

COMMUNITY AND A SUBURBAN VILLAGE

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CHAPTER VIII

WOODHOUSE 1966

SECTIONS

1. WOODHOUSE 1966
2. WORK
3. GOVERNMENT
4. HEALTH AND WELFARE
5. FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURS
6. EDUCATION
7. RELIGION
8. LEISURE
9. OTHER ASPECTS OF WOODHOUSE LIFE
10. CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VIII1. WOODHOUSE 1966BACKGROUNDThe local and extended districts

In 1966 Woodhouse was still a quite distinct settlement with a now narrow belt (of fields, woods or old colliery workings and spoil heaps) separating it on all sides from other Sheffield suburbs. However, to the West, to the north-west and to the south-east, estates built since the last war had eaten up, and were continuing to consume, great chunks of open country resulting, by 1966, in the complete encirclement of Woodhouse by housing on all but its north-eastern flank. Woodhouse continued to remain off 'the beaten track' with the main road from Sheffield to Worksop (A57) and from Sheffield to Mansfield (A616) bypassing it to the north-east and south-east respectively at a distance of a mile or so.

Just as Woodhouse itself was gradually being engulfed by other Sheffield suburbs, so had the two small adjoining settlements of Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs lost a good deal of their distinctive character and to a large extent, especially in the case of the latter, become part and parcel of the local district. Despite this, most residents still regarded the physical features mentioned in the 1912 analysis (ie. the two brooks, the Shirtcliffe Brook to the North and the Shire



Woodhouse (on the hill) seen from Normanton Springs.



The still narrow streets of central Woodhouse; Market Street.

Brook to the South, and 'the two bridges,' running over the old Great Central Railway line in the East and across the now disused Birley Branch line to the West) as the boundaries of Woodhouse proper, and it is this area that will continue to be denoted by the term 'the local district.' As in 1912, the extended district is defined as that area whose residents looked to Sheffield as a whole for the satisfaction of needs not met in their own locality.

Population

In 1966 the population of Woodhouse (in this case including Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs, to facilitate comparison with the 1911 figure of 7,638) was approximately 9,655. This latter total is derived from the electoral rolls for October 1966 (when 6,555 residents over the age of 21 lived in Woodhouse) and (with regard to those under 21) in large part estimated from data relating to the number of Woodhouse children at school, supplied by the Sheffield Education Office.

The approximate proportion of the population falling into each major age group in 1966 was as follows (1912 percentages supplied for comparison) :-

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1912</u>
0 - 5 years (infants)	10%	10%
5 - 15 years (school children)	17%	24% *
15 - 21 years (young people)	5%	11% *
21 years + (adults)	68%	55%

(* Figures adjusted to assist comparison with 1966 age groups.)

In 1966, approximately 9% of Woodhouse residents were old people, ie., 65 years old and over. (It is impossible to estimate how many residents came into this age category in 1912, though the proportion was certainly much smaller.)

The smaller proportion of children and young people in general in the Woodhouse population, at this time as against 1912, was partly due to the much lower level of birth rate in relation to death rate. In the decade up to and including 1966, Sheffield had an average annual birth rate of 16.4 (30.5 in the earlier period) and an average annual death rate of 12.2 (16.6 in the earlier period). On the other hand, the relatively high proportion of children, as opposed to young people, in the population was largely due to the influx of many young families into Woodhouse during the decade preceding 1966 (see below). The higher proportion of adults, and especially of old people, in 1966 as against 1912, was partly due to much greater life expectation, in 1966 well over half (as opposed to a quarter in 1912) of those residents attaining the age of 21 being likely to live beyond 70.

In 1966, the sex of those on the electoral roll (ie., over 21) was 51.2% female and 48.8% male, whereas, at the beginning of the Century there were slightly more male than female residents.

(Unfortunately the Census of 1966, based on a 10% sample of the population, shows a total disregard of Woodhouse as a geographical and

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1. General Registry Office. Sample Census 1966. Sheffield County Borough, Handsworth Area. Mainly Enumeration Districts 16, 17, 18 and 25.

sociological entity, and divides Woodhouse, Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs into no less than 7 enumeration districts, virtually all of which, splaying out from the centre of the local district like the spokes of a wheel, include quite a large number of people living in separate suburbs. Nevertheless, 4 out of the 7 enumeration districts contain most of the population of Woodhouse and the latter certainly form the large majority of those therein enumerated. By using the figures for these 4 enumeration districts, it is thus possible to get some idea of the approximate percentage of Woodhouse people falling into the various categories covered by the Census. These percentages are quoted where relevant in subsequent Sections, but the fact that they are approximate must be born in mind.)

Since 1912, the population of the local district had increased due to the erection of five council house estates of varying sizes. These were :-

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Built</u>	<u>Adults resident there in 1966</u>
Wolverley and Southsea	1919-1923	243
Mauncer	1939-1940	218
New Cross	1955-1956	620
Tithe Barn	1957-1958	363
Shirtcliffe East	1963-1964	<u>1,226</u>
Total		<u>2,670</u>

The post-war estates, in 1966, contained 42% of the adult population of Woodhouse proper (ie., excluding Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs, where a good deal of recent private development had also taken place), the most recent estate, Shirtcliffe East (henceforth called by its much more common local name, 'the Badger Estate') having 23% of these. A limited amount of private development had taken place in Woodhouse, especially at the north-eastern end, in recent years, but those living in these houses only accounted for 4% of the adult population of the local district. The new residents were mainly natives of Sheffield, although the New Cross Estate possessed a number of people of European extraction who had married into English families or moved to Woodhouse after the last war. In 1966, Woodhouse only had one or two coloured families as residents.

The age of families living on the council estates reflected the age of the estates themselves, with the Wolverley and Southsea Estate and the Mauncer Estate housing a good proportion of older people, the New Cross and Tithe Barn Estates those with a good number of children into their early 'teens, and the Badger Estate containing a large number of couples with young children. By 1966, at least half the Woodhouse children lived on the post-war estates, the proportion being higher still if the families of newly arrived owner occupiers be taken into account.

At the same time as more modern dwellings were going up, the old Woodhouse of the days before the First World War was gradually disappearing. Once subsidence caused by the colliery workings under the local district

had settled, Sheffield pressed slowly forward with its plans to redevelop the area, and, in the 1960s, a good deal of property was evacuated and demolished (or left derelict). Although a large number of old residents were re-housed in Woodhouse, this process, together with much coming and going on the more recent estates and in the privately developed parts, gave the impression of a fairly mobile population.

The Sheffield Housing Department recorded mobility on the Woodhouse council estates, for the years 1964 to 1966 inclusive, as follows :-

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Number of dwellings</u>	<u>Number of times a house changed hands</u>	<u>Proportion of changes made in relation to the number of dwellings</u>
Wolverley and Southsea	108	18	17%
Mauncer	97	7	7%
New Cross	281	51	18%
Tithe Barn	167	19	11%
Shirtcliffe East	<u>601</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>18%</u>
	<u>1,254</u>	<u>202</u>	<u>16%</u>

Economic and administrative matters

By 1966, Woodhouse had become an economic and administrative unit dependent for its viability on the city of Sheffield. Coal mining no longer dominated the local scene, and only some 10% of the working male population were now employed in this industry, all these, since the closure of the East Birley pit in 1943, earning their living in the extended

district. The great majority of residents now found employment in Sheffield, approximately a third of the men in the steel industry. The post-war years also saw a steady growth in the number of women going out to work, in 1966 about 45% of female residents between 15 and 60 earning a wage, on a full-time or part-time basis.

Whilst more and more residents were going out of Woodhouse to find work, the local economy, relatively so self-sufficient in 1912, was becoming increasingly dependent on the support of outside agencies. This is not to deny that the influx of new residents had not boosted trade within the local district; indeed some spoke of Woodhouse in 1966 as 'thriving' in this respect. But much of the business done was now concerned merely with meeting ordinary daily requirements, was becoming increasingly the concern of large trading establishments based outside the local district (such as the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society which took over the Woodhouse Co-operative Society in 1963), or was slowly but surely falling into the hands of non-resident shopkeepers and tradesmen. Although one could still get a few repair jobs of a more specialized nature done within the local district (one cobbler did a wide variety of stitching work himself and a retired engineer was an expert in intricate welding), and although certain old village families were still held in great respect for the service they rendered (as in the case of one particular firm of local undertakers), the great majority of inhabitants went off into Sheffield whenever they wanted to purchase anything out of the ordinary. Nor did Woodhouse people bother any longer to provide economically for themselves by such means as keeping poultry

or tending allotments. Many of the latter were rapidly becoming overgrown and being taken over in preparation for further building by Sheffield. On the other hand, there was still a good deal of interest in gardening and vegetables were grown here by quite a number of residents. The baking of bread at home was, by this time, confined entirely to the old people.

Administratively, a great change had come in 1921, when Woodhouse surrendered control of its own affairs, before then exercised by the Handsworth Urban District Council, to Sheffield. Thenceforth, Woodhouse found itself leaning more and more on the city (or other regional bodies) for essential services such as the supplying of water, gas and electricity, and the provision of education, welfare services and so forth. Thus economically and administratively, though by no means always in outlook as noted in later Sections, Woodhouse was by 1966 a suburb of the city of Sheffield.

Communications

The merging of Woodhouse with the city of Sheffield brought much improved modes of travel from the local district to the latter. In 1966, five different Corporation bus routes linked Woodhouse with the city. Three of these services were frequent during the day, some 65% of all residents working in Sheffield regularly using this form of transport. The journey took between 20 and 30 minutes, according to traffic conditions. Fairly regular train services still ran from Woodhouse Station on week-days but, mainly because the Station lay well over on the north-

eastern side of the local district, rail transport was not used by very many residents. Ever growing in popularity at this time was the car, according to the 1966 Census returns about a third of all Woodhouse families possessing one, and some 20% of all those working using it to get them to their place of employment.

The lay-out of the local district

In 1966, Woodhouse still remained a rather straggling kind of settlement, though the coming of the estates mentioned above had filled it out along its northern edge. By and large, the development since 1912 had been fitted fairly snugly into or round the old village, although the New Cross and Badger Estates were more 'out on a limb.' The East - West, Bottom - Top divisions of the local district, noted in 1912, were still present in 1966 (by which time a working men's club and a new school had been added at both ends of Woodhouse), but the old village centre with its many shops, public houses and churches (no public house and only one church, now a Child Welfare Clinic, had been closed since 1912) continued to be regarded as at least the physical centre.

The houses throughout the local district presented an even more diverse appearance than in the first years of the Century, with modern private and council development existing cheek-by-jowl with the solid stone-built dwellings of an age now gone. Many of the large old houses standing in spacious grounds had, however, lost their former glory and were now falling into disrepair or had been taken over for other purposes

(one was a working men's club and another an old people's home). The road pattern in the old parts of Woodhouse was still that of the 1912 era and, despite piecemeal attempts to iron out the more dangerous corners, the streets still remained winding and narrow, though now of course tarmaced.

Although old residents could still quite clearly see the Woodhouse of their youth in the Woodhouse of 1966, one thing seems to have altered quite drastically since the earlier period; the physical attractiveness of the local district. Much of the surrounding countryside had now been built up or in some way disfigured. The spoil heaps and old colliery yards of the East and West Birley Pits, long since abandoned, lay like open sores along the southern flank of the local district. To the North, the Orgreave Colliery had piled up a tip which for many years now had cut off the view of the village of Treeton across the valley. The local footpaths and lanes which still remained were fast becoming overgrown. In 1964, the Wesley Church Magazine commented as follows on one of the beauty spots of 1912: 'Shirtcliffe Wood, once a lovely wood, with its stream and several walks, the marvellous trees which studded the banks giving joy to the eye during all seasons, is now beginning to look derelict and woebegone.'¹ Nor was the appearance of the area enhanced by the creation in the late 1950s of a refuse disposal tipping ground for Sheffield at the extreme East end, necessitating the

1. Woodhouse Wesley Methodist Church. Newsletter. June 1964.



Derelict Woodhouse; old farm buildings behind Tannery Street.



Derelict Woodhouse; Beaver Hill Road crossing Shirtcliffe Brook.



Derelict Woodhouse; the Endowed School.



Derelict Woodhouse; the Picture Palace (opened 1914).

constant passage of Cleansing Department lorries through the streets.

The heart of Woodhouse was also becoming increasingly derelict as old buildings, such as the one time Central Hall and the once relatively grand Picture Palace, fell into disuse or old houses were evacuated. The result was either fairly speedy demolition, with large gaping spaces left looking bare and bleak, or, more often and sometimes for years on end, buildings left standing for first young vandals and then the weather to turn them into decaying and ugly piles of rubble. By 1966, therefore, only small corners of Woodhouse remained in any way physically attractive.

COMMENTARY

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the Woodhouse of 1966 was the division of the population into two major groupings representing almost two different worlds. On the one hand, there were the well established residents, most of whom had been born and bred in the local district; on the other, there were the newcomers (almost half the adult population) who had moved into Woodhouse in the preceding 10 years. The old Woodhouse residents were steeped in the social life of the local district as it existed well before 1939, and were inhabitants for whom an extremely limited formal education, insecurity of employment and low wages, very inadequate welfare provision, self-made amusements and a parochial outlook on many matters, had been the norm. The newcomers had on the whole experienced such things for only a brief period in

their youth during and just after the last war. They themselves had been reared in a fairly affluent and vigorous society, their education, social habits and attitudes thus being the product of a very different age.

The consequences of there being these two very different sections of the population living cheek-by-jowl will be touched on many times in the following description and analysis of Woodhouse life in 1966. Here it is only necessary to emphasize how this situation produced factors affecting the intensity and expression of community sentiment. First, Woodhouse residents as a whole had far less sense in 1966, than in 1912, of being cast in the same mould. In the earlier era, virtually all inhabitants, even those who had moved into the local district most recently, had been brought up in a society which had not changed radically in the previous 30 or 40 years. Thus wherever they came from, they arrived on the Woodhouse scene with certain basic experiences and attitudes to life very similar to those who had lived in the local district all their lives. It was thus comparatively easy for the new arrivals to be accepted and integrated into the social life of the Woodhouse of that period. Not so in 1966. The newcomers felt themselves to be, and were felt by the old Woodhouse people to be, a new and strange breed. The natives made no great efforts to draw them actively into local district affairs, nor did the newcomers wish to be thus involved. A modus vivendi was at least temporarily achieved, not by integration, but

through a tacit agreement by both sections of the population to go their several ways.

The sense of a long and unique past history which, in 1912, had engendered a strong sense of solidarity amongst most residents was, by 1966, confined entirely to the native population. Whether the latter spoke of 'the good old days' or 'the bad old days' hardly mattered; what counted was that they were still drawn together by being able to chat at length of the times that were now gone but rich in memories, the fact that the present was such an utterly different age merely adding piquancy to their reminiscences. The old men, for example, talked with justified relish about their work in the pits, not because their past experiences had in themselves been particularly enjoyable, but because these represented a shared heritage in the gradual building of which they had played an active part. The newcomers, however, knew little about the Woodhouse so precious to the old. Ancient place names, customs, landmarks and buildings were, to those dwelling in neat, compact serried rows of council houses, curious rather than historic, and did next to nothing to give them a sense of joining a settlement once proud of its past and with a strong sense of solidarity.

In 1966, the population of Woodhouse numbered only just over 2,000 more than in 1912. In theory this should have facilitated frequent contact, as in the previous era, but the two very different styles of life just mentioned meant that the limited number of residents was an asset

only to the old natives, whose activities were still predominantly based on the local district. By 1966, with a far smaller percentage of the population in the younger age brackets than in 1912 (when families contained many children and life expectation was less), the old residents were relatively strong in number (and being retired had a good deal of time to spare), and were well able to sustain the type of activities that had been part and parcel of their experience in the inter-war years. This facilitated the maintenance of a strong sense of solidarity amongst them which, though in time bound to peter out, was in 1966 still a factor of note. At the same time, however, the steady decline in the size and influence of what had constituted the top Woodhouse class in 1912, and the emergence of a population of a homogeneous (lower class) type, had resulted, by 1966, in a general dearth of articulate resident leadership and a considerable weakening of impetus in local district activities.

Those born or brought up in Woodhouse were particularly unhappy about, and at times demoralized by, the appearance of the local district, left half derelict and being developed at such an apparently slow pace. Comments from them were legion: 'You've come to a dump now!' 'It looks as if it's been blitzed these days,' 'It's a disgusting disgrace!' 'I've never seen the place look such a mess,' the last remark from a man in his eighties, and so on. Even the restrained verdict of the Civil Service was that Woodhouse had now become a 'largely outworn

settlement,¹ language hardly designed to improve matters when scheduled redevelopment was planned to take up to 20 years. Nor did new residents have very much regard for the area; 'Even the fields seemed dingy,' commented one and 'I don't like pit country,' stated another. Such a situation was unlikely to engender a strong sense of corporate pride and identity amongst the local inhabitants.

There was, however, evidence of renewal in some directions which relieved the drabness and encouraged certain residents to look to the future. Two new schools had been built in the local district, in 1965 and 1967 respectively, and two more just outside it about the same time. There was an attractive Library, a Child Welfare Clinic in a well renovated one time Methodist church, and a new Post Office. Virtually all the public houses and the two working men's clubs had been recently modernized and most of the churches were well maintained. Furthermore, whatever was felt about the appearance of the local district as a whole, the residents on the Badger Estate were the proud possessors of some of the most up-to-date council houses in the country. Elsewhere, not to be outdone, scores of local people were renovating and modernizing their homes.

Woodhouse was far less of a self-contained and self-sufficient unit in this period than in 1912. Economic and administrative independence had gone, the old residents in particular being very bitter about the way

1. Documents relating to the Application for Confirmation by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government of the City of Sheffield (Woodhouse) Housing Compulsory Purchase Order. (Unpublished), 1965

Sheffield seemed first to have absorbed Woodhouse and then to have forgotten it. Furthermore, centrifugal forces of considerable strength were gradually undermining the corporate identity of Woodhouse. Not only were the East and West ends of the local district getting increasingly out of touch but the New Cross, Tithe Barn and Badger Estates were each served by separate bus services which never passed through the central parts of the old village. Though the heart of the local district still contained some busy shops and numerous public houses and churches, it was quite possible for some inhabitants, especially the newcomers, never to go into the centre of Woodhouse, even to purchase everyday commodities. In addition, education, work and recreational activities took a large section of the population, male and female, out of the local district every day. Residents spoke of 'the tide going out' (towards Sheffield) in the morning and 'coming in again' at night. Perpetual movement of this kind, assisted by convenient means of transport (especially the car), allied to the growing influence of the mass media, meant that residents were freed in action and thought from the confines of the local district.

The impact of widening horizons was different with regard to old and new residents. The former were less able to assimilate and to enjoy the benefits of the post-war world. They were generally less mobile (with some astonishing exceptions, such as a local man who at 80 went on his first Continental holiday), and thus tended to seek the satisfaction of their communal needs, comradeship and personal fulfilment,

within the local district and amongst groups of fellow natives. The new arrivals, however, were those who had already lived in several different suburbs of the city and often came on the scene with a more critical eye, not least the children who, as one Headmaster remarked, were frequently more discerning and alert than the children of Woodhouse natives. The newcomers' way of life was greatly influenced by the mores of the day, especially as communicated through the mass media, and, from the manner in which they equipped their homes to the nature of their leisure time interests, they accepted with alacrity the high standards and wide choice offered by contemporary society. They often found the activities and amenities of the local district quite inadequate to meet their communal requirements. (Young people, for example, unlike their contemporaries in 1912, commonly regarded Woodhouse as a restrictive and inhibiting place in which to live and broke out or away whenever opportunity was afforded them.) Consequently, the new and younger residents as a whole sought satisfaction as much outside as inside the local district, meeting each other merely fortuitously or only whilst playing one or two of the many roles that were theirs. Their sense of belonging to Woodhouse and attachment to fellow residents as such was much weaker than that existing amongst the old inhabitants.

By 1966, the struggle for survival had ended. But with it had also disappeared the need and the will to co-operate to achieve 'the good life.' It is true that both old residents and new at times drew together

to protest vigorously about certain matters to the city authorities, but the coming of the Welfare State had put an end to a great deal of neighbourly help, the need for children to take complete responsibility for aged and ailing parents, and to most of those voluntary associations aimed at insuring people against unemployment and other misfortunes. Greater social security had the general effect of weakening solidarity amongst Woodhouse residents as such. In addition, the appearance of the Affluent Society meant enough and to spare for many people. One result was that the leisure time organizations that now thrive were not so much those that provided a haven from the rigours of the pit or the wear and tear of rearing a large family, as did the public houses and the churches in 1912, but those, such as the modern working men's clubs, the bingo halls and the bowling alleys, which could offer an exciting evening's entertainment in colourful, plush and even extravagant surroundings. Because leisure and pleasure were weekly, if not daily, phenomena, and because life was so much less restricted geographically or socially than before, the great communal 'splashes' of the previous era (Whitsuntide Processions, the Feast, etc.) were now dying out and were looked forward to only by the old residents and a few of the children.

In 1966, therefore, the sense of community experienced by Woodhouse people was manifest in two fairly distinct ways. For the natives, the habits and traditions of 1912 still loomed large. Their sense of community had developed slowly but surely, being shaped (though not consciously

felt to be so) largely by necessity within the social and physical limitations of their day. The common round had over the years contributed to the emergence of a precious shared heritage, sheer repetition of even the most ordinary activities in the company of the same people steadily strengthening old residents' attachment to one another. For the newcomers, the situation was very different. Their sense of community was a phenomenon more rationally determined, frequently arising from common interests pursued through choice rather than convention. Communal bonds developed rapidly, the younger residents being more skilled in building new relationships quickly (a great asset in a highly mobile society), but were relinquished fairly easily when occasion demanded. Community sentiment was for them an experience often confined to small groups scattered all over the local and extended districts and arose wherever they purposefully met to pursue some common interest with will and enthusiasm. For newcomers, therefore, fellow residents were frequently of much less communal importance than friends made whilst engaging in activities outside the local district: Woodhouse as a geographical and social entity engendered little affection.

2. WORKINTRODUCTION

The main centres of work within Woodhouse in 1966 were as follows:-

<u>Place of work</u>	<u>Opened</u>	<u>Location</u>
3 farms, of various sizes	-	Stradbroke Road and Junction Road
Woodhouse Railway Station, Junction and Goodsyrd	1849	Running parallel to Station Approach and Junction Road
Numerous small businesses and shops	-	The main trading centre was still the same as in 1912
Tungsten Carbide Developments Ltd.	1950	Just North of the Shire Brook on the site of the old Birley East Colliery (closed 1943)

Since 1912 a number of surrounding collieries had closed down or diminished in size. At the same time two by-products plants had opened.



Remains of East Birley Colliery (now the site of Tungsten Carbide Developments Ltd.).



The old spoil heaps of East Birley Colliery (Hackenthorpe in the background).

<u>Colliery or plant</u>	<u>Opened</u>	<u>Closed</u>	<u>Owners</u>
Orgreave	1851	-	National Coal Board
Treeton	1877	-	National Coal Board
East Birley	1888	1943	Sheffield Coal Company
Handsworth	1903	1967	National Coal Board
Orgreave By-Products Plant	1918	-	United Coke and Chemical Company Limited
Brookhouse (now combined with Beighton)	1929	-	National Coal Board
Brookhouse By-Products Plant	1930	-	United Coke and Chemical Company Limited

PARTICIPANTS

In 1966, all children stayed on at school until at least the age of 15, a good number until 16, and some went on to higher education (see the Section on 'Education'). At the other end of the scale, most men and working women retired at the normal pensionable age (65 and 60 years old respectively). Nevertheless, there were quite a few school children who undertook paid work in their spare time (delivering newspapers, serving in city shops on Saturdays, delivering letters at Christmas and doing a variety of jobs during the summer vacation) as well as old people who worked on, mainly through choice, beyond retiring age.

The occupational pattern of the male residents of the local district

was far more diverse than in 1912. The 1966 Census records the proportion of local men in the occupations listed below as follows :-

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage of employable men</u>
Agriculture	-
Mining	10%
Manufacturing, Construction, Gas, Electricity and Water	63%
Transport	9%
Distribution and Civilian Services	12%
National and Local Government	3%
Unemployed	3%

An informal census of jobs done by the fathers of Woodhouse Junior school children, taken in 1966, revealed a very similar distribution of occupations, though with the added detail that, of those men employed in the wide ranging category referred to as 'Manufacturing, Construction, Gas, Electricity and Water,' 36% worked in the steel and engineering industries. In general, a very wide span of trades and skills was shown by the school census, as well as being revealed in male occupations recorded in the marriage and baptism registers of the Parish Church for that year. Occupations mentioned included; steeplejack, ice-cream salesman, slaughterman, bookbinder, club steward, bowling alley manager, missionary, spoon and fork finisher, railway guard, hawker, insurance agent, nurse and so forth. However, in relation to the sphere of work

in 1912, the most striking change was the drastic decline of the number of Woodhouse men working in the coal industry, though more than the 10% given above were indirectly linked with the latter, as for example those who worked on the two by-products plants referred to in the Introduction to this Section.

A striking feature of the 1966 scene, over against that of 1912, was the great increase in the number of women, especially married women, going out to earn a living. Of mothers of children at the Woodhouse Infants' School (largely drawing children from the new Badger Estate), about 30% worked part-time or full-time, whilst at Woodhouse West Infants' and Junior School, the figure was about 33%. The Ministry of Housing survey of part of the Badger Estate comments that 'only a third of (the) wives went out to work.'¹ It must, however, be remembered that these statistics refer mainly to the mothers of young children, often tied to the home by family responsibilities. In fact, the 1966 Census states that 51% of all women in this area between the ages of 15 and 60 worked part-time or full-time. Because Woodhouse contained a fair proportion of young families, and because the tradition of women not going out to work still lingered on in the older parts, it is probable that the percentage of women between 15 and 60 resident in the local district itself was about 45%. A wide variety of occupations was again in evidence, including

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Survey of Housing at Gloucester Street and Woodhouse, Sheffield. (Unpublished), 1967. Chapter II Section 4.

nurse, traffic warden, launderette attendant, butcher, comptometer operator, secretary, tool maker, store manageress, bingo club cashier and so forth.

The local district itself contained no industries of any size to hold workers to the area. Tungsten Carbide Developments Ltd., the only firm of any note, employed only 32 Woodhouse residents, out of a total work force of 85. A number of teachers, shopkeepers, tradesmen, railwaymen, cleaners, school cooks, etc., made up the rest of the small minority of the population working on their home territory. On the other hand, if those collieries, by-products plants and one or two small firms lying within a two mile radius of Woodhouse are also included, the proportion of residents working inside, or within reasonably easy reach of the local district, rises to about 20%. Nearly all the remainder, however, travelled into Sheffield to find employment.

The actual number of people coming into Woodhouse to work in the shops, in the schools, in the welfare centres, or occasionally passing through on duty or business, was not large, perhaps in the region of 75, but the proportion of 'incomers' to residents working locally was a good deal higher (and increasing) than in 1912.

SOCIAL ACTIONSolidarity

Life for the Woodhouse miner had changed considerably by 1966, and interaction had certainly declined in intensity. The men still worked their 8 hours a day (now five days a week) on mornings, afternoons or nights but, with wages good, especially for those actually down the pit, quite a number were not averse to taking the odd day off now and then when they felt so inclined. Miners from all over the extended district and beyond now worked in the collieries nearest to Woodhouse; 'It seems they have to scour the villages for them,' remarked one old miner. The gradual automation of the pits had lessened the physical strain, but breakdowns in the machinery occurred quite often and during maintenance work men, to their annoyance, were sometimes called upon 'to run all over the pit' to find work. The intense interaction once found within the old benk or stall was less evident (up to 20 miners now worked a single face). Even the much improved conditions, such as far better safety precautions, vastly increased compensation in case of accident (one Woodhouse miner losing several fingers in 1915 received £130, another damaging his leg badly in 1958 received £5,000), and the far superior amenities, such as baths, showers, a canteen, sports and social clubs, etc., did little to increase the sense of solidarity. Although miners could still speak of the cheerful spirit existing amongst

them, most retired from the pit without any regret and certainly not leaving behind many bosom friends. Even fatal accidents failed to stir the mine as a whole, or the residents of the local district, as in past days. And despite all the improvements, most miners were quite aware that lurking in the background was the shadow of a contracting coal industry and the possibility of redundancy for some, the older men especially. The National Union of Mineworkers commanded only a nominal loyalty and gave little sense of fellow feeling to miners in their everyday work. Thus, although solidarity remained at least strong amongst those working in small teams or groups, especially on the face, by and large attachment to fellow miners as a whole was more superficial than in 1912.

The by-products plants, working side by side with the mines, gave no more sense of solidarity to Woodhouse men working there than the pits. Men, on these highly automated plants, usually worked in very small groups, often in pairs, or sometimes by themselves, on varying shifts. One man at the Brookhouse Plant quite enjoyed his work, in large part because he 'had a good mate,' the only man he saw for any real length of time. Another Woodhouse man working at the Orgreave Plant, though quite satisfied with the shift-work routine and a weekly wage well over £20, still commented on the lack of 'team spirit.'

Solidarity amongst another group, figuring prominently on the Woodhouse scene in 1912, the small businessmen, tradesmen, shopkeepers and

craftsmen, was in 1966 weak. There was no local district tradesmen's association of any kind, and those associations attended by a few residents, such as the National Federation of Retail Newsagents and Stationers, held their occasional functions in Sheffield. The Woodhouse Co-operative Society, the oldest in the extended district and the last bastion of corporate local initiative in this sphere, had recently fallen to the assaults of centralization and efficiency. In 1961, it had triumphantly celebrated the centenary of its official registration as a Society, with commemoration tea caddies for members, bargain offers, fashion parades, socials and dances, etc., and the then President, a Woodhouse miner, had been introduced to Mr. Hugh Gaitskell. Two years later, however, the Board of Directors recommended, and what active members there were voted (158 for, 9 against, with 'a few abstentions,' out of a total membership of around 8,000)¹, that amalgamation should take place with the 98,000 strong Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society. This move, though economically inevitable, certainly destroyed the last vestige of solidarity in Woodhouse based on Co-operative membership. By early 1965, the Woodhouse Co-operative Women's Guild, then consisting of mainly elderly women, had disbanded, and the only small grocery sub-branch in Tilford Road had closed in favour of concentration of resources in the central parts of the local district. Participation

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 14/12/63.

by Woodhouse people in the Brightside and Carbrook Society's affairs was minimal, the 1966 ballot paper for the election of directors containing no Woodhouse name. As one resident linked for many years with the Woodhouse Society put it, 'It no longer belongs to Woodhouse. We have no roots in it. Local trade's taken a real bump since B. and C. took it over.'

The 1960s in fact saw a growing spirit of competitiveness between all the shopkeepers and small businessmen of the local district. One reason for the Co-operative Society's merger was said to be 'keen competition in the village'¹ resulting in their lowest dividend since the last war. In January 1966, a resident, whose family had 'been trading as joiners and undertakers in Woodhouse for at least three generations and (were) highly respected in the community,'² stated that 'a manager of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society,' launching a second funeral service in Woodhouse, had threatened him with the words, "We will have you out by fair means or foul."³ Other openings, mergers and closures were going on during this period. In 1965, a local grocer opened a large new supermarket and launderette, the former in part being responsible for the closure of another nearby super-market in 1966. In 1966, a well known local milkman sold out to a much larger delivery firm and a cleaners closed down because of competition from other shops.

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1. The Sheffield Telegraph. 2/12/63.
 2. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. Jan. 1966.
 3. The Sheffield Telegraph. 13/1/66.

The same year, a young energetic greengrocer opened his second shop in four years and, in 1967, a local newsagent bought up a rival concern. In this period literally dozens of shops changed hands and several smaller ones closed completely. This situation made any sense of solidarity amongst shopkeepers and tradesmen virtually impossible.

The very fluid state of shopping and trading facilities in Woodhouse also had a marked effect on another activity which should be mentioned here, the shopping habits of local residents. Whereas in the past there was time to stop and chat to shopkeepers, everyone was known well and service was personal, now the state of affairs was very different. It is true that hours were still fairly long; at one of the largest super-markets, starting at 8.30 am, and closing at 6.30 pm. on Mondays, Tuesdays and Saturdays, 1.00 pm. on Wednesdays, and 8.00 pm. on Thursdays and Fridays. But now shopping was a much more businesslike affair. The busiest time was Friday evenings when many husbands would drive their wives up to the centre for the main shopping expedition of the week, fridges making other trips unnecessary in a good number of cases. The design of the super-markets, where most people headed on this occasion, made informal chit-chat very difficult and, if conversations did take place, they were more in the nature of rushed greetings on the pavements outside. As one woman who had been an assistant in both a small grocery shop, and the large cut-price store into which it had developed, put it, 'We've lost the family atmosphere. The boss used to be there to see to you or wave, but you never see him now.' More leisurely shopping exped-



Shopping on a Saturday morning (note the cars).



Shopping on a Saturday morning.

itions during the week tended to be confined to the older residents or young mothers out for a stroll, but there was no set time or place for local women as a whole to congregate. Even mid-day Friday at the fish and chip shops, and the general *mêlée* most days in the post office, were little compensation for the great Saturday night concourse of past years.

Many new residents never came up to the centre of Woodhouse at all, preferring to shop in the areas from which they had recently come, particularly when visiting relatives. And with Woodhouse in 1966, lacking the variety of choice possible in 1912, for all but everyday commodities, both old and new residents would frequently shop in Sheffield, husbands often going in with their wives on Saturday afternoons, to meet everything except the basic domestic needs. The last nail in the coffin of bygone habits was hammered home by the travelling shops which toured the local district and which many housewives, especially on the new estates used regularly. In 1964, a report on the new Badger Estate stated, 'To get to the shops at Woodhouse the residents have quite a long uphill walk, and many of the housewives prefer to rely on the tradespeople who call on specified days The fishmonger calls on Tuesdays, the baker three times a week, the greengrocer on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the grocer and the butcher every day (One housewife said) the system works well.¹ Thus shopping, though still of some communal value for the older women and a few young mothers, had nothing like the cohesive character of 1912.

1. Vic Hallam Ltd. Woodpecker News. The Vic Hallam Staff Newspaper, Number 1. Nottingham, 1964.

Outside the local district and in the context of city life proper, the spirit existing amongst colleagues at work can be summed up by the phrase, 'friendly but not too close.' Three main factors seem to have determined the degree of solidarity experienced. First, the latter was greatest where residents were able to use the maximum of initiative, discretion and choice in the tasks they did. For example, strong friendships, sometimes resulting in the exchange of hospitality, were often built up amongst Woodhouse people and non-residents with professional jobs or occupying positions of some authority and freedom within industry. Secondly, solidarity at work was strongest where local people belonged to a well-run firm which provided decent conditions and good social amenities for its employees. Quite a number of Woodhouse people were found to be participating in sports, photographic, gardening, fishing and other clubs attached to such firms, not to mention canteen facilities and outings for the families in the summer. Where the company did not support these ventures, either because too small or lacking in interest, solidarity was weaker. Thirdly, a sense of belonging was greatest in those organizations where men and women worked within distinct teams or departments and where the nature of the task permitted a lot of conversation during the day. At the funeral of a young man from Woodhouse, killed in a car accident with three other colleagues from the engineering firm where he worked, the crematorium was packed with men and women from the same department, deeply moved by the tragedy that had struck their section of the works.

On the other hand, it must be noted that a large number of Woodhouse men did not work in such conditions; the routine was strict, amenities limited and the work, especially in the steel mills, hard and noisy. Such men changed jobs quite often, particularly in the construction industry, and only sank shallow roots before being up and off again. This was also true of numerous young people, few being placed in work that they found satisfactory at the first attempt. It would appear, therefore, that though a fair proportion of residents found work and their colleagues interesting, and solidarity was certainly manifest where interaction took place over and above the immediate demands of the job itself, for many Woodhouse men these conditions did not operate and attachment to those met at work was only moderately strong.

With respect to male residents, a word needs to be said about the practice of shift-work. In their 1966 survey of part of the Badger Estate, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government found that the number of household heads on shift-work 'was as high as 44%'.¹ There is no reason to suppose that this finding did not appertain for the local district as a whole as both older and younger residents were employed in industries demanding work around the clock. The pattern of shift work varied considerably, especially for men employed in public transport, but for the coal and steel industry the usual routine was three 'turns' of 8 hours, mornings, afternoons and nights, worked in rotation. There

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Survey of Housing at Gloucester Street and Woodhouse, Sheffield. (Unpublished), 1967. Chapter II. Section 4.

is little evidence, however, that shift-work greatly affected the sense of solidarity experienced at work (its effect on other spheres of activity will be considered later) except that it prevented those on different shifts meeting very frequently and sometimes disrupted participation in the firm's social and club life. If anything, 'nights' were regarded as the least conducive for social interaction being called by some 'the dead man's shift.' Attitudes towards a shift-work routine seem to have varied considerably, with the older men accepting it as part and parcel of life, and the younger ones either disliking it or being resigned to it as the only way of earning a really good wage, sometimes £4 or more a week extra.

Work for the women of Woodhouse was an activity which engendered a strong sense of solidarity. Often glad to get away from the restrictions of the home, especially when the children had reached school age, they voluntarily chose to take up part-time, and sometimes full-time, work, very much enjoying the companionship experienced there. One spoke of her single day a week job as 'a day out for me.' Another was quite prepared to take a low wage simply because 'the boss is very good to me' and 'the girls are good sorts.' The nature of many women's work, secretarial, cleaning, helping in shops or stores, packing goods, etc., gave ample scope for regular conversation. One more elderly resident was dedicated to her work in the transport cafe where she had been for some 35 years, by then knowing every customer by name and they of course knowing 'Sally.' Another woman, working full-time in a large city store,

spoke of this as 'my main life now.' Others talked with some enthusiasm about the friendships made whilst nursing in hospitals or working in local schools. That this realm of new interests and acquaintances, opened up for women through going out to work, was very attractive to most, is borne out also by the number with young families who spoke nostalgically about their experiences out in the world before the ties of home had put an end to this activity.

On the other hand, it would be misleading not to acknowledge that there were some women for whom work was far from attractive. These were usually 'in it for the money' first and foremost, in order to attain a little independence of their husbands, simply to help out a tight budget or possibly to pave the way for the purchasing of a house of their own. Here, because the main aim was the best pay, hours were often long or awkward and the woman much less able to choose a job conducive to her temperament and abilities. Several very able women on the Badger Estate, for example, though quite capable of much more if only the opportunity had presented itself, were undertaking cleaning work or preparing school meals and disliking it very much. But this group was a minority and, on the whole, most women found a strong sense of solidarity within their work outside the home.

Significance

As in 1912, so in 1966, work was an important sphere of activity for men (though less so for women) in their attaining a sense of fulfilment.

The criteria for determining the status associated with occupation had, however, changed somewhat from the earlier period. The surroundings in which one worked, which in 1912 had, for example, helped to give a clerk a higher place on the social scale than a railwayman or a miner, were less important now simply because standards had risen all round, the collieries and larger firms in particular providing greatly improved working conditions. Those men still in hard or dangerous work, such as the colliers on the face or those doing the tougher jobs, in the steel mills, were well compensated by good rates of pay. Nor was one's security of employment any longer something to be especially proud of, the availability of work being generally good, despite temporary recessions, and unemployment benefit usually quite sufficient to help men to make ends meet for short periods at least. Several weeks holiday with pay was now the norm. The other two criteria associated with status and significance, noted in 1912, thus came to the fore; the nature of the work done, and the wage earned.

In the Woodhouse of 1966, professional people were still prominent at the top of the social scale, enjoying a strong and sometimes very strong sense of significance. By this time, however, they formed a much less distinguished and distinctive group, and were much fewer in number than before the First World War, only the local doctors, ministers of

religion, and one or two teachers and social workers actually residing in Woodhouse. Nevertheless, although their salaries, with the exception of the general practitioners, were not much higher than, or even as high as, the wages earned by many men working in the steel or coal industries, a certain respect was shown to them by most residents simply because of the role they played in local life. They were recognized as better educated and better trained than most. The nature of their work permitted a good deal of freedom and the chance to use personal initiative. Some residents talked half enviously about 'the sense of vocation' they believed such people to have and enjoy. On the other hand, the evening up of the economic situation and the current confusion about the true value of 'non-productive work' to society, meant that certain amongst this section of the top class were themselves not as satisfied with the status achieved through their work as were those with similar positions in past years. In 1966, Woodhouse had but one or two managers or business executives of any standing in the world of industry to swell the ranks of this class. The only other residents who can, therefore, be included in this group were the handful of sons or daughters of the 1912 generation who still owned property in the area.

Beneath this very small top class, the remainder of residents formed a fairly homogeneous group, here termed the lower or working Woodhouse class. One old resident writes, 'The class structure has reached a monotonous level.' The two chief criteria operating to divide this lower class, though the division was often extremely blurred, were, as

mentioned above, the nature of the work done and the wage earned. These two factors tended to split the lower class, somewhat along the same lines as in 1912, into an independent and dependent element. The former consisted of those residents whose status and sense of significance rested both on the good wage they earned, as well as the degree of personal initiative they could exercise during working hours. This group included the self-employed shop keeper, the commercial traveller, the skilled craftsman, the taxi driver, the secretary, the trained nurse, and so forth, who, to use Frankenburg's terms, were 'attached' as well as 'committed' to their work. Typical of this section were the young newsagent who in five years had built up a prosperous business in the local district, and his wife, who during the occupation of the newly built Badger Estate, started at 6.30 am. and sat there all day with her sandwiches in order to get the custom of those moving in. Also typical was the young man who, contrary to his parents' wishes, left his job as a postman to take up cheese making in the heart of rural Somerset. The strong sense of significance generally attained by members of the independent working class was linked not just to the wage received, though this was usually good, but to the nature of the work, for which there was often considerable enthusiasm. 'I look forward to going to work,' stated a man employed in printing; 'I really love it,' said another who was a painter and decorator.

The other group within the lower Woodhouse class contained those very much more dependent on the foreman, the clock and the production

line for the adequate performance of their work task. These men and women, the majority of the latter falling into this class, were often employed on repetitive or routine jobs and their wage tied to piece work rates. Here significance was very much linked with the size of the wage packet at the end of the week. One man working in the forge in a big steel firm where the din was so great that conversation was virtually impossible still spoke with pride of the large wage he was bringing home. The mood of this group was summed up by an old retired miner who had done 50 years service at two local pits when he commented, 'All I got was a b..... plaque; now I wouldn't have minded fifty quid.'

A brief list of the social classes to which Woodhouse residents belonged in 1912 and 1966 is given below in order to facilitate comparison in this and later Sections. As noted before, all these social classes are defined in the context of the social structure of Woodhouse rather than of society as a whole. The social classes of the two periods are here compared by placing those of 1966 level with those of similar social standing in 1912.

<u>1912</u>	<u>1966</u>
Top (or Upper) Class	Top (or Upper) Class
Intermediate Class - independent	Working (or Lower) Class - independent
Intermediate Class - dependent	Working (or Lower) Class - dependent
Working (or Lower) Class	

The manner in which a man or woman carried out their work could still enhance their reputation a little, provided they were fairly well known to residents. Speaking of a Woodhouse undertaker, whose family had operated a joinery and funeral business in the local district since 1895, the Vicar commented, 'Someone said to me that it was like going to see your family doctor or priest He takes a very personal concern in (one's) bereavement.¹' In 1966, a petition appealing against the compulsory purchase order on this undertaker's rest room, workshop and yard, was signed by 717 local people; 'He is highly regarded in the community and we do not wish to see his business closed down,' stated the Vicar. So too, even if on a slightly less popular level, could the good cobbler, the friendly traffic warden, the reliable milkman and the industrious shopkeeper, build up his standing within the local district. As noted, however, the great majority of people worked outside the local district, and their personal reputation at work rarely carried over into other spheres of life or into the area where they resided. Even in the place where they were employed, the separation in time and space of production from consumption and the emphasis on speed, reduced the importance of quality in contributing to occupational status or sense of significance. What reputation a man did gain for his conscientiousness was restricted to the small immediate group of colleagues with whom he worked.

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 15/1/66.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

The structure of industry and other organizations within this sphere of activity did little to enhance solidarity amongst men. The mines had by now ceased to be places where fathers, brothers and sons worked side by side; indeed the years since the First World War had seen a determination within many families that 'the boy should not go down the pit.' 'We've lost the family spirit,' stated one old miner. It is true that, with the termination of piece work, less competitiveness existed down the mine, but no greater team spirit appears to have emerged as a consequence. The ties between men and officials were weaker than in previous years, owing in part to the fact that the latter rarely lived in Woodhouse and, if they did, were not very active in local district affairs outside work; the by-products manager who played the organ at a local church being very much the exception. In 1966, an old miner, seriously ill, received a bunch of flowers sent by a young colliery manager, who had once worked under him, but such gestures were rare. Many miners believed that nationalization, in 1947, had sealed the fate of the old era but, whether or not this was the case, by 1966, the old identity and peculiar spirit of the surrounding pits had all but gone and the whole structure of mining had become much more impersonal.

Very similar was the situation elsewhere within the sphere of work. Most industrial organizations in Sheffield had ceased to be family concerns, or led by those who had worked themselves up from the shop floor and were thus well known to a large number of men. The sheer size of the large steel firms made a formal structure essential and, as mentioned above, meant that solidarity was restricted to the specific department or 'shop' within which one worked. Many retired Woodhouse men, who had been employed in the city, remarked that people now worked in a different world from the one they had experienced, when the Chairman of the Board or the Managing Director was well known to all of them and communications throughout the firm were easy and informal.

Significance

The social structure of working associations was of considerable note in providing men, and sometimes women, with the opportunity to attain a sense of significance through work. In fact, in a situation where Woodhouse residents were so easily 'lost in the machine,' publicly recognized and approved ways of climbing the organizational tree, and thus of enhancing one's reputation, had become all the more important.

In quest of 'a good position,' the young people of the local district were, in 1966, often occupied a day a week on official 'release,' and several nights a week for most of the year, in an attempt to pass examinations and thus improve their prospects. So much store was laid by getting on at work that for many, especially the young men, this activity dominated all others, including leisure, religious and even domestic

interests. Two men, in their mid-thirties, known to the author, had not ceased part-time study since leaving school at 15. The way in which significance had thus become so closely harnessed to formal attainment in special skills would have been quite foreign to the younger generation in 1912. The spirit of the modern era was indirectly summed up by the South Yorkshire Times reporter who wrote, 'Saturday was a day of double celebration for Woodhouse bridegroom Mr. Bryan Flower, for shortly before he left for church he received news that he had passed his Higher National examination.¹'

Once fairly well established in their trade and career, most younger men and those in their middle years were eager to push on and upwards. One put down his latest application for promotion, quite simply, to 'ambition.' Another man suffered a quite serious breakdown in part because, by risking a change of jobs and having then to return to his original firm, he had lost his position 'on the staff.' Where younger men had not the interest or energy to work themselves up, mainly amongst the dependent section of the lower class, significance, as noted, was found mainly in the size of the wage packet. The older men were on the whole less ambitious accepting the fact that they had 'missed the bus' without rancour, resignedly putting it down to having been 'born too early.' In one home/^{where}a daughter, as a child care officer, was already earning twice as much as her father, there was nothing but a sense of pride in the girl's achievement. Now and then, however, there was resistance to the new

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 10/9/66.

criteria for achieving status within the work sphere. Such was evident when the Directors on the Board of the Woodhouse Co-operative Society, the majority poorly educated and untrained in industrial management, strongly resisted being taken over for many years. As one eyewitness, an articulate member of the Board for some time, put it, 'They just didn't want to lose their positions.'

Just occasionally, where work in itself was not especially interesting to Woodhouse men, associated activities gave some scope for fulfilment. One resident who said his work in a Sheffield steel firm was 'boring,' nevertheless found great stimulation through his activities as a shop steward to which he devoted a great deal of spare time. Another Woodhouse man was reported, in 1966, as very proud to be 'one of two local delegates to attend the National Joint Conference of Shunters, Guards and Yard Foremen at Plymouth.'¹

NON-PARTICIPANTS

In 1967, one of the few local district firms, Tungsten Carbide Developments Ltd., reported the dismissal of 25% of its workers due to 'a substantial loss in trade over the past two and a half years.'² This, however, only affected a handful of residents and, by and large, unemployment in Woodhouse during this period did not noticeably affect many families, though the difficult economic situation present throughout the country from the summer of 1966 onwards did lead to a small rise in

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1. The South Yorkshire Times. 28/5/66.
 2. Ibid. 18/3/67.

the number of men out of work and especially on short-time. These, though not actually enjoying their inactivity, rarely seemed greatly perturbed about it, the exceptions being those men forced to lay off because of ill health. One of the latter, feeling utterly useless and depressed at home, went back to work though still very ill, choosing the risk of fatal breakdown as the lesser of two evils. The biggest problem for men out of work, being able to meet the rent or major domestic bills, was relieved by unemployment pay and, particularly, by the working wife. The unshakable assumption of virtually all was that the situation would inevitably change for the better before very long. A number of young people, with no family responsibilities, were even less concerned about regular employment and would, often to the exasperation of parents, be in no hurry to find work once made redundant or having voluntarily left their previous job. All in all, therefore, unemployment and short-time affected very little the sense of significance experienced by such residents.

The attitude of women not earning a living was generally one of three: a desire, as mentioned before, to be 'back in the stream' once the family were off their hands, a genuine contentment with their role as mothers or a feeling, mainly amongst the older residents, that 'a housewife is always a housewife' and her place ought all her life to be in the home.

Most men seemed to adapt to retirement quite well taking part in the social activities of local district life or enjoying their gardens,

walks, chats in the recreation ground and so on. Now and then some were reported to be 'at a loose end,' such as one man who spent nearly every afternoon in the betting shop, but this was not usually the case.

SUMMING UP

The Woodhouse working scene, in 1966, saw four major changes from that of 1912. First, the number of miners had dropped steeply, from two thirds of the male working population in 1912 to one tenth in 1966, and the decline was still continuing. Now over a third of the adult male residents were occupied in metal manufacturing or engineering, and many of the remainder in a wide variety of other activities necessary for the maintenance of the life of the large industrial city to which Woodhouse belonged. Secondly, the very large majority of residents, as opposed to the mere 5% in 1912, now worked in the extended district, many in the industrial East end of Sheffield. Of the number of inhabitants working locally as businessmen, tradesmen and shopkeepers in 1912, only a small proportion remained in 1966. Thirdly, the female resident earning a living had become a common occurrence. From a handful of women before the First World War in 'service' or working as teachers, dress makers, shop assistants, etc., now some 45% of the female population of Woodhouse, between the ages of 15 and 60, were employed full-time or part-time on many kinds of jobs. Finally, the class composition, occupationally speaking, which in 1912 had been varied and distinct, was now far more homogeneous. The top Woodhouse class had, by 1966, declined in number and social standing, whilst the remainder of residents all came into what is here called the lower or working class, divided only into

independent and dependent sections, according to the freedom men enjoyed and the initiative they were able to exercise in their work.

In 1966, work as a cohesive element in the lives of Woodhouse residents, was still a variable factor. The miners, through the importation of many 'strangers' to work in the local pits, because of the more impersonal structure of colliery life and the lack of any great enthusiasm for trades union activities, retained a strong sense of solidarity only where small teams or groups of men regularly worked together.

Solidarity was weak amongst local shopkeepers and tradesmen, partly due to a high turnover of tenancies and the rise of modern sales methods and techniques; a situation which made the establishment of the rather unstable Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association in the early years of the Century appear a considerable feat. Even the Woodhouse Co-operative Society, once the centre of vigorous social and educational activity, had become a purely business concern with its identity swallowed up in the large Brightside and Carbrook Society.

Slow friendly service and a chat at every shop was rarely possible for residents in 1966. The Saturday night shopping spree, with its many associated informal activities, of notable communal consequence in 1912, had disappeared completely and, other than for some of the older female residents and occasionally the young wives, whose regular meetings and chats in the street often helped to engender a strong sense of attachment, shopping was now an activity performed as efficiently and speedily as possible. The car and the super-market were becoming the order of the day.

The dispersal of so many of the working population throughout the extended district, in 1966, meant that residents were brought into contact with a host of different working organizations and groups. Where the structure of a firm and the nature of the work were such as to facilitate fairly free interaction in reasonable conditions, during and after working hours, solidarity was often strong though usually confined to the particular department or section of the firm within which the resident was employed. Where the task was physically tough, unpleasant or noisy, as in many of the steel works, or where the firm was able to offer only average working conditions or welfare amenities, the sense of solidarity was on the whole only moderate. Most women, however, enjoyed a strong sense of comradeship, in part because they usually worked in jobs where plenty of conversation was possible, but also because they themselves had often freely chosen to go and earn their living, frequently with an eye on the chance of meeting new friends.

In 1966, both men and women found some sense of significance through their work. This was especially true of the top Woodhouse class of mainly professional people, where a strong and sometimes very strong sense of significance was found though the breakdown of the rigid social stratification of the Victorian era had robbed certain found here, such as the doctors and the clergy, of the very high standing almost automatically ascribed to them in 1912. For the more independent members of

the working class section of the population, the chance to exercise initiative and get on (something very difficult to do in 1912 when even the position of colliery overman was coveted), together with a genuine interest in the work itself, often led to a strong sense of fulfilment. For those more at the mercy of the rule-book, the clock, or the machine, significance was rarely much more than moderate, tending to be tied as much to the size of the wage packet as anything else. With residents working in so many separate places there was little chance, as was possible in 1912, of a man being generally respected because of the quality of his work or the conscientiousness of his service as very few people were in a position to know about this. A man's official occupation or formal situation, in 1966, stood as the dominant criterion of status within the sphere of work.

3. GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

Under the Sheffield Extension Order of 1921, Woodhouse had been removed from the jurisdiction of the West Riding and incorporated into the city. With this change came the extinction of the old Handsworth Urban District Council, all the local responsibilities of which, together with those of the West Riding County Council, were taken over by Sheffield. In 1966, Woodhouse looked to the latter for support and direction on such matters as public health, education, housing, social welfare, transport and so forth (some of which subjects will be dealt with more fully under the appropriate Sections).

For parliamentary elections Woodhouse, in 1966, was in the Attercliffe Constituency. For elections to the City Council it was part of the Handsworth Ward and contained three polling districts, Woodhouse West, Woodhouse East and Woodhouse Mill (in 1912, the latter being part of Woodhouse East).

PARTICIPANTS

By 1966, all residents (48.8% male and 51.2% female) over the age of 21 were permitted to vote in national and local elections. Interest in national political affairs was unorganized but quite considerable, being especially evident at the time of general elections. Quite a large

number of residents, though still a minority, were actively involved in local government affairs, for reasons outlined more fully below.

The political representatives for the local district were not of Woodhouse origin, the Member of Parliament for Attercliffe living near London, and the three Councillors for the Handsworth Ward (normally one elected each year for a three year term) residing outside the local district.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

By 1966, the variety of political associations appearing on the scene in 1912, including the Woodhouse Co-operative Society and affiliated groups, had disappeared. The only association in existence in the vicinity was the Handsworth Ward Labour Party, and this rarely met in Woodhouse. General interest in national political affairs was widespread, due largely to the effectiveness of Press and television coverage (see also the Section on 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life'), but produced no local corporate activity or formal organization of a political nature.

National political events of notable communal importance to residents were mainly restricted to those times when a general election was in the offing, but even in 1966, when the Labour Government was seeking to strengthen its very narrow majority, the local party organization produced no more than the usual batch of leaflets thrust hurriedly through the door

7 days before the election, and two small posters pasted up on an out-of-the-way hoarding only 4 days before the event. In the 1966 election greatest interest by far was aroused through the medium of television, the somewhat 'dramatic' presentation of the results (perhaps akin for a good number of residents to the thrill of the horse race!) persuading a large section of the populace to stay up into the early hours. The proportion of those using their votes in the Attercliffe Constituency was 67%, probably a fair reflection of the response in Woodhouse. However, the fascination of the hour, with its moderate cohesive tendencies, soon faded and interest returned to its normal state.

Strangely enough, the Woodhouse of 1966 saw a reversal of the situation in 1912, when national political events created as much organized local interest as local district affairs. In 1966, it was the latter which played a more cohesive role. The reason for this was in large part the rapidly increasing domination of Sheffield after years of inactivity. By 1921, Sheffield's march towards Woodhouse, already well underway by 1912, had been successfully completed, and the City Council took control of Urban District affairs with a certain show of magnanimity and a promise of better things to come. There then followed four decades of virtual inactivity with constant delays and postponements in the provision of promised amenities, in some cases for good reasons, which none the less gradually persuaded Woodhouse residents that their once vigorous, self-contained district had become 'a forgotten village.'¹ By 1967, the

1. The Star. (Sheffield) 20/8/64.

South Yorkshire Times could describe the local district as 'the most neglected in the city,'¹ a Conservative Councillor for the area stated, 'I think amenities in Handsworth Ward generally are absolutely pathetic,'² and neighbouring Beighton, recently incorporated into the city, could regard its major aim as not to suffer the same fate as Woodhouse. It is little wonder, therefore, that when Sheffield announced, in an elaborate booklet produced in three languages to advertise its go-ahead housing policy, that 'in 1962 work will commence on (a virgin site in Woodhouse) to provide new houses which will enable clearance of the sub-standard dwellings in the village to commence, thus paving the way for the comprehensive development of the whole area,'³ and followed this up in later years with pronouncements through the Press concerning 'a bold redevelopment plan'⁴ (to be) phased over a period of 20 years,'⁵ many residents greeted the news with suspicion and even derision.

In the context of this situation, it is not surprising that two events in 1966 brought matters to a head. Prior to 1966, complaints about lack of proper care for, or amenities in, Woodhouse had been voiced mainly by individuals or ad hoc groups and had quickly spent their force. The most publicized protest of the early 1960s, launched by the lady licensee of the Stag Inn, did produce a petition signed by 300 of her customers, but an open meeting was boycotted by local councillors and

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1. The South Yorkshire Times. 22/4/67.
 2. Ibid. 16/9/67.
 3. The Housing Development Committee of the Corporation of Sheffield. Ten Years of Housing in Sheffield, 1953-1963. Sheffield, 1962. p.70.
 4. The Star. (Sheffield). 13/3/65.
 5. Ibid. 20/8/64.

attended by a mere 13 people, 7 of whom were not residents of Woodhouse. The correspondent of the South Yorkshire Times remarked, 'The poor response at last Thursday's public meeting at Woodhouse called to discuss how amenities in the village can be improved proves conclusively, I should imagine, that residents are not really bothered about such things The bad attendance would not come as a surprise to many people conversant with Wood'us for the events over the last few years indicate a general lack of interest by the villagers.'¹ Any team spirit engendered through championing the cause of 'the forgotten village' would seem to have been at a low ebb. In 1966, however, two factors brought activity to a more intense pitch. One was a Compulsory Purchase Order served on the property of old residents living on the South side of the local district, the public hearing for which was held in January. The other was the formation of the Badger Community Association in June, a year after the last residents had moved into the new estate.

The threatened demolition of a large part of old Woodhouse created amongst the well established residents what might be termed 'a solidarity of defence.' The cry was, 'Leave us alone!' The attitude of local people was well expressed by one directly concerned when she stated, 'The Corporation say they are going to modernize Woodhouse, but I think they are going to destroy it.'² The situation here was virtually one of

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1. The South Yorkshire Times. 16/11/63.
 2. The Star. (Sheffield) 13/3/65.

communal conflict between old residents and the Town Hall officials, being a bitter dispute over what ought to happen in Woodhouse and how it should be handled. Though a number of tradespeople were threatened with removal or loss of business, and it was here that opposition was fiercest, public interest centred mainly round the case of a local undertaker whose lifetime of thoughtful service to residents has already been mentioned in the section on 'Work.' Under the Compulsory Purchase Order this man's business was threatened as both his joiners' shop and rest room, together with other premises, were to come down. From 1965 onwards he made numerous attempts to find alternative accommodation within the local district but all the sites he suggested were turned down by the Town Hall for various reasons, some more obscure and unconvincing than others. The sites he was officially offered were all unsatisfactory, either being on a short-term lease or necessitating the suspension of business for several years before new premises could be erected. As the public enquiry drew near the South Yorkshire Times commented, 'The case of (the) Woodhouse undertaker who has to find another site for his business due to re-development in the village, is one that is causing a good deal of disquiet.'¹ January 1966 saw a large number of residents rallying to his support, the Vicar, who some months before had spoken very sympathetically of the Corporation's problems, writing in the Parish Church magazine, 'This is bureaucracy gone mad, and if the Town Hall can't see the injustice of it, it's up

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 15/1/66.

to us in Woodhouse to make them see it.¹ By the day of the public enquiry a petition signed by 717 people, mainly old residents, had been drawn up demanding for the undertaker 'a central and adequate site in Woodhouse to enable him to continue his work here as in the past.'

The public enquiry featured a very strong corporate protest by the older residents, the grievances of decades past, as well as more recent issues, being brought into the debate. On the first day of the hearing, the somewhat impersonal and long-winded presentation of the Corporation's case meant that local comment was forcibly reduced to a bare minimum and was thus all the more vehement. 63 Woodhouse people were present at the outset of the two day discussion but, as time went on, the need to be back at work led to steadily diminishing numbers until only the 'hard core' and a group of Woodhouse women were left. Despite this gradual thinning down of their ranks the residents certainly spoke out with a common voice. The derelict appearance of the area and the existence of numerous half-demolished buildings was described as 'a disgusting disgrace to the Corporation.' With regard to commercial interests there had been 'little or no attempt by the Corporation to acquaint people affected.'² A young housewife spoke about 'the underhand and secret way'³ in which the Corporation had gone about making their re-development plans for Woodhouse, and many complained of having no idea at all where they stood. These complaints,

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. Jan. 1966.

2. The South Yorkshire Times. 15/1/66.

3. The Star. (Sheffield). 12/1/66.

whether justifiable or not, were a cry from the heart of old Woodhouse, perhaps best summed up by one present at the enquiry who afterwards exclaimed, 'I could have screamed, they were saying so many things wrong!' The Compulsory Purchase Order was approved later in 1966, but the debate at the public enquiry and periodic outbursts afterwards demonstrated the way in which residents could be drawn tightly together in the face of what they regarded as a common enemy. It was inevitably a rather negative and even nostalgic protest, but it gave many a powerful common cause.

The other focus of a growing sense of solidarity in 1966 was the Badger Community Association, a group formed to encourage corporate leisure activities and to strive for better amenities on the new Badger Estate. One might describe the latter function as giving rise to 'a solidarity of discontent.' The cry was, 'Finish the job properly!' The Chairman of the Association put the matter thus; 'Basically we regard this estate as incomplete and we realised that as individuals there was very little we could do so the solution was to act collectively.'¹ The mood of residents was borne out at the inaugural meeting of the Community Association in June, attended by over 200 people, when an attempt to discuss corporate leisure activities was all but swamped by a vociferous element solely concerned with such issues as the need for shops on the estate, more frequent road sweeping, better television reception from the shared aerials, attention to drains and so on.

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 2/7/66.

The next 18 months saw the Community Association, especially through a most energetic Secretary and Committee, in constant touch with the Town Hall, particularly the Housing, Education and Transport Departments. A spirit of local resentment was steadily built up as a result of the apparent inability of the Local Authority to take any really positive steps to meet those protesting even half way. The constant deflecting or sidetracking of complaints came to be known on the Estate as 'playing the Town Hall game.' This consisted of telephoning, then writing to and lastly visiting the officials concerned and thenceforth being passed from one Department or office to another until a general assurance was given that 'the matter would be attended to.' When this promise produced no results, the 'game' began all over again. Despite set-backs, such activities did involve a good number of new residents and occasional successes enhanced determination and solidarity. Several petitions were launched, one requesting shops on the Estate being signed by 490 people. In November 1966, a petition signed by 366 people was handed to the Licensing Magistrates protesting against the Corporation's proposal to build a public house at the centre of the Estate. Backed up in person by three members of the Committee (as well as local church officials), the Bench unanimously upheld the objection and refused permission to build. Other smaller achievements, such as better road sweeping, the relaying of certain drains, permission to erect higher fences than previously permitted, and the obtaining of

two large notice boards for the Community Association to use, all helped to spur on the more articulate residents. In September 1967, the Housing Manager of Sheffield and the Chairman of the Housing Committee thought the Association important enough to come out to Woodhouse in person and answer 'a barrage of questions.'¹ It is true that a number of Estate residents remained 'exasperatingly apathetic' throughout, and it is doubtful whether the sense of solidarity was ever as high as that created by the desperate defence of the old Woodhouse inhabitants, but the representations of the Community Association to the Town Hall certainly drew some hundreds of virtual strangers together in strong opposition to the local authority.

The increasing tempo of interest in local affairs, together with the emergence of a nucleus of residents, many newcomers, who were actively concerned to see Woodhouse put on the map again, led, in January 1967, to the formation of the Woodhouse Community Council. The latter had some 80 people on its mailing list, a number working in Woodhouse but residing outside the area, and by the end of 1967 some half dozen meetings had been held with an average attendance of about 30. The Community Council, though also launched to facilitate co-operation between all those working in the personal or social services of the local district, including doctors, teachers, ministers of religion, youth leaders, policemen and so forth, tended, in 1967, to be mainly an

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 30/9/67.

articulate mouthpiece to voice the dissatisfaction felt by many residents. The Councillors who attended its meetings usually went away impressed by the strength and solidarity of the group. It was the first attempt made for many decades in Woodhouse to draw together the leading members of the local district in order to give some overall direction and drive to the internal affairs of the area. By the end of 1967 it had developed into a group with a common concern and purpose.

Besides the Badger Community Association and the Woodhouse Community Council, the Old Age Pensioners Association, the Parish Church and other groups of residents were at one time or another during this period up in arms about treatment received from the local authority. The Corporation's lack of ability, after four decades of virtual inactivity, to convince the residents of their undoubtedly worthy intentions for the future, their neglect of certain small but annoying defects in administration which could have been rectified quite easily, their lack of consultation and communication with those most affected by or concerned about the future development of the area, their failure to give way a little here or there to see old residents fairly rehabilitated, and their general tardiness in getting empty buildings demolished and sites cleaned up, gave the Woodhouse inhabitants, old and new, a sense of grievance and a common foe. This situation, together with the growing vigour of a local district infused with a good deal of life by energetic newcomers, produced some strong solidary groupings in the realm of local affairs.

One result of the events and activities referred to above was witnessed in the local government elections of 1967. It was a saying in Woodhouse that, 'If it were Labour, even a donkey would get in for the Handsworth Ward.' Since the mid 1920s, Woodhouse had been solidly Socialist, and 1966 saw no change from the usual pattern; 19.5% of the electorate in the Ward voting and the Labour candidate romping home. In 1967 more interest was aroused because, owing to the extension of the Sheffield County Borough boundary into Derbyshire, every seat on the City Council had to be fought again. The result in the Handsworth Ward was a 33.3% vote and the return of two Conservative Councillors and one Labour Councillor. This result, though certainly influenced by national affairs, had almost certainly something to do with the growing sense of local identity in the Woodhouse section of the Ward, and rising discontent with the efforts of a Labour Council. One local newsagent who knew the past history of Woodhouse through first hand contact with scores of old residents expressed the sentiments of many when he commented, 'I once said when this Ward went Tory I'd believe in fairies!'

Significance

The somewhat troubled times through which Woodhouse was passing affected the sense of significance experienced by residents in two ways.

There was, first, a definite loss of significance, especially amongst older people, as they saw their way of life and even livelihood undermined by the seemingly irresistible forces of 'progress.' 'I was just wondering,' commented a local hairdresser who had been moved on several

occasions before, 'how many times you can be forced out of a business to make way for road widening!' ¹ Speaking of the local authority, a cobbler being obliged to move and seeing no door open, stated 'They're not in the least bothered as to where I go from here.' ² 'It just isn't fair,' remarked the wife of the undertaker who saw his every move thwarted and of whom a local government official stated to the Press, 'If we cannot agree he will have to lump it.' ³ The general feeling amongst old residents directly affected by redevelopment plans was one of helplessness and frustration, and several cases of serious illness resulted as a direct consequence of anxiety over the future.

On the other hand, growing support given to the more unfortunate residents by relatives, neighbours or friends did compensate, if only temporarily, for the loss of significance experienced because of imminent changes. Most received, besides occasional support through petition or letter, a good deal of openly expressed sympathy from their customers or friends. They were, in one sense, 'heroes of the retreat,' a few inhabitants feeling some were even getting a bit too much of the limelight.

The crusade against the authorities also gave one or two residents, as 'spokesmen for justice,' a prominence which they would otherwise not have enjoyed. Such were certain local clergy, publicans, doctors, teachers, sponsors of petitions, speakers at the public enquiry and writers of letters to the Press. These had significance almost thrust

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1. The South Yorkshire Times. 15/1/66.
 2. Ibid. 3/6/67.
 3. Ibid. 20/8/66.

upon them.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

The class structure of Woodhouse in 1966 was, as noted in the previous Section, very different from that of 1912. So too was the pattern of political allegiance. The dependent working class were in the 1960s, and indeed had been since the opportunity presented itself in the 1920s, solidly, even stolidly, supporters of the Unions and the Labour Party. (There was no evidence of a distinctive Communist element in Woodhouse at this time.) The independent working class were much more of a mixture, with a considerable, and possibly growing, Conservative section, it being highly likely that this group tipped the scales in favour of the Tory candidates in the 1967 municipal elections. The top class contained residents of all political views. None the less, it would be quite misleading to suppose that like political affiliation did any more at this time than give some slight fellow feeling to those of similar social class.

More obvious was the way in which kinship and friendship ties in the old parts of the local district bound those reasonably safe and secure to those whose property and livelihood was 'under the axe.' These links, forged over many decades, made the fortunes of the sufferers the daily topic of conversation and the concern of most. On the new

estates, especially the Badger Estate, interest in local affairs ran quite high but was more like than common, self-seeking than truly corporate. Here it was rather the strenuous efforts of such as the Community Association Committee organizing the discontent, than any strong familial or friendship ties, which drew new residents together.

Significance

Unlike 1912, no political representatives for the local district resided in Woodhouse. The only inhabitants who did enjoy some status through work in this capacity were three ex-Councillors, one of whom had been a Lord Mayor of Sheffield and, in 1966, was still an Alderman of the city.

Most of those participating actively in local affairs did so either in ad hoc groups, or as individuals operating on their own initiative. Nevertheless within the few organized groups, such as the Badger Community Association and the Woodhouse Community Council, the function of protest gave added prominence to formally elected leaders.

The status of voter gave little sense of significance to most adults. One or two residents, however, remembering the days when the vote was still counted a precious privilege, did take a pride in this right. In 1967, one old lady of over 80 who struggled down to the polling station remarked, 'I promised my husband I'd always vote if I could and I have. I always remember we women had to fight for this.'

SUMMING UP

By 1966, Woodhouse had become just another suburb within the County Borough of Sheffield. The Handsworth Urban District had ceased to be self-governing in 1921, and now virtually all administrative matters were controlled by the Sheffield City Council, Woodhouse residents being represented on the latter by the three councillors (none local people) elected for the Handsworth Ward.

Although the population over 21 years of age could vote, as opposed to some two thirds of the adult males and a mere handful of the adult females in 1912, active participation in political associations was, by 1966, virtually non-existent, the vigorous local Liberal and Conservative organizations of the earlier era having disbanded many years ago. The mass media in particular produced a general interest in national politics, but this remained unorganized locally and engendered no perceptible sense of solidarity based on common political affiliation as such. The general election of 1966, when the Labour Government was seeking to consolidate a previously very narrow majority, for a brief while evoked a moderate spirit of political partisanship, but once the event had ceased to be news, interest soon reverted to its normal diffuse state.

Interest in local government affairs, reviving a little in 1912 with the rise of Socialism, had reached its peak when Sheffield went Labour in the mid-1920s. Since then the apparently unassailable

dominance of the Labour Party in the political life of the city had steadily eroded the crusading zeal of even its own supporters. 1966, however, saw a revival of concern about local government affairs, this time not based on political interests as such, but on opposition to the plan of the Sheffield Corporation to redevelop and rebuild a large part of Woodhouse in ensuing decades. In reaction to this threat to the way of life of many older residents, a 'resistance movement' engendering a very strong sense of solidarity emerged, participants being especially vocal at the Compulsory Purchase Order public enquiry early in 1966, but maintaining a good deal of active opposition afterwards. Side by side with this protest by older residents, quite a few newcomers to the area, especially through the young and fairly vigorous Badger Community Association, discovered a strong sense of attachment as they strove together for better amenities in their part of the local district. The call for a 'new deal' was taken up by several other organizations, notably by the Woodhouse Community Council, formed in 1967, which drew together leading residents from the whole of the local district, and a number of outsiders working in the area, in a common cause. Thus, quite inadvertently the Sheffield Town Hall had brought certain sections of Woodhouse, old and new, very much to life as far as local government was concerned, and a number of vigorous groupings emerged.

As Woodhouse now had no councillors of its own, a strong sense of significance within this sphere of activity was confined mainly to those

prominent, within ad hoc or more formally organized groups, in championing the cause of residents in distress or difficulty because of redevelopment plans or problems over rehousing. Those people in such difficulties, simply because of their predicament, for a while enjoyed the local limelight, but the occasionally moderate sense of significance gained thereby was in the long run far outweighed by the threat to their past and often treasured mode of living.

4. HEALTH AND WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

The situation with regard to health and welfare in the Woodhouse of 1966 was vastly different from that of 1912, the whole area being far more adequately served and provided for. The insanitary conditions noted in 1912 had been eliminated, all homes, for example, having flush toilets, although quite a number of these were still outside, and a considerable proportion of houses had no running hot water or inside bathroom as yet. The occurrence of notifiable infectious diseases, other than measles, was rare by 1966,¹ though cancer was becoming more prominent. Every birth had by law to be reported to the Medical Officer of Health within 36 hours, and the infant mortality rate which for the Handsworth Urban District during the years 1910 to 1914 had averaged 127 per annum, for the city of Sheffield during the years 1962 to 1966 averaged 20 per annum. Much increased state pensions, sickness and unemployment benefits, etc., had, by 1966, led to the virtual elimination of poverty.

In 1966, the health and welfare of the local district were in large part the responsibility of the National Health Service. Of major importance in Woodhouse was the General Medical Practitioner Service, administered by the Sheffield Executive Council of the Health Service.

1. Public Health Department, Sheffield. Guide to the Health and Welfare Services. Sheffield, 1963. p.16-17.

Woodhouse had three resident general practitioners, besides one other who worked part-time in the local district. As well as holding their own surgeries, three out of these four doctors undertook maternity work and the immunization of children. Also of considerable importance in Woodhouse was the work carried out under the auspices of the Public Health Department of the Borough which, headed by a Medical Officer of Health appointed by the Sheffield City Council, maintained a number of services of value to residents, such as maternity and child welfare work, health visiting, home nursing and the provision of home helps and home wardens. Woodhouse was served by at least one trained professional worker for each of the functions listed. Other welfare services, under the control of the Sheffield Corporation and operating in Woodhouse, included those concerned with the care of deprived children (Children's Department), with the care of the aged (Social Care Department), and with keeping the place in a clean and sanitary condition (Cleansing and Sewage Disposal Departments).

The Ministry of Social Security, brought into being in its new form in August 1966, with its local offices some two miles away at Richmond, had pensions, national insurance and supplementary benefits under its wing. It also controlled the Woodhouse Reception Centre, for men on the road, situated at the East end of the local district.

On the voluntary side, a few residents received help from such national organizations as the Sheffield Council of Social Service



Woodhouse Reception Centre (the Nissen huts behind
the hedgerow).

(especially its Meals on Wheels section), the Sheffield Moral Welfare Council, the Cripples' Aid Association, the Marriage Guidance Council and so on. Much more prominent, however, were a number of locally run voluntary bodies, especially those catering for the needs of the elderly.

PARTICIPANTS

If the attitude towards the state of affairs in 1912 was resignation, or dissatisfaction and a desire to improve matters, that of 1966 was generally apathy, the taking for granted of the many benefits offered by the health and welfare services, though quite a number of residents were appreciative of good service rendered by doctors, nurses, home helps, etc. Some dissatisfaction was in evidence, but focused more on the administrative failures of the Health Service than on the existence of insanitary conditions, ill-health or insecurity as experienced in 1912.

Within the local district about 1,000 patients a week attended the four doctors' surgeries. Apart from these, the only statutory centres in the area were the Child Welfare Clinic, which had a fair turn-over of mothers and children, and the Reception Centre, which could accommodate anything up to 60 or 70 men, though it was rarely completely full, all from outside the local district.

As regards voluntary organizations within the area, the only Friendly Society still actually meeting was the Rotherwood Lodge of the

Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, founded in 1916, which, in 1966, was reported as having '24 regular members'¹. The (Sheffield) Druids, although still retaining some 180 members on the books, never met except for a brief moment when coming to pay their dues. There was, by 1966, no local Ambulance Class, though one or two nearby collieries did run their own. The Woodhouse Branch of the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners was the strongest voluntary association in 1966 reporting a membership of 500.² A privately run home on Beighton Road catered for some 7 to 10 elderly ladies, in 1966 only one of them, however, being an old Woodhouse resident. Every year an Aged People's Treat was organized and usually some 350 pensioners went on the outing. At the other end of the age scale, 1967 saw the formation of a playgroup, held in the Clinic, for the 3 to 5 year olds, staffed by the mothers of some 15 children who attended. The Friendly Societies, apart, all these groups consisted very largely of women, though men appeared more prominent in organizational roles. (Several other groups with the welfare of inhabitants at heart were run by the churches, public houses and working men's clubs and will be dealt with under the appropriate Sections.)

Many residents had occasion to go into Sheffield for hospital treatment but, for home nursing and more general medical treatment, Woodhouse imported a good deal of professional help, the majority of its

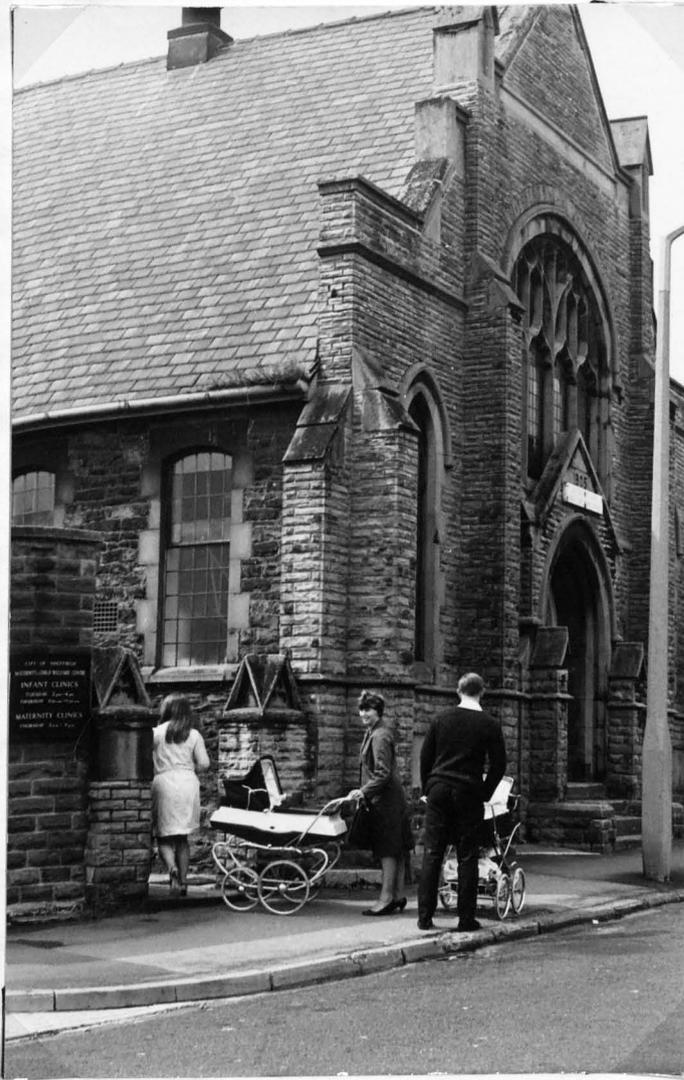
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1. The South Yorkshire Times. 2/4/66.
 2. Ibid. 29/1/66.

health (doctors excepted) and social workers residing well beyond its borders and coming in daily to work.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

The Woodhouse Child Welfare Clinic was undoubtedly something of a focal point in the lives of young wives in the months immediately preceding and/or following child birth, though many residents, especially in the case of the first child, received ante-natal treatment in Sheffield and had the baby delivered in one of the city hospitals. Ante-natal treatment was provided locally, some dozen expectant mothers attending the Woodhouse Clinic each week. But the most popular sessions were the baby clinics, which on Tuesdays attracted an average attendance of 35, and on Thursdays an average attendance of 25, mothers weekly. On these occasions, a good deal of chatting occurred in and around the Clinic and a cup of tea could be purchased whilst one waited, but the different times during the session when mothers arrived and departed, the rather formal seating arrangements, and the problem of controlling unruly children, prevented interaction reaching any very intense cohesive level. Solidarity was thus enhanced, rather than created de nouveau, as old friendships were renewed and strengthened through the weekly though usually brief encounters. Within the four doctors' surgeries in the local district conversation was very restricted, even frowned on by one general



Woodhouse Child Welfare Clinic.



Western House; now an old peoples' home.

practitioner, and interaction virtually nil.

Early in 1967, a small playgroup began meeting every Friday morning in the Clinic. Mothers took it in turns to be on duty, meeting every now and again in the evenings to talk over progress and plan the rota. Here, with each mother at some time or other having to look after another's child, a like developed into a common interest and a fairly strong sense of solidarity emerged.

By 1966, the great days of the Friendly Societies were over, and the only Lodge meeting as a group was that of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes (known as 'the Buffs.'). This Lodge met weekly at the Brunswick Hotel, early in the year having some 24 regular male members, though later in 1966 a dozen or so new recruits were enrolled. Each meeting, after the business was done, the evening would be made up of a game or two 'to raise a bit,' a sing song and a general chit-chat. Occasionally 'the lodge was thrown open to visitors for supper,'¹ and each year there was an annual Christmas dinner, in 1966 attended by 'over 50'² members and their wives. During the year day trips to the coast were organized and an annual fishing expedition arranged. The limited size of the group, together with regular meetings, meant that the Buffs. did become a very 'friendly society.'

One of the strongest of the voluntary associations, in the Woodhouse of 1966, was the local Branch of the National Federation of Old Age

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 14/5/66.
2. Ibid. 10/12/66.

Pensioners. Membership had boomed since the early 1960s, and, in 1966, the Woodhouse section won the Dibner Shield for recruiting most new members (120) in the Sheffield Area in the preceding year. Average attendance at the monthly meeting was about 100, though many more, as noted, were on the books and paid their subscription. This association was an active one; during the summer two or three day trips were always arranged, in 1966 over 100 old people going on one of these to Skegness. For a week's holiday at a popular seaside resort in 1966, a coach-load of 41 pensioners travelled down to Weston-Super-Mare. Other activities that year included a trip to a Sheffield theatre, a Harvest Festival service at the Congregational Church attended by 40 members, and a Christmas tea when 160 people turned up. 1967 saw the Branch, through their energetic local Secretary, wading in on the fight against the Corporation, in this case for better street lighting, improved pavements in certain parts of the local district, and another telephone kiosk at the West end. All these activities created a strong sense of attachment to the group amongst those members attending meetings regularly.

The old people of Woodhouse also enjoyed one other event of note. The Aged Peoples' Treat, begun in 1876 and referred to in the comments on 1912, was in 1966 still going strong. Now, however, it was a half-day coach outing followed by tea in several of the local churches, instead of just a tea with entertainment to follow. The future of the Treat seemed in the balance in 1965, mainly because of the large influx of new residents on the Badger Estate which posed numerous problems. At the

crucial committee meeting opinions opposed to continuing the Treat were voiced: 'Some think this job is getting too big for us, the Badger Estate for example,' 'The idea of a treat is foreign to many of the newcomers,' 'When they get building on the other side we shan't know where the boundaries (for the house-to-house collection) will be,' 'Have we not come to the end of the road for the treat with holidays abroad and so many other trips on?' and so forth. But the doubters were voted down, and in 1966 and 1967 with a strong sense of solidarity restored no dissident voice was raised. Every May, collectors, unofficially appointed by the ad hoc committee (consisting in fact solely of churchgoers), set out to visit every house in the local district, and with the money raised coaches were hired and the teas bought. In 1966, the trip to Alton Towers, near Uttoxeter, attracted 365 old people, in 1967 to Trentham Gardens, near Stoke-on-Trent, 376. The trip was still undoubtedly 'a village event,' residents gathering to see the old folk off, or waving to them as they passed their gates, but signs of change were obvious; the coaches were now hired from outside the local district, the teas were provided by a Sheffield based Co-operative Society, more and more strange faces appeared on the coaches, and fewer and fewer came to bid the old people a good journey as they set off. Nevertheless, in 1966, the Treat was still popular and the occasion for much conversation, fun and laughter, especially amongst those residents who had known each other for many years.

The only permanent institution for the old in Woodhouse was a Home on Beighton Road. It housed only half a dozen or so ladies, and there was little for them to do other than sit around and talk. Friendships made there were somewhat superficial. At the end of 1966, the Home closed for Christmas and the residents were boarded out elsewhere. It never opened again.

Welfare work of a voluntary nature within the local district was not merely concerned with the aged. A small committee of the NSPCC organized a flag-day, jumble sales and coffee mornings. House-to-house collectors went out each year for various good causes, such as the National Children's Home, and the occasional charity event still occurred as, for example, in March 1966, when a special football match was arranged on the Brunswick Hotel football field to raise money for the Silverwood Colliery Disaster Fund. But such activities only created groups bound by rather casual and temporary ties and solidarity was not strong.

Significance

The sense of significance gained by most inhabitants through general participation in health and welfare activities (as opposed to the fulfilment of official duties) was not very strong. Work of a demanding nature, such as that undertaken by the unofficial mid-wives of the 1912 era, was, by 1966, almost entirely state organized, though two local women in particular still maintained the old tradition by giving virtually all their time to caring for the sick and needy. They

were both spoken of with great affection and gratitude by a host of residents who had had occasion to call on them in time of dire and often long-term trouble. For these two ladies voluntary nursing was their whole life. Otherwise, however, most residents looked upon any nursing or social work they did as merely lending a helping hand now and then as other interests and responsibilities permitted.

Significance was enhanced for some of those on the receiving end of the services of the Welfare State who otherwise might well have been totally isolated and forgotten. One old lady, for example, with no relatives or friends nearby received, by way of compensation, calls from a doctor, two district nurses, an old people's warden, both the local ladies mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and a minister of religion, in a single week in 1966. Other residents seemed to gain at least a moderate sense of significance by dwelling on their ailments and disabilities, many of them going to great trouble to unearth and show to the visitor the latest bottle of medicine or packet of pills prescribed as somehow justifying their existence. The author recalls one quite ordinary and likeable woman producing with immense pride a mammoth stone, now carefully kept in a box filled with cotton wool, once removed from her kidney during an operation many years ago. Significance is sometimes attained in remarkable ways!

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

The organization and structure of the welfare services, in 1966, inevitably led to the emergence of a set of relationships not so prevalent in 1912, those between health worker and patient or social worker and client. In 1966, these tended to be rather impersonal, many residents visited by the district nurse, for example, still not knowing her surname after several weeks. The mode of address was usually 'nurse' or 'doctor' and no more. This situation, in part due to the rapid turnover of statutory workers in the local district, at times produced a touch of resentment especially when the social worker concerned was a shade tactless or 'officious.' One elderly man dressed down in no uncertain terms a home help supervisor who made tactless comments concerning his financial affairs. At its worst, the relationship could break down completely, as one man indicated in his remarks about the public health inspector who had apparently failed to come and examine a broken pipe causing an unhealthy drain; 'I've rung, I've wrote and I've cursed 'em, but they still don't b..... well come!' It was this latent lack of sympathy with 'outsiders,' even in the guise of ministering angels, that in part led certain residents to object so bitterly to the establishment of the Reception Centre in the local district in the late 1950s.

However, where health and welfare workers did manage to retain Woodhouse as part of their territory for a number of years, when they worked from a permanent local centre (such as the Clinic), or when they resided in the local district itself, relationships between them and residents could lead to the establishment of quite strong solidary bonds. Such was the case with one local doctor and also with a health visitor who, in the two years since their arrival on the Woodhouse scene, had really put themselves out to help their patients, and had thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the movement for improving the general state of the local district. Relations between the health and welfare workers themselves varied in depth, the trained nurses usually working in close co-operation, but contact between the latter, the doctors and other statutory social workers generally being rather formal. Only one doctor shared his work, in this case with a health visitor.

Quite a number of residents established strong social ties within health and welfare world outside the local district. In 1966, Woodhouse contained a dozen or more nurses who very much enjoyed the friendships they made with colleagues and patients during the course of their work. Other residents receiving hospital treatment, sometimes for a considerable period, often spoke with deep appreciation of the kindness of the nursing staff. One Woodhouse lady receiving treatment for many months wrote in a local church magazine of the spirit in the ward: 'Six a.m. and the busy days starts in the hospital ward. The swish of the nurses' aprons and their cheery "Good morning" helps to reassure us

A new patient arrives feeling so alone, even amidst so many people, but there is usually one at least who is mobile who brings a few magazines and is always to hand to do some little kindness for others who are not so well.¹ A mother, whose child spent the first 6 months of its life in hospital following a major operation, spoke of the very close bond established with the sister and nurses, as well as friendship with the doctors, on the ward concerned. Another woman speaking of the surgeon who had operated on her several times commented; 'That man could ask me to lie down and let him walk over me; I'd trust him to cut my head off and stitch it on the other way!' Writing of an occasion when his wife was rushed into hospital for an appendicitis operation, the Vicar summed up the situation as it existed for at least a number of residents, 'The medical services come in for a lot of criticism nowadays, but really we felt nothing but praise for the dedication and hard work of all those involved.'² Similarly certain of those receiving help and instruction from the welfare services, a crippled man working at the Remploy. factory, a blind girl at a special school, a woman placed in a Corporation old people's home and so on, spoke of a strong sense of solidarity found within their respective groups.

Within the local district, the voluntary organizations were active agents in strengthening social ties, especially those already in exist-

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1. Woodhouse Wesleyan Church Magazine. Autumn 1963.
 2. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. December 1965.

ence through kinship relationships or long established friendships, amongst residents. The Woodhouse Branch of the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners, for example, was a close fellowship in large part because many of the participants had grown up together. Likewise the Aged People's Treat, as well as the Treat committee, manifested the existence of links built up over many decades, the Treat in fact being a somewhat exclusive Woodhouse event, with only those residing 'between the two bridges' (ie., excluding Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs) being permitted to participate.

The Buffaloes did not attract so many of the long established inhabitants but, in this case, other features of their organization, such as the ritual of enrolment, the 'elevation' ceremonies, the passwords, the signs, and their own 'particular brand of humour,' cemented the social bonds. The Society also appointed a sick visitor and maintained close contact with members in trouble, as well as making small payments where warranted.

Significance

The sense of significance experienced by those holding official positions in this sphere showed some variation from person to person. One doctor, who had fairly recently arrived in the local district, rated his own sense of significance as 'very weak,' though he did make the interesting distinction between his standing in the old village, where he was usually received with some deference and offered a chair, and

the new estates where he was frequently 'treated like the gas meter reader.' On the other hand, another doctor had been brought up in Woodhouse and had actually chosen to come back to practice there after his training. During a serious illness a number of his patients made a collection 'to show their appreciation of him in a tangible form.'¹ A health visitor, after two years' work in the area, could speak of a strong sense of fulfilment and a mid-wife state unequivocally, 'I love my work.' Thus, despite certain frustrations, a number of health and social workers could find a good deal of satisfaction in their official roles.

Within the voluntary organizations, a strong sense of significance was attained by certain people in official positions. The Buffaloes elected their officers monthly and bestowed on them such elaborate titles as Worthy Primo, City Marshall, City Constable, City Tyler and City Chamberlain.² For election to the Fourth Degree fellow Buffs. from the extended district came to share the ceremony. The Old Age Pensioners Committee found considerable prominence within their own circle, and one or two of their number, as with the Buffaloes, held office on the respective Sheffield district committees. The committee organizing the Aged People's Treat relished their standing with the old residents, and on the day of the outing could be seen marshalling their 'troops' with

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1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. Feb. 1965.
 2. The South Yorkshire Times. 7/5/66.

great gusto.

SUMMING UP

From the point of view of health and welfare, the Woodhouse of 1966 appeared a different world from that of 1912. Whereas in the latter era care of the sick and needy was in large part controlled by a somewhat conservative and frugal Urban District Council, in 1966 virtually all provision was in the hands of the National Health Service, the well equipped Sheffield Public Health Department and other welfare agencies working under the local authority. The fear of economic insecurity, on which the old Friendly Societies were largely founded, had now been almost abolished through the activities of the Ministry of Social Security. Whereas in 1912, residents were left to strive as best they could against very poor social conditions, a fact which engendered a strong sense of solidarity within many of the voluntary welfare associations, by 1966 the only response demanded by the vastly improved situation was one of acceptance, though despite much apathy quite a number of Woodhouse people were appreciative of services rendered in this sphere.

The coming of the Welfare State meant that there were now certain opportunities for Woodhouse residents to experience a sense of solidarity within groups and associations sponsored by statutory as well as by voluntary organizations. Participants in this sphere of activity, however, were predominantly women. Young mothers met fairly frequently

when receiving ante-natal or post-natal attention at the Woodhouse Clinic and a moderate sense of fellow-feeling was often engendered. The Clinic also housed a play group, the mothers running it generally developing a strong sense of solidarity amongst themselves. In addition, many residents receiving treatment or help from such bodies as the city's hospitals, special schools, occupational units for the handicapped, clubs for the blind and so on, spoke of the strong friendships often made therein. The social bond between statutory workers and residents receiving attention was only of moderate strength, except where health and social workers had had the opportunity of staying for some time in the local district and had given good service to Woodhouse people. Amongst local district health and welfare workers themselves a strong sense of solidarity existed, though a certain professional exclusiveness kept it within definite limits.

The coming of the Welfare State had put an end to a good deal of the voluntary endeavour noted in 1912. By 1966, any collections or special events organized for charity were a mere shadow of such occasions as the Kelley Football Cup competition or the annual Hospital Demonstration when hundreds of residents had been drawn eagerly and closely together. The popular Ambulance Classes of 1912, wherein solidarity had been strong, were now attached to collieries outside the local district and few Woodhouse residents participated in them. Though solidarity was strong within the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, the

latter was but a small remnant of the large and active Societies of the earlier period. The largest group of residents meeting each other frequently within this sphere of activity was undoubtedly made up of pensioners, a majority of whom had spent much of their lives in the local district. The Woodhouse Branch of the Old Age Pensioners' Association was especially important in maintaining a strong sense of solidarity within this section of the population, whilst the Aged People's Treat, though beginning to seem rather less of a 'treat' in the affluent society, was still a notable communal event for many old Woodhouse residents.

A sense of significance was now associated as much with work done and roles played within statutory as voluntary organizations. Amongst professional health and social workers, the degree of significance was sometimes very strong and often strong, though certain residents, such as the doctors, undoubtedly felt that their standing was no longer as great as it used to be in past years. Informal and unpaid nursing was still devotedly carried out by one or two ladies who had time to spare for this kind of service, but this type of vocation was rapidly dying out. Those on the receiving end of treatment or care often attained a moderate sense of significance simply through receiving the attention of numerous health and welfare agencies.

On the voluntary side, those taking the lead in such organizations as the Buffaloes, the Old Age Pensioners' Branch, the Aged People's

Treat and so forth generally gained a strong sense of significance, though recognition of their position was limited very much to one particular age group and mainly to those born or bred in Woodhouse.

5. FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURSINTRODUCTION

As in the 1912 study, so for 1966, the term 'family,' except where indicated in the text, refers to the immediate or nuclear family consisting of husband, wife and children. The main focus of attention is the household unit.

The problem of neatly reducing to a few precise categories the many different varieties of family life is just as great for the more recent as for the earlier period. Thus though certain typical activities and relationships were discovered and are described below, it must be stressed that, in this sphere particularly, exceptions to the general rule were frequently encountered.

In 1966, typical patterns of family life in Woodhouse cut across those categories of social class outlined in the Section on 'Work' to such a degree that, unless otherwise stated, the subsequent discussion is concerned with the residents of the local district as a whole. Other factors, such as the length of time families had resided in the local district, the distance they lived from close relatives, and whether or not the wife went out to work, moulded patterns of family life far more than distinctions of social class.

As in the 1912 analysis, discussion of community sentiment in relation to those living in the same precinct will be confined to the

part of this Section where it has greatest relevance, that concerned with solidarity arising through social action.

During the first year or two of the life of the new Badger Estate the interaction and relationships of residents with relatives outside the nuclear family and with neighbours were in such an unsettled state that no evidence is used below dating from before January 1966, three years after the first and a year after the last of the newcomers had moved in.

PARTICIPANTS

Information is not available to indicate precisely what was the average size of the family in 1966, but considerable acquaintance with the area by doctors, clergy and social workers revealed that the largest family living under one roof consisted of a father, mother and 10 children. One or two families containing 9 children were known. Nevertheless, a sample of part of the Badger Estate in 1966¹ showed that the norm was between two and three children per family, and this would seem to be about the right average for other parts of the local district at this time.

Another major change from the situation in 1912 was the much greater expectation of life. Not only had death in infancy (see the Introduction to the Section on 'Health and Welfare') or childhood become very much rarer, but, as far as burial statistics at Woodhouse cemetery for

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Survey of Housing at Gloucester Street and Woodhouse, Sheffield. (Unpublished), 1967. Chapter II. Section I.



Old (working class) cottages and corner shop.



Working class cottages (note outside toilets).



New maisonettes on the Badger Estate.



Semi-detached row of owner-occupied (independent working class) houses.

this period show, well over half (as against a quarter in 1912) of those reaching the age of 21 were likely to survive into their 70s, and over a quarter into their 80s or 90s. These facts, together with the opportunity of retirement on a state pension at 60 for women and 65 for men, had important implications for activities and relationships within the context of family life.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

As was the case in the early years of the Century, daily and weekly interaction within many Woodhouse homes was much affected by the pattern of the man's working life. Shift-work was still the rule rather than the exception, and in most lower class households a well organized domestic routine was essential; 'I'm on shifts too!' commented the wife of a miner. Amongst older residents, there was the feeling that the wife should always be at home to ensure that the husband coming in from work was well fed and watered, meals ready on the dot. Here the pattern of domestic life dominant in 1912 was still to some degree in evidence.

Especially amongst younger families, however, a new phenomenon had appeared on the scene; the married woman going out to work. Such women were sometimes able to arrange matters so that they were only away from the home when husband and children were out, but the rather limited number of part-time jobs available to women in and around Woodhouse

meant that others had to be away in the evenings on 'the twilight shift,' or at least across certain meal times. In these circumstances, to have kept the home going and the family happy would undoubtedly have demanded a degree of domestic teamwork impossible to attain, but for the emergence of one or two other factors which had changed the situation very much from that existing in 1912.

One such factor was a standard of living which, especially since the early 1950s, had risen considerably. Most Woodhouse households now possessed a wide variety of labour-saving devices which demolished much of the drudgery of the earlier era. A sample survey amongst houses on the Badger Estate with the lowest rents revealed that, even here, 75%¹ of homes had washing machines and 61% 'fridges. Consequently many wives, even with several children, could get through the weekly cleaning and washing in a day; 'The easiest house I've ever had to work,' commented one resident on the Badger Estate. Another new factor in the situation was, as noted above, the smaller size of family and the fact that many Woodhouse women, within a few years of being married, could have all their children at school. If children arrived home from school when mother was still out, it was a common occurrence for friends or relatives living nearby, now less burdened with their own domestic responsibilities than in the early years of the Century, to look after them for an hour or two. Thirdly, by 1966, many husbands were taking a much more active part in running the household and maintaining the home.

1. Ibid. Chapter VII, Section I.

Remarking on how her son-in-law helped in the house and sometimes did the washing, one old resident stated, 'Our husbands never used to do anything like that!' The man in an apron was no longer a symbol of male ridicule.

Unfortunately the changed situation did not facilitate the operation of the new pattern of domestic life in every household. Despite the rise in the standard of living, there were still numerous, especially young, Woodhouse families struggling to pay the rent and keep up with extensive hire-purchase commitments. In these circumstances, where the size of family tended to be above the norm and where money management was often poor, living right up to or beyond one's means was common. The intense desire to possess the good things advertised daily by Press and television, and usually possessed by neighbours, as well as outings and entertainment which cost a good deal of money, sometimes led to acute domestic crises. Even where rents were not so high, in the old parts of Woodhouse, young families still got into difficulties. A rent collector writes, 'I think of Mary's family life. To an outsider this might seem solid enough, but it is not, and has nearly broken up on at least one occasion. Both Mary and her husband, Peter, are working full time. Their rent is very low. They run a car, mainly because Peter needs it to boost his ego; he says that he'll not part with it "whilst he's two ha'pennies to rub together." Mary, therefore, against her will, has to find full time work. She smokes like a chimney to soothe her nerves, and at week-ends both she and Peter escape from

themselves via pub, club or bingo. By Tuesday a few weeks ago there wasn't half a crown to spare to pay a debt. Its payment had to wait for the week-end. The boy, John, is having a very unsatisfactory home life at the present time.' Occasionally the woman went out to work deliberately to evade her domestic responsibilities; one young mother was so keen to retain her independence that she went out to work every day, leaving her young children with her mother-in-law, and the home all but collapsed.

Nevertheless, despite these strains and stresses, the large majority of Woodhouse families coped well with their new found economic security and freedom, and, though the style of domestic life was very different from 1912, the sense of solidarity experienced within the home was generally very strong.

The sense of the family being a team was demonstrated by the zeal with which residents worked to renovate and modernize their homes, a matter to be mentioned again in relation to a sense of significance. One young couple were actually building their own house (with their own hands) in the local district, whilst another couple had purchased the old vicarage, written off by the Church because of subsidence troubles, and were totally renovating it. Not to be out-done other residents were busy in the old parts of Woodhouse, even where accommodation was rented, putting in baths and inside toilets, 'facing' doors, replacing windows, adding porches. One lady, who rarely stepped outside her

council house, still took an immense pride, with her husband, in keeping it very bright and tidy and described them both as being 'as happy as pigs in muck!' though their home was anything but 'mucky.'

In 1966, men and women, especially those going out to earn a wage, still worked hard. The actual working week, including overtime, was often as long as in 1912, with now an additional time-taking and often tiring journey to and from work in the city. For the man, therefore, home, with all its modern conveniences and comforts, was as good a place as anywhere to spend a good deal of his leisure time. One innovation in particular induced the family to stay in rather than go out: the television. 'From teatime to midnight, that's it!' commented one resident whose work took him into a good number of homes in the local district. A local Polish doctor made the observation that, whereas in Poland it was the table round which the family would congregate, and in the old Woodhouse homes the fire, in modern households the television stood in the centre of the family circle. Working from figures relating to the issue of licences at the local Post Office, it would seem that about 75% of Woodhouse households possessed television in 1966. Although the latter allowed only a very limited degree of, even verbal, interaction, and although young people were much less inclined to switch on and watch all evening, as numerous adults did, there is no doubt that viewing 'kept the family together' for many more hours, and added to their fund of like interests, than was the case in 1912.

The week-end, and especially Sunday, was the time when the family usually did things together. It is true that, at some periods of the year, the men would be off to watch football or away fishing, and that each Sunday lunch-time many spent an hour or so in the public house or club, but most members of the family would see a good deal of each other in the home, watching television, occupied on 'do-it-yourself' matters, gardening and so forth, or, as mentioned in the next paragraph, out enjoying themselves. It was now much more common for men to take their wives out for a drink or dancing or to the cinema at week-ends. Father and children were frequently seen together in the club (though some adults did not approve of this), out for walks, or at the recreation ground. Where residents did belong to local churches, they quite often did so as families (though the man tended to be the absentee here), and regularly worshipped or attended other religious activities together.

Another new development of great importance in this context was the boom in car ownership. The 1966 Census figures show that about one in three of the Woodhouse households possessed a car (though the Badger Estate enquiry mentioned before shows that for young families the ratio was more like one car to two households). At week-ends the car would take families to visit relatives, to the local swimming baths, to the Sheffield parks or out into Derbyshire, and on day trips to the seaside. A notable minority of Woodhouse people possessed



Family cars.



Children on Beaver Hill Recreation Ground (note one or two fathers in action).

caravans and many such residents would go to the coast for week-ends during the summer. Such activities as these bound families very closely together.

The great annual family occasions of the first decade of the Century (Easter Monday, Whitsuntide, the Feast and so on) had by this time given way to a more even tempo of interaction, the only real exceptions being the summer holidays and Christmas time. All men now had two or three weeks paid holiday (as well as those periods denoted as 'public holidays'), and until children were about 14 or 15 years old all the family went away together. The style of holiday varied greatly. For the majority of the lower class residents it was still the seaside for 'beer and jellied eels, with candy-floss up your nose or in your hair, and mother on the sands with the kids whilst dad goes for a booze,' as one man described it. But especially amongst the independent section of the lower class and the upper class residents holidays could be far more sophisticated; touring Wales in the car, a rented cottage on Arran, a river-boat on the Broads, etc., whilst 1966 saw Woodhouse families going as far afield as the Channel Islands, Switzerland, Majorca, Spain and Jugoslavia. But whatever the style these were occasions which greatly helped in strengthening family ties.

The other great family event of the year was Christmas. The residents brought up in Woodhouse, with relatives living nearby, would 'do the rounds' every Christmas visiting that sister for one meal and this aunt for another, with elderly parents being amongst the main

guests. It was still known for as many as two dozen people to congregate in one small house at this festival, and the exchanges of hospitality continued well into the New Year. The residents who had more recently moved into the area would either go to their parents or have parents over, but in all cases the party was a smaller one. None the less, especially where young children were involved, Christmas was an important communal occasion for all local families.

The main phases of the life-cycle at this period were influenced by numerous features not part of the social scene in 1912. The much smaller families, for example, tended to make child-bearing rather more of an event at this time; 'They're up in the clouds!' remarked the District Mid-wife referring to mothers with their first child. The latter was usually born in hospital, later ones at home unless there were medical complications, but in every case it was a big domestic occasion with flowers and cards by the dozen arriving. The wife's mother would usually live in to help out when the baby arrived and for a week or so after. When the child was born at home it was becoming quite common for husbands to be present at the birth or at least to have a few days off to help in the house.

Where daughters produced illegitimate babies, not a very frequent occurrence in Woodhouse, families would hold amazingly well together. One mother of a seventeen year old girl with an illegitimate child quite readily gave up a very good job to take over full-time nursing of the

baby. In fact illegitimacy sometimes strengthened solidarity within the home as the daughter was often made very dependent on parents, and support was usually given willingly; for the former to be expelled from the household 'for making a mistake' was extremely rare.

The upbringing of Woodhouse children, though still as in the earlier era mainly the responsibility of the mother, helped by 'grandma' if the latter resided close by, was becoming steadily more the concern of the father as well. Most families were drawn closely together whilst the children were young, the latter's departure for school at 5 affecting very little the sense of solidarity experienced within the home. By the age of 11 or 12, however, children were beginning to make use of the many more opportunities than in 1912 of exerting their independence. One such opportunity was the relative affluence enjoyed by the older child and young person; the average weekly pocket money received by children in a class of 10 year olds at one Junior School was about 5/-, whilst in addition many had two or three comics each week and one child 5.

By the time most young people began to earn a wage, at the age of 15, they were often used to spending money and eager to live an independent life; buying their own clothes, paying for their own choice of entertainment, acquiring their own form of transport, taking holidays apart from parents, and so on. They had entered the years of the 'teenage culture,' mentioned later in the Section on 'Leisure.'

There were certain times when this situation reached the level of communal conflict and almost destroyed familial solidarity entirely. One such was when a 'teenage girl, brought up in an old Woodhouse family and as a regular churchgoer, went off to college in London. There she met a non-Christian boy and, despite her parents' grieved protests, married him in a registry office without any relatives present, and remained in London to start a home. Her parents had laid great store by her coming back to Sheffield to teach. Cleavage of attitudes and life-style here led to almost total breakdown in communication.

Yet it would be misleading to conclude, from the few extreme breaks that did occur, that the very strong sense of solidarity previously existing between parents and children was generally undermined at this stage in the life-cycle. In many cases, even where young people did strike out on their own, as with the boy who went to 'live it up' in Birmingham, and another who travelled to Bournemouth to find work, they were back before very long, glad to have a home to be welcomed into. Many 'teenagers, despite their apparent independence, leant heavily on their home and family at this stage in their lives.

'Coming of age' was still regarded as something of 'a milestone,' as one parent put it, in the life of the Woodhouse young person. It was usually the last occasion on which really lavish personal presents were given, getting married excluded, and the event was usually cele-

brated with a party for friends of the same age. But this occasion neither particularly enhanced familial solidarity, nor witnessed the first major break with the domestic pattern experienced as a child, the young person having held 'the key of the door' for some years already, and by this time often courting or even being married.

In 1966, the 53 marriages at the Parish Church revealed a median age for men of 22 years and 10 months and for women of 21 years. This was fairly typical of the early 1960s. The spirit of adventurous independence demonstrated in the 'teenage years ended pretty abruptly as soon as serious courting started. Engagement was usually for a year or two, but occasionally for much longer and, in an age of variety and interest, it was surprising how early 'going steady' began. A sense of belonging was now associated as much with the partner-to-be as with parents and, once the former was definitely chosen, the dedication with which the couple set about planning for the future was all-absorbing. Many imposed upon themselves a 'self-denying ordinance' which meant an end to a good deal of spending on all that had seemed so important in the middle 'teens; from now on it was the new house and equipping it properly that took pride of place. Sometimes, years before marriage, the house had been chosen, and hours and hours of spare time went into buying or making furniture, renovating various rooms, painting, papering and so on. The sense of attachment thus engendered in the couple became at times almost insular, at least as regards other friends of their own age.

Parents could in fact play an extremely active part in helping the couple to prepare and equip the future home (the majority of Woodhouse young people married in 1966 managed to purchase their own house, even if the latter were an old one). Where the home was going to be set up in the extended district, usually the case, parents were sufficiently near to become involved in work on the house as well as in helping to gather 'bottom-drawer' material. Thus, despite the 'teenage years of independent living, the period of courtship and preparing for the future often brought parents and child back into close touch.

The wedding itself was a big and, at times, quite lavish event, not just for the upper but for the lower class too, another change made possible through growing affluence. A majority of Woodhouse residents still preferred to get married at the Parish Church (though many more than in 1912 bothered only with the civil ceremony), and it was quite common for 75 guests and upwards to be invited to the service and reception. The latter was usually held outside Woodhouse at a large restaurant, in a public house or at a club. This event was a real gathering of the clans, though the sheer size of the party perhaps tended to weaken the more homely atmosphere of bygone days. A honeymoon, though sometimes short, was now the norm for young married couples.

In 1966, only very few newly married Woodhouse couples had to live with in-laws for any length of time. This was in part due to their determination to save for the deposit on a house prior to marriage, and

in part to the fact that the waiting period for council houses had been drastically reduced during the last few years (6 months was now the rule, whereas many couples residing on the new Badger Estate had been waiting up to 13 years or more). For young married people living in the local district the first years of running a home of their own, though obviously hard work, were very much enjoyed. During this period, virtually all the man's energy went into bringing home a good wage-packet, and improving and maintaining the house (and car), whilst the wife, often after several more years earning, turned her attention to bearing and rearing the children. It was during this period especially that the young mother with baby would be off once a week or a fortnight to 'visit mum' living elsewhere in the city. For young wives with their mothers in the local district, visits would be much more frequent, sometimes daily. Once the family were on their feet or at school, mother would often go out to work again. This phase was one of strenuous living, but, though tensions inevitably arose, the degree of interest shown by young Woodhouse couples in the home and family was very high.

Once the children were reared and had gone off into the world to make their own homes, parents usually settled down to a fairly steady partnership. Breakdown of marriage was not common in Woodhouse, the husband-wife relationships being in fact far more tenacious, even in time of domestic crisis, than many would imagine. One man from the

dependent section of the lower class, whose wife suffered from severe mental breakdowns for many years, including several attempts on her own life, looked after her with genuine concern whilst at home, and visited her with great regularity, though this meant at least two hours spent travelling on buses, when in hospital. Another woman whose husband was paralysed by a stroke long before retiring age had, in 1966, looked after him for well over a decade without complaint. Taking into consideration the greater life expectation at this time, it was indeed remarkable how faithfully most husbands and wives stood by each other through periods of prolonged ill-health.

Retirement of the man ushered in a period of considerable activity for old couples, health and strength permitting, though male and female residents tended to do a good deal apart when outside the home: the husband in the garden, at the public house for a quiet drink, at an old men's club run by one of the churches, or walking with colleagues; the wife visiting friends, at church meetings or attending (the supposedly mixed) old folks' groups in the local district. But many hours were spent at home together chatting round the fire or watching television, and each succeeding wedding anniversary was celebrated with increasingly warm greetings and growing encouragement from relatives and friends.

By and large sons, and especially daughters, showed considerable concern for the welfare of aged parents. The fact that the latter, because of good medical treatment, could by 1966 live to a ripe old age,

and sometimes retain a spirit of daunting independence, often threw a heavy burden onto the children. It was not uncommon at this time to find elderly parents who had been nursed by daughters for years rather than months. Most old people tried to retain their own home as long as they possibly could, but, though this sometimes meant a good journey, especially for the more recent arrivals on the Woodhouse scenes, many children travelled regularly across the city to pay their weekly or fortnightly visit. Letters, and especially the telephone, here helped to maintain contact. Sometimes one son or daughter took particular interest in and responsibility for mother or dad whilst the rest kept their distance. Occasionally caring for elderly parents was obviously much more of a duty than done with care and charity, but it was not common to find the old, where they did have children living, completely deserted, and obliged to live in an institution or left to fade away in the geriatric ward of a hospital.

As in 1912, death brought the last great family occasion of the life-cycle. Distance was here no object and relatives would return to Woodhouse from far and near. In 1966, however, it was a much less dramatic event than in earlier years (except where the circumstances were unusual; for example, when a boy of 19 was killed in a road accident, and the crematorium was packed out with friends and workmates). Many of the old customs had gone; some residents refused to draw curtains, the deceased more often than not lay in the undertaker's rest room, children were kept away from the funeral, and flowers were sometimes dispensed

with and the money given to charity. The funeral itself was usually a quiet and simple affair, with no great show of emotion, guests congregating after the service for a modest meal in the home or at the church. There was no formal period of mourning or special dress for the bereaved and, after the deceased's belongings had been cleared out, the normal routine of the home was restored as soon as possible. Yet despite the unostentatious nature of the occasion, death was still a time when the solidarity of the family was very much reaffirmed.

Neighbours

The outstanding feature of this era, with respect to neighbourliness amongst Woodhouse residents, was the lack of real acquaintance with or knowledge of those living in the same precinct. Friendships did emerge because residents lived within easy walking distance, but these were now based far more on common interests than on the geographical proximity as such of dwellings.

It is true that the 1912 pattern of precinct relationships remained to some extent in those yards or terraced rows still inhabited largely by old residents. One group of cottages, tucked away behind the George Inn, was described by an old lady living there as forming 'a little community on its own,' whilst in another row of dwellings neighbours looked after each other's pets when on holiday, and did odd jobs for one another in the house. A road containing some 70 houses built at the turn of the Century was spoken of by one inhabitant as 'a bit of a

gossip shop,' simply because everyone knew each other's business so well. Yet even in the parts of the local district built in the period before the First World War the old pattern of neighbourliness had changed. No two households any longer shared a toilet and economic circumstances were such that borrowing in general was not necessary. Though some of the new council houses were built in close proximity, it was not like the old days when, as one resident commented, 'You couldn't get a shovel of coal without passing someone's door.' Thus, even in the older areas, especially where the link created by children playing together had gone, strong friendships were often made with those 'down the road' or 'across the way' rather than with neighbours in the same precinct.

The tendency for housewives to select friends within easy reach, but outside the precinct, was even more obvious amongst those who had moved into Woodhouse since the Second World War. The great cry in the post-war housing estates was for 'Privacy!' On the Badger Estate where a great deal of 'overlooking' and 'inlooking' was inevitable because of the arrangement of the houses, many complaints were voiced, and Venetian blinds went up on all sides. There was a growing antipathy to neighbours who borrowed or who were unduly noisy, and 'inning and outing' was regarded more as a vice than a virtue. As a result many people knew their neighbours only moderately well, even after some years' residence; a situation justified by one housewife when she commented quite frankly, 'Who wants to be friends just to be friends?'

In 1966, the strongest friendships, amongst those women living within walking distance, were based on choice, and by no means confined to the precinct (though common interests could of course emerge there). Friendships thus made often led to a good deal of mutual help being given. One young wife having a baby had her washing and ironing done for two or three weeks by a friend living opposite her. Another woman during the day looked after the children of a friend, living two or three rows away, who had to go into hospital for a month. One old lady commented that a young couple living across the road had looked after her whilst ill 'as if they were son and daughter.'

One word of qualification must be added here. Though those in the same precinct did not interact with anything like the intensity of the 1912 era, when occasional but genuine crises did come they too were often quite ready to offer help. One girl who had an illegitimate baby received numerous gifts from people residing in her block of flats whom she hardly knew previously, and a man bereaved on a new estate spoke in glowing terms of the help given by neighbours with whom previously he had had only a casual acquaintance; 'I call them real Christian people,' he concluded. Such interaction was very dependent on the circumstances of life and solidarity engendered could hardly be said to be very enduring, but it did show that, where genuine need arose, neighbourliness was certainly not impossible. Indeed this situation underlined again that it was much more common interests and social needs than mere geographical proximity that created bonds.

Squabbles and arguments within the precinct were less common, and certainly less violent, than in 1912, probably due to the fact that neighbours were much less 'on top of each other' than in the first decade of the Century; where wives went out to work they might not meet for days on end. Friction occurred mainly when the children fell out or caused damage to property, and when neighbours were too rowdy. Very occasionally quarrels did become bitter. One resident greased the side of her porch to prevent an old lady who regularly passed it, to visit her daughter, putting her hand on it to steady herself; two large families on a new estate came to blows and went to court over a disagreement as to where children should play; and one couple actually left Woodhouse because neighbours were perpetually pulling rude faces at them and making cutting remarks. This was not the norm, however, and where tension did arise it was usually resolved fairly quickly; for example, one man whose neighbour would insist on playing the guitar with great gusto effectively quietened him by turning up his own gramophone to maximum volume! It cannot be said that disputes between neighbours were marked enough to affect a sense of solidarity one way or the other.

A final word must be added about those elderly residents living in the three or four groups of special flats built for them in the area. Here both partners tended to take a good deal more interest in neighbours than was the case with younger people. At home for a good deal of the day, lack of mobility, many and varied experiences to share based on a long life, greater dependence on those living close by for help when

needed; all these factors meant a strong sense of comradeship amongst a good number of them. And there was here much more popping into a neighbour's flat to have a chat or watch television.

In 1966, 'neighbouring' amongst housewives was thus becoming much more a matter of interaction between chosen friends, 'down the road' or 'across the estate,' than amongst those living in the same precinct. Solidarity within the latter might well be, especially in newer areas, moderate or even weak, whereas with nearby friends, chosen because of common interests, it could be strong and sometimes very strong. As mentioned in the Section on 'Leisure,' the child also found his best friends amongst those living fairly near (though again not necessarily in the same precinct), as well as at school. For the man of the house, however, friendships were much less frequently found within the immediate area of residence, a passing greeting or a short chat about the car or garden were about all that materialized for many. As one wife on the Badger Estate commented of her husband, 'He's not really in it. Where he lives doesn't actually bother him.'

Significance

In 1966, for residents of all ages and both sexes the home, as a dwelling place, was the focus of a great deal of attention: it was something in which to take a personal pride. The great amount of private effort, in both older and more recently built parts of Woodhouse, expended on renovation and modernization had to be seen to be believed. The house decorated with cream and brown paint, with drab curtains and

filled with massive pieces of furniture, was by this time hard to find. Residents would show the visitor with great pride the fresh wallpaper (many older women decorated downstairs annually), the modernized fireplace or the new bathroom.

On the Badger Estate, the new resident was equally house-proud and he had good cause to be, his home being described in a leading magazine as 'The finest council house in Britain.'¹ A survey of this estate revealed that 'the level of (house) satisfaction was high' and the investigators concluded; 'At Woodhouse apart from one family who liked their old house because it was in "a better district" the housewives were unanimous in saying they preferred their present place. Many had lived with parents, or in old cramped property, and were delighted to have either a home of their own, or one which was modern with all modern conveniences One housewife remarked that if only she could have taken her house elsewhere she would have been completely happy.'² By 1966, the great majority of those living on the Badger Estate, and indeed on the other post-war estates, had decorated and furnished their homes tastefully and colourfully. The only qualification that must be made is that interest in the garden seems to have been extremely varied, some being looked after with imagination and great care, others being veritable jungles.

1. 'Homemaker,' October 1963.

2. Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Survey of Housing at Gloucester Street and Woodhouse, Sheffield. (Unpublished), 1967. Conclusion.

The sense of significance experienced by the wife in actually running the home was less uniform. The older women accepted the routine housework as part and parcel of their expected lot and many took a good deal of pride in their work, as the well washed, beautifully ironed and neatly folded garments hanging on the living-room clothes rack showed to any caller. One old resident with failing sight nevertheless polished the many brasses in her kitchen until the place sparkled. The younger women had a much more equivocal attitude to their role as housewives, some loving it whilst others described themselves as 'bored stiff.' The degree of satisfaction amongst this group seems to have depended to a large extent on the range of the woman's interests and her particular skills. Where the wife, especially because of the nature of her work prior to marriage, had a wide experience of the non-domestic world and had had training in other fields (as a teacher, nurse, secretary, bank clerk, etc.), satisfaction with being (only) a housewife was less. This is not to say such mothers neglected their families; it is to say that many were becoming less content with the home as the sole grouping within which they must find a sense of fulfilment.

Though the younger men in particular were more active at this time in doing jobs in the house, playing with the children, taking the family out and so forth it cannot be said that housework as such was particularly relished or gave any real sense of significance.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

By 1966, the Woodhouse scene revealed two main patterns of familial relationships. One was that typified by the old, well established, large nuclear family, born and bred in Woodhouse, surrounded by an extended family containing a multitude of members mostly still residing in the local district. The other pattern was manifest within the more recently settled younger, smaller nuclear family which had no other kin living locally, though usually these did reside in the extended district.

The well established Woodhouse families, nuclear and extended, had by this period intermarried to such an extent that after 5 years close acquaintance with many of them the author was still discovering relationships previously unknown. One young man, marrying a Woodhouse girl, aptly summed up the latter's relations when he commented, 'They're not a family tree, they're a forest!' Undoubtedly many such extended families enjoyed a strong sense of solidarity. Both adults and children took part in a regular round of visiting; this relative came on Monday for tea, that one on Wednesday morning for coffee, another on Sunday for lunch and vice-versa. The bond between children and grandparents was especially close. The elderly had their rooms filled with family photos, one old person having 13 displayed in her living-room, whilst half a dozen or more pictures of the family were regularly seen elsewhere.

In times of crisis many of these extended families would pull well together. When two members of one were seriously injured in a road accident and went into a hospital at Lincoln, a car shuttle-service was worked every day for several weeks by the rest to assist visitors. One Woodhouse couple, whose son had deserted his wife, left no stone unturned to see their daughter-in-law and her children well settled in her own house in the local district; 'Some say I do more for her than my son but I still love him,' commented the elderly mother.

None the less other factors were operating which destroyed any hope of a uniform picture. Links with relatives who had resided in Woodhouse for many years were becoming more and more difficult for the younger end to maintain, as work, further education, marriage and, in a growing number of cases, the desire to start afresh outside the local district took them not only out of the area, but into a very different sort of world from that experienced in their childhood and youth. Many still loyally paid return visits to their own nuclear families living in Woodhouse, but close ties with other relations were much more difficult to retain.

Another factor which cannot go unmentioned was the surprising number of old Woodhouse extended families within which one or two major groupings were at odds with each other. The causes cannot be fully examined here but, many splits were the result of relatively minor disputes being allowed to fester and grow in a situation where the parties could not get away from one another. The consequences were that 'not speaking' could

go on for days (two sisters on holiday fell out and did not speak to each other for half the time they were away), for months (two elderly sisters and their families all living in the same yard refused to have anything to do with each other for three months, because they disagreed as to how often an elderly brother in hospital some miles away should be visited) or for years (owing to a family quarrel one mother did not speak to her daughter-in-law or the young grandchild for two years). It would be wrong to over-generalize with respect to this aspect of familial relationships amongst the old Woodhouse residents, but, at the same time, it would be inaccurate to assume that kinship relationships per se automatically meant a warm and friendly link between all relatives. The picture was one of a strong sense of solidarity existing amongst sections of extended families rather than amongst the total grouping.

The relation of younger families, who had more recently moved into the local district, to their relatives was much the same as with the children of the older Woodhouse residents gradually moving out. Mobility, geographical and sometimes social, was weakening ties. As noted above, trips across the city were made regularly by young couples to see parents and children to see grandparents, but the time and expense involved made further visits to members of the extended family very infrequent. In any case, many of these residents had no desire even, as one put it, to 'live in mum's pocket,' and being half-an-hour's bus ride or quarter of an hour's car ride away from relatives was regarded as 'just right.' The idea that one should retain close links with the

extended family simply because one was related was becoming as outmoded for younger residents as the belief that one's next-door neighbour should be among one's best friends.

Another structural feature of family life mentioned in the 1912 analysis, discipline within the home, had now changed its nature, being much less severe than in the earlier period. In the upper class and independent section of lower class homes children were usually well controlled, but without the formality or strictness of former years. Discipline was maintained more by depriving the child of something liked than by physical punishment, but the rules of family life were generally clear and respected. In the dependent section of the lower class there was more tendency to spoil the young and let them have their own way at an early age, often for the sake of peace. Father here played a much less prominent role, and the effectiveness of social control depended largely on the mother's willpower and energy. Allowing children to kick over the traces without serious consequences undoubtedly threatened, at this or a later stage, the solidarity of certain Woodhouse families. Lack of clear and consistent discipline was probably one of the biggest threats to the cohesiveness of such homes during this period.

One last word must be included about domestic pets, a phenomenon of much less importance in 1912 when, as one old resident writes, 'The family budget was strained enough in most homes without them.' The visitor was struck by the fact that these so often seemed to be taken as 'family substitutes.' Most numerous were dogs, cats and budgerigars, and in a surprisingly large number of households these were treated

as close companions by the owners. One lady was 'terribly upset' by the serious illness of her married daughter's Alsatian dog. Another possessed a budgerigar which flew loose in the house and ate the same meals as she did; 'She'd not last if we took the bird away,' remarked her son-in-law. One widower reported with deep emotion how their dog used to snuggle up to his late wife and lick her face when she was seriously ill, and an elderly man whose sister had recently married and moved away remarked, though they had been on very good terms, 'I really miss the cat (which had just died) more than Mary!' For some residents it seems pets were almost as important as people in creating a strong sense of belonging.

Significance

The sense of significance experienced through the social structure of family life has already been touched on in many paragraphs above. Here it is only necessary to emphasize that, despite the growing participation of father in the home, and the greater independence of young people, mother still remained, for all social classes of Woodhouse residents, 'the hub of the wheel.' Even though housework was not very conducive to a good number of younger wives, most found a considerable sense of fulfilment in being at the centre of family life, and in watching the children grow and develop. As the family grew older, mother had less to do directly for her children, but many sons and daughters 'ran home' in times of need. When mother died the ties between siblings often disintegrated; 'Our family fell apart at the seams when mother went,'

commented one young wife concerning her brothers and sisters. 'She's the boss, but she let's dad think he is,' remarked another.

The husband's role amongst the old Woodhouse families was still provider of the wage-packet and official (though not, as noted, always actual) head, about whose daily routine, work and leisure, the household had to be ordered. A woman whose husband when dying had handed his purse over to her commented afterwards with tears in her eyes, 'And I knew that was the end.' Nevertheless, in the old parts of Woodhouse, the roles of father and husband as such did not give the man a great deal more significance than in 1912. The role of grandfather, however, with retirement in which to enjoy it, and following the trend of greater male participation in bringing up the young children, was coming more into its own. In the younger Woodhouse families, the man was cast more in the role of partner than head of the household. He often found a strong sense of fulfilment within home life, especially in relation to bringing up the children and the appearance of the house.

SUMMING UP

By 1966, generalizations about family life in Woodhouse were much more applicable to well established as against newly settled, old as against young residents, than to different social classes. Factors of especial note, which had, since 1912, led to changes in the nature of family life, were the smaller number of children, greater geographical

and sometimes social mobility, the wife going out to work, a fairly affluent age, and a longer expectation of life.

The sense of solidarity within the nuclear family was generally very strong in 1966, as in 1912. Although mothers frequently went out to work whilst the children were still young, compensating factors, in particular the more active participation of the husband in domestic affairs, usually prevented undue strain developing. Running the home was regarded by both parents as requiring genuine teamwork. The family by this time was a much more compact social unit than in earlier decades of the Century, and was able to do many things together; watching television, decorating the house, being entertained, visiting relatives, going on holiday. Here the car helped considerably. The events of the life-cycle were celebrated with enthusiasm and more lavishly than in the past; birth being a greater, marriage a similar, and death a rather lesser family occasion than before. Solidarity within the family was more threatened in 1966 than 1912 by the large degree of independence, particularly economic, enjoyed by children in the 'teenage years, yet even here the sense of belonging for most young people remained generally very strong. Courtship and especially marriage often saw parents helping the young couple to prepare their new home, and the reinforcing of bonds notably between daughter and mother. Ties between sons and daughter and their elderly parents on the whole remained very strong, even residents who had no relatives in Woodhouse regularly

crossing the city to visit them. Particularly where people had no children and few relatives, pets often seemed to fill the vacant place and a strong sense of attachment developed.

In 1966, however, circumstances were such that certain families, notably from the dependent lower class of residents, found it difficult to contain domestic tensions. The temptation to build up large hire-purchase commitments, the problem of paying the relatively high rents in some parts of Woodhouse, the opportunity for the young person and the wife to be economically independent to a much greater extent than ever before, the lack of ability to train and discipline children adequately, all contributed to the breakdown of solidarity in a minority of cases.

A sense of solidarity amongst members of extended families born and bred in Woodhouse was usually strong (very strong between children and grandparents), though here and there disputes and divisions over the years meant that this sentiment was confined to smaller groupings within the total network of such relationships. Amongst new and younger residents, often separated from their relatives by some distance, extended family ties, with the exception of solidarity between children and grandparents, were mainly weak.

Despite all the changes in the nature of family life since the beginning of the Century, the sense of significance found in the home by Woodhouse women was still on the whole very strong. They enjoyed bearing and bringing up the children, and having a house round them that was comfortable and attractive. With smaller families and labour-saving

devices to ease the effort of housework, however, more women found the home insufficient to occupy completely their time and minds, and increasingly sought further fulfilment in other spheres of activity beyond. By 1966, the young husband was taking much more pride in the home and family than in 1912 and was finding a strong sense of significance in the role of partner and father. Amongst elderly residents, the sense of significance was strong here found through their continuing role as parents, and especially their role as grandparents, as well in maintaining an attractive and tidy home.

Amongst neighbours born or bred in Woodhouse, and in particular for many older people living in the same precinct, a strong sense of solidarity still existed, though for the working man the bond was often only moderately strong. The younger women, especially newcomers to Woodhouse, rarely experienced more than a moderate sense of attachment to neighbours as such, though strong links were frequently established with friends of their own choice living within reasonable walking distance. Children too were now more likely to go outside the precinct to find firm friends. Teenagers and the younger adult men, especially new residents, in the main established only weak links with neighbours.

6. EDUCATIONINTRODUCTION

In 1966 the following schools were situated within Woodhouse :-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Opened</u>	<u>Location</u>
Woodhouse County	Junior	1889	Station Road
Woodhouse West County	Infant and Junior	1900	Sheffield Road
Woodhouse (East) County	Infant	1966	Station Road

Other schools situated just outside the local district were :-

Beaver Hill	Secondary Modern *	1956	Beaver Hill Road
City Grammar School	Grammar	1964	Stradbroke Road
St. John Fisher	Secondary Modern * (Roman Catholic)	1965	Beaver Hill Road

* From September 1966, the words 'Secondary Modern' were replaced by the word 'High.'

The Woodhouse Dual Secondary School (later known as Woodhouse Grammar School) had taken its last intake of Sheffield, and thus Woodhouse, pupils in September 1959. By September 1965, all students had been transferred to a new West Riding Comprehensive School some miles away at Swallownest. In part to meet the future needs of the south-

eastern sector of the city, the City Grammar School was, in 1964, moved from the centre of Sheffield to new premises on Stradbroke Road. A new Infants' School was opened on Station Road, in April 1966, to cope with the influx of children from families who had recently moved into the Badger Estate. (A new Junior School was opened at the West end of the local district in 1967, though its activities will not be considered in this thesis.) Meanwhile, in 1965, the Roman Catholic Church built a new Secondary School on the Handsworth side of Beaver Hill Road to take children from four large Catholic parishes.

All these schools (with the exception of St. John Fisher Secondary School) came under the direct control of the Sheffield Education Authority. Though Sheffield was planning to move to a fully Comprehensive system of education within the next two or three years, in 1966 children still went through a process of selection by examination at the age of 11 (with a further opportunity at 13) which decided the type of school they should thenceforth attend. A child with potential could stay on at any school until 16, if the parents so wished it. Beyond that, continuing with full-time education depended on the child's ability (assessed mainly by success in the General Certificate of Education or the Certificate of Secondary Education exams), the availability of places at the educational establishments concerned, and the support of the parents.

PARTICIPANTS

By 1966, education was compulsory for all children between the ages of 5 and 15, and was organized on the basis of three major age groupings; 5 - 7 (Infants), 7 - 11 (Juniors) and 11+ (Secondary, Comprehensive, Technical and Grammar).

All Woodhouse children under the age of 11 went to Infant or Junior School within the local district, with the exception of about three dozen pupils who attended the St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Primary School at Handsworth. As in 1912, most of those children living West of a line running North-South through the junction of Stradbroke Road and Sheffield Road attended the Woodhouse West School, and most of those living to the East went to one of the Station Road Schools. After 11, some 20% of Woodhouse children went on annually to selective schools, whilst the remainder continued their education at the Beaver Hill Secondary School. Only half a dozen or so Woodhouse students each year won places at colleges or universities.

In September 1966, the number of Woodhouse children attending Sheffield schools was as follows -

Woodhouse West Infants	133
Station Road Infants	306 x
Woodhouse West Juniors	210
Station Road Juniors	478
St. Joseph's Infants and Juniors	35
Beaver Hill Secondary	c 360
Central Technical College	c 35
St. John Fisher (RC)	16
City Grammar School	36

x Rising rapidly owing to influx of new residents on the Badger Estate. By April 1967 up to 402.

Another dozen or two Woodhouse students were widely scattered in other selective schools throughout the city.

The figures given above of course varied somewhat from term to term. The average percentage of children actually attending over the course of the year in 1966 was similar to that returned for the Woodhouse schools in 1912.

In 1966, the number of teaching, child welfare or secretarial staff at the Woodhouse West School was 12, at Station Road Infants' School 12, and at Station Road Junior School 15. Of all these, only 7 resided in the local district.

Woodhouse adults were present at evening classes arranged at Beaver Hill School and in a class run each year by the Workers' Educational Association in the Friends' Meetinghouse.. However, so few were they in number (no more than a dozen or two) that their activities will not be further considered here.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

In 1966, the length of the Primary School day and the number of weeks spent at school each year were very similar to 1912. Children still remained under the direction of the same teacher for most lessons, but now a number of new factors increased the intensity of interaction within the class. A great deal more work was done in small, informal groups, especially at the Woodhouse East Infant School where new



Woodhouse East Infant School. Mothers collecting children.



The City Grammar School (Stradbroke Road).

premises facilitated this. Although children still had their own desk or table, there was far more movement about the classroom than was the case in the earlier period. As one headmaster stated, 'We don't call them "forms" now, the serried row is out; we call them "classes".' Classes were smaller than in 1912 (at Woodhouse West the average being 35 in the Infant and 36 in the Junior Departments, at the Station Road Schools the average being 45 for the Infant and 39 for the Junior Departments) and, though still not small enough, this gave the children more opportunity to get to know one another, as well as strengthened links with the teacher. Playtime was a vigorous break of some 10 to 15 minutes morning and afternoon with girls and boys playing together at all schools. Dinners were now served on the premises, another opportunity for conversation and interaction not there in 1912; in the Infant schools about half, and in the Junior schools well over half, the children stayed for the mid-day meal.

Unlike 1912, the weekly time-table had a great deal more variety and was becoming increasingly flexible. The children were encouraged to be as active as possible and, in the Infant classes, the child's ability to draw, paint, design, model, act, keep time, sing and so forth was consistently developed, side by side with the more usual skills of reading, writing and number work. In the Junior classes children at both Woodhouse schools were involved, amongst other things, in needlework, art and crafts, basket making, plays, puppet shows,

choirs, nature walks and historical exploration. Sport now featured prominently at the two Junior Schools, though neither had a sports ground of its own, and in addition to regular swimming periods held at public baths in the city there were cricket, football and rounders matches, often against other nearby schools, when, as one headmaster put it, 'the children really do believe the reputation of the school stands or falls by their efforts.' One Junior School had a special Sports Day, the other a Swimming Gala during 1966. Activity was thus much more vigorous and varied than in 1912.

Through the year the sense of solidarity associated with both class and school was enhanced by the various special occasions celebrated and, for older children, by excursions further afield. The former were in the main related to the Church calendar and were regarded, as one teacher described them, as 'signposts' indicating progress through the school year. Harvest Festival and Christmas were the major events, Easter and Whitsuntide proving difficult to celebrate with more than 'a short informal service.' At Harvest, one Junior School in 1966 not only held special services, but made the event an exercise in social service by distributing some 200 baskets of fruit to old people in the vicinity. At Christmas, every school had either a full-scale nativity play or carol service, either in the school itself or in a local church, to which parents were invited. In 1966, the Woodhouse East Infant School also had a grand Christmas party, with Santa Claus descending into the hall

from the roof, whilst other schools celebrated more informally within each class. The children looked forward to such communal events as these with interest and expectation. Nor was this all for in 1966 the Junior School children were taken on occasional visits and trips to such places as Chester and York, as well as into Sheffield to concerts or plays.

By and large, the majority of Infants and Juniors, unlike their contemporaries in 1912, enjoyed school, teachers reporting quite a few saying so outright, and they were usually glad to be back after the holidays. Attachment to small groups of school friends, even for the Infants, was often very strong. The sense of belonging to the class varied, in part according to the age and development of the child, many, as one headmaster put it, 'not yet having outgrown being individuals,' but, especially for Juniors, was normally strong. Children were only occasionally conscious of the whole school as a corporate entity, and the sense of solidarity at this level tended to be rather weak for Infants and generally moderate for Juniors, though the times when the school was on show to parents and adult friends caused some excitement.

At the age of 11, all Woodhouse children went outside the local district to continue their education, the large majority (some 80%) to Beaver Hill Secondary School, the remainder to other schools in the city. In 1966, the latter took 23 Woodhouse children in all, 2 going to Comprehensive Schools, 3 to Technical Schools, and 18 to Grammar Schools. Most of those features giving rise to greater freedom of

movement and expression mentioned above in connection with Primary Schools applied here also. Classes were of reasonable size (at Beaver Hill in the 1966 - 1967 year averaging 32) and the curriculum very varied. Although many children were at this stage working to a tighter time-table in large part to achieve good examination results (even at Beaver Hill a third took the Certificate of Secondary Education, and a few the General Certificate of Education at Ordinary level in 1967), the interesting pattern of school life led to a good deal of cohesive interaction. At Beaver Hill, for example, besides the usual celebration of the religious festivals, there was a Sports Day, Swimming Gala, Speech Day, Garden Party and School Play, whilst outside activities included a visit to Stratford-on-Avon, two camps a year and a school party going on a holiday abroad. At the City Grammar School, to which, by 1966, more and more Woodhouse children passing the examination at 11 were going, a similar but even more varied programme of activities existed. The last period every Friday afternoon was deliberately set aside for pupils to participate in one or other of the school societies, which, in 1967, included a Choral Society (the School had a choir of 120), Dramatic Society, Modern Languages Society, Arts and Crafts Society, Debating Society and so forth. ¹ Sporting activities included football, rugby, badminton, hockey, rounders, netball and cross-

1. A Chronicle of the Sheffield City Grammar School.
The Holly Leaf.

country running. School parties went further afield camping, climbing in the Lakes, holidaying in Switzerland, watching international hockey at Wembley and doing a biology field-course. The Youth Action Sheffield and Christian Education Movement Societies looked after old people in nearby flats by distributing fruit from the Harvest Festival, holding a carol service for them and taking them on a free trip into Derbyshire. This pattern of activity was repeated at all the other Sheffield schools.

This was a far cry from the situation in 1912, although it must be remembered that the Woodhouse Secondary (Grammar) School was then at a stage of early and adventurous growth and enthusiasm amongst the students and staff there was at that time very high. It must also be noted that some Woodhouse children, in 1966, travelled long distances to school and did not see their classmates a great deal in out-of-school hours. Nevertheless solidarity was generally very strong within each class at such schools, especially where, as in the case of Beaver Hill School, pupils did actually reside fairly near to each other. The school as an entity in itself tended to evoke a strong sense of attachment at the Grammar School, but only moderate elsewhere, mainly because children were somewhat prouder to belong to it: at the Secondary School life was 'quite good fun' but children were much more eager to be 'off and earning.'

Those few Woodhouse students who did manage each year to gain a place at college or university found this, as one mother put it whose son was at Oxford, 'a different world.' It was often a world which claimed,

their families apart, total allegiance, with regard to friendships, future plans, ideals and beliefs. Indeed more than one student found returning to Woodhouse even for the vacations stifling and boring and friction with parents was far from uncommon. Once having left Woodhouse they very rarely returned (only one case, and this for only a limited period, being known to the author over 5 years). At college or university skills were acquired that often took them far afield, the local Press recording Woodhouse students in 1966 working in as distant places as the United States and Russia.

Significance

In 1966, every child attending school had, other things being equal, vastly greater opportunity of realizing his or her academic potential than in 1912. The increasing emphasis on scholastic attainment did have, however, both a positive and negative effect on the sense of significance experienced by pupils. Positively, it boosted the confidence of a large number of children who were able to take pride in the skills they acquired in different subjects. A few were accorded special recognition when, for example, they came at the top of their class, one Junior School headmaster even going so far as to mention by name in the Parish Church Magazine those who 'have done jolly well and have come out at the top of their years.'¹ Those successful in passing the examination at 11 were particularly proud of their achieve-

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. Aug. 1965.

ment, as were virtually all those in later years who attained academic qualifications of a good standard and went on to sixth-form study or higher education.

Negatively, the 'streaming' of children could undermine a sense of significance. As one child at Junior School put it, who was relegated to a less able class meeting in a detached prefabricated classroom, 'If you go into the hut you're no good!' Headmasters at both Junior and Secondary Schools acknowledged that failure at 11 could often 'knock them back.' The headmaster mentioned above, who was quite prepared to publish the names of the top pupils for the year, refused in the same article to name those successful in the eleven plus examination 'as this could lead to invidious comparisons being drawn.' Thus, although a process of rationalization was in evidence where children had to go on to the Secondary School ('There's plenty of good jobs going for those who try hard.' 'He's missed a lot of schooling because of ear trouble.' 'But he's good with his hands.'), and some did there gain the less difficult C.S.E., mitigating the sense of failure in public examinations, the processes of selection often weakened a sense of significance for those who academically were not so bright.

Academic success or failure were, however, not the only criteria in 1966 with regard to the level of significance experienced by children. The existence of many other modes of fulfilment still gave the academically average child a good deal of personal satisfaction. In the Primary

Schools, the amount of free expression allowed, the individual 'discovery' approach to learning, and the frequency of games periods, meant that a good number of children were able to shine at something; acting if not reading, swimming if not arithmetic, nature study if not writing. Classrooms and often corridors in the Woodhouse schools were decorated with displays of children's work of all kinds. It would appear generally true that, as one teacher commented, 'they really believe they're doing something worthwhile at school.' At the Beaver Hill Secondary School, there was also a wide range of opportunities, outside the strictly academic field, enabling children to experience a sense of fulfilment. In the 1966-1967 year, for example, several children hit the headlines through successes in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme, whilst others appeared in a quiz programme recorded for 'Radio Sheffield.' The cross-country team won the Sheffield School Cross-country League, and other children were in the news because of successes on Sports Day or at the Swimming Gala. Similar opportunities presented themselves for students at the Comprehensive, Technical and Grammar Schools, although at the latter significance was generally strong already as the children attending were in the main academically more able.

By 1966, therefore, most children were able to find a strong or very strong sense of fulfilment at school, either through academic attainment or by showing their abilities in the many other channels now open. The aim of many teachers was to encourage as many pupils as possible to reach

their potential, in whatever field that might be. Only where children were very disappointed by failure in examinations or were without skills of any kind was the sense of significance weak.

Parental attitudes to education were very different from the days when the main concern was to get the child working in the home or earning as soon as possible after the age of 13. Learning was now seen as the gateway to many of the good things that life could offer; as one resident put it, 'They now realize that education is power.' The majority of Woodhouse parents were very keen that their children should do as well as was within their capabilities, and the belief that education mattered inevitably communicated itself to the young; they too came to feel that what they did at school was important. Their sense of significance in relation to any sort of educational attainment was thus enhanced. On the other hand, certain parents took schooling so seriously that the child's inability to come up to scratch could create difficulties on all sides. One headmistress spoke of some parents 'worrying themselves to death' over the progress of children still in the Infant school, whilst a mother complained to one teacher of her husband punishing their son harshly because of the latter's inability to produce good work.

Evidence of greatly increased parental interest, in the main a positive and creative phenomenon, was forthcoming on many occasions during the school year. At the Woodhouse East Infant School, so many parents attended the first nativity play that, although the large hall

was used, a good number had to stand outside and watch through the windows. A puppet show and choral concert given by the pupils of the Station Road Junior School in a large church schoolroom was packed out by parents. The 200 baskets of fruit distributed by Woodhouse West School at Harvest time, mentioned above, were donated by the parents of children, described by one teacher there as 'a rattling good lot,'¹ whilst well over 350 people were present, very many of them parents, at the West School's carol service, held each Christmas in the Parish Church. At all Woodhouse schools, as well as at Beaver Hill School and elsewhere in the city, open days were held for parents to look round and ask questions, and in every case these were attended by a good number of mothers and fathers. By and large, the younger the parents, the more the interest taken.

In 1966, the mother still appeared to be the member of the family particularly responsible for watching over the child's progress at school. As one headmaster commented, 'The mother's the spokesman.' Thus when certain children could not be taken at the local schools till well after their fifth birthday, it was a mother who wrote to the Press complaining, and at virtually all public occasions it was mothers who made up the greater part of the audience. Again, however, there was evidence, for example on the parents' evening at the Woodhouse East Infant

1. Roberts, J. Notes on the Life of Woodhouse as seen by a Headmaster. (Unpublished), 1966. p.30.

School in 1966, that fathers were taking a more active interest in their children's education. By 1966, therefore, the child's activities at school were in most cases important to him in part because mother and often father, were so interested in and concerned about what he did.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

The common heritage shared by virtually all those at the Woodhouse Elementary Schools in 1912, and which led to the emergence of some very strong friendships amongst small groups of children, was not so prominent in 1966. In the modern era, for example, 'streaming' at all ages above 7 led to a degree of movement at the beginning of each year from one class to another. At the age of 11, or 13, friendships were further threatened by the transference of children with ability to selective schools. On the other hand, the greater freedom of expression and movement more than offset these factors and, even where children had to leave groups of friends with whom they were very well acquainted, strong links were soon established elsewhere.

Nor did the influx of 'a foreign element' into the Woodhouse schools at the East end, due to the occupation of the new Badger Estate between 1963 and 1965, affect the sense of solidarity experienced by children very much one way or the other. This was in part because of the degree of freedom referred to above, and in part because at this age the child's attachment to any grouping larger than the class was rarely more than moderate. In any case, the West School remained very much a

Woodhouse institution, and by 1966 had hardly been touched by the latest influx of new residents. The Headmaster writes, 'Folks, it seems, have some affection for the school. One child, at least, comes from the far end of the village, daily passing the other school - because here father came (Another parent commented), "We have come back to Woodhouse so that our children can come to the West."¹ Here, the loyalty of old Woodhouse parents to the school helped to create the child's sense of belonging to it.

Over and above the level of personal friendship and the class, one or two other factors engendered a wider sense of attachment. For example, certain children much appreciated the brand new Woodhouse East Infant School, one little girl, who had been moved down from the old Station Road Infant Department, commenting, 'It's a lot nicer than the old one.'² At the Station Road Junior School, the operation of a house system helped to build links between children of different ages. The names of those in each house, from all the years, were posted on a list in a corridor, and points awarded to each according to 'honest endeavour' in class or success in games. The Headmaster's claim that 'the house spirit is very strong' was probably an overstatement, but, at least among the older children, it fostered at least a moderate sense of team spirit, and, incidentally, gave opportunity for the attainment of a strong sense of significance. After 11, at the Beaver Hill Secondary School and many

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1. Roberts, J. Notes on the Life of Woodhouse as seen by a Headmaster. (Unpublished), 1966. p.30-31.
 2. The South Yorkshire Times. 30/4/66.

other city schools, the house system was regarded as an asset in building up loyalties and helping the child to see personal attainment as benefitting the group (house) as well as himself.

Relationships between children and teachers were much more friendly than in 1912. This was in large part due to the great change in the approach to education - now child-centred, experiential, group based, with as much individual attention given as possible - and led to the breaking down of the impersonal situation existing in earlier decades. Discipline was far less rigorous and severe; 'It's years since I used the cane,' stating a Junior School headmaster. A teacher who had spent over 40 years at Woodhouse West School stated, 'There's now such a friendly atmosphere in the place and there used not to be!' At the Woodhouse East Infant School the new Headmistress could comment, 'This is a good area; the children are loving.'

Likewise between the staff at all the local district schools relationships were good and a strong sense of solidarity evident; 'A hundred per cent, sound,' 'Extremely fortunate,' 'A good staff here,' were comments heard in different Woodhouse schools. It must be remembered, however, that a sense of common heritage now played very little part in strengthening staff relationships as only some 20% actually resided in Woodhouse.

In 1966, most of the headmasters and headmistresses dealing with Woodhouse children were regarded as figures symbolizing the ethos and unity of the school as a whole (see Chapter VI, 4). This was due in

large part to their much greater availability to both children and teachers than in 1912. Daily morning assembly was often led by the headteacher, at the Station Road Junior School it being the opportunity to comment on the fortunes of the various houses during the week. The headteacher would often take a class and was in personal contact, using Christian names in the Infant and Junior Schools at least, with numerous children during the day. For the younger children, therefore, the headteacher, instead of being remote and rather feared, stood more in the role of parent. 'I feel I am seen as a kind of grandfather-figure,' commented one Junior School head. All this helped to develop the child's awareness of and sense of belonging to the school as a unit. The attachment of some parents to the school was also strengthened through contact with headteacher (though the majority maintained closest links with the school through their child's class teacher). One Junior School headmaster saw himself in numerous instances as a kind of 'father confessor' for certain of the parents he dealt with. He writes, 'I have felt at times that the thing that is needed here is no groping new head-teacher but an experienced social worker blessed with the wisdom of Solomon Perhaps I should have a notice in my door: "Clinic" and instal a couch. I have certainly thought, at times, that I could do with a confessional box built on the corridor adjacent to the lavatory; it would seem a thing necessary to complete the sanitary arrangements of the school - and I could have my thinning thatch thinned further to a tonsure!'

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1. Roberts, J. Notes on the Life of Woodhouse as seen by a Headmaster (Unpublished), 1966. pp. 32, 5.

Significance

The Woodhouse child, in 1966, was not only able to attain a sense of significance through those activities already mentioned but to some extent through the organizational structure of the school itself. Although the Woodhouse school deliberately discouraged any prefectorial or house system (though it still had form monitors) because, as was said, 'that sort of thing can lead to authoritarianism,' most schools attended by local children, inside and outside Woodhouse, Infant Departments excepted, purposely gave pupils an opportunity to exercise a degree of responsibility for and even authority over their fellows. One Junior School gave children positions ranging from a head boy and head girl (elected each term) and house captains (elected annually) to monitors and milk-boys. Even the latter, stated the Headmaster, 'take their responsibilities very seriously.' At the Beaver Hill School, City Grammar School and elsewhere there were positions of some status offered in respect to sport, school societies, producing the school magazine and so forth. One girl announced with great pride to her friends in a church youth club one evening that she had just been elected head girl of a grammar school in the city. The degree of significance varied from one child to another but, in 1966, the social structure of the school was offering quite a number of pupils the opportunity to feel that they had a unique contribution to make to school life.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

The question of children not participating in school activities did not arise in 1966 for, as in 1912, education was compulsory for all. Parental attitudes had changed considerably since the earlier period, and now many more, though the mother was still the most prominent figure here, took an active interest in the education of their children. Nevertheless there remained a 'hard core' of some 20% of Woodhouse families, usually from the poorer or rougher parts of the local district, wherein practically no concern was shown for the child's training and from where parents only very rarely appeared on school premises.

SUMMING UP

The educational scene in Woodhouse in 1966 was very different from that in 1912, when the local district had contained only two Elementary Schools and a Secondary (soon to be called Grammar) School. The latter finally shut its doors in 1965, but, by the middle of 1967, a new Infant School had been built, and both the old Elementary Schools (now housing Junior classes) were being renovated. Just outside the local district, Modern and new Secondary/Grammar Schools had gone up in very recent years. By 1966, all Woodhouse children received full-time education up to the age of 15, as against 13 in 1912. Those with academic ability could stay on till the age of 16 or 18, and a few continued to college or university. Adult education in Woodhouse itself was at as low an ebb in 1966 as in 1912. On the other hand, more facilities for those who did want to

attend evening classes were now available elsewhere in the city.

As in 1912, in 1966 children at school formed very strong friendships within small groups of their own age and, to a lesser extent, of their own sex. The fact that Woodhouse children were now more likely to be divided from friends by the process of streaming, or selection at 11, was more than offset by the greater freedom within school life which enabled new bonds to be established fairly easily and speedily. Whereas in 1912 the class only engendered a moderate sense of belonging, in 1966 children generally experienced therein as Infants and as Juniors a strong (in both cases personality development in part determining the capacity for group awareness), and in the 11+ schools a very strong, sense of solidarity. Amongst other things, this changed situation was due to somewhat smaller classes, much more freedom of movement in class, the child-centred method of teaching, and the decline of severe and corporal punishment. The child's sense of attachment to the school as a whole, weak in 1912, was, in 1966, generally weak for the Infants, moderate for the Juniors and for those at Secondary, Technical or Comprehensive Schools, and strong for those at Grammar Schools. The rise in the strength of solidarity over the years was here the result of such things as many children staying to dinner at school, numerous sports activities (often given extra zest by inter-house or inter-school competitions), special occasions in the school year when plays, services and concerts were presented by pupils, and out-of-school ventures like outings, camps, holidays abroad, etc. The staff at the

Woodhouse schools experienced a strong sense/amongst themselves. The bond between pupils and teachers was generally strong at this time, especially for the younger children, whilst most headteachers were, for pupils, staff and parents alike, figures very much symbolizing the ethos and unity of the school.

The sense of significance experienced by Woodhouse school children of all ages was, in 1966, generally strong and quite often very strong. The opportunities for self-fulfilment which, in 1912, had been alone a feature of the Woodhouse Secondary (Grammar) School were, by 1966, found in every school. The way was now open, other things being equal, for those with any academic ability to reach their full potential, and some 20% of Woodhouse children were able to go on to selective schools annually (though only a handful to college or university). But even for those children not so bright, the variety of school activities (practical expression work for all ages, sport, societies covering many interests, drama, etc.), as well as the positions of responsibility available (monitors, house captains, society officers, prefects, etc.) gave the opportunity of fulfilment in other directions. Strengthening the Woodhouse child's readiness to take school seriously and play his part conscientiously was the much increased interest of parents in his education. Of course a number of pupils were 'set back' by examination failure or lack of ability in any field, but the large majority 'found their level' and achieved considerable personal satisfaction in one way or another.

7. RELIGIONINTRODUCTION

In 1966 Woodhouse possessed the following religious organizations:-

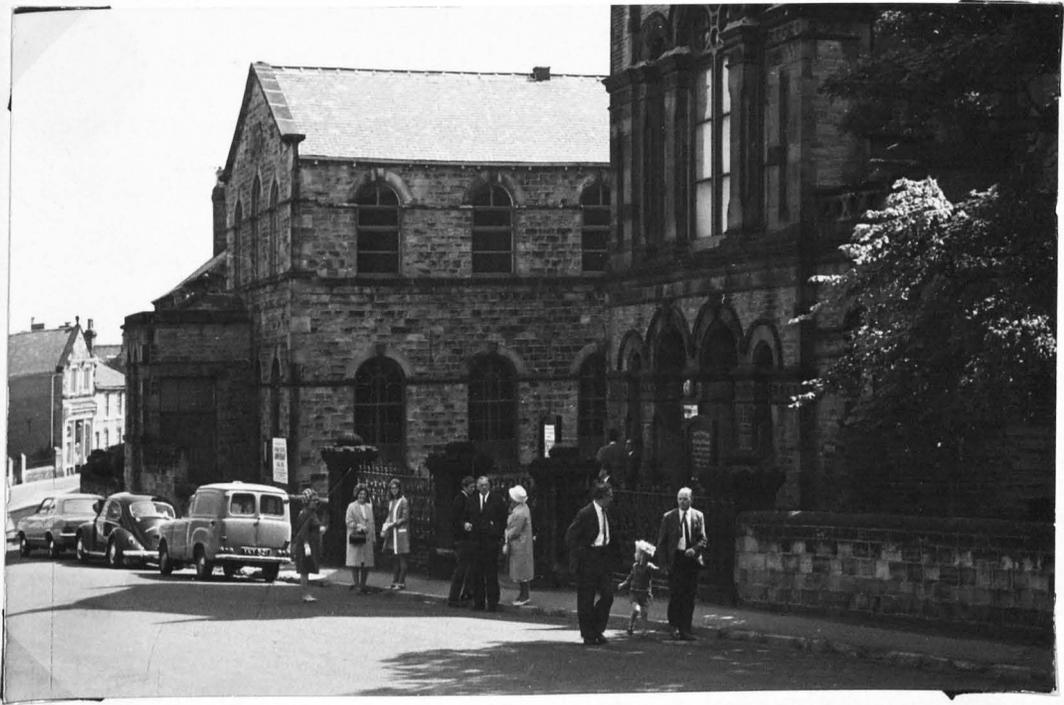
<u>Denomination</u>	<u>First active in Woodhouse if after 1912</u>	<u>Location of meeting place</u>
Society of Friends	-	Meetinghouse Lane
Wesley Methodist Church (ex-Wesleyan Methodist)	-	Chapel Street
Congregational Church	-	Beighton Road
Saint Paul's Methodist Church (ex-United Methodist Free Church)	-	Chapel Street
Saint James' Church of England	-	Tithe Barn Lane
Salvation Army	-	The Hall, Tannery Street (built 1927)
The Zion Church, Assembly of God	1926	Malthouse Lane
Jehovah's Witnesses	1953	The Vestry Hall, Tannery Street

From time to time Mormons did house-to-house visitation in the area.

In 1926, the Pentecostal Church made its first appearance on the Woodhouse scene, and the following year the congregation took over what in 1912 was the Congregational Church's Sunday School premises on Malthouse Lane and named it 'Zion.' 1932 saw the merging at national level of the various Methodist Connexions into one united Methodist Church; on the local level, however, the three Methodist Churches remained quite distinct in all respects except that now one minister gave pastoral oversight to all the Societies. Declining numbers led to the closure of Bethel Methodist Church (ex-Primitive Methodist) in 1951. Two years later the Jehovah's Witnesses commenced work in the area, though their actual meetings were always held in rented buildings. In 1963, the Woodhouse Council of Churches was inaugurated to facilitate joint activities between the local churches, all denominations being represented on it with the exception of the Pentecostals and the Jehovah's Witnesses. By 1966, all religious bodies in Woodhouse were linked to wider administrative units (Methodist Circuit, Anglican Deanery, etc.) related to the city of Sheffield.

PARTICIPANTS

In 1966, the two Methodist Churches, with Wesley returning an official membership of 133 and St. Paul's of 112, were the strongest. Also of considerable strength was the Salvation Army with a corps of 81. The Parish Church attracted 95 people to its Easter Communion services that year, though a fair number of those included in this figure were



After service; Woodhouse Wesley Methodist Church



Salvation Army round the Village Cross (spectators at a minimum).

very irregular attenders at other times. The remainder of the Woodhouses churches were weak, the Congregational Church having a membership of 35, Zion of 11 and the Society of Friends of 8.

In 1966, there were some 300 baptized Roman Catholics residing in Woodhouse, Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs. Of these, about 200 were regular attenders, but as all the Catholic churches with which they were linked lay well outside the local district (some 120 Woodhouse residents went to the Handsworth Church, a mile away, and the rest to a church on the Manor Estate, two and a half miles distant), and as the large majority went to mass and nothing else, no attempt is made here to discuss the degree of community sentiment experienced by them, though for some this was undoubtedly strong. Nor will the Jehovah's Witnesses be mentioned further for, although they attracted a fairly large congregation, they drew from a very large area, and did not always meet in Woodhouse.

The number regularly attending Sunday services at each Woodhouse church was (with the exception of the Salvation Army, Zion and the Friends) about half the official figure mentioned above. The average number of worshippers in all was about 130 in the morning and 255 at night. But some residents attended service twice a Sunday, and a number of worshippers came from outside the local district (at Wesley, for example, 14% and at St. Paul's 12% of the membership did not live locally). Against this, in 5 years the author only came across some half dozen

residents (Roman Catholics excluded) who worshipped regularly outside Woodhouse. Taking all these facts into consideration, it can be estimated that of the adult population of Woodhouse, Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs, some 3% were regular attenders at Protestant churches and some 3% at Catholic churches (as opposed to a total figure of between 20% and 25% in 1912). At the same time it must be noted that the Woodhouse churches, through their various activities described below, probably touched twice as many residents as attended worship regularly.

In 1966, unlike 1912, there was a notable predominance of women in the Woodhouse churches. At Wesley Methodist Church they formed 64% of the membership and at St. Paul's Methodist Church 61%, figures typical of every other congregation. In the main, the churches attracted those under 11 years of age, though one or two fairly strong youth organizations existed, and over 50.

The number of Woodhouse children attending Sunday School had also declined, even the strongest local district church rarely mustering an attendance of 50 on a normal Sunday afternoon. The proportion of all Woodhouse children between the ages of 5 and 13 who went to Sunday School regularly had fallen from just under 50% in 1912 to certainly not more than 20% in 1966. The majority of scholars were girls, and virtually all children resided locally.

Along with other figures, those for baptisms had also dropped. In the five years, 1962 to 1966 inclusive, an annual average of 131 children

were baptized at the Parish Church (the other churches dealt with only a handful of baptisms) compared with an average figure of 201 for a similar period up to and including 1912. 21% of the parents of children baptized at the Parish Church in 1966, as against 5.5% in 1912, lived outside the Parish. By now 'churching' was a dying practice. In 1966, there were 53 weddings at the Parish Church (compared with 42 in 1912), and the annual average for the years 1962 to 1966 was 50 (compared with 41 for a similar period up to 1912). In 1966, 15% of the women married (compared with 5% in 1912) and 68% of the men (compared with 24% in 1912) resided outside the Parish. Funeral figures cannot be compared with the earlier era as, by 1966, cremation at the City Road Cemetery in Sheffield was common, and figures relating only to Woodhouse are not available. Of those buried in Woodhouse Cemetery in 1966, 60% were living outside the Parish at the time of death (compared with 8% in 1912).

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

Sunday, in the Woodhouse of 1966, was nothing like such a busy day for churchpeople as in the early years of the century. For example, the normal Sunday time-table for St. Paul's (the ex-United Methodist Free Church) was :-

10.30 am. Morning Service and Sunday School
2.00 pm. Sunday School
6.00 pm. Evening service

Only the Salvation Army, with three services and one or two open-air meetings, was busier on a Sunday. Sunday congregations were made up of two main sections. There were those, usually a majority, who attended each week without fail, sometimes both services, and amongst whom a very strong sense of solidarity developed. Typical of such was one ardent Methodist who walked to his place of worship on an appallingly wet Sunday not 48 hours after having been discharged from hospital after a very tiring stay there. The other section consisted of those who attended services with less consistency, once a fortnight, once a month, or just on 'special' Sundays, amongst whom ties were weaker.

Although the actual number of participants had declined, a wide range of week-day activities still persisted at most churches and interaction amongst those that did attend was as intense as ever. ('We live in the place most of us, when we're not at home,' remarked one Methodist, whilst one Salvation Army Officer commented that the local Corps 'takes all our young people's spare time, apart from study.') Here one difference between 1912 and 1966, as will be seen below, was the existence in the latter period of groups geared rather more specifically to the interests of a particular age group or sex.

For the younger end, week-night activities included 5 youth clubs, meeting one evening a week, though the strongest of these, at St. Paul's, only had a membership of about 30. This particular group, however, not only organized concerts, socials and led services at their own church, but knit themselves into a very solidary group through outside events such as rambles, midnight hikes, house parties, youth conferences and a fortnight's holiday at the seaside. A small youth fellowship at the Parish Church of about a dozen was equally active, in 1966, organizing such things as a barbecue, a trip to Belle Vue, Manchester, and a week-end at an open-air pursuits centre which attracted some 30 young people. The Parish Church and the Salvation Army also sponsored various uniformed organizations, the former's Scout Troop, with a membership of about two dozen, being especially active. In 1966, half of them did a 40 mile trek across the Peak District moors, and went camping for a week in South Wales. The profusion of football and cricket teams noted in 1912 had, by 1966, been reduced to two; the Wesley Football Club and the St. Paul's Cricket Club. Both were, however, made up of a group of very enthusiastic players and supporters, St. Paul's each year holding an annual dinner, 'over 90'¹ being there in 1966, when presentations were made to the team. Lastly, with respect to the weekly activities of the younger generation, mention is worth making of the Parish Church Choir with its 16 boys who not only met to practise three

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 29/10/66.

times a week, but also went on outings, to such places as Coventry Cathedral, and played football matches.

In 1966, meetings for women only were common, most members being faithful attenders and looking forward to their weekly gatherings with enthusiasm. Especially popular were those meetings for middle-aged and elderly women (Sisterhood, Mothers' Union, Bright Hour, Home League, etc.), and attendances were usually very stable averaging at most churches about two dozen a week. Some very strong friendships developed through meetings such as these. One innovation at this time was the Wesley Young Wives' Group, commenced in 1964, which two years later had a membership of some three dozen, and had created strong links between participants through a very varied series of activities ranging from beauty culture demonstrations to dinner out at a Chinese restaurant.

The men also gathered together regularly in their own groups. At Wesley, there was a Men's Fellowship meeting monthly and attended by two dozen or more male residents. At both Methodist Churches the occasional 'men's effort' to raise funds was still undertaken. The Salvation Army Band too was still an entirely male organization wherein a very strong sense of solidarity existed. In 1967, bandsmen from as far afield as Cambridge, Coventry and Rochdale returned to Woodhouse for a Band reunion. In 1966, one young bandsman wrote of the Band, 'The prime purpose of the Band is to propagate the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. But the team spirit and fellowship that we enjoy are second to none.'¹

1. Woodhouse Youth Magazine (later incorporating news about the Badger Community Association). Image (later known as Badger Monthly). June 1966, p.12.

This period, unlike that at the beginning of the Century, saw the churches organizing weekly activities specifically for pensioners. Outstanding was the Salvation Army's 'Haven.' By 1967, the membership of the latter was over 200, with an average weekly attendance of well above 100. In 1966, the Haven arranged a large number of special events for members including a trip to see the Sheffield illuminations at Christmas, a visit to a local pantomime, a Christmas party attended by over 150 and, in the summer, a week's holiday at Margate for 29 people. At the Wesley Church, a club for male pensioners was commenced in 1966, and up to 30 gathered every morning, except Fridays and weekends, to chat, have a drink of tea, and play dominoes. One new resident stated, with this group particularly in mind; 'I've been happier here over the last year than in Attercliffe for the last 15.'

As in 1912, church magazines kept a good number of people in close contact with church affairs. There were three current in 1966; the Parish Church Magazine which, in May of that year, raised its circulation to 700 a month, the Wesley Magazine with 200 readers, and the St. Paul's Newsletter of which 160 were produced. The last two publications appeared quarterly. These magazines certainly enhanced solidarity, especially the two Methodist magazines which confined almost all the items to the life of the church concerned, by keeping residents in touch with the activities of the congregation, and by giving personal news about members.

The special occasions of the Church Year were similar to those just prior to the First World War. Most popular were the Harvest Festivals, in 1966 that the the Parish Church attracting 'over 300'¹ people, and the Christmas carol services. Other special events were, however, only pale reflections of the 1912 era, with even Sunday School Anniversaries, still taking up two full Sundays at most Free Churches, being very moderately attended. The concerts, teas and socials associated with the main occasions of the year were still in evidence, but becoming more and more of an effort to organize and participate in.

One type of annual event which remained highly successful, drawing in many irregular churchgoers as well as a few visitors, was the church bazaar. This could take various forms and titles. At Wesley it was called the Christmas Market. It constituted for many the most important occasion of the year, some old residents who had moved away from Woodhouse making a point of returning for the day. Groups linked with Wesley worked for the best part of the year preceding the bazaar preparing for the great event, and there was considerable interest in seeing which stall could raise the most money. In autumn 1966, the Trust Secretary at Wesley wrote in the magazine, 'Whilst the work at times can become exacting, I am sure that the fellowship gained and the friendships experienced in various meetings make it all worthwhile.'² Very similar events were held in connection with the Parish Church and Congregational Church

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 15/10/66.

2. Woodhouse Wesley Methodist Church. Newsletter. Winter 1966.

and, in spring 1966, though this was not a regular function, at St. Paul's. The latter succeeded in involving more people with greater enthusiasm than any other event witnessed by the resident Methodist Minister during his 5 year stay in Woodhouse. For the St. Paul's people their Spring Fayre was without doubt a great social as well as fund-raising occasion.

Mention must be made here of one endeavour particular to this period, the campaign, begun by the Parish Church in 1965 and continuing into at least 1968, to build a new church hall to replace the old Endowed School scheduled for demolition. The Vicar deliberately launched the project as a public venture and consistently maintained that the hall would be used for non-church as well as church functions. Despite persistent set-backs, such as the oppositions of nearby old age pensioners to possible noise from the hall, a protest which resulted in the already procrastinating local authorities delaying matters further, and despite the fact that on at least half a dozen occasions the Vicar forecast in the Press when building would commence only having to retract his words a few months later, the campaign to raise funds retained an amazing degree of corporate enthusiasm. Scores of local people, many only very loosely linked with the Church, shared here or there in the multifarious money-raising efforts, beetle-drives, slide shows, coffee evenings, flag days, selling 'bricks', etc., and the spirit of common endeavour was strong.

By 1966, the sense of solidarity between the Woodhouse churches was steadily increasing, though its expression was rather different from that of 1912. The old Whitsuntide Procession, for example, struggled on, but, in 1966, only about 250 children walked round the streets on the Sunday and Monday afternoons (compared with over 1,000 in the period before the First World War). On both days there were as many adults, especially the old people who had traditionally attended the event for decades, as children present at the open-air service on the field behind the Woodhouse Library. Onlookers along the route were likewise sparse, especially on the Monday, and were in the main church people or the parents of Sunday School scholars. The decline of the event as a Woodhouse festival of communal importance was further emphasized by the importation of the nearby Beighton Boy Scout Band to assist the Salvation Army Band in accompanying the marching column.

On the other hand other organized moves towards greater co-operation between the local churches were being made. The two Methodist congregations were holding, amongst other things, united services once a quarter and on Christmas Day and New Year's Eve, combined discussion groups in the homes of members, a united devotional meeting each month, and joint women's meetings once a quarter. There was in this case a good deal more organized interaction between the two Methodist churches than in 1912 and, on the whole, members of both congregations were very friendly with one another. None the less, that solidarity was a sentiment still very much associated with each particular congregation was underlined



The Whitsuntide Procession (note how few spectators).



The Whitsuntide Demonstration (where are the children?).

by the concern and, at times, anger aroused by the attempt, pursued as cautiously as possible, by the Methodist Minister to bring all the Methodist people together in one building. After some 18 months of discussion and negotiation, the proposed merger was, early in 1966, soundly defeated, with the voice of the older members, especially at the church likely to have to close, strident and dominant. As one lady, not born and bred in Woodhouse put it, 'They still want to be little puddles rather than one large pool.' However, as a gesture of goodwill, both churches accepted a resolution moved by a younger member that 'the joint activities between our two Societies be continued and if possible intensified.'

The most important advance in creating a greater sense of common purpose amongst Woodhouse churchgoers came in 1963 with the formation of the Woodhouse Council of Churches. Numerous events were arranged by the latter every year, including a carol singing party at Christmas, a house-to-house collection for Christian Aid to other countries in need, and, of greatest, communal note, a series of exceptionally well attended Holy Week meetings at each church in turn culminating in a united Good Friday service which, in 1966, was attended by well over 300 people packed into the Parish Church. Other notable ventures organized by the Council included the Woodhouse Social Responsibility Scheme through which neighbourly help was offered by churchgoers to those in domestic need in the local district, and the visitation of every house on the new Badger Estate to welcome newcomers to the area.

The Woodhouse Council of Churches went further and sponsored two other unique events of communal note, 'Operation Meeting Point' and the Woodhouse Arts Festival. Operation Meeting Point¹ took place in June 1966, when 14 students of all denominations came for 10 days to lead a new style 'mission,' one major feature of which was an enquiry into what was going on in Woodhouse in the spheres of family life, education, health and welfare, work and leisure, and what the churches could do to share creatively in these fields. Local people from all the churches were very much involved especially in providing hospitality and accommodation and the public gatherings were extremely well supported with a 100 or more often present. 'Many people said that although co-operation between denominations was not uncommon in Woodhouse they had felt a greater sense of "togetherness" during Operation Meeting Point than ever before,'² was one comment in the local Press.

Perhaps even more important was the Arts Festival which was launched by the Council at a public meeting in 1965, and the organization of which was mainly shouldered by church people. After a slow start, interest built up and the Festival ran for two full weeks in late September and early October 1967 with such organizations as the Parish Church Scouts, the Old Age Pensioners' Choir, three local schools, and the recently formed Woodhouse Drama Group, Woodhouse Flower Arts Society, Woodhouse

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1. Woodhouse Council of Churches. Operation Meeting Point. (Unpublished). 1966.
 2. The South Yorkshire Times. 6/8/66.

Historical Society and Woodhouse Art Group, amongst others, taking part. 'The Arts Festival is for the whole community,'¹ stated the Vicar and many residents both inside and outside the churches were eventually involved. 'On the whole,' writes one resident, 'the Festival was an unexpected success and will probably be repeated.' Thus the Woodhouse Council of Churches, after only four years existence, had been instrumental not only in creating a greater sense of solidarity between local congregations, but here and there drawing residents throughout the local district not linked with the churches closer together.

Significance

The wide variety of church activities, as in 1912, gave opportunity for the attainment of a very strong or strong sense of significance by those who did participate. A few examples must suffice to show the wide variety of forms this took. Children in the various Sunday Schools received prizes for regular attendance or for collecting so much money for overseas missionary work. At St. Paul's, a dozen or more entered annually for the District Sunday School Union Scripture Examination and prizes were publicly presented, the aim being to include as many children as possible in the awards. In 1967, the Parish Church Choir achieved prominence by making a record which sold well in the local district. Uniformed organizations provided other opportunities for achieving significance, in 1966 one local boy becoming 'the fifth Queen's Scout

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 9/9/67.

in the St. James' (Parish Church) Troop.¹ The Wesley Football Team had a fine 1965-1966 season and all players received trophies, presented by a leading County referee, to mark their achievement. Similarly the St. Paul's Cricket Club made much of the presentation of small shields to the best batsman, bowler, fielder, etc., at their annual dinner. In a number of informal ways too certain young people attained significance, such as the crippled boy who successfully completed a hike with the rest of his youth club 'to prove I'm as good as the others,' the two boys who made their first public appearance as guitarists at a church service, and the girl who paid regular weekly visits to old people.

Church activities also gave the adults scope for a considerable degree of fulfilment. The bazaars, mentioned above, for example, saw people working with great zeal to produce goods for the various fund-raising efforts. By 1967, over 1,500 'Tivvies' had been made and sold for the Parish Church Hall building fund, and one local craftsman had constructed some 50 model engines as well as numerous other toys to sell for the same cause. Providing flowers for the church, singing in the choir, helping with odd jobs such as typing or printing, catering at teas and socials and other similar activities gave further scope, made the most of by a surprising number, for church people to feel they had a worthwhile part to play in this sphere.

1. Ibid. 16/4/66.

Many churchgoers were made to feel they mattered by the concern shown when they were in need. Those in hospital frequently received cards from fellow church members and the housebound and old, flowers during the year and parcels of groceries at Christmas. The reaction was summed up by one bedfast old man who commented warmly to the visiting minister, 'Ah, but they don't forget me at the chapel.'

The three church periodicals also helped to boost a sense of significance. This particular function was typified by the headings that appeared in the magazines such as 'People in the News' or simply 'Personal' under which notes on events in the lives of members appeared. These included greetings for 21st birthdays, engagements, weddings and wedding anniversaries, as well as words of sympathy for bereavement, illness or hospital treatment. The main problem was not to miss anyone 'in the news' and so much store did certain members lay by their mention when occasion demanded that apologies had to be made from time to time for omissions.

Length of service to the Church was still, as in 1912, an achievement deserving overt recognition. In 1966, a Methodist layman received a presentation for 40 years' service as a Local Preacher, and a short time before another layman 'was presented with a Golden Diploma by the National Sunday School Union in recognition of 53 years' devoted work in the Sunday School at Woodhouse St. Paul's Methodist Church.'

1. Ibid. 14/10/61.

In 1964, a presentation was made at St. Paul's to the caretaker and his wife retiring after 30 years' service (the former's father had held the office for 36 years before him), and in the same year a gift and letters of good wishes were presented to the Parish Church organist retiring after 31 years in that post.

Inter-church activities gave less opportunity for churchgoers to attain significance although such ventures as 'Operation Meeting Point' and especially the Arts Festival gave quite a few people the chance to 'do their bit' or make their mark on the local scene.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

Kinship ties linking churchgoers were, interestingly enough, closer in 1966 than in 1912. During the earlier period such relationships were in a number of cases still in the process of creation, but, by 1966, they were fully and firmly established and had been undisturbed by any major influx of new residents into the local congregations for many years. Each church, with the exception of the Parish Church where a number of the 'old guard' had moved away or died over the preceding decade, had two or three important families which, through blood or marriage relationships, embraced a remarkably large number of the congregation. Many churches were almost 'family affairs,' and at one of the larger ones two prominent members were commonly referred to as 'Uncle' and 'Auntie' even

by those totally unrelated. Although this situation could pose problems, as one member put it 'a split in the church meant a split in the family,' these interlocking relationships drew many adults and their children tightly into the religious grouping concerned and created a very strong sense of solidarity. The importance of such links was demonstrated by the growing number of members, especially linked with the Free Churches, who, having moved away, still drove some distance each Sunday, to bring their children to Sunday School or themselves to attend 'their' church.

Where churchgoers were not actually related, they were often very closely linked by having lived near each other within the local district for many decades. An examination of the membership rolls of the two Methodist churches shows that, in 1966, at least 93% of those at Wesley and 75% of those at St. Paul's had been born and bred in Woodhouse or the adjoining Woodhouse Mill and Normanton Springs. The sharing of a common heritage also cemented bonds in other church organizations. The group for male pensioners, mentioned above, knit together so quickly and so easily in large part because nearly all the members, though few had attended church regularly, had lived and worked together in Woodhouse and down the local pits. The same was also true of the Salvation Army's old people's club, the Haven, where a good number had attended school together.

The old class distinctions associated with the Woodhouse churches at the beginning of the Century, by 1966 appeared to the outsider almost

entirely non-existent. All the congregations had become homogeneous, with generally a few top class and a large number of lower class members, especially from the independent section of the latter, in each. Nevertheless, the situation as it had existed in the period round about 1912 even now influenced the attitudes of the older Woodhouse residents. Wesley and the Parish Church were still looked upon as possessing congregations of higher social standing and with more money in their pockets. 'I wouldn't think it right to call her by her Christian name,' remarked one Methodist at St. Paul's about another at Wesley, whose parents were of some standing in Woodhouse in 1912. Members of the Salvation Army and Zion were, in their turn, seen, and felt themselves to be, not quite in the same class as those belonging to other churches. These attitudes, upheld by the past far more than the present situation, played a notable part for a good number of churchgoers in maintaining solidarity within each congregation, and in making inter-church activities at times difficult to mount.

Symbolic figures (see Chapter VI, 4) in the life of the Woodhouse churches at this time were far less obvious than in 1912. The only old resident undoubtedly occupying such a position was Albert Chapman, a man of considerable administrative ability and with a very strong personality, who had been born in Woodhouse in 1892. He had attended the St. Paul's Methodist Church all his life, and had held every office of importance there, sometimes for two or three decades at a time. In

1966, he was still Trust Treasurer. His word guided nearly every important decision made in the life of his church, and his opinion was sought as a matter of course. He was a man of fine character, and earned the respect not only of his own church members, for whom he spoke on many occasions of public importance, but of other Woodhouse churchgoers also. At the remaining Woodhouse churches one or two old residents held positions of note, but none really rose to prominence as a symbolic figure. On the other hand, two new residents were, by 1966, occupying positions in church affairs of a symbolic kind. The first to appear on the scene had been the Methodist Minister, through whose efforts the Woodhouse Council of Churches was formed, and who initiated such ventures as the Social Responsibility Scheme, 'Operation Meeting Point,' and the Woodhouse Community Council (see 'Government'). The more recent arrival was the Vicar, under whose enthusiastic leadership the Arts Festival was arranged, and who led residents in many attempts to get fair treatment and better facilities in the face of local authority development plans. Both these newcomers became something of symbolic figures, especially amongst the younger members of the Woodhouse churches.

The religious beliefs and mores of the 1966 period had lost a good deal of their precision and rigidity over the preceding half century. Sabbath observance was now far less strict and all-embracing; the then Vicar summed up the modern situation in a report to the Bishop of Sheffield, in 1960, when he tersely commented, 'Sunday no longer kept

quiet.' Some older people, such as the Wesley lady of 82 who still prided herself on being the only person in the yard who did not take a paper or hang her washing out on Sunday, still adhered to certain principles of former days, but most churchgoers had long since given up the severe restraint imposed by the Victorian Sabbath as a thing of the past. In Sunday worship, Sunday School lessons, and other teaching aspects of the Church's life, strict moral instruction, especially on matters to do with drinking and gambling, was regarded by most as rather anachronistic. There did persist, however, a common tendency, mainly encouraged and enjoyed by older churchgoers, towards sentimental, or occasionally even melodramatic, presentation of Christian beliefs, through such means as 'Sankey' chorus hymns, emotive preaching especially at Salvation Army and Assembly of God meetings, or 'moving' songs and poems given by children at Sunday School Anniversaries or by adults at women's meetings, such as the heart-rending epic of the shipwrecked man who, watched by those safe on shore, sank beneath the towering waves singing lustily, 'Nearer my God to Thee.' This style of presenting the Christian message was especially prominent at services and meetings attended by the older Woodhouse residents, particularly women, and was certainly a cohesive feature of such gatherings. But, by and large, the religious mores of the day were neither sufficiently distinctive, nor able to carry enough authority, to very much increase the sense of solidarity felt amongst churchgoers.

Social features of a structural type did not help greatly in creating a sense of solidarity between the Woodhouse churches. It is true that, because most churchgoers were well established residents, they shared a common heritage, and several families had relatives belonging to two or more local churches. But kinship ties across the denominations did not seem to make for any strong sense of solidarity between congregations. As noted above, many churchgoers also felt a degree of class distinction still to exist on the religious scene. Nor did the appearance of numerous strangers in Woodhouse, especially after 1963, bring the churches all that much closer together, partly because the handful of newcomers that did link up made no impression on the way the churches conducted their affairs, and partly because many of the old residents did not feel very strongly about working together to attract the newcomers in. It was easier in some respects to live and let live.

Significance

The still numerous positions in the life of the Church continued to offer quite a number of residents the opportunity to attain a very strong sense of significance. Women, old and young, were much more prominent than in 1912 in positions of leadership, in part because of the shortage of male participants in religious activities, and it was not uncommon to find them acting as Churchwarden, Trustee, Deacon, Class Leader, Sunday School Teacher and in many other major and minor offices as well. The women often laid considerable store by their positions. For example, at

one end of the age scale was the lady of 86 who had been choirmistress at one of the Methodist churches for over 50 years, members fearing to suggest her replacement 'in case it upset her, or the family.' At the other was the young wife most upset because she had not been re-appointed to take charge of the weekly flower rota for the church. Further down the scale still came the young girls at three churches who each year were greatly honoured by being elected as Sunday School Queen and were crowned with much ceremony by a specially invited guest. There were of course numerous offices held by men and many took great pains to do their work conscientiously. Such, for example, were the caretakers at two churches, one of whom regularly polished each brass in the church till it gleamed, the other who spent much time growing potted plants to adorn the window ledges and tables of rooms where meetings were held.

However, though a sense of significance was thus afforded by a variety of positions, it must be noted that many younger adults were finding office in the Church much less attractive than in 1912. With so many other opportunities to make a mark in the world outside the local district, the once coveted positions of Local Preacher, Society Steward, Churchwarden, Trustee, Bandmaster, Sunday School Teacher and so forth, carried much less status, and it was proving increasingly difficult to fill such offices even when thrown open to volunteers.

A word here must be said about the rather important manner in which the church building and premises gave members opportunity for fulfilment.

Maintaining or decorating the fabric gave to both the articulate and inarticulate, especially the men, a great sense of doing something approved of by others. An immense amount of labour was put in, and, as a consequence, over the years the premises became treasured, in part because they embodied so much of the time and effort dedicated to them. This situation led one man to remark at a public gathering; 'We should all treat our church as being as precious as our home.' Alternatively a few residents attained significance not by direct involvement but by giving money to buy this or that item of furniture, or by presenting the church with a bible, a cross, or, in one case, to the embarrassment of officials, 'yet another' piano with a plaque on it in memory of the donor's late wife.

The official positions linked with inter-church affairs, such as those associated with the Sunday School Union Committee which organized the Whitsuntide Processions, and the newly formed Woodhouse Council of Churches, also commanded much less standing and thus offered less opportunity for fulfilment than those joint ventures that did operate in earlier years.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

The residents not participating in the religious life of the local district can be divided roughly into two sections. There were, first, the older inhabitants who had often been brought up in the local Sunday Schools or who had once had some active connection with the churches, but over the years had ceased to attend. These were most open to new

approaches made by churchpeople as they knew many who still attended. Here was the best recruiting ground for such organizations as the old people's clubs at the Salvation Army and Wesley.

Much more out of touch were those residents who had moved into Woodhouse since the Second World War. Quite a few from the earlier waves had in fact been assimilated into the churches, mainly through Sunday Schools and youth organizations, but the vast majority, especially of the most recent immigrants, despite church members visiting every home, remained right outside the religious organizations. The only exceptions were the children, some of whom did link up for brief periods with Sunday Schools and other young people's groups. As one incumbent commented on the general situation in a report to the Bishop, '(The people) are very friendly to the Vicar, but completely indifferent to things spiritual.' Many in this second section were characterized by a mood rarely found amongst the older non-churchgoing residents, complete ignorance of Christian teaching, disbelief or plain cynicism. As one man put it direct to the Methodist Minister, 'The Church is all bunkum!' or another lady remarked sarcastically, 'We hold our service every Friday night at the Stag!' Unlike 1912, this second group of non-participants stretched across all social classes, (by no means just the rougher end,) and included a good proportion of each.

SUMMING UP

The only new religious body of note to appear on the Woodhouse scene since 1912 was the Assembly of God, in 1966 having only a small congregation, whilst only one church, the weakest of the three Methodist Societies, had closed (in 1951). Although a good number of Roman Catholics worshipped outside Woodhouse, the large majority of religious activities in which residents took part operated within the local district. There had been a steep decline in regular churchgoing, 6% of the adult population in 1966 as compared with 20% to 25% in 1912, and in children between the ages of 5 and 13 attending Sunday School regularly, about 20% in 1966 as against some 50% in 1912. Those residents associated with religious organization were in the main born or bred in the area, and a large majority were under 11 or over 50 years of age. Women outnumbered men by about two to one.

The sense of solidarity created by religious activity was, as in 1912, still very strong amongst those who participated regularly. As many churchgoers belonged to old Woodhouse families, they were linked not only by a common interest in things religious, but also by a common heritage and kinship ties which were, if anything, stronger than in the first years of the Century. Class distinctions were much less evident than in 1912, though the memory of former days still lived on in the attitudes of the older residents. Though the weekly and annual programme of church events was not quite so full as in 1912, it could still absorb virtually all the time and energy of loyal supporters and draw

them very closely together as they sought to maintain their cause. Of note here were bazaars and fund-raising efforts which engaged members of the churches concerned in a veritable whirl of enthusiastic activity. There were far fewer symbolic figures than in 1912. Religious mores were less distinct and did not greatly enhance solidarity.

About as many people again as worshipped regularly were involved in particular organizations associated with the churches, though these groups were linked more exclusively than in 1912 to one specific age and/or sex category, such as the Young Wives' Group, the Women's Meetings, the Haven for old people, and so forth. Here the sense of solidarity was generally strong. Both regular and not so regular churchgoers were kept closely in touch through the medium of several church magazines. Attachment to the Church through rites of passage, baptism, marriage and death, was for most people now very weak.

For those deeply involved in church affairs the sense of significance could still be very strong. Such were those men who had held office for a good number of years (though these positions were less sought after than in 1912 and gave status only within the congregation concerned), or who spent all their spare time in the church, for example doing repair and maintenance work about the premises. Women were now much more prominent in the running of church affairs, on meetings of church leaders, Sunday School teaching, organizing their own women's groups, sick visiting, as well as fund raising and catering, and where they were very active significance for them also could be very strong. A strong sense

of significance was attained by those less involved in the total life of the church but taking the lead within particular groups, and by those offering their talents occasionally to help the church. A number of young people gained a strong sense of significance through achievements in scouting or on the sports field with church teams, and children through performing in public or obtaining prizes for good attendance, etc. Here again the church magazine helped to make members feel that their work for the Church and their personal ups and downs mattered to their fellows.

In 1966, each Woodhouse congregation was still a distinct unit. Nevertheless, joint activities between the two Methodist Churches, and the endeavours of the Woodhouse Council of Churches in particular, had succeeded in raising the sense of solidarity between churches to at least a moderate level. The churches, however, remained virtually untouched by the influx of new residents since the last war and this fact, together with the somewhat limited readiness of congregations to join forces for any length of time to attract newcomers in, meant that inter-church solidarity was not much affected one way or the other by the changing nature of the local district's population. Inter-church activities as such gave only very limited scope for residents to attain a sense of significance thereby.

8. LEISUREINTRODUCTION

The main centres of leisure-time activities within Woodhouse in 1966 were :-

<u>Establishment</u>	<u>Location</u>
The public houses were as in 1912	The Angel Inn had been rebuilt on a new site in Sheffield Road
The Woodhouse West End Club	Sheffield Road
The Woodhouse Central Club	Beighton Road
Betting Shops	One in Market Street and one in Tilford Road
Bingo	An old barn in Tannery Street
The Shirtcliffe Brook Community Association	Meetings held in the Co-operative Society's hall, Furnace Lane
The Woodhouse Library	Skelton Lane

In 1966, the public houses were as in 1912 apart from the rebuilding of the Angel Inn in 1926. The old Woodhouse Working Men's Club on Balmoral Road had closed in the early 1930s, and the old Conservative Club on Station Road in 1965. The Central Hall (cinema) had shut its doors during the First World War.

The Woodhouse West End Club commenced in the early 1920s in an army hut in Sheffield Road, whilst the Woodhouse Central Club took over a large old house ('Lambcroft') in Beighton Road and opened in 1937. The

Woodhouse Library opened in 1931. The two betting shops were in operation by the early 1960s and the bingo hall in 1965, whilst the Shirtcliffe Brook (Badger Estate) Community Association was launched in 1966.

PARTICIPANTS

In 1966, any person of 18 or over was permitted to participate fully in the activities of the public house, working men's club or betting shop. In the clubs, however, children were allowed in, and only excluded between the ages of 14 and 18. Above 18, the public houses, clubs and betting shops catered for a wide cross-section of ages.

As in 1912, the public houses had no official membership and attendances varied according to the size of the establishment, on Saturday and Sunday evenings, for example, about 50 people being present at the Cross Daggers, 75 at the Brunswick Hotel, 125 at the Junction Hotel and up to 200 at the Stag. The two working men's clubs had an official membership, 1,207 being on the roll at the West End Club in January 1967, and 1,505 at the Central Club in August 1967. Attendances on Saturday and Sunday nights at the former reached 450, at the latter, with the largest concert room in South Yorkshire, numbers could touch 800. The clubs, and to a much lesser extent the public houses, had, by 1966, ceased to be entirely dominated by men, at the Central there being at this time over 200 women who were full members in their own right (others could participate if their husbands were members), whilst



The Village Cross, the Cross Daggers (behind) and the Royal Hotel (to the right).



Woodhouse Central Working Men's Club.

at the West End some 300 women had honorary membership entitling them to buy their own drink and play tombola (bingo). At the public houses women still rarely drank on their own but many, especially at week-ends, would go along with their husbands. The public houses catered mainly for Woodhouse residents, but the clubs had a much wider catchment area and, although the large majority of official members were local people, those belonging to other clubs outside the local district (termed 'associate members') often made up half or more of the actual audience on popular nights. Because of these facts, it is very difficult to estimate how many Woodhouse residents visited public houses or clubs regularly, but the figure would seem to be, as in 1912, about a quarter of the total population, now however made up of a larger proportion of women and smaller proportion of men. The larger of the two cash betting shops in Woodhouse attracted up to 100 people, virtually all men, on the main racing day of the week, Saturday. These shops catered almost wholly for Woodhouse people.

The only other leisure-time organizations of any size were the Shirtcliffe Brook (or 'Badger' as it was better known) Community Association, and the Woodhouse Library. The former, in August 1967, had a formal membership of 330 Badger Estate families, covering all ages, though actual attendances at the different functions was very variable, as will be mentioned later. By far the most popular were those events arranged for children. In the year ending April 1967, the Woodhouse Library had 2,218 adult readers (the highest figure since 1937) and

1,640 junior readers (the highest number since it opened in 1931).

In 1966, a large number of residents found leisure-time facilities in Woodhouse inadequate, for one reason or another, and travelled into Sheffield or beyond to participate. A number, especially those more recently having come to live in the area, would go out of the local district to attend public houses or clubs which they had frequented at earlier periods. Young people, in particular, were very mobile in their leisure hours more often than not travelling into the city for entertainment.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

Though 1966 saw the existence of a far greater diversity of leisure pursuits than in 1912, a majority, at least of the male residents of Woodhouse, still gave a good deal of spare time to activities associated with the public houses or clubs. By 1966, licensing hours had been considerably reduced (11.30 am. to 3.00 pm. and 5.30 pm. to 10.30 pm., week-days; 12.00 pm. to 2.00 pm. and 7.00 pm. to 10.30 pm., Sunday), although the two Woodhouse clubs kept open for much longer on week-days (10.00 am. to 11.00 pm.) in order to allow people the chance to drop in and pass the time of day.

The very strong sense of solidarity associated with public house and club life in 1912 was in 1966 somewhat weakened by the altered pattern of

social action. In the first place drinking habits had changed.

Apart from a handful of shift-workers, lunch-time callers or the old men who used the premises for a quiet drink and a chat, 'in the middle of the week it's dead,' was the comment of one licensee. Most men would be seen only two or three times a week, mainly at the week-ends, and, meeting less frequently, solidarity was rather less intense. Secondly, there was in 1966 a good deal more mobility between drinking establishments, both between public house and public house and between public house and club. One licensee recalled how on two Sunday nights the snowball tote at the local club emptied the public houses. 'If we're empty we know there's a good turn up at the Central,' remarked another. This increasing movement inevitably undermined to some extent the old feeling of a majority of residents that this or that drinking establishment was their pub or their club.

None the less the sense of solidarity amongst those attending the Woodhouse public houses, if not generally very strong, was still certainly strong, at week-ends all the bars being crowded and participants obviously enjoying themselves. There were certain fluctuations in the intensity of activity throughout different seasons of the year, but Christmas was without doubt the great annual social occasion and a roaring trade was done.

However, where pubgoers not only met frequently in the informal atmosphere of tap room or lounge, but also shared fully in other particular activities organized by the public house, comradeship was often

very strong. Most public houses had a 'Sports and Social Club' which was organized by the customers, in 1967 the Junction Hotel having 112 members, the Cross Daggers 170 and the Brunswick Hotel 288. One of the main functions of this club was to promote a weekly tote, from the profits of which other social activities could be organized, in 1966 the Brunswick Hotel, for example, arranged two dinner-dances, a 'mystery trip' into Derbyshire, a subsidized outing for parents and children to Cleethorpes (9 coach loads going) and the distribution of free beer vouchers to old people. In 1966, it was reported in the Press that the Cross Daggers Social Club was thriving.¹ Under the auspices of these clubs other activities were also arranged such as an annual outing to York races or a week-end in London to see the Cup Final.

All public houses sponsored fishing clubs which arranged annual outings. In 1966, the George Inn Angling Club put on their first ever Christmas Dinner at which 60 people, including the ladies and one or two specially invited old people, were present. Fishing of course was in general throughout the local district very popular, certain residents participating every Sunday. A local hairdresser had fishing rhymes and anecdotes pinned all round the walls of his shop, whilst one wife commented, 'He'd love me much more if I were a mermaid!' A Pigeon Club with 40 members was run at the Stag Inn, participants meeting every Friday during the season (April to August) 'to do their clocks,' and several Sundays out of season to show their birds. Also associated with

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 29/10/66.

the Stag Inn, though now existing on a very precarious footing, was the once famous Woodhouse Prize Band. In 1962, for the first time ever, the Band had to refuse the invitation to accompany the Whitsuntide Sunday School Procession. Though in 1967 numbers actually rose to 18 or so at the Sunday morning or Wednesday evening practices, membership had in 1966 fallen to as low as half a dozen and, of the newcomers, only one or two were resident in the local district. 'The lads are not interested now; there's too much attraction elsewhere,' stated the old Bandmaster.

In 1966, the Woodhouse public houses produced three football teams based on the Brunswick Hotel, the Angel Inn (called 'Woodhouse Ashberry') and the Cross Daggers. The first two of these teams were hardly Woodhouse sides at all, the former drawing a majority of players from Attercliffe and the latter from Crookes. The Cross Daggers was a more indigenous side, and in 1966 morale was high after a very good season when they came top of their league. By and large, however, outdoor sport of this kind tended to run rather independently of normal public house activities.

Though the public house was still a predominantly male realm far more women were coming in, especially at week-ends, with their husbands. At the Stag Inn, where the licensee was a woman, an exclusively ladies' meeting was run once a fortnight with an attendance of about two dozen. The ladies organized discussions, evening trips, an Easter bonnet

parade, raffles, and so on.

The only unique event of 1966 to demonstrate the extent of solidarity within the life of the public houses was the decision of a large brewery to sell the Cross Daggers as unlicensed premises. This action was taken in part because the Corporation's Compulsory Purchase Order of that year affected the back of the building, and in part because as a small establishment it was hardly a very profitable concern. None the less this decision to sell roused the ire of the stalwarts who saw the move not only as ending their own drinking days in the place but, with regard to the passing of old Woodhouse, 'as just another nail in the coffin.'

¹ As the Sheffield Telegraph put it, 'Brewers, councillors and Sheffield Labour Party were all blamed for allowing the single stroke which it is claimed could account for the disintegration of Woodhouse as a community.'

² At the close of 1966 a petition signed by 300 protesters was drawn up. The position, however, remained stale-mate as the petitioners could not gain any reprieve for the Cross Daggers nor the brewery, by the end of 1967, find a purchaser. Though this incident revealed a spontaneous outburst of solidarity, it must, however, be noted that it concerned the only public house of any real historic value in Woodhouse (in fact officially an ancient monument which could not be demolished even if sold), and that the relatively small number of regular customers formed a more closely-knit group than at any other public

1. Ibid. 29/10/66.

2. The Sheffield Telegraph. 29/10/66.

house in the local district.

The life of the working men's clubs was, in 1966, more distinct from that of the public houses than in 1912. Again solidarity was not quite so strong as in the earlier era as a result not only of those factors mentioned in connection with the public houses but also, in this case, because of the very large number of participants. Many members were quite unknown to each other, and friendships were formed in the main amongst small ad hoc groups who usually sat together. Furthermore solidarity was weakened somewhat by the rather passive nature of club life, many members coming mainly to be entertained or to play tombola. Some men were even known to miss a shift at work 'if the club had a good turn on.' At the Central Club a normal week included dancing, tombola and three nights of concerts as well as entertainment at lunchtime on Sunday, the latter an exclusively male gathering. Any women who ventured in were described as 'pudding burners.' At the West End Club the programme was similar except that dancing was replaced by another night of entertainment and more tombola was played. In 1967, the Central Club went a stage further and introduced wrestling, but, when an initial attendance of 500 tailed off due to lack of variety in the bill, it was dropped. This pattern of social activity, especially as many members only came at most two or three times a week, tended to weaken the club spirit of past years, a situation in part borne out by the fact that no more than 20% of club members ever voted in the election of officials, and

that, as one Steward commented, the annual general meeting 'was over and done with in a quarter of an hour.'

On the other hand those who did participate in the additional social activities organized by the clubs were drawn closer together. These included fishing, a football team at each club and a homing section at the West End. In addition there were the special summer outings for young and old to the coast, in 1966 the Central Club sending two train loads to Cleethorpes and the West End 28 coaches to Skegness. Special treats and outings were also laid on specially for the old age pensioners within the club. A conspicuous number of women of all ages were in evidence, especially at the Central Club, which ran dances, as noted, and an annual outing each year for ladies only. At the clubs, therefore, activities did exist to draw members into smaller more intensely interacting groups. A majority, however, still made almost all their contacts through the normal and informal activities of drinking, smoking, and chatting together round the bar or table.

The Woodhouse public houses and clubs, often administered by different brewery companies, were quite independent of each other. There were few joint ventures and the licensees had very little to do with one another. The only activity of a corporate nature was the Woodhouse and District Games League, started by customers at the Cross Daggers, which from 1965 arranged inter-pub and club darts, cribbage and dominoe

contests every Tuesday night during the winter. Six pubs or clubs in the area entered teams but the competition, though quite keen, hardly involved more than a few dozen people and did not create a sense of solidarity between the establishments concerned.

Just across the road from two of the public houses a turf accountant's business was situated. Interaction in the two betting shops was at a much lower level than the pubs or clubs, men (and occasionally women) coming in for fairly brief periods to study 'form,' place their bets, have a short chat and, especially on Saturdays, listen to the commentary on the race. For only a very few men was the betting shop in its own right a place where even moderate solidary relationships were established. At this juncture a word might be added about the way in which any form of gambling seemed to attract Woodhouse people and was introduced into many aspects of leisure pursuits. The totes at the public houses or run by the Badger Community Association, the tombola at the clubs, the betting involved in angling competitions or pigeon racing, the 'fruit machines' (described by the Secretary of the West End Club as 'the biggest asset we've got'), and the numerous raffles and sweeps were all an intrinsic part of leisure-time social activity. Gambling was extremely important in inducing residents to congregate though it must be stressed, as one man put it, that it was usually 'more a hobby than a disease,' and there was obviously something of communal note in it or residents would more often have stayed at home and gambled on their own (for example by filling in football coupons). The social

importance of gambling appeared in Woodhouse to be inseparably linked with other interests; for the men more specialized ones such as horse, dog or pigeon racing which demanded an element of skill or knowledge, for the women, who were especially attracted by bingo at the clubs, three nights a week in the old barn or at centres outside the local district, the opportunity of a 'break from the kids' and a 'natter.' Although the licensee of the Stag Inn was probably fairly well on target in describing Woodhouse as a 'village of booze and bingo,'¹ the communal function of such activities must not be underestimated.

Outside the public houses, clubs, betting shops and bingo halls, the only other leisure-time organizations in Woodhouse involving large numbers of people were the Badger Community Association and the Woodhouse Library. The former had got off to a good start, in June 1966, when over 200 Badger Estate residents attended the first public meeting to launch the Association, though it must be confessed that a good number came merely to protest about lack of amenities in the area. Progress was slow until, in March 1967, rented premises were obtained. Thenceforth meetings were held each Friday, and by turns there was arranged a children's night (between 100 and 150 attending), a teenage night (40 to 70 there), a family social night (40 to 90) and a bingo night (35 to 50). In 1967, other events included, for children and teenagers, five-a-side football on Sunday mornings (about 150 participating), week-night cricket in the summer (about 30 taking part), and a

1. The Star. (Sheffield) 27/9/63.

Saturday Sports Gala. For adults a keep-fit class was arranged, occasional social evenings at the Stag Inn, a coach trip into Derbyshire, and an outing to Flamingo Park Zoo (when some 160 people went). The Community Association catered especially well for the under 20s and the women of the Estate, though the somewhat erratic attendance figures indicate that the sense of solidarity was in general only moderately strong. Though the Woodhouse Library was picking up again after two rather lean decades interaction was here at a low level. Occasional record or film evenings attracted a few dozen people, but the Library was hardly in itself the scene of any very important communal activity. Its work, especially on the non-fiction side, of stimulating and encouraging like interests to develop, provided more the future prerequisite for, than the immediate substance of, communal interaction.

The great event of 1912, the Woodhouse Feast, was virtually extinct. During the third week of August every year a small fun-fair was set up on a field behind the Library, but it was merely a passing attraction to which residents, mainly younger ones, went if they had the time and interest. Its coming was not looked forward to, nor its departure regretted. The final insult to tradition came in 1967 when the fair actually came for a week in April as well as August!

A large number of adult residents, especially in the top class and independent section of the lower class, found satisfaction in leisure

pursuits outside the local district. In some cases, as with customers at the public house or club, interests were pursued together with other local residents, but in other cases the groups concerned were composed of people from all over the extended district. Into this latter category would come, for example, the man who belonged to a Sheffield climbing club, the woman who sang in a madrigal group in the city, the man who was a member of the Sheffield Philharmonic Choir, the couple who went old tyme dancing, the man who belonged to a poodle breeding society, the family that went to the bowling alley several nights a week and so forth. Where interests were keen and attendance very regular a strong sense of solidarity could emerge from these associations, though the fact that many participants saw each other for a relatively short time on specific occasions meant that more often the sense of solidarity engendered was only moderate.

Another popular extended district activity was watching football at Hillsborough or Bramall Lane. Though old residents (proved correct in fact by official statistics) were unanimous that there had been a decline in interest since 1912, considerable numbers of Woodhouse people, of all ages but mainly men, still took the bus to Sheffield on Saturday afternoons. When, in 1966, Sheffield Wednesday reached the final of the F.A. Cup, there was great excitement locally, and a number of residents travelled all the way down to London for the game. 'There won't be a man on the streets in Woodhouse on Saturday afternoon,' commented one resident the week before, having in mind that television sets would be working

overtime. In connection with football, mention must also be made here of the World Cup competition held in England in 1966. These games were the subject of animated conversation in pub, club and church, and the incidents brought to life by television presentation were carried out of the home for debate amongst enthusiasts, and indeed amongst those not previously known to be so keen on football.

By 1966, the young people of Woodhouse formed a distinctive grouping of their own, quite unlike that existing in 1912 when the transition from childhood to adulthood seemed to be made with great rapidity. Not only did young people have more personal and economic freedom (see the Section on 'Family and Neighbours'), but they now shared an important like interest associated with the establishment, during the previous decade or so and propagated by the mass media, of a 'teenage culture' of their own, a culture which provided them with a common topic of conversation and style of expression, particularly in relation to song, music, dance and dress. The importance of this 'teenage culture' locally was borne out by the popularity of a hand-produced magazine called 'Image,' edited by a small group of enthusiastic Woodhouse young people, which, in 1967, had a circulation of 800, though quite a number of copies were distributed outside the local district. This magazine, echoing the national culture pattern had sections entitled 'Pop Talk,' 'Record Reviews,' 'Film Forum,' 'Hair Talk,' 'Swinging Party Fashions,' 'Horoscope,' 'Motor Cycle Maintenance,' and so forth.

This exclusively 'teenage cultural background facilitated the

movement of young Woodhouse people, often in twos, threes or fours of the same sex, from one loosely formed group of a dozen or more in size to another. Such groups, however, were not very prominent in the local district, partly because of the lack of entertainment and meeting places. The Royal Hotel organized a 'pop emporium' each weekend in its concert room which was well attended, but by many more than just Woodhouse residents. A small snack bar stood opposite this public house and catered for a few young people on Saturday nights. But often, other than in the case of those attending the church clubs (see the Section on 'Religion'), Woodhouse young people simply remained on the streets playing their transistors and chatting well into the night. Despite the fluid nature of these gatherings, the sense of solidarity found here by many young people was strong.

Occasionally a fairly strong common interest was engendered by deviant behaviour, and Woodhouse had its share of the latter. In 1966, large windows were smashed at the local Post Office, Co-operative Stores, and a super-market. The George Inn sign was broken, and several attempts were made to set the old Balmoral Road Youth Club on fire (this was the only non-church youth club in the local district and had closed down at the end of 1965 for financial and management reasons). The assault on the old Endowed School, scene of so much social activity in 1912, just after the caretaker had moved out in readiness for the eventual demolition of the building, was particularly destructive. The Vicar wrote, 'Within two or three days the inside of the School-room

had been literally torn to pieces. Every window was smashed, some window-frames had been ripped out altogether, the locks were shattered, floor-boards torn up, clothes and books scattered all round the room, the piano turned over on its side, every light bulb smashed, benches turned over and some broken, crockery and records smashed, and even part of the ceiling¹ torn open.' The offenders in these cases were on the whole small groups of 'teenage boys from the older parts of Woodhouse whose comradeship was in part dependent on this sort of activity, and not so much young people from the new estates. But, though deviant behaviour here engendered a fairly strong sense of solidarity, this situation was very much more the exception than the rule (in all Woodhouse only three young people being on probation at this time).

It was far more common to find Woodhouse 'teenagers travelling, in pairs or very small groups, into Sheffield or beyond in search of amusement at the cinema, dance-hall, swimming baths, ice-skating rink, bowling alley or similar centres. 'There's nothing doing in Woodhouse,' was the general opinion or, as one girl put it more pertinently, 'If it wasn't for the Frecheville bowling alley, I'd have gone mad!' Such excursions very often resulted in the establishment of friendships, especially boy-girl friendships, with non-residents.

As in 1912, younger children in 1966 made friends especially amongst those living close by, though (as noted in the Section on 'Education') older children were just as likely to 'pal up' with those they went to

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. Aug. 1966.

school with, even if the latter lived some way away. During the summer months Woodhouse children could be seen playing games on and around the streets, particularly where these were not too busy with traffic, on one or other of the two recreations grounds which were quite well used, or on and about the still numerous fields and lanes within the local district. Organized out-of-school activities, often well supported, were arranged by such bodies as the Badger Community Association and the Woodhouse churches (see the Section on 'Religion').

Significance

At the smaller public houses, the sort of 'characters,' common in 1912, were still in evidence but, in the words of one licensee, were 'really on the way out.' None the less, one or two residents did gain a strong sense of significance in such informal roles. Much more common, however, was the strong sense of fulfilment enjoyed by those gaining prominence in the more organized activities associated with pub and club. Such were the good darts player, the expert fisherman, the pigeon breeder 'with the right touch,' the knowledgeable horse backer, and so on. Sporting activities of a more active nature, especially football and cricket, also gave players the chance to find the limelight, the South Yorkshire Times regularly reporting the various games, as well as the annual rewards to the more successful of medals, cups and plaques.

A strong sense of significance was also enjoyed by the successful gambler, though here the hour of glory was rather more temporary. For

example, a woman who had won nearly £100 at the local club was the envy of her yard for several months, she herself appearing to relish the limelight almost as much as the prize. A win here or there brought not only 'something out of life that many otherwise would never get,' but the chance, for a while, to be the envy of friends and neighbours.

But in this period, the local district was less and less able to provide sufficient scope for many residents, especially the more articulate, to find the degree of significance they felt satisfying. This in part accounted for many people travelling into the city and beyond to find fulfilment in a variety of informal and formal ways, such as the man taking the advanced driving test, the man proudly showing his dogs at shows, the rugby union football referee who travelled monthly across the city for instruction and was prepared to travel as far as Bradford and Leeds to take games (on an unpaid basis), the pigeon fancier who competed in 1967 at the National Show of Racing Pigeons in London, and the amateur art collector who travelled some way to auctions 'to get a bargain' and then enjoyed quietly boasting to his friends about it, and so forth.

Comparatively few young people gained a strong sense of significance through organized leisure activities, though the boys of course enjoyed their reputations as good cricketers, footballers, swimmers and so on. In 1966, one girl won distinction for ballroom dancing in the city and another came top in a beauty contest at the Sheffield Ice-Rink. More often, however, a strong sense of significance came in informal ways; the good joker, the boy with a car of his own, the fast motor-cyclist,

the knowledgeable pop fan, the defier of 'the law' (the vandal amongst others), as well as the boy or girl with good looks and eye-catching clothes. But it must be noted that many young people now attained significance quite as much through educational achievement as through leisure pursuits.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

Unlike 1912, kinship ties no longer played much part in linking together the clientele of leisure-time organizations as such. Certain very well established Woodhouse families were known to retain connections with this or that public house but the influx of strangers, both residents and non-residents, over recent years had virtually swamped what remained of the old family links. Even the Prize Band could, in 1966, only produce two members of the famous Cook family which once supplied most of its players: the Bandmaster and his son.

Not only had kinship ties weakened, but the links that in the early years of the Century had made the sharing of a common heritage an important factor in the development of a sense of solidarity within pub and club had become much less evident. Here and there small groups of older Woodhouse inhabitants remained closely attached to public house or clubs which they had frequented over the years, one man still attending the West End Club after 30 years residence outside the local district, but the very fact that old and new residents 'mixed well,' as several lic-

ensees acknowledged, meant the fading of memories and the blurring of traditional ties, side by side with the development of fresh bonds based on acquaintance of much shorter duration.

Despite the passing of certain aspects of the 1912 pattern of pub and club life, a surprising difference of 'going on' still existed between one public house or club and another, a fact which helped to engender a sense of identity and of solidarity amongst customers. In the case of the public houses, the outlook and attitude of the licensee made all the difference. Whilst one was very particular regarding, for example, the way he 'dressed a drink' and stated forthrightly that he would 'not tolerate bad language at all,' another acknowledged that he turned a deaf ear to all but the broadest of humour, and a third was very lenient about serving boys under age. Social distinctions between drinking establishments were further underlined by the licensee who quite simply stated, 'I wouldn't go through the doors of some pubs in Woodhouse,' and the customer who stood up for his pub as the best in the local district 'because it has a good pint of beer - straight from the wood - and good company. There is no juke box and no rabble.'¹ Thus, although, at first sight, no obvious class distinctions appeared, residents could usually 'rate' the Woodhouse pubs on a scale running, as in 1912, from 'respectable' to 'rough', each of which attracted its own particular type of customer and with its own cohesive social style of 'going on.'

Another important distinction, in 1966, was that between the social

1. The Sheffield Telegraph. 29/10/66.

pattern of public house and club life. The latter was often regarded by loyal pubgoers as rather rowdy and more energetically sociable in nature. It was believed to attract a certain sort of person; 'Club people are club people,' commented one licensee. The fact that wives and children often went along also made the club much more of a family affair. The somewhat more structured nature of club life, with entertainment, dancing bingo and so on, appeared to some pubgoers as 'too organized,' but it gave the club life a distinctive pattern of its own which enabled large numbers of people to participate simultaneously in corporate activities. As in the case of public houses, however, there was a slight difference of 'class' between the two Woodhouse clubs, one being regarded as 'rougher' than the other. As each establishment created over the years its own distinct sense of identity, so was solidarity amongst members enhanced.

Significance

In 1966, the local licensees had less status outside their own public houses than was the case prior to the First World War. This was in large part due to the fact that, whereas in the past so many had spent long years of their life in Woodhouse playing an active part in all kinds of local district affairs, in 1966, a large majority were virtually newcomers to the area. The last of the old type of Woodhouse licensee was Miss Mary Redfearn, hostess at the Cross Daggers until 1959 when she retired, whose family had managed that pub for over 150 years. The only remaining native was the licensee of the Junction

Hotel whose grandfather had taken over management in the early 1920s. In 1966, therefore, no licensee, apart perhaps from the lady landlord of the Stag Inn who now and then ventured out into the realm of public protest concerning lack of adequate social amenities in the area, had any great standing outside his or her own establishment. Within the latter, however, they could still enjoy a strong sense of significance.

The management of the two Woodhouse clubs gave scope for a few local residents to attain official positions of some prominence. Especially noteworthy within their own organizations were the two club Secretaries whose job was virtually full-time. Each club had a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, three Trustees and a Committee of 8 or 9, all elected by the members. Beside such administrative offices as these, both club and pub had, as in 1912, a number of positions open to those interested and with time to spare, in connection with the running of the various social and sports organizations, which gave to some a strong sense of significance.

The distinction between rooms in the public house still existed, even though such characters as 'the tap room spokesman' had disappeared, and gave to customers of one or other a slightly different status. The public bar was still a male domain where 'the rough diamonds,' as one licensee described certain regular visitors, could hold their own. The best room or lounge, beer there being a penny dearer, was the place where one would take one's wife or could be just a shade more sophisticated

than in the public bar; 'I'd never give them nice stem glasses or they'd say something!' remarked one licensee of the latter.

If a man moved over permanently from the public bar to the lounge he was sometimes chided by his colleagues in the former as 'coming out,' 'going over the border,' or 'joining the guinea ring.' The working men's clubs, however, true to their more 'co-operative' nature, made no distinction between any of their rooms, charged the same price for a pint of beer throughout, and gave uniform service to all customers.

A few residents held official positions in societies and special interest clubs in the city and where they did so usually undertook their responsibilities conscientiously. In Woodhouse, outside the pubs, clubs and churches, the only other active organization at this time wherein one or two inhabitants found a strong sense of fulfilment was the Badger Community Association, with its Secretary, Chairman and other officials who worked exceedingly hard and enthusiastically.

SUMMING UP

In 1966, as in 1912, the public houses and working men's clubs still attracted the custom of about a quarter of the adult population of Woodhouse. However, regular customers now included rather fewer men and more women, the latter most frequently appearing at week-ends in the company of husbands or male friends. But it was far more common

than in 1912 to find women enjoying their leisure time interests together both in the pubs and clubs and elsewhere. Many more residents than at the beginning of the Century travelled out of Woodhouse to have a drink (and many more non-residents came in). A conspicuous number of Woodhouse people of both sexes spent their leisure hours pursuing pastimes related to a particular interest, in the very large majority of cases having to travel into Sheffield to find provision made for them, as well as others with similar hobbies and tastes. Young people were now much freer than before to follow leisure time interests of their own choice and did so to a limited extent locally, but far more often by visiting organized entertainment centres in the extended district. Children in their play remained much more tied to their own precinct in particular and to the local district in general than the rest of the Woodhouse population.

The sense of solidarity experienced by the pubgoer and clubgoer had weakened somewhat since 1912 owing, amongst other things, to fewer kinship ties linking participants, the influx of many new residents and non-residents leading to the gradual disappearance of customers with a common Woodhouse heritage, the greater pull of home and domestic interests for men, and the attraction of many other competing leisure time pursuits. The clubs in particular lost something more by having such large memberships. Nevertheless, solidarity was generally still strong especially amongst small groups of 'regulars,' and could be very strong

if the latter were old Woodhouse residents or those who in addition actively participated in special interest groups associated with the drinking establishments (football, fishing, pigeon fancying, etc.). Both the Woodhouse clubs and two public houses in the local district went out of their way to encourage women to participate and, with children and pensioners also catered for in such events as trips to the sea-side and Christmas parties, a strong family spirit could at times develop. Each public house and club had a distinctive ethos and pattern of activity which attracted customers of like mind and facilitated interaction. Gambling by and large had a cohesive function for residents, though the solidarity engendered was in large part dependent in supplementary contacts; the men drinking together as well as meeting in the betting shop, the women having a good 'natter' as well as playing bingo together.

A good number of adults enjoyed leisure time pastimes outside the life of the drinking establishments. Within Woodhouse, however, provision was extremely poor, the only organized bodies (the churches excepted) being the Library, which as such created no sense of solidarity, and the Badger Community Association. The latter catered especially for women and children on the new Badger Estate and, in its short life, had built up a moderate degree of solidarity amongst participants in its various activities. The once famous Woodhouse Feast was, by 1966, no more than a passing fun-fair. Most adults following more

specialized recreational pursuits (singing, dancing, stamp collecting, climbing, etc.), many of whom belonged to the independent section of the working class or the top class of Woodhouse residents, travelled out of the local district for this purpose, though the limited time spent with fellow participants could often keep solidarity within the group concerned at only a moderate level.

Woodhouse young people, with the new and important 'teenage culture facilitating their movement between and acceptance in various peer groups, enjoyed a style of life very different from the beginning of the Century. Amongst small numbers of them, usually pairs or foursomes of the same sex, and of course between those courting, a very strong sense of solidarity often developed, whilst in the larger groups and 'assemblies' which met informally solidarity was strong. Although a number of Woodhouse young people interacted on the streets of the local district, or in pubs or coffee bar, the majority travelled into the city to find their entertainment. As in 1912, Woodhouse children made very strong friends in their play, chiefly amongst those living nearby but by no means necessarily in the same precinct. Some also met together in a more organized way through such activities as those run by the Badger Community Association (and the churches).

In 1966, some Woodhouse residents still gained a strong sense of significance through informal activities based on the public house and club, but the old style 'character' was becoming much rarer. Formal positions of responsibility (licensee, club steward, etc.) brought occ-

asionally a very strong but generally a strong sense of significance (though a man's reputation was now limited mainly to the pub or club concerned), as did holding office or making a name for oneself in the football club, angling club, pigeon fanciers' society, etc. The successful gambler also enjoyed his hour of glory. Those Woodhouse adults travelling into the city to pursue special interests and hobbies often found a strong sense of fulfilment through the expression of their skills. Young Woodhouse people sometimes found a strong sense of significance in organized recreational pastimes, especially sport, but informal roles played within the peer group more often engendered a similar sentiment.

9. OTHER ASPECTS OF WOODHOUSE LIFE

INTRODUCTION

During this period Woodhouse residents established links with others not merely through the activities and relationships mentioned in preceding Sections, but, through other modes of interaction and other social ties not peculiar to any one particular sphere of operations (eg. Work, Leisure, Education, etc.) as described above. It is to these supplementary and criss-crossing activities and relationships that attention must now be directed.

SOCIAL ACTION

Solidarity

It was no more common in 1966 than in 1912 for formally organized groups as such associated with one particular sphere of activity to come into contact with other groups operating in a different sphere. If there was an exception at this time it was the Church, which made at least some effort to contact non-churchgoers and to involve them in the affairs of the local district. Taking the lead here, though in general receiving rather half-hearted backing from most members of the separate congregations, was the Woodhouse Council of Churches (see the Section on 'Religion') which, in 1963 and 1964, arranged for the visitation of every house on the new Badger Estate to welcome residents

to the area, in 1966 organized a full-scale enquiry into social conditions in the local district ('Operation Meeting Point'), and, in 1967, initiated the Woodhouse Community Council (see the Section on 'Government') and sponsored the Woodhouse Arts Festival. In addition the Methodist Young Wives' Group in 1966 started a small play group for children under 5 at the Child Welfare Clinic (see the Section on 'Health and Welfare'). All these ventures, to a limited degree, drew non-churchgoers into contact with churchgoers and helped, if only in a small way, to knit residents together. As in 1912, the Salvation Army, though only a handful of members was actively involved, went into the clubs and public houses to distribute the 'War Cry'; the response varied from cordial to totally apathetic.

By 1966, the great communal gatherings, and with them a great deal of informal participation, associated in former years with such times as Whitsuntide and the Feast, had virtually faded away. When people did gather, such as in the clubs and public houses at Christmas and in the churches during Holy Week, only a comparatively small section of the population was involved. It was therefore more difficult for residents as a whole to feel they belonged to a distinct social grouping called 'Woodhouse.'

The tempo of local district life, in 1966, gave the impression of being much more uneventful, and even monotonous, than in 1912. What in fact had happened was that the large weekly and annual communal gatherings of the past, which once caught residents up together in short

but energetic bursts of social activity, were no longer high-spots of Woodhouse life. Of course residents did have times and events that they looked forward to, but these were now occasions celebrated in the main domestically (such as Christmas), or in the company of non-residents as much as residents. Woodhouse as such was no longer the scene of those communal 'splashes' which in the past had given residents the feeling of quickening and slowing down the pace of life together in accordance with the accepted pattern of the time.

Though life in Woodhouse itself seems to have been more uneventful than in 1912, it was certainly not lived at the same pace by all residents. On the one hand, there were the old people and married women who, with children grown up, did not go out to work (generally residents of some years' standing). For these life was mainly focused on the local district and seemed to jog along fairly steadily and quietly. Thinking of these people, who tended to dominate the local scene during the day, a South Yorkshire Times reporter could comment that 'life in Woodhouse beats at about half the tempo of other places' and some could still speak of Woodhouse as 'a sleepy little village.' On the other hand, the speed of life on the estates and in the owner-occupier areas seemed very much faster probably due to such factors as families moving in and out with some rapidity, residents trying to settle down in strange surroundings and to get the house and garden to their liking, babies arriving and young children going off to school in quick succ-

ession, wives hastening to get out to work as soon as possible, husbands travelling fairly long distances to work and relatives and friends attempting to maintain their contacts across the city. The remarks of certain residents of the Badger Estate were typical of this section of the population: 'Everyone's rushing hither and thither,' 'Folk have no time for people these days,' and 'I have to keep a diary now!' There is no doubt that the influx of many new (young) residents with full lives lived energetically was something of a tonic for a Woodhouse that for some years now had appeared to be 'running down'; as one resident put it with some satisfaction, 'The whole pace of life seems to be altering in Woodhouse.' Yet in 1966, the various tempos of life in evidence tended to keep many of the older and the newer residents out of step, causing a certain amount of annoyance to the former and not helping to unite the local district into a single social entity.

Although the residents of 1966 had a good number of different interests and belonged to a variety of organizations of one sort or another, this did not mean that they met one another as frequently as in 1912. This was because many non-domestic activities took place right outside the local district (unlike the earlier era) and it was a matter of chance as to whether or not residents encountered each other on these occasions. One man, for example, was the father of a young family at home, a Hoover sales service representative at work, and the local Community Association Secretary, a football enthusiast, rock-climber and zoologist in his leisure time. These activities could take him

right away from the local district, and meant that though he interacted with a large number of people this did not generate a sense of solidarity associated with Woodhouse residents as such. Another man had two married children living in the extended district and a daughter at art college. At work he managed a printing business in the city and his leisure time he spent running the local Society of Friends, helping at the Sheffield Y.M.C.A. and visiting his caravan at the sea-side. Here again membership of different groups did not thereby engender a sense of solidarity with fellow residents, because they were by no means all contained within the local district. Such was the case for many women too, especially those who went out to work or who, having recently moved to Woodhouse, still retained roots in other parts of the city and for some years returned 'home' to see relatives, shop and even have their hair done! Thus though inhabitants often took part in a greater variety of activities than in 1912, they did not necessarily do so, unlike the majority during the earlier period, in the company of other Woodhouse residents. As noted in previous Sections, however, this did not mean the collapse of a sense of solidarity, but rather its association with groups located now as much outside as inside the local district.

The dispersion of many residents across the extended district was caused not only by the increasing differentiation of needs and interests, but by the decline of opportunity and variety within Woodhouse itself; the trend was thus a two-way process. This was particularly obvious

in the case of spare time activities. 'Woodhouse is lifeless,' commented one 'teenager (see the Section on 'Leisure'). 'It's as large as a cemetery and twice as dead,' stated a miner in his fifties. Whereas there had been much of common interest to hold residents to the area in 1912, in 1966 even the public houses, clubs and churches were offering local people little more choice, and sometimes a good deal less, than before the First World War.

Although residents of the local district were much less aware of themselves as forming a distinct body of people than was the case in 1912, certain common interests could still lead to the emergence of groups of inhabitants who saw themselves 'over against' others. There was, for example, a slight degree of self-consciousness amongst churchgoers and 'pubgoers' in relation to each other. When the lady landlord of the Stag Inn appeared on the stage of one of the Methodist churches to receive a bouquet, for allowing the Arts Festival Drama Group to use her premises for rehearsals, a churchgoer remarked, 'We couldn't help but smile amongst ourselves to see her there!' The Methodist Minister was surprised how many women who attended church apologised to him because their husbands 'liked their pint' and as a result 'would feel hypocrites if they came to a service.' Nevertheless, the mores of the old Free Church days had been considerably modified and ardent temperance teaching was extremely rare. Many churchgoing families had relatives or friends who enjoyed a drink, and two families who were members at Wesley themselves managed off-licences. Meanwhile the Anglicans were

even less reticent to be associated with the public houses and one of the two Churchwardens was a regular customer at the Cross Daggers. At Christmastime 1966, the Vicar and his wife were to be found at the George Inn Social and Angling Club presenting trophies, and distributing food parcels to old age pensioners. The social distinction between groups attending church or public house was still in evidence, but nothing like so clear-cut as in 1912.

Local items of news still continued to circulate around with considerable rapidity and ease. For older residents the Post Office and a super-market managed by a man born and bred in Woodhouse were two of the most important meeting grounds, though anywhere in the centre of the village was a good place for "a bit of a gossip." Concerning the regular Saturday coffee morning at the Wesley Church (open to the public) a would-be poet wrote,

'When you're getting near the door
 You'll wonder at that mighty roar,
 The weekly "news" is being spread, behind that latch,
 Come on, join in, get up to scratch.
 The young, the old all meet to chat
 (and eat and drink, and buy and that).' 1

About a popular hairdressing establishment one headmaster wrote; 'A useful place that barber's shop I had asked my caretaker to let it be known there that I did not care to see boys coming to school in jeans - and far more lads returned to shorts than in response to an appeal I had included in a general letter to parents.'

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1. Woodhouse Wesley Methodist Church. Newsletter. Easter 1964.
 2. Roberts, J. Notes on the Life of Woodhouse as seen by a Headmaster. (Unpublished), 1966. p.12.

On the Badger Estate also a good deal of informal conversation took place especially amongst mothers with young children who were not out to work, but on the other estates (possibly because there was no longer the common interest of having young families to rear) and on the roads where houses were privately owned much less gossip seems to have occurred.

In general, however, there was evidence that 'the bush-telegraph' was proving gradually less reliable. In 1967, the Vicar wrote in the Parish Church magazine; 'During the past month two false and unfortunate rumours have been circulating in the parish. One said that a well-known parishioner had died; the other said that a well-known former resident of Woodhouse had died. Both rumours were completely false. It's a mystery how such rumours start, but before you pass the next one on, ask yourself how you would like to be buried before you were dead.'¹ At a meeting of the Badger Community Association the Secretary remarked, 'The folk on the outer end of this Estate just don't know what's going on.' As informal communication on local district affairs became more restricted and less reliable interest in and concern for one's fellow residents became harder to maintain.

The printed word played a useful part, if somewhat more limited than in 1912, in keeping residents informed of one another's doings. Three churches (see the Section on 'Religion') produced magazines, though only that distributed by the Parish Church (700 copies monthly) went to other than churchgoers and contained news and views not confined to church

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. May 1967.

affairs. In 1966, the Woodhouse Council of Churches produced some 200 copies of its 44 page report on social conditions in Woodhouse and circulated it throughout the local district. 'Image,' a magazine edited by young people (see the Section on 'Leisure'), in 1967 turned itself into 'Badger Monthly' and also incorporated news about the Badger Community Association, but otherwise all the items were of purely general interest to 'teenagers. Weekly news about local district matters was printed in the South Yorkshire Times (direct descendent of the Woodhouse Express of 1912), though reports were far briefer and more trivial than in the earlier era, being largely confined to the almost endless round of regular church meetings. The Sheffield 'dailies' occasionally contained news about Woodhouse. But, by and large, local news that did circulate by means of the printed word was very much less informative and comprehensive than formerly and, though this means of communication did help to enhance solidarity a little amongst those groups best catered for (such as church members), it did not do a great deal to keep all residents in touch with one another.

One of the most notable features of this period, in comparison with the first decade of the Century, was the great advances that had been made in the extent and efficiency of communication with the world outside Woodhouse. For example, the overall circulation figures of the two main Sheffield daily papers had increased slightly since 1912 but, for the national Press in the Sheffield area, and undoubtedly in Woodhouse also, circulation figures had boomed. Totalling the papers

ments lacked tenacity) a very strong sense of fellow feeling arising in connection with both national and international events. The assassination of President Kennedy, in 1963, was felt by many almost as keenly as a personal bereavement: 'In common with all freedom-loving people, Christians of all denominations were horror-struck at the recent tragic and senseless assassination of President Kennedy,'¹ wrote the Editor of the Wesley Magazine. In 1966, the Aberfan disaster came as a sad shock to many residents, as did the shooting of three policemen in London later in the year. The short war in the Middle East, in 1967, was followed with great anxiety, and Egypt's agreement to accept a ceasefire was immediately announced amongst other places, in the middle of a social evening at the Wesley Church. On a more cheerful note, the majority of residents were greatly elated when England won the World Football Cup in 1966. Rapid and vivid means of communication brought a spontaneous, if somewhat short-lived, expression of solidarity on quite frequent occasions, though the event concerned might have occurred many hundreds of miles away.

This widening of communal horizons was perhaps best typified by a B.B.C. television programme, presented in June 1967, called 'Our World'. This saw many residents watching 'the first global collaboration in the making of a programme instead of in the relaying of an event (accessible to) one sixth of all the people on earth.'² Though one

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1. Woodhouse Wesley Methodist Church. Newsletter. Winter 1964.
 2. 'Radio Times' June 24th-30th. 1967. p.3.

woman expressed her weariness at 'having to share everyone else's problems as well as sort out your own,' the limits within which community sentiment operated were being gradually pushed outwards, sometimes far beyond the bounds of the 'red map' of 1912.

On the more personal level, the written word and the telephone were now extremely prominent. In 1966, 11,870 letters were delivered from Woodhouse Post Office (compared with 415 in 1895, the date nearest to 1912 for which information is available). On the other hand, though the number of private telephone subscribers on the Woodhouse exchange (which covered a much wider area than Woodhouse proper) was at this time officially returned by the G.P.O. as 1,530 (compared with some 50 in 1912), Woodhouse was in this respect somewhat behind the times, and on the new estates and in many parts of the old village a private line was still comparatively rare. None the less, the acceptance of these means of communication as quite normal (the public call-box was regularly used by those without a private 'phone) led, not so much to a greater degree of verbal exchange within the local district, as to the maintenance of social links, often of an important kind, with friends and relatives well away from Woodhouse. Distance now stood as much less of a barrier to communal relationships.

Residents encountered one another as they travelled to and from the city to work, to shop, to visit relatives and friends, to find entertainment and so forth. The bus was the most popular form of transport and movement out of the local district was at its peak on the two main routes from 7.00 am. to 8.55 am. (55 per bus) on that which

ran the length of Woodhouse, and from 6.13 am. to 8.42 am. (65 per bus) on that linking the East end of Woodhouse to the industrial (East) end of Sheffield.¹ Movement back to the local district extended over a longer period, but the busiest time was between 4.00 pm. and 6.00 pm. Regular users of these services came to know each other very well by sight, and a limited amount of conversation took place at the bus stop or during the journey (one man in fact met his wife on the bus travelling into Sheffield). But conversation at any depth was chiefly confined to those who were already acquainted through participation in other activities, the influx of many new residents making travel a more and more impersonal affair for the rest. 'We have to look twice these days to see if we're on the right bus,' remarked one old inhabitant. A similar situation existed for those (much fewer) travelling in by train, the latter of course also used by many non-Woodhouse people. The car, when drivers picked up friends making for the same destination, was a more personal mode of travel. On the whole, however, the long-range thoroughfare was mainly the scene of verbal interaction between those who already knew each other quite well, and very few new and firm friendships were begun or developed through travelling as such.

Much more social intercourse occurred on the numerous summer coach trips organized from Woodhouse, either by such bodies as the churches or the clubs, or by the various private bus companies. These outings were

1. Figures supplied by Sheffield Transport Department, 24/2/67.

very popular, especially amongst the older residents, and the actual journey to the coast or countryside was regarded as one of the most enjoyable parts of the day. Again solidarity was enhanced mainly because people already knew each other and had common interests to converse about.

Significance

In 1966, the South Yorkshire Times strove hard to glean news of residents playing any prominent part in local district affairs, The emphasis, however, was mainly on getting as many people's names as possible into the notes of the week, the column rather bleakly headed 'Woodhouse,' in order to boost sales. In 1966, for example, a report on the Congregational Church's Sunday School Anniversary mentioned over ¹ 30 participants, and the names and addresses of 37 children baptized at the Parish Church during May and June were listed. ² Occasionally residents 'hit the headlines' for more than ordinary reasons, as when an old lady at the Western House Home celebrated her 110th birthday and received a telegram from the Queen. ³ Obituary notices of some length still appeared with regularity and special coverage was given if anyone reasonably well known in the local district died even if, as on one occasion, that person were simply a popular children's zebra crossing ⁴ warden.

Although residents still liked to see their name, or that of relatives and friends, in print (and were especially pleased if their picture

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1. The South Yorkshire Times. 18/6/66.
 2. Ibid. 9/7/66.
 3. Ibid. 8/1/66.
 4. Ibid. 26/8/67.

appeared), the South Yorkshire Times played a much less conspicuous part in enhancing a sense of significance amongst inhabitants than in 1912. For one thing reporters all lived outside the local district and rarely took a very personal interest in the doings of residents; for another Woodhouse was but one small place amongst many others that were now covered by this paper. Coverage tended to take 'the line of easiest access,' ie., reports appeared mainly for the more organized and formal activities (much of what went on in the public houses and clubs was omitted), were often confined to bare essentials (catalogues of names), and were repetitive (the same groups were covered week after week, the only variety being a different speaker, soloist, chairman, etc.). Inevitably, therefore, residents did not rate the South Yorkshire Times as a very important paper, and the report of one's own appearance on the local scene brought only a moderate sense of significance to most.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Solidarity

Although Woodhouse had witnessed the influx of over 40% of its total population of adult residents in the decade preceding 1966, a large core of inhabitants had been born and bred in the local district. If not always interrelated, the latter were very well acquainted with one another as a result of sharing a common territory and way of life for so many years. One resident spoke of these well established Woodhouse families as 'like perennials; they just keep on coming up,' and stated that he

could recognize who belonged to which family merely by glancing at their features. A visitor from London, going for a walk in the old village with a resident of many years' standing, was astonished how 'everyone seemed to know him.' Many of these residents had gone to school together, worked together (usually in the mines), brought children up together, gone to the same pub or church for decades on end, and passed through some memorable events together. Solidarity amongst this group as a whole was consequently still strong.

None the less, a number of social features that had enhanced solidarity in the first years of the Century had all but disappeared. Very few of those with positions of standing in the local district had, in 1966, been on the scene for any length of time. All the doctors (except one who in fact mixed little in Woodhouse life), ministers of religion, head teachers and social workers, together with quite a number running businesses or owning shops in the area, had moved into local district affairs within the last 10 years, some much more recently. With a high turnover amongst those with leading roles in the vicinity, the old established residents felt that control had long since slipped from their grasp, and that the direction of Woodhouse affairs hardly belonged to them any more. In addition, many of those mentioned above (notably teachers) who held positions of responsibility resided outside the local district. The absentee landlord, for example, (who often spent little on the upkeep of his property to the chagrin of residents) was the rule, not, as in 1912, the exception.

The number and influence of symbolic figures (see Chapter VI, 4) had also diminished. As noted in previous Sections, a few residents still stood as key persons in this or that organization but none, with the possible exception of the Vicar, carried much weight outside his specialized field of operations. In this respect, the death of Ernest Atkin, at the age of 88, in 1966, represented the end of an era, for with his going went the last symbolic figure very well known to all old residents in earlier decades. Ernest Atkin had been born in Woodhouse, had worked as a lad at the local collieries, had been elected to the old Handsworth Urban District Council in 1912, and to the Sheffield City Council in 1921 (when Sheffield took Woodhouse over). He had been closely linked with the Handsworth Trades and Labour Council, had been president of the former Woodhouse Co-operative Society for over 30 years, and had been a life-long member of the Woodhouse Society of Friends. The local Press on his death described him as 'the most prominent village figure for over half a Century.'

By 1966, there were few 'characters' left in Woodhouse who were able to give to the local district a unique social identity of its own. One such had been Dorothy Birks Ward, a well known elderly lady who was remembered for her somewhat quaint speech and mode of dress. Occasionally she would write amusing and slightly eccentric poems in local church magazines, and more erudite articles on the history of the area, a subject about which she was extremely knowledgeable. But she had left Woodhouse in 1964 to live in an old people's home some distance away; 'It seems

1. Ibid. 8/10/66.

as if a landmark's gone,' remarked a fellow resident. Otherwise the 'characters' living in the area were merely those who happened to be 'a bit of a lad (or lass)' in the particular organization they belonged to, their appeal being much more restricted than in 1912. Consequently another common bond of former years had been weakened for the older residents.

Some of the old phrases and sayings which marked the old residents out from the newcomers could still be heard. The former would speak of 'going brambling' (picking blackberries), 'canting' (gossiping), being 'all of a mather' (hot and bothered) or 'fair thronged' (very busy), having 'killed a robin' (done something to bring bad luck on themselves), 'standing like a clem' (speechless) and so forth. Such expressions, however, were gradually dying out, and at one church concert the audience laughed heartily at a sketch which poked fun at the normal Woodhouse accent of bygone days; 'sto-an' for stone, 'whatter' for water, 'hoil' for hole and so on.

The uniform pattern of daily, weekly and annual events in the past, enforced by local folkways, was also breaking up and with it went another bulwark of solidarity. In the 1912 era, mining had moulded the daily and weekly routine of the majority of Woodhouse households, but, in 1966, the much greater variety of occupations in existence meant wide diversity of domestic time-tables, further complicated where wives went out to work. Though many Woodhouse men were still on shifts there was now no guarantee that these would run parallel, the only time when a

degree of synchronization of the various routines occurred being at the week-ends (though even then many men worked right through, either on shifts or doing overtime). Even for those at home, Saturday and Sunday saw a wide diversity of time use. Club members and pubgoers would congregate on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights, and the men alone at Sunday lunch-time, whilst churchgoers would meet morning and evening on Sundays, but anything could happen in the intervening hours; doing the garden, watching or playing a sport, going out with the family, watching television, sleeping in, cleaning the car, etc. There was no uniform schedule of activities which gave residents the sense of being in step from one week to the next. One especially important change in the situation since 1912 had been the decline of the influence of the Church in determining and directing the habits of many residents. Activity now seemed to be as much governed by the ice-cream van's chiming interpretation of 'Greensleeves' or 'The Happy Wanderer' as by the Parish Church bells! Sabbath observance in the strict sense was a thing of the past almost as much for churchgoers as non-churchgoers, domestic and leisure time rather than religious interests filling spare hours.

The annual round had similarly lost any temporal features that gave inhabitants as a whole a sense of being socially in step with each other. Only the public holidays and the Church calendar remained to give some co-ordination to people's time outside working hours, and even here the Government was making changes which upset some of the most notable

traditions of the past. In 1965, the August Bank Holiday was moved to the last week-end in August. Some confusion ensued as certain Sheffield firms accepted the change and some did not, preferring to allow men to take the extra days as usual added onto the official Sheffield holiday fortnight at the end of July and the beginning of August. More problems were caused when, in 1967, 'the Spring Bank Holiday' was moved away from the Whitsuntide week-end, resulting in half the Sheffield firms taking the new and half the old holiday, whilst the schools had a few days break on both occasions. But of all bodies the churches were most perplexed as to what to do about the hallowed Whitsuntide processions (for one thing with some men working it was difficult to obtain the services of a band). The Vicar of Woodhouse refused to participate in the 1967 event because in the end the local churches decided to hold their walks on the secular holiday. Many of the older residents were disturbed by the growing fluidity of the annual round, a feeling well summed up by one of them, not a churchgoer, when he commented, 'The birds get up the same time every day so why do we have to muck about with the calendar.'

All these changes virtually ended the possibility of the population as a whole looking forward to and preparing for events in which even a reasonable minority of them was involved. For the old residents it meant the virtual collapse of the stable and uniform routine of a past age, when each activity had had its allotted place in the time-table. For all inhabitants it meant the impossibility of

integrating the diversity of activities pursued into a tidy whole and the end of the sense of corporate effort throughout Woodhouse.

Nevertheless, the older residents continued to be bound together by their affection for Woodhouse as a physical entity within which certain of the streets and buildings known in their youth still remained to commemorate and symbolize the communal events of earlier years. 'I love every stick of this place,' remarked one old man. The Village Cross and the Market Square, with the 300 year old Cross Daggers (officially listed as an ancient monument) on its southern side, stood little changed from the first years of the Century, being regarded as the centre of Woodhouse by old inhabitants; 'It would be like tearing¹ the heart out of the village if the Cross Daggers was pulled down,' stated one of them. Yet a good deal of property had been demolished or left derelict during the previous decade. The Editor of the Wesley Magazine wrote, in 1964, 'With the building of new homes around us now well on the way, it appears that (the) village itself will soon become the victim of progress and that before very long Woodhouse will be changed beyond all recognition.'² In 1967, the old Central Hall, scene of exciting cinema shows in 1912, the Conservative Club on Station Road and the Endowed School, fell before 'those twin demons, the bulldozer and the excavator.'³ They were amongst the last important landmarks of an age now gone, and with their extinction went links that had held the old people together.

1. Ibid. 29/1/66.

2. Woodhouse Wesley Methodist Church. Newsletter. Winter 1964.

3. Ibid. Winter 1964.

As the historic village fell into disuse and disrepair, new building was going on which appealed to old residents neither aesthetically nor symbolically. On the one hand, modern architectural design was not what those born and bred in the age of placing one brick fair and square on the top of the next thought of as sturdy or attractive whilst, on the other, they saw such development as quite unrelated to the old village as they had known and loved it. The new Badger Estate was condemned on both counts; 'They're not homes, they're matchboxes!' and 'Fancy strewing council houses over it (Station Fields)!' The new £8,000 vicarage built, in 1964, on what used to be known as 'The Croft' evoked a similar reaction. It's unusual design (a flat-roofed bungalow) genuinely perplexed passers by, and guesses as to its function ranged from 'a clinic' to 'public conveniences.' Many people felt it just did not fit; 'It isn't my idea of a vicarage and isn't in keeping with the "olde-worlde" atmosphere of the village,'¹ was a typical comment.

The destruction of the old Woodhouse and the protracted redevelopment of the local district on the lines decreed by modern town-planning policy was a real blow to communal strength for the residents who had to live through it all. Though some were prepared to acknowledge that 'progress is just something we have to take in our stride'² and were rather glad to see steps being taken at long last to revive the area, others were deeply saddened at what they regarded as wanton destruction of perfectly sound and solid dwellings. The mood was well summed up by

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1. The Star. (Sheffield) 4/2/64.
 2. The South Yorkshire Times 6/5/67.



The Badger Estate; 'Matchboxes !' according to some old residents.



The most usual method of reaching the city centre.

the Vicar in the Parish Church Magazine when he wrote, 'If you have lived in your house all your life and it is still in good condition, it must be a terrible wrench to have to move. This has happened to several old Woodhouse residents recently, and one can sympathize with the overwhelming sense of loss they must feel when they see the wreckers at work on their old family home. We know that progress has to come, but it's a hard price to pay in personal distress and a sense of being uprooted It must be like a sentence of death to have to move from your old house when you're 80 or more.'¹ In fact, as one local doctor noted in a letter to the Press, some people were certainly affected as tragically as the last sentence suggests and the strain and worry of removal caused illness and a few fatalities. Though others settled quite successfully in their new surroundings all realized that things 'could never be the same again.'

The titles of the streets and main landmarks of Woodhouse had also seen changes since 1912. To avoid duplication, a number of names were altered when Woodhouse came into Sheffield and, as demolition gained momentum, others were completely obliterated (such as Keyworth Cottages, Pashley Cottages, Pear Tree Yard and so forth). By 1966, nearly all the street and place names had become formalized, and although old people still spoke of going 'up Sally Clark's,' 'round the Turnpike,' or 'as far as the Iron Bridge,' such colloquial terms were steadily dying out. The attempt by Sheffield Corporation to preserve something of the history

1. Woodhouse Parish Church Magazine. May 1965.

of the local district or its people in new names (as in Tithe Barn Avenue, Hardcastle Gardens and Badger Road) was quite lost on the residents who moved in from Sheffield to reside on the estates concerned. Thus, though a fair number of 19th Century titles were still extant in the old village, place names as a whole no longer gave many residents the sense of having their own peculiar heritage and living in an area which belonged to them and their parents in a unique way.

Despite these many changes steadily undermining the bonds which over the years had drawn the old residents and their families together, this group remained in 1966 as a distinctive entity with a strong sense of solidarity, in part at least enhanced by the feeling that they were now set apart from the newcomers. The views expressed by a few of the old people with regard to the residents on the Badger Estates, for example, were akin to those related to its architectural design; 'It's a slum,' 'Woodhouse was a nice place till they built the Badger,' 'The Badger - they're a lot of pagans down there.' Of course the natives of the local district did not always hit it off with each other (there was some rivalry, for example, between the two old people's clubs operating in 1966, and one old lady remarked shrewdly of her relationship with fellow residents, 'In a village you make friends and you make enemies'), but by and large the fact that they knew one another so well and the newcomers so little drew them very much together on numerous occasions. When one old man felt himself to be 'a stranger in my own land,' and another could comment, on meeting an old friend in the street,

'It's nice to see a b..... native!' it was inevitable that the ties old residents had with each other should become increasingly precious. They interacted with some intensity when they met in the shops ('It's only the old ones that really stop and talk,' remarked a shop assistant), at church meetings, during the day in the public houses, when they were defending their rights against the Corporation, or when any one of them was in personal need. A remarkable instance of the latter was when a widow whose only daughter was working full-time had a stroke. Though the former had no other relatives in the local district, friends and neighbours rallied round and, by 1968, had worked a rota system of sitting in with her daily (except Sundays) for well over two years so that her daughter could keep earning a living.

The forces pressing the old residents in on themselves resulted in the newcomers feeling somewhat cut off from the rest of the population with its still distinctive pattern of life. Because some knew themselves to be very much strangers they tended to be sensitive to even quite casual remarks or unintended gestures, a fact which made an old man comment, 'They seem to be more removed from us than we from them.' The most recent and largest influx of inhabitants on the Badger Estate, particularly the women who did not go out to work and consequently spent more time than the rest 'up the village,' most obviously regarded themselves as an 'out-group'. 'They call us Badgerites,' 'You fair see their noses going up in the air,' 'My feeling is that Woodhouse doesn't want to know us,' were some of the sentiments expressed.

On the other hand, though at times the situation gave indications of the existence of latent communal conflict, there was little overt antagonism between old and new residents, and the process of coming to terms with each other, as far as different styles of life permitted, was in 1966 being furthered by the emergence of certain common interests and causes. Within the clubs and public houses old and new residents seemed to intermingle quite happily. The lady landlord of the Stag Inn was reported as saying, 'The people from the new estates get on very well with the old Woodhouse folk. I have seen young men from the estate (Badger) talking to pensioners in the hotel so I don't think there is a great deal of truth in this talk that the people do not mix together.'¹ As mentioned under 'Social Action' certain ventures sponsored by the Woodhouse Council of Churches also facilitated interaction between old and new, and, as noted in the Section about 'Government,' common cause was made over certain issues against the City Council. What relieved possible tension more than anything, however, was, on the one hand, the open invitation given to newcomers to join activities run by the old villagers (for example, the old people's clubs were eager to recruit old age pensioners who had moved into the local district recently) and, on the other, the freedom new residents had to go their own way if they so wished. One young couple in fact thoroughly enjoyed the anonymity of Woodhouse; 'You don't keep bumping into people you know,' remarked the wife expressing relief, a sentiment quite foreign

1. The South Yorkshire Times. 13/8/66.

to the outlook of old villagers. Because, in 1966, the newcomers were only too ready to let the old people run their own activities in their own way (as in the case of the churches) manifest communal conflict was avoided; what the future might hold was another matter.

For various reasons, however, the new residents found it much more difficult to develop a sense of solidarity amongst themselves than the old inhabitants. As mentioned above, the diffuse nature of interests and activities scattered the newcomers in particular far and wide across the city for many hours a day, only young mothers and their children and the old age pensioners being confined to the local district. On the Badger Estate the steady turnover of families led to a feeling of restlessness amongst certain newcomers; 'It has such an unsettling effect,' 'You feel there's nothing permanent,' 'Nobody seems to have moved here to stay,' were some of the comments. Furthermore, new residents had little affection for the area as such, in part because it looked so scruffy and in part because they had only just arrived on the scene. The Badger Estate itself was still lacking in amenities (no shops for example), and in wet weather the drainage was far from adequate, resulting in large muddy patches. In a survey by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 30% of those questioned (all women) were 'very dissatisfied' with the Estate, 35% 'found it alright' whilst only 35%¹ were 'very satisfied.' This lack of attachment to place meant the

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Survey of Housing at Gloucester Street and Woodhouse, Sheffield. (Unpublished). 1967.

absence of a common bond which was an important factor in enhancing solidarity amongst the old inhabitants. For the residents as a whole on the post-war estates, and amongst those living on the privately developed roads, solidarity was weak.

In 1966, class consciousness as such was not sufficiently strong to engender a sense of solidarity amongst various sections of the population. Though old and new (especially the young) inhabitants were distinguished by different styles of life and attitudes, they were hardly further divided by social class. As mentioned in the Section on 'Work,' differences in occupational status were relatively minor compared with the earlier period. The great majority of homes in the local district were equipped with the same 'essentials' such as television, washer and 'fridge, whilst a car (though often second-hand) was a quite ordinary domestic possession. Virtually all residents sent their children to State schools. Even the sort of newspapers read showed the homogeneity of cultural attitudes and reading tastes throughout the area.

Percentage of Woodhouse households taking papers delivered or sold by Woodhouse newsagents, early 1967 -

National dailies -

Daily Mirror	17%
The Sun	9%
Daily Express	8%
Daily Mail	3%
Daily Sketch	1%
Daily Telegraph	.8%
The Guardian	.3%
Morning Star	.2%
The Times	.1%

Sunday papers -

News of the World	37%
The People	31%
Sunday Mirror	28%
Sunday Express	5%
Sunday Times	4%
Observer	4%
Sunday Post	1%
Sunday Mail	.5%

The only aspect of social class which, as to some extent in 1912, drew some residents towards each other was the distinction between the 'respectable' and the 'rough' families. In the old village, there still existed a feeling that the East end was one degree up the social scale in relation to the West end, though doctors and social workers agreed that the 'rough' families were now more scattered through the local district as a whole, and, where they did congregate (for example, at the bottom of John Calvert Road, known locally as 'Coronation Street'), it was only in small pockets. On the Badger Estate, the 'top enders' (all having been on the Corporation's housing list for many years) felt themselves somewhat superior to the 'bottom enders' (those rehoused from slum clearance areas). 'They call the top Ponta Rosa and the bottom Dodge City!' remarked one resident. 'The bus drivers say the bottom end is a shanty town,' and 'There's a definite line where it (the rougher section) starts,' were other comments. However, the sense of solidarity that was engendered amongst those families who regarded themselves as 'respectable' was very tenuous, any attachment to one another

being much more dependent on the existence of far stronger and more basic common concerns.

Significance

If class consciousness did not greatly affect the sense of solidarity experienced by residents, it nevertheless added here and there to their sense of significance. Amongst the well established Woodhouse families differences in social status still reflected the stratified society of 1912. 'This is the posh part of Woodhouse,' stated one old lady from a local district family of some standing with regard to the situation of her house; 'Those on the Badger,' she added, 'we call common-or-garden.' As noted in the Section on 'Religion,' one woman from a mining family who regularly and informally met another, who came originally from a propertied Woodhouse family, still referred to the latter by her surname. An old Woodhouse man who as a lay reader took occasional services at the Anglican churches put certain residents off because, as one said, 'We all knew him as the local butcher.' When, in 1962, a young Woodhouse girl married the then Vicar it was felt by many old people to be 'quite above her station.' Consequently amongst those members of the top Woodhouse class, who came from or moved amongst the older sections of the population, a sense of significance based on social standing in the local district was still evident.

More recent residents living in their own houses undoubtedly felt themselves to be a step in front of the majority of their contemporaries; 'Fancy living in a council house!' tactlessly remarked one such woman to her friend living on the Badger Estate. The owner-occupiers,

especially at the East end, were thus concerned and somewhat annoyed by the building of the new estates nearby. 'Property is losing its value in Woodhouse; it'll be all estates soon', said one man about to purchase his own house outside the local district. A more virulent complaint appeared in the Press from a young mother: 'My eldest child should start (school) after Easter, but no. For the first time, children are being refused until after they are five (because of the influx of residents on the new Badger Estate). We - this includes most people in Goathland Road (all owner-occupiers) - have put up with a great deal during the two years in which the new estate was being built The lorries bringing building materials used our road constantly, making a great deal of noise and making it more dangerous for our children to play. As people who pay rates, the business of the school is just about the last straw.¹ Although still evident, the sense of significance experienced by residents owning their own home had in Woodhouse taken certain knocks over the past year or two.

Even amongst a few council house tenants class distinction was in evidence. For example, one male resident of the Badger Estate, who had a wide variety of interests and hobbies, felt himself to be in a different category from many of his neighbours. 'I think the working class on the whole are bums!' he stated. 'They can't see further than a pint of beer and a bet on a horse. Terribly negative and terrible snobs. The working class and the Trade Union movement stink.' Significance seemed to come here as much through disassociation from the mass as from any very conscious associations with some other social class.

SUMMING UP

The population of Woodhouse, in 1966, was very much less a unity than in 1912. The influx of many new residents into council houses built since the last war, especially onto the Badger Estate, the latest and largest development of all, split residents into two major and numerically fairly equal groups; the old people and their families, born and/or bred in the local district, and the newcomers who had no links at all with the Woodhouse of bygone days. Other overall groupings were of very much less consequence. There was still a tendency for residents to gather around either public house and club or church, but this division in itself now contributed very little towards giving either side a sense of identity and produced very little rivalry let alone conflict. The growing homogeneity of social class was in itself little basis for drawing different sections of the population together, though there was some evidence of the emergence here and there of a 'respectable' group who saw themselves as apart from the 'rougher' element.

Many of those features that had fostered a strong sense of solidarity throughout the local district in 1912 had, in 1966, disappeared or undergone considerable change. Formal contact between Woodhouse organizations was just as infrequent as ever, whilst the great variety of interests and activities evident amongst the population as a whole merely pushed the latter further and further out into the extended

district and even beyond to satisfy their needs (Woodhouse having only very limited resources compared with Sheffield), and rarely led to increased interaction with fellow residents as such. Though living in the same area, people consequently only got to know each other in only a very limited number of roles.

The large informal communal gatherings of the earlier period had virtually vanished, whilst the normal cycle of annual events was in itself in a state of flux (as with the moving of the Spring Bank Holiday away from the Whitsuntide week-end in 1967). The Church now had only very limited control over the pattern of local district life even on Sundays. With an increasing division of labour, involving women as well as men, and the growing variety of leisure-time pursuits, there was no longer, as in 1912 when mining dominated the scene, even a majority of residents whose daily and weekly routine was similar. As a result people felt themselves to be far less in step with one another, and a sense of corporate effort within Woodhouse as a whole was impossible to achieve.

Gossip was still widespread amongst older residents, and here and there amongst young mothers, but the transmission of local news was far less efficient and comprehensive than in 1912. False rumours sometimes went uncorrected for weeks on end. Reports in the South Yorkshire Times were sparse, repetitive and mainly concerned with the activities of the Woodhouse churches, as indeed were most of the other magazines produced in the local district. With residents as a whole being far

less well acquainted with one another's doings than in previous years, an overall sense of solidarity could no longer be maintained. The great increase in communication by letter and telephone meant less need for residents to cultivate friendships within the local district. Many inhabitants met whilst travelling into the city by bus, train or car, but such conversations that did occur tended to be mainly confined to those already acquainted.

The survival of a strong sense of solidarity amongst old residents was also made more difficult by the limited time for which most of those with any responsibility in the area had held their positions (many in fact lived outside the local district). No symbolic figures prominent throughout the whole population existed. Likewise there were no longer any 'characters' known well to all residents. Local sayings and expressions were slowly dying out, whilst attachment to Woodhouse as a place was being literally undermined by the demolition squads who obliterated memories and left barrenness and ugliness in their wake. The new development appealed neither aesthetically nor symbolically to most residents. The sense of sharing a unique common heritage and belonging to a place of which they were still proud remained intact therefore only for the loyal natives of a Woodhouse of a different era.

Despite so many changes on the Woodhouse scene, the relatively large number of old residents as a whole still maintained a strong sense of solidarity, fostered by acquaintance (often blood or marital ties) over many years. In 1966, this section of the population not

only exploited to the full what was left of those features of local district life that had helped to draw the residents of 1912 together, but were united in the face of the invasion of the local district by successive waves of 'strangers,' although it would be misleading to imply that there was any manifest communal conflict between these two groups; in certain circumstances, as in the public houses and clubs, they mixed reasonably well. The newcomers as a group were, however, a much less integrated group, infrequent contact with each other as residents and a lack of interest in Woodhouse resulting in a weak sense of solidarity. On the other hand, some welcomed this situation, with the freedom and domestic privacy that anonymity brought.

The sense of significance experienced by residents was little enhanced by the appearance of their names in the South Yorkshire Times, the latter now being treated as a comparatively unimportant journal. Minor class distinctions were evident amongst the older people who still adhered in part to the norms of 1912, amongst owner-occupiers who saw themselves over against the council house tenants and occasionally amongst the latter themselves. These boosted certain inhabitants' sense of significance to a moderate degree.

Outside the local district, an ever increasing number of residents found a good deal of solidarity and significance within particular spheres of activity (see the previous Sections). This was especially true of the newcomers who satisfied their communal needs as much in the context of the extended as the local district. Beyond the extended

district, modern methods of communication (national newspapers, wireless and television in particular) meant that most inhabitants were in almost continuous touch with national and international events. Though, as in 1912, any strong sense of solidarity evoked by current affairs was short-lived, there was now far more awareness of belonging to a world whose achievements and problems were increasingly part and parcel of one's own life, often more real than those of one's fellow residents.

10. CONCLUSION

As in the 'Conclusion' to the 1912 study, the purpose of this 'Conclusion' is to summarize the material set out in the preceding Sections to make possible 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 testing of these two hypotheses will be undertaken by comparing the 1966 situation with that existing in 1912 under the following headings :-

Main categories of Woodhouse residents who experienced a sense of community in similar ways (Hypotheses I and II)

Under this heading, it will be possible to test whether there have been any notable changes in the major categories of residents with a

similar communal experience. If so, one aspect of Hypothesis I will be upheld. Such categories are of course relevant to Hypothesis II but in themselves do not prove or disprove it.

The intensity (Hypothesis II) and expression (Hypothesis I) of community sentiment experienced by these main categories of residents

Under this heading, it will be possible to test whether a sense of community still exists for Woodhouse residents and whether, in some cases, it is perhaps even more intense than in 1912. If so, then Hypothesis II will be substantiated. It will also be possible to test whether there have been any notable changes in the communal activities (social activity) and/or relationships (social structure) of residents. If so, another aspect of Hypothesis I will be upheld.

The geographical context of community as experienced by Woodhouse residents (Hypothesis I)

Under this heading, it will be possible to test whether there have been any notable changes in those geographical units which contain communal activities and relationships. If so, and if the other aspects of Hypothesis I mentioned above have been upheld, then Hypothesis I will be substantiated.

Main categories of Woodhouse residents who experienced a sense of community in similar ways

The attempt to distinguish groups of inhabitants who experienced a sense of community in broadly similar ways must be qualified, as in the 1912 'Conclusion,' by the recognition that there were numerous exceptions to the rule. None the less, such categories did emerge and were notably different from those which dominated the scene in the earlier period.

Natives and newcomers.

One of the outstanding features of the population of Woodhouse in 1966 was the distinction between natives and newcomers. The natives were those born and/or bred in Woodhouse, were mainly older residents, lived generally in old private or rented houses, and found many of their most important activities and relationships within the local district itself. The newcomers were those who had moved into Woodhouse mainly since the building of the first post-war estate in 1955, were usually younger residents often with small children, were either owner occupiers or lived in council accommodation, and found as many of their most important activities and relationships outside as inside the local district. In 1966, the natives made up just over half, and the newcomers just under half, of the adult population, though the balance was steadily swinging in favour of the latter.

The reasons for and consequences of the emergence of these two distinct categories of residents have already been discussed at some length, especially in the Sections on 'Woodhouse 1966' and 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life.' Here it must suffice to reiterate that, despite the considerable influx of new residents into Woodhouse in the latter half of the 19th Century, the situation in 1912 and in 1966 were very different. In 1912, the more recent arrivals had been coming in steadily over several decades and had brought a style of life not fundamentally different from that pursued by many of the well established residents (especially outside the top class). Furthermore, since at least 1900, the movement into the local district has slowed considerably, and, by 1912, old and new inhabitants had become fairly well integrated. In 1966, on the other hand, the newcomers were very much products of the post-war era, one strikingly different from that so familiar to older residents and thus to the large majority of natives. Since 1955, newcomers had flooded in, the largest influx in fact occurring in the years 1964 and 1965. Far from integration taking place, serious conflict was only avoided by a tacit understanding that each should live and let live, the natives going their way and the newcomers theirs. In 1966, therefore, unlike 1912, there existed two categories of residents belonging virtually to two different worlds.

Age

In 1966, the criterion of age divided the population of Woodhouse into four main categories (as opposed to two in 1912) each experiencing a sense of community in a fairly distinctive manner.

The youngest age category was that containing all children up to the age of 15 (as against 13 in 1912), when the majority left school. However, it must be emphasized that many of the older children were very much participants in the 'teenage culture of the day and had been given considerable freedom from the direct control of parents.

At 15 (and as noted in some cases several years before), a distinctive category of young people, much less evident in 1912, emerged, and stretched up to the age of 21 or to the age of marriage (though serious courtship could virtually end this period) whichever was earlier. This category of young people was distinguished by several important features not present in 1912. One was considerable economic and social independence of the home, young people keeping most of what they earned for themselves and having 'the key of the door' well before adulthood (see the Section on 'Family and Neighbours'). Another was their orientation towards the new 'teenage society, with its own peculiar fashions and habits, on the one hand, and towards the peer group on the other. The latter was usually divided into two fairly distinctive groups, the larger group of acquaintances (formally or informally structured according to the interests being pursued) with which young people associated on a more

general level, and the small, tight group (often consisting of no more than four young people normally of the same sex) who were particular friends (see the Section on 'Leisure').

The age category of adults, as defined in this thesis, was in 1966 similar to that existing in 1912, except that in the more recent period is ended at a definite time, that when adults became old age pensioners.

In 1966, another new category of communal note, that of old people, had appeared. Owing to formal retirement on a pension, normally for women at 60 and for men at 65, and to longer life expectation which often gave pensioners 20 or more years of active living after retirement, the old people of Woodhouse became a quite distinctive communal grouping with a particular life-style of their own (see the Sections on 'Health and Welfare,' 'Religion,' and 'Family and Neighbours').

As mentioned before, the categories of natives and newcomers overlapped the age categories above, the younger residents tending to be newcomers and the older residents natives.

Sex

In 1966, sex to some extent still divided the population of Woodhouse into distinct communal groupings, but nothing like so rigidly as in 1912.

Boys and girls now mixed and played together, at school, in

recreational organizations, at church, and on their own, much more freely than at the beginning of the Century.

In the adult world, Woodhouse men and women now met and mingled, especially outside the home, far more frequently than in 1912. Here the greatest change was the entry of Woodhouse women, prior to the appearance of a family and after the family were all at school (though sometimes well before this), into the previously male dominated spheres of work and leisure (see the appropriate Sections). Positions of responsibility, however, were still largely in the hands of men (this also being the case, though to a lesser extent, in the sphere of religion). Women at this time also belonged to numerous groups of a recreational and/or religious nature, specifically catering for their own interests and tastes, which were often run entirely by themselves, a situation not common in 1912. The other big change was the much more active part now played by men in domestic affairs, either in looking after the children and undertaking household tasks, or in spending a good deal of time maintaining the house (though to a much lesser extent the garden) in good condition (see the Section on 'Family and Neighbours'). The sex division amongst adults was thus less clearly drawn in 1966 than in 1912, though there still remained distinctive patterns of communal life pursued by men and women, even when the latter went out to work (see the Section on 'Work').

In case of old people, sex distinctions were of little communal importance in domestic affairs though, outside the home, old people's

organizations tended to be dominated by members of either one sex or the other (see the Sections on 'Health and Welfare,' and 'Religion').

Social Class

Social class as a criterion of distinct communal categories was of less note in 1966 than in 1912. By 1966, the top Woodhouse class, quite distinctive and notable in 1912, had as such virtually lost its identity. Amongst the rest of the population, the intermediate and working classes found in the Woodhouse of the earlier period had merged into one homogeneous group, in the 1966 study called the working class. Residents were now distinguished largely by whether their occupations and the initiative they were able to exercise at work placed them in the independent or dependent section of this class (see the Section on 'Work'), but no notable communal groupings based on class distinctions as such emerged.

The above analysis shows that, with regard to the main categories of Woodhouse residents who experienced a sense of community in similar ways, two very important new groupings, those of natives and newcomers, had appeared on the scene since 1912. Furthermore, in connection with the criteria of age, the major categories of young people and old people had emerged by 1966.

Thus, because community sentiment was expressed through a number of different categories of residents in 1966 as compared with 1912, an important step towards verifying one aspect of Hypothesis I (namely that notable changes have taken place in the expression of community sentiment) has here been taken.

The intensity and expression of community sentiment
experienced by these main categories of residents

The summary and analysis below is set out along the same lines as those followed in the 1912 'Conclusion.' However, after each of the main categories of residents dealt with in this way, a further comment is added assessing whether the intensity of community sentiment in 1966 was similar to, weaker or stronger than in 1912. Changes in the expression of community sentiment, not quite so systematically dealt with here, are summarized in a final paragraph.

(The particular Sections wherein reference is made to the essential elements of community sentiment, namely solidarity and significance, mentioned below are noted in brackets.)

Children

1. Solidarity and significance

Solidarity

Very strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between children (natives) and grandparents living in the local district ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst small groups of children of similar age living nearby, but by no means necessarily in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst small groups of children of similar age within the same class at school ('Education').

Amongst children at selective (11+) schools at the level of the class ('Education').

Strong

Amongst children at the Infant and Junior Schools at the level of the class ('Education').

Between children and teachers at the Infant, Junior and Grammar Schools ('Education').

Between children (newcomers) and grandparents ('Family and Neighbours').

Between children (natives) and members of the extended family living in the local district ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst children at Grammar Schools at the level of the school as a whole ('Education').

Amongst children regularly attending activities run by the churches (Religion').

Moderate

Between children and teachers at the Secondary Modern, Comprehensive and Technical Schools ('Education').

Between children (natives) and adult neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst children regularly attending the activities of the Badger Community Association ('Leisure').

Amongst children at Junior, Secondary Modern, Comprehensive and Technical Schools at the level of the school as a whole ('Education').

Weak

Amongst children at the Infant Schools at the level of the school as a whole ('Education').

Between children (newcomers) and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between children (newcomers) and adult neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Significance

Very strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For those prominent within small groups of friends of similar age, especially through informal activities and roles ('Leisure').

For those at Grammar Schools ('Education').

Strong

For those at Infant, Junior, Comprehensive and Technical Schools ('Education').

For those attaining the limelight through activities sponsored by the churches ('Religion').

Moderate

For those at Secondary Modern School ('Education').

2. Community sentimentVery strong

Within the immediate family. Grandparents living within the local district were regarded by the children of natives in particular as virtually members of their own immediate family.

Amongst small groups of children of similar age living nearby, but by no means necessarily in the same precinct.

Amongst small groups of children of similar age within the same class at school.

Amongst children at Grammar Schools at the level of the class and the school as a whole.

Amongst children at Comprehensive and Technical Schools at the level of the class.

Strong

Amongst children at the Infant, Junior and Secondary Modern Schools at the level of the class.

Between children and teachers at the Infant, Junior and Grammar Schools.

Between the children of newcomers and grandparents.

Between the children of natives and members of the extended family living in the local district.

Amongst children involved in activities run by the churches.

Amongst children at the Junior, Comprehensive and Technical Schools at the level of the school.

Moderate

Between children and teachers at the Technical, Comprehensive and Secondary Modern Schools.

Between the children of natives and adult neighbours living in the same precinct.

Amongst children involved in the activities of the Badger Community Association.

Amongst children at Infant and Secondary Modern Schools at the level of the school.

Weak

Between the children of newcomers and members of the extended family.

Between the children of newcomers and adult neighbours living in the same precinct.

Community sentiment in 1966 compared with 1912

Similar

In 1966, as in 1912, children still experienced a very strong sense of community within the immediate family, though important changes had taken place in the social activities and structure of the latter (see the Section on 'Family and Neighbours'). Community sentiment also remained very strong amongst small groups of children of similar age, though not so much as in 1912 of the same sex, notably when they were in the same class at school or lived nearby, but not necessarily in the same precinct. In 1966, it was not quite so common to find children in one group, say in the same class at school, meeting very frequently with each other in different circumstances, say in play groups near their home or at church. Children at Grammar Schools, at the level of the class and of the school as a whole, experienced a very strong sense of community, as did children at the Woodhouse Secondary

School at both these levels in 1912. Children of natives, though not of newcomers (see below), retained strong communal ties with members of the extended family, many of whom lived in the local district. Activities organized by the Woodhouse churches still gave children involved, though far fewer than in 1912, a strong sense of community.

Weaker

In 1966, the children of newcomers possessed less sense of community in relation to members of the extended family (weak as against strong), including grandparents (strong as against very strong), than did children as a whole in the Woodhouse of 1912. By 1966, communal ties with adults living in the same precinct, which in 1912 had been strong for most children (though moderate for those from the top class), had weakened and become moderate in strength for the children of natives and weak for the children of newcomers. The very strong sense of community which had in 1912 existed amongst children and their teachers at the Woodhouse Secondary School was not quite matched anywhere in 1966, even in the Grammar Schools, though it must be remembered that the Secondary School at the beginning of the Century was a peculiarly pioneering and close-knit institution (see the Section on 'Education' in the 1912 case-study). The moderate sense of community felt by Woodhouse children in 1912 as young citizens of the Mother Country of the British Empire as such had disappeared by 1966, but children to some extent now shared the wider sense of citizenship experienced by all residents (see below under 'All

residents'). Certain activities engendering a strong sense of community for children in the earlier era, such as those arranged by the Friendly Societies and the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society, as well as the film shows at the old Central Hall (where a moderate degree of community sentiment was in evidence), had disappeared by 1966.

Stronger

The outstanding increase in the strength of community sentiment with regard to children came in relation to their life at school (excluding the Secondary School of 1912 and its equivalent, the Grammar Schools of 1966, mentioned above), which was now much fuller, freer and more varied than in 1912. At the level of the class, children of Elementary School age who in 1912 experienced a moderate sense of community, in 1966 found a strong sense of community at the Infant, Junior and Secondary Modern Schools, and a very strong sense of community at the Comprehensive and Technical Schools. At the level of the school as a whole, community sentiment which was weak amongst children of Elementary School age in 1912, was in 1966 moderate for those at the Infant and Secondary Modern Schools and strong for those at the Junior, Comprehensive and Technical Schools. Communal ties between children and teachers had likewise increased from weak, amongst Elementary School children in 1912, to moderate at the Comprehensive, Technical and Secondary Schools and strong at the Infant, Junior and

Grammar Schools in 1966. In 1966, children were participating in certain recreational and sporting activities organized by the new Badger Community Association and finding therein a moderate sense of community.

Young People

(Community sentiment experienced by young people within the sphere of education is included under 'Children,' and within the sphere of work is included under 'Women' and 'Men.').

1. Solidarity and significance

Solidarity

Very strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst very small numbers (often pairs or foursomes) of the same sex ('Leisure').

Amongst young people regularly participating in activities organized by the churches ('Religion').

Strong

Amongst young people meeting frequently and informally in the discotheque, the coffee bar or on the streets within the local district ('Leisure').

Amongst young people participating regularly in activities sponsored by commercial entertainment and recreational centres in the extended district ('Leisure').

Moderate

Between young people (natives) and members of the extended family living in the local district ('Family and Neighbours').

Between young people (natives) and adult neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst young people in general as participants in the 'teenage world and culture ('Leisure').

Weak

Between young people (newcomers) and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between young people (newcomers) and adult neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

SignificanceStrong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For those prominent within small groups of friends, especially through informal activities and roles ('Leisure').

For those attaining the limelight through organized activities sponsored by such bodies as the churches ('Religion'), and commercial entertainment and recreational centres in the extended district ('Leisure').

2. Community sentiment

Very strong

Within the immediate family.

Amongst very small numbers (often pairs or foursomes) of the same sex.

Amongst young people very much involved in activities organized by the churches.

Strong

Amongst young people meeting frequently and informally in the discotheque, the coffee bar or on the streets within the local district.

Amongst young people involved in activities sponsored by commercial entertainment and recreational centres in the extended district.

Moderate

Between young people (natives) and members of the extended family living in the local district.

Between young people (natives) and adult neighbours living in the same precinct.

Amongst young people in general as participants in the 'teenage' world and culture.

Weak

Between young people (newcomers) and members of the extended family.

Between young people (newcomers) and adult neighbours living in the same precinct.

Community sentiment in 1966 compared with 1912

It is rather difficult to make comparisons between the young people of 1966 and those of 1912 insofar as in the earlier era young people did not form a separate communal category. Problems of comparison also arise because in certain cases it has been necessary to group young people with children (as when considering education) or with adults (as when discussing work). Here, therefore, attention is focused on those activities and relationships which are particularly characteristic of young people as a distinct communal grouping (the spheres of work, government, health and welfare, and education thus being excluded).

Similar

Young people in 1966 still retained a very strong sense of community in relation to the immediate family, though they were now much less

dependent on the latter in many ways than in 1912 (see the Section on 'Family and Neighbours'). A very strong sense of community, as in 1912, was also still evident amongst young people, though now fewer, involved in activities run by the churches.

Weaker

The strong ties that once existed between young people and members of the extended family, had by 1966 for natives become moderately strong, and for newcomers weak. Meanwhile, the strong communal links that in 1912 drew young people and adult neighbours together had, by 1966, also declined to moderate for natives and weak for newcomers.

Stronger

In 1966, the most notable increase in community sentiment amongst young people came in relation to their peers. The new economic and social freedom enjoyed by many of this age now gave them full scope to participate in the lively world of the 'teenage culture (throughout which at least a moderate sense of community existed), fashioned in particular by the mass media and offered through commercial entertainment (see the Section on 'Leisure'). Very strong community sentiment developed especially amongst small groups of young people of the same sex who often spent a great deal of their leisure time together, whilst amongst larger groups of young people of both sexes, who met informally within the local district or at places of entertainment in the city, a strong sense of community was evident.

Women

1. Solidarity and significance

Solidarity

Very strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst those regularly participating in the general life of the churches ('Religion').

Strong

Amongst women (natives) as neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst women (newcomers) and particular friends living nearby ('Family and Neighbours').

For women at work ('Work,' 'Education,' 'Health and Welfare').

Amongst those participating regularly in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), the public houses and clubs ('Leisure'), and the bingo halls, the latter in the extended district ('Leisure').

Between women (natives) and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

Moderate

Amongst women (newcomers) as neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst those regularly participating in the activities organized by the Badger Community Association ('Leisure').

Weak

Between women (newcomers) and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

SignificanceVery strong

Within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For one or two very active, on a voluntary basis, and well known in the local district as nurses ('Health and Welfare').

For a few at work whose occupations placed them in the top class ('Work').

For those very active and very prominent in the general life of the churches ('Religion').

Strong

For most at work whose occupations placed them in the top class ('Work').

For those at work whose occupations placed them in the independent working class ('Work').

For those active and prominent in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), or the public houses and clubs ('Leisure').

Moderate

For those at work whose occupations placed them in the dependent working class (the majority of women) ('Work').

For those with a reputation for readily offering neighbourly help to others living in the same precinct or nearby ('Family and Neighbours').

2. Community sentiment

Very strong

Within the immediate family.

For one or two very active in the local district as voluntary nurses, and very well known by older residents, especially amongst those whom they served.

For a few women at work whose occupations placed them in the top class of residents.

Amongst women involved in the general life of the churches.

Strong

Amongst women (natives) as neighbours living in the same precinct.

Amongst women (newcomers) and particular friends living nearby.

For women as a whole at work.

Amongst those involved in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches, the public houses and clubs, and the bingo halls, the latter in the extended district.

Between women (natives) and members of the extended family.

Moderate

Amongst women (newcomers) as neighbours living in the same precinct.

Amongst those involved in the activities organized by the Badger Community Association.

Weak

Between women (newcomers) and members of the extended family.

Community sentiment in 1966 compared with 1912Similar

The pattern of women's communal activities and relationships was very different in the Woodhouse of 1966 from that which existed in 1912. Nevertheless, the immediate family still took pride of place and a very strong sense of community was experienced by women therein. Interest in the children was as keen as ever, in housework as such rather less than in 1912, though in the appearance and furnishing of the home rather more, especially amongst the younger residents. A very strong sense of community was still found in their work by the one or two women who undertook voluntary nursing in the local district. Quite a number of Woodhouse women, though mainly natives, continued to experience a very strong sense of community where considerably involved in the general life of the churches, and a strong sense of community where mainly associated with particular activities sponsored by the churches. In 1966, women who were natives of Woodhouse still maintained strong communal links with members of the extended family, the latter often living in the local district.

Weaker

Community sentiment had declined for women notably in relation to neighbours. The large majority of women in 1912 (the top and independent intermediate classes generally excepted) had found a very strong sense

of community within the precinct. In 1966, however, this sentiment had declined to strong for the natives and moderate for the newcomers. The latter in addition only maintained weak communal ties in the modern period with members of the extended family, in 1912 such ties for women in general having been strong. A number of activities engendering a strong sense of community in 1912 (such as those sponsored by the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society, various political associations and sports clubs) in which Woodhouse women, mainly from the top and independent intermediate classes, were active, had disappeared altogether. Other non-domestic pastimes had appeared, however, as mentioned below.

Stronger

A sense of community for women had over the years increased most notably outside the home, especially in the spheres of work and leisure. In 1966, the former engendered a strong sense of community for the many (see the Section on 'Work') involved, and even a very strong sentiment for a few from the top Woodhouse class. In 1966, women of every social class were also very much freer than in 1912 to participate in leisure time activities, often with those of the same sex. A strong sense of community was now enjoyed in groups associated with the public houses and clubs, and in the company of fellow bingo enthusiasts. The new Badger Community Association also provided a number of women on that Estate with a communal grouping of moderate importance. Newcomers, though as noted not necessarily establishing close ties with neighbours, often did so with particular friends living nearby.

Men

1. Solidarity and significance

Solidarity

Very strong

Most within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst those regularly participating in the general life of the churches ('Religion').

Amongst small groups regularly participating in the general life of the public houses and clubs ('Leisure').

Strong

Amongst those working regularly together in situations where ample opportunity for interaction existed ('Work').

Amongst miners working regularly together in small teams or groups ('Work').

Amongst those working within various professional groups ('Work,' 'Education').

For those regularly participating in the activities of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes ('Health and Welfare').

Amongst those participating regularly in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), or the public

houses and clubs ('Leisure').

Amongst those regularly going together to watch football matches in the extended district ('Leisure').

Moderate

For a few men, mainly from the dependent working class, within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between men (natives) and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between men (natives) and neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst those working regularly together in situations where only limited opportunity for interaction existed ('Work').

For those participating in recreational pursuits of a specialized nature (choir, golf club, dancing class, etc.) in the extended district ('Leisure').

For a few regularly attending the betting shops ('Leisure').

Weak

Between men (newcomers) and members of the extended family ('Family and Neighbours').

Between men (newcomers) and neighbours living in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst miners in general ('Work').

Amongst local district tradesmen in general ('Work').

Amongst local district members of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society (which had taken over the old Handsworth Woodhouse Society) ('Work').

Significance

Very strong

For a few whose occupations placed them in the top class ('Work').

For those very active and very prominent in the general life of the churches ('Religion'), or the public houses and clubs ('Leisure').

Strong

For most within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For most whose occupations placed them in the top class ('Work').

For those whose occupations placed them in the independent working class ('Work').

For those active and prominent in the campaign against the Sheffield Corporation for fair treatment and better amenities for residents ('Government').

For those active and prominent in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches ('Religion'), or the public houses and clubs ('Leisure'), and in such bodies as the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes ('Health and Welfare').

For those successful in sporting organizations ('Leisure,' 'Religion'), and gambling pursuits ('Leisure'),

Moderate

For a few, mainly from the dependent working class, within the immediate family ('Family and Neighbours').

For those whose occupations placed them in the dependent working class ('Work').

2. Community sentiment

Very strong

For most men within the immediate family.

For a few men whose occupations placed them in the top class.

Amongst those involved in the general life of the churches.

Amongst those associated with small groups involved in the general life of the public houses or clubs.

Strong

For most men whose occupations placed them in the top class.

For those whose occupations placed them in the independent working class.

Amongst miners working regularly together in small teams or groups.

Amongst those involved in the activities of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes.

For those men actively involved in the campaign against the Sheffield Corporation for fair treatment and better amenities for residents.

Amongst those involved in particular organizations or groups associated with the churches, public houses or clubs.

Amongst those involved in sporting organizations.

Amongst those regularly going together to watch football matches in the extended district.

Moderate

For a few men, mainly from the dependent working class, within the immediate family.

For those men whose occupations placed them in the dependent working class.

Between men (natives) and members of the extended family.

Between men (natives) and neighbours living in the same precinct.

For those involved in recreational pursuits of a specialized nature in the extended district.

For a few regularly attending the betting shops.

Weak

For men (newcomers) and members of the extended family.

For men (newcomers) and neighbours living in the same precinct.

Amongst miners in general.

Amongst local district tradesmen in general.

Amongst local district members of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society.

Community sentiment in 1966 compared with 1912

Similar

In 1966, the very strong sense of community experienced by most Woodhouse men within the immediate family was similarly evident amongst men of the top class and independent intermediate class in 1912 (for

the case of men belonging to the dependent intermediate class and working class in 1912, see below). There still remained in 1966, as in the earlier years of the Century, a number of men, mainly from the lower end of the social scale, who found only a moderate sense of community within the home. Community sentiment remained strong in 1966 for those men, many fewer than in 1912, considerably involved in the general life of the churches, or associated with smaller groupings very active in the general life of the public houses or clubs. For those whose occupations in 1966 placed them in the independent working class (in some ways akin to the intermediate class of 1912) community sentiment was still strong, whilst for those whose occupations placed them in the dependent working class of 1966 (in some ways akin to the working or lower class of 1912) community sentiment remained moderate in strength. As in 1912, a strong sense of community was in 1966 found amongst those involved in particular activities associated with the churches, public houses, clubs, and amongst those participating in sporting organizations, or going together into the city to watch football. The Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes now engendered a strong sense of community amongst its members as did the Friendly Societies of the earlier period, but the latter catered for far more members (see the Section on 'Health and Welfare') than was the case in 1966. For men born and bred in Woodhouse ties with members of the extended family, many of whom still lived locally, were as at the beginning of the Century moderately strong. The moderate sense of community evident

in 1912 between most men and their neighbours living in the same precinct (it had in fact been a weak sentiment for men in the top and intermediate classes) still existed in 1966 for men who were natives of Woodhouse.

Weaker

1966 saw the sphere of work providing certain sections of the male population of Woodhouse with rather less sense of community than in 1912. This was the case for most men whose occupations placed them in the top class in 1966 (community sentiment here having declined from very strong to strong), though a few did still retain a very strong sense of community. The very strong sense of community enjoyed in 1912 by small teams or groups of miners had in 1966 decreased to strong, whilst community sentiment amongst miners as a whole was now weak, compared with moderate in the earlier period. The strong sense of community found amongst Woodhouse railwaymen, who in 1912 formed a fairly distinct group within the local district, was by 1966 of moderate strength. (There was less opportunity in the modern period for men as a whole to strengthen their sense of community through being appreciated by their fellows as hard and conscientious workers.) The tradesmen of Woodhouse now possessed very little in common, whilst local district residents who were members of the Co-operative Society took virtually no interest in its affairs (in both cases community sentiment having declined from strong in 1912 to weak in 1966). Gambling as such

had lost something of its informality and zest, by 1966 being almost completely absorbed into the official activities of public house and club, etc. The only place where men experienced a sense of community specifically associated with a separate gambling organization was in the local betting shops where community sentiment was moderate (compared with strong in the informal groupings of 1912). Links between newcomers and members of the extended family, as well as with neighbours living in the same precinct, were in 1966 weak, as against moderate for most men of the 1912 era. Certain interests and activities pursued by men which in 1912 had offered a sense of community had now disappeared altogether. These were notably, service with the Handsworth Urban District Council and participation in the Prize Band (which both gave a very strong sense of community), membership of the Ambulance Classes, and of local district political associations and recreational groups not linked with the churches or licensed establishments (which all gave a strong sense of community). Nor were there now in evidence many Woodhouse 'characters' who, as in 1912, found a strong sense of community within their own circle of friends and acquaintances.

Stronger

In 1966 as compared with 1912, one of the most notable changes in the sense of community experienced by Woodhouse men was evident within the immediate family. Here, in the earlier period, community sentiment for men from the dependent intermediate class and working class (the majority of the male population) was strong; in 1966, it

was for most men of whatever social class, and especially the newcomers, very strong (for the reasons for this see the Section on 'Family and Neighbours'). In 1966, a number of men actively involved in fighting to obtain better treatment and amenities from the Sheffield Corporation found a strong sense of community amongst those of like mind. By 1966, certain recreational pursuits of a more specialized nature had appeared, mainly in the city, and Woodhouse men participating in them discovered therein a moderate sense of community.

Old People

(Those experiencing community sentiment other than in ways mentioned below are included under 'Women,' 'Men,' and 'All residents.')

1. Solidarity and significance

Solidarity

Strong

Amongst old people living as neighbours in the same precinct ('Family and Neighbours').

Amongst old people regularly participating in clubs for the aged sponsored by the churches ('Religion', and by the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners ('Health and Welfare')).

Significance

Strong

For those active and prominent in the clubs for the aged sponsored by the churches ('Religion'), and by the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners ('Health and Welfare').

2. Community sentiment

Strong

Amongst old people living as neighbours in the same precinct.

For those involved in the clubs for the aged sponsored by the churches and by the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners.

Community sentiment in 1966 compared with 1912

The major difference between the 1912 and 1966 situation was that, in the latter period, old people existed as a distinct communal category. Not only were they participants in group activities organized specifically for, and indeed by, themselves, but they were also prominent amongst those residents described as natives (and thus with a communal experience often distinct from newcomers) in the preceding comments on 'Women,' 'Men,' and 'All residents.'

Similar

In 1966, the majority of old people were natives and thus their communal experience was in many ways (noted in connection with 'Women,' 'Men,' and 'All residents') akin to that of adult residents in the 1912 era.

Weaker

See the comments with regard to natives under 'Women,' 'Men,' and 'All residents.'

Stronger

In 1966, old Woodhouse men experienced a strong sense of community in relation to neighbours living in the same precinct, as against a moderately strong sentiment for most adult males in the earlier period. In 1966, old people also enjoyed a strong sense of community within activities, often attended by fairly large numbers, though usually one or other sex was dominant in the meeting, specially organized for them by the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners and especially by the churches.

All residents1. Solidarity and significanceSolidarityStrong

Amongst residents (natives) as residents, due to such factors as knowledge and appreciation of the history of Woodhouse and a prized common heritage, the remains of symbolic place, length of residence and one or two symbolic people, the size of the native population, a good deal of inter-marriage, a similar tempo of life for older people, the availability of news about fellow natives, frequent contact with other natives on a variety of occasions, etc. ('Woodhouse 1966,' 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life,' the opening part of this 'Conclusion,' etc.).

Amongst those residents (natives) regularly shopping in the local district ('Work').

Amongst those residents (natives) opposing the Sheffield Corporation's Compulsory Order, and amongst those (newcomers) fighting for better amenities on the new Badger Estate ('Government').

As British and often world citizens frequently sharing (through the mass media), and at times almost personally involved in, the fortunes and experiences of their fellow men ('Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life').

For a few residents in relation to their domestic pets ('Family and Neighbours').

For a brief time amongst those participating in the 1966 general election ('Government').

Weak

Amongst those participating in the Feast ('Leisure').

Amongst a few residents (newcomers) shopping regularly in the local district ('Work').

Amongst residents (newcomers) as residents, due to such factors as the dependence of Woodhouse on Sheffield, lack of knowledge and appreciation of the history of Woodhouse, no sense of symbolic place, a short period of residence, very little inter-marriage, different weekly routines and lack of important communal occasions for residents as a whole, little news about and infrequent contact with fellow residents, etc. ('Woodhouse 1966,' 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life,' the opening part of this 'Conclusion,' etc.).

Significance

Moderate

For a few (natives) still recognized as members of the old (1912) top class ('Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life').

For the few owner occupiers as such, and for a few residents living in better class council houses ('Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life').

2. Community sentiment

Strong

Amongst residents (natives) as residents.

Amongst residents (natives) regularly shopping in the local district.

Amongst residents (natives) opposing Sheffield Corporation's plans for Woodhouse, and those (newcomers) fighting for better amenities.

For residents as British and often world citizens.

For a few residents in relation to their domestic pets.

Moderate

For a few (natives) still recognized as members of the old (1912) top class.

Weak (and often very weak)

Amongst those participating in the 1966 general election.

Amongst those participating in the Feast.

For a few owner occupiers as such, and for a few residents living in better class council houses.

Amongst a few residents (newcomers) shopping regularly in the local district.

Amongst residents (newcomers) as residents.

Community sentiment in 1912 compared with 1966

Similar

In 1966, the communal experience of residents born and bred in Woodhouse was notably similar to that existing amongst the population as a whole in 1912, a strong sense of community being evident in both years. Even shopping in the local district (though the large Saturday concourse of the earlier period had gone) still helped to maintain strong communal bonds for natives, as in 1912. The old (1912) Woodhouse top class, though much depleted, were still sufficiently aware of themselves to retain, as in 1912, a moderate sense of community. Strong communal sentiment which arose in 1912 out of residents' awareness of their being citizens of the Mother Country of the British Empire had now developed into a still strong but less nationalistic sentiment derived from a much greater consciousness of world citizenship.

Weaker

The most notable decline in the strength of community sentiment over the years occurred with regard to the experience of residents as a whole in 1912 (strong) compared with that of newcomers in 1966 (weak). This decrease in sense of community was evident in many respects noted earlier, as well as in connection with those shopping in Woodhouse (strong in 1912 as against weak for newcomers in 1966). By 1966, the great communal events of the earlier period were no longer of much importance, the Feast for example now engendering only a weak sense of community for participants as against strong in 1912. No special events, such as those referred to in 1912, were in 1966 communal functions for Woodhouse residents as such, the general election of that year producing only a weak and diffuse sense of community.

Stronger

1966 saw the emergence of very few activities and relationships which increased a sense of community amongst residents in general. Quite a number of inhabitants were involved in protesting to the Corporation about one thing or another (see the Section on 'Government'), and a strong sense of community was engendered, though mainly for natives and newcomers as separate groups. Domestic pets which were not particularly common or popular in 1912 were, in 1966, much more in evidence and community sentiment was often strong for the owners. In 1966, owner occupiers as such and those living in better class council

houses had respectively certain things in common, but a sense of community as such can hardly be said to have existed. The same was the case for those using a Woodhouse institution built since 1912, the Woodhouse Library.

Changes in the expression (as distinguished from those in the intensity) of community sentiment

In the case of children, certain activities of communal note prominent in 1912, such as those associated with the Friendly Societies, Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society and the Central Hall cinema, had disappeared, whilst the Woodhouse churches now catered for far fewer in this age group. On the other hand, one of the most important means of communal expression for Woodhouse children in 1966 was now the school, which kept them until a later age than in 1912 and offered them a much wider variety of both educational and recreational activities.

By 1966, Woodhouse young people had appeared on the scene as a distinct communal grouping, and were very active in small and larger peer groups, both of an informal and more organized nature (often commercially). Here again the churches and other specifically local district organizations of 1912 had declined in importance. It must also be remembered that young people still at school found fresh means of communal expression only available to a few (at the Woodhouse Secondary School) of those of similar age in 1912.

All Woodhouse women in 1966 enjoyed a much wider range of communal activities and relationships than the large majority of women in the early years of the Century (though women from the top and often from the independent intermediate classes were much freer than

the rest of the female population in 1912). In 1966, changes in the expression of community sentiment were especially notable in the sphere of work and in the sphere of leisure time activities (particularly in connection with the public houses, clubs and bingo halls) whereas in 1912 most women were virtually imprisoned within the home and the precinct, except for a degree of participation in (mainly) religious organizations, this was no longer the case in 1966.

On the other hand, Woodhouse men in 1966 seemed to participate in a somewhat narrower range of activities than in the earlier period. Many Woodhouse organizations once patronized by them and thriving, such as the Friendly Societies, the Ambulance Classes, the Woodhouse Tradesmen's Association, the Handsworth Woodhouse Co-operative Society, the Woodhouse Prize Band, Political Associations, the Golf Club and so forth, had drastically declined in strength or disappeared altogether (for one factor in this change see the comments about the top class made below). As the Woodhouse churches in 1966 had also failed to hold the many male participants of the earlier era, it was left to the public houses, clubs and betting shops to provide any new forms of expression of community sentiment.

By 1966, old people had, as noted before, become a distinct communal grouping and they now gathered together quite frequently in the various local district clubs, as well as being prominent in the life of the churches.

For all residents as residents, 1966 provided much less chance

of expressing community sentiment than in 1912. Many local district activities once of great communal importance, such as the Whitsuntide Processions, Feast, Handsworth Urban District Council elections, charity ventures, etc., had gone, and it was the natives alone who were concerned to utilize what means they could, often informal, of maintaining the strong communal ties that once existed. Woodhouse residents as such were gradually losing, or in the case of newcomers never gained, a sense of corporate identity, in part as a result of greater interest in things outside Woodhouse encouraged in 1966 by the much stronger impact of the mass media.

Finally, it should be noted that one reason for the decline or failure of certain Woodhouse activities between 1912 and 1966 was due to the virtual disappearance of the top class (and to some extent of the independent intermediate class) of 1912 residents who in the past inspired and organized, as well as participated in as ordinary members, numerous of the pursuits mentioned above.

These findings, dealt with more comprehensively in the preceding Sections, enable the conclusion to be drawn that many notable changes in the expression of community sentiment for Woodhouse residents had occurred between 1912 and 1966, and thus another important aspect of Hypothesis I is upheld.

Changes in the intensity of community sentiment
when 1966 is compared with 1912

As changes in the intensity of community sentiment have been dealt with more specifically than changes in its expression in the foregoing summary and analysis, there is only need here to pin-point one or two important findings. The 1966 study revealed that, with regard to certain social activities and relationships, the intensity of community sentiment experienced by Woodhouse residents differed from that experienced in 1912 for newcomers in the modern era but not for natives. This was particularly evident in the case of communal relations with members of the extended family (including grandparents), and local district activities associated with the churches (the latter, however, also being of less communal importance for young people and adult men who were natives). Furthermore, whilst a sense of community for residents as residents was as strong for natives as in 1912, for newcomers on the 1966 Woodhouse scene it was decidedly weaker. On the other hand, newcomers (often dominant amongst the younger residents) were especially prominent in certain spheres where community sentiment was stronger for both newcomers and natives than in 1912, notably amongst women of all classes who generally found a strong sense of community at work and in leisure pastimes outside the home, and amongst men who now found a very strong sense of community within the immediate family.

Apart from the decline in the intensity of community sentiment experienced mainly by newcomers, there was little evidence in 1966 of a

sense of community having weakened in any further important respect other than with regard to neighbours living in the same precinct. Here all residents had experienced a decline in the strength of community sentiment in comparison with 1912 (though not so much in comparison with the then top class and independent intermediate class), with the single exception of male old people where the sense of community had in fact grown somewhat stronger.

On the other hand, there were numerous instances in 1966 where the sense of community had increased. The large majority of children now found a much greater sense of community at school, at the level of the class, the school as a whole and in relation to their teachers. Young people in 1966, unlike at the beginning of the Century, formed small and larger peer groups wherein community sentiment was very strong or strong, and were actively associated with the wider 'teenage world and culture. Women, as already mentioned, now found a strong sense of community outside the home (inside it community sentiment for them was generally still very strong), notably when at work or in recreational activities (though again in 1912 women at the top end of the social scale were just as active in leisure pursuits outside the home as women in general in 1966). For Woodhouse men community sentiment had probably changed less when compared with 1912 than for most categories though, on the one hand, certain occupational groupings (such as the miners) had seen their sense of community decline, whilst, on the other, the immediate family was now of greater communal importance than

at the start of the Century for many men. Amongst old people as such a strong sense of community had emerged in relation to those activities, mainly based on the churches, organized specially for them. All residents felt less sense of community as citizens of the Mother Country of the once great Empire, but a sentiment of a different nature but of equal strength had developed in relation to their British and to at times world citizenship.

It is evident from this examination of the intensity of community sentiment experienced by Woodhouse residents in 1966 compared with 1912 that, despite the various changes in the expression of this sentiment, a sense of community had not disappeared and, in some cases, its intensity had increased. Hypothesis II, as described at the outset of this thesis, is thus found to be correct.

The geographical context of community
as experienced by Woodhouse residents

The home

In 1966, the home (as a place) was for most Woodhouse people a geographical unit at least as communally important as in 1912. Children, women (even those who went out to work) and old people still found a very strong sense of community within the immediate family. For most men the home was communally more important than at the beginning of the Century and for young people, though at times they seemed to live fairly independent lives, the sense of community found within the immediate family remained generally very strong.

The precinct

In 1966, the precinct was a geographical unit of less communal importance for Woodhouse inhabitants than in 1912. For women who were natives of Woodhouse, and who did not go out to work, as well as for old people the sense of community experienced in the precinct had declined from very strong to strong. Younger women, especially newcomers, in particular where they did not go out to work, and children still found good friends nearby, but now as often away from the precinct as within it. For many men, especially newcomers, and young people the sense of community found amongst those living in the same precinct was weak.

The short-range thoroughfare

Like the precinct, the short-range thoroughfare had lost a good deal of the communal importance it had in 1912. By 1966, it was even more a place of 'passing' interest than formerly, interaction of an animated kind being almost wholly confined to conversations between natives, mainly old people, women who did not go out to work, and to children playing in the street (where traffic conditions permitted). Though one or two 'corner shops' remained, residents now spent very little time in them chatting together.

The local district

Communally speaking the local district presented a much more varied picture during 1966 than just after the turn of the Century. It was no longer (with the home) one of the two geographical units of greatest communal note, as in 1912, but now, for many residents and on many occasions, was of less consequence not only than the home, but than the extended district and, at times, the world beyond the extended district too. None the less, many children, especially those at Infant or Junior School, found their strongest sense of community in activities and relationships contained within the local district. Women who did not go out to work here also participated in groups, such as those associated with the churches and to a lesser extent with the public houses, clubs and Badger Community Association, wherein they generally found at least a strong sense of community.

The local district also contained the numerous old people's clubs which in 1966 provided a strong sense of community for those involved. On the other hand, a large number of inhabitants, especially young people, working wives, men, (especially where these people were newcomers to Woodhouse), found the local district as such of more limited communal value. Outside the home, such residents frequently spent their time and energy in communal activities quite unconnected with the life of Woodhouse itself. Nor were there any longer the great local district events of the past to draw all residents together from time to time and help them to reaffirm their sense of corporate identity. To a growing number of Woodhouse people the local district was gradually becoming just another dormitory suburb of Sheffield.

The long-range thoroughfare

This geographical unit was only of communal value when residents, who had previously established communal ties through other activities, met regularly, as when travelling into the city to work, and when the length and conditions of the journey facilitated conversation.

The extended district

In 1966, unlike 1912, a large proportion of Woodhouse people, particularly amongst the new residents, found the extended district of great communal importance. Here the more mobile members of the population shared in numerous activities engendering at least a strong

sense of community; children (over 11 years old) and young people at school, men and often women at work, and a good cross-section of residents in numerous social and commercial activities (such as shopping). Furthermore, those pursuing concerns in the extended district did so not only, and often not at all, in the company of other Woodhouse people, as was the norm in 1912, but in the company of other Sheffield residents, on the basis of common interests far more than of common place of residence.

Beyond the extended district

By 1966, even the extended district could hardly contain all the interests and activities of Woodhouse residents. More convenient and speedy forms of transport and of communication, available now to all and sundry, meant the gradual eclipse of distance as an obstacle to communal activity. Travel beyond the extended district was undertaken both in the company of Woodhouse groups (even old people participated in regular summer coach trips), and in a free-lance capacity (as when Woodhouse people took holidays in the company of non-residents, sometimes going as far afield as the Continent). Both types of activity at times led to the establishment of a strong sense of community amongst those concerned.

Woodhouse people were kept remarkably well in touch with events and personalities on the national and international level through the mass media, especially the television and the Press. 'Interaction' produced in this context was in one sense impersonal, yet it would be

foolish to discount the avid interest taken by many local people in well known personalities linked with the world of the 'teenage culture, popular entertainment, music, sport and so forth, as well as the 'average man' featuring on many radio and television programmes. Current affairs were followed with a good deal of interest and concern, the great world events, from the assassination of President Kennedy to the World (Football) Cup, taking the place of the Woodhouse 'splashes' of days gone by as much as any popular local or extended district occurrences. Though the mass media could never introduce people to each other in person, interest in society at large and the wider world was fanned, and a sense of solidarity at times spanning great distances emerged, giving Woodhouse people the growing feeling of living in 'a global village.'

In brief, it can be said that the majority of Woodhouse residents in 1966 found the geographical units discussed above falling in the following order of communal importance :-

Home
 Extended district
 Local district
 Precinct
 Beyond the extended district
 Short-range thoroughfare
 Long-range thoroughfare

It should be noted that those geographical units contained within the local district were generally of more communal importance to natives than newcomers. Thus once again the communal experience of natives was more akin to that of the residents of 1912 than in the case of the newcomers. None the less, the list above shows, in comparison with 1912 (see the end of the 1912 'Conclusion'), that there had been notable changes in the territorial focus of community. In particular, the extended district was for most residents now communally more important than the local district, the precinct and the short-range thoroughfare, the latter now standing almost at the bottom of the list.

These findings uphold another important aspect of Hypothesis I, namely that notable changes have occurred in the territorial focus of community, and, together with other findings mentioned earlier in this 'Conclusion,' show Hypothesis I to be correct.

CHAPTER IXOBSERVATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS1. Woodhouse: typical or not typical?

The examination of the social activities and relationships of Woodhouse residents in 1912 and 1966 has shown, in accordance with Hypothesis I, that notable changes have taken place in the expression and territorial focus of community, but, in accordance with Hypothesis II, that a sense of community has not disappeared and, in some cases, its intensity has increased. These findings by no means prove that in other situations the two hypotheses would be substantiated, but the nature of Woodhouse as a settlement and its history over the course of this Century would seem to be essentially similar to a large number of places documented in recent community studies. It appears more than likely, therefore, that the two hypotheses would stand up well to testing throughout British Society at large.

One important reason why Hypothesis II is confirmed is surely, as Simpson states, that 'men need community as they need nothing else.'¹ As was stressed at the end of Chapter I and the beginning of Chapter II, community is quite essential to the creation and maintenance of any enduring activity and social structure and thus one would expect this sentiment to be perhaps the most tenacious experienced by man. It is not surprising, therefore, that the residents of Woodhouse and other

similar settlements have retained a sense of community throughout this Century. On the other hand, changes in the social activity and social structure of British Society have been so marked over the past decades that verification of Hypothesis I would seem to be virtually self-evident.

2. Corporate and individualistic emphases

The appearance within the concept of community of two essential elements, a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance, to some extent reflects the well documented tendency, at the level of social action and social structure (ie., at the level of communal expression), for social systems to be so organized as to emphasize, on the one hand, the authority and welfare of the group as such, or, on the other, the value and fulfilment of the individual member. This tendency has been mentioned (in Chapter I) in the discussion of Tönnies' two types of social organization, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, but is especially well exemplified in the work of Durkheim who divides social systems into two major categories, those which cohere through giving priority to the group as a whole (revealing 'organic solidarity'), and those wherein unity comes through the interdependence of highly valued individual contributions to society (revealing 'mechanical solidarity'). Alpert comments, 'The discovery of two fundamentally different principles of social unity - one based on the community of ideas and sentiments, on resemblances, and resulting in a social structure wherein

1. Durkheim, E. The Division of Labour in Society, (Translated by Simpson, G.) Glencoe, 1933 (First published 1893).

the individual is more or less completely absorbed by the group and wherein tradition and custom are king, and the other, resting on mutual and functional interdependence and creating a social structure wherein the individual human personality comes to be invested with a sort of sacredness - and of genetic connection between them, constitutes one of the major achievements of modern sociology.¹

Numerous analyses of social action and social structure reveal either the group or the individual occupying pride of place. For example, these emphases appear in discussions of social class, religious organizations and states as a whole. With regard to social class in English Society, a considerable number of sociologists have maintained that the working class is particularly group oriented and the middle class more individualistic in character. Klein refers to Raymond Williams 'who views with alarm the trend towards individuality because he sees it not in contrast with the uniformity and mass-society of the traditional working-class community, but in contrast with the practice of solidarity which he feels to be a characteristic virtue of that group at its best.'² She then quotes Williams' critical comment on current trends; 'Another alternative to solidarity which has had some effect is the idea of individual opportunity - of the ladder. Many working-class leaders, men in fact who have used the ladder, have been dazzled by this alternative to solidarity. Yet the ladder is a perfect symbol of the bourgeois idea

1. Alpert, H. Emile Durkheim and His Sociology. New York, 1939. p.184.

2. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures, Volume I. London, 1965. p.279.

of society, because, while undoubtedly it offers the opportunity to climb, it is a device which can only be used individually: you go up the ladder alone. This kind of individual climbing is of course the bourgeois model: a man should be allowed to better himself.¹ Jackson poses a question from a similar vantage point; 'Can the decisions, in an inevitably changing society lead to a fusion of middle class feeling for individual development and those qualities of spontaneity and community that my opening "voices" (the spoken words of working class people quoted by Jackson) suggest?'²

With regard to religious organizations, Francis has undertaken an examination of certain religious orders over the centuries and is able to distinguish between those of a Gemeinschaft (stressing the priority of the group) and a Gesellschaft (stressing the importance of individualism) type.³ Further systematic analysis of these particular orientations within religious life is awaited though the theme has been touched on many times before, for example in the classic study of Protestantism and Capitalism by Weber.⁴ Similarly, political science in its concern with the nature and organization of states has found itself much concerned with this matter. Weldon, for example, divides the major political theories of the state into those which treat the latter as an organism ('the State as something for which man exists'), and those

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1. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965. p.279-280.
 2. Jackson, B. Working Class Community. London, 1968, p.3.
 3. Francis, E.K. Towards a Typology of Religious Orders. Amer. J. Sociol. Vol. 55, No.5 (pp.437-449). March 1950.
 4. Weber, M. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. (Translated by Parsons, T.) London, 1930 (First published 1906).

which deal with it as a machine ('the State as something which exists
 for man'¹).

The expression of the basic elements of community, solidarity and significance, in different forms of social system is thus a matter which has received considerable, if not always systematic, examination by sociologists, historians and political scientists. However, the essential approach to the study of community adopted in this thesis emphasises that a true appreciation of the nature and strength of community sentiment as such can only be found where both the corporate and individualistic aspects of social life, ie., in this context a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance, receive full attention. One of the weaknesses of many community studies in recent years (see Chapter IV, 3) has been to set up a stereotype community within which a sense of solidarity or belonging is given such prominence as virtually to exclude any serious consideration of role-fulfilment or a sense of significance. The essential approach to the study of community also stresses that community is present to the extent that, from the point of view of the participants, a satisfying sense of solidarity and significance are experienced. It is the participants alone who, by word and deed, reveal the extent to which social action and social structure give them a sense of community. It is by an examination of both the sense of solidarity and sense of significance experienced by Woodhouse residents themselves

1. Weldon, T.D. States and Morals. London, 1946. p.30.

that the empirical investigation has shown community sentiment to have been as strong in 1966 as in 1912, and Hypothesis II been thus upheld.

3. Locals and cosmopolitans

The study of Woodhouse over half a century has also shown Hypothesis I to be true, a finding that reflects Durkheim's contention referred to above that solidarity can be equally strong in two very different forms of society. The empirical study of Woodhouse reveals two main forms of communal expression typified, on the one hand, by the life-style of the residents of 1912 (with some important qualifications noted later) and the natives of 1966, and, on the other, by the newcomers in 1966.

The expression and territorial focus of community associated with residents as a whole in 1912 and the natives in 1966 possess many features in common with what Stacey, in her study of Banbury, calls the 'traditional' type of society, whilst the expression and territorial focus of community characteristic of the newcomers in 1966 reveal similarities to her 'non-traditional' type of society. (For a brief definition of these types, and a similar kind of analysis employed by Brennan and his colleagues in their study of South-West Wales, see Chapter I, 1, A, (iv).) The use of the words traditional and non-traditional, however, raises numerous problems simply because they are relative terms; what is traditional in one place or at one time may

1. Stacey, M. Tradition and Change. Oxford, 1960.

well be regarded as non-traditional elsewhere or at another time, and vice versa. It is thus necessary to look for somewhat more precise words to describe the two major forms of communal expression found in Woodhouse. The clearest terminology is without doubt that used by Merton when, in discussing the township of 'Rovere,' he distinguishes between 'locals,' those residents who are parochially oriented, and 'cosmopolitans,' those whose interests and attitudes are shaped much more by 'the world outside.'¹ Frankenberg, in his study of 'Communities in Britain' regards this particular feature of Stacey's traditional and non-traditional types to be so dominant that he deliberately renames them, following Merton, 'local' and 'cosmopolitan.'² As the outstanding characteristic of the two main forms of the expression and territorial focus of community discovered in Woodhouse is very similar to that emphasized by Merton and Frankenberg, and as their terminology avoids the relativism of that used by Stacey, the word 'local' (to describe the life-style of the 1912 residents and the natives in 1966), and 'cosmopolitan' (to describe that of the newcomers in 1966) are used below.

Three factors are of major importance in determining whether Woodhouse residents are to be placed in the local or the cosmopolitan category. These are the geographical context of community sentiment,

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1. Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. (Revised edition). Glencoe, 1957. p.393.
 2. Frankenberg, R. Communities in Britain. Harmondsworth, 1966. p. 155.

the length of time residents have lived locally, and the social structure of the groups within which they find a sense of community. Though these three factors are so closely interrelated that it is somewhat artificial to deal with them separately they are distinguished here to facilitate description.

For Woodhouse locals, as the word implies, community sentiment is experienced mainly within what, in this thesis, is called the local district. Communal bonds are created and maintained as much because residents live in physical proximity as because they choose to associate with each other. Not only do locals spend most of their time in Woodhouse, or are eager to get back to it if their occupation forces them out of the local district, but their interests, attitudes and values are very much shaped by what goes on locally. In contrast, Woodhouse cosmopolitans regard Woodhouse mainly as the place where their home happens to be situated. In line with Gans' observation that 'propinquity is a factor while people get to know each other, after which compatibility becomes the major criterion,'¹ cosmopolitans, after the first few months of settling down, develop a sense of community very much more through pursuing common interests (be it with resident or non-resident, inside or outside the local district), than because of the fact that they share an area of residence with other people. Interests, attitudes and values are much more shaped by what they see

1. Gans, H.J. The Levittowners. London, 1967. p.281.

happening and hear about outside Woodhouse than (with the exception of the home) by what occurs within it.

Woodhouse locals are distinguished by having resided in the local district for many years, often having been born and bred there. Because of this and because, as noted above, their interests and activities have always been locally oriented, their sense of community is very much bound up with place; those streets, shops, churches, public houses, beauty spots and so on, which remind them of 'the good old days,' and provide a fund of memories also shared with other locals. As Young and Willmott note with regard to Bethnal Green, 'local history does not have to be learnt from books.'¹ Although Tonnies perhaps waxes too eloquent when he asserts that for such people as these 'the metaphysical character of the clan, the tribe, the village and town community is, so to speak, wedded to the land in a lasting union,'² his words cannot be taken lightly. For Woodhouse locals the destruction of well-loved buildings and landmarks more than symbolizes the passing of a way of life, it in part actually destroys it. In contrast, Woodhouse cosmopolitans may have only resided in the local district for a year or two and have often moved house several times before. They have little affection for a place which brings no reminders of past communal experiences. Ordinary streets and buildings, which for locals evoke a host of memories, remain for cosmopolitans

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1. Young, M. and Willmott, P. Family and Kinship in East London. (Revised edition). Harmondsworth, 1962. p.113.
 2. Tonnies, F. Community and Association. (Translated and supplemented by Loomis, C.P.) London, 1955 (First published 1887). p.240.

just ordinary streets and buildings. Thus Simpson speaks of the cosmopolitans when he writes that 'though common territory will forever remain a lasting tie among men its force is now largely spent.'¹

The geographical context of community sentiment and the length of time residents had lived locally, with its effect on the communal importance of the place, are both factors which considerably influence the social structure of those groups within which Woodhouse residents find a sense of community. For Woodhouse locals, community sentiment (solidarity and significance) is mainly discovered within groups of a primary type, ie., defined by Cooley as 'those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation.'² Primary ties are established not only between relations (both the immediate and extended family) and neighbours, but throughout Woodhouse amongst residents as residents. Even at the physical level of the local district community sentiment is established and maintained for locals largely through face-to-face contact. Thus despite the large numbers participating in certain of the great annual events, notably the Feast, of the Woodhouse of the 1912 era, a strong sense of community was manifest throughout the whole company. Because locals rely so much on groups of a primary type to give expression to their communal sentiments, they are somewhat suspicious or shy of 'outsiders' (cosmopolitans) and slow to establish communal ties with them. Woodhouse locals were said to be very warm hearted, but there was always the aside, 'When you

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1. Simpson, G. Conflict and Community. New York, 1937. p.79.
 2. Cooley, C.H. Social Organization. New York, 1921 (First published 1909). p.23.

get to know them.'

In contrast, Woodhouse cosmopolitans live in a world in which primary and secondary groups (the latter being those wherein face-to-face contact plays a much less important part in the creation and maintenance of social relationships) have an important communal function. It is true of course that the home is for cosmopolitans, as for locals, the group of greatest communal importance, a fact emphasized by several recent community studies. For example Gans writes, 'For most Levittowners (mainly cosmopolitans), their home was the centre of the community, and that determined the town's social structure and politics.'¹ But Simpson again speaks about cosmopolitans when he states, 'The family will continue to remain the first community men know but it has ceased to be the only one that they know. From being the community, it has become a small community within the wider; from being self-sufficient it has become one association among other associations.'² Thus Woodhouse cosmopolitans find a sense of community (in particular their sense of significance) in numerous groups wherein contacts are by no means always of a primary type, for example at school, at work and in certain leisure pursuits where many of those met remain virtual strangers. On an even wider level, made possible in large part by the mass media, a sense of community for Woodhouse cosmopolitans was at times in evidence on a national and even international scale. The

1. Gans, H.J. The Levittowners. London, 1967. p.283.

2. Simpson, G. Conflict and Community. New York, 1937. p.75.

fact that Woodhouse cosmopolitans experience a sense of community through both primary and secondary contacts reflects their ability to establish communal links with people whom they meet after only a comparatively short period of acquaintance. This is partly making a virtue of necessity since, as so many cosmopolitans are here to-day and gone to-morrow, there is no time to sit back and wait for the gradual development of communal ties, as is the normal way with locals. The Woodhouse cosmopolitan is in many respects like Whyte's 'transient'¹ organization man whose life-style requires the establishment of the sort of communal bonds which can be quickly made and unmade. Greatly facilitating this process is the fact that such residents as these are mobile enough (for example, frequently traversing the extended district) to build communal links rapidly on the basis of common interests. Contrary to some views, the openness of the Woodhouse cosmopolitans also stands them in good stead in time of trouble for there seems to exist what Whyte calls 'a sort of unspoken mutual assistance pact' which provides 'a substitute for the big family of former years.'² This means that in times of need (though otherwise contact might be infrequent) help is forthcoming from many quarters; if the crisis is too severe or long-term it is taken for granted that the Welfare State will step in to add its support.

The study of Woodhouse shows community to have two quite different forms of expression and territorial focus. Nevertheless, the qualifi-

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1. Whyte, W.H. The Organization Man. Harmondsworth, 1960 (First published 1956). p.246ff.
 2. Ibid. p.327.

cation concerning the 1912 residents referred to above must be noted. It is that there were evident in the earlier era numerous cosmopolitan features such as: a population, many of whom had settled in Woodhouse only in the previous generation; an articulate top class with numerous interests and social connections outside the local district; the lack of very strong communal ties within extended families; the appearance in Woodhouse at this time of the new Secondary (Grammar) School; many residents who took considerable interest in current affairs and national politics; a strong sense of belonging to and pride in Britain as the Mother Country of the British Empire. It could thus be argued that the natives of 1966 were in some ways more local in orientation than a good number of the residents in 1912.

This situation only goes to prove that the term 'local' cannot simply be associated with the past or 'cosmopolitan' with the present. In fact the history of Woodhouse over the past century shows that from about 1850 until 1900 residents were half local and half cosmopolitan, from 1900 until 1955 (the building of the first post-war council house estate) they were dominantly local, and between 1955 and 1966 the half local - half cosmopolitan situation was developing again. This pattern of historical and sociological development is borne out by Turner's wider study of the North during this period.

Why greater tension did not exist between locals and cosmopolitans (natives and newcomers) in 1966 has already been discussed in the

1. Turner, G. The North Country. London, 1967.

case-study for that period (see especially the Section on 'Other Aspects of Woodhouse Life'). But there is no doubt that the existence side by side of two different forms of communal expression created a situation of potential conflict. This is most evident in the behaviour of those native families which still had children in their 'teens or twenties. These young people were frequently caught between accepting the local orientation of their parents or the cosmopolitan orientation of their peers. Many, probably the majority, eventually opted for the former and set up home near to 'Mum and Dad.' Others, particularly those going on to higher education, deliberately turned their backs on the local district and established their own (cosmopolitan) way of life elsewhere, and in several instances this caused considerable bewilderment amongst and distress to their parents and relatives. In the case of these young people it was very noticeable that it was the search for significance rather than lack of solidarity (for example the homes concerned were often happy ones) that led to the break. A similar pattern is revealed in other studies. An enquiry into life on a Sheffield estate (not Woodhouse) reveals that 'there is a tendency for these younger people to wish to move away, often for reasons of status.'

Likewise Whyte's organization men have to move into the wider world to fulfil their ambitions for 'local prestige, they well know, is not for export, and what is one town's upper-upper would be another's middle class.'

² Thus Woodhouse shows most tension between the local and

1. Mitchell, G.D., Lupton., Hodges, M.W. and Smith, C.S. Neighbourhood and Community. Liverpool, 1954. p.124.

2. Whyte, H.H. The Organization Man. Harmondsworth, 1960. p.250

cosmopolitan way of life where the children of natives, having seen the opportunities beyond, can no longer rest content with that sense of community offered through a way of life perfectly satisfying to their parents.

4. Mobility

It is impossible here to enter into a lengthy discussion of those sociological phenomena which lead to the expression of community sentiment in local or cosmopolitan form. Nevertheless one feature, found in the case of Woodhouse to have been of overriding importance, must be mentioned: the fact of mobility. Where this was slight, residents usually turned out to be locals; where it was considerable, they were usually cosmopolitans.

The extremely important effect of mobility on patterns of social behaviour and relationships has been pointed out by numerous sociologists and has received the particular attention of the ecologists. Park states that 'movement and migration are not merely an incident but a cause of almost every form of social change,'¹ whilst Hawley comments, 'Migration is both the means by which change is effected and the most accessible evidence of change.'² In community studies as such attention has likewise been drawn to the great influence of mobility on patterns of communal life. Durant believes that the subject of her investigation,

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1. Park, R.E. Human Communities. Glencoe, 1952. p.187.
 2. Hawley, A.H. Human Ecology. New York, 1950. p.346.

Watling, 'is not much more than a huge hotel without a roof; the constant turnover of its population is the greatest single handicap to its developing into a community,'¹ (though in line with the thinking and terminology employed in this thesis, the words 'developing into a community' ought to be replaced by the words 'enabling residents to give a local type of expression to their sense of community').

Frankenberg also sees the local type of communal life breaking down in Pentrediwaith because 'improvements in public transport, television, radio and the cinema have already diminished the interest of young people in the village and its affairs. Emigration in search of better economic and leisure opportunities is taking its toll.'² In a more recent article on planning for community, Perraton still argues that mobility plays a crucial role in altering patterns of communal activity and relationships. She states, 'Although it is possible that certain aspects of the new physical environment (such as better houses and a more open layout) may have helped to confirm new social patterns, it seems probable that the most important factor in any social change has been the move away from daily contact with kinsfolk, and the old social environment with its familiar patterns of behaviour.'³

The word 'mobility' usually means, first and foremost, the movement of people from one place of residence to another, though regular move-

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1. Durant, R. Watling. London, 1939. p.119.
 2. Frankenberg, R. Village on the Border. London, 1957. p.157.
 3. Perraton, J.K. Community Planning - An Analysis of Certain Social Aims. J. Town Planning Inst. Vol. 53. No. 3. (pp. 95-98) March 1967. p. 98.

ment to and from school, work, main shopping and recreational centres, considerably reinforces the effect of moving house. Most of the Woodhouse cosmopolitans of 1966 had changed from one home to another several times before reaching Woodhouse, and many of them retained ties of communal importance, built up over the years, with both primary and secondary groups scattered throughout the extended district and sometimes beyond. In contrast, most Woodhouse locals had not moved house for many years (or if they had done so had always remained within Woodhouse) and thus their sense of community was mainly local in expression and territorial focus.

Movement from one place of residence to another is often the consequence of social mobility and where both types of mobility occur together the effects on the expression of community sentiment are all the more marked. However, Woodhouse did not possess many cosmopolitans whose physical mobility was due to movement up (or down) the social scale (though it is worth mentioning that the movement of the top class, usually fairly mobile and open to cosmopolitan influences and tastes, out of Woodhouse between about 1920 and 1966 appears to be one of the reasons why the residents of this interim period were dominantly local in orientation). In 1966, the only Woodhouse residents on the move because of changing social status were a few young people who had received higher education and a number of owner occupiers dissatisfied with an area containing so many council houses. One of the reasons why

greater conflict did not occur between the natives (locals) and newcomers (cosmopolitans) in this period was because most of the latter had arrived on the Woodhouse scene with no sense of socially superior status.

A third, and increasingly important aspect of mobility, is termed here 'mental' mobility. By this is meant the mental capacity and freedom to take an informed and critical interest in people, events and places with which one has little or no direct contact. The mentally mobile take full advantage of educational opportunities, as children at school and as adults through special classes or courses. They are those who make good use of all that the television, the radio, the Press and the library can offer. Mental mobility is one factor which goes towards making a person cosmopolitan in orientation. In 1912, only a limited number of Woodhouse residents had much educational opportunity and the time or capability to make critical use of those forms of the mass media which then existed. In 1966, educational opportunities were considerably greater and communication with the world outside Woodhouse speedy and efficient. Yet, even in this period, the degree of mental mobility (especially an informed and critical interest) was in evidence only amongst a limited number of residents, by no means all newcomers; young people enjoying school, young wives at home with time and inclination to read a good deal, certain members of the top class and independent working class, and a few (especially male) old age pensioners.

The points made in the last two paragraphs underline that the cosmopolitan expression and territorial focus of community sentiment in the Woodhouse of 1966 were due as much as anything else to physical mobility. Because Woodhouse cosmopolitans were not particularly socially or mentally mobile, they gave a less striking cosmopolitan expression to community sentiment than might otherwise have been the case. This is probably one reason why the contrast between the two types of life-style discussed was not found to be as great as appears to have been the case in Banbury or South-West Wales. Nevertheless, the comment made by Young and Willmott on the current scene as they see it certainly holds true for the up and coming generation of young Woodhouse residents: 'Today's children are growing up with their own ideas. Our time has its own values, perhaps prizing more the individual and less the group, whether of the family or any other kind. To grow up may mean increasingly to grow away. The virtues of movement, from area to area, from one job to another, from one set of beliefs to another, may be stressed more than the virtues of stability, tradition and community.'¹ (Though again, in the terminology of this thesis, the word 'community' here should read 'a local type of communal expression.')

1. Klein, J. Samples from English Cultures. Volume I. London, 1965. p.352.

5. Planning for community

The preceding discussion of locals and cosmopolitans, and the phenomenon of mobility (in all its aspects), must now be allowed to obscure some of the most important things revealed by the case-study of Woodhouse. One of these (see Hypothesis II) is that community sentiment can be equally strong at different times in the history of the same settlement and though the residents be locals or cosmopolitans. (It is quite possible that in situations different from Woodhouse types of communal expression other than local and cosmopolitan may yet be discovered.) Such findings show that it is fallacious to associate a sense of community with just one particular era or one style of life (eg. the local).

It remains equally dangerous for the sociologist as such to make value judgments on which type of communal expression is the 'better.' White, discussing the breakdown of the old (local) pattern of community life after the last war and what he regards as a 'lost opportunity' on new housing estates, writes, 'although much was achieved in raising housing standards, all the emphasis was on individuality and isolation, and planning for the life of the community was completely ignored.'¹ Here White displays, as throughout a good deal of his writing, very strong personal preference (though never acknowledged explicitly) for the local as against the cosmopolitan form of community life. On the other hand, the American Whyte in his essay on 'organization man,' ably

1. White, L.E. Community or Chaos. London, 1950. p.14.

documents his case against the 'Social Ethic' which he defines as 'that contemporary body of thought which makes morally legitimate the pressures of society against the individual. Its major propositions are three: a belief in the group as the source of creativity; a belief in "belongingness" as the ultimate need of the individual; and a belief in the application of science to achieve the belongingness.¹ He argues for a genuinely cosmopolitan form of communal expression as opposed to a form, very much akin to the local, which absorbs men into the all-embracing organization. Whyte quite obviously dislikes the life-style of organization man, but he at least quite frankly admits the standpoint from which he makes his critical assessment.

All this has important implications for those seeking in any way to plan or arrange patterns of community for others. Ferraton states, 'It is beyond the planners' legitimate task to decide that particular social patterns are superior, or desirable, and should therefore be encouraged. We should be concerned rather to make it possible for people to live in the sort of environment they prefer, in so far as this does not prejudice wider community considerations.² But if community sentiment can be equally strong whether experienced in local or cosmopolitan form, and if value judgments must be avoided, can those planning for community be given no sociological guidance?

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1. Whyte, W.H. The Organization Man. Harmondsworth, 1960 (First published 1956), p.11-12.
 2. Ferraton, J.K. Community Planning - An Analysis of Certain Social Aims. J. Town Planning Inst. Vol. 53, No. 3. (pp. 95-98) March 1967. p.98.

The study of community in fact suggests several important points regarding two major facets of the subject. The first of these concerns the nature of community itself. As Jennings states, 'Unless the policies, programmes and methods of redevelopment are determined by the perception of basic and lasting human needs, they cannot hope to answer those needs.'¹ One of these 'basic and lasting human needs' is community, and those planning for its creation and development must, therefore, seek to learn as much as possible about its nature and changing forms of expression. This thesis has shown that community involves both a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance; those planning for community have thus to discover whether, from the point of view of the citizens concerned, both the essential communal requirements are being satisfactorily met. It is part of their task to try to distinguish between groups in search of a greater sense of solidarity and those seeking a fuller sense of significance. For example, when Cox states that 'the Negro revolt is not aimed at winning friends but at winning freedom, not interpersonal warmth but institutional justice,'² he is really saying that the Negro is satisfied with his sense of solidarity but not with his sense of significance. His overall sense of community is thus inadequate.

A second facet of community which is of importance to planners

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1. Jennings, H. Societies in the Making. London, 1962. p.13.
 2. Cox, H. The Secular City. London, 1965. p.141.

concerns its expression. Those concerned with planning must realize that different groups give expression to their sense of community in different social forms (as with Woodhouse locals and cosmopolitans), forms which must be ascertained by empirical investigation not guess work. In this connection, three temptations often beset those planning for the communal welfare of others. There is the temptation to try and get the best of all worlds (for example, by attempting to 'synthesize' the local and cosmopolitan life-styles). The deserted community centre in the middle of a working class council house estate here stands as a symbol that to succumb to this temptation often means failure. As Ferraton states, 'To reproduce a society combining the matiness of the slums with the active participation in purposive associations of a middle-class suburb'¹ is a goal which seems to be a false one. A second temptation is deliberately to 'mix' the population; to try to persuade locals and cosmopolitans to create a sense of community and give it expression as equal partners in the same endeavour. The problem here is that the 'ideal' bears little relation to reality for, as Ferraton remarks, 'the important (one would have thought obvious) fact emerges that many people want to spend their leisure with others of similar background, outlook or interests.'²

'To put people together who feel they have nothing in common,' writes Willmott, 'is more likely to generate social tensions than to reduce them.'³

1. Ferraton, J.K. Community Planning - An Analysis of Certain Social Aims. J.Town Planning Inst. Vol.53, No.3. (pp.95-98) March 1967, p.98.
2. Ibid. p.97.
3. Willmott, P. The Evolution of a Community. London, 1963, p.114.

A third temptation (related to the expression of community sentiment) is for planners to try and impose a local pattern of communal living on a population with a cosmopolitan life-style, or vice versa. (It must at once be recognized in this connection that planners are sometimes at the mercy of social, economic and political factors beyond their immediate control. One such factor is mentioned by Jackson when he writes, 'The most serious challenge to the old pattern (of working class community life) has been the enormous rehousing of the working class that our society has undertaken since 1945. The face of England changes faster in ten years now than it did in any previous hundred.¹ Yet old houses must be pulled down and new ones built. Another such factor is underlined in this Chapter; the great influence of mobility on communal patterns of living. But mobility is quite vital to the welfare of modern society.) Nevertheless, those planning for community are rarely entirely helpless and bad errors of judgment are made. For example, the Woodhouse case-study shows little real consideration being given to the communal needs of locals genuinely perturbed by the drastic redevelopment plans for the area. Other community studies show local authorities planning towns and neighbourhoods for cosmopolitans as if they were dominantly local in outlook and behaviour. Where it is simply inevitable that locals must largely surrender their old way of life, or cosmopolitans be more restricted than they would like, it is all the more necessary

1. Jackson, B. Working Class Community. London, 1968.
pp. 162-163.

for planners to keep people fully informed about the situation and the reasons for it, as well as to deal promptly and sympathetically with cases of real hardship or distress.

However, it does seem that current developments may well be reducing the part that certain aspects of town planning and of rehousing policy are believed to play in making or marring a sense of community. It appears from the Woodhouse case-study, as well as from other community studies, that in large part because of mobility (in all its aspects) in British Society, the cosmopolitan form of communal expression and territorial focus is steadily replacing the local. If this is so, and as long as those responsible for planning, do not try to impose a local pattern of community on a cosmopolitan population, then the precise design of the precinct, the short and long range thoroughfare, and even of the local district (though not, let it be stressed, of the town or city as an integral whole), are going to have much less influence on residents' sense of community than formerly. Thus though such people as the architect and town planner will still be required to design for comfort (at the level of the home especially), convenience, and visual pleasure, their future role as 'community engineers' may be much more limited than is now often believed, with regard to certain geographical units.

Conclusion

The case-study of Woodhouse leaves one dominant impression on the author; the tenacity of community and the flexibility of men and women in discovering it through very different social forms and in very different geographical contexts. Despite the problems involved in coping with the transition from one form of communal expression to another, problems which demand the utmost of both citizens and planners, it is encouraging to find that the Woodhouse residents of 1912 and 1966 by and large enjoyed a satisfying sense of community. For let there be no mistake, that 'community is an achievement, the highest achievement of man in his relations with other men.'

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1. Simpson, G. Conflict and Community. New York, 1937. p.98.

CHAPTER X

COMMUNITY : CONCEPTUAL AND EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS

The purpose of this final Chapter is to examine briefly the concept of community and its empirical operationalization in the light of questions raised in the course of research related to this thesis.

1. Community as an ideal type

It was suggested in Chapter IV, 2, that the concept of community in this thesis could be regarded as an ideal type. The latter was to consist of 'those factors everywhere and always essential to the existence of community present at the maximum possible level.' It was emphasized that the essential elements of community (a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance) were selected in part because 'the type itself must contain features that are universal (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).'

It has become apparent that, simply because solidarity and significance (though indeed 'universal,' 'lasting,' and 'comprehensive') are sentiments, and thus need to be further distinguished by means of 'expressive behaviour' (see Chapter V, 1), it might have been more

accurate to have viewed them as the two essential elements lying behind various ideal types of expression of community, rather than constituting an ideal type in themselves. In other words, the typological approach to the study of community would seem to be more applicable to its expression, through different kinds of social activity and structure, than to its essential nature, i.e., the underlying sentiments. Thus Durkheim, for example, distinguishes two types (though not called by him 'ideal types') of social expression given to solidarity, the mechanical and the organic; though in future community studies not only the expression of solidarity but also of significance will have to be brought into the typological picture.

2. Community as an objective and subjective phenomenon

The empirical investigation revealed certain problems in employing the essential approach to the study of community. One of these, that of dealing with community simultaneously 'both as subjectively experienced and as an objective condition of group life,' was foreseen (see Chapter IV, 1). Participant observation enabled the author to move swiftly from the examination of those indices of community found within social activity and social structure (objective) to investigating personal sentiments directly and spontaneously described, often verbally, by participants (subjective). In this way it was possible to check the intensity of community from two angles.

However, certain difficulties remained which a more detailed and quantifiable form of analysis might have helped to overcome. This was especially the case in determining the degree of significance experienced by Woodhouse residents, where the level of satisfaction amongst those within each of the major categories (defined in terms of age, sex and class) appeared to vary much more than was evident in connection with solidarity. For example, in the sphere of work for 1912, though significance could be 'objectively' related to whether a person was top class (very strong), intermediate class (strong) and working class (moderate), there was evidence of ordinary miners (working class) who found a strong sense of significance in their job, and of tradesmen (middle class) who took very little pride in their shop or business.

In these circumstances the observer can only do his utmost to test the 'objective' criteria of the intensity of community by 'subjective' evidence relating to the same, and vice versa, and it must be made explicit where exceptions to the final general assessment are present (as in the Woodhouse Sections on 'Family and Neighbours'). Yet the empirical investigation did show that, when assessing the strength of community sentiment, great (perhaps most) weight must be given to personal and direct expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction by the participants themselves (as emphasized in Chapter V, 4).

3. Participant observation

One of the tasks of the empirical enquiry was to discover whether the level of solidarity and significance, as experienced by Woodhouse residents, was very strong, strong, moderate or weak (see Chapter V, 5). As no rigorous statistical methods or tests were employed (for example, measuring accurately how often and for how long residents came into direct contact), it might be argued that to decide the levels at which a sense of solidarity and significance were experienced was purely arbitrary. Though the participant observer would be the first to acknowledge that a good deal can be achieved by relating the essential elements of community closely to quantifiable data, he would not accept that his own method of research and assessment was unscientific. All research concerning complex sentiments has to make fairly arbitrary judgments as to what evidence reveals 'strong' and what reveals 'weak' feelings. What really matters is that such judgments are made by drawing as fully as is possible on specified empirical indices, and that no inconsistencies appear in the final assessments made. The pieces of the picture must clearly fit together into a coherent whole.

The justification for the assessments of the intensity of community sentiment made in this thesis is that the participant observer has used the empirical indices outlined in Chapter V as carefully as is possible in this method of research. More refined techniques of enquiry for a

period of history now over half a century away were quite impossible. Even in more recent times, participant observations had the great advantage over other sociological methods of being a very sensitive tool; important when often intimate and delicate sentiments were being dealt with. Furthermore, the fact that all the empirical data was gathered, and assessments of communal strength were made, by one person (there was no team of investigators as used by the Lynds in their study of Middletown), helped to ensure consistency of judgment in relation to both periods of history and all spheres of activity.

4. The relation between solidarity and significance

The relation between solidarity and significance (referred to in Chapter IV, 5) is one that still requires a good deal more study. Two major questions arise in this connection. The first concerns how these two essential communal elements vary in relation to each other. The empirical investigation confirms that they are often closely linked, but that they by no means always vary in direct proportion to one another. Perhaps the most interesting finding is that significance is more likely to be strong when and where solidarity is strong, than vice versa.

The second major question concerns how to determine the overall strength of community, in relation to a particular category of participants and to a particular sphere of activity, where solidarity and significance are present at different intensities. This question had

to be faced in the 'Conclusion' to each period of the Woodhouse study when assessing the overall strength of community sentiment, and the following procedure was adopted.

Amongst certain categories of residents, communal activities and relationships (especially informal ones, as evident in the Sections on 'Family and Neighbours') revealed the presence of one essential communal element in particular (usually a sense of solidarity). In these instances observation often showed that the second communal element was present at about the same intensity, but so closely dependent on or derived from the first as not to warrant special discussion. Here the overall strength of community sentiment was taken to be that revealed by the manifest (as opposed to the latent) communal element. Where solidarity and significance appeared as manifest and distinct sentiments of differing intensity, a rough averaging of the two occurred. Thus if they were within one 'degree' of each other (for example, solidarity very strong and significance strong) community sentiment was usually taken to be present at the higher of the two levels. If the essential elements were two 'degrees' apart (they were never more than this), the middle 'degree' was taken to indicate the level of community as a whole.

This procedure was carried through with every attempt made to employ the most accurate and consistent judgment throughout, and to produce the most consistent overall assessment of community possible to the participant observer.

5. Cross-sectional and chronological community studies

One of the weaknesses of any cross-sectional community study (ie., an enquiry into the life of a settlement at different and separated times in its history) as opposed to a chronological study (ie., an enquiry into the ongoing life of a settlement over a period of time) is that the analysis of social activity and structure may appear somewhat static. Because no attempt has been made in the case-study to set out any sequence of events in 1912 or 1966, there is thus the danger of underestimating the communal importance of the processes of social action as defined in Chapter II, 2, A, especially competition and conflict. On the other hand, the data was very closely examined to see whether communally notable instances of these processes at work were present, and these have been referred to in the main body of the empirical investigation. Though Woodhouse revealed certain instances of communal conflict (but not of non-communal conflict) violent or dramatic social crises were in fact rarely in evidence. It is, however, quite possible that the study of other situations (such as those in which racial tensions occur) would show conflict to be more communally important than in the case of Woodhouse.

6. Non-participants

This thesis has been concerned with the study of community. The empirical enquiry was directed above all to discovering those social activities and relationships which engendered a sense of community. But have those situations where community sentiment was not found thus been neglected, and a whole section of Woodhouse residents been omitted from the study? To cover what might have proved an important 'non-communal' group, attention was given where relevant to non-participants. This category in fact revealed little of note (their inactivity or lack of interest in one sphere always being offset by participation in several others). Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether in other situations categories of people are found who are virtually non-participants in all spheres of activity. Their importance cannot be discounted simply on the basis of this particular case-study.

The future

This thesis has perhaps helped to go some way towards clarifying the concept of community and demonstrating how it can be usefully employed empirically. However, as this Chapter indicates, there still remain several important matters that require further discussion and investigation. The present study points to three main fields for future research, all closely related to each other. Because community is essentially a sentiment, one such field of enquiry will be concerned with the individual as such, and the way in which his communal sentiments emerge and develop. The second field of enquiry will be that dealing with the small group, findings relating to which have here (see Chapter V) proved so useful in bridging the gap between community sentiment and expressive behaviour. The third field of enquiry will be concerned with the social system itself, and the whole gamut of social activities and relationships through which community is expressed. Research in this third and wider context will often need to be pursued over fairly long periods of time (a year or more), and sometimes be given an historical dimension (as in this thesis with the study of Woodhouse in 1912 and 1966). In this field especially participant observation has still an important part to play. Only by the pursuit of closely related research in these three fields can more be learnt about the nature of community, the major forms in which it is expressed and where it is territorially focused.

APPENDIX ILetter to ex-Woodhouse residents

Woodhouse 3148

65 Station Road
Woodhouse
SHEFFIELD.

January 1967

Dear

I am at the present time undertaking a thesis for Sheffield University on the subject of Woodhouse between the years 1900 and 1967. I have learnt from conversations with local people that you have spent some time in Woodhouse and have considerable experience of what life in the area used to be like. I would, therefore, be extremely grateful if you could spare the time to let me have in writing some comments on your period of residence here.

The main theme of my thesis is the extent to which the activities and social relationships of residents influenced their sense of community. I am also concerned to know whether these activities and relationships were contained entirely within Woodhouse or were associated with other groups outside it.

Two aspects of this sense of community are of particular importance for my work - (I) the strength of the sense of belonging that existed and (II) the degree of satisfaction residents had with the part they

played in the life of the district, inside or outside Woodhouse itself. For clarification I put these two concerns in question form below.

I. How strong a sense of belonging did residents of Woodhouse have during your stay in this area?

1. Which activities and social relationships were most important in this connection? (eg. in the sphere of family life, of educating the young, of earning a living, of religious activities, of leisure activities, of political affairs, of keeping healthy and caring for the needy, of keeping informed, etc.)
2. What traditions, customs, events, incidents, etc. provided evidence of this sense of belonging?
3. During your time in Woodhouse, what changes, if any, took place in the strength of this sense of belonging? In what spheres did these occur?

II. How satisfied were residents, during your stay here, with the part they played in the life of the district?

1. Which activities and social relationships (see the examples in I.) gave them most satisfaction in this respect?
2. What traditions, etc. (see the parallel question in I.) provided opportunity for the achievement of satisfaction in this connection?

3. During your time in Woodhouse, what changes, if any, occurred in the degree of satisfaction that existed amongst residents? In what spheres did these occur?

I would like to underline again that I am concerned to learn whether this sense of belonging and of satisfaction with the role played were associated entirely with Woodhouse or were related to activities and relationships further afield.

Having commented on the other residents of Woodhouse, could you please add a few words in relation to your own personal feelings in connection with the two points above - ie., to what extent did you yourself have a sense of belonging and of satisfaction with the role you played whilst resident here and which of your activities and relationships, inside or outside Woodhouse, were most important in this respect.

In order that I may have some information concerning your own period of residence in Woodhouse I would be grateful if you could answer the following questions :-

1. What brought you to Woodhouse (eg. born here, marriage, work, etc.)?
2. When did you reside here (exact years please)?
3. Where did you live (addresses in chronological order please)?
4. What relatives did you have and/or do you have living in Woodhouse?

5. What was your occupation and where did you work (eg. schoolmaster at Woodhouse West School, miner at East Colliery, Birley; housewife at home, in 'service' at Firth Park, etc.)?
6. Why did you move from Woodhouse?
7. How sorry were you to leave? Would you come back to live here if opportunity presented itself now?

I apologize for this duplicated form of communication and for the rather difficult series of questions - if these are not clear please do contact me and I will try to explain them in greater detail.

I quite realize what a task I am setting in these busy days but any comments along the lines indicated above (and with regard to other related matters you feel are important) would be most valuable. I shall treat all information given with great discretion so as to avoid any local embarrassment if this thesis were later to be published.

Woodhouse as it was, however, is fast fading from the scene and the more that can be done to document the life and history of this fascinating place the better.

My thanks in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

David B. Clark (Methodist Minister)

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