appear to be :-

        0 - 5 years   (infants)   10%
        5 - 13 years   (school children)   20%
       13 - 21 years   (young people)   15%
       21 years +   (adults)   55%

One reason for the large number of children and young people in

the population was the high level of the birth rate in relation to the

death rate, in the decade up to and including 1912, nearby Sheffield

having an average annual birth rate of 30.5 and an average annual death

rate of 16.6.   One reason for the comparatively small number of adults

in the population was the low life expectation, only a quarter of those

Woodhouse residents attaining the age of 21 being likely to live beyond

70.

With regard to the sex of residents, the only available figures[1]

show that there were probably rather more men than women in the popu-

lation of the local district.

1. Sheffield Directories for 1871 and 1891.

The reasons for the slowing down of the rate of growth about 1900 are difficult to ascertain. Symptomatic, however, were the closure of the Rothervale Ironworks in 1901, of the last large tanyard in Woodhouse in 1906 and of Birley West Pit in 1908. These events, together with a good deal of unrest in the coal industry at this time, probably all contributed to a fall in the expansion rate. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that in 1912 the social activity of the late 19th Century had greatly decreased in vigour.

Side by side with the increasing number of people coming to reside in the local district between 1850 and 1900 went the erection of houses, schools, churches, etc. The physical growth of Woodhouse seems to have begun in earnest in the 1870s, and continued well into the first decade of this century. At the same time Woodhouse was gaining its own administrative independence; in 1878, it was made an ecclesiastical parish in its own right, and, by 1894, when it became the main centre within the newly created Handsworth Urban District, was the focal point for the administration of the surrounding settlements.

The local economy

For the first decade of the 20th Century, Woodhouse was still in many ways an economically independent unit. Within or very close to it work was provided for many miners, railwaymen, tradesmen and shopkeepers, amongst others. Being already a going concern before the major influx after 1861 and being conveniently situated for such surrounding villages as Hackenthorpe, Beighton and Swallownest, whose residents found access

to Sheffield or Rotherham difficult, Woodhouse soon grew into a thriving
social and trading centre.

Many of the things necessary for the material welfare of residents
were available within the local district itself.   People reared their
own pigs whilst eggs, milk, a good deal of butter, vegetables and bread
were produced locally.   'Every article of apparel could be bought ready
made or made to order as we were well supplied with dressmakers and at
least one tailor,' writes an old resident.   Kelly's Directory for 1912
lists 6 drapers, 3 dressmakers and 3 clothiers together with 8 bootmakers
and 2 boot-repairers.   Many other everyday needs could be met within
Woodhouse.   As one resident put it, 'The slogan "You name it, we have
it", was not invented then, but it applied.'

Woodhouse was self-sufficient in other respects.   Residents used
local coal and Woodhouse had its own Gas Company formed in 1864, still
going strong in 1912.   The Handsworth Urban District Council had built its
own sewerage plant in 1887.   Even the stone and bricks for the construction
of many local houses were quarried or produced in the vicinity.

Communications

Routes between the local and extended districts, 'the long-range
thoroughfare' as defined in Chapter III, were various.   The easiest way
to reach Sheffield was by train.   There was quite a good service to and
from the city on week-days but, unless one obtained a reduction through
daily travel, the cost was something to be reckoned with.   Furthermore
Woodhouse Junction Station was off-centre, to the north-east down a

Woodhouse Cemetery gates and gatehouse on Stradbroke Road.
Note the countryside beyond.

CLIFF WHEEL

Between Woodhouse and Beighton.   Note the poor condition on the
untarmaced road.

steepish hill, and was thus rather out of the way for inhabitants of the central and western parts of the local district. Far more popular was a walk over the fields to Handsworth, at times a 'proper thoroughfare,' from where trams ran frequently into Sheffield. Alternatively one could take a rather longer walk to Intake and catch a tram from there. On the other hand, it was not uncommon for Woodhouse people to walk all the way to the city via Richmond and the Manor.

The lay-out of the local district

Woodhouse was a rather rambling type of place, with buildings thrown up quite haphazardly as the population grew. Its straggling nature meant that the East and West ends (the former lower lying and known as 'the bottom end,' the latter all on top of the ridge and known as 'the top end') tended at times to lose contact, one group of cottages at the extreme East and in fact earning the nick-name 'Seldom Seen.' Despite this situation and though the two Elementary Schools were at opposite ends of the local district, the possibility of Woodhouse becoming 'bi-nodal' was in large part prevented by the concentration of so many public amenities around the old central core. 6 out of 7 of the local churches and 5 out of 7 of the public houses, together with the Endowed School, the Congregational schoolroom and 'gymnasium,' the Friends' Adult School Institute, the Vestry Hall and the Co-operative Society Hall were all situated within a 250 yards radius of the Cross. Within this circle a large majority of the shops and small businesses of the local district were also set, the

The narrow streets of central Woodhouse; Cross Street.

The narrow streets of central Woodhouse; Tannery Street.

remainder being sparsely scattered throughout Woodhouse.   Only one church, two public houses and two clubs lay outside this central area, all to the East;   the West end had neither church, public house nor club.

The houses of the local district were of a bewildering variety with spacious private property and very humble dwellings all jumbled up together.   There were many groups of tightly packed small cottages, but Woodhouse was free of the typical monotonous rows of miners' homes, the only one of the latter being a small block at the West end.   The streets, especially in the central parts, were very narrow, often without pavements and the surfaces were rough and rutted.

In 1912, Woodhouse was an attractive place.   Its very disorderliness made it distinctive;   every street and yard possessing a character of its own.   The main local colliery, Birley East, which could so easily have marred the scene, was completely out of sight, down in the valley to the South.   There were as yet no large or unsightly by-products works in the vicinity, and the nearby colliery tips had not reached grotesque and disfiguring proportions.   Woodhouse had the good fortune to be surrounded by a good deal of open country and local residents still speak with enthusiasm of the numerous walks round and about known to all.   There were one or two popular 'beauty-spots' with Shirtcliffe Wood being of especial note.   'It really was a beautiful spot then,' wrote an old resident, 'with broad, well-kept paths, a stream with well defined banks, rippling and chattering along, the water as clear as drinking water.'

Shirtcliffe Wood; a local beauty spot.
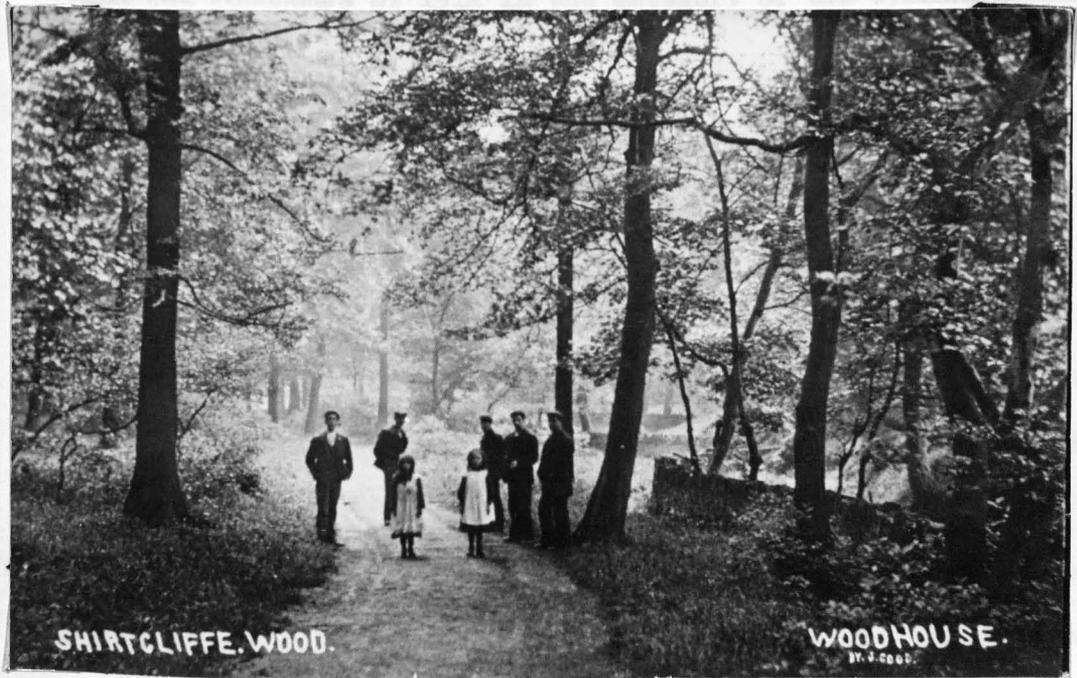
Shirtcliffe Wood; a local beauty spot.

COMMENTARY

In 1912, the social structure of the population of Woodhouse reflected the historical development of the area; in the main miners and tradesmen, with a notable professional and business element who had either come in to staff institutions, such as churches, schools, banks, etc., or whose ancestors had worked locally in farming or the tanning industry.   The fact that Woodhouse had no lord of the manor or squire at its head probably helped towards developing the initiative and independence of the population mentioned again below.

The existence of well known families belonging to the upper social grades, the abundance and strength of the churches, the lack of ugly rows of miners' cottages, and the attractive natural surroundings, hardly placed the Woodhouse of 1912 in the category of the typical mining village of the South Yorkshire Coalfield.   Such features as these may also have accounted for the fact that, by and large, Woodhouse was not the home of a rough, tough working class;   the Woodhouse miners were noted for their lack of rowdiness even by critical observers.

The 40 years preceding the Census returns of 1901, had seen the population of Woodhouse increase faster than ever before in its history, in fact multiplying five times over.   Nevertheless certain factors prevented this destroying the residents' sense of being a single social entity.   One was the strong awareness of the long and distinctive social heritage into which they had entered.   Another was that the influx of residents in the latter part of the 19th Century had come virtually to an

end by 1901 and, by 1912, most of them had settled down well and been
integrated into the life and activities of the local district.   A third
factor was the historical and social situation characterizing the country
as a whole.   For the last quarter of the 19th Century, England had seen
few startling changes of a demographic, technological, economic or
educational kind;   progress had been sure but slow.   It had been an era
of British supremacy on the high seas and abroad, and of social stability
at home.   Thus the many newcomers to Woodhouse shared a basically similar
sort of social background and upbringing, as well as attitude to matters
domestic and national, as the longer established residents;   there was no
question of a clash between radical 'incomers' and conservative natives.
A resident, belonging to an old Woodhouse family, could, therefore, write
of this period, 'Woodhouse in 1912 seemed quite stable to me.   Life went
on in the same old way despite families leaving the village, and others
taking their place.   What changes there were must have been gradual.
But, as we know now, 1912 was one of the last years of "the old order".'

On the other hand, the rapid increase in the size of the population
of the local district was also of positive communal value.   Growth meant
not only numerical and economic, but also social, expansion and there were
soon enough residents to make possible the organization of flourishing
associations and groups within many spheres of activity.   New residents
brought new energy and fresh, though not socially discordant, ideas with
them, and helped to provide a further source of local leadership.   This

steadily rising crescendo of social activity had reached its climax about the turn of the Century, but there had been little decline by 1912.

The fact that Woodhouse was not just another drab mining village, that it was a quite distinct geographical entity with a comparatively large population for such a place ('The largest village in England!' residents proudly called it), that the local district was economically so self-sufficient, and that Woodhouse had, amongst other things, its own railway junction and Secondary School to boast of, all gave the inhabitants a strong sense of identity and independence of outlook. One puts it thus; 'We were a self-sufficient community asking nothing from "outsiders". We had enough and to spare. We thought ourselves "a cut above" villages nearby as we were much larger ..... Yes, we seemed in the early years of this Century to have everything in Woodhouse. What need had we of Sheffield?' 'I am sure that people were little concerned outside the village,' writes another.

Relative isolation and self-sufficiency had important consequences for the communal life of residents. Restriction on movement and of communication meant that they interacted mainly with fellow inhabitants in a variety of roles on a large number of different occasions. They thus got to know one another very well and, though this could lead to a certain amount of tension, it often meant the establishment of enduring relationships. That so little conflict was in evidence was probably due

to another consequence of isolation, the almost passive acceptance of the limitations of local district life as quite natural and normal; interaction with the same people month after month and year after year was not _felt_ to be obligatory or oppressive.   There was similarly little questioning of, or objection to, the way in which local district affairs were organized and controlled;   the manner in which the Church, for example, determined many of the major mores of the day and, outside work, influenced the temporal folkways of the period (as on the Sabbath and in the case of numerous annual events) being accepted in principle, if not always actively adhered to, by the majority of residents.   Again there was no great sense of injustice felt with regard to the obvious gulf separating the Woodhouse 'elite' from the local miners, the acceptance of one's proper station in life being regarded as a normal Christian duty. It was no wonder, therefore, that, in 1912, interests based on the local district became all-consuming, commanding the time and energy of members of every social class, and that the roles of responsibility and leadership that were available to residents, ranging from that of a mother with a large family to that of a Church Warden, were endowed with the maximum possible status and usually gave considerable sense of fulfilment to those able to occupy them.

Communal life in Woodhouse was further shaped by what was for most of the population an overriding concern, the struggle to survive.   In the analysis of activities and events that follows, it is all too easy to

overlook that day by day many residents were fighting a continuing battle to provide the wherewithal for large families to have sufficient to eat and to be reasonably well clothed.   Keeping the home going, whether through the efforts of the collier surrendering his health and strength in the dirt and gloom of the pit, or through the strenuous endeavours of the mother working just as hard in the cramped and crowded conditions of a small cottage, was in itself a remarkable achievement in which a large number of residents perhaps took as much pride as in anything else.   But the struggle to survive was not merely a matter of making ends meet.   In an age when the Welfare State was unheard of, there was also child-birth, sickness, accident and death to contend with, and only relatives, neighbours and friends to help.   This situation meant that residents just had to pull together; it was literally self-help or no help.   The result was usually a high degree of teamwork in the home and a good deal of sharing between neighbours.   It meant pressure on children to finish school and be out earning as soon as possible to ease the economic strain on the home.   It fostered a desire to spend what leisure time was afforded in those two places most able to offer an antidote to dirt and darkness in the pit and crowded conditions at home; the pub or the pew.   On a broader level still, the hard daily grind gave added zest and enthusiasm to those big communal occasions mentioned later (such as the Saturday night shopping spree or the Feast) when residents could for a moment let themselves go and have a 'splash.'

Although one old resident speaks of the first decade of this Century as 'the heydey' of Woodhouse's history, there was, however, by 1912, some evidence that the era of full-blooded independence was drawing slowly to a close. Sheffield had, for example, been piping water into the local district since 1887, but the drought of 1908 saw residents desperately needing a fuller supply from the city. The Woodhouse Express observed that 'the cry (lack of water) is all over the district, and in many parts of Woodhouse there are houses who get no water at all during the day.'[1] By 1912, Woodhouse inhabitants were also looking, half enviously, at the way in which Sheffield had recently extended its tram service to Intake and Handsworth. About this time the complaint was even heard from some local shopkeepers that people were 'running off to Sheffield for goods, and even taking work which they could get done in Woodhouse.' 'It is only fair,' they added, 'that all things being equal, both money and work should be kept at home.'[2] In 1911, the Parish Church magazine was refuting the complaint which had 'often been heard in past years that there is nothing going on in the parish for the amusement of the parishioners and that a pilgrimage must be made to Sheffield to satisfy the desire for recreation.'[3] But though there remains the impression that the Woodhouse, which had built its own way of life over the past half century with some energy, was beginning to falter in its stride, the Woodhouse of 1912 was, to all intents and purposes, still a self-contained and pretty well self-satisfied social grouping.

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 6/6/08.
2. Ibid. 7/11/53, referring to a report published in The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 1905.
3. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. March 1911.

The people of Woodhouse were drawn fairly well together by the lay-out of the local district noted above. Though East and West ends tended to go their several ways for some things, the fact that the West end was bereft of any public institutions, other than an Elementary School, meant that the inhabitants of the poorer part of the local district were frequently compelled to come into the central area to satisfy many of their material and social needs, where they rubbed shoulders with the East enders, many of whom were in the upper social grades. There was no section of the local district that could for long cut itself off from the rest. Within the centre the narrow streets forced people into close contact and, with the virtual absence of motor traffic, these thoroughfares were at times a hive of activity.

The factors mentioned above in part help to explain why the sense of community engendered amongst Woodhouse residents at this time, and analysed in greater detail in the following Sections, was a sentiment of such a 'solid' and tenacious kind; it had been created not by the fleeting pursuit of some optional interest or relationship, but by the constant repetition year after year of a score of shared activities, many minor but all virtually 'unavoidable,' drawing residents, some within this sphere and some within that, gradually closer together. Similarly their chance of fulfilment emerged as opportunity rather than choice permitted, and nearly always within the context of the same group of people. Thus a sense of community grew from the substance of a common life, embracing both pleasant and unpleasant experiences, slowly yet steadily; it was a

sentiment neither deliberately planned for nor consciously sought after.   It was this sentiment, built up 'an inch at a time,' that made residents feel they were part of a unique social entity, different even from other nearby villages which to the outsider appeared so similar yet to the native of Woodhouse lay in a different world.

2. WORK

INTRODUCTION

The main centres of work within Woodhouse in 1912 were as follows:-

Place of work	Opened	Location
10 farms, of varying sizes Market gardens	-	Scattered throughout the local district
Woodhouse Railway Station, Junction and Goods yard	1849	Running parallel to Station Approach and Junction Road
East Birley colliery	1888	Between Woodhouse and Hackenthorpe, just North of the Shire Brook
Numerous small businesses and shops	-	The main trading area was situated in Market Street, Market Square, Tannery Street, Cross Street and Chapel Street

Until about the middle of the 19th Century, Woodhouse was predominantly an agricultural area. After the opening of the Great Central Railway line in 1849, the coal industry began to dominate the scene, and, by 1912, a number of fairly large collieries had been opened in the vicinity, the most important for Woodhouse residents being:-

Colliery	Opened	Owners
Orgreave	1851	Rothervale Colliery Co.
Treeton	1877	"
West Birley	1860 (closed 1908)	Sheffield Coal Co.
East Birley	1888	"
Beighton	1902	"
Handsworth	1903	Nunnery Colliery Co.

With a rise in the population of Woodhouse, especially after 1865, came a steady growth in the number of tradesmen establishing themselves in the local district and Woodhouse gradually became an important shopping centre for the whole of the surrounding area.

PARTICIPANTS

In 1912, the age at which all children officially began earning their living full-time was 13. With only a very meagre state pension available for men over the age of 70, most people continued working as long as health and strength lasted.

At this time, as for many decades before and after, mining was 'the principal occupation of the residents of Woodhouse.'[1] The Parish Church records for 1912 reveal the following proportion of miners amongst those actually resident in the local district:-

Of fathers of children baptized - 70%
Of men married there - 77%
Of fathers of men _and_ women
    married there - 81%
Of those buried in Woodhouse
    cemetery - 52% x (this figure includes the children or wives of miners)
    (x 66% in 1908)

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1. National Coal Board, Yorkshire Division, No. 1 (Worksop) Area. Information supplied by Area Staff Manager.

Evidence on a wider scale is provided by the earliest extant school attendance records, which show that of 688 fathers whose children were at school about 1922 (no new pits were opened between 1912 and 1922), 65% worked at the collieries. It would, then, seem quite reasonable to assume that during this period 'approximately 70% of the working population'[1] of Woodhouse were in some way connected with the mines.

The Woodhouse miners worked in all the collieries mentioned in the Introduction as well as in a few even further afield. Two pits, however, were of major importance to local residents; East Birley (where about 40% of Woodhouse miners worked) and Orgreave (where some 30% of Woodhouse miners were employed). In all the pits, Woodhouse men mixed regularly with miners from the surrounding villages and from Sheffield.

The school attendance records for about 1922 record the following proportion of Woodhouse fathers in occupations other than mining :-

Farmers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, and skilled manual workers (especially craftsmen of various kinds) -	15%
Semi-skilled manual and unskilled workers (including farm labourers) -	8%
Railway workers -	4%
Clerical and routine administrative grades -	4%
Professional and managerial class -	3%
Others -	1%

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1. National Coal Board, Yorkshire Division, No. 1 (Worksop) Area. Information supplied by Area Staff Manager.

As there had been no major shift in the occupations of residents in the decade preceding 1922, this picture would seem to be a reasonable reflection of the state of affairs in 1912, except for the fact that, as a number of the professional and managerial class sent their children to private schools, this group would be larger than represented here.

No more than some 5% of the working population of Woodhouse went into Sheffield each day to find employment. This group would include the few managers of industrial concerns and some of the professional people living locally, steel workers, office workers, accountants and a number of apprentices.

The earning population was predominantly male, apart from those young girls who went into 'service' either locally or in the city. 'It was unheard of' for married women to go out to work, other than to undertake domestic tasks in the houses of the more wealthy residents.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

The focus of attention here is on the intensity of interaction, and thus on the degree of solidarity, found amongst two of the most important groups of workers within the local district; the miners, and those involved in small business, shops, trades and crafts in Woodhouse. The activities of the remaining small minority, the railwaymen excepted, were not concentrated within any single identifiable group of any size.

All the miners employed underground worked 8 hours a day from Monday morning to Saturday noon. There were three shifts, days (6.00 am. to

Woodhouse Colliery   B&Son Series 236
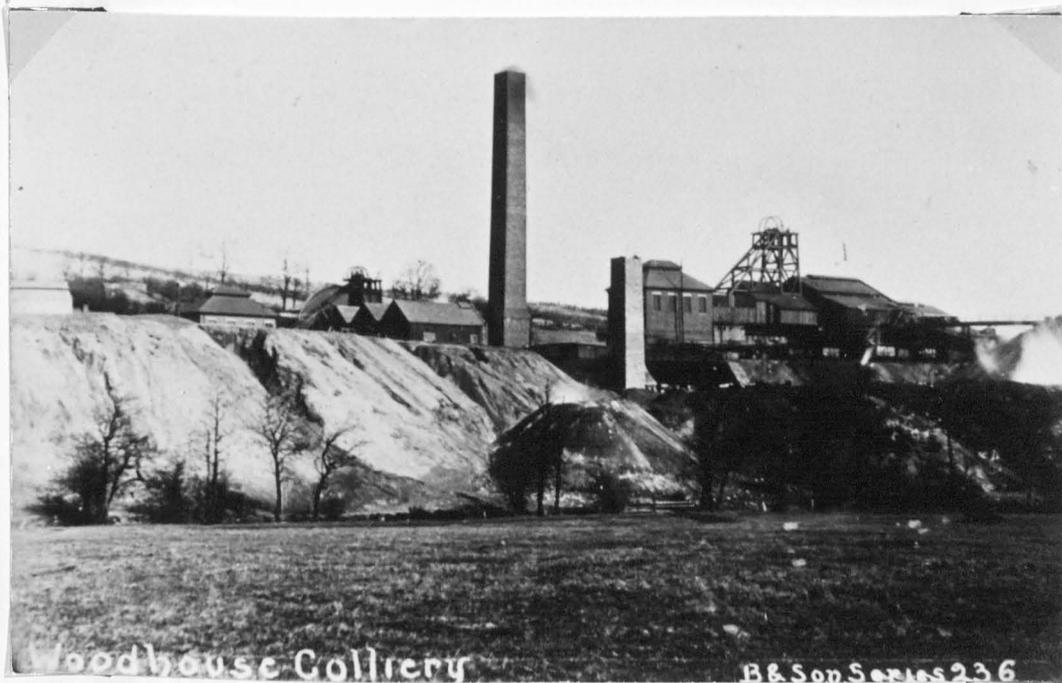
East Birley Colliery.
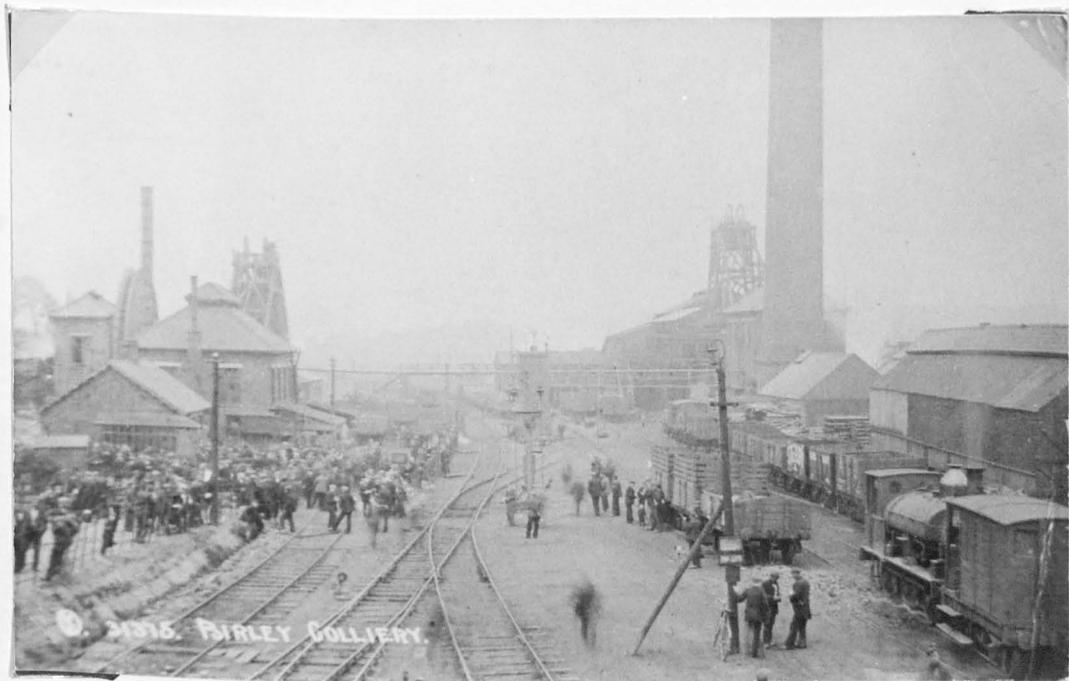
BIRLEY COLLIERY.

Pay day at East Birley Colliery.

Once down the shaft, miners were despatched to different seams
and 'districts' and would often work in quite small groups 'scattered
over an area of miles,'[1] as pit boys looking after the ponies and the
gates, as road repairers, as back rippers, etc., but mainly as colliers
at the face in 'breaks' or 'stalls' of from three to six men in each.
As noted in other studies of mining, there was a degree of 'imperson-
alism'[2] in the mine itself.   Interaction whilst of the job was only
really intense within the group a miner happened to be working with,
especially within the 'break,' members of which might stay together for
as long as two or three years.   As men were paid according to the tonnage
of coal (not rock or slate) produced each week, there was considerable
competition between the 'breaks.'

Nevertheless, though the Woodhouse miners were fairly widely
distributed throughout the area and though a sense of solidarity was by
far the strongest in relation to the small group or team with whom they
worked regularly, it would not be fair to presume that there was no
sense of belonging to the mining fraternity as a whole.   Mining was not
just a job, it was a way of life;   'You were born to be miners,' as one
resident puts it.   There emerged in consequence a common mode of dress,
of behaviour in the pit, of mining terms and phrases.   Though miners
rarely found it easy to act together as a body, as noted below, the

1.   Woodhouse Congregational Church Magazine.   Dec. 1909.
2.   Dennis, N., Henriques, F. and Slaughter, C.   Coal is Our Life.
      London, 1956.   p. 179.

arduousness and extreme danger of much of the work meant that all men, whether they actually met or not during the course of a shift, were dependent on others doing their job efficiently and carefully. When accidents occurred all miners gave of their utmost to help and, up to at least 1912, it was still the practice for the whole pit to stop work if a man was killed, as a token of sympathy.

Miners enjoyed very few activities organized by the Coal Companies outside of working hours. At the turn of the Century, the Rothervale Colliery Company laid on a garden party and tea for the officials and their wives, whilst the Sheffield Coal Company provided an annual supper in the Endowed School, Woodhouse. In 1912, 'a large number from Woodhouse attended the Sheffield Coal Company's official dinner,'[1] by this time held at the Masonic Hall, Sheffield. The only corporate event for the men was an annual train outing, run by the Sheffield Coal Company, when all the miners were given a day off to go to the seaside, for which incidentally they paid themselves. Most pits participated in ambulance classes, but, as they were not all organized by the Coal Companies, they will be dealt with later in the Section on 'Health and Welfare.'

The degree of solidarity prevalent amongst Woodhouse miners as a whole was demonstrated by the strike of 1912, when the Miners' Federation of Great Britain called out the men to secure '8 hours work, 8 hours play, 8 hours bed and 8/- a day!' Hitherto, the Woodhouse (East Birley) Lodge

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 17/2/12.

of the Yorkshire Miners' Association had not been at all well attended
with 'only about 20 out of 1100'[1] turning up to normal meetings at the
George Inn.   (In 1912, it is estimated that between 70% and 80% of the
miners at any one pit in the South Yorkshire Area were voluntarily paid
up members of the Union.)   In January 1912, however, with the strike on
the horizon, a meeting held at the George Inn proved to be 'one of the
best held in Woodhouse for some time.'[2]   In February, 'the large club-room
was packed,' and the local miners' delegate stated that this 'showed, as
it had done before, that when it came to the stick and lift, the Birley
men were there.'[3]   In the end, 84% of the Birley men voted to come out
on strike.   The strike was in Woodhouse anything but militant.   The
local colliery Manager stated that 'he did not treat the matter as a fight
between Birley and their men' and 'he believed he had got as good a lot
of workmen as any colliery.'[4]   In March, the Woodhouse Express reported
that 'the miners in the neighbourhood of Woodhouse are usually on the
quiet side and there is no doubt it is the desire of the great majority
that the strike period shall be one of quietness and order.'[5]   As the
weeks went by, enthusiasm began to wane and, when a national ballot was
eventually ordered in April, many miners failed to vote either for or
against a return to work.   The local delegate complained of 'the apathy
of the miners in the matter of the ballot,'[6] at Orgreave only 618 out of

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 17/2/12.
2. Ibid. 13/1/12.
3. Ibid. 17/2/12.
4. Ibid. 17/2/12.
5. Ibid. 9/3/12.
6. Ibid. 13/4/12.

1000 voting, and at East Birley a similar response being made. Although further meetings of the Lodge in 1912 were quite well attended, once work had been resumed and the Coal Companies seemed seated as firmly in the saddle as before, the normal lack of interest in union affairs gradually reasserted itself.

About 200 tradesmen, shopkeepers, small businessmen and farmers, formed a distinct section of the working population of Woodhouse in 1912. Solidarity, however, remained more the aim of the few rather than the attainment of the many. A Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association was formed in 1904, but, by May 1912, it was reported that 'interest had gradually waned'[1] and that the Association, 'though doing good work in charitable efforts, and being solvent, was overcome by a lethargic feeling, and the meetings were lacking in interest for want of something to discuss and attain.'[2] Membership, which at the beginning was 48, had by 1912 fallen to 14.

In May 1912, an attempt was made to reform the Association and, with the issue of whether to make Wednesday or Thursday early closing day having been brought into the forefront of local debate by the recent Shop Act, immediate success resulted. By July, membership rose to 42. A summer outing was planned and a football club formed to play on Wednesday afternoons. The later part of the year saw many residents turned away from whist drives organized by the Association at the Central

1. Ibid. 4/5/12.
2. Ibid. 18/5/12.

Hall, over 100 regularly being present. However, this new found and strong sense of solidarity was rather tenuous. Certain strong disagreements occurred, for example over the question of whether meetings of the Association should be held in a public house or not, and it is not surprising that, by 1916, a canvass of members was being made to account for low attendances at meetings. At the annual gathering in May 1916, 'the members present regretted the apathy and indifference with which the Association and its work was treated by many of the Woodhouse and district tradesmen.'[1] The maintenance of a strong sense of solidarity was made difficult by the competition inevitably exisiting amongst certain shopkeepers in a place where there were, for example, 14 grocers, 11 butchers, 8 shoe shops, 7 greengrocers, 6 drapers and 5 fish and chip shops. In addition, interaction was restricted by the very long working hours. As a result of these various factors, little more than a moderate sense of solidarity normally existed amongst the Woodhouse tradesmen as a whole.

The one trading organization that did engender a strong and continuous sense of solidarity amongst its members was the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society. First started in 1857, the membership had risen dramatically over the last two decades (from 50 in 1894, to 1242 in February 1912). In 1912 the large dividend of 2/6d in the £ was being offered. Although there were branches at Handsworth, Woodhouse Mill and Beighton, the Society was based on Woodhouse and most meetings were held

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1. *Ibid.* 27/5/16

in the imposing Co-operative Hall erected there in 1898. Many people were of course trading members only, but the vigour of the active participants was well demonstrated in 1910 when a packed meeting in the Hall nearly came to blows over the committee's decision to dismiss the drapery manager. In 1912, attendance at the quarterly business meetings was regularly over the 100 mark and, in 1915, 220 members voted in the ballot for a President.

The Society also ran special educational and recreational classes for Woodhouse boys and girls, about 70 children regularly attending in 1912. An annual tea party and sports day were also arranged. By 1912, a Woodhouse Co-operative Women's Guild was in full swing and in February of that year 'the Co-operative hall (was) tested to its full capacity'[1] for the annual ham and tongue tea. By this period the Co-operative Society was, therefore, proving a vigorous social centre for a good cross-section of local residents and their children.

At this point local shopping habits can be mentioned, for, although these involved customers not actually earning a living, they also involved the local tradesmen. Apart from early closing on Wednesdays, most Woodhouse shops opened at 8.00 am. or 8.30 am. and stayed open until 8.00 pm. at night, 9.00 pm. on Fridays and 11.00 pm. on Saturdays. Woodhouse was a busy shopping centre, and people came in regularly from many of the surrounding villages, but interaction reached its peak on Saturday evenings. The latter were occasions of great importance for the entire population and the shopping centre, fanning out from the Cross,

1. Ibid. 3/2/12.

was the scene of intense social activity. It was a time for friendly bargaining at the open-air stalls at the top of Revill Lane or in the Stag Inn yard, for meeting friends, for gossiping and for listening to the local bands or speakers from the Cross steps. The narrow streets crowded people closer together and one could hardly fail to make conversation in passing. Even when the shops and the public houses did shut, the local barber was still working hard for another hour giving week-end shaves. Saturday night was the big communal occasion of the week for Woodhouse people.

Interaction amongst the rest of the working population was confined to fairly small or scattered groupings. Of these, the railwaymen were the most prominent, some 50 or more being employed at Woodhouse Station, Junction and Goodsyard, and residing near to each other in blocks of railway cottages at the north-east end of the local district. Amongst the railwaymen solidarity was strong, in part because they were a relatively small and well defined group within the population at large. The union Branch met fortnightly and was quite well attended. The railwaymen too had an Ambulance Class. In June 1912, the railway workers held their annual procession from Woodhouse Mill to Woodhouse, in aid of the Railway Servants' Orphanage Fund, and followed this with a social gathering. Interaction was thus frequent and fairly vigorous.

Significance

Work brought some sense of significance for most Woodhouse men at this time. The strength of this sentiment was in part associated with a

man's personal satisfaction with the task itself and in part derived from the status ascribed to his occupation by the population as a whole. The ranking and grouping of statuses associated with occupation was one very important way of defining social class.   In 1912, occupational status depended largely on four factors;   the conditions under which a man worked (was the job dirty, difficult, dangerous, etc.?), the security of employment (could he easily be dismissed?), the nature of the occupation (what degree of freedom did he have or initiative could he exercise?) and the size of the wage earned.   Yet, during this period, other factors were also important.   Besides looking at what a man actually did for a living, Woodhouse people were very much influenced in making their final assessment of his social standing by such supplementary and less formal criteria as the conscientiousness with which he worked, the quality of the commodity he produced or of the service he gave, and the way in which he got on with his fellows, customers or clients.   Some of these things will be looked at more fully below.

'There was no squirearchy, no gentlemen farmers, no very large landowners, so that the top level did not constitute a peak, but a plateau of varied professions,' writes an old inhabitants.   'In this group were residents whose ancestors had lived in Woodhouse for generations, and who had inherited wealth in money, property, land, etc., and who were of independent means.   Also in this group I should include the doctors, pit managers, headmasters, representatives of Sheffield business

firms, auctioneers, solicitors, surveyors, bank manager, haulage con-
tractors, owners of works (eg. the Shovel Works at the Mill), the Vicar
and other ministers of religion.'   This group will be known as the 'top'
or 'upper' class in future, though it must be emphasized that the ranking
is made first and foremost in relation to the population of Woodhouse
in 1912.   On the whole a very strong sense of significance was in
evidence in this section of the population.   Members of this class who
had served the residents well, or lived for many years in the local
district, were afforded particularly high communal recognition.   Such
were certain of the doctors, headmasters, ministers of religion and others,
usually described by the local people as 'real gentlemen.'

A clear social division existed between this top class and the next
distinct section of the population, called here the 'intermediate' class,
again mainly in relation to the Woodhouse of this time.   The intermediate
class was divided roughly into two parts.   On the one hand, there was
the 'independent' group consisting of shopkeepers who owned their own
premises, owners of small local businesses, builders, carters, and leading
tradesmen.   A small but important section of this group had 'made good'
and, by 1912, had been able to build themselves quite spacious houses in
the more salubrious parts of Woodhouse.   The independent intermediate
class also embraced farmers, though none of the local farms was very large,
publicans and numerous 'white collar' workers, such as teachers, insurance
agents, clerks who had risen up the scale a little, etc.   On the other

hand, there was what is termed here the 'dependent' intermediate class, made up of the small shopkeeper in rented premises, the skilled crafts-man usually working for someone else, and those doing routine adminis-trative jobs such as the school attendance officers, policemen, lower grade clerks,.etc. By and large, the intermediate class gave indi-cations of attaining a strong sense of significance, though this could sometimes be very strong for those in the independent section.

Some of those in the intermediate class, and here and there in the top class also, were talked about in terms of the work they did, a kind of second title on a level with their surname. Thus Woodhouse people spoke of 'Vicar Booth,' 'Bank Haigh,' 'Joiner Keeton,' 'Walker the Blacksmith,' 'Carrier Cooke,' etc. These ascriptions were not merely to distinguish between those of similar surname (Christian names could have been used for this); they were more an indication of the very close association of a person's occupation with the man himself. This practice tended to enhance residents' sense of significance as it meant that many fairly ordinary occupations were turned into communally valued roles bestowed on specific individuals through longstanding tradition. A man was not just a doctor, a joiner, a cobbler, etc.; he was the doctor, the blacksmith and the cobbler to at least a large section of the popu-lation of the local district.

Also giving distinctiveness was the fact that 'each shop had a

character of its own,' as one old resident puts it, and with this, each shopkeeper a personal reputation, sometimes enhancing status, sometimes not.   Here is demonstrated those other factors in occupational status ranking so often neglected in general descriptions of social class. There was, for example, 'old Sammy Ward,' who sold everything 'from an elephant to a newspaper' and had a widespread reputation for serving paraffin and sweets consecutively without washing his hands.   Helen Pashley, with her pork business, had 'a reputation for producing first-class black pudding, polony, brawn, pork pies, etc ..... (and) was noted for the quality of her pickled onions.'[1]   Likewise, about this time, Billy Shephard 'deservedly earned a first-class reputation for producing pork pies of a very high quality.'[2]   James Hall had 'a good grocer's shop' and Arthur Hancock was known as a high-class greengrocer and fishmonger, the somewhat ambiguous inscription, 'The best is not too good,' being boldly inscribed on his dray.   The way in which shopkeepers and tradesmen did their work considerably affected their standing in local life.

The bulk of the population of Woodhouse at this time were manual workers of a semi-skilled or unskilled kind, and are called here the 'lower' or 'working' class, wherein a moderate sense of significance was the norm.   From the point of view of standing in the local district, the

1. Atkin, E. Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse, 1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954. p.134.
2. Ibid. p.137.

miners probably held the highest position within this group.   It is
true that they were 'ten a penny' and that they themselves lay little
store by the work they did;   'You <u>had</u> to work to live.'   It is also true
that there was little choice of occupation for most young men in Woodhouse
at this time and that conditions in the pits were often very primitive.
Nevertheless, a miner would sometimes take home good money by 1912 stand-
ards, it being said of some colliers that 'they could earn gold a day,'
i.e., 10/- per shift, when the labourer, who stood at the bottom end of
this lower class, could only manage between 15/- and 20/- per week.   Once
again other factors, such as the reliability of the miner, were operative
within this group and affected one's standing with one's fellows.   An old
resident, for example, once enquiring why a particular miner who attended
his own church was out of work, received the reply, 'You wouldn't ask if
you knew him!.'   Between the miner, at the top of the Woodhouse working
class, and the labourer, at the bottom, stood a wide range of other manual
workers, those employed in the Sheffield steel works perhaps coming just a
little higher on the social scale than the railwaymen.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

Social solidarity amongst the miners was in part strengthened by the
fact that sons almost automatically followed fathers down the mine and in
time often came to join the same break or team of workers.   A single
Woodhouse family was known to have had 6 or 7 men all down the pit.   Where

a father or brother or uncle worked there was more likelihood of getting a job, or a good job, and members of the same family tended to drift to the same collieries.

Social relationships between miners as a whole were friendly rather than cordial. But there were opportunities for competition and even conflict to break out. One cause of dissension was a method of paying wages at certain pits known as 'the butty system.' One man was appointed by the Coal Company to represent the whole or part of a district and was responsible both for the work done and collecting and distributing the weekly wages. Unfortunately the system encouraged a degree of exploitation by some of 'the butty men' and not every man always received his fair share.

The only organization which belonged strictly to the men was the Yorkshire Miners' Association. As noted, the meetings of the Birley Lodge were in general poorly supported. Nevertheless one person did here stand as a symbolic figure for the miners, William Furniss, the Lodge delegate to meetings held by the Association at its headquarters at Barnsley. William Furniss was a native of Woodhouse with the welfare of the miners at heart, throughout his life working for their betterment in all respects. He had the confidence of the men, this being shown by his being elected their Checkweighman at East Birley (the job entailed making sure that an accurate record of the coal drawn was kept by the Coal Company). He was a real 'peoples' man' and 'very popular.' He appears as one of the few outstanding figures of trade union life in Woodhouse at

this time, his leadership being acknowledged at all Lodge meetings, especially during the 1912 strike.

The relationship between men and officials (from managers and under-managers down to deputies and shot-firers) varied from pit to pit and within pits. On the positive side, the Under-Manager at East Birley always favoured local men and whenever possible refused to take on miners from the city. At Orgreave the Under-Manager was spoken of with respect by many of the miners there. The fact that most of the colliery officials lived in or near the local district at least meant that they were fairly well acquainted with the men. Sheffield Coal Company provided 24 houses for its employees at the West end of the local district, but it is doubtful whether this enhanced solidarity between officials and the residents very much. On the negative side, there was undoubtedly little love lost between employers and miners in many local pits. One old miner writes, 'The relations between managers and men in my opinion were not friendly. The men were workmen to the managers (not quite serfs, but nearly). Discipline was very keen, and if you refused a job you were bundled off back home.' In June 1912, a collier at East Birley was fined 10/- for failing to obey an order, despite the fact that the evidence was anything but trustworthy. And the fact that miners could be dismissed without any hope of effective appeal was a seedbed for resentment. The insecurity of employment, the rigour of pit life, the danger of the work, and the living memory of several major strikes and lock-outs, all engendered a spirit of underlying discontent, despite the outwardly pacific temperament of the Woodhouse miner mentioned above.

Significance

The gaining of status through office or rank attained undoubtedly brought a sense of significance to certain Woodhouse residents. At the top end of the social scale, one or two Woodhouse men were directors or managers of steel works, or large sections of the latter, in Sheffield. The Manager of the only local firm of any note (William Mills' Shovel Works) was resident in the area. But many members of the Woodhouse upper class and also of the intermediate group (such as shop-keepers, farmers, publicans, tradesmen, etc.) were engaged in compara-tively small-scale and self-contained enterprises and no formal hier-archical status system of consequence existed within them. One local exception was the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society, which, in 1912, besides the managers of its various branches had a President, Secretary and Treasurer as well as a Committee of some half-dozen elected members. The reformed Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association also appointed a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, officers as a rule drawn from amongst those recognized as 'leading tradesmen.'

The collieries, however, possessed a complex social structure and positions of responsibility within them spanned all those social classes described above. The Manager of East Birley, for example, ranked with the top Woodhouse class and, though he actually lived at Hackenthorpe, a mile to the South, he often attended Woodhouse Parish Church and occasionally read the lesson there. The Under-Manager at Birley, who lived in the local district, similarly occupied a position of some standing in Woodhouse life. Each pit had two or three overmen, usually

one for every shift, and a dozen or more deputies, one for each district being worked.   Local men often attained the latter position, having passed the necessary exams in gas and roof testing and first aid. In 1912, the Woodhouse Express reported that 10 Birley miners had been successful in such examinations.   A few local miners who had 'got on' in this way were able to buy or even build their own houses.   The Union, however, gave very limited opportunity for self expression and gaining status, in 1912 no office being full-time.   The local Lodge appointed a President, a Delegate and a Secretary, together with a small Committee, but, though their stock rose during such a crisis as the minimum wage strike, in general they were not accorded particular respect by their colleagues.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

There was not a great deal of unemployment, the strike period apart, in Woodhouse during this period (though for the miner short-time was more common).   West Birley had closed four years before and, by 1912, those thereby put out of work had either left the district or found work in other local pits.   The First World War was scarcely on the horizon, but the economic pulse of the country was beginning to quicken and labour was in demand.   In addition, men were compelled to work both by sheer necessity (there was no public assistance of any kind for the able-bodied man out of work who still had resources, however meagre, left) and in part by social norms.   One resident writes, 'Earning a living was vital or else it was "being on the parish" with a sense of stigma attached.'

Another states, 'If you were out of work it was generally considered you were at fault; they would say "He's a ne'er do well".'

SUMMING UP

In 1912, the Woodhouse working scene was almost exclusively the province of the male members of the population, who earned their living mainly in or near the local district.   The coal mining industry had gradually attained unchallenged dominance since the mid-19th Century, by 1912 over two thirds of the Woodhouse men working in it.   The miners were to some extent held together by the habits and customs formed by many years of labour in an industry with a distinctive tradition of its own, and by the common danger they all shared working in very difficult and arduous conditions.   They would pull especially well together when an accident occurred, and they put up a _strong_ common front, at least initially, during the 1912 strike (though in normal times, little active interest was shown in trade union affairs).   None the less, the fact that the Woodhouse miners were fairly widely distributed over the numerous nearby collieries, and that they changed pits, especially when work was limited or uncertain, many times during the course of their working lives, meant that this group as a whole generally experienced only a _moderate_ sense of solidarity.   By and large, _very strong_ bonds were only established within comparatively small teams or groups working regularly together over the years.

The only other distinct grouping of any size within the local district was made up of railway workers who, in part because of their living and working in fairly close proximity, and in part because there were not a large number of them, generally maintained <u>strong</u> social links.

Although the miners formed a large majority of the working population, the intermediate class was numerous enough and influential enough to be very prominent on the Woodhouse working scene. The somewhat competitive nature of the occupations many of them pursued did, however, make anything more than a <u>moderate</u> degree of solidarity difficult to achieve. The Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association engendered a <u>strong</u> sense of solidarity mainly when a dominant common interest (for example, on which day should local shops close early?) came to the fore, and then but for a short time. Matters were different with the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society which was a business and social enterprise all in one, and many members became <u>strongly</u> attached to it over a considerable period through its educational and leisure activities for both sexes and all ages.

The population as a whole enjoyed Saturday nights in the centre of Woodhouse, when all congregated to spend a pleasant few hours shopping, drinking, chatting and getting ready for Sunday and the succeeding week, and these gatherings helped to engender a <u>strong</u> sense of belonging amongst residents.

The degree of significance gained by men through their work depended to a great extent on the attitude of the Woodhouse population towards the

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job concerned, though a personal sense of satisfaction in performing
an interesting task well was also very important.   There was a clear
ranking and grouping of occupations at this time into three main social
classes, the top class being much more clearly separated from the inter-
mediate class than the latter from the lower or working class.   A sense
of significance tended to be related to the class within which a man found
himself, and varied accordingly from very strong for most members of the
top class to moderate for most of those in the lower class. But occupational
status was also linked to other factors concerning how well a man did his
work, or how he treated his fellows or customers.   Significance tended to
depend on a total assessment of a man's work rather than simply on the
type of job he had.   Here and there men attained further significance
through occupying positions of responsibility within working organizations
but, the top class apart, opportunities were limited and promotion
difficult to obtain.

3. GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

Subsequent to the Local Government Act of 1894, Woodhouse was administered by the West Riding County Council, situated at Wakefield, but more directly by the Handsworth Urban District Council (the latter supervising the administration of an area including Handsworth, Richmond, Intake, Gleadless and Woodhouse) with the council chamber in the Vestry Hall at Woodhouse. In 1912, the Handsworth Urban District Council was dealing with such local matters as highways, sanitation, health, welfare and education. Woodhouse came within the Ancient Parish of Handsworth and an annual Parish Meeting was held in the Endowed School at Woodhouse.

For parliamentary elections, Woodhouse was in the Hallamshire Division of the southern part of the West Riding, for county council elections in the Handsworth Division, for urban district council elections in the Handsworth Urban District and for parochial elections in the Ancient Parish of Handsworth.

PARTICIPANTS

Voting in Woodhouse was a predominantly male affair in 1912. Of _male_ adults (ie., of 21 and over) in the two Woodhouse Wards, East and West, the following percentage had the vote: in parliamentary elections 72%, in county council and urban district elections 69%, and in parish council elections 77%.[1] But only 125 women had the right to vote, and

1. Electoral rolls for Woodhouse East and West Wards, 1912.

even these few were excluded from participation in parliamentary
elections.   On the other hand, interest in politics and elections was
by no means confined to the male adults of the local district, and both
sexes participated in the well supported political associations then in
existence.

The Handsworth Urban District, by far the most important administrative
unit as far as Woodhouse was concerned, consisted of four wards:
Handsworth (3 6ouncillors), Intake (4 councillors), Woodhouse
East and Woodhouse West (4 councillors each).   Thus in 1912, the Council
had 15 members, assisted by a clerk, medical officer of health,
sanitary inspector, surveyor and other officials.   The Council was
elected trienially.

SOCIAL ACTION
Solidarity

By the end of the first decade of the 20th Century, 'socialism was
only just beginning to get a foothold in the village' and the political
associations in existence were still either Liberal or Conservative.
The Hallamshire Liberal Association met fairly regularly in the
Endowed School and, in January 1908, 'a large number of electors
assembled'[1] to hear the then Member of Parliament for the Hallamshire Division
speak. In March 1912, an address was given on the Insurance Act with 'a large

1.   The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   11/1/08.

attendance, the room being crowded, with numbers standing and many unable to gain admittance';[1]   the audience being in the region of 200. The Woodhouse and Hallamshire Conservative Association held a monthly gathering at this time, interest being boosted when, in June 1912, there was 'the first meeting held in the new (Conservative) Club'[2] situated on Station Road.   Meetings of this Association were 'well attended',[3] most of the topics discussed being of national rather than local importance.   1912 also saw the formation of a Women's Unionist Association and by the end of the year a 'good number of names had been handed in of intending members.'[4]   These associations were supplemented by a good deal of political discussion and debate which took place on an informal level in the street, public house and sometimes home.   Politics were a fairly live issue, and a strong sense of solidarity existed amongst the limited number actively supporting this or that party.

Interest was at its peak at the time of parliamentary elections.   In the 1890s, Woodhouse had been the scene of many battles between Liberal and Conservative supporters and feelings ran high.   For example, the Headmaster of the Elementary School on Station Road, an ardent Conservative, on one occasion just escaped a public ducking for compelling a pupil to remove a yellow rosette, and on another had his windows broken by the crowd.   Such scenes, however, seem to have become rarer in the first years

1. Ibid. 9/3/12.
2. Ibid. 15/6/12.
3. Ibid. 23/11/12.
4. Ibid. 14/12/12.

of the 20th Century, possibly because of the somewhat transitional state of British politics. Nevertheless, in 1906, the Hallamshire Division was one of the first in the country to return a 'Lib-Lab' to Parliament and great was the enthusiasm, especially amongst the working class members of the Woodhouse population. Election meetings at this time, and in 1910, always attracted a good company of men and women and the Cross steps were in regular use as the scene of political harangues. One resident recalls 'plenty of activity on voting days and we children being bribed with sweets or pennies to march round the streets singing a chorus detrimental to one of the candidates.' At such times, solidarity based on attachment to a particular party was generally strong amongst all sections of the population, even if not everyone could actually vote.

Local affairs roused far less interest amongst residents, probably due to the fact that party politics as yet played a relatively unimportant role. There was a degree of pride that the Urban District decided a good number of its domestic affairs, especially amongst Woodhouse people that the administrative centre lay in their sector, but there is little evidence of the rugged independence typical of certain other Yorkshire villages. Although incorporation into Sheffield was a decade away, Woodhouse was already leaning heavily on the city for various amenities and little opposition was being shown to the drift in this direction. The only concern of the Woodhouse Express in 1908 was that the area be treated as an entity; '"Take the parish if you like as a

whole, but not in pieces".   No opposition would be made to the whole
going, but to take the paying parts and leave the rest, would not only
be unfair but would spell "ruin" to the remainder of the parish'.[1]
By 1916, the voice urging association with Sheffield was very much the
dominant one.

It is true that over the years a number of incidents were reported
in the columns of the Woodhouse Express showing that local issues drew
residents into small protesting groups, as over the question of making
up roads or an increase in the Poor Law Rate, but such expressions of
solidarity were both temporary and tenuous.   Few formal associations
were concerned about local affairs, though the Handsworth Woodhouse
Co-operative Society, the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association and the
Friends' Adult School occasionally took matters up with the Council.
More persistently 'the only organization which appeared to be interested
was the "Handsworth Property Owners' and Ratepayers' Association", who
often criticized the Council's decisions, and occasionally appointed
deputations to interview the Council on matters in dispute.'[2]   But this
attracted only a limited number of Woodhouse residents.

The triennial elections for the Handsworth Urban District Council
usually came and went without much interest being aroused, votes being
cast far more for particular personalities than for a political party.

1.   The Eckington, Woodhouse & Staveley Express 14/11/08.
2.   Atkin, E.   Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse,
     1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954. p.150.

As one resident puts it, 'You voted more for the man than his politics.'   The 1912 election, however, was an exception to the general rule and witnessed something of a revival of interest in local affairs, with several young candidates having strong Labour leanings challenging the position of a number of councillors who had held office for some years.   In Woodhouse, 14 candidates contested the 8 available seats and for once the election came to life.   The personality rather than the politics of candidates was still to the fore, the fact that all the latter resided in the local district and were 'of a kind' with the residents (the successful contestants being a farmer, a publican, a pit storekeeper, a signalman, a laundry proprietor, a miner and two 'gentlemen'), in this instance adding some zest to the fray.   Underneath this election, however, the observant could see the growing influence of the socialist movement at work.

The 1912 campaign rapidly gathered momentum after a slow start, being helped on its way by the miners' strike, trade union leaders from Orgreave Colliery leading a procession through the streets and carrying placards opposing candidates not in sympathy with their activities.   Children too enjoyed themselves with their usual election chants.   The Woodhouse Express reported at the end of March that in the East Ward 'public meetings have been held each evening by the various candidates'[1] and by voting day had dubbed the election 'the great struggle.'[2]   Polling in Woodhouse was

1.   The Eckington, Woodhouse & Staveley Express.   30/3/12.
2.   Ibid.   30/3/12.

heavy, in the East Ward 89% of the electorate casting their votes and in the West Ward 80% (this compared with the first ever election for the Council in 1894 when in Woodhouse 'barely a third of the electors voted').[1] Several young candidates were elected and a number of the old established 'clique' ousted. Atkin records that 'a large crowd gathered outside the Vestry Office to hear the result of the poll declared. There was a good deal of excitement and cheering. Someone had prepared "funeral cards" in advance, which had a ready sale amongst the jubilant crowd, at a penny each. The cards bore the imprint of a horse-drawn hearse, with the following words below:-

'"In loving memory of The Handsworth Council Clique".

"Yes, gaze on us, men we are beaten at last,

We must now sigh for our sins of the past,

We played a high game, and now we are beaten,

For our policy was rotten, and that was the reason".' [2]

Comparison with subsequent elections and an accurate assessment of that held in 1912 are made difficult by the coming of war, and the incorporation of Woodhouse into Sheffield in 1921. But it would seem that 1912 was a foretaste of the entry of party politics, even if veiled in this case, into the affairs of the local district. With this eventually came the emergence of a new and strong sense of solidarity amongst working class residents where they joined forces to support candidates.

1. Woodhouse Wesleyan Church Magazine. Jan. 1895.
2. Atkin, E. Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse, 1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954. p.150.

By way of contrast, interest in county council elections was hardly ever in evidence. Woodhouse is described by one resident as then 'an outpost of the West Riding County Council' and to many residents the business done at Wakefield seemed remote. Councillors were often returned unopposed. At the other end of the administrative scale, interest in the Parish Meeting was also low. In practice the latter did little more than elect the members of the local Burial Board and appoint a bellman and pinder. Occasionally they submitted resolutions to the Urban District Council but these were hardly taken seriously. In 1912, the Woodhouse Express reported that 'the vote of censure sent from the Parish Meeting (concerning the supposed low remuneration of Overseers of the Poor) fell very flat especially when it was stated that the "Parish Meeting" of a parish with 14,000 people was represented by less than a score of inhabitants.'[1]

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

During this period, political affiliation certainly helped to bind those of similar social class and religious persuasion together. The Conservative Association, for example, attracted the more well-to-do residents, whilst those who frequented the new Conservative Club were generally regarded as the more 'select' members of the local district. Most leading Conservatives were either associated with the Parish Church

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1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 4/5/12.

or with the Wesleyans.   Those residents belonging to the Liberal Party

were of a somewhat different social strata.   One old inhabitant, then a

staunch Liberal, writes, 'There were a few snobbish Tory families in the

village but we had neither the desire nor the opportunity of mixing with

them on intimate terms.'   The local Liberal Party drew its keenest

supporters from the intermediate class, especially the independent section,

though quite a few of the more articulate miners and railwaymen were also

in evidence.   These residents usually worshipped at one of Free Churches.

No organized Labour group existed in 1912, but those connected with the

Miners' Union and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society were

beginning to play an active part in political affairs.   Support here came

mainly from the working class, though leadership tended to remain in the

hands of the dependent intermediate class, the latter often worshipping

with the Society of Friends or one of the non-Wesleyan Methodist Churches.

Political affiliation, associated with such factors as social class and

membership of a particular church, thus played a notable part in creating

a strong sense of solidarity amongst certain groupings of residents.

Significance

Because party politics as such had not yet produced in Woodhouse very

large of highly organized bodies of active supporters, a sense of social

significance though political involvement was attained by few residents.

One exception was James Morton, Headmaster of Station Road Elementary

School, a leading figure at the Conservative Club.   Other exceptions were

the handful of residents holding office in the various political associ-

ations mentioned above. But those gaining greatest sense of significance
within this sphere of activity were undoubtedly the members of the
Handsworth Urban District Council. It was a distinction to hold office
there, successful candidates being immediately thrown into prominence
at all kinds of local events and gatherings. Councillors frequently
presided at, or spoke on, such occasions as the Secondary School's Prize
Giving and Speech Days, the Feast sports, the Hospital Demonstration,
Empire Day celebrations at the Elementary Schools, and other similar
events. Though it was popularly supposed that councillors 'had a great
time' during their tenure of office, their annual tour of the Urban
District being 'looked upon by the ratepayers as a grand holiday'[1] for
example, they did attend council meetings very faithfully, despite being
unpaid for their work. Many of them certainly found a very strong
degree of fulfilment through this role.

SUMMING UP

In 1912, Woodhouse was, for parliamentary purposes, in the Hallam-
shire Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire. With regard to local
government, the area came under the general oversight of the West Riding
County Council, though the administration of Woodhouse affairs was much
more directly the concern of the Handsworth Urban District Council.

Although well under half the total adult population of the local
district could vote in parliamentary elections, many Woodhouse people

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1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 8/8/08.

still took an active interest in national politics.   The local Liberal
and Conservative organizations were popular, regularly drawing together
quite a large number of residents of both sexes, mainly from the top and
intermediate classes, and a _strong_ sense of solidarity was engendered.
Strong party feeling was most widespread at the time of national elections,
when a reasonably wide cross-section of the population openly threw in
their lot with the Liberal, Conservative or, after 1906, the Lib-Lab.
candidate, for a short time Woodhouse being divided into vigorous opposing
camps.

Local government as a rule aroused less public interest, though every
now and then a small group would take up a matter of more general concern
with the Handsworth Urban District Council.   Enthusiasm was generally
lacking even at the time of the urban district council elections, though
here the year 1912 was an exception.   For the first time party politics,
fanned by the gradual emergence of the Labour movement over past decades,
were in evidence and, though the campaign as usual tended to centre round
personalities, helped to add zest to the contest, producing a _strong_ sense
of solidarity both amongst the politically awakening members of the new
Labour movement and their opponents.   Those other bodies responsible for
local government, the County Council meeting at Wakefield and the Hands-
worth Parish Council, evoked hardly any local interest at all.

Here and there Woodhouse residents gained a _strong_ sense of signifi-
cance through being able to play a prominent role on the local political

scene, though it was only the few Handsworth Urban District Councillors who consistently achieved a _very strong_ sense of significance through this sphere of activity.

4.   HEALTH AND WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

The outstanding feature of this sphere of activity at the beginning

of the 20th Century was the magnitude and acuteness of the problem of

keeping the population of Woodhouse healthy and well cared for. It was

only in 1887 that the local district had its first supply of piped water

and not until 1895 that the first sewage disposal system was installed.

In 1910, some 93% of domestic toilets were still privy middens, as

opposed to water closets, and many of these were shared by two or more

families.   As a result of such conditions, and the lack of adequate

medical care, severe infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet

fever, diphtheria, pneumonia and influenza were comparatively common and

often fatal.[1]   For 1911 the Medical Officer of Health reported an

infantile mortality rate in the Handsworth Urban District of 164 (per

1000 births),[2]   compared with Sheffield's 141 and the West Riding's 143

for the same year, though it should be noted that this was an exception-

ally high figure even for Woodhouse during this period (the years 1910

to 1914 showing both the Handsworth Urban District and Sheffield with

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1. Handsworth Urban District Council. _Annual Report of the Medical
    Officer of Health._ Woodhouse, 1920.   p. 8, 12.
2. _Ibid._ p. 5.

the same average annual infant mortality rate of 127).

In 1912 the health and welfare of the residents of Woodhouse were the concern of both statutory and voluntary bodies. On the statutory side, the Handsworth Urban District Council was in part responsible for maintaining the Isolation Hospital of some 75 beds at Swallownest, in the West Riding, whilst all non-fever patients were sent to hospitals in Sheffield. The Council also appointed their own Hospital Committee to raise funds with which to purchase 'recommends' (certificates giving the right to treatment) for the use of residents at various hospitals. In connection with social welfare, parochial electors chose one representative to the Sheffield Union Board of Guardians (which administered the Firvale Workhouse to which Woodhouse residents went very occasionally), whilst the Handsworth Urban District Council had, by 1912, taken over the task of nominating and electing the local Overseers to deal with the poor in the ancient parish of Handsworth.

There were three resident general practitioners in Woodhouse at this time. Prior to the National Health Insurance Act of 1911, all patients paid fees, often saving to meet these through local Friendly Societies or sick clubs. After 1911, the Woodhouse general practitioners became 'panel doctors' although only insured male workers, not their dependents, were entitled to free treatment.

On the voluntary side, a number of associations were active whose aim it was either to train their members in first-aid or, as Friendly

Societies, to provide some form of insurance for them in time of sickness or accident.   A number of the Woodhouse Friendly Societies had started as far back as the 1880s.

PARTICIPANTS

The state of affairs noted in the first paragraph of the Introduction above evoked two sorts of response.   The first was one of resignation and even apathy (see the notes on 'Non-participants' below).   The other was one of dissatisfaction and an effort to provide a degree of security for one's family through the Friendly Societies and to raise funds corporately to help residents who were sick or in need.

In 1912, the Woodhouse Rechabites reported a membership of 140 adults and 60 juveniles.   The local Lodge of the (Sheffield) Druids had a membership of about 200, though the only precise extant figures are for 1891 when there were over 400 members.[1]   Another self-help venture, the Woodhouse Ambulance Class had 43 men on the register in 1912, most of them miners, though the class was open to non-miners on payment of a small subscription.   The railwaymen too ran their own Ambulance Class.   The leading participants here were men, though the women did a good deal behind the scenes, for example as voluntary mid-wives.   The general population, young and old, were more involved in such events as the 'Kelley' Hospital Cup (football) and the annual Hospital Demonstration,

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1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. Sept. 1891.

both ventures arranged by the Council's Hospital Committee.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

The Hospital Committee of the Handsworth Urban District Council was responsible each year for sponsoring two events of communal importance which drew together a large number of people from within and, to a lesser extent, from outside the local district. The first of these was the Kelley Cup, a knock-out football competition for local teams, the gates being 'the means of finding funds to relieve the anxiety of the committee in assisting the sick and needy.'[1] In 1912, the final of the competition was played between Woodhouse Amateurs and Handsworth Rovers on Easter Saturday, the match resulting in a draw, attracting 1200 spectators. The replay, also at Woodhouse, drew a crowd of 1000. The other occasion of note was the annual Hospital Demonstration usually held on Feast Sunday in the Brunswick Hotel fields on Station Road. Prior to the meeting 'the Handsworth Woodhouse Prize Band and the Salvation Army Band paraded the streets and made collections en route,'[2] whilst the Sunday Schools and the Friendly Societies walked in procession to the field. In 1912, it was estimated that there were about '2000 persons present'[3] at the gathering, when hymns were sung and speeches given. In addition to sums

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 2/5/08.
2. Ibid. 24/8/12.
3. Ibid. 24/8/12.

Hospital Sunday; the Sunday School procession.

Hospital Sunday; the crowd.

O.3. HOSPITAL SUNDAY WOODHOUSE.

Hospital Sunday; the platform.
Vicar Booth is (standing) third from the right.

raised by these events, the Hospital Committee received and disbursed
money received from collections in local churches, public houses and
clubs.   All in all, therefore, a fair number of Woodhouse residents
shared actively in some attempt to provide for the health and welfare
of the local district and the solidarity engendered by such ventures
was fairly strong.   In January 1912, the Woodhouse Express noted that
'very few places can congratulate themselves on holding a better position
in supporting medical charities than Woodhouse.'[1]

Self-help of an active kind was evident within the two Woodhouse
Ambulance Classes.   Throughout 1912, the average attendance at the
miners' class was 32 at each meeting, usually weekly during each session.
First-aid became not just a useful skill, but for many members a fine
hobby which bound them closely together, many old residents still looking
back with great pleasure to the hours they then spent in the group.   In
1916, the Woodhouse Express reported that the miners' class 'continues to
be a real lively institution.'[2]   By the end of 1912, a Ladies' Ambulance
Class was in the process of being formed and continued until at least
1924.   The railwaymen's Class was a less prominent affair, but they too
incorporated an element of social intercourse into their meetings, on
occasions holding whist drives at the Central Hall.

In 1912, there were three Friendly Societies operating in Woodhouse.
The largest were the Rechabites and the Druids.   In November 1912, 'The

1. Ibid. 13/1/12.
2. Ibid. 3/6/16.

Hope of Woodhouse Tent' (Rechabites) was honoured by the decision of the Council of the Sheffield and Hallamshire District to hold the half yearly business meeting in the local headquarters at the United Methodist Church. The Woodhouse Express attributed this privilege 'to the highly prosperous condition of the Woodhouse Tent'[1] which, as mentioned above, had 200 members of all ages on the books. The Druids had two lodges in Woodhouse, one in the Sheffield and the other in the Rotherham District. The former was by far the stronger and had its headquarters at the George Inn, the latter based its activities on the Cross Daggers. Subscriptions to these societies were usually paid in every fortnight at the respective headquarters, an activity which gave opportunity for meeting fellow members and having a good chat together. Once a year the societies held an annual general meeting, often accompanied by a tea or a dinner and occasionally other social events. In September 1912, for example, the local Lodge of the Sheffield Druids arranged an athletic meeting which was attended by 'a good company' after which 'about 130' sat down to tea in the Endowed School.[2] The other local association was called the 'Woodhouse and District Medical Aid, Funeral and Dividing Society.'[3] In 1912, the President reported that 'the Society was in a flourishing condition, and he only regretted that they had not more members.'[4] That the days of the Friendly Societies were not yet over, despite the social

1. Ibid. 23/11/12.
2. Ibid. 7/9/12.
3. Ibid. 6/1/12.
4. Ibid. 6/1/12.

legislation of the Liberal Government of the day, is borne out by the
fact that new branches were still being established, in 1916 a lodge of
the Royal Antediluvian Order of Baffaloes being formed in Woodhouse. The
regular meeting for the payment of subscriptions and the occasional
business and social gatherings, together with certain features to be
mentioned/'Social Structure' below, created a strong sense of solidarity
amongst the members of the various societies.

In addition to the attempts of organized bodies to cope with the
problem of health and welfare, there were efforts of a more informal
and spontaneous kind which drew inhabitants together. One such estab-
lished and regular venture was the Aged Peoples' Treat, an annual gather-
ing which originated in 1876. This was largely sponsored by local
church members who raised funds by carol singing at Christmas; the treat
itself, however, was open to all old Woodhouse folk. In 1912, tea was
provided for 170 of these in the Wesleyan schoolroom, followed by an
entertainment, and 84 other teas were sent out to the housebound. Social
gatherings were also arranged specifically to raise funds for individuals
who had been injured at work or who had encountered severe illness. In
1912, the Woodhouse Express reported on a charity football match organized
by the licensee of the Brunswick Hotel, which was 'well patronized,' a
benefit concert at the Stag Inn, 'a large number having to be turned
away,' and a benefit whist drive at the Central Hall, amongst other

1. Ibid. 6/1/12.
2. Ibid. 30/11/12.

similar events.   Such spontaneous social activities for charity
attracted good numbers and created a strong fellow feeling amongst
residents.

Significance

Informal activity within the sphere of health and social welfare
undoubtedly gave a number of Woodhouse residents a sense of having a
worthwhile part to play on the local scene.   Numerous women, with no
medical training but a vast fund of practical experience, were acknowledged
as local 'mid-wives.'   Each street had its own informally appointed mid-
wife, Atkin stating that Tilford Road 'had the good fortune to have
three.'[1]   Some women had a wider reputation still, as, for example, a
certain Mrs. Elina Ball 'who would have brought half the folk in Woodhouse
into the world,' as one old resident comments.   She was 'a highly
respected' person.   Many of these women, though rarely receiving money
for their services, were given a table-cloth, a picture-frame, a supply of
eggs and so forth by way of acknowledgment.

Also on the informal level, both those who performed 'good works'
and those who benefited by them were made to feel that they counted in
local district life.   In some cases, particularly where the Friendly
Societies were concerned, the presentation of money to men who had fallen
on hard times was made a truly social occasion;   the incapacitated were
encouraged by the fact that they were not forgotten.

1. Atkin, E. _Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse_,
     1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954. p.170.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

Members of the 'self-help' organizations mentioned above, and notably the Friendly Societies, were drawn together by a degree of pride in the fact that they at least were doing 'the proper thing' in insuring themselves and their dependents against misfortune. They also shared similar social attitudes and class background. The Rechabites, for example, was a teetotal association and thus attracted a good number of churchgoers, especially from the Free Churches. The Druids drew on a wider cross-section of residents, and were not averse to holding their meetings in public houses, but, like the Rechabites, their membership was made up mainly of the intermediate Woodhouse class and the more respectable members of the working class. Those belonging to the Friendly Societies were further united by the elaborate and carefully preserved traditions of the various Orders. There were special titles, procedures and rites peculiar to each organization and, on certain occasions, leading members would walk through Woodhouse in full regalia behind their Lodge banner. Such customs as these and the prestige attached to belonging to a sort of 'secret society' all went to enhance a sense of solidarity.

Significance

Woodhouse had three resident general practitioners in 1912. Two brothers, the Doctors Rae, practised in partnership but, apart from the

status conferred on them by their professional position, were not especially prominent in local affairs. It was the third, Dr. Arthur William Scott, who is still remembered by old residents as the doctor of this era; he was in practice in Woodhouse from 1887 until 1924. Within the sphere of health and welfare, Dr. Scott became a dominant figure, looked up to and highly respected by all who came into contact with him. During this period, Dr. Scott was prominent as the Medical Officer of Health for the Handsworth Urban District Council. He gave his services freely to the two Ambulance Classes, in 1912 being presented by the miners with 'a gold-mounted umbrella'[1] for 7 years continuous assistance and by the railwaymen, not to be outdone, with a set of golf clubs. He gained a wide reputation for his medical versatility frequently setting bones, performing minor operations 'on the kitchen table' (which earned him the title of 'Butcher' Scott from some) or drawing teeth! There seems to be no doubt that Dr. Scott himself found a very strong sense of significance through his medical work and practice.

The Woodhouse Ambulance Classes provided one man in particular, Arthur Rowbottom, with a very strong sense of fulfilment. As Instructor to both the miners and railwaymen, he gave virtually all his leisure time to this activity. In 1921, his devotion to the work was acknowledged by a St. John's Ambulance award for 17 years service, the investiture taking

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1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 13/1/12.

place in London.   To this day his children show his various medals
with pride.   The ordinary members of the Ambulance Classes also gained
a strong sense of significance, especially where the end-of-session
examination was passed successfully.   'They did it for the honour,'
comments an old resident.   In 1912, 20 out of 22 members of the miners'
Class, as well as a number of railwaymen, got through the annual
examination with credit.

The fairly formal organization of the various Friendly Societies
gave a strong sense of significance to those who held office therein.
An elaborate series of official positions, with appropriate traditional
titles, existed within the Woodhouse Societies and local men were very
proud to occupy these, several making the association a virtually full-
time, though unpaid, occupation outside of normal working hours.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

Despite the pressing needs of the time, there remained a hard core
of opposition to improvements in the sphere of health and welfare.   Des-
pite the high infant mortality rate mentioned in the Introduction, the
Handsworth Urban District Council refused to adopt the (1907) Notification
of Births Act until 1913, and to appoint a paid health visitor until 1914.
In 1916, when the matter of obtaining the services of a full-time trained
nurse for maternity cases was being discussed one Councillor remarked that
'they had a sufficient number of health visitors.   If they went on they

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would have one for each day of the week.' Inevitably the lack of determination and resources at local government level to cope with the long-term problems involved created a spirit of helplessness and inactivity amongst a fairly large section of the popularion, many of whom were only roused to action when the threat of 'going on the parish' or, worse still, into the workhouse loomed large. This section of the inhabitants, within which resignation, apathy or sheer escapism held the upper hand, were mainly found within the Woodhouse working class, though, as noted, a good number of miners and railwaymen in particular were eager to provide well for their families in case of need.

SUMMING UP

In 1912, Woodhouse was involved in a continuous, and often losing battle, to keep its population healthy and well cared for. Sanitary conditions were still generally primitive, infant mortality was high and infectious diseases often rampant. The main burden of responsibility fell on the shoulders of the Handsworth Urban District Council (though Sheffield provided most of the hospital treatment and administered the workhouse giving accommodation for those in real poverty) whose inadequacy of economic resources and lack of skill to tackle the many large problems threw the onus very much onto local voluntary initiative and effort. Thus, though many residents remained apathetic and resigned to

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 25/3/16.

the poor conditions, others worked energetically to provide a degree of help and security in time of need for themselves and their fellows, notably through the Friendly Societies and local charitable ventures.

The Friendly Societies were especially active in Woodhouse and were well supported. They not only provided residents with the means to insure themselves against future ills and misfortunes, but formed themselves into organizations with elaborate rules and procedures of their own particular brand, as well as sponsoring numerous social events for the young and old. As a result, many residents found a _strong_ sense of solidarity within their ranks. Numerous fund raising efforts for charity were also the occasions for fun and enjoyment. On the smaller scale, they were organized for local residents in particular need, often by the public houses, whilst, on the wider scale, they took the form of major communal events for a wide cross-section of inhabitants, such as in the case of the Kelley (Hospital) Football Cup competition and the annual Hospital Demonstration. For some residents the Aged People's Treat was also one of the high-spots of the year. All these occasions helped to engender a _strong_ sense of solidarity amongst a large number of Woodhouse people at this time. Self-help was pursued with eagerness in the two Woodhouse Ambulance Classes, members participating regularly and finding therein a _strong_ degree of solidarity.

The opportunity to attain a sense of significance in this sphere of activity was, in 1912, open to all with interest and enthusiasm. A _very strong_ sense of significance was gained by the village doctors, especially

by one who had been extremely active in local district affairs for over two decades.   The same strength of sentiment was also found amongst some voluntary workers, notably the chief Instructor of the Miners' Ambulance Class, one or two leading officers in the Friendly Societies, and an untrained but much revered local district mid-wife.   Other residents found a _strong_ degree of fulfilment through roles played and work undertaken in the organizations mentioned above, or through informal neighbourly help which in turn made even the ill and incapacitated feel that they counted to their fellow inhabitants.

5. FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURS

INTRODUCTION

The word 'family' in this Section refers mainly to the nuclear or immediate family of husband, wife and children. It will be made clear in the text when the term is used to include other relations, ie., when the extended family is under consideration. By and large, the focus of attention is the household unit.

Because the family is the one associational grouping which involves the entire population, it is not surprising that a local district, such as Woodhouse, presented in 1912 a wide variety of patterns and styles of domestic life. None the less, certain typical patterns of activity and social structure do emerge and indicate, along with the more direct commentary made by residents of that day, that a somewhat similar level of solidarity and significance was experienced within various large sections of the population. These sections correspond closely to those distinguished in the Chapter on 'Work'; ie., the top class of Woodhouse residents made up of professional people and leading businessmen, its intermediate section of shopkeepers, tradesmen, etc., and the working class consisting of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, particularly miners. Because the working class formed by far the biggest group of residents, the description and analysis of family life will be mainly concerned with

this class, further comments being added only when the pattern of domestic living in the intermediate or upper sections differed from that of the working class in major respects.

Since family life in Woodhouse at this time was so closely bound up with the activities of residents living in close proximity, this Section will also deal with the level of community experienced within the precinct as defined in Chapter III, ie., that group of homes, the physical proximity of which involves residents in some degree of interaction. The term 'neighbour' will refer to those dwelling in the same precinct.

PARTICIPANTS

A demographic survey of Woodhouse as a whole has already been undertaken in the Chapter on 'Woodhouse 1912.' Here the aim is to underline those facts and figures which have a particular bearing on family life. It is not possible to discover the exact average size of Woodhouse families in 1912, but there is no doubt that by modern standards they were large. It was very common to find 5, 6 or 7 children in a single household, families with 10 or more children were by no means exceptional and one or two containing 15 or more children have been reported by several old residents. It must be remembered, however, that a large number of Woodhouse families lost children at birth, in infancy or before the age of 21 and that, at the other end of the age scale, only about a quarter of those reaching their majority could hope to survive beyond 70. This meant that though families were still large, death took a considerable

toll in early life and the number of parents living on into old age was less than in more recent times.

SOCIAL ACTION

The full extent and variety of interaction within the family circle cannot possibly be documented in such a general description as is here being undertaken. Attention will, therefore, be directed to the main currents of activity, first, within the daily, weekly and annual round and, secondly, in relation to the various phases of the life-cycle. Because interaction between neighbours was virtually all of an informal nature and was particularly a demonstration of social solidarity, the description of life in the precinct will be placed at the end of the sub-section immediately following.

Solidarity

Daily and weekly interaction, within a large number of Woodhouse homes in 1912, were influenced by several important factors. One of these, typical of any mining area, was the dominance of shift work. Very often a single family would have the father and a number of older sons all in the pit and on different shifts, leaving and arriving back in the home at all sorts of hours throughout the day and week. With no meals or washing facilities available at work, the 'snap' had to be prepared (one large family was known to have purchased a bread-cutting machine!), meals cooked and hot water made ready at a series of precise times every day. Thus the whole household was obliged to work together as a team

Houses; working class cottages.

Another influential factor, which made headway within the working class some even more often, was the type of dwelling many of the poorer belows lived in. Woodhouse had its share of 'back-to-back' houses, all

Houses; (dependent) intermediate class.

with a very high and skilfully arranged division of labour. A routine
geared to shift work became as much part and parcel of the woman's and
children's lives as of the man's. The mother would regularly be up at
5.00 am. to get the men off for the day shift whilst the children in
their turn would have small duties to perform before it was time for
school. Breakfast, dinner (all the children came home as there was no
mid-day meal at school) and tea needed considerable co-ordination if
chaos were to be avoided, where families were so large that the mother
could not cope, older sisters often taking charge of feeding the
children.

Another influential factor, which made teamwork within the working
class home still more vital, was the type of dwelling many of the popu-
lation lived in. Woodhouse had its share of 'back-to-back' houses, 48
in all with a living room, a bedroom and an attic, a good number of small
cottages, as well as many slightly larger dwellings, two down and two up,
in terraced rows. None of these houses had bathrooms; there was a
single cold water tap in the living room and the toilet was invariably
'down the yard.' The smallest dwellings often contained the largest
families, sometimes with a lodger as well, and, in April 1912, it was
noted at a meeting of the Handsworth Urban District Council that 16
people were living in one house, an all 'too common and disgraceful
condition which prevails in other parts.'[1] That such difficult and

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 27/4/12.

crowded conditions sometimes led to outbreaks of quarrelling and even violence is not surprising. In June 1912, the Sheffield West Riding court fined a Woodhouse couple for using obscene language to each other. One resident from a rough home recalls how his mother and father would quite often come to blows and how on one occasion the former struck the latter in the face with a house brick! In another poorer part of the area, neighbours remember a wife screaming out when her husband used to strike her or throw her into a corner. But physical violence was not very common, and frayed tempers soon gave way to the necessity of pulling together to survive, at times quarrels even acting as a kind of social safety valve. That solidarity was not usually threatened is borne out by the fact that neighbours offering to intervene in disputes were often told by the persecuted partner to mind their own business.

However, maintaining the household was not merely a question of good organization and pulling together. Most working class families did their utmost to cut down expense by baking their own bread, growing their own vegetables and sometimes keeping fowls or rearing a pig, doing their own shoe repairs and their own decorating when necessary, and undertaking many similar home-based tasks. The woman, sometimes assisted by the older children, usually dealt with all such jobs within the house, whilst the man concerned himself much more with the garden or allotment and things that could be done outside or 'in the shed.'

Thus, though it was very hard to keep homes tidy and clean, with large families, shift work and small dwellings, and though tempers

sometimes flared up, most working class Woodhouse households held firmly together, working a complicated schedule with considerable ability, showing a high degree of self-sufficiency and, as a consequence, establishing a spirit of mutual dependence and gaining a very strong sense of solidarity. However, one word of qualification needs to be added. Although it is easy to exaggerate, there were homes in which the man was not as closely attached as the others to the family circle. He would leave virtually all the domestic work to his wife and spend a good deal of his leisure time outside the home, normally in the public house. Some old residents still talk rather sadly of fathers who 'did not pull their weight' in family affairs.

Those residents belonging to the intermediate class, particularly the independent section, experienced a style of life rather different from that of the Woodhouse working class. The fact that shift work was far less common, meant less pressure on the home to function according to a complicated schedule, though it must be noted that to enable shop-keepers and tradesmen to work the long hours they did required considerable domestic support. Families were smaller and homes generally less cramped. But the most striking contrast to the lower class home was found within the top class of residents. Here man, wife and children had much more freedom from the demands of an enforced weekly routine. An old resident writes; 'There were servants to do the household chores and "helps" with the children - few in number - and there were gardeners, either whole or part-time, to tend their gardens, which were invariably
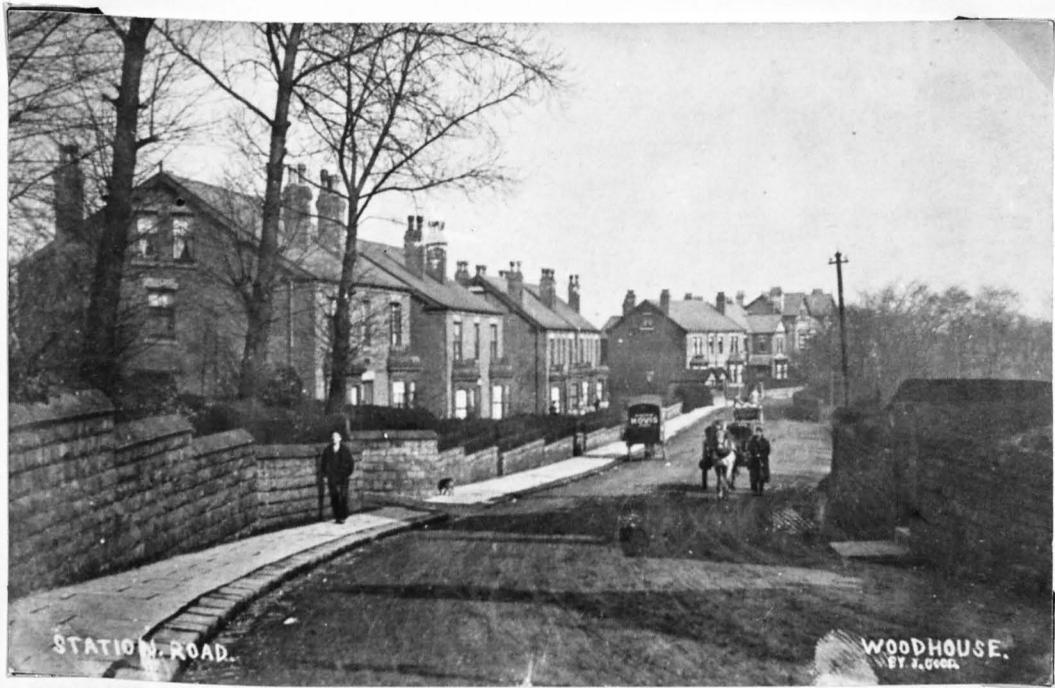
Houses; top class.

One of a number of palatial top class dwellings.

walled, and divided into kitchen and pleasure gardens with glass
houses and summer-house.   Several had their own tennis courts or
croquet lawns.   They had time and leisure to enjoy a fuller life and
follow pursuits outside the scope of ordinary folk.'   The higher resi-
dents came in the social scale, the less were the men of the house involved
in doing odd jobs, in growing vegetables, etc. to relieve the family purse.
None the less, despite marked differences in the weekly routine and
responsibilities between the working class family, the intermediate class
family and especially the top class home, it is impossible to claim that
the sense of solidarity within the latter two classes was any less strong.
Mothers and fathers seemed very much involved in the upbringing of the
children and, with more choice in the matter, spent much time concerning
themselves with their children's behaviour, education and future pros-
pects.   'The whole family were often seen together on their way to
church or chapel or some concert or function,' comments one resident.
It would seem, therefore, that the relaxing of those pressures which
led to a good deal of teamwork in the lower class homes, led in other
Woodhouse social classes, not to less concern, but to a more freely
exercised interest in family affairs and a very strong sense of solidarity.
Although it is true that certain fathers could be so involved in their
daily work as to be rather less closely bound than the other members to
the immediate family, the social bonds in these classes were generally
as strong as those within the working class.

The week-end saw a relaxing of the usual daily routine in most Woodhouse homes, though many of the intermediate class worked all Saturday. If the family did go out together, rare for the lower class, this was the time; to shop on Saturday night, for walks on Sundays in the summer, or to various church events. Regular visits were made, by the children if no one else, to grandparents and other relatives and Sunday tea was frequently an occasion for entertaining certain members of the extended family or friends. For churchgoing families, Sunday night was a time of hymn singing with friends, round the piano or small organ if the hosts were well off enough to possess one. Interaction at the week-end tended to strengthen family ties especially within the intermediate and upper sections of the population, it was less intense within the lower class family where as often as not the man of the house would be off to the public house on his own.

The daily and weekly cycle was supplemented throughout the year by occasions of special importance for the family, immediate and extended. Easter Monday was the traditional time for the first family outings when Birley Spa, some two miles away, 'was visited by scores of people from Woodhouse'[1] and games, dancing and other amusements were organized. Then came the Whitsuntide festivities and the August Feast, both being great occasions not merely for the nuclear family but for relatives from far and near to congregate and exchange news. Some of 'the lucky ones,'

1. Atkin, E.   Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse, 1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954. p.101.

especially those of private means, were able to get away together for
a week at the seaside, often catering for themselves, but the majority
enjoyed family trips for the day arranged by the churches or other such
bodies.   Christmas and New Year were important events when families
would assemble at different homes in turn, packing the small dwellings
to the doors, feasting and fun-making going on well into January.

The major events of the life cycle showed two processes taking place.
Solidarity was enhanced by the fact that many of these brought both
immediate and extended family together in periods of intense interaction.
On the other hand, the focus of solidarity was continually shifting as
one generation gave rise to another.

Child bearing was in Woodhouse in 1912 very much of 'a domestic
event,' the baby always being born in the home.   It was an occurrence
which made great demands on a crowded household but one in which mainly
the women were directly involved, the father occasionally taking charge
of the other children, but usually getting back to work with all possible
speed.   The wife's mother sometimes came in to help but, as frequently
she had a large family of her own to look after, neighbours or the local
'midwife' would do a great deal, the latter coming into the home for long
stretches to look after the household as well as attend to the mother.
Because child bearing within any home was a more regular occurrence than
today, less fuss seems to have been made and little done formally to
celebrate the event other than the virtually universal practice of

baptism. Even here, however, the mother took the initiative and the absence of father was common. Once a child had survived the exceedingly dangerous first few years of life, its upbringing would be very much more a family affair, older brothers and sisters and grandparents, where possible, all taking a share in feeding, washing or entertaining the youngster, whilst mother turned her attention to the next infant on the horizon. The child's first major break with the immediate family circle occurred at 5 when he went to school, but thenceforth things continued more or less evenly until the age of 13, when a boy would usually follow on into his father's occupation. A girl, however, might break more radically with the home by entering 'service' in the city and living away. Yet both boy and girl continued to put their weekly or monthly wage into the family kitty for common use until they reached the age of 21.

Another important change came when the time of courtship arrived, usually late in the 'teens. This phase of the life cycle inevitably saw the first major shift in the focus of solidarity away from the immediate family. Courtship also saw a shift of interaction from the physical home, which offered little scope for the couple to be together in private, and whenever possible young people escaped into the rather freer social life of the area. In summer walks around the local district were especially popular. In 1912, the median age of all those married at the Woodhouse Parish Church was 23 years 6 months for the men, 32 out of 42 living in the local district, and 21 years 9 months for the women, 40 out of 42 residing in the local district. Two observations can be

made concerning these figures.   The first is that the large majority
of women and men married at the Parish Church lived locally and thus
courtship would not have taken them far away from the influence of their
immediate families.   The second is that, since both partners lived in
the vicinity, they had probably known each other for some time.   In fact
old residents report that courtship often went on for many years, a
feature of the life of that era which made it possible for the young
person's fulcrum of solidarity to move from the parents towards the
partner, without any sudden social readjustment being needed on either
side.

Weddings were celebrated with great enthusiasm.   The working class
treated the event as 'a family affair rather than a public occasion' and
celebrations, as much for financial reasons as any other, were confined to
the home and limited to the extended family on either side.   Gifts were
not abundant and very few couples had a holiday away from the local
district after the wedding.   The fact that in 1912 houses were fairly
easy to rent and that the pits were needing men, meant that the large
majority of newly married couples settled down in the vicinity with little
necessity of sharing accommodation with in-laws.   Near relatives were
thus able to come in to paper and clean through and take an active part in
helping to set up the new home.   The intermediate and upper classes were
able to make the marriage more of an open social event and a public
reception would be held in a church schoolroom, in a public house club

room, in the Co-operative Society Hall or in the home and gardens of the bride's parents. To this a large number of relatives and friends would be invited and many presents would be received, long lists of these sometimes appearing in the Woodhouse Express. A honeymoon away was the norm. It was more common for young people from this group to settle down outside the local district.

As time went on the family circle might be drawn together again if old or sick parents came to live with sons or daughters. This practice, however, was not exceptionally common as, with children living near, the aged could often manage quite well on their own until almost the end.

With child bearing starting soon after marriage and often going on well into the 40s, with retirement being an economic impossibility for many and with life expectancy lower than today, the middle years and old age hardly had a distinctive pattern of their own. Little new of communal note occurred unless or until death entered the household. For the Woodhouse working class this was perhaps the most important occasion in the life cycle, drawing together the whole nuclear and extended family from both within and without the local district, even if this intense sense of social unity did not always last for very long. Near relatives of the deceased, not necessarily in the immediate family, known to be especially competent at such times, would take upon themselves the laying out, or find someone to do this, the obtaining of transportation for the coffin, the arranging of the funeral itself and sometimes the providing of

the Funeral tea, though neighbours often helped here, being on the spot. The deceased always remained in the home until the funeral, the immediate and extended family all being expected to go and pay their last respects. Curtains would be drawn by the bereaved family and by neighbours. On the funeral day the coffin would be taken by horse-drawn carriage or occasionally carried on foot by friends to the church, for a fairly long service, and then to the graveyard. Children would always attend the funeral, if a small child had died the coffin being carried by girls. The day was one of much eating and drinking, before and after the actual service, not in a spirit of revelry, but as a symbolic way of sharing and easing the loss. 'It was open house to all genuine mourners,' as one old resident comments. After the bereavement, the remaining partner when in public would often wear black for as long as 12 months and attend no social entertainment for as long as 3 months. Funeral cards, with a black border and inscribed with poetic lines to commemorate the deceased, were sent to all relatives and friends, in the home of the immediate family these were sometimes framed and hung on the wall for many years.

For the other sections of the population, death was treated as a more private affair and was contained rather more within the immediate family. Distant relatives would congregate only for the service on the funeral day. Public sympathy would be expressed either by a quick call or by writing or by attending the funeral service, where a lengthy discourse was often given on the life of the deceased, sometimes later printed in

pamphlet form or in a church magazine. A funeral tea of a somewhat formal nature would be provided afterwards in the home of the deceased when sometimes, if the family were more wealthy, the will would be read. As with the working class, mourning would continue for many months.

Neighbours

The siting of working class Woodhouse homes, as well as certain of those belonging to the intermediate class, threw neighbours very much together. Some of the houses were built in blocks along two or three sides of a small court. Others were laid out in long rows down either side of the street. Here the yards at the back, which served from two to half-a-dozen houses, were separated from each other by tall parallel walls. Passages running right through the blocks linked the back yards to the street. But a great many houses were sited without any eye to pattern or symmetry, jostling closely together at all kinds of odd angles to one another.

This lay out of dwellings meant that working class neighbours were bound to interact with regularity. If one shared a single small court with a dozen other families interaction was inevitable. As those living in the long rows of houses always used the back door, to keep the front-room clean and tidy, the passage and back yards were constantly in use by several households. Other facilities were also shared. The 'privy middens,' for example, were often situated in the centre of the court or at the bottom of the yard, usually one for every two families. This could be a problem when, as one resident reports, his own home and the

adjacent one contained over 20 people, it was literally 'a question of queuing up.'

Neighbours in these sort of precincts played an especially important part in the life of the woman of the house, though children too would often find their playmates here. The amount of 'inning and outing' was so continuous, even though the visits might be a matter of minutes only, and conversation between the women from doorstep to doorstep such a regular feature of the day, that the precinct was knit into a closely integrated unit, certain areas being traditionally known as 'very clannish.' It was an accepted thing that children should run errands free of charge for all those in the yard. If shortages did occur there was a good deal of sharing around; 'Lend me a quarter of tea' or 'Can I have a squeeze of your bluebag?' being but typical of a hundred-and-one other transactions. Bread, coal, household utensils, even mattresses were borrowed if need be. Usually this sharing was in kind, but now and then money to pay the rent was lent, one resident reporting that his mother would even pawn her wedding ring if there was real need in the row. The precinct, like the home, also had to co-ordinate its activities; the sweeping of the passage being taken in turns and sometimes wash-days staggered to ensure that enough space to hang the clothes was available. A spirit of mutual trust existed and residents still talk of the way money was regularly left about with the door wide open. On the other hand, one old resident writes, 'The womenfolk, and children, had much more to do with neighbours than the men. The latter hardly ever "popped in"

next door.   A nod from one male to another, or a greeting to a child was considered sufficient recognition.   If the men and boys were work-mates or club mates they might have a chat, but it would be in the yard or "passage" between houses.'

The precinct occasionally celebrated special events.   Bonfire Night was 'a yard do' and the women often provided the refreshments.   The Coronation of King George V, in 1911, was celebrated by many precincts laying on a treat for the children.   As noted above, neighbours would also be busy cooking or washing when there was illness in the yard, a mother bearing a child or a family bereaved.

There were quarrels of course, again in part due to the crowded conditions.   In 1912, three cases of neighbours falling out reached the courts and were reported in the local Press.   In July, a man was summoned for an assault on a woman neighbour; the former stating that the latter had encroached on his part of the yard and that he had, therefore, punished her by cutting down her clothes line.   In May and October, neighbours came to blows over children and pigeons.   One resident states of a particular block that 'you had to be able to fight to live there!' Occasionally squabbles led to months of stony silence when the yard brush would be set symbolically at the door to warn off neighbours.   But the majority of old Woodhouse people are agreed that quarrels were usually superficial, even adding a bit of zest to a pretty routine existence. 'I've seen women holding each other's hair with the blood flowing, one day, and the next sitting together on the wall blaming the children,'

comments one man about his boyhood. That quarrels were regarded as exclusively yard affairs is borne out by the fact, that, on one occasion, even the Vicar, entering a precinct to stop a violent struggle, was hit over the head with a broom. He is reported never to have intervened again!

The working class precinct was thus the scene of a very strong degree of solidarity, in particular for women and children, so strong in fact that at times neighbours would figure more prominently than relatives in the upbringing of next door's children or in times of need. It would seem, however, that the physical boundary of the precinct was the limit of the most intense interaction and though certain whole rows or even roads got on well together, the small yard or court was by far the most cohesive social grouping.

Neighbours mattered where houses were semi-detached or detached but, with far less daily interaction called for by the lay-out of dwellings and adequacy of economic resources, the level of solidarity was usually much less. If friends did assist or visit it was normally those chosen because of common interests and not simply because they lived next door.

Significance

'Women were slaves in those days,' comments one old Woodhouse lady. And so, from one point of view, was the case. Housework was arduous and continuous and the task of coping with large families in cramped conditions a strain on physical health and nerves. It would be all too simple to romanticize a style of family life that was, for the woman especially,

very hard work.   Nevertheless, it was within the home that most Woodhouse women found their major role, as wife or mother, and it was here, if anywhere, that a sense of significance was gained.   Whereas the men tended to 'find their niche' outside the home, though many took considerable interest in the children, 'the women simply lived for the family,' as an old inhabitant states.

There were exceptions.   Some homes were dirty and some children uncared for, the mother being either too lazy or too tired, through the incessant demands of the large family, to bother.   But a majority in all types of home did take a pride in maintaining the daily and weekly routine without any major hitch and in organizing the life of the household efficiently.   Frequently she took on the role of 'Chancellor of the Exchequer,' as one old resident describes it, and added keeping the family out of debt to her other responsibilities.   Many a housewife would ensure that the daily work was well out of the way, and that she had a clean apron on, before the family sat down to their tea.   Washing, ironing, sewing, bread making and baking were often activities undertaken with care to produce a praiseworthy finished product.   Each Friday the house would be thoroughly cleaned so that by Saturday lunchtime everything was ready for the week-end;   the Yorkshire range would be black-leaded and polished meticulously, and the front-room, the 'show-piece,' well groomed for Sunday use.

The woman of the house stood at the centre of the main family events of the year;   making clothes for Whitsuntide, baking and cleaning and

even papering in readiness for the Feast, helping with refreshments on Bonfire Night, and entertaining at Christmas. So too with the main phases of the life-cycle; interaction centred largely round her as the bearer of children, the organizer of the home, the one who did most of the preparations for the various celebrations and the pillar in time of crisis. For her the home and family were the chief means of attaining significance.

In the top class Woodhouse homes, the woman took somewhat less interest in housework as such, in part because she was able to delegate her domestic work to maids or daily 'helps.' On the other hand, she usually took great pride in the decoration of and furnishings within the home, and entertaining friends when these could be quietly displayed. Above all her role as wife and mother was conscientiously fulfilled and the welfare of the family was intimately bound up with her own self-satisfaction.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

Large nuclear families held together as a whole with an amazing degree of tenacity, especially whilst 'mum' was at the helm and even if father failed to pull his weight, and a very strong sense of loyalty was engendered amongst siblings. The many years spent together making ends meet and growing up in a world where there was precious little to spare created what one old person calls 'a fellowship of poverty,' though it

must be added that most old residents refute the suggestion that many children went hungry or appeared in rags and that Woodhouse had any slums. Within the home there might be grumbling, argument and hasty words at times, but outside each family put up a very strong common front. One inhabitant states of the large family to which she belonged: 'We could fall out and scrap, but if any person touched one of us, we were all up in arms. My Dad used to say, "If anyone touches one of my chickens they'll know about it!" This very strong sense of family membership was represented, amongst other things, by the conversational use of personal pronouns; it was 'our Betsy,' 'our Flo,' or 'their Billy,' 'their Albert.'

The cohesiveness of family life was in part maintained by the strictness of social control. At times this might be carried to excess and result in rebellion, leading to the severance of ties when a young person came of age or got married. One old resident says of his mother that she was 'judge, jury and gaoler all in one' and would regularly clout them with a scrubbing brush or whip them with the clothes line. Of his father he says, 'I worked for him in the pit and I'd sooner have worked for a prison warder!' In this instance marriage took the young man virtually out of his family of birth into the home of his in-laws, yet even here he still retains an element of affection for his parents. A Woodhouse woman writes, 'I can think of two families where boys were thrashed with canes or straps, and in one case a horsewhip was in constant

use. The recipient of the latter treatment finally ran away from home,
making his way to Canada.'   Far more normative, however, was the
household containing very strict parents whose authority was respected
and in many ways held the large family together through difficult times.
Within the top strata of Woodhouse families the ethos of social control
is well represented by a poem taught to the infants at Woodhouse West
school about this time:

> In silence I must take my seat,
> And give God thanks before I eat;
> Must for my food in patience wait
> Till I am asked to hand my plate.
> I must not scold, nor whine, nor pout,
> Nor move my chair nor plate about;
> With knife, or fork, or napkin ring,
> I must not play, - nor must I sing.
> I must not speak a useless word,
> For children must be seen - not heard;
> I must not talk about my food,
> Nor fret if I don't think it good.
> My mouth with food I must not crowd,
> Nor while I'm eating speak aloud;
> Must turn my head to cough or sneeze,
> And when I ask, say, "If you please."
> The tablecloth I must not spoil,
> Nor with my food my fingers soil;
> Must keep my seat when I have done,
> Nor round the table sport or run.
> When told to rise, then I must put
> My chair away with noiseless foot,
> And lift my heart to God above,
> In praise for all his wondrous love.   1

1.   ed. Gardiner, A.   Dialogues and Recitations for Infant Schools.
(Second Edition). Leeds, 1898. pp. 79-80.

This sort of behaviour was occasionally required of children in homes of the intermediate class of residents but, on the whole, here, and in the lower sections of the population, norms were less sophisticated, though still strict and effective. The child would have certain duties to perform each day and was told to be in each night at an early hour, even when courting in the late 'teens. The penalty for any sort of disobedience was usually a hefty clout or sometimes worse. But most old residents look back on the method of social control exercized as a fair and cohesive contribution to family life. They knew precisely where they stood and what to do to keep the household on an even keel, a situation which helped to make the nuclear family a very strong social unit.

In 1912, Woodhouse seems to have contained a population, one half of which was very closely linked by birth and marriage, the other half of which was gradually becoming so. The demographic comments made in the opening Chapter on 'Woodhouse 1912' throw some light on why this was the position. The numerous old Woodhouse families and the children of those residents who had moved in during the late 1860s and the 1870s had probably married and inter-married by 1912, thus constituting that section of the population wherein extended families were large. The children of the many newcomers in the 1880s and the 1890s, however, had had less time to pair up and so here extended families within the local district were less sizeable. In all cases an examination of extended family trees for this period[1] shows

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1. LeTall, W.J.   Gathered Fragments of the Past and Present History of Woodhouse and its Vicinity. Sheffield, 1876. pp. 18-20.
   cf.   A number of family trees made out for the author by old established Woodhouse families.

that marriage rarely crossed the fairly rigid social class boundaries of the time. Solidarity within the extended family was, therefore, restricted mainly to one's own social strata and residents were drawn together along, rather than across, the lines of social upbringing.

Extended family ties do not seem to have been particularly strong, the links between children and grandparents excepted. One old resident writes, 'There was a certain amount of visiting of relatives living in the village, but I should say they saw each other more at village gatherings - at Whitsun, at the Feast, at sports and social events, at church, and, in the case of male relatives, in the pubs and clubs. The children did as much visiting as anybody, and grandparents were high on their visiting list. Sometimes they ran errands for them, sometimes they took little gifts; something from the garden, a couple of eggs or a loaf of freshly baked bread. Little Red Riding Hood had nothing on us! I used to read to my maternal grandmother as soon as I knew how to read, and write letters to her two sons who lived away from the village. Children acted as news-bearers to aunts and uncles. Cousins were chiefly contacted at school, at play after school, and at birthday parties. Mothers made time in the evenings for visiting - mostly to their own side of the family - and fathers came a poor third in this business.'

It must also be mentioned that a surprising number of extended families were somewhat divided by differing attitudes and activities. Within the top class, rifts were known to have been created by social rivalry within the local district, by disputes over the division of the estate

after death, and by disapproval associated with the decline of fortunes, due to loose living, in some section of the family. Amongst the working and intermediate classes, rifts occurred through clash of interests (for example, public house v. church), through parents sometimes remarrying when widows or widowers (a fairly common occurrence in an age of economic hardship), or through a series of comparatively petty slights and disagreements. Not speaking to one's relatives was a thing that could easily go on for some years. Nevertheless, these situations must not be allowed to affect the general assessment that most extended families got on reasonably well together, even if solidarity, except between children and grandparents, was rarely very strong. Where relatives lived outside Woodhouse links were more tenuous, contact being maintained through odd visits and particularly letter writing.

Significance

The social structure of family life brought some sense of fulfilment, attained through the various domestic roles played, to the members of virtually all Woodhouse families. Within the top class 'father was the head of the household,' as one old resident observes. Amongst the more wealthy, and especially the well established, Woodhouse families, the father was very conscious of his standing and upheld the family name with some pride. In this social strata, fathers would lead the family forth on the occasions that they all went out together to church or other social functions in the local district or beyond. Outside the home he was ostensibly in charge. Yet within the upper class home, the mother was

really 'the power behind the throne.' She commanded considerable respect in her own right, as 'chief lady of the house,' and it was on her that the social well being of the home largely depended. She well knew the key position she held and took great pains to play her part as effectively and efficiently as she was able.

In the less wealthy home, the father figures less prominently. His vital role as breadwinner was recognized by all, but, in the main domestic activities of the year and the major phases of the life-cycle, it was mother who occupied pride of place in the social structure of the family. Her role was quite clear and definite; she was acknowledged as the person whose responsibility it was to hold the family together in all circumstances, 'for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health.' She was the recognized hub of the wheel even after the children had married and left home and, whilst they would often return to visit when she was there, if she died the family as a whole was in grave danger of splitting up once and for all. There was in fact no other role for most women to play; 'she was fastened to the table leg,' as old residents say. But most wives or mothers accepted their position, if not with immense enthusiasm, at least with a keen determination 'to see the family through.' And this they achieved with remarkable success.

SUMMING UP

The nature of family life in the Woodhouse of 1912 was moulded by two main factors, the size of the household and the economic situation of the home. Allied to this was the important fact that most families were fairly well settled, children often growing up and starting married life in the same place. The pattern of family life tended to fall along the lines of social class, as outlined in the Chapter on 'Work,' the dependent intermediate class having much more in common with the working class, the independent intermediate class having features of both lower and top class ways of life.

For the working class, especially the miners, the lack of a secure job or fully adequate income shaped the pattern of daily and weekly interaction within the household at every turn. Families, often very large, had to live together in small and crowded dwellings, shift work was unavoidable and the meagre budget meant a great deal of making do and sharing round. But all this led to the fostering of a high degree of teamwork and co-operation which knit the home very strongly together. Despite occasional quarrels, family loyalties remained firm. Discipline was strict, sometimes severe, but usually accepted as fair, children knowing just where they stood in this respect. The family rarely went out together, but all congregated to enjoy the major festivals and communal events of the year. The big three occasions of the life cycle called for celebrations of one kind or another, birth being made relatively little of, but marriage and death being times of 'doing them proud' and

major family events.   The working class family, with the occasional exception of the man of the household who paid too much attention to the public house, thus experienced a <u>very strong</u> sense of solidarity at this time.

Though the pattern of interaction within the independent intermediate class, and especially the top class, differed considerably from that of the working class, due in part to smaller families and to some easing of the economic pressure, solidarity remained <u>very strong</u>.   Top class households in particular enjoyed much more freedom with regard to the daily and weekly routine, were assisted by servants in the house (often a roomy one with a good garden), and had much more leisure time available. A consciousness of the family as an important social unit was usually present, and members were often seen out together.   Both parents took an active interest in the upbringing, often strict, of the few children, and in their education.   Annual festivals and big local district events were rather less family red-letter days, but the major occasions of the life cycle were well celebrated.

Within working class and many intermediate class families, it was above all the mother round whom the family centred, and she it was that found a <u>very strong</u> sense of significance within the home.   Hers was both role 'commitment' and 'attachment,' often at considerable personal cost. Yet she gained a great deal of satisfaction through keeping a clean and usually tidy house, successfully bearing and rearing a large family and by being able to help neighbours in difficult times.   That there was no

alternative for her than to find fulfilment, if she was to find it at all, within the home and family circle, mattered little, as most women accepted their lot quite readily. The father in this social strata was much less directly involved in domestic activities and, though he was respected as the breadwinner and often took a genuine interest in the children, family life as a whole gave him little more than a <u>moderate</u> sense of significance. In the top class households, the mother, though somewhat less personally involved in ordinary domestic duties, took considerable pride in the appearance of the house. She found a <u>very strong</u> sense of fulfilment especially in her maternal role, the upbringing and welfare of the children being as important to her as to any working class mother. The man of the house generally gained a <u>strong</u> sense of significance, being undisputed 'head of the household' and respected as such both within and outside the home.

Extended family relationships were not particularly close in the Woodhouse of this era, though the extended family did congregate and reaffirm its solidarity at major festivals and important phases of the life cycle. <u>Strong</u> links were maintained by the children regularly visiting relatives, especially grandparents,/through more occasional calls made by the woman. The man's contact usually occurred only in relation to non-domestic activities when he happened to meet with relatives, at work, public house or church, and his sense of attachment to the extended family was only <u>moderately strong</u>.

In working class areas, the sense of belonging to a particular precinct was <u>very strong</u> for women, but <u>moderate</u> for men. Close physical proximity, often over many decades, bound women neighbours very closely together and, though there were inevitably squabbles and even some blows, tolerance and generosity in time of need nearly always prevailed. Young children of the same age living in the same precinct played regularly together and were often <u>very strong</u> friends. In the wealthier parts, where houses were detached, or semi-detached, interaction amongst neighbours was less intense and the sense of solidarity <u>moderate</u> for the woman and child, <u>weak</u> for the man.

6. EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In 1912 the following schools were situated within Woodhouse:-

Name	Type	Opened	Location
Woodhouse Council	Elementary	1889	Station Road
Woodhouse West Council	Elementary	1900	Sheffield Road
Woodhouse Dual	Secondary	1909	Station Road
Mrs. Wood's	Private		Station Road

In 1912, as a consequence of the 1902 Education Act, both the Woodhouse Elementary Schools came under the control of the West Riding County Council (their Part II Education Authority), whose administrative headquarters were at Wakefield. However, the West Riding delegated a great deal of responsibility for the two schools to the Handsworth District Council's Education Sub-committee, which met monthly. The Woodhouse Secondary School was built by the West Riding County Council and administered by a Board of Governors, on which served representatives of both the West Riding and the Handsworth Urban District.

PARTICIPANTS

In 1912, education was compulsory for all children between the ages of 5 and 13, though quite a number of Woodhouse children began before 5 (in 1911, the Infants' Department of the Station Road School had 37

children of 4 years of age). Both the Woodhouse Elementary Schools were 'all through schools.' At 13, provided the requisite number of attendances had been put in, children left school and began work. A few only, sometimes well before the age of 13, were able to proceed to further education, at the Secondary School or elsewhere, either by winning a scholarship or, much more often, as fee paying pupils. Further education could last for anything from one more year to, very occasionally, the completion of a college or university course.

After 1901, following a resolution of the then School Board, all those Woodhouse children who lived to the East of the junction of Sheffield Road, Stradbroke Road, Chapel Street and Tannery Street, were sent to the Station Road Elementary School (known locally as 'the Bottom School'), and those living to the West of the same spot were sent to the West Elementary School (known as 'the Top School'). (The terms 'Bottom' and 'Top' referred to the geographical location of the two schools.) These catchment areas for pupils were still operative in 1912. The Woodhouse Secondary School drew its pupils from much further afield; from the West Riding (as far away as Worksop and Retford) and from Sheffield. A few children from top class families were educated in Sheffield or, as boarders, right away from the local district.

The number of children attending the Woodhouse schools at this time was as follows :-

Station Road Elementary [1] -   Infants   225
                                    Junior   213
                                    Mixed   343

West Elementary [2] -   Infants   139
                                    Mixed   330

Dual Secondary   112   (of whom about 25 resided in the local district)

Mrs. Wood's Private   c12

The Woodhouse Elementary Schools did as well as any in the Handsworth Urban District, in January 1912, the Woodhouse Express stating that the returns 'again show the Woodhouse schools at the head of the percentages of attendance.'[3] For 1912 the highest and lowest percentage attendances were:-[4]

		Highest	Lowest
Station Road Elementary -	Infants	94.57 (January)	86.22 (March)
	Junior	97.28 (May)	92.45 (March)
	Mixed	97.18 (May)	91.88 (March)
West Elementary -	Infants	92.64 (Oct. & Nov.)	84.12 (June)
	Mixed	92.60 (November)	85.97 (March)

1.
2. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 17/2/12.
3. Ibid. 17/2/12.
4. Ibid. 13/1/12.
    Ibid. 1912.

The number of teaching staff at the Woodhouse schools about this time was :-

Station Road Elementary	c15	(plus 3 or 4 student teachers)
West Elementary	c13	
Dual Secondary	c6	
Mrs. Wood's Private	1	

Evening classes for adults, held in the Elementary Schools in the evenings, were very poorly supported. In October 1908, the Woodhouse Express stated that 'the experience of the past few years in evening school work leaves much to be desired, for not only were the schools badly attended - even with indifference - but the ratepayers were called upon to pay the costs from the rates.'[1] Classes were still going in 1912, but a few weeks after the winter session had commenced the Woodhouse Express reporter remarked that 'it is a great pity that more do not take advantage of the chances.'[2] Because these classes were so sparsely attended no further reference will be made to them below.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

In 1912, children at the two Elementary Schools attended for about 42 weeks of the year. School hours were from 9.00 am. to 12.00 pm. and

1. Ibid. 31/10/08.
2. Ibid. 16/11/12.

from 1.00 pm. to 4.00 pm. (a little less for the Infants). Classes
consisted of both boys and girls, sometimes sitting separately, and were
large.[1] Exact figures for 1912 are only available for the West Elementary
School where the average size of class in the Infants' Department was
46 and in the Mixed Department was 48, but residents report classes of
about 50 at the Station Road Elementary School also. Children usually
sat 'penned in' three to a desk, and remained in the same classroom with
the same teacher for virtually every lesson of the day. 'There was no
morning assembly to hold us together,' writes an old resident. 'We
filed into our classrooms, repeated the Lord's Prayer, said grace at the
end of the morning sessions (before partaking of dinner at home!),
returned thanks at the beginning of the afternoon session and ended the
day repeating the Lord's Prayer.' A Headmaster of the West School writes,
'In 1912 teaching was fairly rigidly tied to the 3 Rs, to object lessons,
to history with a capital "H" in order to promote national pride and
patriotism and to geography, with the aim of enhancing pride in the
Empire.' Playtime, 15 minutes morning and afternoon, was rather more
relaxed though still under supervision with the girls and boys separated
into different sections of the playground. The weekly routine was formal
and repetitive, 'the same thing over and over again,' as an ex-pupil
comments. There were very occasional out-of-school activities, such as
a violin class organized at the West School by Isaac Crowther, the Head-
master, which in 1910 had some 20 members, and the football team at

1. The School Log of the Woodhouse West Elementary School. 1912.

Station Road.   In 1912, the Woodhouse Express wrote of the latter that 'the Woodhouse Council schoolboys are very enthusiastic over their football.'[1]   All in all, however, school activities were not such as to facilitate a very carefree atmosphere and the formal procedure cramped a great deal of spontaneous interaction.   The sense of solidarity within each class, even amongst older children, was rarely more than moderate, though here and there very strong ties were established amongst smaller groups of friends.

Apart from the usual holidays, the school year offered little of feature.   Certain special occasions, however, provided the opportunity for an expression of wider solidarity.   Every May 24th, Empire Day was dutifully observed, apparently with rather more enthusiasm at the West than at Station Road, when an attempt was made to inculcate youthful minds with nationalistic sentiments reaching out well beyond the extended district.   Appropriate songs were sung, in 1909 those at the West being, 'Jesus shall reign wher'er the sun,' 'What can I do for England,'   'God bless the Prince of Wales,'   'Flag of Britain,'   'Home Sweet Home' and the National Anthem.'[2]   Speeches in similar vein were delivered and all the children were expected to salute the Union Jack.   That such efforts to give children at least a moderate sense of national solidarity were not entirely a failure is borne out by the very enthusiastic reception given to

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 19/10/12.
2. The School Log of the Woodhouse West Elementary School. 24/5/09.

Station Road Elementary School.

Empire Day celebration in Sheffield.
Woodhouse children from both Elementary Schools took part.
(c 1906)

royal visitors in the area and by the eager celebration of royal occasions. One Woodhouse resident can still recall how excited she was to be taken with the Station Road pupils to wave to Queen Alexandra when she passed through Woodhouse Station. In June 1911, the schools had a week's holiday for the Coronation of King George V, and the Station Road scholars a Coronation tea provided in the gardens of Netherfield Hall. All children received special mugs to celebrate the occasion, even today displayed with some pride by old residents.

In the early months of 1912 an event occurred which drew a good section of the scholars and the staff into interaction well above the norm; the miners' minimum wage strike. Prior to the commencement of this at the end of February, some poverty was already in evidence, particularly at the West. Children would come to school in very poor shoes, with odd and tattered socks and patches on their trousers. With the strike only just getting underway, Crowther noted: 'Soup dinners to poor children ..... 85 scholars received a dinner of soup and bread.'[1] Once the strike was underway the situation worsened rapidly; 'much poverty exists,'[2] wrote Crowther in the school log. By the beginning of April 'free breakfasts' began at the West, over 200 children per day receiving cocoa, bread and margarine and soup. At Station Road over 100 children a day were likewise provided for, James Morton, the headmaster, noting that 'the whole staff have assisted in the distribution of the breakfasts.'[3] The Easter holidays and the end of the strike brought this

1. _Ibid._ 7/2/12.
2. _Ibid._ 22/3/12.
3. The _School Log_ of the Station Road Elementary School, Woodhouse. 4/4/12.

service to an end.   There is little doubt that, for a short period,
necessity had introduced a new degree of at least staff, if not staff-
pupil, solidarity into school life.

That school life as a whole roused only a weak sense of solidarity
amongst children can be seen from the fact that many of them were all too
keen to be off and out working when they reached 13.   Even before this,
part time jobs were common after school hours or in the holidays.   By 10,
many children would be helping local tradesmen and by 12, the boys
'quarter-timing' at the pit head picking dirt out of the coal on the belts.

The pupils at the Secondary School had a shorter working day than
those at the Elementary Schools, 9.15 am. until 3.30 pm., in order to fit
in with the times of trains running between Woodhouse and places in the
outlying parts.   Holidays were somewhat longer.   But this slight reduction
of school hours was more than balanced out by the interest and enthusiasm
of scholars and staff who in the early days had the zest of creating a new
institution.   The school had opened in 1909 'when two or three classrooms
were sufficient'[1] to accommodate the 35 pupils but, because, as the then
Headmaster writes, 'we started with high hopes of what we should become in
the future,'[2] numbers soon grew, by 1912 being up to 112 and by 1915 to
142.   The time-table was varied and flexible and the lessons more informal
Besides the normal curriculum, there were hockey and tennis for the girls,

1.   Magazine of the Woodhouse Secondary School;   later known as the
      Woodhouse Grammar School.   Woodnotes.   May 1927.
2.   Ibid.   April 1941.

and cross-country running, football and cricket for the boys.   By 1910,

there was already a Sports Day in July, and a Speech Day in October,

after which a 'spread' was laid out in the chemistry labs. for pupils

and parents.   At Christmas an annual dance for the scholars was very

much looked forward to.   Such freedom and vigour of activity was con-

ducive to the establishment of a/strong sense of solidarity.
                                    very

Significance

There was only the minimum of opportunity for scholars at the two

Elementary Schools to attain any real sense of significance through

educational activities.   Old scholars talk of the frustration of un-

fulfilled ambitions.   A Headmaster of the West School writes,   'The

education then aimed to produce "good citizens," who fitted into their

appointed places in the scheme of things;   were cogs almost, rather than

fructified individuals.'   Now and then academic attainment was recognized

by the teacher's complimentary remarks, or by having one's sums or drawing

or composition pinned up on the classroom wall.   It was a 'big honour'

to be at the top of the form and such distinction was unofficially recog-

nized at the West where 'the cleverest sat on the back row.'   But higher

education was a possibility only for the fortunate one or two who managed

to win a scholarship to the Secondary School;   the first record of a

Woodhouse scholar being thus honoured coming in 1913.   Very occasionally

an opportunity came for those gifted in particular subjects to have their

skill acknowledged;   as, for example, in 1912, when 6 pupils from the West

had their drawings and models accepted by the West Riding for exhibition at the Royal Agricultural Show held that year at Doncaster. The Woodhouse Express reporter wistfully commented that 'it is to be hoped that the abilities of some of these promising scholars may find suitable outlets, but few openings seem to present themselves to children in this district who show talent in their drawing.'[1]

The attitude of parents in large part determined the store children lay by educational progress or achievement. A steadily growing number of parents took an active interest in the education of their children and in such cases the children could take a pride in good work. The Elementary Schools held an annual Open Day, usually in March at the end of their school year. In 1912, the Woodhouse Express reported the event as follows: At Station Road 'the school was crowded by a host of fathers, mothers and sisters ..... The visitors passing from room to room, freely expressed their delight at what they saw, and commented upon the advancement and advantages of the up-to-date education.'[2] Whilst 'perhaps the most successful Parents' Day ever held at the West took place ..... when its peaceful precincts were invaded by large numbers of greatly interested parents. It was pleasing to rub shoulders with so many fathers - more this time than ever - who found themselves amid surroundings reminiscent of their bygone school days.'[3] But still the most general attitude was

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 22/6/12.
2. Ibid. 30/3/12.
3. Ibid. 13/4/12.

that school provided a useful basic grounding for the child, yet had to give way pretty sharply to the economic necessity of getting him out to work as soon as possible to help supplement the family budget.   The Headmaster of the Secondary School stated, at the Speech Day there in 1912, that their own recruitment had been hindered by the fact that 'the children were sent to work in the mines' at the first opportunity.[1]   Girls too were soon sent into 'service' or involved in helping look after the home.   In June 1912, Morton wrote in the Station Road Elementary School log book that 'owing to repeal of the bye laws allowing children to leave at 13 with necessary attendances (they now had the chance of leaving earlier provided a case could be made out by parents), many applications have been made'[2] and in that month the Handsworth Education Sub-committee had 89 applications before it for full-time exemption.   Any impression that the child's attainments at school were of lasting worth was thereby soon shattered.   As one old resident puts it, 'Once you left school, that was that.'

Educational activities at the Secondary School, and no doubt at those schools attended by the children from more wealthy families outside the local district, offered far more scope for the attainment of a sense of significance than at the Elementary Schools.   One of the first Woodhouse children to win a scholarship from the Elementary to the Secondary School writes, 'The change from one school to the other was so startling – it

1. Ibid. 16/11/12.
2. The School Log of the Station Road Elementary School, Woodhouse. 17/6/12.

seemed as if I had left a cage to roam those "fresh woods and pastures new," that our Head so often spoke of and subsequently led us into.' Here educational achievement was a means to a really worthwhile and status bearing career. In 1912, the Headmaster of the Secondary School, John Buckley, reported a dozen or more outstanding examination successes. By 1922, old scholars had between them gained 11 university degrees, several of these going to Woodhouse students. On the sports field also, 'colours' were attainable for good performances at games. The pupils' sense of significance was further enhanced by public recognition of their skills on Speech Day and Sports Day, which parents, following the progress of their sons and daughters with real interest, regularly attended and which gave opportunity for them to mix socially with staff and students.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

A very strong sense of solidarity within certain small groups at both Elementary Schools in part resulted from the fact that, with little influx of new families into the area in the first decade of this Century, children remained with the same group of schoolmates throughout their education, classes being relatively undisturbed by the entrance of new-comers or, incidentally, by promotion and relegation. 'We were all brought up together and went through the same classes together,' comments an old scholar. By the age of 13, therefore, some very strong friendships had developed, one old man who states that he detested every minute of

school nevertheless acknowledges that he first met his wife there! Although some children from intermediate class homes tended to think some of their schoolmates 'a bit rum and a bit dirty,' social distinctions did not loom very large within the classroom. However, a very strong sense of solidarity tended to be restricted mainly to school friends within the child's own age group and usually to those of the same sex.

The relationship between children and staff at the Elementary Schools was not a close one and did very little to enhance solidarity throughout the school. The bond was generally of an impersonal nature. One ex-pupil writes, 'Teachers for the most part were held in great respect and nick-names for them not indulged in.' Despite this attitude of 'respect' maintaining discipline was a fairly full-time occupation for certain members of staff, and now and then incidents of near revolt occurred. One resident recalls vividly the occasion when a boy threw his clog at the Headmaster of the West School and another the time when a teacher was bombarded with ink-wells. It was a common occurrence for certain recalcitrant children to play truant for occasional half or whole days 'defying the law,' as the Headmaster of the West School put it. 'Following the hunt' was a particular attraction for some of the boys and, when the former passed through Woodhouse in the summer months, the sound of the horn was the sign for a number of children 'to fade,' returning next day for the expected 4 strokes. This form of punishment was a generally accepted thing and old pupils still talk about the cane with a sense of bravado, but the frequency with which it was administered and the problem of doing

so with fairness meant that a strong teacher-pupil relationship was established only infrequently.

The Headmasters, who were in the best position to be symbolic figures (see Chapter VI, 4,) within the School, were in fact rarely encountered by most pupils except when they had to go and visit them on formal business or to receive 'the skutch,' a caning. One old resident writes of Morton, the Headmaster of the Station Road Elementary School; 'I never regarded him as a father figure - he was tucked away in his office, which we invariably walked past on tip-toe, lowering our voices to a whisper (why, I don't know, because he was no monster). He seemed too remote, associated with the spartan side of school life - discipline, punishments, dressing downs and canings. The fact that there were no morning assemblies meant that there was little to connect us as a school to him as Head.'

Discipline was not made any easier, or teacher-pupil solidarity enhanced, by a small but vociferous section of parents who would protest vigorously to the Headmaster or teacher if their child was ever singled out for punishment. In 1909, Crowther at the West School records that one father, who had refused to send his daughter to school because of an alleged insult, stormed into the classroom one day shouting 'I'll b .....[1] well go down the line for it! I'll let him see who's gaffer!' In 1913, a mother with a boy at the West School ended up in Derby gaol for a week because of the continual abuse she hurled at teachers as they passed her in the street.

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1. The School Log of the Woodhouse West Elementary School. 6/7/09.

The staff at both Elementary Schools experienced a strong sense of solidarity amongst themselves. This was due as much as anything to the length of time they had spent together, in 1908, the Woodhouse Express noted that the staff at the Station Road Elementary School was, for the first time for many years, seeing some changes. Morton himself had been Headmaster of the Endowed School in Woodhouse before it closed in 1889, and the pupils transferred to Station Road, whilst Crowther had been in charge of nearby Birley School since 1893, before moving to take charge of the West when it opened in 1900. Atkin records that Station Road Elementary 'was often referred to as "Morton's School",'[1] in part because Morton, his wife and three of his daughters taught there. 'No teachers went there unless they were pals of his,' remarks an ex-pupil. Common bonds between members of staff, and to some extent between staff and pupils, were also strengthened by the fact that a majority of the former lived locally. 'Our teachers seemed to be permanent fixtures,' writes a resident, 'possibly because they had their homes in the village and several were middle-aged or approaching that state.'

The two Elementary Schools serving Woodhouse lay at either end of the local district, one (the West School) at the 'Top' and the other (Station Road School) at the 'Bottom'. The division of Woodhouse into two major catchment areas for the purposes of Elementary education, mentioned above, and the clear separation and distinction of Top and

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1. Atkin, E. *Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse, 1086-1953.* (Unpublished), 1954. p.160.

Bottom Schools, helped to foster amongst the children and staff an informal rivalry, which still lasts on in the conversation of old ex-pupils today. Attachment to the school as such was thus a little strengthened for some by territorial location.

The children attending the Secondary School got on together extremely well, a situation facilitated by the fact that many were from a similar social background. The Woodhouse pupils were mainly from the top class or independent intermediate class of residents. The friendships made at school often lasted for life and numerous old Woodhouse scholars still enjoy getting together to reminisce about the good old days. 'We had some lovely times there,' remarks one. Buckley, the first Headmaster of the Secondary School, recalls an incident concerning two English soldiers who, meeting on the Gallipoli Peninsula in 1915 and recognizing each other as old boys of the Secondary School, 'then produced from their scanty pocket room their school badges, and renewed their former fellow-ship.'[1] At school the pupils were not only divided into classes, but also into 'houses' which drew them together across the different age groupings. The houses were named 'Rotherwood,' 'Sherwood,' 'Ivanhoe' and 'Hallam.' 'These names,' wrote Buckley, 'smack of the soil, and they remind us never to forget the rocks from which we are hewn, and the pits from which we are digged.'[2]

1. Buckley, S. (ed.) John Buckley (1865-1944). Kendal, 1946. p.77.
2. Magazine of the Woodhouse Secondary School; later known as the Woodhouse Grammar School. Woodnotes. Jan. 1943.

The relationship between children and staff was informal and friendly. Buckley writes of the early days; 'We were rather like a large family than (sic) a School. Both pupils and staff came into close touch with each other, and we soon knew each other intimately. A very friendly atmosphere was engendered, and my ideal of making the School a place to which pupils would be attracted rather than being compelled to attend, soon showed itself.'[1] One old scholar states that the staff 'helped with outside things like taking children for hikes into Derbyshire – and did things for school plays, etc. – they weren't for ever rushing off somewhere. They gave us (the pupils) the feeling that they were stable, mature, reliable people.'

Buckley himself was certainly a symbolic figure for the school, both with regard to children and staff. 'He assumed the role of father figure easily and naturally, and moulded the school into a coherent whole,' writes an old pupil. In tributes paid to him after his death an old scholar writes, 'Ere the (first) term was ended our Head, whom we had thought so stern, was our beloved "Pa" and as such he remained to his life's end.'[2] Another writes, 'We, his old pupils, will carry out into the world the spirit of co-operation and mutual help implanted with (sic) us by our Head.'[3] Much of the affection which bound children and staff to the school when attending and after leaving was focused on John Buckley.

1. _Ibid._ April 1941.
2. _Ibid._ Jan. 1945.
3. _Ibid._ May 1927.

Significance

The organization of the two Elementary Schools provided very little scope for the attainment of a sense of significance. The only official position of any note was form monitor, but, though some pupils regarded it as something of a privilege to collect and give out exercise books, empty the waste-paper basket, fetch chalk for the teachers, and be called by their Christian name (where the teacher would usually address the rest of the class by their full name or their surname alone), others felt it was merely a chore. An old pupil comments that one was far more likely to command respect amongst one's peers if one possessed a tennis ball, for the loan of which at playtime 'you could be captain as well as take all the corners and free kicks!'

At the Secondary School, membership of one of the higher grade educational institutions of the day was denoted by the boys wearing green caps and the girls wearing green knitted caps, all with a special school badge on. The school crest was 'an eagle soaring up to the empyrean,' and the motto, 'Summum petite,' (aim at the highest),[1] both crest and motto indicating a very different attitude to status achievement than existed at the Elementary Schools. Buckley writes; 'In a short time those who derided us came to look upon becoming a member of our School as a great honour.'[2] In the early days there was no Head Boy or Head

1. Buckley, S. (ed.) John Buckley (1865-1944). Kendal, 1946. p.77.
2. Magazine of the Woodhouse Secondary School; later known as the Woodhouse Grammar School. Woodnotes. April 1941.

Girl, but a prefectorial system was in the process of being developed.

The staff experienced considerable role 'attachment' as well as

'commitment' in their work and Buckley notes of his first few years in

Woodhouse that 'I simply lived for the School.'[1]

NON-PARTICIPANTS

As an elementary school education was compulsory at this time, all

children participated with varying degrees of regularity in the life of

the local schools.   Where there were absentees, these were usually away

because of the normal reasons.   In 1907, the Headmaster of the West

School attributed what absenteeism there was to sickness, assisting at

home, defying the law and lack of adequate clothing, with 6 cases of

children then having 'no boots.'[2]   The degree to which parents did or

did not take an active interest in the education of their children has

already been touched on above.

The Secondary School, though commanding a great deal of loyalty

from staff, pupils and parents of the latter, aroused a considerable

amount of opposition in the local district, especially prior to the First

World War.   Buckley writes, 'Our efforts were scrutinised with not too

sympathetic, critical eyes; the general attitude was one of aloofness.'[3]

'Many of the people,' he states, 'called it a "white elephant," and said

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1.   Buckley, S. (ed.) <u>John Buckley (1865-1944)</u>. Kendal, 1946. p.84.
2.   The <u>School Log</u> of the Woodhouse West Elementary School. Jan. 1907.
3.   Magazine of the Woodhouse Secondary School; later known as the Wood-
     house Grammar School. <u>Woodnotes</u>. May 1927.

it would be a great burden on the rates.'[1]   In 1912, at the annual

Speech Day, the Woodhouse Express reported the Chairman as saying that

'some time ago the Secondary School was looked upon in a very cold manner,

but he hoped that time had passed.'[2]   But a week later a Woodhouse

'working man' expressed himself as follows in a letter to the local press:

'Having read the report of the prize day at the Secondary School, I was

much struck by the tone of all the speakers.   From the beginning to the

end the theme was that the working class parents should deny themselves

of all privileges to send their children to the Secondary School .....

Do the speakers consider the position of a working man with his present

wages and a family to keep?   Can a man do his duty at home and let his

boys and girls stay at school until they are sixteen or seventeen years

of age, and become, as was stated, an asset of the nation?   I think that

when lads get to that age, and their fathers have to toil to keep them,

they should be an asset of the father.'[3]   Buckley believes that the

force of the opposition had been spent by 1914, but, for a while, it would

seem that the 'incoming' of the Secondary School was regarded by the more

wealthy as rivalling the excellent education they had arranged for their

own children outside the local district, and by a certain section of

working class residents as a challenge to the accepted pattern of edu-

1. Buckley, S. (ed.) John Buckley (1865-1944). Kendal, 1946. p.73.
2. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 16/11/12.
3. Ibid. 23/11/12.

cation and work.   Even the other local schools were antagonistic at first and Buckley comments, 'We certainly did not receive the good wishes of the community.   Prejudice and actual dislike existed in the Elementary Schools toward us.   In coming to school, our pupils were openly reviled and abused.   It is difficult to conceive a more dis-tressing beginning.'[1]   Nevertheless, local opposition in these early days also helped to bind the pupils and staff together in defence of what they ardently believed to be a very challenging and exciting educational venture.

SUMMING UP

In 1912, the very large majority of Woodhouse children were edu-cated within the local district.   Most attended the Station Road or West Elementary Schools, from the age of about 5 until that of 13, whilst a few, mainly from top or independent intermediate class families, were educated privately, at the Woodhouse Dual Secondary School, or sometimes right outside the local district.   Attempts to organize adult education classes were not successful.

A very strong sense of solidarity existed amongst small groups of children attending the two Elementary Schools.   Friendships were mainly confined to children of similar age and the same sex, and resulted from the fact that most of them had been born and bred in the same locality and passed through the school in a relatively unchanged and undisturbed group.

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1. Buckley, S. (ed.) John Buckley (1865-1944). Kendal, 1946. p.74

But beyond the range of the small group, solidarity was much less
evident.   Within the class as a whole it was only moderately strong.
This was the consequence of numerous limiting factors, such as the large
size of classes, cramped seating arrangements, a narrow range of subjects
taught formally 'from the front,' and strict discipline.   Although the
geographical location of the schools (West v. East), and the catchment
area from which the children were drawn, engendered slight local rivalry,
the Elementary Schools as a whole commanded only a weak sense of attach-
ment amongst the children.   For the staff, in part due to the many years
spent by them in the same institution, the sense of belonging was strong.
Neither Headmaster assumed the role of a truly symbolic figure for his
school, and the pupil-teacher bond was on the whole a weak one.   The
miners' strike of 1912 did, however, throw children and especially staff
more closely together, through the attempt to meet the needs of the poor
and badly fed families.   Strenuous efforts by the schools succeeded
from time to time in giving the children a moderate sense of national
pride, a sentiment strengthened by the great stress laid on the importance
of the Royal Family and the keen interest taken in their visits to the
extended district.

At the Secondary School, the sense of solidarity amongst pupils,
most of whom came from a similar social background, was very strong.
Classes were much smaller in number, subjects very varied, and a good
deal of freedom of expression permitted.   Very strong attachment to the

school as a whole was engendered especially by the numerous activities and events outside the classroom; games, outings, drama, Sports Day, Speech Day, etc. The house system helped in drawing pupils together across the various age groups in fostering team spirit. The bond between scholars and teachers was <u>strong</u>, especially in the pioneering days of the school when local opposition helped to knit them all together. The Headmaster was here a thoroughly symbolic figure.

Children at the Elementary Schools attained only a <u>weak</u> sense of significance. Though parents were just beginning to take a more positive interest in the education of their children, school for most pupils was an accepted duty, and for some just a bore. Children could gain little recognition of their academic or other abilities, and there was virtually no scope for the exercise of personal initiative or responsibility. The pupil was by and large a passive recipient of information. It is not surprising that almost all the children were extremely eager to be off into the world at 13 or, if possible, earlier.

A very different situation existed at the Secondary School. Here the whole institution was geared to enabling children to reach their full potential, both academically and in other fields, and most attained a <u>very strong</u> sense of significance through one channel or another. Education was seen and prized as a vital means of achieving a status bearing career, and children were actively encouraged in their studies at every

turn by staff and parents. Significance was further enhanced by the children's and teachers' consciousness that each was part of an up-and-coming higher educational establishment.

7.   RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

The religious organizations in Woodhouse in 1912 were as follows:-

Denomination	First active in Woodhouse	Date Church built and location
Society of Friends	Mid 17th Century	1885 Meetinghouse Lane Adult School Institute - Sheffield Road
Wesleyan Methodist Church	Late 18th Century	1879 Chapel Street
Congregational Church	Early 19th Century	1877 Beighton Road Sunday School - Malthouse Lane
Mormons	c 1848	Cottage meetings - Sheffield Road
		Sunday School - the Old Assembly Rooms, Tannery Street
United Methodist Free Church	1850	1889 Chapel Street
Primitive Methodist Church	c 1866	1905 Chapel Street
Saint James' Church of England	-	1878 Tithe Barn Lane Sunday School - Endowed School, Waterslacks Lane
Salvation Army	c 1885	An old barn, Tannery Street

Local members of the Church of England had looked to Handsworth, just over a mile away across the valley to the North, as their place of worship for many years, but, in 1878, the local Anglican Church of Saint James was consecrated as the head of a separate Woodhouse Parish, carved out of the Ancient Parish of Handsworth.

In 1912, all the Woodhouse churches were associated with an organizational grouping, diocese, district, division, etc., centred on Sheffield. Several churches, however, had close links with other places reaching well out into the extended district. The United Methodists, for example, were in a far flung circuit stretching from Sheffield to Eckington in the south and Mexborough in the north-east and the Primitive Methodists belonged to the Rotherham Circuit spreading out to the east as far as Rawmarsh. The Society of Friends and Salvation Army were in touch with sister bodies almost as far afield.

PARTICIPANTS

The strength of the Woodhouse churches in 1912 is hard to assess because of the lack of adequate or comparable figures. However, it appears that the Wesleyans were the largest body, in 1919, the first date when names on an extant roll are accurately recorded, having 143 full members. The Parish Church was also strong and, in 1912, Easter Day communicants rose to 'a record number'[1] of 154. In 1908, the

1. _Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine._ May 1912.

Woodhouse Express reported that 'the Salvation Army ..... has greatly
increased in number and quality,'[1] an old local Salvationist reporting
that the Woodhouse Corps was about 80 strong at this time.   In 1912,
the Congregational Church had an official membership of 76 and the United
Methodist Church of 45.   Though figures are not available for the Society
of Friends and the Primitive Methodist Church, these two bodies had un-
doubtedly the smallest membership during this period.   No information
of any note exists about the Mormons, it being doubtful whether more than
one or two families were ever really closely connected with this group.

Official figures, such as those just mentioned, give little indi-
cation of the number of 'adherents' linked with the churches and of the
impact of the latter on the affairs of the local district.   Congregations
were always well in excess of formal membership returns.   Again, however,
it is difficult to obtain precise figures.   The only attempt to count
the number of churchgoers in Woodhouse was made by a Congregational
Minister who was resident in the local district between 1889 and 1905.
At some unspecified time during this period a band of helpers observed
that, on one particular Sunday, adult morning congregations totalled 620
and adult evening congregations 853.[2]   Totalling the adult congregations
reported by old residents for the period just prior to the First World
War, it would seem that number had dropped slightly to about 500 adults
on a Sunday morning and 650 on a Sunday evening.   Although many people

1.   The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   4/1/08.
2.   Ibid.   23/9/33.

attended both morning and evening service, these figures indicate that some 20% to 25% of the adult population worshipped regularly.   On Sundays, especially at the morning service when the ladies were often at home preparing the Sunday dinner, men would be as prominent as women in the congregation.   Very few residents, other than a comparatively small number of Roman Catholics going over to their Parish Church at Handsworth, went outside the local district to worship and only a handful came in.

All the churches, with the possible exception of the Society of Friends, provided an important meeting ground for children.   The number on the roll of the various Sunday Schools as returned for 1912 [1] is as follows:-

Sunday School	Scholars	Teachers
Church of England (including the Woodhouse Mill Mission Church)	400	35
United Methodist Church	230	34
Wesleyan Church	228	51
Primitive Methodist Church	220	25
Salvation Army	163	19
Congregational Church	90	15
Society of Friends	20	2
Total	1,351	181

1. Annual Whitsuntide Processions.   Order of Service and annual Return of Scholars and Teachers in each Woodhouse Sunday School.   The figures for 1912 being those returned in 1913.

In 1912, therefore, the number of children on the roll of one or other of the Sunday Schools was 1,351. Although the ages of the scholars are not mentioned, it is certain that the majority were between 5 and 13 years old, and that thus well over 50% (perhaps even as many as 75%) of Woodhouse children in this age group attended Sunday School at some time during the year. Attendance every Sunday was somewhat less marked, but figures reported, in March 1912, by the Wesleyans[1] showed that, in their case, during the preceding 12 months, the average morning attendance had been 40%, and the average afternoon attendance 48%, of _all_ those children on the roll. Even taking into account that a number of children attended both morning and afternoon, this still represents a high _regular_ weekly attendance. It could well be, therefore, that almost half the Woodhouse children went to Sunday School regularly at this time.

Many Woodhouse families who rarely attended church were brought into contact with the latter through the various 'rites de passage.' The Parish Church was dominant in this connection. In 1912, the clergy there carried out 'baptisms every Sunday at three, and every Wednesday at six,'[2] such frequency obviously being necessary as, during that year, 179 children were baptized. In the five years, 1908 to 1912 inclusive, an average of 201 children per year were baptized at the Parish Church,[3] only 5.5% of the parents living outside the Parish. On the other hand, baptisms

1. _The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express._ 10/3/12.
2. _Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine._ Jan. 1912.
3. Woodhouse Parish Church. _Register of Baptisms._

at the other Woodhouse churches were very few in number, perhaps no more than half a dozen a year.   'Churching' was a regular practice and many mothers believed that a visit to the Parish Church was essential before neighbours could cross their threshold with impunity after a child had been born in the home.   The clergy also officiated at the large majority of weddings, in 1912, 42 couples being married at the Parish Church, only 5% of the women and 24% of the men residing prior to marriage outside the Parish.   For the years 1908 to 1912 inclusive, the average number of weddings there per year was 41.   Of those buried at the Woodhouse cemetery in 1912 (cremation was unheard of then), a mere 8% had died outside the Parish, and all of these in Sheffield hospitals.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

By far the busiest day for regular churchgoers was Sunday, the full time-table of the United Methodist Church outlined below being by no means exceptional.

7.00 am.	Prayer meeting
9.30 am.	Sunday School
10.30 am.	Morning service
2.00 pm.	Sunday School
3.00 pm.	Pleasant Sunday Afternoon (October - March)
6.00 pm.	Evening service
7.30 pm.	Prayer meeting

This was the hey-day of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon, or 'the P.S.A.' as it was always called, and in 1912 such events were running at the Congregational, the Primitive Methodist and the United Methodist churches. The latter, however, was by far the most popular and, started in 1891, was by this time at or just over its peak. In 1908, the Woodhouse Express commented on a previous Sunday afternoon: 'At the United Methodist church, there was as usual a full house, extra seats being necessary in the aisles.'[1] One member of that Church estimates that the average weekly attendance was then in the region of 300. Other notable Sunday events were the Christian Union at the Wesleyan Church, which catered for up to 75 men and women every Sunday afternoon, the Friends' Adult School which, in March 1908, attracted 78 in the morning and over 200 in the evening of its third anniversary[2] and the 'open-airs' organized by the Salvation Army. The latter were held round the village Cross on Saturday and Sunday nights and, states one resident, 'you could hardly squeeze past' so large was the crowd which stopped to watch and listen.

The week-day time-table was almost as full. Amongst children, the Band of Hope (Band of Love at the Salvation Army) and the Junior Christian Endeavour were best attended. The former was a popular type of get together with songs, solos, recitations and talks. In 1908, it was reported

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 28/3/08.
2. Ibid. 21/3/08.

that the Wesleyan Band of Hope had 80 girls and 77 boys on the roll

with an average weekly attendance of 75.   In February 1908, about 250

attended a Band of Hope tea at the United Methodist Church.   For young

people, one of the best attended meetings was the Parish Church Girls'

Guild which, in 1912, held an annual fancy dress ball (dancing 7.00 pm.

until 1.00 am.) attracting about 120 people.   In April of that year, 150

people were present at another Girls' Guild dance at the Endowed School.

For young men, many of the churches provided sporting activities.   The

various elevens seem to have been formed, disbanded and reformed with

some regularity during these years, but, in 1908, there is evidence of at

least 5 football and 6 cricket teams linked with the churches.   Not all

was peace within, however, in 1912 the Parish Church Football Club being

expelled from the Sunday School League for keeping a bogus register,

playing men under wrong names and fielding inelligible men on 48

occasions.[1]   Two religious bodies had more elaborate sports clubs.   One

of these was run by the Congregational Church who, in 1908, turned an old

malthouse into a 'gymnasium,'[2] by 1909 this club having a membership of

about 50.   The Society of Friends, in 1906, sponsored a Social Institute,

open daily from 9.00 am. to 10.00 pm., for 'billiards, bagatelle and other

games'[3] which, by 1912, in addition to football and cricket, ran a fishing

club and harriers' team of some repute.

1. Ibid. 13/1/12.
2. Woodhouse Congregational Church Magazine. 1909.
3. Atkin, E. Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse, 1086-1953. p.82.

For adults, the weekly round of church activities was equally
busy, though many of them were also involved in the meetings and events
just mentioned.   The Methodists held class meetings regularly, many
churches had mid-week services of one sort or another and all (apart from
the Society of Friends) had choirs and choir-practices.   Ladies Sewing
Meetings (or Work Parties) ran in at least four churches.   One of the
most popular of the regular week-night activities was run by the Wesleyans.
This was called the 'Woodhouse Wesley Guild' in 1912, though, for some
time before this, and again from October 1913 onwards, it was known by
its more accurate title of the 'Woodhouse Wesleyan Literary Society.'
The discussion of literary classics was the main interest, and in this
meeting the more articulate members of many local churches spoke and
shared their views.   At the turn of the Century, official membership
was as high as 193, although numbers actually attending weekly would have
been considerably less.   In 1912, the Woodhouse Express reported that
[1]
76 people were present on a particular evening in February.

The variety and frequency of these Sunday and weekly activities led,
in time, to the establishment of a very strong sense of solidarity amongst
the large number of residents regularly attending them.   Many of those
who did not always go to church on Sundays were also drawn in, and the
influence of the churches, as social and educational as well as religious
centres, was considerable throughout the local district.   Solidarity

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1.   The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   3/2/12.

was further enhanced by the regular dissemination of news about the
activities and members of the various organizations.   In 1912, monthly
magazines were being produced by the Parish Church (first published in
1888), the Wesleyan Church (begun in 1889) and the Congregational Church
(first published in 1909).   Circulation figures were large, but the only
precise information is for 1892, when the Parish Church was producing 700
copies a month.

The regular and frequent weekly activities organized by the churches
were supplemented by 'specials' throughout the year.   At the Parish
Church the peak events were probably Easter and Harvest Festival, whilst
at the Free Churches a whole host of annual celebrations vied for pride
of place.   Sunday School Anniversaries perhaps here headed the list with
churches packed for these events throughout June and July.   Easter, for
the Free Churches, was a time of cantatas and teas.   Harvest Festivals
were also very popular, in September 1912, the Salvation Army reporting
'splendid meetings and good congregations',[1]   and 'Christmas Day was a day
of music in the village from early morning to late evening'[2] with bands
and church choirs out in strength.

To this series of annual events, the churches now and then added
other special efforts.   One notable event in 1912, bringing a large
number of residents together, was a rural fete organized by the Parish

1. Ibid. 21/9/12.
2. When I was a Lad: Reminiscences of Boyhood Days in Woodhouse by
    Old Residents.   (Unpublished), 1966. p.16.

Church on Feast Wednesday.   All kinds of competitions and entertain-

ments were arranged for the day and the Woodhouse Express estimated

that about 1,000 people were present.[1]   The organizer afterwards

commented on the occasion;   'From a social point of view the fete

afforded ample opportunities for our congregations to fraternise and

rub shoulders with one another, thus fostering the sentiment of loyalty

which is so essential to the welfare of the corporate life on one's

beloved Church, and it was pleasant to see the interest in the proceedings

and to note the many happy greetings taking place.'[2]

So much for the many regular activities and events taking place in

connection with each particular church, which all in all engendered a

very strong sense of solidarity.   Between the churches, interaction

was much less intense.   Informally, members would visit each other's

'special' services, notably Sunday School Anniversaries and Harvest

Festivals, whilst other activities, such as the United Methodists' P.S.A.,

the Friends' Adult School and the Wesleyan Literary Society attracted

people of every denomination.   But organized joint meetings were few

and far between, the only regular one of importance being the annual

Whitsuntide gathering.   By 1912, all churches participated, but there

is no evidence of the Parish Church or Society of Friends being involved

in the procession before 1908.   (The former was certainly not involved

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   24/8/12.
2. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. Sept. 1912.

in 1903[1] or the latter in 1899.)[2]   In 1912, 'punctually at two o'clock

(on Whitsuntide Sunday and Monday), the procession left the Meeting

House and headed by the Handsworth Woodhouse Prize Band ..... marched

along Tannery Street, Chapel Street, and Cross Street, picking up as it

swept along, the contingents from the various Sunday Schools en route.'[3]

Hymns were then sung round the Cross, after which the various Sunday

Schools dispersed, on the Monday going to their own churches for tea

followed by games until darkness in a field lent by a local councillor.

This was the time of the year when scholars and teachers turned out in

full force and well over 1,000 children alone would be in the procession

and gathered round the Cross.   It was also a family occasion and 'on

each day, there was a very large gathering of parents and friends to hear

the singing.'[4]   Nevertheless, the level of actual interaction between the

scholars, teachers and members of the different churches does not appear

to have been high;   all the Sunday Schools marched separately and re-

mained in their respective companies until the dispersal.   The tea and

games on the Monday were not inter-church affairs.   It would seem, there-

fore, that the event figured more than anything else as a ceremonial

drama, the manifest function of which was to demonstrate the numerical

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine.   July 1903.
2. Woodhouse Wesleyan Church Magazine. June 1899.
3. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   1/6/12.
4. Ibid.   1/6/12.

strength of the various religious bodies, even against the non-churchgoing populace. The fact that the annual procession was, by 1909, already formalised and that the focus of attention was the children rather than the adults, meaning that differentiation paths and pulpits were stronger, facilitated a comparative size in strength which otherwise might have been far less easy to secure.

No 1. WHITSUNTIDE FESTIVITIES. WOODHOUSE. 1904.

The Whitsuntide Demonstration.

reaction of a small minority and that a general sense of participation was relatively real.

The Woodhouse Salvation Army. Walter Marshall. Manuscript.
The Methodist, Woodhouse and District. 1960.

strength of the various religious bodies, over against the non-churchgoing populace. The fact that the annual procedure was, by 1912, already formalized and that the focus of attention was the children rather than the adults, amongst whom differences of church allegiance were stronger, facilitated a corporate show of strength which otherwise might have been far less easy to mount.

The problem of organizing united ventures is borne out by an event peculiar to 1912, the miners' minimum wage strike, which lasted from the end of February until early April. The Salvation Army were very soon in the field, operating independently, and 'were busy with relief tickets and giving soup and bread away at the Hall for six weeks.'[1] But in the face of great hardship in the area, it was not until the strike had run over 3 weeks that a general meeting of the Woodhouse churches was convened to consider what they could do to help, and a relief fund started.[2] Good work was then done and a large sum collected and distributed, but the tardiness with which the larger churches joined forces in this real emergency was a sign that, as yet, they were reticent about,/inexperienced in,action of a joint nature, and that an overall sense of solidarity was relatively weak.

as well as

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1. The Woodhouse Salvation Army. Corps History. (Unpublished)
2. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 30/3/12.

Significance

Sunday services and prayer meetings in themselves provided considerable opportunity for self-expression.   Free vocal participation was still common and 'Hallelujah!'   'Amen!' and 'Bless the Lord!' were often heard in Free Church services.   A resident recalls how at prayer meetings at the United Methodist Church one old gentleman used to kneel ceremoniously on a big red handkerchief and thump the table.   Another would stamp his feet.

Weekly activities gave considerable scope for old and young to gain a sense of significance.   Musical talent, for example, found ample means of expression.   The choirs regularly performed cantatas and anthems and gave concerts.   Now and then a 'promotion' performance was arranged to assist the reputation and finances of those with especial ability.   In 1912, the Wesleyans arranged a recital by one of their members, Cathy Leadbetter who was a violinist and elocutionist of great ability, to help 'a rising artist.'[1]   Instrumentalists often joined the Salvation Army Band; in 1912, this was some 20 strong and a few years later the numbers had risen to 32.   The Wesleyan Orchestra was by no means a 'closed-shop.' An advertisement which appeared in the Woodhouse Express in 1908 ran as follows: 'Woodhouse Wesleyan Orchestral Society have a few vacancies. Ladies and Gentlemen who attend some Place of Worship, and who are desirous of becoming members, should make immediate written application to the

1. Ibid.   23/11/12.

Secretary ..... '[1]

Participation in other activities likewise offered scope for self-expression and a sense of fulfilment. At the Wesleyan Literary Society, mentioned before, members took the lead in introducing the works of Dickens or Kingsley or Thackeray and regularly joined in the ensuing discussion. Debates were often held. The Society attracted a fair cross-section of residents from John Buckley, headmaster of the Secondary School, 'to the humble miner groping his way through a Tolstoyan novel,'[2] but all seemed to find the evening extremely worthwhile.

The children too were made to feel that participation socially counted for something. Prizes for regular attendance were given at several of the Sunday Schools and Bands of Hope (as they were at the adult P.S.As.). Many children found a certain degree of significance through missionary collecting or taking the scripture examinations; in 1912, a scholar from the United Methodists' coming 12th in all England in the latter. Now and then a Sunday School would undertake a public entertainment of some kind and the children be given the opportunity to sing and act, as when in July 1912 the Parish Church School staged an operetta involving '40 voices' and the Endowed School was crowded for four nights. Sunday School Anniversaries were big occasions for the children with best dresses and new ribbons, and one is assured by older residents that reciting or singing solo at such times was felt to be 'an honour' and 'a thrill.'

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1. Ibid. 21/10/08.
2. Buckley, S. (ed.) John Buckley (1865-1944). Kendal, 1946. p.134.

Adult significance was enhanced by the many personal references that appeared in the three church magazines.   Here the mention of births, marriages and deaths, with often quite long paragraphs of congratulation or condolence, brought individuals or families into the limelight.   Old issues of these periodicals are still kept by residents because they recorded 'my father's death' or 'my baptism.'

Social recognition also came through longevity of service, sooner or later acknowledged by public approval or symbolic reward in connection with a variety of church activities.   In the Wesleyan magazine for June 1910, an article appeared paying tribute to 19 teachers who had been continuously linked with the Sunday School there, as scholars or teachers, for periods varying from 25 to 55 years.   During the same year the Primitive Methodists presented diplomas to 3 teachers with 46, 34 and 26 years' service respectively.   Such continuous endeavour called for a good deal of role attachment as well as commitment.   In June 1914, the Parish Church magazine recorded that a presentation had been made to Joseph Biggs for 25 years' service as their organist.   It was also noted with approval that one member had been in the choir for 30 years and that the Fowler family, 6 boys in succession, had 'done the pumping' for even longer than this.

Because few inter-church activities existed, opportunities for achievement of significance on a wider level was limited.   Speakers or soloists of note would go round from church to church performing at various events and a village-wide reputation was sometimes built up.   But

the lack of joint social action meant that in this connection most people found a sense of significance within their own church circle.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

The common interests that drew residents to participate in activities sponsored by the Woodhouse churches were supplemented by social ties which linked members very closely together. Solidarity was enhanced, for example, by the fact that many churchgoers were related to each others. This was the day of large nuclear families and, as many of the latter attended church as a unit, close relatives would often be active in numerous sections of church life. An old member of the United Methodist Church comments, 'We had a ready-made Sunday School. You didn't have to go out and hunt for them in those days.' Even where parents were themselves infrequent attenders, all the children in the family would often be sent along to Sunday School or week-day activities. Extended family ties between churchgoers were, however, not so numerous as one might imagine. This was especially true where residents had moved into the local district only comparatively recently. On the other hand, the well established Woodhouse residents as a whole were more closely related, and in many cases these were very active in church affairs.

Virtually all the churches contained a cross-section of the various social classes outlined in the Chapter on 'Work.' One Wesleyan member writes, 'I went to Sunday School with all and sundry and count some of

them still my friends - we were a happy lot and enjoyed our simple
pleasures.'   None the less, each church possessed a social and cultural
ethos of its own and each congregation tended to attract residents of a
particular social class.   This in turn, strengthened attachment to fellow
members of the church.   Older residents are agreed that the Wesleyan
Church and the Parish Church came at the top of the social scale.   'The
people with money went to the Wesleyans,' remarks one old woman.   A
Wesleyan minister, stationed in Woodhouse about this time, writes that 'a
fair proportion of business and professional families' attended his church.
A similar social structure was evident within the Parish Church, the con-
gregation including, amongst others, a doctor, two headmasters, a building
contractor, the owner of the old tanyard, several farmers, numerous lead-
ing tradesmen and several of those holding responsible positions in the
collieries.   The Congregational Church came next in line with one or two
members linked with the top class of residents and a large proportion
drawn from the intermediate class.   The United Methodists and the Society
of Friends attracted members mainly from the intermediate and working
classes, though in earlier times the Friends had been of much higher
standing locally.   The Primitive Methodist Church and the Salvation Army
Corps stood at the lower end of the social scale, having a majority of
their people associated with the working class.   The Salvation Army in
particular was regarded, as one old resident comments, as 'something of
a stream apart,' whilst an old Salvationist states, 'We were then the
poor relations.'

The years preceding the First World War, produced certain symbolic figures (see Chapter VI, 4) within several of the Woodhouse congregations. At the Wesleyan Church, John Hardcastle was such a person, though he was not a particularly popular man. In local district affairs he was a Registrar. He was first associated with the Wesleyan Church in 1855 as a Sunday School scholar and, by 1912, had held virtually every office of note there. In the Wesleyan magazine for June 1910 he was described as 'the father of the Society.' At the Parish Church, the most notable symbolic figure was Vicar Booth, not an outstanding personality, but one who had held the Woodhouse living from 1887 and was regarded by many as 'a grand old man.' Sarah Ann Jackson filled this role at the United Methodist Church, a saintly little lady who for many years was President of the P.S.A. there, quite an honour for a woman! For several decades her portrait hung in one of the church vestries. William John Hooley was a symbolic figure at the Congregational Church, becoming a member there about 1860, and holding many offices. The Woodhouse Express reported, in 1910, that 'for many years he has been the mainstay of Congre-[1]gationalism in this district.'

The strict religious mores of the day generally helped to bind church-goers together. The Sabbath was a day of religious observance for many people and, even those who never attended church, were caught up in the customs of the time. Most children were not permitted to play games and special books were provided for quiet reading. For the adults, work

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1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 14/5/10.

stopped completely, even at the local collieries, and very few people did odd jobs or gardening on a Sunday. On one occasion a man approaching a local builder on a Sunday for a bucket of sand was sent away empty-handed, with a text humming in his ears, and one old resident recalls that washing hung out on a Sunday was once cut down by offended neighbours. This was the day when 'Sunday clothes' were worn, when a special Sunday dinner was cooked and when hymn singing round the piano in the evening was the norm.

Religious mores extended beyond Sabbath observance as such to other matters. Sermons at all churches, with the possible exception of the Parish Church, were lengthy and moralistic, with a strong biblical content. The themes of addresses given during the week and of articles in the various church magazines were in a similar vein. The Free Churches still found a common bond in upholding the 'nonconformist conscience,' in 1912, the Wesleyan Christian Union drawing a good audience for a talk on 'Modern Drink Snares,' and the United Methodist P.S.A. for an address by 'a converted gambler' and another by 'a converted drunkard.' Amongst children and young people, strict temperance teaching, for example within the Bands of Hope, was still the order of the day. Such homogeneity of norms helped many churchgoers to know what was expected of them and enhanced a feeling of belonging to a distinct body with definite standards.

Structural features engendering solidarity across the churches were much less marked. Kinship ties did cross denominational boundaries but only in relatively few instances and, in any case, did little to weaken

the distinctiveness of each congregation.   Differences of social class
between the leaders of each church tended to keep congregations apart
and, now and then, different attitudes to social questions caused some
disagreement.   For example, the Methodists and the Salvationists did not
look very favourably upon the practice of certain Parish Church Choir
members slipping into local public houses for a drink after services.

Significance

The large number of church organizations active in Woodhouse at
this time provided many major and minor offices whereby members could
attain a strong and sometimes very strong sense of significance.   Church-
warden, sidesman, local preacher, society steward, trustee, leader,
deacon, choirmaster, organist, Sunday School teacher, president of the
Pleasant Sunday Afternoon, bandmaster;   these and many other positions
were open to those with the time and energy to fill them.   Nor were
such offices, and many lesser ones, to be despised.   They were posts of
social standing in the local district, and to occupy them was regarded
by many as a considerable honour.   The unwritten rule 'men only' was,
however, strongly upheld at this time.   For example, the 19 sidesmen at
the Parish Church elected in 1912 were all men, as were the trustees of
the three Methodist Churches.   With only one or two notable exceptions,
men held the reins in every local district church.   Even the Salvation
Army favoured this situation, one of their number reviewing the history
of their band in later years, proudly stating that 'another distinction
the band has is that there have never been any women playing ..... at
Woodhouse.'[1]   The attainment of a sense of significance through holding

1. Ibid. 17/11/62.

church office was thus largely an opportunity afforded to male members.

The system of 'pew rents' at at least three local district churches enabled the more prominent members to enjoy the respect which they felt their social standing in the local district warranted. This was especially the case at the Wesleyan Church where the practice was a means of preserving a degree of 'social distance' within an otherwise very solidary group. Seats in the church were 'graded' with the best pews, for which the highest rent was paid, at the back downstairs, the names of the occupants appearing on a card slotted into a frame on the end of each pew. With the less wealthy members sitting mainly at the front downstairs, or in the gallery, 'the elite,' as they were known, were thus afforded the place and recognition they felt to be naturally their due. However, it would be quite wrong to assume that such class distinction, emphasized by the system of pew rents, caused any great deal of envy or controversy. Many old Wesleyans not among 'the elite' still talk with some pride of 'the important folk' who used to be members of _their_ Church; a feeling of reflected glory which, interestingly enough, enhanced their own sense of significance.

Quite a few residents gained prominence and a strong sense of satisfaction by donating to one or other of the churches large sums of money or, more often, furnishings to adorn the building. A communion table, the communion plate, a pulpit bible, a lectern, pew cushions, etc., all provided a means of writing one's name, if economic circumstances permitted,

into the annals of the local church.   Where portraits did hang in

church vestries or schoolrooms, or where plaques appeared on the walls

of the sanctuary, they were as often as not commemorating those who had

given generously in material terms towards building, decorating, furnish-

ing or renovating the premises.

The only inter-church activity which offered any positions of real

standing was the annual Whitsuntide gathering.   To hold office on 'the

great day' (each year a different church was asked to elect the presiding

officials) was a high privilege.   Atkin, a Quaker, writes in his memoirs;

'I shall always remember with reverence the encouragement he (the Secre-

tary of the Woodhouse Sunday School Union) gave me many years ago, when I

was hesitating to accede to his invitation to preside for the first time

at one of the Whitsuntide gatherings.   "You know, Ernest," he said,

"it is a great honour I am asking you to undertake and will be a source

of joy to your parents."'[1]   The Secretary of the Sunday School Union,

mentioned above, was himself 'very proud of the fact that he had attended

75 successive annual Whitsuntide gatherings,'[2] and a certain Joseph Keeton

who 'took over the baton in 1892 ..... (and) conducted the singing at the

annual gatherings for 44 years, without a break, until the year 1936,'[3]

was a proud of this office as of any other he held in life.

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1.   Atkin, E. Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse,
     1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954.   p.128.
2.   Ibid. p. 127.
3.   Ibid. p. 84.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

Although it is true that the churches contained a cross-section
of Woodhouse residents and that, as one old inhabitant states, 'the
Church went into every street and yard,' there were still a considerable
number of adults who never bothered with a place of worship. On the
whole, those who neither attended church themselves, nor sent their
children to Sunday School, were the poorer, rougher section of the working
class. Why this was the case is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it
might be noted that, the Salvation Army apart, churchgoing demanded a
level of cultural refinement and economic stability and stewardship which
numerous working families could not achieve. On the other hand, there
were those in the intermediate or upper class who refused to participate
'on principle.'

SUMMING UP

In 1912, Woodhouse was very well equipped with churches, there being
seven active religious bodies within the local district. About a quarter
of the adult population, with men as well as women conspicuous in the
congregations, and probably about half of the Woodhouse children, attended
Sunday services or Sunday School quite regularly.

Solidarity was first and foremost a feature of each church as a
distinct social unit. Amongst the regular attenders, both young and old,
the sentiment was <u>very strong</u>. It resulted from frequent participation

not only in the very full Sunday programme, but in many of the activities organized by the churches during the week. The latter were supplemented by the 'great occasions' of the Church calendar which were celebrated with considerable enthusiasm by all congregations. All these activities and events were reported in the various church magazines which thereby helped to keep members fully in touch. The sense of solidarity was further strengthened by the fact that participants, often being members of large families which attended as families, possessed relatives in many different sections of the life and work of the local church. Extended family ties, though more in evidence amongst the well established Woodhouse residents than the relatively recent immigrants, also operated in the same way. The fact that each church had a distinct and generally recognized social standing of its own in the local district helped to bring those of similar social background together and facilitate interaction. Symbolic figures also served to focus the loyalties of members and to knit congregations together. Underlying the life of the churchgoer, and indeed the life of the local district as a whole, were the religious mores, often strict especially in relation to Sabbath observance, of the age. These gave to members a clear-cut pattern of behaviour to follow and of norms to uphold, thus drawing them together in pursuit of a common way of life.

Other residents, though not regular churchgoers, were often linked closely with particular activities run by the churches, such as the

P.S.As., the Wesleyan Literary Society, the Friends' Adult School and so on, and here enjoyed a <u>strong</u> sense of solidarity. Those even more on the fringe were linked to the Church through participation at the dramatic points of the life cycle, though here the sense of belonging was generally <u>weak</u>.

A <u>very strong</u> sense of significance was attained by a number of regular churchgoers, mainly men, who were appointed to the more notable offices within the various religious organizations, positions often held in high regard not only within the congregation concerned but further afield also. Long and faithful service was usually rewarded publicly in one way or another. Many other residents gained a <u>strong</u> sense of significance through holding less prominent positions, as well as through a variety of activities such as singing in the choir or raising money for the church. The women found fulfilment through work behind the scenes which helped to keep the life of the churches financially strong and socially vigorous. Many individuals found the opportunity to demonstrate musical, literary and other abilities on the religious scene. Children were encouraged to express their talents in their own groups, and in several churches received prizes for good attendance. The frequent references to cases of personal misfortune or distinction through the medium of the church magazine also helped to make the churchgoer feel that he counted to his fellows.

Inter-church affairs generally produced only a <u>weak</u> bond.

Even the one event of note here, the annual Whitsuntide gathering, though enjoyed by each church separately, and taken as the opportunity for family reunions, did not engender much more than a <u>moderate</u> sense of solidarity between congregations as such.   (The churches also 'walked' on Hospital Sunday, see the Section on 'Health and Welfare,' but this was a less spectacular repeat of Whitsuntide as far as the religious organizations were concerned.)   A <u>strong</u> sense of significance on an inter-church level was attained by a mere handful of residents, and by these either through the Whitsuntide gatherings, or through speaking, singing, reciting, etc., at various church meetings within the local district.

operating on a single sized under the head of the brewery.
public houses were controlled and managed by the brewery itself,
but the organisation of the social life (heavy drinking) was left to the
licensee and local residents. The two oldest pubs in Woodhouse were owned
by the breweries, but were run by a local management committee.

MARKET CROSS. WOODHOUSE. 2191.

The Village Cross and the Cross Daggers Inn (on
the right).

before attending any one of the various public houses, mainly those
closely connected, but some which remained on Kirk Daggers place
is harder to estimate participation in that the landlord's wife was from
of the Sheffield Petty Sessions, and remained there only one. Hope only
claiming a membership of 200. No doubt, on the other hand, some
the Conservative Club's membership was by no means a maximum.

operating as a cinema since about the turn of the Century.   All the public houses were controlled and supplied by national brewery companies, but the organization of the social life therein was in the hands of the licensee and local residents.   The two clubs were in large part financed by the breweries, but were run by a local management committee.

PARTICIPANTS

The legal age, below which young people were not permitted to be served in the public houses at this time, was 18;   in the clubs, membership was restricted to those over 21.   With the exception of one or two public houses, this requirement was fairly well observed by local licensees and committees.   Above 18 or 21, residents of all ages participated.   The licenced establishments were very largely a male domain, the Conservative Club being officially for men only, but elsewhere wives, accompanied by their husbands, would sometimes appear at week-ends.   It was 'practically unknown' for a woman to drink regularly on her own.

As the public houses had no formal membership, the number of residents attending any one of these in a non-holiday week cannot be accurately assessed, but the figure would probably average about 100.   It is easier to estimate participation in the two Woodhouse clubs.   In 1908, at the Sheffield Petty Sessions, the Working Men's Club was reported as having a membership of 195.   By 1912, in the second year of its life, the Conservative Club's membership was up to 230 with a week-night

attendance of some 50 or 60.   Taking into account a certain overlapping in the patronage or membership of these institutions, it would seem that a little under half the adult male population, and a little over a quarter of the total adult population, of Woodhouse visited a public house or club at least weekly, and often much more.   There were other more specific leisure time pursuits organized at this time, although many of these were in one way or another associated with licensed institutions. Participation in these, and in the comparatively few independently run spare-time activities, will be considered later.

Woodhouse residents rarely ventured out of the local district to visit other public houses or clubs.   They did, however, frequently take trips into Sheffield to enjoy themselves and especially to watch football. Non-residents came into the local district, mainly from nearby villages, at week-ends and at such times as the annual Feast, in particular to visit the public houses and clubs, but the social life of these establishments still remained an essentially Woodhouse affair.

There were very few organized leisure activities for women and,the Saturday afternoon matinee at the Central Hall apart, virtually none for children and young people (ie., other than those mentioned in previous Sections, notably that on 'Religion').

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

The leisure time of many male Woodhouse residents was monopolized by the public houses and clubs. The former kept long hours, being open from 6.00 am. to 11.00 pm. on weekdays, 12.00 pm. to 2.00 pm. and 7.00 pm. to 10.00 pm. on Sundays. Licensing hours at the clubs were more limited, the Conservative Club in fact being shut for the whole of Sunday. During the week, shift-work at the pits meant that the number of potential customers at any one time was considerably reduced, but 'a nice few,' says the then Landlord of the Angel Inn, still dropped in throughout each day. On Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights licensed establishments were 'thronged,' with a pianist and singer often brought in to entertain. Such regular and informal meeting and mixing was extremely important in welding participants into very strong solidary groupings. It is true that drunkenness and brawls, especially at some of the public houses and clubs that served rougher parts of the local district, were fairly common but, because 'everyone knew everyone else,' there was little sense of shock, and no lasting threat to the cohesiveness of the group.

A wide variety of more specific common interests engendering at least a strong sense of solidarity were pursued in connection with the public houses and clubs. Dominoes, cards and draughts were very popular, and at least three establishments had billiard tables. Concerts, often to raise funds for local people in need, were regularly held, on one occasion,

in November 1912, 'a large number having to be turned away'[1] from the

Stag Inn.   Some small but often vigorous societies held meetings at

the public houses.   The Woodhouse and District Agricultural Society was

run from the Stag Inn, and the Woodhouse and District Pig Club had its

headquarters at the Cross Daggers.   In 1912 a newly formed Cottage

Gardeners' Society was started at the Brunswick Hotel and arranged a

popular exhibition at the Feast in August.

The Woodhouse Prize Band was based on the Stag Inn, John William

Cook, the licensee of the latter, being its conductor for 31 years, and

undoubtedly a symbolic figure (see Chapter VI, 4) for those participating

in this particular activity.   In 1912, this Band had a membership of

about 24 and practised regularly three times a week in a special room

attached to the public house.   It played fairly often at the village

cross on Sunday nights and gave frequent performances round the streets,

often collecting for local people in need, as well as playing at the main

holiday seasons for special events.   A parade was held about once a

month at the Parish Church when a recital was given during the service.

Virtually every public house had a fishing club which held an annual

outing into Lincolnshire or to the coast.   In 1908, 49 members went from

the Cross Daggers and 38 from the Junction Hotel on such expeditions.   In

1908, 150 people participated in a tea and social given by the George Inn

Fishing Club.   A new bowling green was opened in 1912 at the Conservative

Club and was very well patronized throughout the summer.   An active

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1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 30/11/12.

cycling party with some 30 members (which once a fortnight went on runs into Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire) was based on the Working Men's Club.   The Woodhouse Amateurs' Football Club at this time had its head-quarters at the Angel Inn, and the Woodhouse Football and Cricket Clubs were associated with the Brunswick Hotel, the latter's excellent sports field being a great attraction to players.   Many of these activities drew on the customers and members of the public houses and clubs concerned to run and support them, adding another round of interaction to that produced by drinking and talking together, and thus maintaining the very strong sense of solidarity associated with these establishments as a whole.

Team spirit arising from competitive sporting activities in 1912 was somewhat varied in strength.   Early in the year Woodhouse Amateurs' Football Club was running two teams, but by the end had disbanded. Wood-house Football Club, professional in a very small way and drawing certain players from outside the local district, was having a lean time and the Woodhouse Express more than once bemoaned the poor number of spectators present.   However, Woodhouse Cricket Club had had a run of very successful seasons and morale was high.   The Woodhouse Golf Club, opened in 1911, was also going well, and the Woodhouse Express recorded a year later that the 84 members 'are very enthusiastic.'[1]   The only other sporting activity of note was the Mauncer Tennis Club, with about 20 very keen members.   Sport certainly created a sense of solidarity amongst partici-pants, though the strength of this was to some extent dependent, especially

1. Ibid.   25/5/12.

in the case of team games, on the success of the players concerned.

The regulars at the Central Hall film shows, several nights a week, actively enjoyed themselves, it being an age of considerable audience participation in the form of much clapping, cheering and booing amongst other things.   The entertainment consisted of silent films, shown through a hand-operated projector, whilst the proprietor read out captions or commented on the plot with dramatic effect.   These shows 'really drew the crowds in,' states an old resident, and, when full, as it was every Saturday night, the Hall accommodated some 200 people.   However, the degree of solidarity engendered was only moderate, being limited by the lack of interaction allowed because of the nature of the activity.

Quite a number of informal activities, not linked with any particular establishment, occupied the leisure time of many men, often giving rise to the strengthening of friendships in pursuit of like or common interests. Working and many intermediate class residents would be involved in tending allotments, poultry breeding, pig breeding and so on, and would frequently be seen engaged in conversation with those involved in the same pastimes. Pigeon fancying was very popular though only one organized group existed at this time.   But perhaps the most important pastime of a less formal nature was gambling, which, though in most cases not legally permitted, in one form or another permeated the leisure activities of most working class men.   In July 1908, 11 Woodhouse residents (9 miners included) were caught playing 'banker' and 6, all miners, playing nap 'with a crowd of of about fifty watching them.'[1]   In October 1912, 5 pit hands were found

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1. Ibid. 1/8/08.

gaming, and the following month 7 pit boys were summoned on a similar charge. 'Men would gamble on anything,' comments an old miner, and so it was; cards, dominoes, coins, marbles, rabbits, 'peggy-shots' (throwing a stick in the air and hitting it with another before it landed), as well as the more organized competitive pastimes such as pigeon racing, fishing and horse racing. Gambling probably made both a positive and negative contribution towards the solidarity of the group concerned; solidarity was enhanced because it drew participants and spectators into intense interaction, but, on the other hand, it introduced a very strong competitive element which at times could be detrimental to common interests. For the independent section of the intermediate class and the top class, informal leisure activities drawing residents closely together included regular 'at homes,' garden parties, tennis and croquet (on private courts and lawns), evening card-playing and so forth.

Very little was organized for children and young people in their spare-time, apart from those activities run by the churches, the Friendly Societies, or Woodhouse Co-operative Society (mentioned in previous Sections). The main regular event was the Saturday afternoon matinee at the Central Hall, when the latter was packed to the doors. There was rather more fellow feeling here than with the adults and one young patron of those days now comments that 'it was kids' community belonging.' Woodhouse had no recreation ground at this time, though Shirtcliffe Wood had been opened as a public amenity some 15 years earlier, and children roamed freely here and in the countryside around Woodhouse. 'You had

to make your own pleasure then,' is a sentiment frequently expressed today, and this would indeed appear to have been the case.   On the whole, frequent interaction was confined to children living in the same yard or street, the rougher the area, the more the sexes played apart. All the usual pastimes of the young were engaged in together with a wide variety of home-made games: kick-can, peggy, rusty finger or thumb, 'oley (marbles), for the boys;   five-stones, diablo, skipping, shuttle-cock, for the girls.   Young people particularly enjoyed themselves on Shrove Tuesday, a school half-holiday when shuttle-cocks and hoops came out for the first time, and on Guy Fawkes Day, another half-holiday, when many yards had a bonfire of their own.   Whitsuntide has already been referred to in the Section on 'Religion' and the events of Feast Week are described below.

The holiday seasons of the year were times of intense activity, all the more so because days off were costly luxuries, most men then having no paid holidays.   The public houses and clubs were busy at Christmas, New Year and Easter, the first of these occasions being noted for the visit of the local mummers to perform 'The Derbyshire Tup,' a gory but humourous drama always greeted with great enthusiasm.   Whitsuntide and Feast time, however, saw the licenced establishments packed out with locals and old residents paying visits to relatives and friends.

The Feast was 'the event of the year,' when communal solidarity on a local district scale reached its zenith.   The note of anticipation surrounding Feast Week was well struck in an article of a somewhat earlier

period, preparations being just as eagerly made in 1912 and for many
years after: 'We suppose that no other week of the year is so much
looked forward to as the week known as Feast Week.   For weeks, aye, we
might say for months before, the children have been saving up their pence
to spend at the "Feast".   And certainly for a week beforehand every good
housewife has been busy house-cleaning and baking and cooking, preparing
for the inevitable hospitality which is claimed and freely given during
the first few days of this auspicious week.'[1]   The coming of the fair
itself was awaited with tremendous excitement and 'was always met by large
numbers of boys walking to Normanton Springs to meet the steam engines
with such nostalgic names as "John Bull," "Clinton," "Albert," "Jack,"
"Little John Bull," "Admiral Beatty."'[2]   Round-abouts, sideshows and stalls
of all kinds were sited down Hawksworth's Croft and along the main street
from Hoyland Lane to the Market Square.   Opening night was traditionally
the Friday preceding the third Sunday in August, and the fair and other
celebrations continued until the following Wednesday evening.   'It was
a sight for sore eyes.   There was some merriment then,' comments one old
resident who remembers these times vividly.

In 1912, the programme for Feast Week, stretching from the Friday
night to the following Wednesday, included a show by the Cottage Gardeners'
Society, the Hospital Demonstration (see the Section on 'Health and
Welfare'), the Annual Sports and Steeplechase, numerous cricket matches,
a Rural Fete organized by the Parish Church (see the Section on 'Religion')

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine.   Sept. 1890.
2. When I was a Lad;   Reminiscences of Boyhood Days in Woodhouse
    by Old Residents. (Unpublished), 1966. p.1.

and outings run by the Wesleyan Band of Hope and the Salvation Army
to Cleethorpes as well as other more local trips and picnics.   In other
years there were further special events, for example, in 1908, a big
Agricultural Show being held.   In that year the Woodhouse Express
reported that 'the Feast Week has been the busiest for many years.   From
Saturday to Wednesday evening, feasting and holidaying were in full swing.'[1]
So it is no wonder that to this occasion every old Woodhouse person looks
back as representing the communal high-spot of the year, a calendar mark
after which the whole population set its face towards what were often hard
and difficult winter months.

Active participation in leisure activities based outside the local
district was very limited and confined to a few individuals joining sport-
ing associations, such as the Hallamshire Harriers, or taking part in
musical events.   None the less, many Woodhouse people went into the city,
mainly at week-ends, for entertainment.   Of chief interest to the men
was watching the two major Sheffield Football Teams, United and Wednesday,
and though both were well supported by residents, the latter were espec-
ially in evidence at the United ground, at what came to be known locally
as 'Woodhouse corner.'   Other places and events attended in Sheffield
were the various parks, the variety theatres (notably the pantomime at
Christmas, 'a highlight dreamt of and talked of for weeks' by the children),
and concerts.   Football supporters apart, however, such outings in them-
selves did not engender a sense of solidarity amongst any particular
groupings of residents.

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   22/8/08.

Significance

At the Woodhouse public houses and clubs a certain amount of prestige was gained through informal activities; one's ability to drink hard, to tell a good story, to excel at dominoes, cards or billiards and so on. Some men would enjoy the reputation of being 'real characters,' others remain quite content with their acceptance as 'regulars.'

Organized pastimes based on the public house or club gave opportunity for the attainment of a status somewhat more formally recognized. As noted, in 1908, the Woodhouse and District Horticultural Society (Stag Inn) and, in 1912, the Cottage Gardeners' Society (Brunswick Hotel) organized displays of produce at Feast time, prizes being given for outstanding exhibits. The Woodhouse Prize Band (Stag Inn) had won numerous competitions and, in 1912, 'all resplendent and gay in their new uniforms'[1] proudly paraded the local streets. Old trophies won at fishing competitions are still displayed with pride in numerous Woodhouse homes and one resident still has, in a glass case in his front room, an outstanding catch made at Bridlington many years ago.

Competitive sporting activities usually offered a sense of significance in direct proportion to personal or team achievement. Although 1912 was on the whole a poor year for the footballers, in the early months Woodhouse Amateurs did manage to reach the final of the Kelley Hospital

1. Ibid. 1/6/12.

Cup and played before a large crowd.   Members of Woodhouse Cricket

Club received high praise, in 1912, for winning the local league

championship for the third time in succession, this meriting a public

presentation of a shield and medals.   In at least one Woodhouse living

room a photo of the team for this and the preceding two years still hangs

conspicuously.   Golf and tennis tournaments were also held locally and

awards made to successful players.

In connection with the informal series of pastimes outside the public

house and the club, some men would take a great pride in their allotments,

in poultry keeping, in pigeon breeding and so forth.   An obituary notice,

appearing in 1912, described a Woodhouse miner as 'a great pigeon fancier

(who) possessed some of the best homers in the district.'[1]   It is possible

that one of the functions of the many forms of gambling prevalent, perhaps

because 'the rewards of participation bear little relation to individual

ability ..... (and) ..... little originality or initiative is required,'[2]

was to offer certain working class men of limited means or skill some

chance of attaining a degree of significance.   In their turn, the top

class might use their leisure pursuits to personal advantage by 'bringing

out their best tea service' when entertaining visitors, displaying their

modest wealth by arranging garden parties, playing host and hostess at

social evenings in their homes.

1. Ibid. 23/11/12.
2. Morris, R.N. and Mogey, J.   The Sociology of Housing.   London,
    1965. pp. 71, 72.

Children seem to have achieved significance by their own skills in self-made games. A good shot with a marble, a strong swimmer, the expert five-stones player, those deft at peggy or diablo, all earned the respect of their peers, as did the more daring by 'baiting' farmers, stringing door-knockers together or mimicking the bell-man.

Social significance outside the local district was the attainment of very few within this particular sphere of activity. Woodhouse at this time produced some fine runners, one of whom won the Yorkshire Junior Championship, one who ran for England and one who is said to have competed in the Olympic Games in 1912. It also produced one or two musicians whose reputation went far beyond the extended district. But these were the exceptions which proved the rule. For most, significance was locally attained and locally recognized.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

With no formal records of membership available for the large majority of leisure activities of this time, it is not possible to trace with precision those kinship relationships linking participants. It seems that in general these were somewhat less close-knit than within the churches. However, the Woodhouse Prize Band, commonly known as 'Cook's Bank,' was very much a family affair, 'for at one time, no less than

eleven of them were playing members.'[1]   By 1912, the Band was regarded
as 'a village institution,'[2] some member of the Cook family having been
Bandmaster since 1866.   The film shows at the Central Hall were in part
given in their homely character by virtue of their being run by a father
and two sons.   A resident writing to the Woodhouse Express about this
fact some years later commented that 'there is no doubt that its being a
family affair accounted for the friendliness and casualness that takes
even my breath away when I think of it.'[3]

Leisure associations, as with religious groupings, had a tendency
to develop along the lines of social class.   A good deal of social
intermixing, mainly amongst the working and intermediate classes, did
take place within the public houses and clubs, but, even here, certain
establishments were known as 'more respectable' and others as 'rougher.'
At this time, the Royal Hotel, the Brunswick Hotel and the Working Men's
Club were generally regarded as thoroughly working class institutions,
whilst the Cross Daggers and the Angel Inn were looked on as particularly
well ordered 'houses.'   The Conservative Club was recognized by many as
'select,' having only a minority of miners on its membership roll: 'I
suppose I might have been a bit stuck up then,' comments one old miner
who used to attend this institution.   Other leisure associations also
followed the lines of social class.   For example, the Cottage Gardeners'
Society and the Prize Band were dominantly working class groupings, whilst

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1. Atkin, E. Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse,
    1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954. p.93.
2. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   1/6/12.
3. Ibid. 4/1/58.

the Tennis Club and especially the Golf Club served the independent
intermediate class and top class of Woodhouse residents.   The fact
that members of these various groups came from a similar social back-
ground helped to reinforce their sense of solidarity.

Significance

Those participants formally responsible for the organization and
maintenance of leisure activities were accorded public recognition for
their services, not least the licencees.   In 1908, 'a large concourse
of people attended at the (Parish) Church and cemetery' at the funeral
of 'mine host of the Angel Hotel,' it being noted that 'throughout his
tenancy the house has been kept in a most satisfactory and praiseworthy
manner.'[1]   In 1912, the licensee of the Stag Inn died and a comparatively
long and complimentary obituary notice appeared in the Woodhouse Express,
'a large number of friends'[2] being present at the funeral.   The licensee
of the Brunswick Hotel in 1912 was highly regarded as an active member
of the Woodhouse Cricket club.

The running of the Conservative Club gave scope for the attaining of
status and the exercise of a degree of authority, in 1912, the Woodhouse
Express recording that for the first election of the committee, 'a long
list has been nominated, and much interest taken in the event.'[3]   The
Working Men's Club similarly ran its own affairs with an elected committee
of about 12 members.

1. Ibid. 1/8/08.
2. Ibid. 29/6/12.
3. Ibid. 3/2/12.

Other associational activities offered the usual honorary offices to members; as president, chairman, captain, secretary, treasurer and so forth.   In particular the Prize Band Bandmaster had received widespread aclaim for many years before 1912.   Atkin states that at the death of Bandmaster William Cook, in 1890, 'It is estimated that at least 5,000 people were present at the funeral, the largest ever known in the village.   He was so well-known and respected in brass band circles that fourteen bands from surrounding districts attended to pay their last respects to a lost comrade.'[1]   When his son, John William Cook, retired as Bandmaster in 1910, 'a complimentary tea was held in the band room at the Stag Inn, followed by a large gathering to witness the presentation of a silver tea and coffee service ..... This was subscribed for by the public of Woodhouse.'[2]

Despite the generally informal nature of the life of the public houses and clubs, there was still opportunity for a degree of social standing to be maintained within each establishment.   Akin to the system in certain churches, where the residents of higher social class sat in particular pews, was the arrangement whereby each public house had a tap room and a best room, with sometimes a club room (for concerts, dinners, etc.) also.   The tap room was for the man who preferred his pint, a shade cheaper, with easygoing, broad, unfettered conversation. The best room was busy mainly at week-ends when men could bring their wives or guests to have a drink served 'in the best glasses.'   The

1. Atkin, E. Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse, 1086-1953. (Unpublished), 1954. p.92.
2. Ibid. p.93.

Working Men's Club also had a best room (the Conservative Club was a higher class institution anyway), away from the public bar, where the handful of intermediate class members could have a quiet drink at their own table.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

The leisure activities organized in the local district mainly catered for the adult male population. Children, and to some extent women, met in their spare time generally within groups sponsored by the Woodhouse churches. But, though the women linked with the more wealthy class of residents were also involved in a round of social visiting and entertaining and some were active in such associations as the Golf Club or Tennis Club, the working class housewife was less fortunate. She was normally barred from the leisure pursuits described above through social convention, 'a woman's place was in the home,' and through the ever-pressing domestic demands of looking after a large family, with the men folk often on different shifts. In days when labour-saving devices were undreamt of, she would spend nearly all the 'free' time she had sewing, mending, knitting or, for short breaks, chatting to the neighbours.

SUMMING UP

In 1912, participation in organized leisure pursuits was largely an adult male affair and pursued mainly in the content of public house and club. The women, other than those from the more wealthy families,

were by convention as well as by necessity tied to the home (though
some did participate in other spheres of activity, notably the
religious). Leisure time activities for children and many young people
were either run by the churches or remained unrecognized and informal.
Virtually all Woodhouse residents spent their leisure hours, apart from
occasional week-end trips into Sheffield, within the local district.

The leisure activities of the local district were dominated by the
7 public houses and 2 clubs, attended regularly by almost half the adult
males of Woodhouse. Herein, constant mixing over the years, usually on
a quite informal basis, in the same company, with those of similar social
background (each establishment thus gained a social ethos of its own),
often in the same room, built up a _very strong_ sense of solidarity. Many
popular leisure time pursuits were associated with the public houses and
clubs; fishing, football, cricket, pigeon fancying, gardening, pig
breeding, etc., all producing groups wherein solidarity was generally
strong. Especially noteworthy here was the Prize Band, which, by 1912,
was already a Woodhouse institution, and many of whose members were linked
by close kinship ties to one particular family as well as by a _very strong_
common interest. Inside and outside the more formally organized activ-
ities mentioned above, gambling, in one form or another, drew many men
closely together, often at an intense, if competitive, level of inter-
action. Working class men participated in few activities outside the
local district, though a keen band of supporters went to watch one or
other of the two leading Sheffield football teams at week-ends.

The independent class and top class of Woodhouse residents were found less in the public houses and clubs (the Conservative Club excepted) and, apart from religious activities mentioned in a previous Section, formed _strong_ bonds within the Golf Club and Tennis Club and in connection with the various social events (garden parties, 'at homes,' etc.) arranged amongst themselves.

Children in their leisure time found a _very strong_ sense of solidarity amongst the group in the yard or street with whom they played regularly.   There were few organized spare time pursuits for them (other than those mentioned in such Sections as that on 'Religion'), though the regular young 'fans' at the Central Hall felt at least a _moderate_ sense of belonging to that company.

In the leisure sphere the outstanding event for all ages and a good cross-section of residents was the annual Feast in August.   This was the main time of the year for holidaymaking for old and young, and for five busy days the population was thrown together in the numerous activities arranged engendering a _strong_ sense of solidarity across the local district as a whole.

A _very strong_ sense of significance was often obtained by those very prominent and well known in the life of the public houses and clubs, such as certain of the landlords and club secretaries, or by those occupying long established and well respected positions in such organizations as the Woodhouse Prize Band.   The numerous presidents, chairmen, treasurers, etc. of particular activities usually based on the pub and club

often gained a <u>strong</u> sense of significance, as did many 'regulars'

playing informal roles, the public houses 'character,' clever conver-

sationalist, and so forth.   A good number of leisure time activities,

catering for members of various social classes, such as cricket, football,

golf, gardening, etc., offered a <u>strong</u> sense of fulfilment to those

excelling in the particular pursuit concerned.

9.   OTHER ASPECTS OF WOODHOUSE LIFE

INTRODUCTION

In addition to the activities and relationships peculiar to each of the spheres described in the preceding Sections, there were other aspects of the life of Woodhouse residents which were not linked with any particular interest or any single association.   It is to these activities and relationships of a rather more general kind that attention must now be directed.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

Despite the abundance of clubs, societies, gatherings, etc., described in the foregoing Sections, it is perhaps surprising to find how little organized groups, linked with different spheres of activity, came into direct contact with each other.   It is true that such organizations as the Salvation Army held gatherings round the Village Cross, paraded the streets of the local district and were given access to certain (though by no means all) the public houses.   It is also true that the Woodhouse Prize Band was an ubiquitious institution, in 1912, appearing, amongst other places, at the Whitsuntide gathering, the Secondary School Sports Day, the Hospital Sunday Demonstration and the

Parish Church Fete.   But there is very little evidence of much else

of an inter-sphere nature being formally undertaken or arranged.   Even

with sport, the only match actually on record between two local district

teams, in 1912, was that on Whitsuntide Monday when the Society of Friends

played Woodhouse Cricket Club.

On the other hand residents did come together on certain recognized

communal occasions of the year, though interaction was mainly of an in-

formal nature.   For example, as mentioned in an earlier Section, many

residents met up and mingled freely during the main shopping time, every

Saturday night.   During the year, a large number of local people would

be off to picnic at Birley Spa on Easter Monday, and many more would

congregate at the time of the Whitsuntide processions and, above all,

at the Feast.   As an old resident puts it, 'Whitsuntide and the Feast

Week were the two most important occasions for the community to act like

one.'   At these times a large section of the population experienced a

strong sense of solidarity, simply as residents meeting informally and

enjoying themselves together.

1912 witnessed one occurrence, referred to several times before,

which brought the inhabitants of the local district very close together;

the six weeks minimum wage miners' strike in March and April.   'This

question has been the all-absorbing topic during the past month,'[1]

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. April 1912.

commented the Editor of the Parish Church magazine in April, and this

indeed appeared to be the case. Many residents acting both through

associations and as individuals worked very hard to alleviate distress.

One of the main centres of aid seems to have been the George Inn but,

by the end of March, the Woodhouse Express noted that the Cross Daggers,

the Woodhouse Working Men's Club, the Salvation Army, the Handsworth

Woodhouse Co-operative Society, the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association

and several local butchers had all given generously. Even one of the

colliery managers sent a load of boots to Woodhouse West School for

children in need. Rather later in the day the Woodhouse churches also

came into action. So all-pervasive had become the affair that the

Woodhouse Express termed the Handsworth Urban District elections taking

place at this time 'a "strike" fight, several of the candidates conduct-

ing soup and bread distributions, and making charity the principal

feature (of the campaign).'[1] Thus the minimum wage strike drew the

residents of the local district close together, the helpers as much as

the helped, and produced a strong sense of solidarity amongst inhabitants.

One important feature of the Woodhouse of this era was the rise and

fall in the tempo of communal life. The necessity of compressing the

description of the main activities of the area over a year or so into a

limited space has possibly given the impression that every moment of the

day was pulsating with activity. Indeed some residents do talk

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 13/4/12.

generally of the Woodhouse of this period as 'a lively place,' - 'vibrating,' with 'never a dull moment.' On the other hand, despite all that seems to have been going on within the local district, Woodhouse was regarded by some commentators as a rather slow-moving place. In 1908, the Woodhouse Express noted that 'Woodhouse for some weeks has experienced a time of extreme quietness. Nothing whatever has occurred to break the monotony of country life,'[1] and, in 1910, the reporter spoke again of 'the usual quietness of Woodhouse.'[2] In 1912, after the termination of the strike, the Woodhouse Express stated that 'the town is resuming its usual quiet aspect.'[3] These differing impressions probably all reflect something of the truth. As the comments from the Woodhouse Express imply, the greater part of local district life consisted of the repetition of a fairly ordinary work-a-day routine, with earning a living and looking after the family consuming a great deal of time and energy. 'It was often a fight for survival then,' comments one old resident. What spare time people had was spent in the ordinary run of meetings at church, public house or club. Though life was much less of a struggle for the wealthier residents, the even tempo of affairs was maintained, one resident writing of this era as 'a more leisurely age, when we had time to read Dickens or try to unravel the mystery of "Edwin Drood".'[4] Nevertheless, though, and indeed because, the daily round was uneventful,

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1. *Ibid.* 22/2/08.
2. *Ibid.* 14/5/10.
3. *Ibid.* 20/4/12.
4. Buckley, S. (ed.) <u>John Buckley (1865-1944)</u>. Kendal, 1946. p.134.

it meant that when a break did occur in the regular and, for many, arduous routine, as at week-ends and especially at certain times during the summer, these occasions were doubly looked forward to and enjoyed, and left the impression of feverish activity and fun in the minds of old residents. Then Woodhouse <u>was</u> a 'vibrating' place. These times were what Klein, in another context, terms the 'splashes'[1] of the era, in this case public rather than simply familial in nature. It was the very quietness of Woodhouse that made these occasions and events so dramatic and memorable, they were the 'great times' of considerable social import-ance, to which people look back nostalgically as embodying the strong communal spirit of the age.

In addition to intensive interaction at certain points in the weekly and annual cycle of events, frequent contact between residents was facilitated by the fact that many of them belonged to numerous organiz-ations associated with different spheres of activity. It was the men of course that were particularly involved in this multi-associational pattern across various spheres of social activity, though the women and children were also brought into the broader stream of things through regular contact with the friends of their husband or father if nothing more. This phenomenon of multi-associational and cross-sphere member-ship can best be demonstrated by a glance at the activities of three well-known inhabitants.

George Algernon Herring was a native of Woodhouse, and, in 1912, was

1. Klein, J. <u>Samples from English Cultures</u>. Volume I. London, 1965. pp. 193-196.

manager of a small steam-laundry business in the local district. During
that year he was elected to the Handsworth Urban District Council (in
all he was a local Councillor for about 20 years). In this official
capacity he was one of the two 'visitors' to the Station Road Elementary
School, and one of those who addressed the Hospital Sunday gathering
during Feast Week. In 1912 he took the chair at the annual meeting of
the Handsworth Parish Council. He was a manager of the Central Hall
picture house and, amongst other forms of popular entertainment, in
April 1912, put on a free concert there for local residents. A staunch
Wesleyan, he was, in 1912, awarded a long-service medal for work in their
Sunday School. In addition he was closely linked with the Wesleyan Band
of Hope and was one of the founders and permanent committee members of
the annual Old Folks' Treat.

Albert Bird was licencee of the George Inn, having moved to Wood-
house sometime in the first few years of this Century. He was noted as
a sportsman, having played first-class cricket for both Warwickshire and
Worcestershire. He occasionally went down to these counties in the
summer months to coach but still remained extremely active in Woodhouse
itself. In 1910, he was the referee at the Woodhouse Annual Sports and
Steeplechase on Feast Monday. He was a Vice-President of the Woodhouse
Institute Harriers and Athletic Club and a member of the Hospital
Committee, being especially concerned with arrangements for the Kelley
(Football) Cup. A popular Master of Ceremonies, in January 1912, he
appeared in this role at the Parish Church Girls' Guild fancy dress ball

and, in October, at the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association's whist drive and dance. During the minimum wage strike he was personally very active in distributing soup and bread to needy children. In the sphere of politics, he was one of those nominating the licensee of the Princess Royal Hotel, Woodhouse Mill, as a candidate in the Urban District Council elections. In the sphere of social welfare, he was on the committee which, in 1912, arranged a special treat for the old people of Woodhouse Mill at the Junction Hotel and, in November, amongst those entertaining at a charity concert at the Stag Inn. All these things, in addition to the social evenings, dinners and presentations regularly held at the George Inn itself, brought him into close contact with hundreds of local people.

Bernard Grayson was a teacher at the Station Road Elementary School and lived in Hollis Croft at the West end of the local district. He too was a keen sportsman being President of the Woodhouse Institute Harriers and Athletic Club, in 1912 a linesman for the Hospital Cup matches, and chosen to present the prizes at the Woodhouse Druids sports in September. He was a Wesleyan and, like George Herring, in 1912 received an award for long-service in the Sunday School. In addition he was Secretary of the Christian Union, on the committee of the Wesley Guild and the Editor of the Wesleyan magazine. A regular speaker at events held at other churches, in 1912 he was appointed one of the two Secretaries for the Churches' Relief Committee formed to give aid to the

miners during the strike. Finally, as Auditor, he served both the Hospital Committee and the Woodhouse and District Pig Club, having held this office in the latter since 1899.

And so one could go on. This pattern of multi-associational membership across many different spheres of activity was typical of numerous residents, not merely on the level of office holding but on that of normal participation. The only qualification that must be made is that there was a certain tendency for Woodhouse residents to nucleate either around those activities based on the public houses and clubs, or around those sponsored by the churches, especially the Free Churches. This difference in the focal point of social activity was a matter of principle as well as of habit. As noted in the Section on 'Religion,' temperance was strongly advocated by many religious bodies and formed the basis of numerous sermons, talks and lectures as well as of such organizations as the children's Band of Hope. Many residents thus grew up with a strong feeling that drinking was 'wrong' and churchgoing was 'right,' or, at least, the 'proper' thing to do. The difference of opinion on this issue emerged, for example, when the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association divided equally on the question of whether or not it was expedient to hold its meetings at the George Inn or at 'the Coffee Room' in Tannery Street.

However, several factors prevented this difference of outlook be-coming communally very divisive. In the first place, the fact that so

many residents had been born and brought up in the same area meant
that they knew each other very well (see below for comment on the
further implications of this situation) and that any regular offence,
such as drunkenness, tended to be 'conventionalized.'   'After all it
was only old Joe again.'   Even members of the chapels condoned in the
same breath as they denounced;   'We knew them all!' states one old
Wesleyan, whilst another remarks, 'Then folk didn't really know better.'
Another churchgoer writes, 'However much heavy drinking was regretted
by us, it was tolerated.   There was a live and let live attitude towards
it.'   Secondly, some church members themselves visited licensed estab-
lishments.   Choir members from the Parish Church regularly went into
the nearby public houses for a drink after practices, and quite a number
of church people were members of the Conservative Club.   In addition
many associations and groups, not church oriented but containing church-
goers, such as the (Sheffield) Druids Lodge, the Birley Lodge of the
Miners' Union and the Hospital Committee, found it as convenient as any-
where to meet in public houses, where a room was always available.   The
Parish Church Choir even held its annual dinner at the George Inn.   Nor
were all the public houses particularly irreligious places.   The Cross
Daggers, for example, every Christmas produced a choir which sang carols
round the Village Cross, and the place itself was known locally as 'the
Chapel.'   Finally, it must be remembered that many non-churchgoers, in

their childhood, had passed through church Sunday Schools and bonds remained despite the cessation of attendance at worship. All in all, therefore, what on the surface would seem to have been a deep social cleavage did much less to undermine communal solidarity as a whole than one might have expected.

Apart from the tendency for social life to nucleate, in leisure hours, around either the churches or the public houses and clubs, little else appeared on the Woodhouse scene at this time to set one section of the local district population over against another. Competition, and what conflict there was, were virtually confined to comparatively small issues and minor incidents, many of which have already been touched on in previous Sections. In the sphere of work, little love was lost between men and employers, a situation which meant that, at least initially, considerable support was forthcoming from the miners for the national strike of this year. The Woodhouse shopkeepers were to some extent, in competition, though this did not prevent the formation of the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association. Local government produced a lively election in 1912, and at times the Council was strongly divided, in this period notably on how to deal with the poor health and high infant mortality rate in Woodhouse and vicinity. In the sphere of social welfare, there was disagreement, in 1912, about whether or not to hold a house-to-house collection instead of the usual Hospital Sunday Demonstration. The educational scene revealed some rivalry between the Top and Bottom Ele-

mentary Schools, and widespread cynicism at the outset about the value of the new Secondary School.   There was little attempt at co-operation between the Woodhouse churches (as was true of the public houses and clubs also), and this year saw such incidents as the expulsion of the Parish Church from the Sunday School League, and the dismissal of the local Congregational Minister by the deacons for alleged misconduct. In the sphere of leisure, there was the normal competitiveness between sports organizations and some rivalry between the two Woodhouse bands. But all other elements of competition or conflict were largely of a domestic nature, within families or between neighbours, or of a personal kind, disputes between parents and teachers or brawls at the public house. They may have been fierce, but they were nearly always short-lived.

These very differing examples of competition and conflict, even where potentially divisive on a fairly wide scale, were prevented from developing into major issues by three factors.   First, was the lack of any real vision within the local district of/a better or easier way of life that could be achieved by the working class.   The social horizon was very largely formed by the boundaries of Woodhouse itself.   Secondly, and related to this, was an upbringing which had taught residents to accept their lot in life.   'We were brought up to believe in masters and men, and still do,' comments an old Woodhouse man.   Thirdly, the struggle to survive left little time or energy to expend initiating or organizing widespread social protest.   If one did risk entering the fray, as one miner who became an Urban District Councillor found, one's

job was even less secure than ever. Thus the Woodhouse situation at this time was hardly suited to produce widespread conflict, even of a communal kind.

One of the most important factors in creating a strong sense of solidarity amongst the residents of Woodhouse was the constant availability of information about local goings on. 'It was marvellous how news used to travel round,' states one old inhabitant. By far the most noteworthy means of communication was word of mouth, local people being practiced in the art of passing on information of general interest with astounding alacrity. What was not public knowledge after the shops closed on Saturday nights was hardly worth knowing.

Other modes of communication supplemented local gossip. This was still the age of the town crier, a role filled in 1912 by a local barber who was regularly seen about the streets announcing miners' meetings, church bazaars, furniture sales, the names of lost children and the location of stray animals. The personal touch gave to this type of announcement an exaggerated but compelling air of importance.

The printed word was also an important method of keeping residents informed. Impressive posters advertising Sunday School Anniversaries, Harvest Festivals, socials and concerts would appear outside churches or in shop windows. Three churches (see the Section on 'Religion') produced monthly magazines which had a good local circulation in 1912. But most notable of all the printed modes of communication were the newspapers, especially that known as 'The Eckington, Staveley and Woodhouse Express'

from which many of the quotations used in this thesis have been taken. This was regarded by inhabitants as really a Woodhouse paper, there being a local office in Woodhouse into which all reports were sent.   Every week a long column appeared appropriately called 'Woodhouse Whisperings' supplemented in other parts of the paper by lengthy articles on weekly local events of note.   The latter were reported very comprehensively, not in any trivial or sensational style but with serious care and earnestness.

The means of communication which gave Woodhouse residents information concerning what went on in the world outside were much more limited in scope, the Press being by far the most important.   The Woodhouse Express carried only advertisements for goods sold in the Sheffield or Rotherham shops and occasional articles about national affairs.   On the other hand, the Sheffield papers ('The Sheffield Daily Independent',   'The Sheffield Daily Telegraph',   'The Evening Telegraph and Star' and 'The Green 'un',   the latter a very popular Saturday sporting paper) had quite a good circulation within the local district.   These papers did report news from the surrounding area and from the city itself, but, football and cricket apart, Woodhouse residents were apparently more interested in national than extended district events;   as one puts it, 'We weren't very concerned with what went on in the Sheffield Town Hall.' Thus if there was any fellow feeling with those outside Woodhouse it was as much with Englishmen as a whole as with the inhabitants of Sheffield. In 1912, a sense of national solidarity and widespread sympathy seems to

have reached its peak in Woodhouse on three particular occasions. The first was when the Titanic sank in April (this event figuring as the main headline in the Sheffield Independent for 15 consecutive days), all residents being caught up in the dramatic sense of personal loss. The second occasion was in July, when 87 miners lost their lives in the nearby Cadeby Colliery disaster, the fact that this was a local event and connected with another mining district adding poignancy to the mishap. The third event was the death of Captain Scott and his party on the way home from the South Pole, news of which came much later in 1912. In these tragedies the whole local district shared but fellow feeling though strong, was inevitably of a temporary and tenuous nature.

Solidarity was experienced by residents on a wider and more general level in connection with their British citizenship in particular and membership of the British Empire in general. Here a sense of pride fanned the sense of belonging to a rather idealized entity, the strong sense of solidarity remaining latent until revealed at such times as local and national celebrations associated with members of the Royal Family and, above all, during the call to arms in 1914 and just after. The doings of the Royal Family were always followed in Woodhouse with great interest, at the death of Edward VII there being 'a run on black ties,' and the event being regarded by some as 'a death in the family.' For the Coronation of George V, in 1911, there were festivities in every street in the local district. And the excitement caused by visits of the Royal Family to the extended district has already been mentioned in

the Section on 'Education.'

With regard to the sentiment associated with the Empire an old resident writes as follows: 'There was a feeling of pride in the British Empire in 1912.   This had been built up in our young minds through history lessons extolling the exploits of former soldiers, sailors and statesmen.   Rudyard Kipling books of India and frontier life were all the rage, as were his poems with a decidedly patriotic flavour.   We heard adults still singing the Music Hall songs with special reference to the Boer War, which was still fresh in their minds in spite of it having ended in 1902.   There were a few Boer War "veterans" in the village, and soldiers came home from service in India.   Canada and Australia were associated with those families who emigrated.   There was a constant stream of missionaries from Africa and India who brought the jungles and deserts of parts of the Empire before our very eyes via the magic lantern "stills."   All these things combined to impress on us the vastness of the British Empire, and what a splendid thing it was and how great we were.   This was the time when the phrase, "The sun never sets on the British Empire," was really plugged, and it seemed right to be proud of it.   In 1912, occurred the great "Durbar" in India, and this show of might and splendour which went on for weeks, helped to boost afresh our greatness.   I am quite sure that all this had something to do with the jingoism prevalent in the country at the beginning of the 1914-1918 War and which led the way to men and youths volunteering so readily.'

The only other means of keeping informed were by letter, telegraph or telephone.   In 1895, the only date during this period when figures are

available, the average number of letters delivered daily in Woodhouse
was a mere 415 and despatched daily only 400.[1]   Though by 1912 this
number would have risen somewhat, it was still, according to old inhabit-
ants, 'an event to get a letter.'   Telephones were mainly used for
business purposes and it is doubtful whether more than 50 existed in the
whole of the local district.

Intensity of interaction amongst residents was now and then in-
creased by the various modes of travel of the era.   The most common
means of transport was by foot, all classes walking to the shops, to
church, to the public house and often to work.   Face-to-face contact,
with its inevitable exchange of greetings and news, was thus frequent.
The era of the motor car had hardly dawned, although the first had
appeared in Woodhouse as early as the turn of the Century.   One resident
describes this as quite a communal event;   when the 'first car came down
the street all turned out to see it pass by.   All shared the joy and
excitement of the first car to appear in the village.   No sense of
jealousy - just pride in the village car.'   But in 1912, the car was far
less important than the bicycle, the horse-drawn tubs and wagonettes,
and the train.

The bicycle was the first comparatively cheap and private means of
transport by which Woodhouse people were able to venture into and beyond
the extended district and its appearance, some decades before 1912, was

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1. LeTall, W.J.   Doings in Handsworth Woodhouse and in
    Handsworth Parish, 1876-1899   York, 1899.   p.39.

The post is despatched.

versations ... ... singsongs. Travel into Sheffield
involved much less contact between residents. The majority would walk
across the fields to Handsworth or up the hill to Intake together to ...

Typical transport of the time.

thus a most important breakthrough in respect to the mobility, especially the leisure-time mobility, of the population. As noted under the Section on 'Leisure,' a cycling group existed at the Working Men's Club, and others in small parties went out at week-ends during the summer as far afield as Doncaster, Worksop and Lincoln. Some children cycled to school and a few men to work. Wagonettes, seating up to 20 people, were used to transport residents from the Village Cross to Woodhouse Station and for numerous summer leisure outings into the Dukeries or Derbyshire. Travel here involved a good deal of passenger-participation, the men always getting out to allow the horses an easier pull up steep inclines and the very slowness of the journey giving ample time for long conversations and sometimes home-coming sing-songs. Travel into Sheffield involved much less contact between residents. The majority would walk across the fields to Handsworth or up the hill to Intake together to catch the tram, and some would take one of the two dozen or so trains which ran daily from Woodhouse to the city. But very few inhabitants travelled into Sheffield regularly, though visits at week-ends were more popular, and neither the tram nor train journey facilitated very vigorous interaction. Nevertheless, Woodhouse people did spend a good deal of time travelling around on foot or by one means of transport or another and contacts made informally on these occasions over the years strengthened friendships and enhanced solidarity.

Significance

Few of the activities mentioned above can be picked out as specifically engendering a strong sense of significance other than the work of the Press, and especially of the Woodhouse Express. Significance was given to residents simply because their activities were so fully reported by the latter, often with a phrase of commendation or congratulation for everyone to read. Inhabitants were thus led to believe that what they did in their daily lives was important and that they themselves counted for something in the affairs of the local district. A few examples may suffice here. In January 1912, the Woodhouse Express reported in detail the types of dress worn by 28 of the principal dancers at the fancy dress ball held by the Parish Church Girls' Guild.[1] In February, every person who spoke during the fortnightly discussion run by the Wesley Guild was mentioned by name.[2] In March, the Parish Church gave an operetta at the Endowed School and the Woodhouse Express described every act and the performance of each individual in full.[3] In March and April, during the minimum wage strike, there were exhaustive reports of all the speeches given at the meetings of the Birley Miners' Lodge. The monthly medal competition held by the Woodhouse Golf Club regularly included the names of every player and the seasons averages for both 1st and 2nd XIs of the Woodhouse Cricket Club appeared in full later in the year. The monthly meetings and other

1. The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express. 20/1/12.
2. Ibid. 17/2/12.
3. Ibid. 16/3/12.

affairs of the Urban District Council were written up most comprehensively, in October, for example, a lengthy report of the speeches given during the annual dinner of the local Fire Brigade at the Angel Inn appearing.[1] Domestic affairs also figured prominently, reports of weddings going so far as to include a complete list of 48 gifts and givers in one case,[2] and 70 in another.[3]   Accounts of funerals, especially the names of relatives and friends attending, and obituary notices were similarly generous in length and detailed in substance.

Every week, therefore, for such reporting as that described above was continuous throughout the year, a large number of residents might find their names in print because they had spoken, or sung, or acted, or scored a goal or bowled well, or just simply been there on this or that quite ordinary social occasion.   Their names would appear side by side with those mentioned in connection with the extended district or national news without any impression being given that reporters were merely 'playing to the crowd.'   Significance was thus greatly enhanced because the activities of inhabitants were obviously taken seriously and they themselves were made to feel they had some worthwhile contribution to make or part to play in local district affairs and these mattered.

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1. Ibid. 19/10/12.
2. Ibid. 3/8/12.
3. Ibid. 10/8/12.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

It was mentioned in the Introduction that, by 1912, Woodhouse had seen no great influx of residents for well over a decade. This, allied to the fact that at this time as many as half the inhabitants belonged to either very old established families or to families that had resided in the local district for a generation or more, meant that certain leading figures in the area had become extremely well known. Such, for example, was James Morton who had first taken charge of the Endowed School in 1874, and was the Headmaster of the Station Road School from 1889 until 1918. Another was Isaac Crowther who was appointed Head-master of Birley School (Normanton Springs) in 1893 and of Woodhouse West School in 1900, where he remained until retirement in 1923. In the religious sphere, the Rev. William Henry Booth was the local incumbent from 1887 until 1918, and the Rev. Robert Brotherton served the Congre-gational Church from 1889 to 1905, and again from 1916 until 1920. Dr. Arthur W. Scott took over the medical practice of Dr. Frederick T. LeTall in 1887 and remained in it until 1924. Many other prominent residents such as John Hardcastle, the local Registrar, William Furniss, a leading representative of the miners, George Herring (mentioned before in this Section) and Charles Ward, an auctioneer, to mention only a few, belonged to families which had lived in Woodhouse for many generations. Length

of residence and service characteristic of such people as these and many others gave inhabitants a feeling of social stability which enhanced solidarity.

Certain of these figures, through their own abilities and personality, as well as many years spent in Woodhouse, gradually became symbolic (see Chapter VI, 4) not merely, or even especially, within the sphere with which they were occupationally or otherwise generally connected, but throughout the whole of the local district. In this case they were indeed akin to the social "fixes,"[1] (to use the term mentioned by Herbert in connection with town planning) of the Woodhouse of this era, and instrumental in giving strength and cohesiveness to the total communal life of that time and place.

One such symbolic figure was Dr. Arthur Scott (see also the Section on 'Health and Welfare'), or, as he was known to many, 'Scottie.' His own professional activities were rather too individualistic to facilitate him becoming the focal head of any particular association, even in the sphere of medicine, but so frequent a visitor was he to the homes of all classes of residents, and so numerous were his connections with local organizations, from the Parish Church to the Urban District Council, that by 1912 he had without doubt become a figure helping to weld Woodhouse into a corporate unit. As one resident puts it, 'When Dr. Scott died,

1. Herbert, G. *The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory.* Sociol. Rev. Vol. 11, No. 2. (pp. 165-213) July 1963. p. 202.

everyone else thought they'd die!' John Hardcastle, already mentioned in the Section on 'Religion,' was another symbolic figure, not just for the Wesleyans, but for the local district as a whole. This was not because of great popularity, but due more to the fact that his work as Registrar brought him into contact with so many residents. In 1912 he was perhaps past the hey-day of his authority, but he still remained, amongst other things, Assistant Overseer for Handsworth and Orgreave, a director of the Handsworth Woodhouse Gas Company and owner, with his wife, of a good deal of property in the area. A one time licensee of the Angel Inn describes him as then 'the Woodhouse King'; another resident as 'Lord High Chancellor.' Here again, therefore, emerged a figure about whom people revolved, a kind of hub of the communal wheel. Alongside these two gentlemen stood a large number of somewhat less widely recognized figures, many of whose names have been mentioned before, yet all to a greater or lesser degree symbolic figures of communal importance.

Other inhabitants acted, albeit unconsciously, as cohesive agents in the life of the local district through acquiring over the years widely acknowledged reputations as 'characters.' To these people there often became attached tales of an amusing or mock-heroic nature. One such resident was Arthur Hancock, a greengrocer and fishmonger, who turned the scales at 20 stones and inevitably earned the nickname of 'Fatty.' An oft repeated story tells how he once won a race against a young challenger by choosing as the venue a narrow path between high hawthorne

hedges.   His opponent could not pass him!   Another local character
of the era was William Daykin, better known as 'Panchon' Daykin.   The
tale goes that he was sent to purchase a panchon (a large mixing bowl)
but unfortunately broke it on the way home from the shop.   Managing to
get a second panchon safely home, he then dropped it to demonstrate to
his mother how he smashed the first!   Perhaps the most notorious of
Woodhouse characters was 'Rough' Cockayne, a miner who was constantly
in trouble with the law.   A story is told by many residents concerning
how, when bailiffs came to evict Cockayne for non-payment of rent, he
locked them in the house with him, put a tin of powder, used in the pit
for shot-firing, into the oven, and remarked, 'Now say your prayers;
we'll all leave together!'   The bailiffs left of their own accord;
through the window!   'He was a devil!'   remarks an ex-publican of this
era, with a twinkle in his eye.   Such tales as these contributed towards
a common heritage and sense of belonging to a unique social entity shared
by residents, as well as, incidentally, often giving such characters a
notable role in local district life.

Many residents possessed nicknames which had become attached to them
over the years and often remained with them throughout their lives.   There
is no point here in listing these as they would be meaningless to the
reader, but they bear out yet again the intimacy of the relationships
existing within Woodhouse and the strong corporate sense engendered.
Even certain sayings still used occasionally by older residents (such
as, 'He ran like a Birks' or 'He slept like a Birks,' the Birks family

being an important and very well established one in the local district)

must have had their origin, lost now, in the history of this place.

The consequence of this growing together of residents over the

years, evidenced by the emergence of major and minor symbolic figures,

local characters, the growth of folk tales and the frequent use of nick-

names is summed up by a phrase repeated time without number by the older

residents, 'Woodhouse was a place where everybody knew everybody else.'

'We could tell you who lived in every house from the Mill to the Springs,'

state many old people today.   And because so many of those playing

different roles lived in the local district, pupils and teachers, coun-

cillors and policemen, miners and colliery officials, doctors and mid-

wives, tenants and landlords (of the 109 property owners noted in the

electoral roll of 1912, 55 lived in Woodhouse itself, 43 in the extended

district, and only 11 beyond the latter), 'knowing everybody' meant

knowing very well a large majority of those encountered, in whatever

sphere of activity, during the course of a lifetime.   Although it is

true that such intimacy could have its drawbacks, for example little

chance to live a private life and sometimes oppressive social pressure

to conform to traditional patterns of behaviour, it did at least mean

that residents were bound together by a common interest in and concern

for each other's fortunes and doings.   'We knew one another, almost down

to the latest child born,' writes one resident, whilst another states,

'We all knew each other in the village and really did feel we belonged.'

One striking feature of the Woodhouse of this era was the ever-

recurring cycle of events, daily, weekly and annually, many of which have

been mentioned in previous Sections.   In addition, every sphere con-
tributed some activity or occasion of note to this communal round, and
thus virtually every resident was drawn into it and directly involved,
consciously or unconsciously, in supporting and perpetuating it.   The
constant repetition of events, great and small, gave predictability and
stability to the temporal cycle, prevented too much competition between
various organizations (each generally accepting and keeping clear of
those occasions when other groups had arranged special functions), facil-
itated the integration of activities connected with the very different
interests of residents, and thus built up mutual respect and enhanced a
sense of solidarity throughout the local district.

A wide variety of minor events had their allotted place in the time-
table fixed by local folkways, but here only a few of the main activities
will be mentioned.   Work, for example, to a great extent moulded the
pattern of the day and the week.   Residents remark how the sound of
miners' boots and clogs, echoing round the streets as they set off for
the 6.00 am. shift, signalled the start of another day even for non-mining
families.   The effect of shift-work on the daily cycle at home has already
been referred to in the Section on 'Family and Neighbours.'   Throughout
the week there was a fairly regular pattern of activity in the household;
Monday for washing, Thursday for baking and Friday for cleaning through,
the latter to be finished without fail by Saturday lunch-time.   The pay-
ment of wages on Saturday at noon resulted in the regular weekly get
together at the shops in the evening.   Religion had, in 1912, a very firm

hold on the calendar and Sabbath observance was still the norm even

for many non-churchgoers.   During the year church festivals (Shrove

Tuesday, when the schools had a half-holiday, Easter, Sunday School

Anniversaries, Harvest Festivals, etc.) gave form and feature to the

year for a very large part of the population, Whitsuntide being a

particularly important communal occasion.   The leisure activities of

the local district had a less formal time-table, but the Feast, in

particular, was a major communal event.   The sphere of 'Health and

Welfare' contributed the annual Old Folks' Treat, the Hospital Cup Final,

and the Hospital Demonstration to the calendar.   And so one could go

on.   There was thus built up a full and fixed social programme, one

which in time became part of the fabric of the life of residents, perhaps

typified as well as anything in this mining district by the way in which

every New Year was heralded by the wailing sirens of the Birley East

Colliery.   These temporal folkways had a strong cohesive function for

the Woodhouse inhabitants of this era.

A high degree of interaction over many years had also led, by 1912,

to the emergence of what certain town planners have called 'symbolic

place.'[1]   But the latter, in the case of Woodhouse, were more than just

major nodal points giving 'a feeling of meaning and permanence,' they did

indeed represent 'the continuity of the town'[2] and its life.   They were

places which, through constant use, had become infused with a kind of

communal personality and were looked upon almost with reverence.   These

1. Herbert, G.   The Neighbourhood Unit Principle and Organic Theory.
    Sociol. Rev.   Vol. 11, No. 2. (pp. 165-213) July 1963.
    p. 206.
2. Ibid. pp.203-204.

places were the repositories of a host of rich memories and reminded residents of the many occasions in the past when solidarity had been especially strong.   In this way, the past was caught up and brought into the present, these symbolic places becoming the means of infusing inhabitants with something of the communal strength of previous generations.

The most important symbolic place was without doubt the Village Cross, having stood for centuries at the hub of the life of the local district. Around and about it residents for many generations had engaged in social intercourse at an intense pitch.   On its steps religious and political orations were, in 1912, still delivered to large crowds, choirs from churches and public houses sang, and bands played.   Without the Cross, Woodhouse would have been unrecognisable to the people of that era.   The only other spot to vie with the Cross as a communal symbol was an old cottage, sited on the top of the hill on the open fields to the South of Woodhouse itself, known as 'Sally Clark's,' and which gave its name to the area immediately round about it.   'Sally Clark's' symbolized the many happy times that all residents, young and old, had had there, tobogganing down the slopes, playing games, courting and picnicing.   The sentiments that surrounded this place are summed up by the words on the back of a print of the cottage;   'To those who knew and loved the old village of Woodhouse with its market Cross and winding streets, Sally Clark's was more than a landmark, - it was an institution.'   Many other buildings formed minor symbolic places.   For example, when the tanyard,

1085   Market Cross & Stocks, Woodhouse.

The physical (and often social)
centre of Woodhouse; the Village
Cross

where work had ceased in 1906, was later demolished, the Woodhouse
Express commented as follows;   'The Tannery buildings which for scores
of years have been a feature of the village, are rapidly disappearing
before the ruthless onslaught of pick and crowbar, and the place which
turned out leather, which in its day was famed far and wide, will soon
be no more ..... The disappearance of another landmark from our midst
will be a source of regret to old Woodhouse people, who in days gone by
associated the village with the tanyard.[1]'   These and many other places
reminded residents of their own or their forefathers' past doings and
enhanced present solidarity by helping all to feel that they shared a
unique common heritage.

So too did place names bring to mind the activities and relation-
ships of past years and remind inhabitants of the way of life they had
inherited.   There was Tannery Street, Malthouse Lane and Waterslacks
Lane, which were associated with local district occupations, past and
present, and there was Chapel Street, Church Lane and Meetinghouse Lane,
amongst others, which reminded people of their religious heritage.   In
addition a host of place names owed their origin to those residents who
over the years had built Woodhouse: Greenwood Lane, Hooley Road, Birks
Avenue, Hollis Croft, Keyworth Cottages, Cockayne's Yard and so forth.
Of a more informal nature in this connection were such names as 'Up
Gillespie's,' a path running alongside the house and land once belonging
to a person of that name, and 'Muck and Sausage Row,' a block of houses

1.   The Eckington, Woodhouse and Staveley Express.   29/8/08.

originally built by a colliery official and a butcher.   Other place
names reminded residents of the natural features of the locality:
Sweet Tree Lane, Spa Lane, Pear Tree Yard and so on.   So it came about
that the titles of streets and other places represented to inhabitants
a unique heritage into which they had entered.   Woodhouse thus became
in a certain sense their personal property.   It belonged to them, and
they in their generation had the privilege of sharing its traditions
and the responsibility of passing them on.

The points made in the preceding paragraphs concerning the attach-
ment of residents to people and place, can best be summed up in the words
of a woman who lived at this time.   She writes;   'I myself had a strong
sense of belonging to Woodhouse.   Having been born there it was to me
home, first and foremost.   The people, the lanes, the walks, had a great
attraction for me from an early age.   There was a fascination about the
old stone houses in the old parts of the village, and the stories of the
eccentrics and individualistic characters who peopled the place - this
was the spice of life, and Woodhouse was to me a wonderful place to
live in.'

Social class in Woodhouse was defined occupationally in the Section
on 'Work.'   Other important features of social class were added where
relevant when considering the remaining spheres of activity, and here it
only remains to add a word on the way in which speech distinguished one
class from another.   An old resident writes,   'The Yorkshire dialect,
in different degrees of broadness, was spoken in most working class homes,
but it was rarely heard in the middle (ie., intermediate) class homes of

shopkeepers, and never in the homes of the top class. Their speech was most correct at all times among children and adults. They were articulate, tended to speak rather loudly and with authority, but with no exaggerated accent - just plain King's English. Children addressed their parents as 'Mother,' 'Father,' or 'Papa.' With working class children, it was 'Dad,' 'Mam,' or 'Our Mother.' I think on the whole, women and girls spoke less dialect than men and boys.' But despite the fact that the top, intermediate and working classes had very distinctive styles of life and speech, there is very little evidence to show that membership of a particular class in itself created a strong sense of solidarity. One resident even goes so far as to describe the Woodhouse of this era as 'almost classless.' Why was this latter impression left, at least in some people's minds?

There appear to have been a number of reasons. It should be re- called that 'there was no squirearchy, no gentlemen farmers, no very large landowners, so that the top level did not constitute a peak, but a plateau of varied professions.' In part because of this, the top class were not totally removed beyond contact with the remainder of residents, and from their number emerged a number of leaders in some important aspects of local district life. Although the members of the upper strata were not often seen 'on the fairground, or at sports events' and 'rarely appeared at the Whitsun processions, ... these same families were the pillars of the church they attended,' writes one old resident.

Their attitude to the rest was not snobbish but rather paternalistic;
'We were all part of the same family,' as one person states. Woodhouse
also possessed a strong intermediate class during this period, many of
whose number had their roots in mining families. This group acted as a
useful link between the top and lower classes, especially in the life of
the churches which embraced a good cross-section of inhabitants. It is
worth noting in this connection that the strength of the Free Churches
prevented the emergence of a dominant and aloof Anglican-Conservative group
over against the remainder. In addition, the working class had direct
contact with many top class homes, for example through sending daughters
into service or through the women taking in washing. Another feature of
the Woodhouse scene was the way in which the members of all classes were
scattered throughout the whole length and breadth of the local district
and, even at the East end, where a number of large houses were sited,
the homes of the upper and lower classes were always within a stone's throw.
One resident puts the situation thus; 'The locality of Woodhouse was .....
confused and muddled - rich and poor jostling together.'

All these factors tended to break down the emergence of groups re-
stricted exclusively to those of a single social strata, very few activ-
ities indeed being one class affairs. Though differences of life-style
obviously existed there was little aloofness at the top or resentment at
the bottom. 'I was aware that there was a difference between us, but
somehow it did not rankle,' writes one resident. This mood of acceptance
is clearly brought out by a simple rhyme appearing in the personal diary
of a Woodhouse woman, who belonged to a working class family, at the end

of the last Century:

> 'Though humble my lot and though poor my estate,
> I see without envy the wealthy and great.'   1.

The general situation with regard to social class in the Woodhouse of this period is well summed by one resident who writes, 'Class feeling was not very pronounced - we were living too near one another and too much on the same level for it to operate, and I can think of nothing at that time that brought it into the open.   Neither do I think that class feeling in any way created feelings of social solidarity.'

Significance

Although class feeling as such only engendered a limited sense of solidarity amongst Woodhouse people of similar social background, it nevertheless provided some with an enhanced sense of significance.   The top section were certainly aware that they were 'a class apart.'   Their children, for example, often went to private schools, were not obliged to attend Sunday school and played little with children from other social strata.   One old miner recalls with some amusement how when once he and his friends were taunting the 'teenage daughters of one of the doctors, as they were playing tennis on their own private court, one girl remarked to the other, 'Take no notice my dear, they're only the scum of the village!'   Another member of the intermediate class who rose by marriage into the top class, looking back nostalgically, comments, 'Woodhouse

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1. The Diary of Mary Atkin, Talbot Road, Woodhouse. (Unpublished), 1898.
    13/1/1898.

used to be such a posh place then.'   Although class distinctions 'did

not rankle,'   they seem to have provided many amongst the top class

with a very strong sense of significance;   this upper strata expected,

and indeed received, a good deal of respect and even deference.

Below the top social strata, class was far less pronounced and far

less important to inhabitants as a bearer of status.   One woman resident

writes,   '"Keeping up with the Joneses," as we know it today, was not

indulged in.   Living within one's income was about as much as one could

do.   Things were bought from necessity, not because the neighbour had

them.'   She does add,   'There was one status symbol, however, and that

was a piano ..... To own a piano meant that one had "arrived".'   But for

most people outside the top class status symbols, indicative of class

distinction, were the exception not the rule.

SUMMING UP

In 1912, the population of Woodhouse formed very much a social entity,

the influx of residents in the latter part of the 19th Century having

tailed off in the first decade of the 20th Century, and the newcomers

having been well integrated into the life and activities of the local

district.   Only two noteworthy social divisions were in evidence within

the population as a whole.   One was between the churchgoer and the pub-

goer, though the likelihood of this undermining fellow feeling amongst

residents was greatly reduced by the fact that everyone knew everyone

else so well and that numerous churchgoers, for one reason or another,

had direct contact with the public houses and clubs. Pubgoers, in their turn, had often been brought up as children to attend Sunday School. The other social division of note was that which separated the top class of Woodhouse resident from the rest, a division based on occupational standing, wealth, the ownership of property, and life style, including speech. But here again, resentment was reduced and tension mitigated by the fact that many top class residents were active in local district affairs, by the 'buffer' function of a strong intermediate class, and by a general acceptance at all levels of the stratified society of the era. Social class as such was in fact not a very important phenomenon in creating a sense of solidarity amongst separate sections of the populace. Thus, though these two divisions (churchgoer or pubgoer, top class or the rest) cannot be ignored, they did not prevent a <u>strong</u> sense of solidarity developing amongst the residents of Woodhouse taken as a whole.

The emergence of this <u>strong</u> sentiment was the result of numerous factors. Though formal contact between the many organizations operating within different spheres of activity was infrequent, many male residents in particular belonged to a wide variety of groups, all active within the confines of the local district, and thus they kept meeting one another whilst pursuing different interests and playing different roles. The hard, and often uneventful, task of making ends meet and keeping a home going was offset by fairly frequent informal communal gatherings, or 'splashes,' which drew residents together in bursts of

intensive interaction and thereby reinforced their identity as a social
unit.   In a comparatively insecure age, life was given predictability
and stability by the clear, fixed cycle of daily, weekly and annual
events (with the church calendar playing a notable part here), which
facilitated the adoption of a similar routine by many residents and ener-
getic corporate effort at 'high-spots' during the year, notably at Whit-
suntide and the Feast.

A _strong_ sense of solidarity throughout the local district was
further maintained by the rapid transmission of local news, mainly by
word of mouth, and through very detailed weekly reporting of all kinds
of local activities in the Woodhouse Express.   Some interaction occurred
whilst people travelled to school, to shop, to work, to find entertain-
ment, to attend church and so forth, within or outside the local district,
but only where the journey gave ample time and opportunity for conver-
sation was solidarity much enhanced.   On the other hand, organized
outings by bicycle, wagonette or train were often times of vigorous
social intercourse.

The length of time many residents had lived in Woodhouse meant that
the majority were very well acquainted and this, together with the other
structural features mentioned below, engendered a _strong_ sense of solid-
arity throughout the local district as a whole.   The limited degree of
geographical mobility facilitated the emergence of major and minor
symbolic figures who could act as communal focal points in Woodhouse
affairs.   Interesting village personalities, individual nick-names,

and colloquial expressions went towards giving Woodhouse a character
of its own, whilst buildings, streets and landmarks, with their distinct-
ive names, reminded residents of their common, and in many ways unique,
social heritage.

The sense of significance experienced by inhabitants was discovered
very largely through the numerous activities and relationships already
described in detail in the preceding Sections.   However, residents
often felt their sense of significance enhanced when they found their
achievements recognized by the appearance of their names in the columns
of the Woodhouse Express, a paper of good reputation in the local dis-
trict.   Consciousness of social standing helped to produce a <u>very strong</u>
sense of significance amongst members of the top Woodhouse class, though
below this section of the population class consciousness as such was much
less apparent.

Residents generally found very little sense of solidarity or signifi-
cance outside the local district, though there were exceptions here
especially amongst members of the top class.   From time to time national
events, though much less extended district affairs, evoked <u>strong</u>
sympathies and fellow feeling (as, for example, when the Titanic sank),
but such sentiments were temporary.   More continuous, though of a more
general and idealistic nature, was the <u>strong</u> latent sense of solidarity
springing from residents' awareness of themselves as citizens of Great
Britain, Mother Country of a mighty Empire, a sentiment in part focused
on members of the Royal Family as here the obvious symbolic figures.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this 'Conclusion' is to summarize the material set out in the foregoing Sections in a form which will later facilitate the testing of the two major hypotheses referred to in the 'Introduction' to this thesis.   These are :-

I.   That over recent years notable changes have taken place in the expression (through the social activities and relationships of major categories of the population) and territorial focus (ie., those geographical units which contain communal activities and relationships) of community.

II.   That, despite these changes, a sense of community has not disappeared and, in some cases, its intensity has increased.

The full examination of these two hypotheses can only be undertaken after the 1966 data has been presented (in Chapter VIII), and set beside that for 1912.   Nevertheless, the first step is to arrange the main findings concerning 1912 in a form related to the hypotheses.   This is done below under the following headings :-

Main categories of Woodhouse residents who experienced a sense of community in similar ways   (Hypotheses I and II)

The intensity (Hypothesis II) and expression (Hypothesis I) of community sentiment experienced by these main categories of residents

The geographical context of community as experienced by Woodhouse residents (Hypothesis I)

<u>Main categories of Woodhouse residents who experienced</u>
<u>a sense of community in similar ways</u>

The description and analysis of Woodhouse in the preceding Sections

was not conducted with any preconceived ideas as to which, if any,

would appear as the main communal groupings of residents (ie., those

experiencing a similar sense of solidarity and significance through

similar activities and relationships). In fact, one of the striking

things that this 1912 enquiry reveals is the great difficulty in speci-

fying such categories with great precision, simply because those with

much the same background and living in like circumstances none the less

felt a sense of community at different levels of intensity and expressed

it in different ways. Bearing the exceptions in mind, however, it can

be said that three particular factors did in the main distinguish cate-

gories of residents with a fairly similar communal experience: age, sex

and social class.

<u>Age</u>.

The age of residents certainly affected their style of life and

sense of community during this period. Only two groupings of outstand-

ing importance emerged, however; <u>children</u> and <u>adults</u>. Until Woodhouse

children left school at the age of 13, they lived almost entirely in a

child's world. After 13, they virtually became adults, in the sense

that they went out into the world to earn a living, usually the boys

down the pit and often the girls into service; yet they still remained

children until their marriage, in the sense that any money they earned was immediately handed over to their parents and they were in other respects allowed little independence or freedom. Thus, although young people met and mingled with those of their own age, especially in the context of activities organized by such bodies as the churches, there was no distinctive 'teenage period as such with a peculiar common style of life of its own. At the other end of the age scale, adults themselves worked as long as they possibly could, and retirement (as understood in the 1966 era) was unheard of. Lower life expectation also meant that the proportion of old people in the population of Woodhouse as a whole was less than in more recent years.

Sex.

The 1912 period saw a fairly strict distinction drawn between the sexes. At school, for example, <u>boys</u> and <u>girls</u>, though in the same class, sat in separate groups and at break time were confined to separate parts of the playground. Again at church they were often in different Sunday School classes, and on such occasions as the Whitsuntide processions were kept apart. Although friendships were at times made across the sexes, especially where children lived in close proximity, there remained a general acceptance of a clear social distinction between the sexes through childhood and adolescence, as well as in the period of courtship. In the case of adults, <u>men</u> and <u>women</u> seemed at times to live in worlds that were very far apart. Although some activities (as in the cases of

those run by the churches) were open to both sexes, by and large the

woman's time and energy were given to the home and family, whilst the

man at work and in his leisure hours moved almost entirely in a male

dominated realm.   There were, however, certain differences of behaviour

in this regard according to which social class Woodhouse residents

belonged.

Social class.

Social class was the only other characteristic which distinguished

categories of residents with a similar communal experience.   The main

distinction was between members of the top class and working class, with

the intermediate class tending to possess more features in common with

the latter than the former.   However, in the assessment of the strength

of community sentiment felt by residents which follows, it is assumed

that no great difference occurred in the experience of the three main

social classes unless specifically mentioned.

The intensity and expression of community sentiment experienced by these main categories of residents

The following summary and analysis is set out in two parts. In the first part there are listed those social activities and relationships engendering a sense of solidarity and/or significance for the main categories of Woodhouse residents. By and large, only those activities and relationships of considerable communal importance are mentioned. Where activities and relationships producing only weak, and sometimes moderately strong, communal sentiments are included, this is merely to help in comparing the experiences of different categories of residents in 1912, or to facilitate the comparison (see the 1966 'Conclusion') of the situation in 1912 with that in 1966. In the second part, the two essential communal elements, solidarity and significance, are drawn together so that those activities and relationships which as a result are found to have given Woodhouse residents of this era a notable sense of community can be listed in order of importance.

(The particular Sections wherein reference is made to the essential elements of community sentiment mentioned below are noted in brackets.)

Children

1. Solidarity and significance

Solidarity

Very strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between children and grandparents living in the local district
('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst small groups of children of similar age and sex and, in
the case of top class families more exclusively of their own social
strata, living within the same precinct or nearby ('Family and Neigh-
bours').

Amongst small groups of children, of similar age and sex, within
the same class at school ('Education').

Amongst children at the Secondary School, mainly from the top and
independent intermediate classes, at the level of both the class and
the School as a whole ('Education').

Strong

Amongst children regularly attending activities run by such organ-
izations as the churches ('Religion'), the Friendly Societies ('Health
and Welfare'), and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society ('Work').

Between children from working and intermediate class families and adult neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Between children and members of the extended family living in the local district ('Family and Neighbours').

Between children and teachers at the Secondary School ('Education').

Moderate

Amongst children at the Elementary Schools at the level of the class ('Education').

Between children from top class families and adult neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst children regularly attending the film shows at the Central Hall ('Leisure').

From time to time, as young citizens of the Mother Country of the British Empire ('Education,' 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life').

Weak

Amongst children at the Elementary Schools at the level of the School as a whole ('Education').

Between children and teachers at the Elementary Schools ('Education').

Significance

Very strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For those prominent within small groups of friends, of similar age and sex, especially through informal activities and roles ('Family and Neighbours,' 'Leisure').

Strong

For those attaining the limelight through activities sponsored by such organizations as the churches ('Religion'), the Friendly Societies ('Health and Welfare'), and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society ('Work').

Weak

For those at the Elementary Schools ('Education').

2. Community sentiment

Very strong

Within the immediate family. Where grandparents lived in the local district they were regarded by children as virtually members of their own immediate family.

Amongst small groups of children of similar age and often the same sex and, in the case of top class families more exclusively of

their own social strata, living with the same precinct or nearby.

Amongst small groups of children of similar age and often the same sex within the same class at school.   (There was of course a good deal of overlapping of activities in the case of peer groups, for example where children in the same class at school also lived in close proximity.)

Amongst children at the Secondary School, mainly from the top and independent intermediate classes, at the level of the class and the School, as a whole.   However, it must be remembered that the number of Woodhouse children attending the Secondary School was as yet comparatively small, whilst the fact that the School was in its early pioneering days probably gave rise to a communal grouping rather stronger than would otherwise have been the case.

Strong

Amongst children involved in activities run by such organizations as the churches, Friendly Societies and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society.

Between children from working and intermediate class families and adult neighbours living in the same precinct.

Between children and members of the extended family living in the local district.   Children's links with relatives living outside Woodhouse were much more tenuous.

Moderate

Amongst children at the Elementary Schools at the level of the class.

Between children from top class families and adult neighbours living in the same precinct.

Amongst children regularly attending the film shows at the Central Hall. Although comparatively short-lived, this activity is included simply because of its spontaneous popularity amongst children at this time.

As young citizens of the Mother country of the British Empire. This was a communal sentiment inculcated mainly at school and was only manifest on particular occasions such as those mentioned in the Section on 'Education.'

Weak

Amongst children at the Elementary Schools at the level of the School and with regard to their teachers.

<u>Women</u>

1.   <u>Solidarity and Significance</u>

<u>Solidarity</u>

<u>Very strong</u>

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst women from working and dependent intermediate class families living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst those regularly participating in the general life of the churches ('Religion').

<u>Strong</u>

Amongst teachers at the Elementary Schools ('Education').

Amongst those participating regularly in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society ('Work'), or with various, notably independent intermediate class and top class, political ('Government') or recreational (Golf Club, Tennis Club, etc.) ('Leisure') activities.

Between women and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

Moderate

Amongst women from independent intermediate and top class families living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Significance

Very strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For one or two very active on a voluntary basis, and very well known in the local district, as mid-wives, nurses, etc. ('Health and Welfare').

For one or two very active and very prominent in the general life of the churches ('Religion').

Strong

For the few, mainly from the intermediate class, earning a living outside the home ('Work').

For those from the working and intermediate classes with a reputation for readily offering neighbourly help to others living in the same precinct or nearby ('Family and Neighbours,' 'Health and Welfare').

For the few active and prominent in particular organizations or

groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society ('Work'), or with various political ('Government') or recreational ('Leisure') activities.

2. Community sentiment

Very strong

Within the immediate family. For women of this era this was by far the most important communal grouping with which they were associated.

Amongst women from working and dependent intermediate class families living in the same precinct and sometimes nearby.

Amongst women involved in the general life of the churches.

For one or two very active on a voluntary basis, and very well known in the local district as mid-wives, nurses, etc. especially amongst those whom they served. These women are included because they were amongst the comparative few who were able to find a very strong sense of community outside the home or precinct.

Strong

For the few, mainly from the intermediate class, earning a living outside the home, for example as teachers at the two Elementary Schools.

Amongst women involved in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches, the Handsworth Co-operative Society, or with various, notably independent and top class, political or recreational activities.

Between women and members of the extended family. Community sentiment was normally strongest where relatives lived in the local district.

Moderate

Amongst women from independent intermediate and top class families living in the same precinct.

<u>Men</u>

1. <u>Solidarity and significance</u>

<u>Solidarity</u>

<u>Very strong</u>

Most within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst miners working regularly together in small teams or groups ('Work').

Amongst teachers at the Secondary School ('Education').

Amongst those regularly participating in the general life of the churches ('Religion').

Amongst those regularly participating in the general life of the public houses or clubs ('Leisure').

Amongst members of the Woodhouse Prize Band ('Leisure').

<u>Strong</u>

Amongst active members of the Ambulance Classes ('Health and Welfare').

Amongst teachers at the Elementary Schools ('Education').

Amongst those participating regularly in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), the public houses

and clubs ('Leisure'), or with various other, notably independent intermediate class and top class, political ('Government') or recreational (Golf Club, Tennis Club, etc.) ('Leisure) activities.

Amongst railwaymen ('Work').

Amongst active members of the Friendly Societies ('Health and Welfare').

Amongst active members of the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society ('Work').

Amongst miners at times of crisis in the pit or industry as a whole ('Work').

Amongst those regularly meeting, often informally, to gamble, and amongst those regularly going together to watch football in the extended district ('Leisure').

Moderate

For a few, mainly from the working class, within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between men from working and dependent intermediate class families and those living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Between men and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst miners in general ('Work').

Weak

Between men from independent intermediate and top class families and those living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Significance

Very strong

For men whose occupations placed them in the top class, especially amongst those with whom they worked ('Work').

For Handsworth Urban District Councillors ('Government').

For those very active and very prominent in the general life of the churches ('Religion'), the public houses and clubs ('Leisure'), the Friendly Societies ('Health and Welfare'), and such organizations as the Woodhouse Prize Band ('Leisure'), the Ambulance Classes ('Health and Welfare'), and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society ('Work').

Strong

For those from the top and independent intermediate classes within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For those whose occupations placed them in the intermediate class, especially amongst those with whom they worked ('Work').

For those active and prominent in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), the public houses

and clubs ('Leisure'), the Friendly Societies ('Health and Leisure'), the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society ('Work'), and within the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association ('Work'), the Woodhouse Prize Band ('Leisure), the political associations ('Government'), and various other recreational groups ('Leisure').

For those successful in sporting organizations ('Leisure', 'Religion'), in Ambulance Class examinations ('Health and Welfare'), or gambling ('Leisure').

For those with the reputation of offering good service to customers ('Work'), of being conscientious and hard workers ('Work'), or of being local district 'characters' ('Leisure', 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life').

Moderate

For those from the working and dependent intermediate classes within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For men whose occupations placed them in the working class, especially amongst those with whom they worked ('Work').

2. Community sentiment

Very strong

For those men from the top and independent intermediate classes within the immediate family.

Amongst teachers at the Secondary School.   These were a very small group, and the fact that the School was in its early pioneering days probably produced a rather stronger sense of community than would otherwise have been the case.

Amongst small teams or groups of miners working regularly together.

Amongst men involved in the general life of the churches.

Amongst men involved in the general life of the public houses and the clubs.

For those whose occupations placed them in the top class, especially amongst those with whom they worked.

For Handsworth Urban District Councillors, especially when appearing as such amongst groups of residents on public occasions.   Only one or two men were concerned here, the communal importance of their activities being particularly associated with official appearances outside the Council Chamber.

Amongst members of the Woodhouse Prize Band.   This was more than just another leisure activity, it was a Woodhouse institution of considerable reputation.

For those very active and very prominent in the Friendly Societies, the Ambulance Classes and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society.

Strong

For those men from the dependent intermediate class and most of those from the working class within the immediate family.

Amongst those involved in the Ambulance Classes.

Amongst teachers at the two Elementary Schools.

Amongst those involved in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches, the public houses or the clubs.

Amongst the railwaymen.   The Woodhouse railwaymen were a fairly small group but, for various reasons mentioned in the Section on 'Work', possessed a more than usual sense of corporate identity.

Amongst those involved in the Friendly Societies.

Amongst those involved in the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association. This was quite a vigorous but comparatively short-lived organization.

Amongst those involved in the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society.

Amongst those, notably from the independent intermediate and top classes, involved in political associations or recreational activities not linked with previously mentioned organizations.

For those whose occupations placed them in the intermediate class,

especially amongst those with whom they worked.

Amongst miners at times of crisis in the pit or industry. Miners were generally quick to pull together on such occasions, but equally quickly went their separate ways once the urgency of the moment had passed.

Amongst those regularly gathering to gamble, especially in informal groups, and amongst those regularly going together to watch football matches in the extended district.

For local district 'characters', particularly within their own circle of friends and acquaintances.

Moderate

For a few, mainly from the working class, within the immediate family.

For those whose occupations placed them in the working class, especially amongst those with whom they worked. Many men's sense of community could be increased where they were well respected as conscientious and hard workers.

Between men from working and dependent intermediate class families and those living in the same precinct.

Between men and members of the extended family.

Amongst miners in general.

Weak

Between men from independent intermediate and top class families
and those living in the same precinct.

All residents

1.   Solidarity and significance

Solidarity

Strong

Amongst residents as residents, due to such factors as the relative isolation and independence of Woodhouse, its physical lay-out and attractiveness, residents' appreciation of its history leading to a prized common heritage and symbolic place, the size of the population, length of residence leading to symbolic people, a shared stable cycle of local district events, a similar tempo of life, the ready availability of news about fellow residents, frequent contact with other residents in a variety of activities and roles, etc.   ('Woodhouse 1912,' 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life,' the opening part of this 'Conclusion,' etc.).

Amongst those regularly shopping in the local district on Saturday evenings ('Work').

Amongst those actively participating in occasional events of a charitable nature ('Health and Welfare').

Amongst those actively participating in popular annual events, such as the Feast ('Leisure').

Amongst those actively participating in certain special events, such as the 1912 Miners' Strike and relief operations ('Work'), and the 1912 Handsworth Urban District Council Elections ('Government').

From time to time, as citizens of Great Britain, and of the Mother Country of the British Empire ('Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life').

Significance

Very strong

For members of the top class as such ('Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life,' etc.).

2. Community sentiment

Strong

Amongst residents as residents. This very large grouping embraced numerous exceptions, but the frequent occasions on which residents met each other over the years, their many interlocking relationships, and their sense of corporate identity, arising from those factors, mentioned in preceding Sections, in general, gave rise to a strong sense of community.

Amongst those regularly shopping in the local district, especially on Saturday evenings.

Amongst those involved in events of a charitable nature. These were only held occasionally, but were often times of considerable social activity.

Amongst those involved in popular annual occasions. Of especial note here was the Feast, which for many residents was their main holiday of the year.

Amongst those involved in certain special events. In 1912, the Miners' Strike and the Handsworth Urban District Council Elections saw Woodhouse people engaged in corporate activity at an unusually vigorous level.

As citizens of England and of the Mother Country of the British Empire. The sense of community here was very much associated with the nation as such. It was especially manifest when particular events, as described in the Section on 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life,' called it out.

Moderate

Amongst members of the top class as such. The sense of significance for individual top class families was often very strong, but very little sense of solidarity reduced their overall sense of community considerably.

The geographical context of community as experienced by Woodhouse
residents

The home

The home (as a place) was in 1912 one of the two geographical

units of greatest communal importance to Woodhouse people.   Here the

woman, constantly at the centre of family affairs, found by far her

strongest sense of community.   The child also experienced a very

strong sense of community here, but in his case another very important

communal grouping, the peer group, mostly operated outside its walls.

Though the man, with certain notable exceptions, was closely associated

with his immediate family, his sense of significance in this context was

rather more limited.   His sense of community was in fact discovered as

much outside the home as within it.

The precinct

The precinct, especially where it was made up of tightly packed

dwellings, was communally very important for the working class and

dependent intermediate class woman.   For women living in more spacious

surroundings, particularly where houses were detached, the precinct gave

rise to only a moderate or weak sense of community.   The child fre-

quently found very close friends within its boundaries.   For the man,

the precinct was a much less important geographical unit, containing

(the immediate family apart) none of his main communal activities or

relationships.

The short-range thoroughfare

This geographical unit was normally of 'passing' communal

value to residents; the woman going to shop, the child going to

school, the man going to work and so forth. But because 'passing'

was usually on foot and occurred so frequently, it became in time a

place where residents as residents were able, however casually, to

give expression to the strong sense of community existing amongst

them. On the other hand, the short-range thoroughfare could now and

then be the scene of more than just passing contact, as when women

stopped to chat for some time or when children played out in the

street. Sometimes this geographical unit might gain a rather more

fortuitous communal prominence, for example when a popular shop, a

public house or sometimes a church happened to be sited 'on the

corner.'

The local district

The local district was the other (with the home) geographical

unit of greatest communal importance to residents. The man ranged

most freely over this area, and here found a very strong or strong

sense of community within numerous groups, especially those associated

with the public houses, the clubs, the churches and (where this lay

inside the boundaries of the local district) his place of work. The

woman traversed the local district less frequently, though she too

would be out and about at least weekly doing the main shopping for the

family, visiting relatives living in the area, or participating in
activities run by such organizations as the churches.   The child,
other than the boy or girl who attended the Secondary School, tended
to associate himself with either the West end or the East end of Wood-
house, in part because he went to school there and especially because
his friends lived there.   However, many children did venture further
afield to participate in activities specially arranged for them by
the churches and other bodies.   All residents eagerly shared in the big
communal events of the year (and the special events occurring in 1912),
whose main catchment area was the local district as a whole.

The long-range thoroughfare

Other than for the miners walking along the same routes each day
to work in the nearby collieries and for the few residents who regu-
larly travelled into the city to pursue their occupations, this geo-
graphical unit was of minor communal consequence.

The extended district

Most of the collieries within which Woodhouse miners were employed
lay in the extended district (just beyond the borders of Woodhouse) and
for these men this geographical unit was thus communally very important.
But, the miners apart, this area was of note mainly as the context of
certain activities pursued by groups from Woodhouse, rather than as a
place within which communal ties were established and maintained with

non-residents.   Woodhouse people, in small or larger groups,
visited Sheffield fairly frequently to shop, find entertainment watch
football, play sport, or to call on friends and relatives, amongst
other things.   However, with the exception of the miners in relation
to their work and certain members of the top class whose social contacts
were rather more widely scattered, the extended district did very little
to extend the communal horizon of residents.

Beyond the extended district

The area stretching from the borders of the extended district up
to the country as a whole was of only occasional communal importance to
Woodhouse residents.   Some did have close relatives living there whom
they visited now and then, though more often family reunions took place
within Woodhouse at such times as Whitsuntide and the Feast.   Some
inhabitants were very interested in national politics and followed
current affairs with concern and sympathy.   Though manifest only occasion-
ally, many Woodhouse people possessed a strong sense of community as
citizens of the Mother Country of the British Empire.   However, none of
the contacts made with those living outside the extended district were
frequent enough, nor links established tenacious enough to make this
geographical unit communally very important for Woodhouse residents of
this era.

In brief, it can be said that the majority of Woodhouse residents in 1912 found the geographical units discussed above falling in the following order of communal importance :-

Home

Local district

Precinct x

Short-range thoroughfare

Extended district

Beyond the extended district

Long-range thoroughfare

x   For many women, especially from the dependent intermediate class and the working class, the precinct was of greater communal importance than the local district as such.