

THE 'STATISTICAL REPORT OF MEN, WHO ARE EMPLOYED BY THE BUTTERLEY COMPANY . . .'

September, 1856 : AN APPRAISAL

BY F. A. PEAKE

(Department of History, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario)

The Butterley Company was the successor of an earlier mining and engineering firm known as Outram & Co., founded in 1792. The partners in this venture were Benjamin Outram and William Jessop, civil engineers; John Wright, a banker and iron merchant; and Francis Beresford, a landowner. In 1794 the partners purchased an estate of rather more than 700 acres at Codnor Park, Derbyshire. The estate included Butterley Hall, from which the re-organized company took its name.¹

In 1815, a new partnership agreement was negotiated as a result of which John Wright acquired a two-thirds interest in the concern and William Jessop the younger, one-third. By the middle of the 19th century almost complete control had passed into the hands of Francis Wright, son of John Wright, which he retained until his death in 1873.

As already indicated, the centre of the Company's operations came to be Butterley Hall, just outside Ripley. Thence they stretched eastward to the boundary between the counties of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. It is difficult to identify precisely the area known locally as the Butterley territory. It coincides most closely with part of the ancient parish of Heanor, excluding Heanor proper, Shipley and Marlpool, but spilling over into the adjacent parishes to the west, north and east.

Occupationally in the Butterley territory the people were divided. There were potteries and brickworks in the vicinity. About half the population were engaged in framework knitting.² The rest were employed by the Butterley Company which, by 1844, was said to have about 2,000 men on the payroll.

In common with most of English industrial society the quality of life for the workers left a great deal to be desired. Whether this was due to the viciousness of employers or to the unforeseen effects of industrialization is, for the moment, unimportant. What is important is that the social evils arising from inadequate housing and working conditions were being recognized although there was a great deal of uncertainty about possible remedies. At the national level select committees and royal commissions were carrying on their investigations. There were enquiries into poor relief, the employment of children, conditions of work for miners and stockingers and a host of others. At the same time philanthropists and men and women of social conscience were seeking to provide facilities for education, worship and recreation for the new industrial working classes. Education and literacy became increasingly important and the mid-19th century saw the proliferation of day, Sunday and evening schools under varied auspices for both children and adults. Auxiliary services such as benefit clubs and literary societies were also on the increase.

Many of the manufacturers and industrialists, including Francis Wright, spent large sums of money on the provision of schools, churches and other community projects. It might be argued that it would have been better had they paid their employees more generously but social inequalities were taken for granted and it was generally assumed that workers would do no more than was necessary to earn a subsistence living. Beyond that, it was believed that they would either stop working or dissipate the additional income in riotous living.

Expressions of concern for 'the condition of England' were not only to be found at the national level. One such local manifestation appears to be a curious *Statistical Report of Men, who are employed by the Butterley Company, and who are living in the parishes of Aldercar, Langley, Loscoe, Codnor and Eastwood—September, 1856*.³ The document is hand-written on both sides of seven large sheets of writing paper, each about 20 in. by 15 in. in size. The survey contains the names of 469 workmen, constituting about 25 per cent of the Company's work force. It claims to include 470 but the number 455 is missing. Including wives and dependents the report includes 1,647 individuals. Added to the survey is a summary which appears as an appendix to this paper.

The existence of the statistical report does not seem to have been widely known and probably until it passed into public hands was known only through the reference to it in the published history of the Company. The reference is as follows:⁴

There is a curious document in the Butterley archives entitled 'A statistical account of workmen living in Codnor, Loscoe and Aldercar in 1856'. The total population is given as 1,647, of which 899 were children. Of the 748 adults, 216 could not read, but all except 82 had a bible. Exactly half the children went to no school at all, and 260 had not been baptized. The interesting thing about these statistics is that the compiler was more concerned about the moral than about the material state of the population. We are told how many belonged to each sect, how many attended places of worship, how many had family prayer, and so on. We are even told that five men and women were living together without being married—the odd number raises all sorts of unanswered questions. But we are not told what they ate, or wore or earned.

If the authors of that paragraph had actually studied the report, and the quaint misquotation of the title suggests that they had not, they certainly do not seem to have examined it closely and their comments are neither fair nor accurate. W. L. Burn, in *The Age of Equipoise*⁵ seems to have relied on the quotation above which he has taken at face value for he has written:

Reputable employers felt an obligation to promote the moral welfare of their workpeople. This might take the form of supplying them with bibles, as the Butterley Company did,

The Company may have supplied bibles but there is no evidence known to me that they did so. There are also references to the report in A. R. Giffin's *Mining in the East Midlands*⁶ which I shall mention later. The only other reference to the report which I have seen is one by Geoffrey M. Morris,⁷ in which he says that

. . . . as late as 1856 when the Butterley Mining Company [*sic*] undertook a survey of its employees 216 out of 676 adults could not read.

In view of these comments, and there may well be others, it seemed worthwhile to make a study of the report and to determine, if possible, its authorship, purpose, and general trustworthiness as a testimony to social conditions in this part of Derbyshire in the mid-1850s. As there is no internal evidence to guide us the solution of these questions becomes largely a matter of deduction.

Let us look first at the question of authorship. Proceeding negatively, it seems highly improbable that the report was an official undertaking of the Company since its agents could quite easily have ascertained the wages of employees listed whereas, in a number of instances, this information is not given. It seems likely, too, that had the report been compiled on behalf of the Company there would have been some logical arrangement of the list in terms of occupation or place of employment. There is none. Moreover, it is unlikely that a large concern such as the Butterley Company would have been particularly interested in details of religious affiliation. Finally, an agent of the Company would have known that membership in the Sick Club was a condition of employment.⁸ How the report came into the possession of the Company is, for the present, a mystery.

The report does ask, *inter alia*, some questions about religious affiliation and practice which might prompt the supposition that it was undertaken by the clergy of the established church or ministers of dissenting chapels but, again, this seems unlikely. First, the report is not confined to any particular parish or pastoral charge. Second, from what is known of the clergy of the area at that time it seems unlikely that any one of them would have undertaken such a project. Further, a clergyman would have known the correct designation of the parishes involved. Aldercar and Langley were parts

of the ancient parish of Heanor. Codnor and Loscoe formed a separate parish which had been established in 1844 with the church midway between them at Cross Hill. Ripley, established as a parish in 1821, is not mentioned, neither is Ironville which owed its foundation in 1851 to the munificence of Francis Wright. Eastwood was not really within the Company's sphere of influence although a number of its employees lived on the western edge of the parish. It is also probable that the clergy of the Church of England would have been on sufficiently familiar terms with the management to have obtained the information about wages without difficulty. Moreover, it would have been surprising although not impossible if an Anglican priest could have found only one communicant and 43 adherents of varying degrees of conviction in a group of 1,647 men, women and children.⁹

Similar difficulties occur if we assume that the report might have been prepared by a nonconformist minister. There were several Baptist and Methodist ministers in the area each with one or more chapels or preaching stations under his care. It is unlikely that one of them would have gone out of his immediate area and improbable that they were on close enough terms to co-operate in a corporate effort. In any case, the report seems to have been the work of one person. Judging by the few remarks there are, the compiler was not particularly sympathetic to nonconformity. For example, of one family he wrote:

This man's wife said, I shall take all my children to the Church and have them baptized. They have been baptized by the Ranters but I don't think it is right

while of another he wrote that he

was once a member of the Methodists.

In more general terms it would seem that the author of the report was a stranger to the district and unfamiliar with local names. For example, the name of Whysall is recorded as *Wisehall*; Eyre as *Hair*; Bircumshaw as *Buskhamshire*; Naylor as *Nailer*; Gervase as *Jervis*; Wragg as *Rag*; Osborne as *Hasborne*; and so on.

These considerations lead to the inference that the report was undertaken by an itinerant evangelist, probably of somewhat limited education, in all probability a newcomer to the district. A possible candidate for the authorship is, therefore, Robert Lanham, a Scripture Reader who, in 1861, was living in Loscoe. The census returns for that year afford the following information concerning Lanham and his family:¹⁰

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>
Robert Lanham	42	Scripture Reader	Norwich, Norfolk
Maria Hannah G.	40		Norwich, Norfolk
Anna M.	11	Scholar	Norwich, Norfolk
Emma J.	10	Scholar	Norwich, Norfolk
Mary A.	7	Scholar	Needham Market, Suffolk
Robert T.	5		Needham Market, Suffolk
Herbert V.	4		Needham Market, Suffolk
Lionel G. D.	3		Eastwood, Nottinghamshire
Martha R.	2		Loscoe, Derbyshire
George Adolphus	2 months		Loscoe, Derbyshire

In his book, *Harriet Martineau*, R. K. Webb makes reference to Norfolkmen who turned up in a north Derbyshire coalfield in the 1840s in search of employment.¹¹ It might well be that Lanham had been attracted by such a migration and had followed it from his home in East Anglia.

Reference to the General Register Office reveals that the fifth child of the Lanhams, Herbert Marriott, was born at Needham Market, Suffolk, on 6th April 1856, and that the birth was registered there on 6th May of the same year. Lanham's occupation was given on the birth certificate as that of Scripture Reader, although White's *Directory*, 1855, had described him as 'Headmaster of the British School, Needham Market'.¹² The sixth child, Lionel Garrard Dunn, was born at Eastwood, Nottinghamshire, on 26th April 1857, and baptized in the parish church there on the following 7th June.¹³

It is quite possible, therefore, that the family moved from Needham Market to Eastwood in the early summer of 1856. The next child, Martha Rebekah, was reported to have been born at Loscoe, but was baptized in Eastwood parish church on 6th March 1859; one wonders why the baptism did not take place in the church of the parish in which he was then living. The last child mentioned in the census was George Adolphus, who was two months old at the time. As there is no reference to his baptism in either church it is possible that the Lanhams moved from the area in 1861, leaving behind them the statistical report.

When Lanham arrived in Eastwood it was natural enough that he should turn his attention to the compilation of a list of those among whom he was to work. If R. K. Webb's surmise is correct it would also be natural that he should have been particularly interested in the miners, although there seem to have been few, if any, of his fellow-countrymen in the district. Why, however, did he concentrate on the employees of the Butterley Company when the principal colliery concern in the parish of Eastwood was that of Barber, Walker and Company? The answer may lie in an accident of geography. The village of Eastwood is situated on the top of a hill surrounding its parish church,¹⁴ the rector of which at the time was the Reverend Henry Weston Plumtre. Plumtre had connections with the Eastwood colliery concern and may have felt that he was quite able to minister to its employees. Down the hill to the west lay the village of Langley Bridge,¹⁵ an unorganized community on the banks of the River Erewash, midway between Eastwood and Heanor, but receiving pastoral ministrations from neither of them.

In all probability Lanham was directed to turn his attention to the neglected Eastwood side of the river. As he went about his work he must have realised that he was almost in another world. Most of the miners he met worked for another concern and looked, not towards Eastwood but to the Butterley Company. Realising this he may well have arranged to move to Loscoe, a low-lying hamlet between Heanor and Codnor in the centre of the Butterley territory. In doing so he evidently had Plumtre's blessing and approval, but one wonders how enthusiastically he was received by the Reverend Henry Middleton, the vicar of Codnor and Loscoe. The move also raises questions about the identity of Lanham's employers. Such lay agents of the Church of England were usually employed by Scripture Readers' Associations. Although there were two or three scripture readers working in the vicinity of Eastwood in the early 1860s there seems to be no trace of an association.

At all events, Lanham began his work. As he visited he began to keep notes which were to become the basis of his 'statistical report'. The reasons which prompted him to ask the questions he did came from his previous background and present occupation. After all, he had been a schoolmaster and was interested in literacy and education. He had evidently come into the district motivated by a degree of social concern which would lead to his questions about wages. Those relating to religion and morals were natural enough.

The questions posed in the survey are general and do not seem to be in any particular order. The wording varies slightly from page to page, but information was sought on the following points:

- Name of the employee
- Occupation
- Number of persons in the family
- Number of males in the family employed by the Company
- Place of work
- Wages
- Number of children under/over ten years of age
- Number of children attending day/Sunday schools
- Number of children who do not attend school

Communicants in the Church

Number of those in the family who attend Church regularly, occasionally, sometimes
Chapel members

Number of those in the family who attend Chapel regularly, occasionally, sometimes

Number of those who do not attend any place of worship

Number who cannot read

Number who have family worship

Number who have a Bible

Number not married, but living together

Number of illegitimate children

Number not baptized

Number in a sick, clothing or other club

The questions are confusing and in some instances contradictory. Rarely are they completely answered. The report suffers considerably from the author's uncertainty of his purpose and because of his inability to frame clear and incisive questions. It does not appear to be the result of a house-to-house visitation. Rather it would seem that, initially at least, the author relied on casual contacts with miners either in their own dwellings or in some public place. One contact led to another and so the list grew. It is possible that he never met some of those listed. It does not appear to be a list of the faithful, but neither is it limited to those who might be considered as prospective converts. The list is not confined to members of any one denomination, nor is there any discernible geographical pattern. The report is somewhat misleading because of its arrangement and omissions. One hundred and fifty-four single men are listed as independent economic units, yet at least 63 of them were living at home and presumably contributing to the family income. Of this there is no mention in the entry concerning the family. Further, only employees of the Butterley Company are listed, so that in some instances there are members of the family who are self-employed or working for other employers and so supplementing what seems to be the impossibly small income of the husband and father. Perhaps the most serious defect lies in the incompleteness of the answers.

In addition to the statistical information the report contains a column headed 'Remarks', but only for 11 families is there any comment. The lady whose children had been baptized by the Ranters has already been mentioned, but there is no evidence that she ever fulfilled her stated intention of having them baptized in Church. One young lady was reported to be living with a collier without benefit of matrimony. Whether as the result of pressure applied by the reporter is not known, but the couple were married within three months. In another instance the man was reported to have 'married the woman he was living in sin with, since I have spoken to him about it'. This is certainly true and the General Register Office confirms that the marriage took place almost at once in a parish church just outside Nottingham. One wonders how they were able to afford to live there long enough to establish the residence requirements for the publication of banns. Another family with three children, ranging from six to 11, was reported to be sleeping in one small bedroom. Although there is no reason to doubt this statement the condition seems to have ceased by the time of the 1861 census. J K was reported to be 'a mormonite' and this is probably true since the Religious Census of 1851 showed that the Latter Day Saints were established and had a small following in Heanor.

So much for the report itself. The rather more difficult task is to determine the value of the report as a social commentary on the period with which it was concerned. The most obvious step seemed to be an attempt to match the names in the report with those in various public documents which would provide more information about the men and their families. This proved to be more difficult than might have been expected. As will be shown there were two reasons for the difficulty: on the one hand the inherent defects

of the report itself; and, on the other, the rather surprising fact that many of the records have disappeared.

This part of the study began by seeking to identify those named in the report with entries in the enumerators' notebooks of the 1861 census. This presented certain difficulties. First, there was a time lag of nearly five years. During such a period people move from one place to another, marry, have children and, perhaps, die. Moreover, the information given in the report was minimal: the man's name; the number of people in the household; and some bare indication of the number and ages of his children. It has been possible to identify 326 of the 469 names with what is believed to be a fair degree of accuracy. By comparison with the enumerators' notebooks of the 1851 census 26 more names were added, giving 357 in all. This census has shown the number of persons working and contributing to the family income and the number and ages of the children as well as the number of children who were going to school. Perhaps most important, it shows the birthplace of those recorded, which may be summarized as follows:

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Born within five miles of Butterley	620	567
Born in Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire	137	86
Immigrants	—	—
Persons for whom there is insufficient data		469
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	757	653
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		1,920
		<hr/> <hr/>

From this it would appear that there was a degree of geographical mobility, although within a limited area. Even within the five-mile radius it appears that people moved from one job to another, although usually remaining with the same employer. In this connection it is surprising how far the miners sometimes lived from their place of work. A walk of four or five miles each way does not seem to have been unusual.

The next step was to search out the record of each couple's marriage. As all the weddings in that area during the first half of the 19th century appear to have taken place in parish churches this should have been fairly simple, but, in fact, only 145 marriages have been identified. In some instances this is probably due to the fact that the couple moved into the area after the marriage. It would probably be possible to trace more of the marriages, but it would be excessively time-consuming. In the marriage registers after 1837 information is recorded concerning the occupation, not only of the bride and groom, but also of their fathers.

From this it would appear that there were a number of miners who were the sons of stockingers or who had themselves been stockingers. I have not discovered any evidence of a movement in the reverse direction, which is not surprising since hosiery manufacture, at that time, seems to have been considerably less prosperous than mining. There seems little evidence of social mobility. Both sons and daughters tended to follow in the family tradition, although some of the daughters became teachers or dressmakers.

All the marriage registers recorded the literacy or otherwise of the bride and groom. Of the 145 marriages identified (including four second marriages), 85 of the men and 91 of the women were illiterate and signed the register with a mark. According to the report there were 216 in the adult population of nearly 700 who could not read. This figure is almost certainly too low, both on the evidence of the marriage registers and because quite obviously many people who were illiterate did not admit the fact when questioned or the compiler was not as careful as he might have been.

There seems to have been a fair degree of inter-marriage between various occupational groups, as indicated by the following table:

	<i>Occupation of groom's father</i>	<i>Occupation of bride's father</i>
Miner	59	50
Framework knitter	22	29
Others: chiefly labourers	61	62
Not given	3	4
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: none; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> 145	<hr style="width: 100%; border: none; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> 145
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: none; border-top: 3px double black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: none; border-top: 3px double black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/>

A further stage was the examination of the baptismal registers since this would afford some indication of the religious climate. In 120 families for which records were found there were 299 baptisms. This does not take us much further than the report itself, which affirms that of 899 children, 260 had *not* been baptized. The fact that some names recur very frequently made it very difficult to reconstruct families with any degree of accuracy. Still more serious was the fact that many of the nonconformist baptismal registers have disappeared. For example, the earliest Primitive Methodist register for Codnor does not begin until 1867. Of the Wesleyan Reform registers there is no trace. Similarly, although the Heanor Wesleyan Methodist Chapel was established early in the 19th century its baptismal registers for the whole period are missing.

Episcopal and archidiaconal visitations during the mid-19th century were few and far between, and the returns available throw little light on the subject at hand. Lists of confirmation candidates would be useful, but no such lists were kept. In the parishes there is no record at all of confirmations, and the bishops seem only to have noted the time, date and place of each service and the number of persons confirmed. From these lists¹⁶ it is apparent that 244 persons had been confirmed in the Butterley territory during the six years prior to the compiling of the report.

School registers would be useful, but these, too, have disappeared and the few inspectors' reports are too scrappy to be useful.

Business records are almost completely lacking. In the Butterley papers at Matlock there are a few apprenticeship indentures and a housing agreement or two, but nothing more. Wage books would be invaluable, but they are no longer extant or, if they are, no one knows where they are. In the realm of public documents the 'application and record books' of the poor law union would provide useful information, but only one of these, with two entries, which will be mentioned, has yet come to light.

The comments which follow are made in the light of what information is available. The report is essentially a list of individuals rather than of families. In a number of instances the head of the family is represented as being the only male supporting the household, but comparison with the census tables shows that sometimes unmarried sons, listed separately in the report, were also living at home and working for the Company. For example, the statistical report shows that James Grainger (267), a collier at Bailey Brook, was supporting a family of eight on 4s. a day. But comparison with the census shows that his sons, Edwin (268) and William (269) were also colliers at Bailey Brook, earning respectively 1s. 8d. and 1s. 9d. per day, living at home and presumably contributing to the family income.

A further difficulty lies in the fact that only wage earners employed by the Butterley Company were included. Hence, according to the report a collier would seem to be supporting a large family on a small wage whereas, in fact, there were other members of the family who were also gainfully employed. For example, Samuel Booth (120), 59, earned 12s. a week as a labourer at Bailey Brook, but this was supplemented by his wife's earnings as a charwoman. Of their four children at home, one is reported as working for the Company, but his wages are not indicated. Similarly, George Burgin (441), 26, was earning between 16s. and 20s. per week as a collier at Cupid Green while his wife was also working as a milliner and dressmaker. In 1861 they also had two lodgers.

There are also contradictions in the statistics presented by the report. For example, Jespher (Jasper) Fletcher (52), a collier at the New England colliery, is listed as having four children, one over and three under ten years of age, in a family of five. Are we then to assume that he was a widower? This would seem reasonable, but the census returns indicate that his wife, Mary Anne, whom the Eastwood parish register tells us he married in 1849, was living and that there were, in fact, only three children, the oldest of whom was ten in 1861. Similarly, William Daws (98), a collier at Bailey Brook, was said to have a family of eight, although the report accounts for only four children. The census records confirm the fact that this was a family of six persons. Incidentally, it is worth noting that on a weekly wage of about 17s. he was able to send three of the children to day school. His wife does not appear to have been gainfully employed.

Although there are many gaps in the report it may throw some light on social and economic conditions. When the report is broken down in terms of occupations it shows the following results:

Bailiffs	..	..	4
Banksmen	..	..	28
Blacksmiths	..	..	10
Colliers and miners	..	..	360
Engineers	..	..	5
Engine tenders	..	..	3
Joiners	..	..	4
Labourers	..	..	25
Railwaymen	..	..	4
Stall's men	..	..	7
Wheelwrights	..	..	3
Miscellaneous*	..	..	19
TOTAL	..	..	<u>472</u>
Less† ..	..	..	<u>3</u>
			<u>469</u>

*Instances where no occupation is listed or there is only one of a kind.

†Instances where two working males are listed in one entry.

Of the total number of workmen listed, information concerning wages is given for only 188. In other instances the recorded answer, if any, is 'Don't know', 'Can't tell me', or 'uncertain'. We are left wondering whether the employee himself did not know or whether the informant who might have been his wife, mother, landlady, or a workmate could not or would not supply the necessary details. Where the answer was given as 'uncertain', did it mean that the amount itself was uncertain because of unemployment, short times, fines, etc., or that the employee himself did not know?

Using the information which is available it may be useful to examine the two larger groups, viz., the colliers and the labourers. It may be assumed that the person making the report was reasonably accurate in recording and that the answers he received were reasonably truthful. In some instances the amount is given as a weekly wage and in others in terms of daily earnings. After adjusting them all to a weekly wage, based on a six-day week, the results are as follows:

*Colliers
including those listed as
miners and iron stone getters*

5s. to 9s.	..	17
10s. to 14s.	..	24
15s. to 19s.	..	40
20s. to 24s.	..	35
25s. to 30s.	..	2

Comparison of these families with the 1861 census returns suggests that the lowest-paid colliers were boys under 21 whose maximum wage seems to have been 12s. 6d. per week or older men who were allowed to remain at the pits doing odd jobs. For example, A. R. Griffin¹⁷ makes mention of 'Samuel Grainger of 40 Horse Pit who had a wife (but no children) to keep on an almost unbelievable 1s. a shift'. Reference to the 1861 census, where he is described as a 'retired coal miner', shows that in 1856 he was about 71 years of age and his wife about 68. There is no indication that they had children, married or otherwise, who might assist them, although this is possible.

The wage paid to apprentices was somewhat less. The amount does not seem to have varied greatly in the 19th century; if anything it declined. In 1831, for example, Edward Gregory, aged 15, was apprenticed 'to learn the art of a model maker'. His weekly wage began at 7s. and was to increase at the rate of a shilling a year for six years. German Hall began his apprenticeship as a boilermaker in 1854 at exactly the same rate, except that his was for a five-year term. Almost 30 years later, in 1883, Edwin Stacey was apprenticed for seven years, but his wages began at 5s. a week with an increase of 1s. for each year of service.¹⁸

The information relating to the wages of the 25 labourers is complete. The wages of all are listed and the table is as follows:

<i>Labourers</i>		
10s. to 14s.	..	20
15s. to 19s.	..	4
20s. to 24s.	..	1

With the labourers age seemed to make little difference. Two labourers, one aged 29 and the other 39, were both earning 12s. per week. Two father-and-son teams, ages unknown, were earning, respectively, 15s. and 11s. and 14s. and 11s. In commenting on the situation in general A. R. Griffin writes:¹⁹

In the Butterley survey of 1856, farm labourers are shown as earning 13s. or 14s. a week, surface labourers about the same; 'engineers' (i.e. winding enginemmen) between 15s. and 18s., joiners and carpenters 20s., wheelwrights 21s. or 22s. and banksmen 18s. to 20s. Colliers' wages varied widely, but 5s. per day was about the maximum, and 15s. to 20s. the norm. There were, by this time, little butties (stall men or stall's men, as they were called in the Survey) who made what they were able to earn, which would no doubt be considerably more than a pound a week in many cases. By and large the collier was better paid than the farm labourer or surface labourer, little if any better paid than enginemmen and banksmen, and slightly worse paid than skilled craftsmen. Furthermore, even the farm labourer had the advantage of a regular 13s. or 14s. a week, whereas the collier's earnings varied with the state of the trade

An examination of the burial registers reveals some of the rigours and uncertainties of the age and emphasises the fact that no age group was immune. Unfortunately, a detailed study of the deaths of those included in the statistical report is not possible because of the large number of identical names and the minimal information afforded by the burial registers.

Incomplete and inadequate as the statistical report undoubtedly is it does serve to show that for most of those concerned life was close to the subsistence level, with tragedy never very far away. The following illustrations could probably be duplicated were the records available.

In the report John Barks (282) was shown to be a labourer at Codnor, the sole support of his wife and four children on a wage of 13s. a week. Neither he nor his wife could read. Three of the children were over and one under ten years of age. Two of them went to day school and three to Sunday school.

The probable entry in the 1851 census is as follows:²⁰

Bullockyard, Codnor

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation in family</i>	<i>Civil status</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>
John Barks	Head	Married	43	Agricultural labourer	Heanor, Derbyshire
Maria	Wife	Married	38		Alfreton, Derbyshire
John	Son		14		Alfreton, Derbyshire
Robert	Son		7		Bakewell, Derbyshire
Sarah	Daughter		5		Alfreton, Derbyshire
George	Son		3		Codnor, Derbyshire

By 1861, the entry is as follows:

Codnorville, Loscoe Road, Codnor

<i>Name</i>	<i>Relation in family</i>	<i>Civil status</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>
Maria	Head	Married	46	Labourer's wife; husband in asylum	Codnor Park, Derbyshire
Robert	Son	Unmarried	18	Coal miner	Bakewell, Derbyshire
Sarah A.	Daughter		15	Cotton factory worker	Codnor Park, Derbyshire
George	Son		13	Iron miner	Codnor, Derbyshire

It is to be noted that there are some discrepancies in the reports concerning place of birth, but these may be attributed either to a lapse of memory or to uncertainty concerning parish boundaries. Codnor Park and Alfreton are quite close together and Codnor Park prior to 1844 had been a Liberty or extra-parochial district.

Curiosity is aroused by the entry 'husband in asylum'. One can only speculate on the circumstances, but certain deductions may be drawn. Evidently the couple, married in the late 1830s, settled down in the vicinity of Codnor Park, where their first son, John, was born, *c.* 1837. At some time thereafter they moved to Bakewell, attracted, perhaps, by the prospect of better employment. While there the second son, Robert, was born, *c.* 1844. Evidently things did not turn out as they had hoped and a few years later they returned to Codnor Park. There the two remaining children were born, Sarah, *c.* 1846 and George, *c.* 1848, all to be supported on John's 13s. a week, supplemented by whatever the eldest son was earning. Conscious of their own lack of education they were determined that their children should go to school and in 1856 two of them, probably Sarah and George, were doing so. Almost certainly John was working, probably in the mines, by *c.* 1850. By 1861 he had died or left home. Also in 1861, Robert was 18 years of age and working as a coal miner. It would seem almost certain that he had been so employed for the past six or eight years, that is, in 1856. Why, then, was this not shown in the report? There seem to be two possibilities. One is that it was a simple error on the part of whoever made the report; the other is that one or both boys worked for another company, unlikely but possible. By 1861, or even by 1856, the economic worries of the family would seem to have been lessened, but perhaps the strain had been too great. John's health had broken down and at some time between 1856 and 1861 he was committed to an asylum. Maria was left, probably more comfortably fixed financially than she had ever been, but bereft of her husband.

In 1850, Moses Buckley (207) had been a framework knitter earning 4s. 6d. a week.²¹ This was supplemented by a further 1s. 6d. which his wife earned as a seamer. These, together with the wages of their son, John, gave the family a weekly income of 8s. 6d. When their daughter, Harriet, died the Bucleys were compelled to apply for poor relief to cover the cost of the funeral. Whether the request was granted was not recorded.

By the time of the 1851 census Buckley had abandoned the hosiery trade and, according to the 1856 report, was earning from 8s. to 12s. a week as a collier at Loscoe. His wife was still working as a stocking seamer. By 1861, when he was 52 years of age, he was unable to work and the household was being maintained by his wife and two coal-miner sons, Walter, 12, and Edward, 10. John, the older son, was married and living nearby.

Behind the brief entry in the register of Codnor parish church dated 11th March 1861, recording the burial of Mary Hutsby, there lies an equally distressing story. In May 1850 William Hutsby (236), a collier at Loscoe, had applied for poor relief to provide nursing aid for his wife, who had apparently been burned as the result of falling into a fire during a fit. His mother, incidentally, had been ordered to return to her native place, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, lest she should become a charge on the Loscoe rates. At the time of his application Hutsby was earning 3s. a day, but was only working three days a week. There was also a lodger who paid 2s. 6d. a week. There were no children. Relief amounting to 4s. 6d. a week was granted for the duration of the illness. In 1856, according to the statistical report, Hutsby was still earning 3s. a day, but nothing was said of the number of days worked each week. It would appear that the unhappy situation dragged on for 11 years until Mary's death in 1861. It must have been a very bleak time for both of them and probably Mary's death was seen as a merciful release. Six months later Hutsby married Harriet Parkin, a widow.

It remains to offer some general observations about the statistical report and the society of which it was a reflection. The report provides some information about one-quarter of the Company's work force. This was about half the population of the area, the other half being engaged for the most part in the hosiery industry.

Certain conclusions emerge. Geographical mobility was greater than might be imagined. Workers did not come from great distances, but tended to move from place to place within the local area, although usually remaining with the same employer. Social mobility was almost non-existent.

There does not seem to have been a cleavage between the miners and the stockings. It is true that miners tended to marry the daughters of miners, but a fair number of them also found their brides among the families of the framework knitters. A number of miners were the sons of stockings or had themselves followed that trade. This would strengthen the impression that the hosiery trade was more depressed than mining.

The place of institutional religion and formal education in the Butterley territory is difficult to assess. It would, I suspect, be unfair to characterize the district as pagan, although it might well be described as ignorant. Half the mining population, or more, seems to have been illiterate. For the older people churches and chapels were probably to be respected if not frequented. I suspect that most of the parents had themselves been baptized as had probably about two-thirds of the children. There were two obstacles to regular attendance at public worship: the lack of accommodation; and the lack of what was considered to be suitable attire. Yet the figures of the 1851 religious census, for what they are worth, certainly do not indicate a total neglect of public worship. For the Butterley territory, the figures are as follows:²²

	<i>Morning</i>		<i>Afternoon</i>		<i>Evening</i>			
	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Children</i>		
GOLDEN VALLEY								
Primitive Methodist	..	—	75	52	75	168	—	
IRONVILLE								
Parish Church	103	289	—	324	200	—
CODNOR								
Parish Church	60	60	150	70	—	—
Wesleyan Methodist	—	174	50	174	160	—
LOSCOE								
Particular Baptist	—	—	200	—	250	—

	Morning		Afternoon		Evening	
	Adults	Children	Adults	Children	Adults	Children
HEANOR						
Parish Church	200	100	200	100	50	20
Wesleyan Methodist	92	136	—	—	167	—
Primitive Methodist	—	—	80	81	100	—
Baptist	—	—	51	53	67	—
Congregational Independent	150	218	—	332	230	—
Society of Friends	13	—	—	—	—	—
Latter Day Saints	15	—	50	—	70	—
LANGLEY MILL						
Mill Hay Primitive Methodist	—	—	79	—	82	—
Baptist	—	—	54	89	75	—

Of the 82 persons said to be without Bibles, 63 of them were young men living at home and therefore with access to them.

Probably somewhat less than half the children went to a day or Sunday school.

The report, then, provides a service in pointing to the social and economic conditions of 'men, employed by the Butterley Company'. It is tantalizing in its lack of detail and its unanswered questions. Most significant is that it should have been undertaken at all, perhaps by 'some village Hampden'. In this respect it is a local response to the widespread concern of the time with 'the condition of England question'.

REFERENCES

- ¹Two studies of the Butterley Company have been undertaken, one by Jean Lindsay, 'The Butterley Coal and Iron Works, 1792-1816', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, LXXXIV (1965) 25-43, and the other, now out of print, by R. H. Mottram and Colin Coote, *Through Five Generations: The History of the Butterley Company*, London: Faber & Faber, 1950.
- ²William Felkin, *History of the Machine Wrought Lace and Hosiery Manufactures*, 466.
- ³The Report which is now in the collection of Butterley Papers in the Derbyshire County Record Office was first drawn to my attention by Dr. S. D. Chapman of the University of Nottingham. Since then, Miss J. C. Sinar, the County Archivist, has been most kind in supplying me with material relating to it.
- ⁴Mottram and Coote, *Five Generations*, 72.
- ⁵W. L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, New York, W. W. Morton, 1965, 241. In a reference on p. 295 he adds, 'of the 748 adult workmen living in Codnor, Lescoe [*sic*] and Aldecar, 216 could not read but all save 82 had a bible in the house'.
- ⁶'Primitive Methodism in Nottinghamshire, 1815-1932', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1967.
- ⁷London: Frank Cass & Co., 1971.
- ⁸*General & Special Rules to be observed at the Butterley Company's Collieries*, printed by B. Rhodes, Ironville, n.d. (c. 1856) (copy in the Derby Borough Library). The 'Contract of Service' Regulations contains the following paragraphs:
 - 4. from the earnings of each workman a sum of threepence per week shall be deducted for the Sick Fund of the Colliery.
- ⁹The Bishop of Lichfield's Act Book shows the following Confirmations in the Butterley territory during the period:

Place	1850			1852			1855			1861			1864		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Ironville ..	10	20	30	16	11	27	5	14	19	16	17	33	2	11	13
Pentrich ..	9	3	12	5	7	12	3	11	14	10	6	16	7	6	13
Ripley ..	12	6	18	—	—	—	5	9	14	13	12	25	13	14	27
Codnor and Loscoe ..	4	5	9	6	5	11	4	8	12	4	8	12	5	9	14
Denby ..	10	3	13	1	3	4	—	—	—	29	21	50	28	35	63
Heanor ..	8	6	14	1	17	18	4	13	17	27	34	61	8	19	27
TOTALS ..			96			72			76			197			157

- ¹⁰P.R.O., 1861 Census Enumerator's Notebook, R.G.9, 2431, p. 45.
- ¹¹R. K. Webb, *Harriet Martineau*, London, William Heinemann, Ltd., 1960, 60.
- ¹²For the information from White's *Directory* I am indebted to Captain J. Burton, Needham Market, Suffolk.
- ¹³Birth certificates for Herbert M. and Lionel G. D. Lanham were obtained from the office of the Registrar-General, Somerset House. The baptismal registers of Eastwood parish church are now in the County Record Office, High Pavement, Nottingham.
- ¹⁴White's *Directory of Nottinghamshire*, 1853, contains the following reference to Eastwood, 'a well built village and parish, pleasantly situated on an eminence on the Derby road and Cromford Canal, 82 miles N.W. of Nottingham. The parish contains 1720 inhabitants, and about 900 acres of land, under which 60 years ago there were excellent beds of coal at various depths, from five to 50 yards, but they have all been got An *infant school* was established about 20 years ago, and at which 50 attend. The *Girls' National School* was built in 1833, and the *Boys'* in 1836, adjoining which, was built a residence for the master. Gas-works were established here in 1845, by Mr. Robert Barber, since which they have been considerably enlarged. There are several Friendly Societies and Sick Clubs in the village.'
- ¹⁵Concerning Langley Bridge, White's *Directory*, 1853 reports that it 'is about half a mile west of Eastwood, and gives name to a large village which is partly in Derbyshire. The present bridge was built in 1830, and crosses the Erewash. Here are several extensive coal wharfs, a steam corn mill, and several lime kilns.
- ¹⁶See n. 9.
- ¹⁷*Mining in the East Midlands, 1550-1947*, 77.
- ¹⁸These indentures are contained in the Butterley Papers collection at Matlock.
- ¹⁹*Mining in the East Midlands*, 114.
- ²⁰For the 1851 Census, HO 107 322-45; 1861 Census, RG 9 2432 P. 84.
- ²¹The details concerning Buckley and Hutsby come from the Application and Record Book of the Basford Poor Law Union, 1850. County Record Office, Nottingham. This is the only such book I have been able to find and in this book these are the only two entries.
- ²²P.R.O. H.O. 129/446.

APPENDIX

Statistical Report of Men, who are employed by the Butterley Company, and are living in the parishes of Aldercar, Langley, Loscoe, Codnor and Eastwood
September, 1856

Summary							
Number of Men, Women & Children	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,647
Number of Males Working	..	..	..	..	..	..	507
Number of Children over 10 years of age	..	..	..	..	..	..	392
Number of Children under 10 years of age	..	..	..	..	..	..	579
Number of Children attending day schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	171
Number of Children attending Sunday Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	127
Number of Children that are not sent to any School	..	..	..	..	..	..	450
Number of Children attending Sunday Schools only	..	..	..	..	..	..	155
Communicants in the Church of England	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Persons attending the Church of England regularly	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Persons attending the Church occasionally	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Number of people that go to no place of worship	..	..	..	..	..	..	443
Members of dissenting Chapels	..	..	..	..	..	..	106
Persons attending dissenting Chapels regularly	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Persons attending dissenting Chapels occasionally	..	..	..	..	..	..	150
Number of Men & Women that cannot read	..	..	..	..	..	..	216
Number having family prayers	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Number of Children that have not been baptized	..	..	..	..	..	..	260
Number of men & women living together without being married	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Number of illegitimate children	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Number of people attending Church & Chapels sometimes	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Number without a Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	82