

# Church Broughton Parish, Derbyshire:

## An oral history, 1900-1940

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## Abstract

This study is an oral history of a Derbyshire dairying parish during the first forty years of the twentieth century. The aim was to discover the nature and cohesion of society in a parish with no resident lord of the manor, the effects on the parish of changes in agricultural practice and the impact of government interventions on the lives of individuals.

The lives of residents were affected by the history and layout of the parish, based on the geography and previous ownership. Having no resident lord of the manor generated a social structure with three layers: firstly, seven key people, outsiders who did not own land, secondly, networks of small landowners and artisans, who had lived there for generations, finally, labourers, many also families of long standing. Religion was important in supporting this social structure. Being an 'open' parish had enabled a chapel to be built and the provision of a school, though not all children attended this school. Through widespread ownership, there was a freedom to live and work without being beholden to neighbouring estates, as alternative employment could be found elsewhere for any surplus workers. Mechanisation improved farming practice, but, though government intervention during the First World War helped, the downturn afterwards and competition between farmers meant dairying was precarious, until the foundation of the Milk Marketing Board in 1933 to control production and price.

The sale of the Duke of Devonshire's farms in 1918 to the occupiers and the County Council removed the prestige that his tenants had enjoyed. The retirement of key people, headmaster, church warden farmers and vicar, in the 1920s and 1930s, weakened ties and put greater reliance on government provision. Relationships were further disrupted when entrepreneur Basil Mallender bought Barton Blount, in 1925, and tried to align Church Broughton with his estate and impose his authority, generally against the wishes of villagers, who were accustomed to a cooperative community.

Collecting oral contributions and letters from parishioners began in 1972 and was supplemented with documentary evidence from the church chest, Derby Local History Library and Derbyshire County archives. This research is unusual, following the earlier oral history method of George Ewart Evans and Raphael Samuel - open-ended interviews over time, with seventy contributors, that uncovered the feelings people had about their situation - but is also original, because small 'open' parishes have not attracted research in the same way as estate parishes. It revealed relationships that showed an ordered and tolerant community enjoying the social aspects of religion and willing to defend itself from Basil Mallender. However, progress in agriculture and greater intervention from government, meant that the experiences contributors described proved to be, in George Ewart Evans words, a 'prior culture' on the point of disappearing.

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the patient assistance I have received from staff at De Montfort University, particularly my first supervisor Professor Robert Colls, for giving me the opportunity to begin this study and his encouragement and guidance throughout, my second supervisor Professor Matthew Taylor for his support and constructive criticism and Professor Martin Polley for wise advice.

I acknowledge the help I have received from staff at the Derby Local Records Office and the Derbyshire County Records Office, who found relevant documents and offered their expertise.

I am indebted to George Ewart Evans and Charles Underhill for their advice, without which I would not have undertaken this research.

I remember the pleasure my oral contributors gave me, while recording their information and the enthusiasm they had for the project of saving their memories, which have proved so illuminating regarding their life experiences.

My children have been a great support and inspiration and I thank them.

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## Introduction

This oral history is of a Derbyshire agricultural parish during the first forty years of the twentieth century, begun soon after I heard George Ewart Evans lecture at a Conference held at Leicester University in March 1972. George Ewart Evans implored the audience to go out and record experiences of ‘the old prior culture’ before it was too late, as agriculture and rural life were changing rapidly and those who remembered earlier times were dying.<sup>1</sup> It was a pioneering era for oral history. George Ewart Evans recorded life in Suffolk. Here was an opportunity to capture the dynamics of a Derbyshire parish community that was disappearing, and my experience had prepared me to undertake the task. Although I was a relative newcomer, unrelated to local families, over seven years I had become known and acknowledged as being interested in the history of the parish and its people.

As a child, I was introduced to the idea of oral history, my grandfather having recorded and published Berkshire ballads in 1904. My father took me, aged about twelve, to visit my great-aunt, for her to tell me about her childhood, her mother’s family farm and her cordwainer father’s shoe shop in Reading. My father encouraged me to record her account in a notebook, a practise I continued when recording my children’s sayings and then small encounters in Church Broughton, after we moved there in 1965. I realised that exact wording was essential to gain the flavour of what was said, so I became good at listening and recalling precise words. Formally interviewing parishioners would simply be a more open and acknowledged recording. Church Broughton’s church chest was a treasure trove of old parish papers, somewhat mouse-eaten, which included the school log. I copied them for possible future use and wrote leaflets about the past to be sold for the church. I was becoming an archivist of not only the written but also spoken record. I joined the Derbyshire Archaeological Society and contributed a paper about the Cokes of

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<sup>1</sup> George Ewart Evans, Thea Thompson, Tony Green, Theo Barker and Patrick Saul, The Leicester Conference on the problems of Oral History, in ‘*Oral History*’, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1972), p. 12. Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor, Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900*, (Cambridge, 1985, 1995), p. 194.

Longford<sup>2</sup>. I wrote to Paul Thompson and he suggested I attend the conference at Leicester University, which was at the beginning of the Oral History Society and confirmed my interest in oral history.

Regarding my situation in the parish, only three years after our arrival, David Prince's death led to the need for a replacement District Councillor. Gordon Barnett, a businessman, was standing unopposed. I felt strongly there should be an election. After failing to persuade others to stand, I decided to oppose him myself as an independent, with the sole purpose of upholding democracy. I had posters printed and drew in as many people as possible, regardless of whether they would vote for me. Gordon Barnett began canvassing. The council clerk said the turnout was surprisingly high. Unexpectedly, with a few spoiled papers, the growing piles of votes being counted looked similar and finally, by a small margin, to my astonishment, I had won! As Councillor I was able to instigate council housing, a travellers' site, a new school and the reopening of the ancient roadway to Heath Top as a nature trail. These projects were not universally popular, but I was re-elected. It was during my time as Councillor that I began recording parishioners' memories. I was no longer an incomer but, with children at the school, knowing their friends' families, had become accepted as almost part of their community before new housing brought in many townspeople. As an interviewer, it made it possible for me to be objective, yet empathetic. I knew or knew of the people contributors mentioned. I made family trees to understand the complex relationships. I listened and they enjoyed telling me. I was discrete and trusted.

I took George Ewart Evans as my exemplar, writing to ask his advice and reading five of his books.<sup>3</sup> I found that, in them, he quoted records, accounts, diaries, and long oral contributions

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<sup>2</sup> Arthur, J. The Coke Family of Longford: home of younger sons, in *Derbyshire Miscellany*, vol.7, pt 4, Autumn 1975, pp. 187-192;

<sup>3</sup> Ask The Fellows Who Cut The Hay, 1956, The Horse in the Furrow, 1960, The Farm and the Village, 1969, Where Beards Wag All: The Relevance of the Oral Tradition, 1970, The Days That We Have Seen, 1975.

from repeated visits to 69 men and fifteen women. He focused on the skills and equipment used in arable agriculture before mechanisation – his ‘prior culture’, adding the fishing industry in *The Days That We Have Seen* and mining in *From Mouths of Men*. Collecting oral material soon after the Second World War, his informants were born in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, so he was collecting information about working with horses and hand tools. Gathering material in the 1970s, my focus was on the effects of changes in agriculture on a dairying parish community.

## Interviews in the 1970s

Having had only minimal advice for undertaking this research, I made progress through experience, gaining equipment and expertise. When I began to record the older parishioners, I was passed on by ‘snowball’ sampling, so that I was, to begin with, limited to their suggestions for further interviewees. This may have influenced the choice of informants. For particular information, I also called on others.<sup>4</sup> Another restriction was that many of those mentioned had died or moved away. The contributors were looking back over anything from thirty to seventy years. I was seeing them as old people but listening to their younger selves.

There was no training in oral history in 1972. I followed George Ewart Evans’ practical guidance regarding taking notes and tape recordings, privacy and ethics, but in the early days sometimes failed to note the date of interview.<sup>5</sup> My interviewing, without preparation or set questions, allowed the contributors to choose their topics and the way they told stories. One disadvantage of my technique was that important facts might have been missed. An advantage was that people chose to speak about things, of which I was unaware, that were important to them. In 1978, Paul Thompson contrasted free-flowing interviewing, which I had undertaken, with prepared questions. He quoted Ray Hay: that the open-ended approach could lead ‘to completely new lines

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<sup>4</sup> Morley, J. lecturer at Oral History Spring School, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Evans, G. E., *Where Beards Wag All, The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*, (London, 1970, 1977), p.23. Personal correspondence dated 2.2.1972.

of enquiry but it can degenerate into little more than anecdotal gossip. It can produce miles and miles of useless tape and impossible problems of selection and transcription.<sup>6</sup> That was my experience, resulting in years of transcription and later selection, but the wealth of material was wider and deeper than would have come as answers to direct questioning and added the emotional aspect to facts. The chief consequence was that, instead of starting with limited, identified questions, I needed to unravel their stories to discover the significance of their experiences.

All my contributors gave consent to be recorded. At that time, written consent was not required. I began by writing in notebooks to record interviews, then I obtained a Phillips cassette recorder, about nine inches square, which I explained to the contributor, obtaining permission to use it, while also taking notes, as Mary Kay Quinlan described: ‘with the intention of making the information available to others’.<sup>7</sup> Occasionally, when people spoke to me without the recorder, I reverted to notebooks. Because I was not funded, I had an advantage in that there was no restriction on time – I was in the hands of the contributors.<sup>8</sup> They had freedom to shape the interviews, the result at first seeming amorphous. The need to acquire funding may guide research in particular directions, so that some areas are overlooked.<sup>9</sup>

The length of my interviews was governed by the length of tapes and their knowledge of me as a listener may have influenced my progress. When, on one occasion, a contributor I was recommended to visit, was wary and parted reluctantly with little information, I accepted a brief interview: my reference was ‘a sealed lips informant’. His approach was cautious: ‘Of course, I heard a lot about it at that time, but I can’t remember details. I wouldn’t like to attempt to now. It’s all so long ago. It’s almost impossible without records.’<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Thompson, P., *The Voice of the Past*, (Oxford, 1978, 1988), p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> Quinlan, M., K., The Dynamics of Interviewing, in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Ritchie, D. A., (Oxford, 2011), p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Palmer, B., *A Fruitful Field for Women: British Women Biochemists 1945-1975*. East Midlands Oral History Society Seminar 22 6 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Kynaston, D., *National Life Stories Lecture 2017*.

<sup>10</sup> Hollis Hall transcript, p. 1.

Others would have liked me to stay longer; my reference for one couple was ‘a clock ticked and chimed in the background. At times they chuckled.’<sup>11</sup> As I progressed, I learnt a great amount regarding relationships, housing, work, difficulties and successes, so that the interviews became increasingly extended and more rewarding. Their knowledge of me, too, as a listener, may well have influenced my progress and the things they were willing to reveal.

George Ewart Evans’ assumption was that I would ‘have real sympathy with the people you record’ and have their confidence.<sup>12</sup> My recording was impromptu – an effort to capture information before elderly residents died. As I had lived in the parish for seven years, with children at the school, everyone knew me, and I was passed from one contributor to the next, all keen to help. As oral history developed after the Oral History Society formed in 1973, there was greater awareness of the relationship between the interviewer, contributor and content of the interview: interviewing done between strangers taking time to reach a rapport of trust and respect; differences in status, power and education between questioner and questioned affecting the outcome, together with preconceived approaches to the interview. Jodie Boyd found her own political and ideological assumptions affected her reaction as interviewer in an interview.<sup>13</sup> For my contributors it was as if I were a visiting niece, being put right about the family history. Jackie Moore who interviewed First Nation Vancouver women, emphasised the art of listening - allowing people to feel comfortable - and then ‘many unexpected views and opinions were shared’.<sup>14</sup> Michiko Takeuchi found that the perception of the interviewer by the contributor influenced the nature of the exchange.<sup>15</sup> I found that either later clarification, or comments from

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<sup>11</sup> Albert and Vera Kirk transcript, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Evans, G. E., letter to Janet Arthur, dated 2 2 1972.

<sup>13</sup> Yow, V., Oral History Review article mentioned in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* ed. Ritchie, D.A., (OUP 2011), p. 81. Boyd, J., His Narrative, My History: Problematizing Subjectivity and the Uses of Oral History Interviews, in ‘*Oral History, Journal of the Oral History Society*’, vol. 43, 2, (Autumn 2015), pp. 62-69. Yow, V., What can oral historians learn from psychotherapists? in ‘*Oral History, Journal of the Oral History Society*’, vol. 46, 1, (Spring 2018), pp. 33-41.

<sup>14</sup> Moore, J., Women Tell Their Stories: Learning to Listen to First Nation Voices, in ‘*Oral History, Journal of the Oral History Society*’, vol. 46, 1 (Spring 2018), pp. 102-110.

<sup>15</sup> Takeuchi, M., Negotiating Respectability: Intersubjectivity in Interviews about Military Prostitution in US Occupied Japan, in ‘*Oral History, Journal of the Oral History Society*’, vol. 43, 2, (Autumn 2015), pp.79-90. Eagleman, D., The Brain, BBC4, 28 1 2016.

another contributor might add further information. However, as Robert Atkinson advised, I had to remember that their information could be exaggerated, biased, mistaken or untrue.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, where facts and statistics give certain information, oral testimony contributes feeling and experience.

## Gossip and Memory

The explanations and descriptions people gave me, described the life of the parish as they knew it. John Berger wrote that in villages:

‘Most of what happens during a day is recounted by somebody before the day ends... a combination of the sharpest conversation of the daily recounting of the day’s events and encounters, and of life-long mutual familiarities is what constitutes so-called village *gossip*. Sometimes there is a moral judgment implied in the story, but this judgment - whether just or unjust – remains a detail: the story *as a whole* is told with some tolerance because it involves those with whom the storyteller and listener are going to go on living.’<sup>17</sup>

My contributors gave some factual information, but conversation was mostly about relationships and personal experience, adding an emotional aspect to events that I used documents to confirm. My style of interviewing was open-minded as well as open-ended. My input, if any, was not pre-conceived. It began as a simple request for information about photographs for an exhibition but developed into one-sided ‘gossip’. George Ewart Evans describes the experience:

Often it is the trivial, the remark made on the side, the piece of gossip, that reveal the attitude (perhaps unconscious, or only barely realized) that will be of the greatest value to him in arriving at an assessment of more weighty facts. The anecdote, the tit-bit of gossip may well take him right into the heads of the people he is writing about and may

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<sup>16</sup> Atkinson, R., *The Life Story Interview*, (Thousand Oaks, California, 1997), pp. 60, 74.

<sup>17</sup> Berger, j., *Landscapes*, (London, 2016), p. 62.

well convince him that an appreciation of attitudes is an important and essential complement to a knowledge of facts.<sup>18</sup>

According to Melanie Tebbutt, gossip is ‘talk about other people’s activities and behaviour’. Not necessarily designed to be pejorative, malicious or scandalmongering, ‘its observations about behaviour perform an important integrative, socialising function’. She commented that gossip could also be used to exclude an outsider from a group. Newcomers would be assessed and, if accepted, could be absorbed, but otherwise might be shunned.<sup>19</sup> I soon began to ‘know’ the people being mentioned, so that I was accepted as the recipient of gossip. Colin Bell found there was a difference between gossip and reporting memories. He was tempted to participate in the gossip, but for ethical reasons chose the role of sociological fieldworker: ‘in creating this role it was necessary for it to be seen that confidences were kept and that I took no part in gossip.’<sup>20</sup> Gossip indicates relationships, which can be locally between family members, with neighbours, fellow workers, employers, schoolmaster, vicar or more formally with official bodies. Ferdinand Tönnies explored the differences in relationship through official association compared to the local community and John Law considered the contribution of networks to good communication.<sup>21</sup>

Oral history, the interpretation and evaluation of gossip, relies essentially on the memory of contributors. Paolo Jedlowski opined that memory, rather than a store into which one dips, is ‘a complex network of activities, the study of which indicates that the past never remains “one and the same”, but is constantly selected, filtered and restructured in terms set by the questions and necessities of the present, at both the individual and the social levels.’<sup>22</sup> Gossip is not a completely

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<sup>18</sup> Evans, G. E., *Where Beards Wag All, The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*, (London, 1970, 1977), pp. 17, 22. Harari, Y.N., *Sapiens, A Brief History of Mankind*, (Dvir, 2014), p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Tebbutt, M., *Women’s Talk? A Social History of ‘Gossip’ in Working-class Neighbourhoods, 1880-1960*, (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 1, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Bell, C., The Use of Gossip and Event Analysis in the Study of Suburban Communities, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed Bell, C. and Newby, H., (London, 1974), p. 241.

<sup>21</sup> Tönnies, F., *Community and Society*, (1887, Michigan State University Press, 2013), pp. 50, 65, 254, 258. Law, J., Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity, in *Systems Practice*, 5 (1992), pp. 379-93.

<sup>22</sup> Jedlowski, P., Memory and Sociology, themes and issues, in ‘*Time and Society*’, (2001), p. 30.

reliable source, but Penny Summerfield showed how memories can help to expose the way people behaved towards each other, individually or as a group.<sup>23</sup> Daniel Schacter maintained that memories were retained because they were important to the teller, had some emotional significance – humour, delight, anger, horror, but may have been added to or altered with time.<sup>24</sup> As well as their own experience, some contributors spoke of grandparents, one born in 1818. Memories can express the emotion felt at the time or about the situation and relationships that are being recalled in the present. Topics presented by contributors were those they chose to describe. Painful or reprehensible memories may have been omitted or unconsciously repressed. Elizabeth Loftus discussed whether such memories, when recalled, were genuine.<sup>25</sup> Maurice Halbwachs thought that shared memories were reinforced by the sharing. Ann Green wrote that if several people remembered the same incident as a shared collective memory; this could integrate individuals as a group and keep memories alive.<sup>26</sup> Contributions from other witnesses gave clarification and I used documents to confirm the details of memories.

## Transcription

Having collected their stories, I set this material to one side, as I was led in a different direction. After hearing George Ewart Evans' plea to record the elderly, I had called on a local historian, Charles Underhill for advice on a choice of topic to study.<sup>27</sup> He recommended clergy or the origins of the cheese industry. I chose the latter because, in this country, it had begun in Derbyshire and I was living in a dairying parish. I studied documents and visited the sites of early Derbyshire cheese factories, recording the oral history with anyone I found who had been involved. My

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<sup>23</sup> Summerfield, P. *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, (Manchester University Press, 1998).

<sup>24</sup> Schacter, D., The Seven Sins of Memory in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* ed. Ritchie, D.A., (OUP, 2011), p. 85. Samuel, R. and Thompson, P., *The Myths We Live By*, (London, 1990), p. 7. Thomson, A., Memory and Remembering in Oral History, in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* ed. Ritchie, D. A., (OUP, 2011), pp. 85-87.

<sup>25</sup> Peneff, J., Myths in Life Stories, in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. Samuel, R. and Thompson, P., (London, 1990), pp. 38, 43. Loftus, E. F. The Reality of Repressed Memories, in *American Psychologist*, 1993, 48, 518 – 537.

<sup>26</sup> Halbwachs, M., *The Collective Memory*, (New York, 1980), p. 48. Green, A., Can Memory Be Selective in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* ed. Ritchie, D.A., (OUP 2011), p. 99. Brown, C., Oral Testimony as a Historical Source: Strength and Challenges in *'Discussion Papers, Research Centre for the History of Religious Cultural Diversity'*, NO. 4 (2015), p.9.

<sup>27</sup> Underhill, C. H. *History of Tutbury and Rolleston*, (Rolleston, 1975).



husband died in 1983 and I was encouraged by my daughter to study at the Open University. I decided to learn more about technology and relationships to verify my cheese researches. I published *Say Cheese* in 1994, but, having other preoccupations, set aside the Church Broughton material, while occasionally adding to it. I began to transcribe it in 2000.

When transcribing, I recorded only the interviewee's words, as I felt it was their story and any query or prompt I made was superfluous and an intrusion. I included all their words, with any repetitions. I did not write down pauses or hesitations, but, having finished transcribing, I wrote at the beginning a comment such as whether there had been much laughter, whether they stammered, if they had had to put their teeth in and so on. People were generally referred to as Mr. Mrs. or the Master, titles of respect at that time, that applied both to the wealthy and the poor. This form of address was confusing when many of my informants were related, and the same name could refer to more than one person, so I used first name and surname throughout the transcripts. I did not try to imitate a phonic Derbyshire accent, but entered apostrophes where letters were tacit, as it was part of the flow of speech. Alessandro Portelli pointed out the loss of information in the action of transcribing – speed of speech, pauses, dialect, accent, laughter and that omitting the interviewer's remarks can be distorting.<sup>28</sup> I have the tapes and have put their record onto the computer. I had an abundance of random material but did not yet know the questions it answered. I was at a loss as to how to understand its implications regarding the 'prior culture'.

### Revisiting the 1970s Interviews: Doctoral Research

Having completed transcription in 2012, in order to learn how to interpret their contributions, I became a graduate student at De Montfort University in 2013. As the 1972 lectures were at Leicester University, I first contacted Keith Snell Professor of Rural and Cultural History at that

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<sup>28</sup> Portelli, A., The Peculiarities of Oral History, in *History Workshop Journal*, 1981, 12 (1), pp 97-99.

university and was directed by him to Robert Colls, Professor of Cultural History at De Montfort University. With his advice, I began analysing the material and researching comparative rural and oral history, finding that by then both had moved on and changed. The rural history gave me an understanding of the historical situation of Church Broughton as a parish and the bearing that had on its residents. Comparable oral evidence was not available and different interviewing techniques had become the norm. Yet my material offered information about a way of life that had not been covered before. I joined the Oral History Society, which had been founded in 1973, not long after George Ewart Evans' lecture. There was a gulf between his method, which I had followed and those since developed by oral historians, which led me to consider the progress of oral history. It was difficult to know how to use the material I had collected as current practice did not relate to my situation.

Saving their stories and opinions produced a rich resource but, having been done with no preconceived plan meant there were few clues to lead me through the maze of possible interpretations. I read about developments in rural, local and oral history to understand the meaning of their testimonies. Although previous local history research had strands that guided me to a greater understanding of their relationships and the consequences of parish history, I was unable to find a description of a similar 'open' parish community.

Confidence in confidentiality was important. When I earlier wrote the oral history of the cheese industry, the participants were able to read and approve their transcripts, but with this research, the contributors had died before I completed the transcription. There is always the need to respect privacy and confidentiality, while maintaining accuracy. Williams, in writing about Ashworthy, studying the effect of rural depopulation on family relationships, chose to avoid identification of informants by altering all names, including place names. Although described as a parish, Ashworthy was not a parish or administrative unit, but 'these changes have been made in a way

which retains the validity of the material for analytical purposes.<sup>29</sup> Ronald Blyth's *Akenfield Portrait of an English Village* was criticised for inaccuracy in a review by Howard Newby in 1975, as those selected for interview came from several villages and their situation was romanticised: 'the book then, is a statement by Blythe not by the inhabitants themselves'.<sup>30</sup> As Church Broughton informants had now all died, they are identified and their words are quoted exactly. I received ethical approval from De Montfort University on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2015.

I found oral historians were astonished by my style of interviewing and the amount of information gathered. As Lynn Abrams commented in 2010: 'Since the 1960s, oral history has been transformed from a practice largely undertaken as a means of gathering material about the past to a sophisticated theoretical discipline in its own right.'<sup>31</sup> There were differing opinions as to who should be in charge of the interview. Charles Morrissey, when considering methods of interviewing, was keen that those interviewed should be in charge, but that the interviewer should be ready to intervene briefly to clarify points, as and when necessary.<sup>32</sup> As I used this method, my contributors may have felt free to reveal more of their life experiences. Mary Kay Quinlan expected oral historians to have 'considerable advanced planning..... the most important – and controllable – factor is the amount of research that goes into preparing for an oral history interview.'<sup>33</sup> My 'prior research' was the knowledge I had from being a neighbour with an interest in local archives. Patricia Leavey, in 2011 offered an alternative method, minimalist biography interviewing, intended for individuals: 'The researcher begins with one open, "narrative inducing" question and then proceeds to allow the participant to tell his or her story without interruption.'<sup>34</sup> My interviews were 'minimalist, open-ended, contributing little, listening to the informant's story', sometimes returning for a second interview. My contributors, despite

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<sup>29</sup> Williams, W.M., *A West Country Village Ashworthy, Family, Kinship and Land*, (London, 1963), p. xiii.

<sup>30</sup> Newby, H., Review, *Akenfield Revisited* in '*Oral History Journal*', Vol. 3. No. 1, Spring 1975, pp. 76-83.

<sup>31</sup> Abrams, Lynn *Oral History Theory*, (London, 2010) p 5.

<sup>32</sup> Morrissey, C.T., On Oral History Interviewing, in Leavy, P., *Oral History*, (OUP 2011), pp108, 109.

<sup>33</sup> Quinlan, M., K., The Dynamics of Interviewing, in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Ritchie, D. A., (Oxford, 2011), pp. 25, 29.

<sup>34</sup> Leavy, P., *Oral History, Understanding Qualitative Research*, (OUP, 2011), pp. 12, 21-34.

being influenced by national affairs, focused on the daily lives of their neighbourhood. They mentioned official bodies when they were personally affected but were most interested in local characters and events.

My research is a record of the experience, in their own words, of those people who lived in the parish of Church Broughton, Derbyshire during the first part of the twentieth century, and were still living in the neighbourhood in 1972. There were seventy contributors, of whom thirty-three were men and thirty-seven women, nearly a fifth of the current population. (Church Broughton population in 1971 was 335, whereas in 1901 it was 436). The eldest contributor was born in 1875. It was necessarily a limited group, many others having moved away or died. They were remembering their childhood, youth and later, so their memories were coloured by the knowledge and experience they had accumulated by the age when they were recollecting.

The research is original, being a collection of oral histories of rural people, before changes completely altered the life of their parish. Diana Kuprel, translator of Ryszard Kapuscinski, a Polish correspondent in Africa considered his reportage ‘a living history of those seldom deemed worthy to enter the annals of official history’: he wrote ‘the purpose is to prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time.’<sup>35</sup> My contributors were keen for their experience of living in an ‘open’ parish with no resident lord of the manor to be known, as well as changes that came about. George Ewart Evans’ concern was ‘to illustrate the importance of the oral testimony of those people who grew up under the old culture’, by which he meant in the time just still in living memory. He acknowledged that oral testimony was only a supplement to documentary evidence. Although the collection of this data had been at an earlier phase of both rural and oral

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<sup>35</sup> Kuprel, D., *Literary Reportage: Between and Beyond Art and Fact*, in: *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Cornis-Pope, M., and Neubauer, J., (Amsterdam, 2004, 2006), vol.1, p.384. Kapuscinski, R., *Travels with Herodotus*, (Harmondsworth, 2008), p. 74.

history, in 2013 it needed to be examined with an understanding of the development of the current historical approach.

When the transcription was complete, there was so much material that I clustered it into seventeen selected subjects and was advised by my tutor to amalgamate them for five chapters, as an initial part of my university training. My interest was in the way the community functioned together, so, after choosing my categories, I selected appropriate items, and ignored a mass of other detail – for example long narratives regarding work in the mine or with horses. I tried NVivo for sorting, but found using two screens, cut and paste, more effective. I was able to select comments that reflected how, as a community, parish society operated. Aristotle wrote ‘it is the mark of the instructed mind to rest satisfied with the degree of precision to which the nature of the subject admits and not to seek exactness when only an approximation to the truth is possible’.<sup>36</sup> There were limitations: those people available to speak to me and their choice and emphasis of material. Jan Vansena wrote: ‘Interpretation is a choice between several possible hypotheses, and the good historian is the one who chooses the hypothesis that is most likely to be true.’<sup>37</sup> I hope I have correctly represented the contributors’ vision of the parish.

## Oral History

The oral history conference that I attended in Leicester in 1972 was part of the flux out of which oral history was developing from an earlier interest in folklore.<sup>38</sup> Raphael Samuel of Ruskin College, Oxford, with E. P. Thompson and others, had founded the *Past and Present* journal in 1952, emphasising the history of working people. Raphael Samuel led the first History Workshop in 1966. A conference was held at the British Institute of Recorded Sound in 1969, attended by Theo Barker of Kent University, George Ewart Evans, Stewart Sanderson of Leeds University

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<sup>36</sup> Quoted by Ormerod, P., *Positive Linking*, (London, 2012), p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> Vansena, J., *Oral Tradition*, (Harmondsworth, 1961, 1973), p. 185.

<sup>38</sup> Evans, G. E., *The Days That We Have Seen*, (London, 1975), p. 20.

and Paul Thompson of Essex University. Paul Thompson founded the Oral History Journal in 1969 and the Oral History Society at the University of York in 1973.<sup>39</sup> He organised the 1972 Leicester Conference on 'Problems of Oral History' for the Social Science Research Council. It seems two strands of oral history were developing. When used for surveys, there needed to be consistency in questioning, with the enquirer in control, whereas George Ewart Evans wrote

'it is almost useless for a folklorist to ask a direct question – at least in a cold and purely 'informative' atmosphere. The real information comes of its own accord, is nourished by a kind of involuntary flow between the questioner and the questioned; and when the time is right it comes unannounced, with all the freshness of a discovery and with the same conviction of rightness that accompanies the poet's inspiration.'<sup>40</sup>

With a similar intention, Raphael Samuel recorded Headington Quarry residents in *Village Life and Labour* in 1975. He wrote

Of every event one should be able to ask, what meaning did this have in people's lives; of every institution, how did it affect them; of every movement, who were the rank and file?<sup>41</sup>

In 2013, while I was learning how to handle my material and discover the implications, not only of the material, also the method of its collection, I found that in order to counter the accusation that such history was too vague and insufficiently academic, oral history teaching had advocated a different collaborative interview. Here, there was more intervention from the interviewer, who chose and researched a topic, framed broad questions and selected people to be interviewed depending on how the information would be used.<sup>42</sup> Prepared questions created a framework and clear boundaries, but the choice of topics by the interviewer and the type of questions could

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<sup>39</sup> Evans, G. E. *The Days That We Have Seen*, (London, 1975), p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> Evans, G. E., *The Horse in the Furrow*, (London, 1960), p. 261.

<sup>41</sup> 'Quarry Roughs': Life and Labour in Headington quarry, 1860-1920, in *Village Life and Labour* ed. Samuel, R., History Workshop Series (London, 1975), p. xix.

<sup>42</sup> Henige, D., *Oral Historiography*, (Harlow, 1982, 1985), p. 109, 110. McCarthy, L., 'I thought I was the only one': Introducing GI children in Leicester to each other. East Midlands Oral History Society Seminar 22 6 2018. Panesar, A., *Cricket and the British Asian Community: The story of cricket from the grassroots*. East Midlands Oral History Society Seminar 22 6 2018.

influence the memories awakened. Mary Kay Quinlan wrote: ‘an oral history interview’s success hinges on questions that are neutrally framed, open-ended, and asked one at a time.’<sup>43</sup> These interviews risked becoming an examination more than free exploration. The lack of constraints in my interviews, the informality and pleasure allowed contributors to describe their experience of living in this rural parish through a time of increasing changes in their circumstances.

There was a forty-year gap between my recording and finally beginning to evaluate the material in 2013. Moreover, although the collection of data had been at an earlier phase of both rural and oral history, it needed to be examined with current historical methodology, which I learned from tutors at De Montfort University. Joanna Bornat, referring to secondary analysis wrote that original material was taken at one time, contributors referring back to a previous time and then ‘returning to data after a lapse of time introduces yet another dimension, to which can be added a fourth, the point in time when the analysis takes place’.<sup>44</sup> For me, the great time difference between recording and evaluating may have had an effect on my interpretation. There was no opportunity to return to informants for clarification.

## Local, Rural, Community History

Oral history relates to the method. The matter concerns rural history. My research fills a gap in rural history, illustrating a central agricultural parish with mixed ownership during a time of change. Paul Thompson, writing in 1978, felt that oral history had developed through contact with the field-work in sociology, anthropology, and dialect and folklore research.<sup>45</sup> This bias had led to the selection, before and after the Second World War, of isolated remote communities and

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<sup>43</sup> Quinlan, M., K., *The Dynamics of Interviewing*, in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Ritchie, D. A., (Oxford, 2011), p. 31.

<sup>44</sup> Bornat, J., *Crossing Boundaries with Secondary Analysis: Implications for Archived Oral History Data*, a paper given at ESRC National Council for Research Methods Network for Methodological Innovation, University of Essex, 2008.

<sup>45</sup> Thompson, P., *The Voice of the Past*, (Oxford, 1978, 1988), pp.66, 67.

a view that they were unchanging.<sup>46</sup> Anthropologists Arensberg and Kimball, students of Lloyd Warner of Harvard University, studied two townlands of small family subsistence farms in County Clare, Ireland in 1932 and 1934 and found communities that absorbed small changes, while resisting outside interference.<sup>47</sup> Alwyn Rees, extramural tutor at Aberystwyth University, bracketed the war, researching a parish of scattered farms in mid-Wales, with students, one of whom W. M. Williams then studied Gosforth in Cumbria and Ashworthy in Devon.<sup>48</sup> Sociologist, James Littlejohn, a student at Edinburgh, studied Westrigg parish in the Cheviots, where there were no tenant farmers, only owners or managers of their subsidiary farms with no kinship ties. Profit and reputation dominated there. Anthropologist Ronald Frankenberg studied a slate mining village on the Welsh border. Social anthropologist Isabel Emmett, living near Blaenau Ffestiniog researched farms and four settlements nearby.<sup>49</sup> These places were more remote than Church Broughton and focused on farm households, described impersonally. The information about Church Broughton illustrates how the experience of changes in ownership and development over time affected an agricultural community.

Leicester University became a centre encouraging local history when William Hoskins started the department for English Local History at Leicester in 1963. Those at Leicester, Charles Phythian-Adams, Herbert Finberg and Hoskins, felt that the unique history of a local community deserved attention regarding settlement, kinship, survival and decline, related to the location and environment and its links to the nation. Phythian-Adams quoted Finsberg:

The local historian should concern himself not with areas as such, but with social entities. Each of these entities might be described as a community, by which Finberg meant a set of people occupying an area with defined territorial limits and so far united in thought

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<sup>46</sup> Introduction to *The Sociology of Rural British Communities*, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed Bell, C., and Newby, H., (London, 1974), p. 41.

<sup>47</sup> Arensberg, C., and Kimball, S., Continuity and Equilibrium in County Clare, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed Bell, C., and Newby, H., (London, 1974), pp. 46-54.

<sup>48</sup> Rees, A. D. *Life in the Welsh Countryside, a social study of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa*, (Aberystwith, 1951).

<sup>49</sup> Littlejohn, J., Class Relations in a Rural Parish: Westrigg, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed Bell, C., and Newby, H., (London, 1974). Emmett, I, *A North Wales village: A Social Anthropological Study*, (Dartington Hall, 1964).



and action as to feel a sense of belonging together, in contradistinction from the many outsiders who do not belong.<sup>50</sup>

Maurice Stein described the community as ‘an organised system standing in a determinate relation to its environment, which has a local basis, but not necessarily a rigid boundary’ parts of the system lying beyond it.<sup>51</sup> Church Broughton was one such community, although it has to be said there was a counter tendency in the Leicester department as, in the same occasional paper Samuel Drew felt rather than small and moving outwards, it was better to start wider with groups of linked communities, particularly near towns.<sup>52</sup> Joan Thirsk<sup>53</sup>, Alan Everitt<sup>54</sup> and Charles Phythian-Adams<sup>55</sup> looked wider, at broad areas and types of land. Some of this research was into ancient settlements, some contemporary. Maurice Beresford looked for lost villages, including Barton Blount near Church Broughton. Interest in local history moved away from village communities, but George Ewart Evans, from 1956 to 1987, and Raphael Samuel, from 1975 to 1997, continued to record the lives of working people and rural parishes.<sup>56</sup> George Ewart Evans, writing of Suffolk, described an estate parish, where the chief landowner exercised control over the lives of parishioners, similar to Sudbury and other Derbyshire estates. Raphael Samuel described the lack of single oversight at Headington Quarry on the outskirts of Oxford. For his research in London’s East End, he amassed a large quantity of information from many people ‘drawn from tape-recorded reminiscences taken over a six-year period’. Unfortunately, the companion volume, which was to include ‘the story of how they came to be constructed and of the battle of wills entailed in the making of them’ was never published.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Phythian-Adams, C., *Re-thinking English Local History, Occasional Papers Series 4, 1*, (Leicester, 1987), pp. 2, 3, 17, 18. Finberg, H. P. R., and Skipp, V.H.T., *Local History Objective and Pursuit*, (1967), p. 32.

<sup>51</sup> Stein, M., *The Eclipse of Community*, (Princeton, 1960), pp. 100, 101, quoted by Stacey, M., in *The Myth of Community Studies, The Sociology of Community*, ed. Bell, C., (London, 1974), p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Drew, S., *Conclusion: Some Implications, Occasional Papers Series 4, 1*, (Leicester, 1987), p. 44.

<sup>53</sup> Thirsk, J., *England’s Agricultural Regions an Agrarian History 1500-1750* (1987, London, 1993).

<sup>54</sup> Everitt, A., *Landscape and community in England* (London, 1985).

<sup>55</sup> Phythian-Adams, *Re-thinking English Local History*, (Leicester, 1987).

<sup>56</sup> Evans, G. E., *Where Beards Wag All, The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*, (London, 1970, 1977). ‘Quarry Roughs’: Life and Labour in Headington quarry, 1860-1920, in *Village Life and Labour* ed. Samuel, R., *History Workshop Series* (London, 1975).

<sup>57</sup> Samuel, R., *East End Underworld, Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding*, (London, 1981), p. viii.

Dennis Mills' 1960s investigations into how nineteenth century estate 'close' parishes reduced the cost of settlement, drew attention to other differences between estate 'close' and 'open' parishes. His theory, modified by Sarah Banks, was still considered by Andrew Jackson, in 2012, to be useful in distinguishing estate parishes with a resident lord of the manor from those without.<sup>58</sup> Church Broughton people in an 'open' parish had greater freedom, being similar to Samuel's Headington Quarries, though Church Broughton was an agricultural parish, whereas Headington people worked with stone.

What position had the recollections of Church Broughton people in the studies of local communities? Alwyn Rees had published his research of 1939 mid-Wales in 1950. As Harold Carter explained, there was thereafter a growing, rather derisive criticism of community studies by Margaret Stacey, Ruth Glass and others - sociologists who emphasised theory and data over experience.<sup>59</sup> There has been ongoing discussion as to the nature of community and 'Community History'. According to Bernard Deacon and Moira Donald

it is both contextual, setting local places and communities in the context of wider political, economic and cultural processes, and theoretical, relating local details to more general theories of how communities are constructed, how they function and how they change.<sup>60</sup>

My study of Church Broughton has followed this practice.

Searching for a comparable study in Derbyshire history, I found the market for authors writing about Derbyshire was for books on the development of industry along the Derwent valley,<sup>61</sup> or

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<sup>58</sup> Mills, D.R., The Development of Rural Settlement Around Lincoln, in *English Rural Communities*, ed. Mills, D. R., (London, 1973). Short, B., *The English Rural Community*, (Cambridge, 1992). Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England, A Social History 1850-1925*, (London, 1992). Holderness, B.A., 'Open' and 'Close' Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, *'Agricultural History Review'*, (1972). Banks, S., Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at 'open' and 'close' parishes, in *'Economic History Review'*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, XLI, I (1988). Jackson, A., 'The 'Open-Closed' Settlement Model and the Interdisciplinary Formulations of Dennis Mills: Conceptualising Local Rural Change', *'Rural History'*, Vol. 23, 2, 2012, pp. 121-136.

<sup>59</sup> Carter, H., in Foreword to Rees, A., *Life in the Welsh Countryside, a Social Study of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa*, (Llandybie, 1996), p. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Deacon, B., and Donald, M., In Search of Community History, in *'Family and Community History'*. Vol. 7/1, p. 13 May 2004.

<sup>61</sup> Fryar, M., *Some Chapters in the History of Derby*, (1934). Sharpe, P., *A Village of Considerable Extent*, (2005).

works written by and for the gentry, sometimes by the clergy, some funded by subscription.<sup>62</sup> Travelogues with recorded historical events and features of interest - monuments and country houses and so on - continue to be written.<sup>63</sup> Some descriptions of rural areas were written by and for those who belonged to archaeological societies.<sup>64</sup> These were not about workers. More recently, collections of Derbyshire oral history have been published as straight-forward quotations.<sup>65</sup> According to Kathleen Battye in 1981, 'to attempt to write about the present century would be both presumptuous and dangerous'.<sup>66</sup> Collecting material in Church Broughton, from many living in one place, gives an account of their relationships and the development of a Derbyshire rural community without a resident lord of the manor in the early twentieth century that is unique.

The location of the parish and the history of its ownership contributed to the structure of the community and provided a background to the experience of residents, shown in Chapter One. Chapter Two demonstrates the way the parish responded to national developments in religion providing a strong moral base for the community until the 1930s. Chapter Three shows being an 'open' parish had the benefit of providing a school and the choice of alternative education by some. Chapter Four describes the way residents adjusted to the pressure changes in agriculture put on employers and workers, especially after World War 1. In the final chapter, contributors describe their experiences, both practical and social, of living in Church Broughton parish.

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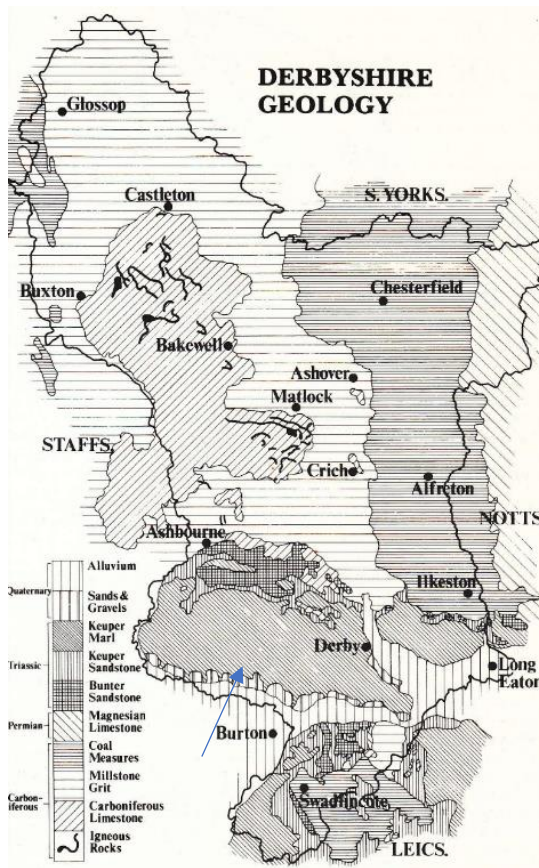
<sup>62</sup> Woolley, W., *History of County of Derby*, 1712 manuscript held at Cambridge University Library. Lyson, D. and S., *Magna Britannica, Being a Concise Topographical Account of the Several Counties of Great Britain*, (London, 1822), Hackett, R. R., *Wirksworth and Five Miles Round*, (Wirksworth, 1863). Cox, J. C., *Churches of Derbyshire*, (Derby, 1877). Crockett, W. S., *Biggar*, (Selkirk, 1900). Kerry, C., *Smalley*, (London, 1905). Buckley, J. A., *A History of Clowne*, (Clowne, 1977), pp. 1, 8.

<sup>63</sup> Parker, R., *Youlgrave, A Derbyshire Village*, (Manchester, 1902). Standfield, F. G., *A History of East Meon*, (Chichester, 1904). Court, A., *Staveley, My Native Town*, (Sheffield, 1946). Hall, D., *Wollaston, Portrait of a Village*, (Wollaston, 1977). Coffin, L. W., *Dorset Villages*, (Bridport, 1984). Dakers, A., *Fordritishope: History of a Shropshire Parish*, (Fordritishope, 1986). Watson, S., *Spondon, a History*, (Spondon, 1989). Howard, L. C., *Country Chronicles*, (Northampton, 1992). Perry, J., Wightman, D., *Chilworth, History of a Hampshire Parish*, (Allbrook, 1994). Chapman, V., *Around Newton Aycliffe*, (Stroud, 1995). Whitfield, R., *Emsworth, a History*, (Chichester, 2005). *A Short History of Brethby*, (Local History Society, Ashby de la Zouche). Hallam, W.E., *Sudbury Derbyshire, History of Village, Church and Hall*, (Sudbury, 1972).

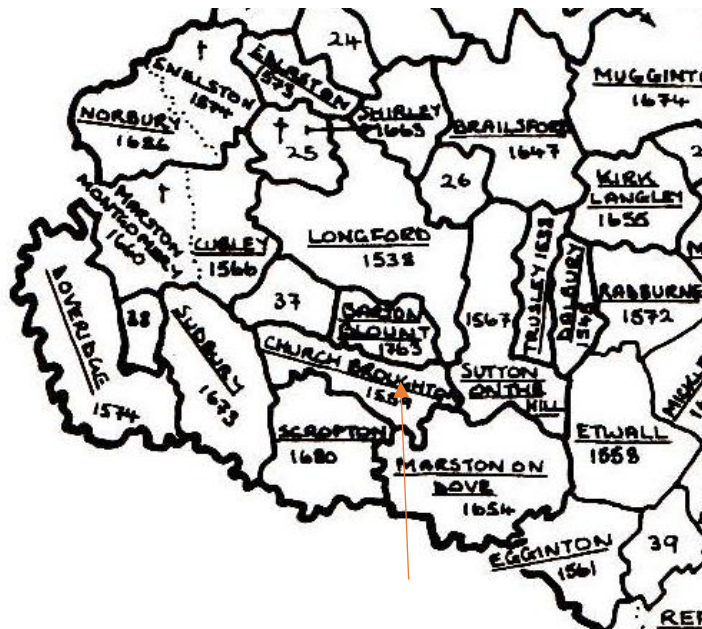
<sup>64</sup> Hopkins, F.C., *Repton and its neighbourhood*, 1899. Auden, A., *Barton Blount*, 1918 and Underhill, C., *History of Tutbury and Rolleston* 1949.

<sup>65</sup> *Boilersuits, Bofors and Bullets*, (Derbyshire County Council, 1999). James, N., *A Derbyshire Life*, (Derby, 1981). Six contributors to *A Derbyshire Town Remembered*, (South Normanton Community Arts Project). Federation of Essex Women's Institutes, *Within Living Memory*, (Newbury, 1995). Ray Jones, *My Brailsford Parish Memories*, (Ilkeston, 2011). Jones, R., *My Brailsford Parish Memories*, (Ilkeston, 2011). Wombwell, M. *Milk, Muck and Memories*, (Chesterfield, nd).

<sup>66</sup> Battye, K. M., *Unstone, the History of a Village*, (Unstone, 1981). *Darley Abbey*, (Buxton, 1974). Bourn, W., *Annals of a Parish, Whickham*, (Consett, 1902).



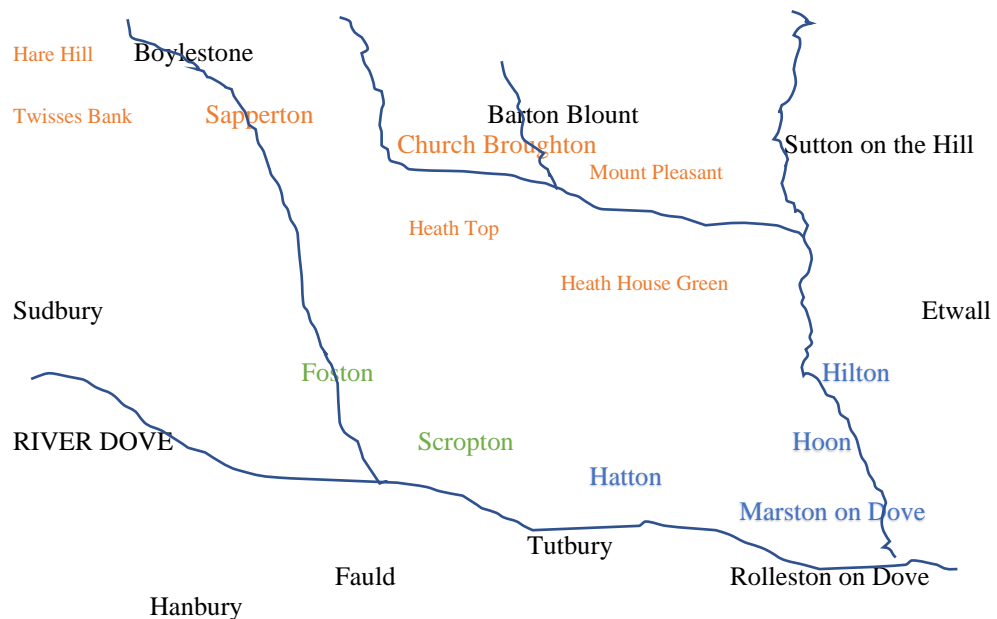
1. Map of Derbyshire. Arrow indicates Church Broughton. Craven, M., and Stanley, M., *The Derbyshire Country House*, (Derby 1982).



2. Part of a map of Derbyshire Ecclesiastical Parishes showing the area west of Derby, the river Dove here forming the county boundary. Church Broughton parish, including the manor of Sapperton was land between estate parishes. Boylestone was marked as 37, Somersall Herbert as 38. Craven, M., and Stanley, M., *The Derbyshire Country House*, (Derby 1982).

## Chapter One: Place

The aim of this chapter is to discover how contributors experienced living in this rural parish in the early part of the twentieth century. In what way did its location, the distribution of housing, the nature of ownership influence their ability to be accommodated and make a living? What were the consequences of not having a resident lord of the manor? How were their lives influenced by the land and nearby estate parishes?



3. Diagram to show streams and relative positions of places in 1900, Derbyshire north and Staffordshire south of the River Dove, not to scale. Settlements were linked: Scropton and Foston, Marston on Dove, Hatton, Hoon and Hilton, Church Broughton and Sapperton.

Ownership of Church Broughton parish, the foundations of which lay in the distant past, contributed to relationships in the twentieth century. Firstly, monks who had come from St. Pierres-sur-Dives, France in 1080 to create a Benedictine priory at Tutbury, were given the manor of Church Broughton and built the most prominent building - the church. Secondly, when the priory was suppressed in 1537, the auditor Sir William Cavendish negotiated to have the manor

of Church Broughton, which was then bequeathed to his descendants, the Dukes of Devonshire, who lived forty miles north at Chatsworth. There were two manors in the parish, the second being Sapperton, owned by the Harrison family living at Snelston ten miles north. Thus, there was no lord of the manor resident in the parish.

Location of a parish affected the potential for work and income, so influenced the number of people who could gain a livelihood there and the community they became. In 1900 Church Broughton was an agricultural parish of 2216 acres, lying between estate parishes. Lacking the many mineral resources of north Derbyshire and the water-powered industrial activity of the Derwent valley to the east, it seemed to offer least potential in the county for earning a living.<sup>67</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams pointed out that rivers often formed the boundaries of counties: the River Dove, flowing into the Trent, bounds this western part of Derbyshire with frontier towns of Ashbourne, Uttoxeter and Tutbury, the nearest to Church Broughton.<sup>68</sup> Dorothy and Pieter Keur, studying Drents in Holland, were interested in whether environment influenced the community.<sup>69</sup> In 1900, Church Broughton had undulating terrain divided into three higher lands by small streams, inclined to flood, but with insufficient water to support a mill or cheese factory, as there were at Longford and Sutton on the Hill. Parishes south of Church Broughton, on the county boundary - Sudbury, Scropton and Marston on Dove – gained from the river, main road and, after 1848, railway line, passing along the Dove valley, between Derby and Stoke on Trent.<sup>70</sup> Augustus Henry Vernon benefitted his Sudbury tenants after 1881 by using both the water and rail to build a butter factory with outlets in London. Marston on Dove being next to the railway and river at Hatton, enabled Nestlé's to develop the small Edwards Creamery as a tinned milk factory in

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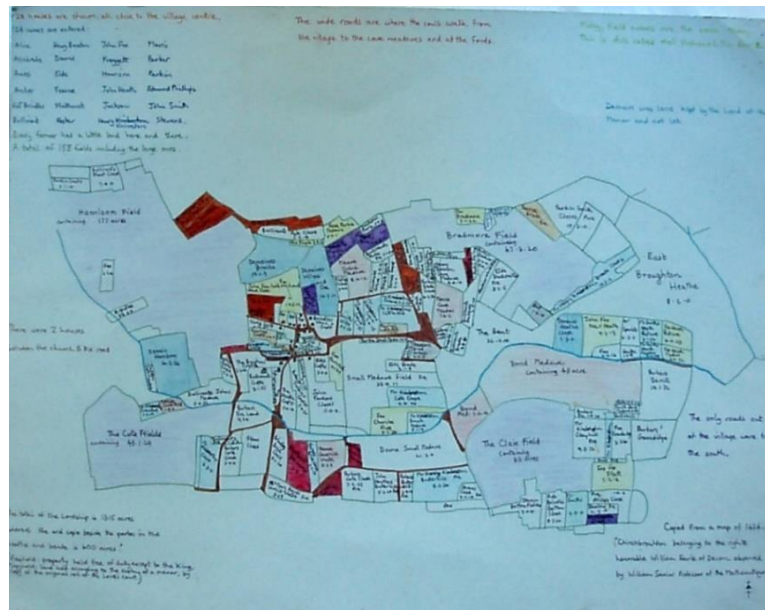
<sup>67</sup> See illustrations 1 and 2. Griffin, A., *Mining in the East Midlands, 1550-1947*, (London 1991). Fitton, R.S., *The Strutts and Arkwrights*, (Manchester, 1958, 1964).

<sup>68</sup> Phythian-Adams, C., *Re-thinking English Local History*, Occasional Papers Series 4, 1, (Leicester, 1987), pp. 2, 3, 17, 18. Lecture at Madingley Hall, Cambridge.

<sup>69</sup> Keur, D., and P., *The Deeply Rooted, A Study of a Drents Community in the Netherlands*, Monograph No. 25, 1955, 'American Ethnological Society', pp. 13, 170.

<sup>70</sup> See illustrations 2, 5. Hallam, W. E., *Sudbury Derbyshire*, p. 12. Adams, N., *A History of Walton on Trent*, (2000), p.44. Walton likewise benefited from the Trent and Mersey Canal.

1901.<sup>71</sup> Lacking these advantages, Church Broughton's boon was soil that grew grass for dairy cattle, which gave farmers more security than those growing cereals in East Anglia.<sup>72</sup>



4. A copy of a 1626 map of the manor of Church Broughton, not including the manor of Sapperton to the west, held in the library at Chatsworth. 'Chirchbrouhton belonging to the righte honourable William Earle of Devon, observed by William Senior, Professor of the Mathematicues.'

Until the enclosure of 1775, the manor of Church Broughton was limited to access from the south, with small fields, common meadows, and a cluster of houses near the church. Enclosure of the open common fields was outside intervention 'down through the customs of the people to the environment itself.'<sup>73</sup> George Sturt compared enclosure with 'knocking a keystone out of an arch'.<sup>74</sup> The settlement and way of life of Church Broughton was transformed. The fifth Duke had four important large farmhouses built; roads, not much more than trackways, were set out and ancestors of the 1900 residents erected scattered houses and smallholdings to make the most of the terrain.

<sup>71</sup> Murray, G., The origin and progress of the factory system of cheese making in Derbyshire reprinted from the *Royal Agricultural Society Journal*, April 1870. Heer, J., *Reflets du Monde 1866-1966, Presence de Nestlé*.  
<sup>72</sup> Snell, K.D. M., *Spirits of Community, English Senses of Belonging and Loss, 1750-2000*, (London, 2016), p. 165. Whitfield, R., *Emsworth, A History*, (Chichester, 2005), p. 19.  
<sup>73</sup> Foucault, M., 'Space, Knowledge and Power: An Interview with Michel Foucault by Paul Rabinow,' *Skyline* (March, 1982), p. 19, quoted in Rabinow, P., *The Foucault Reader* (London, 1984, 1991), p. 16.  
<sup>74</sup> Bourne, G., *Change in the Village*, (Harmondsworth, 1912, 1984), p. 77.



5. A map of the Manor of Church Broughton at the time of the enclosure award made 17<sup>th</sup> March 1775, copied from George Copestake's tracing of the original made in 1919.

Open fields were divided and, as Molly Martin described in Studham, Bedfordshire, ‘the carrot offered to the villagers in exchange was some “new and convenient roads”’.<sup>75</sup> In Church Broughton, roads were laid in every direction., west to Sapperton and Boylestone, north to Alkmonton and Longford, east to Sutton on the Hill. As well as two additional farms in the centre, new farms were dispersed on higher ground at Hare Hill, Twisses Bank, Heath Top and Mount Pleasant, cottages built nearby and at road junctions. Building on enclosed land altered the settlement’s character. Howard Bracey wrote: ‘for the first time in English history, the farm and the village became physically separate units’.<sup>76</sup> This was the layout in which relationships were developed in 1900.

A school had been provided in 1738, on the initiative of ratepayers. Before the development of farm machinery, farmers had employed more labourers, providing work for cobblers, tailors and

<sup>75</sup> Martin, M., Furzen Stalking of Old, in ‘*The Countryman*’, ed. Hall, C., (Burford,1991), vol. 96, no. 4, p. 66.

<sup>76</sup> Bracey, H. E., *English Rural History*, (London, 1959), p. 44.



bakers. Population in the parish in 1851 was 661 reducing to 436 in 1900. Unruly behaviour led to the sixth Duke having the first Derbyshire Lock-up and a Vicarage built in 1855 and 1857. Thus, changes that happened over time set the scene for the arrival of vicar William Auden in 1864, who died in 1904. This physical configuration without a resident lord of the manor, was the accepted backdrop to the lives of residents and made their experience different from their neighbours in estate parishes.

Geology and geography underlay the shape and distribution of land in Church Broughton: undulating small fields having clay over marl. Clay could be baked into bricks and pipes, while marl mixed with the clay to lighten it, produced better soil on which to grow grass and roots for cattle.<sup>77</sup> Joan Thirsk, in 1987, connected the nature of the soil, heavy or light, to the arrangement and control of settlements - that clay land parishes might contain more than one manor and freeholders have more influence, as found in Church Broughton.<sup>78</sup> This contrasted with Blaxall in East Anglia, where George Ewart Evans recorded life. There the land was flat, fields large, resulting in a different organisation of society: estate owners and farmers lived on the periphery of the village, separated from their workers by space and behaviour. In Church Broughton people lived intermingled, so had more awareness and tolerance. East Anglian workers, as Howard Newby pointed out, were more tempted to unite and rebel against authority.<sup>79</sup>

In Church Broughton, plentiful rain produced crops and grass, but the clay soil was claggy, needing drainage - a continuing concern for farmers, who therefore shaped the land in the way it had been ploughed for centuries, in order to run the water off.<sup>80</sup> Fields were marked by hedges and deep ditches. Ploughs were shallow but, in time, ploughed land was raised in wide lants

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<sup>77</sup> John Senior in survey published by the Board of Agriculture, 1811. Marl is clay containing calcium carbonate. Battye, K. M., *Unstone :the History of a Village*, (1981), p. 123. Peters, D., *Darley Abbey, from monastery to industrial community*, (Buxton, 1974), p.1. Carter, E.S., and Stansfield, J.M., *British Farming, Changing Policies and Production Systems*, (Ipswich, 1994), p. 34.

<sup>78</sup> Thirsk, J. *England's Agricultural Regions an Agrarian History 1500-1750*, (1987, London, 1993).

<sup>79</sup> Newby, H., *The Deferential Worker*, (London, 1977), p. 47.

<sup>80</sup> Perry, P.J. *British Agriculture 1875-1914*, (Bungay, 1973), p. 17, 117.

between deep furrows, some of which remained the width needed to turn oxen at the ends, even though horses replaced them by 1730.<sup>81</sup> As Cyril Hambling, whose father farmed at Mount Pleasant, remembered:

‘Set up a rig or ridge, go round it to the right, then set up another going to the right and in between go ‘come again’ going round to the left, it ended with a furrow in the middle instead of a ridge and that was the test of skill in ploughing. Gee again, to the right at the end; Cum again, to the left. Set up a cop, leave twelve yards for the headland, for turning – the width of the hump of land, the lout, which were originally partly due to ploughing, but the only method of drainage before piped land drains.’<sup>82</sup>

The brickyard provided work for villagers who dug clay to fire bricks and simple drainpipes until 1907. Church Broughton houses were built from these bricks and its fields drained with the pipes.

Steve Tunstall said:

‘Old ’arry Smith used to run it. He lived in the cottage. Oo, aye, when they used to get the heat on, you used to see the flames out of the top. It was a square one, I think [the kiln]. They used to grind the clay with a roller. That was how Trevor cut ’is arm off. He worked for the council for years, road mending. He was brother to the one that made bricks. They were supposed to be the best bricks for miles and miles. A jinny-race thing with a horse pulling it. Stevenson always found the horse for that job. A jinny-ring they called it, going round with a horse going round outside it pulling it round. It ground the clay up and then they had to roll it to flatten it out. I don't know but I suppose they cut it up, dried it and baked it.’<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Waud, L., *The Long Furrow*, (Ilkeston, 1987).

<sup>82</sup> Cyril Hambling transcript, p.3. See Appendix, 5 for list of all informants.

<sup>83</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

and Joe Holland commented:

‘It’s a pity why some an them o’d men, as had some better pipes when they did ’em. They were them Austrian pipes, you know, no bottom in ’em. Well, they didn’t make round uns then. Oh, them old men, they could drain. They’d be bargain, as we call it. They didn’t get a deal of money for it in them days.’<sup>84</sup>

As there was little straw from arable crops for bedding the cattle, marl was dug to put under the cows’ knees in the byre. This digging formed pits, which gradually filled with water to become ponds. Residents made the most of their situation, firing the earth into bricks for houses and to line wells for water, while drainpipes helped to dry the land for agriculture.

## Parishes, ‘Open/Close’

Parishes were very different in area, location, assets, population, which makes comparisons and consideration problematic. Dennis Mills, in the 1970s set some parameters with his theory of ‘close’ and ‘open’ parishes, later modified by Sarah Banks.<sup>85</sup> Although Dennis Mills’ original concept has been set aside, Andrew Jackson declared, in 2012:

The open-closed model is explanatory and predictive, a conceptual connection of links between the ownership of property and other dimensions of local life, including: population size and growth trends, housing supply, pauperism, poor rate levels, economic activity and diversity, farm size, resident labour levels, religious provision, leisure and welfare services, and political culture.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Joe Hulland transcript, p. 1. Bargain – by daily contract.

<sup>85</sup> Mills, D R., The Development of Rural Settlement Around Lincoln, in *English Rural Communities*, ed. Mills, D. R., (London, 1973), pp. 93, 95, 184, 250. Short, B., *The English Rural Community*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp.28-32. Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England, A Social History 1850-1925*, (London, 1992). Banks, S., Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at ‘open’ and ‘close’ parishes, in *Economic History Review*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, XLI, I(1988), p. 55.

<sup>86</sup> Jackson, A. J. H. ‘The Open-Closed’ Settlement Model and the Interdisciplinary Formulations of Dennis Mills: Conceptualising Local Rural Change in *Rural History*, (Cambridge,2012) 23, 121-136.

Mills had originally suggested that resident lords of the manor had total control in ‘close’ parishes, whereas there was freedom to build in ‘open’ parishes, such as Church Broughton. His theory is a useful model when attempting to understand the nature of Church Broughton as an ‘open’ parish. A resident estate landowner regulated his parish. Church Broughton was not an estate parish, which led to different standards of living and a different community compared to a ‘close’ estate parish. The lord of the manor and major owners lived elsewhere. Mills suggested that estate parishes had a relationship with nearby ‘open’ parishes where extra labour could be housed without the estate’s responsibility. Holderness thought density of housing and population were therefore greater in ‘open’ parishes with a comparatively increased population living in relative squalor.<sup>87</sup> Church Broughton was not closely linked to an estate parish but did have a higher density of houses and more overcrowded houses than nearby parishes in 1846.<sup>88</sup> Its population decreased rapidly during the following fifty years. This may also have been linked to population growth in Hatton, in the neighbouring parish of Marston on Dove, next to Tutbury, increasing from 330 to 730 in the same period, following the railway being opened in 1848.<sup>89</sup> As Richard Lawton pointed out, in towns ‘the wider range of social amenities and higher wages were positive pulls for rural labour’.<sup>90</sup>

Locally, neighbouring Sudbury and Barton Blount were ‘close’ or estate parishes. Both owners had moved cottages away from the great house and exercised more control over their parishioners. Church Broughton, with many small owners, houses of differing size and design, irregularly scattered through the parish, demonstrated a lack of concerted responsibility for style and comfort.

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<sup>87</sup> Holderness, B.A., ‘Open’ and ‘Close’ Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in *Agricultural History Review*, (Huddersfield, 1984), vol. 32, pp. 127, 131. Derbyshire census 1801 Church Broughton population 420. 1851 census gives 153 houses for population 661, 1901 census 105 houses, population 436. See appendix 2.

<sup>88</sup> Rowntree, S., *Poverty and the Welfare State*, (London, 1951), p. 90. He considered overcrowding if 2 people were in 1 roomed house, 3 in 2 rooms, 5 in 3 rooms, 7.5 in 4 rooms, 10 in 5 rooms 12 in 6 rooms in York. See Appendix 3.

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>90</sup> Lawton, R. Rural Depopulation in Nineteenth Century Rural England, in *English Rural Communities*, ed Mills, R.D., (London, 1973), p. 211.

An estate village, with a resident lord of the manor who had control, responding to the needs of his estate, ‘usually has a consistent and distinctive style of architecture’.<sup>91</sup>



6. Sudbury cottages built in the seventeenth century.



7. Church Broughton cottages, Etechells farm and school, in 1970.

The buildings in the parish of Sudbury, ‘one of the best villages in Derbyshire, with one long street of pretty brick cottages’<sup>92</sup> according to the Shell guide, expressed conformity, those in Church Broughton individuality. In Sudbury, it was immediately evident, from the size and magnificence of the stately home, who was the leading family – the Vernons. Cottages had been rebuilt by estate owner George Vernon in the 1670s, in one style, compactly to the east of Sudbury Hall, to allow a panorama of fields from the Hall windows.<sup>93</sup> In some ways, the villages were similar, both agricultural, with analogous populations.<sup>94</sup> Being an estate village, Sudbury was saved from modern developments, as expressed by the current owner, The Hon. J. Fitzalan Howard, in 2010:

The uniform treatment of the houses is part of the essence of Sudbury. It wouldn’t be the same if there were many different ownerships. Essentially, we have to strike a balance between our paternalism of the village and the cost of maintaining it. However, it’s

<sup>91</sup> Evans, T., and Lycett Green, C., *English Cottages*, (London, 1982), p.90.

<sup>92</sup> Thorold, H., *A Shell Guide to Derbyshire*, (London, 1972), p. 112.

<sup>93</sup> Burchardt, J., *Paradise Lost, Rural Idyll and Social Change since 1800*, (London, 2002), p. 58. Church Broughton was surrounded by ‘close’ parishes where families had their mansions: Barton Blount, Foston, Doveridge, Somersall Herbert, Sudbury, Longford, Etwall and Egginton. Cubley, Marston Montgomery and Trusley once had family seats, pulled down long ago. Sutton on the Hill and Trusley, had passed through heiresses to landed families. At Trusley, J.T. Coke built a new hall in 1902.<sup>93</sup> Barton Blount had been a village of forty-three crofts ‘deserted’ in the fifteenth century. The church and hall survived. Church Broughton and Marston on Dove parishes, surrounded by these family estates, were different, having both belonged to Tutbury Priory south of the river Dove.

<sup>94</sup> Although the total population in Sudbury was higher, Church Broughton population per acre was 0.2 compared to Sudbury 0.14 in 1901.

pleasing that we are not in the job of maximising profit. We simply work towards retaining the atmosphere of our beautiful village.<sup>95</sup>

Church Broughton was a parish with relative freedom over housing, but this may have made it vulnerable to having a disreputable reputation. Ruth Auden commented, regarding the Sudbury doctor,

‘Dr. Crerar said CB was ‘a country slum’ - it was having no squire living in the village, rows of cottages let by absentee landlords at 1/6 to 2/- a week, so we got the local down-and-outs.’<sup>96</sup>

Dennis Mills later found ‘the tied cottage was one of the reasons why the populations of estate villages contained a lower proportion percentage of natives than ‘open’ villages’ – for leaving a tied cottage meant leaving the estate, whereas in an ‘open’ village, there would be other accommodation available.<sup>97</sup> In Church Broughton it had been possible for families to live and own property through generations, since the eighteenth century. Many of the population were inter-related.

Brian Short used the theory of ‘open’/‘close’ parishes to investigate South East England - the area of the North Downs, the Weald, the South Downs and the Coastal Fringe. He identified the location of the two types of parish according to the nature of the land noting their symbiotic relationship: ‘close’ parishes on the coastal fringe and down-land, ‘open’ parishes in the interior weald. He commented on the ‘vertically linked social hierarchies of the ‘close’ communities’ with people divided by class, the workers obsequious, compared to the more egalitarian ‘open’ parishes. The freedom of access, communication and control found in an ‘open’ parish was significant in the relationships of those living there. Relations were contingent on landownership - who exercised power and how these changed over time.<sup>98</sup> The allocation of responsibility for

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<sup>95</sup> Fitzalan Howard, The Hon. J. quoted in *The Village of Sudbury*, ‘*Derbyshire Life and Countryside*’, 1 2 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 4, 8.

<sup>97</sup> Mills, J. and D. R., Rural Mobility in the Victorian Censuses: Experiences with a Micro-Compter Program, *Local Historian* (August, 1988).

<sup>98</sup> Short, B., *Contrasting Communities*, in *The English Rural Community*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 23-41.

power and control was of the greatest importance in residents' experiences in either 'open' or 'close' parishes.

'Open' parishes varied. Compared to Church Broughton, Headington Quarry had a third of the population in 1841 but grew to three times more by 1901. Whereas Church Broughton had developed as a settled farming community, Headington Quarry arose randomly, people squatting on the waste, with quarrying, brickmaking and laundry providing irregular income. The Church Broughton church had been established in the twelfth century and was the most important structure and influence in the community, whereas at Headington the Anglican church, erected in 1847, had little influence. My contributors' information referred to a different part of the country with other parameters. However, people in both parishes had similar skills, and supplemented their earnings through gardening, poultry, pigs and poaching. The Methodist chapels in both places had revivals. In practical terms Quarry had piped water just before the First World War, Church Broughton not until 1957. Church Broughton parish was neighboured by estate parishes; Quarry had woodland and commons offering greater freedom. Church Broughton people had relatives in the surrounding area, but Quarry people were self-contained. They were very different 'open' parishes.<sup>99</sup>

George Ewart Evans, when comparing 'close' parishes and 'open' parishes, put a gloss on 'close' estate parishes as being well-ordered under benevolent squires of the traditionally just aristocracy who could support farmworkers when necessary. He considered 'open' parishes, with no dominating landowner, to be squalid with more malnutrition resulting from exploitation and class conflict. However, he admitted that tenants of 'close' villages might in time, despite good living conditions feel oppressed and resentful for loss of dignity.<sup>100</sup> He described Helmingham before

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<sup>99</sup> 'Quarry roughs': life and labour in Headington quarry, 1860-1920, in *Village Life and Labour* ed. Samuel, R., History Workshop Series (London, 1975), p. 141-227.

<sup>100</sup> Evans, G. E., *Where Beards Wag All, The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*, (London, 1970, 1977), pp. 117-125.

the First World War, where the landowner had control not only of the labourer's cottage, but the way the tenants lived - that tenants wore clothes appropriate to their station, that they attended worship and their families were respectable. The landlord even regulated what was grown in tenants' gardens. Better living conditions in a 'close' parish had some disadvantages.

In 1944, Flora Thompson described parishes which had residual rural workers together with rich outsiders. She wrote of heathland Juniper Hill, where she was born, next to the village of Cottisford, Oxfordshire. Cottisford was an estate of 1506 acres belonging to Eton College, with gentry living in the grander houses; Juniper Hill had 25 households of related families in 1901. Sutton on the Hill, neighbouring Church Broughton was similar to Cottisford in being owned by Chetham Hospital, a Manchester school, and having townships within its wider parish, but had no influx of rich residents. Flora Thompson's novel *Heatherley*, based on Grayshott in Hampshire, also heathland, had remaining families together with rich incomers, reflecting the changes occurring in villages close to large towns.<sup>101</sup> The Bourne, close to Farnham in Surrey, described by George Sturt in 1912, was similar to Headington Quarry, arising from squatting, dependent on the nearby town, and like Grayshott, having been invaded by richer families.<sup>102</sup>

In 1900, Church Broughton was different from these parishes in size, location, ownership and environment, though there were similarities with some regarding work and relationships. Church Broughton and Marston on Dove parishes, both earlier connected to Tutbury Priory, were different from neighbouring parishes in not having the largest landowner resident. Nearby Barton Blount, Foston, Longford and Sudbury were landed estates with deer parks and grand houses since the seventeenth century.<sup>103</sup> With minimal input from the lords of the manor, the residents of Church Broughton devised their cooperative community themselves.

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<sup>101</sup> Thompson, F., *Heatherley*. (Oxford, 1979, 2005).

<sup>102</sup> Bourne, G., *Change in the Village*, (1912, 1984, Harmondsworth), p.9.

<sup>103</sup> Craven, M. and Stanley, M., *The Derbyshire Country House*, (Matlock, 1984), vol. 1., pp. 17,46, 66, vol 2., p. 35.



In 1900, parish land was the source of Church Broughton parishioners' livelihood and experience, but there were connections with the surrounding area, so parishioners were not isolated. The school, Lock-up, public houses, cottages and four farms formed a core near the church.<sup>104</sup> People would meet at events held in the centre, but, while men travelled in connection with their work, the women would not necessarily have need to walk to outer parts of the parish. Millie Bradshaw, living at Heath Top, remembered George Shaw:

'He had a farm at Boylestone. I don't know that very much. I've only been in Boylestone Church once. I don't know Boylestone. It was Hare Hill way.'<sup>105</sup>

Over time, work and other activities took people beyond the parish boundary more frequently, but those living within the parish remained recognised as neighbours.

## Ownership and Tenancy

Owning property instead of renting, whether farm, smallholding or cottage, earned some respect in the community, but not the reverence bestowed on the Duke of Derbyshire's farmer tenants and vicar Rev. William Auden.<sup>106</sup> Individuals owned cottages or small farms, which they passed down the generations, giving security and stability. Skilled craftsmen, who owned their houses stayed there for life.<sup>107</sup> Ownership was a private matter, not generally discussed by my contributors. A different form of ownership by the wealthy, was of the largest farms. Of the two manors within the parish of Church Broughton, neither was fully owned by one family: Sapperton manor, 85% owned by the Harrison family living at Snelston ten miles north, with Sapperton Manor farm and two farms on Sapperton Brook, and secondly, Church Broughton manor mostly owned by the 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, living at Chatsworth, forty miles north, being about 54%

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<sup>104</sup> See illustration 11. Censuses: population in 1851, 661, in 1901, 436.

<sup>105</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 1.

<sup>106</sup> Sitwell, Sir George R., Bt., *The English Gentleman*, in *'The Ancestor, a Quarterly Review of County and Family History, Heraldry and Antiquities'*, (1902), pp. 58-103.

<sup>107</sup> Such as wheelwright Thomas Thawley, 1836-1912, boot maker George Bannister, 1861-1929, tailor James Tunstall, 1848-1914.

of the parish. William Richardson, of Quarndon, fifteen miles east, owned Old Hall farm, 74 acres. These owners were remote. Esther Harvey owned and lived in Cromwell House farm (75 acres) after her husband died in 1902.

The Allen family illustrated the ability of residents to own property over generations in an ‘open’ parish, which might not have been possible in an estate parish: Thomas Allen (baptised 1718) was one of those with an allotment at the time of the enclosure. His grandson Samuel Allen (1798 - 1881), owning six acres, built the White House inn in 1820, at the cross roads, handy for the queue of cart drivers waiting to load bricks from the brickyard. Samuel was evidently very successful financially – able to build the Ammasson cottage and four cottages in Sapperton Lane, also on enclosed land.<sup>108</sup>



8. White House/New Inn, brickyard cottage just visible. In 1970s. 9. Samuel Allen's four cottages. Church cottages on right.

Wilfred Tunstall said:

‘They used to make bricks and our lads used them, chaps carrying them, get a penny a piece, you know, carrying the hot bricks. I’ve seen waggons and carts from the White House right up to that cottage.’<sup>109</sup>

Lilian Allen, Samuel's grand-daughter explained:

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<sup>108</sup> Samuel Allen was the fourth known generation of his family to live in Church Broughton, starting in the seventeenth century.

<sup>109</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p. 5.

‘Well, you see, my grandad didn’t want to be a farmer, he wanted to be a publican, so he built the White House, where Stevensons live, yes, and those four cottages down Sapperton Lane, he had those built as well. That was called the New Inn. He got married and lived there, and that was a pub, you see.’<sup>110</sup>

Trevor Allen (1847-1931), son of Samuel Allen who built the White House, bought the small farm at Sutton Heath he named Forge Hollies:<sup>111</sup> David Allen, looking at photograph 10, said:

‘Now that’s the house, when they’d just had it done, look, turned from a thatched one. That’s about 1905. That’s Lily look. It might be later than 1905. Grandmother, Grandfather, Albert and Trevor. Albert and Trevor were working at home, Sam was away in service, he was a hunt servant. He was a whipper-in, Battle in Sussex, the Albrighton, he’d been all the big known hunts.’<sup>112</sup>



10. Forge Hollies, owned by Trevor Allen at Sutton Heath. 1905.

Lilian Allen, on right of photograph 10, commented:

‘I wasn’t born when they moved to this house. It was very wild. It was just a lane up here and there were just these three houses, and he cleared it himself. It was all over brambles and gorse and that, and he cleared it at his own expense to make it a bit more ’abitable.

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<sup>110</sup> Lilian Allen transcript, p.5. Samuel Allen married in 1820, aged 22.

<sup>111</sup> Named after an ancient iron works a field to the north in Barton Blount.

<sup>112</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 5.

But they loved this little place that much, they couldn't leave it. They always liked it; when they saw it, whenever they went past, they wanted this house. They said "Oh, it was so pretty." Oh, beautiful.'<sup>113</sup>

Lilian Allen, youngest of eleven children, born in the house in 1894, never lived anywhere else, dying there in 1983.

The ability to own and pass on property kept generations of families in the parish, giving stability. Trevor Allen inherited his father Samuel's interest in real estate. 14<sup>th</sup> March 1919 'I sold Mr. David Prince the four cottages in Sapperton Lane', [built by his father]. Trevor owned three cottages at Knaves Bank on Main Street, improved them by turning them into one house, building a shed and planting an orchard and hedges.<sup>114</sup> He rented it out for several years until on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1920, sold it to his son Albert ready for his marriage the following December. They celebrated the exchange by Trevor, his sons Albert, Trevor, and Frank going rabbiting with Albert's future father-in-law: 'Bad Look only 5 cault' (sic).<sup>115</sup>

Whereas farmers expected to rent the large farms, the Allen family bought property. Trevor Allen's daughter Nellie Wood was fortunate to be able to buy wheelwright Thomas Thawley's cottage and workshop opposite the top of Bent Lane, with six acres in 1918. Thomas Thawley had died. Lilian Allen remembered:

'And then Thawleys, they were always big friends of ours. William went and asked Mrs. Wood if they'd like it. So, she didn't have to run about after it, she said she would, very much; so that's how she got it, offered it her; so that's how they got there.'<sup>116</sup>

Trevor Allen noted that his daughter Nellie Wood had another cottage in 1925: 'My Daughter Nellie Let Mr W Sherett Cottage at Bent on 10 day of December' (sic). Her sister Lilian Allen

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<sup>113</sup> Lilian Allen, transcript, p.1.

<sup>114</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 14 3 1919.

<sup>115</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 8 1 1920.

<sup>116</sup> Lilian Allen transcript, p.4.

also bought a cottage at the Bent: an agricultural labourer born at Heath Top, William Blant, who never married, had been able to save enough money to build two cottages at the top of Bent Lane, living in one and letting the other. He continued saving, leaving £878 0s 2d when he died there, aged 80 in 1889.<sup>117</sup> These cottages were bought by William Wathall and then sold to neighbour Trevor Allen's daughter, Lillian in 1921 'She Finding half the Purchase money'(sic).<sup>118</sup> These were to provide for her after her parents died. Lillian was twenty-seven and had her own income from her animals on their smallholding.<sup>119</sup>

The Allens were an example of one family's investment in housing. With multiple ownership, houses would periodically be for sale and contributors remembered missed opportunities. Esther Harvey of Cromwell House farm, built two semi-detached cottages in Boggy Lane, tenanted by Ernest Bridges and Jack Rowe. Millie Bradshaw said:

'Mrs. Harvey built the cottages where Mrs. Bridges lives. My sister [Mrs. Bridges] and Mr. Rowe had a chance to buy them before the Halls ruined it. Mr. Rowe was a lovely person. He had the hand bells.'<sup>120</sup>

Another disappointment was at Birchills a farm of only ten acres, enough for nine cows.<sup>121</sup> Ivy Allman said:

'We went to live at Birchills when I was twelve. Birchills belonged to an aunt of my mother's. Mr. Tipper, a cousin, was going to buy Birchills for my parents. They said he'd had a lot of beer and got mixed up. He was too late and Mr. Fearn of Daisybank bought it. Mr. and Mrs. Capewell lived there, as she was Miss Fearn.'<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Equivalent sum in 2015 £102,726. Joseph Arch related how his grandfather had saved to buy his cottage in *From Ploughtail to Parliament*, (London, 1986), p. 14.

<sup>118</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 28 5 1921, 1918, February 24 and October 17. William Wathall's daughter Florrie married Trevor Allen's son William, the father of David Allen.

<sup>119</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 13 2 1919 'Curley Stirk Calved Cow Calf Black spot Calved at one fifteen minits past one oclock I gave it Lillie.'

6 3 1919 Lillie 2 lambs 28 10 1919 'Albert To Derby with Lillie sheep Graded 90 lbs'

<sup>120</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p.2

<sup>121</sup> Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, p. 7.

<sup>122</sup> Ivy Kate Allman transcript, p.1.

Evidently a prospective purchaser needed to know and have confidence in the best contacts and influence with the seller. Finance was another aspect. One way to raise funds was by taking a mortgage, a method used even by farm labourers. The deeds of Potlock Cottage and Royal Oak Cottages detail changing mortgages with individual people, the Ancient Order of Forrester and the Duke of Devonshire Lodge, Oddfellows.<sup>123</sup> When these mortgage payments were for a house to be let, there was little incentive to improve the accommodation, so the tenants suffered. There was a paradox that some of the private landlords, despite living in the village, expecting esteem, did not keep the houses they owned in good repair, mortgaged them to each other, yet would not sell to their tenants. Improvement depended on rent, capital and intention. An acid comment by Edith Bannister, about one such landlord: “He’s never been able to afford anything!”<sup>124</sup> However, another owner, Arthur Brown, who had recently renovated one of his cottages opposite the church, in the 1960s explained: ‘If you let a place, same as that one, Mrs. Harrison’s at Church Broughton,<sup>125</sup> it cost a fortune that did; I shall never see my money back while I’m alive on that.’<sup>126</sup>

Many were tenants: farmers of 250 acres, a family living in a cottage row, farm workers, casual workers, the retired, elderly and women. Tenancy affected people of all incomes, so was customary, not divisive. In Church Broughton the landlord was either faraway Duke of Devonshire, William Richardson, owner of Old Hall Farm, or a mixture of small owners. There was no overall control of who could live in Church Broughton. When farmers had surplus cottages under their management, they could be let to incomers. An ‘open’ village offered this freedom. Some in need of a home were grateful, but resented the conditions, others acquiesced.

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<sup>123</sup> Pugh, M., *State and Society, A Social and Political History of Britain, 1870-1997*, (London, 1994), p. 51.

<sup>124</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 9.

<sup>125</sup> The Brown family had acquired several cottages in Church Broughton over a long time, including the one (originally two) where their relations Alcocks lived and the row (originally five) opposite the school and church, in part of which Mrs. Harrison lived. Mr. Harrison having recently died and Mrs. Harrison moved down to Hatton, the cottage had been refurbished by the Browns to relet.

<sup>126</sup> Arthur and Florence Brown, transcript, p. 2.

Farmers, as tenants, often stayed until they retired. Their skilled workers were usually secure. Some people were vulnerable, if their house was controlled by their employer. There was an upheaval when a farmer moved. If the new man brought his own workers with him, the occupants of that farm's cottages had to move, but sometimes the present workmen were retained. When people became ill and could not work, they could lose their home. Douglas Salmon brought Joe Bates from Stone to be waggoner at Etchells farm, but when Joe suffered from pneumonia he was sent home. His friend Albert Summerfield commented:

'They wouldn't 'ave you, if you were ill; take you 'ome, you see. That's how it was.'<sup>127</sup>

Fred Billing, cowman at Etchells for a succession of farmers, broke his leg and was disabled. Frankie Jones, his adopted daughter said:

'Me Dad worked for R.J. Bull; 'e worked for Dougie Salmon; an' then 'e worked for Stevensons. Steve'sons took over and me Dad stood off on a load of hay and we got kicked out.'<sup>128</sup>

Albert Kirk was arriving as replacement cowman with his wife Vera, who said:

'Mr. Stevenson made a great mistake. He was advertising to get a workman and he was receiving rent from the Billings and that made it very difficult. In the finish, he had to go to court, you see.'

Albert Kirk: 'As long as they were paying rent, you couldn't get 'em out, you see.'<sup>129</sup>

Edith Whetham wrote that 'the vast majority of farm workers south of the border were engaged indefinitely subject to a week's notice'.<sup>130</sup> Eviction was not always straightforward. When a Burnaston farmer wished to retire to the Lawns, but it was already occupied, the tenants were taken to court three times. The court supported the tenant, so the farmer set about altering the

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<sup>127</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p. 1.

<sup>128</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 11. He stepped of a loaded waggon and fell.

<sup>129</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript: p.6.

<sup>130</sup> Whetham, E. H., The Agriculture Act, 1920 and its Repeal – the 'Great Betrayal', in *British Agricultural History Society Journal*, vol. 22, 1, (1974) p. 47.

kitchen and wash house, while they were still resident. The tenant finally gave in and managed to move to Knaves Bank.<sup>131</sup>

For tenants, there could be sudden anxiety. If they were being forced out of their homes and wanted to stay in this community, they needed to find a cottage, even of poor quality. Frankie Jones said:

‘Deggs from the cottage at the corner at the top of Tipper’s Lane, Steve’s sons turned ’im out to put Doris Wallis in, that married William ’arrison. Old Master Degg went to live down at the Bent, at the second cottage.’<sup>132</sup>

When John Stevenson no longer needed the services of Albert Kirk as cowman, they also ‘were turned out’ and went to a cottage in Boggy Lane. Then they heard the cottage owner was going to get married and Vera Kirk was afraid they would want to live in the cottage and she would have to move out again. The rent had never been increased since it was first set. Now it was to go up by 93% but could only go up in two stages and it was agreed the Kirks could stay and the rent not to change at all until the New Year.<sup>133</sup>

The disposition and ownership of housing in ‘open’ Church Broughton was the foundation of relations within the parish. Deborah Tall wrote that ‘frequent dislocation or the sudden destruction of a known environment... means the loss of personal landmarks and a disintegration of a communal pattern of identity’.<sup>134</sup> The ability to move within the parish meant people stayed within the community. Having multiple landowners gave more potential for people to rent a house, but houses were not always readily available: some individuals were, on occasion, allowed to live in a henhouse or a hovel used for sheep-shearing until rescued by the vicar’s wife, Edith Auden.<sup>135</sup> The erection of council houses at neighbouring Hatton, just before the Second World

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<sup>131</sup> Audrey Hatton transcript, p. 1.

<sup>132</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p.5.

<sup>133</sup> Ron Harrison comment.

<sup>134</sup> Tall, D., *Dwelling, making peace with space and place*, in *Housing and Dwelling*, ed Lane., B.M., (Abingdon, 2007). P. 424.

<sup>135</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 4.



War, offered modern comfort, but that meant leaving familiar surroundings, a source of regret for some. Two, who had settled in Church Broughton and then moved to council accommodation at Hatton had differing opinions:

Annie Caswell:

‘We didn’t want to come to Hatton, but, I mean, that house was no good to us, the children growing up and that.’<sup>136</sup>

Gertie Connolly:

‘Living in Hatton, it’s brilliant; I like this place; suits me this does.’<sup>137</sup>

## Land Sales

David Grigg pointed out that Estate Duty, replacing probate duty in 1894, had increased, by 1919, to 40% of estates with a value over two million pounds. Also, increasing imports were undercutting local produce and farm income. From 1877 to 1901 the average rent per acre in England and Wales fell by 29%.<sup>138</sup> The First World War was a major disruption, not only taking workers, but intensifying a trend to sell land. For many land-owners all over the country, their farms had become less valuable and were sold to the tenants.<sup>139</sup> Alun Howkins quoting the ‘Estates Gazette’ suggested that by 1922 a quarter of England had changed hands, shifting economic power to the farmers.<sup>140</sup>

Trevor Allen wrote in his diary on 17 10 1919: ‘Mr John Hall Bought The Mill Farm Mr James Wainwright Bought is Farm Mr G Buckston Bought Summersfield Farm and The Brulelick House J Harries Bought is Farm Small Holders Bought H Woodisse farm and H Hibs Little Farm Mr Nailey Bought Dish Farm William Gilbert Bought Chees Factory properties of the Chetham

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<sup>136</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p. 2.

<sup>137</sup> Gertie Connolly transcript, p. 2.

<sup>138</sup> Finance Act 1894. Estate duty was a progressive tax, rising in 1907, 1909, 1914, 1919, 1930, 1930, 1940.

<sup>139</sup> Grigg, D., *English Agriculture, An Historic Perspective*, (Oxford, 1989), p. 103.

<sup>140</sup> Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England*, (London, 1991), p. 280.

Library at Sutton on the Hill.’ (sic), He also noted the Hon. E.R. Coke died in 1922, whose farms at Longford were sold the following year.<sup>141</sup>

The loose relationship of the ninth Duke of Devonshire to his lands in this area meant they were selected for sale in 1918. Needing to recoup after the extravagance of his predecessor, he sold the already mortgaged lands he owned in Church Broughton parish to his tenants and the County Council.<sup>142</sup>

Rowland Prothero, later Lord Ernle, had hoped to revitalise villages and make them attractive to farm labourers by providing smallholdings for them to own, as he felt the Small Holdings Act of 1892 had left their tenants too vulnerable. He suggested ways that these labourer owners could supplement their incomes.<sup>143</sup> However the government pursued the tenancy option. The Housing Advisory Panel 1915 foresaw that by the end of the 1914 war, agricultural workers, having seen the world, would expect a higher standard of living, without which they might move to the towns or abroad, just when the government had a programme to increase agricultural output,

so that the object before us must be not merely to retain the existing labourers, but to attract many others to the land. To achieve this object, an essential condition to be satisfied is the provision of proper housing accommodation, without which all other efforts will be fruitless.<sup>144</sup>

The Panel recommended that housing should be undertaken by County Councils, not Rural District Councils, which led to the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 but the need for new houses after the war, far exceeded the money available to build them at an acceptable rental.

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<sup>141</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 17 10 1919.

<sup>142</sup> D1543/4/1 Church Broughton was mortgaged by Dukes of Devonshire from 1852 to 1915, shown in the title 1932 Abstract of the title of Robert James Bull Esq.. to freehold property situate in Church Broughton in the County of Derby.

<sup>143</sup> Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, (London, 1912, 1927), p. 412.

<sup>144</sup> *Housing in England and Wales. Memorandum by the Advisory Housing Panel on the Emergency Problem* [Command 9087], p.3., in *Sessional Papers, 1918*, XXVI, quoted in Orbach, L.F., *Homes for Heroes*, (London, 1977), p. 52,55, who commented in the footnote ‘The panel’s warning not to consider the solutions offered as applicable to the permanent question of the provision of housing has remained, until now, unheeded.’

Shelley Savage, in *Rural History Today*, recalled that Lloyd George who ‘favoured taking land from aristocrats and giving it to ordinary people’ passed the 1919 Land Settlement (facilities) Act ‘empowering and assisting local authorities to acquire land for small-holdings and allotments for ex-servicemen’ hoping, as Edith Whetham wrote ‘the incompetent, the drunkard, the “practical man who practised the errors of his forefathers” would be eliminated in favour of technically trained young men’.<sup>145</sup> According to Alun Howkins, after 1918 ‘about 16,000 holdings were created and 24,000 ex-servicemen settled on them.’<sup>146</sup> It was at this time that one of David Prince’s brothers suggested to Derbyshire county councillors that they should provide small holdings for returning soldiers. The council bought farms and divided the land into plots. Bill Tomlinson, whose father at Gorsty Fields farm had one of these plots:

‘which supposedly weren’t above fifty acres. That was the maximum. Well, this was supposed to be enough land to make a living on. They were the first farms for these young people coming out of the forces. And quite a few of them went wrong too, and Mum’s brothers went bankrupt at Boylestone. And there was a friend of ours, he went bankrupt, where Kirkland lives, at Mount Pleasant. And then there was another one or two and they all had to come out in the 1930s – they couldn’t make a go of it.’<sup>147</sup>

Susan Wright criticised the work of Rees, Arensberg and Kimball and Williams for having the ‘idea of communities being self-sufficient and self-contained... an equilibrium of harmony and balance... a self-regulating system’.<sup>148</sup> The sale of the Duke of Devonshire’s land and the purchase of Mount Pleasant by the County Council were actions beyond the control of parishioners and altered the social structure of the parish. The prestige associated with his farms and their tenants disappeared. Without a resident lord of the manor in Church Broughton, the community

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<sup>145</sup> Savage, S., Back to the Land, in *Rural History Today*, Issue 35, August, 2018, p. 3. . Whetham, E. H., The Agriculture Act, 1920 and its Repeal – the ‘Great Betrayal’, in *British Agricultural History Society Journal*, , vol. 22 1, (1974), p. 42.

<sup>146</sup> Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England*, (London, 1991), p. 278.

<sup>147</sup> William Tomlinson transcript, p.2.

<sup>148</sup> Wright, S., Image and analysis: new directions in community studies, in *The English Rural Community*, ed. Short, B., (Cambridge, 1992), p. 202.

had been led by the vicar, church wardens, headmaster and principal chapel members. The tenants of the largest farms had taken leading roles, which was accepted. Henry Atkins (1840-1915) who farmed Mount Pleasant's three hundred acres 1895-1915 had been esteemed church warden. The County Council bought Mount Pleasant farm breaking it into smallholdings for returning soldiers. The new tenants at Mount Pleasant with at most fifty acres were not allowed the same authority and respect. One of the new tenants, James Bowles, was made vicar's warden, elected to the Parish Council and tried to get a memorial village hall. Son Jim Bowles remembered:

'He was on the Parish Council, Father, on Parish Council many years. Pa came off the Parish Council. Mind you, my Pa, he knew what he was talking about. My dad wasn't a dud. He went and said what he wanted to say, and nobody backed him up, and of course, he had a bit of a do with Mr. Prince and said like he was like one of the ring leaders, as were holding the whole issue back. It's been that complicated and wrapped up by just a few. You see, there was Mr. Tipper; there was Mr. Prince. And my father came straight off the Parish Council after that. He said, "I've finished with the village altogether," because nobody would back him up. So, he says "You don't want it then!"'<sup>149</sup>

Albert Summerfield knowing the nature of the man, described James Bowles as

'one of the meek and mild sort of style, he was. He was a big churchman.'<sup>150</sup>

The change, with small farmers replacing the former grand men altered the dynamics of the village. The fluidity made opportunities available. Businessman Basil Mallender bought the neighbouring Barton Blount estate in 1925 and, lacking any village to occupy him, attempted to incorporate Church Broughton into his estate. He used the opportunity of the interregnum after Alfred Auden left, to try to take control of the church, school and parish. He bought Etchells farm in 1931, so that, since the Duke of Devonshire's land had been dispersed, he could claim to be the

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<sup>149</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 5.

<sup>150</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p; 3.

principal landowner in this parish, despite owning only 15%.<sup>151</sup> Any aspirations he had for a servile, grateful populace however were to be disappointed in a parish unused to having such a dominant landowner.

## Housing

Housing affected the residents, not only by its quality, but its position which influenced relationships between neighbours, whether in cottage rows, detached cottages, small-holdings or large farms. In an agricultural parish people were not separated according to wealth. Some were separated by space, whereas others were very close by. The distribution of buildings through the parish in 1900 was the outcome of the enclosure in 1775. Thirty parishioners with allotments were mentioned in the Enclosure Award Index.<sup>152</sup> As Garrett Hardin pointed out, enclosure endorsed any advantages already obtained by those holding strips.<sup>153</sup> The enclosure led to farms being built on higher ground, with cottages close by.<sup>154</sup> The fifth Duke of Devonshire had four large farmhouses built: Etchells and Broughton House taking over land at the heart of the parish, Mount Pleasant and Heath House Green farming the outskirts, thereby improving the investment he had inherited.<sup>155</sup> Public buildings were along the northern roadway, cottages near road junctions.

Before the enclosure two timbered seventeenth century farms, Old Hall and Cromwell House, were the largest homes, while there were a few cottages along The Street and round the church. Those along The Street were replaced by the building of Etchells farm and a smaller farm

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<sup>151</sup> Kelly's Directory of Derbyshire, 1941. There was no village at Barton Blount as the nineteenth century owner had demolished all cottages, and replaced them, building close to Church Broughton on the Ashbourne road at the edge of his land.

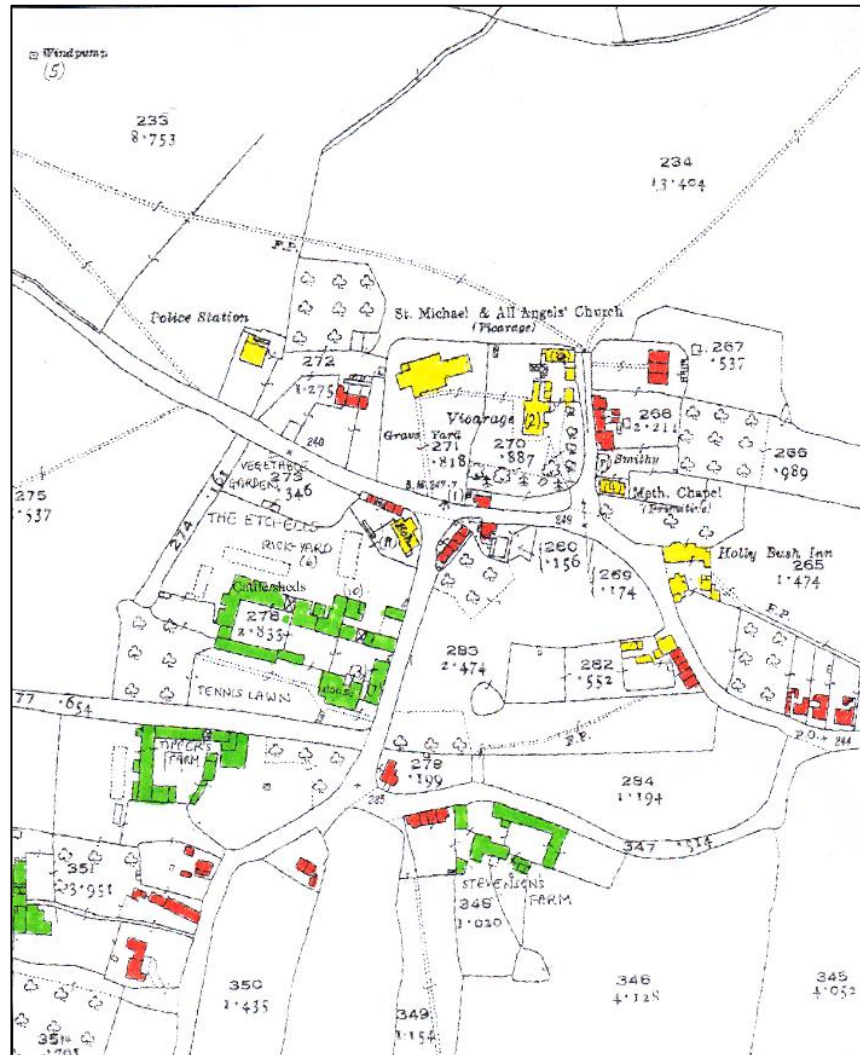
<sup>152</sup> M/740, Derbyshire Records Office.

<sup>153</sup> Hardin, G., *The Tragedy of the Commons in Science, New Series*, Vol. 162, No 3859, (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968) pp. 1243-1248. Neeson, J.M., *Commoners: common right, enclosure and social change in England, 1700-1820*, (Cambridge, 1993). Colls, R., *Identity of England*, (2002, Oxford), p.223.

<sup>154</sup> See appendix ;1.

<sup>155</sup> The deeds for Etchells farm, held at Derbyshire Record Office show that the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, in 1816, mortgaged 14 properties of various sizes at Church Broughton.

opposite. Church Broughton had no great house, but, in 1900 Old Hall and Cromwell House farms were venerated for representing a past era.<sup>156</sup>



11. John Prince Bull's map of the central part of Church Broughton.<sup>157</sup>

Left to right, farms in green, Cromwell House, Broughton House, Etchells, both belonging to the Duke and Old Hall; in yellow, Lock-up, Church, School, Vicarage, Chapel, Holly Bush and Royal Oak; cottages in red.

<sup>156</sup> Although the owner of Old Hall farm had personal rights, villagers felt it should be held in trust for the village and were shocked when owner Nash removed and sold old panelling to a man in Ashbourne. Doris Stevenson transcript, p1.

<sup>157</sup> John Prince Bull named the farmers not the farms: Harveys at Cromwell House, bottom left, Stevensons at Old Hall, bottom right, Tippers at Broughton House, and Bulls at Etchells, top farm, the latter two belonging to the Duke of Devonshire.



12. Old Hall farm. 1990 Ground floor plan (B. Hutton). Back parlour wall with stone sill. North gable of west wing in 1990.

Old Hall farm, 70 acres, had been owned since the 1850s not by the farmer, but by a Derby merchant William S. Richardson Esq., as an investment. Ethel Bannister remembered:

‘he owned Old Hall Farm, at one time - there were two brothers, no there were three brothers. One was a vicar and two were leather merchants, because father used to get his leather off one of them; one who lived in Derby.’<sup>158</sup>

The second seventeenth century farm, Cromwell House, 75 acres, had been owner-occupied through the nineteenth century by the Wilkes - William (1787-1861) and his son William (1819-1901), when Thomas Harvey (1860-1902) bought it. David Allen remembered:

‘Mr. Harvey died because when he moved to Cromwell House, he had left his horse rake at Darley Abbey, loaned to a neighbour. He went over with a horse to fetch it and his collar and tie caught on the ‘ames of the horse’s harness and he hanged himself. Mrs. Harvey carried on and ran the farm.’<sup>159</sup>

Thus in 1902, the only large owner-occupied farm in Church Broughton was run by a woman, who took no part in the organisation of village activities.

<sup>158</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, pp. 3, 7.

<sup>159</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 10. She was helped by her six young sons and one daughter, followed by son Vincent until he left for Australia in 1921. Mrs. Esther Harvey and youngest son Joseph carried on, living at Potlock Cottage, Joseph finally becoming traveller for an Ashbourne corn merchant.



13. A view of Etchells farmhouse painted by Mary Bull. The nearest parts of the building were added in Richard Bott's time (1871-1897). The farm yard and buildings were to the left of the house in this painting.

The Duke of Devonshire's new brick-built farms, were practical and spacious, especially Etchells, which was extended by Richard Bott Esq. during his tenancy, 1871-1897, with a new wing and hallway, so that his visitors could enter from the garden not the farmyard.<sup>160</sup> The additions raised the building to that of a gentleman's residence.<sup>161</sup> Ethel Bannister, whose mother was housekeeper for Richard Bott, commented:

‘The Botts at the Etchells had a butler and a footman. He was a bachelor and Miss Bott, his sister, kept house. They had a lot of ladies to stay for the hunting season and had the extra wing added to accommodate them.’<sup>162</sup>

The Dukes of Devonshire built to a high standard and maintained their property well. They invested in it, as this part of their estate was mortgaged and needed to maintain its value.<sup>163</sup> Tenants renting a farm from the Duke of Devonshire, overseen by his agent, gained the greatest prestige in the parish.<sup>164</sup> After the Duke sold Etchells farm, gradually the standard of upkeep

<sup>160</sup> By Richard Bott, tenant from 1871 to 1897. He had inherited money from his Tutbury cotton spinning great grandfather and was a gentleman farmer, Justice of the Peace, relying on his bailiff to control the farming.

<sup>161</sup> Rybczynski, W., *Home, A Short History of an Idea*, (New York, 1986, 1987), p.108.

<sup>162</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1.

<sup>163</sup> D1543/4/1 Church Broughton was mortgaged by Dukes of Devonshire from 1852 to 1915, shown in the title 1932 Abstract of the title of Robert James Bull Esq. to freehold property situate in Church Broughton in the County of Derby.

<sup>164</sup> See also: The Diaries of Edward Smith of Allestree, 1856-1859, 1863-1869. agent acting for landowner Evans of Allestree Hall.



lowered as the new owners did not have the wealth of the Cavendish family for maintenance. Rowland Prothero, later Lord Ernle, explained that

landlords spent their money liberally on the up-to-date equipment of their land with houses, farm-buildings, cottages... Tenants hired the use of this capital at the moderate rate of interest, which is represented by the rent, and spent their own money generously in working their farms so as to obtain the largest possible return... So long as prices were remunerative, the system profited both'. If tenants bought the farms they worked, they would 'strip themselves of their working capital.'<sup>165</sup>

Richard Bott was followed by John Thomas Johnson, who had a bailiff to run the farm until 1908. R.J. Bull, tenant 1908-1918, was different, being a Methodist and working beside his men. He bought the farm from the Duke in 1918, let it when he retired to Tutbury in 1926, and sold to Basil Mallender in 1931. John Stevenson tenant of Basil Mallender ran it as a family farm.<sup>166</sup>



Tenants at Etchells farm, from the left: 14. Richard Bott Esq., tenant 1871-1897. 15. Mr. Robert James Bull (third from the right) with workers, tenant 1908-1918, owner 1918-1926. 16. Tenant Mr. John Stevenson, in the doorway right with family, 1931.

The church had owned several cottages. The vestry had a role as landlord, having been given or sold cottages. For example, in 1796, Charles Bond of Sheepshed, had sold his parents' cottage together with two gardens, to the Church Wardens for £15.<sup>167</sup> These and cottages in Chapel Lane,

<sup>165</sup> Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, (London, 1912, 1927), pp. 398, 399.

<sup>166</sup> Details of photographs: 15. Left to right, Tom Ouslem, Potts, Bill Cliff, Thomas Bould, George Redfern, R.J. Bull, another Ouslem, Fred Wood, according to Ruth Auden. 16. Milking band, left to right, Ernest Stevenson, Eddie Stevenson, Evelyn Stevenson, Doris Stevenson (on holiday) Arthur Kirkland, Freda Stevenson, John Stevenson.

<sup>167</sup> Feoffment dated 18 10 1796, held at Derbyshire Record Office, D854/A/PO/131.

belonging to the church, were bought by vicar William Auden and bequeathed to the son he hoped would follow him as vicar. Ruth Auden, great-niece of William, said:

‘I believe Walter Auden may have owned them (just thought, I remember they couldn’t get any answer out of him re repairs etc. He was a nut case about letters!)’<sup>168</sup>

Maurice Barley wrote that ‘the housing of the farm worker was provided either by his own effort, in building on the waste – and that sort of self-help only ceased in the Victorian age – by his renting a house from his employer or another property owner.’<sup>169</sup> One house the church acquired had been built on waste land on the road to Ashbourne. The newly married Thomas Bannister (1803-1907), grandfather of Ethel, came to Church Broughton before 1860 and began to build a small cottage but lacked the funds to complete it. The church took it over according to Ruth Auden:

‘Made from the wide grass verge originally skirting the glebe fields, and the cottage built on that, I think. It was never a good house and cost the living more that it brought in, but the Middletons never got behind with the rent (two shillings per week!) and were still there when we left, I seem to remember.’<sup>170</sup>

There were two drinking establishments in Church Broughton. The Holly Bush, owned by Marston’s brewery, had been a coaching inn between Burton upon Trent and Ashbourne. The publican’s family lived above the bars, which provided an alternative social environment, mainly for working men. The upper room of the stable opposite was used by the Oddfellows Lodge for meetings. The Royal Oak was a smaller beer house, across the road, its licence revoked in 1911, after which it became the village shop.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Ruth Auden letter 22 6 1973.

<sup>169</sup> Barley, M.W. *The English Farmhouse and Cottage*, (London, 1961), p. 247.

<sup>170</sup> Ruth Auden letter 22 6 1973.

<sup>171</sup> Alfred Auden’s diary 26 2 1911.



17. Publican Thomas Blood and family in front of the Holly Bush, 1870; his wife Georgina looking out of the window.

The layout of residences in the parish affected neighbour relationships. In the same way availability of communal buildings made possible opportunities for wider associations and shaped the character of the community. Church, chapel and public houses were shared buildings, bringing residents together.<sup>172</sup> When homes were overcrowded, these buildings were appreciated as places with space for social activities. Overindulgence in alcohol caused problems for some, thought by John Burnett to be often the result of inadequate housing.<sup>173</sup> When the population of Church Broughton was at its highest in 1855, there was such disorder that the sixth Duke of Devonshire built the first Derbyshire Lock-up, costing him £420. It had two secure cells built into the police house, one off the hall for men, one above it off the upstairs landing, for women. Any occupants could be a noisy intrusion into the sergeant's family life. The Vicarage and Etchells farm, while occupied by Methodist Bulls, were homes opened to the community for public events. There was a choice for villagers, both religiously and alcoholically, some visiting more than one.

Arthur Jones, headmaster and 1901 census enumerator for Church Broughton parish, noted 105 properties. Four houses had only two rooms, 10 had three, 30 had four (two up and two down),

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<sup>172</sup> Chapel built in 1828. Primitive Methodism had begun in North Staffordshire in 1810. The first Primitive Methodist chapel to be built was in neighbouring Boylestone in 1811.

<sup>173</sup> Burnett, J., *A Social History of Housing 1815-1970*, (Guildford, 1978), p. 46.

14 were uninhabited, while the remaining 61 had more than four. The latter group included farms, smallholdings, the Vicarage, public houses and the residences of artisans, all providing more space and greater privacy, standing in their own ground. However, these larger houses were not isolated, but close by or opposite cottage rows, intermingled, so that people lived in small groups but part of the whole community. Unoccupied cottages in 1901 may be an indication of them being uninhabitable and rejected or happening to be empty at the time of the census. It suggests that there was no difficulty in finding a home on that day.

My contributors described their daily lives, accepting the lack of facilities and resulting arduous work. Public investigations drew attention to the poor state of rural housing but rarely exercised any powers to make changes, it not being clear who was morally responsible for instigating improvements. In estate parishes, one owner could control the number and condition of houses, but in a parish like Church Broughton with many owners, there was no consistency. Thomas Radford (1817-1894), farming Mount Pleasant farm reported a wide range to the Commission on Agriculture in 1867: 'Some of the cottages are good, some moderate, some scarcely fit for habitation, they are quite sufficient for the labour required.....some of them are small and close, but mostly healthy.'<sup>174</sup>

One man was sufficiently shocked by rural housing to do his own research. Mr. Mackarness, Member of Parliament for Ilkeston, twenty miles east of Church Broughton reported to parliament in 1906 that, as a result of his inquiries into the condition of 4,179 cottages and 298 villages in England in 1900, 22½ per cent. were unfit for habitation; In 27 per cent the water supply was bad; in 75 per cent there were only two bedrooms with six or seven persons in each household, and

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<sup>174</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, Second Report of Commission on Agriculture 1869, vol. 11, p. 429. (Dublin, 1968). Kaufman, R., *The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor*, (London, 1907, 1975), p. 23, 99. In 1961 Derbyshire Advertiser 28 April 1961, p.1, c.4: Rural District Councillor David Prince complained of 'the deplorable conditions' at Cote Bottoms, built before 1775, but saying it would be 'rather a hardship' for the tenants to be turned out. Cote Bottoms was demolished, the tenants rehoused in a similar cottage at Heath Top, which was demolished when 7 council houses were built for the tenants on Main Street in 1970.

that 66 per cent of households, were without fireplaces.<sup>175</sup> There was frustration that so little had been achieved, despite recognition of the need for good rural housing. Wages in agriculture were low, so rents could not be raised enough to allow small owners to improve their property except by reducing their income, which they were unwilling to accept. Local authorities could not afford to provide services without raising rates, which was not popular with ratepayers.

B. A. Holderness criticising 'open' villages, thought they were likely to be 'overcrowded, insanitary, and ill regulated, with numerous small proprietors who let tumbledown cottages at exorbitant rents'.<sup>176</sup> An outsider might have related this to Church Broughton and it is true some of those living in cottages in Church Broughton did complain about living conditions, but generally housing was tolerated. The quality of housing was one facet of living, but not necessarily reflecting an occupant's character. Witold Rbyszynski in *Home, A Short History of an Idea*, opined 'home meant the house but also everything that was in it and around it as well as the people and the sense of satisfaction and contentment that all these conveyed'.<sup>177</sup> Where people lived in Church Broughton was known by everyone in the community - their situation, antecedents, relationships and attributes associated with where and how they lived, whether poor cottage or large farm. Contributors spoke of people for their nature, not their form of abode.

Most Church Broughton houses were in rows of two, three or four cottages. In 1830, Joseph Millward had pulled down Cote Bottoms House and built 3 tenements.<sup>178</sup> Frankie Jones, identifying old photographs, enjoyed remembering who had lived where:

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<sup>175</sup> Mr. Mackarness speaking after the Order for Second Reading of the Report of the Select Committee of Housing of the Working Classes Acts Amendment Bill, 27 4 1906.

<sup>176</sup> Holderness, B.A., 'Open' and 'Close' Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in *Agricultural History Review*, (1972), vol 29, pt. 2, pp. 126, 130.

<sup>177</sup> Rbyszynski, W., *Home, A Short History of an Idea*, (New York, 1986, 1987), p. 24.

<sup>178</sup> Potlock Cottage deeds in possession of the 1970s owner.

‘Cote Bottoms – Poole, Harry Coxon, they lived on the middle one. Albert Somerfield’s wife was Ivy Poole. Albert came in with the Salmons and when they were married, he went to live with Mrs. Poole.’



18. The Royal Oak (white at far end) and Royal Oak Cottages, taken by Police Sergeant Moore before 1916. The road was not paved.

Frankie Jones and Hilda Harrison recalled more residents in another row, of four cottages, adjoining the Royal Oak beerhouse on Main Street.

‘Eh, hang on, there was Mrs. Jack Griffiths, she lived at Royal Oak Cottages; Mrs. Smith, she lived up at the Royal Oak Cottages, Kath’s mother. Addie Middleton, she used to take in children. Next door to Annie Middleton, Jabez Salt lived in one - one of our bell ringers – the next one’.<sup>179</sup>

Ethel Bannister related:

‘There were three shoemakers. My father, Mr. Bannister, and Mr. Johnson were apprenticed to Mr. Jacob Hardy who lived at the end of Royal Oak cottages.’<sup>180</sup>

Royal Oak Cottages demonstrate the accommodation available for many villagers in 1900. William Hurd, an illiterate labourer, had bought two cottages on Main street at the end of the

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<sup>179</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, pp. 2, 7.

<sup>180</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1.

eighteenth century, so that his son Edward, in 1818, could build two more in the gap between them and the Royal Oak beer-house.<sup>181</sup> The first two older cottages, with a cobbler's workshop and coal hole attached, were built with no foundations, so that damp rose up the walls and froze in starry patterns on winter windows, which had sliding sashes for ventilation. These were similar to cottages described by Keith Snell in his *Annals of the Labouring Poor*.<sup>182</sup> The original roof line of these two older cottages can be seen on the end wall of the workshop in photograph 18. Each cottage had a room the family lived in, with a low ceiling supported across the width by half a split tree trunk. An ingle nook fireplace was the only provision for heating. The open hearth catered for a fire on the floor, with an ash pit dug in front, all cooking utensils hung above the fire. Beyond the living room, the older two cottages had a small back scullery, stairs between these rooms rising into similar sized interconnected bedrooms, with low small windows at the rear. The upper flooring was of gypsum plaster over rushes.<sup>183</sup> The brick walls were not plastered.<sup>184</sup> There was no plumbing. The earth closet was found at the end of the back garden. Lighting was by rush-lights, tapers, candles and lanterns.<sup>185</sup>

When Edward Hurd built the intervening two houses, he raised the roof of the first two, so that, while the ceilings downstairs remained low, their upper room ceilings became very high. The two 1818 cottages, next to the Royal Oak, had rooms of regular height, with tiled floors downstairs and a cooking range, with opportunity to have hot water continuously available, an oven and hot plates, on which oatcakes could be cooked. Upstairs had wooden flooring, and fireplaces in the front bedrooms.

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<sup>181</sup> Deeds for Royal Oak Cottages from 1739, with the will of Ralph Eld 1791.

<sup>182</sup> Brown, R.J. *The English Country Cottage*, (London, 1979), p. 255. Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor, Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900*, (Cambridge, 1985, 1995), pp. 380-381. These are comparable to cottages inspected elsewhere.

<sup>183</sup> Burnett, J., *A Social History of Housing 1815-1970*, (Newton Abbot, 1978), p.34 described similar buildings. Rbyczynski, W., *Home, A Short History of an Idea*, (New York, 1986, 1987), p. 244. Lay rushes an inch deep, covered with plaster made of gypsum, ashes and clay.

<sup>184</sup> Federation of Essex Women's Institutes, *Within Living Memory*, (Newbury, 1995), p. 15.

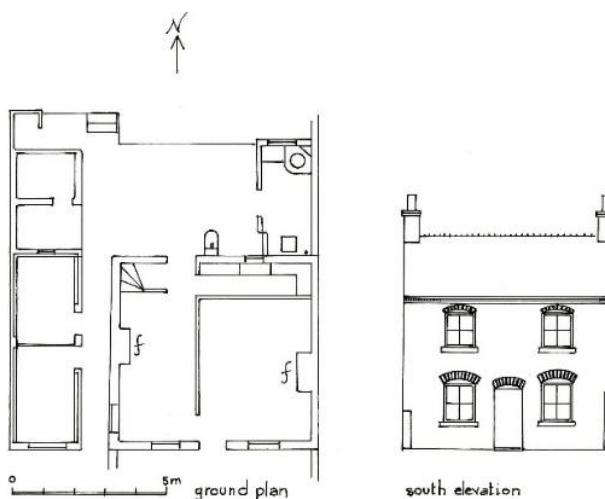
<sup>185</sup> Robertson, U.A., *The Illustrated History of the Housewife, 1650-1950*, (Stroud, 1997), p. 27.

There was little privacy in crowded cottage rows - often rowdy places, with people living close together and sharing the well. Although there was sometimes irritation regarding neighbours, there was also resigned tolerance. Large families tended to socialise on the road in front of the houses, sounding like chattering birds – hence the nickname Rookery for the row of cottages next to Old Hall farm. According to Vera Kirk:

‘In the Rookery, they used to fall out. I remember Mrs. Allin [living at Corner cottage opposite] saying that when she lived here, if ever she had visitors, they always arranged to have a row. Oh dear. I know. You know, when they stood on the doorstep rabbiting,’<sup>186</sup>

Samuel Harvey:

‘When I used to go and see ‘im, I could ‘ear ‘em shouting all over the village, shout at those lads’.<sup>187</sup>



19. A detached cottage, on Main Street, built between about 1850 and 1880, at one time occupied by Jack Frost:  
Derby Building Record 26, recorded by Barbara Hutton and Janet Arthur in 1988, before modernisation.

There were a few detached cottages, slightly grander than the cottage rows, with small front gardens instead of being directly on the street, giving their occupants raised status and greater

<sup>186</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 3. Thompson, P., *The Edwardians*, (London, 1975), p. 50.

<sup>187</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 3.

<sup>188</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 3.



privacy. Three such cottages on Main Street offered more space outside and better facilities. In these three houses there lived, according to Frankie Jones:

‘Jack Frost, you see, that was ’is name, Jack Frost and then, next to them, used to be the Post Office, Bannisters, and Mr. Bannister used to make boots and then there used to be Oh, that was Ormes, that was old Teddy Orme; that belonged to the Ormes. Gilbert Orme went at school with me. The youngest Orme was a school teacher, went in for school teaching.’<sup>188</sup>

Although the first of these detached cottages, photograph 19, similar to those in a row having only two rooms up and two down, the rooms were side by side, giving an attractive symmetrical frontage. It had a small pantry with thravls to the rear by the stairs rising to the inter-connected bedrooms.<sup>189</sup> There was a small separate workshop building and coal cellar to the side of the house, and a yard behind with a pump, a privy, a pigsty and a wash-place. The smaller room downstairs had a stove with an oven and side boiler, the sitting room, a fireplace. The front door led into the sitting-room but was not used.

Some farms were provided with cottages for their workers. Those owned by the Duke of Devonshire were well maintained, even having an early form of damp-proofing.<sup>190</sup> John Prince Bull commented:

‘I can tell you why the farms were well kept. Chatsworth was a very good estate. My father spoke most highly of the agents. They came round periodically and then they had a regular number of years for re-painting.’<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 3.

<sup>189</sup> Low tiled shelves on which to keep food and milk cool.

<sup>190</sup> James Tunstall transcript, p. 1. 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire 1833 -1908, 9<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire 1868-1938, 10<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire 1895-1950.

<sup>191</sup> Florence and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 5.

Cottage tenants of Old Hall and Cromwell House farms were not so well treated. William Richardson let Old Hall farm to John Stevenson in 1899; Esther Harvey owned and farmed Cromwell House from 1901.<sup>192</sup> Instead of employing full-time labourers, both farmers relied mostly on their families to do the work, so had surplus cottages. These were left vacant until a family in need moved in. John and Mary Ann Dean moved to an Old Hall cottage down Bent Lane, before 1911. The family lived there for sixty years. The cottage had once been used as a stable. The roof was low, the windows small.

Their daughter Edith McKeown recalled:

‘Well the roof come just about that far off the top and the same at the bottom – you’d have to be on your knees, with my mother, you know, we used to like the ’ouse when it was in good order. We had a little farm at Etwall. And me father had such a lot of illness, he had to give the little farm up. He had rheumatic fever ten times.’<sup>193</sup>

They had been glad to find somewhere to live, and, no doubt, the farmer was pleased to have income, however small.



20. The old bakery and cottage 1970s. Note upper floor windows, a window replaced a second door, cooker chimney on right.

Esther Harvey, of Cromwell House farm, owned the cottages in Boggy Lane, built by Robert Potter in 1772, which were remembered as a bakery by Ethel Bannister. Lilah Bridges said:

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<sup>192</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 7.

<sup>193</sup> Edith McKeown transcript, p. 1.

‘Mr Clark, he used to mend boots at one time. He was in the bakehouse. My you’ve, that’s some years ago. Mrs Wright had it as a pot shop, dinner plates and dishes and you know what, the crocks were like these big pots.’<sup>194</sup>

Deborah Tall, in *Housing and Dwelling*, considered that ‘the easy replacement of home ignores its emotional charge for us, ignores how important familiarity is in the constitution of home... Home is where we know and we are known – through accumulated experience.’<sup>195</sup> When George Wright (1876-1954), the publican, went to the First World War, his wife Lizzie moved out of the Holly Bush and ran a pot shop in the old bakery, selling paraffin.<sup>196</sup> Her sociability and adaptability let her be happy despite circumstances. Son George and his wife Mary commented:

Mary: ‘Your mother lived in terrible conditions, didn’t she?’

George: ‘Yes, they were poor cottages.’

Mary: ‘But, you see, she was very satisfied, very happy – never worried her. She wouldn’t have wanted to come to live in Derby or have a modern flat or anything like that. She was perfectly happy there.’

George: ‘It makes a lot of difference, what you’re used to.’

Mary: ‘She was like that, you mother, wasn’t she? She accepted everything.’

George: ‘Mm.’<sup>197</sup>

Ben Kirkland, homeless after leaving a tied cottage, moved into the old bakery in 1928. It had reverted to being two cottages. His daughter Annie spoke of the council:

‘They wouldn’t do anything and Mrs. Arvey wouldn’t do anything. If any of us was ill, we’d always have to have our beds downstairs; it was that cold upstairs. I mean you couldn’t have a fire upstairs, because one floor was coming in; one ceiling had come in

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<sup>194</sup> Lilah Bridges transcript, p. 1. Details are in the deeds of Potlock Cottage, which date from 1655, in the possession of the owner.

<sup>195</sup> Tall, D., *Dwelling, making peace with space and place*, in *Housing and Dwelling*, ed Lane., B.M., (Abingdon, 2007). P. 424.

<sup>196</sup> Lizzie was an intelligent, philosophical woman. George Wright had a sister Rosa, who married David Wilson and they moved to New Zealand, where David became a Minister Without Portfolio in the Labour Government and Ambassador to Canada.

<sup>197</sup> George and Mary Wright transcript, p. 4. Her name appears to have actually been Phyllis.

in the bedroom. It was nothing to have a sparrer come in and play on you in the morning! And then, of course me father bought 'em an' 'e, 'e 'adn't got the money. It took all 'is money, what 'e'd bought 'em for. I think 'e paid two hundred and fifty for them.'<sup>198</sup>

## Facilities

In 1939 25% of all rural parishes lacked a piped water supply.<sup>199</sup> Church Broughton had no mains water pipes until 1957 or sewerage until 1968. My contributors gave vivid accounts of living in such circumstances, but always demonstrating that their house was their home. The lack of facilities applied to all villagers, but those living at Etchells farm and the Vicarage had slightly better arrangements and stored rain water.<sup>200</sup> The Vicarage had pumps indoors and both houses had the luxury of water closets. Etchells had a field windmill pump that supplied water for the cattle and house, so there were hot and cold taps in the kitchen and the downstairs bathroom, with water heated by a boiler at the back of the kitchen range. Florence Bull, daughter of farmer Bull explained:

‘When the water supply from the windmill began to get low, all water to the house had to be pumped. At this end, by the gate through the garden wall, there was a three-holer, which had to be emptied by hand. The loos in the house went into the cess pit.’<sup>201</sup>

At the Vicarage, all the family including the vicar spent time pumping water. Ruth Auden remembered:

‘When you filled the loo from the kitchen you screwed a cap in the pump and then pumped hard to get the water up. When visitors came, you hoped they wouldn't pull the chain. All that pumping gave me strong wrists. There were no taps anywhere. The

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<sup>198</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p. 2.

<sup>199</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 194.

<sup>200</sup> Mains water pipes were laid in 1957 and sewerage in 1968.

<sup>201</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, pp. 3, 4, 5. A three-holer was a lean-to toilet building with three seat-holes in a long board, no partitions.

maids' closet in the yard, at the side, for the gardener I suppose, when there was one. As all the water was pumped by hand, we often used this outside one.'<sup>202</sup>

There were no water closets in the cottages. Toilets were buckets in sheds up the gardens. Les Allman recounted the story of a town girl visiting her fiancé's parent's cottage for the first time. She asked for the toilet:

'Farmer says, "Come on lass I'll show thee" and 'e took her up the orchard. Well it was a little tin box with a bucket. She wanna very well pleased with that. "Oh", she says "it's dark and spiders", she says "it smells, there's no lock on the door." "Dunna thee worry thee pretty head about a lock" the farmer says, "we never lost a bucket of shit yet!"<sup>203</sup>

Detached households had their own wells; cottage rows shared a well. The effort of fetching water meant it was used sparingly, even if there was a pump. The area round some pumps became very muddy and the water itself was often contaminated. Vera Kirk remembered living in the first Church cottage:

'The Lock-up 'and our cottages, those three there, and also the school used to fetch water from there and it was such a dirty there; it was such a dreadful state down there. We had to fetch it from there. The cows came up, you know. Oh, it was a mess'.<sup>204</sup>

The vicar and schoolmaster both had their home well water tested and found it to be undrinkable. Edith Allin, schoolmistress, who came to Corner Cottage in 1939:

'We only had the water out of the well and we had it tested and they said it was terrible, full of germs and don't drink it. We'd been drinking it for years, so then we fetched water from the Old Hall Farm.'<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp, 1, 21.

<sup>203</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 9.

<sup>204</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p.5.

<sup>205</sup> Ted and Edith Allen transcript, p. 8.

Producing enough hot water for a bath was a challenge. Fires to heat it had to be tended carefully to avoid expense and danger. The cooking stove could provide water for washing. Those with a copper found it easier to boil sufficient for a long zinc bath. Edith Allin, remembered:

‘We had the copper in the back kitchen and we had to heat the water in it when we had a bath. The steam was terrible. Visitors would say “We can see the water’s hot!” Oh, it was cold in there to have a bath’.<sup>206</sup>

At Old Hall farm, zinc washbowls with a wooden handle, holding several pints of warm water were used to wash in. China bowls and jugs were kept upstairs, but not often used. There was a hip bath, with one high end, used in a bedroom warmed by an oil stove, but all water, heated in the copper, had to be carried up and down. The work involved in carrying and heating water meant that bathing was, according to Doris Stevenson, usually ‘when they thought fit.’<sup>207</sup> With the difficulties of obtaining and heating water, refinements in large houses were often not used because of the extra work involved.

Mondays, in households small and large were devoted to laundering. On family farms, the equipment was the pump, copper, with fire lit beneath, dolly tub and mangle. Water carried in to the copper, when hot, was scooped into the dolly tub, clothes added, soaped, scrubbed and moved around with the dolly peg. White washing was boiled in the copper, lifted out with a copper stick, all was rinsed in a bowl and rolled through the mangle. ‘It was hard work, oh dear.’<sup>208</sup> Those in larger households employed someone else to do the laundry. Widow Esther Brown, living in a cottage down Boggy Lane, was glad to do the washing at Old Hall farm, arriving at half past five to find the fire already lit beneath the copper. She did the washing until three o’clock, cleaning the kitchen before she went home.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 9.

<sup>207</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 1, 2.

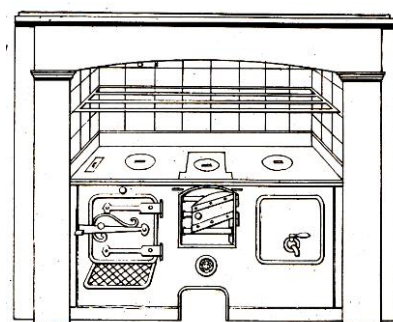
<sup>208</sup> Ivy Kate Allman transcript, p. 1.

<sup>209</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 1.

Heavier outer garments were washed less frequently, cotton underclothes and pinafores keeping them clean for longer, thereby saving water and effort. A farmer's family had several sets of clothes. Doris Stevenson, third daughter of John Stevenson at Old Hall said:

‘I was always the one to look after the Sunday clothes. First and second-best Sunday clothes all had to be brushed and folded away to next Sunday. On Monday, the first best put away and the second best ready to go out in the evenings during the week. It's too funny for words!’<sup>210</sup>

Women's laundry work was similar throughout the village, but those with a copper to heat a quantity of water had an advantage, and a mangle made wringing easier.



21. Open hearth as seen in the first of Royal Oak Cottages,<sup>211</sup> compared to a Kitchener range of 1850 with side boiler, draw-off tap, hot-plate, plate-rack and tiled recess.<sup>212</sup>

Arrangements for cooking and heating varied. Some cottages still had open hearths, with pots hung over a fire on the ground. These were gradually replaced by kitchen ranges which gave more concentrated economical heat and offered an oven and constant hot water – well-water was poured in at the top, retrieved hot through the bottom tap. A range was cleaner and more efficient than an open hearth but needed more attention. Doris Stevenson opined:

<sup>210</sup> Federation of Essex Women's Institutes, *Within Living Memory*, (Newbury, 1995), p. 42. Doris Stevenson, transcript, p. 1.

<sup>211</sup> Batsford, H., and Fry, C., *The English Cottage*, (1938, 1944), p.86, photograph of a North Devon house near Barnstaple. Bell, A., *Men and the Fields*, (Wimborne, 1939, 2009), p. 15.

<sup>212</sup> Wright, L., *Home Fires Burning*, (London, 1964), p. 126.

‘I think most of the houses had “side boilers”, with a tap on the front of the stove – this held only about a gallon or two and had to be filled frequently.’<sup>213</sup>

David Allen reading from his grandfather Trevor Allen’s notes regarding Knaves Bank:

‘Now 1901, Mr Clark: eight pounds, that was half a year’s rent for £8. Happen there’s a tale about that. He’d put ’em a new grate in, with a side boiler and of course after about a week or two, they wanted a new side boiler. Well the old fellow said, “I filled it up with cold water while it was still hot”. Let it boil dry!’<sup>214</sup>

The big houses had far superior facilities: at Old Hall farm, there was a large kitchen range and a separate bread oven - an arched hole deep enough to take a faggot of sticks to burn. The brickwork would heat up, the ashes swept out and the baking began.<sup>215</sup> Etchells farm had a Herald range with its fire between two ovens and a back boiler for continuous hot water. At the old bakery cottage, by comparison, Annie Caswell said:

‘In the kitchen, where we ’ad our meals, it ’adn’t got a fire grate, it’d got a combustion cooker, with a pipe chimney up and come through the wall outside. It’d smoke out. But it wasn’t a very ’igh chimney. And, when the wind was a certain way it used to blow down; the flame used to come through the fire guard. I used to be terrified of the kiddies getting burnt. It’d got a boiler to it. It’d ’old a bucketful of water and a tap an’ it wasn’t too bad an oven. We were content: it was no use being anything else.’<sup>216</sup>

Living conditions were tolerated by those who endured them and ignored by people who could have made improvements.

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<sup>213</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 2.

<sup>214</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 5.

<sup>215</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 1.

<sup>216</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p. 2. Bell, A., *Men and the Fields*, (Wimborne, 1939, 2009), p. 54: underwood cut and stacked in faggots.



## Living Conditions

A fundamental cause of poor housing in Church Broughton in 1900, was that those responsible for the state of housing did not have sufficient resources for maintenance. In this dairying district, farmers earned their living from perishable milk. There was fierce competition to find a buyer for milk, which forced the price down; Nestlé's, with a tinned milk factory at Hatton, had debilitating competition from Borden in America, so lowered the price they offered for milk.<sup>217</sup> The income for farmers was kept low. Agricultural wages were low, so their rents were low. Councils were reluctant to enable water, sewerage, electricity or public housing to be brought to scattered villages not wanting, or being unable to raise sufficient rates to cover the expense. Church Broughton was too remote to have a public gas supply, although neighbouring Sudbury had an estate gas works in 1874. Paraffin and large batteries did improve heating and lighting.

When electricity came to Church Broughton in 1934, it was not always welcome. Some older people, familiar with lamps and candles, preferred to keep to their old routine. Tenants paid weekly for the wiring by a meter, which was removed when payment was completed. The current was paid for in a separate meter, both meters needed a shilling a week until payment for the wiring was complete. Annie Caswell living at the bakery, remembered:

'If you didn't put the shilling in for your light, for your meter, you couldn't have your shilling for your light; it wouldn't light. You'd got to pay that shilling a week, to pay for the electricity. Mm. But there was no plugs or anything put in – just the light in the rooms, that's all. Me mother wouldn't 'ave it in. No, me mother didn't like it. She always had a paraffin lamp'.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Heer, J., *Reflets du Monde 1866-1966, Presence du Nestlé*. Arthur, J., *Say Cheese, Stories of the Cheese and Milk Trade in Derbyshire, 1870-1970*, (Derby, 1994), p. 110.

<sup>218</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p. 2.

The lack of piped water and electricity to the village was not inevitable. The parish council, who, having taken control from the vestry in 1894 were in charge of civil affairs, could have encouraged supply, but chose, like farmers elsewhere, not to do so for fear of increased rates. That was endured until people like the Allins, moving into the village in 1939 from a town where they had experienced better facilities and street lighting, expressed criticism of limits set by some villagers against the well-being of all: Ted Allin coming as headmaster was shocked:

‘Of course, there were no lights in Broughton, no water in the place. They had special meetings to get that, but the farmers all opposed it – put a bit on the rates, you see. They all came and voted en bloc against it. As soon as they put a ha’penny on the rates, they didn’t want it. They couldn’t see that they were already paying for somebody else’s lighting on the rates, because they didn’t read the back of the rating form, I suppose. We never had any water, never mind sewage. But there you are; that’s it.’<sup>219</sup>

Water pipes were finally laid to all houses in Church Broughton in 1957. Walton on Trent had a similar situation, but resolved it sooner: their council providing a mains water supply in 1935.<sup>220</sup> The Church Broughton Parish Council, instead of seeking to improve the living standards of all parishioners, - elected by them to speak on their behalf to the Rural District Council - were, by protecting their own rates, being as despotic as some resident lords of the manor had been.<sup>221</sup>

Sewerage pipes were laid in Church Broughton in 1968, sixty-one years after M. Kaufman's concern regarding rural housing. In 1907, he had referred to a government report on the condition of cottages, and lack of action by Medical Officers for fear of making the occupants homeless. His comments were echoed in 1961 by David Prince when he asked for Cote Bottom cottages, built before 1775, to be condemned: ‘Councillor David Prince of Sapperton Manor said the

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<sup>219</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 7.

<sup>220</sup> Adams, N., *A History of Walton on Trent*, (2000).

<sup>221</sup> Roy Christian, *Butterley Brick*, (London 1990) 338.76 pp, 85, 90, 96. Craven, M., and Stanley, M., *The Derbyshire Country Houses*, (2001, Bodmin), p. 54.

cottages were “in a deplorable condition” but it would be “rather a hardship” to turn the tenants out at this stage and was assured that they would be taken care of and re-housed.<sup>222</sup> The Summerfields moved across to Heath Top.

People could live in Church Broughton and find lucrative work elsewhere, walking out of the village to work. Due to the parish’s location, residents had some freedom of employment. Although Church Broughton was an agricultural village, there was alternative work within eight miles, with a gypsum mine on a stratum which ran from Hanbury through Fauld and Tutbury; gravel pits at Hilton; breweries, depending on gypsum water, based at Burton upon Trent.<sup>223</sup> Although farming and its ancillaries were the main occupations in 1900, the potential for alternative work gave a certain confidence and freedom.

Jim Bowles remembered the possibilities and flexibility for residents:

‘Quite a few walked to Burton out of Broughton. That was to the breweries and walked back again at night. There used to be a chap by the name of John Frost, that lived where the Capewells live. He worked at the plaster pits, as you might say. Well, he used to walk across the fields to Hanbury.’<sup>224</sup>

Lilah Bridges said:

‘Mr Frost ’e used to walk. ’e’s stood up like that and soart of reeled with walking. ’e got lost once in the fields up ’ere. It was foggy. You could see ’im go by here at five in the morning and Friday nights ’e’d walk down to Tutbury and pick up his groceries and carry ’is groceries home.’<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> *Derbyshire Advertiser* 28 4 1961, p.1, c.4.

<sup>223</sup> Farey, J., Sen., *Minerals of Derbyshire; with observations on the means of their improvement, drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and internal improvement*. Vol. 1. (London 1811), p. 146-149. Glover, S., *The History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Derby*, (Derby, 1829), p. 49.

<sup>224</sup> James Bowles transcript, p. 3.

<sup>225</sup> Lilah Bridges transcript, p. 1.

Florence Bull recalled:

‘Mr. Guy worked somewhere over Crowfoot way and walked through the pasture field every evening and looked white all over and frightening. I see the setting sun behind him.’<sup>226</sup>

People moving into Church Broughton in 1900 found the same layout and the same houses that had been there for a hundred years. The number of buildings remained the same from 1900 until after the Second World War, apart from the Homestead in Sapperton Lane, built in 1925.<sup>227</sup> In Church Broughton, without a large manor house and its resident lord, there was no single focus: tenants of the Duke of Devonshire’s farms and the Vicarage, held key positions in the social structure, until mass land sales after the First World War. Others, despite owning their house and land, were lesser in importance. Acreage and house size, not necessarily ownership, demonstrated status. The largest farm and Vicarage households required servants. Smaller farms and holdings were run by families. Cottages housed artisans, labourers and the elderly, in mixed groups.

## Conclusion

Contributors had a sense of the whole parish, the parish boundary giving a particular limit of belonging.<sup>228</sup> This chapter shows how original ownership of the parish by Tutbury Priory led to the provision of a church and after the land passed to the Dukes of Devonshire, four large farms. The Dukes did not live in the parish, so, in such an ‘open’ parish, there was opportunity for parishioners to take the initiative for a school and a chapel to be built. Those associated with these buildings became the leaders of the community, despite not owning land, and were respected. Multiple ownership of the dispersed housing allowed families to be resident for

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<sup>226</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 9. He would have been wearing a white shepherd’s smock.

<sup>227</sup> Visible on left of illustration 9.

<sup>228</sup> Wright, S., *Image and Analysis: New Directions in Community Studies*, in *The English Rural Community*, ed. Short, B., (Cambridge, 1992), p. 202.

generations, with networks of relationships between artisans and labourers. Living conditions were poor but tolerated.

Church Broughton was comparable to 'open' parishes described by Brian Short, regarding ownership and housing, but was not in a close relationship with a 'close' estate parish. In Church Broughton social relations lacked the tripartite division of resident squire, tenant farmer and worker of a 'close' parish, but church and chapel provided leaders and cohesion, unlike the description of Sussex 'open' parishes, or Headington Quarry described by Raphael Samuel.<sup>229</sup> Brian Short and B.A. Holderness using words such as lawless, heathen, insanitary, and tumbledown gave a pejorative picture of 'open' parishes, which may have been factually true, but people living in Church Broughton experienced it differently. Life may have been more difficult than living in a manor house, but my contributors did not dwell on hardship but described overcoming adversity with humour and tolerant resignation.

While feeling connected to people living across the whole parish, contributors described leadership given by respected tenant farmers of the largest farms together with the vicar and headmaster. The ancient church and school buildings provided centres for communal activities available to any wishing to participate. The disposition of housing after the enclosure had provided small mixed groups around the parish yet socially integrated as one whole. In Church Broughton cottage ownership was spread, which enabled generations of related families to remain in the parish, leading to complex networks of relationships and support, which Dennis Mills implied was less possible in 'close' parishes.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Short, B., *Contrasting Communities*, in *The English Rural Community*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 23-41. 'Quarry roughs': life and labour in Headington quarry, 1860-1920, in *Village Life and Labour* ed. Samuel, R., History Workshop Series (London, 1975), p. 141-227. Holderness, B.A., 'Open' and 'Close' Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in *Agricultural History Review*, (1972), vol 29, pt. 2, pp. 130, 126.

<sup>230</sup> Mills, J. and D. R., Rural Mobility in the Victorian Censuses: Experiences with a Micro-Compter Program, *Local Historian* (August, 1988).

Oral testimony demonstrated that Church Broughton had provided the freedom to build, own and let property, but not the wealth to keep it in good order. Being an ‘open’ parish, people could move in, without working there; others could remain but work elsewhere. This gave Church Broughton connections to surrounding villages. The type of housing reflected a person’s position and role, but all suffered from the lack of electricity, piped water and sewerage. Tenants had little control over their living conditions, being dependent on the owners of housing and there being no effective concern by the authorities. The parish and district councils were slow to support better services such as water and sewerage. In 1918, the County Council intervened with Council holdings, but these were too small. Although amenities in the houses of Church Broughton were late in coming, and the quality of some of the buildings was poor, the occupants spoke of them with forbearance. The permanence of public buildings at the centre of the parish contributed to feelings of belonging.<sup>231</sup>

Church Broughton had good agricultural land but did not have the extra resources of its neighbouring parishes. Sudbury and Marston on Dove parishes lay along the Dove valley, through which the railway had been laid in 1848. The Longford Brook passing through Sutton on the Hill and Longford, had allowed those parishes to have water mills and then, in the 1870s, their landowners provided cheese factories. Church Broughton had neither sufficient water nor railway, nor capital, its inhabitants having to take advantage of provision in neighbouring parishes.

The Duke of Devonshire owned the largest holding in Church Broughton, but was living forty miles north at Chatsworth, making it an ‘open’ parish. His chief interest in his Church Broughton

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<sup>231</sup> Tall, D., *Dwelling, Making peace with space and place*, in *Housing and Dwelling*, ed Lane, B.M., (Abingdon, 2007), p. 424. Rybczynski, W., *Home, A Short History of an Idea*, (New York, 1986, 1987), pp. 24, 62.

estate, a third of parish land, was to raise funds by mortgage.<sup>232</sup> His four farms were therefore well maintained and supervised, but he did not invest in advances in agriculture. His tenants cautiously accumulated their income. The Duke of Devonshire took little interest in parish affairs, his family visiting only at election times.<sup>233</sup> This gave the residents freedom to organise themselves until Basil Mallender, after buying Etchells Farm, chose to impose himself as lord of the manor with a dictatorial style of governance.

The social structure began to change towards the end of the period with the sale of the Ducal land in 1918, the intrusion of Basil Mallender who bought neighbouring Barton Blount in 1925, and the retirement of key people – leading Methodist R.J. Bull in 1926, schoolmaster Arthur Jones in 1927 and vicar Alfred Auden in 1933. The role for subsequent clergy families changed as more official provision was made for social care and better transport drew people away from the parish. Those moving into Church Broughton in the 1970s brought a different culture, unaware of the one they joined, as Marilyn Strathern found in Elmdon, Essex where there was a division between those locally born and working, and middle-class incomers working elsewhere.<sup>234</sup> It was a culture change for the elderly people I interviewed. Ida Wright, speaking of husband Eddie who was born in 1902: ‘He’s awfully interested in changes in the village. It’s gone, and generations will come – they wouldn’t know what it was like.’<sup>235</sup> In order to recover the cost of sewerage laid in Church Broughton in 1968, the local authority, through planning legislation, gave permission for house building. This intervention resulted in three central farmhouses, Old Hall, Broughton House and Etchells together with some of their agricultural land, being sold for housing, leaving only seventeenth century Cromwell House as an active farm in the centre of the parish. This ended the agricultural base of the community.

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<sup>232</sup> D1543/4/1 Church Broughton was mortgaged by Dukes of Devonshire from 1852 to 1915, shown in the title 1932 Abstract of the title of Robert James Bull Esq. to freehold property situate in Church Broughton in the County of Derby.

<sup>233</sup> Alfred Auden diary, 8 2 1922 Political meeting at 8.0 addressed by Marquis of Hartington.

<sup>234</sup> Strathern, M., The Social Meaning of Localism in *Locality and Rurality: Economy and Society in Rural Regions* ed. Bradley, T., and Lowe, P., (1984), p. 185. <http://geobytesgcse.blogspot.com/2007/08/counterurbanisation-causes-and.html>

<sup>235</sup> Eddie and Ida Wright transcript, p. 1.

## Chapter Two: Religion

This chapter explores the role of religion in creating an effective community and the way national events affected the progress of religion in Church Broughton. Was there evidence of the rise of Primitive Methodism, the conflicting views of the Oxford Movement and Evangelicals and disagreement over revision of the prayer book? Were residents convinced and converted to Christianity as an essential part of the ‘prior culture’?



22. Church Broughton church in 1878.

In 1900, there were two centres of worship in Church Broughton, church and chapel. Having no great Hall or Manor House, the church was the most important building, first erected by the Priory of Tutbury in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, described by William Woolley in 1712 as a ‘venerable edifice’.<sup>236</sup> The Primitive Methodist Chapel, built in 1828, seating 65 compared to the church’s 250 places, was by comparison simple. Whereas church architecture emphasised reverence for a distant God beyond, chapel design was homely, with God close by. St. Michael and All Angels was a symbol of authority; the chapel, an intrusion that would not have been allowed in many estate villages, representing a more egalitarian society.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Cox, J.C., *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, (1878). Vol. 3, pp. 10, 15, 60, 81, 327. *Victoria County History*, vol. 1, (1905). P. 303. William Woolley manuscript, 1712.

<sup>237</sup> Short, B., The Evolution of Contrasting Communities Within Rural England, in *The English Rural Community*, ed. Short, B., (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 32, 39.



The Church of England had some trembles in the nineteenth century, which influenced events in Church Broughton. A.D. Gilbert thought it had been ‘on the point of becoming a minority religious establishment’, despite being the established church of the country. Howkins noted the number of non-resident clergy before 1850.<sup>238</sup> This was the situation in Church Broughton: John William Jones had been vicar since 1820, but, widowed in 1846, he had retired to his daughter’s, leaving the Scropton curate James Dalton in charge.

Fundamental change had been triggered by the Sacramental Test Act 1828, which stopped the Anglican sacrament being used as a test of suitability for dissenters and Catholics to take established positions of the state or attend universities. It closed the monopoly position previously held by the Anglican church, which was sometimes considered corrupt. There were new possibilities for those outside the Anglican church, but great anxieties for those within, prompting a surge of activity. Within the church there was dissention about the basis of salvation.

Elizabeth Jay, in *The Evangelical and Oxford Movements*, explained that Evangelicals claimed salvation came from personal conviction through revelation from hearing and reading the Word.<sup>239</sup> They founded the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804 with the intention of making cheap Bibles available to everyone. Frank Turner demonstrated how Evangelicals used commercial methods to further their cause by buying up advowsons to be able to select the clergy.<sup>240</sup> William Hopkins, a wealthy Staffordshire farmer whose family had owned land in Church Broughton at the enclosure of 1775, bought the advowson there for his eldest son-in-law William Auden, one of three clerical Auden brothers and their cousin, who had married his four

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<sup>238</sup> Gilbert, A. D., *Religion and Society in Industrial England, Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, (London, 1976), p. 28. Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England, a Social History, 1850-1925*, (London, 1991), p. 66.

<sup>239</sup> Jay, E., Introductory Essay in *The Evangelical and Oxford Movements*, ed. Jay., E., (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 1-19.

<sup>240</sup> Turner, F., ‘*Oxford movement and commercialized religion*’, lecture at Yale Ball State University 2016.

daughters.<sup>241</sup> For two sons-in-law Hopkins found parishes at Church Stretton and Silverdale while for John Auden, William Hopkins built a church at Horninglow in 1866, on the outskirts of growing Burton upon Trent, eight miles south of Church Broughton.<sup>242</sup> John Auden's son Alfred would follow William Auden as vicar of Church Broughton.<sup>243</sup>

Elisabeth Jay wrote that, opposed to the Evangelicals were the Oxford Movement who, in the 1830s, favoured a more sacramental religion emphasising the apostolic succession and baptism with the sacraments as the means of grace, defending the church from rationalism and liberalism. While the Oxford Movement veered towards Catholicism, they tried to oppose both extremes, but some did convert and others formed an Anglo-Catholic wing of the church, competing with Evangelicals. To add to the turmoil Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species* in 1859, challenging the church's understanding of the creation of mankind.

As vicar of Horninglow in these religiously turbulent times, John Auden's notebook shows he was reading widely about science, archaeology and religion. He copied quotations from Thomas Arnold who supported a liberal approach for the church, Dean Farrar a friend of Charles Darwin, quotations from Plato and Cicero, plus Evangelical William Goode's consideration of the Bible and the Apostolic succession. He also read T.H. Huxley's *Lay Sermons* regarding Darwin's opinions:

After much consideration, and with assuredly no bias against Mr. Darwin's views, it is our clear conviction that, as the evidence stands, it is not absolutely proven that a group of animals, having all the characters exhibited by species in nature, has ever been originated by selection, whether artificial or natural.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> William Auden, his two brothers, John and Thomas, and cousin George Armitage married four daughters, Mary, Anne, Sarah Eliza and Martha, of farmer William Hopkins, through meeting their brother John, a fellow theologian. Poet Wyston Auden was John Auden's grandson.

<sup>242</sup> John Auden was father of the next vicar of Church Broughton and grandfather of poet Wystan Hugh Auden.

<sup>243</sup> Poet Wystan Hugh Auden was John Auden's grandson.

<sup>244</sup> John Auden's notebook.

The new church at Horninglow was part of an increase in church building and renovation - an effort to attract more clergy and parishioners. William Auden arriving in Church Broughton aged twenty-nine was aware of renovations in neighbouring parishes: in 1827 the north wall was taken down to enlarge Sudbury church; at Marston on Dove there was a new gallery for 96 sittings in 1830; Boylestone church had alterations to the chancel arch and new windows in 1843; Barton Blount church interior was reconstructed in 1854; Scropton church was rebuilt in 1855; at Sutton on the Hill the church was rebuilt in 1863. At Church Broughton, in 1845, vicar John William Jones had repairs to the north wall, the 1668 screens removed and placed behind the altar, the floor raised eighteen inches and a south porch added. Clergy were able to alter their churches according to their own desires. When John Auden became vicar at Horninglow, his new church was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, but, when an Anglo-Catholic became the vicar in 1910, the name changed to St. John the Divine and a rood screen was installed.

William Auden and his brothers had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Pierre Bourdieu pointed out that although studying Latin and Greek was not very practical, it raised a man to a more respected social position.<sup>245</sup> While vicar of Church Broughton between 1864 and 1904, William Auden used his position to substantially alter the interior of the church in 1885, to raise the image of church and religion in the village. The presence of a Primitive Methodist chapel may have been an influence. Jeanne Halgren Kilde highlighted how church buildings express hierarchy and identify a community, separating those who belong from outsiders and James Obelkevich wrote that the parish clergy 'were confident that their vigour and activity... would remove the grievances that had nourished Methodism and draw the discontented back to the parish church.'<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Bourdieu, P., translated by Richard Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, (Cambridge 1977, 1995), pp. 54-57.

<sup>246</sup> Kilde, J.H., *Sacred Power*, (New York, 2008), pp. 3, 4. Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75*, (Oxford 1976), p. 27.

William Whyte, discussing church design, explained that the focus had previously been on enabling the congregation to hear the Bible readers and the preacher, emphasising the importance of the word, a distraction from the chancel. The Victorians wanted the building itself to be symbolic – ‘to reshape the whole body and soul of the worshipper’. For William Gresley (1801-1876), a Tractarian clergyman associated with Lichfield Cathedral, a church building itself should affect the emotions: ‘touch the heart and soul as well as inform the mind’<sup>247</sup> William Auden was swayed by prevailing construction and renovation in the Anglican Church, some of which Charles Cox, noted writer on church architecture, saw as vandalism.<sup>248</sup> When he arrived, the church, like the chapel, was simple, with emphasis on the pulpit rather than the altar. It had clear windows, a level floor and no embellishments except the handsome font and royal arms - a contrast to nearby estate villages, where alabaster effigies ornamented the churches.<sup>249</sup>

Although his brother John seemed Evangelical, William Auden altered this simple church into one more in sympathy with the Oxford Movement. He arranged for the nave floor (raised 18” in 1845) to be lowered, having the effect of demeaning the congregation in relation to the altar, emphasising their unworthiness in the splendour of the alterations.<sup>250</sup> The royal arms were moved to the south wall so that the chancel arch could be raised, giving emphasis to chancel and altar. Choir stalls, under hanging lamps, and the new organ promoted the singing of Hymns Ancient and Modern published in 1861 at the instigation of the Oxford Movement. The effect was grand, not homely, and William was proud of it, as were the congregation. Emphasis moved from the words of a service to an encompassing experience.

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<sup>247</sup> Whyte, W., *Unlocking the Church*, (Oxford, 2017), pp. 42, 55, 64, 69.

<sup>248</sup> Avis, P., *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, (London, 1989, 2002), p. 173. Cox, J. C., *Notes on the churches of Derbyshire*, (1875).

<sup>249</sup> For example: Cubley, Hanbury, Longford, Norbury, Radbourne, Repton Rolleston and Sudbury.

<sup>250</sup> Cox, J.C., *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (1878). Vol. 3, pp. 10, 15, 60, 81, 327. Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Journal, (Derby 1905). p. 97.



23. The simple level church before 1885 with a low arch beneath the royal arms, the pulpit prominent,  
 24. Proud William Auden's card, showing raised archway and step up to the chancel, attention focused on the alter,  
 25. Churchyard, extended to the road after two cottages were demolished and a grand lime avenue planted.  
 Photographs Derbyshire Records Office D854/A/PI 119, Ruth Auden and 1970s Janet Arthur.

As chairman of Vestry meetings, William Auden had some control over parish business. Two houses were demolished to extend the churchyard to the road and an avenue of lime trees planted.<sup>251</sup> Ethel Bannister, born in 1892, seven years after the alterations, was enthusiastic about the improvements and how they were achieved:

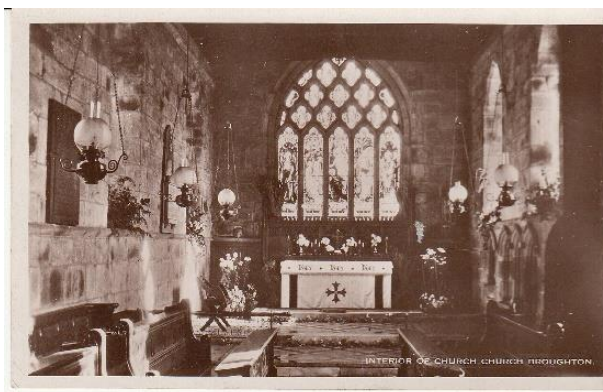
‘The church floor was on a level with the entrance and the walls were plastered inside. They found the bottom of the pillars were covered, so they decided to lower the floor to the original levels. The archway between the nave and the chancel was level, straight across, so they raised it to be arched and show the east window. It is the only church for miles around with solid oak pews. Miss Elizabeth Sampson, at Bent House, gave the organ.’<sup>252</sup>

The altered church impressed villagers and continued to be awe-inspiring for children, whose estimation of their own status was similar to the First World War girls mentioned by Edith Hall in *Canary Girls and Stockpots*, ‘to order myself lowly and reverently before all my betters and

<sup>251</sup> The Vestry was a meeting of rate payers to conduct church and parish business. The vicar and tenants of the largest farms attended Vestry meetings, but, when anything controversial was to be discussed and rate-payers got involved, small farmers and agricultural workers were able and willing to oppose a motion. Derbyshire Records Office. D854 A/PV. Church Broughton Vestry Minutes. 8 7 1858 At a meeting of the ratepayers at the Vestry Meeting to sell three cottages and gardens, William Gotheridge, Charles Gotheridge, Mr. Barker and Mr. Kent had opposed the proposal but agreed for them to be sold.

<sup>252</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1. Bass, brewer, of Burton upon Trent paid for the pews.

conduct myself well in that station of life in which it has pleased God to call me.’<sup>253</sup> For Frankie Jones, adopted out of the Burton upon Trent workhouse, the church and Vicarage were amazing to experience, mixing with the elite. Frankie was born in 1918, so, even 33 years after the alterations, joining in the Sunday School, choir and services, she was as impressed as Ethel Bannister. Frankie said:



26. A post card, showing steps up to the altar, hanging lamps and the stained-glass window in memory of William Auden.

(from photograph taken by Police Sergeant Moore)

‘The brass hanging lamps, they were ever so nice, with the white mantles. They used to be lodged over the pulpit and the reading desk and the vicar’s desk. Oh, a lot better. There was far more people went to church. There didn’t seem so many in the village, but I bet there wasn’t many that didn’t go to church. And, when I was a child, we ’ad to go to Sunday School, every Sunday, and then we ’ad to go to Choir Practice twice a week, and then we’d go over to the Vicarage for a lesson.’<sup>254</sup>

Edith McKeown, one of the Allen family remembered:

‘They spoilt the church when they took those lamps down. It was a shame. Oh, it’s a beautiful church. There used to be, right from the second pew to the church door, was nothing but our families, right to the bottom.’<sup>255</sup>

By the time he died in 1904, William Auden had restored the authority of the church in Church Broughton and high regard for the Vicarage family.

<sup>253</sup> Hall, E. *Canary Girls and Stockpots*, (Luton, 1977), p. 24, quoting the Prayer Book.

<sup>254</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p.5.

<sup>255</sup> Edith McKeown transcript, p. 1.

## Clergymen

As well as an enthusiasm for altering and building churches during the nineteenth century, there was a move to reform the role of parish clergy (to make them more spiritually and pastorally active) and strengthen their support from the deanery and diocese. The vicar was to be a model for his parishioners, not only through his education but in behaviour. Michael Sanderson exploring the intake at Oxford and Cambridge Universities between 1752 and 1856, found that the majority came from two social groups, the gentry and clergy.<sup>256</sup> William Auden's great-grandfather, who owned or leased lead mines in the Rowley Regis area, purchased a coat of arms for the family, entitling them to a listing in Burke's Landed Gentry. William's father died when he was two, his brothers John five and Thomas not yet one, but the boys went to Dudley Grammar School and St. John's College Cambridge. They had the prestige of a gentry background and a university education.

William Auden (1835-1904), having been to Cambridge and married the daughter of a wealthy farmer, was a gentleman, with two servants and a coachman, but not quite of the order of his churchwarden, Etchells farm tenant Richard Bott Esq., his senior by two years, who had a butler, a footman, three maids, Ethel Bannister's mother as housekeeper, and hunters in the stable. Ruth Auden, whose father followed William, commented:

'In the old days the Botts (tombstone in the churchyard - the little boy's name used to tickle us, John Henry Bott - may have been because to talk about 'botties' was 'rude'!) were there and kept up a real gentlemen's establishment.'<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Sanderson, M. *Education and economic decline in Britain, 1870-1990s*, (Cambridge, 1999), p.40.

<sup>257</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1. Ruth Auden transcript, p. 7. Richard Bott had inherited wealth from his great-grandfather, a cotton-spinner at Tutbury. Streatfield, N., *A Vicarage Family Life*, (London, 1963, 1967), pp. 77-79 describes the nuances of being gentry.

Richard Bott and William Auden stood in proxy for the lord of the manor, ‘where power descended from the top of the pyramid, the lower orders responding with at least outward deference’.<sup>258</sup>



27. William Auden, wearing a top hat, nonchalantly surveying his ‘estate’ with his youngest son Walter, 1878.

There were differing views of William Auden: some, like Doris Stevenson revered a kindly old gentleman:

‘The dear old vicar Auden, he had big white whiskers.’<sup>259</sup>

Samuel Harvey rebelled against the grand man:

‘Old Mr. Auden, bye ’e was a big fella. Me Mother says, “Go up with this note to the Vicarage, Mr. Auden.” “Yes, Mother.” And you ’ad to do everything at the moment, not just now. I went up “I’ve got this note my Mother’s sent, Vicar.” “Oh, yes.” I can see ’im as if ’e was ’ere now. “Oh, yes. Would you like a little present, my boy?” “Yes, oh, thank you.” D’you know what the rotten bugger brought me? Two wizened up apples! I took ’em ’ome and showed them Mother and said “’e lifted my hopes and dashed them at one stroke.” And ’e died worth forty-four thousand.’<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> Mills, D. R. and Short, B., *Social Change and Social Conflict in Nineteenth-Century England: the Use of the Open-closed Village Model*, in Reed, M. and Wells, R., *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700-1880*, (London, 1990), p. 91.

<sup>259</sup> Doris Stephenson transcript, p. 2.

<sup>260</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 4. William Auden left £42,128 15s 5d. He had received money from his parents, his wife and his brother, the father of Alfred Auden.



William Auden, representing the church, was overseer of glebe and cottages held on behalf of the incumbent.<sup>261</sup> He was not as powerful as a resident squire would be (the vestry included rate-payers who were not always obsequious) but he was relatively wealthy. His wife and daughters were seen as ladies, arranging events for the women and children and occasionally visiting the school: 'Miss Auden did the carols'; Miss Phoebe came and heard the school songs; Miss Auden came, saw the sewing and played the closing hymn'.<sup>262</sup> Ruth Auden, who thought her great-uncle looked patriarchal, said:

'We took on some of the previous ways practised by Uncle William and family i.e. the Sunday School and day school 'treats' (with everyone bringing their mugs, of course!) I think the old Clothing Club, children bringing pence to Sunday School, and having the money back at Christmas with 1/0 added, was already going in 1904.'<sup>263</sup>

William Auden bequeathed cottages he had acquired and the patronage of the living to his clerical son Walter, but Walter would have nothing to do with Church Broughton.<sup>264</sup> When there was a possibility of selling the glebe land after the First World War, the family solicitors, Auden and Son at Burton upon Trent, sent a telegram to Walter, recalled by Ruth Auden:

'Auden and Son even sent him a prepaid wire asking permission to sell, the patron's consent of course being needed, and he even disregarded this!'<sup>265</sup>

The importance of William Auden to the congregation in Church Broughton was emphasised for ever when his children added the finishing touches to the church, with stained glass windows in

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<sup>261</sup> The property of the church in a parish, included glebe land. Land allotted to the school by rate-payers at the enclosure, was claimed by the Diocesan Board of Finance in 1978. D854/A/PI/170 plan of glebe land.

<sup>262</sup> School Log December 1901- March 1903, held at Derbyshire Records Office D854/A/PI.

<sup>263</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 10, 15. In 1904, 24 adults received a bonus of 3s each; 24 children received a bonus of 3s each. Evans, G. E., *Where Beards Wag All, The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*, (London, 1970, 1977, p. 210: George Ewart Evans quoted Mrs. Manning, living in 'close' village Helmingham, saying they had a similar Clothing Club there, supported by Lady Tollemarche, landowner.

<sup>264</sup> The Gospel according to St. Mark, 6, 11. Walter Auden joined the St. Andrew's Bush Brotherhood in Australia from 1902-1908. He became vicar of Howgill, Yorkshire 1912, married Aileen Pearson in 1926 when she was 30 and he 52.

<sup>265</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 4.

memory of their parents. Keith Snell argues that the importance of the parish had been reduced by state authorities regarding education and health, but despite secularization, William Auden had successfully upheld its tenets. His background and stance had been appropriate for the task he had undertaken.<sup>266</sup>

When William Auden's son Walter refused the living of Church Broughton, it was offered to William's nephew Alfred Auden (1867-1944), at the time a curate at Clun. He found the church had been transformed, while the population had reduced by a third during his uncle's tenure.<sup>267</sup> He was not in charge in the same way as William Auden had been, parish councils having taken civil powers from the Vestry in 1894.<sup>268</sup> James Obelkevich thought it difficult for clergy to reconcile the tension between their roles as aloof gentlemen and sympathetic pastoral clergymen.<sup>269</sup> Although with a similar education, holding the same position, Alfred's behaviour can be seen to be supportive rather than domineering, unlike in many other areas where the parson was still closely allied to the paternalistic approach of landowners.<sup>270</sup> He developed a more egalitarian role in the village compared to his uncle.

Alfred Auden had different challenges from his uncle, the first being the resurgence of the only alternative religious venue, the Primitive Methodist chapel in 1908. The second, towards the end of his tenure in 1933, were the efforts of Basil Mallender (1902-1986), against the wishes of the parishioners, to absorb Church Broughton parish into his neighbouring estate parish of Barton Blount with himself resident lord of the manor.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Snell, K.D. M., *Spirits of Community, English Senses of Belonging and Loss, 1750-2000*, (London, 2016), p. 82.

<sup>267</sup> Population in Church Broughton at the 1851 census was 661 at 1901 census was 436. See appendix 4.

<sup>268</sup> The Vestries became Parochial Church Councils, dealing solely with matters concerning the church.

<sup>269</sup> Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society*, (Oxford, 1976), p. 124.

<sup>270</sup> Law, J., Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity, in *Systems Practice*, 5 (1992), pp. 379-93, see Chapter 5 Community. Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England, a Social History, 1850-1925*, (London, 1991), p. 75.

<sup>271</sup> Basil Mallender became squire in 1925 of neighbouring Barton Blount parish. He bought Etchells farm in 1926, appearing in Kelly Directory 1941 as principle landowner. In 1973 his grandson Robin took over Barton Hall as his residence, having no role in Church Broughton. The Barton estate was sold in 1980.

Alfred Auden did not have the financial resources of his uncle William. His experience was different. His father John died aged 45, when he was ten, but his mother did not have the support, like William's mother, of a brother with iron mines. His daughter Ruth said of her grandfather John Auden:

‘his share of the Auden money went to his brothers (‘next of kin’), not to the widow and eight children. Mother was very indignant at the idea!’<sup>272</sup>

Church Broughton was a poor living, requiring augmentation from Queen Anne's Bounty, yet, as Susanna Wade Martins wrote, ‘the church was a cheap profession to enter providing an elegant, leisured and gentlemanly lifestyle’.<sup>273</sup> Alfred and family were still able to live comfortably in the Vicarage, Alfred at first driving round in his uncle's trap with a twenty-year old horse, later usually going on foot or bicycle. There was some confusion in the villagers' assessment of Alfred Auden: university educated, living in a large house, yet often, unlike his uncle, a practical man seen making hay in the churchyard and gardening - growing all fruit and vegetables for the Vicarage. The new Vicarage family needed to retain the influence of the church through hard work, involvement and example, not money or status.<sup>274</sup>

Flora Thompson in imaginary Heatherley, based on Grayshott, Hampshire, wrote that at the turn of the century in many villages only a small group of ardent villagers supported the church as the focus had moved to nearby towns. Few clergy preached to full churches, but she accepted there were parishes, where the ‘clergyman took a leading part in the secular social life of his village, sitting on Parish Councils, organising clubs and sports and mutual-aid schemes, and good work

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<sup>272</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 4. John Auden died in 1876, aged 45, when Alfred was 10.

<sup>273</sup> Queen Anne's Bounty, enacted in 1714, after her death, followed her wish to supplement the finances of poor clergy. Alfred Auden's diary 1909, shows he received money for baptisms and funerals, twice-yearly rent from tithe land £27 8s 9d, Queen Anne's Bounty quarterly £ 6 18s 10d. Wade Martins, S., The rural parson in Victorian England, A Norfolk case study, in ‘*Rural History Today*’, Issue 29, (August 2015), p. 4.

<sup>274</sup> Bourdieu, P., translated by Richard Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, (Cambridge 1977, 1995), p.38 ‘Official relationships which do not receive continuous maintenance tend to become what they are for the genealogist: theoretical relationships, like abandoned roads on an old map’.

was done in that way'.<sup>275</sup> Alfred Auden was such a man. Millie Bradshaw, their maid, was impressed:

'That churchyard was lovely. He cut the trees as well. And it was their living and they're gentry bred; they really are, I mean they're not just any of us. He'd do *anything*. He'd do any mortal thing', [often work that was expected to be done by a servant.]<sup>276</sup>

Joe Hulland and Hilda Ward had different views:

'I think they were very poor, them Audens were.'<sup>277</sup>

'The Audens had money but the village bled them of it.'<sup>278</sup>

Marcella Griffith's father was gardener at Sudbury Vicarage. She said that Mr. Tufnell, the Rural Dean, held clergy meetings and, seeing village clergy arriving:

'the living at Sutton was considered very poor and Church Broughton not much better or Trusley.'<sup>279</sup>

The chapel was very depleted at the beginning of the century, perhaps indicating some success for William Auden's strategy. Chapel membership in Church Broughton had fallen away before 1904, when Alfred Auden became vicar. His daughter Ruth Auden recalled:

'At one time, the Chapel was almost given up for lack of members, and in 1904 my father could almost have had it for a village hall, but once the Bulls came to the Etchells and David Prince to Sapperton, Methodism had a shot in the arm, which has continued, as their farm workers were Chapel or changed over, and the Sunday Scholars were about 50-50 (with a few waverers, who sometimes came in for both 'treats!')'<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> Thompson, F., *Heatherley*, (Oxford, 1979, 1998), p. 160.

<sup>276</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 5. Alfred Auden diaries.

<sup>277</sup> Joe Hulland transcript, p. 1.

<sup>278</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 9.

<sup>279</sup> Marcella Griffiths transcript, p. 1.

<sup>280</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 10.

William's nephew Alfred Auden was not competitive but cooperative when the chapel was revitalised by the arrival of Methodist families in 1908, especially in regard to temperance.

Describing South Lindsey in Lincolnshire, James Obelkevich wrote of the hostility in the church towards the success of Methodism and how the clergy rallied by increasing the number of services and Holy Communion and pastoral work.<sup>281</sup> Whereas his uncle William used to give communion once a month and at festivals, Alfred held communion four times as often, to more than twice as many recipients.<sup>282</sup> Although he was cordial to Methodists, Alfred Auden was diligent in recruiting members for the church, visiting frequently every part of the parish, encouraging baptism and confirmation, attending meetings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but did he convince his parishioners of 'the one Trinitarian God of Christian faith, made known through scripture and the living tradition of creed, doctrine, prayer, active witness and the religious experience of believers up to this day'?<sup>283</sup> Success was judged by the number attending church, which fluctuated. Festivals were well attended. Alfred Auden wrote 'good congregations' in his diary for the dedication of the church war memorial on Easter day 1920 and that there were 73 communicants on Easter Day 1930.

Alfred Auden worked to give everyone in the village the opportunity to become an Anglican. He baptised young and old, ran confirmation classes, had Sunday Schools and not only had Sunday services, but also Matins and Evensong during the week. When Ida Bull's Anglican uncle took Florence to the weekday service,

'we used to have the psalms antiphonally and there would be nobody else there and he and I would share the prayer book and I thought this was grand.'<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75*, (Oxford 1976), p. 177.

<sup>282</sup> Derbyshire Record Office D854/A/PI/7/1-4 Service Registers of St. Michael and All Angels, Church Broughton. William Auden held communion around fifteen times a year, with around 200 recipients, whereas Alfred Auden held communion around 60 times a year, with about 700 recipients. The same fewer people may have been coming repeatedly. He mentions the number attending church three times 40 in December 1904, 31 in March 1905, 60 in March 1908 when new communicants were taking their first communion.

<sup>283</sup> Johnson, E. A., *Ask the Beasts: Darwin and the God of Love*, (London, 2014), p. 16. Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75*, (Oxford 1976), p. 164.

<sup>284</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 10.

Alfred Auden visited people all over the parish on a regular basis, yet the social activities organised by the Audens may have been the greatest enticement to attend church and incidentally an important means of raising funds and coalescing the community, including those attending chapel. Alfred was seen about the place, infiltrating their homes. He visited different parts of the parish every week, knowing and known by his people. This routine presence of the vicar meant that a sense of religion permeated villagers' lives. Some rejected it, but Alfred Auden was not daunted, welcoming devotees of the public houses into church and Vicarage and christening their children. Alfred's daughter Ruth recalled:

'My father used to be onto her to get the babies christened and then she'd be having another one. These two little girls, they were toddlers. At long last - I think Mother and I found them little frocks - they came to be christened. I don't know that the mother even came herself. There weren't proper godparents, so I went across and I was more or less godparent and I thought these poor little kids, they were scared; I had a couple of oranges; I put them where they could see them and said I'll give you those afterwards.

'A neighbour had told the mother of an unbaptised child who had died, "There, now you'll never have no little grave in the churchyard to put flowers on!" but I'm sure my father buried him in consecrated ground like any baptized child.'<sup>285</sup>

Sunday was Alfred's busy day with Holy Communion at 8.0, Sunday School 9.30, Matins with a sermon 10.30, Sunday School 2.30, Children's service 3.0, Evensong 6.30, followed by choir practice. There was the Litany and General Thanksgiving every Sunday. Communion Sunday, first in the month, had the Athanasian Creed. By taking scripture lessons in school once a week,

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<sup>285</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 6, 20,

and being chairman of the school managers, he affirmed the role of the church within the school.<sup>286</sup> The following diary entries confirm his regular presence at the houses of parishioners.

Monday 21<sup>st</sup> May 1906 School, letters and called on Mrs. Furniss [the day after her baby's funeral]. Visited in village a.m. Rogation Day. Intercessions at Matins. Homily at Evensong.

Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> November 1906 Sermon. Visited Mrs. Stokes of Sutton Heath. In evening small dance at the Etchells.

Monday 15<sup>th</sup> January 1907 School 9-10. Put up mirror in organ etc. Rode machine to Dark Lane and visited. Then tea at Mount Pleasant. Confirmation class 6.<sup>287</sup>

Trevor Allen's diary records: 'Mr Auden Came To See hus Hour Vicar Pleased to see him' (sic)<sup>288</sup>

Alfred Auden, like his father John, pursued his intellectual interests, going to both clerical and archaeological conferences as well as holidays for up to three weeks in Wales with family members, where he visited churches, searched for birds, snakes and menhirs and bathed. These holidays were a novelty to Trevor Allen: 'Mr Auden Gonaway for a month to Cornwall' (sic)<sup>289</sup>

Brian Short, quoted the expectation that "a gentleman in every parish" would lead his people to heaven by personal example, charity and exhortation'.<sup>290</sup> Alfred Auden was such an example putting emphasis on both preaching and the Communion service. He measured his success more by numbers baptised, confirmed and attending communion than spiritual transformation. His

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<sup>286</sup> Lowerson, J., *The Mystical Geography of the English*, in *The English Rural Community*, ed. Brian Short, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 154. This programme is so different from that of the current incumbent, who has eight parishes and three church schools, offering Church Broughton one service each Sunday and read Morning Prayer on Tuesdays. Alfred Auden held occasional services for baptisms, weddings and funerals. During the eight years covered by the available diaries, there were 58 baptisms, 14 in his first year, some at the children's service, some private, some adult, twice for twins. There were 51 funerals, including the two sets of twins and eight other children below a year old, six more younger than five years, two not yet ten, then one person in their twenties, three in their thirties, five in their forties, six in their sixties, fifteen in their seventies and three reached their eighties. The two seven-year olds died of diphtheria. John Large, aged 39 fell out of a tree. There were 19 weddings, for which nine couples both lived in the village, but of the remaining ten couples, one came from elsewhere.

<sup>287</sup> Alfred Auden diary. Henry Atkins farming Mount Pleasant was church warden.

<sup>288</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 26 12 1924.

<sup>289</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 1 6 1926. Nine years of farmer Trevor Allen's diaries show that his brother Samuel fetched him to Walsall three times, staying away there one night.

<sup>290</sup> Short, B., *The English Rural Community*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 154.

visits to the Allens at Heath Top, where he often had tea, culminated in Trevor Allen being confirmed as an adult.

## Chapel



28. Church Broughton chapel on right (opposite Vicarage wall), smithy and cottages. (photo 2000, Janet Arthur)

Alun Howkins relates how Primitive Methodism swept from Staffordshire through the rural areas of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire to the rest of the country, early in the nineteenth century.<sup>291</sup> Since the civil war there had been various dissenting groups attempting to reinvigorate the church, but in the 1740s two clergymen, Charles and John Wesley, wanting to reform the church from within, challenged the status quo by taking the Christian message out of the churches, preaching to the people, setting up distinct chapels that became Methodist. Kendall showed that just as the Wesley brothers had drawn the Anglican church towards evangelism, Hugh Bourne and William Clowes drew Methodism through Conversation Sermons towards the style of Camp Meetings being held in America (rejected by Wesleyan Methodists) to form the Primitive Methodist Connexion.<sup>292</sup> Their first chapel was built in Boylestone in 1811. John Salisbury of Church Broughton was one of the signatories requesting a certificate for Boylestone Chapel.

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<sup>291</sup> Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England*, a social history 1850-1925, (London, 1991), pp. 182-3.

<sup>292</sup> Kendall, H. B., *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, (London, 1919), pp. 15, 25.



Hugh and James Bourne, founders of this Connexion, supported local blacksmiths and labourers at Church Broughton, to build a chapel in 1828 next to the smithy, from their own funds.<sup>293</sup> A schoolroom was added in 1928. Being without resident lords of the manor had made it easier for Methodists to build chapels and worship in these neighbouring villages. With a porch two steps up from the road, the Church Broughton chapel was a simple bare room, not unlike the farm kitchens used previously, as Wilfred and his cousin Anne remembered:

‘They held the chapel in their big kitchen at my mother’s family, the Salisburys, till they built the chapel at Somersal.’<sup>294</sup>

‘The old folks’ home, the Bulls’ was at Foston, where they had a Methodist Society in their own home.’<sup>295</sup>

Florence Bull explained:

‘The way chapels were built, for example, the Hatton Prince Memorial Chapel – my grandfather felt that Hatton was a growing place. It needed a place of non-conformist worship and he bought the land and gave it and then money was raised.’<sup>296</sup>

Methodist farmers moved into the parish. R. J. Bull moved into Etechells farm in 1908; Stephen Tunstall took Model farm in 1909; in 1922 David Prince took Sapperton Manor, at the time his brother-in-law, Joseph Fallowes, rented nearby Barton Park.<sup>297</sup> These were important farms and families within the parish, which bolstered the role and popularity of the chapel they supported. There was a certain gulf between the farming families, Anglican and Methodist. These new chapel families lived in farms previously occupied by Anglicans. It was a psychological change for Church Broughton and presented a challenge to Alfred Auden.

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<sup>293</sup> Stella Mills’ notes on Church Broughton Methodist Church from the Deeds in the Circuit’s possession, as at 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2016.

<sup>294</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p.1.

<sup>295</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 1. It was Ida Prince’s family who lived at Foston. The Bulls were at Marston Montgomery. Walford, J., *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of the Late Venerable Hugh Bourne*, vol. 1, (Stoke-on-Trent, 1856, 1999), p. 340. Lichfield Record Office, B/A/12ii.

<sup>296</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 12. George Prince (1820), her grandfather, retired farmer, lived with her father John Prince (1845), farmer at Foston.

<sup>297</sup> See Appendix, 2.

R. J. Bull was an anomaly when he arrived to farm the Etchells; he did not have the university education of Alfred Auden, nor the wealth of previous tenants, nor was he a preacher though he sometimes gave the address at temperance meetings. He lived in a house similar to the Vicarage and had the same aspirations for his children as Alfred Auden, sending them away to school. Unlike his predecessor, becoming tenant of the Duke of Devonshire's large farm, he worked it beside his labourers. His daughter Florence remembered:

'Mr. Salt, proposing a vote of thanks to my father, for taking the chair. This was in Tutbury chapel. He said "He's always been known as a hard worker. I wouldn't like to tell you how many loads of manure he's loaded out of that farmyard at Church Broughton, and all in that high collar.'"<sup>298</sup>

While R. J. Bull was a worker, his high collar upheld his respected position as employer. Enid Tunstall and Edith McKeown thought:

'Mr. Bull was a nice man. They did a lot for the village. I don't know what we would have done without them.'<sup>299</sup>

'They were grand people, the Bulls.'<sup>300</sup>

The basic message of both church and chapel was similar – that a virtuous life, believing in the redemptive power of Jesus, would lead to salvation, presented in a different way by distinctive people to circumscribed groups. Methodists had similar prayers of hope and reproach as Anglicans, but also many impromptu, spoken from the heart. As Alwyn Rees said of Welsh nonconformity, 'it was a religion of the prophet rather than the priest, emergent rather than traditional.'<sup>301</sup> At the chapel, preachers, allocated according to the Burton Circuit Plan,<sup>302</sup> were either ministers or lay people chosen from the circuit congregations, relatives and friends of those they were instructing. Robert Colls pointed out the way Methodists were different from Anglican

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<sup>298</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 12.

<sup>299</sup> Enid Tunstall transcript, p. 4.

<sup>300</sup> Edith McKeown transcript, p. 4.

<sup>301</sup> Rees, A.D., *Life in a Welsh Countryside, A social study of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa*, (1950, 1996), p. 164.

<sup>302</sup> A list of preachers, both full-time and part-time, created by the Superintendent Minister of the local group of Methodist Societies.

preachers: ‘they were bound to an intimate assault on their people in the hope of winning something out of them... a performance that had to be given extemporarily if they were to win through.’<sup>303</sup>

Bert Hearn, Florence Bull’s husband declared:

‘To this day in Methodism, if you look with a microscope, you’ll find that some of the villages and towns, if there’s a Primitive Methodist’s its likely enough the emphasis will be on the workers.’<sup>304</sup>

When preachers appeared on Sunday, they spoke from the heart, out of an experience similar to that of their audience. Annie Tunstall recalled tailor William Tunstall:

‘My grandfather was a very wonderful man I suppose. He used to go everywhere. He went preaching three times every Sunday, from the street and the village green. He’d come home in the small hours, singing his praises, making the valley ring. He had a wonderful saying ‘They that have seen Thy look in death, no more fear to die.’<sup>305</sup>

Florence Bull said:

‘I remember Mr. Stephen Tunstall. He was a very good preacher indeed. He used to pray a great deal in the prayer meetings. He was an excellent preacher, Mr. Tunstall, always had something interesting to say, fluent, sound, said it in his own way..... A memory I treasure - a man from Burton, who couldn’t read or write, but a devoted Christian, would start speaking, “Friends the Master I serve. . .” I’ll never forget - you felt he really did. My memory of most of them is of very gentle and kindly people, aware of their shortcomings.”<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Colls, R., Primitive Methodists in the Northern Coalfield, in *Disciplines of Faith*, (London, 1987), p, 332.

<sup>304</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 11.

<sup>305</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

<sup>306</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull, transcript, p. 5. Not having a higher education did not reduce respect for a man’s message.

Some changed from church to chapel or vice versa, according to their employer's beliefs. Richard Tomlinson worked on a Scropton farm where, as his son Bill remembered:

'They'd have to go to Church, the Anglican Church. They had to go to Marston Church. With Father being the lad there, they had to bring the horses for shoeing up where Wrights is now [Chapel Lane, Church Broughton]. And he'd always told the tale that, when he went there, the gossip was at the time, that there was a chap by the name of Lemon, which is Mrs. Bailey's sister at Barton Park, and he was wanting a lad, a young fella. Father always said this fella said, 'If you go there, you'll have to be a Methodist.'<sup>307</sup>

There was an enthusiasm when people remembered the Methodism of their childhood, similar to that expressed by Gwen Davies in Wales, speaking to Paul Thompson or Sammy Tate, talking to Melvyn Bragg, who remembered how families were fully involved throughout the week with the chapel programme in Wigton.<sup>308</sup> All ages were drawn into Methodism. Gertie Connolly whose family moved into Church Broughton, said:

'We 'ad to go to Chapel every Sunday, morning and afternoon, yes. I used to like Chapel and the Anniversary, when we used to go to the Anniversaries; you 'ad a nice new frock then, for the Anniversary, yes. Oh, we was made to go to Chapel; we used to walk right from Barton Cottages, when we was there, as well.'<sup>309</sup>

Annie Tunstall of Model Farm remembered:

'The Circuit teas at Foston – they used to have a tent. A grand Anniversary at Sweetholme Farm at Scropton. The Bulls used to entertain perhaps thirty people to tea for Missionary services. I think it's lovely to be a Methodist.'<sup>310</sup>

Faced with competition from the chapel, Alfred and Edith Auden's strategy was, while respecting differences, to cooperate where possible, especially through the wives, rather than be

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<sup>307</sup> William Tomlinson transcript, p. 1.

<sup>308</sup> Thompson, P., *The Edwardians*, (London, 1975), p. 139. Bragg, M., *Speak for England*, (London, 1976, 1987), p. 359.

<sup>309</sup> Gertie Connolly transcript, p. 1.

<sup>310</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 2.

confrontational or patronising and aloof. The harmonious relations between church and chapel congregations led his daughter Ruth, looking back on those times, to say:

‘Actually, we got on quite well - a pity we didn't join forces.’<sup>311</sup>

While Methodist Annie Tunstall commented:

‘Now there was no talk of Methodist union in those days, but I'm sure there would have been no difficulty in having joint services. There was a Boys' Brigade – that was a joint church and chapel thing. The Band of Hope had a sort of a concert. We gave recitations. They invited people to sign the pledge and yes, they had quite a few.’<sup>312</sup>

Religion was an important facet contributing to the life of residents of Church Broughton in the broadest sense. There was a particularly productive time while the Alfred Audens occupied the Vicarage between 1904 and 1933 and the Methodist Bull family farmed Etchells farm from 1907 to 1926. This related to their behaviour based on their beliefs. Both families built on the previous history of religion in the parish, particularly Alfred Auden, who inherited his position from his uncle William.

## Leading Ladies

Women in the Anglican church were subordinate to men, needed to teach in Sunday School and play the organ. The Mothers Union had begun in 1876 and was well supported in Church Broughton with monthly gatherings of an address, service and tea. The Primitive Methodists had early accepted female preachers, but generally the role of women was similar to that in the church. Women's suffrage was not mentioned by contributors, not having excited interest among village women. However, two women contributed considerably to the well-being of the community. Edith Auden and Ida Bull, church and chapel respectively, were robust women working for their own congregations and the village, examples of religion guiding their lives. They both played

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<sup>311</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 23.

<sup>312</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 2. The Band of Hope was a combined church and chapel organisation to warn children of the dangers of strong drink.

the organ at services and ran their Sunday schools. The Vicarage and the Etchells households were the foci for church or chapel social occasions. Edith Auden, in prime position socially, expected Ida Bull at Etchells farm to support her. These ladies made an important contribution to the cohesion of the community.



29. By the summer house: Alfred, Edith, and children: Ruth, John, Geoffrey, Rachel Auden.



30. Robert James Bull, his wife Ida Mary and children, Florence, Mary, Evelyn, and Frances.

Florence and John Prince Bull at the Etchells remembered Edith Auden:

‘Mrs. Auden got my mother and me and one or two others to help with village activities.

Mrs. Auden and mother got together to see what they could do for Mrs. Johnson, after

her husband died. Mrs. Auden was most artistic. She painted a lot, impressionist style. She did embroidery, smocking, dressed dolls meticulously. Her Scottish connections were very strong.'

'She taught me geography. I still can recite the Scottish counties, but I stop at the border!'

And, of Ida Bull, Florence explained:

'My mother was a farmer's daughter and went to Kingston, now Sutton Bonnington, College for several 5-week courses. She was the only one in the district to make cheese. My mother, Superintendent of the Chapel Sunday School, took me into chapel when I was six weeks old and laid me on the seat, while she played the organ.'<sup>313</sup>

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, writing of internal divisions within the nineteenth century middle class, categorised Methodists among the 'Lower Ranks' and Anglicans under 'Higher Ranks'. Regarding the position of women, they wrote 'ideas of a woman's place were underpinned by legal, political and social practices which subordinated women. This was combined, however, with a recognition of their economic worth in the family enterprise.'<sup>314</sup> Edith Auden and Ida Bull exemplified these comments: they were in an inferior position in their households yet vital to their husbands' work.

There was a subtlety in the relations between the Anglican Audens and Methodist Bulls, colouring the way they were seen in the community. In some ways the two households were comparable, in others very different. As Anglicans, members of the established church, the Audens felt inherently superior, but both families were inspired by religion for social responsibility. R.J. Bull was a union member and later County Councillor. Having studied at Cambridge University Alfred

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<sup>313</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, pp. 5, 6, 9.

<sup>314</sup> Davidoff, L., and Hall, C., *Family Fortunes*, (London, 1992, 2007), pp. 24, 25.

Auden had a more intellectual standing and taught John Prince Bull, who would in time himself attend Cambridge University.

Florence Bull recalled:

‘The real centre of the village was the Vicarage. One thing was the character of Mrs. Auden, but the other was that Mr. Auden was tee-total, so they joined with the Methodists, with the Band of Hope. It was under his guidance that we all signed the pledge, I think very definitely with my parents’ approval’.<sup>315</sup>

Seen from the Vicarage, the Etchells household was somewhat alien. Ruth Auden saw that the Etchells household had high standards:

‘Mrs. Bull ran the Band of Hope – strict TT and once she took all her children out of a concert, because the comedian was acting drunk (maybe she was right!). The Bulls were very devout Methodists. Rachel used to be sent to play with the little Bulls. I said to Rachel last time we went to Broughton together, I said “Do go and see Mrs. Bull, she would love to see you.” She said, “I’m not going to see Mrs. Bull.” “Think of all the times you went to play with the little Bulls.” She said, “I hated being sent to play with the little Bulls.”<sup>316</sup>

But Ruth Auden commented on the freedom of Methodists in chapel:

‘We felt Church people were better than Chapel people... The Chapel singing was robust - I think they let go more than we did in Church! If one happened to lie in bed with a cold or something on a Sunday, the Chapel would be singing one hymn and the Church another, one on either side. They would all come to the Harvest Festival, then on Anniversary Sunday and “Camp Meeting”, half our congregation would be in Chapel!’<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 9.

<sup>316</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>317</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 1, 7.



Seen from the village, Edith Auden was in charge at the Vicarage, but generous and welcomed visitors. There were differing opinions.

Florence Bull: ‘Mr. Auden was very quiet. His wife was the lively one. Mrs. Auden’s Rummage Sale: Mr. Auden shut himself and his belongings in the study, because she would give his things away.’<sup>318</sup>

Frankie Jones: ‘She was a little bit moody. Me Mum ’ad got umpteen pictures that Mrs. Auden ’ad painted.’<sup>319</sup>

Edith Mckeown: ‘Mrs. Auden could be very nasty. Mr. Auden, he was a grand man.’<sup>320</sup>

Samuel Harvey: ‘Mrs. Auden dictated terribly to ’im; she used to grumble; she used to say “Well, I can’t know everything, when you know everything.” ’e was very good to ’er.’<sup>321</sup>

Marjorie Spooner: ‘Ah, well, the Audens were the real – what should I say – the Audens were what you would always imagine a vicar to be.’<sup>322</sup>

Florence Bull compared the Vicarage and Etchells households:

‘What the Vicarage meant to us – we knew there was a world of a certain kind of civilization that was not in our own home. We were very nonconformist. It had its own quality. Mother had very high standards. She preserved values that really belong to that period and have really died out.’<sup>323</sup>

Both households, the Vicarage and Etchells farm were founded on religion, but the child-rearing was different: the Vicarage children had a freedom not known at Etchells farm; they roamed the fields; the boys used to shoot at the weathercock on the Church:<sup>324</sup> Ruth Auden commented:

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<sup>318</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>319</sup> Frankie Jones transcript, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>320</sup> Edith McKeown transcript, p. 3.

<sup>321</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 5.

<sup>322</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 6.

<sup>323</sup> Ruth Wilson transcript, p. 7. Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 9.

<sup>324</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 2.

‘We could get round Dad, but we couldn’t get round Mother. Mother was the strict one. Re. brickfield - I found a whinchat's nest in one of the gorse bushes there, a great event for us! A happy hunting ground for newts. These laid eggs and bred in the brickfield pond and wintered in the old buildings.’<sup>325</sup>

For the Bull children, the cultured Vicarage household was more permissive than the non-conformist Etchells. Looking at a different interpretation of Christianity, the Bull children saw a more intellectual family at the Vicarage, with creativity and freedom. In comparison to the Audens, both R.J. and Ida Bull interpreted Christianity in a more restrictive way. John Prince Bull and Florence Bull remembered:

‘The house side was all cobbled with a flag path down the middle, from the house to the archway. You could get a ha’penny out of Mother for weeding the yard and then she’d put a big foot down on the pile and you’d have to go again. Sometimes there was earth with the weeds! There was a little room, at the top of the cellar steps, where I was put when I was naughty. It was very dark.’

‘We had a ha’penny to spend. We weren’t given pocket money normally, and we went and bought something at Mrs. Brown’s shop. My father looked at it, sweets, and threw it straight into the fire. I mean, he was the most gentle person, so it was most unlike him and there was our money.’<sup>326</sup>

As Margaret Mead found in Samoa, women other than the mother were expected to support and care for children. In the same way the Bull children had more fun with the maids, who played an important part in their lives, sometimes taking a parental role. John Prince Bull found comfort in: ‘Our favourite “maid” May - even after she was married and had small children, I used to walk over the fields to see her – a great reservoir of sympathy!’<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 7, 17.

<sup>326</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, pp.2, 3, 9.

<sup>327</sup> John Prince Bull letter, p. 11. Mead, M., *Coming of Age in Samoa*, (1928, 2001), p. 32.

Florence Bull said:

‘I remember one incident when my brother was told to do something for my mother and he said, “You’re not my mother, May is.” Her sister Fanny came as the little maid. She was nice, a sweet person. She taught us all sorts of little games.’<sup>328</sup>

There were distinctions in the way these two leading families interpreted Christianity for their families and the way their children responded. Within the religious communities they played key roles and cooperated. Men occupied official positions, but the contribution of women was vital for the success of their enterprises.

## Religion in the Community

Attendance at Sunday School, church and chapel had been part of the framework of most Church Broughton lives; the teaching contributed to a standard of acceptable behaviour and tolerance in the community. Both Alfred Auden and his wife were closely connected to villagers, involved in their lives, demonstrating the practical application of their beliefs. They felt a social responsibility for all parishioners. Brian Short thought this expectation of personal holiness and pastoral oversight was part of a golden age that ended with the First World War. The Audens offered it throughout the parish until Alfred’s retirement in 1933. Later vicars’ work was more limited to church services and congregation members.<sup>329</sup>

Church and chapel had been an important aspect of my contributors’ lives as children. Enid Bridges, speaking of the chapel, said:

‘Church was the only recreation we had. Church three times on Sunday, service morning and night, and then Sunday School in the afternoons. Christian Endeavour Thursday

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<sup>328</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 5.

<sup>329</sup> Short, B., *The English Rural Community*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 154.

nights, just a meeting, and you could give a paper or anything like that, and like have a little sermon. We all used to. I couldn't do it now.'<sup>330</sup>

Attendance for supporters of church and chapel was expected, especially for the children. There were enticements to attend and pay attention: Steve Tunstall remembered:

'This old Miss Sampson, at Christmas time she used to give them as had been regular attenders at Church, she used to give them ten bob, half a sovereign; the old lady did.'<sup>331</sup>

Arnold Redfern, who had lived in Church cottages as a child:

'Mrs. Bull's father, o'd John Prince, 'e used to come preachin' at Chapel and 'e allus come in with one of them old-fashioned bags, when 'e come preachin' an' it were full o' apples. 'e'd bring 'em every time 'e came, it didn't matter, winter or summer, allus got this bag apples. Us kids, sitting in chapel, you tek yer eyes off 'im, yer didn't get no apples as you went aht. 'e knew who'd bin watchin' 'im.'

Rose Redfern: 'Make 'em listen.'<sup>332</sup>

John Prince Bull said that children were soon familiar with the hymns and authorised version of the Bible, but, due to the heat of the 'Tortoise' stove in chapel,<sup>333</sup> they

'often became somnolent - a last memory before unconsciousness, was the reflection in the glasses around the flames of the oil lamps each side of the pulpit; these had flat wicks and the reflections looked like little men who would wave their arms with vibrations from the preacher's movements. As for the theology of the sermon there was quite a variation in style, stretching from sober reflections on a biblical 'text' to attempts at "knock 'em down/build 'em up" evangelism. There could be doubts as to the suitability of this diet for children - in particular they tended to remain "knocked down" after the "Evangelical"

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<sup>330</sup> Enid Bridges transcript, p. 3. Also see Kendall, H. B., *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, (London, 1919), p.143.

<sup>331</sup> Steve and May Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

<sup>332</sup> Arnold and Rose Redfern transcript, p. 2.

<sup>333</sup> Manufactured originally by Charles Portway, Halstead, a tortoise stove was an efficient, free-standing, slow-burning cylindrical stove.

approach!’ There were some excellent local preachers. There was usually a Prayer Meeting after the evening service, when anybody got up and prayed – a bit alarming for children, but there it was.<sup>334</sup>

Boredom was felt also by the children along the road, in church. Ruth Auden sitting in church said:

‘When we were children we sat in this pew. We came to church every Sunday. We had the Litany almost every Sunday. We got very bored and nibbled the wood with our teeth. Those are our teeth marks on the edge. I used to add up the hymn numbers and work out the lowest common denominator and the highest common factor.’<sup>335</sup>

Contributors would mention religious affiliation as a part of identity, colouring behaviour, explaining connections. Annie Tunstall, Ruth Auden, Hilda Ward and Wilfred Tunstall recalled:

‘Len Wood at the Bent – we went Christmas singing and the lamp cast a shadow and we saw him going like this, conducting. He used to go in his top hat and frock coat to Church, strict Church. The Ooslems were Methodists. Tom married Miss Williams. They live Needwood way’<sup>336</sup>

‘Naylors (relations of the Spendloves). They were from the Moravian Settlement at Ockbrook originally. The Spendloves joined our church. Naylors were always ‘chapel’.<sup>337</sup>

‘And there was Henry Corbett. They were chapel people they were, big chapel people.’<sup>338</sup>

‘Jack Wall was married to my niece and ’e was a nice..... He was a chapel steward at the Methodist chapel.’<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> John Prince Bull letter, pp. 5, 10. Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 10. Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class*, (London, 1963, 1980), pp. 44, 436 - ‘the preaching of the Primitives was as hard as the lives of their congregations.’

<sup>335</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 1.

<sup>336</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>337</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 26.

<sup>338</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 7.

<sup>339</sup> William Wilfred Tunstall transcript, p. 5.

Church and chapel drew in whole families, who benefited not only from the teaching, but from the camaraderie. Wanting to belong to these social scenes was an incentive to conform. However, there were gradations of religious conviction. There was some disappointment when members of Methodist families strayed. Florence Bull differentiated:

‘Wilfred Tunstall was a partial Methodist. Steve [at the White House, not preacher Stephen Tunstall at Model farm] made no claim to be Methodist. He went to the Church of England.’<sup>340</sup>

Wilfred Tunstall, whose Methodist preacher father died when he was five, felt free to explore other ways:

‘There used to be a public house at Heath Top, at one time. They had an outdoor beer licence and Miss Knight kept it at Heath Top. She had a shop as well. I once had a lad with me. We called in there and I bought a pint parcel of ale and we went and sat in that old lane and drunk it. I was only a youth, about fifteen perhaps.’<sup>341</sup>

There were those in the parish who were not intimately part of the two religious groups, some on the fringe, some not involved at all, relying instead for support of family, relatives, neighbours or friendships at the pub. Not all the men who socialised at the Holly Bush and Royal Oak were alien to religion. When a brass band was required, they appeared in church. When frivolity was needed they appeared as guisers.<sup>342</sup> In this way the Audens felt the pulse of the community and if things were going awry. At a time when it seemed men were drinking too much, not caring for their families, Alfred Auden went to the magistrates and asked for the Royal Oak licence to be revoked in 1917.

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<sup>340</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 5.

<sup>341</sup> William Wilfred Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

<sup>342</sup> A group of men who dressed up and performed a mummer play at Christmas about St. George.

Church and Chapel provided religious education and opportunities through the choir, bell-ringing and entertainments, for young and old to join together. Both congregations were mixed groups, employers' and workers' families together. Both held similar services, though one was well-choreographed, with a choir to lead singing, the other with vigorous congregational part singing in the services and vocal prayer of supplication, thanksgiving or praise at prayer meetings. In this self-regulating parish, there was the possibility for villagers to attend either the church or chapel, without reproach, but there was an undeniable distinction between them.

Dominic Erdozain described how many branches of religion used education, sport and entertainment as part of the mission to convert people to Christianity, but that, while growing congregations, it did not necessarily increase conviction.<sup>343</sup> A calendar of activities at church and chapel gave form to people's lives.<sup>344</sup> Services were the foundation of religion, yet social events seemed to be the most important aspects to many contributors. They were designed to draw children and adults into religion, as an enticement or reward for attendance, but were spoken of as a joyful source of friendship, games, food and entertainment. Some were regular, others occasional. Sunday Schools occupied children on Sunday afternoons with the promise of a Sunday School treat at the Vicarage or at the Etchells in the summer. During the winter, church and chapel were warm and welcoming. Some children attended both Sunday Schools.

Edith Auden's role, apart from occasionally playing the organ, was to be in charge of the Anglican Sunday School (there were 44 girls and 27 boys in 1908).<sup>345</sup> Ruth Auden said:

'Mother's elite Sunday School Class: two Whitely girls from the Police Station, Maud and Doris Stephenson, Gracie and Ivy Jones and me. My father taught the big boys, Ethel

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<sup>343</sup> Erdozain, D., *The Problem of Pleasure*, (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 260, 261.

<sup>344</sup> Similarly, the church was the centre of social life in Walton on Trent at this time, see Adams, N., *A History of Walton on Trent*, (2000).

<sup>345</sup> Derbyshire Record Office D 854A/PI 206 1904 church accounts. Census 2011 gives the total number of children in Church Broughton: 88 children aged between 5 and 14, but some younger may have attended Sunday School.

Bannister and Miss Thawley the middle groups, Mabel Stephenson the infants - all in the school, divided into classes as in day-school.’<sup>346</sup>



31. Day School Treat held in the Vicarage garden, the ladies thought to be Mrs. Auden, Bull and Tipper.

The annual Day School Treat and Sunday School Treats, illustrated above, were held in the Vicarage garden with a free tea and games. Led by the vicar, they first processed round the village, ‘singing “When Johnny comes marching home” and “Marching through Georgia”, the tail end of the procession usually being at a different point in the song!’<sup>347</sup> They carried flags left from the 1897 Jubilee.<sup>348</sup> Girls then played singing games with their teachers in the field behind the church, while the boys, vicar and headmaster played cricket. Two trees had swings made of cart ropes, one for boys, one for girls. Afterwards, they all repaired to the Vicarage lawn for tea. Ruth Auden showed some pride in the quality of the cake her family offered: another reflection on the slight meanness of the William Audens. She recalled:

‘Tea was in the huge tin urn (tasting of tin). The mothers told my mother her slab cake was better than old Mrs. Auden’s, who got the cheapest at about tuppence three farthings per lb and had stones in the currants. In our time it was about 2/0 for a 6-lb slab, if I remember rightly, either madeira, cherry or fruit. Grand finale was handfuls of nuts and

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<sup>346</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 6.

<sup>347</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 9.

<sup>348</sup> Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee.



sweets thrown in the air and scrambled for, then a long chain formed of all the children, two for an arch, all the others passing under for “Thread my Granny's long needle”.<sup>349</sup>

The Church Army had been founded in 1882 as a band of evangelists to work alongside the Salvation Army in the slums and with the unemployed. In Derbyshire it had a horse-drawn missionary van which was welcomed in Church Broughton in October 1930 for a ten-day mission of talks in the church, causing some excitement. It parked opposite the forge, outside the Vicarage. Ruth Auden said:



32. Departure of the Church Army van 27 10 1930.

‘Joan Alcock and I cleaned it out and washed the curtains! Joan had a teenage crush on Captain Smith, the leader, and thought there was no one like him! Assistant was Cadet Taylor, a little cockney goldsmith, who took the children’s service and talked to them about refining gold. It was the old magic lantern every evening in church. Children quite thrilled (Mabel Smith went to sleep under the seat and got locked in church!) A horse was borrowed to tour to its next village, Sudbury.’<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> Me eyes is ter little, me nose is ter big. ter thread me granny’s long needle. Ruth Auden transcript, p. 9.

C E E E C C C E E E E C E E D E F E C

<sup>350</sup> Notes on reverse of Ruth Auden’s photo.

Some celebrations for the whole village used the facilities at Etchells farm. Alfred Auden wrote in his diary: 'Coronation Day 22.6.1911 'Holy Communion at 8 am. Assembly and procession 10.30. Service 11.0. Dinner in Etchells barn 12.0. Boys' and other sports 2-4 pm. Tea 4.30. Men's sports 6.30-9.'<sup>351</sup> The Etchells, with spacious rooms and an orchard available, was used for all large Methodist meetings. There was a flurry as distant people arrived. John Prince Bull and Florence Bull recalled:

'At the yard end, there was a loose box for visitors' horses and the saddle room. When people came with a horse and trap, they put the horse in here.'<sup>352</sup>

'When the Chapel was being re-decorated, we had all our services in the library at the Etchells. A hundred to a hundred and fifty came. There was a very good tea for ninepence a head. Christmas parties were held in the cheese rooms at our house. Certainly, the Sunday School Anniversary was held in the barn, and the harmonium, the pews, pulpit and everything was brought on our farm lorries into the barn. My father thought it was a lot of fussation, but my mother was Superintendent of the Sunday School and what my mother said went.'<sup>353</sup>

Ida Bull was hostess supreme, drawing the chapel circuit community together for special occasions, with food provided at a low cost. It reinforced their bonds and gave people from scattered villages the chance to meet and enjoy themselves. Florence Bull recalled

'The Tea Meetings: there was usually a Chapel Annual Tea at Michaelmas. There were the Sunday School Treats, the Quarterly Meetings. On the hottest day of 1911, which was a very hot year, there was a big Circuit Gathering at the Etchells, about three weeks before Evelyn was born and that was the day when my mother was terribly distressed, while her eldest daughter, sitting in front of you, behaved very badly and she had already

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<sup>351</sup> Alfred Auden's diary.

<sup>352</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 4.

<sup>353</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 8.

a child of one or two, besides me, three, the copper fire went out anyway and there was nothing for them to drink when they finished this meeting, but that was all in aid of money to start work on the Hatton chapel.<sup>354</sup>

Methodists recruited annually through Camp Meetings, when a few would go to different areas in the village, say a prayer, sing a hymn and encourage attendance later in the day. They were remembered by Annie Tunstall and Florence Bull, with mixed feelings:

‘I must tell you the ’ighlights of the Chapel. We used to ’ave the Anniversary and we used to ’ave Camp Meetings. We’d go to Barton Cottages in the afternoon and for the evening service we’d go down Badder Green.’<sup>355</sup>

‘The Camp Meetings. It was an awful Sunday every August, we had a Camp Meeting. I used to hate it and so did my father. We went round the village inviting people to come to services in the afternoon and the evening. Not only did we invite them but gave a little talk or prayer as well. At Heath Top and different places. The service was held in the afternoon in the orchard opposite the Etchells, if it was fine. There was more going round after tea. It was a kind of mission to the village, you see. Anyone might be asked to give out a hymn.’<sup>356</sup>

Alfred’s wife Edith Auden, daughter of a Scottish minister, began a branch of the Girls’ Friendly Society, an Anglican organisation set up in 1875 to support country girls who left home for work in the towns, by providing hostels and ‘for every working girl of unblemished character, a friend in a class above her own.’<sup>357</sup>

Millie Bradshaw remembered the pleasure of performing,

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<sup>354</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, pp. 8, 12.

<sup>355</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 2.

<sup>356</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 10.

<sup>357</sup> Money, A. L., *History of the Girls’ Friendly Society*, (London, 1905), p. 36.

‘Jo’ ’arvey’s sister – ’e’d only got one sister – and myself, we ’ad wings and sort of ’ad to do a dance, but Oh, we ’ad a lovely time. It was quite a happy place; it was, really.’<sup>358</sup>



33. Girls’ Friendly Society Candidates’ Fairy Play.



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Evelyn Stephenson produced the faded photograph 34 above, saying:

‘Have you got the Boys’ Brigade one? That is Somers Jagg and that’s my brother. They were lieutenants or whatever they called them. There are two Bannister boys on. I can’t remember them all. Doris would know those better, because they are her age group. They are smart, all of them, they are smart in their uniforms.’<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 5. Evelyn Stephenson transcript, p.4. Photo 33. The Girl’s Friendly Society Candidates performed a Fairy Play in the Vicarage garden - Barbara Bannister and Rachel Auden were the two little butterflies and sang a duet. John Moore, the only boy, was shepherd Pan. Evelyn Harvey was Fairy Queen. At the back: Violet Murby, Rose Frost, Freda Stephenson, Violet Allsopp, Topay Middleton. Centre row, Bea Atkins, Ida Middleton, Maria Dean, Ida Harrison, Kidd, Sabina Orme, Gertie Cliff. In front: Rachel Auden, Barbara Bannister, Lily Bradshaw, John Moore, Evelyn Stephenson, Doll Billinge, Kathie Wright, Evelyn Harvey.

<sup>359</sup> Evelyn Stevhenson transcript, p. 6.

Branches of interdenominational organisations were begun for older children: Methodists ran a branch of Christian Endeavour, which had begun in Portland, Maine, USA in 1881 as an Evangelical Christian youth fellowship. Similarly, Sir William Alexander Smith had started the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow in 1883, aiming to use semi-military discipline to instil manliness, obedience, reverence and self-respect.

The arrival in 1906, of twenty-year-old student Somers Jagg, cousin of church warden Henry Atkins, to stay with his parents at Bent House, had prompted Alfred Auden to organise a company of the Boys Brigade. Alfred Auden taught the Bible class and various people gave talks. The boys did drill and marching, meeting twice a week, in the Reading Room or at Bent House.

## Choir and Bells



35. Choir trip to Rhyl, 1924. George Spendlove in bowler hat.

The church choir and bell-ringers drew people into church. Children were proud to be chosen. Alfred Auden's diaries recorded that men in the choir, and bell-ringers, were given supper at the Vicarage after Christmas; the whole choir had an annual party in the school, with prizes for attendance. They joined Bass' annual day trips to Scarborough, Blackpool or Liverpool; being in the choir offered far more than singing.<sup>360</sup> Warwick Penley, vicar at Boylestone, coached the choir. Raymond Hall, who came from Sutton Mill to sing said:

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<sup>360</sup> Alfred Auden's diaries, 31 12 1904, 27 1 1905, 10 1 1906, 19 7 1906, 19 7 1907, 7 7 1908.

‘He was a marvellous man, Mr. Penley. Anyone singing in a bit of discord, he’d start pulling his right ear down to emphasise his annoyance. I didn’t get Mr. Penley pulling his ear down, when I was singing!’<sup>361</sup>

Ruth Auden, Frankie Jones and Doris Stevenson explained:

‘An old choir school man, Mr. Penley. He was a marvellous choir trainer. Old Mr. Jones used to pick out the children he thought were musical and bend them into the choir. And we had quite a row of older boys and girls and of course Maggie Jackson, her aunt Mrs. Pamela Johnson, old William Johnson.’<sup>362</sup>

‘The choir used to be full. Before you were allowed in the choir, you used to ’ave to sit in the first pew, opposite the pulpit and you’d got to sit there and one note out and after the service, I’ll tell you what, you used to ’ave to go to Mrs. Auden. We used to ’ave to be there for six months before we were allowed in the choir’<sup>363</sup>

‘Of course, with the choir there were many little children. We all wore white bands and black clothing for the funerals. Mabel sang alto. Shrubbs was a wonderful tenor singer. He only joined us for our competitions. He was curate at Sudbury.’<sup>364</sup>

It was not all joy - Samuel Harvey said:

‘I was in the choir, as a lad, but I didn’t like Mrs. Atkins; she was old bitch. She was awful; she was always strict.’<sup>365</sup>

As well as church services, the choir sang at concerts in the church, supported by Scropton choir, and entered Dove Valley choral competitions, with the excitement of travelling by train. Ruth Auden said:

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<sup>361</sup> Raymond Hall transcript, p. 21. ‘Yes, he did skate from here to Nottingham on the Trent. His brother was Charlie’s Aunt, you know. Yes, it was his brother.’

<sup>362</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 19.

<sup>363</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 5.

<sup>364</sup> Doris Stephenson transcript, p. 4.

<sup>365</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 5.

‘Geoffrey Shaw awarded us the banner one year for the best village choir, and we won the silver vase, bowl, three years running for sight-reading (only choir brave enough to enter! Even the children knew whether the music went up or down, and we always finished up on the right note!)’<sup>366</sup>

Alfred Auden was not musical and relied on Annie Atkins, wife of Henry Atkins, Church Warden, who walked from Mount Pleasant farm, and later from Bent House, three times every Sunday to play the organ. She wrote out beautiful manuscript parts for the choir and entertained the choir for supper at Mount Pleasant in 1906 and for tea and games in school in 1907.<sup>367</sup>



36. Rachel Auden, Percy Atkins, Ruth Auden, Annie Atkins at Bent House

She was admired by Evelyn Stephenson:

‘Mrs. Atkins kept up playing the organ until she was nearly eighty – she told Mr. Auden that if she wasn’t there half an hour before service, she wasn’t coming. She walked to the church – they had a pony and tub, but there was the bother of getting the pony ready, so she walked.’<sup>368</sup>

Ruth Auden recalled a drama:

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<sup>366</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 9, 11, 19.

<sup>367</sup> Alfred Auden’s diary, 14,2 1906, 18 1 1907.

<sup>368</sup> Evelyn Stephenson transcript, p. 1.

‘Mrs. Atkins always had ostrich feathers in her hat and of course there were only candles on the organ and once Harry Alcock went up to Mr. Atkins during the service and said, “Your wife is all right” - the feather had caught alight from the candle.’<sup>369</sup>

A need for funds for religiously sponsored undertakings, the Infirmary, Reading Room and Choral Society was the spur for other social activities, Steve Tunstall said:

‘Mrs. Atkins was a great organist, and they used to get concerts up and they’d join the Choral Society. They all joined in, even the Methodists. Mrs. Bull, she’d mix in. We used to have some jolly good times. We used to dance. Then it wasn’t just jumping about. That was real dancing. That Mrs. Atkins, she’d say “I love dancing with you Stephen”’.

May Tunstall, Steve’s wife added:

‘I’ve never danced, but he used to dance, he used to guide her. She was a big woman.’<sup>370</sup>

When Raymond Heawood followed Alfred Auden as vicar, the choir had thirty or more members and ‘became one of the most useful and productive of Church activities.’<sup>371</sup>

Bell-ringing was the cause of the greatest fund-raising in 1912 and a memorable occasion for Ethel Bannister:

‘The framework for the bells was found to be weak and it was not safe to ring the bells. It was decided to have a sale of work to raise money to put the bells in order. It was while I was in Norfolk, so I could not go to the sale, but I made garments. Enough money was raised, and it was found there was room in the belfry for six bells, so three bells were re-moulded, the framework was mended and two new ones were added. Then we could ring five bells and have a peal.’<sup>372</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 2, 6, 19.

<sup>370</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 7.

<sup>371</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 6.

<sup>372</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p.1.





37. The Great Sale for the bells, 12 6 1912, posed in front of Etchells barn.

This photograph depicts many members of principle church families at the time. It looks as though the important men were to stand behind their wives, but Mrs Wright, blacksmith's wife, in black, squeezed into the left of middle row. The men were left to right, church wardens Mr. Ernest Tipper of Broughton House, with his wife in front of him to his left, and Mr. Atkins of Mount Pleasant behind his wife, tall Mr. Jones, schoolmaster standing behind his wife wearing a white blouse, Harry Alcock, parish clerk, and far right Mr. Atkins' son Henry, who stands behind half-hidden Mrs. Bull. The lady in black to the right of Mrs. Jones was Mrs Tunstall of the White House, then Mrs Cresswell next to her friend Mrs Auden, Doris Stevenson and Mrs Bull. The Audens did not take prominent positions. Alfred sat on the ground, with Milly Bradshaw aged twelve beside him, a year before she joined their household as maid. Esther Harvey of Cromwell House and Mr and Mrs Stevenson of Old Hall are notably absent, but the Stevenson daughters Mabel, Doris, Freda and Phyllis are there. Evelyn Stevenson identified them:

‘I know all these. Well there's only one I'm a little bit mixed up in, one of the big hats.’<sup>373</sup>

Methodist Ida Bull was included as the photograph was taken at the Etchells. Florence Bull said:

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<sup>373</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 4. Back row left to right: Grace Jones, Lily Allen, Mr. Tipper, Mr. Atkins, Mr. Jones, Harry Alcock, Ivy Jones, Annie Billinge, Mabel Stevenson, Fred Atkins, son of Henry. Middle row left to right: Cathy Tunstall (Mrs. Gregson), Miss Williams teacher, Bea Atkins, Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Tipper, Mrs. Atkins, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Tunstall (Cathy's mother at the White House), Mrs. Cresswell, Mrs. Auden, Doris Stevenson, Mrs. R.J. Bull. Bottom row left to right: A Williams, Alice Bowles, Mildred Allsopp, Phyllis Stevenson, Mr. Auden, Chicken (Millie) Bradshaw, Freda Stevenson, Evelyn Harvey.

‘Our mother is wearing her wedding dress, covered in black lace and worn with a black hat that had a cerise rosebud on the brim’.<sup>374</sup>

It was a great occasion, so all were dressed in their best. The younger women wore fashionable white muslin dresses, while three, including the schoolmistress, joined the ladies with highly decorated hats, attire disparaged by Flora Thompson.<sup>375</sup> Women and girls were the mainstay of the sale. The preparation for the sale involved all the church ladies. Ruth Auden said.

‘I was in Worcestershire but dressed dolls for it. Mother’s friend Mrs. Cresswell, who was so good at sewing, she came to help.’<sup>376</sup>

Although bell-ringing had been a male preserve, at the beginning of the First World War, on the instigation of Ethel Bannister, a girls’ ringing team was formed. She explained:

‘My two brothers were keen, and I asked Mr. Auden “Could girls ring?” We had as many as ten girls in the team. It’s in a family, bell-ringing. Either you can ring, or you can’t. People think it hard to pull a bell, but you can control it with a finger, if you have it just there.’<sup>377</sup>

The bell ropes were very long ones, as there was no ringing chamber, which made them more difficult to control, especially if the bells were left ‘up’.<sup>378</sup> Raymond Hall said:

‘During the war Miss Bannister and Freda and two or three girls kept it going. Then Harry Pope looked after them for a good while. Poor lad, when they were ringing up once, he once got – ’cos I tell you this, not controlling the rope – it got under the radiator at the side there and it wrenched and pulled all that out. I know when I went, they came to me and.....aye, poor old Harry.’<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 5. John Prince Bull letter, p. 10., Evelyn Stephenson transcript, p. 4.

<sup>375</sup> Thompson, F., *Heatherley*, (Oxford, 1979, 1998) p. 41.

<sup>376</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 27.

<sup>377</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, pp. 1, 2, 6. Alfred Auden diary, 13 5 1913. Dove, R. H., *A Bellringer’s Guide to the Vhurch Bells of Britain an Ringing Peals of the World*, (Aldershot, 1982).

<sup>378</sup> At rest, a bell hangs with its opening downwards. Pulling the bell rope turns the bell, so that the opening is upwards, (the bell resting on a wooden stay). As the bell turns, the clapper swings to ring a note on the way up and again on the way down, when the ringer pulls the bell off the stay at the top. Sometimes the bells are left in the upward position between services. A ringer can tell, by the rope, whether this is the case and therefore take care if pulling the bell down again.

<sup>379</sup> Raymond Hall transcript, p. 9. George Spendlove died in 1928.

Ruth Auden said:

‘A scared messenger came to the Vicarage side door, and for a moment scared my mother, who thought at least someone had been hung! All the buckets and mops and floor cloths had to be mustered, and the water dried up, but it wasn’t as bad as a human casualty!’<sup>380</sup>

Bells were rung for services, half muffled for Good Friday or a funeral, and to announce that someone had died – Ruth Auden and family travelling in the pony trap heard them:

‘so many tolls for a man, so many for a woman and so many for the age. Mr. Spendlove died suddenly of heart failure. I remember we were driving back from Repton cousins and heard the bell tolling for him.’<sup>381</sup>

On Christmas morning, the ringers rang the bells before the six a.m. milking. That woke the astonished Kirks, who had just moved into Church Cottages. Albert and Vera:

‘To appreciate them properly, you want to be about two miles away.’

‘Ashbourne Road they’re nice from, across the fields.’<sup>382</sup>

The Methodist Tunstalls, of Model Farm, had happy memories of going round at Christmas singing, joined by relatives as they visited villages where they lived. Annie Gadsby, growing up on Model farm said:

‘We used to set off for Barton and Mammerton and over the fields to Barton Park. We used to go singing with Boylestone people, from the chapel there. We walked, and it was fun. Outside Sudbury Hall, I remember the butler there, Mr. Hollis – he lived at Hatton – and such cake as I’ve never tasted in my life. He brought this dish of cake out.’<sup>383</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> Ruth Auden, transcript, p. 10.

<sup>381</sup> Ruth Auden on back of photograph of choir trip to Rhyl as George Spendlove was in that photo. They were driving with a pony not a car.

<sup>382</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 4.

<sup>383</sup> Annie Gadsby transcript, p. 2. Barton referred to Barton Blount. Mammerton was between Barton Blount and Longford. Cubley and Sudbury are five miles from Church Broughton.

Social activities were beginning to be more important than religious services. Alfred Auden recorded in February 1925 that the Parish Tea on Friday 6<sup>th</sup>, had two sittings - one for about eighty, followed by another for a hundred, followed by a concert and, the following day, Saturday, the Children's Tea followed by games. On Sunday he wrote that there was only one communicant besides himself.<sup>384</sup> His congregation were attracted more to the social events than formal religion. Village festivities were sometimes free to the participants, whether run through church or chapel and this fact was noted. There was an on-going programme, throughout the year, for those who chose to participate. By offering responsibility and enjoyment, they brought the community together, church and chapel, though remaining separate groups, cooperated. The Auden and Bull parents had different perspectives, but their strong beliefs guided their lives and, together, set the ambience for the whole community. This cooperation between church and chapel brought a dynamic balance. They responded to distress or discord in order to bring back some sort of equilibrium.

### Parishes Unite, with Consequences

The ecclesiastical parishes of Church Broughton and Barton Blount were united in 1924 under the Union of Benefices Act 1919, afterwards sharing the patronage, which gave the owner of Barton Blount a legitimate interest in Church Broughton church.<sup>385</sup> A businessman, Basil Mallender aged 23, bought Barton Blount estate in 1925.<sup>386</sup> Alfred Auden's succinct diary entry for 5<sup>th</sup> September 1925: 'Went to Barton Hall to meet Mr. Mallender. Blowed up a yew tree', which may have been a portent. Previous patrons had shown little interest in the daily care of the churchyard, whereas after January 1926, there was suddenly much tree felling and lopping in the churchyard and Vicarage garden.<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> Alfred Auden diary 6, 7, 8 February, 1925.

<sup>385</sup> The union of Church Broughton and Barton Blount ecclesiastical parishes was mooted in 1923 (Alfred Auden diary 24 11 1923) and finalised on 11 1 1924, signed by Walter Auden and Basil Mallender, who were to be the patrons. The Union of Benefices Act 1919. D854/A/PI171/1-3at Derbyshire Records Office, Matlock.

<sup>386</sup> He told Janet Arthur that he had visited this Elizabethan manor house when he was fifteen, assisting his plumber father, and had determined that one day he would be the lord of it. He achieved this aged 23.

<sup>387</sup> Alfred Auden's diaries: 26 1 1926 'Felled chestnut tree, which fell against the church', 10 11 1926 'Felled Lignum Vitae', 22 11 1926 'Cut down acacia tree', 14 1 1928 Cut down sycamore tree near Mrs Johnson's cottage, 16 1 1928 stacked branches off lime

Alfred and Edith Auden's reaction was to consider alternatives: on January 13<sup>th</sup> 1927, they travelled to Grimsby and visited Bradley, where there was a vacancy as the rector had recently died.<sup>388</sup> They were met by church warden Mr. Tickler's car, called on the late rector's wife, visited the church, dined with the church wardens, talked to the Rural Dean, went round the church and the Vicarage garden, Mr. Tickler's farm and strolled in the town, but chose to serve Church Broughton for six more years, closely associated with Basil and Joan Mallender, while supporting those adversely affected by him.

Basil Mallender had no village at Barton Blount because an earlier owner, Francis Bradshaw (1801-1882), had demolished all his cottages, replacing them on the edge of Church Broughton. Basil Mallender therefore chose to exercise control in neighbouring Church Broughton. This was contrary to the past experience of parishioners, having had no resident lord of the manor over centuries, and would lead to conflict, brazen on Basil Mallender's part, subtler on the part of villagers. He was not accepted because he did not live in their community. Parishioners found him arrogant and, despite being generous, uncooperative. When R.J. Bull sold Etchells farm in 1931, the anonymous buyer proved to be Basil Mallender. He moved John Stevenson from Old Hall into Etchells to be his tenant. With this 15% of the parish, he was now listed as principal landowner in Church Broughton.<sup>389</sup>

Alfred Auden becoming aware of the likely baleful intervention of Basil Mallender, attempted unsuccessfully in 1931 while still having authority and influence, to pre-empt him regarding Church Broughton school.<sup>390</sup> While vicar he evidently had had a restraining effect on the neighbouring squire. He wrote his letter of resignation on November 7<sup>th</sup> 1932 which began an

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trees. 18 2 1928 'Mr Mallender came to straighten apple tree' in Vicarage garden. 3 1 1932 'Mr. Mallender's men came to fell the yew tree etc. in the churchyard'.

<sup>388</sup> Alfred Auden's diary.

<sup>389</sup> Mentioned in Kelly's Directory of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Rutland, (London, 1941).

<sup>390</sup> Note 12 11 1931, The National Archives ED49/1135.

interregnum until the next vicar was appointed. Basil Mallender's men were sent on November 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> to fell four trees in the churchyard: a yew, a lignum vitae and two of the avenue of limes, witnessed by the Audens at the Vicarage. They moved to Hempsted Norfolk on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1933 to live near their younger daughter.<sup>391</sup> In Norfolk, they heard of his activities, firstly evicting the tenant from the church glebe cottage.



38. Lignum Vitae tree. 39. Vicarage adorned with climbing plants, when Audens lived there.

Ruth Auden related:

‘Mr. Mallender set about selling it as soon as we left – as he did about taking down the big yew tree in the churchyard, probably going back to the time when churchyards grew yews for bows. It was very ancient. The lignum-vitae by the chancel door was another of his pet aversions, and that went too. The old Audens had pegged down the lower branches as a young tree, so that they made two seats UU– very picturesque, we thought, but not Mr. M! They stripped everything off the house, the Virginia Creeper and there was a pear tree and a plum tree. Well, Mr. Mallender was great on stripping everything off. He said no house should have ampelopsis on.’<sup>392</sup>

These were the first signs of Basil Mallender's character and methods.

Parishioners Ruth and Dennis Alcock were shocked:

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<sup>391</sup> Alfred Auden's diaries.

<sup>392</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 13, 18.

‘I could have wept when that was...Mr. Mallender. I don't know. He was jealous, I think because it was in our churchyard and not his. It was a lovely tree. I could really have wept when I saw that.’

‘Aw, an’ ’e ’ad them two cut out o’ top o’ t church wa’nt it? Old Mallender wanted them two cut, them two darn; ’e got away wi’ murder. ’e wanted somebody to jump on ’im, ’e did. I wasn’t very surprised about anything you hear about Mr. Mallender, I’m afraid.’<sup>393</sup>

Basil Mallender now took charge inside the church. Organist Annie Atkins retired.<sup>394</sup> By taking over the choir, he was reaching into the heart of the congregation. Ruth Auden was told:

‘Mallender scrapped some of the old MSS written by Mrs. Atkins and substituted his own new ones (as soon as we had gone!). I know the hymn writer J.B. Dyke is out of fashion, and others like Barnby and Stainer, and music like ‘Christ His Soldiers’ is out of fashion, but we loved them!’<sup>395</sup>

All aspects of Basil Mallender’s behaviour shocked the village, so unlike Alfred Auden or R.J. Bull. Headmaster Joseph Cresswell said:

‘Old Mallender took a sudden interest in the village; it was scandalous; he’d got one of the Stevensons, and it was rather amusing, he used to send the Rolls Royce down at night to take her up and bring her back, lighten the whole landscape up.’<sup>396</sup>

Hilda Ward declared:

‘It was Freda Stevenson that Mr. Mallender fancied. They used to meet up at the back of our place.’<sup>397</sup>

The village watched. Gilbert Orme said:

‘You know Mallender ran three mistresses; Freda Stevenson was one. I pumped the organ in Church, when I was twelve or thirteen. The Mallenders at that time, filled two pews.

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<sup>393</sup> Ruth and Dennis Alcock transcript, p. 1.

<sup>394</sup> Annie Atkins died in 1935 aged 80.

<sup>395</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 6.

<sup>396</sup> Joseph Cresswell, headmaster, transcript, p. 2.

<sup>397</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 10.

So, I was able to study B.A. Mallender. I didn't miss much! Mallender bought the Etchells from the Bulls for £7,000 - £40 an acre was the value of the land in those days. He persecuted the Spendloves.<sup>398</sup> He really was wicked. He really had a kink. He tried to dictate to everyone. He wanted to be an old-time lord of the manor. He did get an estate together. Joe Cresswell fought him tooth and nail over several issues – he told the School Managers that times had changed. Mallender tried to run the Church. Over the Church lights, Ernest Tipper and Joe Cresswell dug their toes in and refused to have a firm that Mallender was connected with. “Well” he said, “you won't get your lights.” One pole had to be put in his land and he held the whole thing up for twenty years.<sup>399</sup>

Joseph Cresswell confirmed:

‘Mr. Mallender was a thoroughgoing autocrat. When I started this football crowd, you know, the first field we had was somewhere down here, on that farm, Old Hall. Then I went to Gosty, and practically under the windows of Barton Hall, which used to rile him intensely. He tried to get rid of us several times only he couldn't. I felt I was very, very brave about that.’<sup>400</sup>

Basil Mallender's method was to destroy what had gone before, whether choir manuscripts or churchyard trees. It seemed to contributors that he used his influence to satisfy his own desires and intimidated anyone who opposed him. Church Broughton had been an ‘open’ parish, the villagers used to being collaborative and not ready to accept the dominance of a nearby landowner. Because his behaviour in church shocked her, Ethel Bannister transferred to Sutton on the Hill church, where she rang the bells until she was eighty.<sup>401</sup> The villagers were used to the helpful and cooperative approach of the Audens and Bulls. They did not like being imposed

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<sup>398</sup> Etchells farm had 230 acres At £40 an acre, the 230 acres were worth £9200. Basil Mallender apparently wanted to buy Spendlove's farm, restoring the Barton Blount estate so, when the Spendloves refused, he bought the neighbouring Barton House and gave it the same name, Bartonfields.

<sup>399</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript, p.2.

<sup>400</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 2.

<sup>401</sup> Raymond Hall transcript, p. 8.



upon. Becoming defensive, they felt the need to assert their entitlements. They came together but not in the harmonious way they had previously experienced.

Walter Auden, as patron, having no interest in Church Broughton, failed to appoint the next vicar after Alfred Auden retired, so the Bishop offered Raymond Heawood the living. The Bishop consulted Basil Mallender, now aged 31, and suggested Raymond Heawood should meet the latter at his office, Crumps the plumbers on Friargate, Derby. The interview seemed to go well, and Raymond Heawood (1902-1995) was accepted, following Alfred Auden as vicar of Church Broughton and rector of Barton Blount in 1933, not realising that Basil Mallender had taken control during the nine-month interregnum that followed Alfred Auden's departure.

Before his induction, Raymond Heawood, with a young wife and baby, visited Church Broughton. He later wrote:

‘As we drove back to Derby in our little Austin 7 we felt we were traversing a road which would become very familiar in the years ahead, for we had come to the conclusion that Church Broughton would be a most desirable place for our ministry and for our home.’

On the day of the induction, Basil Mallender, skilled at finding ways to control people under the guise of generosity, went to the Vicarage to see whether the alterations done by his firm Crumps were satisfactory.

‘Standing with Kathleen and me in the drive before leaving he said: “You know, vicar, that there is nothing worse in my opinion than a miserable parson, and clergymen are generally made miserable by financial difficulties. I want you to know that there need be no cause for them here. You have only to ask me should you require any help which might facilitate your ministry or indeed your comfort in the Vicarage.”<sup>402</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 3.

Raymond Heawood was appreciative of the offer, as he was going to be paid quarterly in arrears and they would be short of money, but his wife Kathleen said afterwards ‘that is what we must never be tempted to consider.’<sup>403</sup>

Soon, Raymond Heawood’s expectation that he should order the service and train the choir, caused conflict. Mr. Mallender objected to the use of the 1928 Prayer Book instead of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer for the psalms, which he claimed had been agreed at the interview at Crumps, a stipulation which Raymond Heawood disputed.<sup>404</sup> Part of the clash between Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics was over the introduction of a new prayer book. The Evangelicals hoped to make it simpler and more relevant, while Anglo-Catholics who wanted Holy Communion to revert to one of 1549, the reservation of the Host to be legalised, prayers for the dead, and extra saints’ days.<sup>405</sup> The 1928 Book of Common Prayer was a compromise, but Basil Mallender did not like it.

During the interregnum Basil Mallender had drilled the choir to sing slowly. Raymond Heawood now took choir practices at normal speed, but the organist was one of Basil Mallender’s tenants. Sitting in the front pew next to the organ, he beat a slow time on the book rest, which the organist was obliged to follow. Mr. Mallender had also trained the daughter of his Etchells tenant, whom he admired, blatantly leaving chocolates in her pew, to sing descant. This gave an opportunity for the parishioners to defy him. Raymond Heawood continued:

‘Happily, I didn’t know what was afoot or what the village schoolmaster was conspiring with the choir to do. When the next Sunday a hymn I had chosen was likely to be made the occasion for the display of her vocal powers, it had been arranged that when the squire raised his hand and she started trilling out a descant, everyone else should stop singing!

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<sup>403</sup> Raymond Heawood letter, transcript, p. 4. He visited Church Broughton and later sent a copy of his record of his time as vicar here.

<sup>404</sup> Raymond Heawood letter, transcript, p. 9.

<sup>405</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer with the addition and deviations proposed in 1928*, (Cambridge, 1928).

Some merriment did escape from some members of the congregation; I certainly had a job to keep a straight face when I realised what was going on! This must have been well into the New Year, 1934, for Christmas had passed off without untoward incident and Mallender had quite readily agreed to my celebrating Holy Communion in St. Chad's, Barton Blount. The incident of the descant resulted in his withdrawal from attendance in the parish church. He never appeared again in the Squire's pew during my time.<sup>406</sup>

The united action of the congregation to embarrass Basil Mallender was an expression of their disgust at his behaviour, done in a peaceful way. There had been growing difficulties between Basil Mallender and the vicar. At the Annual Parochial Church Meeting, he held up the Handbook for the Guidance of Churchwardens and Parochial Church Councils to protest at the order of business, the vicar having put the election of the P.C.C. first on the agenda. Raymond Heawood remembered:

‘When his objection was over-ruled by a vote from the assembled company, he threw himself out of the Schoolroom, hitting his head on one of the hanging oil-lamps as he did so. However, he took his objection to higher authority in the person of the Rural Dean. Once again, at his suggestion, I was quite willing to admit an error, strictly speaking, in the conduct of that Annual Meeting, repeating in a letter to Mallender the phrase about not caring to be the cause of unpleasantness in a matter which was very trivial.’<sup>150</sup>

This was not enough to mollify Basil Mallender. Raymond Heawood later realised that he went to the Bishop complaining that voluntary work done for Toc H was interfering with the vicar's parish duties.<sup>407</sup> This charge was eventually withdrawn.

In his ongoing battle with the vicar, Basil Mallender's trump card was the church at Barton Blount. Although Raymond Heawood had been warmly welcomed for his Christmas service in

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<sup>406</sup> Raymond Heawood letter, transcript, p. 5.

<sup>407</sup> Toc H was an international Christian movement, begun during the First World War in Belgium.

1933 and even at Easter after the controversies had arisen, thereafter Basil Mallender decided to retaliate for the snub he had received in Church Broughton. Looking through old documents, he had found that, at one time, Barton church had been burnt down and rebuilt at the cost of the owner of Barton Blount and was therefore, he claimed, a private church, but it had been regularly served by Alfred Auden.<sup>408</sup> He claimed there could be no services at Barton except by his invitation and the rector was not allowed to use the drive.

Raymond Heawood was officially rector of Barton Blount church and could walk across the fields to get there. Basil Mallender tried to prevent him gaining access, by maintaining that there was no public footpath from Church Broughton to Barton Blount over his fields. This was irrational as Alfred Auden had regularly walked this way to Barton Hall, being motored home by Basil Mallender.<sup>409</sup> Once a year all the footpaths were walked by the parish council chairman to keep them open. One ran from Chapel Lane across the Barton estate.<sup>410</sup> Marjorie Spooner, at the shop, said:

‘We all knew it was there. You know, Mr Mallender had women. He was a relentless man and somehow one forgets the good things he did and the high standards, because he was ruthless.’<sup>411</sup>

Joseph Cresswell said:

‘Poor Heawood, Mallender would never let him go to Barton and preach, take a service there. I know he got an elector to write to the community and say he wouldn’t let him come into his Church; he wouldn’t let him go across that bit of land.’<sup>412</sup>

Raymond Heawood took the matter of his dismissal from Barton Blount to the Bishop, to whom he sent all the correspondence:

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<sup>408</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 2. Cox. J.C., *Churches of Derbyshire*, (Derby, 1877), vol. 3., p. 10. The church was damaged during the Civil War and rebuilt in 1714.

<sup>409</sup> Alfred Auden diary, 22 8 1931.

<sup>410</sup> Les and Hilda Allman transcript, p 3. Basil Mallender knew that it had been regularly used by Alfred Auden, when visiting him at Barton Hall, e.g. Alfred Auden diary 13 4 1928.

<sup>411</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 2.

<sup>412</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 3.

‘It so happened that I saw the Bishop next day at a funeral of a neighbouring incumbent in our deanery. After the service, he called me aside and expressed bewilderment over the situation. “I really do not know what we can do... It is a most serious predicament...” or words to that effect. Happily, for him, he did not need to take action. At a confirmation, the following day he suffered a stroke and never again regained consciousness. I have always claimed that I killed off Dr. Courtney Pearce, first Bishop of Derby.’

Raymond Heawood thought the bishop, at Basil Mallender’s instigation, was the person who had written to Toc H to criticise him, and that, after seeing all the correspondence, realised that it showed his neglect of support for one of his clergy. He had misguidedly taken the side of a financially important member of his diocesan administration.<sup>413</sup>

While Raymond Heawood bore the brunt of Mr. Mallender’s wrath, others in the village were doing their best to thwart him. In 1935, the Silver Jubilee of King George V and Queen Mary was to be celebrated with children’s sports, a bonfire, fireworks and barrels of beer generously sent by the Manners family at Longford Hall. Mr. Mallender decided not to join with Church Broughton, arranging a separate bonfire and no doubt spectacular fireworks, but when the time came, there were no fireworks rocketing over Barton Blount. Raymond Heawood wrote:

‘Though it was kept a secret, even if true, our schoolmaster had been at the bottom of an intrigue by which Mallender’s fireworks had either been set off prematurely during the day while still not unpacked from the containers in which they had arrived, or else had been rendered useless by a soaking in water.’<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 6,7.

<sup>414</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 9.

## Altered Relations between Church and Chapel

Robert Moore, writing of Deerness Valley, County Durham found that there Methodists felt themselves to be open and friendly, but that their ministers were considered to be inferior to the clergy.<sup>415</sup> During the incumbency of Alfred Auden and the presence of the Bull family, there had been harmony and cooperation within and between the church and chapel in Church Broughton. During the interregnum, Basil Mallender was a malign influence that affected community relations. The chapel continued to function quietly after the Bulls left in 1926. When Raymond Heawood arrived, his relations with the Methodists were cordial, but their leading families lived at the edge of the parish and his church wardens were not ecumenical. Raymond Heawood considering his position as vicar in 1933, wrote:

‘In the Church life of the village, I must admit that ecumenical relations had not advanced very far, and although David Prince, of Sapperton, was a generous supporter of our Church activities few of the other members of the local Methodist Chapel regarded us with anything else than suspicion. Alas this attitude was shared by many of our leading laymen. It seemed a natural thing for me, with no other Sunday afternoon engagement, on the Chapel Harvest Festival, to attend their three o’clock service. Mr. Tipper, our Peoples’ Churchwarden, was scandalised when he found out and told me I ought to have known better!’<sup>416</sup>

Ernest Tipper’s rebuke reflects the loyalty of a convert. Whereas Primitive Methodists had moved away from Wesleyan Methodism in 1810, reuniting in 1932, Ernest Tipper had moved from Wesleyan Methodism to Anglicanism, but retained aspects of the Methodism of his childhood.

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<sup>415</sup> Moore, R., *Pit-men, Preachers and Politics*, (Cambridge, 1974), p. 127.

<sup>416</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 9.

Robert Moore found that ‘besides being a temperate and a thrifty man, the Methodist was a Sabbatarian’.<sup>417</sup> Ruth Auden commented of Ernest Tipper:

‘His father was a Wesleyan, a preacher, who wouldn’t even let anyone go into the garden for vegetables on the Sabbath. Ernest T wasn’t so strict, but he was a man of strong principles nevertheless. As churchwarden he should have been confirmed but wasn’t. Mr. Tipper once tried harvesting corn on a Sunday in the 1914-18 war, but he said he wouldn’t do it again, men and horses needing the seventh day rest!’<sup>418</sup>

Although the chapel continued to be a presence in the parish, Sandy Calder, in the *Origins of Primitive Methodism*, pointed out there was a national decline in membership and ‘hearer-attenders’ between 1891 and 1931.<sup>419</sup> The Bulls had made the Etchells farm a centre of Methodist activity. David Prince at Sapperton was less central and though the chapel was still active, it lost some vitality.

George and Mary Wright remembered:

‘When I was in Church Broughton it would be 1920, 1930 and we went to the Methodist chapel – because I was a Methodist. Mr. David Prince, he was the boss of the chapel. He was the Methodist chapel in Church Broughton.’

‘Local preacher, I suppose; go out on the Plan.’<sup>420</sup>

The role of the vicar and his family had changed by the time Raymond Heawood moved to Church Broughton. Many of the duties traditionally undertaken by the clergy, regarding education, health and welfare, had been transferred to civil authorities. Alfred Auden had cared for all parishioners, as had his wife. The villagers were used to having them available, especially Edith Auden.

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<sup>417</sup> Moore, R., *Pit-men, Preachers and Politics*, (Cambridge, 1974), p. 143.

<sup>418</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 26.

<sup>419</sup> Calder, S., *The Origins of Primitive Methodism*, (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 270, 273. The final service in Church Broughton was held in January 2019.

<sup>420</sup> George and Mary Wright transcript, p. 2. The Plan was a chart of the distribution of preachers around the Circuit chapels.

Kathleen Heawood did not expect to be as involved with parish work as Edith Auden had been.

Raymond Heawood said that a small girl arrived at the Vicarage door:

““My mam is going to a weddin’. Could you put some trimmings on this ’at of ’ers?” and

“Please, Mrs. ’awood, my mam ’as sat in a pan of boilin’ fat. Could you come and see

to ’er?” Kathleen, still only twenty-one, asked, “Is this what a parson’s wife is for?”<sup>421</sup>

Alfred and Edith Auden had had thirty years with villagers to be known and accepted. The role of a Vicarage family had changed. Although he looked back on ‘life at Church Broughton as among the happiest times we have spent in a country parish ministry, in spite of the unpleasant relations with the squire,’ Raymond Heawood saw that if he stayed and the conflict continued, some workers or tenants of Barton estate might be at risk.<sup>422</sup> He left Church Broughton in 1936, to work for Toc H as British Chaplain in Uganda.

Alun Howkins commented on the problems caused by an influx of moneyed people into the countryside: ‘they were going to a rural myth which they were creating.’ Basil Mallender, as an estate owner, imagined ‘the squire, the parson, the farmer and the labourer stood in precisely defined socio-economic positions in relation to the wider world and to one another’, as had been the “old order” of landed estates.<sup>423</sup> He had wealth and property but without the manner and demeanour of landed gentry described by Elizabeth Gaskell in *Wives and Daughters*, he was unable to convince villagers of his authority.<sup>424</sup> George Ewart Evans gave an example of life under an authoritarian squire:

You were under and you dussn’t say anything. The old lord used to come round to look at the house, the garden and the allotment just as he did the farms; and the farmers were as afraid of him as we were.<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 6.

<sup>422</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 9.

<sup>423</sup> Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England, A Social History 1850-1921*, (London,1991), p. 231.

<sup>424</sup> Gaskell, E., *Wives and Daughters*, (London, 1865, 1999).

<sup>425</sup> Evans, G.E., *Where Beards Wag All*, (1970, 1977, Faber, Whitstable), p. 123. Briggs, A., *A Social History of England*, (London, 1983, 1994), p.249.



That had not been the experience of parishioners in a parish without a resident land owner while Alfred Auden was vicar, which was disrupted by Basil Mallender. People resented a man, seen as an outsider, coming and making alterations to their surroundings and traditions. By buying Barton Blount and Etchells farm, he behaved as if he had the right to dominate the village, but the experience of parishioners in Church Broughton had been less hierarchical. Villagers observed Basil Mallender. He was a very successful businessman but, lacking empathy, he was ruthlessly dominating with his wife and children, witnessed by servants from Church Broughton: Marjorie Spooner said:

‘Lynne Pywell was a servant at the Hall. She saw him rap her knuckles at table if she didn’t do something right.’<sup>426</sup>

Joseph Cresswell, fellow freemason, was ambivalent about him. Basil Mallender sought him out, so he felt obliged sometimes to agree with his decisions, yet remained uncertain whether he was a friend or accomplice:

‘And yet, at the same time, you know, I was sitting in Church council a couple of times, and he and I we got rid of an ordinary clerk. He was a remarkable man in many ways, you know. He used to come to my house. He used to come down to see me every week. ’e was a rum bloke. Because I knew he went to Masons; he was the provincial master of Derbyshire eventually. I might ’ave been ’is best friend here, if ever he used to see me. No. A rum bloke.’<sup>427</sup>

Basil Mallender hoped to create a dynasty by bringing his relations to farm Barton Blount farms. He had his mother buried at the little church and his grandfather exhumed and reburied there.<sup>428</sup> He needed a family narrative. He had all the trappings of the gentry, but not the poise. Marjorie Spooner commented:

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<sup>426</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 1.

<sup>427</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 2.

<sup>428</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 2. Marjorie Spooner transcript, pp. 1, 2. Alfred Auden diary, 22 9 1926.

‘It takes three generations to make a gentleman, my mother used to say. Would the Mallenders ever be accepted? Well the gentry these days are like a lot of jellyfish sliding all over the place. The Walker-Oakovers - his grandfather was a brewer. Model Farm, nearer the ’drome end was fairly new, built by Sir Ian Walker-Oakover, so that hounds could go over it. Well, nothing stops them, if they’ve got money.’<sup>429</sup>

The behaviour of Basil Mallender discombobulated the village. Although it seemed that he had complete power, members of the Church Broughton community did help each other; Joseph Cresswell and the congregation supported vicar Raymond Heawood, but to no avail.<sup>430</sup>

Basil Mallender as patron, chose the next vicar, Thomas Phillips, coming in 1936, staying until 1944.<sup>431</sup> Joseph Cresswell and Annie Caswell recalled:

‘Phillips. He got on better with Mr. Mallender, but he wasn’t the same calibre as Heawood.’<sup>432</sup>

‘Mr. Phillips was there, when we first went there. The eldest daughter used to teach at Sunday School for a while, when Mr. Rowe was there. He was a great bell ringer – well my children were. Mr. Caswell rung. They’ve all been in the choir.’<sup>433</sup>

Thomas Phillips tried to resurrect the church. He was followed by Cyril Magnus in 1944, then James Shepherd-Jones in 1949, when the Vicarage was moved to Sutton on the Hill, making him at one remove from Basil Mallender.

Richard Hoggart writing in 1957, recognised that the close connection people had had with church and chapel, that sense of belonging, was weakening: ‘Few among the working-classes seem to

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<sup>429</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 2.

<sup>430</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 3. Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 12.

<sup>431</sup> Basil Mallender had rapidly risen to the top of the lay membership of the Diocese. He was made a Justice of the Peace for the County by 1932. He became Provincial Grand Master for Derbyshire of the United Grand Lodge of England, the Freemasons, in 1959. He was still exercising his rights as patron in the 1960s.

<sup>432</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p.3.

<sup>433</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p. 3.

find their own way back to a church after adolescence... Towards the parson, their attitude is likely to be faintly cynical'.<sup>434</sup>

Ted Allin headmaster from 1939 said:

'Of course, then the Shepherd-Jones came - they lived at Sutton and then, that was it. That's where things drifted apart, probably. The Sunday School was going in Phillips day. Jack Rowe did a lot with the Sunday School, got the bell-ringing going. And of course, he left and that went; nobody was interested to carry on with it. That's how things drifted. He was in the choir; well, that's another one less. So many left.'<sup>435</sup>

There is sorrow and disappointment in Ted Allin's words. The disruption caused by Basil Mallender happened at a time when other opportunities were available for parishioners, making it more difficult to regain old enthusiasms. Stefan Ramsden researching nostalgia, wrote: 'nostalgia for a more community-oriented past appears to be an understandable reaction to the rapid economic, social and cultural changes that reshape the ways we relate to those who live around us.'<sup>436</sup>

## Conclusion

Two generations of one family, uncle and nephew, were the clergy for Church Broughton from 1864 to 1933, William Auden dying in 1904, succeeded by Alfred Auden. They reflected developments in the Church of England nationally, demonstrated through the expression of their responsibilities in the parish. Some residents remembered William whose changes to the church fabric affected all future churchgoers. Contributors expressed how much religion and its associated activities stimulated cooperation within the community, which resulted from the friendly relations between Alfred Auden and leading Methodists from 1904 to 1933. This accord

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<sup>434</sup> Hoggart, R., *The Uses of Literacy*, (Harmondsworth, 1957) p.112.

<sup>435</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 2

<sup>436</sup> Ramsden, S., 'The community spirit was a wonderful thing': on nostalgia and the politics of belonging, in *Oral History, Journal of the Oral History Society*, vol.44, 1, (Spring 2016), p. 96.

began to diminish when key figures retired and the lack of a resident lord of the manor enabled neighbouring squire Basil Mallender to intervene. Interest in religion declined.

Controversies and events in the Church of England during the nineteenth century did have an influence on the parish of Church Broughton. William Auden had arrived as a young man and put his energies into transforming the style of the interior of the church, which, together with interest in the school, raised the profile of religion in the parish. He treated his position as vicar as if he had the authority of gentry. His nephew Alfred was moving down the hierarchy towards the rank of poor clergy, but with the patina of upbringing and university education. By the time of his incumbency, the role of the clergy as part of local government had changed. His authority and respect in the community came not from wealth or power but from his behaviour, which enabled him to cooperate with the reinvigorated chapel.

Religion was key to equanimity in Church Broughton, yet none of the church-going contributors mentioned the teaching of the church or the sermons, theology or doctrine, despite speaking as active participants. Keith Snell analysing Adrian Bell's writing found that he likewise also neglected mention of religion.<sup>437</sup> Contributors memories were of the social activity, including services, choir and recreation through fund-raising whist drives and dances. The conviviality of meeting friends and relations, confirming relationships, enjoying music, dancing, cards, even all the preparations beforehand, drew people together in a way that contributors felt important. John Prince Bull and Florence Bull did touch on the Methodist services. Even if not expressed, the ritual of church and chapel every Sunday, hearing the message, familiarity with the prayers and hymns was a routine that influenced the rest of the week. Personal reward was to come in heaven, but, as centres of social activity, church and chapel offered pleasure in the here and now.

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<sup>437</sup> Snell, K.D. M., *Spirits of Community, English Senses of Belonging and Loss, 1750-2000*, (London, 2016), p.207.

While there was no resident lord of the manor, the clergy had some authority from their university education, were approached for advice, support and further tuition for residents, and with a lively chapel and open-minded vicar, there was freedom to cooperate on behalf of all parishioners. The vicar, frequently visiting all parts of the parish, made information of those requiring assistance readily available. The need to raise funds led to social activities for all, promoted by both church and chapel. The personality of Alfred Auden, his expectation to work himself on the fabric of church, churchyard, Vicarage house and garden made him accessible to villagers. He was able to gain intellectual support from his family, fellow clergy and the Derby Archaeological Society. He considered moving away three times, twice when his children were leaving home and once when Basil Mallender appeared but stayed until he retired.

The parish was not a closed community. Both church and chapel were part of wider organisations, with regular meetings of Rural Deanery, Diocese, Methodist Connexion. There visiting clergy and Methodist preachers and both congregations were in touch with and combined with members of nearby churches and chapels, joining with family and friends.

So long as Alfred and Edith Auden were at the Vicarage and the Bulls at Etchells farm, church and chapel remained important venues, these families contributing to the spiritual, social and physical welfare of villagers. Having two congregations in the village could have caused friction, but both being evangelically orientated, they respected each other. Alfred Auden's support for the temperance movement contributed to his acceptance by Methodists. Ruth Auden and Annie Tunstall spoke as if union between Anglicans and Methodists might almost have been possible.

Without the direction of a resident lord of the manor, the church and chapel leaders in Church Broughton had been able to maintain good relations within the village and give support. Alun Howkins pointed out that elsewhere in the country during these years 'the power of church, and for that matter chapel, became less and less pervasive and relevant', a decline that was not to be

overturned.<sup>438</sup> When the clergy relinquished their social role the influence of the church diminished, suggesting that social activities drew people to religion more than the ritual and beliefs. James Prochaska thought that 'it was the welfare role of religion that made it relevant in society' and that the loss of this role contributed to the decline in religion because state provision had no religious basis.<sup>439</sup>

My contributors, looking back on the incumbency of Alfred Auden and the chapel during the time of the Bull and Tunstall families, described religious activity as an important part of their lives. The departure of these families left a vacuum; they had vigorously supported the church and chapel as well as caring for those in need. After local authorities took greater responsibility for education and welfare, clergy families did not feel the same obligation for fulfilling that social role. The interventions of Basil Mallender in the way services were conducted - the 1928 Book of Common Prayer, the choral singing - and his control of communal activities, had a deadening effect on village affairs. Parishioners had experienced a social freedom that they were reluctant to forego.

The reduction in social events coincided with the development of radio, and cinema and theatrical performances in Derby and Burton after the First World War. The focus of social activity moved away from the church, school and chapel with a loosening of bonds. Neither the efforts of Evangelicals or the Oxford Movement had been able to halt the overall decline in church or chapel attendance. Religion here was in decline. Being part of a religious group was no longer essential for taking part in social activities.

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<sup>438</sup> Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England*, (London, 1992), p. 289.

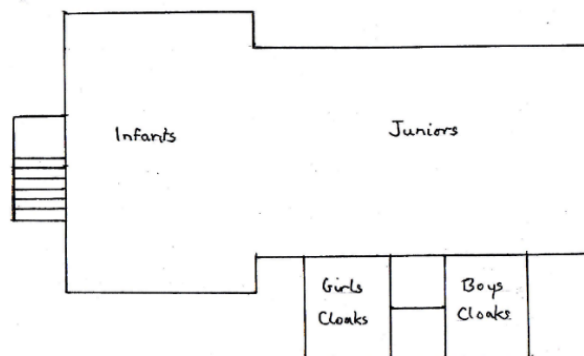
<sup>439</sup> Erdozain, D., *The Problem of Pleasure*, (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 201.

## Chapter Three: School

How were people educated in Church Broughton? How did they learn? How did the prior history of parish and national education affect twentieth century pupils? Had being an 'open' parish made any difference? Who controlled the school? Who controlled the children? This chapter highlights the complexity of providing education in this country and the consequence of having a school in the parish. It is an exploration of the effect of the history of the school on the lives of contributors and their education.



40. Church Broughton School when Arthur Jones was headmaster (1892-1927).



41. A plan of Church Broughton School as it was after 1895, when the porch had been added and the roof raised. The infants' space was squeezed in at an angle against the boundary wall. The juniors' area was 9.4m x 5.8m. The infants' area was 7.8m x 5.2m. The offices (bucket toilets) were in the yard at the rear.

Being an 'open' parish, it had been possible for ratepayers in 1738 to initiate the school's creation. It was unusual for a parish like Church Broughton to have a school for poor children as early as 1738. There had long been schools in the area for boys intending to go to university. Sir John Port (1510-1557), one of Derbyshire's gentry, bequeathed money to create a school in Etwall or Repton; his executors bought the Repton priory for a grammar school. Charity schools to teach poor children literacy were introduced in London at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>440</sup> This interest in education for the poor was not limited to the capital. Thomas Alleyne (1499-1558), brought up in Sudbury, left money for similar schools in Utttoxeter, Stone and his final parish, Stevenage. Arthur and Thomas Harrison built a school in Hilton Derbyshire in 1655.<sup>441</sup> The number of charity schools in England increased five-fold between 1709 and 1746.<sup>442</sup> As the Industrial Revolution gained pace, so did interest in education for workers. Lawson and Silver stated that by 1800 there were 74 charity schools scattered throughout Derbyshire.<sup>443</sup>

Freeholders in Church Broughton had been able to express their expectations and appeal to the largest landowner, the first Duke of Devonshire, asking for agreement that land be set aside from the common, the rent of which to be put in trust for a schoolmaster to teach twenty children free. One of the five freeholders was designated 'gentleman', two signed with a cross. The Duke agreed, also contributing a barn on Etchells farm for the school building.<sup>444</sup> There was no expression of religious allegiance. Freeholders made their decision, the Duke co-operated and a School Trust was created in 1738. The School-piece land, on the parish boundary at Mount

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<sup>440</sup> Gillard, D., *Education in England: a History*, (1998, 2018). Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London, 1976, 1978), p. 181.

<sup>441</sup> Pigot, *Commercial Directory of Derbyshire*, (Derby, 1835). At the enclosure of Etwall in 1781, land was allotted to pay the schoolmaster for teaching poor children.

<sup>442</sup> Salmon, D., Work of the Charity Schools in Watson, F., ed. *The Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education*, (London, 1921), p. 294.

<sup>443</sup> Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London, 1976, 1978), p. 239. Nearby schools were Boylestone 1845, Etwall 1846, Longford 1876, Sudbury 1831, The Village of Sudbury, 'Derbyshire Life and Countryside', 1 2 2010. *Pigot Directory of Derbyshire* 1875. *Bagshaw Directory of Derbyshire* 1845; *Derby Mercury* 27 7 1851, 21 6 1876, page 2, column 6.

<sup>444</sup> D854A/PI 188 Derbyshire County Records Office (DCRO). William Parker, Ralph Eld, John Brinsley, William Knyffton and Edward Moor Gent in Church Broughton School Trust Book. A copy of the agreement made then (the eleventh year in the reign of George II) shows it was between freeholders and the vicar Mr. Manlove, who with the Duke of Devonshire became a trustee.



Pleasant, was confirmed at the time of enclosure in 1775.<sup>445</sup> Villagers were well aware of the allotment of land for the school and followed its fortune with proprietorial interest. David Allen at Bent House, said:

‘School Land – on School-piece Lane? This here, either side of the road. I think there’s eighteen and a half acres. John Spalton rented it up to the time it was sold.’<sup>446</sup>

There were two occasions, in the management of the School Trust, 1835 and 1904, when, through negligence, the school went on despite all the Trustees having died. On the first occasion, in 1835, William Wilkes, husband of a descendant of a Trustee was allowed to appoint replacements.<sup>447</sup> These new Trustees used this opportunity to attach regulations to the Trust deed declaring the school to be Anglican. This may have been in response to the building of a Primitive Methodist chapel in the village seven years before.<sup>448</sup> Pamela Horn described ‘the hostility and anxiety with which village clergymen viewed the establishment of a nonconformist school within their parish’ during the 1820s and that ‘the duty of educating the people was first and foremost a religious one.’<sup>449</sup> After 1835, the schoolmaster had to belong to the Church of England and teach the catechism. A pupil was to be dismissed or suspended for not learning the catechism. The school was annually inspected on behalf of the diocese by clergy within the Deanery. The emphasis on the catechism was one reason the Methodist Bulls, who farmed Etchells farm next to the school after 1907 did not send their children there. Florence Bull commented:

‘We did not go to the village school, because it was very much a Church school. It was a Church of England school, and my father was not very anxious, although they thought

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<sup>445</sup> A pale pigskin book, held at Chatsworth, ‘Church Broughton 1773’, includes an Abstract naming the vicar Mr. Dimmott and the fifth Duke of Devonshire as trustees for the School Allotment, the gates and posts to be paid for exclusive. At the time of the enclosure in 1775, it was confirmed that the Duke of Devonshire had allowed the freeholders to fence off 19 acres 16 perch on the common, to provide for a trust. The income from rent was to pay a schoolmaster in Church Broughton to teach twenty children free. Similarly, at South Normanton, land was allocated at the time of the enclosure for a schoolroom, built by the parish in 1795. Sharpe, P., *A Village of Considerable Extent*, (2005).

<sup>446</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 5. D854/A/PC/5/1: John Spalton rented the 7 acres in two fields for £18 7s in 1942.

<sup>447</sup> D854A/PI 188 DCRO. Church Broughton School Trust Book. William Wilkes, farmer of Cromwell House farm, who was married to Anne Moore. Dated 9 9 1834. New trustees: Rev. William Jones, vicar, Francis Bradshaw the younger of Barton Blount, Gilbert Crompton of Chesterfield, and farmers of the largest farms: John Wragg, William Sampson, William Stretton, Trevor Yates.

<sup>448</sup> Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75*, (Oxford 1976), p. 168.

<sup>449</sup> Horn, P., *Education in Rural England 1800-1914*, (Dublin, 1978), pp. 35, 116.

the world of Mr. and Mrs. Auden, they were not very anxious for me to learn the catechism and so on.’<sup>450</sup>

One later consequence of Anglican restrictions on the school was that it did not fit so easily into the national system resulting from the 1870 Education Act. Another difficulty lay in finding appropriate teachers. In 1936 Ivan Ward was appointed temporarily as none of the four applicants belonged to the Church of England. Ted Allin was also temporary when appointed in 1939 but stayed 28 years.<sup>451</sup>

The 1835 Trustees appointed a schoolmaster, Mr. Aislabie, and replaced the school building (slight, inconvenient and gone to decay) with a new one paid for by subscription, not from the Trust Fund, which was to prove significant later. Raymond Jones (1889 -1974) remembered the porch being added in 1895, at the same time as the school roof was raised on jacks and the walls built up to it, by Stanleys of Tutbury.<sup>452</sup> According to the School Log, the alterations were at the behest of the Education Department, and paid from a voluntary rate by the ratepayers.<sup>453</sup> Ethel Bannister added:

‘Then they found the school was not big enough, so they built the Infants. There was not room to put it end on so that is why it is sideways. There were 120 or so children.’<sup>454</sup>

## State Intervention in Education

State involvement in education for poorer children developed gradually. At first it was limited to supporting the efforts of religious bodies in supplying schools, which became an annual grant in 1839. To make sure this was well administered required civil service in the form of a Committee of the Privy Council on Education with an inspectorate. The grant became a means of controlling

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<sup>450</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 7.

<sup>451</sup> D854/A/PI 177/1-170.

<sup>452</sup> Raymond Jones transcript, p.2.

<sup>453</sup> School Log June 1894. Work completed May 1895.

<sup>454</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 3. School Log, 24 12 1895.

activity in schools: attendance, quality of teaching including pupil teachers, and success in learning, despite some schools being privately run.<sup>455</sup>

The 1862 Revised Code had unintended consequences by judging success of a teacher by examination results. This code was criticised by government inspector Matthew Arnold, who felt that absenteeism was a greater cause of failure than the quality of teaching.<sup>456</sup> The government adjusted its requirements. After 1870 payments were made not according to examination, but where needed.<sup>457</sup> Malcolm Seaborne noted how the new Codes after 1875 widened the curriculum.<sup>458</sup> To control absenteeism, Lawson and Silver state that an Act of 1876 'made obligatory the election of school attendance committees in districts not covered by School Boards'.<sup>459</sup> Alfred Auden would attend these local meetings held monthly at Sudbury. Attendance Officers warned the parents of absent children and were able to prosecute them. There was a conflict between the schoolmaster needing high attendances in order to receive the grant, and the parents, themselves not well educated, placing more importance on work at home. Mingay found that many farmers were 'hostile to the very idea of education'.<sup>460</sup> In Church Broughton, Thomas Thompson, headmaster 1870-1892, had been tolerant of the situation. For example:

August 11<sup>th</sup>1880, 'The last three fine days have made farmers busy in the hay and many children kept at home, either to mind the baby or take meals to the hay field.'

On December 12<sup>th</sup>1884, 'low attendance as children of the poor kept at home to collect the wood that fell out of the trees during the storm last night.'<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>455</sup> Bates, J., Lewis, S. and Pickard, A., *Education Policy, Practice and the Professional*, (London, 2011, 2012), p. 9.

<sup>456</sup> Standfield, F.G., *A History of East Meon*, (Chichester, 1984), pp. 67, 69.

<sup>457</sup> Goldstrom, J.M., *Education: Elementary Education 1780-1900*, (Newton Abbot, 1972), p. 134.

<sup>458</sup> Seaborne, M., *Education*, (London, 1966), p. 61.

<sup>459</sup> Act to regulate the Employment of Children in Agriculture 1873 c. 67, see Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London, 1976, 1978), p. 321.

<sup>460</sup> Marsh, D.C., *The Changing Social Structure of England and Wales 1871-1961*, (London, 1958, 1965), p. 206. Mingay, G.E. *A Social History of the English Countryside*, (London, 1990), p. 170.

<sup>461</sup> School Log August 11<sup>th</sup>1880, December 12<sup>th</sup>1884.

The children were not rebuked by Mr. Thompson for these absences; the practice was accepted. They were caned for being late, disobedient or talking, and for their main form of rebellion – throwing stones – but not for a mass absence. Harold Bennett Maddock said of one farmer:

‘I remember now he used to get dumped ten bob for keeping him off school, but of course ’e didn’t mind, ’e got five quid’s of work out of ’im.’<sup>462</sup>

There was a change affecting local agriculture when Arthur Jones, headmaster 1892-1927, took school attendance far more seriously than his predecessor. He needed the pupils to be present and pay attention. He too found education had not been a high priority in the village, work on the land often taking precedence. He would not tolerate this attitude to schooling. Experiencing his first harvest, Arthur Jones wrote ‘Several children stayed away helping in the fields,’ and four days later the School Log states:

‘Rather low attendance through children staying at home to help in the hay harvest. The child keeps house and the mother works in the field.’<sup>463</sup>

It was not easy to overcome the indifference of parents, when a child attending school meant a loss of income for poor families. A combination of attendance officer’s visits, prizes for the most regular children and the application of the cane for the carefree, had an effect: Arthur Jones recorded attendance numbers on April 18<sup>th</sup> 1894: 104 present. He became dependent on Attendance Officers – Mr. Tunnicliffe, followed by Mr. Maund, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Nott - to control the absentees and force them to come to school. But it was a big change in the annual pattern of agricultural life. Nicola Sheldon found that nationally prosecutions for absence fell by the First World War and attendance officers were able to gradually change their role into welfare officers.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> Harold Bennett Maddock transcript, p. 2.

<sup>463</sup> School Log 5 8 1892. Berger, J., *Into Their Labours*, (London, 1992), p. 97. The Agricultural Children’s Act of 1873 confirmed that children aged eleven need not attend school full time. The Elementary Education Act 1876 allowed children six weeks absence for agricultural work.

<sup>464</sup> Sheldon, N., The School Attendance Officer 1900-1939: Policeman to Welfare Worker? in *History of Education*, vol. 36, 6., 2007.

Gradually school became the priority for parents and the mass exodus for planting and harvesting was no longer mentioned as a problem, but Arthur Jones was still exasperated by absentees in 1900. In June the School Log recorded a boy who

‘came to school this Thursday morning, the first time since Friday. He is very often absent playing truant or for some trivial cause. He was soundly punished. The attendance officer left a notice for his aunt to attend before the school attendance committee at Burton.’ In August: ‘I punished (the same boy) an incorrigible truant, for playing truant for four days.’

Of another family, whose sons were continually absent, Arthur Jones commented ‘the parents are idle, dissolute and have a bad influence on the three boys, who would with better example be nice children.’ In 1903, two sisters ‘notorious in the village for absence from school, have been summoned to Sudbury for stealing potatoes from Mr Edges’ field.’ It was not easy for the headmaster or the attendance officers to keep all the children in school.<sup>465</sup>

There were three enquiries into schools: one for the masses, one for the middle classes and one for the public schools. The first led to the 1870 Elementary Education Act, which eventually brought free compulsory education in elementary schools with greater central government control. New non-denominational schools were provided where there was a lack, through the rates. Independent schools too were drawn into this system of local boards under the Education Department. William Forster, introducing the Act, said ‘Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity’.<sup>466</sup> His resolve was reinforced when Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), having become Prime Minister in 1874, declared in the House of Commons that: ‘Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends’.<sup>467</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> Church Broughton School Log, 21 6 1900, 15 8 1900, 31 8 1903.

<sup>466</sup> Bates, J., Lewis, S. and Pickard, A., *Education Policy, Practice and the Professional*, (London, 2011, 2012), p. 16.

<sup>467</sup> Disraeli, B., *Hansard*, 15 6 1874.

Having the School Trust gave Church Broughton school some independence, but the school was included under the 1870 Education Act. Church Broughton's current association with outside authority was with Burton upon Trent Staffordshire, as part of that town's Poor Law Union, begun in 1837. The development of education in Britain was extremely complicated. The argument as to who was to have religious control of schools was widespread in the country.<sup>468</sup> Some reformers considered education a means of furthering religion, while others thought it necessary more for social control and economic advancement.<sup>469</sup> Board Schools, funded by the rates, had non-denominational teaching, whereas church schools had the freedom to incorporate religion but without additional funding from local rates.<sup>470</sup> When, in accordance with the 1870 legislation, Burton upon Trent formed a single School Board, it was for non-denominational education and did not include the surrounding village schools.<sup>471</sup> Church Broughton would be under Derbyshire where the formation of school boards for the many charity schools scattered throughout the county was delayed by opposition due to the lack of school places in the eastern industrial area and general antipathy to school boards.<sup>472</sup>

Meanwhile, Church Broughton trustees of an Anglican school, continued to communicate directly with central government. The school's trustees were wary of the Board of Education. Vicar William Auden, as chairman, tried to defend the Trust, qualifying their response to the Board's question as to whether the school would be conducted as a public elementary school within the meaning of the Act, with 'Yes, as far as the Trustees have power; see section 9 of the Act', which might allow them an enquiry if they felt aggrieved by a decision of the Education Department.<sup>473</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> Sutherland, G., *Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895*, (Oxford, 1973) p.5.

<sup>469</sup> Seaborne, M., *Education*, (London, 1966), p. 49.

<sup>470</sup> Cruikshank, M., The Denominational Schools' Issue in the Twentieth Century, in '*History of Education*', Vol 1, Issue 2, 1972.

<sup>471</sup> Stuart, D., *History of Burton upon Trent*, (Burton, 1975), p. 137. Ashby, M.K., *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe 1859-1919*, (Cambridge 1961, London 1974), p. 228.

<sup>472</sup> Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London, 1976, 1978), p. 321. Johnson, M., *Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century*, (Newton Abbott, 1970), pp. 125, 126.

<sup>473</sup> D854/A/PI 177/1-58, DCRO. 'The school is managed under regulations attached to the deed of conveyance dated 30 9 1835.' The Board of Education was formed by the 1899 Board of Education Act, combining the departments for Education and Science and Art.

Continuing demands by the churches for their schools, to be kept separate from the School Boards, led to the 1902 Education Act, which decreed that where a church wanted to have denominational teaching, the maintenance of the building was the responsibility of the church. In Church Broughton the trust running the school was separate from the church, although associated with it.<sup>474</sup> The 1902 Act created Local Education Authorities, a layer between school and Board of Education, having a closer relationship with all schools.

Church Broughton was required by the Board of Education to appoint Foundation Managers of the school, four of whom to be appointed by the Trustees from their own members, one by the Parish Council and one by the County Council.<sup>475</sup> Thus four Trustees had a dual role, both with the School Trust and with the Management Committee under the County Education Authority. The School was finally drawn into the national system. Previously the School Trust had overseen the education and care of the children, employment of staff and maintenance of the building. With the Act of 1902, communication about education was with the County Council, no longer between the vicar as chairman of Trustees and the central Board of Education. The new body of Foundation Managers became the active managers of education within the school, but who had responsibility for the building and its use after lessons finished remained unresolved. This was of little consequence to the local education authority but became of deep significance to parishioners.

The intervention of the state in education did raise the standard of qualification of the teachers and the effectiveness of their teaching in Church Broughton. Although it had been a benefit to have an early school in Church Broughton, the teaching had not been uniformly good. The Inspector reported in 1851 ‘no timetable or register. The girls are taught in the same room with

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<sup>474</sup> Gillard D (2018) *Education in England: a history* [www.educationengland.org.uk/history](http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history). Chapter 7.

<sup>475</sup> Miss Sampson, Mr. Atkins, Mr. Copestake and the Rev. William Auden appointed by the trustees, Mr. J. Tipper by the parish council and Mr. J.T., Johnson by the County Council. See D854/A/PI 189 DCRO.

the boys, but separately under a mistress. They were as ignorant as the boys.<sup>476</sup> Trevor Allen, a smallholder, horse-breeder, and pig-killer (1847-1931) had been a pupil mid-nineteenth century when children left school aged ten. His daughter Nellie gave him a Boots Scribbling Diary in 1918 and encouraged him to write sufficiently well to keep farm diaries, which he enjoyed.<sup>477</sup> His spelling remained idiosyncratic with punctuation missing. He had managed to run his small farm successfully however, without much literacy, farm work being learned through example and imitation. He was a respected member of the community, a trustee of the Oddfellows. Grandson David Allen, living at Bent House said:

‘I understand that my grandfather couldn’t read or write until his children taught him. A lot of his spelling, a lot you have to decipher. I have been told by independent people, well known gentlemen, that if my grandfather had been better educated, he would have gone right to the top’.<sup>478</sup>

Lawson and Silver found that, as a consequence of the 1870 Education Act, illiteracy was almost eliminated nationally reducing by 1891, from 20% to 6% for males and 27% to 7% for females.<sup>479</sup> Of those being married in Church Broughton, between 1861-1870, 35% of bridegrooms and 25% of brides could not sign their names. Over the next thirty years 1871-1900, those signing with a X were 9% of bridegrooms, 1.7% of brides. From 1901 onwards, all could sign their names, a reflection of the success of Arthur Jones in the school.<sup>480</sup>

## School Building and Local Politics

The school building was seen as an asset for the whole community, important for bringing people together, by its use for Sunday School, social activities, clothing club, talks, dances, whist drives,

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<sup>476</sup> Johnson, M., *Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century*, (Newton Abbott, 1970), p. 83.

<sup>477</sup> Elementary Education Act 1880: children aged 5 – 10 years had to attend school; leaving age raised to age 11 in 1893, and 14 in 1918. Occupation figures, in 1901 and 1911, censuses are divided for ages starting at aged 10-11.

<sup>478</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 19.

<sup>479</sup> Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London, 1976, 1978), p. 324.

<sup>480</sup> Church Broughton Marriage Registers.



fund-raising, belonging neither to church nor education authority. After 1870, the School Trust was no longer responsible for education in the school building but contributed to its income for the benefit of pupils. Vicar William Auden, the last surviving Trustee, died in 1904. Previously those living in the village had conducted the affairs of the Trust, which seems not to have been absorbed by the Board of Education, so might have been able to reconstitute it, as before, but government intervention in education had made villagers lose confidence in their own authority to control the Trust. It was unfortunate that instead of following the 1835 example, when William Wilkes, a relative of the final Trustee simply appointed new ones, in 1904, three of William Auden's descendants embroiled the Board of Education by applying to them for an order to appoint new Trustees. Bureaucracy took over. The Board of Education became involved in decisions of the Trust, despite their authority at the school being through the County Council, not the Trust, though the school still benefited from Trust fund money. This dichotomy was later exploited by Basil Mallender, who, having been humiliated in his efforts to take charge of the church, succeeded in taking control of the school building.

The internal correspondence within the Board of Education on the matter, reveals a ponderous self-serving, bureaucratic system. There are numerous notes and letters, as they prevaricated over what to do.<sup>481</sup> The Board agreed to accept a Scheme from the Trustees, under paragraph 75 of the 1870 Education Act, that some of the Trust money could be used to repair the school and some for the children's education. It took seven more internal notes for the Board hierarchy to realise that they needed to appoint Trustees so that the new Trustees could ask for a Scheme! An order was made by the Board, to appoint the new vicar Rev. Alfred Millington Auden, plus Arnold William Auden, son of deceased William Auden, and four farmers, James Tipper, Henry James Atkins, George Copestake and John Stevenson to serve as Trustees. A notice to this effect was

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<sup>481</sup> National Archives ED 49/1135. Mr. Simmonds, Mr. Oates and Mr. Woodgate considered and demanded documents. Vicar Alfred Auden (1867-1944) could not find the original deed but sent the 1835 copy and confirmed that the school building was not part of the trust regarding the School-piece land. The Charity Commission were consulted. Mr. Oates and Mr. Woodgate decided 'we shall probably have to tell them that a Scheme is necessary, and we had better do it in one letter'; for Mr. Selby Bigge, 'this is the case of an unattached schoolmaster in spite of the Deed of 1835'. He affirmed that the Local Education Authority favoured schemes.

attached to the church door on the 21<sup>st</sup> December 1905 and the School Trust was back in action. Soon there was another challenge.

There was still confusion as to who was responsible for various aspects of the school: the government, local authority, Managers, Trustees or benefactors. Alfred Auden, new vicar and chairman of Trustees, communicated with the Board of Education. Because the children had to play in the road, he asked the Board for permission to buy land for a playground. The Trustees' next request for two thirds of the cost was objected to, as it appeared to the Board of Education to be simply for the relief of rates. The defeated Trustees decided to wait in the hope that future legislation would help them. Then the government inspector, in 1910, complained at the lack of a playground. The Trustees independently asked the Duke of Devonshire to lease some land behind the school, part of Etchells farm, and he agreed to lease fourteen perches, so the problem was solved through local negotiation.<sup>482</sup>

The role of religion in education continued to be important as was the status of the vicar in the village community. Alfred Auden, on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1931, maybe foreseeing problems for any future vicar, since the arrival of Basil Mallender, hoped discretely to confirm that the vicar should be a School Trustee automatically. His reply from the Board of Education declared 'the Trusts afford no support for appointing the vicar ex officio'. This weakened both the claim that this was an Anglican school and the vicar's prime role hitherto in a community without a resident lord of the manor.<sup>483</sup> In 1932, a vacancy occurred after the deaths of a majority of Trustees, and Basil Mallender became a Trustee of the Church Broughton School Trust.

Raymond Heawood arrived as vicar in 1933, expecting to be in charge of the Anglican school, unaware that there were actually two bodies involved in managing the school and found himself

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<sup>482</sup> D854/A/PI 188, DCRO. Church Broughton School Trust Book.

<sup>483</sup> Note 12 11 1931, The National Archives ED49/1135. The Trustees appointed at this time were Alfred Millington Auden, John Samuel Stevenson, Basil Arthur Mallender, Joseph Clarke, Frank Spendlove and Wilfred Heald Slack. The first two being the surviving ones.

immediately ensnared by Basil Mallender's machinations. The School Trust must have hibernated, while Foundation Managers, including those who were Trustees, acted. Raymond Heawood wrote:

'The main trouble was that during the interregnum, Mallender had made himself chairman and correspondent of the Managers. He had ensured that he had a majority in the body and although on my arrival on the scene I naturally became an ex-officio manager qua vicar, Mallender could use his position to thwart my use of the school for Church, social or general community activities out of school hours. When, after research as best I could make without access to the minute-book, I was able to show that Mallender had never been elected a manager at all, so that his status as chairman was invalid, he unfortunately was able to resurrect a body of Trustees of the school distinct from the managers.'<sup>484</sup>

Basil Mallender then claimed the right, as owner of Barton Blount, to be a Trustee of the original School Trust.<sup>485</sup> He became chairman of Trustees in March 1935, proposed by Mr. Slack who worked for him.<sup>486</sup> He had found the neglected Trust Book in the Church chest and declared that the school Managers had been wrongly taking control of the school building. He made red notes in the margins of the Trust Book, as to which items should have been decided by the school Managers and those by the Trustees. He claimed that the Trustees were in charge of the freehold and especially the finances, so therefore could say who could use the school. From the documents, this seems to have been an error, as the building was originally funded by subscription; it was not part of the first School Trust nor added to it.

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<sup>484</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p.5.

<sup>485</sup> D854A/PI 188 DCRO. He would have found, in the School Trust Book, that Francis Bradshaw the Younger, owner of Barton Blount, had been one of the new Trustees in 1835.

<sup>486</sup> D854A/PI 188 Derbyshire County Records Office (DCRO).

Raymond Heawood, investigating ways of out-manoeuvring Basil Mallender, discovered that the vicar was not appointed ex officio to the School Trust and commented:

‘When my predecessor, another Mr. Auden - a relative of the patron – had become vicar, a good many years before, he had been elected a Trustee by name, not by office. He was therefore still a Trustee, having never formally resigned, and until I was elected to fill a vacant place (which Mallender effectively opposed) I was not a Trustee of my Church School!<sup>487</sup> As the disposal of the funds standing to the credit of the school, amounting to £280, was an immediate issue, it was necessary that the present vicar had his position as Trustee clearly established. To effect this, numerous letters had to be written – some to Mr. Auden now living in Norfolk to elicit whether it were better for him to remain a Trustee and sway a meeting, if he could attend, to my advantage, or resign in order to bring the existing Trustees down to a number when a fresh election would be necessary by the Trust deed.’<sup>488</sup>

Basil Mallender was determined to be in charge of Trustees. Joseph Cresswell, headmaster 1927-1936, said:

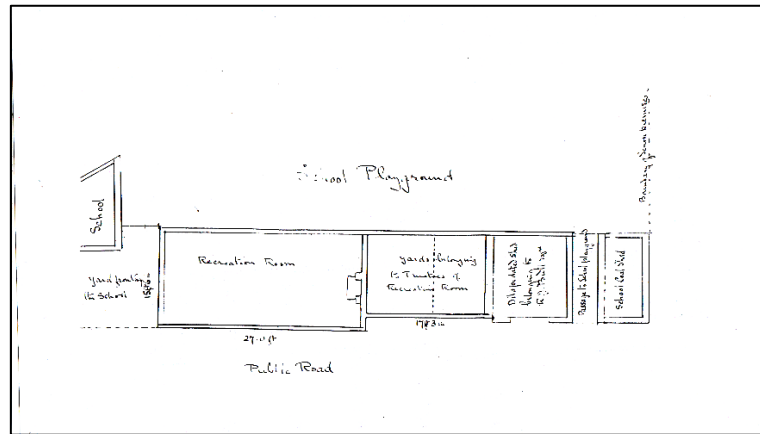
‘Now Heawood was very good. He got across Mallender, you know. You see, that school was an endowed school and, quite by accident, I happened to discover the deeds, a copy of them and the endowment. It stated in the endowment that the vicar was ipso facto a member of the Board. And old Mallender wouldn’t allow him on it, you see. He was a big Toc H man was Heawood and he had two kids whilst he was here. I suppose, well, Heawood, he wasn’t comfortable; he wasn’t comfortable at all and he went, he left here, and he went to Africa, Kampala, something to do with Toc H again.... a remarkable man. A bloke you wouldn’t find in the village, very sad, yes.’<sup>489</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> D854/A/PI 189 DCRO. An undated sheet of paper tucked into the Trust Book notes the resignation of Basil Mallender as chairman and correspondent of Church Broughton school managers, not of trustees, being replaced by Raymond Heawood.

<sup>488</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 5.

<sup>489</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, page 3.



42. A diagram of the Reading Room/Recreation Room, to the right of the school, (27 ft. long), its yards (17 ft. 3 ins.), to its right, a shed belonging to R.J. Bull, the path to the School Playground (at the rear) and the School Coal Shed. School toilets were in the playground<sup>490</sup>

Basil Mallender had some good ideas but was not sympathetic to the vagaries and sensitivities of village life. On becoming a Trustee of the school, he immediately suggested that, to further enlarge the playground, they should try to buy the Reading Room, originally a pair of old cottages with a garden next to the school, vested in the Charity Commissioners as a war memorial and recreation room, having been condemned as a house by the sanitary authorities.<sup>491</sup>

The school yard for outside toilets, behind this building, was remembered by one of the scholars of Joseph Cresswell. Arnold Redfern had lived opposite the school:

‘Mr. Cresswell said to me that there was a path up to the school, where the slope is now, for the barrow to empty the toilets. The Reading Room was to the joint in the wall, and then there was an old shed, that he had pulled down and it made a space and they played shinty. The windows opened the same and one day a big girl Norah James, pulled one and it fell out onto her in the yard and the frame went right over her head and he broke a bit of the glass away and she just smiled.’<sup>492</sup>

<sup>490</sup> The National Archives ED49/1135.

<sup>491</sup> The first schoolmaster’s house, see Johnson, M., *Derbyshire Village Schools in the nineteenth Century*, (Newton Abbott, 1970), p.15.

<sup>492</sup> Arnold Redfern transcript, p. 1.

It was unfortunate that the Board of Education ever became involved in the dealings between the School Trust and Reading Room charities, as the Board officers continually exercised a right of bureaucracy to ask delaying questions and demand valuations. The Trustees of both charities were trying, in support of the school and their community, to provide money towards a replacement memorial Reading Room and had reached agreement at £50.<sup>493</sup> The Board's letters were patronising and dictatorial. N. Law's reply to one enquiry: 'The Rev. Auden, who is a Trustee for both the Sch Piece Fnd and the Recreation Room Chty appears to be doing his best for the Rec Room', the writer asking if it was really necessary to add to the playground.<sup>494</sup> There was condescension in the tone towards these country people, when one official noted: 'I have interviewed the vicar, who in this case is a Poohbah. He is perfectly straight and admits that £50 is in his opinion quite generous, but he tells me the Trustees of both charities are business men, not mere bumkins, and that they were agreed that the offer of £50 was fair and just.'<sup>495</sup>

There are different strategies, including cooperation and confrontation, for resolving problems between people when there is conflict.<sup>496</sup> The villagers veered towards cooperation, whereas Basil Mallender used power. R.J. Bull, owner of Etchells farm, neighbour to the school, was treasurer of the Reading Room Charity and owned the shed next to the Reading Room, which the School Managers also wanted to buy. The purchase of the shed would only be accepted by the Board of Education for £5. Basil Mallender repeatedly harassed R.J. Bull to sell the shed, but he still refused to accept less than £15, allowing for damage done by the children, which the School Trustees had agreed. There had been ill-feeling between R.J. Bull and Basil Mallender since the latter bought Etchells farm from him. Jim Tunstall recalled David Prince's comment on the relationship between Basil Mallender and R.J. Bull:

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<sup>493</sup> Although land was provided, the fund for a Reading Room/War Memorial/Village Hall never reached a sufficiency, so the village had a Village Hall and Playing Field Committee, without a village hall.

<sup>494</sup> The National Archives ED49/1135. Note from Territorial, N. Law 13 10 1932.

<sup>495</sup> The National Archives ED49/1135. Note from W.H.Y. to Mr. Mitchell 18 10 1932.

<sup>496</sup> Elias, N., *The Sociology of Community*, (London, 1974), p. xix.

‘Mr. Mallender... he did such a dirty trick to Mr. Bull over the Etchells farm, when he took that over,’ he said, ‘he did such a dirty trick’ he says ‘it’s unbelievable. I couldn’t repeat it’.<sup>497</sup>

Alfred Auden appealed to the Board on behalf of R. J. Bull. Finally, the shed was purchased for £5 with £10 for damages. The villagers were arranging things among themselves to their satisfaction, while placating authority.

As chairman of the Trustees, Basil Mallender began charging for the use of the school, taking the decision himself, as chairman of trustees. Anyone wanting to use the building had to apply to him ten days in advance. Use of the school by the villagers for social activities went down. He may have mellowed, or was influenced by the Second World War, as he did not charge the Church Sunday School for whist drives and concerts in 1940. The Rev. Thomas Phillips became vicar in 1936 and was welcomed as an ex officio member of the Managers, proposed by his patron Basil Mallender to be chairman and correspondent, but not a Trustee. However, Thomas Phillips was not above criticism as, in 1937, he arranged for twelve lectures in the school by the Nottingham University Adult Education Department and was told by Basil Mallender that he owed £1 10s and the Trustees agreed that no further lettings to Thomas Phillips could be ‘agreed until the payment in question had been discharged’. By controlling the use of the school, Basil Mallender had a malign effect on the harmony of the community. Millie Bradshaw, living at Heath Top remembered:

‘We had choir suppers in that school and dances. We had the loveliest time..... The school – now we hardly dare set foot in the place and you have to pay for it.’<sup>498</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> James Robert Tunstall transcript, p. 1. R.J. Bull, who had retired to Tutbury sold Etchells farm to an unknown person, found to be Basil Mallender, in 1931. See Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 8.

<sup>498</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript p. 2.

Ethel Bannister recalled the income from the School-piece land continuing to be used for the village school until the abrupt end of the school Trust:

‘The time came that an Act said that the money could not be given to a teacher. Then the first playground was made with the money. I remember a tiled floor. The first wooden floor was made with the money. Then the Diocese took all the money, to use wherever they liked. Mr. Mallender tried to fight it. I think it should be for this village. He lost. Mr. O’Neill was the diocesan man that took the money from the school-piece – took the deeds, the lot. Mr. Mallender said there was a clause in the Bill that allowed them to use it anywhere in the County.’<sup>499</sup>

Basil Mallender may not have been completely impartial, wearing two hats. Joseph Cresswell said:

‘Mallender was a patron of the living. He was more or less financial adviser to the Bishop at that time, Mallender; he was a big man in the Church of England, you know; and a big man at Derby, the diocese and that.’<sup>500</sup>

Being a self-regulating village had been a benefit in getting a school but brought problems. Having two bodies related to the control of the school caused confusion and allowed Basil Mallender to manipulate the appointments to give himself control over finances. Through his closeness to the Bishop and his right of patronage, he was able to appoint and undermine the vicars. He made them School Managers but kept them off the Trustees. There is no evidence that he was interested in the education of the children, only that he liked controlling the use of the building to the detriment of the community. The demarcation between local and central authority caused confusion, neither party being clear in its responsibility or actions.

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<sup>499</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 3.

<sup>500</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 3.



## Teaching

Before the Elementary Education Act of 1870, it was not essential for teachers to have a qualification. The intention of those who formulated the Act was to provide new schools where they were needed, but also to raise the standard of education. The headmaster of Church Broughton school from 1870-1892, Thomas Thompson, arrived aged forty, without qualifications. A child in a large family, he had been taken in by Ellesmere vicar John Day as a pupil and then teacher. Following the 1870 Education Act, and a visit from the Government Inspector, he bought a School Log book, and wrote:

November 17<sup>th</sup> 1873. The Government Inspector's report of this visit, covering both education and building, was that many of the children in Standard I 'are very backward in writing, spelling and arithmetic... In order to qualify for a grant strict attention must be paid to all the requirements of the New Code of Regulations.'<sup>501</sup>

Within a month of this inspection, Thomas Thompson, went to Chester<sup>502</sup> for a week of examinations and became, aged 42, as he proudly wrote in the School Log, a certificated teacher second class.<sup>503</sup>

Thomas Thompson ran the school as a family enterprise, his sister, his wife Eliza and then his daughter Adelaide, teaching the younger children. He also ran the Post Office. Inspectors continually criticised the standard of teaching, which may have put pressure on the Trustees and led to his dismissal. Government grants were often forfeited. The inspectors finally questioned 'whether his duties as postmaster are not apt to clash with those as schoolmaster'.<sup>504</sup> Aged 54, Thomas Thompson was reluctant to leave a lucrative situation for his family, being first given six

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<sup>501</sup> The Rev. F. Wilkinson and Mr. Knight.

<sup>502</sup> University Guide for Chester declares Chester was the first teacher training college to be set up, in 1839, supported by the Church of England and backed by two prime ministers and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>503</sup> School Log, March 1<sup>st</sup> 1874.

<sup>504</sup> School Log 1882.

months' notice in 1885 and managing to stay a further seven years, having notice served again on both him and Mrs. Thompson by a solicitor to end in March 1892.

Arthur Jones, headmaster 1892-1927, was an enthusiast, with a Birmingham accent, and forthright. He moved into the middle cottage next to the church. He was so glad to be in the countryside that, on his first day, he left his wife Grace with infant Raymond to arrange their belongings and walked the twelve miles to Dovedale. He enjoyed it so much, he went again the following day.<sup>505</sup> This dynamism infused his mission to educate the children and train future teachers. Unlike his predecessor he devoted his time to the school but continued the practice of running the school as a family enterprise, employing his sister and his wife as infant teachers.



43. Arthur Vaughan Jones, with his wife Grace Elizabeth, son Raymond William and daughters Grace Vaughan and Ivy Kathleen. They stand in front of their cottage, wearing black. Arthur has a black band on his arm. They may have been mourning daughter Norah Dorothy who died in 1908 aged 5, from severe diarrhoea. Their twins had died in 1906 soon after they were born. It looks as though Grace did not want to be in the picture. The cottage was the centre Church Cottage, of Etchells Farm, built in 18<sup>th</sup> century.

(Photograph by Ruth Auden.)

His first entry in the School Log has:

‘1892 April 25<sup>th</sup> I, Arthur Vaughan Jones (Saltley College 1881-2) trained certificated master of the second division commenced duty here as headmaster. 82 children present in the morning. 83 in the afternoon. Rev. William Auden came in this afternoon.’<sup>506</sup>

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<sup>505</sup> Raymond Jones transcript p.1.

<sup>506</sup> School Log 1892. This number compared with 63 mentioned by Thomas Thompson in 1874. Saltley College was founded in 1852.

Arthur Jones was apparently attracted by the Trust fund's income of £30. He taught many of my contributors and was well known to most. He taught Ethel Bannister, who was enthusiastic:

'When the Education Act took care of the pence [which the Trust had paid for poor children to attend school], the £30 was given to the schoolmaster and Mr. Jones came.<sup>507</sup> He was the only one in the district who had been trained. Mr. Jones turned out some very good scholars. No-one trained as many as he did. He got me through. Then there was Miss Thorley and Raymond Jones, Agnes Orme, Barbara Orme, Gilbert Orme. The School-piece money meant they never had to get anything up for school expenses, Mr. Jones told me there weren't ten schools like it in the whole of England. It was a truly endowed school; the Church said it was an endowed school.'<sup>508</sup>

There was great hope for Arthur Jones, who stayed thirty-five years, finally, like his predecessor, unable to satisfy the expectations of inspectors. He had been to Saltley teacher training college, Birmingham. Similar to the college at Chester, it was run by the Anglican diocese.<sup>509</sup> The training colleges were the last stage for aspiring children taught in elementary schools. He spent two years at Saltley, reaching the same standard as Thomas Thompson at the final examination. He then taught in Birmingham for ten years. He was, on his arrival, given an assistant in the person of Miss M. Meakin. She stayed for twenty months and was replaced by Mrs. Clara Mountfort. He was later assisted by Pupil Teachers, one or two older children who, with tuition from the head teacher, hoped to proceed to training colleges.

Several contributors remembered Arthur Jones being at the school. Steve Tunstall:

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<sup>507</sup> D854/A/PI 188 Derbyshire County Records Office (DCRO). The Trust had been obliged to pay the headmaster for one labourer's child boy or girl 2d a week, for 2 children 3d and for every additional child 1d. 1891 Education Act providing grants for all children between three and fifteen, forbade schools charging fees except in special circumstances.

<sup>508</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 3. She is referring to children qualifying as Pupil Teachers.

<sup>509</sup> See [stpeterscollegesaltley.co.uk](http://stpeterscollegesaltley.co.uk). Saltley College was built thirteen years later in 1852, the buildings were built round a quadrangle with the Diocesan Practising School next door, which opened in 1853. The college took 300 students, while the school catered for 500 children.

‘Mr. Jones and his sister were the teachers. She did the little ones and he took them up to standard six. He made a good job of a lot of them. Mr. Jones, ’e used to buy books for us. I had one book called The Last of the Barons. And You daren’t get into any mischief, then. They used to be under control, them days, under their parents. There wasn't nothing drastic done.’<sup>510</sup>

Millie Bradshaw:

‘True as I am here, there were a hundred and three children in the school’.<sup>511</sup>

Enid Tunstall:

‘I went to school at Broughton. We used to call him Gaffer Jones. Mr. Jones was a good teacher. He was a very good teacher, what I remember of him. He was strict, because if you were late for school, I tell you one thing – we used to wait for two boys at Auntie Addie’s (we call her Auntie Addie) now which would it be? Her husband’s two younger brothers, we had to wait for them. Nearly every morning, of course, we were late for school. As soon as you got in, hold your hand out and you got the cane’.<sup>512</sup>

Raymond Hall:

‘The schoolmaster at Church Broughton was a man I think, named Jones, I’m not sure, with a beard. I remember him very well, big; he wasn’t liked very much.’<sup>513</sup>

Instilling fear seems to have been the method of control. Sometimes its success was questionable. A boy was punished ‘for inattention to his work and again for muttering. At playtime he went home without leave.’ Five days later he reappeared and was ‘soundly punished again.’<sup>514</sup> John

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<sup>510</sup> Stephen Tunstall transcript, p. 3.

<sup>511</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p.2.

<sup>512</sup> Enid Tunstall transcript, p. 3.

<sup>513</sup> Raymond Hall transcript, p. 2.

<sup>514</sup> School Log. January 1898.

Locke, writing for the gentry in 1693, had advocated that learning should be an enjoyable experience of discovery enlivened by affection not dread.<sup>515</sup> Jacob Middleton noted that in 1889 the High Court overruled a decision in a lower court that caning on the hand was not acceptable, so thereafter parents were unable to effectively complain against corporal punishment.<sup>516</sup> Paul Thompson wrote that there had been discussions over the use of corporal punishment since the 1890s, with School Boards wanting to reduce its use, while teachers depended on it.<sup>517</sup> Arthur Jones relied on the cane for his authority.<sup>518</sup> Raymond Jones, born in 1890, wrote of his father:

‘He no doubt had to get down to it to instil some discipline into the school, before planning his teaching there. From what we gathered, the schoolchildren ruled the schoolmaster and not the schoolmaster the children, before his arrival’.<sup>519</sup>

Corporal punishment was not banned in state schools until 1986 and in independent schools in 1998.<sup>520</sup>

Children seem to have accepted Arthur Jones’ tough approach. Despite the possible consequences, knowing the hunt was meeting near their home, some could not resist it. Millie Bradshaw recalled:

‘We used to pop up to Heath Top and if the hounds met at Foston, we could go and see, but we had to be back at school for dinner. And one day, we didn’t go back. We were in terrible trouble the next morning.’ Then, remembering happy times: ‘On pancake day, the pancake bell went at eleven. We had a holiday on pancake day. There were shorter holidays than now.’<sup>521</sup>

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<sup>515</sup> Gillard D (2018) *Education in England: a history* www.educationengland.org.uk/history, chapter 4.

<sup>516</sup> Middleton, J., The Experience of Corporal Punishment in Schools, 1890-1940 in ‘*History of Education*’, Vol 37, 2008, issue 2.

<sup>517</sup> Thompson, P., *The Voice of the Past*, (Oxford, 1978, 1998), p. 135.

<sup>518</sup> Donald Allman arriving as new schoolmaster in 1967, took something out of his top drawer, saying ‘What is this?’, bent it in half and threw it into the waste paper basket, to the astonishment of the children. It was the cane.

<sup>519</sup> Raymond Jones transcript, p.3.

<sup>520</sup> School Standards and Framework Act, 1998. Part 4, Miscellaneous and General, 131, Abolition of Corporal Punishment in Schools.

<sup>521</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p.4.

It took a few years for the effects of Arthur Jones' teaching to be appreciated by the Inspector. In 1895, when the oldest informants were starting school, the Inspector made a report saying, 'few of the scholars can make easy mental calculation with facility and many of them show but the faintest appreciation of the sense of a passage they have just read'. In 1902, Arthur Jones' comment on the Government report was 'On the whole the school appears to be going on fairly well and is in good order'.<sup>522</sup>

Children and staff had mixed feelings about the teaching, both admiration and criticism. Although young teachers, who had been to Training College, may have brought new ideas into the school, Arthur Jones, headmaster for thirty-five years, was still basing his teaching on his own training in the 1880s. Each year he listed the Object Lessons, which included Silk, Flannel, Flax, Chalk, Slate, Fuel, Gold, Rabbit, Camel, Fern, Pumice, Quartz, Granite, Brass and Clock-face in 1903 and The Calendar, Evergreen, The Farm Through the Seasons, The Spider, The Bee, Wheat, Rose and Daisy in 1905. He chose recitations for each class: The Pussy's Tea Party, The Ballad of East and West by Rudyard Kipling, Summer Song by Mary Howitt. Sections of the Bible or collects were set to be learnt by heart. The children sat, closely packed in long desks, recipients, not participants.

Meanwhile education was progressing, and all the Inspector could do was to encourage the headmaster to witness practise in other schools. Arthur Jones retired aged 64 in 1927, returning to Birmingham. He had raised the attendance at school, and, as a result, the expectation that all Church Broughton children should receive a basic education. He had improved the school equipment and was conscientious, but his style of teaching, with learning by rote, supervised by pupil teachers, harked back to the recommendations of Joseph Lancaster, who died in 1838.<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>522</sup> School Log, 1 1 1895, 6 1 1902.

<sup>523</sup> Lawson, J., and Silver, H., *A Social History of Education in England*, (London, 1976, 1978), p. 242.

The progress of Ethel Bannister through being a Pupil Teacher, going to a Training Centre and returning to be infant teacher was an example of the self-perpetuating tradition for educating the brighter upper working-class and lower middle-class children – a certain amount of education but not aspiring to university.

## Pupil Teachers

Becoming a Pupil Teacher was an opportunity for children who stayed at Church Broughton school to advance their education and improve their prospects, but few took that route as parents ambitious for their children tended to send them to schools beyond the parish. The Committee of Council of Education created the post of Pupil Teachers in 1846 with the intention of training more teachers by giving promising pupils an opportunity with a cash inducement. Candidates needed to be healthy, well-behaved and have satisfactory religious knowledge.<sup>524</sup> For Arthur Jones the acme of teaching was successfully training Pupil Teachers. There was an incentive for them and the headmaster, as, when teaching in their school, the Pupil Teachers earned £10 a year for a boy and £6 10s for a girl, while the headmaster, allowed one Pupil Teacher for every 25 pupils in the school, could earn £5 a year for the first Pupil Teacher, £4 for the second and so on.<sup>525</sup> Pupil Teachers were given special teaching by their headmaster for an hour and a half every day and examined once a year by Her Majesty's Inspectors. Alfred Auden gave supplementary lessons at the Vicarage.

The 1870 Education Act had improved the education for Pupil Teachers, so they not only learnt to teach from their own headmaster, but also began visiting special Training Centres.<sup>526</sup> Having completed five years and gained annual certificates, the pupil teachers were then able to sit the examination for a scholarship to a teacher training college, being given a maintenance allowance

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<sup>524</sup> Horn, P., *Education in Rural England 1800-1914*, (Dublin, 1978), pp. 55-58.

<sup>525</sup> Standfield, F.G., *A History of East Meon*, (Chichester, 1984). p. 66.

<sup>526</sup> Board of Education 1903 Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers, that from 1905 they should receive secondary education to the age of sixteen.

of £25 for a man and £20 for a woman, with the intention of becoming a fully qualified teacher. Without the time at college, a Pupil Teacher could still become an uncertificated teacher. It was through this scheme that Gilbert Orme, Raymond Jones and Ethel Bannister became fully qualified teachers.<sup>527</sup>

There was an expectation that further education was possible. Arthur Jones had trained his assistant teacher Mrs. Mountfort to gain a scholarship, and was able to allow some of the oldest students to take turns to supervise a class for half an hour as candidate Pupil Teachers.<sup>528</sup> He was delighted when in 1904 his first Pupil Teacher Catherine Thawley<sup>529</sup> passed in division one of the certificate list – ‘This reflects great credit on Miss Thawley and brings honour to this village school’.<sup>530</sup>

Pupil Teachers remembered their experiences. Ethel Bannister:

‘Once the inspector said, “write up a tune on the board” and I did, and I had grades two and three. I don’t think I had grade one. In fact, I thought grades two and three were very good to sing it and with only a tuning fork! We were never allowed a piano and used a tuning fork for the singing. Mr. Jones owned the tuning fork in the key of C and when he left, he said it didn’t belong to the school and gave it to me. The book was British Songs. When we wanted to sing in the key of A, we had to go C B A and then sing doh me soh doh in A’.<sup>531</sup>

Gilbert Orme:

‘As a Pupil Teacher I went to Ashbourne for nearly five years, every Saturday and then they introduced French one day a fortnight. Working Saturday? Well, I had Fridays off.

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<sup>527</sup> Keating, J., *Teacher Training – up to the 1960s*, History in *Education Project*, Institute of Historical Research, (University of London 2010).

<sup>528</sup> School Log 5 1 1899, 29 8 1906.

<sup>529</sup> Daughter of Thomas Thawley, wheelwright.

<sup>530</sup> School Log. 15 10 1904.

<sup>531</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p.6.



I spent one and a half days or two days a week helping to teach and learning to teach and the rest of the time homework ready for Ashbourne. We did cover a very wide range. I was a probationer Pupil Teacher at thirteen, and a fully paid Pupil Teacher at fourteen, for four years. That was the Pupil Teacher system in my day. I was well set up by the time I went to college. I was the only really successful pupil teacher of my day.<sup>532</sup>

Raymond Jones:

‘I went to college two and a half days a week, no, three days a week. I ’ad to go Saturday mornings as well. And two and a half days teaching. That’s how we worked it. Four years I did like that. A wonderful place that was; we used to get any amount of fruit – quinces, and all sorts of things that grew in the gardens there, marvellous place’.<sup>533</sup>

David Herbert Lawrence, like his mother was a Pupil Teacher, but whereas she had had to leave school to work in a lace factory, he, at the British School in Eastwood, attended a Pupil Teacher Centre in Ilkeston in 1904 and gained a scholarship for University College Nottingham in 1906, after which, in 1908, he taught at Davidson School, Croydon for four years.<sup>534</sup>

Through the system of Pupil Teachers, families with a low income were able to gain a better education for their children and the prospect of good employment. An alternative, after 1907, was to gain one of the scholarships for children aged eleven to win a place at a secondary school or, for wealthier families to pay for a place at a private school or a Grammar School.<sup>535</sup> In *The Rainbow*, D.H. Lawrence described how Ursula Brangwen escaped from ‘the belittling circumstances of life....the little school, the meagre teachers,’ by going away to the Grammar School, travelling by train, to learn Latin, Greek, French and Mathematics. It was a new world.<sup>536</sup>

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<sup>532</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript p.1.

<sup>533</sup> Raymond Jones transcript, p. 7.

<sup>534</sup> Worthen, J., *Biography of D.H. Lawrence*, (1997), ch. 3, 4.

<sup>535</sup> 1907 Education Act. Blythe, W.A.L., *English Primary Education*, (1965, 1988, 2000, 2002, London) pp. 27-29.

<sup>536</sup> Lawrence, D.H., *The Rainbow*, (1995 Wordsworth Edition), pp. 221, 225, 301-328. Following the Rainbow (1915), in *Women in Love* (1920), Lawrence saw teaching as drudgery: ‘Monday, the beginning of another school week. Another shameful, barren school-week! Mere routine mechanical activity.’ Lawrence, D.H., *Women in Love*, (1992 Wordsworth Edition), p. 166.

Ethel Bannister started school under Arthur Jones in 1902. Her family were very supportive of her education, as her mother had been forced to leave school aged 8, when her own mother died, and she was needed to help her father.<sup>537</sup> After attending a Training Centre at Burton upon Trent, Ethel Bannister returned to work with Arthur Jones. She must have been happy following his method of keeping order, saying:

‘You have to come down to the children’s level. If you do come down to the children’s level and joke with them and so on, you can manage them. They tell by the look in your eye. “You don’t need a stick for discipline” Mr. Hollis, at the Burton Centre, said “never go from your word. No.” It’s interesting, teaching is’.<sup>538</sup>

Gertie Neal and Harold Bennett Maddock had different views of Miss Bannister’s teaching methods:

‘Mr. Jones when I first went there; he taught me, when I first went there. He was strict, my word, and Miss Bannister. Miss Bannister, you know, she ’it my brother, the one that was killed, and knocked a tooth out; yes, banged ’m on the ’ead, on the face on the desk.’<sup>539</sup>  
‘Going back a few years now. I remember the school more or less. I didn’t want to leave, tho’ I was no scholar; I didn’t want to leave. There was a Miss teacher then – what would ’er name be? – to teach the little ones; then there was Miss Bannister; then there was Mr. Cresswell. Oh, yes, ’e ’ad a cane, ’e did. I don’t think ’e used it often; ’e was a lovely teacher, Mr. Cresswell, very good. Miss Bannister was good’.<sup>540</sup>

‘Miss Bannister lived there, that’s right, Ethel, yes. She taught me. Well, she was real tough wi’ us, that was why, but after, I can realise, we were ’ideous, the top end. But she used to go for the temple, you know.’<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>537</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p.1.

<sup>538</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p.4..

<sup>539</sup> Lawrence, D.H., *The Rainbow*, (1995 Wordsworth Edition), p. 342.

<sup>540</sup> Gertie Neal transcript, p.1.

<sup>541</sup> Harold Bennett Maddock transcript, p. 1.

Ethel Bannister was scathing about modern teacher training:

‘Those on about teacher training make you think they are not right in the head. They want four years training and only a few weeks in front of children. When I was thirteen, I was candidate pupil teacher here in Church Broughton. I was in front of the class half an hour each week, taking turns with Ray Jones... After three years at Sutton, where I was in front of the class for half the time, I had had five years practice.’

She felt that her practical experience, passing extensive examinations and receiving support from experienced teachers, was preferable to four years in college.<sup>542</sup> She was a teacher when corporal punishment was the norm. Even in old age she was capable of rushing out of her house, chasing a boy who had taken an apple from her back garden and whacking him.

Arthur Jones was seen as firm, with high standards, but he did care for the children. George Wright, Lilah Bridges, Steve Tunstall, Doris Stevenson and Millie Bradshaw remembered:

‘Mr. Jones was the schoolmaster. I think he was a man who was very ahead of his time. He’d take we boys swimming. That was something rather special, at Sutton on the Hill, and in the brook opposite Barton Hall. He was a great walker.’<sup>543</sup>

‘We used to have lots of fun sliding on the Heath Top Pit. Old Mr. Jones used to come skating on it. Mr. Jones was very nice.’<sup>544</sup>

‘The Education bought the books. But what ’e used to do that man, Mr. Jones, ’e used to buy books for us. I had one book called *The Last of the Barons*. And his sister would buy little paper books for the little’uns. And his salary wasn’t much. He used to have to go to Derby and he’d walk to Etwall [six miles] to save the fare from Tutbury. They used to walk out of that village. They used to do those things in them days. Anybody as misbehaved, they’d have it across here (showing his palm). Mr. Orme, he’s done very well

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<sup>542</sup> Mingay, G.E., *A Social History of the English Countryside*, (London, 1990), p. 226. Goldstrom, J.M., *Education: Elementary Education 1780-1900*, (Newton Abbot, 1972), p.111.

<sup>543</sup> George Talbot Wright transcript, p. 1.

<sup>544</sup> Lilah Bridges transcript, p. 2.

and he's done it all himself. His mother had died and his father didn't care a bit. Mr. Jones, he was the only one behind him.'<sup>545</sup>

'From Old Hall Farm, we could see right up to Heath Top and see the children coming to school. They wore heavy boots and stockings and had to come with the water over their boots through the floods. Mr. Jones would make them take their stockings off and hang them round the fire to dry them, to go home. He was very kindly towards the children'.<sup>546</sup>

'The vicar came once a week for scripture, and we learnt singing and arithmetic and geography and that sort of thing. We always had a hymn before we came out at night. The infants were separate from the juniors. All the juniors played in one playground. Games? Rounders for one thing. Mr. Jones even played with us sometimes. Skipping, whip and top, shuttlecock and battledore, hopscotch.'<sup>547</sup>

Derek Gillard described the Elementary Education Act of 1880, which made school attendance obligatory 'and provided for penalties in cases where 10 -13year olds were illegally employed.'<sup>548</sup> This assumed that all children could benefit from prolonged schooling. Gilbert Orme, born 1915, who had, like Raymond Jones, been at school in Church Broughton becoming a Pupil Teacher, finally headmaster at Duffield Primary School looked at the Church Broughton School Log and commented:

'Where it says Grades, on the old school register, we didn't call them Grades, we called them Standards. It was infants and then Standard One. Standard One was roughly seven years plus. Of course, we used to have some... we used to call them dunces in those days, which wasn't very nice... There were big burley dunces as big as I am now, that didn't get beyond Standard Three, which we see now, psychologically, was very, very bad. Ah, yes, and furthermore this is substantiated by my Log books here. Following what I said,

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<sup>545</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

<sup>546</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 1.

<sup>547</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 4.

<sup>548</sup> Gillard D., (2011) *Education in England: a brief history* [www.educationengland.org.uk/history](http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history)

a boy could be ten and never get beyond Standard Three. The three Rs were the main thing. The three Rs were practically the only thing at some schools. A child could leave at the age of eleven or twelve. A child could leave at Standard Three. If they satisfied the Inspector, they could leave. The Inspector would hear the reading and see the writing and arithmetic. It rather shatters one that that could go on so far into the 1900s.<sup>549</sup>

## The School After 1927



44. Joseph Cresswell with schoolchildren, Church Broughton.

Arthur Jones was followed by Joseph Cresswell, coming from Ripley in 1927 and staying nine years. He lodged with the dressmaker, Mrs. Corbett, and then at the Holly Bush. When he married he moved to Sunnyside, the old Lock-up.<sup>550</sup> He was a lively, self-confident man and, while headmaster, studied for a master's degree in economics from London University, passing the examinations at Nottingham. He was dismissive of his predecessor, writing in the School Log:

'The late headmaster spent thirty-five years in this remote school and paid the penalty which prolonged isolation commonly brings in train; in spite of good intentions, his work became gradually less progressive and more monotonous and dull. His successor is consequently fed a difficult uphill task, but he has youth, energy and determination on

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<sup>549</sup> Gilbert Orme, transcript, p. 1.

<sup>550</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript p. 23.

his side and the outlook for the future is now much brighter than it has been for several years'.<sup>551</sup>

Joseph Cresswell liked the village, joined in and made friends. According to Gilbert Orme,

'Jo Cresswell ran the tennis – always a man to take a job on and hand it on to someone else. Played tennis there till 1937. He was bosom pals with the Hamblings, his second home.'<sup>552</sup>

He was a freemason, but his amiability led him to support the vicar against fellow mason Basil Mallender.<sup>553</sup> He did not need to use fear to maintain his authority. He was caring of the children, keen on sports; he took them running and playing cricket. He took particular care of children whose mother had died. He brought improvements to the school. Gilbert Orme said:

'I remember a desk at the back of the class [stretching his arms apart to indicate a long bench desk] and six of us sat at that desk, side by side. Mr. Cresswell changed a lot of that. He had me to the top of the school by the time I was ten. None of the others resented me. I used to do a few sums and pass them round. I've laughed about that many a time'.<sup>554</sup>

As headmaster coming from a town, he had high expectations for the children. By trying to raise the standard and pushing some further than they were able, one or two of the Pupil Teachers were sent back from the trainer at Ashbourne as not ready for that step.<sup>555</sup> Gilbert Orme commented:

'Jo Cresswell pushed a number that just weren't good enough'.<sup>556</sup>

Joseph Cresswell did exercise control. Those who had been children taught by Joseph Cresswell, Hilda Ward and Jo Harrison. commented:

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<sup>551</sup> D854/A/PI 188 DCRO. School Log, 3 10 1927, written by Joseph Cresswell.

<sup>552</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript p. 2, 3.

<sup>553</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript p.5.

<sup>554</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>555</sup> Gilbert Orme, transcript p. 1.

<sup>556</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript p.1.

‘Mr. Cresswell, he had a strap’.<sup>557</sup>

‘I think the children were kept under more then. If we met Mr. Cresswell in the street, we had to speak to him. The children push past Mr. Allman now’.<sup>558</sup>

Joseph Cresswell himself said:

‘There was no trouble, even when they were outside school. I never heard of trouble. You’ve got to know every house. It’s the only way; you’ve got to know people; you’ve got to know them, every house. Before, I’d been teaching in a mining area, in a very big school and I came into this place, and there was just this one long room then and a mere handful of kids. There was more boots polished, during that first week I was there than there had been in generations; oh dear me, it didn’t do them any harm. It did very well for me. I don’t know what it is now. But I turned some really good lads out of it. Pupil Teachers – I had Dorothy Pywell, Gilbert Orme and Luke Orme. I found these folks, they were very – well the lads, of course, they were working from the age of ten, really working hard. I mean lads were coming to school and falling asleep. I know David Prince, he was wide awake; he knew all about it. After milking in the morning, they used to come to school tired to death. Quite a few went home for dinner, others used to bring their pieces, a little can. When I left, it was about eighty-five on the roll’.<sup>559</sup>

Gilbert Orme remembered:

‘Jo Cresswell stopped Mr. Salmon at the Etchells, using boys to clean the cowsheds before school and coming in filthy’.<sup>560</sup>

Ivan Ward followed Joseph Cresswell as temporary schoolmaster in 1936, staying three years.

Hilda Ward said:

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<sup>557</sup> Hilda Allman transcript, p. 11.

<sup>558</sup> Jo and Hilda Harrison transcript, p.5.

<sup>559</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 2.

<sup>560</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 2.

‘He was very fond of singing was Mr Ward. He came from a mining area somewhere. He wasn’t there long, no, but wasn’t he gorgeous?!’<sup>561</sup>

Ted Allin, followed Ivan Ward in 1939, staying until he retired twenty-eight years later, in 1967.

Ted’s feisty wife Edith, who taught the younger children, said:

‘If I’d had a say, we’d never have come, and we’d never have stayed. I’m not a village person. You’re dealing with a village mentality. I’m a very shy person really. Ted’s gentle. I’ve never heard him say or do an unkind thing in his life. It’s the same wherever we go, he’s surrounded by children’.<sup>562</sup>

Before they came to this school, they’d ‘been in a place where education was the thing, and everyone was keen, and Ted ran Workers Education Authority courses and if you wanted to go to the Parish Council meeting, you had to get there early, or the hall would be full, and it was a big hall.’ Coming to Church Broughton, they went to the Parish Council meeting and no-one was there, and the men were so astonished to see them, that Ted was made Parish Clerk on the spot and Edith was asked to start a Women’s Institute, which she did.<sup>563</sup>

Joseph Cresswell rather despised Ted Allin, thought that he stayed too long, frustrated because he didn’t get on well with people.<sup>564</sup> They were completely different in character. Ted was quiet, supported by his spirited wife, but he could be determined and creative. He played in the village jazz band, the Broughtonians. He said: ‘You had to make your own entertainment.’<sup>565</sup> The village already had wider contacts through easier travel and better information from the radio. The Allins contributed to the community, through the church and the use of the school. They were teaching a later generation of children, with greater opportunities.

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<sup>561</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 10.

<sup>562</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 2.

<sup>563</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p.1.

<sup>564</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p.4.

<sup>565</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 7.



The Hadow Report of 1926 had recommended the institution of senior schools where they were lacking as country children ‘needed to be taught about the wider world and that the world was larger than the farm and village’. In November 1938, there was a suggestion from the authorities that older children should be taken from Church Broughton and sent to the larger school at Hatton.<sup>566</sup> The Managers were against it, as they thought it was not in the best interests of the community and harmful to village life and the farming industry. They saw the school as a source of future agricultural workers, who were difficult to obtain - ‘if this came about it would be more difficult still. The children would adopt that restless spirit and migrate into the towns where there would be less hours of work and greater leisure’.<sup>567</sup> The reorganisation did take place and the prediction of children leaving the village proved to be correct.

There were different opinions regarding the purpose of education: to keep children in the village for work on the land or to give them an opportunity of finding more fulfilling work elsewhere. After the 1870 Education Act, all headmasters were qualified, Joseph Cresswell using his time in Church Broughton to pursue his own further education. Following the First World War, a 1919 Report extended government interest into adult education, saying as a permanent national necessity it ‘should be spread uniformly and systematically over the whole community’.<sup>568</sup> Alternative styles of education for children were being researched: in 1942, Dorothy Gardner investigated a method where the children were allowed to enjoy spontaneous activity.<sup>569</sup> Church Broughton school was limited by space and equipment. The headmasters were very different characters, all involved in and encouraging parish activities and sincerely trying to improve the education offered, but none able to satisfy the inspectors completely.

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<sup>566</sup> Mingay, G.E. *A Social History of the English Countryside*, (London, 1990), p. 226.

<sup>567</sup> D3591/FK Church Broughton Church of England School: Records, Managers’ Minutes 1903-1976.

<sup>568</sup> Ministry of Reconstruction’s Final Report on Adult Education, 1919.

<sup>569</sup> Gardner, D.E.M., *Experiment and Tradition in Primary Schools*, (London, 1966), p. 6.

## Amenities

It was not easy for headmaster Arthur Jones when he arrived in 1892. The facilities at the school were poor. Mingay found that many village schools had old buildings with lack of space, no piped water and insufficient heating, often with only one classroom and toilets ‘nothing more than neglected earth closets’.<sup>570</sup> Steve Tunstall who began school in 1894, remembered:

‘There was not a drop of water at the school in those days, not a spot. They had to fetch it from against the police house. The schoolmaster had to clean the school, wash the windows, make the fire in the mornings and sweep up at night.’<sup>571</sup>

Inspectors tried to improve the school and encourage the staff. Whereas with Mr. Thompson, headmaster until 1892, if they thought his standard too low, they would reduce the government grant, after 1900 they were using the grants for the provision of better equipment.<sup>572</sup> Caitlin Wylie pointed out that part of the improvement in education after 1870 was the provision of teaching manuals and equipment such as blackboards, which enabled teachers to demonstrate to a whole class instead of on an individual pupil’s slate.<sup>573</sup>

The School Log of 16 11 1900: ‘A new blackboard and stand came to the school today. This together with the museum cupboard and store will be paid with the aid grant. They are both much needed improvements and additions to the apparatus.’<sup>574</sup>

The aid grant that year allowed for increase in salaries: the headmaster £10, the assistant mistress £4, a grant for apparatus £2, objects for elementary science £2, the total £18. In 1904 the inspector urged that there should be more staffing and equipment and warmth, acknowledging that with his present circumstances, it was difficult for the headmaster to ‘keep all scholars suitably occupied

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<sup>570</sup> Mingay, G.E. *A Social History of the English Countryside*, (London, 1990), p. 225. Service provision in the village gave communication a high priority: Telephone came to the Post Office in 1907. Electricity was provided in 1934. The Library Bus came in 1948. Water was piped in 1957 and sewerage laid 1968.

<sup>571</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

<sup>572</sup> Seaborne, M., *Education*, (London, 1966), p. 61.

<sup>573</sup> Wylie, C. D., Teaching Manuals and the Blackboard: Accessing Historical Classroom Practices, in ‘*History of Education*’, Vol. 41, no. 2. March 2012.

<sup>574</sup> School Log 16 11 1900.

or train them in habits of attention and zeal'. Their reports seem aimed as much at the school managers as the teachers. The 1905 Report is 'fairly satisfactory, though all the boys are backward in reading and the youngest left too much on their own'. The Inspector realised that there was insufficient progress in the school, and hoped that the teachers, stuck in their ways, might learn modern methods by observation, and recommended visiting 'a good infants' school'.<sup>575</sup>

Ethel Bannister said the school was crowded with up to a hundred children streaming into the porch; the little ones' heads banged against the pegs, as the older ones pushed past.<sup>576</sup> Only two who later became teachers, mentioned the day to day experience in school: the crowding, the inflexibility, the lack of amenities. For most, the need for routine was similar to their experience at home. Raymond Jones and Ethel Bannister remembered a large room, with one end for the infants, separated by a curtain. The younger ones sat close together on a raised gallery, to save space, with shelves to be pulled up for writing and put down again when they wanted to move out. They were taught by the Assistant Mistress. The older children occupied the larger area. Arthur Jones' desk was opposite the door, next to the stove. Ruth and Dennis Alcock went to the school in the 1920s. Dennis:

'I know there were a hundred and thirty in the school, when I was there. Mr. Jones lives up at Tutbury taught me at school, Miss Bannister, Mrs. Sutton - she used to cycle from Dalbury to teach the small ones. Well, to be quite truthful, it makes me wonder now, going to school now, where we used to sit. We'd just got those long...'

Ruth: 'Iron framed things – in the upper school, you'd got yer backs to this window and the teacher up where the boiler is. There used to be a curtain across there and another class on the right 'and side.'<sup>577</sup>

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<sup>575</sup> School Log 16 11 1900, 23 12 1904, 21 12 1905.

<sup>576</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p.8.

<sup>577</sup> Ruth and Dennis Alcock transcript, p. 1.

The arrangements were much the same after Joseph Cresswell succeeded Arthur Jones in 1927.

Harold Bennet Maddock remembered:

‘There were three lots, you see, in the school; I don’t know; I’d like to make just a guess; probably maybe seventy, sixty, seventy, eighty, something. The desks were flat on the ground, those sort - the very old-fashioned sort with inkwells, because we used to get bits of paper and dip it in and with a ruler and.... Miss Sutton, or Mrs. Sutton, I think it was, with the tiny ones, in this end, and the top end there was Miss Bannister and the centre, the big one, that was Jo Cresswell.’<sup>578</sup>

Ted Allin, came as headmaster in 1939, and, like headmasters before him, his wife Edith taught the younger children. He was quietly proud of his time as headmaster, describing the village school:

‘There was a lot more space; a lot of the cupboards weren’t there then. When I went, there was one window in that big room, one nearest the infants’ room, and I had the other one put in at the far end, the playground end, because it was so dark. That was an addition. There were skylights in the roof. I had them taken out. I had a new roof, while I was there, new tiles.’

Ted Allin said that more distant children brought their own dinner, before meals were brought from Hatton and then Sudbury.<sup>579</sup> Edith Mckeown remembered:

‘Mind you, you used to have some funny food in their days. By gum, if you had a pancake on pancake day, that’s all as you’d get. For school dinners, we used to take sandwiches; we didn’t get much, them days.’<sup>580</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> Harold Bennett Maddock transcript, p. 1.

<sup>579</sup> 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act. The 1944 Education Act encouraged greater provision of school meals and milk.

<sup>580</sup> Edith Mckeown transcript, p. 2.

It was a great improvement to have hot meals provided after 1939. Annie Caswell said:

‘I was doing the school dinners then, at Broughton – I did them for eight years at Church Broughton school – and the kiddies was playing, while I was washing up. Mr. Allin was there then, when they ’ad school dinners. They came. They used to bring them from ’atton School. It was cooked at ’atton School – used to come in big containers. They’d got a hotplate there, at school, to put it in to keep it hot and that, the sweet and that, while they’re having the other course. Used to ’ave very good dinners.’<sup>581</sup>

Having school dinners meant the children were better fed, but the toilets were still Elsans and water was not laid on until 1957. Ted’s wife Edith, assistant mistress:

‘We’d come from having mod cons. To me it was like a mad adventure that wasn’t going to last’.<sup>582</sup>

## Children Not Educated in Church Broughton

Families living near the parish boundary could choose to send their children to Church Broughton or to schools in neighbouring villages: Boylestone, Sutton on the Hill, Hatton and Sudbury.

Wilfred Tunstall, living at Hare Hill:

‘I went to Boylestone school, till I was five and a half, and then I started to walk to Sudbury, nearly four miles. I walked all the way from Boylestone to Sudbury till I was twelve. Charles Howard at Sudbury was a fine schoolmaster, better than Boylestone.’<sup>583</sup>

Elizabeth Whiting at Twisses Bank remembered:

‘Mrs. Tomlinson, died a little while, used to go to school with ’er, Boylestone School.’<sup>584</sup>

Ivy Allman, living at Birchills, said:

‘I went to Hatton School. I stayed with my grandfather and went to school from there.’<sup>585</sup>

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<sup>581</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p. 1.

<sup>582</sup> Ted and Edith Allen transcript, p. 3.

<sup>583</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

<sup>584</sup> Elizabeth Whiting transcript, p; 3.

<sup>585</sup> Ivy Allman transcript, p. 1.

William Twigg at Sutton Heath went to Sutton on the Hill school:

‘I cum to this school from nine to fifteen, because I went a year longer, because my father, ’e was a builder, you see, and I ’ad to do all ’is specifications and estimates and put time dahn every night’.<sup>586</sup>

His neighbour William Allen attended Church Broughton school. Lilian said of her brother:

‘He was a very good scholar, at school, the best in years in Church Broughton school, so they let him go to school until he was sixteen and he wasn’t really over strong. He’d been a bit delicate as a little boy – at seven he got what they called inflammation of the lungs then.’<sup>587</sup>

Lord Ernle, in 1912, thought village schools should train children to work on the land, beginning with school gardens (as Arthur Jones had developed in Church Broughton), but some parents hoped private education would provide different opportunities and a better future than farming, though this did not always work.<sup>588</sup> They wanted more for their children, a wider curriculum, determined that they should have better prospects, meeting those from other environments and gaining experience of the world beyond Church Broughton. This possibility was made available to more children by the development of the grammar schools and scholarships, begun after the 1902 Education Act.<sup>589</sup> Edith Alsopp spoke of alternative education:

‘Oh, I was about twelve when we came here [Hatton], eleven or twelve. I went to Boylestone school, up till then and then I went to a private school, in Tutbury. I was there a while. After that I went to Gill Street, Burton. I used to go on the train. We used to have season tickets. Catch the train at about a quarter past eight; back about half past four, very convenient. Gill Street is a side street off Station Street. It was like a public school, you know. Private schools were teaching the confidence and that sort of thing.

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<sup>586</sup> William Twigg, transcript, p. 5, at Sutton on the Hill school.

<sup>587</sup> Lilian Allen transcript, p. 1.

<sup>588</sup> Ernle, Lord, *English Farming Past and Present*, (1912, 1927), p. 391. Raymond Jones transcript, p. 1.

<sup>589</sup> See Sanderson, M. *Education and economic decline in Britain, 1870-1990s*, (1999, Cambridge), p. 10.

We come down here to get a better education, that was a bit lacking. You couldn't go in for a scholarship or anything of that kind. They were not recognised, were they?<sup>590</sup>

Children of farmers, artisans and labourers together attended Church Broughton school. John Stevenson's daughters began their education there, but moved on to a school, privately run by the Misses Richardson, in Tutbury. Evelyn Stevenson living at Old Hall farm:

'We went to school in Tutbury. Many a time my sister and I were taken with our bikes on the cart, beyond the floods in Bent Lane. The floods were sometimes very bad. Doris, when she left school, went to agricultural college to learn cheese-making and then she went to make cheese at the Tippers'.<sup>591</sup>

Thomas Bullock at Mount Pleasant:

'I used to go to Ashbourne Grammar School. My mother used to drive us in the horse and trap. I think we were weekly boarders, yes, we were. We used to walk up to the top of old hill to meet her there, because she was afraid of coming down. It's rather a sharp hill, that is. And then, after that we went to Denstone. My mother always said she sent us to Denstone with the idea of trying to get us not to take up farming, but ..... It is a hard life, but if you're dedicated to it – I wouldn't change it for anything. Satisfaction.'<sup>592</sup>

Esther Harvey's son Samuel went from Church Broughton school to the Diocesan School in Derby with 'the best schoolmaster in the world'. This school was close to Derby gaol. Samuel Harvey recalled:

'Jo Billinge used to go to school with me. I've never seen 'im since. I left [Church Broughton] school and went to Derby and I didn't see much of them after that. And we used to get there early and they used to 'ang them up the top of Vernon Street and we used to run up, you know. "ey up, the parson's coming," clip clop as the 'orse - there

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<sup>590</sup> Edith Allsopp transcript, p. 1.

<sup>591</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 1.

<sup>592</sup> Thomas Bullock, farmer of Barton Park Farm, transcript, p.1.

were old women there, in their shawls - ah, I should walk among them – I was always nose-y – “ah, poor bugger’ll soon ’ad it.” Eight o’clock, bong. About five minutes past, come out and paste it on the boards – “sentence to death ’as been duly carried out.” Ah, and then we used to break away and the parson clip-clopped back again down Friargate.<sup>593</sup>

Having your education outside the parish did diminish friendships but brought new experiences. Samuel Harvey, like Thomas Bullock, returned to farming. After service in the First World War, he took one of the Council Holdings at Mount Pleasant.



45. Arthur Jones and Ethel Bannister with Church Broughton pupils photographed in the road, about 1910<sup>594</sup>



46. Glyngarth Preparatory School, 1908, Headmaster Bertram Auden, son of William Auden.

Two central families avoided education at the village school. The Auden children, at the Vicarage, were taught at home, their mother giving them prizes for good conduct and application. The boys went on to Glyngarth preparatory school, Cheltenham, photograph 46, The girls went every week to see their grandmother at Horninglow, for singing and piano lessons, then Ruth Auden went to school at Crowborough in Sussex and Rachel to St. Elphin’s Darley Dale.

For the Bull children at Etchells farm, the solution came because sexton William Johnson died in 1910, leaving his widow penniless. As well as some church work, cleaning the church, washing the vicar’s surplice, helping with washing and ironing at the Etchells, his widow Pamela was glad

<sup>593</sup> School Log. Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p.1, Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 2.

<sup>594</sup> N.B. the road does not have tarmacadam.



to give the Bull children their first lessons. The children sat round her stove at Rose Cottage on little wooden stools, with the vicar's surplice hanging round them drying. Florence Bull remembered:

‘The curriculum consisted of practicing pot hooks,<sup>595</sup> copying *The Lord Is My Light* in copy books under Mrs. Johnson's beautiful writing, a little piano playing, the Sunbeam tutor<sup>596</sup>, a few hymns and a few sums, but the sums were limited. My brother started in this way and does not regret it. We thought the world of Mrs. Johnson. She was a real friend of my mother's, very respectful. In her way, in the old respected way of using it, she was a lady’.<sup>597</sup>

John Prince Bull from Etchells, joined by his cousin, John Prince from Sapperton Manor, continued their education at the Vicarage, where they found an intellectual family. Alfred Auden, who had been a private tutor in Switzerland before he married, taught them arithmetic and history.<sup>598</sup> Edith Auden taught geography; daughters Ruth, with a stammer, took French, and Rachel gave piano lessons. What struck the boys were the interests and expectations the Audens had: the amateur archaeologist's fossil ammonites, birds' eggs and seashells upstairs above the stables, shelves of books in the study, the foreign holidays taken by Ruth, the elegant rooms of a Victorian house and the gardens and church that these Methodist boys enjoyed exploring. The Vicarage widened their horizons and introduced them to a different culture, with assumptions regarding both future education and status in society.<sup>599</sup> This was a culture of tradition linked to the classics and produced by the public schools, ‘emphasising the acceptance of privilege in return for responsibilities and seeing careers in public service, Church and professions as best expressions of such values.’<sup>600</sup> The opportunity must have been attractive to their farming families,

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<sup>595</sup> Pot hooks are hooked strokes in writing f.

<sup>596</sup> The Sunbeam Large Note Piano Tutor Instruction Book. Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 7.

<sup>597</sup> Florence Bull transcript, p. 7. Census 1871. Pamela Johnson was the daughter of Thomas Salisbury, who had farmed Old Hall Farm.

<sup>598</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p.36. Clergy could support their income through private tuition. The village headmaster (1870-1892) before Arthur Jones, Thomas Thompson, had been educated in the home of the vicar of Ellesmere, first as pupil and then as teacher.

<sup>599</sup> Bourdieu, P., *Language and Symbolic Power*. p. 38.

<sup>600</sup> Sanderson, M., *Education and Economic Decline in Britain, 1870s to the 1990s*, (Cambridge, 1999), p. 40.

despite it coming through the Church of England. The individual attention these boys received was very different from the experience of other village children.

Anthony Cohen described how ‘a local social organisation emerges from... the everyday social activity of the community’.<sup>601</sup> The attitude of children towards the village school and schoolmaster was different, depending on whether they had attended there or were educated privately. Not being part of the village school community and coming from households widely seen to be more prosperous, meant there was a slight reserve between them. The children grew up aware of their social position in the community, related to their education, which contributed to their interpersonal relationships. Those not attending the village school were fascinated by it. The children of Alfred Auden at the Vicarage would hide behind the church wall and listen to the singing – Ruth said ‘they were usually flat on high notes.’<sup>602</sup> John Prince Bull’s view from Etchells farm:

‘As I remember it, the school was a long single-storey building lying between the Etchells’ rick-yard and the Church. This gave us children a wonderful opportunity to see what went on during lessons without being personally involved. We had learnt how to shin up to the top of the hay, hand over hand, by gripping a supporting post and sticking each foot in turn into the side of the stack. By lying on the top of the hay we could have a view directly through the windows of the school. What we saw was not at all enticing. The pupils sat in long rows facing the teacher (the grey-bearded Mr. Jones); discipline seemed strictly enforced - a cane was kept handy though I don’t remember any serious beatings. We were very grateful to have instead the benefit of the kindly attentions of Mrs. Johnson. We did meet some of the school pupils at Sunday School. It must have

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<sup>601</sup> Cohen, A.P., *Belonging, Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*, (1982, Manchester University Press), p. 102.

<sup>602</sup> Ruth Auden of the Vicarage, transcript p.7.

been from them that we learnt the scurrilous ditty: ‘Mr Jones, a bag of bones, A belly full of fat, When he dies he shuts his eyes, Now what do you think of that!’<sup>603</sup>

His sister Florence added that her father also disliked the rough nature of the headmaster, Arthur Jones, who punished children for swearing, when he was inclined to it himself.

‘Mr. Jones was very rough, and my parents were more sensitive about swearing than many people are today. You know how some schoolmasters get into a way of being rather loud-mouthed? Well, I think he got a bit like that and my father was ultra-sensitive about anything like that’.<sup>604</sup>

There was disappointment that children should go out of the village for their education and regret at the loss of youngsters to do farm work in the early mornings and evenings. Jim Bowles commented:

‘The children, boys and girls, when they get to a certain age, they go to another school. They’ve left the village, when they’ve started going. This is what’s happening to village life. They were in a school in a village; they went to the school. Now they go out for their education and they never come back. That’s a great shame really. They really haven’t got any time to do these jobs now on the farm. To my idea, that is one of the things that has killed village life. You had your pals and they were on farms. This was your life. You didn’t know what went on outside your little village’.<sup>605</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter shows how the previous history of the parish affected the education of children before the Second World War. Being an ‘open’ parish it had been possible for rate-payers in 1738 to initiate having a school. The building of a chapel in 1828 may have pressurised the Church

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<sup>603</sup> John Prince Bull, Blue file E 11.

<sup>604</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p.7. Lawrence, D.H., *The Rainbow*, (1995 Wordsworth Edition), pp. 301-328.

<sup>605</sup> Jim Bowles transcript, p. 5.

into greater control in 1835, which then created problems when a national system developed in 1870. After 1902 the school was drawn into the national system for education, but the experience of pupils was very local and there seemed a gulf between local management of parishioners trying to arrange the best for the school and those in remote authority. Although the intervention of government inspectors improved the education provided, they were never completely satisfied. However, by training some children as Pupil Teachers, Arthur Jones did produce future teachers and one headmaster. There was stability while he was headmaster for thirty-five years from 1892 until 1927, working with vicar Alfred Auden. After he left, headmasters stayed for a shorter time, were less closely associated with the church and, like some parishioners, were beginning to look beyond the parish for education and entertainment. While Arthur Jones and Alfred Auden were in charge, the school was an important place for parish activities, but when they retired it lost significance. The confusion over management allowed Basil Mallender to impose his authority to the detriment of the community.

Until 1932, the school in Church Broughton was at the centre of the parish and the centre of activities for young and old, in school and after school. It was seen as an essential part of the experience of the parish by my contributors, who gave a detailed and vivid account. Used by the church to promulgate Christianity, with annual religious inspections, those that attended the school heard the vicar teach and joined the choir. The headmasters as well as providing an education, had an important role in the community, linking the children into the church, controlling their behaviour during and after school, organising sports and seen as key men in village affairs. As a venue for social activities, the building was familiar to all. Contributors felt it was the parishioners' school. When older children were sent to Hatton school in 1938, it was felt by some to diminish the village and draw these children away from village life, but already some parish children had been educated elsewhere.

In practical terms, the school building, despite limitations of space and facilities inside and in the yard, had, for nearly two hundred years been providing an education for most village children. Two teachers taught a range of ages in one room with a partition. Contributors remembered up to a hundred children attending the school, despite some children going elsewhere: parents living at the periphery of the parish sent their children to neighbouring schools endorsing links beyond the boundary. The education offered at Church Broughton school was rejected by a minority, either because of its religious nature, the character of the headmaster or the desire for what Bourdieu called cultural capital.<sup>606</sup> Some families wanted their children to speak and understand an 'educated' language, which would improve their prospects beyond Church Broughton and Derbyshire, so they were sent to school in neighbouring towns. These scholars therefore became socially somewhat separated from the village school children.

Documents and oral testimony illustrate the effects of government intervention in education, setting standards for teachers and their training. This intervention changed from controlling to supportive, from a goad to aid. Parents accepted that children should attend school instead of helping with agricultural work, though some did farm work before school. Teachers continued to use fear of a cane to manage behaviour. Pupils recognised that although headmaster Arthur Jones was strict, he was also caring and they respected him. While those becoming agricultural workers left school to learn necessary skills from their peers, the brightest, through being Pupil Teachers within the school, completed their training at college, often continuing the cycle by becoming teachers themselves. They felt they gained a broader experience of practical expertise in Church Broughton school than later candidates, taught away from the classroom.

Those in charge of the original School Trust were dilatory in fulfilling their obligations, twice having no surviving trustees. Local authority control confused the management of the building

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<sup>606</sup> Bourdieu, P., translated by Richard Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, (Cambridge 1977, 1995), p. 38. Sullivan, A., How Useful is Bourdieu's Theory for Researchers? in *The Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol 3, no 2, 2002, p.145.

after a second group of Managers was appointed through the local authority in 1902, taking education away from the school's charity Trustees. This situation was later exploited by Basil Mallender as trustee, thereby reducing the contribution the building offered for social cohesion and pleasure. Just as the influence of the church was declining, the role of the school in affirming both religion and social cooperation was diminished.

After 1940, the school continued as an Anglican school, but lost its land capital to the diocese. As workers moved away from agriculture, numbers in school reduced. The accommodation of one long room divided by a partition remained the same for those children attending the school at the time of the interviews in 1972. A new school for a hundred scholars was built beyond the Holly Bush in 1973. Although still Anglican, no longer opposite the church it was more detached from church and parish life, attracting children from the surrounding area.

## Chapter Four: Work

This chapter concentrates on ways of making a living that were available for residents of Church Broughton parish between 1900 and 1940. Did being an ‘open’ parish, the limitations of location and the nature of the land impede opportunities or encourage enterprise? How did residents respond to accelerating change in agriculture? Was there support for those in financial difficulty? Contributors were frank about their circumstances and from their comments, a picture of their experience of the tensions and consequences of ‘progress’ emerged.

Being somewhat hilly, with small fields and plenty of rain, this area of Derbyshire was ideal for dairy cattle producing milk. The early part of the twentieth century was a time of increasing advances in agriculture. Pressure came from competition within and beyond the parish. Seen from Church Broughton each change was greeted with interest and surprise, adaptations made but, looking back in the 1970s my contributors expressed wonder at how they had been swept along towards a different way of farming and for many to leave agriculture altogether. They were still rooted in their youthful experience of life based on man and horsepower. Even so, during the latter part of the nineteenth century there had already been developments in farm machinery that reduced manual labour and the coming of local cheese factories in 1870 had already changed the final farm product from cheese to milk. The next pressure was to adjust to the demand for a regular continuous supply throughout the year.

Susan Wright criticised early rural studies because they described self-sufficient and self-contained rural communities.<sup>607</sup> In spite of describing change, Ethel Bannister born 1891, daughter of bootmaker George, still looked back with nostalgia for that sense of constancy when

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<sup>607</sup> Wright, S., *Image and Analysis: new directions in community studies*, in *The English Rural Community, image and analysis* ed. Short, B., (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 196, 202.

she was a child, time passing slowly. She felt the village had been an integral system based on agriculture, most necessities being provided by those within the community. She declared:

‘There has been no work here but agriculture. Mr. Hollis was the blacksmith, up Chapel Lane. Mr. Brown was a wheelwright. Mr. Bott worked the brickyards. I remember the sheds with roofs on, for storing the bricks, and the kilns. Mr. Hough was the baker. I remember the bakery closing down. There were three shoemakers. My father Mr. Bannister, Mr. Jacob Hardy and Mr. Johnson. Mr. Tunstall was a tailor at the White House. All the men and boys used to go there to have clothes made. They had only a week’s holiday at the end of the year and not enough money to go to town to buy things. Later, when they had enough money and time they went to choose in town. It was the same with shoes.’<sup>608</sup>

Ethel Bannister did acknowledge change, slow but accelerating and was herself in the vanguard for new inventions: a motorbike and television.

In Church Broughton parish, agriculture, which depended on the nature of the soil and the climate, was the main generator of work. Dorothy Jeffery wrote in 1962, ‘farm policy has become increasingly less restricted by the nature of the prevailing physical conditions and more influenced by external economic factors.’<sup>609</sup> Her study covered 1875-1939 during which time, as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation, there had been a decline in the importance of agriculture in the national economy, despite technical advances in crop and livestock management. However, at the same time urbanisation increased the demand for milk, which did not suffer from foreign competition. This demand encouraged overproduction nationally and put financial pressure on dairy farmers and their workers in Church Broughton, a dairying parish.

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<sup>608</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1.

<sup>609</sup> Jeffery, D.M., *Changing Patterns of Dairying in the Basin of the River Dove, (Derbyshire/Staffordshire Border), A Study in Agricultural Geography*. (Nottingham, 1962), p. 193.



In 1900 farmers relied on horses for power and labourers for skill, growing food for cattle to produce calves and milk. Dairy farming was a joint enterprise, family members and employees, combining their efforts to benefit all, including artisans, all were interdependent. Contributors had lived through change from lives governed by annual payments to being paid monthly or even weekly. During the nineteenth century, farmers had worked from the lactation time of cows calving in the spring, giving milk in the summer which was made into cheese on the farm, all stored until autumn when it was sold providing the farm's chief income. Farm workers were employed by the year and then paid. There was continuity in this slow, measured lifestyle that fitted with seasonal work. After 1870, new cheese factories began to break the annual financial cycle into monthly payments and gradually changed employment, so that life felt less secure.<sup>610</sup> Selling milk involved transporting it daily and securing a regular buyer. Through the first part of the twentieth century, in an effort to reduce costs and improve income, change accelerated through all year breeding of cattle, greater use of chemicals, improved machinery - with a consequent reduction in labourers and horses. There was alternative employment for residents beyond the parish. The community adjusted, sometimes with regret. All were influenced by circumstances beyond their control.

## Those Not Directly Working the Land

In 1900, blacksmith, wheelwright, saddler, tailor, and bootmaker were supported by and provided for by those working the land. Their income depended on the success of fellow residents. Although the artisan's physical work was strenuous, it gave pride and pleasure. Paul Thompson wrote 'craftsmen... will not uncommonly say that they loved their work for its own sake. The ending of such pure pleasures was one of the prices to be paid in the slow march of economic

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<sup>610</sup> Arthur, J, *Say Cheese*, (Church Broughton, 1994), p. 10. The sixth Lord Vernon of Sudbury, a member of the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society, had encouraged the President of the Derby Agricultural Society at its annual meeting 1869 to promote the American model of cheese factories, which resulted in factories at Derby and Longford in 1870.

progress'.<sup>611</sup> He quoted Jill Rubery regarding the loss of craft skills: 'before the advent of mechanization and scientific management, workers could control the work process, for knowledge of it was stored in the craftsmen themselves'.<sup>612</sup>

This knowledge had been passed down through chosen villagers. George Bannister and George Johnson began as apprentices to Jacob Hardy, living with him honorably and with strict confidentiality regarding trade secrets, for the cost of five pounds until they were twenty.<sup>613</sup> Wheelwright German Brown trained his son John William. George Sturt writing of learning the wheelwright's trade through apprenticeship wrote 'Seven years was thought not too long... there was nothing for it but practice and experience of every difficulty.'<sup>614</sup> Then there was satisfaction. Borger and Seaborne commented that skilled performance was 'characterized by an appearance of ease, of smoothness of movement, of confidence', with the 'appearance of being unhurried...the skilled man seems to have all the time in the world'.<sup>615</sup>

George Ewart Evans described the smithy 'we must remember that this was a more leisurely age and it was understandable that the smithy became one of the gossip-shops in the village.'<sup>616</sup>

Ethel Bannister said:

'We used to gather by those railings (the pinfold) and watch them put rims on the wheels and sometimes we'd run up and watch the blacksmith.'<sup>617</sup>

The visibility of artisans living in the village had contributed to the feeling of stability in Church Broughton, but before 1911 Alfred Hollis blacksmith moved to Longford. His replacement, George Wright, lived towards Hatton, visiting once a week. James Tunstall tailor, died in 1914; George Bannister, bootmaker died in 1929. By then, readymade clothes and boots could be

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<sup>611</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1. Joyce, P., *Visions of the People*, (Cambridge, 1991, 1994), p. 150. Thompson, P., *The Edwardians*, (London, 1975), p.194.

<sup>612</sup> Thompson, P., *The Nature of Work*, (Basingstoke, 1983, 1989), p. 92.

<sup>613</sup> George Johnson's Indenture in the possession of his great-grand-daughter.

<sup>614</sup> Sturt, G., *The Wheelwright's Shop*, (Cambridge, 1963), p.19.

<sup>615</sup> Borger R., and Seaborne, A.E.M., *The Psychology of Learning*, (Harmondsworth, 1966, 1969), p. 128.

<sup>616</sup> Evans, G. E., *The Farm and the Village*, (London, 1969), p. 138.

<sup>617</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1.

bought in town, so these craftsmen were not replaced and children younger than Ethel Bannister did not know them. Not only their skills were lost to Church Broughton, the experience from having them there in the village changed. Steve Tunstall, growing up at the White House recollected how life had been:

‘My father was a tailor. He sat up on the table with his legs crossed, Father, see ’im for hours and hours. He used to cut it down on the table and then ’e used to have to wait a year before they got paid for the damn job many a time. Because all the young fellas, on the farms as was ’ired for twelve months.’<sup>618</sup>

Hedley Tunstall commented:

‘About the tailoring – they had their clothes one Christmas and paid the next. They wouldn’t get above three or four pounds a year then.’<sup>619</sup>

In 1900, there were other occupations, linked with the lives of parishioners, enabling the community to function. The vicar, schoolmaster and policeman could all be confident about their future income. For a vicar, his ‘living’, which included money from tithes and Queen Anne’s Bounty, was secure, so his only consideration was for controlling his outgoings.<sup>620</sup> Alfred Auden, vicar from 1904, expected to save money by doing work himself in the house and garden and going by foot or bicycle rather than Brougham. Nevertheless, he provided employment at one time, for a cook, a boy and a girl. He and his family were able to go on walking holidays in Wales and Cornwall. His sons went to public school. One daughter qualified to teach music. In one respect, he was poor clergy, but, to his village neighbours, he was wealthy.

Police Constable Arthur Tipper and school master Arthur Jones had full time paid jobs with accommodation provided. Arthur Jones was able to supplement his income by being rate collector

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<sup>618</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 2.

<sup>619</sup> Hedley Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

<sup>620</sup> Queen Anne’s Bounty Act 1714 provided a supplement to augment the incomes of clergy in poor livings.

and census enumerator. Circumstances altered. At the end of the First World War, the policeman was given a modern house at Sutton Heath, out of the village centre. He no longer had to house prisoners in cells at home. Joseph Cresswell, who followed Arthur Jones in 1927, had to find his own accommodation. Although their income was assured, in other ways the lives of these pillars of society were also changing.

## Agricultural Labourers

Farm labourers were in a vulnerable position, especially if they had a family and needed accommodation. There was little security and relationships as well as skill and experience mattered. In 1900, when the farming year began at Michaelmas, the employment exchange was the local fair at Tutbury, with merry-go-rounds down the high street. Those wanting to be hired would wear plaited straw in the lapel. The farmer choosing to employ them would give them a shilling and shake hands.<sup>621</sup> There was risk on both sides of the bargain if neither knew the true diligence and fairness of the other.

George Wright, as an onlooker, observed:

‘Myself, I didn’t think it was a very happy system, because perhaps a man would go to a farm and he knew nothing about them, really. The only way they had of checking up on people was if they happened to know someone who’d worked there. And I feel sure they used to keep the money all the year round; and if they wanted any clothes, they ’ad to ask the farmer – “I want a new pair of boots, Boss, can I have so much for them?”’<sup>622</sup>

Steve and May Tunstall’s view:

May: ‘You could be thrown out.’

Steve: ‘Some of ’em would run off and never get paid at all.’

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<sup>621</sup> Joyce, P., *Visions of the People*, (Cambridge, 1991, 1994), p.149. George Talbot Wright, transcript p. 3.

<sup>622</sup> George and Mary Wright transcript, p. 3.

May: 'You couldn't claim your money if you left your job. You had to stop the whole year else you wouldn't get that as you 'ad worked for, you see.'

Steve: 'Not unless you'd been supping it. That's what they used to do, sup it and then bolt. There used to be one farmer as lived miles away from here. He used to go and hire these girls. He tried to drive them off before the year was up and not have to pay them.'

May: 'He was the only one that we knew.'<sup>623</sup>

Labouring was arduous and often responsible work - laboriously physical, whether sowing, weeding, harvesting in the fields or caring for horses and cattle. Labourers and their families were the most numerous residents in the parish. They were dependent on their employers for work and often for accommodation. Finding a job and then keeping it was a challenge. As well as the nature of the work itself, relationships in the workplace were important. Ronald Fraser pointed out that associated with work there is 'whether recognised or not, a set of social relationships, which in experience are quite inextricable from the work.'<sup>624</sup> When the relationship went well, workers stayed. When it went badly, they had to choose whether to stay or face the possibility of being unemployed. Ross McKibbin found that unemployment benefit paid to agricultural workers after October 1936, when they came into the system, was 14s. for men and 12s. 6d. for women, raised in March 1939 to 15s. and 13s.<sup>625</sup>

Labourers had one power – to walk away – but that was limited if their housing was linked to the job, though skill gave a degree of independence. Albert Summerfield was brought to Etchells Farm from Hixon with farmer Douglas Salmon.<sup>626</sup> Albert stayed on, when John Stevenson replaced Salmon as the Duke's tenant, but, when the cowman was given 6d wage rise and Albert, who cared for the horses and milked twenty cows, asked for a rise too, he was refused. He left,

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<sup>623</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 2.

<sup>624</sup> Fraser, R., *Work*, (Harmondsworth, 1965, 1968), p. 292.

<sup>625</sup> McKibbin, R., *Classes and Cultures, England 1918-1951*, (Oxford, 1998, 2013), p. 115.

<sup>626</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p. 1.

worked at Cromwell House and finally Alsopps at Foston for 30 years. Albert Summerfield, expecting honesty and trust, said:

‘I’ve never ’ad a bad boss as the saying is, but old Jack Stevenson was the worst, if you come to the push; he were never satisfied, they was always grumbling; you couldna do right. ’e used to sit or stand watching yer, yer work. He did really. No, he didna work himself, that was the trouble. I seen the time when we been stickin’, puttin’ sheaves up an’ if you were one out ’e used to yell up, told to put it straight. He used to be a nuisance. Well, you can tell what a chap he wor, he set another chap on singling turnips. It was a bargain job, that was, get on with the job and done it, an’ ’e went up and back again; while ’e was sitting in the ’edge sort of style, and ’e put ’is price in an’ ’e told he needn’t come ’ere again, ’e was too dear. ‘e’d done two rows, you see, and there was about ’alf a field as wanted doing. Did two rows and put a price on and old Jack wouldn’t ’ave ’em done.’<sup>627</sup>

James Littlejohn opined that ‘men stay longer in the employ of a good farmer than a poor one.’<sup>628</sup> Some employees stayed on one farm their whole working lives. Ernest Tipper, at Broughton House farm ‘was a marvellous farmer, marvellous herd... but the Tippers weren’t renowned for generosity. The Tippers would always be in time, well in time’.<sup>629</sup>

Joe Harrison remembered that his family were the Broughton House labourers:

‘When Mr. Tipper was there, there was only me two brothers and me Dad used to work there. Mr. Tipper, ’e used to dabble abaht the garden and do.’<sup>630</sup>

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<sup>627</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p. 7.

<sup>628</sup> Littlejohn, J., *Class Relations in a Rural Parish: Westrigg*, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed. Bell, C., and Newby, H., (London, 1974), p.62.

<sup>629</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 1.

<sup>630</sup> Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 3, Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 5.



47. Ernest Tipper advertising Hadfield's Special Mangold Manure with the Harrison brothers.

Albert Summerfield confirmed:

'Mr. Tipper didna work, the Harrisons worked for him for years and years, lads as well.'<sup>631</sup>

Stephen Tunstall, who had taken the Tippers' milk to Tutbury Station before school, said:

'he was a good gaffer. I got on very well with him.'<sup>632</sup>

Finding employment could be by chance and gratefully accepted, but when easier alternatives became available, there was no obligation to stay. Jim Bowles recalled Henry Degg<sup>633</sup> working on their Mount Pleasant smallholding in 1930:

'It was a young fellow, who worked for us all those years. Twenty-seven years of faithful service. What I meant to say, he came to us; a pound a week he got; lived out one pound a week. He was a single man and lived at home with his mother and father. He would be twenty-one or two, a pound a week! He only came to us for the harvest, to help us get it in. Haymaking and that before the machinery and all that came in, it was a dragging job. He hadn't got a job at the time and I went to see him, if he'd come and help us do a fortnight, three weeks' work, d'you know. And he couldn't get a job and he was a real

<sup>631</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p. 6.

<sup>632</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 1. Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 5.

<sup>633</sup> Henry Degg was born in 1909.

good agricultural worker and he couldn't get a job! Then he stayed with us. Pa said perhaps we'd better keep him on and he stayed with us about thirty years actually.'<sup>634</sup>

Workers could lose their job not by choice, through accident or illness. Frankie Jones said:

'Me Dad stood off on a load of hay and we got kicked out.'<sup>635</sup>

Joe Bates came as waggoner with Edward Salmon to Etchells in the 1920s. Joe got pneumonia and was sent home and dismissed. His friend Albert Summerfield said:

'They wouldn't 'ave you, if you were ill; take you 'ome, you see. That's how it was. Then I did his work for a long while.'<sup>636</sup>

Men could lose a job, from generosity or when displaced by a farmer's son becoming old enough to do that work. William Twigg at Sutton cheese factory explained:

'Why I stopped working there, there was a man used to live up Longford Lane and he had a big family of children and he used to run some of the horses, and one of us had got to go and well I thought to myself, I'm single. He'd got a family of children and I let him. I went and let him stop. I knew if I couldn't get a job at one place, I could get one at another.'<sup>637</sup>

Doris Stevenson of Old Hall farm described the training of her brother to replace an employee:

'Two Middletons worked for us. They were related, Sam had the horses. My brother went with him as a boy and that was how he learnt it. When he left, my brother took over.'<sup>638</sup>

Joe Harrison remembered the physical work of labouring in the 1930s:

'When I was on it, like, you used to go in the field with a scythe to mow a row round. Then that as you mowed, rowed round first with a scythe, you got to pick it all up and put

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<sup>634</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 3, speaking of Henry Degg.

<sup>635</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 10.

<sup>636</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p. 1.

<sup>637</sup> William Twigg transcript, pp.2, 3.

<sup>638</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 3.



it into sheaves and you'd come along, same as this, picking it up like, into your hand, and you get like one or two pieces in yer 'and, and just put it like this and whip it over, then pull the sheaf on top o' that and then after ye'd simply twizzled it arahnd 'ere a time or two and then push it under there and then that's a sheaf. Oh, you've got to stack it in the field, like, put it in shocks, in the field in shocks to dry it aht. And then bring it into stack yard and put a stack. You've got to thatch 'em all, thatch 'em. Perhaps not quite as good as that as a house, but I mean, ye've got t'mek a real good job of 'em, 'cause to stop the wet from all gettin' in, with wooden pegs and proper string, like, proper cord. Oh, aye, ye've got to wet yer straw and get it nice and clean, like – all the short pieces off it. Yer want 'em all same length, as you might say. Oh, yes, it was quite a lot of trouble, to thatch a rick o' corn. Ye' wet it to mek it lie dahn.<sup>639</sup>

Harry Capewell said, when he was waggoner:

'We had to break three horses in that year – two to two and a half year olds. Well, first you have to give them a good mouth. If they don't learn that, then you'll never be able to steer them in a wagon, and they'll be what you call hard-mouthed. You put them on the harness and the collar and bridle and put a bit in the mouth and pull it up well in the cinch and put them out in the field and they keep going to put their head down and they can't. You bring them in to feed then, because of course they can't eat in the field. And you leave them like that two or three days. Then you usually put them first in the roller, to get used to the shafts. And you set a dummy up on the saddle and tie it on and the horse doesn't have blinkers on, so he can see it. Sometimes he tries to throw it off, but of course he can't. Oh, that was a time!<sup>640</sup>

Wilfred William Tunstall remembered the challenge and pleasure of work:

'I lived at Pennywaste. I had to walk two miles across to Hatton Fields. I used to have to go to Burton sometimes, three horses and a waggon, and they bought young horses and

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<sup>639</sup> Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 1.

<sup>640</sup> Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, p. 1.

broke 'em in. I've had a two-year-old, a three-year-old and a four-year-old and gone to Burton with them. I had some fun passing these trams at Burton, with these young horses. And with three tons of grains. Three horses passing, all in a line, having the wagon then. We'd get a young one in the middle – a chain horse there, a young one in the middle and one in the shafts. And you had to keep that set, so as to keep him in line. I've had some fun with young horses, aye.'<sup>641</sup>

George Sturt described an independent labourer: 'Especially does his versatility commend him... there are not now many others who can do such a number of different kinds of work as he can, with so much experienced readiness.'<sup>642</sup> Les Allman and Edith Allin remembered Bodger Johnson:

'Bodger Johnson and Seggie Johnson - he was a poacher and 'e was a damson picker, because they used to grow a lot of damsons in this area and round Marston Montgomery and he was picking. They reckoned he could pick a peck before breakfast. Oh 'e was like a monkey. 'e was on a branch over the brook one day and it broke and 'e went in.'<sup>643</sup>  
'A lot of people thought he was an ignorant countryman, because he was no master's man. He wouldn't work for any man. He would work for a day's wage. He cut hair; he would mend shoes, and as regards the weather, he was the wisest man.'<sup>644</sup>

Flexibility suited some men, who had various skills, but was difficult for those needing steady income. Much work was on a semi-permanent basis, but some was casual - taken on for short intervals during the busy summer or for extra work, hedging and ditching, but at other times having nothing to do. In bad weather or during the winter, they might not be needed. Steve Tunstall with regular work at Etchells farm saw:

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<sup>641</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p; 2.

<sup>642</sup> Bourne, G., *Change in the Village*, (Harmondsworth, 1912, 1984), p. 121.

<sup>643</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward, transcript, p. 2.

<sup>644</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 7.

‘Others would just straggle about, just do casual work. Most of them had to go out of the village to work.’<sup>645</sup>

Just as the church and chapel were warm places for people on winter Sundays, so the pub was a welcome place for men with nothing to do. As son George Wright commented, it was not easy for a publican:

‘When we first lived at the Holly Bush the public house was open all day, and as there was a good fire in the tap room, some of the men who did casual or bargain work were glad to spend wet days sheltering. We had a conical shaped pan in which men could heat their beer, and with a little ginger added this could make a warming drink. It was hard work, yes it was, and, of course, in wet weather we used to get the men coming and sitting about all day long, you know. They weren’t spending much, but it meant somebody ’ad got to be in attendance and keep fires and things like that going.’<sup>646</sup>

Redundancy could be crushing.<sup>647</sup> Without work, with its income and prestige, it was easy to lose respectability, sometimes turning to alcohol for comfort. This could happen after injury or through old age, but not to everyone.<sup>648</sup> There was no pattern of employment for labourers. It depended on relationships, personalities and reputations.

## Balancing the Farming Books

Farmers, the largest group of independent employers in Church Broughton, had no assured income, yet many people depended on their success. Their balance sheet showed larger sums than their labourers but was vulnerable to the market and the weather. Some who farmed owned the land, but most were tenants, who had to produce rent for land-owner, profit for themselves and wages for workers, from the sale of milk. Although he might appear independent, the

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<sup>645</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 5.

<sup>646</sup> George and Mary Wright transcript, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>647</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 184.

<sup>648</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 3. Elizabeth Jackson transcript, p. 4. Ruth Auden transcript, p. 8.

first call on a tenant farmer was from the owner. In Church Broughton, owners of large farms lived elsewhere, having the farms as investments.<sup>649</sup> The Duke of Devonshire relied on his agent to oversee his four farms with periodic visits, expecting them to be kept at a high standard.<sup>650</sup> The agent also supervised the replacement of tenants.

When R.J. Bull moved into the Etchells in 1907, Annie Tunstall remembered:

‘The Etchells was vacated by Mr. Johnson, Gentleman Johnson. You call it the valuation. Mr. Bull told Steve Tunstall, when he was waggoner there, “I’ve been robbed. They even valued the bit of soap left in the bathroom”’.<sup>651</sup>

Florence Bull said:

‘My father had a very hard time when he first started. It was 1907 and I think the cost of moving in was more than he expected, and he had to take up some money to go there.’<sup>652</sup>

A new tenant had to cover the cost of animals and equipment. The 1906 Agricultural Holdings Act gave tenants certain rights to choose how they farmed, so long as they did not reduce the fertility of the land, and on being given notice to leave, they were entitled to compensation for any improvements they had made by way of buildings and drainage. The Duke of Devonshire’s farms were well provided with buildings and equipment, but his tenant R.J. Bull did have an extra barn built. His son John Prince Bull remembered:

‘The farm buildings were absolutely magnificent. There was a little trolley, on a railroad, between the stalls for cattle, and the hay store and a saddle room for all our lamps. The rick yard had two pits, for turnips etc. on the right, properly built, side by side. There

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<sup>649</sup> Cromwell House was an exception, being farmed by the owner.

<sup>650</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 5.

<sup>651</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 3.

<sup>652</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 6.

was a big barn, which my father put up and facing that a barn which was there when he came.’<sup>653</sup>

With 230 acres, R.J. Bull kept sixty cows and six horses. Jim Bowles measured the importance of Etchells by the number employed:

‘He had about five men as well as a young fellow to run the milk and another lad, like waggoner’s lad. There were about seven people on that place. Mind you, it was hand milking and hauling it by cart and filling it by hand.’<sup>654</sup>

Farming practice was similar on large farms and small-holdings, the difference being in scale – acreage and number of people needed to do the work. With a larger acreage and good buildings, R.J. Bull was able to keep more cattle, but needed extra hands, so the equation of inputs, outputs and profit was similar, but on a larger scale, than for smallholder Trevor Allen, who had William Brown build him a new cowshed for his ten cows in 1924.

While the Duke’s agent would ensure that the buildings were well maintained, he also had to determine that the tenant had sufficient experience and capital to farm such a large acreage in order to maintain its value and pay rent. Henry Atkins farmed Mount Pleasant’s 250 acres retiring in 1915 (Jim Bowles comment was ‘no, the Atkins didn’t make a living’<sup>655</sup>). Thomas Bullock’s father William succeeded Henry Atkins as tenant. Thomas Bullock noted the irony of his father’s experience:

‘When the Mount Pleasant farm came available, he applied for this farm and the agent for the Duke of Devonshire then said he hadn’t got enough money to farm it. Anyway, they did let it him. He was there five years and then they wanted to sell it and they asked him if he’d like to buy it! And, of course, they didn’t take money up in those days the

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<sup>653</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, pp. 1, 5. Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 4.

<sup>654</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 4.

<sup>655</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 3.

same as they do today, so he always said that was the biggest mistake he ever made. He ought to have taken money up, you see, and bought it, because, when he went there, they said he hadn't enough money to farm it; then they wanted him to buy it! Anyway, he left, and it was sold to the County Council to turn into smallholdings.'<sup>656</sup>

The First World War drew government attention to agriculture. At the beginning of the twentieth century farmers were recovering from agricultural depression, while the government had a free trade attitude to food production. When the First World War began, the country was dependent on imported food: only 60% of the food needed was grown in the United Kingdom. When Lloyd George became Prime Minister in 1916, the state began to intervene to increase food production. He set up a Ministry of Food, and created County War Agriculture Executive Committees to release land for cereals as well as monitoring agricultural wages.<sup>657</sup> In 1917, to increase the supply of British wheat and oats, the government passed a Corn Production Act, to support farmers who ploughed up grassland, needing to invest in specialised machinery, and guaranteed minimum prices for wheat and oats. Joe Hulland remembered working with a conditional exemption, ploughing grassland:

'There wanna many left. The war, it broke acres up. There's more plough land like, now. Oh, I 'ad to plough some up [with horses]. I used to tak 'em plaited an' all up. There's no 'eart abaht labouring work now.'<sup>658</sup>

The Ministry kept prices for farm products artificially high during the rest of the First World War, which encouraged farmers, while costs rose less than prices.

Government policy continued to support higher wages for agricultural labourers, when an Agricultural Wages Board for England and Wales was formed in 1917, with district wages

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<sup>656</sup> Thomas Bullock transcript, p.1.

<sup>657</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), pp. 166, 167. Martin, J., British Agriculture in WW1 – an 'Experiment in State Control', in *Rural History Today*, Issue 28, February 2015, p. 6.

<sup>658</sup> Joe Hulland transcript, p. 2.

committees. A national minimum wage for agricultural workers was introduced, increasing from 25s a week in 1917 to 46s in 1920 with number of hours worked reduced, putting financial pressure on farmers. In 1924 new District Committees were formed without central control. Agricultural wages did rise, but not to the level received by industrial workers.<sup>659</sup>

After the war ended, to save government the expense of supporting cereal prices for farmers when the actual value was falling, the 1917 Corn Production Act was repealed in 1921, leading to a slump in agriculture. Wages had risen while prices had fallen.<sup>660</sup> Looking back on these official interventions, Nicholas Goddard wrote: ‘This dismantling of agricultural policy... became known as the “Great Betrayal” and left a deep impression on the collective agricultural consciousness’.<sup>661</sup>

Sir Daniel Hall, advisor to the Minister of Agriculture considered in 1927 ‘the fundamental deadlock in English farming is over the question of wages’: farmers, in the post-war depression, claiming they were too high, workers that they were low compared to other employment. Sir Daniel Hall had told the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1919, that the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries considered that the government should fix ‘the minimum living wage below which a working man should not be compelled to sell his labour..... independent of the profits and losses of farming’ and if necessary be prepared to raise farm guarantees.<sup>662</sup> This balance between income from farm products and the cost of production, including wages, affected farmers across the country. National economic depression in 1921 with high unemployment reduced the market for milk. Lilian Allen, helping her father at Forge Hollies:

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<sup>659</sup> Brown, J., *Agriculture in England, A survey of farming, 1870-1947*, (Manchester, 1987), pp. 46, 81, 91. Lewis-Stempel, J., *The Running Hare*, (London, 2017), pp. 38-40, 131. Hansard, 23 2 1917, col. 1602. Howkins, A., and Verdon, N., The state and the farm worker: the evolution of the minimum wage in agriculture in England and Wales, 1909-1924 in *Agricultural History Review*. 57 (2) pp. 257-274, (2007).

<sup>660</sup> Whetham, E. H., The Agriculture Act, 1920 and its Repeal – the ‘Great Betrayal’, in *British Agricultural History Society Journal*, vol. 22 1, (1974), p. 47.

<sup>660</sup> Whetham, E. H., The Agriculture Act, 1920 and its Repeal – the ‘Great Betrayal’, in *British Agricultural History Society Journal*, vol. 22 1, (1974), p. 47.

<sup>661</sup> Goddard, N., *Harvests of Change, The Royal Agricultural Society 1838-1988*, (London, 1988), p. 153.

<sup>662</sup> Hall, C., *The Countryman*, (Burford, 1987), p. 17, quoting the Countryman 1927.

‘Oh, it was bad times, very bad, after the first war. It was for farming. Oh, it was very bad indeed. Oh, it was a job to sell your milk. Sir Charles Markham, you know, colliery owners, he bought Longford Hall, or lived there – I think he bought it. And times were so bad, he started the factory up at Longford and we used to send our milk there; they sort of took it off our ’ands. You didn’t know when your milk cheque was coming. We used to feed pet calves or anything for a bit of fresh money, till your cheque come. Oh, it was very, very bad times – for us all, everybody suffered. Strikes, and out of work, depression, terrible – oh, I can remember that well; it was very ’ard times. Not much, well, not a lot of money to waste ’t all.’<sup>663</sup>

Paul Thompson discussed the need for surplus value ‘which although created by labour power, becomes the property of the employer’.<sup>664</sup> Although farming had been profitable during the First World War, post-war depression challenged farmers financially. Both Alan Armstrong and Jonathan Brown thought British farmers were more interested in saving on expenditure than investing the capital gained towards greater efficiency of production and profit.<sup>665</sup> Tenants of large farms in Church Broughton all left substantial amounts for their descendants, but daily finances were not always easy.<sup>666</sup> One strategy for farmers was to import extra food to rear more cattle and replace agricultural workers and horses with newly invented equipment in order to produce high milk yields and more profit. Alternatively, outlay could be reduced by retrenchment: cutting land in production, replacing labourers with family members. As Dorothy Jeffery suggested, instead of increasing output, farmers, instead of buying corn, could reduce expenditure

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<sup>663</sup> Lilian Allen transcript, p. 6. Longford factory had been simply a collecting depot for Nestlé by 1905 but reopened for cheesemaking.

<sup>664</sup> Thompson, P., *The Nature of Work*, (Basingstoke, 1983, 1989), p.41.

<sup>665</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 113. Brown, J., *Agriculture in England, A survey of farming, 1870-1947*, (Manchester, 1987), p. 56. Rowntree, S., *How the Labourer Lives* (1913) quoted in Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 137.

<sup>666</sup> Amount left at probate: William Willatt 1886 £421 9s., Richard Bott 1897 £6,971 18s. 5d., Henry James Atkins 1915 £5,296 5s. 4d., James Tipper 1931 leaving £8,556 12s. 3d., Stephen James Tunstall 1937 leaving £4,622 15s. 9d., Esther Harvey 1942 £2,093 15s. 4d., her husband Thomas Harvey 1902 £3,302 15s. 2d., John Samuel Stevenson 1947 £6,262 1s. 2d., Ernest William Tipper 1947 £19,581 16s. 2d., Robert James Bull 1951 £10,999 5s.



by relying on home-grown fodder, have fewer cattle producing less milk, but a more balanced economy.<sup>667</sup> This may have been R.J. Bull's strategy until he left in 1926. Steve Tunstall commented:

'That farm, the Etchells, was only half farmed. A lot of the land wasn't cultivated or grazed. They hadn't the money to do it. They get more out of the land now, but they don't keep it up to scratch. They bring better crops but we older ones haven't fathomed out if it's the best way. These artificial manures force it.'<sup>668</sup>

The financial pressure of competition in the milk market was passed down from farmers to their workers through low wages, poor housing and finally redundancy. The workforce on British farms reduced from 892,000 in 1923 to 857,00 in 1930 and 712,000 in 1940.<sup>669</sup> Jonathan Brown found there was gradually a decline in regular whole-time agricultural workers, farmers relying more on temporary labourers to save money. This was convenient for farmers when they needed casual extra labour but made life unpredictable for the workers.<sup>670</sup> Samuel Harvey, who lived at Cromwell House farm remembered:

'Old Gogles – 'e wanna a bad chap; 'e used to come in summer with us, old Gogles did, Gotheridge, and then 'e 'ad a brother – oo, goodness, 'e was like a giant, but 'is legs was like sparrer's, eh dear.'<sup>671</sup>

The greatest economy in labour would eventually come with the invention of surge milking machines in America in 1922, much quicker than hand-milking. Stanfield wrote: 'Tending and

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<sup>667</sup> Jeffery, D.M., *Changing Patterns of Dairying in the Basin of the River Dove (Derbyshire/Staffordshire Border)*, A Study in Agricultural Geography. (Nottingham, 1962), p. 195.

<sup>668</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 4. 2,4Dichlorophenoxyacetic acid, a herbicide, was not readily available until after the Second World War.

<sup>669</sup> Agricultural Statistics for 1921-30 (HMSO, 1922-31) and for 1939 (HMSO, nd), for the years 1931-1939, in Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 175. Grigg, D.B., *English Agriculture, An Historic Perspective*, (Oxford, 1989), p. 137.

<sup>670</sup> Brown, J., *Agriculture in England, A survey of farming, 1870-1947*, (Manchester, 1987), pp. 25, 81.

<sup>671</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 3.

hand-milking 150 cows needed six cowmen; whereas tending and machine-milking them requires one cowman plus a back-up man.<sup>672</sup>

Meanwhile, cash flow could be a problem. Sometimes even those with large farms could be short of cash in hand. Arthur Jones went along to Sapperton Manor before 1901, as his son Raymond recalled:

‘I remember the old man Edge; me father, I remember him going for the rates one day, and ’e said “Yo cum ’ere today, Master Jones, yo came way in today, but if yo cum rahnd next week, I’ll sell a cow and then yo can ’ave ’em.”’<sup>673</sup>

Evelyn Stevenson, whose father farmed Old Hall for thirty years from 1901, said:

‘My father had two or three men. They earned eighteen shillings, wages, but then they had a sack of potatoes and milk and other things. “Mother, I’m a bit short of change for the wages” my father would come in and say.’<sup>674</sup>

Joe Holland gave the labourer’s experience:

‘I had to pay rent. Five pound a year, I used t’ pay. I had to pay for milk. By God, they didna give you much, them days. Oh, you got a row o’ ’taters up.’<sup>675</sup>

In 1907 Wilson Fox reckoned that nationally, 20s 6d was the wage needed for a labourer’s family of two adults and three children to avoid primary poverty. Seebohm Rowntree in 1913 found that Derbyshire was one of five counties at this level.<sup>676</sup> John Stevenson was using a gift of potatoes, milk and other things to supplement the lower wage he gave.

To be successful R.J. Bull worked alongside his men. Florence Bull said:

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<sup>672</sup> Stanfield, F. G., *A History of East Meon*, (Chichester, 1984), p. 75.

<sup>673</sup> Raymond Jones transcript, p. 7.

<sup>674</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 3. Alfred Auden’s diary 1909 showed that John Stevenson’s rent for tythe land £27 8s 9d, was paid on 16 January 1909, (due September 29 1908). Snell, K. D. M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, (Cambridge, 1985), p. 357: Wives keeping their own money.

<sup>675</sup> Joe Holland transcript, p. 2.

<sup>676</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, A Social and Economic History, 1770-1980*, (Iowa State University, 1988), p. 139.

‘Everyone will tell you how hard my father worked, and that other people worked hard with him. When my father first went to the Etchells, they would start milking at five, and I don’t think he ever started later than half past. He was always there himself. They finished reasonably early in the evening. I don’t think it would be an eight-hour day, it would be twelve at least.’<sup>677</sup>

Michael Winter drew attention to specific entrepreneurs in agriculture – family farmers where despite poor land, limited acreage and capital, the farmer had control of his land, the means of production, management and provision of labour (through his family).<sup>678</sup> Bent House, Birchills, Cromwell House, Crowfoot, Forge Hollies, Model farm, Rectory farm were examples. There were limitations to profit from agriculture regarding the nature of the land. Cyril Hambling speaking of Model farm, by Heath Top, said:

‘It’s very poor soil up there, sandy, gravelly. Mr. Tunstall at Model Farm always pleaded poverty. Of course, there were no fertilisers in those days.’<sup>679</sup>

A great advantage from living twelve miles from Burton upon Trent, was the ability to fetch spent grains from the brewery, to be stored until winter as an addition to hay and roots grown on the farm.<sup>680</sup> Trevor Allen at Forge Hollies, with too small an acreage to feed the cattle and horses he owned, was dependent on grains. His waggon would hold only a limited amount, marked inside by the brewer in strikes, so that when loaded with grains, the final contents could be measured. With limited storage, son Albert was sent regularly to Burton, 57 times in 1919.<sup>681</sup> Trevor’s grandson David Allen recalled:

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<sup>677</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 9.

<sup>678</sup> Winter, M., *Agrarian Class Structure and Family Farming*, in *Locality and Rurality: Economy and Society in Rural Regions* ed. Bradley, T., and Lowe, P., (1984), p. 115.

<sup>679</sup> Cyril Hambling transcript, p. 3.<sup>679</sup>

<sup>680</sup> Spent grain was a waste product from brewing: the solid residue of the malt, after the fermentable sugars have been removed.

<sup>681</sup> Trevor Allen diary 1919.

‘You see grandfather fetched brewers’ grains every week from Burton all the year round. It was a godsend to us. In the summer time, you see you bought them cheaper in the summer and they’d keep, if you could keep the air out of ’em. They used to tread ’em and tread ’em.’<sup>682</sup>

Despite having less land, Trevor Allen was able to succeed by importing fodder, using family labour and diversifying - breeding horses and killing pigs.

A man could make a living, with help from relatives, even owning very little land, renting some more and grazing the roadside verges, known as the long meadow, having no large machinery. David Allen remembered his aunt Nellie and her butcher husband, Len Wood, who kept a horse and a few cows. He did not grow crops but relied on grass and bought food for them.:

‘They always grazed the long meadow, you know, from our drive end up to The Lawns. A cow keeper only kept a few cows and milked ’em. The Woods, they used hay and grains, and didn’t grow any crops at all. They bought it all in, they bought mangolds in and they’d buy middlings and malt crumbs and all the offal from the milling process and the brewing process and had some rice meal.’<sup>683</sup>

Those farming a smallholding could diversify with sheep, pigs and poultry but were limited by lack of manpower and equipment. They had to wait their turn among other smallholders to hire a tractor or bailer, and for family or friends to give assistance. Trevor Allen at Forge Hollies, wrote in his diary on the second of October 1918: ‘4 days Trashing for Mr Hood of Barton was To come to me disappointed’ (sic).

Harry Capewell, who farmed Daisy Bank, commented on the lack of choice if you needed help:

‘It isn’t a matter of buying the plough, it’s a matter of buying that that takes the plough, the ’orses or tractor, or whatever you need. You’re no good farming unless you can farm

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<sup>682</sup> David Allen transcript, pp. 2, 10.

<sup>683</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 9.

off your own bottom as they say, because they come to your place when they can't go nowhere else, when it's raining. You don't want 'em then, do you?'<sup>684</sup>

Jim Bowles explained:

'It's all right while you're young. There is a little bit more co-operation, but I'm not one for ... You may think it's selfish. It could be in a bit of good weather. Now we'll get yours, and it's gone back – you might miss it, whereas you would have got some good, if you'd been on your own. And of course, there's another limit to you. I mean there's one time in your life you can work, and after, you've had it. And this is what happens with these one-man places. You can stick any amount for seven, eight, ten years, perhaps.'<sup>685</sup>

A young man could work long hours in all weathers, but, as he grew older, a smallholding was heavy work for one man to cultivate.

## Adapting to the Milk Market

Before 1870, milk had not been transported from the farms, except in small cans. When Cheetham Hospital opened Sutton on the Hill cheese factory in 1874, farmers adapted, using their tall seven-gallon butter churns to carry milk to Sutton and later to Nestlé's factory at Hatton.<sup>686</sup> Annie Gadsby said, with pride:

'I used to take the milk to Nestlé's. Mr. Joe Shipton told my father "You'll have that girl killed one morning, if you have a churn fall". They weren't nine gallon, ten or eleven. I went with a float.'<sup>687</sup>

Coinciding with the development of these factories, Jonathan Brown wrote that the demand for milk in London increased from 9 million gallons in 1870, to 40 million in 1890 and 53 million in

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<sup>684</sup> Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, p. 2.

<sup>685</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>686</sup> Arthur, J., *Say Cheese*, (Derby, 1979). Nestlé's tinned condensed milk for export to India.

<sup>687</sup> Annie Gadsby transcript, p.2. Float – a low cart.

1900.<sup>688</sup> Although farmers first took their milk to local factories, once they realised milk was portable over a distance, they soon transferred to sending milk by rail to London to obtain a higher price, but there was a risk of milk spoiling on the journey during summer. Milk was sent daily, contracts were by the year, paid monthly. This became the norm. Instead of the relatively calm annual cycle, there was daily and monthly pressure on farm workers to produce a regular amount of milk and deliver it on time. As cows calved in the spring, there was a shortage of milk during the winter and surplus in summer. London buyers wanted a steady supply, so an annual contract covering the winter supply, would mean unwanted summer excess, which could be returned, causing a resurrection of all the cheese-making gear and hard work to save that value.

Albert Summerfield remembered:

‘The milk always went to London. There were odd churns would come back, sometimes, not very often. The pigs ’ad it, I think. They stopped running to London about it, so we had to go to Nestlé’s. Tuppence or threepence a gallon, that was all. I’ve seen ’em fighting for threepence a gallon.’<sup>689</sup>

Samuel Harvey described the pressure exerted by buyers who exploited the vulnerability of milk producers:

‘I sold me milk for fourpence ha’penny to Dommen [at Nestlé’s].<sup>690</sup> I said to Mr. Dommen “Milk is your life blood; it’s ours too.” I said, “If you submerge us Mr. Dommen, you submerge yourself.” “Eh, I bought all de milk dat I do want and if you come in de morning, I will give you fourpence ha’penny and if you come in de [following] morning, I will not have it at all.” And so ’e looked away and held a pencil out, like that. And I told ’im I ought to’ve strangled ’im. So, I can become vengeance when it’s necessary, because I’d gone to the country’s defence and this was what we ’ad to put up with. Lloyd George told us in 1918 “You’ll never want; it will be a home for heroes; we

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<sup>688</sup> Brown, J., *Agriculture in England, A survey of farming, 1870-1947*, (Manchester, 1987), p. 47.

<sup>689</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p. 9.

<sup>690</sup> Swiss manager of Nestlé’s tinned milk factory at Hatton.

will look after you, while you are on this earth.” We started to London and we went on better then - H. E. Brook, Kingsland. And ’e said, when ’e took us on – I never met ’im – “Remember, my customers ’as a quart in winter and a quart in summer, so that means a level dairy.” I said, “That’ll be a big job.” I said “Cows ’ave to go dry.” They never grumbled; we never exceeded too much; sometimes we were below, specially in the autumn – cows due to calve went three weeks over their time. I says “They’re never goin’ to calve, because we want ’em. Oohoo, isn’t it a rum un, this job.” They paid more in London. We took up to the station every month. Oh, yes, they did all right, H.E. Brook did.’<sup>691</sup>

Having adapted by giving up cheese-making to sell milk, there was a continuing need for farmers to adjust to difficult circumstances. Whether he sold locally or to London, Samuel Harvey felt the buyers made an unfair profit.

Farmers resorted to the cheese factories for the summer glut of milk, in excess of a purchaser’s monthly requirements. Like the farmers, the small Sutton factory, as well as making cheese, soon also sent milk off by rail. William Twigg, of Sutton Heath, worked there:

‘And then, say April or May time, there used to be a big flush of milk and they couldn’t get rid of it, no-one wanted it, so it had to come here from a good way off. Of course, in ordinary times, we used to make up what the over-flush, we used to make it into cheese and then the other used to go to the station, to Cadbury’s, chocolate people. It used to go to Etwall station. You used to have to unload it yourself at the station.’<sup>692</sup>

Not only was there difficulty in producing the correct quantity for a regular contract, but milk as a commodity was vulnerable in hot weather. Once milk had been made into cheese, it could be stored for months. Milk was perishable and, if sour on arrival was returned.

In 1922, the railway strike forced farmers’ wives to get out the cheese gear. Hedley Tunstall said:

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<sup>691</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 6.

<sup>692</sup> William Twigg transcript, p. 1.

‘Milk – ours went to London. My mother, through the railway strike, she made cheese every day for three weeks – one a day about 25 lbs a piece.’<sup>693</sup>

Farmers of smallholdings often too small to rear enough stock, with insufficient capital and too little manpower to do all the work needed, had great pressure to find a buyer for their milk. In order to obtain a contract, the farmer might accept a low price, which upset neighbours more experienced in bargaining. Thomas Bullock recalled:

‘I was very young and hadn’t much money, and I remember I settled for my milk and some of the older farmers, one in particular, was very upset, because I’d settled with my milk and he hadn’t settled with his – that was Captain Young. It was a vital thing, you see, if you could just get it sold. He was all right in the end; he was a bit of a Sergeant Major sort of chap and tried to frighten me, but it didn’t come off.’<sup>694</sup>

Finding a buyer, often changing from one factory or dairy to another, year by year, led farmers to rely on neighbours’ recommendation and letter of introduction. Some farmers helped and cooperated, others were ruthlessly competitive. When their buyer needed extra milk, Jim Bowles had introduced Harry Sessions, who was expanding from a smallholding, taking Heath House Green farm. Jim said:

‘And he came one evening and they were discussing the milk prices and that sort of thing and Pa said “Well, we’ll have what we had other years and on the same conditions.” So, Harry said “Yes,” he said, “Fair enough, that’s how I want it.” Well, he was on the first train to London the next morning. We gets a telegram at dinner time: “Please return churns. Don’t require milk.” We’d about fifty or sixty gallons of milk on our blessed hands. He wanted all his lot in, you see and that’s what happened.’<sup>695</sup>

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<sup>693</sup> Hedley Tunstall transcript, p. 2.

<sup>694</sup> Thomas Bullock transcript, p. 1.

<sup>695</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 4.



The Bowles had to set to, making butter and cheese, rearing calves and pigs. Then they were rescued by an offer from a newly married couple who had set up a little milk round at Hatton, wanting to sell it. It was only four gallons of milk a day, but the Bowles built it up to ninety gallons a day and won medals in national and county clean milk competitions, which enhanced their reputation.

There was ongoing concern over the milk price. Trevor Allen went to a farmers' meeting in March 1922 and to Derby to see about it, commenting that the average price for milk at fivepence halfpenny a gallon was very low, and the value of a cow now lost thirty pounds.<sup>696</sup> It was a perpetual worry until the formation of the Milk Marketing Board in 1933, to control production and distribution - a successful intervention by government for standardising the sale of dairy products, relieving farmers from the need to find a buyer and the worry and ill-feeling that had resulted from that competition.<sup>697</sup> The situation had been different for neighbouring Sudbury Estate farmers, where the sixth Lord Vernon had made provision for all involved, by building a butter factory next to the railway in 1881 and a head depot in London with sixteen branches.<sup>698</sup> Government regulation did steady farm income during the First World War and again with the Milk Marketing Board in 1933, which continued until 1994.<sup>699</sup>

Farmers aiming to increase their profit and reduce costs had already begun to change their tactics after the First World War. Jonathan Brown pointed out that there was a balance between growing roots with the labour-intensive weeding, singling and pulling, or buying more feed. During the 1920s depression, the acreage of roots nationally was cut by half. Where cattle were kept longer in the open, that saved carting so much dung. Buying and selling cattle throughout the year was

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<sup>696</sup> Trevor Allen's diaries.

<sup>697</sup> Carter, E.S. and Stansfield, J.M., *British Farming, Changing Policies and Production Systems*, (Ipswich, 1994), p. 38.

<sup>698</sup> Heer, J., *Reflets du Monde 1866-1966, Presence du Nestlé*. Winter, M., *Agrarian Class Structure and Family Farming in Locality and Rurality: Economy and Society in Rural Regions* ed. Bradley, T., and Lowe, P., (1984), p.124. Brown, J., *Agriculture in England, A Survey of Farming 1870-1947*, (Manchester, 1987), p. 94. Letter dated 12 November 1914, in the possession, in 1994, of Mrs. Allen, Sudbury Post Office.

<sup>699</sup> Martin, J., and Bowen, J.P., *A new era for agriculture?* in *'Rural History Today'*, issue 34, (February 2018), p. 2.

more profitable than the earlier annual cycle. Attention was given to breeding, so there were continuing improvements in the choice of milking cattle: pedigree cows being found to produce more milk. According to his son Bill, Frank Gilbert, owner of Derbyshire cheese factories including Sutton on the Hill, was one of the founders of British Friesians.<sup>700</sup> Nationally the number of cows increased by 31.6% between 1900 and 1911, from 2,500 in 1910 to 25,000 in 1926.<sup>701</sup>

To be profitable the farmer needed good stock, equipment and fertilisers and the best value from labour. Jim Bowles was amazed by the changes he witnessed:

‘It’s terrific what amount of stuff, calculated up, goes off these places, Mount Pleasant, in the twelvemonth to what it was before.’<sup>702</sup>

Thomas Bullock, farming at Barton Park said:

‘I can remember the time when cows didn’t get a quarter of the concentrated food that they get today, not a quarter of it. I often wonder if we have gone too far advanced in this. At present concentrate food is out of all reason. A lot of it is cereals, barley, oats, wheat, maize; they blend it. Linseed was the protein and they put a certain amount of treacle to sort of stick it into shape. Of course, the cows did not produce as much milk as they do today, but they were quite healthy. Now you need not have any land at all. At one time, Silcox had a herd that never went out of doors. I’ve seen terrific changes in my time. Nowadays there’s really more worry than there used to be; it used to be a bit more happy-go-lucky.’<sup>703</sup>

Having a fixed area of land, there was a dilemma. One option was to specialise in better cows, add inputs of fertilizer to the ground, import extra food to rear more animals, creating more milk,

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<sup>700</sup> Arthur, J. *Say Cheese*, (Church Broughton, 1994), p.78.

<sup>701</sup> Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, (London, 1912, 1927), p. 418M.

<sup>702</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 5.

<sup>703</sup> Thomas Bullock transcript, p. 2.

with a resultant problem of finding a buyer with a good price, The other possibility was to reduce the inputs and therefore the production, gaining less output, but maybe more security regarding the sale of milk. A farmer could make a saving by having less labour, reducing work time with machinery – the self-acting binder, hay-making equipment, cultivators and by 1917 the tractor.<sup>704</sup> Already in 1908, Etchells farm had an engine for grinding corn, chopping turnips or straw, which could also be operated by hand. This was an advance as only 7% of British farms had such machines then.<sup>705</sup> John Prince Bull said:

‘There was a stationary engine, with a big fly wheel, an oil engine, started with a blow lamp – a horizontal, single cylinder, run on kerosene, with no spark plug. You started it by pulling on the wheel and without a load, finally chug, chug.’<sup>706</sup>

Small farmers were also modernizing. Trevor Allen, with admiration, noted that his son bought a stationary engine in 1918.<sup>707</sup>

## Wartime

The First World War was a form of employment. Adam Hochschild reckoned that ‘Of every 20 British men between 18 and 32 when the war broke out, three were dead and six wounded when it ended’.<sup>708</sup> Seventy-six Church Broughton men were called up, of whom twelve died, some leaving widows. The war disrupted families and work. Men who returned were reticent. Their experience during the war, which affected their later lives, was so different and separate from home life, that it was mostly closed away, not mentioned. Some had been injured or gassed. Brooks, the Tutbury butcher remembered working with Harry Capewell:

‘He showed me his hand, where it had been injured in the First World War. Across his palm were two of the worst cuts that I’d ever seen.’<sup>709</sup>

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<sup>704</sup> Perry, P.J., *British Agriculture 1875-1914*, (Bungay, 1973), p. 13.

<sup>705</sup> Grigg, D., *English Agriculture, An Historic Perspective*, (Oxford, 1989), p. 153.

<sup>706</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 1.

<sup>707</sup> Trevor Allen’s diary 1918.

<sup>708</sup> Hochschild, A., *To End All Wars*, (London, 2011), p. 348.

<sup>709</sup> Mr. Brooks, butcher, chatting over my purchase, 1973.

Harry Capewell, waggoner:

‘You see, when you’re bombing a trench out to clear it, these Germans left for sacrifice to ’old us up, and of course, I was the first man and as I went round the corner and the German were there, waiting us, and as I come along ’ere, course he lunged for me stomach. I grabbed the bayonet, pushed it off. The other man, be’ind me, ’e just popped ’is rifle over and shot ’im through the head.’

The experience of farm workers, who had cared for horses at home, was very different in France.

Harry Capewell went on:

‘If there was any ’orse men in the trenches, you see, they’d take the ’orses off ’em and made them, what you call, infantry men. And when a cavalry regiment comes into action, you always see ’is ’orse first. You bring your man down then. You make ’im equal to you, then. ’e’s got to go on ’is own two feet. If you don’t shoot ’is ’orse, ’e gets onto you too quick. They come in full gallop you see. I mean, they’re not tracking; they’re not messing about. They can take your ’ead off or they can shoot you, or they can spear you, if you’re on the ground. I’ve seen that much. I dinna want to see any more. If you were wounded and you couldn’t get away un’ your own steam, I mean, you’ve got to wait for the stretcher bearers to pick you up; or just lie about; just take your luck. Because you’ve got your field bandage in your little place ’ere, in your tunic, you see, and you’ve got your iodine and your bandages in there. They take me in France, to a French ’ospital. Yes, back again, yes.’<sup>710</sup>

Louie Capewell: ‘Terrible, i’n’t it, war?’

Raymond Hall joined up as a dare:

‘One Sunday, when I came out of the choir, we stood on the green talking and Dick Bull said, “Let’s go and enlist!” Course the war had only just started and he said “You

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<sup>710</sup> Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, pp. 4, 5.

daren't!" "I dare do what you dare!" And he says "Well, let's go in morning then." "Yes" I said, "we will." I came down, to say goodbye to them at the Hall, and met my brother John and he said "Oh, where are you going?" "We're going to enlist," and he said "Oh, I'm not going to be outdone by a younger brother!"

John Hall limped, since a full churn of milk fell on his foot, so Raymond did not expect him to be accepted. When they arrived at Normanton Barracks, Derby, stripped naked they had to hop along on each leg and have various health tests. The fifty other naked recruits jeered at John. Raymond was incensed as his brother was physically strong. John was accepted and was killed in France in 1916. Raymond was sent to the Dardanelles and survived, forever reproached for having led John to war and his loss.<sup>711</sup>



48. Trevor Allen with Peter.

Horses were conscripted. Trevor Allen was proud when his horse Peter was requisitioned.

Voluntary enlistment was sufficient for army requirements until 1916, when the government introduced conscription through the Military Service Act. Clergy, teachers, doctors, miners and essential workers were exempt. During the call-up, some men were allowed to stay on farms, with a conditional exemption for a certified occupation. While the men were away, those left behind, including women and children took their place. Alfred Auden vicar, who wanted to help farmers; as an amateur, learnt a lot about farming! Samuel Harvey was amused:

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<sup>711</sup> Raymond Hall transcript, pp. 2, 3, 19.

‘Mr. Auden, ’used to come and ’elp us ’aymaking in the First World War an’ ’e tried to lift the ’ay up when ’e was unloading, ’e tried to lift that up that ’e was standing on an’ ’e used to get all of a boil up; I tell Mr. Auden, I says “Go round, then take the middle out. It won’t maul you so bad.” The Bishop ’ad given ’im permission to come up the farm.’<sup>712</sup>

Women went nursing, joined the St. John’s Ambulance in Derby or attended their classes in the village. There were men’s and women’s branches of the British Legion.<sup>713</sup> Doris Stevenson became a nurse: ‘I left home in 1915, to the war. It was very, very hard for them, for nearly all on farms.’<sup>714</sup> Women contributed by taking on absent men’s work. Johnathon Brown quoted estimates that a quarter of a million women worked in British agriculture during the war.<sup>715</sup> The Women’s National Service Corporation was formed in February 1916, becoming the Women’s Land Army in January 1917. Pay for Land Girls rose from 18s a week to 22s by the end of the war.<sup>716</sup> The vicar’s daughter Ruth joined as a general farm worker and was Registrar for the village. Gertie Fletcher, transferred from munitions work at Chesterfield, to help at Cromwell House; Gladys Burton came to Mount Pleasant. They were meant to be visited and reported on once a month. Ruth Auden was demobilised in November 1919, with a Good Service Ribbon, with 100% for milking. Doris Stevenson commented:

‘During the war, Ruth Auden went and asked my father to teach her to milk. Mr. Ernest Tipper said she was the best milker he’d ever had. My father said, “You have me to thank for that!” “Well” said Mr. Tipper “she was a good pupil.” She’d get up at five in the morning.’<sup>717</sup>

Ruth Auden remembered it well:

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<sup>712</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 5.

<sup>713</sup> Ivy Kate Allman transcript, p. 1.

<sup>714</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 4.

<sup>715</sup> Brown, J., *Agriculture in England, A survey of farming, 1870-1947*, (Manchester, 1987), p. 65.

<sup>716</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 164.

<sup>717</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 3.

‘I was kicked out once at Stevenson’s. It’s like with a horse; you’ve got to be kicked out once or twice. After Mr. Tipper didn’t need me so much, I went and milked for Mrs. Harvey for quite a while. Very dirty little sheds. That’s where, in the dark, I sat down under the bull. They’d moved the bull. He kicked the leg off the stool. You see they’d got things in the other shed and I was used to doing things in the dark. They didn’t remember to tell me they’d put the bull there, since the night before’.<sup>718</sup>

Although the war continued for more than four years, affecting everybody in some way, being such a different experience, it was mostly closed away and barely recalled, just as all national politics was disregarded by the contributors.

## Alternative Work

The depression in agriculture at the turn of the century and opportunities in industrial areas led labourers to the towns. With their strength and variety of skills, they could transfer to alternative work. In 1901 22% of Midland railwaymen at Derby were former farm workers.<sup>719</sup> At that time, living in Church Broughton, there was already one man who worked on the railway, another worked at the Fauld gypsum mine. Farm labourers had begun to see opportunities for work outside the village, yet able to stay as residents. Of the 124 where occupation was mentioned in the 1901 census, 74 were directly connected to the land, 13 laboured in other occupations, another 13 included artisans and professionals, 18 women were in domestic work, one of them a dressmaker. Elsewhere, the agricultural depression at the end of the previous century as well as the development of railways was blamed for the young moving away.<sup>720</sup>

On a farm there were possibilities for advancement. It was possible to move up the farm hierarchy to be waggoner, in charge of horses, or, earning most money, cowman, but most labourers did

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<sup>718</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 23.

<sup>719</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 135.

<sup>720</sup> Kerry, Rev. C., *Smalley*, (London, 1905). Hasbach, W., *A History of the English Agricultural Labourer*, (1984, 1908), p. 356.

some work with horses, cows and on the land. As farm workers earned different amounts according to their skill and whether resident, non-resident, full-time or bargain, it is difficult to assess, but Broadberry and Burdop showed that nominal average weekly agricultural wages were low compared to industry: in 1905 £37.64 compared to £61.45, in 1937 £86.32 compared to £131.23.<sup>721</sup> The wages of agricultural labourers before the First World War, according to Alan Armstrong, ‘appear to have stood no higher than 50% of the average found in 14 industrial occupations.’<sup>722</sup> A labourer working for a local authority might earn 54s 4d compared to a farm labourer receiving 33s 7 ½ d.<sup>723</sup> Men were glad to go from farming to be paid more and avoid the long hours and seven-day week. A photograph of those working at Fauld after the First World War included ten from Church Broughton.<sup>724</sup> Gradually more chose to be employed at Fauld gypsum pit, Hilton gravel pits, Burton upon Trent brewery, Tutbury glass-works, the railway, Nestlé’s condensed milk factory, on the river Dove, in horticulture or for the District Council. While still living in the village, these jobs did involve walking from three to twelve miles there and back again.

Farmers were not always happy to see their workers go. Jim Bowles was resigned to the change:

‘You’re tied down seven days a week and you’re tired night and morning. You see, years ago, you never thought anything of that. Holidays, on the proportion you have today – nobody had them. This has all cracked it. This is what did that young fellow. He said, “I think I’ll look out for a lighter job.” So, I said “Well, I’m sorry Henry” but I said, “You know your own home best.” He said, “I can get Saturdays and Sundays clear.” That’s another thing that’s happened to farming. And, if an agricultural man, nine times out of ten, goes to a firm and asks for a job, they say “What have you done?” “I’ve been

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<sup>721</sup> Broadberry, S., and Burhop, C., *Real wages and labour productivity in Britain and Germany, 1871-1938*, table 1, (Warwick, 2009), p. 30.

<sup>722</sup> Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), pp. 135, 137, 138.

<sup>723</sup> Statistical Abstract, (Cmd. 5903), 1939, quoted in W. H. Pedley, *Labour on the Land, King and Staples*, 1942, p.13, in Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers in England and Wales, a Social and Economic History 1770-1980*, (London, 1988), p. 195.

<sup>724</sup> Sam and Tom Billings, Ernest Bridges, Jack Frost, William Jackson, Patrick McKeown, young Neal, Arthur Roe, Tom Sharratt, Alf Wagstaff.



an agricultural worker.” “Right, you’ve got the job.” This happens not once, but many, many times – because they know they’re not bad workers and strong. They get the job.’<sup>725</sup>

There were advantages in being an ‘open’ village, in that there was some fluidity for workers when farm machinery reduced the need for casual labour. With cottages available, either attached to farms or owned by a variety of people, it was possible to live in Church Broughton permanently employed or freelance: available when extra hands were needed, doing odd seasonal work or walking out of the parish to one of the nearby large employers. Workers were not necessarily tied to their employers. George Ewart Evans described how labourers in Suffolk chose to move in bulk to Burton upon Trent following their harvest. Church Broughton workers did not have to relocate during the winter to work there.<sup>726</sup>

Brian Short blamed the shortage of accommodation in ‘close’ parishes for men walking six to ten miles to find work. ‘Such long journeys were necessary if labourers had perforce to live in the ‘open’ communities’.<sup>727</sup> Church Broughton was such a community, but there was a freedom, not being tied to one master or reliant on a neighbouring ‘close’ parish, to live there and find work elsewhere. That would probably not be possible on an estate. Contributors spoke of the walking with admiration and acceptance, not as a burden. Raymond Williams wrote that ‘as societies become more complicated, and the range of work extends, any simple community of situation becomes harder to realise and to talk about... moving out of their groups the character of the communication changes’.<sup>728</sup> Whereas farm work was familiar to villagers, those working away were in a different situation. Their work life was distanced from their home life. They were a group as likely to go to the pub as church or chapel. Hearing the experience of workers outside

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<sup>725</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 4.

<sup>726</sup> Evans, G. E., *Where Beards Wag All, The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*, (London, 1970, 1977), pp. 241-276.

<sup>727</sup> Short, B., The Evolution of Contrasting Communities Within Rural England, in *The English Rural Community*, ed. Short, B., (Cambridge, 1992), p. 35.

<sup>728</sup> Williams, R., The Meaning of Work, in *Work*, ed Fraser, R., (Harmondsworth, 1965, 1968), p.280.

farming opened possibilities and a different outlook for those still working on farms - a change of attitude to farm work.

Having a variety of opportunities for work gave some power to the workers. They had choice, though they were still vulnerable to unemployment, having to change jobs. A job for the council or brewery gave some security. Wilfred Tunstall, who chose to move jobs, labouring at Hare Hill, the Etchells for R. J. Bull, at Hatton Fields, on the roads for the council, as an insurance agent, and railway coach painter. declared:

‘I did a bit of wheel blacking and that under a coach, that won the First Prize at the Paris Exhibition in about ’97, Jubilee year, I think. Nearly red, not red, but nearly red, a special colour. I believe in work. I believe in, same as Mr. Naden says I worked for, he caught my mate three times with his hands in his pockets watching me work. “Well” he says, “take y’r hands out of your pockets”. He says, “you might just as well put y’r hands in my pockets as y’r own” and he was right. He was correct an’ all. He was.’<sup>729</sup>

Hilda Ward said:

‘Me Dad, he had lots of jobs. Before ’e retired ’e worked at Bass’s brewery and ’e used to bike to Bass’s brewery.’<sup>730</sup>

In the 1930s Marjorie Spooner, running the shop commented:

‘A lot of the men worked at Hilton gravel, and you were one of the better off ones if you did – the farm hands worked for 28 shillings a week or so.’<sup>731</sup>

People already working elsewhere were able to move into the village. That and the movement of families round the village, between various cottage rows, maintained an open and tolerant society, not dissimilar to a Yorkshire mining village.<sup>732</sup> Annie Caswell moved into the village:

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<sup>729</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p. 1-3. Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 5.

<sup>730</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 9.

<sup>731</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 3. After 1932.

<sup>732</sup> Benson, R. *The Valley*. (2015).

‘My father always had been a farm labourer, cowman and that, all ’is life. Not straight away, after being at Broughton, did he work for the council.’<sup>733</sup>

Ray Jones said:

‘I always remember being thrilled with the first railway driver that came; a chap named George Smith, lived at the Bent. I was ever so thrilled to happen to know we’d got a rail driver, engine driver, in the village.’<sup>734</sup>

There was fluidity of employment, some continuity, some movement, but as Howard Bracey wrote, ‘there was little unemployment in agriculture, even in depression years.’ It seems that workers, in Church Broughton, found alternative work faster than they were forced to by redundancy, or innovation and mechanisation in farming.<sup>735</sup>

Nestlé’s factory offered work for men, employed to drive waggons and lorries, men and women indoors, with work divided into processes. The advantage for workers was consistent employment and a regular wage, compared to being self-employed or casual workers.<sup>736</sup> Gertie Connolly who grew up in Church Broughton enjoyed factory work:

‘I biked it to Nestlé’s. I think I went in nearly all the parts; we was weighin’ an’ everythin’, you know, in the packin’ room. I did thirty years down there.’<sup>737</sup>

Jack Walker, driving for Nestlé’s, fetched loads of sugar from the port at Liverpool:

‘Of course, in those days, you never got a tea break. We had eight-wheel Scammels, six-wheel Scammels. I’ll tell you – they’d do about forty, or fifty – but I’ll tell you one thing, I got a summons from work for exceeding over 12 [mph]. Yes, I ’ave! Yes, I had to load the lorry up. There were two hundredweight bags of sugar, you know. I remember one little fellow, ’e wasn’t much bigger than me, at Fairy’s one day, ’e said “Hey, you don’t want to haul too much there, just stand at the end of the shute, like that, and when

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<sup>733</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p. 1.

<sup>734</sup> Ray Jones transcript, p. 6.

<sup>735</sup> Bracey, H.E., *English Rural Life*, (London, 1959), p. 36, 39.

<sup>736</sup> *Boiler Suits, Bofors and Bullets*, (Derbyshire County Council, 1999).

<sup>737</sup> Gertie Connolly transcript, p. 1.

they come down the shute just go....” he said, “and they’ll go in where you want ’em.” I thought aye, well I’ll try that. Well the one that hit me - he could do it like fun - the first one as hit me, it....<sup>738</sup>

Nestlé’s played a flexible part in disposing of farmers’ milk – taking all or only part of a farm’s production. They also offered alternative work for men and women.

While wages were low and agricultural work unpredictable, labourers and their families could add to their household budget by keeping a pig, poultry, producing vegetables on roadside slangs, by poaching and exchanges in kind – a persistence of the pre-enclosure self-sufficient economy, seen by Ronald Fraser as a contrast to capitalist organisation.<sup>739</sup> Wilfred Tunstall said:

‘On that garden down the Bent - there’s one there sixty-three yards long – Church land. It was only 7/6d a year then. Of course, the seed cost. I had that twenty-one years and went to work. I had it the best garden in the village. I grew celery that high, Oh yes. I used to go down there every night, as soon as I’d done work on the roads, have my tea and slip off down there till dark and go to the pub and have a drink.’<sup>740</sup>

Rabbits were numerous until myxomatosis after the Second World War. Whereas in London hungry children would search for scraps under the market stalls, country families had a readily available source of wild food.<sup>741</sup> Rabbits belonged to the landholder, but several contributors who mentioned poaching showed that it was accepted and connived at within the village, even by tenant farmers who ‘owned’ the rabbits. Vera Kirk was amused when a visitor called on a farmer:

‘Mr. Sessions at Heath House had an uncle there before him. The story goes that someone called and said was there any chance of a rabbit? He replied “I don’t know. You had

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<sup>738</sup> Jack Walker transcript, p. 2. Thompson, E. P., *Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism*, in *Past and Present*, (Oxford, 1967), p. 59.

<sup>739</sup> A slang was a narrow piece of land, an area of wide road verges hedged in to provide a vegetable garden, some owned by the church – a vestige of the enclosure. Bourne, G., *Change in the Village*, (Harmondsworth, 1912, 1984), p. 83. Fraser, R., *Work*, (Harmondsworth, 1965, 1967), p. 294. David Allen transcript, p. 4. Harold Bennett Maddock and Nerida Maddock transcript, p. 5.

<sup>740</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p. 3.

<sup>741</sup> Thompson, P., *The Edwardians*, (London, 1975), p. 225. Samuel, R., *Quarry Roughts in Village Life and Labour*, (London, 1975), p. 220.

better ask Charles Knight” [a renowned poacher.] Mr. Gotheridge was a poacher. He used to sell the rabbits for sixpence each and I mean that was a meal.<sup>742</sup>

Samuel Harvey remembered:

‘And ’is Dad, old Sago as we called ’im, Seggie. ’e was a rabbit catcher; oo, by goodness, couldn’t they catch rabbits in Broughton with nets – thousands. Old Gogles<sup>743</sup> - ’is missus ’ad rheumatism up to the eyes because ’e always fetched fifty rabbits in a night.’<sup>744</sup>

Lilian Allen said:

‘Poaching? – pheasants or rabbits or anything. Arthur Gotheridge and Jim Smith, they were real poachers – they couldn’t let rabbits alone; they were always poaching. They wanted them to feed the children. I suppose they used to sell them. They used to go out every night, after these rabbits. They used to live in our cottages, you see, down there [Sapperton Lane], and I used to go and fetch the rent ’ay-making time. Arthur Gotheridge said “I can’t see my children starve.” They’d got to feed these children. So, you agreed, didn’t we? There were plenty of rabbits. I shouldn’t think it mattered. Forced on them, wasn’t it. Times were very hard. They did want changing. They’ve gone too far now.’<sup>745</sup>

Lilian Allen’s brother William would supply rabbits, as his son David recalled:

‘See Father used to get his pocket money out of shooting rabbits at Longford and School Barn. People used to come from the Bulls, from the Shaws: “Can you get Mrs Bull a rabbit for Thursday night?” And they’d go out with a gun and sell a rabbit for sixpence. And that kept him in tobacco. Church Broughton was renowned for its poachers you know.’<sup>746</sup>

Although poaching was a life-saver for cottagers - a matter of pride in a parish like Church Broughton - it was seen differently by an estate owner like Lord Vernon at Sudbury, who

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<sup>742</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 5.

<sup>743</sup> Gotheridge.

<sup>744</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p. 3.

<sup>745</sup> Lilian Allen transcript, p. 6.

<sup>746</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 4.

employed a keeper to protect his property, including rabbits, and to organise shooting parties for his guests. As a child living at Hare Hill, Wilfred Tunstall was drawn into the rabbit economy:

‘In the park, there were thousands of rabbits. They used to shoot them. They killed nine hundred and something one shoot, three-day shoot. I used to go. He used to have so many schoolchildren go and beat, all of us – run round the rabbits and bring them in. The lads, you know, they were pretty good. One man did get shot once, I think. That was when they were corn cutting. I used to look at the last dozen square yards of corn – perhaps eighty rabbits in – they’d all kept going into the middle, as the machine went round, and at the finish we used to trample it – all come out and men were there, gentlemen were there, shootin’ ’em up. Aye. And there were poachers. And I’ve done a bit an’ all. I did a bit of poaching in Sudbury Park. And we used to watch the keeper. He used to go down to the pub. As soon as nearest come up and said he was in the pub, off we went with nets. If anyone was caught poaching, they used to have to appear. The Magistrates Court used to be at Sudbury pub, you know. And then they moved it down to Hatton.’<sup>747</sup>

The Sudbury rabbits were the responsibility of keeper Edward Jackson. His granddaughter Elizabeth remembered poaching from a different point of view:

‘My father, they used to be, in the wintertime they used to go out, waiting for the poachers. My father was gone, all through the night, they didn’t come back till next morning. Thenadays, the poachers used to come out with pitchforks, anything. They ’ad shields as they could ’old up in front of the face.’<sup>748</sup>

## Women and Child Workers

Villagers made the most of all opportunities available to improve their standard of living, questionable or legitimate. The contribution by women and children in Church Broughton was

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<sup>747</sup> William Wilfred Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

<sup>748</sup> Elizabeth Whiting transcript, p. 4.

vital for household wellbeing and income, some children starting work aged 11 in 1900, rising to 14 in 1918. Girls who left school aged thirteen or fourteen, if not needed at home, went into service either in town or on farms. They did cleaning, washing, cooking, by hand. They became part of a different household, with different mores, so grew up rapidly. They played a vital role in houses where the lady of the house was waited upon. David Allen, speaking of his aunt Nellie:

‘She was in service at such a lot of places, assistant to the cook. I think, she was housemaid to a judge at Jacobean House at Derby. Here is a letter dated October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1902, when Nellie would have been 23, “Dear Nellie, I’m sorry to hear your mother is unwell and trust she will soon be better. We shall be glad to have you back as soon as your mother can spare you, as Janet has had a hard time of it and she is none too well having been spitting blood two or three days this week. Yours truly A. Addison.”’<sup>749</sup>

Thirty years later the vicar, Raymond Heawood, employed Harold Bennett Maddock for the boy’s work which included pumping the organ, and was relying on young maids to help run the house in 1933. He said:

‘We selected two girls, Eileen as a general maid and Anne for a nursemaid. They shared a room in “the servants’ quarters” upstairs and lived otherwise in the kitchen. The pay recommended was 7/6d each a week. In those days, the prevailing of economic recession and high unemployment, such wages with board and lodging were to be grasped at by the young members of large families.’<sup>750</sup>

Women were employed as housekeepers, cooks, nursery nurses, charwomen, dressmakers, even on the thrashing team, adding to family income. Some women could keep charge of their own earnings.<sup>751</sup> Edith McKeown remembered her mother’s life with an invalid husband:

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<sup>749</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 4.

<sup>750</sup> Raymond Heawood transcript, p. 8. 1933.

<sup>751</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 3.

‘We often talk about me mother, you know, she used to do the Vicarage; used to go to Bannisters washing; go to Sutton Hill washing. And do you know, I only said to my niece – I says “Fancy” I says, “your Granma, she used to iron with two candles at the table end.” They had no lamps at one time of day. When she used to be sewing, the same, she used to make us chemises and knickers, drawers you know, there wasn’t knickers closed up in them days, showing your dodge below your frock, any rate she used to have a candle on the sewing machine, marvellous.’<sup>752</sup>

Wives and daughters, as well as keeping house, helped with even the heavy work on a farm, pumping water from the well, milking, making butter and cheese, caring for pigs and poultry, working with horses, carting.<sup>753</sup> Wilfred Tunstall and Doris Stevenson remembered two working wives:

‘Women used to go working in the fields. Now there was Mrs. Sharratt. She used to follow the thrashing machine everywhere, carry bags of chaff and that, big as me, bigger than that all round. She’d do it all day. We got three bob a day. She was a fine woman, a strong woman. They’d be working all sorts of jobs women had. Aye, go potato-picking, hay-making an’ all. Yes. They’d go picking big stones out of land.’<sup>754</sup>

‘Banks down Sapperton Lane, a wonderful old family; a little bit of a lazy old man. His wife was a hard worker. She went to work in farms, so you can tell what sort of a woman she was. She’d have a baby and up and back to work in a week.’<sup>755</sup>

The Stephen Tunstall family ran Model Farm’s 88 acres. Farm work was relentless for all concerned. When Zilla Tunstall died aged 56 in 1928, her youngest daughter Enid was twelve.

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<sup>752</sup> Edith McKeown transcript, p. 2.

<sup>753</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 3.

<sup>754</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p. 5.

<sup>755</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p.3.



She was needed at home. She helped with all the work, milking, driving the tractor. Four years later, her sister

‘left home and left me to run the farm house and look after four men: two brothers, a semi-invalid father and one workman. And of course, I’d never been taught anything really. I was working outside, but we got through. You see, in them days, you just worked.’<sup>756</sup>

Keeper Herbert Jackson kept two cows despite having little land. His daughter Elizabeth supervised them as they ate the roadside verges until midday:

‘Dinner time, they used to ring an old tin can for me to come in. Well then, you see, the cows was full. They lay down practically all afternoon when Dad come to milk them. Well then I went on the road again till dark.’<sup>757</sup>

Married couples worked as business partners. Tid Archer helped her wheelwright husband Maurice. She said:

‘It was very hard work, it really was hard work. Two or three people did it; two at a pinch, but you could do with three. Sometimes Mr. Calfman was with us and then Maurice and I. You tapped it on with sledge hammers. One ’eld it, with one of these, if it was very tight, while the other hit it, else it would jump up, you see.’<sup>758</sup>

Harry Capewell, living at Birchills, said:

‘The thing that really did well here, was Mrs. Capewell’s hens and she really helped very much on the farm and sometimes I even had to borrow a bit off her, you know’.

Louie Capewell. remembering her hens:

‘Three hundred and I had thirty ducks, and they were something crossed with Aylesbury and we also had twelve Khaki Campbells and they laid beautiful eggs.’<sup>759</sup>

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<sup>756</sup> Enid Tunstall and Wilfred Bridges transcript, p. 1.

<sup>757</sup> Elizabeth Whiting transcript, pp. 3, 4. Using the ‘Long Meadow’, i.e road verges, as they had very little land.

<sup>758</sup> Tid Archer transcript, p. 3.

<sup>759</sup> Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, p. 8.

Nellie Allen married butcher Leonard Wood, in 1909, setting up home, with a small area of rented land. They bought a horse for a light spring cart, so that Nellie could make her living earning as a carrier to Derby and sell her produce or a calf, held in with nets. George Wright at the Holly Bush remembered this:

‘On Thursday evenings, they used to come round the village and just see if anyone had any errands for them, things they wanted people to get. Then on Friday, they used to set off with this cart and go to Derby and back. They had a sort of double seat in and some sat facing the horse, and some the other way. They were rather fussy, and we used to go about as far as Sutton and then we used p’raps to pick Mrs. Fox up and people like that and we all had to be moved round, because they got in with these large egg baskets and they were very fussy about the load; there’s such a thing as being light or heavy on, you know; one thing is if the shafts are up in the air, or too low down. The chief thing they talked about were the crops, and the price of the different things that they’d got for sale – red currants for instance, or eggs – but they used to talk about people’s latest baby, but that was about it.’<sup>760</sup>

Nellie kept careful accounts of her carrier income, which show that, after the first bus came in 1923, her income went down. Leonard, who, having been ill during the last few years, now worked at Nestlé’s, with a regular income, began to give her a pound a week. She tried doing errands by bus, but that failed. She wrote:

‘Went with bus, only earned fare’. After February 5<sup>th</sup> 1926 is written ‘Was ill and Bad Weather so gave up the Friday work. Started retailing eggs to earn a living for myself N Wood’. She was forty-six.<sup>761</sup>

Women also needed to adapt to changes of modernisation. The majority of women earning were char-ladies or domestic servants. John Saville suggested that the invention of household

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<sup>760</sup> George and Mary Wright transcript, p. 2. David Allen transcript, pp. 7, 9.

<sup>761</sup> Louisa Eleanor Wood account book.

equipment replaced the need for domestics, hastening rural depopulation.<sup>762</sup> One advantage of domestic service was to be spending the day in a warm and comfortable house, school or shop. Three women remaining in the village ran small shops.

Marjorie Spooner ran the main village shop after 1931. She said:

‘They used to have it practically on credit, working shirts and so on, children’s socks. It was a real country store. Mind you, we did a good trade, if only my husband hadn’t spent the money, that’s when we would have made it. Saturday nights you never closed till half past ten. Old Mrs. Degg, from down the Bent, and Mrs. Harrison, they’d be paid, and you could fill a basket for under the bob. It was really hard work – potatoes in a sack. They’d queue up outside to get in.’<sup>763</sup>

An alternative for girls from wealthier families, with higher education, was to enter nursing, teaching, or go to agricultural college. Violet Bowles speaking of her parents, the Whites at Lodge Hill farm:

‘They were very conservative, my parents, very conservative. Oh, yes, even when I was out on nursing, if I ever bought a new pair of shoes, he was ever so strict, terrible strict. It would all have to go in the bank. Very conservative in those days, weren’t they?’<sup>764</sup>

Women, like the men, found ways of supplementing earnings. Their ‘expertise and proficiency could promote careful household economy and thrift.’<sup>765</sup> Richard Hoggart described the clip-rugs seen in more careful working-class homes.<sup>766</sup> Women used any spare time they had either to add to their income or reduce outlay, making pegged or knitted cloth mats. The Bradshaw sisters made both mats and wine. Millie said:

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<sup>762</sup> Saville, J., *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1851-1951* (London, 1957), pp. 122-124.

<sup>763</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 1. Mr. Spooner did a delivery round, which she included visits to the Ostrich Inn at Longford.

<sup>764</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 2.

<sup>765</sup> Verdon, N., The Modern Countrywoman: Farm Women, Domesticity and Social Change in Interwar Britain, in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 70, Issue 1, Autumn 2010, pp. 86-107.

<sup>766</sup> Hoggart, R., *The Uses of Literacy*, (Harmondsworth, 1957. 1977), p. 36.

‘Get yer ‘ess’an. If you get a nice bit of sacks. Look this is all stockings; this is one where you’ve got in strips.’ Of the wine: ‘But, you know, a glass or two makes you just as you don’t know what to do. You couldn’t stand a lot.’<sup>767</sup>

Until electricity was brought to Church Broughton in 1934, and then only for lighting, household work itself was arduous, with little time for extra earning. Women were washing clothes with water from the well, cooking with coal and wood, ironing with flat irons heated on the stove, caring for their families, making clothes, as well as helping on the farm or working for others. Women’s and children’s work could not have been done without the light of candles and lanterns.

## Change

W. M. Williams, when researching depopulation of rural areas, wrote that his own and other studies had portrayed ‘rural society as conservative, traditional, resistant to outside pressures and above all slow to change... modifying a way of life which is tenaciously stable’.<sup>768</sup> He became interested in the way a rural community responded dynamically to alterations in its environment. During the first forty years of the nineteenth century, there were changes in every direction, animal and land management, mechanisation and specialisation, but they came slowly. Contributors, speaking in the 1970s, were remembering how they had worked during and after the First World War, working with horses and sowing seed by hand. The post-war recession holding back investment and the availability of waste brewery grains for animal feed may have delayed mechanisation.

My contributors described different phases of developments in agriculture they had experienced. In 1900, the working day began early and ended late. The time it took to walk to work, to milk by

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<sup>767</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 9. Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, p. 1.

<sup>768</sup> Williams, W.M., Dynamic Equilibrium in Ashworthy, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed. Bell, C., (London, 1974), pp. 64, 65.

hand, to have only horse power, gave a different expectation regarding area and output. On a hot summer day, four men in a mowing gang, regarded the size of a field in a different way from a man with a horse-drawn mower or a modern man in an air-conditioned combine harvester.

Farmer David Allen at Bent House remembered:

‘Grandfather was a mower you see. He was in the mowing gang. There were four in the gang and they went at four o’clock in the morning with a scythe and they mowed an acre apiece. By that time, it was about eleven o’clock, it was too hot and then I suppose they had a rest. One behind the other like you get modern combines, scything the fields. And he did that for many years. I think he first had a mowing machine in about 1916. That was the early one and it cost about sixteen as many pounds, a Bamford two horse mower. It was a lot of money.’<sup>769</sup>

Joe and Hilda Harrison recalling the 1930s, explained:

Joe: ‘Oh, yes, it was all done by forks before the tedding machines come off.’

Hilda: ‘Well, they did it all by hand, didn’t they?’

Joe: ‘Oh I mean, when I started out work, we turned quite a lot by ’and and ’eaded it aht and shook it up and roughed it. Oh, real ’eavy work then, but I mean it’s nothing now, is it?’

Hilda: ‘Not nowadays.’

Joe: ‘It isna, it’s like ’oliday for’em, nowadays to what it used to be like years ago. Well, I don’t know, it’s sorta, I mean, when you’re on that job, it’s like int’restin’. It isn’t a lonely job, you know. You might be in a field, all on yer own, all day long, but, I mean, you’re never sort of lonely. It’s int’resting job like. I mean, no matter what, ploughin’ or ridgin’ or hoein’ or anything, none o’ these like.’<sup>770</sup>

Joe Summerfield remembered:

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<sup>769</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 3. There was a Smith, old man Dunn, Charlie Guy.

<sup>770</sup> Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 1.

‘We used to have to mow all round hedge side at one time of day. No, same as corn fields, they was all, when it were ready, all scythed off, corn tied up, put in the ’edge ready for yer binder to come in. I often go back to when there was no binders, scythed, yes. And then they ’ad a mowing machine – got as there was a rake on it and you sit on it and every now and again you’d take so much up. It still ’ad to be tied up with a bit of straw. I dunno what the old folks would say to see it today. You’d have four or five of ’em scything. And they were mostly Irishmen in them days, for ’arvesting and mowing and ’tater ’arvesting and that sort of thing. At one time of day, I’m not joking, if you were mowing, and you stopped, or you turned the ’orses a bit short, you’d leave a bit of grass, two inches, you’d have to stop and take that off with your knife, else you’d get told about it.’<sup>771</sup>



49. Stevenson’s team in front of the church and ploughing.

‘They often worked late, and you’d hear them clop-clopping down the road at night.’<sup>772</sup>Note on back of photo: Ruth Auden.

Time was considered differently. Work went according to the time of year, weather and day length from sunrise to dusk or later.<sup>773</sup> Days were all the same for those milking cows and caring for other animals, but Sundays were free for many and meant lighter work for most.

Stephen and May Tunstall had both worked at Etchells farm.

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<sup>771</sup> Albert Summerfield transcript, p. 4.

<sup>772</sup> Ruth Auden’s note on reverse of photo.

<sup>773</sup> Thompson, E. P., Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism, in *Past and Present*, 38, 1967, p. 59.

Steve Tunstall: 'I've been mowing in the mornings, in the summer time, before it's got properly light. Better for the horses and better for everything. Oh, I got up at four o'clock.'

May: 'You'd be in the field at four.'

Steve: 'For to save the horses, well p'raps till ten o'clock time, something like that. Then you'd be hay making, getting hay ready during the day, you'd be carrying as you'd be turning the horses out at eleven o'clock at night, plenty of times. Wake up in the morning? Easy! You'd know you'd got to do it and you'd got to.'<sup>774</sup>

The work required was different according to the size of establishment and deployment of labour. For example, milking at Trevor Allen's Forge Hollies smallholding with ten cows compared to work at Cromwell House farm or Etchells farm with sixty cows and six workmen:

Trevor Allen chided daughter Lillie: 'Me and Albert Drilling Corn and Harrowing late done Lillie went to Derby Late for Milking Corn gone in well Grand fine day'<sup>775</sup>(sic)

Joe Harrison remembering when he was fifteen:

'I mean 'arvest time, two of us'ld milk anywhere up to sixty, two of us, at nights. You can't average many more than eight an hour. We've milked above a 'undred gallons a day aht, just two of us.' When the Second World War began, he said, ' I milked night and morning on me own and I was milking eighty gallons a day, meself like, between seventy-five and eighty gallons a day, on me own, like. But I mean, ye've got to do it an' you never thought no more about it, like.'<sup>776</sup>

Steve Tunstall at Etchells:

'There were six men. They all used to milk. When the milking was done, we'd go home for breakfast. There were sixty cows in the dairy.'<sup>777</sup>

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<sup>774</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p.3. Thompson, E. P., *Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism*, in *Past and Present*, (Oxford, 1967), p. 77.

<sup>775</sup> Trevor Allen diary 5 4 1918.

<sup>776</sup> Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 2.

<sup>777</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 4.

The farming year began after harvest and harvest festival. There was some specialisation, breeding horses and pig-killing for instance, but most agricultural workers turned to any work as needed. Trevor Allen, at Forge Hollies, had a son and daughter to help with the work on his small holding, with 12 cows, a bull and thirteen horses. He kept diaries from 1918, when he was aged 71, to 1926. Each diary records the work of his family according to the season, showing the variety of skills required and intensity of work manually and with horses. Tractors with varied attachments would later replace much of this work. In 1919, Trevor wrote:

September and October: ploughing oat stubble, drawing straw for thatching, cutting and carting mangolds and turnips, preparing the fields: picking stones, rolling, sowing winter oats, November: ploughing, hedge cutting, thrashing, December, topping straw stack, thatching, carting and spreading dung, January: ditching, hedging, harrowing, chopping straw and roots, February: chain harrowing, splitting ridges for mangolds, March: topping willows for rails, April: fencing, sowing oats, peas, mangolds, ploughing for green crop, setting potatoes, dung carting, rolling and ridging mangolds; May: harrowing and rolling green crop, weeding, hoeing cabbage, dung carting, June: hoeing and singling mangolds then mowing and making hay, July: carrying and making ricks, thatching, August: cutting oats and corn, September digging potatoes, hedge brushing, ploughing. All through the year: looking after stock and fetching grains from Burton.<sup>778</sup>

Trevor Allen was farmer, horse breeder and butcher. Daughter Lilian Allen said:

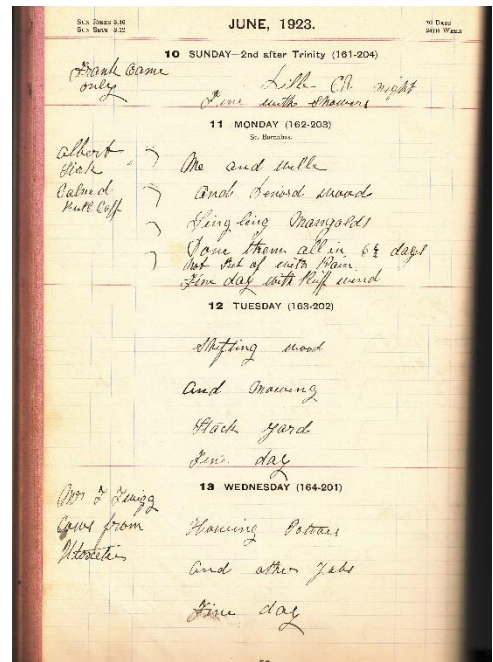
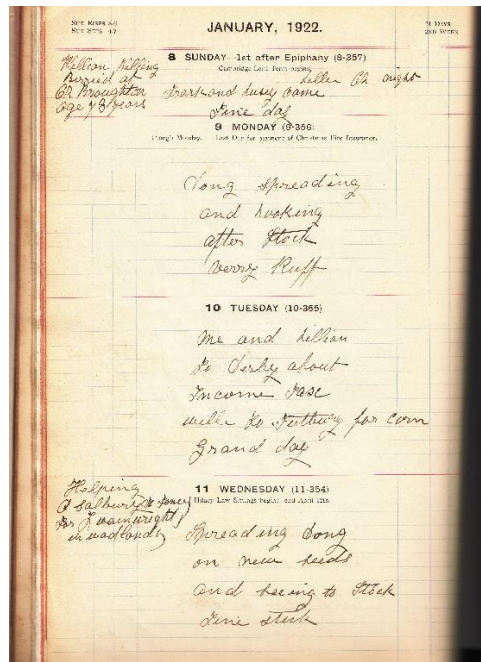
‘Oh, yes he used to do a lot of pig killing – Miss Sampson’s and salt them for ’er, and all round about. ’cause we’d plenty of relations, butchers. Oh, Father was a horse man. and then Albert, my brother was a great ’orseman; in addition to that he was always buying horses and breaking them in and selling them again.’<sup>779</sup>

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<sup>778</sup> Trevor Allen diary, 1919.

<sup>779</sup> Lilian Allen transcript, pp. 2., 5.





50. Two sample pages of Trevor Allen's diaries.

Agriculture was the traditional work in Church Broughton and continued, modified in time by technical advances. It was a collaborative venture. The hours were long, the pay poor, but the work, though arduous, was varied and families, with their workers, continued to make a living that way. By the 1970s, when the contributors were relaying their memories, farming had been transformed to a mechanised industry. Steve Tunstall, remembered as ‘the best waggoner in the district - he trained my brother to be a waggoner’<sup>780</sup> reflected on the loss of practical farming skills he had passed on before horses were replaced by tractors, saying:

‘It’s just like some of these young’uns to start and have a ’orse there and give ’em a bridle and a collar and a saddle and some chains and say, “Right get on and tackle that horse up”. Oh no, they wouldn’t know how.’<sup>781</sup>

<sup>780</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript, p. 1.

<sup>781</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p.1.

Tractors with steel wheels were first available in 1902 but did not meld with existing attachments designed for horses. Trevor Allen heard of a tractor ploughing locally and then, on the 14<sup>th</sup> August 1918 ‘Mr J Wainwright Cut Mr W Bullock field of wheat with Tractor The first we saw’ but, when Mr. Wainwright came to plough for Trevor, grandson David Allen said his tractor

‘got in the ditch at the bottom and it took them all week getting it out. They’d only got horses to pull it out!’<sup>782</sup>



51. Eddie Stevenson, ‘we had a tractor in about 1930.’<sup>783</sup>

When farmers had got used to tractors, they were a great saving in time, manpower and efficiency, but not everyone was happy to make the change. John Martin wrote that before the Second World War horses remained half the total draught power and did two thirds of farm work, but their numbers were going down.<sup>784</sup> Some found it difficult to adjust and were resistant to change. R. J. Bull farmed the Etchells with horses until he left in 1927. George Hambling felt the same way, having enjoyed the skill of ploughing with horses. Son Cyril said:

‘He had never ploughed with a tractor; as soon as tractors came in, he handed over. If you had your furrows the right width, the central furrow came neatly, but it was easy to go wrong, specially with horses. Nowadays ploughs are one-way ploughs so there is no need to go come again: blades plough in both directions not only to the right.’<sup>785</sup>

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<sup>782</sup> Trevor Allen diary. David Allen transcript, p. 8.

<sup>783</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 3.

<sup>784</sup> Martin, J., *The Development of Modern Agriculture, British Farming Since 1931*, (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 16. 1920-1922 1604000 horses, 1930-1934 994000 horses nationally.

<sup>785</sup> Cyril Hambling transcript, p. 3.

John Berger thought this conservatism was ‘neither blind nor lazy’, because there was no confidence that new machinery would be successful, meanwhile there was security and familiarity in routine.<sup>786</sup>

Others, even horsemen, welcomed the improvement, cutting work time in half, though the change was not immediate. Waggoner Steve Tunstall explained:

‘A tractor would take two or three furrows at once, you see. Horses only took one. You did one furrow at once.’<sup>787</sup>

David Grigg wrote that by the 1930s an improved, pneumatic-tired tractor had the equivalent power of a horse and was being used as well as horses. Also, with lorries replacing carts, it led to a decline in horse-breeding and a different way of life.<sup>788</sup>

Changes after the First World War were gradual but continuous. People adapted their skills to provide a more certain income. John Brown had been wheelwright on Main Street, his grandsons set up as builders and undertakers in Sutton on the Hill. Motor traders had agencies to repair machinery, which used to be brought to the blacksmith. Fancy metalwork was now being mass produced cheaply, so blacksmith Robert Wright’s son Eddie trained as a welder at Liverpool Technical School, branching out into welding tanks to hold fifteen thousand gallons of milk for the Co-op and Nestlé’s. The centre of the village was no longer the hub of all activities. Eddie and Ida Wright reflected:

Eddie Wright: ‘How times have changed – as I was saying, a set of shoes, when we first came round here, were three and eight pence. It wasn’t worth picking a horse’s foot up for. The more shoeing you did in those days, the worse off you were.’

Ida Wright: ‘And the farmers were awful payers.’

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<sup>786</sup> Berger, J., *Into Their Labours*, (London, 1992), p. xxiv.

<sup>787</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

<sup>788</sup> Grigg, D., *English Agriculture, An Historic Perspective*, (Oxford, 1989), p. 152. Brown, J., *Agriculture in England, A survey of farming, 1870-1947*, (Manchester, 1987), p. 103.

Eddie: ‘Oh, so in the early stages, my father and one or two more of us smiths, around the district – every village ’ad a smith in those days – they started a branch of the National Master Farriers Association and then they began to put the prices up, you see. And my father once had a letter from one of the farmers round ’ere, after they’d moved from three and eight pence to five shillings a set, and he kept that letter for years – you never read such a letter in yer life. He said – I don’t know what ’e said we were.’

Ida: ‘Robbers.’<sup>789</sup>

George Pywell had been Staff Sadler Sergeant during the First World War, mentioned in despatches. When he returned, he took the Holly Bush and did saddlery in the stables. His daughter Lin said:

‘He did saddlery as well as the pub, because business wasn’t terribly good, during the day time, you know. They hadn’t the money. Some of the farmers used to stand, stand over Dad and watch him, to make sure he didn’t sort of slack and he’d have to pay for something..... oh yes. No, they didn’t pay for ages.’<sup>790</sup>

Government intervention in agriculture, during the First World War, showed that some central control could increase output and give farm workers a higher wage. Derbyshire County Council contributed by providing smallholdings in 1918, but these were not always successful. It was devastating for those who went bankrupt, but Viscount Astor asserted the scheme was successful as only 12% failed. Seebohm Rowntree concluded in 1932 that ‘though a small-holder’s life was a hard one, given the right man with the right wife, many were succeeding.’<sup>791</sup> The Milk Marketing Board in 1933, showed it was possible to organise the dairy trade and give greater security for farmers. Apart from these interventions, farmers were left to try to earn a living for themselves and their workers. Jim Bowles mulled over the situation:

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<sup>789</sup> Eddie and Ida Wright transcript, p. 5.

<sup>790</sup> Lin Pywell transcript, p. 3.

<sup>791</sup> Astor, W., and Thomas, W. B. T., Land of Life quoted in Aster, W. and Rowntree, B. S., *The Agricultural Dilemma*, (London, 1935), p. v.

‘There was many a time we’ve sat round this fire and discussed things. It was a job to go [succeed]. You hardly knew which way. I mean if your parents gave you a lot you were lucky. I’ve walked to Derby from here with cows and your father would give you a shilling. Mind you, it was a lot of money then, that’s true. Now, you take Mr. Tipper. Now he was there, at Broughton House Farm, many years. Now that place got sold for about twelve thousand arguably, somewhere about ten or twelve thousand. Anyway, he had his farm sale and all he left was about eighteen thousand. Now, d’you follow me? It was a matter of – it was your life and, whether you got anything out of it or not, you didn’t kind of worry, because everybody was more or less the same in the farming line. And people that did kind of try, what shall I say, live past their means a little bit, they never got out of debt. The whole theme, it didn’t matter who was in parliament, has been cheap food and that has been produced by the farmers, you see. Now that has been the whole crux to the whole matter as regards agriculture for generations, so therefore, I mean there wasn’t much in it.’<sup>792</sup>

The Harrisons remembered the change mechanisation had brought:

Hilda: ‘And you used to sow it broadcast.’

Joe: ‘Oh, aye. I mean yer used to ’ave to ’opper it on. ’ave a ’opper rahnd yer back an’ fill it up with corn an’. Well, I mean, when ye’re ’opperin’ it, yer’ve got ter keep in step with yer feet, while yer walkin’.

Hilda: ‘You scoop it don’t you?’

Joe: ‘No, yer get it in yer ’ands like this – you ’ave the ’opper rahnd yer neck, ’ere, an’ of course, you start off with yer foot like this – yer’ve got ter keep in step with yer feet, with yer arms like.<sup>793</sup> Yer tek yer corn, so much to th’ acre like. And I mean, a ’opperful’d do yer, well just depends how long yer field was;’ ’opperful’ld do you p’raps from one

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<sup>792</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, pp. 3, 5.

<sup>793</sup> Swinging his arm inwards and forwards, from wide, to across his body.

end of field to th'other, like. Oh, it's a 'eavy job, same as artificial; I mean I've sowed bags and bags artificial 'oppered at times, with a 'opper. I mean, afore they 'ad these 'ere spreaders. There wasn't much weed abaht themadays as there is now, is there? Oh, no, I mean you could sow a field of corn and, when you used to plough it with 'orses and do, I mean, there wasn't a weed in the field as there is nowadays. Well, it's these 'ere combines, isn't it; all the weeds goes back onto yer field agen. Oh, there's more to it than anybody's aware of like, really.<sup>794</sup>

David Allen commented that in the old days the waste that came out under the thrashing machine was itself cleaned and all the weed seeds in it were sold for bird seed.<sup>795</sup>

Jim Bowles considered:

'There again agriculture has really changed in my time. Things have happened that I never thought I'd see - in the implement line. I can always remember a farmer bringing the first binder to cut a field of corn at Boylestone and I bet there were two or three hundred people there. And the old waggoners: "It'll never work! It'll never work!" "It'll perhaps cut this and that'll be the end of it!" Then there came the combine and practically everything for ... Chemicals have come in. You get these things along, but, of course, you have to pay. I've never made any silage; it was all hay. In my time, agriculture has changed terrific. I don't think any other industry has changed so much.'<sup>796</sup>

Oil and petrol engines were becoming widespread by 1935, reducing the number of horses nationally by 600,000 over ten years and the need for their feed.<sup>797</sup> The introduction of tractors to replace horses meant there was no income from breeding them; blacksmiths, wheelwrights and saddlers had to find other work. Improvement in transport enabled people to find employment

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<sup>794</sup> Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 2.

<sup>795</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 10.

<sup>796</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 5.

<sup>797</sup> Astor, W. and Rowntree, B. S., *The Agricultural Dilemma*, (London, 1935), pp. 61-63.

and shop elsewhere putting an end to Nellie Wood's carrier business. Change in farming practice required fewer labourers. The number of farm workers was already in decline before they were monitored separately by the census in 1921. Between 1921 and 1940, they reduced nationally from 996,000 to 759,000.<sup>798</sup>

Training for farmers was through experience. Even in the 1930s, few went to grammar school or college. Apart from Thomas Bullock and Samuel Harvey, wealthier farmers' children who had further education did not return to farming. Some daughters went to college, as did Eddie Wright for welding, but most skilled workers had learnt on the job. As a result of technical advances, the number employed in agriculture and associated trades, reduced over this period. In Church Broughton, these workers were able to find alternative work at Burton upon Trent brewery, Fauld Gypsum pit, Hilton gravel pits, the river authority and the local council. Labourers were less dependent on the farms for employment, which altered the relationships in the village. Living in a village without a ruling resident family, meant that people could look for more remunerative work outside the parish, whilst still living in it, and others could move in, without a village job.

## Conclusion

The oral history provided by contributors gave a sense of the emotional experiences they had as a result of changes happening during this period up to the Second World War. They described the anguish of depression after the 1914 war and the adjustments they had had to make. They were disappointed to find their way of life, that had seemed settled, disrupted by events beyond their control. As mechanisation increased, it gradually replaced the skills that had been passed down the generations in Church Broughton. Ancillary trades dependent on an agricultural community, wheelwright and blacksmith, were reduced or lost together with saddler, tailor and

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<sup>798</sup> Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, *A Century of Agricultural Statistics*, (London, 1968), p. 62.

cordwainer. The physical requirements were being supplied in new ways, but the presence of vicar, schoolmaster and policeman remained secure. After reading descriptions of more than twenty other villages, none of them detailed the experiences of people living in a similar community during this period.

The workforce in Church Broughton changed early in the twentieth century, with the loss of artisans. Work for farm labourers became more precarious, but my contributors expressed pleasure and pride in their skills and achievement. They described working conditions and relationships. Despite the hardships of agricultural work before mechanisation, they showed resilience and resignation. The cheese trade had been very local and that continued while all the small local cheese factories drew milk from the farms. As soon as farmers began to sell to London, they were drawn into a national industry beyond their control. This brought greater competition between local producers and increased vulnerability. Making cheese had taken account of the natural annual cycle for cows and grass, whereas selling milk meant adjusting to supply a demand throughout the year.

The dairy industry with perishable milk as the end product, was vulnerable. Farmers vied for customers and for a reasonable price to cover their costs as wages rose. The government supported agriculture during the First World War, which was followed by depression, and intervened again with the Milk Marketing Board in 1933 to give a reliable price and control supply. Women contributed to the household through physical work and their own income.

Farmers' lives were as vulnerable as their workers. Profitability had been helped by Government intervention during the First World War, but financially the milk trade continued to be challenging as long as the selling price did not reflect the cost of production. Dairying was transformed when the Milk Marketing Board, formed in 1933, guaranteed a minimum price for producers and



encouraged consumption.<sup>799</sup> This removed the stressful burden of finding a buyer and arguing a price. Milk Marketing Board inspectors and, in 1944 the development of artificial insemination brought improvements in milk production until John Gummer in 1991 as Minister of Agriculture was determined to end what he saw as ‘a statutory monopoly’, resulting in a return to the price wars over milk seen before 1933.<sup>800</sup>

There were hard times after the First World War. The war itself was barely mentioned except as a time of adjustment to difficult circumstances. Improvements in farming technology, the imposition of a minimum wage and the post-war recession reduced the number of agricultural workers. In this ‘open’ parish with private housing, it was possible for redundant workers to remain and find work in the surrounding district, where the strength of farm labourers was welcomed.<sup>801</sup> The population remained relatively even. This gave flexibility for employers, who could find extra part time workers when needed. Wages were supplemented by the work of wives and children as well as gardening and poaching, which was tolerated in Church Broughton but not on Sudbury estate.

By 1935 farmers had become more adaptable, efficient and enterprising. Lord Astor and Seebohm Rowntree concluded that those farming between 50 and 150 acres, using family labour had an advantage. Despite unemployment of farm labourers having risen, those remaining, with higher wages and contacts beyond the farm, through radio and motor transport, had achieved greater status and respect. Agriculture, nationally, was to be seen as an industry with the same advantages and constraints as any other.<sup>802</sup>

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<sup>799</sup> Agricultural Marketing Act 1933.

<sup>800</sup> *Milk: The Milk Marketing Board and the 'Milk Crisis*, [elmbridgemuseum.org.uk](http://elmbridgemuseum.org.uk).

<sup>801</sup> Mills, J. and D. R., Rural Mobility in the Victorian Censuses: Experiences with a Micro-Compter Program, *Local Historian* (August, 1988).

<sup>802</sup> Astor, W. and Rowntree, B. S., *The Agricultural Dilemma*, (London, 1935), pp. 61-63, 89-91.

At the time of recording, the farming life my contributors described was gone. Tractors and machinery had replaced farm labourers. The work had changed, horses had gone. There was nostalgia for some of their experience and regret, recognising that work had been arduous but they had had pleasure in their abilities in the fields and knowledge of horses. They were puzzled as to whether the new way of farming was an improvement. George Ewart Evans had concentrated on the detailed skills of arable farm workers in Suffolk. My contributors gave similar information for a dairying rather than an arable district, both men and women describing their daily lives and contribution to the community.

The laying of sewerage in 1968, led to central land, Etechells, Old Hall and Broughton House farms being converted for housing, leaving only Cromwell House actively farming within the parish centre, but great-grandchildren and grandchildren of my contributors still farm and live in the parish. Several farms have diversified and use buildings for warehousing and offices. Very few residents any longer work in agriculture. Church Broughton has developed as a commuter community.

## Chapter Five: Living in Church Broughton

My task was to discover the way people related to each other in a parish with no over-riding leader, no resident lord of the manor. Who took leading roles and what justified their authority? What strands held people together so that the community was stable and strong? How people related to each other, how they spoke of each other, their warmth, frustration, anger, could clarify the whole of which they were a part. They were, and spoke of, individuals but they also described how people associated with each other, supportively, without arrogance and with empathy.

Study of community was popular in the 1960s and 1970s, but, as Alison Twells wrote had ‘a potentially fraught relationship with academic history’ being seen as ‘insufficiently rigorous’.<sup>803</sup> William Hoskins, suggesting that people’s lives as well as surroundings were important, wrote that ‘the local historian must learn to ask sociological questions.’ He quoted American sociologist Lewis Mumford: ‘Men are attached to places as they are attached to families and friends. When these loyalties come together, one has the most tenacious cement possible for human society’.<sup>804</sup> My contributors’ words convey their feelings in a way that parish council minutes or Alfred Auden’s diaries do not, describing the relationships within this parish community and its dealings with outside authority.

Melanie Tebbutt considered that ‘gossip plays a formative part in the shaping of social values’ and reveals the guidelines governing a group’s behaviour.<sup>805</sup> My contributors spoke of their life experiences where they were living. They also had connections, through relatives and work, beyond the parish. Being an ‘open’ parish, there was no single person exercising control over behaviour. There were networks of association through which prompts for adjustments in

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<sup>803</sup> Twells, A. *Community History*, [https://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/community\\_history.html](https://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/community_history.html)

<sup>804</sup> Hoskins, W.G., *English Local History, the Past and the Future*, (Leicester, 1967), p.20. Elias, N., *Towards a Theory of Communities*, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed Bell, C. and Newby, H., (London, 1974), p. xix.

<sup>805</sup> Tebbutt, M., *Women’s Talk, A social history of ‘gossip’ in working-class neighbourhoods, 1880-1960*, (Aldershot, 1995, 1997), p.1.

behaviour, could return it to within acceptable limits. Paul Ormerod commented that people live within a society, interacting through ‘real-life social networks in which people meet, gossip, chat, argue. Networks in which people’s choices, behaviour, opinions can be influenced, shaped, even altered dramatically by the process of social exchange with other people.’<sup>806</sup> Of all the networks my contributors talked about, family was the most important.

Peter Mewett, writing about Clachan, a crofting village on the island of Lewis, commented on the number of relationships and how ‘the social position of each person produces a commonly known and understood basis for their interaction with others in the community’. He found that most newcomers were accepted, just one couple was ostracised, seen as aloof.<sup>807</sup> Like Clachan, for people growing up in Church Broughton there was already a social structure, based on reputation and length of residence; incomers of similar status were tolerated and absorbed. Those with leading roles had also been incomers - farmers who were tenants of the Duke of Devonshire’s four farms, the vicar, schoolmaster and police sergeant, all willing and able to take the initiative, their wives offering support. They were accepted.

There were networks of people over time in Church Broughton: through work, church, chapel, farms, school, public houses, Oddfellows, family homes. Hoskins said: ‘the great strength of the rural community above all lay in this interrelationship and longevity.’<sup>808</sup> It may have seemed that certain people were in charge but they acted in concert with others in the networks, some people belonging to more than one at different times in their lives. With gossip as a lubricant, the situation of most people was well known. The vicar was supported by farmer Church Wardens and Parochial Church Council, the headmaster had School Managers, so that they did not act entirely alone. These networks could provide assistance as well as exercising discrete control.

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<sup>806</sup> Ormerod, P., *Positive Linking*, (London, 2012), p. 7.

<sup>807</sup> Mewett, P.G., *Symbolising Boundaries, Identity and Diversity in British Cultures*, (Manchester, 1982) pp.75, 102.

<sup>808</sup> Hoskins, W.G., *English Local History, the Past and the Future*, Inaugural Lecture, (Leicester, 1967), p. 20. Law, J., Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity, in *Systems Practice*, 5 (1992), pp. 379-93.

As Nash wrote: ‘For most of human existence, you could never really escape who you were because you were in a village and everyone knew you and everyone knew your parents and that was your life. And everything you did was observed and commented on and had to fit within the rules of the village.’<sup>809</sup>

In Church Broughton, there was extended family support for children.<sup>810</sup> The 1901 census showed that seven couples had grandchildren, a nephew or niece living with them and one had an eight-month-old nurse-child. Evelyn Stevenson remembered:

‘Doris, she spent her days, her weekends, she stayed down there at Sapperton Manor with the Edges’, the home of her grandparents and uncles.<sup>811</sup>

Sunday was a great day for the wider family and friends to see each other, not only at church or chapel. Ethel Bannister said:

‘Mrs. Dean had tea every other Sunday afternoon with my mother. She was godmother to Barbara.’<sup>812</sup>

There were visits of sympathy for the bereaved: Trevor Allen recorded:

‘Me and Albert saw Mrs Bull Little Boy dead down in Sapperton Lane sorry for her Me and Mother To the Heath Top To See Mr. C. Teat’ after his mother had died. (sic)<sup>813</sup>

Clifford Geertz, when visiting Java, Morocco and Bali, was interested in how the people ‘defined themselves as persons’, how they ‘represented themselves to themselves and to one another’.<sup>814</sup>

In Church Broughton people identified themselves and others through family relationships; it set them in the landscape. It was part of most conversations; it explained things. Several families

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<sup>809</sup> Bell, C., The Use of Gossip and Event Analysis in the Study of Suburban Communities, in *Reclaiming Community*, ed Nash, V., (London, 2002), pp. 26, 27, 241. Nash, V., Why Community Matters in *Reclaiming Community*, ed. Nash, V., (London, 2002), p.3.

<sup>810</sup> Young, M., and Willmott, P., *Family and Kinship in East London*, (London, 1957, 1986), p. 58.

<sup>811</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 1.

<sup>812</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 3.

<sup>813</sup> Trevor Allen diary 12 2 1920, 24 6 1923. This boy was not part of R.J. Bull’s family, but Ida Bull gave a nightie for him to be buried in.

<sup>814</sup> Geertz, C., *Local Knowledge*, (New York, 1983), p. 58.

had lived in Church Broughton for generations, their marriages relating and entwining them to many others, giving strength and support: Alcock, Allen, Billing/e/s, Jackson, Johnson, Middleton, Salisbury, Tunstall.<sup>815</sup> Those with the security of owning their home also gave added permanence in the community. Cyril Hambling, Frankie Jones, May Tunstall, Hilda Harrison, Vera Kirk and Lilah Bridged explained:

‘Of course, the Sessions are connected to a lot of families, you see. There were a lot of them and they all married local families - Tunstalls, Goodwins.’<sup>816</sup>

‘The Alcocks are related to most.’<sup>817</sup>

‘Mr. Stephen Tunstall of Model Farm was second cousin, or was he own cousin to your father? He was second cousin, so that makes him not really - well he was related.’<sup>818</sup>

‘Jo’s father’s mother was a Foster, am I right?’<sup>819</sup>

‘You know Mrs. Millington, whose husband worked with Wright the blacksmith? Arnold Millington. This Mrs. Millington, her sister and Bernard Needham’s wife, were sisters.’<sup>820</sup>

‘My sister’s mother-in-law old Mrs Billinge used to live at Badder Green – cousins to Gables..... Wagstaff, ’e never ’ad souls belonging to him. ’e never did anyone any harm.’<sup>821</sup>

Households continued to hold together after the children had grown up and left, and mutual help came from all members. J. Littlejohn commented that in Westrigg, he found that smaller farms working on subsistence, relied on family and neighbours to help, ‘mutual aid being the norm’.<sup>822</sup> After Trevor Allen’s sons left home to farm for themselves at Dalbury, they continued to assist each other:

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<sup>815</sup> Including artisans, small-holders, landowners, tenants, labourers, all can be traced to the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Bell, C., *The Use of Gossip and Event Analysis in the Study of Suburban Communities*, in *Reclaiming Community*, ed Nash, V., (London, 2002), pp. 26, 27, 241.

<sup>816</sup> Cyril Hambling transcript, p. 1.

<sup>817</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 4.

<sup>818</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 3.

<sup>819</sup> Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 4.

<sup>820</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 1.

<sup>821</sup> Lilah Bridges transcript, p. 2.

<sup>822</sup> Littlejohn, J., *Class Relations in a Rural Parish: Westrigg*, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed Bell, C., and Newby, H., (London, 1974), p. 57.

‘I went to help Len Wood [son-in-law] to Kill is Pig; Frank came for pig wash and ameneey odd jobs also; Albert To Franks at Lees To work with Bella Mear; Me and Albert Getting Ready for Trashing I went to Dalbury To tell the Lads To come A Verry Dark Rainey day’ (sic)<sup>823</sup>

Families gave identity, maybe not close, but dependable. Family gave connections, position and worth at every level and after family, friends and colleagues. There was a sense of security in others knowing people’s circumstances and accepting them.

## Status

In 1900, a person’s position could be gauged by work, housing, responsibilities and by means of transport - foot, horseback, pony trap, cart or carriage. Within the parish most people walked to see each other. Bicycles were gaining popularity at the turn of the century, which quickened contacts. Wilfred William Tunstall remembered the novelty of Boylestone headmaster’s penny farthing:

‘He’d got a penny farthing and he’d no wheel at the far end, put a scuffler wheel on. You know what a scuffler is? And we’d ride on that at the back of the chapel. We couldn’t get off. We had to tumble off. We could get on, but we had to tumble off. I was always afraid the ’andle was up. It was a spikey, and I was always afraid it would dig in me foot, when I was up. Had to watch that. Oh, yes, people rode penny farthings. I learnt on that.’<sup>824</sup>

After the First World War younger workers, like Steve Tunstall took to cycling:

‘They used to walk miles and miles to work and get there at six in the morning. My father never had a bike. I had one after I started work. We tried to teach me Dad. Me and Fred

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<sup>823</sup> Trevor Allen diary 21 1 1914, 3 2 1914, 10 5 1920, 4 11 1918.

<sup>824</sup> Wilfred William Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

and one or two of the gals. We couldn't get him to do it. He wouldn't get the feel of it. He was a tall fella. Wherever he went, he used to walk.'<sup>825</sup>

Alfred and Edith Auden had bicycles when they came in 1904 and bought Gamages cycles £3 10s for their children in 1910.<sup>826</sup> Alfred never bought a car, walking or cycling himself, using the trap, travelling by bus and train and later accepting lifts by motor.

Cycling was not free from problems. Alfred Auden frequently had to mend punctures. George Bannister's children helped deliver the mail. Ethel Bannister remembered:

'The Boylestone road was the worst. We never went to Boylestone without a puncture. One day telegram after telegram came for Boylestone and that day all the bikes punctured. We had to mend one before we could take one telegram. We each had a bike and we weren't allowed to borrow.'<sup>827</sup>

Buying a car was an expression of wealth and prestige. Ernest Tipper and R.J. Bull acquired motor cars early: the Bulls had a Model T Ford, with brass fittings, windscreen 4d extra, in 1915. Annie Atkins, widow of Mount Pleasant farmer Henry Atkins, bought a car. The acquisition of motor transport, as well as emphasising status, was also an asset for the community. Ruth Auden recalled:

'Old Lettie [Althea] Fearn lived with her brother Jacob, both infirm and incapable of keeping house or their persons clean. My mother realised Lettie would have to go to the workhouse infirmary at Burton, and rang up the Matron, while Mr. Tipper promised to take her in his car (one of the first in CB). She had never been in a car, and kept saying "Not today, Mrs. Auden. Not today", but there was nothing else for it. Mother went with her. They cleaned her all up, cropped her hair, and she lived for some years, fairly contented in the end.'<sup>828</sup>

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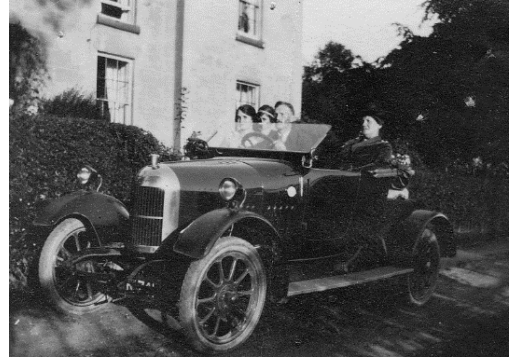
<sup>825</sup> Stephen Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

<sup>826</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 10.

<sup>827</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 3.

<sup>828</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 8.





52. R.J. Bull with: Ida, and children, Florence, Mary, Evelyn and Frances Prince. Percy Atkins, his mother, Ruth and Rachel Auden



The unmarried Stevenson daughters. Evelyn, carrying her hat, was the one left at home to farm and care for the family.

Indications of status, however subtle were noted. When you were able to buy a car was noticed at the petrol station, family farmers like John Stevenson being much later than the Duke of Devonshire's tenants. Vic Prince, cousin to David Prince and Florence Bull said:

'On the main road, I think we were the first people to sell petrol. There was very few cars. The Stevensons, not for many years. The Bulls always had one.'<sup>829</sup>

When the Stevensons acquired a car, it was more for work than prestige. David Allen commented:

'Ernest Stevenson was still sending his milk, when everybody else was selling it locally, was still taking it to Tutbury station and sending it to London every night. Evelyn used

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<sup>829</sup> Vic Prince transcript, p. 3.

to take it in the car, you know. Pushed into the seats, tied up with string, back doors out like wings. Four seats taken out and four or five seventeen-gallon churns in the back.’<sup>830</sup>

There were men in this community recognised as having higher status. The term gentleman in general society implied wealth, high social rank, good breeding. An estate parish had the squire in charge, whereas Church Broughton had authority and responsibility distributed, with continuity through generations and length of tenure. The aristocracy and estate-owners had their own network of friends and relations living in grand properties scattered across the county. No such gentlemen lived in Church Broughton parish. There was only one such associated with the village, the Duke of Devonshire, but he was remote, at Chatsworth, contact with the village being through his agent. There were no gentry, defined by Ronald Frankenberg as ‘living either on capital or rent’.<sup>831</sup> Those in the village considered the equivalent of gentlemen were the Duke’s tenants at Etchells, Mount Pleasant, Heath House Green and Broughton House farms, the Duke’s standing as landlord giving them prestige. Those farming these largest farms were incomers born outside the parish, though some from not far away. They were expected to take leading roles in the village and were treated with respect, but not necessarily warmth.<sup>832</sup> It was not so much the things people said about Ernest Tipper, Church Warden, farming Broughton House, but the absence of praise that suggested he was a difficult person. Identifying the people in the 1912 photograph of the sale for church bells, Evelyn Stevenson pointing out the back row, said:

‘Mr. Jones, Mr. Atkins, Mr. Tipper, Mr. Atkins was a wonderful man. Mr. Tipper from the farm here, not Mr. James Tipper, I don’t think Mr. James came into the village very much, but he was a lovely man, was Mr. James.’<sup>833</sup>

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<sup>830</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 9.

<sup>831</sup> Frankenberg, R., *Communities in Britain, Social Life in Town and Country*, (Harmondsworth, 1966, 1975), p. 70.

<sup>832</sup> Places of birth: Henry James Atkins - Ashbourne, Robert James Bull - Leek, George Edge – Normanton, followed by son George Leopold, Findern, Thomas Harvey - Stanley and his wife Esther - Derby, David Prince - Foston, John Thomas Johnson - Glutton Bridge, John Stevenson – Oakthorpe, Charles and James Tipper – Hatton.

<sup>833</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 4. Looking at the photograph of raising money for the bells.

Joe Harrison's brothers worked for Ernest Tipper, who kept up appearances despite having few workers:

'But, I mean, 'e'd 'ad that lawn mown every week, every Saturday. They were always one for keeping things up to it, like. All the flower borders were looked after.'<sup>834</sup>

Tenants of the Duke of Devonshire played principal roles in the community. Henry Atkins, farming Mount Pleasant, contributed as Church Warden, his wife as organist. Ernest Tipper, at Broughton House, was Church Warden. James Tipper, farmer at Heath House Green, was a member of the Board of Guardians, a School Trustee and a County Councillor. Doris Stevenson said:

'James was a grand old man. The Tippers were very good church builders and people.'<sup>835</sup>

Some farmers, mentioned as 'gentlemen', worked hard on their farms with the workers, others sat back and supervised, so there were varied assessments of the justification of the category gentleman, a quality based on their attitudes to wealth and behaviour. The size of the farm, the number employed, modernisation, sending their children out of the village to school, employing women in the house and having outside interests contributed to the assessment of being a gentleman within the village, with the expectation that they would be honourable and generous.<sup>836</sup>

Ethel Bannister said:

'Mr. Wilkes lived at Cromwell House. He was a gentleman farmer. I forget who lived at Broughton House, before Mr. Tipper, but he was a gentleman.'<sup>837</sup>

The subtlety of status is shown by Raymond Jones' recollection of his father's story of having bought a George Morland horse painting from gentleman farmer William Wilkes, and the local

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<sup>834</sup> Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 3.

<sup>835</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 3. Ernest Tipper married Lucia Elizabeth in 1923, when he was 55, she 33.

<sup>836</sup> Marsden, T., Land Ownership and Farm Organisation in Capitalist Agriculture, in *'Locality and Rurality: Economy and Society in Rural Regions'*, ed. Bradley, T., and Lowe, P., (Norwich, 1984), p. 129.

<sup>837</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 1. Jacob Willat had lived at Broughton House from 1860.

doctor wanting it, did not come himself but sent his servant to buy it, the implication being that it was not appropriate for a village schoolmaster to own such a masterpiece.

‘Old Dr. Livesey from Sudbury, ’e drove a carriage and pair and ’is coachman, ’e came round to our house and ’e offered me some farthings. And ’e said “Well, I paid five pounds for this picture.” ’e said “I’ll give you twenty pounds for it, Mr. Jones.” ’e said “No, it’s worth twenty pounds to you, it’s worth twenty pounds to me.” And ’e wouldn’t sell it.’<sup>838</sup>



53. The wedding of John Thomas Johnson’s daughter Cissie (Ellen Elizabeth), 18<sup>th</sup> June 1907 at Etchells farm.

John Thomas Johnson followed Richard Bott, renting Etchells farm 1897-1907. His daughter married a London grocer, Hall Walton White. There were comments related to John Thomas Johnson’s behaviour as a farmer. Raymond Jones and Doris Stevenson said:

‘in fact, ’e wasn’t a farmer really; ’e was a businessman, turned farmer.’

‘He ‘used to throw bushels and bushels of apples to the school children over the wall between the Etchells and the school. He always rode round the farm on his pony.’<sup>839</sup>

The Etchells tenant following John Thomas Johnson was Methodist R.J. Bull. Gilbert Orme knew him:

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<sup>838</sup> Raymond Jones of his father, transcript, p. 7.

<sup>839</sup> Raymond Jones transcript, p. 5. Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 2.

‘The Etchells was vacated by Mr. Johnson, Gentleman Johnson.... R.J. Bull, he was a gentleman farmer. He was really the only gentleman farmer, except Mr. Tipper. He [R. J. Bull] became an alderman. He kept about six men. Of course, you needed more men, because they hadn’t modern appliances. And two maids in the farmhouse. He retired because he became interested in politics, County Councillor.’<sup>840</sup>

Despite being a gentleman farmer, R. J. Bull worked beside his men. His waggoner Steven Tunstall said:

‘Mr. Bull did anything. He used to milk, any job as come on, he used to help with, ’e did. There wasn’t many as didn’t go on with the work. There weren’t so many gentlemen farmers in those days.’<sup>841</sup>

Those considered gentlemen farmers were not necessarily close. John Prince Bull commented:

‘The three main farming families, the Stevensons, the Tippers and the Bulls did not have much social contact; my father was an active member of the National Farmers Union, but I don’t think the others were. We, of course were in frequent contact with the Sapperton farm - from c.1922 my mother's brother David Prince farmed there.’<sup>842</sup>

The Bulls accepted that their lifestyle, even as Methodists, was different, superior, but, because not completely separated from the servants, intermingled. Florence Bull commented:

‘Even in my childhood, I’m afraid that at breakfast and midday dinner at the Etchells, the two maids sat at one table in the breakfast room and we sat at the other.’

Her husband, Albert Hearn added:

‘Partly it wasn’t snobbery, you want a little bit of time on your own but there was snobbery behind a lot of it.’<sup>843</sup>

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<sup>840</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript, p. 2.

<sup>841</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 4.

<sup>842</sup> John Prince Bull transcript, p. 2.

<sup>843</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 12.

If not snobbery, there was ambition in the search for better education for this farmers' children. Sybil Marshall, finding a similar situation in the Fens, where the children of accepted leaders of the community were sent away to school in town, felt it 'did not augur very well for the future health of the rural community'.<sup>844</sup>



54. Contrasting views of the Rev. Alfred Auden and his wife Edith: both doing manual work at home and, centre, together with his mother, in the foreground, at Repton School Speech Day 28 6 1912.

The vicar, with the churchyard, glebe and large Vicarage as his estate, was also considered a gentleman, though with a different authority and work. Villagers were puzzled, seeing the vicar, with education and status of a gentleman, working manually.

Ruth Auden remembered that, watching Alfred Auden digging the roadside garden,

'his parishioners passing by would say "Quite busy, Mast' Audin!" (To see him reading or writing in his study, wouldn't have struck them as work, I suppose!) We always said that on the last day, Mother would be found with a broom!'<sup>845</sup>

Despite being able to employ young servants, Alfred Auden and his wife Edith needed to work in the house and garden themselves. This confused villagers – in some ways they appeared wealthy, in other ways less so. Miss Sampson, whose father had farmed Mount Pleasant, sent her daily paper on to the Audens, after she had read it. Lilian Allen, whose brother carried the paper said:

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<sup>844</sup> Marshall, S., *An Experiment in Education*, (Cambridge, 1963,1975), p. 29.

<sup>845</sup> Ruth Auden reverse of photo and transcript, p. 17.

‘She read it in the morning and Audens had it – they were very mean and rich – and she used to send them her newspaper.’<sup>846</sup>

Being considered a gentleman in the village context, did not rely on wealth. Harry Alcock ran the decommissioned Royal Oak as a shop. Millie Bradshaw affirmed:

‘When ’arry Alcock, not Walter Alcock, because I wouldn’t care a toss about ’im. ’arry Alcock was a perfect gentleman and very nice.’<sup>847</sup>

The gentlemen farmer’s labourers were dependent on them for employment and housing. While the workers were living on low wages, these farmers were accumulating wealth, which gave them the opportunity to help others.<sup>848</sup> R.J. Bull helped the Bowles family when they returned from emigrating to Canada, having had a difficult time there. Jim Bowles remembered Canada:

‘You see Pa got kicked and Pa was very, very ill. Well, out there, there was no charity; there was nothing at all. You could be in dire poverty. I’ve been in a Dr. Barnado’s Home. I’m not afraid to tell anybody.’<sup>849</sup>

When the Bowles managed to get back to England, they stayed with various relatives and then R.J. Bull let them one of his Etchells farm cottages in Chapel Lane.

Some - John Auden and Daniel Blood – had emigrated to Canada and remained there.

The gentlemen farmers came from established farming families. Staying for twenty years or more, they formed a stable structure, beside the networks of families and smaller farmers. Farmers Stevenson, Edge and Tunstall, were not described as gentlemen by contributors, despite the size of their farms. This may have been because they had large families, with no need for resident

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<sup>846</sup> Lilian Allen transcript, p.2.

<sup>847</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p.6.

<sup>848</sup> Amount left at probate: William Willatt 1886 £421 9s., Richard Bott 1897 £6,971 18s. 5d., the Rev. William Auden 1904 £42,128 15s. 5d., Henry James Atkins 1915 £5,296 5s. 4d., James Tipper 1931 leaving £8,556 12s. 3d., Stephen James Tunstall 1937 leaving £4,622 15s. 9d., Esther Harvey 1942 £2,093 15s. 4d., her husband Thomas Harvey 1902 £3,302 15s. 2d., Rev. Alfred Millington Auden 1945 £7,329 7s. 1d. John Samuel Stevenson 1947 £6,262 1s. 2d., Ernest William Tipper 1947 £19,581 16s. 2d., Robert James Bull 1951 £10,999 5s.

<sup>849</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 3.

workers.<sup>850</sup> Other smaller farms – Birchills, Bradder Green, Cotefields, Crowfoot, Dark Lane, Forge Hollies, Muse Lane, also depended on relatives to help do the work.<sup>851</sup>

Status was complex. Ernest Tipper, the Duke's tenant at Broughton House farm, employing labourers and a maid, was considered a gentleman. His neighbour was John Stevenson at Old Hall farm. They had similar backgrounds in that Ernest Tipper's father had been a coal merchant with a few acres in Hatton before farming Heath House Green, while John Stevenson had worked with his uncle at the Church Broughton brickworks and began farming in a small way. They were different characters. Ernest Tipper married late and had no children. John Stevenson was more expansive, with a large family, generous – letting the Allins fetch water from Old Hall farm, when their well was contaminated and helping the vicar. Ruth Auden remembered that he set the Audens two or three rows of potatoes in one of his fields:

‘He also carted our half-truck of coal from Tutbury station (summer price!) and brought the load of horse manure from the breweries, for Mother's seed growing in the frame. Very good-natured, he was.’<sup>852</sup>

John Stevenson was bound by reciprocal relationships: with the vicar from whom he rented glebe fields, and later as tenant of Basil Mallender who favoured his daughter Freda. Though not Church Warden, John Stevenson was a School Manager. He moved into the prestigious Etchells farm, but not quite into the gentleman category.

## How They Saw Each Other

There was a special relationship between the gentlemen's families and their house servants, who were often keen observers of their employers. Servants were part of the household, but not of the family. They did the manual work, but in 1900, the farmer's or vicar's wife was also doing chores

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<sup>850</sup> George and Harriet Edge had fifteen children.

<sup>851</sup> See Appendix, 1.

<sup>852</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 2.



beside them. When Alison Light portrayed the life of servants in *Mrs. Woolf and the Servants*, she ‘tried to see service in terms of what it had to offer them, and what they made of it’. Her own grandmother had felt she was ‘treated like dirt’.<sup>853</sup> In Church Broughton there was pride in living in a gentleman’s household. They were girls and boys, who, despite doing the hard work (before washing machines, dishwashers and central heating), seem to have enjoyed themselves. Millie Bradshaw (1900-1976), ninth of ten children of John Bradshaw, waggoner at Heath Top farm:

‘When I left school – I left at thirteen and Mrs. Auden wanted to train me, you see, for housework, so I came in there. They treated me just like one of themselves, of course. D’you know, I waited on the Bishop of Derby in that there dining room, for lunch, when there was a confirmation service ’ere. I’ve also just took afternoon tea – I don’t know – it would be the Dowager Duchess of Devonshire.’<sup>854</sup>

Millie knew the distinction of her role as a servant in control of the kitchen, but on good terms with the Auden children, Jack her own age. She remained friends with Rachel, six years her junior, after the Audens moved to Norfolk. The self-assurance she gained at the Vicarage gave her confidence later to open her home for whist drives, attended by those she might have served at the Vicarage.

Like Millie Bradshaw, Doris Stevenson (1894-1981), fourth of John and Maria Stevenson’s ten children, was spared to work for elderly Ann Tipper and her household at Heath House Green.

‘One day my father had been to take the milk and came in and said “Mother, someone’s poorly, can you spare Sis?” I lived with Mr. James Tipper at the Green. His mother was living in those days. I went to live with them, because the mother was going blind and a knitter. Yes, I learnt to pick up the stitches very nicely. Old Mrs. Tipper’s sister was living there too. Mrs. Tipper’s great thing was to keep her caps nice. I learnt to take them

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<sup>853</sup> Alison Light, *Mrs. Woolf and the Servants*, (London, 2007), p. xxi.

<sup>854</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 6.

apart and wash them and put them together again – little bits of flowers under the lace and black velvet ribbon. It used to be my great joy.



55. Ann Tipper

‘I was trained to get up and do the kitchen range on Friday morning and they had a huge brick oven to make bread. I could hardly reach over it. The tables in the farmhouse were scrubbed and done over with sand and whitening to make them look nice, and all the legs done to the bottom, and the stools and a bench for three men, to say nothing of the cooking. And the men did eat a lot.’<sup>855</sup>

At Etchells farm, May Walker, born in Stramshall Staffordshire came to work as dairymaid for the Bulls, when she was fifteen. She later married the waggoner Stephen Tunstall. May said:

‘I used to do the cleaning in the house. I used to do the milk cooling and wash the milk things, 20 and 17-gallon churns to clean. The main thing was you could have the cold water in the dairy and I used to carry all the hot water across from the house. If I had a pound now for every bucket of water I carried I’d be all right. It never used to worry you in those days. The main thing was doing your job and doing it well.’<sup>856</sup>

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<sup>855</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 3.

<sup>856</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 4.

At Broughton House farm, Margaret Jackson was promoted to be cook for Ernest Tipper by the time she was twenty-one, supervising the next child helper, Elizabeth Tunstall, aged 14, sister of Stephen.<sup>857</sup>

There was an interdependence between gentlemen farmers and other families: James Tunstall, tailor, had no work to offer his children, so Ernest Tipper was a useful employer for them when they left school. It was a relationship that helped both parties and by moving children into different households, reinforced community relations.

James Tipper at Heath House Green, apart from Doris Stevenson, also had a resident waggoner and boy. Likewise, Henry Atkins at Mount Pleasant had two men and a boy resident and two teenage girls. Servants and children of the house were thrown together in a close relationship. Millie Bradshaw's friendship with Rachel Auden was similar to May Walker's support of John Prince Bull.<sup>858</sup>

There were nuances in these relationships. After her husband died, Pamela Johnson was glad to be employed by Ida Bull. Pamela Johnson's father Thomas Salisbury had farmed Old Hall Farm and been sexton, so, in one respect, she had the same status as Ida Bull, but, as she stood ironing while Ida Bull was cooking, she was also the servant. At the Etchells, while the two maids sat at a separate table from the family, Pamela Johnson, always addressed as Mrs. Johnson when she was there, sat with the family.<sup>859</sup> There were these little distinctions, of which, though not mentioned, people would be aware.

Everyone being addressed as Mr., Mrs., Miss, or the Master gave respect to all regardless of their wealth or social position. Children were called by their Christian names, unless they came from

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<sup>857</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p.5.

<sup>858</sup> Mentioned in chapter 2.

<sup>859</sup> John Prince and Florence Bull transcript, p.3.

a gentleman's family and were older, or when they were addressed by a different name to avoid duplication:

Florence Bull said: 'Miss Ruth at the Vicarage - we always called Rachel Rachel. She was more my age.'<sup>860</sup>

Two boys were taught at the Vicarage. Ruth Auden said:

'John Prince used to come to us and his cousin John Prince Bull. Of course, John Prince Bull was called Prince to distinguish him.'<sup>861</sup>

Millie Bradshaw remembered: 'Now there was Jack Wall and Jack Auden, so Jack Wall that did the boots and knives and looked after the pony, he had to be called John.'<sup>862</sup>

Familiarity among working families was expressed through nicknames: Pikey Smith, Aley Smith, Dipper Millington, Seggie Johnson, his son Bodger, Gogle Gotheridge, Happy Smith, Tommy Cobbler, Mucky Billinge, Chicken Bradshaw and for places: Gobblechops Lane and Poverty Knob. Whereas Laurie Lee said that where he lived, nicknames were used to deal with transgressors, in Church Broughton there was more of a tone of friendly teasing, but the names stuck, so that the first names were almost forgotten.<sup>863</sup>

Frankie Jones explained: 'Aley Smith, that's the same one. Bore that nickname. Aley Smith, that's Jim Smith.'<sup>864</sup>

Paul Thompson wrote of respectability that it 'was more important to social standing than income'.<sup>865</sup> Ethel Bannister described a family with nine children, living at the end cottage of a row:

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<sup>860</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p.7.

<sup>861</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 18.

<sup>862</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 7.

<sup>863</sup> Lee, L., *Cider With Rosie*, (1959, Vintage 2002), p. 35.

<sup>864</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 4.

<sup>865</sup> Thompson, P., *The Edwardians*, (London, 1975), p. 127.

‘I don't know how, but they fitted in. They were very respectfully brought up. She never sent the children anywhere without sending the money with them. Mother said “I don't know how she manages. She is bringing those up right.” We made them boots and if we delivered them, the money was always there or the table. We were taught that if you had twenty shillings to the pound you could face anyone. Always save your money before you buy something.’<sup>866</sup>

Some people despite being barely tolerated by incomers, were accommodated. When a worker, after an accident, lost his job and the wife could not cope, they had to move. Vera Kirk said:

‘I remember when we came to look at the house, I said to them “Are they clean people?” and he said, “I'm afraid they're not.” But I'd no idea. I don't suppose we'd have come, if we'd known what we faced. It was astonishing that they were given another house. We couldn't understand it, living in such conditions.’<sup>867</sup>

People had different views of others, but generally in a forbearing, even fond, way. From the Vicarage, Ruth Auden remembered:

‘They were all funny characters in the Rookery and funny characters down Badder Green..... Tommy Cobbler married Mrs. Mee, because each thought the other had money. He was funny in the head and was made Special Constable during the strike, but long after, he thought he owned the Holly Bush and cottages, he sent bills for rent and signed them Thomas Harrison, Constable and Shepherd or some-such. They wondered if the pitch fork through his eye had affected his brain.’<sup>868</sup>

One woman impressed Frankie Jones and Les Allman:

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<sup>866</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 4.

<sup>867</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 5.

<sup>868</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp.2, 21.

‘Mrs. Sharratt – clatter bang each morning and chasing each other down the garden.’<sup>869</sup>

‘There was Mrs. Sharratt, she used to smoke a clay pipe and she’d come thrashing back end of the year. She used to go into the pub and have a drink and she could throw darts, but she dinna, she blew them out of her mouth..... She used to smoke this pipe near the war when you couldn’t get baccy, you know, she used to come to me “Les have you got a pipe or two, these bloody tea leaves are killing me!”’<sup>870</sup>

One couple, the Jack Smiths were remembered by Wilfred Tunstall, Ruth Auden, Florence Bull and Louie Capewell:

‘Happy Smith lived down Bent Lane. He was a very ignorant sort of farm labourer chap.’<sup>871</sup>

‘Happy Smith, he was a character. Mrs. Happy used to work for Hollis Hall at Sutton and he asked her how she came to fall in love with Happy. “Well” she said, “he used to ’tice me, ’tice me with apples.”’<sup>872</sup>

‘Happy Smith, when asked why he did not wear socks: “If I wore socks, they would make my feet sore.”’<sup>873</sup>

‘Mrs Happy Smith lived in the next end Royal Oak Cottages and died there. She could be black hard. She could really swear.’<sup>874</sup>

Frankie Jones said with pride:

‘Old George Banks, you must’ve ’eard, you know, of old George Banks and old George and me father, they were about the roughest devils in Broughton. They never gave into them.’<sup>875</sup>

Florence Bull commented:

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<sup>869</sup> Frankie Jones transcript, p. 16.

<sup>870</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 4.

<sup>871</sup> Wilfred Tunstall transcript, p. 13.

<sup>872</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p.20.

<sup>873</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 9.

<sup>874</sup> Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, p.1.

<sup>875</sup> Hilda Harrison and Frankie Jones transcript, p. 2.

‘Village beauties: Rosemary Frost, Alice Bowles, Jim Bowles’ sister - she was a maid with us at one time. A very nice family. Mrs. Guy was dark and always dressed in dark clothes. She must have been beautiful under the grime.’<sup>876</sup>

Of Ben Kirkland, Evelyn Stevenson said:

‘The old man, who used to stand on his head for half a crown, for anyone. When he was – how old was he Ed? – well in his seventies, wasn’t he? He’d do it for anyone for half a crown, and he could stand on his head!’<sup>877</sup>

And Harold Bennett Maddock remembered:

‘Bodger Johnson, Bodger and ’is wife. Now, they were a couple; they were good, they were nice people. ’e used to dig the graves and generally clean the, look after the stoking in the church and she used to clean the school, so they had a job between them. What was funny about ’er was, or different, she wore a cap and smoked a pipe. And ’e used to ’aircut as well. ’e used to stutter a bit as well; ’e used to say “ave you got a singaringaringaring a sack” I remember it now. Nice people, they were.’<sup>878</sup>

Eccentricity was not limited to the labourers. Ethel Bannister, strict schoolmistress, was a pioneering woman, recalled by Jim Tunstall:

‘Miss Bannister in those days had an old motorbike. Now this is the funniest part, Miss Bannister used to come out and start the bike up, get on the bike, put it in gear and when it was raining she had her umbrella and she used to go to Boylestone, like that, and she just operated the clutch and she never used to shut it down or anything when she got to the cross roads, but she had this umbrella and all the way to Boylestone, when it was raining. She was the first person in the village to have a television. It was nine-inch square and she took us, a gang of us to see this television and of course, we couldn’t make

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<sup>876</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 9.

<sup>877</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 5.

<sup>878</sup> Harold Bennett Maddock and Nerida Maddock transcript, p. 3.

it, it was right up against the wall, this little television and we sat there amazed, so after it was over, well I got up behind this here, to see what was going on!’<sup>879</sup>

People accepted idiosyncrasy and novelty. There was little pressure to conform. Oddity was viewed with a rye smile and some admiration for a woman with independence and spirit, who despite being a firm teacher, shared her interest in innovation with her pupils.

## Conduct

There was trickery, which some admired. Harassment of the vulnerable, resulting from their natural misfortune or their own fault, was entertainment for some but sorrow for the victim. Hilda Ward speaking with pride of her father, Billy Allman:

‘There was a Povey did a lot of egg laying trials and ’e had some real first-class stock. And Billy Middleton bought a cockerel from ’im. And it got out. And ’e came wandering up the drive and ’e saw me Dad sitting there and ’e said “Billy, ’ave you seen anything of a cockerel? ’E anna got in your ’en run ’as ’e?’ And me Dad says, “Come and ’ave a look”. So, they went in there and there was a cockerel there of course, but it ’an’t no tail feathers. It looked really rough. And ’e said “No” ’e said, “That’s not mine. Mine ’as got full plumage, it ’as. I’ve just bought it.” So ’e wandered off. And oh, I laughed. He’d pulled its tail feathers out and shoved them in the ground.’

Hilda showed that another time, Billy was taken aback, when found out:

‘My father, you know, was a road man. He used to do the roads and, at one time, there was a hen in the road, laying away. Well, my father used to take these eggs. One day, he put his hand under her, to take the egg and someone had written on it You Are A Thief. He never took another one!’<sup>880</sup>

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<sup>879</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 10.

<sup>880</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, pp. 2, 9.



Boys and girls would pick on people they saw were weaker than themselves - the poor, alcoholic, or mentally incapable. The vulnerable were often not protected until an adult intervened. Occasionally the schoolmaster was asked to take action. Fifty years later, those children were unrepentant.

Dennis Alcock: 'Used to knock 'ard on the door, any road, if she was in. We used to 'ave a bit of fun, if we were 'ard up fer it and oh dear.'

Ruth Alcock: 'You never heard such language in all your life. We'd put flowers in the keyhole.'

Dennis Alcock: 'I've been shot at too with a double-barrelled gun, a time or two.'<sup>881</sup>

Harold Bennett Maddock, named for his foster and own parents, remembered:

'Aye, yeah, I remember us having trouble with Teddy Orme. I don't know why we tormented 'im; because 'e used to react to it, I think that's why. We crept up on the top, put a bag on 'is chimney and smoked 'im aht, ah yes, huh, ha, ha, yes. It was quite easy to climb; couldn't 'old on now. Oh, dear. I remember Teddy Orme; 'e 'ad a bit of a lisp, poor Teddy..... I've seen that chappy, Mr. White, came from Lodge 'ill with a pony and trap and used to tie it up. So, you can imagine, we banged it up with the cart one side of the gate and the 'orse the other, with the shafts through the gate. As I say, we never did anything nasty – not same as pinching off anyone. Well, it was for me – 'stealin' is not on! That remains with me. I hate stealing. I object to it.'<sup>882</sup>

Doris Stevenson, living at Old Hall remembered being a tormentor:

'A man with a hurdy-gurdy came round. We used to go upstairs and take a cup of water and sprinkle it on him, because he couldn't play, you see, if it got wet.'<sup>883</sup>

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<sup>881</sup> Dennis and Ruth Alcock transcript, p. 1.

<sup>882</sup> Harold Bennett Maddock and Nerida Maddock transcript, p. 2. Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 9.

<sup>883</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 1.

The night soil man William Caswell, who had one of the least desirable jobs - collecting the contents of outside toilets - was disliked by children as he was Special Constable 'because anything that went wrong, he reported it, because that was his duty' said his daughter Annie.<sup>884</sup> He worked with a horse and special metal cart, which he emptied onto the fields by adjusting a ratchet. To annoy him the children would secretly move the ratchet when he went into the pub for a drink. Harold Bennett Maddock explained:

'And then it wouldn't move until the wheels moved and then, as soon as 'e get onto 'is 'orse and shift that much, it would slosh all over the back and what about angry, 'e asks us for help and then 'e's not speaking to me, you know. We did, me and a whole bunch of 'em - we didn't do anything really nasty. It was fun.'<sup>885</sup>

The community intervened in different ways to exercise social control, sometimes to distract the wayward, sometimes with severity. Villagers relied on the authority of the vicar, schoolmaster and leading farmers aided by the policeman. Alfred Auden diverted idle boys to help him at hay time on the glebe fields.



56. Children helping Alfred Auden bring the glebe hay back for the Vicarage pony.

Edith Auden felt a responsibility as vicar's wife to intervene and distract idle children from pestering vulnerable neighbours: Edith's daughter Ruth Auden remembered:

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<sup>884</sup> Annie Caswell transcript, p.1.

<sup>885</sup> Harold Bennett Maddock transcript, p. 4.

‘There was a gang of naughty boys that hadn’t got enough to do, and these boys used to go round in gangs and put paper round people’s doors and put a sack over Tommy Cobbler’s chimney, and everybody was complaining about this, and Mother said its no use complaining, we must do something. And that was just after old Mr. Jones had left and there was this young man Cresswell. Well, Mother asked whether they could have the school and whether would he help her get up a Christie Minstrel concert.’<sup>886</sup>

Edith Auden was musical, an artist and a seamstress so used her talents to draw the children into innocent entertainment with the appeal of dressing up and performing to their families. Even the most unruly acquiesced. She organized a programme based on A.A. Milne’s verses and, with help from others, made all the clothes.



57. Willow pattern plates,



Three little foxes,



Christopher Robin went down with Alice

Harold Bennett Maddock, one of the wayward, said: ‘Yes. I’m definitely in that one, Changing Guard at Buckingham Palace. I can see it as if it were yesterday. I know it went in the Telegraph, the Derby Telegraph picture show.’<sup>887</sup>

The Auden children sometimes misbehaved but were treated with undue tolerance. Millie Bradshaw, their maid, was helped by Mrs. Billinge who lived opposite the Vicarage, and remembered:

<sup>886</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p.19.

<sup>887</sup> Harold Bennett Maddock transcript, p. 1. Ruth Auden’s note on the backs of the photos: the willow pattern plates - ‘Ella Pywell, Nancy Millington, Nancy Pritchard - can’t remember the name of the girl with plaits. The aprons were Willow Pattern material – Mother got it from Harrods, I believe’; A.A. Milne’s the three little foxes ‘who didn’t wear stockings and they didn’t wear sockeses, but they all had handkerchiefs to blow their noses, and they kept their handkerchiefs in cardboard boxes’, Arnold Millington, George Campbell and Cyril Gregson; Christopher Robin went down with Alice.

‘They used to play all sorts of tricks on us and I shall never forget Mrs. Billinge across here. One morning she came doing, and oh, she was a woman that sort of got in a, all hot and bothered you know if – she came in to me – just went to wash and she said, “Where are those young buggers?” They’d got a gun down in this greenery ’ere, and they’d shot, shot and I don’t know whether she thought they were shooting at ’er, the old biddy.’<sup>888</sup>

Ruth Auden remembered childhood roaming:

‘Well we were in the field just across the Hall Orchard, birds’ nesting, as we were always birds’ nesting, and it was mowing grass and the policeman called us to come out. We turned and ran home. We thought we were going to be locked up. He apologised to Mother afterwards. He didn’t mean to frighten us, only to tell us to come out into the road.’<sup>889</sup>

Farmer Ernest Tipper took a strict approach to controlling errant children’s behaviour. Vera Kirk recalled:

‘Ernest Tipper was Church Warden here for ...but he was a very...ooh. He wouldn’t have any children playing in the field. He’d come out of the front door there with a gun “Are you coming out of that field?” That’s the type of man he was. I remember Arthur Sharratt, one of the Mrs. Sharratt’s boys, he got through this fence here, to pick some apples up. Mr. Tipper went and shut him up in one of the buildings. So Mrs. Sharratt went over and created. That was the kind of man he was!’<sup>890</sup>

Not only children received correction. Farmers expected high standards from those they employed. The Bulls assumed their workers would concur with standards they set themselves.

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<sup>888</sup> Millie Bradshaw transcript, p. 6.

<sup>889</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 19.

<sup>890</sup> Albert and Vera Kirk transcript, p. 4.

Florence, their daughter, recalled her father reproaching a workman: ‘My father said, “You’re late again!” “Yes sir, but I do come!”’<sup>891</sup>

Villagers watched as Ernest Tipper tightly controlled his workers. Raymond Hall described him:

‘He was Church Warden. He was a very punctual man. He would not have anyone late, not one minute. It was his, like, keep them on their toes all the time. Poor Miss Jackson, she was a drudge to them, the Tippers. After she left school, she was there all her life and she always used to come in late at the choir, every night, every Sunday evening. He’d leave her the calf’s suckling, you know, clean everything. He’d have everything spick and span. Five minutes late, she’d come walking in to the choir, never miss, honestly. She was a grand old sort.’<sup>892</sup>

Joseph Cresswell remembered:

‘She used to sing in the choir and always used to come in late. She’d creep in and take her place. The Tippers would always be in time, well in time.’<sup>893</sup>

Florence Bull gave her impression:

‘Mr. Tipper was a handsome middle-aged man when I was a child. Mrs. Tipper was always the one that Mother asked to make the sandwiches because she could make the butter and paste and ham go furthest. Everything was very ladylike and polite there. They had no children but there was always Maggie, Maggie Jackson, the best maid that could have dropped from heaven.’<sup>894</sup>

Samuel Harvey agreed:

‘Tipper was at Broughton ’ouse; ’e followed Willats. And Miss Jackson, she was lovely, poor old Maggie; eh, ’er was faithful; [whistled] oo, wasn’t she faithful, my word; ’e got

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<sup>891</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 12.

<sup>892</sup> Raymond Hall transcript, p. 8, 21.

<sup>893</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 1.

<sup>894</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 6.

married and she still stayed on, after 'e got married to this woman; I thought 'e'd 'ave married Maggie. She was grand.'<sup>895</sup>

It was Ernest Tipper's strength of character that enabled him later, as Church Warden, to defy the domination of Basil Mallender, on the church council.

There were various levels of controlling behaviour when intervention was considered necessary. The Holly Bush and Royal Oak were places where working men could congregate largely free from control and play darts and dominoes. Eddie Wright appreciated the local camaraderie:

'I wouldn't like to go back to the village where I was born, Tissington. The squire was very strong. He wouldn't have a pub; the nearest pub was a mile away, so you had time to sober up before you got home.'<sup>896</sup>

However, others were concerned by the effect on families. Comradeship was a benefit; the trouble was loss of money for the family, drunkenness, alcoholism and bad behaviour. Ruth Auden remembered:

'The Royal Oak pub was going in 1904, with a dubious reputation, as a man who had had enough at the Holly Bush would go across to Mrs. Mee at the Royal Oak and get some more.'<sup>897</sup>

Evelyn Stevenson affirmed: 'There was a man down Sapperton Lane, who could drink seventeen pints and show no effects at all.'<sup>898</sup>

Les Allman said: 'I'll tell you what used to happen there again. Christmas Day anyone who went in the Holly Bush there, Pywell, he used to give them a free glass of elderberry wine. In fact, that bloke ruined more Christmas dinners than anybody I know, because he used to sup people with it.'<sup>899</sup>

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<sup>895</sup> Samuel Harvey transcript, p.4

<sup>896</sup> Eddie and Ida Wright transcript, p. 10.

<sup>897</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 11.

<sup>898</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 3.

<sup>899</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 6.

Some responsibility for controlling drunkenness fell to the publican, who needed to sell alcohol, yet did not want disorder and was concerned for the families. Lyn remembered her father, George Pywell's efforts:

'Mr. Banks, he was about six foot tall and as straight as could be. They used to, what they call, strap there, [putting the cost of a drink on the slate and pay at the end of the week, when they were paid] quite a bit of their drink, and Dad thought, well this is going to stop, because he knew that Mr. Banks had got an invalid wife and a family, and he said to him "Now look, Bill, don't you think it's just a bit too much?" he said "whatever must your wife think? I'm having to take all this money from you." "That's all right, George" he said, "That's all right." Anyhow Dad said "Well, I'm going to have this strapping business cut out. I don't like it." And old Mr. Banks went home. He told his wife, and so she said "Look 'ere" to one of the daughters "Come on, get me in that wheel-chair. Get me coat. I'm going down to Master George!" So, she came up the yard and said "Look 'ere, Master George, does our William owe you out?" Dad said "No, Mrs. Banks. Of course, he doesn't." So, she says "Well, our William says that he shouldn't strap ale, because of me. Now look 'ere Master George, while I don't want to listen" she said, "It's nowt to do wi' you and if our William wants a pint, let 'im 'ave it!" And Dad said "Well, if that isn't the limit. You try to do the right thing.'<sup>900</sup>

Occasionally there was shouting and fisticuffs outside the pubs, which was tolerated:

Joe Cresswell lodged at the Holly Bush:

'They had a tradition then – people would play dominoes in different places and then, when it was finished, they'd go outside for a scrap; nothing serious you know, fisticuffs. I saw one or two scraps while I was there.'<sup>901</sup>

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<sup>900</sup> Lin Pywell transcript, p. 3.

<sup>901</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 1.

May Tunstall said: 'I don't think there was the violent spirit as there is now. Some used to have a fight when they had a drink or two in them. But not the vandalism.'<sup>902</sup>

The Lock-up was an immediate short-term facility. When conflict got out of hand, the sergeant took those responsible down to his house for a night in the cells, even two highly respected leaders of the Oddfellows Friendly Society. Gilbert Orme, Joe Cresswell and Stephen Tunstall recalled:

'Trevor Allen, and Miss Bannister's father, were about the last to be thrown in the Church Broughton jail for being drunk and disorderly'.<sup>903</sup>

'Aley Smith had spent a night there; he used to boast of it.'<sup>904</sup>

'They used to get one or two locked up - drink chiefly. They used to have to walk them right through Tutbury to the Magistrate. He used to deal with them. Mr. Lyons, his name was. He'd either fine them or sentence them or put them off to go to court. There were two pubs. Aye, my God, some of them, they'd go straight from work a lot of them. Hard for a wife.'<sup>905</sup>

Villagers could see that families were deprived by the drinking. Seebohm Rowntree considered two layers of poverty, those without enough income for basic needs, and those with enough income but spent it for other than necessities, so there was not enough left for basic needs.<sup>906</sup>

Ruth Auden said that one mother 'had ten children and the father didn't give the family the money.' Paul Thompson has described similar situations, where there was little choice for a woman with children.<sup>907</sup> Jim Bowles said:

'Of course, it was a rubbishy village at one time. There were a lot of drunks. People would come to my mother and ask for a pound of jam or a quarter of tea. And I've seen

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<sup>902</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

<sup>903</sup> Gilbert Orme transcript, p. 2.

<sup>904</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 1.

<sup>905</sup> Stephen and May Tunstall transcript, p. 5.

<sup>906</sup> Rowntree, B.S., *Poverty: A Study in Town Life*, (Macmillan and Co 1901), pp 295,6.

<sup>907</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 3. Thompson, P., *The Edwardians*, (London, 1975), p. 59.



them take a quarter of tea and go round the corner and sell it and go into the pub and drink the money. But she'd never refuse.'<sup>908</sup>

Vicar Alfred Auden decided to appeal to greater authority to reduce the drink problem. Unable to be effective personally Alfred Auden turned to the magistracy. The licence for the Royal Oak was up for renewal in 1912, so he cycled down to the Justices Court at Hatton and asked for the licence to be annulled.<sup>909</sup> His action cannot have been popular with the drinkers but may have helped families. The Royal Oak became a shop under the care of Church Warden, Harry Alcock. However, difficulties related to alcohol consumption continued.

Edith Allin spoke of husband Ted's role: 'Walter Jones in the Rookery used sometimes to get drunk and come rolling down the road. They'd come and fetch Ted, you know – it took two men to hold him down and when Ted went he'd quieten. Schoolmasters in those days were regarded....'

Ted Allin: 'Yes, he quite got the DTs when he was drunk, waving his arms in front of his face all...'<sup>910</sup>

After the First World War, a new police house was built at Mount Pleasant. The reassigned Lock-up was named Sunnyside. Policeman, Bobby Hall, used weight of personality instead of the threat of imprisonment, to keep order. Les Allman remembered Bobby Hall:

'Twenty stone. You know he stopped me uncle coming down from Go'sty Fields one night on me mother's bike. No lights on it you know. And he stopped him, Bobby Hall, and 'e said, "I'm going to summons you" and 'e said, "What for, why?" "Aye" 'e says, "well I've 'ad a letter from headquarters. I've got to summons some bugger, I've 'ad nobody for about five years" 'cos 'e used to give 'em a good 'iding instead.'<sup>911</sup>

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<sup>908</sup> James and Violet Bowles transcript, p. 3.

<sup>909</sup> Alfred Auden diary 26 2 1912. This attempt failed as he was the only one present. He was successful on his second attempt. Ruth Auden transcript, p. 2.

<sup>910</sup> Ted and Edith Allen transcript, p. 9.

<sup>911</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 8.

Ted Allin confirmed: ‘One of these that say, “Get off home”, you know. P.C. Hall, he was a very nice fellow, a wonderful chap. We didn’t have any trouble with the teenagers. That was Bobby Hall around – he’d soon sort them out.’<sup>912</sup>

There was great tolerance, which was sad for any victims. Only on rare occasions were the authorities called upon to intervene. Errant behaviour was controlled by individuals or calling for Vicarage intervention.

## Fun Together

Entertainment in Church Broughton was not confined to different groups. Those with leadership roles worked together. There was collaboration between church Audens and chapel Bulls, both families feeling a responsibility for the well-being of the community, based on their religious convictions. John Prince Bull wrote:

‘My mother, Mrs. Ida Bull, was a leading link between Church and Chapel. She was active in the Womens’ Institute and the Choral Society. The farm at the Etchells had a number of convenient large buildings, and notices of “Sales of Work” often ended “in case of rain in the barn.”’<sup>913</sup>

There was some cooperation between the religious and those who attended the public houses, including

Wilfred Tunstall’s family brass band, which was an essential part of celebrations and Christmas singing, both for church and chapel. Ruth Auden said:

‘They always brought the band to church on the first Sunday in May. We played “Oh God, our help in ages past”, Mr. Tunstall’s band.’<sup>914</sup>

Wilfred Tunstall was proud of their contribution:

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<sup>912</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 4.

<sup>913</sup> John Prince Bull letter, p. 2.

<sup>914</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 21.

‘I used to go round with singers and play the bass to the singers at Chapel, you know. I went, I forget how many years with the singers, from house to house at Christmas time and collecting, you know, for Chapel funds. We said we’ll play for the Infirmary [in church] and we played for the Infirmary several times and took the money in, pounds. I took the money in. They insisted they would always give us ten bob.’<sup>915</sup>



58. Tunstall family brass band, formed by Wilfred William Tunstall

Five of the regular Holly Bush drinkers formed the Guysers, who tramped round the countryside at Christmas, with the expectation of a liquid reward for their acting. The members changed over time. They were not welcomed by chapel-goers, but Ruth Auden said they were received at the Vicarage:

‘They were quite famous; they did it to the Duke of Devonshire. For weeks before-hand the mothers would be sewing – of course the coats inside out and then rows and rows and rows of frills, of bright paper frills; just handed on and handed on. They would always begin at the Vicarage on Christmas Eve and we were all beautifully cleaned up and in they came. We cleared the kitchen and they tramped round and round. Gotheridge was one, Harold Gotheridge’s father, was one. Oh, brother Wagstaff – they were all in the Oddfellows together. They used to meet in that clubroom at the Holly Bush.’<sup>916</sup>

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<sup>915</sup> Wilfred Tunstall transcript, p. 14. The church raised funds for the Infirmary every year.

<sup>916</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 20. Alfred Auden diary,



59. A Derby Daily Express January 27 1931 newspaper cutting, showing a photo of the Guysers with blackened faces.

Howard Millington, another guyser, said they walked as far as Brailsford, eight miles north, starting at the Holly Bush to get them going. A car would come and fetch them to Longford Hall, 1920 or so. He explained:

‘The black knight killed Saint George, and the doctor cured him. This night at Longford Hall - they always performed in a great hall - there was a great big fireplace and by the fire was sitting a fat cat. Well, when they got to the fight, the cat shot up the chimney and came down black with soot. It was worth it. We had two drinks each that year.’<sup>917</sup>

Church and chapel had greater influence than at Headington Quarry, which Raphael Samuel described as similar in having no resident lord of the manor, with Morris men instead of guysers, but the church ‘conspicuously weak’.<sup>918</sup> In Church Broughton social activities for all ages were a means to distract people from delinquent behaviour. A movement, since the mid-nineteenth century, to draw young men away from public houses provided space for them to congregate in Reading Rooms which also had facilities for playing games.<sup>919</sup> In Church Broughton, two empty cottages, next to the school, were made into a Reading Room in 1906, as a charity under the care

<sup>917</sup> Edith and Howard Millington manuscript, p. 2.

<sup>918</sup> Samuel, M., Quarry Roughs in *Village Life and Labour*, (London, 1975), pp. 158, 187.

<sup>919</sup> King, C., The Rise and Decline of Village Reading Rooms in ‘*Rural History*’, (2009), 20, pp 163-186.

of the vicar, but closed in the 1920s. It is difficult to envisage how they got the billiard table upstairs. Steve Tunstall explained:

‘The Reading Room, it used to be two old cottages, next to the school. We’d play bagatelle and billiards and cards. Drink? No none of that. I forget what we used to pay to join, so much a year. All games that we played, those that lost used to have to pay a penny. You put it in a box for expenses.’<sup>920</sup>

The Reading Room closed, but was reopened by Joseph Cresswell, after he came as headmaster in 1927:

‘And then we had, I started that Institute. It was shut down and finished. That was what it was, the Reading Room. They had a billiard table and I bought another one. They had a big room upstairs and you had to cut the cues down to manageable size. And then I bought a quarter size for downstairs. And it was all lamps, you know; there was no electric light, it was all oil lamps. It was one cottage when I knew it. There was no membership. I got it working. We had that; that was quite a good thing.’<sup>921</sup>

Concerts performed by adults and children, dances and whist drives brought the village together, not only the dancing, but all the preparation involved. They raised money for other village needs, the Reading Room, choir, bells, Red Cross, Derby Infirmary, as Evelyn Stevenson explained:

‘There was always a concert being prepared, or something going on all the time. The people used to come quite a long way. I remember they used to come with a pony and trap and put them in the stable at the old place [Old Hall farm], and they always had to be so careful, because some horses were not quiet, you know, and one had to be led behind another. It was all quite a performance. The old lanterns of course, very difficult in those days. The people used to lend lamps and the school lamps were big ones. Marvellous really, how they did fix up. I know, when we got up whist drives in the school, the first

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<sup>920</sup> Steve Tunstall transcript, p. 6.

<sup>921</sup> Joseph Cresswell transcript, p. 2.

thing we had to think about was trimming the lamps and that was a job, I tell you. And we had to clear the school of all the furniture; it was four thick in those days, and go round with a cart, collecting tables and chairs from people in the village, to fix up for a whist drive. Nearly always the two together, whist drive followed by a dance, and if we'd made five pounds, we'd done marvellously well. We didn't do much more. In those days, of course that was good.'<sup>922</sup>

Gertie Connolly remembered:

'Oh yes, we 'ad some good times really. We used to go whisting in the Club Room, you know, at the pub; we used to go and 'ave a drink. We used to go dancing in the school, specially at Christmas time. You didn't mind walking in them days, up 'ome, did you? We 'ad a real good time, mm.'<sup>923</sup>

David Allen looking through his aunt Lillie's papers:

'On a lot of these whist drives and dance cards that I've got quite a lot of - he was very fond of Aunt Lil and she partnered him no end of times, the Military Two Step, the Lancers, and this that and the other, "H. Pope, had a good time" it's written on the back.'<sup>924</sup>

The tile floor of the school had been replaced by wood. Ethel Bannister, remembered:

'We used to dance the wax into the floor in the afternoon, while they got the refreshments ready, till the floor was quite slippy. The mothers used to let the older girls come, because they knew Mr. Jones and I were there and there'd be no disorderly behaviour. Mr. Jones was MC. Mr. Glover, the organist, at Longford played quite often. We had the dances once a month, just for a social evening. If you knew the waltz, you could pick the other dances up very quickly. Every week we had a little lesson from seven until nine, just

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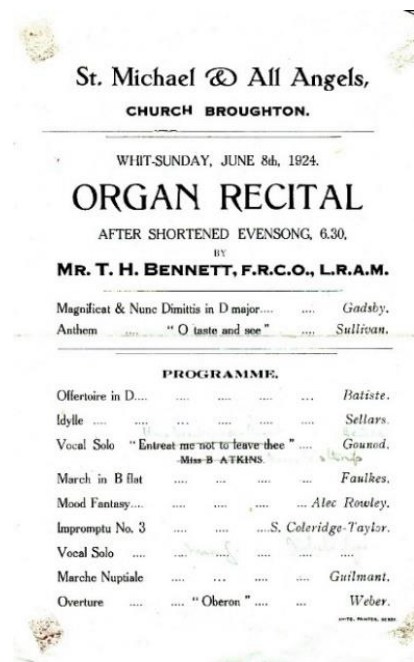
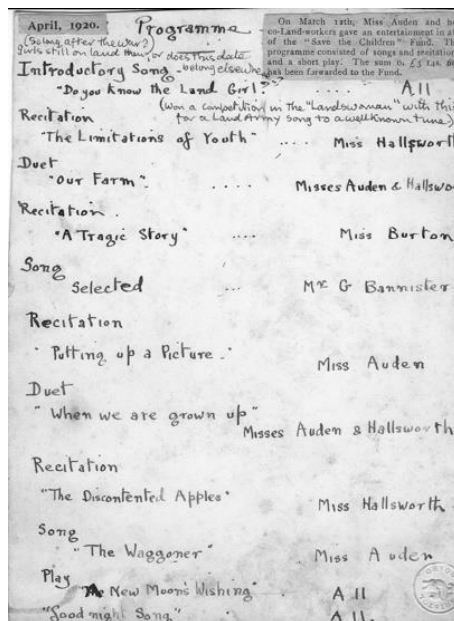
<sup>922</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 7.

<sup>923</sup> Gertie Connolly transcript, p. 1.

<sup>924</sup> David Allen transcript, p. 7.

among ourselves and paid threepence. Of course, I'd been away and learnt all the dances, but there weren't many in Broughton that knew them. The dances were invitation. We had a large committee, and everyone could bring friends. It was like a family party. We had cards and filled in for the dances. There were generally more men than girls and sometimes, if the men came late, the girls had no vacant dances. It was one shilling admission and we paid for the band and the cleaning and the refreshments and there was generally two pounds left over and we used to give it to Mr. Auden towards the sixth bell. We didn't try to make a profit, just to cover expenses.<sup>925</sup>

There was pride in Ethel Bannister's voice when she explained that she was included with esteemed ladies Annie Atkins and Ada Tipper, when Edith Auden formed a committee to raise money for the Red Cross, after the First World War broke out.



60. Programmes: a concert in April 1920 by land girls in aid of Save the Children, and an organ recital in 1924.

<sup>925</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, pp. 2, 6.

For summer entertainment there were private grass tennis courts at the Vicarage, Bent House and many farms: Lodge Hill, Mount Pleasant, Broughton House, Sapperton Manor, Barton Fields, Shiptons' at the Wilderness, Scropton, used through the summer by a coterie of friends.

Vic Prince said:

'We had wonderful tennis parties. These were very great friends of the Audens, John Shipton, beautiful parents.'<sup>926</sup>

Then a tennis court was made on John Stevenson's field, enabling a wider group of villagers to be involved. Alfred Auden rolled it in March 1923, ready for play.<sup>927</sup> Evelyn Stevenson explained:

'The Tennis Club. We did quite a lot of that - competitions and matches, when we really got established, later on. Oh yes, we used to play Nestlés, and we went as far as Marchington, Sudbury and Scropton, Longford, Brailsford to play matches. They always had refreshments. Oh, I wish you would get back to that again. We had such happy times, really happy times. The Cycling Club was part of the tennis club, men and girls, when they got really going. We wore green skirts and white shirts and we cycled all over – up to Dovedale.'<sup>928</sup>



61. Eddie and Ida Wright, Hollis Hall



Tennis club members cycled to Clifton for Whit-Monday cricket match

Cyril Hambling said:

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<sup>926</sup> Vic and Chris Prince transcript, p. 3. Bell, A., *Corduroy*, (London, 1941), p. 228.

<sup>927</sup> Alfred Auden diary, 13 1923.

<sup>928</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 1.



‘Mr. Cresswell was the man who ran the tennis club and I took over from him. There was no committee as such; every member was on the committee and I was secretary and treasurer and chairman, the lot. It was all very happy. Mr. Cresswell and Mr. Robinson from Alkington way, began the football club and it became the Summer Football League.’<sup>929</sup>

Marjorie Spooner, running the shop from 1931, remembered the start of the football club:

‘Mr. Cresswell thought all these boys working on farms never see a football let alone a match, so he got the boys together. Mr. Pywell and Mr. Cresswell were in the pub one night and they all put a pound on the table to buy the posts. Mr. Spooner got the shirts and never was paid - his contribution. It was the start of the League. The old football nights - it was like a fairground. You couldn't get into the shop. Fred had to come back in his football boots and help the girl and me to serve them.’<sup>930</sup>

Entertainment spread beyond the parish. Bicycles extended the horizons for pedestrian villagers. Eric Hobsbawm declared.

the bicycle has probably been the greatest single device for achieving what Marx called the full realization of the possibilities of being human invented since Gutenberg, and the only one without obvious drawbacks.<sup>931</sup>

Ted Allin arrived as headmaster in 1939 and started a youth club, once all cycling the forty miles to Chatsworth for the day:

‘That was part of the youth movement in this country. Oh, yes, we were outstanding at Broughton, weren't we, an orchestra, jazz band, the Broughtonians. That was part of the youth club; that was one of the things we had, yes. Oh, we used to play for dances at all

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<sup>929</sup> Cyril Hambling transcript, pp. 3, 4.

<sup>930</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 1.

<sup>931</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 4. Hobsbawm, E., *Interesting Times*, (Harmondsworth, 2002, 2012), p. 89. Alfred Auden dairy 8 7 1904. Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 8. Raymond Jones transcript, p.6.

the villages round about, - Marston, Cubley, Sudbury, Derby, Scropton - quite a lot of places we played for dances, foxtrots, quick steps, waltzes and all that sort of thing. We had a dance on its own or a whist drive.’<sup>932</sup>

Frank Spendlove made a three-valve wireless in 1923 and the Holly Bush had a set in 1929 when Alfred Auden went to hear the Armistice service. The wireless was a shared entertainment.

Alfred Auden wrote in his diary:

‘Walked in the rain to Barton Fields to listen to “The Journey’s End”’. Went with Rachel to Lodge Hill to “listen in” at Mr. Spendlove’s wireless in evening.’<sup>933</sup>

For those involved in farming, farm sales and the town Cattle Markets were not only for business but social attractions for meeting relatives and colleagues from the area around Derby and Uttoxeter. Meanwhile public entertainment was becoming accessible in nearby towns. Derby Hippodrome, a variety theatre, was built in 1914 to seat a thousand patrons.<sup>934</sup> Derby Palais de Danse, in the converted Corn Exchange, was opened by J Sedgewick in 1921.<sup>935</sup> Burton upon Trent had the New Theatre and Opera House built in 1902, which became a cinema in 1930.<sup>936</sup> Melanie Tebbutt wrote ‘The cinema was the most popular form of commercial entertainment in inter-war Britain.’<sup>937</sup> My contributors did not mention going to the music hall, theatre or cinema, but Alfred Auden’s diaries show that the Audens were taken to Derby in 1927 by the Spendloves for ‘Humpty Dumpty’ and went by bus to see ‘Ben Hur’ at the Babington Lane cinema.<sup>938</sup> When the day school trip was to ‘Jack and the Beanstalk’ in Derby, the Audens travelled with them and went again to the picture house.<sup>939</sup>

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<sup>932</sup> Ted and Edith Allin transcript, p. 3.

<sup>933</sup> Alfred Auden’s diaries 11 11 1929, 17 10 1923, 27 2 1924.

<sup>934</sup> [derbytelegraph.co.uk](http://derbytelegraph.co.uk)

<sup>935</sup> Nott, J, Dance Halls: Towards an Architectural and Spatial History in *Architectural History*, Volume 61, 2018, pp. 2205-233.

<sup>936</sup> [Cinematreasures.org/theaters/22126](http://Cinematreasures.org/theaters/22126)

<sup>937</sup> Tebbutt, M., *Being Boys*, Manchester, 2012), p. 127.

<sup>938</sup> Alfred Auden diary: 13 8 1927, 25 11 1927, 11 1 1928.

<sup>939</sup> Alfred Auden diary 2 1 1929.

Having fun together was not exclusive, but open. Although the Audens and Bulls arranged entertainments through the church and chapel organisations, the band and guysers arose from men at the Holly Bush. Young men met at the Reading Room and joined the football club set up by headmaster Joe Cresswell. Tennis-playing that began between farmer friends was expanded, by John Stevenson, into a village club. Whist drives and dances were organised for church chapel and Oddfellows Funds. After the Audens and headmaster Jones retired, the following clergy and headmasters stayed for much shorter periods. The Reading Room closed, the tennis club finished, despite efforts to revive it. Basil Mallender discouraged use of the school for social activities. Even so, the next generation tried to carry on the local socialising and sporting tradition.

## Care

In 1900 care came chiefly from within the community. Raphael Samuel described Headington Quarry people as very independent, not relying on handouts, whereas, though Church Broughton also had no resident squire, it was acceptable, if not expected that leading church and chapel members would offer support to those in need.<sup>940</sup> In 1900, Victoria Nash highlighted close ties being an agency for change.<sup>941</sup> Church Broughton people were few enough (436 in 1901) and close enough to be aware of each other and respond when needed. Temperament and character were known and generally tolerated. Poverty, alcohol and poor housing caused the greatest hardship.

Contributors spoke of inadequate people and poverty: Doris Stevenson said:

‘Miss Jackson used to live there. Another family used to say she’d sit in her window with a carving knife ready to throw it at them. It shows they had some fun even if it was only imaginary.’<sup>942</sup>

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<sup>940</sup> Samuel, M., Quarry Roughs in *Village Life and Labour*, (London, 1975), p. 157.

<sup>941</sup> Nash, V., Why Community Matters in *Reclaiming Community*, ed. Nash, V., (London, 2002), p.2.

<sup>942</sup> Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 2. In the 1901 census Margaret Ann Jackson, aged 60, a lunatic, lived there with her brother, Charles Jackson 58, a coachman.

Vera Kirk described a neighbour:

‘Oh, and she was a terrible woman for coming borrowing “Do you think you could lend me a bit of this and a bit of that?” you know. She was all over everywhere. A bit of blinding for her window, “A bit of something for our Tom’s tea, could Albert find?”’<sup>943</sup>

Ruth Auden remembered problems:

‘Edie was born the same day or the same week as my sister. She was quite daft. They wouldn’t let her go away, to be shut up as they thought, but she’s been very happy since she went into a home somewhere. She used to be at the bottom of the drive gate, saying “allo, allo”. Of course, children think it’s funny, but it wasn’t funny. I’ve seen children standing round a filthy table, dipping bread into stone jam-jars with some gravy or soup in, there never being enough crockery.’<sup>944</sup>

If illness struck, country remedies were the first course of treatment. When Louie Capewell was a child, she had jaundice and the thing that cured her was a brew of groundsel and robin-run-in-the-hedge<sup>945</sup>. It has a small flower and little soft roundish leaves – Ground Ivy. They boiled it together and she drank it.

‘I nearly snuffed it with jaundice. In those days, you couldn’t always get the doctor unless you were nearly dead. We don’t use herbs in the same way nowadays, which is a shame. A woman from Heath Top came and stayed all day, for several weeks. She was a wonderful nurse’.<sup>946</sup>

Evelyn Stevenson said:

‘There was old Mrs. Brown that lived at the shop. She was a very old lady and she had all sorts of remedies for this, that and the other. I walked to Sudbury on Saturday

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<sup>943</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 3.

<sup>944</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 5, 20, 21.

<sup>945</sup> Cleavers/goosegrass.

<sup>946</sup> Harry and Louie Capewell transcript, p. 5. The nurse was probably Sally Billinge, born 1850, living at Heath Top, a midwife. Birkett, J., *Home Cures in Can We Afford the Doctor?* ed. Schweitzer, P. and A., (Age Exchange, 1985), p. 18.

afternoons, many and many a time to fetch medicine for people in the village. Dr. Crerar. Oh, I've walked to Sudbury many a time to fetch medicine.'<sup>947</sup>

Dr. Crerar, the nearest doctor, living five miles away at Sudbury, was fetched for extreme emergencies, as there was no telephone until 1907. When Edith Auden cut her brachial artery filling a china jug at the bathroom pump, Geoffrey was sent to Sudbury on his cycle, while Ethel Bannister applied first aid.<sup>948</sup> Jack Walker remembered a visit from Dr. Crerar:

'I said to Dr. Crerar "If you'd been like yer father, in his days, all 'e come in with was a bright smile and a drop of coloured summat in a bottle of water, but," I said "you never died with it. And a thump in your chest!" Nah, today, they're very, very clever today what they can do. I think it's the gift as the Almighty is putting through their fingers and their brains as let's them do it.'<sup>949</sup>

Sometimes there were situations when little help could be given. Villagers were accustomed to seeing people who had visible illnesses or suffered accidents at work. Goitre, known as Derbyshire neck, was not uncommon, due to the lack of iodine in the local water.<sup>950</sup> Several people had suffered life-changing accidents. Alf Wagstaff caused an explosion in the Fould pit; Hookie Dunn lost his arm at the brickworks; Tom Harrison lost an eye, when a pitchfork, with tines facing backwards, fell out of a haycart into his face; another was paralysed after falling off a load of corn, breaking his neck; George Bannister, as a boy, caught his foot in the mower, cutting corn. His foot was saved, but he had to change from farming to boot-making. People with disabilities were not ostracised. John Stevenson would pick up Hookie Dunn, who worked on the village

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<sup>947</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p. 2. Five miles each way.

<sup>948</sup> A phone was installed at the post office only, in 1907. Ruth Auden transcript, p. 8.

<sup>949</sup> Jack Walker transcript, p. 5.

<sup>950</sup> Enlarged thyroid, through lack of iodine in the local water. Saikat, S.Q., Carter, J. E., Mehra, A., Stewart, A., Goitre and environmental iodine deficiency in the UK – Derbyshire: a review, in '*Environmental Geochemistry and Health*', (Germany, 2004), 4, pp. 395-401. Lilian Allen transcript, p. 4.

roads, to cut the back swathe of the field beyond his cottage.<sup>951</sup> Hospital treatment was not always effective, so there were people finding work despite their injuries.

Pain and death came not only to the elderly. Alfred Auden's diaries 1904-1912 show that there were 51 funerals, including the two of twins and eight other children below a year old, six more younger than five years, two not yet ten, then one person in their twenties, three in their thirties, five in their forties, six in their sixties, fifteen in their seventies and three reached their eighties. The two seven year olds died of diphtheria. John Large, aged 39 fell out of a tree.

Only three of six children of headmaster Jones survived. His five-year-old daughter died of severe diarrhoea. Son Raymond Jones said:

‘As a last resort, our doctor gave her saline solution injection, but to no avail. She was a dear little girl and I am sure her life would have been saved today, by modern drugs and blood transfusion.’<sup>952</sup>

Women delivered their babies at home, without gas and air. Because childbirth was sometimes fatal to the mother or the infant, the church had a service of thanksgiving, the Churching of Women, for safe deliverance.<sup>953</sup> Annie Tunstall, speaking first of Thomas Morley and then of her aunt Ann Clarke, said:

‘And the first children were twins and I’ve heard my father say the second one died as they were coming back from burying the first. That’s what it means by enjoying the first born... He was Mr. Clarke. His wife was my father’s second sister and she died in childbirth at the Lawns. He had all his children adopted.’<sup>954</sup>

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<sup>951</sup> Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 4. Evelyn Stevenson transcript, pp. 2, 3, Les Allman and Hilda Ward transcript, p. 5. Ethel Bannister transcript, pp. 4, 7. Joe and Hilda Harrison transcript, p. 5.

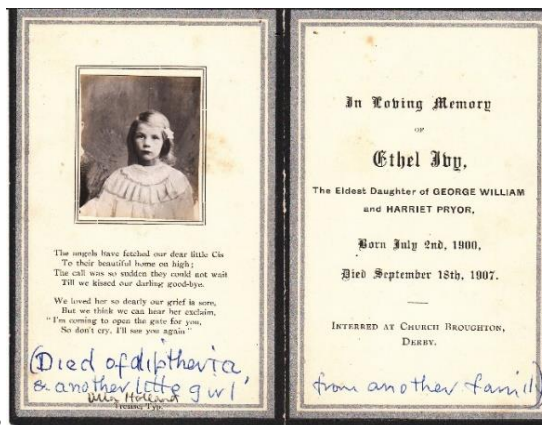
<sup>952</sup> Raymond Jones transcript, p. 4. Lee, L., *Cider with Rosie*, (London 1959, Vintage, 2002), p. 167.

<sup>953</sup> Alfred Auden diary 19 2 1928: Mr. and Mrs. Durose called after Mattins – the latter to be ‘churched’.

<sup>954</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

Babies and children died, the location of their burials in the churchyard remembered, even if there was no headstone.<sup>955</sup> Twins were particularly vulnerable. Edith Millington recalled a neighbour:

‘ She ’ad twins first and one died and then she ’ad twins at the last. She’d got eight; the last ones died.’<sup>956</sup>



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When the two girls died of diphtheria, the headmaster and his son burnt all the textbooks and exercise books and the school was closed for a time. Edith Auden took trouble for the bereaved families. She had enlargements made from school photographs, for the families of children who died.

Those who were injured or ill relied in the first instance on family, the Oddfellows, Vicarage and neighbours coming to the rescue. By 1900 there were approximately five million Friendly Society policies in the country.<sup>957</sup> Lord Ernle, President of the Board of Agriculture wrote ‘The great number of labourers who insure in Friendly Societies is a pathetic proof of their total dependency on weekly earnings and of their haunting dread of the loss of wages through sickness.’<sup>958</sup> Workers in the village made provision for themselves, through the Duke of Devonshire Lodge of the Oddfellows, to provide help for those sick, seeking work or bereaved. They, nevertheless, needed sufficient income to pay their dues. As David Green wrote, ‘their solidarity was that of

<sup>955</sup> Contributors described the site of dead children.

<sup>956</sup> Edith Millington transcript, p. 1.

<sup>957</sup> Pugh, M., *State and Society, A Social and Political History of Britain, 1870-1997*, (London, 1994), p. 51.

<sup>958</sup> Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, (London, 1912, 1927), p. 411.

individuals who had given something towards the common good'.<sup>959</sup> The Lodge, meeting in the upstairs of the Holly Bush stables, gave prestige to those in official capacities. Harry Lawley commented:

'Yes, and the pigs were down below, and you had the stench of them.'<sup>960</sup>

Those who had responsibility for the Lodge, such as George Bannister, postmaster and bootmaker, and Trevor Allen, smallholder, were a layer in-between the large farmers and the agricultural labourers. John Stevenson, starting farming in a small way but moving to the top. He was apparently still involved with the Oddfellows, while moving upwards in the farming hierarchy - a man who would have been categorised 'aspirant' in Gosforth by William Morgan Williams.<sup>961</sup>

Ethel Bannister had helped her father with paperwork:

'Father was the secretary for the Oddfellows. Stephen Tunstall's father was treasurer.'<sup>962</sup>

Well, they had a meeting once every four weeks, in the club room at the Holly Bush, that was over the stables facing the road. And of course, they kept all the things there and people used to pay their subscriptions, the men used to. Father collected those. There was a good membership. About everyone used to belong to it, in the village. If anyone fell sick they had the doctor for so long free and they used to draw, was it 10/- a week sick pay. They used to draw sick pay, was that for 26 weeks? And then they went on half pay. There was nothing, no, no. And then there was a sick visitor because they used to go and visit the people who were sick. I can't tell you who he was then. The Health Service spoilt it.'<sup>963</sup>

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<sup>959</sup> Green, D.G., *Before Beveridge, Welfare Before the Welfare State*, (London, 1999), p.22. The Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity Friendly Society record books lent by Mr. Atkins, secretary of the Lodge.

<sup>960</sup> Harry Lawley spoke while arranging flowers for the Oddfellows window at the Church Flower Festival.

<sup>961</sup> Frankenberg, R., *Communities in Britain, Social Life in Town and Country*, (Harmondsworth, 1966, 1975), p. 74.

<sup>962</sup> James Tunstall, tailor.

<sup>963</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, pp. 3, 9.



The Oddfellows, part of a national organisation with no religious affiliation, was not only a system of insurance, but also a social enterprise, with outings by train, the children being paid for. Oddfellows money came as a right, so there was no shame attached.<sup>964</sup>

Before the state took responsibility for health and welfare, that was considered part of the duty of religious people. Both the Audens and the Bulls, church and chapel, took food to people who were sick.<sup>965</sup> They were amateurs doing their best.<sup>966</sup> Henry Jackson's charity of 1890 was still supplying loaves of bread on St. Thomas Day (December 21<sup>st</sup>), 'a headache' for Alfred Auden, who, Ethel Bannister remembered:

'asked me if I would make a list of all the cottages in Broughton and give the loaves out in school. The baker, whoever 'e was, left them at school and I sent a loaf to each of these houses.'<sup>967</sup>

When greater intervention was needed, the Audens provided a link to the doctor, hospital, workhouse or court. Alfred had an interview with a representative of the N.S.P.C.C. regarding one family.<sup>968</sup> For immediate need, Edith Auden responded with first aid. Ruth Auden remembered a stream of people appealing to her mother for help: a three-year-old girl, brought up by grandparents, dying of pneumonia; a boy, while gathering firewood, charged by a cow, with a hole in the back of his head, which needed stitching by Dr. Crerar; a boy with a burnt leg from failing to jump over a bonfire, taken by Ruth to the Childrens' Hospital; a boy, who fell out of a swing and had his leg amputated, had nephritis, wet his breeches and was made to sit outside school until Edith Auden took him to Burton Infirmary, but he died. Because of the distance and the cost, people did not go to hospital until it was often too late.<sup>969</sup>

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<sup>964</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p.7.

<sup>965</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 4. Doris Stevenson transcript, p. 4.

<sup>966</sup> Karen Armstrong in *Wrestling With God, Heart and Soul* ed. David Baker, BBC World Service, 15 10 2016.

<sup>967</sup> Charity Board in Church. Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 7.

<sup>968</sup> Alfred Auden diary, 12 3 1923.

<sup>969</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, pp. 11, 12.

Jane Lewis, discussing charity at the beginning of the century, wrote that charity was a social principle: ‘better-off people would voluntarily perform their duty as citizens and help the poor to become fully participative members of society.’<sup>970</sup> People who needed accommodation, or medical help in Church Broughton turned to Edith Auden. The homeless were temporarily housed in the coachman’s room over the Vicarage stable, or in the Reading Room after it closed, even in sheds. John Prince Bull was impressed that such tidy people, with a luxurious house, would provide for the destitute.<sup>971</sup> Florence Bull commented:

‘The Audens were genuinely concerned for people. The Audens, when people had no home, been evicted or something, would let them camp out in the stables and sometimes couldn’t get rid of them. My sister says some of their friends would overflow and camp on the path, but I don’t remember that. She remembers my mother rummaging in one of the drawers for a nighty, for one of the children who died in Sapperton Cottages, to be buried in.’<sup>972</sup>

At the time there was a flea epidemic in England, one family’s belongings, left in the Vicarage carriage-house, were infested with fleas. The Audens did not burn the bedding (all the family owned) but tried fumigation. A home was found but the District Nurse could not prevent the new baby being bitten.<sup>973</sup>

Family networks made it possible to care for children in a wider way than the parental home. Allied to fostering and adoption was infidelity and illegitimacy. Even after birth control clinics began in the 1920s, their services were for married women only. Unlike experiences of townswomen described by Melanie Tebbutt, unexpected pregnancies were tolerated. Children

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<sup>970</sup> Lewis, J. *The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare*, in *Before Beveridge, Welfare Before the Welfare State*, ed. Gladstone, D., (London, 1999), p. 14.

<sup>971</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, p. 7.

<sup>972</sup> Florence Bull and John Prince Bull transcript, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>973</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 4.

might not look like their putative fathers but were accepted as part of the family and absorbed into the community.<sup>974</sup> Some illegitimate or orphaned children were adopted by relatives.<sup>975</sup>

Errant behaviour was only noted by Trevor Allen in his diary, when an accident exposed it:

4 8 1918 That Yong Ladey fell Throw F Billings window (sic)

However, Basil Mallender's public relationship with the daughter of his tenant, was seen as exploitation and to be deplored.

There was little supervision of fostering and adoption, even after the Children Act 1908 required registration of foster parents.<sup>976</sup> Edith Auden, as Welfare Visitor, should have had some responsibility, but as her daughter Ruth said:

'Jane and Fred adopted, without consulting Mother, who was supposed to be the Welfare Visitor. Well, she says the adoption papers never went through properly. All these workhouse children, I think the idea was it was rather an advantage, that, when they grew up, they would have someone to work for them. I rather think there was a bit of that.'<sup>977</sup>

Some of those moving into Church Broughton were children sent from the workhouse. Others, privately fostered, might stay until their mothers could look after them or stayed with the new families for life. Adeline Middleton, cared for her mother at the end Royal Oak cottage, and, for income, took in a series of fourteen children. Her niece Edith McKeown explained:

'In them days, they didn't have to come through the Relieving Officer, you could just go and see me auntie without any fuss or bother. We got in touch with all the children she had, you know, they were just as the family. It used to break her heart, when their mothers used to fetch them. The mothers had to pay for their own, and of course, if they got married, they wanted the children. Yes, that's how it was.'<sup>978</sup>

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<sup>974</sup> Tebbutt, M., *Women's Talk?* (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 92, 124.

<sup>975</sup> Annie Tunstall transcript, p. 1.

<sup>976</sup> Legislation regarding adoption was not passed until 1926. Contributors mentioned 23 foster children.

<sup>977</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 19.

<sup>978</sup> Edith McKeown transcript, p. 2.

Fostering and adoption was accepted in the community, sometimes it was for financial reasons, sometimes to provide help.

People were tolerant. One of the first connections villagers had with the First World War, was the arrival of a family of Belgian refugees in February 1915. Alfred Auden collected the key of an Ashbourne Road cottage belonging to Barton Blount, gathered furniture bedding and subscriptions in the village, drove his trap to the station to fetch D.E.Vos and again for the rest of the family. They stayed until November 1915.<sup>979</sup>

Some behaviour required more public and legal intervention. If, rarely, a mother was failing to care for children, they were removed to the workhouse. Ruth Auden explained:

‘A rather wellknown character, had one child, she called him Monty. Always called him Monte Carlo for some reason. He was quite brainy. She was in France and she said his father was a gentleman. As I say, it depends on your definition. Well, I think she had six and finally, she couldn’t look after them, and they took them all to the workhouse, except the baby.’<sup>980</sup>

In 1924, a child arrived at school with the back of his hand badly burnt. The mother said she had put it in the oven for correction. It was reported and the headmaster with Alfred Auden, having legal responsibility for the child at school, gave evidence at Hatton Court for the R.S.P.C.C.. The mother was given a month hard labour.<sup>981</sup>

Jose Harris wrote that before the First World War people expected that the Victorian ‘provision of social welfare in Britain was and would continue to be highly localised, amateur, voluntaristic and intimate in scale’.<sup>982</sup> People accepted injury and ill-health, returning to whatever work they

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<sup>979</sup> Alfred Auden diaries, 3 2 1915 – 22 11 1915.

<sup>980</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 20.

<sup>981</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, D854/A/PI 188. Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act 1889.

<sup>982</sup> Harris, J. *Political Thought and the Welfare State 1870-1940, An Intellectual Framework for British Social Policy*, *Before Beveridge, Welfare Before the Welfare State*, ed. Gladstone, D., (London, 1999), p.43, 64.

could do, receiving support from neighbours. Most support came from within the parish in 1900, but there was state financial help for those in greatest need, through the Union at Burton upon Trent.<sup>983</sup> Ernest Tipper and R. J. Bull were Overseers of the Union, for which headmaster Jones collected the poor rate. The Union provided outdoor relief money.<sup>984</sup> In 1901 ten Church Broughton paupers received a total of £60 14s 6d for illness, infirmity, imbecility and poverty, varying from 7s 6d to £13 each. Three women were incarcerated in the Mickleover Asylum, otherwise neighbours and relatives cared day to day, for the mentally ill. Under the 1908 Pensions Act those aged over 70 with annual income no more than £31 10s received 5s a week. In 1910 fourteen parishioners obtained assistance from the Union.

Public Health Acts had been passed 1871/3, Old Age Pensions Act 1908, National Insurance Act 1911 (it did not include children and most women), school meals provision 1914, but the central government spent less on social welfare than all the charitable voluntary work until the First World War, then taking a greater role in health, with local authority maternity clinics and acts to register nurses in 1919, controlling midwifery and nursing, culminating in the Beveridge Report of 1942, leading to the National Health Service.<sup>985</sup> This developing official side of care gradually reduced the need for neighbourly assistance and the insurance of Oddfellows. People began to look beyond the parish for help, which diminished the cohesion of the parish. Ethel Bannister said:

‘Of course, there’s the government now. That’s why the lodges are not so much used as they were.’<sup>986</sup>

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<sup>983</sup> The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 amalgamated parishes into Unions, each of which built a workhouse, the nearest to Church Broughton being at Burton upon Trent. Poor Law Unions were abolished by the Local Government Act 1929, their responsibilities going to local authorities.

<sup>984</sup> Minutes of the Burton upon Trent Union.

<sup>985</sup> Pugh, M., *State and Society, A Social and Political History of Britain, 1870-1997*, (London, 1994), pp. 126-9. *Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting*, (London, 1982), p. 23. Gardiner, J., *The Thirties*, (London 2010, 2011), pp. 36, 198. Thompson, P., Introduction to *Oral History, Health and Welfare*, ed. Bornat, J., Perks, R., Thompson, P., Walmsley, J., (London, 2000, 2005), p.1.

<sup>986</sup> Ethel Bannister transcript, p. 7.

The appointment of District Nurses supported and gradually superseded Edith Auden's role. This altered the relationships within the community and the leading position of clergy wife.<sup>987</sup> Whereas Edith Auden had acted with a background knowledge of the wider relationships and situation of those she helped, the nurse would treat a patient individually. A qualified District Nurse came and lodged at the police house later marrying Police Sergeant Moore, after which, by 1935 there was a District Nurse at Sudbury, who came on her bicycle.<sup>988</sup> Vera Kirk said:

'Well, I had David at home and this nurse was Nurse Stanley-Parr and she lived at Sudbury and she used to do the whole area.'

Vera's husband Albert added: 'I remember going to Sudbury at about five o'clock in the morning to fetch the nurse and the same day we were threshing at Stevenson's, so David was born to the sound of the threshing drum.'<sup>989</sup>

Fred and Marjorie Spooner came to run the shop in 1932, and found they were required to provide for those officially accepted as being in need, with weekly provisions, according to a list provided. At the end of the month they notified the council and were sent a cheque in payment.<sup>990</sup>

The new officialdom was more distant, lacking local knowledge and initiative: the difference between 'mechanical' impersonal relationships between people and the authorities compared to 'organic' close personal ties between individuals.<sup>991</sup> The expectation that local people would provide and assist was overtaken by a dependence on health and local authorities, but these were remote and sometimes failed. Edith Auden, as vicar's wife and Welfare Officer, had stepped in when the Fearn's became incapable, but after the Billings fell into a similar state in 1956, they died at home in squalor. 'It even made the policeman sick. The District Nurse wouldn't go.'<sup>992</sup>

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<sup>987</sup> *Can We Afford the Doctor*, (Age Exchange, 1985).

<sup>988</sup> Evelyn Stevenson transcript, p.2.

<sup>989</sup> Vera and Albert Kirk transcript, p. 5.

<sup>990</sup> Marjorie Spooner transcript, p. 7.

<sup>991</sup> Tönnies, F., *Community and Society*, (1957, New York), p. 33. Bell, C., and Newby, H., *Community Studies. An introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community*, (London, 1971), p. 25.

<sup>992</sup> Ruth Auden transcript, p. 20.

## Conclusion

My contributors described a community with no resident lord of the manor. The parishioners created a society led with consensus by tenant farmers of the largest farms and the vicar, backed by the schoolmaster and policeman. With the ability to own land and cottages, families had continuity in the parish over generations. The complex intertwined family relationships, often obscure, but known, affected the way villagers associated and treated each other and made a difference to the quality of their lives.<sup>993</sup> This family web of support, into which newcomers and friends would be drawn – was an experience similar to that found by Michael Young and Peter Willmott in Bethnal Green: a person would have their own friends, but would also know the friends' parents and some other relations, as well as who they worked with.<sup>994</sup> There was also a structure implicit in the length of time tenants held farms and the generations of other families who lived in the parish.

They included all the people living in the parish as part of their society, within which there were groups of friends, neighbours, and the known. There were characters, oddities and irritants, but in Church Broughton there seemed to be agreement about the general order. There seemed to be a unifying acceptance and tolerance without one person being dominant. It is difficult to know how selective their memories were, but any omissions were more to do with belief and politics than daily behaviour. With so many contributors, omissions by one person were often included by another. In this 'open' parish, control of behaviour was shared by several accepted leaders related to the church and chapel, who appear to have been more effective than those in Headington Quarry.<sup>995</sup>

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<sup>993</sup> Nash, V., Making the Case for Community, in *Reclaiming Community*, ed. Nash, V., (London, 2002), p. 2. Spencer, D., Reformulating the 'Closed' Parish Thesis: Associations, Interests and Interaction, in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26,1 (2000), pp. 90, 91.

<sup>994</sup> Young, M., and Willmott, P., *Family and Kinship in East London*, (London, 1957, 2007), pp. 71, 105.

<sup>995</sup> Samuel R., 'Quarry roughs': life and labour in Headington quarry, 1860-1920, in *Village Life and Labour* ed. Samuel, R., History Workshop Series (London, 1975), p. 141-227.

During and after the First World War, the social structure was upheld by Audens at the Vicarage, headmaster Jones and farmers Atkins, Bull, Stevenson and Tippers.<sup>996</sup> Church and chapel continued to have full congregations, providing constancy, but those who returned from the war were themselves changed and found that after four years, those left at home were moving on too. The post-war period, with the sale of the Duke of Devonshire's land in 1918 altered the social structure by replacing a major player with several smaller farmers. Key people, vicar Alfred Auden, headmaster Jones, farmer R.J. Bull, retired.<sup>997</sup> At the same time, official agencies taking a greater role in the care of people, progress in technology and communications were having an effect. The increase in motorised transport, private cars and the bus to Derby after 1925, gave people opportunities and interests beyond the parish, as did the development of radio.

While these changes of focus were occurring, Basil Mallender tried to take the role of resident squire, altering the accepted cohesion of the community. His strategy was sole dominance, whereas the villagers' worked through interrelated networks. It was the contrast between confrontation and the flexibility of cooperation. He did weaken the community by undermining the influence of the church and use of the school.

The community had adapted according to the personnel. William Auden, vicar, was an old man at the turn of the century. He had lived the life of a country gentleman but without the authority of a chief landowner. His nephew Alfred Auden was not as wealthy, but he had social capital having attended a university, and used his talents teaching not only in the school but extra classes for Pupil Teachers and Joseph Cresswell. He was a practical man, working on the church fabric, in the churchyard, and at home. As a teetotaler, he was accepted by the Methodists.

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<sup>996</sup> R.J. Bull until 1926, followed by John Stevenson, who moved from Old Hall, the family staying until son Ernest died in 1964; James Tipper was at Heath House Green until 1920, Ernest Tipper at Broughton House until he died in 1947, Henry Atkins at Mount Pleasant until 1918, George Edge at Sapperton until 1922.

<sup>997</sup> R. J. Bull moved to Tutbury in 1926. Arthur Jones returned to the Coventry area in 1927. Alfred Auden went to Norfolk in 1933.



Alfred and Edith Auden, through their interpretation of Christianity, contributed a great deal to the community, but not alone. With others they supported parishioners through the First World War and following recession, Alfred and daughter Ruth helping on the farms. Workers took their own responsibility by having a branch of Oddfellows to support those out of work or ill. There was a tolerance of belief and behaviour, with confidence to challenge. Edith Auden and the schoolmasters organised activities for children out of school. They worked cooperatively with the Methodists.<sup>998</sup>

The vicar, headmaster and Duke of Devonshire's tenants took unobtrusive leading roles, which others accepted though, unless working for them, were not beholden to them. Poor housing, poverty and alcohol caused the greatest hardship. Those injured or ill, relied in the first instance on the Oddfellows or expected the Vicarage and neighbours to come to the rescue. The Burton upon Trent Union helped the destitute. Intervention by the state did improve the health of parishioners, but taking control centrally reduced localised care by those with personal knowledge. Differences in wealth and education had the potential to divide people, but, having no resident Lord of the Manor, the strong participation of the long-standing families, the Audens, church wardens, headmasters and Methodist Bulls gave a supportive, settled community. At the time of writing, there is no resident vicar. The chapel has closed.

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<sup>998</sup> Law, J., Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity, in *'Systems Practice'*, 5 (1992), pp. 379-93. Williams, W. M., Dynamic Equilibrium in Ashworthy, in *The Sociology of Community*, ed Bell, C. and Newby, H., (London, 1974), pp. 42, 66.

## Thesis Conclusion

This thesis contributes to the history of rural parishes in three areas: firstly as an example of an ‘open’ parish, secondly showing how changes during the first part of the twentieth century affected this dairying area and finally in oral history because it follows the practice of free-flowing interviews. The ‘prior culture’ of the parish contrasts with the culture developing while these recordings were made.

Dennis Mills’ 1960s research comparing estate ‘close’ and ‘open’ parishes provided a formula for considering Church Broughton, in the way Andrew Jackson, in 2012 differentiated parishes with a resident lord of the manor from those without one.<sup>999</sup> Living in this ‘open’ parish gave residents the opportunity to create their own society. Having no resident lord of the manor had previously been described by B. A. Holderness as ill-regulated but my contributors described a cooperative community, with respected leadership from within its members.<sup>1000</sup> Contributors described the freedom in an ‘open’ parish that had enabled families to live there and own property over generations, which led to extensive networks of support. There was also continuity in the length of time key people remained working in the parish. The ability of redundant workers to remain in the parish while finding work elsewhere maintained their contribution to the society and links to nearby parishes. Although the standard of some housing was poor and facilities negligible (the telephone came to the Post Office in 1907, water was not laid on until 1957 and sewerage in 1968), evidence from Church Broughton did not support Brian Short and B. A. Holderness’ implication that an open parish would necessarily be lawless.<sup>1001</sup> There was anti-

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<sup>999</sup> Mills, D.R., The Development of Rural Settlement Around Lincoln, in *English Rural Communities*, ed. Mills, D. R., (London, 1973). Jackson, A., ‘The ‘Open-Closed’ Settlement Model and the Interdisciplinary Formulations of Dennis Mills: Conceptualising Local Rural Change’, *Rural History*, Vol. 23, 2, 2012, pp. 121-136.

<sup>1000</sup> Holderness, B.A., ‘Open’ and ‘Close’ Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in *Agricultural History Review*, (Huddersfield, 1984), vol. 32, pp. 126, 127, 130, 131.

<sup>1001</sup> Short, B., Contrasting Communities, in *The English Rural Community*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 23-41. ‘Quarry roughs’: life and labour in Headington quarry, 1860-1920, in *Village Life and Labour* ed. Samuel, R., History Workshop Series (London, 1975), p. 141-227. Holderness, B.A., ‘Open’ and ‘Close’ Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in *Agricultural History Review*, (1972), vol 29, pt. 2, pp. 130, 126.

social behaviour but that was contained by intervention from the leading figures. Leaders' wives were expected to contribute to social activities and care.

I was surprised that the most important farmers employing their workers, were tenants, not owners of their land. The small landowners formed a respectable layer related to the workers. The inhabitants described a life less controlled than in Helmingham, Suffolk, where the squire regulated all aspects of his tenants' lives.<sup>1002</sup> The contrast between 'open' and 'close' was most apparent in Church Broughton after Basil Mallender bought Barton Blount and attempted to exercise a similar squire's authority, which was resisted by parishioners. After the sale of land by the Duke of Devonshire, the new farm owners did not have the same prestige or authority as their predecessors. With these changes, together with the loss of key people and greater opportunities beyond the parish, the cohesion of the community began to weaken during the 1930s.

This research considers various aspects that contributed to the nature of the community living in Church Broughton between 1900 and 1940. Religion had an important role in motivating principals to participate and guide the community, though it was not clear that contributors became convinced believers of Christian tenets. The revival of Methodism through the arrival of the Bull, Tunstall and Prince families, in 1907, 1909 and 1927, challenged the single authority of the church and led to a widely cooperative community during the incumbency of Alfred Auden, 1904 -1933. Having a long-standing school, allied to the church, but open to all, drew children together and provided a central place for entertainment. Farming was the basis, directly or indirectly, for creating the parishioners' wealth. This period was difficult for dairy farmers adjusting to recession, competitive buyers, higher wages and decisions over whether to increase inputs or reduce their labour. This was overcome by the creation of the Milk Marketing Board in 1933. Agricultural workers were able to adapt to the effects of mechanisation, and in this parish

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<sup>1002</sup> Evans, G. E., *Where Beards Wag All, The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*, (London, 1970, 1977), pp. 117-125.

surplus men were able to find other work locally. The residents were born into or moved into a society of people layered by experience, possessions and wealth, yet accepted as part of a community.

As an example of oral history, I followed George Ewart Evans' method of open-ended interviews with a large number of contributors. He supported oral evidence as a corrective to the common idea in the 1970s that scientific knowledge was supreme.<sup>1003</sup> My method of allowing parishioners to choose themes may challenge the current practice of prepared questions and control of the interview by the interviewer. The need for academic recognition, constraints of time and money, together with the length of transcription incline towards a more controlled method now. My feeling is that a series of ready prepared questions would have inhibited my contributors and I would have missed areas of which I was unaware. However, lack of focused questioning may have meant some detailed information and particular topics were missed: for example, the experience of more returning soldiers and details concerning income, including the loss to families regarding alcohol and being out of work. The only mention of politics was in Alfred Auden's diary records of appearances of the son of the Duke of Devonshire just before elections. These diaries and those of Trevor Allen, together with the School Log and other papers gave important confirmatory information supporting the oral evidence, of which there is a quantity remaining, not mentioned through lack of space.

This research is original not only by its method, but also because independent parishes have not attracted research in the same way as estate parishes. I have been unable to find a similar investigation of an 'open' dairying parish. Agriculture was transformed during the years 1900-1940. Regret was expressed by my contributors for the loss of knowledge and skills of their

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<sup>1003</sup> Evans, G. E., *The Relevance of Oral Tradition*, from Presidential Address, British Association, Swansea Meeting, 1971 quoted in *The Days That We Have Seen*, (London, 1975), p. 72.

generation and, while accepting progress, there was some scepticism as to whether the new ways were altogether advantageous. They were keen to join me in recording their experience of life in Church Broughton as they realised, with the loss of farms for new housing and the influx of townspeople, they were recalling a way of life they valued that was vanishing. They regretted the loss of the community they had known and enjoyed contributing to the salvage of their knowledge. They were speaking for posterity.

The laying of sewerage in 1968 marked a transition.<sup>1004</sup> As the land of three central farms were sold for housing, new four-bedroom houses with garages, some with mock Roman porticos, brought modern affluent young people with a different culture, into the centre of the parish. They were unaware of the worth of people they were joining. They tended, as individuals, to make friends of the same age and education, within each group of houses as it arose. Some appeared self-confident, competitive, brash, insensitive and aloof. It was difficult for the original inhabitants to absorb them, as had happened earlier when single families had moved in over the years. Private cars reduced the use of buses and the shop/post office, so these services disappeared.

By 2015, forty years after the new houses were built, this commuter community who arrived after 1970, had mellowed, melding with remaining earlier residents. The Parish Council invited Rural Action Derbyshire to advise how to improve the residents' lives from within their own resources. Committees were formed to arrange a free transport service, exercise and dancing groups, film nights and a potential shop, all harking back to the integration of that communal 'prior culture' my contributors had described. Recently, there has been the loss of resident clergy in 2017, the chapel closed in 2019 and activities have become mainly secular. The sale of central farms for

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<sup>1004</sup> <https://pearl.plymouth.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/10026.1/2035/NICOLA%20JANE%20BOLTON.PDF?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, <http://geobytesgcse.blogspot.com/2007/08/counterurbanisation-causes-and.html>

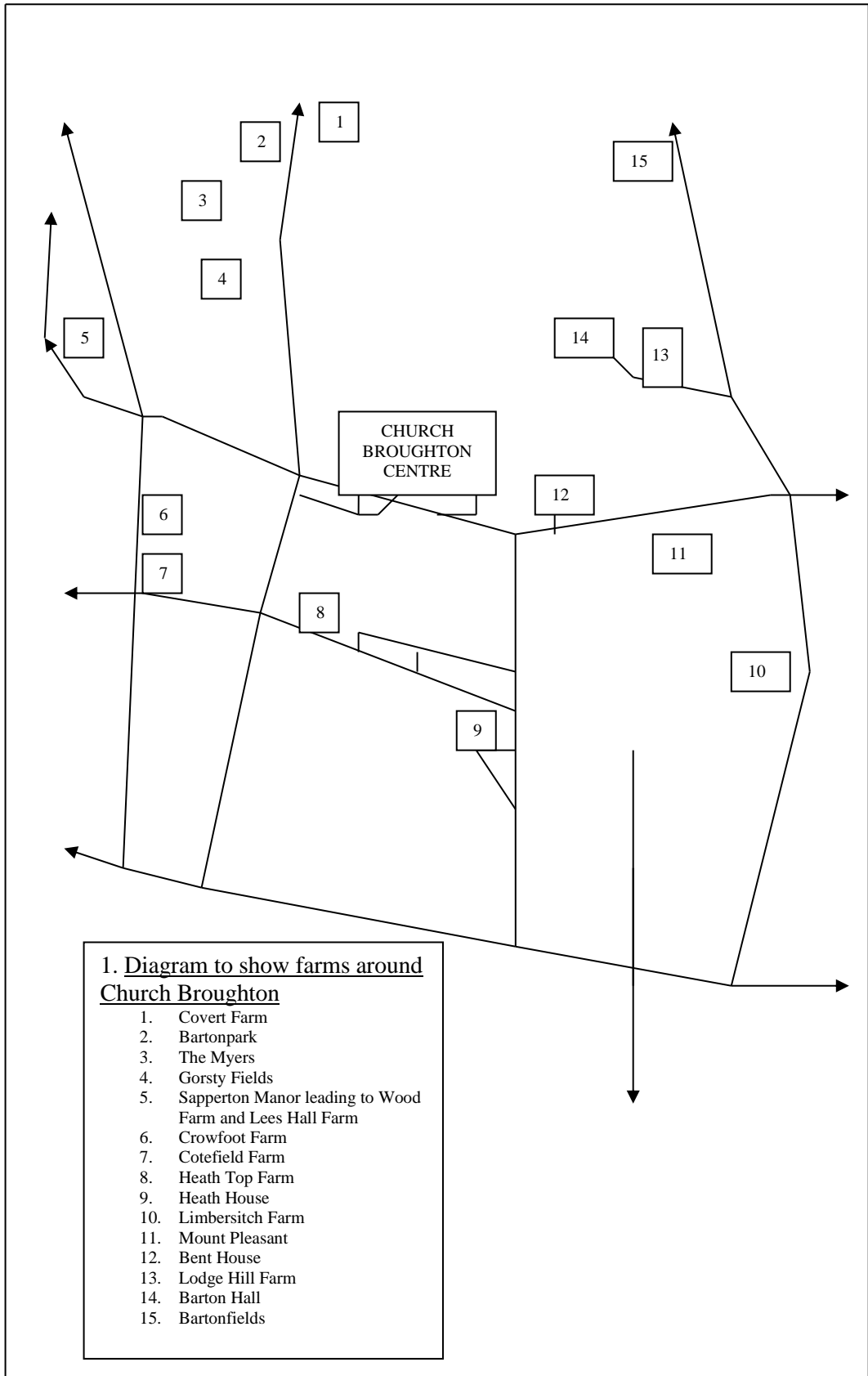
housing led to a realignment of land holdings. Many farmers have since left the dairy industry, using buildings for alternative companies and storage.

Considering this new culture clarified the old 'prior culture' for me. Whereas the new tendency was to see the centre of the parish as a separate small village, before with the whole parish as its base, those living at Mount Pleasant, Twisses Bank, Sapperton and Heath Top were all included in the community. There was then a sense of rapport or affinity between people without necessarily close friendship or relationship. It allowed privacy, respect and consideration. There was some warmth and empathy in the words spoken by contributors, even for miscreants, despite irritation – a form of understanding and tolerant fellowship. The inter-relationships of family groups no doubt contributed. Gossip was accepted as a means of spreading information, which might be important for instigating support and concern. The focus was local to the parish, with interest about the surrounding neighbourhood. All was not rosy. Living conditions were poor and people were not necessarily kind, but they were aware of each other's situation, part of a cooperative system.

I am grateful for the happenstance that led me to live in Church Broughton, to read the interesting documents in the church chest which stirred me to write to Paul Thompson and be inspired by George Ewart Evans. Making the recordings and their transcription was a pleasure and a privilege. De Montfort University was my destination for unravelling their significance. The delay in transcribing and analysing my material enabled me to interpret it from a modern perspective and understand the values of a 'prior culture'.

## Appendix

1. My diagram to show the position of farms around Church Broughton.
2. Tables and charts giving the census details of area and population for 1901 to 1951 and the percentage changes in population between 1901 and 1931.
3. Details of census. Details from Marriage Registers.
4. Church Broughton and neighbouring parishes.





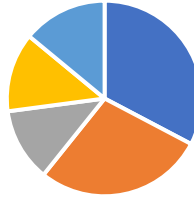
2. Tables giving the census details of area and population for 1901 to 1951 and the percentage changes in population between 1901 and 1931. There was no census in 1941.

<u>Area, statular acres</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	1931	<u>1951</u>
Barton Blount	1201	1201	1201	1201	1201
Boylestone	1361	1361	1361	1361	1361
Church Broughton	2216	2216	2216	2216	2239
Foston & Scropton	2850	2850	2850	2851	2851
Hatton	874	874	874	874	851
Hilton	1835	1835	1835	1835	1835
Hoon	789	789	789	788	789
Marston upon Dove	1003	1009	1009	1010	1010
Sudbury	3639	3639	3639	3639	3619
Ash	703	703	703	703	703
Osleston/Thurvaston	1745	1745	1745	1745	1745
Sutton on the Hill	880	880	880	880	880

<u>Population</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1901-31</u>
Barton Blount	76	55	47	54	69	60	125%
Boylestone	218	203	231	231	191	182	94%
Church Broughton	465	436	451	429	466	374	107%
Foston & Scropton	512	514	636	636	577	675	112%
Hatton	527	730	900	900	944	1367	129%
Hilton	805	779	816	816	817	1428	105%
Hoon	52	38	52	52	28	28	74%
Marston upon Dove	104	94	87	87	77	58	82%
Sudbury	530	499	547	547	512	865	103%
Ash	72	69	77	76	66	59	96%
Osleston/Thurvaston	293	279	298	298	254	239	91%
Sutton on the Hill	122	124	112	112	113	113	91%

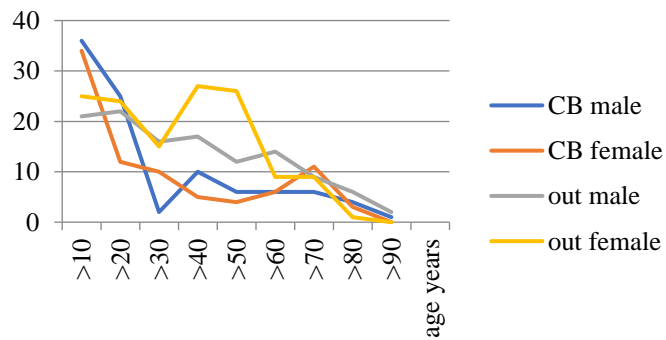
**1901 census figures**

1. Those born in Church Broughton
2. Those born within 5 miles
3. Those born between 5 and 10 miles
4. Those born between 10 and 20 miles
5. Those born more than 20 miles away

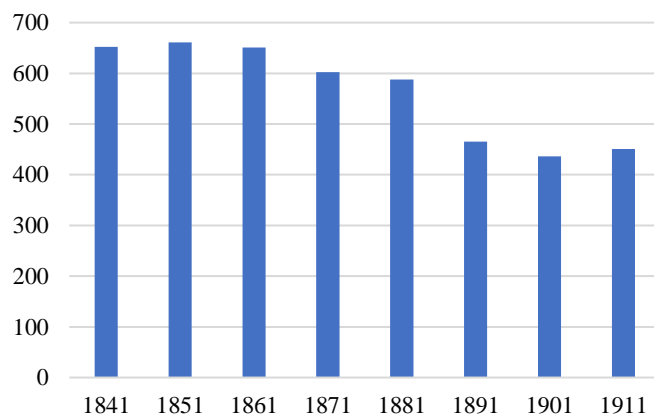


■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4 ■ 5

**1901 census numbers for those living in the village born in Church Broughton, and those (out) living in the village, but born elsewhere**



**Church Broughton Population**



### 3. Details of census.

The figures for place of birth, in the 1901 census, show that, of 451 people, 32.7% were born in Church Broughton, 28% were born within five miles, 12% were born between five and ten miles away, 13% were born between ten and twenty miles away, 14% were born more than twenty miles away. The distance from birth place did not relate directly to type of employment. There was fluidity, as well as stability from the generationally 'permanent' families and those who owned their homes. Although transport was by foot or horse, most people would have had relations, friends or acquaintances in the surrounding area.

Working aged people were coming to work in the parish; women were coming to marry village men and bearing them children. The oldest people, the numbers being fewer, were as likely to have been born in the village as away from it. It is difficult to confirm, as Alan Armstrong inferred, quoting Bowley's article in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, that less than half the young farm workers stayed in agriculture. 55% of Church Broughton labourers under 30 years in 1891 were no longer living in the village ten years later, though they may have been working in agriculture somewhere else.

In Church Broughton there were 52 agricultural labourers in the 1891 census, of whom 38 were the heads of households, 6 were living at home or in lodgings and 8 lived on the farm; ten years later, only 16 of the labourer heads of household were still in the village. The number of agricultural labourers had reduced to 22, 15 were heads of household and five living at home, three youngsters living at the farms. There was alternative labouring work for nine men: on the roads, in the mine and on the railway.

(Church Broughton population recorded in 1829 Glovers directory, 536; in censuses: 1841 652, 1851 661, 1861 651, 1871 602, 1881 588, 1891 465, 1901 436.)

Population in Church Broughton had risen from 536 in 1829 (Glovers directory) to a peak of 661 in 1851 and then gradually declined to 436 by 1901. Elsewhere in the country, rising population has been accounted for by earlier marriage leading to increased birth rate, improved living standards, greater medical knowledge including inoculation against smallpox. Improved living standards did not apply in Church Broughton, but regarding marriage, over the twenty years 1840-1859, 5% were aged under 21, compared to 2.5% for 1901-1919. There was a tendency, in Church Broughton, to marry later after 1900, between 1900-1919 55% of the partners were aged over 25.

Because many older children left home after leaving school, family size is not reflected in the census, but there had been more young children at home, when the population was higher, in 1851 than 1901, ten families having five resident children. In both 1851 and 1901 10 households had adult children at home. In 1851, 12 families had one child, 14 had 2 children, 12 had 3 children, 8 had 4 children, 10 had 5 children. In 1901, 15 families had one child, 9 had 2 children, 3 had 3 children and 3 had 4 children.

With no family planning, there were some large families. For a farmer, a large family could be seen as providing workers and there would be space in the house; for a labourer, a large family could mean overcrowding.

The 17 largest households, with seven, eight, nine, ten or eleven people, were mostly farmers, waggoners and cattlemen, who had secure positions and more adequate housing. 39 households had four, five or six members. One labourer household of ten was overcrowded after their daughter and family had moved in, ready for the birth of her youngest child.

In 1901, ten farm houses had only the family living together and working on the farm, the sons having security but limited in their expectations. On larger farms, where there was no family to help, young people lived with the farmer, often two - at Heath House Green there were three and at Mount Pleasant five. The boys were between 12 years and 19, the female domestics between 15 and 32. Skilled workers' older children, still living at home, worked for the father or his

employer. A builder had two sons working for him in his own business, his younger children being still at school.

Four elderly couples had a nephew or grandchild for company - but where there were several young children there was little space in a cottage with just two larger and two small rooms.

From Church Broughton marriage registers:

1840-1849 of 36 weddings, 3 wives were under 21, of those given 2 husband and 2 wives were aged over 25 years

1850-1859 of 29 weddings 1 husband and 3 wives were under 21; 7 husbands and 6 wives over 25 years, 22%

1900-1909 of 36 weddings 2 wives were under 21; 23 husbands and 14 wives were over 25 years, 51%

1910-1919 of 23 weddings 1 wife was under 21; 15 husbands and 13 wives were over 25 years, 61%

In both 1851 and 1901 10 households had adult children at home.

In 1851, 12 families had one child, 14 had 2 children, 12 had 3 children, 8 had 4 children, 10 had 5 children.

In 1901, 15 families had one child, 9 had 2 children, 3 had 3 children and 3 had 4 children.

#### 4. Church Broughton and neighbouring parishes.

Parishes in this area of Derbyshire varied in size, population, ownership and prospects. Close to Church Broughton were Barton Blount, Boylestone, Sudbury, Foston with Scropton; Marston upon Dove with Hatton, Hilton and Hoon; Sutton on the Hill with Ash, Osleston and Thurvaston.

Some parishes included one, two or three townships:

Sudbury had Aston;

Sutton on the Hill had Ash, Osleston and Thurvaston;

Marston on Dove had Hatton, Hilton and Hoon;

Scropton had Foston, the church being at Scropton, the Hall at Foston.

Church Broughton and Marston upon Dove having belonged to Tutbury Priory had no resident Lord of the Manor, whereas Sudbury, Foston and Barton Blount had resident Lords of the Manor. Boylestone was under the Lords of Sudbury and Foston. Sutton on the Hill had Buckstons as resident owners of Ash, but the parish was divided, farms having previously been given to Chetham's Hospital in Manchester and townships Osleston and Thurvaston being regarded as a separate entity within the parish. The nineteenth century owner of Barton Blount had removed all houses except his farms and the Elizabethan Hall. In 1900, the Anglican church, in Church Broughton, owned glebe lands. Glebe land belonged to the individual incumbent until the 1976 Endowments and Glebe Measure, when it was transferred to the Diocesan Boards of Finance.

Marston upon Dove parish, including Hatton, Hilton and Hoon had the largest acreage 4501, then Sudbury 3639, Sutton on the Hill 3328, followed by Foston and Scropton 2850, Church Broughton 2216, Boylestone 1361 and, smallest, Barton Blount 1201.

Some settlements, within these parishes, lost population between 1901 and 1931: Boylestone, Hoon, Marston upon Dove, Ash and Osleston/Thurvaston.

Percentage growth depended on the size in 1901: Barton Blount increased, but from a very low figure.

Settlements that increased population: Church Broughton, Foston and Scropton, Hatton, Hilton and Sudbury. Actual growth between 1901 and 1931 was for Church Broughton 30, Foston and Scropton 63, Hatton 214, Hilton 38, Sudbury 13.

Hatton, Hilton and Sudbury benefited from the Derby to Stoke on Trent road and the North Staffordshire Railway, which opened along the Dove valley in 1848, with stations at Hatton and Sudbury.

Marston upon Dove parish, including Hatton and Hilton, with the non-resident Duke of Devonshire as Lord of the Manor, had several owners and more freedom to grow. The railway station at Hatton stimulated work and benefited surrounding villages with transport of milk to London and, in 1901, Nestlé bought a small creamery beside the station to build a tinned milk factory for export to troops in India. Sudbury station, a mile south of the Hall, was developed by the sixth Lord Vernon, an agricultural innovator, in 1881 for the benefit of his tenants, with a butter factory and railway siding. Sudbury population grew little as a result of the railway station, compared to Hatton.

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## Maps

Map of Derbyshire in Craven, M., and Stanley, M., *The Derbyshire Country House*, (Derby 1982).

Part of a map of Derbyshire Ecclesiastical Parishes in Craven, M., and Stanley, M., *The Derbyshire Country House*, (Derby 1982).

A copy of a map of 1626 held in the library at Chatsworth.

A map of the Manor of Church Broughton 1775, copied from George Copestake's tracing of the original made in 1919.

Map of the central part of Church Broughton village, J. P. Bull.

## Photographs

Sudbury cottages in Thorold, H., *A Shell Guide to Derbyshire*, (London, 1972), p. 112.

Church Broughton cottage, Etechells farm and school, in 1970, J. Arthur

White House/New Inn, J. Arthur

Sapperton Lane, J. Arthur

Forge Hollies and Allen family, D. Allen

Old Hall farm, B. Hutton.

A view of Etchells farmhouse painted by Edith Auden, R. Auden.

Tenant farmers at Etchells farm, J. P. Bull and R. Auden.

Holly Bush Inn, Church Broughton Church.

Royal Oak and cottages, R. Auden.

Cottage on Main Street, B. Hutton.

Old Bakery, R. Auden.

Cooking facilities, Batsford, H., and Fry, C., *The English Cottage*, (1938, 1944), p.86. Wright, L., *Home Fires Burning*, (London, 1964), p. 126.

Church Broughton Church 1878, R. Auden.

Church Broughton church, interior and exterior, R. Auden, J. Arthur.

Post card of church interior, R. Moore

William Auden with his son Walter, R. Auden

Chapel Lane, J. Arthur.

Vicar Alfred Auden and family, R. Auden.

Farmer R.J. Bull and family, J. P. Bull.

Day School Treat, R. Auden.

Church Army Van, R. Auden.

Girls Friendly Society, R. Auden.

Boys Brigade, E. Stevenson.

Church choir at Rhyl, 1924, R. Auden.

Audens and Atkins at Bent House, R. Auden.

Great Sale for the bells, Church Broughton Church.

Lignam Vitae tree, R. Auden.

Vicarage, R. Auden

Church Broughton school, R. Auden.

Arthur Jones headmaster and family, R. Auden.

Joseph Cresswell headmaster and children, R. Auden.

Arthur Jones headmaster, Ethel Bannister and children, R. Auden

Glyngarth preparatory school, R. Auden.

Ernest Tipper and Harrison brothers, newspaper cutting in possession of J. Harrison.

Trevor Allen and Peter, D. Allen

Stevenson's team of horses, E. Stevenson.

Trevor Allen's diary pages, D. Allen.

Eddie Stevenson on their tractor, E. Stevenson.

Motor cars belonging to Bull, Atkins and Stevenson families, J.P. Bull, R. Auden and E. Stevenson.

Cissie Johnson's wedding, R. Auden.

Vicar Alfred and Edith Auden with mother Sarah Auden, 1912, R. Auden.

Ann Tipper of Heath House Green farm, E. Stevenson.

Children helping Alfred Auden, R. Auden.

Christie Minstrel Show, R. Auden.

Tunstall family brass band, R. Auden.

Church Broughton Guysers, Derby Daily Express January 27 1931.

Programmes for entertainments, R. Auden.

Tennis club players, R. Auden.

Memorial card, R. Auden.

## Diaries and Other Records

Alfred Auden diaries 1904-1933.

John Auden notebook 1866-1876.

Nellie Wood account book 1914-1925.

Potlock Cottage deeds.

Richard Bott inventories 1864-1878.

Royal Oak Cottages deeds.

The Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity Friendly Society record books lent by Mr. Atkins, secretary of the Lodge.

Trevor Allen account book 1898-1901.

Trevor Allen diaries 1918-1926.

## Correspondents

Ruth Auden.

John Prince Bull.

George Ewart Evans.

Raymond Heawood.

Raymond Jones.

## Oral Contributors, with dates of birth and first interview, where known

Alcock, Ruth (1915-1988) and Dennis (1920-1981)

Allen, David (1928-2003), *December 1995*

Allen, Lilian (1893-1983), *17 4 1972*

Allin, Ted (1906 - 1995) and Edith (1904 - 1993), *22 6 1972*

Allman, Ivy Kate (1892-1988)

Allman, Les (1921), *14 2 1999*

Allsopp, Mrs. (Morley), *1976*

Archer, Tid, Agnes (Billinge) (1911), *13 6 1972*

Auden, Ruth, Wilson (1898 -1989), *19 12 1972*

Bannister, Ethel (1892 -1975) *1 1 1972*

Bennett, Harold (1920 -2006), *10 5 1995*

Billinge, Jack (1914), *May 1973*

Bowles, James (1904 -1989) and Violet (White) (1909 -1993), *24 1 1974*

Bradshaw, May (1892 -1976) and Millie (1900 -1976), *1971*

Bridges, Enid (Tunstall) (1915 -2006), *May, 1971*

Bridges, Lilah (Bradshaw) (1905 -1978), *1971*

Brown, Arthur (1909 -1982) and Florence

Bull, John Prince (1917-2008) and Florence Hearn (Bull) (1909 -1993)

Bullock Thomas, (1906) *29 1 1974*

Capewell, Harry (1891 -1975) and Annie Louise (Fearn) (1900 -1988), *14 1 1975*  
 Caswell, Annie (Kirkland) (1905 -1998)  
 Connolly, Gertie, (Neal)  
 Creswell, Joseph, (1901 died in Australia), *9 8 1972*  
 Cunningham, Mrs., *9 11 1993*  
 Gadsby, Annie (Tunstall) (1894 -1972) *1972*  
 Griffiths, Marcella (1907 -1977)  
 Hall, Hollis (1901 -1979), *September 1972*  
 Hall, Raymond (1897 -1979) *1972*  
 Hambling, Cyril, (1904-1984), *11 2 1974*  
 Harrison, Joe (1917-1991), *1972* and Hilda (Shipton), (1918-2004), *1996*  
 Harrison, Reginald Arthur (1935-1997), *1996*  
 Harvey, Samuel (1906-1984), *21 7 1975*  
 Hatton, Audrey  
 Heawood, Raymond (1902 -1995), *19 1 1983*  
 Hulland, Joe, (1884-1976), *September 1975*  
 Jones, Frankie (Billinge) (1907-1997), *15 10 1975, 1996*  
 Jones, Raymond (1889-1974), *3 12 1995*  
 Kirk, Albert (1896-1976) and Vera (1907-1991), *June 1972*  
 Mallender, Basil (1902-1986)  
 McKeown, Edith (Dean) (1898 - 1977), *1973*  
 Millington, Howard (1887-1983) and Edith (1897 -1983)  
 Orme, Gilbert (1915-1992), *8 2 1972*  
 Prince, Victor G. (1905-1978) and M. Christine (1913-1999)  
 Pywell, Lin, (about 1920), *June 1972*  
 Redfern, Arnold (1903-1979) and Rosa (1896-1979)  
 Sharratt, Thomas (1906-1981), *19 8 1972*  
 Spendlove, Frank (1902-1974), *May 1972*  
 Spooner, Marjorie (1903-1985)  
 Stevenson, Doris (1893-1981), *1972*  
 Stevenson, Evelyn (1907-1986) and nephew Eddie, *2 5 1972*  
 Summerfield, Albert (1904 -1995)  
 Tomlinson, William (1924)  
 Tunstall, Hedley (1905 -1980)  
 Tunstall, James Robert (1924 -2013)  
 Tunstall, Stephen (1889 -1981) and May (1897)  
 Tunstall, Wilfred William (1875 -1974), *1972*  
 Twigg, William (1891 -1980), *May 1973*  
 Walker, Jack, *12 2 1974*  
 Ward, Hilda (1928 -2006), *14 2 1999*  
 Whiting, Elizabeth (Jackson) (1896 -1983), *25 1 1972*  
 Wright, Edwin (1902 -1982) and Ida (Harvey) (1895 -1985), *1970s*  
 Wright, George Talbot (1904 -1991) and Phyllis (Roe) *1973*

## Sample transcript

**Thomas Percy Sharratt**, 1906-1981, 19<sup>th</sup> August 1972, born near Yoxall, his family moving eight miles to Church Broughton when he was about three. His speech was difficult to follow,

partly because he tended to mutter, partly lack of teeth. He had been a miner at the Gypsum/Alabaster pit at Fauld, Staffordshire - a six mile walk from Church Broughton across the fields, the river and the railway. Later, he worked on the river. He was to be seen cycling home, with 'by hook or by crook' branches tied to the cross bar of his bike. He lived in the Rookery. This is the first half of his testimony.

Taking his time, looking at Mrs. Bridges' photo of the miners at the Fould Pit, starting at the bottom left:

'This one 'ere, Ern' Bridges; that's Wagstaff. Sitting down that's 'arry Billings, this one, yes, mn. 'e was one of the guysers, yes. 'e lived at 'eath Top. Ern' Bridges in the middle. This one 'ere's Sam Billings from the Gables, the end one. 'is brother stands just be'ind 'im, 'is brother, just at the back there, aye, Tom. Alf should be on 'ere somewhere, but I just can't spot 'im. That might be 'im there, at that end. Aye, aye, that might be 'im, mm, mm. I should be, I think; this is me 'ere, back on second row. They're a younger lot than me, yer know; see.... Ray Hall didn't work in the pit. This is Collier, 'ere; 'arry, I do believe. 'e used to work with 'arry Billings. Quite a few on 'em worked with me. Allin's on 'ere too, Allin from Tutbury, somewhere, just see 'im. I don't know whether this isn't 'im 'ere. That one be'ind Bridges, that's Albert Deville. This is the one I was just on about, Allin from top o' Tutbury, mm. No Millingtons worked there, Middletons - no. That's Neal from the Bent, young Neal, William. Jackson won't be on 'ere, no - this is before 'e started. I do believe that's Buckley, from up 'anbury. That could be - I got Deville down on there, av'n't I? Aye, that'll be 'im, there. Do believe that's Kirk, Reg Kirk; 'e used to work along with Buckley, them two; used to drill for 'im. Masser Roe in 'ere somewhere, should be, in this lot. That's Fred Kirk, young Fred, Reg's brother, younger than Reg apiece. Do believe that's Arthur Roe there, mm. That'll be Fred Irons from Tutbury. You've got Allin down, 'aven't we? Aye, there's more on there, who should be, goes underneath. Collinton this one is, Alec. This one, I think was Abe, 'e used to work with 'im; I just canna think of 'is name; used to drill for 'im. 'a' yer got McKeowan down on there? This is 'im. That's 'im there, mn. 'e

used to live at the Bent then. 'e used to loadin' side be'ind... I wonder who used to work with 'im. I just forget. I don't know whether it were an Allin from up Tutbury; I think so. This is Waite from Tutbury, this one 'ere. I used to load wi' 'im. This is Wagstaff 'ere. Arthur Roe was clean shaven. Tom and 'arry.

A photo of the brass band: 'That'll be Tunstall. That's one of 'is lads, that is, Stan. There's one 'ere, Steve; another one 'ere, Bill.

A photo of the Oddfellows: 'That's an Alcock, 'arry Alcock; 'e used to be 'ere, this shop 'ere, aye, yes. [We were sitting in Royal Oak Cottage].

'Them 'as what we used to ram us powder with. These things are round and they're copper. I used to tek 'em down Tutbury Mill. Rahnd on one end and 'ollered aht at th'other and the key's that, abaht that length [two foot or so]. That's copper too. Put yer powder in the shot 'ole, with a spoon, that's - spoon an' 'andle - abaht that long; that's 'ollered aht the same. Well, you used to 'ave to pour yer powder in yer leg and on yer leg, along the spoon; fill yer spoon with powder and push it along the 'ole to th'end, and push yer spoon over and charge yer shots, like that. When you've got what powder yer want in yer shot 'ole, yer just push that up steady with yer rammer and start it, and put yer dust in be'ind it and push that up steady, not fast - not too 'igh up, because you've got to drive the key through it next, drive the key through the dust, into the powder; when yer've got yer key up all right, just pull back, just a shade, where you thought the powder 'ad cum, so it was in yer powder, an' you start tightening with yer rammer. The 'oller end of yer rammer used to be top o' yer key piece and stuff; summat like that; good enough.

'Yes, there was only a candle as you used, yes. They were stuck on the rock with a bit of clay then; just get a bit o' wet clay an' put 'em in an' stick 'em on the rock. Draw yer key out an' then you've got to cut straws, wheat straw, y'used to cut 'em and joint 'em; mek 'em abaht the length of yer shot; fill 'em loosely wi' fine powder, holding this thumb, between yer thumb and finger -

neck of a bottle on top of yer thumb and finger an' fill 'em wi' that, and just push 'em down the 'ole, workin' a bit. An' yer used to 'ave to mek a little match stick abaht that length, put a bit o' clay on them and push them an' when y've candle down, wax 'em and light 'em an' blow 'em aht and stick them just underneath the straw. Then they're ready for loosing'em, them are. Then, when y've got all yer shots in, what yer want to put in, yer just 'ave to go an' loose 'em, yer 'ave to light 'em. Depends what yer wanted, use ten or a dozen, or seven or eight, just what yer wanted. It didn't tek all that long, no. You 'ad bore an' charge, bore an' charge, doin' the shots, that might 'ave got to abaht twenty minutes.

'There's a bloke there, doing nothin' but drillin' all the while. There's a bloke who's followin' on an' powderin', fastenin' an' then a bloke use't' come rahnd wi' straw an' put them up an' put matches on, ready for firin'. They'd be all ready an' then, when you was ready to fire 'em, well, they'd carry on an' one bloke would drill 'em, an' two blast on. They just start one on one side an' one on th'other an' they'd just touch the matches, one after th'other; couple of seconds, go round the matches an' see that they were all lit and that were it. Just went off automatical. Thahsands of them went off. An' they're goin' to go wrong or not. No. Unless yer were wanderin' to go out and then they mek no noise, so they were goin' a bit, an' they're gone off or not. Ah, yer'd 'ear 'em, yer see, you could 'ear 'em, you see. You could count 'em as they went off. Each of 'em made a bang, see, you could count 'em, as they went off. Count it up, as they went off. You'd go to go sometime; it took sixty seconds, just the same. If one didn't go off, yer'd 'ave to be very careful. You used to 'ave to get a wire, an' push that dahn th'ole, an' then try another straw; try it again. Well, if it didna go the next time, there were only one option then – yer'd to drill another 'ole underneath the wire and drill that aht and see this drawn and our family'd say that's good, 'cause a little spark an' that could blind yer. Oh, I 'ave drilled many a lot out, many a lot. I used to 'ave to try, I used to stop, when it got very near, when I was sort of ready for the powder, and it used to come a bit dark colour and I used to stop drilling, and yer used to 'ave to charge it again then, set it down the 'ole.



'The drilling was with compressed air. The drill, it 'ad got like a chisel end, all straight down the middle on. They used to go down to see whether it'd start... Aye, just with the candles. One drilled; one charged it; one went round and put the straws in and matches, ready to put the light.

'Yer couldn't send anything aht, only best stone as used to cum aht, and all the 'ardass stuff was proper 'ard stone like as yer use now, kibbles, for cement and all that, never used to send that aht – they wouldn't 'ave it. They use it now. They used to mek it as stone - they'd way't back to you. I've worked all week up Greenhill and gone 'ome with no migit [pay ?], worked shot. And then, when yer can get the top up dahn; them were good though, them lot, when yer got 'em dahn, they were somewhere around a hundred and elevens; got 'em dahn.

'Oh aye, yer can tell from the cracks with the faces, what the stone's like. I was in four 'ole mosey, four 'oles once, and we never sent, I don't think we sent above one load aht in abaht a month. We used to 'ave to sub, each week end. Bull says "and load that for some." and I says "No. It's all 'ardass, all four faces 'ardass; we canna send it aht. 'e wouldn't 'ave it. 'e'll send it back." "It's good, clean." 'e wouldn't 'ave it. "You know... because it's coloured on a white, and still coloured." And they'd send it back in, if we sent it aht. I sent one load aht in abaht a month. That were the loaders and we used to, I think the loaders got as they got paid for shifting that, when we'd shot it, blown it and they got paid, I think, for moving that and sort of stacking it on side of the road. You were lucky if you got ten pound, luck of the place.

'Get there for seven; finish abaht three; only just the day shift, like, and stay down all day, aye. Now it's all electric, all mechanised. There's no drilling, nothing there. It goes all along the ceiling now; they put 'oles in abaht the length of that skirting. They charge now with these bobbins now, pound and 'alf pounds. I think it's Gravelly there now; I'm not sure; I think so. You could

stand and walk down easy enough, oh, aye. It was abaht – our inside it was from round abaht two miles and 'alf and much further in than that.'